The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume I

Introduction to the Aṣṭādhyāyī as a Grammatical Device

Rama Nath Sharma

This volume examines the notions of grammar, rule, and derivation with reference to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a grammatical device. An attempt has been made to clearly outline and illuṣtrate the basic constructs of the Pāṇinian linguistic theory especially as they relate to the traditional views on the one hand and modern linguistic orientations on the other. A developmental history of the Pāṇinian school focusing on major texts and trend along with a detailed treatment of rule-types, *paribhāṣās,* and *samāsas,* complement the discussion of derivational mechanism and related conventions.

This book is reprint edition of vol. I, with a translation of rules in the Index and an updated bibliography. In the meantime five volumes have already been published and the concluding volume six will be published soon. Vols. II-VI contain the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with English translation, explanatory notes and complete derivational history of all forms cited as examples by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*

Rama Nath Sharma is Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA. He received his Ph.D. (1971) in General Linguistics from the University of Rochester where he also taught Linguistics for five years. His research interest includes grammatical theory in general, and Pāṇini and the Indian grammatical tradition, in particular.

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THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

VOL. I

INTRODUCTION TO THE *AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ* AS A GRAMMATICAL DEVICE

RAMA NATH SHARMA
University of Hawaii

Second revised and enlarged edition with Index of Sūtras (translated and explained)

Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

In memory
of my mother

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Preface to the Second Edition

I am happy to see this reprint edition of volume one, *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini*, Introduction to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a Grammatical Device. I had promised to prepare an enlarged edition of this study with additional details on scanning conventions and traffic rules but, mostly due to preparation of other volumes, I could not keep this promise. I do not think it will be possible for me to go back to it in the near future. There are still many other projects which I must complete. But since my presentation of derivational system still makes sense, and also since it could still be used to the benefit of understanding of Pāṇinian system of derivation, I am in favor of bringing this reprint edition. Pāṇini has become very popular in contemporary linguistics, computation and artificial intelligence. The Director of a German institute where they are working on computer application of Pāṇini, considers this volume the best available in the market. I have updated the bibliography and have added translations of rules in the index. I hope my readers will find this addition useful.

I would like to thank Christopher Bopp for preparing the index. Mr. Devendra Jain, Director of Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, gets most credit for bringing out this reprint edition at such a short notice. I shall appreciate it very much if my readers write to me about the contents of this volume.

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1 December 2001
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Preface to the First Edition

This book is a development of one basic assumption: that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini is a grammatical device which consists of a limited number of ordered rules capable of deriving an infinite number of correct Sanskrit sentences. This, essentially, is the assumption that modern linguists make about grammatical devices. However, the Pāṇinian device is in many ways unique. I have tried to present the basic mechanisms of this device by focusing upon how they actually operate in the derivation process.

Since there is considerable literature dealing with the nature, language and principles of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, and also since a comprehensive treatment of them is soon to be completed by George Cardona, I have strived to refrain from duplication. As already stated, my approach is different. However, certain topics had to be included, the discussion about *kārakas* in chapter 9, for example. Chapters 1 and 2 are provided by way of background. The remaining chapters, in one way or another, complement or illustrate my basic hypothesis. Chapter 7 presents a listing of the Pāṇinian definitions and interpretations. Such a listing is provided for quick reference. Chapter 8 presents some additional interpretive rules, which, although not explicitly stated in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are essential for properly comprehending its derivational mechanism. These interpretive rules have been selected from the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa based upon their importance for my study. This chapter is also essentially a reference chapter. Chapter 11 presents a detailed description of Sanskrit compounds which is designed to show how my proposals are fully applicable to an important derivational type.

My orientation towards Pāṇini is basically linguistic, in the sense that I try to look at the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in view of questions which are often asked in modern linguistics, especially in the area of formulation, interpretation, order and application of rules. However, since I have relied heavily upon the traditional interpretations, instances accepting the traditional rather than the contemporary view are numerous. My rather critical attitude towards certain recent writings should not be looked upon as an effort on my part to diminish their importance; my motive in all cases has been to put them in proper perspective. There are features in Pāṇini which one may be tempted to identify with features outside Pāṇini. My position on such identification is that Pāṇini is what Pāṇini is. Any attempt to interpret the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the light of some particular contemporary linguistic

theory risks compromising Pāṇini. Finally, it should be understood that my ideas, though I have tried to present them clearly, are not the final word. There is still a great deal of work to be done. For example, the derivational conventions which I propose, need further refinement.

I am honoured to have had the opportunity of studying extensive passages from the traditional texts with my father, Pandit Raghunath Sharma. Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi, and my younger brother Narendra — both of the Sanskrit University, Varanasi — were most helpful in bringing certain of my ideas into better focus. I am indebted to Professor O.L. Chavarria-Aguilar for leading me into Pāṇinian studies. I will be failing in my duties if I did not mention that I have benefited, above all, from the writings, which include unpublished manuscripts and personal communications, of Professor George Cardona of the University of Pennsylvania. Cardona has constantly served as an important source of reference and insight. Of course, I take full responsibility for any errors I may have made in this book.

Thanks are also due to the University of Hawaii, its Research Council and the Department of Indo-Pacific Languages, especially to its chairman, D. Haigh Roop, for facilitating my research through grants and sabbatical leave. The American Institute of Indian Studies has been very supportive of my research endeavours on Pāṇini. I am grateful for their grant under which I finished the writing of this volume.

This book is being published as volume one of a projected five-volume study. Subsequent volumes will include the text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with English translation, explanatory notes and complete derivational history of all forms cited as examples by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. Finally, I must thank Stanley Schab, my research assistant, for not only editing and typing the manuscript but also for making some very valuable comments.

gahanataragranthārthān ativitatān vīkṣya maṅkṣu saṃkṣipatām /
skhalitam api sambhaven nas tatra vibudhā vimatsarāḥ śaraṇam //

Prakriyāsarvasva (I:79) of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

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Abbreviations

AD	*aṅga* domain
CD	controlling domain
CS	conceptual structure
D	*dhātu*
DP	*dhātupāṭha*
Ed.	editor
FC	functional context
FSG	finite state grammar
GP	*gaṇapāṭha*
Kāś	*Kāśikā, Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya
Lā	*liṅgānuśāsana*
Mbh	*Mahābhāṣya, Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali
OD	obligatory domain
P	*prātipadika*
PD	*pada* domain
Phs	*Phiṭ-sūtra*
PK	*Prakriyā-kaumudī* of Rāmacandra
PM	*Padamañjarī* of Haradatta
PLM	*Paramalaghumañjūṣā* of Nāgeśa
PŚ	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
RI	referential index
RV	*Ṛgveda*
SK	*Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita
SP	*sūtrapāṭha*
Śs	*Śiva-sūtra*
TG	transformational grammar
tr.	translator
Us	*Uṇādi-sūtra*
vol	volume
VP	*Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari

1

Pāṇini and the Pāṇinīyas

A great deal of literature already exists on the developmental history of the Pāṇinian school of grammar. Recently, George Cardona (1976) presented an excellent study surveying this literature. Cardona not only provides the most comprehensive bibliography to date, but also judiciously examines major issues with reference to varying views and offers his own conclusions. My aim here is to present a general developmental history focusing on the major texts, their relationships, characteristics and style. While relative chronology will still be maintained, the focus will shift from chronology and relevant evidence to texts and trends. The date and time of various grammarians will not be discussed.[1]

The grammatical literature consists of *sūtra* 'rule', *vṛtti* 'gloss', *vārttika* 'note', *bhāṣya* 'exposition', *prakriyā* 'derivation' and *siddhānta* 'theory'. A *sūtra,* literally a thread, is a formulaic statement which presents a rule of grammar in a laconic style which emphasizes brevity, although certainly not at the expense of clarity. A *vṛtti,* technically, dwells upon a *sūtra* and is rendered in the form of a statement paraphrasing a rule by supplying understood or missing elements. A *vārttika* is a statement of an intermediate level between a *sūtra* and a *vṛtti* rendered with the express purpose of examining what has or has not been stated, or has been poorly stated, by a *sūtra.*[2] A *bhāṣya* can be characterized as a detailed exposition (*vyākhyāna*) of a *sūtra,* along with corresponding *vārttikas,* structured in the style of illustration using examples (*udāharaṇa*) and counter-examples (*pratyudāharaṇa*). It seeks to supply any missing links (*vākyādhyāhāra*).[3] *Prakriyā* normally represents the applied aspect of a *sūtra* in the sense that it focuses on the derivation of forms. It should be noted that though *prakriyā* focuses on examples and operations, it may also offer *vṛtti* and exposition, though these latter only complement the rule application. The *siddhānta* literature focuses on the formulation and exposition of basic theoretical issues. Thus, these treatises will assume *vṛtti, vārttika* and *prakriyā* unless these latter become crucial to the issues on hand. Except for the *sūtras,* all the other categories jointly constitute what is generally referred to as the commentarial literature.

[1] The dates cited here are approximations generally accepted by scholars.

[2] *uktānuktaduruktānāṃ cintā yatra pravarttate /*
taṃ granthaṃ vārttikaṃ prāhur varttikajñā manīṣiṇaḥ //

[3] *Mbh.* I:43.

As is the standard practice, a commentary must have its *pratīka* 'symbol, unit of focus'. Thus, a *vṛtti* accepts a *sūtra* as its unit of focus. A *bhāṣya* treats a *vārttika* as its unit of focus. When it comes to *prakriyā*, operational topics and examples serve as *pratīka*. For a treatise on *siddhānta*, it is a theoretical issue which constitutes the unit of focus. A commentary on *vṛtti* will similarly treat a particular element of the *vṛtti* as its *pratīka*. The *pratīkas* are often helpful in identifying specific issues. They also ensure that commentaries remain to the point. Given the idea of *pratīka*, one can easily discern the interrelationship among these forms of literature. The relationship between a *sūtra* and *vṛtti*, a *vārttika* and *bhāṣya*, a *bhāṣya* and *siddhānta* and a *vṛtti* and *prakriyā* thus becomes closely established. I shall illustrate this further when I discuss each individual type. Suffice it to say here that a commentary needs a focus.

Pāṇinians accept the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as the most important text representing the *sūtra* form of literature. It is commonly referred to as the *Aṣṭaka* 'collection of eight', or the *Sūtrapāṭha* (*SP*) 'recitation of *sūtras*'. It consists of nearly four thousand *sūtras* presented in eight chapters (*adhyāya*) of four quarters (*pāda*) each. Reference to a *sūtra* is made by following the convention *b.q.n.* where *b.q.n.* represent the book, quarter and *sūtra* number respectively. The first *sūtra* of the first quarter of the first book, then, will be 1.1.1.

The only extant full-length *vṛtti* on the *SP* is the *Kāśikāvṛtti* (*Kāśikā*) of Jayāditya and Vāmana (AD 7). The *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana (3 BC) generally constitute the *vārttika* literature. They are available as part of the *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* (*Mahābhāṣya; Mbh.*) of Patañjali (2 BC) which, on its own merit, is accepted as the single most important commentary in the tradition. The *prakriyā* tradition begins with the *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti (AD 11) and, through the *Prakriyākaumudī* (*PK*) of Rāmacandra (AD 14), reaches its peak in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (*SK*) of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (AD 16). In addition to the *Mahābhāṣya*, which is indispensable for the understanding of any aspect of the Pāṇinian *sūtras*, the *siddhānta* treatises basically are constituted by the *Vākyapadīya* (*VP*) of Bhartṛhari (AD 5), *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa* of Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa[4] (AD 17) and *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūṣā* of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa (Nāgeśa; AD 17-18) which has both a short and very short (*laghu; paramalaghu*) version. Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali are called the three sages (*trimuni*) of grammar. According to the dictum of *yathottaraṃ munīnāṃ prāmāṇyam*, each subsequent sage enjoys relatively greater authority (*prāmāṇa*), making Patañjali supreme authority in matters pertaining to Pāṇini.

I shall now present a general description of each type of literature mentioned above. Before we proceed, however, I must state my intention of not discussing the *siddhānta* literature. I so limit my discussion since (*i*) many

[4] Note that Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa also wrote a commentary, the *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇa*, on the *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

aspects of the *siddhānta* literature already will be covered by my discussion of other forms; (*ii*) even a general discussion on *siddhānta* treatises would require much space and (*iii*) their content, especially that of the *VP* of Bhartṛhari, would take us far afield as they discuss aspects of grammatical theory by bringing ideas from metaphysics, philosophy, epistemology, logic and ritual.

The *SP* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* essentially was handed down to us through oral tradition. It is remarkable that the text, except for a few variant readings and interpolations, has remained intact, at least regarding its function. Variations in the *SP* are caused primarily by

(1) their transmittal through oral tradition;
(2) their acceptance by the authors of *vṛtti* (*vṛttikāras*) in one form or another;
(3) recitation of certain *sūtras* by Pāṇini in different forms;
(4) treatment of *vārttikas*, or parts therefrom, as a *sūtra* or its part;
(5) inclusion of a *sūtra* as part of a *gaṇa* 'list of nominals in a group'; and
(6) acceptance of interpretation or listing of *sūtras* found outside the Pāṇinian school.

It is claimed by Śrīśacandra Cakravartī (1919),[5] based on a verse cited in the preface of his edition of the *Nyāsa*, commentary by Jinendrabuddhi on *Kāśikā*, that the total number of *sūtras* which none other than Pāṇini himself composed comes to 3,996. The total number of rules in the *Kāśikā* comes to 3,981. The additional fifteen rules are accounted for by accepting as rules *atha śabdānuśāsanam*, the first aphorism of the *Mahābhāṣya*, and the fourteen *Śivasūtras* (* Śs*), rules which present the inventory of sounds in the order most conducive to forming and manipulating abbreviatory terms (*pratyāhāra*; see chapter 2 for details).

There are compelling reasons to believe in the Pāṇinian authorship of the * Śs.* Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (1973:209-11) effectively demonstrates that *atha śabdānuśāsanam* is the opening aphorism of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The total number of *sūtras* according to the *SK* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita is 3,976. The five-rule difference from *Kāśikā* is due to the omission in the *SK* of four rules from the fourth quarter of the fourth book and one rule from the fourth quarter of sixth book. The exact number of *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* thus varies. Śrīnārāyaṇa Miśra (1969:49-54) discusses fifty-three rules with corresponding variations in the *Kāśikā, Mahābhāṣya* and *SK*. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (1973,II), and subsequently Bhattacharya (1966), have presented a list of variants. Bhattacharya also discusses why some of the variant readings are unacceptable as well as what may constitute a clue in figuring out which rules may be pre-Pāṇinian.

I shall now present some basic features of the *SP* which have been discussed in detail elsewhere in this volume. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a grammar

[5] *trīṇi sūtrasahasrāṇi tathā navaśatāni ca ṣaṇṇavatiṃ ca sūtrāṇāṃ pāṇiniḥ kṛtavān svayam.*

(*vyākaraṇa*), and like all grammars, it too has a goal (*lakṣya*): to systematically analyse the correct sentences (*vākya*) of the Sanskrit language, both the classical as well as Vedic, by means of its *sūtras* (*lakṣaṇa*). This analysis is presented by first identifying the constituent words (*pada*) of a sentence and then subjecting them to an analysis in terms of bases (*prakṛti*), affixes (*pratyaya*) and operations (*kārya*) relative to emergent structures. This conceptual division of a sentence into *padas* underlying bases and affixes as well as operations applicable to emergent structures does not have any existence outside the world of grammar. It is strictly a product of the grammarian's own imagination (*kalpanā;* see chapter 3 for details). The object of this analysis, however, must be real. A grammarian presents the description of sentences existing in usage in the outside world. His *lakṣaṇa*, as a consequence, becomes subservient to *lakṣya*. Pāṇini is no exception to this. It is because of this that the tradition recognizes him not as *karttā* 'creator' but as *smarttā* 'one who recalls'.[6] That is, he does not create sentences but recalls them from usage. The relationship between grammar and usage is discussed in chapter 3.

A grammarian may have control over *lakṣaṇa* but certainly not over *lakṣya*. Since the means (*upāya*) of analysis is strictly the grammarian's own imagination (*kalpanā*), a possibility of varying sets of grammar cannot be ruled out. The quality of such grammars, however, has to be judged on the basis of how well they perform their function. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has been adjudged the best grammar ever written for any language. Leonard Bloomfield calls it "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence."[7] It should be remembered, however, that the excellence it achieved must be interpreted as the culmination of a very rich grammatical tradition.

In order to analyse Sanskrit sentences, Pāṇini presents the conceptual structure (*CS*) of sentences in which abstract syntactic categories and grammatico-semantic relations are identified. The process of lexicalisation, and operations on emergent structures, then follows. What is derived as a result is a correct sentence of the Sanskrit language. Mention must also be made here that Pāṇini manipulates the derivation of words as a tool for deriving sentences (see chapter 3 for details). He also restricts his analysis to form only; meaning has been treated by grammarians as falling outside the derivational competence of grammar.[8] Whatever description of meaning is available in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is complementary to its goal and is provided largely in order to distinguish derivates. Again, such meanings are attested by usage, which is only logical since the grammar believes in the authority (*prāmāṇya*) of usage (*loka*).

[6] Bhattacharya (1966:217).

[7] *Language* (1933:11).

[8] Bhattacharya (1966:214).

Now a few observations about rules. A *sūtra* is brief in form and precise in function. Proper understanding of both form and function is determined by context (*prakaraṇa*). Context can be viewed as twofold: physical and functional though the overriding issue in both is function. Physical context refers to placement of rules in particular places. Rules sharing a physical or functional context are said to be related. Since a *sūtra* is a formulaic statement, physical context helps its interpretation via *anuvṛtti* 'recurrence' and relative order, etc. It is well known that Pāṇini puts his *sūtras* in sets or blocks. The relative order of a *sūtra* in a set, or the order of sets within the grammar, underlies a relationship among *sūtras* which is crucial to the Pāṇinian derivational mechanism. For example, Pāṇini formulates his rules in view of general (*sāmānya*), particular (*viśeṣa*) and residual (*śeṣa*) relationships. A particular rule is said to carve out its domain of application from within the domain of its corresponding general rule. In this sense, a particular rule is treated as an exception (*apavāda*) to its related general rule and consequently blocks its application. A residual rule covers whatever has not been covered by the general or related exceptions. The process of reference and *anuvṛtti* is discussed in chapter 4; the types of rules and their hierarchical arrangement in chapters 5 and 6.

A rule is formulated to apply. That is, no rule is regarded as being completely without scope of application. A rule which is in danger of becoming vacuous (*vyartha*), blocks the application of the rule with valid scope of application elsewhere (see chapter 3 for details). This is the general position. However, in view of the complexity of the language as well as the derivational mechanism, more formulations are required to outline the relative strength of *sūtras*. Thus, if two rules become simultaneously (*yugapad*) applicable to a single context and both rules have valid scope of application elsewhere, the rule which is subsequent (*para*) in order of enumeration blocks the application of a prior (*pūrva*) rule (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe*...). Exceptions have also been made in cases where a particular rule does not block its general counterpart obligatorily (3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*) or where application in turn (*paryāya*) is permitted (3.1.96 *tavyat-tavyānīyaraḥ*). Similarly, blocking of an externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) rule or operation by an internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) one is also permitted. Furthermore, since an entity *x* can be treated as *y*, the application of a rule or set of rules can be treated as suspended (*asiddha*) with reference to another rule or set (see chapter 5 for details). This principle of *asiddhatva* is responsible for dividing the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* into two major sections (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*), the first consisting of the first seven books and the first quarter of book eight, and the second consisting of the last three quarters of book eight. Placement of rules in ordered sets also marks functional divisions within these major divisions. Of course, all functional divisions are made in light of internal relations among rules and the contexts they share. To sum up, the rules of

the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are formulated and arranged on the basis of context, function, relative strength and internal relationship.

Pāṇini's grammar serves as a means towards understanding sentences. This goal is accomplished by abstracting generalizations from usage and formulating rules which best capture that usage. In order to facilitate proper formulation, interpretation and application of rules, however, a grammar also requires a metatheory. This Pāṇini brilliantly supplies. In so doing, he carefully defines terms (*saṃjñā*), sets forth rules of interpretation (*paribhāṣā*) and outlines the conventions he follows. However, given the *sūtra* style of rules, one must make inferences, and test and reject or accept them depending on whether or not they are in consonance with Pāṇinian practice. Such procedure is the primary task of *vyākhyāna* which, in addition to being instrumental to the proper understanding of *sūtras*, has also contributed many proposals which are incorporated in the grammar. The *paribhāṣās* of the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (*PŚ*) of Nāgeśa (many of which may be found here in chapter 8) are one example. Another example is constituted by the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana to which I shall now turn.

It has been stated that *vārttikas* are statements found in the *bhāṣya* where they serve as *pratīka* 'focus'. They focus on things which have not been or have been but poorly stated (*durukta*) in the *sūtras* (see above fn. 2). The existence[9] of *vārttikas* prior to Kātyāyana is well established. However, the pre-Kātyāyana *vārttikas* are lost and *vārttika* has become synonymous with Kātyāyana's *vārttika* just as *bhāṣya* has become synonymous with the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. The total number of *sūtras* on which Kātyāyana offers his *vārttikas* is 1,245.[10] Kielhorn gives the total number of *vārttikas* as 4,293. Is this a correct number? Why did Kātyāyana not offer *vārttikas* on other *sūtras*? These are not easy questions to answer. First of all, *vārttikas* are available as part of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Kielhorn effectively shows how they can be recognised by treating an immediately following paraphrase of Patañjali as a clue. However, not all *vārttikas* recognized by this method are accepted by commentators. Answering the second question is more difficult. Perhaps Kātyāyana did not find it necessary to add *vārttikas* to other rules or perhaps *vārttikas* on rules not treated by Patañjali have been lost as the *Mahābhāṣya* is their only extant source. That Kātyāyana wrote *vārttikas* for only one-third of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini is difficult to believe. It is my thinking that Kātyāyana also formulated *vārttikas* on other rules but Patañjali did not make use of them. The reason for this thinking is the fact that a *bhāṣya* treats *vārttika* as a *pratīka* in a well structured argument known as *vyākhyāna*. The selection and treatment of a *vārttika* depends entirely on how it fits in the structure of *vyākhyāna*. The very fact that Patañjali paraphrases a *vārttika* in the same way that a *vṛtti* paraphrases a *sūtra* is thus not a chance.

[9] Mīmāṃsaka (1973:292ff).
[10] Sarma (1968:54).

The purpose of a *vārttika* can only be established with reference to the structure of the *Mahābhāṣya* and corresponding discussion. Joshi (1969 : iii-iv) characterizes the discussion of the *Mahābhāṣya* as a 'sustained argument and identifies its pattern as consisting of 'question (objection)-answer'. Since an objection has to be refuted or affirmed based on its examination in light of examples and counter-examples, an objection may have counter-objections which again may be refuted or reaffirmed. A *vārttika* forms part of this complex argument structure by serving as a *pratīka*. A *vārttika* can also ask questions, raise objections, refute or reaffirm them, though only as a player in the game plan totally at the mercy of the planner of the game. The purpose of a *bhāṣya* is to make a *sūtra* fully understood and the purpose of a *vārttika* is to complement a *sūtra*.

People still have the impression that Kātyāyana formulated his *vārttikas* to find fault with the *sūtras* of Pāṇini. However, since this is not true of all the *vārttikas*, and especially not of those which were rejected by Patañjali, this view should be abandoned. By focusing more on the *vārttikas* which Patañjali accepted and which seek certain modification in a *sūtra* or its scope, people consider Kātyāyana an antagonist of Pāṇini. They also think that Patañjali was the champion defender of Pāṇini against Kātyāyana. Kielhorn (1963:52) is correct in observing that "Pāṇini has suffered more at his [Patañjali's] hands than at those of the *vārttikakāras*". Patañjali (*Mbh.* I:128) claims that not even a single letter of a rule is meaningless. Yet we see many of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini declared meaningless by Patañjali.[11] Can we say that Patañjali is trying to find fault with the *sūtras* of Pāṇini? The answer has to be no. I think that it was a common practice to explain *sūtras* by raising doubts about aspects of their formulation and application. One can even call it putting a *sūtra* to test. This testing is indeed thorough and the *Mahābhāṣya*, aided by *vārttikas*, does it commendably, though its ultimate goal is exposition. It has also been suggested that the Sanskrit language had changed by the time of Kātyāyana. To account for this change, Kātyāyana formulated *vārttikas*.[12] While linguistic changes from Pāṇini's time to Kātyāyana's may not be totally ruled out, understanding the primary purpose of the *vārttikas* as an attempt to accommodate them is unreasonable. I am not denying, however, that there are some *vārttikas* which can be viewed as proposing accommodation for usage subsequent to, or even contemporaneous with Pāṇini's Sanskrit.

I shall now try to explain the operation of *vārttikas* by using some specific examples. Given the string *sudhī* + *bhis upāsya* + *sU* (*SK.* I:55) where *bhis* and *sU* are instrumental plural and nominative singular endings respectively, 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam* can allow the formation of the compound *sudhyupāsyaḥ* 'to be revered by the wise'. The endings will be

[11] See, for example the *Mbh.* discussion of *sūtras* 1.4.25-31 (II:392-99).

[12] Sarma (1968:55-75).

deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātu prātipadikayoḥ*. However, Pāṇini, by rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*, states that operations conditioned by an affix obtain even when the affix has been deleted. Given this, *sudhī*, whose affix *bhis* has been deleted, can still be treated as a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*). After 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies to yield *sudh*(*ī* → *y*) + *upāsya*, rule 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* becomes applicable. This rule requires the deletion of the last consonant of a conjunct occurring at the end of a *pada*. Thus, it would yield: *sudh* (*y* → Ø) + *upāsya* = **sudhupāsya*, a wrong form. It is true that after a replacement in *yN̲* by 6.1.77, the deletion of a final consonant of a conjunct at the end of a *pada* is not carried out. Pāṇini does not do this in his own *sūtras* either (cf. 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup;* 2.4.44 *ātmanepadeṣv anyatarasyām*). Obviously, the scope of 8.2.23 is much too wide. Kātyāyana (*Mbh.* V:387) suggests by his *vārttika, saṃyogāntasya lope yaṇaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ*, that deletion of an *yN̲* replacement at the end of a *pada* should be prohibited. As a result, wrong forms such as **sudhupāsya* cannot result. Pāṇini's failure to include this prohibition has been treated by many as his carelessness.[13] Kātyāyana's formulation of this *vārttika* then, can be treated as discussing something which has not been said, or has been stated but poorly; the *vārttika* thus complements the *sūtra*.

Now consider the order of constituents in a *dvandva* (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*) compound. Pāṇini states that a constituent having fewer vowels should be placed first (2.2.34 *alpāc taram*). However, some usages do not conform to this general ruling. Kātyāyana issues a series of clarifying *vārttikas* (*Mbh.* II:747-8). For example, he states that names of seasons and constellations which contain equal number of vowels should follow the order in which they occur (*ṛtunakṣatrāṇāṃ ānupūrvyeṇa samānākṣarāṇāṃ pūrvanipātaḥ*). Thus we get examples *citrāsvātī* 'the constellations *Citrā* and *Svāti*' and *śiśiravasantau* 'winter and spring', etc. Similarly, other usages are explained by additional *vārttikas*. Kātyāyana states that constituents with short (*laghu;* 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*) vowels or those denoting an elder brother or lower number should also be preplaced. This accounts for examples such as *śaraśādam* 'reed and weed', *yudhiṣṭhirārjunau* 'Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna' and *dvitrā* 'two or three'. Obviously these *vārttikas* account for forms which could not be accounted for by rule 2.2.34.

The assignment of *ātmanepada* 'middle' and *parasmaipada* 'active' endings is very tricky. Kātyāyana has offered many *vārttikas* which further sharpen the focus of the Pāṇinian rules. Consider 1.3.25 *upān mantrakaraṇe* which states that *sthā* used with the preverb *upa* takes *ātmanepada* when *mantra* is the *karaṇa* 'means *par excellence*' of the action. The word *mantra* refers to a hymn or chant. This could cover examples such as *aindryā gārhyapatyam upatiṣṭhate* 'he is worshipping the *gārhyapatya* fire by means of

[13] Iyengar (1983:55).

chanting the hymn to Indra.' Kātyāyana introduces the *vārttika*: *upād devapūjā-saṅgatikaraṇa-mitrakaraṇa-pathiṣv-iti*. This extends the coverage of the rules to include examples where praising gods, making friends and road-destination are being expressed. Thus, we get the following examples:

(*a*) *ādityam upatiṣṭhate*
'he is praising the Sun'
(*b*) *devadatto yajñadattam upatiṣṭhate*
'Devadatta is making friends with Yajñadatta'
(*c*) *ayaṃ panthā pāṭaliputram upatiṣṭhate*
'this road leads to Pāṭaliputra'.

Besides such numerous examples where Kātyāyana complements, commendably, the Pāṇinian rules, there are occasions when he offers *vārttikas* which are overruled by Patañjali. This suggests the following inference: the rejected as well as accepted *vārttikas* were offered not as independent statements questioning the formulation of the *sūtras* in question, but as statements serving as cues or symbols (*pratīka*) in light of which a *sūtra* may be examined. This makes a *vārttika* one unit of thought in the complex structure of a *bhāṣya* discussion. It is for this reason that a *vārttika* is also referred to as *bhāṣyasūtra*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali is regarded as the second most important grammatical text after the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. As has been stated, its aim is the presentation of *vyākhyāna* 'exposition' of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini. It is claimed (Sarma 1968:53) that Patañjali commented upon 1,701 *sūtras* in addition to *atha śabdānuśāsanam* and eight *Śivasūtras*. He classified the *Mahābhāṣya* into 85 *āhnikas* 'day-sessions' with the first being generally known as *Paspaśāhnika* (*Paspaśā*) 'introductory day-session'. The order of selected *sūtras* follows the Pāṇinian order. A *bhāṣya* discussion is rendered as a dialogue or structured argument where a *vārttika* or a statement from Patañjali serves as *pratīka*. After a paraphrase of a *vārttika* is presented, the discussion illustrates and evaluates it by means of arguments supported by examples and counter-examples. The tradition recognizes three participants in the discussion: the student (*śiṣya*), teacher's aide (*ācāryadeśīya*) and teacher (*ācārya*). The tradition also makes references to a participant who knows only part of the truth (*ekadeśin*) and another who offers the final view (*siddhāntin*). It is to be remembered here that identifying the statements of these participants is often difficult.

The *bhāṣya* discussions seem to be structured around two basic issues: what is given as established and whether or not that can be accepted. Thus, *sūtra*, *vārttika* or statement from Patañjali can be treated as given. Whether that can be accepted as established depends on the nature of doubts raised against it. If a doubt is satisfactorily resolved, the statement is accepted. If not, modifications are proposed, discussed and accepted. Patañjali begins

the *Mahābhāṣya* by taking *atha śabdānuśāsanam* 'here commences the instruction of words' as a *pratīka*. Questions are then raised about the meaning of the word *śabda,* its nature (*svarūpa*) and the purpose (*prayojana*) of grammar (*śabdānuśāsana*). The discussion then moves to the nature of grammar. At a time when the discussion is progressing towards the meaning of a word as the subject-matter of grammar, Patañjali offers another *pratīka,* this time as a *vārttika* (*Mbh.* I:27):

> *siddhe śabdārthasambandhe*
> 'given that word (*śabda*), meaning (*artha*) and their inter-relationship (*sambandha*) is eternal (*nitya*) ...'

The discussion now centers on *nitya,* its sense (*nityatva*) and the types of eternality. The question of considering a word as *ākṛti* 'form class,' which offered the occasion for introducing this *vārttika* is taken up again. This discussion, too, proceeds with example and counter-example; one can find this pattern of argument throughout the *Mahābhāṣya.*

Patañjali should be commended for presenting the basic theoretical issues related to the grammar of Pāṇini in the *Paspaśā.* (For his views on grammar in detail see chapter 3.) I shall here present a summary of some issues raised. Patañjali first discussed word *(śabda)* as the subject-matter of grammar. This refers to the words both of Vedic and classical Sanskrit. An example of word in classical Sanskrit is offered: *gauḥ* 'cow, bull'. A question is raised whether what is perceived as having dew-lap (*sāsnā*), tail (*lāṅgūla*), hump (*kakuda*), hooves (*khura*) and horns (*viṣāṇa*) is the word *gauḥ.* The answer is no, since that is *dravya* 'thing'.[14] Does motioning (*iṅgita*), moving (*ceṣṭita*) or blinking eyes (*nimiṣita*), since they express meaning, constitute word? The answer again is no since those are actions (*kriyā*).[15] What about white (*śukla*), blue (*nīla*), brown (*kapila*), or brindled (*kapota*)? These are not words either as they are qualities (*guṇa*).[16] Can word be that which is a common property therein things and is not destroyed when they are destroyed? No, that is *ākṛti* 'class, universal'.[17] What then is word? Word is that, by which when uttered one perceives things having dew-lap, tail, hump, hooves and horns; that is, the thing cow,[18] or, word is sound (*dhvani*) by means of which meaning is comprehended.[19] Now, what about word being *ākṛti* (*jāti*) 'universal' or *dravya* 'thing': it could be both.

[14](*Mbh.* I:5) *atha gaur ity atra kaḥ śabdaḥ? kim yat tat sāsnā-lāṅgūla-kakuda-khura-viṣāṇy artharūpam sa śabdaḥ. nety āha; dravyam nāma tat.*

[15](Ibid. I:6) *yat tarhi tad iṅgitaṃ ceṣṭitaṃ nimiṣitaṃ sa śabdaḥ. nety āha; kriyā nāma sā.*

[16](Ibid.) *yat tarhi tac chulko nīlaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ kapilaḥ iti sa śabdaḥ nety āha; guṇo nāma saḥ.*

[17](Ibid.) *yat tarhi tadbhinneṣv abhinnaṃ chinneṣv acchinnaṃ sāmānyabhūtaṃ sa śabdaḥ nety āha; ākṛtir nāma sā.*

[18](Ibid. I:7) *kas tarhi śabdaḥ? yenoccāritena sāsnā-lāṅgūla-kakuda-khura-viṣāṇināṃ sampratyayo bhavati sa śabdah.*

[19](Ibid.) *athavā pratītapadārthako loke dhvaniḥ śabdaḥ ity ucyate . . . tasmād dhvaniḥ śabdaḥ.*

It is in this context that the *vārttika siddhe śabdārthasambandhe* is introduced and the discussion turns to the word *nitya* 'eternal'. Patañjali states that the word *nitya* of the *vārttika* is synonymous with *siddha*. He illustrates this synonymity by these examples: *siddhā dyauḥ* 'heaven is eternal'; *siddhā pṛthivī* 'the earth is eternal' and *siddham ākāśam* 'the ether is eternal'. Answering the question of how one knows what is eternal, he says:[20] that which is *kūṭastha* 'fixed' and doesn't move from one state to another (*avicāli*) is *nitya*. Commentators call it *kūṭasthanityatā*. However, *siddha* may also denote things accomplished by means of an action. Consider these sentences: *siddhaḥ odanaḥ* 'the rice is cooked'; *siddhaḥ sūpaḥ* 'the broth is cooked' and *siddhā yavāgūḥ* 'the gruel is cooked'. So long as the word *siddha* is available in usage denoting something brought about by means of an action, it could not be treated as synonymous with *nitya* alone. Patañjali refuses to accept *nitya* as referring to *sādhya* 'to be accomplished by means of an action'.[21]

The discussion now focuses on a paraphrase of the *vārttika* accomplished by taking word (*śabda*) as referring to *ākṛti* 'form, class' or *dravya* 'thing', on the one hand, and the question of eternality (*nityatva*) on the other. The question of the difference between *ākṛti* 'form' and *jāti* 'class, universal' is also implied. The eternality of *jāti* can be understood but that of *dravya* is hard to comprehend. Patañjali starts by saying that *dravya* is *nitya* but *ākṛti* is not. He illustrates this by the example of gold (*suvarṇa*) which remains the same though its form changes from one ornament to another.[22] He then takes the position that *nitya* refers to a thing which remains fixed (*dhruva, kūṭastha*), is not modified, nor moves from one state to another; it sustains no loss or gain and retains its basic element (*tattva*) even when it is destroyed.[23] This retention can be compared with the notion of *pravāhanityatva* 'eternality in a continuum'[24] which is used in the context of speech which is passed from one generation to another. A word is spoken, and when spoken, brings about the understanding of meaning. The spoken word is thus the manifestation of the eternal characterized as *kūṭastha*. This is passed from generation to generation, still eternal, though in a continuum.

[20] (Ibid.:28) *nityaparyāyavācī siddhaśabdaḥ. katham jñāyate? yat kūṭastheṣv avicāliṣu bhāveṣu vartate. tad yathā-siddhā dyauḥ, siddhā pṛthivī, siddham ākāśam iti.*

[21] (Ibid.:28) *yāvatā kāryeṣv api vartate. tad yathā-siddhaḥ odanaḥ, siddhaḥ sūpaḥ, siddhā yāvāgūr iti. yāvatā kāryeṣv api vartate tatra kuta etan nityaparyāyavācino grahaṇaṃ na punaḥ kārye yaḥ siddhaśabda iti...siddha eva na sādhya iti.*

[22] (Ibid.:31) *...tathā suvarṇaṃ kayācid ākṛtyā yuktaṃ piṇḍaṃ bhavati...punarāvṛttaḥ suvarṇapiṇḍaḥ punar aparayākṛtyā yuktaḥ khadirāṅgārasavarṇe kuṇḍale bhavataḥ. ākṛtir anyā cānyā bhavati, dravyaṃ punas tad eva.*

[23] (Ibid.:31) *athavā nedam eva lakṣaṇaṃ-dhruvaṃ kūṭasthaṃ avicālyanapāyopajanavikāryanutpattyavṛddhyavyayayogi yat tan nityam iti. tad api nityaṃ yasmiṃs tatvaṃ na vihanyate.*

[24] See Cardona (1976:256).

It is clear from above that Patañjali does not accept word merely as *jāti, ākṛti, kriyā* or *guṇa*. For him, a word is that which, when uttered, brings about comprehension of meaning (*artha*). The word is thus *dhvani* but only for ordinary people. For grammarians, the real word is *sphoṭa* 'that by means of which meaning is made manifest'.[25] It is received by ears, perceived by *buddhi* 'mind, thought process' and reflected in sound (*dhvani*). This reflection in sound is not the reflection of meaning. Instead, it is the reflection of word. Meaning does not leave word (*Mbh.* I:510). Meaning is comprehended by word itself. The word is eternal and resides within us.

Patañjali quotes a hymn[26] (*RV.* 4.58.3) which characterizes word as a bull with four horns, three feet, two heads and seven hands. The bull has been tied in three places and is roaring. This bull is the great god who has made his abode within us mortals. In order to be one with this god one must study grammar.[27] It is stated that the four horns are *nāman* 'nominals', *ākhyāta* 'verbs', *upasarga* 'preverbs' and *nipāta* 'particles'. The two heads are the eternal word and the word in the form of sound. The seven hands are the seven triads of nominal endings (*vibhakti*). The bull is tied at the chest, throat and head. This idea of the great bull was further elevated to the status of *brahman* 'supreme being' characterized as the eternal word. This and the doctrine of *sphoṭa* have been discussed in detail in the *VP* of Bhartṛhari.

The basic purpose of a grammar, says Patañjali (*Mbh.* I:25) is to account for the words of a language, not by enumerating each one of them, but by writing a set of general (*sāmānya*) rules with related exceptions (*viśeṣa*). These rules must be based on generalizations abstracted from usage for which the language of the *śiṣṭas* 'learned' is the norm. Use of correct words brings merit (*puṇya*), though Patañjali seems to be making an additional proposal. That is, as word-by-word enumeration is not a good means (*upāya*) of understanding words, understanding them by means of incorrect words is equally futile. The mass of incorrect words is overwhelming and making generalizations based upon them is impossible. Hence, Patañjali recommends that for economy (*lāghava*)[28] one must study words by focusing on correct usage (see chapter 3 for details).

Patañjali, as explained above, closely associates word and meaning. In doing so, he was led to address the question of whether individual sounds

[25] (Ibid.) *...sphoṭaḥ śabdaḥ, dhvaniḥ śabdaguṇaḥ...*

[26] (Ibid.) *catvāri śṛṅgā trayo asya pādā dve śīrṣe sapta hastāso asya tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti maho devo martyāṃ ā viveśa.*

[27] (Ibid.: 17) *catvāri śṛṅgāṇi catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyātopasarganipātāś ca. trayo asya pādās trayaḥ kālāḥ bhūta-bhaviṣyad-varttamānāḥ. dve śīrṣe dvau śabdātmānau nityaḥ kāryaś ca. sapta hastāso asya sapta vibhaktayaḥ...mahān devaḥ śabdaḥ...mahatā devena naḥ sāmyaṃ yathā syād ity adhyeyam vyākaranam.*

[28] (Ibid.:24) *laghutvāc chabdopadeśaḥ. laghīyāñ śabdopadeśo garīyān apaśabdopadeśaḥ.*

carry any meaning. The discussion (*Mbh.* I:101-6) starts with the *vārttika*:

arthavanto varṇadhātuprātipadikapratyayanipātānām ekavarṇānām artha-darśanāt.

This *vārttika* argues that since a *dhātu* 'root', *prātipadika* 'nominal stem', *pratyaya* 'affix' or *nipāta* 'particle' consisting of a single sound segment is seen to carry a meaning, a single sound segment carries meaning. Further support to this argument is brought by a second *vārttika*:

varṇavyatyaye cārthāntaragamanāt.

A single sound segment is meaningful because changing a sound segment brings about change in meaning. Thus, consider *kūpaḥ* 'water-well', *sūpaḥ* 'soup' and *yūpaḥ* 'ritual post' where changing *k*, *s* and *y* results in change of meaning. This *vārttika* seems to be arguing that the meanings of these individual words are carried by *k*, *s* and *y* respectively. Now consider the third *vārttika*:

varṇānupalabdhau cānarthagate.

The argument that a single sound segment carries meaning can also be supported by the fact that removing a sound segment renders a sequence meaningless as far as the original meaning is concerned. Thus, removing *v* from *vṛkṣa* would remove the meaning 'tree'. Further support is forwarded by the following *vārttika*:

saṃghātārthavatvāc ca.

A single sound segment carries meaning since it is part of a conglomeration which is meaningful. Thus, a conglomeration is meaningful because its parts are also meaningful. Or, a conglomeration is meaningless because its parts are also meaningless. A single sesame contains oil; hence, its conglomeration contains oil; but, just as a single blind person is not capable of seeing anything, so neither is a conglomeration of blind people. This shows that those parts whose conglomerations are meaningful are also meaningful.

Arguments next are advanced in favour of a conglomeration alone being meaningful. The *vārttikas* again summarize the arguments against the necessary background provided by the *Mahābhāṣya*. If one accepts that a single sound segment carries meaning, then operations applicable to meaningful items would obtain on individual sounds. An example in point is the introduction of *sU*, etc., and in consequence, the assignment of the term *pada* and the deletion of the final *-n*. At this point, a *vārttika* is introduced which asserts that since a single meaning can only be expressed by a conglomeration, *sU*, etc., cannot be introduced after individual sound segments:

saṃghātasyaikārthyāt sub abhāvo varṇāt.

This apparently was in response to the view that single sound segments carried meaning. The *vārttika* tries to remove the doubt that *sU*, etc., could thus be applied to individual sounds. Now consider the following *vārttika*:

anarthakās tu prativarṇam arthānupalabdheḥ.

Single sound segments are indeed meaningless since meaning does not obtain in each and every sound segment. Furthermore:

varṇavyatyayāpāyopajanavikāreṣv adarśanāt.

Here, original meaning is not seen to be impaired even when sound segments are transposed, deleted, added or replaced. Thus, *hiṃs* undergoes transposition in deriving *siṃha* 'lion' but there is no transposition of meaning. There is a deletion of *n* of *han* in deriving *hata* 'killed' but there is no deletion of meaning. In deriving *lavitum* 'for the purpose of cutting,' the *iT* has been added without any addition in meaning. Finally, the *h* of *han* is replaced by *gh* in deriving *ghātakaḥ* 'killer' but its original meaning has not been replaced. If individual segments were carrying any meaning, then their transposition, deletion, addition or replacement should also have resulted in the transposition, deletion, addition or replacement of meanings. This shows that individual segments do not carry any meaning.

The *bhāṣya* now, after presenting both positions, asks what view should be treated as correct. The answer, as shown in the real world, is both. Among students putting in equal effort and studying, some are successful, others not. By analogy, just because single sound segment is meaningful, everyone does not become meaningful. The rest do not carry any meaning. However, this may create difficulty with *kūpaḥ, sūpaḥ* and *yūpaḥ* in connection with which it was argued that the distinction in meanings of these three words was based on *k, s* and *y*. This would mean that their individual meanings are tied to individual sound segments which, in turn, become meaningful. This difficulty is removed by understanding these three words as three different conglomerates. Simply switching *k, s,* and *y* does not change the meaning of their respective conglomerates. If that was the case, since *ūpaḥ* is common to them all, quite a large segment of meaning of, for example, *kūpaḥ* should remain in *sūpaḥ* and *yūpaḥ* and vice versa. Since this is not the case, we understand these three words as separate conglomerations with separate meanings. A problem remains, however. The *bhāṣya* accepted that the meaning of *kūpaḥ* is the meaning of its *k*, and so on. This renders *ūpa* vacuous. The *bhāṣya* resolves this difficulty while discussing rule 1.2.45 *arthavad*. . . . There it states that sometimes one may find that a conglomeration gives a meaning which may not be available to its individual parts. Similarly, in regards to a chariot (*ratha*) or liquor (*surā*), the component parts of a *ratha*, for example, do not

possess movement (*gati*) but only the conglomeration does so, while the various elements which are brought into making liquor are individually not intoxicating but their conglomeration is so. Thus it is not always the case that if the conglomeration is meaningful that the parts which compose it are also meaningful. In short, meaningfulness should be decided based upon *anvaya* 'concurrent presence' and *vyatireka* 'concurrent absence'. This extended discussion in the Indian grammatical tradition clearly shows both how the grammarians were concerned with theoretical issues which still interest contemporary linguists, as well as how they were fond of drawing analogies between the world of grammar and the outside world.

Since a grammarian believes in the authority of words as attested by usage (*loka*), the real world has prominence in the discussions of the *Mahābhāṣya*. It is not just a coincidence that Patañjali constantly brings the realities of the ouside world to bear upon the discussions of the inside world of grammar. There are numerous maxims (*nyāyas*) which Patañjali mentions in support of grammatical discussions. These maxims, aside from explaining a particular point of view, make the discussions livelier. Some of them are discussed below.

Consider the maxims: *takrakauṇḍinya, dhānyapalāla* and *devadattahantṛhanan (odyat)a* (*Mbh.* I:436). They concern general rules (*utsarga*), exceptions (*apavāda*) and their negation (*pratiṣedha*). With the understanding that an exception carves out the domain of application from within the domain of a general rule, let us investigate the meaning of these maxims. The maxim *takrakauṇḍinya* is referenced in the *Mahābhāṣya* (I:352) by *dadhi brāhmaṇebhyo dīyatām, takraṃ kauṇḍinyāya* 'let yoghurt be given to the *brāhmaṇas*; buttermilk to Kauṇḍinya'. Now, Kauṇḍinya, to whom buttermilk is supposed to be given, is also a *brāhmaṇa*. He, by being a *brāhmaṇa*, is entitled to the gift of yoghurt (*dadhi*). However, by being Kauṇḍinya, he is entitled only to the gift of buttermilk (*takra*). A conflict may arise here since he meets the condition of both gifts. Moreover, there is no indication whether Kauṇḍinya should be blocked from receiving *dadhi* forever. Can he be given yoghurt after he has been given buttermilk? Here, the general (*dadhidāna*) and specific (*takradāna*) are both concurrently present just as we see the grain (*dhānya*) in the husk (*palāla*).[29] There is a concurrent presence of the specific contained within the general (*dhānyapalālanyāya*). However, the general and the specific cannot be applied concurrently and since a specific provision in relation to a general would become meaningless unless it is used, the buttermilk supercedes the yoghurt, the grain wins over the husk. More clearly, in grammar, an exception blocks the general rule.

This blocking of a general by a related exception has been likened to the killing (*hanana*) of a general rule. Now, let us see what happens when an

[29] For a detailed discussion see *Mbh.* I:57-58; also p. 259.

exception is negated (*pratiṣidhyate*); that is, when the killer of a general rule is killed. This is the subject of *devadattahantṛhanan* (*odyat*) *anyāya*. The question is, can Devadatta, a general rule killed by an exception, become alive when his killer, the exception, is killed by negation (*pratiṣedha*). Remember that a general rule has right of application to the entire domain in which an exception carves out its subdomain. When this latter is negated, can the general, once blocked by the exception, be applied? Well, first of all, how could Devadatta become alive when he has been killed by the killer — this is against the reality of the outside world. The only way Devadatta could be alive is when someone, who is about to kill him, is killed by someone else. Devadatta does not become alive either once he is killed or when he is saved from being killed by someone; he is still inactive. This maxim does not hold good for the world of grammar. For, in the world of grammar, a general rule blocked by an exception finds its scope only when a negation has applied to the exception and the general rule still finds scope. Note also that when a negation applies, and afterwards, when the general rule finds its scope, it is as though the general rule has become alive after having been killed by the negation. I have omitted ramifications of these three maxims, especially in the manner in which they are interpreted with reference to particular examples, as my purpose here is only to show how Patañjali manipulates parallels from the outside world to support or reject certain proposals. I hope this also shows how these maxims add colour to the discussion on hand.

Many examples cited in the *Mahābhāṣya* also add colour to the discussions, even though indirectly, since their basic purpose is to illustrate the issue on hand. Consider for example: *abrāhmaṇo' yaṃ yas tiṣṭhan mūtrayati* (*Mbh.* II:674) 'he is a non-*brāhmaṇa* as he is urinating while standing', *khaṇḍikopādhyāyaḥ śiṣyāya capeṭāṃ dadāti* (*Mbh.* I:137) 'the teacher is slapping the student', *chatropānahapriyaḥ* (*Mbh.* II:614) 'a student to whom shoes and umbrella are dear', and *vaiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ* (*Mbh.* II:614) 'a grammarian who, when asked a question, points towards the sky'.

Consider one additional, though slightly different, example: *udahāri bhagini yā tvaṃ kumbhaṃ harasi śirasā anaḍvāhaṃ sācīnam abhidhāvantam adrākṣīḥ* (*Mbh.* I:454) 'O, you sister, carrying water in a pitcher on your head, did you see a bull running about here and there'. This is an example of a complex sentence where the relationships among the constituents is easier to comprehend than in: *anaḍvāham udahāri yā tvaṃ harasi śirasā kumbhaṃ bhagini sācīnam abhidhāvantam adrākṣīḥ*. Note that the language is simple, yet changing the word order creates complexity. Patañjali is gifted when it comes to writing simple sentences with lyrical flow. He uses the best of simple idiomatic Sanskrit, though his sentences are able to deliver the maximum of meaning. Patañjali's power of observation is unlimited, his style very lucid, yet his presentation remains economical and precise.

There are two major commentaries on the *Mahābhāṣya*: the *Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpa* (*Pradīpa*) of Kaiyaṭa (AD 11) and the *Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpodyotana* (*Udyota*) of Nāgeśa. The former is regarded as the single most important commentary in the tradition. Without the *Pradīpa,* so goes the claim, the *Mahābhāṣya* could never be fully understood. The latter commentary, *Udyota,* though apparently a commentary on Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa,* is in many ways a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya* itself.

Bhartṛhari (*VP.* II:482) is correct in claiming that the seeds of all basic principles are embodied in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*sarveṣāṃ nyāyabījānāṃ mahābhāṣye nibandhane*). These principles not only relate to Sanskrit grammar and linguistics but also to logic, philosophy and life. His discussions also reflect methodological precision. Kielhorn (Staal: 1972) has discussed, with illustration, some of the techniques the *Mahābhāṣya* manipulates in dealing with the *sūtras*. Thus, *yogavibhāga* 'splitting a rule into two or more', *anabhidhāna* 'non-denotation', *anuktasamuccaya* 'gathering something not stated,' *jñāpaka* 'clue derived based on Pāṇini's practice', etc., can be cited as prominent examples. Kielhorn (Staal, 1972: 127) claims that Kātyāyana and Patañjali together have resorted to *yogavibhāga* close to a hundred times. These interpretive techniques show the analytical acumen of Patañjali. Above all, they show the desire and capability on his part to accomplish the goal stated by a *sūtra*.

I have indicated that the relationship between a *sūtra* and its *vṛtti* is very similar to that between a *vārttika* and a *bhāṣya*. The purpose of a *vṛtti* is to faithfully paraphrase the *sūtra* such that it includes all the information relevant to the correct understanding of the *sūtra*. Since a paraphrase cannot be arrived at without properly analysing the constituents of a *sūtra* in terms of endings and compounds, *vṛtti* normally includes such information. Since *sūtras* rely a great deal on understood information, it is the task of the *vṛtti* to retrieve such information, either by indicating its domain (*adhikāra*) and recurrence (*anuvṛtti*) or by making explicit statements. Examples and counter-examples follow, though only as an effort to indicate the application of a *sūtra*. This is the minimum one can expect from a *vṛtti*. A *vṛtti* is committed to the *sūtra* and hence, is not supposed to offer any criticism. This latter is the domain of *bhāṣya*. Chronologically, a *vṛtti* precedes a *vārttika*. I have treated the discussion of the *Mahābhāṣya* first because the only extant full-length *vṛtti* available to us is fairly late.

Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (1972:435-37) claims, based upon internal evidence from the *Mahābhāṣya* and Kaiyaṭa, that there were at least four or five *vṛttis* written on the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* that predate Patañjali. From some *Mahābhāṣya* statements claiming that certain *sūtras* were explained by Pāṇini in different ways, Mīmāṃsaka concludes that Pāṇini must have composed his own *vṛtti*. Mīmāṃsaka brings further evidence to support this claim. I have already stated that given the *sūtra* style of rule

formulation, a *vṛtti* to follow is a must. Pāṇini may not have composed a *vṛtti* but he must have explained his *sūtras* by means of statements similar to *vṛtti*. The pre-Patañjalian authors of *vṛttis* include names such as Vyāḍi, Kuṇi and Māthura. Mīmāṃsaka discusses forty-six *vṛttis* in all, thirty-eight of them with the discussion of their authors.

The *Kāśikāvṛtti* (*Kāśikā*) is regarded as the third most important grammatical text after the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself and the *Mahābhāṣya*. Commentators explain its name either by interpreting it as *kāśiṣu bhāvā* 'brought about at Kāśī' (now Varanasi) or as *kāśayati prakāśayati sūtrārthān* 'that which illuminates the meaning of *sūtras*'. The authorship of this *vṛtti* also has been debated. A majority of scholars consider it the work of Jayāditya and Vāmana (AD 7). There is also disagreement on who wrote what portions of this *vṛtti*. It is generally believed that the first five books were written by Jayāditya and the remaining three by Vāmana. However, there is much evidence, both external and internal, concerning the authorship which is conflicting; the dual authorship of the *Kāśikā*, though, is settled. These and other questions have been discussed in detail by Mahesh Dutt Sharma (1974) and Vedālaṅkāra (1977). Some of the following observations also come from these studies.

The opening stanzas describe the features of *Kāśikā* as being a summary of principal views scattered over *vṛttis*, *bhāṣya*, *dhātupārāyaṇa* 'listing of roots', and *nāmapārāyaṇa* 'listing of stems in groups', etc. Furthermore, it includes *iṣṭi* 'desiderata', *upasaṃkhyāna* 'addenda', *śuddhagaṇa* 'correct listing of *gaṇas*', unfolding of hidden meanings of *sūtras* (*vivṛtaghūḍhasūtrārtha*) and the derivation of forms (*rūpasiddhi*) constituting examples. We know from *Kāśikā* itself that it includes the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana and the *iṣṭis* of the *Mahābhāṣya*. In addition, *Kāśikā* has its own *iṣṭis* and *vārttikas*. Its examples and counter-examples often remind one of the style of the *bhāṣya* where they are presented in view of arguments and counter-arguments. All this does not fit very well within the framework of *vṛtti* in the technical sense of the term. A *vṛtti* does not normally include *iṣṭis* and *upasaṃkhyāna*. Nor does it include *gaṇas*, let alone their corrected forms. *Kāśikā*, in view of its features, looks more like a condensed *bhāṣya*. Since *Kāśikā* is a fairly late text and clearly summarizes the principal views of diverse sources, because of the availability of materials and a desire to accommodate all of them, its content goes far beyond the expected content of a *vṛtti*. However, it still is a *vṛtti* since it accepts a *sūtra* as the *pratīka* for its discussion.

Kāśikā has often been charged with presenting *sūtras* with variant readings. It discusses 3,981 *sūtras* which also include *atha śabdānuśāsanam* and fourteen *Ss*. There are four major sources for variant readings: rule splitting (*yogavibhāga*), elevation of a *vārttika* to the level of a *sūtra*, inclusion of all or part of a *vārttika* in a *sūtra* and addition or deletion of certain items

from a *sūtra*. Vedālaṅkāra (1977:350-1) lists fifteen *sūtras* where *yogavibhāga* is discussed by *Mahābhāṣya*; *Kāśikā* accepts nine *sūtras* and lists them as eighteen. Vedālaṅkāra argues that since *Kāśikā* did not accept other proposals of *yogavibhāga* and only accepted what *SP* was available from the tradition, the authors of *Kāśikā* did not introduce *yogavibhāga* by themselves. This is not acceptable. *Kāśikā* was well aware of the *Mahābhāṣya*, which means the authors of *Kāśikā* had the *Mahābhāṣya* available to them from the tradition. If they accepted only what was available from the tradition there is no reason why they should not have accepted the other instances of *yogavibhāga*. The logic that the edition of the *Mahābhāṣya* which the authors of *Kāśikā* may have had access to did not have *yogavibhāga*, and hence *Kāśikā* did not accept it, is hardly convincing. For, there are instances in *Kāśikā* where *yogavibhāga* ascribed to *kecit* 'someone' is referred to but obviously not accepted. This means that the authors of *Kāśikā* must have applied their own judgment as to whether or not to accept a particular *yogavibhāga*. Besides, listing a *sūtra* as split, at least for authors such as these, would amount to saying that they did the splitting.

There are ten instances where a *vārttika* has been listed by *Kāśikā* as a *sūtra* and sixteen instances where *Kāśikā* includes part of a *vārttika* in a *sūtra*. The variations caused by addition or deletion are numerous. The instances of *vārttikas* being listed as separate *sūtras* could clearly be labelled violations if it could be shown that deleting them would cause serious gaps in the functioning of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; gaps which could not be filled by accepting them only as *vārttikas*. I am not convinced that such gaps would result. The addition of a *vārttika* as part of a *sūtra* could still be treated as a violation, for a statement of the *vṛttikāra* could easily account for it. However, in some cases, *Kāśikā* has included *vārttikas* in *sūtras* for economy. A case, on this same ground, can also be made for instance where *Kāśikā* collapses *vārttikas* into one.

The same economy can be seen as the reason for adding elements to a *sūtra*. Consider as an example rule 3.1.126 *āsuyuvapirapilapi*. . . where an additional root *lapi* has been added. Patañjali does not discuss this rule. Haradatta's *PM* on 3.1.126 makes no comment. Jinendra's *Nyāsa* seems to be accepting the inclusion of *lapi*. The *SK* and *Tattvabodhinī* do not accept it. This rule introduces affix *ṆyaT* to derive forms such as *lāpyam*. Now, if this root is not included in this rule forms such as *lāpyam* would emerge by the introduction of *yaT*. The *ṆyaT* derivate *lāpyam* could never be derived. The addition of *lapi* to the rule is found in the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa* (cf. 1.1.133 *āsuyu*. . . *lapi*. . .). Some treat it as an influence of *Cāndra* on *Kāśikā*, although this inclusion is perfectly in accord with *Kāśikā*'s stated goal of bringing information from elsewhere. *Kāśikā* simply wants to account for forms like *lāpyam*. Without the inclusion of the root *lapi* in the *sūtra*, this is not possible. This inclusion could be looked upon as useless if *lāpyam* did not exist in usage.

However, since it does exist, *Kāśikā* accounts for it. Why did not *Kāśikā* not account for it by employing some other means? Other means, such as writing a *vārttika* or *iṣṭi* would have been uneconomical. Besides, the structure of the rule is such that *lāpyam* can be accounted far easily by inserting *lapi* into the *sūtra.*

There are several *sūtras* in the *Kāśikā* where its description is influenced by *Cāndra* and *Kātantra.* Most of these influences have been recorded by *Kāśikā* in the form of modifying a *sūtra* or rendering a statement in the form of a *vārttika* or *iṣṭi.* An example of addition has already been discussed. Now consider the following rules.

2.2.3 *dvitīyatṛtīyacaturthaturyāṇy anyatarasyām*
Kāśikā: turīyaśabdasyāpīṣyate
'the compound formation of *turīya* is also desired'.
3.2.86 *karmaṇi hanaḥ*
Kāśikā: kutsitagrahaṇaṃ kartavyam
'*kutsita* 'censured' should also be included'
4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanād asaṃyogopadhāt*
Kāśikā: aṅgagātrakaṇṭhebhya iti vaktavyam
'after *aṅga* 'limb,' *gātra* 'body' and *kaṇṭha* 'throat', etc. (affix *ṄīṢ*) should be stated'

The sentences cited above under each *sūtra* are *Kāśikā*'s own *vārttikas,* although the first looks more like an *iṣṭi.* Rule 2.2.3 provides for the formation of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the first constituent containing *dvitīya* 'second,' *tṛtīya* 'third,' *caturtha* or *turya* 'fourth'. *Kāśikā* with its *vārttika* requires that *turīya* 'fourth' should also be desired to be mentioned. This is necessary to account for forms such as *turīyabhikṣā* or *bhikṣāturīyam* 'fourth portion of alms'. *Cāndra* and *Kātantra* both have *sūtras* accounting for these compounds though *Mahābhāṣya* and *SK* do not provide for them.

Rule 3.2.86 *karmaṇi hanaḥ* introduces affix *ṆinI* after verbal root *han* 'to kill' when, among other things, *a pada* denoting *karman* co-occurs. Thus, we get examples like *mātulaghātī* 'he who killed his maternal uncle'. However, the way it stands, this rule cannot stop the derivation of forms such as *cauraghātī* meaning *cauraṃ hatavān* 'he killed a thief'. It is to prevent such forms *Kāśikā* that recommends the *sūtra* to include *kutsā* 'censure' as a meaning condition. Both *Kātantra* and *Cāndra* include this. The *Mahābhāṣya,* of course, does not. Others in the tradition seem to be agreeing with *Kāśikā.*

Our third *sūtra,* 4.1.54 *svāṅga ...,* provides for optional introduction of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* after an *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamā nirdiṣṭa ...*) stem denoting *svāṅga* 'one's limb,' terminating in *a* and not containing any conjunct (*saṃyoga*) in its *upadhā* 'penultimate position'. Thus we get

examples *mṛduhastī/mṛduhastā* 'she whose hands are soft', *candramukhī/candramukhā* 'she whose face is like the moon', etc. *Kāśikā* advocates inclusion of stems such as *aṅga* 'limb', *gātra* 'body', and *kaṇṭha* 'throat', all of which have a conjunct in their *upadhā*. This inclusion will account for usages such as *mṛdvaṅgī/mṛdvaṅgā* 'she whose limbs are soft', *sugātrī/sugātrā* 'she whose body is beautiful' and *snigdhakaṇṭhī/snigdhakaṇṭhā* 'she whose voice is sweet'. Obviously, such an inclusion is not available in the *Mahābhāṣya*. The *SK* characterizes it as the proposal of the *vṛttikāra* 'author of *vṛtti*', most likely the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. Haradatta, in his *Padamañjarī* (*PM*), states that 'though *aṅga-gātra*, etc., are not stated in the *Mahābhāṣya*, the author of the *vṛtti* mentions them because of their frequency in usage' (*aṅga-gātra ityādi bhāṣye' nuktam apy etat prayogabāhulyād vṛttikāreṇoktam*).

The preceding shows that the authors of *Kāśikā* were keenly aware not only of other systems of grammar but also of what was or was not frequent in usage. They tried to account for usage and hence had to formulate their own *vārttikas* and modify the wordings of *sūtras*. Obviously these things are not what a *vṛttikāra* should do. However, if one sees it as an effort to cover usage, it was truly remarkable.

Kāśikā's examples have diverse sources. Most of them come from the *Mahābhāṣya* though a large segment comes from classic and contemporary sources. The *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kirātārjunīyam*, *Suśruta* and *Caraka* are important sources for classical usage. Some of these examples go directly against the *Mahābhāṣya* but the authors have included them to account for usage. For example, consider *yudhiṣṭhiraḥ śreṣṭhatamaḥ kurūṇām* 'Yudhiṣṭhira is the best among the Kurus'.[30] It uses *śreṣṭhatama* where affix *tamaP* is introduced after *śreṣṭha* 'excellent' to denote 'exceeding excellence'. Now, the word *śreṣṭha* is derived by introducing affix *iṣṭhaN*. Both these affixes are used to denote *atiśāyana* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau*) 'excessive excellence'. The word *śreṣṭhatamaḥ* has both these affixes. Such usage has not been attested by the *Mahābhāṣya* (IV:210) except for Vedic. *Kāśikā* takes its example from the *Mahābhārata* and indicates its possibility in the *vṛtti*. It is not hard to find many other instances of *śreṣṭhatama* in the literature and *Kāśikā*'s explanation is designed to account for such usage.

There are two commentaries on *Kāśikā*: the *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañcikā* or *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi (AD 9) and the *Padamañjarī* (*PM*) of Haradatta (AD 11). They both take elements of *Kāśikā* as *pratīka*. *Nyāsa*'s language is simple. Almost one-sixth of it is devoted to derivational details.[31] The *PM* uses a comparatively more complex style and language. It follows the *Mahābhāṣya* in details and sometimes enters into lengthy discussions

[30] Mahesh Dutt Sharma (1974:119).

[31] Bhimasena Shastri (1976:36).

which obscure the understanding of issues symbolized by the statement from *Kāśikā*.

Mention must also be made of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottamadeva (AD 12), which draws heavily from *Kāśikā*, and the *Bhāgavṛtti* of Vimilamati (AD 8). This last is not available. Puruṣottama, as the name of his *vṛtti* suggests, only includes rules dealing with *bhāṣā* 'classical Sanskrit'. Specifically, he has excluded rules which deal with accent. Although he arranges the *sūtras* in eight books of four quarters each, he further groups the *sūtras* into sections with headings indicating the nature of rules and operations. He also includes *vārttikas*. One would find section headings such as *vṛddhyādisaṃjñāprakaraṇam* 'section dealing with the terms *vṛddhi*, etc.', *ghvādisaṃjñāprakaraṇam* 'section dealing with the terms *ghu*, etc.', *vacanap-rakaraṇam* 'section dealing with number', *liṅgaprakaraṇam* 'section dealing with gender', *ādeśaprakaraṇam* 'section dealing with replacement', etc. Similarly, one can find statements indicating the end of the sections, but Puruṣottama is not consistent in this regard.

Puruṣottama has a real flavour for brevity, though he thus takes a lot for granted. He normally does not make explicit statements about *anuvṛtti* unless it is necessary. Often he presents the elements of *anuvṛtti* in the gloss of the *sūtra*. These glosses are worded in a manner that facilitates glossing individual items. Thus, a rule like 3.1.17 *śabdavairakalahābhra... karaṇe* can be glossed as: *ebhyaḥ kriyāyāṃ kyaṅ syāt* 'let there be *KyaṄ* after these when the sense is 'doing, making'. Note that the rule uses *karaṇa*, which is also a technical term denoting 'instrument'. Puruṣottama, instead of saying that *karaṇa* does not refer to instrument, straightforwardly glosses it as *kriyāyām*. He also includes *KyaṄ* in the gloss rather than saying, in addition, that *KyaṄ* is carried. In the next rule (3.1.18 *sukhādibhyaḥ kartṛvedanāyām*), he simply glosses *kartṛvedanāyām* as *kartur anubhave* 'when the agent experiences'. Puruṣottama does not deem it necessary to indicate that *karman* is carried as modifier to items enumerated by the rule. Furthermore, he does not take a lengthy route to explain *kartṛvedanāyām* as *Kāśikā* does: ... *vedanāyām arthe' nubhave* ... *vedayituś cet karttuḥ sambandhīni sukhādīni bhavanti* 'in the sense of *vedanā*, i.e. *anubhava* '(experiencing) ... provided *sukha* 'pleasure', etc., are related to the agent's own experiencing'. Puruṣottama simply says: *ebhyaḥ kartur anubhave kyaṅ syāt* 'let there be *KyaṄ* after these when the agent's own experiencing (is being expressed)'. Mark that *Kāśikā* uses *vedanā*, glosses it as *anubhava*, then interprets it as locative leading it to say *anubhava*. *Kāśikā* also adds *arthe* 'in the sense of', which Puruṣottama does not see as necessary, since *anubhave*, in the locative, would automatically account for that.

Puruṣottama normally does not offer counter-examples. This is in consonance with his practice of not explaining why a particular form is used in the *sūtra* in the way in which it is used. Counter-examples cited by

other commentarial works anticipate such questions. Puruṣottama mentions *vārttikas* without mentioning their source, though occasionally he cites sources such as *Kātyāyana* (p. 124), *gaṇasūtra* (p. 184), *eke* 'someone' (pp. 192, 209), *smṛti* 'tradition' (pp. 201, 205), Vararuci (p. 227) and Saunāga (p. 435). The *Bhāṣāvṛtti* examples are more varied and have been chosen for clarity of structure and frequency in usage. Puruṣottama s paraphrases are terse and economical. As already stated, they take much for granted. Since he also avoids separate mention of *anuvṛtti* and counter-examples, it occasionally becomes difficult to understand the exact meaning of his paraphrases. He makes full use of the *Mahābhāṣya* but shies away from theoretical statements. In summary, he tries to explain the *sūtras* with straightforward paraphrases using minimum of words. His work can serve as a ready reference for the meaning and examples of the *sūtras*, though it can be used only by those who are well versed in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti (AD 11) is the oldest extant text of the *prakriyā* tradition.[32] By this time the focus of grammatical study had changed from interpretation to application. Furthermore, study of grammar had reached a stage where an easier means of teaching was felt to be required. Thus, the second opening verse of *Rūpāvatāra* gives 'facilitating the understanding of beginners' as goal. As a consequence, efforts were undertaken to limit the number of *sūtras* under discussion. Since the focus had shifted to application, an indifference towards finer details of interpretation was also witnessed. The same goes for counter-examples. What we see here as strikingly different from the *vṛttis* is the lack of details concerning interpretation and an abundance of details concerning derivation. In the process, taking many things for granted, *Rūpāvatāra* becomes very economical, though its style of brevity is altogether different from the non-*prakriyā* texts. It discusses only 2,664 rules but its examples number many times more. Its most effective means of reducing the number of *sūtras* under discussion is to exclude rules dealing with accent and Vedic Sanskrit.

It was again due to change in emphasis that listing of *sūtras* was done in view of operational topics and contexts. The Pāṇinian order of rule listing was abandoned. The notion of *prakaraṇa* 'context' in Pāṇini was thus modified. The Pāṇinian *prakaraṇa* was conceived in view of physical placement of rules, their interpretation and application especially as it related to context sharing (*ekavākyatā*) among rules. The notion of *prakaraṇa* in the *prakriyā* tradition was strictly conceived in view of particular derivational types. Since the Pāṇinian order of rules was disturbed, elements of *anuvṛtti* had to be supplied by statements. The *prakriyā* statements were not worded like *vṛttis*. In addition to giving paraphrases of the *sūtras*, they

[32] *Rūpāvatārah* (I:XVI).

were worded so as to introduce operational details and clues. The *prakriyā* statements introduced rules as they became operative in a given operation on a given input. Paraphrases were given such that the basic meaning of a rule was understood and the context of an operation became clear.

Rūpāvatāra consists of two parts, the first being divided into eight *avatāras* 'manifestations': *saṃjñā* 'technical terms', *saṃhitā* 'close proximity between sounds', *vibhakti* 'nominal inflection', *avyaya* 'indeclinable', *strīpratyaya* 'feminine affixes', *kāraka*, *samāsa* 'compound' and *taddhita* 'secondary suffixes'. It is interesting to note that the first *avatāra* deals with terms strictly limited to *saṃhitā;* other technical terms of the grammar are introduced if and when they become necessary. The *pratyāhāra-sūtras* also had to be included here for the same reason. The second part of *Rūpāvatāra* has three major *paricchedas* 'divisions': *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*), *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) and *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*). Each division is further classified into *prakaraṇas* 'sections'. The division of this second part into three sections is clearly based on the classification of affixes introduced after verbal roots. The entire second part is presented under the general title of *dhātupratyayapañcikā.*

Rūpāvatāra closely follows *Kāśikā*, although its paraphrases are much simpler. Its examples have diverse sources: they could be from *Kāśikā*, the *Mahābhāṣya* or later classical literature. The examples, also, have been selected for derivational reasons. Thus, an example which shows clearly the application of a given rule would be preferred over one which may involve other applications. Also, an example which clearly blends in with the discussion of a *vārttika* would be preferred over one which does not. *Rūpāvatāra,* in addition to including *vārttikas,* also includes *ślokavārttikas, iṣṭis* and summary verses relating to examples and grammatical operations. It also has *kārikās* 'verses' from the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari. These materials are incorporated mainly as references, often with examples. Much of their meaning and implication, however, is not clarified. Although *Rūpāvatāra* covers quite a few Pāṇinian rules with copious examples and *vārttikas,* it did not attain much popularity, mostly due to over-simplification; still, it was a very successful attempt at *prakriyā.*

A relatively mature form of *prakriyā* is found in the *Prakriyā-kaumudī* (*PK*) of Rāmacandra (AD 14). It not only standardized the format of *prakriyā* texts, but also served as a link between the old school of grammar and the new. It was heavily influenced by *Kāśikā* and also borrowed from other systems of grammar. Rāmacandra not only left out many *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, but also refrained from explaining others. However, the number of *sūtras* in the *PK* is far greater than in the *Rūpāvatāra*. Hence, it is not surprising to find that Rāmacandra accepts the following in one of his later verses.

ānantyāt sarvaśabdā hi na śakyante' nuśāsituml
bālavyutpattaye' smābhiḥ saṃkṣipyoktā yathāmatiḥll
'Because of their being infinite, all words are not possible to be instructed; (therefore) they have been discussed by me in summary as I see fit for the benefit of making beginners conversant (in grammar).'

This verse attests to the idea of simplification which I have already identified as one of the motives behind the development of the *prakriyā* texts.

Rāmacandra, similarly to Dharmakīrti, focuses on *sūtras* dealing with classical Sanskrit. However, he has a small section at the end dealing with *prakriyā* in Vedic. In addition, many Vedic rules have been included elsewhere in the work, according to the context. The division of sections is also elaborate but does not vary in substance from the *Rūpāvatāra.* For example, the first section dealing with *saṃjñā* includes many more rules dealing with the technical terms but the goal is still the same: to focus on those *saṃjñā*s which may be beneficial to *sandhi* (*sandhyupayogin*). Rāmacandra does not follow the arrangement of *Rūpāvatāra* when it comes to dealing with the derivation of forms ending in *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi. . .*). The *tiN* are a set of twenty-one affixes ruled as replacements for abstract suffixes generally referred to as *LA*. *Rūpāvatāra* has two major sections: *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*. This division does not bring out the features of verbal paradigms clearly. Rāmacandra, instead, follows a different route. He discusses the verbal paradigms with reference to the grouping (*gaṇa*) of roots and whether or not they are marked for *parasmaipada, ātmanepada* or both terminations. This arrangement became standard for later *prakriyā* texts. Rāmacandra also was careful about how and when to introduce a *sūtra*. This resulted in the rooting out of repetition in the listing of *sūtras*; the *Rūpāvatāra* had had repetition in abundance.

Rāmacandra takes a lot for granted. His explanations of *sūtras* are very brief and his statements concerning the context of a *sūtra* or its application are still briefer. His examples are not numerous, and when discussing derivations, he takes many details as understood. *Rūpāvatāra* provides better explanations, however simplistic they may be. However, Rāmacandra's organization is very good. It was the lack of explanatory details plus the influence of other grammatical systems which subjected Rāmacandra to severe criticism by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. The *PK* was saved from still more violent criticism by its commentary, the *Prasāda* by Viṭṭhala, the grandson of Rāmacandra. It is true that *Rūpāvatāra* and *PK* represent pedagogical texts which lack the depth of *Kāśikā*, but they became popular. The *PK*, even though harshly criticized for some of its interpretations, became the standard for Bhaṭṭoji's *SK*, the text which represents the peak of the *prakriyā* tradition.

Bhaṭṭoji's *SK* replaced *PK* as the pedagogical standard. Its scope was wider, including all of Pāṇini's rules. Its detailed interpretation and *prakriyā* was not provided to ease the teaching of grammar but to enhance the understanding of grammar as such. All it shared with *PK* was format. Bhaṭṭoji had an eye for meticulous detail and interpretation. It is this quality that makes *SK* the standard text for studying Pāṇini. It overshadowed not only *Kāśikā* but even the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself, sparing the *Mahābhāṣya* only because *SK* closely follows its interpretations. The *SK* brings the grammatical literature that began with Patañjali full circle. Bhaṭṭoji (*SK*, I: 1) states in his opening verse that 'he is making the *SK* after having paid obeisances to, and having contemplated the sayings of, the three sages'.

It has been stated that the *SK* follows the organizational format of the *PK*. However, since Bhaṭṭoji was not simply writing a pedagogical text, the format was further refined. For example, he adds a section of *paribhāṣā* after *saṃjñā*. He follows Rāmacandra's arrangement in discussing *sandhi*, but adds a section of *prakṛtibhāva* 'non-*sandhi*'. The arrangement of rules dealing with compound formation is also elaborate. He adds two additional sections: *sarvasamāsaśeṣa* 'residue of compounds' and *samāsāśrayavidhi* 'operations with compound as locus'. Bhaṭṭoji also introduces here *ekaśeṣa* 'retention of one' as a separate section, since he considers it one of the elliptical formations (*vṛttis*). Since the *SK* treats all the rules, the arrangement of *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) is also elaborate. Here, they are organized in sections following major affixes.

Bhaṭṭoji has organized his *SK* into two parts: the first part deals with *sandhi*, *samāsa* and affixes introduced by rules in books four and five of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The second part deals with affixes introduced in the third book of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In addition, Bhaṭṭoji also has sections on Vedic as well as accents of affixes, compounds and roots. What is surprising is his inclusion of two sections, one dealing with the *Uṇādi* affixes and the other dealing with the *Phiṭsūtras* (see chapter 2 for details). Normally, one would not expect these listings as part of the main text. The fact that Bhaṭṭoji interrupts his discussion of *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affixes to accommodate *Uṇādi* is most surprising. They are not related to verbal derivatives only; why didn't he put them right after the *taddhitas*? However, locating the *Phiṭsūtras* close to the sections dealing with accent is not out of place since they deal with accent of nominal stems.

Bhaṭṭoji, in the second part, proceeds with the description of verbal paradigms arranged according to the classification of roots in ten *gaṇas* 'groups'. This follows Rāmacandra's procedure, but Bhaṭṭoji's treatment is more comprehensive. He provides nearly every significant detail ranging from classification to meanings and derivation. A discussion of rules dealing with *ṆiC* 'causative', *saN* 'desiderative', *yaN* 'intensive',

deletion of *yaṄ* and denominatives follows. Bhaṭṭoji then brings the discussion of *ātmanepada* 'middle' and *parasmaipada* 'active' suffixes. The impersonal (*bhāva*), passive and reflexives follow. The *tiṄ* affixes are classified in two sets with the first nine termed *parasmaipada* and the remaining nine *ātmanepada* (1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*; 1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*). These two sections of *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* principally discuss rules which allow or disallow the placement of *tiṄ* affixes. The earlier treatments of *tiṄ* took this for granted and focused on verbal paradigms. The same goes for the treatment of *LA* 'abstract affixes *LAṬ*, etc.'. Affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ* and classified as *parasmaipada* or *ātmanepada* are replacements of *LA*. The section dealing with *kṛt* affixes, as I have mentioned, is interrupted by the *Uṇādi* section. Prior to *Uṇādi*, this section deals with *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*) and other *kṛt* affixes. Affixes *tumUN*, *GHaṄ*, *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL*, etc., follow *Uṇādi*.

Bhaṭṭoji strived to include practically everything essential for understanding the *sūtras*. If one rearranges his treatment in Pāṇini's original order and edits some remarks to fit in place, one can have another *vṛtti* parallel to *Kāśikā*. This indicates that the *SK* is a vastly different text from the others in the *prakriyā* tradition. Bhaṭṭoji accepts the three sages, especially Patañjali, as authority (*pramāṇa*) although his work has also benefited from *Kāśikā* and *PK*. He often identifies statements which form part of *Kāśikā* but are not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Bhaṭṭoji accepts things from *Kāśikā* but rarely when they are not in consonance with Patañjali.[33]

The *SK* draws its examples from the traditional sources which includes *Kāśikā*, although Bhaṭṭoji tries to find examples, especially for rules dealing with classical Sanskrit, from literature. Many of the examples have been cited in modified form simply to economise the listings. Thus, instead of listing *grāmam adhiśete* 'he is sleeping in the village' and *grāmam adhivasati* 'he is living in the village,' he will simply list the verbal forms. He also follows the *PK* in relating examples which deal with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. Thus, where *Kāśikā* has *tiṣṭhate kanyā chātrebhyaḥ* 'the girl is waiting for the students' and *madhu atra* 'there is honey here,' *SK*, like *PK*, has *kṛṣṇāya tiṣṭhate gopī* 'the *gopi* is waiting for Kṛṣṇa' and *cakrī atra* 'Viṣṇu is here'. The Vedic examples have been taken from Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, but Bhaṭṭoji relies mostly on the *Mahābhāṣya* and *Kāśikā*.

The number of *vārttikas* used in the *SK* is comparatively less than the *Kāśikā*. It is believed that since the focus was on *prakriyā*, only those *vārttikas* were used which were directly related to examples. Mahesh Dutt Sharma (1974:144) observes wherever *Kāśikā* refers to a *vārttika* in its citation form, *SK* refers to the same in paraphrase. Conversely, wherever *Kāśikā* does not refer to a *vārttika* in citation, *SK* does so. Bhaṭṭoji has used the

[33]See Mahesh Dutt Sharma (1974: 91-111) for details.

vārttikas to facilitate the *prakriyā* and rarely takes any steps which may cloud their identity. Thus, practices such as elevating a *vārttika* to the status of a *sūtra,* reading a part of it in the body of a *sūtra* or reading a single *vārttika* as two or more are seldom found. It is also known that if something cannot be accounted for by *sūtra, vārttika* or *bhāṣya, Kāśikā* would formulate its own *vārttika* or *iṣṭi.* Bhaṭṭoji normally refrains from doing so. Instead, he tries to resort to some analytical means.

Bhaṭṭoji generally gives importance to the views of Patañjali. When he accepts things from other commentaries he is very careful. Let us examine the following rules.

2.2.15 *tṛjakābhyāṃ kartari*
'a word which ends in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is not combined with another word which underlies a form in *tṛC* or *aka* and denotes *kartṛ* 'agent'

2.2.16 *kartari ca*
'a word which ends in genitive and denotes *kartṛ* is not combined with another word which underlies a form in *aka*'

2.2.17 *nityaṃ krīḍājīvikayoḥ*
'a word which ends in genitive is obligatorily combined with another word which underlies a form in *aka* when the compound denotes *krīḍā* 'sport' or *jīvikā* 'livelihood'

Kāśikā and Bhaṭṭoji interpret these rules differently. Specifically, *Kāśikā* treats *kartṛ* as modifier *(viśeṣana)* of *ṣaṣṭhī* in 2.2.15 and of *tṛC* and *aka* in 2.2.16. That is, according to *Kāśikā,* the word which ends in genitive should also be expressing *kartṛ.* The expression of *kartṛ* is not seen as a condition for genitive in 2.2.16. Bhaṭṭoji, however, does the opposite. He requires that the word which underlies a form in *tṛC* or *aka* must also express *kartṛ* in 2.2.15. Treating *kartṛ* as a modifier of *tṛC* is problematic. A form ending in *tṛC* obligatorily denotes *kartṛ.* Why should one further modify it with *kartṛ*? Pāṇini may not have intended it. Bhaṭṭoji hastens to add that since *tṛC* already denotes *kartṛ,* only *aka* should be modified by *kartṛ. Kāśikā,* perhaps to avoid this, made *kartṛ* a modifier of genitive. But *Kāśikā* runs into problems too. It cannot find any example for a string of words where one ends in genitive and denotes agent, and the other underlies a form in *tṛC.* Such examples are impossible as *tṛC* denotes agent, which genitive cannot. It would be duplication. If one says that the two forms will be expressing different agents then the question of their forming a compound would not arise. They would not be syntactically relatable with each other. *Kāśikā* says that *tṛC* is used in 2.2.15 for *anuvṛtti* to subsequent rules. The interpretations of both *SK* and *Kāśikā* are problematic. *SK,* however, can offer examples and show the application of this rule. *Kāśikā* has to say that Pāṇini used *tṛC* not for use in 2.2.15 but for use in 2.2.16 and 2.2.17.

Either interpretation has consequences for 2.2.16 and 2.2.17. *SK* does not consider the purpose of *tṛC* beyond 2.2.15; *Kāśikā* carries it along with *aka*. Since it modifies *tṛC* and *aka* here with *kartṛ*, however, *Kāśikā*, like *SK* has to accept that since *tṛC* expresses *kartṛ*, only *aka* is supposed to be modified by *kartṛ*. To sum up, *SK* and *Kāśikā* interpret these rules inversely. That is, *SK* interprets rule 2.2.15 the way *Kāśikā* interprets 2.2.16 and vice versa. *SK* seems logical as well as economical since it does not have to carry *tṛC* to 2.2.16-17. Furthermore, it does not have to maintain as *Kāśikā* does in the case of 2.2.17, that examples of *tṛC* denoting 'sport' and 'livelihood' do not exist.

The *Mahābhāṣya* does not help much as it does not discuss these rules. However, under 2.2.14 (*Mbh.* II:685), it offers examples parallel to those Bhaṭṭoji cites under 2.2.15. The same type of examples are cited by *Kāśikā* under 2.2.16. Bhaṭṭoji got his clues from Haradatta's *PM* 2.2.15:

> *atha kasmād viparyayo nāśrīyate-iha tṛjakaviśeṣaṇaṃ*
> *kartṛgrahaṇam uttaratra ṣaṣṭhīviśeṣaṇam; evaṃ*
> *tṛjgrahaṇaṃ na vaktavyaṃ bhavati ...*
> 'how come inversion is not resorted to: *kartṛ* is used here as a modifier of *tṛC* and *aka*; subsequently as a modifier of *ṣaṣṭhī*; this way, it will not be necessary to state that '*tṛC* is used for (*anuvṛtti*) in subsequent *sūtras*'.'

Note, however, that *SK* (3807) on Pāṇini's 6.2.73 *ake jīvikārthe* offers *ramaṇīyakarttā* 'one who decorates' as an example, a word underlying a stem in *tṛC* and denoting *jīvikā* 'livelihood'. It states that this compound is derived by the application of 2.2.17. Recall that *SK* does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC* beyond 2.2.15 and *Kāśikā* says that there are no examples. Two questions: (*a*) how can Bhaṭṭoji's interpretation of 2.2.17 derive *ramaṇīyakarttā* and (*b*) where does this example come from? The source is *Kāśikā* itself. Note that this part of *Kāśikā* is supposed to have been written by Vāmana and not by Jayāditya, who is supposed to have written the *vṛtti* of the section containing rules 2.2.15-17. Note also that Bhaṭṭoji takes this example from *Kāśikā*. Furthermore, he criticizes *Kāśikā*'s interpretation of 2.2.15 in his *Śabdakaustubha.*

Bhaṭṭoji has criticized *Kāśikā* whenever he finds something against the *Mahābhāṣya*. Consider the following rule.

> 3.2.78 *supy ajātau ṇinis tācchīlye*
> 'affix *ṆinI* is introduced after a verb root when a word denoting something other than *jāti* 'class' co-occurs and the derivate denotes *tācchīlya* 'one's nature'

An example offered by *Kāśikā* is *uṣṇabhojī* 'he whose nature it is to eat warm food'. *Kāśikā* thinks that since Pāṇini uses the word *sUP* explicitly rather than bringing it by *anuvṛtti* from the earlier rule, this must have some

special purpose to it. That purpose, according to *Kāśikā*, is to stop the *anuvṛtti* of *upasarga* 'preverb'. That is, since *sUP* and *upasarga* were both carried to 3.2.77 from 3.2.76, carrying *sUP* from 3.2.77 to 3.2.78 would also require carrying *upasarga* which Pāṇini did not wish to do. Consequently, Pāṇini used *sUP* explicitly in 3.2.78. However, there are examples such as *udāsāriṇyaḥ* and *pratyāsāriṇyaḥ* where suffix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal root *āsṛ* 'to come' used with the preverbs *ut* and *prati* respectively. These derivates, according to *Kāśikā*'s interpretation of 3.2.78, cannot be explained. Consequently, *Kāśikā* introduces its own *vārttika: utpratibhyām āṅi sartter upasaṃkhyānam* 'a statement should be made to account for *āsṛ* preceded by *ut* and *prati*'.

Bhaṭṭoji insists that this interpretation of *Kāśikā*, which has also been followed by Haradatta and Mādhava, the author of the *Dhātuvṛtti*, should be disregarded as it is against the interpretation of the *Mahābhāṣya* (*SK* IV:73): *iha vṛttikāreṇopasargabhinna eva supi ṇinir iti vyākhyāya utpratibhyām āṅi sartter upasaṃkhyānam iti paṭhitam. haradattamādhavādibhiś ca tad evānusṛtam etac ca bhāṣyavirodhād upekṣyam* 'here the author of the *vṛtti*, having analysed the *sūtra* as meaning 'verb root without a preverb when co-occurring with a *pada* ending in *uSP*', reads that 'a statement should be made to account for *āsṛ* preceded by *ut* and *prati*'. This has also been followed by Haradatta and Mādhava, etc. For reasons of opposition to the *Mahābhāṣya* this should be disregarded. The *Mahābhāṣya* maintains that *sUP* is used in 3.2.78 to indicate that in this rule 'a co-occurring word ending in *sUP*' alone is the condition. Bhaṭṭoji provides examples such as *anuyāyin* 'follower', etc., where affix *ṆinI* can be found after a verb root used with a preverb.

It has been stated that the tradition of *prakriyā* began with pedagogy as its goal although Bhaṭṭoji's goal was not exactly the same. One can still think that he shared the goal of focusing on derivation and presenting rules in an order most conducive to that. This indeed was the purpose behind rearranging the Pāṇinian rules. It is surprising to learn that except for ease in *prakriyā* no other reason has been given by the tradition for the new *sūtra* arrangement. The tradition has resisted anything not in consonance with Pāṇini. It has also discussed practically everything relevant to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in particular and grammar in general. No one knows why the tradition did not voice any resistance to this new order of rules. I consider the *prakriyā* rule order, at best, unfortunate.

As already stated, *SK* has enjoyed immense popularity. Bhaṭṭoji himself wrote a commentary *Prauḍhamanoramā* on the *SK*. Another commentary *Bālamanoramā* by Vāsudeva Dīkṣita (AD 18) followed. Later, Jñānendra Saraswatī wrote a very good commentary on *Prauḍhamanoramā* under the title of *Tattvabodhinī*. *Śabdenduśekhara*, both long (*bṛhat*) and short (*laghu*) versions, are two very learned commentaries on *SK* by Nāgeśa. There have

also been three separate versions of the *SK*: a *sāra* 'summary' and a *laghu* version by Varadarāja, and a *madhya* 'medium length' version by Rāmaśarman (AD 17). The *laghu-kaumudī* still enjoys popularity among beginners.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was not formulated for teaching Sanskrit. This does not mean that it cannot be used for learning Sanskrit. In fact, it has been, and to a lesser degree still is, being used for this purpose. The *SK* and its various abridged versions are still used for teaching Sanskrit in traditional circles. The claim that *prakriyā* texts made the derivational process easier to comprehend can be defended. However, to defend it at the expense of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is not acceptable. First of all, the new order of grammatical works takes a lot for granted, especially things like the function of rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...* where any change in the Pāṇinian order of rules is crucial. Secondly, this new order obscures some basic distinctions Pāṇini intended to maintain. An example in point is the treatment of *kāraka* and *vibhakti* as one in the *prakriyā* texts. Finally, the new arrangement deals perhaps a serious blow to the sophisticated derivation mechanism the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* so meticulously presents. A case in point is the process of *anuvṛtti* and what I discuss in later chapters as reference to antecedent.

2

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and its Related Texts

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* consists of about four thousand *sūtras* arranged in eight chapters *(adhyāya)* of four quarters *(pāda)* each. The number of *sūtras* in the chapters or quarters varies in accordance with the topic and organizational constraints. In order to clearly understand the organizational structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself, we must first consider some materials which are often treated as separate from the main text but nevertheless are necessary for its understanding. These are the *Śivasūtra* (*Śs*), the *Dhātupāṭha* (*DP*), the *Gaṇapāṭha* (*GP*), the *Uṇādisūtra* (*Us*), the *Phiṭsūtra* (*Phs*) and the *Liṅgānuśāsana* (*Lā*).

(a) The *Śivasūtra* (*Śs*)

The *Śs* is a set of fourteen aphorisms enumerating the sound segments (*varṇasamāmnāya*) of the Sanskrit language in the order most conducive to forming the abbreviatory terms (*pratyāhāra*) used in the grammar.

1. a i u Ṇ
2. ṛ ḷ K
3. e o Ṅ
4. ai au C
5. h^a y^a v^a r^a Ṭ
6. l^a Ṇ
7. ñ^a m^a ṅ^a ṇ^a n^a M
8. jh^a bh^a Ñ
9. gh^a ḍh^a dh^a Ṣ
10. j^a b^a g^a ḍ^a d^a Ś
11. kh^a ph^a ch^a ṭh^a th^a c^a ṭ^a t^a V
12. k^a p^a Y
13. ś^a ṣ^a s^a R
14. h^a L

An item indicated here by capital letters is traditionally termed an *it* and is not treated as an item in the list. However, *its* may serve as the final (*antya*) for any initial (*ādi*) element which, joined together, forms an abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) to represent the initial and all intervening elements.[1] For example, the initial *a* of the first *Śs* can join the final *C*

[1] see 1.1.71 *ādir antyena sahetā.*

of *Śs* four to form the abbreviatory term *aC* signifying *a* and all intervening non-*it* items. Thus, *aC* denotes all the vowels. Similarly, *aL* designates the totality of vowels and consonants.

Another symbol, which is also not an item on the list, is the *a* used with the consonants of *Śs* five through fourteen. This *a* facilitates the pronunciation of the consonants in question. I have indicated the occurrences of this *a* by raising it. The *a* of *Śs* six is treated by *Kāś*[2] and *SK*[3] as an *it* in order to form an abbreviatory term *rÃ* which would denote *r* and *l*. I represent this *Ã* as a non-*it* because treating it otherwise would be non-Pāṇinian.

Pāṇini's method of forming abbreviatory terms with the help of the *Śs* can yield a vast number of abbreviations. However, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* uses only 41 abbreviations, summarized in the following *śloka-vārttika*[4]:

> *ekasmān ṅañaṇavaṭā dvābhyāṃ ṣas tribhya eva kaṇamāḥ syuḥ/*
> *jñeyau cayau caturbhyo raḥ pañcabhyaḥ śalau ṣaḍbhyaḥ//*
> "one (abbreviatory term) each with *Ṅ, Ñ,* Ṇ, *V,* Ṭ; two with Ṣ, three each with *K,* Ṇ, *M*; four each with *C, Y*; five with *R* and six each with *Ś, L*"

Thus:

1. *eṄ, yÑ, aṆ, ch*^{a}*V, aṬ*
2. *jh*^{a}*Ṣ, bh*^{a}*Ṣ*
3. *aK, iK, uK; y*^{a}*Ṇ, aṆ, iṆ, ṅ*^{a}*M, aM, y*^{a}*M*
4. *aC, eC, aiC, iC; m*^{a}*Y, jh*^{a}*Y, kh*^{a}*Y, y*^{a}*Y*
5. *ś*^{a}*R, y*^{a}*R, jh*^{a}*R, kh*^{a}*R, c*^{a}*R*
6. *jh*^{a}*Ś, j*^{a}*Ś, b*^{a}*Ś, aŚ, h*^{a}*Ś, v*^{a}*Ś; aL, h*^{a}*L, s*^{a}*L, v*^{a}*L, r*^{a}*L, jh*^{a}*L*

If we treat the *a* of *Ss* six as an *anunāsika it*, as has been advocated by *Kāśikā* and *SK*, we will get an additional abbreviation, *rÃ*. There are two more abbreviatory terms, *c*^{a}*Y* and *ñ*^{a}*M*, the first of which is attested by *vārttika* 3 *ad* 8.4.88 (*cayo dvitīyaḥ śari pauṣkarasādeḥ*)[5] and the second[6] by the *Uṇādisūtra* (1/114) *ñamantāḍ ḍaḥ*. This brings the total to 44. The following chart shows these abbreviatory terms with their initial item (*ādi*), listed in the first vertical column, as well as their final element (*it*), listed in the first horizontal column.

[2] *Kāś.* (I:53) *hakārādiṣv akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ, nānubandhaḥ. lakāre tv anunāsikaḥ pratijñāyate...*

[3] *SK* (I:4) ...*eṣām antyā itaḥ. laṇ-sūtre 'kāraś ca. hakārādiṣv akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ.*

[4] see *Kāś.* (I:59-60).

[5] *Mbh.* (3:508).

[6] *SK* (IV:166).

initial (*ādi*) **final element (*it*)**

	Ā	K	Ṅ	C	Ṭ	Ṇ	M	Ñ	Ṣ	Ś	V	Y	R	L
a		aK		aC	aṬ	aṆ	aM			aŚ				aL
i		iK		iC		iṆ								
u		uK												
e			eṄ	eC										
ai				aiC										
h										h^{a}Ś				h^{a}L
y						y^{a}Ṇ	y^{a}M	y^{a}Ñ				y^{a}Y	y^{a}R	
v										v^{a}Ś				v^{a}L
r	rĀ													r^{a}L
m												m^{a}Y		
ṅ							ṅ^{a}M							
bh									bh^{a}Ṣ	bh^{a}Ś				
jh									jh^{a}Ṣ	jh^{a}Ś		jh^{a}Y	jh^{a}R	jh^{a}L
b										b^{a}Ś				
j										j^{a}Ś				
ch											ch^{a}V			
kh												kh^{a}Y	kh^{a}R	
c												c^{a}Y	c^{a}R	
ś													ś^{a}R	ś^{a}L
Ñ							ñ^{a}M							

The order of elements listed in the *Śs* is as follows:

1. vowels (*Śs* 1-4)
   (la) simple (*Śs* 1-2)
   (lb) complex (*Śs* 3-4)
2. consonants (*Śs* 5-14)
   (2a) semivowels (*Śs* 5-6)
   (2b) nasals (*Śs* 7)
   (2c) stops (*Śs* 8-12)

($2c_1$) voiced aspirates (*Śs* 8-9)
($2c_2$) voiced non-aspirates (*Śs* 10)
($2c_3$) voiceless aspirates (*Śs* 11)
($2c_4$) voiceless non-aspirates (*Śs* 12)
(2d) spirants (*Śs* 13-14)

The above order does not conform with the order of earlier listings, such as those of the *prātiśākhyas*, although there is considerable similarity of terminology and classification. Pāṇini certainly was aware of such previous classifications. However, his *Śs* listing reflects his own special purposes. Patañjali states that the *Śs* are presented in this fashion for the purpose of *vṛtti* 'application of rules' and *samavāya* 'ordered enumeration of elements' (*Mbh.* I:47 *vārttika.* 18).[7] *Vārttika* 19 cites the setting up of *anubandhas* as an added purpose.[8] Actually, the *pratyāhāras* are a means for bringing the elements of the list close to rule applications. A full and insightful discussion of this, as well as the principles of *sāmānya* and *viśeṣa* underlying the listing of the *Śs* in relation to their *anubandhas*, is presented in Cardona (1969).

The denotata of some abbreviatory terms may not, at first glance, be obvious. Consider *aṆ* and *iṆ*. Should the *Ṇ* of these abbreviations be interpreted as the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1 or of *Śs* 6? For, *aṆ* and *iṆ* formed with *Śs* 1 will denote only *a, i, u* and *i, u* respectively. If the *Ṇ* is interpreted as belonging to *Śs* 6, respectively *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l* and *i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l* will be denoted. However, an abbreviatory term *iṆ* formed with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1 to denote *i, u* counters Pāṇinian practice. Pāṇini never uses *iṆ* to denote *i, u;* instead he uses *iṆ* to denote sounds enumerated by *Śs* 1 through 6. Both interpretations of *aṆ*, however, are valid. The question as to when *aṆ* should be interpreted as formed with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1 and when with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 6 can only be resolved by the explanations (*vyākhyāna*) of the learned. For correct results, *aṆ* in 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ,* for example, should be treated as formed with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1. As opposed to this, *aṆ* in 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya...* must be interpreted with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 6.

Rule 1.1.69 states that a vowel (*aṆ*), as well as an item marked with *U*, denotes itself as well as sounds homogeneous (*savarṇa*) with it. Thus, *a* denotes a class of eighteen vowels distinguished on the basis of length: short (*hrasva*), long (*dīrgha*) or extra long (*pluta*); pitch: high (*udātta*), low (*anudātta*) or circumflex (*svarita*); and nasality: nasalized (*anunāsika*) and non-nasalized (*niranunāsika*). Similar classes of eighteen each is represented by *i, u* and *ṛ*. The *ḷ* vowel represents a class of only twelve vowels as it lacks a corresponding long variety. Vowels denoted by *eC* (*e, o, ai, au*) also represent a class of 12 each. Here, unlike the case of *ḷ*, a corresponding short variety is not available. Items with *U* as their *it* represent a class

[7] *vṛttisamavāyārtha upadeśaḥ.*
[8] *anubandhakaraṇārthaś ca.*

of five consonants each. Thus, *kU* (*k*) represents *k, kh, g, gh* and *ṅ*. Similar consonant classes are represented by *cU, ṭU, tU* and *pU*.[9]

There are many problems which may be raised concerning the formulation of the * Śs* and the use of the resultant abbreviatory terms; problems relating to the order and selection of sound-segments and *its*, the use of *Ṇ* as an *it* twice, the use of *h* as an element twice, as well as the use of a *pratyāhāra* with no less than three denotata. A detailed discussion of these and other problems relating to the *Śs* may be found in Cardona (1969).

(b) The *Dhātupāṭha* (*DP*)

Pāṇini introduces augments (*vikaraṇa*), with their relevant affixes and deletions, with reference to groups of roots. Thus, 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* and, 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ* delete the augment *ŚaP* and *ŚLU* after roots enumerated in the list headed by *ad* 'to consume' and *hu* 'to offer a ritual sacrifice'. Similarly, 3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*, 3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*, 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*, 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*, 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhya uḥ* and 3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā* introduce *SyaN*, etc., after verbal roots belonging to the cited groups. Rules 3.1.25 *satyāp... curadibhyo ṇic* and 3.1.27 *kaṇvādibhyo yak* introduce affixes *ṆiC* and *yaK* with reference to specific groups of roots. These rules attest to the existence of the following groups: (1) *adādi*, (2) *juhotyādi*, (3) *divādi*, (4) *svādi*, (5) *tudādi*, (6) *rudhādi*, (7) *tanādi*, (8) *kryādi*, (9) *curādi* and (10) *kaṇvādi*.

The last group, *kaṇvādi*, is treated as consisting mainly of nominal stems. Thus, we have nine classes of verb roots. A tenth class, *bhvādi*, is referred to by rule 1.3.1. *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*. The cumulative listing of these ten classes of roots is known as the *Dhātupāṭha* (*DP*). Their traditional order of listing is: (1) *bhvādi* (1035), (2) *adādi* (72), (3) *juhotyādi* (24), (4) *divādi* (140), (5) *svādi* (35), (6) *tudādi* (157), (7) *rudhādi* (25), (8) *tanādi* (10), (9) *kryādi* (67), and (10) *curādi* (441), with the numbers in the right-hand parentheses indicating the amount of roots in each group. In all, the *DP* lists 1970 roots, although it would be a mistake to conclude that 1970 roots exhaust the inventory of roots of the Sanskrit language.

The text and authorship of the *DP* itself is controversial. Was the *DP* received by Pāṇini from the tradition or did he compose it himself? Is the available text of the *DP* the same that Pāṇini either received or composed? Are the meaning entries in the *DP* post-Pāṇinian? Though these and similar questions have been raised and answered in diverse ways, there is agreement upon one point. Given the close correspondence between the root groups listed in the *DP* and those referred to in the grammar, that there existed a *DP* which Pāṇini used is established beyond any doubt.

[9] Pāṇini provides for proper selection of items from class lists by means of meta-rules 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ* and 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*. For a detailed discussion of how 1.3.10 interacts with 1.1.50 in order to select proper substitutes under 1.1.69, see Cardona (1980).

Pāṇini refers to roots in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with their *its*. Some of these *its* condition the use of *ātmanepada* terminations, as in 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam* and 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale*. Other *its* have different functions. Rules 3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ* and 3.3.89 *ṭivato' thuc* introduce affixes *ktri* and *athuC* when *its Ḍ* and *Ṭ* mark the roots. Such rules show that when Pāṇini composed the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, he definitely had a listing of roots to which he could refer. Since such reference was made in view of individual groups and subgroups of roots, some form of *DP* necessarily was complementary to the grammar. As to whether Pāṇini used a traditionally available *DP* or composed his own, the answer is more likely to be the latter. For the listing of roots in groups with characteristic marks and operations serves special purposes. One can hardly believe that Pāṇini received the *DP* from the tradition in a form ready to be used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in the manner in which he desired to use it. There are many things in the text which Pāṇini accepted from the tradition, but he uses them with strict adherence to the organization, structure and function of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself. That the form of the *DP* which Pāṇini may have known at the time of his composing the *sūtras* was in strict adherence to the organization, structure and function of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is doubtful, if not incredible.

Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (1973, II:545-8) has discussed in detail the question of whether or not Pāṇini listed the roots in his *DP* with corresponding meaning glosses. There is evidence in the *Mahābhāṣya* to the effect that Kātyāyana regarded the existence of a listing with meaning glosses as non-Pāṇinian (Cardona, 1976:162). Nāgeśa suggests that meaning entries were inserted by Bhīmasena. Palsule (1961:91-95) discusses this matter in detail and also concludes that the meaning entries are non-Pāṇinian. Mīmāṃsaka reaches the opposite conclusion, but his arguments are not convincing (Cardona, 1976:162).

However, some points must be discussed in this connection. First, Patañjali states that Pāṇini recites some roots with infixed *n* (*Mbh.* ad 1.3.7). Nāgeśa concludes from this that some roots were recited with meaning glosses in the earlier versions of the *DP* (Cardona, 1976:163). Leaving aside the question of whether this earlier version was composed by Pāṇini, or was a traditional grouping, we must consider the implications of some roots being listed in different groups with different meanings. For example, *vidA* is listed in *divādi, adādi, rudhādi* and *tudādi* in the respective senses of existence (*sattā*), knowledge (*jñāna*), thinking (*vicāra*) and gain (*lābha*). Perhaps certain roots were recited with meanings in order to differentiate them from other roots, for meaning or operational purposes. Pāṇini may have had a special reason for reciting a set of roots with their meaning glosses, perhaps to make a *bhedakattva* 'distinction' of either semantic or operational type. However, the very listing of the same roots in different

places may account for *bhedakattva*. In that case, we must conclude that no meaning glosses were put with the listings. To account for their *bhedakattva*, Pāṇini resorted to different organizational and structural devices.

(c) The *Gaṇapāṭha* (*GP*)

The *GP* is an ordered listing of sets of nominal stems. These sets are of two types: some have a definite number of stems, while some are open-ended. The authorship of the *GP*, as the authorship of the *DP*, is in doubt. Jinendrabuddhi[10] is the only commentator who, in consonance with his opposition to Pāṇini's having composed the *DP*, does not accept Pāṇini as the composer of the *GP*. He also states that some parts of the *GP* are post-Kātyāyana. Similarly to his statements on the authorship of the *DP*, however, Jinendra's statements on the *GP* are self-contradictory. Consider *Kāśikā* on rule 1.3.2 *upadeśe'j anunāsika it.*[11] *Kāśikā* states that *upadeśa* here refers to the *Sūtrapāṭha* (*SP*) 'recitation of *sūtras* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*' as well as the *Khilapāṭha* 'appendices to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*'. Jinendra (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*, I:393) explains the *Khilapāṭha* as the *DP* and *GP*.[12] Now if one is discussing *upadeśa* and the *SP*, the person who made the *upadeśa* surely is Pāṇini. If, in fact, the composer of the *SP* and the *Khilapāṭha* were different, their inclusion in *upadeśa* would be questionable. Jinendra (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*, IV:10) also wonders why Pāṇini did not recite rule 5.1.3 *kambalāc ca saṃjñāyām* in the *gavādi gaṇa*.[13] Now such a question is pertinent only if one believes that the composer of the *SP* and the *GP* are the same. As opposed to this, Jinendra clearly states on *Kāśikā ad* 5.3.2[14] that the *GP* is non-Pāṇinian.

Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (1973, II:141-46) concludes after a detailed discussion of arguments that Pāṇini, while accepting material from his predecessors, did compose the *GP*. Cardona (1976, II:164-67), too, discusses this problem. He correctly observes that the *GP* was presupposed by the rules of the grammar. I shall reiterate here what I said in connection with my discussion of the *DP*; if Pāṇini's *SP* presupposed the *GP*, then Pāṇini must have had a version of the *GP* before him. Whether he received that version from his predecessors is not the right question. The right question is how much of Pāṇini's version of the *GP* is pre- or post-Pāṇinian. One

[10] *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* (IV:242) on 5.3.2 *kiṃ sarvanāma...sūtrakārasyeha gaṇapāṭha nāsāv upālambham arhati.* Note, however, that this statement may also mean that Jinendra doubts the Pāṇinian recitation of this particular *gaṇa* only; he may not question Pāṇini's authorship of other *gaṇas*.

[11] *upadiśyate' nena ity upadeśaḥ-śāstravākyāni, sūtrapāṭhaḥ khilapāṭhaś ca.*

[12] *khilapāṭhaḥ = dhātupāṭhaḥ; cakārāt prātipadikapāṭhaś ca.*

[13] *atha gavādiṣu eva "kambalāc ca saṃjñāyām" iti kasmān na paṭhati?*

[14] see above fn. 10.

should remember here that Pāṇini was using the *GP* for a very special purpose, a purpose which had to be in perfect accord with his *SP*. I doubt again that Pāṇini received a version of the *GP* which was tailored for his *SP*. We cannot but accept, with Cardona and Mīmāṃsaka, that Pāṇini composed the *GP*.

Beside the question of the authorship of the *GP*, there are other questions about the order and listings of individual *gaṇas*. Cardona (1976:166) takes up various points raised in connection with rule 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*. He mentions that in addition to the items *sarva* etc., this *gaṇa* also includes three rules, 1.1.34-36, of the *SP*. Kātyāyana[15] objects that 1.1.34-36 are unnecessary in the *SP* as their purpose is served by their listing in the *gaṇa*. Patañjali concludes that these rules are required in the *SP* to provide the optional replacement of *Jas* by *Śī* (*Mbh.* I:297). Why didn't Pāṇini account for the optional replacement by adding one rule to the *SP*? This brings us to the question of carrying *vibhāṣā jasi* from 1.1.32. There is considerable disagreement on this, but I believe that the listing of the *sūtras* in the *GP* is a later addition and that rule 1.1.32 is carried via *anuvṛtti*.

(d) The *Uṇādisūtras* (*Us*)

The *Uṇādi* affixes are used to derive nominal stems. Two versions of the *Us* are found: a *pañcapādī* 'classified in five sections' and a *daśapādī* 'classified in ten sections'. Scholars generally agree that the *daśapādī* is based on the *pañcapādī* and hence is later.

The authorship of these *sūtras*, too, is debatable. However, Pāṇini mentions *uṇādi* in two of his rules: 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam* and 3.4.75 *tābhyām anyatroṇādayaḥ*. The first rule states that affixes *uṆ*, etc., are introduced after verb roots. Thus, *kṛ* + *uṆ* → *kār* + *u* = *kāru* + *sU* → *kāruḥ* 'artisan'. The second rule states that *Uṇadi* affixes can also be introduced to denote *kārakas* other than *sampradāna* 'dative' and *apādāna* 'ablative'. These two rules in the *SP* definitely attest to the fact that the *SP* presupposed the *Us*. There are additional rules in the *SP* which also attest to the existence of the affixes of the *Us*; for example, 3.4.74 *bhīmādayo' pādāne* and 7.3.85 *jāgro' viciṇṇal*. . . . This second rule orders *ar* as a replacement for the *ṛ* of *jāgṛ*. However, this replacement is not allowed before affixes such as *vi*. Pāṇini does not introduce *vi* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is an *Uṇādi* affix. The majority of scholars doubt that Pāṇini composed the *Us*. However, if Pāṇini's *SP* presupposed it, he must have had a version of it prior to the time he composed the *SP*. Was that version tailor-made for Pāṇini's *SP* or did Pāṇini revise and rearrange it to suit his purpose? While he may have had a version of the *Us* available to him from the tradition, it is most unlikely that he did not make major changes in it to suit his own purpose.

[15] *Mbh.* (I:295) ad 1.1.34 *vārttika* 1.

There has been a considerable amount of work done concerning the conflict between the *Us* and the *SP*. This actually makes the presently available text of the *Us* suspect. Scholars generally agree that while Pāṇini did have a version of *Us* which he used for the *SP*, that version which was known to him was later modified.

Bhaṭṭoji lists 751 *Us* in his *SK* (IV:138-306) based on the description of Jñānendra Svāmin's commentary where 325 *Uṇādi* affixes have been discussed. It has been stated that these affixes derive nominal stems from verb roots. It is believed that Yāska and Śākaṭāyana consider that all nouns and substantives derive from verbs and most *Uṇādi* affixes would become useless if this view is not accepted. Also, the derivations involving these affixes lack other derivational details.

(e) The *Phiṭsūtra* (*Phs*)

The *Phs* is a small treatise that deals with the accentuation of linguistic items that are not developed through a derivational process from underlying bases and affixes. Pāṇini presents accent rules with reference to the derivational process. For example, 3.1.3 *ādyuttāttaś ca* states that an item termed *pratyaya* 'affix' carries *udātta* 'high-pitch' on its first vowel. Rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau* states that an affix denoted by *sUP* or marked with *P* as an *it* carries *anudātta* 'low-pitch'. These affixes are generally introduced after bases termed *dhātu* 'verb root' or *prātipadika* 'nominal stem'. Depending upon the nature of the derivate, its underlying elements and the derivational process, further accent rules are introduced to make adjustments in the accentuation of fully derived forms. However, Pāṇini does not discuss the accent of bases.

The *Phiṭsūtra* also does not discuss the accent of nominal bases whose derivation is not accounted for by a derivational process. This treatise gets its name from its first *sūtra*, *phiṣaḥ*, which assigns a final high-pitch accent. *Phiṭ*, the nominative singular of *phiṣ*, is used here in the sense of Pāṇini's term *prātipadika*. Cardona (1976:174-77) discusses the editions and texts of this treatise along with the question of its authorship.

The consensus of the tradition is that the *Phiṭsūtra*, in some form or other, was known to Patañjali and Kātyāyana. It was composed by Śantanu who certainly antedates Pāṇini. Whether Patañjali was aware of the *Phs* of Śantanu or of a different treatise dealing with the accentuation of nominal stems is a question without definitive answer. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (1973) and Kapil Deva Shastri (Cardona, 1966:176) claim that the *Phs* predates Pāṇini. This is based on the commentary of Candragomin's grammar on the *pratyāhāra-sūtra aiuṆ*. The commentary claims that earlier grammarians used *aṢ* for Pāṇini's *aC*. The *Phs* also uses *aṢ*, and thus, they claim, must predate Pāṇini. Cardona (1976:177) properly observes that this evidence is not enough to back the conclusion.

(f) The *Liṅgānuśāsana* (*Lā*)

This treatise deals with assigning gender to nominals based on their structure and meaning. The text of this treatise consists of about two hundred aphorisms enumerating items under the headings feminine (*strīliṅga*), masculine (*pulliṅga*), neuter (*napuṃsaka*), feminine-masculine (*strīpuṃsaka*), masculine-neuter (*puṃnapuṃsaka*) and variable (*aviśiṣṭaliṅga*). As the headings imply, certain nominals can only belong to one gender: feminine, masculine or neuter. Others, however, can be used both as feminine and masculine or masculine and neuter. Finally, there is also a set of nominals which can be used in any one of the three genders.

Patañjali states in his *Mahābhāṣya* (I:382) that gender is not taught in the grammar since it is assumed to be known from usage (cf. *Mbh. ad* 2.1.36 *liṅgam aśiṣyaṃ lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*). However, there are instances which suggest that Pāṇini did indeed discuss gender. For example, he makes gender the meaning condition for the introduction of certain affixes in 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*, 3.3.18 *puṃsi saṃjñāyāṃ ghaḥ prāyeṇa* and 3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*. Such rules, however, are only indirect evidence. For direct evidence one must consider such rules as 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*.

It has been stated that the *Lā*[16] enumerates items and assigns their gender in view of their structure and meaning. For example, *mātṛ* 'mother', *duhitṛ* 'daughter', *svasṛ* 'sister', *potṛ* 'granddaughter' and *nanandṛ* 'husband's sister'—these five bases which end in *ṛ* are feminine (cf. *Lā* 3:*mātṛduhitṛ*...). A following rule states that items derived by introducing affixes *ani* and *ū* after roots are also feminine. Thus we get *saraṇi* 'street', *dharaṇi* 'earth', etc. (cf. *Lā* 4: *anyūpratyayāto dhātuḥ*). Similarly there are rules which assign gender with reference to meanings. For example, *dundubhi* 'a large kettle-drum' when used in the sense of *akṣa* 'dice' is treated as feminine. So is *nābhi* 'navel' when it does not refer to a *kṣatriya* 'warrior'. However, elsewhere *dundubhi* and *nābhi* are both treated as masculine (cf. *La* 14-16: *dundubhir akṣeṣu — ubhāv anyatra puṃsi*).

Most scholars rightly believe that the text of the *Lā* was not composed by Pāṇini. There are two types of evidence for this. One relates to the inclusion of gender among things which the grammar treats as *aśiṣya*; the other involves conflicts found between the grammar and the *Lā* with respect to the assignment of gender. However, there are some, Mīmāṃsaka for example, who believe that Pānini did compose the *Liṅgānuśāsana*. For details, see Mīmāṃsaka (1973:II:256ff) and Cardona (1976:177-79).

The brief account of the related texts of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* given in this chapter largely follows the accounts offered by Cardona (1976) and Mīmāṃsaka (1973, II). Interested readers may refer to these works for further details.

[16] See Cārudeva Śāstrī (1973, 5:503-87) for references to *Lā*.

3

Grammar and Rule

Considerable discussion has already occurred in modern linguistics about the exact characterization of the notion of grammar and rule. Scholars of Pāṇini have recently shown a great deal of interest in these issues especially as they relate to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Pāṇini himself does not formulate any direct statements concerning these issues. However, starting with the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, we find an unbroken tradition of commentaries on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and related texts, a tradition rich in contents and details that pertain not only to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* but, in many respects, to linguistic theory in general. I shall try to present some of the basic themes underlying the notions of grammar and rule as they have been discussed in the Pāṇinian parlance. An attempt will then be made to see how the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* functions as a grammatical device. This will necessarily include a discussion of certain similarities which one may be tempted to establish between the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a grammatical device and the current models of grammatical description.

The *Mahābhāṣya* begins with the statement: *atha śabdānuśāsanam* "here begins the instruction about words". This aphorism, perhaps more than anything else, is responsible for grammar being called *śabdānuśāsana*. In answer to the question 'what kind of words?', Patañjali replies: "both Vedic as well as classical Sanskrit." Thus grammar is viewed as a discipline which instructs about words of classical and Vedic Sanskrit. How, however, one should approach the instruction about, or understanding of words. Should one start by taking individual words and explain them till the totality of words in the language is exhausted? Patañjali does not approve of this technique of *pratipadapāṭha* 'recitation of each and every word', mostly because it would require several lifetimes with the end still not in sight. It is said that Bṛhaspati, the ideal teacher, taught Indra, the ideal student, for a thousand heavenly years employing this means of reciting individual words, yet they could not see the end. What then of us human beings — if one lives long it is at most a hundred years.[1]

Paṭañjali tackles afresh the question of finding a suitable means for

[1] *Mbh.* I, 1-5: *atha śabdānuśāsanam...keṣāṃ śabdānām. laukikānāṃ vaidikānāṃ ca...kim śabdānāṃ pratipattau pratipadapāṭhaḥ karttavyaḥ...anabhyupāya eṣa śabdānāṃ pratipattau pratipadapāṭhaḥ. evaṃ hi śrūyate, bṛhaspatir indrāya divyaṃ varṣasahasraṃ pratipadoktānāṃ śabdānāṃ śabdapārāyaṇaṃ provāca nāntaṃ jagāma...kim punar adyatve. yaḥ sarvathā ciraṃ jīvati varṣaśataṃ jīvati.*

understanding words. He proposes that a set of rules (*lakṣaṇa*) should be formulated based upon the principle of general (*sāmānya*) and particular (*viśeṣa*). He argues that this will enable us to understand the enormous mass of words with little effort. The *Mahābhāṣya* discussion now focuses on characterizing the general and particular aspects of rule formulation. The idea is to make generalizations about words such that a general rule is formulated with reference to related exceptions. What should be the basis for making these generalizations — *loka* 'usage'. In other words, the grammar should treat usage as the standard or norm from which generalizations are abstracted.[2] The question then is raised about which people's usage should be considered. Patañjali identifies them as *śiṣṭa* 'wise, learned' and characterizes them as those venerable *brāhmaṇas* who live in this home of the *Āryas*, whose grain is only one earthen pitcher, who are not greedy, who have not seized upon a cause but who, for some reason or other, have gone to the end of some field of knowledge or other.[3] This description of a *śiṣṭa* is based largely on *nivāsa* 'residence' in *Āryāvartta* and *ācāra* 'conduct' notions, many would consider non-linguistic.

One can safely assume in view of the preceding discussion that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a set of rules formulated from generalizations which accept usage as norm. The purpose of these rules is to give instruction about words. This last needs some explanation. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* formulates rules to account for correct Sanskrit usage. This usage may be characterized as a set of sentences. However, since the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, based upon the testimony of Patañjali, accounts for words, how could it be treated as accounting for Sanskrit usage characterized as a set of sentences? The reason grammar may be called a set of rules which account for sentences is primarily strategic. Nāgeśa claims that it is impossible to explain the extent of individual relata and meanings reflected in separated sentences by any briefer means. Hence a different strategy has to be employed. The strategy is to make a theoretical assumption and split up the constituency of a sentence.[4] The reference obviously is to words. Furthermore, these words should be subjected to additional analysis in terms of their components, namely bases (*prakṛti*) and affixes (*pratyaya*).

[2] Ibid.:6: *kathaṃ tarhīme śabdāḥ pratipattavyāḥ kiṃcit sāmānyaviśeṣaval lakṣaṇaṃ pravarttyaṃ yenālpena yatnena mahato mahataḥ śabdaughān pratipadyeran. sāmānyenotsargaḥ karttavyaḥ tasya viśeṣeṇāpavādaḥ.*

[3] Ibid.: *estasminn āryadeśe ye brāhmaṇāḥ kumbhīdhānyāḥ alolupā agṛhyamānakāraṇāḥ kiṃcid antareṇa kasyāścid vidyāyāḥ pārāgās tatrabhavantaḥ śiṣṭāḥ.*

[4] *Paramalaghumañjūṣā*, 4: *tatra prativākyaṃ saṃketagrahaṇāsambhavāt tad anvākhyānasya laghūpāyena aśakyatvāc ca kalpanayā padāni pravibhajya pade prakṛtipratyayavibhāgakalpanena kalpitābhyām anvayavyatirekābhyāṃ tat tadarthavībhāgaṃ śāstramātraviṣayaṃ parikalpayanti smācāryāḥ.*

This analysis, based upon the abstraction of sentences constituted by bases and affixes, is guided by the principle of *anvaya* 'concurrent presence' and *vyatireka* 'concurrent absence'. Nāgeśa is quick to remind us that such divisions are strictly *kalpanā* 'theoretical assumptions' and that *śāstra* 'grammar' is their only domain. This is enough to indicate that the grammar accounts for sentences of the language although it employs the description of words as a tool. Details of this observation will be taken up later. I shall now summarize the basic ideas of traditional grammarians concerning the notion of grammar.

(*a*) Grammar is a set of rules formulated based upon generalizations abstracted from usage.

(*b*) The function of grammar is to account for the utterances of a language in such a way that fewer rules are employed to characterize the infinite number of utterances.

(*c*) The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* accepts the language of the *śiṣṭa*'s as the norm for usage.

(*d*) The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* accounts for the utterances of the language by first abstracting sentences and then by conceptualizing the components of these sentences as consisting of bases and affixes. Needless to say, the network of bases and affixes, and the subsequent operations which derive the components of sentences, are the product of the grammarian's own imagination.

Pāṇinian *sūtras* differ substantially from what we are familiar with as rules in modern linguistics. Usually a 'rule' is self-contained, but a *sūtra* is not. A *sūtra* is supposed to be inambiguous, comprehensive and objective, also brief and precise. To many this sounds paradoxical. Actually, Pāṇini formulated his rules with utmost brevity and algebraic condensation. This brevity, however, was not to be achieved at the expense of clarity. Thus, Pāṇini needed a mechanism whereby *sūtras* could be clearly understood. He chose the technique of context-sharing (*ekavākyatā*). Patañjali is correct when he says that two rules do not become different simply because they happen to be placed in different places in the grammar; they may share a single context.[5] This suggests an interdependency lacking in rules in modern linguistics where they tend to be self-contained, with independent interpretation and application.

This interdependency among rules is of two types: intradomain and interdomain. The second operates within a given domain whereas the first may operate across the domain boundaries. The interdomain dependency is attested to by the metalinguistic device of *anuvṛtti* 'recurrence'. The express function of *anuvṛtti* is to relate preceding rules of a domain to its following rules. That is, *anuvṛtti* allows a controlled reading of a former

[5] (*Mbh.* III:392) *na videśastham iti kṛtvato nānāvākyaṃ bhavati. videśastham api sad ekaṃ vākyaṃ bhavati.*

rule, or part of a former rule, in the interpretation or application of a subsequent rule. It thus helps reconstruct the shared context of a given rule within a domain.

Let us consider an example. Rule 3.1.62 *acaḥ karmakarttari* is composed of two *padas* where the first (*acaḥ*) ends in *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet' and the second (*karmakarttari*) in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet'. This *sūtra* cannot make any sense unless *sūtras* 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.2 *paraś ca*, 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco...*, 3.1.43 *cli luṅi*, 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*, 3.1.60 *ciṇ te...* and 3.1.61 *dīpajana...anyatarasyām* contribute their elements towards its proper interpretation. A concatenation of all the elements brought via *anuvṛtti* to 3.1.62 produces the following string where I also indicate the nominal endings attached to the individual *padas*.

> *Pratyayaḥ* 1/1 *paraś ca* 1/1 *dhātoḥ* 5/1 *luṅi* 7/1 *ciṇ* 1/1 *te* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *acaḥ* 5/1 *karmakarttari* 7/1

I now present the *vṛtti* of this *sūtra*.

> *ajantād dhātoḥ parasya cleḥ pratyayasya karmakarttari taśabde parataś ciṇādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām*
> "Affix *CLI* optionally is replaced by *CIṆ* when the former occurs after a verb root ending in *aC* (a vowel) and when *ta*, a replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *karmakartṛ* 'object treated as if agent' follows".

It is obvious that 3.1.62 cannot be properly interpreted without the help of the previous seven rules contributing elements via *anuvṛtti*. There are yet additional rules which must also be brought close to 3.1.62 for its proper interpretation. *Sūtra* 3.1.62 orders a replacement in the form of $X \rightarrow Y/Z$ where X is replaced by Y when Z follows. Thus Z forms the right context of this replacement. However, since not every X should be replaced by Y, X must be qualified; it will be termed the left context of replacement. In the example on hand, *ta*, a replacement of *LUṄ* denoting *karmakartṛ*, forms the right context while a verb root ending in a vowel (*aC*) forms the left context. How do we know this? The answer is: from rules of interpretation such as 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*, 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya* and 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*, etc. These rules, however, do not come via *anuvṛtti*; they must be brought by means of some other device. I shall discuss this with reference to intradomain dependency among rules.

The device for reconstructing the shared context of related rules to which Patañjali alludes in his statement on *ekavākyatā* is to be implicitly assumed. I have termed this *reference to antecedent*. Patañjali claims that rules placed in two different places in the grammar may share the same context of application. For example, Pāṇini presents most of his definitional and interpretational rules in the first book. If a given definitional or interpretational rule is required for the interpretation and application of

an operational rule elsewhere in the grammar, the grammar must have some way of bringing them together. My idea of a *reference to antecedent* as an implicit device derives from Pāṇini's own practice of relating definitional terms to operational rules in a way that not only facilitates interpretation of these rules but also serves as a guide for determining further steps in derivation. The following convention summarizes the function of this implicit device.

Any term encountered in a rule while scanning a domain for possible rule application triggers the process of reconstructing a referential index (*RI*) for that term. A given *RI* refers to the antecedent of that term by computing all its previous occurrences in the grammar and consequently bringing information close to the rule which triggers the *RI* computation.

The device of reference to antecedent thus brings rules from across the domain boundaries by means of the *RI* computation (see chapter 4 for details of *RI* operation).

Given the fact that a *sūtra* is very brief and concise, and that it depends on other *sūtras* for its proper interpretation and application, a *sūtra* should be interpreted as a sentence. Obviously, it necessitates retrieving required information from elsewhere. Thus, a *sūtra* when fully supplied with all the information required for its application, becomes a statement. A rule is not necessarily a statement as it is not written in the *sūtra* style *per se* and also because it entails practically no information retrieval. This may be reason enough to distinguish between a *sūtra* and rule. However, I prefer to use them both in the sense of a rule for ease of reference.

Contemporary linguists generally formulate rules with a single operation. Pāṇini has formulated many rules with two operations to be performed concurrently. Consider the following rules.

3.1.11 *karttuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca*
"The affix *KyaṄ* occurs optionally to denote *ācāra* 'conduct' after a *pada* ending in a *SUP* and denoting an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison' as agent; in addition, final *s* of a nominal stem is replaced by zero (*LOPA*).
3.1.12 *bhṛśādibhyo bhuvy acver lopaś ca halaḥ*
"The affix *KyaṄ* occurs optionally to denote the sense of *bhū* 'to be, become' after nominal stems enumerated in the list headed by *bhṛśa* 'more, bountiful' providing these stems did not end in the affix *Cvi;* in addition, the stem final consonant (*hL*) is replaced by zero"
3.1.80 *dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca*
"The affix *u* occurs after verbal roots *dhinvī* 'to please, be pleased' and *kṛṇvī* 'to hurt, injure' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix denoting *kartṛ* follows; in addition, the root-final sound is replaced by *a*"
3.1.108 *hanas ta ca*
"The affix *KyaP* occurs to denote *bhāva* 'action' after the verbal root *han*

'to kill' used without a preverb and co-occurring with a *pada* ending in a *sUP*; in addition, the root-final *n* is replaced with *t*"

3.1.39 *bhīhrībhṛhuvaṃ śluvac ca*

"affix *ām* occurs optionally after verbal roots *ÑIbhī* 'to fear,' *hrī* to be bashful, ashamed,' *ḌUbhṛÑ* 'to hold, provide for' and *hu* 'to offer ritual oblation' providing *LIṬ* follows and the usage is not Vedic; in addition, these roots undergo operations similar to ones which occur when *ŚLU* follows."

The first four rules require specific deletion or replacement operations in addition to the introduction of an affix. The last rule does not specify a single operation. Instead, it directs operation(s) similar to those conditioned by another item. These operations specifically are doubling (*dvitva*; 6.1.10 *ślau*) and *i*-replacement (*itva; 7.4.76 bhṛñām it*). The first four operations can be performed simultaneously whereas those required by 3.1.39 cannot. Cardona (unpublished (*a*): 12-14) interestingly distinguishes within the group of rules which order two operations simultaneously. With supporting evidence from Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* 3.1.11, he states that rules such as 3.1.11 and 3.1.12 form a type where the two operations do not presuppose each other. Thus, the deletion of *s* ordered by 3.1.11 presupposes the introduction of affix *KyaṄ* but not vice versa. Contrary to this, operations ordered by rules such as 3.1.80 and 3.1.108 both presuppose each other. Cardona also points out that the first type entails two operations where one is major and the other is subsidiary, and it is the subsidiary operation (deletion of *s* in 3.1.11) that always presupposes the major one. The second type where the two operations both presuppose each other entails operations of equal status.

Commentators also make a distinction between elements stated by these rule types. For example, the elements introduced by two operations enjoying equal status are characterized as *saṃniyogaśiṣṭa* 'ordered in conjunction'. Elements introduced by two operations where one is principal and the other secondary are characterized as *pradhānaśiṣṭa* 'ordered as principal' and *anvācayaśiṣṭa* 'ordered as secondary' respectively. These distinctions entail certain consequences. For example, if an element characterized as *saṃniyogaśiṣṭa* is removed, the other element concurrently introduced must also be removed. Rule 4.1.49 *indravaruṇa* ... introduces the feminine affix *ṄīP* simultaneously with the augment *ānUK*. Thus we get: *indra* + *ānUK* + *ṄīP* = *indra* + *ān* + *ī* = *indrāṇī* 'Indra's wife'. However, in deriving the compound *pañcendra* '*a mantra* whose deities are five Indrāṇīs' from *pañcan* + *Jas* + (*aN* →ϕ) = *pañcendrāṇī*, we find that the feminine affix *ṄīP* must be deleted by 1.2.49 *luk taddhita luki*. Since *ṄīP* was introduced simultaneously with *ānUK* as *saṃniyogaśiṣṭa*, *ānUK* must also be deleted. The result is: *pañcendr* (*āṇ* → ϕ) (*ī* → ϕ) = *pañcendra*. Note here that

the deletion of *ānUK* and *ṄīP* will not yield the string **pañcendr*; instead it will restore the final *a* of *indra* as this *a* was there when *ānUK* and *ṄīP* were introduced.

Pāṇini arranges his rules in domains sequentially. However, when it comes to application of rules, he also resorts to non-sequential ordering. The express purpose of sequential ordering is to help strings locate domains of possible rule application. Elsewhere the ordering may or may not be sequential. Rules in modern linguistics are arranged and applied sequentially, though with certain intrinsic or extrinsic constraints. The notion of cyclic application of rules is also different in Pāṇini. Cyclic rules in contemporary linguistics are formulated based largely upon input conditions. Pāṇini's rule cycles, however, are constrained primarily by output conditions. One must of course remember that the notion of cyclic rules is still not fully developed.

The notion of ordering and cyclic application is closely related to rule interaction. Commentators have identified several categories of rules where operational rules are largest in number. The degree and type of rule interaction depends mostly on the derivates. Consider the following rules.

1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*
1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*
1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*
1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*

Rule 1.4.1 requires that only one term should be assigned to a single nominatum (*saṃjñin*). The next rule states that, in matters of conflict, a rule which is subsequent (*para*) in order wins. Now consider the following sentence.

(1) *rāmo dhanuṣā mṛgaṃ vidhyati*
'Rāma is piercing the deer with the bow'

The word *dhanuṣ* 'bow' can qualify for the assignment of both *apādāna* 'ablative' and *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Given an action denoted by *vyadh* 'to pierce', *dhanuṣ* can serve as the fixed (*dhruva*) point from whence movement away (*apāya*) of arrows (*śara*) occurs. It can also be viewed as the most effective means (*sādhakatama*) since arrows cannot be shot without it. There is clearly a conflict between rules 1.4.24 and 1.4.42. Rule 1.4.2 is invoked to resolve this conflict on the basis of *paratva* and consequently *dhanuṣ* is assigned the term *karaṇa* by 1.4.42. The order of rule placement thus becomes a factor in determining the relative strength of rules.

It must be remembered here that the conflicts which 1.4.2 resolves are identified as *tulyabalatā* 'equal strength'. Such strength obtains between rules which are *sāvakāśa* 'with scope of application elsewhere'. Conflicts where one of the rules happens to be *niravakāśa* 'without any scope of

application elsewhere' are not covered by 1.4.2. Commentators also observe that conflicts between *nitya* 'obligatory' and *para*, *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' and *para* or *nitya*, and *apavāda* 'exception' and *para*, *nitya* or *antaraṅga* rules are not covered by *tulyabalatā*. Hence, such conflicts cannot be resolved by 1.4.2. Pāṇinīyas recognize a *paribhāṣā* in this regard:

pūrvaparanityāntaraṅgāpavādānām uttarottara balīyaḥ.

This is clearly an effort towards setting hierarchical relations among rules (see chapter 5 for details on these rule types).

It has already been stated that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a finite set of ordered rules which is capable of characterizing an infinite number of correct Sanskrit sentences. It is important to realize here that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is designed to characterize only correct Sanskrit sentences. A question may be raised here whether sentence analysis should be based on correct or incorrect usage or both. Patañjali observes that only one type of usage, either correct or incorrect, should form the basis for analysis. After all, since the two sets are mutually exclusive, by analysing only one, namely correct usage, the second set, incorrect usage, will become known as what is excluded. This practice has a parallel in the outside world. If someone specifies what should not be eaten, what should be eaten becomes clear. In the same way, if one specifies what should be eaten, what should not be eaten also becomes known. Thus, by specifying that only five of the five-nailed should be eaten, the others which should not be eaten, become known. Similarly, if one says that a village pig should not be eaten, one understands that one found in the jungle can be eaten (*Mbh.* I:23). In the same way, by analysing correct usage one automatically knows incorrect.

Answering the question which usage, correct or incorrect, should form the basis of analysis, Patañjali says that analysis based on correct words is preferred as it is economical. That is, fewer rules are needed to explain correct usage than incorrect usage. After all, a single correct word may have many corresponding incorrect words. Besides, use of correct words brings merit.[6]

The correct words which Patañjali recommends as forming the basis of analysis are further qualified. They must be taken from usage. An interesting discussion follows this. It centres around the question whether there are words which are not found in usage, and if so whether such words should be included in the analysis. Patañjali accepts that there are words which may not be found in usage but that should be included. This appears to directly counter the idea of analysis based on usage. After all, since words exist to convey meanings, if they are not used and hence do

[6] *Mbh. pas.:kiṃ punar atra jyāyaḥ. laghutvāc chabdopadeśaḥ. garīyān apaśabdopadeśaḥ. ekaikasya bahavo' pabhraṃśāḥ...*

not convey meanings, the question of their existence or analysis is vacuous. Patañjali explains that the scope of usage must be taken as widely as possible. Efforts should be made to ascertain whether a particular word exists in usage. Doubt expressed about the existence of a word simply because it has not conveyed meaning is not sufficient since many other words can be used to convey the same meaning and the meaning is thus expressed. Many words had an antique usage such as in the ritual of *dīrghasatra* but are no longer used. Similarly, there are words which are used in other places. The scope of usage is indeed very wide; great effort must be expended in ascertaining whether words exist in usage. In short, even though a particular person may not use a particular word, or a word may not be current in a particular area at a particular time, it does not mean that the word did or does not exist in usage (*Mbh.* I:37-38).

Pāṇini believed in the authority of words (usage). The rules of the grammar are formulated to capture generalizations reflected in usage, and obviously generalizations necessary for the formulation of general rules and their particular exceptions are impossible to abstract from incorrect usage. Consequently, incorrect sentences cannot be treated as norm. This amounts to saying that the grammar is not capable of characterizing the infinity of incorrect utterances.

It is not out of place to indicate here that the Sanskrit grammarians were aware of issues concerning grammaticality and acceptability. Judgments relating to grammaticality and acceptability are not to be treated as depending on the native speaker's intuition. Sanskrit grammarians pay much attention to the usage and the *vivakṣā* 'intent' of the speakers. Thus, it is not surprising to find grammatically correct though semantically deviant sentences similar to Chomsky's "colorless green ideas sleep furiously"[7] discussed by Sanskrit grammarians.[8]

> *eṣa bandhyāsuto yāti khapuṣpakṛtaśekharaḥ*
> *kūrmakṣīracaye snāta śaśasṛṅgadhanurdharaḥ*
> "There goes the son of a barren woman with his hair-top bedecked with sky-flower, bathed with the milk of a tortoise carrying a bow made of the horn of a rabbit".

Such usages are grammatically approved though treated as *kalpanā* 'imagination' and hence, regarded as falling outside the scope of normal usage. Since the Sanskrit grammarians do not bother themselves with the intuitive knowledge of the native speakers, they do not consider it necessary to go deeper into grammatical or semantic deviance. They adhere to the usage of the *śiṣṭas* as norm.

It has been stated that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* characterizes sentences. However,

[7] Chomsky (1957:15).

[8] (*PLM*:37).

it has also been observed that this characterization is dependent upon the analysis of words by means of bases and affixes. Thus, the Pāṇinian grammatical device treats words as its ultimate derivate. This observation may create the impression that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is a morphologically-based descriptive grammar. It will also raise a question about the status of syntax in Pāṇini. Above all, it will bring into question whether Pāṇini can derive sentences. I have claimed, with support from Nāgeśa, that Pāṇini employs word derivation as a tool to derive sentences. Why doesn't Pāṇini derive sentences directly? I think his strategy is quite obvious. The question loses its appeal for him since his attempt to derive a sentence *per se* would necessarily require him to provide all information relative to word derivation. Furthermore, this attempt will also fail miserably in providing anything significantly different from what his word derivation would have already provided. Pāṇini derives words with reference to the conceptual structure (*CS*) of sentences. This procedure consequently enables him to derive sentences, even though he does not consider the sentence to be either the starting point or the terminal point of his derivational device.

The Pāṇinian derivative model is built around two basic though interrelated constructs: conceptual structure (*CS*) of sentences and lexicalization. No sentence can be derived unless there is a clearly established *CS* for it. Since action(*kriyā*) forms the central denotatum of Sanskrit sentences, their *CS* must be established with reference to action. Action requires participants (*kārakas*) for bringing it to fulfilment. Pāṇini sets up six categories of *kārakas: apādāna* ablative', *sampradāna* 'dative', *karaṇa* 'instrument', *adhikaraṇa* 'locus', *karman* 'object' and *kartṛ* 'agent'. The theory of action and participants makes it obligatory for each *CS* to underlie an agent and an action. Thus the agent is a priori given by the theory. Other participants may or may not be involved in a given action depending on the nature of that action and the co-occurrence conditions imposed upon the participants. Let us consider the *CS* of sentence (2).

(2) *rāmo vane sītāyai dhanuṣā mṛgaṃ vidhyati*

The *CS* of this sentence is built around the action of piercing in which Rāma, the agent, is engaged at the current time. The act of piercing is denoted by the verb root *vyadh* 'to pierce'. This particular action, of its own nature, may permit the involvement of participants such as *apādāna* 'ablative', *sampradāna* 'dative', *karaṇa* 'instrument, *adhikaraṇa* 'locus' or *karman* 'object'. In essence, this action permits the involvement of participants which other actions may not allow. We can represent the *CS* of sentence (2) as follows:

CS_1: Action$_1$ (*vyadh*): Agent, Dative, Instrument, Locus, Object

The role of ablative in this CS_1 is recognized although one can argue that since *dhanuṣ* 'bow' can serve as the point from which the movement away

(*apāya*; 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*) can take place, *dhanuṣ* should be assigned the term *apādāna*. An argument counter to the preceding can also be forwarded. Since one cannot shoot an arrow to accomplish the act of piercing without using the bow, *dhanuṣ* should be assigned the term *karaṇa* 'instrument'.

There is clearly a conflict here. The same *dhanuṣ* which may qualify for the *apādāna* may also qualify for the term *karaṇa*. Rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* governs the assignment of terms in the *kāraka* domain. It would not allow the assignment of two terms to a single entity. Rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* must be invoked here to resolve the conflict. Accordingly, *dhanuṣ* must be uniquely termed *karaṇa* on grounds that the rule which assigns the term *karaṇa* is subsequent to the one which assigns the term *apādāna*.

It is at this stage that the process of lexicalization occurs. It starts with the plugging in of lexical items which may specify the abstract categories of participants named in the *CS*. It should be carefully noted here that specifying these categories with lexical items does not automatically accomplish the expression of roles they play in the *CS*. This distinction between 'naming' and 'expressing' will become clear momentarily. In the meantime, let me briefly outline the kinds of lexical items which are recognized by Pāṇini. They fall into two categories: *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' and *dhātu* 'verb root'. Pāṇini defines these terms as follows.

1.2.45 *arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam*
'a non-root, non-affixal unit with meaning is termed *prātipadika*'
1.2.46 *kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca*
'a unit which either ends in a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) or *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix, or is a *samāsa* 'compound' is also termed *prātipadika*'
1.3.1 *bhūvādyo dhātavaḥ*
'units headed by *bhū* 'to be, become' and the like, are termed *dhātu* 'verb root'
3.1.32 *sanādy-antā dhātavaḥ*
'units which end in affixes *saN*, etc, (3.1.5 *gup-tij-kidbhyaḥ*...) are termed *dhātu*'

The above listings give us a total of six types of lexical items grouped under two categories of nominal stem and verb root. Rule 1.2.46 enumerates three types of stems which are to be derived from units underlying simple bases. Roots of the class characterized by 3.1.32 also fall within the derived category. Lexical insertion in a given *CS* may involve any of the above bases as desired.

Returning to CS_1, we find the following representation after the lexical insertion of the bases has been completed.

CS_1: Action$_1$: *vyadh* (*dhātu*: hereafter *D*)
Agent, Dative, Instrument, Locus, Object
rāma (*prātipadika*: hereafter *P*)
sītā (*P*) *dhanuṣ* (*P*) *vana* (*P*) *mṛga* (*P*)

The next step in the process of lexicalization is to express, by means of affixes, the relations named above. It should be noted here that a relation, especially a *kāraka* relation, though potentially (inherently) named by an action, depending on the intention of the speakers may not be expressed by lexicalization. Thus, in the CS_1, the action denoted by *vyadh* names or potentially inheres agent, object, instrument, dative, ablative and locative. A speaker may not wish to particularize or identify entities which may be capable of serving as object, instrument, etc. For example, a speaker may not wish to particularize *dhanuṣ* as *karaṇa*. With the exclusion of *karaṇa*, sentence (2) can become

(3) *rāmo mṛgaṃ vidhyati vane sītāyai*

'Rāma is piercing the deer in the forest for Sītā'.

Similarly, the speaker may even wish to exclude a particular reference to the agent Rāma, thereby reducing the sentence to

(4) *mṛgaṃ vidhyati sītāyai vane*

'... is piercing the deer for Sītā in the forest'.

Sentences (5) and (6) exclude dative and locative.

(5) *mṛgaṃ vidhyati vane*

'... is piercing the deer in the forest'.

(6) *mṛgaṃ vidhyati*

'... is piercing the deer'

These exclusions do not mean that the action denoted by *vyadh* does not name the deleted *kārakas*. Instead, it merely implies that even though the action potentially inheres or names these participants in the action, the speaker may not wish to particularly identify them in a given sentence. This is the basis for maintaining a distinction between the processes of naming and expressing. Expressing also goes beyond particularizing. That is, the identification of *kārakas* by specific bases doesn't mean that the named *kārakas* have also been expressed. For example, consider the following sentence.

(7) *rāmeṇa mṛgo vidhyate sītāyai vane*

'a deer is being pierced by Rāma in the forest for Sītā'.

Sentences (7) and (3) both mean the same thing; the only difference is the way these sentences express their agent or object. Sentence (3) expresses

the agent by using the active ending *ti* with the verb. Sentence (7) expresses the same agent by using the third triplet of nominal ending (*tṛtīyā*). Similarly, the object which is expressed by using the second triplet of nominal ending (*dvitīyā*) in (3) is expressed by introducing affix *ya* to the verb in (7). Agents and objects can either be expressed by post-verbal endings or other affixes. Other *kārakas* can be expressed by nominal endings or other affixes. This proves that an action may name a *kāraka*, lexical bases may identify them, but there will still remain the question of how they shall be expressed. It is for this reason that naming and expressing have to be treated on different levels.

Let us now return to the derivation of sentences (2) and (7). I reproduce here the string with lexical insertion already accomplished.

(2) *rāma* (agent: *P*) *vyadh* (*D*) *vana* (locus, *P*)
sītā (dative: *P*) *dhanuṣ* (instrument: *P*) *mṛga* (object: *P*)

Note here that the terms *prātipadika* (*P*), *dhātu* (*D*) and *kartṛ* 'agent', etc., are assigned by the grammar, among other things, to guide the strings to the domain of possible rule application. This relationship between the assignment of a term and scanning of domains for possible rule application will be discussed in the chapters 4 and 6. Suffice it to say here that the root *vyadh* and other items termed *prātipadika* are sent respectively to the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* and 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* for possible rule application. The result will be:

rāma + *sU*, *vana* + *Ṅi*, *sītā* + *Ṅe*, *dhanuṣ* + *Ṭā*, *mṛga* + *am*, *vyadh* + *LAṬ*

The string *vyadh* + *LAṬ* will yield *vyadh* + *ya* + *ti* where first *LAṬ* will be replaced by *tiP* and subsequently (*ŚyaN* = *ya*) will be introduced. There are three things which must be noted in connection with the replacement of *LAṬ* by *tiP*. First, *LAṬ* is one of the twelve abstract affixes termed *LA* and introduced after transitive verb roots when either *kartṛ* or *karman* 'object' is denoted. It is introduced after intransitive roots to denote *kartṛ* or *bhāva* (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*). Second, the decision whether a *LA* affix denotes *kartṛ*, *karman*, or *bhāva* is made at the time when 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* applies to replace it with a *tiṄ*. Finally, *tiṄ* is a set of eighteen endings from among which only one may be selected to replace a *LA*.

The nominal affixes *sU*, *Ṅi*, *Ṅe* and *am* are introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujas...* in the domain of 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*. These affixes denote diverse *kāraka* and non-*kāraka* relations and their selection is constrained by, among other things, rule 2.3.1 *anabhihite*. This rule requires that these affixes should be introduced only when their denotatum is not already expressed by some other means. Consider the selection of *sU* after *rāma*, which is the named agent. Now, *vyadh* is a transitive verb whose *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP* to denote agent. An attempt to express *kartṛ* by means of

a nominal ending will be clearly in violation of 2.3.1 since *tiP* of *vyadh* + *ya* + *ti* would have already expressed it. This selectional constraint clearly establishes an interdependency between the expression of agent, object, and *bhāva* by a verbal inflection, and the expression of *kartṛ* and *karman* by the nominal endings. Thus, *sU* introduced after *rāma*, the nominal which specifies the *kartṛ*, does not express *kartṛ*. Instead, it expresses only the nominal stem notion (2.3.46 *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā*). The condition laid down by 2.3.1 must also be met in connection with the introduction of the other nominal endings. Consider the following string which underlies (7).

rāma + *Ṭā*, *vana* + *Ṅi*, *sītā* + *Ṅe*, *dhanuṣ* + *Ṭā*, *mṛga* + *sU*, *vyadh* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*)

The affix *LAṬ* of *vyadh* + *LAṬ* is replaced here with *ta*, which subsequently conditions the introduction of *ya* to yield the string *vyadh* + *ya* + *ta*. This *ya* expresses *karman* which then cannot be expressed by introducing *am* after *mṛga*. However, since the agent is not expressed elsewhere, affix *Ṭā* must be introduced after *rāma* to denote it. Aside from showing the interdependency between the expression of agent and object by verbal or nominal endings, the derivation of (2) and (7) reveals one other point of interest: namely, that the derivation of (2) and (7) starts with the same two steps, i.e., the assignment of *kāraka* terms and lexical insertion of bases. They later develop differently depending on whether the verbal ending expresses agent or object.

Once the string reaches the step where the nominal and verbal endings have been introduced, the derivation becomes largely automatic. Some of the theoretical implications of the derivational details, however, must be discussed. First, let us consider this summary of the derivational scheme.

(*a*) action : agent
(*b*) $action_1$: $agent_1$ plus the other *kārakas* which $action_1$ may name $= CS_1$
(*c*) lexical insertion of bases identifying $action_1$ and the named *kārakas*
(*d*) lexical insertion of bases identifying units of non-*kāraka* relations = expanded CS_1
(*e*) expressing agent, object or *bhāva* by verbal endings
(*g*) expressing non-*kāraka* relations by means of nominal endings, post-nominal affixes, etc.

Steps (*a*) through (*d*) relate to the level of naming, (*e*) through (*g*) to expressing.

The affixes ruled after nominal bases above are conditioned by 2.3.1 *anabhihite* 'when not expressed otherwise'. This simply means that such affixes can only be introduced after nominal bases when the denotatum of these affixes is not already expressed by something else. This explains why *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending' cannot be introduced by 2.3.18

kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā after *rāma* in (2) to express the agent it specifies. However, since there is nothing, including the verbal form, which expresses the object, *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' can be added by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* after *mṛga* to express the object it specifies. The same argument goes for all the other affixes introduced after other stems. It is my contention that forms such as *mṛgam* can never be derived by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* unless the conceptual structure (*CS*) of sentences is taken into account and a reference to forms such as *vidhyati* is made. This shows why the derivation of words such as *mṛgam* cannot merely be termed 'word derivation'. What has been stated as the difficulty in deriving *mṛgam* in (2) holds true for deriving *rāmeṇa* in (7). The Pāṇinian derivational device simply cannot be considered a morphological device of either the Bloomfieldian or neo-Bloomfieldian type.

Pāṇini derives and uses some other types of forms which further support this claim. Consider the following:

(8) *ātmanaḥ putram icchati*
'... wishes a son of his own'

(9) *putrīyati*
'id.'

Sentence (9) consists of the single word *putrīyati*. It is derived by introducing *LAṬ* (to be replaced by *ti*) after the verbal root *putrīya*, which in itself is derived by introducing affix *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*) after the *pada* (*supaḥ*) *putra* + *am*. Now, *am* is ruled after *putra* to express the object. As stated, the introduction of this affix cannot be accomplished unless reference to the *CS* is made. Pāṇini provides for this by outlining conditions imposed upon the introduction of affix *KyaC*. We understand that *am* must be introduced to express the *karman* related to an action denoted by *iṣ* 'to wish'. In addition, the agent of *iṣ* must wish the object for himself and must also be the same as the agent named by the derived root. A *CS* realized in terms of bases and affixes and also meeting the above conditions is:

(10) *ātman* + *Ṅas putra* + *am iṣ* +*LAṬ*

Sentences (8) and (9) both derive from string (10). Since Pāṇini derives (8) and (9) as optional (*vā*) constructions, (9) alternates with (8). Derivationally, *KyaC* is introduced after *putra* + *am*, a *pada* expressing the object, since it meets all the conditions. This should be enough to show that deriving (9) and (10) as an alternant of (8) cannot simply be considered as word derivation.

Kiparsky (1982) presents some interesting ideas concerning the derivation of sentences, nominals and elliptical constructions. He finds that, unlike grammatical models in current linguistic theory, Pāṇini does not accept that the relationship between sentences and their corresponding nominals or elliptical counterparts is derivational. That is, contrary to

current theory, Pāṇini does not derive a passive from an active, or a nominal or elliptical construction from a corresponding sentence. Instead, Pāṇini derives such parallel constructions from a common string. When it comes to deriving nominals, the transformational theory posits an expansion at the phrase-structure level for a nominal parallel to that of a corresponding sentence. The *TG* employs the means of the x̄ (x-bar) convention. Pāṇini, again, does not employ any such means. He instead derives the sentence as well as its corresponding nominal from the same string. The Pāṇinian system is thus economical.

Many of Kiparsky's observations concerning this aspect of the Pāṇinian derivational mechanism are acceptable. However, his explanation of the actual mechanism whereby an underlying relation is expressed in lexical items is confusing. Kiparsky presents the mechanism of Pāṇinian derivation under the title of case, control and ellipsis. While there may not be any substantial difficulty in understanding his arguments in case of a general linguistics student, there are problems in following him for a student of Pāṇini. Consider Kiparsky's explanation of the derivation of the following sentence.

devadattaḥ pacaty odanam

'Devadatta is cooking rice'

Kiparsky, similar to Kiparsky and Staal (1968) posits four levels in the Pāṇinian derivational schema.

Level 1: semantics
Level 2: abstract syntax (*kārakas*)
Level 3: surface structure (morphology)
Level 4: phonetics

I do not fully understand the representation of the above sentence at Kiparsky's level 1: semantics. Perhaps it will be a string of lexical items with diacritics or a frame with slots into which lexical items may later be plugged. Thus: *devadatta* (masculine, singular), *odana* (masculine, singular), *pac*. The verb root *pac* will be taken from the lexicon with diacritics indicating its morphological idiosyncrasies. The verb will also have a reference to time. At the abstract syntactic level, the string will involve the *kārakas* and *LAṬ*, yielding: *devadatta* (masculine, singular, agent), *odana* (masculine, singular, goal), *pac* +*LAṬ* (current time).

At the surface structure level, the string will have the nominative and accusative endings after *devadatta* and *odana* respectively. The third person singular ending *ti* will be placed after *pac* to yield *pac* + *ti*. The string may now be processed by appropriate rules at the phonetic level to yield: *devadattaḥ pacaty odanam*. A difficulty arises here in connection with the verbal form *pacati*. Given the string *pac* + *ti*, 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam* will assign the term *sārvadhātuka* to *ti* which will then require the introduction of *ŚaP* after *pac* to yield: *pac* + *a* + *ti*. However, Kiparsky,

in a footnote,[9] alludes to the introduction of *ŚaP* by means of the diacritics attached to the verb root *pac*. It is thus unclear whether the introduction of *ŚaP* occurs at the level of semantics or of morphology. I would understand it to take place at the level of morphology.

The most confusing part of this representation concerns *LAṬ*. Pāṇini introduces *LAṬ* after a verb root and assigns it the term *pratyaya* 'affix'. A replacement of *LAṬ*, in the present case *ti*, is also termed an affix. Further rules identify it as *parasmaipada* or *ātmanepada*, *vibhakti*, and *sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka*, etc. If *LAṬ* and its replacements are affixes, and if an affix, such as *ti* in Kiparsky's schema, has a place at the morphological level, *LAṬ* should be placed at that same level. Instead, Kiparsky puts *LAṬ* at the abstract syntactic level. Thus he equates the abstract syntactic level of the *kārakas* with the level of the affixes (*LAṬ*). Although the *kārakas* may be posited at the level of abstract syntax, placing an affix at that level will constitute a serious violation of the Pāṇinian schema. Affixes, surely, belong to the level of morphology. Agreement with Kiparsky's schema would result in a mixing of Pāṇinian levels which could hinder our understanding of how derivation actually occurs.

Pāṇini was clearly intent upon separating lexicalization from conceptual categories of case. Confusion over the question of whether his *kāraka* categories are semantic or syntactic has been due largely to the fact that he defines them in semantic as well as syntactic terms. This means that anyone bent upon defining the *kāraka* categories on purely semantic grounds must have recourse to compromise. The evidence may indicate that these categories are syntactico-semantic, but this in no way proves that Pāṇini mixes levels. If one insists upon the dichotomy of surface and deep structure, there may not be any disagreement about Pāṇini's not subscribing to it; the disagreement will centre around the nature of the Pāṇinian deep structure. It is my belief that Pāṇini did not formulate his model in terms of deep and surface structure at all. After all, Pāṇini's theory does not entail any network of transformations. This means that any deep structure which can be read into his model is conspicuously lacking in depth. In short, since Pāṇini sought to maintain a direct link between the *CS* of sentences and their actual realization in usage, his *kāraka* categories cannot be viewed as constituting a level either similar to the level of general semantics or of deep syntax. For, this level would lack depth and consequently would not only erase intermediate levels but would also reduce the network of transformations.

The preceding arguments make Pāṇini's model unique insofar as comparisons with *TG*, generative-semantics or case-grammar are concerned. A recent study (Roodbergen 1974) observes that "...in its derivational

[9] Kiparsky (1982:4).

aspect Pāṇini's grammar works much like the machine mentioned by N. Chomsky in *Syntactic Structures*". Actually, the machine which Chomsky talks about in *Syntactic Structures* refers to a class of grammars generally known as *Finite State Grammar* (*FSG*). After listing some languages, Chomsky shows very effectively that natural languages fall outside the generative power of *FSG*. Chomsky rejects *FSG* especially because it is deficient in handling the disjunctive dependency relationship natural to human languages. If Pāṇini functions much like the machine identified as *FSG* and if Sanskrit can be considered a natural language, Pāṇini must suffer from the same deficiencies as any *FSG*. Chomsky mentions *FSG* to demonstrate the inadequacies of a descriptive linguistic theory such as the one presented in Hockett's *A Manual of Phonology*. There is hardly any evidence to suggest that Pāṇini works in the same way that Hockett does.

Pāṇini's model is also unique in that it manipulates word derivation as a tool, for reasons of simplicity and economy, to account for the derivation of sentences. For this, he does not have to posit a general semantic structure as has been suggested by Sinha, nor does he have to specify an elaborate semantic or deep structure as has been postulated by Kiparsky and Staal. His aim is not to make generalizations which may reflect the intuition of native speakers. On the contrary, he aims at making generalizations and setting up a device which can correctly derive sentences as they are used by the native speakers. Actual usages are so much more important for him that he cannot contemplate any kind of abstraction which may create a gap between the conceptual structure of sentences and their actual realization in usage (also see Sharma: 1978).

Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, in brief then, is a finite set of rules capable of deriving an infinite number of correct Sanskrit utterances. Pāṇini manipulates word derivation as a tool to derive sentences. His grammatical device is thus unique and any attempt to see in him things descriptive, transformational-generative, or anything else will definitely be an imposition.

4

Domain, Recurrence and Reference

Pāṇinīyas recognize two principles for interpreting rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī: yathoddeśa* and *kāryakāla*. The first emphasizes that a *sūtra* should be understood fully at the place where it first appears in the grammar. The second emphasizes that a *sūtra* should be understood fully at the place where it is operative. These principles have been explained with reference to rules which assign names (*saṃjñā*) or offer interpretation (*paribhāṣā*). For example, an adherent of the *yathoddeśa* view will understand the meaning and function of *sūtra* 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* right at the beginning of the grammar. However, an adherent of the *kāryakāla* view will wait till the time this rule is brought close to the context of an operational rule which orders *vṛddhi*. One view thus focuses on the physical context of a rule while the other focuses on its functional context. The idea of domain and recurrence is related to the physical context of rules. Reference to antecedent is related to functional context.

Pāṇini presents his rules in sets or blocks in such a way that a larger set contains one or more smaller sets; the larger sets I shall term domains. The notion of domain is crucial to the Pāṇinian system of rule placement. It is obvious from the fact that more than three quarters of the entire grammar is covered by the following four domains:

(*i*) Controlling domain (*CD*), first book of the grammar which contains definitional and interpretational rules in general.

(*ii*) Obligatory domain (*OD*), rules, contained in the third through fifth books which must be scanned by every base-input.

(*iii*) *Aṅga* domain (*AD*), rules contained within the last quarter of book six and the entire seventh book.

(*iv*) *Pada* domain (*PD*), rules contained within the first three quarters of book eight.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* arranges its rules in eight books of four quarters each relative to topics and operations. The arrangement of rules in domains is no exception. However, the focus here shifts from topic and operation to proper interpretation of rules and the relations among them. This is especially true in view of the very condensed and algebraic style of rule-formulation. Rules within a domain are arranged such that a lower level rule expects the presence of a higher level rule or elements therefrom for its proper interpretation. Such rules or elements are said to recur and the device which makes such reference possible is known as recurrence (*anuvṛtti*). The first rule of a domain is termed its heading rule (*adhikārasūtra*). Since

an *adhikāra* is generally defined as one which recurs, every rule that recurs becomes an *adhikāra*. This, however, is the technical interpretation. An *adhikārasūtra* in general is the heading rule of a domain or an interior domain. There may be rules in a given domain which do not belong to an interior domain. Such rules, when joined with the heading rules of their own respective domains, form the functional context (*FC*) of those domains. A string falls within the application of a domain or an interior domain if and only if it meets the requirements laid down by the *FC*. Consider the following controlled listing.

3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*
3.1.2 *paraś ca*
3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*
3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*
  3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
  3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*
  3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
  3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*
    3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ prāṅ ṇvulaḥ*
    3.1.132 *cityāgni citye*
    3.2.84 *bhūte*
    3.2.122 *puri lūṅ cāsme*
    3.3.18 *bhāve*
    3.3.112 *ākrośe nāñy aniḥ*
    4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
    4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭchaṣṭābhyām...*
    4.1.3 *striyām*
    4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
    4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*
    5.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak*

The above listing clearly shows that rules 3.1.2 through 3.1.4 are not included in any one of the interior domains. These rules together with 3.1.1 form the *FC* of this domain of affixes. Two interior domains headed by 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* and 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* have been shown here with some of their interior domains. Note also that rules 3.1.92, 93 and 94 form the *FC* of the interior domain of 3.1.91.

By rule 1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ*, Pāṇini tells us that an *adhikāra* is one which is marked by the *svarita* 'circumflex' accent. The function of an *adhikāra* is to contribute itself or its parts to the proper interpretation of the rules governed by it. This contribution is made possible by the process of recurrence. In short, an *adhikāra* carries itself or its parts. Since an *adhikāra* generally is defined as one which recurs in subsequent rules, every rule that recurs becomes an *adhikāra*. Based upon whether the *adhikāra* recurs in full or in part (*ekadeśa*), *anuvṛtti* will be total or partial. An *adhikāra*

carried in full normally will head a domain or an interior domain, as shown by rules 3.1.1. *pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*, 4.1.3 *striyām*, 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, 6.4.129 *bhasya* and 8.1.16 *padasya*. An *adhikāra* carried in part normally belongs to a non-heading rule. This necessitates maintaining a distinction between a heading rule (*adhikāra*) which is carried in full and a rule which is carried only in part (*ekadeśa*).

Patañjali mentions three types of *adhikāras*: one, like a lamp, though set in one place, illuminates the entire room; another, by means of a *ca*, is carried to subsequent rules; and a third carries to each and every rule governed by it.[1] This three-way distinction implies that certain *adhikāras* literally are carried via *anuvṛtti* or by means of *ca* while others are treated only as though carried. The *adhikāras* which carry to each and every rule via *anuvṛtti* are heading rules, though not *paribhāṣās*. The *adhikāras* which sit in one place but are treated as understood may or may not be heading rules; however, they mostly are *paribhāṣās* as the following rules exemplify.

1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*
1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*
2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*
3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*
3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*
4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*
5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*
8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*

Haradatta (*PM ad Kāś* 1.4.23 *kārake*) mentions six types of *adhikāras*: name (*saṃjñā*), qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), substituend (*sthānin*), base (*prakṛti*), condition (*nimitta*) and substitute (*ādeśa*). The examples which he cites are: 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, 6.1.84 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ*, 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*, 6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke* and 8.3.35 (*apadāntasya*) *mūrdhanyaḥ*. Four inflectional endings mark these *adhikāras*: *prathamā, pañcamī, ṣaṣṭhī* and *saptamī*. *Saṃjñā* and *ādeśa* are marked with nominative (*prathamā*); *viśeṣaṇa* and *nimitta* with locative (*saptamī*); genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) generally marks the *sthānin* while *prakṛti* is marked by ablative (*pañcamī*). It should be remembered here that these remarks on *adhikāras* generally apply to heading rules.

Adhikāras function in many ways: they introduce a term (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*), specify a domain (1.4.23 *kārake*), offer a locally valid interpretation, or define the context of an operation. For example, rules 1.4.56 *prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ*, 1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ*, 2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ*, 2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*, 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ* and 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* introduce terms. One other function of these heading rules will be brought out in

[1] *Mbh.* I:362: *adhikāro nāma triprakāraḥ. kaścid ekadeśasthaḥ sarvaṃ śāstram abhijvalayati, yathā pradīpaḥ suprajvalitaḥ sarvaṃ veśmābhijvalayati. aparo' dhikāro yathā rajvāyasā vā baddhaṃ kāṣṭham anukṛṣyate tadvad anukṛṣyate cakāreṇa. aparo' dhikāraḥ pratiyogaṃ tasyānirdeśārtha iti yoge yoga upatiṣṭhate.*

our discussion of reference. I have already cited several *paribhāṣās* which constitute headings and other locally valid interpretations. The scope of a heading rule which defines the context of an operation can be viewed in different ways. Thus, a heading may define the right or left context of an operation; consider, for example, 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* and 4.1.82 *samarthānām...* which specify bases after which certain affixes can be introduced. Similarly, 6.3.1 *alug uttarapade* and 2.4.35 *ārdhadhātuke* provide clear illustrations of an *adhikāra* rule defining the right context of an operation. Many headings specify the conditions of affix placement, state an operation or simply define the scope of a domain. Rules 2.4.35 *ārdhadhātuke*, 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, 6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*, 3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ*, 3.2.84 *bhūte*, 3.3.18 *bhāve* exemplify these functions.

It has been stated that an *adhikāra* is recognized by its *svarita* accent. But since the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has been handed down to us orally it is difficult to ascertain where the *svarita* mark was intended. Equally difficult is the question of determining how far an *adhikāra* carries. Commentators explain that *vyākhyāna* 'explanations of the learned' is the best source for ascertaining where the *svarita* was intended. Additionally, since the beginning of an *adhikāra* may also mark the end of an earlier *adhikāra*, *svarita* can thus be reconstructed by comparing the two *adhikāras* since one heading ceases to recur at the sight of the other. It is only logical to conclude that the recurrence of an *adhikāra* will be suspended when another is introduced. However, one should rely most on the *vyākhyāna* since the extent of an *adhikāra* depends largely on the expectations (*ākāṅkṣā*) of subsequent rules. The context of a subsequent rule governed by an *adhikāra* thus becomes crucial. The extent of a larger domain or interior domain is much easier to recognize. The situations which require recourse to *vyākhyāna* obtain most often with reference to rules contained within a domain or interior domain.

Two signs serve as indicators for determining the extent of larger *adhikāras.*

(1) Change of a book (*adhyāya*) or a quarter (*pāda*)

The change of a book or a quarter normally signals the beginning of a new topic and thus, signals the beginning of a new *adhikāra*. For example, the following rules all are given at the beginning of a book or quarter: 1.2.1 *gāṅ kuṭatibhyo...*, 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārad ekā saṃjñā*, 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*, 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, 2.4.1 *dvigur ekavacanam*, 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*, 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*, 3.4.1 *dhātusambandhe pratyayāḥ*, 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*, 4.2.1 *tena raktaṃ rāgāt*, 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*, 6.3.1 *alug uttarapade*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*, 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*, 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*, 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, 8.4.1 *rasābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ samānapade*. The enumeration of these rules attests that the change of a book or quarter does signal a new topic. However, this may not always

be easy to comprehend as such cases as 4.3.1 *yuṣmadasmador anyatarasyāṃ khan ca*, 5.4.1 *pādaśatasya*... and 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* indicate. Careful study of the context of these rules, however, lets us comprehend the change of a book or topic. For instance, rule 5.3.119 *ñyādayas tadrājāḥ* is the last rule of the third quarter of the fifth book. It assigns the term *tadrāja* to certain affixes. This being the domain of affixes, one naturally would see a change in the offing. Similarly, rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* delimits the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* valid through rule 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*. One can safely assume that 2.3.1 *anabhihite* would introduce ... a new topic. The problem of determining the beginning of a new book, quarter, or topic, can also be resolved on the basis of the recurrence of rules which head larger domains. Rules 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* and 6.4.1 *aṅgasya* are examples of this.

Since the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* has been handed down to us largely through oral tradition, reliance on a written text in determining the change of a book, quarter or topic, and subsequently the beginning of an *adhikāra*, may to some appear questionable. However, the present arrangement of rules in books and quarters follows a system connected to the change in topics, so my observations still remain valid.

(2) Use of *ā* 'up to' and *prāk* 'prior to'

Pāṇini uses *ā* and *prāk* to explicitly indicate the extent of a domain. He uses *ā* to indicate inclusive extent while *prāk* indicates exclusive extent. Consider the following listings where I also indicate rules which have been referenced as constituting the limit.

1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*
1.4.56 *prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ*
1.4.97 *adhi rīśvare*
2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*
2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*
3.2.134 *ā kves tacchīla..*
3.2.177 *bhrājabhāsabhāṣa...*
4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*
...
4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak*
4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*
4.4.75 *prāgg hitād yat*
4.4.76 *tad vahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam*
5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ*
...
5.1.5 *tasmai hitam*
5.1.17 *parikhāyā ḍhañ*
5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*
5.1.37 *tena krītam*

...
5.1.115 *tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ*
5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*
5.3.27 *dikśabdebhyaḥ...*
5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*
5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*
8.3.63 *prāk sitād aḍyayāye' pi*
8.3.70 *parinivibhyaḥ sevasita...*

The above listings show only two instances of *ā* as opposed to ten instances of *prāk*. Two instances of *prāk* form an interior domain within a domain marked with *ā*. The interlocking of domains marked with *prāk* gives the impression of overlapping. This is due mainly to the fact that the rule which references the excluding limit of an *adhikāra* is included within another *adhikāra*. That is, a heading marked with *prāk* is included within the range of a similar heading. Can this create any difficulty in interpreting the rules? Normally not, but there are instances where caution is advised. Consider rule 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ* which one would normally consider valid prior to rule 5.1.37 *tena krītam*. However, the scope of this interior domain does not extend beyond 5.1.17 *parikhāyā ḍhañ*. This is because the extent of a *prāk* domain entails both formal as well as semantic specifications. That is, an item which specifies the extent of a domain (of *prāk*) may be construed as denoting either its form or its meaning. For example, rules 4.4.75 *prāgg hitād yat* and 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ* use *hita* and *krīta* to specify the limit of their domains. As indicated by the above listings, these domains extend up to 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam* and 5.1.37 *tena krītam* respectively. But this is not correct. The two words, *hita* and *krīta*, here indicate the extent of their domains by means of their denotata. That is, the domain of 4.4.75 *prāgg hitād yat* extends up to the rule which introduces an affix denoting the sense of *hita*. The same is applicable to the domain of 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ*. As a result, 4.4.75 is valid prior to 4.4.144 *bhāve ca*. Rule 5.1.1 is valid prior to 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*.

It is clear from above that the extent of larger domains is easier to determine. This should not give one the impression that determining the extent of larger domains is free of problems. Consider rule 6.4.1. *aṅgasya*. It is generally accepted that 6.4.1 governs rules enumerated through book seven. However, the *Mahābhāṣya* (IV: 661-65) also examines another view which holds that 6.4.1 should not be considered valid beyond rules dealing with *abhyāsavikāra* 'modifications relative to reduplication'.

Consider 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* which orders *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) under the condition of a following *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*. Thus, we get *guṇa* in *bobhoti* and *bobhavīti*. The use of the word *LUK* in 7.4.82 and the fact that *guṇa* is applicable even when *yaṄ* is deleted by *LUK* are basic points in determining the extent of 6.4.1 prior to rules dealing with *abhyāsavikāra*.

If the word *LUK* is not included in the wording of rule 7.4.82, *guṇa* cannot take place in *bobhoti* and *bobhavīti*. The reason is simple: rule 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* would not permit it.

Rule 1.1.63 can accomplish this blocking only if 7.4.82 is included within the domain of 6.4.1. Accordingly, rule 6.4.1 must cover rules enumerated through the end of book seven. If 6.4.1 is not treated as valid through rule 7.4.82, 1.1.63 cannot block *guṇa* and 7.4.82 would not need the explicit mention of the word *LUK*. For, in that case, *guṇa* will be accomplished on the basis of 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*. Should we then accept that 6.4.1 does not cover rules dealing with *abhyāsavikāra*? No, that would create other problems. For example, in deriving *vavraśca*, a *LIṬ* derivative of *vraśc* 'to cut', from *vraśc* + *vraśc* + *a*, 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* reduces the first *vraśc* to *va*. The result is *vavraśca*. However, 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* may apply prior to reduplication. As a result, *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*) will take place and a wrong form **uvraśca* will result. Such problems do not arise if the domain of 6.4.1 is considered valid through the end of book seven. I do not wish to burden the reader with other details considering this issue. Suffice it to say that determining the extent of domains requires *vyākhyāna*.

The interpretation (*vyākhyāna*) of commentators is generally regarded as decisive in matters of conflicts concerning *adhikāras*. The smaller *adhikāras* in general and those forming part of a rule in particular are often tricky. Aside from *vyākhyāna*, one can resort to the *anuvṛtti* process itself. *Anuvṛtti* elements are read with subsequent rules as part of their subject (*uddeśya*) or predicate (*vidheya*). A completed sentence with fully expanded *uddeśya* and *vidheya* thus becomes the interpretation of the *sūtra* in question.

Several indicators make it easy to ascertain what is carried. An *anuvṛtti* element can be carried either as part of the subject or predicate of a subsequent rule. Both sentential units have their own structure and content. Any element that carries must be syntactically and semantically compatible with the structure of subsequent rules. Thus, an incompatible *adhikāra* is suspect. Some incompatibilities, though, are hard to avoid. For example, there are many instances in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* where the inflectional ending of a recurring element does not make any sense in subsequent rules. This does not, however, form the basis for rejecting an element as an *adhikāra*. Instead, the ending is changed to suit the needs of subsequent rules. There are also instances where an *adhikāra* which has long been terminated reappears. The recurrence of such an *adhikāra* has been compared with the leaping of a frog (*maṇḍūkapluti*). Such leaps must be accepted because, in their absence, a subsequent rule may not make any sense. This shows that an *adhikāra* carries without any interruption. Pāṇini makes explicit mention where he anticipates discontinuation of an *adhikāra*. Rule 3.1.94

vā' sarūpo' striyām is an example where *astriyām* denotes exception to the scope of this rule. At other places, the context accepts or rejects an *adhikāra*. For example, *ṅyāp* of 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* does not carry in rules contained within the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām*. The recurrence of *ṅyāp* would not make any sense.

Certain *adhikāras* are accepted as recurring based upon relations among rules. For example, in a domain where an *adhikāra* carries from a general (*utsarga*) to a particular (*viśeṣa*) rule, recurrence of an *adhikāra* will be unacceptable because of blocking. Since a particular rule blocks the application of its general counterpart, a particular rule may not accept the *anuvṛtti* of an element from a general rule. In essence, such an *adhikāra* would be incompatible. There are many instances of this in the domain of 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ* where the recurrence of a general element is terminated by the appearance of its particular counterpart. The observation that one *adhikāra* ceases to recur at the sight of another is clearly tied to compatibility.

It is obvious from the preceding that *anuvṛtti* and *adhikāra* are connected. *Anuvṛtti* can be defined as a process whereby a former rule or its element is brought close to the context of a subsequent rule. It is an unidirectional process in the sense that a lower level rule expects the recurrence of a higher level rule or an element therefrom. It is also domain specific since Pāṇini presents his rules in domains and interior domains. The process of *anuvṛtti* also is explicit, since without it, proper interpretation of rules within a domain cannot be obtained. Given that *anuvṛtti* is localized within a domain and also is unidirectional, its instrumentality towards proper interpretation of rules falls more within the scope of a *yathoddeśa* view.

The device of reference is implicitly assumed as opposed to the explicit strategy of domain and recurrence in Paṇini. In order to properly interpret and apply a given rule, one must refer to other rules. I call this device "reference to antecedent". Pāṇini uses two types of antecedents: definitional and operational. Definitional reference concerns names (*saṃjñā*) and their denotata (*saṃjñin*), including metasymbols; operational reference involves groups of interpretable rules in an operational context. References made by using technical terms with fixed denotations are here called constants. References made by relative pronouns such as *tad* 'that' and *yad* 'what', on the other hand, are variables.

I shall demonstrate that definitional references and their individual indices are essential for derivation. A technical term or its denotation occurring in a subsequent rule of the grammar requires reference to its term origin, the place where the term was first introduced together with rules which first outlined its denotations. Thus, a technical term x, with its x_1 .... x_n occurrence in the grammar forms a chain of reference in such a way that each occurrence depends on x_1 for its interpretation or for the

recovery of its enumerated denotation. A preceding occurrence of this *x* depends on its immediately following occurrence for further steps in derivation. The last rule in this chain of reference always is the rule that triggers this device, while the first rule is always from the *CD.* This chain of reference can be termed complex if it includes one or more term origins.

Since the derivational mechanism is activated and controlled by definitions and operates on inputs by referring to elements, the exact nature of referential indices is important to bear in mind. This means keeping track of all the rules that explain and enumerate the terms and denotations or variables and their antecedents. I shall try to explain and illustrate these observations with examples.

In a sentence such as *kumāraḥ paṭhati* 'The boy reads,' we begin with two lexical items: *kumāra* 'boy' and *paṭh* 'to read, recite'. The controlling domain identifies them as *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' and *dhātu* 'verb root' respectively. When used as input to the obligatory domain; *kumāra* accesses to an interior domain headed by 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* 'after that which ends in *Ṅī, āp,* or else, is a *prātipadika*'; *paṭh,* however, accesses to the interior domain headed by 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* 'after a verb root'. This access is justified because these governing rules contain the definitional terms *prātipadika* and *dhātu* which, in turn, identify the inputs.

At this stage, rule 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ...,* in case of *kumāra,* and rules 3.4.77-78 *lasya-tiptasjhi...,* in case of *paṭh,* become applicable.[2] A serious problem is encountered by these strings in the selection of elements enumerated here. Rule 4.1.2 lists twenty-one elements, and 3.4.78 lists eighteen. How and why should we choose one element from among all these? Is there any built-in device that can bring rules related to *sUP* and *tiṄ* placement closer to these rules? What would be the process of such a contextual recovery? No one doubts the existence and necessity of such a recovery. Patañjali has rightly remarked that "one does not reason that, since two rules occupy separate places in the grammar, they constitute separate contexts. There is one context of related rules, though standing in different places".[3] In essence, operational rules cannot apply unless their interpretational or definitional rules are coupled with them. This can only be accomplished by the device of reference which is triggered by encountering a technical term or its denotation in an operational rule. This device reconstructs the term origin which, in turn, yields a referential index and it is this index that retrieves necessary information, explication or constraints relative to rule-application.

[2] Subsequent discussion of *LA* and *tiṄ* will show that rules 3.4.77-78 cannot apply unless other rules are brought into focus or apply first; this necessarily means that 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...* applies prior to 3.4.77-78.

[3] *Mbh.* (*v.*IV:392) on 3.4.67: *na videśastham iti kṛtvato nānā vākyaṃ bhavati. videśastham api sad ekavākyaṃ bhavati...* The English translation here is from Cardona (1967:37).

Thus, a referential index of *sUP, LA* and *tiṄ* must be reconstructed by computing the occurrences of these symbols in the higher domains. Let us first consider *LA* and *tiṄ*. *LA* occurs in 3.4.77, 3.4.69 and 1.4.99 where we learn that *LA* affixes are placed after transitive verbs when agents or objects are to be named.[4] In case of intransitive verbs they are placed when agent or *bhāva*[5] 'root sense' are to be named. Furthermore, replacements of *LA* are termed *parasmaipada* 'active'. A separate reconstruction of *tiṄ* leads us to rules 1.4.100-102 and 1.4.104. These rules classify *tiṄ* elements in two sets of three triads each. Individual triads in a set represent third (*prathama*), second (*madhyama*) and first (*uttama*) persons respectively. Similarly, individual elements in a triad represent singular (*ekavacana*), dual (*dvivacana*) and plural (*bahuvacana*).

Since *tiṄ* are replacements of *LA*, the designation *parasmaipada* is transferred to them by rule 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*. The immediately following rule, 1.4.100, identifies a second set of *tiṄ* triads, i.e., *taṄ*, as *ātmanepada* 'middle'. Thus we get the following indices:

(1) *LA*: *tiṄ* : *parasmaipada*

(2) *LA*: *taṄ*: *ātmanepada*

It is apparent that these referential indices are complex. We must reconstruct the term origin *parasmaipada-ātmanepada* in its entirety. This requires reference to one more important set of rules, 1.3.12 through 1.3.78, where we learn that when *bhāva* 'root sense' or *karman* 'object' are to be expressed by the verb, *ātmanepada* endings should be selected.[6] As opposed to this, the *parasmaipada* set can be selected only when the agent has to be expressed. Thus, our referential indices outlined above have selectional constraints imposed upon them. That these agents, *bhāva*, or object constraints are important will become clear when we explain their direct bearing on derivational choices.

Let us come back to the reconstruction of our term origin *sUP*. This metasymbol also has been explained in the same set of rules, 1.4.100 through 1.4.104, which explained *tiṄ*. These rules classify the *sUP* elements in seven triads where each triad contains a singular, dual, and plural. These triads together form a subset of *vibhakti* 'nominal inflection' along with *tiṄ*. Furthermore, individual triads have been referenced as *prathamā* 'first',

[4] 'Naming' here refers to the invocation of inherent syntactico-semantic features of verb roots, in contrast to 'expressing' which means that a verbal form may or may not express agent, object, etc., through its post-verbal affixes even though its underlying root has already specified them (see also p. 53).

[5] Pāṇini uses *bhāva* with several meanings; for an insightful discussion of this diversity see Cardona (1970). I shall use the term in the sense of the central meaning of the verb root or action alone.

[6] Rules contained in the set 1.3.12 through 1.3.78 discuss the *ātmanepada-parasmaipada* placement with reference to various features of the verbal forms.

dvitīyā 'second', etc. Thus, terms like *vibhakti* and *prathamā*, etc., require one to bring the *vibhakti* section, i.e., the third quarter of the second book, close to the context of *sUP* selection. Since *vibhaktis* generally have been discussed with reference to *kārakas*, a reference to the *kāraka* section in the controlling domain is unavoidable. We must emphasize here that a selection from among the *sUP* affixes is practically impossible unless reference is made to the *kāraka-vibhakti* section of the grammar which, in turn, will require reference to the dependency relations between *sUP* and *tiṄ* selections.

Returning to our earlier remarks on derivational choices, we want to start with the constraints imposed on *sUP* and *tiṄ* selections. If the verbal root *paṭh* 'to read' opts for a selection in the *parasmaipada* set, the resultant form will express the agent through its *parasmaipada* endings. The result would be: *paṭh* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* → *paṭhati* 'he reads'. This will leave *kumāra*, the named agent, to express only its *prātipadikārtha* 'nominal stem notion' since its function (*kartrartha*) has already been expressed by *ti* in *paṭhati*. On the other hand, if *paṭh* opts for an *ātmanepada* set, *kumāra* will have to express the agent. The resultant string will be passive rather than active: *kumāreṇa paṭhyate* 'x is read by the boy'. Aside from offering interpretive insights and derivational options, referential indices also control derivational history. There are numerous such instances scattered throughout the grammar.

Let us consider some of the terms used in the domain of compound rules. We have *samāsaḥ* (2.1.3), *avyayībhāvaḥ* (2.1.5), *tatpuruṣaḥ* (2.1.22), *bahuvrīhiḥ* (2.2.23), *dvandvaḥ* (2.2.29) and *upasarjanam* (2.2.30). If a string enters this domain and starts scanning rules for possible application, it must also be provided with all the necessary information required for such application. Such information is not readily available here and as a consequence, it has to be retrieved from different sources. Part of the information will come from recurrence, but most of it must be retrieved through referential indices. It is worthwhile to discuss briefly the importance of the following reconstructed indices.

(*a*) *samāsa* 'compound'

1.2.45 *arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam*

'a non-root non-affix meaningful unit is termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem'

1.2.46 *kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca*

'a unit which ends in a *kṛt* or a *taddhita* affix or is a *samāsa* 'compound' is also termed *prātipadika*'

(*b*) *avyayībhāvaḥ* 'indeclinable compound'

1.1.37 *svarādi-nipātam avyayam*

'items cited as *svar-ādi* 'svar, etc.' and also those that bear the name *nipāta* 'particle', are termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable'

1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*
'avyayībhāva compounds are also termed *avyaya'*

(*c*) *tatpuruṣa*
1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ*
'a *tatpuruṣa* compound whose constituents stand in *samāna-adhikaraṇa* 'syntactic coordination' is termed *karmadhāraya'*

(*d*) *upasarjana* 'secondary element'
1.2.43 *prathamā-nirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam*
'that constituent of a compound which is referenced with *prathamā* 'first of the *sUP* triads' in rules that allow compound formation is termed *upasarjama*'
1.2.44 *ekavibhakti cāpūrva-nipāte*
'constituents which are consistently referenced with *ekavibhakti* 'fixed member of a *sUP* triad' and are not cited in rules dealing with *pūrva-nipāta* 'initial placement' are also termed *upasarjana'*

In accordance with rule 2.1.4 read with the *sUP* of 2.1.2, a compound is the result of integrating two nominal *padas* 'fully inflected words'. The result of this integration, the compound, is termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' by rules 1.2.45-46. Thus, the term *samāsa* 'compound' in (*a*) brings the designation *prātipadika* to all compounds. Similarly, if there are two syntactically related words and one of them has been referenced with the first of the *sUP* triads, i.e. *sU, au, Jas,* in a rule that allows compound formation, the said word is an *upasarjana.* Rule 2.2.30 requires that *upasarjana* elements be placed first in a compound. Application of 2.2.30 is practically impossible unless one knows what *upasarjana* means. This information is provided by rules 1.2.43-44 and hence must be retrieved from there to permit application of 2.2.30. Retrieving this kind of information is precisely the function of referential indices. I have already stated that this process is triggered by encountering a term or its denotations within a rule. What follows is the reconstruction of term origin in tracing back the rules which first cited the term or explained, illustrated or constrained it. A systematic computation of all such rules along with relevant information contained in them characterizes a referential index.

As opposed to the general referential indices cited above, references listed under *(b), (c)* and *(d)* are specific. The relevance of the term *avyaya* to *avyayībhāva* compounds cannot be realized unless rules 1.1.37 and 1.1.41 are brought closer to the context of 2.1.5. In the interior domain headed by 2.1.22, we find one of the subtypes of *tatpuruṣa* referred to as *dvigu.* If a referential index of the term *tatpuruṣa* is not reconstructed as soon as this term is encountered, a second subtype of the *tatpuruṣa* compound, i.e., *karmadhāraya,* can never be realized. It becomes increasingly clear that the domain of compound formation is not limited to rules 2.1.1 through 2.2.38, but must be expanded to include rules brought closer to its context by the process of reference.

As noted earlier, references in terms of variables involve *yad* or *tad* and are used in specific operational contexts. The term 'operational context' means that variables are manipulated with reference to specific operations. Furthermore, these operations are permitted under certain constraints. For example, rules 4.1.82 and 4.1.92 concern an operation which allows sentential strings to alternate with their corresponding affixed units. This operation is constrained by 4.1.82 in the sense that the sentential strings must be composed of two syntactically related words. Further, the affix can only be postposed to the first word and the entire operation is optional. For the purpose of this operational context, the first syntactically related unit can be regarded as the generalized constant to which subsequent variables will refer.

To enable this reference, the variables are manipulated as though they filled a functional slot and are marked by specific case endings. Such references have been extensively used in the *taddhita* and *kṛt* sections of the grammar. Let us consider the following references.

4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*
'after the first of two syntactically related *padas* optionally'
4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*
'in the sense of the descendant of *x*...'
4.2.1 *tena raktaṃ rāgāt*
'*x* (the colour) by which *y* has been coloured'
4.2.37 *tasya samūhaḥ*
'in the sense of the group of *x*'

In the translation of the above *sūtras* *x* stands for the variables. The syntactically related *pada* inferred from 2.1.1 and referred to as *samartha* 'syntactically related' in 4.1.82 is the constant generalized in such a way that all the *x*s in the above rules fill its functional slot. Since a syntactically related element is necessarily a *pada* and hence is destined to end in a case ending, the problem of ascertaining the case ending arises. If we manipulate the variables as though they represented those *padas* or filled the functional slots of the generalized constants, then their case endings become explicit. Thus the variables in 4.1.92, 4.2.1 and 4.2.37, i.e. *tasya* marked with the genitive and *tena* marked with the instrumental, refer to those *padas* that end in the sixth, third and sixth endings respectively.

In these instances, the case endings should be construed in accordance with the statements made in the *kāraka-vibhakti* section of the grammar. The sixth ending should be used (2.3.50) where one wants to express relationships other than those expressed by the accusative, etc., (*dvitīyā*; 2.3.2 *karmaṇi*...). The third should follow 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam* whereby we learn that that which is most instrumental in accomplishing an action is the *karaṇa* 'instrument'. In our rule, *tena* stands in the third case ending represented by *karaṇa* and refers to that syntactically related

pada which is explicitly stated by 4.1.82. However, not just any syntactically related *pada* can and should be brought as referent in place of *tena* because of semantic specifications that follow *tena,* i.e. *raktam* 'coloured' and *rāgāt* '... colour'. This results in construing the sense of the third ending in this context as the colour which is most instrumental in accomplishing the act of colouring. Thus, any word standing for colour should be put in the instrumental.

Our discussion has established the following facts about domain and reference.

(*a*) Pāṇini operates with an elaborate system of *anuvṛtti* whereby higher level rules within a domain are brought close to the context of lower level rules to facilitate the proper interpretation of the latter.

(*b*) Occurrences of technical terms in various rules perform the function of a triggering device which causes recourse to the process of reference. This process entails reconstructing the term origin which, in turn, yields a referential index.

(*c*) Such indices are vital to rule application and interpretation. Their importance is shown by the fact that the grammar cannot be manipulated without constant reference to technical terms and their denotata.

5

The Structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*

Scholars in the past have studied the structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* from diverse orientations. Faddegon's study (1936) largely neglected the function of the *Aṣṭādhāyī*. Pawate (1935) concentrated on finding anomalies which could establish pre- or post-Pāṇinian elements of insertions. Buiskool (1939), rather brilliantly, studied the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*'s organizational structure, but only of one section, namely the *Tripādī* "the last three quarters". More recently, Bhattacharya (1966), Bahulikar (1972) and Cardona (1976) have investigated the structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Bhattacharya's interest lay in justifying the order of various sections, or their contents, and in determining what, if any, elements in the text may be treated as pre-Pāṇinian. A similar concern occupied Bahulikar, who claimed that, based upon the analysis of the structure and the arrangement of the *sūtras*, one can discover layers of internal composition and arrangement. Bahulikar discerned a core of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which she attributed to Pāṇini, with subsequent layers superimposed by others. Cardona's balanced and trustworthy treatment judiciously examines all the different views, especially those of Bhattacharya and Mīmāṃsaka.

I shall not concern myself here with what can and cannot be treated as un-Pāṇinian in Pāṇini's *sūtras*. Except for a few variations of consequence, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*'s text is well established. Even many of the non-Pāṇinian insertions are important for the correct interpretation of the text as it stands. After all, given the excellence of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a grammar, it is certainly not a miracle brought about overnight. Pāṇini must have belonged to, and thus benefited from, a very rich grammatical tradition. This is certainly not to say that a study of insertions is not important. However, since most of the insertions are functionally well motivated, an investigation which centres on their origin rather than their function is less consequential. A study of the placement and context of rules can still teach a great deal provided it is pursued with proper orientation.

The discussion here of the structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, however, will concentrate on its organization and function. Surely, one of the reasons why Pāṇini arranged his rules in this particular order was to place them in domains and interior domains. An equally strong motivation, though, for this particular rule order is metatheoretical in nature. The grammar cannot accomplish its intent without clearly formulating both metatheory and conventions. Thus, the topical arrangement of rules in domains, also reflects the conceptual structure of the grammar. These dual motivations go hand in hand.

It is true that Pāṇini presents his rules in a serial order, but since they are classified in books and chapters according to topics, and also are organized under *adhikāras*, their functions cannot be discussed just on the basis of seriality or contiguity (*paurvāparya*). As I shall try to show, contiguity with reference to topics and *adhikāras* reveals the primary layer of organization where *anuvṛtti* and interpretation of *sūtras* is in focus. Another layer superimposed on this straddles topic and domain boundaries. Furthermore, one can establish yet another layer of organization where rule interaction of broader consequence is in focus. I have discussed in chapter 4 the notion of domain and *anuvṛtti*. The type of organization reflected by them is what I refer to here as the primary layer. Now consider the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* 'one term' where we also find the application of 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. The organization reflected by rules of the *ekasaṃjñā* domain constitutes what I refer to here as the second layer. The third, and rather sophisticated aspect of organization, is reflected by, for example the division of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* into *sapādasaptādhyāyī* 'the first seven books and one quarter' and *tripādī* 'the (final) three quarters'. These layers of organization are based upon rule interaction where blocking of one rule by another is anticipated. I shall try to present the structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by discussing its content and organization as it relates to the notions of contiguity, rule interaction and blocking. This, I hope, will reveal the functional aspect of its structure.

The following is the summary of topics discussed in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

Book: I

(*a*) major definitional and interpretational rules
(*b*) rules dealing with extension (*atideśa*)
(*c*) rules dealing with *ātmanepada-parasmaipada*...
(*d*) rules dealing with the *kārakas*

Book: II

(*a*) rules dealing with compounds
(*b*) rules dealing with nominal inflection
(*c*) rules dealing with number and gender of compounds
(*d*) rules dealing with replacements relative to roots
(*e*) rules dealing with deletion by *LUK*

Book: III

(*a*) rules dealing with the derivation of roots ending in affixes *saN*, etc.
(*b*) rules dealing with the derivation of items ending in a *Kṛt*
(*c*) rules dealing with the derivation of items ending in a *tiN*

Book: IV

(*a*) rules dealing with the derivation of a *pada* ending in a *sUP*
(*b*) rules dealing with feminine affixes
(*c*) rules dealing with the derivation of nominal stems eding in an affix termed *taddhita*

Books: VI-VII

(*a*) rules dealing with doubling
(*b*) rules dealing with *samprasāraṇa*
(*c*) rules dealing with *saṃhitā*
(*d*) rules dealing with the augment (*āgama*) *sUṬ*
(*e*) rules dealing with accents
(*f*) rules dealing with phonological operations relative to a presuffixal base (*aṅga*)
(*g*) rules dealing with operations relative to affixes, augments, etc.

Book: VIII

(*a*) rules dealing with doubling (*dvitva*) relative to a *pada*
(*b*) rules dealing with accent relative to a *pada*
(*c*) rules dealing with other phonological operations relative to a *pada*
(*d*) rules dealing with miscellaneous operations relative to a non-*pada*

The first book discusses basic terms, conventions and grammatical constructs. This does not mean that Pāṇini discusses terms and conventions only here, but that later discussion is minimal and with special purpose in mind. For example, he introduces the terms *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) and *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ*...) in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* to facilitate, among other things, the introduction of elements such as *ŚaP,* etc. (3.1.68 *karttari śaP*). Since no derivation can be accomplished without recourse to book one, I have called this the controlling domain (*CD*). Pāṇini normally starts with terms, plugging in the interpretive rules afterwards. Though he thus mixes the terms and interpretative rules, the dominance of the terms is still clear. It is because of this dominance that the tradition labels book one as *saṃjñādhikāra* 'domain of names'. There is a great deal of similarity between rules which define terms and those which enumerate conventions. It is often difficult to distinguish them. Definitional terms of book one are also arranged in view of whether or not *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'class inclusion' is intended. Anticipated conflicts and subsequent resolutions offered by rules 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* and 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* are also included.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* may be divided into two basic organizational units: *sapādasaptādhyāyī* 'the first seven books and one quarter' and *tripādī* 'the last three quarters'. This twofold division is shown by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* which states that rules of the last three quarters (*tripādī*) are treated as suspended (*asiddha*) in view of rules of the first seven books and one quarter. The fact that the rules of *sapādasaptādhyāyī* are blind to the affect of rule application in the *tripādī* amounts only to a lack of interaction among rules of the two units. It does not amount to saying that the output of the *tripādī* cannot be subjected to rule application in the *sapādasaptādhyāyī*. This twofold division is dictated mostly by the derivational

strategy Pāṇini uses. The *tripādī* is also constrained within itself. Its subsequent rules are treated as suspended in view of its earlier rules.

If we treat book one as the *CD*, the hierarchy of domains within the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* has to encompass books two through seven and the first quarter of book eight. Books three through five form a single domain of affixes. Since the Pāṇinian derivational process is set up with reference to bases and affixes, and operations relative to them, the domain of affixes should naturally precede the domain constituted by books six through eight. Where does book two fit in this? A major portion of rules in book two deals with compounds. Since a compound is derived with reference to syntactico-semantic conditions relative to a *pada* and also since *padas* are derived by means of introducing affixes after bases, a description of compounds should not precede the description of affixes. But where else could Pāṇini put book two? Certainly not after book eight, as that is generally treated as the terminal domain for inputs. Besides, compounds are normally considered as optional derivations. That is, a compound such as *rājapuruṣaḥ* 'king's man' alternates with *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*. Since they both derive from the same underlying string: (*rājan* + *Ṅas* + *puruṣa* + *sU*), the grammar must have a device to relate them at some intermediate point in derivation.

An argument may be made in favour of including the discussion of compounds in the domain of rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*. After all, compounds are nominal stems as are *taddhitas* and as do many *taddhita* derivates, they involve the condition of *sāmarthya* 'fitness'. Also, Pāṇini has already included here the introduction of certain affixes relative to compounds. The inclusion of compounds in book four would have been logical, finally, in view of their accent which Pāṇini discusses in book six. Thus, the question: if Pāṇini could put the discussion of derived nominals, i.e., *kṛt* and *taddhita*, in books three through five, what stopped him from including the description of compounds there? After all, compounds are derived nominals too. Aside from some operational difficulties which I shall discuss in connection with compound derivation in chapter 11, there is one obvious difficulty with such an inclusion. Pāṇini discusses compounds within the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* 'one name'. A discussion of compounds in books three through five would be inappropriate because *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'class inclusion' is the norm here.

The domain of 1.4.1 serves as a link between books one and two. If one accepts a twofold division of the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* into *saṃjñā* and *vidhi* where *saṃjñā* is constituted by book one and *vidhi* by the rest, book two becomes a link between the two. Rules governed by 2.3.1 *anabhihite* can also serve as links between the first two books and the domain of affixation (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*). The domain of *ekasaṃjñā* enumerates the *kārakas* which may by lexically expressed by *vibhaktis*. The grammar introduces *vibhaktis*

by rule 4.1.2 *svaujas...* which cannot apply unless rules dealing with the *kāraka* terms and *vibhakti* are brought closer to it. Similarly, rule 3.4.78, which introduces *tiṄ* affixes, cannot apply unless rules dealing with *ātmanepada-parasmaipada* etc., are brought closer to it from book one.

A twofold division of *pratyayavidhi* (books three through five) and *pratyayottaravidhi* (books six through eight) is again desirable within the section of *vidhi.* Furthermore, one can also see a distinction between the rules of book three on the one hand and four and five on the other. Book three introduces *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*) and *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affixes while four and five introduce affixes *Ṅī,* etc., (4.1.3 *striyām*), *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ...*) and the *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*). Book three normally takes a verb root as an input while books four and five require a nominal stem. The output of book three could be a root (3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*), a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca*) or a *pada* ending in *tiṄ* (1.4.14 *sup-tiṅantaṃ padam*). The output of books four and five is a *pada* ending in *sUP* (1.4.14), an item ending in a feminine affix, or a nominal stem (1.2.46).

Book three itself may be viewed as consisting of three sections: the first dealing with the derivation of roots, the second with the derivation of *padas* ending in *tiṄ* and the third with the derivation of items ending in affixes termed *kṛt.* It is generally believed that an exception (*apavāda*) blocks the application of its related general (*utsarga*) rule. However, within the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ,* though with an exception of rules headed by 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin,* a formally dissimilar (*asarūpa*) 'affix' blocks the introduction of its general counterpart only optionally (3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*).

Rules 4.1.2 *svaujas...,* 4.1.3 *striyām* and 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* clearly identify three sections of books four and five. The first introduces affixes termed *sUP,* the second introduces feminine affixes and the third introduces the *taddhitas.* The second and the third sections overlap. The overlapping rules introduce the term *taddhita* whereby derived items may be termed nominal stems (*prātipadika*).

The domain of 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* covers rules up to the end of book five. It is the second largest domain, after the domain of 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ* within which it is included. A subdomain of 4.1.76, headed by 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā,* governs rules prior to 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ.* This subdomain allows the introduction of a *taddhita* affix after the first of a string of syntactically related *padas.* Rules contained within the subdomain of 5.3.1 deal with the introduction of affixes termed *vibhakti.* They are introduced after *kim* 'what', *bahu* 'many' and items termed *sarvanāman* (1.1.27 *sarvādīni, sarvanāmāni,* 5.3.2 *kiṃ sarvanāma...*). Indeclinables are next in order as bases. Finally, a major subdomain is headed by 5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ* which, as the rule suggests, introduces *taddhita* affixes after items termed *samāsa* 'compound'.

The domain of *pratyayottaravidhi* covers books six through eight where rules introduce phonological changes in the shape of bases (*prakṛti*), presuffixal bases (*aṅga*) and affixes (*pratyaya*), etc. Three subdivisions may be easily discerned based on changes relative to a base (6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya* — 6.3.39 *samprasāraṇasya*), changes relative to a presuffixal base (6.4.1 *aṅgasya* — 7.4.97 *īca gaṇaḥ*) and changes relative to a *pada* (book eight). The first section introduces operations such as doubling (*dvitva* 6.1.1 *ekāco...*), *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.13 *śyaṅ...*), *ātva* 'replacement in *ā*' (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe' siti*), etc., *saṃhitā* 'junction' (6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*), accent (*svara*: 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*) of roots (6.1.162 *dhātoḥ*), *taddhita* (6.1.164 *taddhitasya*) and *samāsa* 'compound' (6.1.223 *samāsasya*). The entire second quarter of book six constitutes an exception to rule 6.1.223. The third quarter of book six starts with the section generally known as *aluk* 'non-deletion by *LUK*' (6.3.1 *alug uttarapade*). What follows, beginning with rule 6.3.25 *ānaṅ ṛto dvandve* and extending up to rule 6.3.139 *samprasāraṇasya,* is a series of modifications conditioned by a following *pada* (*uttarapada*).

The succeeding five quarters of rules (6.4.1-7.4.97) introduce operations specific to a presuffixal base (*aṅga*) before an affix. The first eighteen rules introduce the lengthening of an *antya* 'final' vowel or an *upadhā* 'penultimate' vowel (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*) of an *aṅga*. Rule 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt* is an interpretive rule which states that an operation introduced by rules 6.4.23 *śnān nalopaḥ* — 6.4.127 *avarṇa* ... is treated as suspended (*asiddha*) with respect to an operation introduced by another rule of this section, providing both operations share the same condition (*nimitta*). Obviously, rules of this section enjoy special status. Rule 6.4.129 *bhasya* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*; 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*) introduces operations specific to a presuffixal base termed *bha*.

Book seven continues with operations relative to an *aṅga*. Phonological operations given in books six and seven generally follow the order of *dvitva* 'doubling', *vikāra* 'modification', *ādeśa* 'replacement' and *āgama* 'augment' in reference to bases, presuffixal bases, affixes and their resultant strings. It is not just a coincidence that the domain of *pratyayottaravidhi* begins with *dvitva* and terminates with operations relative to *dvitva* at the end of book seven.

This summary of the content and domain-hierarchy lacks details concerning at least four rules: 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā,* 3.1.94 *vā sarūpo' striyām,* 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt* and 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham.* These rules clearly mark off their own functional domains within the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; domains which also touch upon some basic principles of structure and organization. For example, the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* cannot allow the assignment of more than one term (*saṃjñā*) to a single nominatum (*saṃjñin*). This constraint is applicable to rules contained within the last

quarter of book one and first two quarters of book two. Elsewhere in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* more than one term may be assigned to a single nominatum. But, the rules of the three quarters of *ekasaṃjñā* are thus arranged to disallow *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'class inclusion'. Conflicts in the assignment of terms within the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* are resolvable by invoking rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. Recall that the principle of *paratva* 'subsequent in order' requires a particular kind of conflict which commentators recognize as *tulyabalatā* 'equal strength'. That is, conflicts involving terms of the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* may be resolved on the basis of *paratva* if and only if rules which introduce the terms in question enjoy equal strength of application. Conflicts in the assignment of terms both within and without the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* may also be resolved on the basis of something other than *paratva*. I discussed in chapter 3 how *niravakāśatva* 'no scope of application' resolves conflicts without taking recourse to *paratva*. Additional inferences may also be drawn; namely, that conflicts among rules may be of other types than *tulyabalatā* and conflicts may also be resolved on the basis of something other than *paratva*.

Mention has been made of how Pāṇini formulates rules based upon generalizations abstracted from usage (see chapter 3). A general rule creates a larger domain from within which a related exception extracts its own domain. Pāṇinīyas recognize that an exception blocks. its general counterpart obligatorily. However, consider rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* which provides for a formally dissimilar affix ruled as an exception in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* to block its general counterpart only optionally. Rules contained within the subdomain headed by rule 3.3.93 *striyāṃ ktin* are not constrained by this.

The word *asarūpaḥ* is used in 3.1.94 as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) for the affix ruled as an exception. It cannot be treated as an *adhikāra* since then it could not be carried by *anuvṛtti* to rules beyond the subdomain of 3.3.93. This obviously creates problems. For instance, two *vārttikas* both given *ad* 3.3.108 *rogākhyāyāṃ ṇvul bahulam* facilitate the derivation of *rakāraḥ* 'the letter *r*' and *rephaḥ*. The first *vārttika* (*varṇāt kāraḥ*) is a general (*utsarga*) to which the second (*rād iphaḥ*) is an exception. If 3.1.94 is treated as an *adhikāra, rād iphaḥ* will obligatorily block *varṇāt kāraḥ*. Consequently, *rakāraḥ* can never be derived. This, however, should not give one the impression that difficulties in connection with the provision of 3.1.94 do not arise beyond the subdomain of 3.3.93. Pāṇinīyas recognize three *paribhāṣās* to cope with this (see *PŚ. paribhāṣā* 68...).

Now consider the following rules.

3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*
'affixes *tavya, tavyaT* and *anīyaR* occur after verbal roots'.
3.1.97 *aco yat*
'affix *yaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in a vowel (*aC*)'.

3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*
'affix *aṆ* occurs after a verbal root which co-occurs with a *pada* denoting an object (*karman*)'.
3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*
'affix *Ka* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *ā*, is used without any preverb and co-occurs with a *pada* denoting an object'.
3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*
'affix *KtiN* occurs after a verbal root when the derivate signifies feminine and *bhāva* 'action' or a *kāraka* other than a *kartṛ* is expressed as a name'.
3.3.102 *a pratyayāt*
'affix *a* occurs after a verbal root ending in an affix when the derivate signifies feminine and *bhāva* or a *kāraka* other than a *kartṛ* is expressed as a name'.

Rules 3.2.1 and 3.2.3 introduce affixes *aṆ* and *Ka* respectively. These affixes are formally similar (*sarūpa*); hence, affix *Ka*, an exception, blocks its general counterpart *aṆ* obligatorily. The same is true for affix *a* (3.3.102) obligatorily blocking the placement of affix *KtiN* (3.3.94). Note however, that the reasons differ. Affix *Ka* blocks *aṆ* obligatorily because it does not meet the condition of formal dissimilarity (*asārūpya*) of 3.1.94 *striyāṃ ktin*. Rules 3.3.94 and 3.3.102 introduce affixes *KtiN* and *a* respectively where the first is a general rule and the second its related exception. Affix *a*, however, blocks *KtiN* obligatorily because rules which introduce them are not covered by 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo*... Rule 3.1.96 is a general rule which introduces affixes *tavyaT*, *tavya* and *anīyaR* to which rule 3.1.97 *aco yat* is an exception. These rules, however, are covered by 3.1.94 and since affix *yaT* is formally dissimilar to *tavyaT*, *tavya* and *anīyaR*, rule 3.1.97 blocks 3.1.96 only optionally. As a result we get *jeyam* 'that which should be won' as an optional form to *jetavyam* and *jayanīyam*. It should be obvious now that rule 3.1.94 carves out a special section within the *sapādasaptādhyāyī*. This section is special because the norm that an exception obligatorily blocks its general counterpart is valid here only optionally.

Rule 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhat* identifies yet another special section within the *sapādasaptādhyāyī*. It states that the results of an operation *x* is treated as suspended when operation *y* is to be performed providing *x* and *y* are operations specific to the domain of 6.4.22 and both share the same condition (*nimitta*). The purpose of suspending a rule is to allow an *utsarga* 'general' rule to apply. The word *utsarga*, based upon its etymological meaning, refers to a *sthānin* 'substituendum' (*utsṛjyate ādeśena nivartyate iti utsargaḥ*). *Utsarga* refers to that which is set aside by a substitute (*ādeśa*). The reference obviously here is to *sthānin*. One can also argue that since a general (*utsarga*) rule is set aside by a particular (*viśeṣa*) rule in a manner similar to that in which a substitute sets aside a substituendum, *utsarga* shares similarities (*sādharmya*) with *sthānin*. Thus,

6.4.22 is an *adhikāra,* though an extension (*atideśa*) by nature. Its *anuvṛtti* extends up to and includes rule 6.4.129 *bhasya.* Since the domain of 6.4.129 covers rules up to the end of this quarter, and since 6.4.22 carries through 6.4.129, the scope of 6.4.22 extends through the end of this quarter. Recalling that an exception blocks a general rule obligatorily with the exclusion of rules covered by rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpa...* where such a blocking becomes optional, rule 6.4.22 provides for a general rule to apply under the provision of *asiddhatva.* Thus, the structuring and position of rules relative to generalizations and their related exceptions is functionally well motivated. Rule 6.4.22 characterizes this special aspect of interaction by extension as opposed to blocking.

Let us now consider the controlled derivation of *edhi,* second person singular imperative of *as* 'to be' and *śādhi,* second person singular imperative of *śās.*

(*i*) *edhi*

(*a*) *as* + *si*	→	3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*
	=	*as* + (*si* → *hi*)
	=	*as* + *hi*
(*b*) *as* + *hi*	→	6.4.111 *śnāssor allopaḥ*
	=	(*a* → ∅) *s* + *hi*
(*c*) *s* + *hi*	→	6.4.119 *ghvasor...*
	=	(*s* → *e*) + *hi*
	=	*e* + *hi*
(*d*) *e* + *hi*	→	6.4.101 *hujhalyor ...*
	=	*e* + (*hi* → *dhi*)
	=	*edhi*

(*ii*) *śādhi*

(*a*) same as (a) of *edhi*

(*b*) *śās* + *hi*	→	6.4.35 *śā hau*
	=	(*sās* → *śā*) + *hi*
	=	*śā* + *hi*
(*c*) *śā* + *hi*	→	6.4.101 *hujhalyor...*
	=	*śā* + (*hi* → *dhi*)
	=	*śādhi*

The last rule applied in deriving both *edhi* and *śādhi* is 6.4.101 *hujhalyor....* This requires that a consonant initial (*halādi*) *hi* is replaced by *dhi* when occurring after an *aṅga* constituted by *hu* 'to offer ritual oblation' or an *aṅga* ending in a sound denoted by *jhL* (*Śs.* 8-14). But rule 6.4.101 *hujhalyor...* cannot apply since neither *e* nor *śā* end in a *jhL.* Accordingly, *hi* cannot be replaced by *dhi* since it is not occurring after an *aṅga* ending in a *jhL.* Rule 6.4.22 *asiddhavad...*must be invoked here to suspend (*asiddha*) the results of the application of rules 6.4.119 *ghvasor...,* in *edhi,* and 6.4.35 *śā hau,*

in *śādhi,* in view of the application of rule 6.4.101 *hujhalyor....* If the results of 6.4.119 and 6.4.35 are both treated as *asiddha,* input strings for the application of 6.4.101 will be *ś* + *hi* and *śās* + *hi.* The condition of *hi* following an *aṅga* ending in a *jhL* is thus fulfilled by restoring the *sthānin,* i.e., *ś* and *śās.* Obviously, the substitute (*e* or *śā*) must be set aside.

Now consider the following controlled derivations where wrong forms will result if 6.4.22 is not invoked.

(*i*) *āgahi* 'second person singular Vedic imperative of *āgam* 'to come'
 (*a*) *āga* + *hi* where *m* of *āgam* is deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...*
 (*b*) *āga* + *hi* where by 6.4.105 *ato heḥ*
  = **āga* + (*hi* → ∅)
  = **āga*

(*ii*) *jahi*
 (*a*) *ja* + *hi* where *han* is replaced by *ja* (6.4.36 *hanter jaḥ*)
 (*b*) *ja* + *hi* where by 6.4.105 *ato heḥ*
  = **ja* + (*hi* → ∅)
  = **ja*

As indicated above, rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* will require the deletion of *hi* occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *a.* If an operation which is *kṛta* (here the deletion of *m* of *āgam* and the replacement of *han* by *ja*) is not treated as suspended (*asiddha*) in view of an operation which is *kārya* (here the deletion of *hi*), wrong forms will result. It is only after treating the results of 6.4.37 and 6.4.36 as suspended that we get *āgam* and *han* as input for the application of 6.4.105. Without suspending those rules, 6.4.105 is blocked from applying, since the input strings will not be able to meet the condition of having a final *a.*

The fact that Pāṇini indicates the limits of the domain of 6.4.22 in addition to stating the requirement of identical condition (*samānanimittakatva*) this latter is crucial in this connection. Given the derivation of *rāgaḥ* 'colour, attachment' from *rañj* + *GhaÑ* where the *ñ* of *rañj* has been deleted by 6.4.27 *ghañi ca bhāvakaraṇayoḥ,* rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* applies to introduce a *vṛddhi* replacement for the penultimate *a* of an *aṅga* ending in a consonant. Since rule 7.2.116 falls outside the scope of 6.4.22, the results of the application (*kṛta*) of 6.4.27 cannot be treated as suspended in view of the application (*kārya*) of 7.2.116. Had this not been the case, the *vṛddhi* of *a* could never have taken place. For, in that case, *ñ,* and not the *a,* would be penultimate.

Let us now consider an example of *samānanimittakatva.*

(*i*) *papuṣaḥ*
 (*a*) *pa* + *pā* + *vas* + *Śas*
  where affix (K) *vas* (U) has been introduced after the verbal root *pā* which yields *pa* + *pā* + *vas* after *dvitva* 'doubling'; also note that *Śas* is accusative plural

(*b*) *papā* + (*vas* →*us*) + *Śas*

where rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* deletes the *ā* of the root

Remember that *samprasāraṇa* (*kṛta*) cannot be treated here as *asiddha* for the deletion of *ā* (*kārya*) since these operations have different conditions. The deletion of *ā* is conditioned by *vas* while the *samprasāraṇa* is conditioned by *Śas*.

Let us now return to 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* which marks off two sections of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*: the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* and the *tripādī*. The word *pūrvatra*, in view of its etymological meaning of *pūrvasmin*, refers in this context to the *sapādasaptādhyāyī*. Since the word *pūrva* 'prior' is a relative term which expects reference to *para* 'subsequent', we must decide 'prior to or subsequent to what'. Rule 8.2.1 serves as its own *avadhi* 'extent, limit'. In other words, *pūrva* and *para* here will mean respectively prior to or subsequent to rule 8.2.1. One may thus interpret rule 8.2.1 as follows: rules contained within the last three quarters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are treated as suspended in view of rules contained within the first seven books and one quarter. In addition, subsequent (*para*) rules within the *tripādī* are treated as suspended in view of prior (*pūrva*) rules.

Consider *amuṣmai* which is derived by introducing *Ṅe* 'fourth triplet singular of *SUP*' after *adas*.

(*a*) *adas* + *Ṅe* by 7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*
= *ada* + (*s* → *a*) + *Ṅe*
= *ada* + *a* + *Ṅe*

(*b*) *ada* + *a* + *Ṅe* by 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *ad*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *Ṅe*
= *ad* + *a* + *Ṅe*
= *ada* + *Ṅe*

(*c*) *ada* + *Ṅe* by 8.2.80 *adaso' ser...*
= *a*(*d* → *m*) (*a* → *u*) + *Ṅe*
= *a* + *m* + *u* + *Ṅe*
= *amu* + *Ṅe*

(*d*) *amu* + *Ṅe* by 7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai*
= *amu* + (*Ṅe* → *smai*)
= *amu* + *smai*

(*e*) *amu* + *smai* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayaḥ*
= *amu* + (*s* → *ṣ*) *mai*
= *amuṣmai*

Rule 7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai* requires that *smai* be substituted for *Ṅe* when *Ṅe* occurs after a pronoun (*sarvanāma*) ending in -*a*. However, the input on which this rule applies does not end in *a* but in *u*. Here it is the result of the application of rule 8.2.80 *adaso'ser...* which makes the string end in *u*. The string was *ada* + *Ṅe* before 8.2.80 applied. By invoking *asiddhatva* of 8.2.1, the string will be treated as if it were *ada* + *Ṅe*. This,

in turn, will enable rule 7.1.14 to apply. If 8.2.80 is not treated as *asiddha* in view of the application of 7.1.14, *amuṣmai* can never be derived.

The interpretation that a subsequent rule of *tripādī* is treated as suspended in view of its prior rule arises because rule 8.2.1 is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. Consider the derivation of *godhuṅmān* 'one who is milking the cow'. Given the string *goduh* + *matUP* → *goduh* + *mat*, the *ḥ* will be replaced by *gh* (8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ*), which, in turn, will be replaced by *g* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). This *g* will be further replaced by *ṅ* (8.4.45 *yaro' nunāsike* ...). At the same time, rule 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo* ... will require the *d* of *goduh* to be replaced by *dh*. Rule 8.2.37 will block the application of 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo nte* as an exception (*apavāda*). It will block 8.4.45 *yatro' nunāsike* ... as being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*): *godhumat*, *godhuhmat*, *godhughmat* and *godhuṅmat* will be the order of derivational steps. If one does not accept rule 8.2.1 as an *adhikāra* valid through the rest of the *tripādī*, rule 8.2.10 *jhayaḥ* will find its scope of application on *godhugh* + *mat*. The result will be: **godhugh* + (*m* → *v*) *at* = *godhugh* + *vat*, an undesired form.

A further question about *asiddhatva* arises in connection with the *paribhāṣās* 1.1.49 *ṣaṣthī sthāne yogā*, 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdīṣṭe pūrvasya* and 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*. These *paribhāṣās* must be supplied for the correct interpretation of rules 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*, 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali* and 8.2.27 *hrasvāṅgāt* respectively. These rules cannot make any sense without bringing the interpretive rules close to them. Accepting the principle of *asiddhatva* will make that impossible. Patañjali declares that even though the *tripādī* is treated as suspended in view of the *sapādasaptādhyāyī*, the *paribhāṣās* will still be valid. This is possible because of the principle of *kāryakālaṃ saṃjñāparibhāṣam*. That is, *saṃjñā* 'name' and *paribhāṣā* 'interpretive rule' become meaningful only when they are joined with the corresponding operational rules. Rules such as 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhi sthāneyogā*, in view of *kāryakāla*, will become vacuous without being joined with rules such as 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya*.... This latter rule will be equally meaningless without rules such as 1.1.49. The principle of *kāryakāla* establishes *ekavākyatā* 'single sentenceness' between interpretive and operational rules. This way, one does not interpret their relationship solely in terms of *paurvāparya* 'one after the other'.

Pāṇinīyas recognize the following *paribhāṣā*: *pūrva paranityāntaraṅga-pavādānām uttarottara balīyaḥ*. That is, a subsequent (*para*) rule is treated as more powerful than a prior rule, an obligatory (*nitya*) is more powerful than a subsequent rule, an internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) rule is more powerful than a subsequent or obligatory rule, and an exception (*apavāda*) is treated as more powerful than a subsequent, obligatory, or internally conditioned rule.

How a prior rule is less powerful than a subsequent is the subject of 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. Let us consider now how an obligatory rule

blocks the application of a subsequent rule. Given the string *tud* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *-tip*, rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* requires that the penultimate (*upadhā*) short vowel *u* of *tud*, an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*), be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart. Hence, if rule 7.3.86 applies, a wrong form **tod* + *a* + *ti* will result. This result is blocked by the application of rule 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ* which introduces *Śa*. However, this application should be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* which blocks *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* conditioned by an affix marked with *Ṅ*. Though the affix which conditions *guṇa* by enabling *tud* to be termed an *aṅga* is marked with *Ś* and not *Ṅ*; actually, *Śa* is a *sārvadhātuka* affix by rule 3.4.113 *tiṅśit* ... and by rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* is treated as marked with *Ṅ*. Finally, although 7.3.86 is subsequent, it cannot apply before 3.1.77 as this latter is an obligatory rule. That is, *guṇa* or no *guṇa*, *Śa* must obligatorily be introduced after *tud* before *ti*.

Now let us consider an example of how an *antaraṅga* rule is more powerful than a subsequent rule. Rule 1.1.33 *prathamacarama* ... optionally assigns the term *sarvanāman* to *prathama* 'first', *carama* 'last', etc., when an operation relative to *Jas* is to be performed. In an example such as *ubhaye devamanuṣyāḥ* 'both gods and human beings', *ubhaya* is termed *sarvanāman*. In view of the optional nature of rule 1.1.33, the nominative plural of *ubhaya* should have two forms: *ubhaye* where *ubhaya* is termed *sarvanāman* and **ubhayāḥ* where it is not. However, there is only one correct form: *ubhaye*. The *sarvanāman* designation of *ubhaya* is assigned by 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*, a prior rule. Rule 1.1.33, even though a subsequent rule, cannot block the application of 1.1.27 by being a subsequent rule, since 1.1.27 obligatorily assigns the term *sarvanāman* to *ubhaya*. This designation is internally conditioned in the sense that *ubhaya* is listed in the group headed by *sarva*. Also, in view of 1.1.27, *ubhaya* need not depend upon *Jas* for this designation. Thus, 1.1.27 weakens and blocks 1.1.33 because of internal conditioning.

That an exception (*apavāda*) is more powerful than a subsequent rule is shown by the derivation of *dadhnā*, the instrumental singular neuter of *dadhi* 'yoghurt' where both rules 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya* and 1.1.53 *ṅic ca* may become applicable. Given the string *dadhi* + *Ṭā* = *dadhi* + *ā*, rule 7.1.75 *asthidadhi...* introduces *anaṄ* as a replacement. Since *anaṄ* is constituted by more than one sound segment (*aL*) and also since *anaṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*, both 1.1.55 and 1.1.53 find their scope in deciding whether *anaṄ* should replace *dadhi in toto* or simply the final *i*. Since 1.1.53 is an exception to 1.1.55, however, 1.1.53 blocks 1.1.55 and consequently, we get *dadh* (*i* ⟶ *anaṄ*) + *Ṭā* = *dadhi* + *ana* + *ā*.

The derivation of *grāmaṇini* in *grāmiṇini kule* provides an example of how an internally conditioned rule blocks an obligatory rule. Given the string *grāmaṇī* + *Ṅī*, two rules become applicable. Rule 7.1.73 *iko 'ci vibhaktau*

requires that *nUM* should be introduced as an augment to *grāmaṇī*. At the same time, rule 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya* requires that the final *ī* of *grāmaṇi* be replaced by short *i*. Now, 7.1.73 is an obligatory rule because whether or not long *ī* is replaced by short *i*, either now or later, *nUM* must be introduced. The shortening of the long vowel is internally conditioned in the sense that its cause is within *grāmaṇī*, the nominal stem, itself. Since an internally conditioned rule is more powerful than an obligatory rule, 1.2.47 applies first. Rule 7.1.73 will apply later to introduce *nUM*.

Finally, let us consider an illustration of how an internally conditioned application is blocked by an exception. Consider the following rules: 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* and 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. They are both *sandhi* rules. They both introduce a single replacement in place of a sequence of two vowels in close proximity (*saṃhitā*). Rule 6.1.87 introduces a single *guṇa* replacement for an *a* and any *aC* that follows it. Rule 6.1.101 introduces a single homogeneous long vowel as a replacement for any *aK* (*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ*) followed by its homogeneous vowel. Now consider an example: *daitya* + *ariḥ* where the final *a* of *daitya* 'demon' and the initial *a* of *ariḥ* 'enemy' are in close proximity. The locus, that is the substituendum (*sthānī*) and the cause (*nimitta*), of both *guṇa* and *savarṇa-dīrgha* 'single homogeneous long vowel replacement' are the same here. The vowels with reference to which these two operations obtain are the same. Thus, both rules are applicable.

Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇah* is a general rule to which 6.1.101, a subsequent rule, is an exception. However, 6.1.87 also becomes an internal (*antaraṅga*) rule as compared with 6.1.101. Commentators explain that a rule may become *antaraṅga* if the cause of its application is cited first. The cause of *guṇa, a,* is cited first, but so is the cause of *savarṇa-dīrgha,* since they are the same. In this instance where *antaraṅgatva* based on *pūrvopasthiti* 'first citation of the cause' offers no resolution, the exception rule proves more powerful. That is, 6.1.87 is blocked by 6.1.101 and the result is *daity* (*a* + *a*→*ā*) *riḥ* = *daityāriḥ* 'the enemy of the demons'.

Consider another example, *ayaja indram,* which is derived from the string *ayaj* + *i* + *indram* where *a* + *i* of *ayaja* + *i* and *i* + *i* of *i* + *indram* allow the application of both 6.1.87 and 6.1.101. Here, however, the cause of *guṇa, a,* is clearly first in citation as opposed to the *i* of *i* + *indram.* Consequently, the exception of 6.1.101 cannot block the *antaraṅga* rule 6.1.87. The result is: *ayaj* (*a* + *i*→*e*) + *indram* = *ayaja indram.* An *antaraṅga* is blocked by an exception rule except where *pūrvopasthiti* of the *nimitta* favours *antaraṅga.* The *antaraṅga* of 6.1.87 is blocked by 6.1.101; the *ayaja indram* example involves, at least in part, different loci.

It should be clear from above that the structure of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* reflects a system which focuses on rule interaction. The fact that *paurvāparya* alone

should not constitute the basis of interpreting relations among rules is important. The serial ordering of domains serves certain special functions. For example, it may signal domains of possible rule application by means of scanning and term assignment. However, the real structure and organization is revealed through the network of rule interaction. It is the patterns of rule interaction within and beyond the domains that establish hierarchy among rules. The broad dichotomy of general (*sāmānya*) and particular (*viśeṣa*) rules thus receives a finer articulation. Additional details of this structure are dealt with in chapter 10.

6

Types of Rules

Pāṇini's rules have been classified in different categories based on their nature, scope and application. The purpose of a rule, in general, is to account for the derivation of correct Sanskrit utterances. This, in turn, is accomplished by applying required rules to appropriate input, such that the last such application yields an output which is the target utterance. This may give one the impression that the rules of the grammar are largely operational; in a way this is true. However, in order for the operational rules to accomplish their intent, one needs other rules, complementary in nature, whose basic function is to assist, interpret, constrain, negate or further expand the scope of operational rules. Pāṇini employs one set of rules, which I shall call operational (*vidhi*), complemented by another set which I shall call interpretational. A rule which clearly states some specific operation (*kārya*) to be performed is operational. All other rules are interpretational.

Commentators identify the following types of rules which I have classified under the above-mentioned two categories.

(*a*) technical rules (*saṃjñā*): rules which assign a particular term to a given entity
(*b*) interpretive rules (*paribhāṣā*): rules which regulate proper interpretation of a given rule or its application
(*c*) operation rules (*vidhi*): rules which state a given operation to be performed on a given input
(*d*) restriction rules (*niyama*): rules which restrict the scope of a given rule
(*e*) negation rules (*pratiṣedha*): rules which counter an otherwise positive provision of a given rule
(*f*) extension rules (*atideśa*): rules which expand the scope of a given rule, usually by allowing the transfer of certain properties which were otherwise not available
(*g*) optional rules (*vibhāṣā*): rules which render the provisions of a given rule optional
(*h*) *ad hoc* rules (*nipātana*): rules which provide forms to be treated as derived even though derivational details are missing
(*i*) heading rules (*adhikāra*): rules which introduce a domain of rules sharing a common topic, operation, input, physical arrangement, etc.

It should be remembered that operation rules form the core of the

grammar. Rule types (*a*) and (*b*) are primarily interpretational. They facilitate proper interpretation and application of operation rules. Types (*d*), (*e*) and (*f*) are directly related to operation rules in the sense that (*d*) and (*e*) restrict their scope while (*f*) expands it. A distinction between (*d*) and (*e*), according to some, is unnecessary. It is argued that a provision made by a *niyama* rule is not different in nature from that made by a *pratiṣedha* rule. Those who maintain a distinction between (*d*) and (*e*) claim that (*d*) makes a positive provision, though in a restrictive fashion, while provisions made by (*e*) are purely negative. In any case, (*d*), (*e*) and (*f*) are strictly satellite categories to (*c*). One may also add type (*g*) to (*c*) as another satellite category. Rule type (*h*) is a short cut to (*c*) and hence is directly related to it. *Adhikāra* rules are substantially different in nature, and often cut across the boundary lines between various categories.

It is interesting to note that *saṃjñā*, *paribhāṣā* and *atideśa* rules themselves do not provide for any operation. The other types provide for an operation either obligatorily, restrictively, optionally, negatively or on an *ad hoc* basis. Furthermore, these provisional modes, with the exception of the last one, also may relate to *saṃjñā*, *paribhāṣā* or *atideśa* rules. However, this relationship is different in nature from their relation to *vidhi* rules. These provisional modes relate to *vidhi* rules strictly in view of an operation whereas they relate to *saṃjñā*, *paribhāṣā* and *atideśa* rules from the point of view of facilitating an operation. Thus, one may find restrictive, negative or optional types of rules both in the sphere of *vidhi* as well as *saṃjñā*, *paribhāṣā* and *atideśa*.

A detailed description of the *adhikāra* rules is given in chapter 4. A more full treatment of the other rule types will follow shortly. However, it is important first to focus upon another system of rule classification which I shall call hierarchical.

Since Pāṇini formulated his rules based on his efforts to capture certain generalizations reflected in usage, he formulated some rules with a general (*sāmānya*) scope of application. These rules are termed general (*utsarga*). He also formulated other rules, relative to *utsarga* rules, and these commonly are termed specific (*viśeṣa*). These rules define their scope within the scope of a general rule and often are treated as exceptions (*apavāda*) to that rule. Other types of specific rules in relation to a *sāmānya* are negations (*pratiṣedha*) and options (*vibhāṣā*), etc. This clearly establishes a hierarchical relationship among rules. From the point of view of the various strategies employed in the application of rules, one may also find rule types such as *nitya* 'obligatory', *para* 'subsequent', *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' and *bahiraṅga* 'externally conditioned'. This hierarchical relationship among rules is discussed in chapter 5.

(1) *Operation Rules*

It has been stated that operation (*vidhi*) rules provide for a certain operation to be performed. In this sense, the term *vidhi* refers to *kārya*

'operation, action'. However, since an operation obtains with reference to an operand (*kāryin*), and hence may also involve introduction of an element, *vidhi* is also used in the sense of the object of an operation. These two interpretations go hand in hand. Thus, there are certain elements which have to be introduced to form an input so that certain operations may take place. These operations, in turn, may introduce an element as object of an operation.

The derivational mechanism of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* entails the following operations.

(1.1) placement (*pratyaya*)
(1.2) addition (*āgama*)
(1.3) replacement (*ādeśa*)
(1.4) modification (*vikāra*), and
(1.5) deletion (*lopa*)

The above classification may not appear to be in perfect accord with traditional descriptions. What I call placement generally has been referred to as *pratyayavidhi* 'operation relative to an affix'. This term, however, has been used in a much wider sense. I shall use the term 'placement' to refer to the introduction of the first affix after a base (*prakṛti*). Pāṇini derives two types of forms: those that end in a *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*...), and those that end in a *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas*...). Both these forms are termed *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*). A *pada* ending in a *tiṄ* underlies a base termed *dhātu* 'verbal root', whereas a *pada* ending in a *sUP* underlies a base termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem'. Roots are twofold: primary roots listed in the *Dhātupāṭha*, and derived roots, terminating in affixes termed *saN*, etc. Nominal bases also are of two types: primary stems characterized by rule 1.2.45 *arthavad*..., and derived or complex stems which either terminate in a *Kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) or a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix, or else are termed *samāsa* 'compound' (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*). In view of the preceding, placement should be understood as an operation which introduces an affix immediately after a base outlined as above.

(1.1) Placement (*pratyaya*)

Affixes relative to placement operation are given in books three through five under the heading 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ* 'affix'. The following is the listing of major domains.

3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*
3.1.2 *paraś ca*
3.1.3 *ādy-udāttaś ca*
3.1.4 *anudāttau sup-pitau*
  3.1.7 *dhātoḥ*...
  3.1.32 *sanādy-antā dhātavaḥ*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*
 3.4.117 *chandasy ubhayathā*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*
 4.1.3 *striyām*
 4.1.75 *āvaṭyāc ca*
 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
 5.4.160 *niṣpravāṇiś ca*

Rule 3.1.2 requires that affixes be placed after bases which may be either a root or a nominal stem. Rule 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* heads a domain which requires a verbal root (*dhātu*) as its input. Similarly, 4.1.1 *ṅyāp...* requires an input which either ends in a feminine affix (*Ṅī* or *āP*) or is a nominal stem. Since feminine affixes are always introduced after nominal stems, the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām*, which introduces feminine affixes, naturally forms an interior domain within the domain of 4.1.1. Furthermore, since the output of 4.1.3 obligatorily becomes an input to 4.1.1, the latter rule has *ṅyāp* in the heading to allow such access. The output of the 4.1.1-2 interior domain has to be a *pada* ending in a *sUP*. This *pada*, under the condition of a syntactico-semantic relation, may receive an affix, such as a *taddhita*, to yield a *prātipadika*. This being the case, the output of 4.1.2 may again become an input to 4.1.2. Additionally, this output of the *taddhita* domain first may opt for access to 4.1.3 *striyām*, and then, finally become an input to 4.1.1-2. In summation, 4.1.1 allows two sets of input: *prātipadika* and items ending in a feminine affix. These latter items are derived by introducing feminine affixes to *prātipadikas*. Since *prātipadikas* also include items ending in a *kṛt*, a *taddhita* or an item termed *samāsa*, the *taddhita* and *samāsa* sections also form input to 4.1.1-2. Furthermore, this input may opt for 4.1.3 first and then for 4.1.2. This makes the domain of 4.1.1-2 cyclic; its output may re-enter as input.

The output of 3.1.5 *dhātoḥ...* is termed a *dhātu* by 3.1.32. This again forms an input to 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*. These domains, however, do not permit cyclic applications. There are two sets of affixes introduced after items termed *dhātu* 'root': *tiṄ* and *kṛt*. The first do not form part of the placement operation because they are treated as replacements for a set of ten abstract affixes commonly referred to as *LA* (3.4.77 *lasya*; 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*). Affixes termed *kṛt* form part of the placement operation as they are introduced directly after the verb roots. This and my earlier observations concerning the placement of an affix in the domain of 4.1.1 characterize placement as an operation which only requires a left context constituted by a base. This, of course, is a formal condition.

The output which involves a replacement of *LA* in *tiṄ* is treated as a *pada* whereas the output which involves a *kṛt* is termed a *prātipadika*. As such,

it is on par with other inputs of the domain of 4.1.1. It is interesting to note that *kṛt* affixes underlie an input other than the input of 4.1.1, but yield an output which is similar to the input of 4.1.1.

Our characterization of placement as an operation which requires a left context demands some qualification. First of all, this left context is formal and secondly, it is referenced with ablative (*pañcamī*). Thus the verbal and nominal bases required under the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* and 4.1.1 *ṅyāp...* are both referenced by ablative in the heading rules. A left context constituted by a root can further be specified by the use or omission of a preverb, its particular class membership in the *DP* and whether or not it ends in a vowel or has a penultimate vowel. Furthermore, specification can also be made with respect to particular meanings denoted by the bases. For example, consider the following set of rules.

3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*
3.1.2 *paraś ca*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*
3.1.96 *tavyat-tavyānīyaraḥ*
3.1.97 *aco yat*
3.1.98 *por ad-upadhāt*
3.1.99 *śaki-sahoś ca*
3.1.100 *gada-mada-cara-yamaś cānupasarge*

The above listing allows for the placement of *kṛt* (3.1.93) affixes (3.1.1) termed *kṛtya* (3.1.95) after (3.1.2) verbal roots (3.1.91). Thus, *dhātu* 'verb root' is the left context. Rule 3.1.96 introduces the affixes *tavyaT, tavya* and *anīyaR* in general. Rules 3.1.97 and 3.1.98 are more specific. As a consequence, 3.1.97 specifies the left context as a root which ends in a vowel and allows the placement of affix *yaT*. Rule 3.1.98 requires that the root constituting the left context terminate in a labial stop or nasal and have *a* in its penultimate (*upadhā*) position. Similar specifications are offered by 3.1.99 and 3.1.100, both of which name roots constituting the left context with the difference being that 3.1.100 does not allow the use of any preverb with its roots.

Rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham* adds another dimension to the placement operation. It explains that that which is referenced by locative (*saptamī*) in this domain of *dhātu* (3.1.91) is termed *upapada* 'co-occurring *pada*'. Consider 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* where the left context is still a *dhātu* but the placement of affix *aṆ* is constrained by the term *karman* 'object' in the locative. The affix *aṆ* cannot be introduced after a root constituting the left context unless there is an *upapada* which denotes *karman*. Thus, *kumbhakāra* 'pot maker' is derived by introducing the affix *aṆ* after the

verbal root *DkṛÑ* 'to do, make' under the conditions of *kumbha* + *Ṅas*, a co-occurring *pada* where *Ṅas* (genitive singular) denotes *karman*. Needless to say, the referent of *karman* is identified as an *upapada* because of its locative as provided for by 3.1.93.

Similar observations can also be made about the placement operation provided by the domain of 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*. Here, the left context is constituted by a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). Since a nominal stem can also constitute an item which is either a compound, or else ends in a *kṛt* or *taddhita* affix, nominal stems can be simple or complex. For purposes of placement operations in the domain of 4.1.1, both types of nominals can opt for access to the subdomains of 4.1.2, 4.1.3 and 4.1.76. For purposes of the placement of *sUP* affixes by 4.1.2, I shall also consider the output of the 4.1.3 subdomain to be a complex nominal. Thus, the left context for 4.1.2 can be constituted by a simple or complex nominal stem which also includes items ending in feminine affixes introduced by the subdomain of 4.1.3. Similarly, the left context of 4.1.3 can be constituted by either a simple or a complex nominal which excludes items ending in a feminine affix.

The left context constituted by the placement operation outlined in the subdomain of 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* is basically a simple nominal stem. However, it should be remembered that a *taddhita* derivative can re-enter the *taddhita* domain for transformation into a complex *taddhita* derivative. Furthermore, co-occurrence conditions somewhat similar to one discussed in connection with 3.1.93 may also constrain the left context.

The left context for the placement operation outlined in the domain of 4.1.1 is to a large extent similar to the one given for the domain of 3.1.91. The differences in specification of the left context of nominals are strictly 'formal' because of their being constituted by nominal stems and their being both simple and complex. In summation, left contexts are introduced by ablative. Their specification might entail enumerating them either individually or as a group, or identifying them in terms of their formal properties. Constraints can be imposed on them either by co-occurrence conditions or their denotata or both.

Placement operations do not entail specification of the right context. However, there are conditions under which a particular placement affix may be introduced. These conditions are mostly formal, syntactic or syntactico-semantic. Formal conditions generally concern the base whereas syntactico-semantic conditions may concern the base, affix, both or neither. Consider again 3.1.97 *aco yat* which introduces the affix *yaT* after a verbal root terminating in *aC* 'a vowel'. This formal condition which has been used to specify the left context also serves as a condition for the introduction of *yaT*. The same interpretation is applicable to 3.1.98.

Placement affixes introduced in the domain of *dhātu* are of two types: *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*) or *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*). Since affixes enumerated by 3.4.78, i.e., *tiN*, are replacements of abstract suffixes termed *LA*, they do not come under placement. *LA* affixes are introduced to denote agent (*kartṛ*) or object (*karman*), in case of a transitive root and to denote agent or *bhāva* in case of an intransitive root (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*). Thus, *LA* can denote either agent, object or action. *Kṛt* affixes are introduced to denote agent while a subset, termed *kṛtya*, denotes object and action. One may thus generalize that placement affixes introduced after verbal roots denote agent, object or action. It is understood that the signification of agent, object, or action can serve as a condition for placement affixes after verbs. One can interpret agent and object as syntactic or syntactico-semantic conditions, and *bhāva* as a semantic condition.

Other syntactico-semantic conditions may be found. For example, 3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ* introduces affix *LAṬ* after a verb root when current time (*vartamāna*) is to be expressed. Thus *pacati* '(he) cook's is derived form *pac* + *LA* where *LAṬ* is a placement affix introduced after the verb root *pac*. *LAṬ* is a *LA* suffix; accordingly 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi* ... will apply. Hence, conditions for introduction of *LAṬ* will include: a left context constituted by a root (3.1.9 *dhātoḥ*), signification of agent or object (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi* ...) and current time (*vartamāna*). Similar meaning conditions can be found for introduction of other *LA* affixes.

Kṛt and *kṛtya* affixes, in addition to requiring the signification of agent, object or *bhāva*, may also require other conditions. These conditions may include, for example, signification of *karaṇa* 'instrument' or other semantic conditions.

Conditions relevent to the introduction of placement affixes after a nominal base are similar in nature. Thus *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) affixes can be introduced either to denote nominal stem notions (*prātipadikārtha*; 2.3.46) or other semantic notions such as part-whole, container-contained, possessor-possessed, (2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*), or to denote *kāraka* relations (2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, etc.). The domain of 4.1.3 *striyām* clearly is a domain requiring the signification of feminine. The domain of *taddhita* affixes (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) is highly diverse as far as their significations are concerned. For example, a *taddhita* affix can be introduced to denote 'x's offspring' (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*), 'born there' (4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*), or 'colored by the color x' (4.2.1 *tena raktaṃ rāgāt*).

(1.2) *Addition* (*āgama*)

Addition may be defined as an operation which requires both a right as well a left context. In general, the left context is the base and the right context is a placement affix. Additions are of two types, *vikaraṇas* and *āgamas*. The first type consists of those affixes which are added to a root under the

conditions of a following affix, generally a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) or *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) affix which has replaced a *LA* suffix. For example, consider the derivation of *pacati* from *pac* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *ti* (3.4.77 *lasya*; 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*...). Given the string *pac* + (*LAṬ* → *ti*) = *pac* + *ti*, *ti* is termed *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113. Rule 3.1.68 *kartari śap* requires that *ŚaP* is to be introduced after *pac* under the condition that a *sārvadhātuka* affix denoting agent follows. Thus, *pac* + *ŚaP* + *ti* = *pac* + *a* + *ti* = *pacati*. Similar *vikaraṇas* are enumerated for roots especially in view of their relationship in the classes of roots in the *DP*. Rules 3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*, 3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*, 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ* 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*, 3.1.79 *tanādi...uḥ* and 3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*, for example, introduce the *vikaraṇas Śyan, Śnu, Śa, Śnam, u* and *Śnā* after various classes of roots.

It has already been indicated that the right context for the introduction of *vikaraṇas* generally is constituted by a *sārvadhātuka* or an *ārddhadhātuka* affix. These affixes are replacements for *LA* affixes. It may follow from this that *vikaraṇas* are introduced only after the *LA* affixes have been replaced by *tiṄ*. This is largely correct, although there are certain other *vikaraṇas* which may be introduced while a *LA* affix serves as right context. Consider, for example, 3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*, 3.1.34 *sib bahulaṃ leṭi* and 3.1.43 *cli luṅi* whereby *sya* and *tās*, *SiP* and *CLI* are introduced as *vikaraṇas* under condition of a right context formed by *LṚT, LUṬ, LEṬ* and *LUṄ*. The *CLI* introduced by 3.1.43 is variously replaced by *SIC* or its exceptions outlined by rules 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic* through 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

Another set of addition items, as we indicated at the beginning of this section, are termed *āgamas*. They differ from the *vikaraṇas* in that while *vikaraṇas* are introduced in reference to a right context marked by ablative (*pañcamī*), *āgamas* are introduced with a right context marked by genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Furthermore, *vikaraṇas* are termed an affix (*pratyaya*) and retain their identity separately from the bases to which they are introduced. As opposed to this, *āgamas* are not termed an affix and they become part of the item to which they are introduced. Thus, they do not retain their separate identity. Another interesting difference between the *vikaraṇas* and *āgamas* is that while a *vikaraṇa* is always introduced to the right context constituted by a base, an *āgama* may be introduced to a non-base. Consider the derivation of *paṭhitā* 'he will read tomorrow' in the following section where *iṬ*, an *āgama*, is introduced to *tās*, a *vikaraṇa*.

Pāṇini marks the majority of his *āgamas* by Ṭ, *K* or *M*. Under the provisions of rules 1.1.45 *ādyantau ṭakitau* and 1.1.46 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*, an *āgama* marked with *Ṭ* is introduced at the beginning, while one marked with *K* is introduced at the end. Consider the derivation of *paṭhitā*, *bhīṣayate* 'he frightens' and *muñcati* 'he releases' where these examples are derived from *paṭh* + *LUṬ*, *bhī* + *ṆIC* + *LAṬ* and *muc* + *LAṬ*. Given the string

paṭh + *tās* + *tiP* where *tās* is a *vikaraṇa* introduced before *LUṬ* (3.1.332 *syatāsī*...), and *LUṬ* is replaced by *tiP* (3.4.77-78 *lasya, tiptas*...), *tiP*, in turn, is replaced by *Ḍā* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ*...) and is subsequently termed an *ārdhadhātuka*. The string becomes: *paṭh* + *tās* + *ā*. Rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasy*... requires that *tās* receive an *āgama iṬ*. Since *iṬ* is marked with Ṭ it should be introduced at the beginning of *tās* to yield: *paṭh* + *iṬ* + *ā* = *paṭh* + *i* + *tās* + *ā*. Later, the *ās* of *tās* will be deleted by a *vārttika* on 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* to yield *paṭhitā*.

The last two examples entail augments which are marked with *K* and *M*. Given the string *bhī* + *ṆiC* where *ṆiC* has been introduced after *bhī* by 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*, 7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk* requires that *bhī* should receive the augment *ṣUK*. Since this augment is marked with *K*, it is introduced at the end on *bhī*. Thus we get *bhī* + *ṣUK* + *ṆiC* =*bhī* + *ṣ* + *i* = *bhīṣi*, a root under the provisions of 3.1.32 *sanādy*.... This enables *bhīṣi* to receive *LAṬ*, which, after the application of several rules, yields *bhīṣayate*. The last example *muñcati* is derived from *muc* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP* and the *vikaraṇa Śa* is introduced by 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*. Given the string *muc* + *Śa* + *tiP* → *muc* + *a* + *ti*, 7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām* introduces the augment *nUM* to *muc*. As *nUM* is marked with *M*, it should be introduced after the last vowel of *muc*. The result is: *mu* + *nUM* + *c* + *a* + *ti* → *muñcati*.

(1.3) *Replacement* (*ādeśa*)

Ādeśa operations are diverse in nature, mostly because of the diversity of the *sthānin* 'item to be replaced' which they replace. The *Mahābhāṣya* (III:159) names *vikaraṇas* such as *Śnam, Śa*, etc., *ādeśas* of *ŚaP*. I have already discussed abstract *LA* affixes and their eventual replacement by *tiṄ*. I have also explained how a *vikaraṇa* such as *CLI* is replaced by *SĪC* and its exceptions. In addition, one can also find replacements for either a part or the whole of a base. Thus, an *ādeśa* may be ruled for a base, an affix or even a single sound segment.

The *sthānin* 'item to be replaced' generally is marked by the genitive and the *ādeśa* by the nominative. The conditions for replacement are primarily right context and formal. Given the replacement formula $X_6Y_1Z_7$, one may interpret *X* as a *sthānin* which should be replaced by *Y* under conditions *Z*. However, this interpretation raises a further question. Given 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, for example, whereby *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*), the *sthānin*, is ordered replaced by *yṆ* (*y, v, r, l*), the *ādeśa*, under the condition of a following *aC* (vowel), we must decide which, from among *y, v, r*, and *l*, is the proper replacement of *i*.

Such situations are resolved by 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya*... This rule states that the assignment of equivalence should be made in the order of the elements enumerated. That is, when one finds an equal number of *sthānin* and replacements, assignment of equivalents is in the order in which the elements are listed. Rule 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ* states that equivalency

may also be determined on the basis of maximum similarity between *sthānin* and *ādeśa*. This similarity can be based on *sthāna* 'point of articulation', *artha* 'signification', *guṇa* 'sound quality' or *pramāṇa* 'duration'. All but *artha* refer to sounds and their attributes. Whenever there is conflict in assigning equivalency of sounds, similarity based on *sthāna* should be favoured.

For example, given the strings *daṇḍa* + *agram* and *yūpa* + *agram*, 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will apply. This rule states that when sounds denoted by *aK* (*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ*) are followed by vowels homogenous with them a single long vowel should replace both the preceding and the following. Thus, *a* + *a* of the above examples is replaced by *ā*, yielding *daṇḍāgram* 'top or front of the stick' and *yūpāgram* 'top or front of the ritual post'. The selection of long *ā* to replace *a* + *a* was made on the basis of their similarity in place of articulation (*sthāna*); they are both *kaṇṭhya* 'velar'.

For an example of similarity based on signification, consider the derivation of *vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ* 'young female descendant of Vataṇḍa' where the base is *vātaṇḍyayuvati*, a *karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa* compound (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ...*) derived by combining *vātaṇḍī* + *SU* with *yuvati* + *SU*. After the compound formation, the endings are deleted. Rule 6.3.42 *puṃvat karmadhāraya...* then applies to replace *vātaṇḍī* with its corresponding masculine form. However, that form does not denote *apatya* 'offspring' which *vātaṇḍī* does. As a result, one must select *vātaṇḍya*, a masculine form which also denotes *apatya*, as a replacement for *vātaṇḍī*.

Examples of similarity based on sound quality (*guṇa*) and duration (*pramāṇa*) are not difficult to find. Consider 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ* which, under certain conditions, causes the final *c* or *j* of a root to be replaced by *kU* (*k, kh, g, gh, ṅ*; cf. 1.1.69 *aṇudit...*). We clearly see that there are two substituenda for which five substitutes are ordered. In view of 1.1.50 *sthāne...*, we select *k* and *g* as proper replacements for *c* and *j*. We do this because of their similarity in sound quality. Thus, *c* is replaced by *k* because they share sound qualities such as *aghoṣatva* 'voicelessness' and *alpaprāṇatva* 'non-aspiration'. Similarly, *j* is replaced by *g* since they are both voiced non-aspirates.

For an example of similarity based on duration, consider the derivation of *amuṣmai* 'dative singular of *adas*.' At one point of the derivation, the string is *ada* + *smai*. Rule 8.2.80 *adaso' ser...* then orders two operations:

(*a*) replacement of *d* by *m*, and

(*b*) replacement of the final *a* of *ada* by *u*.

We know from 1.1.69 that items which do not constitute an affix but are denoted by *aṆ* or marked with *U* represent their own form as well as the forms of sounds homogenous with them. In view of this, *u* of 8.2.80 can be construed as either short (*hrasva*), long (*dīrgha*) or extra-long (*pluta*). However, since the substituendum is short, we will replace it with a short *u*.

(1.4) *Deletion* (*LOPA*)

Deletion can be characterized as an operation where a non-zero *sthānin* is replaced by zero. It thus may be treated as a straightforward case of replacement. However, considering the plurality of terms by which Pāṇini accomplishes deletion and the complexity of the entire operation, it is better to treat deletion separately.

Pāṇini specifies the *sthānin* of a deletion by genitive. However, this should not be confused with his practice of locating a *sthānin* with reference to an item in the ablative (*pañcamī*; cf. 1.1.67 *tasmād...*) or locative (*saptamī*; cf. 1.1.66 *tasmin...*). Deletion in Pāṇini is a complex operation. This complexity is due primarily to (*a*) the diversity of the deleted elements, (*b*) the degree, part or whole, to which an element is deleted, (*c*) the term which accomplishes a given deletion, (*d*) the consequences, other than the non-appearance of part or whole of an element, of deletion, and (*e*) whether or not the deletion is recoverable.

In order to fully understand the process of deletion, the following set of rules must be considered.

1.1.60 *adarśanaṃ lopaḥ*
1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*
1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*
1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*

Rule 1.1.60 is a general rule which defines *LOPA* as 'non-appearance'. Within this general scope of deletion is included a specific domain characterized by the terms *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP* and applies only to the deletion of an affix (*pratyaya*; cf. 1.1.61). *LOPA, LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP* thus all mean deletion or 'non-appearance of an element'. One may assume that *L*, their common element, represents non appearance. The *O* of *LOPA* may be contrasted with the *U* of *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP*, thereby establishing the *bhedakattva* 'distinctiveness' of the two sets. The *bhedakattva* of individual deletions within the subdomain of affix deletions accomplished by *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP* is maintained by *K, P* and *Ś*. Given the usual relationship between a general rule and corresponding specific rules, one would expect that *LOPA* excerpts its domain of application by leaving aside the domain of *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP*. Rule 1.1.61 states that the domain of *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP* is limited only to the deletion of an affix. Does this mean that deletion which involves zeroing of an element other than an affix is the domain of *LOPA*? The answer generally is yes. However, in order to correctly characterize the domain of *LOPA*, let us first focus on the scopes of *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP*.

It is established that deletion by *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP* obtains only when an affix is deleted. Affixes are listed in books three, four and five. In order to further delimit the individual domains of *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP*, we must look for the specific deletion of affixes accomplished by the express

mention of one of these terms. Looking at the process of affixal deletion, one finds that *ŚLU* is employed only to delete an affix occurring after a verb of the *juhotyādi* class (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*). These roots also require reduplication conditioned by *ŚLU* (6.1.10 *ślau*). *LUP*, on the other hand, strictly is limited to deleting certain *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affixes where the original number and gender of the base is retained (1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*).

In summation, affix deletion is the domain of *LUK*, *ŚLU* and *LUP*. The domain of *LOPA* generally is the deletion of non-affixes. Within affix deletion, *ŚLU* deletes affixes after verb roots belonging to a single specific class. *LUP* deletes only *taddhita* affixes which retain the original number and gender of the base. This clearly leaves a large domain for *LUK* which, when needed, will delete affixes after verb roots or nominal stems where *ŚLU* and *LUP* cannot be employed. All other deletions normally will be accomplished by *LOPA*.

Commentators explain that, on the strength of *LUK* in 7.3.73 *lug vā duh...*, deletion by *LUK*, *ŚLU* and *LUP* is total. That is, these terms cause the deletion of the entire affix. This would mean that partial deletion of an element must be accomplished by *LOPA*. What is the procedure when partial deletion of an affix is desired? Theoretically at least, that should also come under the domain of *LOPA* because *LUK*, etc., do not accomplish partial deletion. This possibility necessitates a re-examination of the term 'affix deletion' used in the context of *LUK*, *ŚLU* and *LUP*. When it comes to the domain of *LUK*, etc., affix deletion should be interpreted as total deletion.

It should be clear from the above discussion that *LOPA* and *LUK* are the most frequent means of deletion. *LOPA* may entail total or partial deletion of an affix, at least theoretically, base or any other element. *LUK* is employed to delete affixes other than those which specifically come under the domain of *ŚLU* and *LUP*.

In understanding the consequences and the recoverability of deletion the following rules are important.

1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*
1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*
1.2.49 *luktaddhitaluki*
1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*

Rule 1.1.61 specifies that operations conditioned by an affix obtain even when the affix is deleted. Rule 1.1.63 stipulates that such operations do not obtain with reference to an *aṅga* if the deletion is accomplished by *LUK*, *ŚLU* or *LUP*. Operations conditioned by an affix, and specific to an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmat...*), do not obtain when that affix is deleted. Consider *agnicit* 'he who heaped the ritual fire' which derives from *agnicit* + *SU* where *SU* is a *vibhakti* termed affix. This *SU* is deleted by *LOPA* under the

provisions of 6.1.68 *halṅyādibhyo....* Rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* then applies to assign the term *pada* to *agnicit.* But since 1.4.14 assigns the term *pada* only to an item which ends either in a *SUP* 'nominal inflection' or a *tiṄ* 'verbal inflection', and since *agnicit* does not end in *SU*, which has been deleted, assignment of the term *pada* cannot be accomplished. Rule 1.1.62 resolves this difficulty on the grounds that the deletion of *SU* is not accomplished by *LUK* etc., and *agnicit* is not undergoing an *aṅga* operation. Consequently, even though *SU* has been deleted, operation *pada*-assignment may obtain on *agnicit.*

Derivates like *āghnīya* 'I may strike' present yet another aspect of affix deletion. This example is derived from *ā* + *han* + *sīy* + *i* where *sīy* is an *āgama* 'augment' termed affix. Rule 7.3.73 orders that *s* of *sīy* be deleted. This affix-deletion is partial and hence, operations characteristic of *sīy* would not obtain. The *n* of *han* would not be deleted.

In the preceding section we briefly discussed these consequences of deletion:

(*a*) *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP* accomplish deletion of affixes only,
(*b*) deletion accomplished by *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP* is total,
(*c*) *LOPA* may accomplish total or partial deletion of affixes as well as non-affixes,
(*d*) operations characteristic of an affix may obtain even when the affix is deleted, but not when the deletion is accomplished by *LUK, ŚLU* or *LUP* and the given operation relates to an *aṅga,* nor
(*e*) when *LOPA* deletes an affix partially.

This clearly indicates that the derivational history of a form attests to the recoverability of deletion.

Two more rules need to be discussed in connection with the consequences and recoverability of deletion: 1.2.49 *luktaddhita...* and 1.2.51 *lupi....* The first rule states that when there is the deletion of a *taddhita* by *LUK*, the feminine affix contained in the base must also be deleted by *LUK*. Consider the derivation of *viśākhaḥ* 'he who was born in the constellation *viśākhā*' from (*viśākhā* + *Ṅi* + *aṆ*) + *SU* where *viśākhā* ends in the feminine affix (*Ṭ*)*ā*(*P*). Given the string *viśākhā* + *aṆ* where *aṆ* is deleted by *LUK* (cf. 4.3.34 *śraviṣṭhā ...luk*), *ā*, the feminine affix in *viśākhā*, also must be deleted. Rule 1.2.51 entails a semantic consequence in the sense that it allows the retention of the original number and gender of the base under the condition of affix deletion by *LUP*. Consider the derivation of *pañcālāḥ* 'the country where the *pañcāla* warriors live' where the underlying string is (*pañcāla* + *ām* + *aṆ*) + *Jas*. Given the string *pañcāla* + *aṆ*, rule 4.2.81 *janapade lup* deletes *aṆ* by *LUP*. The consequence of deletion is the retention of masculine plural in *pañcālāḥ*; when the country of the *pañcāla* warriors is meant, *pañcāla* must retain, or be declined in, masculine plural.

(2) *Interpretational Rules*

It has already been stated that rules which assist the interpretation and application of operational rules will be called interpretational. They basically are of two types: *saṃjñā* 'technical rules' and *paribhāṣā* 'interpretive rules'.

(2.1) *Technical rules* (*saṃjñā*)

A rule which assigns a name to a linguistic element or its meaning is termed a *saṃjñā*. The term *saṃjñā* is derivable by introducing the affix *aṆ* after the verb root *jñā* used with the preverb *sam*. However, since *aṆ* may denote *bhāva* 'action', *karman* 'object' or *karaṇa* 'instrument', *saṃjñā* may be interpreted in three ways.

(*a*) *saṃjñānaṃ saṃjñā* (*bhāva*): the act of properly perceiving something,
(*b*) *yaḥ saṃjñāyate* (*karman*): that which is the object of proper perception, and
(*c*) *saṃjñāyate anayā* (*karaṇa*): that by means of which proper perception is made.

The purpose of a *saṃjñā* rule is to assign a term to a linguistic entity (object) or its meaning by means of which (*karaṇa*) proper perception (action) of those objects as well as their function may be attained. The object which is assigned a *saṃjñā* is called a *saṃjñin*. Pāṇini has used nearly one hundred technical terms which can be classified in view of their *saṃjñin* in three categories.

(*a*) those which assign a *saṃjñā* to a linguistic term,
(*b*) those which assign a *saṃjñā* to the meaning of a linguistic item, and
(*c*) those which assign a *saṃjñā* to the quality (*guṇa*) of a sound segment.

The above three categories are given the names *śabdasaṃjñā*, *arthasaṃjñā* and *dharmasaṃjñā*. For example, consider the technical terms *vṛddhi*, *prātipadika*, *dhātu*, *aṅga* and *pada*. These are names assigned to linguistic items, respectively a sound segment, nominal stem, root, presuffixal base and a fully derived word. This class of technical items is by far the largest. Technical terms assigned to the meaning of linguistic items are second in number. Thus, one finds *saṃjñās* like *vibhāṣā*, *LOPA*, *LUK*, *ŚLU* and *LUP* where *vibhāṣā*[1] is assigned to the meaning of *na vā* 'or not' and the other four terms are assigned to the meaning of *adarśana* 'non-appearance'. Smallest in number are those *saṃjñās* assigned to sound quality. Thus, we find terms *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, the high, low and circumflex pitch accents.

Pāṇini presents the majority of his technical terms in the first book. However, there are some which may be found elsewhere in the grammar. I shall call the *saṃjñās* enumerated in book one global as opposed to those

[1] Note that *vibhāṣā* may not even be accepted as a technical term as it does not relate to an operation in the same way the other terms do.

enumerated elsewhere which I shall call local. For example, technical terms assigned to compound types are given in book two where compounds are discussed. Technical terms given in the domain of affixes in books three, four and five relate to particular affixes. The placement of other local *saṃjñās* should be understood in a similar manner. While I am advancing the dichotomy of global and local *saṃjñās*, I am fully aware that there are many global *saṃjñās* which are similar in nature to local ones. Mere physical placement in the grammar should not be treated as the basis for this classification. Pāṇini has placed his global definitions in book one to facilitate operations throughout the grammar. Local definitions facilitate operations locally. Their most immediate function is to facilitate an operation within a given context (*prakaraṇa*).

Consider, for example, the definitional term *upapada* 'co-occurring *pada*' which has been characterized locally by 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*. The rule simply states that 'that which is specified in the locative in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* is termed an *upapada*'. This clearly justifies calling *upapada* a local definition. Similarly, *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) 'doubling' finds its *saṃjñin* only locally. Many other definitional terms, especially in books three through five, are local; global definitions, however, may be employed throughout the grammar.

A question has been raised in consideration of the definitional terms *karmadhāraya* 'a subcategory of *tatpuruṣa* compounds' and *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent of a compound' which are defined by 1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ*... and 1.2.43 *prathamā nirdiṣṭa*... . Why didn't Pāṇini define these terms locally in the second book with the other terms relative to *samāsa* 'compound'? It should be noted here that the *samāsa* section comes under the domain of 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*. If Pāṇini had put 1.2.43 in the *samāsa* section, a conflict would have arisen between the assignment of *tatpuruṣa* and *karmadhāraya*. Since *karmadhāraya* would have been subsequent, it would have blocked the *tatpuruṣa* assignment. Similarly, Bhattacharya thinks that for reasons unknown to us, Pāṇini did not include *upasarjana* in the *samāsa* section. I think that Pāṇini placed his definitions at appropriate places, above all, for operational reasons. I shall discuss this shortly.

One of the important purposes of formulating definitions is brevity (cf. *laghvarthaṃ hi saṃjñā karaṇam*, *Mbh.* on 1.1.1). This intended brevity also is alluded to in statements such as *āvartinyaḥ saṃjñāḥ bhavanti* '*saṃjñās* recur' (*Mbh.:* 1.1.1). For an insightful discussion of an important aspect of brevity, see Cardona (1969: 20) and his discussion of the *pratyāhāra iN*.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita remarks (*SK* ad 1.1.72) that a *saṃjñā* recurs in various rules to make its *saṃjñin* known. That is, if the *saṃjñā vṛddhi* occurs in a rule in the seventh book, rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* should be brought in to explain that *vṛddhi* means *ā*, *ai* and *au*. However, there is more to the

function of recurring technical terms; *saṃjñās* are highly instrumental in locating the domain of possible rule application (see chapter 4 for details). They are also instrumental in projecting what further steps a particular string may take in its derivation.

It was stated in connection with the classification of definitions into global and local categories that rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* heads a domain where only one term may be assigned. This suggests yet another aspect of definitional terms. Since within its domain, 1.4.1 does not permit more than one term to be assigned to a given entity, one may infer that assignment of more than one term may be permissible elsewhere in the grammar. Pāṇinīyas do believe that outside the domain of 1.4.1 (*ekasaṃjñā*), *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'class inclusion' is the norm. This requires further explanation.

Rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* states that in matters of conflict between two rules of equal strength (*vipratiṣedha*) the rule which is subsequent in order applies. If there is a situation where a single element is equally qualified for the assignment of more than one term, 1.4.2 will be invoked. Now, Pāṇini presents his *kāraka* terms in this domain in the order of *apādāna* (1.4.24), *sampradāna* (1.4.32), *karaṇa* (1.4.42), *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.45), *karman* (1.4.49) and *kartṛ* (1.4.54). Consider the sentence

rāmo dhanuṣā mṛgaṃ vidhyati

'Rāma pierces the deer by [an arrow shot by] the bow' where 'bow' can qualify equally for assignment of the terms *apādāna* or *karaṇa*. It can be termed an *apādāna* because it serves as point of reference from whence occurs the movement away of the arrow (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye...*). It can be termed *karaṇa* because unless there is a bow, the act of piercing the deer cannot be accomplished; 'bow' is the most instrumental means. This conflict is resolved by 1.4.2; 'bow' uniquely is termed *karaṇa*. This relative ordering of the *kāraka* terms suggesting their relative strength is more fully discussed in chapter 9.

It should be remembered here that unless there is clearly a conflict, 1.4.2 should not be invoked. Commentators also explain that 1.4.2 cannot be invoked where the conflict obtains between two rules whose relationship is one of general-exception (*utsarga-apavāda*), obligatory-nonobligatory (*nitya-anitya*), or internally conditioned-externally conditioned (*antaraṅga-bahiraṅga*; see *Kāś.* I:499) *utsargāpavādanityānityāntaraṅgabahiraṅgeṣu tulyabalatā nāsti*). The claim is that such sets of rules are lacking in equal strength (*tulyabalatā*).

There are situations in the *ekasaṃjñā* domain where *saṃjñāsamāveśa* is permitted. It has been done by express mention in order to delimit the scope of certain definitions with specific operational goals in mind. Consider, for example, rules 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ kartā* and 1.4.55 *tatprayojako hetuś ca* whereby two terms *kartṛ* and *hetu* both are assigned to the instigator

of *kartṛ*. *Kāśikā* clearly states here that *ca* of 1.4.55 is used for purposes of class inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśārthaś cakāraḥ*). Pāṇini does the same thing when he formulates 2.1.23 *dviguś ca* whereby he extends the *tatpuruṣa* designation to *dvigu*.

It has been stated that, outside the domain of 1.4.1, class inclusion is the norm. Consequently, one may find a particular linguistic element being assigned three names, such as *pratyaya*, *kṛt* and *kṛtya* (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*, 3.1.94 *kṛtyāḥ*). Similarly, one may find an affix being assigned terms *taddhita* and *tadrāja* (4.1.171 *te tadrājaḥ*). However, just as *saṃjñāsamāveśa* may be permitted within the *ekasaṃjñā* domain, *ekasaṃjñā* may obtain within the domain of *saṃjñāsamāveśa*. That is, there may not be two terms assigned to an entity. It should be remembered that Pāṇini often resorts to explicit mention to resolve confusion. For example, a problem could arise with regard to the assignment of the terms *gotra* (4.1.162 *apatyam...*) and *yuvan* (4.1.163 *jīvati tu...*). However, the word *tu* in 4.1.163 explicitly rules out *saṃjñāsamāveśa*.

Some further points must be discussed in connection with the description of the *saṃjñās*, namely their structure and source. It is natural that *saṃjñā* follows usage. However, since *saṃjñās* are assigned for purposes of grammar, grammatical usage can also serve as a source. Pāṇini takes many of his technical terms from the tradition. He may use them in the same sense, redefine them or leave them undefined. The *saṃjñās* which he takes from the outside world (*loka*) also may or may not be used in the same sense. In fact, we find several terms in Pāṇini which are used in both a popular as well as technical sense. An example is the term *hetu* 'cause, purpose'. It is to be remembered that technically any *saṃjñā* in Pāṇini should be treated as new irrespective of its denotatum outside the grammar, be it from the grammatical tradition or common usage. There are only two things shared by naming in the real world and naming in the grammar: one, that naming follows convention, whereby an existing entity x is assigned the name y, and the other, that y facilitates proper perception of x. Thus, a parent may name a bundle of flesh (x) *devadatta* (y) and thereafter *devadatta* (y) will be used to facilitate proper perception of x.

Pāṇini defines his terms by assigning the name y to x where x could be a single element, class of elements or a particular meaning of x. In doing this, he employs both the techniques of definition and enumeration. That is, he may formulate statements such as:

(*a*) let x be termed y, or

(*b*) let the following enumerated items be termed y.

Vṛddhi and *guṇa*, for example, follow (*a*) while *sarvanāman* and *dhātu* follow (*b*).

One normally expects that x, the nominatum, would precede y, the name, in a *saṃjñā* rule. Pāṇini usually follows this practice. However,

there are instances where he disrupts this arrangement. Patañjali defends Pāṇini's use of the term (y) *vṛddhi* in the very first rule of the grammar on grounds of auspiciousness. However, in other instances of reverse order where Pāṇini uses the *saṃjñā* first, such as 1.2.41 *apṛkta*..., 3.1.92 *tatropapadam*..., 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*, 3.1.94 *kṛtyāḥ* and 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam*..., Patañjali is silent.

(2.2) *Interpretive Rules* (*paribhāṣā*)

Traditionally interpretive rules are known as *paribhāṣā*. The function of these rules is to provide a check on the operational rules so that they do not suffer from faults such as *ativyāpti* 'over application', *avyāpti* 'under application' and *asambhava* 'impossible application'. That is, interpretive rules assist operational rules in precisely identifying their domain of application. Pāṇini has located about seventy-five such interpretive rules in different parts of the grammar, while the tradition recognizes more than 130 additional *paribhāṣās*. The totality of these *paribhāṣās* may be classified into three categories.

(*a*) *vācanikī:* explicitly stated by Pāṇini in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*,

(*b*) *jñāpakasiddha:* those which Pāṇini must have implicitly assumed; the fact that all or part of a *sūtra* will become vacuous without accepting these indicates their importance, and

(*c*) *nyāyasiddha:* those which are axiomatic and owe their importance to the norms or standards of the outside world.

The last two categories of *paribhāṣās* have been created, explained and justified based on their indispensability for the correct interpretation of Pāṇini's rules. Most of them date back to Vyāḍi, Kātyāyana and Patañjali. The *Mahābhāṣya*, with its *vārttikas* as well as *paribhāṣās* of Vyāḍi, is the most important source. Among the collections of *paribhāṣās*, Nāgeśa's *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* (*PŚ*) is by far the most important text. In this section, I shall consider primarily *paribhāṣās* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (see chapter 8 for the *paribhāṣās* of *PŚ*).

Pāṇini has not used the word *paribhāṣā* in his grammar. Patañjali does not try to define precisely the characteristics of *paribhāṣā*. However, some of his statements accept their importance. He compares them to a lamp which, even though placed in one place, illuminates the entire room (see *supra*, fn. 1, p. 119). Thus, a *paribhāṣā* stands in one place but whenever needed joins in defining the exact scope of application of operational rules. The question still remains, however, how a *paribhāṣā* finds its scope. How does it find the operational rule that it illuminates? Kaiyaṭa explains that a *paribhāṣā* is formulated with a built-in mark (*liṅga*) which in turn becomes its characteristic condition. In addition to this mark, a *paribhāṣā* also makes a provision for operation rules (*Mbh.* ad 2.1.1: *liṅgopādānena paribhāṣā kriyamāṇā yatra tal liṅgopālambhas tat tadvyāpnoti*...).

Since *paribhāṣās* are strictly intended for the proper application of operational rules, I shall discuss the nature of a few of them with reference to specific operations. Consider rules 1.1.46 through 1.1.56.

1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
1.1.47 *midaco' nīyāt paraḥ*
1.1.48 *ec ig hrasvādeśe*
1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāne yogā*
1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*
1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*
1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
1.1.53 *ṅic ca*
1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*
1.1.55 *anekāl-śit sarvasya*
1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*

Rule 1.1.49 makes a provision whereby a genitive ending which is not interpretable otherwise in a given context is to be interpreted as meaning 'in place of'. This metarule facilitates identifying the *sthānin* 'substituendum' which a given substitute may replace. Thus, genitive becomes the characteristic mark (*liṅga*) for this *paribhāṣā*. Consider 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku...* which, under certain conditions, orders *KU* (*k, kh, g, gh, ṅ;* 1.1.69 *aṇ-udit...*) as a substitute in place of *c* or *j*. We are faced with a problem here. There are five substitutes for two substituenda. Rule 1.1.50 resolves this by stating that a substitute must be most similar to the substituendum. As a result, we replace *c* by *k* and *j* by *g*. This maximum similarity is determined by their shared qualities (*guṇa*). Rule 1.1.51 provides that wherever *aṆ* (*a, i, u*) is ordered as a replacement for *ṛ* it automatically must be followed by *r*. Consider *kirati* 'he is scattering (things) around', derived from *kṛ* + *LAṬ* → *kṛ* + *tip* → *kṛ* + *ŚaP* + *ti* = *kṛ* + *a* + *ti*. Rule 7.1.100 *ṛt id dhātoḥ* orders *i* as a replacement for the *ṛ* of *kṛ*. Since the replacement *i* is denoted by *aṆ*, *i* must be followed by *r*. Thus we get *k* (*ṛ* → *ir*) + *a* + *ti* = *kirati*.

Rule 1.1.52 provides that a substitute ordered for a *sthānin* in genitive should replace only its final sound segment (*aL*). However, 1.1.54 states that a substitute which consists of more than a single sound segment or which is marked with *Ś* should replace the entire *sthānin*. Rule 1.1.53 is an exception to this. According to 1.1.53, a substitute which consists of more than one sound segment and is marked with *Ṅ* also replaces only the final sound segment of its *sthānin*. Consider the derivation of the complex base *dvaimātura* 'he who has two mothers' where *divmātṛ* is a compound base formed from *dvi* + *os* + *mātṛ* + *os*. As usual, the genitive dual *os* will be deleted after compound formation yielding *dvaimātṛ* after which the affix *aṆ* will be introduced by 4.1.115 *mātur ut saṃkhyā*. ... Note that in addition to introducing *aṆ*, this rule also requires a replacement in *u* for *mātṛ*. Needless to say, *mātṛ* is specified here in the genitive. Since *u*, the

substitute, does not consist of more than one sound segment, 1.1.52 will allow it to replace only the final *ṛ* of *mātṛ*. Thus, *dvimātṛ* + *a*(*Ṇ* → ∅) → *dvimāt*(*ṛ* → *ur*) + *a* = *dvimātur* + *a*. Also note here that 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ* will require *u*, a replacement in *aṆ*, to be followed automatically by *r*. After the *vṛddhi* replacement *ai* is introduced for the *i* of *dvimātur* + *a*, we get *dvaimātura*.

The derivation of *mātāpitarau* 'mother and father', a *dvandva* compound, proceeds from *mātṛ* + *sU* + *pitṛ* + *sU* = *mātṛpitṛ* after which the nominative dual ending *au* is introduced. Given the string *mātṛpitṛ* +*au*, the *aṅga*-final *ṛ* will be replaced by *guṇa* followed automatically by *r*: *mātṛpit*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *au* = *mātṛpitar* +*au*. In the meantime, 6.3.25 *ānaṅ ṛto dvandve*... requires that *ṛ* of *mātṛ* be replaced by *ānAṄ*. This substitute consists of more than one sound segment but is marked with *Ṅ*. Consequently it can replace only the final *ṛ* of *mātṛ*. This will give us *māt* (*ṛ* → *ānAN*) *pitṛ* = *mātānpit*(*ṛ* → *ar*) = *mātānpitar* + *au*. The *n* will be deleted later to yield *mātāpitarau*.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the above *paribhāṣās* are applicable to replacement operations. Our last rule, 1.1.56 *sthānivad*..., also is a *paribhāṣā* dealing with replacement. However, its provision is different. The rule in itself is complex, I shall not discuss it in detail here. Suffice it to say that this rule provides, with some restriction, for treating a substitute (*ādeśa*) as if it were its *sthānin*, so that operations characteristic of a given *sthānin* can still be performed even though it has been replaced.

Let us consider two other *paribhāṣās* with locative (*saptamī*) and ablative (*pañcamī*) as their marks.

1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*
'an item which is referred to by a locative ending is understood as the right context for operation on what precedes'

1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*
'an item which is referred to by an ablative ending is understood as the left context for operation on what follows'

Now consider the external *sandhi* between *dadhi* + *atra* which is allowed by 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. The abbreviations *iK* and *aC* are in genitive and locative respectively. Clearly then, *yṆ* (*y*, *v*, *r*, *l*) is being introduced as a substitute in place of *iK*. This replacement, however, is applicable only when *iK* is followed by *aC* because of 1.1.66. Thus *aC* serves as the right context for *yṆ* replacement. For details of how *y* is selected as a replacement for *i* to yield *dadhyatra* 'there is yoghurt here', see the discussion of *ādeśa* in section 1.3 of this chapter.

One may ask here, given an example of external *sandhi* in *sudhī* + *upāsyaḥ* = *sudhyupāsyaḥ* 'respected by the learned', why isn't the *u* of *su* replaced by *v* before the *ī* of *dhī* under the provisions of 6.1.77? After all, 1.1.66 only defines the right context, and 6.1.77 does not state explicitly

that *aC* should follow *iK* immediately. Moreover the locative in 1.1.66 *tasminn...* is *aupaśleṣika* denoting 'proximity' which need not mean contiguity. However, when we focus on *nirdiṣṭe,* another constituent of 1.1.66 in the locative, we get the correct interpretation. The root *diś* is used in the sense of pronunciation and hence *nirdiṣṭe* means 'when pronounced contiguously'. Thus *nirdiṣṭe* qualifies *tasmin* to yield the meaning of contiguity.

The same is true about the ablative of 1.1.67. This rule specifies the left context of an operation. We know from 1.1.67 that when an operation is specified by a term in the ablative, it obtains on a following item. Consider the derivation of *āsīnaḥ* 'sitting' from *ās* + (*LAṬ* → *āna*) = *ās* + *āna* where 7.2.83 *īd āsaḥ* applies. This rule requires that *āna* be replaced by *ī*. The word *āsaḥ* is in the ablative and hence the replacement operation should be applicable to *āna* which follows *ās*. However, this rule also carries the *anuvṛtti* of *āne* from 7.2.82 *āne muk* where *āne* is in the locative. Two questions must be answered here.

(*a*) Which specification should be treated as decisive for the replacement operation, the ablative of *āsaḥ* or the locative of *āne*?

(*b*) Should *ī* replace the *sthānin* in its entirety?

If we follow the ablative specification, *āna* will serve as the locus of operation. However, if we follow the locative, *āsa* becomes the locus. If we follow both, there is no locus at all. Here the tradition invokes another *paribhāṣā, ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyān* (see chapter 7, number 71). This *paribhāṣā* tells us that when specifications in the ablative and in the locative are both available, specification made by the ablative is stronger. This will clear the way for *āna* to be the locus of the replacement by *ī*. It will further cause the locative of *āne*, the element carried from the preceding rule, to be interpreted as genitive. This practice of transposition of inflectional endings (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*) dictated by the context (*prakaraṇa*) is standard practice in Pāṇinian parlance. Now we can return to question (*b*) above. What answers this question is 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya* which states that operations specified by the ablative obtain only on the initial sound segment (*aL*) of what follows. Given this rule, *ī* will replace only the *ā* of *āna* which follows *āsa*. Thus, *āsa* + (*ā* → *ī*)*na* = *āsīna*.

The above *paribhāṣās* relate basically to replacement. There are also two major *paribhāṣās* relating to augments. They are 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* and 1.1.47 *mid aco 'ntyāt paraḥ* whereby we learn that an augment marked with *Ṭ* is introduced as initial element to an item specified in the genitive and an augment marked with *K* is introduced as final element. However, if an augment is marked with *M*, it is introduced after the last vowel of that for which it is specified.

It is interesting to note that these two rules can also be viewed as exceptions to 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*. Consider the derivation of *kaṇitā* 'he will go

tomorrow' from *kaṇ* + (*LUṬ* → *tās*) + (*ti* → (*Ḍ*)*ā*) = *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ā* where 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasy...* applies. This rule introduces the augment *iṬ* with reference to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix marked with genitive. In the string in question, *tās* is such an affix. If we follow 1.1.49, we will have to let *iṬ* replace *tās*, or rather, in view of 1.1.52 *alo 'ntyasya*, let it replace the final *s* of *tās*. However, since the augment *iṬ* is marked with *Ṭ* it can be introduced only as an initial element of *tās*. Similarly, in the derivation of *payāṃsi*, nominative plural of neuter *payas* 'milk', from *payas* + (*J* → ∅) *as* = *payas* + *as*, rule 7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya...* introduces the augment *nUM*. The reference for this introduction again is genitive. However, since *nUM* is marked with *M*, it can be introduced only after the final vowel of *payas*. Thus we get *paya* + *nUM* + *s* + *as* which ultimately yields *payāṃsi*.

Note also that certain items marked with *M* may involve an exception to rules 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ* and 3.1.2 *paraś ca*. For example, consider 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* which introduces the *vikaraṇa ŚnaM* after roots of the *rudhādi* class when a *sārvadhātuka* affix denoting agent follows. Now consider the derivation of *bhinatti* 'he breaks or splits something' where *bhid* belongs to the *rudhādi* class. Given the string *bhid* + *ti* where *ti* is a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes agent and has replaced *LAṬ*, 3.1.78 will introduce *ŚnaM*. According to 3.1.2 *paraś ca* read with 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, *ŚnaM* should be introduced after the root. However, since *ŚnaM* is marked with *M*, 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ* requires that it be introduced after the last vowel of the root. Thus we get *bhi* + *ŚnaM* + *d* + *ti*.

It has been stated already that *apavāda* 'exception' *niṣedha* 'negation', *niyama* 'restriction', *atideśa* 'extension' and *vibhāṣā* 'option' are rule types which can be found among *saṃjñā*, *paribhāṣā* and *vidhi* rules. Consider, for example, the following set of rules.

1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*
1.1.28 *vibhāṣā dik-samāse bahuvrīhau*
1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau*

The last two rules are exceptions (*apavāda*) to the first which assigns the term *sarvanāman* to items enumerated in the list headed by *sarva* 'all'. Rule 1.1.28 is an exception to 1.1.27 in the sense that what 1.1.27 obligatorily provides (*nitya*) becomes optional. However, the scope of this option is severely restricted. As is clear from the negation in 1.1.29, *sarva* cannot be termed *sarvanāman* in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. However, if a *bahuvrīhi* compound is formed from constituents denoting *diś* 'direction', *sarva* optionally may be termed *sarvanāman*. Thus, 1.1.28 makes the provision of 1.1.27 optional, though in a restricted manner while 1.1.29 obligatorily negates it elsewhere. Some aspects of exception (*apavāda*) rules have already been discussed under operational and interpretation rules. Here let us briefly examine *niṣedha*, *atideśa* and *vibhāṣa* rules.

(2.3) *Negation (niṣedha)*

Negation traditionally has been classified into two types: *paryudāsa* and *prasajya*. The *Mahābhāṣya* and subsequent commentaries have extensively discussed these two aspects in connection with various rules. A detailed discussion of negation can be found in Cardona (1967). I shall briefly illustrate these types with examples from Pāṇini's rules. First, however, the basic characteristics of the *paryudāsa* and *prasajya* views of negation must be explained.

The distinctiveness of the two types stems from the two meanings of the negative particle *naÑ*: *bheda* 'difference' and *abhāva* 'absence'. The *bheda* meaning of *naÑ* is found in *paryudāsa* while *abhāva* is attached to *prasajya*. Consider the sentence *abrāhmaṇam ānaya* 'bring (someone) other than a *brāhmaṇa*' where what is negated by *a* (a replacement of *naÑ*) in *abrāhmaṇa* is a *brāhmaṇa*; one should bring someone other than a *brāhmaṇa*. Thus, what is negated here is the following constituent of the compound. The act of bringing itself is not negated. Furthermore, simply because *brāhmaṇa* is negated does not mean that qualities other than *brāhmaṇattva* 'brāhmaṇaness' are negated. Simply because one is asked to bring someone other than a *brāhmaṇa* does not mean that one can bring an animal. Whatever is to be associated with an action must be similar, at least generically, to what has been negated by *paryudāsa*. In the above example one can only bring a human being who is not a *brāhmaṇa*. In short, *paryudāsa* does not negate an action but negates the following constituent of a negative compound with the assumption that whatever is to be associated with the action must be generically similar to that which was negated.

Let us consider the sentence *anṛtaṃ na vaktavyam* 'non-truth should not be spoken'. The *na* here negates an action. What is provided by *vaktavyam* 'should be spoken' is negated by *na*. The meaning *na* here is that of *abhāva* 'absence'. This makes *niṣedha* principal and *vidhi* 'whatever is provided' secondary. *Abhāva* presumes *bhāva* 'presence'; in view of this, *prasajya* negates whatever has been tentatively provided for by the action. This distinction is very important for the correct understanding of Pāṇinian rules involving negation.

The above two sentences clearly illustrate the distinction between *paryudāsa* and *prasajya*. In *abrāhmaṇam ānaya*, the negation is accomplished by *a* which is the first constituent of a negative compound. As opposed to this, the negation in *anṛtaṃ na vaktavyam* is accomplished by *na* which is not part of any compound. In the expression *asūryaṃ paśyāni mukhāni* where the *a* of *asūryam* renders the negation, the meaning is *prasajya* or absence. The interpretation here is *sūryaṃ na paśyanti yāni mukhāni* 'the faces which do not see the sun'.

Consider the following rules.

1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*

1.1.143 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*

The first rule states that *Śi* (a replacement for nominative/accusative plural *Jas* and *Śas* after neuter) is termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. The second rule states that a non-neuter *ṣUT* (*sU, au, Jas; am, auṭ*: the singular, dual and plural nominative and singular and dual accusative endings) is termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. The word *anapuṃsakasya* has the negative *naÑ*. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses its twofold interpretation. According to a *prasajya* reading, one would interpret 1.1.43 as a rule split in two: *suṭ sarvanāmasthānaṃ bhavati*, and *napuṃsakasya na bhavati*. This interpretation will create two problems. The compound *anapuṃsakasya* will not be considered syntactically related (*samartha*) because *naÑ* will not be syntactically related to *napuṃsaka*; instead, it will be related to *bhavati*. Secondly, the *sarvanāmasthāna* designation of *Śi* of 1.1.42 will be blocked. This second problem can be resolved by invoking *paribhāṣā* 62, *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā*, whereby we learn that an operation or cancellation obtains only with reference to the most immediate rule. Thus, the second interpretation of 1.1.43, *napuṃsakasya na bhavati*, can only negate the first interpretation of 1.1.43, *suṭ sarvanāmasthānaṃ bhavati*, and not 1.1.42 since that will not be most immediate.

Rule 1.1.43 may also be interpreted with reference to *anapuṃsakasya* as a *paryudāsa*. According to this view, 1.1.43 will be interpreted as *suḍ anapuṃsakasya* (*napuṃsakabhinnasya*) *sarvanāmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati* '*sUṬ*, other than one related to a neuter, is termed *sarvanāmasthāna*'. Notice that in this interpretation, the focus is on something other than a neuter. Consequently for its application, 1.1.43 will be looking for something other than a neuter. Hence the neuter *Śi* of 1.1.42 will be thrown outside the scope of the negation. Rule 1.1.43 now will not negate the assignment of *sarvanāmasthāna* in neuter but will assign *sarvanāmasthāna* for something other than a neuter. If some other rule, such as 1.1.42, does assign *sarvanāmasthāna* in neuter, that will not be negated.

The preceding discussion shows that both interpretations can accomplish the desired results. However, the *prasajya* interpretation lacks economy (*lāghava*). It involves splitting 1.1.43 and requires invoking *paribhāṣā* 62. Commentators prefer a *paryudāsa* interpretation.

(2.4) *Extension* (*atideśa*)

Commentators consider a rule *atideśa* 'extension' if it transfers certain qualities or operations to something for which they did not previously qualify. The function of an extension rule is thus to widen the scope of application of a technical or operation rule. Normally an *atideśa* rule is formulated by the affix *vatI*; consider, for example, 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo 'nalvidhau*. An *atideśa* rule where *vatI* is expressly mentioned is called *śrutātideśa*. A rule where *vatI* is not expressly mentioned but its meaning is implicit is called *arthātideśa*. For example in 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*, the

meaning of *vatI*, i.e., *atasmin tadbuddhiḥ* 'cognition of *x* in *y* where *x* is not' is implicit.

There are yet other classifications of *atideśa* rules: *saṃjñātideśa* 'extension of term', *sthānyātideśa* 'extension of *sthānin*' and *yuktātideśa* 'extension of same status', for example. These types are illustrated by 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*, 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau* and 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane* respectively. Rule 1.2.5 provides for certain affixes to be termed *kit*. Rule 1.1.56 extends the status of a *sthānin* 'substituendum' to its *ādeśa* 'substitute'. Rule 1.2.51 allows the retention of the number and gender (*vyaktivacana*) of the original base in situations where a *taddhita* affix is deleted by *LUP*.

Extension rules generally are classified into different categories depending on their function, such as *kāryātideśa* 'extension of function' or *rūpātideśa* 'extension of form'. Four other types are distinguished based upon what an *atideśa* rule provides for: *śāstrātideśa* 'extension of a rule', *tādātmyātideśa* 'extension of identity', *nimittātideśa* 'extension of condition' and *vyapadeśātideśa* 'extension of appellation'. An example of *kāryātīdeśa* is 1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin* whereby we learn that operations specific to the initial (*ādi*) or final (*antya*) element of a given unit obtain even on the single element of a unit which consists only of that one element. Consider the derivation of *ābhyām*, the instrumental, dative or ablative dual of *idam* 'this', where 7.3.102 *supi ca* applies at a stage when the string is *a* + *bhyām*. Rule 7.3.102 requires that the final *a* of *a* + *bhyām* be replaced by its corresponding long vowel (*dīrgha*) when a *sUP* which begins with *yÑ* (*y, v, r, l*...) follows. Now the *aṅga* in *a* + *bhyām* is not a unit which ends in *a*. It is a unit which is constituted by *a*. Since initial and final are relative terms and also since a single unit cannot be understood as constituting its initial or final by itself, rule 1.1.21 is needed. Thus *a* of *a* + *bhyām* can be treated as its own final. This clears the way for its replacement by *ā* to yield *ābhyām*. Another instance of *kāryātideśa* is 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* whereby, barring some exceptions, operations specific to an affix obtain even when the affix is deleted. Note here that 1.1.21 may also be treated as *vyapadeśātideśa*. However, since *kārya* 'operation' is principal, *vyapadeśātideśa* is subsumed under *kāryātideśa*.

Rūpātideśa allows a given form *x* to have a form *y* for an operation to take place. Consider the derivation of *papatuḥ* 'they (two) protected' which is derived from *pā* + *LIṬ*. *LIṬ* is replaced by *tas* 'third person dual' which, in turn, is replaced by *atus*. Given the string *pā* + *atus*, 6.4.64 *āto lopa*... deletes the *ā* of *pā*. Consequently, the string is reduced to *p* + *atus*. Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*... must now apply to order doubling. However, since doubling is ordered with reference to the first vowel of the root and that vowel has been deleted, doubling cannot take place. To resolve this difficulty, 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci* extends the form *ā* to zero (∅, deletion) which had replaced

the *ā*. Thus, for purposes of doubling, *p∅* + *atus* will be treated as having the form *pā* + *atus*. This will yield *pā* + *pā* + *atus*, as doubling takes effect. Immediately thereafter *pā* + *pā* + *atus* must forever be treated as *pā* + *p* + *atus* = *pāpatus*. The scope of *rūpātideśa* is highly restrictive compared to the scope of *kāryātideśa*. It should also be remembered that in all these types of *atideśa*, it is the *kārya* 'operation' which is the focus. As a result, *atideśa* in general can be looked upon as *kāryātideśa*.

Śāstrātideśa provides for the extension of application of a given rule to items referenced by a different rule. Consider 4.2.34 *kālebhyo bhavavat* which introduces *taddhita* affixes after stems denoting *kāla* 'time' under the meaning condition *sāsya devatā* '...is the deity of'. The introduction of these affixes is further constrained by the qualifier *bhavavat* 'in a manner similar to *bhava*'. This apparently refers to the domain of 4.2.92 *śeṣe*. That is, whatever affixes are introduced after bases denoting *kāla* in the domain of 4.2.92, the same affixes along with their qualifications may be introduced after the same time-denoting bases to denote *sāsya devatā* under the provisions of 4.2.34. This is clearly an instance of transfer of rule (*śāstrātideśa*).

Rule 2.1.2 *sub āmantrite parāṅavat svare* can be considered an example of *tādātmyātideśa*. This rule states that for purposes of accent, a preceding *pada* is treated as part of a following *pada* provided this latter ends in vocative singular (*āmantrita*). Given the string *madrāṇāṃ rājan* 'O king of the Madra' where *rājan* is in the vocative singular following *madrāṇām*, *madrāṇām* will be treated as part of *rājan*. *Madrāṇāṃ rājan* will be treated as one *pada* and 6.1.198 *āmantritasya ca* will assign an initial *udātta* accent (*ādyudātta*). In the absence of 2.1.2, *rājan* would have received *anudātta*.

Rule 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ* exemplifies *nimittātideśa*. This rule states that the conditions under which a root, while not ending in *saN*, receives *ātmanepada*, are extended so that the root receives *ātmanepada* even when it ends in a *saN*. Consider *śiśayiṣate* 'he wishes to recline' which is derived by introducing the affix *saN* after the verbal root *śīṄ*. Now, *śīṄ* takes *ātmanepada* endings because it is marked with *Ṅ* (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita*...). *Ṅ* is the *nimitta* which conditions the occurrence of *ātmanepada* after *śīṄ*. Rule 1.3.62 extends this *nimitta* to the *saN* derivates of this root.

(2.5) *Option* (*vibhāṣā*)

Rule 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* defines *vibhāṣā* as the meaning of *na vā* 'or not'. There are three types of *vibhāṣā*: *prāpte* whereby something provided as obligatory (*nitya*) is made optional, *aprāpte* whereby something not provided for is provided optionally and *ubhayatra* where both *prāpte* and *aprāpte* provisions are made optional. Rule 1.3.77 *vibhaṣopapadena pratīyamāne*, for example, optionally introduces *ātmanepada* endings. This option is constrained by two factors. First, the root which qualifies for this

option must co-occur with another *pada*, and second, the co-occurring *pada* must indicate that the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. Thus, one gets sentences such as *svaṃ kaṭaṃ kurute* 'he is making a mat for himself' where the co-occurring *pada svam* 'his own' indicates that the fruit of the action, here a mat, is intended for the agent. This makes *karoti,* the use of *parasmaipada,* or *kurute,* the use of *ātmanepada* optional. Remember that rules 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...* through 1.3.76 *anupasargāj jñaḥ* provide foı *ātmanepada* endings obligatorily (*nitya*). Rule 1.3.77 makes that obligatory provision optional.

For an example of *aprāpte vibhāṣā,* consider rule 1.2.3 *vibhāṣorṇoḥ.* This rule states that an affix with initial *iṬ* optionally is treated as marked with *Ṅ* if it occurs after the verb root *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover'. This option will yield two forms: *prorṇuvitā* and *prorṇavitā* 'he who is to cover', both derived from the underlying string *pra* + *urṇu* + *i* + *tṛ*. The affix with initial *iṬ* is *tṛC*. The *a* of *pra* and the *u* of *urṇu* will be replaced by a single *guṇa* vowel to yield *prorṇu.* Given the string *prorṇu* + *i* + *tṛ*, the *u* of *prorṇu* will either be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *o* or else by *uvaṄ*, depending on whether or not *i* + *tṛ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ*. This is the option which 1.2.3 provides. Note in this context that 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* disallows any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacements if those replacements are conditioned by an affix marked with *K*, *G* or *Ṅ*. A *guṇa* replacement optionally will be available under the provisions of 1.2.3. Thus, what was *aprāpta* 'not provided for' by 1.1.5 became *prāpta* 'optionally available'. If the string *prorṇu* + *i* + *tṛ* opts for treating *i* + *tṛ* as marked with *Ṅ*, a replacement of *u* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...* will be blocked. Rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu...*, read with 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*, will then apply to replace *u* with *uvaṄ: prorṇ(u* → *uv*) (*ĀṄ* → Ø) + *i* + *tṛ* = *prorṇuvitṛ*. If, on the other hand, *i* + *tṛ* is not treated as marked with *Ṅ*, *u* will be replaced by *o* which, in turn, will be replaced by *av* by 6.1.78 *eco 'yavāyāvaḥ* to yield *prorṇ(u* → *o* → *av*) +*i* + *tṛ* = *prorṇavitṛ*.

The third type of *vibhāṣā* is *ubhayatra* or *prāptāprāpta*. A classic example of this type is furnished by 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* whereby the root *śvi* 'to go, move towards' optionally is ordered to undergo *samprasāraṇa* before affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ*. Consider the derivation of *śuśāva* and *śiśvāya*, the optional third person singular perfect forms of *śvi*. Given the string *śvi* + *a* where *a* is a *ṆaL* (3.4.81 *liṭaḥ...*) replacement of *tiP* (3.4.78 *tiptas...*) which, in turn, is a replacement for *LIṬ*, rule 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* applies. The *v* of *śvi* will be replaced by its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *u* and the resultant string *ś(v* → *u)i* + *a* = *śui* + *a* will undergo application of 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* whereby the sequence *u* + *i* will be replaced by *u*. This will yield *śu* + *a* which will then go through doubling (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...*) to yield *śu* + *śu* + *a*. The *u* of the second *śu* will then undergo *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco 'ñṇiti*) and *āy* replacement (6.1.78 *eco 'yavāyāvaḥ*) yielding *śu* + *ś(u* → *au* → *āv*) + *a* = *śuśāva*.

If, however, the *samprasāraṇa* option of 6.1.30 is not accepted, the result will be *śiśvāya*. In this case, doubling will yield *śvi* + *śvi* + *a* where *i* of the second *śvi* will undergo *vṛddhi*. The resulting *ai* will then be replaced by *āy*: *śvi* + *śv*(*i* → *ai* → *āy*) + *a* = *śvi* + *śvāy* + *a* = *śviśvāya*. The *v* of *śvi* will be dropped by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* to finally yield *śiśvāya*. Note here that the two previous types of *vibhāṣā* were illustrated by explaining how a provision which was available (*prāpta*) was made optional, and how a provision which was not available (*aprāpta*) optionally was made available. It is natural then that I now explain how 6.1.30 provides option with reference to both *prāpta* and *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*.

Rule 1.1.44 defines the meaning of *na* 'negation' and *vā* 'option' as *vibhāṣā*. A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* (I:324) whether the expression *navā* in this rule should be interpreted as one particle (*nipāta*) *navā* or two particles *na* and *vā*. If we read it as one particle it can only give us the meaning of negation, as is attested by the usage *grāmo bhavatā gantavyo navā* 'will you go to the village or not'. If this negation then becomes the meaning of *vibhāṣā* it can only provide options in cases of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. On the other hand, one may argue that the question of a negative interpretation does not arise in *aprāpta* cases, since it is ridiculous to negate a provision when no such provision is available. To resolve this problem and also to justify the function of *navā* in *aprāpta* cases, one has to resort to a *prasajya* view of negation. That is, the very fact that a negative provision is made implies that a positive provision exists. How else can one make a negative provision without having a positive one first? Thus in the *aprāpta* cases, first a positive provision will be implicitly assumed and then a negative option will be made.

However, this negative *navā* interpretation cannot work in instances of *prāpta-vibhāṣā*, since a positive provision is explicitly stated, and the question of its implicit assumption for purposes of negation cannot arise. Consequently, negation will simply cancel the positive provision and the result will be a single form. In order to clear this up, Patañjali states (*Mbh.* I:326-27) that *navā* should not be interpreted as one particle with a negative meaning but as two particles *na* and *vā* meaning negation and option respectively. With this interpretation, the negative *na* will not have any purpose in *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*, but, *vā* will provide two optional forms. This interpretation will also work in instances of *prāptāprāpta-vibhāṣā* where *na* will first negate *prāpta* thereby bringing *prāpta* and *aprāpta* on a par. Consequently, *vā* will apply to provide the optional forms. The only condition is that *na* must negate first before *vā* provides the options.

Let us see how 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* is interpretable in terms of the three *vibhāṣās*. It can be interpreted as an instance of *prāpta vibhāṣā* if one carries, through *anuvṛtti*, the word *kit* 'marked with *K*' from 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*.... As a result, the obligatory *samprasāraṇa* which is ruled by 6.1.15 will be made

optional by 6.1.30. On the other hand, if *kit* is not brought by *anuvṛtti* and the optional *samprasāraṇa* is interpreted as applicable to all the *LIṬ* instances, whether they be *kit* or *akit* 'not marked with *K*', with the additional stipulation that the now available optional *samprasāraṇa* of *kit* will be blocked by 6.1.15 which will act as prior exception to 6.1.30, we find an instance of *prāptāprāpta* or *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. Thus, an instance of *LIṬ* marked by *kit* will receive obligatory *samprasāraṇa* by 6.1.15 *via* this stipulation. *Kit* instances will have *samprasāraṇa* as *prāpta* while those of *akit* will have it as *aprāpta*. This would then mean that *na* will first negate the *prāpta samprasāraṇa* of *kit* which subsequently *vā* will make optional. As far as *akit samprasāraṇa* goes, *na* would not have any purpose. It is *vā* which would provide the option.

Commentators also refer to yet another type of *vibhāṣā* commonly known as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. This option applies only to some limited forms. The generally accepted view is that *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* offers *vidhi* 'operation' by *vā* or *niṣedha* 'negation' by *na* only with reference to specific examples. Rule 6.1.27 *śṛtaṃ pāke* is an instance of this type of *vibhāṣā*. This rule provides the *ad hoc* (*nipātana*) derivation of the word *śṛtam* when *pāka* 'cooking' is denoted. The underlying root for *śṛtam* is *śrā* 'to cook'. What 6.1.27 provides is this: root *śrā* optionally takes the form *śṛ* when affix *Kta* follows, whether or not *śrā* ends in affix *ṇiC*. If we interpret the *vibhāṣā* carried from 6.1.27 as a general option under the particular meaning condition *pāka*, all the occurrences of *śrā* will be replaced by *śṛ* only in the context of *kṣīra* and *havi*. Thus we get *śṛtaṃ kṣīram* 'the rice pudding is cooked' and *śṛtaṃ haviḥ* 'the food for ritual oblation is cooked'. However if what is cooked is not *kṣīra* or *havi*, *śrā* will not be replaced by *śṛ*. Other instances of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* are provided by 2.4.55 *ajer vyaghañapoḥ*, 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...* and 1.4.5 *vāmi*.

Pāṇini also uses *vā* and *anyatarasyām* in the sense of *vibhāṣā*. The names of earlier grammarians, too, are sometimes mentioned to indicate options. Thus, rules 2.4.40 *liṭy anyatarasyām*, 2.4.50 *vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ*, 2.4.55 *vā liṭi* and 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya* all use different terms to provide for optionality. There is considerable debate whether or not Pāṇini intended to differentiate types of options by using these various terms. One would expect that since he uses more than one term for option, he must have some special differentiations in mind. A recent interpreter of Pāṇini has tried to establish some kind of variation in dialect or style based upon the use of the various terms. However, the tradition does not accept this view. For contemporary studies dealing with optional rules and establishing stylistic variations corresponding to the above terms for option, see Kiparsky (1980) and Sharma (1983). It should be understood in this context that optional variants should not be treated as substandard or incorrect. In Pāṇini's eyes they are all equally correct. Since grammar only

accounts for correct usage, the question of standard and substandard or preferred and incorrect variants does not arise.

Optional rules where Pāṇini uses names of earlier grammarians need some explanation. There are two views on this. According to one view, the citation of a grammarian's name in a given rule is interpreted as a reference to an authority (*pramāṇa*). As a result, the form attested by that rule becomes an obligatory form and not an option. According to the second view, such a citation would single out one grammarian according to whom a given form is attested. This interpretation allows for the existence of other forms to which other grammarians may attest. This interpretation clearly supports the view that rules with names of grammarians are option rules. The first view is known as *kāryaśabdavāda*, the second *nityaśabdavāda*. The Pāṇinian tradition subscribes to the second view.

There are instances of rules where the name of a grammarian is cited along with the use of *vā*, one of the terms which Pāṇini uses to denote option. Consider 6.1.92 *vā supy āpiśaleḥ*. *Kāśikā* clearly states that in these instances *vā* will provide for option. Why then did Pāṇini use the name of *Āpiśali* when *vā* is already there to account for the option? *Kāśikā* says that by citing *Āpiśali* along with *vā*, Pāṇini intends to express respect for *Āpiśali* (*Kāś.* ad 6.1.92 *āpiśaligrahaṇaṃ pūjārthaṃ vety ucyata eva*). Rules such as 1.2.55 *tṛṣimṛṣikṛṣeḥ kāśyapasya*, 5.4.112 *gireś ca senakasya*, 6.1.123 *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya* and 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo' ṅyor gālavasya* are additional examples of this nature.

(2.6) *Ad hoc* (*nipātana*)

Pāṇini uses a considerable number of rules which collectively are referred to as *nipātana 'ad hoc'* rules. Their function is to provide forms not with reference to their derivation process but simply as derived. That is, while operational rules allow us to visualize the full derivational process, *ad hoc* rules only provide the fully derived forms. Their constituents and derivational process are left to the imagination (see *Kaiyaṭa* ad 5.1.59; *Mbh.* IV:47) *vidhi nipātanayoś cāyaṃ bhedaḥ, yatrāvayavā nirdiśyante samudāyo' numīyate sa vidhiḥ. yatra tu samudāyaḥ śrūyate' vayavāś cānumīyante tan nipātanam*). Thus, Pāṇini provides certain fully derived forms without mentioning their derivation. Why — primarily for economy and to avoid conflicts with other operational rules. Normally a form which is not derivable by rules of the grammar is treated as if it were derived through *nipātana* (see *Kāś.* ad 3.1.123 *yad iha lakṣaṇenānupapannaṃ tat sarvaṃ nipātanāt siddham*).

Three goals are accomplished by the *ad hoc* rules:

(*a*) they provide for something which is not available by any other rule (*aprāptiprāpaṇa*),

(*b*) they block a provision made available by some rule (*prāptivāraṇa*), and

(*c*) they indicate special meaning (*adhikārthavivakṣā*).

In addition, *nipātana* are manipulated to provide for option (*vibhāṣā*: see *Kāś.* ad 7.2.27 *vā dāntaśānta*...). However, this purpose can be subsumed under *aprāptiprāpaṇa* above. These three provisions are made by *ad hoc* rules in various areas, including affixation (*pratyaya*), replacement (*ādeśa*), augment (*āgama*), doubling (*dvirvacana*) and transposition in the shape of a base (*prakṛtiviparināma*).

The following rules exemplify the range of *nipātanas*.

6.1.154 *maskaram-maskariṇau veṇu-parivrājakayoḥ*

3.1.129 *pāyya-sānāyya*...

3.2.26 *phalegrahir ātmambhariś ca*

3.2.59 *ṛtvig dadhṛk*...

7.2.30 *apacitaś ca*

Rule 6.1.154 is an example of *nipātana* involving affixes. Two examples, *maskara* 'a bamboo stick' and *maskarin* 'a wandering ascetic', are both derived from *māṄ* + *ḌUkṛÑ* =*mā* +*kṛ* where *māṄ* is a preverb. In case of *maskara*, the affix is *aC* whereas for *maskarin* it is *inI*. Given the strings *mā* +*kṛ* +*a* and *mā* +*kṛ* +*in*, augment *sŪṬ* will be introduced to yield *mā* + *s* (*ŪṬ* → ∅) + *kṛ* + *a* = *mās* + *kṛ* + *a* and *mās* + *kṛ* + *in*. The *ṛ* of *kṛ* will undergo *guṇa* and the *ā* of *mā* will be shortened. Thus we will get *m*(*ā* → *a*)*s* + *k*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *a* = *maskara* and *m*(*ā* → *a*)*s* + *k*(*ṛ* → *ar*) +*in* = *maskarin*. Note here that the derivation above is being given for explanatory reasons. Actually, affix placement, *sŪṬ* augment and shortening of the *ā* are all accomplished by *nipātana*. That is, Pāṇini cites them as derived under the special meaning condition of *veṇu* 'bamboo stick' and *parivrājaka* 'wandering ascetic'. Affix placement and other operations are all taken for granted.

Rule 3.1.129 *pāyya-sānnāyya*... also cites four forms derived by *nipātana* under special meaning conditions. Consider, for example, *pāyya* 'a measure of weight' and *sānnāyya* 'ritual oblation of food' which respectively are derived from the underlying strings *māṄ* + *ṆyaṬ* and *sam* + *ṇīÑ* + *ṆyaṬ*. What *nipātana* does in *māṄ* + *ṆyaṬ* = *mā* + *ya* is to replace *m* by *p*. Such a replacement cannot be accomplished by any other rule. Given the string (*m* → *p*)*ā* + *ya*, 7.3.33 *āto yuk*... will introduce *yŪK* to yield *pā* + *y*(*ŪK* → ∅) + *ya* = *pāyya*. The function of *nipātana* in *sānnāyya* again is replacement. Given the string *sam* + *ṇī* + *ya*, *a* of *sam* will be replaced by *ā*. Furthermore, *ī* of *ṇī* will be replaced by the *vṛddhi* vowel *ai*. Thus we get *s*(*a* → *ā*)*m* + *ṇ*(*ī* → *ai*) + *ya* = *sām* + *ṇai* + *ya*. The basic function of a *nipātana* is now evident. Here, it will replace the *ai* of *ṇai* by *āy*. Note again that such a replacement is obviously *ad hoc*.

Rule 3.2.26 *phale grāhir*... illustrates, among other things, the application of augment *mŪM* by *nipātana*. An example is *ātmambharih* 'he who is able to support himself' where given the string *ātman* + *am* + *ḌUbhṛÑ* + *iN* = *ātman* + *bhṛ* + *i*, *ātman* receives the augment *m*(*ŪM*) by *nipātana*.

Note that the affix *iN* is also introduced after verbal root *ḌUbhṛÑ* by *nipātana*. Of course, this occurs under the condition that there is a co-occurring *pada* underlying *ātman* and denoting object. Thus, *ātma*(*n* → ∅) + *m*(*ŪM* → ∅ + *bh*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *i* = *ātmambhari*.

Rule 7.2.30 *apacitaś ca* illustrates how the shape of a base can be transposed via *nipātana*. Consider the derivation of *apacita* 'respected' from *apa* + *cāyṚ* + *Kta* where *Kta* is a *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) suffix introduced after the verbal root *cāyṚ* used with the preverb *apa*. Given the string *apa* + *cāy*(*Ṛ* → ∅) + (*K* → ∅)*ta* = *apacāy* + *ta*, 7.2.30 optionally will rule two things: the change of the *cāy* form of the root to *ci* and the disallowing of the augment *iṬ*. This will produce the form *apa*(*cāy* → *ci*) + *ta* = *apacita*. If the option allowed by *nipātana* is not accepted, the root will not take the form *ci* and *iṬ* will apply. This will yield the optional form *apacāy* + *i*(*ṭ* → ∅) + *ta* = *apacāyita*. It should be clear from this discussion that the purpose of *nipātana* is to accomplish a variety of tasks without systematically following specific rules.

7

Saṃjñās and *Paribhāṣās*

The following is a select list of the *saṃjñās* and *paribhāṣās* which receive frequent reference in this volume. Exceptions to and elaborations of these definitions are not given here. However, both the first and last rules of the section of the grammar which treats the term being defined are given in the parentheses in order to facilitate easy reference to the rules where that term is more fully discussed.

A. *SAṂJÑĀS*

1. *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*)
   ā, ai and *au*
2. *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*)
   a, e and *o*
3. *saṃyoga* (1.1.7 *halo 'nantarā saṃyogaḥ*)
   a sequence of consonants
4. *anunāsika* (1.1.8 *mukhanāsikāvacano 'nunāsikaḥ*)
   a sound pronounced in the mouth and nose at once
5. *savarṇa* (1.1.9 *tulyāyasya prayatnaṃ savarṇam* — 1.1.10 *nājjhalau*)
   two or more sounds pronounced with the same articulation effort (*pratyatna*) at the same place of articulation (*sthāna*) in the oral cavity
6. *pragṛhya* (1.1.11 *īdūded-dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam* — 1.1.19 *id-ūtau ca saptamyarthe*)
   a dual ending terminating in *ī, ū* or *e*
7. *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*)
   roots of the form *dā* and *dhā*, except for *dāP* 'to cut' and *daiP* 'to clean'
8. *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*)
   affixes *-taraP* (5.3.57 *dvivacana...*) and *-tamaP* (5.3.55-56 *atiśāyane...*)
9. *saṃkhyā* (1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā*)
   bahu 'many', *gaṇa* 'group' and items ending in the affixes *vatU* (5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ...*) and *Ḍati* (5.2.41 *kimaḥ...*)
10. *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ* — 1.1.25 *ḍati ca*)
    a *saṃkhyā* which ends in *ṣ* or *ṇ*
11. *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*)
    affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*)
12. *sarvanāman* (1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* — 1.1.38 *antaram...*)
    items listed in the set (*gaṇa*) headed by *sarva* 'all'

13. *avyaya* (1.1.37 *svarādi nipātam avyavayam* — 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*)
items listed in the set headed by *svar* 'sun, heaven' and those termed *nipāta* (1.1.56 *prāg rīśvarāran nipātāḥ*)
14. *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam* — 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*)
Śi, a replacement for *Jas* and *Śas* after a neuter base, (cf. 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*); also *suṬ* (*sU, au, Jas; am, auṬ*) occurring after a non-neuter base
15. *vibhāṣā* (1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*)
the meaning of *na vā* 'or not'
16. *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*)
replacement of *yṆ* (*y, v, r, l*) by *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*)
17. *lopa* (1.1.60 *adarśanaṃ lopaḥ* — 1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*)
the meaning of *adarśana* 'non-appearance'; the non-appearance of an affix is termed *LUK, ŚLU* or *LUP*
18. *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*)
that part of an item which begins with the last of its vowels
19. *upadhā* (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*)
the penultimate sound segment of an item
20. *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham* — 1.1.75 *eṅ prācāṃ deśe*)
an element whose first vowel is a *vṛddhi*
21. *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta* (1.2.27 *ūkālo' jj hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*)
a vowel with time duration equivalent to *u, ū* or u^3 respectively
22. *udātta* (1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ*)
a vowel pronounced with high pitch
23. *anudātta* (1.2.30 *nīcair anudāttaḥ*)
a vowel pronounced with low pitch
24. *svarita* (1.2.31 *samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ*)
a vowel pronounced with a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta*
25. *apṛkta* (1.2.41 *apṛkta˙ekāl pratyayaḥ*)
an affix consisting of a single sound segment
26. *karmadhāraya* (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ*)
a *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound with constituents in syntactic coordination
27. *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam* — 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti...*)
an item cited in the nominative in a rule of compound formation
28. *prātipadika* (1.2.45 *arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam* — 1.2.46 *kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca*)
a meaningful item which is not an affix or a root; also an item which either ends in a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) or a *taddhita* affix (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) or is a *samāsa* 'compound'
29. *dhātu* (1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*)

items listed in the sets headed by the one beginning with *bhū* 'to be, to become'; also items terminating in affixes *saN* etc., (3.1.32 *sanādy antā dhātavaḥ*)

30. *it* (1.3.2 *upadeśe' j anunāsika it* — 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite*)
a nasalized vowel of an item in *upadeśa* 'initial citation'
31. *nadī* (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī* — 1.4.6 *ṅiti hrasvaś ca*)
feminine forms ending in *ī* or *ū*
32. *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi* — 1.4.9 *ṣaṣṭhīyuktaś chandasi vā*)
forms ending in *i*, or *ū* except for *sakhi* 'friend'
33. *hrasva* (1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*)
a short vowel
34. *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru* — 1.4.12 *dīrghaṃ ca*)
a short vowel occurring before a sequence of consonants, or a long vowel
35. *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi pratyaye' ṅgam*)
a pre-suffixal base
36. *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* — 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*)
an item which ends in a *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) or a *tiN* (3.4.77 *tiptasjhi...*)
37. *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham* — 1.4.20 *ayasmayādīni ca*)
a form which occurs before a *svādi* suffix beginning with *y* or *aC* but not a *sarvanāmasthāna*
38. *apādāna* (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam* — 1.4.31 *bhuvaḥ prabhavaḥ*)
that which is *dhruva* 'fixed' when movement away (*apāya*) is denoted
39. *sampradāna* (1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam* — 1.4.41 *anupratigṛṇaś ca*)
that which the agent (*kartṛ*) intends (as the goal) by (means of) his action
40. *karaṇa* (1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam* —1.4.44 *parikrayaṇe sampradā-nam anyatarasyām*)
that which, more than anything else, serves as a means
41. *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.45 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam* — 1.4.48 *upānvadhyāṅ vasaḥ*)
that which serves as *ādhāra* 'locus'
42. *karman* (1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma* — 1.4.53 *hṛkor anyatarasyām*)
that which the agent most wishes to reach
43. *kartṛ* (1.4.54 *svatantraḥ kartā* — 1.4.55 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*)
that which is *svatantra* 'independent'
44. *nipāta* (1.4.56 *prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ* — 1.4.97 *adhir īśvare*)
items enumerated up to rule 1.4.97 *adhir īśvare*
45. *upasarga* (1.4.58 *prādaya upasargāḥ kriyāyoge* — 1.4.59 *gatiś ca*)
nipātas enumerated in the set headed by *pra* when used with a verb; they are also termed *gati*
46. *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ* — 1.4.97 *adhir īśvare*)
items termed *nipāta* and enumerated up to rule 1.4.97

47. *parasmaipada* (1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*)
replacements of *LA* (3.4.77 *tiptasjhi...*) other than those denoted by *taṄ* and *āna* (*ŚānaC* and *KānaC*)
48. *ātmanepada* (1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*)
replacements of *LA* denoted by *taṄ* and *āna*
49. *prathama, madhyama, uttama* (1.4.101 *tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi prathamamadhyamottamāḥ*)
50. *ekavacana, dvivacana, bahuvacana* (1.4.102 *tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ* — 1.4.103 *supaḥ*)
individual members of each triplet of *tiṄ* and *sUP*
51. *vibhakti* (1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*)
triplets of *tiṄ* and *sUP*
52. *saṃhitā* (1.4.109 *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*)
maximum proximity between sounds
53. *avasāna* (1.4.110 *virāmo' vasānam*)
cessation of speech
54. *samāsa* (2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*)
items enumerated prior to 2.1.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*
55. *avyayībhāva* (2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ*)
compounds enumerated by rules prior to 2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*
56. *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ* — 2.1.23 *dviguś ca*)
compounds enumerated prior to 2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ; dvigu* is also termed *tatpuruṣa*
57. *dvigu* (2.1.52 *saṃkhyapūrvo dviguḥ*)
a *tatpuruṣa* compound (2.1.51 *taddhitārtha...*) with *saṃkhyā* 'number' as its first constituent
58. *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*)
the remainder of the *tatpuruṣa* compounds
59. *dvandva* (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*)
a compound denoting the sense of *ca* 'and'
60. *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritam*)
a form which ends in the vocative and denotes *sambodhana* 'address'
61. *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*)
an *āmantrita* terminating in singular
62. *pratyaya* (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*)
63. *upapada* (3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*)
an item cited in the locative in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
64. *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*)
an affix other than that denoted by *tiṄ*
65. *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*)
kṛt affixes enumerated by rules prior to 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*
66. *sat* (3.2.127 *tau sat*)
affixes *Śatṛ* and *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...*)

67. *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*)
affixes denoted by *tiṄ* and marked with *Ś*
68. *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*)
the remaining affixes
69. *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*)
affixes enumerated by rules 4.1.76-5.4.160 *niṣpravāṇiś ca*
70. *gotra* (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*)
grandson and subsequent offspring
71. *yuvan* (4.1.163 *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā*)
a *gotra* offspring while his father, uncle, etc., are alive
72. *tadrāja* (4.1.172 *te tadrājāḥ*; 5.3.119 *ñyādayas tadrājāḥ*)
taddhita affixes enumerated by 4.1.166 *janapadaśabdād...* — 4.1.176 *na prācyabhargādi...* and 5.3.112 *pūgāñño...* — 5.3.119 *ñyādayas...*
73. *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*)
the first element of a doubled string
74. *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*)
both the elements of a doubled string
75. *āmreḍita* (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreḍitam*)
the second element of a string ordered for doubling by rules headed by 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*

B. *PARIBHĀṢĀS*

76. 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*
For a substitute (*ādeśa*) ordered with the express mention of the term *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*) or *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*); *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*) alone should be treated as substituendum (*sthānin*). However, this *paribhāṣā* is not valid when
    (*a*) the replacement is conditioned by an *ārdhadhātuka* suffix which causes the deletion of part of a root (1.1.4 *na dhātulopa ārdhadhātuke*),
    (*b*) the replacement is conditioned by an affix marked with *K, G, Ṅ* (1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*), or
    (*c*) the replacement refers to the *iK* of *dīdhīṄ* 'to illuminate', *vevīṄ* 'to go, pervade' or *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...*).
77. 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
A linguistic element marked with *Ṭ* or *K* is introduced as the initial or final element respectively of that for which it is specified.
78. 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*
A linguistic element marked with *M* is introduced after the last vowel of that for which it is specified.
79. 1.1.48 *ec ig hrasvādeśe*
For a short substitute ordered for *eC* (*e, o, ai, au*), *iK* alone should be treated as substitute.

80. 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*
A *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', not otherwise interpretable, denotes the relation 'in place of'.
81. 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*
A substitute (*ādeśa*) must be most similar to its substituendum (*sthānin*).
82. 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*
A substitute of *ṛ* denoted by *aṆ* (*a*, *i*, *u*) is automatically followed by *r*.
83. 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
A substitute specified for an item in genitive replaces the final sound segment (*aL*).
84. 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*
A substitute specified for an item in genitive and marked with *Ṅ* also replaces the final sound segment.
85. 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*
A substitute specified for a following item replaces the initial sound segment.
86. 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*
A substitute specified for an item in genitive, consisting of more than one sound segment or marked with *Ś*, replaces the entire substituendum.
87. 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*
An operation conditioned by an affix applies even if the affix is deleted but not when the operation relates to an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*...) and the deletion is accomplished by *LUK*, *ŚLU*, or *LUP* (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*).
88. 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*
An item specified in the locative forms the right context for an operation on what precedes.
89. 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*
An item specified in the ablative forms the left context for an operation on what follows.
90. 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā*
A linguistic item other than that which is a *saṃjñā* only denotes its form.
91. 1.2.28 *acaś ca*
Replacements specified by *hrasva* 'short', *dīrgha* 'long' and *pluta* 'extra-long' occur only in place of *aC* 'vowels'.
92. 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*
Assignment of equivalents for equal numbers of elements follows the order of enumeration.

8

Some Additional *Paribhāṣās*

The following *paribhāṣās* are not stated explicitly in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* but implicitly are assumed by the tradition. They are discussed in the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa. The number in the parantheses following the rule is the number which the *paribhāṣā* has in the *PŚ*.

93. *vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir nahi sandehād alakṣaṇam* (1)

Proper understanding of a rule is achieved through the explanations of the learned. A rule does not become a non-rule simply because one has doubts. For example, Pāṇini employs *Ṇ* as an *it* twice in the *Śiva-sūtras*. Given an abbreviatory term *aṆ* or *iṆ*, one may ask whether the *Ṇ* is the one given in *Śs* (1) *aiuṆ* or *Śs* (6) *lAṆ*. Such questions are answered by the explanations of the learned. Here, the answer is: the *Ṇ* of *iṆ* is that of *Śs* (6) *lAṆ*, while the *Ṇ* of *aṆ* is that of *Śs* (1), except in rule 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya...* where it refers to *Śs* (6).

94. *anekāntā anubandhāḥ* (4)

Items termed *it* do not become part of that to which they are attached. Consider rules 1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya* and 5.3.3 *idam iś*. Rule 1.1.55 provides for a substitute to replace its substituendum *in toto* if the substitute either consists of more than one *aL* 'sound segment' or is marked with *Ś*. Rule 5.3.3 introduces *iŚ*, an item marked with *Ś*, as a substitute for *idam*. According to 1.1.55, *iŚ* will replace *idam in toto* since *iŚ* is marked with *Ś*. However, if *Ś* is considered part of *iŚ*, *iŚ* will become an item consisting of more than one *aL*. Consequently, the *anekāl* 'more than one *aL*' condition of 1.1.55 would bring about the total replacement of *idam* by *iŚ*, making the *śit* condition vacuous. Pāṇini's use of *śit* in 1.1.55 becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for the existence of this *paribhāṣā*. That the replacement of *idam* by *iŚ* is accomplished on the basis of *Ś* and not *anekāltva* also shows that *its* are not used as the basis for treating an item as consisting of more than one *aL* (cf. *paribhāṣā* 6: *nānubandhakakṛtam anekāltvam*).

95. *nānubandhakakṛtam asārūpyam* (8)

Items termed *it* are not a basis for a distinction (*bheda*) between forms. Rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* states that, except for rules contained in the domain headed by 3.3.94 *striyām...*, affixes dissimilar in form optionally

are introduced after verb roots as alternatives. Except for affixes in the domain of 3.3.94, all other affixes, if dissimilar in form, will be introduced alternatively. Note that the domain of 3.3.94 is contained within the larger domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*. Thus, 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ* introduces *tavyaT*, *tavya* and *anīyaR*. The first two will be considered similar in form since their difference is due to an *it*. However, *anīyaR* obviously will be treated as different in form. Thus, *anīyaR* may be used alternatively with *tavya* and *tavyaT*. Similarly, rule 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* introduces affixes *ṇvuL* and *tṛC* as possible alternatives. Consider also rules 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* and 3.2.3 *āto' unupasarge kaḥ* whereby *aṆ* and *Ka* are introduced. Rule 3.2.3 is an exception to 3.2.1. If this *paribhāṣā* is not accepted, however, these two affixes will be treated as alternants. In order to facilitate the obligatory blocking by 3.2.3 of 3.2.1, we have to accept that an *it* should not be treated as the basis for distinguishing forms.

96. *ubhayagatir iha bhavati* (10)

In this grammar, a term may be taken as denoting a technical (*kṛtrima*) meaning, a non-technical (*akṛtrima*) meaning or both types of meanings, either at different times or at the same time. Consider rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* where *vṛddhi* is a technical term which denotes *ā*, *ai* and *au*. This term is always interpreted in a technical sense and not in the non-technical sense of 'growth'. Rule 1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā* introduces *saṃkhyā*, again a technical term, defined as items such as *bahu* 'many', *gaṇa* 'group' or those which end in affixes *vatU* or *Ḍati*. However, the non-technical meaning of *saṃkhyā*, 'number', is also encountered in the grammar. The context and the desired results determine whether the technical or non-technical sense, or both, should be accepted. Just as in ordinary usage, a word may have different meanings in different contexts. In ordinary usage the word *saindhava* may mean 'horse' or 'salt'; in any one context, however, only one meaning is understood. If the context is food, the meaning is 'salt'; if not, the meaning is 'horse'. In the grammar, if the desired results are obtainable by either interpretation, one should operate with the technical interpretation (cf. *kṛtrimākṛtrimayoḥ kṛtrime kāryasampratyayaḥ*).

The following rules exemplify how context determines whether the technical or non-technical meaning of a term should be understood.

5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyāḥ atiśadantāyāḥ kan* (non-technical meaning of *saṃkhyā*)

1.3.14 *kartari karmavyatihāre* (non-technical meaning of *karma*, i.e. action)

3.1.17 *śabdavairakalahābhrakaṇvameghebhyaḥ karaṇe* (non-technical meaning of *karma*)

7.1.54 *hrasva-nadyāpo nuṭ* (technical meaning of *nadī*)

2.1.20 *nadībhiś ca* (non-technical meaning of *nadī*, i.e., river)

97. *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādes tadantasya grahaṇam* (24)

When an affix is used in a rule to specify an operation, the affix denotes a word-form which begins with the base after which the said affix is introduced and extends up to and includes that affix.

Consider 4.4.20 *ktrer mam nityam* which obligatorily introduces the affix *mam*. The item after which *mam* is introduced is specified by affix *Ktri*. According to this *paribhāṣā*, *Ktri* should denote a word-form which begins with the item after which *Ktri* is introduced and should also include and terminate with *Ktri*. Thus, rule 3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ* introduces the affix *Ktri* to denote either a non-agent participant or *bhāva*. Furthermore, *Ktri* can only be introduced after roots which have *ḌU* as an *it*. Thus, *Ktri* may be introduced after verb roots such as *ḌUpacĀṢ* 'to cook', *ḌUvapĀṢ* 'to sow' or *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' etc. Rule 3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ* will thus produce forms such as *pac* + *tri* → *paktri*, *vap* + *tri* → *uptri* and *kṛ* + *tri* → *kṛtri*.

Let us now return to 4.4.20 *ktrer mam nityam* and the present *paribhāṣā*. Affix *ktri* in 4.4.20 refers to the item after which *-mam* should be introduced. According to the present *paribhāṣā*, this item should begin with an item after which *Ktri* is introduced. Such items, according to 3.3.88, may be *pac*, *vap* and *kṛ*. Furthermore, such an item should terminate in *Ktri*.

A question may arise here. Since *-mam* in 4.4.20 is also an affix, should not it refer to an item which begins with that after which *-mam* is introduced and terminates in *mam*? The answer is no, for this *paribhāṣā* does not apply with reference to an affix which is being introduced. This *paribhāṣā* focuses on affixes which have already been introduced, not on affixes such as *-mam* which are about to be introduced (cf. *pratyayagrahaṇe cāpañcamyāḥ*, *paribhāṣā* 26 which the *Mahābhāṣya* cites as a *vārttika*).

98. *uttarapadādhikāre pratyayagrahaṇe na tadantagrahaṇam* (26)

This *paribhāṣā* requires that in the domain of *uttarapada*, i.e. 6.3.1 *alug uttarapade* to 6.3.138 *samprasāraṇasya*, an affix denotes only its own form. An affix in the above domain does not denote a form that terminates with that affix. Consider rule 6.3.42 *gharupakalpa*... which requires that, other things being equal, a polysyllabic word ending in *Ṅī*, i.e. *ī*, is replaced by short *i* when, among other things, the affix *gha* follows. The term *gha* refers to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP*. For proper application of 6.3.42, *gha* should only refer to *taraP* and *tamaP* and not to items ending in these affixes. For example, the *ī* of *gaurītarā* and *gaurītamā* will be shortened before *taraP* and *tamaP* to produce *gauritarā* and *gauritamā*. However, if one interprets *gha* as referring to the enitre item which ends in *gha*, as is the case in the previous *paribhāṣā*, forms such as *kumārīgaurītarā* and *kumārīgaurītamā* would be subject to short *i* replacement for the long *ī* of *kumārī* under the condition of *gaurītarā* and *gaurītamā*, forms ending in *taraP* and *tamaP*. This will produce undesired results. The short *i*

replacement applies only to the *ī* of *gaurī*, not to the *ī* of *kumārī* in *kumārīgaurītarā* or *kumārīgaurītamā*.

99. *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahaṇaṃ nāsti* (28)

An affix does not refer to an item which ends in it when it is used in a rule that defines a term. Consider 1.1.21 *taraptamapau ghaḥ* which defines the term *gha* as affixes *taraP* and *tamaP*. According to this *paribhāṣā*, *taraP* and *tamaP* should not refer to items such as *gaurītarā* and *gaurītamā* which end in them. This too is a negation of what was provided by *paribhāṣā* 97.

100. *vyapadeśivad ekasmin* (31)

That which applies to the central denotatum of an item may also apply to a single item. *Vyapadeśī* in this *paribhāṣā* refers to proper signification or central denotatum. Consider the word *jyeṣṭhaḥ* 'oldest' in *ayaṃ me jyeṣṭhaḥ putraḥ* 'this is my oldest son'. What if a person has only one son? Would he say *ayaṃ me jyeṣṭhaḥ*? Normally not; but he could say *ayaṃ me jyeṣṭhaḥ, ayam eva me kaniṣṭhaḥ* 'this is my oldest as well as my youngest son'. Here, for certain purposes, an only son is being treated as both oldest and youngest. Similar events occur in the grammar. For example, 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya* requires doubling of the part of a root constituted by the first of its vowels. This doubling is possible in cases such as *jāgṛ* where *jā* is the form constituted by the first vowel. Consider, however, roots such as *pac* where the root has only one vowel. This *paribhāṣā* will, for purposes such as doubling, allow the *a* of *pac* to be treated as the first vowel. Consequently, the form *pa* constituted by the first vowel may be doubled.

101. *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe* (34)

A sound segment used as a qualifier in the locative to specify an operation, requires that the qualified be interpreted as beginning with that sound segment. Consider rule 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye* read with the *anuvṛtti* of *ecaḥ*, the genitive singular of *eC*, from rule 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*. In the absence of this *paribhāṣā yi*, the sound segment *y* used in the locative as a qualifier to *pratyaye*, will be interpreted as referring to that which ends in *y*. This interpretation which stems from 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya* will interpret rule 6.1.79 as follows: a replacement ending in *v*, i.e. *av, āv*, comes in place of *eC* when an affix ending in *y* follows. This rule will be vacuous because there is no affix which ends in *y*. Consequently, *yi* should not be interpreted in view of 1.1.72. Instead it should be interpreted as 'when (an affix) which begins with *y* follows'. Rule 6.1.79 can thus be interpreted properly as: a replacement in *v* comes in place of *eC* when an affix beginning with *y* follows.

Now consider rule 7.2.58 *gamer iṭ parasmaipadeṣu* which has the *anuvṛtti* of *se*, the locative singular of *s*, and *ārdhadhātukasya*. This rule introduces

the augment *iṬ* to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix when it occurs after *gam* 'to go' and is followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada*. The *ārdhadhātuka* affix which receives the augment *iṬ* is qualified by *se*. Again, in view of rule 1.1.72, *se*, could be interpreted as 'that which ends in *s*'. Rule 7.2.58 would then be able to introduce *iṬ* only when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix terminating in *s* occurs after *gam* and is followed by a *parasmaipada* affix. This will block the derivation of *gamiṣyati* 'he will go' where the *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) affix after *gam* is *sya* (3.1.33 *syatāsī*...). By accepting this *paribhāṣā*, *sya* can receive the augment *iṬ* because it is an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with *s*.

102. *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* (38)

Even when modification (*vikāra*) occurs to part of an item that item is still treated as what it was. This *paribhāṣā* is also supported by *lokanyāya* 'norm in the outside world'. As a dog who loses its tail still is treated as a dog, so does a form receive the same treatment even though it has lost part of itself or undergone some modification. Consider *abhavat* 'he became' and *bhavatu* 'may he become' where *abhavat*, a form terminating in *ti*, has lost its final *i*, and *bhavatu*, again a form terminating in *ti*, has had its final *i* replaced by *u*. Rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* requires that the term *pada* should be assigned only to those items which end in a *sUP* or *tiṄ*. However, *abhavat* ends in *t* and *bhavatu* ends in *tu*. The original *ti* which qualified *abhavat* and *bhavatu* as *padas* has been modified. In the absence of this *paribhāṣā*, the above two items cannot be termed *padas*. It should be remembered in this connection that this *paribhāṣā* does not apply when the modified part of an item conditions an operation, or the modification is excessive.

103. *pūrvaparanityāntaraṅgāpavādānām uttarottara balīyaḥ* (39)

This *paribhāṣā* decides the comparative strength of *pūrva* 'prior', *para* 'subsequent', *nitya* 'obligatory', *anitya* 'non-obligatory', *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned', *bahiraṅga* 'externally conditioned' and *apavāda* 'exception' rules. In short, a subsequent rule is more powerful than a prior rule, an obligatory rule more powerful than a subsequent rule, an internally conditioned rule more powerful than a subsequent or obligatory rule, and an exception more powerful than a subsequent, obligatory or internally conditioned rule. (The relationships existing among these rules are illustrated in detail on pages 85-87.)

104. *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānād bhavati* (40), and
105. *sakṛd gatau vipratīṣedhe yad bādhitaṃ tad bādhitam eva* (41)

These two *paribhāṣās* relate to the scope of 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. This rule states that when there is a conflict (*vipratiṣedha*) in the

application of two rules, the one subsequent in order should apply. *Vipratiṣedha* is defined in two ways:

(*a*) *tulyabalatā* 'conflict created by two rules of equal strength', and

(*b*) *asambhava* 'impossible application of two rules simultaneously'.

The expression *paraṃ kāryam* also is interpreted in two ways:

(*c*) only the subsequent should apply, and

(*d*) apply the subsequent.

Interpretation (*c*) makes the ruling of 1.4.2 restrictive (*niyama*) whereas interpretation (*d*) makes it operational (*vidhi*).

Paribhāṣā 104 relates to the *asambhava* interpretation of *vipratiṣedha*. If (*b*), the *asambhava* interpretation is accepted, then, after a subsequent rule has been applied, the prior rule which had been blocked may also apply, should there be an occasion for it. As opposed to this, *paribhāṣā* 105 relates to the *tulyabalatā* interpretation of *vipratiṣedha* which, since it goes hand in hand with the restrictive interpretation of *paraṃ kāryam*, yields an interpretation of 1.4.2 whereby a subsequent rule blocks the application of a prior rule permanently. If *vipratiṣedha* is of the *tulyabalatā* type, a prior rule once blocked by a subsequent rule remains blocked forever.

Now consider some examples. Rule 2.2.32 *dvandve ghi* states that an item termed *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*) is named *upasarjana* 'secondary' and is placed first in a *dvandva* compound. Rule 2.2.33 *ajādy antam* states that a constituent which begins with an *aC* and terminates in *a* also is placed first in a *dvandva* compound. Given the analysed form (*vigrahavākya*) *agniś ca indraś ca* 'Indra and Agni' which is parallel to the compound *indrāgni, agni* will be termed *ghi* by 1.4.7 and in view of rule 2.2.32 should be placed first. The resulting compound would be **agnīndrau*. In view of rule 2.2.33, *indra* should be placed first since it begins with an *aC* and ends in *a*. This conflict can be resolved only by invoking 1.4.2. The *vipratiṣedha* here is *tulyabalatā*.

Another example of *tulyabalatā* conflict is found in the derivation of *tisṛṇām* 'of the three' where, given the string *tri* + *ām*, two rules apply. Rule 6.3.48 *tres trayaḥ* requires that *tri* be replaced by *trayas*. Rule 7.2.99 requires that *tri* be replaced by *tisṛ*. These rules are equal in strength. By invoking 1.4.2, *tri* is replaced by *tisṛ* to yield *tisṛ* + *ām* → *tisṛṇām*. Now if, by invoking 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*, we take *tisṛ* as *tri*, rule 6.3.48 again may find scope of application. Since the *vipratiṣedha* here involves *tulyabalatā*, however, 6.3.48 will remain blocked forever. This is what *sakṛd gatau...*, the second *paribhāṣā*, accomplishes.

Let us now consider some examples where *vipratiṣedha* is interpreted as *asambhava*. Consider rule 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* which introduces affixes *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* after verb roots. The conflict concerns whether both affixes should be introduced simultaneously or in turn. Since a simultaneous application is impossible, *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* will be introduced in turn.

Similarly, given the string *ajara* + *Jas*, where 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ* applies to replace *Jas* by *Si*, *ajara* + (*Jas* → *Śi*) = *ajara* + *i*, two rules become applicable: 7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhal acaḥ* and 7.2.101 *jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām*. Now the question arises whether we should apply 7.1.72 or 7.2.101. If one prefers to apply 7.1.72, the result will be **ajara* + *nUM* + *i*. Applying 7.2.101 creates a different problem. This rule requires the replacing of *jara* by *jaras* provided the *aṅga* is followed by an affix beginning with *aC*. If one considers *ajara* as the *aṅga*, the *n* of *nUM* will intervene before the *i*, the affix beginning with *aC*. Thus 7.2.101 will be blocked from application. However, one can also argue that *ajara* + *n* should be treated as the *aṅga* since *n* happens to be part of it, that is, because *jara* is part of the *aṅga* and *n* is part of the *aṅga* (*avayavāvayava*). This reasoning will permit the application of 7.2.101 with the problematical result: **a* (*jara* → *jaras*) + *n* + *i* → *ajarasn* + *i* = **ajarasni*. The real problem with this approach, however, is the application of rule 6.4.10 *sānta mahataḥ saṃyogasya* which requires the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of the *aṅga* ending in *s* preceded by *n*. Given the string **ajarasni*, the combination is not *ns* but *sn* which will not permit 6.4.10 to apply. Wrong form such as **ajarasni* will result. Therefore, in order to facilitate the application of 6.4.10, 7.2.101 must replace *jara* by *jaras* before 7.1.72 introduces *nUM*. This is possible only when one invokes 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe*... The conflict between the application of rules 7.2.101 and 7.1.72 is that of *asambhava* and hence 7.1.72 may reapply, in view of *paribhāṣā* 104.

106. *asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgamantaraṅge* (51)

The mark for this *paribhāṣā* is *antaraṅgatva* 'internal conditioning'. It is present in every situation where the cause or condition (*aṅga*) for applying a rule or performing an operation is internally conditioned. This *paribhāṣā* enables an internally conditioned rule or operation to render an externally conditioned rule or operation suspended (*asiddha*). It should be noted that the status of internal and external conditioning is determined on the basis of forms (*śabda*) and not meaning (*artha*). It should be noted further that this *paribhāṣā* applies only in the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* 'the first seven books plus the first quarter of book eight'; it does not apply to rules within the last three quarters of book eight. Finally, this *paribhāṣā* applies in relation to both types of *bahiraṅga* operations: *jātabahiraṅga* and *samakālikabahiraṅga*. In other words, an internally conditioned rule or operation suspends an externally conditioned operation whether the externally conditioned operation has already taken place or is about to occur.

Since this *paribhāṣā* depends on the relative internal and external conditioning of causes with reference to a form, it clearly requires a string of formal elements as locus. Let us consider the derivation of *syona* 'sun, ray of light' which serves as the most celebrated example for this *paribhāṣā* in the

commentaries. This word is derived by introducing *Uṇādi* affix *na* after the verbal root *siv* 'to sew'. Furthermore, there is also a provision in *Uṇādi* 3.9 *siveṣṭer yū ca* whereby the *iv* of *siv* is replaced by *yū*. Thus, we get *s* (*iv* → *yū*) + *na* = *syūna*. However, since *Uṇādi* affixes apply variously — sometimes they do apply and sometimes they don't — commentators claim that, in the derivation of *syona*, *na* alone should be introduced. The concurrent replacement of *iv* by *yū* should not apply. This will yield the string *siv* + *na* to which 6.4.19 *cchvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike* applies to yield *si* (*v* → *ū*) + *na* = *siū* + *na*. Rules 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* and 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* now become applicable to *siū* + *na*. Rule 7.3.86 will require that *i* of *siū* be replaced by the *guṇa* vowel *e* under the condition of *siū* being an *aṅga* before affix *na*. Thus, *na* conditions this *guṇa* replacement. Rule 6.1.77 would require that the *i* of *siū* + *na* be replaced by *y* before *ū*. The *guṇa* operation is *bahiraṅga*; its cause, the affix *na*, is external. However, the cause of the *y* replacement, *ū*, is internal, within *siū*. According to this *paribhāṣā*, the internally conditioned *y* replacement will take place. This will yield *s* (*i* → *y*)*ū* + *na* = *syū* + *na*. The final *ū* of *syū* will then be replaced by *o* to yield *syona* (cf. 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*).

Cardona (unpublished (b)) approaches this *paribhāṣā* with a much deeper and wider orientation. Here are three examples from the *Mahābhāṣya* which Cardona also discusses.

(1) *śuśuvuḥ* 'they swelled' is derived from *śvi* + *LIṬ* where *us* is a replacement of *jhi* (3.4.77 *tiptas*... and 3.4.81 *liṭaḥ*...). Given the string *śvi* + *us*, rule 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* optionally applies to yield *ś*(*v* → *u*)*i* + *us*. Two rules now become applicable: 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* and 6.4.82 *er anekāco saṃyogapūrvāc ca*. The first rule requires that the sequence of a *samprasāraṇa* vowel followed by another vowel, i.e. *u* + *i*, of *sui* + *us*, be replaced by *u*. This will produce the string *s*(*u* + *i* → *u*) + *us* = *su* + *us*. Rule 6.4.82 requires that the *i* of *sui* be replaced by *y*. This *y* replacement is *bahiraṅga* in the sense that its condition, *u*, is contained in *us* and not in *sui*. As opposed to this, the single replacement *u* has its condition internally. The *samprasāraṇa* vowel *u* which forms the condition for the replacement is contained within *sui*. Consequently, the internally conditioned replacement by *u* prevails. The externally conditioned application would have resulted in the derivation of a wrong form **suy* + *us*.

(2) *juhuvuḥ* 'they called' is derived from *hvā* + *us* where after the *samprasāraṇa*, the string becomes *h*(*v* → *u*)*ā* + *us* → *huā* + *us*. Here again, two rules become applicable: 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* and 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*. Rule 6.4.64 requires that the final *ā* of *huā* be dropped before the affix *us*. This zero replacement of *ā* clearly is externally conditioned. As a result, 6.1.108 applies to yield *h*(*uā* → *u*) + *us* = *hu* + *us*.

(3) *dhiyati* 'he holds or maintains...' is derived from *dhi* + *Śa* + *ti* = *dhi* + *a* + *ti* where two rules become applicable: 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvāṃ*

yvoriyaṅuvaṅau and 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca.* The application of 6.4.77 would yield the form *dh(i* → *iy)* + *a* + *ti* where the root final *i* is replaced by *iy* under the condition of the following *a.* Applying the second rule would result in *dh(i* → *e)* + *a* + *ti* where the condition of application will be *ti* which is external. Since the condition for the application of 6.4.77, the following *a,* is internal, 6.4.77 is applied. Rule 7.3.86 would have yielded the wrong form *dh(i* → *e* → *ay)* + *a* + *ti* = **dhayati.*

107. *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān* (60)

This *paribhāṣā* states that a prior exception blocks only the most immediately following rule and not any later rules. An exception rule may be either *niravakāśāpavāda,* a rule which is left without any scope of application unless it blocks a rule or *viśeṣāpavāda,* a rule which carves out its scope of application within the scope of a general rule. There is a basic difference between these two types. A *nirvakāśa* exception blocks a general rule in the sense that it applies first. After its application, if the general rule still finds its scope, it too may apply. Thus *niravakāśa* rules entail temporary blocking. A *viśeṣa* exception, however, blocks the application of a general rule forever. The reason for this total and permanent blocking is that a particular (*viśeṣa*) rule carves out its domain from within the domain of a general (*utsarga*) rule. A *viśeṣa* rule only obtains within the domain of a general rule. Its validity is based entirely on blocking the general rule. Thus, the general rule, is blocked forever by the particular exception.

Commentators cite two maxims in connection with blocking of *utsarga* by *viśeṣa.* The first maxim was evolved by the grammarians themselves. It states that *y* blocks *x* if *y* obtains only after *x* has obtained (*yenā' prāpte yo vidhir ārabhyate sa tasya bādhako bhavati*). The other maxim derives from common practice. It is called *takra-kauṇḍinya nyāya.* When someone commands someone else by *brāhmaṇebhyo dadhi dīyatām takram kauṇḍinyāya* 'give *dadhi* (yoghurt) to the *brāhmaṇas* and *takra* (buttermilk) to Kauṇḍinya', one understands that *dadhidāna* 'the giving of yoghurt' is a general operation in relation to which *takradāna* 'the giving of buttermilk' is particular. However Kauṇḍinya, who is supposed to receive buttermilk, is also a *brāhmaṇa.* Thus, *takradāna* (*y*) obtains within the scope of *dadhidāna* (*x*). By being a *brāhmaṇa,* Kauṇḍinya is entitled to receive the general *dadhidāna.* However, by reason of being Kauṇḍinya, a particular *brāhmaṇa,* he is only entitled to receive *takra.* If he receives *takra* and then is given *dadhi,* this particular injunction will become meaningless. As a result, *takradāna* will block *dadhidāna* permanently.

Let us look at an example. Consider 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya* and 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya.* The first rule requires that the unit formed with the first vowel of a rule be doubled. This is a general rule to which 6.1.2 is an exception. Rule 6.1.2 requires that if the root begins with a vowel, the unit formed

by its second vowel be doubled. Rule 6.1.1 obtains on roots in general whereas 6.1.2 obtains on a particular set of roots. Rule 6.1.2 thus carves out its domain from within the general domain of 6.1.1. Consequently, 6.1.2 will block 6.1.1 permanently.

Now let us consider a *niravakāśa* exception. Given the string *ramā* + *Ṅi* where *ramā* terminates in the feminine affix *āP* and *Ṅi* is locative singular, two rules apply. Rule 7.3.116 *ṅer ām nadyām nīyaḥ* requires that *Ṅi* be replaced by *ām*. Rule 7.3.113 *yāḍ āpaḥ* requires that *Ṅi* should receive the augment *yāṬ*. Rule 7.1.113 will yield the string *ramā* + *yā* + *Ṅi*. This will make the application of 7.3.116 impossible because the locus of replacement by *ām* is no longer *Ṅi*. Instead, it is *yāṬṄi*. Rule 7.3.116 will be without any scope of application. It is for this reason that 7.3.116 blocks 7.3.113 and the result is *ramā* + *ām*. However, as stated above, a *niravakāśa* exception blocks a general rule only temporarily and should there be a situation under which the general rule may apply, it may do so. Rule 7.3.113 does apply to introduce *yāṬ* after 7.3.116 has applied. In this case, *ām* is treated as though it were *Ṅi*. Thus 7.3.116 does not permanently block 7.3.113.

108. *madhye' pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān* (61)

An exception read in between rules blocks only the provision of a prior rule. Consider the following rules: 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanād asaṃyogopadhāt,* 4.1.55 *nāsikodaroṣṭhajaṅghādantakarṇaśṛṅgāc ca,* 4.1.56 *na kroḍādi bahvacaḥ* and 4.1.57 *sahanañvidyamānapūrvāc ca.* Rule 4.1.54 is a general rule. It states that a feminine affix *NīṢ* optionally may be introduced after a nominal stem which (*a*) ends in *a,* (*b*) is termed an *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent of a compound', (*c*) does not have a conjunct in the *upadhā* 'penultimate position'; and (*d*) has *svāṅga* 'one's own limb' as its denotatum. Rule 4.1.55 cites specific stems such as *nāsikā* 'nose', *udara* 'belly', *oṣṭha* 'lips', *jaṅghā* 'thigh', *danta* 'tooth', *karṇa* 'ear' and *śṛṅga* 'horn' after which *ṄīṢ* may be introduced. Note here that this list contains items such as *danta, karṇa, jaṅghā* and *śṛṅga* which contain penultimate conjuncts. Furthermore, condition (*a*) of 4.1.54 is dropped in case of 4.1.55. Thus, 4.1.55 is an exception to conditions (*a*) and (*c*) of 4.1.54.

Now consider rules 4.1.56 and 4.1.57. These are negation rules. The first rule negates an optional *ṄīṢ* when the stem either belongs to the list headed by *kroḍa* 'lap' or contains more than two vowels and ends in *a*. Note in this connection that 4.1.55 contains items such as *udara* which would not be permitted to take the optional *ṄīṢ* under 4.1.56. Rule 4.1.57 negates *ṄīṢ* when *saha* 'with' or *naÑ* 'not' form the initial constituent of the stem. Patañjali discusses the negations provided by 4.1.56-57 under rule 4.1.55. Two types of items are given there: polysyllabic items such as *udara* and those with a conjunct in the *upadhā* such as *danta*. The negation given by

4.1.56-57 also is twofold: one marked by polysyllables and the other marked with *saha* and *naÑ*. Rule 4.1.55 will be able to block the polysyllabic negation in case of items such as *udara* or *nāsikā*, but it cannot block the negation of *saha* and *naÑ* offered by 4.1.57. This will be made possible by treating 4.1.55 as the prior exception to 4.1.56 and accordingly, the prior exception 4.1.55, can block only the most immediately available rule, 4.1.56. Thus we will get examples such as *tilodarā* (*ṬāP*)/*tilodarī* (*ṄīṢ*) 'she on whose abdomen are marks like sesame'. Since 4.1.55 cannot block the negation of 4.1.57, however, we get only *anāsikā* (*ṬāP*) 'she who does not have a nose' and not **anāsikī* (*ṄīṢ*).

Let us now consider examples of 4.1.55 which contain conjuncts. As above, we again find two negations: one marked with a conjunct in *upadhā*, the other with *saha* or *naÑ*. Rule 4.1.56 is an exception placed in the middle. As such according to *paribhāṣā* 108, it can block only the provision of 4.1.55 but not of 4.1.57. Consider two examples: *cārukarṇī* and *cārukarṇā* 'she who has beautiful ears'. Rule 4.1.54 does not allow *ṄīṢ* to items having a penultimate conjunct. Rule 4.1.55 blocks this exception and optionally provides for *ṄīṢ*. However, since 4.1.56 is an exception placed in the middle, it cannot block the negation marked with *saha* or *naÑ*. This is the reason why in an example like *vidyamānadantā* 'she whose teeth are intact', the negation provided by 4.1.57 prevails and the optional *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.55 is blocked . Had this not been the case **vidyamānadantī*, a wrong form, would have resulted.

109. *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā* (62)

When a rule makes or negates a provision, its provision or negation relates to that which is most immediate. Consider the following rules. 3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca* orders a *hi* replacement of a *siP* replacement of *LOṬ* which is to be treated as *apit*, not marked with *P* and 3.4.88 *vāc chandasi* orders a *hi* replacement of *siP* which, in turn, is a replacement of *LOṬ* and optionally is treated as *apit*. Rule 3.4.87 provides for two things: *hi* as a replacement of *siP* and *hi* to be treated as *apit*. Without this second provision, *hi*, since it is a replacement of *siP*, an item marked with *P*, would have been treated as though marked by *P* itself (1.1.56 *sthānivad*...). The question is whether 3.4.88 makes both provisions of 3.4.87 optional or only one. Are the *hi* replacement and its *apit* status both optional or only the *apit* status? According to *paribhāṣā* 108, *hi* is not optional because *apit* is the most immediate provision available to 3.4.88.

Consider the negation provided by 7.2.4 *neṭi*. This rule negates the provision of *vṛddhi* of an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*...) which is either constituted by *vadA* 'to speak', *vrajA* 'to wander', or terminates in a consonant. The right context for this *vṛddhi* is the *parasmaipada* affix *sIC*. Thus we get examples such as *avrājīt* 'he wandered away' and *avādīt* 'he spoke'. Rule 7.2.4 does not allow *vṛddhi* for those *aṅgas* which terminate in a consonant where the

right context is *sIC* with initial augment *iṬ*. Thus, there is no *vṛddhi* in *amoṣīt* 'he stole' or *asevīt* 'he served'. Both rules 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* and 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* also provide for *vṛddhi*. Rule 7.2.4 can only negate the *vṛddhi* provision with reference to 7.2.3. It cannot negate the provisions of 7.2.1 or 7.2.114 as these rules are not most immediate to it. The commentators consider this *paribhāṣā* more powerful than 108.

110. *ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyaḥ* (71)

If there is a conflict between operations specified by *saptamī* 'locative' and *pañcamī* 'ablative', the one specified by *pañcamī* prevails. Consider the interpretation of rule 8.3.32 *ṅamo hrasvād aci ṅamuṇ nityam* where *ṅamaḥ* is in the ablative and *aci* is in the locative. This rule introduces augments *ṅUṬ*, *ṇUṬ*, and *nUṬ* to items specified by *pañcamī* and *saptamī*. If one takes the locative interpretation, then, in view of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti...*, the augments will be introduced to that *ṅAM* (*ṅ, ṇ, n,*) which is immediately followed by *aC*. According to the ablative interpretation, however, the augments will be introduced to the *aC* which comes immediately after (1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*) the *ṅAM*. Consider *kurvan āste* 'he is engaged in doing or making', where *kurvan* is a *pada* ending in *n* which, in turn, occurs before the *ā* of *āste*. Furthermore, the *n* of *kurvan* occurs after a short *a* (*hrasvāt*). According to the locative interpretation, *n* (*nUṬ*) will be introduced to the *n* of *kurvan*. This will yield *kurva* + *n* + *n* + *āste* = *kurvann āste*. An ablative interpretation will introduce the *n* to the *ā* of *āste* with the result being **kurvan* + *nāste*.

However, a problem still remains with the locative interpretation. Rule 8.4.37 *padāntasya* negates the replacement of the final *n* of a *pada* by *ṇ*. If the *n* of 8.2.32 is introduced to *kurvan*, its final *n* cannot be saved from being replaced by *ṇ*. Rule 8.4.37 cannot block this replacement. If, however, the *n* is introduced to *ā*, *kurvan* can save its *n* from being replaced by *ṇ*. For this reason, the ablative interpretation prevails.

The locative of *aci* also is intended for the subsequent rule 8.2.33 *may uño vo vā*. In the absence of an ablative interpretation, the ablative of *ṅamaḥ* will be without scope (*niravakāśa*). This *niravakāśatva* favours the ablative interpretation. However, consider rule 8.2.29 *ṅaḥ si dhuṭ* where *ṅaḥ* (ablative) and *si* (locative) both will be without any scope elsewhere. Here again, the ablative interpretation will prevail, although for a different reason. Rule 1.1.67 *tasmād...* is subsequent to 1.1.66 *tasminn...* and hence, according to 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...*, the subsequent rule will prevail.

What if both the locative and ablative used in a rule find their scope elsewhere? Such an example is 7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ* where *āt* (ablative) has its scope in 7.1.50 *āj jaser suk* from whence it is carried and *āmi* has its scope in 7.1.53 *tres trayaḥ*. Here again 1.4.2 will be invoked and an ablative interpretation will prevail.

111. *sūtre liṅgavacanam atantram* (74)

Gender and number specific to a rule should not be treated as absolute. When Pāṇini uses a particular item in a particular gender and number, the reference of that item should not be treated as limited to that particular number and gender. Consider 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* where *tasya* is singular and *apatyam* is neuter. Since *apatyam* is neuter, if one applies 4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ* which carries the *anuvṛtti* of 4.1.92, one would only get **gārgyam* 'offspring of Garga' and not *gārgyaḥ* 'male offspring of Garga'. The masculine *gārgyaḥ* would be ruled out. Similarly, on the basis of a singular in *tasya*, one could not get the dual *gārgyau*. *Paribhāṣā* 110 legitimizes these other forms. As a result, *tasya* does not just refer to the singular and *apatyam* is not strictly limited to neuter.

The existence of this *paribhāṣā* is indicated by rules 2.2.2 *ardhaṃ napuṃsakam* and 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*. In 2.2.2, if Pāṇini had intended only the neuter gender, he need not have explicitly used *napuṃsakam*. The neuter idea would have been carried by *ardham* itself. Hence, on the strength of the explicit use of *napuṃsakam* one concludes that a gender in a rule does not become absolute. Similarly, the explicit mention of *ekā* in 1.4.1 indicates that number is also not absolute. The singular, if it had been intended to be absolute, automatically could have been conveyed by the use in the singular of *pada, bha* and *aṅga* terms.

112. *saṃniyogaśiṣṭānām antarāpāye ubhayor apy apāyaḥ* (112)

Whenever a rule introduces two things concurrently, if one is removed then the other also is removed. Recall the derivation of *pañcendraḥ* 'a *mantra* whose deities are five *Indrāṇīs*' where *pañcan* + *Jas* and *indrāṇī* + *Jas* are combined in a *dvigu* compound by rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara....* The compound *pañcendrāṇī* results from the deletion of the *Jas* and *n* of *pañcan* and the replacement of the *a* of *pañca* and the *i* of *indrāṇī* with a single *guṇa* substitute. After *pañcendrāṇī*, rule 4.2.24 *sāsya devatā* introduces *aṆ* which later is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*. Then rule 1.2.49 *luk taddhita luki* demanding the deletion of the feminine affix *ṄīP* occurring after *indrāṇī* is applied. This affix was introduced after *indra* by rule 4.1.49 *indravaruṇa....* In addition, this same rule concurrently introduced the augment *ānUK* to *indra*. Since *ānUK* is marked with *K*, it is introduced at the end of *indra* (cf. 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). Thus, we find *indra* + *ānUK* + *ṄīP* = *indra* + *ān* + *ī* = *indrāṇī*.

When rule 1.2.49 applies deleting the *ṄīP* of *pañcendrāṇī paribhāṣā* 112 intervenes as *ṄīP* and *ānUK* were introduced concurrently. As a result, when *ṄīP* is deleted, *ānUK* must also be deleted. Thus, *pañcendr*(*ān* $\rightarrow \emptyset$)(*ī* $\rightarrow \emptyset$) = *pañcendra*. Note that the final *a* of *indra* was there when *ānUK* and *ṄīP* were introduced; therefore, it will be restored when they are removed.

113. *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena gṛhyate* (96)

A given form can also represent its derivates provided that what is introduced in the derivation is contained within that form. For example, forms such as *sarvaka* 'all, entire', and *uccakaiḥ* 'high' are derived by introducing an affix *akĀC* after *sarva*, a pronoun, and *uccaiḥ*, an indeclinable (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ*). This affix is introduced before the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *acò' ntyādi ṭi*; that part of an item beginning with its last vowel) of an item. Consequently, *sarv* + *akĀC* + *a* = *sarvaka* and *ucc* + *akĀC* + *aiḥ* = *uccakaiḥ*.

Now, consider rules 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*, and 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*, which defines the term *avyaya*. Rule 1.1.27 assigns the term *sarvanāman* to those forms enumerated in the list headed by *sarva* 'all'. Similarly, 1.1.37 assigns the term *avyaya* to those forms which are either enumerated in the list headed by *svar* 'heaven' or are termed *nipāta*. Since *sarvaka* and *uccakaiḥ* are items which are not covered by the scope of rules 1.1.27 and 1.1.43, *sarvaka* cannot be assigned the term *sarvanāman* and *uccakaiḥ* cannot be called an *avyaya*. However, in the absence of the assignments of these terms, operations specific to *sarvanāman* and *avyaya* cannot be performed. For example, *sarvake*, the nominative plural of *sarvaka*, as well as *sarvakasmai* and *sarvakasmāt*, the dative and ablative singulars, cannot be derived in a manner parallel to the derivation of *sarve*, *sarvasmai*, and *sarvasmāt*. Similarly, a *sUP* introduced after *uccakaiḥ* cannot be deleted in the absence of the assignment of the term *avyaya*.

It is to remove these difficulties that this *paribhāṣā* enables *sarva* and *uccaiḥ* to represent *sarvaka* and *uccakaiḥ* as well, on the grounds that *akĀC* is contained within *sarva* and *uccaiḥ*.

114. *upapadavibhakteḥ karakavibhaktir balīyasī* (103)

A nominal ending specified with reference to a *kāraka* is more powerful than one specified with reference to an *upapada* 'co-occurring *pada*'. Consider rules 2.3.2 *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā* and 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*. Rule 2.3.2 introduces *dvitīyā* 'accusative singular' after a nominal stem co-occurring with an item termed *karmapravacanīya*. Rule 2.3.28 introduces *pañcamī* 'ablative singular' after a nominal stem when the ablative (*apādāna*) is to be denoted. Now consider the sentence *kuto' dhyāgacchati* 'where is he coming from' where *kutaḥ* is in the ablative. By 1.4.93 *adhiparī anarthakau*, *adhi* of *adhyāgacchati* may be termed a *karmapravacanīya*. Since *kim* of *kutaḥ* co-occurs with *adhi*, a *karmapravacanīya*, according to rule 2.3.2, *kim* should take *dvitīyā*, the accusative. Instead, since this *paribhāṣā* favours a nominal ending specific to a *kāraka* rather than one which is specific to a co-occurring item, *kim* is introduced with *pañcamī* by rule 2.3.28.

9

Kāraka and *Vibhakti*

The following is a controlled listing of the domain of Pāṇini's *kārakas*.

1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*

'only one term is to be assigned prior to *kaḍāra* (2.3.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*)'

1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*

'the subsequent (*para*) is to be applied when there is conflict between two rules of equal strength'

1.4.23 *kārake*

'the *kāraka*...'

1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādanam*

'a *kāraka* which is fixed (*dhruva*) when movement away (*apāya*) is denoted is termed *apādāna* (ablative)'

1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam*

'a *kāraka* which the agent wishes to reach through the object is termed *sampradāna* (dative)'

1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*

'a *kāraka* which is most instrumental in bringing an action to accomplishment is termed *karaṇa* (instrument)'

1.4.44 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*

'a *kāraka* which serves as locus (*ādhāra*) is termed *adhikaraṇa*'

1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*

'a *kāraka* which the agent (*kartṛ*) wishes the most is termed *karman*'

1.4.54 *svantantraḥ karttā*

'a *kāraka* which is independent (*svatantra*) is termed *kartṛ*'

The six *kārakas*, i.e. *apādāna*, *sampradāna*, *karaṇa*, *adhikaraṇa*, *karman* and *kartṛ*, have been discussed under rule 1.4.23 *kārake*. This rule has received different interpretations because (*a*) it is an *adhikāra*, (*b*) Pāṇini puts *kārake* in the locative (*saptamī*) and (*c*) *kāraka* is a technical term (*saṃjñā*). There are three possible interpretations of this rule:

(*a*) *kārake* is an *adhikāra* whereby the technical term *kāraka* is introduced,

(*b*) *kārake* states a meaning condition, and

(*c*) *kārake* serves as a qualifier (*viśeṣana*) to the domain of the terms *apādāna*, etc.

Commentators have evaluated these interpretations in light of the following considerations.

(*a*) *kāraka* is a technical term which, according to its etymological meaning, denotes a thing which brings about an action,
(*b*) the term *kāraka* should denote only the six categories of *apādāna*, etc., and
(*c*) each of the six *kāraka* categories must also be assigned the term *kāraka*.

Fact (*a*) establishes a necessary connection between *kāraka* and *kriyā* 'action'. Fact (*b*) restricts the number of things to which the term *kāraka* may be assigned. Fact (*c*) requires that a thing which serves as *apādāna* must also serve as a *kāraka*. These three facts are interrelated.

Returning to the three interpretations of 1.4.23, we find that the *Kāśikāvṛtti* seems to be following the second, i.e., the meaning condition view. This interpretation is motivated by the fact that Pāṇini puts *kārake* in the locative. The *Kāśikā* seems to interpret the word *kāraka* as *kriyā*. However, the *Kāśikā*'s interpretation, and its *vṛtti* on subsequent rules, is confusing. Consider, for example, its *vṛtti* on rule 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*:[1]

> *dhruvaṃ (yad apāyayuktam) apāye sādhye (yad avadhibhūtaṃtat kārakam) apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati*

If one follows the 'meaning condition' view, and accordingly interprets *kāraka* as denoting *kriyā*, the above *vṛtti* should be rephrased, without that which I have enclosed in parentheses, as follows:

> *dhruvam apāye sādhye apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati*
> 'a thing which is *dhruva* 'fixed' when *apāya* 'movement away' is to be accomplished is assigned the name *apādāna* (ablative)'

This interpretation obviously will run into problems. For example, in sentences such as *grāmasya samīpād āgacchati* 'he is coming from the vicinity of the village', and *vṛkṣasya parṇāni patanti* 'leaves of the tree are falling', both *grāma* 'village' and *vṛkṣa* 'tree' will qualify for the assignment of the term *apādāna*. To overcome these difficulties, *Kāśikā* includes the word *apāyayuktam* in the *vṛtti* to imply that *apāya*, being a relative notion, entails *saṃśleṣa* 'conjunction'. This will rule out the assignment of the term *apādāna* to *grāma* in sentence (1) as it is the vicinity of the village and not the village itself which is in conjunction with the reference to movement away.[2] However, the difficulty mentioned in connection with the second sentence still remains. One may resort to *vivakṣā* 'intent to speak,' as has been advocated by the *Mahābhāṣya*,[3] and state that in the second sentence the speaker does not wish to speak about *vṛkṣa* as *apādāna*. This will

[1] *Kāś.* I: 535.

[2] see also *Mbh.* I, 241: *nātra grāmo' pāyayuktaḥ. kiṃ tarhi? samīpam. yadā ca grāmo' pāyayukto bhavati tadā' pādānasaṃjñā.*

[3] Ibid.: *na vā eṣa doṣaḥ. kiṃ kāraṇam? apāyasyāvivakṣitatvāt nātrāpāyo vivakṣitah...*

remove the difficulty concerning *vṛkṣa* being assigned the term *apādāna*; still, *apāyayuktam* is used in the *vṛtti* as part of a relative construction with *yad...tad*. Furthermore, there is syntactic coordination between *kārakam* and *apādānasaṃjñam* which, for all practical purposes, amounts to calling *apādāna* a *kāraka*. This will run counter to the 'meaning condition view' and favour the technical term (*saṃjñā*) view of the first interpretation.

Both the 'technical term' and the 'qualifier' views have been discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya* where, according to the first interpretation, *kāraka* becomes a technical term introduced by 1.4.23 as an *adhikāra*. Many arguments have been raised against this interpretation. Why didn't Pāṇini put *kāraka* in the nominative as is his practice elsewhere? If *kāraka* is a technical term, why didn't Pāṇini define it? There is no satisfactory explanation for the locative of *kāraka* unless one abandons the *saṃjñā* view. Patañjali, however, is not bothered by the locative. He argues that since this is the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* 'one term', *kāraka* cannot be anything but a *saṃjñā*[4] which, perhaps, Pāṇini chose not to define since it already was a fairly well-known term. Besides, *kāraka*, being a derivative with *ṆvuL*, can be used as an *anvarthasaṃjñā*,[5] a technical term denoting its etymological meaning.

There are yet other problems with the *saṃjñā* view. For one thing, the term *kāraka* is introduced as a term in the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. Since a thing which is termed *apādāna* should also be termed *kāraka*, a situation of *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'class-inclusion' arises which goes directly against the *ekasaṃjñā* requirement. To remove this difficulty, rule splitting (*yogavibhāga*) is invoked according to which individual rules will be split in two with *kāraka* carried via *anuvṛtti*.[6] Thus, 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam* will be interpreted as follows.

(*a*) *apāye dhruvaṃ kārakasaṃjñaṃ bhavati*
'a thing which is fixed when movement away is denoted is termed *kāraka*'

(*b*) *apāye dhruvaṃ kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati*
'a *kāraka* which is fixed when movement away is denoted is termed *apādāna*'

Obviously, resorting to *yogavibhāga* will be prolix (*gaurava*). In addition, *kāraka* will be accepted as a term defined on the basis of its etymological meaning. But since *kāraka* is derived by introducing *ṆvuL* denoting *kartṛ*,

[4] *Mbh.* I, 239-40: *kim idaṃ 'kārake' iti? saṃjñānirdeśaḥ... kāraka iti saṃjñānirdeśaś cet saṃjñino' pi nirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ. saṃjñādhikāraś ceyam. tatra kim anyac chakyaṃ vijñātūm anyad ataḥ saṃjñāyāḥ...*

[5] *Mbh.* I, 242: *tatra mahatyāḥ saṃjñāyāḥ karaṇe etat prayojanam anvarthasaṃjñā yathā vijñāyeta 'karotīti kārakam.'*

[6] *PM* ad *Kāś.* I, 531: *ucyate saṃjñāpakṣe- apāye yad dhruvaṃ tat kārakasaṃjñaṃ bhavati, apādānasaṃjñaṃ cety ayam artho bhavati, evam anyatrāpi...*

kāraka will refer to a thing which is the doer. Since all the other *kārakas* are also participants in an action and since they also are all termed *kāraka,* they all will be treated as *kartṛ*. This being the case, Pāṇini did not have to define the term *kartṛ* by rule 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ karttā. Kāraka* and *kartṛ* will become synonymous. Further proposals have been made in the *Mahābhāṣya*[7] to resolve this difficulty. An action may be viewed as a composite of several actions. For example, the action of cooking denoted by verbal root *pac* underlies such actions as arranging the fire with the firewood, putting the pot on the stove, placing the rice in it, stirring the rice and finally softening (*viklitti*) it.[8]

A *kāraka* can be viewed as *svatantrakartṛ* 'independent agent' with reference to its own action. It can be termed *apādāna,* etc., with reference to the principal action. Thus, a pot (*sthālī*) because of its capacity to contain rice on a stove, can be viewed as *kartṛ*. When a speaker wishes to highlight this status of the pot, he uses it as the *kartṛ*. Of course, then the principal agent, such as Devadatta of

(1) *devadattaḥ sthālyām odanaṃ pacati*

'Devadatta is cooking the rice in the pot', is not used. As a result, we get

(2) *sthālī pacati*

'the pot is cooking'. This explanation, however, also runs into difficulty, since, of six *kārakas,* only *karman, karṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* can be seen as *kartṛ*. Should we accept *vivakṣā* as reason for the lack of *kartṛ* status for *apādāna* and *samprādāna*? The answer seems to be in the affirmative.

We shall now return to the third, the qualifier view. According to this view, *kārake* is treated as an *adhikāra* to restrict the application of the word *kāraka* only to the six categories of *apādāna, sampradāna, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa, karman* and *kartṛ*. The locative will then be interpreted as that of specification (*nirdhāraṇa)*. However, since the question of *nirdhāraṇa* arises only when one has to specify a single entity from among many, the singular in *kārake* should be treated as denoting *jāti* 'class'. Thus, *kārake* will be equivalent to *kārakeṣu* 'among the *kārakas*'.[9] Rule 1.4.24 will then be interpreted as follows.

kārake (ṣu madhye) yad dhruvaṃ kārakaṃ tad apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavaty apāye sādhye
'a *kāraka* which is *dhruva* when movement away is to be accomplished is termed *apādāna*'

This interpretation still subscribes to the idea that *kāraka* denotes its

[7] *Mbh.* I, 242-43: *...pratikārakaṃ kriyābhedāt. pacādīnāṃ hi pratikārakaṃ kriyā bhidyate...*

[8] Ibid.: *adhiśrayaṇodakaśecanataṇḍulāvapanaidhopakarṣaṇādikriyāḥ kurvann eva devadattaḥ pacatīty ucyate. tatra tadā paci vartate...*

[9] *PM ad Kāś.* I, 531: *viśeṣaṇādhikāre tu- kārakeṣu madhye yad apāye dhruvaṃ kārakam ity artho labhyate, nirdhāraṇasya sajātīyaviṣayatvād iti...*

etymological meaning, *kartṛ*. It is suggested that this difficulty can be removed by treating an action as a composite of several actions.[10] Most of the interpretation problems entailed by 1.4.23 stem from the locative in *kārake*. The qualifier interpretation is preferable because it does not propose to interpret locative as nominative, nor does it resort to rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*).

Questions have been raised concerning whether a *kāraka* is a thing and whether or not the different *kārakas* are one and the same. A *kāraka* may be a thing but a thing is not always a *kāraka*. What makes a thing a *kāraka* is the power (*śakti*) of bringing an action towards completion. This power does not inhere in things. Instead, they can serve as substratum for it. When a thing serves as the substratum for power, the thing is a *kāraka*. Since all *kārakas* serve as means towards completing an action and all share the same power served by things as their substratum, all *kārakas* are the same. However, differences among the *kārakas* are maintained. A difference is to be maintained between the agent (*kartṛ*) and the other *kārakas* because it is the *kartṛ* which brings other *kārakas* into play. The power to act as *kartṛ* comes to the agent prior to all the other *kārakas*.[11] Since every action is looked upon as a composite of several subordinate actions, *kārakas* of these subordinate actions can be treated as *kartṛ*. They are not independent with regard to the main action. However, in regard to their subordinate actions, they are independent. The *kāraka* also may be viewed differently depending upon *vivakṣā* 'intent of the speaker'. Thus, what is looked upon as object (*karman*) can be looked upon as *kartṛ* if the speaker wishes to speak about it as such. A grammarian would rather view the *kārakas* as one and the same, but he is forced to view them as distinct since he believes in the authority (*prāmāṇya*) of words (*śabda*) and words are determined by usage and usage follows the realities of the outside world (*loka*). Thus, the grammarian has to follow the practice in the outside world where people do view the *kārakas* as different. Hence the grammarian views them as different. Related to this aspect of the *kāraka* is the question whether things which serve as *kārakas* must be animate. A *kāraka*, in view of the traditional grammarians, does not necessarily have to be animate.

Pāṇini constrains the rules of the *kāraka* domain by rules 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjña* and 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. These rules state that only one term per nominatum (*saṃjñin*) should be assigned. A conflict between two terms is to be resolved in favour of the term introduced by the subsequent rule. It should be noted here that resolving conflicts between two terms is not solely the function of rule 1.4.2. Indeed, some conflicts related

[10] see above fn. 7.

[11] *VP.* III:140: *prāg anyataḥ śaktilābhān nyagbhāvāpādanād api; tadadhīnapravṛttitvāt pravṛttānāṃ nivartanāt.*

to the assignment of terms from this *ekasaṃjñā* domain cannot be solved by 1.4.2. This rule resolves conflicts only between two terms which are both *sāvakāśa* 'with scope of application'.[12] Conflicts between two terms of this domain where one term is *sāvakāśa* and the other *niravakāśa* 'without any scope of application elsewhere' are resolved on the basis of *niravakāśatva* under the requirement of 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād...*

Consider the following examples.

(3) *krūrāya krudhyati*
'... is angry with the cruel one'
(4) *krūram ahikrudhyati*
'id'
(5) *geham praviśati*
'... is entering the house'
(6) **gehe praviśati*
'id.'

Krūra 'cruel' in (3) is used with *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' to express *sampradāna* (2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*), but, in (4) it is used with *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' to express *karman* (2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). *Krūra* in (3) is assigned *sampradāna* since it is identified as one towards whom anger is directed (1.4.37 *krudha...yaṃ prati kopaḥ*). It is assigned *karman* in (4) because there *krudh* 'to be angry' is used with the preverb *abhi* (1.4.38 *krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayoḥ karma*). Now, 1.4.37 is *sāvakāśa* as it may apply to sentences where *krudh* is used without a preverb, but, 1.4.38 will be redundant if it does not apply in situations where *krudh* is used with a preverb. Nothing in 1.4.37 restrains its application to *krūra* because of 1.4.38 being vacuous (*vyartha*). As a consequence, 1.4.38 blocks 1.4.37 and assigns *karman* uniquely to *krūra*. Remember that this conflict, because of the *niravakāśatva* of 1.4.38, cannot be resolved on the *paratva* basis mentioned in 1.4.2.

Sentences (5) and (6) illustrate a conflict between two terms, *adhikàraṇa* and *karman*, resolved on the basis of *paratva* and *sāvakāśatva*. These sentences use *geha* 'house' in *dvitīyā* and *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal ending' (2.3.36 *saptamy adhikaraṇe...*) respectively to express *karman* (1.4.46 *adhiśīṅsthāsāṃ karma*) and *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.44 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*). Sentence (6) is ungrammatical because *geha* cannot be termed locus (*adhikaraṇa*) and hence, *saptamī* cannot be introduced to express it. This does not mean that a conflict between rules 1.4.44 and 1.4.46 does not arise. Both *karman* and *adhikaraṇa* are terms which are *sāvakāśa* elsewhere. They are equally applicable to *geha* in (5). Rule 1.4.2 is invoked to resolve the conflict in favour of *karman* introduced by Rule 1.4.46 which is subsequent to 1.4.44.

[12] *Mbh.* I, 204: *dvau prasaṅgau yadānyārthau bhavata ekasmiṃśca yugapat prāpnutaḥ...*

Since Pāṇini resolves certain conflicts involving the *kāraka* terms on the basis of *paratva,* the ordering of rules which enumerate them is important. The notion of *paratva* requires that the *kāraka* rules be arranged in a sequence most conducive to resolving conflicts. Pāṇini enumerates the six *kāraka* terms in the order of *apādāna, sampradāna, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa, karman* and *kartṛ*. One can assume that *kartṛ* will prevail in conflicts over the assignment of the other *kāraka* terms. Similarly, *karman* will prevail over all the other *kārakas* besides *kartṛ*. The relative strength of the other *kārakas* can also be determined. However, one should not overplay this relative strength as there may be conflicts entailing *niravakāśatva* which may also be resolved in favour of a rule which may not be subsequent.

Pāṇini specifies his *kāraka* categories based upon the principle of *sāmānya* 'general', *viśeṣa* 'particular' and *śeṣa* 'residual'. The six categories are identified by general rules formulated based upon linguistic generalizations. Particular rules form exceptions to them. Usage which cannot be accounted for by the above two rule types is governed by rules relegated to the residual category. It is obvious that these exceptions are necessary to capture the peculiarities of usage falling outside the scope of the general rules. One can also interpret it as Pāṇini's desire not to class a certain thing *x* as belonging to the class *y* under the provision of a general rule *z*. In any case, Pāṇini's formulation of particular rules constitutes an effort on his part to readjust his *kāraka* definitions.

It has already been stated that action (*kriyā*) denoted by means of verbal roots is central to the idea of *kārakas* which act as participants in bringing an action to accomplishment. It is only logical that readjustments be offered in view of the nature of both the action as well as its related participants. Since a general rule classes a *kāraka* category in view of generalization, readjustments must be offered relative to particulars. The following is a tabular listing of general *kāraka* rules followed by particular details concerning readjustments.

KĀRAKA

sūtra	Participant	Action	Category
1	*2*	*3*	*4*
1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*	*dhruvam* 'fixed'	*apāya* 'movement away'	*apādāna*
1.4.25 *bhītrārthānām bhayahetuḥ*	*bhayahetuḥ* 'source of fear'	denoted by roots having the meaning of *bhī* 'to fear' and *trā* 'to protect'	—do—
1.4.26 *parājer asoḍhaḥ*	*asoḍhaḥ* 'unbearable'	denoted by *ji* 'to win' used with the preverb *parā*	—do—

1	*2*	*3*	*4*
1.4.27 *vāraṇārthānām īpsitaḥ*	*īpsitaḥ* 'desired'	denoted by roots meaning *vāraṇa* 'to ward off'	*apādāna*
1.4.28 *antarddhau yenādarśanam icchati*	he by whom one does not want to be seen	*antarddhi* 'hiding'	—do—
1.4.29 *ākhyātopayage*	*ākhyātā* 'relator'	*upayoga* 'regular instruction'	—do—
1.4.30 *janikarttuḥ prakṛtiḥ*	*karttuḥ prakṛtiḥ* 'material cause of the agent'	*jan* 'to be born'	—do—
1.4.31 *bhuvaḥ prabhavaḥ*	*prabhavaḥ* 'place of origin'	denoted by *bhū* 'to be, become'	—do—
1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam*	he whom the agent intends as the goal	......	*sampradāna*
1.4.33 *rucyarthānāṃ prīyamāṇaḥ*	*prīyamāṇaḥ* 'one who is pleased'	denoted by roots meaning *ruc* 'to please'	—do—
1.4.34 *ślāghahnuṅsthāśapāṃ jñīpsyamānaḥ*	*jñīpsyamānaḥ* 'one who is informed'	denoted by *ślāgh* 'to praise', *hnuṅ* 'to hide', *śap* 'to swear'	—do—
1.4.35 *dhārer uttamarṇaḥ*	*uttamarṇaḥ* 'creditor'	denoted by *dhāri* 'to owe'	—do—
1.4.36 *spṛher īpsitaḥ*	*īpsitaḥ* 'desired'	denoted by *spṛhĀ* 'to yearn after	—do—
1.4.37 *krudhadruhersyāsūyārthānāṃ yaṃ prati kopaḥ*	*yaṃ prati kopaḥ* 'one toward whom anger is directed'	denoted by *krudhĀ* 'to be angry', *druhĀ* 'to wish harm to', *īrsyĀ* 'not to tolerate', and *asūya* 'to find fault'	—do—
1.4.38 *krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayoḥ karma*	—do—	denoted by *krudh* and *druhĀ* used with a preverb	*karman*
1.4.39 *rādhīkṣyor yasya vipraśnaḥ*	*yasya vipraśnaḥ* 'one about whom inquiries are made'	denoted by *rādhĀ* 'to satisfy' and *īkṣĀ* 'to look to'	—do—
1.4.40 *pratyāṅbhyāṃ śruvaḥ pūrvasya karttā*	*pūrvasya karttā* 'agent of a prior act of requesting'	denoted by *śru* 'to hear' used with the preverb *prati*	—do—
1.4.41 *anupratigṛṇaś ca*	—do—	denoted by *gṛ* 'to chant' used with *anu* and *prati*	—do—

1	*2*	*3*	*4*
1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*	*sādhakatamam* 'a thing which is most instrumental'	....	*karaṇa*
1.4.43 *divaḥ karma ca*	*karman* 'object'	denoted by *div* 'to play'	—do—
1.4.44 *parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyām*	*karaṇa*	denoted by roots meaning *parikrayaṇa* 'bonded labour'	*sampradāna*
1.4.45 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*	*ādhāraḥ* 'locus'	.....	*adhikaraṇa*
1.4.46 *adhiśīṅ-sthāsāṃ karma*	*karman*	denoted by *śīṄ* 'to recline', *sthā* 'to stand', *āsĀ* 'to sit' when used with the preverb *adhi*	—do—
1.4.47 *abhiniviśaḥ*	—do—	denoted by *viś* 'to enter' used with *abhi* and *ni*	—do—
1.4.48 *upānvadhyāṅ-vasaḥ*	—do—	denoted by *vasĀ* 'to dwell' used with *upa, anu, adhi* and *āṅ*	—do—
1.4.49 *karttur īpsītatamaṃ karma*	*karttur īpsītatamam* 'most desired by the agent'	.....	*karman*
1.4.50 *tathāyuktaṃ cānīpsitam*	*karttur anīpsitam* 'something other than what is desired by the agent'	.....	—do—
1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca*	*akathitam* 'not stated thus far'	....	—do—
1.4.52 *gatibuddhi-pratyavasānā-rthaśabdakarmā-karmākāṇām aṇi karttā sa ṇau*	*aṇi karttā* 'non-causal agent'	causal action denoted by roots meaning *gati* 'motion' *buddhi* 'perception' *pratya-vasāna* 'to consume'; actions with noise as *karman*; and actions with no *karman*	—do—
1.4.53 *hṛkor anyata-rasyām*	*karttā*	non-causal action denoted by *hṛÑ* 'to carry', *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make'	—do—
1.1.54 *svatantraḥ karttā*	*svatantraḥ* 'independent'	.....	*kartṛ*
1.4.55 *tatprayo-jako hetuś ca*	*karttuḥ prayojakaḥ* 'instigator of the agent'	.....	*kartṛ, hetu*

A review of these tabular statements reveals some interesting facts. The six *kāraka* categories are defined in terms of generalized semantic equivalents. However, no one-to-one correspondence between the semantic equivalent and corresponding assignment of a *kāraka* term is acceptable. A *kāraka* is simply a participant in an action. The *kāraka* category to which a participant is assigned depends upon the nature of the action, the role this participant plays in that action and the manner in which the speaker wishes to speak about that role. A participant in an action is a *kāraka* with reference to that action. Generally one would expect that a category *x* would be assigned to a particular *kāraka* in accordance with the semantic equivalency, but this may not be the case. A *kāraka* may be viewed as belonging to category *x* in regards to semantic equivalency, yet it may be classed in category *y*. This amounts to saying that a *kāraka* refers to the category as classed and not a semantic equivalent.[13]

The following sentences illustrate these observations.

(7) *himavato gaṅgā prabhavati* (1.4.31)
'the *Gaṅgā* originates in the Himālaya'

(8) **himavati gaṅgā prabhavati* (1.4.45)

(9) *yavebhyo gā vārayati* (1.4.27)
'...is warding cows off the barley'

(10) *phalebhyaḥ spṛhayati* (1.4.36)
'...yearns for fruits'

(11) *phalāni spṛhayati* (1.4.49)

(12) *devadattāya ślāghate* (1.4.34)
'...is praising Devadatta'

(13) **devadattaṃ ślāghate* (1.4.49)

(14) *krūrāya krudhyati* (1.4.37)
'is angry with the cruel one'

(15) *krūram abhikrudhyati* (1.4.38)

(16) *akṣān dīvyati* (1.4.43)
'...plays the dice'

(17) *akṣair dīvyati* (1.4.42)
'...plays with dice'

(18) *śatena parikrītaḥ* (1.4.42)
'...hired for a hundred'

(19) *śatāya parikrītaḥ* (1.4.44)

(20) *grāme vasati* (1.4.45)
'...is living in the village'

(21) *grāmam abhiniviśate*
'...enters the village'

(22) *grāmam adhiśete* (1.4.46)
'...sleeps in the village'

[13] See also Cardona (unpublished (a)).

(23) *devadattaḥ grāmād āgatya kāṣṭhaiḥ sthālyām odanaṃ pacati*
'Devadatta, having returned from the village, is cooking rice with firewood in the pot'

(24) *sthālī pacati* (1.4.54)
'the pot is cooking'

(25) *odanaḥ pacati* (1.4.54)
'the rice is cooking'

(26) *kāṣṭhāni pacanti* (1.4.54)
'the firewoods are cooking'

Recall that *apādāna, sampradāna, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa, karman* and *kartṛ* have been defined with generalized semantic equivalencies as *dhruva* (1.4.24)—...*yam abhipraiti* (1.4.34), *sādhakatamam* (1.4.42), *ādhāraḥ* (1.4.45), *īpsitatamam* (1.4.49) and *svatantraḥ* (1.4.54) respectively. Sentences (8) and (13) are incorrect because they attempt to assign the categories *adhikaraṇa* and *karman* to *himavat* and *devadatta* in accordance with the semantic equivalents. Rules 1.4.31 and 1.4.34 which expressly require the assignment of *apadāna* and *karman* will be rendered without any scope of application (*niravakāśa*). Thus, what could have been semantically classed as *adhikaraṇa* and *karman* are classed as *apādāna* and *sampradāna*. These rules are both occasioned by what one may call surface constraints. Similar constraints operate in the formation of rules 1.4.27, 1.4.36, 1.4.38, 1.4.46 and 1.4.47. Rule 1.4.27 requires that a *kāraka* serving as a thing desired, when roots having the signification of *vāraṇa* are in use, is termed *apādāna*. Rule 1.4.36 assigns the category *sampradāna* to a thing one desires, when, of course, the action is denoted by *spṛh* 'to yearn'. Sentences (9), (10), (15), (21) and (22) illustrate this.

Sentences (23) through (26) are included to illustrate the aspect of *vivakṣā*. Sentence (23) uses *grāma, kāṣṭha, sthālī* and *odana* to denote respectively *apādāna, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa* and *karman*. *Kartṛ* is expressed by the verbal ending *tiP*. Sentences (24), (25) and (26) view *sthālī, odana* and *kāṣṭha* as their *kartṛ*; of course, *devadatta,* the main *kartṛ* of (23) is not used in these sentences. Commentators explain that *sthālī, odana* and *kāṣṭha* are all *kartṛ* with reference to their own actions (see above fns. 7, 8). A speaker may wish to highlight their *kartṛtva* and consequently may use sentences (24-26). It is interesting to note that there are no examples where *apādāna* and *sampradāna* are used as *kartṛ*. Patañjali, however, cites

(27) *balāhako vidyotate*
'the cloud is lightening'

parallel to sentences

(28) *balāhakād vidyotate*
'it is lightening from the clouds', and

(29) *balāhake vidyotate*
'it is lightening in the clouds'[14]

No such examples are cited for the *kartṛtva* of *sampradāna*. Even with the above examples, one must treat certain expressions as understood. Thus, (28) would be treated as *balāhakād niḥsṛtya vidyotate* 'having come out of the clouds...' where *niḥsṛtya* will be treated as understood (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*:42). Such usage of *apādāna* becomes parallel to *prāsādāt prekṣate* 'he is looking from top of the palace' where (*prāsādam*) *āruhya* 'having climbed (on top of the palace)' is to be supplied (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*:79).

I have already stated that 1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca* is residual (*śeṣa*) in nature. It states that a *kāraka* not classed as *apādāna*, etc., is classed as *karman*. A long discussion of the need for and exact scope of this rule is presented in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*Mbh.* II:413-28), especially with reference to a select list of verbs involving double objects. Thus, in

(30) *pauravaṃ gāṃ yācate*
'he asks *Paurava* for a cow', and

(31) *gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ*
'he milks the milk from the cow'

go and *payas* are objects under the provisions of 1.4.49. Rule 1.4.51 assigns the term *karman* to *Paurava* and *go* which would have been confused with category *apādāna*.

Commentators have investigated the scope of the general *kāraka* categories at length. They have scrutinized not only the general properties of these *kārakas*, they have also discussed their subtypes. For example, the *Mahābhāṣya* questions the propriety of stating additional rules specifying the category *apādāna*.[15] That is, a question is raised whether rules 1.4.25 through 1.4.31 are even required at all. According to this view, 1.4.24 alone is sufficient to handle the instances of *apādāna* covered by these later rules. To do this, one must stipulate that *apāya* 'movement away' need not just be physical; mental turning away also counts. Consequently, the source of fear (1.4.25) and the thing unbearable (1.4.26) could serve as *dhruva* for purposes of mental contact and aversion. Similar arguments are made against other rule formulations. Examples such as

(32) *dhāvato' śvāt patati*
'he is falling off the running horse'

are cited to illustrate that *dhruva* should not be interpreted in its literal sense of being fixed. Instead, it should be interpreted as point of reference for movement away. This would allow a running horse to serve as fixed

[14] *Mbh.* I, 204: *...tayoḥ paryāyeṇa vacanaṃ bhaviṣyati. vacanāśrayāc ca saṃjñā bhaviṣyati. tad yathā- balāhakād vidyotate vidyut. balāhake vidyotate. balāhako vidyotata iti.*

[15] *Mbh.* I, 250-51: *ayaṃ yogaḥ śakyo' vaktum. kathaṃ vṛkebhyo bibheti caurebhyas trāyata iti? iha tāvat-...ya eṣa manuṣyaḥ prekṣāpūrvakārī bhavati sa paśyati yadi māṃ vṛkāḥ paśyanti dhruvo me mṛtyur iti. sa buddhyā samprāpya nivartate, tatra "dhruvam apāye' pādānam" ity eva siddham...*

point for *apāya* since in a spatio-temporal continuum characterized by the act of running, the fall of the rider must have occurred at some particular point in time and space. Based upon whether the *apāya* is explicitly mentioned (*nirdiṣṭa*), indirectly included (*upātta*) or inferred, three types of *apādāna* are discussed: *nirdiṣṭaviṣaya*, *upāttaviṣaya* and *apekṣitakriya* (*VP*.III:392). Sentences (33-36) illustrate these subtypes.

(33) *grāmād āgacchati*
'...is coming from the village'

(34) *balāhakād vidyotate vidyut*
'...the lightening emanates from the clouds'

(35) *kuto bhavān?*
'where have you come from?'

(36) *pāṭalipūtrāt*
'from Pāṭalipūtra'

Pāṇini uses the word *karman* both in the sense of the object and of the action. The word *karmaṇā* in 1.4.32 *karmaṇā ...sampradānam* has been interpreted both ways. If one interprets *karmaṇā* as 'by means of an object', a *kāraka* intended by means of an object will be treated as *sampradāna*. This would qualify the village (*grāma*) of

(37) *ajāṃ grāmaṃ nayati*
'he is leading the goat to the village'

to be wrongly termed *sampradāna*. To avoid this, an appeal is made to treat *sampradāna* as carrying its etymological meaning 'he to whom something is properly given' (*samyak prakarṣeṇa dīyate yasmai*).[16] This, however, will restrict the use of *sampradāna* to actions denoted by verbs having the signification of *dā* 'to give'. The *karman* 'object' interpretation will still rule out assignment of *sampradāna* to a *kāraka* joining in an action denoted by an intransitive verb root. Consequently, *śrāddha*, *yuddha* and *pati* would not qualify for *sampradāna* in

(38) *śrāddhāya nigarhate*
'he disapproves of the *śrāddha* ritual',

(39) *yuddhāya sannahyate*
'he prepares for battle', and

(40) *patye śete*
'she reclines for her husband'.

Patañjali recommends that the word *kriyayā* 'by means of an action' should be read in the rule along with *karmaṇā*.[17] Thus, *śrāddha*, *yuddha* and *pati* will

[16] *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. I, 545: *...yadi karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānasaṃjño bhavati, evam ajāṃ nayati grāmam ity ajādibhir nayanakriyākarmabhiḥ sambadhyamānasya grāmasya sampradānasaṃjñā prasajyeta... sampradānam iti mahatyāḥ karaṇasyaitat prayojanam anvarthasaṃjñā yathā vijñāyeta samyak prakarṣeṇa dīyate yasmai tat sampradānam iti...*

[17] *Mbh*. I, 256: *kriyāgrahaṇam api kartavyam. ihāpi yathā syāt śrāddhāya nigarhate, yuddhāya sannahyate, patye śete iti.*

be entities intended by the action. But the question is: why didn't Pāṇini consider it. Besides, as Joshi says,[18] this would apply equally to *karman* 'object'. To avoid this, one may allow a conflict to obtain between *sampradāna* and *karman* which is resolvable, by 1.4.2, in favour of *karman*. Thus, in

(41) *upādhyāya gāṃ dadāti*
'he is giving the cow to the teacher'

go uniquely will be termed *karman*. Patañjali does not accept *sampradāna* as the indirect object of *dā* 'to give'.[19]

Pāṇini uses superlatives in defining *karaṇa* and *karman*. The *-tamaP* of 1.4.42 and 1.4.49 requires that only the means *par excellence* be termed *karaṇa*. Similarly, the thing desired more than anything else is to be termed *karman*. Since all *kārakas* serve as means towards accomplishing an action, they all could be termed *karaṇa*. The use of *-tamaP* prevents this. Specifically, Pāṇini assigns the term *sampradāna* to the thing desired (*īpsita*) when it participates in an action denoted by *spṛh*. Obviously the absence of *-tamaP*, in *īpsita*, takes it out of the realm of the *karman* category. Rule 1.4.27 states that a desired thing is termed *apādāna* when participating in an action denoted by roots having the signification of *vāraṇa* 'to ward off'. Now if *-tamaP* is used in 1.4.49, *māṇavaka* 'boy' would qualify for both *apādāna* and *karman* in

(42) *agner māṇavakaṃ vārayati*
'he is warding the boy off the fire'

The *karman* designation cannot prevail on the basis of *paratva* since 1.4.27 then would be left with no scope of application. This is further justification for keeping *-tamaP* in 1.4.49.

Bhartṛhari,[20] in the *Vākyapadīya* discussed three different types of *karman* 'object': *nirvartya* 'that which is brought about', *vikārya* 'that which is modified' and *prāpya* 'that which is reached'. A *nirvartya* object is one which is brought into existence. Thus, we get a sentence such as *mṛdā ghaṭaṃ karoti* 'he makes a pot with clay'. The pot here is newly brought into existence. As opposed to this, we find a sentence such as *suvarṇaṃ kuṇḍale karoti* 'he makes gold into ear-rings'. In this case, the gold attains a modified form (*vikārya*) but the material cause of the ear-rings is still the same. Instances where the material cause of a thing is totally destroyed would still be called *vikārya* although treated differently from one where the material cause is intact, as is the gold in the ear-rings. Consider *kāṣṭhaṃ bhasma karoti* 'he reduces the wood to ashes'. Here the material cause, wood, is completely destroyed. Finally, a *prāpya-karman* is beyond the effect

[18] Joshi (1975:109-10).

[19] Ibid.

[20] *VP*. III: 138: *nirvartyo vā vikāryo vā prāpyo vā sādhanāśrayaḥ, kriyāṇām eva sādhyatvāt siddharūpo' bhidhīyate.*

of the action. At least no effect of action can be seen or inferred upon it. Thus, in sentences *ādityaṃ paśyati* 'looks at the sun' and *grāmaṃ gacchati* 'goes to the village', sun and village remain unaffected by the actions of seeing and going respectively. Note that in the two earlier types, the action does affect the *karman*. In case of *nirvartya-karman*, the material attains a new identity; in *vikārya*, it may be either totally destroyed or retained.

Additionally, four subtypes of *karman* have been recognized. Consider the following sentences.

(43) *grāmaṃ gaccan tṛṇaṃ spṛśati*
'while going to the village he is touching the straw'

(44) *viṣaṃ bhuṅte*
'he is consuming poison'

(45) *māṇavakaṃ panthānaṃ pṛcchati*
'he is asking the boy the direction'

(46) *māṇavakam abhikrudhyati*
'he is angry with the boy'

Sentence (43) has *tṛṇa* 'straw' as an object which is attained with indifference (*audāsīnya*). The poison (*viṣam*) of sentence (44) is certainly not desired by the agent, but is related to the action in the same way something desired would be related; this is aptly called an instance of *anīpsita* 'undesired' *karman*. Sentence (45) illustrates an instance of *akathita* 'not stated' *karman*. Thus, *māṇavaka* 'boy' is a *karman* which cannot be covered by categories previously classed. The *karman* status of *māṇavaka* in sentence (46) is different. It represents a type of *karman* which has previously been classed as some other *kāraka*. Thus, he towards whom anger is directed is classed as *sampradāna* 'dative'. However, here *māṇavaka* is classed as *karman* even though he is the one towards whom anger is directed. Why — because the verbal root *krudh* is used with the preverb *abhi*. Consequently, what was classed as *sampradāna* now is classed as *karman*.

Commentators also recognize three types of *adhikaraṇa*:[21] *vyāpya* where the locus totally encompasses the thing located in it, *aupaśleṣika* where the locus is characterized by proximity and *vaiṣayika* where it is characterized regardless of any physical contact or nearness. Thus, we find respectively

(47) *tileṣu tailam*
'there is oil in sesame'

(48) *gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ*
'the dwelling of cowherds on the bank of the Gaṅgā' and

(49) *garau vasati*
'he is staying with the teacher'.

Kartṛ is the last *kāraka* term of the domain. It has been defined as one who participates in an action completely of his own accord. It is said to be independent (*svatantra*) in comparison to the participation of other

[21] Iyer (1969:323).

kārakas in an action. If action can be accepted as the central denotatum of a Sanskrit sentence, *kartṛ* is an a priori *kāraka*. The independence of an agent lies in the fact that it is the first *kāraka* to embark upon the accomplishment of an action. The other *kārakas* are brought into play by the agent. It is also the last *kāraka* to cease its activity (see above fn. 11).

Since an action denoted by a primitive root is distinguished from one denoted by a derived causative root, a distinction between their agents must be maintained. Pāṇini additionally assigns the term *hetu* to the *kartṛ* of a causal action. Questions have been raised whether *Devadatta* of

(50) *devadattaḥ pacati*
'Devadatta is cooking',

and *Yajñadatta* of

(51) *devadattaḥ yajñadattena pācayaty odanam*
'Devadatta has Yajñadatta cook the rice'

can be treated on par with respect to their independence (*svātantrya*). In (51), Devadatta is a prompter agent who has prompted agent Yajñadatta cook the rice. The prompter agent clearly can be viewed as more independent than the prompted one who becomes a *kāraka* in an action only after already having been prompted. Patañjali,[22] however, states that even though Yajñadatta has to wait to be prompted to act, he is independent with respect to the action of cooking in (51).

It has already been stated that based upon *vivakṣā*, a *kāraka* can be classed as *kartṛ*. Consider sentence

(52) *devadattaḥ sthālyām agninā pacaty odanam*
'Devadatta is cooking rice with fire in the pot'

The locus (*adhikaraṇa*), instrument (*karaṇa*) or object (*karman*) of (52) may be classed as *kartṛ* to yield the following sentences.

(53) *sthāly agninā pacaty odanam*
'the pot is cooking the rice with fire'

(54) *sthālyām agniḥ pacaty odanam*
'the fire is cooking the rice in the pot'

(55) *sthālyām agninā odanaḥ pacati*
'the rice is cooking in the pot by means of fire'

As is evident, the main agent, Devadatta, is not expressed in these sentences. Their passive counterparts will be as follows.

(56) *devadattena sthālyām agninā pacyata odanaḥ*
'rice is being cooked by Devadatta with fire in the pot'

(57) *sthālyā agninā pacyata odanaḥ*
'rice is being cooked by the pot with fire'

(58) *sthālyām agninā odanaḥ pacyate*
'rice is being cooked by fire in the pot'

[22] *Mbh.* I, 278: ... *pācayaty odanaṃ devadatto yajñadatteneti svatantro' sau bhavati. itarathā akurvaty api kārayatīti syāt.*

(59) *sthālyām agninā odanena pacyate*
'cooking is done by the rice in the pot with fire'

The expression of the *kāraka* relationship by nominal endings and verbal forms is not problematic in these sentences. It follows 3.1.68 *laḥ karmaṇi cā bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* which states that an affix *LA* is used after a transitive verb to express either an agent or object, and after an intransitive verb to express either agent or *bhāva*. Now consider the following sentences.

(60) *devadattaḥ hasati*
'Devadatta is laughing'

(61) *devadattena hasyate*
'id'.

(62) *devadattayajñadattau hasataḥ*
'Devadatta and Yajñadatta are laughing'

(63) *devadattayajñadattābhyām hasyate*
'Devadatta and Yajñadatta are laughing'

(64) *devadattayajñadattau grāmaṃ gacchataḥ*
'Devadatta and Yajñadatta are going to the villages'

(65) *devadattayajñadattābhyāṃ grāmo gamyate*
'the villages are being gone to by Devadatta and Yajñadatta'

Notice that the verbal root *has* 'to laugh' is intransitive. Consequently, a *LA* affix introduced after it must denote either the agent or *bhāva*. Sentence (60) has a replacement in *ti* which, in turn, expresses the agent. Sentence (61) expresses the agent with *tṛtīyā*, the third triad of *sUP*. As a result, *hasyate* of (61) is expressing the *bhāva*. Now, compare (62) and (63). Both have dual agents. In the active, where the verb is expressing the agent, its form is in dual. However, in (63) where the verb is expressing *bhāva*, it remains singular even though there are two agents. A verb root expressing *bhāva* is always put in the third person singular because *bhāva* 'root sense' itself lacks duality or plurality. As opposed to this, where agent or object is expressed, as in (64) and (65), there is an agreement of number and person in the verbs.

Bhaṭṭoji[23] explains that when a *kāraka* other than an agent is treated as agent because of *vivakṣā*, an additional meaning is expressed, explained as *saukaryātiśaya* 'extreme facility'. This is the quality which enables an object, instrument or locus, when classed as agent, to accomplish the act as an agent. The fact that what was object, etc., can be viewed as agent has consequences for the denotatum of *LA*. We know that a *LA* is introduced after transitive roots when agent or object is denoted. However, when what was object becomes agent, we find that the verb has lost its object and hence the *LA* of a transitive verb expresses *kartṛ* or *bhāva* just as it does with intransitive roots. That is, a transitive root whose object is, for reasons of *saukaryātiśaya*,

[23] *SK.* III:609-26.

treated as agent, becomes intransitive. Once intransitive, its *LA* can be introduced to express only agent or root sense. Thus we get:

(66) *odanaṃ pacati*
'he is cooking rice'

(67) *odanaḥ pacati*
'the rice is cooking'

(68) *odanena pacyate*
'the rice is being cooked'

(69) *odanaḥ pacyate*
'rice is cooking'

This last sentence is problematic. It has an agent which was object. Consequently, its verb is now intransitive and must either express agent or *bhāva*. Now, what is being expressed by the verb of (69)? If *bhāva*, then why is the agent *odana* still in the nominative; if agent, then why is *yaK* introduced? Pāṇini's rule 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ* informs us that an agent is treated as object when the action of the agent is identical with an action which has the object as its locus. An action is treated as having its object as locus when the object is affected by the action. The rice is the locus of the action of cooking since the rice, when cooked, undergoes changes such as *viklitti* 'softening'. Note that 3.1.87 is an extension rule whereby something which was not available is made available and what is made available is operation (*kārya*). In sentences (68) and (69), the verb is intransitive. Consequently, it will express either agent or *bhāva*. Affix *yaK* is introduced before an *ātmanepada* affix when *karman* or *bhāva* is being expressed (1.3.9 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ)*. Since the verb of (69) is intransitive and *odana*, the agent, is in the nominative, the verb must express the agent. Given this, however, the form would be (67) *odanaḥ pacati* and not (69). To account for (69), Pāṇini, by 3.1.87, extends *karman* status to the agent which is expressed by the verb. This extension results in the introduction of *yaK*, etc., so that (69) can be derived.

One may ask here why such an extension cannot be made for (68) where (*odana*, the agent, marks an activity similar to an object, as provided for by 3.1.87. First of all, in (68), the *LA* is introduced to express *bhāva*, not agent. Secondly, the agent is treated as if it were an object only when one wishes to view it as an object. Otherwise, one would derive (68) only. Furthermore, examples such as (69) are cited as having an addition: *svayam eva* 'just by itself', which, in turn, denotes *saukaryātiśaya*. When *saukaryātiśaya* is not expressed, when one does not wish to view the agent as an object, one remains with (68).

Commentators explain this process of treating the agent as object as *karmavadbhāva*. This is only possible with reference to actions which have object as their locus (*karmasthakriya*). Thus, *pac* 'to cook' and *bhid* 'to split' are actions which have, for example, *odana* 'rice' and *kāṣṭha* 'wood' as their

locus. Now consider the verbal root *gam* 'to go'. The action denoted by this verb is located not in the object of going, such as *grāma* 'village', but in the agent, the one who goes. Similarly, the action denoted by *smṛ* 'to remember' has its locus again in the agent. Such agents cannot be treated as object. This blocks sentences such as

(70) **grāmo gamyate svayam eva*
'the village, by itself, is gone to'.

Let us now discuss the nominal endings (*vibhakti*) which Pāṇini introduces after items termed nominal stems (*prātipadika*: 1.2.45 *arthavad...*, 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*). A sentence may entail relations which may not be captured by the *kāraka* categories. I shall refer to these as non-*kāraka* relations. These relations are purely notional as distinct from *kāraka* relations which are grammatical. For example, in

(71) *vṛkṣasya parṇāni patanti*
'the leaves of the tree are falling'

vṛkṣa 'tree' is not a *kāraka* as it does not contribute anything towards accomplishing the action of falling (*patana*). Consequently, *vṛkṣa* does not relate to the action as a *kāraka*. Pāṇini introduces nominal endings to express both *kāraka* and non-*kāraka* relations.

Rule 2.3.1 *anabhihite* governs the introduction of nominal endings. It states that a nominal ending should be introduced only when relations denoted by it are not already expressed by something else. Commentators[24] explain that the denotatum of a nominal ending may be expressed by means of a *tiṄ* 'verbal ending' (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*), *kṛt* 'primary suffix' (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*), *taddhita* 'secondary suffix' (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) or *samāsa* 'compound'. Consider, for example, the following sentences.

(72) *kaṭaḥ kriyate*
'a mat is being made'

(73) *kṛtaḥ kaṭaḥ*
'a mat has been made'

(74) *śatyaḥ aśvaḥ*
'a horse bought for a hundred'

(75) *prāptodako grāmaḥ*
'a village to which water has reached'

The above examples have their objects expressed by means of a *tiṄ*, *kṛt*, *taddhita* and *samāsa* respectively. Thus, the object is expressed by the *tiṄ* affix *te* (3.4.69) in *kriyate* in (72), and by the *kṛt* affix *Kta* (3.2.101) in *kṛtaḥ* in (73). Consequently, *kaṭaḥ* in the above two examples cannot express the object by means of the second triplet of nominal ending (*-am*; 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). The *taddhita* affix *yaT* (5.2.1) expresses the *karman* in *śatyaḥ*

[24]*Kāś*. II, 151: *...kenānabhihite? tiṅkṛttaddhitasamāsaiḥ... vakṣyati "karmaṇi dvitīyā" kaṭaṃ karoti. grāmaṃ gacchati... kriyate kaṭaḥ. kṛtaḥ. kaṭaḥ. śatyaḥ. śatikaḥ prāptodako grāmaḥ.*

while the same is expressed by the compound *prāptodakaḥ* in (75). It is clear from the above that neither a *kāraka* nor a non-*kāraka* relationship can be expressed by a nominal ending if it has already been expressed otherwise. The domain of the nominal endings extends up to 2.3.73 *caturthī cāśiṣyāyuṣya*... The following is a select listing of rules enumerating nominal endings.

2.3.1 *anabhihite*
'when not expressed otherwise'
2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*
'*dvitīyā* 'second triplet' when *karman* object is not expressed otherwise'
2.3.4 *antarāntareṇa yukte*
'*dvitīyā* when *antarā* 'in between' and *antareṇa* are co-occurring'
2.3.5 *saptamīpañcamyau kārakamadhye*
'*saptamī* 'seventh triplet' or *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet' after items denoting *kāla* 'time' or *adhvā* 'space' between two *kārakas* 'participants'
2.3.6 *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā*
'*dvitīyā* when a *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.83 *karma*...) co-occurs'
2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*
'*caturthī* 'fourth triplet' when *sampradāna* is to be expressed'
2.3.15 *tumarthāc ca bhāvavacanāt*
'*caturthī* after an item denoting *bhāva* 'action' similar to *-tumUN*'
2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*
'*tṛtīyā* 'third triplet' when *kartṛ* or *karman* is not expressed otherwise'
2.3.19 *sahayukte' pradhāne*
'*tṛtīyā* after an item denoting *apradhāna* 'secondary' co-occurring with *saha* 'with'
2.3.23 *hetau*
'*tṛtīyā* when *hetu* 'cause' is to be expressed'
2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*
'*pañcamī* 'fifth triplet' when *apādāna* 'ablative' is to be expressed'
2.3.29 *enapā dvitīyā*
'*dvitīyā* after an item co-occurring with an item ending in *enaP* (5.3.35 *enab*...)'
2.3.32 *pṛthagvinānānābhis tṛtīyā' nyatarasyām*
'*tṛtīyā* optionally after an item co-occurring with *pṛthak* 'separate' *vinā* 'without' or *nānā* 'various'
2.3.36 *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca*
'*saptamī* also when *adhikaraṇa* 'locus' is to be expressed'
2.3.41 *yataś ca nirdhāraṇam*
'*ṣaṣṭhī* 'sixth triplet', and also *saptamī*, after an item denoting a group from among which one is singled out (*nirdhāraṇa*)'
2.3.46 *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā* '*prathamā* 'first triplet' when *prātipadikārtha* 'nominal stem notion' alone is to be expressed'

2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*
'*prathamā* also when *sambodhana* 'address' is to be expressed'
2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*
'*ṣaṣṭhī* when *śeṣa* 'remainder' is to be expressed'
2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛtī*
'*ṣaṣṭhī* after an item co-occurring with an item ending in a *Kṛt* when *kartṛ* or *karman* is to be expressed'
2.3.66 *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*
'*ṣaṣṭhī* to express *karman* alone after an item co-occurring with another item ending in a *kṛt* when *kartṛ* and *karman* both are to be expressed'

The above select listing cites nominal endings with their semantic definitions, syntactic constraints and co-occurrence conditions. The order of enumeration is *dvitīyā, tṛtīyā, caturthī, pañcamī, saptamī, prathamā* and *ṣaṣṭhī.* Here again Pāṇini abstracts generalizations from usage and orders adjustments by means of rules which could be termed exceptions and residues. The scope of nominal endings is very wide and complex. It is wide because the endings express both *kāraka* and non-*kāraka* relations. It is complex because, in addition to the constraint of 2.3.1 *anabhihite,* the introduction of nominal endings is further constrained by syntactic, syntactico-semantic, semantic and formal co-occurrence restrictions. Consider, for example, the following sentences.

(76) *kaṭaṃ karoti*
'he is making a mat'
(77) *antareṇa puruṣakāraṃ na kiṃcīl labhyate*
'nothing can be gotten without diligent effort'
(78) *māsam adhīte*
'he studies for the entire month'
(79) *ihastho' yam iṣvāsaḥ krośāl lakṣyaṃ vidhyati*
'sitting here this archer can shoot a target at a distance of two miles'
(80) *puṣpebhyo vrajati*
'he is going for flowers'
(81) *pākāya vrajati*
'he is going to do the cooking'
(82) *putreṇa sahāgataḥ pitā*
'the father arrived with the son'
(83) *goṣu duhyamānāsu gataḥ*
'he left while the cows were being milked'
(84) *rudataḥ prāvrājīt*
'he set out to become a wandering ascetic, not heeding the cries of relatives'
(85) *rudati prāvrājīt*
'id.'
(86) *gavāṃ kṛṣṇā sampannakṣīratamā*

'among cows black are richest in milk'

(87) *goṣu kṛṣṇā sampannakṣīratamā*
'id.'

(88) *māthurāḥ pāṭaliputrakebhyaḥ āḍhyatarāḥ*
'the people of Mathurā are richer than the people of Pāṭaliputra'

(89) *rājñaḥ puruṣasya gṛham*
'the house of the king's servant'

Sentence (79) uses *dvitīyā* to express *karman,* a grammatical relation. This, in turn, becomes the general denotatum of *dvitīyā.* Pāṇini generalizes the use of *tṛtīyā, caturthī, pañcamī* and *saptamī* to express *kartṛ, karaṇa, sampradāna, apādāna* and *adhikaraṇa* respectively. Each generalization is followed by adjustments to accommodate particular usage. For example, (77) uses *dvitīyā* in *puruṣakāram* 'diligent effort' not to express *karman* but to meet the dictates of a formal co-occurrence condition characterized by the use of *antareṇa* 'without'. One may interpret this use of *dvitīyā* as one governed by *antarā* 'in between' and *antareṇa.*

The use of *tṛtīyā* in (82) similarly is governed by *saha* 'with'. Thus, *tṛtīyā* with a general denotatum of *kartṛ* and *karaṇa* may be used to meet a co-occurrence condition. Sentence (78) specifies *atyantasaṃyoga* 'continuous connection' as a condition for introducing *dvitīyā* after items denoting *kāla* 'time' or *adhvā* 'road, space'. Note that the denotatum of *dvitīyā* can be interpreted here as *atyantasaṃyoga* only with reference to time or space. However Pāṇini also provides for the introduction of either a *saptamī* or a *pañcamī* after items denoting time or space between two *kārakas.* The *pañcamī* in *krośāt* in (79) thus signifies the distance between the *kartṛ* (*iṣvāsaḥ*) and the *karman* (*lakṣya*). We already know that *caturthī* is introduced generally to denote *sampradāna* (2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*). However consider (80) where its use is complex. It denotes the object of an action for which another action is intended. Sentence (81) is similar. Here *caturthī* is introduced after *pāka,* a nominal stem which ends in an affix denoting action (*bhāva*) identical with the denotatum of *-tumUN.*

The use of *pañcamī* in (79) is restricted by a syntactico-semantic condition: the denotation of time and space in between two *kārakas.* The seventh triplet (*saptamī*) generally is considered to denote locus (*adhikaraṇa*: 2.3.36). However it is also used after a nominal stem whose underlying action characterizes another action. Thus, the action of going denoted by *gam* is characterized by the accompanying action of the milking of cows. Sentences (84-85) illustrate that genitive optionally can be used to signify the same, providing *anādara* 'disrespect' is denoted. This denotatum of *saptamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī* is purely notional. These endings also can be used to denote *nirdhāraṇa* 'singling out one from among many' as (86-87) exemplify. However, 2.3.41 *yataś ca nirdhāraṇam* allows *nirdhāraṇa* by either locative or genitive only when the entities from among which one is

singled out are similar. For singling out one from among many dissimilar things, one must use *pañcamī*, as is clear from (88). Sentence (89) illustrates the residual use of *ṣaṣṭhī*, a residue covering what has not yet been covered by earlier rules.

The preceding information reveals some interesting features of the use of nominal endings.

(*a*) nominal endings denote both *kāraka* as well as non-*kāraka* relations,
(*b*) they do not denote a single fixed semantic or syntactic relation,
(*c*) there is certainly no one-to-one correspondence between endings and their denotata,
(*d*) rules for nominal endings generally are enumerated in the reverse order of *kāraka* rules, and
(*e*) selectional restrictions imposed on nominal endings are complex because they lexicalize diverse syntactico-semantic categories.

Considerable discussion has occurred in modern linguistics concerning the level of representation of *kārakas* and their lexicalization by means of nominal endings. Cardona[25] views the *kārakas* as constituting a level which mediates between semantic relations and actual sentences. This view essentially is correct. However, we run into problems when we try to determine whether Pāṇini's *kāraka* categories are syntactic or notional. I have already stated that nominal endings express both *kāraka* and non-*kāraka* relations. Since Pāṇini maintains a distinction between the *kāraka* and non-*kāraka* relations, and also since the non-*kāraka* relations are nothing but notional, the *kārakas* must represent a non-notional relation. Can this non-notional relation be considered grammatical? The answer must be in the affirmative.

First of all, if Pāṇini had intended his *kāraka* categories to be based on semantics, he would have done better by treating *kāraka* and *vibhakti* rules together. This would have made his description much more economical. He did not do so, however, and we can only conclude that this has a definite bearing on the nature of his theory. Secondly, his separation of *kāraka* and *vibhakti* introduces yet another distinction into his system which cannot be ignored. Pāṇini does not subscribe to the notion of a one-to-one correspondence between the categories of *kāraka* and their lexicalization by means of *vibhakti*. Finally, if Pāṇini had not sought to establish a clear-cut distinction between syntactic as opposed to notional relations, he would certainly have included notional relations in the categories he set up. The genitive, for example, is not a *kāraka* in Sanskrit. The nominative also is missing from the list of *kārakas*. These omissions are intentional. In a theory of derivation which treats action as the central denotatum of a sentence, anything which is not directly relatable to action automatically becomes secondary.

[25] Cardona (unpublished (a)).

If it is the non-relatability of the genitive to action which deprives genitive of the status of a *kāraka*, it is the separation of the levels of *kāraka* and *vibhakti* which excludes the nominative from the status of case. Pāṇini clearly was intent upon separating lexicalization of relations from the conceptual categories of case. Confusion over the question of whether his *kāraka* categories are semantic or syntactic has been due largely to the fact that he defines them in semantic as well as syntactic terms. Confusion also may be due to Pāṇini's employment of certain endings, which are generally considered to express non-*kāraka* relations, to express *kāraka* relations. Consider the following sentences.

(90) *mātuḥ smarati*
'he is remembering his mother'

(91) *bhavataḥ kaṭaḥ kartavyaḥ*
'the mat should be made by you'

Sentence (90) has *mātuḥ,* the *karman* of *smṛ* 'to remember', in the genitive. Sentence (91) has *bhavataḥ* a *kartṛ,* in the genitive. This makes genitive an ending expressing a *kāraka* relation (*kāraka-vibhakti*). However, this does not bring to genitive the status of a *kāraka*. Pāṇini could not afford to mix levels, as a distinction between notional and grammatical relations on the one hand, and their expression by means of nominal endings on the other is crucial to his theory of grammatical descriptions.

10

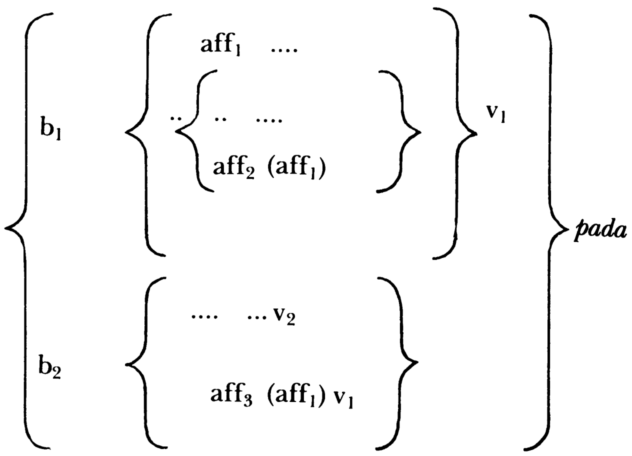
Derivational System

Pāṇini, as discussed in chapter 3, uses word derivation as the most economical tool for deriving sentences. In doing this, he makes generalizations, abstracts the *CS* of sentences, inserts lexical items and introduces affixes to denote diverse syntactico-semantic relations. He then follows a set of operations which ultimately yield a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*). Thus, the highest derivate in the Pāṇinian system is a *pada*. This, however, should not give one the impression that the Pāṇinian *pada* is a morphological entity. Since a *pada* is derived with reference to the *CS* of the sentence in which it occurs, it is a syntactic unit. These units are of two types depending upon whether the *pada* ends in a *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) or in a *tiN* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*).

The operational aspect of the Pāṇinian derivative system focuses mainly on bases (*prakṛti*), affixes (*pratyaya*) and subsequent operations (*kārya*). Bases form the primary input in the grammar. They are of two kinds, *dhātu* 'verb root' and *prātipadika* 'nominal stem.' Roots and nominal stems are also of two types, basic as well as derived. Basic roots are those which have been enumerated in the *DP*. The *GP* has a listing of basic stems. Derived roots are those which end in affixes *saN*, etc. (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). Compounds (*samāsa*) and items which end in affixes *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) and *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) constitute the derived nominal bases. I shall use the term base-input to refer to nonderived bases. The affixes which Pāṇini manipulates to derive bases and *padas* are *kṛt, taddhita, strī* 'feminine' (4.1.3 *striyām*), *sUP* and *tiN*. The last two are referred to as *vibhakti* (1.4.103 *vibhaktiś ca*).

The following schema shows the types of forms derivable in Pāṇini; one must read across taking one item at a time.
The key to the symbols is as follows:

b_1 = *prātipadika*
b_2 = *dhātu*
v_1 = *sUP*
v_2 = *tiN*
aff_1 = *strīpratyaya*
aff_2 = *taddhita*
aff_3 = *kṛt*



The above schema will yield seven combinations.

1. $b_1 + v_1$
2. $b_1 + aff_1 + v_1$
3. $b_1 + aff_2 + v_1$
4. $b_1 + aff_2 + aff_1 + v_1$
5. $b_2 + v_2$
6. $b_2 + aff_3 + v_1$
7. $b_2 + aff_3 + aff_1 + v_1$

I shall illustrate the Pāṇinian derivational process by systematically discussing the derivational history of the above seven types of derivates. Additionally, some highly complex derivations will be taken up to further support our observations. A set of derivational conventions will be presented along the way. The symbols I shall use, in addition to those already discussed, are as follows.

+ concatenation
input on left of the arrow
$(x \rightarrow y)$ *x* becomes *y*
= output on right of the arrow
marks the process of reference
(*AD*) *aṅga* domain
(*CD*) controlling domain
(*OD*) obligatory domain
(*PD*) *pada* domain

Capitalised symbols not enclosed in ( ) are dummy symbols (*its*); they are later realized as zero.

Pāṇinian word derivation starts with a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) or a verbal root (*dhātu*) as its base-input and terminates with the derivation of a word (*pada*). The following is the derivational history of two Sanskrit sentences with two words each.

(1) *kumāraḥ* / (2) *kumārī* (3) *pacati*
'the boy / girl cooks'

kumāraḥ 'the boy'	*kumārī* 'the girl'	*pacati* 'cooks'
(a) *kumāra*→	*kumāra* →	*pac* →
1.2.45 (*CD*)	1.2.45 (*CD*)	1.3.1 (*CD*) *bhūvadayo*...
arthavad ...	4.1.1 (*OD*)	3.1.91 (*OD*) *dhātoḥ*
4.1.1 (*OD*) *ṅyāp*...	4.1.3 *striyām*	3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*
4.1.2 *svaujas*...	4.1.20 *vayasi*...	
# 1.4.100 *tiṅas*...		
1.4.22 *dvyekayor*...		
1.4.101 *tāny eka*...		
1.4.102 *supaḥ*		
1.4.103 *vibhaktiś ca*		
2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha*...		
= *kumāra* + *sU*	= *kumāra* + *ṄīP*	= *pac* + *LAṬ* →
(b) *kumāra* + *sU* →	(b) *kumāra* + *ṄīP*	(b) *pac* + *LAṬ*
1.3.2 (*CD*) *upadeśe*...	1.3.8 (*CD*) *laśakv*...	3.4.69 *laḥ*...
1.3.9 *tasya*...	1.3.9	3.4.77 *lasya*
		3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*...
		1.4.99 *laḥ parasmai*
		1.4.100-102 (*CD*)
+ *kumāra* + *s* →	= *kumāra* + *ī*	= *pac* + *tiP*
1.4.13 *yasmāt*...	*kumāra* + *ī*	
6.4.1 *aṅgasya* (*AD*)	1.4.13 (*CD*)	
	6.4.1 (*AD*)	
	6.4.129 *bhasya*	(*c*) *pac* + *tiP*
	# 1.4.18 *yaci*...	
	6.4.148 *yasyeti*...	1.3.3 (*CD*) *halantyam*
		1.3.9 *tasya*...
= *kumāra* + *s*	= *kumār* (*a* → ∅) + *ī*	= *pac* + *ti*
	= *kumārī*	
(c) *kumāra* + *s*	*kumārī* + *sUP*	*pac* + *ti* →
1.4.14 *supti̇ṅ*... (*CD*)		3.4.113 *tiṅśit*...
8.1.16 *padasya* (*P*)		3.1.68 *kartari*...
8.2.66 *sasajuṣo* ...		*an instance of
	kumārī + s (*UP* → ∅)	reverse scanning
= *kumāra* + *rŨ*	= *kumārī* + *s*	
(d) *kumāra* + *rŨ*		= *pac* + *ŚaP* + *ti*
1.3.2 (*CD*)	*kumārī* + *s*	
1.3.9	1.2.41 *apṛkta* ... (*CD*)	6.1.68 *halṅyā*...
= *kumāra* + *r*		= *pac* + *ŚaP* + *ti*
8.3.15 *khara-*	= *kumārī* + (*s* → ∅)	1.3.3
vasāna...	= *kumārī*	1.3.8
		1.3.9

= *kumāraḥ* = *kumārī* *pac + a + ti*
= *pacati*

The preceding is a generalized listing of rule applications which turns *kumāra* 'boy' and *pac* 'cook' into *kumārah* and *pacati* so that we could realize the sentence *kumāraḥ pacati.* If we compute the ordering of domains manipulated above, we find the following.

kumāraḥ CD + OD + CD + ... + CD + AD + PD
pacati CD + OD + CD + OD + CD + PD

This suggests that the grammar undertakes derivations by applying rules in the controlling domain and terminates the derivations by applying rules in the *pada* domain. Constant reference is made to the controlling domain. The application of rules in the above schema is adopted from the traditional descriptions. However, even a cursory look at the derivative stages of *kumāraḥ* and *pacati* poses the following questions.

How is the derivative mechanism activated?

What prompts access to or exit from various domains and interior domains?

What traffic rules and scanning conventions are optionally or obligatorily followed to arrive at the terminal string?

How do we know which rules are going to apply to a given string?

A thorough examination of a complete derivational history of various forms enables us to arrive at certain important generalizations regarding the functioning of this model.

4. This model cannot be manipulated unless the *CS* is clearly specified. The basic content units in the *CS* must be matched by available items in the lexicon and a selection must be made.
5. The selected lexical items are then passed on to the *CD* for identification in terms of definitions. Such defined lexical items are then recognized as base-inputs and only then are charged with the function of activating the derivation mechanism.
6. Base-inputs must gain access to the *OD* where the definitional terms of these inputs must prompt access to an interior domain. Outputs of this as well as other domains are again subjected to definitional identifications since only definitions can prompt access to or signal the possibilities of further rule applications in a domain for all subsequent operations.

In deriving *kumāraḥ* and *pacati*, we selected *kumāra* 'boy' and *pac* 'to cook' from the lexicon in accordance with a *CS* which can be outlined as *x* does *y* at a given time *z*. The *CD* identifies them as *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' and *dhātu* 'verb root' respectively. When used as an input to the *OD, kumāra* is prompted access to the interior domain headed by 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* 'after that which ends in *Ṅī, āP* or else is a nominal stem'. On the other hand, *pac* is prompted access to the interior domain headed by rule 3.1.91

dhātoḥ 'after that which is a verb root'. This access is justified since these governing rules contain the definitional terms *prātipadika* and *dhātu* which have been used to identify the inputs.

At this stage, 4.1.2 *svaujas...* becomes applicable in case of *kumāra*. Similarly after 3.1.123 *vartamāne laṭ* has introduced the *LAṬ* affix, rules 3.4.77-78 *lasya-tiptasjhi...* apply to *pac* + *LAṬ*. However, a serious problem is encountered by these strings in the selection of elements enumerated here. Rule 4.1.2 enumerates a set of twenty-one elements (abbreviated *sUP*); 3.4.78 enumerates eighteen (abbreviated *tiṄ*) which replace *LA* members. How and why should we choose one element out of all these?

A referential index (see chapter 4 for details) of *sUP* and *tiṄ* brings rules relating to *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada, kāraka* and *vibhakti* and *LA* placement and operation close to rules enumerating *sUP* and *tiṄ*. As a result, we can select *sU* after *kumāra* and *tiP* after *pac* where the former is a nominal inflection expressing the nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*) and the latter is a verbal inflection which replaces *LAṬ* and expresses the agent (*kartṛ*). These applications yield the following string:

kumāra + *sU pac* + *tiP*

The symbols indicated by capital letters are what Pāṇini termed *it*. Pāṇini has manipulated such symbols for various metalinguistic purposes. Once they have executed the function they are charged with, they get deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* 'non-appearance of that which is an *it*'. The *U* in *sU* and the *P* in *tiP* are termed *it* by rules 1.3.2-3 and are subsequently deleted by 1.3.9, yielding *kumāra* + *s pac* + *ti*.

Since *it*-deletion is a fairly regular phenomenon, we shall propose the following convention.

7. Base-inputs containing items designated as *it* must undergo *it*-deletion. Furthermore, if any new form is introduced either as a substitute or an addition, it must also be examined for possible *it*-deletion.

For further explanations in the derivational history of this string, I shall take *kumāra* + *s* and *pac* + *ti* separately. In order to proceed to the next stage of derivation, we have to scan through the *CD*.

8. Scanning the *CD* takes precedence whenever: access to or exit from a domain is sought; a rule containing a technical term or its denotations becomes applicable; or a rule application has been accomplished.

When we scan this domain with our string *kumāra* + *s*, we find that the definition *apṛkta* is applicable in case of *s*. Our scanning for a rule containing the definitional term *apṛkta* starts with 6.1.1 since there is no domain which contains it in its governing rule, and the section of the grammar beginning with 6.1.1 immediately follows the obligatory domain which yielded this string. Since this scanning did not offer any rule application, it is necessary to return to the *CD*.

Aṅga is the next definition. It requires that this string be sent to the *aṅga* domain which is governed by a rule that contains this definitional term. Scanning through this domain reveals that no rules can be applied, and thus recourse is again taken to the controlling domain, where our string is identified as a *pada*. This prompts access to our last domain where, by the application of 8.2.66, the *s* is replaced by *rU*. After *it* -deletion of *U*, the *r* is changed into *ḥ* by 8.3.15. Thus *r* → *ḥ* and we obtain the terminal string *kumāraḥ*, a *pada*.

As is obvious from the preceding discussion, recourse to the *CD* occurs more than once. This must be the case since this domain contains definition and interpretation rules which signal the direction a particular derivation has to follow. Also whenever the process of reference is triggered, this is the domain which finally resolves problems regarding rule application. It is imperative then that any discussion about the derivational mechanism of this grammar must include precise statements concerning recourse to this domain. I have already outlined conditions under which this domain takes precedence. As far as scanning is concerned, the following conventions apply.

9. Each time recourse is taken to this domain, scanning starts with the first rule and terminates with the last. Also, whenever a particular definition is selected to be in force, all of its denotations, exceptions, together with other operation rules related to it, become operative.

Stage (b) of the preceding derivation poses a procedural question. Our string was sent to the *aṅga* domain upon the occurrence of the *aṅga* definition, but there was no rule application. Doesn't this lack of rule application render this a vacuous step? We have to remember here that the definitional device of sending inputs to appropriate domains for possible rule application is a general device. It does not guarantee rule application in every case. However, failure to observe this .convention necessarily involves risks. For example, let us take the derivational history of *kumārī* 'girl' which underlies the same base-input and accordingly is sent to the same interior domain of 4.1.1. Rule 4.1.2 does not apply to this since our intent is different. Instead, 4.1.20 prescribes the feminine suffix *ṄīP*. After *it*-deletion we are left with the string *kumāra* + *ī*, which is identified as an *aṅga*. When prompted access to the *aṅga* domain, 6.4.148 applies and causes deletion of the terminal *a* in *kumāra*. Incidentally, 6.4.148 is contained in the interior domain headed by 6.4.129 *bhasya*. Does our string meet the requirements of being called a *bha*? This again is an instance where only recourse to the process of reference could resolve the problem. That is, tracing the term origin *bha* would lead us to the *CD* where 1.4.18 will furnish the required information. The output at this stage is *kumār* + *ī* = *kumārī*.

This output is sent to the 4.1.1 domain and 4.1.2 results in the selection

of *sU* which undergoes *it*-deletion. The *s* is then defined as an *apṛkta* and is finally deleted by 6.1.68. After all regular steps are taken with *kumārī* and the absence of any further rule application noted, it is recognized as a *pada*. It is interesting to note here that the 4.1.1 domain offers derivative choices to its inputs in such a way that if the option offered by 4.1.2 is not used by the base-inputs, the later options would yield an output that will have to be sent to this domain again (of course, after all operations regarding those choices have been exhausted). The choices are *sUP*, feminine and *taddhita* (patronymic) affixation. By the way these choices work, one is tempted to draw a parallel with the cyclic application of T-rules in the transformational-generative (*TG*) grammar. Understanding fully well that one cannot find a real parallel between the *TG* and the Pāṇinian model, this aspect of derivative choices is intriguingly close. However, there is one significant difference. In Pāṇini, inputs which do not opt for the 4.1.2 choice definitely will have to return to this interior domain again after operations relating to subsequent choices have been exhausted. Unlike this, a *TG* rule cycle may or may not predict such an operation.

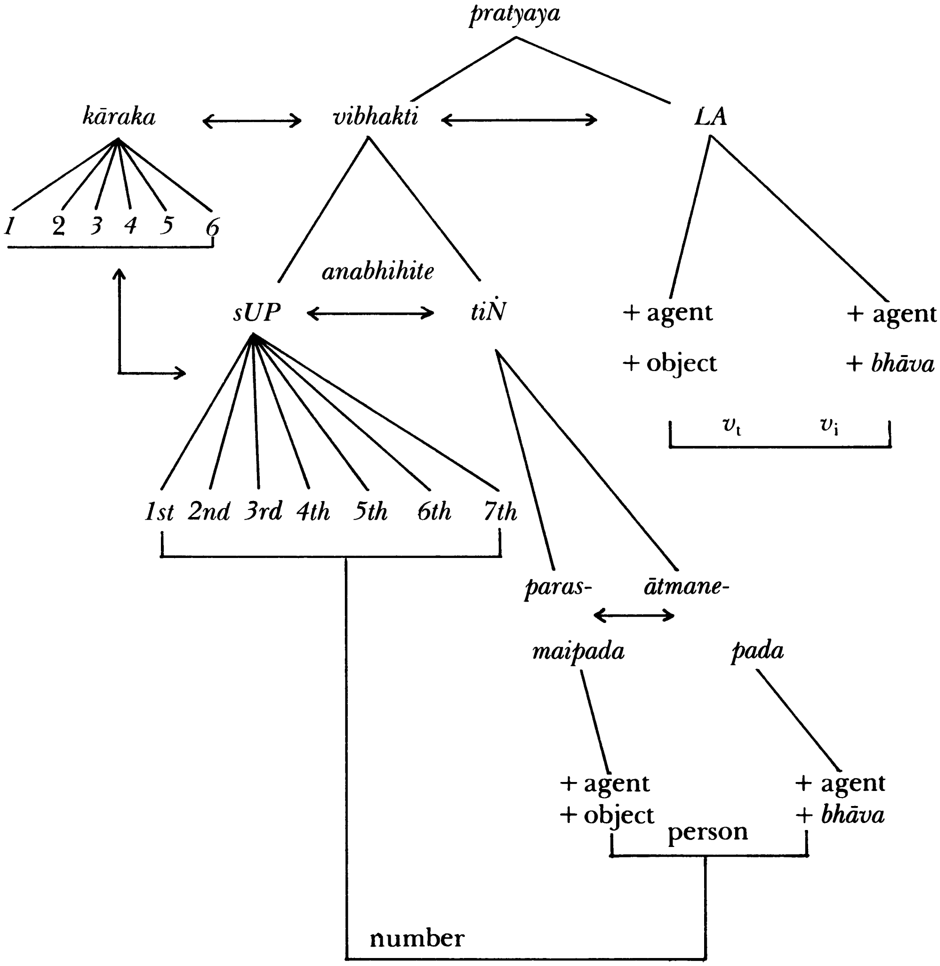
Let us now return to stage (c) of our verbal *pada pacati*. Here, after the *it* deletion of *P*, 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam* applies and thus, *ti* gets the designation *sārvadhātuka*. As opposed to the global definitions contained in the *CD*, this is a local definition and hence, it must have local application. As we can see in the derivational history of this form, 3.1.68 *kartari śap* applies. The result of this rule application is the insertion of *ŚaP* between *pac* and *ti*. The rest is easy because *pac* + *a* + *ti* → *pacati* itself becomes the terminal string in the absence of any further rule application.

Rules 3.1.68 and 3.4.113 are both contained in the same interior domain, yet 3.1.68, which is listed earlier, applies later. How do we know that we have to resort to reverse scanning and that too in the same domain? If 3.1.68 applies later, why didn't Pāṇini put it at the end of the domain? To answer the second question first, we can say that the Pāṇinian rule ordering is based on both extrinsic as well as intrinsic principles. Furthermore, rule ordering is sensitive to specific operations and desired derivational results rather than the seriality involved in their placement. The first question appears to be difficult but actually is very simple to answer. We have already seen how *tiṄ* replacements of *LA* relate to various sections of the grammar. Actually the terms *kartṛ* in 3.1.68 and *sārvadhātuka* in 3.4.113 are interrelated. They both are joined with the context of *LA* replacement and *tiṄ* selection. Explaining how we reach 3.1.68 from 3.4.113 is again the subject matter of the referential indices. In accordance with the convention we have already discussed, the term origin *sārvadhātuka* must be traced. It is interesting to note that for the application of 3.1.68, *sārvadhātuka* is one of the required conditions.

It has been explained in connection with the selection of *sUP* and *tiṄ*

that proper selection requires retrieving necessary information from elsewhere by means of referential indices. *Sūtras* brought close to the context of rules 4.1.2 and 3.4.78 share a surprisingly high degree of interdependency. It establishes beyond doubt that the selection of *sUP* and *tiṄ* is made not only with reference to each other but also with reference to the *CS* of sentences. The following flow chart reveals some important aspects of this interdependency.

10.



dependency in selection

Key:

v_t verb transitive
v_i verb intransitive

Note here that interdependency is relatively more abstract on the higher level. For example, *kāraka* categories are basically abstract. The *LA* affixes are comparatively less abstract. The denotata of the *kārakas* are expressed by means of *vibhaktis* and other affixes. The *LA* affixes are similarly destined to be replaced by *tiṄ*. Pāṇini formulates 2.3.1 *anabhihite* to safeguard against multiple expression of syntactic relations. It also serves as a device to indicate derivational options available to a string. The question now arises whether a *sUP*, *tiṄ* or some other affix should first express a given *kāraka* relation. It is my understanding that a nominal ending does not have a choice of expressing a given *kāraka* relation first. This understanding is based on the following two points.

11. The Pāṇinian derivational schema operates with reference to the *CS* of sentences. Since the central denotatum of a sentence is action and also since action is denoted by a verb root, it alone has the first option of expressing a *kāraka* relation.
12. The restriction of 2.3.1 *anabhihite* is imposed upon the selection of *sUP*. Naturally, *sUP* cannot avail itself of the first option to express a given *kāraka* relation.

I shall now discuss the derivational history of five *taddhita* derivates which illustrates the complexity of derived nominals and reveals some interesting aspects of the Pāṇinian derivational system.

13. *gārgiḥ* 'direct descendant of Garga'

(*a*) *garga*	→	1.2.45 *arthavad...*
		4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
		4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
		4.1.82 *samarthānām...*
		4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*
		4.1.95 *ata iñ*
		4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*
	=	*garga* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*
(*b*) *garga* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*	→	1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
		2.4.71 *supo...*
	=	*garga* + (*Ṅas* → ∅) + *iÑ*
	=	*garga* + *iÑ*
(*c*) *garga* + *iÑ*	→	1.3.3 *halantyam*
		1.3.9 *tasya*
	=	*garga* + *i*(*Ñ* → ∅)
	=	*gārga* + *i*
(*d*) *garga* + *i*	→	1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
		6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
		6.4.129 *bhasya*
		6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*
	=	*garg*(*a* → ∅) + *i*
	=	*garg* + *i*

(*e*) *garg + i*	→	7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv...*
		# 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*
	=	*g(a → ā) rg + i*
	=	*gārgi*
(*f*) *gārgi*	→	1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
		4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
		4.1.2 *svaujas...*
	=	*gārgi + sU...*
	=	*gārgiḥ*

The affix *iÑ* in the above derivation has been introduced after *garga* + *Ṅas*, a *pada*. This may not seem proper in view of 4.1.1 which serves as a heading rule (*adhikāra*) in rules dealing with *taddhita* affixes. Normally one would expect a nominal stem, or a form ending in feminine affix (*Ṅī*, *āP*), to be the input. The requirement that a *pada* should form the input is laid down by 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* where *samartha* refers to a syntactically related *pada*. That this *pada* should end in the genitive is inferred from the variable reference (*tasya* of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*). This rule also specifies the denotatum of affix *aṆ* to which *iÑ* is an exception. Incidentally, since a nominal *pada* is derived by introducing *sUP* after a nominal stem, and the introduction of *sUP* is made by 4.1.2 which is governed by 4.1.1, the question of an improper input for affix *iÑ* does not arise.

The derivation of *garga* + *Ṅas* is not shown here because that string is inferred from 4.1.92. Rule 4.1.82 specifies that relevant affixes are to be introduced after the first among the syntactically related *padas*. What constitutes the second *pada*? The answer is *apatya* + *sU*, an inference again based on 4.1.92. This rule allows the introduction of an affix after the first among the syntactically related *padas*. That is, the affix must be introduced after *garga* + *Ṅas*, and not after *apatya* + *sU*. What if one switches the order? Can the affix be introduced after *apatya* + *sU* of *aptya* + *sU* + *garga* + *Ṅas*? No, since the relative order of syntactically related *padas* is given by 4.1.92 itself. Since *tasya* in 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* is referenced first in the rule, its antecedent, i.e., a *pada* ending in genitive, alone should be treated as the first *pada*. The application of other rules in the derivation of *gārgiḥ* is easy to follow.

The word *gārgiḥ* refers to a direct (*anantara*) descendant of *garga*. A non-direct descendant such as a grandson, etc., is referred to as *gotra* (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*). A *gotra* descendant of *garga* is (14) *gārgya*. It is derived by introducing the affix *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*) after *garga* + *Ṅas*, a *pada* syntactically related to *apatya* + *sU*. Rules similar to those used in deriving *gārgiḥ* apply in deriving *gārgyaḥ* from (*garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*) + *sU*. The following is the derivational history of *gārgī*, a female descendant of *garga*.

15. *gārgī*

(*a*) *gārgya*	→	1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
		4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
		4.1.3 *striyām*
		4.1.16 *yañaś ca*
	=	*gārgya* + *ṄīP*
(*b*) *gārgya* + *ṄīP*	→	1.3.3 *halantyam*
		1.3.8 *laśakv...*
		1.3.9 *tasya...*
	=	*gārgya* + (*Ṅ* → ∅) *ī*(*P* → ∅)
		gārgya + *ī*
(*c*) *gārgya* + *ī*	→	1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
		6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
		6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*
	=	*gārgy* (*a* → ∅) + *ī*
	=	*gārgy* + *ī*
(*d*) *gārgy* + *ī*	→	6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya*
	=	*gārg* (*y* → ∅) + *ī*
	=	*gārgī*
(*e*) *gārgī*	→	1.2.46 *kṛttadhita...*
		4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
		4.1.2 *svaujas...*
	=	*gārgī* + *sU*
(*f*) *gārgī* + *sU*	→	as in (2) *kumārī*
	=	*gārgī* + (*sU* → ∅)
	=	*gārgī*

The derivational history of *gārgī* offers nothing new, especially when one compares it with *gārgiḥ* and *gārgya*. However, some interesting conclusions can be drawn as a result of this comparison. I shall return to these conclusions after one more derivation.

16. *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* 'a young male *gotra* descendant of *garga*'

(*a*) *garga*	→	same as in *gārgya*
	=	*gārgya*
(*b*) *gārgya*	→	4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
		4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ*
		4.1.93 *tasyāpatyam*
		4.1.94 *gotrād yūny astriyām*
		4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti...*
		4.1.163 *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā*
		4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca*
	=	*gārgya* + *phaK*
(*c*) *gārgya* + *phaK*	→	same as in step (b) of *gārgya*
	=	*gārgya* + *pha* (*K* → ∅)
	=	*gārgya* + *pha*

(*d*) *gārgya* + *pha*	→	1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
		6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
		6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*
	=	*gārgy* (*a* → ∅) + *pha*
	=	*gārgy* + *pha*
(*e*) *gārgy* + *pha*	→	7.1.2 *āyaneyīnī...*
		1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*
	=	*gārgy* + (*pha* → *āyana*)
	=	*gārgyāyana*
(*f*) *gārgyāyana*	→	as in steps (e-f) of *gārgiḥ*
	=	*gārgyāyana* + *s*
(*g*) *gārgyāyana* + *s*	→	same as in (b-d) of *kumāraḥ*
	=	*gārgyāyanaḥ*
(*h*) *gārgyāyanaḥ*	→	8.4.2 *aṭkupv...*
	=	*gārgyāya* (*n* → *ṇ*) *aḥ*
	=	*gārgyāyaṇaḥ*

The application of rules in *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* is relatively complex. The affix *phaK* is introduced to denote *yuvāpatya* 'young *gotra* descendant' (recall that *gotra* refers to grandsons, etc., cf. 4.1.162). A *yuvāpatya* is also a *gotra* descendant though with certain restrictions. *Garga's* sons, for example, will be *gārgi* and their sons will be referred to as *gārgya*. The sons of a *gārgya* will also be called *gārgya*, signifying *gotra* descendants of *garga*. However, a *gotra* descendant can be referred to as *yuvāpatya* when his father or uncles, etc., (*vaṃśya*), are alive (4.1.163 *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā*). The *yuvāpatya* designation can also be extended to a younger brother when the older brother is alive, providing of course that the father and uncles are not alive (4.1.164 *bhrātari ca jyāyasi*. Thus, *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* is *yuvāpatya* when *gārgya* is alive. He can also be called *yuvāpatya* when his older brother is alive.

Two rules must be discussed in this connection: 4.1.93 *eko gotre* and 4.1.94 *gotrād yūny astriyām*. The first rule states that only one affix should be introduced to denote a *gotra* descendant. By inference, the base (*prakṛti*) must also be the first base. That is, an affix denoting a *gotra* descendant of *garga* should be introduced after *garga*, and not after *gārgi*. The second rule makes an exception with regard to a *yuvāpatya*. It specifies that an affix denoting a non-feminine *yuvāpatya* should be introduced after the base which denotes a *gotra*. Thus, *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* is derived by introducing *phaK* after *gārgya*, not after *garga* or *gārgi*. Note that a feminine *yuvāpatya* cannot be derived in this manner; one must introduce the feminine affix *ṆīP* to derive (17) *gārgyāyaṇī*, a female *yuvāpatya* of *garga*.

The following is a schematic representation of derivational types already discussed. I have included major rules with corresponding examples for convenience.

1. (4.1.1 (4.1.2)) = *kumāraḥ*
2. (4.1.1 (4.1.3 (4.1.1 (4.1.2)))) = *kumārī*

14. (4.1.1 (4.1.2 (4.1.76 (4.1.82 (4.1.92-93))))) = *gārgyaḥ*
15. (4.1.1 (4.1.2 (4.1.76 (4.1.82 (4.1.92))))) = *gārgiḥ*
16. (4.1.1 (4.1.2 (4.1.76 (4.1.82 (4.1.92 (4.1.94)))))) = *gārgyāyaṇaḥ*
17. (4.1.1 (4.1.2 (4.1.76 (4.1.82 (4.1.92 (4.1.94 (4.1.1 (4.1.3)))))))) = *gārgyāyaṇī*

The above conflations, except for the first, have one thing in common: their output must form an input to the first. That is, a derivational cycle beginning at 4.1.1 must complete at 4.1.2. The derivational options offered by 4.1.3 and 4.1.76 are internal to 4.1.1. As a consequence, the derivational cycles beginning with 4.1.3 and 4.1.76 must complete at 4.1.1. Rule 4.1.76 branches off into its own internal options; I have illustrated only one of them by 4.1.82. Rules 4.1.92, 4.1.93 and 4.1.94 offer options internal to 4.1.82. The output of 4.1.76 may technically form an input to 4.1.3 in which case the cycle must again complete at 4.1.1. An internal cycle which completes at 4.1.1 and accepts the option offered by 4.1.2 produces the final derivate. The above schema outlines six options internal to 4.1.1. The first option produces the final derivate. The remaining five options must complete their cycle at 4.1.1. The first option cancels out the other two; the second cancels the third; the third option alone offers a full range of derivational choices.

The above derivational options are built around the nominal stem (*prātipadika*) as base-input. I have already discussed the derivational history of *pacati* which takes a verb root (*dhātu*) as its input. The following derivations are also built around verb roots as base input. Consider *pācaka* 'cook', *pācikā* 'female cook' and *kumbhakāraḥ* 'pot maker'.

18. *pācaka* 'cook'

(*a*) *pac*	→	1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
		3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
		3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
		3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*
		3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*
	=	*pac* + *ṆvuL*
(*b*) *pac* + *ṆvuL*	→	1.3.3 *halantyam*
		1.3.7 *cuṭū*
		1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*
	=	*pac* + (*Ṇ* → ∅) *vu*(*L* → ∅)
	=	*pac* + *vu*
(*c*) *pac* + *vu*	→	1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
		6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
		7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*
		1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*
	=	*pac* + (*vu* → *aka*)
	=	*pac* + *aka*
(*d*) *pac* + *aka*	→	7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*

		# 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*
	=	*p* (*a* ⟶ *ā*) *c* + *aka*
	=	*pācaka*
(*e*) *pācaka*	⟶	same as in *kumāraḥ*
	=	*pācaka* + *sU*
	=	*pācakaḥ*

19. *pācikā* 'female cook'

(*a*) *pācaka*	⟶	1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*
		4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
		4.1.3 *striyām*
		4.1.4 *ajādyatas...*
	=	*pācaka* + *ṬāP*
(*b*) *pācaka* + *ṬāP*	⟶	1.3.3 *halantyam*
		1.3.7 *cuṭū*
		1.3.9 *tasya...*
	=	*pācaka* + (*Ṭ* ⟶ ∅) *ā* (*P* ⟶ ∅)
	=	*pācaka* + *ā*
(*c*) *pācaka* + *ā*	⟶	1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
		6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
		7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt...*
	=	*pāc* (*a* ⟶ *i*) *ka* + *ā*
	=	*pācika* + *ā*
(*d*) *pācika* + *ā*	⟶	6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...*
		pācik (*a* + *a* ⟶ *ā*)
	=	*pācikā*
(*e*) *pācikā*	⟶	4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
		4.1.2 *svaujas...*
		# 1.4.102 *supaḥ*, etc.
	=	*pācikā* + *sU*
(*f*) *pācikā* + *sU*	⟶	1.3.2 *upadeśe...*
		1.3.9 *tasya...*
	=	*pācikā* + *s* (*U* ⟶ ∅)
	=	*pācikā* + *s*
(*g*) *pācikā* + *s*	⟶	1.2.41 *apṛkta...*
		6.1.68 *halyṅyābhyo...*
	=	*pācikā* + (*s* ⟶ ∅)
	=	*pācikā*
(*h*) *pācikā*	⟶	1.4.14 *suptiṅantam...*
		1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*
	=	*pācikā*

The above two forms are derived by introducing the *kṛt* affix *ṆvuL* after the verbal root *pac*. The second form is the feminine counterpart of the

first. Rule application in these derivations is fairly straightforward. Deriving *pācaka* from *pac* + *ṆvuL* basically entails two operations: replacement of *vu* by *aka* and the *vṛddhi* of the penultimate (*upadhā*) *a* of *pac*. The second form requires the introduction of the feminine affix *ṬāP* followed by homogenous (*savarṇa*) long vowel replacement for *a* + *a*. I shall return to these derivations after a discussion of *kumbhakāraḥ*.

20. *kumbhakāraḥ*

(*a*) *ḌUkṛÑ*	→	1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
		1.3.3 *halantyam*
		1.3.5 *ādirñiṭuḍuvaḥ*
		1.3.9 *tasya,..*
	=	(*ḌU* → ∅) *kṛ* (*Ñ* → ∅)
	=	*kṛ*
(*b*) *kṛ*	→	3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
		3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*
		3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*
	=	*kumbha* + *ām* + *kṛ* + *aṆ*
(*c*) *kumbha* + *ām* + *kṛ* + *aṆ*	→	1.3.3 *halantyam*
		1.3.9 *tasya...*
	=	*kumbha* + *ām* + *kṛ* + *a*
(*d*) *kumbha* + *ām* + *kṛ* + *a*	→	1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
		6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
		7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti*
	=	*kumbha* + *ām* + *k* (*ṛ* → *ār*) + *a*
	=	*kumbha* + *ām* + *kāra*
(*e*) *kumbha* + *ām* + *kāra*	→	2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*
		1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
		2.4.71 *supo...*
	=	*kumbha* + (*ām* → ∅) + *kāra*
	=	*kumbhakāra*
(*f*) *kumbhakāra*	→	as in *kumāraḥ*
	=	*kumbhakāra* + (*sU* → *ḥ*)
	=	*kumbhakāraḥ*

The derivation of *kumbhakāraḥ* is highly complex. First, its two constituents, *kumbha* + *ām* and *kāra* + *sU*, are combined to produce an obligatory compound. Second, *kāra* is derived by introducing affix *aṆ* under the condition of a *pada*, namely *kumbha* + *ām*, which denotes *karman* 'object' and serves as an *upapada* 'co-occurring *pada*.' Finally, the complexity of this derivation increases because the rule which derives *kāra* from

ḌUkṛÑ + *aṆ*, 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*, is contained in the second quarter of the third book. Furthermore, the denotatum of the conjoined *pada* has been specified as *karman*. This necessitates bringing related rules to the context of 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*.

The process of retrieving related rules begins with the locative singular word *karmaṇi* of 3.2.1. This rule is contained within the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* whose functional context contains 3.1.92 *tatropapadam saptamīstham*. The variable reference *tatra* specifies that an item in the locative in this domain of 3.1.91 should be construed as an *upapada*. The obligatory compound of *kumbha* + *ām* + *kāra* is allowed by 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*. One can now see how the locative in *karmaṇi*, with its antecedent *upapada* and the term *karman*, brings rules from the *kāraka*, *vibhakti* and *samāsa* sections close to the context of 3.2.1. Since the term *upapada* in 2.2.19 is referenced with *prathamā* 'nominative', *kumbha* + *ām* must be treated as *upasarjana* 'secondary' (1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭam*...) and hence, be placed first in the compound as is required by 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*. The following schema reveals the complexity of this derivation.

karman (1.4.49 *kartur*...; 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, etc.)
upasarjana (2.2.30 *upasarjanam* ...)
(2.2.19 *upapadaṃ atiṅ*)
(1.2.43 *prathamā*...)
kartṛ (1.4.54 *svatantraḥ*...)
karman (3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*)
upapada (3.1.92 *tatropapadam*...)
kartṛ (3.4.67 *kartari*...)
samāsa (2.1.4 *prāk*...)
(2.1.1 *samarthaḥ*...)
.
.
.
(2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*)
(2.2.19 *upapadam*...)
(2.2.30 *upasarjanam*...)
(1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*...)
(2.4.71 *supo*...)
= *kumbhakāraḥ*

It should be remembered here that affix *aṆ* is a *kṛt* and as such is introduced to denote *kartṛ* 'agent'. The first constituent of the compound *kumbhakāra* denotes *karman* 'object'. These relations are both inherent in the compound. The action with reference to which *karman* and *kartṛ* are expressed is, of course, denoted by *ḌUkṛÑ*. Now recall the derivation of *pācakaḥ* with underlying verbal root *pac* after which affix *ṆvuL* is introduced.

Since *ṆvuL* is a *kṛt* affix, it too denotes *kartṛ*. The derivational history of *kumbhakāraḥ* and *pācakaḥ* shows that they inhere diverse syntactico-semantic relations. This is further proof of the effectiveness of referential indices in resolving problems encountered in complex derivations.

It should be obvious by now that derivations may relate to sentences or sentence-like strings. I have already discussed the derivation of *putrīyati, rājapuruṣaḥ* and *kumbhakāraḥ* where the first two are optional and the last obligatory. The *putrīyati* can be used optionally with the sentence *ātmanaḥ putram icchati* and *rājapuruṣaḥ* can be used alternately with the sentential string *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ Kumbhakāraḥ* however, is obligatory involving an *upapada*.

Pāṇini also discussed many derivations which involve.sentences relatable to each other. Consider for example the following rules.

1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca*

'a *kāraka* not yet assigned any one of the other names is also assigned the name *karman*'

1.4.52 *gatibuddhipratyavasānārthaśabdakarmākarmakāṇāṃ aṇi karttā sa ṇau*

'the agent of a non-*Ṇic* action having the signification of *gati* 'movement', *buddhi* 'perception' or *pratyavasāna* 'consuming', or having *śabda* 'sound' as its object, or having no object at all is termed *karman* when the same root terminates in *ṆiC*'

1.3.53 *hṛkor anyatarasyām*

'a *kāraka* which serves as the agent of *hṛÑ* 'to carry' and *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to make' not used with *ṆiC* optionally is termed *karman* when used with *ṆiC*'

1.4.55 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*

'a *kāraka* which serves as *prayojaka* 'instigator' of the agent, in addition to being a *kartṛ*, is termed *hetu* 'cause'

Let us consider some examples.

21. *devadattaḥ pāṇinā kaṃsapātryāṃ gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ*
    'Devadatta is milking the milk by hand in a copper vessel'
22. *devadattena paṇinā kaṃsapātryāṃ gauḥ payo duhyate*
    'Cow's milk is milked by hand in a copper vessel by Devadatta'
23. *devadattaḥ ajāṃ grāmaṃ nayati*
    'Devadatta is bringing the goat to the village'
24. *devadattena ajā grāmaṃ nīyate*
    'The goat is taken to the village by Devadatta'
25. *māṇavakaḥ dharmaṃ budhyate*
    'The boy understands the duty'
26. *māṇavakena dharmo budhyate*
    'The duty is understood by the boy'
27. *devadattaḥ māṇavakaṃ dharmaṃ bodhayati*
    'Devadatta makes the boy understand the duty'

28. *devadattena māṇavakaḥ dharmaṃ bodhayate*
'The duty is made known to the boy by Devadatta'
29. *devadattena māṇavakaṃ dharmaḥ bodhayate*
'id.'
30. *devadattaḥ yajñadattaṃ grāmaṃ gamayati*
'Devadatta has Yajñadatta go to the village'
31. *devadattena yajñadatto grāmaṃ gamyate*
'The village is gone to by Yajñadatta at the instigation of Devadatta'
32. *devadattaḥ māsam āsyate*
'Devadatta stays (here) for a month'
33. *devadattena māsaḥ āsyate*
'id.'
34. *devadattena māsam āsyate*
'id.'
35. *devadattaḥ yajñadattaṃ māsam āsayati*
'Devadatta has Yajñadatta stay for a month'
36. *devadattena yajñadatto māsam āsyate*
'Yajñadatta is caused to stay for a month by Devadatta'
37. *devadattena yajñadattaṃ māsam āsyate*
'id.'

The above sentences distinguish five types of sentential relations: non-causal active, causal active, non-causal passive, causal passive and impersonal active. These categories are illustrated by 23, 27, 24, 28 and 34 respectively. They all involve one action each, though the transitive actions involve two-place objects, a direct and an indirect one. The causal actions similarly involve two-place agents, an instigator (*prayojaka*) and an instigated (*prayojya*). Sentences 25 and 26 are non-causal active and passive respectively. I have already indicated in connection with *kumāreṇa paṭhyate* that *LA* replacements in *tiN* share a dependency relationship with *sUP*. An extracted representation of this dependency will greatly enhance our understanding of the above examples.

The *LA* replacements of *tiN* termed *ātmanepada* offer three choices: denoting either an agent, object or *bhāva*. Conversely, the *parasmaipada* replacements can only denote two: agent and object. Actions denoted by an intransitive root do not denote an object except for cases specified otherwise. For example, *māsa* 'month', an item denoting *kāla* 'time', in sentences 32-34 is treated as the object of a seemingly intransitive action denoted by *ās* 'to stay'. The verbal form *āsyate* in sentences 33-34 denotes object and *bhāva* respectively with *te*. Thus, given an abstract representation of sentences 32-34 as *devadatta* (agent) *māsa* (object) *ās* (current action), we can introduce *LAṬ* to be replaced subsequently by the *ātmanepada* ending *te*. It is at this time that one must choose whether one wants to express agent,

object or *bhāva* by means of the verbal ending. Once this choice is made, the *sUP* endings can be selected to express either the agent or the object which has not been expressed elsewhere. For example, sentence 32 denotes agent by *te*. Consequently, *devadattaḥ* denotes the nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*). Since the *karman* is left unexpressed, *māsa* takes the accusative ending *am* to express it. Sentence 33 expresses the object with *ya* of *āsyate*. As a result, the agent is to be expressed with the *sUP* in *devadattena*. The nominative in *māsaḥ* on the other hand, expresses the nominal stem notion. Sentence 34 expresses both the agent and the object with the *sUP*. This becomes necessary because of the verbal form *āsyate* which is expressing *bhāva*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses some *ślokavārttikas* (ad 1.4.51; I, 264 ff.) which outline views concerning the denotatum of *LA*. Nāgeśa (*Udyota* ad 1.4.51; I. 270) summarizes them as follows.

38. *gauṇe karmaṇi duhyādeḥ pradhāne nīhṛkṛṣvahām,*
buddhibhakṣyārthayoḥ śabdakarmaṇāṃ ca nijecchayā
prayojyakarmaṇy anyeṣāṃ ṇyantānāṃ lādayo matāḥ
hṛkror nijecchayā kiṃ vā prayojye bahudarśibhiḥ

'A *LA* replacement denotes the secondary object in case of verbal roots *duh* 'to milk', etc. It expresses the primary object in case of *nī* 'to lead', *hṛ* 'to carry', *kṛṣ* 'to drag' and *vah* 'to carry'. In case of the causatives of knowing and consuming, and also verbs having sound as their object, the *LA* expresses whatever one desires. The *LA* expresses *prayojyakarman* 'prompting agent termed object' in case of the other causatives. However, with the causatives of *nī, hṛ* and *kṛṣ* they are expressed by *LA* as one desires...'

The above verse clearly emphasizes the importance of usage and interpretation (*vyākhyāna*) in determining the denotatum of *tiN*, especially in relation to causal and non-causal verbs having dual objects. Consider the causative sentences 35 and 36. The following is their abstract representation.

devadatta (causal agent) *yajñadatta* (causal object)
māsa (object denoting time) *ās* (current causal action)

The affix *LAṬ* is introduced here after *ās* with reference to current time. Since one may choose to express either the agent, object or root sense, a selection of *tiN* to express one of these will require the introduction of *sUP* to express the other two. Thus *tiN* expresses the causal agent and the causal object in 35 and 36 respectively. As a result, we get the accusative ending *am* after *yajñadatta* and *māsa* in 35 to express the object. Similarly a choice to express the causal object with *tiN* in 36 requires that the causal agent and the object denoting time be expressed by *sUP*. A choice to express *bhāva* with *ya* will yield 37 where the causal agent and the two objects as well have to be expressed with a *sUP*.

Sentences 30 and 31 illustrate instances of a causal active and its corresponding passive with two-place objects. The causal object is expressed with the verb in 31. This obviously leaves the causal agent to be expressed by the instrumental ending *Ṭā*. The accusative *am* similarly is required after *grāma*. Sentences 25 through 29 involve an action denoted by *budh*. This root requires the introduction of *ātmanepada* endings which, in turn, may denote either agent, object or *bhāva*. Sentence 25 is active, 26 passive. Sentences 27 and 28 are causal active and passive where 27 expresses the agent with *ti*. This leaves both objects to be expressed by the accusative *am*. Sentences 28 and 29 both express the object with *ya*. This, however, they do in turn. That is, 28 expresses the causal object with *tiṄ* and the regular non-causal object with *sUP*. The case is reversed in 29. Sentences 23 and 24 allow the agent or the object to be expressed with *tiṄ*. Since *nī* involves a two-place object, the question whether the passive expresses the primary or the secondary object with the verb is encountered. As is clear from 24, only the primary object should be expressed with *te*. Sentences 21 and 22 illustrate the fact that the secondary object (*gauḥ*) alone can be expressed by the passive form of *duh*. In summation, the above sentences illustrate that their derivations are linked at certain steps in their derivational history via choices relative to the denotata of *tiṄ*.

The preceding description centres around two basic facts: that verbal endings may express agent, object or *bhāva* depending upon whether the verbal root is transitive or intransitive, and that *sUP* endings, among other things, are used to express agent and object if they have not already been expressed by the verbal ending. Furthermore, transitive actions with dual objects pose a problem. Should the verbal endings express the primary or secondary object? The summary verse cited from the *Udyota* of Nāgeśa presents the guidelines. It also illustrates how sentence types with two-place objects can be derivationally related.

Pāṇini, too, has discussed how to relate sentential types involving two-place actions. All the above examples involve a single action except for the causatives which may be viewed as involving two-place actions, i.e. causal action and its non-causal counterpart. For an understanding of how sentences involving two-place actions are derived, consider the following examples:

39. *sthālyām odanaṃ pacantaṃ devadattaṃ paśyāmi*
 'I see Devadatta cooking rice in a pot'
40. *tiṣṭhan mūtrayati yavanaḥ*
 'The Ionian is urinating while standing'
41. *dakṣiṇena ced yāyān tarhi na śakaṭaṃ paryābhavet*
 'The cart would not turn over if he goes by the Southern side'
42. *odanaṃ bhuktvā grāmaṃ gacchati devadattaḥ*
 'Devadatta goes to the village after having eaten the rice'

43. *odanaṃ bhuktvā grāmo gamyate devadattena*
'The village is gone to by Devadatta after having eaten the rice'
44. *devadatto grāmaṃ gantum icchati*
'Devadatta wishes to go to the village'
45. *devadattena grāmo gantum iṣyate*
'The village is wished to be reached by Devadatta'

The above are but a few instances of sentences with two-place actions. The problems encountered in deriving them are twofold: specifying the signification of linguistic elements introduced, and outlining constraints relative to the denotatum of grammatical categories such as the agent and the object. All the above sentences entail sentence-like structures mainly due to the involvement of dual actions. Thus sentences 39 and 40 involve two sentences each.

46. *yavanaḥ tiṣṭhati*
'The Ionian is standing', and
47. *yavanaḥ mūtrayati*
'The Ionian is urinating'; as well as
48. *devadattaḥ sthālyām odanaṃ pacati*
'Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot', and
49. *ahaṃ devadattaṃ paśyāmi*
'I see Devadatta'.

The derivation of 39 is allowed by 3.2.126 *lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ* which states that affixes *Śatṛ* and *ŚānaC* are introduced as replacements for *LAṬ* providing one action marks another or one action serves as *hetu* 'cause' for another action. The action denoted by *sthā* 'stand' marks the action denoted by *mūtraya* 'urinate'. As a result, *sthā* + *LAṬ* yields *sthā* + *śatṛ* where *Śatṛ* is a replacement for *LAṬ*. Sentence 40 involves the introduction of the affix *Śatṛ* as a replacement for *LAṬ* providing *LAṬ* (*Śatṛ*) does not occur in syntactic co-ordination with an item ending in the nominative. Thus, given the sentence *devadattaṃ paśyāmi* which is derived from *devadatta* + *am* + *dṛṣ* + *LAṬ*, the affix *Śatṛ* can be introduced after *dṛś* under the condition of a syntactic co-ordination with *devadatta* +*am*. Sentence 41 is derived by introducing the affix *LIṄ* after verbal roots denoting *hetu* 'cause' and *hetumat* 'effect' (3.3.156 *hetuhetumator liṅ*). This clearly requires two actions such that one may serve as the cause for the other. Going by the southern side here serves as the cause for the cart's safety, the effect.

Sentences 42 through 45 involve the introduction of affixes *Ktvā* and *tumUN* where 43 and 45 are the passive counterparts of 42 and 44. The introduction of *Ktvā* entails two actions such that one is prior and the other subsequent. *Ktvā* is introduced after the verbal root which denotes the prior action providing both actions share the same agent (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*). Sentence 43, the passive counterpart of 42, expresses the object by *te*. The object of *bhuj* 'to consume' is expressed by *am*. Recall here that a distinction between primary and secondary objects was made in

connection with our discussion of two-place objects. Such a distinction was also maintained between primary and secondary actions in connection with the discussion of two-place actions. Consider, for example, sentences 41 and 45 where the action denoted by *iṣ* 'to wish' is primary as opposed to the secondary action denoted by *gam.* The *kartṛ* of both these actions is denoted by *ti* of the primary action. Consequently the object of *gam, grāma,* is expressed with *am.* The verbal form *iṣyate* expresses the object of both the actions in sentence 45. As a result *grāma* takes the nominative rather than the accusative or dative. This is only logical since *grāma* is the object of *gam* while both *grāma* and *gantum* are the objects of *iṣ* (see *Mbh.* ad 3.4.26 *svādumi ṇamul;* II. 251-52). These additional examples reinforce our observations.

50. *devadatto grāmaṃ jigamiṣati*
 'Devadatta wishes to go to the village'
51. *devadattena grāmo jigamiṣyate*
 'The village is wished to be gone to by Devadatta'

Now consider 3.1.7 in relation to sentences 44 and 45.

> 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkād icchāyāṃ vā*
> 'The affix *saN* optionally is introduced after a verb root which underlies the object of and has the same agent as *iṣ*.'

As has already been stated, *gantum* is the object of *iṣ*. The root which forms part of this object is *gam.* Rule 3.1.7 can introduce the affix *saN* after this root to ultimately derive the form *jigamiṣati.* If the form which ends in affix *tumUN* is not treated as the object referenced with the *karmaṇaḥ* of 3.1.7, *jigamiṣati* can never be derived. Note here that the condition of *samākartṛkatva* 'same agent' imposed by 3.1.7 is shared by 3.3.158 *samānakartṛkeṣu tumun.* The affix *tumUN* occurring in sentences 44 and 45 is introduced by 3.3.158. Since sentences 44, 50, 45 and 51 derive as alternants, the constraint of *samānakartṛkatva* should not be treated merely as an accident.[1] It is directly related to the Pāṇinian schema for relating sentences.

[1]Deshpande (1980) presents an excellent discussion of the syntax of-*tumUN,* although his claim that the Indian grammatical tradition starting with Patañjali up to the *VP* of Bhartṛhari was unaware of the solution to problems concerning the syntax of-*tumUN* is at best debatable. There are references in the tradition which trace the origin of Bhartṛhari's solutions to the *Mahābhāṣya.* See, for example, *Laghuśabdaratna,* II:646: *idañ ca svādumi ṇamul* (3.4.26) *iti sūtre bhāṣye spaṣṭam. tatratya bhāṣyārthānuvādinyau ceme harikārike ity anyatra prapañcitam.* 'This has been made clear in the *Mahābhāṣya* on rule 3.4.26 *svādumi ṇamul.* These two *kārikā* verses of Bhartṛhari reiterate the content of the *Mahābhāṣya.* This has been expatiated elsewhere.' Nevertheless, Deshpande deserves credit for a refreshingly thorough study.

11

Derivation of Compounds

The following is an outline of the domain under which Pāṇini discusses Sanskrit compounds.

2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*
2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*
2.1.4 *saha supā*
  2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ*
  2.1.21 *anyapadārthe ca saṃjñāyām*
  2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*
  2.2.22 *ktvā ca*
  2.2.23 *bahuvrīhiḥ*
  2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*
  2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*
2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*
2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*

Before discussing generative conventions employed in deriving Sanskrit compounds, some generalized constraints implicitly assumed or explicitly stated by Pāṇini should be explained. Compounds come under the structural domain of *padavidhi*, a cover term for constructions which result by integrating two or more fully inflected and syntactically related words. That is, *padavidhi* is a grammatical operation whereby units ending in inflectional endings *sUP* or *tiṄ* can be integrated to yield a single unit. Since units ending in a *sUP* or *tiṄ* are always used as elements in a sentence, *padavidhi* is a syntactic operation and hence, diverse syntactico-semantic relations must fall within its scope.

In order to delimit the scope of *padavidhi*, Pāṇini proposes rule 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* as a metarule of interpretation (*paribhāṣā*). Patañjali, in his *Mahābhāṣya*, discusses various questions related to this metarule in great detail. For our purposes, we can make the general assertion that 2.1.1 specifies that *padavidhi* must meet the condition of *sāmarthya* 'fitness, capability'. This single condition has been variously interpreted. For example,

(1) *rājan* + *Ṅas puruṣa* + *sU*

is a string of two nominal *padas* where *rājan* 'king' and *puruṣa* 'man, servant' are two nominal stems (*prātipadika*) ending in *Ṅas* (genitive) and *sU*

(nominative) respectively. If treated as input to *padavidhi*, this string will yield a single integrated unit.

(2) *rājapuruṣaḥ* 'king's man'.

In the absence of integration, the string will yield a construct of two units.

(3) *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* 'king's man'.

Since both the integrated and non-integrated units mean the same thing, (3) can be treated as the paraphrase of (2). Pāṇiniyas treat (3) as the *vigraha-vākya* 'analysed form' of the compound (2); both, however, derive from (1).

A distinction is also made between (1) and (3). Grammarians consider (1) an *alaukika vigraha-vākya*, an analytical form existing only on the theoretical level and not attested by usage. As opposed to this, (3) is considered a *laukika vigraha-vākya*, an alternant to (2) which is attested by usage. In accordance with the condition of *sāmarthya*, the capability of (3) is defined as *vyapekṣā* 'mutual expectancy' whereas the capability of (2) is defined as *ekārthībhāva* 'emergence of a single integrated meaning'. In essence, *padavidhi* is a syntactic operation whereby two or more words having a mutual expectancy relationship are integrated to yield a single unit capable of expressing a single integrated meaning.

If two or more units of a sentence cannot be logically construed without each other, they can be regarded as sharing a mutual expectancy relationship. Furthermore, one or one combination of these units may be regarded as *pradhāna* 'principal' while the others are considered as *upasarjana* 'secondary'. In sentence

(4) *rājñaḥ puruṣo rathena grāmaṃ gacchati*
'The king's man is going to the village by means of a chariot',

rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ underlies the *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya* 'modifier-modified' relationship which constitutes the logical connection between them. It is also evident from this sentence that *puruṣaḥ* 'man' alone can be most directly related to *kriyā* 'action' which is considered the central denotatum of a sentence. As opposed to this, *rājñaḥ*, genitive singular of *rājan* 'king', is not relatable to anything else but *puruṣaḥ*. Hence, *puruṣaḥ* is the principal element and *rājñaḥ* is secondary. A compound parallel to *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* is permissible since its constituents share a mutual expectancy relationship. However, consider the following phrase

(5) *bhāryā rājñaḥ puruṣo devadattasya*
'King's wife Devadatta's man'.

Here, a compound formation of *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* is not permissible since *rājñaḥ* and *puruṣaḥ* do not share mutual expectancy and hence cannot be

considered logically connected with one another. Instead, in interpreting (5), one must accept that *rājñaḥ* is most logically connected with *bhāryā* while *puruṣaḥ* is most logically connected with *devadatta*. In short, logical connection based on mutual expectancy, and not mere juxtaposition or proximity of elements, is one of the primary conditions imposed upon the formation of compounds.

Aside from the issues of logical connection between the constituents of a compound, one also has to consider yet another requirement: the emergence of a single integrated meaning. Let us compare (2) and (3) from the point of view of their signification. A string of uncompounded words, such as *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*, is capable of expressing its total meaning only as the sum of the meanings expressed by its constituents. That is, constituents of an uncompounded string express their meanings cumulatively. The total of the individual meanings expressed by logically connected words can be conveniently labelled the meaning of the uncompounded words. The picture differs, however, when we consider the meaning of compounds. First, a compound unit is only required to express a single integrated meaning. This does not necessarily mean that the meaning must correspond to the total of the meanings of the individual constituents. On the one hand, there are compounds like (2) *rājapuruṣaḥ* in which the constituent units preserve their individual meanings after integration. Integration of this type has been aptly called *ajahat-svārthā* 'that which has not abandoned its own meaning'. On the other hand, there are compounds in which individual constituents find no specific expression. Such compounds have been termed *jahat-svārthā* 'that which has abandoned its own meaning'.

The condition of *sāmarthya* means that a string of logically connected words qualifies for compounding as long as it yields a single integrated meaning; whether this meaning preserves the meaning of the underlying constituents does not matter. For example, a compound like *khaṭvārūḍhaḥ* refers to a social renegade fit for contempt. However, the meaning of the parallel uncompounded string, *khaṭvām ārūḍhaḥ* will simply refer to a person who has climbed into bed.

Rule 2.1.4 *saha supā*, read with the *sUP* of 2.1.2 *sub āmantrite...* and *samāsaḥ* of 2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*, specifies that an item ending in a *sUP* can be combined with another such item to yield a compound provided only that

(a) a logical connection exists between them, and
(b) that there emerges a single integrated meaning.

This interpretation of 2.1.4 appears to impose two constraints upon the process of compound formation.

(6) Formation of a compound is permissible only when the constituent elements end in a *sUP*. Since a *sUP* can only be introduced after a

prātipadika 'nominal stem', compound formation is further restricted to only those items which underlie a nominal stem.

(7) Compounds cannot contain more than two constituent 'words'.

Constraint (6) rules out the formation of compounds from those constituents which end in a *tiṄ*. Constraint (7) blocks the formation of a compound which may have more than two constituents. However, this latter is not completely accurate since Pāṇini has proposed rules 2.1.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* and 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ* which allow the formation of *bahuvrīhi* and *dvandva* compounds from more than two constituents on condition that the *bahuvrīhi* expresses a meaning other than one expressed by its own constituents and the *dvandva* expresses the meaning signified by *ca* 'and'.

Compound formation of more than two constituents poses yet another problem. If there were, for example, four constituents *X*, *Y*, *Z* and *R* and a multiple compound were allowed, what would be the mode of combining these constituents? Should we combine them:

(8) simultaneously, or,

(9) two at a time starting on the left, or,

(10) two at a time simultaneously starting on the left and the right and then combining the results of both, or,

(11) two at a time starting in the middle and then moving to the right and finally combining the initial, or,

(12) two at a time starting on the right.

Except for (8) and (10), the other modes involve a three-step compound formation. The implications of such combinatory modes have been discussed fully in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. I shall examine them briefly in connection with my treatment of *bahuvrīhi* and *dvandva* compounds. What is important here is to present a few generalized conventions which will aid our understanding of the Pāṇinian derivation mechanism. I shall recall conventions from earlier chapters as needed; conventions directly relevant to compound derivation will be formulated as the discussion proceeds.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* accepts verbal roots (*dhātu*) and nominal stems (*prātipadika*) as potential units of input. We can characterize such input as strings of lexical items capable of matching the meaning of the target utterance. Sentence (4) can be analysed as a target utterance consisting of five fully derived *padas* 'words' which, in turn, underlie five elements. The first four words underlie *rājan*, *puruṣa*, *ratha* and *grāma* which are all technically termed *prātipadika*. The fifth word, *gam* is a *dhātu* 'verbal root'. Each of these elements must undergo various operations to yield the desired sentence. I shall put aside the question of their matching the meaning of sentence (4) and move directly to the derivational steps.

(13) No string can activate the derivation mechanism of this grammar unless the controlling domain (*CD*, first book) assigns a definitional term (*saṃjña*) to each one of its elements. Strings with assigned terms must go to the obligatory domain (*OD*, third through fifth books) where they must locate an interior domain for possible rule application.

There is a definite connection between assignment of a term by the *CD* and locating an interior domain in the *OD*. Since the *OD* covers three books and many interior domains, a rule-by-rule scanning to locate a rule that might apply would be a tedious exercise. Pāṇini, by the implicit device of term assignment, makes locating the desired domain and rules much more economical.

(14) Strings locate domains for possible rule application by examining the governing rules. Thus d_1 is the domain for any string s_1 if s_1 is assigned a term t_1 and t_1 is also contained in the governing rule of d_1.

In view of (14), our string *rājan* (*prātipadika*) + *puruṣa* (*prātipadika*) + *ratha* (*prātipadika*) + *grāma* (*prātipadika*) + *gam* (*dhātu*) must scan the *OD* to locate the interior domains whose governing rules contain the definitional terms *prātipadika* and *dhātu*. As a consequence, *rājan, puruṣa, ratha* and *grāma* are referred to the interior domain of 4.1.1 *ṅy-āp-prātipadikāt* where *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) affixes (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) are introduced after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) items termed *prātipadika*. The selection and placement of a proper *sUP* after *rājan, puruṣa, ratha* and *grāma* is accomplished through a complex process of retrieving the referential indices of *sUP* which, in turn, brings required rules from the *CD* and other domains close to the context of 4.1.2 *svaujas...* . Equally complex procedures must be followed for *gam* which, after being sent to the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, first receives the abstract affix *LAṬ* (3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*) and then replaces it with a *tiṄ* (3.4.77-78 *lasya-tiptasjhi...*). The output at this stage becomes: *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *puruṣa* + *sU* +*ratha* + *Ṭā* + *grāma* + *am* and *gam* + *Śap* + *tiP* which must follow further steps in derivation outside the *OD*.

(15) The result of each rule application in the *OD* or in any other domain must be examined by the *CD* and further steps in derivation must be taken either by assigning a fresh term or by exhausting operations triggered by terms already received through referential indices or both. It is imperative then that outputs of the *OD* receive further term assignment from the *CD* and gain access to other relevant domains following locating procedures as outlined in (14).

Aṅga (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*), *bha* (1.4.17-18 *svādisv...-yaci bham*) and *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) generally are assigned to outputs of the *OD* for further steps in derivation. These terms facilitate locating the *aṅga* (6.4.1 *aṅgasya* through 7.4), *bha* (6.4.129 *bhasya* through 6.4.175 *ṛtvyavāstvya...*) and *pada* (8.1.16 *padasya* through 8.3.55 *apadāntasya...*)

domains. Constituent units of a sentence are termed *pada*; these are the ultimate units derivable from the grammar. Thus, *rājan* +*Ṅas*, *puruṣa* + *sU*, *ratha* + *Ṭā*, *grāma* + *am* and *gam* + *Śap* + *tiP* individually are termed *pada* and, after necessary morphophonemic operations, yield *rājñaḥ*, *puruṣaḥ* , *rathena*, *grāmam* and *gacchati*. A concatenation of these words will produce the target utterance.

(4) *rājñaḥ puruṣo rathena grāmaṃ gacchati.*

The first two *padas* of this sentence can be replaced by a single *pada*, *rājapuruṣaḥ*, with practically no semantic modification. The underlying *prātipadika* of *rājapuruṣaḥ* will then be *rājapuruṣa*, a nominal compound or a complex nominal stem. In order to derive this compound, we must take the output of the *OD*, i.e. *rājan* + *Ṅas puruṣa* + *sU*, a string of two logically connected *padas*, and send it to the domain of compound formation (2.1.1 through 2.2.38) for integration into a compound. As a consequence, we will get a *samāsa* 'compound' of the *tatpuruṣa* type which, in turn, will require that *rājan* +*Ṅas* + *puruṣa* + *sU* be the fixed order for the constituents of this compound. In view of (15), the *CD* will examine the compound string and, by its rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita-samāsāś ca* read with 1.2.45 *arthavad... prātipadika* will assign it the term *prātipadika*. This will lead to the application of 2.4.71 *supo dhātu-prātipadikayoḥ* which requires deleting all the *sUP* affixes contained in a *dhātu* or a *prātipadika*. The result of the application of this rule will be *rājan* + *puruṣa* which after the deletion of the *n* becomes *rājapuruṣa*. It is important to remember here that the *CD* has termed the compound a nominal stem. Following (14) one might be tempted to take *rājapuruṣa* to the domain of 4.1.1 *ṅy-āp prātipadikāt* for placement of a *sUP*. However, to submit to such temptation could bring undesired results since operations relative to the assignment of the term *samāsa* are yet to be exhausted.

(16) If two terms t_1 and t_2 are assigned to a string s_1 such that t_1 is the basis for the assignment of t_2 operations relative to t_1 must take precedence.

This postulate is necessary for compounds because they are assigned the term *prātipadika* on the strength of the term *samāsa*. Let us examine the controlled derivation of *citraguḥ* 'he who owns brindled cows'. This is a *bahuvrīhi* compound with two constituent *padas: citrā* + *Jas* and *go* + *Jas*. Rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* requires that a constituent termed *upasarjana* 'secondary' be placed first. A referential index (*RI*) of the term *upasarjana* brings 1.1.37 *prathamānirdiṣṭa...*) which explains that an *upasarjana* is that constituent of a compound which is referenced with *prathamā* (first *sUP* triad). However, this cannot resolve our problem since 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*, the rule which prescribed this compound formation, references *anekam* 'more than one' in *prathamā*, and hence both *citrā* + *Jas* and *go* + *Jas* become *upasarjana*. It is 2.2.35 *saptamī viśeṣaṇe bahuvrīhau* which

decides that *citrā* + *Jas* should be placed first since it happens to be a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*).

After the string is assigned the term *prātipadika,* three operations take place. First, 2.4.71 deletes the two *Jas* affixes thereby reducing the string to *citrago.* Next, 1.2.48 *go-striyor upasarjanasya* demands that the *o* of *go* undergo short vowel (*hrasva*) substitution. Application of this rule is seemingly difficult since we do not know what a short substitute of *o* is. Tracing back the term origin of *hrasva* brings 1.1.48 *ec ig hrasvādeśe* which, when read with 1.3.10 *yathā-saṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām,* provides *u* as the proper substitute for *o*. This yields *citragu,* a *pratipadika* (t_2) so designated since it is a *samāsa* (t_1). Operations relative to t_1 now must be exhausted.

The referential index attached to *citragu* includes such terms as *samāsa, bahuvrīhi, upasarjana* and *prātipadika.* In accordance with (14) and (16), strings termed *samāsa* will gain access to the interior domains of 5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ* and 6.1.223 *samāsasya* since both these rules contain the definitional term *samāsa.* Rule 5.4.68 governs a domain which extends up to 5.4.160 *niṣpravāṇiś ca* and introduces affixes termed *taddhita* after certain compounds. Rule 6.1.223 heads a domain which prescribes accent to compounds with the help of rules 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* and 6.1.159 *karṣātvato ghaño' nta udāttaḥ* brought close to its context by recurrence (*anuvṛtti*). Since all the rules contained in the second quarter of the sixth book are exceptions or residues of 6.1.223 and a general rule cannot be applied unless its exceptions or residues have been considered, we will have to accept that the domain of 6.1.223 runs through the entire second quarter of book six.

Rule 6.1.158 requires that, except for one syllable, all syllables of an item must be *anudātta* 'low pitched'. In the case of compounds, 6.1.223 names the syllable which should be treated as an exception to this general low pitch accentuation. This rule receives the *anuvṛtti* 'recurrence' of the term *udāttaḥ* 'high pitch' from 6.1.158. It also receives the *anuvṛtti* of *antaḥ* from 6.1.220 *anto' vatyāḥ.* We understand from this that the final syllable of a compound is high pitched ; the remaining syllables stay low pitched. However, this is adjusted further by 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* to allow the first constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound to retain its original accent. Our example, *citragu,* will receive high pitch on *gu* and will be able to retain the original accent on *citra.* It is clear from the derivation of *rājapuruṣa* and *citragu* that the domain of compound rules must be extended to include rules retrieved by referential indices and prompted by term assignment.

The following is a generalized listing of steps involved in deriving Sanskrit compounds.

(17) Under the condition of *sāmarthya,* logically connected *padas* gain access to the domain of compound formation for integration.

Since, in many instances, compound formation is optional, 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā* allows certain strings the option of going through the process of integration or of refraining from it. Strings which meet the conditions of compound formation will yield a compound whereas those that do not will yield target utterances which may or may not be used parallel to compounds with the same meaning.

(18) After the application of rules which allow the formation of a compound, individual constituents are arranged in view of the term *upasarjana*. The output of this domain is termed *samāsa* (t_1).

(19) When the *CD* examines the output of (18), a new term, *prātipadika* (t_2), is assigned. Rule 2.4.71 deletes the *sUP* affixes contained in this *prātipadika*. Since 2.4.71 is a general rule, its exceptions enumerated in section 6.3.1 through 6.3.139 must also be considered.

(20) After the deletion of *sUP*, operations relative to the term *samāsa* are undertaken. For this, the compound string is sent to the interior domain of 5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*. As indicated earlier, this domain may introduce certain affixes after the compound.

(21) Since *aṅga* is a term assigned by the *CD* to those strings which undergo affix placement, the output of (20) may be termed an *aṅga* before the affix, and as a consequence, be sent to the domain constituted by rules 6.4.1 through 7.4.97.

(22) In view of (16), the output of (21) is still a *samāsa* and hence is required to exhaust the operations triggered by that term. This results in the scanning of the domain of 6.1.223 for assignment of the accent.

(23) The output of (22) is now allowed to undergo operations required of *prātipadika*, irrespective of the fact that it was originally termed *samāsa*. The most general operation at this stage is the placement of a *sUP*. However, this must wait until a proper number and gender is assigned to the compound. This means scanning the 2.4 section of the grammar again.

Steps (17) through (23) illustrate that the derivation of Sanskrit compounds necessarily requires expansion of the main domain. The explicit idea of domain and recurrence joins hands with the implicit device of referential indices in accomplishing the derivations under the general direction of derivative conventions (13) through (16). The step-by-step derivation of compounds is closely related to the placement of domains in the grammar. This becomes more apparent when we look at the following computation of rules corresponding to various steps in a derivation.

(24) steps (17-18)
2.1.1-2.1.4 (2.1.5-2.1.21) (2.1.22-2.2.22)
(2.2.23-2.2.28) (2.2.29)
2.2.30-2.2.38

(25) step (19)
(2.4.71...) (6.3.1-6.3.139)
(26) steps (20-21)
(5.4.68-5.4.160)
(6.4.1-7.4.97)
(27) step (22)
(6.1.223-6.2.199)
(28) step (23)
(2.4...) (4.1.1-4.1.2...)

Pāṇini, as mentioned earlier, derives Sanskrit compounds with reference to their analysed forms (*vigraha-vākya*). He establishes four categories of compounds: *avyayībhāva, tatpuruṣa, bahuvrīhi* and *dvandva*. However, two more categories, *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu*, Pāṇini treats as subcategories of *tatpuruṣa*. Since compounds express a single integrated meaning and include forms which may be labelled principal (*pradhāna*) and secondary (*upasarjana*), grammarians have attempted to explain the characteristics of compounds with reference to the prominence of constituent meanings.

(29) The meaning of the first constituent is dominant in *avyayībhāva* compounds. A *tatpuruṣa* compound entails exactly the opposite. In *bahuvrīhi* compounds, no constituent is semantically dominant. Instead, some element outside the constituency of the compound enjoys semantic prominence. As opposed to this, a *dvandva* compound assigns equal semantic prominence to each one of its constituents.

(30) *Avyayībhāva* compounds

Avyayībhāva compounds are treated as indeclinables. Pāṇini does not define an indeclinable. Instead, he refers to a class of items headed by *svar* 'heaven' and terms them *avyaya* 'indeclinable'. He extends this same designation to *avyayībhāva* compounds. One can interpret the term *avyayībhāva* as referring to items which attain the status of an *avyaya* through compound formation. However, this does not mean that an indeclinable cannot partake in the formation of an *avyayībhāva* compound. This may appear vacuous, especially when one understands that 2.1.4 *saha supā* require that the constituents of a compound be *padas* and indeclinables cannot be treated as *padas*. It is perhaps in view of this fact that Pāṇini treats *avyayas* as *prātipadikas* and thus clears the way for 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 to yield a *pada* by placement of a *sUP*. This brings the indeclinables on a par with other units which may qualify for compound formation. In essence, an *avyayībhāva* compound, just as any other nominal compound, takes a string of two *padas* $x_n + y_1$ where y_1 may be a *pada* ending in *sU* (nominative singular) which underlies a *prātipadika* termed *avyaya*. The other *pada*, x_n, also a nominal, does

not have to underlie an indeclinable as its *prātipadika*. Neither does it need to end only in the nominative. Pāṇini has referenced the term *avyaya* in the nominative in 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti-samīpa...samṛddhi...* in order to show that the indeclinable *pada* will be termed an *upasarjana* and hence placed first in the compound. Let us consider the following derivations.

(31) $x_7 + y_1$ = *hari* + *Ṅi* + *adhi* + *sU* →
adhihari (harau adhi) 'on Hari'

(*a*)	*hari*	→	1.2.45, 4.1.1-2 (placement of *sUP*)
		=	*hari* + *Ṅi* → 1.4.14 (*pada*)
(*b*)	*adhi*	→	1.2.45, 4.1.1-2
		=	*adhi* + *sU*
			adhi + *sU* → 2.4.82 # 1.1.37
		=	*adhi* + *LUK*
		=	*adhi* + ∅
		=	*adhi* → 1.4.14 # 1.1.62 (*pada*)
(*c*)	*hari* + *Ṅi* + *adhi*	→	2.1.1-2.1.4, 2.1.5-2.1.6
	hari + *Ṅi* + *adhi*	→	2.2.30 # 1/2/43
		=	*adhi* + *hari* + *Ṅi*
	adhi + *hari* + *Ṅi*	→	1.2.46, 2.4.71
		=	*adhihari* + *LUK*
		=	*adhihari* + ∅
		=	*adhihari* (*prātipadika, samāsa*)
(*d*)	*adhihari*		
(*e*)	*adhihari*	→	1.2.45-46, 4.1.1-2
		=	*adhihari* + *sU*
	adhihari + *sU*	→	2.4.82 # 1.1.37 (as in *adhi* + *sU*)
		=	*adhihari*
	adhihari	→	1.4.14 # 1.1.62
		=	*adhihari* (*pada*)

(32) $x_7 + y_1$ = *gopa* + *Ṅi* + *adhi* + *sU*
adhigopam 'on Kṛṣṇa'

(a-d)	*gopa* + *Ṅi* + *adhi*	→	same as steps (a-d) of (31)
		=	*adhigopa* (*prātipadika, samāsa*)
	adhigopa	→	1.2.45-46, 4.1.1-2
		=	*adhigopa* + *sU*
	adhigopa + *sU*	→	2.4.82 # 1.1.37; 2.4.83
		=	*adhigopa* + *am*
	adhigopa + *am*	→	1.4.109, 6.1.107
		=	*adhigopam*
	adhigopam	→	1.4.14 (*pada*)

(33) $x_7 + y_1$ = *strī* + *Ṅi* + *adhi* + *sU*
adhistri 'pertaining to women'

(a-d) *stri* + *Ṅi* + *adhi* → same as steps (a-d) of (31)
= *adhistrī*
(*e*) *adhistrī* → 1.2.45-46, 1.2.47
= *adhistri*
adhistri → 4.1.1-2 (same as in (31))
= *adhistri* (*pada*)

Steps (a-b) of (31) illustrate the process whereby a string of two *padas*, *hari* + *Ṅi* + *adhi* + *sU*, was obtained. The first *pada* of this string, *hari* + *Ṅi*, follows the general derivational pattern in that it underlies a *prātipadika* (1.2.45 *arthavad...*) which is sent to the domain of 4.1.1, where 4.1.2 offers a set of twenty-one *sUP* affixes from among which one must be selected. The selection of *Ṅi* (locative singular) after *hari* (similarly, after *gopa* in (32) and *strī* in (33) was accomplished with the help of referential indices and the *kāraka-vibhakti* (1.4;2.3) sections of the grammar. The second *pada*, *adhi* + *sU*, underlies an indeclinable which, in turn, causes *LUK* deletion of *sU* by rule 2.4.82 *avyayād āp-supaḥ*:

'*LUK* (zero) is ruled as a substitute in place of *āP* (feminine affixes *CāP*, *ṬāP*, and *ḌāP*) and *sUP* which occur after an indeclinable (*avyaya*)'.

According to 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*, integration requires *padas* as inputs. Rule 1.4.14 *sup-tiṅantaṃ padam* states that only those items which end either in a *sUP* or a *tiṄ* may be considered *padas*. The *sU* of *adhi* in (31) was deleted. Can *adhi* still be called a *pada*? The answer is 'yes', since 1.1.62 *pratyaya-lope pratyaya-lakṣaṇam* states that operations relative to an affix take place even though the affix has been deleted. The compounds derived above are allowed by rules 2.1.5 and 2.1.6.

2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ* '*avyayībhāva*'
avyayaṃ vibhakti-samīpa-samṛddhi-vyṛddhy-arthābhāva-atyaya-asamprati-śabda-prādurbhāva-paścād-yathā-ānu-pūrvya-yaugapadya-sādṛśya-sampatti-sākalya-anta vacaneṣu
"An indeclinable can be combined with a *pada* ending in a *sUP* provided that the indeclinable has one of the following significations: *vibhakti* 'locus', *samīpa* 'proximity', *samṛddhi* 'prosperity', *vyṛddhi* 'lack of prosperity', *arthābhāva* 'scarcity', *atyaya* 'lapse', *asamprati* 'inappropriate for the occasion', *śabdaprādurbhāva* 'initiation of discourse', *paścāt* 'after', *yathā* 'correspondingly, etc.', *ānupūrvya* 'one after the other. sequence', *yaugapadya* 'simultaneity', *sādṛśya* 'similarity', *sampatti* 'propriety', *sākalya* 'entirety', or *anta* 'limit'.

In our example, *adhi* has been used in the sense of locus. Since 2.1.6 references the term *avyaya* in the *prathamā* 'nominative', *adhi* will have to be placed first (2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*). The string *adhi* + *hari* + *Ṅi*, has three terms assigned to it: *samāsa*, *avyayībhāva* and *upasarjana*. Now the

term *prātipadika* (1.2.45-46) becomes applicable and 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...* causes the *LUK* deletion of *Ṅi*, thus reducing the string to *adhihari*. Similar steps must be followed in deriving compounds such as (32) *adhigopa* and (33) *adhistri*.

We have left step (d) of (31), etc., with no indication of any rule application. Actually, (31) *adhihari*, as well as (32) and (33), must go through step (d), which requires the scanning of the *samāsānta* (5.4.68) and accent sections of the grammar. I shall discuss rules relating to placement of accent only when it becomes necessary. The placement of *samāsānta* affixes must be discussed. Our examples (31-33) did not qualify for affix placement although they did scan the domain of 5.4.68. One cannot question the validity of taking these strings to the domain of *samāsānta* affixes simply because there was no rule application. We have no way of knowing beforehand what strings may or may not involve the placement of these affixes. Consider the following derivation.

(34) $x_6 + y_1$ = *śarada* + *Ṅas* + *upa* + *sU*
= *upaśaradam* 'near the time of autumn'
steps (a-c) same as in (33)

(*d*) *upaśarad*	→	5.4.68, 5.4.107
		# 3.1.1-2, 4.1.1, 4.1.76
	=	*upaśarad* + *ṬaC*
upaśarad + *ṬaC*	→	1.3.3, 1.3.7, 1.3.9
	=	*upaśarad* + *a*

Example (34) is similar to (31-33), however, it requires the placement of a *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* in accord with 5.4.107.

5.4.107 *avyayībhāve śarat-prabhṛtibhyaḥ*
"*ṬaC* is placed after items headed by *śarad*, etc., when they occur in an *avyayībhāva* compound."

In order to accomplish the placement of affixes such as *ṬaC*, we must subject our compound string to access to the domain of 5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*, which, itself, is an interior domain of 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*. I must point out here that items which undergo the placement of an affix may qualify for assignment of the term *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*) and consequently may end up scanning the domain of 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, even if there is no rule application there. For example, no rule applied to *upaśarada*, yet the *aṅga* domain was scanned. An example of affix placement which involves the application of a rule in the *aṅga* domain follows.

(35) $x_6 + y_1$ = *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *upa* + *sU*
= *uparājan* 'near the king'
steps (a-c) same as in (34)

	=	*uparājan*
(*d*) *uparājan*	→	5.4.68, 5.4.108

uparājan + a = *uparājan + ṬaC*
→ 1.1.64, 1.4.13, 1 4.18, 6.4.1, 1.6.4.129, 6.4.144

It is evident from this derivational history that *uparājan* was sent to the domain of 6.4.1 *aṅgasya* where 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* became applicable. As a result, the *ṭi*, i.e., *an* (1.1.44 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of an *n*-final *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), namely, *uparājan*, had to be deleted because a *taddhita* affix (*ṬaC*) followed. This affix was ruled by 5.4.108 *anaś ca* which states that affix *ṬaC* is placed after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending is *an*. Rules 5.4.107-8 place *ṬaC* obligatorily. However, 5.4.109 *napuṃsakād anyatarasyām* 5.4.111 *jhayaḥ* and 5.4.122 *gireś ca senakasya* make the placement optional when the second member of an *avyayībhāva* compound is neuter, or is '*nadī* river', *paurṇamāsī* 'day of full moon' or *āgrahāyaṇī* 'day of full moon of the ninth month'. Furthermore, *ṬaC* also is optional when the compound ends in *jhay* 'stops' or *giri* 'mountain'. It is imperative that optional status of placement of *ṬaC* yield a set of two forms, one with *ṬaC* and one without it.

After placement of the *samāsānta* affixes, *aṅga* operations become obligatory. The output of this operation is forwarded to the accent domain for accentuation. It is after the process of accentuation that compound strings become eligible for operations which apply only to *prātipadika*. One of the most general operations concerning such items is placement of *sUP* in the domain of 4.1.1. It should be remembered here that proper selection of *sUP* after a nominal stem underlying an *avyayībhāva* compound will still be guided by terms such as *avyaya* 'indeclinable' and *napuṃsaka* 'neuter'. Consequently, the selected *sUP* affix can be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād...* or replaced by *am* (2.4.82-84). Some of the preceding derivational details also may prove helpful in understanding the following compound derivations. Common operations regarding *sUP* placement or deletion, ordering of constituents, accentuation and obvious phonological changes, unless necessitated by the nature of a given derivation will not be discussed.

(36) *Tatpuruṣa* Compounds

The description of *tatpuruṣa* compounds, including its subtypes *karmadhāraya* and *dvigu*, is contained in the interior domain 2.1.22-2.2.22. The recurrence of 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' runs through 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*. The consequence of this recurrence is twofold.

(*a*) Compound formations allowed by rules contained in the set 2.1.12 *āṅ maryādā* ... through 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ* may be used alternately with their corresponding non-compound strings.

(*b*) Compound formations not contained in this set, i.e., those allowed by rules prior to 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā*, are obligatory (*nitya*).

Since Pāṇini describes compounds with reference to their analysed

forms, it is reasonable to attempt their generation in terms of the *sUP* they underlie. Let us examine the following derivational history.

(37) $x_2 y_1$ = *kaṣṭa* + *am* + *śrita* + *sU*
= *kaṣṭaśrita*
= *kaṣṭaśrita* + *sU*
= *kaṣṭaśritaḥ* 'he who has resorted to grief'

kaṣṭa + *am* + *śrita* + *sU*	→	2.1.1-4
		2.1.22
		2.1.24
		2.2.30 # 1.2.43
	=	*kaṣṭa* + *am* + *śrita* + *sU*
kaṣṭa + *am* + *śrita* + *sU*	→	1.2.45-46
		2.4.71
	=	*kaṣṭa* + *LUK* + *śrita* + *LUK*
	=	*kaṣṭa* + ∅ + *śrita* + ∅
	=	*kaṣṭaśrita*
kaṣṭaśrita	→	accent placement
kaṣṭaśriṭa	→	4.1.1-2
	=	*kaṣṭaśrita* + *sU*
	=	*kaṣṭaśritaḥ*

This is a fairly straightforward derivational history. The *kāraka-vibhakti* sections of the grammar helped rules 4.1.1-2 to place a *sUP* after *kaṣṭa* and *śrita*, both *prātipadikas*, to yield *kaṣṭa* + *am* and *śrita* + *sU*. These *padas* were considered syntactically related and thus optionally were allowed to form a compound by 2.1.24.

2.1.24 *dvitīyā-śrita-atīta-patita-gata-atyasta-prāpta-āpannaiḥ*
"A *pada* ending in *dvitīyā* (accusative) optionally can be combined with another *pada* containing such items as *śrita* 'resorted to', *atīta* 'passed', *patita* 'fallen', *gata* 'gone', *atyasta* 'thrown beyond', *prāpta* 'attained' and *āpanna* 'reached'.

The term *dvitīyā* in 2.1.24 is referenced with the nominative (*prathamā*), and since items referenced with the nominative mark an *upasarjana* (1.1.62 *prathamā...*), *kaṣṭa* + *am* was recognized as an *upasarjana* and placed first in the compound string: *kaṣṭa* + *am* + *śrita* + *sU* (2.2.30). Rules 1.2.45-46 identified the string as a *prātipadika* to which 2.4.71 applied. Subsequently, *am* and *sU* were deleted. The string was thus reduced to *kaṣṭa-śrita* which, after the placement of proper accent, was ready to accept the *sUP* placement used in deriving *kaṣṭaśritaḥ*, a *pada* containing a *samāsa* 'compound' termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem'.

The recurrence of *dvitīyā* is carried through 2.1.29 *atyanta saṃyoge ca*. These rules account for the formation of compounds which are derived

from strings containing one *pada* in *dvitīya* and the other underlying a nominal stem ending in *Kta*. Pāṇini specifies conditions which allow particular compounds by citing the nominal stems, *sUP* or meanings involved. Thus he cites indeclinables such as *svayam* 'self' (2.1.26 *svayaṃ ktena*) and *sāmi* 'half' (2.1.27 *sāmi*) which may be combined with items ending in *Kta* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*). He also cites specific nominal stems such as *khaṭva* 'cot' as part of a *pada* ending in accusative, although he further restricts the compound formation by imposing a semantic condition *kṣepa* 'contempt' (2.1.26 *khaṭvā kṣepe*). Similarly, in 2.1.28 *kālāḥ* he identifies the constituents in accusative by citing *kāla* 'measure of time' as the general signification of their nominal stems. In 2.1.29, he cites the general meaning *kāla* but no longer restricts the second constituent to those which contain *Kta*. Instead, he cites another semantic constraint: *atyanta-saṃyoga* 'full duration'. These rules are illustrated by: *svayaṃ dhautau* (*pādau*) 'feet washed by themselves', *sāmikṛtam* 'half-done', *khaṭvārūḍha* 'a social renegade', *māsapramitaś* (*candramā*) 'new moon about to start measuring the month by her shape' and *muhūrtasukham* 'momentary pleasure'. All these derivations follow the general steps outlined under (17) through (27).

Parallel to instances of *pada* ending in *dvitīyā*, Pāṇini also enumerates instances where words ending in *tṛtīya* (instrumental), *caturthī* (dative), *pañcamī* (ablative) and *saptamī* (locative) can be combined with other *pada*. For example, words ending in *tṛtīyā* (2.1.30 *tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena*) can be combined with items containing *artha* 'wealth' or items signifying qualification (*guṇavacana*) ascribed to them (*tatkṛtārtha*). In addition, a *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā* can also be combined with another *pada* which contains a nominal stem in *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd-atiṅ*) expressing either *kartṛ* 'agent' or *karaṇa* 'instrument' (2.1.32 *kartṛ-karaṇe kṛtā...*). Examples of these include: *kirikāṇaḥ* 'a person who has but one eye due to (the charge of) a boar', *dhānyārthaḥ* 'wealth due to grain' (2.1.30), *māsenapūrvaḥ* 'prior by a month', *mātṛsadṛśaḥ/mātṛsamaḥ* 'like (equal to) mother', *māṣonam* 'less by a *māsa* (a copper coin)', *vākkalahaḥ* 'quarrel by word', *ācāranipuṇaḥ* 'skilful in behaving', *tilamiśraḥ* 'mixed with sesame', *ācāraślakṣṇaḥ* 'gentle in behaving' (2.1.31), *ahihataḥ* 'killed by a snake(bite)' and *paraśuścchinnaḥ* 'cut by an axe' (2.1.32).

A *pada* ending in *caturthī* (2.1.36 *caturthī tadartha-artha-bali-hita-sukha-rakṣitaiḥ*) can be combined with a *pada* either signifying a thing for it, or containing *artha* 'purpose', *bali* 'ritual offering', *hita* 'good', *sukha* 'pleasant' or *rakṣita* 'reserved' as its nominal stem. Thus we get examples: *yūpadāruḥ* 'wood for the ritual post', *kuṇḍalahiraṇyam* 'gold for the ear-rings', *indrabaliḥ* 'ritual offering for Indra', *gohitam* 'good for cows', *gosukham* 'pleasant for cows' and *putrarakṣitaḥ* 'reserved for the son'.

Instances of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a constituent in *pañcamī* (ablative) are limited. Pāṇini identifies entities serving as the source of fear as *apādāna* 'ablative' (1.4.25 *bhī-trārthānām...*) and rules *pañcamī* after them. Such words can be combined with those words which may contain the nominal stem *bhaya* 'fear' (2.1.37 *pañcamī bhayena*). This can give the example *vṛkabhayam* 'fear of a wolf or wolves'. A few *padas*-ending in *pañcamī* may be combined with other *pada* provided these latter contained items such as *apeta* 'away', *apoḍha* 'separated', *mukta* 'released', *patita* 'fallen' and *apatrasta* 'frightened' (2.1.38 *apetāpoḍha...*). Examples for these are *sukhāpetaḥ* 'away from comfort', *kalpanāpoḍhaḥ* 'separated from or lacking imagination', *cakramuktaḥ* 'released from the wheel', *svargapatitaḥ* 'fallen from heaven' and *taraṅgāpatrastaḥ* 'frightened of waves'. Finally, *padas* which end in *pañcamī* and either contain *kṛcchra* 'difficult' or items which have the signification of *stoka* 'little', *dūra* 'distant' or *antika* 'proximate' may be combined with *padas* containing a *Kta*. Thus, we get examples such as *stokānmuktaḥ* 'saved by a little effort', *kṛcchrāllabdaḥ* 'obtained with difficulty', *antikādāgataḥ* 'arrived from a nearby place' and *dūrādāgataḥ* 'arrived from a distant place' (2.1.39 *stoka-antika-dūra-artha-kṛcchrāṇi ktena*).

A detailed enumeration of *tatpuruṣa* compounds having a constituent in *saptamī* (locative) is available in 2.1.40 and 2.1.40-48. This time Pāṇini does not identify specific constituents ending in the locative. Instead he cites the nominal stems of constituents which combine with a constituent in the locative. Consider 2.1.42 *siddha-śuṣka-pakva-bandhaiś ca* which states that a *pada* ending in locative may be combined with another *pada* which contains nominal stems such as *siddha* 'made', *śuṣka* 'dried up', *pakva* 'cooked, ripe' and *bandha* 'tied'. Thus we derive *grāmasiddha* 'made in the village', *ātapaśuṣka* 'sun-dried', *sthālīpakva* 'cooked in a *sthālī* (a vessel)' and *yūpabandha* 'tied to a ritual post' from *grāma* + *Ṅi* + *siddha* + *sU*, *ātapa* + *Ṅi* + *śuṣka* + *sU*, *sthālī* + *Ṅi* + *pakva* + *sU* and *yūpa* + *Ṅi* + *bandha* + *sU* respectively. A few other rules also provide for a *pada* in the locative to be combined with another *pada* with specific stems and semantic conditions.

Pāṇini waits almost till the end of the section to describe *tatpuruṣa* compounds one constituent of which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'the sixth *sUP* triad'. This is only logical since relations expressed by *ṣaṣṭhī* are considered a residue (*śeṣa*) of relations expressed by other endings. Pāṇini presents 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī* whereby a nominal ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* is combined with a logically connected nominal. We have already discussed *rājapuruṣa* which is derived from *rājan* + *Ṅas puruṣa* + *sU*. This rule is a general rule to which Pāṇini notes certain exceptions. For example, a word ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* cannot be combined with a logically connected word if the *ṣaṣṭhī* expresses *nirdhāraṇa* 'singling out an individual or a thing on the basis of class, quality and action' (2.2.10 *na nirdhāraṇe*). A string such as *kṣatriyo manuṣyāṇāṃ śūratamaḥ* 'a *Kṣatriya* is the bravest among all men', derives from *kṣatriya* + *sU*

manuṣya + *ām śūratama* +*sU*. Although *kṣatriya* + *sU* and *manuṣya* + *ām* are logically connected, 2.2.10 will block their combination since the *ṣaṣṭhī* (*ām*) has been added after *manuṣya* to express *nirdhāraṇa*. Similarly, a nominal ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* cannot be combined with any one of the following: an ordinal (ending in a suffix *pūraṇa* cf. 5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe*..., etc.), a word expressing quality (*guṇa*), a word expressing satisfaction (*suhita*), a word ending in affixes *Śatṛ* and *Śānac* (3.2.127 *tau sat*), an indeclinable, a word ending in *tavyaT* (3.1.96 *tavyat*...) and a word co-referential with the nominal in *ṣaṣṭhī* (2.2.11 *pūraṇaguṇa*...). Consequently, compounds are not permissible for strings such as *chātrāṇāṃ pañcamaḥ*, 'fifth among the students', *kākasya kārṣṇyam* 'blackness of the crow', *phalānāṃ suhitaḥ* 'satisfaction of fruits', *brāhmaṇasya kurvan* 'doing the work of a *brāhmaṇa*', *brâhmaṇasya kṛtvā* 'having finished the work of a *brāhmaṇa*', *brāhmaṇasya kartavyam* 'fit to be done by a *brāhmaṇa*' and *rājñaḥ pāṭliputrakasya* 'of the king of *Pāṭaliputra*'. Additionally, nominals ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* cannot be combined with a logically connected nominal if this nominal contains *Kta* and *Kta* is ruled to express *pūjā* 'respect' (2.2.12 *ktena ca pūjāyām*) or *adhikaraṇa* 'locus' (2.2.13 *adhikaraṇavācinā ca*).

Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ* states that when nominals ending in a *kṛt* are to be used in a sentence, the agents or objects of the actions denoted by the roots underlying those nominals must be expressed by genitive. This presents no problem when only the agent or the object is to be expressed. But what if both are to be expressed in the same sentence? The genitive ruled by 2.3.65 can only be introduced to express the object (2.3.66 *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*). Coming closer to the context of a *tatpuruṣa* formation, we find that 2.2.14 *karmaṇi ca* will block the formation of a *tatpuruṣa* with a constituent in *ṣaṣṭhī* if the *ṣaṣṭhī* was ruled by rules 2.3.65-66 to denote the object. Combining a *ṣaṣṭhī* which has been ruled by 2.3.65 to express agency similarly will be blocked by 2.2.16 *kartari ca*. Furthermore, a nominal which ends in a *ṣaṣṭhī* ruled by 2.3.65 cannot be combined with a nominal ending in *tṛC* or *aka* (2.2.15 *tṛjakābhyām kartari*). Thus compounds parallel to *gavāṃ dohaḥ* 'milking of a cow', *kūpasya khanakaḥ* 'digger of a water-well' and *tava śāyikā* 'your turn to sleep' are not available in the usage.

Note here, however, that 2.2.17 *nityaṃ krīḍājīvikayoḥ* allows a *pada* in *ṣaṣṭhī* to combine with another *pada* ending in *aka* provided the compound denotes *krīḍā* 'sport' or *jīvikā* 'livelihood'. Thus compounds such as *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā* 'a sport where *uddālaka* flowers are broken or crushed' and *dantalekhakaḥ* 'he who earns his living by painting teeth' obligatorily are ordered despite the stipulation of 2.2.15. See pages 28-29 for differing interpretations of this rule.

Pāṇini also discusses a special type of *upapada* 'conjoined' *tatpuruṣa* wherein a co-occurring nominal obligatorily is combined with a logically

connected nominal (2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*). The derivation of such compounds is relatively complex. Consider *kumbhakāra* 'pot-maker' which, at least theoretically, is derived from *kumbha* + *Ṅas* + *ḌUkṛÑ* + *aṆ*. The affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *aṆ* (3.2.1 ...*aṆ*) is added after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) to express *kartṛ* 'agent' (3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*) under the condition that a co-occurring nominal also expresses *karman* 'object' (3.2.1 *karmaṇi*...). In the above string, the co-occurring nominal is *kumbha* + *Ṅas*. It is termed an *upapada* by 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham* since it expresses the object and is referenced by *saptamī* in 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*. It is interesting to note that *kumbha* does not take *dvitīyā* to express the object it specifies. Instead, it takes *ṣaṣṭhī* which, in turn, is conditioned by the use of the *kṛt* affix *aṆ* after *ḌUkṛÑ*. The interdependency of the placement of *ṣaṣṭhī* and *aṆ* contributes to the complexity of such derivations. This need not trouble us, however, since for purposes of compound derivations, we will have the already derived string *kumbha* + *Ṅas* and *kṛ* + *aṆ*. This will yield an *upapada-tatpuruṣa*: *kumbha* + *Ṅas* + *ḌUkṛÑ* + *aṆ* → *kār* + *a*) = *kumbha* + *as* + *kāra* → *kumbha* + *kāra* = *kumbhakāra*.

Rules 2.2.20 *amaivāvyayena*, 2.2.1 *tṛtīyā-prabhṛty anyatarasyām* and 2.2.22 *ktvā ca* also provide *upapada-tatpuruṣa* formations. These rules deal specifically with combinations of indeclinables and co-occurring *padas*. Two interesting facts may be noted about such compounds.

(*a*) Compounds allowed by 2.2.20 are obligatory while those allowed by 2.2.1 and 2.2.22 are optional.

(*b*) Whereas 2.2.20 specifies the indeclinables which must be combined with co-occurring *padas* in general, 2.2.1 and 2.2.22 specify both the co-occurring *pada* and the indeclinable with which it may combine.

Examples of type (*a*) are: *svāduṃkāram* and *lavaṇaṃkāram* as in *svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte* 'he eats the food after sweetening it' and *lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte* 'he eats the food after salting it'. Note here that *kāram* of both these examples is termed indeclinable by 1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ*. Rule 2.2.20 specifically requires that indeclinables combining under this rule must end in *am*. Examples of type (*b*), under 2.2.21, also require the indeclinable to end in *am* but additionally require that the co-occurring *padas* must be those allowed by rules 3.4.47 *upadaṃśas*... through 3.4.64 *anvacyā*.... Thus we get optional compounds such as *mūlakopadaṃśa* in *mūlakopadaṃśaṃ bhuṅkte* 'eats with a bite of a radish' and *uccaiḥkāram* in *uccaiḥkāram ācaṣṭe* '...talks about a sad thing by raising the voice'. Rule 2.2.22 allows one non-*am* indeclinable, *Ktvā*, which is used in deriving such examples as *uccaiḥkṛtya* which has the same meaning as *uccaiḥkāram*.

Mention must also be made of a few other types of *tatpuruṣa* compounds. A most frequent type is the negative *tatpuruṣa* where the negative particle *naÑ*, an indeclinable, is combined with a logically connected word (2.2.6 *nañ*). Thus, *na brāhmaṇaḥ* can have a parallel compound form *abrāhmaṇaḥ*

'a non-*brāhmaṇa*'. Another indeclinable, though not the constituent of a negative compound, is *īṣat* 'slight, little' which can be combined with a logically connected non-*kṛt* word to yield a *tatpuruṣa* compound as follows.

īṣat + *sU piṅgala* + *sU* → *īṣatpiṅgala* 'light yellow' (2.2.7 *īṣad akṛtā*)

Rule 2.1.49 *pūrvakāla...kevalāḥ samānādhikaraṇena* adds a new dimension to the description of *tatpuruṣa* compounds. It states that a *tatpuruṣa* compound optionally can be formed by combining a nominal which either signifies *pūrvakāla* 'preceding action' or contains bases such as *eka* 'single', *sarva* 'all', *jarat* 'old', *purāṇa* 'ancient, old', *nava* 'new' or *kevala* 'alone' with a logically connected co-referential nominal. Aside from the general requirement of logical connection, this rule imposes formal and semantic constraints and demands that the second constituent be co-referential with the first. Now, since *samānādhikaraṇa* 'co-referential' is a technical term, its referential index must be reconstructed. This in turn will involve 1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikarana karmadhāravah* which states that a *tatpurusa* compound with co-referential constituents is termed *karmadhāraya*. Hence, 2.1.49 will allow a compound formation *snātabhuktaḥ* 'a person who first bathed then atė' from *snāta* + *sU* and (*anu*) *bhukta*+*sU* where *snāta*+*sU*, a nominal signifying period of action, is combined with (*anu*) *bhukta* + *sU* which signifies following action and is co-referential with *snāta* + *sU*. Similarly one can derive *ekavaidyaḥ* 'there is just one person and he is the doctor', *sarvamanuṣyaḥ* 'all men', *jaradaśvaḥ* 'old horse', *purāṇāvasatham* 'old dwelling', *navāvasatham* 'new dwelling' and *kevalānnam* 'just the rice (grain).

The *anuvṛtti* of *samānādhikaraṇa* continues through 2.1.72 *mayūra...* which, incidentally, is also the last rule of the 2.1 quarter. This means that compounds allowed by rules subsequent to, and including, 2.1.72 will be termed *karmadhāraya*. However, Pāṇini introduces 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ* to assign the term *dvigu* rather than *karmadhāraya* to those *tatpuruṣa* compounds formed by 2.1.51 which have a nominal denoting number as their first constituent. Rule 2.1.51 allows a nominal optionally to combine with a logically connected co-referential nominal provided that the first nominal contains bases signifying *diś* 'direction' or *saṃkhyā* 'number', or the resultant compound is to express the meaning of a *taddhita* 'secondary' affix or the compound is to be followed by a (third) constituent or is to express the meaning of *samāhāra* 'collection'.

Let us consider *paurvaśālaḥ* 'existing in the eastern hall' which is derived by combining two logically connected co-referential words: *pūrvā* + *Ṅi* and *śālā* + *Ṅi*. The first word contains a base which signifies *diś*; the second word is co-referential with it. This yields *pūrvaśālā* to which the *taddhita* affix *Ña* (4.3.57 *tatra bhavaḥ*) is introduced. After a few familiar operations, this will yield *paurvaśālaḥ*. Similarly, *pūrvāśālā* can be formed if a third

constituent, such as *priya* + *sU* follows, such a combination would yield *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ* 'he to whom the eastern hall is dear', a *bahuvrīhi* compound with an internal *tatpuruṣa* named *karmadhāraya*. In order to generate such compounds, one has to exhaust all the possibilities of rule application on the internal *tatpuruṣa*. For example, if the three constituents of *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ* were allowed to form a *bahuvrīhi* without first forming an internal *tatpuruṣa*, 6.1.223 would allow high pitch on the last syllable of *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ*, which would be wrong. The high pitch is intended on the last syllable of *pūrvaśālā*. This can be accomplished only if we first form the *tatpuruṣa*. That this preference is well motivated can be most effectively shown by taking an example such as *pañcagavadhanaḥ* 'he who possesses five cows as his property'. It derives from: *pañcan* + *Jas* and *go* + *Jas* which are in syntactic coordination. After the deletion of the endings and the *n* of *pañcan*, we will derive the *dvigu-tatpuruṣa pañcago*. Since *dvigu* is considered singular, the ending which can be introduced after *pañcago* should also be singular. However, before we add the ending *sU* by 4.1.2, we must exhaust the operation of placing *ṬaC* after *pañcago*. This will yield: *pañcago* + *ṬaC* → *pañcago* + *a* = *pañcagava*. It is only after this that *pañcagava* can take *sU* and the resulting *pañcagava* + *sU* be compounded with *dhana* + *sU* to yield *pañcagavadhanaḥ*. Note here that *Jas* after both *tatpuruṣa* constituents is plural nominative. The *sU* after *dhana* is singular. An attempt to form a *bahuvrīhi* irrespective of prior *tatpuruṣa* formation would have created difficulties. The endings of the constituents would have been dissimilar. However, by forming the *tatpuruṣa* first, the resultant form *pañcagava*, can only take *sU* and *pañcagava* + *sU* and *dhana* + *sU* would have similar endings.

Besides yielding internal *dvigu* or *karmadhāraya*, constituents in syntactic coordination can also yield independent *dvigu* or *karmadhāraya*. compounds. Consider the following three examples: *aṣṭādhyāyī* 'collection of eight chapters', *pañcapūlī* 'collection of five bunches' and *pañcakumārī* 'collection of five virgins'. They are derived from *aṣṭan* + *ām* + *adhyāya* + *ām*, *pañcan* + *ām* + *pūla* + *ām* and *pañcan* + *ām* + *kumārī* + *ām* respectively. After the *LUK* deletion of *ām*, the first compound is realized as *aṣṭa*(*n* → ∅) + *adhyāya* = *aṣṭādhyāya*. The other two are similarly realized as: *pañcapūla* and *pañcakumārī*. Rule 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam* requires such compounds to be treated as neuter. However, it is argued (*Mbh.* and *Pradīpa*, II:863-64) that if the following constituent of such a compound ends in *a*, the compound should be treated as feminine. In view of this, *aṣṭādhyāya* and *pañcapūlā* will have to take *ṄīP* so that one can derive *aṣṭādhyāyī* and *pañcapūlī*. Since the final member of *pañcakumārī* does not end in *a*, it cannot be treated as masculine. Consequently, its final vowel will be shortened by 1.2.47 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*, yielding *pañcakumāri*.

The following are important rules in yielding independent *karmadhāraya*.

2.1.55 *upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*
'*Padas* signifying *upamāna* (*x* to which *y* is compared can be combined with *padas* signifying *sāmānya* (common property of *x* and *y*) if they are in syntactic coordination.'
2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*
'*Padas* containing nominal stems which denote a thing compared (*upamita*) can be combined with a *pada* containing *vyāghra* 'tiger', etc., provided common property is not being denoted'.
2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*
'A qualifier *pada* can be diversely combined with another *pada* which contains the qualified'.

Rule 2.1.56 is an exception to 2.1.55 since it allows combining *padas* which do not express common property. For example, consider the compound *ghanaśyāmaḥ* 'Lord *Kṛṣṇa*'. Here *ghana* means cloud and *śyāma* 'blackness' is the common property of both *ghana* and *śyāma*. This compound will be allowed by 2.1.55. However, examples like *naravyaghra* will be allowed only by 2.1.56. Here *nara* 'man' and *vyāgraḥ* 'tiger' possess mutually exclusive properties. Derivationally, 2.1.55 requires *ghana*, the *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. to be placed first. Rule 2.1.56 would not allow such ordering of constituents. Rule 2.1.57 generalizes the combination of qualifiers and qualifieds in, for example, *nīlotpalam* 'blue lotus'. However, the use of the term *bahulam* 'diversely' implies that such compounds may be obligatory or may not be allowed at all. Compounds such as *kṛṣṇa-sarpaḥ* 'black snake' are obligatory while expressions such as *rāmo jāmadagnyaḥ* 'Rāma, the son of Jamadagni' are not permitted to yield a compound.

(38) *Bahuvrīhi* compounds

As has been pointed out in our discussion of *citragu* and *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi* is a compound where more than one syntactically related words combine to yield a nominal which serves as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to something other than that which is denoted by its own constituents (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*). The *bahuvrīhis* technically are treated as the remainders of the other compounds. That is, the formation of a *bahuvrīhi* is possible only when no other compound formation is provided for (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*). Together with *dvandva*, *bahuvrīhi* also forms an exception to the notion of two-word compound formation.

I have already explained that a constituent which is referred to by the nominative in a rule governing compound formation is termed secondary (*upasarjana*; 1.2.43 *prathamā nirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam*). Furthermore, items identified as *upasarjana* are placed first in a compound (2.2.30 *upasarjanam pūrvam*). Since *anekam* 'more than one' of 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* refers to the constituents of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, they will be termed *upasarjana*. It is obvious that 2.2.30 *upasarjana pūrvam* cannot regulate the order of constituents in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. Pāṇini

offers the following rules to account for what should be placed first in a *bahuvrīhi.*

2.2.35 *saptamī-viśeṣaṇe bahuvrīhau*
"A constituent which is either a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) or which ends in the locative (*saptamī*) is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound."
2.2.36 *niṣṭhā*
"A constituent which ends in suffixes termed *niṣṭhā* (*Kta* and *KtavatU;* 1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound."
2.2.37 *vāhityāgnyādiṣu*
"A constituent which ends in suffixes termed *niṣṭhā* optionally is placed first when it is a constituent of compounds such as *āhitāgni* 'he who has set the sacrificial fire', etc."

The above may very well explain why *bahu, citrā, vīra, prāpta, upahṛta* and *uddhṛta* are placed first in compounds such as *bahuvrīhiḥ* 'he who possesses abundant rice', *citragu* 'he who owns brindled cows', *vīrapuruṣako* (*grāmaḥ*) '(a village) where heroic people live', *prāptodako* (*grāmaḥ*) '(a village) to which water has reached', *upahṛtapaśū* (*rudraḥ*) '(Rudra) to whom the sacrifice of an animal has been offered' and *uddhṛtaudanā* (*sthālī*) '(a cooking pot) from which rice has been taken out'. The above compounds are all formed under the provision of 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe.* Four additional rules also deal with the formation of *bahuvrīhi* compounds.

2.2.25 *saṃkhyayā' vyayāsannādūrādhikasaṃkhyāḥ saṃkhyeye*
'A *pada* which underlies an indeclinable (*avyaya*), or underlies *āsanna* 'proximate', *adhika* 'more' or *adūra* 'near' is combined with another *pada* denoting a thing countable (*saṃkhyeya*) to yield a *bahuvrīhi.*'
2.2.26 *diṅnāmāny antarāle*
'A *pada* which underlies a stem denoting directional name (*diṅnāma*) is combined with another *pada* containing a similar stem provided the resultant *bahuvrīhi* denotes an intermediate direction (*antarāla*).'
2.2.27 *tatra tenedam iti sarūpe*
'A *pada* which ends either in the locative (*saptamī*) or instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) is combined with another *pada* identical to it to form a *bahuvrīhi.*'
2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*
'*Saha* 'with' is combined with a *pada* in the instrument to yield a *bahuvrīhi,* provided both constituents are equally conjoined with the action.'

The above rules account for the formation of compounds such as *dvitrāh* 'two or three', *āsannadaśāḥ* 'nearly ten', *upadaśāḥ* 'about ten' (2.2.25); *dakṣiṇapūrvā* 'the direction intermediate between south and east', *pūrvottarā* 'the direction between east and north' (2.2.26); and *keśākeśi* 'a fight where fighters sieze each other's hair' and *daṇḍādaṇḍi* 'a fight where fighters strike with stick', (2.2.27).

I have stated earlier that some sections of book five and six also play a major role in the derivation of compounds. The placement of the *samāsānta* affixes has been discussed in connection with *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Some of these affixes also apply to *bahuvrīhis*. Since the scanning process relative to this has been explained, I shall not discuss it further. However, I must discuss a few rules concerning the replacement of a feminine constituent by its corresponding masculine form.

The following is the crucial rule in this connection.

6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād-anūṅ* ...
'A form denoting feminine is treated as masculine provided (*i*) it has a corresponding masculine, (*ii*) it does not end in *ūN*, (*iii*) it is followed by a feminine form having the same reference (*samānādhikaraṇa*) and (*iv*) the subsequent item is not *priyā*, etc., or does not contain an ordinal affix.'

This rule will operate on examples such as *citragu* and *rūpavadbhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is beautiful' where *citrā* and *rūpavatī* are replaced by *citra* and *rūpavat*. The shortening of *o* (in *citrago*) and the final *ā* (in *bhāryā*) is due to the items being *upasarjana* (1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjana*). However, this rule will not apply to examples such as *vāmorūbhāryah* 'he whose wife has beautiful thighs' *gaṅgābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is Gaṅgā' and *kalyāṇī-pradhānaḥ* 'he among whose wives the beautiful one is chief' where *vāmorū* ends in *ūN*, *gaṅgā* does not have a corresponding masculine and *kalyāṇī* is followed by a masculine form.

Replacement by a masculine is also blocked for constituents which denote a name and end in a *taddhita* affix that conditions *vṛddhi* but does not denote *rakta* 'coloured by' or *vikāra* 'modification' (6.3.38 *saṃjñā-pūraṇayoś ca;* 6.3.39 *vṛddhi-nimittasya...*). This will block the derivation of **dattabhāryaḥ* and **māthurabhāryaḥ* in favour of *dattābhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife's name is Dattā' and *māthuribhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife was born in Mathurā'. Replacement by a masculine is also prevented in examples such as *sukeśībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife has beautiful hair' and *rākṣasībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is a demon' (6.3.40 *svāṅgācceto' mānini*; 6.3.41 *jāteś ca*) where *sukeśī* ends in feminine suffix *ī* introduced after an item denoting part of a body (*aṅga*) and *rākṣasī* denotes class (*jāti*).

With reference to multiple word compound formation, I suggested five combinatory modes (items 8-12) and posed problems concerning them. Let us consider the following compound:

(39) *rājagavīkṣīram* 'king's cow's milk'.

By 2.1.4 *saha supā,* only two syntactically related words may be combined to yield a compound. Furthermore, the first two constituents, *rājan* + *Ṅas* *go* + *Ṅas*, cannot be combined since they both end in genitive. Instead, a combination of *go* + *Ṅas* + *kṣīra* + *sU* is permissible. However, 2.1.4 also

suggests that if we treat *go* + *Ṅas* as *go* + *sU* it can then be permitted to combine with *rājan* + *Ṅas*. The result will be: *rāja(n* → ∅) *go* = *rājago*. After the placement of *ṬaC*, we can derive *rājago* + *ṬaC* = *rājago* + *a* = *rājagava*. This can then take feminine affix *ṄīP* to yield *rājagavī* 'king's cow'. The preceding shows how we get two compounds *rājagavī* and *gokṣīra*. A third compound can also result if we first combine *go* + *Ṅas* + *kṣīra* + *sU* and then combine that result with *rājan* + *ṄaS*. The result will be: *rājan* + *ṄaS* (*go* + *Ṅas* + *kṣīra* + *sU*) = *rājan* + *ṄaS* + *gokṣīra* + *sU* = *rājagoksīram* 'king's (cow's milk)'. This is possible because in all three derivations the *samartha* relationship is not impaired and only two *padas* are allowed to combine at any one time.

In the derivation of *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ*, I observed that a *bahuvrīhi* with an internal *tatpuruṣa* will bring an undesired result. I also showed that *pañcagavadhanaḥ* will be blocked if a three-word *bahuvrīhi* was formed simultaneously. Commentators agree that any mode of combination is acceptable as long as the desired forms result and the *samartha* condition is not impaired. However, usages generally favour combining lower level formatives first, then gradually moving towards the higher level constructions. The guiding force is *sāmarthya*; the direction usually is from left to right. Since 2.1.4 accounts for the largest number of compounds, we may favour a combinatory mode of two *padas* at a time. It is probably most revealing, too, since 2.2.24 does not offer any conclusive evidence for simultaneous multiple word compound formation.

It is a general practice in deriving compounds that nominal endings of the constituents is deleted by *LUK* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*; 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*). However, since a general deletion rule cannot apply unless its exceptions are fully accounted for, exceptions of *LUK* contained in the set headed by 6.1.3 *alug uttarapade* must be considered. For example, *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *kaṇṭhekālaḥ* 'he on whose throat there is black' and *urasilomā* 'having hair on the chest' would not lose their locative ending in view of 6.3.12 *amūrdhamastakāt....* Similar non-deletion is provided for some other compounds which I shall not discuss here for lack of space. Mention must be made, however, of those rules which deal with the assignment of number and gender of compounds.

It is interesting to note that Pāṇini treated the specification of gender as falling outside the scope of his grammar (1.2.53 *tad aśiṣyaṃ saṃjñā-pramāṇatvāt*; also see *Mahābhāṣya* on 4.1.3: *liṅgam aśiṣyaṃ lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*). However, since the constituents of a compound characteristically can be of varying genders, the question of assigning gender to a compound is indeed relevant. Thus, an *avyayībhāva* compound is treated as neuter (*napuṃsaka*; 2.4.1 *avyayībhāvaś ca*). A *tatpuruṣa* or a *dvandva* compound is assigned the gender similar to its following constituent (2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandva-tatpuruṣayoḥ*). This, however, covers only a limited

number of compounds. For a more comprehensive treatment of gender of various compounds, one should refer to rules such as 2.4.19 *tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ,* etc. Because there obtains a qualifier-qualified relationship between a *bahuvrīhi* compound and that which it denotes, the gender of a *bahuvrīhi* is not difficult to ascertain. The assignment of number also is fairly straightforward. Most compounds can be handled easily. Pāṇini, however, presents some rules to account for the non-obvious. For example, 2.4.1 *dvigur ekavacanam* states that a *dvigu* compound is singular in number. There are also rules about *dvandva* compounds in singular. Most of the rules relevant to the assignment of number and gender are given in the 2.4 section of the grammar.

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āṅ maryādābhividhyoḥ (2.1.13) 199 '*āṄ* combines in an *avyayībhāva* compound, optionally, with a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *pañcamī* when *maryādā* 'exclusive limit, up to, though not including' and *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit, up to, though including' are denoted'
āj jaser asuk (7.1.50) 138 'augment *asUK* is introduced, in the Vedic, to *Jas* 'nominative plural' when this same occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a*'
āto' nupasarge kaḥ (3.2.3) 81 'affix *ka* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *a* and is not used with a preverb, provided a *pada* occurs in construction with the signification of *karman*'
āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ (7.3.33) 119 'augment *yUK* is introduced to an *aṅga* ending in *a* when *CiṆ*, or a *kṛt* affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* as an *it*, follows'
āto lopa iṭi ca (6.4.64) 'the final vowel of an *aṅga* ending in *a* is deleted via *LOPA* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with augment *iṬ*, or is marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, and begins with a vowel, follows'
ātmanepadeṣv anyatarasyām (2.4.44) 8 '*han* is, optionally, replaced with *vadha* when an *ārdhadhātuka*-replacement of *LUṄ* termed *ātmanepada* follows'
ādir antyena sahetā (1.1.71) 32 'an initial sound segment, when joined together with a final *it*, forms an abbreviatory symbol denoting itself and all intervening (non-*it*) sound segments'
ādir ñiṭuḍuvaḥ (1.3.5) 179 'the initial *ÑI*, *ṬU* and *ḌU* of an item, in *upadeśa*, is termed *it*'
ādeḥ parasya (1.1.54) 108 'a substitute specified for that which follows replaces its initial sound segment'
ādeca upadeśe (6.1.45) 79 'a verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, ends in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC*, is replaced with *ā*, but not when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows'
ādeśapratyayayoḥ (8.3.59) 84 'a *s* which occurs at the end of a *pada* after *iṆ* and *kU* and is either a substitute, or part of an affix, is replaced with *ṣ*, irrespective of whether intervened by *nUM*, *visarjanīya* and a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *śAR*'
ād guṇaḥ (6.1.87) '*LOPA* comes in place of a *vi* termed *apṛkta*'
ādyantavad ekasmin (1.1.21) 113 'an operation applies to a single item similar to one that applies to an initial and final'
ādyantau ṭakitau (1.1.71) 96 'that which is marked with *Ṭ* and *K* as an *it* is attached to the beginning and end, respectively'
ādyudāttaś ca (3.1.3) 40 'an affix which occurs after a verbal root is marked with *udātta* at the beginning'
ādhāro' dhikaraṇam (1.4.45) 104 'a *kāraka* which serves as locus (*ādhāra*) of an action is termed *adhikaraṇa*'

ānaṅ ṛto dvandve (6.3.25) 79 'augment *ānAṄ* is introduced to the initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which is formed with constituents ending in *ṛ*, and is used with the signification of a relationship by way of *vidyā* 'study, knowledge' and *yoni* 'birth''
āne muk (7.2.82) 109 'affix *mUK* is introduced to the *a* of an *aṅga* when *āna* follows'
āmantritasya ca (6.1.198) 114 'the initial vowel of that which is termed an *āmantrita* is also marked with *udātta*'
āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ (7.1.52) 138 'augment *sUṬ* is introduced to the initial of a nominal ending, namely, *ām*, when the same occurs after a pronominal (*sarvanāman*)'
āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakha ... (7.1.2) 176 'the initial *ph*, *ḍh*, *kh*, *ch* and *gh* of an affix is replaced with *āyan*, *ey*, *in*, *īy*, and *iy*, respectively'
ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ (3.4.114) 24 'the remaining affixes are termed *ārdhadhātuka*'
ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ (7.2.35) 97 'augment *iṬ* is introduced to an affix which is termed *ārdhadhātuka* and begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vAL*'
ārdhadhātuke (2.4.35; 6.4.46) 62 'when that which is termed an *ārdhadhātuka* follows an *aṅga*'
ārhād agopucchasaṃkhyā ... (5.1.19) 19 'a *taddhita* affix, namely, *ṭhaK*, occurs after a nominal stem to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, provided the stem signifies something other than *gopuccha* 'cow's tail,' *saṅkhyā* 'number' and *parimāṇa* 'measure of weight''
āvaṭyāc ca (4.1.75) 92 'affix *CāP* occurs to denote feminine also after the non-*upasarjana* nominal stem *āvaṭya* 'grandson of Avaṭa''
āsuyuvapirapilapi ... (3.1.126) 19 'affix *ṆyaT* also occurs after verbal roots *ṣuÑ* 'to press out,' used with the preverb *āṄ*, *yū* 'to mix,' *ḌUvapA* 'to sow,' *rapA* and *lapA* 'to speak,' *trapUṢ* 'to be ashamed,' and *camU* 'to sip''
iko guṇavṛddhī (1.1.3) 125 'a substitute specified with express use of the terms *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* must come in place of vowels denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*'
iko yaṇ aci (6.1.77) 86 'a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* is replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ* when a vowel follows in close proximity'
iko hrasvo' ṅyo gālavasya (6.3.61) 118 'the final sound of a nominal which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*, with the exception of *ī* of *Ṅī*, is, in the opinion of Gālava, replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent combines to follow'
ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam (1.1.45) 66 'a replacement vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* is termed *samprasāraṇa* when it comes in place of corresponding consonants denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ*'
idam iś (5.3.3) 127 '*iŚ* comes in place of *idam* when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* follows'
indra-varuṇa-bhava-śarva ... (4.1.94) 54 'affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote a female, associated with a corresponding male, after non-*upasarjana* nominal stems *indra* 'Indra,' *varuṇa* 'Varuṇa,' *bhava* 'Śiva,' *rudra* 'Rudra,' *mṛḍa* 'Mṛḍa,' *hima* 'ice, snow,' *araṇya* 'forest,' *yava* 'barley,' *yavana* 'Ionian,' *mātula* 'mother's brother,' and *ācārya* 'teacher, preceptor' where, additionally, they also receive augment *ānUK*'
ive pratikṛtau (5.3.96) 65 'the *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem used in the sense of *iva* 'like' when the derivate denotes *pratikṛti* 'image, imitation''
ī ca gaṇaḥ (7.4.97) 79 '*ī* comes in place of the *abhyāsa* (6.1.2 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *gaṇa* when affix *ṆiC*, followed by *CaṄ*, follows'
īd āsaḥ (7.2.83) 109 '*āna* when occurring after *ās* is replaced with *ī*'
īdūtau ca saptamyarthe (1.1.19) 121 'forms which end in *ī* and *ū*, and denote the sense of locative (*saptamī*), are termed *pragṛhya*'
īdūded dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam (1.1.11) 121 'a form which ends in *ī* and *ū*, and denotes the sense of two, is termed *pragṛhya*'
īṣad akṛtā (2.2.7) 205 'a *pada* which contains *īṣat* 'a little, slight' combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP*, but does not contain a stem in a *kṛt*'
ugavādibhyo yat (5.1.2) 159 'the *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *krīta*, after a nominal stem which either ends

in *u*, or is listed in the group headed by *gava*'
uccair udāttaḥ (1.2.29) 122 'that which is articulated with a higher pitch is termed *udātta*'
uṇādayo bahulam (3.31) 62 'affixes *uṆ*, and its likes, are introduced after verbal roots, variously (*bahulam*), when an action is denoted at the current time'
upadaṃśas tṛtīyāyaṃ (3.4.47) 204 'affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *daṃśA* 'to bite,' used with the preverb *upa*, when it occurs in construction with a *pada* ending in the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*)'
upadeśe' j anunāsika it (1.3.2) 38 'the nasalized vowel of an item in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
upapadam atiṅ (2.2.19) 179 'a co-occurring *pada* (*upapada*; 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*) which does not end in a *tiṄ*, combines, obligatorily, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with another syntactically related *pada*'
upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ (2.1.55) 207 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes *upamāna* 'standard of comparison' optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related co-referential *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes a common quality'
upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge (2.1.56) 207 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and signifies *upameya* 'object of comparison' combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains items enumerated in the list headed by *vyāghra* 'tiger,' provided a word which denotes a common quality is not used'
upasargāḥ kriyāyoge (1.4.59) 238 'forms enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are termed *upasarga* when used in construction with verbal roots'
upasarjanaṃ pūrvam (2.2.30) 180 'a constituent *pada* which is termed *upasarjana* 'secondary' is placed first in a compound'
upān mantrakaraṇe (1.3.25) 8 'a suffix termed *ātmanepada* occurs after *sthā* to stay, stand 'when the same is used in construction with the preverb *upa* denoting the action of reciting a *mantra* (hymn)'
upānvadhyāṅvasaḥ (1.4.48) 149 'a *kāraka* which serves as locus is termed *karman* when the action is denoted by a root used with the preverbs *upa*, *anu*, *adhi* and *āṄ*'
ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi (2.3.66) 161 'a *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' occurs to express only *karman* 'object' when both a *kartṛ* and *karman*, not already expressed otherwise, are to be expressed in construction with a nominal ending in a *kṛt* affix'
ubhe abhyastam (6.1.5) 124 'those two, both, are termed *abhyasta*'
ur aṇ raparaḥ (1.1.51) 35 'a replacement vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṆ* is automatically followed by *r* when the same comes in place of *ṛ*'
ukālo' jj hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ (1.2.27) 122 'a vowel articulated with duration of *u*, *ū* and *u3* is termed *hrasva* 'short,' *dīrgha* 'long' and *pluta* 'extra-long,' respectively'
ṛta id dhātoḥ (7.1.100) 107 'the final *ṛ* of a *dhātu* 'verbal root' termed *aṅga* is replaced with *i*'
ṛto vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ (6.3.23) 191 'non-deletion, via *LUK*, applies to a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) which occurs after a nominal stem ending in *ṛ* and used with the signification of a relationship established by way of *vidyā* 'knowledge' and *yoni* 'birth''
ṛtvigdadhṛk... (3.2.59) 119 'affix *KvIN* occurs, by *nipātana*, in the derivation of *ṛtvik*, *dadhṛk*, *srak*, *dik*, and *uṣṇik*; additionally, it occurs after verbal roots *añcU* 'to bend,' *yujI* 'to join' and *kruñcA* 'to be crooked' when roots are used in construction with a *pada* ending in a *sUP*'
ṛtvyavāstvyavāstvamādhvīhiraṇyāni chandasi (6.4.175) 191 'the words *ṛtvya*, *vāstvya*, *mādhvī* and *hiraṇyaya* are derived via *nipātana* in the Vedic'
ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ (6.1.84) 62 'one in place of both the preceding and the following'
ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ (2.3.49) 124 'a singular termed *āmantrita* is termed *sambuddhi*'
ekavibhakticāpūrvanipāte (1.2.44) 77 'that which has a fixed nominal ending (in the paraphrase of a compound) is termed *upasarjana* provided preplacement is not to be performed'
ekāco dve prathamasya (6.1.1) 63 'that which is formed with the first vowel of an item is iterated to become two'
ekāco baśo bhaṣ jhaṣantasya (8.2.37) 85 'a replacement denoted by *bhaṢ* comes in place of one denoted by *baŚ* which, in turn, forms part of a monosyllabic part of a verbal root ending

in *jhaS*, when *baŚ* occurs either at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by *s* or *dhva* preceded by a sound denoted by *jhaL*'
eko gotre (4.1.93) 176 'only one *gotra* affix is introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem when descendants are denoted'
eṅ prācāṃ deśe (1.1.75) 122 'a form whose first among vowels is denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *eṄ* is termed *vṛddha* when the denotation is a place in the east'
ec igg hrasvādeśe (1.1.48) 107 '*ik*, alone, comes in place of a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC* when replacement in short is specified'
eco' yavāyāvaḥ (6.1.78) 115 'a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC* is replaced with *ay, av, āy, āv*, respectively, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in close proximity (*saṃhitā*)'
enapā dvitīyā (2.3.31) 160 'the second triplet of *sUP* is introduced after a nominal stem which occurs in construction with another ending in affix *enaP*'
enab anyatarasyām adūre (5.3.35) 160 'the *taddhita* affix *enaP* occurs with the signification of *diś* 'direction,' optionally, after nominal stems *uttara, adhara* and *dakṣiṇa* when they end in the locative (*saptamī*) and nominative (*prathamā*), though not in the ablative (*pañcamī*), provided derivates denote *diś* 'direction,' *deśa* 'place' and *kāla* 'time' as non-distant (*adūra*)'
er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya (6.4.82) 134 'an *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in *i*, where *i* is not preceded by a conjunct (*saṃyoga*) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with *yaṆ* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows'
kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye (2.2.38) 64 'a *pada* which contains *kaḍāra*, et cetera, is, only optionally, placed first in a *karmadhāraya* compound'
kaṇvādibhyo yak (3.1.27) 36 'affix *yaK* is introduced to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' after verbal roots enumerated in the group headed by *kaṇḍūÑ* 'to scratch''
kambalāc ca saṃjñāyām (5.1.3) 73 'the *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs also after the nominal stem *kambala* 'blanket' to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *krīta*, provided derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*)'
kartari karmavyatihāre (1.3.14) 73 'an *ātmanepada* suffix occurs after a verbal root when an agent with reciprocity of action is denoted'
kartari kṛt (3.4.67) 131 'an affix termed *kṛt* is introduced when the signification is agent (*kartṛ*)'
kartari ca (2.2.16) 28 'and also when the signification is agent (*kartṛ*)'
kartari śap (3.1.68) 69 'affix *ŚaP* is introduced after a verbal root when agent (*kartṛ*) is denoted'
kartuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca (3.1.11) 46 'affix *KyaṄ* occurs, optionally, to denote *ācāra* 'conduct' after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes an agent serving as an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison; additionally, the final *s* of the nominal stem goes through deletion via *LOPA*'
kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma (1.4.49) 104 'a *kāraka* which serves as most desired by the agent is termed *karman*'
kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā (2.3.18) 55 'the third triplet of nominal endings is introduced when *kartṛ* 'agent' and *karaṇa* 'instrument' are denoted'
kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam (2.1.32) 7 'a *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* and, either denotes a *kartṛ* or *karaṇa*, combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, variously (*bahulam*), with a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in a *sUP* and contains a derivate in *kṛt*'
kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti (2.3.65) 161 'a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is introduced to express *kartṛ* and *karman* when the nominal is used in construction with an item which ends in a *kṛt* affix, and when *kartṛ* and *karman* are not expressed otherwise'
karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam (1.4.31) 104 'a *kāraka* whom the agent intends as goal of the object of his action is termed *sampradāna*'
karmaṇi ca (2.2.14) 29 'a *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *karman* also does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related nominal which ends in a *sUP*'
karmaṇi dvitīyā (2.3.2) 56 'the second triplet of nominal ending is introduced when object (*karman*) is denoted'
karmaṇi hanaḥ (3.2.86) 20 'affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal root *yajA* used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and signifies *karaṇa* 'instrument,' provided action is denoted in the past'

karmaṇy aṇ (3.2.1) 63 'affix *aṆ* is introduced after a verbal root when the same is used in construction with a *pada* which denotes *karman*'

karmaṇy adhikaraṇe ca (3.3.93) 154 'affix *Ki* occurs, also, after verbal roots termed *ghu* when roots are used in construction with a nominal denoting *karman*, and the derivate denotes locus (*adhikaraṇa*)'

karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā (2.3.8) 160 'the second triplet of nominal endings is introduced after a nominal stem when it is used in construction with a *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ*)'

karmapravacanīyāḥ (1.4.83) 62 'the followings are termed *karmapravacanīya*'

karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ (3.1.87) 158 'when the agent (*kartṛ*) of a given action behaves in a manner similar to its object (*karman*), the *kartṛ* is treated as if it was *karman*'

karṣātvato ghaño 'nta udāttaḥ (6.1.159) 193 'an *udātta* is assigned to the final of verbal root *kṛṣ* 'to draw,' and also to that which ends in affix *GHaÑ* and contains an *a*'

kārake (1.4.23) 62 'when that which is doing'

kālāḥ (2.1.28) 201 'a *pada* which ends in the accusative (*dvitīyā*) and signifies time combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains a stem in *Kta*'

kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge (2.3.5) 160 'a *dvitīyā* occurs after nominal stems denoting *kāla* 'time' and *adhvan* 'road, distance' when *atyantasaṃyoga* 'continued connection' is denoted'

kālebhyo bhavavat (4.2.34) 114 'the *taddhita* affixes which occur after syntactically related nominal stems having the signification of *kāla* 'time,' et cetera, occur in a manner similar to affixes introduced for derivates with the signification of *bhava* 'born, or found' there'

kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo 'dvyādibhyaḥ (5.3.2) 38 'the *taddhita* affixes, introduced hereafter prior to *diśaḥ*, occur after a nominal stem which consists of *kim* 'what, which' and *sarvanāman* 'pronominal,' with the exclusion of its subgroup headed by *dvi* 'two' and *bahu* 'many''

kimaḥ saṃkhyāparimāṇe ḍati ca (5.2.41) 125 'the *taddhita* affixes *ḌatI*, in addition to *vatUP* with concurrent replacement of its *v* with *gh*, occurs to denote the sense of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) after the syntactically related nominal stem *kim* 'what' when it ends in the nominative (*prathamā*) and distinguishes a numerical measure (*saṃkhyāparimāṇa*)'

kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ (4.1.170) 125 'the *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs to denote an *apatya* 'offspring' after a syntactically related nominal stem which (*i*) ends in the genitive, (*ii*) is constituted by *kuru*, or (*iii*) begins with *n*, provided the base names a *janapada* 'principality' with the signification of a *kṣatriya*'

kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca (1.2.46) 52 'that which ends in a *kṛt* or *taddhita* affix, or is a *samāsa*, is also termed a nominal stem'

kṛtyāḥ (3.1.95) 27 'affixes enumerated hereafter are termed *kṛtya*'

kṛd atiṅ (3.1.93) 24 'a non-*tiṄ* affix is termed *kṛt*'

kṛn mejantaḥ (1.1.39) 204 'items ending in *kṛt*-affixes which end in *m*, or a vowel denoted by *eC*, are termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable''

kṅiti ca (1.1.5) 86 'vowels termed *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* do not come in place of a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *iK* when that which is marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'

ktaktavatū niṣṭhā (1.1.26) 74 'affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* are termed *niṣṭhā*'

ktena ca pūjāyām (2.2.12) 203 'a *pada* which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), also, does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP*, contains a *Kta* and denotes *pūjā* 'honouring''

kter mam nityam (4.4.20) 129 'the *taddhita* affix *maP* occurs obligatorily after a nominal stem which ends in *Ktri* (3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ*), and is used with the instrumental, provided the derivate denotes '...brought about by''

ktvā ca (2.2.20) 187 'a *pada* used in construction with another (*upapada*), referred to by rules 3.4.47 *upadaṃśa*...through 3.4.64 *anvacyā*..., also combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a form ending in *Ktvā*'

krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānām... (1.4.37) 146 'a *kāraka* which serves as one towards whom anger is directed is termed *sampradāna* when verbal roots having the signification of *krudh* 'to be angry,' *druh* 'to wish harm to' and *īrṣyā* 'not to tolerate' and *asūyā* 'finding fault with

qualities' are used'

krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayor karma (1.4.38) 146 'a *kāraka* which serves as one toward whom anger is directed, is termed *karman* when action is denoted by verbal roots *krudh* and *druh*, used with the preverb *upa*'

kryādibhyaḥ śnā (3.1.81) 36 'affix *Śnā* is introduced after verbal roots listed in the group headed by *ḌkrīÑ* 'buy, barter' when a *sārvadhātuka* (3.1.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) affix with the denotatum of *kartṛ* follows'

kvip ca (3.2.76) 30 'affix *KvIP* also occurs after a verbal root, used with or without a preverb, when the root occurs in construction with a *pada* ending in a *sUP*'

khaṭvā kṣepe (2.1.26) 201 'a *pada* which ends in the accusative (*dvitīyā*) combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related nominal terminating in *sUP* and containing a stem ending in *Kta*, provided *kṣepa* 'censure' is denoted'

kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ (8.3.15) 167 'a replacement in *visarjanīya* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *pada* which ends in *r*, provided a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *khaR*, or *avasāna* 'cessation of speech, pause,' follows in close proximity'

gatibuddhipratyavasānārthaśabdakarmākarmakāṇām aṇi kartā sa ṇau (1.4.52) 149 'a *kāraka* which serves as the agent of a non-*ṆiC* root that either has the signification of *gati* 'movement,' *buddhi* 'perception,' *pratyavasāna* 'consuming,' or has *śabda* 'noise' as its object, or has no object at all, is termed *karman* when the same root is used with *ṆiC*'

gatiś ca (1.4.59) 123 'items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are also termed *gati* when used in connection with a verb'

gamamadacarayamaś cānupasarge (3.1.100) 93 'affix *yaT* also occurs after verbal roots *gadA* 'to speak,' *madA* 'to rejoice, be drunk,' *carA* 'to move, consume,' and *yamA* 'to sustain, hold, control' when no *upasarga* 'preverb' is used'

gamer iḍ parasmaipadeṣu (7.2.58) 130 'augment *iṬ* is introduced to an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* which begins with *s* and occurs after an *aṅga*, namely, verbal root *gam* 'to go,' provided an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows'

gargādibhyo yañ (4.1.105) 139 'the *taddhita* affix *yaṬ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in the genitive, and is listed in the group headed by *garga*, provided the derivate denotes a *gotra*-descendant'

gāṅkuṭādibhyo' ñṇinṅit (1.2.1) 63 'an affix, not originally marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* as an *it* is treated as marked with *Ṅ* when it occurs after *gāṄ* 'to read, recite,' or after roots of the group headed by *kuṭ*'

gireś ca senakasya (5.4.112) 118 'the *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* also occurs, optionally in the opinion of Senaka, after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *giri* 'mountain''

guṇo yaṅlukoḥ (7.4.82) 65 'a *guṇa* vowel comes in place of an *iK*-final *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* when affix *yaṄ*, and its deletion via *LUK*, follows'

guptijkidbhyaḥ san (3.1.5) 101 'affix *saN* occurs, optionally, to denote *icchā* 'wish' after roots which name the object of, and share the same agent with, the action denoted by *iṣ* 'to wish''

gotrād yūny astriyām (4.1.94) 175 'a *taddhita* affix occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a descendant termed *gotra*, provided a non-female *yuvan* 'young male' is to be denoted'

gostriyor upasarjanasya (1.2.48) 193 'the final vowel of a nominal stem ending in *go*, or ending in a feminine affix, is replaced with its short (*hrasva*) counterpart when termed *upasarjana* 'secondary''

ghañi ca bhāvakarmaṇayoḥ (6.4.27) 83 'the penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely, *rañjI* 'to color,' goes through deletion, via *LOPA*, when affix *ŚaP* follows'

gharūpakalpaceladbruvagotramatahateṣu ṅyo' nekāco hrasvaḥ... (6.3.42) 129 'affix *Ṅī*, at the end of a polysyllabic (*anekāc*) nominal which is used with the denotation of feminine, does not end in *ūṄ*, and shares an identical base for usage with a corresponding masculine, is replaced with its short counterpart when *gha*, *kalpa*, *celaT*, *bruva*, *mata* and *hata* follow'

ghvasor edhāv abhyāsalopaś ca (6.4.119) 82 'the final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *ghu*, or

an *aṅga* constituted by *as*, is replaced with *e* when *hi* follows, with an additional provision that the *abhyāsa* be deleted by means of *LOPA*'
ḍaḥ si dhuṭ (8.3.39) 138 'augment *dhUṬ* is, optionally, introduced to a *pada* which begins with *s* and occurs after a *pada* ending in *ḍ*, when close proximity between sounds obtains'
ṅamo hrasvād aci ṅamuṇ nityam (8.3.32) 138 'augments *ṅUṬ*, *ṇUṬ* and *nUṬ* are, obligatorily, introduced at the beginning of a *pada* which begins with a vowel (*aC*) and occurs after a *pada* ending in *ṇ*, *m*, and *n*'
ṅic ca (1.1.53) 86 'a substitute marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* comes in place of the final sound segment of that which is specified with the genitive'
ṅiti hrasvaś ca (1.4.6) 123 'except for *strī*, a form which denotes feminine, ends in *i*/*u* (short or long) and has a replacement in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* is, optionally, termed *nadī* when an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'
ṅer ām nadyāmnībhyaḥ (7.3.116) 136 'a replacement in *ām* comes in place of affix *Ṅi* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* termed *nadī*, or an *aṅga* terminating in *āP*, or else, an *aṅga* constituted by *Nī*'
ṅyāp-prātipadikāt (4.1.1) 54 'an affix, through the end of *adhyāya* five, occurs after that which either ends in affixes marked with *Ṅī* and *āP*, or is termed a nominal stem'
caturthī cāśiṣyāyuṣyamadrabhadrakuśalasukhārthahitaiḥ... (2.3.73) 160 'a *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of *sUP*; dative' occurs, optionally, after a nominal stem when items having the signification of *āyuṣya* 'longevity,' *madra* 'joy,' *bhadra* 'good fortune,' *kuśala* 'well-being,' *sukha* 'comfort, happiness,' *artha* 'prosperity' and *hita* 'benefit' are used in conjunction, and benediction is expressed as the remainder'
caturthī tadarthārthabalihita ... (2.1.36) 41 'a *pada* which ends in the dative (*caturthī*) combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes *tadartha* 'a thing intended for by the denotatum of the *pada* ending in the dative,' or contains *artha* 'purpose,' *bali* 'sacrificial oblation,' *hita* 'beneficial,' *sukha* 'pleasure' and *rakṣita* 'reserved, protected''
caturthī sampradāne (2.3.13) 146 'a fourth triplet of *sUP* is introduced after a nominal stem when *sampradāna* is denoted'
cārthe dvandvaḥ (2.2.19) 8 'a compound termed *dvandva* is formed in the sense of *ca* 'and''
ciṇ te padaḥ (3.1.60) 45 '*CiṆ* is introduced in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *pada* 'to go' when *ta*-replacement of *LUṄ* with the denotation of *kartṛ* follows'
ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ (3.1.66) 96 'affix *CiṆ* occurs in place of *CLI* after a verbal root when a *ta*-replacement of *LUṄ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* and *karman* follows'
cityāgni citye ca (3.1.132) 61 'affixes *KyaP* and *ya* occur, via *nipātana*, to also derive *citya* and *agnicityā*, respectively, when *agni* is denoted'
cuṭū (1.3.7) 37 'an initial sound denoted by *cU* (1.1.69 *aṇudit*...), or *ṭU* of an affix, is termed *it*'
cchvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike ca (6.4.19) 134 'a *c-ch* and *v* of an *aṅga* is replaced with *ś* and *ūṬH*, respectively, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or one beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows'
cli luṅi (3.1.43) 45 'affix *CLI* occurs after a verbal root when *LUṄ* follows'
cleḥ sic (3.1.44) 45 'affix *CLI* is replaced with *sIC* when *LUṄ* follows'
chandasi niṣṭarkyadevahūyapraṇīyonnīyocchiṣyamaryastaryādhvaryakhanyakhānyadevayajyāspṛcchyapratiṣīvyabrahmavādyabhāvyastāvyopacāyyapṛḍāni (3.1.123) 118 'forms such as *niṣṭarkya*, et cetera, are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic'
chandasy ubhayathā (3.4.117)92 'an affix, the Vedic, can be termed *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*, either way'
janapadaśabdāt... (4.1.166) 124 'the *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs to denote an *apatya* 'offspring' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in the genitive and names a *janapada* 'principality, cluster of villages' with the signification of a *kṣatriya*'
janapade lup (4.2.81) 101 'a *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem with the signification of *deśa* 'place' is deleted by *LUP*, provided the derivate denotes a particular *janapada* 'principality, cluster of villages' so named'

janikartuḥ prakṛtiḥ (1.4.30) 148 'a *kāraka* which serves as material cause from which the agent of *jan* 'to be born' arises is termed *apādāna*'

jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām (7.2.101) 133 '*jaras* comes, optionally, in place of an *aṅga*, namely, *jarā* 'old age,' when a vowel-initial affix termed *vibhakti* follows'

jaśśasoḥ śiḥ (7.1.20) 122 '*Śi* comes in place of the nominal endings *Jas* and *Śas* when they follow an *aṅga* termed neuter'

jāgro 'vicinṇalṇitsu (7.3.85) 39 'a replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the *iK*-vowel of an *aṅga*, namely, *jāgṛ*, when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*, with the exception of *vi*, *CiṆ*, *ṆaL*, or an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows'

jāteś ca (6.3.41) 209 'a feminine form which denotes *jāti* 'class' and shares an identical base for usage in the masculine is not treated as that of its corresponding masculine when a constituent other than *mānin* follows'

jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā (4.1.163) 104 'the offspring of a grandson, and any other thereafter, is instead, termed *yuvan*, when a *vaṃśya* 'father, or someone equal to him is alive''

juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ (2.4.75) 36 'affix *ŚaP* goes through deletion via *ŚLU* when it occurs after roots enumerated in the group headed by *hu* 'to call, perform sacrifice'

jhayaḥ (5.4.11) 84 'the *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, optionally, after an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaY*'

jhayaḥ (8.2.10) 84 'the *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *vA* when *matUP* occurs after that which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaY*'

jhalāṃ jaśo' nte (8.2.39) 85 'a sound denoted by *jaŚ* comes in place of a sound denoted by *jhaL* which, in turn, occurs at the end of a *pada*'

jhalo jhali (8.2.26) 85 'the *s* which occurs after a sound denoted by *jhaL* is deleted by *LOPA* when a sound denoted by *jhaL* follows'

ñyādayas tadrājāḥ (5.3.119) 64 'the *taddhita* affixes introduced up to here beginning with *Ñya* (of 5.3.112 *pūgāñño' grāmaṇīpūrvāt*) are termed *tadrāja*'

ṭeḥ (6.4.143) 97 'the *iT* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows'

ṭvito' thuc (3.3.89) 37 'affix *athuC* occurs after a verbal root marked with *ṬU* as an *it* when *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, is denoted'

ḍati ca (1.1.25) 64 'number words which end in affix *Ḍati* are termed *ṣaṭ*'

ḍvitaḥ (3.3.88) 37 'affix *Ktr* occurs to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' after a verbal root marked with *ḌU* as an *it*'

ṇvultṛcau (3.1.133) 128 'affixes *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* occur after verbal roots'

taṅānāv ātmanepadam (1.4.100) 27 'replacements of *LA* affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *taṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*...), and also those denoted by *āna* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv*...; 3.2.106 *liṭaḥ*...), are termed *ātmanepada*'

tatpuruṣaḥ (2.1.22) 62 'a compound termed *tatpuruṣa*'

tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ (1.2.42) 71 'a *tatpuruṣa* compound whose constituents occur in syntactic coordination (refer to the same thing) is termed *karmadhāraya*'

tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ (2.43.19) 211 'a *tatpuruṣa* compound which is not a *naÑ*, or a *karmadhāraya*, is termed neuter'

tatprayojako hetuś ca (1.4.55) 104 'a *kāraka* which serves as *prayojaka* 'instigator' of the independent agent is additionally termed *hetu* 'causal agent''

tatra tenedam iti svarūpe (2.2.27) 200 'a *pada* which ends in *saptamī*, or in *tṛtīyā*, combines, optionally, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with an identical *pada* provided the derivate denotes *iti* 'thus (characterised)'

tatra bhavaḥ (4.3.57) 95 '*taddhita* affixes, hereafter, are introduced in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ* 'born, of found, there'

tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham (3.1.92) 61 'that which is specified there (in this domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) by means of the locative (*saptamī* seventh triplet of *sUP*) is termed an *upapada* 'conjoined word''

tathāyuktaṃ cānīpsitam (1.4.50) 149 'a *kāraka* which serves as something not desired by the agent is still termed *karman* if it is related with the action in a manner similar to that

which is most desired by the agent'
tad aśiṣyaṃ saṃjñāpramāṇatvāt (1.2.53) 210 'it (retention of original number and gender of a word) ought not to be taught since it is dependent upon usage'
tad asyāstīty asminn iti matup (5.2.94) 8 'a *taddhita* affix, namely, *matUP*, occurs to denote the sense of the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*; *tasya*), or of the locative (*saptamī*; *tasmin*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in the nominative (*prathamā*;*tat*), provided it is qualified with the denotatum of *asti* 'is, exists''
taddhitasya (6.1.64) 79 'of that which is termed a *taddhita*'
taddhitāḥ (4.1.76) 26 'here begins the domain of affixes termed *taddhita*'
taddhitārthottarapada... (2.1.51) 139 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains a stem denoting *diś* 'directional,' or *saṃkhyā* 'number,' combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in a *sUP*, when either the meaning of a *taddhita* affix finds its scope, or a third word is to follow, or else, *samāhāra* 'collection, grouping' is denoted'
taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ ... (7.2.117) 174 'an *ā* comes in place of initial among vowels of an *aṅga*, namely, *devikā*, *śiṃśapā*, *dityavāṭ*, *dīrghasattra* and *śreyas*, when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows, and the context is that of a replacement in *vṛddhi*'
tad vahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam (4.4.76) 64 'the *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *ratha* 'chariot,' *yuga* 'yoke' and *prāsaṅga* 'trial yoke' when the stems are used with the accusative and derivates denote the sense of *vahati* '...carrying ...''
tanādikṛñbhya uḥ (3.1.79) 36 'affix *u* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *tanU* 'to stretch, expand,' and also after verbal root *kṛÑ* 'to make, do.' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix with the denotation of *kartṛ* follows'
taraptamapau ghaḥ (1.1.22) 121 'affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* are termed *gha*'
tavyattavyānīyaraḥ (3.1.96) 5 'affixes *tavya*, *tavyaT* and *anīyaR* are introduced after verbal roots'
tasau matvarthe (1.4.19) 153 'a form which ends in *-t* and *-s* is termed *bha* when an affix denoting the sense of *matUP* follows'
tasmād ity uttarasya (1.1.67) 45 'that which is used with an ablative specifies the left context of an operation on what follows'
tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya (1.1.66) 45 'that which is used with the locative specifies the right context of an operation on what precedes'
tasmai hitam (5.1.5) 64 'a *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in the *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of *sUP*,' dative'
tasya paramāmreḍitam (8.1.2) 124 'the final of this iterated sequence is termed *āmreḍita*'
tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ (5.2.48) 'the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* occurs to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* 'that by which something is brought to completion, ordinal number' after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies number and ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*)'
tasya lopaḥ (1.3.9) 'an item termed *it* goes through deletion via *LOPA*'
tasya samūhaḥ (4.2.37) 68 'a *taddhita* affix, namely, *aṆ*, occurs after the first among syntactically related nominal *padas* which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), provided the derivate denotes 'a collection or group of that'
tasyāpatyam (4.3.92) 72 'a *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled to denote the sense of *apatya* 'offspring' after the first among syntactically related nominal stems ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*)'
tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ (1.4.102) 69 'the individual members of each triad of *sUP* are termed *ekavacana* 'singular,' *dvivacana* 'dual' and *bahuvacana* 'plural' respectively'
tābhyām anyatroṇādayaḥ (3.4.75) 39 'affixes *uṆ*, et al., also occur with a non-dative and ablative denotata'
tiṅastrīṇitrīṇi prathamamadhyamottamāḥ (1.4.101) 69 'the three elements of each triad of *tiṄ* is termed *prathama* 'first, third,' *madhyama* 'second' and *uttama* 'first, best,' respectively'
tiṅśit sārvadhātukam (3.4.113) 24 'that which is denoted by *tiṄ*, and also that which is marked with *Ś* as an *it*, is termed *sārvadhātuka*'

tiptasjhisiptastha... (3.4.78) 25 '*tiP/ tas/ jhi; siP/ thas/ tha; miP/ vas/ mas; ta/ ātām/ jha; thās/ athām / dhvam; iṬ/ vahi/ mahiṄ* are introduced in place of *LA*-affixes'

tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ (3.1.77) 36 'affix *Śa* is introduced after verbal roots listed in the group headed by *tud* 'to torment''

tumarthāc ca bhāvavacanāt (2.3.15) 160 'a *caturthī* 'dative' occurs after a nominal stem which terminates in an affix with the denotatum of action and which is synonymous with denotatum of *tumUN*'

tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam (1.1.9) 121 'a sound which shares same articulatory effort in the mouth with another is termed homogeneous (*savarṇa*)'

tṛjakābhyāṃ kartari (2.2.15) 28 'a *pada* which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and denotes *karman* 'object,' does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related nominal *pada* which ends in a *sUP*, contains a stem in *tṛC* and *aka*, and denotes *kartṛ*'

tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena (2.1.30) 201 'a *pada* which ends in the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP*, and either denotes (*i*) a quality produced by the *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā*, or (*ii*) contains *artha*'

tṛtīyāsaptamyor bahulam (2.4.84) 199 'a *tṛtiyā* and *saptamī* is variously replaced with *am* when it occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *a*'

tṛṣimṛṣikṛṣeḥ kāśyapasya (1.2.25) 118 'affix *Ktvā*, in the opinion of *Kāśyapa*, is not treated as marked with *K* as an *it* when it occurs with *iṬ* after verbal roots *tṛṣA* 'to be thirsty,' *mṛṣA* 'to endure, tolerate' and *kṛṣA* 'to be lean''

te tadrājāḥ (4.1.172) 104 'the *taddhita* affixes which occur after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in the genitive and naming a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya* are termed *tadrāja*'

tena krītam (5.1.37) 64 'a *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *krītam* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*)'

tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ (5.1.115) 65 'the *taddhita* affix *vatI* occurs to denote the sense of *tulya* 'same, equal' after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental,' provided what is *tulya* is also *kriyā* 'action''

tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam (4.4.2) 64 'the *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in the instrumental (*tṛtiyā*) when derivates signify *dīvyati* '...sports, plays,' *khanati* '...digs,' *jayati* '...wins' and *jitam* '...won''

tena raktaṃ rāgāt (4.2.1) 63 'a *taddhita* affix, particularly *aṆ* (3.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*), occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* and signifies 'color' when the derivate denotes 'colored by that'

tena saheti tulyayoge (2.2.28) 187 'a *pada* constituted by *saha* 'with' combines, optionally, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a *pada* which ends in the *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' provided referents of both share same relationship with the action'

tyadādīnām aḥ (7.2.102) 84 'the final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by items enumerated in the list headed by *tyad* 'that' is replaced with *a* when an affix termed *vibhakti* follows'

tricaturoḥ striyāṃ tisṛcatasṛ (7.2.99) 132 '*tisṛ* and *catasṛ* come in place of an *aṅga*, namely, *tri* and *catur*, when they are used with the signification of feminine and an affix termed *vibhakti* follows'

tres trayaḥ (6.3.48) 48 'the final sound segment of *tri* is replaced with *trayas* when a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number,' with the exception of *aśīti* 'eighty,' combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*'

tres trayaḥ (7.1.53) 63 '*traya* comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely, *tri* 'three,' when the genitive plural *ām* follows'

dāder dhātor ghaḥ (8.2.32) 85 'the *h* of a verbal root which begins with *d* is replaced with *gh* when *h* occurs at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*'

dādhā ghv adāp (1.1.20) 121 'roots which yield a form in *dā* and *dhā*, except for *dāP* 'to cut' and *daiP*, are termed *ghu*'

dikcchabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ (5.3.27) 65 'the *taddhita* affix *astātI* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *saptamī*, *pañcamī*, and *prathamā* when *diś* 'direction,' *deśa* 'location, place' and *kāla* 'time' are denoted'
diṅnāmāny antarāle (2.2.26) 208 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and names *diś* 'direction' combines, optionally, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes *diś*, provided the compound signifies *antarāla* 'intermediate direction'
divaḥ karma ca (1.4.43) 149 'a *kāraka* which serves as a means, more than any other, is also termed *karman* when the action is denoted by verbal root *divA* 'to play''
divādibhyaḥ śyan (3.1.69) 36 'affix *ŚyaN* is introduced after a verbal root listed in the group headed by *div* 'to sport, play''
dīpajanapūritāyi... (3.1.61) 45 '*CiṆ* occurs, optionally, in place of *ClI* after verbal roots *dīpĪ* 'to shine,' *janĪ* 'to be born,' *budhA* 'to know, perceive,' *pūrĪ* 'to overfill,' *tāyṚ* 'to stretch' and *OpyāyĪ* 'to grow' when a *la*-replacement of *LUṄ* with the denotatum of *kartṛ* follows'
dīrghaṃ ca (1.4.12) 124 'a long (*dīrgha*) is also termed *guru*'
dvandve ghi (2.2.32) 132 'a *pada* which terminates in *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*) is placed first in a *dvandva* compound'
dvigur ekavacanam (2.4.1) 63 'a compound termed *dvigu* carries the denotatum of one'
dviguś ca (2.1.23) 104 'a compound termed *dvigu* (2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ*) is also termed *tatpuruṣa*'
dvigor lug anapatye (4.1.88) 139 '*LUK* comes in place of a *taddhita* affix which, when not denoting an offspring, serves as a condition for forming a *dvigu* and signifies the sense of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati*'
dvitīyatṛtīyacaturthaturyāṇy anyatarasyām (2.2.3) 20 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains *dvitīya* 'second,' *tṛtīya* 'third,' and *caturtha* or *turya* 'fourth,' optionally, combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and refers to a single substance with parts'
dvitīyāśritātītapatitagatātyastaprāptāpannaiḥ (2.1.24) 200 'a *pada* ending in the accusative (*dvitīyā*) combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* ending in a *suP* and containing *śrita* 'resorted to, attained,' *patita* 'fallen into,' *atīta* 'gone through, over or beyond' and *āpanna* 'gotten to''
dvir vacane 'ci (1.1.59) 113 'a replacement of *aC* is treated as its substituendum when it is followed by an affix consisting of, or beginning with, a vowel, and conditioning doubling, provided doubling alone is to be performed'
dvyekayor dvivacanaikavacane (1.4.22) 167 'a dual and singular occur when duality and singularity is denoted'
dhātusambandhe pratyayāḥ (3.4.1) 63 'the following affixes are introduced when a relationship between actions is denoted'
dhātoḥ (3.1.91) 54 'an affix occurs after a verbal root ...'
dhātoḥ (6.1.162) 61 'after a verbal root ...'
dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkād icchāyāṃ vā (3.1.7) 91 'affix *saN* occurs, optionally, to denote *icchā* 'wish' after roots which name the object of, and share the same agent with, *iṣ* to wish'
dhātor ekāco halādeḥ saṃś ca (3.1.22) 45 'affix *yaṄ* occurs optionally after a monosyllabic verbal root which begins with a consonant when *kriyāsamabhihāra* 'repetitious, or intense, action' is denoted'
dhārer uttamarṇaḥ (1.4.35) 148 'a *kāraka* which serves as a creditor is termed *sampradāna* when *dhāri* 'to owe (causative of *dhṛÑ*)' is used'
dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca (3.1.80) 47 'affix *u* occurs after verbal roots *dhinvI* 'to please, satisfy, be satisfied' and *kṛṇvI* 'to hurt, injure' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows; additionally, a root-final sound is replaced with *a*'
dhruvam apāye 'pādānam (1.4.24) 48 'a *kāraka* which serves as *dhruva* 'fixed (point of reference)' is termed *apādāna* 'ablative' when *apāya* 'movement away from' is denoted'
dhvāṅkṣeṇa kṣepe (2.1.42) 189 'a *pada* which ends in the locative (*saptamī*) combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains a constitu-

ent denoting *dhvāṅkṣa* 'crow,' provided contempt (*kṣepa*) is denoted'

na kroḍādibahvacaḥ (4.1.56) 136 'affix *ṄīṢ* does not occur after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* 'secondary' constituent with the signification of *svāṅga* 'one's limb' and is either listed in the group headed by *kroḍa* 'lap, flank of a horse,' or else, consists of many vowels'

nañ (2.2.6) 204 'a *pada* constituted by *naÑ* 'not' combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP*'

nadībhiś ca (2.1.20) 128 'a *pada* which denotes *saṃkhyā* combines in an *avyayībhāva* compound, optionally, with a syntactically related *pada* denoting *nadī* 'river'

na dhātulopa ārdhadhātuke (1.1.4) 125 'vowels denoted by *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* do not come in place of an *iK* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, which conditions deletion of part of the root, follows'

na nirdhāraṇe (2.2.10) 202 'a *pada* which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and denotes *nirdhāraṇa* 'setting apart, singling out' does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* ending in a *sUP*'

napuṃsakasya jhaly acaḥ (7.1.72) 109 'augment *nUM* is introduced after last among vowels of a neuter presuffixal base (*aṅga*) which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaL*, or ends in a vowel (*aC*)'

napuṃsakād anyatarasyām (5.4.109) 199 'the *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, optionally, after a neuter nominal stem which ends in *an* and constitutes the final constituent of an *avyayībhāva* compound'

napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ (3.3.114) 41 'affix *Kta* occurs after a verbal root when root-sense is denoted in the neuter'

na bahuvrīhau (1.1.29) 109 'items listed in the group headed by *sarva* 'all' are not termed *sarvanāman* when they occur in a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*) compound'

na lumatāṅgasya (1.1.63) 66 'an operation relative to a pre-suffixal base (*aṅga* 1.4.13 *aṅgasya*) does not apply if the following affix goes through deletion via that (a term) which contains *LU*'

na veti vibhāṣā (1.1.44) 114 'or not (*na vā*) is termed *vibhāṣā* (option)'

nas taddhite (6.4.144) 199 'the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of an *aṅga*, termed *bha*, which ends in *n* is deleted via *LOPA* when a *taddhita* affix follows'

nāj jhalau (1.1.10) 121 'sounds denoted by *aC* (vowels) are not termed *savarṇa* 'homogeneous' with sounds denoted by *haL* (consonants)'

nāvyayībhāvād ato' pañcamyāḥ (2.4.83) 196 'a *sUP* which occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *aT* is not deleted; a *sUP*, if not a *pañcamī* 'ablative,' is replaced with *am*, instead'

nāsikodaroṣṭhajaṅghādantakarṇaśṛṅgāc ca (4.1.55) 136 'affix *ṄīṢ* occurs, optionally, to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* with the signification of *svāṅga* 'one's limb,' namely, *nāsikā* 'nose,' *udara* 'belly,' *oṣṭha* 'lip,' *jaṅghā* 'thigh,' *danta* 'tooth,' *karṇa* 'ear' and *śṛṅga* 'horn'

nityaṃ krīḍājīvikayoḥ (2.2.17) 28 'a *pada* which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), obligatorily, combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains *aka*, provided *krīḍā* 'sport' and *jīvikā* are denoted'

niṣṭhā (2.2.36) 121 'a *pada* which contains a stem in *niṣṭhā* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*) is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound'

niṣṭhā (3.2.102) 159 'an affix termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) occurs after a verbal root when action is denoted in the past'

niṣpravāṇiś ca (5.4.160) 92 'the *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur, via *nipātana*, after a compound termed *bahuvrīhi*, namely, *niṣpravāṇi*, a just about ready basket'

nīcair anudāttaḥ (1.2.30) 122 'a vowel which is articulated (with a) lower (pitch) at its place of articulation is termed low-pitched (*anudātta*)'

nṝn pe (8.3.10) 164 '*nṝn* is replaced with *rU* when *pA* follows and close proximity between sounds finds its scope'

neṭi (7.2.4) 137 'a vowel termed *vṛddhi* does not come in place of the vowel of an *aṅga* ending in a consonant when *iṬ*-initial *sIC* followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows'

paṅktiviṃśatitriṃśaccatvāriṃśatpañcāśatṣaṣṭisaptatyaśītinavatiśatam (5.1.59) 118 'the nominal stems *paṅkti* 'row, meter,' *viṃśati* 'twenty,' *triṃśat* 'thirty,' *catvāriṃśat* 'forty,' *pañcāśat* 'fifty,' *ṣaṣṭi* 'sixty,' *saptati* 'seventy,' *aśīti* 'eighty,' *navati* 'ninety,' and *śata* 'hundred' are derived via *nipātana* to denote a measure'

pañcamī bhayena (2.1.37) 202 'a *pada* which ends in the ablative (*pañcamī*) combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains *bhaya* 'fear''

padasya (8.1.16) 62 'of that which is termed a *pada*'

padāntasya (8.4.37) 138 'a replacement in *ṇ* does not come in place of a *n* which occurs at the end of a *pada*'

paravat liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ (2.4.26) 41 'gender of a *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* compound is assigned in accord with the gender of its final constituent'

paraś ca (3.1.2) 45 'and an affix occurs after...'

paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā (1.4.109) 196 'extreme proximity between sounds is termed *saṃhitā*'

parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatususthalathusaṇalvamāḥ... (3.4.82) '*ṆaL*, *atus*, *us*; *thaL*, *athus*, *a*; *ṆaL*, *va* and *ma* come in place of a replacement of *LIṬ* termed *parasmaipada*'

parājer asoḍhaḥ (1.4.26) 147 'a *kāraka* which serves as *asoḍha* 'unbearable' is termed *apādāna* when action is denoted by verbal root *ji* 'to win' used with the preverb *parā*'

parādiś chandasi bahulam (6.2.199) 195 'the initial syllable of a following constituent, namely, *saktha*, et cetera, is, variously, marked with *udātta* in the Vedic'

parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyām (1.4.44) 123 'a *kāraka* which serves as a means par excellence is, optionally, termed *sampradāna* 'dative' when *prikrayaṇa* 'hiring on stipulated wages' is denoted'

parikhāyā ḍhañ (5.1.17) 64 'the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *parikhā* 'moat, ditch' when ending in the nominative, provided the same is in syntactic coordination with *syāt* to denote the sense of 'there is a possibility of that' or 'it is possible in there''

parinivibhyaḥ sevasitasayasivusahasuṭstusvañjām (8.3.70) 65 'a *mūrdhanya* 'retroflex sound' comes in place of the *s* of verbal roots *seva*, *sita*, *saya*, *sivU*, *ṣaha*, *sUṬ*, *stu*, and *svañja*, when used after the preverbs *pari*, *ni*, and *vi*, when *aṬ*, and also when an *abhyāsa* intervenes in close proximity'

pātre samitādayaś ca (2.1.48) 202 'items enumerated in the list headed by *pātresamit* are also termed *tatpurusa* when *kṣepa* 'censure' is denoted'

pādaśatasya saṃkhyāder vīpsāyāṃ vun lopaś ca (5.4.1) 64 'the *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *pada* 'quarter' and *śata* 'hundred' and begins with a number (*saṃkhyā*) with an additional provision that the final sound segment of *pāda* and *śata* be replaced with *LOPA*, when derivates denote *vīpsā* 'repetition, pervasion''

pāyyasaṃnāyyanikāyyadhāyyā mānahavirnivāsasāmidhenīsu (3.1.129) 119 'affix *ṆyaT* occurs to derive *pāyya*, *sānnāya*, *nikāyya* and *dhāyyā* when derivates denote *māna* 'standard of measure,' *havi* 'oblation,' *nivāsa* 'residence' and *sāmidhenī* 'a particular hymn''

pitṛvyamātulamātāmahāḥ (4.2.36) 139 'the words *pitṛvya*, *mātula*, *mātāmaha* and *pitāmaha* are derived, via *nipātana*'

puṃvatkarmadhārayajātīyadeśīyeṣu (6.3.42) 98 'the form of a nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix *ūN* and shares an identical base for usage with a corresponding masculine, is treated as that of its masculine when this same combines in a *karmadhāraya* compound and affixes *jātīyaR* and *deśīyaR* follow'

puṃsi saṃjñāyāṃ ghaḥ prāyeṇa (3.3.118) 41 'affix *GHa* occurs, generally, after a verbal root when the derivate names a *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa*, in the masculine'

pugantalaghūpadhasya ca (7.3.86) 86 'a replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the *iK*-vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in augment *pUK*, or contains a vowel termed *laghu* as next to its last, when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* and *ārddhadhātuka* follows'

puri luṅ cāsme (3.2.122) 117 'affix *LUṄ* occurs, optionally, with *LAṬ* after a verbal root which co-occurs with *purā*, and is not used in conjunction with *sma*, provided the action which is not current is denoted in the past'

pūgāñ ño' grāmaṇīpūrvāt (5.3.112) 124 'the *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *pūga* and does not include *grāmaṇī* as its initial constituent'

pūraṇaguṇasuhitārthasadavyayasamānādhikaraṇena (2.2.11) 203 'a *pada* which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and entails *pūraṇa* 'that which ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix,' *guṇa* 'that which denotes quality,' *suhitārtha* 'that which denotes satisfaction,' *sat* 'that which ends in affixes termed *sat*,' *avyaya* 'indeclinable' and *samānādhikaraṇa* 'that which is used in syntactic co-ordination'

pūrvakālaikasarvajaratpurāṇanavakevalāḥ samānādhikaraṇena (2.1.49) 205 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains a stem that either denotes *pūrvakāla* 'something which naturally precedes the other,' or is constituted by *eka* 'one,' *sarva* 'all,' *jarat* 'aged,' *purāṇa* 'ancient, old,' *nava* 'new' and *kevela* 'only,' combines optionally in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in a *sUP*'

pūrvatrāsiddham (8.2.1) 5 'that which follows, here, is treated as if suspended in view of what precedes'

pūrvaparāvaradakṣiṇottarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām (1.1.34) 39 'items such as *pūrva, para, avara, dakṣiṇa, uttara, apara* and *adhara* are, optionally, termed *sarvanāman* when (*i*) operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed, and (*ii*) what is being denoted is *vyavasthā* 'relative difference, or location in time or space,' and not a name (*saṃjñā*)'

pūrvavat sanaḥ (1.3.62) 114 'an *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a verbal root ending in affix *saN*, in a manner similar to which it occurs after its non-*saN* counterpart'

pūrvasadṛśasamonārthakalahanipuṇamiśraślakṣṇaiḥ (2.1.31) 201 'a *pada* which ends in the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, optionally, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP*, and contains *pūrva, sadṛśa, sama, ūna,* and its synonyms, *kalaha, miśra* and *ślakṣṇa*'

pūrvāparādharottaramekadeśinaikādhikaraṇe (2.2.1) 204 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains *pūrva, apara, adhara,* or *uttara,* combines optionally with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and refers to a single substance (*ekādhikaraṇa*) with parts (*ekadeśin*)'

pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ (6.1.4) 103 'the first of the two elements gotten via iteration is termed *abhyāsa*'

por as upadhāt (3.1.98) 93 'affix *yaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in a sound denoted by *pU* and contains *aT* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*)'

pratyayaḥ (3.1.1) 45 'an affix ...'

pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam (1.1.62) 8 'an operation characteristic of an affix obtains even when the affix goes through deletion via *LOPA*'

partyayasthātkātpūrvasyāt... (7.3.44) 178 'a short vowel, namely, *i*, comes in place of an *a* which, in turn, occurs before *k* within an affix, provided *āP*, not used after a *sUP*, follows'

pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ (1.1.61) 99 'non-appearance of an affix is termed *LUK, ŚLU* and *LUP*'

pratyāṅbhyāṃ śruvaḥ pūrvasya karttā (1.4.40) 148 'a *kāraka* which serves as the agent of a prior action (of requesting) is termed *sampradāna* when *śru* 'to hear' is used with the preverb *prati* and *āṄ*'

prathamacaramatayālpārdhakatipayanemāś ca (1.1.33) 86 '*prathama* 'first,' *carama* 'last,' *alpa* 'little, less,' *ardha* 'half,' *katipaya* 'some,' *nema* 'several,' and words which end in affix *tayaP* (5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā* ...) as well, are, optionally, termed *sarvanāman* when operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed'

prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam (1.2.43) 20 'that which is specified with the nominative (*prathamā*) in formation of a compund is termed *upasarjana* (secondary)'

prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ (2.1.3) 64 'that which is enumeratea henceforth, prior to *kaḍāra*, (2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhārave*), is termed *samāsa*'

prāk krītāc chaḥ (5.1.1) 64 'a *taddhita* affix, namely, *cha*, occurs, henceforth prior to *krītāt* (5.1.37 *tena krītam*), after a nominal stem'

prāk sitād aḍ vyavāye' pi (8.3.63) 65 'a corresponding *mūrdhanya*, from here on prior to *sita* (8.3.70 *parinivibhyaḥ sevasita...*), comes in place of a *s* which does not occur at the end of a *pada*, whether or not augment *aT* intervenes'

prāg ivāt kaḥ (5.3.70) 65 'a *taddhita* affix, namely *ka*, occurs henceforth prior to *ive pratikṛtau* (5.3.96), after a nominal stem'

prāgg hitād yat (4.4.75) 64 'a *taddhita* affix, namely *yaT*, occurs as specified, henceforth prior to *hitād* (5.1.1 *tasmai hitam*)'
prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ (5.3.1) 65 'the *taddhita* affixes which, from here on prior to *diś* (5.3.27 *dikśabdebhyaḥ* ...), optionally occur after nominal stems are termed *vibhakti*'
prāg dīvyato' ṇ (4.1.83) 64 'a *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, optionally occurs, from here on prior to *dīvyati* (4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*...) after the first among syntactically related nominal stems'
prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ (1.4.56) 62 'what are here enumerated prior to *rīśvara* (1.4.97 *adhirīśvare*) are termed *nipātas*'
prāg vateṣ ṭhañ (5.1.18) 64 'a *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaÑ*, occurs after a nominal stem to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *vatI* (5.1.115 *tena tulyam*...)'
prāg vahateṣ ṭhak (4.4.1) 64 'a *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaK*, occurs henceforth as specified prior to *vahati* (4.2.76 *tadvahati*...), after a nominal stem'
prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā (2.3.46) 55 'a *prathamā* 'first triplet of *sUP*' occurs when only *prātipadikārtha* 'stem-notion,' *liṅga* 'gender,' *praimāṇa* 'measure' and *vacana* 'number' is to be expressed'
prādayaḥ (1.4.58) 123 'items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are termed *nipāta* 'particle' when they do not denote *sattva* 'thing''
prādiś chandasi (6.2.199) 167 'the initial (syllable) of a following (constituent), namely *saktha*, et cetera, is variously marked with *udātta* in the Vedic'
phalegrahir ātmaṃbhariś ca (3.2.26) 199 'affix *iN* occurs via *nipātana*, also, in deriving *phalegrahiḥ* and *ātmaṃbhariḥ*'
bahugaṇavatuḍatisaṃkhyā (1.1.23) '*bahu* 'many' and *gaṇa* 'group, class,' and those which end in affixes *vatU* (5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ* ...) and *ḍati* (5.2.41 *kimaḥ* ...) are termed *saṃkhyā*'
babhuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam (6.2.1) 64 'accent of the initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound remains as it originally was'
bhasya (6.4.129) 62 'of a *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) of an *aṅga*'
bhāvakarmaṇoḥ (1.3.13) 158 'an *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a verbal root when *bhāva* 'state, root-sense' and *karman* 'object' is denoted'
bhāva ca (4.4.144) 65 'the *taddhita* affix *tātiL* occurs in the Vedic, also, after nominal stems *śiva*, *śam* and *ariṣṭa* when *bhāva* 'root-sense' is denoted'
bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk (7.3.40) 97 'augment *ṣUK* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely, *bhī* 'to fear,' when the signification is *hetubhaya* 'fear to causal agent' and affix *Ṇī* follows'
bhītrārthānāṃ bhayahetuḥ (1.4.25) 147 'a *kāraka* which serves as source of fear (*bhayahetu*) is termed *apādāna* when verbal roots having the signification of *bhī* 'to fear' and *trā* 'to protect' are used'
bhīmādayo' pādāne (3.4.74) 39 'the words *bhīma*, et cetera, derive, via *nipātana*, when *apādāna* is denoted'
bhīhṛbhṛhuvāṃ śluvac ca (3.1.39) 47 'affix *ām* occurs optionally after verbal roots *ÑIbhī* 'to fear,' *hrī*, 'to be bashful, be ashamed,' *ḌUbhṛÑ* 'to hold, provide,' and *hu* 'to perform sacrifice' provided *LIṬ* follows, and the usage is not from the *mantra* part of the Vedic; in addition, these roots undergo operations similar to those which occur when *ŚLU* follows'
bhuvaḥ prabhavaḥ (1.4.31) 123 'a *kāraka* which serves as source of origin for the agent of *bhū* 'to be, become' is termed *apādāna*'
bhūte (3.2.84) 63 'an affix, hereafter, occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past (*bhūte*)'
bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ (1.3.1) 36 'verbal roots listed in the group headed by *bhū*, and others of its like, are termed *dhātu*'
bhṛñām it (7.4.76) 47 'a short comes in place of the long final vowel of an *aṅga*, also when affix *CvI* follows'
bhṛśādibhyo bhuvy acveḥ lopaś ca halaḥ (3.1.12) 46 'affix *KyaÑ* occurs, optionally, to denote the sense of *bhū* 'to be, become' after nominal stems enumerated in the list headed by *bhṛśa* 'bountiful, bright' when the stems do not end in affix *CvI*; in addition, any final consonant of the stem goes through deletion by *LOPA*'

bhrasjo ropadhayo ram anyatarasyām (6.4.47) 120 'augment *rAM* is introduced, optionally, in place of the sequence of *r* and next to the last sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely, *bhrasj* 'to roast,' when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows'

bhrājabhāsadhurvidyutorjipṝjugrāvastuvaḥ kvop (3.2.177) 64 'affix *KvIP* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *bhrājR* and *bhāsR* 'to shine,' *dhurVĪ* 'to injure,' *dyuT* 'to shine,' *ūrjA* 'to be strong,' *pṝ* 'to fill,' *ju* 'to move' and *sṭuÑ* 'to praise' used with *grāva*, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill'

bhrātari ca jyāyasi (4.1.164) 176 'the offspring of a grandson, and any other thereafter, is termed *yuvan*, also when his older brother (instead of his father, or any other like him) is alive'

may uño vo vā (8.3.33) 138 'a replacement in *vA* comes, optionally, in place of *uÑ* when *uÑ* occurs after a sound denoted by *maY* and *aC* follows in close proximity'

mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca (2.1.72) 205 'nominals enumerated in the list headed by *mayūravyaṃsaka* 'as cunning as a peacock' are also termed *tatpuruṣa*'

maskaramaskariṇo ... (6.1.152) 119 'the words *maskara* and *maskarin* are derived, via *nipātana*, with introduction of augment *sUT* when the signification is *veṇu* 'bamboo' and *parivrājaka* 'wandering ascetic,' respectively'

māturutsaṃkhyāsambhadrapūrvāyāḥ (4.1.115) 107 'the *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *mātṛ* 'mother,' where its final *ṛ* is concurrently replaced with *u*, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya* 'offspring' and *mātṛ* is used in combination after a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number,' or is used after *sam* and *bhadra*'

mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ (1.4.47) 96 'that which is marked with *M* as an *it* is attached after the last vowel'

mukhanāsikāvacano' nunāsikaḥ (1.1.8) 121 'that which is articulated through mouth and nose, at once, is termed *anunāsika*'

mṛjer vṛddhiḥ (7.2.114) 138 'a vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of the *iK*-vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by *mṛjI* 'to cleanse'

yaci bham (1.4.18) 79 'a form is termed *bha* when a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affix termed *svādi* beginning with *y* or a vowel (*aC*) follows'

yañaś ca (4.1.16) 176 'affix *ÑīP* also occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) nominal stem which ends in *yaÑ*'

yañiñoś ca (4.1.101) 176 'affix *phaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in affixes *yaÑ* and *iÑ*, provided a descendant termed *gotra* is denoted'

yataś ca nirdhāraṇam (2.3.41) 160 'a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and locative (*saptamī*) also occurs after a stem which denotes many from among whom one is singled out'

yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe (5.2.39) 121 'the *taddhita* affix *vatUP* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after syntactically related nominal stems *yad* 'that which' and *etad* 'this' when they end in the nominative (*prathamā*) and occur in syntactic coordination with *parimāṇa* 'all inclusive measure''

yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām (1.3.10) 36 'assignment of equivalency of items of equal number in sets is assigned in accord with order of enumeration'

yaro 'nunāsike' nunāsiko vā (8.4.45) 85 'a *pada*-final sound denoted by *yaR* is optionally replaced with an *anunāsika* when this same follows in close proximity'

yavayavakaṣaṣṭikād yat (5.2.3) 159 'the *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the locus of *bhavanam* 'being, becoming' after syntactically related nominal stems *yava* 'barley,' *yavaka* 'ibidem,' and *ṣaṣṭika* 'a variety of rice ready for harvest in sixty days' when they end in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), provided *kṣetra* 'field' forms the locus'

yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi pratyaye' ṅgam (1.4.13) 86 'a form which extends up to the affix, and begins with that after which the affix is introduced, is termed *aṅga*, provided when the affix follows'

yasyeti ca (6.4.148) 167 'the final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *i* and *a*, goes through deletion by means of *LOPA* when *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows'

yāḍ āpaḥ (7.3.133) 136 'augment *āT* is introduced to an affix which is marked with *Ṅ* and occurs after an *aṅga* terminating in *aP*'

yuvor anākau (7.1.1) 63 'affixes *yu* and *vu*, in relation to an *aṅga*, are replaced with *ana* and *aka*'

yuṣmadasmador anyatarasyāṃ khañ ca (4.3.1) 122 'the *taddhita* affix *khaÑ*, and *cha* as well, occurs optionally after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem *yuṣmad* and *asmad* when derivates denote a residual meaning'

yūstryākhyau nadī (1.4.3) 123 'forms which denote feminine and end in *ī* and *u* are termed *nadī*'

yena vidhis tadantasya (1.1.72) 130 'that by means of which a provision is made denotes an item which ends in that'

yogapramāṇe ca tadabhāve 'darśanāt (1.2.55) ?? 'if association with a place of residence (*nivāsa*) is the standard for assignment of the term, it should no longer be assigned when the association disappears'

raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ samānapade (8.4.1) 63 'a replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* which occurs preceded by *r* and *ṣ* in close proximity within the same word'

rādhīkṣyor yasya vipraśnaḥ (1.4.39) 148 'a *kāraka* which serves as one about whom many inquiries are made is termed *sampradāna* when *rādhA* 'to prophesy' and *īkṣA* 'to look, observe' are used'

rucyarthānāṃ prīyamāṇaḥ (1.4.33) 148 'a *kāraka* which serves as one who is pleased (*prīyamāṇa*) is termed *sampradāna* when verbal roots having the signification of *ruc* 'to please' are used'

rudhādibhyaḥ śnam (3.1.78) 'affix *ŚnaM* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the group headed by *rudhIR* 'to hold down, round up' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix used with the denotation of *kartṛ* follows'

rogākhyāyāṃ ṇvul bahulam (3.3.108) 80 'affix *ṆvuL* occurs, variously, after a verbal root to denote action in the feminine when the derivate names a disease'

laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ (3.4.69) 54 'a *LA*-affix is introduced after an transitive verbal root when agent (*kartṛ*) and object (*karman*), and after an intransitive verbal root when agent and root-sense (*bhāva*), are to be denoted'

laḥ parasmaipadam (1.4.99) 27 'a replacement of *LA* is termed *parasmaipada* (active)'

lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ (3.2.126) 185 'affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* occur after a verbal root in place of *LAṬ* when action denoted by the root constitutes a *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark,' or *hetu* 'cause,' of some other action'

laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv aprathamā samānādhikaraṇe (3.2.124) 116 'affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* occur after a verbal root in place of *LAṬ* when action is denoted at the current time, and when *LAṬ* is not coreferential with a *pada* which ends in the nominative (*prathamā*)'

laśakv ataddhite (1.3.8) 123 'an initial *L*, *Ś*, and sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *kU* (velar stops and nasal; 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*), are termed *it* when they occur in the first citation (*upadeśa*) of an affix other than a *taddhita*'

liṅaḥ salopo 'nantyasya (7.2.79) 194 'the non-final *s* in a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of affix *LIṄ* goes through deletion by *LOPA*'

liṭas tajhayor eśirec (3.4.81) 115 'the *ta* and *jha* which replace *LIṬ* are replaced with *eŚ* and *ireC*, respectively'

liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya (6.1.8) 113 'that part of a root which is formed with its first among vowels, or formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated in two, provided affix *LIṬ* follows'

liṭy anyatarasyām (2.4.40) 116 '*ad* is, optionally, replaced by *ghasL* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṬ* follows'

liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām (6.1.17) 66 'the *abhyāsa* of verbal roots enumerated beginning with *vacI* 'to speak' and *grahI* 'to hold, sieze' goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *LIṬ* follows'

luk taddhita luki (1.2.49) 47 'the feminine affix of an *upasarjana* 'secondary' also goes through deletion via *LUK* when a *taddhita* affix goes through deletion via *LUK*'

lug vā duhadihalihaguhātmanepade dantye (7.3.73) 100 'a deletion by *LUK* comes, optionally, in place of *ksa* of an *aṅga*, namely, *duhA*, *dihA*, *lihA* and *guhA*, when an *ātmanepada* affix beginning with a dental sound segment follows'

luṭaḥ prathamasya ḍāraurasaḥ (2.4.85) 97 'the third-personal replacements of *LUṬ* are replaced with *Ḍā*, *rau* and *ras*, respectively'

lupi yauktavad vyaktivacane (1.2.51) 100 'the original number and gender of a base is retained when there is deletion of a *taddhita* affix, via *LUP*'
lopaḥ śākalyasya (8.3.19) 116 'a *pada*-final *v* or *y* which occurs after *a* or *ā* is, in the opinion of Śākalya, replaced with *LOPA* when a sound denoted by *aŚ* follows in close proximity'
vacisvapiyajādīnāṃ kiti (6.1.15) 116 'verbal roots *vac* 'to speak,' *ÑIsvap* 'to sleep,' and also roots listed in the group headed by *yaj*, go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* follows'
vayasi prathame (4.1.20) 167 'affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *-a* and denotes the first stage of life'
vartamāne laṭ (3.2.123) 63 'affix *LAṬ* is introduced after a verbal root when action is denoted at the current time'
vā chandasi (3.4.88) 137 'affix *athuC* is introduced after a verbal root marked with *ṬU* as an *it* when *bhāva* 'root-sense' and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* is denoted'
vā dāntaśāntapūrṇadastaspaṣṭacchannajñaptāḥ (7.2.27) 119 '*dānta, śānta, pūrṇa, spaṣṭa, channa,* and *jñapta* are divided, optionally via *nipātana*, from verbal roots *dam, śam, pūrI, daś, spaś, chad* and *jñap*'
vānto yi pratyaye (6.1.79) 130 'a replacement with *v* at the end, i.e., *av* and *āv*, occurs when a *y*-initial affix follows'
vāmi (1.4.5) 116 'except for *strī*, forms which terminate in *ī*, *ū* and denote feminine are, optionally, not termed *nadī* when they have a replacement in *iyAṄ*, *uvAṄ*, and occur before the genitive plural ending *ām*'
vāraṇārthānām īpsitaḥ (1.4.27) 148 'a *kāraka* which serves as that which is desired is termed *apādāna* when verbal roots having the signification of *vāraṇa* 'warding off' are used'
vā liṭi (2.4.55) 116 '*cakṣIṄ* 'to speak' is replaced with *khyāÑ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows'
vā' sarūpo' striyām (3.1.94) 51 'a formally dissimilar (*asarūpa*) affix introduced by an exception rule in this domain of *dhātoḥ*, optionally, blocks introduction of its general counterpart except when the affix relates to the domain of rules which allow derivation of feminine forms'
vā supy āpiśaleḥ (6.1.92) 118 'a single replacement in *vṛddhi*, in the opinion of Āpiśali, comes, optionally, in place of both, the final *a* of a preverb and initial *ṛ* of a verbal root when *saṃhitā* finds its scope'
vāhitāgnyādiṣu (2.2.37) 208 'a *pada* which contains a stem in *niṣṭhā* is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound'
vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam (1.4.2) 5 'apply the rule which is subsequent in order when conflict among rules of equal strength obtains'
vibhaktiś ca (1.4.104) 69 'each triplet of *sUP* and *tiṄ* is also termed *vibhakti*'
vibhāṣā (2.1.11) 194 'what follows hereafter is *vibhāṣā* 'option'
vibhāṣā' abhyavapūrvasya (6.1.26) 117 'verbal root *ŚyaiṄ*, when used after the preverb *abhi* and *ava*, goes through *samprasāraṇa*, only optionally'
vibhāṣā jasi (1.1.32) 39 'items listed in the group headed by *sarva* are, optionally, not termed *sarvanāman* when they combine in a *dvandva* compound and operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed'
vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau (1.1.28) 109 'items listed in the group headed by *sarva* are, optionally, termed *sarvanāman* when they combine in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with constituents denoting *diś* 'direction''
vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ (2.4.50) 116 '*iṄ* is replaced with *gāṄ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUṄ* and *LṚṄ* follows'
vibhāṣā śvaḥ (6.1.30) 115 'verbal root *ṬUośvI* 'to swell' goes, optionally, through *samprasāraṇa* when affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ* follow'
vibhāṣopapadena (1.3.77) 114 'an *ātmanepada* affix occurs, optionally, after roots used with a co-occurring *pada* which denotes the fruit of the action accruing to the agent'
vibhāṣorṇoḥ (1.2.3) 115 'an affix with *iṬ* as its initial is, optionally, treated as marked with *Ṅ* when the same occurs after verbal root *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover'

virāmo' vasānam (1.4.110) 124 'a cessation of speech (*virāma*) is termed *avasāna* (termination)'

viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam (2.1.57) 207 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes a qualifying property (*viśeṣaṇavāci*) combines, variously, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes the object so qualified'

vṛddhinimittasya ca taddhitasyāraktavikāre (6.3.39) 151 'the form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases with a corresponding masculine and ends in a *taddhita* affix conditioning *vṛddhi*, is not treated as that of its masculine, provided this *taddhita* affix was introduced with the signification of something other than *rakta* 'colored by means of... (4.2.1 *tena raktaṃ rāgāt*)' and *vikāra* 'a modification of... (4.3.134 *tasyavikāraḥ*)''

vṛddhir ādaic (1.1.1) 2 '*ā*, *ai* and *au* are termed *vṛddhi*'

vṛddhir eci (6.1.88) 134 'a single replacement in *vṛddhi* comes in place of both, a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC* (*e, o, ai, au*) which follows *a* and the *a* which precedes *eC*, in close proximity (*saṃhitā*)'

vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham (1.1.37) 103 'that from among whose vowels the first is *vṛddhi* is termed *vṛddha*'

vṛddhetkosalājādāññyaṅ (4.1.169) 202 'the *taddhita* affix *ÑyaṄ* occurs to denote *apatya* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and names a *janapada* 'principality, cluster of villages' with the signification of a *kṣatriya*, provided the base is either termed *vṛddha* or ends in *i*, or else is constituted by *kosala* and *ajāda*'

śakisahoś ca (3.1.99) 93 'affix *yaT* occurs, also, after verbal roots *śakL* 'to be strong, capable' and *ṣahA* 'to endure, forgive''

śabdavairakalahābhrakaṇvameghebhyaḥ karaṇe (3.1.17) 22 'affix *KyaṄ* occurs optionally to denote *karaṇa* 'doing' after *śabda* 'sound, noise,' *vaira* 'hostility,' *kalaha* 'quarrel,' *abhra* 'cloud,' *kaṇva* 'sin' and *megha* 'cloud' when these denote the object of making or doing'

śarpare visarjanīyaḥ (8.3.35) 120 'a *visarjanīya* is replaced with *visarjanīya* when a sound denoted by *khaR*, itself followed by another denoted by *śaR*, follows in close proximity'

śā hau (6.4.35) 82 'an *aṅga*, namely, *śas*, is replaced with *śā* when affix *hi* follows'

śi sarvanāmasthānam (1.1.42) 111 '*Śi* (a substitute of the nominative and accusative plural endings *Jas* and *Śas* after neuter stems) is termed *sarvanāmasthāna*'

śṛtaṃ pāke (6.1.27) 117 'verbal root *śrā* is optionally replaced with *śṛ*, via *nipātana*, when it is used with the signification of *pāka* 'cooking,' and when affix *Kta* follows'

śe mucādīnām (7.1.59) 97 'augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga* constituted by a root enumerated in the group headed by *mucL* 'to release' when affix *Śa* follows'

śeṣāt kartari parasmaipadam (1.3.78) 69 'a *parasmaipada* affix occurs after the remainder of roots when agent (*kartṛ*) is denoted'

śeṣe (4.2.92) 62 'in the sense of other than one already specified'

śeṣo ghy asakhi (1.4.7) 123 'the remainder of forms which end in *i* and *u*, with the exception of *sakhi* 'companion,' are termed *ghi*'

śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ (2.2.23) 135 'that which is not already specified is termed *bahuvrīhi*'

śnassor allopaḥ (6.4.111) 82 'the *a* of *ŚnaM*, and that of verbal root *as*, goes through deletion, via *LOPA*, when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'

śnān nalopaḥ (6.4.23) 79 'a *n* which occurs after *Śna* is deleted by means of *LOPA*'

śraviṣṭhāphālgunyanurādhāsvātitiṣyapunarvasuhastaviśākhāṣāḍhābahulāl luk (4.3.34) 101 'a *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śraviṣṭhā*, *phalgunī*, *anurādhā*, *svāti*, *tiṣya*, *punarvasu*, *hasta*, *viśākhā*, *aṣāḍhā* and *bahulā* goes through deletion via *LUK*'

ślāghahnuṅsthāśapām... (1.4.34) 148 'a *kāraka* which serves as someone whom one wishes to be aware of is termed *sampradāna* when verbal roots *ślāghA* 'to praise,' *hnuṄ* 'to hide,' *sthā* 'to stay' and *śapA* 'to curse' are used'

ślau (6.1.10) 47 'that part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, when *ŚLU* follows'

ṣaṣṭhī (2.2.8) 202 'a *pada* which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP*'

ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe (2.3.50) 68 'a genitive occurs after a nominal stem when the remainder (*śeṣa*) is to be expressed'
ṣaṣṭhīyuktaś chandasi vā (1.4.9) 45 '*pati*, in the Vedic, is optionally termed *ghi* when it occurs in connection with a word ending in the genitive'
ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā (1.1.49) 45 'a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), not interpretable otherwise, denotes 'in place of' '
ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ (1.1.24) 64 'number words which end in *ṣ* and *n* are termed *ṣaṭ*'
ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ putrapatyos tatpuruṣe (6.1.13) 79 '*ṢyaṄ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *putra* and *pati* follow in a *tatpuruṣa* compound'
saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ (8.2.23) 8 'a deletion by *LOPA* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *pada* which ends in a conjunct'
saṃyoge guru (1.4.11) 123 'a short vowel, termed *laghu*, is termed *guru* when it occurs before a conjunct (*saṃyoga*)'
saṃhitāyām (6.1.72) 63 'when close proximity (*saṃhitā*) between sounds obtains'
saṃkhyāyāvyayāsannādūrādhikasaṃkhyāḥ saṃkhyeye (2.2.25) 208 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains an *avyaya*, or contains *āsanna* 'proximate,' *adūra* 'not far, near,' *adhika* 'more' and *saṃkhyā* 'number,' combines, optionally, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a *saṃkhyā* denoting things counted (*saṃkhyeya*)'
saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ (2.1.52) 124 'a compound which begins with a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number' is termed *dvigu*'
saṃkhyāyā atiśadantāyāḥ kan (5.1.22) 128 'the *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which ends in an appropriate ending and signifies a number, but does not have *ti* and *śata* as its final'
saṃjñāpūraṇayoś ca (6.3.38) 209 'the form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and is either a name (*saṃjñā*), or ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix, is not treated as that of its masculine'
satyapāśarūpavīṇātūlaślokasenālomatvacavarmacūrṇacurādibhyo ṇic (3.1.25) 36 'affix *ṆiC* occurs after nominal stems *satya* 'truth,' *pāśa* 'snare,' *rūpa* 'form, shape, figure,' *vīṇā* 'lute,' *tūla* 'cotton,' *śloka* 'verse,' *senā* 'army,' *loma* 'hair on body,' *tvac* 'skin,' *varma* 'protective armor' and *cūrṇa* 'powder'; it also occurs after verbal roots listed in the class headed by *cur* 'to steal'
sa napuṃsakam (2.4.17) 206 'a *dvigu*, or *dvandva* compound, which carries the denotatum of one is termed neuter'
sanādyantā dhātavaḥ (3.1.32) 52 'forms which end in affixes *saN*, et cetera, are termed *dhātu*'
saptamīpañcamyau kārakamadhye (2.3.7) 160 'a *saptamī* 'seventh triplet, accusative' and *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet, ablative' occurs after stems denoting *kāla* 'time' and *adhvan* 'road' when a span of time or distance between two participants (*kārakas*) is signified'
saptamī viśeṣaṇe bahuvrīhau (2.2.35) 192 'a *pada* which ends in the locative (*saptamī*), or is a qualifier, is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound'
saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ (2.1.40) 202 'a *pada* which ends in the locative (*saptamī*), optionally, combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains *śauṇḍa* 'cunning, skilled,' et cetera'
saptamy adhikaraṇe ca (2.3.36) 146 'a *saptamī* occurs after a nominal stem when *adhikaraṇa* 'locus' is not expressed otherwise; in addition, it occurs after *dūra* 'far,' *antika* 'near' and their synonyms'
samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ (2.1.1) 62 'an operation (*vidhi*) concerning fully inflected words (*pada*) is to be syntactically related (*samartha*)'
samarthānāṃ prathamād vā (4.1.82) 62 'an affix termed *taddhita* occurs (from here on prior to 5.3.1 *prāg diśo*. . .) after the first among syntactically related nominal stems'
samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle (3.4.21) 185 'affix *Ktvā* occurs after a verbal root which denotes a prior action relative to some subsequent action, provided both actions share the same agent'
samānakartṛkeṣu tumun (3.3.158) 186 'affix *tumUN* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of *iṣ* 'to wish,' provided both actions share

the same agent'
samāsasya (6.1.223) 79 'of that which is termed *samāsa*'
samāsāntāḥ (5.4.68) 78 'the *taddhita* affixes introduced, henceforth, occur at the end of a nominal stem termed compound (*samāsa*)'
samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ (1.2.31) 122 'that which is articulated with a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta* is termed *svarita*'
samprasāraṇasya (6.3.139) 79 'the final sound of a word which has gone through *samprasāraṇa* is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow'
samprasāraṇāc ca (6.1.108) 115 'a single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, the preceding *samprasāraṇa* vowel and the vowel which follows, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope'
sambodhane ca (2.3.47) 161 'a nominative (*prathamā*) also occurs after a stem when *sambodhana* 'address' is denoted'
sarvanāmnaḥ smai (7.1.14) 84 'affix *Ṅe*, when occurring after a pronominal ending in *a*, is replaced with *smai*'
sarvasya dve (8.1.1) 63 'two in place of a single whole'
sarvādīni sarvanāmāni (1.1.27) 39 'items listed in the group headed by *sarva* are termed *sarvanāman*'
sasajuṣo ruḥ (8.2.66) 167 'the final *s* of a *pada* which ends in *s*, and also the *ṣ* of *sajuṣ* are replaced with *rU* at the end of a *pada*'
sahanañavidyamānapūravāc ca (4.1.57) 136 'affix *ṄīṢ* also does not occur to denote feminine after an *upasarjana* 'secondary' nominal stem which denotes *svāṅga* 'one's own limb' and is used in combination preceded by *saha* 'with,' *naÑ* 'not' and *vidyamāna* 'present, existent''
sahayukte 'pradhāne (2.3.19) 160 'a *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet' occurs after stems which denote *apradhāna* 'non-principal' and are used in conjunction with *saha* 'with,' or its synonyms'
saha supā (2.1.4) 137 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* combines in a *samāsa* 'compound' with another syntactically related *pada* ending in a *sUP*'
sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam (1.4.42) 45 'a *kāraka* which serves as the most instrumental means for accomplishing an action is termed *karaṇa*'
sānta mahataḥ saṃyogasya (6.4.10) 133 'the next to the last vowel of a *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' ending in *s*, or the penultimate vowel of *n* of *mahat*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows'
sā' mantritam (2.3.48) 239 'a form which ends in the nominative (*prathamā*) and denotes *sambuddhi* 'address' is termed *āmantrita*'
sāmi (2.1.27) 201 '*sāmi* 'half' is combined in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains a stem ending in *Kta*'
sārvadhātukam apit (1.2.4) 165 'a *sārvadhātuka* affix, not originally marked with *P* as an *it*, is treated as marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*'
sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ (7.3.84) 115 'a replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the *iK* of an *aṅga* when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* follows'
sāsya devatā (4.2.24) 139 'a *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *devatā* 'divinity,' when the same ends in the nominative and the derivate denotes a divinity'
sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu (7.2.1) 63 'the final *iK*-vowel of an *aṅga* is replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart when *sIC*, followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada*, follows'
siti ca (1.4.16) 222 'a form which occurs followed by an affix marked with *S* as an *it* is termed *pada*'
siddhaśuṣkapakvabandhaiś ca (2.1.41) 202 'a *pada* which ends in the locative (*saptamī*) combines, optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains *siddha* 'established, made,' *śuṣka* 'dried,' *pakva* 'cooked, ripened' and *bandha* 'tied, bound''
sib bahulam leṭi (3.1.34) 96 'affix *sIP* occurs, variously, after a verbal root when *LEṬ* follows'
sukhādibhyaḥ kartṛvedanāyām (3.1.18) 22 'affix *KyaṄ* occurs, optionally, after nominal stems

enumerated in the list headed by *sukha* 'pleasure, happiness,' provided the derivate denotes agent's own experience'
suḍ anapuṃsakasya (1.1.43) 111 'items denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUṬ* (*sU, au, Jas, am,* and *auṬ*) are termed *sarvanāmasthāna* when they occur after a non-neuter nominal stem'
supa ātmanaḥ kyac (3.1.8) 56 'affix *KyaC* occurs, optionally, to denote *icchā* after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes the object of one's own wish'
supaḥ (1.4.103) 134 'individual elements of each triad of *sUP* are termed *ekavacana* 'singular,' *dvivacana* 'dual' and *bahuvacana* 'plural,' respectively'
supi ca (7.3.102) 113 'a long vowel comes in place of the final *a* of an *aṅga,* also when a *sUP* affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaÑ* follows'
supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ (2.4.71) 8 'a *sUP* which occurs as part of a *dhātu* 'verbal root', or of a *prātipadika* 'nominal stem,' goes through deletion via *LUK*'
suptiṅantaṃ padam (1.4.14) 8 'that which ends in a *sUP* and *tiṄ* is termed *pada*'
supy ajātau ṇinis tācchīlye (3.2.78) 29 'affix *ṆinI* occurs to denote *tācchīlya* 'one's nature, or characteristic habit' after verbal roots used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and does not denote *jāti* 'class''
sub āmantrite parāṅgavat svare (2.1.2) 114 'a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* combines in a compound (*samāsa*) with a syntactically related *pada* ending in a *sUP*'
ser hy apic ca (3.4.87) 83 'a *siP* replacement of *LOṬ* is replaced with *hi* and is treated as though not marked with *P*'
skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca (8.2.29) 166 'the initial *s* and *k* of a conjunct which occurs at the end of a *pada,* or which occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL,* is deleted by *LOPA*'
stokāntikadūrārthakṛcchrāṇi ktena (2.1.39) 202 'a *pada* which ends in the ablative (*pañcamī*) and contains *kṛcchra* 'trouble, difficulty', or contains stems which denote *stoka* 'a bit,' *antika* 'near, proximate,' or *dūra* 'far,' optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains *Kta*'
striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ samānādhikaraṇe striyām apūraṇīpriyādiṣu (6.3.34) 209 'the form of a nominal which denotes feminine and shares an identical base for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix *ūṄ,* treated as that of its masculine, provided a nominal not ending in a *pūraṇa* suffix and not belonging to the list headed by *priyā* follows in syntactic coordination with the signification of feminine'
striyāṃ ktin (3.3.94) 41 'affix *KvanIP* occurs after verbal root *dṛśIR* 'to see' when the root occurs in construction with a *pada* which denotes *karman* 'object' and the action is denoted in the past'
striyām (4.1.3) 62 'when the denotation is feminine'
striyām avantikuntikurubhyaś ca (4.1.174) 125 'a *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja* which occurs to denote a female offspring after syntactically related nominal stems *avanti, kunti,* and *kuru* is also deleted by *LUK*'
sthaḥ ka ca (3.2.77) 30 'affix *Ka,* and *KvIP* as well, occur after verbal root *sthā* 'to stay, stand,' used with or without any preverb,' when the root occurs in construction with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*'
sthānāntagośālakharaśālāc ca (4.3.35) 184 'a *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śraviṣṭhā, phalgunī, anurādhā, svāti, tiṣya, punarvasu, hasta, viśākhā, aṣāḍhā,* and *bahulā,* all ending in the locative, is replaced with *LUK* when derivates denote 'born there'
sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau (1.1.56) 107 'a substitute is treated as if a substituendum except when an operation relative to an original sound (*al*) is to be performed'
sthāne' ntaratamaḥ (1.1.50) 36 'a substitute (*ādeśa*) which is to replace a substituendum (*sthānī*) should also be most similar to the substituendum'
spṛher īpsitaḥ (1.4.36) 148 'a *kāraka* which serves as desired (*īpsita*) for the agent of an action denoted by *spṛhA* 'yearn after' is termed *sampradāna*'
syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ (3.1.33) 96 'affixes *sya* and *tāsI* occurs, respectively, after verbal roots when *LṚ* and *LUṬ* follow'

svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā (1.1.68) 26 'a word, other than one which is a technical term of the grammar, denotes its form only'
svatantraḥ kartā (1.1.54) 123 'a participant which serves independently of others is termed agent'
svam ajñātidhanākhyāyām (1.1.35) 39 'the word *sva* is optionally termed *sarvanāman* when operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed, and when *sva* 'one's own' does not express *jñāti* 'relative, clan' or wealth (*dhana*)'
svayam ktena (2.1.25) 201 '*svayam* 'oneself,' optionally, combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains a nominal stem terminating in *Kta*'
svarādinipātam avyayam (1.1.37) 122 'words listed in the set headed by *svara* 'sun, heaven' and those termed *nipāta* are classed as *avyaya*'
svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale (1.3.72) 37 'an *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a verbal root marked either with a *svarita* 'circumflex accent' or with *Ñ*, provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'
svaritenādhikāraḥ (1.3.12) 70 'an *adhikāra* 'governing heading' is marked with *svarita*'
svāṅgāc cetaḥ (6.3.40) 209 'the form of a nominal which ends in *ī* and is used after a constituent denoting one's own limb in the feminine, sharing an identical base for usage in the masculine, is not treated as that of its masculine when a constituent other than *mānin* follows'
svāṅgāc copasarjanāt (4.1.54) 20 'affix *ṄīṢ* occurs, optionally, to denote feminine after a nominal stem which contains an *upasarjana* used as its final constituent with the denotatum of *svāṅga* and which does not contain a conjunct in its penultimate position (*upadhā*)'
svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ (3.1.73) 36 'affix *Śnu* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *ṣuÑ* 'to press out, squeeze' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows'
svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne (1.4.17) 153 'a form is termed *pada* when *svādi* '*sU*, etc. (affixes enumerated by rules 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*... through 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*), with the exception of those termed *sarvanā-masthāna* (1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*) follow'
svādumi ṇamul (3.4.26) 186 'affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *kṛÑ* when it denotes a prior action, and shares the same agent with a subsequent action, provided *kṛÑ* is also used with an item which signifies *svādu* 'delectable'
svaujasmauṭchaṣṭābhyāṃbhisṅebhyāṃbhyasṅasibhyāṃbhyasṅasosāṅyossup (4.1.2) 54 'affixes *su/ au/ Jas*; *am/ auṬ/ Śas*; *Ṭā/ bhyām/ bhis*; *Ṅe/ bhyām/ bhyas*; *ṅasI/ bhyām/ bhyas*; *Ṅas/ os/ ām*; *Ṅi/ os/ suP* occur after that which either ends in affixes marked with *Ṅī*, or *āP*, or is termed a nominal stem'
hanas ta ca (3.1.108) 47 'affix *KyaP* occurs to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' after verbal root *han* 'to harm, kill, move' used with a preverb when a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* occurs in conjunction; additionally, *t* comes in place of the root-final-*n*'
hanter jaḥ (6.4.36) 83 'an *aṅga*, namely, verbal root *han*, is replaced with *ja* when affix *hi* follows'
halantyam (1.3.3) 167 'the final consonant (*haL*) of a form in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
halas taddhitasya (6.4.150) 176 'a penultimate *y* which occurs after a consonant, as part of a *taddhita* affix relative to an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* follows'
halo' nantarāḥ saṃyogaḥ (1.1.7) 121 'a sequence of consonants (*haL*), when not interrupted by any vowel (*aC*), is termed *saṃyoga* 'conjunct, cluster'
halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt sutisyapṛktaṃ hal (6.1.68) 101 'a *sU*, *ti* and *si* termed *apṛkta*, when occurring after an item ending in a consonant, or in a long *ī* or *ā* of the feminine affixes *Ṅī* and *āP*, is deleted by *LOPA*'
hujhalyor her dhiḥ (6.4.101) 82 'a consonant-initial *hi* which occurs after *hu*, or a form ending in a sound denoted by *jhaL*, is replaced with *dhi*'
hṛkor anyatarasyām (1.4.53) 123 'a *kāraka* which serves as the agent of *hṛÑ* 'to carry' and *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' when not used with *ṆiC*, is, optionally, termed *karman* when used with *ṆiC*'
hetumati ca (3.1.26) 97 'affix *ṆiC* occurs after verbal roots when *hetumat* 'casual action' is denoted'

hetuhetumator liṅ (3.3.156) 185 'affix *LIṄ* occurs, optionally, after a verbal root when *hetu* 'cause' and *hetumat* 'casual action' are denoted'
hetau (2.3.23) 160 'a *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*' occurs after a nominal stem which denotes *hetu* 'cause''
hrasvaṃ laghu (1.4.10) 'a short vowel is termed *laghu*'
hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ (7.1.54) 128 'augment *nUṬ* is introduced to affix *ām* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* which ends in a short vowel, or ends in a form termed *nadī*, or else, ends in a feminine affix marked with *āP*'
hrasvād aṅgāt (8.2.27) 85 'the *s* which occurs after an *aṅga* terminating in a short vowel is deleted by *LOPA* when a sound denoted by *jhaL* follows'
hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya (1.2.47) 87 'the final vowel of a neuter nominal stem is replaced with its short counterpart'

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The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume II

English Translation of Adhyāya One with Sanskrit Text, Translation, Word-Boundary, Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes, Derivational History of Examples and Indices

Rama Nath Sharma

This volume of *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* contains the English translation of the first *adhyāya*. It includes Sanskrit text of the *sūtra* and their transliteration, word-boundaries with marked inflectional endings and compound-formation, *anuvṛtti, vṛtti*, examples, detailed explanatory notes, and complete derivational history of example forms cited by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of the *sūtra*, especially in relation to their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement. An attempt has been made to sort out pertinent issues and explain them with reference to major commentaries. The appendix contains over 800 examples along with their complete derivational history and discussion relevent to the Pāṇinian grammatical system.

This volume is published as second volume of the planned six-volume study. The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes of this series will cover the *sūtras* of *adhyāyas* two-three, four-five, six, and seven-eight respectively.

Rama Nath Sharma is Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A. He received his Ph.D. (1971) in General Linguistics from the University of Rochester where he also taught Linguistics for five years. His research interest includes grammatical theory in general, and Pāṇini and the Indian grammatical tradition, in particular.

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ADHYĀYA ONE WITH SANSKRIT TEXT, TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY, *ANUVṚTTI*, *VṚTTI*, EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES, AND INDICES

RAMA NATH SHARMA
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हरेर्वाक्यपदीयस्य शोभना विश्वविश्रुता
अम्बाकर्त्रीति विज्ञाता येन व्याख्या कृता मुदा ।
पित्रे श्रीरघुनाथाय सौभद्राय च धीमते
समर्प्यते प्रबन्धोऽयं सश्रद्धं ज्येष्ठसूनुना ॥

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Preface

The present is the second of a planned five-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the first of the four translation volumes of the Pāṇinian *sūtra* with text, transliteration, word-boundary, *anuvṛtti, vṛtti,* English translation, examples, explanatory notes, derivations and appendices. This volume contains only of the first *adhyāya* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī:* a rather bulky volume for only one-eighth of the grammar. This could not be helped, however, as practically every necessary explanation, and rule-application in derivation, has to be supplied in detail. It is my hope that with the facility of cross-reference, the size of subsequent volumes will not be as large. The second, third, and fourth translation volumes will cover the *sūtra* of *adhyāya* two-three, four-five, and six-seven-eight respectively.

I have relied very heavily upon the traditional commentaries in making this translation. The *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya (Mbh:* Gurukul Jhajjar edition) of Patañjali, with the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and the *Udyota* of Nāgeśa; the *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya (*Kāś*: Varanasi, Tara Publications edition) with the *Padamañjarī (PM)* of Haradatta and the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi; the *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī (SK)* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass edition) with the *Bālamanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī; and the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara (PŚ)* of Nāgeśa (Delhi: Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth edition) have been my constant sources of reference.

Many Hindi and English translations, as well as critical expositions of these texts, have also proved to be very beneficial. Most notable among these are: Hindi translation with notes of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini (Brahmadatta Jijñāsu with Prajñā Devī); Hindi translation of the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (Charudeva Shastri; Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka); English translation of the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (especially of the *kārakāhnika)* made by S.D. Joshi; Hindi translation of the *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* of Varadarāja made by Bhimasena Shastri; the *Arthaprakāśikā* of Radharaman Pandeya; and the *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri. This by no means reduces my indebtedness to scores of other books and papers of scholars like George Cardona, S.D. Joshi, K.A. Subramania Iyer, and S.M. Katre. I have also consulted the *Laghuśabdendu śekhara (LŚ)* of Nāgeśa, along with his *Paramalaghumañjūṣā,* though only occasionally. I have consulted the *Vākyapadīya (VP)* of Bhartṛhari, especially the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā,

where there was a need for explanatory details. The *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi; the *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti; the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra; the *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa; and, of course, the *Siddhāntakaumudī* (with *Bālamanoramā* and *Tattvabodhinī*) of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita were my primary sources for derivational details. The examples themselves have been culled from the *Kāśikāvṛtti.*

The following is the format in which I have discussed each *sūtra* with its translation, explanatory details, and examples:

(1) *sūtra* in the *Devanāgarī.*

(2) *sūtra* in transliteration.

(3) /.../ Constituent words with indications of their compound formation; and nominal endings following the convention *N/n,* where *N* can be replaced with the single value of numerals 1 through 7 denoting nominal endings, such as nominative (*prathamā*), accusative (*dvitīyā*), instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), etc., respectively. The *n* will be restricted to a numerical value of 1, 2 and 3 to denote singular (*ekavacana*), dual (*dvivacana*), and plural (*bahuvacana*) numbers. Thus, expressions such as 1/3, 5/2, and 7/1 would represent nominative plural, ablative dual, and locative singular respectively. Indeclinables (*avyaya*) have been indicated by means of the symbol *Ø*. The compounds have been indicated by their abbreviatory terms, such as *dv. (dvandva), sam. dv. (samāhāra-dvandva), tat. (tatpuruṣa),* and *bv. (bahuvrīhi),* etc., where *int.* refers to an internal compound within a compound.

(4) ( ) *anuvṛtti* elements from preceding *sūtra* with the last digit of the *sūtra* number separated by #. The first two digits need not be cited, as the *anuvṛtti* will be indicated generally within the limits of a *pāda* 'quarter'.

(5) *vṛtti* from the *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya in transliteration.

(6) English translation.

(7) Examples excerpted from the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and presented with English glosses.

(8) Scope of the *sūtra* excerpted from the *Kāśikāvṛtti* where applicable.

(9) Explanatory notes, where an effort has been made to present an explanation of important aspects of the formulation, interpretation, function and application of the *sūtra* under discussion. (Additional details on these aspects of a *sūtra* can also be found in the appendix, where I present a full derivational history of all examples.)

The tone of my discussion, as well as my sources, have remained traditional. I have thus avoided controversies which may surround the interpretation or application of a rule. For example, I have refrained from discussing the implications of differing interpretations of the scope of rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe param kāryam.* Scholars of Pāṇini know that the Western

Pāṇinīyas interpret the scope of this rule as strictly limited to the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* (1.4.1 *ākaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*). However, the tradition, without any disagreement, regards this rule as universally valid throughout the *Sapādasaptādhyāyī*. I have felt all along that, in a work of the nature of the present volume, the aim of the translator should be to explain as faithfully as possible the original. Of course, the original in this case is the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*; but unlike many other such works the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* must be considered as a symbol (*pratīka*) for *vyākhyāna* 'exposition', which embodies the vast commentarial literature. Pāṇini cannot be fully understood without the help of the commentaries, most notable among which is the *Mahābhāṣya*. It is for this reason that I have relied heavily upon the commentaries. I have also noted, where applicable, differences of opinion within the tradition.

I fully realize the extremely complex nature of the form and content of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I am also aware of my own limitations, due to which I may have made mistakes. Any blame for them must come to me and not to the sources I have tapped. The project is an overwhelming one. I shall consider my efforts fulfilled if it could provide a better understanding of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the Sanskrit grammatical tradition. I certainly do not claim to have made any significant contribution through this volume, for what it contains has been in the commentaries all along. I consider myself only an instrument for bringing, as best I could, the contents together in one place, in English. I shall welcome remarks from my readers, especially those relating to errors and omissions. Since this volume sets the tone for the entire project, readers' comments will be helpful for subsequent volumes.

A few words must also be said about the only available English translation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, made in 1891 by S.C. Vasu. Vasu's translation follows the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and is trustworthy, though not free of problems, especially for modern readers. Vasu takes a great deal for granted. He not only omits glosses, but also misses explanatory details of terms and principles. References create still another problem. His archaic English becomes even more obscure because of his pedantic style. The need for a new English translation for linguists and Sanskritists became apparent to me during the summer of 1977, when I taught an introductory course on Pāṇini under the joint auspices of the Department of Linguistics at the University of Hawaii, and the Linguistic Society of America.

I must express my deep sense of indebtedness to the authors and works which have been my constant source of reference. My brother Narendra and Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi have been very generous in giving of their time. Professor George Cardona has earlier read a draft of this translation, and as usual has made some very useful comments. The University of Hawaii, especially its Department of Indo-Pacific Languages; the

American Institute of Indian Studies; and the Smithsonian Institution have been very generous in supporting my research endeavour with grants. My student researchers Abigail Brown, Stanley Schab and Julie Trott deserve special thanks for their perseverance in spending long hours at the computers. Julie Trott must be singled out for her editorial acumen, consistency and sharp eyes for details to perfection. This volume owes a lot to her.

This volume also owes a lot to my wife Kamala, who has always protected me from many of the often time-consuming tasks of being a householder.

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Honolulu, U.S.A.
28 July 1989

Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
Ait	*Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*
bv	*bahuvrīhi*
DP	*Dhātupātha*
dat	dative
du	dual
dv	*dvandva*
id	ibidum
itar dv	*itaretara-dvandva*
fem	feminine
GP	*Gaṇapāṭha*
gen	genitive
inst	instrumental
int	internal
KS	*Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitạ*
Kāś	*Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya with *Padmañjarī (PM)* of Haradatta and the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi.
LS	*Laghuśabdenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa.
loc	locative
Mbh	*Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali with the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and the *Udyota* of Nāgeśa.
masc	masculine
nañ tat	*nañ-tatpuruṣa*
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
PM	*Padamañjarī* of Haradatta as *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya.
PS	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa.
Pai	*Paippalāda-saṃhitā*
pbh.	*paribhāṣā*
paribh	*ibidum*
pañc	*pañcamī*
pl	plural
RV	*Ṛgveda*
SK	*Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the *Bālamanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvati.
SP	*Sūtrapāṭha*
sam	*samāhāra*
sg	singular

sing	ibidum
Ss	*Śivasūtra*
Śat	*Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*
ṣaṣ	*ṣaṣthi*
Tai	*Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa*
tat	*tatpuruṣa*
tṛ/tṛt	*tṛtīyā*
VP	*Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari with the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā.
vt	*vārttika*
Vāj	*Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*
voc	vocative

Śivasūtra

1. अइउण्	*a i u Ṇ*
2. ऋऌक्	*ṛ ḷ K*
3. एओङ्	*e o Ṅ*
4. ऐऔच्	*ai au C*
5. हयवरट्	*h*^{a} *y*^{a} *v*^{a} *r*^{a} *Ṭ*
6. लण्	*l*^{a} *Ṇ*
7. ञमङणनम्	*ñ*^{a}*m*^{a}*ṅ*^{a}*ṇ*^{a}*n*^{a}*M*
8. झभञ्	*jh*^{a} *bh*^{a} *Ñ*
9. घढधष्	*gh*^{a} *ḍh*^{a} *dh*^{a} *Ṣ*
10. जबगडदश्	*j*^{a} *b*^{a} *g*^{a} *ḍ*^{a} *d*^{a} *ś*
11. खफछठथचटतव्	*kh*^{a} *ph*^{a} *ch*^{a} *ṭh*^{a} *th*^{a} *c*^{a} *ṭ*^{a} *t*^{a} *V*
12. कपय्	*k*^{a} *p*^{a} *Y*
13. शषसर्	*ś*^{a} *ṣ*^{a} *s*^{a} *R*
14. हल्	*h*^{a} *L*

The Śivasūtra (Śs) is a set of fourteen aphorisms enumerating the sound segments (*varṇasamāmnāya*) of the Sanskrit language in the order most conducive to forming the abbreviatory terms (*pratyāhāra*) used in the grammar. An item indicated in the preceding chart by capital letters is traditionally termed an *it* and is not treated as an item in the list. However, an *it* may serve as the final (*antya*) for any initial (*ādi*) element which, joined together, forms an abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) to represent the initial and all intervening elements.[1] For example, the initial *a* of the first *Śs* can join the final *C* of *Śs* four to form the abbreviatory term ***aC*** signifying all the vowels. Similarly, ***aL*** designates the totality of vowels and consonants.

Another symbol, which is also not an item on the list, is the ***a*** used with the consonants of *Śs* five through fourteen. This ***a*** facilitates the pronunciation of the consonants in question. I have indicated the occurrences of this *a* by raising it. The *a* of *Śs* six is treated by *Kāśikā (Kāś.)*[2] and *Siddhāntakaumudī (SK)*[3] as an *it* in order to form an abbreviatory term ***rĀ*** which would denote *r* and *l*. I represent this *Ā* as a non-*it* because treating it otherwise would be non-Pāṇinian.

Pāṇini's method of forming abbreviatory terms with the help of the *Śs* can yield a vast number of abbreviations. However, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* uses only 41 abbreviations, summarized in the following *ślokavārttika:*[4]

[1] see 1.1.71 *ādir antyena sahetā.*

[2] (*Kāś.* I:53) *hakākārādiṣv akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ, nānubandhaḥ. lakāre tv anunāsikaḥ pratijñāyate....*

[3] (*SK*, 1:4) *...eṣām antyā itaḥ. laṇ-sūtre' kāraś ca. hakārādiṣv akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ..*

[4] see *Kāś.* (1:59-60).

ekasmān ṅañaṇavaṭā dvābhyāṃ ṣas tribhya eva kaṇamāḥ syuḥ/ jñeyau cayau caturbhyo raḥ pañcabhyaḥ śalau ṣaḍbhyaḥ//
"one (abbreviatory term) each with *Ṅ, Ñ, Ṇ, V, Ṭ*; two each with *Ṣ*; three each with *K, Ṇ, M;* four each with *C, Y;* five with *R* and six each with *Ś, L.*" Thus:

1. *eṄ, yÑ, aṆ, ch^{a}V, aṬ*
2. *jh^{a}Ṣ, bh^{a}Ṣ*
3. *aK, iK, uK; y^{a}Ṇ, aṆ, iṆ, n^{a}M, aM, y^{a}M*
4. *aC, eC, aiC, iC; m^{a}Y, jh^{a}Y, kh^{a}Y, y^{a}Y*
5. *ś^{a}R, y^{a}R, jh^{a}R, kh^{a}R, c^{a}R*
6. *jh^{a}Ś, j^{a}Ś, b^{a}Ś, aŚ, h^{a}Ś, v^{a}Ś; aL, h^{a}L, ś^{a}L, v^{a}L, r^{a}L, jh^{a}L*

If we treat the *a* of *Śs* six as an *anunāsika it,* as has been advocated by *Kāśikā* and *SK,* we will get an additional abbreviatory term, *rĀ.* There are two more abbreviatory terms, *c^{a}Y* and *ñ^{a}M,* the first of which is attested to by *vārttika* 3 ad 8.4.88 (*cayo dvitīyaḥ śari pauṣkarasādeḥ*) and the second by the *Uṇādisūtra* (1/114) *ñamantāḍ ḍaḥ*. This brings the total to 44. The following chart shows these abbreviatory terms with their initial items as well as their *it.*[5]

initial element (*ādi*) — final element (*it*)

	Ā	K	Ṅ	C	Ṭ	Ṇ	M	Ñ	Ṣ	Ś	V	Y	R	L
a		aK		aC	aṬ	aṆ	aM			aŚ				aL
i		iK		iC		iṆ								
u		uK												
e			eṄ	eC										
ai				aiC										
h									h^{a}Ś					h^{a}L
y						y^{a}Ṇ	y^{a}M	y^{a}Ñ				y^{a}Y	y^{a}R	
v										v^{a}Ś				v^{a}L
r	rĀ													r^{a}L
m												m^{a}Y		
ṅ							ṅ^{a}M							
bh									bh^{a}Ṣ	bh^{a}Ś				
jh									jh^{a}Ṣ			jh^{a}Y	jh^{a}R	jh^{a}L
b										b^{a}Ś				
j										j^{a}Ś				
ch											ch^{a}V			
kh												kh^{a}Y	kh^{a}R	
c													c^{a}R	
ś													ś^{a}R	ś^{a}L

[5] A reference to the abbreviatory terms resulting out of *Śs* 5-14 can be made either by

The order of elements listed in the *Śs* is as follows.

1. vowels (*Śs*, 1-4)
   (la) simple (*Śs*, 1-2)
   (lb) complex (*Śs*, 3-4)
2. consonants (*Śs*, 5-14)
   (2a) semivowels (*Śs*, 5-6)
   (2b) nasals (*Śs*, 7)
   (2c) stops (*Śs*, 8-14)
      ($2c_1$) voiced aspirates (*Śs*, 8-9)
      ($2c_2$) voiced nonaspirates (*Śs*, 10)
      ($2c_3$) voiceless aspirates (*Śs*, 11)
      ($2c_4$) voiceless nonaspirates (*Śs*, 12)
      ($2c_5$) pirants (*Śs*, 13-14)

The above order does not conform with the order of earlier listings, such as those of the *prātiśākhyas*, although there is considerable similarity of terminology and classification. Pāṇini certainly was aware of such previous classifications. However, his *Śs* listing reflects his own special purposes. Patañjali states that the *Śs* are presented in this fashion for the purpose of *vṛtti* 'application of rules' and *samavāya* 'ordered enumeration of elements' (*Mbh*): I:47, *vārttika* 18).[5] In *vārttika* 19, the setting up of *anubandhas* is cited as an additional purpose.[6]

Actually, the *pratyāhāras* are a means for bringing the elements of the list close to rule applications. A full and insightful discussion of this, as well as the principles of *sāmānya* 'general' and *viśeṣa* 'particular' underlying the listing of the *Śs* in relation to their *anubandhas* is presented in Cardona (1969).

The denotata of some abbreviatory terms may not, at first glance, be obvious. Consider *aṆ* and *iṆ*. Should the *Ṇ* of these abbreviations be interpreted as the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1 or *Śs* 6? For, *aṆ* and *iṆ* formed with *Śs* 1 will denote only *a, i, u* and *i, u* respectively. If the *Ṇ* is interpreted as belonging to *Śs* 6, respectively *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l* and *i, u, ṛ, ḷ, eo, ai, au, h, y, v, r, ḷ,* will be denoted. However, an abbreviatory term *iṆ* formed with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1 to denote *i, u* counters Pāṇinian practice. Pāṇini never uses *iṆ* to denote *i, u;* instead he uses *iṆ* to denote sounds enumerated by *Śs* 1 through 6. Both interpretations of *aṆ*, however, are valid. The question as to when *aṆ* should be interpreted as formed with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* and when with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 6 can only be resolved by the explanations (*vyākhyāna*) of

including or excluding the raised *a*. Thus, *hL* or *haL* can both be used to denote the consonants of the language. I have used such abbreviatory terms in both ways; with or without the raised *a*.

[5] *vṛttisamavāyārtha upadeśaḥ.*

[6] *anubandhakaraṇārthaś ca.*

the learned. For correct results, *aṆ* in 1.1.50 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*, for example, should be treated as formed with the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1. As opposed to this, *aṆ* in 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya...* must be interpreted with the of *Śs* 6.

Rule 1.1.69 states that a vowel (*aṆ*), as well as an item marked with *U*, denotes itself as well as sounds homogenous (*savarṇa*) with it. Thus, *a* denotes a class of eighteen vowels distinguished on the basis of length: short (*hrasva*) long (*dīrgha*) or extralong (*pluta*); pitch: high (*udātta*) low (*anudātta*) or circumflex (*svarita*); and nasality nasalized (*anunāsika*) and non-nasalized (*niranunāsika*). Similar classes of eighteen each are represented by *i, u* and *ṛ*. The *ḷ* vowel represents a class of only twelve vowels as it lacks a corresponding long variety. Vowels denoted by *eC (e, o, ai, au)* also represent a class of 12 each. Here, unlike the case of *ḷ*, a corresponding short variety is not available. Items with *U* as their *it* represent a class of five consonants each. Thus, *kU (k)* represents *k, kh, g, gh,* and *ṅ*. Similar consonant classes are represented by *cU, ṭU, tU* and *pU*.[7]

There are many problems which may be raised concerning the formulation of the *Śs* and the use of the resultant abbreviatory terms; problems relating to the order and selection of sound segments and *its*, the use of *Ṇ* as an *it* twice, the use of *h* as an element twice, as well as the use of a *pratyāhāra* with no less than three denotata. A detailed discussion of these and other problems relating to the *Śs* may be found in Cardona (1969).

[7] Pāṇini provides for proper selection of items from class lists by means of metarules 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ* and 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*. For a detailed discussion of how 1.3.10 interacts with 1.1.50 in order to select proper substitutes under 1.1.69, see Cardona (1980).

Adhyāya One

1.1.1 वृद्धिरादैच्

vṛddhir ādaic

/*vṛddhiḥ* 1/1 *ādaic* 1/1 (*āt ca ait ca; Śs* 4)/

vṛddhiśabdaḥ saṃjñātvena vidhīyate pratyekam ādaicāṃ varṇānāṃ sāmānyena tadbhāvitānām atadbhāvitānāṃ ca

āT (*ā*, see 1.1.70 *taparas...*) and *aiC* (*ai* and *au*, see *Śs* 4) are termed *vṛddhi*.

EXAMPLES:

āśvalāyanaḥ 'male descendant (grandson, and so on) of Aśvala'
aitikāyanaḥ 'male descendant of Itika'
aupagavaḥ 'male descendant of Upagu'
aupamanyavaḥ 'male descendant of Upamanyu'
śālīyaḥ 'that which is located, obtains or is born in the house'
mālīyaḥ 'that which is located, obtains or is born in a garland'

1. The term *vṛddhi* is introduced as a name (*saṃjñā*) which applies to each one of its name-bearers (*saṃjñin*) *ā*, *ai* and *au*, whether they are derived by applying a rule which expressly mentions the name *vṛddhi* (*tadbhāvita*) or not (*atadbhāvita*).

For example, *bhāgaḥ* 'a part, portion' is derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *GHaÑ* (3.3.16 *padaruj...*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) *bhaj* 'to share, divide' to express the action denoted by the root (3.3.18 *bhāve*); this yields *bhaj* + *GHaÑ*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* read with 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* requires that the penultimate (*upadhā*, cf. 1.1.65 *alo'ntyāt...*) vowel of the presuffixal base (6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, cf. 1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) be replaced by *vṛddhi*. The role of 1.1.1 is simply to explain the term *vṛddhi* wherever it is encountered in the grammar.

A *vṛddhi* replacement of the type: *bh* (*a* → *ā*)*j* + *GHaÑ* is termed *tadbhāvita* because it is brought about by the application of a rule which expressly mentions the name *vṛddhi*. As opposed to this, consider *śālīyaḥ* 'that which is located, obtains or is born in the house', which is derived by introducing the *taddhita* (4.1.76 *utsādibhyo...*) affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *cha* (4.2.113 *vṛddhāc chaḥ...*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the syntactically related (4.1.82 *samarthānām...*) *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅ...*) *śālā* + *Ṅi*. Now, *cha* cannot be introduced unless *śālā* is an item termed *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasya...*) and an item cannot be termed *vṛddha* unless the first among its vowels is a *vṛddhi*. Here again, we witness the explanatory role of rule 1.1.1. The *vṛddhi* vowel *ā* of *śālā* which, in turn, qualified *śālā* to be called *vṛddha*, is *atadbhāvita* since it is already given and not derived by application of a rule which expressly mentions the name *vṛddhi*.

2. Pāṇini formulates this rule by using the technique of *taparakaraṇa* 'making *t* precede or follow'. That is, he inserts *t* between *ā* and *aiC*. This simply means that vowels, in the present case *ai* and *au*, cited with a preceding or a following *t* denote only those homogeneous (*savarṇa*) vowels which have the same time duration (*kāla*). It should be noted that the *t* in this rule is not used for constraining *ā* since *ā* is not included in *aṆ* (for details, see 1.1.69 *aṇudit*...). Instead, it is used for *aiC*. Here, *taparakaraṇa*, enables Pāṇini to block the assignment of the term *vṛddhi* to instances of *ai* and *au* which may constitute a time duration of three or four morae. For the details of how *t* does not constrain *ā*, see *Padamañjarī (PM) ad Kāśikā* 1.1.1 (I:66): *ākāro' naṇtvād eva na bhinna-kālānāṃ grāhaka iti....*'

3. Definitional rules are given in the form x_1y_1 where *x* represents a name-bearer (*saṃjñin*) to which *y*, a given name (*saṃjñā*), is assigned. The subscripts with both, *x* and *y* show that both of these elements are put in the nominative.

Sūtra 1.1.1 does not follow this general order. Instead, it presents the name first. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I:132) rather apologetically explains that the *ācārya* (Pāṇini) put the *saṃjña vṛddhi* 'prosperity, growth' first for auspicious reasons. A careful examination of all definitional rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* reveals that this explanation is not satisfactory, as there are many other rules which violate the order x_1y_1. Consider, for example, rules 1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṁ saptamīstham*, 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*, 3.1.94 *kṛtyāḥ* and 3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukam śeṣah*.

SCOPE: 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*, etc.

1.1.2 अदेङ् गुणः

adeṅ guṇaḥ
/*adeṅ* 1/1 (*at ca eṅ ca; Śs* 3); *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
guṇaśabdaḥ saṃjñātvena vidhīyate pratyekam adeṅo varṇānāṃ sāmānyena tadbhāvitānām atadbhāvitānāṃ ca aT (*a;* see 1.1.70 *taparas*...) an *eṄ* (*e* and *o*, see *Śs* 3) are termed *guṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

taritā 'he who floats or swims'
cetā 'he who heaps or gathers'
stotā 'he who praises'
pace 'I cook'
pacanti 'they (pl.) cook'
jayanti 'they (pl.) win'

1. Just as the term *vṛddhi* (1.1.1. *vṛddhir*...), the term *guṇa* is introduced as a name (*saṃjñā*) which applies to each one of its name-bearers (*saṃjñin*) *a*, *e* and *o*, whether they are derived by applying a rule which expressly

mentions the name *guṇa* (*tadbhāvita*), or not (*atadbhāvita*). For example, the nominal base *netṛ* 'he who leads' is derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *tṛC* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) *ṇīÑ* 'to lead'. It is required by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātu-kārddhadhātukayoḥ* that *ī* of *ṇī* be replaced by *guṇa*. Thus we get *ṇ*(*ī* → *e*) + *tṛ*. This *e* can be termed a derived (*tadbhāvita*) *guṇa* vowel because it is derived by applying a rule expressly mentioning the name *guṇa*.

The first four examples — *taritā, cetā, stotā* and *pace* — illustrate instances of *tadbhāvita guṇa* vowels. The next two — *pacanti* and *jayanti* — provide *atadbhāvita* instances. Note, however, that *atadbhāvita* instances are given only for *a* and *e*. An example for *o* could be *atho, aho,* etc.

2. The *taparakaraṇa* (cf. 1.1.1) is meant here for all the items (*a, e* and *o*).

SCOPE: 7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ,* and so on.

1.1.3 इको गुणवृद्धी

iko guṇavṛddhī

/*ikaḥ* 6/1 *guṇavṛddhī* 1/2/

vṛddhiguṇau svasaṃjñayā śiṣyamāṇau ika eva sthāne veditavyau

When vowels denoted by *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are ordered as substitutes (*ādeśa*), and no substituendum (*sthānin*) is specified, they only come in place of vowels denoted by *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ;* see *Śs* 1-2).

EXAMPLES:

tarati 'he swims or floats'
nayati 'he leads'
bhavati 'he becomes'
akārṣīt 'he did or made'
ahārṣīt 'he carried'
acaiṣīt 'he heaped or gathered'
anaiṣīt 'he led'
alāvīt 'he cut'
astāvīt 'he praised'

1. The function of this rule is to restrict the substituendum for *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* substitutes in places where they are ordered with the express mention of the terms *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* but no substituendum is specified. In all such instances, this rule becomes valid and states that items denoted by *iK* alone should be treated as substituendum. This obviously results from the fact that Pāṇini introduces *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* substitutes following either of two methods:

(*a*) he specifies both the substituendum as well as the substitute, and
(*b*) he specifies only the substitute and no substituendum.

Rule 1.1.3 covers this latter instance. For example, consider 7.2.114

mṛjer vṛddhiḥ (*aṅgasya*) which orders a *vṛddhi* substitute by the express mention of the name *vṛddhi*. However, *mṛjer* (genitive singular of *mṛj* 'to clean', an *aṅga*) cannot be treated as a substituendum since that would require replacing *mṛj* with a *vṛddhi* substitute, which, in turn, would make it impossible to derive the desired form *mārṣṭi*. Furthermore, how shall we go about deciding a proper *vṛddhi* substitute for *mṛj*? For this reason, 1.1.2 has to be read with 7.2.114 which will then order a *vṛddhi* replacement only in the place of the *iK* of *mṛj*, the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*...). As opposed to this, rule 1.1.3 does not find its scope in the application of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. There, although a *vṛddhi* substitute is ordered with the express mention of the name *vṛddhi*, unlike 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*, the substituendum, that is, the penultimate *a* of the *aṅga*, is also specified. Similarly, consider 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* (*guṇaḥ* carried from 7.3.82) which provides a *guṇa* substitute without specifying any substituendum. If we do not take 1.1.3 into account, we will interpret 7.3.84 something like this:

> A *guṇa* replaces the final *aL* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of an *aṅga* when a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit*...) or an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) affix follows.

Here again, besides encountering difficulty in arriving at a proper *guṇa* substitute, we will also end up with an incorrect derivation. However, if we read 1.1.3 together with 7.3.84, everything will be in order. That is, 7.3.84 will order a *guṇa* substitute only in place of the final *iK* of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*...). For an example of a *guṇa* substitute where 1.1.3 does not apply, consider 6.4.116 *or guṇaḥ*, whereby a *guṇa* vowel is substituted for the *u* (long or short) of a *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*). One need not invoke 1.1.3 here since the substituendum is specified.

To sum up, rule 1.1.3 can find its scope only when both the following conditions are met:

(*a*) a rule provides a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitute by express mention of the name *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, and

(*b*) that rule fails to provide any definite substituendum.

Pāṇini restricts the substituenda to sounds denoted by *iK* because he wants to exclude any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitutes for *a, ai, au* and consonants. He explicitly uses *guṇavṛddhī* in this rule, rather than implicitly assuming it by *anuvṛtti*, to make it clear that 1.1.3 finds its scope only when a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitute is given by explicitly using these terms.

1.1.4 न धातुलोप आर्धधातुके

na dhātulopa ārdhadhātuke

/*na*Ø *dhātulope* 7/1 (*dhātor lopo yasmin; bv.*) *ārdhadhātuke* 7/1/

(*iko guṇavṛddhī* # 3)

dhātvekadeśo dhātus tasya lopo yasmin ārdhadhātuke tad ārdhadhātukaṃ dhātulopaṃ tatra ye guṇavṛddhī prāpnute te na bhavataḥ

Vowels denoted by *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* do not come in the place of an *iK* when an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) affix conditioning deletion of part of the root follows.

EXAMPLES:

loluvaḥ 'he who cuts again and again'
popuvaḥ 'he who cleanses again and again'
marīmṛjaḥ 'he who wipes again and again'

1. The word *dhātulopa* is not a *tatpuruṣa* compound having the analyzed form: *dhātor lopaḥ* 'deletion of root'. Instead it is a *bahuvrīhi* with an analyzed form: *dhātor lopo yasmin* 'that before which deletion of a root occurs', or in other words, 'that which conditions the deletion of a root'. With a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, the rule will be translated as: *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* do not obtain in the place of an *iK* when that before which the deletion of the root occurs, follows. This translation has a very serious flaw. When the root has already been deleted, there will be nothing with reference to whose *iK guṇa* and *vṛddhi* can be prohibited from obtaining. The *iK*, being part of the root, would have been deleted anyway, and there would be no need for the prohibition. Therefore, the expression 'deletion of a root' is interpreted as 'deletion of part of a root'. That is, the word *dhātu* is interpreted as referring to 'part of a root' (*dhātvaikadeśa*). Hence, the proper translation should be: *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in the place of an *iK* do not obtain when that which conditions the deletion of part of a root follows. This rule thus, under the stated conditions, negates the provisions made by the preceding rule. For details of how this rule is used in a derivation, see steps (*g*) and (*h*) of (22) *loluvaḥ* in the appendix.

1.1.5 क्ङिति च
kṅiti ca
/*kṅiti* 7/1 (*gaś ca kaś ca ṅaś ca*) *ca* ∅/
Vowels denoted by *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* do not come in place of an *iK* when that which is marked with *K, G,* or *Ṅ* conditions the replacement.

EXAMPLES:

citaḥ 'heaped'
citavān 'he heaped'
stutaḥ 'praised'
stutavān 'he praised'
bhinnaḥ 'split, broken'
bhinnavān 'he split'
mṛṣṭaḥ 'wiped, cleaned'
mṛṣṭavān 'he wiped'
cinutaḥ 'they two heap or gather'

cinvanti 'they heap or gather'
mṛjanti 'they wipe or clean'
jiṣṇuḥ 'desirous of winning; he whose nature is to win'
bhūṣṇuḥ 'desirous of becoming; he whose nature is to become'

1. The purpose of 1.1.5 is to block the application of a rule which
(*a*) orders *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement with express mention of the term *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, where
(*b*) such replacement is also conditioned by an item (affix) marked with *K*, *G*, or *Ṅ*.

In view of (*a*), this rule can block a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement only when such a replacement is to come in place of items denoted by *iK*. Condition (*b*) is slightly more complicated than it appears to be on the surface. That is, the decision whether an item which conditions a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement is really marked with *K*, *G*, or *Ṅ* is not made solely on the basis of its being overtly marked with *K*, *G* or *Ṅ*. Instead, first the overt markings *K*, *G*, and *Ṅ* are considered and then rules 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo...* through 1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād...* are consulted. These rules may or may not allow an item, either obligatorily or optionally, to be treated as marked with *K* or *Ṅ*. For example, rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* lets any *sārvadhātuka* affix — with the exception of those marked with *P* — be treated as if marked with *Ṅ*. Similarly, under certain conditions, rules 1.2.19 *niṣṭhā śīṅ...*, etc., will allow affixes *Ktvā* and *KtavatŪ* to be treated as if they were not marked with *K*.

2. The *saptamī* (seventh triplet) in this rule is interpreted as *nimittasaptamī*, a *saptamī* which may cause or condition an operation (here *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement) to obtain (2.3.37 *yasya ca bhāvena...*). It is not interpreted as *parasaptamī*, a *saptamī* which serves as the right context for an operation. That is, the operation obtains on an item which immediately precedes the item in *saptamī* (1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*). The *parasaptamī* interpretation will greatly reduce the effectiveness of 1.1.5. For example, 1.1.5 would be able to block the *guṇa* of an *aṅga* – final *iK* which is immediately followed by an affix marked with *K*, *G*, or *Ṅ*. However, it may not block the *guṇa* which obtains in the place of the penultimate *iK* of an *aṅga* since this *iK* will not be immediately followed by the conditioning affix. By accepting *nimittasaptamī* in 1.1.5, we can block any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement of an *aṅga*, provided, of course, all other conditions are satisfied.

3. Abstract *L*–suffixes which are marked with *N* — that is, *LIṄ*, *LUṄ*, and so on — do not come under the purview of 1.1.5.

4. *Kāśikā* lists this rule as *kṅiti ca*, because, given the string *kkṅ* where the first *k* is a substitute of *g*, under the influence of the second *k*; 8.4.45 *yaro...* optionally will apply to change the second *k* into *ṅ*. This will yield *kṅṅ*. Rule 8.4.64 *halo...* will delete the first *ṅ*, reducing the string to *kṅ*. It should be

remembered here that if one follows this listing, one must accept the affix *Gsnu* (3.2.139 *glājisthaś ca ksnuḥ)* as *Ksnu*.

1.1.6 दीधीवेवीटाम्

dīdhīvevīṭām

/dīdhīvevīṭām 6/3/

(iko guṇavṛddhī # 3; *na* # 4)

dīdhī-vevyor iṭaś ca ye guṇa–vṛddhī prāpnutas te na bhavataḥ

Vowels denoted by *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* do not come in place of the *iK* of *dīdhīṄ* 'illuminate', *vevīṄ* 'go, pervade', and *iṬ* (the augment, see 7.2.35 *ārddha...,* etc).

EXAMPLES:

ādīdhyanam 'to be properly illuminated'
ādīdhyakaḥ 'that which illuminates properly'
āvevyanam 'to go or pervade properly'
āvevyakaḥ 'that which goes or pervades properly'
kaṇitā (śvaḥ) 'he will go (tomorrow)'
raṇitā (śvaḥ) 'he will go (tomorrow)'

1. As is obvious from the translation, *dīdhīvevī* refers to verbal roots *dīdhīṄ* and *vevīṄ*. A question is raised why *dīdhīvevī* cannot be interpreted as a word referring to four roots *dīṄ* 'decay', *dhīṄ* 'disrespect', *veÑ* 'weave', and *vī* 'to go'. If Pāṇini had intended to refer to all four roots, he probably would have formulated the rule in this manner: *vīvedhīdīṭām*. In this way, he would have been able to refer to the roots without any confusion with *dīdhīṄ* and *vevīṄ*. However, since he did not formulate the rule as *vīvedhīdīṭām,* he only meant the two roots *dīdhīṄ* and *vevīṄ*.

The question also arises why *iṬ*, since it is cited in association with verb roots, is not interpreted as referring to, for example, *iṬ* 'to go', a verb root rather than an augment. If Pāṇini had meant to refer to a root by *iṬ*, he would have put *iṬ* first, since it is a form with comparatively fewer vowels (2.2.24 *alpāc taram*). Since he did not, we interpret *iṬ* as referring to the augment *iṬ*. Note that *guṇa* substitution alone obtains in case of *iṬ*. This explains why no examples for *vṛddhi* are offered in this connection.

1.1.7 हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः

halo' nantarāḥ saṃyogaḥ

/halaḥ 1/3 *anantarāḥ* 1/3 *saṃyogaḥ* 1/1/

bhinnajātīyair ajbhir avyavahitāḥ śliṣṭoccāritā halaḥ saṃyoga saṃjñā bhavanti samudāyaḥ saṃjñī

A sequence of *hL* (consonants, see *Śs,* 5-14) uninterrupted by an *aC* (vowel; see *Śs,* 1-4)) is termed *saṃyoga* 'cluster, conjunct'.

EXAMPLES:

> *śv* in *aśvaḥ* 'horse'
> *ndr* in *indra* 'Indra'
> *gn* in *agniḥ* 'fire'
> *rṇ* in *karṇa* 'ear'
> *ṣṭr* in *uṣṭra* 'camel'

1. Note that the name *saṃyoga* applies to a contiguous sequence of two or more consonants pronounced jointly without any intervening vowels. A sequence of vowels, as in *titauc chatram*, a sequence of consonants with intervening vowels, as in *pacati* and *panasam*, or a single consonant cannot be termed *saṃyoga*.

2. The purpose of this rule is to explain what the term *saṃyoga* means. For an illustration of what may be the consequence of naming something as *saṃyoga*, consider step (*h*) of derivation (29) *citavān*. Here, given the string *citavānt*, 8.2.33 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* applies. According to this rule, the last sound of a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) ending in a *saṃyoga* is deleted. Rule 1.1.7 names the sequence *nt* as a *saṃyoga*. Consequently, the terminal consonant, *t*, is deleted.

SCOPE: 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*, and so on.

1.1.8 मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः
mukhanāsikāvacano' nunāsikaḥ
/mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ 1/1 *anunāsikaḥ* 1/1/
mukhasahitā nāsikā mukhanāsikā tayā ya uccāryate varṇaḥ so' nunāsikasaṃjño bhavati
A sound pronounced at once in the nose and the mouth is termed *anunāsika* 'nasal'.

1. This rule assigns the term *anunāsika* to those sounds which may be pronounced in the mouth and nose simultaneously. The purpose of such an assignment is to facilitate the application of rules such as 6.1.126 *āṅo' nunāsikaś chandasi* whereby *ā*, a particle, may be replaced by its nasalized counterpart in the Vedic before a vowel. Similarly, there are rules such as 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...* through 6.4.41 *viḍvanor...* which require the obligatory or optional deletion or replacement of the nasal by *ā*. Their application will become problematic if the term *anunāsika* is not defined and assigned by rule 1.1.8 *mukhanāsikā...*

2. An interesting discussion ensues in the *Mahābhāṣya* (I: 193-95) about the formulation of this rule, especially in view of the formation of the compound *mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ*. First, it has been suggested that *mukhanāsikā* is a *dvandva* compound: *mukhaṃ ca nāsikā ca = mukhanāsikam*. This way the compound will, as shown, be a singular (2.4.2 *dvandvaś ca...)* neuter (2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam).* Note that the final long *ā* of *nāsikā* is also

replaced by short by rule 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya.* When joined with *vacana* 'articulation', the form will be *mukhanāsikavacanaḥ* with an underlying paraphrase *mukhanāsikaṃ vacanam asya.* But Pāṇini uses *mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ. The Mahābhāṣya* suggests that we will have the short *a* replaced by long by *nipātana,* or we will interpret *vacana* as *āvacana* 'slight articulation'.

There is yet a different way of interpretation. That is, *mukhanāsikāvacanaḥ* will be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* with an internal *tatpuruṣa* whose middle *pada (madhyamapada)* has been deleted. Thus, *mukhadvitīyā va nāsikā* = *mukhanāsikā (tatpuruṣa* with a middle constituent deletion); *mukhanāsikā vacanam asya so'yam = mukhanāsikā... (bahuvrīhi).* For the reason that there is no *dvandva* involved, there will not be the shortening of the *ā* of *nāsikā.*

Further questions have been raised against the inclusion of the words *mukha* 'mouth' or *nāsikā* 'nose' in the rule. It has been stated that if *nāsikā* is excluded, the rule will read: *mukhavacano'nunāsikaḥ.* This being the case, *k, c, ṭ, t, p,* etc. will get the designation of *anunāsika.* As a consequence, given the string *pac* + *Kta,* the *c* will be deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...* This will yield a wrong form: **pata.* It is therefore recommended that *nāsikā* should also be used in the rule. But then an objection is raised against the inclusion of *mukha.* The argument is made that *mukha* can be understood even without its explicit use. How? In the same way in which one understands, in accordance with the *prāsādavāsinyāya,* a reference both to those who live in high places and those who live on the lower grounds. For, when one is commanded to bring people who live in high places, he complies by bringing not only such people, but also those who live in both the places. Similarly, the use of *nāsikā* alone will refer to sounds produced by both *nāsikā* and *mukha.* This is in consonance with the maxim of *prāsādavāsinyāya.* The *Mahābhāṣya* observes that in many ways it is correct; but formulating the rule simply as *nāsikāvacano' nunāsikaḥ* cannot then account for sounds which may be produced only by the nose. One such example is *anusvāra* It is therefore suggested that both *mukha* and *nāsikā* be retained in the rule.

SCOPE: 6.1.126 *āṅo' nunāsikaś chandasi*

1.1.9 तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्

tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam

/tulyāsyapratyatnam 1/1 *savarṇam* 1/1/

tulya āsye prayatno yasya varṇasya yena varṇena saha sa samānajātīyaṃ prati savarṇasaṃjño bhavati

A sound which has the same articulation effort *(prayatna)* at the same place of articulation *(sthāna)* in the oral cavity as another sound is called *savarṇa* 'homogeneous' with that sound.

EXAMPLE:

ā in *khaṭvā* 'cot' with *a* in *agram* 'front'

1. This rule assigns the term *savarṇa* to sounds which have the same manner of articulation at the same place in the mouth. The word *āsya* 'mouth' is further explained as denoting the area beginning with the lips *(oṣṭha)* and extending up to but not including the *kākala* 'adam's apple'. Here *āsya* is treated as a *taddhita* derivative denoting 'that which is located in the mouth'. That is, it refers to 'the place of articulation'. The suffix introduced after *āsya* is *yaT* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat;* 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca).* Given the string: *āsya* + *ya(T* → *0*) = *āsya* + *ya,* the first *a* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca.* The *y* of *āsy* will then be deleted by 8.4.63 *halo yamāṃ yami lopaḥ,* thereby yielding the string: *ās* + (*y* → *0*) + *ya* = *āsya.* The word *āsya* can also be derived by introducing the suffix *ṄyaT* after the verbal root *as* 'to throw, hurl', but that would simply mean 'mouth' and not 'located in the mouth'. To achieve the latter meaning, the affix *yaT* is further introduced to derive *āsya,* a *taddhita* derivative. The word *tulyāsya-prayatnam* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'that which shares the manner of articulation at the same place in the mouth'. In this interpretation, *āsya* modifies *prayatna,* thereby giving the meaning 'similar effort at a place'. If *āsyaprayatna* were interpreted as a *dvandva* compound meaning 'place and manner', qualified by *tulya* 'same', with the entire expression being a *bahuvrīhi* with internal *dvandva, āsya* could not modify *prayatna.*

SCOPE: 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ,* and so on.

1.1.10 नाज्झलौ

nājjhalau

/*na 0 ajjhalau* 1/2/

(*tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam* # 9)

tulyāsya prayatnāv apy ajjhalau parasparaṃ savarṇasaṃjñau na bhavataḥ

Sounds denoted by *aC* (vowel) are not termed *savarṇa* with sounds deonted by *hL* (consonant).

EXAMPLES:

a and *h* in *daṇḍa* 'stick' and *hasta* 'hand'

i and *ś* in *dadhi śītam* 'cold yogurt'

vaipāśo matsyaḥ 'fish found in the river Vipāśā'

ānaḍuhaṃ carma 'bull hide'

1. This rule disallows any *sāvarṇya* 'homogeneity' relationship between a vowel and a consonant. What necessitates the formulation of such a rule is the danger that a vowel and a consonant may, on account of their sharing the same place and manner of articulation in the oral cavity, be

labelled *savarṇa*. Consider for example: *daṇḍa hasta,* where both the final *a* of *daṇḍa* and the *h* of *hasta* are pronounced at the *kaṇṭha* with *vivṛta* 'open' manner of articulation. Similarly *dadhi śītam* entails a situation where the *i* of *dadhi* and the *ś* of *śītam* may be termed homogeneous since both are pronounced at *tālu* 'hard-palate' with *saṃvṛta* 'closed' manner of articulation. Once homogeneity is assigned, there would be an occasion for *savarṇadīrghatva* 'homogeneous long (vowel) replacement'. It is too much, however, to say that 1.1.10 has been formulated for disallowing *savarṇadīrghatva,* since 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* effectively blocks the long replacement of *a* + *h* and *i* + *ś* of *daṇḍa* + *hasta* and *dadhi* + *śītam* by requiring an *aC* 'vowel' as the right context for the replacement. Similarly 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya...* also rules out any *sāvarṇya* relationship between *a/h* or *i/ś.* Thus, blocking long replacement could hardly be the purpose of 1.1.10. The *Nyāsa* (I:104) summarizes the purpose of this rule as: *avaśyaṃ tāvad anyārthaṃ 'nājjhalau' ity etat kartavyam, yasyetilopābhāvārtham* 'therefore the formulation of *nājjhalau* is definitely for something else; (that is) so that deletion by *yasyeti ca* does not apply'.

The implications of these observations are fully discussed in the appendix under this rule. Note that wrong forms will result if deletion by 6.4.148 applies. See derivations for details.

1.1.11 ईदूदेद्द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यम्

īdūdeddvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam

/īdūdeddvivacanam 1/1 *pragṛhyam* 1/1/

īt ūt et ity evam antaṃ dvivacanaṃ śabdarūpaṃ pragṛhya saṃjñaṃ bhavati

A dual ending which terminates in *ī, ū,* or *e* (see 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya)* is termed *pragṛhya.*

EXAMPLES:

agnī iti 'two (kinds of) fire'
pacete iti 'they (two) cook'
pacethe iti 'you (two) cook'
māle iti 'two garlands'

1. This rule assigns the term *pragṛhya* to those dual nominal endings which terminate in *ī, ū,* or *e.* As an example, consider the derivation of *kavī* (nom., acc. dual of *kavi* 'poet'). It is derived from *kavi* + *au(Ṭ)* to which 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* applies. As a result, we get a single long vowel replacement in place of *i* + *au.* This long vowel substitute must be homogeneous with the preceding vowel: thus, *kav(i* + *au* → *ī)* = *kavī.* Now, given a string *kavī* + *atra* 'two poets are here', 1.1.11 must assign the term *pragṛhya* to *ī* of *kavī* so that the replacement of *ī* by *y* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) before *a* can be blocked. In order for *ī* to be termed *pragṛhya, ī* must be a

dual ending terminating in *ī*. There clearly is a problem here. The *ī* of *kavī* is neither a dual ending nor does it terminate in *ī*.

This problem is resolved by invoking rules 1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin* and 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*. Rule 1.1.21 states that if an operation is ordered for an initial *(ādi)* or a final *(anta)* element of an item, that operation may also apply to an item which does not have any initial or final element. That is, operations applicable to an initial or final element also apply to an item which consists of a single element. Thus for purposes of *pragṛhya, ī* can be considered as ending in *ī*. Rule 6.1.85 states that a single replacement can be treated as the final of the preceding item and the initial of the following item. In case of *kavī, ī* is a single replacement for *i* + *au*. By 6.1.85, it can be treated as if it were the initial of *au*. But since *au* is a single element, *au* itself can be considered as its own initial element. Thus *ī* will be considered as if it were *au*. Hence *ī* can be accepted as a dual ending and, as I have already stated, considered as ending in *ī*. The way is now clear for 1.1.11 to assign the term *pragṛhya* to *ī* of *kavī*. As a result, there is no *yṆ* replacement in *kavī* + *atra*.

SCOPE: 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā aci...*

1.1.12 अदसो मात्

adaso māt.

/*adasaḥ* 6/1 *māt* 5/1/

(*īdūdet pragṛhyam* # 11)

adasaḥ saṃbandhī yo makāras tasmāt para īdūdetaḥ pragṛhyasaṃjñā bhavanti

ī, ū, and *e* which follow the *m* of *adas* 'that' are termed *pragṛhya*.

EXAMPLES:

amī atra 'those people are here'

amū atra 'those two people are here'

1. There are two forms — *amī* (nom. pl.; m.) and *amū* (nom. acc. dual; m., f., n.) — which have *ī* or *ū* occurring after *m*. The *ū* of the feminine or neuter dual *amū* gets the *pragṛhya* designation from 1.1.11 *īdūded....* Rule 1.1.12 is formulated only in view of the masculine dual and plural forms of *adas*.

For a proper understanding of the *pragṛhya* designations by rules 1.1.11-12, we must consider rules 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham,* 8.2.80 *adaso' ser dādu domaḥ* and 8.2.81 *eta īd bahuvacane*. These two rules are responsible for the forms of *adas* containing *m* followed by *ū, e,* or *ī*. Thus, 8.2.80-81 are necessary for creating conditions under which 1.1.12 can assign the term *pragṛhya*.

Rule 8.2.1 declares that rules contained in the last three quarters of

the *Auṭādhyāyī* are to be considered as *asiddha* 'suspended' with reference to rules contained in the preceding seven and one-quarter chapters. Thus, in the present context, any changes introduced in a form of *adas* by rules 8.2.80-81 will become *asiddha* as far as rules 1.1.11-12 are concerned. But rule 1.1.12 will not find any scope of application if the results of 8.2.80-81 (the use of *ū, e,* or *ī* with a preceding *m*) are suspended. It is precisely in order to save 1.1.12 from becoming vacuous that Pāṇinīyas do not regard the principle of *asiddhatva* as applicable to 1.1.12. However, results of 8.2.80-81 will still be considered as *asiddha* for rule 1.1.11, which accounts for the *pragṛhya* designation relative to feminine-neuter forms of *adas*. The form in question is *amū*. In the derivation of both the feminine and neuter *amū, ade* is the form to which 8.2.80 *adaso' ser...* applies, yielding: *a(d → m) (e → ū) = amū,* (for details see the appendix under 1.1.12). Now, if 8.2.80 is *asiddha* for 1.1.11 *īdūded..., ū* of *amū* cannot be assigned the term *pragṛhya*. This is correct because 1.1.11 can only see the form *ade* and not *amū*. Consequently, it will assign the term *pragṛhya* to the *e* of *ade*. Thus, given a string *amū* + *atra* where *amū* is either feminine or neuter, 1.1.11 will assign the term *pragṛhya* and block the *sandhi*. The derivation of the masculine form *amī* also involves *ade* which, after the application of 8.2.80-81, becomes *a(d → m) (e → ī) = amī*. However, 1.1.11 cannot assign the term *pragṛhya* to the *ū* of masculine dual *amū* since the form on which 8.2.80-81 were applied to yield *amū* was *adau*. Obviously 1.1.11 cannot apply to *au*. This clearly establishes the need for 1.1.12 along with the rejection of the principle of *asiddhatva* for its application.

1.1.13 शे

śe

/*śe* 1/1 (deleted)/

(*pragṛhyam* # 11)

śe ity etat pragṛhyasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

Śe is termed *pragṛhya*.

EXAMPLES:

asme indrābṛhaspatī (*RV*, 4.49.4)

yuṣme iti

tve iti

me iti

Note that *asme, me,* and *yuṣme, tve* are the Vedic forms of *asmad* 'first personal pronoun' and *yuṣmad* 'second personal pronoun' respectively. Both *asme* and *yuṣme* are dative as well as locative plurals; *me* and *tve* are locative singular. See the appendix for their derivational details.

1. Traditionally, *Śe* is understood here as that substitute of *sUP* which is provided by 7.1.39 *supāṃ....* Rule 7.1.39 gets the *anuvṛtti* of the word *chandasi* 'in the Vedas' from 7.1.38 *ktvāpi....* This clearly establishes that 1.1.13 applies only to Vedic examples.

2. The purpose of assigning the term *pragṛhya* is again *prakṛtibhāva,* blocking *sandhi.* Commentators (*Mbh.* I: 226) explain that the word *Śe* refers to a *Śe* which is functionally-semantically meaningful. Thus, for example, it could not refer to the *śe* that we find in the locative singular form of *kāśa* 'reed' and *kuśa* 'weed'. The *Śe* which Pāṇini intends us to understand in this rule is the *Śe* which is provided as a replacement for the *sUP* in the Vedic by rule 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk...* The *Ś* is termed an *it* by 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* and is subsequently deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ.* This *Śe* is functionally-semantically meaningful since it is a *vibhakti* 'nominal ending', via being a replacement (*ādeśa*) for one. It may be asked here why the *śe* of *kāśe* and *kuśe* cannot be accepted as significant. This too is a locative nominal ending. The answer is that the nominal ending is (*Ṅ* → *0*) *i* = *i,* which after the application of rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* to *kāśa* + *e* and *kuśa* + *e* results in *kāśe* and *kuśe.* Thus, *śe* by itself is not a *vibhakti.* It may be accepted as ending in a *vibhakti,* but it must still be considered 'non-significant' (*anarthaka*). The *saptamī* ending *-i* is meaningful in its own right. This is in full consonance with the *Paribhāṣā* (15) *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya,* whereby, when a meaningful form such as *Śe* is in focus, it cannot include a non-meaningful form such as *śe* of *kāśe* and *kuśe.* It has been further discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya* that there may still be a difficulty if one accepts the view just stated. Consider, for example, *hariśe* and *babhruśe,* which are locative singular forms of *hariśa* and *babhruśa.* The bases themselves derive from *hari* + *śa* and *babhru* + *śa,* where *śa* is a suffix denoting the sense of *matUP* and is introduced by rule 5.2.100 *lopādipāmādi....* Can *śe* of *hariśe* and *babhruśe* be defined as meaningful? The answer is no, for this *śe* results from the application of a rule which combines the *a* of *śa,* the suffix, and the *i* of the nominal ending. This *śe* is not an explicitly stated form (*pratipadokta*) such as the *Śe* of rule 1.1.13. This is in accord with the *Paribhāṣā* (114) *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam,* whereby one must accept an explicitly stated form as opposed to one which results as a combination of elements from the application of a rule.

Note that since rule 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk...* gets the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* from rule 7.1.38 *ktvāpi...,* the implications of rule 1.1.13 *śe* must remain applicable only to the Vedic Sanskrit.

1.1.14 **निपात एकाजनाङ्**

nipāta ekāj anāṅ

/*nipātaḥ* 1/1 *ekāc* 1/1 *anāṅ* 1/1/

(*pragṛhyam* # 11)

ekaś cāsāv ac ca ekāc nipāto ya ekāj āṅvarjitaḥ sa pragṛhyasaṃjño bhavati
A *nipāta* (particle) which consists only of a single *aC* — except for *āṄ* — is termed *pragṛhya.*

EXAMPLES:

a apehi 'Hey, stay away'
i indram paśya 'O, look at Indra
u uttiṣṭha 'Hey, get up'
ā evaṃ kila tat 'Ah, I see'
ā evam nu manyase 'Now indeed you accept this'

1. The purpose of this rule is to assign the term *pragṛhya* to those *nipātas* (1.4.56 *prāg rīśvarān nipātāḥ*) which consist of just a single vowel and nothing else. This, however, does not include *āṄ*, even though it is a *nipāta* and consists of a single vowel *ā*. Its *Ṅ* is not considered as significant here because of its being only an *it.* The function of the *pragṛhya* designation is similar to those discussed earlier. In the examples cited under this rule, *a, i, u,* and *ā* are all *nipātas* and, as such, will be termed *pragṛhya* to block the long vowel replacements ordered by 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. For example, given a string *i* + *indraṃ* + *paśya,* if *i* is not termed *pragṛhya,* 6.1.101 will apply to yield a wrong form: (*i* +*i* → *ī*) *ndram paśya* = **īndraṃ paśya.* The same holds for all the other examples.

It should be remembered here that the particle *ā* which occurs in the examples *ā evaṃ nu manyase* and *ā evaṃ kila tat* is not *āṄ.* Instead, it is a different *nipāta* (see 1.4.57 *cādayo' satve*). The *āṄ* which is excluded from being termed a *pragṛhya* is used in the following four ways:

(*a*) in the sense of *īṣat* 'a little', as in *ā* + *uṣṇam* = *oṣṇam* 'slightly hot';
(*b*) as a preverb, as in *ā* + *ihi* = *ehi* 'come here';
(*c*) in the sense of *maryādā* 'limit', as in *ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained up to (but not including) the city of Pāṭaliputra'; and,
(*d*) in the sense of *abhividhi* 'pervading limit', as in *ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained up to (and including) the city of Pāṭaliputra'.

Clearly then, if *āṄ* is not termed *pragṛhya,* required *sandhi* rules will apply, as in (*a*) and (*b*). The *ā* which is termed a *pragṛhya* and thus does not undergo any *sandhi* changes is not used in any of these four ways.

1.1.15 **ओत्**

ot
/*ot* 1/1/
(*nipātaḥ* # 14; *pragṛhyam* # 11)
A *nipāta* which ends (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) in *o* (1.1.72 *yena vidhis...,* etc.) is termed *pragṛhya.*

EXAMPLES:

no idānīm 'not now'
āho iti 'emphatic interrogative particle'
utāho iti 'emphatic interrogative particle'
uta strengthened with *āho*'

1. The purpose of this rule is to extend the *pragṛhya* designation to those *nipātas* which terminate in *o*. It should be remembered here that, unlike 1.1.14, this rule does not require the *nipātas* to consist only of a single vowel. This *pragṛhya* designation is intended for blocking the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. The particles used in the examples are termed *nipātas* by 1.4.57 *cādayo' satve*.

1.1.16 सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे
sambuddhau śākalyasyetāvanārṣe
/*sambuddhau* 7/1 *śākalyasya* 6/1 *itau* 7/1 *anārṣe* 7/1/
(*ot* # 15; *pragṛhyam* # 11)
sambuddhinimitto ya okāraḥ sa śākalyasyācāryasya matena pragṛhya saṃjño bhavati iti śabde' nārṣe avaidike parataḥ
According to Śākalya, *o* is termed *pragṛhya* when it is conditioned by a *sambuddhi* (voc. sing.) ending and occurs before a non-Vedic *iti*.

EXAMPLES:

vāyo iti (Śākalya) *vāyav iti* (non-Śākalya) 'O Vāyu!'
bhāno iti (Śākalya) *bhānav iti* (non-Śākalya) 'O Bhānu!'

1. This rule also assigns the term *pragṛhya* to *o*. However, by ascribing this assignment to Śākalya, Pāṇini shows that this is something peculiar to Śākalya's own *padapāṭha*. The conditions under which *o* can be termed *pragṛhya* are quite specific. That is, *o* must result from applying a rule under the conditions of *sambuddhi*, and *o* must be used before an *iti* which does not represent a Vedic usage.

Let us consider the example *vāyo iti* where *iti* is not a Vedic *iti* and *vāyo* is vocative singular of *vāyu* derived from *vāyu* + *sU*. We know from 2.3.47 *sambodhane ca* that the first triplet of nominal endings (*prathamā*) may be used to express *sambodhana* 'address'. In addition, because of 2.3.47, these endings are also termed *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritatam*), and if the selected ending is singular (*ekavacana*), it gets the further designation *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*). The *sŪ* of *vāyu* + *sŪ* is *āmantrita* and *sambuddhi*, while the whole term *vāyu* + *sŪ* is *āmantrita*. The term *āmantrita* is assigned for purposes of accent (see 6.1.198 *āmantritasya ca*, also 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca*). However, *sambuddhi* is assigned especially for 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ* and 7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*.

Let us return to *vāyu* + *sŪ* which, after the *it* deletion of *Ū*, becomes

vāyu + *s*. Rule 7.3.108 requires that a short vowel occurring at the end of an *aṅga* be replaced by *guṇa*. Thus we get *vāy(u* → *o)* + *s* = *vāyos*. The *guṇa* replacement is not possible if the following (*sŪ*) is not a *sambuddhi*. It is in this sense that we consider this *o* to be the result of a rule application conditioned by *sambuddhi*. Rule 1.1.16 assigns the term *pragṛhya* only to this type of derived *o* . Rule 6.1.69 can then apply to *vāyo* + *s* to delete *s* which is a consonant termed *sambuddhi* occurring after an *aṅga* terminating in *o*. Thus: *vāyo* + (*s* → *0*) = *vāyo*. Now, given a string *vāyo* + *iti*, *o* can be termed *pragṛhya* to block the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. The form will remain *vāyo* + *iti*. However, since 1.1.16 is peculiar to Śākalya; elsewhere *vāyo* + *iti* may also yield *vāy(o* → *av)* + *iti* = *vāyav iti*, if the term *pragṛhya* is not assigned by 1.1.16. In that case, 6.1.78 would not be blocked.

2. The mention of names such as Śākalya is treated by Pāṇinīyas as another way of expressing optionality or as a sign of mentioning for the sake of respect.

1.1.17 उञः

uñaḥ

/*uñaḥ* 6/1/

(*pragṛhyam* # 11 *śākalyasya, itau anārṣ* # 16)

uñaḥ pragṛhya-saṃjñā bhavati itau śākalyasyācāryasya mantena

According to Śākalya, *uÑ*, occurring before a non-Vedic *iti* is termed *pragṛhya*.

EXAMPLES:

u iti (Śākalya); *viti* (non-Śākalya)

1. Again this is an optional rule. Given the example *u iti*, as long as *u* is not assigned the term *pragṛhya*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply to yield (*u* → *v*) *iti* → *viti*. However, if *u* is assigned the term *pragṛhya*, 6.1.77 will be blocked.

1.1.18 ऊँ

ũ 1/1/

śākalyasya matena pragṛhyasaṃjñakaś ca

According to Śākalya, *uÑ*, occurring before a non-Vedic *iti*, is replaced by *ũ* (lengthened and nasalized), and *ũ* in turn is termed *pragṛhya*.

EXAMPLE:

ũ iti

1. This rule, too, is optional. It allows, first, that *uÑ* be replaced by *ũ*,

and then, optionally, transfers the *pragṛhya* designation to *ū̆*. Here again the purpose is to block the application of 6.1.77.

Note that the purpose of reading *śākalyasya* in this rule is to make its provisions optional. This will present three examples: *u iti, viti* and *ū̆ iti.*

1.1.19 ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे

īdūtau ca saptamyarthe

/īdūtau 1/2 *ca Ø saptamyarthe* 7/1/

(*pragṛhyam* # 11)

īdantam ūdantaṃ ca śabdarūpaṃ saptamyarthe varttamānaṃ pragṛhya-saṃjñaṃ bhavati

Forms which end in *ī, ū,* and express the sense of *saptamī* (seventh *sUP* triplet) are termed *pragṛhya.*

EXAMPLES:

somogaurī adhi śritaḥ 'Soma, reclining upon the yellow sheep hide'
tanu 'in the body (feminine)'

1. This rule extends the *pragṛhya* designation to any item which may end in *ī, ū,* and denote the sense of a *saptamī* 'locative'. Given the strings *māmakī* + *Ṅi,* and *tanū* + *Ṅi,* 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk* will apply to delete the locative endings. Now, if *māmakī* and *tanū* are used before *iti,* as in, for example, the *padapāṭha* recitation, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply to yield undesired forms such as *māmak (ī → y) iti* = **māmakyiti.* Similarly: *tan(ū → v) iti* = **tanviti.* If, on the other hand, *ī* and *ū* are termed *pragṛhya*, 6.1.77 will be blocked from applying. A form such as *gaurī,* which is derived from *gaurī* + *Ṅi,* will face a similar situation if its *i* is not termed *pragṛhya*. Thus, in the absence of a *pragṛhya* designation, a sequence *gaurī* + *adhi* will result in a wrong form **gauryadhi.*

1.1.20 दाधाघ्वदाप्

dādhā ghv adāp

/dādhāḥ 1/3 *ghu* 1/1 *adāp* 1/1/

dārūpāś catvāro dhātavo dhārūpau ca dvau dābdaipau varjayitvā ghusaṃjñakā bhavanti

(Roots of the form) *dā* and *dhā*—except for *dāP* 'to cut' and *daiP* 'to clean'—are termed *ghu.*

EXAMPLES:

praṇidadāti (ḌUdāÑ 'to give') 'he gives properly with full resolve'
praṇidadhāti (ḌUdhāÑ 'to put, provide for') 'he gives properly with full resolve'
praṇidātā (dāṆ 'to give') 'he who gives properly with full resolve'
praṇidyati (do 'to divide, split') 'he splits properly with full resolve'

praṇidayate (deṄ 'to protect, defend, nurture') 'he protects with full resolve'
praṇidhayati (dheṬ 'to drink, suck') 'sucks the milk from...

1. This rule refers to six verbal roots: *ḌUdāÑ, ḌUdhāÑ, dāṆ, do, deṄ,* and *dheṬ.* The phrase 'of the form' refers especially to two operations whereby verbal roots yield a form in *dā* or *dhā.* In case of roots such as *ḌUdāÑ, dāṆ,* and *ḌudhāÑ,* the specific operation is *it* deletion. *ḌU...Ñ, Ṇ,* and *ḌU...Ñ* will be deleted because they are *its* (markers), and the resulting forms of the roots will be *dā, dā,* and *dhā.* A second operation specific to verbal roots *do, deṄ,* and *dheṬ* can be associated with the application of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe' śiti,* whereby a root-final *e, ai, o,* or *au* will be replaced by *ā.* Thus, *do, de(Ṅ),* and *dhe(Ṭ)* will each yield a form in *dā* or *dhā.*

2. The purpose of assigning the term *ghu* to verbal roots which have their forms in *dā* or *dhā* is to allow, in addition to operations applicable to items termed *ghu,* the *n* of the preverb *ni* to be replaced by *ṇ* before them. Thus: *pra-ni-dā = pra-(n → ṇ) i-dā = praṇidā.*

SCOPE: 6.4.66: *ghumāsthāgāpājahātiṣām hali,* etc.

1.1.21 आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्

ādyantavad ekasmin
/ādyantavad Ø ekasmin 7/1/
ādāv iva anta iva ekasminn api kāryaṃ bhavati
Operations specific to the initial or final element of a given unit obtain even on a single element constituting that unit.

EXAMPLE:

ābhyām 'by those two'

1. The purpose of this rule is to make a provision whereby operations applicable to an initial (*ādi*) or final (*anta*) element of an item may be performed on an item which consists only of a single element and thus does not have any initial or final element. In view of the provisions of this rule, a single element can be treated as its own initial or final element. In other words, this extension rule extends operations which obtain only on items having initial or final elements to items which consist solely of a single element.

For example, consider (1) *aupagavaḥ* where the affix *a* will have the *udātta* 'high pitch' (1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ*) accent by 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca.* This rule assigns an *udātta* accent to the initial vowel of an affix. Now, in the absence of 1.1.21, affix *a* in *aupagavaḥ* cannot be assigned this accent since it does not have an initial vowel.

Consider, also, the derivation of (64) *ābhyām.* At step (*e*), the string is *a* + *bhyām.* Rule 7.3.102 *supi ca* must apply now to give us (*a* → *ā*) + *bhyām* = *ābhyām.*

This rule replaces *a* by *ā* only when *a* is the final sound of a presuffixal base (*aṅga*) and is followed by a *sUP* which begins with *yÑ* (see *Śs.* 5-8); in this example, it is *bh*. Now the single vowel *a* itself constitutes the presuffixal base followed by *bhyām*. We cannot derive *ābhyām* unless this *a* is treated as the final sound of the *aṅga* it constitutes.

In examples like *kartavyam* 'that which is to be done' and *vṛkṣābhyām* (inst., dat., abl. dual of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'), we need not invoke 1.1.20, since the *udātta* accent will be assigned to the initial *a* of the suffix *tavyaT*. Similarly, the presuffixal base before the nominal ending *bhyām* will be *vṛkṣa*, which ends in *a*. These contrasting examples, where 1.1.20 need not be invoked, are furnished simply for explanatory purposes.

1.1.22 तरप्तमपौ घः

taraptamapau ghaḥ

/*taraptamapau* 1/2 *ghaḥ* 1/1/

tarap tamab ity etau pratyayau ghasaṃjñau bhavataḥ

Affixes *taraP* (5.3.57 *dvivacana...*, etc.) and *tamaP* (5.3.55-56 *atiśāyane...*, etc.) are termed *gha*.

EXAMPLES:

kumāritarā 'a comparatively better girl'
kumāritamā 'the best girl'
brāhmaṇitarā 'a comparatively better Brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇitamā 'the best Brāhmaṇa woman'

1. This rule assigns the term *gha* to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP*. The main function of *gha* is to facilitate shortening (*hrasva*) by 6.3.43 *gharūpa....* See the derivations for details. Additionally note that *gha* also receives the affix *ām* by 5.4.11 *kimettiṅ....*

There may be a confusion about *taraP* being a form derived by introducing the affix *aP* after the verbal root *tṛ* 'to float' (3.3.50 *ṛdor ap*). This of course is not acceptable because the association (*sāhacarya*) of *tamaP* with *taraP* will rule out the latter as being anything but an affix.

SCOPE: 6.3.43 *gharūpakalpa...*

1.1.23 बहुगणवतुडति संख्या

bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā

/*bahugaṇavatuḍati* 1/1 *saṃkhyā* 1/1/

bahugaṇavatuḍati ity ete saṃkhyāsaṃjñā bhavanti

Items *bahu* 'many' and *gaṇa* 'class, group', as well as those which end in *vatU* (5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ...*) and *Ḍati* (5.2.41 *kimaḥ...*) are termed *saṃkhyā*.

EXAMPLES:

bahukṛtvaḥ 'many times'

katikṛtvaḥ 'how many times'
gaṇakṛtvaḥ 'a series of times'
tāvatkṛtvaḥ 'that many times'
bahudhā 'in many ways'
katidhā 'in how many ways'
gaṇadhā 'in a series of ways'
tāvaddhā 'that many ways'
bahukaḥ 'purchased for many (gold coins)'
katikaḥ 'purchased for how many...'
gaṇakaḥ 'purchased for a group of...'
tāvatkaḥ 'purchased for that many...'
bahuśaḥ 'frequently'
katiśaḥ 'how frequent...'
gaṇaśaḥ 'frequent in a series'
tāvacchaḥ 'that frequent'

1. The term *saṃkhyā* here refers to 'number'; not to its etymological sense (*anvartha*) of 'that by means of which one counts (*saṃkhyāyate' nayā*)'. If *saṃkhyā* here in the grammar referred to its popular sense, what would be the sense in defining it? The *Mahābhāṣya* invokes here the famous *paribhāṣā: kṛtrimākṛtrimayoḥ kṛtrimeṇa kāryasampratyataḥ* 'when both *kṛtrima* (artificial) and *akṛtrima* (non-artificial, popular) obtain, *kṛtrima* is accepted as operating'. This being the case, *eka* 'one', and so on, could be thrown out of the sphere of the term *saṃkhyā* because in the absence of the *kṛtrima* usage, *akṛtrima* could not be accepted.

However the question still remains as to how *eka, dvi,* and so on, would get the designation *saṃkhyā,* since the present rule does not include them. In answer one can argue that the grammar also uses *akṛtrimasaṃjñā.* If that were not so, restrictions such as *atiśadantāyāḥ* outlined by 6.1.22 *saṃkhyāyāḥ atiśadantāyāḥ kan* would become vacuous. For, as defined by the grammar here in 1.1.23, the word *saṃkhyā* cannot refer to anything *atiśadanta.* Forms referred to by the restriction only obtain in the *laukikasaṃjñā* 'terms in popular usage'.

The words *bahu* and *gaṇa* also mean 'multitude' *(vaipulya)* and 'group' (*saṃgha)* respectively. Thus we get the following phrases:

(*a*) *bahurodanaḥ* 'too much crying',

(*b*) *mahān bhikṣūṇām gaṇaḥ* 'a very large group of ascetics'

When *bahu* and *gaṇa* are not used to denote number, they cannot be assigned the term *saṃkhyā.* The present rule is required not only to extend to *bahu, gaṇa,* and so on, the status of *saṃkhyā* but also to exclude words such as *bhūri* and *prabhūti* from being designated *saṃkhyā,* even though these words are similar to *bahu* and *gaṇa* in the sense that they mean 'much, abundant', and so on. For details see *Nyāsa* (I:126-27).

SCOPE: 2.1.19 *saṃkhyā vaṃśyena,* and so on.

1.1.24 ष्णान्ता षट्
ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ
/*ṣṇāntā* 1/1 *ṣaṭ* 1/1/
saṃkhyā # 23)
ṣakārantā nakārāntā ca yā saṃkhyā sā ṣaṭsaṃjñā bhavati
Numerals (*saṃkhyā*) which end in *ṣ* or *ṇ* are termed *ṣaṭ*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṭ tiṣṭhanti 'the six are standing there'
ṣaṭ paśya 'look at those six'
pañca 'five'
sapta 'seven'
nava 'nine'
daśa 'ten'

1. The word *saṃkhyā* is interpreted here as the *saṃjñin*. However, in the preceding rule from where it is carried to this rule, *saṃkhyā* is a *saṃjñā*. Pāṇini uses *ṣṇāntā,* a *saṃjñin,* in feminine so that it could serve as a modifier of *saṃkhyā*. In the absence of accepting this as the purpose of using the feminine form *ṣṇāntā,* the use of feminine becomes vacuous. The very fact that it is used in the feminine makes *saṃkhyā* understood as carried. If it had been used in the masculine, the rule would have become *ṣṇāntaḥ ṣaṭ,* with the meaning '*ṣaṭ* is that which ends in *ṣ* or *ṇ*'. This would have allowed *ṣaṭ* designation to any form ending is *ṣ* or *ṇ*.

A question is raised as to why *anta* 'final' should be used in 1.1.24. If *saṃkhyā* is carried, the sense of *anta* will automatically become available by the syntactico-semantic relation (*sāmarthya*) obtaining between *saṃkhyā* and *ṣ* or *ṇ*. Commentators (*Nyāsa,* I:127) indicate that the purpose of *anta* here is to make it clear that 'a numerical word ending in *ṣ* or *ṇ*' refers to a number word in *upadeśa* 'initial citation' and not to a number which, as the result of some operation, ends in *ṣ* or *ṇ*. Thus *pañcan* 'five', *ṣaṣ* 'six', *saptan* 'seven', *aṣṭan* 'eight', *navan* 'nine', and *daśan* 'ten' will be termed *ṣaṭ*. However such examples as *śatān* and *sahasrān,* of *śatān* + *i* = *śatāni* and *sahasrān* + *i* = *sahasrā(n→ ṇ)* + *i* = *sahasrāṇi,* where forms ending in *ṇ* are not *aupadeśika* 'radical', will not be termed *ṣaṭ*.

One of the major functions of the assignment of the term *ṣaṭ* is to facilitate the deletion of the nominative and accusative plural endings by 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk.*

SCOPE: 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk,* and so on.

1.1.25 डति च
ḍati ca

/*ḍati* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*ṣaṭ* # 24; *saṃkhyā* # 23)
ḍatyantā ca yā saṃkhyā sā ṣaṭsaṃjñā bhavati
Numerals which end in *Ḍati* also are termed *ṣaṭ*.

EXAMPLES:

kati tiṣṭhanti 'how many are sitting there'
kati paśya 'see however many you can'

1. Note that the reason Pāṇini wants to include numbers ending in *Ḍati* in those termed *ṣaṭ* is to facilitate the deletion of their nominative and accusative plural endings by 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk*.
See the appendix, rules 1.1.24 and 1.1.25 for details.

1.1.26 क्तक्तवतू निष्ठा
ktaktavatū niṣṭhā
/*ktaktavatū* 1/2 *niṣṭhā* 1/1/
ktaśca ktavatuś ca ktaktavatū pratyayau niṣṭhāsaṃjñau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*, etc.) are termed *niṣṭhā*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtaḥ 'done, made'
kṛtavān 'he did, made'
bhuktaḥ 'eaten, consumed'
bhuktavān 'he ate'

1. Affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* are assigned the term *niṣṭhā* so that, among other things, 3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*, may introduce these affixes by citing this term. This may sound contradictory. If these affixes are to be *niṣṭhā*, they must be introduced without assigning the term *niṣṭhā*. This is clearly an example of interdependency (*anyonyāśrayatva*; for a more complete discussion, see note 1 to rule 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ*...). Commentators rule that the term *niṣṭhā* is applied as *bhāvin:* a term whose denotata are 'yet to be brought about'. One finds similar practices in everyday situations. Thus one asks a weaver *asya sūtrasya śāṭakaṃ vaya* 'weave a *śāṭaka* of this yarn'. The designation *śāṭaka* is used even though, being not yet woven, it is 'yet to be brought about'. Several derivations involving these affixes have already been given under 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. Examples such as *kṛtaḥ* (*ḌUkṛÑ + Kta*), *kṛtavān* (*ḌUkṛÑ + KtavatU*), *bhuktaḥ* (*bhuj + Kta*), and *bhuktavān* (*bhuj + KtavatU*) are similarly derived. Their complete derivations may be found under this rule in the appendix. However, it should be noted here that the *j* of *bhuj* + (*Kta* or *KtavatU*) + *sU̐* is changed into *k* by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*.
2. If affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* are assigned the term *niṣṭhā*, items ending in these affixes can also be termed *niṣṭhā* by the principle of *tadantavidhi*

(see 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya)*. To avoid this, one invokes the *paribhāṣā saṃjñāvidhau...* which rules that when operations are ordered with reference to a technical term, the implications of *tadantavidhi* do not apply; also see 1.1.72. For details of the *paribhāṣā,* see *Mbh.* (II. 361): *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir na bhavati; Pbh.* 27: *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahaṇaṃ nāsti.* Also, *Pbh.*23: *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādis tadantasya grahaṇam.*

1.1.27 सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि

sarvādīni sarvanāmāni

/sarvādīni 1/3 *sarvanāmāni* 1/3/

sarvaśabdaḥ ādir yeṣaṃ tānīmāni sarvādīni sarvanāmasaṃjñāni bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* 'all, whole' are termed *sarvanāman*.

EXAMPLES:

sarvaḥ 'nom. sing. of *sarva*'
sarvau 'nom. dual'
sarve 'nom. pl.'
sarvasmai 'dat. sing.'
sarvasmāt 'abl. sing.'
sarvasmin 'loc. sing.'
sarveṣām 'gen. pl.'
sarvakaḥ 'all the people'

1. The purpose of this rule is to assign the term *sarvanāman* 'pronoun, pronominal' to all thirty-five items enumerated in the list headed by *sarva* 'all, whole'. This term assignment has the following three consequences:
(*a*) the nominative plural ending *Jas* is replaced by *Śī* (7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī*),
(*b*) the dative singular *Ṅe* by *smai* (7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ...*), and
(*c*) the locative singular *Ṅi* by *smin* (7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ...*).
Similarly, *ām*, if introduced after a pronominal and occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *a*, receives the augment *sUṬ* (7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ*). An additional purpose of assigning this term is to allow the affix *akaC* after these bases (5.3.71 *avyaya sarvanāmnām akac*). See the derivations for details.

SCOPE: 7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai*, and so on.

1.1.28 विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ

vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau

/vibhāṣā 1/1 *diksamāse* 7/1 *bahuvrīhau* 7/1/

(*sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* # 27)

diśāṃ samāso diksamāsaḥ digupadiṣṭe samāse bahuvrīhau vibhāṣā sarvādīni sarvanāma saṃjñāni bhavanti
Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* optionally are termed *sarvanāman* if they occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound composed of constituents denoting *diś* 'direction'.

EXAMPLES:

uttarapūrvasyai, or *uttarapūrvāyai*
'for the northeasterly direction'
dakṣiṇapūrvasyai, or *dakṣiṇapūrvāyai*
'for the southeasterly direction'

1. Rule 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau* obligatorily denies the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*) compounds. The present rule provides that a particular set of such compounds optionally may be assigned this term. Pāṇini identifies this set by using the expression *diksamāsa* (compounds derived by combining items denoting *diś* 'directional names'; see 2.2.26 *diṅnāmāny antarāle*).

2. It is interesting to note here that Pāṇini uses the word *samāsa* 'compound' along with *bahuvrīhi*. Since a *bahuvrīhi* can be nothing but a *samāsa*, as is evident from the inclusion of the rule which assigns the term *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*) in the domain of the rule which assigns the term *samāsa* (2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*), *samāsa* in 1.1.28 may appear to be redundant. Actually, Pāṇini uses the word *samāsa* to insure that 1.1.28 is applied only to those *bahuvrīhi* compounds which were derived by applying rules contained in the compound section (2.1.1-2.2.38). That is, he wanted to insure that items which are not actually *bahuvrīhi* compounds but are treated as such for purposes of *sUP* deletion (2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*), accentuation, and masculine transformation did not fall under the scope of 1.1.28.

For example, 8.1.9 *ekaṃ bahuvrīhivat* provides that *ekā* + *Ṅe* + *ekā* + *Ṅe*, as in *ekaikasmai*, can be treated as a *bahuvrīhi*. Consequently, 2.4.71 will delete the nominal endings: *ekā* + (*Ṅe* → *0*) + *ekā* + (*Ṅe* → *0*) = *ekā* + *ekā*; 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣita...* will cause masculine transformation: *ek(ā* → *a)* + *ek(ā* → *a)* = *eka* + *eka*, which (by 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*) becomes *ek(a* + *e* → *ai)ka* = *ekaika*; and 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* will assign the accent. It is in this situation that Pāṇini, by using *samāsa* in 1.1.28, clears the way for such quasi-*bahuvrīhi* to be treated as *sarvanāman*. As a result, given a string *ekaika* + *Ṅe*, the derived form will be *ekaikasmai*, similar to (95) *sarvasmai*.

To sum up, 1.1.29 obligatorily denies the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *sarva*, etc., when they constitute a *bahuvrīhi* compound. Our present rule makes this provision of 1.1.29 optional when the *bahuvrīhi* is a *diksamāsa*. However, one must remember that the provisions of 1.1.28-29

only are applicable to *bahuvrīhis* which are actually derived by applying rules from the compound domain. Extensional *(ātideśika) bahuvrīhis* like *ekaika* neither can be obligatorily denied nor optionally allowed the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* by 1.1.28-29. This means that they will always be treated as pronouns. Thus *ekaika* + *Ṅe* can yield only *ekaikasmai.*

1.1.29 न बहुव्रीहौ ।

na bahuvrīhau

/na Ø bahuvrīhau 7/1/

(sarvādīni sarvanāmāni # 27)

bahuvrīhau samāse sarvādīni sarvanāmasaṃjñāni na bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* are not termed *sarvanāman* if they occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ).*

EXAMPLES:

priyaviśvāya 'one to whom everyone is dear'
priyobhayāya 'one to whom both are dear'
dvyanyāya 'for one to whom there are two others'
tryanyāya 'for he to whom there are three others'
tvatkapitṛkaḥ 'he whose father you are'
matkapitṛkaḥ 'he whose father I am'
vastrāntaravasanāntarāḥ 'those that have clothes as their cover and those that have houses as their cover'

1. See the notes under 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā...* for details concerning this rule. Also note that Pāṇini explicitly mentions *bahuvrīhau* in this rule where one would expect him to have carried it from the preceding rule. He does this simply to indicate that if *sarva,* etc., form a *bahuvrīhi* compound, even though such a compound is included in a non-*bahuvrīhi,* the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* is blocked. Consider *vastrāntaravasanāntarāḥ,* a *dvandva* compound formed of two constituents *(vastrāntara* and *vasanāntara).* These constituents are *bahuvrīhi* compounds in their own right. Together they form a *dvandva.* Technically the restriction imposed by 1.1.29 should not apply to *vastrāntaravasanāntarāḥ* since it is a *dvandva* compound. By expressly mentioning *bahuvrīhi* instead of carrying it from the preceding rule as *anuvṛtti,* Pāṇini wants us to remember that even a *bahuvrīhi*-based compound will come under the purview of the present rule. For details on this, see my explanation of this rule in the appendix. Also refer to *Padamañjarī* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* 1.1.29: *atrāsati bahuvrīhigrahaṇe vartamānadvandvāśrayo niṣedhaḥ syāt, tataś ca jasi vibhāṣā syāt. punar bahuvrīhigrahaṇāt tu yadanto dvandvaḥ, so' ntaraśabdo bahuvrīheḥ pūrvam atrāsīd iti bahuvrīhyāśrayo' nitya eva niṣedho bhavati (Padamañjarī); ...punar bahuvrīhigrahaṇāt tu bhūtapūrvasyāpi bahuvrīher āśrayaṇāt tadāśrayo nityaḥ pratiṣedho bhavati (Nyāsa).*

The example discussed here optionally can be termed *sarvanāman* by the following rule (1.1.32 *vibhāṣā jasi)* because it is a *dvandva* compound-base after which *jas* is introduced.

1.1.30 तृतीया समासे
tṛtīyāsamāse
/*tṛtīyāsamāse* 7/1/
(*ca* # 29; *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* # 27)
(*tṛtīyāsamāse sarvādīni sarvanāmasaṃjñāni na bhavanti*)
Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* are not termed *sarvanāman* if they occur in a *tatpuruṣa* compound (2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśa...)* whose first constituent ends in *tṛtīyā* (the third s*UP* triad).

EXAMPLES:

māsapūrvāya 'for one who was born a month before'
saṃvatsarapūrvāya 'for one who was born a year before'
dvyahapūrvāya 'for one who was born two days before'
tryahapūrvāya 'for one who was born three days before'
māsena pūrvāya 'for one who precedes by a month'
tvyakā kṛtam 'it was done by you'
mayakā kṛtam 'it wás done by me'

1. The purpose of this rule is to block the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *sarva,* etc., when they occur in an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound *(tṛtīyāsamāsa)* formed by applying 2.3.31 *pūrva-sadṛśasamoṇa....* This means that instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compounds formed by rules other than 2.3.31 do not come under the purview of this blocking. Since compounds allowed by 2.1.31 are optional, they can be used as alternatives to their corresponding uncompounded forms. Thus, *māsapūrvāya* can be used as an alternate form of *māsena pūrvāya.* The restriction that *sarva,* etc., should not be termed *sarvanāman* when they occur as constituents of an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound is equally applicable to these items when they occur in corresponding uncompounded forms. For example, if 1.1.30 will not allow the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *pūrva* of an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound *māsapūrva,* it also will not allow this term assignment to *pūrva* of the corresponding uncompounded form *māsena pūrvaḥ.*

1.1.31 द्वन्द्वे च
dvandve ca
/*dvandve* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*na* # 29; *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* # 27)
dvandve ca samāse sarvādīni sarvanāsaṃjñāni na bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* also are not termed *sarvanāman* if they occur in a *dvandva* compound (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

pūrvāparāṇām 'of those who were prior to or posterior to'
katarakatamānām 'whose from among the two or many?'

1. The function of this rule is fully explained by the derivational details provided for its examples in the appendix.

1.1.32 विभाषा जसि
vibhāṣā jasi
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *jasi* 1/1/
(*dvandve* # 31; *na* # 29; *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni* # 27)
dvandve samāse jasi vibhāṣā sarvādīni sarvanāmasaṃjñāni na bhavanti
Items listed in the set headed by *sarva* optionally are not termed *sarvanāman* when they occur in a *dvandva* compound and operations relative to *Jas* (nom. pl.) are to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

katarakatame 'who from among the two or many' *katarakatamāḥ* 'id.'
katarakatamakāḥ 'who from among the two or many'

1. The preceding rule obligatorily denies the term assignment *sarvanāman* to *sarva,* etc., when they occur in a *dvandva* compound. This rule makes this term assignment optional in so far as operations relative to *Jas* (nom. pl.) are concerned. That is, *sarva,* and so on, optionally can be termed *sarvanāman* even when they occur in a *dvandva* compound provided operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed. Thus, a *dvandva* compound derived from (*katara* + *Jas* + *katama* + *Jas*) will be *katarakatama,* after which 4.1.2 *svauj...* can introduce *Jas*. Given a string *katarakatama* + *Jas,* 1.1.32 optionally will term *katarakatama* a *sarvanāman.* The resultant form will be *katarakatame,* which is derived exactly like (94) *sarve.* If we do not avail ourselves of the option of assigning the term *sarvanāman* to *katarakatama, katarakatama* + *Jas* will then yield *katarakatamāḥ*.

It should be remembered here that this optional assignment of the term *sarvanāman* is strictly limited to operations relative to *Jas* and not to operations which may obtain when *Jas* follows. This distinction must be maintained since the locative in *jasi* of 1.1.32 is not *parasaptamī* (see note 2 under 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*). Accordingly, placement of *akaC* after *katarakatama* to derive *katarakatamaka,* as in (99) *sarvakaḥ* cannot be considered a purpose for assigning the term *sarvanāman* by 1.1.32.

1.1.33 प्रथमचरमतयाल्पार्धकतिपयनेमाश्च

prathamacaramatayālpārdhakatipayanemāś ca
/prathama...nemāḥ 1/1 *ca Ø*
(*vibhāṣā jasi* # 32; *sarvanāmāni* # 27)
prathama-carama-taya-alpa-ardha-katipaya-nema ity ete jasi vibhāṣā sarvanāmasaṃjñā bhavanti

Items *prathama* 'first', *carama* 'last', *alpa* 'little, less', *ardha* 'half', *katipaya* 'some', *nema* 'several', as well as those which end in affix *tayaP* (5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā...*) optionally are termed *sarvanāman* when operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

prathame/prathamāḥ
carame/caramāḥ
alpe/alpāḥ
katipaye/katipayāḥ
neme/nemāḥ
dvitaye/dvitayāḥ

1. Note that the above examples constitute the optional nominative plural forms of *prathama*, 'first'; *carama*, 'best'; *alpa*, 'little'; *katipaya*, 'several'; *nema*, 'half, part'; and *dvitaya*, 'half, split in two'. For further details of the implications of this rule, refer to its appendix.

1.1.34 पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्

pūrvaparāvaradakṣiṇottarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām
/pūrva...dharāṇi 1/3 *vyavasthāyām* 7/1 *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*vibhāṣā jasi* # 32; *sarvanāmāni* # 27)
pūrvādīni vibhāṣā jasi sarvanāmasaṃjñāni bhavanti vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām

Items such as *pūrva*, front, east, prior'; *para*, 'subsequent, latter'; *avara*, 'lower, preceding, prior'; *dakṣiṇa*, 'southern, right-hand side'; *uttara*, 'northern, upper'; *apara*, 'western, posterior, others'; and *adhara*, 'lower' optionally are termed *sarvanāman:*

(*a*) When operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed, and
(*b*) when what is being denoted is *vyavasthā* 'relative difference, or location in time and space', and not *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrve/pūrvāḥ
pare/parāḥ
avare/avarāḥ
dakṣiṇe/dakṣiṇāḥ
uttare/uttarāḥ

apare/aparāḥ
adhare/adharāḥ
Refer to the appendix for detailed derivations of these forms. Glosses are given in the translation.

1. Note that the above examples constitute again the nominative plural optional forms of *pūrva, para, avara, dakṣiṇa, uttara, apara* and *adhara*.

For properly comprehending the rule, one accepts the *anuvṛtti* of *sarvanāmāni* (from 1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*)and *vibhāṣā jasi* (from rule 1.1.32). Accordingly, one interprets the rule as above.

1.1.35 स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम्
svam ajñātidhanākhyāyām
/*svam* 1/1 *ajñātidhanākhyāyām* 7/1/
(*vibhāṣā jasi* # 32; *sarvanāmāni* # 27)
svam ity etac chabdarūpam jasi vibhāsā sarvanāmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati na cej jñātidhanayoḥ saṃjñārūpeṇa vartate
The word *sva* optionally is termed *sarvanāman:*
(*a*) when operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed, and
(*b*) *sva* does not express *jñāti* 'relative' or *dhana* 'wealth, property'.

EXAMPLES:

sve putrāḥ/svaḥ putrāḥ 'one's own sons'
sve gāvaḥ/svaḥ gāvaḥ 'one's own cows'
Refer to the derivations of these forms in the appendix for details.

1. Note that *sva* means four things: *ātman,* 'self'; *ātmīya,* 'one's own'; *jñāti,* 'relative'; and *dhana,* 'wealth'. The scope of this rule covers only the first two meanings. Conversely, the term *sarvanāman* cannot be assigned to *sva* if it means *jñāti* and *dhana*.

1.1.36 अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः
antaraṃ bahiryogopasaṃvyānayoḥ
/*antaram* 1/1 *bahiryogopasaṃvyānayoḥ* 7/2/
(*vibhāṣā jasi* # 32; *sarvanāmāni* # 27)
antaram ity etac chabdarūpaṃ vibhāṣā jasi sarvanāmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati bahiryoga-upasaṃvyāne gamyamāne
The word *antara* optionally is termed *sarvanāman:*
(*a*) when operations relative to *Jas* are to be performed, and
(*b*) when either *bahiryoga* 'connection with the exterior location' or *upasaṃvyāna* 'clothing' is being expressed.

EXAMPLES:

antare gṛhāḥ/antarā gṛhāḥ 'houses on the outside (of the village)'
antare śāṭakāḥ/antarāḥ śāṭakāḥ 'underclothing'

The appendix gives detailed derivations of these forms.

1. Note that the *Amarakośa* gives the following meanings of the word *antara: avakāśa,* 'hiatus'; *avadhi,* 'relative location'; *paridhāna,* 'garment *antarddhi,* 'hiding place'; *bheda,* 'difference'; *tādarthya,* 'meant for that' *avasara,* 'occasion'; *madhya,* 'middle'; *antdrātma,* 'inner soul'; *chidra,* 'hole'; *ātmīya,* 'one's own'; *vinā,* 'without'; and *bahiḥ,* 'outside of'. It is only with reference to the meanings of *antara, bāhya* and *paridhāna,* that the rule assigns the term *sarvanāman.* There is nothing new derivationally.

1.1.37 **स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम्**

svarādinipātam avyayam
/*svarādinipātam* 1/1 *avyayam* 1/1 /
svarādīni śabdarūpāṇi nipātāś cāvyayasaṃjñāni bhavanti
Items listed in the set headed by *svar* 'sun, heaven' and items termed *nipāta* are called *avyaya.*

EXAMPLES:

svar 'sun, heaven'
antar 'midst'
prātar 'in the morning, and so on'
ca 'and'
vā 'or'
ha 'definitely', etc.

For further details on these forms, refer to the appendix.

1. The function of this rule is to assign the term *avyaya* to items enumerated in the list headed by *svar* and also to those items which are termed *nipāta* (see 1.4.56 *prāgrīśvarān nipātāḥ* through 1.4.96 *adhirīśvare*). Pāṇini assigns the term *avyaya* so that nominal endings *(sUP)* introduced after these bases can be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ.*

For details of other functions of the assignment of the term *avyaya,* see notes and appendix under the following rules, especially under 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca.*

SCOPE: 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ,* and so on.

1.1.38 **तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः**

taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ
/*taddhitaḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø *asarvavibhaktiḥ* 1/1/
(*avyayam* # 37)
taddhitāntaḥ śabdo' sarvavibhaktir avyayasaṃjño bhavati
Items which end in a *taddhita* affix (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) and which do not occur before all the *vibhakti* (here, *sUP,* nominal endings) also are termed *avyaya.*

EXAMPLES:

tatra 'there'
yatra 'the place where'
tadā 'then'
yadā 'at the time when'
sadā/sarvadā 'always', etc.

Refer to the derivations of these forms in the appendix for details.

1. Note that the word *asarvavibhaktiḥ* refers to a nominal base after which only a limited number of nominal endings can be introduced. That is, bases such as *tat* and *yat* of *tatra* and *yatra* are constrained from being used before all the *sUP* terminations. The cause of the introduction of only specific endings after these bases is the *taddhita* affixes which, after having been introduced, make the derived forms indeclinables. Patañjali (*Mbh.* I:301-2) enumerates rules whereby these *taddhita* affixes are introduced:

4.3.113 *tasiś ca*
5.1.114 *tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced...*
5.2.27 *vinañbhyām...*
5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil* to 5.3.47 *yāpye pāśap*
5.4.11 *kimettiṅ...*
5.4.12 *amu ca chandasi*
5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyāḥ...*
5.4.18 *dvitricaturbhyaḥ...*
5.4.20 *vibhāṣā bahordhā...*
5.4.42 *bahvalpārtha...* to 5.4.68 *samasāntāḥ*

1.1.39 कृन्मेजन्तः

kṛn mejantaḥ
/*kṛt* 1/1 *mejantaḥ* 1/1/
(*avyayam* # 37)
kṛd yo makārāntaḥ ejantaś ca tadantaṃ śabdarūpam avyayasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
Items which end in those *kṛt* affixes which end in *m* or *eC* (*e, o, ai,* and *au;* see *Śs,* 3-4) are termed *avyaya.*

EXAMPLES:

svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats the food after sweetening it'
sampannaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats the food after spicing it'
lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats the food after salting it'
vakṣe rāyaḥ 'for naming the wealth'
tā vām eṣe rathānām 'for obtaining chariots'

1. This rule assigns the term *avyaya* to those items which end in such *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affixes as also end in *m* or *eC (e, o, ai, au)*. The decision as to whether or not a particular affix ends in *m* or *eC* is made after deleting all the *its* from these affixes. Thus, *ṆamUL, KamUL, KHamUÑ*, and *tumUN* are *kṛt* affixes referenced here as ending in *m*.

Those *kṛt* affixes which end in *eC* are introduced mostly for Vedic usages by 3.4.9 *tumarthe se...*, 3.4.10 *prayai rohiṣyai...*, and 3.4.14 *kṛtyārthe tavaika....* For example, *vakṣe* and *eṣe* are derived from *vac* + *se* and *iṆ* + *seN* where affixes *se* and *seN* are introduced in the sense of *tumUN* by 3.4.9 *tumarthe sesena....* Given the string *vac* + *se*, 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* will require *c* to be replaced by *k*, and *s* will then be replaced by *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśa...*). Now one can introduce *sU* after *vakṣe*, a nominal stem by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita....* This *sU* will be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād...*on the strength of the term *avyaya* being assigned to *vakṣe* by 1.3.39. Note that given the string *i(Ṅ → Ø) + se (N → Ø) = i + se*, the remaining rule applications are similar to *vakṣe*. Similar examples for such indeclinables which end in *o*, *ai*, and *au* are not difficult to find.

2. Note that the rule which introduces *ṆamuL* (3.4.26 *svadumi ṇamul*) as a conjoined *pada* does not list *sampannam* and *lavaṇam*. This creates difficulty in deriving *sampannaṃkāram*. To resolve this, we assume that *sampanna* and *lavaṇa* are synonymous with *svādu*. But are they? Perhaps we may resolve this difficulty by saying that *svādu* is generic and *lavaṇa* is specific. As such, we can still derive *lavaṇaṃkāram* under the provisions discussed under note 2 on 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpam....* But what about *sampannaṃkāram?* I think we have to treat all these forms as synonymous even though there may be some doubts about it.

1.1.40 क्त्वातोसुन्कसुनः

ktvātosunkasunaḥ

ktvātosunkasunaḥ 1/3/

(*avyayam* # 37)

ktvā tosun kasun ity evam antaṃ śabdarūpam avyayasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

Items which end in *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samāna...*), *tosuN* (3.4.16 *bhāvalakṣaṇe...*), or *KasUN* (3.4.17 *sṛpi...*) are termed *avyaya*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtvā 'after making'

hṛtvā 'after taking away'

purā sūryasyodetoḥ 'before the rising of the sun'

purā krūrasya visṛpaḥ 'before the cruel one gets away'

purā jatrubhya ātṛdaḥ 'before the neck starts bleeding by piercing'

1. Note that the purpose of assigning the term *avyaya* is again to facilitate the deletion of *sUP* by *LUK*. Refer to the appendix for details.

1.1.41 अव्ययीभावश्च

avyayībhāvaś ca

/*avyayībhāvaḥ* 1.1 *ca* Ø/

(*avyayam* # 37)

avyayībhāvasamāso' vyayasaṃjño bhavati

A compound termed *avyayībhāva* (2.1.5 *avyayī...*) also is termed *avyaya*.

EXAMPLES:

pratyagnim 'in front of the fire'
upāgnim 'near the fire'
upāgnimukhaḥ 'he whose face is close to the fire'
upapayaḥkāraḥ 'he who is near the one desirous of milk'
upapayaḥkāmaḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* (ad 1.1.41) mentions three reasons why *avyayībhāva* compounds (2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ*) are assigned the term *avyaya:*

(*a*) for the deletion (*LUK*, see 1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślu...*) of nominal endings introduced after them (2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*),

(*b*) for the blocking of the assignment of the *udātta* (1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ*) accent to the final vowel of *mukha (mukhasvara)* when it underlies the final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*) compound that has an internal *avyayībhāva*, and

(*c*) for disallowing *upacāra*, a technical term denoting the change of *visarga (ḥ)* into *s*.

We have already illustrated how nominal endings get deleted on account of the term *avyaya* (see under 1.1.37). For an example of *mukhasvara*, consider *upāgnimukhaḥ* 'he whose face is close to the fire', a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) with *upāgni* 'near the fire' as its internal *avyayībhāva* compound (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa...*). Rule 6.2.167 *mukhaṃ svāṅgam* requires that an *udātta* accent should be assigned to the final vowel of a *bahuvrīhi* compound when *mukha* is its final constituent. However, 6.2.168 *nāvyaya...* will not allow the *udātta* accent, because *mukha* follows *upāgni*, which is an *avyaya*. Instead the first constituent of *upāgnimukha* retains its original accentuation (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau...*). That is, the last vowel of *upāgni* is high pitched (6.1.223 *samāsasya*).

Similarly, 8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkami...* states that *ḥ (visarga)* preceded by *a* is replaced by *s* before *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make', and so on, unless the *visarga* is the final sound of an *avyaya*. Thus: *ayaḥ* + *kāraḥ* will yield *aya(ḥ → s)kāraḥ* = *ayaskāraḥ* 'he who makes iron, blacksmith'. Now consider *upapayaḥ* + *kāraḥ* which, parallel to *ayaskāraḥ*, should yield **upapayaskāraḥ*. However, this will be a wrong form merely because *upapayaḥ* is an *avyayībhāva* compound termed *avyaya* and hence 8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkami...* has a built-in exception to this *visarga* replacement. If the *visarga* occurs at the end of an

indeclinable, it should not be replaced by *s*. Consequently, ***upapayaḥ*** + ***kāraḥ*** = ***upapayaḥkāraḥ***.

1.1.42 **शि सर्वनामस्थानम्**

śi sarvanāmasthānam

/***śi*** **1/1** ***sarvanāmasthānam*** **1/1/**

śi ity etat sarvanāmasthānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

Śi (a substitute for the nominative plural ending *Jas* and accusative plural ending *Śas* after a neuter stem) is termed *sarvanāmasthāna*.

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍāni, nom. pl. of *kuṇḍa* 'fire-pit, small pond'
dadhīni, nom. pl. of *dadhi* 'yogurt'
madhūni, nom. pl. of *madhu* 'honey'
trapūṇi, nom. pl. of *trapu* 'alloy'
jatūni, nom. pl. of *jatu* 'lac'

1. This rule assigns the term *sarvanāmasthāna* to *Śi*, which is a replacement of nominative plural *Jas* and accusative plural *Śas*. The reference is clearly to 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*, whereby *Jas* or *Śas*, introduced after a neuter nominal stem, is replaced by *Śi*. Since *Śi* is marked with *Ś*, it replaces *Jas* and *Śas* in toto (1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). *Śi* is termed *sarvanāmasthāna* especially to accomplish the following two purposes:

(*a*) so that the augment *nUM* can be introduced to certain neuter presuffixal bases (*aṅgas*) by 7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya...*, and

(*b*) so that 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne...* can apply to change the penultimate (*upadhā*, see 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt...*) short vowel of an *aṅga* into the corresponding long vowel, provided also that the *aṅga* ends in *n* and a *sarvanāmasthāna* ending other than a *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*) follows.

SCOPE: 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*, and so on.

1.1.43 **सुडनपुंसकस्य**

suḍ anapuṃsakasya

/*suṭ* 1/1 *anapuṃsakasya* 6/1/

(*sarvanāmasthānam* # 42)

suḍ iti pañca vacanāni sarvanāmasthānasaṃjñāni bhavanti napuṃsakād anyatra

Items denoted by *sUṬ* (*sU, au, Jas, am, auṬ*; see 4.1.2 *svauj...*) are termed *sarvanāmasthāna* when they occur after a non-neuter stem.

EXAMPLES:

rājā **'nom. sing. of *rājan* king'**

rājānau 'nom. dual'
rājānaḥ 'nom. pl.'
rājānam 'acc. sg.'
rājānau 'acc. dual'

1. This rule assigns the term *sarvanāmasthāna* to the nominal endings denoted by the abbreviation *sUṬ* (*sŪ, au, Jas, am,* and *auṬ*) when they occur after non-neuter stems. This rule concerns three nominative and two (singular and dual) accusative endings. Because of the *sarvanāmasthāna* designation, the penultimate short vowels of stems are changed into corresponding long vowels (see note under 1.1.42).

1.1.44 न वेति विभाषा
na veti vibhāṣā
/*na* Ø *vā* Ø *iti* Ø *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
neti pratiṣedho veti vikalpas tayoḥ pratiṣedhavikalpayor vibhāṣeti saṃjñā bhavati
The signification *na vā* 'or not' is termed *vibhāṣā*.

EXAMPLES:

śuśāva 'he went'
śiśvāya 'id.'
śuśuvatuḥ 'they two went'
śiśviyatuḥ 'id.'

This rule defines *vibhāṣā* as the meaning of *na vā* 'or not'. There are three types of *vibhāṣā*: *prāpta*, whereby something provided as obligatory (*nitya*) is made optional; *aprāpta*, whereby something not provided for is provided optionally; and *ubhayatra*, where both *prāpta* and *aprāpta* provisions are made optional. Rule 1.3.77 *vibhāṣopapadena pratīyamāne*, for example, optionally introduces *ātmanepada* endings. This option is constrained by two factors. First, the root which qualifies for this option must co-occur with another *pada*; and second, the co-occurring *pada* must indicate that the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. Thus, one gets sentences such as *svaṃ kaṭaṃ kurute*, 'he is making a mat for himself', where the co-occurring *pada svam* 'one's own' indicates that the fruit of the action, here a mat, is intended for the agent. Thus, in *karoti* the use of *parasmaipada*, or in *kurute* the use of *ātmanepada*, is optional.

For an example of *aprāptavibhāṣā*, consider rule 1.2.3 *vibhāṣorṇoḥ*. This rule states that an affix with initial *iṬ* optionally is treated as marked with *Ṅ* if it occurs after the verb root *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover'. This option will yield two forms: *prorṇuvitā* and *prorṇavitā* 'he who is to cover', both derived from the underlying string *pra* + *ūrṇu* + *i* + *tṛ*. The affix with initial *iṬ* is *tṛC*. The *a* of *pra* and the *u* of *ūrṇu* will be replaced by a single *guṇa* vowel to yield

prorṇu. Given the string *prorṇu* + *i* + *tṛ*, the *u* of *prorṇu* will either be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *o* or else by *uvaṄ*, depending on whether or not *i* + *tṛ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ*. This is the option which 1.2.3 provides.

Note in this context that 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* disallows any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacements if those replacements are conditioned by an affix marked with *K*, *G* or *Ṅ*. A *guṇa* replacement optionally will be available under the provisions of 1.2.3. Thus, what was *aprāpta* 'not provided for' by 1.1.5 became *prāpta* 'optionally available'. If the string *prorṇu* + *i* + *tṛ* opts for treating *i* + *tṛ* as marked with *Ṅ*, a replacement of *u* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...* will be blocked. Rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu...*, read with 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*, will then apply to replace *u* with *uvaṄ*: *prorṇ(u* → *uv) (ĀṄ* → *0)* + *i* + *tṛ* = *prorṇuvitṛ*. If, on the other hand, *i* + *tṛ* is not treated as marked with *Ṅ*, *u* will be replaced by *o* which, in turn, will be replaced by *av* by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* to yield *prorṇ(u* → *o* → *av)* + *i* → *tṛ* = *prorṇavitṛ*.

The third type of *vibhāṣā* is *ubhayatra* or *prāptāprāpta*. A classic example of this type is furnished by 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ*, whereby the root *śvi* 'to go, move toward' optionally is ordered to undergo *samprasāraṇa* before affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ*. Consider the derivation of *śuśāva* and *śiśvāya*, the optional third person singular perfect forms of *śvi*. Given the string *śvi* + *a* where *a* is a *ṆaL* (3.4.81 *liṭaḥ...*) replacement of *tiP* (3.4.78 *tiptas...*) which, in turn, is a replacement for *LIṬ*, rule 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* applies. The *v* of *śvi* will be replaced by its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *u* and the resultant string *ś(v* → *u)i* + *a* = *śui* + *a* will undergo application of 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*, whereby the sequence *u* + *i* will be replaced by *u*. This will yield *śu* + *a* which will then go through doubling (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...*) to yield *śu* + *śu* + *a*. The *u* of the second *śu* will then undergo *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) and *āv* replacement (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*), yielding *śu* + *ś(u* → *au* → *āv)* + *a* = *śuśāva*.

If, however, the *samprasāraṇa* option of 6.1.30 is not accepted, the result will be *śiśvāya*. In this case, doubling will yield *śvi* + *śvi* + *a* where *i* of the second *śvi* will undergo *vṛddhi*. The resulting *ai* will then be replaced by *āy*: *śvi* + *śv(u* → *ai* → *āy)* + *a* = *śvi* + *śvāy* + *a* = *śviśvāya*. The *v* of *śvi* will be dropped by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* to finally yield *śiśvāya*. Note here that the two previous types of *vibhāṣā* were illustrated by explaining how a provision which was available (*prāpta*) was made optional, and how a provision which was not available (*aprāpta*) optionally was made available. It is therefore natural that I should now explain how 6.1.30 provides an option with reference to both *prāpta* and *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*.

Rule 1.1.44 defines the meaning of *na* 'negation' and *vā* 'option' as *vibhāṣā*. A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* (I:324) whether the expressior *navā* in this rule should be interpreted as one particle (*nipāta*) *navā* or two particles, *na* and *vā*. If we read it as one particle it can only give us the

meaning of negation, as is attested by the usage *grāmo bhavatā gantavyo navā* 'will you go to the village or not'. If this negation then becomes the meaning of *vibhāṣā* it can only provide options in cases of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*. On the other hand, one may argue that the question of a negative interpretation does not arise in *aprāpta* cases, since it is ridiculous to negate a provision when no such provision is available. To resolve this problem and also to justify the function of *navā* in *aprāpta* cases, one has to resort to a *prasajya* view of negation. That is, the very fact that a negative provision is made implies that a positive provision exists. How else can one make a negative provision without having a positive one first? Thus in the *aprāpta* cases, first a positive provision will be implicitly assumed and then a negative option will be made.

However, this negative *navā* interpretation cannot work in instances of *prāpta-vibhāṣā*, since a positive provision is explicitly stated, and the question of its implicit assumption for purposes of negation cannot arise. Consequently, negation will simply cancel the positive provision and the result will be a single form. In order to clear this up, Patañjali states (*Mbh.* I:326-27) that *navā* should not be interpreted as one particle with a negative meaning but as two particles, *na* and *vā*, meaning negation and option respectively. With this interpretation, the negative *na* will not have any purpose in *aprāpta-vibhāṣā;* but *vā* will provide two optional forms. This interpretation will also work in instances of *prāptāprāpta-vibhāṣā* where *na* will first negate *prāpta*, thereby bringing *prāpta* and *aprāpta* on a par. Thus, *vā* will apply to provide the optional forms. The only condition is that *na* must negate first before *vā* provides the options.

Let us see how 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* is interpretable in terms of the three *vibhāṣā*. It can be interpreted as an instance of *prāpta-vibhāṣā* if one carries, through *anuvṛtti*, the word *kit* 'marked with *K*' from 6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* As a result, the obligatory *samprasāraṇa* which is ruled by 6.1.15 will be made optional by 6.1.30.

On the other hand, if *kit* is not brought by *anuvṛtti* and the optional *samprasāraṇa* is interpreted as applicable to all the *LIṬ* instances, whether they be *kit* or *akit* 'not marked with *K*' (with the additional stipulation that the now available optional *samprasāraṇa* of *kit* will be blocked by 6.1.15, which will act as prior exception to 6.1.30), we find an instance of *prāptāprāpta* or *ubhayatra vibhāṣā*. Thus, an instance of *LIṬ* marked by *kit* will receive obligatory *samprasāraṇa* by 6.1.15 *via* this stipulation. *Kit* instances will have *samprasāraṇa* as *prāpta*, while those of *akit* will have it as *aprāpta*. This would then mean that *na* will first negate the *prāpta samprasāraṇa* of *kit*, which *vā* will subsequently make optional. As far as *akit samprasāraṇa* goes, *na* would not have any purpose. It is *vā* which would provide the option.

Commentators also refer to yet another type of *vibhāṣā* commonly

known as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. This option applies only to some limited forms. The generally accepted view is that *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* offers *vidhi* 'operation' by *vā* or *niṣedha* 'negation' by *na* only with reference to specific examples. Rule 6.1.27 *śṛtaṃ pāke* is an instance of this type of *vibhāṣā*. This rule provides the *ad hoc (nipātana)* derivation of the word *śṛtam* when *pāka* 'cooking' is denoted. The underlying root for *śṛtam* is *śrā* 'to cook'. What 6.1.27 provides is this: root *śrā* optionally takes the form *śṛ* when affix *Kta* follows, whether or not *śrā* ends in affix *ṆiC*. If we interpret the *vibhāṣā* carried from 6.1.26 as a general option under the particular meaning condition *pāka*, all the occurrences of *śrā* will be replaced by *śṛ* only in the context of *kṣīra* and *havi*. Thus we get *śṛtaṃ kṣīram* 'the rice pudding is cooked' and *śṛtaṃ haviḥ* 'the food for ritual oblation is cooked'. However, if what is cooked is not *kṣīra* or *havi*, *śrā* will not be replaced by *śṛ*. Other instances of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* are provided by 2.4.55 *ajer vyaghañapoḥ*, 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...* and 1.4.5 *vami*.

Pāṇini also uses *vā* and *anyatarasyām* in the sense of *vibhāṣā*. The names of earlier grammarians, too, are sometimes mentioned to indicate options. Thus, rules 2.4.40 *liṭy anyatarasyām*, 2.4.50 *vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ*, 2.4.55 *vā liṭi* and 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya* all use different terms to provide for optionality. There is considerable debate whether or not Pāṇini intended to differentiate types of options by using these various terms. One would expect that since he uses more than one term for 'option', he must have some special differentiations in mind. A recent interpreter of Pāṇini has tried to establish some kind of variation in dialect or style based upon the use of the various terms. However, the tradition does not accept this view. For contemporary studies dealing with optional rules, and establishing stylistic variations corresponding to the above terms for 'option', see Kiparsky (1980) and Sharma (1983). It should be understood in this context that optional variants should not be treated as substandard or incorrect. In Pāṇini's eyes they are all equally correct. Since grammar only accounts for correct usage, the question of standard and substandard or preferred and incorrect variants does not arise.

Optional rules where Pāṇini uses names of earlier grammarians need some explanation. There are two views on this. According to one view, the citation of a grammarian's name in a given rule is interpreted as a reference to an authority *(pramāṇa)*. As a result, the form attested by that rule becomes an obligatory form and not an option. According to the second view, such a citation would single out one grammarian according to whom a given form is attested. This interpretation allows for the existence of other forms to which other grammarians may attest. This interpretation clearly supports the view that rules with names of grammarians are option rules. The first view is known as *kāryaśabdavāda*, the second *nityaśabdavāda*. The Pāṇinian tradition subscribes to the second view.

There are instances of rules where the name of a grammarian is cited along with the use of *vā*, one of the terms which Pāṇini uses to denote option. Consider 6.1.92 *vā supy āpiśaleḥ*. *Kāśikā* clearly states that in these instances *vā* will provide for option. Why then did Pāṇini use the name of Āpiśali when *vā* is already there to account for the option? *Kāśikā* says that by citing Āpiśali along with *vā*, Pāṇini intends to express respect for Āpiśali *(Kāś.* ad 6.1.92 *āpiśaligrahaṇaṃ pūjārthaṃ vety ucyata eva)*. Rules such as 1.2.55 *tṛṣimṛṣikṛṣeḥ kāśyapasya*, 5.4.112 *gireś ca senakasya*, 6.1.123 *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya* and 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo' ṅyor gālavasya* are additional examples of this nature.

SCOPE: 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ*, etc.

1.1.45 **इग्यणः सम्प्रसारणम्**

ig yaṇaḥ saṃprasāraṇam

/ik 1/1 *yaṇaḥ* 1/1 *saṃprasāraṇam* 1/1/

ig yo yaṇaḥ sthāne bhūto bhāvī vā tasya saṃprasāraṇam ity eṣā saṃjñā bhavati

The *iK (i, u, ṛ, ḷ)* which comes in the place of *yN̥ (y, v, r, l)* is termed *saṃprasāraṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

yaj—iṣṭam 'that which has gone through the normal sacrifice; desired'
vap—uptam 'sown'
grah—gṛhītam 'held on to, grasped'

1. Pāṇini assigns the term *saṃprasāraṇa* to sounds denoted by *iK* which are also at the same time replacements *(ādeśa)* of sounds denoted by *yN̥* *(y, v, r, l)*. That is, a sound denoted by *iK* cannot be termed *saṃprasāraṇa* unless it is a replacement of a sound denoted by *yN̥*. There are two ways in which Pāṇini uses the term *saṃprasāraṇa* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī:*

(*a*) where *saṃprasāraṇa* is used for purposes of some other operations *(kāryāntarārtha;* see 6.1.108 *saṃprasāraṇāc ca*, 6.3.139 *saṃprasāraṇasya...)*, and

(*b*) where *saṃprasāraṇa* is used for its own purpose; that is, for replacing *yN̥* by *iK (vidheya;* see 6.1.13 *ṣyaṅaḥ saṃprasāraṇam...*, 6.4.131 *vasoḥ saṃprasāraṇam)*.

Instances of (*a*) imply that the replacement of *yN̥* by *iK* has already taken place (*bhūta*). That is why this usage of the term *saṃprasāraṇa* is called repetition (*anuvāda*). As opposed to this, instances of (*b*) clearly imply that the replacement of *yN̥* by *iK* is yet to be accomplished. It is for this reason that *saṃprasāraṇa* of type (*b*) is known as *bhāvī* 'yet to be brought about'. Instances of (*b*) create difficulty, especially in view of the assignment of the term *saṃprasāraṇa*.

Normally, one would expect the nominatum (*saṃjñin*) to exist at the time when the name (*saṃjñā*) is assigned. The difficulty is this: *samprasāraṇa* cannot be assigned unless *yṆ* is replaced by *iK*, and *yṆ* cannot be replaced unless *samprasāraṇa* is assigned. Obviously we are faced here with the difficulty known as *anyonyāśrayatva* 'interdependency'. This is the reason why *Kāśikā* clearly states that *samprasāraṇa* must be interpreted as a name for both *bhūta* and *bhāvī* replacements of *yṆ* by *iK*. It should be noted, however, that *vārttika* three on 1.1.45 offers another possible interpretation. That is, the rule itself provides that both the vowels that substitute for semi-vowels and the process of substituting vowels for semi-vowels may be called *samprasāraṇa*, as is made clear by the different examples cited.

2. Among the examples cited under this rule, *iṣṭam* is derived from (*yaj* + *Kta*) + *sŨ* where *y* (*yṆ*) is replaced by *i* (*iK*), its corresponding *samprasāraṇa* vowel, under the condition of the following affix being marked with *K* (*Kta*, see 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*...). Given the string (*y* → *i*) *aj* + (*K* → *∅*) *ta* + *sŨ* = (*iaj* + *ta*) + *sŨ*, first, 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* will replace both the *i* and *a* of *ia* + *j* + *ta* by *i*, and then 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasj*... will replace the *j* of *ij* + *ta* by *s*: (*ia* → *i*) (*j* → *s*) + *ta* + *sŨ* = *is* + *ta* + *sŨ*. The *t* of the affix (*K*)*ta* will be replaced by *ṭ* by 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The result will be *iṣṭa*, which will be treated as neuter (*napuṃsaka*), and as such, *sŨ* introduced after it will be replaced with *am* by 7.1.24 *ato'm*: *iṣṭa* + (*sŨ* → *am*) = *iṣṭa* + *am*. Now 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* can apply to yield *iṣṭ* (*a* + *a* → *a*)*m* = *iṣṭam*.

The same set of rules apply in deriving *uptam* from (*vap* + *Kta*) + *sŨ* and *gṛhītam* from (*grah* + *Kta*) + *sŨ* where *v* and *r* of *vap* and *grah* have been replaced by their corresponding *samprasāraṇa* vowels. One should note here that in deriving *gṛhītam*, the following rules also apply. Rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya*... introduces the augment *i*(*Ṭ* → *∅*) at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau*...) of *gṛh* of *gṛh* + *ta*. Given the string *gṛh* + *i* + *ta*, 7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ* will cause the short *i* to be replaced by long *ī*. Thus: *gṛh* + (*i* → *ī*) + *ta* = *gṛhīta* + (*sU* → *am*) = *gṛhīt*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*m* = *gṛhītam*.

For details concerning the placement of the affix *Kta*, see the examples under 1.1.26 *ktatavatū niṣṭhā*.

SCOPE: 6.4.131 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam*, and so on.

1.1.46 **आद्यन्तौ टकितौ**

ādyantau ṭakitau

***/ādyantau* 1/2 *ṭakitau* 1/2/**

ādiṣ ṭid bhavati antaḥ kid bhavati ṣaṣṭhī nirdiṣṭasya

Elements marked with *Ṭ* or *K* become the initial and final segments respectively of items in the genitive to which they are introduced.

EXAMPLE:

bhīṣayate 'he frightens'

1. This rule is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*. We infer from 1.1.49 that:

(*a*) substitution rules specify a substituendum (*sthānī*) by marking it with genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), and

(*b*) a given substitute (*ādeśa*) replaces the substituendum.

Our present rule does not allow this. According to 1.1.46, if a substitute is given for an item marked with genitive and this substitute is also marked with *Ṭ* or *K*, the substitute cannot replace the substituendum. Instead, the substitute which is marked with *Ṭ* should be introduced as the initial (*ādi*) element of its substituendum. On the other hand, the substitute which is marked with *K* should be introduced as the final (*antya*) element of its substituendum. Since these items marked with *Ṭ* or *K* do not replace an item marked with genitive, they can hardly be considered as substitutes (*ādeśa*). The tradition calls them augments (*vikaraṇa*).

Consider the derivation of *kaṇitā* (see appendix under rule 1.1.6 *dīdhī...*) where, given the string *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ā*, 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* applies. This rule introduces *iṬ* by marking the term *ārdhadhātuka* with genitive. This clearly is a reference to *tās* which is an *ārdhadhātuka* affix (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). In view of 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī...*, *iṬ* should be introduced in place of *tās*. However, since *iṬ* is marked with *Ṭ*, 1.1.46 intervenes. Accordingly, *iṬ* will be introduced as an initial element of *tās*. The result will be: *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ā* → 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...*, # 1.1.46 *adyantau...* = *kaṇ* + (*iṬ* + *tās*) + *ā*.

Similarly, in deriving *bhīṣayate*, 7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk* applies at the stage when the string is *bhī* + *ṆiC*. What is marked with genitive in 7.3.40 is *bhī*. The element to be introduced is *ṣUK*. If we followed 1.1.49, *ṣUK* would be introduced in place of *bhī*. However, since *ṣUK* is marked with *K*, 1.1.46 will intervene, and consequently, *ṣUK* will be introduced as the final element of *bhī*. That is how we get: *bhī* + *ṆiC* → 7.3.40 *bhiyo...*, # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...* = (*bhī* + *ṣUK*) + *ṆiC*.

This discussion establishes 1.1.46 as an exception to 1.1.49.

SCOPE: of *ṭit*—7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyed...*, and so on; of *kit*—7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk*, and so on.

1.1.47 मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः

midaco' ntyāt paraḥ

/*mit* 1/1 *acaḥ* 6/1 *antyāt* 5/1 *paraḥ* 1/1/

acaṃ sanniviṣṭanām antyād acaḥ paro mid bhavati

Given an operational rule which introduces unit *Y* to unit *X*, *Y* should be introduced after the last vowel of *X* if *Y* is marked with *M*.

EXAMPLES:

viruṇaddhi 'he obstructs, blocks...
muñcati 'he releases'
payāṃsi 'nom. pl. of *payas* 'milk' '

1. This too is a prior exception to 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*. The reason is similar to the one discussed at 1.1.46. According to 1.1.47, an item marked with *M* is introduced after (*paraḥ*) the vowel (*aC*) which is the last (*antya*) among the vowels of an item marked with genitive.

Consider 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* which introduces *ŚnaM* to roots of the class headed by *rudhIR* 'to obstruct, prevent' under the condition that a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*) affix expressing agent follows. For example, at step (c) of the derivation of *viruṇaddhi*, the string is *virudh + ti*, where *rudh* is a root of the *rudhādi* class used with the preverb *vi*, and *ti* is a following *sārvadhātuka* affix. At this stage, 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ...* introduces *ŚnaM*, an affix marked with *M*. If 1.1.47 did not regulate the introduction of *ŚnaM*, we would end up with the wrong string: **virudh + ŚnaM + ti*. That is, affix *ŚnaM* (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) would be introduced after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verb root.

However, because of the present rule, *ŚnaM* will have to be introduced after the *u* of *virudh*. Thus we get: *virudh + ti* → 3.1.78 *rudhādi...* = *viru + ŚnaM + dh + ti*. It should be noted here that 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ* assigns the class name affix (*pratyaya*) to *ŚnaM* which, according to 3.1.2 *paraś ca*, should be introduced after the verb root (3.1.22 *dhātoḥ...*).

Since 1.1.47 does not allow *ŚnaM* to occur as ruled by 3.1.2, 1.1.47 can also be treated as an exception to 3.1.2. This is what *Kāśikā* (I:164) means by *...pratyayaparatvasyāyam apavādaḥ*. Note that it is not necessary to find a single example which illustrates the nature of 1.1.47 as an exception to both 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* and 3.1.2 *paraś ca*. In our cited examples, *viruṇaddhi* illustrates an exception to 3.1.2. For an illustration of an exception to 1.1.49, see the derivation of (167) *payāṃsi*.

2. The genitive in *acaḥ* of this rule is used for denoting *nirdhāraṇa*. Commentators have explained this word as specifying one from among a group on the basis of *jāti* 'genus', *guṇa* 'quality', or *krīyā* 'action' (see 2.3.45 *yataś ca nirdhāraṇam*). Genitive may be introduced after that nominal with reference to which such a specification is made: for example, *manuṣyāṇām* in *manuṣyāṇāṃ kṣatriyaḥ śūratamaḥ* 'a *kṣatriya* is bravest among men'. The singular use of this genitive in *acaḥ* may be understood as denoting a generic singular.

SCOPE: 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*, etc.

1.1.48 एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे
eca ig hrasvādeśe

/ecaḥ 6/1 *ik* 1/1 *hrasvādeśe* 7/1/
eco hrasvādeśe kartavya ig eva hrasvo bhavati nānyaḥ
If a short vowel is to replace an *eC* (*e, o, ai, au;* and a substitute is not specified), *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*) alone is to be understood as a replacement.

EXAMPLES:

atiri 'he who has excelled riches'
atinu 'he who has excelled boating'
upagu 'a name; near the cow'

1. The function of this interpretation rule is to restrict the selection of short replacements for vowels denoted by *eC*. Therefore, according to this rule, whenever a short vowel replacement is ordered for *e, ai, o,* or *au,* the replacement must be a vowel denoted by *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*). Ancient phoneticians (*śikṣākāras*) describe *e* and *ai* as *kaṇṭhatālavya* 'palatal-velar' and *o* and *au* as *kaṇṭhyoṣṭhya* 'labio-velar'.

When faced with the problem of selecting a proper short replacement for *e, ai, o,* and *au,* one would naturally try to select a substitute which is most similar to the substituendum (see 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*). Thus, *e* and *o* are most similar to *i* and *u*, while *ai* and *au* are most similar to *a, i* and *a, u.* But, since this rule restricts the substitutes to *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*), *a* must be omitted. We are left with *i, u, ṛ,* and *ḷ* as possible substitutes. One can now invoke 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...,* and accordingly resolve that *e, o, ai,* and *au* should be replaced by *i, u, ṛ,* and *ḷ* following the order of their enumeration.

Actually, invoking 1.3.10 will be useless because 1.1.48 rules a restriction (*niyama*) and restrictions are better viewed in the light of the instances they are to regulate. That is, the decision whether to invoke 1.3.10 is dependent upon instances where short substitutes for *eC* are ordered. According to 1.3.10, *ai* and *au* should be replaced by *ṛ* and *ḷ*. However, *ṛ* and *ḷ* cannot be proper substitutes for *ai* and *au* because they will not be most similar to *ai* and *au*. What will be most similar to *ai* and *au* is *a/i* and *a/u*. We have already indicated that *a* is out because it is not denoted by *iK*. This leaves us with *i* and *u* as proper short substitutes for *ai* and *au*. We already know that *i* and *u* are also the proper short substitutes for *e* and *o*. This amounts to saying that the proper short substitute for *eC* are *i* and *u*.

One can now rightly ask why, if Pāṇini wanted *i* and *u* to be the short substitutes for *eC*, did he use the abbreviation *iK*? Instead, he should have used *iṆ*. Pāṇini did not use *iṆ* because that could then have confused us about the interpretation of *iṆ*. That is, we would have become confused about whether to interpret the *Ṇ* of *iṆ* as the *Ṇ* of *Śs* 1 or of *Śs* 6. Pāṇini used *iK* to avoid this confusion.

2. Among our cited examples, *atiri* and *atinu* are *tatpuruṣa* compounds specifically known as *prādi* compounds. According to a *vārttika* on 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*, *ati* + *sU* can be combined with a *pada* in accusative, provided

ati also denotes *krānta* 'transgression'. Thus, given the strings *rai* + *am* + *ati* + *sŪ* and *nau* + *am* + *ati* + *sŪ*, 2.2.18 will allow the compound formation. Rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* will identify *ati* + *sŪ* as *upasarjana*, and hence the order becomes: *ati* + *sŪ* + *rai* + *am* and *ati* + *sŪ* + *nau* + *am*. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* will identify the strings as nominal stems, and 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...* will delete the endings, resulting in the forms *atirai* and *atinau*, to which 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake...* will apply to replace the long vowels *ai* and *au* by short ones. Our present rule will assign short *i* for *ai* and short *u* for *au*. Thus: *atir(ai → i)* = *atiri*, and *atin(au → u)* = *atinu*. Given the string *atiri* + *sŪ* and *atinu* + *sŪ*, 7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt* will delete both the endings: *atiri* + (*sŪ* → *0*) = *atiri*, and *atinu* + (*sŪ* → *0*) = *atinu*.

Our third example, *upagu*, is an indeclinable compound derived from *go* + *am* + *upa* + *sŪ*, where *upa* is an indeclinable denoting *samīpa* 'proximate'. The compound formation is similar to *upāgni* discussed under 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*. The resulting compound will be *upago*. Its final *o* will be replaced by a short *u* with reference to 1.1.48. Thus: *upag(o → u)* = *upagu*. Since *upagu* will be termed as indeclinable by 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*, the *sŪ* introduced after it will be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād...* Thus: *upagu* + (*sŪ* → *0*) = *upagu*.

1.1.49 षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा

ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā

/*ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1 *sthāneyogā* 1/1/

iha śāstre yā ṣaṣṭhī aniyatayogā śrūyate sā sthāneyogaiva bhavati nānyayogā sthāneyoganimittabhūte sati sā pratipattavyā

A genitive ending (which is not otherwise interpretable in its context) signifies the relation 'in place of'.

EXAMPLES:

bhavitā 'that which is to be, become'
bhavitum 'for being, becoming'
bhavitavyam 'ought to be, become'
vaktā 'he who speaks'
vaktum 'for speaking'
vaktavyam 'ought to be spoken'

1. The function of this interpretive rule is to restrict the relationship denoted by genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). A genitive may denote any of several relationships. For example, it may denote relationships such as *svasvāmi* 'owner-owned', *anantara* 'in between', *samīpa* 'proximity', *samūha* 'collection', *vikāra* 'modification', *avayava* 'part of a whole', and so on. According to 1.1.49, a genitive used in this grammar must be interpreted as denoting the relationship 'in the place of', provided, of course, that the context (*prasaṅga*) is such that no other interpretation is possible.

Consider 2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ* and 2.4.53 *bruvoḥ vaciḥ*, where *asti* and *brū* are placed in the genitive. The context is such that no other interpretation of the genitive is possible. That is, none of the fixed relationships (*niyatayogas*) are discernible here. Consequently, 1.1.49 will restrict this genitive to denote the relationship 'in the place of' (that which is marked with genitive). This allows us to interpret the above rules as: '*bhū* (comes as a substitute) in the place of *as*...' (2.4.52), and '*vac* (comes as a substitute) in the place of *brū*' (2.4.53). This interpretation of genitive becomes obvious when we apply 2.4.52 and 2.4.53 in deriving the examples given under the present rule.

1.1.50 स्थानेऽन्तरतमः

sthāne' ntaratamaḥ

/*sthāne* 7/1 *antaratamaḥ* 1/1/

sthāne prāpyamāṇānām antaratama ādeśo bhavati sadṛśatamaḥ

A substitute (*ādeśa*) which is to replace a substituendum (*sthānin*) must be most similar to the substituendum.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍāgram 'top or front of the stick'

yūpāgram 'top or front of the ritual post'

vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ 'the young grand-daughter of Vataṇḍa'

amuṣmai 'dat. sg. of *adas* 'that''

amūbhyām 'dat. du. of *adas*'

1. This rule sets the principle for selecting a single substitute from among several possibilities. According to 1.1.50, one is required to compare all the substitutes with the substituendum, and then select the one which is most similar to the substituendum. This comparison is carried out in view of four factors: similarity based on place of articulation (*sthānakṛta*), similarity based on signification (*arthakṛta*), similarity based on sound quality (*guṇakṛta*), and similarity based on duration (*pramāṇakṛta*).

For example, given the strings *daṇḍa* + *agram* and *yūpa* + *agram*, 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will apply. This rule states that when sounds denoted by *aK* (*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ*) are followed by vowels homogeneous with them, a single long vowel should replace both the preceding and the following vowels. Thus, *a* + *a* of the above examples is replaced by *ā*, yielding *daṇḍāgram* 'top or front of the stick', and *yūpāgram* 'top or front of the ritual post'. The selection of long *ā* to replace *a* + *a* was made on the basis of their similarity in place of articulation (*sthāna*); they are both *kaṇṭhya* 'velar'.

Similarity can also be determined on the basis of *artha* 'signification'. Consider the derivation of (174) *vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ*, where the base is *vātaṇḍyayuvati*, a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ*...) compound derived by combining *vataṇḍī* + *sU* with *yuvati* + *sU*. After the compound

formation, the endings are deleted. Rule 6.3.42 *puṃvat karmadhāraya*...then applies to replace *vataṇḍī* with its corresponding masculine form. One would naturally think that *vataṇḍa* would be the right form. However, that does not denote *apatya* 'offspring', which *vataṇḍī* does. As a result, one must select *vātaṇḍya*, a masculine form which also denotes *apatya*, as a replacement for *vataṇḍī*.

Examples of similarity based on sound quality (*guṇa*) and duration (*pramāṇa*) are not difficult to find. Consider 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ* which under certain conditions causes the final *c* or *j* of a root to be replaced by *kU* (*k, kh, g, gh, ṅ;* see 1.1.69 *aṇudit*...). We clearly see that there are two substituenda for which five substitutes are ordered. In view of 1.1.50, we select *k* and *g* as proper replacements for *c* and *j*. We do it on the basis of their similarity in sound quality. Thus *c* is replaced by *k* because *c* shares with *k* sound qualities such as *aghoṣatva* 'voicelessness' and *alpaprāṇatva* 'nonaspiration'. Similarly, *j* is replaced by *g* because they are both voiced and nonaspirated.

For an example of similarity based on duration, consider the derivation of the dative singular of *adas*, i.e., (175) *amuṣmai*, where the string is *ada* + *smai*. Rule 8.2.80 *adaso' ser*... now orders two operations:

(*a*) replacement of *d* by *m*, and

(*b*) replacement of the final *a* of *ada* by *u*.

We know from 1.1.69 *aṇudit*... that items which do not constitute an affix, but are denoted by *aṆ* or marked with *U*, represent their own form as well as the forms of sounds homogeneous with them. In view of this, *u* of 8.2.80 can be construed as either short (*hrasva*), long (*dīrgha*), or extralong (*pluta*). However, since the substituendum is short, we will replace it with a short *u*.

2. Looking back at the wording of 1.1.50, one wonders why Pāṇini used *sthāne*, when it was available by *anuvṛtti* from 1.1.49. *Kāśikā* says that Pāṇini's use of *sthāne* again is simply to indicate that whenever there is a possibility of similarity based on more than one factor, a similarity based on *sthāna* 'place of articulation' should be considered decisive. For example, consider the derivation of (8) *cetā* and (9) *stotā*, where given the strings *ci(Ñ → 0) + tṛ(C → 0) = ci + tṛ*, and *stu(Ñ → 0) + tṛ(C → 0) = stu + tṛ*, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*... orders a *guṇa* replacement for *i* and *u*. There could be two possibilities for both *i* and *u*. They are: *a/e* and *a/o*. That is, *a* also qualifies because it is similar in duration. However, in addition to being similar in duration, *e* and *o* are also similar to *i* and *u* in place of articulation; hence, they win.

1.1.51 उरण्रपरः

ur aṇ raparaḥ

/*uḥ* 6/1 *aṇ* 1/1 *raparaḥ* 1/1/

(*sthāne* # 49)
uḥ sthāne' ṇ prasajyamāna eva raparo veditavyaḥ
If *aṆ* (*a, i, u*) comes as a substitute in place of *ṛ*, it is automatically followed by *r*.

EXAMPLES:

karttā 'he who does'
harttā 'he who takes away'
kirati 'he scatters around'
girati 'he swallows'
dvaimāturaḥ 'he who is the son of two mothers'
traimāturaḥ 'he who is the son of three mothers'

1. *Nyāsa* (I:175-76) suggests three possible interpretations of this rule.
(*a*) *ṛ* → *aṆ* followed by *r*
uḥ sthāne aṇ raparatvañ ca anenobhayaṃ vidhīyate
'*aṆ* as a substitute in place of *ṛ* as well as the immediately following *r*, both ordered by this very rule'
(*b*) *aṆ* → *aṆr*
lakṣaṇāntareṇa vihitasyāṇ uḥ sthāne paścād anena raparatvamātraṃ kriyate
'some other rule orders the replacement in *aṆ* after which the following *r* alone is ordered by this rule'
(*c*) *ṛ* → *aṆ* (by some other rule), and *aṆ* → *aṆr* (1.1.51) *uḥ sthāne lakṣaṇāntareṇa vidhīyamāno' ṇ vidhānakāla eva tena lakṣaṇāntareṇa saha saṃhatya raparatvaviśiṣṭo' nena bhāvyate*
'this rule joins the other rule, which orders a replacement for *ṛ* in *aṆ*, to bring about concurrently the *r* that is to follow *aṆ*'

Of these three interpretations the first orders both the concurrent replacement of *ṛ* as well as the following *r* by *aṆ*. Interpretation (*b*) has the two operations being carried out consecutively by two different rules. Interpretation (*c*) accepts the need for two rules; one rule which will order the replacement while the other, the present rule, will form that rule which brings the following *r*. This interpretation also makes both operations occur concurrently.

Haradatta (*PM*, I:175) presents a fourth view whereby 1.1.50 is interpreted as restrictive (*niyama*) in nature.
(*d*) *uḥ sthāne' ṇ eva bhavati, sa ca rapara iti*
'*aṆ* with a following *r* alone comes in place of *ṛ*'

Scholars agree that a replacement in *aṆ* for *ṛ* is ordered by a rule other than 1.1.50; that our present rule forms the rule ordering the replacement to introduce the following *r*; and that both these operations occur concurrently. Thus out of our four interpretations, scholars prefer (*c*).

2. This rule requires that any *aṆ* (*a, i, u*) which replaces *ṛ* must concurrently

be followed by *r*. A replacement for *ṛ* can be ordered either by specifying it with the term *guṇa* or by specifying it by one of the denotata of *aṆ*. The two specifications can be summarized by the following statements.

(*a*) let *guṇa* be a substitute for *X*, and

(*b*) let *Y* be the substitute of *X* where *Y* is *a, i,* or *u*.

For example, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* orders a *guṇa* replacement for the final vowel of a presuffixal base (*aṅga*) before an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*) or *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). Thus *karttā* is derived from *kṛ* + *kṛC* where the *ṛ* of *kṛ* is replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *a* followed by *r* by force of 1.1.51. This kind of specification for substitution conforms with (*a*). For examples of (*b*) which specify *i* or *u* as a replacement for *ṛ*, consider the derivations of *kirati* from *kṛ* + *a* + *ti*, and *dvaimāturaḥ* from *dvimātṛ* + *aṆ*. In these derivations *i* and *u* replacements have been ordered for the *ṛ* by rules 7.1.100 *ṛt id dhātoḥ* and 4.1.115 *mātur ut...* respectively. For details of the above derivations see the appendix.

Note in connection with (*a*) that *guṇa* refers to *a, e,* and *o* (1.1.2 *adeṅ...*). When a *guṇa* is ordered as a substitute for *ṛ*, the question as to which one of the three shall be the substitute is resolved by resorting to 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntarātmaḥ*, whereby *a* is selected as a proper *guṇa* substitute for *ṛ*.

1.1.52 अलोऽन्त्यस्य

alo' ntyasya

/*alaḥ* 6/1/ *antyasya* 6/1/

(*ṣaṣṭhī* # 49)

ṣaṣṭhī nirdiṣṭasya ya ucyate ādeśaḥ so' ntyasyālaḥ sthāne veditavyaḥ

A substitute ordered for an item in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' comes in place of its final *aL* ('sound segment'; see *Ss*, 1-14).

Refer to the notes under 1.1.55.

EXAMPLES:

pañcagoṇiḥ 'purchased for a price of five *goṇī* (sacks)'

daśagoṇiḥ 'purchased for a price of ten *goṇī*'

See the derivations for details concerning this rule.

1.1.53 ङिच्च

ṅic ca

/*ṅit* 1/1 *ca* Ø/

(*alo' ntyasya* # 52; *ṣaṣṭhī* # 49)

ṅic ca ya ādeśaḥ so' nekāl api alo' ntyasya bhavati

A substitute marked with *Ṅ* and ordered for an item in *ṣaṣṭhī* also comes in place of its final *aL* 'sound segment'.

EXAMPLES:

> *mātāpitarau* parents (mother and father)'
> *hotāpotārau* 'hotṛ (he who offers the ritual oblation) and *potṛ* (he who officiates as the priest at the ritual sacrifice)'
> *jīvatāt* 'may he live long'

For details concerning this rule, see the derivations and also the notes under 1.1.55.

1.1.54 आदेः परस्य

> *ādeḥ parasya*
> /*ādeḥ* 6/1/ *parasya* 6/1/
> (*alaḥ* # 52; *ṣaṣṭhī* # 49)
> *parasya kāryaṃ śiṣyamāṇam āder alaḥ pratyetavyam*
> A substitute ordered for a following item comes in place of its initial *aL*.

EXAMPLES:

> *āsīnaḥ* 'seated'
> *dvīpam* 'island; that which has water on two sides'
> *antarīpam* 'part of land stretching out into the sea'
> *samīpam* 'near'

See also the relevant notes under 1.1.55.

1.1.55 अनेकाल्शित्सर्वस्य

> *anekāl śit sarvasya*
> /*anekāl* 1/1 *śit* 1/1 *sarvasya* 6/1/
> (*ṣaṣṭhī* # 49)
> *anekāl ya ādeśaḥ śic ca sarvasya ṣaṣṭhī nirdiṣṭasya sthāne bhavati*
> A substitute ordered for an item in *ṣaṣṭhī* comes in place of the entire item when it (the substitute) consists of more than one *aL* or is marked with *Ś*.

EXAMPLES:

> *bhavitā* 'that which is to be, become'
> *bhavitum* 'for being, becoming...'
> *bhavitavyaṃ* 'ought to be, become'
> *kuṇḍāni* 'nom. pl. neut. of *kuṇḍa*'

1. Rules of this section, in some way or other, concern replacement operations which may be characterized as '*X* replaces *Y* where *X* is used in the genitive.' Clearly, then, these rules relate to 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*. Rules 1.1.50-51 regulate the selection of proper substitutes. Rules 1.1.52-55

deal specifically with whether a replacement should replace an item in the genitive completely or in part, and if in part, then what part.

Rule 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya* states that a replacement replaces only the final sound segment of that which is put in the genitive. Rule 1.1.53 states that if a substitute is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, it too comes in place of the final sound segment. If it were not for 1.1.55, 1.1.53 would not be required, for a substitute which is marked with *Ṅ* and given with reference to a form in genitive would automatically come in place of the final sound segment, as has already been provided for by 1.1.52. The present rule states that a substitute consisting of more than one sound segment, or one which is marked with *Ś*, replaces the item in genitive *in toto.*

A question arises as to what precisely constitutes the scope of 1.1.53 and 1.1.55. What rule will govern a substitute which is marked with *Ṅ* and consists of more than one sound segment? There will clearly be a conflict. Rule 1.1.53 will be applicable on the basis of the *Ṅ-it,* while 1.1.55 would apply because the substitute consisted of more than one sound segment.

Let us consider the derivation of *jīvatāt,* which underlies the string *jīv + LOṬ → jīv + tu → jīv + a-(tu → tāt).* The affix *tātaṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* and consists of more than one sound segment; thus it comes within the scope of both 1.1.53 and 1.1.55. This conflict is resolved by invoking 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam,* whereby *tātaṄ* replaces *tu in toto* in consonance with 1.1.55. This provides us with clues to demarcate the scope of these rules.

(*a*) 1.1.52 governs a substitute which is not marked with *Ṅ* (1.1.53) or *Ś* (1.1.55) and does not consist of more than one sound segment.
(*b*) 1.1.53 governs a substitute which is marked with *Ṅ* and does not consist of more than one sound segment.
(*c*) 1.1.55 governs a substitute which is either marked with *Ś* or consists of more than one sound segment.

See the appendix for further derivational details.

Rule 1.1.54 is an exception to 1.1.52, in the sense that a substitute given with reference to an item in the genitive does not come in place of its final sound segment, but comes in place of its initial sound segment. Of course when such a replacement is ordered, the item in the genitive must follow another item. That is, replacements governed by 1.1.54 require that the item with reference to which a replacement is ordered not only be in the genitive but also be following another item. When these conditions are both met, the replacement comes in place of the initial sound segment of the item specified in the genitive.

Refer to the derivation of *dvīpam* 'island', which at one stage underlies *dvi +ap,* where 6.3.97 *dvyantarupasargebhyo ap īt* requires that *ī* comes in place of *ap* occurring after *dvi, antar,* or items termed *upasarga* 'preverbs'. Note here that *apaḥ* of 6.3.97 is not only placed in the genitive but also required as following *dvi* and so on. Since both of these conditions are met,

ī comes in place of the initial sound segment of *ap*, the *a*. For further derivational details see the appendix.

Rule 1.1.54 applies when a replacement operation is given with reference to 'what follows'. This may become confusing since no such specification is available with explicit use of *para* 'subsequent, following'. This is the reason why *Kāśikā* explicitly states that a replacement operation is given with reference to 'what follows' by specification in the ablative *(pañcamī)*. That is, the item which will be following and will also be the focus of the replacement operation will be put in the genitive, while the item which will be preceding will be specified by the ablative.

This interpretation is based on rule 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*. Let us consider 6.3.97 *dvyantarupasargebhyo ap īt*. which I now represent as follows:

dvyantarupasarga$_{5/3}$ *ap*$_{6/1}$ *īt*$_{1/1}$

Let us further replace the three stems of this rule with variables and rewrite it as:

$X_{5/3}\ Y_{6/1}\ Z_{1/1}$

Translated in accordance with the explanation given above, we can say:

> Z comes in place of the initial sound segment of Y (marked by genitive) occurring after X (marked by ablative)

SCOPE: 7.1.20 *jaś śasoḥ śiḥ*, and so on.

1.1.56 स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ

sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau

/sthānivat Ø *ādeśaḥ* 1/1 *analvidhau* 7/1

sthānivad ādeśo bhavati sthāny āśrayeṣu kāryeṣv analāśrayeṣu sthānyalāśrayāṇi kāryāṇi varjayitvā

A substitute is treated like a substituendum except when an operation relative to an original sound (*aL*) is to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

dyukāmaḥ 'he who wishes for heaven'
ka iṣṭaḥ 'who has been worshipped?'
dyauḥ 'heaven'
mahoraskena 'by the one who has a broad chest'
kena 'inst. sg. of *kim* 'what, who
kābhyām 'inst. du. of *kim*'
kaiḥ 'inst. pl. of *kim*'
prakṛtya 'having made properly'
prahṛtya 'having taken away properly'
dādhikam 'mixed with yogurt'
adyatanam 'latest, relating to today'
vṛkṣāya 'dat. sg. of *vṛkṣa* 'tree

plakṣāya 'dat. sg. of *plakṣa* 'tree of the banyan family' '
akurutām 'those two did, made'

1. The purpose of this extension rule (*atideśa-sūtra*) is to allow a substitute (*ādeśa*) to be treated as if it were a substituendum (*sthānin*). This rule is necessitated because substituenda and substitutes are two separate entities; hence, operations characteristic of a substituendum cannot be performed once it has been replaced by the substitute. By allowing a substitute to be treated like its substituendum, this rule, in effect, enables us to still perform those operations characteristic of the substituendum.

According to *Kāśikā* (see 1.1.56), replacements of the following eight forms are treated as if they were the substituenda: (1) *dhātu* 'root', (2) *aṅga* 'presuffixal base', (3) *kṛt* 'primary affix', (4) *taddhita* 'secondary affix', (5) *avyaya* 'indeclinable', (6) *sUP* 'nominal ending', (7) *tiṄ* 'verbal ending', and (8) *pada* 'fully inflected word'. I have illustrated each of these types in the appendix.

Pāṇini uses the compound *alvidhiḥ* (in *analvidhau* of this rule). According to rules of compound formation, this compound can be interpreted in four different ways:

(*a*) *alā vidhiḥ* = *alvidhiḥ* 'operations which obtain because of *aL*'; that is, *alvidhiḥ* is interpreted as an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound derived from (*al* + *Ṭā* + *vidhi* + *sŪ*) + *sŪ*.
Example: (204) *mahoraskena* 'by one who has broad chest'

(*b*) *alaḥ vidhiḥ* = *alvidhiḥ* 'operations which obtain on an item occurring after *aL*'; that is, *alvidhiḥ* is interpreted as an ablative *tatpuruṣa* compound derived from (*al* + *ṄasI* + *vidhi* + *sŪ*) + *sŪ*.
Example: (205) *dyauḥ* 'heaven'

(*c*) *alaḥ vidhiḥ* = *alvidhiḥ* 'operations which obtain in place of *aL*'; that is, *alvidhiḥ* is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound derived from (*al* + *Ṅas* + *vidhi* + *sŪ*) + *sŪ*.
Example: (208) *dyukāmaḥ* 'he who wishes for heaven'

(*d*) *ali vidhiḥ* = *alvidhiḥ* 'operations which obtain when *aL* follows'; that is, *alvidhiḥ* is interpreted as a locative *tatpuruṣa* compound derived from (*al* + *Ṅi* + *vidhi* + *sŪ*) + *sŪ*.
Example: (209) *ka iṣṭaḥ* 'who has been worshipped?'

For derivations of these examples which also include illustrations concerning the four-way compound formation of *alvidhiḥ*, see the appendix under this rule.

1.1.57 अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ

acaḥ parasmīn pūrvavidhau
/*acaḥ* 6/1 *parasmīn* 7/1 *pūrvavidhau* 7/1/
(*sthānivad ādeśaḥ* # 56)
ajādeśaḥ paranimittakaḥ pūrvavidhau kartavye sthānivad bhavati

A substitute for a vowel, if it is conditioned by a right context, is treated like its substituendum with respect to an operation on a preceding element.

EXAMPLES:

paṭayati 'he speaks eloquently'
avadhīt 'he killed'
bahukhaṭvakaḥ 'a place with many cots'

1. As shown under the previous rule, 1.1.56 does not allow a substitute to be treated as its substituendum with respect to an operation dependent on an original sound. The present rule, 1.1.57, allows this under specific circumstances: if the substituendum is a vowel, it is replaced in a right context, and the operation that depends on the original sound has as its operand an element preceding that sound.

1.1.58 न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चर्विधिषु

na padāntadvirvacanavareyalopasvarasavarṇānusvāra-dīrghajaścarvidhiṣu
/na Ø padānta... vidhiṣu 7/1/
(*acaḥ parasmīn pūrvavidhau* # 57; *sthānivad ādeśaḥ* # 56)
pade antaḥ, padāntaḥ (loc. *tatpuruṣa); padāntaś ca dvirvacanaṃ ca, vare ca, ya-lopaś ca, svaraś ca, savarṇaś ca, anusvāraś ca, dirghaś ca, jaś ca, car ca* = *padāntadvirvacana...caraḥ; eteṣāṃ vidhayaḥ teṣu* = *padāntadvir-vacana...vidhiṣu* (gen. *tatpuruṣa* with internal *dvandva*)
pūrveṇātiprasaktaḥ sthānivadbhāva eteṣu vidhiṣu pratiṣidhyate

A substitute for a vowel is not treated like its substituendum, (even though the conditions of 1.1.57 are met), with respect to operations relative to:

(*a*) final element of a *pada* (see 1.4.14 *suptiṅantam...*),
(*b*) reduplication,
(*c*) affix *varaC,*
(*d*) deletion (*LOPA*) of *y*,
(*e*) accent,
(*f*) homogeneous sounds,
(*g*) *anusvāra,*
(*h*) replacement by sounds denoted by *jŚ,*
(*i*) replacement by sounds denoted by *cR.*

EXAMPLES:

kau staḥ 'who are those two'
yau staḥ 'the two who are...'
daddhy atra 'there is yogurt here'

maddhv atra 'there is honey here'
suddhy upāsyaḥ 'to be revered by the learned,
yāyāvaraḥ 'gypsy; one who is always wandering'
kaṇḍūtiḥ 'scratching, itching'
cikīrṣakaḥ 'he who is desirous of doing, making'
jihīrṣakaḥ 'he who is desirous of taking away'
śiṇḍhi 'may you distinguish'
piṇḍhi 'may you grind it to powder'
śiṃṣanti 'they are distinguishing'
pratidīvnā 'inst. sg. of *pratidivan* 'sun, day, gambler'
sagdhiḥ 'eating together'
babdhām 'may they (two) eat, shine'
jakṣatuḥ 'they two ate'
jakṣuḥ 'they ate'

1. This is an exception to 1.1.57. As such, it will block any substitute from being treated as if it were the substituendum with respect to the performance of the following operations:
(*a*) *padānta-vidhi* 'operation concerning an item which occurs at the end of a *pada*' (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam);*
(*b*) *dvirvacana-vidhi* 'operation concerning doubling (of a syllable)';
(*c*) *vare-vidhi* 'operation concerning the affix *varaC*' (3.2.175 *sthe-śabhāsa...);*
(*d*) *ya-lopavidhi* 'operation concerning the deletion (*lopa*) of *y*' (6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali);*
(*e*) *svara-vidhi* 'operation concerning the assignment of accent';
(*f*) *savarṇa-vidhi* 'operation concerning homogeneous sounds';
(*g*) *anusvāra* 'operation concerning *anusvāra';*
(*h*) *jŚ-vidhi* 'operation concerning *jŚ* as a substitute';
(*i*) *cR-vidhi* 'operation concerning *cR* as a substitute'.
See derivations in the appendix for details.

1.1.59 **द्विर्वचनेऽचि**

dvirvacane' ci
/*dvirvacane* 7/1 *aci* 7/1/
(*acaḥ* # 57; *sthānivad ādeśaḥ* # 56)
dvirvacananimitte' ci ajādeśaḥ sthānivad bhavati dvirvacana eva karttavye
A replacement of *aC* (a vowel) is treated like its substituendum when it is followed by an affix which consists of or begins with a vowel and conditions doubling, and doubling alone is to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

papatuḥ 'they (two) protected'
papuḥ 'they protected'

jaghnatuḥ 'they (two) killed'
jaghnuḥ 'they killed'
āṭiṭat 'he caused to wander'
cakratuḥ 'they (two) did or made'
ninaya 'I led'
nināya 'I led'
lulava 'I cut'
lulāva 'I cut'

1. This rule technically is known as an extension (*atideśa*) rule. Such rules are basically of two types: extension of form (*rūpātideśa*), and extension of operation (*kāryātideśa*). An extension rule either may allow operation *X* to be performed relative to *Y*, even though *Y* did not qualify for it, or it may allow *X* to be treated as having the form of *Y*, even though *Y* was of a totally different form. Rule 1.1.59 allows a vowel substitute to be treated as having the form of its substituendum. Obviously, it illustrates *rūpātideśa*. Furthermore, commentators hasten to add that this extension of form is allowed only for a limited period (*niyatakāla*). In this case, a vowel substitute can be treated as having the form of its substituendum only when doubling is to be performed.

2. Given the string *pā* + *atus* (see the appendix for details), 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ...* will allow *atus* to be treated as if it were marked with *K*. As a consequence, 6.4.64 *āto lopa...* will apply to delete the *ā*. Thus: *p(ā* → *∅)* = *p* + *atus*. Affix *atus* begins with a vowel and conditions doubling. However, doubling cannot occur since the root lost its vowel (see 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* read with 6.1.1 *ekāco...*). Rule 1.1.59 lets the zero replacement of *ā* be treated as if it had the form of *ā*. That is, the string can be treated as *pā* + *atus*, under the condition that doubling alone be performed. Once doubling is performed, the string becomes *pā* + *pā* + *atus*. But then the *ā* must forever be reduced to zero: *pā* + *p* + *atus*. Similar problems are encountered in deriving *papuḥ* from *pā* + *us*.

In deriving *jaghnatuḥ* or *jaghnuḥ* from *han* + *atus* and *han* + *us*, the penultimate (*upadhā*) *a* of *han* is deleted. The resultant strings *h(a*→ *∅)n* +*atus* and *h (a* → *∅)n* + *us* cannot yield the intermediate strings *ha* + *hn* + *atus* and *ha* + *hn* + *us*, unless 1.1.59 allows the zero substitute of *a* to be treated as *a*.

Similarly, given the string *āṭ* + *∅* + *a* + *t* (see step g of (240) *āṭiṭat*), 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya* cannot apply to yield *ā* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t* unless, for purposes of doubling, the zero substitute of *i* (*ṆiC*) is treated as *i*. Examples such as *ninaya*, *nināya*, *lulava*, and *lulāva* illustrate instances where, unless 1.1.59 allows the substitutes *ay*, *av*, *āy*, and *āv* to be treated as *e*, *o*, *ai*, and *au* (their substituenda), wrong forms would result.

In view of the preceding, we can say that the purpose of 1.1.59 is to allow four types of replacements to be treated as the items they replace:

(*a*) zero which replaces *ā* (*āl-lopa*),

(*b*) zero which replaces a penultimate (*upadhā*) vowel,
(*c*) zero which replaces the *i* of *ṆiC* (*ṇi-lopa*), and,
(*d*) *ay, av, āy,* and *āv* which replace *eC* (*e, o, ai,* and *au; ayavāyāvādeśa).*

3. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita accepts a different interpretation of this rule in his *Siddhānta Kaumudī (SK).* He carries the *anuvṛtti* of *na* 'not' from 1.1.58 *na padānta...* and treats 1.1.59 as a negation rule. According to him, a replacement of *aC* does *not* take place when an affix follows which consists of or begins with a vowel, and the affix conditions doubling, and doubling alone is to be performed. Comparing this interpretation with the one given here and by *Kāśikā,* we find that Bhaṭṭoji wants to avoid the embarrassment of applying a replacement and then treating it as something which did not occur. Both interpretations are correct, as they lead to the same results, and both have been discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya. Kāśikā* interprets this rule as an extension rule because the *Mahābhāṣya* prefers that interpretation.

1.1.60 अदर्शनं लोपः
adarśanaṃ lopaḥ
/adarśanam 1/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
adarśanam aśravaṇam anuccāraṇam anupalabdhir abhāvo varṇavināśa ity anarthāntaram etaiḥ śabdair yo' rtho' bhidhīyate tasya lopa itīyaṃ saṃjñā bhavati
Non-appearance *(adarśana)* is termed *LOPA.*

EXAMPLES:

gaudheraḥ 'male (offspring of an) alligator'
jīradānuḥ 'he who lives'
āsremāṇam 'he who moves; that which becomes dry'

1. It is to be remembered here that the term *LOPA* should be assigned to the meaning of the word *adarśana* and not to its form, the word *adarśana* itself. *Kāśikā* clearly states that the designation *LOPA* applies to whatever meanings *adarśana* 'non-appearance', *aśravaṇa* 'non-audibility', *anuccāraṇa* 'non-articulation, *anupalabdhi* 'non-availability', *abhāva* 'non-existence', and *varṇavināśa* 'loss or destruction of a sound segment' may have. Clearly then it is a term to be assigned to meaning and not mere form.

This clarification is necessary in view of 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya...'* according to which an item in this grammar, except when it is a *saṃjñā* 'name', denotes only its form. In the absence of this clarification, a replacement invoked by *LOPA* will end up prescribing the form of this word as a substitute. For example, given the string *gaudh + ey + ra* (see step (f) of (246) *gaudheraḥ),* 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* requires the deletion or zeroing of *y.* If we took the form of the word *LOPA* and not its meaning, our string will become *gaudh + e(y → lopa) + ra = gaudh + e + iopa + ra.*

A question may arise here as to how we know that Pāṇini wants to assign

the term *LOPA* to the meaning of the word *adarśana.* The question is valid because had Pāṇini intended the meaning to be assigned to this term he could have used the word *iti* 'thus'. That is, he could have phrased the rule as *adarśanam iti lopaḥ* as he does elsewhere (see 1.1.44 *na vā-iti vibhāśā,* 1.1.66 *tasminn iti...'* and so on). In view of this objection commentators claim the presence of the word *iti* from 1.1.44 *na vā-iti vibhāśā* by *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap', which, in turn, symbolizes the recurrence of a term from an earlier rule without its recurrence in the intervening rules.

Commentators also add here that zeroing or non-appearance should be applicable to something which existed or was brought about with reference to a rule of grammar. Thus, either the non-appearance applied to *y* above was brought about by a rule, or *y* existed in the context prior to the application of zeroing. If *LOPA* was allowed to apply to something which did not exist to start with, wrong forms could result. For example, one may think that because a *ṆiC* affix does not exist after *dadhi* 'yogurt' and *madhu* 'honey', since it cannot occur after a nominal. its non-appearance can be assigned the term *LOPA;* and subsequently, under the provisions of 1.1.62 *pratyayalope...,* the *i* and *u* of *dadhi* and *madhu* could be replaced by *vṛddhi.* To sum up, *LOPA* can only be assigned to something which already exists in the eyes of a grammatical rule.

For an extended discussion of deletion rules in Pāṇini, see Vol. I, Chap. 6.

SCOPE: 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali,* and so on.

1.1.61 प्रत्ययस्य लुक्श्लुलुपः

pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ

/pratyayasya 6/1 *lukślulupaḥ* 1/1 *(luk ca ślu ca lup ca)/*

pratyayādarśanasya luk ślu lup ity etāḥ saṃjñā bhavanti

Non-appearance of an affix is termed *LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP.*

EXAMPLES:

atti 'he eats'

juhoti 'he offers'

varanāḥ 'a village located in the proximity of the *varaṇa* trees'

1. The deletion (*LOPA*) of an affix is hereby assigned three names: *LUK, ŚLU,* and *LUP.* Pāṇini here is creating three subdomains within the single domain of affix deletion. How do we demarcate the individual domains? We note instances of zeroing brought about (*tadbhāvita*) by express use of these names. Thus non-appearance caused by express mention of the name *LUK* constitutes the domain of *LUK,* and the same is true for *ŚLU* and *LUP.* This *tadbhāvita* interpretation enables us to keep the three terms separate. There is no chance of confusion or mixing (*saṃkara*) of the names.

2. These names also present us with a difficulty, which I have already discussed in note 1 of 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*, commonly known as *anyonyāśrayatva* 'interdependency'. *LUK, ŚLU*, and *LUP* are names assigned to affixal zeroing. But such zeroing cannot occur unless the names are already assigned. Thus, name assignment and zeroing are dependent upon each other. Commentators resolve this difficulty by stating that whenever these terms are used in ordering the operation of zeroing, the assignment of name follows zeroing. That is, assignment of a name *(saṃjñā)* is treated as 'yet to be brought about' *(bhāvinī)*.

3. Since all three of these names contain *LU*, they are commonly referred to as *LU-mān*. The *Ś, K*, and *P* mark the individual distinction *(bhedakattva)*.

SCOPE: of *LUK* — 1.2.49 *luktaddhitaluki*, and so on.
of *ŚLU* — 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*, and so on.
of *LUP* — 4.2.81 *janapade lup*, and so on.

1.1.62 प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम्

pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam
/pratyayalope 7/1 *pratyayalakṣaṇam* 1/1/
pratyayalope kṛte pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ pratyayahetukaṃ kāryaṃ bhavati

An operation conditioned by an affix applies even if the affix has been replaced by zero.

EXAMPLES:

agnicit 'he who heaped the fire'
somasut 'he who pressed *soma*'
adhok 'he milked'
āghnīya 'I may strike'
saṅgmīya 'I may meet or join'

1. This rule allows an operation (*kārya*) to be effective even though the cause (*nimitta*) for such an operation has been removed. Thus, *agnicit* 'he who heaped the fire' or *somasut* 'he who pressed *soma'* both are derived by adding and subsequently deleting *sŪ*, which is a *sUP*. Rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* assigns the name *pada* to those items which end either in a *sUP* or a *tiṄ*. Since *agnicit* and *somasut* no longer terminate in a *sUP*, they cannot be assigned the name *pada*. Rule 1.1.61 makes this name assignment possible. A similar situation obtains with *adhok* 'he milked', where a *tiṄ* ending is deleted. Again, 1.1.62 allows *adhok* to be called a *pada*. For further illustration of how else 1.1.62 allows an effect to obtain even though its cause was removed, see the full derivation of *agnicit*, etc.

2. Instead of treating it as a recurrent *(anuvṛtti)* element from 1.1.61,

Pāṇini specifically uses *pratyaya* in *pratyayalopa* of this rule. *Kāśikā* explains that by doing this Pāṇini wants us to realize that 1.1.62 applies only where the affix is totally deleted *(kṛtsnalopa)*. That is, operations characteristic of an affix *do not obtain* when the affix in question is deleted only in part *(pratyayaikadeśalopa)*. Consider the derivation of *āghnīya*, first person singular optative of *ā* + *han*, where the augment *sīyUṬ* is deleted only in part — its initial *s* is deleted. This being but a partial deletion, the removal of the *n* of *han* cannot take place before it. The same occurs with *saṅgmīya*. For details of these derivations, see the appendix. Also note that what *Kāśikā* says here is discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

3. Pāṇini uses the *pratyayalakṣaṇa* to specify that 1.1.62 only permits an operation which is characteristic of, or is conditioned by, an affix, and not, for example, by a sound segment. Commentators explain that in examples like *gohitam* 'beneficial for cows' and *raikulam* 'prosperity of the clan', there is a deletion of an ending. The word *go* loses its dative ending in combination with *hita* + *sŬ*. Similarly, *rai* loses its genitive while combining with *kula* + *sŬ*. The dative and genitive endings are *(Ṅe)* and *(Ṅas)* respectively. If the compounds are not formed, *go* + *(Ṅ) e* and *rai* + *(Ṅ) as* would yield *go* + *e* = *gave* and *rai* + *as* = *rāya(s* → *ḥ)* = *rāyaḥ*. These forms result by applying 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*.

When the affixes are deleted under compound formation, 6.1.78 does not apply. One may thus claim that operations ordered by 6.1.78 are characteristic of the deleted affixes. Consequently, *gohitam* and *raikulam* should be **gavhitam* and **rāykulam*. These are wrong especially because 6.1.78 orders the operations with reference to *eC*, the sound segments *e*, *o*, *ai*, and *au*, and not with reference to an affix.

1.1.63 न लुमताङ्गस्य

na lumatāṅgasya

/na Ø lumatā 3/1 *aṅgasya* 6/1/

lumatā śabdena lupte pratyaye yad aṅgaṃ tasya
pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ kāryaṃ na bhavati

An operation for a presuffixal base *(aṅga)* does not apply (although it would otherwise apply by 1.1.62) if the affix in question is replaced by zero referred to by a term which contains *LU* *(LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP;* see 1.1.62).

EXAMPLES:

gargāḥ 'many grandsons of Garga'
mṛṣṭaḥ 'they two wipe'
juhutaḥ 'they two perform the sacrifice'

1. The purpose of this rule is to restrict the scope of 1.1.62. Accordingly, operations characteristic of an affix do not obtain on an *aṅga*

(1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) if the affix is deleted by using *LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP.* It should be remembered here that the assignment of the term *aṅga,* as well as the characteristic operation of an affix, both must obtain with reference to the same affix. In other words, 1.1.63 cannot work if the affix with reference to which the term *aṅga* is assigned is different from the affix which conditions an operation.

Consider the derivation of *gargāḥ,* where affix *yaÑ* is introduced after *garga* and later deleted by 2.4.64 *yañaños ca.* Given the string *garga* + *(J)as* from which one derives *gargāḥ,* 7.1.17 *taddhiteṣv...* may require the *vṛddhi* replacement for the first *a* of *garga.* This will be under the provisions of 1.1.62. However, since *garga* is an *aṅga* and the deletion of the affix *yaÑ* is accomplished by using the term *LUK (a LU-mān),* 1.1.63 will not allow *vṛddhi.*

Note also that 1.1.63 blocks operations on an *aṅga.* This should not be interpreted as non-application of operational rules contained in the *aṅga* domain (6.4.1 *aṅgasya* through 7.4.97 *īca gaṇaḥ).* Rule 1.1.63 blocks all operations which may obtain on an *aṅga* with reference to a deleted affix, provided only that the deletion was accomplished by using *LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP.* It does not matter whether a particular operation rule is contained in the *aṅga* domain or not. For example, 1.1.63 blocks the application of the *vṛddhi* rule 7.1.17, which is contained in the *aṅga* domain, but it also blocks the application of 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam,* which is not contained in the *aṅga* domain. This rule obligatorily assigns high pitch (*udātta*) to the initial syllable of an *aṅga* before an affix marked with *Ñ* or *Ṇ.* It is not contained in the *aṅga* domain yet it is blocked by 1.1.63 from assigning high pitch accent to the initial syllable of *garga.*

1.1.64 अचोऽन्त्यादिटि

aco' ntyādi ṭi

/*acaḥ* 6/1/ (see note 2 of 1.1.47 *midaco...*); *antyādi* 1/1 *ṭi* 1/1/

acāṃ sanniviṣṭānāṃ yo' ntyo' c tadādi śabdarūpaṃ ṭisaṃjñaṃ bhavati

That part of an item which begins with its last vowel (*aC*) is termed *ṭi.*

EXAMPLES:

agnicit 'he who heaped the sacrificial fire'
somasut 'he who pressed the *soma*'
pacete 'third person dual present indicative middle of *pac* 'to cook"
pace 'first person singular present indicative middle of *pac*'

1. This rule assigns the term *ṭi* to a syllable formed by the last among the vowels of an item. That is, *ṭi* is assigned to the last syllable of an item. The genitive in *acaḥ* denotes *nirdhāraṇa* 'singling out one from among many'. The question as to why Pāṇini uses singular instead of the plural *acām* can be answered by treating the denotatum of the singular *acaḥ* as *jāti* 'class'.

Some say that since one *aC* is singled out from among many, an additional *aC* should be used to denote the *aC* which is singled out. This question also is justified by the structure of the *vṛtti: acāṃ (sanniviṣṭānām) yo' ntyo' c...* In response it is argued that the second *aC* is not required because singling out one from among many underlies items of the same kind *(samānajātīya)*. Thus, providing that one understands genitive as denoting *nirdhāraṇa*, *acaḥ* in the singular, would account for two things:

(*a*) that the singular denotes class, and

(*b*) that it also denotes 'one from among many'.

2. The wording of 1.1.64 implies that the term *ṭi* would apply only to those items which contain more than one vowel. This is mostly because *antya* 'final' and *ādi* 'initial' are relative terms. If this argument is accepted, a linguistic item consisting of a single syllable will be thrown outside the scope of *ṭi*. It is to allow the assignment of *ṭi* to a part of a monosyllabic form that rules like 1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasminn* are formed.

This practice is also supported by ordinary usage. For example a person who has but one son may introduce him as both the oldest as well as the youngest son *(ayaṃ me jyeṣṭhaḥ, ayameva me kaniṣṭhaḥ)*. This is what is commonly known as *vyapadeśivadbhāva*. For further information see the discussion under 1.1.21.

The function of the present rule is to facilitate the deletion of *ṭi* by such rules as 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* and 7.1.88 *bhasya ṭer lopaḥ*. This term *ṭi* is also instrumental in the *e* replacement of *ātmanepada* terminations marked with *Ṭ*. For details see the derivations under this rule in the appendix.

SCOPE: 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭere*, and so on.

1.1.65 अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा

alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā

lalaḥ 5/1 *antyāt* 5/1 *pūrva* 1/1 *upadhā* 1/1/

dhātvādau varṇsamudāye' ntyād alaḥ pūrvo yo varṇaḥ so' lopadhāsaṃjño bhavati

The sound (*aL*) which precedes the final sound of an item is called *upadhā* 'penultimate sound'.

EXAMPLES:

in *pac* 'to cook' and *bhid* 'to split, *a* and *i* are *upadhā*

in *budh* 'to know, to awake', and *yudh* 'to fight', *u* is *upadhā*

in *vṛt* 'to be, to roll' and *vṛdh* 'to grow', *ṛ* is *upadhā*

1. The above constitute examples of *rūpodāharaṇa*, where this rule assigns the term *upadhā* to a given form *(rūpa)*. For functional examples *(kāryodāharaṇa)*, where the term is assigned to a form resulting from rule application, refer to derivates like *pācakaḥ*, and *bhedakaḥ*.

In *pācakaḥ*, rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* orders the long replacement for the short *a* of *pac* + *aka*. Similarly, given the string *bhid* + *aka*, rule 7.3.86 *puganta*... would order the *guṇa* replacement for the short vowel termed *upadhā*. Thus we will get: *bh(i → e)d* + *aka* = *bhedaka*. Further function of the assignment of the term *upadhā* can be witnessed in the derivation of *śiṣṭa* 'learned', where the penultimate long *a* of the root *śās* is replaced by short *-i*. It is thus clear that the function of assigning the term *upadhā* is to facilitate the application of rules whereby *'ātva* replacement in *ā'*, *guṇādeśa* 'replacement in a *guṇa*', and *itva* 'replacement in *-i*' are ordered. You will find many derivations involving these operations in the appendix.

SCOPE: 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*

1.1.66 तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य

tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya
/*tasmin* 7/1 *iti* Ø *nirdiṣṭe* 7/1 *pūrvasya* 6/1/
tasminn iti saptamyarthanirdeśe pūrvasyaiva kāryam bhavati nottarasya
An element which is referred to by a locative (*saptamī*) form is understood as a right context for an operation on that which precedes it.

EXAMPLES:

daddhy udakam 'yogurt and water'
maddhv idam 'this is honey'
pacaty odanam 'he cooks rice'

1. Pāṇini's use of the word *iti* 'thus' does not follow the general usage. We know that this particle is most commonly used as a marker for a direct quotation. Thus, *X-iti* means the word form *X*. However, according to the usages in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *X-iti* means 'the meaning of the word from *X*' (see 1.1.43 *na vā iti vibhāṣā*, etc.).

2. Pāṇini makes extensive use of the pronouns *yat* and *tat* as variables. He marks them with different endings to indicate differing values they can be assigned for purposes of specific operations. Thus, *tasmin* can refer to an *X* which is a locus. According to 1.1.66, such an entity, denoted by a locative form, is to be understood as a right context for an operation on what precedes it. Clearly, then, this use of the locative specifies the locus of an operation by means of a right context. The use of the same variable in the ablative, as in 1.1.67 *tasmād*..., does a similar thing; it specifies an operation by means of a left context.

3. The scope of this rule extends to rules such as 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, where *ac* in the locative serves as the right context for an operation characterized by a replacement denoted by *yN* (*yaṇkārya*). The present rule also specifies that *yN* should come in the place of (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī*...) that *iK* which immediately precedes the *aC* in the locative. Thus, given the strings

dadhi 'yogurt' + *udaka* 'water', *madhu* 'honey' + *idam* 'this', and *pacati* 'cooks' + *odanam* 'rice' we get *dadhyudakam, madhvidam,* and *pacatyodanam,* where the locus of *yṆ-kārya* is the vowel preceding the initial vowels of the words *udakam, idam,* and *odanam.*

SCOPE: 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci...*, and so on.

1.1.67 तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य

tasmād ity uttarasya

/*tasmād* 5/1 *iti* Ø *uttarasya* 6/1/

(*nirdiṣṭe* # 66)

tasmād iti pañcamyarthanirdeśa uttarasyaiva kāryaṃ bhavati na pūrvasya

An element referred to by an ablative form (not otherwise interpretable in a given context) is a left context for an operation on what follows it.

1. *Kāśikā* cites *odanaṃ pacati* 'he cooks rice' as an example where 8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ* assigns low pitch (*anudātta)* to *pacati* with reference to 1.1.67. This is an interpretive rule, and, as such, helps us find the object of a given operation. The word *atiṅaḥ* in 8.1.28 is in the ablative. As a result, 8.1.28 is interpreted as: 'a *pada* which terminates in a verbal ending (*tiṄ*), and follows a *pada* which does not terminate in a verbal ending, has no high pitched vowel'. That is, 8.1.28 can assign blanket *anudātta* to *pacati* only when *pacati* occurs *after* a non-*tiṄ pada.* This interpretation is available only with reference to 1.1.67. Rule 1.1.67 read with 8.1.28 blocks assignment of *anudātta* to *pacati* occurring in sentences such as *pacaty odanam,* since here it does not follow a non-*tiṄ pada.*

It may be of interest to note that *pacati* is assigned accents by several different rules. Rule 6.1.162 *dhātoḥ* assigns high pitch (*udātta*) to *a* in *pac.* Low pitch is assigned to both *a* (of *ŚaP*) and *i* (of *tiP*) by 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau.* But in view of 8.1.28, and given the fact that *pacati* occurs after a *pada* not ending in a *tiṄ, pacati* can be assigned blanket *anudātta.*

For further implications of this rule, see the derivations of (188) *āsīnaḥ,* (step d), and (189) *dvīpam,* (step c) in the appendix under 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya.*

1.1.68 स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा

svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya aśabdasaṃjñā

/*svam* 1/1 *rūpam* 1/1 *śabdasya* 6/1 *aśabdasaṃjñā* 1/1/

śāstre svam eva rūpaṃ śabdasya grāhyaṃ bodhyaṃ pratyāyyaṃ bhavati na bāhyo' rthaḥ śabdasaṃjñāṃ varjayitvā

A word other than one which is a technical term (*saṃjñā*) of the grammar denotes its form only.

The purpose of this interpretive rule is to make clear that, in this

grammar, a cited word denotes only its form. This, however, does not apply to technical terms.

It is generally the meaning of a particular word which comes to mind at a given citation. That is, terms, when used, serve to have one understand their meaning. But just as a single meaning can be expressed by more than one form, so a cited form can also invoke its association (*sāhacarya*) with its synonyms. This is what the commentators call 'practice in the real world.' Rule 1.1.68 obviously spells out a convention for the world of grammar which is exactly the opposite.

Kāśikā explains the implications of this rule by citing 4.2.33 *agner ḍhak* and 4.2.19 *udaśvito' nyatarasyām.* Rule 4.2.33 introduces a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *ḍhaK* after a nominative form (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) to derive a word meaning 'whose deity is' (4.2.23 *sāsya devatāḥ*); for example, *āgneya* 'dedicated to Agni'. In view of 1.1.68, affix *ḍhaK* cannot be introduced after any one of its synonyms, such as *pāvaka, jvalana, dhūmaketu,* and so forth, in the nominative. The same is true in case of optional derivations such as *audaśvitkam* 'flavoured with butter' and *audaśvitam,* where 4.2.19 optionally introduces affix *ṭhaK* after the nominal stem (4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*) *udaśvit* 'buttermilk'. Now, in view of 1.1.68, this affix cannot be introduced after *takra, ariṣṭa, kālaśepa, daṇḍāhata,* or *mathita,* which are synonyms of *udaśvit.*

Pāṇini treats the technical terms as exceptions to 1.1.68 because such technical terms as *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*) and *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*) represent only their denotatum *(saṃjñin)* and not their form *(saṃjñā)*. For details on how a form represents only its meaning, see notes under 1.1.60 *adarśanam...* and 1.1.66 *tasminn iti...*

2. There are four *vārttikas* which constitute an exception to the general idea of 1.1.68. These *vārttikas* refer to the following categories of generic words: (*a*) *sit* 'those which are marked with *S*', (*b*) *pit* 'those which are marked with *P*', (*c*) *jit* 'those which are marked with *J*', and (*d*) *jhit* 'those which are marked with *JH*'. It should be remembered here that words falling under these categories are not marked with *S, P, J,* and *JH* in actuality. Instead, they are only assumed to be marked as such. The purpose of this assumed *itkaraṇa* 'marking some item with an *it*' is to distinguish one category of these words from the others depending on what they may or may not represent. The following is a detailed description of the individual categories:

(*a*) *sit*: Items marked with *S* represent only a particular member *(tadviśeṣa)* within their genus. For example, *vṛkṣa* may be treated as marked with *S* (*vṛkṣaS*), and when cited in rules such as 2.4.12 *vibhāṣā vṛkṣa-mṛga...* can only represent a particular kind of tree. It constitutes an exception to 1.1.68 because it does not represent its own form, *vṛkṣa,* nor does it represent any one of its synonyms.

(*b*) *pit*: Items marked with *P* represent themselves (*svarūpa*) and their synonyms (*paryāya*) as well as particular members (*tadviśeṣa*) within their genus. Thus the word *sva* 'wealth' has been cited in 3.4.40 *sve puṣaḥ*. This word is treated as if it were marked with *P*. As a consequence, it may represent either itself or its synonyms, such as *rai* and *dhana*, or particular members within its genus, such as *aśva* 'horse' and *go* 'cow'.

(*c*) *jit*: Items marked with *J* represent only their synonyms (*paryāya*). Consider 2.4.23 *sabhārājā...*, which cites the word *rājā* 'king'. Now, for purposes of 2.4.23, this word represents only its synonyms, such as *ina* and *īśvara*. It does not represent itself, nor particular members within its genus, that is, individual kings. Thus, one can have a compound such as *īśvarasabham* 'the assembly of kings', but not *rājasabham*. Similarly, *candraguptasabham* 'the assembly of King Candragupta' is disallowed.

(*d*) *jhit*: Items marked *JH* represent only themselves (*svarūpa*) and particular members (*tadviśeṣa*) within their genus. Thus, 4.4.35 *pakṣimatsya...* cites words such as *pakṣin* 'bird' and *matsya* 'fish'. These words can refer to themselves, as is the case in *pākṣikaḥ* 'he who kills birds', but they may also refer to particular members within their genus, as is attested to by *śākunikaḥ* 'he who kills the Śakuni birds'. It is interesting to note that in the case of *matsya* 'fish', one of its synonyms, namely *mīna*, can be understood to be represented. This is shown by the word *mainikaḥ* 'he who kills fish', as opposed to *mātsyikaḥ*.

1.1.69 **अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः**

aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ

aṇudit 1/1 (*dv.*) *savarṇasya* 6/1 *ca* Ø *apratyayaḥ* 1/1/

aṇgṛhyamāṇa id ic ca savarṇānāṃ grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya pratyayaṃ varjayitvā

A sound denoted by *aṆ* (*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l*), or marked with *U*, provided it is not an affix, constitutes a term, signifying not only itself but also sounds homogeneous with it.

1. The abbreviatory symbol *aṆ* has not been formed here with the help of the *Ṇ* in *Śivasūtra* (*Śs*) 1. Instead, it has been formed with the subsequent *Ṇ* of *Śs* 6. As a result, *aṆ* not only represents all the vowels; it also represents the consonants *h, y, v, r,* and *l*. The purpose of this rule is to establish a convention whereby items denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *aṆ* may denote not only themselves but also sounds homogeneous with them.

Thus, when Pāṇini cites *a*, one understands all varieties of *a* based on pitch (*svara*), nasality (*anunāsikatva*), and duration (*kāla*). Similarly, an item such as *kU*, which is marked with *U*, refers to all the sounds homogeneous

with it. Pāṇini accordingly refers to all velar stops plus the velar nasal by *kU*. References to palatal, retroflex, dental, and labial stops and their corresponding nasals are made by *cU*, *ṭU*, *tU*, and *pU* respectively.

Such homogeneous representation must not be allowed in case of sound segments which may be ordered as object of some operation. For example, 3.2.168 *sanā*... introduces affix *u*. If this sound segment, which here is constituting an affix, is allowed to represent its homogeneous sounds, wrong derivations will result.

1.1.70 तपरस्तत्कालस्य

taparas tatkālasya

/*taparaḥ* 1/1 *tatkālasya* 6/1/

taparo varṇas tatkālasyātmanātulyakālasya guṇāntarayuktasya savarṇasya grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya

A vowel followed by *t* denotes sounds of the same duration.

1. The word *taparaḥ* may be interpreted either as a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'that sound segment which is followed by *T* or a *pañcamī-tat-puruṣa* compound meaning 'that sound segment which follows *T*'. Pāṇini invokes either interpretation to suit his need. Rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* is an example where a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation is intended. On the other hand, 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ* illustrates an instance where both interpretations are invoked simultaneously, and 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* is a rule where only a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation is possible. For further explanation, see note 2 under 1.1.1 and 1.1.2.

2. This rule may be viewed as an exception to 1.1.69 *aṇudit*..., which allows sound segments denoted by *aṆ* to represent themselves as well as sounds homogeneous with them. Thus, *a*, when not followed or preceded by *T*, represents eighteen distinct varieties, depending on differences in length, pitch, and nasalization. Similarly, *e* and *o* each represent twelve sounds. But in case of a reference made by *aT*, where *a* is marked with *T*, *a* can represent only short varieties of its own duration. Reference is reduced thereby from eighteen varieties to six.

3. The *Kāśikā* cites examples such as *vṛkṣaiḥ*, instrumental plural of *vṛkṣa* 'tree', and *abjāḥ* 'born in water' to explain what *taparakaraṇa* could facilitate. For example, 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* orders *ais* as a replacement for *bhis* of *vṛkṣa* + *bhis* with reference to an *aṅga* which ends in *a(T)*. Similarly, rules such as 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* and 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* apply with reference to *taparakaraṇa*. It should be clear by now that *taparakaraṇa* is a device whereby a class of items can be blocked from being represented by a member of that class.

1.1.71 आदिरन्त्येन सहेता

ādir antyena sahetā

/ādir 1/1 *antyena* 3/1 *saha* Ø *itā* 1/3/
ādir antyenetsaṃjñakena saha gṛhyamāṇas tanmadhyapatitānāṃ varṇānāṃ grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya
An initial item joined with a final *it* denotes not only itself but also all intervening items.

EXAMPLES:

aṆ '*a, i, u*'; see *Śs* 1
aK '*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ*'; see *Śs* 2
aC 'all the vowels'; see *Śs* 1-4
hL 'all the consonants'; see *Śs* 5-14
sUP 'nominal endings'; see 4.1.2 *svauj...*
tiṄ 'verbal endings'; see 3.4.78 *tiptas...*

1. The purpose of this rule is to regulate the formation of abbreviatory symbols. Paraphrased as *antyena itā saha ādiḥ,* 1.1.71 states that when a prior or initial item of a given list is joined with a final *it,* it forms an abbreviatory symbol which represents itself as well as all the intervening items. The symbol must be formed with a final *it,* never with a preceding one. The *Ṭ* of *suṬ*, for example, represents the final *Ṭ* of *auṬ*, the accusative dual, and not the initial *Ṭ* of *Ṭā*, the instrumental singular. Intervening *its* are never represented by abbreviations. This is only logical since they are never included in a list as real items.

1.1.72 येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य
yena vidhis tadantasya
/yena 3/1 *vidhih* 1/1 *tad-antasya* 6/1/
yena viśeṣaṇena vidhir vidhīyate sa tadantasyātmāntasya samudāyasya grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya
That (qualifier) by means of which a provision is made (in a rule) denotes an item which ends in it.

1. The purpose of this interpretive rule is to make it clear that when a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) specifies an operation, that qualifier represents an item which ends in it. For example, consider 3.3.56 *er ac* where *i* is used as a qualifier of *dhātoḥ*. In view of 1.1.70, 3.3.56 can introduce the affix *aC* either after a root which consists of *i* or after a root which terminates in *i*. This twofold interpretation of *eḥ dhātoḥ* in 3.3.56 can only be possible with reference to 1.1.70.

Incidentally, *dhātoḥ* comes from *anuvṛtti*. A *vārttika* on this rule states, however, that in operations relative to compounds (*samāsa*) and affixation (*pratyaya*), a qualifier does not represent items which end in it. Thus, the word *śrita* in 2.1.24 *dvitīyā...* cannot represent a form such as *paramaśrita* which ends in it. The reason is simple: 2.1.24 deals with compound

formation. Similarly, one can derive *nāḍāyanaḥ* 'offspring of Naḍa' by introducing the affix *phaK* after *naḍa* + *Ṅas*. The word *naḍa* occurs in 4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*, but since that is a rule dealing with affixation, *naḍa* in 4.1.99 cannot represent a form ending in it. As a consequence, affix *phaK* cannot be introduced after forms such as *sūtranaḍa*.

1.1.73 वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम्
vṛddhir yasya acām ādıs tad vṛddham
/*vṛddhiḥ* 1/1 *yasya* 6/1 *acām* 6/3 *ādiḥ* 1/1 *tat* 1/1 *vṛddham* 1/1/
acāṃ madhye yasya vṛddhi-saṃjñaka ādibhūtas tac chabdarūpaṃ vṛddhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
That item, the first of whose vowels is a *vṛddhi*, is termed *vṛddha*.

EXAMPLES:

śālīyaḥ 'that which obtains, is born, or is located in the house'
mālīyaḥ 'that which obtains, is born, or is located in a garland'

1. The purpose of this rule is to specify the nominatum (*saṃjñin*) of the term *vṛddha*, and, in turn, facilitate, among other things, the introduction of affix *cha* (4.2.115 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). Consider the derivation of (5) *śālīyaḥ*, and (6) *mālīyaḥ*, where *śālā* + *Ṅi* and *mālā* + *Ṅi* are termed *vṛddha* on the strength of their first vowel being a *vṛddhi*. This enables *śālā* + *Ṅi* and *mālā* + *Ṅi* to receive affix *cha*, and yield *śālīya* and *mālīya*. Similar rule applications are involved in deriving *aupagavīya* and *kāpaṭavīya*, where *au* and *ā*, the *vṛddhi* vowels, enable their bases to qualify as *vṛddha*.

Our first two examples (*śālīyaḥ*, *mālīyaḥ*) have a *vṛddhi* vowel which is *atadbhāvita* 'not brought about by a rule application' (see note 1 under 1.1.1). The next two illustrate instances of *vṛddhi* vowels *au* and *ā* which are *tadbhāvita* 'brought about by a rule application.' Thus, *au* results by replacing *u* of *upagu* (see the derivation of (1) *aupagavaḥ* for details. Similarly *ā* in *kāpaṭavīyaḥ* is a replacement of the first *ā* in *kapaṭu* + *Ṅas*, which, parallel to *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* = *aupagavaḥ*, yields *kāpaṭavaḥ*. Derivational details of *aupagavīya* and *kāpaṭavīya* are similar to (5) *śālīyaḥ*.

3. There are *vārttikas* which present some exceptions to this rule. Thus, proper names optionally can be treated as *vṛddha* even though their first vowel is not a *vṛddhi*. This facilitates the derivation of *devadattīyā* 'female student of a grandson of Devadatta' optional to *daivadattā*.

Exception also is made in case of a compound which ends in a constituent denoting *gotra* 'grandson, etc'. In such cases, a *vṛddhi* vowel occurring as first among the vowels of the final constituent of a compound enables the entire compound to be called *vṛddha*. Consider deriving *ghṛtarauḍhīyāḥ* 'students of Ghṛtarauḍhi' from *ghṛtarauḍhi* + *Ṅas* + *cha*, where *au* in *rauḍhi* enables *ghṛtarauḍhi* to be treated as *vṛddha* so that *cha* can be introduced. Similar arguments hold for deriving *odanapāṇinīyāḥ* 'students of Pāṇini only for food'.

1.1.74 त्यदादीनि च

tyadādīni ca

/*tyadādīni* 1/3 *ca* Ø/

(*vṛddham* # 73)

tyadādīni śabdarūpāṇi vṛddhisaṃjñāni bhavanti

Items listed in the set headed by *tyad* also are termed *vṛddha*.

The purpose of this rule is to extend the assignment of the term *vṛddha* to items such as *tyad*, etc. These items have been enumerated as part of a longer list which is headed by *sarva* 'all, whole', and is assigned the term *sarvanāman* 'pronoun' (see 1.1.27 *sarvādīni*...). The following is the relevant partial list of such items with corresponding examples cited by *Kāśikā:*

tyad 'he, she, it'	*tyadīyam* 'his, etc.'
tad 'he, that'	*tadīyam* 'his'
etat 'this'	*etadīyam* 'this one's'
idam 'this'	*idamīyam* 'of this one'
adas 'that'	*adasīyam* 'of that one'
yuṣmad 'you'	*tvadīyam* 'yours'
	tvādāyaniḥ 'id.'
asmad 'I'	*madīyam* 'mine'
	mādāyaniḥ 'id.'
bhavat 'you (polite)'	*bhavadīyaḥ* 'yours (polite)'
kim 'what, who'	*kimīyam* 'whose'

1.1.75 एङ् प्राचां देशे

eṅ prācāṃ deśe

/*eṅ* 1/1 *prācām* 6/3 *deśe* 7/1/

(*yasyācām ādiḥ, vṛddham* # 73)

eṅ yasyācām ādis tat prācāṃ deśābhidhāne vṛddhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

That item, the first of whose vowels is one denoted by *eṄ* (*e, o*), is termed *vṛddha* when it names an Eastern country.

EXAMPLES:

eṇīpacanīyaḥ 'a resident of Eṇīpacana'
bhojakaṭīyaḥ 'a resident of Bhojakaṭa'
gonardīyaḥ 'a resident of Gonarda'

1. The purpose of this rule is similar to that of the preceding rule. However, it differs from 1.1.74 in that Pāṇini does not cite here particular forms which are to be assigned the term *vṛddha*. Instead, he specifies the first vowels of these forms in *eṄ*, and constrains the signification of these forms to the 'name of an Eastern country'. The vowel specification is made by carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *yasyācāmādis... tad vṛddham* from 1.1.73 *vṛddhir*...

1.2.1 **गाङ्कुटादिभ्योऽञ्णिन्ङित्**

gāṅkuṭādibhyo' ñṇinṅit
/gāṅkutādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *kuṭ ādir yeṣāṃ te kuṭādayaḥ (bv.); gāṅ ca kuṭādayaś ca = gāṅkuṭādayaḥ, tebhyaḥ = gāṅkuṭādibhyaḥ (bv.* with internal *dv.); aññit* 1/1 = *ñaś ca ṇaś ca = ñṇau (dv.) ñṇau itau yasya sa ñṇit (bv.); na ñṇit = aÑṇit (naÑ-tat.); ṅit* 1/1/
gāṅ iti iṅādeśo gṛhyate...kuṭādayo' pi 'kuṭ kauṭilye' ity etad ārabhya yāvat 'kuṅ śabde' iti. ebhyo gāṅkuṭādibhyaḥ pare aññitaḥ pratyayā ṅito bhavanti, ṅidvad bhavantīty arthaḥ
An affix, not originally marked with *Ñ* or *Ṇ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ* when it occurs after *gāṄ* 'to read, to recite', or after the roots headed by *kuṬ* 'to be crooked'.

EXAMPLES:

adhyagīṣṭa 'he read'
adhyagīṣātām 'they two read, recited'
adhyagīṣata 'they (pl.) read, recited'
kuṭitā 'he who is to cheat...., to be crooked'
kuṭitum 'for cheating, being crooked'
kuṭitavyam 'ought to cheat, be crooked'
utpuṭitā 'he who is to embrace, clasp'
utpuṭitum 'for embracing, clasping'
utpuṭitavyam 'ought to be embraced, clasped'

1. Rules 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...* through 1.1.26 *ralo vyupadhād...* make a set which is generally referred to as *'Ṅit-Kit'* in Pāṇinian circles. Most of these rules are technically known as *atideśa* 'extension' rules because they may allow certain items to be treated as something which they were not. Similarly, they may forbid certain items from being treated as something which they were. In particular, this set deals with the status of some affixes that are treated as marked with *Ṅ* or *K*. The express purpose of extending *Ṅit-Kit* status to such affixes is to bring them within the operational scope of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca,* whereby *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitutes are blocked from replacing *iK* if they happen to be conditioned by affixes marked with *K, G,* or *Ṅ*. Accordingly, then, the function of this entire set of rules is, among other things, to block *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. Blocking, or allowing certain other operations relative to *Ṅit-Kit,* will be discussed in the appropriate places.

2. The root *gāṄ* cited here should not be confused with *gāṄ* 'to go'. Instead, it should be understood as the substitute of *iṄ* 'to study, learn', as referred to in 2.4.48 *iṅaś ca,* 2.4.49 *gāṅ liṭi,* and 2.4.50 *vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ*. For details, see *PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* 1.2.1. Similarly, *kuṭ,* and so on, should be understood as representing a set of thirty-six verbal roots of the *tudādi* (sixth) class that are enumerated beginning with *kuṬ* 'crooked' and terminating with *kuṄ* 'noise'.

The verbal root *iṄ* invariably is used with the preverb *adhi*. If *iṄ* were to

be used with some other preverb in addition to *adhi*, *adhi* would always be first in order. Commentators make a distinction between the signification of *paṭhĀ* 'read, recite' and *iṄ*. They state that *iṄ* is used to signify reading, reciting, or learning something special with assured accomplishment, though it may also mean regular learning or reciting. For details, see *Kaiyaṭa* ad *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 185) for details: *tataś ca adhīte ity atra viśiṣṭārthayuktānāṃ śabdānāṃ paṭhanaṃ vidhipūrvakaṃ vā karotīty arthaḥ*. Also see *Udyota* of Nāgeśa: *kecit tu avagamaparyantatatvarūpa utkarṣo' dher arthah.*

1.2.2 **विज इट्**

vija iṭ
/*vijaḥ* 5/1 *iṭ* 1/1/
(*ṅit* # 1)
'ovijī bhayacalanayoḥ' asmāt paraḥ iḍādi pratyayo ṅid bhavati
An affix with initial *iṬ* is treated as if marked with *Ṅ* when it occurs after *OvijĪ* 'to fear, to tremble with fear, to be agitated'.

EXAMPLES:

udvijitā 'he who is to be agitated'
udvijitum 'for becoming agitated'
udvijitavyam 'ought to be agitated'

1. My expression 'with *iṬ*' refers to those affixes which allow the augment *iṬ* (see 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*). Since *iṬ* is marked with *Ṭ*, it will be introduced to the affix as its initial element (see 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*). The word *ādi* 'initial' is inferred. However, some commentators (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* 1.2.2: *'vṛddhir yasyācāmādiḥ' ityata ādi grahaṇam anuvarttate, tena ceḍ viśiṣyate)* think that *ādi* is carried from 1.1.73 *vṛddhir...* by *anuvṛtti* to qualify the word *iṬ* in this *sūtra*.

2. Since the augment *iṬ* can only be introduced as an initial element to an affix, the nominative singular of *iṬ* in the present rule should be read with *pratyayaḥ* 'affix'. The sense required of this expression is 'an affix with an initial *iṬ*'.

3. The purpose of this *ṅidvadbhāva* 'treating something as marked with *Ṅ*' is to block the *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate short vowel (*laghūpadha*, see 7.3.86 *puganta...*) of an *aṅga*. Thus, if *iṬ* + *tṛC* is not treated as marked with *K* after *udvij*, there will be a chance for the *guṇa* replacement of its penultimate *i*. This will yield a wrong form: **udvejita*.

4. The root *vij* is used with the preverb *ut*. However, one can also find a form such as *vigna*, used in the sense of *udvigna* (see *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa 14/68: *cakranda vignā kurarīva dīnā*).

1.2.3 **विभाषोर्णोः**

vibhāṣorṇoḥ

/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *ūrṇoḥ* 5/1/
(*iṭ* # 2; *ṅit* 1)
'ūrṇuñ ācchadane' asmāt para iḍādiḥ pratyayo vibhāṣā ṅid bhavati
An affix with initial *iṬ* is optionally treated as marked with *Ṅ* when it occurs after *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover'.

EXAMPLE:

prorṇuvitā / *prorṇavitā* 'he who is to cover'

1. This rule provides that the *guṇa* application of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātu-kārdhadhātukayoḥ* becomes optional in case of *ūrṇuÑ*. As a consequence, two types of forms result. That is, if we take the option of blocking the *guṇa*, the result will be *ūrṇuvitā*. If we do not block *guṇa*, the result will be *ūrṇavitā*, where the root final *u* will be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *o* which, in turn, will be replaced by *av* (see 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*).

1.2.4 सार्वधातुकमपित्
sārvadhātukam apit
/*sārvadhātukam* 1/1 *apit* 1/1/
(*ṅit* # 1)
sārvadhātukam yad apit tan ṅid bhavati
A *sārvadhātuka* affix (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) not originally marked with *P* is treated as though marked with *Ṅ*.

EXAMPLES:

kurutaḥ 'they (dual) are doing, making'
kurvanti 'they (pl.) are doing, making'
cinutaḥ 'they (dual) are heaping, gathering'
cinvanti 'they (pl.) are heaping, gathering'

1. All affixes denoted by *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*), along with others which may be marked with *Ś* are termed *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*. Our present rule provides that, except for those *tiṄ* affixes which are marked with *P*, the rest can be treated as marked with *Ṅ*. There are three *tiṄ* affixes — namely, third, second and first person singular *tiP*, *siP*, and *miP* — which come under this exclusion. Thus, under the provision of this rule, all *sārvadhātuka* affixes except for *tiP*, *siP*, and *miP* will be treated as marked with *Ṅ*. The purpose of treating the above mentioned *tiṄ* members as marked with *Ṅ* is to block *guṇa*. See the appendix for details.

1.2.5 असंयोगाल्लिट् कित्
asaṃyogāl liṭ kit
/*asaṃyogāl* 5/1 *liṭ* 1/1 *kit* 1/1/

(*apit* 4)
asaṃyogāntād dhātoḥ paro liṭ pratyayo' pit kid bhavati
A *LIṬ* affix not originally marked with *P* is treated as marked with *K* when it occurs after roots which do not terminate in a conjunct.

EXAMPLES:

bibhidatuḥ 'they (dual) split it'
bibhiduḥ 'they (pl.) split it'
cicchidatuḥ 'they (dual) cut, divided it'
cicchiduḥ 'they (pl.) cut, divided it'
ījatuḥ 'they (dual) performed the ritual sacrifice'
ījuḥ 'they (pl.) performed the ritual sacrifice'

1. Since *LIṬ* is an abstract suffix, and since all such abstract suffixes are later replaced by *tiṄ* (3.4.77 *lasya;* 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*), *LIṬ*, in this rule, refers to its replacements in *tiṄ*. We already know that *tiṄ* affixes are termed *sārvadhātuka*, and as such, except for those marked with *P*, will be treated as marked with *Ṅ* under the provisions of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. By the present rule, Pāṇini wants to ensure that specific *LIṬ* replacements will be treated as marked with *Ṅ*. These are *LIṬ* replacements which, in addition to not being marked with *P*, occur after roots not ending in a conjunct. Under 1.2.4, a replacement of *LIṬ* would have become eligible for being treated as marked with *Ṅ* if it occurred after a root ending in a conjunct. The rule now being considered excludes this possibility.

1.2.6 **इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च**
indhibhavatibhyāṃ ca
/*indhibhavatibhyām* 5/2 = *indhiś ca bhavatiś ca* = *indhibhavatī*, *tābhyām* = *indhibhavatibhyām (dv.) ca* Ø/
(*liṭ kit* # 5)
'indhi-bhavati' ity etābhyāṃ paro liṭ pratyayaḥ kid bhavati
A *LIṬ* affix which occurs after verbal roots *indhI* 'to kindle' and *bhū* 'to be, become' also is treated as though marked with *K*.

EXAMPLES:

putra īdhe atharvaṇaḥ (*ṚV*, VI.16.14) 'the son of Atharvan kindled you'
sam īdhe dasyuhantamam (*ṚV*, VI.16.15) 'you who killed the savages kindled'
babhūva 'he became'
babhūvitha 'you became'

1. In this rule, *LIṬ* again refers to its replacements. However, this time the reference is not to the *tiṄ* replacements of *LIṬ*. Instead, this rule

takes into account the replacement of *tiṄ* which replaced *LIṬ*. The fact that such replacements of *tiṄ* can be considered as the replacement of *LIṬ* only by means of *tiṄ* does not create any problem. Thus *LIṬ* is replaced by *tiṄ* and then the individual *tiṄ* members are replaced by, for example, *ṆaL, atus, us,* and so on (see 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇal...*).

2. All three *parasmaipada* (see 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam,* and 1.4.100 *taṅāṇāv ātmanepadam)* singular affixes *tiP, siP* and *miP* are called *pit* because they are marked with *P*. As such, 1.2.5 will not allow them or their replacements to be treated as marked with *K*. Rule 1.2.6 makes that possible, although only when they are used after the cited roots.

3. The express purpose of treating *LIṬ* affixes after *indh* as marked with *K* is to make the deletion of the *n* in the root possible by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ*. A separate mention of this verbal root was necessitated because it ended in a conjunct and hence could not be covered by the preceding rule. Similarly, a mention of *bhū* is required because 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl...* can extend the *Kit* status only to those *LIṬ* affixes which were originally not marked with *P*. By the present rule, all *LIṬ* affixes can qualify for *Kit* status. For example, 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇal...* prescribes nine replacements for the nine *tiṄ* replacements of *LIṬ*. Of these replacements, those coming in place of *tiP, siP,* and *miP* can be considered *Kit.*

1.2.7 मृडमृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा

mṛḍamṛdagudhakuṣakliśavadavasaḥ ktvā

/*mṛḍa...vasaḥ* 5/1/ *ktvā* 1/1/

(*kit* # 5)

mṛḍa, mṛda, gudha, kuṣa, kliśa, vada, vasa — ity etebhyaḥ paraḥ ktvā pratyayaḥ kid bhavati

Affix *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle,* and so on) is treated as though marked with *K* when it occurs after *mṛḍA* 'to please, *mṛdA* 'to squeeze, rub', *gudhA* 'to be angry', *kuṣA* 'to pull, drag', *kliśA* 'to torment', *vadA* 'to speak', and *vasA* 'to dwell, inhabit'.

EXAMPLES:

mṛḍitvā 'after having pleased'
mṛditvā 'after having pressed'
gudhitvā 'after having annoyed'
kuṣitvā 'after having pulled'
kliśitvā 'after having tormented'
uditvā 'after having told'
uṣitvā 'after having dwelt'

1. Note here that *Ktvā* is already marked with *K*. Consequently, the question of treating it as marked with *K* should not arise. Actually, this rule is a prior exception *(purastāpavāda)* to 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ* whereby *Ktvā,*

when used with *iṬ*, (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasy...*), is denied the status of being marked with *K*. This rule lets *Ktvā*, used with *iṬ*, be treated as marked with *K* with reference to the set of verbs cited here. Also note that 1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād...* allows *Ktvā*, used with *iṬ*, to be treated as marked with *K* (again going against 1.2.18), provided *Ktvā* occurred after roots which:

(*a*) ended in *rL* (see *Śs* 6-14),

(*b*) began with *hL* (see *Śs* 6-14), and

(*c*) had *i* or *u* in their *upadhā* 'penultimate position' (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*).

However, this treatment of *Ktvā* by 1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād...* is only optional. Rule 1.2.7 makes it obligatory (*nitya*). Incidentally, all seven roots cited under this rule perfectly match the requirements of 1.2.18, whereby *Ktvā* can be denied its *Kit* status.

1.2.8 **रुदविदमुषग्रहिस्वपिप्रच्छः संश्च**

rudavidamuṣagrahisvapipracchaḥ saṃś ca

/*ruda...pracchaḥ* 5/1 *san* 1/1 *ca* ∅/

(*ktvā* # 7, *kit* # 5)

ruda, vida, muṣa, grahi, svapi, praccha-ity etebhyaḥ saṃś ca ktvā ca kitau bhavataḥ

Affixes *Ktvā* and *saN* are considered as though marked with *K* when they occur after verbal roots *rudÅ* 'to cry', *vidÅ* 'to know', *muṣÅ* 'to steal', *grahÅ* 'to seize, grasp, get hold of', *ÑIsvapÅ* 'to sleep', and *pracchÅ* 'to ask'.

EXAMPLES:

ruditvā 'after having cried'
rurudiṣati 'wishes to cry'
muṣitvā 'after having stolen'
mumuṣiṣati 'wishes to steal'
viditvā 'after having known'
vividiṣati 'wishes to know'
gṛhītvā 'after having seized'
jighṛkṣati 'wishes to seize'
suptvā 'after having slept'
suṣupsati 'wishes to sleep'
pṛṣṭvā 'after having asked'
pipṛcchati 'wishes to ask'

1. The question of assigning *Kit* status to *Ktvā* after verbal roots *ÑIsvapÅ* and *pracchÅ* does not arise, since these roots are non-*iṭ*, and thus are not affected by 1.2.18. Their citation should be considered as relative to *saN* only. See also note 1 under 1.2.7 *mṛḍamṛda...*

1.2.9 इको झल्

iko jhal

/*ikaḥ* 5/1 *jhal* 1/1/

(*san* # 8, *kit* # 5)

igantād dhātoḥ paro jhalādi san kid bhavati

A *saN* affix is treated as if marked with *K* when it begins with a *jhL* (see *Śs* 8-14) and occurs after roots ending in *iK* (see *Śs* 1-2).

EXAMPLES:

cicīṣati 'wishes to heap, gather'
tuṣṭūṣati 'wishes to praise'
cikīrṣati 'wishes to do, make'

1. Note that in this rule the word *jhL* can refer to two things:
(*a*) an item ending in a *jhL* and
(*b*) an item beginning with a *jhL*.

The first interpretation is arrived at by following the principle of *tadantavidhi* 'the process of interpreting the citation of a form as meaning a form ending in that', whereas the second is the result of following the principle of *tadādividhi* 'the process of interpreting the citation of a form as meaning a form beginning with that'.

Commentators explain that in this rule the second interpretation is favoured because *saN*, in the nominative singular, is carried from the earlier rule which in turn forms syntactic co-ordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with *jhL*. Thus, *jhL*, with *ādi* 'initial' of 1.1.73, becomes an adjective to *saN*, and hence the *tadādividhi* interpretation is favoured. (See *Nyāsa ad Kāś.* I:275: *sangrahaṇam tu prathamāntam ihānuvarttate, ... jhal viśiṣyate; tasmāt tadādividhir eva vijñāyate na tadantavidhir iti.*) The *tadādividhi* interpretation is favoured mostly on account of *jhalādi* being an adjective to the affix (*pratyayaviśeṣaṇatvāt*).

A question is raised as to why *iK* cannot be interpreted as referring to the verbal root *iK* 'to remember'. The answer is that because *iK* is used in association (*sāhacarya*) with *jhL*, which is an abbreviatory term, *iK* must also be interpreted as an abbreviatory term. Besides, *iK* interpreted as a verbal root would not make any sense in rules such as the following. The requirement of an *hL* in that rule will not be met if *iK* is interpreted as a verbal root.

2. Is the purpose of assigning *Kit* status to *saN* to block *guṇa*? Perhaps not. Consider, for example, the derivation of *cicīṣati* 'he wishes to heap or gather'. Here *cici* ends in a *NiC* and is followed by *saN*. Given the string *cici* + *sa*, the following rules both become applicable:

6.1.16 *aj-jhanagamāṃ sani...*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*

The first rule orders a long vowel replacement for the short final -*i* of *cici*. The second rule requires that the same short vowel be replaced by

its *guṇa* counterpart -*e*. But since the application of *guṇa* replacement will render the long vowel replacement vacuous (*vyartha*), long vowel replacement blocks the application of *guṇa*. The reason long vowel replacement will become vacuous is the fact that 6.1.16 *aj-jhanagamām*... will find no scope of application at all (*anavakāśa*). Consequently, even after a long vowel replacement has occurred, *guṇa* still cannot apply. Since *guṇa* will be blocked by the long vowel replacement (*dīrgha*) on the basis of *anavakāśatva* 'lack of scope', blocking *guṇa* cannot be accepted as the purpose of assigning the *Kit* status to *saN*.

What then is the purpose of this assignment of *Kit* status to *saN*? It is stated that the purpose is to facilitate the deletion of *ṆiC*. The argument is that if *saN* is not assigned the status of *Kit*, the long vowel replacement (*dīrghatva*) will be able to block the deletion of *ṆiC* (*ṇilopa*) at the strength of its *anavakāśatva*, as it was able to block the *guṇa* in *cicīṣati*. It is for this reason that, in instances where both *dīrgha* and *guṇa* obtain, and where *ṆiC* is before *saN*, *guṇa* should be blocked by means of *Kit* status. Once *guṇa* has been blocked *dīrghatva* will find its scope. That is, it will no longer be *anavakāśa*. And as soon as it is not *anavakāśa*, it can be blocked by *ṇilopa* on the basis of *paratva*, 'being subsequent'.

It is in this sense that we say that the purpose of *kitva* in 1.2.9 is to facilitate *ṇilopa*. Take, for example, *jñīpsati* 'he wishes to have someone know' where, given the string *jñapi* + *sa*, *sa* is assigned the *Kit* status. Rules 6.1.16 *aj-jhana*... and 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* both become applicable The first rule orders long vowel replacement, whereas the second orders the deletion of (*Ṇ*) *i* (*C*). Rule 6.1.16 is no longer *anavakāśa* because it found its scope in *cicīṣati*. It now becomes possible for the second rule to block its application on the basis of being subsequent (*para*).

1.2.10 हलन्ताच्च

halantāc ca

/*halantāt* 5/1 *ca* Ø/

(*iko jhal* # 9, *san* # 8, *kit* # 5)

igantād iksamīpād halaḥ paraḥ san jhalādiḥ kid bhavati

A *saN* affix which begins with a *jhL* and occurs after a *hL* that is preceded by an *iK* is treated as if marked with *K*.

EXAMPLES:

bibhitsati 'wishes to split, break'

bubhutsate 'wishes to know'

1. Note that the word *anta* in this rule does not denote part (*avayava*; end of something). Instead, it is used in the sense of *samīpa* 'proximate'. The word *halanta* is paraphrased as a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa: halaś cāsāv antaś ca* 'that which is *hL* as well as *anta* 'near'. The postpositioning of

anta, the adjective, is *ad hoc* (*nipātana*). It is in view of this that the rule is interpreted as: *iksamīpād halaḥ paraḥ san jhalādiḥ kid bhavati 'a saN* beginning with *jhL* (and occurring after an *hL* proximate with an *iK*').

Observe that the word *iK* in the preceding rule is in the ablative (*pañcamī*). The *Kāśikā*, in the *vṛtti*, uses the expression *igantāt* where *iK* as part of the compound *iganta* is interpreted as genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Thus, *igantāt* will be paraphrased as *ikaḥ* 6/1 *samīpāt* 5/1 'after that which is near *iK*'. The change of ablative into genitive is an instance of *vibhaktivipariṇāma* 'transposition of inflectional endings'.

The purpose of assigning *Kit* status to *saN* is to facilitate *samprasāraṇa* 'replacement of *yN* by *iK*' (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*) by rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām*... That is, in the absence of *Kit* status, *samprasāraṇa* will be blocked and wrong forms will result. (*Nyāsa ad Kāśikā* I:281: *kitvābhāvāt 'vacisvapi' ityādinā samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati*).

1.2.11 **लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु**

liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu

/liṅsicau 1/2 *ātmanepadeṣu* 7/3/

(*halantāt* # 10, *iko jhal* # 9, *kit* # 5)

igantād iksamīpād halaḥ parau jhalādī liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu parataḥ kitau bhavataḥ

A *LIṄ* or *sIC* affix which begins with a *jhL* and occurs after a *hL* that is preceded by an *iK* is treated as if marked with *K*, provided also that it is related to *ātmanepada*.

EXAMPLES:

bhitsīṣṭa 'may he break, split'
bhutsīṣṭa 'may he know'
abhitta 'he split, broke'
abuddha 'he knew'

1. The word *ātmanepadeṣu* creates some problems in interpreting this rule. The confusion arises because of the relationship that exists between *LIṄ*, *SIC*, and *ātmanepada*. *LIṄ* is already *ātmanepada* because it gets replaced by *ātmanepada* endings. Now, one cannot interpret *ātmanepadeṣu* of this rule as 'when *ātmanepada* follows'. In other words, *ātmanepada* replaces *LIṄ* and does not follow it. This interpretation can only be valid in the context of *SIC*. Since *SIC* occurs before *ātmanepada*, we can interpret *ātmanepadeṣu* as 'when *ātmanepada* follows *SIC*'. In the context of *LIṄ* one need not invoke *ātmanepada*. Or else, one should interpret the use of *ātmanepada* in contradistinction to *parasmaipada*. The purpose of assigning *Kit* status is therefore mostly to block *guṇa* by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. See derivations for details.

1.2.12 उश्च

uś ca

/*uḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/

(*liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *jhal* # 9, *kit* # 5)

ṛvarṇāntād dhātoḥ paro liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu jhalādi kitau bhavataḥ

A *LIṄ* or *sIC* affix which begins with a *jhL* also is treated as if marked with *K* provided that it occurs after a verbal root terminating in *ṛ* and is related to *ātmanepada*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣīṣṭa 'may he do'
hṛṣīṣṭa 'may he take away'
akṛta 'he made'
ahṛta 'he took away'

1. The word *uḥ* in this rule is interpreted as the ablative singular of *ṛ*. By bringing 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya* to this context, we interpret *uḥ* as referring to an item, here a verbal root, which ends in *ṛ*. But there is nothing that can stop us from interpreting *uḥ* as the ablative singular of the root *ṛ* 'to go'. Under this interpretation, examples of only a single root, *ṛ*, could be considered. However, Pāṇini did not intend this latter interpretation. Commentators say that whenever Pāṇini wishes to refer to a particular root, he makes the reference by using a form of that root ending in *tiP*, etc. Since he does not do so in the present case, *uḥ* must be interpreted as 'after a root ending in *ṛ*'; *uḥ* here does not refer to the single root *ṛ* 'to go'.

1.2.13 वा गमः

vā gamaḥ

/*vā* Ø *gamaḥ* 5/1/

(*liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *jhal* # 9, *kit* # 5)

gamer dhātoḥ parau liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu jhalādī vā kitau bhavataḥ

A *LIṄ* or *sIC* affix optionally is treated as marked with *K* if it begins with a *jhL*, occurs after the root *gam*, and is related to *ātmanepada*.

EXAMPLES:

saṃgaṃsīṣṭa 'may he meet properly'
saṃgasīṣṭa 'id'.
samagata 'he met properly'
samagaṃsta 'id.'

1. The purpose of treating *LIṄ* and *sIC* replacements as if marked with *K* is to facilitate the deletion of *m* of *gam* 'to go' by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśā....* The *ātmanepada* replacements are ordered by 1.3.29 *samo gamyṛcchibhyām*. Since the *Kit* status of *LIṄ* and *sIC* affixes is optional, there will be two

forms, one where there will be a deletion of *m* and another where this deletion will not occur. Incidentally, *sIC* is deleted by 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt.*

1.2.14 हनः सिच्

hanaḥ sic

/*hanaḥ* 5/1 *sic* 1/1/

(*ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *kit* # 5)

hanter dhātoḥ paraḥ sic kid bhavati

Affix *sIC* is treated as marked with *K* when it occurs after *han* 'to kill'.

EXAMPLES:

āhata 'he killed'

āhasātām 'they (dual) killed'

āhasata 'they (pl.) killed'

1. Instead of carrying *sIC* by *anuvṛtti,* Pāṇini explicitly mentions it in this rule. This is because carrying it by *anuvṛtti* could have given the wrong impression about the *anuvṛtti* of *LIṄ,* based on the previous association of *sIC* with *LIṄ.* Mentioning *sIC* alone cancels that association and indicates that *LIṄ* is no longer carried.

Though it does not serve any purpose in this rule, *ātmanepada* is also carried through *anuvṛtti.* Commentators inform us that Pāṇini retains the *anuvṛtti* of *ātmanepadeṣu* for later rules. *Kāśikā* says: *ātmanepadagrahaṇam uttarārtham anuvarttate:* 'the *anuvṛtti* of *ātmanepadeṣu* is accepted here for the following rules'. Since *han* obligatorily is replaced by *vadh* in *parasmaipada LUṄ,* the question of treating *sIC* as *Kit* does not arise. There will not be any *n* for the deletion of which *sIC* has to be marked with *K.* As far as *ātmanepada* forms, such as the ones cited above, are concerned, they are introduced after *han* preceded by *āṄ,* a preverb, and *āṄ-han* obligatorily selects *ātmanepada* affixes (1.3.24 *āṅo yamahanaḥ).* Since the question of deleting the *n* of *han* before *sIC* only arises in *ātmanepada* when *han* is used with the preverb *āṄ,* carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *ātmanepadeṣu* for purposes of this rule will be stating what is most obvious. That is why it is said that *ātmanepadeṣu* is carried in this rule for the interpretation via *anuvṛtti* of the following rules.

2. The affix *sIC* naturally refers to *LUṄ* (3.2.110 *luṅ)* which conditions the introduction of affix *CLI* after the root. It is this *CLI* which is then replaced by *sIC* (see 3.1.43 *cli luṅi,* 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic).* Thus *sIC* is a replacement of *CLI* which is introduced after a verb root when *LUṄ* follows.

3. The purpose of treating *sIC* as *Kit* is to facilitate the deletion of the *n* of *han.* One can argue here that this rule is unnecessary if it serves only this purpose. Take, for example, the string *ā* + *han* + *sIC* + *ta.* Here *sIC* is a replacement of *CLI* introduced before *LUṄ*, of which the *ātmanepada ta* is a replacement. Therefore, *ta* will first be termed a *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113

tiṅ-śit sārvadhātukam, and later will receive the status of *Ṅit* by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. This will then enable 6.4.24 *aniditām...* to delete the *n* of the *aṅga: ā-han-s*. Thus, 1.2.14 assigns *Kit* status for a purpose which can be served by 6.4.24.

Shall we then say that 1.2.14 is unnecessary? The answer has to be no. Pāṇini must have known that 6.4.24 can account for what 1.2.14 does. Yet he still felt the need to formulate the present rule. Commentators say that by retaining 1.2.14, Pāṇini wishes to indicate that the deletion of the *n* of a root should not be accomplished by invoking the *Ṅit* status of a *sārvadhātuka* affix which is external, with reference to *sIC* which is internal. This, in turn, will make 1.2.14 necessary.

See also *Nyāsa (Kāś.* I: 288): *evaṃ tarhi siddhe ṅittve sati punar iha hanaḥ sij iti sicaḥ kitvaṃ vidadhāti taj jñāpayati — bāhya sārvadhātukam āśritya sijantasya aniditām ity anunāsikalopo na bhavatīti; tenāraṃsta, amaṃsta, āyaṃsta, āyaṃsta pādam iti siddhaṃ bhavati; anyathā hy anunāsikalope kṛta āyatety aniṣṭarūpaṃ syāt.*

1.2.15 यमो गन्धने

yamo gandhane

/*yamaḥ* 5/1 *gandhane* 7/1

(*sic* # 14, *ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *kit* # 5)

yamo dhātor gandhane vartamānāt paraḥ sic pratyayaḥ kid bhavaty ātmanepadeṣu parataḥ

Affix *sIC* is treated as if marked with *K* when it occurs after *yamĀ* to denote *gandhana* 'to reveal a fault the other is hiding' and is related to *ātmanepada*.

EXAMPLES:

udāyata 'he himself revealed someone's fault'
udāyasātām 'they (dual) revealed someone's fault'
udāyasata 'they (pl.) revealed someone's fault'

1. *Kāśikā* glosses *gandhana* as *sūcana*, and then defines *sūcana* specifically as the act of revealing a fault that is being concealed by another person *(pareṇa pracchādyamānasyāvadyasyāviṣkaraṇam)*. A special meaning such as this is required because a single root may have more than one meaning, while a particular form may be conditioned by only one particular meaning. In the present case, *gandhana* is the required meaning for forms such as *udāyata*, so that forms like *udāyaṃsta (kūpād udakam)* 'he fetched water from the water well' can also be derived. Here *yamĀ* does not mean *gandhana*; it means 'to fetch'. See also note 1 under 1.3.32 *gandhanāvakṣepaṇa...*

2. The *ātmanepada* affixes which replace *LUṄ* in the above examples are ordered by 1.3.28 *āṅo yamahanaḥ*. The *Kit* status of *sIC* is intended to facilitate the deletion of the *m* of *yamĀ*.

1.2.16 विभाषोपयमने
vibhāṣopayamane
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *upayamane* 7/1/
(*yamaḥ* # 15, *sic* # 14, *ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *kit* # 5)
yamer dhātor upayamane vartamānāt paraḥ sic pratyayo vibhāṣā kid bhavati, ātmanepadeṣu parataḥ
Affix *sIC* optionally is treated as marked with *K* when it occurs after *yamĂ* denoting *upayamana* 'to accept in marriage', and is followed by *ātmanepada*.

EXAMPLES:

upāyata kanyām 'he accepted the girl in marriage'
upāyaṃsta kanyām 'id'.
upāyata bhāryām 'he accepted (her) as wife'
upāyaṃsta bhāryām 'id.'

1. Again, a special meaning condition is imposed on the derivation of *upāyata, upāyaṃsta,* and so on. *Kāśikā* glosses *upayamana* as *svīkaraṇa,* 'accepting as one's wife', *vivāha* 'marriage', *dārakarma* 'accepting someone as wife', or *pāṇigrahaṇa* 'holding hand in marriage'.

2. The *ātmanepada* affixes are ruled in view of 1.3.56 *upād yamaḥ svakaraṇe*. The purpose of the *Kit* status of *sIC* is similar to that of the earlier rules. However, since this is an optional rule, the results of the *Kit* status will become optional, as is evident in the cited examples.

1.2.17 स्थाघ्वोरिच्च
sthāghvor ic ca
/*sthā-ghvor* 5/2 *it* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*sic* # 14, *ātmanepadeṣu* # 11, *kit* # 5)
Affix *sIC* is treated as marked with *K* when it occurs after *sthā* 'to stand, stay' or roots termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dā-dhā-ghv adāp*) and is related to *ātmanepada*. In addition, the final vowels of such roots are replaced by *iT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*).

EXAMPLES:

upāsthita 'he appeared'
upāsthiṣātām 'they (dual) appeared'
upāsthiṣata 'they (pl.) appeared'
adita 'he gave'
adhita 'he put on, placed'

1. In this, as in quite a few preceding rules, Pāṇini again cites special verbs. However, he does not constrain his citation with special meaning conditions. As in the earlier rules, he assigns *Kit* status to *sIC*. However,

here he also adds another operation to be performed simultaneously: replacing by *i* the *ā* of *sthā*, as well as the *ā* of those roots which are termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*).

2. The very fact that Pāṇini replaces the *ā* of these roots by *i* and not by its *guṇa* counterpart *e* suggests that he did not want *i* to be replaced by *e*. For, had he wished a *guṇa* replacement, he would have replaced *ā* directly by *e*. One may now ask why he then assigned *Kit* status to *sIC*. In view of what has just been said, the purpose can hardly seem to be that of blocking *guṇa*. Actually, the purpose of *Kit* status for *sIC* is indeed just that; Pāṇini had to present this explicit device for blocking the *guṇa* in order to make it clear that the *i* replacement for the *ā* of these roots is not intended to make them susceptible to *guṇa* replacement.

3. To understand this rule correctly, one also must invoke 1.1 72 *yena vidhis....* Without doing this, we cannot interpret *sthāghvor it* as '*i* replaces the final *ā* of...'.

4. In view of 2.2.32 *dvandve ghi*, this rule should read *ghusthvoḥ*. That is, *ghu* should be preposed in this *dvandva* compound. Some say that Pāṇini was certainly aware of this, but switched the order just to indicate that rules dealing with the preposing of items in compounds are non-obligatory *(anitya* 'non-universal'): *dvandve ghi iti gheḥ pūrvanipāte prāpte ghusthvor ity ucitam āsīt. paraṃ pūrvanipātaśāstrasyānityatva-jñāpanāya sautro' tra vyatyāsa iti kecit.*

5. Note here that given the string $a + (d\bar{a} \rightarrow i) + (sa \rightarrow \emptyset) + ta = a + di + ta$, one might like to invoke 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdh...* to demand a *guṇa* replacement for the *aṅga* final *i* again. This time *ta* can be accepted as the affix conditioning this replacement. Since this affix is not marked with *K*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* cannot block the *guṇa*. This would yield a wrong form. In order to save the situation, one invokes the principle of suspension *(asiddhatva)*. Thus, since the rule which deleted *sIC* (8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt)* is *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...*, which would require the *guṇa*, as far as 7.3.84 is concerned, *sIC* will still be there. As a consequence, *adi* will have to be treated as *adi* + *sIC*, which, in turn, will make *guṇa* inoperative.

1.2.18 न क्त्वा सेट्

na ktvā seṭ

/*na* ∅ *ktvā* 1/1 *seṭ* 1/1

(kit # 5)

ktvā pratyayaḥ seṇ na kid bhavati

Affix *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle)*, when used with the augment *iṬ*, is not treated as marked with *K*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtvā 'after having made, done'

utvā 'after having offered the ritual oblation'
levitvā 'after having played, shone'
vartitvā 'after having behaved; conducted'

1. Note that just as an extension rule can extend a certain status to something which it did not have, so it can also withdraw a certain status which it may have. This happens to be the case in this rule. *Ktvā* is already marked with *K*. Its *Kit* status is withdrawn for a specific purpose in a specific context. That is, this rule is withdrawing the *Kit* status of *Ktvā* in instances where it is used with the augment *iṬ*. I shall discuss the purpose of extending the non-*Kit*, or denying the *Kit*, status to *Ktvā* momentarily.

First let me discuss some of the implications of *iṬ*. As is known, *iṬ* is an augment, and as such it has to be introduced at the beginning of an item. When introduced the *iṬ* becomes part of that item. If *iṬ* has to be part of *Ktvā*, then the *Ṭit* status of *iṬ* also becomes part of *Ktvā*. If it is accepted, then *Ktvā* becomes marked with *Ṭ*. Consequently, the question of not treating it as marked with *K* does not arise. It is true that the augments become part of the items to which they are introduced; but it is equally true that their status remains secondary *(guṇībhūta)*. In view of this the augments can be referred to by the items which have received them and not otherwise. Thus, *Ktvā* will remain marked with *K*, even though it has received an augment marked with *Ṭ*. For details of the secondary nature of the augments, refer to *Paribhāṣā* 12: *yadāgamās tadguṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*.

Also note in this connection that *Ktvā* is treated as if it were not marked with *K*. This understanding has its implications. For example, if *Ktvā* is only to be treated as if not marked with *K*, rules such as 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* could still apply to delete the *K* of *Ktvā*. If, on the other hand, one understands that the *K* of *Ktvā* is not an *it*, 1.3.8 and 1.3.9 cannot apply. This would result in all kinds of wrong forms.

Since this rule is negating the *Kit* status of that *Ktvā* which is used with the augment *iṬ*, the *Ktvā* which does not receive that augment will still be accepted as marked with *K*. Consider, for instance, the derivation of *devitvā* 'after having played' where, given the verbal root *div* 'to play', *Ktvā* has been introduced by 3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*. Rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* introduces the augment at the beginning of *Ktvā* in consonance with 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*. Given the string *div* + *(K* → *0) tvā* = *div* + *i(Ṭ* → *0)* + *tvā* = *div* + *i* + *tvā*, rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* will require the *guṇa* replacement for the *i* of *div*. If *Ktvā* is treated as marked with *K*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will not allow the *guṇa*. It is therefore the purpose of rule 1.2.18 to extend the non-*Kit* status to the *Ktvā*. This clears the way for the application of 7.3.84 and we get: *d(i* → *e)* + *v* + *i* + *tvā* = *dev* + *i* + *tvā* = *devitvā*.

But remember that rule 1.2.18 will extend the non-*Kit* status to a *Ktvā*

only when it receives the augment *iṬ*. Instances of *Ktvā* where it does not receive the augment *iṬ* will thus not be covered by rule 1.2.18. This fact is demonstrated by the example of the derivation of *kṛtvā* 'after having made', where *Ktvā* is introduced after *kṛ* 'to do, make' and the introduction of *iṬ* is blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe*.... Since the string *kṛ* + *tvā* does not have the *Ktvā* with the augment *iṬ*, rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka*... will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. As a result there will be no *guṇa* replacement for the *ṛ* of *kṛ*. If 7.3.84 had not been blocked by 1.1.5 on the strength of the *Kit* status of *Ktvā*, the resultant wrong form would have been **k(ṛ → ar) +tvā* = **kartvā* or may be **karitvā*.

Similar implications apply to derivations such as that of *suptvā* 'after having slept', where, given the string *svap* + *tvā*, the suffix does not receive the augment *iṬ*, and hence is not extended the non-*Kit* status. Rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām*..., based on the strength of *svap* occurring before a suffix marked with *K*, demands *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ*...). The result is: *s(va → u)p* + *tvā* = *suptvā*. If *Ktvā* were to be denied the status of being marked with *K*, wrong forms would result. That is, there would be no *samprasāraṇa*. The purpose of assigning the non-*Kit* status to *Ktvā* in instances where it receives the augment *iṬ* is therefore to facilitate *guṇa* and block *samprasāraṇa*.

Because this rule explicitly extends the non-*Kit* status only to *Ktvā* when used with *iṬ*, other affixes which may be marked with *K* and which may be used with *iṬ* can still be treated as *Kit*. The affixes *Kta* and *KtvatU*, termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktavatū niṣṭhā*) are celebrated examples. Thus, there will not be *guṇa* in *kupitaḥ* 'angered', which is derived from *kup* + *Kta*, for the reason that *Kta* will still be marked with *K*.

1.2.19 **निष्ठाशीङ्स्विदिमिदिक्ष्विदिधृषः**

niṣṭhā śīṅsvidimidikṣvididhṛṣaḥ

/*niṣṭhā* 1/1 *śīṅ-svidi-midi-kṣvidi-dhṛṣaḥ* 5/1/

(*na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)

śīṅ, svidi, midi, kṣvidi, dhṛṣ ity ebhyaḥ paro niṣṭhāpratyayaḥ seṇ na kid bhavati

Affixes which are assigned the term *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) are not treated as marked with *K* when they occur after verbal roots *śīṄ* 'to recline', *svid* 'to perspire', *mid* 'to feel affection, be fat', *kṣvid* 'to perspire, feel affection', and *dhṛṣ* 'to dare, be bold', and are also used with *iṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

śayitaḥ 'reclined'
śayitavān 'he reclined'
prasveditaḥ 'perspired'

prasveditavān 'he perspired'
prameditaḥ 'loved'
prameditavān 'he felt affection for'
prakṣveditaḥ 'perspired'
prakṣveditavān 'he perspired'
pradharṣitaḥ 'daring'
pradharṣitavān 'he dared'

1. Note that *na seṭ* is carried from the preceding rule. As such, the rule extends the non-*Kit* status to those *niṣṭhā* affixes which receive the augment *iṬ* and which occur after the verbal roots *śīṄ* 'to sleep', etc. Remember that the preceding rule, on the strength of citing just the affix *Ktvā,* denied this non-*Kit* status. However, this status is extended in the context of five verbs exclusively. As has been stated in the notes to the foregoing rules, non-*Kit* status can facilitate a replacement in *guṇa.* This would result in the derivation of forms such as *śayitaḥ,* which underlies *śī(Ṅ → 0) + (K → 0)ta = śī + i(Ṭ → 0) = śī + i + ta.* In the absence of the *Kit* status, the *guṇa* replacement for *i* cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.* This will clear the way for *ś(ī → e → ay) + i + ta = śayita.* See the appendix for derivational details. It should be understood that *niṣṭhā* affixes not meeting both the conditions stated in this rule will be accepted as marked with *K.*

1.2.20 **मृषस्तितिक्षायाम्**

mṛṣas titikṣāyām
/*mṛṣaḥ* 5/1 *titikṣāyām* 7/1/
(*niṣṭhā* # 19, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
mṛṣer dhātoḥ titikṣāyām arthe niṣṭhā seṇ na kid bhavati
Affixes which are termed *niṣṭhā* are not treated as marked with *K* when they occur after *mṛṣA* used in the sense of *titikṣā* 'forgiveness, endurance', and they are also used with *iṬ*

EXAMPLES:

marṣitaḥ 'endured, forgiven'
marṣitavān 'he endured, forgave'

1. This rule adds one more root to the list of the preceding, though with a semantic condition. That is, a *niṣṭhā* suffix which has received the augment *iṬ,* and is occurring after the verbal root *mṛṣA* is treated as if not marked with *K,* provided *mṛṣA* is used in the sense of *titikṣā* 'endurance, forgiveness'. The consequences of extending the non-*Kit* status here are similar to those detailed in the preceding rules.

1.2.21 **उदुपधाद्भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम्**

udupadhād bhāvādikarmaṇor anyatarasyām

/udupadhāt 5/1 *bhāvādikarmaṇoḥ* 7/2 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*niṣṭhā* # 19, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
udupadhād dhātoḥ paro bhāve ādikarmaṇi ca vartamāno niṣṭhāpratyayaḥ seḍ anyatarasyāṃ na kid bhavati
A *niṣṭhā* affix which denotes *bhāva* 'root sense' or *ādikarman* 'onset of action' optionally is not treated as marked with *K* when it is used with *iṬ* and occurs after a root which has *u* in its *upadhā* (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*).

EXAMPLES:

dyutitam anena 'he became illuminated'
dyotitam anena 'id.'
pradyotitaḥ 'started to be happy'
pradyutitaḥ 'id.'
muditam anena 'he became happy'
moditam anena 'id.'
pramuditaḥ 'started to become happy'
pramoditaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that this rule provides that a *niṣṭhā* suffix which receives the augment *iṬ* is treated as if not marked with *K* only optionally. Furthermore, this rule requires that the verbs after which these *niṣṭhā* suffixes occur must have *uT* (*u;* 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) in their penultimate (*upadhā;* 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*) position. Finally, the signification of these suffixes has also been outlined: they must denote *ādikarman* 'onset of an action' or *bhāva* 'root-sense'. The word *ādikarman*, read in the context of the meaning condition for the introduction of a *niṣṭhā* suffix, must be interpreted as 'onset of an action in the past'. (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I:297: *ādibhūtakriyākṣaṇa ādikarma, tasmin bhūtatvena vivakṣite yaḥ kto bhavati sa ādikarmaṇi bhavati.*)

The rules which introduce *Kta* to signify *bhāva* or *ādikarman* are 3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ* and 3.3.71 *ādikarmaṇi ktaḥ...* respectively. All the verbs meeting the conditions, both formal and semantic, will have two forms each. Thus, *muditam* and *moditam* are optional forms derived from *mud* + *Kta*, where *mud* has *u* in its penultimate position and where affix *Kta*, a *niṣṭhā*, is used to signify *bhāva*. Notice that, in instances where non-*Kit* status is optionally denied, the verb root goes through *guṇa* and we get forms such as *moditam*.

1.2.22 पूङः क्त्वा च
pūṅaḥ ktvā ca
/pūṅaḥ 5/1 *ktvā* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*niṣṭhā* # 19, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
pūṅaḥ paro niṣṭhā pratyayaḥ ktvā ca seṇ na kid bhavati

Affixes *niṣṭhā* and *Ktvā* are not treated as marked with *K* when they are used with *iṬ* and occur after *pūṄ* 'to cleanse, purify'.

EXAMPLES:

pavitaḥ 'cleansed, purified'
pavitavān 'he cleansed, purified'
pavitvā 'after having cleansed, purified'

1. Observe that *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' is not carried over from the earlier rule. How is that indicated? By the use of *vā* in the subsequent rule. If *anyatarasyām* was intended to be carried over to this rule, Pāṇini would have carried it further to the subsequent rule. This, in turn, would have made the explicit use of *vā* unnecessary. Note also that, without such a justification for the dropping of *anyatarasyām*, the carrying of *na seṭ* would become questionable; for unless indicated otherwise, *na seṭ* and *anyatarasyām* must be carried or dropped together.

Since the word *anyatarasyām* is not carried over from the preceding rule, the provisions of this rule become obligatory (*nitya*). But the non-*Kit* status of *Ktvā* with *iṬ* is already obligatorily provided for by rule 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*. This being the case, Pāṇini should not have used *Ktvā* in this rule. However, as he does use it, he must have some special purpose in mind. Commentators suggest that *Ktvā* is given here for use in the subsequent rules, which are optional. But why, then, did Pāṇini not read *Ktvā* in 1.2.23 where it was intended? The conclusion to be drawn from his decision remains obscure. Perhaps he meant to indicate that *niṣṭhā* is not to be carried beyond this rule.

It is interesting that the *iṬ* augment is optionally provided to affixes *Ktvā* and *niṣṭhā* by rule 7.2.51 *pūṅaś ca*, in so far as the verbal root *pūṄ* is concerned. Also, recall that this option is traditionally known as *aprāptavibhāṣā*, an option which was not available but is made available now. The rule which earlier made this option unavailable is 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti*.

1.2.23 नोपधात्थफान्ताद्वा

nopadhāt thaphāntād vā
/nopadhāt 5/1 *thaphāntāt* 5/1 *vā* ∅*/*
(ktvā # 22, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
nakāropadhād dhātos thakārāntāt phakārāntāc ca paraḥ ktvā pratyayaḥ seḍ vā na kid bhavati

A *Ktvā* affix optionally is not treated as marked with *K* when it is used with *iṬ* and occurs after verbal roots which end in *th* or *ph* and have *n* in their *upadhā* 'penultimate position'.

EXAMPLES:

grathitvā 'having strung, fastened together'

granthitvā 'id.'
śrathitvā 'after having unfastened'
śranthitvā 'id.'
guphitvā 'having strung together, having composed'
gumphitvā 'id.'

1. This rule provides for a *Ktvā* which receives the augment *iṬ* to be only optionally treated as unmarked with *K*. This, of course, is the case only when it occurs after verbal roots which have *na* in their *upadhā* and end in *th* and *ph*. Note that 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ* denied the non-*Kit* status obligatorily. If the option of treating *Ktvā* as marked with *K* is accepted, the above-mentioned roots will lose their *n* and *m* by rule 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*.... This deletion of the nasal will not occur when the option of treating *Ktvā* as not marked with *K* is accepted.

A question is raised as to why Pāṇini must use the word *anta* to indicate 'ending in...' when the same meaning could be available to him by means of the implicit device of *tadantavidhi* (see note under 1.2.9 *iko jhal*). Pāṇini explicitly uses the word *anta* to indicate that *tadantavidhi* in this section dealing with *Ktvā* is not available by any other means. It is for this reason also that the word *ṛT* in the subsequent rule is not interpreted as referring to a root ending in *ṛ*. Instead, it is interpreted as referring to the verbal root *ṛT* 'to reproach, condemn'.

1.2.24 वञ्चिलुञ्च्यृतश्च

vañciluñcyṛtaś ca
/*vañciluñcyṛtaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*vā* # 23, *ktvā* # 22, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)
vañci, luñci, ṛt ity etebhyaḥ paraḥ ktvā pratyayaḥ seḍ vā na kid bhavati
Affix *Ktvā* optionally is not treated as marked with *K* when it is used with *iṬ* and also occurs after *vañcU* 'to deceive, defraud', *luñcĀ* 'to tear off, pull out', or *ṛt* 'to reproach, condemn'.

EXAMPLES:

vacitvā 'having deceived, defrauded'
vañcitvā 'id.'
lucitvā 'having torn off, pulled out'
luñcitvā 'id.'
ṛtitvā 'having reproached, condemned'
artitvā 'id.'

1. The *ca* in this rule is used to make clear that *vā* not only is to be carried from the previous rule, it also has to be carried to the following rule. In the absence of *vā* being carried to the next rule, mention of Kāśyapa in 1.2.25 will no longer be treated as denoting *pūjā* 'respect'; instead it will

denote 'option'. Furthermore, 1.2.24 without the *vā* from 1.2.23 will become an obligatory rule, according to: *dvayor vibhāṣayor madhyavartitvān nityo'yam vidhiḥ* (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* 1.2.24). Also note that *ṛtĀ* is a *sautra* root 'available only in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*': *ṛta—iti sautro dhātuḥ* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* 1.2.24).

In cases of *vañcU* and *luñcU*, the consequences of either accepting or rejecting the option of treating *Ktvā* as marked with *K* are similar to those of the deletion or non-deletion of the nasal in the preceding rule. In the case of *ṛT*, the consequence relates to the *guṇa* replacement, or its absence.

1.2.25 तृषिमृषिकृशेः काश्यपस्य

tṛpimṛṣikṛśeḥ kāśyapasya

/*tṛpimṛṣikṛśeḥ* 5/1 *kāśyapasya* 6/1/

tṛpimṛṣikṛśeḥ 5/1 *kāśyapasya* 6/1/

(*vā* # 23, *ktvā* # 22, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)

tṛṣi, mṛṣi, kṛśi ity etebhyaḥ paraḥ ktvā pratyayaḥ seṭ kāśyapasya ācāryasya mate vā na kid bhavati

Affix *Ktvā*, in the opinion of Kāśyapa, an earlier grammarian, optionally is not treated as marked with *K* when it is used with *iṬ* and occurs after verbal roots *tṛṣĀ* 'to be thirsty', *mṛṣĀ* to endure, tolerate', and *kṛśĀ* 'to be lean'.

EXAMPLES:

tṛṣitvā 'after having become thirsty'

tarṣitvā 'id.'

mṛṣitvā 'after having endured, tolerated, forgiven'

marṣitvā 'id.'

kṛśitvā 'after having become lean or slim, or having made something slimmer'

karṣitvā 'id.'

1. Note that the name of Kāśyapa, an earlier grammarian, is used here to show respect. The meaning of 'optionality' of the provision of this rule is expressed by carrying *vā* 'or' from 1.2.23

1.2.26 रलो व्युपधाद्धलादेः संश्च

ralo vyupadhād halādeḥ saṃś ca

/*ralaḥ* 5/1 *vyupadhāt* 5/1 *halādeḥ* 5/1 *san* 1/1 *ca* Ø/

(*vā* # 23, *ktvā* # 22, *na seṭ* # 18, *kit* # 5)

vi (uś ca iś ca) upadhe yasya sa vyupadhaḥ ukāropadhād ikāropadhāc ca dhāto ralantād halādeḥ paraḥ saṃś ca ktvā ca seṭau vā kitau bhavataḥ

Affixes *Ktvā* and *saN* optionally are treated as *Kit* when they are used with *iṬ*, occur after roots which begin with a consonant (*hL*), end in

rL (*r, l, ñ, m,* and so on; see *Śs* 5-14), and have *i* or *u* in their *upadhā* 'penultimate position' (see 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt...*).

EXAMPLES:

dyutitvā 'after having become illuminated'
dyotitvā 'id.'
didyutiṣate 'wishes to be illuminated'
didyotiṣate 'id.'
likhitvā 'after having written'
lekhitvā 'id.'
lilikhiṣati 'wishes to write'
lilekhiṣati 'id.'

1. A question arises here whether the *vibhāṣā* 'option' denoted by *vā*, which is carried to this rule from 1.2.23 *nopadhāt...*, is intended for something which is given (*prāpta*) or something which is not given (*aprāpta*). Thus, optionally to treat *Ktvā* as marked with *K* is an option for something which is already given. Affix *Ktvā* already is marked with *K*. On the other hand, *saN* is not marked with *K*. In this case, the option provides for something which is not already available (*aprāpta*). The *Mahābhāṣya* decides in favour of the *aprāpta* option, since *saN* is not marked with *K*. Affix *Ktvā* is denied treatment as though marked with *K* by 1.2.18. This places *saN* and *Ktvā* on a par.

The consequences of treating *Ktvā* optionally as marked with *K* again relate mostly to *guṇa* replacement or its lack.

1.2.27 ऊकालो ऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः
ūkālo' j j hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ
/*ūkālaḥ* 1/1 *ac* 1/1 *hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ* 1/1/
u, ū, ū³ ity evaṃ kālo' j yathākramaṃ 'hrasva, dīrgha, pluta' ity evaṃ saṃjño bhavati
A vowel which has the duration of *u* (one mora, '*ekamātrika*'), *ū* (two morae, '*dvimātrika*'), or *ū³* (three morae, '*trimātrika*') is termed *hrasva* 'short', *dīrgha* 'long', or *pluta* 'extra-long'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhi 'yogurt', *i* (*ekamātrika* or *hrasva*)
madhu 'honey', *u* (*ekamātrika* or *hrasva*)
kumārī 'girl', *ī* (*dvimātrika* or *dīrgha*)
gaurī 'goddess Pārvatī; a fair-complexioned girl'
devadattā³ 'Devadatta', a proper name, *ā³* (*trimātrika*, or *pluta*) as in *devadattā³, atra nvasi* 'Devadatta, are you here?'

1. The word *ūkālaḥ* is interpreted as a three-word *bahuvrīhi* with internal *tatpuruṣa*, where *ū* itself is a *dvandva* underlying the paraphrase: *uś ca ūś ca ū*³ *ca* 'u, ū and ū³'. After the formation of the *dvandva*, the string u + ū + ū³ will be due to the application of similar long vowel (*savarṇadīrgha*) *sandhi*, yielding *ū*. The *bahuvrīhi* will have the paraphrase: *vāṃ kāla iva kālo yasya* 'that whose duration equals that of *u*, *ū*, and *ū*³'. The word *kāla*, as I have indicated in the preceding gloss, means duration (*mātrā*). The words *hrasva* 'short', *dīrgha* 'long', and *pluta* 'extra-long' together form the *dvandva* compound *hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*. Keeping in view the *bahuvrīhi* and *dvandva* compounds just mentioned, the rule can be interpreted as: a vowel which has a duration similar to *u*, *ū*, and *ū*³ is termed *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta* respectively. Note that the *bahuvrīhi* paraphrase uses the word *kāla* twice. That is, the compound drops one *pada*, namely *kāla*, as in compounds like *uṣṭramukhaḥ* with the paraphrase: *uṣṭrasya mukham iva mukhaṃ yasya* 'he whose mouth is similar to the mouth of a camel'. Pāṇini uses *ūkālaḥ* in the masculine, which is not in consonance with his own grammatical rules. The compound should have been put in the neuter as *ūkālam*. Commentators say that the use of the masculine indicates that the usage is *sautra* 'peculiar to the formation of *sūtra*'.

Note that *ū* represents *u*, *ū* and *ū*³, thereby giving three name-bearers (*saṃjñin*) to which the three names (*saṃjñā*), *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta* could be applied, according to the order of enumeration (*saṃkhyātānudeśa*). This term assignment implies that the order of elements forming the *dvandva* represented by *ū* is: *u*, *ū*, and *ū*³. If this order is not accepted, *hrasva*, etc., could be assigned to *ū* and vice versa. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II:39) discusses why *u*, *ū*, and *ū*³ should alone be considered as the correct order.

It is interesting to see that this rule attempts to measure the duration of the pronunciation of short, long, and extra-long vowels by taking *u* as the norm. The *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta* vowels are treated as having the duration of one, two, or three morae respectively. What exactly is one mora? The *Śikṣā* treatises discuss various aspects of this question. An attempt has also been made to identify these units of duration with the noises of the birds. Thus, a rooster's (*kukkuṭa*) *kukūkū*³ best illustrates these pronunciations.

This rule uses *ac* 'vowel' to make sure that a sequence of consonants, vowels or the like does not get the assignment of the terms *hrasva*, *dīrgha* and *pluta*. Consider for example the derivation of *prarakṣya* which underlies *pra* + *rakṣ* = *prarakṣ* + *Ktvā*. The root *rakṣa* is used with the preverb *pra* and *Ktvā* is replaced by *LyaP*, thereby yielding *prarakṣ* + *ya*. The *samāsa* 'compound' is in consonance with rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*. Given the string *prarakṣ* + *ya*, the sequence of *ṣ* and *y*, where each has a duration of half a mora will together form a *saṃyoga* 'cluster', which equals the duration of short *u*. If the word *ac* is not used in the rule to indicate that clusters such as *ṣy* do not qualify for the assignment of the terms *hrasva*, etc., *ṣy* can be

termed *hrasva*. This will cause the application of rules which introduce the augment *tUK* (cf. 6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikiti tuk*). Obviously, wrong forms would result. Similar problems would arise if a sequence of vowels such as *a* + *u* of *titauc chatram* 'the umbrella of Titau' is assigned the term *dīrgha* on the strength of jointly equalling the duration of *ū*. That is, *tUK* again will be introduced, though optionally, by rule 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*.

1.2.28 अचश्च

acaś ca

/*acaḥ* 6/1 *ca* Ø/

(*hrasvadīrghaplutaḥ, ac* # 27)

hrasvadīrghaplutāḥ svasaṃjñayā śiṣyamāṇā aca eva sthāne veditavyāḥ

A replacement which is specified by *hrasva, dīrgha,* or *pluta* should come in place of a vowel (*aC*).

EXAMPLES:

atiri 'he who has transgressed wealth'
atinu 'he who has transgressed boating'
upagu 'he who sits near cows'

1. Commentators explain that this interpretive rule is formulated to specify the substituendum (*sthānin*). This is why the rule is interpreted to mean: where a substitute (*ādeśa*) is provided by expressly mentioning the terms *hrasva, dīrgha* and *pluta,* the substitute comes only in place of an *aC* 'vowel'. If this becomes the mark (*liṅga*) of this interpretive rule, then wherever a substitution is ordered with reference to *hrasva, dīrgha,* and *pluta, acaḥ* will be read with the *sūtra*. But since a substitution will be ordered with reference to a genitive anyway, this *acaḥ* becomes the 'qualifier' (*viśeṣaṇa*) or 'qualified' (*viśeṣya*) to the genitive of the rule.

Thus, rule 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya* orders short vowel replacement with the express mention of the term *hrasva*. The word *acaḥ* will be carried to rule 1.2.47 and, read with rule 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya,* will qualify *prātipadikasya,* another word in the genitive. The interpretation of 1.2.47 will be: ...in place of the final *aL* (*aC* according to the dictates of 1.2.28, since the substitution is ordered by directly mentioning *hrasva*) of a nominal stem which is....

Rule 8.2.82 *vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ* uses the word *pluta* and orders substitution. When the word *acaḥ* is brought to the context of this rule, it is used as a qualified element for the adjective *ṭeḥ*. Whether *acaḥ* should be used as a qualifier or as qualified is determined by *kāmācāra* 'conduct according to one's own wish'. It is this special function of *acaḥ* that requires Pāṇini to use the word *acaḥ* explicitly.

The implications of counter-examples such as *suvāg brāhmaṇakulam* 'the clan of well-educated brāhmanas', where no vowel substitute is permitted

in place of a consonant, is worth explaining. Pāṇini follows a twofold practice of ordering vowel replacement. One practice is to order a vowel as a substitute in place of a non-vowel; and the other is to order a vowel substitute in place of a vowel. The express mention of words such as *hrasva, dīrgha,* and *pluta* is found in those instances of the second type, where the substituendum is going to be an *aC*.

1.2.29 उच्चैरुदात्तः

uccair udāttaḥ

/*uccaiḥ Ø udāttaḥ* 1/1/

(*ac* # 27)

uccair upalabhyamāno yo' c sa udāttasaṃjño bhavati

That (a vowel) which is pronounced higher (with high pitch) at its place of articulation is termed *udātta,* 'high-pitched'.

EXAMPLES:

the vowels and their pitch in

ye 'relative pronoun *yat* in nom. pl. masc'.

te 'third person pl. masc. personal pronoun'

ke 'third person pl. masc. interrogative pronoun'

See the note under the following rule.

SCOPE: 3.1.4 *ādyudāttaś ca.*

1.2.30 नीचैरनुदात्तः

nīcair anudāttaḥ

/*nīcair Ø anudāttaḥ* 1/1/

(*ac* 27)

nicair upalabhyamāno yo' c so' nudāttasaṃjño bhavati

That (a vowel) which is pronounced lower (with low pitch) at its place of articulation is termed *anudātta,* 'low-pitched'.

EXAMPLES:

tva 'thou'

sama 'some'

sima 'each, every'

nema 'other'

namaste rudra nīlakaṇṭhà sahasrākṣa 'our obeisances to you, O Rudra, blue-throated, thousand-eyed one'

1. The words *ucca* and *nīca* should not be interpreted as referring to the loudness of the voice. Accordingly, one should not interpret rule 1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ* as: 'that which is pronounced loudly, or is heard as loud, is termed *udātta*'. Note that the notion of loudness or non-loudness is relative. A particular degree of loudness or lack of it may constitute

'unloud' or even 'more loud' for one person, as opposed to the other. This would create difficulty in defining the terms *udātta* and *anudātta*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 45-46) tries to identify certain features of these pronunciations. Thus, *udātta* is one which is pronounced with tenseness of limbs *(āyāmo gātrāṇāṃ nigrahaḥ)*, terseness in tone *(dāruṇyaṃ svarasya rūkṣatā)*, and constriction of the throat *(kaṇṭhasya saṃvṛtatā)*.

Alternatively, an *anudātta* should be understood as pronounced with relaxed limbs *(anvavasargo gātrāṇāṃ śithilatā)*, gentleness of tone *(mārdavaṃ svarasya)*, and openness of the throat *(urutā khasya, mahattā kaṇṭhasya)*. These features have also been found inadequate to define the *udātta* and *anudātta*. For instance, an *udātta* effort *(prayatna)* of pronunciation by a weak person may be interpreted as an *anudātta* effort by a strong person.

The *Mahābhāṣya*, then, abandons the idea of defining these terms in view of relative loudness or of the features just discussed. Instead, it turns towards *prakrama*, 'the place where the sounds are pronounced', as the determining factor. It is because of this that rules 1.2.29 and 1.2.30 have been interpreted as: 'that which is pronounced higher at its place of articulation is termed *udātta*'; and 'that which is pronounced lower at its place of articulation is termed *anudātta*'. The terms 'higher' and 'lower' are then inferred as meaning 'high' and 'low' tones of the vowels, as consonants cannot carry accent.

2. Note that the accentuation is practically lost, owing largely to the oral nature of the transmission of the texts. The practice of marking Vedic accentuation is also not uniform. For various textual recordings of accents, see under this rule in the Hindi commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by Dayānanda Sarasvatī.

SCOPE: 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*

1.2.31 समाहारः स्वरितः

samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ

/*samāhāraḥ* 1/1 *svaritaḥ* 1/1/

(*ac* # 27)

udāttānudāttasvarasamāhāro yo' c sa svaritasaṃjño bhavati

A vowel which is pronounced with a combination of features of *udātta* and *anudātta* is termed *svarita*.

EXAMPLES:

śikyam 'the hanging rope sling'
kanyā 'girl'
sāmanyaḥ 'skilled in *Sāmaveda*'
kva 'where'

1. Note that this rule assigns the name *svarita* to a vowel and not to the combination (*samāhāra*) of vowels. The vowel which may qualify for the name *svarita* must combine in itself both the qualities of an *udātta* and of an *anudātta* vowel. In other words, a *svarita* vowel must be distinguished on the basis of its combining in itself the features of *udātta* as well as of *anudātta* pronunciations.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 48) illustrates this point as follows: *tad yathā-śuklaguṇaḥ śuklaḥ, kṛṣṇaguṇaḥ kṛṣṇaḥ, ya idānīm ubhayaguṇaḥ sa tṛtīyām ākhyāṃ kalmāṣa iti vā sāraṅga iti vā. evam ihāpy udāttaguṇa udāttaḥ, anudāttaguṇo' nudāttaḥ, ya idānīm ubhayaguṇaḥ sa tṛtīyāṃ ākhyāṃ labhate svarita iti* 'for example, the quality (known as) whiteness is termed *śukla*, the quality (known as) blackness is termed *kṛṣṇa;* the one which now combines both these qualities receives the third name *kalmāṣa* or *sāraṅga* 'variegated; part-white, part-black'. Similarly, here also: (a vowel) which is pronounced with the quality of *udātta* is termed *udātta;* one which is pronounced with the quality of *anudātta* is termed *anudātta;* and one which now combines both these qualities receives the third name *svarita* 'high-low'.

SCOPE: 6.1.185 *tit svaritam,* etc.

1.2.32 तस्यादित उदात्तमर्द्धह्रस्वम्

tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam

/*tasya* 6/1 *āditaḥ* Ø *udāttam* 1/1 *ardhahrasvam* 1/1/

(*svaritaḥ* # 31, *ac* # 27)

tasya svaritasya ādāv ardhahrasvam udāttam, pariśiṣṭam anudāttam

The first part of a *svarita* vowel extending to one-half of the duration of a short vowel is *udātta,* while its remaining part is *anudātta.*

EXAMPLES:

śikyam 'the hanging rope sling'
kanyā 'girl'
māṇavaka[3] 'O! Boy!'

1. The variable *tat* 'that' has *svaritaḥ* as its antecedent. The phrase *tasya āditaḥ* will then be accepted as a qualifier to *arddhahrasvam. Kāśikā* interprets *arddhahrasvam* as referring to *ardhamātrā* 'half a mora'. Thus, *hrasva* does not mean 'a short vowel', but means the duration of the pronunciation of a vowel measurable to half a mora. It is in view of this that the *Kāśikā* (I: 313) states: *hrasvagrahaṇam atantram* 'the word *hrasva* is not used in the technical sense *(tantra)*'. But since there is no vowel that can be pronounced with a measure of duration equal to half a mora, *arddhahrasvam* is interpreted as meaning 'half a mora'. Patañjali (*Mbh.* II: 48-49) is in agreement with this interpretation; but it stipulates that *arddhahrasva* entails the deletion of the suffix *mātraC.* Thus, the word is *arddhahrasvamātra,*

derived by introducing the affix *mātraC* to denote *pramāṇa* 'measure' after the word *arddhahrasva* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvayasaj...*). The affix later gets deleted to yield *arddhahrasva,* meaning 'a measure of half a mora'. This interpretation is necessary because then the first half a mora of a *dīrgha* 'long', as well as a *pluta* 'extra-long', vowel can be assigned the term *udātta.*

Patañjali *(Mbh.* II: 63: *tad yathā, kṣīrodake saṃpṛkte āmiśrībhūtatvān na jñāyate, 'kiyat kṣīram, kiyad udakam, kasminn avakāśe kṣīram, kasmin vodakam iti'. evam ihāpy āmiśrībhūtatvān na jñāyate, 'kiyad udāttam, kiyad anudāttam, kasminn anudāttam iti)* explains the necessity of this rule by the analogy of milk mixed with water. As it is not known what amount of milk is mixed with what amount of water, or what part of milk and water mixed together contains milk, or what part contains water, the same idea is applicable here also. It is not known what is *udātta* or what is *anudātta* in a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta,* or what part of the combination is *udātta* and what part is *anudātta.*

A suggestion has been made, also in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 50; vt. I: *svaritasyārddhahrasvodāttād udāttasvaritaparasya sannatarād ūrdhvam udāttād anudāttasya svaritāt kāryam, svaritād iti sidhyartham)* that the set of nine *sūtras* beginning with 1.2.32 *tasyādita...* through 1.2.40 *udāttasvarita...*should be read after *sūtra* 8.4.65 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ,* so that operations relative to accent, conditioned by *svarita,* could be performed. I shall explain the reason for such a transfer of this set of rules by discussing the accentuation of the string *imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri (RV,* X.75.5).

Rules 1.2.39 *svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttam* 'monotone *(ekaśruti)* comes in place of *anudātta* occurring after *svarita* in *saṃhitā* 'close proximity between sounds'. The *ime* of the hymn is *udātta* at the end *(antodātta).* In view of rule 8.1.22 *te mayāv ekavacanasya, me* will be marked as *anudātta.* Now, the application of rule 8.4.65 *udāttād...* means that the *anudātta* of *me* will be replaced with *svarita.* The string *gaṅge yamune sarasvati* has all the words in the vocative singular. As a consequence, they will all be termed *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritam),* and they will receive *anudātta* accent as required by rule 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca.* The word *śutudri* is also in the vocative, but it does not receive *anudātta* because it is occurring at the beginning of the quarter *(pāda)* of the metre (cf. 8.1.18 *anudāttam...).* Note that *me* is *anudātta* but that, because it occurs after the *udātta* of *ime,* it has to be marked with *svarita.* Furthermore, all the other words will be marked with *ekaśruti,* since they will be occurring after the *svarita* of *me.* Of course, *śutudri* will be an exception.

This accentuation, however, is problematical because of the placement of the rules involved. That is, the rule which requires *ekaśruti* after *svarita* is 1.2.39 *svaritāt...* and is obviously contained within the *Sapādasaptādhyāyī.* The rule assigning *svarita,* which, in turn, conditions *ekaśruti* is 8.4.65 *udāttād*

anudāttasya..., a rule contained within the *Tripādi*. Now, rule 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* orders that the rules belonging to the first seven books and a quarter (*Sapādasaptādhyāyī*) of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* should become suspended (*asiddha*) in favour of the rules of its last three quarters (*Tripādi*). Accordingly, rule 1.2.39 *svaritāt...* will be suspended in view of 8.4.65 *udāttād....* The question of applying *ekaśruti* would not, therefore, arise. This creates certain problems. It is in order to correct this situation that the *Mahābhāṣya* makes the suggestion mentioned above; that the set of rules numbered 1.2.32 through 1.2.40 be moved to a position after 8.4.65 *udāttād....*

I have considered here only one aspect of that problematical situation which prompted the proposal to move the set of rules in question. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses in detail different aspects relative to other rules of the set. It also discusses problems caused by the fact that rules within the *Tripādī* are themselves arranged in a peculiar way. Specifically, the arrangement of these rules is such that a prior rule in the *Tripādi* becomes suspended (*asiddha*) by the subsequent rule. This definitely adds complexity to the aspects of rule-interaction obtaining between the rules of the *Sapādasaptādhyāyī* and the *Tripādī* on the one hand, and the rules within the *Tripādī* on the other. I omit further detail for lack of space.

I must, however, explain that the proposal to move this set of rules subsequent to 8.4.65 *udāttād...* has been dropped with the stipulation that, for proper application of operations concerned, this set of rules can be treated as occurring after 8.4.65.

1.2.33 **एकश्रुति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ**

ekaśruti dūrāt sambuddhau

/*ekaśruti* 1/1 *dūrāt* 5/1 *sambuddhau* 7/1/

traisvarye padānām prāpte dūrāt sambuddhāv aikaśrutyaṃ vidhīyate

A sentence by which one calls someone from a distance carries *ekaśruti* 'monotone'.

EXAMPLES:

āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta[3] 'Come here, O boy, Devadatta!'

1. This rule assigns *ekaśruti* 'monotone' in place of *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* of a string which is used to call from a distance. Thus, *āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta*[3] will receive monotone. Note that 'monotone' here refers to a kind of accentuation which dilutes the identity of *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* into one pitch. When the same sentence is used from near by, it will retain its accent as follows: *āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta*. I have not shown the *ekaśruti* by any marking device in the earlier sentence.

Notice that the word *saṃbuddhi* is here interpreted in its general sense of address (*sambodhana*). That is, it is not interpreted in the sense of the

technical term *sambuddhi* as defined by rule 2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*. For if it was interpreted in this case as a technical term, *ekaśruti* could only be applicable to forms which are vocative singular. So, the *ekaśruti* which obtains to *devāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ* 'O! Gods! and Brāhmaṇas!' will be blocked because the string is not singular (*ekavacana*). If, alternatively, the word *sambuddhi* is interpreted here as non-technical, everything will be in order.

A question has been raised as to what *ekaśruti* really is. The answer is given by the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 53-54) based on whether or not one treats the word *tara* of rules 1.2.35 *uccaistarāṃ vā vaṣaṭkāraḥ* and 1.2.40 *udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ* as *tantra* 'technical, principal'. If *tara* is treated as meaning *prakarṣa* 'higher degree of intensity', *ekaśruti* becomes a quality with a higher degree of *udātta* or *anudātta*. In other words, *ekaśruti* becomes *udātta* or *anudātta*. A third view also becomes possible when one does not accept that *tara* denotes its principal meaning. In this view, *ekaśruti* will be perceived as a mixture of *udātta* and *anudātta*. Note that this mixture, *ekaśruti*, is different from *svarita*, where the identities of *udātta* and *anudātta* are not lost. In *ekaśruti*, though, their identities are diluted.

Problems may be created by *Kāśikā*'s (I: 314) statement that *ekaśruti vākyaṃ bhavati* 'a sentence carries *ekaśruti*'. The word *ekaśruti* may, according to this statement, be interpreted as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *vākya* 'sentence'. Since this rule implies that the string used to call someone from a distance is a sentence, *ekaśruti* as an adjective to a sentence does not cause any difficulty. But if this same interpretation is accepted in the next rule, where *ekaśruti* is carried over, problems will arise. This is because the next rule assigns *ekaśruti* to many elements which are not sentences. It is for this reason that the *Mahābhāṣya* restricts the 'sentence modifier' interpretation of *ekaśruti* to 1.2.33 alone.

1.2.34 **यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु**

yajñakarmaṇy ajapanyūṅkhasāmasu

lyajñakarmaṇi 7/1 *ajapanyūṅkhasāmasu* 7/3/

(*ekaśrutiḥ* # 33)

traisvaryeṇa vede mantrāḥ paṭhyante, teṣāṃ yajñakriyāyām api tathaiva prayoge prāpte ekaśrutir vidhīyate, japanyūṅkhasāmāni varjayitvā

With the exception of *japa* 'inaudible chanting', *nyūṅkha* 'specific *nigadas*' (recitations from the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*), and recitals from the *Sāmaveda*, *yajñakarma* 'the offering of ritual oblation with chants' also carries *ekaśruti* 'monotone'.

EXAMPLES:

agnir mūrddhā divaḥ kakutpatiḥ pṛthivyā ayam (*ṚV*, VIII. 4.16) 'this *agni* (sun) is like the head and forehead because it is high up in the sky'

apām retāṃsi jinvato³m (*ṚV*, VIII.44.16) 'you invigorate like the energy of water'

1. Note that this rule provides for *ekaśruti* in place of *udāttānudāttasvarita* '*udātta, anudātta* and *svarita*' of a recitation accompanying *yajñakarman* 'ritual oblation'. That is, the general requirement that the three pitches should be rendered distinctively is dropped. Of course, in the instance cited here, *ekaśruti* will not take place.

1.2.35 उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः

uccaistarāṃ vā vaṣaṭkāraḥ
/*uccaistarām* 1/1 *vā* Ø *vaṣaṭkāraḥ* 1/1/
(*yajñakarmaṇi* # 34, *ekaśrutiḥ* # 33)
yajñakarmaṇi vaṣaṭkāraḥ uccaistarāṃ vā bhavati, ekaśrutir vā
Monotone (*ekaśruti*) optionally becomes *udāttatara* 'higher' in *yajña-karman* when *vauṣaṭ* 'a particular *mantra* with which ritual offerings are made to gods' is chanted.

EXAMPLES:

somasyāgne vīhī³ vau³ṣaṭ 'O Agni, accept the grain for *soma*'
somasyāgne vīhī³ vau³ ṣaṭ 'id'. (*Ait*, 35.5.6)

1. This rule assigns *udāttatara* accent to the word *vaṣaṭkāra* in recitation at *yajñakarman*. Since this assignment is optional, *ekaśruti* will also be applicable should the option provided by this rule not be accepted. Note also that the word *uccaistarām* is interpreted as *udāttatara* 'having a higher degree of *udātta*', based on the principal meaning of *tara*. Commentators add that the types of accent are seven: *udātta, anudātta, svarita, udāttatara, anudāttatara, ekaśruti* and *udāttānudātta*. The fourth and fifth types are based on the meaning of *tara*. The seventh type, *udāttānudātta*, is different from *svarita* in the sense that it clearly indicates what part of a *svarita* is *udātta* and what part is *anudātta*. A *svarita* may just indicate that there is a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta*.

1.2.36 विभाषा छन्दसि

vibhāṣā chandasi
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*ekaśrutiḥ* # 33)
chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ekaśrutir bhavati, pakṣāntare traisvaryam eva bhavati
Monotone (*ekaśruti*) is optional (to *udātta, anudātta*, and *svarita*) in Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

iṣe tvorje tvā 'For you, for the benefit of food and strength'

iṣe tvorje tvā 'id.' (*Vāj*, 1.1.1).
agna āyāhi vītaye 'O Agni, please arrive to remove darkness'
agnāyāhi vītaye 'id.' (*ṚV*, VI.16.10).
śanno devīrabhīṣṭaye 'May our drinking water be divine'
śanno devīrabhīṣṭaye 'id.' (*RV*, X.9.4).

1. It is significant that the word *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' is explicitly used in this *sūtra*, where its purpose could have been served by simply bringing *vā* from the earlier rule. Pāṇini does not do this to indicate that *yajñakarmaṇi* is to be dropped from the *anuvṛtti*.

2. Since this rule is optional, Vedic recitations will follow their general practice of keeping the *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita* apart only optionally. In the absence of maintaining the accentual distinctions, *ekaśruti* will optionally be accepted.

Note that this option of *ekaśruti* is only applicable in the context of the three vedas: *ṚV*, *Yajuṣ* and *Atharvan* only. Because this rule is providing the option which was not available, it is interpreted as *prāptavibhāṣā*. The *Sāmaveda* is excluded from getting *ekaśruti* by rule 1.2.34 *yajñakarmaṇi...*, therefore it cannot be made available here. It is in view of this that the option made available by rule 1.2.36 *vibhāṣā...* is applicable only to the three Vedas.

1.2.37 न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः

na subrahmaṇyāyāṃ svaritasya tūdāttaḥ
/*na* Ø *subrahmaṇyāyām* 7/1 *svaritasya* 6/1 *tu* Ø *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*ekaśrutiḥ* # 33)
subrahmaṇyāyām ekaśrutir na bhavati yas tu lakṣaṇaprāptaḥ svaritas tasyodātta ādeśo bhavati
There is no monotone in *subrahmaṇyā* 'a particular chanting', although the *svarita* becomes *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

subrahmaṇyo³m indrāgaccha hariva āgaccha, medhātithermeṣa vṛṣa naśvasya mene
'O Indra, Come! O, ram of Medhātithi who owns horses, Come! Come! O wife of Vṛṣaṇaśva (speech)';
gaurāvaskandinnahalyāyai jāra kauśika-brāhmaṇa gautamabruvāṇa śvaḥ sutyāmāgaccha maghavan (*Śat.* 3.3.1.19)
'O rider of the water buffalo, Come! O lover of Ahalyā, Come! The Kauśika brāhmaṇa named Gautama invokes your presence, O Indra, tomorrow at the pressing of *soma*'

1. This rule can be treated as an exception to the preceding, in the sense that it blocks the provision of *ekaśruti* in the context of *nigada* 'prose hymns

with command or prayer' known as *Subrahmaṇyā*, (the *nigada* of the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*, particularly the seventeenth through twentieth of the first *brāhmaṇa* of the third section of the third canto, where *Subrahmaṇya* offers invocations to Indra). The word *subrahmaṇya* is derived by introducing the *taddhita* affix *yaT* after *subrahman*. The feminine affix *ṬāP* is later introduced after *subrahmaṇya* to derive *subrahmaṇyā*. Note that the affix *yaT* becomes *svarita* by rule 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*. The *ā* of the feminine affix *ṬāP* is *anudātta*. The *svarita* of *yaT* and the *anudāttà* of *ṬāP* are replaced by a single *svarita*, as reflected by *sumrahmaṇyom*. That is, *o*, a single replacement of *a* and *u*, carries *svarita*. This *svarita* cannot be replaced by *ekaśruti*, which is the provision of rule 1.2.37 with reference to *subrahmaṇyā*.

So far, my illustrations have shown only how *svarita* blocks *ekaśruti*, and how 1.2.37 is an exception to 1.2.36. However, the present rule goes beyond these stipulations. It has its own provision, which demands that the *svarita* thus prevented from being replaced by *ekaśruti* should be replaced instead by *udātta*.

1.2.38 देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः

devabrahmaṇor anudāttaḥ
/devabrahmaṇoḥ 6/2 *anudāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*svaritasya* # 37)
devabrahmaṇoḥ svaritasyānudātta ādeśo bhavati
The *svarita* of *deva* 'god' and *brahman* 'creator' is replaced by *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

devā brahmāṇa āgacchata 'O gods and creator, Come!'

1. Note that the phrase '*na subrahmaṇyāyāṃ svaritasya*' is also carried to this rule. This means that the application of this rule will still be limited to the context of the *subrahmaṇyā* section, as stated in the previous rule. In the absence of this rule, the *udātta* of the previous rule would have replaced *svarita*. This rule, however, requires that *svarita* should be replaced by *anudātta*, particularly in the context of *deva* and *brahman*.

1.2.39 स्वरितात्संहितायामनुदात्तानाम्

svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttānām
/svaritāt 5/1 *saṃhitāyām* 7/1 *anudāttānām* 6/3/
(*ekaśrutiḥ* # 33)
saṃhitāyāṃ viṣaye svaritāt pareṣām anudāttānām ekaśrutir bhavati
Every *anudātta* which occurs after a *svarita* is replaced by *ekaśruti* 'monotone' in *saṃhitāpāṭha* 'recitation of the *Veda* with phonetic changes as effected by *sandhi* rules'.

EXAMPLES:

imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri 'O Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, and Śutudri!'
māṇavaka! jaṭilādhyāpaka! kva gamiṣyasi? 'O boy! You whose teacher has matted hair! Where will you go?'

1. Where the base *anudātta* is treated as derived from *ekaśeṣa,* the word *anudāttānām* is genitive plural. That is, *anudātta* is derived from the underlying string *anudāttaś ca anudāttaś ca anudāttaḥ* by retaining only one *anudātta* to refer to more than one. It is in view of this derivation that *anudāttānām* in this rule is interpreted to mean 'in place of one or more than one *anudātta*'. The implication of this interpretation is as follows.

In *saṃhitā* recitation, as opposed to the *pada* recitation where individual vords are not recited with the application of *sandhi* rules, one or more *anudātta* are individually replaced by *ekaśruti,* providing, of course, that they are occurring after a *svarita.* Thus, in *imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati, me* is *svarita* and all the other accents after this are *anudātta.* When recited in *saṃhitā, gaṅge yamune sarasvati* would consequently receive *ekaśruti* from this rule. In the absence of *saṃhitā, ekaśruti* cannot replace *anudātta.*

1.2.40 **उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः**
udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ
/*udāttasvaritaparasya* 6/1 *sannataraḥ* 1/1/
(*anudāttānām* # 39)
udāttaparasya svaritaparasya cānudāttasya sannatara ādeśo bhavati
An *anudātta* after which an *udātta* and *svarita* occur is replaced by *sannatara* 'higher in degree than *anudātta*'.

EXAMPLES:

devā marutaḥ pṛśnimātaro'paḥ 'Gods, wind, whose mother is earth and water...'
imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri (Glossed under previous rule.)
māṇavaka, jaṭilakādhyāpaka, kva gamiṣyasi? (Glossed under previous rule.)

1. Note that the word *sannatara* is interpreted to mean *anudāttatara* 'higher in degree than *anudātta*'. Similarly, the word *uccaistarām* is interpreted as *udāttatara* 'higher in degree than *udātta*' of rule 1.2.35 *uccaistarām...*

The word *udāttasvaritaparasya* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'that which has *udātta* and *svarita* occurring after it'. The compound thus becomes an adjective to *anudātta* and yields the interpretation 'an *anudātta* after which an *udātta* and *svarita* occur is replaced by *sannatara...*'

In *imaṃ me gaṅge yamune sarasvati śutudri,* the *i* of *sarasvati* is *anudātta* (8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca*). The *śu* of *śutudri* is *udātta* because *śutudri* is occurring

at the beginning of a quarter of the hymn. The *anudātta* of the *i* of *sarasvati* is thus replaced by *sannatara* because it precedes an *udātta*. In the same way, given *māṇavaka jaṭilādhyāpaka kva gamiṣyasi* 'O Boy! You whose teacher has matted hair! Where will you go?', where *kva* is *svarita*, the *anudātta* of the *ka* of *adhyāpaka* will be replaced by *sannatara*.

1.2.41 **अपृक्त एकाल प्रत्ययः**

apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ

/*apṛkta* 1/1 *ekāl* 1/1 *pratyayaḥ* 1/1

'apṛkta' itīyaṃ saṃjñā bhavati, ekāl yaḥ pratyayas tasya

An affix which consists of a single *aL* 'sound segment' is termed *apṛkta*.

EXAMPLES:

ghṛtaspṛk 'he who touches ghee'

ardhabhāk 'he who receives one half share'

pādabhāk 'he who receives one quarter share'

1. It may be understood by the wording of this rule that the term *apṛkta* applies only to that affix which consists of a single sound segment. While this understanding is basically correct, there are certain corollaries to it. The *it* will not be taken into account in determining the status of the affixes as consisting of a single sound segment. If an *it* were taken into account, problems would result. For example, affixes *KvIN* and *KvIP* both consist of a single sound segment, namely *v*. The presence of *K, I,* and *P* is not a determining factor in these cases. It is in view of this assignment of the term *apṛkta* to the *v* of *KvIP,* and so on, that 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* applies under certain circumstances to delete the affix.

Consider, however, the application of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...,* which under the condition of the assignment of the term *apṛkta* accomplishes the deletion of, among others, the affix *si* 'second person singular active ending'. Now, this affix consists of two sound segments. Rule 6.1.68 deletes *s* after the *i* of affix *si* has been deleted by some other rule. This remainder of *si*, i.e. *s*, cannot be called *apṛkta* if one accepts a rigid interpretation of 1.2.41. If affixes like *si,* which originally did not consist of a single sound segment, can qualify through deletion for the assignment of the term *apṛkta* after all, they must be distinguished from affixes such as *KvIP,* which originally consisted of a single sound segment. I shall call affixes of the type *KvIP,* where the single sound segment constituency is given by grammar *atadbhāvita apṛkta* 'an *apṛkta* not brought about by the application of any rule' in contradistinction with affixes of the type *si,* which I shall call *tadbhāvita apṛkta* 'an *apṛkta* brought about by the application of a rule'. Functionally the present rule facilitates the application of such rules as 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* and 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo....*

SCOPE: 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*, and so on.

1.2.42 तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः
tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ
/*tatpuruṣaḥ* 1/1 *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* 1/1 *karmadhārayaḥ* 1/1/
'tatpuruṣa' iti samāsaviśeṣasya saṃjñā vakṣyati, sa tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇapadaḥ karmadhārayasaṃjño bhavati
A *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound whose constituents refer to the same thing (are in syntactic co-ordination) is termed *karmadhāraya*.

EXAMPLES:

paramarājyam 'excellent kingdom'
uttamarājyam 'best kingdom'
pācakavṛndārikā 'excellent cook (fem.)'

1. This rule assigns the term *karmadhāraya* to a *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound whose constituents occur in syntactic co-ordination and refer to the same thing. In view of this interpretation, *samāna* and *adhikaraṇa* of *samānādhikaraṇa* mean 'same (*abhinna*) and 'denotatum' (*abhideya*) respectively. This in how *Kāśikā* explains it. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I:330-31) elaborates as follows: *samānam = abhinnam, ekam adhikaraṇam = vācyam eṣāṃ padānāṃ tāni samānādhikaraṇāni padāni, lany āśrayabhūtāni yasya tatpuruṣasya sa samānādhikaraṇas tatpuruṣaḥ* '*samānādhikaraṇa* are those words which have the same referent; a *tatpuruṣa* compound with such constituents is termed *samānādhikaraṇa (karmadhāraya) tatpuruṣa*'.

Note that *samānādhikaraṇa* words also share syntactic agreement. All three words of this rule are in the nominative singular, and thus share syntactic agreement. That is, they are occurring in syntactic co-ordination. Of course this is a formal condition for a *tatpuruṣa* compound to be called *karmadhāraya*. The semantic condition is also important: that the constituents of a *tatpuruṣa* compound must refer to the same thing. Note that the condition of identical reference is imposed on the constituents of the compound and not the compound itself. The wording of this rule appears to be suggesting that the compound itself must be co-referential with something outside of the compound.

2. A question may be raised here concerning the propriety of discussing the *karmadhāraya* designation in this second quarter of the first book. Compounds have been discussed in the second book. Naturally, *tatpuruṣa*, of which *karmadhāraya* are a subtype, are discussed in the second book. Why did not Pāṇini discuss *karmadhāraya* designation there? Kaiyaṭa (*Pradīpa* ad *Mbh.* II:63) observes that *karmadhāraya* has been discussed here so that it cannot block the designation *tatpuruṣa*. Note that the *tatpuruṣa* rule falls within the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*, and as such, only one

term per nominatum can be assigned. If Pāṇini had put *karmdhāraya* after *tatpuruṣa*, the *karmadhāraya* designation would have blocked the *tatpuruṣa* because of being subsequent (*para*). This is what Kaiyaṭa means by his explanation.

However, this is not yet satisfactory. Pāṇini need not have discussed *karmadhāraya* here to avoid *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'class inclusion' or *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength'. After all, he has discussed *dvigu,* a type of *tatpuruṣa* compound, in the *ekasaṃjñā* section. There is no reason why he could not discuss *karmadhāraya* there while at the same time, as with *dvigu,* avoiding *saṃjñāsamāveśa* and blocking by *vipratiṣedha*. For details of *saṃjñāsamāveśa* and *vipratiṣedha,* see notes under rules 1.4.1 and 1.4.2.

SCOPE: 6.2.46 *karmadhāraye' niṣṭhā,* etc.

1.2.43 प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम्

prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam

/*prathamānirdiṣṭam* 1/1 *samāse* 7/1 *upasarjanam* 1/1

prathamayā vibhaktyā yan nirdiśyate samāsaśāstre tad upasarjanasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

That which is referred by *prathamā* 'nominative' in rules of compound formation is termed *upasarjana* 'secondary'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭaśritaḥ 'he who resorted to grief'
śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ 'split by an ax'
yūpadāruḥ 'wood for the ritual post'
vṛkabhayam 'fear of wolf'
rājapuruṣaḥ 'king's man'
akṣaśauṇḍaḥ 'skilled at dice'

1. It is difficult to explain why Pāṇini chose to discuss a rule such as this one outside the domain of compound formation. This rule is of major consequence, since it determines the order of the constituents of a compound. As such, the most appropriate place for it is in the compound section.

The word *samāse* 'in compound' refers to rules which allow the formation of compounds. If this interpretation is not accepted, *prathamānirdiṣṭam* read with *samāse* would mean: that which has been referred to by *prathamā* 'nominative' in a compound. Now, a compound such as *rājapuruṣa* 'king's man' does not have anything referred to by the nominative. Thus *samāse* cannot mean 'in a compound'. Can it refer to the nominative which may be available in the string which underlies a compound? That is, could it be the string *puruṣa* + *sU* of *rājan* + *Ṅas*+ *puruṣa* + *sU* which underlies the compound *rājapuruṣa*? The answer again has to be no, since this nominative is not the nominative which obtains when one considers combining

puruṣa + *sU* with *rājan* + *Ṅas*. It existed prior to that. Furthermore, it was added irrespective of the fact that it may be combined with *rājan* + *Ṅas*. It is because of these considerations that the word *samāse* is interpreted as referring to the rules which order the formation of compounds.

The rule which allows the formation of the compound *rājapuruṣa* is therefore 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*. It states that a *pada* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' can be combined with a syntactically related *pada*. What is ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* is *rājan* + *Ṅas*. The word *ṣaṣṭhī* in 2.2.8 is referred to by the nominative; and as such, its referent, namely the *pada* which ended in genitive, must be termed *upasarjana* by the present rule. Once assigned the term *upasarjana*, it can then qualify to be placed first in the compound.

Commentators (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* 1.2.43, I:133, for example) add that the determination of what is *upasarjana* also is made on the basis of semantic considerations. In this sense the term *upasarjana* is an *anvarthasaṃjñā*, a term that follows its etymological meaning. The word has been interpreted as *gauṇa* 'secondary, non-principal'. A distinction such as this can be of help in determining the *upasarjana* status in situations where a rule allowing compound formation refers to more than one constituent in the nominative.

Let us again refer to 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*, in view of a string of elements such as *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *kumārī* + *Ṅas* + *svam* + *sU*. We find two words ending in *ṣaṣṭhī*. If we just took the formal condition of reference by nominative in a rule which allows compound formation as our guide for the assignment of the term *upasarjana*, they both would qualify for the term. It is for this reason that the semantic consideration is also resorted to. In this view an *upasarjana* element will be non-principal (*gauṇa*). Since the notion of secondary versus primary is a relative one, the secondary will always be referred to in relation to a particular primary. This way, one *ṣaṣṭhī* will be termed *upasarjana* with reference to the other. In the above example, *rājan* + *Ṅas* will be *upasarjana* to *kumārī* + *Ṅas*, which in turn will be an *upasarjana* to *svam* + *sU*. Accepting such a semantic consideration in determining the status of a *pada* as an *upasarjana* may also imply that Pāṇini based his descriptions on semantic considerations. Such an implication may have consequences for Pāṇinian theory.

SCOPE: 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*, etc.

1.2.44 **एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते**

ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte

***/ekavibhakti* 1/1 *ca* Ø *apūrvanipāte* 7/1/**

***(samāsa upasarjanam* # 43)**

ekā vibhaktir yasya tad idam ekavibhakti, samāse vidhīyamāne yan niyatavibhaktikam dvitīye sambandhini bahubhir vibhaktibhir yujyamāne' py ekayaiva vibhaktyā yujyate tad upasarjanaṃsaṃjñaṃ bhavati

That which has a fixed *vibhakti* 'nominal ending' (in the analysed form of a compound formation, irrespective of whether the other constituent has varying endings), is termed *upasarjana,* provided the assignment of this term does not result in *pūrvanipāta* 'preposing a secondary element'.

EXAMPLES:

niṣkauśāmbiḥ 'he who has gone outside of Kauśāmbī'
nirvārāṇasiḥ 'he who has gone outside of Vārāṇasī'

1. Note that the preceding rule assigns the term *upasarjana* to that constituent of a compound which happens to be referred to by the nominative in the rule which allowed the compound formation. The basic purpose of assigning the term *upasarjana* is to facilitate preplacing of such a constituent in the compound. The present rule also assigns the term *upasarjana.* It differs from the preceding rule, however, in that, first of all, the word *samāsa* here does not refer to the rule which allows the formation of a compound. Instead, it simply means a compound in the process of being formed. Second, this rule does not dwell upon 'nominative reference' for the assignment of the term. Rather, it assigns the term *upasarjana* to that constituent of the compound which is construed with the same ending, even though the other constituent may be construed with different endings.

Consider, for example, the compound *nirvārāṇasiḥ,* 'gone outside of the city of Vārāṇasī,' which can be analyzed as *niṣkrāntaḥ vārāṇasyāḥ.* The word *nir* is a particle used in the sense of *krānta* 'transgressed'; it also demands the use of *pañcamī* 'ablative' after the nominal stem in connection with which it is used. Thus, we get *vārāṇasī* in the ablative. One can interpret *niṣkrānta* as ending in *prathamā, dvitīyā, tṛtīyā, caturthī, pañcamī, ṣaṣṭhī,* or *saptamī;* but *vārāṇasī* will remain in the ablative no matter what is the ending of *niṣkrānta.* This is what the word *ekavibhakti* 'fixed nominal ending' means in the rule.

Finally, the term *upasarjana* when applied to a word such as *vārāṇasī* does not enable it to be placed first in the compound. On the contrary, the term *upasarjana* assigned by 1.2.44 does not become applicable in the context of preplacement. So, as far as this rule is concerned, the assignment of the term *upasarjana* and the preplacement of the constituent termed *upasarjana* are mutually exclusive. This brings us to the question of what is the function of the assigning by this rule of the term *upasarjana.* The term assignment by this rule facilitates the application of such rules as 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya,* whereby the final vowel of an *upasarjana* is shortened. Thus, we get *nirvārāṇas(ī → i).*

1.2.45 अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम्
arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam

/*arthavad* 1/1 *adhātuḥ* 1/1 *apratyayaḥ* 1/1 *prātipadikam* 1/1/
arthavac chabdarūpaṃ prātipadikasaṃjñaṃ bhavati dhātupratyayau varjayitvā
A unit which has meaning and is neither a root nor an affix is termed *prātipadika.*

EXAMPLES:

ḍitthaḥ 'wooden elephant'
kapitthaḥ 'a place where monkeys sit'
kuṇḍam 'a mendicant's bowl; ritual fire-pit'
pīṭham 'a seat'

1. This rule assigns the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' to a form which is meaningful but is not a root or affix. The condition that the form must have meaning (*artha*) is obviously to exclude non-meaningful forms, for example *n*, or *van* of *vana* 'forest', from getting the designation *prātipadika.* For if they are assigned the term, nominal endings may be introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujas...* and subsequently *n* can be deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.* It is to be remembered in this context that the introduction of *sUP* as a consequence of the designation *prātipadika* to *n* or *van* is simply illustrative in nature. Or, the introduction of *sUP* and subsequent deletion of *n* is accepted to dramatize the consequences of assigning the term *prātipadika* to a form without any signification (*artha*). In reality there are several other factors which have to be weighed before *sUP* could be introduced, or *n* could be deleted. For example, *sUP* cannot be introduced unless a *kāraka* or a non-*kāraka* relation, or in case of the nominative, simply the meaning of the nominal stem, is to be expressed. If a *sUP* is to be introduced after a form which is defined as *prātipadika,* but which does not have any meaning, the signification under which *sUP* could be introduced becomes impossible to decide. Similarly, *n* could only be deleted after the *sUP* has been introduced to turn the string into a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*).

Kāśikā explains that the word *artha* in *arthavat* means 'signification' (*abhideya*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* I: 337) asserts that *Kāśikā* explains this because *artha* means 'purpose' (*prayojana*), 'cessation' (*nirvṛtti*), 'wealth' (*dhana*), and 'signification' (*artha*), as is obvious from the following usages:

(*a*) *anenārthenāgataḥ* 'he came with this purpose'
(*b*) *maśakārtho dhūmaḥ* 'the smoke is for getting rid of mosquitoes'
(*c*) *arthavān devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is rich'
(*d*) *asya vacanasya ayam arthaḥ* 'the meaning of the word is this'

The word *artha,* therefore, is used here to mean signification, and signifies four basic types of things: *jāti,* 'class'; *guṇa,* 'quality'; *kriyā,* 'action'; and *dravya,* 'concrete thing'. This typology also refers to the fourfold usage of words. Note, too, that *abhāva,* 'absence' of a thing signified by a form,

does not make that form meaningless. For instance, *śaśaviṣāṇa* 'rabbit-horn' does not exist, but this does not mean that *śaśaviṣāṇa,* the compound termed nominal stem, is meaningless. This shows that even in the absence of the thing signified, signification remains. This is what *Kāśikā* means by explaining the use of the word *artha* as *abhideya.*

The expressions *adhātuḥ* 'non-root' and *apratyayaḥ* 'non-affix' are negations. First of all, they would mean either a form which is not a root, or is not an affix, and/or a form which ends in a root or an affix. The use of *dhātu* in *adhātuḥ* to refer to something ending in *dhātu* is against Pāṇinian practice. We talk of *tadantavidhi* 'ending in that...' only in the context of an affix. Thus *apratyayaḥ* would entail *tadantavidhi* with reference to *pratyaya.* Contrary to this, *adhātuḥ* will not entail *tadantavidhi.* But even in the case of *apratyayaḥ* there is the *paribhāṣā* (*Paribh:* 28) *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir nāsti* 'elsewhere, when an operation relative to the assignment of a term is concerned, *tadantavidhi* remains inoperative with reference to an affix'. Can *tadantavidhi* be operative in case of *apratyayaḥ* of this rule? Yes, because there is no *saṃjñāvidhi* involved. What is involved is negation (*pratiṣedha*). This brings us to a discussion of the type of negation we have here.

The negation which we witness in *adhātuḥ* and *apratyayaḥ* is of the *paryudāsa* type. Therefore, *apratyayaḥ* and *adhātuḥ* will be interpreted as referring to something other than *pratyaya* and *dhātu,* though similar to them (*tadbhinnatatsadṛśa*). Consider the command *abrāhmaṇam ānaya,* 'bring someone other than a *brāhmaṇa*'. The person who is brought is not a *brāhmaṇa.* That is, he is other than a *brāhmaṇa* (*tad,* namely *brāhmaṇa, bhinna*). He is, however, similar to him (*tatsadṛśa*) in that, while he is a person of a caste other than a *brāhmaṇa,* he is not an animal or an inanimate object. He still shares human qualities with the person not supposed to have been brought.

A question may arise here: if something other than *dhātu* and *pratyaya* is to be assigned the term *prātipadika,* and if the meaning of the *naÑ* 'not' is *paryudāsa,* interpretable as *tadbhinnatatsadṛśa,* a condition such as *arthavat* 'meaningful' should not be stated in the rule. Why? Because the *paryudāsa* interpretation of *naÑ* will enable us to understand a *prātipadika* as a form which, though not *dhātu* or *pratyaya,* is similar (*sadṛśa*) to them. In addition, since *dhātu* and *pratyaya* are meaningful, an item other than a *dhātu* and *pratyaya* would, like them, be meaningful. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa:* 340) says that *arthavat* cannot be dropped just on this basis, since there are roots and affixes which by themselves could not have any meanings. For example, *iṄ* is explained as having the meaning *adhyayana* 'study'; similarly, *iK* is explained as meaning *smaraṇa* 'to remember'. But these meanings one gets only when these roots are used with the preverb *adhi.* Thus *iṄ* and *iK* do not possess any meaning. Jinendra also brings the example of affix *kaN,*

which is difficult to be ascertained as carrying any meaning if one attempts to find it using the technique of *anvaya* 'concurrent presence' and *vyatireka* 'concurrent absence'. This means that *arthavat* has to be stated.

Returning to the function of the assignment of the term *prātipadika*, we find several things:

(*a*) the assignment of the term enables a string to gain access to the domain of 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadkāt*, where any of three options can be pursued: the introduction of *sUP* by 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭchas...*; the introduction of an affix denoting feminine in the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām;* or the introduction of a *taddhita* affix in the domain of 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ;*

(*b*) the deletion of nominal endings which become part of a nominal stem;

(*c*) the deletion of *n* at the end of a *prātipadika* forming part of a *pada;* and

(*d*) the use of 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya* whereby a long vowel at the end of a nominal stem denoting neuter is replaced by its short counterpart.

These are the major consequences of the assignment of the term *prātipadika*. Further consequences are attributable to the assignment of this term by the next rule.

SCOPE: 1.2.4/ *hrasvo napuṃsake...*

1.2.46 कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च

kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca

/*kṛttaddhitasamāsāḥ* 1/3 *ca* Ø/

(*prātipadikam* # 45)

kṛtas taddhitāḥ samāsāś ca prātipadikasaṃjñā bhavanti

That which ends in a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*), *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix, or is a *samāsa* 'compound' also is termed *prātipadika*.

EXAMPLES:

kārakaḥ 'he who makes'
hārakaḥ 'he who takes something away'
karttā 'he who makes'
harttā 'he who takes something away'
aupagavaḥ 'male descendant of Upagu'
kāpaṭavaḥ 'male descendant of Kapaṭu'
rājapuruṣaḥ 'king's servant'
brāhmaṇakambalaḥ 'brāhmaṇa's blanket'

1. This rule deals with the assignment of the term *prātipadika* to derived nominals. The earlier rule, through its negation of *apratyayaḥ*, also negated the assignment of the term to something which ended in an affix.

Both *kṛt* and *taddhita* are affixes; and thus, in view of the negation of *apratyayaḥ*, the designation of the term *prātipadika* to a form ending in a *kṛt* or *taddhita* is a violation. However, commentators explain that since the negation was available, and since Pāṇini nevertheless included *kṛt* and *taddhita* in this rule to indicate that only items ending in these two affixes should be termed *prātipadika*, the rule therefore becomes a restrictive *(niyama)* rule, in so far as *kṛt* and *taddhita* are concerned.

A question is also raised about *samāsa* being included in this rule. It is argued that *samāsa* should not be included because *arthavat* of 1.2.45 would account for it already. After all, a *samāsa* is meaningful. But the commentators add that the restrictive nature of the present rule also works in the case of *samāsa*. That is, a form consisting of more than one meaningful unit can be termed a *prātipadika* only when it is a *samāsa*. This way a sentence cannot qualify for the term *prātipadika* on grounds of being meaningful. For details of why a combination of meaningful units other than a *samāsa* cannot be considered under this rule, see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I: 344-45. The tradition also raises the question of whether or not the word *arthavat* should be carried from the preceding rule. This, in turn, relates to the question of whether or not a *samāsa*, for example, should be explicitly qualified as being meaningful. I however believe that *arthavat* does not have to be carried.

The consequences of the assignment of the term *prātipadika* to items covered by this rule are in general similar to those discussed under the previous rule. The deletion of nominal endings by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* is more directly related to *samāsa*. Various consequences relative to items ending in *kṛt* and *taddhita*, subsequently termed *prātipadika*, are specific to accent and other operations. Basically, operations such as the introduction of *sUP*, feminine affixes, and the deletion of *sUP* forming part of the nominal stem are the consequence of the term-assignment under this rule.

1.2.47 **ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य**

hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya

hrasvaḥ 1/1 *napuṃsake* 7/1 *prātipadikasya* 6/1/

(*acaś ca* # 28)

napuṃsakaliṅge' rthe yat prātipadikam vartate tasya hrasvo bhavati ādeśo lo' ntyasyācaḥ

The final vowel of a neuter nominal stem is replaced by a short vowel.

EXAMPLES:

atiri kulam 'a clan which has excelled in wealth'

atinu kulam 'a clan which has excelled in boating'

1. This rule orders a short substitute for a long vowel occurring at the end of a nominal stem signifying neuter. The word *napuṃsake* has been explained by *Kāśikā* (I: 346) as *napuṃsakaliṅge' rthe'* in the signification of that whose gender is neuter'. Obviously *napuṃsakaliṅga* is being interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound in order to focus on the fact that gender is the property of *dravya* 'substance', which could only be a nominal stem. If this is accepted then what is the need for using the word *prātipadika* in the rule? The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 87-88) explains that the word *prātipadika* has been used to exclude short vowel substitution in case of forms ending in a *sUP* or a *tiP*. But how could they qualify to be a nominal stem? Let us take an example: *kāṇḍe* 'locative singular of neuter *kāṇḍa* 'sapling'. This example is derived from *kāṇḍa* + *i*, where the final *a* of *kāṇḍa* and the *i* of the locative ending *Ṅi* have been replaced by a single substitute *e*. Now by *antādivadbhāva* (6.1.35 *antādivac ca*), where the final could be treated as part of the preceding, *e* becomes part of the *prātipadika kāṇḍa*. Consequently *kāṇḍe* becomes qualified for the term *prātipadika*. In order to block this term assignment to forms like *kāṇḍe* and subsequent shortening, the word *prātipadika* has been used in 1.2.47. In addition, the term also carries to the following rule.

1.2.48 **गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य**

gostriyor upasarjanasya

/*gostriyoḥ* 6/2 *upasarjanasya* 6/1/

(*hrasvaḥ prātipadikasya* # 47)

upasarjanagośabdāntasya upasarjanastrīpratyayāntasya ca prātipadikasya hrasvo bhavati

The final vowel of a nominal stem is replaced by *hrasva* 'short' when the nominal stem ends in the word *go* 'cow' which is termed *upasarjana*, or in a word termed *upasarjana* which ends in a feminine affix.

EXAMPLES:

citraguḥ 'he who has brindled cows'

śabalaguḥ 'id.'

niṣkauśāmbiḥ 'he who has gone outside the city of Kauśāmbī'

nirvārāṇasiḥ 'he who has gone outside the city of Vārāṇasī'

atikhaṭvaḥ 'he who has overstepped the cot'

atimālaḥ 'he who has excelled the garland in fragrance or beauty'

1. This rule also orders a short substitute for a final vowel of a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa...*) which is either *go* 'cow' or is a form ending in a feminine affix. *Kāśikā* (I:347-48) notes that by the word *go* we must understand only the form of the word *go*; contrary to this, the word *strī* is interpreted as referring to the feminine affixes introduced in the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām*. How do we

know this? *Kāśikā,* based on the discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 289), explains that *strī* here is marked with *svarita* 'circumflex' accent, and hence is an *adhikāra* 'recurring element' (1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ).* This becomes the clue that *strī* refers to the affixes and not to the form of the word *strī* 'woman', or its meaning, as is the case with *go.*

The word *prātipadikasya* is carried from the preceding rule along with *hrasvaḥ.* The word *upasarjanasya* modifies both *go* and *strī* to yield the interpretations:

(*a*) the form *go* 'cow' which is an *upasarjana,* and

(*b*) a form which ends in a feminine affix and is an *upasarjana.*

Finally, *tadantavidhi* 'process of interpreting something as ending in a given form' operates in case of the word *prātipadika,* thereby giving the sense as follows: 'short comes as a substitute for the final of a nominal stem which terminates in an *upasarjana,* specifically *go* 'cow', or a form ending in a feminine affix'. Note that this notion of *tadantavidhi* is important and has been discussed in detail in the tradition (*Paribh:* 26-30).

I shall here take a couple of examples and briefly illustrate that if *tadantavidhi* is not brought into focus *vis-à-vis go* and *strī* on the one hand and *prātipadika* on the other, shortening of *o* in *gokulam* 'herd of cows' and *i* in *rājakumārīputraḥ* will obtain. Jinendrabuddhi (I: 348) explains: 'Thus because of there being *tadantavidhi* of *prātipadika* with the *upasarjana go* as well as an *upasarjana* ending in a feminine affix, there does not obtain the shortening of *go* or *kumārī* in *gokulam* or *rājakumārīputraḥ* having their analyzed forms *goḥ kulam* or *rājñaḥ kumāryāḥ putraḥ* respectively' (*evaṃ gośabdenopasarjanena strīpratyayena ca prātipadikasya tadantavidhau sati goḥ kulaṃ, rājñaḥ kumāryāḥ putro rājakumārīputra ity atra gośabdasya kumārīśabdasya ca hrasvatvaṃ na bhavati...*). The word *go* in *gokulam* is an *upasarjana* and a *prātipadika.* But could it be treated as ending in a *prātipadika* for the purpose of the short-vowel substitution ordered by this rule? One can invoke *vyapadeśivadbhāva* and say that *go* is a *prātipadika* ending in *go.* However, the grammarians do not allow *vyapadeśivadbhāva* in case of a nominal stem. *(Mbh.* II.91: *vyapadeśivadbhāvo' prātipadikena).* This takes care of *go* in *gokulam.* In *rājakumārīputraḥ,* the long *ī* of *kumārī* cannot be shortened because *kumārī* itself is not an *upasarjana.* It is *rājakumārī* which is *upasarjana* with reference to *putraḥ,* and not *kumārī.* Besides, *rājakumārī* of *rājakumārīputraḥ* cannot be treated as a nominal stem for purposes of shortening, since what is a *prātipadika* in this context is not *rājakumārī* but *rājakumārīputraḥ.* This nominal stem does not end in a feminine suffix.

1.2.49 **लुक्तद्धितलुकि**

luk taddhitaluki

/luk 1/1 ***taddhitaluki*** 7/1/

(***strī upasarjanasya*** # 48)

taddhitaluki sati strīpratyayasya upasarjanasya lug bhavati
When there is a *LUK* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*) deletion of a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*), there is also a deletion of the feminine affix of the *upasarjana* 'secondary'.

EXAMPLES:

pañcendraḥ 'that (*sthālīpāka* ritual) whose presiding deities are five Indrāṇīs (Indra's wives)'
daśendraḥ 'that whose presiding deities are ten Indrāṇīs'
pañcaśaṣkuliḥ 'purchased with a bunch of five deep-fried breads'
āmalakam 'the fruit of the emblic myrobalan tree'
badaram 'the jujube fruit'
kuvalam 'water lily'

1. This rule, unlike the previous rules, allows for the *LUK*-deletion of the feminine affix of an *upasarjana*, providing there has been a deletion by *LUK* of a *taddhita* affix. The form under focus of this rule is thus as follows:
(*a*) it is an *upasarjana* form,
(*b*) it ends in a feminine affix, and
(*c*) a *taddhita* affix has been introduced and subsequently deleted.
This being the case, the feminine affix is deleted. The deletion by *LUK* of a *taddhita* affix thus forms a condition for the deletion, again by *LUK*, of the feminine affix. This is the reason why the locative in *luki* at the end of the rule is interpreted as *satsaptamī* and not as *parasaptamī*. There is not a *paurvāparya* 'one after the other' relation between the elements. That is, there is no chance of *luki* being interpreted as forming the right context so that an operation on what precedes can be performed. However, one may find *paurvāparya* in the operation of deletion by *LUK* itself: first a *taddhita* is deleted, then a feminine affix.

1.2.50 इद्गोण्याः
id goṇyāḥ
/*it* 1/1 *goṇyāḥ* 6/1/
(*taddhitaluki* # 49)
goṇyās taddhitaluki sati ikārādeśo bhavati
When there is a *LUK* deletion of a *taddhita* affix, the final vowel of *goṇī* is replaced by *i*.

EXAMPLES:

pañcagoṇiḥ 'bought for five *goṇī* (a sack of roughly seventy-five kilograms' capacity)'.
daśagoṇiḥ 'bought for ten *goṇī*'

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding rule in the sense that the

former orders the deletion of the feminine affix, while this one orders a replacement in *i*. Thus, according to this rule, there will be a short *i* replacement for the long *ī* of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* of *goṇī*, given, of course, a *LUK*-deletion of a *taddhita* affix.

Some say that *iT*, a replacement in *i*, should not be stated. Pāṇini simply should have stated the rule as *goṇyāḥ na* 'no deletion of the feminine affix of *goṇī*....' Once the deletion was blocked, 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya* would order the short replacement for the final *ī* of *goṇī* and everything would be in order. But actually forming the rule as a *vidhi* (*id goṇyāḥ*), or as a negation (*pratiṣedha: goṇyāḥ na*) does not make much difference. Still other commentators suggest that this rule should have been read with 1.2.49 *luktaddhitaluki*. This would then have made the rule to read as *goṇyāḥ*. There would no longer be any need for *iT* since *hrasva* could be carried from 1.2.48. See (*PM* ad *Kāś*. I:352).

1.2.51 लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने

lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane

/*lupi* 7/1 *yuktavat* Ø *vyaktivacane* 1/2/

lupi sati yuktavad vyaktivacane bhavataḥ

When there is a deletion of a *taddhita* affix by *LUP* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*), the original number (*saṃkhyā*) and gender (*liṅga*) of the base remains.

EXAMPLES:

pañcālāḥ (kṣatriyāḥ) 'place of residence of the Pañcāla warriors'
magadhāḥ 'place of residence of the Magadha warriors'
matsyāḥ 'place of residence of the Matsya warriors'
aṅgāḥ 'place of residence of the Aṅga warriors'
suhmāḥ 'place of residence of the Suhma warriors'
puṇḍrāḥ 'place of residence of the Puṇḍra warriors'

1. This rule allows the retention of the original number (*vacana*) and gender (*vyakti*) of a form whose *taddhita* affix has been deleted by *LUP*. The need for such a provision arises because the deletion of an affix creates a situation where the original number and gender of a form may not be retained after deletion.

As is obvious from the *vat* of *yuktavat*, 'like that with which the affix was joined', this rule is an extension (*atideśa*). Consequently, it extends the number (*vacana*) and gender (*vyakti*) of a given form (X_1) to another form (X_2), provided that:

(*a*) X_2 is derived by first introducing a *taddhita* affix after X_1, and
(*b*) subsequently deleting that affix by means of *LUP* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*).

When the above conditions are both met, X_2 retains the number and

gender of X_1. This rule provides for the extension of the number and gender of X_1, a possibility which would not otherwise be available. The number and gender of X_2 should normally be the number and gender of its own denotatum. This is the standard practice.

Let us take an example. The *taddhita* affix *ṬHaK* (4.4.22 *saṃsṛṣṭe...*) is introduced after the nominal stem *lavaṇa* 'salt' to denote the sense of 'mixed with' (*saṃsṛṣṭa*). Given the string *lavaṇa* + *ṬHaK*, rule 4.4.24 *lavaṇāl luk* deletes the affix by express mention of the term *LUK*. Now consider the derivation of a string denoting 'the soup mixed with salt', where we have two words: *lavaṇa* (X_2), derived by introducing and subsequently deleting the *taddhita* affix *ṬHaK* after *lavaṇa* (X_1), and *sūpa*. Since in the string to be derived *lavaṇa* (X_2) is being used as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to denote *sūpa*, X_2 should take the number and gender of *sūpa*. Thus we will get *lavaṇaḥ sūpaḥ* masculine singular. The number and gender of X_1, from which X_2 was derived, is masculine singular.

If X_2 was allowed to retain the number and gender of X_1, forms such as *lavaṇā yavāgūḥ* 'salted barley' and *lavaṇaṃ śākam* 'salted leafy vegetable' could not be possible. Instead, the forms will be **lavaṇaḥ yavāgūḥ* and **lavaṇaḥ śākam* where *lavaṇa*, a masculine substantive, is used as an adjective to *yavagū* and *śāka*, masculine and neuter respectively. These wrong forms are prevented because the deletion of the affix *ṬHaK* in *lavaṇa*, X_2, is accomplished by *LUK* and not by *LUP*. It is because of this that X_2 does not have to take the number and gender of X_1

But let us consider an example when such a retention is possible. The word *śirīṣa*, denoting 'a nearby village', is derived by introducing the *taddhita* affix *aṆ* (4.2.69 *adūrabhavaś ca*) after *śirīṣa* 'a tree'. Given the string *śirīṣa* + *aṆ* rule 4.2.81 *varaṇādibhyaś ca* deletes the affix by express mention of the term *LUP*. Now, the derived form *śirīṣa* (X_2) denotes 'a nearby village', and as such it should be masculine singular. But since the deletion of *aṆ* was accomplished by *LUP*, rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane* would allow X_2 to retain the number-gender of X_1. As a consequence, *śirīṣa* (X_2) 'a nearby village', will be used as a masculine plural in accordance with the number and gender of *śirīṣa* (X_1) 'a tree'.

2. The very purpose of formulating this rule has been questioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 98-100), though Patañjali refutes it. It has been argued that this rule is not required, as number and gender can be determined according to the denotata and usage. For example, if it were not for the dominance of usage, *dārāḥ* 'wife' could not be obligatorily masculine plural.

Patañjali states that the purpose of this rule is not to specify the number-gender of a form, but to specify the extension of the number-gender of X_1 to X_2. The idea of the extension of the number-gender of X_1 to X_2 cannot be gotten by any means other than this rule. Thus, *yuktavadbhāva* 'likeness with that with which...' is the purpose of formulating this rule.

1.2.52 विशेषणानां चाजातेः

viśeṣaṇānāṃ cājāteḥ

/*viśeṣaṇānām* 6/3 *ca* Ø *ā* Ø *jāteḥ* 5/1/

(*lupi, yuktavad vyaktivacane* #51)

lubarthasya yāni viśeṣaṇāni teṣām api vyaktivacane bhavataḥ jātiṃ varjayitvā

An adjective, except for a word denoting *jāti* 'class', also retains its original number and gender when there is a *LUP*-deletion of an affix.

EXAMPLES:

pañcālāḥ ramaṇīyāḥ, bahvannāḥ, bahukṣīraghṛtāḥ bahumālyaphalāḥ 'the Pañcāla country is very beautiful, abundant in grain, milk, butter, flowers, and fruits'

godau ramaṇīyau, bahvannau, bahukṣīraghṛtau bahumālyaphalau 'Goda, the village with two ponds, is very beautiful, abundant in grain, milk, butter, flowers, and fruits'

1. We have noted that rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane* extends the number and gender of the denotatum of the source base (*prakṛtyarthaliṅgasaṃkhyā*), or X_1, to the derived base, or X_2. This takes place, of course, with the stipulation that such a base entails the introduction and subsequent deletion of a *taddhita* suffix with the express mention of *LUP*. Our present rule allows for the extension of the number and gender of the source base to the adjectives of the derived base, providing those adjectives do not denote *jāti* 'class'.

It has also been stated in our discussion of the previous rule (1.2.51) that the number and gender of a form is determined by its denotatum. This being the case, the number and gender of a derived base should normally have been determined by the denotatum of that base. Rule 1.2.51 is formulated to selectively block this general provision. That is, it extends the number and gender of the source base to the derived base against the general provision that the number and gender of the derived base should be determined in accordance with its own denotatum.

Rule 1.2.52 *viśeṣaṇānāṃ cājāteḥ* is another exception to the general provision that the number and gender of an adjective is determined on the basis of the noun it modifies. Let us understand this provision in the context of rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad...*, which extends the number and gender of the source base to the derived base. Thus, the general provision validates the proposition that any adjective modifying the derived base must follow that base's number and gender. Rule 1.2.52 departs from this provision only in the single exceptional instance of an adjective denoting *jāti* 'class'. Such an adjective does not follow the number and gender of the derived base.

Let us consider the following example:

(*a*) *pañcālāḥ subhikṣāḥ sampannapānīyāḥ bahumālyaphalāḥ bahukṣīraghṛtāḥ* 'the Pañcāla (country) is generous in giving alms, has water in plenty, has abundant flowers and fruits, and is rich in milk and butter'

The word *pañcāla* is a derived base (X_2), where a *taddhita* affix denoting 'place of residence of the Pañcāla warriors' was introduced after the source base *pañcāla*, X_1. This affix was subsequently deleted by the express mention of the term *LUP*. It is for this reason that the derived base *pañcāla* in sentence (*a*) must be declined in the masculine plural. Note that in this sentence *pañcāla* denotes a place and, as such, according to its denotatum, it should be used in masculine singular. But since rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad...* extends the masculine plural (gender-number) of the source base, X_1, to this derived base, X_2, *pañcāla* is used in the masculine plural.

The following sentence illustrates the provision of rule 1.2.52 *viśeṣaṇanām cājāteḥ*:

(*b*) *pañcālāḥ janapadaḥ subhikṣaḥ sampannapānīyaḥ bahupālyaphalaḥ bahukṣīraghṛtaḥ*
'the country of the Pañcāla warriors is generous in giving alms, has water in plenty, has abundant flowers and fruits and is rich in milk and butter'

Note that according to the specification of rule 1.2.51 just discussed, *pañcāla* must be declined as masculine plural. There is syntactic co-ordination between the words *pañcāla* and *janapada* 'country', in the sense that their locus (*adhikaraṇa*) is the same (*samāna*). That is, they denote one and the same thing: the country of the residence of the Pañcāla warriors. Therefore *pañcala*, like *janapada*, should be declined in the masculine singular. But rule 1.2.51 would not permit this. The word *janapada* cannot be put in the masculine plural because that would be contrary to its own denotatum, a country. As a result, we have *pañcāla* in the plural and *janapada* in the singular.

What about adjectives such as *subhikṣa* 'generous in giving alms', *sampannapānīya* 'plentiful in water', *bahumālyaphala* 'abundant in flowers and fruits', and *bahukṣīraghṛta* 'rich in milk and butter'? How should they be declined? If one follows the general practice of assigning the number and gender to an adjective (*viśeṣaṇa*) according to its qualificand (*viśeṣya*), one would get a sentence such as (*a*) where the adjectives follow the number and gender of *pañcāla*. The problem, however, is faced in sentence (*b*) where both *pañcāla* and *janapada* are coterminus, but where they follow a different number and gender. The question is: should one accept the number and gender of these adjectives as similar to the number and gender of *pañcāla*, or should one accept the number and gender of *janapada?* Rule 1.2.52 resolves this conflict by stating that when the adjectives qualify *jāti* they do not retain the number and gender of their qualificand, which

is retaining the number and gender of its source base. The *pañcāla* in sentence *(a)* retains the number and gender of its original base, and the adjectives are not qualifying *jāti* since there is no mention of *janapada* 'country'. It is in view of this that the adjectives take the number and gender of their denotatum *pañcāla* 'a particular country'. In sentence *(b)*, however, the word *janapada* denoting *jāti* is used, and the adjectives also modify it, so they cannot retain the number and gender of *pañcāla*. Consequently, they are declined in accordance with the masculine singular gender and number of *janapada* denoting *jāti*.

2. A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 102-3) whether *cājāteḥ* of the rule should be interpreted as *ca* + *ajāteḥ* or as *ca* + *ājāteḥ*. The first version will give the paraphrase *viśeṣaṇānāṃ ca ajāteḥ*, which, in the context of rule 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*, would mean 'an adjective, when not qualifying a *jāti* word used explicitly, retains the original number and gender....' The *Mahābhāṣya* accepts the second version. Accordingly, the adjectives in the second sentence, contrary to their use in the first, are all used in masculine singular because the word *janapada* is explicitly used there.

1.2.53 **तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात्**

tad aśiṣyaṃ saṃjñāpramāṇatvāt
/*tat* 1/1 *aśiṣyam* 1/1 *saṃjñāpramāṇatvāt* 5/1/
yuktavadbhāvalakṣaṇaṃ saṃjñāpramāṇatvān na vaktavyam
It (the retention of the original number and gender of a word) ought not to be taught (*aśiṣya*), since it is dependent upon usage.

EXAMPLES:

āpaḥ 'water'
dārāḥ 'wife'
gṛhāḥ 'house'
sikatāḥ 'sand'
varṣāḥ 'rain'

1. This rule heads the section traditionally referred to as the *aśiṣya* 'that which ought not to be taught'. The rule uses *yad* 'that', a variable whose antecedent in this context is *yuktavad vyaktivacane* 'retention of the number and gender of the original base...'. Some also, by inference, interpret the antecedent as number and gender in general. Pāṇini maintains that *yuktavadbhāva* ought not to be taught, since number and gender of the words in question would be determined by the usage itself. The same reasoning is worded in the form of *saṃjñāpramaṇatvāt* 'because the name (*saṃjñā*) itself is the standard (*pramāṇa*)'.

Let us recall the word *pañcālāḥ* 'the country of the Pañcāla warriors' to illustrate this point. At the time when this word was first used to denote 'the country of the Pañcāla warriors', there may have been a connection

between the country and the resident warriors named Pañcāla. But once the usage became standard there was no need to associate the word with the fact that Pañcāla warriors live in that place. This may be true or false. That is, the warriors may have left the country, yet the country could have retained the same name afterwards. This being the case, the number and gender of *pañcāla* should not be determined on the basis of the fact that this word is a derivative meaning *janapada*. Instead, its number and gender should be determined by the way it is used or by what it denotes.

Pāṇini elaborates this further by rule 1.2.55 *yoga pramāṇe ca tad abhāve' darśanaṃ syāt*. It is argued that if assigning a term to an item is dependent upon that item's association with *nivāsa* 'place of residence', the assigned term should no longer be used when the particular association disappears. Both of these rules are perhaps formulated to refute the idea of deriving the word *pañcāla* by the introduction and deletion of *aṆ* to denote 'residence of...'. Furthermore, they aim to reject the retention of the original number and gender as subjects deserving to be taught. By this Pāṇini means that, just as the number and gender of *dārāḥ* 'masculine plural meaning wife', *āpaḥ* 'feminine plural meaning water', *sikatāḥ* 'feminine plural meaning sand', and *varṣāḥ* 'feminine plural meaning rain' are determined by the usage, so the number and gender of a derived base such as *pañcāla* should be determined in the same way. Note in connection with the examples given above that even a single entity or part thereof must be used in plural.

2. A difficulty may be raised concerning *saṃjñāpramāṇa* of this rule. Since a name (*saṃjñā*) is itself dependent upon usage, how could it serve as the standard (*pramāṇa*) for usage? The difficulty can thus be recognized as one of 'mutual dependency' (*anyonyāśrayatva*). It is suggested in this connection that a *saṃjñā* is to be used first so that it could denote the *saṃjñin* (name-bearer). Once the name-bearer has been denoted, the *saṃjñā* becomes part of the usage. The *saṃjñā*, therefore, can still serve as *pramāṇa*. Consider an example from the real outside world. When Devadatta (*Mbh.* I:127), 'a lump of flesh', is born, his parents sit in the privacy of their home and name him Devadatta. This name, in turn, signifies that particular lump of flesh, or the son of that particular couple. Later, this name becomes part of the usage.

1.2.54 लुब्योगाप्रख्यानात

lub yogāprakhyānāt

/*lup* 1/1 *yogāprakhyānāt* 5/1/

(*aśiṣyam* # 53)

lub apy aśiṣyaḥ, yo' yam' janapade lup', 'varaṇādibhyaś ca' iti lub ucyate, ayaṃ na vaktavyaḥ yogāprakhyānāt

Since there is no necessary connection between the denotation of an affix and a particular place of residence, *LUP* need not be taught either.

1. This rule refutes the desirability of teaching the deletion of affixes denoting residence (*nivāsa*), etc. by means of *LUP*, when the meaning is *janapada* (4.2.81 *janapade lup*). The word *yoga* here means 'association or connection'. The implication is that since a particular country can still be called *pañcāla*, even when the *pañcāla* warriors have left, there is no necessary connection between the meaning of *pañcāla* 'country of Pañcāla warriors' and the affixes such as *aṆ* meaning 'place of residence (*nivāsa*). In this case, there can be no purpose to be served in teaching the deletion of those affixes by *LUP*.

The word *aprākhyānāt* means 'because of non-availability'. That is the non-availability of the meaning of the affix in the meaning of the derived word. To illustrate this a comparison is invoked. The word *daṇḍin* refers to an ascetic who carries a staff. It is a practice in the outside world to call *daṇḍin* only those ascetics who carry a staff. In this sense, then, there is a necessary connection between the meaning of the word *daṇḍin* and the affix which was introduced to derive it. But such a connection does not exist between the meaning of the word *pañcāla* and the affix which was introduced to derive it. It is in this respect that instruction about the deletion of this affix by *LUP* also becomes undesirable.

1.2.55 **योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्**

yogapramāṇe ca tad abhāve' darśanaṃ syāt

/*yogapramāṇe* 7/1 *ca* Ø *tadabhāve* 7/1 *adarśanam* 1/1 *syāt* (*tiṄ*)/

(*aśiṣyam* # 53)

yadi pañcālādi śabdo yogasya pramāṇaṃ syāt tatas tadabhāve' darśanaṃ syāt

If assigning a term to an item is dependent upon that item's association with *nivāsa* 'place of residence', the assigned term should no longer be used when the particular association disappears.

1. If indeed a word has some necessary connection with what it denotes, it should cease to denote that thing when the connection is removed. That is, if words such as *pañcāla* denote a particular part of the country simply because that part was inhabited by the Pañcāla warriors, the word *pañcāla* should no longer be used to denote that part of the country after, for one reason or another, the warriors cease to inhabit that area. However, the fact is that the word *pañcāla* is used to denote the country even after the Pañcāla warriors have left. This proves that there is no necessary connection between a word and its denotatum. A word may be accepted as being used in the sense of what it denotes only conventionally.

1.2.56 **प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात्**

pradhānapratyayārthavacanam arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt

/*pradhānapratyayārthavacanam* 1/1 *arthasya* 6/1 *anyapramāṇatvāt* 5/1/

(aśiṣyam # 53)
pradhānaṃ samāse kiñcit padam, pratyayaḥ tavyad-ādiḥ tābhyām arthā vacanam anena prakāreṇa bhavatīti pūrvācāryaiḥ paribhāṣitam; tat pāṇinir ācāryaḥ pratyācaṣṭe: aśiṣyam etat, arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt
pratyācaṣṭe: aśiṣyam etat, arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt
'A particular constituent is the principal constituent, or a particular meaning is the meaning of a given affix' ought not to be taught either, since *artha* 'meaning' is dependent upon *loka* 'usage'.

1. This rule questions the desirability of teaching the meaning. For example, of compounds (*samāsa*) on the basis of the principal (*pradhāna*) or secondary (*gauṇa*) nature of their constituents. It also questions the desirability of teaching the meaning of the base and the affixes as expressed by bases. The reason again is given as usage, which alone can determine the meaning.

Given the compound *rājapuruṣaḥ* 'king's man', one understands that *puruṣa* 'man' is the principal constituent and *rājan* is secondary. To teach the meaning of a compound such as this by stating that the meaning of the principal constituent is principal would be futile. When asked *rājapuruṣam ānaya* 'bring the king's man', naturally one will not bring the king or a man, but will bring a man associated with the king. This, in turn, proves the statement that one need not be taught the meaning of the compound on the basis of the principal or secondary status of its constituents.

To take another example: *aupagavaḥ* is derived by introducing affix *aṆ* after *upagu* + *Ṅas*. The affix means 'offspring' and it is said that in *aupagavaḥ* both the meaning of the base *upagu* as well as the meaning of affix *aṆ* is expressed by the base *aupagava*. If in view of this one expects that the grammar should teach the meaning of *aupagava* in terms of the meaning of the base and the affix, that again will be undesirable. Obviously, when asked *aupagavam ānaya* 'bring Aupagava', one would not bring Upagu or any other offspring. One would, even if one did not study grammar, bring only the male offspring of Upagu. This proves that the meaning of bases, simple or complex, is based on usage. To teach them by specifying the meanings of their constituency will be undesirable.

1.2.57 कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम्
kālopasarjane ca tulyam
/kālopasarjane 1/2 *ca* Ø *tulyam* 1/1/
(aśiṣyam # 53)
kālopasarjane cāśiṣye arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt
'Concept of time' (*kāla*) and 'secondary constituent of a compound' (*upasarjana*) ought not to be taught for similar reasons.

1. This rule questions the desirability of teaching the notions of *upasarjana*

'secondary' or *kāla* 'aspects of time', for reasons similar to those given in the preceding rules. Let us consider the time span known as *adyatana* 'pertaining to today' which is variously defined. Some say that the time between the last quarter of a night and the first quarter of the following night should be known as *adyatana*. Others define it as the time between the midnight of one night and the midnight of the following night. Actually, it is the usage of *adyatana* which determines exactly what it means (See *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I: 364: *tad evam sakalo divasaḥ pūrvasyāś ca rātreḥ paścimo yāmaḥ, āgāminyāś ca prathamo yama ityeṣo' dyatanakāla ityuktaṃ bhavati...kṛtsno divasa ubhayataś cārddharātram...*). As the notions of 'today' and 'tomorrow' are known even to an ordinary person, so are known the notions of *upasarjana* 'secondary' and *pradhāna* 'principal'. After all, people habitually use such expressions as 'I am secondary (*upasarjana*) in the village', 'I am principal (*pradhāna*) in the house', and so on.

2. The word *tulyam* 'equally, the same' is used here to apply to the context of this rule the reasoning of the previous rule: *arthasya anyapramāṇatvāt* 'because meaning is dependent on something else (usage)'. (See *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I: 363 *tasmāt tulyagrahaṇasāmarthyāt pūrvako hetur atrānuvartate. tena tulyaśabdo hetvanukarṣaṇārtho bhavatīti.* 'Therefore on the strength of the use of the word *tulya*, the cause from the earlier rule is carried. Thus, the word *tulya* then becomes used for the purpose of bringing the *hetu* 'cause'.)

A question is raised as to why Pāṇini did not include *kālopasarjane* of this rule in the preceding rule. If he had done so, the present rule would not have been needed. Nor would he have needed to say *tulyam*. *Kāśikā* thinks that Pāṇini split these rules for the purpose of explication or illustration. (I: 364: *pūrvasūtra eva kālopasarjanagrahaṇaṃ kasmān na kriyate, kimartho yogavibhāgaḥ? pradarśanārthaḥ.*)

1.2.58 **जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम्**

jātyākhyāyām ekasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām

/jātyākhyāyām 7/1 *ekasmin* 7/1 *bahuvacanam* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

jātyākhyāyām ekasminn arte bahuvacanam anyatarasyāṃ bhavati

Plural optionally can be used for singular when *jāti* 'class' is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

sampanno yavaḥ 'rich barley'
sampannā yavāḥ 'rich barley (pl.)'
sampanno vrīhiḥ 'rich paddy'
sampannā vrīhayaḥ 'rich paddies'
pūrvavayā brāhmaṇaḥ pratyuttheyaḥ 'let the *brāhmaṇa* older in age stand up'
pūrvavayaso brāhmaṇāḥ pratyuttheyāḥ 'let the *brāhmaṇa* (pl.) older in age stand up'

1. This rule provides optional plural for the singular of words denoting *jāti*. The word *jāti* is explained as denoting 'a thing which is one (*eka*) though it resides in many'. Consider, for example, *gotva* 'cowness', which is *jāti* and which has the *dravya* 'concrete object' known as 'cow' (*go*) as its locus. As opposed to this consider *devadatta*, which is a name. It does not have more than one locus, and therefore cannot have optional plural according to the provisions of this rule. (See *Nyāsa* ad *Kaś.* I: 366: *anekavyktyādhārā hi jātiḥ. tato na devadattatvaṃ nāma jātir astīti na bhavaty atra bahuvadbhāvaḥ:* 'jāti is something which resides in many individual loci. The name Devadatta does not form a *jāti*, hence there is no extension of optional plural in place of its singular.')

It is said that *jāti* could not have number (*saṃkhyā*) since by nature it has *vyakti* 'individual things' as locus. And as such, only the individuals would have number. Thus, the question of introducing plural (*bahuvacana*) does not arise. Grammarians do not find this a problem, because in this context they take number as referring to the number which distinguishes one manifestation of *jāti* from the other. (*Nyāsa* ad *Kaś.* I: 364: *nanu ca jāteḥ saṃkhyā na vidyate? tasyāḥ dravyadharmatvāt...tathāpi 'bhedakā guṇāḥ' ity asmad darśane bhedamātrā yā saṃkhyā sā vidyata evety adoṣaḥ.)* Besides, this rule does not introduce *bahuvacana* 'plural' as one would introduce it, for instance, after *brāhmaṇa* to denote many such men. Instead, this rule extends the plural status to the form which is basically singular. If the plural were to be introduced as it would be to pluralize *brāhmaṇa*, let us say by means of *Jas* 'nominative plural', then the adjective of the *jāti* would also get the plural. This would result in expressions such as *pañcālaḥ janapadāḥ subhikṣāḥ bahumālyaphalāḥ bahukṣīraghṛtāḥ...* 'the country of the Pañcāla warriors is generous in giving alms, is abundant in fruits and flowers, is very rich in milk and butter...'. This rule therefore implies the non-technical meaning of *bahuvacana* 'to speak of many in the sense of one'. It is in this way that the single *jāti* can be spoken of as many. (See *Nyāsa* ad *Kaś.* I: 365 for details.)

Note that *jāti* is inherently singular, and hence this singular becomes given or available (*prāpta*). Since this *prāpta* is optionally extended the status of plural, this option (*vibhāṣā*) is called *prāptavibhāṣā* 'option to what is already provided for'. This transfer of plural to the meaning of a singular is called in traditional circles *arthabahutvādeśa*. Our next rule also entails an instance of the transfer of plural to the meaning of a singular or dual form of *asmad* 'I'.

1.2.59 **अस्मदो द्वयोश्च**

asmado dvayoś ca

lasmadaḥ 6/1 *dvayoḥ* 7/2 *ca* 0/

(ekasmin bahuvacanam anyatarasyām # 58)

asmado yo' rthas tasyaikatve dvitve ca bahuvacanam anyatarasyāṃ bhavati
Plural optionally can be used for a singular or dual denotatum of *asmad* 'I'.

EXAMPLES:

ahaṃ bravīmi 'I speak'
āvāṃ brūvaḥ 'we two speak'
vayaṃ brūmaḥ 'we speak'

1.2.60 फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे
phalgunīproṣṭhapadānāṃ ca nakṣatre
/phalgunīproṣṭhapadānām 6/3 *ca* Ø *nakṣatre* 7/1/
phalgunyor dvayoḥ proṣṭhapadayoś ca dvayor nakṣatrayor bahuvacanam anyatarasyāṃ bhavati
Plural optionally can be used for denoting the dual of the constellations *phalgunī* and *proṣṭhapadā*.

EXAMPLES:

kadā pūrve phalgunyau, kadā pūrvāḥ phalgunyaḥ 'When are the Pūrvā and Uttarā-Phalgunī constellations?'
kadā pūrve proṣṭhapade, kadā pūrvāḥ proṣṭhapadāḥ 'When are the Pūrvā and Uttarā Proṣṭhapadā constellations?'

1. The word *nakṣatra* is used in this rule to make sure that only the constellation meaning is comprehended. Otherwise, the word *phalgunī* could also refer to 'a girl born in the constellation of Phalguṇī'. The *ca* is used in the rule to assimilate into its meaning the fact that *phalgunī* and *proṣṭhapadā* are terms each referring to two constellations: *pūrvā phalgunī/ uttarā phalgunī* and *pūrvā proṣṭhapadā / uttarā proṣṭhapadā*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 110) rejects this rule by saying that even without this rule *bahuvacana* can be gotten. Since the words *phalgunī* and *proṣṭhapadā* refer to two constellations each, and also since these words are used to denote the time when the moon is proximate to them, these words could individually mean three things: two constellations and the moon, because of her proximity to or conjunction with the constellations. When the constellations and not the moon are to be expressed, dual can be used. When both the constellations and the moon are meant, plural can be used.

1.2.61 छन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम्
chandasi punarvasvor ekavacanam
/chandasi 7/1 *punarvasvoḥ* 6/1 *ekavacanam* 1/1/
(*anyatarasyām* # 58)
punarvasvoś chandasi viṣaye ekavacanam anyatarasyāṃ bhavati
Singular can be used for denoting the dual of *punarvasu* in Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

punarvasur nakṣatram aditir devatā 'Punarvasu are constellations, Aditi is the deity'
punarvasū nakṣatram aditir devatā 'Punarvasu are the constellations, Aditi is the deity'

1.2.62 **विशाखयोश्च**
viśākhayoś ca
/*viśākhayoḥ* 6/2 *ca* Ø
(*chandasi* # 61, *anyatarasyām* # 58)
dvivacane prāpte chandasi viṣaye viśākhayor ekavacanam anyatarasyām bhavati
In Vedic, singular optionally can be used to denote the dual of *viśākhā* also.

EXAMPLES:

viśākham nakṣatram indrāgnī devatā 'Viśākhā are constellations, Indra and Agni are the deities'
viśākhe nakṣatram indrāgnī devatā 'Viśākhā are the constellations, Indra and Agni are the deities'

1.2.63 **तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम्**
tiṣyapunarvasvor nakṣatradvandve bahuvacanasya dvivacanaṃ nityam
/*tiṣyapunarvasvoḥ* 6/2 *nakṣatradvandve* 7/1 *bahuvacanasya* 6/1 *dvivacanam* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1
tiṣyapunarvasvor nakṣatraviṣaye dvandve bahuvacanaprasaṅge nityaṃ dvivacanaṃ bhavati
In a *dvandva* (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*) compound of *tiṣya* and *punarvasu* which denotes *nakṣatra*, *dvivacana* 'dual' obligatorily is used for *bahuvacana* 'plural'.

EXAMPLES:

uditau tiṣyapunarvasū dṛśyete 'the Tiṣya and Punarvasu constellations are seen rising'

1. Note that *tiṣya* is one constellation but *punarvasu* are two. A *dvandva* compound of these three would have automatically become plural. This rule obligatorily blocks the plural in favour of a dual.

The word *nakṣatra* is used here again to indicate that the meaning of *tiṣya* and *punarvasu* is not the meaning one would find in expressions such as: *punarvasū māṇavakau* 'the two boys born in the constellation of Punarvasu'. A question is further raised as to why Pāṇini preferred to use the word *nakṣatra* explicitly, instead of bringing it by means of *anuvṛtti*. *Kāśikā* (I: 371)

states that the reason for this was to enable the synonyms of *tiṣya* and *punarvasu* to be covered. It offers as an example *siddhyapunarvasū,* parallel to *tiṣyapunarvasū,* where *siddhya* is a synonym of *tiṣya.* The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 111) argues that these words could mean three things: (1) constellation; (2) persons born at the time when the moon was in conjunction with these constellations; and (3) the time of the moon's conjunction with these constellations. The word *nakṣatra* in the earlier rules is intended to give the meaning of the time of the moon's conjunction with these constellations. But in this rule, what is intended as the meaning is the *nakṣatra* itself. It is to indicate this that Pāṇini makes explicit use of the word *nakṣatra.*

The word *dvandva* is also important for this rule, because *tiṣyapunarvasavaḥ* is used as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the paraphrase *yas tiṣyas tau punarvasū yeṣāṃ ta ime tiṣyapunarvasavaḥ.* The expression *unmugdhā tiṣyapunarvasavaḥ* refers to those people for whom the meaning of *tiṣya,* whatever it is, is the same as the meaning of *punarvasu.* That is, those people are confused (*unmugdha*) and cannot discriminate between *tiṣya* and *punarvasu.*

1.2.64 **सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ**

sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau
/sarūpāṇāṃ 6/3 *ekaśeṣaḥ* 1/1 *ekavibhaktau* 7/1/
sarūpāṇāṃ śabdānām ekavibhaktau parata ekaśeṣo bhavati
Only one remains from among those which have the same form and which occur before the same *vibhakti* 'nominal ending'.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaś ca vṛkṣaś ca = *vṛkṣau* 'two trees'
vṛkṣaś ca vṛkṣaś ca vṛkṣaś ca = *vṛkṣāḥ* 'trees'

1. This rule orders the retention of only one form from among many similar ones when they occur before a similar inflectional ending. Thus, given the string *vṛkṣa* + *sU* + *vṛkṣa* + *sU,* + *vṛkṣa* + *sU,* where three similar forms of *vṛkṣa* are occurring before the same *sU,* only one is retained and the rest are dropped. As a result, we get *vṛkṣa* + *Jas* = *vṛkṣāḥ.* Note that the singular ending *sU* will no longer be valid. It must be replaced by the plural as the signification is 'many'. The same process can be seen to operate in the retention of one in deriving *vṛkṣau* nominative dual, from *vṛkṣa* + *sU* + *vṛkṣa* + *sU* = *vṛkṣa* + *auT* = *vṛkṣau.*

Commentators explain that since each unit of meaning requires a word for its signification, no single word can express more than one unit of meaning. This being the case, more than one unit of meaning can only be expressed by more than one word. It is to facilitate the expression of more than one unit of meaning by a single word that *ekaśeṣa* is employed. It is then possible for three units of meaning of *vṛkṣa* to be expressed by *vṛkṣāḥ*

where the base is only one. (See *Kāś.* I: 373: *pratyartham śabdaniveśān naikenānekasyābhidhānam. tatrānekārthābhidhāne' nekaśabdatvaṃ prāptam, tasmād ekaśeṣaḥ.)*

The word *sarūpa* refers to similarity of form. If two or more items are not similar in form, then *ekaśeṣa* will not be allowed. It is for this reason that we cannot retain only one of the items in *plakṣa* + *sU* + *nyagrodha* + *sU;* we must use them instead as part of a *dvandva* compound in dual: *plakṣanyagrodhau* 'the *plakṣa* and the *nyagrodha* trees'. The word *rūpa* also attests to the fact that similarity of meaning is not a condition for *ekaśeṣa.* Similar forms with dissimilar meanings, on the other hand, can be allowed as part of *ekaśeṣa.* One can therefore retain just one *akṣa* 'dice, axle, sensory organ, etc.'even though the many used do not mean the same thing. The word *eka* 'one' of *ekaśeṣa* is used to make sure that only one form is retained. The *śeṣa* is used to indicate that *ekaśeṣa* is not *ādeśa* 'replacement' in place of the similar forms. This means that the genitive of *sarūpāṇām* has to be interpreted not as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī,* or genitive denoting 'in place of' (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā).* It should rather be interpreted as the genitive of specification (*nirdhāraṇa*), thereby giving the meaning 'one from among many which are similar in form'.

An interpretation of genitive as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* will create all kinds of problems, especially with reference to accentuation (see *Kāśikā, Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī* (I: 378-79) for details). Finally, the requirement of similar inflectional ending (*ekavibhakti*) is part of the rule to block *ekaśeṣa* in cases where the forms may be similar but the endings differ. Consider, for example, *brāhmaṇābhyām ca kṛtam* 'done by two *brāhmaṇas*' and *brāhmaṇābhyām ca dehi* 'give to the two *brāhmaṇas*', where the forms are similar but the endings are different. The fact that the two different endings result in the same form is not crucial. The first ending is instrumental dual, as opposed to the second, which is dative dual. Since the endings are different, *ekaśeṣa* cannot be permitted.

1.2.65 **वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः**

vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ

/*vṛddhaḥ* 1/1 *yūnā* 3/1 *tallakṣaṇaḥ* 1/1 *cet* 0 *eva* 0 *viśeṣaḥ* 1/1/

(*śeṣaḥ* # 64)

vṛddhayūnoḥ sahavacane vṛddhaḥ śiṣyate tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ

Only that which ends in an affix denoting *vṛddha* '*gotra* or grandsons, and so on,' remains when it is used with a word ending in an affix denoting *yuvan* 'younger descendant' and the distinction is caused only by the affixes.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyaś ca gārgyāyaṇaś ca = *gārgyau* 'grandson and great-grandson

of Garga'
vātsyaś ca vātsyāyanaś ca = *vātsyau* 'grandson and great-grandson of Vatsa'

1. This rule allows *ekaśeṣa* in instances where a word denoting a *gotra* descendant (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram)* is used with another word denoting a young *(yuvan) gotra* descendant (4.1.163 *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā)* provided the difference between those two is characterized by the affixes alone. Consider *gārgya* + *sU* + *gārgyāyaṇa* + *sU* where *gārgya* denotes the offspring (*gotra* descendant) of Garga and *gārgyāyaṇa* denotes the young male *gotra* descendant of Garga, such that the only difference between *gārgya* and *gārgyāyaṇa* is that caused by the affixes *aÑ* (in *gārgya*) and *pha* (in *gārgyāyaṇa*). It is in this sense that we call the differences between these forms as characterized by the affixes. A sequence such as *gārgya* + *sU* + *vātsyāyana* + *sU* cannot be allowed to go through *ekaśeṣa*, since the difference between them is not only characterized by the affixes but also by their own forms.

The word *tat* of *tallakṣaṇa* refers to *vṛddho yūnā* 'a *vṛddha* being used with a *yuvan'* and *lakṣaṇa* itself denotes *nimitta* 'cause'. Read with *cet* 'if' and *viśeṣa* 'difference' this gives us the meaning: if the difference is caused by the affixes *vṛddha* and *yuvan* alone.

1.2.66 स्त्री पुंवच्च

strī puṃvac ca
/strī 1/1 *puṃvat* Ø *ca* Ø/
(vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ # 65)
strī vṛddhā yūnā sahavacane śiṣyate tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣo bhavati
Only the feminine form which ends in a *gotra* affix remains when it is used with a word ending in an affix denoting *yuvan*, provided the difference in them is caused only by these affixes. In addition, the feminine form is changed into masculine.

EXAMPLES:

gārgī ca gārgyāyaṇaś ca = *gārgyau* 'grand-daughter and great-grandson of Garga'
vatsī ca vātsyāyanaś ca = *vātsyau* 'grand-daughter and great-grandson of Vatsa'
dākṣī ca dākṣāyaṇaś ca = *dākṣyau* 'grand-daughter and great-grandson of Dakṣa'

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ* (1.2.65). Consequently, *strī* 'feminine' is modified by *vṛddhā*. But what does the word *strī* mean? There could be three possibilities:
(*a*) *strī* refers to the word-form *strī* 'woman',

(*b*) *strī* refers to the meaning of the word-form *strī*, and

(*c*) *strī* refers to affixes introduced in the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām*.

Commentators explain that interpretations (*a*) and (*c*) are problematic. For example, if *strī* refers to the word-form *strī*, then given the string *gārgyaś ca gārgyāyaṇaś ca*, the *ekaśeṣa* will not be *gargāḥ*. This is because rule 2.4.64 *yaññoś ca* will not be able to delete affix *yaÑ*, which carries the *anuvṛtti* of *astriyām* 'when not *strī*' from 2.4.62 *tadrājasya*...

1.2.67 पुमान्स्त्रिया

pumān striyā

/*pumān* 1/1 *striyā* 3/1/

(*tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ* # 65)

striyā sahavacane pumān śiṣyate; strī nivartate: strīpuṃsalakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣo bhavati

Only the masculine form remains when it is used with the feminine and the distinction is due only to masculine and feminine.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇaś ca brāhmaṇī ca = *brāhmaṇau* 'the *brāhmaṇa* and his wife'

kukkuṭaś ca kukkuṭī ca = *kukkuṭau* 'the rooster and the hen'

1. Note that *tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ* refers to the differences caused by gender only when like forms are being used. It is for this reason that *brāhmaṇa* and *brāhmaṇī* of *brāhmaṇaś ca brāhmaṇī ca* can yield *brāhmaṇau*. As opposed to this, *kukkuṭaś ca mayurī ca* cannot yield **kukkuṭamayūryau* 'chicken and pea-hen' for the reason that they differ in the word-form.

1.2.68 भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम्

bhrātṛputrau svasṛduhitṛbhyām

/*bhrātṛputrau* 1/2 *svasṛduhitṛbhyām* 3/1/

(*śeṣaḥ* # 64)

yathāsaṃkhyaṃ bhrātṛputraśabdau śiṣyete sahavacane svasṛduhitṛbhyām

Only *bhrātṛ* 'brother' and *putra* 'son' remain when they are used with *svasṛ* 'sister' and *duhitṛ* 'daughter' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

bhrātā ca svasā ca = *bhrātarau* 'brother and sister'

putraś ca duhitā ca = *putrau* 'son and daughter'

1. This rule does not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ*, as the items enumerated under this rule have formal differences. This may even be considered as the reason for the formulation of this rule; for, in its absence, no rule could account for the cited examples.

1.2.69 **नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम्**

napuṃsakam anapuṃsakenaikavac cāsyānyatarasyām
/napuṃsakam 1/1 *anapuṃsakena* 3/1 *ekavat* Ø *ca* Ø *asya* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ* # 65, *śeṣaḥ* # 64)
napuṃsakān anapuṃsakamātrakṛte viśeṣe' napuṃsakena sahavacane napuṃsakaṃ śiṣyate, ekavac ca asya kāryaṃ bhavati anyatarasyām
That which denotes neuter remains when it is used with that which denotes non-neuter, provided the difference is due only to these items. In addition, the neuter is treated optionally as denoting singular.

EXAMPLES:

śuklaś ca kambalaḥ śuklā ca bṛhatikā śuklaṃ ca vastram = *śuklam* / *śuklāni*
'the white blanket, upper garment, and garment'

1. This rule provides for the retention of the neuter when it is used with a non-neuter, providing that both are distinguished on the basis of neuter and non-neuter qualities alone. Furthermore, the neuter retained is optionally used in singular. Consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *ālasyaḥ sevyamānaḥ vivarddhate* 'laziness, if indulged, increases'
(*b*) *maithunaṃ sevyamānaṃ vivarddhate* 'sensuality, if indulged, increases'
(*c*) *nidrā sevyamānā vivarddhate* 'sleepiness, if indulged, increases'

Note that *sevyamāna* is used in masculine, neuter and feminine respectively. When one wishes to combine these three sentences into one, the result will be:

(*d*) *ālasyo maithunaṃ nidrā sevyamānaṃ vivarddhate* 'laziness, sensuality, and sleepiness, if indulged, increase'

The word *sevyamāna* is used here in (*d*) in neuter singular, although in the individual contexts of *ālasya* and *nidrā* it is construed in masculine and feminine respectively. Rule 1.2.69 makes it possible for only *sevyamānam*, the neuter, to be retained. It can also be used, optionally, in singular. That is, given this context, *sevyamāna* could also be used in plural, i.e., *sevyamānāni*. The same is true of the *śukla* 'white' of the example *śuklaś ca kambalaḥ, śuklā ca bṛhatikā, śuklaṃ ca vastram*' where *śuklaś ca śuklā ca śuklaṃ ca* would yield *śuklam* or *śuklāni*. Observe that a neuter is used here with a non-neuter as dictated by the condition of *anapuṃsakena*, for, in its absence, *śuklaṃ ca śuklaṃ ca śuklaṃ ca* could not obligatorily yield *śuklāni*.

2. The word *asya* 'of this' is used here to make sure that *ekavat* 'onelike, singular' is not carried any further. Without this provision, *ekavat* would be carried to subsequent rules along with *anyatarasyām*, as required by association (*sāhacarya*). Consequently, in subsequent rules, whatever is retained would get the assignment of the singular number. It may be argued that if Pāṇini did not want *ekavat* to apply to subsequent rules, the

lack of *svarita* on *ekavat* would have accomplished that purpose. Why, then, did he use *asya*? The answer is probably that he wished to avoid confusion.

Commentators also indicate that *anyatarasyām*, because of its close proximity *(ānantarya)*, should be constructed only with *ekavat* and not with *ekaśeṣa* 'retention of one'. In other words, what is made optional here is not the process of retaining one item but the assignment of number (*vacana*). (For details, see *Nyāsa* and *Kāś.* I: 385.)

1.2.70 **पिता मात्रा**

pitā mātrā

/*pitā* 1/1 *mātrā* 3/1/

(*anyatarasyām* 69, *śeṣaḥ* # 64)

mātrā sahavacane pitṛ-śabdaḥ śiṣyate anyatarasyām

Optionally, *pitā* 'father' is retained when used with *mātā* 'mother'.

EXAMPLES:

mātā ca pitā ca = *pitarau* / *mātāpitarau* 'parents; mother and father'

1.2.71 **श्वशुरः श्वश्र्वा**

śvaśuraḥ śvaśrvā

/*śvaśuraḥ* 1/1 *śvaśrvā* 3/1/

(*anyatarasyām* # 69, *śeṣaḥ* # 64)

śvaśrvā sahavacane śvaśuraḥ śiṣyate anyatarasyām

Optionally, *śvaśura* 'father-in-law' is retained when used with *śvaśrū* 'mother-in-law'.

EXAMPLES:

śvaśuraś ca śvaśrūś ca = *śvaśurau* 'father-in-law and mother-in law'
śvaśrūśvaśurau 'in-laws'

1.2.72 **त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम्**

tyadādīni sarvair nityam

/*tyadādīni* 1/3 *sarvaiḥ* 3/3 *nityam* 1/1/

(*śeṣaḥ* # 64)

tyadādīni śabdarūpāṇi sarvaiḥ sahavacane nityam śiṣyamte tyadādibhir anyaiś ca

Items enumerated in the list headed by *tyad* obligatorily are retained when used with any other items.

EXAMPLES:

sa ca devadattaś ca = *tau* 'he and Devadatta; they'
yaś ca devadattaś ca = *yau* 'he and Devadatta who...; those two who...'

1. Note that *tyadādi* refers to a list of items headed by *tyad* and contained

within the larger set headed by *sarva* (1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*). The *sarva* 'all' here refers to all other items that may be in use with *tyad*, etc. For example, *sa ca devadattaś ca* = *tau* 'he and Devadatta = they'. Pāṇini anticipates formal differences in items undergoing *ekaśeṣa* and referred to here by *tyad*, etc., and *sarva*. This is also attested by the fact that *sarūpāṇām* is not carried in this rule from 1.2.64.

The word *nityam* 'obligatorily' is used here to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' from rule 1.2.69 *napuṃsakam...* It is also to be noted that when an item belonging to the list headed by *tyad* is to be used with another such item, the one used subsequent in order is retained in dual. Thus *sa ca yaś ca* = *yau* 'he and he who = those (two) who'.

1.2.73 **ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री**

grāmyapaśusaṅghasv ataruṇeṣu strī
/grāmyapaśusaṅgheṣu 7/3 *ataruṇeṣu* 7/3 *strī* 1/1/
(śeṣaḥ # 64)
grāmyāṇāṃ paśūnāṃ saṅghāḥ = grāmyapaśusaṅghāḥ; eteṣv ataruṇeṣu saha-vivakṣāyāṃ strī śiṣyate
That which denotes feminine is retained when items denoting non-young groups of domesticated animals are used together.

EXAMPLES:

gāva imāḥ 'these cows and bulls'
ajā imāḥ 'these goats and she-goats'

1. Rule 1.2.67 *pumān striyā* provides for the retention of the masculine form when both masculine and feminine are used. This rule allows a qualified retention of the feminine.

2. The word *ataruṇa* 'non-young' cannot be interpreted as qualifying the principal constituent *saṃgha* 'group, herd' of *grāmyapaśusaṃgha*, for the idea of *tāruṇya* 'youngness' is incompatible with *saṃgha*. Commentators conclude that *ataruṇa* therefore qualifies the secondary (*gauṇa*) constituent, which is *paśu* 'animal'.

1.3.1 **भूवादयो धातवः**

bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ
/bhūvādayaḥ 1/3 *bhūś ca vaśca = bhūvau (dv.); bhūvau ādī yeṣāṃ te = bhūvādayaḥ (bv.* with internal *dv.); dhātavaḥ* 1/3/
'bhū' ity evam ādayaḥ śabdāḥ kriyāvacanā dhātusaṃjñā bhavanti
Items beginning with the class headed by *bhū* 'to be, become' are termed *dhātu* 'root'.

EXAMPLES:

bhū 'to be, become' as in *bhavati* 'he becomes'

edhA 'to increase, grow, prosper' as in *edhate* 'he prospers'
sparddhA 'to compete, be envious' as in *sparddhate* 'he competes'

1. Commentators generally have explained the word *bhūvādayaḥ* in two ways.

(*a*) Given the compound *bhū-vā-ādī, bhū* and *vā* first are combined to yield a *dvandva* compound *bhūvau* which, in turn, is combined with *ādī* to yield a *bahuvrīhi* compound *bhūvādayaḥ*. The analyzed form of this *bahuvrīhi* compound with its internal *dvandva* would be: *bhūśca vaśca = bhūvau; bhūvau ādī yeṣāṃ te bhūvādayaḥ*. Commentators add, however, that the word *ādī* 'and so on' has to be interpreted, in the case of *bhū,* as signifying *vyavasthā* 'a definite arrangement, namely the arrangement of roots in classes', and, in case of *vā,* as signifying *prakāra* 'type'. This will facilitate the interpretation of *bhūvādayaḥ* as 'items beginning with *bhū* and those which are similar to *vā* 'to move', inform'. The *vyavasthā* interpretation will rule out the designation of the term *dhātu* to *bhū* 'earth' while the *prakāra* interpretation of *vā* will rule out the indeclinable *vā* 'or, option' from being assigned the term *dhātu*. However, since the interpretation still may confuse us, commentators use the word *kriyāvacana* 'signifying action' as adjective to *bhū* and *vā*

(*b*) *Kāśikā* does not follow the above interpretation. Instead it states that the rule has the following string of elements: *bhū-va-ādī,* where Pāṇini has inserted *va* 'auspiciousness' for auspicious reasons (see *Kāś.* 1.3.1 *bhūvādīn...*). The *bahuvrīhi* compound with its internal *dvandva,* according to this interpretation, will have the analyzed form: *bhūśca vaśca ādīśca = bhūvādī; bhūvādī ādir yeṣāṃ te bhūvādayaḥ*.

The above two interpretations become necessary in view of the fact that, according to Pāṇinian practice, the *sūtra* should have read only *bhū-ādī* and, as a consequence, should have been interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound having the form *bhvādi,* this latter as a result of *yṆ-sandhi*. In the absence of *sandhi, bhūvādayaḥ* must be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with an internal *dvandva*. As we have seen, the first interpretation treats the *dvandva* as two constituent verbs, *bhū* and *vā,* whereas the second interpretation invokes auspiciousness as the signification of *vā*.

2. Puruṣottamadeva in his *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) brings forth yet another explanation for *bhūvādi*. He says that grammarians Vyāḍi and Gālava had the tendency to insert *y, v, r,* and *l* between the sequences of *i, u, ṛ,* and *ḷ*. Accordingly, in *bhū-ādi,* the sequence of *ū* and *ā* was interrupted by *v,* yielding *bhū-v-ādi = bhūvādi*. It may be that Pāṇini chose to pay respect to Vyāḍi and Gālava by following this practice. Jain grammarians also refer to this practice in their *vṛtti* (see Mimāṃsaka's Hindi translation of the *Mahābhāṣya* 1.3.1 (II: 233, fns.1-4).

SCOPE: 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ,* and so on.

1.3.2 उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत्

upadeśe' j anunāsika it

lupadeśe 7/1 *ac* 1/1 *anunāsika* 1/1 *it* 1/1/

upadeśe yo' nunāsikaḥ sa itsaṃjño bhavati

The nasalized *(anunāsika,* see 1.1.8 *mukhanāsikā...) aC* (vowel, see *Śs* 1-4) of an item in *upadeśa* 'the time when taught first, initial citation' is termed *it.*

EXAMPLES:

the *Ā* in *edhĀ* and *sparddhĀ*

1. The term *upadeśa* literally means 'instruction'. However it is used in Pāṇinian circles to refer to the initial teachings or citations *(ādyoccāraṇa)* in grammar *(śāstravākya).* Such citation could concern a rule, a linguistic item, or a collection of rules or linguistic items. Thus *sūtrapāṭha (SP)* 'the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī,' dhātupāṭha (DP)* 'listing of roots', *gaṇapāṭha (GP)* 'listing of groups of nominals,' and other materials ancilliary to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are all treated as *upadeśa.*

2. The authority for determining whether a particular vowel in *upadeśa* is pronounced as nasalized is vested in the tradition of the Pāṇinīyas. That is, the grammatical tradition is what either allows or disallows the nasalization of a particular vowel in *upadeśa (pratijñā' nunāsikyā pāṇinīyāḥ).*

SCOPE: 7.2.16 *āditaś ca,* and so on.

1.3.3 हलन्त्यम्

halantyam

lhal 1/1 = *hasya* 1 *(ṣaṣ tat); hal ca hal ca* = *hal* (see 1.2.64 *sarūpā...); anytam* 1/1 = *antye bhavam* (see 4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat)*

(upadeśe, it # 2)

dhātvādeḥ samudāyasya yad antyaṃ hal tad it saṃjñaṃ bhavati

A final *hL* of an item in *upadeśa* is termed an *it.*

EXAMPLES:

Ṇ, K, C of the *Śs* 1-4:

aiuṆ, ṛḷK, eoṄ, and *aiauC*

1. Commentators observe that there is a difficulty in the formulation of this rule. This difficulty technically is known as *itaretarāśraya* 'interdependency'. It is stated that this *sūtra* cannot be formulated unless the *l* of *hal* is termed *it,* and *l* cannot be termed an *it* unless this *sūtra* is formulated. In order to resolve this difficulty, *hal* above is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound with the analyzed form, *hasya l,* the genitive

expressing proximity. Given this analyzed form, the partial interpretation of *hal* will be: that *l* which is near *h*. In order to get the complete interpretation of *hal* as 'the *l* which is proximate to the *h* of *pratyāhāra sūtra* 14 *hL*', we need to further analyze the string as: *hal ca hal ca* = *halhal*, where, after this combination, one *hal* will be deleted by 1.2.64 *sarūpā....* Given the *anuvṛtti* of *it* from 1.3.2, the *l* may be termed an *it*.

This is the view of Kātyāyana, which in turn has been criticized by Nāgeśa. He thinks that Patañjali has used the word *antya* after the *hal* derived by the deletion of one *hal*. This will necessitate the interpretation of each *hal* along with *antya*. Thus the underlying interpretation of the *sūtra* will be *halantyam halantyam*, the final *l* of the *sūtra hal* and the final *hal*. This interpretation makes the earlier *hasya l* interpretation of *hal* useless. Bhaṭṭojī seems to accept this latter view, and as a result advocates repetition of the *sūtra*. Thus: one *halantyam* provides for the *it* status of the *l* of *sūtra* 14 *hL*, whereas the second provides for the *it* status of the final consonants of the other *Śiva-sūtras*.

There is a fine distinction between the above two views. Kātyāyana's view is based on *ekaśeṣa*, namely that only one *hal* of *halhal* is retained, while Nāgeśa's view is based on *tantroccāraṇa*, namely repeating *hal* and joining it with *antya* through a special effort. Both views have recourse to *ekaśeṣa* for deletion of one *hal*. However it should be remembered that *ekaśeṣa* obtains only when there is *sahavivakṣā* 'the desire to use both concurrently'. For example, *vṛkṣau* underlies *vṛkṣaś ca vṛkṣaś ca* where the desire to express both concurrently through *vṛkṣau* allows *ekaśeṣa*, and results in the deletion of *vṛkṣaḥ*. In regard to the *tantroccāraṇa* view of Nāgeśa, *sahavivakṣā* does not obtain. Besides if *tantroccāraṇa* had been intended by Kātyāyana or Patañjali, they would have clearly said '*tantroccāraṇāt*' and not '*ekaśeṣanirdeśāt*'. The above reasoning makes the *ekaśeṣa* view more acceptable (see Mimāṃsaka on 1.3.3 in his Hindi translation of the *Mahābhāṣya*).

1.3.4 न विभक्तौ तुस्माः

na vibhaktau tusmāḥ

/*na* Ø *vibhaktau* 7/1 *tusmāḥ* 1/3 = *tuś ca saś ca maś ca (itar. dv.)* /

(*halantyam* # 3, *upadeśe*, *it* # 2)

pūrveṇa prāptāyām itsaṃjñāyāṃ vibhaktau vartamānānāṃ tavarga-sakāra-makārāṇām pratiṣedha ucyate

The final *-tU* (*t, th, d, dh, n*; see 1.1.69 *aṇudit...*), *s*, and *m* of a *vibhakti* 'inflectional ending' (*sUP* or *tiṄ*; see 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*) in *upadeśa* is not termed *it*.

EXAMPLES:

(*a*) final *t* of *āt* as in

vṛkṣāt, ablative singular of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'
plakṣāt, ablative singular of *plakṣa* tree of banyan family

(*b*) *s* of *Jas* as in
brāhmaṇāḥ, nominative plural of *brāhmaṇa*
s of *tas* and *thas* as in
pacataḥ 'they two are cooking'
pacathaḥ 'you two are cooking'

(*c*) *m* of *tām* and *tam* as in
apacatām 'they two cooked'
apacatam 'you two cooked'

1. Examples such as *vṛkṣāt* and *plakṣāt* involve *āt* which is ruled by 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅas...* as a replacement for *Ṅasl* 'ablative singular'. *Ṅasl* is termed a *vibhakti* by 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca* while *āt* is assigned this term by 1.1.56 *sthānivad....* Similarly, *tām* and *tam* are ruled as a replacement for *tas* 'third person dual verbal ending' and *thas* 'second person dual verbal ending' by 3.4.101 *tasthas....* Again, *tas* and *thas* are designated as *vibhakti* simply because they are replacements of a *vibhakti.*

1.3.5 **आदिर्ञिटुडवः**

ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ
/*ādiḥ* 1/1 *ñiṭuḍavaḥ* 1/3 = *ñiś ca ṭuś ca ḍuś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/(*upadeśe, it* # 2)
ñi, ṭu, ḍu ity eteṣāṃ samudāyānām ādīto vartamānānām it saṃjñā bhavati
The initial *ÑI, ṬŪ,* or *ḌŪ* of an item in *upadeśa* is termed *it.*

EXAMPLES:

(*a*) the *ÑI* of
ÑImidĀ 'to be fat' as in *minnaḥ*
ÑIdhṛṣĀ 'to dare' as in *dhṛṣṭaḥ*
ÑIkṣvidĀ 'to hum' as in *kṣvinnaḥ*
ÑIindhĪ 'to kindle' as in *iddhaḥ*

(*b*) the *ṬŪ* of
ṬŪvepṚ 'to tremble' as in *vepathuḥ* 'trembling'
ṬŪOśvi 'to grow, increase, swell' as in *śvayathuḥ* 'swelling'

(*c*) the *ḌŪ* of
ḌŪpacĀS 'to cook' as in *paktrimam*
ḌŪvap 'to sow, scatter' as in *uptrimam*
ḌŪkṛÑ 'to do, make' as in *kṛtrimam*

1. Commentators question here why this *ṬŪ* cannot be interpreted as referring to *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh,* and *ṇ* in accordance with 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya....* The arguments that such an interpretation will be wrong are as follows.

(*a*) If Pāṇini intended this *ṬŪ* to refer to *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh,* and *ṇ,* he did not have to refer to *ḍ* again in this rule by *ḌŪ.* This use of *Ḍ* would become vacuous.

(*b*) Because of the association (*sāhacarya*) with *ÑĪ* and *ḌŪ*, which refer to individual segments, *ṬŪ* also should refer to its own form.

(*c*) Pāṇini refers to the individual members of the retroflex series by *ṭu* in 1.3.7 *cuṭū*. This too can serve as a clue for not interpreting *ṬŪ* in 1.3.5 *ādir*... as referring to *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh*, and *ṇ*. Besides, the *ṬŪ* of this rule is considered nasalized which, in turn, will take it out of the sphere of 1.1.69 *aṇudit*....

(*d*) *ÑĪ, ṬŪ*, and *ḌŪ* are intended to indicate that, for example, the past participial suffix *Kta*, after roots prefixed with *ÑĪ* as *it*, has the force of present (3.2.187 *ñītaḥ ktaḥ*); that *ṬŪ* prefixed with roots as *it* allows such roots to take the affix *athuC* (3.3.89 *ṭvito' thuc*) and that *ḌŪ* similarly enables roots to take the affix *tri* (3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ*). Incidentally, affix *tri* obligatorily requires the augment *maP* (4.4.20 *trer mam nityam*).

1.3.6 षः प्रत्ययस्य

ṣaḥ pratyayasya

/*ṣaḥ* 1/1 *pratyayasya* 6/1/

(*ādiḥ* # 5, *upadeśe, it* # 2)

ṣakāraḥ pratyayasyādir itsaṃjño bhavati

The initial *Ṣ* of an affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it*.

EXAMPLES:

Ṣ of affix *ṢvuÑ* (3.1 145 *śilpini*...) as in

narttakī 'dancer'

rajakī 'washerman's wife'

1.3.7 चुटू

cuṭū

/*cuṭū* 1/2 = *cuś ca ṭuś ca (itar. dv.)*/

(*pratyayasya* # 6, *ādiḥ* # 5, *upadeśe, it* # 2)

cavarga-ṭavargau pratyayasyādī itsaṃjñau bhavataḥ

The initial *cU* (*c, ch, j, jh, ñ*; see 1.1.69 *aṇudit*...)

or *ṭU* (*ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ*; see 1.1.69) of an affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it*.

EXAMPLES:

(*a*) the *C* of affix *CphaÑ* (4.1.98 *gotre*...) as in *kauñjāyanaḥ* 'a *gotra* descendant of Kunja'

the *J* of affix *Jas* (4.1.2 *svaujas*...) as in *brāhmaṇāḥ*, nominative plural of *brāhmaṇa*

the *Ñ* of affix *Ñya* (4.3.92 *śaṇḍikā*...) as in *śāṇḍikyaḥ* 'a native of Śaṇḍika'

(*b*) the *Ṭ* of affix *Ṭa* (3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*) as in *kurucarī* 'she who wanders

in the country of Kuru'; *madracarī* 'she who wanders in the country of Madra'
the *ḍ* of affix *Ḍa* (3.2.97 *saptamyām...*) as in *upasarajaḥ* 'he who is born near a pond'; *mandurajaḥ* 'he who is born in a stable'
the *Ṇ* of affix *Ṇa* (4.4.85 *annāṇṇaḥ* as in *ānnaḥ* 'he who has obtained food'

1. It is interesting to note that no examples involving the initial *ch, jh, ṭh,* and *ḍh* of an affix were provided. This omission is significant since affix initials *ch, jh, ṭh.* and *ḍh* always are replaced by *īy* (7.1.2 *āyaneyī....*) *ant* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*), *ik* (7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*), and *ey* (7.1.2) respectively. Thus the question of treating each of these as an *it* does not arise.

2. Commentators bring to our notice that Pāṇini would have been better off formulating 1.3.6 and 1.3.7 together as one rule: *cuṭuṣā pratyayasya.* Pāṇini decided to formulate 1.3.7 separately to indicate that provisions of this rule are *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. That is, they are not always applicable. Consider, for example, 5.2.26 *tena vittaś...* and 5.2.31 *nate...* where the initial *c* and *ṭ* of *cuñcuP, caṇaP,* and *ṭīṭaC* are not termed *it.*

3. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK* on 5.2.26) considers the affixes as *ycuñcuP, ycaṇaP,* and *yṭīṭaC.* This way the question of assigning the term *it* to affix-initial *c* or *ṭ* does not arise. The initial *y* may then be deleted by 6.1.66 *lopovyor valih.* The very fact that this *y* is an imaginary insert takes it out of the sphere of the *upadeśa.*

1.3.8 लशक्वतद्धिते

laśakv ataddhite

//laśaku 1/1 = *laś ca śaś ca kuś ca (itar. dv.) ataddhite* 7/1 = *na taddhitaḥ (nañ. tat.), tasmin//*

(pratyayasya # 6, *ādiḥ* # 5, *upadeśe, it* # 2)

taddhitavarjitasya pratyayasyādito vartamānā lakāra śakāra-kavargā itsaṃjñā bhavanti

The initial *L, Ś,* and *KU* (*k, kh, g, gh, ṅ;* see 1.1.69 *aṇudit...*) of a non-*taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it.*

EXAMPLES

(*a*) the *L* of affix *LyuṬ* (3.4.115 *lyuṭ ca*) as in *cayanam* 'the act of heaping, gathering, selecting'; *jayanam* 'the act of winning'
the *Ś* of affix *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*) as in *bhavati* 'he becomes'; *pacati* 'he cooks'

(*b*) the *K* of affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū...*) as in *bhuktaḥ* 'that which has been consumed'; *bhuktavān* 'he consumed, ate'
the *KH* of affix *KHaC* (3.2.38 *priyavaśe...*) as in *priyaṃvadaḥ* 'he who is pleasantly-spoken'; *vaśaṃvadaḥ* 'id.'

the *G* of affix *GsnU* (3.2.139 *glājisthaś ca gsnu*) as in *jiṣṇuḥ* 'he whose nature is to win'; *bhūṣṇuḥ* 'he whose nature is to become'
the *GH* of affix *GHuraC* (3.2.161 *bhañjabhāsabhid...*) as in *bhaṅguram* 'perishable, transient'
the *Ṅ* of affixes *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* as in *vṛkṣāt,* ablative singular of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'; *vṛkṣasya,* genitive singular of *vṛkṣa.*

1.3.9 तस्य लोपः

tasya lopaḥ

/*tasya* 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/

tasyetsaṃjñakasya lopo bhavati

There is disappearance of that which is termed *it.*

EXAMPLES:

all the *it* elements enumerated under rules 1.3.2 *upadeśe...* through 1.3.8 *laśaku...*

1. Pāṇini uses the variable *tad* 'that' in the genitive to refer to the *it* elements enumerated earlier. The purpose of this rule simply is to delete them. One may question whether complex *it* elements such as *ÑI, ṬŪ,* and *ḌŪ* should be deleted in their entirety or only in part. This doubt arises because of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya,* which requires that a substitute, in this case zero, coming in place of an item specified by genitive, here *tasya,* must replace only its final sound segment. Accordingly one may only delete *Ī* or *Ū* of the above complex *it* elements. Pāṇini expressly mentions the variable genitive *tasya* to indicate total deletion.

2. It is also suggested that since Pāṇini formulates this rule as *tasya lopaḥ* and not as *itaḥ lopaḥ, tasya* must be treated as indicating total deletion.

1.3.10 यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानाम्

yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām

/*yathāsaṃkhyam* 0 = *saṃkhyām anatikrāntaḥ (av.); anudeśaḥ* 1/1 *samānām* 6/1/

yathākramam anudeśo bhavati

Assignment of equivalents for equal numbers of elements follows the order of enumeration.

EXAMPLES:

4.3.94 *tūdī-śalātura-varmatī-kūcavārād ḍhakchaṇ-ḍhañ-yak*

1. Rule 4.3.94 enumerates four bases — *tūdī, śalātura, varmatī,* and *kūcavāra* (all place names) — after which four affixes (*ḌHaK, CHaṆ, ḌHaÑ,* and *yaK*) are to be introduced to denote 'the native of'. It may be

asked how the four affixes should be added to the four bases: in turn, collectively, singly, and so on. The present rule specifies that whenever there are two sets of elements enumerated one after the other and the number of elements in each set is equal, the assignment of equivalence is strictly in the order of enumeration. Thus in the case of 4.3.94, affix *ḌHaK* should be introduced after *tūdī*, *CHaṆ* after *śalātura*, *ḌHaÑ* after *varmatī*, and *yaK* after *kūcavāra*.

2. A question arises here as to why Pāṇini preferred the expression *yathāsaṃkhya* over *yathākrama*. It is suggested that he wanted to avoid the interpretation of this rule being affected by the other meaning of *saṃkhyā*, namely *jñāna* 'knowledge, perception'.

1.3.11 स्वरितेनाधिकारः

svaritenādhikāraḥ

/*svaritena* 1/3 *adhikāraḥ* 1/1/

svarito nāma svaraviśeṣo varṇadharmaḥ tena cihnenādhikāro veditavyaḥ

An *adhikāra* 'heading' is known by means of *svarita* 'circumflex'

EXAMPLES:

pratyayaḥ as in 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*
dhātoḥ as in 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
ṅy-āp prātipadikāt as in 4.1.1 *ny-āp prātipadikāt*
aṅgasya as in 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
bhasya as in 6.4.120 *bhasya*
padasya as in 8.1.16 *padasya*

1. It is obvious that the intent of this rule is to provide a device whereby *adhikāra* 'governing elements' can be easily recognized. Unfortunately the tradition has lost these markings. That is, no one clearly knows exactly where the *svarita* marks were originally intended by Pāṇini to be placed. Additionally no one knows exactly how far down an *adhikāra* carries itself. For these and other related questions, the tradition invokes the first *paribhāṣā: vyākhyānato viśeṣa pratipattiḥ*...(*Pś:* 20-24). Thus it is the interpretation and explanation of the learned, accompanied by examples and counter-examples, which enable one to fully understand the true meaning of a particular rule.

1.3.12 अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम्

anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam

/*anudāttaṅitaḥ* 5/1 = *anudāttaś ca ṅaś ca* = *anudāttaṅau, anudāttaṅau itau yasya anudāttaṅit, tasmāt* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*); *ātmanepadam* 1/1/

anudātteto ye dhātavo ṅitaś ca tebhya eva ātmanepadam bhavati

An *ātmanepada* (1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*) affix occurs after a root which is marked either with *anudātta* 'low-pitch' or with *Ṅ*

EXAMPLES:

vasĀ 'to cover'
āsĀ 'to sit'
ṣūṄ 'to give birth'
śīṄ 'to recline, to sleep'

1. The term *ātmanepada* refers to a set of nine affixes enumerated by 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi....* Rule 1.4.100 *taṅānāv...* assigns the term *ātmanepada* by using the abbreviation *taṄ;* that is, *ta, ātām, jha; thās, āthām, dhvam; iṬ, vahi, mahiṄ.* In addition to these nine, affixes *ŚānaC* and *KānaC,* jointly referred to by the abbreviation *āna,* also are termed *ātmanepada.*

2. It is apparent from the *vṛtti* that *Kāśikā* reads *dhātubhyaḥ* 'after verbal roots' with items marked with *Ṅ anudatta.* While the context of the introduction of *ātmanepada* affixes necessarily implies this reading, *Kāśikā* intends to be cautious, as there might be a situation where wrong forms may result. Consider, for example, the derivation of *adudruvat* 'it flowed' from *aṬ + druÑ + CaṄ + LUṄ,* where *CaṄ* is introduced as a replacement for *CLI* before *LUṄ,* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ....* (For details of introducing *LUṄ, CLI,* and *aṬ,* see the derivations in the appendix.) Given the interpretation of 1.3.12, where one does not take *dhātubhyaḥ* as part of the rule, one may end up replacing the *LUṄ* of *aṬ + druÑ + CaṄ + LUṄ* by *ātmanepada.* This means that *LUṄ* will be replaced by *ātmanepada,* because it is occurring after an item ending in *CaṄ* which, in turn, is marked with *Ṅ.* The derivation of *adudruvat,* the correct form, will be blocked. But if *dhātubhyaḥ* is supplied in the interpretation, *LUṄ* in the above string cannot be replaced by *ātmanepada,* as the element ending in *CaṄ* cannot be treated as a *dhātu.*

This interpretation is supported by only a few. For, the question of replacing *LA* by *ātmanepada* after a string terminating in *CaṄ* should not arise. The replacement of *LA* by *parasmaipada,* and so on, is internal and thus would take precedence. Refusal to accept this view will create problems with respect to the introduction of augments (*vikaraṇa*) which are externally conditioned. In other words, *CaṄ* and so on must be introduced after *LA* has been replaced by the verbal endings. This renders the question of replacing *LA* by *ātmanepada* after a string terminating in *Ṅ* vacuous. This also explains why the inclusion of *dhātavaḥ* does not serve this function.

3. The purpose of the inclusion of *dhātavaḥ* is clarity. The term *Ṅit* in this rule may refer to two types of items (*dhātu*): those which are marked

by *Ṅ* as an *it* and those which terminate in terms marked by *Ṅ* as an *it*. This second interpretation clearly comes from invoking 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*. The referent of the variable *yena* in 1.1.72 is a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*). The rule sets up the principle of *tadantavidhi* whereby a qualifier is enabled to denote an item in which it terminates. However, *tadantavidhi* is not possible here in 1.3.12 unless a *viśeṣya* 'qualified' is provided. The inclusion of *dhātavaḥ* serves this very purpose. Comentators say that *dhātavaḥ* is carried from 1.3.1 via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' and its nominative plural is changed to an ablative singular in view of the context as well as the purpose of 1.3.12.

4. The present rule is a restrictive rule (*niyama*). Accordingly it imposes the restriction that *ātmanepada* terminations must be used only after those verbs which are marked either with *anudātta* or with *Ṅ*. All other verbs will thus be excluded.

1.3.13 भावकर्मणोः

bhāvakarmaṇoḥ

/bhāvakarmaṇoḥ 7/2 = *bhāvaś ca karma ca* = *bhāvakarmaṇī, tayoḥ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ (itar. dv.)/*

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

bhāve karmaṇi cātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a root when *bhāva* 'root sense' or *karman* 'object' is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

(*a*) *glāyate bhavatā* 'you (polite) are sad'
supyate bhavatā 'you (polite) sleep'
āsyate bhavatā 'you (polite) stand'

(*b*) *kriyate kaṭaḥ* 'the mat is being made'
hriyate bhāraḥ 'the load is carried'

1. This too is a *niyama* rule. Its restriction applies to the use of *ātmanepada*. That is, *ātmanepada* endings must be used when *bhāva* 'root sense, action' or *karman* 'object' is to be expressed. The reference is obviously to 3.4.68 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*, whereby *LA* affixes are introduced after a transitive verb to express *kartṛ* 'agent' or *karman*, and after an intransitive verb to express *kartṛ* or *bhāva*. Thus a *LA* affix which was introduced by 3.4.68 to express an object or action must be replaced by *ātmanepada* termination.

1.3.14 कर्तरि कर्मव्यतिहारे

karttari karmavyatihāre

/karttari 7/1 *karmavyatihāre* 7/1 = *karmaṇaḥ vyatihāraḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* = *karmavyatihāre/*

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
karmavyatihāre tadviśiṣṭakriyāvacanād dhātor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a root when agent with *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocity of action' is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

vyatilunate 'they cut each other'
vyatipunate 'they wipe each other'

1. The word *karman* in this rule does not refer to the technical term *karman* 'object', but instead is used in the general sense of *kriyā* 'action'.

2. The word *karmavyatihāra* is interpreted as 'exchange (*vinimaya*) of action'. *Kāśikā* further explains that *karmavyatihāra* relates to a situation where some one performs an action characteristically performed by someone else, as for example, when a *brāhmaṇa* has exchanged his proper action for that of a *śūdra* 'low caste person'. *Padamañjarī* adds another dimension to the use of *karmavyatihāra,* namely *parasparakaraṇam* 'reciprocating each other's action'. Thus *karmavyatihāra* will also obtain when two kings are reciprocating the action of attacking each other.

3. The use of the word *karttari* serves two purposes. First, it allows 3.1.15 *na gati hiṃsārthebhyaḥ* to block the use of *ātmanepada* only when *kartṛ* is expressed. In other words, 3.1 15 cannot block the use of *ātmanepada* when *bhāva* or *karman* is being expressed. The second function of *karttari* is for *anuvṛtti* in rules such as 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam.* Given the fact that *karttari* carries from here to 1.3.78, it will be read there twice. The double use of *karttari* will then signify that it is the pure *kartṛ* and not something such as *karmakartṛ* 'object termed agent' which should form the condition for the use of *parasmaipada.*

A majority of commentators do not accept the view that *karttari* in this rule serves any purpose other than *anuvṛtti.* That is, 1.3.13 rules *ātmanepada* in *bhāva* and *karman.* The very fact that Pāṇini formulates 1.3.14 as a separate rule suggests that *karmavyatihāra* of 1.3.14 is obviously intended for usage where *kartṛ* is to be expressed. The question of *karttari* enabling 1.3.15 to block only the *kartṛ* usage of *karmavyatihāra* and not the *bhāva-karman* usage does not arise, since 1.3.15 can only block 1.3.14 and not 1.3.13. (For details, see the *paribhāṣā* (62): *anantarasya vidhiḥ pratiṣedho vā).* This limits the use of *karttari* to *anuvṛtti.*

1.3.15 न गतिहिंसार्थेभ्यः

na gatihiṃsārthebhyaḥ
/*na* Ø *gatihiṃsārthebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *gatiś ca hiṃsā ca* = *gatihiṃse (dv.), gatihiṃse arthau yeṣāṃ te* = *gatihiṃsārthāḥ (bv.* with internal *dv.), tebhyaḥ* = *gatihiṃsārthebhyaḥ*/
(*karmavyatihāre* # 13, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

gatyarthebhyo hiṃsārthebhyaś ca dhātubhyaḥ karmavyatihāre ātmanepadaṃ na bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix does not occur after a root which signifies *gati* 'motion' or *hiṃsā* 'injure, kill, smite' even though the action to be performed is reciprocal or exchanged.

EXAMPLES:

vyatigacchanti 'they go for each other'
vyatisarpanti 'they crawl for each other'
vyatihiṃsanti 'they injure each other'
vyatighnanti 'they kill each other'

1.3.16 इतरेतरान्योऽन्योपपदाच्च

itaretarānyo' nyopapadāc ca

/*itare...padāt* 5/1 = *itaretaraś ca anyonyaś ca* = *itaretarānyonyau (dv.) tau upapade yasya sa itare...padāḥ (bv.* with internal *dv.), tasmāt* = *itare... padāt; ca* Ø/

(*na* # 15, *karmavyatihāre* # 14, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

itaretaraḥ anyo' nyaḥ ity evam upapadād dhāto karmavyatihāre ātmanepadaṃ na bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix does not occur after a root which co-occurs with a *pada* containing *itaretara* 'each other' or *anyonya* 'one another' when reciprocity or exchange of action is signified.

EXAMPLES:

itaretarasya vyatilunanti 'they are cutting each other's (crop)'
anyo' nyasya vyatilunanti 'id.'

1.3.17 नेर्विशः

ner viśaḥ

/*neḥ* 5/1 *viśaḥ* 5/1/

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

neḥ parasmād viśa ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *viś* 'to enter' when it is used with the preverb *ni.*

EXAMPLES:

niviśate 'he enters'
niviśante 'they enter'

1. In view of the provisions of 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari..., ni-viś* should have *parasmaipada.* This rule provides for *ātmanepada.* But remember that *viś* here is allowed *ātmanepada* only when it is used with the preverb *ni.* When *viś* is used with other preverbs *parasmaipada* will occur, as in *gehe praviśati* 'enters the house'.

1.3.18 **परिव्यवेभ्यः क्रियः**

parivyavebhyaḥ kriyaḥ

/*parivyavebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *pari ca vi ca ava ca* = *parivyavās tebhyaḥ (itar. dv.); kriyaḥ* 5/1/

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

parivyavebhya uttarasmāt krīṇāter ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *krīÑ* 'to buy, sell, barter' when it is used with the preverbs *pari, vi,* or *ava.*

EXAMPLES:

parikrīṇīte 'he hires on stipulated wages'
vikrīṇīte 'he sells'
avakrīṇīte 'he rents'

1. Since *ḌUkrīÑ* is marked with *Ñ*, it will take *ātmanepada* when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ*...). However, 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam* will introduce *parasmaipada* when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The present rule serves as an exception to block this application of 1.3.78.

1.3.19 **विपराभ्यां जेः**

viparābhyāṃ jeḥ

/*viparābhyām* 5/2 = *vi ca parā ca* = *viparau, tābhyām* = *viparābhyām (itar. dv.); jeḥ* 5/1/

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

viparā pūrvāj jayater dhātor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *ji* 'to conquer' when it is used with the preverbs *vi* and *parā.*

EXAMPLES:

vijayate (śatrūn) 'he conquers (the enemies)'
parājayate (śatrūn) 'he defeats (the enemies)'

1. Note that *parā* is the preverb and not the feminine form of *para* 'excellent', derived by introducing the affix *ṬāP*. By association *(sahācaryā)* with *vi*, which does not end in *ṬāP*, *parā* will also be interpreted as not ending in *ṬāP*. Similarly, since *parā* is to be interpreted as a preverb, *vi*, again by association, should be interpreted as a preverb. The question arises because *vi* also means 'bird'. Thus *ātmanepada* will not obtain in the following examples: *bahuvi jayati vanam* 'conquers a forestful of birds', and *parā jayati senā* 'the excellent army wins'.

1.3.20 **आङो दोऽनास्यविहरणे**

āṅo do' nāsyaviharaṇe

āṅaḥ 5/1 *daḥ* 5/1 *anāsyaviharaṇe* 7/1 = *āsyasya viharaṇam* = *āsyaviharaṇam (ṣaṣ. tat.), na āsyaviharaṇam* = *anāsyaviharaṇam (nañ. tat.), tasmin* = *anāsyaviharaṇe/*
(*ātmanepadam* # 20)
āṅ pūrvād dadāter anāsyaviharaṇe vartamānād ātmanepadam bhavati.
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *DUdāÑ* 'to give' when it is used with the preverb *āṄ* and does not signify *āsyaviharaṇa* 'to open the mouth'.

EXAMPLE:

vidyām ādatte 'he imparts knowledge'

1. The restriction of *anāsyaviharaṇa* for blocking *ātmanepada* relates to 'opening one's own mouth'. That is, if someone is opening someone else's mouth, *ātmanepada* cannot be blocked. Thus *ātmanepada* in *vyādadate* of *vyādadate pataṅgasya mukhaṃ pipīlikāḥ* 'the ants are opening the mouth of the insect' is allowed.

2. Commentators also indicate that *āsyaviharaṇa* 'opening of the mouth' should be treated as though used in a wider sense; activities similar to it also should be blocked. This would permit blocking of *ātmanepada* in examples such as *vipādikāṃ vyādadāti* 'he is opening up the cracks of his feet' and *nadī kūlaṃ vyādadāti* 'the river is opening up'.

3. Note that because *ḌUdāÑ* is marked with *Ñ*, *ātmanepada* is available to it via 1.3.78 *svaritañitaḥ*...provided, of course, the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present rule provides for *ātmanepada* even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. Also note that the context of this rule refers exclusively to the root *ḌUdāÑ* and not to other roots which may have the same form *dā*.

1.3.21 **क्रीडोऽनुसम्परिभ्यश्च**
krīḍo' nusaṃparibhyaś ca
/*krīḍaḥ* 5/1 *anusaṃparibhyaḥ* 5/1 = *anu ca saṃ ca pari ca* = *anusaṃparayaḥ (itar. dv.), tebhyaḥ* = *anusaṃparibhyaḥ; ca/*
(*āṅ* # 20, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
krīḍṛ vihāre etasmād anu, saṃ, pari ity evaṃ pūrvād āṅpūrvāc cātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *krīḍ* 'to play' when it is used with preverbs *anu, saṁ, pari*, or *āṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

anukrīḍate 'he plays in turn'
saṅkrīḍate 'he plays together with'
parikrīḍate 'he plays beautifully'
ākrīḍate 'he plays'

1. It should be remembered that *māṇavakena saha krīḍati* 'plays with the boy' has an optional construction *māṇavakamanu krīḍati*. The *anu* of *māṇavakamanu* is a *karmapravacanīya* and thus, *parasmaipada* usage of *māṇavakamanu krīḍati* is accepted. The *anu* of this rule is a preverb, as we know from its association (*sāhacarya*) in this context with the preverb *sam*.

1.3.22 समवप्रविभ्यः स्थः

samavapravibhyaḥ sthaḥ

/samavapravibhyaḥ 5/3 = *sam ca ava ca pra ca vi ca = samavapravayaḥ, tebhyaḥ = samavapravibhyaḥ (itar. dv.) sthaḥ* 5/1/

(āṅ # 20, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

sam, ava, pra, vi ity evaṃ pūrvāt tiṣṭhater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *sthā* 'to stand, stay' when it is used with the preverbs *sam, ava, pra, vi,* or *āṄ*

EXAMPLES:

saṃtiṣṭhate 'he sits near, comes to an end, dies'
avatiṣṭhate 'he remains, abides, obeys'
vitiṣṭhate 'he stays, dwells'
pratiṣṭhate 'he sets out for...
ātiṣṭhate 'he remains, ascends, uses'

1.3.23 प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च

prakāśanastheyākhyayoś ca

/prakāśanastheyākhyayoḥ 7/2 = *prakāśanañ ca stheyākhyā (stheyasyākhyā = stheyākhyā, ṣaṣ. tat.) ca = prakāśanastheyākhye, tayoḥ = prakāśanastheyākhyayoḥ (itar. dv.) ca* ∅/

(sthā # 22, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *sthā* when *prakāśana* 'revelation of one's own intent' and *stheyākhyā* 'reference to an arbiter' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

tiṣṭhate kanyā chātrebhyaḥ 'the girl reveals her intent to the students'
tiṣṭhate vṛṣalī grāmaputrebhyaḥ 'the *śūdra* woman reveals her intent to the village boys'
tvayi tiṣṭhate 'he has accepted you as arbiter'
mayi tiṣṭhate 'he has accepted me as arbiter'
saṃśayya karṇādiṣu tiṣṭhate yaḥ 'he who when in doubt accepts Karṇa and his associates as arbiter'

1. Note that *prakāśana* and *stheya* refer to 'revealing one's intent' and 'final authority in matters of dispute' respectively. The dative (*sampradāna*) in the first two examples is rules by 1.4.34 *ślāgh-hnu*....The *saptamī* in the remaining examples denotes domain (*viṣayasaptamī*).

1.3.24 उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि

udo' nūrdhvakarmaṇi

/*udaḥ* 5/1 *anūrdhvakarmaṇi* 7/1 = *na ūrdhva karma* = *anūrdhvakarma, tasmin* = *anūrdhvakarmaṇi (nañ. tat.)*/

(*sthaḥ* # 22, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

utpūrvāt tiṣṭhater anūrdhvakarmaṇi vartamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *sthā* when it is used with the preverb *ut,* provided *ūrdhvakarman* 'arising' is not signified.

EXAMPLES:

gehe uttiṣṭhate 'he strives for the sake of the family'
kuṭumbe uttiṣṭhate 'he strives for the sake of the clan'

1. Explaining the meaning conditions under which *ātmanepada* may be introduced after *ut-sthā, Kāśikā* (under this rule) uses the phrase *tadarthaṃ yatate* 'strives for the sake of'. Thus *kuṭumbe uttiṣṭhate* means 'he strives for the sake of the clan'. *Padamañjarī* (also under this rule) considers *ut* in *ut-sthā* to signify *īhā* 'exertion'.

1.3.25 उपान्मन्त्रकरणे

upān mantrakaraṇe

/*upāt* 5/1 *mantrakaraṇe* 7/1 = *mantrasya karaṇam (ṣaṣ tat.), tasmin* = *mantrakaraṇe*/.

(*sthaḥ* 22, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

upapūrvāt tiṣṭhater mantrakaraṇe' rthe varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *sthā* when it is used with the preverb *upa* and *mantra* '(chanting of a) Vedic hymn' is its *karaṇa* 'instrument'.

1. The general meaning of *upatiṣṭhate* in this Vedic context is *stuti* 'praise'. In the absence of such a meaning *ātmanepada* will be blocked. Compare: *bhartāram upatiṣṭhati yauvanena* 'she pleases her husband by means of her youth'.

1 3.26 अकर्मकाच्च

akarmakāc ca

/*akarmakāt* 5/1 *ca* Ø/

(*upāt* 25, *sthaḥ* 22, *ātmanepadam* 12)

upapūrvāt tiṣṭhater akarmakakriyāvacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *sthā* when it is used intransitively with the preverb *upa.*

EXAMPLE:

yāvadbhuktam upatiṣṭhate 'he is near by whenever there is food to be eaten'

1. The intransitive meaning of *upasthā* here is 'to appear, stand by'. The word *bhuktam* is neuter singular, its base derived from *bhuj* + *Kta* denoting *bhāva* 'action' (3.4.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*). The word *yāvadbhuktam* is an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) compound where its constituent *yāvat* is an indeclinable particle (*nipāta*) used in the sense of *yathā* (2.1.8 *yāvad....*). This sense of *yāvat*, or *yathā*, is *vīpsā* 'each and every'; it is also treated as ending in *saptamī* 'locative'. This is why *yāvadbhuktam upatiṣṭhate* is also explained as *bhojane bhojane* (repetition to convey the sense of *vīpsā*) *sannidhīyate* 'he stays near by when it is time to eat'.

1.3.27 **उद्विभ्यां तपः**

udvibhyāṃ tapaḥ

/udvibhyām 5/2 = ut ca vi ca = udvi (itar. dv.), tābhyām = udvibhyām; tapaḥ 5/1/

(akarmakāt # 26, *ātmanepadam #* 12)

ud, vi ity evaṃpūrvāt tapater akarmakakriyā vacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *tapĀ* 'to shine, be hot' when it is used intransitively with the preverbs *ut* or *vi*.

EXAMPLES:

uttapate sūryaḥ 'the sun is shining'
vitapate sūryaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ut-tap* can take *ātmanepada* only when it denotes an intransitive meaning. That is, usages where *ut-tap* denotes a transitive meaning must take *parasmaipada*. Consider *uttapati suvarṇaṃ suvarṇakāraḥ*, 'the goldsmith is heating up the gold' where *ut-tap* denotes a transitive meaning 'to heat or warm'. However, when the object of such transitive usage is one's own limbs *(svāṅgakarman)*, *ātmanepada* should still be used. Thus: *uttapate pāṇim* 'warms his own hand', but not *caitro maitrasya pāṇim uttapati* 'Chaitra is warming Maitra's hand'.

1.3.28 **आङो यमहनः**

āṅo yamahanaḥ

/āṅaḥ 5/1 *yamahanaḥ* 5/1 *= yamaś ca han ca = yamahan (sam. dv.), tasmāt = yamahanaḥ/*

'yama uparame, hana hiṃsāgatyoḥ' iti parasmaipadinau. tābhyām akarmakakriyāvacanābhyām āṅpūrvābhyām ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *yamĀ* 'restrain, give, go' and *han* 'hit, injure' when they are used intransitively with the preverb *āṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

āyacchate 'it stretches out'

āyacchete 'they (two) stretch out'
āyacchante 'they (pl.) stretch out'
āhate 'he gets injured'
āghnāte 'they (two) get injured'
āghnate 'they (pl.) get injured'

1. The restrictions implied by this rule are similar to those of the preceding rule. Thus, verbal roots *ā-yam* and *ā-han* are treated as intransitive when the sense is 'to stretch out, expand' and 'to strike or get injured' respectively. This covers examples such as *āyacchate rajjuḥ* 'the rope stretches, expands...'. What has been stated about *svāṅgakarman* in 1.3.27 is also valid here. For example: *svīyaṃ śira āhate* 'he beats his head' as opposed to *parasya śira āhanti* 'they are beating someone else's head', as well as *āyacchati kūpād rajjum* 'he is pulling the rope back from the water well' and the earlier example *āyacchate rajjuḥ*.

1.3.29 समो गम्यृच्छिभ्याम्
samo gamyṛcchibhyām
/*samaḥ* 5/1 *gamyṛcchibhyām* 5/2 = *gamiś ca ṛcchiś ca* = *gamyṛcchi (itar. dv.), tābhyām* = *gamyṛcchibhyām*/
(*akarmakāt* # 26, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
sampūrvebhyo gami, ṛcchi (pracchi, svarati, arti, śru, vidi) ity etebhyo' karmakebhyo dhātubhya ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after the roots *gamḶ* 'to go' and *ṛcchI* 'to go, to become hard' when they are used intransitively with the preverb *sam*.

EXAMPLES:

saṅgacchate 'he goes along with or joins'
samṛcchate 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* reads this *sūtra* as: *samogamyṛcchipracchi-svaratyartiśruvidibhyaḥ*. In other words, *Kāśikā* reads five additional verbs: *pracchi, svarati, arti, śru,* and *vidi*. I have not included them in the text of the *sūtra* because they have been cited in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 256) as part of a *vārttika* under this rule. *Padamañjarī* clearly states that this *sūtra* is simply *samo gamyṛcchibhyām*. Additional items, namely *pracchi* and so on, have been pointed out by the *vārttika* and read in the *sūtra* by *Kāśikā* to indicate that, like Pāṇini, the author of the *vārttika* is also the *śāstrakāra* 'author of the grammar' (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 432: *'samo gamyrcchibhyām' ity etāvat sūtram; pracchyādayastu vārttikadṛṣṭāḥ sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitāḥ, sūtrakāravad vārttikakāro' pi śāstrasya kartā, na vyākhyāteti darśayitum.*)

1.3.30 निसमुपविभ्यो ह्वः
nisamupavibhyo hvaḥ

lnisamupavibhyaḥ 5/3 = *ni ca sam ca upa ca vi ca* = *nisamupavayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ* = *nisamupavibhyo hvaḥ* 5/1/
(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
ni, sam, upa, vi ity evaṃ pūrvād hvayater dhātor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *hveÑ* 'to call, challenge' when it is used with the preverbs *ni, sam, upa,* or *vi.*

EXAMPLES:

nihvayate 'he calls definitely'
saṃhvayate 'he calls properly'
upahvayate 'he calls near'
vihvayate 'he calls specifically'

1. Since *hveÑ* is marked with *Ñ*, *ātmanepada* may be introduced after it only when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent (1.3.72 *svaritañ...*). That is, *parasmaipada* could be introduced after *hveÑ* when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. By formulating this rule, Pāṇini makes the introduction of *ātmanepada* obligatory irrespective of whether or not the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

1.3.31 स्पर्धायामाङः
spardhāyām āṅaḥ
lspardhāyām 7/1 *āṅaḥ* 5/1/
(*hvaḥ* # 30, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
spardhāyāṃ viṣaye āṅpūrvād hvayater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *hveÑ* when it is used with the preverb *āÑ* to denote *spardhā* 'competition, bout'.

EXAMPLES:

mallo mallam āhvayate 'one wrestler challenges the other'
chātraś chātram āhvayate 'one student challenges the other'

1. It should be remembered here that *ātmanepada* should be introduced only when 'competition' is denoted. If *hveÑ* simply means 'to call out' and not 'to call out in challenge' introduction of *ātmanepada* becomes optional.

1.3.32 गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कृञः
gandnanāvakṣepaṇasevanasāhasikyapratiyatnaprakathanopayogeṣu kṛñaḥ
lgandhana...yogeṣu 7/3 = *gandhanaṃ ca avakṣepaṇaṃ ca sevanaṃ ca pratiyatnaś ca prakathanaṃ ca upayogaś ca* = *gandhana...yogāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu* = *gandhanā...yogeṣu kṛñaḥ* 5/1/
(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
gandhanādiṣv artheṣu vartamānā karoter ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* 'to do, make' when it denotes

gandhana 'find fault', *avakṣepaṇa* 'condemn, threaten', *sevana* 'serve, obey', *sāhasikya* 'dare', *pratiyatna* 'introducing new quality to something', *prakathana* 'exaggerate', or *upayoga* 'charity'.

EXAMPLES:

utkurute 'he finds fault'
udākurute 'id.'
śyeno vartikām udākurute 'the hawk condemns or threatens the duck'
gaṇakān upākurute 'he follows or obeys the commanders'
mahāmātrān upākurute 'he follows or obeys the chief ministers'
paradārān prakurute 'he dares to seduce someone else's wife'
edhodakasyopaskurute 'the burning wood introduces new quality to the water'
kāṇḍam guḍasyopaskurute 'the okra plant introduces new quality to the jaggery'
gāthāḥ prakurute 'he exaggerates the stories'
janāpavādān prakurute 'he exaggerates the faults of people'
śatam prakurute 'he donates a hundred to charity'
sahasram prakurute 'he donates a thousand to charity'

1. *Kāśikā* (I: 435) explains that *gandhana* denotes 'finding fault with intent to harm' (*apakāraprayuktam hiṃsātmakaṃ sūcanam*). The explanations for the other meaning conditions are as follows: *avakṣepaṇa* = *bhartsana* 'threaten, scorn'; *sevana* = *anuvṛtti* 'follow, obey'; *sāhasikya* = *sāhasikaṃ karma* 'daring act using force'; *pratiyatna* = *sato guṇāntarādhānam* 'bringing a new quality to an existing one'; *prakathana* = *prakarṣeṇa kathanam* 'exaggerate'; and *upayoga* = *dharmādi prayojano viniyogaḥ* 'to donate or invest in charity'.

1.3.33 अधेः प्रसहने
adheḥ prasahane
/*adheḥ* 5/1 *prasahane* 7/1/
(*kṛñaḥ* # 32, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
adhipūrvāt karoteḥ prasahane vartamānād ātmanepadam bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* 'to do, make' when it is used with the preverb *adhi* to denote *prasahana* 'tame, overcome'.

EXAMPLE:

tam adhicakre 'he tamed him'

1.3.34 वेः शब्दकर्मणः
veḥ śabdakarmaṇaḥ
/*veḥ* 5/1 *śabdakarmaṇaḥ* 5/1/
(*kṛñaḥ* # 32, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

vipūrvāt karoter akartrabhiprāye kriyāphale śabdakarmaṇa ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* when it is used with the preverb *vi* and denotes *śabdakarman* 'noise as its object'.

EXAMPLES:

kroṣṭā vikurute svarān 'this jackal (loudmouth) mispronounces'
dhvāṅkṣo vikurute svarān 'this crow (impudent one) mispronounces'

1. The word *karman* here refers to the *kāraka* termed *karman* 'object' and not to *kriyā* 'action'.

1.3.35 अकर्मकाच्च
akarmakāc ca
/*akarmāt* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*veḥ* # 34, *kṛñaḥ* # 32, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
vipūrvāt karoter akarmakakriyāvacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *kṛÑ* used intransitively with the preverb *vi*.

EXAMPLES:

vikurvate saindhavāḥ 'the horses are leaping beautifully'
odanasya pūrṇāś chātrāḥ vikurvate 'the students filled up with rice jump idly'

1.3.36 सम्माननोत्सञ्जनाचार्यकरणज्ञानभृतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः
sammānanotsañjanācāryakaraṇajñānabhṛtivigaṇanavyayeṣu niyaḥ
/*sammānana...vyayeṣu* 7/3 = *sammānanaṃ ca, utsañjanaṃ ca, ācārya-karaṇaṃ ca, jñānaṃ ca, bhṛtiś ca, vigaṇanaṃ ca, vyayaś ca = sammānana...vyayāḥ (itar. dv.), teṣu = sammānana...vyayeṣu; niyaḥ* 5/1/
(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
'ṇīñ prāpaṇe' ity etasmād dhātor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati sammānanādiṣu viśeṣaṇeṣu satsu
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *ṇīÑ* 'to lead' when it denotes *sammānana*, 'respect'; *utsañjana*, 'hurling'; *ācāryakaraṇa*, 'consecrating'; *jñāna*, 'perception, logical understanding'; *bhṛti*, 'wages'; *vigaṇana*, 'paying off debts, taxes, and so on'; or *vyaya*, 'spending in charity'.

EXAMPLES:

nayate cārvī lokāyate '(the teacher) leads the students' intellect toward the logical understanding of the *śāstras*'
māṇavakam udānayate 'he hurls the child'
māṇavakam upanayate 'he consecrates the child'
karmakarān upanayate 'he pays the wages to the workers and in turn makes them favourable'

madrāḥ karaṃ vinayante 'the Madras pay off the taxes'
śataṃ vinayate 'he donates a hundred to charity'
sahasraṃ vinayate 'he donates a thousand to charity'

1. Note that *utsañjana,* 'hurling'; *jñāna,* 'perception, logical understanding'; *vigaṇana,* 'paying off debts, taxes, and so on'; and *vyaya,* 'spending in charity' are generally the meanings of *ṇīÑ.* The other meanings such as *ācāryakaraṇa* are contextual.

In view of 1.3.72 *svarita.., ātmanepada* can be introduced when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present rule allows the use of *ātmanepada* after *ṇīÑ* even when the fruit of the action accrues to someone else. Rule 1.1.72 comes into the picture because *ṇīÑ* is a verb marked with *Ñ (Ñit).*

1.3.37 कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्मणि

kartṛsthe cāśarīre karmaṇi
/*kartṛsthe* 7/1 *ca* Ø *aśarīre* 7/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1/
(niyaḥ # 36, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
kartṛsthe karmaṇy aśarīre sati nayater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *ṇīÑ* when a *karman* 'object' other than *śarīra* 'body' is denoted with its locus in the *kartṛ* 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

krodhaṃ vinayate 'he suppresses (his) anger'
manyuṃ vinayate 'id.'

1. Note that *krodha* and so on are not parts of the body per se. Instead they are emotions present or absent in the body. Also see note 2 on 1.3.36.

1.3.38 वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः

vṛttisargatāyaneṣu kramaḥ
vṛttisargatāyaneṣu 7/3 = *vṛttiś ca sargaś ca tayanam ca* = *vṛttisargatāyanāni (itar. dv.), teṣu* = *vṛttisargatāyaneṣu; kramaḥ* 5/1
(ātmanepadam # 12)
(śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte) vṛtyādiṣv artheṣu kramater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* 'to move' when it denotes *vṛtti* 'uninterrupted movement', *sarga* 'enthusiasm', or *tāyana* 'expansion, growth'.

EXAMPLES:

ṛkṣv asya kramate buddhiḥ 'this one's intellect moves freely in the *ṛk* hymns'
yajuṣv asya kramate buddhiḥ 'this one's intellect moves freely in the *yajuṣ* hymns'

vyākaraṇādhyayanāya kramate 'he feels enthusiastic towards studying grammar'
asmin śāstrāṇi kramante 'in this prosper the *śāstras*'

1. Note that *ātmanepada* can be introduced after *kramŪ* only when *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana* is denoted. Also the root must be used without any preverbs. For the *ātmanepada* usage of *kramŪ* denoting *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana* when used with preverbs *upa* and *parā,* see the following rule.

1.3.39 **उपपराभ्याम्**
upaparābhyām
/*upaparābhyām* 5/2 = *upa ca parā ca* = *upaparau* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām* = *upaparābhyām*/
(*vṛttisargatāyaneṣu* # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
upaparāpūrvāt kramater vṛttyādiṣv artheṣu vartamānād ātmanepadam bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* when it is used with the preverbs *upa* and *parā* to denote *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana.*

EXAMPLES:

upakramate 'he begins'
parākramate 'he moves ahead with courage'

1. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* affixes after *kramŪ* only when *kramŪ* is used with the preverbs *upa* or *parā.* Of course, as in the preceding rule, the denotatum must be *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana.*

1.3.40 **आङ उद्गमने**
āṅa udgamane
/*āṅaḥ* 5/1 *udgamane* 7/1/
(*kramaḥ* # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
āṅpūrvāt kramater udgamane vartamānād ātmanepadam bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* when it is used with the preverb *āṄ* to denote *udgamana* 'rise of celestial beings'.

EXAMPLES:

ākramate candramāḥ 'the moon is on the rise'
ākramante jyotīṃṣi 'the stars are on the rise'

1. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* (I: 442) notes that the rule should be interpreted to give the sense of: 'only when the ascendance of celestial beings is denoted'.

1.3.41 **वेः पादविहरणे**
veḥ pādaviharaṇe

/veḥ 5/1 *pādaviharaṇe* 7/1 =*pādayoḥ viharaṇam (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin* = *pādaviharaṇe/*
(kramaḥ # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
vipūrvāt kramateḥ pādaviharaṇe arthe vartamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* when it is used with the preverb *vi* to denote *pādaviharaṇa* 'nice footwork'.

EXAMPLES:

suṣṭhu vikramate '(the horse) moves beautifully'
sādhu vikramate '(the horse) moves beautifully'

1. A question is raised as to why *ātmanepada* could not be made available to *kramŪ* under rule 1.3.39 *upaparābhyām.* The reason why it could not is that rule 1.3.39 has the *anuvṛtti* of *vṛttisargatāyaneṣu,* a semantic constraint not applicable here.

1.3.42 प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम्
propābhyāṃ samarthābhyām
/propābhyām 5/2 = *praś ca upaś ca (itar. dv.), tābhyām* = *propābhyām; samarthābhyām* 5/2/
(kramaḥ # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
'pra upa' ity etābhyām upasargābhyāṃ parasmāt kramater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati, tau cet propau samarthau tulyārthau bhavataḥ
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kramŪ* when it is used with the preverbs *pra* or *upa* to denote *tulyārtha* 'same sense'.

EXAMPLES:

prakramate bhoktum 'he starts eating'
upakramate bhoktum 'id.'

1. The preverbs *pra* and *upa* used with *kramŪ* here are synonymous, denoting *ādikarman* 'onset of an action'. In other words, *ātmanepada* should be used after *kramŪ* used with the preverb *pra* or *upa* only when the verb denotes onset of an action.

1.3.43 अनुपसर्गाद् वा
anupasargād vā
/anupasargāt 5/1 *vā* 0/
(kramaḥ # 38, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
upasargaviyuktāt kramater ātmanepadaṃ vā bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs optionally after *kramŪ* when it is used without a preverb.

EXAMPLES:

kramate 'he moves'
kramati 'id.'

1. Note that under the provisions of 1.3.38 *vrttisarga...*, *ātmanepada* obligatorily must be introduced after *kramŪ* when it denotes *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana,* and is not used with any preverb. Under the provisions of this rule, the use of *ātmanepada* becomes optional when *kramŪ* is not used with any preverb and does not denote *vṛtti, sarga,* or *tāyana.* This is technically a rule characterizing *aprāptavibhāṣā* 'making something optional which was not'.

1.3.44 **अपह्नवे ज्ञः**

apahnave jñaḥ

/*apahnave* 7/1 *jñaḥ* 5/1/

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

śeṣāt karttari parasmaipada prāpte jānāter apahnave varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *jñā* 'to know' when it denotes *apahnava* 'denial, concealment'.

EXAMPLES:

śatam apajānīte 'you are denying the debt of a hundred'
sahasram apajānīte 'you are denying the debt of a thousand'

1. Note that *parasmaipada* would have become available to *jñā* from rule 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam.* This rule provides for *ātmanepada* under the meaning condition of *apahnava.* Root *jñā* denotes *apahnava* only when it is used with the preverb, and not alone.

1.3.45 **अकर्मकाच्च**

akarmakāc ca

/*akarmakāt* 5/1 *ca* Ø

(*jñaḥ* # 44, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

(*akartrabhiprāyārtham idam*) *kartrabhiprāye hi anupasargād jñaḥ iti jānāter akarmakād akarmakakriyāvacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati*

An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *jñā* when it is used intransitively.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣo jānīte 'he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is ghee'
madhuno jānīte 'he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is honey'

1. Note that for the purpose of this rule *jñā* 'to know' is to be interpreted as meaning *pravṛtti* 'moving ahead'. There may be a doubt regarding the intransitivity of *jñā*, especially in the examples given. Actually, 'ghee', etc., are used here not as the object of knowing, but as the means of performing the ritual with the knowledge of them.

1.3.46 **सम्प्रतिभ्यामनध्याने**

sampratibhyām anadhyāne

/sampratibhyām 5/2 = *saṃ ca prati ca = sampratī (itar. dv.), tābhyām = sampratibhyām; anadhyāne* 7/1 = *na ādhyānam = anadhyānam (nañ. tat.), tasmin = anadhyāne*
(jñaḥ # 44, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
'saṃ prati' ity evaṃ pūrvāt jānāter anādhyāne varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *jñā* when it is used with the preverbs *sam* or *prati* but does not denote *ādhyāna* 'sad memories'.

EXAMPLES:

śataṃ saṃjānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one hundred'
sahasraṃ saṃjānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one thousand'
śataṃ pratijānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one hundred'
sahasraṃ pratijānīte 'he affirms (the loan of) one thousand'

1. This rule is split in two by *yogavibhāga*. The first rule will be: *saṃpratibhyām 'ātmanepada* occurs after *jñā* when it is used with *sam* or *prati'*. The second rule will be: *anādhyāne 'ātmanepada* occurs after *jñā* when it is used with *sam* or *prati* and *ādhyāna* is not being expressed'. Thus *yogavibhāga* sets aside the application of 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca*. The condition of *anādhyāna* is important, as in its absence *ātmanepada* will be blocked. For example, *mātuḥ samjānāti* 'remembers his mother (misses her)'. The *ṣaṣṭhī mātuḥ* is allowed by 2.3.52 *adhīgartha....*

1.3.47 भासनोपसंभाषज्ञानयत्नविमत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः
bhāsanopasaṃbhāṣājñānayatnavimatyupamantraṇeṣu vadaḥ
/bhāsanopa...mantraṇeṣu 7/3 = *bhāsanañ ca upasaṃbhāṣā ca jñānañ ca yatnañ ca vimatiś ca upamantraṇañ ca = bhāsanopa...mantraṇāni (itar. dv.), teṣu = bhāsanopa...mantraṇeṣu vadaḥ* 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
(śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte) bhāsanādiṣu viśeṣaṇeṣusatsu vadater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *vadÁ* 'to speak' when it denotes *bhāsana*, 'gleam, sparkle, glitter'; *upasaṃbhāṣa*, 'conciliation, consolation, solace'; *jñāna*, 'proper understanding'; *yatna*, 'effort, enthusiasm'; *vimati*, 'disputation, argument'; or *upamantraṇa*, 'consultation, enticement'.

EXAMPLES:

vadate cārvī lokāyate 'his intellect sparkles (illuminates) the *śāstras*'
karmakarān upavadate 'he consoles the workers'
kṣetre vadate 'he is enthusiastic in the field'
gehe vadate 'he is enthusiastic in his house'
kṣetre vivadante 'they argue in the field'

gehe vivadante 'they argue in the house'
kulabhāryām upavadate 'he entices the virtuous women'
paradārān upavadate 'he entices someone else's wife'

1. Note that *upasaṃbhāṣa* and *upamantraṇa* are the literal meanings; the rest are contextual.

1.3.48 व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे

vyaktavācām samuccāraṇe
/vyaktavācām 6/3 = vyaktā vāg yeṣām (bv.), te = vyaktavācām; samuccāraṇe 7/1 (prādi tat.)/
(vadaḥ # 47, ātmanepadam # 12)
vyaktavācāṃ samuccāraṇaṃ (sahoccāraṇaṃ), tatra varttamānād vadater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *vadÅ* when it denotes *samuccāraṇa* 'simultaneous recital, speaking' of *vyaktavāk* 'distinct, audible speech'.

EXAMPLES:

saṃpravadante brāhmaṇāḥ 'the brāhmaṇas recite together'
saṃpravadante kṣatriyāḥ 'the kṣatriyas recite together'

1. The expressions *vyaktavāk* 'distinct, audible speech' and *samuccāraṇa* 'simultaneous speech' are important. Humans are referred to as *vyaktavāk* since their speech is 'distinct, audible' in the sense of having a system of structure and meaning. As opposed to this, animal noise is considered *avyaktavāk*. Thus the purpose of using *vyaktavāk* is not simply to require audibility or clarity. The condition of *samuccāraṇa* is also necessary because, in the absence of collective speech, *parasmaipada* should be used. Observe: *brāhmaṇo vadati* 'the brāhmaṇa is speaking'.

1.3.49 अनोरकर्मकात्

anor akarmakāt
/anoḥ 5/1 akarmakāt 5/1/
(vyaktavācāṃ samuccāraṇe # 48, vadaḥ # 47, ātmanepadam # 12)
anupūrvād vadater akarmakād vyaktavāg viṣayād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *vadÅ* when it is used intransitively with the preverb *anu* to denote *samuccāraṇa* of *vyaktavāk* (see rule 1.3.48 for details).

EXAMPLES:

anuvadate kaṭhaḥ kalāpasya 'the *kaṭha* (a reciter of the *kaṭha* school) imitates the chanting of the *kalāpa* (a reciter of the *kalāpa* school)'
anuvadate maudgaḥ paippalādasya 'the *maudga* (a reciter of the *mudga*

school) imitates the chanting of the *paippalāda* (a reciter of the *pippalāda* school)'

1. The sense of *anu* here is *sādṛśya* 'similarity'. That is why *kalāpasya* has got the genitive by 2.3.72 *tulyārthair*.... This *sādṛśya* is restricted to recital only, which is why the object remains unexpressed and residual *(śeṣa) ṣaṣṭhī* (2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*) is used.

1.3.50 **विभाषा विप्रलापे**

vibhāṣā vipralāpe
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *vipralāpe* 7/1/
(*vyaktavācāṃ samuccāraṇe* # 48, *vadaḥ* # 47, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
vipralāpātmake vyaktavācāṃ samuccāraṇe varttamānād vadater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs optionally after *vadA* when it denotes *samuccāraṇa* of *vyaktavāk* with *vipralāpa* 'nonsense, contradiction'.

EXAMPLES:

vipravadante sāṃvatsarāḥ 'the astrologers are speaking aloud, contradicting each other'
vipravadanti sāṃvatsarāḥ 'id.'
vipravadante mauhūrttāḥ 'id.'
vipravadanti mauhūrttāḥ 'id.'

1.3.51 **अवाद्ग्रः**

avād graḥ
/*avād* 5/1 *graḥ* 5/1/
(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
avapūrvād girater ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *gṛ* 'to swallow' when it is used with the preverb *ava*.

EXAMPLES:

avagirate 'he swallows'
avagirete 'they (two) swallow'
avagirante 'they (pl.) swallow'

1. The word *graḥ* here refers to *gṛ* 'to swallow' which has been cited in the class headed by *tud* 'to torment'. It could not refer to *gṛ* 'to make noise' because the latter is not used with *ava*.

1.3.52 **समः प्रतिज्ञाने**

samaḥ pratijñāne
/*samaḥ* 5/1 *pratijñāne* 7/1/

(*grah* # 51, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
saṃ pūrvād girateḥ pratijñāne varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *gr̥* when it is used with the preverb *sam* to denote *pratijñāna* 'to concur, accept, admit'.

EXAMPLES:

śataṃ saṃgirate 'he admits (that he owes) a hundred'
nityaṃ śabdaṃ saṃgirate 'he admits that *śabda* 'word' is *nitya* 'eternal'

1. The word *pratijñāna* has been glossed by commentators as *abhyupagama* 'to accept or admit something to be true'.

1.3.53 उदश्चरः सकर्मकात्
udaś carah sakarmakāt
/*udaḥ* 5/1 *caraḥ* 5/1 *sakarmakāt* 5/1/
(*atmanepadam* # 12)
(*śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte*) *utpūrvāc carateḥ sakarmaka-kriyāvacanād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati*
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *car* 'to move' when it is used transitively with the preverb *ut*.

EXAMPLES:

geham uccarate 'he leaves defying the family'
kuṭumbam uccarate 'he leaves defying the clan'
guruvacanam uccarate 'he leaves defying the advice of the teacher'

1 Note that in the absence of this rule, 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam* would provide for *parasmaipada*. Transitive usage is required to rule out examples such as *vāṣpam uccarati* 'the vapour is rising'. Also note that *utcara* in the above transitive usage means 'defy, disregard'.

1.3.54 समस्तृतीयायुक्तात्
samas tr̥tīyāyuktāt
/*samaḥ* 5/1 *tr̥tīyāyuktāt* 5/1 = *tr̥tīyayā yuktaḥ* = *tr̥tīyāyuktaḥ (tr. tat.), tasmāt* = *tr̥tīyāyuktāt*/
(*caraḥ* # 53, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
saṃ pūrvāc carates tr̥tīyāyuktād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *car* when it is used with the preverb *sam* along with a *pada* in *tr̥tīyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvena saṃcarate 'he moves on a horse'

1. Note that *tr̥tīyā* refers to the third triplet of *sUP*. The connection of *sam-car* with such a *pada* is established by meaning. Thus: *aśvena saṃcarate*

'he moves on (by means of) a horse'. However, for the use of *ātmanepada* after *sam-car*, one must have the relatable *pada*, here *aśvena*, in *tṛtīyā*. Consider, for example, *rathikāḥ saṃcaranti* 'the charioteers are wandering', where even though the semantic connection may be understood, the verb takes *parasmaipada* because of the lack of a *pada*, in this case *rathikāḥ*, in *tṛtīyā*.

1.3.55 **दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे**

dāṇaś ca sā cec caturthyarthe
/*dāṇaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø *sā* 1/1 *cet* Ø *caturthyarthe* 7/1/
(*samaḥ* # 54, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
(*dāṇ dāne parasmaipadī*) *tataḥ saṃpūrvāt tṛtīyāyuktād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati, sā cet tṛtīyā caturthyarthe bhavati*
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after *dāṆ* 'to give' when it is used with the preverb *sam* along with a *pada* in *tṛtīyā* provided the *tṛtīyā* is used in the sense of *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

dāsyā mālāṃ saṃprayacchate 'he is giving the garland to (seduce) the maid'

1. The nominal ending *tṛtīyā* is used in the sense of *caturthī* when *aśiṣṭavyavahāra* 'unbecoming behaviour' is denoted. It is because of this that *dāsī* is put in the instrumental instead of the dative. See the *vārttika* (*Mbh.* II: 259) under this rule: *aśiṣṭavyavahāre tṛtīyā caturthyarthe bhavati*.

2. Note that *samaḥ* brought by *anuvṛtti* from the previous rule must here, as well as in the previous rule, be interpreted as ending in genitive. For if interpreted as ending in ablative, 1.3.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya* would not allow any intervening preverb between *sam* and *car* or *sam* and *dāṆ*. That is, rules 1.3.54 through 1.3.55 cannot allow *ātmanepada* if *sam* and *car* or *sam* and *dāṆ* are interrupted by any preverbs. Thus an example like *rathena samudācarate* will not come under the provisions of 1.3.54. If the *samaḥ* of 1.3.55 is interpreted as ablative, examples such as *saṃprayacchate* where *sam* and *yam* are interrupted by *pra* will be ruled out. This attests to the fact that in both 1.3.54 and 1.3.55 *samaḥ* should be interpreted as ending in genitive. This in turn will make *samaḥ* a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) of *car* and *dāṆ*, its qualifieds (*viśeṣya*).

1.3.56 **उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे**

upād yamaḥ svakaraṇe
/*upāt* 5/1 *yamaḥ* 5/1 *svakaraṇe* 7/1/
(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
(*śeṣāt karttari parasmaipade prāpte*) *upa pūrvād yamaḥ svakaraṇe vartamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati*

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *yamA* 'to give' when it is used with the preverb *upa* to denote *svīkaraṇa* 'to accept in marriage, marry'.

EXAMPLE:

bhāryām upayacchate 'he accepts (her) as his wife'

1. Where *Kāśikā* interprets *svakaraṇa* exclusively as *pāṇigrahaṇa* 'to accept in marriage', the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 260) interprets it as 'accepting something as one's own' in general. Why did Pāṇini not use *svīkaraṇa,* a form including the *taddhita* affix *CvI? Padamañjarī* says that 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* would allow one to use *CvI* optionally. That is, both *svakaraṇa* and *svīkaraṇa* would be correct.

There is basic disagreement about the meaning of *svakaraṇa* between the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya. Kāśikā* cites *devadatto yajñadattasya bhāryām upayaccati* as a counter-example, to explain that if 'Devadatta accepts Yajñadatta's wife as a maidservant', *upayam* must take *parasmaipada.* Thus *ātmanepada* should be used only when *svakaraṇa* means marriage. The *Mahābhāṣya,* however, would allow the above sentence to have the verb in *ātmanepadā* even if marriage is not the meaning.

1.3.57 **ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः**

jñāśrusmṛdśāṃ sanaḥ

/jñāśrusmṛdṛśām 6/3 = *jñā cạ śru ca smṛ ca dṛś ca = jñāśrusmṛdṛśaḥ (itar. dv.), teṣām = jnàsrusmṛdṛsaṃ; sanaḥ* 5/1/

(ātmanepadam # 12)

jñā, śru, smṛ, dṛś ity eteṣāṃ sannantānām ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after the *saN* form of *jñā,* 'to know'; *śru,* 'to hear'; *smṛ,* 'to remember'; and *dṛśIR,* 'to see'.

EXAMPLES:

dharmaṃ jijñāsate 'he wishes to know about *dharma*'
guruṃ śuśrūṣate 'he wishes to hear the teacher'
naṣṭaṃ susmūrṣate 'he wishes to remember the lost'
nṛpaṃ didṛkṣate 'he wishes to see the king'

1. It should be noted here that *ātmanepada* may become available to these roots by rules 1.3.29 *samo gam...,* 1.3.44 *apahnave jñaḥ,* 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca,* 1.3.46 *sampratibhyām anādhyāne,* and the *vārttika: artiśrudṛśibhyaś ca* (on 7.1.7 *vetter vibhāṣā).* The *ātmanepada* after the *saN* forms of these roots may similarly become available by 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ.* Why did Pāṇini formulate this rule if he could provide for the *ātmanepada* elsewhere? The answer is that the present rule provides *ātmanepada* outside conditions, such as *apahnava* in 1.3.44, set by the above rules. Thus this rule provides for *ātmanepada* which was not available elsewhere.

1.3.58 नानोर्ज्ञः

nānor jñaḥ

/*na* Ø *anoḥ* 5/1 *jñaḥ* 5/1/

(*sanaḥ* # 57, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

anupūrvāj jānāteḥ sannantād ātmanepadaṃ na bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix does not occur after the *saN* form of *jñā* when it is used with the preverb *anu*.

EXAMPLE:

putram anujijñāsati 'he wishes to permit his son'

1. This rule negates the provisions of the preceding rule whereby *ātmanepada* is allowed after the *saN* form of *jñā*. It should be remembered that what is provided for by 1.3.57 is the transitive use of *jñā*. That same use of *jñā* preceded by *anu* and its underlying *saN* form is disallowed by the present rule to take *ātmanepada*. The intransitive usage of *jñā* discussed under 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca* cannot be blocked by this rule because:

(*a*) this rule can only block the most immediate rule (see *paribhāṣā* 62: *anantarasya vidhir vā pratiṣedho vā*), and

(*b*) 1.3.45 does not account for *saN* forms of *jñā*.

In a way this rule is a prior exception to 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ*, which allows *ātmanepada* after the *saN* form of those verbs which may have *ātmanepada* after their non-*saN* forms. Note, however, that only the intransitive *jñā* preceded by *anu* and underlying *saN* can be blocked from taking *ātmanepada*. Its transitive usage, such as *auṣadhasya anujijñāsate* 'wishes to move ahead by means of medicine', will still require *ātmanepada* by 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ*.

1.3.59 प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः

pratyāṅbhyāṃ śruvaḥ

/*pratyāṅbhyām* 5/2 *śruvaḥ* 5/1/

(*na* # 58, *sanaḥ* # 57, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

'prati, āṅ' ity evaṃ pūrvāc chṛṇoteḥ sannantād ātmanepadaṃ na bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix does not occur after the *saN* form of *śru* when it is used with the preverbs *prati* or *āN*.

EXAMPLES:

pratiśuśrūṣati 'he wishes to hear the response'

āśuśrūṣati 'he wishes to hear properly'

1. Note that because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *śru*, a verb root, *prati*, as well as *āN*, must be interpreted as a preverb and not as *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ*). Thus, *śru* used with the *karmapravacanīya prati* will still be allowed to take *ātmanepada*, as in *devadattaṃ*

prati śuśrūṣate. Since *prati* in this example is a *karmapravacanīya,* and hence can only be relatable to *devadatta,* the question of its blocking the *ātmanepada* via 1.3.59 does not arise.

1.3.60 **शदेः शितः**

śadeḥ śitaḥ

|śadeḥ 5/1 *śitaḥ* 6/1

(ātmanepadam # 12)

śadir yaḥ śit, śidbhāvī śito vā sambandhī tasmād ātmanepadam bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *śadLR̥* 'to cut' when it is to be used with an item marked with *Ś.*

EXAMPLES:

śīyate 'he cuts'
śīyete 'they (two) cut'
śīyante 'they (pl.) cut'

1. Note that *śadlR̥* is a root which should normally take *parasmaipada.* This rule provides for *ātmanepada* under the condition that an affix marked with *Ś* will be introduced after it. This needs some explanation. If *śadeḥ śitaḥ* of this rule is interpreted as, *ātmanepada* occurs after that which is marked with *Ś,* and occurs after *śadLR̥,* then *ātmanepada* will have to wait until an item marked with *Ś* is introduced. In the meantime, the abstract *LA* suffix would have been replaced by *parasmaipada,* as provided for by 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttiari parasmaipada.* Once *parasmaipada* is introduced, *ātmanepada* can never be introduced. This is the difficulty in interpreting *śadeḥ* (5/1) *śitaḥ* (5/1) as *śadeḥ paro yaḥ śit tasmāt* 'after that *śit* which occurs after *śad.*

Since *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* affixes are always introduced prior to the *vikaraṇa* 'augments', in the present context an item marked with *Ś,* *śadeḥ śitaḥ* must be interpreted in such a way that

(*a*) *ātmanepada* may be introduced after *śadLR̥,* and
(*b*) the condition of *śit* is also met.

For this reason *Kāśikā* interprets *śadeḥ śitaḥ* as '*ātmanepada* occurs after that *śadLR̥* after which an affix marked with *Ś* will be introduced'. That is, *śadLR̥* will definitely require an affix marked with *Ś* after the *LA* affix is replaced; and then the *LA* affix must be replaced by *ātmanepada.* In this way, the question of introducing a *śit* affix before the replacement of *LA* by *ātmanepada* does not arise.

1.3.61 **म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङोश्च**

mriyater luṅliṅoś ca

|mriyateḥ 5/1 *luṅliṅoḥ* 7/2 = *luṅ ca liṅ ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ = luṅliṅoḥ; ca ∅|*

(śitaḥ # 60, *ātmanepadam #* 12)

mriyater luṅliṅoḥ śitaś ca ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *mṛṄ* 'to die'when it is used in *LUṄ* 3.2.110 *luṅ), LIṄ* (3.3.159 *liṅ ca),* or with an item marked with *Ś*.

EXAMPLES:

amṛta 'he died'
mṛṣīṣṭa 'may he die'
mriyate 'he dies'
mriyete 'they (two) die'
mriyante 'they (pl.) die'

1. Note that *mṛṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*, and as such, 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ...* will automatically provide for *ātmanepada* in general. However, Pāṇini formulates this rule as a restriction *(niyama).* He employs this rule to restrict the blanket introduction of *ātmanepada* only to those instances where
(*a*) either *ātmanepada* is to replace *LUṄ* or *LIṄ*, or
(*b*) an affix marked with *Ś* is to be introduced after *mṛN*.

Needless to say, this *śit* affix will be introduced after *ātmanepada* has replaced an *LA* affix. The first two examples illustrate the replacement of *LUṄ* and *LIṄ* by *ātmanepada*. Bhaṭṭoji (*SK* ad 1.3.62 *pūrvavat...)* suggests that 1.3.60 and 1.3.61 should be interpreted via *yogavibhāga*. For this, he also recommends that *sanaḥ* and *na* be carried via *anuvṛtti* from 1.3.57 *jñāśru...sanaḥ* and 1.3.58 *nānor jñaḥ*. The two rules resulting from *yogavibhāga* would be:
(*a*) *śadeḥ śitaḥ mriyater luṅliṅoś ca*
'*ātmanepada* occurs after *śadLṚ* only when an item marked with *Ś* is to be introduced after it, and after *mṛṄ* only when it either occurs before *LUṄ* or *LIṄ*, or an item marked with *Ś* is to be introduced after it', and
(*b*) *sano na*
'*ātmanepada* does not occur after the *saN* form of *śadLṚ* or *mṛṄ*'.

The first split rule will provide for the derivation of *śīyate, mriyate, mamāra,* and so on. The second rule will block *ātmanepada* in deriving *śiśitsati* and *mumūrṣati,* and so on.

1.3.62 पूर्ववत्सनः

pūrvavat sanaḥ
/pūrvavāt Ø sanaḥ 5/1/
(ātmanepadam # 12)
san pūrvo yo dhātuḥ ātmanepadī tadvat sannantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a *saN* form of a root in the same manner in which it occurs after the preceding (non-*saN)* form.

EXAMPLES:

āsisiṣate 'he wishes to sit'
śiśayiṣate 'he wishes to recline'
niviśate 'he enters'
nivivikṣate 'he wishes to enter'
ākramate 'he moves ahead, attacks'
ācikraṃsate 'he wishes to move ahead, attack'

1. The compound *pūrvavat* must be interpreted as *pūrveṇatulyam,* where the affix *vatI* has been introduced by 5.1.115 *tena tulyam....* As is obvious, the present *sūtra* is an extension *(atideśa)* rule. As such it provides for the introduction of *ātmanepada* by means of *nimitta* 'cause, reason'. Commentators call this *nimittātideśa.* In view of this, the present rule provides for the introduction of *ātmanepada* after the *saN* form of a root for reasons similar to the introduction of *ātmanepada* after the non-*saN* form. Thus the reasons which were responsible for the introduction of *ātmanepada* after a given root will automatically be extended to the corresponding *saN* form by 1.1.62. Consequently, *ātmanepada* is ruled by 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ...* after *ās* and *śīṄ,* because *ās* is marked with *anudātta* and *śīṄ* is marked with *Ṅ.* For the same reasons the *saN* forms of these roots, namely, *āsisiṣate* and *śiśayiṣate* must also take *ātmanepada.* The same holds for *niviśate* and *nivivikṣate* and for *ākramate* and *ācikraṃsate,* where 1.3.17 *ner viśaḥ* and 1.3.49 *āṅ udgamane* allow the *ātmanepada.*

One may wonder why *śadLṚ* and *mṛṄ* have *ātmanepada* forms *śīyate* and *mriyate* while their corresponding *saN* forms, such as *śiśitsati* and *mumūrṣati,* have *parasmaipada.* This is simply due to the absence of conditions proposed by 1.3.61 *mriyate....* That is, *ātmanepada* was only allowed under the special conditions of a subsequent introduction of *śit, LUṄ,* or *LIṄ.* These conditions are not met by *śiśitsati* and *mumūrṣati.* The *saN* forms of *kṛÑ* such as *anucikīrṣati* and *parācikīrṣati* also have *parasmaipada.* A question may arise as to why these forms should take *parasmaipada* when under certain meaning conditions, their non-*saN* counterparts were allowed *ātmanepada* (see 1.3.32 *gandhana...*). If *anucikīrṣati* and *parācikīrṣati* meet those meaning conditions then they must take *ātmanepada* in accordance with 1.3.62. An answer to this is that the *ātmanepada* provided for by 1.3.32 is blocked by the *parasmaipada* provided for by 1.3.79 *anuparābhyām...* If *ātmanepada* is blocked by *parasmaipada* in the non-*saN* form, it should also be blocked in the corresponding *saN* form.

The preceding discussion indicates that 1.3.62 allows *ātmanepada,* based on reasons for which *ātmanepada* is introduced after the earlier non-*saN* form of a root. But what if a root is always used with *saN*? That is, if it does not have a non-*saN* form to which reference can be made for the introduction of *ātmanepada?* The answer is to look for the characteristic marks in

the root, and if it is marked with a sign which requires *ātmanepada*, use *ātmanepada*.

There are seven roots which are never used without *saN: gup, tij, kit, mān, vadha, dān,* and *śān*. These are all marked with *anudātta* as *it*. This allows the introduction of *ātmanepada* by 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ*.... One may argue here that it is *gup* and so on, not *gup* + *saN*, which is marked with *anudātta*. As such, how can *gup* + *saN* be qualified as being marked with *anudātta* and hence be allowed to take *ātmanepada*? *Kāśikā* (I: 459) invokes the maxim: *avayave kṛtaṃ liṅgaṃ samudāyasya viśeṣakaṃ bhavati* 'a mark made on a part of a whole qualifies the whole'. That is, *anudātta* marked on *gup* will also qualify *gup* + *saN*. This resolves the difficulty in introducing *ātmanepada* in examples such as *jugupsate* and *mīmāṃsate*.

However, such a solution may create problems for the causal forms *jugupsayati* and *mīmāṃsayati*. If a mark made on the part (*gup* and so on) qualifies the whole (*gup* + *saN*), then that mark should also qualify such wholes as *gup* + *saN* + *ṆiC*. This would then block *parasmaipada* in *jugupsayati*. This difficulty necessitates a refinement of the argument based on the marking of a part qualifying a whole. It should be restricted as follows: a mark made on a part qualifies only that whole which is comprised of parts never leaving the whole. Since *saN* never leaves *gup*, a mark made on *gup* will qualify *gup* + *saN*. But *ṆiC* of *gup* + *saN* + *ṆiC* is a part which may leave the whole. Therefore, *gup* + *saN* + *ṆiC* is a whole which cannot be qualified by the mark made on *gup*. This is the reason why *jugupsayati* and so on may take *parasmaipada*.

1.3.63 **आम्प्रत्ययवत्कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्य**

āmpratyayavat kṛño' nuprayogasya

/*āmpratyayavat* Ø = *ām pratyayo yasmāt sa* = *āmpratyayaḥ (bv.), tasya iva* = *āmpratyayavat; kṛñaḥ* 5/1 *anuprayogasya* 6/1/

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

āmpratyayasyaiva dhātoḥ kṛño' nuprayogasyātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* in a manner similar to the root which *kṛÑ* follows and after which the affix *ām* has been introduced.

EXAMPLES:

īkṣāñcakre 'he saw'
īhāñcakre 'he tried'

1. Note here that *kṛñaḥ* is marked with *Ñ*, which will enable it to take *ātmanepada* when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent (see 1.3.72 *svarita...*). The present rule provides for *ātmanepada* even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. However, this *ātmanepada* is conditioned by a preceding root which terminates in *ām*. If *kṛÑ* is not used with a preceding verb ending in *ām*, *ātmanepada* cannot be allowed under

the provisions of this rule. This restriction makes the present rule a restrictive rule (*niyama*).

Furthermore, this rule also provides that the ending after *kṛÑ* should be introduced in a manner corresponding to the preceding root terminating in *ām*. If the preceding root allows *parasmaipada, kṛÑ* will therefore take *parasmaipada*. If the preceding root allows both, *kṛÑ* may take one or the other. This provision that *kṛÑ* should follow the preceding root in the selection of *ātmanepada* or *parasmaipada* makes the present rule an operational rule (*vidhi*) as well.

Refer to the notes under the preceding rule for further details. Derivational details may be found in the appendix under this and the preceding rules.

In order to arrive at both the *niyama* and the *vidhi* interpretations of this rule, commentators say that *pūrvavat* of 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ* is to be carried by *anuvṛtti*, and that the present rule should be interpreted by *yogavibhāga*. There would then be two rules:

(*a*) *āmpratyayavat kṛño' nuprayogasya*, and

(*b*) *pūrvavat kṛño' nuprayogasya*.

The first interpretation would provide *vidhi* status while the second would provide *niyama*. However, interpreting this rule via *yogavibhāga* is prolix (*gaurava*). The affix *vatĪ* of *āmpratyayavat* itself can account for both interpretations:

(*a*) *ātmanepada* should occur only when *kṛÑ* follows a root terminating in *ām*, and

(*b*) the ending should occur in the same manner as it does after the root underlying *ām*.

Thus, *pūrvavat* should not be carried. Some argue that carrying *pūrvavat* from the preceding rule is still necessary for treating this rule as a *niyama* 'restriction'. This is attested to by the dictum of *siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*, 'a provision even when one can do without is made for *niyama*'.

2. The word *āmpratyayaḥ* should not be interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* compound with the paraphrase *ām cāsau pratyayaḥ* = *āmpratyayaḥ, ām* which is also the affix'. Instead, it should be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* with the paraphrase *āmpratyayo yasmāt sa āmpratyayaḥ*, 'that after which affix *ām* occurs'. This *bahuvrīhi* should also be accepted as *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna*, and not as *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna*. A *bahuvrīhi* where the compound does not qualify any of its constituent meanings is termed *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna*. In other words, where the compound does not permit any of its constituents to be construed with the verb, it is called *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna*. Conversely, a *bahuvrīhi* which allows a constituent to be construed with the verb is called *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna*. For example, consider the following:

(*a*) *sukeśīm ānaya* 'bring her who has beautiful hair'

(*b*) *citragum ānaya* 'bring him who owns brindled cows'

The first example is a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna bahuvrīhi,* as opposed to the second, which is an *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna.* This distinction is based on the understanding that if one obeys the command implied by sentence (*a*), one would bring the woman who has beautiful hair. That is, the constituent *keśa* 'hair' will be construed with the verb. In response to the command of (*b*), however, *go* 'cow' will not be construed with the verb. It is the person who owns the brindled cows who will be brought, and not the cows. Given this distinction, the compound *āmpratyayaḥ* should be interpreted as an *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna,* for it refers to the root after which the affix *ām* occurs, and not to the affix *ām* itself.

The word *anuprayoga* is derived from *anu-pra-yuj* + *GHaÑ,* where *GHaÑ* is introduced to denote *karman.* The genitive in *anuprayogasya* is used in the sense of ablative.

1.3.64 प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु

propābhyāṃ yujer ayajñapātreṣu

/*propābhyām* 5/2 *yujeḥ* 5/1 *ayajñapātreṣu* 7/3 = *yajñasya pātrām* = *yajñapātrāṇi* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na yajñāpātrāṇi* = *ayajñapātrāṇi* (*nañ. tat.*); *teṣu* = *ayajñapātreṣu*/

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

pra, upa ity evaṃ pūrvād yujer ayajñapātraprayogaviṣayād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *yujIR* 'to join, yoke' when it is used with the preverbs *pra* and *upa* provided there is no reference to *yajñapātra* 'ritual vessel'.

EXAMPLE:

prayuṅte 'he makes use of'

1. Verbal root *yuj* 'join' has been enumerated with *svarita* as its *it.* As a consequence, *ātmanepada* is available to it by rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...* providing, of course, that the fruit of the action does accrue to the agent.

Also note that any reference to ritual vessels will require *parasmaipada,* as in *dvandvaṃ nyañci pātrāṇi prayunakti* 'he places the ritual vessels upside down in a set of two'.

1.3.65 समः क्ष्णुवः

samaḥ kṣṇuvaḥ

/*samaḥ* 5/1 *kṣṇuvaḥ* 5/1/

(*ātmanepadam* # 12)

('*kṣṇu tejane*' *parasmaipadī*) *tataḥ sampūrvād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati*

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *kṣṇu* 'to sharpen' when it is used with the preverb *sam.*

EXAMPLES:

saṃkṣṇute 'he sharpens'
saṃkṣṇavāte 'they (two) sharpen'
saṃkṣṇuvate 'they (pl.) sharpen'

1. Note that verbal root *kṣṇu* 'sharpen, whet' does not take *ātmanepada*. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* when the root is used with the preverb *sam*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 275) raises the question why *ātmanepada* was not made available to this root under the provisions of 1.3.29 *samo gamyṛcchibhyām*. The answer is that roots *gam*, etc., used with *sam* as their preverb, were intended to be *akarmaka* 'intransitive'. This rule implies that *kṣṇu* used with *sam* is transitive (*sakarmaka*). This therefore explains why *kṣṇu* could not be included in the roots of 1.3.29.

1.3.66 भुजोऽनवने
bhujo' navane
/*bhujaṇ* 5/1 *anavane* 7/1/
(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
(*'bhujo pālanābhyavahārayoḥ' iti rudhādau paṭhyate) tasmād anavane (apālane) varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati*
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *bhujĀ* 'to consume, eat' when it does not denote *avana* 'protect, preserve'.

EXAMPLES:

bhuṅkte 'he eats'
bhuñjāte 'they (two) eat'

1. The word *bhujaḥ* 'after the verbal root *bhuj*' here refers to verbal root *bhuj* 'to raise, consume', listed in the class of roots headed by *rudh* 'obstruct'. Obviously, the *bhuj* 'to bend' listed in the class of roots headed by *tud* 'torment' is ruled out. How do we know this? We know it by the use of the negation *anavane* 'when *avana* "to raise" is not being denoted'. Since *avana* happens to be the meaning of *bhuj* listed in the *rudh* class, and also since the negation (by association, or *sāhacarya*) implies that the meaning of *bhuj* is 'to consume', the *bhuj* of the class of roots headed by *tud* must be ruled out. It is for this reason that sentences such as

(*a*) *vibhujati pāṇim* 'he bends (his) hand'

do not qualify for *ātmanepada*.

The association implied by the negation *anavane* and its subsequent impact, the exclusion of the *bhuj* of the *tud* class, is justified by sentences like the following:

(*b*) *sakuṇḍalaṃ hariṃ smarati bālaḥ* 'the child remembers Hari with ear-rings'

The word *hari* is interpreted here as meaning Kṛṣṇa, and not a monkey, because of Hari's association with *kuṇḍala* 'ear-ring'. If this association can work in the case of a positive provision, it should also work in the case of its negative counterpart. Thus, consider

(*c*) *akuṇḍalaṃ harim smarati bālaḥ* 'the child remembers Kṛṣṇa without ear-rings'

It is in this way that the negation *anavane* rules out the *bhuj* of the *tud* class.

1.3.67 **णेरणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत्स कर्त्तानाध्याने**

ṇer aṇau yat karma ṇau cet sa karttānādhyāne

/ṇeḥ 5/1 *aṇau* 7/1 *yat* 1/1 *karma* 1/1 *ṇau* 7/1 *cet* Ø *saḥ* 1/1 *karttā* 1/1 *anādhyāne* 7/1 = *na ādhyānam (nañ. tat.); tasmin = anādhyāne/* (*ātmanepadam* # 12)

ṇyantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati; aṇau yat karma cet tad eva karma, sa eva karttā bhavati, anādhyāne (ādhyānaṃ varjayitvā)

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a root which terminates in *Ṅic* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca)* provided its agent (*kartṛ*) is the same as the object (*karman*) of its non-*ṆiC* counterpart and *ādhyāna* 'sad memory' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ 'the trainers mount the elephant'
ārohayate hastī svayameva 'the elephant allows itself to be mounted by the trainers'
upasiñcanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ 'the trainers are bathing the elephant'
upasecayate hastī svayameva 'the elephant bathes itself'
paśyanti bhṛtyā rājānam 'the servants are looking at the king'
darśayate rājā svayameva 'the king shows himself'

1. The word *ṇeḥ* is used here in the general sense *(sāmanya-nirdeśa)* 'of that which ends in *Ṇi*'. However, it cannot refer to the *Ṇi* of rule 3.1.20 *pucchabhāṇḍacīvarāṇ ṇin* because the condition of the object of a non-*ṆiC* sentence becoming the agent of a *ṆiC* sentence will be impossible to meet. The *Ṇi* of rule 3.1.30 *kamer ṇiṅ,* though it meets the requirement of a non-*Ṇic* object, would also be excluded from being covered by this rule, for *ātmanepada* will be available to it by rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita...* on the strength of *ṆiṄ* being marked with *Ṅ*. Thus we get:

(*a*) *kamiṣyate yoṣitam devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta would desire a woman'

(*b*) *kāmayiṣyate yoṣit svayam eva* 'the woman would allow herself to become desired'

Note that the *ātmanepada* of roots which end in *ṆiC,* and where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, is already made available by rule 1.3.27 *ṣvaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale.* Rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...* is therefore

intended to cover those particular instances where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent *(akartrabhiprāyakriyāphala)*.

2. If one interprets rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...* according to the principle of single sentenceness *(ekavākyatā)*, one would get the following paraphrase:

> *ṇyantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavaty aṇyantāvasthāyāṃ yat karma ṇyantāvasthāyāṃ yadi sa karttā bhavati ādhyānād anyatra* 'ātmanepada occurs after a verb root ending in *ṆiC*, providing the object of its non-*ṆiC* counterpart becomes the agent in the *ṆiC* sentence and the usage entails something other than *ādhyāna* 'wistful remembrance'.

This interpretation, however, does not exclude the possibility of the involvement of an additional object *(karmāntara)*. So we get:

(*c*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ tān ārohayati hastī* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; the elephant allows them to mount'

The elephant is the object of mounting in the first part of the sentence, which is non-causal. The same elephant becomes the agent in the second part, but there is an additional object denoted by *tān* 'them'. This is the reason why sentence (*c*) does not avail itself of *ātmanepada* by this rule. A sentence parallel to (*c*), where *ātmanepada* can be introduced by rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...* will be:

(*d*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ ārohayate hastī svayam eva* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; the elephant allows itself to be mounted'

The paraphrase of rule 1.3.67 based on the principle of *ekavākyatā* thus creates difficulty. Commentators propose recourse to *vākyabheda* 'interpreting a rule by splitting it into sentences'. *Kāśikā* proposes three split sentences. *Padamañjarī* (*Kāś.* I: 464) finds five sentences:

(*i*) *ṇer ātmanepadaṃ bhavati* 'ātmanepada occurs after a root ending in *ṆiC*'

(*ii*) *aṇau yat karma* 'that which was *karman* 'object in the non-*ṆiC*'

(*iii*) *ṇau cet* 'if in the *ṆiC*'

(*iv*) *sa karttā* 'that is the *kartṛ* 'agent''

(*v*) *anādhyāne* 'when something other than *ādhyāna* "wistful remembrance" is denoted'

Haradatta argues that since there is a necessary correlation between *yat* 'that which' and *tat* 'that', the *tat* clause corresponding to *yat karma* of the rule must be inferred as *tat karma* 'that object'. This will make part of the *sūtra* read: *ṇer aṇau yat karma ṇau cet tat karma* 'that which is the object in the non-*ṆiC*, the same object'. When joined with *ṇau cet sa karttā*, it yields the following meaning: 'that which is the object in the non-*ṆiC*, the same object in *ṆiC* (that) is the agent...'.

In this way, the co-referentiality between the object of the non-*ṆiC* sentence and the object turned agent of the *ṆiC* sentence is not impaired.

Furthermore, in this interpretation, the *tat* of *tat karma* and the *sa* of *sa karttā* also become co-referential. It is this coreferentiality which requires rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*), and rules out the possibility of any additional *karman (karmāntara)*.

3. The *Kāśikā* offers some counter-examples to explain the implications of the wording of this rule:

(*e*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ tān ārohayati mahāmātyaḥ* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; the Prime Minister has them mount'

(*f*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ ārohayamāṇo hastī sādhvārohati* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; the elephant behaves itself beautifully while being mounted'

(*g*) *gaṇayati gaṇaṃ gopālakaḥ gaṇayati gaṇaṃ svayam eva* 'the cowherd is counting the herd; the herd counts itself'

(*h*) *dātreṇa lunāti lāvayati dātraṃ svayam eva* 'he is cutting with the sickle; the sickle cuts by itself'

(*i*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ ārohayamāṇo hastī bhītān secayati mūtreṇa* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant; while being mounted the elephant sprinkles the frightened ones with urine'

(*j*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ. ārohayamāṇo hastī sthalaṃ ārohayati manuṣyān* 'the trainers mount the elephant; the elephant while being mounted has the men land on the ground'

(*k*) *smarati vanagulmasya kokilaḥ smarayaty enaṃ vanagulmaḥ svayam eva* 'the cuckoo wistfully remembers the forest grove; the forest grove itself has the cuckoo wistfully remember it'

Sentences (*f*) and (*g*) illustrate how the conditions of *ṇeḥ* and *aṇau* are both important for the selection of *ātmanepada*. Sentence (*f*) does not have the object of non-*ṆiC* as the agent in *ṆiC*. Similarly, (*g*) does not have the second part as causal.

The word *dātra* is expressing the instrument (*karaṇa*) with its *tṛtīyā* in the first part of (*h*). Consequently, it does not meet the condition of *karman* in its non-*ṆiC* counterpart. Hence, it does not qualify for *ātmanepada* in its *ṆiC* counterpart.

The word *ṇau cet* is included in the rule to specify the similarity of action in both the *ṆiC* and non-*ṆiC* sentences. This is the reason why *secayati* of (*i*) does not qualify for *ātmanepada*.

Sentence (*j*) illustrates how the inclusion of *yat* in the rule implies the exclusion of any additional *karman*. Since the second sentence of (*j*) has an additional *karman* expressed by *manuṣyān*, its verb *ārohayati* does not qualify for *ātmanepada*. Note that *manuṣya* is assigned the term *karman* on account of *ruh* being a verb signifying motion (*gati*; cf. 1.4.52 *gatibuddhi*...).

The words *kartṛ* and *anādhyāna* are also important for the application of this rule. For this reason, (*e*), with a different agent (*mahāmātya*), does not qualify for *ātmanepada*

Again, it is because of the cuckoo's remembrance of the forest grove being 'wistful remembrance' that (*k*) does not get the *ātmanepada*. A question can be asked here about the wistful remembrance of the forest grove in the second part of sentence (*k*). How could something non-living like a forest grove (*vanagulma*) be talked about as remembering? Commentators explain that the conduct (*dharma*) of a sentient being (*cetana*) can be transferred to a non-sentient being (*acetana*). The transfer is similar to that which would make it possible to talk about the banks of a river wishing to fall, i.e., are feared to fall, as in:

(*l*) *nadīkūlaṃ pipatiṣati* 'the bank of the river is feared to fall'

4. Let us consider some further examples covered by this rule:

(*m*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ* 'the trainers are mounting the elephant'

(*n*) *ārohayate hastī svayam eva* 'the elephant lowers itself to be mounted'

Sentence (*m*) is non-causal and has *hastin* 'elephant' as the object. This same object becomes the agent in sentence (*n*), which is causal. Rule 1.3.67 can now assign *ātmanepada* to (*n*) which meets all its conditions.

It is clear from these examples that the object of the non-causal sentence is becoming the agent in the causal sentence. Such an object turned agent has aptly been assigned the term *karmakarttā* 'object-agent'. The activity (*kriyā*) of the trainers in sentence (*m*) is to cause the elephant to lower itself (*nyagbhāvana*). The activity of the elephant in (*n*) is to lower itself (*nyagbhavana*). The verb in sentence (*m*) is expressing the activity of the trainers, the agent. Conversely, sentence (*n*) expresses the activity of the agent, which is the object of (*m*). Let us now consider:

(*o*) *ārohayati hastī hastipakān* 'the elephant causes the trainers to mount'

This sentence also expresses the action of the elephant. Sentence (*o*) can be treated as the causal counterpart of (*n*), though it cannot qualify for *ātmanepada*. The reason why it cannot is the involvement of *hastipakān*, additional objects. A distinction must then be made between instances where a sentence involving *karmakarttā* may qualify for *ātmanepada* and where it may not.

Commentators explain that instances of *karmakarttā* entail two actions. For example, the verbal root *ruh* entails the actions of *nyagbhāvana* and *nyagbhavana* in sentence (*m*). The trainers are involved there in the activity of causing the elephant to lower itself (*nyagbhāvana*). The elephant, because it allows itself to be lowered for the purpose of mounting, is supposed to be involved in the activity of *nyagbhavana* 'lowering itself'. The verb in sentence (*m*) is expressing the activity of the trainers, which has been identified as *nyagbhāvana*. As opposed to this, the verb in sentence (*n*) expresses the activity of the elephant, which has been identified as *nyagbhavana*.

Now, consider sentence (*o*), where it is the elephant which is involved in the activity of *nyagbhāvana*, an activity generally characterized as that of a

trainer. This is why sentence (*o*) does not get the *ātmanepada*. The factor that makes sentences (*n*) and (*o*) different also determines whether *ātmanepada* can be assigned with reference to the *karmakarttā*. That is, a sentence which has a *karmakarttā* can qualify for *ātmanepada* when the activity of the main agent (trainers in the case of *nyagbhāvana*) is not to be expressed.

One can argue here that sentence (*o*) expresses both *nyagbhāvana* and *nyagbhavana*, but still does not qualify for *ātmanepada*. Commentators hasten to add the provision that, though the object (elephant) has turned agent in sentence (*o*), its activity is still being prompted by the main agent. This being the case, the prompting action of the main agent (the trainers) is still being expressed, through the medium of the elephant's activity. Since the elephant is therefore the agent of both the prompting as well as the prompted (*prayojya*) actions, *ātmanepada* cannot be assigned to (*o*).

The implication of this is that a sentence where a *karmakarttā* is involved qualifies for *ātmanepada* only when the object turned agent is free from prompting. Bhartṛhari (*VP*, III, 7: 59-60) explains five states of the meaning of the verbal root *ruh* with reference to causal and non-causal sentences:

> *nyagbhāvanaṃ nyagbhavanaṃ ruhau śuddhau pratīyate, nyagbhāvanaṃ nyagbhavanaṃ ṇyante' pi pratipadyate / avasthāṃ pañcamīm āhur ṇyantānāṃ karmakarttari, nivṛttapreṣaṇād dhātoḥ prākṛte' rthe ṇij ucyate //*
>
> 'the meaning of both *nyagbhāvana* 'cause to bend' and *nyagbhavana* 'to bend' are understood by non-*ṆiC* *ruh*; both these meanings are also understood from *ruh* used with *ṆiC*; a fifth state (of the meaning of *ruh*) obtains when object turned agent is used with *ruh* in *ṆiC*; when this causal action does not entail any prompting it denotes its original meaning'

It is evident from this verse that, in a sentence like (*n*), it is the action of the object turned agent alone which is expressed by the root. Similar states of meaning are also understood from roots like *bhid* 'to split', where dual actions are identified as *dvidhābhāvana* 'causing to split' and *dvidhābhavana* 'splitting'. Roots such as *ruh* and *bhid* are stated to be *karmasthakriya* 'an action which has its object as locus'. Thus the action of *nyagbhavana* denoted by *ruh*, or the action of *dvidhābhavana* denoted by *bhid*, both reside in their objects. Rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...* assigns *ātmanepada* after roots similar to these, when their objects become agent, when they are used with *ṆiC*, and when the object is free from any prompting.

Actions remain unaccomplished (*sādhya*) until some participant (*kāraka*) brings them to fulfilment (*siddha*) through its activity (*kriyā*). The activity of a participant while accomplishing an action may entail movement (*parispandana*), or may not (*aparispandana*). Consider the sentences

(*p*) *rāmo grāmaṃ gacchati* 'Rāma is going to the village'

(*q*) *rāmo mātuḥ smarati* 'Rāma misses his mother'

The act of going in sentence (*p*) requires movement on the part of Rāma, and is therefore to be accomplished by means of the agent's movement (*saparispandanasādhya*). As opposed to this, sentence (*q*) does not entail any movement on the part of the agent. It is thus called an instance of an action not requiring any movement (*aparispandanasādhya*). This notion of movement or its lack is also regarded as the basis for the distinction between *kriyā* 'action' and *bhāva* 'root-sense'. However, this distinction is not accepted by all.

Certain roots are said to have their object (*karma*) as the locus of their activity. They have been aptly called *karmasthakriya* 'that which has object as locus of activity'. Some verbs may have the object as the locus, not of their activity but of their meaning directly. Such verbs have been termed *karmasthabhāvaka* 'those having object as the locus of their meaning'. Let us look at the following sentences:

(*r*) *devadattaḥ kāṣṭhaṃ bhinatti* 'Devadatta is splitting the wood'

(*s*) *devadattaḥ odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking the rice'

The activity in the first sentence is that of *dvidhābhavana* 'splitting'. The agent is engaged in the activity of *dvidhābhāvana* 'splitting something'. The agent accomplishes *dvidhābhāvana*, which in turn results in *dvidhābhavana*, the sense of the root residing in the object. Thus, *bhid* is a root classed as *karmasthabhāvaka*.

Now take the second sentence, where the activity can be realized as *viklitti* 'softening', an activity which resides in the rice. This can be treated as an instance of *karmasthakriya*. The distinction between *karmasthabhāvaka* and *karmasthakriya* is often hazy. This in turn causes the distinction between *kriyā* and *bhāva* to become blurred. Sometimes, *bhāva* is seen as the result (*phala*) of the action as opposed to the activity (*kriyā*) in the process of being accomplished. Accordingly, the splitting of the wood can be treated as the result of the action residing in wood, the object. Conversely, the process of softening (*viklitti*) can be looked upon as residing in the rice.

Corresponding to these two types of distinction relating to the object are two similar distinctions relating to the agent (*kartṛ*). Recall sentences (*p*) and (*q*) where *gam* can be treated as a root having Rāma, the agent (*kartṛ*), as the locus of the activity. It can thus be called a *kartṛsthakriya* root 'which has the agent as the locus of activity'. Sentence (*q*), on the other hand, has the result (*bhāva*) of the action denoted by *smṛ* 'to remember' residing in the agent. Thus, *smṛ* can be called a *kartṛsthabhāvaka*.

It so happens that sometimes a speaker may wish to view the object of an action as the agent. This object turned agent (*karmakarttā*), based upon the intent (*vivakṣā*) of the speaker (*vaktā*), may be employed as a means to emphasize the nature of the object facilitating the activity. Take, for example, these sentences:

(*r*) *kāṣṭhaṃ bhidyate svayam eva* 'the wood is splitting by itself'

(*s*) *pacyata odanaḥ svayam eva* 'the rice is cooking by itself'
(*t*) *devadatto ghaṭaṃ paśyati* 'Devadatta looks at the jar'
(*u*) **ghataḥ dṛśyate svayam eva* 'the jar is looked at by itself'

The first two sentences present the object as agent. The third uses the object as object by denoting the same by means of *dvitīyā* 'the second triplet of nominal ending'. The last sentence is wrong, as it puts the object of sentence (*t*) as the agent, an arrangement which is not possible. The *kāṣṭha* of (*r*), or the *odana* of (*s*), can be identified as *karmakarttā* because they are impacted by the action denoted by the root. The object of looking, i.e., *ghaṭa*, denoted by *dṛś* does not get impacted by the action. It therefore cannot be termed *karmakartṛ*. For details of this and other observations see the *Mahābhāṣya* (III: 162-67) on 3.1.87.

1.3.68 भीस्म्योर्हेतुभये

bhīsmyor hetubhaye

/*bhīsmyoḥ* 6/2 *bhī ca smiṅ ca* = *bhīsmī (itar. dv.); tayoḥ* = *bhīsmyor hetubhaye* 7/1 = *hetor bhayam* = *hetubhayam (pañc. tat.); tasmin* = *hetubhaye*/

(*neḥ* # 67, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

bibheteḥ smayateś ca ṇyantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati hetubhaye

An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *ÑIbhī* 'to fear' and *smiṄ* 'to smile' when they terminate in *ṆiC* and *hetubhaya* 'cause of fear' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

jaṭilo bhīṣayate 'the one with matted hair frightens'
muṇḍo bhīṣayate 'the one with a shaven head frightens'
jaṭilo vismāpayate 'the one with matted hair frightens with his smile'

1. The word *hetu* is used in the technical sense of causal agent (see 1.4.55 *hetuś ca*). The expression *hetubhaye* is a condition whereby we learn that, if the source of fear is not the causal agent, *ātmanepada* cannot be introduced. Consider *kuñcikayainaṃ bhāyayati* 'he has him scared by means of the broom', where *ātmanepada* cannot be used because the source of fear is *kuñcikā* 'broom', the *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Furthermore, *bhaya* 'fear' is used as an *upalakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' to indicate *vismaya* 'astonishment'.

This rule is formulated for situations where the fruit of the action is intended for someone other than the *kartṛ* (*akartrabhiprāyakriyāphala*).

1.3.69 गृधिवञ्च्योः प्रलम्भने

gṛdhivañcayoḥ pralambhane

/*gṛhdivañcayoḥ* 6/2 = *gṛdhiś ca vañciś ca* = *gṛdhivañcī (itar. dv.); tayoḥ* = *gṛdhivañcayoḥ; pralambhane* 7/1/

(*neḥ* # 67, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

'gṛdhu (abhikāṅkṣāyām) vañcu (gatau)' ity etayor ṇyantayoḥ pralambhane varttamānayor ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *gṛdhŪ* 'to desire' and *vañcŪ* 'to move' when they denote *pralambhana* 'deception by means of false promises'.

EXAMPLES:

māṇavakaṃ gardhayate 'he deceives the boy'
māṇavakaṃ vañcayate 'id.'

1. Note that the word *pralambhana* means *visaṃvāda* 'speaking against one's promise' and *mithyāphalākhyāna* 'making false promises'. The rule is again valid where *akartrabhiprāyakriyāphala* is understood.

1.3.70 **लियः सम्माननशालीनीकरणयोश्च**
liyaḥ sammānanaśālīnīkaraṇayoś ca
/liyaḥ 5/1 *sammānanaśālīnīkaraṇoyoḥ* 7/2 = *sammānanaṃ ca śālīnīkaraṇaṃ ca* = *sammānanaśālīnīkaraṇayoḥ* (*itar. dv.*); *tayoḥ* = *sammānanaśālīnīkaraṇayoḥ; ca* Ø/
(*ṇeḥ* # 67, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
liyo ṇyantāt sammānane śālīnīkaraṇe ca varttamānād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *līÑ* 'to cling' and *lī* 'to cling' when they terminate in *ṆiC* and denote *sammānana* 'respect', *śālīnīkaraṇa* 'to subdue', or *pralambhana*.

EXAMPLES:

jaṭābhir ālāpayate 'he gets respect because of matted hair'
śyeno varttikām ullāpayate 'the hawk subdues the duck'
kas tvām ullāpayate 'who is deceiving you?'

1. The word *liyaḥ* 'after *lī*' may be construed as referring either to *līÑ*, a root listed in the *divādi* class, or to *lī*, a root listed in the *kryādi* class. Since there is no indication as to which root is intended, we understand *liyaḥ* as referring to them both. The *ca* of this rule is used to bring *pralambhana* as an additional meaning condition.

2. Note that rule 6.1.58 *vibhāṣā līyateḥ* requires the *ā* replacement for the *ī* of *lī* optionally. But the *vibhāṣā* 'option' of rule 6.1.58 is of the *vyavasthita* type, thereby meaning that when *lī* is used in the sense referred to in rule 1.3.70, the option must be accepted. Elsewhere, *lī* can be replaced by *lā* optionally. Observe that *akartrabhiprāyakriyāphala* is equally intended here.

1.3.71 **मिथ्योपपदात्कृञोऽभ्यासे**
mithyopapadāt kṛño' bhyāse

/*mithyopapadāt* 5/1 = *mithyā śabda upapadaṃ yasya sa (bv.); tasmāt* = *mithyopapadāt; kṛñaḥ* 5/1 *abyāse* 7/1/
(*ṇeḥ* # 67, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
ṇyantāt karoter mithyopapadāt ātmanepadaṃ bhavati abhyāse
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *krīÑ* when it terminates in *ṆiC*, has *mithyā* 'false' as an *upapada* 'co-occurring *pada*', and *abhyāsa* 'repeated action' is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

padaṃ mithyā kārayate 'he repeatedly mispronounces the word'

1. The word *mithyopapada*, in *mithyopapadāt*, is a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning 'that which has *mithyā* in its vicinity'. The word *upapada* then is to be understood in its literal sense of 'that which occurs in the proximity'. That is, it should not be interpreted in the technical sense of 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*, an item specified in the domain of the 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* by the seventh (*saptamī*) triad of *sUP* 'nominal ending'. Similarly, *abhyāsa* is used here in the sense of *punaḥ punaḥ karaṇam* 'doing over and over again'. The derivates of this rule imply that the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent (*akartrabhiprāyakriyāphala*).

1.3.72 स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले
svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale
/*svaritañitaḥ* 5/1 = *svaritaś ca ñaś ca* = *svaritañau (dv.); tau itau yasya sa* = *svaritañit (bv.* with internal *dv.); tasmāt* = *svaritañitaḥ; kartrabhiprāye* 7/1 = *kartur abhiprāyaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.); tasmin* = *kartrabhiprāye; kriyāphale* 7/1 = *kriyāyāḥ phalam* = *kriyāphalam (ṣaṣ. tat.); tasmin* = *kriyāphale*/
(*ātmanepadam* # 12)
svariteto ye dhātavo ñitaś ca tebhya ātmanepadaṃ bhavati, karttari cet kriyāphalam abhipraiti
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after a root marked with either *svarita* 'circumflex accent' or *Ñ*, provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

EXAMPLES:

yajate 'he performs the ritual for his own good'
pacate 'he cooks for himself'
sunute 'he presses *soma* for himself'
kurute 'he makes for himself'

1. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* after verbal roots which have *svarita*, or *Ñ* as their *it*, and the fruit of whose action is intended for the agent. Thus, a root like *yajÃ* 'to perform ritual sacrifice' is marked with *Ã* which is carrying *svarita*. Similarly, *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do' is marked with *Ñ* as its *it*.

An *ātmanepada* must be used after these roots when the fruit of their action is intended for their agent. For instance, we get:

(*a*) *bhaktakarāḥ pacanty atra* 'the rice-cooks are cooking here'

(*b*) *bhaktakarāḥ pacante' tra* 'the rice-cooks are cooking here (for themselves)'

The word *kriyāphala* may refer to two kinds of fruits: secondary (*gauṇa)* and primary *(pradhāna).* A secondary fruit of the action denoted by *pac* in the above sentences will be wages (*vṛtti*) for cooking the rice intended for someone else's consumption. A primary fruit of this action will be the consumption of the rice. The people who cook rice for others and get paid in return do not receive the primary fruit of the action.

This rule means the main fruit of the action by the word *kriyāphala.* How do we know this? We know it because Pāṇini explicitly mentions the word *phala* 'fruit'. There was no need for this, because there is no action whose fruit does not accrue to the agent. The use of *phala,* therefore, must be specific to the main fruit. Otherwise, Pāṇini should simply have said *kartrabhiprāye kriyāyāḥ.* There is a second solution to this as well. Where both the primary and the secondary fruits obtain one must accept the primary fruit (cf. *Paribhāṣā* 16: *gauṇamukhyayor mukhye kāryasaṃpratyayaḥ).* This will give us the desired *ātmanepada* when the primary fruit of the action accrues to the agent. In this interpretation the explicit use of *phala* will then be accepted as made for the purpose of clarity.

Patañjali (*Mbh.* II: 289) explains the implications of the use of *abhipra* + *i* in *abhiprāye.* If *abhipra* + *i* is not used, the word *kriyāphala* would refer only to those fruits of actions which may soon accrue to the agent. Thus, if a person is spoken of as performing a ritual sacrifice with the desire to go to heaven (*svarga*), verbal root *yaj* cannot be used with *ātmanepada.* This is because *svarga* will not immediately be available to the performer of the ritual. But if the derivate of *abhipra* + *i* = *abhiprāya* is used, everything will be in order, for it will then mean 'the fruit of the action intended for, or directed towards, the agent'. This point may be illustrated by these additional sentences:

(*c*) *keśaśmaśru vapate* 'he has the hair and the moustache shaved'

(*d*) *dhānyaṃ vapate* 'he sows the rice seeds'

Sentence (*c*) takes *ātmanepada* with reference to the result of the action accruing to its agent immediately. Sentence (*d*) implies some delay, though it still uses *ātmanepada* because the fruit of the action is intended for the agent.

1.3.73 अपाद्वदः

apād vadaḥ

/*apāt* 5/1 *vadaḥ* 5/1

(*kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* # 72, *ātmanepadam* # 12)

apapūrvād vadateḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *vadÅ* 'to speak' when it is used with the preverb *apa* provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

EXAMPLE:

dhanakāmo nyāyam apavadate 'greedy for money, he speaks injustice'

1. Note that the verbal root *vadÅ*, used with the preverb *apa*, means 'to scold, to speak ill against, to spread rumour', etc. It must be used with *ātmanepada* when the agent benefits from the action denoted by *apavad*. Thus, in the sentence given above, the person who is greedy for money benefits by speaking injustice.

1.3.74 **णिचश्च**
ṇicaś ca
/*ṇicaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* # 72, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
ṇijantād ātmanepadaṃ bhavati, kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale
An *ātmanepada* affix also occurs after roots terminating in *ṆiC* provided the fruit of the action is intended for the agent.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ kārayate 'he has the mat made for himself'
odanaṃ pācayate 'he has the rice cooked for himself'

1. This rule, as is understood from its wording, provides for *ātmanepada* after verbal roots ending in *ṆiC* when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. Compare these two sentences:
(*a*) *kaṭaṃ kārayate* 'he has a mat made for himself'
(*b*) *kaṭaṃ kārayati parasya* 'he has a mat made for someone else'
Sentence (*b*) must have *parasmaipada* because the fruit of the action is intended for someone else.

1.3.75 **समुदाङ्भ्यो यमोऽग्रन्थे**
samudāṅbhyo yamo' granthe
/*samudāṅbhyaḥ* 5/3 *yamaḥ* 5/1 *agranthe* 7/1/
(*kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* # 72, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
sam, ud, āṅ ity evaṃ pūrvād yameḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale ātmanepadaṃ bhavati, granthaviṣayaś cet prayogo na bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *yamÅ* when it is used with the preverbs *sam, ud,* or *āṄ* provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent and reference to *grantha* 'treatise' is not made.

EXAMPLES:

vrīhīn saṃyacchate 'he gathers the rice'

bhāram udyacchate 'he lifts up the bundle'
vastram āyacchate 'he wraps the cloth around'

1. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* after verbal root *yamA* used with the preverbs *sam, ut* and *āṄ*, provided that the fruit of the action accrues to the agent and no *grantha* 'treatise' is referenced by the derivate. This rule is intended for the transitive (*sakarmaka*) usage of *yamA*, as its intransitive usages have already been covered by rule 1.3.28 *āṅo yamahanaḥ*, etc. In addition, we have the condition of *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala*. That is, when the fruit of the action would not accrue to the agent, we will get *parasmaipada* as in *saṃyacchati*, etc. The condition of *agranthe* is imposed to rule out *ātmanepada* in examples such as *udyacchati cikitsāṃ vaidyaḥ* 'the doctor is striving to comprehend the medical treatises'.

1.3.76 **अनुपसर्गाज्ज्ञः**

anupasargāj jñaḥ
/*anupasargāt* 5/1 *jñaḥ* 1/1/
(*kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* # 72, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
anupasargāj jānāteḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale ātmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix occurs after *jñā* when it is not used with a preverb provided the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

EXAMPLES:

gāṃ jānīte 'he knows his cow
aśvaṃ jānīte 'he knows his horse'

1. This rule provides for *ātmanepada* after verbal root *jñā* when it is used without a preverb. Note that a provision for *ātmanepada* is already available to *jñā* by rule 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca*. But since that provision is made for *jñā* when used as an intransitive (*akarmaka*), usages of *jñā* as a transitive (*sakarmaka*) with *ātmanepada* must be covered by some other rule. Rule 1.3.76 is intended to cover such usages. Observe that the provisions of 1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca* also apply to usages where the fruit of the action is not intended for the agent. Our present rule, of course, requires that the fruit of the action accrue to the agent.

1.3.77 **विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने**

vibhāṣopapadena pratīyamāne
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *upapadena* 3/1 *pratīyamāne* 7/1/
(*kartrabhiprāya kriyāphale* # 72, *ātmanepadam* # 12)
upapadena pratīyamāne kartrabhiprāye kriyā vibhāṣā' tmanepadaṃ bhavati
An *ātmanepada* affix optionally occurs after roots used with a co-occurring *pada* which denotes that the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

EXAMPLES:

> *svaṃ yajñaṃ yajati* 'he performs his own ritual'
> *svaṃ yajñaṃ yajate* 'id.'
> *svaṃ kaṭaṃ karoti* 'he makes his mat'
> *svaṃ kaṭaṃ kurute* 'id.'
> *svaṃ putram apavadati* 'he scolds his son'
> *svaṃ putram apavadate* 'id.'

1. This rule makes the *ātmanepada* provision of its preceding five rules (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*, 1.3.73 *apād vadaḥ*, 1.3.74 *ṇicaś ca*, 1.3.75 *samudāṅbhyo yamo' granthe*, and 1.3.76 *anupasargāj jñaḥ*) optional under the following conditions:

(*a*) verbal roots after which *parasmaipada* is to be introduced optionally to *ātmanepada* must be used in the proximity of a co-occurring *pada* and

(*b*) this co-occurring *pada* should indicate that the fruit of the action is intended for the agent.

Since this rule makes an obligatorily available provision optional, it represents *prāpte-vibhāṣā*.

The word *upapada* must not be interpreted here as used in its technical sense. Rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham* states that a form referenced in the seventh (*saptamī*) triad of *sUP*, in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, should be termed *upapada* 'conjoined or co-occurring word'. It is in view of this that *karmaṇi* of 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* is interpreted as 'affix *aŅ* occurs after a verbal root co-occurring with a *pada* denoting object (*karman*)'. Needless to say, the word *karman* of rule 3.2.1 is in *saptamī*. Since *ātmanepada* or *parasmaipada* affixes are introduced after verbal roots in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, one may be tempted to interpret the word *upapada* here in its technical sense. But this rule is not in the domain of *dhātoḥ*; and there is no variable used in the locative to suggest a technical *upapada* as we find in the case of 3.2.1. *karmaṇy aṇ*. We should therefore interpret the word *upapada* in its literal sense as 'that which is used in the proximity of...'.

Since this rule offers options to its five preceding rules, examples should be furnished with reference to them. Thus, the first four examples cited under this rule represent options of 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...* The next two illustrate the options available for 1.3.73 *apād vadaḥ*. These examples should be sufficient to demonstrate the application of the options offered by this rule.

1.3.78 शेषात्कर्त्तरि परस्मैपदम्

> *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam*
> /*śeṣāt* 5/1 *karttari* 7/1 *parasmaipadam* 1/1/
> *yebhyo dhātubhyo yena viśeṣaṇenātmanepadam uktaṃ tato yad anyat sa śeṣaḥ,*

śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after the remainder of roots when agency is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yāti 'he goes'
vāti 'he moves'
praviśati 'he enters'
āviśati 'he enters'

1. The use of the word *śeṣa* clearly indicates that the domain headed by this rule is 'residual'. That is, whatever remains as not covered by the assignment of *ātmanepada* forms the domain of the *parasmaipada* of this rule. Since *śeṣa* 'remainder' is a relative term, commentators explain that its referent must be determined relative to the assignment of *ātmanepada*, marked by qualifiers such as *anudāttaṅita* 'having *anudātta* and *Ṅ* as *it*' (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita...*); *svaritañita kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* (1.3.72) and *neḥ* 'occurring after *ni*' of 1.3.17 *ner viśaḥ*, etc. In other words, 1.3.78 will apply where such qualifications are not available.

For instance, parallel to *āste, śete* we get *yāti, vāti*, where the verbal roots used with *parasmaipada* do not have an *anudātta* or *Ṅ* as an *it*. Similarly, parallel to *niviśate*, one would get *praviśati*, where *ātmanepada* cannot be used as the verbal root *viś* is not used with *ni*. It is evident from the preceding that the domain of 1.3.78 *śeṣāt...* covers that which could not be covered by rules dealing with the assignment of *ātmanepada*.

1.3.79 अनुपराभ्यां कृञः
anuparābhyāṃ kṛñaḥ
/*anuparābhyāṃ* 5/2 *kṛñaḥ* 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
anu, parā ity evaṃ pūrvāt karoteḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *kṛÑ* when it is used with the preverbs *anu* or *parā*.

EXAMPLES:

anukaroti 'he imitates'
parākaroti 'he puts away'

1. Rule 1.3.32 *gandhanāvakṣepaṇasevana...* assigns *ātmanepada* after the verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ*. The same *ātmanepada* is also required by 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale*. This rule not only demands the introduction of *parasmaipada* after *kṛ*, when it is used with the preverbs *anu* and *pari*, but also when these preverbs, used with *kṛ*, express the meaning of *gandhana* 'to speak ill against, find fault', etc.

1.3.80 अभिप्रत्यतिभ्यः क्षिपः
abhipratyayatibhyaḥ kṣipaḥ
/abhipratyayatibhyaḥ 5/3 *kṣipaḥ* 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
abhi, prati, ati ity evaṃ pūrvāt kṣipah parasmaipadaṃ bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *kṣipĀ* 'to throw, hurl' when it is used with the preverbs *abhi, prati* or *ati.*

EXAMPLES:

abhikṣipati 'he throws around'
pratikṣipati 'he throws in return'
atikṣipati 'he throws a lot'

1. Since the verbal root *kṣipĀ* is marked with *svarita,* rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* would require the use of *ātmanepada.* This rule provides for *parasmaipada* when this root is used with the preverbs *abhi, prati,* and *ati. Kāśikā* notes that a second *kartṛ* must also be carried to this rule via *anuvṛtti,* so that sentences such as *abhikṣipyate svayam eva* 'it gets hurled upwards by itself' do not qualify for the use of *parasmaipada.*

1.3.81 प्राद्वहः
prād vahaḥ
/prāt 5/1 *vahaḥ* 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
prapūrvād vahateḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *vahĀ* 'to flow' when it is used with the preverb *pra.*

EXAMPLES:

pravahati '(the river) flows'
pravahataḥ (two rivers) flow'
pravahanti '(rivers) flow'

1. This rule provides for the use of *parasmaipada* after the verbal root *vahĀ* 'to flow' used with the preverb *pra.* Note that because this root is marked with a *svarita* vowel as its *it,* rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* will demand *ātmanepada.* This rule blocks that demand.

1.3.82 परेर्मृषः
parer mṛṣaḥ
/pareḥ 5/1 *mṛṣaḥ* 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
paripūrvād mṛṣyate parasmaipadaṃ bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *mṛṣĀ* 'to endure' when it is used with the preverb *pari.*

EXAMPLES:

parimṛṣyati 'he endures it in every way'
parimṛṣyataḥ 'they (two) endure it in every way'
parimṛṣyanti 'they (pl.) endure it in every way'

1. This rule assigns *parasmaipada* after the verbal root *mṛṣĀ* 'to endure, forgive' used with the preverb *pari.* Remember that *mṛṣĀ* is a root which is marked with a *svarita* vowel as its *it.* As such, rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale* would require *ātmanepada* rather than *parasmaipada.*

1 3.83 व्याङ्परिभ्यो रमः
vyāṅparibhyo ramaḥ
/*vyāṅparibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ramaḥ* 5/1/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
vi, āṅ, pari ity evaṃ pūrvād parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *ramŪ* 'to play' when it is used with the preverbs *vi, āṄ,* and *pari.*

EXAMPLES:

viramati 'he stops'
āramati 'he plays'
pariramati 'he plays around'

1. The use of *parasmaipada* after the verbal root *ramŪ* 'to sport', with the preverbs *vi, āṄ,* and *pari,* is provided for by this rule. The provision is made against the *ātmanepada* which would otherwise obtain from rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam.* Usages of the root where any other preverbs are used will still have *ātmanepada.* We therefore get examples such as *abhiramate,* etc.

1.3.84 उपाच्च
upāc ca
/*upāt* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*parasmaipadam* # 78)
upapūrvād ramateḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix also occurs after *ramŪ* when it is used with the preverb *upa.*

EXAMPLES:

devadattam uparamati 'he has Devadatta play'
yajñadattam uparamati 'he has Yajñadatta play'

1. The word *ca* is used here to bring *ramŪ* and *parasmaipada* from the previous rule. This rule thus provides for *parasmaipada* after *ramŪ* used with *upa*, which was not otherwise available. Note that the verbal root *ramŪ* used with the preverb *upa* remains intransitive and means *vināśa* 'to be destroyed', and *nivṛtti* 'to be overcome, disenchanted', as in *adhyayanād uparamate* 'he gets overcome by studies'. The usage which is intended by this rule is supposed to be *sakarmaka* 'transitive'. How is the contradiction between *upa-ramŪ* being always *akarmaka*, and its usage in this rule being intended as *sakarmaka*, to be resolved?

Commentators inform us (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I: 485) that an intransitive root, when used in the sense of a causal, becomes transitive. The causal meaning is not added to the root by means of the affix *ṆiC*, but is imagined as inherent in the root itself. It is in view of this that rule 1.3.84 assigns *parasmaipada* after *ramŪ* used with the preverb *upa*, when the root has an inherently causal meaning. The examples under this rule have therefore been translated to reflect this meaning.

1.3.85 विभाषाऽकर्मकात्

vibhāṣā' karmakāt

/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *akarmakāt* 5/1/

(*parasmaipadam* # 78)

upapūrvād ramater akarmakād vibhāṣā parasmaipadam bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs optionally after *ramŪ* used intransitively with the preverb *upa*.

EXAMPLES:

yāvad bhuktam uparamati 'he refrains from eating during mealtime'

yāvad bhuktam uparamate 'id.'

1. Note that the previous rule assigns *parasmaipada* obligatorily after the verbal root *ramŪ* used with the preverb *upa*. This rule makes that provision optional when *ramŪ* is used with *upa* intransitively. The intransitive meaning of *uparam* is 'to refrain from...'.

1.3.86 बुधयुधनशजनेङ्प्रुद्रुस्रुभ्यो णेः

budhayudhanaśajaneṅprudrusrubhyo ṇeḥ

/*budha...strubhayaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ṇeḥ* 5/1/

(*parasmaipadam* # 78)

budha, yudha, naśa, jana, iṅ, pru, dru, sru ity etebhyo ṇyantebhyaḥ parasmaipadam bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *budhA* 'to know, perceive', *yudhA* 'to fight', *naśA* 'to disappear, perish', *janI* 'to be born', *iṄ* 'to learn, study', *pruṄ* 'to spring up, to move', *dru* 'to run, move', and *sru* 'to flow, move' when they terminate in *ṆiC*.

EXAMPLES:

bodhayati '...causes someone to know'
yodhayati '...causes someone to fight'
nāśayati '...causes something to perish'
janayati '...causes something to come into existence'
adhyāpayati '...causes someone to learn'
prāvayati '...causes something to reach somewhere'
drāvayati '...causes something to run'
srāvayati '...causes something to steer'

1. This rule assigns *parasmaipada* as an exception to *ātmanepada* for the eight specified roots. This exception is made against the provisions of rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale*. Note that the intransitive verbal roots covered by this rule must have a non-sentient (*acittavat*) agent (*kartṛ*), for examples of roots having *cittavatkartṛ* 'sentient agent' will be covered by rule 1.3.88 *aṇāvakarmakāc*.... Similarly, roots which may have the meaning of movement (*calana*) will be covered by the following rule. If one finds roots having the significance of *calana* listed among the examples of this rule, one must understand that, for purposes of this rule, they do not entail movement.

1.3.87 **निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च**

nigaraṇacalanārthebhyaś ca
/nigaraṇacalanārthebhyaḥ 5/3 = *nigaraṇaṃ ca calanaṃ ca = nigaraṇacalane arthau yeṣāṃ te = nigaraṇacalanārthāḥ* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*) *tebhyaḥ = nigaraṇacalanārthebhyaḥ; ca Ø/*
(*neḥ* # 86, *parasmaipadam* # 78)
nigaraṇārthebhyaś calanārthebhyaś ca dhātubhyo ṇyantebhyaḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati
A *parasmaipada* affix also occurs after roots which terminate in *ṆiC* and signify *nigaraṇa* 'swallowing, consuming', or *calana* 'moving, shaking'.

EXAMPLES:

nigārayati 'he feeds'
āśayati 'id.'
bhojayati 'id.'
calayati 'it moves, shakes'
copayati 'it moves, shakes gently'
kampayati 'it shakes'

1. This rule assigns *parasmaipada* as an exception to the *ātmanepada* which was made available by 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye kriyāphale*.

Obviously, this rule is making the provision of *parasmaipada* with the stipulation that the fruit of the action would not accrue to the agent. Additionally, it is to be remembered that the roots covered by this rule must be either transitive (*sakarmaka*) or have their agent (*kartṛ*) as non-sentient (*acittavat*). Roots having the signification of *nigaraṇa* are thus transitive, whereas roots having the signification of *calana* are those which have non-sentient agents. Note that examples of roots which may be intransitive (*akarmaka*), or those which may have a sentient agent, will be covered by the following rule. Also note that the question of whether a root is transitive/intransitive, or whether it has a sentient/non-sentient agent, is primarily determined on the basis of its non-*ṆiC* status.

A *vārttika* on rule 1.4.52 *akathitaṃ ca* (*Mbh.* II: 431: *adikhādinīvahīnāṃ pratiṣedhaḥ*) blocks any *pratyavasānakārya* 'operation conditioned by the meaning of *pratyavasāna* "to consume" for verbal root *ad* "to eat"'. Consequently, *parasmaipada* made available by this rule under the meaning condition of *nigaraṇa* 'to swallow' will not be available to *ad*. An example of *ad* with *ṆiC* will be as follows:

ādayate devadattena 'Devadatta has someone eat'

1.3.88 अणावकर्मकाच्चित्तवत्कर्तृकात्

aṇāv akarmakāc cittavatkartṛkāt

/*aṇau* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *akarmakāt* 5/1 *cittavatkartṛkāt* 5/1 = *cittavān karttā yasya sa cittavatkartṛkaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt* = *cittavatkartṛkāt*/

(*ṇeḥ* # 86, *parasmaipadam* # 78)

aṇyanto yo dhātur akarmakaś cittavatkartṛkaś ca tasmād ṇyantāt parasmaipadaṃ bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after a root which terminates in *ṆiC* provided its non-*ṆiC* counterpart is intransitive with an animate (*cittavat*) agent (*kartṛ*).

EXAMPLES:

non-*ṆiC*:
āste devadattaḥ 'Devadatta sits'
ṆiC:
āsayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta sit'
non-*ṆiC*:
śete devadattaḥ 'Devadatta reclines'
ṆiC:
śāyayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta recline'

1. This rule states that *parasmaipada* occurs after a root which ends in *ṆiC* (*ṇeḥ*; 1.3.86 *budhayudhanaśa...* and 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari...*) which, when not ending in *ṆiC* (*aṇau*), is *akarmaka* 'intransitive' with sentient agent

(*cittavatkartṛ*). It should be understood here that *parasmaipada* is negated with reference to *ṆiC*, which is brought by *anuvṛtti* from rule 1.3.86 *budhayudhanaśa....* Now, the *ṆiC* which is used in rule 1.3.86 denotes *hetumat* 'instigator', and as such, a negation based on the same *ṆiC* must also be made with reference to the *hetumat* meaning of *ṆiC*. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* questions the validity of *cetayate* 'he has someone perceive, know...'. *Kāśikā* cites *ārohayate* 'he has *X* mount *Y*' where the *ātmanepada* has been introduced by rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau yat karma...*' which introduces *ātmanepada* after a root which

(*i*) ends in *ṆiC*, and
(*ii*) has as its current agent the object of its non-*ṆiC* counterpart.

Let us consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *ārohanti hastinaṃ hastipakāḥ* 'the trainers mount the elephant'
(*b*) *ārohayate hastī svayam eva* 'the elephant itself has the trainer mount'

Note that, according to rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau yat karma...*, the agent of sentence (*b*) must be the object of sentence (*a*). That is why the elephant alone is regarded as having the trainers mount. Even though the *ṆiC* in (*b*) is introduced to express the relation of the elephant to the trainers as *prayojaka* 'instigator', the trainers are not understood as such. In the case of sentences (*a*) and (*b*), the non-*ṆiC* root is not *akarmaka* 'intransitive', though it has *cittavatkartṛ* 'sentient agent'. It can thus form a proper counter-example. See also the notes under rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau yat karma....*

The examples given under the present rule include these two sentences:
śete devadattaḥ 'Devadatta reclines'
śāyayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta recline'

It is noticeable here that the non-*ṆiC* verb *śīṄ* is *akarmaka*, and by rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam* it is required to take *ātmanepada*. It also has a sentient agent. The *ṆiC* counterpart is thus blocked from taking *ātmanepada* by the present rule. It is because of the condition of *akarmaka* that sentences such as *kaṭaṃ kārayate* 'he has the mat made for himself' will not qualify for *parasmaipada*. Similarly, because of the condition of *cittavatkartṛ*, sentences such as *śoṣayate vrīhīnātapaḥ* 'the heat is drying up the rice' will not qualify for *parasmaipada*.

1.3.89 **न पादम्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहरुचिनृतिवदवसः**

na pādamyāṅyamāṅyasaparimuharucinṛtivadavasaḥ
/na Ø pāda...vasaḥ 5/1 = *pāś ca damiś ca āṅyamaś ca āṅyasaś ca parimuhaś ca ruciś ca nṛtiś ca vadaś ca vaś ca = pāda.* ᵛᵃˢ *(sam. dv.)/*
(*ṇeḥ* # 86, *parasmaipadam* # 78)
pā, dami, āṅyasa, parimuha, ruci, nṛti, vada, vasa ity etebhyo ṇyantebhyaḥ parasmaipadaṃ na bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix does not occur after *pā* 'to drink', *damI* 'to suppress, control', *ā-yam* (*āṄ-yamĀ*) 'to stretch out', *ā-yas* (*āṄ-yasŪ*) 'to exert', *pari-muh* (*pari-muhĀ*) 'to be perplexed', *rucĀ* 'to be pleasing', *nṛtĪ* 'to dance', *vadĀ* 'to speak', or *vasĀ* 'to dwell' when they terminate in *ṆiC*.

EXAMPLES:

> *pāyayate* 'he causes someone to drink'
> *damayate* 'he causes someone to be controlled'
> *āyāmayate* 'he causes something to stretch out'
> *āyāsayate* 'he causes someone to be afflicted'
> *parimohayate* 'he causes someone to be perplexed'
> *rocayate* 'he causes someone to be pleased'
> *narttayate* 'he causes someone to dance'
> *vādayate* 'he causes someone to speak'
> *vāsayate* 'he causes someone to dwell'

1. This is a negation (*pratiṣedha*) rule, and as such it should negate a positive provision made available elsewhere. Such a positive provision is *parasmaipada*, made available by rules 1.3.87 *nigaraṇacalanārthebhyas ca* and 1.3.88 *aṇāvakarmakāc...* as an exception to *ātmanepada* which, in turn, was made available by rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye...* to denote *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala* 'the fruit of the action accruing to the agent'. Thus, this rule negates *parasmaipada* in favour of *ātmanepada*. In other words, it reinstates *ātmanepadam* to denote *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala*.

It is important to remember here that the sphere of negating *parasmaipada*, or reinstating *ātmanepada*, is limited to *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala*. This will give us forms such as *pāyayate*. But when the sphere is not that of *kartrabhiprāyakriyāphala*, rule 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam* will introduce *parasmaipada* to yield *vatsān payaḥ pāyayati* '(the cow) has the calves drink milk'. Obviously, the fruit of the action denoted by *pā-i* 'to have someone drink' accrues to someone other than the agent. Also note that out of the nine roots listed by this rule, *pā* 'to drink' denotes *nigaraṇa* 'swallowing', and *nṛtĪ* 'to dance' denotes *calana* 'movement'. Their *parasmaipada* was therefore available from rule 1.3.87 *nigaraṇa....*

1.3.90 वा क्यषः

> *vā kyaṣaḥ*
> /*vā* Ø *kyaṣaḥ* 5/1/
> (*parasmaipadam* # 78)
> *kyaṣantād dhātor vā parasmaipadam bhavati*
> A *parasmaipada* affix occurs optionally after roots which terminate in affix *kyaṢ* (3.1.13 *lohitād...*).

EXAMPLES:

> *lohitāyati* 'that which was not red reddens'
> *lohitāyate* 'id.'
> *paṭapaṭāyati* 'it makes the *paṭ-paṭ* noise'
> *paṭapaṭāyate* 'id.'

1. This rule makes *parasmaipada* optional after roots which end in *KyaṢ*. Clearly, the roots covered by this rule will be deriving from rule 3.1.13 *lohitādiḍājbhyaḥ*... which introduces *KyaṢ* after words enumerated in the list headed by *lohita* 'red', or words ending in affix *ḌāC*. Note that if the option of *parasmaipada* is not accepted, *ātmanepada* can then be introduced.

In many ways this rule, more than making *parasmaipada* optionally available, makes *ātmanepada* optionally available, for *ātmanepada* is governed by 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam.* This rule does not give any indication as to whether *ātmanepada* will be available to roots ending in *KyaṢ*. Since *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* are mutually exclusive terms, the use of one may not be inferred from the use of the other if the two are separately discussed. It is for this reason that rule 1.3.90 makes the *ātmanepada* optionally available. As far as *parasmaipada* is concerned, it was available from 1.3.78 *śeṣāt karttari parasmaipadam.*

1.3.91 द्युद्भ्यो लुङि

> *dyudbhyo luṅi*
> /*dyudbhyaḥ* 5/3 *luṅi* 7/1/
> (*vā* # 90, *parasmaipadam* # 78)
> *dyutādibhyo luṅi vā parasmaipadaṃ bhavati*
> A *parasmaipada* affix occurs optionally after *dyutĀ* 'to shine' and so on when *LUṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *vyadyutat* 'it became illuminated'
> *vyadyotiṣṭa* 'id.'
> *aluṭhat* 'he became agitated'
> *aloṭhiṣṭa* 'id.'

1. The *parasmaipada* affixes are made optional by this rule, after roots of the set headed by *dyutĀ* 'to shine' when they occur before *LUṄ*. The roots referred to by the *dyutĀ* set are those beginning with *dyutĀ* and terminating with *kṛpŪ* 'to be capable'. We know that the last root of the set has to be *kṛpŪ*, because the next set is referenced as headed by *vṛtŪ* in the following rule. The plural in *dyudbhyaḥ*, by *sāhacarya* 'association', brings the other roots. Thus, Pāṇini manages to refer to more than one verb without using the word *ādi*, etc.

The roots listed in this rule should, under the provisions of 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam,* take the *ātmanepada* endings. This rule, however, makes the *ātmanepada* optional for these special verbs before *LUṄ.* The option (*vibhāṣā*) of this rule is thus *aprāptavibhāṣā,* an optional provision made against something which was not available. The availability of this option facilitates the application of rule 3.1.55 *puṣādidyutādyḷditaḥ parasmaipadeṣu,* whereby *aṄ* replaces *CLI* before *LUṄ.* Once *aṄ* is introduced on the strength of *parasmaipada* made available by 1.3.91 *dudbhyo...*, any *guṇa* replacement will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.* It is as a result of this that we get two forms: *vyadyutat,* derived with *parasmaipada, aṄ,* and no *guṇa;* and, as opposed to this, *vyadyotiṣṭa,* derived with *ātmanepada,* no *aṄ,* and *guṇa.* See the appendix for derivational details.

1.3.92 वृद्भ्यः स्यसनोः

vṛdbhyaḥ syasanoḥ

/*vṛdbhyaḥ* 5/3 *syasanoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*vā* # 90, *parasmaipadam* # 78)

vṛtādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ sye sani ca parato vā parasmaipadam bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs optionally after *vṛtŪ* 'to turn; to exist' and so on, when affixes *sya* or *saN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

vartsyati 'he will turn'
vartiṣyate 'id.'
avartsyat 'he turned'
avartiṣyat 'id.'
vivṛtsati 'he wishes to turn'
vivartiṣate 'id.'
vartsyati 'he will grow'
varddhiṣyate 'id.'
avartsyat 'he grew up'
avarddhiṣyata 'id.'
vivṛtsati 'he wishes to grow up'
vivarddhiṣate 'id.'

1. This rule makes the use of *parasmaipada* affixes optional after verbal roots *vṛtŪ,* etc., when they occur before *sya* and *saN.* Note that *vṛtŪ,* etc., are contained in the set headed by *dyutĀ,* etc., of rule 1.3.91 *dyudbhyo luṅi.* This rule identifies a set of five verbs, i.e. *vṛtŪ* 'to turn', *vṛdhŪ* 'to grow', *śṛdhŪ* 'to be defiant', *syandŪ* 'to move on', *kṛpŪ* 'to be capable', from within the *dyutĀ* set, and makes the option of *parasmaipada* available to them. This rule becomes necessary because only the above-mentioned verbs occurring before the two specified suffixes should have the option of *parasmaipada.*

These roots could not have this option under the previous rule. Incidentally, *kṛpŪ* is also referred to as *kḷpI:* see rule 1.3.93, below.

1.3.93 लुटि च क्लृपः

luṭi ca kḷpaḥ

lluṭi 7/1 *ca* Ø *kḷpaḥ* 5/1/

(*syasanoḥ* # 92, *vā* # 90, *parasmaipadam* # 78)

luṭi ca syasanoś ca kṛpeḥ parasmaipadaṃ bhavati

A *parasmaipada* affix occurs after *kḷpI* 'to be capable' when it is followed by *LUṬ*, *sya*, or *saN*

EXAMPLES:

kalptā 'he will be capable tomorrow'
kalpitā 'id.'
kālptārau 'they (two) will be capable tomorrow'
kalptāraḥ 'they (pl.) will be capable tomorrow'
kalpsyati 'he will become capable'
kalpiṣyate 'id.'
akalpsyat 'he would have become capable'
akalpiṣyata 'id.'
ciklpsati 'he wishes to be capable'
cikalpiṣate 'id.'

1. Patañjali (*Mbh.*II: 296) states that the *ca* of this rule does not serve any purpose. Since Pāṇini did not use *ca* in rule 1.3.91 *dyudbhyo luṅi* to bring *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' via *anuvṛtti*, the same cannot be the purpose for using *ca* here. It could certainly not be used for bringing *syasanoḥ* from the preceding rule, because that is not desired. The *sya* and *saN* derivates of *kḷp* are already covered by the previous rule. That is, since *kḷpI* is included in the set referred to by *vṛtŪ*, etc., of the preceding rule, the *sya* and *saN* derivatives of *kḷpI* would already be covered. Rule 1.3.93 is thus formulated to cover only the derivates of *kḷp* relative to *LUṬ*. I think *ca* should be accepted as functional here: it should be read with *luṭi* to give the meaning 'and additionally when occurring before *LUṬ*...'.

1.4.1 आ कडारादेका संज्ञा

ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā

/*ā* Ø *kaḍārāt* 5/1 *ekā* 1/1 *saṃjñā* 1/1

'kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye' iti vakṣyati ā etasmāt sūtrāvadher yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ tatra ekā saṃjñā bhavatīti vaktavyam

As far as *'kaḍāra'* (2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*), only one term should be assigned.

EXAMPLES:

bhettā 'he who splits'
chettā 'he who cuts'
śikṣā 'instruction'
bhikṣā 'alms'
atatakṣat 'he smoothed the wood'
ararakṣat 'he protected'

1. This is one of the most important interpretive rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is also a governing rule. This means that its domain extends up to 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*. The purpose of this interpretive rule is to make it clear that whenever two terms given in the domain of this rule should become applicable to a single nominatum, only one would be considered valid. The next rule, 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, determines which rule should be considered valid. When more than one term is applicable to a single nominatum and they appear in equal strength, the rules create a situation of conflict (*vipratiṣedha*). In such instances, in accordance with 1.4.2, the conflict should be resolved by accepting the latter rule as valid. That is, when there is a conflict between two rules of equal strength, the one which is subsequent in order wins. It should be remembered here, however, that not all conflicting situations merit the invoking of 1.4.2. For details on this and other interesting problems related to this rule, see my notes under 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe....*

The very fact that Pāṇini clearly states that the domain of one term per nominatum is limited to the rules between 1.4.1 and 2.3.38, inclusive, establishes that elsewhere more than one term may be assigned to a single nominatum. Commentators attest to this. Outside the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*, *saṃjñasamāveśa* 'class inclusion' is the norm. Thus an item may be termed *samāsa* 'compound' as well as *prātipadika* 'nominal stem'. Similarly, the designations *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) and *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) involve class inclusion. For details, see the following rule.

1.4.2 विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम्
vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam
/*vipratiṣedhe* 7/1 *param* 1/1 *kāryam* 1/1/
(*tulyabala-virodhaḥ = vipratiṣedhaḥ*) । *yatra dvau prasaṅgāv anyārthāv ekasmin yugapat prāpnutaḥ sa tulyabalavirodho vipratiṣedhaḥ; tasmin vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryaṃ bhavati*
When there is conflict caused by two rules of equal strength, apply the one which is subsequent in order.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣābhyām, instrumental, dative, and ablative dual of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'

plakṣābhyām, instrumental, dative, and ablative dual of *plakṣa* 'a kind of tree'
vṛkṣeṣu, locative plural of *vṛkṣa*
plakṣeṣu, locative plural of *plakṣa*
vṛkṣebhyaḥ, dative and ablative plural of *vṛkṣa*
plakṣebhyaḥ, dative and ablative plural of *plakṣa*

1. The purpose of this rule is to provide a decisive ruling in matters of conflict (*vipratiṣedha*). This rule then becomes restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. The locative in *vipratiṣedhe* is interpreted as *satisaptamī* 'locative absolute'. The word *param*, though interpretable as meaning *iṣṭa*, is generally interpreted as meaning *uttara* 'subsequent'. The word *kārya* refers to an operation. This *sūtra* can thus be interpreted as meaning that 'subsequent is to be performed when there is conflict'.

This rule has attracted a great deal of discussion in the literature. *Kāśikā* explains: *yatra dvau prasaṅgāv anyārthāv ekasmin yugpat prāpnutas sa eva tulyabalavirodho vipratiṣedhaḥ*. Obviously the focus is on the term *vipratiṣedha*, which is here explained as *tulyabalavirodha* 'conflict of equal strength'. That is, it concerns a conflict between two rules which are equally powerful in regard to their applicability. How should one go about determining *tulyabalatā* 'equal strength'? The answer is that two rules (*prasaṅga*) with their independent scope (*anyārtha*) of application are treated as equal in strength when they both obtain (*prāpnutas*) in a single context (*ekasmin*) simultaneously (*yugapat*). To sum up, *vipratiṣedha* is a situation of conflict where two rules with proven scope of application elsewhere simultaneously become applicable to a single context. This being the case (*sati*), the rule which is subsequent (*para*) in order of enumeration should be applied.

The phrase 'two rules with proven scope of application elsewhere' needs some explanation. A rule becomes vacuous (*vyartha*) if it does not have any scope of application. The conflict which is here characterized as *vipratiṣedha* demands that two rules in conflict must have their scope of application elsewhere. Let us consider some examples:

(*a*) *krūrāya krudhyati* 'he is angry with the cruel one'
(*b*) *krūram abhikrudhyati* 'id.'
(*c*) *gehaṃ praviśati* 'he is entering the house'
(*d*) *gehe praviśati* 'id.'

The word *krūra* 'cruel' in (*a*) is used with *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' to express *sampradāna* (2.3.13 *sampradāne caturthī*). However, it is used with *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' to express *karman* (2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). The term *sampradāna* is assigned to *krūra* in (*a*) because *krūra* denotes the person towards whom anger is directed, and the sentence underlies an action denoted by *krudh* 'to be angry' (1.4.37

krudha...yaṃ prati kopaḥ). The same word is assigned the term *karman* in sentence (*b*), where verbal root *krudh* is used with the preverb *abhi* (1.4.38 *krudha druhor upasṛṣṭayoḥ karma*). A situation of conflict arises here. The reasons are:

(*i*) the nominal endings, *dvitīyā* and *caturthī*, are introduced on the strength of the assignment of the terms *sampradāna* and *karman*,

(*ii*) both of these terms, or rules which assign them, are equally applicable to *krūra* in (*b*), and

(*iii*) rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* forbids the assignment of two terms to a single nominatum at once.

Note that this conflict cannot be recognised as *vipratiṣedha* because the two rules in conflict are not of equal strength. The rule which assigns the term *karman* (1.4.38) will become vacuous if it does not apply to assign the term *karman* to *krūra* of (*b*). After all, its specification is that the person towards whom anger is directed should be assigned the term *karman* when verbs having the signification of *krudh,* and so on, are used with the preverb *abhi*. This alone is the right context for the application of rule 1.4.38. Elsewhere, it will become vacuous. This situation has been characterized as *niravakāśatva* 'no scope of application'.

It has been stated that *vipratiṣedha* entails a conflict between two rules of equal strength (*tulyabala*). That is, both rules must have their scope of application elsewhere. That is termed *sāvakāśa*. In the case of rules 1.4.37 and 1.4.38, the latter is *niravakāśa* whereas the former is *sāvakāśa* 'with scope of application elsewhere'. They cannot be taken as carrying equal strength, since a *niravakāśa* rule is treated as stronger than a rule which is *sāvakāśa*. Thus, rule 1.4.38 assigns the term *karman*. Note that rule 1.4.2 does not have anything to do with the resolution of this conflict, as the conflict does not entail *vipratiṣedha*. In order for it to be so called, both rules must be *sāvakāśa*. This alone can offer them equal strength.

Let us take a couple of examples where *tulyabalatā* may be the source of conflict. Consider the following sentences:

(*e*) *rāmo dhanuṣā mṛgaṃ vidhyati* 'Rāma is piercing the deer by means of (the arrow shot by) the bow'

(*f*) *devadatto rathena grāmād āgacchati* 'Devadatta is coming from the village by chariot'

The first sentence has *dhanuṣ* in the instrumental singular (2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*) to express *karaṇa* (1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*). Since *dhanuṣ* as a participant serves as the means *par excellence* in accomplishing the act of piercing, it is termed *karaṇa*. However, since it also serves as a fixed (*dhruva*) point from whence there is movement away (*apāya*) of the arrow (*śara*), it can also qualify for the term *apādāna* (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*). This clearly creates a situation of conflict (*vipratiṣedha*). The terms *apādāna* and *karaṇa* have their valid scope of application

elsewhere, as is evident from sentence (*f*). Here, *grāma* is termed *apādāna* because it serves as a fixed point from which Devadatta moves away. Similarly, to accomplish the act of going Devadatta is employing *ratha* as the means *par excellence.* On this basis, the conflict of term assignment with reference to *dhanuṣ* in sentence (*e*) can be identified as *tulyabalatā* 'equal in strength'. Rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* is therefore rightly invoked here to resolve the conflict in favour of the rule which is subsequent (*para*) in order. That is, *dhanuṣ* is uniquely termed *karaṇa* in this instance because rule 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam,* which assigns the term *karaṇa,* is subsequent in order to rule 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam,* which assigns the term *apādāna.*

Let us now consider *rāmaiḥ,* which is the instrumental plural of *rāma* derived from *rāma* + *bhis.* Rule 7.1.19 *ato bhis ais* will require a replacement for *bhis* of *ais,* which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a.* Note that *ataḥ* is placed in the *pañcamī*' fifth triplet of nominal ending' which brings rule 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya* close to the context of this rule. Rule 1.1.67 states that an operation pertains to the following form if its classification is made by a *pañcamī.* It is in view of this that *bhis* becomes the focus for the replacement by *ais.*

Then comes rule 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya,* which states that an operation specified for a following item should apply to the initial sound segment of that item. That is, *ais* should replace only the *bh* of *bhis.* But *bhis* itself is placed in the genitive, so rule 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* must apply to demand that *ais* should replace *bhis.* Since the replacement consists of more than one sound segment, rule 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya* would demand that *ais* should replace *bhis* in toto. We are surely faced with a problem: which substitution command should win if there is a conflict? Should we accept *pañcamī* or *ṣaṣṭhī* as the primary specifying condition?

If we accept *pañcamī,* a wrong form such as **rāma* + *(bh* → *ais)is* → *rmaisi (s* → *ḥ)* =**rāmaisiḥ* would result. Why? Because the focus of this replacement will then be determined by rule 1.1.54 read with 1.1.67. But if we accept *ṣaṣṭhī,* everything will be in order. How should we decide? The tradition regards this as an instance of *vipratiṣedha.* Commentators state that 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya* has a valid scope of application in examples like *dvīpam,* 'island', with reference to rule 6.3.97 *dvyantarupasargebhyo...* This scope of application also happens to be mutually exclusive of the valid scope of application of rule 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya.* Rule 1.1.55 has its valid scope of application in rules like 2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ* where *bhūḥ* is ordered as a replacement for *asti* in genitive. The replacement here is total *(sarvādeśa).*

This, then, is another situation involving *tulyabalatā.* When invoked, rule 1.4.2 resolves the conflict in favour of the subsequent rule, 1.1.55

anekāl.... There are, incidentally, some interesting corollaries to this situation. For example, the order in which *ataḥ* and *bhis* (items in *pañcamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī*) of rule 7.1.9 are given is also is consonance with the resolution of the conflict in favour of the subsequent. Secondly, the rules which introduce the *pañcamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī* nominal endings in the domain of 2.3.1 *anabhihite* also place *ṣaṣṭhī* rules subsequent to *pañcamī* rules. Lastly, needless to say, 1.1.55 is subsequent to 1.1.53.

Now, we shall take an example of a different nature. One of the most celebrated of traditional *vipratiṣedha* conflicts happens to involve rules 7.3.102 *supi ca* and 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*. The first rule requires that the short final *a* of an *aṅga* be replaced with a long before a nominal ending beginning with *yÑ*. The second rule requires that in the case of a plural form the *aṅga*-final *a* should be replaced with *e*. Examples like *rāmāya* and *rāmebhyaḥ* provide for the independent scope of these two rules. Examples like the locative plural *rāmeṣu* create a situation of conflict. Given the string *rāma* + *suP*, where *suP* is the locative plural ending, both the rules become applicable. If one applies rule 7.3.102, a wrong form, **rāmāsu*, will result. If 7.3.103 is preferred, we will of course get the correct form *rāmeṣu*.

Commentators accept that in some cases a rule which is blocked in *vipratiṣedha* once must remain blocked forever (cf. *Paribhāṣā* 41: *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva* 'that which goes through *vipratiṣedha* once and is blocked, remains blocked forever'). On the other hand, there may be cases where a rule blocked once may find an occasion to apply later (cf. *Paribhāṣā* 40: *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānād bhavati* 'application of a blocked rule becomes possible by the knowledge of the context of its application again'). These two positions are not paradoxical. Two types of *vipratiṣedha* are recognized: one which is labelled as *tulyabalatā* 'equal strength', and the other as *asambhava* 'impossible'. These two types also relate to the interpretation of the expression *paraṃ kāryam* in rule 1.4.2, which can be interpreted in two ways:

(*i*) only the subsequent rule should apply, and

(*ii*) apply the subsequent rule.

The first interpretation makes rule 1.4.2 a restrictive (*niyama*) rule. The second makes it operational (*vidhi*). The notion of 'once blocked, is blocked forever' relates to the *tulyabalatā* aspect of *vipratiṣedha*. The 'application afterwards' notion relates to the *asambhava* aspect of *vipratiṣedha*.

I have already discussed several examples of *vipratiṣedha* of the *tulyabalatā* type. I shall now discuss the *vipratiṣedha* which constitutes the type of *asambhava*. Consider rule 3.1.333 *ṇvultṛcau*, which introduces affixes *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* after verb roots. The conflict concerns whether these two affixes should be introduced simultaneously (*yugapat*) or in turn (*paryāya*). Since a simultaneous application is impossible, *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* will be introduced in turn. Similarly, given the string *ajara* + *Jas*, where

7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ* applies to replace *Jas* by *Śi*, *ajara* + (*Jas* → *Śi*) = *ajara* + *i*, two rules become applicable. These are 7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhal acaḥ* and 7.2.101 *jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām.*

Now the question arises whether we should apply 7.1.72 or 7.2.101. If one prefers to apply 7.1.72, the result will be **ajara* + *nUM* + *i*. Applying 7.2.101 creates a different problem. This rule requires the replacing of *jara* by *jaras*, provided the *aṅga* is followed by an affix beginning with *aC*. If one considers *ajara* as the *aṅga*, the *n* of *nUM* will intervene before the *i*, the affix beginning with *aC*. Thus 7.2.101 will be blocked from application. However, one can also argue that *ajara* + *n* should be treated as the *aṅga*, since *n* happens to be part of it, or in other words because *jara* is part of the *aṅga* and *n* is also part of the *aṅga* (*avayavāvayava*). This reasoning will permit the application of 7.2.101 with the problematical result: **a* (*jara* → *jaras*) + *n* + *i* → *ajarasn* + *i* = **ajarasni.*

The real problem with this approach, however, is that the application of rule 6.4.10 *sānta mahataḥ saṃyogasya* requires the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of the *aṅga* ending in *s* preceded by *n*. Given the string **ajarasni*, the combination is not *ns* but *sn*, which will not permit 6.4.10 to apply. Wrong forms such as **ajarasni* will result. Therefore, in order to facilitate the application of 6.4.10, 7.2.101 must replace *jara* by *jaras* before 7.1.72 introduces *nUM*. This is possible only when one invokes 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe....* The conflict between the application of rules 7.2.101 and 7.1.72 is that of *asambhava*, and hence 7.1.72 may reapply.

The Pāṇinian grammatical tradition, with virtually no dissent whatsoever, considers the applicability of rule 1.4.2 as going well beyond the limits of the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. Pāṇinīyas in the West, with the same unanimity, refuse to accept the applicability of rule 1.4.2 outside the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. That is, the Western *pāṇinīyas* consider rule 1.4.2 as local and strictly restricted to the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. This is in opposition to the tradition, which accepts it as global. Since any discussion of the merits or demerits of either of these two positions falls outside the scope of this work, they shall not be further explained here.

1.4.3 यू स्त्र्याख्यौ नदी

yū stryākhyau nadī
/*yū* (*sUP* deleted) = *ī ca ū ca* = *yū* (*itar. dv.*);
stryākhyau 1/2 *nadī* 1/1/
īkārāntam ūkārāntaṃ ca stryākhyaṃ śabdarūpaṃ nadīsaṃjñaṃ bhavati
Feminine forms which end in *ī* or *ū* are termed *nadī*.

EXAMPLES:

kumarī 'girl'
gaurī 'goddess Pārvatī; a fair-complexioned girl'

lakṣmīḥ 'goddess (of wealth) Lakṣmī'
śārṅgaravī 'goddess of wealth'
brahmabandhūḥ 'a *brāhmaṇa* woman who does not behave like one'
yavāgūḥ 'rice gruel'

1. The purpose of assigning the term *nadī* is to facilitate the application of 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ;* 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ;* and so on. In the absence of the designation *nadī, grāmaṇī* 'village leader' and *khalapū* 'he who cleans the threshing floor; he who changes (purifies the heart of) a wicked person' cannot have their long final vowels replaced by short ones in the vocative. Similarly, in view of 7.3.112, *mātṛ* 'mother' and *duhitṛ* 'daughter' will yield forms very different from the *nadī* words, since, under the provisions of 7.3.112, dative, ablative, and genitive singular endings receive the augment *āṬ* when they occur after items termed *nadī.* This augment will be blocked in the absence of the assignment of the term *nadī.*

2. The term *nadī* should only apply to those forms which, in addition to ending in *ī* or *ū*, independently denote a feminine object. Thus *strī* denotes a female in the sentence *strī gacchati* 'a woman is going'. A word like *paṭvī* 'clever (*f*)' in *paṭvī strī gacchati* 'a clever woman is going' also denotes a female. However, it does not denote feminine entirely on its own. Instead, it is able to denote feminine only because it modifies a feminine word. On its own, *paṭvī* is not capable of denoting feminine and therefore cannot be assigned the term *nadī.* By using the word *stryākhyā,* Pāṇini intends us to understand a reference to those words which, on their own, have an inherent capacity to denote feminine. Refer to *PM* ad *Kāśikā* 1.4.3: *ākhyāgrahaṇasāmarthyāt padāntaram anapekṣya yau svayameva striyam ācakṣāte ity āśrīyate.*

1.4.4 **नेयङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री**

*neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv·as*ᵗʳ*ī*
l na ∅ iyaṅuvaṅsthānau 1/2 = *iyaṅ ca uvaṅ ca* = *iyaṅuvaṅau (itar. dv.),*
iyaṅuvaṅau sthānam anayor = *iyaṅuvaṅsthānau*
(bv.); astrī = *na strī (nañ. tat.)l*
(yūstryākhau nadī # 3)
iyaṅuvaṅoḥ sthānam anayor itīyaṅuvaṅsthānau yau yū tau nadīsaṃjñau na bhavataḥ, strīśabdaṃ varjayitvā
Except for *strī* 'woman', forms which terminate in *ī* or *ū* and denote feminine are not termed *nadī* if they have a replacement in *iyĀṄ* and *uvĀṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

he śrīḥ 'O, Śrī!'
he brūḥ 'O, Bhrū!'

1. The function of this rule is to restrict further the scope of 1.4.3. For example, according to 1.4.3 *śrī* and *bhrū* can be termed *nadī*, since they end in *ī* and *ū* and also denote feminine. The present rule disallows the *nadī* designation because both *śrī* and *bhrū* happen to be items which, in their paradigms, entail a replacement of *ī* and *ū* by *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* respectively. Thus, we get forms such as *śriyau* and *śriyaḥ* and *bhruvau* and *bhruvaḥ*, the nominative dual and plural forms. If this rule did not disallow the *nadī* designation of *śrī* and *bhrū*, 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor...* would have required the shortening of their long vowels. This rule makes an exception for *strī*, even though *strī* entails *iyAṄ* replacement, to account for forms like *strīḥ*, the vocative singular. Clearly, in the absence of *nadī* designation, shortening of the final long *ī* of *strī* by 7.3.107 will be blocked.

1.4.5 वाऽमि

vā' mi

/*vā* ∅ *āmi* 7/1/

(*neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī* # 4, *yūstryākhyau nadī* # 3)

iyaṅuvaṅsthānau yū amī parato vā nadī saṃjñau na bhavataḥ

Except for *strī*, forms which terminate in *ī* or *ū* and denote feminine optionally are not termed *nadī* if they have a replacement in *iyAṄ* or *uvAṄ* and occur before *ām* (genitive plural).

EXAMPLES:

śriyām, genitive plural of *śrī* 'wealth'
śrīṇām 'id.'
bhruvām, genitive plural of *bhrū* 'brow'
bhrūṇām 'id.'

1. The function of this rule is to make the obligatory ruling of 1.4.4 optional in cases where a form ends in *ī* or *ū*, signifies feminine, and entails *iyAṄ* or *uvAṄ* replacement, but is not *strī*. As is obvious from the wording of the rule, such an option is available only when the form in question occurs before the genitive plural ending *ām*. The word *strī* is cited again as an exception simply because there is only one available form, *strīṇām*.

2. The wording of this rule may lead to confusion. For example, *vā' mi* may be interpreted as involving the *sandhi* of *vā* + *ami* where *am* of *ami* would be identified as accusative singular. However, since operations relative to the designation of the term *nadī* do not obtain where accusative singular (*am*) is involved, *vā' mi* must be interpreted as consisting of *vā* + *āmi*. Even so, there may still be confusion, because the *ām* of *āmi* can now be interpreted either as genitive plural or as a replacement of locative singular *Ṅi* by 7.3.116 *ṅer ām nadyām....* Such an interpretation of the *ām* of *āmi* as a replacement of *Ṅi* is not acceptable, since this replacement is conditioned by the designation of the term *nadī*. That is, the term assignment

precedes the replacement. Genitive plural is therefore the correct interpretation.

1.4.6 ङिति ह्रस्वश्च

ṅiti hrasvaś ca

/*ṅiti* 7/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/

(*vā* # 5, *neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī* # 4, *yūstryākhyau nadī* # 3)

ṅiti parato hrasvaś ca yvoḥ sambandhī yaḥ stryākhyaḥ; stryākhyau iyaṅuvaṅsthānau ca yū vā nadī saṃjñau bhavataḥ

Except for *strī*, forms which denote feminine and which end in *i*, *u*, *ī*, or *ū*, and have a replacement in *iyĀṄ* or *uvĀṄ*, optionally are termed *nadī* if an affix marked with *Ṅ* follows them.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtyai, dative singular of *kṛti* 'creation'
kṛtaye 'id.'
dhenvai, dative singular of *dhenu* 'cow'
dhenave 'id.'
śriyai, dative singular of *śrī* 'wealth'
śriye 'id.'
bhruvai, dative singular of *bhrū* 'brow'
bhruve 'id.'

1. This rule is an exception to rules 1.4.3 and 1.4.4 because it optionally provides for the assignment of the term *nadī*, a term which was obligatorily denied them. It is an exception to 1.4.3 because it allows the designation *nadī* to forms which end in short *i* and *u*. It is an exception to 1.4.4 because it allows the assignment of the term *nadī* to forms which end in long *ī* and *ū* but permit a replacement in *iyĀṄ* and *uvĀṄ*.

2. Since this rule is optional, two forms could result. If the term *nadī* is assigned, rule 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ* will introduce the augment *āṬ*. One will then get forms such as *kṛtyai*, *dhenvai*, *śriyai*, and so on. In the absence of the assignment of the term *nadī*, rule 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* would allow *guṇa* replacement for the stem-final vowel under the condition of the assignment of the term *ghi* by rule 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*. Thus one can get forms like *kṛtaye*, *dhenave*, *śriye*, and so on.

1.4.7 शेषो घ्यसखि

śeṣo ghy asakhi

/*śeṣaḥ* 1/1 *ghy* 1/1 *asakhi* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*hrasvaḥ* # 6)

śeṣo' tra ghisaṃjño bhavati, sakhiśabdaṃ varjayitvā

Except for *sakhi* 'friend', the remaining forms which end in *i* or *u* are termed *ghi*.

EXAMPLES:

> ***agnaye***, dative singular of ***agni*** 'fire'
> ***vāyave***, dative singular of ***vāyu*** 'wind'
> ***kṛtaye***, dative singular of ***kṛti*** 'creation'
> ***dhenave***, dative singular of ***dhenu*** 'cow'

1. The purpose of this rule is to define the term *ghi* by assigning it to the residue (*śeṣa*) of rules 1.4.3-1.4.6. Thus, it assigns the term ***ghi*** to forms which either end in a short *i* or *u* but do not denote feminine, or which end in long *ī* or *ū*, denote feminine, but are not termed *nadī*.

2. The following are some operations performed when the term ***ghi*** is assigned:

(*i*) A corresponding *guṇa* vowel is ordered for the final *i* and *u* of an *aṅga* termed *ghi* when nominal endings marked with *Ṅ* follow (7.3.111 *gher ṅiti*).

(*ii*) The locative singular ending *Ṅi* is replaced by *au* when occurring after an *aṅga* which is termed *ghi* and ends in *i* or *u*. Additionally, the *ghi*-final *i* is replaced by *a* (7.3.119 *ac ca gheḥ*).

(*iii*) The instrumental singular ending *Ṭā* is replaced by *nā* when occurring after a non-feminine *aṅga* termed *ghi* (7.3.120 *āṅo nā' striyām*).

3. Note that the purpose of excluding ***sakhi*** 'friend' from the list of ***ghi*** forms is to block *guṇa* (by 7.3.111), *a*-replacement (by 7.3.119) and ***na***-replacement (by 7.3.120). Consider the derivation of ***sakhye***, ablative singular, and *sakhyuḥ*, genitive singular, where 7.3.111 does not order *guṇa*. Similarly, consider ***sakhyau***, locative singular, where the final *i* of *sakhi* is not replaced by *a* by rule 7.3.119. Finally, consider ***sakhyā***. instrumental singular, where, in the absence of the assignment of the term ***ghi***, rule 7.3.120 could not order the *ā* of the ending to be replaced by ***nā***.

1.4.8 **पतिः समास एव**

> ***patiḥ samāsa eva***
> /***patiḥ*** 1/1 ***samāse*** 7/1 ***eva*** Ø/
> (***ghi*** # 7)
> ***patiśabdaḥ samāsa eva ghisaṃjño bhavati***
> **The word *pati* 'husband, lord, master' is termed *ghi* only when it occurs in a compound.**

EXAMPLES:

> ***prajāpatinā***, instrumental singular of ***prajāpati*** 'creator; the **Brahman**'
> ***prajāpataye***, dative singular of ***prajāpati***

1. This rule restricts the scope of the assignment of the term *ghi* to *pati*. Accordingly, *pati* can be assigned this term only when it occurs as the constituent of a compound. Note that this rule is not meant to assign the term *ghi* to *pati*. Instead, it is formulated to restrict the assignment of *ghi* with reference to *pati*. How can a provision be restricted if it has not been made? This provision is made by 1.4.7, which is then restricted by the present rule. The use of *eva* means that *pati* can be assigned the term *ghi* only when occurring in a compound.

1.4.9 षष्ठीयुक्तश्छन्दसि वा

ṣaṣṭhīyuktaś chandasi vā

/ṣaṣṭhīyuktaḥ 1/1 = *ṣaṣṭhyā yuktaḥ (tṛt. tat.); chandasi* 7/1 *ca* 0/

(patiḥ # 8, *ghi* # 7)

ṣaṣṭhyantena śabdenayuktaḥ patiśabdaḥ chandasi viṣaye vā ghisaṃjño bhavati

In Veda, *pati* optionally is termed *ghi* when it is joined with a *pada* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'sixth triad of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

kuluñcānāṃ pataye namaḥ 'my obeisance to the cheat of cheats'
kuluñcānāṃ patye namaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that this rule provides, in the Vedic, for the assignment of the term *ghi* to *pati* even when it is not a constituent of a compound. The use of the word *yuktaḥ* in the rule makes it clear that the word *pati* is not to be interpreted as ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. Instead, it is to be interpreted as used with a word ending in *ṣaṣṭhī*. Had the intended sense been *pati* ending in genitive, *yuktaḥ* would not have been required at all in the wording of the rule. By rule 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*, *ṣaṣṭhī* itself could have accounted for that interpretation.

1.4.10 ह्रस्वं लघु

hrasvaṃ laghu

/hrasvam 1/1 *laghu* 1/1

hrasvam akṣaraṃ laghusaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A short vowel is termed *laghu*.

EXAMPLES:

bhettā 'he who splits'
chettā 'he who cuts'
acīkarat 'he did (it)'
ajīharat 'he took (it) away'

SCOPE: 7.3.86 *puganta lughūpadhasya ca*

1. The term *hrasva* has been defined by rule 1.2.27 *ukalō...* as a vowel consisting of a duration of one mora *(ekamātrā)*. This same vowel has been termed *laghu* by this rule. Furthermore, the subsequent rule calls the same vowel *guru* before a conjunct (*saṃyoga*). Since these two rules (1.4.10-1.4.11) come under the domain of *ekasamjñā*, no two terms of this domain can be assigned concurrently to a single entity. Therefore, *laghu* and *guru* cannot be assigned to a short vowel concurrently. However, outside the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*, class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) is the norm. That is, a *hrasva* cannot be simultaneously assigned the term *laghu* and *guru*. But, in view of *saṃjñāsamāveśa*, there is nothing to stop the assignment of the terms *hrasva* and *laghu*, or *hrasva* and *guru*, to a single entity. This is possible because *hrasva* is a term not included in the *ekasaṃjñā* domain.

Haradatta *(PM* ad *Kāś.* 1.1.10, I: 511-12) states that the class-inclusion of the term *guru* with *hrasva* is desired so that *ṣatva*, change of *s* into *ṣ*, can take place by 8.3.103 *yuṣmattattatakṣuḥ....* However, in examples like *atatakṣat*, third person singular aorist of *takṣ* 'to fashion', class-inclusion of *laghu* and *guru* (*hrasva* before a conjunct) cannot be permitted. Here the term *guru* blocks the assignment of the term *laghu* so that *sanvadbhāva* 'operations similar to those conditioned by affix *saN*' can be blocked.

Note that *sanvadbhāva* basically refers to reduplication *(abhyāsa)* by rule 6.1.1 *sanyaṅoḥ*. It is ordered for roots ending in *ṆiC* and occurring before the augment *caṄ* in the aorist *(LUṄ)* by rule 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni caṅpare' naglope*. Additionally, *sanvadbhāva* entails *itva*, change of *a* by *i* of the *abhyāsa* by rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*. For details of these operations, see the derivation of relevant examples.

2. Note that a situation of conflict between the assignment of the terms *laghu* and *guru* will obtain, but it will be resolved in favour of *guru* to meet the requirement of the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*, as dictated by rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*. Note, however, that the conflict is not resolved on the strength of rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe....* Rule 1.4.2 resolves conflicts when both the terms have their independent scope of application elsewhere (*sāvakāśatva*). In the context of a conflict involving *laghu* and *guru*, *laghu* will have its scope of application elsewhere. That is, it can be assigned to all the short vowels except those which occur before a conjunct. The term *guru* can only be applicable to a short vowel when it is followed by a conjunct. If one does not assign the term *guru* to a *hrasva* occurring before a conjunct, *guru* will be left without any scope of application (*niravakāśa*). This will make rule 1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru* vacuous (*vyartha*). As far as 1.4.2 is concerned, it will not find any scope of application in a conflict situation obtaining between *laghu* and *guru*, for the *niravakāśatva* of *guru* will disqualify the conflict from being called *vipratiṣedha*.

1.4.11 संयोगे गुरु

saṃyoge guru

|saṃyoge 7/1 *guru* 1/1/

(*hrasvam #* 10)

saṃyoge parato hrasvam akṣaraṃ gurusaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A short vowel is termed *guru* when it occurs before *saṃyoga* 'a sequence of consonants.'

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍā 'she who causes burns; adulteress'
huṇḍā 'multitude; tigress'
śikṣā 'instruction'
bhikṣā 'alms'

SCOPE: 3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*

1. As is clear from my preceding note, a class-inclusion of *guru* with *laghu* is ruled out. That is, all occurrences of a short vowel before a following conjunct will be uniquely termed *guru*. What is the purpose of assigning this term? It is to permit one to derive forms such as *kuṇḍā* and *huṇḍā*, where, given the roots *kuḍ* and *huḍ* and the introduction of *nUM* by rule 7.1.58, the strings will be: *ku* + *nUM* + *ḍ* and *hu* + *nUM* + *ḍ*. Rule 1.4.11 can now assign the term *guru* to *u* of *ku* and *hu* since it is occurring before the consonant cluster *nḍ*. As a result, rule 3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ* will apply to introduce *a* and the resultant strings will be: *ku* + *(n(UM* → *Ø)ḍ)* + *a* = *kuṇḍa* and *hu* + *(n(UM* → *Ø)* + *a* = *huṇḍa*. These strings now qualify for the term *prātipādika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*) which, in turn, enables them to receive the feminine affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyatas ṭāp*) and ultimately yields *kuṇḍā* and *huṇḍā*.

I have already shown the derivation of (700) *śikṣā* and (701) *bhikṣā* where the term *guru* is applicable to the short *i* of *śikṣ* and *bhikṣ* before the following *kṣ*. Again the express purpose of assigning this term is to introduce affix *a* and subsequently affix *ṬāP*.

1.4.12 दीर्घं च

dīrghaṃ ca

|dīrgham 1/1 *ca Ø|*

(guru # 12)

dīrghaṃ cākṣaraṃ gurusaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A long vowel also is termed *guru*.

EXAMPLES:

īhāñcakre 'he strove'
īkṣāñcakre 'he saw'

1. Note that this rule assigns the term *guru* to *dīrgha* 'long' vowels in general. Thus the word *saṃyoge* is not carried from rule 1.4.11. The term *dīrgha,* like *hrasva,* has also been defined by 1.2.27 *ukālo...* A vowel, according to this rule, is termed *dīrgha* if it has the time duration equivalent to two morae. A full derivation of examples cited here is presented in the appendix under rule 1.3.63 *āmpratyayavat....* Note that, given the strings *īkṣ* + *LIṬ* and *īha* + *LIṬ*, 1.3.63 can apply to introduce affix *ām* under these conditions: when the root begins with *iC (i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, o, ai, au)* but is not *ṛcch;* when it contains a vowel termed *guru (gurumān);* when *LIṬ* follows; and when the usage is not Vedic. Thus, one express purpose of assigning the term *guru* is to enable roots to receive the affix *ām.*

1.4.13 **यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम्**

yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi pratyaye' ṅgam

/*yasmāt* 5/1 *pratyayavidhiḥ* 1/1 = *pratyayasya vidhiḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.); tadādi* 1/1 = *tadādir ādir yasya (bv.); pratyaye* 7/1 *aṅgam* 1/1/

yasmāt pratyayo vidhīyate (dhātor vā prātipadikād vā) tadādi śabdarūpaṃ pratyaye parato' ṅgasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form beginning with that after which an affix is introduced is termed *aṅga* when the affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

karttā 'doer'
harttā 'he who takes away'
kariṣyati 'he will do'
hariṣyati 'he will take away'
akariṣyat 'he did'
aupagavaḥ 'male descendant of Upagu'
kāpaṭavaḥ 'male descendant of Kapaṭu'

1. Note that this rule is formulated by means of the variable *yat* 'that which...' with its correlative *tat* 'that'. Literally translated, it will read as follows:

yasmāt pratyayavidhiḥ 'that (a form) after which an affix (*pratyaya*) is introduced (*vidhīyate*)'; *tadādi* 'that (a form) which begins (*ādi*) with that (a form after which an affix is introduced)'; *pratyaye' ṅgam* is termed an *aṅga* when the affix follows'.

The word *tadādi* is a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* type of *bahuvrīhi,* from which we learn that the term *aṅga* is not simply assigned to the form after which an affix is introduced. It is assigned to the form which begins with that form after which an affix is introduced, but may extend right up to the affix and include constituents intervening between the initial form and the affix.

This assignment of the term *aṅga* occurs, of course, only when the affix follows.

A couple of examples explaining what a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* type of *bahuvrīhi* is will make things clearer. Pāṇini (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) states that a compound is termed *bahuvrīhi* when its many constituents (*anekam*) denote something other than (*anyapadārtha*) their own meaning. Thus, we may take this sentence:

(*a*) *citragum ānaya citravāsasā saha* 'bring the man who owns brindled cows along with the man who wears colourful clothes'

Here, both *citragu* 'he who owns brindled cows' and *citravāsas* 'he who wears colourful clothes' are *bahuvrīhi* since their constituents *(citrā/citram* 'brindled'/'colourful', *gāvaḥ* 'cows', and *vāsas* 'clothes'), when combined to form a *bahuvrīhi,* denote something other than that which may be their own denotatum. Both the compounds denote a man. The first compound in sentence (*a*) is *atadguṇasaṃvijñāna,* because what is brought in compliance with the command is a man and not any brindled cow. That is to say, the meaning of individual constituents is suppressed. As opposed to this, *citravāsas* is a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* because, even though the constituents refer to something other than their own denotatum, what is brought in compliance with the command of sentence (*a*) is not just a man, but one who wears colourful clothes. Thus, in a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna,* the constituent meanings are not suppressed. See also my notes under 1.3.63 *āmpratyayavat....*

Now let us return to *tadādi.* Interpreted as a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna,* it will refer to a form which begins with a base after which an affix has been introduced Thus, a form beginning with a base may be construed as a form constituted by the base (1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin*), or a form beginning with a base plus something else before the affix. For an illustration of this point, refer to my remarks on the derivation of (34) *cinutaḥ* in the appendix.

Note that a form cannot be termed an *aṅga* simply because an affix has been introduced after it. That is, the designation *aṅga* is contingent upon the presence of the following affix. If, for example, the affix has been deleted, the unit cannot be called an *aṅga.*

Now let us take some examples illustrating various aspects of the assignment of the term *aṅga.* Thus: *karttā, harttā; kariṣyati* and *hariṣyati.* First of all, bases after which an affix can be ruled may be identified as verbal roots (*dhātu,* see 1.3.1) or nominal stems (*prātipadika,* see 1.2.45-46). In the above four examples, the roots are *kṛ* and *hṛ.* Affixes introduced after these roots are *tṛC* and *sya.* Similarly, in examples such as *aupagavaḥ* and *kāpaṭavaḥ,* affix *aṆ* has been introduced after the nominal stems *upagu* and *kapaṭu.* Needless to say, bases *kṛ, hṛ, upagu* and *kapaṭu* are termed *aṅga* before their respective affixes.

The example *kariṣyati* is derived as: *kṛ* + *LṚT* → *kṛ* + *ti* (*P* → *0*) → *kṛ* + *sya* + *ti* → *kṛ* + *iṬ* + *sya* + *ti* → *kar* + *i* + *sya* + *ti* → *kar* + *i* + *ṣya* + *ti*. In this example, both *kṛ* itself and *kṛ* + *sya* may be termed *aṅga*. The form *kṛ* becomes an *aṅga* before the affix *sya;* but *kṛ* + *sya* together may be termed an *aṅga* because they precede *tiP*.

Note that the word *pratyaya* is used twice in this rule. The first *pratyaya* is required, not only for specifying the context as that of *pratyayavidhi,* but also to clarify the fact that, if a root is used with a preverb, the sequence of preverb + root as a whole qualifies for the assignment of the term *aṅga*. The word *vidhi* is also necessary, since what is required by the rule is not simply a concatenation of a base and affix, but the introduction of an affix after a base. In consequence, given the sequence *strī* + *iyatī*, where affix *ṄīṢ* is introduced after *iyat* and not after *strī,* the term *aṅga* cannot be assigned to *strī*. If it were, a wrong form would result from the demand of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* that the *ī* of *strī* should be deleted. Incidentally, *iyatī* is derived by introducing affix *vatUP* after *idam* 'this', and replacing *va* of *vatUP* by *gha* (5.2.40 *kimidammbhyāṃ vo ghaḥ*). The fully derived form is *iyat,* to which feminine affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*) is introduced to derive *iyatī*.

The preceding also demonstrates why the second *pratyaya* (see *pratyaye*) should be used in the rule. If the affix is deleted, the assignment of the term *aṅga* is blocked. Take an example like *strī* + *Ṅe* + *artha* + *sU,* where the dative singular *Ṅe* and the nominative singular *sU* are deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. The resultant string is *strī* + *artha,* a compound, which could cause the assignment of the term *aṅga* to *strī* if *pratyaye* were not there in the rule. Note that an operation relative to an affix cannot be carried out when the affix in question has been deleted by means of the terms *LUK, ŚLU,* or *LUP*. The *Ṅe* and *sU* in our examples above were deleted by *LUK* (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). Thus, for a form to be assigned the term *aṅga,* the affix must follow.

SCOPE: 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

1.4.14 सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्

suptiṅantaṃ padam

/*suptiṅantam* 1/1 = *sup ca tiṅ ca* = *suptiṅau* (*dv.*), *tāv ante yasya sa* = *suptiṅantam* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*); *padam* 1/1/

subantaṃ tiṅantaṃ ca śabdarūpaṃ padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form which terminates in *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...;* 1.1.71 *ādir...*) or *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...;* 1.1.71 *ādir...*) is termed *pada*.

EXAMPLE:

brāhmaṇāḥ pacanti 'the brāhmaṇa are cooking'

1. Note that this rule assigns the term *pada* to a form which ends in a *sUP* 'nominal ending' or a *tiṄ* 'verbal ending' (4.1.2; 3.4.78). That is, given *rāmaiḥ*, instrumental plural of *rāma*, which derives from *rāma* + *bhis*, the entire string *rāma* + *bhis* is to be assigned the term *pada*. That is, a form can be termed a *pada* if and only if it ends in a *sUP* or *tiṄ* in accordance with 1.4.14.

2. Rule 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya* states that a form by means of which an operation is introduced denotes that form as well as the form in which it may end. If this is acceptable, Pāṇini should have said only *suptiṅ padam*, to account for a form ending in these affixes. Why should he add *antam*? The answer is that if he did not use *antam*, the term *pada* might also become applicable to affixes *sUP* and *tiṄ*. That being the case, if one were to derive *agniṣu* 'locative plural of *agni* 'fire', the plural ending *suP* would get the designation *pada*. As a consequence, the change of *s* to *ṣ* ordered by rule 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ* would be blocked. Pāṇini's use of the word *antam* thus becomes indicative (*jñāpaka*) of the fact that in an instance such as the above rule a form cannot denote another form in which it ends.

What kind of an instance are we talking about? It is an instance where an operation relative to a term is ordered with reference to an affix. Thus, if the assignment of a term is made with reference to an affix, the affix cannot denote a form in which it ends (see *Paribhāṣā* (28): *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahaṇaṃ nāsti*). The absence of *antam* would have blocked the meaning 'only the forms ending in *sUP* and *tiṄ*.' If an affix was allowed to denote a form in which it ended when a term was assigned, the term *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*) would also become applicable to forms ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP*.

Given the sequence *gaurī* + *brāhmaṇitarā*, the final vowel of *gaurī* will be replaced by its short counterpart by rule 6.3.43 *gharūpa*.... The reason for this is that it is followed by *brāhmaṇitarā*, a *gha* ending in the affix *taraP*. Obviously, **gauri* will be a wrong form. It should instead be *gaura*, the masculine counterpart of *gaurī*. Thus, *gha* cannot be assigned to a form ending in *taraP*. It should only be assigned to the affix. In the case of *brāhmaṇitarā*, there will be additional problems. If it is interpreted as a *gha*, a form ending in *taraP*, its long *ī* (as in *brāhmaṇī*) cannot be replaced by a short *i*, as is desired. But if the term *gha* is assigned to the affix *taraP*, everything will be in order. Thus, *gaurabrāhmaṇitarā* will be the correct form of the compound.

3. There is still a question about the interpretation of *sUP* in this rule. Is it the abbreviatory term by which the totality of nominal endings are referenced? Or is it the locative plural ending *suP*? Here, it is the *sUP* by which the totality of nominal endings are referenced; for *tiṄ*, which is used with *sUP* in this rule, denotes the totality of the verbal endings. Naturally, because of this association (*sahācarya*), *sUP* should denote the totality of

nominal endings. Secondly, if a locative plural interpretation were accepted, rules such as 8.2.8 *na ṅisambuddhyoḥ* would become vacuous (*vyartha*). If *sUP* is interpreted here to mean locative plural *suP*, then the question of negating the deletion of *n* of a *prātipadika* (1.2.45 *arthavad...* and 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) termed *pada* before *Ṅi* and *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ)* does not arise. This is how rule 8.2.8 *na ṅisambuddhyoḥ* would become vacuous. The *P* of *sUP* also could not be interpreted as the *P* of *kaP* of 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*. This would make a *bahuvrīhi* compound such as *priyasarpiṣka* 'he to whom ghee is dear' a *pada*. Technically, it is a nominal stem *(prātipadika;* 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca)*. Besides, if Pāṇini had intended the *P* of *sUP* to be interpreted as the *P* of *kaP*, he would have been better off formulating rule 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne* as *supy asarvanāmasthāne*. With *sUP* denoting affixes up to and including *kaP*, beginning with *sUP* (enumerated under 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*), he did not have to phrase his rule with *ādi* 'etc.'

SCOPE: 8.1.6 *padasya*

1.4.15 नः क्ये
naḥ kye
/naḥ 1/1 *kye* 7/1/
(*padam* # 14)
nāntaṃ śabdarūpaṃ kye parataḥ padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A form which terminates in *n* is termed *pada* when affixes *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa....*), *KyaṄ* (3.1.11 *kartuḥ...*) or *KyaṢ* (3.1.13 *lohitādi...*) follow.

EXAMPLES:

rājīyati 'he wishes for a king for himself'
rājāyate 'he acts like a king'
varmāyati 'it acts like armour'
varmāyate 'id.'

1. This rule provides for the assignment of the term *pada* to forms which end in *-n*, when affixes *KyaC, KyaṄ,* and *KyaṢ* follow. Thus the word *Kya* in this rule refers to these affixes in general. It cannot be interpreted as referring to the *KyaP* of rule 3.3.99 *saṃjñāyāṃ samaja...*, as that would not serve any purpose. The purpose here is to enable the deletion of the final *-n* of stems such as *rājan* 'king' by rule 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.* By interpreting *Kya* of this rule as referring to *KyaP*, one would block the deletion of *-n*.

Note that affixes *KyaC, KyaṄ,* and *KyaṢ* are all introduced after items which end in a *sUP*. This already entitles them to be called a *pada* by rule 1.4.14. If one argues that after the introduction of *KyaC*, and so on, the *sUP* gets deleted, and hence this rule must provide for the assignment of

the term *pada*, the argument does not hold. For, even if the affix is deleted, rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* would enable us to retain the designation *pada*. Commentators explain that since Pāṇini is explicitly providing for something which is already available, he intends to offer a restriction (*niyama*). The restriction is: forms ending in *n* alone can be assigned the term *pada* before the above-mentioned affixes. All other forms will thus be restricted from being called *pada*.

1.4.16 सिति च

siti ca

/*siti* 7/1 = *sakāra it yasya sa (bv.), tasmin = siti ca Ø*/

siti pratyaye parataḥ pūrvaṃ padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form is termed *pada* when an affix marked with *S* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bhavadīyaḥ 'yours (polite)'
ūrṇāyuḥ 'wool'
ṛtviyaḥ 'someone familiar with rituals'

1. This rule provides for the assignment of the term *pada* to a form which occurs before an affix marked with *S* as an *it*. Thus, *bhavat* of *bhavat* + *chaS* will be termed a *pada* which, in turn, will enable the final *t* to be changed into *d* by 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo*... Our next example, *ūrṇāyuḥ*, is derived by introducing affix *yuS* (5.2.123 *ūrṇāya*...) after *ūrṇa*. Because of the assignment of the term *pada*, 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* cannot apply. Consequently, *ūrṇa* will be able to save its final *a* from deletion. An affix marked with *S* also occurs after *ṛtu* 'season' to derive *ṛtviyaḥ* in the Vedic. Given the string *ṛtu* + *ghaS* (5.1.106 *chandasi ghas*), *ṛtu* will be termed *pada* and 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* will thus be blocked from ordering *guṇa*.

2. Commentators explain this rule as a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to rule 1.4.18 *yaci bham*. Note that it cannot block its immediately following rule, 1.4.17 *svādiṣv*...., because prior exceptions only block a provision which is next to the one immediately following (*Paribhāṣā* (60): *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). It is in view of this that the assignment of the term *bha* is blocked by *pada* of this rule. Also note that the assignment of the term *bha* is blocked by *pada* under the provisions of this rule with reference to the examples of note 1.

1.4.17 स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने

svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne

/*svādiṣu* 7/3 *asarvanāmasthāne* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*padam* # 14)

svādiṣu pratyayeṣu parataḥ sarvanāmasthānavarjiteṣu pūrvaṃ padasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form is termed *pada* when a *svādi* (affixes enumerated under 4.1.2 *svaujas*... through 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*) affix which is not a *sarvanāmasthāna (sU, au, Jas, am, auṬ;* see 4.1.2 *svaujas*...) follows.

EXAMPLES:

rājabhyām, instrumental dual of *rājan* 'king'
rājabhiḥ, instrumental plural of *rājan*
rājatvam, nominative singular of *rājatva* 'royalty'
rājatā 'royalty'
rājatarah, nominative singular of *rājatara* 'excellent king'
rājatamaḥ, nominative singular of *rājatama* 'best of kings'

1. This rule assigns the term *pada* to a wide variety of forms under the condition that they occur before an affix referred to here as *sU*, and so on, with the exception of affixes termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. The term *sU*, and so on, refers to affixes enumerated beginning with 4.1.2 *svaujas*...through 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*. The *sarvanāmasthāna* affixes relevant to this rule are given under 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*, whereby we learn that nominative (singular, dual and plural) and accusative (singular and dual) endings, *sU, au, Jas, am, auṬ*, are termed *sarvanāmasthāna* when they occur after a non-neuter nominal base. Additionally, rule 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam* assigns this term to *Śi*, a substitute for the nominative plural ending *Jas* and accusative plural ending *Śas* after a neuter stem.

It has already been stated that the *sU* of this rule cannot be interpreted as referring to the *saptamībahuvacana* 'plural of the seventh triad of *sUP*'. Note that the term *svādiṣu* has been interpreted here as a *bahuvrīhi* compound. This makes the scope of these affixes wider. Further note that the term *padam* is brought to this rule by *anuvṛtti*, and since *svādiṣu* is in the locative (*saptamī*), the term *pada* is assigned to items occurring before the affixes and not including them. This is in consonance with 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*, which specifies that an operation referenced with a term in *saptamī* (in this case, *svādiṣu*) relates to the item which precedes (*pūrvasya*).

2. If it can be said that the lack of deletion of *-n* from the nominative singular and dual forms (*rājānau*/*rājānaḥ*) of *rājan* 'king' is caused by the lack of the assignment of the term *pada* to *rājan* occurring before an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna*, the *-n* should also not be deleted from the nominative singular form *rājā*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 363-64) discusses the solutions outlined below.

First, it is said that the negation (*pratiṣedha*) in *asarvanāmasthāne* should not be interpreted as *prasajyapratiṣedha*, for this would give the meaning 'the term *pada* is not assigned to an item when it occurs before a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix...'. Instead, the negation should be interpreted as

paryudāsa, whereby the assignment of the term *pada* will be made to an item occurring before an affix other than *sarvanāmasthāna.* The finer distinction made by the *paryudāsa* interpretation is that the designation *pada* is prescribed in a situation where an item occurs before some affix other than a *sarvanāmasthāna.* Thus, by rule 1.4.17, the designation of the term *pada* is not negated with reference to an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna.* That is, a *paryudāsa* interpretation will show that the assignment (*pravṛtti*) or non-assignment (*nivṛtti*) of the term *pada* is not functionally related to *sarvanāmasthāna* affixes. This will now make the way clear for the assignment of the term *pada* to an item occurring before a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix, should such an assignment be available from a different rule. In the case of *rājā,* the term *pada* will be available to it by 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam.* The problem created by the fact that the *sU* after *rājan* is deleted will be taken care of by 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam.*

The *Mahābhāṣya* further explains that the *prasajya* interpretation of the negation will be unable to block the designation of *pada* to *rājan* + *sU.* It is said that *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā,* 'the application, or negation, applies to that which is non-immediate'. This, in turn, would not allow the blocking of the assignment of the term *pada* made available by rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam.* Besides, an operation made available by 1.4.14 may be blocked by the provision of *svādiṣu* of 1.4.17; but not when the same is blocked by *asarvanāmasthāne (notsahate pratiṣiddhā satī bādhitum).* The *Mahābhāṣya* offers yet another solution, which has recourse to *yogavibhāga* 'rule-splitting'. The various split rules will be as follows:

(*i*) *svādiṣu padam* 'an item occurring before affixes *sU,* etc., is termed *pada*'

(*ii*) *asarvanāmasthāne' yaci* 'an item is termed *pada* when it occurs before a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix not beginning with *y* or a vowel (*aC*)'

Note that the *naÑ* of *asarvanāmasthāne* is also construed with the *yaci* of *yaci bham* (1.4.18). Since there is no *sarvanāmasthāna* affix which begins with *y,* the *y* in this *yogavibhāga* is accepted for the subsequent (*uttarārtha*) rule. This will now block the assignment of the term *pada* only when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix beginning with a vowel follows. Since the *sU* of *rājan* + *sU* does not begin with a vowel, the term *pada* can be assigned and hence the *n* cannot be deleted.

Jinendrabuddhi in *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* (I: 521) offers an additional interesting solution. He states that Pāṇini intended that the assignment of the term *pada* should not be blocked when *sU* follows. His reason is that, by rule 8.2.8 *na ṅisambudhyoḥ, n* is not to be deleted before *Ṅi* or *sambuddhi.* Now, *sU* itself is called *sambuddhi* by 2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ,* when it is used in *sambodhana* 'vocative'. If Pāṇini had intended the non-application of the term *pada* before *sU,* he need not have made the specification *sambuddhi* in 8.2.8. The very denial of *pada* status caused by 1.4.17 should

have accounted for the deletion of *n*. Thus, the inclusion of *sambuddhi* in 8.2.8 is further proof that Pāṇini wanted the term *pada* to be assigned when *sU* was introduced.

1.4.18 यचि भम्

yaci bham

/*yaci* 7/1 *bham* 1/1/

(*svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne* # 17)

yakārādāv ajādau ca svādau sarvanāmasthānavarjite pratyaye parataḥ pūrvaṃ bhasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A form is termed *bha* when a *svādi* affix which begins with *y* or *aC* (a vowel) but which is not a *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyaḥ 'male descendant of Garga'
vātsyaḥ 'male descendant of Vatsa'
dākṣiḥ 'male descendant of Dakṣa'
plākṣiḥ 'male descendant of Plakṣa'

1. This rule assigns the term *bha* as opposed to the term *pada*. An item, according to this rule, can be termed *bha* if it occurs before a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affix included in the list referred to as *sU*, etc. Furthermore, in order to qualify an item to be termed *bha*, the non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affixes of the list *sU*, etc., must begin either with *y*, or with a vowel. Recall that this is the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* (1.4.1 *ā kāḍārād ekā saṃjñā*) and therefore a single entity cannot be assigned more than one term. There is a situation of conflict which is created by the interaction of rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* and the present rule. Rule 1.4.14 states that items ending in a *sUP* or a *tiN̄* should be termed *pada*. Our present rule assigns the term *bha* to an item occurring before some of the same *sUP*. Commentators invoke rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* to resolve this conflict in favour of 1.4.18 *yaci bham*, since it is subsequent (*para*) in order. They also indicate that the assignment of the term *bha*, if not made in case of the items specified by 1.4.18, will make the rule vacuous (*vyartha*). Thus, rule 1.4.18 is not only subsequent (*para*), it is also *anavakāśa* elsewhere. This becomes an even stronger motivation to block the assignment of the term *pada* in favour of *bha*.

The consequences of assigning the term should be understood in view of its function as well as of which other term it blocks. Operations conditioned with special reference to this term are outlined in the sub-domain of 6.4.129 *bhasya*. Additionally, since the term *bha* blocks the assignment of the term *pada*, operations conditioned by the term *pada* would not apply to an item termed *bha*. For instance, a nominal stem termed *pada* goes

through the deletion of its final *n*. This, however, will no longer be applicable to *bha*. Consequences relating to accentuation, with reference to the assignment of the term *pada,* will also not be applicable in case of *bha*. Operations conditioned by the term *bha* generally relate to phonological change in bases. Consider the following rules:

6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat* 'pād is replaced by *pad* at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*'
6.4.134 *allopo'naḥ* 'a of the *an* occurring at the end of a *bha* is deleted'
6.4.140 *āto dhātoḥ* 'the final *ā* of a *bha* terminating in a root is deleted'
6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* 'u or *ū* at the end of a *bha* is replaced with *guṇa*'
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* 'a *bha*-final *i* or *a* (short or long) is deleted before a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) or a feminine affix'
6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya* 'the *y* of a *taddhita* affix which is preceded by a consonant and occurs in the *upadhā* (penultimate position) of a *bha* is deleted before the feminine affix -*ī*'

It is interesting to note that rules 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam,* 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne* (read with 1.4.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*) and 1.4.18 *yaci bham* cause a triple classification of nominal endings as follows:

1. *sarvanāmasthāna:*
   sU, au, Jas (nominative singular, dual and plural) and
   am, auṬ (accusative singular and dual)
   1.4.17 *svādiṣv...* (read with 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*)
2. *padasthāna:*
   bhyām (instrumental, dative and ablative dual)
   bhis (instrumental plural)
   bhyas (ablative plural) and
   suP (locative plural)
   1.4.18 *yaci bham*
3. *bhasthāna:*
   Śas (accusative dual)
   Ṭā (instrumental singular)
   Ṅe (dative singular)
   ṄasI (ablative singular)
   Ṅas, os, ām (genitive singular, dual and plural)
   Ṅi, os (locative singular and dual)
   1.4.18 *yaci bham*

SCOPE: 6.4.129 *bhasya*

1.4.19 तसौ मत्वर्थे

tasau matvarthe

|tasau 1/2 = taś ca saś ca (itar. dv.); matvarthe 7/1 = mator arthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin = matvarthe|

(*bham* # 18)
takārāntam sakārāntam śabdarūpam matvarthe pratyaye parato bhasaṃjñam bhavati
A form which terminates in *t* or *s* is termed *bha* when an affix denoting the sense of *matUP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

udaśvitvān ghoṣaḥ 'the hamlet of cowherds, rich in yogurt and buttermilk'
vidyutvān balāhakaḥ 'the cloud with lightning'
payasvī 'rich in milk'
yaśasvī 'rich in fame'

1. This rule assigns the term *bha* to an item which ends in *t* or *s*, and which occurs before an affix having the signification of *matUP*. The sense of *matUP* has been outlined by rule 5.2.94 as *tadasyāstyasmin* 'he to whom something belongs' or 'he in whom something remains'.

The form *tasau* can only refer to the sound segments *t* and *s*. As such, *tasau* has to be interpreted in accordance with *tadantavidhi* (1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*), thereby referring to an item ending in *t* or *s*. An interpretation favouring *tadantavidhi* is also necessary because *t* or *s* alone cannot constitute the left context with reference to which an affix having the signification of *matUP* may occur.

The word *matvarthe* is interpreted as *vyadhikaraṇa*, in so far as its constituency is concerned. That is, its constituents are construed as having different loci (*adhikaraṇa*). The analysed form (*vigrahavākya*) of *matvarthe* is as follows:

mator artho matvartha iti '*matvartha* is the sense of *matUP*'; *mator arthe yo varttate pratyayaḥ* 'the affix which denotes the sense of *matUP*'; *tasmin* 'when that affix follows'

It is in this way that we get the interpretation 'when an affix which has the sense of *matUP* follows'. The compound is *vyadhikaraṇa* because the affix which may have the signification of *matUP* is not the same as the affix *matUP* itself.

A question is raised whether the term *bha* could be assigned to an item which occurred before the affix *matUP* itself. Of course, when that form also ended in *t* or *s*. The answer has to be that it could, since we get examples such as *payasvān* 'rich in milk' and *yaśasvān* 'rich in fame'. If this is the case, why use *matvarthe*? Why not drop *arthe* and simply use *matau*? Commentators reply that *matau* may make it possible for an item ending in *t* or *s*, and occurring before affix *matUP*, to be termed *bha*. But it cannot facilitate the assignment of this term when an affix having the signification of

matUP follows. It will therefore rule out such examples as *yaśasvī* and *payasvī*. It is to include these examples that the word *artha* must be stated in the rule.

Further questions have been raised with reference to the use of *artha* in *matvarthe*, and the possibility of an item meeting all other conditions being assigned the term *bha* when *matUP* itself follows. This being the case, the rule will be interpreted as follows:

> An item which ends in *t* or *s*, and occurs before *matUP* having the signification of *matUP*, is termed *bha*.

However, this interpretation would create problems. The word *matUP* would then have to be qualified by *matvarthe*. How could *matUP* of *matvarthe*, a qualifier *(viśeṣaṇa)*, be its own qualified *(viśeṣya)*? The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 366-67) argues that, in obeying the command *devadattasya śālāyām āsīnā brāhmaṇā ānīyantām* 'let the brāhmaṇa present in Devadatta's house be brought', one can also bring Devadatta should he be a brāhmaṇa. This example provides a precedent for treating *matUP* as having the signification of *matUP*. That is, because the word Devadatta can be treated as its own qualifier, *matUP* can be similarly treated.

1.4.20 अयस्मयादीनि च्छन्दसि

ayasmayādīni cchandasi

layasmayādīni 1/3 = *ayasmayādir yeṣāṃ tāni imāni (bv.); chandasi* 7/1/

(bham # 18)

ayasmayādīni śabdarūpāṇi chandasi viṣaye sādhūni bhavanti

In Veda, *ayasmaya*, and so on, are treated as correctly derived.

EXAMPLES:

ayasmayaṃ varma 'armour made from iron'

ayasmayāni pāttrāṇi 'pots made from iron'

sa suṣṭubhā sa ṛkvatā gaṇena (ṚV, IV.50.5) 'he, Bṛhaspati, and the Sun, beautifully praised by a multitude of rays...'

1. This rule is a *nipātana* 'ad hoc' rule, in that it allows for either *bha* or *pada*, or both, to apply in the context of some Vedic examples. For example, we can cite *aysmayam* 'made of iron' and *ṛkvat* 'he who sings'. Given the string *ayas* + *maya* (4.3.143 *mayaḍvaitayor...*), this rule would allow the assignment of the term *bha*, and hence the final *s* would be saved from changing into *r*. That is, rule 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will be blocked. The term *pada* could be assigned to derive *ayomayam* in non-Vedic. Thus, in one case it is the term *bha* which applies, and in another it is *pada*. Obviously, this is against the norm. The norm is to block the assignment of *pada* by *bha*.

Let us consider *ṛkvat*, deriving from *ṛc* + *vat*. Here, first the *m* of *mat* (*UP* → *0*) is replaced by *v* (8.2.10 *jhayaḥ*) and subsequently, because of the

assignment of the term *pada*, the *c* of *ṛc* is replaced by *k* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The term *bha* is also assigned to this string to block the *k* or *ṛk* from being replaced with *g* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). This clearly shows how both the terms are assigned, one after the other. Commentators explain that, although this manipulation is contrary to the norm, correct derivation of the forms cannot be established in its absence. Assignment of these terms then becomes the means (*upāya*) to establish the correctness (*sādhutva*) of these forms. Note that all these discussions are merely for explanatory purposes. Since the derivations are given by way of *nipātana*, no step-by-step derivational detail is to be attempted.

1.4.21 बहुषु बहुवचनम्

bahuṣu bahuvacanam

/bahuṣu 7/3 *bahuvacanam* 1/1

bahuṣu bahuvacanaṃ bhavati

Plural (*bahuvacana*) occurs when plurality is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

brāhmaṇāḥ paṭhanti 'the brāhmaṇa recite'

1. Rule 1.4.102 *tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ*, alongwith 1.4.103 *supaḥ*, assigns the terms *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual', and *bahuvacana* 'plural' to individual members of the triads of *sUP* and *tiṄ*. The affix *sUP* is introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujas...*, and *tiṄ* is introduced as a replacement for *LA* by 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha....* The function of the present rule, 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*, therefore could not be to assign the term *bahuvacana*. It does not assign the term, nor it is a rule ordering an operation. Instead, it is a restrictive (*niyama*) rule, stating that wherever a nominal or a verbal ending termed *bahuvacana* is used it should be used only to express plurality. The same restrictive meaning would be applied to *dvivacana* 'dual' and *ekavacana* 'singular' of the following rule.

1.4.22 द्व्येकयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने

dvyekayor dvivacanaikavacane

/dvyekayoḥ 7/2 = *dvau ca ekaś ca* = *dvyekau (itar. dv.)*;

dvivacanaikavacane 7/1 = *dvivacanaṃ ca ekavacanaṃ ca* = *dvivacanaikavacane (itar. dv.)/*

dvitvaikatvayor arthayor dvivacanaikavacane bhavataḥ

Dual (*dvivacana*) and singular (*ekavacana*) occur when duality and singularity are to be denoted.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇau pacataḥ 'two brāhmaṇa are cooking'

brāhmaṇaḥ pacati 'a brāhmaṇa is cooking'

1.4.23 कारके
kārake
/*kārake* 7/1/
(*'kārake' ity adhikāro veditavyaḥ*) *yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ 'kārake' ity evaṃ tad veditavyam*
A *kāraka*...

EXAMPLES:

grāmād āgacchati 'he is coming from the village'
parvatād avatarati 'he is climbing down the mountain'

1. This rule has received different interpretations because (*i*) it is an *adhikāra;* (*ii*) Pāṇini puts *kārake* in the locative (*saptamī*); and (*iii*) *kāraka* is a technical term (*saṃjñā*). There are three possible interpretations of this rule.

(*i*) *kārake* is an *adhikāra* whereby the technical term *kāraka* is introduced,
(*ii*) *kārake* states a meaning condition, and
(*iii*) *kārake* serves as a qualifier (*viśeṣana*) to the domain of the terms *apādāna,* etc.

Commentators have evaluated these interpretations in the light of the following considerations:

1. *kāraka* is a technical term which, according to its etymological meaning, denotes a thing which brings about an action,
2. the term *kāraka* should denote only the six categories of *apādāna,* etc., and
3. each of the six *kāraka* categories must also be assigned the term *kāraka*

Of these considerations, the first (1) establishes a necessary connection between *kāraka* and *kriyā* 'action'. The second consideration (2) restricts the number of things to which the term *kāraka* may be assigned. The third (3) requires that a thing which serves as *apādāna* must also serve as a *kāraka.* These three points are interrelated.

Returning to the three interpretations of 1.4.23, we find that *Kāśikā* seems to be following the second, i.e. (*ii*) the meaning condition, view. This interpretation is motivated by the fact that Pāṇini puts *kāraka* in the locative. *Kāśikā* seems to interpret the word *kāraka* as *kriyā.* However, this *Kāśikā* interpretation, and its *vṛtti* on subsequent rules, is confusing. Consider, for example, its *vṛtti* on rule 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam* (*Kāś.* I: 535: *dhruvaṃ [yad apāyayuktam] apāye sādhye [yad avadhibhūtaṃ tat kārakam] apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati.*) If one follows the 'meaning condition' view, and accordingly interprets *kāraka* as denoting *kriyā,* the above *vṛtti* should be rephrased with the exclusion of those items which I have enclosed in brackets. The rephrased *vṛtti* will be as follows:

dhruvam apāye sādhye apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati 'a thing which is *dhruva* 'fixed' is assigned the name *apādāna* (ablative) when *apāya* 'movement away' is to be accomplished'.

This interpretation obviously will run into problems. For instance, in sentences such as

(*a*) *grāmasya samīpād āgacchati* 'he is coming from the vicinity of the village', and
(*b*) *vṛkṣasya parṇāni patanti* 'leaves of the tree are falling'

both *grāma* 'village' and *vṛkṣa* 'tree' will qualify for the assignment of the term *apādāna*. To overcome these difficulties, *Kāśikā* includes the word *apāyayuktam* in the *vṛtti* to imply that *apāya*, being a relative notion, entails *saṃśleṣa* 'conjunction'. This will rule out the assignment of the term *apādāna* to *grāma* in sentence (*a*), as it is the vicinity of the village and not the village itself which is in conjunction with the reference to movement away. (See also *Mbh.* I: 241: *nātra grāmo' pāyayuktaḥ. kiṃ tarhi. samīpam. yadā ca grāmo' pāyayukto bhavati tadā' pādānasaṃjñā.*)

However, the difficulty mentioned in connection with the second sentence (*b*) still remains. One may resort to *vivakṣā* 'intent to speak', as has been advocated by the *Mahābhāṣya (na vā eṣa doṣaḥ kiṃ kāraṇam. apāyasyāvivakṣitatvān nātrāpāyo vivakṣitaḥ...)*, and state that in sentence (*b*) the speaker does not wish to speak about *vṛkṣa* as *apādāna*. This will remove the difficulty concerning *vṛkṣa* being assigned the term *apādāna;* yet *apāyayuktam* is still used in the *vṛtti* as part of a relative construction with *yad...tad*. Furthermore, there is syntactic co-ordination between *kārakam* and *apādānasaṃjñam* which, for all practical purposes, amounts to calling *apādāna* a *kāraka*. This will run counter to the 'meaning condition view' (*ii*) and favour the 'technical term' *(saṃjñā)* view of the first interpretation.

Both the 'technical term' (*i*) and the 'qualifier' (*iii*) views have been discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya* where, according to the first interpretation, *kāraka* becomes a technical term introduced by an *adhikāra*. Many arguments have been raised against this interpretation. Why did Pāṇini not put *kārake* in the nominative, as is his practice elsewhere? If *kāraka* is a technical term, why did Pāṇini not define it? There is no satisfactory explanation for the locative of *kārake* unless one abandons the *saṃjñā* view. Patañjali, however, is not bothered by the locative. His argument is that, since this is the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* 'one term', *kāraka* cannot be anything but a *saṃjñā* which, perhaps, Pāṇini chose not to define because it was already a fairly well-known term. Besides, *kāraka*, being a derivative with *ṆvuL*, can be used as an *anvarthasaṃjñā*, a technical term denoting its etymological meaning. (See *Mbh.* I: 239-40: *kim idaṃ 'kārake' iti. saṃjñānirdeśaḥ... kāraka*

iti saṃjñānirdeśaś cet saṃjñino' pi nirdeśaḥ kartavyaḥ. saṃjñādhikāraś ceyam. tatra kim anyac chakyaṃ vijñātum anyad ataḥ saṃjñāyāḥ...; and also 242: *tatra mahatyāḥ saṃjñāyāḥ karaṇe etat prayojanam anvarthasaṃjñā yathā vijñāyeta; karotīti kārakam.*)

There are yet other problems with the *saṃjñā* view. For one thing, the term *kāraka* is introduced as a term in the domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. Since an item which is termed *apādāna* should also be termed *kāraka,* a situation of *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'class-inclusion' arises which goes directly against the *ekasaṃjñā* requirement. To remove this difficulty, rule-splitting *(yogavibhāga)* is invoked, according to which individual rules will be split in two with *kārake* carried via *anuvṛtti (PM* ad *Kāś* I: 531: *ucyate saṃjñāpakṣe: apāye yad dhruvaṃ tat kārakasaṃjñaṃ bhavati, apādānasaṃjñaṃ cety ayam artho bhavati, evam anyatrāpi...).* Thus, 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam* will be interpreted as follows:

> *apāye dhruvaṃ kārakasaṃjñaṃ bhavati* 'a thing which is fixed when movement away is denoted is termed *kāraka,*

and

> *apāye dhruvaṃ kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati* 'a *kāraka* which is fixed when movement away is denoted is also termed *apādāna*'

Obviously, resorting to *yogavibhāga* will be prolix *(gaurava).* In addition, *kāraka* will be accepted as a term defined on the basis of its etymological meaning. But since *kāraka* is derived by introducing *ṆvuL* denoting *kartṛ, kāraka* will refer to a thing which is the doer. Since all the other *kāraka* are also participants in an action, and since they are also all termed *kāraka,* they will all be treated as *kartṛ.* This being the case, Pāṇini did not have to define the term *kartṛ* by rule 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ karttā.* The words *kāraka* and *kartṛ* will become synonymous. Further proposals have been made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to resolve this difficulty. *(Mbh.* I: 242-43: *...pratikārakaṃ kriyābhedāt. pacādīnāṃ hi pratikārakaṃ kriyā bhidyate....)*

An action may be viewed as a composite of several actions. For example, the action of cooking denoted by verbal root *pac* underlies such actions as arranging the fire with the firewood, putting the pot on the stove, placing the rice in the pot, stirring the rice and finally softening *(viklitti)* the rice. (See *Mbh.* I: 242-43: *adhiśrayaṇodakaśecana taṇḍulāvapanaidhopakarṣaṇādi-kriyāḥ kurvann eva devadattaḥ pacatīty ucyate. tatra tadā paci vartate....)*

A *kāraka* can be viewed as *svatantrakartṛ* 'independent agent' with reference to its own action. It can be termed *apādāna,* etc., with reference to the principal action. Thus, a pot (*sthālī*), because of its capacity to contain rice on a stove, can be viewed as *kartṛ.* When a speaker wishes to highlight this status of the pot, he uses it as the *kartṛ.* In this case, of course, the principal agent such as Devadatta of

(*c*) *devadattaḥ sthālyām odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking the rice in the pot'

is not used. As a result, we get:

(*d*) *sthālī pacati* 'the pot is cooking'

This explanation, however, also runs into difficulty, since of the six *kāraka* only *karman, karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* can be seen as *kartṛ*. Should we accept *vivakṣā* as a reason for the lack of *kartṛ* status of *apādāna* and *sampradāna?* The answer seems to be in the affirmative.

We shall now return to the third, 'qualifier' view. According to this view, *kārake* is treated as an *adhikāra* to restrict the application of the word *kāraka* only to the six categories of *apādāna, sampradāna, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa, karman,* and *kartṛ*. The locative will then be interpreted as that of specification (*nirdhāraṇa*). However, since the question of *nirdhāraṇa* arises only when one has to specify a single entity from among many, the singular in *kārake* should be treated as denoting *jāti* 'class'. Thus, *kārake* will be equivalent to *karakeṣu* 'among the *kāraka*'. (See *PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 531: *viśeṣaṇādhikāre tu: kārakeṣu madhye yad apāye dhruvaṃ kārakam ity artho labhyate, nirdhāraṇasya sajātīyaviṣayatvād iti....*) Rule 1.4.24 will then be interpreted as follows:

> *kārake (ṣu madhye) yad dhruvaṃ kārakaṃ tad apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavaty apāye sādhye* 'that *kāraka* which among many is *dhruva* when movement away is to be accomplished is termed *apādāna*'

This interpretation still subscribes to the idea that *kāraka* denotes its etymological meaning, *kartṛ*. It is suggested that this difficulty can be removed by treating an action as a composite of several actions. Most of the interpretation problems entailed by 1.4.23 stem from the locative in *kārake*. The qualifier interpretation is preferable because it does not propose to interpret locative as nominative, nor does it resort to rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*).

A *nirdhāraṇa* interpretation, accepted with the understanding that *kāraka* in *kārake* signifies cause (*nimitta*), would also block the assignment of a *kāraka* term to something which is not a *kāraka*. This will be made possible because *nirdhāraṇa* only obtains where similar entities are understood. A *kāraka* will not be similar to a non-*kāraka* for purposes of *nirdhāraṇa*. Consider, for example, the sentence

(*e*) *naṭasya gāthāṃ śṛṇoti* 'he is listening to the *gāthā* of the actor'.

According to the split interpretation discussed above (p. 227), *naṭa* can be considered as a *kāraka* because it is a *dhruva* 'fixed point' with reference to which *apāya* 'removal, movement away' of the *gāthā* occurs. Later on, it will be termed *apādāna*. However, the sentence will then have to be *naṭād gāthāṃ śṛṇoti*, rather than *naṭasya gāthāṃ śṛṇoti*. In order to derive *naṭasya gāthāṃ śṛṇoti*, *naṭa* must not be assigned the term *kāraka* through the split interpretation. If we accept the *nirdhāraṇa* interpretation, *naṭa* will be

termed *apādāna*, and, since *nirdhāraṇa* obtains between similar things, *naṭa*, when not perceived as a cause with reference to an action, will not get the designation *kāraka*. This will facilitate the derivation of both *naṭasya* (non-*kāraka*) as well as *naṭāt (kāraka)*. Furthermore, in the *nirdhāraṇa* interpretation, *kāraka* will refer only to the six *kārakas* and not to any non-*kāraka*.

Rules of the *kāraka* domain have been constrained by rules 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* and 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. These rules state that only one term per nominatum *(saṃjñin)* should be assigned. A conflict between two terms is to be resolved in favour of the term introduced by the subsequent rule. It should be noted here that resolving conflicts between two terms is not solely the function of rule 1.4.2. Indeed, some conflicts related to the assignment of terms from this *ekasaṃjñā* domain cannot be solved by 1.4.2. This rule resolves conflicts only between two terms which are both *sāvakāśa* 'with scope of application'. (See *Mbh* I: 204: *dvau prasaṅgau yadānyārthau bhavata ekasmiṃś ca yugapat prāpnutaḥ....)* Conflicts between two terms of this domain where one term is *sāvakāśa* and the other *niravakāśa* without any scope of application elsewhere' are resolved on the basis of *niravakāśatva* under the requirements of 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād....*

Consider the following sentences:

(*f*) *krūrāya krudhyati* 'he is angry with the cruel one'
(*g*) *krūram ahikrudhyati* 'id.'
(*h*) *gehaṃ praviśati* 'he is entering the house'
(*i*) **gehe praviśati* 'id.'

The word *krūra* 'cruel' in (*f*) is used with *caturthī* 'fourth triplet on nominal ending' to express *sampradāna* (2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*); but, in (*g*), it is used with *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' to express *karman* (2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). In (*f*), *krūra* is assigned *sampradāna* since it is identified as one towards whom anger is directed (1.4.37 *krudha... yaṃ prati kopaḥ*). It is assigned *karman* in (*g*) because there *krudh* 'to be angry' is used with the preverb *abhi* (1.4.38 *krudradruhor upasṛṣṭayoḥ karma*). Now, 1.4.37 is *sāvakāśa* as it may apply to sentences where *krudh* is used without a preverb; but 1.4.38 will be redundant if it does not apply in situations where *krudh* is used with a preverb. As a consequence, 1.4.38 blocks 1.4.37 and assigns *karman* uniquely to *krūra*. Remember that this conflict, because of the *niravakāśatva* of 1.4.38, cannot be resolved on the basis of *paratva* mentioned in 1.4.2.

Sentences (*h*) and (*i*) illustrate a conflict between two terms, *adhikaraṇa* and *karman*, resolved on the basis of *paratva* and *sāvakāśatva*. These sentences use *geha* 'house' in *dvitīyā* and *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal ending' (2.3.36 *saptamy adhikaraṇe....*) respectively, to express *karman* (1.4.46 *adhiśīṅsthāsāṃ karma*) and *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.44 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*). Sentence (*i*) is ungrammatical because *geha* cannot be termed locus

(*adhikaraṇa*), and hence *saptamī* cannot be introduced to express it. This does not mean that a conflict between rules 1.4.44 and 1.4.46 does not arise. Both *karman* and *adhikaraṇa* are terms which are *sāvakāśa* elsewhere. They are equally applicable to *geha* in (*h*). Rule 1.4.2 is invoked to resolve the conflict in favour of *karman* introduced by rule 1.4.46, which is subsequent to 1.4.44.

The notion of *paratva* requires that the *kāraka* rules be arranged in a sequence most conducive to resolving conflicts. Pāṇini enumerates the six *kāraka* terms in the order of *apādāna, sampradāna, karaṇa, adhikaraṇa, karman,* and *kartṛ*. One can assume that *kartṛ* will prevail in conflicts over the assignment of the other *kāraka* terms. Similarly, *karman* will prevail over all the other *kāraka* besides *kartṛ*. The relative strength of the other *kāraka* can also be determined. However, one should not overplay this relative strength, as there may be conflicts entailing *niravakāśatva* which may also be resolved in favour of a rule which may be subsequent.

1.4.24 ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम्

dhruvam apāye' pādānam

/*dhruvam* 1/1 *apāye* 7/1 *apādānam* 1/1/

(*kārake* # 23)

dhruvaṃ yad apāyayuktam apāye sādhye yad avadhibhūtaṃ kārakaṃ tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as a fixed point of reference when movement away is denoted is termed *apādāna* 'ablative'.

EXAMPLES:

grāmād āgacchati 'he is coming from the village'
parvatād avarohati 'he is climbing down the mountain'
sārthād hīnaḥ 'separated from the caravan'
rathāt patitaḥ 'fallen from the chariot'

1. The word *dhruva* literally means fixed. If one sticks to this interpretation, an entity which is moving cannot be termed *apādāna*. Thus a sentence such as *dhāvato'śvāt patati* 'he falls from the running horse' where *aśva* 'horse' takes *pañcamī* 'fifth or ablative ending' because of its being termed *apādāna* would not be possible. It is for this reason that *dhruva* is treated here as signifying *avadhi* 'limit or point of reference'. The *avadhi* meaning of *dhruva* is justified because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *apāya* 'movement away'. Thus, with reference to *apāya*, that which is *dhruva* if not interpreted as 'fixed', can only be interpreted as *avadhi*. However, since *avadhi* which, in turn, is termed *apādāna* is determined on the basis of its connection with *apāya*, that which is not *avadhi* can also be termed *apādāna* if it is connected with *apāya*. Hence an entity which serves as a reference

point (horse) as well as that which moves away (the person who falls from the horse) both may qualify for the term *apādāna*. Actually the locative in *apāye* will have to be interpreted as *viṣayasaptamī* whereby *apāya* will become *sādhya* 'the objective'. As a consequence, only that entity is termed *apādāna* which serves as a point of reference (*avadhi*) when action to be denoted is *apāya*.

2. It is generally understood that movement away or separation (*viśleṣa*) occurs with reference to an understanding of previous non-separation (*saṃśleṣa*). Thus in a sentence such as *vṛkṣāt parṇaṃ patati* 'the leaf falls from the tree', *parṇa* 'leaf' which moves away from the tree is understood to be previously non-separated. If this is to be the condition for the assignment of the term *apādāna*, it cannot be assigned in cases where there has been no prior non-separation or, literally speaking, there is no physical movement away. Consider the sentence *pāpāj jugupsate* 'he turns away from sin', where there may not have been prior contact with *pāpa* 'sin,' and also where there may not be physical turning away. Commentators explain that even mental association and turning away can justify the assignment of the term *apādāna* (see *Mbh: na hi kāyasaṃprāptipūrvaka evāpāyo bhavati; kiṃ tarhi; cittasaṃprāptipūrvako'pi bhavati*). Commentators also explain that two entities serving at the same time as a reference point in *apāya* can also be termed *apādāna*. Consider *parasparān meṣāv apasaratah* 'two rams are moving away from each other'. Here one ram becomes the *avadhi* with reference to movement away of the other.

3. Bhartṛhari (3, II: 329) has classified *apādāna* into three types:

(*i*) *nirdiṣṭaviṣaya*, where movement away is explicit in the action,
(*ii*) *upāttaviṣaya*, where movement away is implicitly assumed, and
(*iii*) *apekṣitakriya*, where a root signifying *apāya* is not mentioned (cf. verbal root *ā-gam* 'to come' in (c).)

Thus we get sentences such as

(*a*) *grāmād āgacchati* 'he is coming from the village'
(*b*) *pāpāj jugupsate* 'he is turning away from sin'
(*c*) *kuto bhavān* 'where do you come from?'
pāṭaliputrāt 'from Pāṭaliputra'

SCOPE: 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*

1.4.25 भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः

bhītrārthānāṃ bhayahetuḥ

/bhītrārthānām 6/3 = *bhīś ca trāś ca* = *bhītrau (itar. dv.); bhītrau arthau yeṣām* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*); *bhayahetuḥ* 1/1 = *bhayasya hetuḥ (ṣaṣ tat.)/* (*apādānam* # 24, *kārake* # 23)

bibhety arthānāṃ trāyaty arthānāṃ ca dhātūnāṃ prayoge bhayahetur yas tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as the source of fear when verbal roots having the signification of *bhī* 'to fear' and *trā* 'to protect' are used is termed *apādāna*.

EXAMPLES:

caurebhyo bibheti 'he fears thieves'
caurebhya udvijate 'he becomes agitated by fear of thieves'
caurebhyas trāyate 'he protects from thieves'
caurebhyo rakṣati 'id.'

1. Note that *bhayahetuḥ* 'source of fear' must be treated as a necessary condition in order for the entity to be assigned the term *apādāna*. In an example such as *araṇye bibheti* 'fears...in the forest', *araṇya* may qualify for the assignment of the term *apādāna* if *bhayahetuḥ* is not the condition. One may argue here that since the assignment of the term *adhikaraṇa* follows that of *apādāna* in order, 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...* will automatically block the *apādāna* designation of *araṇya* and hence *bhayahetuḥ* should not be mentioned in the rule. However, consider *araṇyasya caurād vibhety araṇye* 'he fears the thief of the forest in the forest', where the residual *ṣaṣṭhī* (2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*) in the first *araṇya* may be blocked. If *bhayahetuḥ* is the condition, there will be no conflict between the locative and ablative of *araṇye vibheti*, and also the first *araṇya* of *araṇyasya caurād araṇye vibheti* will receive the *ṣaṣṭhī*.

2. Patañjali (II: 389) accepts mental turning away in this as well as other rules. As such, he thinks that 1.4.24 *dhruvam...* itself will account for the designation of the term *apādāna*, in both the present as well as the following rules. Consequently he considers these rules unnecessary.

1.4.26 पराजेरसोढः

parājer asoḍhaḥ
/*parājeḥ* 6/1 *asoḍhaḥ* 1/1 *(nañ. tat.)*/
(apādānam # 24, kārake # 23)
parāpūrvasya jayateḥ prayoge' soḍho yo' rthaḥ tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as something unbearable when *ji* 'to win' is used with the preverb *parā* is termed *apādāna*.

EXAMPLE:

adhyayanāt parājayate 'he is overcome by studies'

1. Note that *parāji* 'to be weary' is intended here as intransitive. That the transitive meaning 'to overcome, defeat' is not intended is clear from the use of *asoḍha* 'that which is unbearable'. It is because of its association with *asoḍha* that *parāji* means 'to be weary'. Note also that since *kta* in *asoḍha* has no past signification, *asoḍha* is glossed as *asahya* 'unbearable'. This also

clears the way for sentences such as *adhyayanāt parājeṣyate* 'he will become weary of studying'.

2. The *pañcamī* ruled after *adhyayana* here, as well as after *caura,* and so on, in the previous rule, is an exception to *tṛtīyā* which may have been ruled by 2.3.23 ***hetau*** upon the strength of *adhyayana* and *caura* being *hetu* 'reason, cause'.

3. Note that *Kāśikā,* while justifying the use of the word *asoḍha* in the rule, offers *śatrūn parājayate* 'he defeats (his) enemies' as a counter-example. This is not a proper counter-example since the root referred to by this rule is meant to be intransitive, while the one used in the counter-example is transitive. The present rule implies that, in the absence of *asoḍha, ṣaṣṭhī* would obtain by 2.3.50 when the root is used transitively. The counter-example has the transitive verb and hence *śatru* would be placed with *dvitīyā* anyway (see *PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 540).

1.4.27 **वारणार्थानामीप्सितः**

vāraṇārthānām īpsitaḥ

/*vāraṇārthānām* 6/3 =*vāraṇam artham yeṣām (bv.); īpsitaḥ* 1/1/

(*apādānam* # 24, ***kārake*** # 23)

vāraṇārthānāṃ dhātūnāṃ prayoge ya īpsito' rthaḥ tat kārakam apādāna-saṃjñaṃ bhavati

A ***kāraka*** which serves as something desired when verbal roots having the signification *vāraṇa* 'warding off' are used is termed ***apādāna.***

EXAMPLES:

yavebhyo gā vārayati 'he is warding off the cows from the barley field'

yavebhyo gā nivarttayati 'he has the cows warded off from the barley field'

1. *Kāśikā* (I: 540) glosses *vāraṇa* as *pravṛttivighāta* 'obstructing someone from advancing'. The cow in the above examples is the one perceived as advancing towards the barley *(yava)* which is *īpsita* 'desired'. A question may arise here concerning *īpsita;* one may ask, 'desired by whom?' The barley is desired by the cow. It is also desired, since it is to be protected from the advancing cow, by the person who obstructs the cow's advancement. The cow here is the object of *vāraṇa* while the person who puts the obstruction is its agent. The examples make it clear that it is the ***īpsita*** with reference to the agent which is intended to be assigned the term ***apādāna.***

Kāśikā offers the counter-example *yavebhyo gā vārayati **kṣetre*** 'he is warding the cows off the barley in the field' to explain why *īpsita* is required in 1.4.27. Here, ***kṣetra*** 'field' is put in the locative to denote ***adhikaraṇa*** because it is not *īpsita.* Why can cows not be termed ***apādāna*** here? That would create a conflict between the terms ***karman*** and ***apadāna.*** One can

argue against this conflict by saying that what can be termed *karman* should be 'most desired'. The cows of the counter-example may not be that. This argument may not hold, however, since what is 'most desired' is also desired, just as what is 'most white' is also white. The conflict does obtain, but since the rule which assigns the term *karman* is subsequent, cows are termed *karman*.

1.4.28 अन्तर्द्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति

antarddhau yenādarśanam icchati

/*antarddhau* 7/1 *yena* 3/1 *adarśanam* 1/1 *icchati* (a *tiṄ* form)/

(*apādānam* # 24, *kārake* # 23)

antarddhinimittaṃ yenādarśanam ātmānam icchati tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as he by whom one wishes not to be seen is termed *apādāna* when *antarddhi* 'hiding' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

upādhyayād antarddhatte 'he is hiding from the teacher'
upādhyān nilīyate 'id.'

1. The word *yena*, instrumental singular of *yad* 'that', and *antarddhau*, locative singular of *antarddhi*, need some explanation. First of all, *yena* should perhaps be *yasya*, a form of *yad* in the genitive, because *yad* is being used with *adarśana* 'non-appearance', a form ending in *kṛt*. Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* requires genitive to be introduced after a base to denote *kartṛ* or *karman*, when that base is used in construction with a form ending in a *kṛt* affix. Thus, *yena adarśanam* should have been *yasya adarśanam*.

Nyāsa (ad *Kāś.* I: 542-43) explains it differently. It does not accept that *yena* should have been *yasya*. It argues that *yena* denotes the agent of *iṣ*, and is used with *adarśanam*, a form ending in *kṛt*, in addition to *ātmanaḥ*, a form ending in genitive and denoting the object of *dṛś* 'to see'. That is, for purposes of the application of rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* in the context of *yenādarśanam*, *ātmanaḥ* has to be treated as used along with *yena*. Given this, the genitive of *ātmanaḥ* will be denoting the object, and will be introduced not by 2.3.65 but by 2.3.66 *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*. This rule introduces genitive to denote the *karman* when both the *kartṛ* and *karman* are used with a form ending in a *kṛt* affix. If one accepts *Nyāsa*'s explanation, *yena* will not have to be changed to its genitive counterpart *yasya*. Furthermore, a sentence such as

(*a*) *upādhyayād antarddhatte* 'he is hiding from his teacher'
can be paraphrased as

(*b*) *upādhyayena karttā śiṣya ātmanaḥ karmabhūtasya adarśanam icchati* 'the student, namely, the agent, wishes his self, that is, the object, not to be seen by the teacher'.

Nāgeśa (Joshi, 1975: 88-89) criticizes *Nyāsa* and says that the genitive is used to denote *karman* alone when both the agent as well as the object are used in a sentence, provided of course, that they are used in a construction with a form ending in a *kṛt* affix. Since Pāṇini does not explicitly use *ātmanaḥ*, *yena* has to be treated as incorrect. But then again, since Pāṇini uses this instrumental in place of the genitive, he must have some reason for it. Once this is accepted, no further justification is needed. The usage is *sautra* 'peculiar to a rule in the grammar'.

Haradatta seems to be in agreement with Jinendrabuddhi. He is not bothered by the fact that *ātmanaḥ* has not been given explicitly. He argues that given *yenādarśanam icchati*, if one asks *kasyādarśanam icchati* 'whose non-appearance does he wish for?', the answer would definitely be *ātmanaḥ* 'his own'. Therefore, Haradatta does not think that *yena* should be *yasya (PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 541: *nānv ātmane iti na śruyote, mā śrāvi; yenādarśanam icchatīty ukte kasyety apekṣāyām ātmana iti gamyate...).*

There is also some disagreement on the nature of *saptamī* in *antarddhi. Kāśikā* interprets it as being *nimittasaptamī* 'locative denoting cause or purpose'. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 541) opposes the *nimitta* interpretation. He is in favour of interpreting the *saptamī* as that of a domain (*viṣaya*), or as a locative absolute *(sati). Kāśikā* and *Nyāsa* understand this *saptamī* to have been introduced after a base denoting *nimitta* used in connection with an item denoting *karman (nimittāt karmasaṃyoge).* Of course, this refers to *vt.* VI: *nimittāt karmasaṃyoge* on 2.3.36 *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca.* Haradatta takes these sentences as illustrations:

(*c*) *vetanena dhānyaṃ lunāti* 'he is harvesting (as a worker) the paddy because of wages'
(*d*) *jāḍyena baddhaḥ* 'he got imprisoned on account of his foolishness'
(*e*) *carmaṇi dvīpinaṃ hanti* 'they kill the tiger for hide'

These sentences have *nimitta* 'cause' and *prayojana* 'purpose' as their denotatum. Haradatta contrasts them with

(*f*) *antarddhau yena adarśanam icchati* 'he by whom one wishes not to be seen when hiding'

and finds that the relationship between the cause and object, and so on, differs between (*c-e*) on the one hand and (*f*) on the other. For example, Haradatta argues that there is a relationship between the object (*dhānya*) and cause (*vetana*) in (*c*) which does not obtain between the object of *iṣ* 'to wish' (that is, *adarśanam*), and *antarddhi* 'hiding' in (*f*). One can, however, find a connection between the object of *adarśana,* namely, *ātmanaḥ,* and *antarddhi* in this sentence. It is the same person whose *adarśana* and *antarddhāna* is being talked about. For this, and similar reasons, Haradatta

concludes that the *saptamī* here should be interpreted as denoting domain, or else, locative absolute.

1.4.29 आख्यातोपयोगे

ākhyātopayoge

/*ākhyātā* 1/1 *upayoge* 7/1/

(*apādāna* # 24, *kārake* # 23)

upayoge sādhye ya ākhyātā tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as he who relates is termed *apādāna* when regular instruction is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

upādhyāyād adhīte 'he receives instruction from the teacher'
upādhyāyād āgamayati 'id.'

1. The word *ākhyātā* has been glossed by *Kāśikā* as *pratipādayitā* 'instructor, relator, demonstrator'. *Kāśikā* glosses *upayoga* as *niyamapūrvakaṃ vidyādhyayanam* 'receiving regular instruction while observing rules of conduct'. My expression 'rules of conduct' refers to certain ritual, or non-ritual, requirements which a student must fulfil if he is to regularly receive instruction from his teacher. Thus, in the first example above, *upādhyāya* may be termed *apādāna* when instruction occurs in compliance with ritual and non-ritual requirements. A counter-example would be

(*a*) *naṭasya gāthāṃ śṛṇoti* 'he is hearing the story from the dancer'

where *naṭa,* the relator, cannot be termed *apādāna* because *upayoga* is lacking. This, however, still does not rule out the possibility of a sentence such as

(*b*) *naṭād gāthāṃ śṛṇoti* 'id.'

where one may argue that the term *apādāna* should be assigned to *naṭa* either under the condition of *upayoga*, if met, or of *apāya* if denoted (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*).

Note that Patañjali also rejects this rule on the grounds that, when the teacher imparts knowledge, he serves as the point from whence the movement away of knowledge takes place. This therefore becomes a case of *apāya* clearly falling within the range of 1.4.24 *dhruvam....*

1.4.30 जनिकर्त्तुः प्रकृतिः

janikarttuḥ prakṛtiḥ

/*janikarttuḥ* 6/1 = *janeḥ karttā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *tasya* = *janikarttuḥ*; *prakṛtiḥ* 1/1/

(*apādānam* # 24, *kārake* # 23)

janeḥ karttur yā prakṛtiḥ tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A kāraka which serves as the material cause from which the agent of *jan* 'to come into being' arises is termed *apādāna*.

EXAMPLES:

> *śṛṅgāc charo jāyate* 'an arrow comes into being (is made) from horn'
> *gomayād vṛściko jāyate* 'a scorpion comes into being (is born) from cow-dung'

1. The words *janikarttuḥ* 'agent of the action denoted by the verbal root *jan* 'to be born' and *prakṛtiḥ* '(material) cause' need some explanation, especially as they relate to the assignment of the term *apādāna*. The *Kāśikā* paraphrases *janikarttuḥ* as *janeḥ karttā, tasya* = *janikarttuḥ* 'the agent of *jan*, of his = namely, of the agent of *jan*'. The agent of *jan* would then be the person coming into existence (*jāyamāna*). The question is, how could this compound formation be allowed? Rule 2.2.15 *tṛjakābhyāṃ karttari ca* rejects such a formation. That is, it does not permit a compound formation between a *pada* ending in genitive with the denotatum of agent, and another *pada* ending in a *kṛt* affix. The underlying string of elements from whence *janikarttṛ* derives is: *jani* + *Ṅas* + *kartṛ* + *sU*. To remove this difficulty, *janikarttuḥ* is interpreted as *jāyamānasya karttuḥ* 'the agent of the one who is being born'. In this way, compound formation will take place with a *pada* ending in genitive but not denoting *kartṛ*. Instead, the genitive will be denoting a non-*kāraka* relationship. This interpretation will take the compound out of the scope of 2.2.15. Haradatta (*Kāś.* I: 543) does not accept this. He considers *janikarttā* a compound formed from *jani* + *Ṅas* and *kartṛ* + *sU*, where the genitive denotes *karman* 'object'. This compound formation, when allowed, itself indicates that the prohibition laid down by 2.2.15 is *anitya* 'non-obligatory'.

The word *prakṛti* has been interpreted as the *kāraṇa* 'cause' which, in turn, is twofold: *upādāna* and *sahakārī*. A cause which is stated to be present in the effect is *upādāna*, as *mṛtpiṇḍa* 'lump of clay' in a *ghaṭa* 'jar'. A cause which is not stated to be present in the effect, but is associated with it, is *sahakārī* 'associated, accompanying' as in the second of the above examples, *gomayād vṛściko jāyate* 'a scorpion comes into being (is born) from cow-dung'.

Jinendrabuddhi considers *prakṛti* to mean *kāraṇa* in general, and not just the *upādāna* 'material cause'. He argues that *kāraṇa*, which has been indicated in this rule by the use of the word *prakṛti*, could have been indicated even without using *prakṛti*. How? By carrying *dhruvam* from 1.4.24 to indicate *avadhi* 'limit'. There is nothing but *kāraṇa* 'cause' which could thus qualify to be the *avadhi* for the agent of *jani* 'to be born'. After all, it is the cause which brings about the effect. Thus, the rule should have just been *janikarttuḥ dhruvam apādānam*, where *dhruvam* and *apādānam* would have been carried by *anuvṛtti*. But Pāṇini instead uses *prakṛti*. This, then, indicates that the cause could be a general cause. This way, *putrāt pramodo jāyate* 'a son brings happiness' could be interpreted as implying 'happiness

caused by a son'. As a result, *putra*, a cause (though not of the *upādāna* type), will qualify as *kāraṇa*.

Patañjali rejects this rule also. He suggests that 1.4.24 is able to handle what is intended by this rule.

1.4.31 **भुवः प्रभवः**

bhuvaḥ prabhavaḥ

|bhuvaḥ 6/1 *prabhavaḥ* 1/1/

(*kartuḥ* # 30, *apādānam* # 24, *kārake* # 23)

bhūkartuḥ prabhavo yas tat kārakam apādānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as the place of origin for the agent of *bhū* 'to be, become' is termed *apādāna*.

EXAMPLE:

himavato gaṅgā prabhavati 'Gaṅgā appears in the Himālaya'

1. The word *bhū* of *bhuvaḥ* is interpreted as *bhavana* 'first appearance'. The *karttuḥ of janikarttuḥ* is marked with *svarita* so that it could be carried by *anuvṛtti*. Thus, *bhuvaḥ karttuḥ prabhavaḥ* would mean 'the place where the agent of the action of appearing is sighted first'. This place is then termed *apādāna*. The *himavat* of *himavato gaṅgā prabhavati* 'the Gaṅgā first appears in the Himālaya' is in the ablative. If *himālaya* was the place of origin for the Gaṅgā, *apādāna* could have been accounted for by 1.4.30. But the tradition does not believe in the Himālayan origin of the Gaṅgā. The scope of the two rules, therefore, differs. The preceding rule assigns the term *apādāna* to the agent coming into existence, while this rule concerns the first appearance of the agent of an action already brought into existence.

1.4.32 **कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम्**

karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam

|karmaṇā 3/1 *yam* 2/1 *abhipraiti* (a *tiṄ* form) *saḥ* 1/1 *sampradānam* 1/1/

(*kārake* # 23)

karmaṇā karaṇabhūtena karttā yam abhipraiti tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as someone whom the agent intends as goal of the object of his action is termed *sampradāna*.

EXAMPLES:

upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti 'he gives a cow to the teacher'

māṇavakāya bhikṣāṃ dadāti 'he gives alms to the boy'

1. The word *sampradāna* can be interpreted as denoting its etymological sense: *samyak pradīyate asmai* 'he to whom something is properly given'.

That is, a participant in an action denoted by *sam-pra-dā,* whom the agent approaches by means of an object (gift). Thus in the first example, *upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti* 'he gives a cow to the teacher', the teacher is assigned the term *sampradāna* because he is the one whom the agent of *sampradā* approaches by means of the object 'cow'. The expression *karmaṇā* is interpreted as *sampradānasya karmaṇā* 'by means of the object of *sampradā*'. This is made possible by interpeting the term *sampradāna* in its etymological sense as stated above.

Why do we have to interpret this term as denoting its etymological meaning? This is because of the very fact that Pāṇini uses such a long term (*mahatī saṃjñā*). It is his practice to let long terms denote their etymological meaning (*anvartha*). Note that *dāna* 'gift', when made properly, entails one's own ownership (*sattva*), but also the acceptance of the ownership of the person approached. Thus, when the student approaches the teacher by means of the object of giving, namely the cow, he is releasing his ownership of the cow and accepting its ownership by the teacher. The assignment of the term *sampradāna,* following its etymological meaning, must follow this restriction about ownership. Otherwise, in

(*a*) *rajakasya vastraṃ dadāti* 'he is giving clothes to the washerman', *rajaka* 'washerman' may qualify for the term *sampradāna.* Of course, if someone wants to give his clothes to the washerman for good, and for the use of the washerman, the washerman can be termed *sampradāna.* That would give us the sentence:

(*b*) *rajakāya vastraṃ dadāti.*

Patañjali (II: 402), however, does not emphasize the etymological sense of *sampradāna.*

In a sentence such as

(*c*) *rajakasya vastraṃ dadāti,*

the sense of *dā* will be *adhīnīkaraṇa* 'making someone subservient'. Thus, the washerman who did not have the clothes in his charge, gets them to keep in his charge until such time as he washes and returns them. The *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' will naturally be introduced when the intent is to express this residual (*śeṣa*) relationship. Bhartṛhari (*VP* 3, II: 313) identifies three types of *sampradāna,* which I illustrate with the following sentences:

(*d*) *sūryāya arghyaṃ dadāti* 'he is offering ritual water to the Sun'

(*e*) *yācitaḥ viprāya gāṃ dadāti* 'when requested, he is giving a cow to the brāhmaṇa'

(*f*) *upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti* 'he is giving a cow to the teacher'

2. The above difference in the types of *sampradāna* is made on the basis of whether or not an act of approval (*anumati*), disapproval (*nirākaraṇa*), or instigation (*preraṇa*) is involved on the part of the person who is approached, by the agent, and by means of the object of giving. Thus, the Sun (*sūrya*) in (*d*) does not approve, disapprove, or inspire someone to

offer the ritual water *(arghya)*. The brāhmaṇa of sentence *(e)* does inspire someone to make him a gift of a cow. By doing this, the brāhmaṇa also indicates his willingness to accept the gift. As opposed to this, the teacher of *(f)* is understood not only to have not inspired the student to make a gift of the cow, but also to have not indicated his approval or disapproval of the gift.

SCOPE: 2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*

1.4.33 रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः

rucyarthānāṃ prīyamāṇaḥ

/*rucyarthānām* 6/3 = *rucir artho yeṣām (bv.); prīyamāṇaḥ* 1/1/

(*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)

rucyarthānāṃ dhātūnāṃ prayoge prīyamāṇo yo' rthas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as one who is pleased when verbal roots having the signification of *ruc* 'please' are used is termed *sampradāna*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya rocate modakaḥ 'Devadatta likes sweetballs'
yajñadattāya svadate' pūpaḥ 'Yajñadatta likes sweetcakes'

1. This rule assigns the term *sampradāna* to a participant in an action who is pleased, when the action is denoted by a verbal root having the signification of *ruc* 'to please'. Note that *ruc* can have two meanings: 'to please' (*abhiprīti*); and 'to shine' (*dīpti*). It is because of the association of *prīyamāṇaḥ* 'he who is being pleased' that *ruc* is accepted here having the sense 'to please'. This interpretation means that a sentence such as

(*a*) *vyomny ādityo rocate* 'the sun shines in the sky' does not come under the scope of this rule.

The following two derivations are given to explain *prīyamāṇaḥ:*

(*i*) It is derived from *prīÑ* + *ŚānaC*, where the root is taken from the *kryādi* class with the meaning of *tarpaṇa* 'to be satisfied', and affix *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv....*) is used to denote *karman* 'object'. This gives the meaning of 'he who is being pleased...'.

(*ii*) It is derived by introducing affix *ŚānaN* (3.2.128 *pūṅyajoḥ śānan*) after the verbal root *prī* 'to please' of the *divādi* class, where affix *ŚānaN* denotes *kartṛ*. This will give the meaning of 'he who pleases'.

The first interpretation is the one most generally accepted.

For the implications of the word *prīyamāṇaḥ*, and the action denoted by *ruc*, consider these sentences:

(*b*) *devadattāya rocate modakaḥ* 'Devadatta likes sweetballs'

(*c*) *devadattaḥ prīyate* 'Devadatta is being pleased'

(*d*) *modakā devadattaṃ prīṇayanti* 'the sweetballs are pleasing Devadatta'
(*e*) *devadattasya prīter viṣayo bhavati modakaḥ* 'the sweetball becomes the locus of Devadatta's pleasure'

Sentence (*b*) illustrates the assignment of the term *sampradāna* to Devadatta by rule 1.4.32. Sentence (*c*) shows the passive meaning of *prīyamāṇaḥ* by putting the object in the nominative and the verb in the passive. Sentence (*d*) can be accepted as the active counterpart of (*c*), where the object of pleasing (Devadatta) is put in the accusative. Obviously, the agents (in this case *modaka* 'sweetballs') are performing the act of pleasing Devadatta. Sentence (*e*) demonstrates how Devadatta can be viewed as the locus *(ādhāra)* or the domain *(viṣaya)* of pleasure *(prīti)*.

There are several inferences to be drawn from the relata expressed by these sentences. For example, the denotatum of *ruc* underlies desire *(icchā)*. The agent of this desire could be *modaka* 'sweetballs'. Devadatta could be viewed as either the locus, the domain or the object of the action denoted by *ruc*. In this way, Devadatta could also qualify for the term *karman* 'object' or *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. The present rule therefore blocks the assignment of the terms *karman* and *adhikaraṇa* in favour of *sampradāna*.

Remember that Devadatta's pleasure could also be seen as entailing the residual (*śeṣa*) relationship denoted by genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) introduced by 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*. Additionally, because of an inherent relationship (*samavāyasambandha*) between pleasing and *modaka*, which serves as the agent of such pleasing, the *icchā* could also be relatable to Devadatta, the locus. It is with this understanding that *Kāśikā* explains the word *ruci* as *anyakartṛko' bhilāṣaḥ* 'a desire whose agent is someone else'. In other words, *devadattasthābhilāṣasya modakaḥ karttā*, '*modaka* is the agent of the desire whose locus is Devadatta'.

1.4.34 श्लाघह्नुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमानः

ślāghahnuṅsthāśapāṃ jñīpsyamānaḥ
/*ślāghahnuṅsthāśapām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *jñīpsyamānaḥ* 1/1/
(*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)
ślāgha-hnuṅ-sthā-śapa ity eteṣāṃ jñīpsyamāno yo' rthas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as someone of whom one wishes to be aware when *ślāghÅ* 'to praise', *hnuṄ* 'to hide', *sthā* 'to stay', and *śapÅ* 'to swear' are used is termed *sampradāna*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya ślāghate 'he praises Devadatta'
devadattāya hnute 'he hides from Devadatta'
devadattāya tiṣṭhate 'he waits for Devadatta'
devadattāya śapate 'he curses Devadatta'

1. The word *jñīpsyamānaḥ* is generally derived by introducing affix *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...*) after the *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ...*) derivate of the verbal root *jñā* 'to know', where *ŚānaC* denotes *karman* 'object'. The meaning of the word *jñīpsyamānaḥ* thus becomes *jñapayitum iṣyamāṇaḥ/bodhayitum iṣṭaḥ* 'he who is being wished to be informed'. This derivation of *jñīpsyamānaḥ* also makes it clear how what can be viewed as the *karman* of an action characterized by 'a desire to inform' becomes, under the provisions of this rule, *sampradāna*. Note that the agent of our example sentences above, which entail *ślāghā* 'praise', *hnuti* 'hiding', *prakāśana* 'revelation', and *śapana* 'cursing, swearing, scolding' must also wish this object turned *sampradāna* to know about these actions.

1.4.35 धारेरुत्तमर्णः

dhārer uttamarṇaḥ

/*dhāreḥ* 5/1 *uttamarṇaḥ* 1/1 = *ṛṇe uttamaḥ (sap. tat.)*/

(*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)

dhārayateḥ prayoge uttamarṇo yo' rthas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as creditor when *dhāri* 'owe' (causative of *dhṛÑ*) is used is termed *sampradāna*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya śataṃ dhārayati 'he owes Devadatta a hundred'
yajñadattāya śataṃ dhārayati 'he owes Yajñadatta a hundred'

1. This rule assigns the term *sampradāna* to a creditor when the action is denoted by the causative (*ṆiC*) form of verbal root *dhṛÑ* 'to hold'. The word *uttamarṇa* 'creditor' is treated as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the analyzed form *uttamaṃ adhikatāprāptam ṛṇaṃ yasya* 'he whose money when lent on interest has increased'. As opposed to this, a person who borrows money on loan is called *adhamarṇa*.

1.4.36 स्पृहेरीप्सितः

spṛher īpsitaḥ

/*spṛheḥ* 5/1 *īpsitaḥ* 1/1/

(*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)

spṛher īpsito yo' rthas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which is *īpsita* 'desired' for the agent of an action denoted by *spṛhĀ* 'yearn after' is termed *sampradāna*.

EXAMPLES:

puṣpebhyaḥ spṛhayati 'he longs for flowers'
phalebhyaḥ spṛhayati 'he longs for fruits'

1. The root *spṛhĀ* can give two shades of meaning:
   (*i*) *icchāmātra* 'desire in general'; and
   (*ii*) *phalāvaccinnecchā* 'a desire qualified by its being fulfilled'. That is, a desire for a thing with a desire at the same time ~~to~~ also obtain it.

The following sentences illustrate the two meanings:
   (*a*) *puṣpebhyaḥ spṛhayati* 'he likes flowers'
   (*b*) *puṣpāṇi spṛhayati* 'he likes flowers, and also likes to obtain them'

Sentence (*a*) puts the desired flowers in the dative, as the interpretation is 'a desire in general'. Sentence (*b*) puts the same flowers in the accusative because the agent also wishes to obtain them.

The desired thing, in accordance with the second meaning, will be assigned the term *karman* 'object' by 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*. That is, this rule assigns the term *sampradāna* only to a thing desired when the action is denoted by *spṛhĀ*. When the same thing is viewed as most desired (*īpsitatama*), the term *karman* is assigned. (See *PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 553: *īpsitamātre iyaṃ saṃjñā. prakarṣavivakṣāyāṃ tu paratvāt karmasaṃjñaiva bhavati... yadā tv īpsitam īpsitatamaṃ vā śeṣatvena vivakṣyate tadā ṣaṣṭhī bhavati.* 'This term is assigned only in the sense of *īpsita* 'desired thing'. The term *karman*, on account of its being subsequent (*paratvāt*), is assigned uniquely when the pre-eminence of the desired thing is wished to be denoted. When *īpsita* or *īpsitatama* are wished to be expressed by means of a residual (*śeṣa*) relatum, genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is used'.

1.4.37 क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रति कोपः

krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānāṃ yaṃ prati kopaḥ

/*krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānām* 6/3 = *krudhaś ca druhaś ca īrṣyaś ca asūyaś ca* = *krudhadruherṣyāsūyaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣāṃ arthāḥ* = *krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthāḥ, krudhadruherṣyāsūyārthānām iva artha yeṣām*(*bv.* with internal *dv.*); *yam* 2/1 *prati* ∅ *kopaḥ* 1/1/

(*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)

krudhādyarthānāṃ prayoge yaṃ prati kopas tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as one towards whom anger is directed when verbal roots having the signification of *krudhĀ* 'to be angry', *druhĀ* 'to wish harm to', *īrṣyĀ* 'not to tolerate', and *asūya* 'to invent fault' are used is termed *sampradāna*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya krudhyati 'he is angry at Devadatta'
devadattāya druhyati 'he wishes to harm Devadatta'
devadattāya īrṣyati 'he does not tolerate Devadatta'
devadattāyāsūyati 'he finds fault with Devadatta'

1. The roots have been used in the following senses:

krudhĀ = *amarṣaḥ* 'anger; to be angry'
druhĀ = *apakāraḥ* 'harm; to harm'
īrṣyĀ = *akṣama* 'intolerance; not to tolerate'
asūya = *guṇeṣu doṣāviṣkaraṇam* 'inventing faults in someone's qualities'.

A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 403-4) whether the roots enumerated in this rule are synonymous (*ekārthāḥ*). If they are synonymous, then their separate enumeration is not required. If they are not synonymous, then they should not be qualified by the single condition of *yaṃ prati kopaḥ* 'he towards whom anger is directed'. The *Mahābhāṣya* observes that these verbs are not synonymous. But since *kopa* 'anger' is common to the meaning of all of them, Pāṇini employs a common qualifier for their usage. For a person does not harm another, or invent faults in another's qualities, unless he is angry. This makes anger (*kopa*) a preceding condition for the actions denoted by all the verbs included in this rule. This, however, does not go well with *krudh* because it, too, means anger. How could anger be considered as a preceding condition for anger? The *Mahābhāṣya* seems to be making a distinction in the meanings of *kopa* and *krodha*. Bālamanoramā (*SK*, I: 648) glosses *krodha* as *prarūḍhakopaḥ* 'excessive anger'.

Note that the provision of anger underlying all verbs restricts sentences such as *bhāryām īrṣyati* from assigning the term *sampradāna* to *bhāryā* 'wife'. For, though *īrṣya* is used, the man is not angry at his wife. Instead, he is angry at someone who is looking at his wife. This allows *bhāryā* to be assigned the term *karman*.

1.4.38 **क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोः कर्म**

krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayoḥ karma
/*krudhadruhoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *upasṛṣṭayoḥ* 6/2 *karma* 1/1/
(*yaṃ prati kopaḥ* # 37, *sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)
krudhadruhor upasṛṣṭayor (upasargasambandhayor) yaṃ prati kopas tat kārakaṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* is termed *karman* 'object' when it serves as someone towards whom anger is directed when *krudhĀ*, *druhĀ* and *īrṣyĀ*, are used with a preverb.

EXAMPLES:

devadattam abhikrudhyati 'he is angry at Devadatta'
devadattam abhidruhyati 'he wishes to harm Devadatta'

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding one. It offers an adjustment in the assignment of the term *sampradāna* in favour of *karman* when two of the verbs enumerated in the preceding rule, namely, *krudhĀ* and

druhĀ, are used with a preverb. Thus, what was to be termed *sampradāna* is termed *karman* if, all else being equal, the action is denoted by *krudhĀ* and *druhĀ* used with a preverb. Incidentally, the word *upasṛṣṭa* is interpreted in the grammatical parlance as meaning *sopasarga* 'with preverb'.

1.4.39 राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः

rādhīkṣyor yasya vipraśnaḥ

/*radhīkṣyoḥ* 6/2 = *rādhiś ca īkṣiś ca* = *rādhīkṣī* (*itar. dv.*); *vipraśnaḥ* 1/1/ (*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)

rādher īkṣaś ca (prayoge) yasya vipraśnaḥ tat kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as one about whom many inquiries are made is termed *sampradāna* when *rādhĀ* 'to prophesy' or *īkṣĀ* 'to look, observe' are used.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya rādhyati 'he (the astrologer), when asked about Devadatta's good or bad fortune, makes various prophecies'
devadattāya īkṣate 'id '

1. Note that both the roots are cited here in the sense of *śubhāśubhaparyālocana* 'to make observations about good or bad fortune'. The word *vipraśnah* has been interpreted as *vividhaḥ praśnaḥ* 'various questions'. The variable *yad* in *yasya* has as its antecedent someone about whose good or bad fortune various questions are asked. Clearly, then, the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is used here to denote *karman*. Commentators (*PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. I: 555) observe that *yasya* is superfluous in the formulation of the rule. It could easily have been dropped by bringing *yaṃ prati* from the preceding rule via *anuvṛtti*. That would have given the string *yaṃ prati vipraśnaḥ*, with practically no change in meaning.

1.4.40 प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्त्ता

pratyāṅbhyāṃ śruvaḥ pūrvasya karttā

/*pratyāṅbhyāṁ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *śruvaḥ* 6/1 *pūrvasya* 6/1 *karttā* 1/1/ (*sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)

'prati, āṅ' ity evaṃ pūrvasya śṛṇoteḥ kārakaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* that serves as the agent of a prior act of requesting is termed *sampradāna* when *śru* 'to hear' is used with the preverbs *prati* or *āN*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattāya gāṃ pratiśṛṇoti 'he promises to give a cow to Devadatta'
devadattāya gāṃ āśṛṇoti 'id.'

1. The dual ending *bhyām* after *pratyāṅ*, a *dvandva*, makes it imperative

that *śru* be construed with both the preverbs *prati* and *āN* individually. That is, concurrent usage of both *prati* and *āN* with *śru*, whether in the form of *pratyāśru* or of *āpratiśru*, is not permitted. If Pāṇini had intended the concurrent use of *prati* and *āṄ*, he would have phrased the rule as *pratyāṅśruvaḥ pūrvasya karttā.*

Note that the verbal root *śru* used with *prati* and *āṄ* means *abhyupagama*, or *pratijñāna* 'pledge, promise'. The following examples illustrate how *pratiśru* denotes *abhyupagama* in sentence (*b*) with reference to (*a*):

(*a*) *mahyaṃ gāṃ dehi* 'give me a cow'

(*b*) *devadattāya gāṃ pratiśṛṇoti* 'he is making a pledge to give a cow to Devadatta'

Devadatta, here, is the agent of sentence (*a*), to whom the pledge is made upon request.

If the rule does not include *pūrvasya karttā*, and specifically require the assignment of the term *sampradāna*, *tṛtīyā* 'third triad of *sUP*' should be used with *devadatta* of sentence (*b*). For, Devadatta would then be assigned the term *kartṛ* of the act of instigation (*preraṇa*). This rule thus blocks the assignment of *kartṛ* in favour of *sampradāna*.

1.4.41 अनुप्रतिगृणश्च

anupratigṛṇaś ca

/*anupratigṛṇaḥ* 6/1 = *anu ca prati ca* = *anupratī* (*itar. dv.*); *tābhyāṃ gṛṇā* (*pañc. tat.* with internal *dv.*); *ca* Ø/

(*pūrvasya karttā* # 40, *sampradānam* # 32, *kārake* # 23)

anupūrvasya pratipūrvasya ca gṛṇāteḥ kārakaṃ pūrvasyāḥ kriyāyāḥ kartṛbhūtaṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as the agent of a prior act of chanting is termed *sampradāna* when *gṛ* 'to chant' is used with the preverbs *anu* and *prati*.

EXAMPLES:

hotre' nugṛṇāti 'he is praising the *hotṛ*'
hotre pratigṛṇāti 'id.'

1. The force of *ca* associates this rule with the preceding. As a result of this association (*sāhacarya*), preverbs *anu* and *prati* are interpreted with *gṛ* in a manner similar to the way in which *prati* and *āṄ* were interpreted with *śru*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*. I: 556-57) observes that *gṛ* used with *anu* or *prati* in Vedic means 'praising' (*anuśaṃsana*). In the above examples its meaning will be the praising of the priest (*hotṛ*) by the *adhvaryu*, 'initiator of the ritual sacrifice'. Incidentally, verbal root *gṛ* is here referenced with the *vikaraṇa* 'augment' *Śnā*. This, in turn, becomes a clue that *gṛ* of this rule belongs to the *kryādi* class, and not to the *tudādi* class.

Note that the word *pūrvasya karttā* is also carried. This means that, in the context of *anugṛ* or *pratigṛ* in the Vedic, the agent of the prior act of

śaṃsana 'praising' should be termed *sampradāna*. Such an agent of a prior act is *hotṛ*, since he is the one who first recites the hymns of praise. The *adhvaryu* then praises the *hotṛ*. Thus, we get *hotre' nugṛṇāti* 'he is praising the *hotṛ*' or *hotre pratigṛṇāti* 'id.'. This rule, by assigning the term *sampradāna*, blocks the assignment of the term *karman*, which would otherwise have become applicable to *hotṛ*.

1.4.42 साधकतमं करणम्

sādhakatamaṃ karaṇaṃ
/*sādhakatamam* 1/1 *karaṇam* 1/1/
(*kārake* # 23)
kriyāsiddhau sādhakatamaṃ kārakaṃ karaṇasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A *kāraka* which serves as a means, more than anything else, is termed *karaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

paraśunā chinatti 'he is cutting with the axe'
dātreṇa lunāti 'he cuts with a sickle'

1. This rule assigns the term *karaṇa* to a participant who is most instrumental in accomplishing the action. The rule uses *sādhakatamam*, a derivate ending in affix *tamaP* and denoting *atiśāyana* 'excellence'. Pāṇini uses *tamaP* to indicate that the participation of *karaṇa* is most useful in accomplishing the action. Bhartṛhari (III, 2: 258) identifies *karaṇa* as that *kāraka* after the completion of whose activity the action is considered as accomplished (*karaṇena hi sarveṣāṃ vyāpāro vyavadhīyate*). Thus, we get the first of the two examples cited above: *paraśunā chinatti* 'he is cutting with the axe'. The action of cutting is treated here as accomplished when *paraśu* accomplishes its own particular action, namely, rising, falling, and severing the thing to be cut. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*. I: 557) summarizes by saying that a *kāraka* labelled as means *par excellence* (*sādhakatama*) could be assigned the term *karaṇa* based on *deśa* 'place', *kāla* 'time' or *avasthā* 'state'. In a sentence such as

(*a*) *devadattaḥ sthālyām odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot'

sthālī 'pot' is in the locative. But the same locus, *sthālī*, can be assigned the term *karaṇa* because of its status of being conducive to cooking. The alternative sentence

(*b*) *sthālyā odanaṃ pacati* 'he is cooking the rice by means of the pot', treats *sthālī* as *karaṇa*, because its shape and size facilitates the cooking.

An objection may be raised against singling out *karaṇa* from among the other *kārakas*. They, too, are instrumental in accomplishing the action. It is for this reason that Pāṇini uses *tamaP*: all *kārakas* are instrumental, but

only *karaṇa* is most instrumental. This excellence in serving as instrument is the condition for the assignment of the term *karaṇa*. Note, however, that the agent *(kartṛ)* can also be viewed as instrumental along with the other *kārakas*. This does not mean that the activity of the *karaṇa* excels the activity of the agent. The participant termed agent *(kartṛ)* is independent, in the sense that his activity does not have to depend on the activity of the other participants. Actually, it is the agent who sets other participants, including *karaṇa*, in motion. This makes it imperative that the question of the excellence of activity of the participants does not include the agent.

Relative to the remaining *kārakas*, the activity of the *karaṇa* is treated as most excellent. (*PM: kārakāntarapekṣaḥ karaṇasyātiśayaḥ na svakakṣāyām* 'The excellence of *karaṇa* is relative to other *kārakas* and not to entities in its own sphere'.) The degree of excellence among various participants termed *karaṇa* is not an issue. That is, more than one entity can be termed *karaṇa*, irrespective of its relative excellence. Thus we can find sentences such as:

(*c*) *aśvena dīpikayā rathena pathā saṃcarate* 'he is going by the chariot drawn by horses with the lamp by the road'

2. Commentators explain that the use of *tamaP* in this rule also has consequences elsewhere. For example, it not only facilitates the assignment of the term *karaṇa* to the entity which is most instrumental among others; it also facilitates the assignment of the term *adhikaraṇa* to secondary (*gauṇa*) loci (*ādhāra*). Consider the following sentences:

(*d*) *tileṣu tailam* 'there is oil in the sesame'

(*e*) *gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ* 'the dwellings of the cowherds (are there) by the Gaṅgā'

The sesame in sentence (*d*) is the locus (*ādhāra*) of the oil, the thing located (*ādheya*). The relationship between the locus and the thing located is all-encompassing. The oil is all-pervasive (*vyāpta*) in the sesame. A locus of this kind is termed 'principal' (*mukhya*). As opposed to this, the relationship between the dwellings (*ghoṣa*) and the Gaṅgā is at best dependent upon proximity (*sāmīpya*). The locusness (*ādhāratva*) to the Gaṅgā is thus transferred (*upacarita*) on the basis of its being proximate to the dwellings. If *tamaP* was not included in rule 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*, the term *adhikaraṇa* could be assigned only to the principal *ādhārā*, such as *tila* in sentence (*d*). For, the principle of *gauṇamukhyayor mukhye kāryasampratyayaḥ* 'when an operation becomes applicable to both the principal as well as the secondary, it is applied only to the principal' would then have blocked the assignment of the term *adhikaraṇa* to *gaṅgā*. The inclusion of *tamaP* in 1.4.42 thus becomes an indication (*jñāpaka*) that the assignment of a term relative to the principal will be applicable only in the context of the term *karaṇa*. Elsewhere, the secondary also can be assigned the term. (Cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I: 558 *tatra asati tamabgrahaṇe 'gauṇamukhyayor mukhye*

kāryasampratyayaḥ' iti mukhyasyaivādhikaraṇasamjñā syāt, netarasya; tamab-grahaṇād tasyāpi bhavati.)
SCOPE: 2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*

1.4.43 **दिवः कर्म च**
divaḥ karma ca
/*divaḥ* 6/1 *karma* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*sādhakatamam* # 42, *kārake* # 23)
·*divaḥ sādhakatamaṃ yat kārakaṃ tat karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati*
A *kāraka* which serves as a means, more than anything else, also is termed *karman* 'object' when *divĀ* 'to play' is used.

EXAMPLES:

akṣān dīvyati 'he plays dice'
akṣair dīvyati 'he plays with dice'

1. The particle *ca* is used here in the sense of *samuccaya* 'conjunction'. This makes it possible for the means *par excellence* in relation to the action of *divĀ* 'to play' to be additionally termed *karman.* Thus, we get two sentences with *akṣa* in the instrumental or accusative, depending on whether it was assigned the term *karaṇa* or *karman.* Note that the *ca* saves the situation against the demand of *ekasaṃjñā.* For, in its absence, there would have been conflict in the assignment of two terms to a single entity (*akṣa*). The *ca* facilitates the assignment of both the terms; but since they cannot be assigned simultaneously (*yugapat*), they are applied in turn (*paryāya*).

1.4.44 **परिक्रयणे सम्प्रदानमन्यतरस्याम्**
parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyām
/*parikrayaṇe* 7/1 *sampradānam* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*sādhakatamam* # 42, *kārake* # 23)
parikrayaṇe sādhakatamaṃ kārakam anyatarasyāṃ sampradānasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A kāraka which serves as means, more than anything else, optionally is termed *sampradāna* when *parikrayaṇa* 'hiring on stipulated wages' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śatena parikrīto' nubrūhi 'you are hired for a hundred, aren't you?'
sahasrāya parikrīto' nubrūhi 'you are hired for a thousand, aren't you?'

1. This rule assigns the term *sampradāna* optionally to what could be called a *karaṇa* with reference to the action denoted by *parikrayaṇa.* The word *parikrayaṇa* means hiring someone for a specified time on wages, to recover a debt. The difference between *krayaṇa* 'purchasing' and

parikrayaṇa is thus related more to the permanence or temporariness of the services bought. A person on *parikrayaṇa* would be free to go when he has paid off the debt, by means of the wages earned to repay the debt.

1.4.45 आधारोऽधिकरणम्

ādhāro' dhikaraṇam

/*ādhāraḥ* 1/1 *adhikaraṇam* 1/1/

(*kārake* # 23)

dhāraṇakriyāṃ prati ya ādhāras tat kārakam adhikaraṇasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as locus of action is termed *adhikaraṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭe āste 'he sits on the mat'
kaṭe śete 'he reclines on the mat'
sthālyāṃ pacati 'he cooks in the pot'

1. This rule assigns the term *adhikaraṇa* to the locus (*ādhāra*) of an action (*kriyā*). In the real outside world we speak of an *ādhāra* in relation to action, quality (*guṇa*), and thing (*dravya*). But in the inside world of grammar we talk about *ādhāra* as a participant contributing (*upakārin*) towards accomplishing an action. An action is supposed to be related directly to the agent (*kartṛ*) or the object (*karman*). This is because an action is supposed to be located in the agent (*kartṛsthā kriyā*) or object (*karmasthā kriyā*). For example, in

(*a*) *devadattaḥ śete* 'Devadatta is reclining'

the action of sleeping is located in its agent, Devadatta. Similarly, in

(*b*) *odanaṃ pacati devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is cooking rice'

the action denoted by *pac* 'to cook' is supposed to be located in the object *odana* 'rice'. For it is the rice which, when cooking, undergoes the process of softening (*viklitti*). However, in a sentence such as

(*c*) *sthālyāṃ pacati odanam devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot'

it is *sthālī* 'pot' which is assigned the term *adhikaraṇa*, because it serves as the locus for the action. But how could *pac* be accepted as denoting an action whose locus is the object? And, at the same time, how could the identical action be accepted as having *sthālī* as its locus? The tradition believes that *sthālī* serves as the locus of the object, *taṇḍula* 'uncooked rice' which, in turn, serves as the locus of *viklitti*, the action denoted by *pac*. Thus, *sthālī* serves as the locus of the action only indirectly. In short, it is the locus of an action mediated by the agent, or the object, that gets the assignment of the term *adhikaraṇa*.

It should also be noted in this connection that, for a grammarian, a root means two things: fruit of the action (*phala*) and process of accomplishing

an action (*vyāpāra*). The first is also termed *siddha* 'accomplished', as opposed to the second, which is termed *sādhya* 'to be accomplished'. In the context of an action denoted by a transitive root (*sakarmaka*), the agent (*kartṛ*), is viewed as the locus of *vyāpāra*. As opposed to this, the object (*karman*) is viewed as the locus of *phala*. (See *Vaiyākaraṇabhūṣaṇasāra*'s section dealing with the meaning of roots for details.)

Bartṛhari (*VP* III, 2: 352-53) recognized three types of *adhikaraṇa*, based on the relationship between what serves as *ādhāra* 'locus' and what is considered as the thing held (*ādheya*). Consider the following sentences:

(*d*) *tileṣu tailam* 'there is oil in the sesame'
(*e*) *kaṭe āste* 'he sits on the mat'
(*f*) *khe śakunayaḥ* 'there are birds in the sky'
(*g*) *gurau vasati* 'he lives with his teacher'

Sentence (*d*) illustrates the relationship between the *ādhāra* (*tila*) and the *ādheya* (*taila*) as *samavāya* 'inhered'. That is, *tila* inheres *taila*. As opposed to this, the relationship in (*e*) between the person sitting on the mat, and the mat itself serving as locus, can be recognized as one of *saṃyoga* 'contact'. That is, the relationship entails contact but not inherence. Finally, the last two sentences illustrate a relationship which can be characterized as *vaiṣayika* 'topical'. That is, it lacks contact, though one can assume the presence of mental contact. This threefold classification of *adhikaraṇa* is obviously based on the nature of *upaśleṣa* 'contact' between the *ādhāra* and the *ādheya*.

1.4.46 **अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्म**

adhiśīṅsthāsāṃ karma
/*adhiśīṅsthāsāṃ* 6/3 = *śīṅ ca sthāś ca ās ca* = *śīṅsthāsaḥ* (*dv.*); *adheḥ śīṅsthāsaḥ* (*pañc. tat.*); *teṣāṃ karma* 1/1/
(*ādhāraḥ* # 45, *kārake* # 23)
adhipūrvānāṃ śīṅ, sthā, ās ity eteṣām ādhāro yas tat kārakaṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A ***kāraka*** which serves as locus is termed ***karman*** 'object' when *śīN* 'to recline', *sthā* 'to stand', or *āsĀ* 'to sit' are used with the preverb *adhi*.

EXAMPLES:

grāmam adhiśete 'he sleeps in the village'
grāmam adhitiṣṭhati 'he stands over (controls) the village'
parvatam adhyāste 'he sits on the top of the mountain'

1. This rule offers an adjustment in the assignment of the term *karman* with reference to verbal roots *śīN*, *sthā*, and *āsĀ*, when used with the preverb *adhi*. That is, what could have been assigned the term *adhikaraṇa* to the locus of these verbs is assigned the term *karman*. Note that these verbs

are basically intransitive (*akarmaka*). But when their locus is termed *karman* they become transitive (*sakarmaka*).

1.4.47 अभिनिविशः

abhiniviśaḥ 6/1 = *abhiś ca niś ca* = *abhinī* (*dv.*); *tābhyām viś* = *abhiniviś* (*pañc. tat.* with internal *dv.*); *tasya* = *abhiniviśaḥ ca* Ø/
(*ādhāraḥ* # 45, *kārake* # 23)
abhinipūrvasya viśater ādhāro yas tat kārakam karmasaṃjñam bhavati
A *kāraka* that serves as locus also is termed *karman* when *viś* 'to enter' is used with the preverb *abhini*.

EXAMPLE:

grāmam abhiniviśate 'he enters the village'

1. This rule also orders a readjustment, though optionally. That is, the *ca* of this rule attracts the term *adhikaraṇa*; and hence, the assignment of the term *karman* becomes optional to *adhikaraṇa*. It is also noted by commentators (*Kāś.* I: 563) that the optional nature of this rule is determined by carrying *anyatarasyām* from rule 1.4.44 *parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyām*. Furthermore, this option is treated as *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* for reasons of its uncommon application.

The word *abhini* is a *dvandva* compound. Since *ni* has fewer vowels than *abhi*, it should, according to 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*, be placed first in the compound. The compound base should therefore by *nyabhi*, and not *abhini*. But the very fact that Pāṇini uses *abhini* indicates that it, as a single unit alone, should be used before *viś*. This will rule out any use of the verbal root *viś* separately with *ni* and *abhi* for the purposes of this rule. Elsewhere, *niviś*, for example, can be used.

1.4.48 उपान्वध्याङ्वसः

upānvadhyāṅvasaḥ
/*upānvadhyāṅvasaḥ* 6/1 = *upa ca anu ca adhi ca āṅ ca* = *upānvadhyāṅ* (*dv.*); *tebhyo vas* (*pañc. tat.* with internal *dv.*)/
(*karma* # 46, *ādhāraḥ* # 45, *kārake* # 23)
'*upa, anu, adhi, āṅ*' *ity evam pūrvasya vasater ādhāro yas tat kārakam karmasaṃjñam bhavati*
A *kāraka* which serves as locus is termed *karman* when *vasA* 'to dwell' is used with the preverbs *upa, anu, adhi,* or *āṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

grāmam upavasati senā 'the army is camped near the village'
parvatam upavasati senā 'the army is camped near the mountain'
grāmam anuvasati senā 'the army is camped behind the village'

grāmam āvasati senā 'the army is camped around the village'

1. This also is an effort towards readjusting the assignment of the term *ādhāra.* The locus of the verbal root *vas* used with preverbs *upa, anu, āṄ,* and *adhi* is termed *karman.* The verbal root *vas* is to be interpreted here as meaning 'to dwell'. It is further indicated by a *vārttika* under this rule: *vaser arthasya pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ* 'negation of the signification of the verbal root *vas* must be stated'. The signification of the verbal root *vas* which is proposed to be negated is *bhojananivṛtti* 'refraining from eating'. Thus, given a sentence such as

(*a*) *grāme trirātram upavasati* 'he fasts in the village for three nights'

the word *grāma* cannot be termed *karman* by reason of being the locus (*ādhāra*). Patañjali *(Mbh.* II: 406-7) rejects this *vārttika* on the grounds that *grāma* in a sentence such as (*a*) would not get the designation *karman* by the present rule, as it does not serve as the locus of the action denoted by verbal root *vas,* used with the preverb *upa* (cf. *nā' tropapūrvasya vaser grāmo' dhikaraṇam*). To the question 'for what, then, is *grāma* the locus?' (*kasya tarhi*), he answers: 'for the root *vas* used without any preverb (*anupasargasya*)'. He also cites the following paraphrase of sentence (*a*):

grāme' sau vasaṃs trirātram upavasati 'he fasts for three nights while living in the village'

It is clear from this that *grāma* is the *ādhāra* of the action denoted by *vas,* and not *vas* used with the preverb *upa.*

1.4.49 **कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म**

kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma

/*kartuḥ* 6/1 *īpsitatamam* 1/1 *karma* 1/1/

(*kārake* # 23)

kartuḥ kriyayā yad āptum iṣṭatamaṃ tat kārakaṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which the agent most wishes to reach through his action is termed *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ karoti 'he makes a mat'

grāmaṃ gacchati 'he goes to the village

1. A question is raised as to why Pāṇini did not bring *karman* from an earlier rule via *anuvṛtti.* Commentators explain that since the *karman* of the earlier rules is associated with *ādhāra,* the present rule would be able to assign the term *karman* only to an *ādhāra* which the agent most wishes to obtain. This would be the resultant interpretation if *karman* is carried from the earlier rule. Needless to say, if *karman* is brought, *ādhāra,* which is

associated with it, cannot be left behind. This would render the applicability of the term *karman* very narrow. It may account for sentences such as (*a*), below, but would not account for a multitude of others.

The *Kāśikā* (I: 565-66) offers three counter-examples to illustrate why *kartuḥ*, *īpsitatamam* and *karman* are used in this rule:

(*a*) *gehaṃ praviśati* 'he is entering the house'
(*b*) *māṣeṣv aśvaṃ badhnāti* 'he tethers the horse in the bean-field'
(*c*) *payasā odanaṃ bhuṅkte* 'he eats rice with milk'

The word *kartuḥ* is used in the rule to make sure that the thing which qualifies to be termed *karman*, because of being most desired, is also most desired by the agent (*kartṛ*). That is, a thing most desired by someone other than the agent cannot qualify to be termed *karman*. Consider the beans (*māṣa*) of sentence (*b*), which happens to be the most desired thing for the horse (*aśva*). As such, they could not be assigned the term *karman*. Besides, sentence (*b*) does not have the action of the horse, i.e. *bhojana* 'consuming', as the action to be accomplished (*sādhya*). On the contrary, it has the action of the agent to be accomplished. According to this action of *bandhana* 'tethering', the horse then becomes the most desired thing for the agent. The horse, and not the beans, is therefore assigned the term *karman*. Note that the agent may be tethering the horse to protect the beans from being eaten. This way, the beans may also become desired by the agent. But since they may not be most desired, they may not be assigned the term *karman*.

Sentence (*c*) creates a situation in which *payas* 'milk' and *odana* 'rice' are things equally desired by the agent. He is eating them both at the same time. The rice (*odana*), however, is the one he most wishes to eat. The milk (*payas*) thus becomes merely an accessory, a means, for making the rice more palatable. The milk is assigned the term *karaṇa*. This explains why only the most desired (*īpsitatama*) thing can be termed *karman*. Sentence (*b*), as I have already explained, justifies the explicit use of the word *karman* in the rule. For, carrying *karman* via *anuvṛtti* would only cover instances of locus turned object.

The *Kāśikā* glosses *īpsitatamam* as *āptum iṣṭatamam*, perhaps to maintain a distinction between the conventional (*rūḍha*) and derivational (*prakṛti-pratyayajanya*) meanings of the word *īpsita*. The word, as *rūḍha*, means 'desired', although derivationally it means 'desired to be obtained'. This second meaning directly relates an object of desire to the action to be accomplished (*sādhya*). *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś.* I: 564) clearly observes that *na hi rūḍhiśabdasya kriyayā kartṛsādhyayā sambandha upapadyate* 'no relationship obtains between a word with conventional meaning, and action which remains to be accomplished (*sādhya*)'. Note further that *kāraka* terms are

assigned to entities with reference to their status as participant in an action to be accomplished.

2. Bhartṛhari (III, 2: 161-73) presents a three-way classification of *karman* which may be most desired to be obtained by the agent:

(*i*) *nirvartya,* where a thing is presented as different from its material cause,
(*ii*) *vikārya,* where a thing is presented as a modification (*vikāra*) of its material cause, and
(*iii*) *prāpya,* where the action does not have any effect whatsoever upon the thing classified as *karman.*

Consider, for example, the following sentences:

(*d*) *mṛdā ghaṭaṃ karoti* 'he makes a pot out of clay'
(*e*) *kāṣṭhaṃ bhasma karoti* 'he reduces wood to ashes'
(*f*) *mṛdaṃ ghaṭaṃ karoti* 'he is making the clay a pot'

Sentence (*f*), compared with (*d*), focuses on the most important consideration in the classification of a *karman* into the categories of *nirvartya* 'to be brought about', and *vikārya* 'to be modified'. It assumes that whenever the speaker wishes to speak about an object and its material cause on the basis of non-difference (*abhedavivakṣā*), the object is not termed *nirvartya.* The *vivakṣā* 'desire to speak' based on (*abheda*) 'non-difference' is important, since in this consideration the wish of the speaker overrides the truth value of the presence or absence of the difference between the object and its material cause. Sentence (*f*) thus does not accept any difference between the *mṛt* 'clay' and the *ghaṭa* 'jar', while in (*d*) such a difference is wished to be expressed. Sentence (*f*) can thus constitute an example of *nirvartya karman.* The same type of object is expressed by *kāṣṭha* 'wood' in (*e*). See also my discussion of *upādāna* and *sahakārī* causes under rule 1.4.30 *janikarttuḥ prakṛtiḥ.*

For examples of the *prāpya* type (*iii*) of object consider the following:

(*g*) *vanaṃ gacchati* 'he goes to the forest'
(*h*) *grāmaṃ paśyati* 'he sees the village'

Note that *vana* and *grāma* are not affected either directly or indirectly by the action of going or seeing. They do not go through any changes caused by the action (*kriyākṛtaviśeṣa*). As opposed to this, look at the sentences given below:

(*i*) *vanaṃ chinatti* 'someone is cutting the forest'
(*j*) *grāmaṃ dahati* 'someone is burning the village'

It is clear by the very nature of the actions denoted by *chid* 'to cut' and *dah* 'to burn' that the objects *vana* and *grāma* are here undergoing changes introduced by the action.

3. A *ślokavārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 427-28) raises the question of whether or not the statement of rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma* was really necessary:

> *etena karmasaṃjñā sarvā siddhā bhavaty akathitena / atrepsitasya kiṃ syāt prayojanaṃ karmasaṃjñāyāḥ // yat tu kathitaṃ purastād īpsitayuktaṃ ca tasya siddhyartham / īpsitameva tu yat syāt tasya bhaviṣyaty akathitena //* 'if by rule 1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca* every assignment of the term *karman* may be made possible, then what could be the purpose of stating rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma;* if it is said that 1.4.49 is stated to facilitate the assignment of the term *karman* to that which is cited earlier, and is *tathāyukta* 'related to action in a manner similar' to *īpsita* 'desired', then that too can be taken care of by 1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca'.*

There are four rules which form the focus of this *ślokavārttika:*
1.4.27 *vāraṇārthanām īpsitaḥ*
1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*
1.4.50 *tathāyuktaṃ cānīpsitam*
1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca*
Let us consider the following example:
(*k*) *yavebhyo gāṃ vārayati* 'he is warding the cow off the barley'
The barley (*yava*) gets the assignment of the term *apādāna* by rule 1.4.27 *vāraṇārthanām īpsitaḥ* because it is desired by the cow (*go*) which, in turn, is being warded off. If rule 1.4.49 had not been formulated, rule 1.4.27 would assign the term *apādāna* to both *īpsita* and *īpsitatama* 'most desired'. For that which is *īpsitatama* must also be *īpsita*. Such reasoning would produce this wrong sentence:
(*l*) **yavebhyo gor vārayati*
The words *yava* and *go* are used here in the ablative, on account of their being assigned the term *apādāna*. It is to avoid the double assignment of the term *apādāna* (to *yava* and *go*) or to precisely demarcate the scope of *apādāna* of 1.4.27 and of *karman* that rule 1.4.49 must necessarily be stated.

If rule 1.4.49 is stated, for the purpose of assigning the term *karman* to *īpsitatama,* then rule 1.4.50 must also be stated to assign the term *karman* to something which is *anīpsita.* And there is yet another possibility. If rule 1.4.49 had not been stated, then *īpsita* could be assigned the term *apādāna* by 1.4.27 *vāraṇārthanām...* and *īpsitatama* could be assigned the term *karman* by 1.4.51 *akathitaṃ ca.* This could block the assignment of the term *apādāna* to something *īpsitatama.* But, conversely, rule 1.4.51 can also assign the term *karman* to *īpsita* of 1.4.27. This will produce a second wrong sentence:
(*m*) **yavān gāṃ vārayati*
It is therefore to block the possibility of wrong sentences such as these, and

to clearly demarcate the domain of rules assigning the term *karman*, that it is necessary to state rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma.*

SCOPE: 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*

1.4.50 **तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम्**

tathāyuktaṃ cānīpsitam

/*tathāyuktam* 1/1 *ca* Ø *anīpsitam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*karma* # 49, *kārake* # 23)

yena prakāreṇa kartur īpsitatamaṃ kriyayā yujyate tenaiva cet prakāreṇa yad anīpsitaṃ yuktaṃ bhavati tasya karmasaṃjñā vidhīyate

A *kāraka* which serves as something not desired by the agent is still termed *karman*, providing it is related to an action in the same manner as that which is most desired by the agent.

1. This rule, as is obvious from its wording, allows the assignment of the term *karman* to a participant not desired by the agent. Recall that rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma* could assign the term *karman* only to a thing most desired by the agent. Of course, a thing not desired by the agent, and coming under the scope of our present rule, has to be related to the action in a manner similar to that of the objects covered by the preceding rule. That is, a thing 'not desired by the agent' must also be a participant (*kāraka*). Consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *odanaṃ bhuñjāno viṣaṃ bhuṅkte* 'while eating rice he is consuming poison'

(*b*) *grāmaṃ gacchan tṛṇaṃ spṛśati* 'he idly touches the vegetation on the way to the village'

The object *viṣa* 'poison' in (*a*) constitutes a type of object called *anīpsita* 'undesired'. The agent may be forced to eat the poisoned rice under duress, or he simply may not know that the rice is mixed with poison. Sentence (*b*) has *tṛṇa*, which could not be assigned the term 'object' by either rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamam...* or by the present rule. For, *tṛṇa* is certainly not the most desired entity. It could not even be called an undesired (*anīpsita*) entity. Commentators interpret the negation of *anīpsita* as a *paryudāsa*, so that entities like *tṛṇa* may qualify for the assignment of the term *karman*. A *paryudāsa* interpretation of *anīpsita* will enable us to assign the term *karman* to an entity other than *īpsita* (*īpsitād anyat*). The *tṛṇa* of (*b*) is neutral (*udāsīna*) to considerations of *īpsita* 'desired' and '*anīpsita* 'undesired'. Thus, it is something other than *īpsita*. Some state that examples like *viṣa* of (*a*) may still create a conflict between the 'most desired' and 'undesired' aspects of *karman*. That is, a person may most desire *viṣa* in order to free himself from his present miseries. That would make *viṣa* the most desired thing to obtain. Commentators agree that when *viṣa* becomes the most desired thing for the agent it gets the assignment of the term *karman* by the

preceding rule. When, as in (*a*) above, it is 'not desired', it will be assigned the term by the present rule. In addition, if (*a*) is interpreted to mean that the agent does not know about the poison being mixed with the rice, *viṣa* could still be termed *karman* by the present rule. In such an instance it will be treated as neutral, as is *tṛṇa* in (*b*). A *karman* which is not desired by the agent is called *dveṣya* 'disliked'. Similarly, an object which is neutral is termed *udāsīna*. This brings the number of the types of objects discussed thus far to five: *nirvartya, vikārya, prāpya* (1.4.49) and *dveṣya* and *udāsīna* (1.4.50). Note, however, that these categories are not mutually exclusive, for they are based on a binary consideration of 'most desired' and 'undesired'. Besides, the first three types are given especially in view of changes brought about in the object by the action.

1.4.51 **अकथितं च**

akathitaṃ ca

/*akathitam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *ca* Ø/

(*karma* # 49, *kārake* # 23)

akathitaṃ ca yat kārakaṃ tat karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which has not yet been classed is termed *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇinā kāṃsyapātryāṃ gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ 'he milks the cow by hand into a copper vessel'

gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ 'he milks the cow's milk'

pauravam gāṃ yācate 'he requests a cow from the Paurava'

gām avaruṇaddhi vrajam 'he pens the cow in the pen'

māṇavakaṃ panthānaṃ pṛcchati 'he asks the boy the way'

pauravaṃ gāṃ bhikṣate 'he begs a cow from the Paurava'

māṇavakaṃ dharmaṃ brūte 'he explains the duty to the boy'

māṇavakaṃ dharmam anuśāsti 'id.'

1. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 569) mentions two meanings for the word *akathita: apradhāna* 'non-principal, secondary' and *akathita* 'not cited, stated'. Accepting the first view would assign the term *karman* to *pāṇi* 'hand' and *kāṃsyapātrī* 'copper vessel', since they are both nonprincipal compared to *go* 'cow' and *payas* 'milk' of the first example, *pāṇinā kāṃsyapātryāṃ gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ*. This *apradhāna* interpretation will thus create difficulties.

The second, *akathita*, interpretation requires a qualifying statement: 'not stated by what'. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* asks: *kenākathitam*. The answer is: *apādānādiviśeṣakathābhiḥ* 'by specific statements of *apādāna*, and so on'. The use of *apādāna* refers to *kāraka* rules which assign the terms *apādāna*, and so on'. If one did not constrain *akathita* by the *kāraka* covered

thus far, an item which is not even a participant in the action may get the designation of a *karman*. Thus the boy (*māṇavaka*) of the sentence

(*a*) *māṇavakasya pitaraṃ panthānaṃ pṛcchati* 'he is asking the boy's father for directions'

would get the designation of *karman*. This again would create difficulties.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK*, I: 604-5) accepts a slightly different interpretation. He ties the notion of 'not stated by *apādāna*, and so on' to the notion of *vivakṣā* 'intention of the speaker'. After all, Pāṇinians do believe in *vivakṣātaḥ kārakāṇi bhavanti* '*kārakas* are assigned based on one's intention in speaking'. Given this, the rule in the *SK* interpretation would mean the following:

'a *kāraka* which is not intended by the speaker to be used as classed is termed *karman*'.

Now consider this sentence:

(*b*) *gor dogdhi payaḥ* 'he milks the milk from the cow'

Here *goḥ* is in the ablative, denoting *apādāna*. That is, the speaker is wishing to speak about the cow (*go*) as the point from whence there is *apāya* 'movement away' of the milk. When this is not desired by the speaker, *go* can be assigned the term *karman*. Note, however, that this interpretation is also not free of problems, for it may entail over-application (*ativyāpti*). For example, consider the sentences below:

(*c*) *naṭād gāthāṃ śṛṇoti* 'he is hearing the story from the dancer'

(*d*) *śatrūn hanti raṇe* 'they are killing enemies on the battlefield'

If one wishes to speak about the *apādāna* of *naṭa* of (*c*), as well as of the *adhikaraṇa* of *raṇa* of (*d*) as *karman*, according to the interpretation just provided, these wrong sentences will result:

(*e*) **naṭam gāthāṃ śṛṇoti*

(*f*) **śatrūn hanti raṇam*

It is to correct these problems that recourse is taken to enumerating all roots whose actions may entail more than one object. That, in turn, should delimit the exact scope of this rule. A *ślokavārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 414-15) provides the enumeration as follows:

duhiyācirudhipracchibhikṣiciñāṃ upayoganimittam apūruavidhau /
bruviśāsiguṇena ca yat sacate tad akīrtitam ācaritaṃ kavinā //

'An entity which effects the participation (*upayoganimitta*) of the *karman* in the actions denoted by the following verbs, and for which there is no prior provision made (*apūrvavidhau*), is termed *akīrtita* 'unaccounted for' by the sage (Pāṇini): *duh* 'to milk'; *yāc* 'to ask'; *rudh* 'to obstruct, lock up'; *bhikṣ* 'to beg'; *ciÑ* 'to heap, gather'; in addition, also that which relates to the subordinate (*gauṇa*) object of actions denoted by the verbal roots *brū* 'to speak' and *śās* 'to instruct'.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK*, I: 605), by the following *kārikā* verse, expands this listing by including *pac* 'to cook'; *daṇḍ* 'to punish'; *ji* 'to win'; *math* 'to churn'; *muṣ* 'to steal'; *nī* 'to lead'; *hṛ* 'to carry'; *kṛṣ* 'to drag'; and *vah* 'to carry';

duhyācpacdaṇḍarudhipracchicibrūśāsujimathamuṣām /
karmayuk syād akathitaṃ tathā syān nīhṛkṛṣvahām //

Needless to say, this enumeration restricts the assignment of the term *karman* to only those entities which are wished not to be viewed by the speaker as *apādāna*, etc., with reference, of course, to the actions denoted by the cited roots. Consider the following examples:

(*g*) *pāṇinā kāṃsyapātryāṃ gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ* 'he milks the cow by hand into a copper vessel'
(*h*) *pāṇinā gor dogdhi payaḥ kāṃsyapātryāṃ* 'id.'
(*i*) *gām avaruṇaddhi vrajam* 'he pens the cow in the pen'
(*j*) *gām avaruṇaddhi vraje* 'id.'
(*k*) *māṇavakaṃ dharmaṃ brūte* 'he explains the duty to the boy'
(*l*) *māṇavakāya dharmaṃ brūte* 'id.'

The first sentence (*g*) has cow (*go*) in the accusative expressed as *karman*. The second (*h*) has the same cow in the ablative expressed as *apādāna*. This is made possible under the provisions of this rule, especially with reference to the enumeration of the verbal root *duh* in the list. Thus, the speaker of sentence (*g*) does not wish to speak about the cow as classed by rule 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye*... as *apādāna*. In that case, as reflected by sentence (*h*), *karman* is assigned by this rule. The same is happening to *vraja* and *māṇavaka* in sentences (*i*) and (*k*), where the speaker does not wish to speak about *vraja* and *māṇavaka* as *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.45 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*) and *sampradāna* (1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti*...) as classed. In this case, in accordance with the provision of the present rule, both *vraja* and *māṇavaka* can be assigned the term *karman*.

As I have indicated earlier, the actions denoted by these roots entail two objects. One is the direct object, as per 1.4.49 *kartur*..., and the other is *akathita* 'unaccounted for' as provided by this rule. This may create a problem in determining the denotatum of *LA* (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca*...) which is introduced after a verb root and gets replaced by *tiṄ* (3.4.76 *lasya;* 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*). The denotatum of *LA* after a transitive root may be an agent or an object. The same after an intransitive verb may be an agent or root-sense (*bhāva*). Consider the sentences below:

(*m*) *ajāṃ grāmaṃ nayati* 'he is leading the goat to the village'
(*n*) *ajā grāmaṃ nīyate* 'the goat is led to the village'

Sentence (*m*) is expressing the agent (*kartṛ*) with *LAṬ* (3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ*), which is replaced by *tiP*. Both *grāma* and *ajā* are the objects denoted by accusative. Sentence (*n*) has *grāma*, the secondary object, still being

expressed by the accusative ending. The *LAṬ* which, in turn, has been replaced by *te* of *ātmanepada* 'middle' is expressing the main object *ajā* 'goat'. Obviously, that is why *ajā* in the nominative is only expressing the nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*). It is clear from the preceding that the verbal ending, when faced with the question of denoting two objects, is ruled in favour of the principal object. Note, however, that the main object must be expressed as *īpsitatama* 'most desired', in so far as its expression by the verb in this context is concerned. Incidentally, a *karman* termed *akathita* illustrates the sixth type of objects discussed thus far.

1.4.52 **गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्माकर्मकाणामणि कर्त्ता स णौ**

gatibuddhipratyavasānārthaśabdakarmākarmakāṇām aṇi karttā sa ṇau

/*gati...kāṇām* 6/3 = *gatiś ca buddhiś ca pratyavasānaṃ ca* = *gatibuddhipratyavasanānāni* (*itar. dv.*); *teṣām artha yeṣāṃ te* = *gatibuddhipratyavasānārthāḥ* (*bv.*; with internal *dv.*); *śábdaḥ karma yasya tat śabdakarma* (*bv.*); *śabdakarma ca akarmakaś ca* = *gatibuddhi...karmakāḥ* (*dv.* with internal *dv.*); *teṣām* = *gati...kāṇām; aṇi* 7/1 (deleted) *karttā* 1/1 *saḥ* 1/1 *ṇau* 7/1/

(*karma* # 49, *kārake* # 23)

gatyarthānāṃ buddhyarthānāṃ pratyavasānārthānāṃ ca dhātūnāṃ tathā śabdakarmakāṇām akarmakānāṃ ca aṇyantānāṃ yaḥ karttā sa ṇyantānāṃ karmasaṃjño bhavati

A *kāraka* which serves as agent of a non-*Ṇic* root that either has the signification *gati* 'movement'; *buddhi* 'perception'; *pratyavasāna* 'consuming'; or has *śabda* 'sound' as its object; or has no object at all, is termed *karman* when the same root terminates in *Ṇic*.

EXAMPLES:

gacchati māṇavako grāmam 'the boy goes to the village'
gamayati māṇavakaṃ grāmam 'he has the boy go the village'
yāti māṇavako grāmam 'the boy goes to the village'
yāpayati māṇavakaṃ grāmam 'he has the boy go to the village'
adhīte māṇavako vedam 'the boy studies the Veda'
adhyāpayati māṇavakaṃ vedam 'he (has the boy study) teaches the boy the Veda'
māṇavaka odanaṃ bhuṅkte 'the boy is eating rice'
bhojayati māṇavakam odanaṃ 'he feeds the boy rice'
paṭhati māṇavako vedam 'the boy recites the Veda'
pāṭhayati māṇavakaṃ vedam 'he has the boy recite the Veda'
āste devadattaḥ 'Devadatta sits'
āsayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta sit'
śete devadattaḥ 'Devadatta reclines'
śāyayati devadattam 'he has Devadatta recline'

1. The selection of examples given above consists of a series of seven non-causal sentences, each followed by its causal counterpart. For the purpose of facilitating the discussion, these examples will be shown in pairs and numbered, as follows:

1. (*a*) *gacchati māṇavako grāmam* 'the boy goes to the village'
   (*b*) *gamayati māṇavakaṃ grāmam* 'he has the boy go the village'
2. (*a*) *yāti māṇavako grāmam* 'the boy goes to the village'
   (*b*) *yāpayati māṇavakaṃ grāmam* 'he has the boy go to the village'
3. (*a*) *adhīte māṇavako vedam* 'the boy studies the Veda'
   (*b*) *adhyāpayati māṇavakaṃ vedam* 'he (has the boy study) teaches the boy the Veda'
4. (*a*) *māṇavaka odanaṃ bhuṅkte* 'the boy is eating rice'
   (*b*) *bhojayati māṇavakam odanam* 'he feeds the boy rice'
5. (*a*) *paṭhati māṇavako vedam* 'the boy recites the Veda'
   (*b*) *pāṭhayati māṇavakaṃ vedam* 'he has the boy recite the Veda'
6. (*a*) *āste devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta sits'
   (*b*) *āsayati devadattam* 'he has Devadatta sit'
7. (*a*) *śete devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta reclines'
   (*b*) *śāyayati devadattam* 'he has Devadatta recline'

The significations of the verbal roots in the causal (second) sentences of the first four pairs are, respectively, as follows:

1. (*b*) *gati* 'movement'
2. (*b*) *gati* 'movement'
3. (*b*) *buddhi* 'perception'
4. (*b*) *pratyavasāna* 'consumption'

This is in accordance with the demands of the rule. The root which denotes the action in 5(*b*) is transitive, with its object as *śabda* 'sound'. The roots which denote the actions in 6(*b*) and 7(*b*) are intransitive (*akarmaka*). Note that *māṇavaka* and *devadatta* in all the non-causal sentences (1(*a*) to 7(*a*) inclusive) are used with the nominative. For, they are the agent (*kartṛ*), though their agency (*kartṛtva*) is being expressed by the verbal endings *ti* or *te*, as the case may be. The same *māṇavaka* and *devadatta* are placed in the accusative in all the causal sentences (1(*b*) to 7(*b*) inclusive) because they now are assigned the term *karman* by the present rule.

It is to be understood that all non-causal sentences entail only one action, whether that constitutes *gamana* 'going'; *adhyayana* 'studying'; *paṭhana* 'reciting'; *bhojana* 'consuming'; *āsana* 'sitting'; or *śayana* 'reclining'. However, the actions constituted by their causal counterparts are twofold. That is, a causal action characteristically defined as *preraṇa* 'instigation' is added to each one of the non-causal actions. For example, two actions underlie sentence 1(*b*): the action of going, with *māṇavaka* of sentence 1(*a*) as its agent; and the action of instigating (*preraṇa*), with a variable third person singular agent 'he, she, or it'. The verb in all the causal (*b*) sentences here is expressing the agency (*kartṛtva*) of the agent of *preraṇa*.

It may be clear from the preceding discussion and examples that rule 1.4.52 *gatibuddhi...* assigns the term ***karman*** to the ***kartṛ*** of a non-causal (*a*) sentence, providing the actions denoted by those non-causal actions are covered by its specifications. This obviously is not a rule which may assign the term *karman* to all the *kartṛ* of the non-causal sentences. Consider these additional examples:

8. (*a*) *devadatta odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking rice'
   (*b*) *yajñadatto devadattena odanaṃ pācayati* 'Yajñadatta has Devadatta cook the rice'

Devadatta, the agent of the non-causal sentence 8(*a*), cannot be assigned the term *karman* in its causal counterpart 8(*b*), as the action denoted by the verb is not covered by the specification of rule 1.4.52. There is also a further condition to this specification. That is, the causal action in the causative sentences must be denoted by roots derived by the introduction of the causative affix *ṆiC* by 3.1.26 ***hetumati ca***. This condition would block the actions denoted by roots of the ***curādi*** class from coming under the purview of this rule, as ***curādi*** roots are inherently causal and are not made causal by the introduction of the causative affix *ṆiC*.

1.4.53 **हृक्रोरन्यतरस्याम्**

hṛkor anyatarasyām

/*hṛkoḥ* 6/1 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 1/1/

(*aṇi karttā sa ṇau* # 52, *karma* # 49, *kārake* # 23)

harater karoteś cāṇyantayor yaḥ karttā sa ṇyantayor anyatarasyāṃ karmasaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A ***kāraka*** which serves as the agent of *hṛÑ* 'to carry' or *DUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' not used with *ṆiC*, optionally is termed ***karman*** when used with *ṆiC*.

EXAMPLES:

harati bhāraṃ māṇavakaḥ 'the boy carries the load'
hārayati bhāraṃ māṇavakam 'he has the boy carry the load'
hārayati bhāraṃ māṇavakena 'id.'
karoti kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ 'Devadatta makes a mat'
kārayati kaṭaṃ devadattam 'he has a mat made by Devadatta'
kārayati kaṭaṃ devadattena 'id.'

1. This rule assigns the term *karman* optionally to the agent of the non-causal action denoted by the verbal roots *hṛ* 'to carry' and *kṛ* 'to make', when the same are used with *ṆiC* to denote a causal action. Given this option, each relevant non-causal sentence will have two corresponding causal sentences. Consider the first three examples given above:

(*a*) *harati bhāraṃ māṇavakaḥ* (non-causal)

(*b*) *hārayati bhāraṃ māṇavakam* (causal)
(*c*) *hārayati bhāraṃ māṇavakena* (causal)

Sentence (*b*) opts for the assignment of the term ***karman*** to ***māṇavaka*** 'boy', the agent of the non-causal sentence (*a*), as is provided for by rule 1.4.53. Consequently, *māṇavaka* is put in the accusative. Sentence (*c*) does not opt for the assignment of the term *karman*. Instead, it retains the term *kartṛ*. This makes it necessary for *māṇavaka* to be placed in the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), as is demanded by 2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*.

2. The option (*vibhāṣā*) provided by this rule is treated as *ubhayatra* or *prāptāprāpta*, an option which is provided for both which was, or was not, made available. It is explained on the basis of the meanings of the roots in question. The verbal root *hṛ* used with the preverbs *abhi* and *ava* is used in the sense of *bhakṣaṇa* 'eating', while *hṛ* itself can be used in the sense of *gati* 'movement'. Similarly, verbal root *kṛ* can be used intransitively. The option of assigning the term *karman* to the non-causal agents of these verbs in a corresponding causal sentence will be available from rule 1.4.52 *gatibuddhi....* The option thus provided by the present rule will be *prāpta*. When the verbal root *hṛ* is used in the sense of 'carrying' or 'stealing' and *kṛ* is used transitively, the option of assigning the term *karman* to their non-causal agent in a causal sentence cannot be made available by rule 1.4.52 *gatibuddhi....* In this instance, the option made available by the present rule becomes *aprāpta*.

1.4.54 स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता

svatantraḥ karttā
|svatantraḥ 1/1 *karttā* 1/1
(*kārake* # 23)
aguṇabhūto yaḥ kriyāsiddhau svātantryeṇa vivakṣyate tatkārakaṃ kartṛsaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A *kāraka* which is independent of others (*svatantra*) is termed *kartṛ* 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

devadattaḥ pacati 'Devadatta cooks'
yajñadattaḥ pacati 'Yajñadatta cooks'

1. The word *tantra* in *svatantra* is used in the sense of *pradhāna* 'principal', and not in the sense of *āyattā* 'expanse'. We can thus interpret *svatantra* as 'independent', as is demonstrated in the following sentence:

(*a*) *svatantro' sau brāhmaṇo grāme* 'this brāhmaṇa is independent in the village'

For the implications of this word in defining the term 'agent' (*kartṛ*), consider the following sentences:

(*b*) *devadattaḥ sthālyaṃ pacaty odanam agninā* 'Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot by means of fire'

(*c*) *sthālī pacaty odanam agninā* 'the pot is cooking rice by means of fire'

(*d*) *odanaṃ pacati sthālyām agniḥ* 'the fire is cooking rice in the pot'

(*e*) *odanaḥ pacaty agninā sthālyām* 'the rice is cooking in the pot by means of fire'

Note here that an action is considered as a composite of many actions. The action denoted by the verbal root *pac* 'to cook' is thus a composite of actions such as the burning of the fire (*jvalana*), the placing of the pot on the stove (*adhiśrayaṇa*), putting the rice in the water (*udakasecana*), and the softening of the rice (*viklitti*). The end product of this composite action is 'softening' (*viklitti*). This is why *viklitti* is considered as the principal (*mukhyā*) action (*kriyā*). The other actions (*avāntarakriyā*) are referred to as *guṇībhūta* 'subservient', so called because they are required only for bringing to completion the principal action. The agent of sentence (*b*) is Devadatta; and the action denoted by this sentence is *viklitti* 'softening', the principal action. The subservient actions may also be spoken of as having their own agents. For example, *agni* could be spoken of as the agent of the subservient action denoted by *jvalana* 'burning'. Similarly, *sthālī* could be looked upon as the agent of the action of *adhiśrayaṇa*. When the speaker wishes to emphasize the activity of the agent of a subservient action, that agent can be viewed as the agent of the principal action. This is what is happening in sentences (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*) where *sthālī, agni* and *odana* are wished to be spoken of as agents of the main action. Of course, in all these sentences the speaker has to suppress the agency of the main agent. It is only logical, therefore, that Devadatta's agency is suppressed in sentences (*c*), (*d*) and (*e*).

Bhartṛhari (III, 2: 267-70) explains in two *kārikā* verses the nature of *kartṛ*, especially in view of the notion of *svātantrya* 'independence':

> *prāg anyataḥ śaktilābhān nyagbhāvāpādanād api / tad adhīnapravṛttitvāt pravṛttānāṃ nivarttanāt // adṛṣṭatvāt pratinidheḥ praviveke ca darśanāt / ārādapy upakāritve svātantryaṃ kartur ucyate //*
>
> 'An agent is called *svatantra* because it receives its power (*śakti*) of participation from elsewhere prior to any of the other participants; because the other participants are subordinate to it; because their participation in an action or recall from participation is under its control; because there is no substitute for it; and also because it must participate when others may not, even when it is participating from a distance.'

It may be stipulated in view of the preceding verses that Devadatta, the agent of sentence (*b*), thinks about accomplishing the act of cooking. He therefore brings into play the other participants, such as *agni* 'fire', *sthālī*

'pot', *taṇḍula* 'uncooked rice', etc. In this context Devadatta receives his power to participate in the action of cooking prior to and independently of the subsequent participants. The fact that no action can be accomplished without having an agent definitely implies the independence of the agent. Thus, actions denoted by *asti* 'he exists' and *vidyate* 'id.' do not require any additional participants. Even so, they cannot be accomplished without an agent. The actions subsumed under the principal action do have their own individual agents; but their actions are still instigated by the agent of the main action. That they are subservient to the main agent is also evident from the fact that the activity of a subordinate participant cannot be emphasized to a greater degree than that of the agent of the principal action.

Let us now consider the causal counterpart of sentence (*b*):

(*f*) *devadattaḥ sthālyāṃ pācayaty odanam agninā yajñadattena* 'Devadatta is having Yajñadatta cook rice in the pot by means of the fire'

In technical terms, Devadatta is the agent of the action of prompting (*preṣaṇa*). Yajñadatta is the agent of the action of cooking as prompted. Yajñadatta, because he becomes a participant only when prompted by Devadatta, is subordinate to him. This contradicts the notion of the independence of an agent. If Yajñadatta is an agent, then he must also be independent. If he has been prompted, then he must be dependent. How can this contradiction be reconciled? Bhartṛhari observes that the prompted agent is equally independent, for he accomplishes his action independently of other participants. He also manipulates other participants in accomplishing the principal action (cf. *VP*, III, 2: 294-95):

sambhāvanāt kriyāsiddhau kartṛtvena samāśritaḥ / kriyāyām ātmasādhyāyāṃ sādhanānāṃ prayojakaḥ // prayogamātre nyagbhāvaṃ svātantryād eva niścitaḥ / aviśiṣṭo bhavaty anyaiḥ svatantrair muktaśaṃśayaiḥ //

In fact, it is the power of independently performing the prompted action which qualifies a participant to become a prompted agent. Thus, the dependence of the prompted agent is based on his independence.

There are some other aspects of agency which may also be considered. For example, the rules of the *kāraka* domain are ordered with a view to the resolution of conflicts in favour of a subsequent rule. Our present rule is the last, in so far as the question of possible conflict with other *kāraka* terms is concerned. This clearly establishes that, whenever there is a conflict between this rule and any other rule of equal strength, this rule will always win.

1.4.55 **तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश् च**

tatprayojako hetuś ca

/*tatprayojakaḥ* 1/1 = *tasya prayojakaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* by *nipātana*); *hetuḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø (*kārake* # 23)

svatantrasya prayojako yo'rthaḥ tat kārakaṃ hetusaṃjñaṃ bhavati, kartṛsaṃjñaṃ ca

A *kāraka* which serves as *prayojaka* 'instigator' of the agent in addition to being a *kartṛ*, is termed *hetu*.

EXAMPLES:

kārayati 'he has something made'
hārayati 'he has something carried'

1. The variable *tat* here refers to the prompter or instigator (*prayojaka*) of the agent (*kartṛ*). Thus, Yajñadatta is the agent of the action of making a mat in the following sentence:

(*a*) *yajñadattaḥ kaṭaṃ karoti* 'Yajñadatta is making a mat'

Yajñadatta is still the agent of making the mat in the next sentence, even though he is making the mat at the instigation of Devadatta:

(*b*) *yajñadattena devadattaḥ kaṭaṃ kārayati* 'Devadatta is having Yajñadatta, make a mat'

Here, Devadatta is the prompting agent, because he has instigated the action of Yajñadatta. According to our present rule, Devadatta is assigned the term *kartṛ* as well as *hetu* 'cause'. It is clear that the two terms *kartṛ* and *hetu* are both assigned to a single participant. The use of *ca* in this case facilitates the class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) of terms. For, in its absence, rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* would demand the assignment of only one term. The purpose of class-inclusion is to facilitate, by the term *hetu* 'cause', the introduction of the causal affix *ṆiC* by rule 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. The *hetu* having been thus expressed, the agent can now be expressed by the *LA* (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*).

I have already talked about the independence of the prompted agent in my notes for the preceding rule. The word *hetu* is used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in two senses: one, its regular sense of cause or reason; and the other its technical meaning as attested by this rule. The prompting (*prayojakatva*) could also be classified into two types: one which is principal (*mukhya*); and the other, which is otherwise (*itara*). Consider, for example, the following sentences:

(*c*) *devadattaḥ kaṭaṃ kārayati* 'Devadatta is having a mat made'

(*d*) *bhikṣā vāsayaty atra* 'begging for alms has him dwelling here'

Devadatta is the principal prompter in sentence (*c*), whereas in (*d*) the status of prompter-agent is transferred (*upacarita*) to *bhikṣā* 'alms', for the reason that alms serve as the cause of the choice of dwelling.

Commentators explain that the compound-formation between *tasya* and *prayojakaḥ* to derive *tatprayojakaḥ* is ad hoc; for rule 2.2.16 *kartari ca* would not allow it.

SCOPE: 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*

1.4.56 प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः

prāg rīsvarān nipātāḥ

prāk Ø *rīśvarāt* 5/1 *nipātāḥ* 1/3/

'adhir īśvare' iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmād avadher yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ, nipātasaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ

What are here enumerated prior to 1.4.97 *adhir īśvare* are termed *nipāta*.

EXAMPLES:

ca 'and'
vā 'or; option'
ha 'definitely'
aha 'certainly'

1. The use of the word *prāk* 'prior to' and *rīśvarāt* 'as far as *rīsvara*' needs some explanation. First of all, why did not Pāṇini formulate the rule as *nipātaḥ* or *nipātāḥ* on the pattern of 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ* or 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*? One can argue here that Pānini wanted to set the limit (*avadhi*) of the domain of *nipāta*, and therefore chose to formulate this rule on the pattern of several other rules (2.1.3 *prāk kāḍarāt samāsaḥ*, and so on). But even if he wanted to set the limit of the domain, he could have proceeded in the following manner:

(*i*) he could have formulated the rule as *nipātaḥ* or *nipātāḥ*, and then, to indicate the limit of the domain, he could have subsequently introduced an incompatible *adhikāra*, or

(*ii*) he could have formulated the rule simply as *rīśvarān nipātaḥ* and allowed *prāk* to be understood on the strength of *pañcamī* of *rīśvarāt*.

Both of these proposals have difficulties owing mostly to the fact that this section of rules is governed by *ekasaṃjñā* (1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*) 'one term'. This would rule out the possibility of class inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) between *nipāta*, *upasarga*, and *gati*. For, the blocking of *nipāta* by *upasarga* and *gati* will obtain on the strength of their becoming *niravakāśa* 'without scope of application'. If *niravakāśatva* is somehow ruled out, the terms *nipāta*, *gati* and *upasarga*, may apply in turn (*paryāya*), especially on the strength of carrying via *anuvṛtti* of *nipātaḥ* to subsequent rules. But this would still not be desired.

By using the term *prāk*, Pāṇini makes the desired *saṃjñāsamāveśa* possible. Formulating the rule simply as *nipātaḥ* or *nipātāḥ* would not have permitted it. As far as the explicit use of *prāk* is concerned, as opposed to its being understood on the strength of the ablative, commentators find problems, particularly with reference to the interpretation of 1.4.57 *cādayo'sattve* and 1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*. Deleting *prāk* would, they claim, place the above-mentioned rules outside the scope of 1.4.56 and consequently deprive them of

a predicate. This, in turn, would make their desired interpretation impossible.

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 587) not only defends the explicit use of *prāk*, but also requires the reading of an additional *prāk*: 'we need two *prāk* for the proper interpretation of this rule; one is given, and the other will be inferred on the strength of *pañcamī* of *rīśvarāt*'. This, according to Haradatta, will yield the following interpretation:

> *prāg rīśvarād ye vyavasthitās te prāk nipātasaṃjñā bhavanti, nipātāḥ santo gatyādi saṃjñā iti*
> 'those which have been enumerated prior to *rīśvara* will first be assigned the term *nipāta*; by virtue of being a *nipāta*, they will be assigned the term *gati*, and so on'

This would make the assignment of the term *nipāta* the cause (*nimitta*) for the assignment of the term *gati*, and so on. This would also remove any doubts about class inclusion.

2. The word *rīśvara* of *rīśvarāt* is interpreted as a compound with the analysed form: *repha sahito īśvaraḥ* = '*rīśvaraḥ* is *īśvara* with *r*'. Pāṇini used *rīśvara*, as opposed to *īśvara* or *vīśvara*, to make it clear that the limit of 1.4.56 is prior to the *rīśvara* of 1.4.97 *adhirīśvare*, and not prior to the *īśvara* of 3.4.13 *īśvare tosunkasunau*.

Note in this connection that *rīśvara* has been taken here as a *pratīka* 'symbol', in contradistinction to *vīśvara* of 3.4.13. But is there *vīśvara* in 3.4.13? The rule begins with *īśvara*. Commentators assume that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was recited in the *saṃhitāpāṭha* 'recitation with properly applying rules of *saṃdhi*'. This being the case, when 3.4.12 *śakiṇamulkamulau* is to be read together with 3.4.13, *īśvara* will turn into *vīśvara*. Thus: 3.4.12 *śakiṇamulkamula* (*u* → *v*) *īśvare* =...*vīśvare*. This, in turn, is also treated as a proof of the claim that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* was recited in the *saṃhitāpāṭha*.

The purpose of assigning the term *nipāta* is to allow the assignment of the term *avyaya* by rule 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*, along with the initial *udātta* accent. Furthermore, what is termed *nipāta* is also marked with *udātta* accent initially.

1.4.57 चादयोऽसत्त्वे

cādayo' sattve

/*cādayaḥ* 1/3 *asattve* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*nipātāḥ* # 56)

cādayo nipātasaṃjñā bhavanti, na cet sattve vartante

Items enumerated in the list headed by *ca* 'and' are *nipāta* when they do not denote *sattva* 'thing'.

EXAMPLES:

ca 'and'

vā 'or, option'
ha 'definitely'

1. Two questions arise in connection with the interpretation of this rule. First, what does the word *sattva* mean? Does it signify substance (*dravya*), or an action such as *sadbhāva* 'state of existence'. Commentators explain that *sattva* denotes *dravya* 'thing', and not *kriyā* 'action', or *jāti* 'class'; although the meaning of *jāti*, and so on, could reside in *sattva* as qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*). Besides, in the list headed by *ca* there is no *nipāta* which denotes *sattā* 'existence'.

The other question that arises in connection with the interpretation relates to the nature of the negation in *asattve*. Should it be interpreted as *paryudāsa*, or *prasajya*? If *paryudāsa* is chosen, the rule will then be interpreted as:

(*i*) *sattvād anyatra varttamānāś cādayo nipātasaṃjñakā bhavanti*
'items enumerated in the list headed by *ca* are termed *nipāta* when they denote something other than *sattva*'

A *prasajya* interpretation would mean that

(*ii*) *sattve varttamānāś cādayo nipātasaṃjñakā na bhavanti*
'items enumerated in the list headed by *ca* are not termed *nipāta* when they denote *sattva*'.

Commentators find difficulty with the *paryudāsa* interpretation. They claim that *paśu*, one of the items enumerated in the list headed by *ca*, will qualify for the assignment of the term *nipāta*. It will qualify because its denotatum is *sattva* 'animal', qualified by *jāti*. Thus, a *paryudāsa* interpretation will always assign the term *nipāta* to *paśu*. As a consequence *paśu* will be termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable'; and hence, no nominal ending can be used after it.

To avoid this difficulty, a *prasajya* interpretation is favoured. According to such an interpretation, *paśu* will not qualify for the assignment of the term *nipāta* when it denotes *sattva*. It does not matter whether its denotatum is *sattva* per se, or *sattva* qualified by *jāti*. This would now allow both the declined (*paśuḥ*) as well as nondeclined (*paśu*) usage of *paśu*.

SCOPE: 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*

1.4.58 प्रादयः

prādayaḥ
/*prādayaḥ* 1/3/
(*asattve* # 57, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
prādayo' sattve nipātasaṃjñā bhavanti
Items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are termed *nipāta* when they do not denote *sattva* 'thing'.

EXAMPLES:

pra
parā
apa

1. Some tend to read this and the subsequent *sūtra* as one: *prādaya upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*. But a joint reading creates difficulty. That is, *pra*, and so on, can be termed *nipāta* only when used in relation to action (*kriyā*). The desired interpretation is twofold:

(*i*) *pra*, and so on, are termed *nipāta* when they do not denote *sattva*, and

(*ii*) *pra*, and so on, are termed *upasarga* when used in relation to an action.

In order to arrive at the desired interpretation, one must resort to *yogavibhāga* 'rule splitting'. That is, rules 1.4.58-59 are read as one rule. When split, there will be two interpretations available:

(*i*) *prādayaḥ asattve nipātasaṃjñakā bhavanti*
'*pra*, and so on, are termed *nipāta* when they do not denote *sattva*', and

(*ii*) *prādayaḥ kriyāyoge upasargasaṃjñakā bhavanti*
'*pra*, and so on, are termed *upasarga* when used with a verb'

Note that *Kāśikā* lists *prādayaḥ* and *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge* as two separate rules. The split listing is also intended to keep *prādayaḥ* separate from the preceding *cādayo' sattve*. For, if *cādi* and *prādi* were read together in one rule, the *upasarga* designation by 1.4.59 would also obtain on *cādi*. Thus, *Kāśikā* (I: 594) believes that listing *prādayaḥ* as a separate rule is intended to qualify the subsequent terms (*pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarasaṃjñāviśeṣaṇārtham*). In this way, a *cādi* word of 1.4.57 cannot be assigned the term *upasarga*.

The extension of the term *upasarga* to *pra*, and so on, is of consequence to examples such as these:

(*a*) *pranāyakaḥ* 'a country with no leader'

(*b*) *praṇāyakaḥ* 'a good leader'

The *pra* in (*a*) does not have any connection with the action of leading (*nayana*). We therefore get the following explanation for (*a*):

pragato nāyako' smād deśāt 'a country from where the leader has departed'

Since *pra* in (*a*) is not termed an *upasarga*, the *n* of *pranāyakaḥ* cannot be changed to *ṇ*, as is the case in (*b*). Obviously, (*b*) has its *pra* termed *upasarga* on the strength of its connection with the verb. Thus, (*b*) will be interpreted as:

yaḥ prakarṣeṇa nayati 'he who leads well'

1.4.59 उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे
upasargāḥ kriyāyoge
/*upasargāḥ* 1/3 *kriyāyoge* 7/1 = *kriyāyā yogaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *tasmin* = *kriyāyoge*/

(*prādayaḥ* # 58)
prādayaḥ kriyāyoge upasargasaṃjñā bhavanti
Items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are termed *upasarga* when they are used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

praṇayati 'he makes, constructs'
pariṇayati 'he marries'
praṇāyakaḥ 'he who leads'
pariṇāyakaḥ 'he who marries'

1. Some say that, since items termed *upasarga* are used regularly (*avyabhicāritvāt*) with roots denoting action, *kriyāyoga* 'with action' should not be explicitly stated. But since Pāṇini makes an explicit mention it must have some special purpose. The purpose is to emphasize that such items are termed *upasarga* only with reference to specific roots. For example,

(*a*) *pragato nāyako' smād deśāt* 'a country from where the leader has departed'

has a parallel string, *pranāyako deśaḥ,* where *pra* is not termed *upasarga* because it is not related to the action of leading (*nayana*). Instead, it is related to the action of departing (*gamana*). Thus, *pra* could only be termed *upasarga* in connection with the action of 'going' and not with 'leading'. Consequently, the *n* of *pranāyakaḥ* cannot be replaced with *ṇ*, as has been shown in my notes for the preceding rule. Contrary to this, the *n* of *praṇāyakaḥ* 'a good leader' has been replaced by *ṇ* because its *pra* has been termed *upasarga,* specific to the verbal root denoting the action of *nayana*.

SCOPE: 3.3.92 *upasarge ghoḥ kiḥ*

1.4.60 गतिश्च
gatiś ca
/*gatiḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*kriyāyoge* # 58, *prādayaḥ* # 57)
gatisaṃjñākāś ca prādayo bhavanti kriyāyoge
Items enumerated in the list headed by *pra* are also termed *gati* when they are used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

prakṛtya 'after properly having made'
prakṛtam 'properly made'
yat prakaroti 'that which he starts'

1. The technical term *gati* is not the same as the non-technical *gati* 'movement', for it is used in the grammar as masculine, as attested by

6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*. Furthermore, it is derived by introducing affix *KtiC* after *gam* by rule 3.3.174 *kticktau ca saṃjñāyām*. Note, however, that the application of rule 6.4.39 *na ktici dīrghasya* is blocked by *nipātana* 'ad hoc'. If it were not for this, the *m* of *gam* could not have been deleted. Additionally, in the absence of the deletion of *m*, the *a* of *gam* would have been replaced with *ā* by rule 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijhaloḥ kṅiti*.

The *ca* of this rule is used to facilitate *saṃjñāsamāveśa* of *upasarga* and *gati*. Items listed as *prādi* are thus termed *upasarga* by the preceding rule, when they are used in connection with a verb. They are also termed *gati* by the present rule. In the absence of *saṃjñāsamāveśa*, rule 1.4.1 *ākaḍārād ekā saṃjñā* would not allow the assignment of two terms to a single nominatum. Rules 1.4.59 and 1.4.60 could not be formulated as a single rule, for the next rule, 1.4.61, requires the *anuvṛtti* of *gati* only. If both *gati* and *upasarga* terms are given by a single rule replacing 1.4.60, 1.4.61 would then have to get the *anuvṛtti* of both the terms. This is because items assigned concurrently should also be applied, or dropped, concurrently. (See *Paribhāṣā* 18: *ekayoganirdiṣṭānāṃ saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha vā nivṛttiḥ*.)

Recall that *pra*, etc., in addition to being assigned the terms *upasarga* and *gati*, are also assigned the term *nipāta*. Consider *praṇītam*, which derives from *pra* + *nī* + *Kta*, for an understanding of the function of the concurrent assignment of the terms *upasarga* and *gati* to *pra*. The *n* of *nīta* will first get replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pinopadeśasya*. The *pra* would then, on the strength of being termed a *gati*, be assigned the *udātta* accent by rule 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*. It has been stated that rules 1.4.59 and 1.4.60 are not formulated as one so that rule 1.4.61 will not have the term *upasarga* carried to it. Thus, in the absence of the assignment of the term *upasarga* to *ūrī* in *ūrī syāt*, the *s* of *as* 'to be' in *syāt* could not be replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.87 *upasargaprādurbhyām*.... Also note that, if rules 1.4.59 and 1.4.60 are formulated as one, to read *prādaya upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*, their denotata can be termed *nipāta* only when used in connection with *kriyā* 'action'.

The purposes of assigning the term *gati* are as follows:

(*i*) The assignment of the term *gati* facilitates the formation of a compound. Thus, given the string *pra* + *sU* + *kṛta*, rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* would allow the formation of the compound *prakṛta* which, after the introduction of *sU*, will yield *prakṛtam* 'well-done'.

(*ii*) The term *gati* is also assigned, for example, to *pra* of *prakṛtam* to facilitate the initial *udātta* (*ādyudātta*; 1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ*) accent of *pra* by rule 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ* read with 6.2.45 *kte ca*.

(*iii*) Given the string *yat prakaroti*, where *karoti* ends in a *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*...) and occurs after a non-*tiṄ* *pra* termed *gati*, rule 8.1.28 *tiṅatiṅaḥ* would demand *sarvanighāta* 'total *anudātta*' of *karoti*. But rule 8.1.66 *yadvṛttān nityam* would block that demand. This, then,

enables *karoti* to retain its accent. That is, *tiP* remained *anudātta* because of being marked with *P*, as per rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*. The augment *u* turned *o* by way of *guṇa* retains its *udātta* because of being an affix per rule 3.1.3 *adyudāttaś ca*, read with 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*.

(*iv*) There is still more, however, to the accentuation of *prakaroti*. The assignment of the term *gati* blocks the *udātta* accent of *pra* made available by the *Phiṭsūtra* (81): *upasargaś cābhivarjam*. Instead, *pra* is assigned the *anudātta* accent by rule 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*, on the strength of its occurrence before an item which ended in *tiṄ* and contained an *udātta*. Obviously, *pra* is occurring before *karoti*, which ends in *tiṄ* and has the *udātta* accent of the augment *u* turned *o* via *guṇa*.

SCOPE: 2.2.18 *kugati prādayaḥ*

1.4.61 ऊर्यादिच्विडाचश्च

ūryādicviḍācaś ca

/*ūryādicviḍācaḥ* 1/3 = *ūrī ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv*.); *ūryādayaś ca cviś ca ḍāc ca* = *ūryādicviḍācaḥ* (*dv*. with internal *bv*.); *ca* Ø/

(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

ūryādayaś śabdāḥ cyvantā ḍājantāś ca kriyāyoge gatisaṃjñā bhavanti

Items enumerated in the list headed by *ūrī* 'to assent' as well as those which end in the affix *CvI* (5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve*...) or *ḌāC* (5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād*...) are termed *gati* when they are used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

ūrīkṛtya 'after having accepted'
ūrīkṛtam 'accepted'
yad ūrīkaroti 'that which he accepts'
urarīkṛtya 'after having promised'
urarīkṛtam 'promised'
yad urarīkaroti 'that which he promises'
śuklīkṛtya 'after having made something white'
śuklīkṛtam 'made white'
yac chuklīkaroti 'that which he makes white'
paṭapaṭākṛtya 'after having made the *paṭa-paṭa* noise'
paṭapaṭākṛtam 'the *paṭa-paṭa* noise'
yat paṭapaṭākaroti 'the *paṭa-paṭa* noise which he makes'

1. Note that affixes *CvI* and *ḌāC* are introduced only in connection with the verbal roots *kṛ* 'to do', *bhū* 'to be, become', and *as* 'to be'. Since items

enumerated in the list headed by *ūrī* are assigned the term *gati* in association (*sāhacarya*) with items ending in *CvI* and *ḌāC, ūrī,* etc., must also be assigned the term *gati* in association with *kṛ, bhū,* and *as.* Note that affix *CvI* is introduced to denote *abhūtatadbhāva* (5.4.50 *abhūtatad...*) 'the state of becoming something which it was not'. Thus, *śuklīkṛtya* would mean that 'something was made white which it was not'. Similarly, *ḌāC* is introduced by rule 5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād....*

2. The purpose of assigning the term *gati* to items such as *ūrī, śuklī* and *paṭapaṭā,* of *ūrīkṛtya, śuklīkṛtya,* and *paṭapaṭākṛtya,* is to facilitate the formation of compounds by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ.* Furthermore, for the reason that *ūrī, śuklī* and *paṭapaṭā* have been assigned the term *gati,* the *Ktvā* of *ūrīkṛ* + *Ktvā, śuklīkṛ* + *Ktvā,* and *paṭapaṭākṛ* + *Ktvā* will be replaced by *LyaP* as per rule 7.1.37 *samāse' anañapūrve lyap.* This would then give the right derivates, such as *ūrīkṛtya, śuklīkṛtya,* and *paṭapaṭākṛtya.* Note in this connection that *tUK* is ruled with reference to *kṛ* by rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya ... tuk,* and in accordance with rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* is introduced at the end of *kṛ.* Thus, *śuklīkṛ* + *Ktvā* → *śuklīkṛ* + (*Ktvā* → *LyaP*) → *śuklīkṛ* + *tUK* + *LyaP* → *śuklīkṛ* + *t* + *ya* = *śuklīkṛtya.*

1.4.62 अनुकरणं चानितिपरम्

anukaraṇaṃ cānitiparam

/*anukaraṇam* 1/1 *ca* Ø *anitiparam* 1/1 = *iti paro yasmāt tat (bv.); na iti param* = *anitiparam (nañ. tat.* with internal *bv.*)/

(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

anukaraṇam anitiparaṃ kriyāyoge gatisaṃjñaṃ bhavati

A word denoting the imitation of a particular noise also is termed *gati* when it is used with a verb and is not followed by *iti* 'thus'.

EXAMPLES:

khāṭkṛtya 'after having imitated the noise *khāṭ*'
khāṭkṛtam 'the noise *khāṭ*'
yat khāṭkaroti 'the noise *khāṭ,* which he makes'

1. The function of the assignment of the term *gati* is again to facilitate the formation of compounds by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ.*

1.4.63 आदरानादरयोः सदसती

ādarānādarayoḥ sadasati

/*ādarānādarayoḥ* 7/2 *(itar. dv.); sad-asatī* 1/2 *(itar. dv.)*/

(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

ādarānādarayor yathākramaṃ sadasac chabdau gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ

The two *nipāta, sat* and *asat,* are termed *gati* when they are used with

a *kriyā* 'verb' and respectively denote *ādara* 'respect' and *anādara* 'disrespect, indifference'.

EXAMPLES:

satkṛtya 'after having respected'
satkṛtam 'respected'
yat satkaroti 'the respect which he...'
asatkṛtya 'after having insulted'
asatkṛtam 'insulted'
yad asatkaroti 'the insult which he...'

1.4.64 **भूषणेऽलम्**

bhūṣaṇe' lam
/bhūṣaṇe 7/1 *alam* Ø/
(gatiḥ # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
bhūṣaṇe yo' laṃ śabdaḥ sa gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *alam,* a *nipāta,* is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb' and denotes *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'.

EXAMPLES:

alaṃkṛtya 'after having ornamented'
alaṃkṛtam 'ornamented'
yad alaṃkaroti 'the thing which he is ornamenting...'

1. The word *alam* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*), and is used in the sense of *pratiṣedha* 'negation, prohibition', *sāmarthya* 'capability', *paryāpti* 'enough', and *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'. This rule permits the assignment of the term *gati* to *alam* only when it is used in the sense of *bhūṣaṇa.* Thus, we get the compound expression *alaṃkṛtya* 'after having ornamented'. When *alam* is to be used in a sense other than *bhūṣaṇa,* the compound formation by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* is not permitted. We therefore get examples such as

(*a*) *alaṃ bhuktvā odanaṃ gataḥ* 'after having eaten enough rice he left' where *alam* is used in the sense of *paryāpti.* In this case, a compound such as **alambhuktvā* would not be permitted.

1.4.65 **अन्तरपरिग्रहे**

antar aparigrahe
/antaḥ 1/1 *aparigrahe* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
antaḥ śabdo parigrahe' rthe gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *antaḥ* is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb' and denotes *aparigraha* 'rejection, decline'.

EXAMPLES:

antarhatya 'after having rejected'
antarhatam 'rejected'
yad antarhanti 'the thing which they reject...

1. The word *antaḥ* is used in the sense of locus (*adhikaraṇa*), characterized as *madhya* 'inside' or 'in between'. It is also used in the sense of *parigraha* 'to accept something as one's own' (*svīkaraṇa*). This rule assigns the term *gati* to *antaḥ* when it is not used in the sense of *parigraha*. The assignment of *gati* can facilitate the formation of a compound such as *antarhatya*, where *LyaP* and *tUK* have also been introduced, as in *ūrīkṛtya* of 1.4.61 *ūryādicvi....* The *n* of *han* is deleted by 6.4.38 *vā lyapi*. Note also that in the absence of the assignment of the term *gati*, operations conditioned by the term *upasarga* may obtain. Thus, we may get examples such as *antarṇayati*, where the *n* of *nayati* is replaced with *ṇ* on the strength of the term *upasarga*, even though *antarṇayati* does not entail compound formation.

1.4.66 **कणेमनसी श्रद्धाप्रतीघाते**

kaṇemanasī śraddhāpratīghāte
/*kaṇemanasī* 1/2 = *kaṇe ca manaś ca* (*itar. dv*); *śraddhāyāḥ pratīghātaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *tasmin*/
(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
kaṇe śabdo manas śabdaś ca śraddhāpratīghāte gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ
The words *kaṇe* and *manas* are termed *gati* when they are used with *kriyā* and denote *śraddhāpratīghāta* 'cessation of desire'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṇehatya payaḥ pibati 'he drinks milk to his heart's content'
manohatya payaḥ pibati 'id.'

1. Note that *kaṇe*, a *nipāta*, is similar (*pratirūpaka*) to a locative form, and is used here in the sense of the excellence of desire (*abhilāṣātiśaya*). This is the only way it can imply the *pratīghāta* 'cessation' of *śraddhā* 'desire'. The word *manaḥ*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *kaṇe*, should be similarly understood.

1.4.67 **पुरोऽव्ययम्**

puro' vyayam
/*puraḥ* Ø *avyayam* 1/1/
(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
asipratyayāntaḥ puraḥ śabdo' vyayaṃ sa gatisaṃjñaṃ bhavati
The indeclinable, *puraḥ*, is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

> *puraskṛtya* 'after having rewarded'
> *puraskṛtam* 'rewarded'
> *yat puraskaroti* 'the reward which he...

1. The word *puras* is derived by introducing the affix *asI* after the word *pūrva* 'prior, east', by rule 5.3.39 *pūrvādharāvarā...*, where *pūrva* also gets replaced by *pura*. It receives the term *avyaya* by rule 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*. The purpose of assigning the term *gati* is, as usual, to facilitate the formation of compounds and the assignment of proper accent.

1.4.68 **अस्तं च**

> *astaṃ ca*
> /*astam Ø ca Ø*/
> (*avyayam* # 67, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
> *astaṃśabdo makārānto' vyayam anupalabdhau vartate, sa gatisaṃjño bhavati*
> The indeclinable, *astam*, is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb'.

EXAMPLES:

> *astaṃgatya savitā punar udeti* 'the sun rises again after setting'
> *astaṃgatāni dhanāni* 'gone are the riches'
> *yad astaṃ gacchati* 'that which goes down'

1. The *ca* in this rule is used to carry the word *avyayam* from the preceding rule. This, in turn, facilitates the proper interpretation of *astam*. In the absence of the qualifier *avyayam*, *astam* could also be interpreted, for example, as the past passive participial derivative *astam* 'hurled', of *as* 'to hurl'. The function of the *gati* and *nipāta* terms are similar to those described in earlier notes.

1.4.69 **अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु**

> *accha gatyarthavadeṣu*
> /*accha Ø gatyarthavadeṣu* 7/1 = *gatir artho yeṣāṃ te gatyarthāḥ; gatyarthāś ca vadaś ca = gatyarthavadāḥ* (*dv.* with internal *bv.*); *teṣu*/
> (*avyayam* # 67, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
> *accha śabdo' yam avyayam abhiśabdasyārthe varttate, sa gatyartheṣu dhātuṣu vadatau ca gatisaṃjño bhavati*
> The indeclinable *accha* 'up front, in front of', is termed *gati* when it is used with *vadĀ* 'to speak' or with roots which denote *gati* 'movement'.

EXAMPLES:

> *acchagatya* 'after having gone in front of'

acchagatam 'gone in front'
yad acchagacchati 'that which goes in front of'
acchodya 'after having said in front of'
acchoditam 'said in front of'
yad acchavadati 'that which he speaks in front of'

1. This rule assigns the terms *gati* and *nipāta* to *accha,* again an indeclinable. The context of this term assignment is limited only to its usage with a root having the signification of *gati* 'movement' or *vad* 'to speak'. The purpose of the assignment of these terms is again in relation to compound formation and accent.

1.4.70 अदोऽनुपदेशे
ado' nupadeśe
/*adaḥ* 1/1 *anupadeśe* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
adaḥ śabdas tyadādiṣu paṭhyate, so' nupadeśe gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *adaḥ* 'that' is termed *gati* when it is used with *kriyā* 'verb' and denotes *anupadeśa* 'independent thinking'.

EXAMPLES:

adaḥkṛtya 'after having thought'
adaḥkṛtam 'having thought'
yad adaḥkaroti 'that which he thinks'

1. The word *anupadeśa* refers to the meaning of *adaḥ*. If a person does something in consultation with, or on the advice of, another person, the said consultation or advice may be termed *upadeśa.* When a person does something based entirely on his own thinking, however, his action can be called *anupadiṣṭa* 'not having been inspired by someone else'. Thus, *adaḥkṛtya* would literally mean 'after having thought independently'.

1.4.71 तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ
tiro' ntarddhau
/*tirah* 0 *antarddhau* 7/1/
(*gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
antarddhau tiraḥ śabdo gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *tiraḥ* is termed *gati* when it is used with a *kriyā* 'verb' and denotes *antarddhi* 'hiding'.

EXAMPLES:

tirobhūya 'after having disappeared'
tirobhūtam 'disappeared'
yat tirobhavati 'that which disappears'

1. The word *tiraḥ* is assigned the terms *nipāta* and *gati* when it is used with a verb and denotes *antarddhi* 'hiding'. Again, the purpose of the assignment of these terms is to facilitate compound formation and determine proper accent. *Kāśikā* cites *tiro bhūtvā sthitaḥ* 'he stayed after having moved to one side', and glosses this *tiraḥ* as *pārśvam* 'side'.

1.4.72 विभाषा कृञि

vibhāṣā kṛñi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *kṛñi* 7/1/
(*antarddhau* # 71, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
tiraḥ śabdaḥ karotau parato vibhāṣā gatisaṃjño bhavati
The word *tiraḥ* optionally is termed *gati* when it is used with *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' and denotes *antarddhi* 'hiding'.

EXAMPLES:

tiraḥkṛtya 'after having hidden'
tiraskṛtya 'id.'
tiras kṛtam 'hidden'
yat tiras karoti 'that which he hides'
tiraḥ kṛtvā 'after having hidden'
tiras kṛtvā 'id.'

1. This rule is an instance of *prāptavibhāṣa* whereby a provision already made becomes optional. It is, again, an option provided in the context of the meaning of *antarddhi*. We will thus get two forms:
(*a*) *tiraḥkṛtya* 'after having hidden'
(*b*) *tiraḥ kṛtvā* 'id.'
The second example is derived under the option of not assigning the term *gati* to *tiraḥ*. Note also that these two examples will each have an additional optional form depending on whether or not the option of replacing *visarga* with *s* is accepted. Thus, *tiraḥ kṛtya/tiras kṛtya (gati); tiraḥ kṛtvā/tiras kṛtvā* (non-*gati*). It is to be understood here that what is provided as optional is the assignment of the term *gati* only. That is, the assignment of the term *nipāta* is not made optional by this rule.

1.4.73 उपाजेऽन्वाजे

upāje' nvāje
(*vibhāṣā kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
upāje' nvāje śabdau (vibhaktipratirūpakau nipātau durbalasya sāmarthyādhāne vartete) kṛñi vibhāṣā gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ
The words *upāje* and *anvāje* optionally are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

upājekṛtya 'having helped the weak'

upāje kṛtvā 'id.'
anvājekṛtya 'id.'
anvāje kṛtvā 'id.'

1. The words *upāje* and *anvāje* are used here in the sense of supporting someone weak (*durbalasya sāmarthyādhāne*). The assignment of the term *gati* enables the formation of compounds as well as the introduction of *LyaP* in place of *Ktvā*, as is also the case in the preceding rule. Of course in the absence of the term *gati* a compound-formation along with *LyaP* will be blocked.

1.4.74 **साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च**

sākṣātprabhṛtīni ca
/*sākṣātprabhṛtīni* 1/3 = *sākṣāt prabhṛti yeṣām* (*bv.*); *tāni; ca* Ø/
(*vibhāṣā kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
sākṣātprabhṛtīni śabdarūpāṇi kṛñi vibhāṣā gatisaṃjñāni bhavanti
Items enumerated in the list headed by *sākṣāt* 'manifestly' are optionally termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make'.

EXAMPLES:

sākṣātkṛtya 'having visualized something'
sākṣātkṛtvā 'id.'
mithyākṛtya 'having mispronounced something'
mithyā kṛtvā 'id.'

1. The *ca* of this rule is used to bring *vibhāṣā kṛñi* from the preceding rule. The list headed by *sākṣāt* 'manifestly' consists of nearly two dozen items. A *vārttika* (*Mbh.*II: 452) on this rule claims that the assignment of the term *gati* to items enumerated in the list headed by *sākṣāt* should be made only when they are used in the sense of the affix *CvI* (5.4.50 *abhūtatad...*). The sense of *CvI* is 'the state of becoming something which it was not'. Thus, an example such as *sākṣātkṛtya* would mean 'having made something manifest which it was not'. This implies that, when something which was manifest earlier is made manifest again, it will not be assigned the term *gati*. The term will not apply even though, in the process of being made manifest again, the thing may have acquired some new attribute. The *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* (I: 606) captures the distinction as follows:

asākṣādbhūtaṃ yadā sākṣāt kriyate tadā gatisaṃjña yathā syāt
'when that which was not manifest is made manifest the term *gati*, as provided for by this rule, applies'
kiṃ tu sākṣādbhūtasya pratyakṣabhāvam upagatasyaiva sato yo' nyo viśeṣaḥ kaścit kriyate tadā mā bhūd iti
'but the term is not assigned when the thing which is already made

manifest goes through this process again and gains some other qualities'

This same observation applies to *mithyā* 'false', etc., also. *Nyāsa* observes, additionally, that this meaning could be gotten by carrying *cvi*, from rule 1.4.61 *ūryādicviḍācaś ca*, and *artha* from 1.4.69 *accha gatyarthavadeṣu*. The *anuvṛtti* of these elements will, of course, be that of *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leaping'. Otherwise, the option provided for by this rule will have to be constrained to the meaning of *CvI* by treating the rule as *vyavasthitavibhāṣā*, an option obtaining in a highly restricted context. In this way, obligatory assignment of *gati* will be made by rule 1.4.61 *ūryādicviḍācaś ca*. The same will be made optional by this rule if items did not end in affix *CvI*, but were used in the sense of *CvI*.

1.4.75 अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी

anatyādhāna urasimanasī

/anatyādhāne 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *urasimanasī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*vibhāṣā kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

anatyādhāne urasimanasī śabdau vibhāṣā kṛñi gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ

The words *urasi* and *manasi* optionally are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ* and *atyādhāna* 'to place close to, embrace' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

urasi kṛtya 'having completely comprehended'
urasi kṛtva 'id.'
manasikṛtya 'having firmly resolved'
manasi kṛtvā 'id.'

1. The words *urasi* and *manasi* are *nipāta*. They are termed *gati* when used in the sense of *anatyādhāna*. The *Kāśikā* explains *atyādhāna*. as *upaśleṣaṇa* 'embracing, clinging close to'. The lack of *atyādhana* denoted by *urasi* and *manasi* is explained by *Nyāsa* as 'to closely adhere to, to firmly resolve (*niścitya*), to fully comprehend (*abhyupagamya*)'. It is because of denoting *atyādhāna* that

(*a*) *urasi kṛtvā pāṇiṃ śete* 'he is sleeping with his hand on his chest'

is treated as a counter-example. The purpose of optionally assigning the term *gati* is to facilitate the formation of compounds and the introduction of *LyaP* in place of *Ktvā*.

1.4.76 मध्ये पदे निवचने च

madhye pade nivacane ca

/madhye pade nivacane 1/1 (deleted) *ca* Ø/

/(*anatyādhāne* # 75, *vibhāṣā kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59,

nipātāḥ # 56)
'madhye, pade, nivacane' ity ete śabdā anatyādhāne vibhāṣā kṛñi gatisaṃjñā bhavanti
The words *madhye, pade,* and *nivacane* optionally are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌukṛÑ* and *atyādhāna* is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

madhyekṛtya 'having placed in the middle'
madhye kṛtvā 'id.
padekṛtya 'having counted the words'
pade kṛtvā 'id.'
nivacanekṛtya 'having restrained his speech'
nivacane kṛtvā 'id.'

1. The use of *ca* in this rule facilitates the carrying over of the meaning condition of *anātyādhāna* from the preceding rule. The *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā kṛñi* further restricts the usage to the context of an action denoted by *ḌUkṛÑ*. Thus, *madhye, pade* and *nivacane,* when not meaning *atyādhāna,* are optionally termed *gati,* provided they are also used in connection with an action denoted by *ḌUkṛÑ*.

The words *madhye, pade* and *nivacane* have been cited here as ending in *e* by *nipātana*. They should not be confused with their locative counterparts. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 609) clearly states that this is not locative (*tatra nipātanād ekārāntatvaṃ na punar eṣā saptamī*). However, when these are allowed to form a compound on the strength of the term *gati,* they are treated as ending in the locative. In addition, the endings are not deleted by *LUK* (2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*) after the formation of the compound. This, as *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* (I: 609) observes, is mainly because Pāṇini cites the forms in the rule as *madhye, pade* and *nivacane* (*uccāraṇasāmarthyāt saptamyāḥ samāse' py alug bhavati*). The word *nivacana* is combined to form an *avyayībhāva* compound to denote constraint (*niyamana*).

1.4.77 नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने
nityaṃ haste pāṇāv upayamane
/*nityam* Ø *haste* 7/1 *pāṇau* 7/1 *upayamane* 7/1/
(*kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
'haste, pāṇau' ity etau śabdau kṛñi nityaṃ gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ upayamane
The words *haste* and *pāṇau* obligatorily are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ* to denote *upayamana* 'to accept in marriage, to marry'.

EXAMPLES:

hastekṛtya 'after having married her'
pāṇau kṛtya 'id.'

1. Except for the obligatory assignment of the term *gati*, this *sūtra* is not any different from the preceding one. The word *upayamana* is generally accepted as meaning *bhāryākaraṇa* or *dārakarman* 'to accept someone as wife'. Others say that *upayamana* simply means 'to accept' (*svīkaraṇa*). The meaning of *dārakarman* then has to be inferred.

1.4.78 प्राध्वं बन्धने

prādhvaṃ bandhane

/*prādhvam* Ø *bandhane* 7/1/

(*nityam* # 77, *kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

prādhvaṃ śabdaḥ kṛñi nityaṃ gatisaṃjño bhavati

The word *prādhvam* obligatorily is termed *gati* when it is used with *ḌUkṛÑ* to denote *bandhana* 'tying'.

EXAMPLE:

prādhvaṃkṛtya 'after having tied'

1. The word *prādhvam* is treated as an indeclinable ending in *m* (*makārānta*), because it is listed in the group headed by *ca* (*cādi*). Its meaning is generally explained as *ānukūlya* 'conduciveness'. The word *bandhana* is used as a meaning condition where its *saptamī* ('locative') is interpreted as denoting cause (*nimitta*). It is for this reason that *bandhana* has to be accepted as a conducive cause.

1.4.79 जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये

jīvikopaniṣadāv aupamye

/*jīvikopaniṣadau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *aupamye* 7/1/

(*nityam* # 77, *kṛñi* # 72, *gatiḥ* # 60, *kriyāyoge* # 59, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

'jīvikā, upaniṣad' ity etau śabdau aupamye viṣaye kṛñi gatisaṃjñau bhavataḥ

The words *jīvikā* and *upaniṣad* obligatorily are termed *gati* when they are used with *ḌUkṛÑ* and *aupamya* 'comparison' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

jīvikākṛtya 'after having treated something as a livelihood'
upaniṣatkṛtya 'after having treated something as a mystery'

1. This rule assigns the term *gati* to *jīvikā* 'livelihood' and *upaniṣad* 'Upaniṣad', when they are used in connection with *ḌUkṛÑ* and serve as a standard of comparison (*upamā*). Thus, *jīvikākṛtya* would mean 'after having treated something as a livelihood'. Similarly, *upaniṣatkṛtya* would mean 'after having treated something as a mystery'. The word *upaniṣad* then would have to mean 'a mystical, esoteric (*rahasya*) cause (*hetu*)'.

1.4.80 ते प्राग्धातोः

te prāg dhātoḥ

|te 1/3 *prāk* Ø *dhātoḥ* 5/1/

te gatyupasargasaṃjñakāḥ dhātoḥ prāk prayoktavayāḥ

Items termed *gati* and *upasarga* are preplaced to a verbal root.

1. A question is raised about the use of the word *te* 'they'. It is argued that, in the absence of *te*, prior placement would apply only to items termed *gati* as they are discussed in the context which immediately precedes (*anantara*) them. Since items termed *upasarga* are not so discussed, they could be left out. Their preplacement is also desired. It is to facilitate the preplacement of *upasarga* that *te* must be used in the rule. Many examples discussed in the preceding rules also illustrate the application of the present rule.

1.4.81 छन्दसि परेऽपि

chandasi pare' pi

|chandasi 7/1 *pare* 7/1 *api* Ø

(*te dhātoḥ* # 80)

chandasi viṣaye gatyupasargasaṃjñakāḥ pare' pi pūrve' pi prayoktavyāḥ

Items termed *gati* and *upasarga* may be preposed or postposed to a verbal root in the Veda.

EXAMPLES:

yāti ni hastinā 'he overpowers by means of his elephant'

niyāti hastinā 'id.'

ha. :i ni muṣṭinā 'he subdues by felling with his fists'

nihanti muṣṭinā 'id.'

1. The use of *ni* before or after *yāti* or *hanti* in these examples is self-explanatory.

1.4.82 व्यवहिताश्च

vyavahitāś ca

|vyavahitāḥ 1/3 *ca* Ø/

vyavahitāś ca gatyupasargasaṃjñakāḥ chandasi dṛśyante

Items termed *gati* and *upasarga* are also seen interrupted in the Veda.

EXAMPLES:

āyāhi 'come'

ā mandrairindra haribhiryāhi mayūraromabhiḥ 'O Indra, come by fast horses which have the colour of the peacock feather'

1. Our first example, *āyāhi*, illustrates the way in which *āṄ*, an *upasarga*, is preplaced to the root *yā* 'to go'. In the second example, however, the

same *āṄ* is used with *yāhi*, which is interrupted (*vyavahita*) by *mandrairindra haribhir*.

Note that the word *chandasi* is carried in this rule. This implies that the interrupted use of items termed *gati* and *upasarga* is characteristic of the Vedic usage only. More directly, they are not to be found in the classical language (*bhāṣā*). If this is acceptable, then how can one account for expressions such as *samudāhara* 'say it together', where *sam*, *ut*, and *āṄ* are used before *hṛ*? That is, *sam* or *ut* is used before the verb root with interruption. Commentators explain that interruption by elements of similar class (*tulyajātīyaka*) should not be considered as interruption. In other words, *upasarga* can be interrupted by *gati* when used before a verbal root. By interruption (*vyavadhāna*) the commentators therefore mean a *vyavadhāna* by something not belonging to the same class of elements (*vijātīyaka*). In support of this explanation, a parallel situation may be found in the outside world. Consider the following sentence as an answer to the question 'Are these the houses of brāhmaṇa?'

> *nānantare; vṛṣalakulam anayor madhye* 'not uninterruptedly; the house of a *vṛṣala* is between them'

This example clearly establishes that it is interruption by elements belonging to a different class which are in focus here.

1.4.83 कर्मप्रवचनीयाः
karmapravacanīyāḥ
/karmapravacanīyāḥ 1/3/
yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ karmapravacanīyasaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ
What follows are termed *karmapravacanīya*.

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 456-57) presents an interesting discussion about items termed *karmapravacanīya*, which I reproduce as follows:

kimartham mahatī saṃjñā kriyate 'For what purpose is this long term used?'
anvarthasaṃjñā yathā vijñāyeta 'So that it is comprehended as denoting its etymological sense.'
karmaproktavantaḥ karmapravacanīyā iti 'Thus: those which denoted an action are termed *karmapravacanīya*.'
ke punaḥ karma proktavantaḥ 'What, then, are those which denoted an action?'
ye samprati kriyāṃ nāhuḥ 'Those which are not denoting any action now.'
ke ca samprati kriyāṃ nāhuḥ 'What are those which are not denoting any action now?'
ye' prayujyamānasya kriyām āhus te karmapravacanīyāḥ 'Those which denote the action of that which is not used are termed *karmapravacanīya*'.

The word *karmapravacanīya* is derived by introducing affix *anīyaR* to denote agent (*kartṛ*) by rule 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*. Since *anīyaR* is a non-*tiṄ* affix, it will be termed *kṛt*. It will also be termed *kṛtya*, as rule 3.1.96 is contained within the domain of 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*. It is because of the assignment of the term *kṛtya* that *anīyaR* is construed with past (*bhūta;* cf. 3.2.84 *bhūte*), although rule 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam* also attests to some diverse interpretations. The word *karman* is used here in the sense of action. It is for this reason that *karmapravacanīya* is interpreted as having the sense 'that which denoted action in the past'. By inference, it is also understood that a *karmapravacanīya* does not denote any action at the current time. What, then, is the denotatum of a *karmapravacanīya?* Bhartṛhari (*VP*, II, 204: 322-23) presents the denotatum of a *karmapravacanīya* as follows:

> *kriyāyā dyotako nāyaṃ na sambandhasya vācakaḥ/*
> *nāpi kriyāpadākṣepī sambandhasya tu bhedakaḥ //*
> 'A *karmapravacanīya* does not denote any action (*kriyā*); nor does it denote any relatum (*sambandha*); it does not even mark another action to be construed with the present; it simply distinguishes (*bhedaka*) a particular relationship.'

Note that a distinction is being maintained between the words *dyotaka/ vācaka* 'that which expresses or denotes' and *bhedaka* 'distinguisher'. A *karmapravacanīya* distinguishes an action by serving as a characteristic mark (*lakṣaṇa*) for something special about that action. It is in this sense that Puṇyarāja (*VP*, II, 199: 317) defines *karmapravacanīya* as a cause (*hetu*) which distinguishes a particular relatum (*sambandhaviśeṣa*) additionally brought (*upajanita*) to a particular action (*kriyāviśeṣa*). One of the most celebrated sentences illustrating the function of a *karmapravacanīya* is

(*a*) *śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat* 'it rained right after the chanting of the Saṃhitā of Śākalya'

The *anu* of this sentence is a *karmapravacanīya* because it does not denote any particular action. Compare it with the *anu* of

(*b*) *anubhūyate kambalaḥ* 'the blanket is felt for its softness'

The *anu* of (*b*) is denoting the action of 'feeling' (*anubhū*). The *anu* of (*a*) does not denote any action because of the lack of a *pada* denoting an action (*kriyāpadābhāvāt*). That is, it is not used in (*a*) with something like *bhū* of (*b*). It does not even denote any relatum, such as one denoted by *ṣaṣṭhī* of *śākalyasya*. For, *saṃhitām* is required to be put in the *dvitīyā* 'accusative' which, in turn, does that. The *anu* of (*a*) does not even mark the construing of any other action as, for example, the *vi*, which is not a *karmapravacanīya*, does in

(*c*) *prādeśaṃ viparilikhati* 'he measures and marks off lengths of one-half forearm'

Here, the *vi* is actually indicating that one should construe the verbal root *mā* to properly interpret (*c*) as

(*d*) *prādeśaṃ vimāya parilikhati* 'he marks off lengths of one-half forearm after having measured (them)'

The *anu* is not even marking the relationship in (*a*) between the *saṃhitā* and *pravarṣaṇa* 'rain', for that residual relation (*śeṣasambandha*) is being expressed by the *dvitīyā* of *saṃhitā*. It is therefore clear that a special relationship (*sambandhaviśeṣa*) is being distinguished by *anu* of (*a*). This special relationship is recognized as *hetuhetumadbhāva* 'the relationship between the cause and the causal agent'. It is brought as a special addition to the relationship which obtains between *saṃhitā* and *pravarṣaṇa*. The means for bringing this specialty is the action of *niśamana*, here the completion of the action of chanting. A *karmapravacanīya* such as *anu* thus distinguishes a special relationship. The basic purpose of assigning the term *karmapravacanīya* is to facilitate the introduction of *dvitīya* after an item used in connection with it (2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā*). Sentence (*a*) therefore has *dvitīyā* introduced after *saṃhitā* used in connection with *anu*. The introduction of the term *karmapravacanīya*, by rule 1.4.83, as an *adhikāra*, also serves an additional function. That is, it facilitates the dropping of the terms *gati* and *upasarga* from *anuvṛtti*. The terms *nipāta* and *karmapravacanīya* will now share the *saṃjñāsamāveśa* by themselves.

SCOPE: 2.3.8 *karma pravacanīyayukte dvitīyā*.

1.4.84 अनुर्लक्षणे

anur lakṣaṇe

/*anuḥ* 1/1 *lakṣaṇe* 7/1/

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

anuśabdo lakṣaṇe dyotye karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *anu* when *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat 'it rained right after the chanting of the *Saṃhitā* of Śākalya'

1. The word *anu* is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya* by this rule under the condition of the denotatum of *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark, symbol'. This is also included as one of the conditions for the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* again to *anu* by rule 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇettaṃbhūtākhyāna*... This being the case, either this rule should not be stated, or the word *lakṣaṇa* should be excluded from rule 1.4.90. *Kāśikā* (I: 616) explains that this rule assigns the term *karmapravacanīya* to *anu* only when *hetu* 'cause, means' is denoted (*hetvarthaṃ tu vacanam*...). Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* I: 616) explains *hetu* as *karaṇa* 'cause, means' and adds that a cause, because it serves as *hetu* for indicating a particular thing (*kārya*), can also be

viewed as *lakṣaṇa (hetuḥ karaṇam...lakṣyate' nena tal lakṣaṇam = cihnaṃ jñāpakam, karaṇam api niyataṃ kāryaviśeṣāvagatihetuvād lakṣaṇaṃ bhavaty eva)*. It is clear from the preceding that the *lakṣaṇa* used in this rule is *hetulakṣaṇa*, 'a mark which serves as a cause'. The *lakṣaṇa* used in rule 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyāna...* is what commentators call *jñāpakalakṣaṇa* 'indicatory mark'. Let us consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *śākalyasya sukṛtāṃ saṃhitām anuniśamya devo prāvarṣat* 'the god (cloud, Indra) caused the rain after having heard the well-performed recitation of the *Saṃhitā* of Śākalya'

(*b*) *śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat* 'id.'

(*c*) *vṛkṣam anu vidyotate vidyut* 'the lightning emanates from the tree'.

Note that the recitation of the *Saṃhitā* of Śākalya is the *hetu* 'cause' for the effect (*hetumat*) which has been identified as rain. The *anu* of sentence (*a*) is not a *karmapravacanīya*; it is an *upasarga* denoting the action of *niśamana* 'perceiving, hearing'. The *anu* of sentence (*b*) is a *karmapravacanīya*, because it denoted the action in the past (cf. sentence (*a*)) but is not doing so now. Instead, it is marking something special which is identified here as *hetuhetumadbhāva* 'the relationship between the cause and effect'. The *anu* of sentence (*c*) is also a *karmapravacanīya*, but what it marks is not the *hetuhetumadbhāva* but *lakṣyalakṣaṇabhāva* 'the relationship between the mark and what it marks off' in general. Thus *anu* in (*c*) implies that *vṛkṣa* 'tree' is a mark (*lakṣaṇa*) to indicate the place where lightning has struck. It is made possible because the tree also serves as the locus (*adhikaraṇa*) for the information (*jñāna*) that the lightning has struck. It is in this sense that we say that 'lightning marked by the tree strikes'. How is lightning marked by the tree? First, the lightning strikes. The tree, as a consequence, becomes lit up in the dark. After having been lit up in the dark, the tree becomes a symbol indicating the place or direction where lightning has struck. Thus, *vṛkṣa* acts as the *jñāpakalakṣaṇa* 'indicatory mark' of *vidyotana* 'lightning'.

You may also recall here my comments about *anu* of sentence (*b*) denoting *hetuhetumadbhāva* as a *karmapravacanīya*. The recitation of the *saṃhitā* is *hetu* 'cause'. If this rule did not assign the term *karmapravacanīya* to *anu*, rule 2.3.23 *hetau* would assign *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*' after *saṃhitā*. It is to block the application of rule 2.3.23 in favour of introducing *dvitīyā* after *saṃhitā* by rule 2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā* that this rule is necessary.

1.4.85 तृतीयार्थे

tṛtīyārthe

/*tṛtīyārthe* 7/1 = *tṛtīyāyāḥ arthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.); tasmin*/

(*anuḥ* # 84, *karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

anuśabdas tṛtīyārthe dyotye karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *anu* when the sense of *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

nadīm anvavasitā senā 'the army is camping along the river'
parvatam anvavasitā senā 'the army is camping by the mountain'

1. The denotatum (*artha*) of *tṛtīyā* implied by this rule is called *sahārtha* 'the meaning of *saha* (with)', as is attested by rule 2.3.19 *sahayukte' pradhāne*. Given the first example,

nadīm anvavasitā senā 'the army is camping along the river'

anu is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya*, as what is denoted here is *sāhitya* 'togetherness'.

1.4.86 हीने च

hīne ca
/*hīne* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*anuḥ* # 84, *karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
hīne dyotye' yam anuḥ karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term *karmapravacanīya* is also assigned to *anu* when *hīna* 'less, inferior' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

anuśākaṭāyanaṃ vaiyākaranāḥ 'all the grammarians are inferior to Śākaṭāyana'
anvarjunaṃ yoddhāraḥ 'all the warriors are inferior to Arjuna'

1. The word *hīna* is explained here as 'inferior, less', relative to *utkṛṣṭa* 'superior'. It is therefore implied that the term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned in the context of denoting 'inferior' relative to 'superior'. It also follows from this that *anu* will be termed *karmapravacanīya* only when used in connection with an item denoting 'superior'. Thus, in the sentence *anvarjunaṃ yoddhāraḥ* 'all the warriors are inferior to Arjuna', *anu* is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya* on account of being used with Arjuna, who is superior to all the other warriors.

1.4.87 उपोऽधिके च

upo' dhike ca
/ *upaḥ* 1/1 *adhike* 7/1 *ca* Ø /
(*hīne* # 86, *karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
upaśabdaḥ adhike hīne ca dyotye karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term *karmapravacanīya* is also assigned to *upa* when *adhika* 'more' or *hīna* 'less, inferior' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

upakhāryām droṇaḥ 'a *khārī* is bigger than a *droṇa*'
upaniṣke kārṣāpaṇam 'a *niṣka* is bigger than a *kārṣāpaṇa*'
upaśākaṭāyanaṃ vaiyākaraṇāḥ 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākaṭāyana'

1. The *ca* is used in this rule to bring *hīne* from the preceding rule. Thus, the term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *upa* when it is used, either with something 'superior' to denote 'inferior', or with something 'more' to denote something 'less'. Consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *upaśākaṭāyanaṃ vaiyākaraṇāḥ* 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākaṭāyana'
(*b*) *upakhāryāṃ droṇaḥ* 'a *khārī* is bigger than a *droṇa*'

Sentence (*a*) uses *upa* in connection with Śākaṭāyana, a 'superior' grammarian relative to others whose inferiority is being denoted. Similarly, *upa* is used in (*b*) in connection with *khārī* 'a measure of weight', whose larger capacity is denoted relative to the smaller capacity of a *droṇa*. The *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*' is introduced after *khārī* to denote 'more' (*adhika*) by rule 2.3.9 *yasmād adhikaṃ yasya*.... Of course, 2.3.8 will introduce *dvitīyā*, as it does after *śākaṭāyana*, when the denotatum is 'inferior' (*hīna*).

1.4.88 अपपरी वर्जने

apaparī varjane
/*apaparī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *varjane* 7/1/
(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
'*apaparī śabdau varjane dyotye karmapravacanīyasaṃjñau bhavataḥ*
The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *apa* and *pari* when *varjana* 'exclusion' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

apa trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'the god rained around but not in Trigartta'
pari pari trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule assigns the term *karmapravacanīya* to *apa* and *pari* when *varjana* 'exclusion' is denoted. *Kāśikā* explains *varjana* as *prakṛtena sambandhinā kasyacid anabhisambandhaḥ* 'non-relation of something with that which is being set forth by a sentence'. Consider, for example, the second sentence given above:

pari pari trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ

where *pari* is termed *karmapravacanīya* because exclusion is denoted. That is, it rained all around Trigartta, but not in Trigartta itself. Also note in this connection that rule 2.3.10 *pañcamy apāṅparibhiḥ* introduces *pañcamī*

'fifth triplet of *sUP*', as opposed to *dvitīyā*, after *trigartta*. The reduplication of *pari* is ordered by rule 8.1.5 *parer varjane* under the condition of exclusion (*varjana*).

1.4.89 आङ् मर्यादावचने

āṅ maryādāvacane

/*āṅ* 1/1 *maryādāvacane* 7/1/

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83; *nipātāḥ* # 56)

āṅ ity eṣa śabdo maryādāvacane karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *āN* when *maryādā* 'extent, spatial limit' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'the god rained up to and including Pāṭaliputra'

ā kumāraṃ yaśaḥ pāṇineḥ 'the fame of Pāṇini extends even to the young'

ā sāṃkāśyāt 'up to and including Sāṃkāśya'

ā mathurāyāḥ 'up to and including Mathurā'

1. This rule sets the condition of *maryādāvacana* 'denotation of limit' for *āN* to be termed *karmapravacanīya*. Commentators state that *maryādā* here also includes *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit', as opposed to exclusive. This meaning is obtained by interpreting the compound *maryādāvacana* as a *bahuvrīhi*, with the paraphrase *maryādā iti etad vacanaṃ yatra sūtre* 'the *sūtra* in which the word *maryādā* is stated'. This will refer to rule 2.1.13 *āṅ maryādābhividhyoḥ*, where *abhividhi* is included. Consequently, rule 1.4.89 could also be interpreted as including *abhividhi*. Others say that *maryādā* is a general term, included within whose meaning is the additional meaning of *abhividhi*. The very use of *vacana* in this rule makes this known. A sentence such as the first of the above examples

ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ

can thus be interpreted as meaning 'the god rained up to and including Pāṭaliputra'. The *pañcamī* here is also introduced by 2.3.10 *pañcamy....*

1.4.90 लक्षणेत्थंभूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यनवः

lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyānabhāgavīpsāsu pratiparyanavaḥ

/ *lakṣaṇettha...vīpsāsu* 7/3 = *lakṣaṇaṃ ca itthaṃbhūtākhyānaṃ ca bhāgaś ca vīpsā ca* = *lakṣaṇettha...vīpsāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tāsu*; *pratiparyanavaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

lakṣaṇe, itthaṃbhūtākhyāne, bhāge, vīpsāyāṃ ca viṣayabhūtāyāṃ 'prati, pari, anu' ity ete karmapravacanīyasaṃjñā bhavanti

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *prati, pari* and *anu* when *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark, symbol', *itthaṃbhūtākhyāna* 'characterizing *x* as *y*', *bhāga* 'share', or *vīpsā* 'pervasion' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaṃ prati vidyotate vidyut 'lightning flashes on the tree'
vṛkṣaṃ pari vidyotate vidyut 'id.'
vṛkṣam anu vidyotate vidyut 'id.'
sādhur devadatto mātaraṃ prati 'Devadatta is nice to his mother'
sādhur devadatto mātaraṃ pari 'id.'
sādhur devadatto mātaram anu 'id.'
yad atra māṃ prati syāt 'whatever be my share in this'
yad atra māṃ pari syāt 'id.'
yad atra mām anu syāt 'id.'
vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣaṃ prati siñcati 'he waters every tree'
vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣaṃ pari siñcati 'id.'
vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣam anu siñcati 'id.'

1. This rule assigns the term *karmapravacanīya* to *prati, pari,* and *anu* when *lakṣaṇa* 'mark'; *itthaṃbhūtākhyāna* 'stating about something thus qualified where the antecedent of 'thus' is determined by the context'; *bhāga* 'one's rightful share'; or *vīpsā* 'desire to pervade, entirety' is the intended denotatum. Note that to say that *anu,* and so on, denote these meanings may become problematic, since *prati,* for example, does not denote *vīpsā.* Instead, the sense of *vīpsā* is inferred from the reduplicated use of *vṛkṣa,* and so on, in sentences such as:

(*a*) *vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣaṃ prati vidyotate vidyut* 'lightning emanates from each and every tree'

Refer to my discussion under rule 1.4.84 *anur lakṣaṇe,*where I also illustrate with examples a distinction between the word *lakṣaṇa,* meaning *hetulakṣaṇa* and *jñāpakalakṣaṇa.* The latter meaning of the term as *jñāpakalakṣaṇa* is acceptable in this rule.

The term *itthaṃbhūtākhyāna* is glossed as 'characterizing *x* as *y*', or alternatively 'stating about something thus qualified'. The word *ittham* has been glossed as *prakāra,* which refers to a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*). Thus, *itthaṃbhūtaḥ,* with *bhūtaḥ* meaning *prāptaḥ* 'attained, reached', is interpreted as 'thus qualified', where 'thus' is a variable with its antecedent to be determined by context. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(*b*) *sādhur devadatto mātaraṃ prati* 'Devadatta is nice to his mother'

Recollect my remarks in connection with the tree (*vṛkṣa*) being a mark (*lakṣaṇa*) for the lightning (*vidyut*). The tree is able to serve as *lakṣaṇa* because the relationship between the tree and the lightning is *lakṣyalakṣaṇa.* This is made possible by the lightning, in the sense that it first lit up the tree, and the tree consequently became the 'mark' for

lightning. Commentators describe this relationship as *prāptikriyājanita* 'originating as a result of the *lakṣya* reaching the *lakṣaṇa*'. In sentence (*b*), the relationship between Devadatta and his mother, characterized as *sādhutva* 'niceness', is called *viṣayaviṣayisambandha* 'subject and goal relationship'. This relationship is also viewed as *prāptikriyājanita,* for Devadatta becomes *sādhumān* 'qualified as nice' only after having reached his mother. The *karmapravacanīya* word *prati* denotes this very relationship.

The underlying relationships in the examples given for *bhāga* 'share' and *vīpsā* 'pervasion, entirety' are characterized as *svasvāmisambandha* 'owner-owned', and *sādhyasādhanabhāva* 'means and goal', respectively. Consider these sentences:

(*c*) *yad atra māṃ prati syāt* 'whatever be my share in this'

(*d*) *vṛkṣaṃ vṛkṣaṃ prati siñcati* 'he waters every tree'

The 'owner-owned' (*svasvāmisambandha*) relationship is perceived in (*c*) as resulting, first out of the act of splitting something into shares, and then out of recognizing or accepting individual shares (*svīkaraṇa*). Similarly, the 'means-goal' (*sādhyasādhanabhāva*) relationship in (*d*) results from the act of 'watering' (*sekakriyā*), which is to be accomplished (*sādhya*). The *karmapravacanīya prati* in both of these sentences denotes this relationship. Note, however, that *vīpsā* per se is not denoted by *prati,* as that happens to be inferred from the reduplicated use of *vṛkṣa.*

The purpose of assigning the term *karmapravacanīya* in examples like (*d*) is not to facilitate the introduction of the accusative nominal ending (*dvitīyā*). For, *vṛkṣa* will be the object of watering, and will therefore get the accusative introduced by rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā.* The purpose of assigning the term *karmapravacanīya* here is to block the application of rule 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunotisuvati...* This rule requires a replacement by *ṣ* of any *s* occurring after the *i* or *u* of a preverb used in connection with a select list of verbs.

Take the sentence below as an example:

(*e*) *odanaṃ pariṣiñcati* 'he is soaking the rice in water'

The *s* of the verbal root *siñc* here occurs after the *i* of the preverb *pari,* and consequently gets replaced by *ṣ*. A *karmapravacanīya* designation of *prati* would not facilitate the *ṣ*-replacement in *prati siñcati* of (*d*).

1.4.91 **अभिरभागे**

abhir abhāge

/*abhiḥ* 1/1 *abhāge* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyānabhāgavīpsāsu* # 90, *karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

lakṣaṇādiṣv eva bhāgvarjiteṣv abhiḥ karmapravacanīya saṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *abhi* when *lakṣaṇa, itthaṃbhūtākhyāna,* or *vīpsā,* but not *bhāga,* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

> *vṛkṣam abhi vidyotate vidyut* 'the lightning flashes on the tree'
> *sādhur devadatto mātaram abhi* Devadatta is nice to his mother'
> *vṛkṣam abhi siñcati* 'he waters the whole tree'

1. This rule assigns the term *karmapravacanīya* to *abhi* under the semantic conditions of *lakṣaṇa, itthaṃbhūtākhyāna,* or *vīpsā,* with the sole exception of *bhāga.* This means that when the denotatum is *bhāga, abhi* must still be termed an *upasarga.* The consequence of the term *upasarga,* in contexts where the denotatum is *bhāga,* is highlighted by the following sentence:

(*a*) *yad atra mamābhiṣyat tad dīyatām* 'let me have what is my share in this'
What is in focus here is the verbal form *abhiṣyāt,* which underlies the root *as* 'to be' used with the preverb *abhi.* The root loses its *a* as a result of the application of rule 6.4.111 *śnasor allopaḥ.* Furthermore, since *abhi,* in the absence of the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya,* is still termed an *upsarga,* rule 8.3.87 *upasargaprādurbhyām astir yac paraḥ* becomes applicable. This rule requires the replacement of *s* of *as* by *ṣ,* if *ṣ* occurs after the *i,* or *u* of an *upasarga* and is followed by a vowel or *y.*

Haradatta raises another interesting point in this connection. He questions why Pāṇini did not formulate this set of rules as follows:

(*i*) *lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyānabhāgavīpsāsv abhiḥ*
(*ii*) *pratiparī bhāge ca*
(*iii*) *anur lakṣaṇatṛtīyārthaś ca*
(*iv*) *hīne*
(*v*) *upo' dhike ca*

By this formulation, there would be no need to repeat *anu;* nor would it require adding the condition of *abhāge.* The use of *ca* twice would also have put the formulation of these rules on a par. Thus Pāṇini did not, perhaps, respect brevity (*akṣaralāghava*).

1.4.92 **प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः**

pratiḥ pratinidhipratidānayoḥ
/*pratiḥ* 1/1 *pratinidhipratidānayoḥ* 7/2 = *pratinidhiś ca pratidānaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*); *tayoḥ*/
(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
pratinidhiviṣaye pratidānaviṣaye ca pratiḥ karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *prati* when *pratinidhi* 'representative, proxy' or *pratidāna* 'exchange' are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

> *māṣān asmai tilebhyaḥ prati yacchati* 'he is giving him mungo beans in exchange for sesame'

abhimanyur arjunataḥ prati 'Abhimanyu is proxy for Arjuna'

1. The words *pratinidhi* and *pratidāna* are explained as follows:
pratinidhiḥ = *mukhyasadṛśaḥ* 'he who is treated as the principal; a substitute'

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* II: 623) observes that a *pratinidhi* 'substitute' is one who is delegated to carry out the functions of a principal in the latter's absence: (*yas tu tadabhāve tatkāryakaraṇāya pratinidhīyate upādiśyate sa pratinidhiḥ*). The function of the substitute thus becomes the imitation (*anukaraṇa*) of what the principal may have done. Accordingly, *prati* denotes this special relationship, characterized as *anukāryānukaraṇa*.

The word *pratidāna* is explained as *pratiniryātanam* 'giving something in return for something received'. Thus:

(*a*) *tilān gṛhītvā māṣān dadāti* 'he accepts sesame and gives mungo beans in return'

According to *Nyāsa*, *prati* denotes here a relationship originating in the act of giving and receiving by a creditor and a debtor (*uttamamudhamarṇa-bhāva*).

1.4.93 अधिपरी अनर्थकौ

adhiparī anarthakau
/*adhiparī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *anarthakau* 1/2 (*nañ. tat*)/
(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
adhiparī śabdau anarthakau (anarthāntaravācinau) karmapravaca nīyasaṃjñau bhavataḥ

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *adhi* and *pari* when they are synonymous.

EXAMPLES:

kuto' dhy āgacchati 'where is he coming from?'
kuto pary āgacchati 'id.'

1. A proper understanding of the word *anarthaka* is crucial for the correct interpretation of this rule. This word could be superficially interpreted as 'devoid of any meaning' (*avidyamānārtha*). Commentators say that *adhi* and *pari* do have meanings of their own. Consider for example the following sentence:

(*a*) *adhigacchati vyākaraṇam* 'he understands grammar'

The *adhi* used here with *gam* would have become devoid of any meaning if *adhigam* meant 'to go'. But since *adhigam* means 'to understand', *adhi* is not devoid of meaning. The word *anarthaka* in this rule is therefore glossed as *anarthāntaravācin* 'that which denotes no meaning other than the meaning of the verb'. Now consider this example:

(*b*) *kuto' dhy āgacchati* 'where is he coming from?'

The meaning of the expression *adhy āgacchati* is no different from that already denoted by *āgacchati* alone. It is in this sense that *adhi* and *pari* could be treated as *anarthaka*. Note that *adhi* and *pari* do not denote anything special when they are used as *karmapravacanīya*. They must, however, contribute to the meaning of the verbal form when used as an *upasarga*, as in the case of sentence (*a*).

The term *karmapravacanīya* also blocks the assignment of the term *gati*. This would result in the blocking of the application or rule 8.1.70 *gatir gatau* which orders *anudātta*. Note also that the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* does not facilitate the introduction of *dvitīyā* by 2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte...* Instead, in view of *upadavibhakteḥ kārakavibhaktir balīyasī* 'a nominal ending conditioned by a co-occurring word is more powerful than the one introduced to denote a *kāraka*', the *pañcamī* 'ablative' is inferred on the strength of rule 5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil*.

1.4.94 सुः पूजायाम्

suḥ pūjāyām

/*suḥ* 1/1 *pūjāyām* 7/1/

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

suśabdaḥ pūjāyām arthe karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *su* when *pūjā* 'respect, praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

susiktaṃ bhavatā 'O, Sir, how well you have watered'
sustutaṃ bhavatā 'O, Sir, what a prayer'

1. Note that in the absence of the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* to *su* of *su siktaṃ bhavatā*, two things will happen:

(*i*) the term *upasarga* will be assigned to *su* which, in turn, would cause the replacement of the *s* of *siktam* by *ṣ* (8.3.65 *upasargāt...*) and
(*ii*) the meaning of *suṣiktam* would then involve contempt (*kṣepa*).

Thus, *suṣiktaṃ bhavatā* would mean 'O, Sir, how badly you have watered'. Note, too, that the praise for the action of watering in the context of the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* is intended as praise for the agent of watering.

1.4.95 अतिरतिक्रमणे च

atir atikramaṇe ca

/*atiḥ* 1/1 *atikramaṇe* 7/1 *ca* Ø/

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

atiśabdaḥ atikramaṇe pūjāyāṃ ca karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *ati* when *atikramaṇa* 'excelling' or *pūjā* 'praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ati siktaṃ bhavatā 'O, Sir, how excellently you have watered'
ati stutaṃ bhavatā 'O, Sir, what excellent praise'

1. The *ca* of this rule brings forth *pūjā* 'praise'. As a result, *ati* can be called a *karmapravacanīya* when praise, as well as *atikramaṇa* 'excellence' are both expressed. Consider the following example:

(*a*) *ati siktaṃ bhavatā* 'O, Sir, how excellently you have watered

The same sentence can also be interpreted as denoting praise for the agent, via the excellence of the action of watering.

1.4.96 अपिः पदार्थसंभावनान्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु

apiḥ padārthasaṃbhāvanānvavasargagarhāsamuccayeṣu
/*apiḥ* 1/1 *padārtha...samuccayeṣu* 7/1 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)
padārthe saṃbhāvane, anvavasarge, garhāyām, samuccaye ca varttamānaḥ apiḥ karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati
The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *api* when it denotes *padārtha, saṃbhāvana, anvavasarga, garhā,* and *samuccaya.*

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣo' pi syāt 'there should be some ghee too'
mahduno' pi syāt 'there should be some honey too'
api siñcen mūlakasahasram 'he may be able to water even a thousand radish plants'
api stuyād rājānam 'he may praise even a king'
api siñca, api stuhi 'water or praise as you please'
dhig jālmaṃ devadattam api siñcet palāṇḍum, api stuyād vṛṣalam 'shame on Devadatta, who waters onions and praises a *vṛṣala*'

1. The four semantic conditions of this rule have been explained by commentators as follows:

(*i*) *padārtha* = *padāntarasyāprayujyamānasyārthaḥ* 'the meaning of a word not explicitly used but implicitly assumed'
(*ii*) *saṃbhāvana* = *adhikārthavacanena śakterapratighātāviṣkaraṇam* 'indicating someone's competence in something by means of exaggeration'
(*iii*) *anvavasarga* = *kāmacārābhyanujñānam* 'permitting someone to do things as he wishes'
(*iv*) *garhā* = *nindā* 'censure'

The word *padārtha* should not be interpreted as meaning 'a given word's own meaning'. This would be superfluous, because of the inseparability of a word and its meaning (*avyabhicāritvāt*). This, in

turn, requires the interpretation of *padārtha* in a different manner. This special interpretation must be based neither upon the meaning of a word, nor upon the meaning of any other related word. (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* I: 627: *svapadārthagrahaṇe svasambandhipadārthagrahaṇe vā padārthagrahaṇam anarthakaṃ syāt.*) As a result, the word *padārtha* is interpreted as meaning 'the sense of a word implied'. In the first of the above examples, (*sarpiṣo' pi syāt*), the word *api* is used to denote the scarcity of *sarpis* 'ghee, clarified butter'. It is for this reason that *api* is interpreted here as meaning *bindu* 'drop'. Additionally, this happens to be the reason for introducing *ṣaṣṭhī* after *sarpis*. A *dvitīyā* ending cannot be introduced after *sarpis*, since it cannot be relatable to *api*. What, then, is relatable to *api*? It is the drop (*bindu*) or measure (*mātrā*) of *sarpis* that is relatable. Why can *mātrā* not be explicitly used with *dvitīyā*? Because the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* will not then be possible. It is assigned when the sense of a word is not made explicit.

The second example (*api siñcen mūlakasahasram*) is an exaggeration of a person's ability to water numerous radish plants. It becomes an indication of his general ability to water.

The notion of 'permitting someone to do as he pleases' is made clear in the third example, *api siñca, api stuhi* 'water or praise as you please'.

Lastly, the sense of *nindā* is similarly implied by Devadatta's watering of the *palāṇḍu* 'onions' or praising the *vṛṣala*, 'a very low-caste *śūdra*'.

The 'either-or' relation, given as option in connection with *anvavasarga*, can be understood as 'and' (*ca*) in connection with *samuccaya* 'collection'.

1.4.97 **अधिरीश्वरे**

adhir īśvare

/*adhiḥ* 1/1 *īśvare* 7/1/

(*karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

īśvaraḥ svāmi, sa ca svam apekṣate tad ayaṃ svasvāmisambandhe karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *adhi* when it denotes *īśvara* 'lord, master'.

EXAMPLES:

adhi brahmadatte pañcālāḥ 'the Pañcāla country is under Brahmadatta'
adhi pañcāleṣu brahmadattaḥ 'Brahmadatta is the ruler of the Pañcāla country'

1. Since the word *īśvara* means *svāmin* 'lord', the *karmapravacanīya* designation of *adhi* must be conditioned by *svasvāmisambandha* 'owner-owned relationship'. Since such a relationship involves two (*dviṣṭha*), the *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*' ordered by 2.3.9 *yasmād adhikaṃ yasyaceśvaravacanam...* is introduced, sometimes after the word denoting 'owned'

(*svam*) and at other times after the word denoting 'owner' (*svāmin*). Note that it is the action of 'protecting, preserving' etc. (*paripālanādi*) on the part of the agent identified as *īśvara* which brings about the *svasvāmisambandha*.

1.4.98 विभाषा कृञि

vibhāṣā kṛñi

/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *kṛñi* 7/1/

(*adhiḥ* # 97, *karmapravacanīyāḥ* # 83, *nipātāḥ* # 56)

adhiḥ karotau vibhāṣā karmapravacanīyasaṃjño bhavati

The term *karmapravacanīya* is optionally assigned to *adhi* when it is used with *ḌUkṛÑ*.

EXAMPLE:

yad atra mām adhi kariṣyati 'if he wins over me here...'

1. This rule makes the assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* optional in the case of *adhi* when it is used with *ḌUkṛÑ*, 'to do, make'. Note that when the option of assigning the term *karmapravacanīya* is not accepted, *adhi* will be assigned the term *gati*. That, as a result, would require *anudātta* accent by rule 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*. The assignment of the term *karmapravacanīya* thus blocks the *anudātta* accent ordered by rule 8.1.71.

1.4.99 लः परस्मैपदम्

laḥ parasmaipadam

/*laḥ* 6/1 *parasmaipadam* 1/1/

lādeśāḥ parasmaipadasaṃjña bhavanti

A replacement of *LA* is termed *parasmaipada*.

EXAMPLES: See subsequent rules.

1. The term *LA* refers to a set of ten items which all contain *L* and are collectively referred to as *lakāra*. They are enumerated as follows:

1. *LAṬ* 'present' (3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ*)
2. *LUṄ* 'immediate past' (3.2.110 *luṅ*)
3. *LIṬ* 'perfect' (3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*)
4. *LAṄ* 'imperfect' (3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ*)
5. *LUṬ* 'first future' (3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*)
6. *LṚṬ* 'general future' (3.3.12 *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ*)
7. *LOṬ* 'imperative' (3.3.162 *loṭ ca*)
8. *LṚṄ* 'conditional' (3.3.139 *liṅnimitte lṛṅkriyātipattau*)
9. *LIṄ* 'optative' (3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhīṣṭa...*)
10. *LEṬ* 'Vedic subjunctive' (3.4.7 *liṅarthe leṭ*)

Note that these *lakāra* are abstract suffixes. They are introduced after a transitive (*sakarmaka*) root to denote an agent (*kartṛ*) or object (*karman*). They are introduced after an intransitive (*akarmaka*) root to denote either an agent or *bhāva* ('root-sense'; 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*). The following two rules are also important in this connection:

3.4.77 *lasya* 'in place of *LA*'

3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha...* '*tiP, tas, jhi, siP, thas, tha...* come as replacements'

These rules clearly prove the abstract nature of affixes termed *LA*. They are replaced by items enumerated under rule 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha...* Commentators generally refer to these replacements of *LA* with the abbreviatory term *tiN* (1.4.101 *tiṇas trīṇi trīṇi...*).

The word *laḥ* is interpreted as ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' denoting *sthāna* 'place' (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhīsthāneyogā*). That is, *laḥ* is not interpreted as ending in the nominative (*prathamā*). A nominative interpretation would assign the term *parasmaipada* to the *lakāra* themselves. This is certainly not desired (*iṣṭa*). A genitive interpretation would make it possible for us to infer *ādeśa* 'replacement' from 'in place of *LA*'. This accords with rules 3.4.77 *lasya* and 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha....*

With this rule, Pāṇini assigns the term *parasmaipada* to all replacements of *LA*. This, in turn, becomes a general (*sāmānya*) rule to which the following is an exception. It is also logical in view of rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*, which would not permit the class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) of the terms *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*.

The purpose of assigning the term *parasmaipada* to the replacements of *LA* is, among other things, to condition changes in presuffixal bases (*aṅga*) by rule 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*, etc.

SCOPE: 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*

1.4.100 तङानावात्मनेपदम्

taṅānāv ātmanepadam

/*taṅānau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *ātmanepadam* 1/1/

(*laḥ* # 99)

taṅānayor ātmanepadasaṃjñā vidhīyate

Replacements of *LA* denoted by *taṄ* (*ta, ātām, jha*, etc.; cf. 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha...*) and also those denoted by *āna* (*ŚānaC* and *KānaC*; cf. 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe*; 3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā*) are termed *ātmanepada*.

1. The term *āna* in this rule is referenced without any *it* (*niranubandha*). This, in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (82: *niranubandhakagrahaṇe sānubandhakasya* 'a reference made by an item without an *it* also includes reference to all such items with *it*), will enable *āna* to refer to *ŚānaC* and *KānaC*. A reference to affixes *ŚānaN* (3.2.128 *pūṅyajoḥ śānan*) and *CānaŚ* (3.2.129

tācchīlyavayovacana...) must be ruled out, as these affixes are not introduced as replacements for *LA*. Also note in this connection that affix *Śatṛ*, because it is not a part of a reference by *āna*, remains as *parasmaipada*.

Commentators explain that *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* are long terms, accepted by Pāṇini because they were used by his predecessors (*PM* ad *Kāś*. I: 630). One of the purposes of assigning the term *ātmanepadam* is to facilitate the selection of proper affixes as replacements for *LA*.

SCOPE: 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*

1.4.101 तिङस्त्रीणित्रीणि प्रथममध्यमोत्तमाः

tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi prathamadhyamottamāḥ

/*tiṅaḥ* 6/1 *trīṇi* 1/3 *trīṇi* 1/3 *prathamamadhyamottamāḥ* 1/3 = *prathamaś ca madhyamaś ca uttamaś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/

parasmaipadeṣu trayastrikāḥ yathākramam prathamamadhyamottama-saṃjñā bhavanti, ātmanepadeṣv api trayastrikāḥ prathamamadhyamottama-saṃjñā bhavanti

The triplets of *tiN* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha...*) in both *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* are termed respectively *prathama* 'third person', *madhyama* 'second person', and *uttama* 'first person'.

EXAMPLES:

parasmaıbada			
prathama	*tiP*	*tas*	*jhi*
madhyama	*siP*	*thas*	*tha*
uttama	*miP*	*vas*	*mas*
atmunepada			
prathama	*ta*	*ātām*	*jha*
madhyama	*thās*	*āthās*	*dhvam*
uttama	*iṬ*	*vahi*	*mahiṄ*

1. We have seen how the last two rules classify the set of eighteen affixes denoted by *tiṄ*, dividing it into the two sets of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*. This rule further classifies the two sets, of nine affixes, into three subsets of three affixes each. That is, the first nine *parasmaipada* affixes will be classified in three subsets of three elements each. The next nine affixes, which are denoted by the abbreviatory term *taṄ* and called *ātmanepada*, will be similarly classified in three subsets. Each subset of three, within the larger nine-affix set, will be termed by this rule *prathama* ('third person'); *madhyama* ('second person'); and *uttama* ('first person'); respectively. This arrangement is shown in the columns above.

The classification of these affixes into the three sets of *prathama, madhyama,* and *uttama* obviously refers to the *puruṣa* 'person'. The assignment of the third, second and first persons (*prathama,* etc.) to the affixes

grouped under *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* makes class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) possible. Thus, where *parasmaipada* will be blocked by *ātmanepada* on the one hand, *prathama, madhyama* and *uttama* will not be able to block either the *parasmaipada* or the *ātmanepada* on the other.

SCOPE: 1.4.108 *śeṣe prathamaḥ*

1.4.102 तान्येकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनान्येकशः

tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ
/tāni 1/3 eka...vacanāni 1/3 (itar. dv.); ekaśaḥ 1/1
(*tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi* # 101)
tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanasaṃjñāny ekaśo bhavanti
The individual members of each triplet are termed respectively *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual', and *bahuvacana* 'plural'.

EXAMPLES:

tiP 'third person singular'
tas 'third person dual'
jhi 'third person plural', and so on

1. This rule assigns the terms *ekavacana* (*eka*), *dvivacana* (*dvi*), and *bahuvacana* (*bahu*), respectively, to each one of the three elements in the third, second and first personal sets. The following listing shows the full classification of eighteen *tiṄ* affixes in accordance with the three preceding rules.

		parasmaipada 'active'			*ātmanepada* 'middle'		
		eka	*dvi*	*bahu*	*eka*	*dvi*	*bahu*
prathama	(III)	*tip*	*tas*	*jhi*	*ta*	*ātām*	*jha*
madhyama	(II)	*siP*	*thas*	*tha*	*thās*	*āthām*	*dhvam*
uttama	(I)	*miP*	*vas*	*mas*	*iṬ*	*vahi*	*mahiṄ*

SCOPE: 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*

1.4.103 सुपः

supaḥ
/supaḥ 1/1/
(*ekavacana...ekaśaḥ* # 102, *trīṇi trīṇi* # 101)
supas ca trīṇi trīṇi padāni ekaśa ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanasaṃjñāni bhavanti
Individual members of each triplet of *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) also are termed *ekavacana, dvivacana,* and *bahuvacana* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

sŪ 'singular'

au 'dual'
jas 'plural', and so on

1. The earlier rule assigned the terms *ekavacana, dvivacana,* and *bahuvacana* to individual members of each triad of *tiṄ* in their order of enumeration. The same terms are now assigned by this rule to individual members of each triad of *sUP*, again in their order of enumeration (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭchaṣṭābhyām...*). The abbreviatory term *sUP* is formed by taking the first nominal ending *sU* and joining it to *P*, an *it*, of the last nominal ending, which is *suP*.

1.4.104 **विभक्तिश्च**

vibhaktiś ca
/vibhaktiḥ 1/1 *ca* Ø /
(*supaḥ* #103, *ekaśaḥ* 102, *tiṅas trīṇi trīṇi* 101)
trīṇi trīṇi vibhaktisaṃjñāś ca bhavanti, supas tiṅaś ca
Each triplet of *sUP* and *tiṄ* is also termed *vibhakti*.

1. The *ca* of this rule attracts both *tiṄ* and *sUP* from the preceding rule, so that both of them can be termed *vibhakti*. Furthermore, it also facilitates the *saṃjñāsamāveśa* of *prathama*, etc. The term *vibhakti* is assigned to facilitate, among other things, operations conditioned by the nominal endings. For example, a nominal ending can condition the replacement of the final *n* or *aṣṭan* 'eight', optionally with *a*, as is attested by rule 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*.

SCOPE: 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*

1.4.105 **युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः**

yuṣmady upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api madhyamaḥ
/yuṣmadi 7/1 *upapade* 7/1 *samānādhikaraṇe* 7/1 *sthānini* 7/1 *api* Ø *madhyamaḥ* 1/1/
yuṣmady upapade sati vyavahite cāvyavahite sati samānādhikaraṇe (samanābhidheye tulyakārake) sthānini prayujyamāne' prayujyamāne' pi madhyamapuruṣo bhavati
A *madhyama* 'second personal active or middle verbal ending' is used when *yuṣmad*, whether explicitly used or implicitly assumed, co-occurs in coreferential relation with it.

EXAMPLES:

tvaṃ pacasi 'you are cooking'
pacasi 'id.'
yuvāṃ pacathaḥ 'you (dual) are cooking'
pacathaḥ 'id.'

yūyaṃ pacatha 'you (pl.) are cooking'
pacatha 'id.'

1. This is a restrictive (*niyama*) rule specifying the use of *madhyama*. It outlines the use of *madhyama* under the conditions of *uṣmady upapade* 'when *yuṣmad* 'you' is the co-occurring word' and *samānādhikaraṇe* 'when *yuṣmad* is co-referential (*samānādhikaraṇa*) with the denotatum of *LA*'. Consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *tvaṃ pacasi* 'you are cooking'
(*b*) *pacasi* 'id.'

The first sentence has employed *siP*, a replacement of *LAṬ*, to denote *kartṛ* 'agent'. The pronominal form *tvam* is the nominative singular of the second personal pronoun *yuṣmad*. It has employed the nominative singular ending *sŪ* to denote *prātipadikārtha* 'nominal stem notion'. This was made necessary because *siP*, the verbal ending, has already been employed to denote the agent. This is also in consonance with the purpose of our present rule. That is, the denotatum of *yuṣmad*, and *LAṬ* replaced by *siP*, are co-referential. It is because of their co-referentiality that *yuṣmad* is put in the nominative. It is for the same reason that a sentence such as (*b*) could still have the same meaning as (*a*), even though the word *tvam* is not explicitly used. This is what is intended by the corollary *sthāniny api* 'whether explicitly used or implicitly assumed', in relation to the two conditions just discussed.

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. I: 636) explains, as do others also, that *sthāna* in the word *sthānin* means *prasaṅga* 'context'. This being the case, a *sthānin* will be that which may have a place in the context of a given sentence where *madhyama* may be co-occurring with *yuṣmad*, sharing the co-referential relationship with the denotatum of *LA*. The force of *api* in *sthāniny api* is to indicate the 'implicit assumption of *yuṣmad* in contradistinction with its explicit use'.

Note that a co-referentiality with *LA* may entail the denotatum of agent (*kartṛ*), object (*karman*), or root-sense (*bhāva*). However, for purposes of this rule, the co-referentiality between *yuṣmad* and a verbal form ending in a replacement of *LA* must be restricted to agent or object only. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*. I: 636) explains as follows:

trividhaṃ cābhidheyaṃ lakārāṇāṃ bhāvaḥ karma karttā ca; tatra dravyavācinor yuṣmadasmador bhāvavācinā lāntena samānādhikaraṇyāsambhavāt kartṛkarmaṇor eva grahaṇam

'The denotatum of *lakāra* is threefold; root-sense, object and agent. But because of the impossibility of a co-referential relation of *yuṣmad*/*asmad*, which denote substance, with a form ending in *LA* and denoting root-sense, only agent and object should be accepted here.'

1.4.106 प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च

prahāse ca manyopapade manyater uttama ekavac ca

/prahāse 7/1 *ca* Ø *manyopapade* 7/1 = *manyatir upapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *manyateḥ* 5/1 *uttamaḥ* 1/1 *ekavat* Ø *ca* Ø/

(*madhyamaḥ* # 105)

prahāse gamyamāne manyopapade dhātor madhyamapuruṣo bhavati manyateś ca uttamaḥ sa caikavad bhavati

A *madhyama* is also used after a verbal root when *prahāsa* 'teasing, joke' is denoted with reference to its action and *manya* 'to think' used with the first personal (*uttama*) singular (*ekavat*) active or middle ending co-occurs with it.

EXAMPLES:

ehi manye odanaṃ bhokṣyase iti bhuktaḥ so' tithibhiḥ 'you think you will eat rice, the guests have already eaten it'

ehi manye rathena yāsyasi yātas tena te pitā 'you think you will go by the chariot, your father has already gone with it'

1. This rule, for the purpose of denoting 'teasing', allows the use of *uttama* along with *madhyama* in place of what should have been *madhyama* and *uttama* respectively. *Kāśikā* (I: 638) observes this (cf. *madhyamottamayoḥ prāptayoḥ uttamamadhyamau vidhīyete*) with the following counter-example:

(*a*) *ehi manyase odanaṃ bhokṣye* 'you think "I will eat rice" '

Note that *manyase* is ending in *madhyama* and *bhokṣye* is ending in *uttama*. The sentence as a consequence is not denoting 'teasing'. But consider now the second example above:

(*b*) *ehi manye rathena yāsyasi yātas tena te pitā* 'you think you will go by the chariot, your father has already gone with it'

The verbal form *yāsyasi*, with reference to whose action 'teasing' is denoted, is placed in the *madhyama*. This, in turn, is co-occurring with *manye*, which ends in the first personal singular ending. A parallel sentence not denoting 'teasing' may put (*b*) in perspective:

(*c*) *ehi manyase rathena yāsyāmi yātas tena te pitā* 'you think "I will go by the chariot", your father has already gone with it'

1.4.107 अस्मद्युत्तमः

asmady uttamaḥ

/asmadi 7/1 *uttamaḥ* 1/1/

(*upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api* # 105)

asmady upapade samānābhidheye prayujyamāne' py aprayujyamāne' pi uttamapuruṣo bhavati

An *uttama* 'first personal active or middle verbal ending' is used when *asmad* 'first personal pronoun', whether explicitly used or implicitly assumed, co-occurs in co-referential relation to it.

EXAMPLES:

ahaṃ pacāmi 'I am cooking'
pacāmi 'id.'
āvāṃ pacāvaḥ 'we (dual) are cooking'
pacāvaḥ 'id.'
vayaṃ pacāmaḥ 'we (pl.) are cooking'
pacāmaḥ 'id.'

1. This again is a restrictive (*niyama*) rule, specifying the use of the first personal verbal endings (*uttama*) under the co-occurrence condition of *asmad* 'first personal pronoun'. As in the case of *madhyama* (specified by rule 1.4.105 *yuṣmady upapade...*), *asmad* too can be either explicitly used or implicitly assumed. Thus, *ahaṃ pacāmi* 'I am cooking' could simply be stated as *pacāmi* 'id.' Note further that *asmad* must also be co-referential with the denotatum of *LA*, which *uttama* replaces.

An interesting question about the interpretation of this rule has been raised in connection with the following examples:

(*a*) *pacasi pacāmi ca* 'you and I are cooking'
(*b*) *tvaṃ ca ahaṃ ca pacāvaḥ* 'you and I are both cooking'
(*c*) *āvāṃ pacāvaḥ* 'we (you and I) are cooking'

The question is summed up by *Nyāsa* as: *yadā yuṣmadasmadī dve apy ete upapade staḥ tadā kathaṃ bhavitavyam* 'what should be the case when both *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are co-occurring words?' Sentence (*a*) illustrates the separate use of the verbal forms as the answer. Sentence (*b*), by means of an inference from the *vārttika* (ad 1.2.72 *tyadādīni sarvair nityam:* cf. *Mbh.* II: 170) *tyadādīnāṃ sāmānyarthatvāt* retains the dual *pacāvaḥ*. This is done at the expense of dropping *asmad,* because it is subsequent (*para*) in the order in which it is used in the sentence. Sentence (*c*) uses *āvām,* which is co-referential with the denotatum of *vas* in *pacāvaḥ,* with the understanding that *āvām* there also includes the meaning of *yuṣmad.* Otherwise, the dual ending could not be introduced.

1.4.108 शेषे प्रथमः

śeṣe prathamaḥ
/*śeṣe* 7/1 *prathamaḥ* 1/1/
yatra yuṣmadasmadī samānādhikaraṇe upapade na staḥ tatra śeṣe prathamapuruṣo bhavati
The *prathama* 'third triplet of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada'* occurs in the remaining cases.

EXAMPLES:

pacati 'he cooks'
pacataḥ 'they (dual) cook'
pacanti 'they (pl.) cook'

1. The word *śeṣa* 'residual' has been generally interpreted as *uktād anyaḥ* 'something other than that which has already been stated'. Since usage of *madhyama* and *uttama* has already been stated with reference to the co-occurring *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, which must also share co-referential relationship with the denotatum of *LA*, *prathama* should cover instances where there is no co-referentiality with *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. This may cover a wide variety of usages. For example, it can cover instances such as:

(*a*) *bhavān atra vasati* 'you (polite) live here'
(*b*) *sa tatra vasati* 'he lives there'
(*c*) *tau tatra vasataḥ* 'they (two) live there'
(*d*) *te tatra vasanti* 'they live there'

1.4.109 परः संनिकर्षः संहिता

paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā
/*paraḥ* 1/1 *saṃnikarṣaḥ* 1/1 *saṃhitā* 1/1/
paro yaḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ sa saṃhitāsaṃjño bhavati
Maximum proximity between sounds is termed *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

dadhy atra 'there is yogurt here'
madhv atra 'there is honey here'

1. The word *para* is used here in the sense of *atiśaya* 'extremity'. Commentators interpret *saṃhitā* as *pratyāsatti* and gloss the latter as *avyabhicārisaṃnikarṣaḥ* 'uninterrupted proximity'. The hiatus (*vyavadhāna*) between two sound segments (*varṇa*), constituting the context of *saṃhitā*, is regarded as equal to the duration (*kāla*) of one half mora (*ardhamātrā*). The purpose of assigning the term *saṃhitā*, is to facilitate operations conditioned by rules such as 6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*. Consider the string *dadhi* + *atra*, which entails a hiatus of half a mora between *i* and *a* and thus qualifies to constitute the context of *saṃhitā*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* could then apply to order the *i* changed into *y* to yield *dadhy atra* 'there is yogurt here'.

SCOPE: 6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*

1.4.110 विरामोऽवसानम्

virāmo' vasānam
/*virāmo* 1/1 *avasānam* 1/1/
virāmo' vasānasaṃjño bhavati
A cessation of speech (*virāma*) is termed *avasāna*.

EXAMPLES:

dadhi 'yogurt'
madhu 'honey'

vṛkṣaḥ 'tree'
plakṣaḥ 'a *plakṣa* tree'

1. The word *virāma*, as commentators point out, can be derived in three different ways:

(*i*) *viratiḥ* = *virāmaḥ* 'cessation of speech is termed *virāma*'
(*ii*) *viramyate' nena* = *virāmaḥ* 'that by means of which cessation of speech is accomplished'
(*iii*) *viramyate' smin* = *virāmaḥ* 'that in (the vicinity of) which the cessation of speech takes place'

All of the three interpretations entail the derivation of *virāma* by introducing affix *GHaÑ* after the verbal root *ramŪ*, used with the preverb *vi*. The first two interpretations are given by the *Kāśikā* (I: 642). The last comes from the *Bālamanoramā* (ad *SK*, I: 39) of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita. The first interpretation treats the denotatum of *GHaÑ* as *bhāva* 'root-sense', as opposed to the second which treats it as *karaṇa* 'instrument, means'. The last interpretation accepts the denotatum of *GHaÑ* to be locus of vicinity (*samīpādhikaraṇa*).

These interpretations have their consequences. For example, the first would assign the term *avasāna* to the 'cessation' that occurs after the articulation of the last sound. The second and third interpretations would assign the term to the last sound segment itself. Let us derive *rāmaḥ* from *rāma* + *r* to understand the implications of these interpretations. Rule 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* requires that *r* be replaced with *ḥ*, either before a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *khaR* (*Śs*, 11-13), or before *avasāna*. The first interpretation, since it does not assign the term *avasāna* to the last sound segment before the cessation of speech, will have no problem replacing *r* with *ḥ*. For, absence of articulation, or a sound denoted by *khaR*, would then form the right context for replacement. The second and third interpretations must be phrased in such a way that *r* could be replaced with *visarga*, while at the same time serving as *avasāna*. This is made possible by interpreting the replacement condition of rule 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* as '*r* is replaced with *ḥ* when it constitutes *avasāna*, or a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *khaR* follows'.

The *Kāśikā*, in its *vṛtti*, follows the first interpretation as far as rule 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* is concerned. However, in the case of rules such as 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* and 8.4.57 *aṇopragṛhyasyānunāsikaḥ*, it seems to be following the second interpretation, for it glosses *avasāne* as *avasāne vartamāne*, which I translate as 'constituting *avasāna*'.

SCOPE: 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*

APPENDIX

Derivational History of Examples

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The derivational history of the examples presented here is based on traditional sources: mostly the *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti; *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta; *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi; *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra; *Prakriyāsarvasva* of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa; *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśabhaṭṭa; *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita; and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī. Of course, the examples themselves come from the *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana and Jayāditya.

The derivations are deliberately presented as arranged, in steps. Thereby the derivative mechanisms are made easier to comprehend. The steps also show the recurring patterns in the derivational schemes. The rule applications in the derivational processes follow the traditional descriptions, though at places I have taken slight liberties simply for the sake of clarity.

The following is the key to the various symbols used:

→ means 'becomes', or 'becomes input for the application of a rule'

\+ marks concatenated elements of a string in derivation

= marks the output of a rule application

\# marks the process of reference

Certain operations occur with great frequency. To avoid repetition and save space, I have discussed these operations in full only upon their first occurrences. Thereafter they have usually been referenced with abbreviatory terms, which I shall explain in detail as follows:

(1) *it*-deletion

This abbreviation symbolizes the process of assigning the term *it* to a sound segment, or combination of segments, which occur at the beginning or the end of a grammatical element such as a root, stem, affix, inflectional ending, augment, or class marker (*vikaraṇa*). These attachments do not form any real part of the items to which they are affixed; they are termed *it* 'destined to go away'; and they are subsequently deleted at a single stroke by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. However, they are employed to perform certain very important functions. For example, an *it* can be employed to block certain operations: *G* or *Ṅ* in an affix block the application of *guṇa* (see 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*). An *it* can be manipulated to facilitate the introduction of a grammatical element: *Ñ* is added to facilitate the introduction of both the *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* endings (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhi...*).

An *it* such as *Ṅ* also may facilitate the introduction of *ātmanepada* endings alone (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*). An *it* can facilitate, block, or

specify the accentuation of a grammatical element. Consider, for example, 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*, 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*, and 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*, where *P*, *T*, *Ñ*, and *N̥* have been manipulated for accentuation. Pāṇini also manipulates certain *it* elements to specify the place for introducing a grammatical element. For example, an item marked with *Ṭ* as an *it* is introduced at the beginning of an element, while one marked with *K* is introduced at the end (1.1.64 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). These are merely a few of the many recurring functions performed by *it* assignment. Suffice it to say that an *it* is introduced in order to serve a specific purpose, subsequent to which it is deleted.

My last phrase 'subsequent to which' raises an interesting question about the timing of the deletion of items termed *it*, in view of the fact that traditional descriptions of derivations delete those elements almost immediately upon their introduction. I have followed the same procedure here. The question arises: why can the deletion of an *it* not be postponed until the *it* has performed its function? If an *it* is deleted immediately upon introduction, no indicators remain to facilitate the recoverability of deletion, and non-recoverability is an important problem for the theory of deletion in general. The traditional grammarians have not indicated any preference as to whether to delete an *it* right away or delay deletion. Incidentally, the deletion of an *it* constitutes the single type of deletion from which there is no recoverability. In other cases, recoverability is allowed or ways are mentioned by which to achieve it.

I have used the term *it*-deletion to refer to the process by which an item is termed *it* and subsequently deleted. The following set of rules forms the context for the assignment and deletion of items termed *it*.

1.3.2 *upadeśe'j anunāsika it*
'a nasalized vowel of an item in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.3 *halantyam*
'a final consonant of an item in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ*
'a *tu*, *s*, or *m* at the end of a *vibhakti* is not termed an *it*'
1.3.5 *ādirñiṭuḍavaḥ*
'an initial *ÑI*, *ṬU*, and *ḌU* of an item in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.6 *ṣaḥ pratyayasya*
'the initial *Ṣ* of an affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it*
1.3.7 *cuṭū*
'the initial *cU* (palatal stops and nasal) or *ṭU* (retroflex stops and nasal) of an affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite*
'the initial *L*, *Ś*, and *kU* (velar stops and nasal) of a non-*taddhita* affix in *upadeśa* is termed *it*'
1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*
'there is disappearance of that which is termed *it*'

(2) *sUP*-selection

Pāṇini formulates 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* whereby a fully derived word is defined as one which ends in either a *sUP* or *tiÑ*. Note that *sUP* is an abbreviatory term denoting a class of twenty-one nominal endings listed by 1.4.2 *svaujas....*

	ekavacana (sing)	*dvivacana* (dual)	*bahuvacana* (plur)
pratnamā (nominative)	*sU*	*au*	*Jas*
dvitīyā (accusative)	*am*	*auṬ*	*Śas*
tṛtīyā (instrumental)	*Ṭā*	*bhyām*	*bhis*
caturthī (dative)	*Ṅe*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
pañcamī (ablative)	*ṄasI*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
ṣaṣṭhī (genitive)	*Ṅas*	*os*	*ām*
saptamī (locative)	*Ṅi*	*os*	*sUP*

Rule 4.1.2 merely enumerates these twenty-one elements. In order to select any particular one, other rules must be brought to the context of 4.1.2. The following is a controlled listing of the relevant rules:

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* #
  1.2.45 *arthavad adhātur...*
  1.4.103 *supaḥ*
  1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
  1.4.22 *dvyekayor...*
  2.3.1 *anabhihite*
  2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* #
    1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*

These rules help select an accusative ending, namely the singular *am*, after the nominal stem *odana* 'rice' in *devadatta odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking rice.' It is from these rules that we know that *sUP* is an abbreviatory term denoting twenty-one nominal endings termed *vibhakti*. We also know that these endings can be grouped in seven triads where each triad has three members denoting singular, dual, and plural.

Furthermore, the introduction of these endings is constrained by whether or not their denotatum has already been expressed elsewhere. This brings us to the question of their denotatum. It could be either a grammatical (*kāraka*) or notional relation. For example, the second triad (*dvitīyā*) is used to denote the object (*karman*), when that object has not been expressed elsewhere by some other means. The selection of a nominal ending is thus also dependent upon the rules of the *kāraka* section. A similar dependency relationship between 4.1.2 *svaujas...* and the

kāraka-vibhakti section on the one hand, and the rules of the 1.4 section such as 1.4.3 on the other, can be seen at work in the selection of *sUP*.

In volume I of this study I have discussed the mechanisms used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* to bring relevant information from a different section closer to the context of the rule under consideration. Suffice it to say here that each time a selection of *sUP* is made, all such rules have to be brought close to 4.1.2 to facilitate the selection. In the actual derivations I have shown several times in detail the selection of *sUP* with reference to retrieved rules. Because of lack of space and to avoid repetition, I later omit the details. Instead I use the term *sUP*-selection to refer to this process.

(3) *sUP*-deletion

This term refers to the process for deleting any *sUP*, whereby one must refer to rules and their related exceptions, such as those in the following sequence.

2.4.71 *supodhātuprātipadikayoḥ*
'a *sUP* of a *dhātu* (verb root) or *prātipadika* (nominal stem) is replaced with *LUK* (deletion)'

2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ*
'a *sUP*, or an *āP* (feminine affix), occurring after an *avyaya* (indeclinable) is replaced with *LUK*'

2.4.83 *nāvyayībhāvād ato' pañcamyāḥ*
'a *sUP* occurring after an *avyayībhāva* (indeclinable compound) is not replaced with *LUK* when the compound ends in *a;* instead it is replaced by *am,* though not when it is *pañcamī* (fifth triad of *sUP*)'

I shall use the term *sUP*-deletion to refer to these and similar rule patterns whereby a *sUP* will be deleted by express mention of the term *LUK*.

(4) *tiN*-selection

The process of selecting *tiN* 'verbal endings' is in many ways similar to the selection of *sUP*. The abbreviatory term *tiN* denotes eighteen elements termed *vibhakti* (1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*) which are introduced after verbal roots (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) as replacements for *LA* (3.4.77 *lasya*). The selection of a *tiN* also entails retrieving relevant rules, such as the following, from elsewhere in the grammar.

1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*
'a replacement of *LA* is termed *parasmaipada* (active)'

1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*
'a replacement of *LA* denoted by *taN* or *āna* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...*) is termed *ātmanepada* (middle)'

1.4.101 *tiṇastrīṇitrīṇi prathamamadhyamottamāḥ*
'each triad of *tiN*, in each set of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*, is termed *prathama* (third person), *madhyama* (second person), and *uttama* (first person) respectively'

1.4.102 *tāny ekavacanadvivacanabahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ*
'elements of individual *tiṄ* triads are each termed *ekavacana* (singular), *dvivacana* (dual), and *bahuvacana* (plural) respectively'
1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
'individual elements in *tIṄ* triads are each termed *vibhakti*'
The classification of the *tiṄ* replacements of *LA* is thus as follows:

	ekavacana	*dvivacana*	*bahuvacana*
parasmaipada			
prathama	*tiP*	*tas*	*jhi*
madhyama	*siP*	*thas*	*tha*
uttama	*miP*	*vas*	*mas*
ātmanepada			
prathama	*ta*	*ātām*	*jha*
madhyama	*thās*	*āthām*	*dhvam*
uttama	*iṬ*	*vahi*	*mahiṄ*

This classification itself suggests that all kinds of rules have to be retrieved to form the total context of *tiṄ* selection. Additional terms and rules will also be applicable. For example, 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam* states that a *tiṄ* affix is termed *sārvadhātuka.* This and similar rules have consequences for *tiṄ* selection. In the first derivations I have shown the selection of *tiṄ* affixes in detail. Subsequently I have used the abbreviation *tiṄ*-selection for this process.

(5) *s/r-visarga*
The following two rules also occur frequently in the derivations:
8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*
'the *pada*-final *s* as well as the *ṣ* of *sajuṣ* is replaced with *rŨ*'
8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*
'*r* is replaced with *visarga* (*ḥ*) before a consonant denoted by *khR* (*Śs*, 11-13), or before *avasāna* (pause)'
Clearly 1.4.110 *virāmo' vasānam,* which defines *avasāna,* will be brought close to the context of these applications. I have indicated this very common change by the term *s-visarga,* though I also use *r-visarga* for the change of *r* to *ḥ*.

(6) *dvitva* 'doubling'
Certain roots go through doubling, under the requirements of rules such as the following:
6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anābhyāsasya*
'a root not already doubled is doubled when *LIṬ* (perfect; 3.2.15 *parokṣe liṭ*) follows'
6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ*
'a root which ends in *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ samānakartṛkād...*) or *yaṄ* (3.1.22

dhātor ekāco...) and is not already doubled is doubled'

6.1.10 *ślau*

'a root not already doubled is doubled when *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyah...*) follows'

6.1.11 *caṅi*

'a root not already doubled is doubled when *CaṄ* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridrubhyaḥ kartari caṅ*) follows'

What is doubled in all these cases is the part of the root constituted by the first vowel (*ekāc;* 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*). If a root is not monosyllabic and begins with a vowel, the second unit constituted by a vowel is doubled (6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*).The first of the two reduplicated units is called *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*), while both are termed *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*). The purpose of assigning the term *abhyāsa* is to facilitate the application of rules such as 7.4.58 *atra lopo' bhyāsasya* and 6.1.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ,* whereby deletion (*LOPA*), shortening (*hrasva*), or retention of the unit constituted by the first consonant can be ordered. I have used *dvitva* to indicate doubling, the assignment of the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta,* and operations conditioned by the term *abhyāsa.*

(7) Variable reference (*VR*)

Pāṇini uses variables such as *yat* 'that which' and *tat* 'that'. They are given as part of a context such that a reconstruction of actual strings with their referents can easily be made. Consider, for example, the following rules:

4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*

'a *taddhita* affix is introduced after the first among syntactically related words'

4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*

'the descendant of *X*'

Note that the second rule introduces the affix *aṆ* after the first among syntactically related words. This rule also contains the variable *tat,* given in the genitive. The antecedent of this variable can be reconstructed as ending in genitive and denoting a person in relation to whom *apatya* 'offspring' is named. Let us say that the antecedent of *tat* is *upagu.* This would enable us to reconstruct the string, in view of 4.1.82 and 4.1.92, as *upagor apatyam* 'the offspring of Upagu'. More importantly, one would be able to reconstruct the posited string for the derivation of *aupagavaḥ* as *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *apatya* + *sU.*

Let us also examine the following two rules.

3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*

'that which is specified with *saptamī* (seventh triad of *sUP*) in the rules of the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* is termed an *upapada* (co-occurring word)'

3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*

'affix *aṆ* is introduced after a verbal root when a word denoting *karman* co-occurs'

Note that the word *karmaṇi* is put in the locative, in consequence of which it will be regarded as a co-occurring word denoting *karman.* For the application of 3.2.1, we have to have a string of at least two elements, where the first has to be a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) denoting the object. The second element has to be a verbal root. The completed string could be, for example: *kumbha + ām + kṛ,* where the genitive *ām* denotes object. A string such as *kumbha + ām + kṛ + a* (Ṇ → Ø) will ultimately yield *kumbhakāra,* para-phrased as *kumbhānāṃ karttā* 'the maker of pots'. Incidentally, affix *aṆ,* since it is a non-*tiṄ,* is termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) and being a *kṛt,* denotes *kartṛ* (3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*). I shall not show a detailed reconstruction of the variable references in the actual derivations. Instead I shall use the expression 'variable reference' (*VR*) to indicate the process.

Examples have been numbered in the order of their occurrence in the text. An alphabetical index of examples with page references to the text and appendix is provided to facilitate quick reference. No attempt has been made, however, to separately list those derivational examples which are given under rules as part of larger expressions. The derivational details given between steps of rule applications should be regarded as complementary to the explanatory notes given under the rules in question.

DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES

1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*

The purpose of this *sūtra* is to explain what the term *vṛddhi* means when it is encountered in the grammar. The derivational history of the following examples is presented in a slightly different order from *Kāśikā* for the sake of clarity.

(1) *aupagavaḥ*

(*a*) *upagu*

1.2.45	*arthavad...*
4.1.1	*ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2	*svauj...* (3.1.1-2) # 1.4.103 *supaḥ,* 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
1.4.22	*dvekayor...*
2.3.50	*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*

= *upagu + Ṅas*

Similarly, one can also derive *apatya + sŪ,* where *sŪ* is introduced by 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha....* Now we have a string of *pada* (see 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*): *upagu + Ṅas + apatya + sŪ.* This string can yield *upagor apatyam* and *aupagavaḥ* depending on what operational steps are followed. Both forms can be used as alternants without any difference in meaning. Our example (1) *aupagavaḥ* is derived by introducing the affix *aṆ* after *upagu + Ṅas* where *aṆ* expresses *apatya* 'offspring'.

Note here that this affix *aṄ* is introduced after *upagu* + *Ṅas* in order to denote *apatya* 'offspring'. Any attempt to show two syntactically related *pada,* with one being constituted by *apatya* + *sU,* is done purely for pedagogical purposes. Actually *apatya* + *sU* is inferred on the strength of rules such as 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam.* This observation also holds for some subsequent derivations, such as (5) *śālīyaḥ* where an attempt has been made to show the derivation of *bhava* + *sU.*

(*b*) *upagu* + *Ṅas*

4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* (3.1.1-1, 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*)

4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*) # *VR*

= *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*

(*c*) *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*

1.3.3 *halantyam*

1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*

= *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *a*

Note that 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* can also apply to define the *Ṅ* of *Ṅas* as an *it.* Consequently *Ṅ* should also get deleted by 1.3.9. However I have not shown this because, shortly, 2.4.71 will delete the total affix *Ṅas* anyway. This practice also applies to other instances where total deletion of an ending is anticipated. I realize that I am blocking the deletion of *Ṅ* solely for reasons of economy; the application of a rule (*śāstrapravṛtti*) should not ordinarily be blocked in this way.

(*d*) *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *a*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* (1.2.45 *arthavad...*)

2.4.71 *supodhātuprātipadikayoḥ* (2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyā...lug...*)

= *upagu* + (*Ṅas* → *0*) + *a*

= *upagu* + *a*

All instances of the deletion of a nominal ending will be referred to by the term *sUP*-deletion. For details of rules involved, see 2.4.71 *supodhātu...* and so on.

(*e*) *upagu* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.2.117 *taddhiteṣvacām ādeḥ* (7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*) # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic,* 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*

= (*u* → *au*) *pagu* + *a*

= *aupagu* + *a*

Rules 1.3.3 through 1.3.8 assign the term *it* to a given segment which 1.3.9 subsequently deletes. Since this pattern is quite frequent in derivations, I shall not indicate detailed rule applications in subsequent occurrences. Instead I shall just indicate the assignment and deletion of the term *it* by '*it*-deletion', for which see introductory remarks to the appendix.

(*f*) *aupagu* + *a*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.129 *bhasya*
6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*
= *aupag* (*u* → *o*) + *a*
= *aupago* + *a*

(*g*) *aupago* + *a*
1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.78 *eco' yāva yāvaḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*
= *aupag* (*o* → *av*) + *a*
= *aupagava*

(*h*) *aupagava*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* (*sUP*) (3.1.1-2 *pratyayaḥ, paraś ca*) # 1.4.103 *supaḥ*, 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*, 1.4.22 *dvekayor dvivacanaikavacane*, 2.3.46 *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇa-vacanamātre prathamā*
= *aupagava* + *sŨ*

(*i*) *aupagava* + *sŨ*
it-deletion
= *aupagava* + *s*

(*j*) *aupagava* + *s*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...aṅgam*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
= *aupagava* + *s*

Note that no obvious purpose is served in defining the string as an *aṅga* and sending it to the *aṅga* domain. Nevertheless, this step cannot be ignored, since other strings may qualify for rule application.

(*k*) *aupagava* + *s*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.2.16 *padasya*
8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*
= *aupagava* + *rŨ*

(*l*) *aupagava* + *rŨ*
it-deletion
= *aupagava* + *r*

(*m*) *aupagava* + *r*
8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* # 1.4.110 *virāmo' vasānam*
= *aupagava* + (*r* → *ḥ*)
= *aupagavaḥ*

The change of *s* → *rŨ* → *ḥ* is also very frequent, I shall henceforth indicate this by *s-visarga*.

One can similarly derive (2) *aupamanyavaḥ* from (*upamanyu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* + *sŪ*.

(3) *āśvalāyanaḥ*

(*a*) *aśvala*

follow step *(a)* of (1) *aupagavaḥ*

(*b*) *aśvala* + *Ṅas*

same as (1) *aupagavaḥ* except for the affix *aṆ* not being introduced after *aśvala* + *Ṅas;* instead its exception *phaK* is introduced by 4.1.99 *naḍādibhyo phak.*

= *aśvalā* + *Ṅas* + *phak* # *VR*

(*c-d*) *aśvala* + *Ṅas* + *phaK*

as in (1) *aupagavaḥ*

= *aśvala* + *pha*

(*e*) *aśvala* + *pha*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakha...*

= *aśvala*

(*pha* → *āyana*) # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*

(*f*) *aśvala* + *āyana*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*

6.4.129 *bhasya*

6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*

= *aśval(a* → *∅)* + *āyana*

= *aśval* + *āyana*

(*g*) *aśval* + *āyana*

7.2.118 *kiti ca* # 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣvacām...*

7.2.114 *mṛjer...* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*

1.1.50 *sthāne...*

= (*a* → *ā*) *śval* + *āyana*

= *āśvalāyana*

(*h*) *āśvalāyana*

Follow steps *(h)* through *(m)* of (1) to derive *āśvalāyanaḥ*.

One can also follow this derivational pattern to derive

(4) *aitikāyanaḥ* from (*itika* + *Ṅas* + *phak*) + *sŪ*.

(5) *śālīyaḥ*

(*a*) *śālā*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*

4.1.2 *svaujas...* # 1.4.103 *supaḥ,* 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca,* 1.4.22 *dvekayor...*

1.4.45 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*

2.3.36 *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca*

= *śālā* + *Ṅi*

Similarly one may derive *bhava* + *sŪ*, where *sŪ* is introduced by 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha....* Now we have a string of *pada* (see 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*): *śālā* + *Ṅi* + *bhava* + *sŪ*. This string can yield *śālāyāṃ bhavaḥ* or *śālīyaḥ* depending on what operations are followed. Both forms can be used as alternants without any difference in meaning. Our example (5) *śālīyaḥ* is derived by introducing the affix *cha* after *śālā* + *Ṅi*, where *cha* expresses 'that which obtains or is located there'.

(*b*) *śālā* + *Ṅi*

4.1.82 *samarthā...* (3.1.1-2, 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*)
4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*
4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* # *VR*
4.2.113 *vṛddhācchaḥ* # 1.1.73
vṛddhir yasya..., 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*
= *śālā* + *Ṅi* + *cha*

(*c*) *śālā* + *Ṅi* + *cha*

sUP-deletion
= *śālā* + *cha*

(*d*) *śālā* + *cha*

it-deletion
= *śālā* + *a*

(*e*) *śālā* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ...* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *śālā* + *īy* + *a*

(*f*) *śālā* + *īy* + *a*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.129 *bhasya*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* # 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*
= *śāl* (*ā* → Ø) + *īy* + *a*
= *śālīya*

(*g*) *śālīya*

śālīyaḥ
follow steps (*h*) through (*m*) of (l)

The initial *vṛddhi* vowel (*ā*) of *śālā* is considered *atadbhāvita* 'nonderived'. One can follow the same steps to derive (6) *mālīyaḥ* from (*māla* + *Ṅas* + *cha*) + *sŪ*.

1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*

The purpose of this *sūtra* is to explain what the term *guṇa* means when it is encountered in the grammar.

(7) *taritā*

(*a*) *tṛ*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*
3.1.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*
= *tṛ* + *tṛC*

(*b*) *tṛ* + *tṛC*
it-deletion.
= *tṛ* + *tṛ*

(*c*) *tṛ* + *tṛ*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*
1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *tṛ* + *iṬ* + *tṛ*

(*d*) *tṛ* + *iṬ* + *tṛ*
it-deletion
= *tṛ* + *i* + *tṛ*

(*e*) *tṛ* + *i* + *tṛ*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* (7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*) # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.3 *iko guṇa...*, 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*
= *t*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *i* + *tṛ*
= *tar* + *i* + *tṛ*

(*f*) *tar* + *i* + *tṛ*
as in steps (*h, i*) of (1)
= *taritṛ* + *sŪ*

(*g*) *taritṛ* + *sŪ*
1.4.13 *yasmāt*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.94 *ṛduśanaspu...* (7.1.93 *anaṅ sau*) # 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*
= *tarit*(*ṛ* → *anAṄ*) + *sŪ*
= *taritan* + *s*

(*h*) *taritan* + *s*
1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*)
6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne...* # 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt*, 1.2.27 *ukālo' j hrasva...*
= *tarit*(*a* → *ā*)*n* + *s*
= *taritān* + *s*

(*i*) *taritān* + *s*
1.2.41 *apṛkta...*
6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt...*

= *taritān* + (*s* → ∅)
= *taritān*

(*j*) *taritān*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* # 1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.27 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*
= *taritā*(*n* → ∅)
= *taritā*

One can also derive (8) *cetā* from *cIṄ* + *tṛC,* to which steps *(c)* and *(d)* of (7) do not apply, mostly because 7.2.10 *ekāc...* does not permit *iṬ*-placement. The other steps are the same. Similarly (9) *stotā* can be derived from (*ṣṭuÑ* + *tṛc* = *stotṛ*) + *sŪ.*

(10) *pacanti*

(*a*) *ḌUpacĀṢ*

it-deletion
= *pac*

(*b*) *pac*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca...*(3.4.68 *kartari*)
= *pac* + *LAṬ*

Note here that I am not showing the *it*-deletion in *LAṬ* as it will soon be replaced.

(*c*) *pac* + *LAṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, 1.4.101 *tiṅastrīṇi...*, 1.4.102 *tāny ekavacana...*, 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca,* 1.4.23 *bahuṣu...* # *sUP*-selection
= *pac* + (*LAṬ* → *jhi*)
= *pac* + *jhi*

(*d*) *pac* + *jhi*

3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*
3.1.68 *kartari śap*
= *pac* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*

(*e*) *pac* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*

it-deletion
= *pac* + *a* + *jhi*

(*f*) *pac* + *a* + *jhi*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*
= *pac* + *a* + (*jh* → *ant*) *i*
= *pac* + *a* + *anti*

(*g*) *pac + a + anti*

1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnīkarṣaḥ saṃhitā*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe* (6.1.96 *usyapadāntāt*; note that 6.4.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* cannot apply) # 1.1.2 *aden guṇaḥ*
= *pac + (a + a → a)nti*
= *pacanti*

(*h*) *pacanti*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *pacanti*

(11) *jayanti*

To derive *jayanti*, follow steps (*a*) through (*g*) of (10); this will yield: *ji + a + anti.*

(*h*) *ji + a + anti*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* (7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*) # 1.1.2 *aden guṇaḥ*, 1.1.50 *sthāne'...*
= *j(i → e) + a + anti*
= *je + a + anti*

(*i*) *je + a + anti*

1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnīkarṣaḥ saṃhitā*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *j(e → ay) + a + anti*
= *jay + a + anti*

(*j*) *jay + a + anti*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, and so on as in (*g*) of (10)
= *jay (a + a → a)nti*
= *jay + anti*

(*k*) *jay + anti*

jayanti (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam)*
= *jayanti*

(12) *pace*

(*a-b*) *ḌUpacĀṢ*

follow (*a*) and (*b*) of (10)
= *pac + LAṬ*

(*c*) *pac + LAṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, 1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam* # 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*, 1.4.101 *tiṅas...*, 1.4.102 *tāny ekavacana...*, 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*, 1.4.108 *śeṣe prathamaḥ*, 1.4.22 *dvekayor...* # *tiṄ*-selection
= *pac + iṬ*

(*d*) *pac + iṬ*

it-deletion
= *pac* + *i*

(*e*) *pac* + *i*
follow steps (*d-e*) of (10)
= *pac* + *a* + *i*

(*f*) *pac* + *a* + *i*
3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭere* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*
= *pac* + *a* + *(i* + *e* → *e)*
= *pac* + *a* + *e*

(*g*) *pac* + *a* + *e*
follow steps (*g-h*) of (10)
= *pac* + *(a* + *e* → *e)*
= *pace*

1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*
(13) *tarati*
(*a*) *tṛ*
same as (*b*) of (10)
= *tṛ* + *LAṬ*

(*b*) *tṛ* + *LAṬ*
same as (*c*) of (10) except that 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam* does not apply here; instead 1.4.22 *dvyekayor-dvivacanai-kavacane* applies, and hence *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP*.
= *tṛ* + *(LAṬ* → *tiP)*
= *tṛ* + *tiP* # *tiṄ*-selection

(*c*) *tṛ* + *tiP*
it-deletion
= *tṛ* + *ti*

(*d*) *tṛ* + *ti*
same as (*d-e*) of (10)

(*e*) *tṛ* + *a* + *ti*
1.4.13 *yasmāt*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* (7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*) # 1.1.2 *aden guṇaḥ*, 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī* 1.1.50 *sthāne...*, 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*
= *t(ṛ* → *ar)* + *a* + *ti*
= *tar* + *a* + *ti*

(*f*) *tar* + *a* + *ti*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *tarati*

The derivation of (14) *nayati* and (15) *bhavati* is very similar. The root in *nayati* is *ṇĪÑ*, to which, after the deletion of *Ñ* (1.3.3 *halantyam*, 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*), 6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ* applies. As a consequence the initial *ṇ* of the root is

replaced by *n*: (*ṇ* → *n*)*ī* = *nī*. Both *nī* of (14) and *bhū* of (15) follow steps (*a*) through (*e*) of *tarati* to yield:

(14) *n(ī → e) + a + ti = ne + a + ti.*
(15) *bh(ū → o) + a + ti = bho + a + ti.*

In addition, 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* causes the *e* and *o* of (14) and (15) to be replaced by *ay* and *av*:

(14) *n(e → ay) + a + ti*
= *n + ay + a + ti*
= *nayati*;
(15) *bh(o → av) + a + ti*
= *bhav + a + ti*
= *bhavati*

(16) *akārṣīt*
(*a*) *ḌUkṛÑ*
it-deletion
= *kṛ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* (3.1.1-2 *pratyayaḥ, paraś ca*)
3.2.84 *bhūte*
3.2.110 *LUṄ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*
= *kṛ + LUṄ*
(*b*) *kṛ + LUṄ*
3.1.43 *cli luṅi*
= *kṛ + CLI + LUṄ*
3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*
= *kṛ + (CLI → sĪC) + LUṄ*
= *kṛ + sĪC + LUṄ*
(*c*) *kṛ + sĪC + LUṄ*
it-deletion
= *kṛ + s + LUṄ*
(*d*) *kṛ + s + LUṄ*
3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, and so on, which facilitate *tiṄ* selection
= *kṛ + s + (LUṄ → tiP)*
= *it*-deletion
= *kṛ + s + ti*
(*e*) *kṛ + s + ti*
3.4.100 *itaś ca*
= *kṛ + s + t(i → Ø)*
= *kṛ + s + t*
3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhā...* 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*
(*f*) *kṛ + s + t*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.71 *luṅlaṅ... #* 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*
= *aṬ + kṛ + s + t*
= *it*-deletion
= *a + kṛ + s + t*

(*g*) *a + kṛ + s + t*
7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ... #* 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic,* 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī,* 1.1.50 *sthāne...,* 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*
= *a + kār + s + t*

(*h*) *a + kār + s + t*

Note here that 7.2.35 *ārddhātuka...* cannot apply to assign the augment *iṬ* to *s* since *kṛÑ* is marked with *anudātta*, and hence, 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe...* will not permit it.

1.2.41 *apṛkta...*
7.3.96 *astisico'pṛkte... #* 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *a + kār + s + īṬ + t*
= *it*-deletion
= *a + kār + s + ī + t*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *a + kār + (s → ṣ) + ī + t*
= *a + kār + ṣ + ī + t*
= *akārṣīt*

One can similarly derive:

(17) *ahārṣīt,* from *aṬ + hṛÑ + sĪC + īṬ + tiP,*
(18) *acaiṣīt,* from *aṬ + ciÑ + sĪC + īṬ + tiP,* and
(19) *anaiṣīt,* from *aṬ + ṇīÑ + siČ + īṬ + tiP*

where the initial *ṇ* of the root is replaced by *n* by 6.1.65 *ṇonaḥ,* as in (14) *nayati.*

Examples (20) *alāvīt,* and (21) *astāvīt* are slightly different.

(20) *alāvīt*

(*a-g*) *lūÑ*
same as steps (*a*) through (*g*) of (16)
= *a + lau + s + t*

(*h*) *a + lau + s + t*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya... #* 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
a + lau + iṬ + s + t
it-deletion
= *a + lau + i + s + t*

(*i*) *a + lau + i + s + t*
same as the application of 7.3.96 *astīsīco...* at step (*h*) of (16) *akārṣīt*
= *a + lau + i + s + ī(Ṭ → ∅) + t*

(*j*) *a + lau + i + s + ī + t*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.2.16 *padasya*

8.2.18 *iṭ īṭi*

= *a + lau + i + (s → ∅) + ī + t*

(*k*) *a + lau + i + ī + t*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām* # 1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ...*

6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*

= *a + l(au → āv) + i + ī + t*

= *a + lāv + i + ī + t*

(*l*) *a + lāv + i + ī + t*

6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*

= *a + lāv + (i + ī → ī) + t*

= *a + lāv + ī + t*

= *alāvīt*

Note that 6.1.101 applied here only because 8.2.28 *iṭ īṭi* deleted the intervocalic *s* from the string at step (*i*). According to 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, application of 8.2.28 will be considered as suspended (*asiddha*) with regard to 6.1.101. That is, as far as 6.1.101 is concerned, the deletion of the intervocalic *s* by 8.2.28 never took place. However since this interpretation would not allow 6.1.101 to apply, and consequently a wrong form **alāvisīt* would result, 8.2.28 is not considered as suspended in this context. For details concerning this, refer to the *vārttika* on this rule: *sijlopa ekādeśe siddho vācyaḥ* 'the deletion of *sIC* is to be stated as *siddha* when *ekādeśa* is to be performed'.

Example (21) *astāvīt* derives from *aṬ* + *stuÑ* + *iṬ* + *sIC* + *īṬ* + *tiP* according to the same steps as (20) *alāvīt*.

1.1.4 *na dhātulopa ārdhadhātuke*

(22) *loluvaḥ*

(*a*) *lūÑ*

it-deletion

= *lū*

(*b*) *lū*

3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco...yaṅ* (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.2 *paraś ca*)

= *lū + yaṄ*

it-deletion

= *lū + ya*

(*c*) *lū + ya*

6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*

6.1.4 *pūrvo'bhyāsaḥ*

= *lūy + lūy + a* # *dvitva*

(*d*) *lūy + lūy + a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.1.4 *aṅgasya*
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* (7.4.58 *atra lopo' bhyāsasya*)
= *lū(y → Ø) + lūy + a*
= *lū + lūy + a*

(*e*) *lū + lūy + a*
7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.3 *iko...*, 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= *l(ū → o) + lūy + a*
= *lo + lūy + a*
= *lolūya*

(*f*) *lolūya*
3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.1.134 *nandigrahi...lyuṇinyacaḥ*
= *lolūya + aC*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
it-deletion
= *lolūya + a*

(*g*) *lolūya + a*
2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca* # 1.1.61 *pratyayasya...*
= *lolū(ya → Ø) + a*
= *lolū + a*

Note here that *lolūya* was termed a root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Rule 2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca* has just deleted *ya* (a part of this root) under the conditions of the following *ārdhadhātuka* (3.1.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*) affix *aC*.

(*h*) *lolū + a*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* (7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*)

Note here that 7.3.84 requires that the *ū* of *lolū* (an *aṅga*) be replaced by *guṇa* because the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *aC* follows. Rule 1.1.4 *na dhātulopa...* will not permit this *guṇa* replacement because the *ārdhadhātuka* affix (*aC*) which conditions it is the same affix which also caused the deletion of *ya* of the root *lolūya*. In short, 7.3.84 will be blocked by 1.1.4.

(*i*) *lolū + a*
6.4.77 *aci śnudhātu...* # 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*
= *lol(ū → uvAṄ) + a*
it-deletion
= *lol + uv + a*
= *loluva*

(*j*) *loluva*
s-visarga
= *loluvaḥ*

To derive (23) *popuvaḥ* from *pūṄ*, follow the same pattern as in (22) *loluvaḥ*.

(24) *marimṛjaḥ*

(*a*) *mṛjŪS*

same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (22) *loluvaḥ*

= *mṛ* + *mṛj* + *ya*

(*b*) *mṛ* + *mṛj* + *ya*

7.4.66 *urat* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *m*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *mṛj* + *ya*

= *mar* + *mṛj* + *ya*

(*c*) *mar* + *mṛj* + *ya*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= *ma*(*r* → ∅) + *mṛj* + *ya* # *dvitva*

7.4.90 *rīgṛdupadhasya ca* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*

= *ma* + *rīK* + *mṛj* + *ya*

it-deletion

= *ma* + *rī* + *mṛj* + *ya*

= *marīmṛjya*

(*d*) *marīmṛjya*

same as steps (*f*) through (*g*) of (22) *loluvaḥ*

= *marīmṛjya* + *a*(*C* → ∅)

= *marīmṛj*(*ya* → ∅) + *a*

Here again the *ya* of the root is deleted under the conditions of the following *ārdhadhātuka* affix.

= *marīmṛj* + *a*

(*e*) *marīmṛj* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*, 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*, 1.1.4 *na dhātulopa...*

Rule 7.2.114 requires that *ṛ*(*ik*) of *marīmṛj* (an *aṅga*) be replaced by *vṛddhi*. Rule 1.1.4 will not permit this because *a*(*C*) is the same *ārdhadhātuka* affix which conditioned the deletion of part of *marīmṛjya* (the root).

= *marīmṛj* + *a*

= *marīmṛja*

s-*visarga*

= *marīmṛjaḥ*

The derivation of (25) *sarīsṛpaḥ* is almost identical. It differs from (24) in that, in *marīmṛjaḥ*, 1.1.4 blocked the *vṛddhī* replacement, while in *sarīsṛpaḥ*, 1.1.4 blocks *guṇa* replacement ordered by 7.3.86 *puganta*....

1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*

(26) *citaḥ*

(*a*) *ciÑ*

it-deletion

= *ci*

(*b*) *ci*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.2.84 *bhūte*
3.2.102 *niṣṭhā* # 1.1.25 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*

= *ci* + *Kta*

it-deletion

= *ci* + *ta*

(*c*) *ci* + *ta*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

Note that 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* cannot apply since *ciÑ* is *anudātta* and thus *iṬ* will be blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāc...*; also see step (*h*) of (16) *akārṣīt*. Similarly 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* would require a *guṇa* replacement for the *iK* of *ci*; this however will be blocked by 1.1.5, since affix *Kta* which conditions this replacement is marked by *K*.

= *cita*

(*d*) *cita* + *sŪ*

s-visarga

= *citaḥ*

Similar steps can be followed to derive:

(27) *stutaḥ*, from (*ṣṭuÑ* + *Kta*) + *sŪ*;

(28) *bhinnaḥ*, from (*bhidIR* + *Kta*) + *sŪ*, and

(29) *mṛṣṭaḥ*, from (*mṛjŪS* + *Kta*) + *sŪ*.

In (27), the root-initial *ṣ* is changed to *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*. This in turn causes the following *ṭ* to be replaced by *t*. Note that the root-initial *ṣ* of *ṣṭuÑ* caused the following *t* to become *ṭ*. When this *ṣ* is changed to *s*, the change of *t* into *ṭ*, which the ṣ conditioned, must also be undone (see the *Paribhāṣā* 56: *nimittāpāye naimittikasyāpyapāyaḥ*). Similarly in (28), both the *d* and *t* of *bhid* + *ta* are changed to *n* by 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto na pūrvasya ca daḥ*. Thus (*bhi*(*d* → *n*) + (*t* → *n*) + *a*) + *sŪ* = *bhinna* + *sŪ* = *bhinnaḥ*. Unlike (26), where *guṇa* is blocked before an affix marked with *K*, (29) *mṛṣṭaḥ* illustrates the blocking of a *vṛddhi* replacement ordered by 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*. In addition the *j* of *mṛj* + *ta* is changed to *ṣ* by 8.2.36 *vraśca-bhrasj...*: *mṛ*(*j* → *ṣ*) + *ta*. Later the *t* of *mṛṣ* + *ta* is changed to *ṭ* by 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*, yielding: *mṛṣ* + (*t* → *ṭ*) + *a* = *mṛṣṭa*. Finally *mṛṣṭa* + *sŪ* will yield *mṛṣṭaḥ*.

(30) *citavān*

(*a*) *ciÑ*

same as in (26) *citaḥ*

(*b*) *ci* same as in (26) *citaḥ*, except for the affix which is *KtavatU* instead of *Kta*

= *ci* + *KtavatU*

it-deletion

= *ci* + *tavat*

(*c*) *ci* + *tavat*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

Here again the *guṇa* replacement of *i* in *ci* is blocked because *KtavatU* is marked with *K*.

= *ci* + *tavat*

= *citavat*

(*d*) *citavat*

1.2.46 *kṛttadhitasamāsāś ca*

4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*

4.1.2 *svaujas...*

= *citavat* + *sŪ*

it-deletion

= *citavat* + *s*

(*e*) *citavat* + *s*

1.1.42 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.14 *atvasantasya...* # 1.1.64 *alo' antyāt*

= *citav*(*a* → *ā*)*t* + *s*

= *citavāt* + *s*

(*f*) *citavāt* + *s*

7.1.70 *ugidacām...* # 1.1.46 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*

= *citavā* + *nŪM* + *t* + *s*

it-deletion

= *citavān* + *t* + *s*

(*g*) *citavān* + *t* + *s*

1.2.41 *apṛkta...*

6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...*

= *citavān* + *t* + (*s* → ∅)

= *citavān* + *t*

= *citavānt*

(*h*) *citavānt*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* # 1.1.7 *halo' nantarā saṃyogaḥ*

= *citavān*(*t* → ∅)

= *citavān*

The same derivational pattern can be followed to derive:

(31) *stutavān,* from (*stuÑ* + *KtavatU*) + *sŪ;*
(32) *bhinnavān* from (*bhidĪR* + *KtavatU*) + *sŪ;* and
(33) *mṛṣṭavān,* from (*mṛjŪS* + *KtavatU*) + *sŪ.*

For certain phonological changes in these examples, see the derivation of (27) *stutaḥ,* (28) *bhinnaḥ,* and (29) *mṛṣṭaḥ* at the end of (26) *citaḥ.*

(34) *cinutaḥ*

(*a*) *ciÑ*
 it-deletion
 = *ci*

(*b*) *ci*
 same as steps (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) of (10) *pacanti;* however in this case 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* will yield *tas* (see 1.4.22 *dvekayor...*), and at step (*d*), 3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ* will assign *Śnu* instead of *Śap*. Thus:
 3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*
 = *ci* + *tas*
 3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*
 = *ci* + *Śnu* + *tas*
 it-deletion
 = *ci* + *nu* + *tas*

(*c*) *ci* + *nu* + *tas*
 1.4.13 *yasmāt*
 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* # 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*
 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*
 = *ci* + *nu* + *tas*
 = *cinutas*

(*d*) *ci* + *nu* + *tas*
 s-visarga
 = *cinutaḥ*

It is interesting to note here that 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi...* will assign the term *aṅga* to both *ci,* and *ci* + *nu.* That is, *ci* will be named an *aṅga* with reference to the *sārvadhātuka* affix (3.4.114 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) *nu,* while *ci* + *nu* will be named an *aṅga* with reference to *tas,* another such affix. As a consequence, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* will require the *guṇa* substitute for the *iK* (here *i* and *u*) of both these *aṅga.*

The objection could be raised here that the term *aṅga* can apply to *ci with reference to tas,* but not to *ci* + *nu,* because *nu* was a later addition to *ci* + *tas.* Moreover *tas* was not added with reference to *ci* + *nu.* It is to resolve this that 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi...* includes the word *tadādi* 'beginning with that', where *tad* 'that' refers to the item after which an affix is introduced.

At this stage, step (*d*) of (34), 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* is invoked to block the *guṇa* substitutions ordered by 7.3.84. One can argue here that since the affixes

Śnu and *tas* which condition these substitutions are not marked with *K, G,* or *Ṅ,* 1.1.5 is not qualified to block the application of 7.3.84. However this argument does not hold since 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* states that any *sārvadhātuka* affix not marked with *P* is treated as if it were marked with *Ṅ.* This latter rule clearly applies to *Śnu* and *tas* since they are both *sārvadhātuka* affixes not marked with *P.* The way is now clear for 1.1.5 to block the *guṇa* substitution ordered by 7.3.84.

Note also that examples (26) through (34) illustrate instances where 1.1.5 blocks *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* substitution independently. In (35) and (36), 1.1.5 accomplishes this blocking with the help of 1.2.4.

(35) *cinvanti*

(*a*) *ciÑ*

it-deletion

= *ci*

(*b*) *ci*

same as steps (*b*) and (*c*) of (10) *pacanti*

= *ci* + (*LAṬ* → *jhi*)

= *ci* + *jhi*

(*c*) *ci* + *jhi*

similar to step (*d*) of (34) *cinutaḥ*

= *ci* + *nu* + *jhi*

(*d*) *ci* + *nu* + *jhi*

similar to step (*f*) of (10) *pacanti*

= *ci* + *nu* + (*jh* → *ant*) *i*

= *ci* + *nu* + *anti*

(*e*) *ci* + *nu* + *anti*

6.4.87 *huśnuvoḥ sārvadhātuke* (6.4.81 *iṇo yaṇ*)

= *ci* + *n*(*u* → *v*) + *anti*

= *cinv* + *anti*

(*f*) *cinv* + *anti*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

= *cinvanti*

Example (36) *mṛjanti* is similarly derived. The placement of *LAṬ,* its replacement by *jhi,* and the subsequent replacement of *jh* by *ant,* is the same. However *mṛj* receives the augment *ŚaP,* which is deleted by 2.4.72 *ādiprabhṛtibhyo...*: *mṛj* + (*ŚaP* → *Ø*) + *anti* = *mṛjanti.* Note here that 1.1.5, read with 1.2.4, will block the *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* ordered by 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ.*

(37) *jiṣṇuḥ*

(*a*) *ji*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*

3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*

3.2.139 *glājisthaśca gsnuḥ*

= *ji + Gsnu*
it-deletion
= *ji + snu*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*

(*b*) *ji + snu*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* (blocked here by 7.2.110 *ekāc...*)
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* # 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*
= *ji + snu*
= *jisnu*

(*c*) *jisnu*

sUP-selection (*sŨ*)
it-deletion
= *jisnu + s*

(*d*) *jisnu + s*

s-visarga
= *jisnuḥ*

(*e*) *jisnuḥ*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *ji(s → ṣ) nuḥ*
= *jisnuḥ*
8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*
= *jiṣ(n → ṇ) uḥ*
= *jiṣṇuḥ*

A similar pattern is followed in deriving (38) *bhūṣṇuḥ* from (*bhū + Gsnu*) + *sŨ*. The augment *iṬ*, however, is blocked by 7.2.11 *śruyakaḥ kiti.*

1.1.6 *dīdhīvevīṭām*
(39) *ādīdhyanam*

(*a*) *āṄ-dīdhīṄ*

same as step (*a*) of (26) *citaḥ*
it-deletion
ā-dīdhī
= *ādīdhī*

(*b*) *ādīdhi*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca* (3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve...*)
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
= *ādīdhī + LyuṬ*

it-deletion

= *ādīdhī* + *yu*

(*c*) *ādīdhī* + *yu*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* # 1.3.1 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*

= *ādīdhī* + (*yu* → *ana*)

Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* demands a *guṇa* substitute for the *ī* of *dhī* which will be blocked by 1.1.6 *dīdhī....*

ādīdhī + *ana*

(*d*) *ādīdhī* + *ana*

6.4.77 *aci śnudhātu...* (cannot apply because of 6.4.82)

= *ādīdh* (*ī* → *y*) *ana*

= *ādīdhyana*

(*e*) *ādīdhyana*

sUP-selection (*sŪ*)

it-deletion

= *ādīdhyana* + *s*

(*f*) *ādīdhyana* + *s*

7.1.24 *ato'm*

= *ādīdhyana* + (*s* → *am*)

= *ādīdhyana* + *am*

(*g*) *ādīdhyana* + *am*

6.1.7 *saṃhitāyām* # 1.4.109 *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ...*

6.1.104 *ami pūrvaḥ*

= *ādīdhyana* + (*a* → *0*) *m*

= *ādīdhyanam*

(*h*) *ādīdhyanam*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

= *ādīdhyanam*

One can similarly derive (40) *āvevyanam* from (*āṄ-vevĪṄ* + *LyuṬ*) + *sŪ*.

(41) *ādīdhyakaḥ*

(*a*) *āṄ-dīdhīṄ*

same as step (*a*) of (26) *citaḥ*

= *ādīdhī*

(*b*) *ādīdhī*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*

3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*

= *ādīdhī* + *ṆvuL*

it-deletion

= *ādīdhī* + *vu*

(*c*) *ādīdhī* + *vu*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*
= *ādīdhī* + (*vu* → *aka*)
= *ādīdhī* + *aka*

(*d*) *ādīdhī* + *aka*
7.2.115 *aco' ñniti* orders *vṛddhi* for the *ī* in *dīdhī*, but 1.1.6 blocks it
= *ādīdhī* + *aka*

(*e*) *ādīdhī* + *aka*
same as step (*d*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*
= *ādīdh* (*ī* → *y*) *aka*
= *ādīdhyaka*

(*f*) *ādīdhyaka*
sUP-selection (*sŨ*)
it-deletion
s-visarga
= *ādīdhyakaḥ*

The derivation of (42) *āvevyakaḥ* is not different from (41).

(43) *kaṇitā*

(*a*) *kaṇĀ*
it-deletion
= *kaṇ*

(*b*) *kaṇ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca...*
3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*
= *kaṇ* + *LUṬ*
3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + *LUṬ*

(*c*) *kaṇ* + *tās* + *LUṬ*
same as steps (*b*) and (*c*) of (13) *tarati*
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + (*LUṬ* → *tiP*)
it-deletion
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ti*

(*d*) *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ti*
2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya ḍāraurasaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + (*ti* → *Ḍā*)
it-deletion
= *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ā*

(*e*) *kaṇ* + *tās* + *ā*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*

it-deletion
= *kaṇ + i + tās + ā*

(*f*) *kaṇ + i + tās + ā*
6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādiṭi*
= *kaṇ + i + t(ās → Ø) + ā*

At this stage, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadha...* would require that the penultimate short vowel *i* of the *aṅga* (*kaṇit*) be replaced by a *guṇa* vowel. Rule 1.1.6 blocks this *guṇa* substitution.

Also note that 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* comes under the subdomain of 6.4.127 *bhasya*, whereby we learn that the input on which 6.4.143 applies must be termed *bha* by 1.3.18 *yaci bham*, and so on. Another condition on the applicability of 6.4.143 is that the input must be followed by an affix marked with *Ḍ*. Our present input cannot be termed a *bha*, although it is followed by affix (*Ḍ*)*ā*. That is, it only meets one condition. Consequent upon this, one can argue that 6.4.143 should not apply to delete the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) part of an input which is not a *bha*. Commentators explain that if this deletion is blocked, the condition that 6.4.143 should apply before an affix marked with *Ḍ* becomes meaningless (*vyartha*). It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* remarks:

ḍity abhasyāpy anubandhasāmarthyāt ṭilopo bhavati

'deletion of *ṭi*, under the condition of a following affix marked with *Ḍ*, is carried on the strength of the *it*; that is, *Ḍ*, even though the input happens to be a non-*bha*'.

= *kaṇ + i + t + ā*
= *kaṇitā*

Similar steps can be followed to derive (44) *raṇitā* from *raṇÃ + LUṬ*.

1.1.10 *nājjhalau*

The purpose of this rule is to block the homogeneity relationship between a vowel (*aC*) and a consonant (*hL*). Thus, even though they meet the conditions required by 1.1.9 *tulyāsya...*, a vowel and a consonant should not be treated as homogeneous.

(45) *daṇḍahastaḥ*

Given a string *daṇḍa + hasta*, rule 1.1.9 can allow the final *a* of *daṇḍa* to be termed homogeneous with the initial *h* of *hasta*. Their point of articulation (*sthāna*) is *kaṇṭha*, and their manner of articulation (*prayatna*) is *vivṛta*. If rule 1.1.10 does not block this *savarṇa* assignment, rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* would have to replace both *a* and *h* by a long vowel: *daṇḍ(a + h → ā)sta* = **daṇḍāsta*, a wrong form.

(46) *vaipāśo matsyaḥ*

(*a*) *vipāś*
similar to steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (5) *Śālīyaḥ*, except for the affix which, in this case is *aṆ*
it-deletion
= *vipāś + a*

(*b*) *vipāś* + *a*

7.2.117 *taddhiteṣvacām ādeḥ* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic,* 1.1.50 *sthāne...*

= *v*(*i* → *ai*) *pāś* + *a*

= *vaipāś* + *a*

(*c*) *vaipāś* + *a*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.129 *bhasya*

6.4.128 *yasyeti ca*

Rule 1.1.10 blocks the deletion of the *ś* of *vaipāś,* which would otherwise have been ordered by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca.* This latter rule requires, among other things, the deletion of *i* before the *taddhita* affix *a.* But, in our example, there is a *ś* before *a.* May we still say that 6.4.148 applies here? The answer is yes, if *ś* can be considered homogeneous with *i.* If a rule requires the deletion of a short *i,* we understand it as also requiring the deletion of long and extra-long *i.* This is because the three are *savarṇa.* Now, *ś* is also similar in point and manner of articulation with *i.* They are both palatal (*tālavya*) and closed (*saṃvṛta*). As a result, 6.4.148 can not only include a reference to short, and thereby long and extra-long *i,* it can also refer to *ś* and all other sounds homogeneous with *i.* In this way 6.4.148 may delete the *ś* of *vaipāś.*

However, since 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* blocks a *savarṇa* relationship between a consonant and a vowel, *ś* cannot be understood as homogeneous with *i,* and therefore 6.4.148 will not apply, and there will be no deletion.

= *vaipāś* + *a*

= *vaipāśa*

(*d*) *vaipāśa*

sUP-selection (*sŪ*)

it-deletion

s-*visarga*

= *vaipāśaḥ*

(47) *anaḍuhaṃ carma*

(*a*) *anaḍuh*

same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (5) *śālīyaḥ,* except for the affix, which in this case is *aÑ,* ruled by 4.3.154 *prāṇirajātādibhyo' ñ*

it-deletion

anaḍuh + *a*

(*b*) *anaḍuh* + *a*

same as in (46) *vaipāśaḥ;* however, this time 6.4.148 would require the deletion of *h,* which in the absence of 1.1.10, would be considered as homogeneous with *a;* also see (45) *daṇḍahastaḥ*

= *anaḍuha*

(*c*) *anaḍuha*

sUP-selection (*sŪ*)
it-deletion
= *anaḍuha* + *s*

(*d*) *anaḍuha* + *s*

same as steps (*f*) through (*h*) of (39)
ādīdhyanam
= *anaḍuham*

1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam*

The purpose of this rule is to explain the term *pragṛhya*. Pāṇini uses this term to block several types of vowel *sandhi*.

(48) *agnī iti*

(*a*) *agni*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* # 1.4.103 *supaḥ*, 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*, 1.4.22 *dvekayor...*
2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
= *agni* + *au*

(*b*) *agni* + *au*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*
= *agn* (*i* + *au* → *ī*)
= *agnī*

(*c*) *agnī*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *agnī*

Given the string *agnī* + *iti*, 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* may apply to order a single long-vowel replacement in place of the *ī* of *agnī* and *i* of *iti*. However 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā aci nityam* will block this long-vowel replacement on the grounds that the *ī* of *agnī* is a *pragṛhya* vowel.

= *agnī* + *iti*
= *agnī iti*

(49) *pacete iti*

(*a*) *ḌUpacĀS*

same as steps (*a*) and (*b*) of (10) *pacanti*
= *pac* + *LAṬ*

(*b*) *pac* + *LAṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, 1.4.100 *taṅānāvātmane-padam* # 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye...*
1.4.22 *dvekayor...*

1.4.101 *tiṅastrīṇi...*
1.4.102 *tānyekavacana...* # 1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
= *pac* + *(LAṬ* → *ātām)*
= *pac* + *ātām*

(*c*) *pac* + *ātām*
same as step (*d*) of (10) *pacanti*
= *pac* + *(Ś* → *∅) a (P* → *∅)* + *ātām*
= *pac* + *a* + *ātām* (after *it*-deletion)

(*d*) *pac* + *a* + *ātām*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.81 *āto ṅitaḥ* # 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*
= *pac* + *a* + *(a* → *iy) tām*
= *pac* + *a* + *iy* + *tām*

(*e*) *pac* + *a* + *iy* + *tām*
6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*
= *pac* + *a* + *i(y* → *∅)* + *tām*
= *pac* + *a* + *i* + *tām*

(*f*) *pac* + *a* + *i* + *tām*
1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*
3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...*
= *pac* + *a* + *i* + *t(ām* → *e)*
= *pac* + *a* + *i* + *te*

(*g*) *pac* + *a* + *i* + *te*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.87 *ādguṇaḥ* # 1 1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ,* 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= *pac* + *(a* + *i* → *e)* + *te*
= *pacete*

(*h*) *pacete*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *pacete*

Given the string *pacete* + *iti,* 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* might apply to replace the final *e* of *pacete* by *ay.* However, as in the previous example, 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā...* blocks it.

Example (50) *pacethe iti* follows the same derivational history, except that it is derived from *pac* + *ŚaP* + *āthām,* where *LAṬ* is replaced by the second person dual ending *āthām.*

(51) *māle iti*

(*a*) *mālā*
same as step (*a*) of (48) *agnī iti*
= *mālā* + *au*

(*b*) *mālā* + *au*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*
= *mālā* + *(au* → *Śī)*
= *mālā* + *Śī*

(*c*) *mālā* + *Śī*
it-deletion
= *mālā* + *ī*

(*d*) *mālā* + *ī*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *māl(ā* + *ī* → *e)*
= *māle*

(*e*) *māle*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *māle*

Given the string *māle* + *iti*, 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* becomes applicable. If 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā...* does not block the application of 6.1.78 on the grounds that the *e* in *māle* is a *pragṛhya*, a wrong form **māl(e* → *ay)i* = **mālayi* would result.

= *māle* + *iti*
= *māle iti*

1.1.12 *adaso māt*

The purpose of this rule is to extend the designation *pragṛhya* to *ī* and *ū* when they occur after the *m* of *adas*. In all the examples cited under this rule, *yṆ* replacement (see 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci)* of these vowels is blocked by 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā....*

(52) *amī atra*

(*a*) *adas*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* # 1.4.103 *supaḥ*, 1.4.105 *vibhaktiś ca*, 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*, 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
= *adas* + *Jas*

(*b*) *adas* + *Jas*
it-deletion
= *adas* + *as*

(*c*) *adas* + *as*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *ada(s* → *a)* + *as* →6.4.94 *ato guṇe*
= *ada (a* + *a* → *a)* + *as* = *ada* + *as*

(*d*) *ada* + *as*
7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī* # 1.1.55 *anekāl...*

= *ada + (as → Śī)*
= *ada + Śī*
it-deletion
= *ada + ī*

(*e*) *ada + ī*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *aden guṇaḥ*
= *ad(a + ī → e)*
= *ade*

(*f*) *ade*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.2.80 *adaso' ser dādūdomaḥ*
= *a(d → m)e*
= *ame*
8.2.81 *eta īd bahuvacane*
= *am(e → ī)*
= *amī*

Given the string *amī + atra*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* may apply to yield a wrong form: *am(ī → y) + atra = *amyatra*. However, if the *ī* of *amī* is termed *pragṛhya* by 1.1.12, 6.1.125 *pluta...* will block the application of 6.1.77. The string will then remain: *amī + atra*. In all the examples cited under this rule, the purpose of *pragṛhya* designation is to block the *yṆ* substitution by 6.1.77. Thus in the absence of this designation wrong forms such as **amyāsate*, **amvatra*, and **amvāsate* would result.

(53) *amū atra*

(*a*) *adas*

same as step (*a*) of (52) *amī atra;* however in this case we select the nominative dual *au*, in consonance with 1.4.22 *dvyekayor...*
= *adas + au*

(*b*) *adas + au*

same as steps (*b*) and (*c*) of (52) *amī*
= *ada(s → a) + au*
= *ada + a + au*, as in step (*c*) of *amī*
= *ad(a + a → a) + au*
= *ada + au*

(*c*) *ada + au*

6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*
= *ad(a + au → au)*
= *adau*

Note here that 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* was blocked by 6.1.104 *nādici*.

= *adau*

(*d*) *adau*

same as steps (*g*) of *amī*
= *a(d→m) au*
= *am(au → ū)* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= *amū*

Given the string *amū* + *atra,* 1.1.12 *adaso māt* would assign the term *pragṛhya* to *ū,* and consequently the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will be blocked by 6.1.125 *pluta pragṛhyā aci nityam.*

1.1.13 *śe*
(54) *asme indrābṛhaspatī*
(*a*) *asmad*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*
sUP-selection *(bhyas)*
= *asmad* + *bhyas*
(*b*) *asmad* + *bhyas*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.30 *bhyaso' bhyam*
= *asmad* + *(bhyas → abhyam)*
= *asmad* + *abhyam*
(*c*) *asmad* + *abhyam*
7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*
= *asm(ad → Ø)* + *abhyam*
= *asm* + *abhyam*
(*d*) *asm* + *abhyam*
7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk pūrvasavarṇā...* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*
= *asm* + *(abhyam → Śe)*
it-deletion
= *asm* + *e*
(*e*) *asme*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

Given the string *asme* + *indrābṛhaspatī,* the *e* of *asme* will be termed *pragṛhya,* and consequently replacement of *e* by *ay* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) will be blocked. The application of 6.1.78 will be similarly blocked in examples (55) *yusme iti,* (56) *tve iti,* and (57) *me iti.* Following are the derivations of *yuṣme, tve* and *me.*

(55) *yuṣme*
(*a*) *yusmad*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*

sUP-selection
1.4.23 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*
2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhi śeṣe*
= *yuṣmad* + *ām*

(*b*) *yuṣmad* + *ām*
same as step (*c*) of *asme*
= *yuṣm*(*ad* → ∅) + *ām*
= *yuṣm* + *ām*

(*c*) *yuṣm* + *ām*
same as steps (*d*), (*e*), and (*f*) of *asme*
= *yuṣm* + (*ām* → *Śe*)
it-deletion
= *yuṣm* + *e*
= *yuṣme*

Note that, as in (54) if any word beginning with a vowel followed *yuṣme*, 1.1.13 *śe* would assign the term *pragṛhya*, and 6.1.125 *pluta pragṛhyā...* would block *sandhi*.

(56) *tve*

(*a*) *yusmad*

As in earlier derivations; what is different here is the *sUP*-selection of the ablative singular *ṄasI*; one could also select *Ṅe*, though the resultant form would still be *tve*
= *yuṣmad* + *ṄasI*

(*b*) *yuṣmad* + *ṄasI*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.97 *tvamāvekavacane* (7.2.91 *maparyantasya*)
= (*yuṣm* → *tva*) + *ad* + *ṄasI*
7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*
= *tva* + (*ad* → ∅) + *ṄasI*
= *tva* + *ṄasI*

(*c*) *tva* + *ṄasI*
7.1.39 *supām...*
= *tva* + (*ṄasI* → *Śe*)
it-deletion
= *tva* + *e*

(*d*) *tva* + *e*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *tv*(*a* + *e* → *e*)
= *tve*

(*e*) *tve*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *tve*

One can similarly derive (57) *me* from *asmad* + *ṄasI* where *asm* will be replaced by *ma* (7.2.97 *tvamāvekavacane*) and *ad* will be deleted (7.1.39 *supām...*). The *Śe* replacement for *ṄasI* and subsequent derivation of *me* from *ma* + *ṄasI* is the same as in (56) *tve*.

1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*
(58) *praṇidadāti*
(*a*) *DUdāÑ*
  it-deletion
  = *dā*
(*b*) *dā*
  same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (13) *tarati*
  = *dā* + *a* + *ti*
(*c*) *dā* + *a* + *ti*
  2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ* # 1.1.61 *pratyayasya...*
  = *dā* + (*a* → *Ø*) + *ti*
  = *dā* + *ti*
(*d*) *dā* + *ti*
  6.1.10 *ślau* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*)
  = *dā* + *dā* + *ti*
  6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
  = *dā* + *dā* + *ti*
(*e*) *dā* + *dā* + *ti*
  1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
  6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
  7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*
  = *d*(*ā* → *a*) + *dā* + *ti*
  = *da* + *dā* + *ti*
(*f*) *da* + *dā* + *ti*
  1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
  = *dadāti*

If the preverbs (1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*) *pra* and *ni* are used before *dā*, the form will be *pra* + *ni* + *dadāti*. At this stage, 1.1.20 will assign the term *ghu* to *dadāti*, and consequently 8.4.17 *nergadanada...ca* will apply to change the *n* of *ni* into *ṇ*. The form will thus become: *pra* + (*n* → *ṇ*)*i* + *dadāti* = *praṇidadāti*.

The same derivational steps can be followed in deriving (59) *praṇidadhāti* from *DUdhāÑ* used with the preverbs *pra* + *ni*. However there is an additional rule application. Given the form *dha* + *dhā* + *ti* at step (*f*), 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* will apply to yield: (*dha* → *da*) + *dhā* + *ti* = *dadhāti*.

(60) *praṇidātā*
(*a*) *DUdāÑ*
  same as step (*a*) of (58) *praṇidadāti*
  = *dā*

(*b*) *dā*

Same as steps (*a*) through (*c*), and (*e*) through (*j*) of (7) *taritā;* step (*d*) of *taritā* is not applicable here

= *dātā*
= *pra* + *ni* + *dātā*
8.4.17 *nergadanada...*
= *pra* + (*n* → *ṇ*)*i* + *dātā*
= *praṇidātā*

(61) *praṇidyati*

(*a*) *do*

same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (13) *tarati*
= *do* + *ŚaP* + *ti*

(*b*) *do* + *ŚaP* + *ti*

3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*
= *do* + (*ŚaP* → *ŚyaN*) + *ti*
= *do* + *ŚyaN* + *ti*
it-deletion
= *do* + *ya* + *ti*

(*c*) *do* + *ya* + *ti*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.71 *otaḥ śyani* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *d*(*o* → *Ø*) + *ya* + *ti*
= *dyati*

(*d*) *pra* + *ni* + *dyati*

1.1.20 *dādhā...*
8.4.17 *nergada...*
= *pra* + (*n* → *ṇ*)*i* + *dyati*
= *praṇidyati*

(62) *praṇidayate*

(*a*) *deṄ*

it-deletion
de

(*b*) *de*

Similar to steps (*b*) and (*c*) of (49) *pacete;* however in this case 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ...* introduces *ātmanepada* endings obligatorily; in addition, by *tiṄ*-selection we select the ending *ta*

= *de* + *ŚaP* + *ta.*
it-deletion
= *de* + *a* + *ta*

(*c*) *de* + *a* + *ta*

same as step (*f*) of (49) *pacete*
= *de* + *a* + *t*(*a* → *e*)

= *de + a + te*

(*d*) *de + a + te*

6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*
1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *d(e → ay) + a + te*
= *dayate*

(*e*) *pra + ni + dayate*

8.4.17 *nergada...*
= *pra + (n → ṇ)i + dayate*
= *praṇidayate*

In order to derive (63) *praṇidhayati* from *dheṬ* used with the preverbs *pra + ni*, follow steps (*a*) through (*e*) of (13) *tarati*. This will yield: *dhe + a + ti*, to which 6.1.68 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* will apply. Thus: *dh(e → ay) + a + ti = pra + ni + dhayati*. By 8.4.17 *nergadanada..., pra + ni + dhayati = praṇidhayati*.

1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin*

(64) *ābhyām*

(*a*) *idam*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt...*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*
sUP-selection

Since *ābhyām* may be either an instrumental, dative or ablative form, there will be three possible paths to follow at step (*a*). One should select only one rule from the upper set of three. The selection of a certain rule from the upper set determines the selection of a corresponding rule in the lower set.

1.4.24 *dhruvam...*
1.4.32 *karmaṇā...*
1.4.42 *sādhakatamam*
2.3.28 *apādāne...*
2.3.13 *caturthī...*
2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos...*
= *idam + bhyām*

(*b*) *idam + bhyām*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*
= *ida(m → a) + bhyām*
= *ida + a + bhyām*

(*c*) *ida + a + bhyām*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *id(a + a → a) + bhyām*
= *ida + bhyām*

(*d*) *ida* + *bhyām*

7.2.113 *hali lopaḥ*
= (*id* → ∅)*a* + *bhyām*
= *a* + *bhyām*

(*e*) *a* + *bhyām*

7.3.102 *supi ca*
= (*a* → *ā*) + *bhyām*
= *ābhyām*

(*f*) *ābhyām*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *ābhyām*

1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*

(65) *kumāritarā*

(*a*) *kumārī*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajyo...*
= *kumārī* + *taraP*

(*b*) *kumārī* + *taraP*

it-deletion
= *kumārī* + *tara*(*P* → ∅)
= *kumārī* + *tara*
= *kumārītara*

(*c*) *kumārītara*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.3 *striyām*
4.1.4 *ajādyatas ṭāp*
= *kumārītara* + *ṬāP*
= *it*-deletion
= *kumārītara* + *ā*

(*d*) *kumārītara* + *ā*

6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*
= *kumārītar* (*a* + *ā* → *ā*)
= *kumārītarā*

(*e*) *kumārītarā*

6.3.43 *gharūpakalpa...* # 1.1.22 *taraptamau ghaḥ*
= *kumār* (*ī* → *i*) *tarā*
= *kumāritarā*

Examples such as (66) *brāhmaṇitarā*, (67) *kumāritamā* (from *kumārī* + *tamaP* + *ṬāP*) and (68) *brāhmaṇitamā* follow the same pattern of derivation.

The last two are examples of *tamaP* ruled by 5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau.* It should be remembered here that these examples are cited in the nominative singular. For placement of *sŨ* after these feminine forms ending in *ṬāP*, follow *sUP*-selection and *it*-deletion. Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābhyo...* will then apply to delete the *s*. Thus, for example, *kumāritarā* + *s*, by 6.1.68 becomes *kumāritarā* + (*s* → *∅*) = *kumāritarā*. Rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* will assign the term *pada*.

1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā*

(69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*

(*a*) *bahu* + *Jas*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyāḥ...* # 1.2.23 *bahugaṇa...*

= *bahu* + *Jas* + *kṛtvasŨC*

Note that Pāṇinīyas generally accept that *taddhita* affixes are introduced after a *pada* (*subantāt taddhitotpattiḥ*). It is for this reason that *Jas* 'nominative plural' is introduced after *bahu*.

(*b*) *bahu* + *Jas* + *kṛtvasŨC*

it-deletion

= *bahu* + *Jas* + *kṛtvas*

2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*

= *bahu* + (*Jas* → *∅*) + *kṛtvas*

= *bahukṛtvas*

(*c*) *bahukṛtvas*

sUP-selection (*sŨ*)

it-deletion

= *bahukṛtvas* + *s*

(*d*) *bahukṛtvas* + *s*

1.1.38 *taddhitaś...*

2.4.82 *avyayād...*

= *bahukṛtvas* + (*s* → *∅*)

= *bahukṛtvas*

(*e*) *bahukṛtvas*

s-visarga

= *bahukṛtvaḥ*

(70) *katikṛtvaḥ*

(*a*) *kim* + *sŨ*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

5.2.41 *kimaḥ saṃkhyā...*

= *kim* + *sŨ* + *Ḍati*

(*b*) *kim* + *sŨ* + *Dati*

it-deletion

= *kim* + *sŨ* + *ati*

(*c*) *kim* + *sŪ* + *ati*

same as (*b*) of (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*

= *kim* + (*sŪ* → ∅) + *ati*

= *kim* + *ati*

(*d*) *kim* + *ati*

6.4.143 *teḥ*

= *k*(*im* → ∅) + *ati*

= *kati*

(*e*) *kati*

same as in (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*

= *katikṛtvaḥ*

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving (71) *gaṇakṛtvaḥ* from (*gaṇa* + *kṛtvasŪC*) + *sŪ*. Example (72) *tāvatkṛtvaḥ* is slightly more complex since it entails first deriving *tāvat* from *tad* + *sŪ* + *vatŪP*, and then deriving *tāvatkṛtvaḥ* from *tāvat* + *kṛtvasŪC* + *sŪ*.

(72) *tāvatkṛtvaḥ*

(*a*) *tad*

1.2.45 *arthavad*... (*sUP*-selection and *it*-deletion)

= *tad* + *s*

(*b*) *tad* + *s*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe vatup*

= *tad* + *s* + *vatŪP*

it-deletion

= *tad* + *s* + *vat*

(*c*) *tad* + *s* + *vat*

1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*

6.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnaḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*

= *ta* (*d* → *ā*) + *s* + *vat*

= *ta* + *ā* + *s* + *vat*

(*d*) *ta* + *ā* + *s* + *vat*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*

6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*... # 1.1.9 *tulyāsya*...

= *t*(*a* + *ā* → *ā*) + *s* + *vat*

= *tā* + *s* + *vat*

(*e*) *tā* + *s* + *vat*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*...

2.4.71 *supo dhātu*...

= *tā* + (*s* → ∅) + *vat*

= *tā* + *vat*

= *tāvat*

Once *tāvat* is derived, the remaining steps are as in (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*.

(73) *bahudhā*

(*a*) *bahu*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
1.1.23 *bahugaṇa...*
4.1.1 *nyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.3.42 *saṃkhyāyā...*
= *bahu* + *dhā*

(*b*) *bahu* + *dhā*

same as in steps (*c*) and (*d*) of (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*
= *bahudhā*

Similar steps should be followed to derive (74) *gaṇadhā*, (75) *katidhā* (from *kim* + *Ḍati* → *kati*; *kati* + *dhā*) and (76) *tāvaddhā* (from *tad* + *s* + *vat* → *tāvat*, *tāvat* + *dhā*). Given the string *tāvat* + *dhā* + *sŪ*, rule 8.4.53 *jhalām jaś jhaśi* applies to change *tāva* (t → *d)* + *dhā* = *tāvaddhā*. The *sŪ* after all these items are selected and deleted according to the usual patterns.

(77) *bahukaḥ*

(*a*) *bahu*

As in (*a*) of (73) *bahudhā* except that 5.3.42 is blocked in favour of 5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyā atiśa...kan:*
= *bahu* + *ka*(*N* → *∅*)
= *bahu* + *ka*

(*b*) *bahuka*

sUP-selection (*sŪ*)
it-deletion
= *bahuka* + *s*
r-*visarga*
= *bahukaḥ*

Similar steps can be followed to derive (78) *gaṇakaḥ* from (*gaṇa* + *kaN*) + *sŪ;* (79) *tāvatkaḥ* from *tad* + *vat* = *tāvat*, (*tāvat* + *kaN*) + *sŪ;* and (80) *katikaḥ* from *kim* + *Ḍati* = *kati*, (*kati* + *kaN*) + *sŪ*.

(81) *bahuśaḥ*

(*a*) *bahu*

As in previous rules, with the addition of 5.4.43 *saṃkhyaikavacanāc ca vīpsāyām:*
= *bahu* + *śas*

(*b*) *bahu* + *śas*

same as steps (*c*) and (*d*) of (69) *bahukṛtvaḥ*
= *bahu* + *śas* + (*sŪ* → *∅*)
= *bahu* + *śas*

(*c*) *bahuśas*

s-*visarga*
= *bahuśaḥ*

Similar steps can be followed to derive (82) *gaṇaśaḥ* from (*gaṇa* + *śas*) + *sŪ*; and (83) *tāvacchaḥ* from *tad* + *vat* = *tāvat*, (*tāvat* + *śas*) + *sŪ*. Two additional rules apply to *tāvat* + *sas*. Rule 8.4.40 *sto ścunā ścuḥ* causes the final *t* of *tāvat* to become *c* and 8.4.63 *śaścho' ṭi* changes the *ś* of *śas* into *ch*. Thus *tāva*(*t* → *c*) + (*ś* → *ch*)*as* = *tāvacchas*.

1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*
(84) *ṣaṭ tiṣṭhanti*
(*a*) *ṣaṣ*

1.2.45 *arthavad...* #
1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # 1.4.103 *supaḥ*
1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*
1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*
2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
= *ṣaṣ* + *Jas*

(*b*) *ṣaṣ* + *Jas*

sUP-deletion
= *ṣaṣ*

(*c*) *ṣaṣ*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* # 1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*
8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte*
= *ṣa*(*ṣ* → *ḍ*)
8.4.56 *vā' vasāne*
ṣa(*ḍ* → *ṭ*)
= *ṣaṭ*

The derivation of *ṣaṭ* in (85) *ṣaṭ paśya* is largely the same. However, the ending which is introduced after *ṣaṭ* and then subsequently deleted is accusative plural *Śas*. Rule 1.4.49 *karturīpsitatamaṃ karma* assigns the term *karman* 'object', which is then expressed by *dvitīyā* (accusative) introduced by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*.

The derivation of the nominative or accusative plural (86) *pañca*, (87) *sapta*, (88) *nava*, and (89) *daśa* is straightforward. The endings *Jas* (nominative plural) and *Śas* (accusative plural) are introduced and deleted as illustrated in (84). The terminal *n* of the base is then deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. For example, *pañcan*, by 2.3.46 becomes *pañcan* + *Jas*; 7.1.22 deletes the *Jas*, yielding *pañcan*, which by 8.2.7 becomes *pañca*(*n* → *0*) = *pañca*.

1.1.25 *ḍati ca*

For the derivation of *kati* in (90) *kati tiṣṭhanti* and (91) *kati paśyanti*, see (70), (75), and (80) under 1.1.23.

1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*

The purpose of this rule is to assign the term *sarvanāman* to all thirty-five items catalogued under the list headed by *sarva*. As a consequence of this term-assignment:

(*i*) the nominative plural ending *Jas* is replaced by *śi* (7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī);*
(*ii*) the dative singular *Ṅe* is replaced by *smai* (7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai);*
(*iii*) the ablative singular *Ṅasī* is replaced by *smāt* (7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ smātsminau);* and
(*iv*) the locative singular *Ṅi* is replaced by *smin* (7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ...).*

Similarly *ām,* if introduced after a pronominal and occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *a,* receives the augment *sUṬ* (7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ).* An additional purpose of assigning the term *sarvanāman* is to allow the introduction of the affix *akaC* after such bases (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac).*

(92) *sarvaḥ*
(*a*) *sarva*
1.2.45 *arthavad...* # *sUP-* selection
it-deletion; *s-visarga*
= *sarvaḥ*

(93) *sarvau*
(*a*) *sarva*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj... (sUP*-selection)
= *sarva + au(Ṭ → 0)*
(*b*) *sarva + au*
1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*
6.1.88 *vṛddhireci* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*
= *sarv(a + au → au)*
= *sarvau*

Note that given the sequence *a + au* of *sarv(a + au)*, 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* would become applicable. It would demand that a single long vowel homogeneous with *a,* namely *ā,* should replace the sequence *a + au.* This application, however, will be blocked by 6.1.104 *nādici.* Now the way is clear for 6.1.88 to apply. Note here that there is no obvious purpose served by the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* in the above derivations. However, consider (94) *sarve.*

(94) *sarve*
(*a*) *sarva*
same as step (*a*) of (84) *ṣaṭ*
= *sarva + Jas*
(*b*) *sarva + Jas*
1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*
= *sarva* + (*Jas* → *Śī*)
= *sarva* + *Śī*

(*c*) *sarva* + *Śī*
it-deletion
= *sarva* + *ī*

(*d*) *sarva* + *ī*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.87 *ādguṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *sarv*(*a* + *ī* → *e*)
= *sarve*

(95) *sarvasmai*

(*a*) *sarva*
1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmani*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*
= *sarva* + *Ṅe*

(*b*) *sarva* + *Ṅe*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*
= *sarva* + (*Ṅe* → *smai*)
= *sarva* + *smai*
= *sarvasmai*

(96) *sarvasmāt*

(*a*) *sarva*
1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*
= *sarva* + *ṄasI*

(*b*) *sarva* + *ṄasI*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ smātsminau*
= *sarva* + (*Ṅasi* → *smāt*)
sarva + *smāt*
= *sarvasmāt*

In deriving (97) *sarvasmin,* 1.4.45 *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam* applies to assign the term *adhikaraṇa,* which in turn is expressed by introducing the locative singular ending *Ṅi* by 2.3.36 *saptamy dhikaraṇe ca.* Thus at (*a*) the string will be *sarva* + *Ṅi.* Steps (*b*) and (*c*) are similar to those of (96) *sarvasmāt.* However since the ending is *Ṅi* and not *ṄasI,* 7.1.15 will replace it with *smin.* This will yield *sarva* + (*Ṅi* → *smin*) = *sarvasmin.* Note here that the assignment of *kārakas* and their realization by *vibhaktis* can also be accomplished by other rules, depending on the nature of the actions and participants, and so on. For details, see the *kāraka* (1.4.23 through 1.4.55) and *vibhakti* (2.3.1 through 2.3.73) sections.

(98) *sarveṣām*

(*a*) *sarva*

	1.1.27	*sarvādīni...*
	1.2.45	*arthavad...*
	4.1.1	*ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
	4.1.2	*svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
	2.3.50	*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*
=	*sarva* + *ām*	

(*b*) *sarva* + *ām*

	1.4.13	*yasmāt...*
	6.4.1	*aṅgasya*
	7.1.52	*āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
=	*sarva* + *sŬṬ* + *ām*	

(*c*) *sarva* + *sŬṬ* + *ām*

	it-deletion
=	*sarva* + *s* + *ām*

(*d*) *sarva* + *s* + *ām*

	7.3.103	*bahuvacane...* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
=	*sarv*(*a* → *eT*) + *s* + *ām*	
=	*sarv* + *e* + *s* + *ām*	
=	*sarve* + *sām*	

(*e*) *sarve* + *sām*

	1.4.14	*suptiṅantaṃ padam*
	8.3.59	*ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
=	*sarve* + (*s* → *ṣ*) *ām*	
=	*sarveṣām*	

(99) *sarvakaḥ*

(*a*) *sarva*

1.1.27	*sarvādīni...*
1.2.45	*arthavad...*
4.1.1	*ṅyāpprātipadikāt*
4.1.76	*taddhitāḥ*
5.3.71	*avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*

= *sarv* + *akaC* + *a*
it-deletion
= *sarva* + *aka* + *a*

(*b*) *sarv* + *aka* + *a*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *sarv* + *ak(a* + *a* → *a)*
= *sarvaka*

(*c*) *sarvaka*
sUP-selection (*sŨ*) and *s-visarga*
= *sarvaka* + *sŨ*
= *sarvakaḥ*

Forms of (100) *viśva* follows the derivational patterns of *sarva.*

1.1.28 *vibhāṣā diksamāse bahuvrīhau*

The purpose of this rule is to provide for the optional assignment of the term *sarvanāman* to *bahuvrīhi* compounds which are derived by combining constituents denoting *diś* 'direction'. Rule 1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau* obligatorily denies this term assignment. This means that *bahuvrīhi* compounds with constituents denoting *diś* will have two forms: one where the option of term assignment *sarvanāman* is taken and the other where the obligatory prohibition is accepted from 1.1.29. Thus either (101) *uttarapūrvasyai* or (102) *uttarpūrvāyai,* and either (103) *dakṣiṇapūrvasyai* or (104) *dakṣiṇapūrvāyai* are possible.

(101) *uttarapūrvasyai*

(*a*) *uttarā*
same as (*a*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*
= *uttarā* + *Ṅas;* similarly, *pūrvā* + *Ṅas*

(*b*) *uttarā* + *Ṅas* + *pūrvā* + *Ṅas*
2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*
2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*
2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*
2.2.26 *diṅnāmāny antarāle*
= *uttarā* + *Ṅas* + *pūrvā* + *Ṅas*

(*c*) *uttarā* + *Ṅas* + *pūrvā* + *Ṅas*
sUP-deletion
= *uttarā* + *pūrvā*

(*d*) *uttarāpūrvā*
1.1.29 *vibhāṣā diksamāse...*
= *uttarāpūrvā*

(*e*) *uttarāpūrvā*
vt. sarvanāmno vṛttimātre puṃvadbhāvaḥ
(masculine transformation, namely, shortening, of the initial constituent)

= *uttar(ā → a)pūrvā*
= *uttarapūrvā*

(*f*) *uttarapūrvā*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt,* and so on, as in (*a*) of (95) *sarvasmai*
= *uttarapūrvā* + *Ṅe*
it-deletion
= *uttarapūrvā* + *e*

(*g*) *uttarapūrvā* + *e*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.114 *sarvanāmnaḥ syād hrasvaś ca* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *uttarapūrv(ā → a)* + *syāṬ* + *e*
= *uttarapūrva* + *syāṬ* +*e*
it-deletion
= *uttarapūrva* + *syā* + *e*

(*h*) *uttarapūrva* + *syā* + *e*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.88 *vṛddhireci* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*
= *uttarapūrva* + *sy(ā* + *e → ai)*
= *uttarapūrva* + *syai*
= *uttarapūrvasyai*

(*i*) *uttarapūrvasyai*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *uttarapūrvasyai*

(102) *uttarapūrvāyai*

(*a*) *uttarā*
follow (*a-b*), (*d*), and (*f*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai,* (*c*) is not pertinent here because we have decided not to assign the term *sarvanāman*

(*b*) *uttarapūrvā* + *e*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.113 *yāḍ āpaḥ*
= *uttarapūrvā* + *yāṬ* + *e*

(*c*) *uttarapūrvā* + *yāṬ* + *e*
same as steps (*h*) through (*j*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai*
= *uttarapūrvā* + *yā* + *e*
= *uttarapūrvā* + *y(ā* + *e → ai)*
= *uttarapūrvā* + *yai*
= *uttarapūrvāyai*

Similar patterns have to be followed for (103) *dakṣiṇapūrvasyai* and (104) *dakṣiṇapūrvāyai.* In view of the preceding derivations, assignment of the term entails:

(*i*) augment *syāT*, and

(*ii*) shortening of the *aṅga*-final vowel.

1.1.29 *na bahuvrīhau*

(105) *priyaviśvāya*

(*a*) *priya, viśva*

selection and placement of nominative plural *Jas* after both *priya* and *viśva* follows (*a*) of (84) *ṣaṭ*

= *priya* + *Jas* + *viśva* + *Jas*

same as (*b*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai* with the exception of 2.2.26 *diṅnāmāny...*

sUP-deletion

= *priyaviśva*

(*b*) *priyaviśva*

same as step (*f*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai*

= *priyaviśva* + *Ṅe*

(*c*) *priyaviśva* + *Ṅe*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

Note that since *priyaviśva* cannot be assigned the term *sarvanāman,* 7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai* cannot replace *Ṅe* by *smai;* instead 7.1.33 *ṅer yaḥ* applies.

= *priyaviśva* + (*Ṅe* → *ya*)

priyaviśva + *ya*

(*d*) *priyaviśva* + *ya*

7.3.102 *supi ca*

= *priyaviśv*(*a* → *ā*) + *ya*

= *priyaviśvāya*

(*e*) *priyaviśvāya*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

= *priyaviśvāya*

Similarly, *priya* + *au* + *ubha* + *au* → *priya* + *ubha; priya* + *ubha* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*) = *priy*(*a* + *u* → *o*)*bha; priyobha* + *Ṅe* = (106) *priyobhayāya.* Also *dvi* + *au* + *anya* + *au* → *dvi* + *anya; dvi* + *anya* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) = *dv*(*i* → *y*) + *anya; dvyanya* + *Ṅe* = (107) *dvyanyāya.* Rule 6.1.77 also applies in deriving (108) *tryanyāya* from *tri* + *Jas* + *anya* + *Jas.* These examples show how *Ṅe* cannot be replaced by *smai* without assigning the term *sarvanāman.*

Examples such as (109) *tvatkapitṛkaḥ* and (110) *matkapitṛkaḥ* are given to show how affix *akaC* (see (99) *sarvakaḥ*) cannot be introduced after items not termed *sarvanāman.*

Our final example (111) *vastrāntaravasanāntarāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound with internal *bahuvrīhi* compounds *vastrāntara* and *vasanāntara.* This example is provided to show how Pāṇini, by repeating *bahuvrīhi* again in 1.1.29, also wants to deny the designation *sarvanāman* to a *bahuvrīhi* forming part of a non-*bahuvrīhi.*

It should be remembered here that we face a conflict in deciding the order of elements in *dvyanyāya* and *tryanyāya.* Since *anya* is termed *sarvanāman,* it qualifies for first placement in the compound in accordance with *vārttika* 1 of 2.2.35 *saptamī....* However *dvi* or *tri* can also qualify for initial placement because they are also included in the same *vārttika.* The conflict is resolved by invoking 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam.* The word *sarvanāman* is placed first in the *vārttika,* with *saṃkhyā* subsequent. Accordingly *sam* wins prior placement in the compound. That this conflict, technically known as *śabdaṃ paraṃ vipratiṣedhe,* may be resolved by 1.4.2 indicates that *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* does not apply merely to a conflict between rules, but also governs two words within the same rule.

1.1.30 *tṛtīyāsamāse*

(112) *māsapūrvāya*

(*a*) *māsa, pūrva*

selection and placement of instrumental singular *Ṭā* after *māsa* and nominative singular *sŪ* after *pūrva* by *sUP*-selection

= *māsa* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŪ*

(*b*) *māsa* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŪ*

2.1.1 *samarthaḥ*
2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārat...*
2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*
2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśa...*
2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* # 1.2.43 *prathamā...*

= *māsa* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŪ*

(*c*) *māsa* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŪ*

sŪP-deletion

= *māsa* + *pūrva*

(*d*) *masapūrva*

same as (*c*) through (*f*) of (105) *priyaviśvāya*

= *māsapūrva* + *Ṅe*

= *māsapūrvāya*

(113) *saṃvatsarapūrvāya* follows the same pattern

The derivation of (114) *dvyahapūrvāya* and (115) *tryahapūrvāya* is more complicated, since it involves three derivational levels:

(*i*) deriving *dvyaha* and *tryaha* by compounding (*dvi* + *au* + *ahan* + *au*) and (*tri* + *Jas* + *ahan* + *Jas*);

(*ii*) deriving *dvyahapūrva* and *tryahapūrva* by compounding (*dvyaha* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŪ*) and (*tryaha* + *Ṭā* + *pūrva* + *sŪ*); and,

(*iii*) deriving *dvyahapūrvāya* and *tryahapūrvāya* from (*dvyahapūrva* + *Ṅe*) and (*tryahapūrva* + *Ṅe*).

(114) *dvyahapūrvāya*

(*a*) *dvi, ahan*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svauj*...(*sUP*-selection)
= *dvi* + *au* + *ahan* + *au*

(*b*) *dvi* + *au* + *ahan* + *au*

2.1.1 through 2.1.22 as in (112) *māsapūrvāya*
2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara*...
= *dvi* + *au* + *ahan* + *au*
sŪP-deletion
= *dvi* + *ahan*

(*c*) *dvi* + *ahan*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*...
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.4.91 *rājāhaḥ sakhibhyaṣ ṭac*
= *dvi* + *ahan* + *ṬaC*

(*d*) *dvi* + *ahan* + *ṬaC*

it-deletion
= *dvi* + *ahan* + *a*

(*e*) *dvi* + *ahan* + *a*

5.4.88 *ahno' hna etebhyaḥ*
5.4.89 *na saṃkhyādeh*...
= *dvi* + *ahan* + *a*

(*f*) *dvi* + *ahan* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt*...
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.145 *ahnaṣṭakhoreva* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*
= *dvi* + *ah*(*an*→ ∅) + *a*
= *dvi* + *ah* + *a*

(*g*) *dvi* + *ah* + *a*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* # 1.3.10 *yathā*...
= *dv*(*i* → *y*) + *ah* + *a*
= *dvy* + *ah* + *a*
= *dvyaha*

(*h*) *dvyaha, pūrva*

same as (*a*) through (*d*) of (112) *māsapūrvāya*
= *dvyaha* + *Ṭā*, *pūrva* + *sŪ*
= *dvyaha* + *pūrva*
= *dvyahapūrva*
= *dvyahapūrva* + *Ṅe*
= *dvyahapūrvāya*

(115) *tryahapūrvāya* is similarly derived.

(116) *māsena pūrvāya* is offered as an example to show that the term *sarvanāman* cannot be assigned to *pūrva,* since that is part of the analyzed form of an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound. Similarly (117) *tvyakā kṛtam* and (118) *mayakā kṛtam* are cited as analyzed forms corresponding to their instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compounds. However, 1.1.30 cannot restrict the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* here because these compounds are not formed by applying 2.1.31.

1.1.31 *dvandve ca*

This rule, also, denies the designation *sarvanāman* to *sarva* and so on when they occur in a *dvandva*(2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*) compound.

(119) *pūrvaparāṇām*

(*a*) *pūrva, para*

same as (*a*) of (51) *amī*

= *pūrva* + *Jas, para* + *Jas*

(*b*) *pūrva* + *Jas, para* + *Jas*

same as (*b*) and (*c*) of (101) *uttarapūrvasyai,* excluding 2.2.26 *diṅnāma...*

= *pūrvapara*

(*c*) *pūrvapara*

same as (*a*) of (98) *sarveṣām;*

Note here that *pūrvapara* cannot be assigned the term *sarvanāman,* as it is a *dvandva* compound. As a consequence, rules of step (*c*) of (98) *sarveṣām* cannot apply.

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*

= *pūrvapara* + *nUṬ* + *ām*

(*d*) *pūrvapara* + *nUṬ* + *ām*

it-deletion

= *pūrvapara* + *n* + *ām*

(*e*) *pūrvapara* + *n* + *ām*

6.4.3 *nāmi*

= *pūrvapar*(*a* → *ā*) + *n* + *ām*

= *pūrvaparā* + *n* + *ām*

= *pūrvaparān* + *ām*

(*f*) *pūrvaparān* + *ām*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.4.2 *aṭ kupvāṅ numvyavāye' pi*

= *pūrvaparā* (*n* → *ṇ*) + *ām*

= *pūrvaparāṇām*

Similarly, one can also derive (120) *katarakatamānām* from (*katara* + *Jas* + *katama* + *Jas*) + *ām*. Rule 8.4.2 *aṭ kupvāṅ...* cannot apply here.

1.1.32 *vibhāṣā jasi*
(121) *katarakatame* can be derived like (94) *sarve* as follows.
(*a*) (*katara* + *Jas* + *katama* + *Jas*)
= *katarakatama*, as in (119) *pūrvaparāṇam*
(*b*) *katarakatama* + *Jas*
same as (*a*) through (*e*) of (94) *sarve* (that is, if *katarakatama* is assigned the term *sarvanāman* by 1.3.32)
(122) *katarakatamāḥ*
(*a*) *katarakatama* + (*J* → *Ø*) *as*
= *katarakatama* + *as*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*
= *katarakatam* (*a* + *a* → *ā*)*s*
= *katarakatamās*
(*c*) *katarakatamās*
r-visarga
= *katarakatamāḥ*

As I have already noted under 1.1.27 *sarvādīni...*, the assignment of the term *sarvanāman* will cause *Jas* to be replaced by *Śī* (7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī*). In the absence of this term assignment, *Jas* cannot be replaced by *Śī* and forms like *katarakatamāḥ* will result. For (123) *katarakatamakāḥ*, see (1) under the translation of this rule.

1.1.33 *prathama-carama-taya-alpa-ardha-katipaya-nemāś ca*
All of the examples cited under this rule can be derived like (94) *sarve*, provided the option of assigning the term *sarvanāman* is taken. Thus one would derive *prathame*, and so on, from *prathama* + (*Jas* → *Śī*), etc. If, on the other hand, *prathama*, and so on, are optionally not termed *sarvanāman*, they would yield forms like *prathamāḥ*, etc., as has already been shown in (122) *katarakatamāḥ*. Forms such as *dvitaye*/*dvitayaḥ*, *tṛtaye*/*tṛtayaḥ* (122 *a-d*) derive from *dvitaya* + *Jas* and *tṛtaya* + *Jas* where nominal stems *dvitaya* and *tṛtaya* are complex. They are derived by introducing the *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) -*tayaP* (5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā avayave tayap*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) *dvi* and *tri*. Thus: *dvi* + *taya* (*P* → *Ø*), *tṛ* + *taya* (*P* → *Ø*) = *dvitaya*, *tṛtaya*. Now one can introduce *Jas* to derive *dvitaye*/*dvitayāḥ*, *tṛtaye*/*tṛtayāḥ* from *dvitaya* + *Jas*, *tṛtiya* + *Jas*.
1.1.34 *pūrvaparāvaradakṣiṇottarāparādharāṇi vyavasthāyām asaṃjñāyām*

1.1.35 *svam ajñātidhanākhyāyām*

1.1.36 *antaraṃ bahiryogopasaṃvyānayoḥ*

Examples cited under these rules follow the derivational patterns of the preceding two rules.

1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*

This rule extends the assignment of the term *avyaya* to include in addition those items which end in a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*), affix and after which not all *vibhakti* can be introduced.

(124) *tataḥ*

(*a*) *tad*

same as (*a*) of (96) *sarvasmāt*

= *tad* + *ṄasI*

(*b*) *tad* + *ṄasI*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil* (5.3.1 *prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ*)

= *tad* + *ṄasI* + *tasIL*

it-deletion

= *tad* + *ṄasI* + *tas*

(*c*) *tad* + *ṄasI* + *tas*

sŪP-deletion

= *tad* + *tas*

(*d*) *tad* + *tas*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyāt...*

= *ta* (*d* → *a*) + *tas*

= *ta*+ *a* + *tas*

(*e*) *ta* + *a* + *tas*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*

= *t* (*a* + *a* → *a*) + *tas*

= *tatas*

r-visarga

= *tataḥ*

Follow similar steps to derive (125) *yataḥ* from (*yat* + *ṄasI* + *tasIL*) + *sŪ*.

(126) *tatra*

(*a*) *tad*

same as (97) *sarvasmin*

= *tad* + *Ṅi*

(*b*) *tad* + *Ṅi*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

5.3.10 *saptamyās tral* (5.3.1 *prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ*)

= *tad* + *Ṅi* + *traL*

it-deletion

= *tad* + *Ṅi* + *tra*

(*c*) *tad* + *Ṅi* + *tra*

same as (*c*-*d*) of (124) *tataḥ*
= *ta* (*d* → *Ø*) + (*Ṅi* → *Ø*) + *tra*
= *ta* + *tra*
= *tatra*

(*d*) *tatra*

same as (*g*) of (124) *tataḥ*, plus 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *tatra* + (*sŪ* → *Ø*)
= *tatra*

(127) *yatra* will follow the same pattern.

(128) *tadā*

(*a*) *tad*

same as (126) *tatra*
= *tad* + *Ṅi*

(*b*) *tad* + *Ṅi*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.3.15 *sarvaikānya*... (5.3.1 *prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ*)
= *tad* + *Ṅi* + *dā*

(*c*) *tad* + *Ṅi* + *dā*

same as (*c*), (*d*), and (*g*) of (124) *tataḥ*, plus 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *ta*(*d* → *Ø*) + (*Ṅi* → *Ø*) + *dā*
= *tadā* + (*sŪ* → *Ø*)
= *tadā*

The derivation of (129) *yadā* from (*yad* + *Ṅi* + *dā*) + *sŪ* is similar to *tadā*; (130) *sadā* and (131) *sarvadā* are not different either.

1.1.39 *kṛnmejantaḥ*

(132) *vakṣe rāyaḥ*

(*a*) *vac*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.4.9 *tumarthe sesenase*...
= *vac* + *se*

(*b*) *vac* + *se*

1.2.46 *kṛttadhita*...
4.1.1 *ṅyāp*...
4.1.2 *svauj*...(*sUP*-selection)
= *vac* + *se* + *sŪ*

(*c*) *vac* + *se* + *sŪ* (*sUP*-deletion)
= *vac* + *se*

(*d*) *vac* + *se*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne*...

= *va(c → k) + se*
= *vakse*

(*e*) *vakse*

8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *vak(s → ṣ)e*
= *vakṣe*

The word *rāyaḥ* in *vakṣe rāyaḥ* is derived by introducing the accusative plural affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *śas* (4.1.2 *svauj...*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the nominal stem (1.2.45 *arthavad...*, 4.1.1 *nyāp...*) *rai*. Thus: *rai* +(*Ś* → *0*) *as* = *rai* + *as*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will then replace *ai* by *āy*: *r(ai* → *āy)* + *as* = *rāyas*. The replacement *rāya(s* → *rU* → *ḥ)* occurs by *s-visarga*. Note, however, that *rāyaḥ* does not contribute anything to the scope of 1.1.39. It has simply been quoted along with *vakṣe*. Similar to *vakṣe* are *eṣe*, *jīvase*, and *dṛśe* of the other examples. They are derived as follows, by applying 3.4.9 *tumarthe...* and introducing *kṛt* affixes ending in *eC*.

(133) *tā vām eṣe rathnām*

(*a*) *iṄ*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.4.9 *tumarthe...*
= *i(Ṅ* → *0)* + *se(Ṅ* → *0)*
= *i* + *se*

(*b*) *i* + *se*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātuk...* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= (*i* → *e*) + *se*
= *ese*

(*c*) *ese*

same as (*c*) and (*e*) of (132) *vakṣe rāyaḥ*
= *e(s* → *ṣ) e*
= *eṣe*

In deriving *jīvase*, affix *ase* is introduced after the verbal root *jīv*. Thus: *jīv* + *ase* = (134) *jīvase*. Similarly, *dṛś(IR* → *0)* + *KeN* = (135) *dṛśe*. The purpose of 1.1.39 in all these examples is to assign the term *avyaya* and thereby facilitate the deletion of the nominal endings introduced after them (2.4.82 *avyayād...*).

(136) *svādum̐kāraṃ bhuṅkte*

This is an *upapadasāmasa*, a compound which is derived by combining two *pada*, *svādum* and *kāra* + *am*, where one is in construction with the other. Furthermore *kāra* + *am* is derived by introducing affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *ṆamUL*, a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affix ending in *m*, after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) *ḌUkṛÑ* (3.4.25 *karmaṇy ākrośe*

kṛñaḥ...). Note that the following three conditions must be met before *ṆamUL* can be introduced:

(*i*) *ḌUkṛÑ* must have an *upapada,* specifically *svādum,* in construction with it (3.4.26 *svādumi ṇamul; svādum* is known as an *upapada* by its locative ending, as stated by 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*);

(*ii*) *ḌUkṛÑ* must denote prior action (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*) in relation to a subsequent action; and

(*iii*) *ḌUkṛÑ* must have an agent similar to the agent of the subsequent action.

In (136), *svādum* is an *upapada* because it serves as the object of *ḌUkṛÑ* with which it is in construction. This sentence also involves two actions, where one, denoted by *ḌUkṛÑ,* is prior to the other one denoted by *bhuj* 'to consume'. Finally they have the same third personal singular agent. The derivation of *svāduṃkāram* is as follows.

(*a*) *svādum* + (*ḌU* → *0*) *kṛ*(*Ñ* → *0*)
= *svādum* + *kṛ*

(*b*) *svādum* + *kṛ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.4.26 *svādumi ṇamul* (3.4.21 *samāna...,*
3.4.25 *karmaṇy...*)
= *svādum* + *kṛ* + *ṆamUL*
it-deletion
= *svādum* + *kṛ* + *am*

(*c*) *svādum* + *kṛ* + *am*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* # 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*
= *svādum* + *k*(*ṛ* → *ār*) + *am*
= *svādum* + *kār* + *am*
= *svādum* + *kāram*

(*d*) *svādum* + *kāram*
2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*
2.2.20 *amaivāvyayena* # 1.1.39 *kṛn...*
= *svādum* + *kāram*

Note that this compound is obligatory. That is, *kāra* + *am* must be combined with *svādum* to yield the compound *svāduṃkāram.*

(*e*) *svādumkāram*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* (*sŪP*-selection)

= *svādumkāram* + *sŪ*

(*f*) *svādumkāram* + *sŪ*

sŪP-deletion

= *svādumkāram*

(*g*) *svādumkāram*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

1.1.62 *pratyalope...*

8.1.5 *padasya*

8.3.24 *na ścāpadantasya jhali* (8.3.24 *mo' nusvāraḥ*)

= *svādu*(*m* → *ṃ*) *kāram*

= *svāduṃkāram*

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving (137) *sampannaṃkāram...* from *sampannam* + *ḌUkṛÑ* + *ṆamUL*, and (138) *lavanaṃkāram...* from *lavaṇam* + *ḌukṛÑ* + *ṆamUL*. Note here that the affix *ṆamUL* is still introduced by 3.4.26 *svādumi...* even though *upapada* such as *sampanna* and *lavaṇa* are not mentioned in this rule. This is possible only because we consider *svādu* of 3.4.26 as representing its synonyms *sampanna* and *lavaṇa* also. Since Pāṇini lists the base *svādu* as *svādum*, *sampanna* and *lavaṇa* will also have to be treated as *sampannam* and (138) *lavaṇam*.

There are three more *kṛt* affixes which end in *m: KamUL* (3.4.12 *śaki ṇamulkamulau*), *KHamUÑ* (3.4.25 *karmaṇy ākrośe kṛñaḥ khamuñ*;), and *tumUN* (3.4.65 *śaka...tumun*). Their examples will be discussed under later rules.

1.1.40 *ktvātosunkasunaḥ*

This rule assigns the term *avyaya* to items which end in *kṛt* affixes *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*), *tosUN* (3.4.16 *bhāvalakṣaṇe sthen...tosun*), and *KasUN* (3.4.17 *sṛpipadoḥ kasun*).

(139) *kṛtvā*

(*a*) *ḌUkṛÑ*

it-deletion

= *kṛ*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*

3.1.91 *kṛd atiṅ*

3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*

3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*

= *kṛ* + *Ktvā*

it-deletion

= *kṛtvā*

(*b*) *kṛtvā*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*

sŪP-selection

= *kṛtvā* + *sŪ*
sŪP-deletion
= *kṛtvā*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *kṛtvā*

Similarly (140) *hṛtvā* may be derived from (*hṛÑ* + *Ktvā*) + *sŪ*. Also note that the affix *Ktvā* is *ārdhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*. As a consequence, 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* may order the augment *iṬ*. This, however, will be blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāc*.... In the same way, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha*... may require a *guṇa* substitute in the place of the *ṛ* of *kṛ* or *hṛ*. This again will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*, since *Ktvā* is marked with *K*.

(141) *udetoḥ*
as in *purā sūryasyodetor ādheyaḥ*

(*a*) *ut i*(*Ṇ* → *∅*) = *ut i*
1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*...
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.4.16 *bhāvalakṣaṇe*...
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
= *ut* + *i* + *tos*(*UN* → *∅*)
= *ut* + *i* + *tos*

(*b*) *ut* + *i* + *itos*
1.4.13 *yasmāt*...
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha*... # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
= *ut* + (*i* → *e*) + *tos*
= *ut* + *e* + *tos*
= *utetos*

(*c*) *utetos*
same as (*b*) of (139) *kṛtvā*, plus
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* # 1.1.50 *sthāne*...
= *ut* + *e* = *tos*
= *u*(*t* → *d*) + *e* + *tos*
= *udetos*

(*d*) *udetos*
s-visarga
= *udetoḥ*

Given the string *sūryasya* + *udetoḥ*, 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* (read with 6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām* and 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) will apply. Thus: *sūryasy*(*a* + *u* → *o*)*detoḥ* = *sūryasyodetoḥ*. Furthermore, since *sūryasyodetoḥ* occurs before *ādheyaḥ*

(as in *pūra sūryasyodetoḥ ādheyaḥ*), the *visarga (ḥ)* of *sūryasyadetoḥ* will have to be replaced by *r*. Thus: *sūryasyodeto (ḥ → r) ādheyaḥ = sūryasyodetor ādheyaḥ.*

(142) *visṛpo*

as in *pūra krūrasya visṛpo virapśin*

(*a*) *vi-sṛp(LR → ∅)*

= *vi + sṛp*

Same as in (141) *udetoḥ*, except that the affix is *KasUN*, ruled by 3.4.17 *sṛpitṛdoḥ kasun.*

= *it*-deletion

= *vi + sṛp + as*

= *visṛpas*

(*b*) *visṛpas*

same as step (*b*) of (139) *kṛtvā*

visṛpas + (sŨ → ∅)

= *visṛpas*

(*c*) *visṛpas*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*

= *visṛpa(s → r(Ũ → ∅))*

= *visṛpar*

(*d*) *visṛpar*

8.3.15 *kharavasānayor...*

= *r-visarga*

= *visṛpaḥ*

Note here that the *ṛ* of *visṛpar* changes into *ḥ* only when it is preceded by *a* and followed by nothing. However, given the string *visṛpas + virapśin* (as is the case in the present example), the final *s* of *visṛpas* will change into *r* but not into *visarga (ḥ)* since it is followed by *v* of *virapśin*. As a result, 6.1.114 *haśi ca* will apply to yield: *visṛp (a → u) + virapśin.* Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will then change the *u* into *o*: *visṛp (u → o) + virapśin = visṛpo virapśin.*

Similarly, one can derive *ātṛdaḥ* of (143) *pūra jartṛbhya ātṛdaḥ* from (*a + tṛdIR + KasUN) + sŨ* where *ātṛdas* will yield *ātṛda (s → r → ḥ) = ātṛdaḥ.*

1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*

(144) *pratyagni*

as in *pratyagniṃ śalabhāḥ patanti*

(145) *upāgni*

as in *upāgniṃ śalabhāḥ patanti*

The analyzed forms for deriving these compounds are:

(144) *agni + am + prati + sŨ*

(145) *agni + Ṅas + upa + sŨ*

where *sŨ* is introduced after *prati* and *upa* for heuristic purposes.

Rule 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti...* allows the compounding of the indeclinable *upa* with a syntactically related (2.1.1 *samarthaḥ...*) *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) when it (*upa*) denotes *samīpa* 'proximate'. Similarly *prati*, when denoting *ābhimukhya* 'facing', is combined with a syntactically related *pada* denoting *lakṣaṇa* 'mark, characteristic'. The combination yields *agni* + *Ṅas* + *upa* + *sŪ*. Rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* requires that an *upasarjana* 'secondary' constituent of a compound must be placed at the beginning of the compound. But what is an *upasarjana* constituent? Rule 1.2.43 *prathamā nirdiṣṭam...* tells us that a constituent which is referenced with the nominative ending in rules dealing with compound formation is termed *upasarjana*. In our examples, both *upa* + *sŪ* and *prati* + *sŪ* are *upasarjanas* since they have been referred to by the nominative singular form *avyayam* of 2.1.6 *avyayam....* Thus the correct order of words should be *upa* + *sŪ* + *agni* + *Ṅas* and *prati* + *sŪ* + *agni* + *am*.

Rule 1.2.46 will term these strings a *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' and 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...* will delete all the endings. This will yield *upa* + *agni* which by the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will become *up(a → ā)gni* = *upāgni*. Similarly 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply to *prati* + *agni* to yield *prat(i → y)agni* = *pratyagni*. Given nominal stems such as *upāgni* and *pratyagni*, nominal endings can be introduced after them by 4.1.2 *svauj...*, and so on. Because the compounds will also be termed *avyaya* by 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*, the nominal endings will eventually be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*.

For further examples, consider (146) *upāgnimukhaḥ*, (147) *pratyagnimukhaḥ*, (148) *upapayaḥkāraḥ*, and (149) *upapayaḥkāmaḥ*; also see my comments under 1.1.41.

1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*

(150) *kuṇḍāni*

(*a*) *kuṇḍa*

same as (*a-b*) of (52) *amī atra*

= *kuṇḍa* + *as*

(*b*) *kuṇḍa* + *as*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi* # 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*

= *kuṇḍa* + (*as* → *Śi*)

it-deletion

= *kuṇḍa* + *i*

(*c*) *kuṇḍa* + *i*

7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhal acaḥ* # 1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*

= *kuṇḍa* + *n*(*UM* → ∅) + *i*

= *kuṇḍa* + *n* + *i*

(*d*) *kuṇḍa* + *n* + *i*

6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*

= *kuṇḍ(a* → *ā)* + *n* + *i*

= *kuṇḍāni*

(*e*) *kuṇḍāni*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

= *kuṇḍāni*

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving (151) *dadhīni*, (152) *madhūni*, (153) *trapūṇī*, and (154) *jatūni*. The *n* of *trapūni* will be changed into *ṇ* at step *(e)* by 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ num*.... This will yield: *trapū (n + ṇ) i* = *trapūṇi*.

1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*

(155) *rājā*

(*a*) *rājan*

1.2.45 *arthavad*... # *sŪP* selection

= *rājan* + *s*

(*b*) *rājan* + *s*

1.4.13 *yasmāt*...

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, plus (*h-j*) of (7) *taritā*

= *rāj(a* → *ā)n* + *s*

= *rājān* + *(s* → *Ø)*

= *rājā(n* → *Ø)*

= *rājā*

(156) *rājānau*

(*a*) *rājan*

same as (*a*) of (93) *sarvau*

= *rajan* + *au*

(*b*) *rājan* + *au*

same as (*h*) of (7) *taritā*

= *rāj(a* → *ā)n* + *au*

= *rājānau*

(157) *rājānaḥ*

(*a*) *rājan*

same as (*a*) of (84) *ṣaṭ*

= *rājan* + *as*

(*b*) *rājan* + *as*

same as (*h*) of (7) *taritā*

= *rāj(a* → *ā)n* + *as*

= *rājānas*

s-visarga

= *rājānaḥ*

(158) *rājānam*

(*a*) *rājan*

same as (*a*) of (48) *agnī iti*, except that the selected ending is *am* and there is no *it*-deletion
= *rājan + am*

(*b*) *rājan + am*

same as (*h*) of (7) *taritā*
= *rāj(a → ā)n + am*
= *rājānam*

(159) *rājānau*

(*a*) *rājan*

same as (*a*) of (48) *agnī iti*
= *rājan + au*

(*b*) *rājan + au*

same as (*b-c*) of (156) *rājānau*
= *rājānau*

1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*

(160) *śuśāva*

(*a*) *ṬUOśvi*

it-deletion
= *śvi*

(*b*) *śvi*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.84 *bhūte*
3.2.111 *anadyatane...*
3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca...* (3.4.67 *kartari...*)
= *śvi + LIṬ*

(*c*) *śvi + LIṬ*

same as (*b-c*) of (13) *tarati*
= *śvi + (LIṬ → tiP)*
= *śvi + ti*

(*d*) *śvi + ti*

1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*
3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām...* (3.4.81 *liṭaḥ...*) # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *śvi + (ti → ṆaL)*
= *śvi + a*

(*e*) *śvi + a*

6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* # 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā*, 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*
1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...* Note here that the term *vibhāṣā* makes the application of 6.1.30 optional; also refer to the derivations under 1.1.28 *vibhāṣā diksamāse...*

= *ś(v → u) i + a*
= *su + i + a*

(*f*) *śu + i + a*
6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*
= *ś(u + i → u) + a*
= *śu + a*

(*g*) *śu + a*
6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*
6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya* # 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*
= *śu + śu + a*

(*h*) *śu + śu + a*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...* 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*, 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*
= *śu + ś(u → au) + a*
= *śu + śau + a*

(*i*) *śu + śau + a*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya....*
= *śu + ś (au → āv) + a*
= *śu + śāv + a*
= *śuśāva*

(*j*) *śuśāva*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *śuśāva*

(161) *śiśvāya*

(*a-i*) *śvi*

Similar to (*a-d*) and (*g-i*) of (160) *śuśāva;* note that (*e-f*) do not apply here as they are related to the option offered by 6.1.30.

(*a-c*) = *śvi + (LIṬ → ti(P → 0))*
(*d*) = *śvi + (ti → (Ṇ → 0) a(L → 0))*
(*g*) = *śvi + śvi + a*
(*h*) = *śvi + śv (i → ai) + a*
(*i*) = *śvi + śv (ai → āy) + a*
= *śviśvāya*

(*j*) *śviśvāya*
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*; (note that this rule can also be applied to the result of (*h*))
= *ś(v → 0) iśvāya*
= *śiśvāya*

(*k*) *śiśvāya*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

= *śiśvāya*

(162) *śuśuvatuḥ*

(*a*) *ṬUOśvi*

Similar to (*a-b*) of (160) *śuśāva*

= *śvi* + *LIṬ*

(*b*) *śvi* + *LIṬ*

Same as (*c*) of (160) *śuśāva*, except that here we select the third person dual ending *tas*.

= *śvi* + *tas*

(*c*) *śvi* + *tas*

Similar to (*d*) of (160) *śuśāva*, but since we have the dual ending *tas*, the replacement will be *atus*.

= *śvi* + (*tas* → *atus*)

= *śvi* + *atus*

(*d*) *śvi* + *atus*

Same as steps (*e-f*) of (160) *śuśāva*

= *ś*(*v* → *u*) +*i* + *atus* (step *e*)

= *śu* + *i* + *atus*

= *ś*(*u* + *i* → *u*) + *atus* (step *f*)

= *śu* + *atus*

Note here that *atus* (the replacement for *LIṬ*) is considered as if it were marked with *K* (1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*). As a consequence, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will block the *guṇa* which would otherwise obtain by 7.3.84 *sārva*...

(*e*) *śu* + *atus*

same as (*g*) of (160) *śuśāva*

śu + *śu* + *atus*

(*f*) *śu* + *śu* + *atus*

1.4.13 *yasmāt*...

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām*... # 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*

= *śu* + *ś*(*u* → *uvAÑ*) + *atus*

= *śuśuv* + *atus*

= *śuśuvatus*

(*g*) *śuśuvatus*

s-visarga

śuśuvatuḥ

(163) *śiśviyatuḥ*

This is an alternate form of *śuśuvatuḥ* which results when the option offered by 6.1.30 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* is not accepted.

Given the string *śvi* + *atus*, similar to the result of (*a-c*) of (162) *śuśuvatuḥ*, (*d*) will be ignored and (*e*) will yield *śvi* + *śvi* + *atus*, to which one should apply rules similar to (*j*) of (161) *śiśvāya*. The result will be: *ś*(*v* → ∅) *iśvi* + *atus* = *śiśvi* + *atus*. Furthermore, similar to (*f*) of (162) *śuśuvatuḥ*, the final *i* of *śiśvi* + *atus* will get the replacement *iyAṄ*. Thus: *śiśv*(*i* → *iyAṄ*) + *atus* = *śiśviy* + *atus*. Now the *s* of *śiśviyatus* can be changed into *ḥ* via *s-visarga*.

1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*

(164) *bhīṣayate*

as in *muṇḍo bhīṣayate*

(*a*) *Ñibhī*

it-deletion

= *bhī*

(*b*) *bhī*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.22 *dhātor...*
3.1.25 *satyāpa...ṇic*
3.1.26 *hetumati ca*

= *bhī* + (*N* → ∅)*i*(*c* → ∅)

= *bhī* + *i*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.40 *hetubhaye ṣuk* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*. Note here that 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* cannot make *ṣUK* replace *bhī*; instead, *ṣUK* must be introduced as the final element of *bhī* since *ṣUK* is marked with *K*.

= (*bhī* + *ṣ*(*UK* → ∅)) + *i*

= *bhīṣ* + *i*

= *bhīṣ* + *i*

(*c*) *bhīṣi*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, and so on, as in (*a-b*) of (49) *pacete*. Note, however, that *ātmanepada* (1.4.100 *taṅānāv...*) affix *ta* (third person singular) is introduced by 1.3.68 *bhīsmyor hetubhaye* and not by 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*

= *bhīṣi* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*)

= *bhīṣi* + *ta*

(*d*) *bhīṣi* + *ta*

same as (*d*) of (10) *pacanti*
3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*

= *bhīṣi* + (*Ś* → ∅) *a*·(*P* → ∅) + *ta*
= *bhīṣi* + *a* + *ta*

(*e*) *bhīṣi* + *a* + *ta*
3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭere* # 1.1.64 *aco 'ntyādi ṭi*
= *bhīṣi* + *a* + *t*(*a* → *e*)
= *bhīṣi* + *a* + *te*

(*f*) *bhīṣi* + *a* + *te*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*
= *bhīṣ*(*i* → *e*) + *a* + *te*
= *bhīṣe* + *a* + *te*

(*g*) *bhīṣe* + *a* + *te*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *bhīṣ*(*e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te*
= *bhīṣay* + *a* + *te*
= *bhīṣaya* + *te*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
= *bhīṣayate*

1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*

(165) *viruṇaddhi*

(*a*) *vi-rudh*
= *virudh*

(*b*) *virudh*
same as (*a-d*) of (13) *tarati*
= *virudh* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*)
= *virudh* + *ti*(*P* → ∅)
= *virudh* + *ti*

(*c*) *virudh* + *ti*
3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* # 1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*, 1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin*
= *viru* + *ŚnaM* + *dh* + *ti*
it-deletion
= *virunadh* + *ti*

(*d*) *virunadh* + *ti*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ...*
= *viru*(*n* → *ṇ*)*adh* + *ti*

(*e*) *viruṇadh* + *ti*
8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho...*

= *viruṇadh* + (*t* → *dh*) *i*
= *viruṇadh* + *dh* + *i*

(*f*) *viruṇadh* + *dh* + *i*
8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*
= *viruṇa*(*dh* → *d*) + *dh* + *i*
= *viruṇaddhi*

(166) *muñcati*

(*a*) *muc*(*LṚ* → *Ø*) = *muc*

(*b*) *muc*
same as (*a-d*) of (13) *tarati*
= *muc* + (*LAṬ* → *ti*(*P* → *Ø*))
= *muc* + *ti*

(*c*) *muc* + *ti*
3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*
= *muc* + *Śa* + *ti*
it-deletion
= *muc* + *a* + *ti*

(*d*) *muc* + *a* + *ti*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām* # 1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*
= *mu* + *nUM* + *c* + *a* + *ti*
it-deletion
= *munc* + *a* + *ti*

(*e*) *munc* + *a* + *ti*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.3.24 *naścāpadāntasya jhali*
= *mu*(*n* → *ṃ*)*c* + *a* + *ti*
= *muṃc* + *a* + *ti*

(*f*) *muṃc* + *a* + *ti*
8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*
= *mu*(*ṃ* → *ñ*) *c* + *a* + *ti*
= *muñc* + *a* + *ti*
= *muñcati*

(167) *payāṃsi*

(*a*) *payas*
similar to (*a-c*) of (150) *kuṇḍāni*
= *paya* + *nUM* + *s* + *i* # 1.1.47 *midaco...*
it-deletion
paya + *n* + *s* + *i*

(*b*) *paya* + *n* + *s* + *i*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.10 *sāntamahataḥ*...
= *pay*(*a* → *ā*) + *n* + *s* + *i*
= *payā* + *n* + *s* + *i*

(*c*) *payā* + *n* + *s* + *i*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.3.24 *naścāpadantasya*...
= *payā* + (*n* → *ṃ*) + *s* + *i*
= *payāṃsi*

1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*

(168) *bhavitā*

(*a*) *as*
same as (*a-b*) of (7) *taritā*
= *as* + *tṛ*

(*b*) *as* + *tṛ*
2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ* # 1.1.55 *anekālsit sarvasya*
= (*as* → *bhū*) + *tṛ*
= *bhū* + *tṛ*

(*c*) *bhū* + *tṛ*
same as (*e*) of (7) *tarita*

(*d*) *bhū* + *i* + *tṛ*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha*... # 1.1.50 *sthāne*...
1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*
= *bh*(*ū* → *o*) + *i* + *tṛ*
= *bho*+ *i* + *tṛ*

(*e*) *bho* + *i* + *tṛ*
6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya*...
= *bh*(*o* → *av*) + *i* + *tṛ*
= *bhav* + *i* + *tṛ*
= *bhavitṛ*

(*f*) *bhavitṛ*
same as (*f-j*) of (7) *tarita*
bhavitṛ + *sŪ*
bhavitā

(169) *vaktā*

This example is similarly derived from (*vac* + *tṛ*) + *sŪ* where *vac* is a replacement of *brūÑ* 'to speak'. Note here that, unlike (*c*) of (7) *taritā*, 7.2.35 does not apply to introduce *iṬ*. The string remains *vactṛ*. Given the string *vactṛ* + *sŪ*, (*f-j*) of (7) *taritā* will yield *vactā*, to which 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* will apply. The result will be *va*(*c* → *k*) *tā* = *vaktā*.

(170) *bhavitum* and (171) *vaktum* are both derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *tumUN* (3.3.158 *samānakartṛkeṣu tumun*) after verbal

roots *as* and *brūÑ*. The roots will be replaced by *bhū* and *vac*. Given the string *bhū* + *tum(UN* ⟶ *∅)*, rule application similar to (*c-e*) if (168) *bhavitā* will occur. Thus: *bhū* + *tum* ⟶ *bhū* + *i(Ṭ* ⟶ *∅)* + *tum; bhū* + *i* + *tum* ⟶*bh(ū* ⟶ *o)* + *i* + *tum; bh(o* ⟶ *av)* + *i* + *tum* = *bhavitum*.

Unlike *bhavitum*, *vaktum* does not involve *iṬ*. Given the string *vac* + *tum* + *sŪ*, the *c* will be changed into *k* by 8.2.30: *va(c* ⟶ *k)* + *tum* = *vaktum*. We have already noted that nominal endings introduced after indeclinables are deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād*... Items ending in *tumUN* are termed indeclinable by 1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ*.

In deriving (172) *bhavitavyam* and (173) *vaktavyam*, we introduce the affix *tavyaT* by 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*. Given the strings *as* + *tavya(T* ⟶ *∅)* and *brū* + *tavya(T* ⟶ *∅)*, the roots will be replaced by *bhū* and *vac*. The resultant strings from *bhū* + *tavya* and *vac* + *tavya* will be *bh(ū* ⟶ *o* ⟶ *av)* + *i* + *tavya* = *bhavitavya* and *vactavya*. They will be termed nominal stems by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* and *sŪ* can then be introduced after them by 4.1.2 *svauj*.... Rule 7.1.24 *ato' m* will then replace the *sŪ* by *am*. This will yield *bhavitavya* + *am* and *vactavya* + *am*, where the *c* of *vactavya* + *am* will be replaced by *k* by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will then apply to both strings to yield: *bhavitavy(a* + *a* ⟶ *a)m* = *bhavitavyam*, and *vaktavy(a* + *a* ⟶ *a)m* = *vaktavyam*.

1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*

(174) *vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ*

(*a*) *vataṇḍa*

same as (*a-b*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*, plus 4.1.108 *vataṇḍāc ca*

= *vataṇḍa* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*

(*b*) *vataṇḍa* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*

same as (*c-d*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*, plus

4.1.3 *striyām*

4.1.109 *luk striyām*

= *vataṇḍa* + (*Ṅas* ⟶ *∅*) + *yaÑ*

= *vataṇḍa* + (*yaÑ* ⟶ *∅*)

= *vataṇḍa*

(*c*) *vataṇḍa*

4.1.73 *śārṅgaravādyañor*...

= *vataṇḍa* + *ṄiN*

= *it*-deletion

= *vataṇḍa* + *ī*

(*d*) *vataṇḍa* + *ī*

1.4.18 *yaci bham*

6.4.129 *bhasya*

6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*

= *vatand(a → ∅) + ī*
= *vatandī*

Given the strings *vatandī* + *sŨ* + *yuvati* + *sŨ*, 2.1.65 *potāyuvatistoka...* will allow the compound formation. After the assignment of the terms *samāsa* 'compound' and *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*), 2.4.71 *supo dhātu* will delete the endings. The result will be *vatandīyuvati,* to which 6.3.42 *puṃvat...* applies. This rule requires a feminine form which occurs in a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound and does not end in *u* to be replaced by a corresponding masculine form in usage. Thus *vatandī* has to be replaced by its corresponding masculine form. Since it cannot be replaced by *vatanda* as the latter does not signify *apatya* 'offspring', one would select *vātandya.* This form is approved by 1.1.50 *sthāne...* because it is similar to *vatandī* in signification. The final form of the compound will thus become: (*vatandī* → *vātandya*) *yuvati* = *vātandyayuvati,* which by *sUP*-selection, *it*-deletion, and *s*-*visarga* yields *vātandyayuvatiḥ.*

(175) *amuṣmai*

(*a*) *adas*

same as (*a-b*) of (95) *sarvasmai*
= *adas* + *Ṅe*
= *adas* + (*Ṅe* → *smai*)
= *adas* + *smai*

(*b*) *adas* + *smai*

same as (*c*) of (52) *amī*
= *ada*(*s* → *a*) + *smai*
= *ada* + *a* + *smai*

(*c*) *ada* + *a* + *smai*

same as (*c*) of (64) *ābhyām*
= *ad*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *smai*
= *ada* + *smai*

(*d*) *ada* + *smai*

same as 8.2.20 *adaso...* at (*g*) of (52) *amī*
= *a*(*d* → *m*) (*a* → *u*) + *smai*
= *amu* + *smai*

(*e*) *amu* + *smai*

8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *amu* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*mai*
= *amu* + *ṣmai*
= *amuṣmai*

(176) *amūbhyām*

The steps outlined below are followed to derive *amūbhyām* from *adas* + *bhyām.*

(*a*) steps (*a*), (*c*), and (*e*) of (64) *ābhyām*

(*a*) *adas*

= *adas* + *bhyām*

(*c*) *adas* + *bhyām*

ada(*s* → *a*) + *bhyām*

= *ad*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *bhyām*

= *ada* + *bhyām*

(*e*) *ada* + *bhyām*

ad(*a* → *ā*) + *bhyām*

= *adā* + *bhyām*

(*b*) step (*g*) of (52) *amī*, as indicated in (*d*) of (175) *amuṣmai*

= *a*(*d* → *m*) *ā* + *bhyām*

= *am*(*ā* → *ū*) + *bhyām*

= *amūbhyām*

Note here that 8.2.80 *adaso*... orders *u* as a substitute. As *u* is denoted by *aṆ* (1.1.69 *aṇudit*...), it can also represent its long or extra-long counterparts. In (175) *amuṣmai*, we selected a short *u* because the substituendum was short *a*; that is, we decided on the basis of similarity in duration. In *amūbhyām*, again we selected *ū* because of the similarity in duration.

1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*

For deriving (177) *karttā* from (*ḌUkṛÑ* + *tṛC*) + *sŪ*, and (178) *harttā* from (*hṛÑ* + *tṛC*) + *sŪ*, follow, first (*a-b*), and then (*e-j*) of (7) *taritā*. These steps will yield *kartā* and *hartā*, to which 8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve* must apply. Thus: *kar* (*t* → *tt*)*ā* = *karttā*, and *har*(*t* → *tt*)*ā* = *harttā*.

(179) *kirati* and (180) *girati* are derived from *kṛ* + *Śa* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*) and *gṛ* + *Śa* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*) according to (*b-d*) of (166) *muñcati*. Given the strings *kṛ* + *a* + *ti* and *gṛ* + *a* + *ti*, 7.1.100 *ṛt id dhātoḥ* will order *i* as a substitute for *ṛ*. Since *i* is a substitute denoted by *aṆ*, 1.1.51 will cause it to be followed by *r*. Thus: *k* (*ṛ* → *ir*) + *a* + *ti* = *kirati*, and *g* (*ṛ* → *ir*) + *a* + *ti* = *girati*.

(181) *dvaimāturaḥ*

Given a string of two syntactically related words, *dvi* + *os* and *mātṛ* + *os*, where *os* is genitive dual, 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara*...will allow compound formation.

(*a*) *dvi* + *os* + *mātṛ* + *os*

2.1.51 *taddhitārtha*...

= *dvi* + *os* + *mātṛ* + *os*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*...

2.4.71 *supo dhātu*...

= *dvi* (*os* → ∅) + *mātṛ* (*os* → ∅)

= *dvimātṛ*

(*b*) *dvimātṛ*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp*...

4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*

4.1.115 *māturut...*
= *dvimātṛ* + *a* (*Ṇ* → *∅*) # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *dvimāt* + (*ṛ* → *u*) + *a* # 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*
= *dvimātur* + *a*

Note that in addition to introducing affix *aṆ*, 4.1.115 also introduces *u* as a substitute for *mātṛ*. However *u* can only replace the final sound (*aL*) of *mātṛ*, because it is a substitute consisting of a single sound (see 1.1.55 *anekāl...*), and thus, this replacement operation will be regulated by 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. Since the substituendum is *ṛ*, and also since the substitute is a sound denoted by *aṆ*, 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ* applies. The result is: *dvimāt* (*ṛ* → *ur*) = *dvimātur*.

(*c*) *dvimātur* + *a*
same as (*e*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*
= *dv* (*i* → *ai*) *mātur* + *a*
= *dvaimātura*

Follow (*h-m*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ* to derive *dvaimāturaḥ* from *dvaimātura* + *sŪ*. Similar rule applications on (*tri* + *ām* + *mātṛ* + *ām*) + *sŪ* will produce (182) *traimāturaḥ*.

1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
(183) *pañcagoṇiḥ*

This example is derived from ((*pañcan* + *bhis* + *goṇī* + *bhis*) + *ṬhaK*)) + *sŪ*, where *pañcan* + *bhis* + *goṇī* + *bhis* are combined by rules similar to (181) *dvaimāturaḥ*. Affix *ṬHaK* is introduced after *pañcagoṇī* by 5.1.37 *tena krītam* and 5.1.19 *ārhādago...*, the *n* of *pañcangoṇī* having been deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Affix *ṬHaK* itself gets deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyarddhapūrva...*(# 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ*). However at the same time, 1.2.49 *luktaddhitaluki* requires the deletion of *ī*, the feminine affix, in *pañcagoṇī*. This is blocked by 1.2.50 *id goṇyāḥ*, which orders *i* as a substitute. Similar to the replacement of *ṛ* by *u* in (181) *dvaimāturaḥ*, *i* can only replace the final sound of *goṇī*. Consequently we get: *pañcagoṇ*(*ī* → *i*) = *pañcagoṇi*. The nominative singular form *pañcagoṇiḥ* derives from *pañcagoṇi* + *sŪ* by *s-visarga*. The same set of rules apply in deriving (184) *daśagoṇiḥ*

1.1.53 *ṅic ca*
(185) *hotāpotārau*

This is a *dvandva* (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*) compound derived by combining *hotṛ* + *sŪ* and *potṛ* + *sŪ*. After the assignment of the term *prātipadika* by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*, 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*will delete the endings: *hotṛ* + (*sŪ* → *∅* + *potṛ* + (*sŪ* → *∅*) = *hotṛ potṛ*. Rule 6.3.23 *ṛto vidyāyoni...*will now apply to introduce *ānAṄ* to *hotṛ*. It is obvious that *ānAṄ* is *anekāl* 'consisting of more than one *aL*', and hence 1.1.54 *anekālśit sarvasya* may demand that *ānAṄ* replace *hotṛ*. However, since *ānAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*, it can only

replace the final sound (*ṛ*) of *hotṛ*. Thus: *hot* (*ṛ* → *ān* (*AṄ* → *0*) *potṛ* becomes *hotānpotṛ*. The *n* of *hotānpotṛ* will be deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ*....Given the string *hotāpotṛ* + *au*, 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya* will assign the term *sarvanāmasthāna*. Consequently, in the *aṅga* section (6.4.1 *aṅgasya*), 7.3.110 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ* will require a *guṇa* substitute of the *aṅga* ending in *ṛ*. With reference to 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ* and 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*, we will get *hotāpot* (*ṛ* → *ar*) + *au* = *hotāpotarau*. The *a* of *hotāpotar* is lengthened by 6.4.11 *aptṛntṛc*.... The result is: *hotāpot* (*a* → *ā*)*r* + *au* = *hotāpotārau*. Similarly, (*mātṛ* + *sU* + *pitṛ* + *sU*) + *au* will yield (186) *mātāpitarau*.

Note here that (187) *jīvatāt*, in both *jīvatād bhavān* and *jīvatāt tvam*. is derived from *jīv* + *LOṬ*, where *LOṬ* is replaced by *ti* (*P* → *0*), and *ŚaP* is introduced after *jīv*. Given the string *jīv* + *a* + *ti*, 3.4.86 *eruḥ* applies to yield: *jīv* + *a* + *t* (*i* → *u*) = *jīvatu*. Rule 7.1.35 *tuhyostātaṅ* now introduces *tātAṄ* as a substitute for *tu*. Since *tātAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*, it should replace the *u* of *tu* (see 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*). However that is not the case. Instead *tāt*(*AṄ* → *0*) replaces *tu* in toto in view of 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*. The resultant form is: *jīva*(*tu* → *tāt*) = *jīvatāt*.

There is clearly a conflict between the application of 1.1.53 and 1.1.55 here. They both seem valid. Commentators (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. 1.1.53) conclude that since both 1.1.53 and 1.1.55 find their scope simultaneously, 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe*....should be invoked. That declares that when two rules of equal strength become applicable in a given situation, the one which is subsequent in order wins. It is thus 1.1.55 which regulates this replacement here.

One can compare the conflicting situation here with that of the one encountered in (185) *hotāpotārau* where *ānAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* and consists of more than one *aL*, yet does not replace the full form *hotṛ*, as should be the case in view of 1.4.2. Actually 1.4.2 also requires that two rules which create conflict must be backed by their independent domains. That is, they should also be *sāvakāśa* 'with scope of application'. In case of *hotāpotārau*, *ānAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* in order to block *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* (see 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*); instead, it is marked with *Ṅ* so that it may replace the whole form on the strength of its being *anekāl* 'consisting of more than one *aL*'. Thus the blocking of total replacement (*sarvādeśa*) is the scope of *Ṅ* in *ānAṄ*. It will make 1.1.53 *anavakāśa* 'without any scope' if we did not allow it to block the *sarvādeśa*. As far as *jīvatāt* is concerned, *tātAṄ* independently has scope for blocking *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. It is able to create conflict with 1.1.55 *anekāl*...because 1.1.55 also has independent scope of application (see 2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ*, and so on). Thus the conflict is such that no rule will become without scope if one is preferred over the other. Rule 1.4.2 must be invoked here.

1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*

The scope of this rule is related to 1.1.67 *tasmād...*, which states that operations specified by an item in *pañcamī* 'ablative' obtain on the item which follows. We know for sure that it is the following item which is the focus of a given operation. What we do not know is whether that operation obtains on the entire following item or on some part of it. Rule 1.1.54 answers that such operations obtain only on the initial *aL* of the following item.

(188) *āsīnaḥ*

(*a*) *ās*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*
= *ās* + *LAṬ*

(*b*) *ās* + *LAṬ*

1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ ātmanepadam*
1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*
3.4.124 *lataḥ śatṛ-śanacāv...* # 1.1.55 *anekāl...*
= *ās* + (*LAṬ* → *ŚānaC*)
it-deletion
ās + *āna*

(*c*) *ās* + *āna*

3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*
3.1.68 *karttari śap*
= *ās* + *ŚaP* + *āna*
2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*
= *ās* + (*ŚaP* → *0*) + *āna*
= *ās* + *āna*

(*d*) *ās* + *āna*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.83 *īd āsaḥ* # 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*
1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*

Note here that 7.2.83 orders the substitute *ī* with reference to *ās* in the ablative. In view of 1.1.67, this substitute will be construed as applicable to *ān* of *ās* + *āṅ*. However, taking 1.1.54 into consideration, we resolve that *ī* is ruled as a substitute for *ā* only. Thus: *ās* +(*ā* → *ī*) *na* = *āsīna*.

(*e*) *āsīna*

sUP-selection; *s-visargo;*
= *āsīnaḥ*

(189) *dvīpam*

(*a*) *dvi* + *au* + *ap* + *Jas*

2.1.1 *samarthaḥ...*

2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt...*
2.1.4 *saha supā*
2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*
2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*
= *dvi + au + ap + Jas*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita..*
2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*
= *dvi(au → ∅) + ap + (Jas → ∅)*
= *dvi + ap*

(*b*) *dvi + ap*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*
5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ...*
= *dviap + a*

(*c*) *dviap + a*
6.3.97 *dvyantarupasarge...*
= *dvi(a → i) p + a*

Here again *i* is introduced as a substitute with reference to *dvi* in *pañcamī*. In view of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity...*, *ap* of *dviap* becomes the focus of this operation. Rule 1.1.54 resolves that *i* should replace the *a* of *ap*.

= *dvi(a → i) p + a*
= *dviip + a*
= *dviip*

(*d*) *dviipa*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*
= *dv(i + i → ī)pa*
= *dvīpa*

(*e*) *dvīpa*
follow (*e-h*) of (39) *adīdhyanam*
= *dvīpa + (sŪ → am)*
= *dvīp(a + a → a)m*
= *dvīpam*

Similar rules apply in deriving (190) *antarīpam* from (*antar + sŪ + ap + Jas + a*) + *sŪ*, and (191) *samīpam* from (*sam + sŪ + ap + Jas + a*) + *sŪ*.

1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*

The derivations of (168) *bhavitā*, (170) *bhavitum*, and (172) *bhavitavyam* have already been given under 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyoga*. The purpose of 1.1.55 is simply to state that a substitute consisting of more than one *aL* replaces the entire substituendum. In the above examples, the verbal root *as* was thus totally replaced by *bhū*. Similarly, refer to the derivation of

(150) ***kuṇḍāni*** under 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmsthānam*. Given the string ***kuṇḍa*** + *Jas*, 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ* will rule the substitute *Śi* for *Jas*. Since *Śi* is marked with *Ś*, 1.1.55 will enable it to replace *Jas* in toto.

1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*

1. The replacement of a root (*dhātu*) is treated like a root; see the derivations of (168) ***bhavitā***, (169) ***vaktā***, and so on under 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*. In these examples, 2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ* and 2.4.53 *bruvoḥ vaciḥ* cause replacement of the verbal roots *as* by *bhū* and *brū* by *vac*. When it comes to introducing affixes *tṛC* and *tavyaT* by 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* and 3.1.96 *tavyat-tavyānīyaraḥ*, we encounter a problem. These rules are contained in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, and as a result, affixes *tṛC* and *tavyaT* can only be introduced after items termed *dhātu* 'verb root'. Now, *bhū* and *vac* are not roots. They are only replacements of roots. Rule 1.1.56 resolves this problem by stating that replacements of a root can be treated like a root.

2. Replacement of an *aṅga* 'presuffixal base' is treated like an *aṅga*.

(192) ***kena***

(*a*) ***kim***

same as (*a*) of (64) ***ābhyām*** where the selected *sUP* is instrumental singular *Ṭā*

= *kim* + (*Ṭ* → *0*) *ā* (*it*-deletion)

= *kim* + *ā*

(*b*) *kim* + *ā*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ*

= (*kim* → *ka*) + *ā*

= *ka* + *ā*

(*c*) *ka* + *ā*

7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅasā...* # 1.1.56 *sthānivad...*, 1.1.55 *anekāl...*

= *ka* + (*ā* → *ina*)

= *ka* + *ina*

Note here that at (*b*), *kim*, an *aṅga*, was replaced by *ka*. Unless *ka* is treated like *kim* by 1.1.56, *ā* cannot be replaced by *ina*.

(*d*) *ka* + *ina*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*

6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*

= *k*(*a* + *i* → *e*) + *na*

= *ke* + *na*

= ***kena***

(193) ***kābhyām*** is derived from *kim* + *bhyām*, where *kim* is replaced by *ka*. Also see the derivation of (64) ***ābhyām***. The same replacement occurs in

deriving (194) *kaiḥ* from *kim* + *bhis*. Given the string (*kim* → *ka*) + *bhis* = *ka* + *bhis*, 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* applies to replace *bhis* by *ais*. Here again, if *ka*, a replacement of an *aṅga*, is not treated like *kim*, *bhis* cannot be replaced by *ais*. Given the string *ka* + (*bhis* → *ais*) = *ka* + *ais*, 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will rule *ai* as a single *vṛddhi* replacement for both *a* + *ai*. Thus: *k*(*a* + *ai* → *ai*)*s* = *kais*. The terminal *s* undergoes *s*-*visarga*, yielding *kaiḥ*.

3. The replacement of a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) is treated like a *kṛt*.
(195) *prakṛtya*

Given the string *pra* + *kṛtvā*, where *kṛtvā* is derived from *ḌUkṛÑ* + *Ktvā* (see (139 *kṛtvā*)), 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* allows *pra* to be combined with *ktvā*. The result is: *prakṛtvā*. Rule 7.1.37 *samāse' nañ pūrve*... introduces *LyaP* as a substitute for *ktvā*. The string becomes: *prakṛ* (*tvā* → (*L* → Ø) *ya* (*P* → Ø) = *prakṛ* + *ya*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* now introduces the augment *tUK*. As a result we get *prakṛ* + *t*(*UK* → Ø) + *ya* = *prakṛtya*. However, remember that 6.1.71 cannot introduce *tUK* unless the following affix is a *kṛt*. In our example, *LyaP* cannot be called a *kṛt*, especially because *kṛt* affixes are introduced in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*. Rule 1.1.56 clears the way for *LyaP* to be treated as *Ktvā*. Furthermore it is because of 1.1.56 that *prakṛtya* is assigned the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*.

4. The replacement of an *avyaya* 'indeclinable' is treated like an *avyaya*.

Given the string *prakṛtya* + *sU*, 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ* applies and deletes *sU*, mainly for the reason that *sU* is ruled after an indeclinable. Rule 1.1.40 *ktvātosunkasunaḥ* assigns the term *avyaya* 'indeclinable' to items which end in *Ktvā*, *tosUN*, and *kasUN*. Now, *prakṛtya* cannot be treated as an *avyaya* because it does not end in *Ktvā*. Furthermore, since *prakṛtya* is not an indeclinable, *sU* cannot be deleted. At this stage, 1.1.56 comes to our rescue. First we treat *LyaP* as if it were *Ktvā*; then we treat *prakṛtya* as if it were an indeclinable. Now the way is clear for 2.4.82 to delete *sU*.

Follow similar steps to derive (196) *prahṛtya* from (*pra* + (*hṛÑ* + (*Ktvā* → *LyaP*)) + *sU*.

5. The replacement of a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix is treated like a *taddhita*.
(197) *dādhikam*

(*a*) *dadhi*

same as (*a*) of (5) *śālīyaḥ*
= *dadhi* + *Ṅi*

(*b*) *dadhi* + *Ṅi*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
4.1.82 *samarthānām*...
4.2.16 *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ*
4.2.18 *dadhnaṣ ṭhak*
= *dadhi* + *Ṅi* + *ṬHaK*

(*c*) *dadhi* + *Ṅi* + *ṬhaK*
same as (*c*) of (5) *śālīyaḥ*
= *dadhi* + (*Ṅi* → ∅) + *ṬHaK*
= *dadhi* + *ṬHaK*

(*d*) *dadhi* + *ṬHaK*
7.2.118 *kiti ca* # 1.1.56 *sthānivad...*
1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*
= *d*(*a* → *ā*)*dhi* + *ṬHaK*
= *dādhi* + *ṬHaK*

(*e*) *dādhi* + *ṬHaK*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*
= *dādhi* + (*ṬHaK* → *ika*)
= *dādhi* + *ika*

(*f*) *dādhi* + *ika*
same as (*f*) of (5) *śālīyaḥ*
= *dādh*(*i* → ∅) + *ika*
= *dādhika*

(*g*) *dādhika*
same as (*e-h*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*
= *dādhika* + (*sŬ* → *am*)
= *dādhik*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*m*
= *dādhikam*

Note here that 1.1.56 must be invoked in order to insure that a substitute, *ika*, is treated like its substituendum, *ṬHaK*. Our derivate *dādhika* cannot be termed a *prātipadika* by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* unless it ends in a *taddhita* affix. But *ika* is only the substitute of such an affix. Since 1.1.56 allows us to treat the substitute like the substituendum, however, the *prātipadika* may still be assigned.

(198) *adyatanam*

(*a*) *adya*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
4.3.23 *sāyañciram...*
= *adya* + *tUṬ* + *Ṭyu*
it-deletion
= *adya* + *t* + *yu*
Note here that 4.3.23 introduces the affix *Ṭyu* along with its augment *tUṬ* as part of concurrent operations.

(*b*) *adya* + *t* + *yu*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.12 *aṅgasya*

7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *adya + t + (yu → ana)*
= *adya + t + ana*
= *adyatana*

(*c*) *adyatana*

same as (*e-h*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*
= *adyatana + (sŨ → am)*
= *adyatan(a → ∅) + am*
= *adyatanam*

Note here that *adyatana* ends in *ana*, which in turn is a replacement of the *taddhita* affix (*Ṭ*)*yu*. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* cannot assign the term *prātipadika* to *adyatana* unless 1.1.56 allows the *ana* of *adyatana* to be treated as a *taddhita* affix.

6. The replacement of a *sŨP* is treated like a *sŨP*.

(199) *vṛkṣāya*

(200) *plakṣāya*

Follow (*c-f*) of (104) *priyaviśvāya*. Note, however, that unless the substitute *ya* is treated like *Ṅe* (a *sŨP*), 7.3.102 *supi ca* cannot allow the short *a* of *vṛkṣa* to be changed into long *ā*.

7. The replacement of a *tiṄ* is treated like a *tiṄ*.

(201) *akurutām*

(*a*) (*ḌU* → ∅) *kṛ* (*Ñ* → ∅)

kṛ 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.84 *bhūte*
3.2.111 *anadyatane*
3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*
= *kṛ + LAṄ*

(*b*) *kṛ + LAṄ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # *tiṄ*-selection
= *kṛ(LAṄ → tas)*
kṛ + tas
3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*

(*c*) *kr + tas*

same as (*d*) of (10) *pacanti*, plus 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñ...*
= *kṛ + u + tas*

(*d*) *kṛ + u + tas*

3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...* # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *kṛ + u (tas → tām)*
= *kṛ + u + tām*

(*e*) *kṛ* + *u* + *tām*
same as (*f-g*) of (16) *akārṣīt*
= *a*(*T* ⟶ ∅) + *kṛ* + *u* + *tām*
= *a* + *kṛ* + *u* + *tām*

(*f*) *a* + *kṛ* + *u* + *tām*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*
= *a* + *k*(*ṛ* ⟶ *ar*) + *u* + *tām*
= *a* + *kar* + *u* + *tām*

(*g*) *a* + *kar* + *u* + *tām*
6.4.110 *at ut sārvadhātuke*
= *a* + *k*(*a* ⟶ *u*)*r* + *u* + *tām*

Note here that this replacement of *a* by *u* must meet three conditions:

(*a*) *a* should be part of an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ*,
(*b*) this *aṅga* should also terminate in the affix *u*, and
(*c*) the *aṅga* as a whole should be followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix.

We clearly see that our *aṅga*, *a* + *kar* + *u*, meets conditions (*a*) and (*b*). It does not, however, meet condition (*c*), as the following affix *tām* is neither a *tiŃ* nor an affix marked with *Ś* (see 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*). But, as *tām* is a replacement of a *tiŃ* affix *tas*, which in turn is a *sārvadhātuka*, we can say that, in view of 1.1.56, *tām* is a *sārvadhātuka*. Now replacement condition (*c*) can be met and *a* can be replaced by *u*.

= *a* + *k*(*a* ⟶ *u*)*r* + *u* + *tām*
= *akurutām*

8. The replacement of a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) is treated like a *pada*.

(202) *vas* as in *grāmo vaḥ svam*

This entire sentence is derived from the string: *grāma* + *sŪ* + *yuṣmad* + *ām* + *sva* + *sŪ*, where *yuṣmad* + *ām* yields *yuṣmākam*, which in turn is replaced by *vas* (8.1.21 *bahuvacanasya vasnasau*). Given the string: *grāma* + (*sŪ* ⟶ *ḥ*) + *vas* + *sva* + (*sŪ* ⟶ *am*) = *grām* (*aḥ* ⟶ *o*) + *vas* + *sv*(*a* + *a* ⟶ *a*) *m* = *grāmo vas svam*, 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* is applied. According to this rule, the *s* of a *pada* is replaced by *rŪ*. In our string *yuṣmākam* is a *pada*, *vas* is not. By invoking 1.1.56, *vas* can be treated as a *pada* to yield *va*(*s* ⟶ *rŪ* ⟶ *ḥ*) = *vaḥ*.

Similarly, in (203) *grāmo naḥ svam*, *naḥ* is a replacement of *asmākam* 'genitive plural of *asmad*'.

(*a*) *alā vidhiḥ* 'operation which obtains because of *aL*'

Our example (204) *mahoraskena* is derived from (*mahat* + *sŪ* + *uras* + *sŪ*) + *Ṭā*, where *mahat* + *sŪ* + *uras* + *sŪ* form a *bahuvrīhi* compound (see (208) *dyukāmaḥ*). Given the compound *mahat* + *uras*, 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ...* (# 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) will replace *t* of *mahat* by *ā* and *s* of *uras* will be changed into *ḥ* via *s-visarga*. This will give us *maha* + *ā* + *uraḥ*, after which 5.4.151

uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ... would introduce the *samāsānta* (5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*) affix *ka*(*P* → *∅*) = *ka*. The instrumental singular *Ṭā* will then be introduced after *maha* + *ā* + *uraḥ* + *ka*. Rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*... and 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will alternately apply on *maha* + *ā* + *uraḥ ka* + *Ṭā*. The result will be: *mah*(*a* + *ā* → *ā*) + *uraḥ* + *ka* + *Ṭā* = *mahā* + *uraḥ* + *ka* + *Ṭā* and *mah*(*ā* + *u* → *o*) *raḥ* + *ka* + *Ṭā* = *mahoraḥ* + *ka* + *Ṭā*. The ending *Ṭā* will be replaced by *ina* by 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasi*.... Also 8.3.38 *so' padādau* will replace the *visarga* of *uraḥ* by *s*. Thus *mahoraḥ* + *ka* + (*Ṭā* → *ina*) = *mahoraḥ* + *ka* + *ina* and *mahora*(*ḥ* → *s*) + *ka* + *ina* = *mahoraska* + *ina*. Rule 6.1.87 will then replace *a* + *i* by *e*. Thus: *mahorask*(*a* + *i* → *e*)*na* = *mahoraskena*. Now, if *s* (the replacement of *ḥ* ruled by 8.3.38 *so' padādau*) is treated as if it were *ḥ*, then 8.4.2 *aṭkuppvāṅ*... will cause the *n* of *ina* to be replaced by *ṇ*. This would result in the derivation of an unacceptable form **mahoraskeṇa*. But since 1.1.56 does not find any scope here, everything is in order.

(*b*) *alaḥ vidhiḥ* 'operation obtaining on an item occurring after *aL*'

(205) *dyauḥ*

Given the string *div* + *s*(*Ū* → *∅*), the *v* of *div* will be replaced by *au* by 7.1.84 *div aut* (# 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). If *au* is treated as if it were *v*, the *s*, occurring after *di*(*v* → *au*) + *s* = *diau* + *s*, would have to be deleted. This would result in an undesired form. Looking at the ablative in 6.1.88 *halṅyābbhyaḥ*..., we can say that the operation of deleting *s* is occurring after *aL*. As a result, we cannot invoke 1.1.56 *sthānivāt*.... Once *au* is not treated as *v*, *di* + *au* + *s* will first yield *d*(*i* → *y*) + *au* + *s* = *dyau* + *s* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*), and then by *s-visarga*, *dyauḥ*.

A similar interpretation and resultant blocking of 6.1.88 is involved in deriving (206) *panthāḥ* from *pathin* + *sŪ* and (207) *saḥ* from *tad* + *sŪ*.

(206) *panthāḥ*

(*a*) *pathin*

  4.1.2 *svauj*... (*sUP*-selection)
  = *pathin* + *sŪ*
  it-deletion
  = *pathin* + *s*

(*b*) *pathin* + *s*

  1.4.13 *yasmāt*...
  6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
  7.1.85 *pathimathy*...
  = *pathi* (*n* → *ā*) + *s*

Note that treating *ā* as if it were *n* would give an occasion for the application of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyaḥ*... The operation to be performed in that case would be the deletion of *s*.

(*c*) *pathi* + *ā* + *s*

  1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*
  7.1.76 *ito' t*...
  7.1.87 *tho nthaḥ*
  = *path*(*i* → *a*) + *ā* + *s*

= *pa(th → nth) + a + ā + s*
= *panth + a + ā + s*

(*d*) *panth + a + ā + s*
6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*
= *panth + (a + ā → ā) + s*
= *panth + ā + s*
= *panthā + s*

(*e*) *panthā + s*
s-visarga
= *panthāḥ*

(207) *saḥ*

(*a*) *tad + sŪ*
7.2.102 *tyādādīnāmaḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *ta(d → a) + s*
= *ta + a + s*

(*b*) *ta + a + s*
7.2.106 *tadoḥ saḥ...*
= *(ta → sa) + a + s*
= *sa + a + s*
Refer here to my note concerning the application of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyaḥ...* in (*b*) of (206) *panthāḥ*.

(*c*) *sa + a + s*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
s(a + a → a) + s
= *sa + s*
= *sas*

(*d*) *sas*
s-visarga
= *saḥ*

(*c*) *alaḥ vidhiḥ* 'operation obtaining in place of *aL*'

(208) *dyukāmaḥ*

Given a string of two syntactically related *pada, div + Ṅi* and *kāma + sŪ* the following rules apply.

(*a*) *div + Ṅi + kāma + sŪ*
2.1.1 *samarthaḥ...*
2.1.3 *prāk...*
2.1.4 *saha supā*
2.2.24 *anekam...*
= *div + Ṅi + kāma + sŪ*

(*b*) *div + Ṅi + kāma + sŪ*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*
= *div + (Ṅi → Ø) + kāma + (sŪ → Ø)*

= *div* + *kāma*
= *divkāma*

(*c*) *divkāma*
4.1.2 *svauj...* (*sUP*-selection)
it-deletion
= *divkāma* + *s*($\tilde{U}$ → Ø)

(*d*) *divkāma* + *s*
6.1.131 *div ut* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *di*(*v* → *u*) *kāma* + *s*
= *diukāma* + *s*

(*e*) *diukāma* + *s*
6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*
= *d*(*i* → *y*) *ukāma* + *s*
= *dyukāma* + *s*

Note here that the *u* of *dyukāma* + *s* is a replacement for *v*. If this *u* is treated as if it were *v*, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* would apply to delete the *u*. The result would be a wrong form **dy*(*u* → Ø) *kāma* + *s* = **dykāma* + *s*. However, since this deletion of *u* is not only an operation pertaining to *aL* but also an operation obtaining in place of one, 1.1.56 *sthānivat...* cannot be invoked. That this operation obtains 'in place of *aL*' is clear from the genitive in 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* (see *lopaḥ* 1/1, *vyor* 6/1, *vali* 7/1).

(*f*) *dyukāma* + *s* → same as (*j-m*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*
= *s-visarga*
= *dyukāmaḥ*

(*g*) *ali vidhiḥ* 'operation obtaining when *aL* follows'

(209) *ka iṣṭaḥ*

Given the string *kim* + *sŪ iṣṭa* + *sŪ*, where *i* of *iṣṭa* is a replacement of *y* (see note 2 under 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*), first, 7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ* will replace *kim* by *ka*. Rule 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will then replace *sŪ* by *rŪ*. If the *i* replacement of *y* in *iṣṭa* is treated as if it were *i*, our resultant string *ka* + *r* + *iṣṭa* + *sŪ* will be subject to the application of 6.1.114 *haśi ca*, which would replace *r* by *u*, yielding an unacceptable form **ka* + (*r* → *u*) + *iṣṭaḥ*. However since the substitute (*i*) is a sound denoted by *aL* and the operation obtains with reference to this substitute constituting the following *aL*, 1.1.56 *sthānivat...* cannot be invoked. The locative in 6.1.114 *haśi ca* attests to the fact that an *al-vidhi* is obtaining with reference to a following *aL* denoted by *hŚ*. The *r* is replaced by *y* by 8.3.17 *bhobhago...*, which is deleted later by 8.3.19 *lopaḥ...*. Thus: *ka* + (*r* → *y*) + *iṣṭaḥ* = *kay* + *iṣṭaḥ* = *ka*(*y* → Ø) + *iṣṭaḥ* = *ka iṣṭaḥ*. Note that *iṣṭa* + *sŪ* will yield *iṣṭaḥ*.

1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*

(210) *paṭayati*

Given the string *paṭu* + *ṆiC*, where the causative affix *ṆiC* is introduced after a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *arthavad...*) by the strength of the *vārttika* (*vt.*)

tatkaroti tadācaṣṭe (ad 3.1.25 *satyāpa...)*, the *u* of *paṭu* + (*Ṅ* → *0*)*i*(*C* → *0*) = *paṭu* + *i* is deleted at the strength of another *vt. ṇāviṣṭhavat prātipadikasya* (ad 6.4.115 *ṭeḥ*). This yields *paṭ*(*u* → *0*) + *i* = *paṭ* + *i*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* may now become applicable here. This rule would require a *vṛddhi* replacement for the penultimate vowel (*a*) of our *aṅga paṭ*. However 1.1.57 intervenes. It states that the *a* of *paṭ* cannot be termed *upadhā* (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva...*) because the zero replacement of *u* of *paṭu* will have to be treated as if it were *u*. There are two reasons for this:

(*a*) the zero replacement of *u* was conditioned by a following item (*ṆiC*), and

(*b*) the *vṛddhi* replacement obtains for a preceding item.

Thus, for all practical purposes, the zero replacement of *u* will be considered as if it were *u*. This will make *ṭ* the *upadhā* of *paṭ*. Obviously *ṭ* cannot be replaced by *vṛddhi*, since *ṭ* is not denoted by *iK* (1.1.3 *iko...*). The *vṛddhi* is blocked.

There is another reason why 1.1.57 must be formulated. As I have already pointed out under (*c*) of 1.1.56 *sthānivat...*, a genitive interpretation of *al-vidhi* is possible. According to this, when an operation obtains 'in place of *aL*,' a substitute cannot be treated like the substituendum. Given this, the zero replacement of *u* in *paṭu* cannot be treated like *u*, and hence, *a* cannot be denied the assignment of the term *upadhā*. This will clear the way for *vṛddhi* of *a* which, in turn, will eventually lead to a wrong form **pāṭayati*. But 1.1.57 prevents it.

Turning back to the derivation of *paṭayati*, we end up with a causal form *paṭ* + *i* = *paṭi*, which is termed a *dhātu* 'root' by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā....* For deriving *paṭayati* from *paṭi*, follow steps similar to (14) *nayati* and (15) *bhavati*.

(211) *avadhīt*.

This example is derived from *aṬ* + *han* + *sIC* + *īṬ* + *tiP*, where the verbal root *han* is replaced by *vadha* by 2.3.43 *luṅi ca*. For other details, refer to the derivation of (16) *akārṣīt*, and so on. Given the string *a* + *vadha* + *s* + *ī* + *t*, 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* will delete the *a* of *vadha* under the condition of *s*(*IC*), an *ārddhadhātuka* affix. Now the *a* of *vadh* in the new string *a* + *vadh* + *s* + *ī* + *t* may become an object of *vṛddhi* replacement by 7.2.7 *ato halāder....* However, for purposes of this replacement, the *aṅga* (in this case, *a-vadh*), must terminate in a consonant. Under the provisions of 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...*, *a-vadh* can still be treated as if it ended in *a*. This is possible because the *a* of *vadh* was deleted under the condition of the following *sIC*, and this *vṛddhi* replacement is obtaining on a preceding item. The *vṛddhi* is again blocked. The resultant form will be *avadhīt*.

(212) *bahukhaṭvakaḥ*

This example is derived from *bahukhaṭvaka* + *sU*, where the base is a *bahuvrīhi* compound termed a nominal stem. The compound results by

combining *bahvī* + *Jas* + *khaṭvā* + *Jas* according to 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*. The nominative plural endings are deleted after the compound formation. The resultant form *bahvīkhaṭvā* is further subjected to masculine transformation (see (102) *uttarapūrvasyai;* also (174) *vātaṇḍyayuvatiḥ*) by 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvad....* The result is *bahukhaṭvā*, after which 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā* introduces the *samāsānta* affix *kaP*. Given the string *bahukhaṭvā* + *ka*, 7.4.15 *āpo...'nyatarasyām* causes the *aṅga*-final *ā* to be replaced by short *a*. The form now becomes *bahukhaṭv(ā → a)* + *ka* = *bahukhaṭvaka*. Rule 6.2.175 *bahor nañvat...* states that when *bahu* signifies the plurality of the following constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, the accent of such a following constituent should be assigned according to rules stated for constituents which follow *naÑ*. In other words, because *bahu* is signifying the plurality of *khaṭvā*, the accent of *khaṭvā*, particularly the *a* of *khaṭvā*, should be determined on the basis of 6.2.174 *hrasvānte....* This rule assigns accent to forms which follow *naÑ*. It states that the vowel which is prior to the final vowel of an item is assigned *udātta* 'high' accent, if that item both follows *naÑ* and also terminates in a short vowel.

If we follow 6.2.174 *hrasvānte...* in assigning an accent to the non-final *a* of *khaṭva* (in *bahukhaṭva*), *a* will be *udātta*. However 1.1.56 will cause the final short vowel of *khaṭva* to be treated as long. This will block the *udātta* accent of the *a* of *kha* on the grounds that *khaṭva* no longer terminates in a short vowel. This brings into play 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvam*, according to which the *udātta* accent should be assigned to the final *a* of *bahukhaṭva*. But this assignment is not trouble free either. It will come into conflict with the locative interpretation of *al-vidhi*.

Since the operation of assigning *udātta* occurs with reference to the following *kaP*, the final short *a* of *khaṭva* cannot be considered like a long *ā*. This will bring back 6.2.174 *hrasvānte* again. The problem is finally resolved by 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...*, which states that since the short replacement was caused by the following *kaP*, and the operation obtains on that which precedes the substitute, the substitute can be considered as the substituendum. Consequently 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvam* assigns the *udātta* accent to the final *a* of *bahukhaṭva*.

The other accents of *bahukhaṭvaka* are as follows: *a, u, a* as in *bahukha* are *anudātta* 'low' (see 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*); and the *a* of *ka* is *svarita* 'circumflex' (see 8.4.66 *udāttānudāttasya...*). Thus: *bahukhaṭvaká*.

1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana...*

(*a*) *padānta-vidhi*

(213) *kau ṣṭaḥ*

The word *kau* is derived from *kim* + *au*, where *kim* is replaced by *ka* (see (*b*) of (2) under 1.1.57). For deriving *kau* from (*kim* → *ka*) + *au* = *ka* + *au*, follow (*b-c*) of (93) *sarvau*.

The word *staḥ* is derived from *as* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by the third-person dual ending *tas*, and the augment *ŚaP* is introduced after the root. This yields *as* + *ŚaP* + *tas*. Rule 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...* causes the deletion of *ŚaP*. Given the string *as* + *tas*, 6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ* applies to delete the *a* of *as*. The final *s* of *stas* becomes *ḥ* by *s-visarga*. It should be remembered here that the deletion of the *a* in *as* was caused by the *sārvadhātuka* (3 4.113 *tiṅśit...*) affix *tas*, treated as if it were marked with *Ṅ* (see 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*).

If we have the string *kau* + *staḥ*, and if we treat the zero replacement of *a* as if it were *a*, then 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will find its scope. This will yield an unacceptable form **k(au → āv) + staḥ = *kāvstaḥ*. The *ali-vidhi* interpretation of 1.1.56 *sthānivad...* will stop us from treating the zero replacement of *a* as *a*. However 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* will again allow zero replacement to be treated as *a*(see (210) *paṭayati* for details). The result would still be **kāvstaḥ*. In order to block this, we must block treating the zero replacement of *a* as *a*. Rule 1.1.57 *na padānta...* accomplishes exactly this. However, as is clear from the rule, and also from our present example, there are constraints on this blocking. For example, the preceding illustrates that such blocking was possible only because a particular operation concerned a *pada*-final element (the *au* in *kau*).

The application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* is similarly blocked in (214) *yau staḥ*. The *santi* in (215) *yāni santi* and (216) *kāni santi* also involves the deletion of the root-initial *a* of *as*. If this deletion was treated as *a*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply. The result will be incorrect forms such as **yānysanti* and **kānysanti*.

(*b*) *dvirvacana-vidhi*

(217) *daddhy atra*

Given the string *dadhi* + *atra*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply. The result will be *dadh(i → y) + atra = dadhy atra*. Rule 8.4.47 *anaci ca* can now require the doubling of *dh* because *dh* is followed by a non-*aC*, namely *y*. But if this *y* is treated as if it were the *i* which it replaces, then doubling cannot take place because, since *i* is an *aC*, *dh* then will not have a following non -*aC*. The *ali-vidhi* interpretation will again block the treatment of *y* as *i*. Consequently doubling will obtain. However the problem is not yet resolved. Rule 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* cannot permit doubling. The final decision that *y* should not be treated as *i* is made by 1.1.58 *na padānta....* This decision is made possible because of the operation which concerns doubling. The final form of *dadhi* + *atra* will be *dadhdhyatra*, which after the application of 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*, becomes *da(dh → d)dhyatra = daddhyatra*. Similar problems are encountered in deriving (218) *maddhvatra* and (219) *suddhyupāsyaḥ* from *madhu* + *atra* and *sudhi* + *upāsyaḥ*.

(*c*) *vare-vidhi*

(220) *yāyāvaraḥ*

(*a*) *yā*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco...*
= *yā + ya(Ṅ) → ∅) # dvitva*
= *yā + ya*

(*b*) *yā + ya*

6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*
6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
6.1.9 *sany aṅoḥ*
= *yā + yā + ya*

(*c*) *yā + yā + ya*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*
= *y(ā → a) + yā + ya*
= *ya + yā + ya*
= *yayāya*

(*d*) *yayāya*

7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*
= *y(a → ā) yāya*
= *yāyāya*

(*e*) *yāyāya*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.17 *yaś ca yaḥ*
3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
= *yāyāya + vara (C → ∅)*
= *yāyāya + vara*

(*f*) *yāyāya + vara*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *āṅgasya*
6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*
6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*
= *yāyāy (a → ∅)+ vara*
= *yāyāy +vara*

(*g*) *yāyāy +vara*

6.1.64 *lopo vyor vali*
= *yāyā(y → ∅)+vara*
= *yāyā + vara*

Given the string *yāyā + vara*, the following takes place:

(*a*) If the zero replacement of the *a* of *yaṄ* is treated as *a*, this string will be viewed as *yāyā + a + vara*. Now, 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* can apply to delete the *ā* of *yā*. The result will be **yāy(ā → ∅) + vara* = **yāyvara*.

(*b*) the *ali vidhi* interpretation will block treatment of zero as *a*. This in turn blocks the above mentioned deletion of *ā*.

(*c*) Rule 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* allows the treatment of zero as *a*. The deletion is revived again.

(*d*) Finally, according to 1.1.58 *na paaānta...*, the treatment of zero as *a* is blocked, and hence, deletion of *a* does not take place. The ultimate form is *yāyā* + *vara* = *yāyāvara*, which after *sŪ* and *s-visarga* yields *yāyāvaraḥ*

(*d*) *ya-lopa vidhi*

(221) *kaṇḍūtiḥ*

(*a*) *kaṇḍū*($\check{N} \rightarrow \emptyset$)

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.22 *dhātor...*
3.1.27 *kaṇvādibhyo...*
= *kaṇḍū* + *ya*($k \rightarrow \emptyset$)
= *kaṇḍū* + *ya*
3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*
= *kaṇḍūya*

(*b*) *kaṇḍūya*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.174 *kticktau ca...*
= *kaṇḍūya* + ($K \rightarrow \emptyset$) *ti*($C \rightarrow \emptyset$)
= *kaṇḍūya* +*ti*

(*c*) *kaṇḍūya* + *ti*

3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*
6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*
= *kaṇḍūy* ($a \rightarrow \emptyset$) + *ti*
= *kaṇḍūy* + *ti*

(*d*) *kaṇḍūy* +*ti*

6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*
= *kaṇḍū*($y \rightarrow \emptyset$) +*ti*
= *kaṇḍūti*

Note here that

(1) If zero replacement of *a* is treated as *a*, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* cannot apply to delete *y*.

(2) If the *ali-vidhi* interpretation of 1.1.56 *sthānivad...* negates treating zero as *a*, deletion of *y* can be accomplished. However 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* will again block it.

(3) The problem is resolved by 1.1.58 *na padānta...* which allows the zero not to be treated as *a*. This in turn makes it possible for 6.1.66 *lopovyor vali* to delete *y*.

The final form of the example derived from *kaṇḍūti* + *sŪ* = *kaṇḍūtiḥ* via *s-visarga*.

Also note that the explanation given here under (1)-(3) is also applicable to the deletion of *v* in (220) *yāyāvaraḥ*.

(*e*) *svara-vidhi*

(222) *cikīrṣakaḥ*

(*a*) (*ḌU* → ∅) *kṛ* (*Ñ* → ∅)

kṛ 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*

3.1.7 *dhātoḥ*

= *kṛ* + *sa*(*N* → ∅)

= *kṛ* + *sa*

(*b*) *kṛ* + *sa*

3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...*, blocked because of 7.2.10 *ekāc...*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* blocked because 1.2.9 *iko jhal* will allow the *jhL*-initial *saN* to be treated as marked with *K*, and thus 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will intervene.

= *kṛ* + *sa*

(*c*) *kṛ* + *sa*

7.1.100 *ṛta id dhātoḥ* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ...*

= *k*(*ṛ* → *ir*) + *sa*

= *kir* + *sa*

(*d*) *kir* + *sa*

6.1.9 *sany aṅoḥ* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*

6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) # *dvitva*

= *kir* + *kir* + *sa*

(*e*) *kir* + *kir* + *sa*

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*

= (*k* → *c*)*i* + *kir* + *sa*

= *ci* + *kir* + *sa*

(*f*) *ci* + *kir* + *sa*

8.2.77 *hali ca*

= *ci* + *k*(*i* → *ī*)*r* + *sa*

= *ci* + *kīr* + *sa*

8.1.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*

= *ci* + *kīr* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*a*

= *ci* + *kīr* + *ṣa*

= *cikīrṣa*

(*g*) *cikīrṣa*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*

3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*

= *cikīrṣa* + (*Ṇ* → ∅) *vu* (*L* → ∅)

= *cikīrṣa* + *vu*

3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*

(*h*) *cikīrṣa* + *vu*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*
6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*
= *cikīrṣ(a* → *Ø)* + *vu*
= *cikīrṣ* + *vu*
7.1.1 *yuvoranākau* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *cikīrṣ* + (*vu* → *aka*)
= *cikīrṣ* + *aka*

Given the string *cikīrṣ* + *aka*, the following explains how the problem of assigning accent will finally be resolved by 1.1.58.

(1) Rule 6.1.193 *liti* will assign an *udātta* accent to *ī* of *cikīrṣa* under the condition that the following affix was marked with *L* (*aka* can be considered as marked with *L* because it is a replacement of *ṆvuL*).
(2) But if the zero replacement of *a* is treated like *a*, the *udātta* accent will then obtain on the *a* of *sa*.
(3) However since 6.1.193 *liti* is in the locative, an *ali-vidhi* interpretation of 1.1.56 *sthānivat...* will block the *udātta* on *a*.
(4) Rule 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* will now intervene to allow zero replacement of *a* to be treated as *a* again. Consequently it is *a* of *sa* which will qualify for *udātta*.
(5) Rule 1.1.58 *na padānta...* will make the final decision now by disallowing treatment of zero replacement as *a* on the grounds that the present operation concerns assignment of accent. This will clear the way for assigning the *udātta* accent to *ī* of *cikīrṣaka*.

Similar explanations can be given in assigning the *udātta* accent to *ī* of (223) *jihīrṣakaḥ*, which is derived from *hṛÑ* + *saN* + *ṆvuL*.

(*f*) *savarṇa-vidhi*/(*g*) *anusvāra-vidhi*

(224) *śindhi*

(*a*) *śiṣ(LṚ* → *Ø)*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
śiṣ 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.162 *loṭ ca*
= *śiṣ* + *LOṬ*

(*b*) *śiṣ* + *LOṬ*
3.4.77 *lasya* # *tiṄ*-selection
= *śiṣ* + (*LOṬ* → *siP*)
it-deletion
= *śiṣ* + *si*

(*c*) *śiṣ* + *si*
3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ...* # 1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*
= *śi* + (*Ś* → *Ø*)*na*(*M* → *Ø*) + *ṣ* + *si*
= *śi* + *na* + *ṣ* + *si*

(*d*) *śi* + *na* + *ṣ* + *si*
3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*
= *śi* + *na* + *ṣ* + (*si* → *hi*)

= *śi + na + ṣ + hi*

Note here that even though *hi* is a replacement of an affix marked with *P*, it is not allowed to be treated as such.

(*e*) *śi + na + ṣ + hi*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ* # 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*

= *śi + n(a → Ø) + ṣ + hi*

= *śi + n + ṣ + hi*

(*f*) *śi + n + ṣ + hi*

6.4.101 *hujhalbhyo her dhiḥ*

= *śi + n + ṣ + (hi → dhi)*

= *śi + n + ṣ + dhi*

(*g*) *śi + n + ṣ + dhi*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*

= *śi + n + ṣ + (dh → ḍh) i*

= *śi + n + ṣ + ḍhi*

(*h*) *śi + n + ṣ + ḍhi*

8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*

= *śi + n + (ṣ → ḍ) + ḍhi*

= *śi + n + ḍ + ḍhi*

(*i*) *śi + n + ḍ + ḍhi*

8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe*

= *śi + n + (ḍ → Ø) + ḍhi*

= *śi + n + Ø + ḍhi*

(*j*) *si + n + Ø + ḍhi*

8.3.24 *naścāpadantasya*

= *śi + (n → ṃ) + Ø + ḍhi*

Note here that the *a* of (*Ś*)*na*(*M*) was deleted at (*e*). If the zero replacement of *a* is treated as *a*, then at (*j*) of this string, *n* cannot be replaced by *m* (obviously because *n* will no longer be followed by a *jhL*). As usual, an *ali-vidhi* interpretation of 1.1.56 *sthānivad...* will block the treatment of zero as *a*. Rule 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* will restore it merely until 1.1.58 *na padānta...* finally negates it, because of the nature of the operation on hand. The preceding serves as an illustration of the application of 1.1.58 to *anusvāra-vidhi*. Continuing on with this derivation we find an illustration of *savarṇa-vidhi*.

(*k*) *śi + ṃ + ḍhi*

8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*

= *śi + (ṃ → ṇ) + ḍhi*

This homogeneous replacement is possible only when *yY* follows. Again if the zero replacement of *a* (of *ŚnaM*) is treated as *a*, then there will not be any following *yY*. As discussed earlier, an *ali-vidhi* interpretation of

1.1.56 *sthānivad...* and 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin...* will first allow and then disallow the change. Rule 1.1.58 *na padānta...* will intervene to make the final decision. Since the operation on hand concerns homogeneous sounds, zero replacement cannot be treated as *a*. This will clear the way for deriving *śiṇḍhi*.

(225) *piṇḍhi*

A similar example is *piṇḍhi*, derived from *pisLṚ* + *LOṬ*. There is yet another example, (226) *śiṣanti*, which is derived from *śisLṚ* + (*LAṬ* → *jhi*). As in (10) *pacanti*, *jh* gets replaced by *ant*. With the introduction of *ŚnaM* and the subsequent deletion of its *a*, the string will become *śi* + *n* + *ṣ* + *anti*. Again, the *n* will be changed into *anusvāra*. The form would become *śiṃṣanti*. The function of 1.1.58 is to make this final decision of not allowing the zero replacement of *a* to be treated as *a*, because of the *anusvāra* operation. This traditional example *śiṃṣanti* is provided to make it clear that *anusvāra* and *savarṇa* operations can be considered independently in applying 1.1.58.

(*g*) *dīrgha-vidhi*

(227) *pratidīvnā*

(*a*) *pratidivan*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sUP*-selection
= *pratidivan* + *Ṭā*
it-deletion
= *pratidivan* + *ā*

(*b*) *pratidivan* + *ā*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.129 *bhasya*
6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ* # 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt...*
= *pratidiv*(*a* → *∅*) *n* + *ā*
= *pratidiv* + *∅* + *n* + *ā*

(*c*) *pratidiv* + *∅* + *n* + *ā*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.2.77 *hali ca*
1.1.58 *na padānta...*
= *pratid*(*i* → *ī*)*v* + *∅* + *n* + *ā*
= *pratidīvnā*

Note that long-vowel replacement is conditioned by a following *hL* (in this case *n*). If the zero replacement is treated as *a*, there will not be any following *hL*. Accordingly long-vowel replacement will be blocked. It will be revived by an *al-vidhi* interpretation, only to be blocked again by 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin*. Rule 1.1.58 will finally allow it on grounds of the nature of the operation at hand, namely *dīrgha-vidhi*.

Similar problems will have to be overcome in deriving (228) *pratidivne* from *pratidivan* + *Ṅe*.

(*h*) *jŚ-vidhi*

(229) *sagdhiḥ*

(*a*) *ad*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
2.4.39 *bahulam...*
= (*ad* → *ghas*(*LṚ* → *Ø*))
= *ghas*

(*b*) *ghas*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* # 1.1.56 *sthānivad...*
3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*
= *ghas* + (*K* → *Ø*) *ti* (*Ṅ* → *Ø*)
= *ghas* + *ti*

(*c*) *ghas* + *ti*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.100 *ghasibhasor hali* # 1.1.65 *alo'ntyāt...*
= *gh*(*a* → *Ø*)*s* + *ti*
= *gh* + *Ø* + *s* + *ti*

(*d*) *gh* + *Ø* + *s* + *ti*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*
= *gh* + *Ø* + (*s* → *Ø*) + *ti*
= *gh* + *Ø* + *Ø* + *ti*

(*e*) *gh* + *Ø* + *Ø* + *ti*

8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor dho' dhaḥ*
= *gh* + *Ø* + *Ø* + (*t* → *dh*)*i*
= *gh* + *Ø* + *Ø* + *dhi*

(*f*) *gh* + *Ø* + *Ø* + *dhi*

8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*
= (*gh* → *g*) + *Ø* + *Ø* + *dhi*

Remember here that *gh* (a *jhL*) cannot be replaced by *g* (a *jŚ*) unless *dh* (a *jhŚ*) follows. Unless the zero replacement of the *a* of *gha* is disallowed from being treated as *a*, this desired replacement cannot take place. Rules 1.1.56, 1.1.57, and 1.1.58 apply in turn as has already been discussed. The final decision is made by 1.1.58 on the basis of the nature of the present operation (*jŚ-vidhi*). The form remains *g* + *Ø* + *Ø* + *dhi* = *gdhi*, which, after placement of *sŨ*, becomes *gdhi* + *sŨ*.

Given a string of two *pada*, *gdhi* + *sŨ* and *samānā* + *sŨ*, 2.1.58 *pūrvapara...* will combine them to yield a *karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa* compound *samānā* + *sŨ* + *gdhi* + *sŨ*. The endings of this string will be deleted (2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*) after the compound is named a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*).

In addition, 6.3.42 *pumvatkarmadhāraya...* would require a masculine transformation of the *samānā* of *samānāgdhi*. Rule 6.3.84 *chandasya...* will then replace *samānā* by *sa*. The resultant form will be *sagdhi*, after which *sŪ* can be introduced to derive *sagdhiḥ*.

(230) *babdhām*

(*a*) *bhas*

steps similar to (*a-b*) of (224) *śiṇḍhi*

= *bhas* + (*LOṬ* → *tas*)

= *bhas* + *tas*

(*b*) *bhas* +*tas*

3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat*

3.4.101 *tasthastha...*, see (*d*) of (201) *akurutām*

= *bhas* + (*tas* → *tām*)

= *bhas* + *tām*

(*c*) *bhas* + *tām*

same as (*d*) of (10) *pacanti*, plus

2.4.74 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ* # 1.1.61 *pratyayasya...*

bhas + *ŚaP* + *tām*

bhas + (*ŚaP* → *∅*) + *tām*

bhas + *∅* + *tām*

(*d*) *bhas* + *∅* + *tām*

6.1.10 *ślau* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*) # *dvitva*

= *bhas* + *bhas* + *∅* + *tām*

6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*

(*e*) *bhas* +*bhas* + *∅* + *tām*

1.4.13 *yasmāt..*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= *bha* (*s* → *∅* + *bhas* + *∅* + *tām*

= *bha* + *∅* + *bhas* + *∅* + *tām*

(*f*) *bha* + *∅* + *bhas* + *∅* + *tām*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.4.54 *abhyāse carca*

= (*bh* → *b*) a + *∅* +*bhas* + *∅* + *tām*

= *ba* + *∅* + *bhas* + *∅* + *tām*

(*g*) *ba* + *∅* + *bhas* + *∅* + *tām*

6.4.100 *ghasibhasor...* # 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*

= *ba* + *∅* + *bh*(*a* → *∅*)*s* + *∅* + *tām*

= *ba* + *∅* + *bh* + *∅* + *s* + *∅* + *tām*

(*h*) *ba* + *bh* + *∅* +*s* + *tām*

8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*

= *ba* + *bh* + *∅* (*s* → *∅*) + *tām*

= *ba + bh + ∅ + tām*

(*i*) *ba + bh + ∅ + tām*

8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho...*

ba + bh + ∅ + (t → dh)ām

= *ba + bh + ∅ + dhām*

(*j*) *ba + bh + ∅ + dhām*

8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*

= *ba +(bh → b) + ∅ + dhām*

= *babdhām*

For details of how rules 1.1.56 and 1.1.57 create problems which 1.1.58 resolves, see the explanation at the end of (229) *sagdhiḥ*.

(*i*) *cR-vidhi*

(231) *jakṣatuḥ*

(*a*) *ad* same as (*a*) of (162) *śuśuvatuḥ*

= *ad + LIṬ*

(*b*) *ad + LIṬ*

3.4.115 *liṭ ca*

2.4.35 *ārdhadhātuke*

2.4.40 *liṭy anyatarasyām*

= (*ad → ghasLṚ*) + *LIṬ*

it-deletion

= *ghas + LIṬ*

(*c*) *ghas + LIṬ*

same as (*a-b*) of (162) *śuśuvatuḥ*

= *ghas +(LIṬ → tas)*

= *ghas + (tas → atus)*

= *ghas + atus*

(*d*) *ghas + atus*

1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl...*

1.4.23 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.100 *ghasibhasor...*

= *gh(a → ∅)s + atus*

= *gh + ∅ + s + atus*

(*e*) *gh + ∅ +s + atus*

6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...*(6.1.1 *ekāco dve...) #* 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*

= *ghas + gh + ∅ + s + atus*

(*f*) *ghas + gh + ∅ + s + atus*

6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= *gha(s → ∅) + gh + ∅ + s + atus*

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*

= *jha + gh + ∅ + s + atus*

(*g*) *jha + gh + ∅ + s + atus*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.4.54 *abhyāse carca*

= *(jh → j)a + gh + ∅ + s + atus*

(*h*) *ja + gh + ∅ + s + atus*

8.4.55 *khari ca*

= *ja + (gh → k) + ∅ + s + atus*

Remember here that the *cR* (*k*) replacement of *gh* is possible only when *khR* (*s*) follows. If the zero replacement of *a* (see (*d*) is treated as *a*, there will not be any following *khR*. The result will again be achieved by going through provisions of 1.1.56 and 1.1.57. Finally 1.1.58 will disallow the treatment of zero as *a* and *k* can replace *gh*.

(*i*) *ja + k + ∅ + s + atus*

8.3.60 *śāsivasighas...*

ja + k + ∅ +(s → ṣ) + atus

= *jakṣatus*

(*j*) *jakṣatus*

s-visarga

= *jakṣatuḥ*

Similar problems occur in deriving (232) *jakṣuḥ* according to the same pattern.

(233) *akṣan*

(*a*) *ad*

same as (*a*) of (16) *akārṣīt*

= *ad + LUṄ*

(*b*) *ad + LUṄ*

same as (*b*) of (231) *jakṣatuḥ*

= *(ad → ghasLṚ) + LUṄ*

= *ghas + LUṄ*

(*c*) *ghas + LUṄ*

same as (*c-f*) of (10) *pacanti*

ghas + CLI + LUṄ

(*d*) *ghas + CLI + LUṄ*

same as (*c-f*) of (10) *pacanti*

= *ghas + CLI + (LUṄ → jhi)*

= *ghas + CḶI + (jh → ant) i*

= *ghas + CLI + anti*

(*e*) *ghas + CLI + anti*

3.4.100 *itaś ca*

= *ghas + CLI + ant(i → ∅)*

= *ghas + CLI + ant*

(*f*) *ghas* +*CLI* + *ant*

2.4.80 *mantre....*

ghas + (*CLI* → *0*) + *ant*

ghas + *ant*

(*g*) *ghas* + *ant*

same as (*f*) of (16) *akārṣīt*

= *a*(*Ṭ* → *0*) + *ghas* + *ant*

(*h*) *a* + *ghas* + *ant*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.100 *ghasibhasor...* # 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam...*

= *a* + *gh*(*a* → *0*)*s* + *ant*

= *a* + *gh* + *s* + *ant*

(*i*) *a* + *gh* + *s* + *ant*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya...*

= *a* + *gh* + *s* + *an*(*t* → *0*)

= *a* + *gh* + *s* + *an*

(*j*) *a* + *gh* + *s* + *an*

8.4.54 *abhyāse carca*

= *a* +(*gh* → *k*) + *s* + *an*

= *a* + *k* + *s* + *an*

Note here that if the deletion of *a* of *ghas* is treated as *a*, *gh* cannot be replaced by *k*. This problem is resolved by 1.1.58 in the manner already familiar.

(*k*) *a* + *k* + *s* + *an*

8.3.60 *śāsivasighasi...*

= *a* + *k* + (*s* → *ṣ*) + *an*

= *a* + *k* + *ṣ* + *an*

= *akṣan*

1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*

Examples such as (234)/ (235) *papatuḥ/papuḥ*, (236)/ (237) *jaghnatuḥ/ jaghnuḥ*, and (238)/ (239) *cakratuḥ/cakruḥ* are derived by introducing *LIṬ* (3.4.115 *liṭ ca*) after *pā*, *han* and *kṛ*, and replacing it first by *tas/jhi* (3.4.78 *tiptas...*), and then by *atus/us* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānam...*). Replacement and doubling involving 1.1.59 will apply as follows.

(*a*) *pā* + *atus/pā* + *us*

6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*

6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* # *dvitva*

= *pā* + *pā* + *atus/pā* + *pā* + *us*

1.1.59 *dvirvacane...*

(*b*) *pā* + *pā* + *atus/pā* + *pā* + *us*

6.4.64 *āto lopa...*

\# 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl...*
= *pā + p(ā → ∅) + atus*
pā +p(ā → ∅) +us

Given the strings *pā + p + ∅ + atus/pā + p + ∅ + us*, *pā* will be termed *abhyāsa* by 6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ* to clear the way for its *ā* to be shortened by 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. For deriving (234) *papatuḥ*/(235) *papuḥ* from *papatus/papus*, apply *s-visarga.*

(236) *jaghnatuḥ*/(237) *jaghnuḥ*

(*a*) *han + atus/han + us*
\# *dvitva*
= *ha + h + n + atus/*
ha + h + n + us

(*b*) *ha + h + n + atus/ha + h + n + us*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.98 *gamahana...*# 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt...*
= *h(a → ∅) + h + n + atus/*
h(a → ∅) + h + n + us
7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca* # 6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
= *ha +(h → gh) + ∅ + n + atus/*
ha +(h → gh) + ∅ + n + us
8.4.54 *abyāse carca*
(h → j) a + gh + n + atus/
(h → j) a + gh + n + us
= *ja + gh + n + atus/ja + gh + n + us*
= *jaghnatus/jaghnus*
s-visarga
= *jaghnatuḥ/jaghnuḥ*

(238) *cakratuḥ*/(239) *cakruḥ*

These involve *yN* replacement. Thus, given the strings *kṛ + atus/kṛ + us*, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply. The results will be *k(ṛ → r) + atus/k (ṛ → r) + us = kr + atus/kr + us.* Note here that doubling cannot take effect unless 1.1.59 *dvirvacane...*allows *r* (the replacement of the vowel *ṛ*) to be treated as having the form *ṛ*. As a result, *kr + atus/kr + us* will be treated as if it were *kṛ + atus/kṛ + us*. The strings will become *kṛ + kr + atus/kṛ + kr + us* after doubling. The rest of the rule application are as follows.

kṛ + kr + atus/kṛ + kr + us
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.66 *urat* # 6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*, 1.1.50 *uraṇ raparaḥ*
= *k(ṛ → ar) + kr + atus/*
k(ṛ → ar) + kr + us
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*
= *ka(r → ∅) + kr + atus/*
ka(r → ∅) + kr +us

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*
= $(k \rightarrow c)$ *a* + *kr* + *atus*/
$(k \rightarrow c)$ *a* + *kr* + *us*
= *cakratus*/*cakrus*
s-*visarga*
= *cakratuḥ*/*cakruḥ*

(240) *āṭiṭat*

(*a*) *aṭ*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.26 *hetumati ca*
= *aṭ* + $(N \rightarrow \emptyset)i(C \rightarrow \emptyset)$
= *aṭ* + *i*

(*b*) *aṭ* + *i*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya* # 1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir adaic,* 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt*
= $(a \rightarrow \bar{a})$ *ṭ* + *i*
= *āṭ* + *i*
= *āṭi*

(*c*) *āṭi*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.2.110 *luṅ* (3.2.84 *bhūte*)
= *āṭi* + *LUṄ*
3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptas...* # *tiṄ*-selection
= *āṭi* + *ti*

(*d*) *āṭi* + *ti*

3.1.48 *ṇisridru...*
āṭi + $(C \rightarrow \emptyset)a(\dot{N} \rightarrow \emptyset)$ + *ti*
āṭi + *a* + *ti*

(*e*) *āṭi* + *a* + *ti*

3.4.100 *itaś ca*
= *āṭi* + *a* + *t*$(i \rightarrow \emptyset)$
= *āṭi* + *a* + *t*

(*f*) *āṭi* + *a* + *t*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*
= *āṭ* $(i \rightarrow \emptyset)$ + *a* + *t*
= *āṭ* + $\emptyset$ + *a* + *t*

(*g*) *āṭ* + $\emptyset$ + *a* + *t*

7.4.1 *ṇau caṅ...*
= $(\bar{a} \rightarrow a)$ *ṭ* + $\emptyset$ + *a* + *t*
= *aṭ* + $\emptyset$ + *a* + *t*

(*h*) *aṭ* + ∅ + *a* + *t*

6.1.1 *ekāco...*
6.1.2 *ajāder...*
6.1.11 *caṅi*

Note here that if the root begins with a vowel, 6.1.2 requires the doubling of the unit constituted by second vowel. However in this case, the second *i* is deleted. Rule 1.1.59 restores it temporarily and we get:

= *a* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*

(*i*) *a* + *ṭ* + *ṭi* + *a* + *t*

6.4.72 *āḍajādīnām* # 1.1.45 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *ā*(*Ṭ* → ∅) + *a* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*
= *ā* + *a* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*

(*j*) *ā* + *a* + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*

6.1.72 *saṃhitāyām...*
6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*
(*ā* + *a* → *ā*) + *ṭi* + *ṭ* + *a* + *t*
= *āṭiṭat*

(241) *ninaya*/(242) *nināya*

(*a*) *ṇīÑ*

placement of *LIṬ* and its replacement first by *miP* and then by *ṆaL*
= *ṇī*(*Ñ* → ∅) + (*Ṇ* → ∅)*a*(*L* → ∅)
= *ṇī* + *a*
6.1.63 *ṇo naḥ*
= (*ṇ* → *n*)*ī* + *a*
= *nī* + *a*

(*b*) *nī* + *a*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.91 *ṇaluttamo vā*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha...*
= *n*(*ī* → *e*) + *a*
= *ne* + *a*

Note here that 7.1.91 is an optional rule. That is, it allows the affix *ṆaL* to be treated as if marked with *Ṇ* only optionally. Our string *ne* + *a* results by applying *guṇa* replacement. This is only possible when we do not treat *ṆaL* as marked with *Ṇ*. As opposed to this, and also under the option of 7.1.91, if we did treat *ṆaL* as marked with *Ṇ*, 7.3.84 *sārva...* will not apply on *nī* + *a*. Instead 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* will apply. The result will be a *vṛddhi* replacement for *ī*. Thus: *n*(*ī* → *ai*) + *a* = *nai* + *a*.

Turning back to deriving *ninaya*/*nināya* from *ne* + *a*/*nai* + *a*, we face the problem of applying the doubling rules 6.1.1 *ekāco...*, and so on. Employing 1.1.59 *dvirvacane...* to restore our strings to *nī* + *a* resolves the difficulty.

This yields: *ni* + *ne* + *a*/*ni* + *nai* + *a*, to which 6.1.75 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* can then apply. The result will be: *ni* + *n*(*e* → *ay*) + *a*/*ni* + *n*(*ai* → *āy*) + *a* = *ninaya*/*nināya*. Rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* changes the *nī* of root to *ni*.

For deriving (243) *lulava*/(244) *lulāva* from *lu* + *LIṬ*, follow the same pattern.

(245) *paceran*

(*a*) (*ḌU*) *pac* (*ĀṢ*)
  1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
  3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
  3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇa...* # 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*
  pac + *LIṄ*

(*b*) *pac* + *LIṄ*
  similar to (*c-e*) of (10) *pacanti* except that here the selected ending is third person plural *ātmanepada jha*
  = *pac* + (*LIṄ* → *jha*)
  = *pac* + *ŚaP* + *jha*
  it-deletion
  = *pac* + *a* + *jha*

(*c*) *pac* + *a* + *jha*
  3.4.102 *liṅaḥ...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau..*
  = *pac* + *a* + *sīy*(*UT* → *0*) + *jha*
  = *pac* + *a* + *sīy* + *jha*

(*d*) *pac* + *a* + *sīy* + *jha*
  3.4.105 *jhasya ran*
  pac + *a* + *sīy* + (*jha* → *ran*)
  pac + *a* + *sīy* + *ran*

(*e*) *pac* + *a* + *sīy* + *ran*
  1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
  6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
  7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo...*
  = *pac* + *a* + (*s* → *0*)*īy* + *ran* # 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*
  = *pac* + *a* + *īy* + *ran*

(*f*) *pac* + *a* + *īy* + *ran*
  6.1.55 *lopo vyor vali* # 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*
  = *pac* + *a* + *ī*(*y* → *0*) + *ran*
  pac + *a* + *ī* + *ran*

(*g*) *pac* + *a* + *ī* + *ran*
  6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
  = *pac* + (*a* + *ī* → *e*) + *ran*
  = *pac* + *e* + *ran*
  = *paceran*

1.1.60 *adarśanaṃ lopaḥ*

(246) *gaudheraḥ*

(*a*) *godhā* + *ṄasI*

same as (*a-b*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*, plus 4.1.129 *godhāyā ḍhrak*

= *godhā* + *ṄasI* + *ḍhrak*

(*b*) *goana* + *ṄasI* + *ḍhrak*

same as (*c-d*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*

godhā + *ḍhra*

(*c*) *godhā* + *ḍhra*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.2 *āyaneyi...*

= *godhā* + (*ḍh* → *ey*)*ra*

= *godhā* + *ey* + *ra*

(*d*) *goahā* + *ey* + *ra*

7.2.118 *kiti ca* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*

= *g*(*o* → *au*)*dhā* + *ey* + *ra*

= *gaudha* + *ey* + *ra*

(*e*) *gaudhā* + *ey* + *ra*

6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* # 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*

= *gaudh*(*ā* → *∅*) + *ey* + *ra*

= *gaudh* + *ey* + *ra*

(*f*) *gaudh* + *ey* + *ra*

6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* # 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*

= *gaudh* + *e*(*y* → *∅*) + *ra*

= *gaudhera*

(*g*) *gaudhera*

sŪP-selection

it-deletion

s-visarga

= *gaudheraḥ*

(247) *jīradānuḥ*

This example is derived by introducing the affix *radānuK* (see *Uṇ-ādi* affix 2/23 *jīver adānuk*) after the verb root *jīv*. Thus: *jīv* + *radānu*(*K* → *∅*) = *jīv* + *radānu*. The *v* of *jīv* is deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*, of course with reference to 1.1.60 *adarśanam...*: *jī*(*v* → *∅*) + *radānu* = *jīradānu*. The application of *sUP*-selection, *it*-deletion, and *s-visarga* then yields *jīradānuḥ*.

(248) *āsremāṇam*

This example is also derived by introducing an *Uṇ-ādi* affix after the verb root *srivŪ* used with the preverb *āṄ*:

ā(*Ṅ* → *∅* + *sriv*(*U* → *∅*) = *āsriv*

āsriv + *Uṇ-ādi* affix *man*(*IN* → *∅*) = *āsriv* + *man*.

Given the string *āsriv* + *man*, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya* (# 1.4.13 *yasmāt...*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) will order a *guṇa* replacement for *i*: *āsr*(*i* → *e*)

v + *man* = *asrev* + *man*. Rule 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* will delete the *v*. The resultant base *āsre*(*v* → Ø) + *man* = *āsre* + *man* will be termed a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*.... Finally, to *āsreman* will be introduced the accusative singular ending *am* (4.1.1-4.1.2 *ṅyāp*..., *svauj*..., and so on). The following two rules then apply to *āsreman* + *am*:

(*a*) 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne*... (# 1.4.13 *yasmāt*..., 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, 1.1.42 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*) where we get *āsrem*(*a* → *ā*)*n* + *am*

(*b*) 8.4.27 *aṭ kup*... (# 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) which changes dental *n* into retroflex *ṇ*. Thus: *āsremā*(*n* → *ṇ*) + *am* = *āsremāṇam*.

1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*

(249) *atti*

The word *atti* is derived from *ad* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* with *ŚaP* having been deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*. Thus: *ad* + (*ŚaP* → Ø) + *ti*(*P* → Ø) = *ad* + *ti*. The *d* is changed into *t* by 8.4.55 *khari ca*. As a consequence, *a*(*d* → *t*) + *ti* = *atti*. Note here that the deletion of *ŚaP* was accomplished by using the term *LUK*.

(250) *juhoti*

The word *juhoti* is derived from *hu* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*, where *ŚaP* is deleted by using the term *ŚLU*. Given the string *hu* + *ti*, the following rules apply.

(*a*) *hu* + *ti*

6.1.10 *ślau* (6.1.1 *ekāco*...)
dvitva
= *hu* + *hu* + *ti*

(*b*) *hu* + *hu* + *ti*

6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*..., 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*)
= (*hu* → *jhu*) + *hu* + *ti*
= *jhu* + *hu* + *ti*

(*c*) *jhu* + *hu* + *ti*

8.4.54 *abhyāse carca*
(*jh* → *j*)*u* + *hu* + *ti*
ju + *hu* + *ti*

(*d*) *ju* + *hu* + *ti*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātu*... # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*)
= *ju* + *h*(*u* → *o*) + *ti*
= *juhoti*

(251) *varaṇāḥ*

(*a*) *varaṇa*

placement of genitive plural ending *ām* with reference to 4.1.1 *ṅyāp*..., and so on
= *varaṇa* + *ām*

(*b*) *varaṇa* + *ām*

4.1.82 *samarthānām*... (*VR*)

4.1.83 *prāgdīvyato' ṇ*
4.2.70 *adūrabhavaś ca*
= *varaṇa* + *ām* + *aṆ*

(*c*) *varaṇa* + *ām* + *aṆ*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
2.4.71 *supo...*
= *varaṇa* + (*ām* → ∅) +*a*
= *varaṇa* + *aṆ*

(*d*) *varaṇa* + *aṆ*
4.3.82 *varaṇādibhyaś ca*
= *varaṇa* + (*aṆ* → ∅)
= *varaṇa*

(*e*) *varaṇa*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sUP*-selection
= *varaṇa* + *Jas*

Note here that *Jas* (the plural) alone should be considered the proper ending after *varaṇa* in order to denote the sense implied by the *taddhita* affix *aṆ*. The syntactically related *pada*, *varaṇa* + *ām* had a plural sense. Hence in view of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*, the number and gender of the original, of *varaṇa* + *ām*, must be restored when the *taddhita* affix is deleted by involving *LUP*. Also note that since the deletion has been accomplished by means of *LUP*, operations such as *vṛddhi* replacement conditioned by the affix and obtaining on the *aṅga* do not apply.

(*f*) *varaṇa* +(*J* → ∅)*as*
6.1.104 *prathamayoḥ...*
= *varaṇ* (*a* + *a* → *ā*) *s*
= *s-visarga*
= *varaṇāḥ*

1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*
(252) *agnicit*

(*a*) *ciÑ*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*(3.2.84 bhūte, 3.2.86 *karmaṇi...*, 3.2.87 *...kvip*) (*VR*)
3.2.91 *agnau ceḥ*

Rule 3.2.91 *agnau ceḥ* is contained in the domain of 3.2.84 *bhūte;* therefore by 3.2.91, *KvIP* will be introduced when *bhūta* is being denoted. A question may be raised here concerning 3.2.76 *kvip ca,* which in general introduces *KvIP* after a root co-occurring with any conjoined *pada*. In view of this, why cannot *KvIP* be introduced by 3.2.76? In other words, what is the need and function of 3.2.91? Actually 3.2.91 is a restrictive rule;

it restricts the introduction of *KvIP* when *agni* + *am* is co-occurring with *ciÑ*. Here is how the restriction works.

(*a*) This *KvIP* is introduced only when *bhūta* is introduced. If present or future are being denoted, it cannot be introduced.

(*b*) This *KvIP* can only be introduced after *ci* co-occurring with *agni* + *am*. That is, if the root is not *ci*, *KvIP* cannot be introduced. Thus, *agniṃ bhṛtavān* = *agnibhāraḥ* has to be derived from *agni* + *am bhṛ* + *aṆ*, and not *KvIP*.

(*c*) Also when the *upapada* is different, *KvIP* cannot be introduced. Thus *iṣṭikāś citavān* = **iṣṭikācit* has to be derived with *aṆ*. The form **iṣṭikācit* is wrong. The correct *aṆ* derivation would be *iṣṭikācāyaḥ*.

(*d*) Since *KvIP* after *ci* with co-occurring *agni* + *am* is introduced by 3.2.91, no other affix can be introduced after *ci* with the co-occurring *agni* + *am* when *bhūta* is being denoted.

Since *agni* + *am* is required for the placement of *KvIP* after *ciÑ* we could start the derivation of *agnicit* with the string *agni* + *am* + *ciÑ*. However this process is less revealing. Instead, I prefer to start with *ciÑ* and when faced with the application of 3.2.91, reconstruct the string *agni* + *am* with reference to the *anuvṛtti* elements in 3.2.91. The reason of introducing *agni* + *am* to the string at the time of the application of 3.2.91 is simple. The domain of 3.2.91 is 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*. A string such as *agni* + *am* + *ciÑ* will not qualify for access to this domain. Furthermore we have no means of knowing whether *agni* + *am* will be introduced as a co-occurring *pada* for *ciÑ* before we reach 3.2.91. Starting with *agni* + *am* + *ciÑ* means taking a lot for granted.

(*b*) *agni* + *am* + *ci* (*Ñ* → *0*) +(*K* → *0*)*vīP* → *0*)
= *agni* + *am* + *ci* + *v*
2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ* (2.2.17 *nityam...*, 2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*, 2.1.4 *saha supā*, 2.1.3 *prāk...*) (*VR*)
= *agni* + *am* + *ci* + *v*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
2.4.71 *supo...*
= *agni* + (*am* → *0*) + *ci* + *v*
= *agni* + *ci* + *v*

(*c*) *agni* + *ci* + *v*
1.2.41 *apṛkta...*
6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*
= *agni* + *ci* +(*v* → *0*)
= *agni* + *ci*
= *agnici*

(*d*) *agnici*
6.1.71 *hrasvasyapiti...#* 1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*, 1.1.45 *ādyantau*

= *agnici* + *t* (*UK* → ∅)
= *agnicit*

Note here that the introduction of *tUK* is conditioned by the presence of a following *kṛt* affix marked with *P*. Affix *KvIP* is marked with *P* but it no longer follows. That is, it has been deleted. Consequently the introduction of *tUK* (the effect) cannot take place since *KvIP* (the cause) is removed. But 1.1.62 allows the effect (introduction of *tUK*) to occur even though *KvIP* (the cause) is removed.

(*e*) *agnicit*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sŪP*-selection
= *agnicit* + *s* (*Ū* → ∅) # *it*-deletion
= *agnicit* + *s*

(*f*) *agnicit* + *s*

1.2.41 *apṛkta*
6..1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*
= *agnicit* + (*s* → ∅)
= *agnicit*

(*g*) *agnicit*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
1.1.62 *pratyayalope...*
= *agnicit*

(253) *somasut*

Similar steps are to be followed in deriving *somasut* from SuÑ + *KvIP*, where 3.2.90 *some suñaḥ* helps reconstruct the co-occurring *pada soma* + *am* and the root initial *ṣ* is replaced by *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ*.

1.1.64 *aco' ntyādiṭi*

Examples such as *agnicit* and *somasut* are cited to illustrate that they have more than one *aC* and the items which begin with the final vowel of these forms, namely *it* and *ut*, can be termed *ṭi*. These examples are formal (*rūpodāharaṇa*), as opposed to *pacete* and *pacethe* which are functional (*kāryodāharaṇa*). A functional example requires the assignment of the term *ṭi* to result in some operation to be performed. A formal example is simply illustrative and does not involve any operation caused by the term assignment.

(254) *pacete*/(255) *pacethe*

See the appendix under 1.1.11 *īdūdet*...for derivational details. It is important to remember here that given the strings *pac* + *a* + *ātām* and *pac* + *a* + *āthām*, *ām* of both the endings is termed *ṭi* and consequently replaced by *e*.

1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*

All the examples cited under this rule are given in the root form. As formal examples they illustrate that *a* (in *pac*, *paṭh*); *i* (in *bhid*, *chid*), *u* (in

budh, rudh) and *ṛ* (in *vṛt, vṛddh*) are penultimate (*upadhā*). As functional examples, they indicate that stems like *pācaka, pāṭhaka, bhedaka, chedaka, varttaka, varddhaka,* and so on, are derived by introducing affixes after them where, consequent upon the assignment of the term *upadhā* to *i, u,* and *ṛ,* replacement operations such as *vṛddhi* (in *pācaka, pāṭhaka*) by (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*) and *guṇa* (in the rest of the examples by, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya*), have taken place.

1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*
(256) *cayaḥ*
(257) *jayaḥ*
(258) *ayaḥ*

These examples are derived by introducing affix *aC* after verbal roots *ciÑ* 'to select, pick, arrange', *ji* 'to conquer', and *iṆ* 'to go'. Rule 3.3.56 *erac* introduces this affix by referring to these roots with *i*. In view of 1.1.72 *yena vidhis...*, this *i* not only refers to roots like *i* (*Ṅ*) which it solely constitutes but also to roots like *ci* (*Ñ*) and *ji* which end in it. Given the strings *ci + a, ji + a,* and *i + a,* affix *a* will be termed an *ārdhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*. Similarly *ci, ji,* and *i* will be termed *aṅga* by 1.4.13 *yasmāt....* Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...* will introduce *guṇa* in the place of *i* of all three *aṅga*. This will yield *c(i → e) + a = ce + a; j(i → e) + a = je + a;* and *(i →e) + a =e + a,* which after the application of 6.1.78 eco' *yavāyāvah* will result in *c(e → ay) + a = caya; j(e → ay) + a = jaya;* and *(e → ay) + a = aya*. These forms are termed nominal stems by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* and the introduction of *sŪ* by 4.1.1 *ṅyāp...* will ultimately yield: *cayaḥ, jayaḥ,* and *ayaḥ*.

It should be remembered here that strings *ci + a, ji + a,* and *i + a* also meet the conditions for applying 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* which, if applied, would yield *c(i → y) + a = *cya; j(i → y) + a =*jya,* and *(i → y) + a = *ya*. This rule application will definitely produce undesirable results. Commentators say that the application of 6.1.77 is blocked in favour of 7.3.84 by the *paribhāṣā: vārṇād āṅgaṃ balīyaḥ* 'an operation relative to an *aṅga* is more powerful than one relative to a *varṇa* (sound)'.

1.1.74 *tyadādīni ca*

Most of the examples cited under this rule are easy to derive. For example (259) *tyadīyam* is the nominative singular neuter form of *tyadīya,* where the base is complex. It is derived by first introducing affix *Ṅas* to *tyad* (as in (*a*) of(1) *aupagavaḥ*). The resultant string *tyad + Ṅas* is termed *vṛddha* to enable it to receive affix *CHa* (4.2.115 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). For rules required for deriving *tyadīya* from *tyad + Ṅas + CHa,* see the relevant steps of (5) *śālīyaḥ*. For rules required for deriving *tyadīam* from *tyadīya,* see (*e-h*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*. Similar rules apply in deriving all the other examples except for (260) *madīyam* (261) *mādāyaniḥ,* and (262) *tvādāyaniḥ,* where *asm* and *yuṣm* of *asmad* and

yuṣmad are replaced by *ma* and *tva* as provided by 7.2.98 *pratyayottarapadayoś ca*. Given the string (*asm* → *ma*) *ad* + *Ṅas* + *Cha*, rule application similar to (5) śaliyaḥ will give us: *ma* + *ad* + *īya*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will then apply to yield: *m*(*a* + *a* →*a*) + *d* + *īya*. Affix *PHiÑ* rather than *CHa* is introduced after both *yuṣmad* + *Ṅas* and *asmad* + *Ṅas* (see 4.1.157 *udīcaṃ vṛddhād agotrāt*) to derive *tvādāyaniḥ* and *mādāyaniḥ* where, in addition to the replacement of *yuṣm* and *asm* by *tva* and *ma*, and the application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, 7.1.2 *āyaneyī*...must also apply. This rule replaces the *PH* part of *PHiÑ* by *āyan*. This result of all the rule applications is as follows:

> (*yuṣm* → *tva*)*ad* + *Ṅas* → *tva* + *ad* + *Ṅas* (7.2.98 *pratyayo*...) = *tv*(*a* + *a*→ *a*) *d* +*Ṅas* → *tvad* + *Ṅas* (6.1.97 *ato*...) = *tvad* + (*Ṅas* → ∅) + *PHiÑ* → *tvad* + *PHiÑ* (2.4.71 *supo*...) = *tvad* + (*PH* → *āyan*) +*i* (*Ñ* → ∅) → *tvad* + *āyan* + *i* (7.1.2 *āyan*...) = *tv* (*a* → *ā*)*d* + *āyan* + *i* = *tvādāyani*; *tvādāyani* + *sU* = *tvādāyaniḥ*
>
> Except for a replacement of *asm* by *ma* of *asmad*, *mādāyaniḥ* follows the same pattern.

1.1.75 *eṅ prācāṃ deśe*

(263) *eṇīpacanīyaḥ*, (264) *bhojakaṭīyaḥ*, (265) *gonardīyaḥ*

Examples such as *eṇīpavacanīyaḥ*, *bhojakaṭīyaḥ*, and *gonardīyaḥ* are derived exactly like (5) *śālīyaḥ*. The only significant difference which exists in the derivation of these forms as compared with that of (5) *śālīyaḥ* is the way in which these bases are termed *vṛddha*. In (5) *śālīyaḥ*, *vṛddha* is assigned at the strength of the *vṛddhi* vowel *ā*. In these examples it has to be assigned by the present rule on the strength of their vowels being denoted by *eṄ*. Of course they must also meet the semantic condition of denoting an Eastern country.

1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo' ñṇinṅit*

(266) *adhyagīṣṭa*

(267) *adhyagīṣātām*

(268) *adhyagīṣata*

The above examples are derived by introducing the abstract suffix *LUṄ* after the verbal root *iṄ* used with the preverb *adhi*.

(*a*) *adhi* + *iṄ*
    same as (a) of (16) *akārṣit*
  = *adhi* + *iṄ* + *LUṄ*

(*b*) *adhi* + *iṄ* + *LUṄ*
    2.4.50 *vibhāṣā lṛṅluṅoḥ*
  = *adhi* + (*iṄ* → *gāṄ*) + *LUṄ*
    it-deletion
  = *adhi* + *gā* + *LUṄ*

(*c*) *adhi* + *gā* + *LUṄ*
    same as (*b*-*c*) of (16) *akārṣīt*

(step *b*) = *adhi* + *gā* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*
(step *c*) = *adhi* + *gā* + (*CLI* → *sĪC*) + *LUṄ*

(*d*) *adhi* + *gā* + *sIC* + *LUṄ*
3.4.77 *lasya;* 3.4.78 *tiptas...* #
1.3.12 *anudātaṅitaḥ ātmanepadam*
1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*
1.1.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*
= *adhi* + *gā* + *s*(*ĪC* → *Ø*) + (*LUṄ* → *ta*)
= *adhi* + *gā* + *s* + *ta*

(*e*) *adhi* + *gā* + *s* + *ta*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgā...* # 1.2.1
gāṅkuṭādi..., 1.1.51 *alo' ntasya*
= *adhi* + *g*(*ā* → *ī*) + *s* + *ta*
= *adhi* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*

Note here that 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgā...* allows *ā* of *gā* to be replaced by *i* under the conditions that: (*a*) *gā* was followed by an affix marked with *Ṅ*; and (*b*) that this affix also began with a consonant. Our affix *sĪC* can meet (*b*) but not (*a*). Rule 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...* lets *sĪC* be treated as marked with *Ṅ*. This, in turn, enables *sĪC* to meet condition (*a*) and facilitate the application of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgā....*

(*f*) *adhi* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
6.4.71 *luṅlaṅ...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
= *adhi* + *a* (*Ṭ* → *Ø*) + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
= *adhi* + *a* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*

(*g*) *adhi* + *a* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*
= *adh*(*i* → *y*) + *a* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
= *adhya* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*

(*h*) *adhya* + *gī* + *s* + *ta*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *adhya* + *gī* + (*s* → *ṣ*) + *ta*
8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*
= *adhya* + *gī* + *ṣ* (*t* → *ṭ*)*a*
= *adhya* + *gī* + *ṣ* + *ṭa*
= *adhyagīṣṭa*

The remaining two examples (267) *adhyagīṣātām* and (268) *adhyagīṣata* are very similar to (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*. They differ as follows:

(*a*) At step (*d*) *LUṄ* will be replaced by *ātām* in *adhyagīṣātām* and by *jha* in *adhyagīṣata;*

(*b*) Given the string *adhi* + *gā* + *s* + *jha*, 7.1.5 *ātmanepade...* will replace *jh* by *at*: *adhi* + *gā* + *s* + (*jh* → *at*)*a* = *adhi* + *gā* + *s*+ *ata*. Note that the rest of the rule applications are similar except for 8.4.41 which does not apply in (267) and (268).

(*c*) Affix *sIC* cannot be deleted in these examples, mostly because of the absence of a following *jhL*.

(269) *kuṭitā*, (270) *kuṭitum*, and (271) *kuṭitavyam* are derived like (168) *bhavitā*, (170) *bhavitum*, and (172) *bhavitavyam*. The same is true for (272) *utpuṭitā*, (273) *utpuṭitum*, and (274) *utpuṭitavyam*. However, in the derivation of these examples, affixes *tṛC*, *tumUN*, and *tavyaT* are treated as marked with *Ṅ*. As a consequence, 7.3.86 *puganta...*cannot introduce a *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate *u* of the *aṅga kuṭ* + *tṛ*, *utpuṭ* + *tṛ*, and so on. The *guṇa* replacement in (168) *bhavitā*, and so on, was not blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* because *tṛC*, *tumUN*, and *tavyaT* were not treated there as marked with *K*.

1.2.2 *vija iṭ*
(275) *udvijitā*
(276) *udvijitum*
(277) *udvijitavyam*

These forms are derived by introducing affixes *tṛC*, *tumUN*, and *tavyaT* after the verbal root *Ovijī* used with the preverb *ut*. Refer to the preceding group of derivations for details of rule applications.

1.2.3 *vibhāṣor ṇoḥ*
(278) *prorṇuvitā*
(279) *prorṇavitā*

These optional forms are both derived from (*pra* + *urṇu* + *i* + *tṛ*) + *sŪ*. As is obvious, *pra* + *urṇu* yields *prorṇu*, where the *a* of *pra* and initial *u* of *urṇu* are replaced by a single *guṇa* vowel *o* (see 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). Given the string *prorṇu* + *i* + *tṛ*, the *u* of *prorṇu* will either be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *o* or else be replaced by *uvAṄ*, depending on whether or not *i* + *tṛ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ*. This is the option which 1.2.3 provides. When *i* + *tṛ* is not treated as marked with *Ṅ*, 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* applies. This yields *prorṇ*(*u* → *o*) + *i* + *tṛ* = *prorṇ*(*o* → *av*) + *i* + *tṛ* = *prorṇavitṛ*, as in (168) *bhavitā*. If *i* + *tṛ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will block the *guṇa* and therefore also the *av* replacement. This will cause the *u* of *prorṇu* to be replaced by *uvAṄ* with reference to 6.4.77 *aciśnudhā...* read with 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*. Thus: *prorṇ* (*u* → *uv AṄ*) + *i* + *tṛ* – *prorṇuvitṛ*.

Follow steps similar to *bhavitṛ* + *sŪ* of (168) *bhavitā* to derive *prorṇuvitā* and *prorṇavitā* from *prorṇuvitṛ* + *sŪ* and *prorṇavitṛ* + *sŪ*.

1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*
(280) *kurutaḥ*

(*a*) *DUkṛÑ*

it-deletion

= *kṛ*

same as in (34) *cinutaḥ*

(*b*) *kṛ* + *tas*

3.1.79 *tanādi...*

= *kṛ* + *u* + *tas*

(*c*) *kṛ* + *u* + *tas*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *k*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *u* + *tas*

= *kar* + *u* + *tas*

(*d*) *kar* + *u* + *tas*

6.4.110 *ata ut sārvadhātuke*

= *k*(*a* → *u*)*r* + *u* + *tas*

= *kurutas*

s-visarga

= *kurutaḥ*

Note here that 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...*cannot apply to replace *u* or *kar* + *u* + *tas* by its corresponding *guṇa* vowel *o*. This is because the affix *tas* is a *sārvadhātuka* not marked with *P*. As such it can be treated as marked with *Ṅ* and *guṇa* will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*.

(281) *kurvanti* is derived from *kṛ* + *Śap* + *jhi*. It differs from (280) only in its selection of *tiṄ*, namely the third person plural. Given the string *kur* + *u* + *jhi*, *jh* will be replaced by *ant*, as in (10) *pacanti*. The result, *kur* + *u* + *anti*, will be subject to the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, which will produce *kur* + (*u* → *v*) + *anti* = *kurvanti*.

1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*

(282) *bibhidatuḥ*

(283) *bibhiduḥ*

(284) *cicchidatuḥ*

(285) *cicchiduḥ*

(286) *ījātuḥ*

(287) *ījuḥ*

These sets are derived like (234) *papatuḥ* and (235) *papuḥ*. Thus, given a string such as *bhid* + *LIṬ*, *LIṬ* will be replaced by *atus* or *us*. These being *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) affixes, 7.3.84 would require a *guṇa* replacement for the *i* of *bhid* or *chid*. Rule 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will block this *guṇa* replacement at the strength of 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl...*allowing *atus* and *us* to be treated as marked with *K*. Reduplication (*dvitva*) will yield *bhid* + *bhid* + *atus* and *bhid* + *bhid* + *us*, which after the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, will produce *bhi* + *bhid* + *atus* and *bhi* + *bhid* + *us*. Rule 8.4.54 *abhyāse carca* will change the first *bh* into *b*, thereby producing *bibhidatus*/*bibhidus*.

In the derivation of *cicchidatuḥ* and *cicchiduḥ*, there is an additional rule application. That is, given the string *ci* + *chid* + *atus* and *ci* + *chid* + *us*, 6.1.73 *che ca* introduces the augment *tUK*, which after the application of 8.4.34 *stoś cunā...* becomes *c*. This produces *ci*(*t* → *c*) + *chid* + *atus* and *ci*(*t* → *c*) + *chid* + *us* = *cicchidatus*/*cicchidus*. Deriving *ījatuḥ* and *ījuḥ* involves *samprasāraṇa* (see 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*). Given the strings *yaj* + *atus* and *yaj* + *us*, 6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* replaces *y* by its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *i*. This produces (*y* → *i*) *aj* + *atus* and (*y* → *i*) *aj* + *us* = *iaj* + *atus* and *iaj* + *us*. Rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* now applies to replace the sequence *i* + *a* with a single replacement *i*. Given the strings *ij* + *atus* and *ij* + *us*, the desired forms can be derived through reduplication. However, remember that 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...* will apply to the result of the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Thus: *ij* + *atus*/*ij* + *us* → *ij* + *ij* + *atus*/*ij* + *ij* + *us* (*dvitva*); *ij* + *ij* + *atus*/ *ij* + *ij* + *us* → *i* + *ij* + *atus*/*i* + *ij* + *us* (by 7.4.60); and *i* + *ij* + *atus*/*i* + *ij* + *us* → *ījatus*/*ījus* (by 6.1.101).

1.2.6 *indibhavatibhyāṃ ca*

(288) *īdhe*/*samīdhe*, as in *putra īdhe atharvaṇaḥ* and *samīdhe dasyuhantamam*

The root here is (*Ñ* → *0*) *indh* (*I* → *0*) = *indh*, used in the second example with the preverb *sam*. Given the string *indh* + *LIṬ*, *LIṬ* is replaced by *ta* (see (*d*) of (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*). The *ta* in turn is replaced by *eŚ* by 3.4.81 *liṭastajha...* Rule 1.2.6 allows us to treat *eŚ* as marked with *K*. As a result, 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ...* deletes the *n* of the root. After reduplication (*dvitva*) and subsequent deletion of the first *dh*, the string becomes *i*(*dh* → *0*) + *e* = *i* + *idh* + *e*. Rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...* now applies to yield (*i* + *i* = *ī*) *dh* + *e* = *īdhe*. Similar rule applications yield *samīdhe* from *sam* + *indh* + *e*.

(289) *babhūva*

(*a*) *bhū*		
		Same as (*a*) of the many *LIṬ* examples already derived
	=	*bhū* + *LIṬ*
(*b*) *bhū* + *LIṬ*		
		LIṬ replaced by *ṆaL* (by 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām...*; also see (234) *papatus*, and so on)
	=	*bhū* + (*LIṬ* → *tiP*; *tiP* → *ṆaL*)
		it-deletion
	=	*bhū* + *a*
(*c*) *bhū* + *a*		1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
		6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
		6.4.88 *bhuvo...*
		1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*
	=	*bhū* + *vUK* + *a*
		it-deletion
	=	*bhū* + *v* + *a*

(*d*) *bhū* + *v* + *a*
dvitva as in (282) *bibhidatuḥ*
= *bhū* + *bhū* + *v* + *a*
(*e*) *bhū* + *bhū* + *v* + *a*
7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*
= *bh*(*ū* → *u*) + *bhū* + *v* + *a*
= *bhu* + *bhū* + *v* + *a*
7.4.73 *bhavater aḥ*
= *bh*(*u* → *a*) + *bhū* + *v* + *a*
= *bha* + *bhū*+ *v* + *a*
(*f*) *bha* + *bhū* + *v* + *a*
1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.4.53 *abhyāse carca*
= (*bh* → *b*) *a* + *bhū* + *v* + *a*
= *ba* + *bhū* + *v* + *a*
= *babhūva*

Deriving (290) *babhūvitha* from *bhū* + *LIṬ* is not difficult. The abstract affix *LIṬ* is first replaced with *siP*, which in turn is replaced by *thaL*. Given the string *bhū* + *tha*, 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* will introduce *iṬ*. This will yield *bhū* + *i* + *tha*, which after the application of rules as in (*d*-*f*) of (289) *babhūva*, will produce (290) *babhūvitha*.

The purpose of treating a replacement of *LIṬ* as marked with *K* is to block a *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement ordered by rules such as 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...*or 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*.

1.2.7 *mṛḍmṛd...*
(291) *mṛḍitvā*
(292) *mṛditva*
(293) *guhitvā*
(294) *kuṣitvā*
(295) *kliśitvā*
(296) *uditvā*
(297) *uṣitvā*

These examples are all derived by introducing the affix *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samāna kartṛkayoḥ*) after their respective roots. Since *Ktvā* is neither marked with *Ś* nor denoted by *tiṄ*, it will be assigned the term *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam;* 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). This will result in the introduction of augment *iṬ*, as shown in (290) *babhūvitha*. Thus a string such as *mṛḍ* + *Ktvā* will yield *mṛḍ* + *iṬ* + *Ktvā* = *mṛḍitvā*. Other examples can be similarly derived. However, note that the last two examples, (296) *uditvā* and (297) *uṣitvā*, have *vad* and *vas* as their respective roots, which will be subject to *samprasāraṇa*. Thus *vad* and *vas* will yield

(*v* → *u*) *ad* and (*v* → *u*)*as*. In addition, their *u* + *a* sequence will also be replaced by *u;* see the derivational details of (285) *ījatuḥ* and (286) *ījuḥ*. The final example requires an additional rule application. Given the string *us* + *i* + *tvā,* 8.3.60 *śāsivasighas*... will replace the *s* by *ṣ*. Thus: *usitvā* → *uṣitvā*.

It is interesting to note that 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ* does not permit a *Ktvā* used with *iṬ* to be treated as marked with *K*. As a result, *guṇa* replacements ordered by, for example, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadha*..., cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. The present rule 1.2.7 provides for the blocking of such *guṇa* replacements under specific conditions. Also note in this connection that 1.2.26 *ralo vyupa*... allows *ktvā* to be treated as marked with *K* only optionally, provided, of course, that it occurs after verbal roots *gudh, kuṣ,* or *kliś*. Rule 1.2.7 treats *Ktvā* as marked with *K* obligatorily.

All the derived bases, *mṛḍitvā, mṛditvā,* and so on, will be termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable' by 1.4.40 *ktvātosun*... This will cause the deletion of *sŪ* introduced after them (see 2.4.82 *avyayād*...).

1.2.8 *rudavidamuṣ*...

(298) *ruditvā*

(299) *viditvā*

(300) *muṣitvā*

These can be derived similarly to (291) *mṛḍitvā,* and so on. The derivation of (301) *gṛhītvā,* (302) *suptvā,* and (303) *pṛṣṭvā* entails some additional rule applications. Thus: given the string *grah* + *iṬ*+ *Ktvā,* 6.1.16 *grahijy*... will order *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ*...). The result will be: *g*(*ṛ* → *r*) *ah* + *iṬ* + *Ktvā* = *grah* + *i*+ *tvā,* which after the replacement of its sequence *r* + *a* by *ṛ*, as in (285) *ījatuḥ*, yields *gṛh* + *i* + *tvā*. The final form *gṛhītvā* is derived after the application of 7.2.37 *graho' liṭi,* whereby the short *i* is replaced by long *ī*. This long *ī* replacement is not relevant for *suptvā* and *pṛṣṭvā,* as these do not involve the augment *iṬ* (see 7.2.10 *ekāc*...). Furthermore, in deriving *pṛṣṭvā,* 8.2.36 *vraś ca*... replaces the *ch* of *pṛch* + *tvā* by *ṣ* Rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuh* later replaces the *t* by *ṭ* to yield *pṛ*(*ch* → *ṣ*) + (*t* → *ṭ*) *vā* = *pṛṣṭvā*.

(304) *rurudiṣati*

(*a*) *rud*(*IR* → *Ø*)

it-deletion

rud

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo*...

3.1.7 *dhātoḥ*...(3.1.1-3.1.2 *pratyayaḥ-paraś ca*)

= *rud* + *saN*

it-deletion

= *rud* + *sa*

(*b*) *rud* + *sa*

3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasy...* # 1.1.45 *ādyantau...*
= *rud* + *iṬ* + *sa*
it-deletion
= *rud* + *i* + *sa*

Note that 7.3.86 *puganta...* cannot apply here to introduce a *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate *u* of *rud* mainly because 1.2.8 *rudvid...* will enable *saN* to be treated as marked with *K*. Obviously 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will block the *guṇa*.

(*c*) *rud* + *i* + *sa*

6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve...*)
= *rud* + *rud* + *i*+ *sa* # *dvitva*

(*d*) *rud* + *rud* + *isa*

6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*
= *ru* (*d* → *∅*) + *rud* + *i* + *su*
= *rurudisa*

(*e*) *rurudisa*

3.1.32 *sanādy...*, plus relevant rules concerning placement of *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP*, as in (11) *jayati*
= *rurudisaati*

(*f*) *rurudisaati*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *rurudis* (*a* + *a* → *a*) + *ti*
= *rurudisati*

(*g*) *rurudisati*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*
8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *rurudi* (*s* → *ṣ*) *ati*
= *rurudiṣati*

One can similarly derive (305) *vividiṣati* and (306) *mumuṣiṣati* from *vid* + *saN* and *muṣ* + *saN*. The derivational histories of (307) *jighṛkṣati*, (308) *suṣupsati*, and (309)*pipṛcchiṣati* are slightly more complex since, in addition to *dvitva*, they also involve *samprasāraṇa*. Unlike the purpose of blocking *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* replacement, as in (304) *rurudiṣati*, and so on, the reason *saN* is treated as marked with *K* here is to allow *samprasāraṇa* and *dvitva*. In addition, *saN* becomes instrumental in blocking the introduction of *iṬ* (7.2.12 *sani grahaguhoś ca*).

(307) *jighṛkṣati*

(*a*) *grah*

same as in (304) *rurudiṣati*

– *grah* + *sa*

(*b*) *grah* + *sa*

6.1.16 *grahijyā*... # 1.2.8 *rudavida*..

= *g*(*r* → *ṛ*) *ah* + *sa*

= *gṛah* + *sa*

6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*

= *gṛ*(*a*→ Ø)*h* + *sa*

= *gṛh* + *sa*

(*c*) *gṛh* + *sa*

\# *dvitva*

= *gṛh* + *gṛh* + *sa*

(*d*) *gṛh* + *gṛh* + *sa*

7.4.66 *urat* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *g*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*h* + *gṛh* + *sa*

= *garh* + *gṛh* + *sa*

(*e*) *garh* + *gṛh* + *sa*

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= (*g* → *j*) *arh* + *gṛh* + *sa* (7.4.62)

= *ja*(*rh* → Ø) + *gṛh* + *sa* (7.4.60)

= *ja* + *gṛh* + *sa*

(*f*) *ja* + *gṛh* + *sa*

7.4.79 *sanyataḥ*

= *j*(*a* → *i*) + *gṛh* + *sa*

= *ji* + *gṛh* + *sa*

(*g*) *ji* + *gṛh* + *sa*

8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*

= *ji* + *gṛ*(*h* → *ḍh*) + *sa*

= *jigṛḍh* + *sa*

(*h*) *jigṛḍh* + *sa*

8.2.37 *ekāco baśo*...

= *ji*(*g* → *gh*)*ṛḍh* + *sa*

= *jighṛḍh* + *sa*

(*i*) *jighṛḍh* + *sa*

8.2.51 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si*

= *jighṛ*(*ḍh* → *k*) + *sa*

= *jighṛk* + *sa*

(*j*) *jighṛk* + *sa*

8.3.59 *ādeśá pratyayoḥ*

= *jighṛk* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*a*

= *jighṛkṣa*

(*k*) *jighṛkṣa*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*, plus rules relating to *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP*

= *jighṛkṣati*

Similar rules apply in deriving (308) *suṣupsati* and (309) *pipṛcchiṣati*. I shall now show some important rule applications in their derivational history.

(308) *suṣupsati*

(*a*) *svap*

affix *saN* and *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapi*...)

= *s* (*v* ⟶ *u*)*ap* + *sa*

(*b*) *suap* + *sa*

6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*

= *su*(*a* ⟶ Ø)*p* + *sa*

= *sup* + *sa*

(*c*) *sup* + *sa*

dvitva followed by 7.4.40 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= *sup* + *sup* + *sa*

= *su*(*p* ⟶ Ø) + *sup* + *sa*

= *su* + *sup* + *sa*

= *susupsa*

(*d*) *susupsa*

same as (*e g*) of (303) *rurudiṣati*

= *suṣupsati*

If one followed similar rule applications to derive (309) *pipṛcchiṣati* from *prach* + *sa*, (*b*) would yield *pṛch* + *sa* which, after reduplication, becomes *pṛch* + *pṛch* + *sa*. One must follow (*d-f*) of (307) *jighṛkṣati* to get: *pṛch* + *pṛch* + *sa*, which will then be changed as follows:

pṛch + *pṛch* + *sa* ⟶ *p*(*ṛ* ⟶ *ar*) *ch* + *pṛch* + *sa* = *parch* + *pṛch* + *sa*; *pa*(*rch* ⟶ Ø) + *pṛch* + *sa* = *pa* + *pṛch* + *sa*.

Note here that 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* of (*e*) of (307) *jighṛkṣati* is not pertinent to this derivation: *pa* + *pṛch* + *sa* ⟶ *p*(*a* ⟶ *i*) + *pṛch* + *sa* = *pi* + *pṛch* + *sa*. Two augments will now be introduced to *pi* + *pṛch* + *sa*

(*a*) *pi* + *pṛch* + *sa*

7.2.75 *kiraś ca*... # 1.1.46 *ādyantau*...

= *pi* + *pṛch* + *iṬ* + *sa*

it-deletion

= *pi* + *pṛch* + *i* + *sa*

(*b*) *pi* + *pṛch* + *i* + *sa*

7.1.13 *che ca*

= *pi* + *pṛ* + *tUK* + *ch* + *i* + *sa*

it-deletion
= *piprtchisa*

The outcome of (*b*) will be termed a root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā*....which, after the placement of *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP* will yield *piprtchisati.* Rule 8.5.39 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ* will replace *s* by *ṣ*. An additional application of 8.4.40 *stoś cunā*...will further replace *t* by *c*. Thus we will get:

piprtchisati → *piprtchi*(*s* → *ṣ*)*ati* = *piprtchiṣati*;
pipr(*t* → *c*) *chiṣati* = *piprcchiṣati*

1.2.9 *iko jhal*

(310) *cicīṣati*

This example is derived from *ciṄ* + *sa* where 7.2.10 *ekāc*...blocks the introduction of *iṬ*. Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha*....is also blocked from introducing the *guṇa* replacement for *i* mainly by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* on the strength of 1.2.9 *iko jhal*. The *i* in *ci* + *sa* is lengthened by 6.1.16 *ajjhan*.... This yields *ci* + *sa* which, after reduplication, becomes *cī* + *cī* + *sa*. Rule 6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ* assigns the term *abhyāsa* to the first *cī*, which consequently gets its long *ī* replaced by a short *i* (7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*). The remaining rule applications on *cicīṣa* for deriving *cicīṣati* offer nothing new.

(311) *tuṣṭūṣati*

Parallel to *cī* + *cī* + *sa*, *stū* + *sa* will yield *stū* + *stū* + *sa*. At this stage an exception to 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, namely 7.4.61 *śar pūrvāḥ*..., applies to delete the initial *s*. The string becomes *tū* + *stū* + *sa*, which after the shortening of the first *ū*, yields the root *tustūsa*. Given the string *tustūsa* + *a* + *ti*, arrived at by placing *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP*, the following rules apply:

8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *tustū*(*s* → *ṣ*)*a* + *a* + *ti*
= *tustūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
8.3.61 *stauti*...
= *tu*(*s* → *ṣ*)*tūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
= *tuṣtūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*
= *tuṣ*(*t* → *ṭ*)*ūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
= *tuṣṭūṣa* + *a* + *ti*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *tuṣṭūṣ*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *ti*
= *tuṣṭūṣati*

For deriving (312) *cikīrṣati*, first derive the root *cikīrṣa* as in (222) *cikīrṣakaḥ*, and then introduce *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP*.

1.2.10 *halantāc ca*

(313) *bibhitsati*

Given the string *bhid* + *bhid* + *sa* (after the placement of *saN* and *dvitva*), the first *d* is deleted by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*: *bhi*(*d* → ∅) + *bhid* + *sa* = *bhi* +

bhid + *sa*. The first *bh* will then be replaced by *b* under the provision of 8.4.53 *abhyāse carca*. This is followed by the application of 8.4.55 *khari ca*, whereby the *d* of *bhid* is replaced by *t*. The resultant string *bibhitsa* will be termed a root after which *LAṬ*, *tiP*, and *ŚaP* can be introduced to derive *bibhitsati*.

(314) *bubhutsate*

This example entails deriving *bubhutsa* as a root from *budh* + *saN*. After *dvitva* followed by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, *budh* + *sa* becomes *bu* + *budh* + *sa*. Two rules, 8.2.37 *ekāco*... and 8.4.55 *khari ca*, now apply to produce *bu* + (*b* → *bh*)*u*(*dh* → *t*) + *sa* = *bubhutsa*. The abstract affix *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular middle (*ātmanepada*) ending *ta*, and *bubhutsa* + *ta* eventually yields *bubhutsate* (see (49) *pacete* for details).

1.2.11 *liṅsicāv*...

(315) *bhitsīṣṭa*

(*a*) *bhid*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo*...
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.173 *āśiṣi liṅloṭau*
= *bhid* + *LIṄ*

(*b*) *bhid* + *LIṄ*

3.4.102 *liṅaḥ sīyut* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau*...
= *bhid* + *sīy*(*UṬ* → *Ø*) + *LIṄ*
= *bhid* + *sīy* + *LIṄ*

(*c*) *bhid* + *sīy* + *LIṄ*

3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptsasjhi* # 1.4.99 *laḥ*..., and so on; # 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ*...
= *bhid* + *sīy* + (*LIṄ* → *ta*)
= *bhid* + *sīy* + *ta*

(*d*) *bhid* + *sīy* + *ta*

3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ* # 1.4.46 *ādyantau*...
= *bhid* + *sīy* + *s*(*UṬ* → *Ø*) + *ta*
= *bhid* + *sīy* + *s* + *ta*

(*e*) *bhid* + *sīy* + *s* + *ta*

3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi*
6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*
= *bhid* + *sī*(*y* → *Ø*) + *s* + *ta*
= *bhid* + *sī* + *s* + *ta*

(*f*) *bhid* + *sī* + *s* + *ta*

8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*
= *bhid* + *sī* + (*s* → *ṣ*) + *ta*
= *bhid* + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

(*g*) *bhid* + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

8.4.55 *khari ca*

= *bhi*(*d* → *t*) + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

= *bhit* + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

(*h*) *bhit* + *sī* + *ṣ* + *ta*

8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*

= *bhit* + *sī* + *ṣ* + (*t* → *ṭ*)*a*

= *bhitsīṣṭa*

Deriving (316) *bhutsīṣṭa* from *budh* + *sīy* + *ta* involves, in addition to the appropriate rule applications from (315) *bhitsīṣṭa*, 8.2.37 *ekāco...*, which replaces the *b* of *budh* by *bh*.

(317) *abhitta*

(*a*) *bhid*

same as (*a*-*d*) of (265) *adhyagīṣṭa*

= *a* + *bhid* + *s* + *ta*

(*b*) *a* + *bhid* + *s* + *ta*

8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*

= *a* + *bhid* + (*s* → ∅) + *ta*

= *a* + *bhid* + *ta*

(*c*) *a* + *bhid* + *ta*

8.4.55 *khari ca*

= *a* + *bhi* (*d* → *t*) + *ta*

= *abhitta*

One can similarly derive (318) *abuddha* where, given the string *a* + *budh* + (*s* → ∅) + *ta*, 8.2.40 *jhaṣatathor...* will replace *t* by *dh*. Thus: *a* + *budh* + (*t* → *dh*)*a* = *a* + *budh* + *dha*. Rule 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś...* introduces an additional change: *a* + *bu*(*dh* → *d*) + *dha* = *abuddha*.

1.2.12 *uś ca*

(319) *kṛṣīṣṭa*

(320) *hṛṣīṣṭa*

These examples are derived from *kṛ* + *sīyUṬ* + *sIC* + *LIṄ* and *hṛ* + *sīyUṬ* + *sIC* + *LIṄ*, where *LIṄ* in both cases is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* suffix *ta*. The *s* of both *sīyUṬ* and *sIC* is changed to *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*. The *t* of *ta* is also replaced by *ṭ* by 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. For other details of these derivations see (315) *bhitsīṣṭa*, and so on.

(321) *akṛta*

(322) *ahṛta*

These forms are derived from *aṬ* + *kṛ* + *sIC* + *ta* and *aṬ* + *hṛ* + *sIC* + *ta*, where *sIC* is a replacement of *CLI* (3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*) and *ta* is third person singular *ātmanepada* suffix replacing *LUṄ*. Rule 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt* causes the deletion of *sIC*. See (317) *abhitta*, (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*, and so on for other derivational details.

1.2.13 *vā gamaḥ*
(323) *saṃgaṃsīṣṭa*
(324) *saṃgasīṣṭa*

Both these examples are derived from *sam* + *gam* + *sīyUṬ* + *sUṬ* + *ta* (see (315)*bhitsiṣṭa* for further details). The *ātmanepada* affix, here *ta*, has been introduced to replace *LIṄ* with reference to 1.3.29 *samogamyṛcch...*. Since 1.2.13 *vā gamaḥ* assigns the *Kit* status to *sIC* only optionally, and also since the purpose of assigning such a status is to facilitate the deletion of the *m* of *gam*, there naturally will be two forms:

(*a*) *saṃgasīṣṭa*, where the *m* of *gam* will be deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...* mainly because *sIC* will be treated as marked with *K*, and
(*b*) *saṃgaṃsīṣṭa*, where no such deletion will occur.

The *m* of the preverb *sam* in both (*a*) and (*b*), in addition to the *m* of *gam* in (*b*), where absence of *Kit* status to *sIC* would not permit its deletion, will be replaced by *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*.

The third person singular *ātmanepada* forms of *sam* + *gam* in *LUṄ* are optionally (325) *samagata* and (326) *samagaṃsta*. Both are derived from *sam* + *aṬ* + *gam* + *sIC* + *ta* (see (317) *abhitta*, and so on, for other details). The *Kit* status of *sIC* will cause the deletion of *m* of *gam* in *samagata*: its absence will save this *m* from being deleted in (326) *samagaṃsta*. In this latter case, *m* will be replaced by *anusvāra*. Also note that in (325) *samagata*, the deletion of *m* will be followed by the deletion of *sIC*. Thus given the string *sam* + *aṬ* + *gam* + *sIC* + *ta*, 6.4.37 *anudātto...* will first delete the *m* of *gam*. The resultant string, *sam* + *a* + *ga* + *s* + *ta*, will undergo the deletion of affix *s*(*IC*) simply because the affix will now be occurring after an *aṅga*, namely *sam* + *a* + *ga*, terminating in a short vowel (see 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt*). The same *sIC* is retained in (326) *samagaṃsta*, where the *aṅga* does not end in a short vowel.

1.2.14 *hanaḥ sic*
(327) *āhata*
(328) *āhasātām*
(329) *āhasata*

These third person singular, dual, and plural *LUṄ* forms of *han* are derived from *āṄ* + *aṬ* + *han* + *sIC* + *LUṄ* where the verbal root *han* is used with the preverb *āṄ*, and *LUṄ*, as a result, must be replaced by appropriate *ātmanepada* terminations (see 1.3.28 *āṅo yamahanaḥ*). Augment *sIC* is deleted by 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt* as in (321) *akṛta*. However, *sIC* cannot be deleted in (328) *āhasātām* and (329) *āhasata*, because given the strings *ā* + *a* + *ha* + *s* + *ātām* and *ā* + *a* + *ha* + *a* + *ata*, *sIC* will no longer be followed by *jhL*, which is one of the conditions for such a deletion (see also (267) *adhyagīṣātām* and (268) *adhyagīṣata*). The initial sequence *a* + *a* in both examples will be replaced by *ā* in view of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*.

1.2.15 *yamo gandhane*
1.2.16 *vibhāṣopayamane*
(330) *udāyata*
(331) *udāyasātām*
(332) *udāyasata*

The derivational history of these forms is very similar to that of the preceding examples. They derive from *ut* + *āṄ* + *aṬ* + *yam* + *sĪC* + *LUṄ*, where *LUṄ* gets replaced by third person *ātmanepada* endings: *ta, ātām,* and *jha*. For details also see (327) *āhata,* and so on. Similar rules apply in deriving (333) *upāyata,* (334) *upāyaṃsta,* and so on (see 1.2.16 *vibhāṣopayamane*). However, since *sĪC* in *upa* + *a* + *yam* + *sĪC* + (*LUṄ* → *ta*) is treated as marked with *K* only optionally, *upāyata* will have an alternant form *upāyaṃsta*. For derivational details, see (325) *samagata* and (326) *samagaṃsta*. The *Kit* status of *sĪC* in *upāyata* will cause the deletion of the *m* of *yam*. Furthermore *sĪC* will also be deleted (see (327) *āhata*). In case of *upāyaṃsta,* both *m* and *sĪC* will be retained. In addition, *m* will be further replaced by *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) (see 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*). The *ātmanepada* endings which replace *LUṄ* in the above examples are ordered by 1.3.56 *upādyamaḥ svakaraṇe*.

1.2.17 *sthāghvor ic ca*
(335) *upāsthita*
(336) *upāsthiṣātām*
(337) *upāsthiṣata*

These forms derive from *upa* + *āṄ* + *aṬ* + *sthā* + *sĪC* + *LUṄ* where *LUṄ*, of course, is replaced by third person *ātmanepada* terminations. These derivations differ slightly from other *LUṄ* examples in the following manner:

(*a*) the root final *ā* of *sthā* is replaced by short *i* under the direction of the present rule, and
(*b*) the *s* of *sĪC* in the second and third examples is replaced by *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*.

Note that unless *ā* is changed into *i*, *s* of *sĪC* cannot be replaced by *ṣ*. Thus, for example, *upa* + *āṄ* + *aṬ* + *sthā* + *sĪC* + *ta* becomes *up*(*a* + *ā* → *ā*) + *a* + *sth*(*ā* → *i*) + (*sĪC* → *Ø*) + *ta* = *upā* + *a* + *sthi* + *ta*. This will finally yield *up*(*ā* + *a* → *ā*) + *sthi* + *ta* = *upāsthita*.
(338) *adita*
(339) *adhita*

These forms are derived from the strings *aṬ* + *dā* + *LUṄ* and *aṬ* + *dhā* + *LUṄ*. They also illustrate the *ghu* aspect of 1.2.17 *sthāghvor*.... That is, because *dā* and *dhā* are termed *ghu* by 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adap,* the *ā* of these roots is replaced by *i* by 1.2.17. Thus: *a* + *d*(*ā* → *i*) + (*sĪC* → *Ø*) + *ta* = *adita,* and so on. Note that *dā* and *dhā* here also refer to the set of roots referenced by 1.1.20 *dādhāghv*....

1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*
(340) *devitvā*
(341) *vartititvā*

These forms are derived by introducing affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *Ktvā* (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal roots *div* 'to play' and *vṛt* 'to turn, behave' (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*). It should be remembered here that *Ktvā* is a *Kit* affix and if, in view of this rule, its *Kit* status is not blocked, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* would not allow the *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate root vowels *i* and *ṛ*. This would yield a set of wrong forms: **dvivitvā* and **vṛtitvā*. However, if a *Ktvā* affix, which receives the augment *iṬ*, is allowed to be treated as not marked with *K*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* cannot block the *guṇa*. Thus the purpose of treating a *Ktvā* used with *iṬ* as not marked with *K* is to allow the *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārva*...), as is illustrated by *div* + *iṬ* + *Ktvā* = *d(i → e) v* + *i* + *tvā* = *devitvā*, and so on. For the relevant derivational details of such examples, see under 1.2.7 *mṛḍmṛd*....

1.2.19 *niṣṭhā śīṅsvidimidi*...
(342) *śayitaḥ*
(343) *prasveditaḥ*
(344) *prameditaḥ*
(345) *prakṣveditaḥ*
(346) *pradharṣitaḥ*

These forms are derived by introducing the *niṣṭhā* affix (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) *Kta* after the cited roots. Except for the verbal root *śīṄ* 'to sleep, recline', all the other roots are used with preverb *pra*. Thus, given the root *śī*, 3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmaka*... can introduce affix *Kta*. The result will be: *śī* + (*K* → *0*) *ta* = *śī* + *ta*. Affix *ta* will be termed *ārdhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*. This will invoke the application of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha*... which, in turn, will demand a *guṇa* replacement for the *i* of *śī*, the *aṅga*. Rule 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* will try to block this *guṇa* replacement on grounds that *Kta* is marked with *K*. But since *Kta* is termed *niṣṭhā* (see 1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), and is occurring after *śī*, 1.2.19 will treat *Kta* as an affix not marked with *K*. This will then rule out the possibility of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* blocking the *guṇa*. The result will be: *ś(ī → e)* + *ta*. Affix *ta* can now receive the augment *iṬ* at its beginning (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*) as required by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ*.... The resultant string, *śe* + *i(Ṭ → 0)* + *ta* = *śe* + *i* + *ta*, will yield the nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*....) *śayita* after 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* applies. By *s-visarga*, *śayita* + *sU* yields *śayitaḥ*. Note that in all the other examples, *Kta* has been introduced by 3.4.71 *ādikarmaṇi*... to denote the agent. The preverb *pra* here denotes the onset of the action denoted by the respective roots. For further details of deriving forms ending in *Kta*, see (26) *citaḥ* under 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*.

Examples such as (347) *śayitavān*, (348) *prasveditavān*, (349) *prameditavān*, (350) *prakṣveditavān*, and (351) *pradharṣitavān* are derived by introducing

another *niṣṭhā* affix *KtavatŪ*. For details of the placement and subsequent operations concerning this affix, see (30) *citavān*. Remember, however, that because of *Kta* and *KtavatŪ* being *niṣṭhā*, and also because they cannot be treated as marked with *K*, any *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* in the above examples cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* (also see (*c*) of (30) *citavān*). Except for (347) *śayitavān*, where the *guṇa* substitute is ordered by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*, 7.3.86 *puganta...* orders *guṇa* for the remaining examples.

1.2.20 *mṛṣas titikṣāyām*
(352) *marṣitaḥ*
(353) *marṣitavān*

These examples follow derivational patterns similar to those discussed in the preceding rule.

1.2.21 *udupadhād...*
(354) *dyutitam* / (355) *dyotitam*
(356) *pradyutitaḥ* / (357) *pradyotitaḥ*
(358) *muditam* / (359) *moditam*
(360) *pramuditaḥ* / (361) *pramoditaḥ*

Forms in the above sets are optional. They illustrate an instance where affix *Kta* which, although marked with *K*, is treated as such only optionally. This gives rise to forms like (354) *dyutitam* where, given the string *dyut* + (*K* → *0*)*ta* = *dyut* + *ta*, one treats *Kta* as marked with *K*. As a consequence, the penultimate *u* of the *aṅga dyut* does not get replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart. That is, 7.3.86 *puganta...* is blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. On the other hand, if one does not treat *Kta* as marked with *K*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* cannot block 7.3.86 *puganta....* The result will be *dy*(*u* → *o*) *t* + *ta* = *dyot* + *ta*. This explanation also holds for the other examples of this rule. Given the strings: *dyut* + *ta*/*dyot* + *ta*, 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...* will introduce augment *iṬ* to the initial position (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*) of the *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) affix *ta*. The result will be a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛt-taddhitasamāsāś ca*) : *dyutita*/*dyotita* after which one can add *sU* to derive (354) *dyutitam* / (355) *dyotitam* (see (*e-f*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam* for this procedure).

The derivation of the other examples does not differ except that their roots are used with the preverb *pra*.

1.2.22 *pūṅaḥ ktvā ca*
(362) *pavitaḥ*
(363) *pavitavān*
(364) *pavitvā*

The first two examples are derived similarly to (342) *śayitaṇ* and (347) *śayitavān*. The *guṇa* in these examples comes in place of *ū*. Our last example (364) *pavitvā* derives from *pūṄ* + *Ktvā* where three operations become applicable:

(*a*) *guṇa* replacement for the *ū* of the *aṅga*;

(*b*) introduction of the augment *iṬ* to *Ktvā*; and

(*c*) the *av* replacement for the *o* of *po* + *i* + *tvā* by 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*.

For details of the placement of the affix *Ktvā*, refer to the derivations under 1.2.7 *mṛḍmṛd*.... For particular details of the preceding operations, see (342) *śayitaḥ*.

1.2.23 *nopadhāt*...
(365) *grathitvā* / (366) *granthitvā*
(367) *śrathitvā* / (368) *śranthitvā*
(369) *guphitvā* / (370) *gumphitvā*

The derivation of the above sets of examples is similar to many *Ktvā* derivations already discussed. Our present examples illustrate the optional treatment of *Ktvā* as marked with *K* with reference to a set of special verbs. The consequence of this optional *Kit* status is the deletion or retention of the penultimate *n* of the *aṅga*. In the absence of this status, *n* will not be deleted, as is illustrated by examples like (366) *granthitvā*. Placement of *Ktvā* and introduction of *iṬ* is accomplished by following the rules as already discussed in previous examples.

1.2.24 *vañcilu̇ñcy ṛtaś ca*
(371) *vañcitvā*
(372) *vacitvā*
(373) *luñcitvā*
(374) *lucitvā*
(375) *ṛtitvā*
(376) *artitvā*

The purpose of optionally denying *Kit* status to *Ktvā* in the first two sets of examples is to allow the deletion of the *n* of *vañcI*/*luñcI*. In case of *ṛt*, the purpose of denying *Kit* status is to allow the *guṇa* replacement for *i*. These derivations are similar to those cited under the previous rule. However, note that, in case of *vañcitvā*/*vacitvā* and *luñcitvā*/*lucitvā*, the augment *iṬ* is introduced by 7.2.56 *udito vā*.

1.2.25 *tṛṣimṛṣikṛśeḥ*...
(377) *tṛṣitvā* / (378) *tarṣitvā*
(379) *mṛṣitvā* / (380) *marṣitvā*
(381) *kṛśitvā* / (382) *karśitvā*

The purpose of denying *Kit* status here is to allow the *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate vowel of the *aṅga*. Thus the *guṇa* in, for example, (378) *tarṣitvā* is not blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. On the other hand, (377) *tṛṣitvā*, and so on, illustrate instances where nondenial of *Kit* status blocks *guṇa*.

1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād*...
(383) *dyutitvā* / (384) *dyotitvā*

(385) *likhitvā* / (386) *lekhitvā*
(387) *didyutiṣate* / (388) *didyotiṣate*
(389) *lilikhiṣati* / (390) *lilekhiṣati*

The first two sets of examples illustrate how, depending on whether or not *Ktvā* is treated as *Kit*, *guṇa* of *u* or *i* is allowed or blocked. The next two sets illustrate instances of the affix *saN* being allowed or denied the *Kit* status. Accordingly, where *saN* is denied *Kit* status, *guṇa* replacement for the penultimate vowel of the *aṅga* — in the present cases, *didyut* and *lilikh* — cannot be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. In the event that *saN* is treated as *Kit*, there will be no *guṇa*. For example given the string *dy* + *dyut* + *sa*, 7.3.86 *puganta...* would require the replacement of *u* by *o*. This can be blocked if, under the provisions of the present rule, *sa* is treated as *Kit*. The result will be *dydyu* + *sa*. However, if *sa* is not treated as *Kit*, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* cannot block 7.3.86 *puganta...* and the result will be *dydyo* + *sa*.

Details of deriving (383) *dyutitvā*/(384) *dyotitvā* have already been discussed under previous rules. For deriving the examples which involve *saN*, refer to the derivation of (304) *rurudiṣati* under 1.2.8 *rudvid....* The optional application of 7.3.86 *puganta...* which is not pertinent there is explained prior to step (*c*). With regard to (387) *didyutiṣate*/(388) *didyotiṣate*, also remember the following:

(*a*) given the strings *dy* + *dyut* + *i* + *sa* and *dy* + *dyot* + *i* + *sa*, parallel to (*d*) of (304) *rurudiṣati*, 7.4.67 *dyutisvapyoḥ...* will replace the first *y* of the strings by the corresponding *samprasāraṇa* vowel *i*, and
(*b*) the *LAṬ* after the derived roots *didyutiṣa* / *didyotiṣa* will be replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending.

1.2.27 *ukālo' jjhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ*
(391) *dadhi*
(392) *madhu*

Both *i* and *u* in these examples have the duration of one mora (*mātrā*). Given the strings *dadhi* + *chatram* and *madhu* + *chatram*, 6.1.71 *che ca* will introduce the augment *tUK* at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau...*) of the short (*hrasva*) *i* and *u*. This will yield:

dadhi + *t(UK* → *0)* + *chatram* = *dadhi* + *t* + *chatram*, and
madhu + *t(UK* → *0)* + *chatram* = *madhu* + *t* + *chatram*.

Rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* will later replace the *t* by *c* to yield:

dadhi + *(t* → *c)* + *chatram* = *dadhicchatram*, and
madhu + *(t* → *c)* + *chatram* = *madhucchatram*.

(393) *kumārī*
(394) *gaurī*

Given the strings *kumārī* + *sU* and *gaurī* + *sU*, 1.2.27 will assign the term *dīrgha* to the long *ī*, which will then cause the deletion of *sU* by 6.1.66 *halṅyābhyo....* The result will be:

kumārī + (*sŨ* ⟶ *0*) = *kumārī*, and
gaurī + (*sŨ* ⟶ *0*) = *gaurī*.

(395) *devadattā atra nvasi*

Given the string *devadatta* + *sŨ*, where *sŨ* is introduced to denote *sambodhana* 'address' (2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*), 8.2.105 *anantyasyāpi praśnākhyānayoḥ* requires that the final *a* of *devadatta* become *svarita* 'circumflex' and *pluta* 'extra-long'. Thus: *devadatta* + *sŨ* ⟶ *devadattā* + *sŨ*. The *sŨ* will be replaced by *rŨ* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruh*), which in turn will be replaced by *r* (8.3.17 *bhobhago...*). Finally *r* will be deleted by 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya* to yield:

devadattā + (*sŨ* ⟶ *rŨ* ⟶ *r* ⟶ *0*) = *devadattā*.

The purpose of the present rule here is to explain and assign the terms *hrasva*, *dīrgha*, and *pluta*.

1.2.28 *acaś ca*

(396) *atiri*

(397) *atinu*

(398) *upagu*

The final vowel in the above examples is a short replacement for *ai*, *au*, and *o*. For details, see note two under 1.1.48; also see (*f*) in the derivation of (*l*) *aupagavaḥ*. The purpose of this rule is to explain that short, long, and extra-long substitutes only replace vowels.

1.2.29 *uccair udāttaḥ*

(399) *ye*

(*a*) *yad*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* # *sŨP*-selection
it-deletion
= *yad* + (*J* ⟶ *0*)*as*
= *yad* + *as*

(*b*) *yad* + *as*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya...*
7.2.102 *tyad...* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
= *ya*(*d* ⟶ *a*) + *as*
= *ya* + *a* + *as*

(*c*) *ya* + *a* + *as*

6.4.97 *ato guṇe*
= *y*(*a* + *a* ⟶ *a*) + *as*
= *ya* + *as*

(*d*) *ya* + *as*

7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī* # 1.1.55 *anekāl...*
= *ya* + (*as* ⟶ *Śī*)

it-deletion
= *ya* + *ī*

(*e*) *ya* + *ī*

6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*
= *y*(*a* + *ī* → *e*)
= *ye*

This derivational history does not account for accentuation. According to *Phiṭsūtra* 1 *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*, the final vowel of a stem is treated as *udātta*. Rule 1.2.29 explains what *udātta* is. Rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau* makes the *a* of *Jas* an *anudātta*, a term which is defined by 1.2.30. Thus, given the string *yad* + *as*, the *a* of *yad* will be *udātta* as opposed to the *anudātta a* of *Jas*. When *as* is replaced by *Śī*, the accent of *as*, namely *anudātta*, is automatically transferred to *Śī* on the strength of 1.1.56 *sthānivad....* Similarly, given the string *ya* + *ī*, where *a* + *ī* gets replaced by *e*, 8.2.5 *ekadeśa...* will assign the *udātta* status to *e*. Remember that *e* is a single replacement for *a* + *ī* where *a* is *udātta* and *i* is *anudātta*.

The same rules apply in deriving (400) *te* from *tad* + *Jas* and (401) *ke* from *kim* + *Jas*, where in the latter example, *kim* is replaced by *ka* (see (207) *saḥ* for other details).

1.2.30 *nīcair anudāttaḥ*
(402) *tva, sam, sima,* and *nema* are all *anudātta* by *Phiṭsūtra* 78 *tvasamasimanemety anuccāni*
Thus: *tva, sama, sima,* and *nema*.
(403) *namaste rudra nīlakaṇṭha sahasrākṣa*

The *te* of *namaste* is a replacement for *tubhyam* ordered by 8.1.22 *te maya....* It is also *anudātta* by 8.1.17 *anudāttam....* All the other *pada*, namely *rudra nīlakaṇṭha sahasrākṣa*, are in the vocative (*sambodhana*), an address form. Consequently they will be termed *āmantritā* by 2.3.48 *sāmantritam*. Rule 8.1.18 *āmantritasya ca* will then order a blanket *anudātta*. Thus: *namaste rudra nīlakaṇṭha sahasrākṣa*.

The dative singular *tubhyam* of which *te* is a replacement is derived from *yuṣmad* + *Ṅe*, where (*Ṅ*)*e* is the singular member of the fourth triplet of *sUP*. Rule 7.2.95 *tubhya...* will order *tubhya* as a replacement for that part of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) which extends up to and includes *m*. That is, *yuṣm* of *yuṣmad* + *Ṅe* will be replaced by *tubhya*, yielding *tubhya* + *ad* + *Ṅe*. Rule 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* will delete *ad*, and 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor amādeśaḥ* will replace *Ṅe* by *am*. Given the string *tubhya* + (*ad* → ∅) + (*Ṅe* → *am*) = *tubhya* + *am*, 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will apply to yield: *tubhy*(*a* + *a* →*a*)*m* = *tubhyam*.

1.2.31 *samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ*
(404) *śikyam*
(405) *kanyā*

Both of these words end in *svarita* by *phiṭsūtra* 76 *tilyaśikya....* The remaining accentuations will follow 6.1.158 *anudāttam...* whereby the *i* of *śikyam* and *a* of *kanyā* will be marked *anudātta.*

(406) *sāmanyaḥ*

This word underlies *sāman* + *sŨ*, where the affix *yaT* is introduced after *sāman* by 4.4.98 *tatra sādhuḥ*. Given the string *sāman* + *Ṅi* + *ya(T* → *∅)* + *sŨ* = *sāmanya* + *sŨ*, we can easily derive *sāmanyaḥ*. As for accentuation, *yaT* will be assigned *svarita* because it is marked with *T* (6.1.185) *tit svaritam*). The others will be assigned *anudātta* by 6.1.158 *anudāttam....*

(407) *kva*

This example is derived from *kim* + *Ṅi*, where *Ṅi* is locative singular (*saptamī ekavacana*) introduced by 4.1.2 *svauj....* Rule 5.3.12 *kimo' t* introduces the affix *aT*. Given the string *kim* + (*Ṅ* → *∅*)*i* + *a* (*T* → *∅*) = *kim* + *i* + *a*, 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...* will delete *i*. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* will recognize *kim* + *a* as a *prātipadika* after which *sŨ* can be introduced by 4.1.2 *svauj....* Given the string *kima* + *sŨ*, first 7.2.105 *kvāti* will replace *kim* by *kva*, and then 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will delete the *a* of *kva*. This will yield (*kim* → *kva*) + *a* + *sŨ* = *kva* + *a* + *sŨ*, and *kv*(*a* → *∅*) + *a* + *sŨ* = *kva* + *sŨ*. The *sŨ* itself will be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād...* because *kva* will be treated as a *taddhita* derivate termed indeclinable (see 1.1.38 *taddhitas...*).

Coming back to the accentuation of *kva*, we find that the *a* of affix *aT* (see *kim* + *aT*) will be *svarita* by 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*. The *a* of *kva* + *a* will be *udātta* because *kva* is a replacement for *kim* whose *i* was *udātta* by *phiṭsūtra* 1. Finally the *a* of *kva* will retain its *svarita* accent. Thus: *kva*.

1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*

(408) *ghṛtaspṛk*

(*a*) *ghṛta*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sŨP*-selection
it-deletion
2.3.2 *karmaṇi...* # 1.4.49 *kartur...*
= *ghṛta* + *am*

(*b*) *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś*

(*b1*) *spṛś* 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*
3.2.58 *spṛśo...*
= *spṛś* + (*K* → *∅*)*v*(*IN* → *∅*) # *it*-deletion
= *spṛś* + *v*

(*c*) *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś* + *v*

1.4.41 *apṛkta...*
6.1.65 *ver apṛktasya*

= *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś* + (*v* ⟶ ∅)
= *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś*

(*d*) *ghṛta* + *am* + *spṛś*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
2.4.71 *supo...*
= *ghṛta* + (*am* ⟶ ∅) + *spṛś*
= *ghṛtaspṛś*

(*e*) *ghṛtaspṛś*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sŪP*-selection
it-deletion
= *ghṛtaspṛś* + *s* (*Ū* ⟶ ∅)
= *ghṛtaspṛś* + *s*

(*f*) *ghṛtaspṛś* + *s*
8.2.62 *kvinpratya...* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= *ghṛtaspṛ* (*ś* ⟶ *k*) + *s*
= *ghṛtaspṛk* + *s*

(*g*) *ghṛtaspṛk* +*s*
1.2.41 *apṛkta...*
6.1.66 *halṅyā...*
= *ghṛtaspṛk* + (*s* ⟶ ∅)
= *ghṛtaspṛk*

(409) *arddhabhāk*
(410) *pādabhāk*

These examples derive from *arddha* + *am* + *bhaj* + *ṆvI* and *pāda* + *am* + *bhaj* + *ṆvI*, where the affix *ṆvI* has been introduced by 3.2.62 *bhajo...* after *bhajÁ*, which has the two *pada*, *arddha* + *am* and *pāda* + *am* in construction with it. The penultimate vowel of the *aṅga*, namely the *a* of *bhaj* in *arddha* + *am* + *bhaj* + *v* undergoes *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*) by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. This yields *arddha* + *am* + *bhāj* + *v*. The *v* of *ṆvI* is deleted by 6.1.66 *halṅyā...* on the strength of the term *apṛkta*. Given the string *arddha* + *am* + *bhāj*, 2.2.19 *upapadam...* will assign obligatory compounding, and 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* will term *arddha* + *am* + *bhāj* as a nominal stem. Deletion of *am* by 2.4.71 *supo...* will naturally follow. Now one will introduce *sŪ* after *arddhabhāj* and subsequently delete it, as in (408) *ghṛtaspṛk*. The *j* of *arddhabhāj* will be replaced by *g* by 8.2.30 *coḥkuḥ*. Finally 8.4.55 *vāvasāne*, with reference to 1.4.110 *virāmo' vasānam*, will replace the resultant *g* of *arddhabhāg* by *k*. Similar rules apply in deriving *pādabhāk*.

1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ...*
(411) *paramarājyam*
(412) *uttamarājyam*
(413) *pācakavṛndārikā*

Rule 1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ* ... assigns the term *karmadhāraya* to a *tatpuruṣa* compound which has its constituents in syntactic coordination with *rājya* + *sŨ*. The same can be said of the relation between *pācikā* + *sŨ* and *vṛndārikā* + *sŨ*. The purpose of 1.2.42 is to explain what a *karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa* is. Thus, given a syntactically related string of two coordinate *pada*, *parama* + *sŨ* + *rājya* + *sŨ*, 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇam*... will allow a *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) compound (2.1.4 *samāsaḥ*). Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*... will assign the term *prātipadika* and consequently 2.4.71 *supo*... will delete the two *sŨ*. The result will be *parama* + (*sŨ* → *0*) + *rājya* + (*sŨ* → *0*) = *paramarājya*, a *karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa* compound termed nominal stem.

It should be noted that the term *viśeṣaṇam* 'qualifier' in 2.1.57 which allowed this compound is in the nominative, and hence a constituent which serves as a qualifier, here *parama*, will be termed *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamā*...). Rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* will now require a *pada* termed *upasarjana* to be placed first in a compound. Given the nominal stem *paramarājya*, one can derive *paramarājyam* by introducing *sŨ* and following (*f*) of (39) *ādidhyanam*. The terms *karmadhāraya* and *samāsa* assigned to the stem will play a decisive role in determining accent. Thus, because of being part of a *karmadhāraya* compound, *rājya* will not have its initial vowel as *udātta* (see 6.2.130 *akarmadhāraye*...). Its final *a* will be *udātta* on the strength of being the final vowel of a compound (6.1.223 *samāsasya*). Similar rules apply on *uttamarājyam*.

(413) *pācakavṛndārikā*

The derivational history of this compound is slightly different. The underlying string of syntactically coordinate *pada* is *pācikā* + *sŨ* + *vṛndārikā* + *sŨ*. This *tatpuruṣa* compound is allowed by 2.1.62 *vṛndāraka*..., while 1.2.42 assigns the term *karmadhāraya*. Given the compound *pācikāvṛndārikā*, 6.3.42 *puṃvat*... would require masculine transformation of *pācikā*. The form now becomes *pācakavṛndārikā*. The nominative singular *sŨ* introduced after this stem will be deleted as in (409) *arddhabhāk*.

1.2.43 *prathama*...

(414) *kaṣṭaśritaḥ*
(415) *śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ*
(416) *yūpadāru*
(417) *vṛkabhayam*
(418) *rājapuruṣaḥ*
(419) *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ*

The above examples derive from the following strings.

(414) (*kaṣṭa* + *am* + *śrita* + *sŨ*) + *sŨ*
(415) (*śaṅkulā* + *Ṭā* + *khaṇḍa* + *sŨ*) + *sŨ*
(416) (*yūpa* + *Ṅe* + *dāru* + *sŨ*) + *sŨ*
(417) (*vṛka* + *NasI* + *bhaya* + *sŨ*) + *sŨ*

(418) (*rājan* + *Ṅas* + *puruṣa* + *sŪ*) + *sŪ*
(419) (*akṣa* + *Ṅi* + *śauṇḍa* + *sŪ*) + *sŪ*

These are all *tatpuruṣa* compounds where the first constituent *pada* ends in the second (*dvitīya*), third (*tṛtīyā*), fourth (*caturthī*), fifth (*pañcami*), sixth (*ṣaṣṭhī*), or seventh (*saptamī*) singular triplet of *sUP* respectively. The present rule defines *upasarjana* as a compound constituent which is referred to by *prathamā* (first triplet of *sŪP*) in a rule which allows such compounds. Because of their designation as *upasarjana*, these constituents are placed first in a compound (2.3.36 *upasarjanam*...)

The above compounds are allowed by the following rules respectively.
(414) 2.1.23 *dvitīyā*...
(415) 2.1.29 *tṛtīyā*...
(416) 2.1.35 *caturthī*
(417) 2.1.36 *pañcamī*
(418) 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*
(419) 2.1.39 *saptamī*

Since the constituents in question end in *dvitīyā*, and so on, and also since they have been referred to by the terms *dvitīyā*, and so on in *prathamā* (nominative) in rules which allow the compound formation, these constituents will be termed *upasarjana* and will be placed first in the compound. This is the reason why we have the arrangement of constituents of the above compou..ds as *kaṣṭaśrita*, and so on, and not, for example, as **śritakaṣṭa*.

The endings within parentheses will be deleted by 2.4.71 *supo*... once the compound strings are termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' by 1.2.46 *kṛttadhita*.... One can now introduce *sŪ* after these nominal stems and derive *kaṣṭaśritaḥ*, *śaṅkulāhaṇḍaḥ*, *rājapuruṣaḥ*, and *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* by *s-visarga*. The *n* of *rājanpuruṣa* + *sŪ* is deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ*....

Our other two examples, (416) *yūpadāru* and (417) *vṛkabhayam* are similarly derived. However *vṛkabhaya* + *sŪ* yields the form *vṛkabhayam* as in (*f*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*, while the *sŪ* of *yūpadāru* + *sŪ* is deleted by 7.1.23 *svamor anapuṃsakāt*.

1.2.44 *ekavibhakti*...
(420) *niṣkauśāmbiḥ*
(421) *nirvārāṇasiḥ*

This rule assigns the term *upasarjana* to that constituent of a compound which has a fixed nominal ending. However, 1.2.44 also adds that such a term assignment is not for the purpose of placing *upasarjana* first in a compound. Thus the compound *niṣkauśāmbiḥ* may be analysed as *niṣkrāntaḥ kauśāmbyā*, *niṣkrāntaṃ kauśāmbyā*, *niṣkrāntena kauśāmbyā*, and so on, where *kauśāmbī* will always be in the ablative. On the other hand, *niṣkrānta* could be used with diverse endings. According to this, *kauśāmbī* will be termed *upasarjana* but cannot be placed first.

The underlying string for the compound is *nir* + *sŨ* + *kauśāmbī* + *ṄasI*, which after compound formation ruled by the *vārttika nirādayaḥ*... (see 2.2.18 *kugati*...), yields *nirkauśāmbī*. Although 1.2.44 blocks *kausāmbī* from being placed first in the compound, it enables it to undergo the shortening of its final vowel by 1.2.48 *gostriyor*.... This can be regarded as the function of the term *upsarjana* as far as *kauśāmbī* is concerned. Given the string *nirkauśāmbī, sŨ* may be introduced. This should give the form *nirkauśāmbiḥ*. However, in this process there are two additional rule applications. Rule 8.3.15 *khara*... replaces the *r* of *nir* by *visarga* (*ḥ*), and 8.3.42 *idupadh*.... replaces this *visarga* by *ṣ*. Thus: *ni*(*r* → *ḥ*)*kauśāmbiḥ* → *ni*(*ḥ*→ *ṣ*) *kauśāmbiḥ* = *niṣkauśāmbiḥ*. Note that these last two rules do not apply to the *nir* of (421) *nirvārāṇasiḥ*.

1.2.45 *arthavad*...
(422) *ḍitthaḥ*
(423) *kapitthaḥ*
(424) *kuṇḍam*
(425) *pīṭham*

These examples are derived by introducing *sŨ* after the nominal stems *ḍittha, kapittha, kuṇḍa*, and *pīṭha*. For deriving *ḍittahaḥ* and *kapitthaḥ* from *ḍittha* + *sŨ* and *kapittha* + *sŨ*, follow (*h-m*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ;* for deriving *kuṇḍam* and *pīṭham* from *kuṇḍa* + *sŨ* and *pīṭha* + *sŨ*, follow (*f*) of (39) *ādīhyanam*.

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*...
(426) *kārakaḥ*
(427) *hārakaḥ*
karttā see (177) under 1.1.51 *uraṇ*...
hartta see (178) under 1.1.51 *uraṇ*...
aupagavaḥ see (1) under 1.1.1 *vṛddhir*...
(428) *kāpaṭavaḥ* see (1) *aupagavaḥ* for deriving it from *kapaṭu* + *Ṅas* + *apatya* + *sŨ*
(419) *rājapuruṣaḥ* see (419) under 1.2.43 *prathamā*...
(429) *brāhmaṇakambalaḥ* see (419) *rājapuruṣaḥ* for deriving it from *brāhmaṇa* + *Ṅas* + *kambala* + *sŨ*

Example (426) *kārakaḥ* is derived from *ḌUkṛÑ* + *ṆvuL*, which will yield *kṛ* + *vu* after *it*-deletion. This *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *ṆvuL* is introduced after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) by 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* to denote agent (3.4.67 *karttari kṛt*). Given the string *kṛ* + *vu, vu* will be replaced by *aka* because of being part of an affix following the *aṅga* *kṛ* (see 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau;* also, 1.3.10 *yātha*...). The resultant string *kṛ*(*vu* → *aka*) = *kṛ* + *aka* will be subject to the application of 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* whereby, with reference to 1.1.51 *uraṇ*..., *ṛ* will be replaced by *vṛddhi*. Thus we get *k*(*ṛ* → *ār*) + *aka* = *kāraka*. The word *kārakaḥ* is derived from *kāraka* + *sŨ* by *s-visarga*. Similar rules apply in deriving (427) *hārakaḥ* from (*hṛÑ* + *ṆvuL*) + *sŨ*.

1.2.47 *hrasvo...*
(430) *atiri kulam*
(431) *atinu kulam*

See notes one and two under 1.1.48 *ec igh....* For deriving *kulam* from *kula* + *sŪ*, see (*f*) of (39) *ādīhyanam.*

1.2.48 *gostriyor...*
(432) *citraguḥ*
(433) *śabalaguḥ*

These examples are derived from (*citrā* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas*) + *sŪ* and (*śabalā* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas*) + *sŪ*, where 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* allows a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ*) compound. After the assignment of the term *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) and deletion of *Jas*, the strings become *citrāgo* and *śabalāgo*. The feminine forms *śabalā* and *citrā* are subject to masculine transformation by 6.2.34 *striyāḥ*. At the same time, 1.2.48 requires that a short vowel should replace the *o* of *go*. What should be a proper short substitute for *o* is decided by 1.1.48 *ec igh...* in conjunction with 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya....* Thus we get: *citr*(*ā* → *a*)*g*(*o* → *u*) = *citragu* and *śabal*(*ā* → *a*) *g* (*o* → *u*) = *śabalagu*. Now *sŪ* can be added to these stems to derive *citraguḥ* and *śabalaguḥ*.

(434) *niṣkauśāmbiḥ* see under 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti...*
(435) *nirvārāṇasiḥ* see under 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti...*
(436) *atikhaṭvaḥ*
(437) *atimālaḥ*

These examples are derived similarly to the preceding two. Given the strings *ati* + *sŪ* + *mālā* + *am* and *ati* + *sŪ* + *khaṭvā* + *am*, the nominal stems will be *atimālā* and *atikhaṭvā*. The final vowels of these stems will be shortened by 1.2.48.

1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki*
(438) *pañcendraḥ*
(439) *daśendraḥ*
(440) *pañcaśaṣkuliḥ*
(441) *pañcaśaṣkulam*
(442) *āmalakam*
(443) *badaram*
(444) *kuvalam*

Example (438) *pañcendraḥ* is derived by combining *pañcan* + *Jas* + *indrāṇī* + *Jas* by 2.1.50 *taddhitārtha...* under the condition of further *taddhita* affixation. Given the string *pañcan* + *Jas* + *indrāṇī* + *Jas*, the resultant *dvigu* (2.1.52 *saṃkhyā...*) compound, after deletion of the two nominative plurals *Jas*, will be: *pañcanindrāṇī*. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...* will assign the term *prātipadika* and 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ...* will delete the *n* of *pañcan*. In addition, 6.1.87 *ād'guṇaḥ* will order a *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ...*) replacement for the

sequence *a* + *i* of *pañcaindrāṇī*. The result will be *pañcendrāṇī*. What follows next is the *taddhita* affixation which conditions the *dvigu* compound. In order to fully understand the impact of *LUK* — deletion in this example, however, one must understand the derivational details of *indrāṇī*, the final constituent of the *dvigu*.

indrāṇī

(*a*) *indra*

1.2.45 *arthavad*...
4.1.1 *ṅyāp*...
4.1.3 *striyām*
4.1.49 *indra*...*ānuk* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau*...
= *indra* + (*Ṅ* → *0*) *ī* (*Ṣ* → *0*) # *it*-deletion
= *indra* + *ī*
= *indra* + *ān*(*UK* → *0*) + *ī* # *it*-deletion
= *indra* + *ān* + *ī*

(*b*) *indra* + *ān* + *ī*

8.4.2 *aṭkup*...
= *indra* + *ā*(*n* → *ṇ*) + *ī*
= *indra* + *āṇ* + *ī*

(*c*) *indra* + *āṇ* + *ī*

6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*...
= *indr*(*a* + *ā* → *ā*)*ṇ* + *ī*
= *indrāṇī*

Going back to the derivation of *pañcendra* from *pañcendrāṇī*, we introduce the *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix *aṆ* to *pañcendrāṇī* (see 4.2.24 *sāsya devatā*). This affix subsequently gets deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor*.... However, the resultant form at this step is not *pañcendrāṇī* + (*aṆ* → *0*) = *pañcendrāṇī* as one might expect; instead the form is *pañcendra*.

Since *aṆ* is a *taddhita* affix whose deletion is accomplished by *LUK*, 1.2.49 makes the deletion of the feminine affix (*Ṅ*) *ī* (*Ṣ*) obligatory. This should yield **pañcendrāṇ* rather than *pañcendra*. Pāṇinīyas here invoke *paribhāṣā* 86: *sanniyogaśiṣṭānām anyatarāpāye ubhayor apy abhāvaḥ*, by which we learn that when two things are introduced simultaneously, once one is removed the other also must be removed. The introduction of augment *ān* (*UK*) took place at the same time as the feminine affix (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*Ṣ*). If (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*Ṣ*) is removed, *ān*(*UK*) must also be removed. Thus the original base which received (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*Ṣ*) and *ān*(*UK*), namely *indra*, is restored. This is how we get *pañcendra*, the stem which yields *pañcendraḥ* after the introduction of *sU*.

Similar rules apply in deriving (439) *daśendraḥ*.

(440) *pañcaśaṣkuliḥ* / (441) *pañcaśaṣkulam*

The compound *pañcaśaṣkulī* is derived from *pañcan* + *bhis* + *śaṣkulī* + *bhis* similarly to the derivation of *pañcendrāṇī*. However the *taddhita* affix

introduced after *pañcaśaṣkulī* is *ṬHaK*, denoting 'purchased by' (see 5.1.37 *tena krītam*). Given the string *pañcaśaṣkulī* + *ṬHaK*, 5.1.28 *adhyardha...* will delete *ṬHaK* by *LUK*, since *pañcaśaṣkulī* is a *dvigu* (2.1.52 *saṃkhyā...*) denoting a *saṃjñā* 'name'. As in *pañcendrāṇī*, once the *taddhita* affix is removed by *LUK*, the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* which was introduced after *śaṣkula* by 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ* must also be removed. This will yield *pañcaśaṣkula*, after which *sU* can be added to derive *pañcaśaṣkulam* as in (*f*) of (39) *ādīdhyanam*.

(442) *āmalakam*

This example is derived from *āmalaka* + *sU* where *āmalaka*, the stem, is derived by first introducing the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* to *āmalaka* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurā...*) and then introducing the *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* (4.3.144 *nityam*, # 1.1.73 *vṛddhir...*, 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*) after *āmalakī* + *Ṅas*. Since *mayaṬ* gets deleted by 4.3.163 *phale luk*, 1.2.49 also requires the deletion of *ṄīṢ*. Thus: *āmalaka* + *ṄīṢ* = *āmalakī*, with the final *a* of *āmalaka* being deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca; āmalakī* + *Ṅas* + *mayaṬ* = *āmalakī* + (*Ṅas* → *0*; see 2.4.71 *supo...*) + (*mayaṬ* → *0*) = *āmalaka; āmalaka* + *sU* = *āmalakam*.

(443) *badaram*

(444) *kuvalam*

The affix *mayaṬ* is introduced to denote *vikāra* 'modification, product'. Affix *aṆ* is similarly introduced by 4.3.140 *anudāttād...* after *badarī* and *kuvalī*, both ending in *ṄīṢ*. The remaining rule applications are similar to *āmalakam*.

1.2.50 *id goṇyāḥ*

(183) *pañcagoṇiḥ* see under 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*

(184) *daśagoṇiḥ* see under 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*

1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad...*

(445) *pañcālāḥ*

(446) *magadhāḥ*

(447) *matsyāḥ*

(448) *aṅgāḥ*

(449) *suhmāḥ*

(450) *puṇḍrāḥ*

The word *pañcālāḥ* refers to the country of residence of the *pañcāla* warriors. Two *taddhita* affixes are entailed in the derivation of the base *pañcāla*. First *pañcāla* + *Ṅas* is to be derived, and then the affix *aÑ* is to be introduced after it to denote offspring (see (1) *aupagavaḥ*). Given the string *pañcāla* + *Ṅas* + *aÑ*, 4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ* will assign the term *tadrāja* to *aÑ*. Consequently, 2.4.62 *tadrājasya* will delete it by *LUK*. *Ṅas* will also be deleted by 2.4.71 *supo...*

The second affix which is introduced to *pañcāla*, the new base, is *aÑ*, which is used to denote 'the residence of those' where the variable 'those' refers to

the many offspring of *pañcāla* warriors (4.2.68 *tasya nivāsaḥ*). Note that *aÑ* is added after *pañcāla* + *ām*, a genitive plural. Given the string *pañcāla* + *ām* + *aÑ*, *ām* will be deleted by 2.4.71 *supo...* and *aÑ* will be deleted by 4.2.80 *janapade lup*. This yields *pañcāla*, a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) after which *Jas* (nominative plural) is introduced to derive *pañcālāḥ* as follows.

(*a*) *pañcāla* + (*J* → *∅*) *as* # *it*-deletion
= *pañcāla* + *as*

(*b*) *pañcāla* + *as*
6.1.100 *prathamayoḥ...*
= *pañcāl*(*a* + *a* → *ā*)*s*
= *pañcālās*

(*c*) *pañcālās*
s-*visarga*
= *pañcālāḥ*

It should be noted here that *pañcāla* must denote masculine plural as the *taddhita* affix *aÑ* was deleted by *LUP*. Rule 1.2.51 thus allows the retention of the original number and gender.

All the other examples under this rule are similarly derived. However, in their derivation the first *taddhita* affix is *aÑ*, introduced by 4.1.170 *dvyñ...* to denote 'many offspring'. The remaining rule applications are identical to *pañcālāḥ*.

1.2.52 *viśeṣaṇānāṃ cājāteḥ*
(451) *godau*

The word *godau* refers to a village, possibly with two ponds. The word itself is dual, meaning ponds. Given an analysed form such as *godayor adūrabhavo grāmaḥ* 'a village near two ponds', one may introduce the affix *aṆ* after *goda* + *os* to denote 'located not far from' (4.2.70 *adūra...*). Incidentally, *os* is the genitive dual introduced after *goda* 'pond'. Affix *aṆ* is deleted by 4.2.82 *varaṇādi...* and *os* by 2.4.71 *supo....* Thus: *goda* + *os* + *aṆ* → *goda* → *os* + (*aṆ* → *∅*) = *goda* + (*os* → *∅*) = *goda*. When one wants to add another *sUP* after *goda*, what would be its number? One would naturally think that since *goda* refers to a village it should be singular, but 1.2.51 does not allow this. Instead *goda* must remain dual since the original number of the base should be retained. That is why the deletion of *aṆ* was accomplished by *LUP*.

Given the string *goda* + *au* where *au* is nominative dual, 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ...* would require that the sequence *a* + *au* be replaced by *ā*. Rule 6.1.104 *nād ici* blocks this on the grounds that *a* was followed by a vowel denoted by *iC* (*Śs*, 1-4). Rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will now order a single *vṛddhi* replacement *au* for *a* + *au*. Thus: *god*(*a* + *au* → *au*) = *godau*.

1.2.53 *tad aśiṣyam...*
(452) *āpaḥ*

(*a*) *ap*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sUP*-selection and so on
2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*
= *ap* + (*J* → ∅) *as* # *it*-deletion
= *ap* + *as*

(*b*) *ap* + *as*

6.4.111 *aptṛn...*
= (*a* → *ā*)*p* + *as*
= *āp* + *as*

(*c*) *āp* + *as*

s-visarga
= *āpaḥ*

(453) *dārāḥ*

This form is derived from *dārā* + (*J* → ∅) *as* = *dārā* + *as* where the sequence *ā* + *a* is replaced by *ā* by 6.1.98 *akaḥ savarṇe...* The resultant form, *dār*(*ā* + *a* → *ā*)*s* = *dārās* will undergo *s-visarga* to yield *dārāḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (454) *sikatāḥ* and (455) *varṣāḥ* from *sikatā* + *Jas* and *varṣā* + *Jas*.

(456) *gṛhāḥ*

This example derives from *gṛha* + (*J* → ∅) *as* = *gṛha* + *as* where the sequence *a* + *a* is replaced by a single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding one (6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ...*). The application of *s-visarga* on *gṛhās* yields *gṛhāḥ*.

1.2.59 ***asmado...***

(457) ***ahaṃ bravīmi***

(458) ***āvāṃ brūvaḥ***

(458) ***vayaṃ brūmaḥ***

(460) ***aham***

(*a*) ***asmad***

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sUP*-selection
it-deletion
= ***asmad*** + *s*(*Ū* → ∅)
= ***asmad*** + *s*

(*b*) ***asmad*** + *s*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.128 *ṅe prathamayor am*
= ***asmad*** (*s* → ***am***)
= ***asmad*** + ***am***

(*c*) *asmad* + *am*

7.2.91 *ma paryantasya*

= (*asm* → *aha*) *ad* + *am*

= *aha* + *ad* + *am*

(*d*) *aha* + *ad* + *am*

7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*

= *aha* + *a*(*d* → ∅) + *am*

= *aha* + *a* + *am*

(*e*) *aha* + *a* + *am*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*

= *ah*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *am*

= *aha* + *am*

(*f*) *aha* + *am*

6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*

= *ah*(*a* + *a* → *a*) *m*

= *aham*

(458) *āvām*

This example is derived from *asmad* + *au* where the rules of (*b*) of *aham* will produce *asmad* + *am*. As in (*c*) of *aham*, *asm* will be replaced by *ava* (7.2.92 *yuvāvau*...). This will yield: *āva* + *ad* + *am*. The *d* will be deleted and *āva* + *a* + *am* will be subject to the applications of (*e*) of *aham*. Finally *āva* + *am* will produce *āvām* by the following rule applications.

(*a*) *āva* + *am*

7.2.88 *prathamā*...

= *āv*(*a* → *ā*) + *am*

= *āvā* + *am*

(*b*) *āvā* + *am*

6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*

= *āv* + (*ā* + *a* → *ā*) *m*

= *āvām*

(459) *vayam*

This example is derived from *asmad* + *Jas* where *asm* is replaced by *vaya* with reference to 7.2.93 *yūyavayau jasi*. The remaining steps are similar to *aham*.

(457) *bravīmi*

This example underlies *brūÑ* 'to speak' and is derived from *brū*(*Ñ* → ∅) + *ŚaP* + *mi* where *mi* is a replacement for *LAṬ*. Since the root is listed in the *ad* class, *ŚaP* is deleted by 2.4.72 *adi*.... Given the string *brū* + *mi*, 7.3.93 *bruva īṭ* introduces augment *ī*(*Ṭ*) at the end of *brū* (1.1.46 *ādyantau*...). The resultant string *brū* + *ī* + *mi* is subject to *guṇa* and *av* replacement of *o* as in (15) *bhavati* and (*e*) of (13) *tarati*.

(460) *brūvaḥ*

(461) *brūmaḥ*

apply to term the final *t* of *āt* an *it*. This may eventually lead to the deletion as in (*a*) of (462) *vṛkṣāt*, plus 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha*...

These examples are derived from *brūÑ* + *ŚaP* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *vas* in *brūvaḥ* and *mas* in *brūmaḥ*. These derivations are straightforward. After the deletion of *ŚaP,* all that remains is *s-visarga* to change *brūvas* and *brūmas* into *brūvaḥ* and *brūmaḥ*.

The derivation of examples relative to rules 1.2.60-1.3.3 have been excluded. This is because they may be easily comprehended by reference to the notes under the relevant rules, or because similar derivations are to be found elsewhere in the appendix.

1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ*
(462) *vṛkṣāt*
(*a*) *vṛkṣa*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
1.4.24 *dhruvam*
= *vṛkṣa*
(*b*) *vṛkṣa*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sUP*-selection
= *vṛkṣa* + *ṄasI*
(*c*) *vṛkṣa* + *ṄasI*
1.4.13 *yasmāt*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅas...* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *vṛkṣa* + (*ṄasI* ⟶ *āt*)
= *vṛkṣa* + *āt*

Rule 7.1.12 requires that the instrumental, ablative, and genitive singular endings *Ṭā, ṄasI,* and *ṄaS* be replaced by *in, āt,* and *sya* when they occur after an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Given the string *vṛkṣa* + *āt,* 1.3.3 *halantyam* may apply to term the final *t* of *ān* at *it*. This may eventually lead to the deletion of *t* by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. However, since *ṄasI* is termed a *vibhakti* by 1.4.103-4 *supaḥ-vibhaktiś ca,* and also since 1.1.56 *sthānivad...* extends this designation to *āt,* 1.3.4 blocks the *it* designation of *t* of *āt*.

(*d*) *vṛkṣa* + *āt*
6.1.70 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.102 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*
= *vṛkṣ*(*a* + *ā*⟶ *ā*)*t*
= *vṛkṣāt*

Similar rules apply in deriving (463) *plakṣāt* from *plakṣa* + *ṄasI*.

(464) *brāhmaṇāḥ*
(*a*) *brāhmaṇa*
as in (*a*) of (462) *vṛkṣāt,* plus 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*
= *brāhmaṇa* + *Jas*
(*b*) *brāhmaṇa* + *Jas*

it-deletion
= *brāhmaṇa + as*

See the explanation in (*c*) of (462) *vṛkṣāt* for the reason why the *s* of *as* cannot be termed an *it* and hence is deleted.

(*c*) *brāhmaṇa + as*
6.1.70 *saṃhitāyām*
6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*
= *brāhmaṇ(a + a → ā)s*
= *brāhmaṇā + s*

(*d*) *brāhmaṇā + s*
s-visarga
= *brāhmaṇāḥ*

(465) *pacataḥ*

This example follows the same pattern given in (*a-c*) of (10) *pacanti*, except that 1.4.22 *bahuṣu...* is not appropriate in this derivation. Instead, 1.4.23 *dvekayor...* facilitates the selection of the third person dual ending *tas*. Given the string *pac + tas*, *ŚaP* can be introduced to yield *pac + a + tas pacataḥ* by *s-visarga*.

One may similarly derive (466) *pacathaḥ* from *pac + a + thas*, where *thas*, the second person dual *parasmaipada* ending, replaces *LAṬ*.

(467) *apacatām*

(*a*) *ḌUpacĀṢ*
as in (*a*) of (10) *pacanti*, plus the non-*it rules* of (*a*) of (16) *akārṣīt*
= *pac + LAṄ*

(*b*) *pac + LAṄ*
as in (*d*) of (16) *akārṣīt*
= *pac + (LAṄ→ tas)*
\# 1.4.22 *dvyekayor...*
= *pac + tas*

(*c*) *pac + tas*
3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ...*
1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhya...*
= *pac + (tas → tām)*
= *pac + tām*

(*d*) *pac + tām*
as in (*d*) of (10) *pacanti*, but *tām* may be treated as a *tiṄ* only by 1.2.56 *sthānivad...*
= *pac + ŚaP + tām*
= *pac + a + tām*

(*e*) *pac + a + tām*
as in (*f*) of (16) *akārṣiit*
= *aṬ + pac + a + tām*
it-deletion

= *a + pac + a + tām*

(*f*) *a + pac + a + tām*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padaṃ*

= *apacatām*

1.3.5 *ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ*

(468) *minnaḥ*

(469) *dhṛṣṭaḥ*

(470) *kṣviṇṇaḥ*

(471) *iddhaḥ*

These examples are derived from:

(468) *ÑImidĀ + Kta + sŪ*

(469) *ÑIdhṛṣĀ + Kta + sŪ*

(470) *ÑIkṣvidĀ + Kta + sŪ*

(471) *ÑIindhĪ + Kta + sŪ*

All these examples involve *ÑI* as a root-initial *it* which is deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. The final *Ā* and *Ī* are also deleted. For placement of *Kta*, see (*b*) of (26) *citaḥ*. However, note that 3.2.187 *ñītaḥ ktaḥ* introduced the affix to denote the present tense. Also note that, as in (*c*) of (26) *citaḥ*, the augment *iṬ*, as well as *guṇa*, will be blocked by 7.2.16 *āditaś ca* and 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. Given the string *mid + ta*, 8.2.42 *radābhyām...* will replace both *d* and *t* by *n*: *mi(dn) + (t → n) a = minna. Similar phonological operations relevant to the other examples are as follows.*

(469) *dhṛṣ + ta*

8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*

= *dhṛṣ + (t → ṭ) a*

= *dhṛṣṭa*

(470) *kṣvid + ta*

8.2.42 *radābhyām...*

= *kṣvi(d → n) + (t → n)a*

= *kṣvin + na*

8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ...*

= *kṣvi (n → ṇ) + (n → ṇ)a*

= *kṣviṇṇa*

(471) *indh + ta*

6.4.24 *aniditām...*

= *i(n → Ø) dh + ta*

= *idh + ta*

8.2.40 *jhaṣasta...*

= *idh + (t → dh)a*

= *idh + dha*

8.4.53 *jhalām...*

= *i(dh → d) + dha*

= *iddha*

To derive (468) *minnaḥ*, and the others, from *minna* + *sŪ*, and so on, follow (*d*) of (26) *citaḥ*.

(472) *vepathuḥ*

(473) *śvayathuḥ*

The above examples are derived from (*ṬUvepṚ* + *athuC*) + *sŪ* and (*ṬUOśvi* + *athuC*) + *sŪ*, where *ṬU* and the nasalized vowels are termed *it* by 1.3.5 *ādir*...and 1.3.2 *upadeśe*... and deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. The affix *athuC* is introduced after these roots (1.3.1 *bhūvādayo*..., 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) to denote *bhāva* 'root sense' by 3.3.89 *ṭvito' thuc*. The final *C* of *athuC* is deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* for being an *it* (1.3.3 *halantyam*). This yields *vep* + *athu* = *vepathu*, which is a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*...) since it ends in a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*). Since *athuC* is termed an *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukam*...), not being a *tiṄ* nor being marked with *Ś* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit*....), 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka*... applies in the *aṅga* domain (1.4.13 *yasmāt*...., 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*). However, only *śvi* + *athu* qualifies for *guṇa* application:

śvi + *athu* 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka*... # 1.1.12 *aden guṇaḥ*
= *śv*(*i* → *e*) + *athu*
= *śve* + *athu*

Given the string *śve* + *athu*, 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* applies to yield: *śv*(*e* → *ay*) + *athu* = *śvayathu*. The placement of *sŪ* after both *vepathu* and *śvayathu* yields *vepathuḥ* and *śvayathuḥ* by *s*-*visarga*.

(474) *paktrimam*

(475) *uptrimam*

(476) *kṛtrimam*

These examples involve roots such as *ḌUpacĀṢ* 'to cook', *ḌUvapĀ* 'to sow', and *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' which all have initial *ḌU* as an *it*. As the initial *ṬU* in the preceding examples allowed the introduction of *athuC*, *ḌU* allows the introduction of *Ktri*.

(*a*) *ḌUpacĀṢ*
it-deletion
= *pac*

(*b*) *pac*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayoḥ*...
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ*
= *pac* + *Ktri*
it-deletion
= *pac* + *tri*

(*c*) *pac* + *tri*
8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*
1.1.50 *sthāne*...
= *pa* (*c* → *k*) + *tri*
= *paktri*

(*d*) *paktri*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.4.20 *kter mam nityam*
= *paktri* + *maP*
it-deletion
= *paktri* + *ma*
= *paktrima*

(*e*) *paktrima*

as in (*e-f*) of (39) *adīdhyanam*
= *paktrimam*

Similar rules apply in deriving *kṛtrimam* and *uptrimam*. Note, however, that given the form *vaptrima*, 6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* requires the *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ*) of the initial *v*. Thus: (*v* → *u*) *aptrima* = *uaptrima*. Rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* then orders a single replacement of *u* for the initial *ua*: (*ua* → *u*)*ptrima* = *uptrima*.

1.3.6 *ṣaḥ pratyayasya*
(477) *narttakī*

(*a*) *nṛtĪ*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
1.3.2 *upadeśe...*
1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*
= *nṛt*

(*b*) *nṛt*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.145 *śilpini ṣvuñ*
= *nṛt* + *ṢvuÑ*

(*c*) *nṛt* + *ṢvuÑ*

it-deletion
= *nṛt* + *vu*

(*d*) *nṛt* + *vu*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *nṛt* + (*vu* → *aka*)
= *nṛt* + *aka*

(*e*) *nṛt* + *aka*

7.3.86 *puganta* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*, 1.1.51 *ur aṇ...*
= *n*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*t* + *aka*
= *nartaka*

(*f*) *nartaka*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*

4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ*
= *nartaka* + *ṄīṢ*
(*g*) *nartaka* + *ṄīṢ*
it-deletion
nartaka + *ī*
(*h*) *nartaka* + *ī*
1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*
= *nartak* (*a* → *∅*) + *ī*
= *nartakī*
(*i*) *nartakī*
8.4.46 *aco rahābhyām...*
1.4.17 *svādiṣv...*
8.1.16 *padasya*
= *nar*(*t* → *tt*) *akī*
= *narttakī*

Similar rules apply in deriving (478) *rajakī* from *rañjÄ* + *ṢvuÑ* + *ṄīṢ*. Note, however, that the nasal of *rañjÄ* is deleted by a *vārttika* on 6.4.24 *aniditām...* (cf. *rajakarajana...*).

1.3.7 *cuṭū*
(479) *kauñjāyanyaḥ*

This example is derived from *kuñja* + *Ṅas* + *phaK* in a manner similar to (3) *āśvalāyanaḥ*. However, before an operation similar to (*h*) of (3) *aśvalāyanaḥ* may be carried out, 5.3.113 *vrātacphañor...* applies.

kauñjāyan 5.3.113 *vrātacphañor...*
= *kauñjāyan* + *Ñya*
it-deletion
= *kauñjāyanya*

brāhmaṇāḥ

See (464) under 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau....*

(480) *śāṇḍikyaḥ*

This example is derived similarly to many of the *taddhita* derivations already given. The underlying string is *śaṇḍika* + *sŪ*, after which the *taddhita* affix *Ñya* (4.3.92 *śaṇḍikādibhyaḥ...*) is added to denote *abhijana* 'country' 4.3.90 *abhijanaś ca*). Given the string *śaṇḍika,* + *sU* + *Ñya*, deletion of *Ū*, *Ñ*, and the final *a* of *śaṇḍika*, together with the *vṛddhi* replacement of the first *a*, can be accomplished as in the previous examples.

(481) *kurucarī*
(*a*) *kuru*
sUP-selection
= *kuru* + *sUP*
(*b*) *car*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*
3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*
= *car + Ṭa*

Note here that *Ṭa* cannot be introduced after *car* unless *kuru + sŪ*, a *pada*, is referred to by *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*', which here is *adhikaraṇa* of 3.2.15 *adhikaraṇe...*

(*c*) *kuru + sUP + car + Ṭa*
it-deletion
= *kuru + sUP + car + a*

(*d*) *kuru + sUP + car + a*
2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*
2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*
= *kuru + sUP + cara*

(*e*) *kuru + sUP + cara*
1.2.45 *kṛttaddhita...*
2.4.71 *supo...*
= *kuru(sUP → Ø) cara*
= *kurucara*

(*f*) *kurucara*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhā...*
= *kurucara + ṄīP*
= *kurucara + ī*

Note here that the initial *it* of the *Ṭa* in which *kurucara* terminates facilitates the introduction of *ṄīP*.

(*g*) *kurucara + ī* as in (*h*) of (477) *narttakī*
= *kurucar(a → Ø) + ī*
= *kurucarī*

The same rules apply in deriving (482) *madracarī*.

(483) *upasarajaḥ*

(484) *mandurajaḥ*

The base *upasara* is an *avyayībhāva* (2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ*) compound (*samāsa* # 2.1.3 *prāk...*) ruled by 2.1.6 *avyayam...*The affix *Ḍā* is introduced after *janī* 'to be born', come into existence' by 3.2.97 *saptamyāṃ janer ḍaḥ* under conditions similar to (481) *kurucarī*. Thus we get *upasara + Ṅi + jan + Ḍa*, where *Ṅi* is introduced after *upasara* according to the pattern of (5) *śālīyaḥ*.

(*a*) *upasara + Ṅi + jan + Ḍa*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
1.4 1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*
= *upasara + Ṅi + j(an → Ø) + Ḍa*
= *upasara + Ṅi + j + Ḍa*

Note that *an* was deleted mostly on the strength of *Ḍa* being marked with *Ḍ*.

(*b*) *upasara* + *Ṅi* + *j* + *a*

as in (*c-e*) of (481) *kurucarī*

s-visarga

= *upasarajaḥ*

One may similarly derive (484) *mandurajaḥ* from *mandurā* + *Ṅi* + *jan* + *Ḍa*) + *sŪ*. However, before applying rules as in (*b*) of (483) *upasarajaḥ*, one must apply 6.3.61 *ṅyāpo...* to replace the long vowel of *mandurā* by short *a*. This application also implies that the base *mandurā* is derived from *mandura* + *āP* where *āP* is a feminine suffix.

(485) *ānnaḥ*

This example is derived by introducing the *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix *Ṇa* (4.4.85 *annāṇṇaḥ*) after a syntactically related *pada* ending in *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of *sUP*' and underlying the stem *anna* 'food'. The *dvitīyā* after *anna* is introduced by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* to denote *karman* 'object' (1.4.49 *kartur īpsita...*). Given the string *anna* + *am* + *Ṇa*, 1.3.7 *cuṭu* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* cause *it*-deletion. The initial *a* of *anna*, an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*), is replaced by *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*) by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv....* Thus we get (*a* → *ā*)*nna* + *am* + (*Ṇ* → *∅*) *a* = *ānna* + *am* + *a*. This full string is termed a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) and 2.4.71 *supo...* deletes its *am*. The new string, *ānna* + *a*, is subject to the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* as in (*h*) of (477) *narttakī*: *ānn*(*a* → *∅*) + *a* = *ānna*. The final form *ānnaḥ* is derived from *ānna* + *sŪ* by *s-visarga*.

1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite*

(486) *cayanam*

(*a*) *ciÑ*

as in (*a*) of (26) *citaḥ*

= *ci*

(*b*) *ci*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*

3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*

3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*

3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca*

= *ci* + *LyuṬ*

(*c*) *ci* + *LyuṬ*

as in (*g*) of (477) *narttakī*

= *ci* + *yu*

(*d*) *ci* + *yu*

as in (*d*) of (477) *narttakī*

= *ci* + (*yu* → *ana*)

= *ci* + *ana*

(*e*) *ci* + *ana*

as in (*h-i*) of (11) *jayanti*
= *c*(*i* → *e*) + *ana*
= *c*(*e* → *ay*) + *ana*
= *cayana*

(*f*) *cayana*

as in (*e-f*) of (39) *adīdhyanam*
= *cayana* + (*sŪ* → *am*)
= *cayan*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*m*
= *cayanam*

Similar rules apply in deriving (487) *jayanam* from *ji* + *LyuṬ*.

(15) *bhavati*

See under 1.1.3.

(488) *pacati*

See (13) *tarati*. Note, however, that (*e*) is not applicable here.

(489) *bhuktaḥ*

(490) *bhuktavān*

See my notes under 1.1.26 *ktavatū*.

(491) *priyaṃvadaḥ*

(*a*) *priya*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* # 1.4.102 *tāny...* and so on...
2.3.2 *karmaṇi...*
= *priya* + *am*

(*b*) *vcdĀ*

it-deletion
= *vad*

(*c*) *vad*

1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*
3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
3.2.38 *priyavaśe*
= *vad* + *KHaC*

Note here that *KHaC* cannot be introduced after *vad* unless there is a co-occurring *pada* denoting object and underlying *priya* or *vaśa*.

(*d*) *priya* + *am* + *vad* + *KHaC*

it-deletion
= *priya* + *am* + *vad* + *a*

(*e*) *priya* + *am* + *vad* + *a*

same as (*d-e*) of (481) *kurucarī*
= *priyavada*

(*f*) *priyavada*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.3.65 *arurdviṣad...* # 1.1.46 *midaco...*
= *priya(mUM)vada*
= *priyamvada*

(*g*) *priyamvada*

s-visarga, except that here 8.2.34 *naścāpadāntasya jhali* replaces the *m* with *anusvāra* (*ṃ*)
= *priya(m → ṃ) vada* + (*sU → ḥ*)
= *priyaṃvadaḥ*

Similar rules apply in deriving (492) *vaśaṃvadaḥ* from (*vaśa* + *am* + *vadA* + *KHaC*) + *sU*

(37) *jiṣṇuḥ*

(38) *bhūṣṇuḥ*

See derivations (37) and (38).

(493) *bhaṅguram*

This example is derived by introducing the affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *GHuraC* (3.2.161 *bhañjabhāsa...*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the verbal root (1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*, 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) *bhañjA* to denote the action denoted by these verbs as the nature (*śīla*) of their agent. Given the string *bhañjA* + *GHuraC*, *it*-deletion will yield *bhañj* + *ura*, which will be subject to rule application in the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) domain. There, with reference to 1.1.50 *sthāne...*, 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ* will apply to replace the *j* by *g*: *bhañ(j → g)* + *ura* = *bhañgura*. Once *bhañgura* is termed a *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) and *sU* is introduced (4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*, 4.1.2 *svauj...*), 7.1.24 *ato' m* will replace *sU* by *am*. The nasal of *bhañgura* + *am* will be replaced first by *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadantasya...*, and then by *ṅ* by 8.4.57 *anusvārasya....* Thus, we get *bha* (*ñ → ṃ*)*gura* + *am* → *bha*(*ṃ → ṅ*)*gura* = *bhaṅgura* + *am*. Finally, 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will apply to yield *bhaṅgur(a* + *a → a)m* = *bhaṅguram*.

(462) *vṛksāt*

See under 1.3.4 *na vibhaktu...*

(494) *vṛkṣasya*

This example is derived by introducing the genitive singular *Ṅas* after the nominal stem *vṛkṣa* by 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*. Other rules relating to the selection of *Ṅas* present no problem. As in (462) *vṛksāt*, 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasi...* replaces *as* by *sya* to yield *vṛkṣa* + (*Ṅas → sya*) = *vṛkṣasya*.

(495) *glāyate*

(*a*) *glai*

as in (*a-b*) of (10) *pacanti*
= *glai* + *LAṬ*

Note that *LAṬ* is introduced after *glai* to denote *bhāva* 'root sense' (3.4.69 *laḥ karmai...*).

(*b*) *glai* + *LAṬ*

3.4.77 *lasya*

3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* # 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, 1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*, 1.4.101 *tiṅas...* # *tiṄ*-selection

= *glai* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*)

= *glai* + *ta*

(*c*) *glai* + *ta*

3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*

= *glai* + *t*(*a* → *e*)

= *glai* + *te*

(*d*) *glai* + *te*

3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*

3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*

= *glai* + *yaK* + *te*

it-deletion

= *glai* + *ya* + *te*

(*e*) *glai* + *ya* + *te*

6.1.45 *ādec upadeśe...*

= *gl*(*ai* → *ā*) + *ya* + *te*

= *glāyate*

Similar rules apply in deriving (496) *supyate* and (497) *āsyate*. Note, however, that rules at (*e*) of (495) *glāyate* are not applicable. In addition, given the string *svap* + *ya* + *te*, where the root is *ÑIsvap*, the following rules apply.

(*e*) *svap* + *ya* + *te*

6.1.15 *vacisvapi...* # 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ...*

= *s*(*v* → *u*)*ap* + *ya* + *te*

= *suap* + *ya* + *te*

(*f*) *suap* + *ya* + *te*

6.1.108 *saṃprasāraṇāc ca*

= *s*(*u* + *a* → *u*) *p* + *ya* + *te*

= *supyate*

Examples (498) *kriyate* and (499) *hriyate* are similarly derived from *ḌUkṛÑ* + *yaK* + *ta* and *hṛÑ* + *yaK* + *ta*. However, in both these derivations, the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) final *ṛ* is replaced by *riṄ* by 7.4.28 *riṅ śaya....*

Thus: *k*(*ṛ* → *ri*) (*Ṅ* → *∅*) + *ya*(*K* → *∅*) + *t*(*a* → *e*)

= *kri* + *ya* + *te*

= *kriyate*

h(*ṛ* → *ri*) (*Ṅ* → *∅*) + *ya*(*K* → *∅*) + *t*(*a* → *e*)

= *hri* + *ya* + *te*
= *hriyate*

1.3.14 *karttari karmavyatīhāre*
(500) *vyatilunate*
(501) *vyatipunate*

Both *lūÑ* and *pūÑ* are used here with the preverbs *vi* and *ati.* Given the string *vi* + *ati* + *lū,* placement of *LAṬ* and its replacement by *tiṄ* is similar to (*a-b*) of (495) *glāyate.* However, at (*b*) there are two different rule applications.

(1) plural is introduced by 1.2.21 *bahuṣu...*
(2) *ātmanepada* is introduced by 1.3.14 *karttari...*

Thus: *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + (*LAṬ* ⟶ *jha*) = *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *jha*

(*d*) *vi* + *ati* + *lū* +*jha*
3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*
3.1.67 *kartari śap*
3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*
= *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *Śnā* + *jha*
it-deletion
= *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *nā* + *jha*

(*e*) *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *nā* + *jha*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.5 *ātmanepadeṣv...*
= *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *nā* + (*jh* ⟶ *at*)*a*
= *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *nā* + *at* + *a*

(*f*) *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *nā* + *at* + *a*
7.3.80 *pvādīnām...*
= *vi* + *ati* + *l*(*ū* ⟶ *u*) + *nā* + *at* + *a*
= *vi* + *ati* + *lu* + *nā* + *at* + *a*

(*g*) *vi* + *ati* + *lu* + *nā* + *at* + *a*
6.4.112 *śnābhyas...*
= *vi* + *ati* + *lu* + *n*(*ā* ⟶ *Ø*) + *at* + *a*
= *vi* + *ati* + *lun* + *at* + *a*

(*h*) *vi* + *ati* + *lun* + *at* + *a*
as in (*c*) of (495) *glāyate*
= *vi* + *ati* + *lun* + *at* + *e*

(*i*) *vi* + *ati* + *lun* + *at* + *e*
6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* # 1.3.10 *yathā...*
= *v*(*i* ⟶ *y*) + *ati* + *lun* + *at* + *e*
= *vy* + *ati* + *lun* + *at* + *e*
= *vyatilunate*

The same rules apply in deriving (502) *vyatipunate.*

(503) *vyatigacchanti*

This example is derived from *vi* + *ati* + *gam* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* where the root *gamL* is used with the preverbs *vi* and *ati*; see (10) *pacanti* for details. Given the string *vi* + *ati* + *gam* + *a* + *jhi*, the root final *m* is replaced by *ch* (see 7.3.77 *iṣugami...* # 1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya*). The resulting *vi* + *ati* + *gach* + *a* + *jhi* receives the augment *tUK* by 6.1.73 *che ca:*

vi + *ati* + *ga* + *t* + *ch* + *a* + *jhi*

6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*

= *v*(*i* → *y*)*ati* + *ga* + *t* + *ch* + *a* + *jhi*

After the replacement of the *jh* of *jhi* by *ant* as in (10) *pacanti*. 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* will apply: *vyati* + *ga* + (*t* → *c*) + *ch* + *a* + *ant* + *i* = *vyatigaccha* + *anti*. The final *a* of *vyatigaccha* and the initial *a* of *anti* will be replaced by a single *a*: *vyatigacch*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*nti* = *vyatigacchanti*.

Example (504) *vyatisarpanti* is derived from *vi* + *ati* + *sṛpL* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* = *vyati* + *sṛp* + *anti*, where the *ṛ* undergoes *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) by 7.3.36 *puganta....* Thus: *vyati* + *s*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*p* + *anti* = *vyatisarpanti*.

Example (505) *vyatihiṃsanti* is similarly derived from *vi* + *ati* + *hisI* + (*LAṬ* → *jhi*). Since the root belongs to the *rudh* class, *ŚnaM* will be introduced by 3.1.78 *rudhādi...* read with 1.1.47 *midaco...* Thus: *vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *na* + *s* + *jhi*. In addition, the augment *nUM* will have to be introduced by 7.1.58 *idito...*, again with reference to 1.1.47 *midaco...*, since the root is marked with *I* and the augment is marked with *M*: *vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *na* + *n* + *s* + *jhi*. This *n* is later deleted by 6.4.23 *śnānnallopaḥ*. Similarly 6.4.111 *śnasor...* deletes the *a* of *na*. Thus we get *vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *na* + (*n* → ∅) + *s* + *jhi* → *vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *n*(*a* → ∅) + *s* + *jhi* = *vi* + *ati* + *hi* + *n* + *s* + *jhi*. We have already explained how *vi* + *ati* yields *vyati*, and how *jhi* yields *anti*. Given the string *vyati* + *hins* + *anti*, 8.3.24 *mo' nusvāraḥ* will replace the *n* by *anusvāra* (*ṃ*): *vyati* + *hi*(*n* → *ṃ*)*s* + *anti* = *vyatihiṃsanti*.

Example (506) *vyatighnanti* is derived from *vi* + *ati* + *han* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*, where *ŚaP* is introduced by 3.1.68 *karttari śap*. Since *han* belongs to the *ad* class, *ŚaP* must be deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti...* Given the string *vi* + *ati* + *han* + *jhi*, 6.4.98 *gamahana...* requires the *a* of *han* to be deleted: *vi* + *ati* + *h*(*a* → ∅)*n* + *jhi*. Furthermore 7.3.54 *ho hante...* makes it necessary that the *h* of *hn* be replaced by *gh* (see 1.1.50 *sthāne...*). This will give us *vi* + *ati* + (*h* → *gh*)*n* + *jhi* = *vi* + *ati* + *ghn* + *jhi*, which after the replacement of *jh* by *ant* and the change of *vi* to *vy*, yields *vyatighnanti*.

1.3.16 *itaretarānyonyopapadāc ca*

(507) *vyatilunanti*

This example is derived in the same way as (500) *vyatilunate*, except that here *LAṬ* is replaced by the *parasmaipada* ending *jhi* which yields *anti*. The

other rules pertinent to deriving *vyatilun* from *vi* + *ati* + *lū* + *śnā* are the same.

1.3.17 *ner viśaḥ*
(508) *niviśate*
(509) *niviśante*

Example (508) *niviśate* is derived from *niviś* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* as in (*b-c*) of (495) *glāyate*. The *tudādi* root *viś* here is used with the preverb *ni*. Given the string *niviś* + *ta*, 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ...* will introduce *Śa*. For deriving *niviśate* from *niviś* + *Śa* + *ta*, apply rules similar to (*a*) of (491) *glāyate*. Thus: *niviś* + *a* + *t*(*a* → *e*) = *niviśate*.

Example (509) *niviśante* is similarly derived from *niviś* + *Śa* + *jha* where *jha* is a third person plural *ātmanepada* replacement for *LAṬ*. This *jha* will yield *ante* by first replacing the *a* of *jha* by *e* as in (*e*) of (495) *glāyate*, and then replacing the *jh* by *ant* as in (*f*) of (10) *pacanti*.

1.3.18 *parivyavebhyaḥ kriyaḥ*
(510) *parikrīṇīte*
(511) *vikrīṇīte*
(512) *avakrīṇīte*

Example (510) *parikrīṇīte* is derived from *parikrī* + *LAṬ* where *ḌUkrīÑ* is used with the preverb *pari*. The *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta*. Given the string *parikrī* + *ta*, 3.1.80 *kryādibhyaḥ...* introduces *Śnā* as in (*d*) of (500) *vyatilunate*. The resulting string *parikrī* + *Śnā* + *ta* becomes *parikrī* + *nā* + *ta* by *it*-deletion, and the following steps apply.

(*a*) *parikrī* + *nā* + *ta*
    as in (*c*) of (495) *glāyate*
  = *parikrī* + *nā* + *t*(*a* → *e*)
  = *parikrī* + *nā* + *te*

(*b*) *parikrī* + *nā* + *te*
    1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
    6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
    6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ* # 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*
  = *parikrī* + *n*(*ā* → *ī*) + *te*
  = *parikrī* + *nī* + *te*

(*c*) *parikrīnīte*
    1.4.14 *suptiṅ...*
    8.4.2 *aṭ kupvāṅ...*
  = *parikrī*(*n* → *ṇ*)*īte*
  = *parikrīṇīte*

The same rules apply in deriving (511) *vikrīṇīte* and (512) *avakrīṇīte* where the root is used with the preverbs *vi* and *ava*.

1.3.19 *viparābhyāṃ jeḥ*
(513) *vijayate*
(514) *parājayate*

These examples are derived from *viji* + *LAṬ* and *parāji* + *LAṬ*, where *vi* and *parā* are preverbs. In both cases, *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* which eventually yields *te* as in (*b-d*) of (495) *glāyate*. The two bases before *te* will finally become *vijayate* and *parājayate* exactly in the same manner as *jaya* before *anti* in (11) *jayanti*.

1.3.20 *āṅo do' nāsyaviharaṇe*
(515) *ādatte*

This form is derivea from *ādā* + *LAṬ*, where *ḌUdāÑ* is used with the preverb *āṄ*. Given the string *ādā* + *LAṬ*, the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* will replace *LAṬ* and will, as usual, be replaced by *te*. The following steps then apply.

(*a*) *ādā* + *te*
as in (*c-d*) of (230) *babdhām*
= *ādā* + (*ŚaP* → *Ø*) + *te*
= *ādā* + *te* (step *c*)
= *ādā* + *dā* + *te* (step *d*)

(*b*) *ādā* + *dā* + *te*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.112 *śnābhyas...*
= *ādā* + *d*(*ā* → *Ø*) + *te*
= *ādā* + *d* + *te*

(*c*) *ādā* + *d* + *te*
7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*
= *ād*(*ā* → *a*) + *d* + *te*
= *āda* + *d* + *te*

(*d*) *āda* + *d* + *te*
1.4.14 *suptiṅ...*
8.4.55 *khari ca*
= *āda* + (*d* → *t*) + *te*
= *ādatte*

1.3.21 *krīḍo' nusaṃparibhyaś ca*
(516) *anukrīḍate*
(517) *saṅkrīḍate*
(518) *parikrīḍate*
(519) *ākrīḍate*

The *ātmanepada* endings are introduced by this rule when *krīḍR* is used with the preverbs *anu, sam, pari,* or *āN*. Given the preverb-root sequences *anukrīḍ, samkrīḍ, parikrīḍ,* and *ākrīḍ, LAṬ* will be introduced. After *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending (*ta* → *te*), *ŚaP* is introduced. This yields *anukrīḍ* + *a* + *te* = *anukrīḍate, parikrīḍate,* and *ākrīḍate*. With *samkrīḍate*, two further rules apply. Rule 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya...* replaces the *m* of *sam* with *anusvāra* (*ṃ*), and 8.4.57 *anusvārasya...* replaces the *anusvāra* (*ṃ*) with *ṅ*. Thus: *samkrīḍ* + *a* + *te* = *saṃkrīḍate* → *saṅkrīḍate*.

Note also in this connection that 8.4.59 *vā padāntasya* will make the application of 8.4.57 optional. But the *m* of *sam* must occur at the end of a *pada*. This condition is met by *sam* + *sŪ*, where *sam*, an *upasarga*, is assigned the terms *nipāta* and *avyaya*. The *sŪ* can now be dropped and thereby *m* of *sam* becomes *padānta* 'occurring at the end of a *pada*'. Thus, we may get forms such as follows: *saṅkrīḍate/saṃkrīḍate*. The same process applies to (520) *santiṣṭhate* (see the following rule).

1.3.22 *samavapravibhyaḥ sthaḥ*
(520) *santiṣṭhate*
(521) *avatiṣṭhate*
(522) *vitiṣṭhate*
(523) *ātiṣṭhate*

The derivation of these examples is similar to those cited under the preceding rule. However, note that in the present examples, *sthā* is replaced by *tiṣṭha* by 7.3.78 *pāghrā....* Thus: *sam*(*sthā* → *tiṣṭha*) + *ŚaP* + *te* *samtiṣṭha* + *a* + *te*. Given this latter string, the sequence *a* + *a* will be replaced by a single *a* by 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. The resulting string, *samtiṣṭha* + *te*, will be subject to the application of two *anusvāra* rules as in (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīdate*. Thus: *sa*(*m* → *ṃ* → *n*)*tiṣṭha* + *te* = *santiṣṭhate*. The other examples follow the same pattern.

1.3.23 *prakāśanastheyākhyayoś ca*
(524) *tiṣṭhate*

This example is derived in the same manner as the examples under 1.3.22. The root is used alone here, without preverb.

1.3.24 *udo' nūrdhvakarmaṇi*
(525) *uttiṣṭhate*

Here *sthā* is used with the preverb *ut*. For the details of derivation, see the examples under 1.3.22.

1.3.25 *upānmantrakaraṇe*
(526) *upatiṣṭhate*

The root *sthā* is used with the preverb *upa*; the derivation follows the pattern shown under 1.3.22.

1.3.27 *udvibhyaṃ tapaḥ*
(527) *uttapate*
(528) *vitapate*

These examples are derived from *uttap* + *ŚaP* + (*ta* → *te*) and *vitap* + *ŚaP* + (*ta* → *te*). where *tapĀ* 'to be hot' is used with the preverbs *ut* and *vi*.

1.3.28 *āṅo yamahanaḥ*
(529) *āyacchate*
(530) *āyacchete*
(531) *āyacchante*
(532) *āhate*
(533) *āghnāte*
(534) *āghnate*

Example (529) *āyacchate* is derived from *āyam* + *ŚaP* + (*ta* → *te*), where *yamĀ* 'to give' is used with the preverb *āṄ*, and *yam* yields the form *yacch* as in (503) *vyatigacchanti*. Thus: *āya*(*m* → *ch*) + *a* + *te* = *āya*(*ch* → *cch*) + *a* + *te* = *āyacchate*.

(530) *āyacchete*

(*a*) *āyam* + *LAṬ*
  LAṬ is replaced by the third person dual *ātmanepada* ending *ātām*
  = *āyam* + *ātām*

(*b*) *āyam* + *ātām*
  introduction of *ŚaP*; *tiṄ*-selection
  it-deletion
  = *āyam* + *a* + *ātām*

(*c*) *āyam* + *a* + *ātām*
  3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām*... # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*
  = *āyam* + *a* + *āt*(*ām* → *e*)
  = *āyam* + *a* + *āte*

(*d*) *āyam* + *a* + *āte*
  1.4.13 *yasmāt*...
  6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
  7.2.81 *āto ṅitaḥ*
  = *āyam* + *a* + (*ā* → *iy*)*te*
  = *āyam* + *a* + *iyte*

(*f*) *āyam* + *a* + *iyte*
  7.3.77 *iṣugami*... # 1.1.54 *alo'*...
  = *āya*(*m* → *ch*) + *a* + *iyte*
  = *āyach* + *a* + *iyte*

(*g*) *āyach* + *a* + *iyte*
  6.1.64 *lopo vyor*...
  = *āyach* + *a* + *i*(*y* → *0*)*te*
  = *āyach* + *a* + *ite*

(*h*) *āyach* + *a* + *ite*

6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*; 6.1.73 *che ca*

= *āyach* + (*a* + *i* → *e*)*te*

= *āya* + *t* + *ch* + *ete*

(*i*) *āyatch* + *ete*

1.4.14 *suptiṅ...*

8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*

= *āya*(*t* → *c*)*ch* + *ete*

= *āyacchete*

(531) *āyacchante*

This example is derived from *āyam* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person plural *ātmanepada* ending *jha*, which finally yields *ante* as in (*c*) of (495) *glāyate* and (*f*) of (10) *pacanti*. Given the string *āyam* + *a* + *ante*, follow (*e-g*) of (529) *āyacchate*. This will yield *āyatch* + *a* + *ante*. An application of rules from (*g*) of (10) *pacanti* will yield *āyatch* + (*a* + *a* → *a*)*nte* = *āyatch* + *ante*. Now follow (*i*) of *āyacchate* to arrive at *āyacchante*.

(532) *āhate*

Given the string *āṄ* + *han* + *LAṬ*, where *āṄ* is a preverb, *LAṬ* will be replaced by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta*. The resulting *āhan* + *ta*, will receive *ŚaP*, which will be deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...*: *āhan* + (*ŚaP* → *0*) + *ta* = *āhan* + *ta*. The *ta* will yield *te* as usual, and the *n* of *han* will be deleted by 6.4.37 *anudātttopadeśa....* This will yield: *āha*(*n* → *0*) + *t*(*a* → *e*) = *āha* + *te* = *āhate*.

(533) *āghnāte*

Given the string *āhan* + *LAṬ*, *LAṬ* will be replaced by the third person dual *ātmanepada* ending *ātām*, and *ŚaP* will be introduced and then deleted. Follow (*d*) of (530) *āyacchete* to arrive at *āhan* + *āte*. To derive *āghnāte* from *āhan* + *āte*, apply 6.4.98 *gamahana...* and 7.3.54 *ho hante* as in (506) *vyatighnanti*. This will yield: *āh*(*a* → *0*)*n* + *āte* = *ā*(*h* → *gh*)*n* + *āte* = *āghnāte*.

(534) *āghnate*

This example involves replacing the *LAṬ* of *āhan* + *LAṬ* by the third person plural *ātmanepada* ending *jha*. After *ŚaP* has been introduced and deleted, apply rules as in (*e*) and (*h*) of (500) *vyatilunate*. This will yield *āhan* + (*jh* → *at*)*a* → *āhan* + *at*(*a* → *e*) = *āhan* + *ate*. The deletion of the penultimate *a* of *han* and the replacement of *h* by *gh* follows the same rule applications as in (533) *āghnāte*. Thus: *āh*(*a* → *0*)*n* + *ate* → *ā*(*h* → *gh*)*n* + *ate* = *āghnate*.

1.3.29 *samo gamyṛcchibhyām*

(535) *saṅgacchate*

(536) *samṛcchate*

The first example is derived from *samgam* + *LAṬ*, where *gamḶ* is used with the preverb *sam*. As in other examples, *LAṬ* will be replaced by the

third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta*, the *a* of which will be replaced by *e*. Given the string *samgam* + *te*, *ŚaP* will be introduced, and operations specific to *gam* will be carried out. For these operations, see (*e*), (*g*), and (*i*) of (529) *āyacchate*. These rule applications will yield *samgacch* + *a* + *te*. A further rule application similar to (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate* will change the *m* of *sam* to *ṅ*. The result will be *sa*(*m* → *ṃ* → *ṅ*)*gacch* + *a* + *te* = *saṅgacchate*.

The underlying string for (536) *samṛcchate* is *sam* + *ṛcch* + *Śa* + *ta*, where *sam* is a preverb and *ta* is the replacement for *LAṬ*. Since the root belongs to the *tud* class, *Śa* is introduced before *ta* (3.1.77 *tudādi...*). Deriving *samṛcchate* from *sam* + *ṛcch* + *a* + *ta* only entails the replacement of the *a* of *ta* by *e* (see 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...*).

1.3.30 *nisamupavibhyo hvaḥ*
(537) *nihvayate*
(538) *saṃhvayate*
(539) *upahvayate*
(540) *vihvayate*

All these examples are derived from *hveÑ* + *LAṬ* used with the preverbs *ni*, *sam*, *upa*, or *vi*. The third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* replaces *LAṬ* in all cases. Given the string *ni* + *hve* + *ta*, *ŚaP* will be introduced prior to operations specific to the change of *ta* to *te*. Finally rules similar to (*i*) of (11) *jayanti* will apply to *nihve* + *a* + *te* to yield *nihv*(*e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te* = *nihvayate*. The same thing happens in the other examples. However, note that in the case of *sam* + *hv*(*e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te*, additional rule applications similar to (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate* are also required.

1.3.31 *sparddhāyām āṅaḥ*
(541) *āhvayate*

See (537) *nihvayate* for deriving this example from *āṄ* + *hveÑ* + *LAṬ*

1.3.32 *gandhanāvakṣepaṇasevanasāhasikyapratiyatnaprakathanopayogeṣu kṛñaḥ*
(542) *utkurute*
(543) *udākurute*
(544) *upakurute*
(545) *prakurute*
(546) *upaskurute*

These examples are all derived by introducing the affix *LAṬ* after *ḌUkṛÑ* used with the preverb *ut*, *ut* + *āṄ*, *upa*, or *pra*. *LAṬ* is replaced by the *ātmanepada* third person singular ending *ta* under conditions outlined under 1.3.32. Given the string *ut* + *kṛ* +(*ta* → *te*) = *ut* + *kṛ* + *te*, *u* will be introduced in place of *ŚaP* because the root belongs to the *tanādi* class (see 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñ...*). The resulting string will undergo operations similar to (*c-d*) of (279) *kurutaḥ*. Similar rules apply to (544) *upakurute* and (545) *prakurute*. (543) *udākurute* and (546) *upaskurute*, however, are slightly

different. Given the string *ut* + *āṄ* + *kṛ* + *LAṬ*, the *t* of *ut* will be replaced by *d* by 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ Jaśo...* Now *udā* + *kṛ* + *LAṬ* will yield *udākurute*. Given the string *upa* + *kurute*, to derive *upaskurute*, 8.1.139 *upāt pratiyatna...* will apply to introduce the augment *sUṬ*. Thus: *upa* + *s(ŪṬ*→ *Ø)* + *kurute* = *upaskurute*. Also note that the genitive *Ṅas* of *udakasya* and *guḍasya* is introduced to denote the object (see 2.3.53 *kṛñaḥ pratiyatne*).

1.3.33 *adheḥ prasahane*

(547) *adhicakre*

(*a*) *adhi* + *ḌUkṛÑ*
  *it*deletion
  = *adhikṛ*

(*b*) *adhikṛ*
  1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
  3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
  3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*
  = *adhikṛ* + *LIṬ*

(*c*) *adhikṛ* + *LṬ*
  as in (*b*) of (495) *glāyate*, except that *atmanepada is intrc duced by 1.3.33 adheḥ*
  = *adhikṛ* + (*LIṬ* → *ta*)
  = *adhikṛ* + *ta*

(*d*) *adhikṛ* + *ta*
  3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor...* # 1.1.55 *anekāl...*
  = *adhikṛ* + (*ta* → *eŚ*)
  it-deletion
  = *adhikṛ* + *e*

(*e*) *adhikṛ* + *e*
  6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* # 1.5.59 *dvirvacane...*
  = *adhikṛ* + *kṛ* + *e*

(*f*) *adhikṛ* + *kṛ* + *e*
  = 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*
  = *adhikṛ* + *k(ṛ* → *r))* + *e*
  = *adhikṛ* + *kr* + *e*

(*g*) *adhikṛ* + *kr* + *e*
  1.4.13 *yasmāt*
  6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
  7.4.66 *urat* # 1.5.51 *uraṇ...*
  = *adhik(ṛ* → *ar)* + *kr* + *e*
  = *adhikar* + *kre*

(*h*) *adhikar* + *kre*
  7.4.60 *halādi...*
  adhika(r → *Ø)* + *kre*
  = *adhika* + *kre*

(*i*) *adhika* + *kre*
7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*
= *adhi*(*k* ⟶ *c*)*a* + *kre*
= *adhicakre*

Note here that 3.1.79 *tanādibhyaḥ*...cannot introduce the *vikaraṇa u*, as the *tiÑ* replacement of *LIṬ*, namely *ta*, will be deprived of the designation *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.115 *liṭ ca*.

1.3.34 *veḥ śabdakarmaṇaḥ*
(548) *vikurute*

This example derives from *vi* + *ḌUkṛÑ* + *LAṬ*, where *vi* is a preverb. The present rule orders *LAṬ* to be replaced by the *ātmanepada* ending *ta*. Given the string *vi* + *kṛ* + *ta* apply rules as in (*b*) of (280) *kurutaḥ* and (*c*) of (495) *glāyate*. This will yield: *vi* + *kṛ* + *ta* ⟶ *vi* + *kṛ* + *u* + *ta* ⟶ *vi* + *kṛ* + *u* + *te*. You may now apply rules similar to (*c-d*) of (280) *kurutaḥ* to derive *vikurute*.

1.1.35 *akarmakāc ca*
(549) *vikurvate*

This is a plural form corresponding to (548) *vikurute*. It is derived by replacing *LAṬ* of *vi* + *kṛ* + *LAṬ* by the third person plural *ātmanepada* ending *jha*. Given the string *vi* + *kṛ* + *jha*, *u* will be introduced as in (548) *vikurute*. After the application of rules as in (*c*) of (495) *glāyate* and (*e*) of (501) *vyatipunate*, the string will be: *vi* + *kṛ* + *u* + *jha* ⟶ + *vi* + *kṛ* + *u* + *jh*(*a* ⟶ *e*) ⟶ *vi* + *kṛ* + *u* +(*jh* ⟶ *at*)*e*. One may now apply the rules as in (*c-d*) of (280) *kurutaḥ* to derive *vi* + *k* (*ṛ* ⟶ *ar*) + *u* + *ate* = *vi* + *k*(*a* ⟶ *u*)*r* + *u* + *ate* = *vi* + *kur* + *u* + *ate*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* now applies to yield *vi* + *kur* +(*u* ⟶ *v*) + *ate* = *vikurvate*.

1.3.36 *sammānanotsañjanācāryakaraṇajñānabhṛtivigaṇanavyayeṣu niyaḥ*
(550) *nayate*
(551) *upanayate*
(552) *vinayate*

All of these examples derive from *ṇīÑ* + *LAṬ*, where in *upanayate* and *vinayate* the root is used with a preverb. As usual *LAṬ* will be replaced, here by the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* which will then yield *te*. For deriving *nayate*, *upanayate*, and *vinayate* from *nī* + *te*, *upa* + *nī* + *te*, and *vi* + *nī* + *te*, follow (*d*) of (10) *pacanti* and (*h-i*) of (11) *jayanti*. Also see the explanation under (14) *nayati* concerning the replacement of the root initial *ṇ* by *n*.

1.3.38 *vṛttisargatāyaneṣu kramaḥ*
(553) *kramate*
(554) *kramante*

The underlying strings for these examples are *kramŪ* + *ŚaP* + *ta* and *kramŪ* + *ŚaP* + *jha*, where *ta* and *jha* are replacements for *LAṬ*. Many

examples have already been given of how *ta* and *jha* yield *ta* and *te*. With *kramante*, *jh* will be replaced by *ant*. Furthermore the sequence *a* + *a* of *kram* + *a* + *ante* will be replaced by a single *a*. See the derivation of (10) *pacanti* for details.

1.3.39 *upaparābhyām*
(555) *upakramate*
(556) *parākramate*

These derivations are similar to (553) *kramate*, except that *kramŪ* is used here with the preverbs *upa* and *parā*.

1.3.40 *āṅ udgamane*
(557) *ākramate*
(558) *ākramante*

The root *kramŪ* is used here with the preverb *āṄ*. The rest of the derivation is similar to (553) *kramate* or (554) *kramante*.

1.3.41 *veḥ pādaviharaṇe*
(559) *vikramate*

The underlying string is *vi* + *kramŪ* + *LAṬ*, where *vi* is a preverb. Except that *ātmanepada* is introduced by 1.3.41, this derivation does not offer anything new.

1.3.42 *propābhyāṃ samarthābhyām*
(560) *prakramate*
(561) *upakramate*

Note that the root is used with preverbs *pra* and *upa*, and rule 1.3.42 introduces *ātmanepada*.

1.3.43 *anupasargād vā*
(562) *kramati*

This example derives from *kramŪ* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* under the option offered by 1.3.43.

1.3.44 *apahnave jñaḥ*
(563) *apajānīte*

The underlying string is *apa* + *jñā* + *LAṬ*, where *apa* is a preverb and 1.3.44 introduces the *ātmanepada* ending *ta* as a replacement for *LAṬ*. The remaining rule applications are as follows.

(*a*) *apa* + *jñā* + *ta*
3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ*...
= *apa* + *jñā* + *Snā* + *ta*
it deletion
= *apa* + *jñā* + *nā* + *ta*

(*b*) *apā* + *jñā* + *nā* + *ta*
3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām*...

= *apa* + *jñā* + *nā* + *t*(*a* → *e*)
= *apa* + *jñā* + *nā* + *te*

(*c*) *apa* + *jñā* + *nā* + *te*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.3.79 *jñājanor...*
= *apa* +(*jñā* → *jā*) + *nā* + *te*
= *apa* + *jā* + *nā* + *te*

(*d*) *apa* + *jā* + *nā* + *te*
6.4.113 *ī haly...#* 1.2.4 *sārvadhā...*
= *apa* + *jā* + *n*(*ā* → *ī*) + *te*
= *apajānīte*

1.3.45 *akarmakāc ca*
(564) *jānīte*
This example is included in (563) *apajānīte.*

1.3.46 *saṃpratibhyām anādhyāne* under 1.3.44 *apahnave jñaḥ.*
(565) *sañjānīte*
(566) *pratijānīte*
Except that *ātmanepada* is ruled by 1.3.46 after *jña* used with the preverb *sam* or *prati,* deriving *jānīte* should not pose any problem. Note that *sam* + *jānīte* requires rule applications as in (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate* to yield *sañjānīte.*

1.3.47 *bhāsanopasaṃbhāṣājñānayatnavimatyupamantraṇeṣu vadaḥ*
(567) *vadate*
(568) *upavadate*
(569) *vivadante*
These forms are derived similarly to (553) *kramate,* (556) *upakramate,* and (554) *kramante.*

1.3.48 *vyaktavācāṃ samucaraṇe*
(570) *saṃpravadante*
This example is derived in the same way as (554) *kramante.* Also see (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate.*

1.3.49 *anor akarmakāt*
(571) *anuvadate*
This example is derived according to the same pattern as (553) *kramate.*

1.3.50 *vibhāṣā vipralāpe*
(572) *vipravadante*
(573) *vipravadanti*
Note that *vadA* is used here with the preverbs *vi* and *pra,* and that *ātmanepada* is optional. Follow the pattern of (554) *kramante* and (10) *pacanti.*

1.3.51 *avād grah*
(574) *avagirate*
(575) *avagirete*
(576) *avagirante*

These examples are derived by introducing *LAṬ* after *gr̥* used with the preverb *ava*. The replacements for *LAṬ* are *ta*, *ātām*, and *jha* respectively. Given the strings *ava* + *gr̥* + *ta*, and so on, 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ* will introduce the augment *Śa*. The sequence *avagr̥* in all the examples yields the form *avagir* as in (180) *girati*. To derive *avagirate* and *avagirante* from *avagir* + *a* + *ta* and *avagir* + *a* + *jha*, follow the patterns for (553) *kramate* and (554) *kramante*. For deriving *avagirete* from *avagir* + *a* + *ātām*, follow the appropriate steps outlined under (530) *āyacchete*.

1.3.52 *samaḥ pratijñāne*
(577) *saṅgirate*

This example is derived similarly to (574) *avugirate*, except that it also entails applications of rules given under (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate*.

1.3.53 *adaścaraḥ sakarmakāt*
(578) *uccarate*

Except for the application of 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*, which replaces the *t* of the preverb *ut* with *c*, deriving *uccarate* from *ut* + *car* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *ta* → *te*) presents no difficulty.

1.3.54 *samas tr̥tīyāyuktāt*
(579) *sañcarate*

Apply (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate* to the *m* of *sam* + *car* + *a* + *te*.

1.3.55 *dāṇaśca sā cec caturthyarthe*
(580) *samprayacchate*

The root *yamÂ* is used here with a sequence of two preverbs, *sam* and *pra*. Follow the steps given for (529) *āyacchate* and (530) *āyacchete*. For operations relative to the *m* of *sam*, see (*a-b*) of (517) *saṅkrīḍate*.

1.3.56 *upād yamaḥ svakaraṇe*
(581) *upayacchate*

Apply the pattern for (529) *āyacchate* to *upa* + *yamÂ* + *LAṬ*

1.3.57 *jñāśrusmr̥dr̥śāṃ sanaḥ*
(582) *jijñāsate*
(583) *śuśrūṣate*
(584) *susmūrṣate*
(585) *didr̥kṣate*
(582) *jijñāsate*
(*a*) *jñā*
as in (*c*) of (304) *rurudiṣati*

= *jñā + jñā + sa # dvitva*

(*b*) *jñā + jñā + sa*

7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*

= *jñ(ā → a) + jñā + sa*

= *jña + jñā + sa*

(*c*) *jñā + jña + sa*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*

= *j(ñ → Ø)a + jñā + sa*

= *ja + jñā + sa*

(*d*) *ja + jñā + sa*

7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*

= *j(a → i) + jñā + sa*

= *jijñāsa*

(*e*) *jijñāsa*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*, plus the relevant rules for deriving *jijñāsa* + *LAṬ*, which will yield *jijñāsa* + *ŚaP* + *ta* where *ta* is third person singular *ātmanepada*

The remaining operations are similar to (553) *kramate.*

Example (583) *śuśrūṣate* is derived in a similar manner, except that (*d*) is not applicable here. Note further that the *s* of the affix *saN* in *śuśrūṣate* will be replaced by *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*. Incidentally, given the string *śru* + *sa*, two operations should obtain: the introduction of augment *iṬ* by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...*, and *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka....* However, these operations are blocked by 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ...*and 1.2.9 *iko jhal* respectively.

(584) *susmūrṣate*

(*a*) *smṛ*

as in (*a*) of (303) *rurudiṣati*

= *smṛ + sa*

(*b*) *smṛ +sa*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.1.101 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya #* 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *smar + sa*

(*c*) *smar + sa*

8.2.77 *hali ca*

= *sm(a → ū)r + sa*

= *smūr + sa*

(*d*) *smūr + sa*

as in (*c*) of (304) *rurudiṣati* and (*b*) of (586) *jijñāsate*

= *smūr + smūr + sa*

= *sm(ū → u)r + smūr + sa*

= *smur + smūr + sa*

(*e*) *smur* + *smūr* + *sa*

7.4.61 *śar pūrvāḥ...*

= *s*(*m* → *Ø*)*u*(*r* → *Ø*) + *smūr* + *sa*

= *susmūrsa*

(*f*) *susmūrsa*

as in (e) of (586) *jijñāsate*, also note that the *s* of *sa* is replaced by *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa...*

= *susmūrṣate*

(585) *didṛkṣate*

(*a*) *dṛśIR*

it-deletion

as in (*a*) of (304) *rurudiṣati*

= *dṛś* + *sa*

Note that the *guṇa* application of 7.3.84 *sārva...* will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.*

(*b*) *dṛś* + *sa*

as in (*a*) of (586) *jijñāsate*

= *dṛś* +*dṛś* + *sa*

(*c*) *dṛś* + *dṛś* + *sa*

7.4.66 *urat* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*

= *d*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*ś* + *dṛś* + *sa*

= *darś* + *dṛś* + *sa*

(*d*) *darś* + *dṛś* + *sa*

as in (*c*) of (582) *jijñāsate*

= *da*(*rś* → *Ø*) + *dṛś* + *sa*

= *da* + *dṛś* + *sa*

(*e*) *da* + *dṛś* + *sa*

as in (*d*) of (582) *jijñāsate*

= *d*(*a* → *i*) + *dṛś* + *sa*

= *di* + *dṛś* + *sa*

(*f*) *di* + *dṛś* + *sa*

8.2.39 *vraśjabhras...*

= *di* + *dṛ* (*ś* → *ṣ*) + *sa*

= *di* + *dṛṣ* + *sa*

(*g*) *di* + *dṛṣ* + *sa*

8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ...*

= *di* + *dṛ*(*ṣ* → *k*) + *sa*

= *di* + *dṛk* + *sa*

(*h*) *di* + *dṛk* + *sa*

8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayoḥ*

= *di* + *dṛk* +(*s* → *ṣ*)a

= *didṛkṣa*

(*i*) *didṛkṣa*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā...*, plus rules for *LAṬ*, *ta*, *ŚaP*, and

so on,
= *didṛkṣate*

1.3.58 *nānor jñaḥ*
(586) *anujijñāsati*
This example derives like (582) *jijñāsate,* except that the present rule does not allow *ātmanepada*. Consequently *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP*. The root is used here with the preverb *anu*.

1.3.59 *pratyāṅbhyāṃ śruvaḥ*
(587) *pratiśuśrūṣati*
(588) *āśuśrūṣati*
The root is used with preverbs *prati* and *āṄ*. Except for *LAṬ* being replaced by *tiP*, all the other operations are similar to (586) *śuśrūṣate*.

1.3.60 *śadeḥ śitaḥ*
(589) *śīyate*
(590) *śīyete*
(591) *śīyante*
These examples are derived from *śadḶ* by introducing *LAṬ* and replacing it by the third person *ātmanepada* suffixes *ta, ātām,* and *jha*. Since the root is *tudādi, Śa* will be introduced by 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ*.... In addition the root itself will be replaced by *śīy* (see 7.3.38 *pāghrādhmā*....). Given the strings *śīy* + *a* + *ta,* and so on, follow the patterns of (529) *āyacchate,* (530) *āyacchete,* and (531) *āyacchante* respectively for further operations.

1.3.61 *mriyater luṅliṅoś ca*
(592) *amṛta*
(593) *mṛṣīṣṭa*
(594) *mriyate*
(595) *mriyete*
(596) *mriyante*
To derive (592) *amṛta,* follow the directions given for (321) *akṛta*.
To derive (593) *mṛṣīṣṭa,* follow the directions given for (319) *kṛṣīṣṭa*.
Examples (594) *mriyate,* (595) *mriyete,* and (596) *mriyante* are derived from *mṛÑ* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by the third person *ātmanepada* endings *ta, ātām,* and *jha* respectively. Given the string *mṛ* + *ta, Śa* will be introduced by 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ*.... Following the application of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām*..., whereby *ta* yields *te*, our string *mṛ* + *a* + (*ta* → *te*) undergoes the following operations.

(*a*) *mṛ* + *a* + *te*
7.4.28 *riṅ śaya*...
= *m*(*ṛ* → *ri*(*Ṅ* → *0*)) + *a* + *te*
= *mri* + *a* + *te*

(*b*) *mri* + *a* + *te*

6.4.77 *aciśnu...* # 1.1.51 *alo'...*
= *mr(i → iya) + a + te*
= *mriya + a + te*

(*c*) *mriya + a + te*
6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *mriy(a + a → a) + te*
= *mriyate*

For deriving (595) *mriyete* and (596) *mriyante* from *mṛ* + *LAṬ*, where *mṛ* will yield *mriya* and *LAṬ* will be replaced by *ātām* and *jha*, see (530) *āyacchete* and (531) *āyacchante* for additional rule applications.

1.3.62 *pūrvavat...*
(597) *āsisiṣate*
(598) *śiśayiṣate*

These examples are derived from *ās* + *saN* and *śī* + *saN* respectively. After the augment *iṬ* is introduced (7.2.35 *ārdha...*), *dvitva* takes place. Given the string *ās* + *iṬ* + *saN*, 6.1.2 *ajāder...* will require the doubling of *is*. This will yield *ās* + *is* + *i* + *as* = *āsisisa*, a root defined by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā....* The third person singular *ātmanepada* form *āsisiṣate* can then be derived from *āsisisa* + *LAṬ* following the pattern of (584) *śusmūrṣate*. The other example is similarly derived from *śīṄ* + *saN*, where after the augment *iṬ* is introduced, the root is doubled. Thus: *śī* + *i* + *sa* = *śī* + *sī* + *i* + *sa*. The first *ī* is shortened (7.4.79 *hrasvaḥ*), and the second *ī* goes through *guṇa* and *ay* replacement as in (342) *śayitaḥ*. This produces *ś(ī → i)* + *ś(i → e → ay)* + *i* + *sa* = *śiśayisa*. One can now derive *śiśayiṣate* from *śiśayisa* + *LAṬ*, where the *s* of *saN* has been replaced by *ṣ* by 8.3.59 *ādeśa....* The remaining rule applications are similar to the previous examples.

(599) *niviśate*
(600) *nivivikṣate*

The first example is derived from *niviś* + *LAṬ*, where the root is used with the preverb *ni*, and *LAṬ* is replaced by *ta*.

The next example is derived from *niviś* + *saN*. Doubling produces *niviś* + *viś* + *sa*, where the first *ś* will be deleted by 7.4.60 *halādi....* Given the string *nivi(ś → ∅)* + *viś* + *sa*, rules similar to steps (*f-i*) of (585) *didṛkṣate* will apply to yield *nivivikṣate*.

(601) *ācikraṃsate*

This example is derived by introducing the affix *saN* to *ākram*, where *kramŪ* is used with the preverb *āṄ*. Given the string *ākram* + *sa*, *dvitva* will produce *ākra* + *kram* + *sa*, which after the application of 7.4.60 *halādi...* and 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* will produce: *āk(r → ∅) a* + *kram* + *sa* → *āk(a → i)* + *kram* + *sa* = *āki* + *kram* + *sa*, as in (*c-d*) of (582) *jijñāsate*. The *k* of *āki* will be replaced by *c* by 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. The *m* of the resultant *ā(k → c)i* + *kram* + *sa* = *ācikram* + *sa* will be replaced by *anusvāra* by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya*.

The new root *ācikraṃsa* will take *LAṬ*, which will then be replaced by *ta* to yield *ācikraṃsate*.

1.3.63 *āmpratyayavat...*
(602) *īkṣāñcakre*
(603) *īhāñcakre*
(*a*) *īkṣ*
as in (*b*) of (160) *śuśāva*
= *īkṣ* + *LIṬ*
(*b*) *īkṣ* + *LIṬ*
3.1.36 *ijādeś ca...* # 1.4.11 *saṃyoge...*
= *īkṣ* + *ām* + *LIṬ*
(*c*) *īkṣ* + *ām* + *LIṬ*
2.4.81 *āmaḥ*
= *īkṣ* + *ām* + (*LIṬ* → ∅)
= *īkṣ* + *ām*
(*d*) *īkṣ* + *ām*
1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
4.1.2 *svauj...* # *sUP*-selection (*sŪ*)
= *īkṣ* + *ām* + *sŪ*
(*e*) *īkṣ* + *ām* + *sŪ*
1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ*
2.4.82 *avyayād...* # *sUP*-deletion
= *īkṣ* + *ām* + (*sŪ* → ∅)
= *īkṣ* + *ām*
(*f*) *īkṣ* + *ām*
3.1.40 *kṛñcā...*
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ*
(*g*) *ikṣām* + *kṛ*
as in (*b*) of (160) *śuśāva*
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *LIṬ*
(*h*) *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *LIṬ*
3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptas...*
1.3.63 *āmpratyaya...* # 1.1.61 *pratyayasya*
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + (*LIṬ* → *ta*)
(*i*) *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *ta*
3.4.81 *liṭastajha...* # # 1.1.55 *anekāl...*
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + (*ta* → *eś*)
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *e*(*ś* → ∅)
= *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *e*
(*j*) *īkṣām* + *kṛ* + *e*
6.1.77 *iko...* # 1.4.10 *yathā...*

= *īkṣām + k (ṛ → r) + e*
= *īkṣām + kr + e*

(*k*) *īkṣām + kr + e*
6.1.8 *liṭi...* # 1.1.59 *dvirvacane...*
= *īkṣām + kṛ + kr + e*

(*l*) *īkṣām + kṛ + kr + e*
6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
7.4.66 *urat* # 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*
= *īkṣām + kar + kr + e*

(*m*) *īkṣām + kar + kr + e*
7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*
= *īkṣām + ka(r → Ø) + kr + e*
= *īkṣām + ka + kr + e*

(*n*) *īkṣām + ka + kr + e*
7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*
= *īkṣām (k → c)a + kr + e*
= *īkṣām + ca + kr + e*

(*o*) *īkṣām + ca + kr + e*
8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*
= *īkṣā(m → ṃ) + cakre*
8.4.58 *anusvārasya...*
= *īkṣā(ṃ → ñ) + cakre*
= *īkṣāñcakre*

(603) *īhāñcakre*

Follow the same derivational pattern to derive this example from *īhā* + *LIṬ*. However, note that the term *guru*, at (*c*), is assigned by 1.4.12 *dīrghaṃ ca*.

1.3.64 *propābhyām...*

(604) *prayuṅkte*

(*a*) *pra + yujIR*
it-deletion
= *prayuj*

(*b*) *prayuj*
3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptas...* # 1.4.101 *tiṅas...* and so on
1.3.64 *propābhyām...*
= *prayuj + ta*

(*c*) *prayuj + ta*
3.1.78 *rudhādi...* # 1.1.47 *midaco...*
= *prayu + (Ś → Ø)na(M → Ø) + j + ta* # *it* deletion
= *prayu + na + j + ta*

(*d*) *prayu + na + j + ta*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.111 *śnasor...*
= *prayu* + *n*(*a* → *∅*) + *j* + *ta*
= *prayu* + *n* + *j* + *ta*
(*e*) *prayu* + *n* + *j* + *ta*
8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* # 1.1.50 *sthāne...*
= *prayun* + (*j* → *g*) + *ta*
= *prayun* + *g* + *ta*
(*f*) *prayun* + *g* + *ta*
8.4.55 *khari ca*
= *prayun* + (*g* → *k*) + *ta*
= *prayun* + *k* + *ta*
(*g*) *prayun* + *k* + *ta*
8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya...*
= *prayu*(*n* → *ṃ*) + *k* + *ta*
= *prayu* + *ṃ* + *k* + *ta*
(*h*) *prayu* + *ṃ* + *k* + *ta*
8.4.58 *anusvārasya...*
= *prayu* + (*ṃ* → *ṅ*) + *k* + *ta*
= *prayuṅkta*

Consequently the *ātmanepada ta* will yield *te* as has been shown in many previous examples. Thus: *prayuṅkta* → *prayuṅkte*.

1.3.65 *samaḥ kṣṇuvaḥ*
(605) *saṃkṣṇute*

This example derives from *sam* + *kṣu* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada* third person singular *ta*. The augment *ŚaP* will be deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*. There is nothing new in deriving *saṃkṣṇute* from *sam* + *kṣṇu* + *ta*. The *m* will be replaced by *ṃ* by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya*.

(606) *saṃkṣṇuvate*

This example also derives from *saṃkṣṇu* + *LAṬ*. However, *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada* third person dual *ātām* which yields *āte* as in (*c*) of (529) *āyacchete*. Given the string *samkṣṇu* + *āte*, *ŚaP* will be introduced and deleted. Rule 6.4.77 *aci śna...* will then apply to yield *samkṣṇ*(*u* → *uv*)*āte* = *samkṣṇuvāte*. Again, *m* will be replaced by *ṃ*.

(607)•*saṃkṣṇuvatē*

This example is derived from *saṃkṣṇu* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by third person plural *ātmanepada jha*. After the deletion of *ŚaP*, *jh* of *jha* will be replaced by *at* by 7.1.5 *ātmanepadeṣv....* Given the string *samkṣṇu* + (*jh* → *at*) *a* = *samkṣṇu* + *ata*, 6.4.77 *aci śnu...* will replace the *u* of the root by *uvAṄ*. This will produce *samkṣṇ*(*u* → *uva*) + *ata* = *samkṣṇuv* + *ata*, which yields *saṃkṣṇuvate* by the familiar procedure.

1.3.66 *bhujo' navane*
(608) *bhuṅkte*

This example is derived like (604) *prayuṅkte.*

(609) *bhuñjate*

This example is derived from *bhuj* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* gets replaced by *ātām*. As in the earlier example, *ŚnaM* will be added. Given the string *bhu* + *ŚnaM* + *ātām* = *bhunaj* + *ātām*, follow (*d*) of (604) *prayuṅkte* to get *bhuñjate.*

1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...*

(610) *ārohayate*

(*a*) *āṄ* + *ruh*
 it-deletion
 = *āruh*

(*b*) *āruh*
 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*
 = *āruh* + *ṆiC*
 it-deletion
 = *āruh* + *i*

(*c*) *āruh* + *i*
 3.1.32 *sanādyantā..*
 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
 3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*
 = *āruh* + *i* + *LAṬ*

(*d*) *āruh* + *i* + *LAṬ*
 = *āruh* + *i* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*)
 1.3.67 *ṇer...*
 = *āruh* + *i* + *ŚaP* + *ta*
 it-deletion
 = *āruh* + *i* + *a* + (*ta* → *te*)
 as in many previous examples

(*e*) *āruh* + *i* + *a* + *te*
 1.3.13 *yasmāt...*
 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...* # 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*
 = *āruh* + (*i* → *e*) + *a* + *te*
 = *āruh* + *e* + *a* + *te*

(*f*) *āruh* + *e* + *a* + *te*
 7.3.86 *puganta...*
 = *ār*(*u* → *o*)*h* + *e* + *a* + *te*
 = *āroh* + *e* + *a* + *te*

(*g*) *āroh* + *e* + *a* + *te*
 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*
 = *āroh* + (*e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te*
 = *ārohayate*

(611) *upasiñcati*

This example is derived from *upa* + *ṣicÅ* + *LAṬ*, where *upa* is a preverb. The initial *ṣ* of the root is replaced by *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ*. Given the string *upasic* + *LAṬ*, *LAṬ* is replaced by *jhi*, with *Śa* added as the augment since the root is *tudādi*. The result is *upasic* + *a* + *jhi*. The next rule applications are similar to (*e-f*) of (166) *muñcati* and (*f-h*) of (10) *pacanti*.

(612) upasecayate

This example is derived from *upa* + *ṣic* + *ṆiC* where *ṣ* is replaced by *s*. Given the derived root *upasic* + *i*, applications similar to (610) *ārohayate* will produce *upas*(*i* → *e*)*c* + (*i* → *e* → *ay*) + *a* + *te* = *upasecayate*.

(613) *paśyanti*

This example is derived like (10) *pacanti*. The *dṛś* of *dṛśIR* is replaced by *paśya* by 7.3.78 *pāghrā*....

(614) *darśayate*

This example derives (*dṛś* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where the *guṇa* of *ṛ* will be *ar* in consonance with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*. The remaining operations are similar to (610) *ārohayate*.

1.3.68 *bhīsmyor*...

bhīṣayate

See derivation (164).

(615) *vismāpayate*

(*a*) *vi* + *smiṄ*

it-deletion

= *vismi*

(*b*) *vismi*

vismi + *ṆiC* as in (*b*) of (610) *ārohayate*

= *vismi* + *i*

(*c*) *vismi* + *i*

6.1.57 *nityaṃ smayateḥ*

= *vism*(*i* → *a*) + *i*

= *visma* + *i*

(*d*) *visma* + *i*

7.3.36 *artihrī*...

= *visma* + *pUK* + *i*

it-deletion

= *vismapi*

(*e*) *vismapi*

vismapi + *LAṬ* and the relevant rules as in (610) *ārohayate*

= *vismāpayate*

1.3.69 *gṛdhivañcyoḥ*...

(616) *gardhayate*

This example derives from (*gṛdhl* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* → *gṛdh* + *i* + *ta* as in (614) *darśayate*. Similar rules apply in deriving (617) *vañcayate* from (*vañcU* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*.

1.3.70 *liyaḥ sammānana...*
(618) *ālāpayate*
(619) *ullāpayate*

These examples derive from (*āN̐* + *līN̐* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* and (*ut* + *līN̐* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *līN̐* is used with the preverbs *āN̐* and *ut*. The derivations are similar to (615) *vismāpayate*, except that, in *ullāpayate*, the *t* of *ut* + *lāpayate* is replaced by *l* by 8.4.60 *tor lī*, and the *ī* of *lī* is replaced by *ā* by 6.1.51 *vibhāśā....*

1.3.71 *mithyopapadāt...*
(620) *kārayate*

This example is derived from (*DUkṛÑ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* + *kṛ* + *i* + *LAṬ*, where *kṛ* + *i* will produce *kār* + *i* in consonance with 7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti* read with 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...* and 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*. To derive *kārayate* from *kāri* + *LAṬ*, follow the derivation pattern of the earlier examples.

1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ...*
(621) *yajate*
(622) *pacate*
(623) *sunute*
(624) *kurute*

The first two examples derive from *yaj* + *LAṬ* and *pac* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada ta*. Deriving *yajate* and *pacate* from *yaj* + *ta* and *pac* + *ta* offers no difficulties. The last example is derived similarly to *kurute* of (542) *utkurute*. Our third example, *sunute*, is derived from *ṣuÑ* + *LAṬ*, where the root initial *ṣ* is replaced by *s* (6.1.62 *dhātvādeḥ...*). The remaining rule applications are similar to (34) *cinutaḥ*, except that *LAṬ* in the present example is replaced by *ta*. Thus: *su* + *nu* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*) → *su* + *nu* + *ta* → *sunute*.

1.3.74 *ṇicaś ca*
kārayate
See (620) under 1.3.71 *mithyopapadāt....*

1.3.75 *samud...*
(625) *saṃyacchate*
(626) *udyacchate*
See the derivations of (529) *āyacchate*, and so on, under 1.3.28.

1.3.77 *vibhāṣopapadena...*
(627) *karoti*

This example derives from *ḌUkṛÑ* + *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP* by 3.4.78 *tiptas*... and *u* is introduced after *kṛ* by 3.1.79 *tanādi*.... Given the string *kṛ* + *u* + *ti*, *ṛ* will be replaced by its *guṇa* counterpart *ar* (7.3.84) *sārvadhātuka*, read with 1.1.51 *uraṇ*...) because *u* is an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātuka*...). Given the resultant string *kar* + *u* + *ti*, *u* will undergo the same *guṇa* application. Thus: *kar* + (*u* → *o*) + *ti* = *karoti*. However, this time the conditioning suffix is *ti*, a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit*...).

1.3.78 *śeṣāt*...
(628) *yāti*
(629) *vāti*
(630) *praviśati*
(631) *āviśati*

Examples (628) *yāti* and (629) *vāti* are derived from *yā* + *LAṬ* and *vā* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP*. Since *yā* and *vā* are *adādi*, 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti*... deletes *ŚaP*.

The other two examples use the preverbs *pra* and *āṄ* before the root. Since the root belongs to the *tudādi* class, *Śa* will be introduced by 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ*... Thus: *praviś* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*) → *praviś* (*Ś* → *Ø*) *a* + (*P* → *Ø*) + *ti* = *praviśati*.

1.3.79 *anuparābhyām*...
(632) *anukaroti*
(633) *parākaroti*

The root *ḌUkṛÑ* is used here with the preverbs *anu* and *parā*. See (627) *karoti* for other details.

1.3.80 *abhipraty*...
(634) *abhikṣipati*
(635) *pratikṣipati*
(636) *atikṣipati*

The root *kṣipA* is used with preverbs *abhi*, *prati*, and *ati*. The derivational details are similar to (630) *praviśati*.

1.3.81 *prād vahaḥ*
(637) *pravahati*
(638) *pravahataḥ*
(639) *pravahanti*

The root *vahA* is used with the preverb *pra*. The remaining operations are similar to (10) *pacati*, and so on.

1.3.82 *parer mṛṣaḥ*
(640) *parimṛṣyati*
(641) *parimṛṣyataḥ*
(642) *parimṛṣyanti*

The root *mṛṣŪ* 'to endure' is used with the preverb *pari*. The derivations are similar to (10) *pacati*, and so on.

1.3.83 *vyāṅparibhyo...*
(643) *viramati*
(644) *āramati*
(645) *pariramati*
The root *ramŪ* is used with preverbs *vi*, *āṄ*, and *pari*. All these examples derive from *viram* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*), and so on.

1.3.84 *upāc ca*
(646) *uparamati*
This example is derived from *uparam* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*), where *ramŪ* is used with the preverb *upa*.

1.3.85 *vibhāṣā...*
(647) *uparamate*
This example is derived similarly to (646) *uparamati*, except that optionally *LAṬ* is replaced by *ta*. Thus: *uparam* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *ta* → *te*) = *uparamate*.

1.3.86 *budhayudha...*
(648) *bodhayati*
(649) *yodhayati*
(650) *nāśayati*
(651) *janayati*
(652) *adhyāpayati*
(653) *prāvayati*
(654) *drāvayati*
(655) *srāvayati*
The first two examples derive from *budh* + *ṆiC* + *LAṬ*, and *yudh* + *ṆiC* *LAṬ* as in (610) *ārohayate*. However, there is a marked difference here. Affix *LAṬ* is not replaced by *ātmanepada ta*, as should be the case in consonance with 1.3.74 *ṇicaś ca*. In all these examples, 1.3.86 allows *parasmaipada ti* to replace *LAṬ*.

The third example derives from (*ṇaś* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where the initial *ṇ* of the root is replaced by *n* by 6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ*. The initial *a* of *naś* + *i* undergoes *vṛddhi* as in (620) *kārayate*. The root *nāśaya* is produced by following the pattern of (610) *ārohayate*. The present rule will assign a *parasmaipada ti* replacement for *LAṬ*. The next example (651) *janayati* is similarly derived, with the *vṛddhi* of *a* in *jan* + *ṆiC* being blocked by 7.3.35 *janivadhyoś ca*.

(652) *adhyāpayati*
(*a*) *adhi* + *iṄ*
it-deletion

= *adhi* + *i*

(*b*) *adhi* + *i*

adhi + *i* + *ṆiC*, as in the previous examples

it-deletion

= *adhi* + *i* + *i*

(*c*) *adhi* + *i* + *i*

7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*

= *adhi* + (*i* → *ai*) + *i*

= *adhi* + *ai* + *i*

(*d*) *adhi* + *ai* + *i*

6.1.48 *krīñjīnām...*

= *adhi* + (*ai* → *ā*) + *i*

= *adhi* + *ā* + *i*

(*e*) *adhi* + *ā* + *i*

6.1.77 *iko...*

= *adh*(*i* → *y*) + *ā* + *i*

= *adhyā* + *i*

(*f*) *adhyā* + *i*

7.3.36 *artihrī...*

= *adhyā* + *pUK* + *i*

it-deletion

= *adhyā* + *p* + *i*

= *adhyāpi*

To derive *adhyāpayati* from *adhyāpi* + *LAṬ*, select *tiP* as a replacement of *LA* and then apply the relevant rules as in (648) *bodhayati*.

(653) *prāvayati*

This example derives from (*pru* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where given the string *pru* + *i*, *u* is replaced by *vṛddhi au* (7.1.115 *aco...*) and *au* is replaced by *āv* (6.1.78 *eco...*). This yields *pr*(*u* → *au* → *āv*) + *i* = *prāvi*, to which *LAṬ* may be introduced. The remaining rule applications are similar to the earlier examples.

Examples (654) *drāvayati* and (655) *srāvayati* are similarly derived from (*dru* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* and (*sru* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*.

1.3.87 *nigaraṇa...*

(656) *nigārayati*

This example follows (620) *kārayate*, except that *LAṬ* is replaced here by *parasmaipada ti*.

(657) *āśayati*

This example is derived from *āśA* + *ṆiC* → *āś* + *i* → *āś* + *i* + *LAṬ* → *āś* + *i* + *tiP*, according to the familiar pattern.

(658) *bhojayati*

This example is derived from *bhuj* + *ṆiC* → *bhuj* + *i* → *bhoj* + *i* → *bhoj* + *i* + *LAT* → *bhoj* + *i* + *tiP*, and so on.
(659) *calayati*
This example is derived from *calI* + *ṆiC* → *cal* + *i* → *cāl* + *i* → *cāl* + *i* → *cāl* + *i* + *LAṬ* → *cāl* + *i* + *tiP*, and so on. Note that given the string *cāl* + *i*, a result of the *vṛddhi* of *a* of *cal* + *i*, *ā* is replaced by *a* by 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*.
(660) *copayati*
This example is derived similarly to (658) *bhojayati* from (*cupĀ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*.
(661) *kampayati*
This example is derived similarly to (659) *calayati*.

1.3.88 *aṇāv...*
(662) *āste*
This example is derived from *āsĀ* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada ta*. Given the string *ās* + *ta*, *ŚaP* will be added and subsequently deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti....* Finally *ās* + *ta* will yield *āste*.
(663) *āsayati;*
This example is derived from (*āsĀ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *tiP*.
(664) *śete*
This example is derived from *śīṄ* + *LAṬ* similarly to *āste*. Note, however, that *ī* of *śī* will be replaced by *e*, its *guṇa*, by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha....*
(665) *śāyayati*
This example is derived similarly to (653) *prāvayati*, except that given the string *śī* + *i*, the *vṛddhi* replacement of the root final *ī* will be *ai*, which in turn will be replaced by *āy*. The causative root will thus be *śāyi*. The rules are the same as in (653) *prāvayati*.

1.3.89 *na pād...*
(666) *pāyayate*
This example derives from *pā* + *ṆiC* where the augment *yUK* (7.3.37 *śācchā...*) is introduced at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau...*) of *pā*. Given the string *pā* + *yUK* + *i* = *pāyi*, *LAṬ* is introduced. The present rule will not allow *parasmaipada* replacement for *LAṬ*. Consequently *LAṬ* will be replaced by *ātmanepada ta*. Follow the usual pattern to derive *pāyayate* from *pāyi* + *ŚaP* + *ta*.
(667) *damayate*
This example derives from *damU* + *ṆiC* → *dami* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*) = *dami* + *ta*. The *vṛddhi* of the *a* of *dam* will occur; however, the resultant *ā* will be shortened by 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*. Thus: *dami* + *ta* → *dāmi* + *ta* → *dami* + *ta*. The remaining rule applications are similar to the many examples already given.
(668) *āyāmayate*

This example derives from (*aṄ* + *yamĀ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *āṄ* is a preverb and given the string *āyam* + *i*, *a* of *yam* is replaced by *vṛddhi ā*. There is nothing new in deriving *āyāmayate* from *āyāmi* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*).

(669) *āyāsayate*

This example derives from (*āṄ* + *yasŪ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* as in the previous case.

(670) *parimohayate*

This example is derived like (658) *bhojayate*, except that the root *muhĀ* is used here with the preverb *pari*.

(671) *rocayate*

This example is derived similarly to (658) *bhojayate* though with *LAT* → *te*.

(672) *narttayate*

This example is derived from (*nṛtI* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *ṛ* undergoes *guṇa*. See (614) *darśayate* for other details. For the doubling of the *t*, see (475) *narttakī*.

(673) *vādayate*

This example is derived from *vadĀ* + *ṆiC*, where *a* undergoes *vṛddhi* by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Thus: *vad* + *i* → *vād* + *i* = *vādi*. Deriving *vādayate* from *vādi* + (*LAṬ* → *ta*) offers nothing new.

(674) *vāsayate*

This example is derived from (*vāsĀ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* according to the pattern of the previous example.

1.3.90 *vā kyaṣaḥ*

(675) *lohitāyati*

(676) *lohitāyate*

(677) *paṭapaṭāyati*

(678) *paṭapaṭāyate*

The first two examples are derived from *lohitāya* + *LAṬ*, where *lohitāya* is a derived root (3.1.32 *sanādy...*) ending in *KyaṢ*, a *sanādi* affix. *KyaṢ* has been introduced after *lohita* + *sŪ* by 3.1.13 *lohitād....* Thus: *lohita* + *sŪ* + *KyaṢ* → *lohita* + *sŪ* + *ya*. Rule 3.1.32 assigns the term *dhātu* and consequently 2.4.71 *supo...* deletes the *sŪ*. This yields *lohita* + (*sŪ* → *0*) + *ya* = *lohitaya*. Given the string *lohitaya* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *tiP*) = *lohitaya* + *a* + *ti*, 7.4.25 *akṛt...* replaces the first *a* of *lohitaya* + *a* with *ā*. Finally 6.1.97 *ato guṇa* applies to yield *lohitāy*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *ti* = *lohitāyati*. In (676) *lohitāyate*, *LAṬ* is replaced by *ātmanepada ta*.

The second pair of examples derives for *paṭapaṭāya* + *LAṬ*, where *paṭapaṭāya* again is a derived root. It is derived as follows.

(*a*) *paṭat*

1.2.45 *arthavad...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp...*
5.4.57 *avyaktānu...* # 8.1.12 *prakāre...*

= *paṭat* + *ḌāC* # *dvitiva*
= *paṭat* + *paṭat* + *ḌāC*
it-deletion
= *paṭat* + *paṭat* + *ā*

The doubling of *paṭat* is ordered in relation to *ḌāC* by the *vārttika ḍāci dve bhavataḥ* on 8.1.12 *prakāre....*

(*b*) *paṭat* + *paṭat* + *ā*
8.1.2 *tasya...*

The second *paṭat* is termed *āmreḍita*, and so, in view of a *vārttika* on 6.1.100 *nityam āmreḍite*, we get *paṭa*(*t* → *Ø*) + *paṭat* + *ā*.

(*c*) *paṭa* + *paṭat* + *ā*
1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.145 *ṭeḥ*
= *paṭa* + *paṭ*(*at* → *Ø*) + *ā*
= *paṭapaṭā*

(*d*) *paṭapaṭā*
follow the pattern of *lohitāyati* to derive *paṭapaṭā* + *KyaṢ* → *paṭapaṭāyate* → *paṭapaṭāya* + *LAṬ* → *paṭapaṭāyati* and *paṭapaṭāyate*

1.3.91 *dyudbhyo...*
(679) *vyadyutat*
(680) *vyadyotiṣṭa*

The first example derives from *vidyutĀ* + *LUṄ*, where *dyutĀ* 'to be illuminated' is used with the preverb *vi*. Given the string *vidyut* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*, as in (16) *akārṣīt*, *LUṄ* will be replaced by *tiP*. Furthermore instead of *SĪC* replacing *CLI*, 3.1.55 *puṣādi...* will require that *CLI* be replaced by *aṄ*. Since *aṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*, there will be no *guṇa* for the *u* of *vidyut*. Thus: *vidyut* + (*CLI* → *a*(*Ṅ* → *Ø*)) + *ti*(*P* → *Ø*) = *vidyut* + *a* + *ti*. As in (*f*) of (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*, *aṬ* may now be introduced. This will produce *vi* + *aṬ* + *dyut* + *a* + *ti*. Rule 3.4.100 *itaś ca* will now delete the *i* of *ti* as in (*e*) of (16) *akārṣīt*, and 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will replace the *i* of *vi* with *y*. Thus: *vi* + *a* + *dyut* + *a* + *t*(*i* → *Ø*) = *vi* + *a* + *dyut* + *a* + *t* → *v*(*i* → *y*) + *a* + *dyut* + *a* + *t* = *vyadyutat*.

The second example also is derived from *vidyut* + *LUṄ*. However, given the string *vidyut* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*, *CLI* is replaced by *SĪC* and *LUṄ* by *ta* as in (*c-d*) of (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*. After the introduction of *aṬ*, the string will by *vi* + *a* + *dyut* + *s* + *ta*. Rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...* will introduce *iṬ* as in (*h*) of (20) *alāvīt* and 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will replace the *i* of *vi* by *y*, yielding *vy* + *a* + *dyut* + *i* + *s* + *ta*. Rule 7.3.86 *puganta...* applies to this. The result will be *vy* + *a* + *dy*(*u* → *o*)*t* + *i* + *s* + *ta* = *vy* + *a* + *dyot* + *i* + *s* + *ta*. One may now follow (*h*) of (266) *adhyagīṣṭa* to derive *vyadyotiṣṭa*.

(681) *aluṭhat*
(682) *aloṭhiṣṭa*

These examples are derived similarly to the preceding ones.

1.3.92 *vṛdbhyaḥ syasanoḥ*
(683) *vartsyati*
(684) *avartsyat*
(685) *vivṛtsati*
(686) *vartiṣyate*
(687) *avartiṣyata*
(688) *vivartiṣate*
(689) *vartsyati*
(690) *avartsyata*
(691) *vivṛtsati*
(692) *varddhiṣyata*
(693) *vivarddhiṣate*

Example (683) *vartsyati* derives from *vṛtŪ* + *LṚṬ*, where 3.3.13 *lṛṭ śeṣe ca* introduces *LṚṬ* which is replaced by *tiP*. Rule 3.1.33 *syatāsī...* will require that affix *sya* be introduced before *LṚṬ*. This will produce *vṛt* + *sya* + *ti*. Rule 7.2.35 will require *iṬ*, but that will be blocked by 7.2.59 *na vṛdbhya....* Rule 7.3.86 *puganta...* will order *guṇa* of the penultimate *ṛ* of *vṛt*. Thus: *v(ṛ → ar)t* + *sya* + *ti* = *vartsyati*. One can similarly derive the alternate (689) *vartsyati* from *vṛdhŪ* + *LṚṬ*, where *dh* of the root gets replaced by *t*.

(684) *avartsyat*

This example derives from *vṛtŪ* + *LṚṄ*, where *LṚṄ* is introduced by 3.3.139 *liṅnimitte....* After *LṚṄ* is replaced by *tiP* and *sya* is introduced, the result will be *vṛt* + *sya* + *ti*. One may now introduce *aṬ*, apply *guṇa*, and delete the *i* of *ti* as in (16) *akārṣīt* and many other examples. Thus: *aṬ* + *v(ṛ → ar)t* + *sya* + *t(i* → *Ø)* = *avartsyat*. Similar rules apply in deriving (691) *avartsyata* from *vṛdhŪ* + *LṚṄ*.

(685) *vi·ṛtsati*

This example derives from (*vṛt* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*, where by following (*a-f*) of (584) *didṛkṣate*, *vivṛt* + *sa* will be produced. Deriving *vivṛtsati* from *vivṛtsa* + *LAṬ* offers nothing new. Note here that 1.2.10 *halantāc ca* will be instrumental in blocking *guṇa* of *ṛ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (691) *vivṛtsati* from (*vṛdhŪ* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*

(686) *vartiṣyate*

This example derives from *vṛtŪ* + *LṚṬ*, where *LṚṬ* gets replaced by *ātmanepada ta*. Given the string *vṛt* + *ta*, *sya* and *iṬ* will be introduced as in *vartsyati* and *vyadyotiṣṭa*. The result will be *vṛt* + *sya* + *ta* → *vṛt* + *iṬ* + *sya* + *ta* = *vṛt* + *i* + *sya* + *ta*. After the *guṇa* of *ṛ* and the changing of *ta* to *te*, the *s* of *sya* will be replaced by *ṣ*. Thus: *v(ṛ → ar)t* + *i* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*ya* + (*ta* → *te*) = *vartiṣyate*. Note here that *iṬ* cannot be blocked as in (683) *vartsyati*. One may similarly derive *vardhiṣyate* from *vṛdhŪ* + *LṚṬ*.

(687) *avartiṣyata*

This example is derived from *vṛtŪ* + *LṚN* similarly to (684) *avartsyat*. Affix *LṚN* here optionally is replaced by *ta*. The remaining operations (*sya*, *iṬ*, *aṬ*, *guṇa* of *ṛ*, and *s* → *ṣ*) offer nothing new.

(688) *vivartiṣate*

This example derives from (*vṛt* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* as in *vivṛtsati*. However, in this example *LAṬ* optionally gets replaced by *ātmanepada te*. Also *iṬ*, *guṇa* of *ṛ*, and change of *s* → *ṣ* occur. For details, see the preceding examples.

The examples derived from *vṛdhŪ* are quite similar.

1.3.93 *luṭi ca klṛpaḥ*

(694) ***kalptā***

(695) ***kalptārau***

(696) ***kalptāraḥ***

These three examples are derived from *kṛpŪ* + *LUṬ* as follows.

(*a*) *kṛpŪ*
it-deletion
= *kṛp*

(*b*) *kṛp*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*
= *kṛp* + *LUṬ*

(*c*) *kṛp* + *LUṬ*
3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptas...*
2.4.85 *luṭaḥ...*
= *kṛp* + (*LUṬ* → *Ḍā*)
it-deletion
= *kṛp* = *ā*

(*d*) *kṛp* + *ā*
3.1.33 *syatāsī...*
= *kṛp* + *tās* + *ā*

(*e*) *kṛp* + *tās* + *ā*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* # 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi...*
= *kṛp* + *t*(*ās* → Ø) + *ā*
= *kṛp* + *tā*

(*f*) *kṛp* + *tā*
7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...*
= *k*(*ṛ* → *ar*)*p* + *tā*
= *karp* + *tā*

(*g*) *karp* + *tā*
8.2.18 *kṛpo rolaḥ*
= *ka*(*r* → *l*)*p* + *tā*
= *kalptā*

Examples (695) *kalptārau* and (696) *kalptāraḥ* are derived by replacing *LUṬ* by *rau* and *ras* respectively in (*c*). At (*e*) only the *s* of *tās* is deleted, since the affixes *rau* and *ras* begin with *r* (see 7.4.51 *ri ca*). This will yield *kṛp* + *tā* + *rau* and *kṛp* + *tā* + *ras*. The remaining rule applications are similar. Note, however, that *iṬ* will be blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāca*..., and the final *s* of *kalptāras* will yield *ḥ* by *s-visarga*.

The other examples follow the derivational pattern of those under 1.3.92 *vṛdbhyaḥ*... and many previous rules.

1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*

(697) *bhettā*

(698) *chettā*

This example is derived from *bhidIR* + *tṛC*. Its derivation is similar to that of (8) *cetā* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*), where *tṛC* is introduced by 3.1.133 *ṇvul tṛcau*. Given the string *bhid* (*IR* → *it*-deletion) + *tṛ*, rule 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu* assigns the term *laghu* to the short *i* of *bhid*. This, in turn, necessitates the *guṇa* (1.1.2) replacement for the penultimate (*upadhā* cf. 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*) *laghu* vowel *i* of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*...) *bhid*. This yields *bh*(*i* → *e*)*d* + *tṛ*. The rest of the steps to derive *bhettā* are similar to (8) *cetā*, except that the *d* of *bhed* + *tṛ* is changed into *t* by 8.4.55 *khari ca*. Similar rule applications on *chid* + *tṛC* will yield (698) *chettā*. Note that these examples illustrate the scope of the term *laghu*, and operations obtaining as a result of this term assignment.

(699) *śikṣā*

(700) *bhikṣā*

These examples illustrate the scope of the technical term *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*), whereby a *hrasva* 'short' vowel is termed *guru* before a conjunct (*saṃyoga*). Thus, for the reason that the short *i* of both *śikṣ* and *bhikṣ* is followed by the conjunct *kṣ*, *i* will be assigned the term *guru*. These examples are derived from *śikṣā* + *sU* and *bhikṣā* + *sU*, where *śikṣā* and *bhikṣā* are feminine forms ending in *ṬāP*. Given the roots *śikṣ* and *bhikṣ*, *i* will be termed *guru*. Consequently, rule 3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ* will introduce affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *a* after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) a verb root (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) which terminates in a consonant (*hL* cf. *Śs*, 5-14) and contains a *guru* vowel (*gurumān*). This is, of course, provided that the derivate is to signify feminine, or *bhāva* 'root-sense', or a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*.

Needless to say, *śikṣ* and *bhikṣ* meet these requirements. The resultant forms *śikṣ* + *a* = *śikṣa* and *bhikṣ* + *a* = *bhikṣa* are assigned the term *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasmāsāś ca*), since they end in an affix termed *kṛt* (3.1.9 *kṛd atiṅ*). Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* then introduces affix *Ṭāp* after a nominal stem (4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*) belonging to the list headed by *aja* 'goat', or ending in *a*. Note that affix *Ṭāp* is introduced to denote feminine (4.1.3 *striyām*). This yields *sikṣa* + *ā* which, after the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*, yields *śikṣa* + *ā* = *śikṣā*.

1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*
(701) *vṛkṣābhyām*
(702) *plakṣābhyām*
(703) *vṛkṣeṣu*
(704) *plakṣeṣu*
(705) *vṛkṣebhyaḥ*
(706) *plakṣebhyaḥ*

Our first example (701) *vṛkṣābhyām* is derived by introducing the fourth (*caturthī*) or fifth (*pañcamī*) dual (*dvivacana*) nominal ending (*vibhakti*) *bhyām* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) after the nominal stem (*prātipadika*) *vṛkṣa*, to denote either the dative (*sampradāna*; 1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam*) or ablative (*apādāna*; 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*). Given the string *vṛkṣa* + *bhyām*, rule 7.3.102 *supi ca*, read with 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*, would require the lengthening of the final *a* of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*; 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*); i.e., *vṛkṣa*. Thus we get: *vṛkṣ(a → ā)* + *bhyām* = *vṛkṣā* + *bhyām* = *vṛkṣābhyām*. Our next example (702) *plakṣābhyām* is similarly derived from *plakṣa* + *bhyām*.

The next example, (703) *vṛkṣeṣu* which is the locative plural of *vṛkṣa*, is derived by introducing the seventh (*saptamī*) plural (*bahuvacana*) ending *sUP* after *vṛkṣa* to denote 'locus' (*adhikaraṇa*). Given the string *vṛkṣa* + *su*, rule 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* would require that the *aṅga*- final *a* be replaced with *e*. Thus, we get *vṛkṣ(a → e)* + *su* = *vṛkṣe* + *su*. The *s* of *su* will subsequently be replaced with *ṣ*, and we will then have *vṛkṣe* + (*s* → *ṣ*)*u* = *vṛkṣeṣu*. Similar rules apply to derive *plakṣeṣu* from *plakṣa* + *su*.

The last two, (705) *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* and (706) *plakṣebhyaḥ*, are the dative or ablative plural forms of *vṛkṣa* and *plakṣa*. Given the string *vṛkṣa* + *bhyas*, rules 7.3.102 *supi ca* and 7.3.103 *bhahūvacane jhaly et* will both become equally applicable. The result could be either *vṛkṣ(a* → *ā)* + *bhyas* = **vṛkṣābhyas*, or *vṛkṣ* ((*a* → *e*) + *bhyas* = *vṛkṣebhyas*. Obviously, **vṛkṣābhyas* is wrong.

Rule 1.4.2 requires a situation of conflict (*vipratiṣedha*) between two rules of equal strength (*tulyabala*). A major requirement for proving that two rules are equal in strength is that the rules must have their valid scope of application elsewhere (*anyatra*). Note here that (701) *vṛkṣābhyām* and (702) *plakṣābhyām* illustrate instances where 7.3.102 *supi ca* finds its scope, independently of the situation of conflict with 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*. Similarly, 7.3.103 finds its valid scope independently of the situation of conflict with 7.3.102 *supi ca* in (705) *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* and (707) *plakṣebhyaḥ*. Given the fact that these two rules have their independent scope of application elsewhere, one must invoke rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...* to resolve the conflict in deriving (705) *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* and (706) *plakṣebhyaḥ*. Accordingly, rule 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* will block the application of 7.3.102 *supi ca*, as 7.2.103 is subsequent to 7.2.102. Thus, *vṛkṣa* + *bhyas* and *plakṣa* + *bhyas* could only

yield *vṛkṣe* + *bhyas* and *plakṣe* + *bhyas*. The *s* of *bhyas* will go through *r-visarga* and we will get: *vṛkṣe* + *bhya(s* → *ḥ)* = *vṛkṣebhyaḥ*. Similarly, one can derive (706) *plakṣebhyaḥ*.

1.4.3 *yū stryākhyau nadī*
(707) *kumārī*
(708) *gaurī*
(709) *lakṣmīḥ*
(710) *śārṅgaravī*
(711) *brahmabandhūḥ*
(712) *yavāgūḥ*

The first set of four examples have their derived feminine bases, i.e., *kumārī; gaurī; lakṣmīḥ;* and *śārṅgaravī*, ending in *ī*. The second set of two examples. i.e., *brahmabandhūḥ* and *yavāgūḥ*, have bases ending in *ū*. The first two examples, (*kumārī; gaurī*) are derived by introducing the feminine (4.1.3 *striyām*) affixes (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *ṄīP* and *ṄīṢ* (4.1.20 *vayasi pṛthame;* 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurā...* after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) the nominal stems (*prātipadika* cf. 1.2.45 *arthavad...;* 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*) *kumāra* and *gaura*. Given the strings *kumāra* + *ṄīP* = *kumāra* + *ī* and *gaura* + *ṄīṢ* = *gaura* + *ī*, rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* would delete the *a* of *kumāra* and *gaura* (*aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt....*) and *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*)). In addition, these forms are occurring before the feminine affixes constituted by *ī*. This will yield the forms *kumārī* and *gaurī*, after which *sŪ*, the nominative singular ending, can be introduced by rule 4.1.2 *svaujas...*, read with 4.1.1 *ṅyap-prātipadikāt*.

Of course, other rules relating to the selection of *sŪP* will be brought into focus. Given the strings *kumārī* + *s(Ū* → *∅)* = *kumārī* + *s*, and *gaurī* + *s(Ū* → *∅)* = *gaurī* + *s*, the *s* is termed *apṛkta* (1.2.47 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*) and is deleted by 6.1.68 *halṇyābhyo....*The two words *kumārī* and *gaurī* still qualify to be called a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*), even though their affix has been deleted (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*). Note that these examples have been cited in connection with the assignment of the term *nadī*. They have not been mentioned in the derivation, nor has the purpose of assigning them been shown. Commentators class such examples as *rūpodāharaṇa* 'examples illustrating a form refered to by a term' and contrast them with, for example, *kāryodāharaṇa*, which illustrates the function of the term assignment. Obviously, *kumārī* and *gaurī* are examples illustrating the form to which the term *nadī* may be applicable.

Our example (709) *lakṣmīḥ* is also an instance of *rūpodāharaṇa*. Thus, *lakṣmīḥ* is derived from *lakṣmī* + *sŪ*, where *lakṣmī*, the base, is derived by introducing the *Uṇādi* affix *ī* (*Uṇādi* 448 *lakṣer muṭ ca*) after the verbal root *lakṣ* 'appearance, mark'. Note that the *Uṇādi* affix is introduced along with the augment *mUṬ*. That is, *lakṣ* + (*mUṬ* → *m*) + *ī* = *lakṣ* + *m* + *ī* = *lakṣmī*. Rule 1.2.45 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika*, as *lakṣmī* is

derived by introducing a *kṛt* affix after a verbal root. Given the string *lakṣmī* + *sŪ* = *lakṣmī* + *s*, rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābhyo...* cannot delete *s*, as *lakṣmī* does not end in a feminine affix marked with *Ṅ* or *P*. This clears the way for *s-visarga: lakṣmī* + (*s* = *ḥ*) = *lakṣmīḥ*.

Our next example (710) *śārṅgaravī* is derived by introducing the feminine affix *ṄīN* after the nominal stem *śārṅgarava* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravād yaño ṅīn*). Given the string *śārṅgarava* + (*Ṅ* → Ø)*i*(*N* → Ø) = *śārṅgarava* + *ī*, follow the derivational pattern of *kumārī*.

The last two examples, (711) *brahmabandhūḥ* and (712) *yavāgūḥ*, illustrate forms ending in *ū*. Given the string *brahmabandhu* + *ūṄ*, where *ūṄ* is a feminine affix introduced after *brahmabandhu*, a complex nominal stem denoting 'humans' (*manuṣyajāti;* 4.1.66 *Ūṅutaḥ*), rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrgaḥ* will apply. Thus, *brahmabandhu* + *ū*(*Ṅ* → Ø) = *brahmabandhu* + *ū* = *brahmabandhū*. Affix *āgūC* is introduced after the verbal root *yū* 'to mix' by the *Uṇādi* rule 3.81 *sṛyuvacibhyo' nyujāgūjaknucaḥ*. Given the string *yū* + *āgū* (*C* → Ø), *ū* of *yū*, an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) termed *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), will be replaced by its *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) counterpart *o* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*). Now rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāḥ* applies to *y*(*ū* → *o*) + *āgū* = *yo* + *agu* to yield *y*(*o* → *av*) + *āgū* = *yav* + *āgū* = *yavāgūḥ*. Deriving *brahmabandhūḥ* from *brahmabandhū* + *sŪ*, and *yavāgūḥ* from *yavāgū* + *sŪ* is not problematic. For, in the absence of the deletion of *s*, one would apply *s-visarga*.

These examples, as I have indicated earlier, illustrate only the forms to which the term *nadī* could be applicable. For a functional illustration (*kāryodāharaṇa*) of the assignment of the term *nadī*, consider the dative singular forms of the preceding examples, such as *kumāryai*, the dative singular form of (707) *kumārī*. We begin with the string *kumārī* + (*Ṅ* → Ø)*e* = *kumāri* + *e*, where *Ṅe* is the fourth triplet (*caturthī*) singular (*ekavacana*) nominal ending introduced after *kumārī*, a form ending in the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*). The nominal ending (*vibhakti*) *Ṅe* is introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujas...*, though its selection is made on the basis of its function to denote *sampradāna* (2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne*). Now let us return to *kumārī* + *e*, where rule 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī* assigns the term *nadī* to *kumārī* because it ends in *ī* and denotes feminine. Rule 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ*, in the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) domain (6.4.1 *aṅgasya*), will then introduce the augment (*āgama*) *āṬ*. This will give us: *kumārī* + *ā*(*Ṭ* → Ø) + *e* = *kumārī* + *ā* + *e*. Note that since *āṬ* is marked with *Ṭ*, rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* will regulate the introduction of *āṬ* before *e*. Subsequent to this, but still with reference to *āṬ* conditioned by the term *nadī*, rule 6.1.87 *āṭaś ca* will order a single (*eka*) *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*) replacement (*ādeśa*) in place of both the *ā* of *āṬ* and the *e* of the nominal ending. The result will be: *kumārī*(*ā* + *e* → *ai*) = *kumārī* + *ai*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will now apply to yield: *kumār*(*ī* → *y*) + *ai* = *kumāry* + *ai* = *kumāryai*. Note that operations relative to *āṬ* are the results of the assignment of the term *nadī*.

1.4.4 *neyaṅuvaṅsthānāv astrī*
(713) *he śrīḥ*
(714) *he bhrūḥ*

These examples are in the vocative (*sambodhana*), where *he* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). They are derived from *śrī* + *sŨ* and *bhrū* + *sŨ*, similar to *lakṣmīḥ* and *brahmabandhūḥ*, which are derived from *lakṣmī* + *sŨ* and *brahmabandhū* + *sŨ* respectively. Both *śrī* and *bhrū* are forms for which a replacement (*ādeśa*) in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* is respectively ordered by rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvām....* It is in this sense that *śrī* and *bhrū* and forms similar to them are termed the substituenda (*sthānin*) of *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*. The application of rule 6.4.77 results in the derivation of forms such as *śriyau* 'nominative dual', *śriyaḥ* 'nominative plural', and, in the case of *bhrū*, *bhruvau* 'nominative dual', and *bhruvaḥ* 'nominative plural', etc. If the assignment of the term *nadī* is not blocked in the case of *śrī* and *bhrū*, or in the case of a similar form covered by this rule, wrong forms will result. That is, rule 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ* would order a short replacement for the long *ī* and *ū* of *śrī* and *bhrū*.

1.4.5 *vā' mi*
(715) *śriyām*
(716) *śrīṇām*
(717) *bhruvām*
(718) *bhrūṇām*

The above two sets of examples illustrate the optional genitive plural forms of *śrī* and *bhrū*, derived respectively from *śrī* + *ām* and *bhrū* + *ām*. In these derivations, the option of either assigning or not assigning the term *nadī* results in two forms in each set. Given the string *śrī* + *ām*, where *ām* (genitive plural) is introduced after *śrī* (*sŨP*-selection), rule 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* orders the augment *nUṬ* on the strength of the assignment of the term *nadī*. Note that augment *nUṬ* is being introduced with reference to the genitive plural ending *ām*. As a consequence, and in accordance with the specification of rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*, *n*(*UṬ* → *0*) is introduced at the beginning of *ām*, thereby yielding *śrī* + (*n* + *ām*) = *śrī* + *nām*. The *n* of *nām* is replaced by *ṇ* by rule 8.4.1 *raṣābhyām no ṇaḥ samānapade*. The same rule application will result in the derivation of (718) *bhrūṇām*.

Clearly, the introduction of the augment *nUṬ* and the subsequent replacement of *n* by *ṇ* takes place as a result of accepting the option of assigning the term *nadi* to *śrī* and *bhrū*. If on the other hand, this option of assigning the term *nadī* is not accepted, the genitive plural forms of *śrī* and *bhrū* will be *śriyām* and *bhruvām*. That is, the *ī* and *ū* of *śrī* and *bhrū* will be replaced by *iy* and *uv* respectively. The result will be: *śr*(*ī* → *iy*) + *ām* and *bhr*(*ū* → *uv*) + *ām* = *śriyām* and *bhruvām*. This will be accomplished by rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu...*

1.4.6 *ṅiti hrasvaś ca*
(719) *kṛtyai*
(720) *kṛtaye*
(721) *dhenvai*
(722) *dhenave*
(723) *śriyai*
(724) *śriye*
(725) *bhruvai*
(726) *bhruve*

Note that in each of the above four sets, both forms are alternate dative singulars. That is, *kṛti* + *Ṅe*, *dhenu* + *Ṅe*, *śrī* + *Ṅe* and *bhrū* + *Ṅe* have each yielded two forms, depending on whether or not the option of assigning the term *nadī* was accepted. Of course, *Ṅe* is the dative singular ending (refer to the derivation of *kumāryai* under rule 1.4.3, above).

If the option of assigning the term *nadī* is accepted, the first of the above examples in each set will be derived. Given the string *kṛti* + (*Ṅ* → *0*)*e* = *kṛti* + *e*, and the fact that the term *nadī* is assigned, rule 7.3.112 will introduce *āṬ*. Thus: *kṛti* + *ā*(*Ṭ* → *0*) + *e*. The *ā* and *e* will then be replaced by a single *vṛddhi* vowel, *ai*. This will give: *kṛti* + (*ā* + *e* → *ai*) = *kṛti* + *ai*. Finally, the *i* of *kṛti* will be replaced by *y*.

For details of these derivational steps and relevant rules, see the derivation of *kumāryai*. Practically the same rule applications will give forms such as (721) *dhenvai*. Note that accepting the option of assigning the term *nadī* will result in the introduction of *āṬ*, single *vṛddhi* replacement and the substitution of *i/u* by *y/v*. This takes care of the derivation of the first example in each set.

The second examples are those where the option of assigning the term *nadī* has not been taken. This would cause the application of rule 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*, whereby the term *ghi* will be assigned. Given the string *kṛti* + *e*, where *kṛti* is assigned the term *ghi*, rule 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* will assign *guṇa*, thereby yielding: *kṛt* (*i* → *e*) + *e* = *kṛte* + *e*. Forms like *dheu* + *e* which end in *u* would yield: *dhen*(*u* → *o*) +*e* = *dhen*(*u* → *o*) + *e*. Subsequent to this, the *e* of *kṛte* and the *o* of *dheno* will be replaced by *ay* and *av* as demanded by rule 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*. Thus: *kṛt*(*e* → *ay*) + *e* and *dhen*(*o* → *av*) + *e* = *kṛtay* + *e* = *kṛtaye* and *dhenav* + *e* = *dhenave*. This shows that refusing the option of assigning the term *nadī* results in the assignment of the terms *ghi* and *guṇa* along with a replacement in *ay/av*. But this only happens in the case of forms which end in short *i/u*. For, the term *ghi* cannot be assigned to a form ending in a long *ī/ū*.

This brings us to the question of possible results in the case of the examples of this rule where the option of assigning the term *nadī* is not accepted, and where long *ī/ū* are involved. Those examples are (723) *śriyai* and (725) *bhruvai*. Given the string *śrī* +*e* and *bhrū* + *e*, where the term *nadī*

is not assigned, the *ī* and *ū* will be replaced by *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*. That is: *śr(ī → iy(AṄ → 0)) + e = śriy + e = śriye;* and *bhr(ū → uv (AṄ → 0) + e = bhruv + e = bhruve.* The rule that orders the *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* replacement is again 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu*

1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*
(727) *agnaye*
(728) *sakhye*
(729) *vāyave*
(730) *sakhyuḥ*
(731) *sakhyā*
(732) *sakhyau*

The first two examples can be derived like (720) *kṛtaye* and (722) *dhenave* of the preceding rule.

Our next four examples are taken to illustrate why *sakhi* must be excluded from being assigned the term *ghi*. The first example is the instrumental singular *sakhyā* derived from *sakhi* + *Ṭā*. Given the string *sakhi* + *(Ṭ → 0) ā = sakhi + ā*, rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will replace the *i* with *y*, thus yielding *sakh (i → y) + ā = sakhyā*. Note that had *sakhi* been allowed to be termed *ghi*, rule 7.3.120 *āṅo nāstriyām* would have required the instrumental singular ending *(Ṭ)ā* to be replaced by *nā*. This would have resulted in the wrong form **sakhinā*. Also note that one of the functions of assigning the term *ghi* is to facilitate the application of rule 7.3.120, whereby under certain conditions the instrumental singular ending *(Ṭ)ā* could be replaced by *nā*.

The next example (728) *sakhye* is the dative singular, derived similarly to (720) *kṛtaye*. This illustrates that, in the absence of the assignment of the term *ghi* to *sakhi*, rule 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* cannot order the replacement of the *i* of *sakhi + (Ṅ → 0)e* by the corresponding *guṇa* vowel *e*. Thus, assigning the term *ghi* serves the purpose of facilitating the application of 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti*.

The following example, (730) *sakhyuḥ*, may be interpreted as either the ablative or the genitive singular form. In both instances, the derivation will start with *sakhi + as*, with the understanding that *as* may be that of *ṄasI*, ablative singular, or *Ṅas*, genitive singular. The *i* of *sakhi* will be replaced by *y* by rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Rule 6.1.112 *khyāt parasya* would further require that the *a* of *as* be replaced by *u*. This would yield: *sakh(i → y) + (a → u)s = sakhy + us*. Finally, *s-visarga* will yield *sakhyu(s → r → ḥ) = sakhyuḥ*. Note that, if *ghi* had been assigned to *sakhi*, 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* would also have required *guṇa*.

Our last example (732) *sakhyau* is a locative singular form underlying *sakhi + Ṅi*. The *i* of *(Ṅ → 0)i* is replaced by *au*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* can now replace the *i* of *sakhi* to produce *sakh(i → y) + au = sakhyau*. Note that

the replacement of the locative singular *Ṅi* by *au* is made possible by denying *sakhi* the assignment of the terms *nadī* or *ghi*.

1.4.8 *patiḥ samāsa eva*
(733) *prajāpatinā*
(734) *prajāpataye*
(735) *patyā*
(736) *patye*

The word *prajāpatinā* is the instrumental singular of *prajāpati*. It is a compound (*samāsa*) termed nominal stem (*prātipadika*) underlying *prajāpati* + *Ṭā*. Given *prajāpati* + (*Ṭ* → *0*)*ā* = *prajāpati* + *ā*, as in *sakhi* + *ā* of (731) *sakhyā*, rule 1.4.8 will assign the term *ghi*; and as a consequence rule 7.3.120 *āṅo nā' striyām* will require that *ā* be replaced by *nā*. The result will be *prajāpati* + (*ā* → *nā*) = *prajāpati* + *nā* = *prajāpatinā*. Recall that if *sakhi* were not disallowed from being termed *ghi*, its instrumental singular would have been **sakhinā* and not (731) *sakhyā*. This is the purpose of assigning the term *ghi*.

The compound base *prajāpati* is derived from *prajā* + *Ṅas* + *pati* + *sU̐*, where *prajā* + *Ṅas*--which is a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*)--ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*; 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*). It is syntactically related (*samartha*; 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*) to *pati* + *sU̐*, another *pada* ending in the nominative. The compound (2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*) is a *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) ordered by 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*, whereby a nominal *pada* ending in the genitive can be combined with a syntactically related nominal *pada* (2.1.4 *saha supā*). The word *ṣaṣṭhī*, in rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī* which allows the compound formation, is used in the nominative (*prathamā*). Consequently, in view of rule 1.2.43 *prathamā nirdiṣṭa samāsa upasarjanam*, an item specified by the nominative in a rule which allows compound formation is termed *upasarjana* 'secondary'. Such an item is *prajā* + *Ṅas*, as the *ṣaṣṭhī* of 2.2.8 specifies a *pada* which is in the genitive. This being the case, 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* will order that the item which is termed *upasarjana* be placed first in the compound. The result is: *prajā* + *Ṅas* + *pati* + *sU̐*.

Since it is now a *samāsa* 'compound', this item can be termed a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* will therefore delete the *sUP*, (in this case *Ṅas* and *sU̐*) which forms part of the nominal stem. Now we have: *prajā* + (*Ṅas* → *0*) + *pati* + (*sU̐* → *0*) = *prajā* + *pati* = *prajāpati*.

Note that 4.1.2 read with 4.1.1 can here introduce the nominal ending, such as *Ṭā*, to derive *prajāpatinā*. This compound is optional (*vā*). That is, if the option of combining the *pada* is not accepted, the result will be a fully derived *pada*: *prajāyāḥ patiḥ*. Remember, too, that a compound base such as *prajāpati* will be masculine, in accordance with the second member *pati* (2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*).

Example (734) *prajāpataye* is derived like (720) *kṛtaye*, from *prajāpati* + (*Ṅ* → *0*) *e*.

The last two, (735) *patyā* and (736) *patye*, are given as counter-examples to show what happens when the word *pati* is not assigned the term *ghi*. In that case, we will get (735) *patyā* and (736) *patye*, the instrumental and dative singular forms. That is, given the string *pati* + (*Ṭ* → *0*)*ā*, *ā* cannot be replaced by *nā*. This is because *pati* cannot be called *ghi*. Instead, rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply to yield: *pat*(*i* → *y*) + *ā* = *paty* + *ā* = *patyā*. The derivation of (736) *patye* from *pati* + (*Ṅ* → *0*)*e* involves the same rule application. Thus we get: *pat*(*i* → *y*) + *e* = *paty* + *e* = *patye*.

1.4.9 *ṣaṣṭhīyuktaś chandasi vā*
(737) *pataye*
patye (see (736) under rule 1.4.8)

This rule allows an optional assignment of the term *ghi* to the word *pati* in Vedic, provided the word occurs in conjunction with a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Thus we have (737) *pataye* and (736) *patye*, derived from *pati* + (*Ṅ*)*e*, under the condition that these occur together with words such as *kuluñcānām*, a genitive derived from *kuluñca* + *ām*. Of course, the genitive nominal ending *ām*, a plural, is introduced after *kuluñca*, by 4.1.2 *svaujas...*, taking into consideration also rules such as: 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*; 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*, etc. Augment *nUṬ* is introduced to *ām* occurring after an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*), in this case *kuluñca*, which ends in a short (*hrasva*) vowel. The rule which introduces this *nUṬ* is 7.1.54 *hrasva nadyāpo nuṭ*, which is contained in the domain of 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, and also takes the *anuvṛtti* of 7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ*. In view of rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*, this will give: *kuluñca* + *n*(*UṬ* → *0*) + *ām* = *kuluñca* + *n* + *ām* = *kuluñca* + *nām*. Rule 6.4.3 *nāmi* can now introduce a long replacement for the short final vowel of an *aṅga* occurring before *nām*. Thus, *kuluñc*(*a* → *ā*) + *nām* = *kuluñcā* + *nām* = *kuluñcānām*.

Note that *pati* is assigned the term *ghi* in the Vedic under the circumstances discussed as above only optionally, and this is why we get the two forms (737) *pataye* and *patye*.

1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*
bhettā
chettā (already derived as (697) and (698) under rule 1.4.1.
(738) *acīkarat*
(739) *ajīharat*

(738) *acīkarat*
(*a*) *DUkṛÑ*

After *it*-deletion follow steps similar to (*a*) of (240) *āṭiṭat*. This will give *kṛ* + *i*.

(b) kṛ + i

Follow rules similar to step (*f*) of (201) *akurutām*. The result will be *k*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *i* = *kar* + *i*

(*c*) *kar* + *i*

Follow step (*b*) through (*g*) of (240) *āṭiṭat*

= *k*(*a* → *ā*)*r* + *i* = *kār* + *i*
= *kār* + *i*
= *kar* + *a* + *t*

(*d*) *kar* + *a* + *t*

6.1.1 *ekāco...*
6.1.11 *caṅi*
1.1.59 *dvir vacane' ci* (also refer to *Mbh*. I: ad 1.1.58 *nau kṛtam...*
= *kṛ* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

(*e*) *kṛ* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
7.4.66 *urat* #
\# 1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
\# 1.1.50 *uraṇ raparaḥ*
= *k*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *kar* + *a* + *t*
= *kar* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

(*f*) *kar* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*
= *ka* (*r* → *Ø*) + *kar* + *a* + *t*
= *ka* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

(*g*) *ka* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* # 1.4.50 *sthāne...*
= (*k* → *c*)*a* + *kar* + *a* + *t*
= *ca* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

(*h*) *ca* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

6.4.71 *luṅlaṅ...* # 1.1.46 *ādyantau...*
= *a*(*Ṭ* → *Ø*) + *ca* + *kar* + *a* + *t*
= *a* + *ca* + *kar* + *a* + *t*
= *a* + *ca* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

(*i*) *a* + *ca* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

7.4.93 *sanval laghu...*
7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*
= *a* + *c*(*a* → *i*) + *kar* + *a* + *t*
= *a* + *ci* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

(*j*) *a* + *ci* + *kar* + *a* + *t*

7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*
= *a* + *c*(*i* → *ī*) + *kar* + *a* + *t*
= *a* + *cī* + *kar* + *a* + *t*
= *acīkarat*

Similar rules will apply in deriving (739) *ajīharat* from *hṛÑ* + *ṆiC*. Note, however, that given the string *ha* + *har* + *a* + *t*, parallel to the results at step (*f*) of *acīkarat*, rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* will change the first *h* to *jh* thus yielding: *jha* + *har* + *a* + *t*. Subsequently, the *jh* will be replaced with *ja* by rule 8.4.53 *abhyāse carca*. Other rule applications are similar to (738) *acīkarat*.

1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*
(740) *kuṇḍā*
(741) *huṇḍā*
śikṣā
bhikṣā Derived under 1.4.1 as (699) and (700)

Our first example (740) *kuṇḍā* is derived from the verbal root *kuḍI* as follows:

(*a*) *kuḍI*
1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātabaḥ*
1.3.2 *upadeśe' j anusnāsika it*
1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*
= *kuḍ* (*I* → *∅*)
= *kuḍ*

(*b*) *kuḍ*
7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*
1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*
= *ku* + *nUM* + *ḍ* (*it*-deletion)
= *ku* + *n*(*UM* → *∅*) + *ḍ*
= *ku* + *n* + *ḍ*
= *kunḍ*

(*c*) *kunḍ*
1.1.7 *halo' anantarā saṃyogaḥ*
1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*
3.1.93 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*
= *kunḍ* + *a*
= *kunḍa*

(*d*) *kunḍa*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.3 *striyām*
4.1.4 *ajādy-ataṣ ṭāp*
kunḍa + *Ṭāp* → *it*-deletion
kunḍa + (*Ṭ* → *∅*)*ā* (*P* → *∅*)
= *kunḍa* + *ā*

(*e*) *kunḍa* + *ā*
6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*

= *kunḍ* (*a* + *ā* → *ā*)
= *kunaā*

(*f*) *kundā*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...*, # *sŪP*-placement
= *kunḍā* + *sU*

(*g*) *kunḍā* + *sŪ*

6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...*
= *kunḍā* + (*sŪ* → *Ø*)
= *kunḍā*

(*h*) *kunḍā*

1.4.14 *suptiṇantaṃ padam*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*
= *ku* (*n* → *ṃ*) *ḍā*
= *kuṃḍā*

(*i*) *kuṃḍā*

8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*
= *ku* (*ṃ* → *ṇ*) *ḍā*
= *kuṇḍā*

Note that the basic function of the assignment of the term *guru* in case of the *u* of *kunḍ* (see steps (*b*) and (*c*) above) is to enable *kunḍ* to receive the suffix *a*. The fact that a short vowel (*hrasva*), in the present case *u*, is occurring before a *saṃyoga* (1.1.7 *halo' nantarāḥ...*) and is assigned the term *guru* is relevant to the assignment of the term. Similar rule applications would yield (741) *hunḍā* from *huḍI*.

1.4.12 *dīrghaṃ ca*
īkṣāñcakre
īhāñcakre

These derivations are given under (602) and (603) with reference to rule 1.3.63 *ām pratyayavat....* Note that the assignment of the term *dīrgha* to a short vowel occurring before a *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' allows *saṃjñā-samāveśa* 'class-inclusion', which otherwise would not have been possible in this domain of *ekasaṃjñā*. Furthermore, this class-inclusion facilitates certain operations which would not have been available to certain strings. For details see the relevant steps in the derivations of the examples cited under this rule.

1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*
karttā
karttā (Derived under 1.1.51 as (177) and (178)).

(742) *kariṣyati*
(743) *hariṣyati*
(744) *akariṣyat*

aupagavaḥ (Derived under 1.1.1 as (1)).
kāpaṭavaḥ (Derived as (428) under 1.2.46).

(742) *kariṣyati*

(*a*) *ḌUkṛÑ*

it-deletion
= *kṛ*
Follow the derivational steps of (683) *vartsyati*

(*b*) *kṛ* + *sya* + *ti*

7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe*
7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*
7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ sye*
1.1.46 *ādyantau...*
= *kṛ* + *iṬ* + *sya* + *ti*
= *kṛ* + *i*(*Ṭ* → *∅*) + *sya* + *ti*

(*c*) *kṛ* + *isya* + *ti*

7.3.84 *sārvadhātukarddhadhātukayoḥ*
= *k* (*ṛ* → *ar*) + *isya* + *ti*
= *kar* + *isya* + *ti*

(*d*) *kar* + *isya* + *ti*

8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*
= *kar* + *i*(*s* → *ṣ* (*ya*)) + *ti*
= *kar* + *iṣya* + *ti*
= *kariṣyati*

One can similarly derive (743) *hariṣyati*. Note that the immediate effect of the assignment of the term *aṅga*, in the above examples, to *kṛ* and *hṛ* is to allow the *guṇa* by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha....* Additionally, the term *aṅga* is instrumental in the introduction of the augment *iṬ* by 7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ...*

(744) *akariṣyat*

(*a*) (*ḌU* → *∅*) *kṛ*(*Ñ* → *∅*)

= *kṛ* 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo...*
3.1.1-2 *pratyayaḥ-paraś ca*
3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*
3.3.139 *liṅnimitte lṛṅ kriyātipattau*
3.3.156 *hetuhetumator liṅ*
3.3.140 *bhūte ca*
= *kṛ* + *LṚṄ*

(*b*) *kṛ* + *LṚṄ*

3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*
= *kṛ* + *sya* + *LṚṄ*

(*c*) *kṛ* + *sya* + *LṚṄ*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.71 *luṅlaṅ...*
= *a* (*Ṭ* → *Ø*) + *kṛ* + *sya* + *LṚṄ*
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *LṚṄ*

(*d*) *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *LṚṄ*
3.4.77 *lasya*
3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* # *tiṄ*-selection
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* +(*LṚṄ* → *ti*(*P* → *Ø*)
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *ti*

(*e*) *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *ti*
3.4.100 *itaś ca*
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *t*(*i* → *Ø*)
= *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *t*

(*f*) *a* + *kṛ* + *sya* + *t*
Follow steps (*b*), (*c*), and (*d*) of (742)
kariṣyati
= *a* + *kṛ* + *iṬ* + *sya* + *t*
= *a* + *kar* + *i* + *sya* + *t*
= *a* + *kar* + *i* +(*s* → *ṣ*) *ya* + *t*
= *akariṣyat*

Note that the function of the assignment of the term *aṅga* is again as outlined earlier in connection with (742) *kariṣyati*. The function of the assignment of this term could also be a replacement in *vṛddhi*, as will be clear from the derivational history of (1) *aupagavaḥ* and (428) *kāpaṭavaḥ*. Incidentally, (428) *kāpaṭavaḥ* will derive exactly as *aupagavaḥ*, except for the fact that it will start with *kapaṭu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* and that when the *vṛddhi* rule (see step (*e*) of (1) *aupagavaḥ*) applies, the *a* of *kapaṭu* will be replaced with *ā* to yield: *kāpaṭu* + *a*.

1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*

(745) *brāhmaṇāḥ*
pacanti (See under rule 1.1.2, number (10)).

The above examples illustrate two types of *pada*, where the first is a nominal and the second a verbal. That is, the first ends in a *sŪP* and the second in a *tiṄ*. The derivation of (10) *pacanti* has already been provided.

(*a*) *brāhmaṇa*
sŪP-placement
= *brāhmaṇa* +(*J* → *Ø*)*as*
= *brāhmaṇa* + *as*

(*b*) *brāhmaṇa* + *as*
6.1.102 *prathmayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*
= *brāhmaṇ* (*a* + *a* → *ā*)*s*
= *brāhmaṇās*

Note here that rules 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* and 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* both become applicable to the context of this derivation at step (*b*). Rule 6.1.97

ato guṇe is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) of both 6.1.101 and 6.1.102. Since an exception (*apavāda*) blocks (*bādhate*) its general (*utsarga*) counterpart obligatorily (*nityam*), one would expect 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* to block not only 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*...but also 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ*... It is true that 6.1.97 here blocks 6.1.101. Why does it not block 6.1.102? A prior exception can block only the most immediately available rule and not any rule subsequent to that. (Refer to the *Paribhāṣā* (60) *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*).

(*c*) *brāhmaṇās*

s-visarga

= *brāhmaṇā* ($s \rightarrow r(U \rightarrow \emptyset) \rightarrow ḥ$)

= *brāhmaṇāḥ*

1.4.15 *naḥ kye*

(746) *rājīyati*

(747) *rājāyate*

(748) *varmāyati*

(749) *varmāyate*

(746) *rājīyati*

(*a*) *rajan*

sUP-selection (2.3.1 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*)

= *rājan* + *am*

(*b*) *rājan* + *am*

3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.2 *paraś ca*

3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*

= *rājan* + *am* +($K \rightarrow \emptyset$) *ya*($C \rightarrow \emptyset$)

= *rājan* + *am* + *ya*

(*c*) *rājan* + *am* + *ya*

3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*

2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*

= *rājan* +(*am* → *LUK*-deletion) + *ya*

= *rājan* + *ya*

(*d*) *rājan* + *ya*

1.4.15 *naḥ kye*

8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*

= *rāja*(*n* → *LOPA*-deletion) + *ya*

+ *raja* + *ya*

(*e*) *rāja* + *ya*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

7.4.33 *kyaci ca*

= *rāj*(*a* → *ī*) + *ya*

= *rājīya*

(*f*) *rājīya*

LA-placement, *tiṄ*-selection

= *rājīya* + *LA*
= *rājīya* + *ti*(*P* → *0*)
= *rājīya* + *ti*

(*g*) *rājīya* + *ti*

3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*
3.1.68 *karttari śap*
= *rājīya* +(*Ś* → *0*)*a*(*P* → *0*) + *ti*

(*h*) *rājīya* + *a* + *ti*

6.1.97 *ato guṇe*
= *rājīy*(*a* + *a* → *a*) + *ti*
= *rājīyati*

Note that the purpose of assigning the term *pada* by rule 1.4.15 *naḥ kye* is, among other things, to facilitate the deletion of *n*.

Our next example, (747) *rājāyate* is derived by introducing affix *KyaṄ* by rule 3.1.11 *karttuḥ kyaṅ salos ca* after *rājan* + *sU*. Given the string *rājan* + *ya*, (after *it*-deletion and *sU*-deletion), two steps will follow. These are, as in the preceding example, assignment of the term *pada* and the deletion of *n*. Rule 7.4.25 *akṛt sārvadhātukam* in the domain of 6.4.1 *aṅgasya* will then apply to *rāja* + *ya* in order to replace the final short vowel by long *ā*. This is under the condition that *ya* is a non-*kṛt*, non-*sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with *y*: *rāj*(*a* → *ā*) + *ya* = *rājāya*. Operations similar to step (*d*) of (746) *rājīyati* will apply, though the selected *tiṄ* will be an *ātmanepada*, for details of which see steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (495) *glāyate*. Note, however, that the *ātmanepada*-selection at step (*b*) entails the application of rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅitaḥ*... The *a* + *a* of *rājāya* + *a* + *ta* will again be replaced by *a*, as in step (*h*) of (746) *rājīyati*.

Our last two examples (748) *varmāyati* and (749) *varmāyate* are optional forms derived from *varman* + *sU* + *KyaṢ*, where *KyaṢ* is introduced by rule 3.1.13 *lohitādi*.... The rest of the rule applications are similar to the preceding derivations, except that rule 1.3.90 *vā kyaṣaḥ* makes the introduction of *parasmaipada* ending optional. It is for this reason that we get two examples.

1.4.16 *siti ca*
(750) *bhavadīyaḥ*
(751) *ūrṇāyuḥ*
(752) *ṛtviyaḥ*

(750) *bhavadīyaḥ*

(*a*) *bhavat*

sUP-selection; 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*
= *bhavat* + *Ṅas*

(*b*) *bhavat* + *ṄaS*

4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*
4.2.114 *bhavataṣ ṭhakchasau* #

1.1.73 *tyadādīni ca*
= *bhavat* + *Ṅas* + *cha*(*S* → ∅)
= *bhavat* + *Ṅas* + *cha*

(*c*) *bhavat* + *Ṅas* + *cha*
sŪP-deletion
(2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*)
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
= *bhavat* + (*Ṅas* → ∅) + *cha*
= *bhavat* + *cha*

(*d*) *bhavat* + *cha*
1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ...*
= *bhavat* + (*cha* → *īya*) # 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*
= *bhavat* + *īya*

Note here that *bhavat* can also be qualified for the assignment of the term *bha* by 1.4.18 *yaci bham;* but since *chaS* is a *sit* 'that which is marked with an *S* as its *it*' *bhavat* is assigned the term *pada.* A question may arise here as to why there may not be found a conflict between the assignment of the terms *bha* and *pada* in reference to *bhavat* + *cha.* For this is the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* and only one term will apply. It would appear that the conflict should be resolved by rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam,* whereby rule 1.4.18 *yaci bham,* which assigns the term *bha,* would take precedence as it happens to be subsequent in order. However, the term *bha* does not block the assignment of the term *pada* in view of rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...* This is because the nature of this conflict is such that it does not qualify to be called *tulyabalatā* 'equal in strength'. Instead, it is a conflict which entails a rule which is *nitya* 'obligatory'. That is, if the term *pada* is not assigned to *bhavat* + *cha* and similar examples, rule 1.4.16 *siti ca* would become vacuous (*vyartha*). It is for this reason that a conflict entailing a *nitya* rule such as this is not accepted as involving *tulyabalatā.* Hence, that conflict falls outside the sphere of 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe....*

(*e*) *bhavat* + *īya*
1.4.16 *siti ca*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.39 *jhalaṃ jaśo' nte*
= *bhava* (*t* → *d*) + *īya*
= *bhavadīya*

(*f*) *bhavadīya*
1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...; sŪP*-selection

= *bhavadīya* + *sŨ*
it-deletion; *s*-*visarga*
= *bhavadīya* + *s* (*U* → ∅)
= *bhavadīya* + (*s* → *ḥ*)
= *bhavadaīyaḥ*

Note that the purpose of the assignment of the term *pada* by this rule is to block the assignment of the term *bha*, which may have resulted in the derivation of a wrong form. Additionally, it also facilitates the replacement of the final *t* of *bhavat* by *d*. For, in its absence, a wrong form **bhavatiya* may have been produced.

(751) *ūrṇāyuḥ*

This example is derived from *ūrṇā* + *sU* + *yuS*, where *yuS* is a suffix introduced in the sense of *matUP* (5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup*) after *ūrṇā* + *sŨ*. Subsequent to *it*-deletion of the *S* of *yuS*, and the *sŨP*-deletion similar to (750) *bhavadīyaḥ*, the form will be: *ūrṇa* + *yu* = *ūrṇāyu*. The application of rules as in step (*f*) of (750) *bhavadīyaḥ* will yield *ūrṇāyuḥ*.

Note in this connection that because the assignment of the term *bha* was blocked by *pada* of 1.4.16 *siti ca*, rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* could not delete the *ā* of *ūrṇā* + *yū*.

(752) *ṛtviyaḥ*

(*a*) *ṛtu*

sŨP-selection
2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhi śeṣe*
= *ṛtu* + *Ṅas*

(*b*) *ṛtu* + *Ṅas*

4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ...*
5.1.105 *ṛtor aṇ*
5.1.106 *chandasi ghas*
= *ṛtu* + *Ṅas* + *ghas*

(*c*) *ṛtu* + *Ṅas* + *ghas*

Follow steps (*c*), (*d*), and (*f*) of (750) *bhavadīyah* with the understanding that at step (*d*), *gha* will be replaced by *iya*. This will yield: *ṛtu* + *iya* which, after the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will yield:

= *ṛt* (*u* → *v*) + *iya*
= *ṛtviya*

One can now apply step (*f*) of (750) *bhavadīyaḥ* to derive *ṛtviyaḥ*. Note that because the assignment of the term *bha* was blocked by *pada*, rule 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ* does not become applicable. That is, there is no occasion for the *guṇa* replacement of the *u* of *ṛtu*. This could result in the derivation of a wrong form: *ṛt*(*u* → *o* → *av*) + *iya* = **ṛtaviya*.

1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*

(753) *rājabhyām*

(754) *rājabhiḥ*

(755) *rājatvam*
(756) *rājatā*
(757) *rājataraḥ*
(758) *rājatamaḥ*
(759) *rājānau*
(760) *rājānaḥ*

The purpose for assigning the term *pada* by rule 1.4.17, especially in the context of the above examples, is to facilitate the deletion of the *n* of the nominal stem *rājan*. Thus, given the strings *rājan* + *bhyām* and *rājan* + *bhis*, (where *bhyām* and *bhis* are the *sŪP*, introduced after *rājan* through the process of *sŪP*-selection), the *n* will be deleted, as in (746) *rājīyati*. The *s* of *bhis* will go through *s-visarga* before one gets *rājabhiḥ*.

Both (755) *rājatvam* and (756) *rājatā* are derived by introducing affixes *tva* and *taL* by rule 5.1.118 *tasya bhāvas tvalau* after *rājan* + *Ṅas*. Given the strings *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *tva* and *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *taL*, the *Ṅas* and *n* will be deleted, as has been shown earlier. Given the string *rāja* + *tva* = *rājatva*, *sŪ* can be introduced according to the process of *sUP*-selection. Rule 7.1.24 *ato' am* will then apply to yield: *rājatva*, + (*s* → *am*) = *rājatva* + *am*. The final *a* of *rājatva* and the initial *a* of *am* will then be replaced by a single *a*, by rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. Thus we get: *rājatv* (*a* + *a* → *a*) *m* = *rājatvam*.

Note that (756) *rājatā* is a feminine derivative ending in the affix *ṬāP*. Given the string *rāja* + *ta*, after *Ṅas*, *n* and the *L* of the *taL* have been deleted; *rājata* is defined as a nominal stem by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*. Affix *ṬāP* can now be introduced to derive *rājatā* from *rājata* + (*Ṭ* → *0*)*ā*(*P* → *0*) = *rājata* + *ā*. Given the string *rājata* + *ā*, 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*...will apply to yield: *rājat* (*a* + *ā* → *ā*) = *rājatā*. Now one can apply the *sUP*-selection to introduce *sU* after *rājatā*. Given the string *rājatā* + *s*, rule 6.1.66 *halṅyāb*... will delete the *s*, thereby yielding: *rājatā* +(*s* → *0*) = *rājatā*.

Our examples (757) *rājataraḥ* and (758) *rājatamaḥ* are respectively derived from (*rājan* + *taraP*) + *sU* and (*rājan* + *tamaP*) + *sU*, where *taraP* and *tamaP* are comparative and superlative suffixes introduced after *rājan* by rules 5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajyopapade*... and 5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamab*... Given the strings *rājan* + *taraP* and *rājan* + *tamaP*, *it*-deletion and *n*-deletion will apply to yield: *rājatara* and *rājatama*. Now a *sU* introduced after them can yield *rājataraḥ* and *rājatamaḥ* through the process of *s-visarga*.

The last two examples (759) *rājānau* and (760) *rājānaḥ* are given as counter-examples. They represent a form where the *n* is not deleted. The reason for this is that rule 1.4.17 covers only those instances where a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna*, i.e. the first five *sUP* endings, is not involved. Therefore, in deriving *rājānau* and *rājānaḥ* from *rājan* + *aU*(*Ṭ* → *0*) and *rājan* + *as*, *n* is not deleted. The short *a* of *rājan* in both the examples is replaced by long *ā* by rule 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne*... under the condition of *sarvanāmasthāna*.

1.4.18 *yaci bham*
(761) *gārgyaḥ*
(762) *vātsyaḥ*
(763) *dākṣiḥ*
(764) *plākṣiḥ*
(765) *gārgayaḥ*

(761) *gārgyaḥ*

(*a*) *garga*

sUP-selection
= *garga* + *Ṅas*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ*
4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*
4.1.93 *eko gotre*
4.1.98 *gotre kuñjādibhyaś...*
4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*
= *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*
= *garga* + *Ṅas* + *ya*(*Ñ* → *Ø*)
= *garg* + *Ṅas* + *ya*

(*b*) *garga* + *Ṅas* + *ya*

sUP-selection as in step (*c*) of (750) *bhavadīyaḥ*
= *garga* +(*Ṅas* → *Ø*) + *ya*
= *garga* + *ya*

(*c*) *garga* + *ya*

1.4.13 *yasmāt*
1.4.18 *yaci bham*
6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*
= *garg*(*a* → *Ø*) + *ya*
= *garg* + *ya*

(*d*) *garg* + *ya*

7.1.118 *kiti ca* # 1.1.1 *vṛddhir...*
= *g*(*a* → *ā*) *rg* + *ya*
= *gārg* + *ya*
= *gārgya*

(*e*) *gārgya*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*
4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.2 *svaujas...* (*sUP*-selection)
= *gārgya* + *sU* (*it*-deletion)
= *gārgya* + *s* → *s-visarga*
= *gārgya* + (*s* → *ḥ*)
= *gārgyaḥ*

The rest of the examples are similarly derived by adding *Ṅas* and the appropriate *taddhita* affix after *vatsa*, *daksa* and *plakṣa*. Note, however, that (762) *vātsyaḥ* will exactly follow the derivational history of *gārgyaḥ*. The other two examples will receive their *taddhita* affix *iÑ* from rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ* to denote a young (*yuvan*, 4.1.163 *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā*) male descendant. The rest of the rule applications will be similar to (761) *gārgyaḥ*. The purpose of the assignment of the term *bha* with reference to rule 1.4.18 *yaci bham* and these examples is to facilitate the deletion of the *aṅga*-final *a*.

1.4.19 *tasau matvarthe*

(766) *udaśvitvān ghoṣaḥ*

(767) *vidyutvān balāhakaḥ*

(768) *payasvī*

(769) *yaśasvī*

(766) *udaśvitvān*

(*a*) *udaśvit*

1.2.45 *arthavat...*; 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*

4.1.2 *svaujas...*; *sUP*-selection

= *udaśvit* + *sŨ*

(*b*) *udaśvit* + *sU*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

5.2.94 *tadasyāsty asminn iti matup*

= *udaśvit* + *sŨ* + *matUP*

it-deletion

sUP-deletion (2.4.71 *supodhātu...*)

= *udaśvit* + *sŨ* + *mat*(*UP* → ∅)

= *udaśvit* + (*sŨ* → ∅) + *mat*

= *udaśvit* + *mat*

(*c*) *udaśvit* + *mat*

8.2.10 *jhayaḥ*

= *udaśvit* + (*m* → *v*)*at*

= *udaśvit* + *vat*

= *udaśvitvat*

(*d*) *udaśvitvat*

Follow steps (*d*) through (*h*) of (30) *citavān*

= *udaśvitvān*

Note that the assignment of the term *pada*, which was available from rule 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*, was blocked by rule 1.4.19 *tasau...* in favour of the assignment of the term *bha*. The purpose of this is to facilitate the blocking of the replacement of *t* of *udaśvitvān* by *d* vide rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaso' nte*. Our next example (767) *vidyutvān* is derived from *vidyut* + *sŨ* + *mat* following the same derivational history.

(768) *payasvī*

(*a*) *payas*

same as (*a*) of (766) *udaśvitvān*

= *payas* + *sŪ*

(*b*) *payas* + *sŪ*

same as (766) *udaśvitvān* (step , except that affix *vinI* is introduced to denote the sense of *matUP* by rule 5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhāsrajo...*

= *payas* + *sŪ* + *vinI*

it-deletion; *sup*-deletion

= *payas* + *sŪ* + *vin*(*I* → ∅)

= *payas* + (*sŪ* → ∅) + *vin*

= *payas* + *vin*

= *payasvin*

(*c*) *payasvin*

1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*

4.1.1 *ṅyap-prātipadikāt*

4.1.2 *svaujas...* (*sŪP*-selection)

= *payasvin* + *sŪ*

it-deletion

= *payasvin* + *s*

(*d*) *payasvin* + *s*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*

6.4.13 *sau ca*

= *payasv*(*i* → *ī*)*n*

= *payasvīn* + *s*

(*e*) *payasvīn* + *s*

6.1.66 *halṅyābbhyo...*

= *payasvīn* + (*s* → ∅)

= *payasvīn*

(*f*) *payasvīn*

1.4.14 *suptiṅantam...*

8.1.16 *padasya*

8.2.7 *na lopaḥ...*

= *payasvī*(*n* → ∅)

= *payasvī*

Note here that given the string *payas* + *s* + *vinI*, rule 1.4.19 blocks the assignment of the term *pada* in favour of the term *bha*. This being the case, the process of *s-visarga* does not become applicable. Our last example (769) *yaśavī* is similarly derived from (*yaśas* + *sU* + *vinI*) + *sU*.

1.4.20 *ayasmayādīni chandasi*

(770) *ayasmayam varma*

(771) *ayasmayāni pātrāṇi*

(772) *sa suṣṭubhā sa ṛkvatā gaṇena*

Note that for the application for rule 1.4.20 *ayasmayāni...*, *ayasmayam*, *ayasmayāni* and *ṛkvatā* are the only relevant words in the above examples.

(770) *ayasmayam*

(*a*) *ayas*

sUP-selection; 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*
= *ayas* + *Ṅas*

(*b*) *ayas* + *Ṅas*

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*
4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ*
4.3.150 *dvyacaś chandasi*
= *ayas* + *Ṅas* + *mayaṬ* (*it*-deletion)
= *ayas* + *Ṅas* + *maya*(*Ṭ* → ∅) (*sŨP*-deletion)
= *ayas* + (*Ṅas* → ∅) + *maya*
= *ayas* + *maya*
= *ayasmaya*

(*c*) *ayasmaya*

sUP-selection
= *ayasmaya* + *sŨ*

(*d*) *ayasmaya* + *sŨ*

Follow rule applications similar to those of *rājatva* + *sŨ* of (755) *rājatvam* to arrive at *ayasmayam*.

Note that the purpose of assigning the term *bha* at the expense of blocking *bada* is again to block the *s*-*visarga*.

(771) *ayasmayāni*

(*a*) *ayasmaya* derived similarly to the preceding example.

(*b*) *ayasmaya* same as the preceding example, though with the *sŨP*-selection yielding:
= *ayasmaya* + *Jas*

(*c*) *ayasmaya* + *Jas*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*
= *ayasmaya* + (*Jas* → *Śi*)
= *ayasmaya* + *Śi* → *it*-deletion
= *ayasmaya* + (*Ś* → ∅)*i*

(*d*) *ayasmaya* + *i*

1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*
7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jal acaḥ*
1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*
= *ayasmaya* + *nUM* + *i* (*it*-deletion)

= *ayasmaya* + *n*(*UM* → ∅) + *i*
+ *ayasmaya* + *ni*

(*e*) *ayasmaya* + *ni*

6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*
= *ayasmay* (*a* → *ā*) + *ni*
= *ayasmayāni*

(772) *ṛkvatā*

(*a*) *ṛc*

same as steps (*a*) through (*d*) of (766) *udaśvitvān*
= *ṛc* + *vat*
= *ṛcvat*

(*b*) *ṛcvat*

sUP-selection
= *ṛcvat* + *Ṭā* (*it*-deletion)
= *ṛcvat* + *ā*

(*c*) *ṛcvat* + *ā*

1.4.20 *ayasmayādīni...*
8.1.16 *padasya*
8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*
= *ṛ*(*c* → *k*)*vat* + *ā*
= *ṛkvat* + *ā*
= *ṛkvatā*

Note that (772) *ṛkvatā* is assigned both the terms *pada* and *bha*. This goes against the general practice, since it is contrary to the requirement of *ekasaṃjña*. Jinendrabuddi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*.I:525) states as follows:

> *sādhutvavidhāne tu eṣa doṣo na bhavati, tadd hi keṣāñcid bhasaṃjñā vidhīyate padasaṃjñakānām; keṣāñcid ubhayasaṃjñakānām; tasmāt sādhutvam eva yuktam*
>
> 'The question (of *ekasaṃjñā*) does not interfere when one is to show the correct derivation. It is therefore that an item assigned the term *pada* is assigned the term *bha;* sometimes both the terms are assigned. Consequently, what is appropriate is the correct derivation (*śabdasādhutva*).'

Looking at the example on hand, we find that the term *bha* is also assigned. It is because of the assignment of this term that it becomes possible to block rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*. Thus, assigning *bha* prevents the derivation of a wrong form: *ṛ* (*k* → *j*)*vata* = **ṛjvatā*. It is for this reason that class-inclusion (*saṃjñā-samāveśa*) of *pada* and *bha* is allowed here.

1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*

(773) *brāhmaṇāḥ paṭhanti*

These derivations are both simple. The first word has already been derived as example (745). For the second word, follow the derivation of (10) *pacanti* (beginning, of course, with the verbal root *paṭhĀ*).

1.4.22 *dvekayor dvivacanaikavacane*
(774) *brāhmaṇau pacataḥ*
(775) *brāhmaṇaḥ pacati*

We have already shown many examples of how singular or dual nominative forms of a masculine noun ending in *a* are derived. Similarly, we have also explained the derivation of a dual or singular present indicative active form of a verb like *pac*. The rule itself simply explains where dual or singular should be used.

1.4.23 *kārake*

Examples cited under this rule have been derived under the following rule. Note also that unless otherwise required, words illustrating the application of a given rule alone will be derived. That is, if an example is given as a part of a sentence, not all items of that sentence will be derived.

1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*
(776) *grāmād āgacchati*
(777) *parvatād avarohati*
(778) *sārthād hīnaḥ*
(779) *rathāt patitaḥ*

The function of rule 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam* is to assign the term *apādāna* to items such as *grāma*, *parvata*, *sārtha*, and *ratha*, which denote something *dhruva* 'fixed' with reference to an action (*kriyā*) entailing *apāya* 'movement away'. Once the term is assigned, the fifth triad (*pañcamī*) of *sUP* 'nominal ending' can be introduced after the nominal stem by rule 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*. For the derivation of the ablative forms, follow steps similar to (462) *vṛkṣāt*.

1.4.25 *bhī-trārthānāṃ bhayahetuḥ*
(780) *caurebhyo bibheti*
(781) *caurebhyas trāyate*

This rule assigns the term *apādāna* to the source of fear (*bhayahetu*) when roots having the signification of *bhī* and *trā* are in use. To derive (782) *caurebhyaḥ* from *caura* + *bhyas*, follow the derivational history of (705) *vṛksebhyaḥ*.

1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam*
(783) *māṇavakāya bhikṣāṃ dadāti*
(784) *upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti*

The function of this rule is to assign the term *sampradāna* to a participant in an action who is approached by the agent of that action by means of an object. Once the term *sampradāna* is assigned, rule 2.3.13 *caturthī sampradāne* will allow the use of *caturthī* 'the fourth *sUP*-triad'. For example, *upādhyāya* is termed *sampradāna* and *upādhyāyāya* is the dative singular form derived from *upādhyāya* + *Ṅe*. Rule 7.2.18 *ṅer yaḥ* will replace the *Ṅe* with *ya*, and

rule 7.3.102 *supi ca* will replace the short *a* of the *aṅga* by a long. This will finally produce: *upādhyāya* + (*Ṅe* → *ya*) = *upādhyāy*(*a* → *ā*) + *ya* = *upādhyāyāya*.

Note that from here on up to the end of the *kāraka* section (1.4.55 *tatprayojako*...) no attempt will be made to explain the derivation of nominal forms which express a *kāraka* relation and are given as part of a sentence after a rule in the *Kāśikā*. These examples do not offer anything new in terms of derivation, and relate more to the assignment of the *kāraka* terms. I have tried to explain the implications of the *kāraka* names in appropriate explanatory notes. Derivational details of nominative, accusative, etc. are also available elsewhere. A somewhat fuller account of some derivational aspects of nominal forms will be available in the 2.3 section.

1.4.59 *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*
(785) *praṇayati*
(786) *pariṇayati*
(787) *praṇāyakaḥ*
(788) *pariṇāyakaḥ*

The first two examples are derived from *pra* + *nī* + *LAṬ* and *pari* + *nī* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* replaced by *tiP* and *ŚaP* is introduced. The rest of the rule applications will be similar to steps (*h*) and (*i*) of (11) *jayanti*. Note, however, that because *pra* and *pari* are used in connection with an action, they will be termed *upasarga*. Once the term *upasarga* is assigned, rule 8.4.14 *upasargād*... orders the *n* of the root *nī* to be replaced with *ṇ*. The same *ṇ* replacement is also taking place in the following examples, which are derived from *pra* + *nī* + *vu* and *pari* + *nī* + *vu* similar to (426) *kārakaḥ*. Note, however, that these involve an additional rule-application. That is, at the step similar to (426) *kārakaḥ* where rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* applies, these strings will yield: *pra* + (*nī* → *ai*) + *aka* = *pra* + *nai* + *aka* and *pari* + *nai* + *aka*. Given this, rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will apply to yield: *pra* + *n*(*ai* → *āy*) + *aka* = *pra* + *nāy* + *aka* = *pranāyaka*. Similarly one will arrive at *pari* + *nāy* + *aka* = *parināyaka*. Given the strings *praṇāyaka* + *sU* and *pariṇāyaka* + *sU*, it is easy to derive *praṇāyakaḥ* and *pariṇāyakaḥ* with the understanding that because of the assignment of the term *upasarga* to *pra* and *pari* the *n* will again be replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.14 *upasargād*....

Note in connection with the function of this rule that, in examples like *pranāyako deśaḥ*, the *n* cannot be replaced by *ṇ* as the *pra* of *pranāyakaḥ* is not associated with the action denoted by *nī* 'to lead'. Instead, it is relatable to *gam* 'to go' as the paraphrase of *pranāyako deśaḥ* (*pragato nāyako' smād deśāt*) suggests. That is, for items like *pra* to be assigned the term *upasarga* there has to be a direct connection with the verb.

1.4.60 *gatiś ca*

prakṛtya (see (195) under rule 1.1.56).

(789) *prakṛtam*
(790) *yat prakaroti*

Note that in (195) and elsewhere the assignment of the term *gati* facilitates the formation of compounds by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*

(789) *prakṛtam*

This example is derived from *pra* + *sU* + *kṛta* + *sU* where *kṛta* is derived similar to *cita* of (26) *citaḥ*. Rule 2.2.18 *kugati*... allows the formation of the compound on the strength of *pra* being *gati*. Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātu*... deletes the endings to yield *prakṛta*, after which *sU* is introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujas*... Given the string *prakṛta* + *sU*, rules 7.1.24 *ato'm* and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will apply similar to (755) *rājatvam*. This will yield: *prakṛta* + (*sU* → *am*) = *prakṛt*(*a* + *a* → *a*)*m* = *prakṛtam*. Note here that the assignment of the term *gati* also has implications for the placement of accent. For example, the *pra* of *prakṛtam* will be initially high-pitched (*ādy-udātta*) by rule 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ* read with 6.2.45 *kte ca*.

(790) *yat prakaroti*

Note that *prakaroti* is derived from *pra* + (*ḌU* → *Ø*) *kṛ*) *Ñ* → *Ø*) = *pra* + *kṛ* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced by *ti*(*P* → *Ø*) and *u* is introduced after *kṛ* by rule 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhya uḥ*. Given the string *pra* + *kṛ* + *u* + *ti*, *kṛ* goes through *guṇa* under the condition of *u* by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātudār dhadhātukayoḥ*. This gives us: *pra* + *k*(*ṛ* → *ar*) + *u* + *ti*. Now the same rule orders the *guṇa* for the *u* under the condition of *ti*. This gives us: *pra* + *kar* + (*u* → *Ø*) + *ti* = *pra* + *kar* + *o* + *ti* = *prakaroti*.

Note that the assignment of the term *gati* also has its function in relation to *prakaroti*. The word *pra* had initial high pitch (*ady-udātta*) available to it by *Phiṭsūtra* 81: *upasargāś cābhivarjam*. But because of the assignment of the term *gati*, rule 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati* assigned low pitch (*anudātta*) to *pra*, especially since it was occurring before a form ending in *tiṄ* and containing an *udātta*. That is, it was occurring before *karoti* which had high pitch in the middle (*madhyodātta*). The remaining accentuation will follow rules 6.1.152 *anudāttam*... and 8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritah*.

1.4.61 *ūryādicviḍācaś ca*

(791) *ūrīkṛtya*
(792) *ūrīkṛtam*
(793) *yad ūrīkaroti*
(794) *urarīkṛtya*
(795) *urarīkṛtam*
(796) *yad urarīkaroti*
(797) *śuklīkṛtya*
(798) *śuklīkṛtam*
(799) *paṭapaṭākṛtya*
(800) *paṭapaṭākṛtam*
(801) *yat paṭapaṭākaroti*

These examples follow the derivation patterns of (195) *prakṛtya*, (789) *prakṛtam* and (790) *yat prakaroti*, with the difference that, in place of *pra*, these examples use *ūrī* and *urarī*. The consequences of assigning the term *gati* are similar to the preceding examples.

(797) *śuklīkṛtya*

(*a*) *śukla* + *kṛ*

4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*
4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*
5.4.50 *abhūtatad...*
= *śukla* + *CvI* + *kṛ* = *it*-deletion
= *śukla* + *v* + *kṛ*

(*b*) *śukla* + *v* + *kṛ*

1.4.13 *yasmāt...*
6.4.1 *aṅgasya*
7.4.37 *asya cvau*
= *śukl*(*a* → *ī*) + *v* + *kṛ*
= *śuklī* + *v* + *kṛ*

(*c*) *śuklī* + *v* + *kṛ*

1.2.41 *apṛkta ekālpratyayaḥ*
6.1.65 *ver apṛktasya*
= *śuklī* + (*v* → Ø) + *kṛ*
= *śuklī* + *kṛ*

It should not now be difficult to derive *śuklīkṛtya* according to the pattern of (195) *prakṛtya*. Note, however, that *śuklī* gets the designation of *gati* by the present rule because it ends in *CvI*. The fact that the *śuklī* is preplaced to the root *kṛ* of *kṛtya* is fully in consonance with the requirements of rule 1.4.80 *te prāg dhātoḥ*. The implications of the assignment of the term *gati* are similar to earlier examples.

(799) *paṭapaṭākṛtya*
(800) *paṭapaṭākṛtam*
(801) *yat paṭapaṭākaroti*

There is nothing new in these examples except that one has first to derive *paṭapaṭā* similar to the *paṭapaṭā* of (678) *paṭapaṭāyate*. The rest is easy with reference to (195) *prakṛtya*, etc.

The derivation of examples relative to remaining rules of the fourth quarter can be understood from similar examples already derived. One may also refer to relevant explanatory notes for further details

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The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume III

English Translation of Adhyāyas Two and Three with Sanskrit Text, Transliteration, Word-Boundary, Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes, Derivational History of Examples, and Indices.

Rama Nath Sharma

This volume of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* contains English translation of *adhyāyas* two and three. It includes Sanskrit text of individual *sūtras* with their transliteration, word-boundaries, indication of inflectional endings and formation of compounds. Each *sūtra* is also furnished with *anuvṛtti, vṛtti*, examples, detailed explanatory notes, and complete derivational history of examples cited by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.

Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of individual *sūtras*, especially in view of their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement. An attempt has been made to sort out and explain pertinent issues, as raised and discussed by major commentaries. The appendix contains over 1000 examples with complete derivational history and discussions relevant to the Pāṇinian grammatical system.

This volume is the third of a planned six volume study. The fourth, fifth and sixth volumes of the series will cover the *sūtras* of *adhyāyas* four-five, six and seven-eight, respectively.

THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

VOLUME III

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF
ADHYĀYAS TWO AND THREE WITH SANSKRIT TEXT,
TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY, *ANUVṚTTI, VṚTTI*,
EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF
EXAMPLES, AND INDICES.

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For my guru
Dr. O.L. Chavarria-Aguilar
and my gurupatnī
Mrs. Frances Chavarria-Aguilar
with love and respect

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Preface

The present is the third of a planned five-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the second of the four translation volumes of the *sūtrapāṭha* of Pāṇini, with Sanskrit text, transliteration, word-boundary, *anuvṛtti, vṛtti,* English translation, examples, explanatory notes, derivations, and appendices. This volume contains the English translation of *adhyāyas* two and three of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The fourth and fifth volumes of this series will include the English translation of *adhyāyas* four-five, and six-seven-eight, respectively.

I have, as usual, relied very heavily upon the traditional commentaries for sorting out and explaining issues relevant to the formulation, interpretation, ordering, and application of individual rules. These commentaries also form the basis for derivational details. I have already referenced them in the preface of my earlier volume. In addition to works already mentioned, I have benefited most from the English translation of the *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, made by S.D. Joshi in collaboration with J.A.F. Roodbergen. The *Vyākaraṇa-candrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri, and the Hindi translation with notes of the *Laghukaumudī* made by Bhimasen Shastri, again proved very helpful.

The format in which I present the contents of this volume is not different from volume two of this study. The tone of my discussion still remains traditional. While I carefully follow the specific issues raised in the commentaries which they consider pertinent to the proper understanding of individual rules, I quite often take detours. Some of my remarks, made under these situations, may appear to be unnecessary. I still make them to enhance cultural understanding, and to show the richness and variety of the commentarial literature.

The format of the appendix, in presenting derivational history of examples is, this time, switched to the narrative style. I have presented a detailed introduction to derivational types discussed in this volume with hopes of minimizing repetition. Frequent cross-referencing to derivational details of the earlier volume has also helped in this endeavor. The appendix is still very long; it could not be helped simply because it includes over one thousand derivations.

I fully realize the extremely complex nature of the form and content of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I am also aware of my own limitations due to which

I may have made mistakes. I shall greatly appreciate comments from my reader in this regard.

I must express my deep sense of indebtedness to authors of works I have regularly consulted. My brother Narendra and Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi, both of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University at Varanasi, have always been very generous in giving of their time. Professor George Cardona has read the translation of the second *adhyāya*, and has made some very insightful comments.

The University of Hawaii, especially through its Department of Indo-Pacific Languages, its Research Council, and Research Relations, has been very generous in supporting my research endeavors with grants. The American Institute of Indian Studies still remains the major funding agency to support this entire project. I am grateful for their continued support. My student researchers, Julie Trott, Abigail Brown, and Chris Bopp, deserve special thanks. It is their perseverance and dedication, with special credit to Chris' knowledge of computer programs, which enabled me to produce this volume.

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21 March 1994

Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
Ait	*Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*
bv	*bahuvrīhi*
cat tat	*caturthī-tatpuruṣa*
DP	*Dhātupāṭha*
dat	dative
du	dual
dv	*dvandva*
dvi tat	*dvitīyā-tatpuruṣa*
fem	feminine
GP	*Gaṇapāṭha*
gen	genitive
id	ibidum
inst	instrumental
int	internal
itar dv	*itaretara-dvandva*
karm tat	*karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa*
Kāś	*Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya with *Padamañjarī (PM)* of Haradatta and the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi
LŚ	*Laghuśabdenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
loc	locative
Mbh	*Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali with the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and the *Udyota* of Nāgeśa
masc	masculine
nañ tat	*nañ-tatpuruṣa*
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
PM	*Padamañjarī* of Haradatta *ad Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya
PŚ	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
pbh	*paribhāṣā*
pañc	*pañcamī*
pañc tat	*pañcamī-tatpuruṣa*
pl	plural
RV	*Ṛgveda*
SK	*Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the *Bālamanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī
SP	Sūtrapāṭha

sam dv	*samāhāra-dvandva*
sap tat	*saptamī-tatpuruṣa*
sg/sing	singular
Śs	*Śivasūtra*
Śat	*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*
ṣaṣ	*ṣaṣṭhī*
ṣaṣ tat	*ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa*
Tai	*Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*
tat	*tatpuruṣa*
tṛ/tṛt	*tṛtīyā*
VP	*Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari with the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā
vt	*vārttika*
Vāj	*Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*
voc	vocative

Adhyāya Two

2.1.1. समर्थः पदविधिः

samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ
/samarthaḥ 1/1 *padavidhiḥ* 1/1 = *padānāṃ vidhiḥ (ṣaṣ.taṭ)/*
yaḥ kaścid iha śāstre padavidhiḥ śrūyate sa sarvaḥ samartho veditavyaḥ'
An operation *(vidhi)* concerning fully inflected words *(pada)* is to be syntactically related *(samartha)*.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭaśritaḥ 'he who has fallen upon grief'
śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ 'split into pieces by a *śaṅkulā (nutcracker)'*
yūpadāruḥ 'wood for ritual post'
vṛkabhayam 'fear of wolf'
rājapuruṣaḥ 'king's man'
akṣaśauṇḍaḥ 'skilled at the game of dice'

1. Pāṇini formulates this metarule *(paribhāṣā)* to govern the process of integrating two or more fully inflected and syntactically related *(samartha)* *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam)*. He calls the process *padavidhi*, and constrains it with the word *samartha* 'capable, fit'. A question arises as to whether *sāmarthya* 'fitness, capability' should be treated as the condition for the *pada* which are to be integrated, or as the condition for the process itself. Before we attempt to answer this, however, a general remark about *padavidhi* is in order.

Commentators recognize *padavidhi* as a cover term for the syntactic operation generally known as *vṛtti* 'integration'. There are four basic types of integration: *samāsa*, 'compound'; *kṛt*, formation of items ending in suffixes termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ); taddhita*, formation of items ending in suffixes termed *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ);* and *saN*, formation of items ending in suffixes termed *saN*, etc. (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ.....*).

The forms resulting from the integration of the first three types are termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' (1.2.46 *kṛt-taddhitasamāsāś ca*). The result of the fourth major type of integration is termed *dhātu* 'verb root' (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). Some commentators also include *ekaśeṣa* 'a process whereby only one of two or more phonetically similar or dissimilar *pada* terminating in the same nominal ending is retained' (1.2.64 *sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau)*, and *parāṅgavadbhāva* 'a process whereby one *pada* is treated as part of the following for purposes of accentuation' (2.1.2 *sub āmantrite parāṅ gavat svare)* as part of *padavidhi*. But because the condition of *sāmarthya* does not operate in these last two cases in the same way

as it does in the previous four, I would be inclined to treat *ekaśeṣa* and *parāṅgavadbhāva* as peripheral instances of *padavidhi*. I shall now return to explaining the condition of *sāmarthya*, especially as it has been interpreted with reference to compound-formation.

In accordance with the provisions of rule 2.1.4 *saha supā*, a compound can be treated as the result of combining two (or more) syntactically related (*samartha*) nominal *pada*. Thus, *rājapuruṣa* is a compound termed nominal stem (*prātipadika*), derived by combining two syntactically related *pada*: *rājan* + *Ṅas* and *puruṣa* + *sŪ*. The first *pada* terminates in the genitive and the second in the nominative. This compound is optional. That is, given the string of two *pada*, *rājan* + *Ṅas puruṣa* + *sŪ*, one may integrate them to yield the compound-base *rājapuruṣá*, or one may derive the string *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* 'the man of the king'. The tradition terms the uncompounded string (in the present case *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*) as the *vigrahavākya* 'analyzed form' of the compound *rājapuruṣaḥ*. A distinction is also made between the *vigrahavākya* per se, and the string which underlies the derivation of both the *vigrahavākya* and the compound. Thus, *rājan* + *Ṅas puruṣa* + *sŪ* is the underlying string from which one derives both the compound and its uncompounded counterpart. The tradition calls this underlying string *alaukika-vigrahavākya*, an analyzed form which is not part of regular usage. This opposed to the *laukika-vigrahavākya*, in the present case *rājeñaḥ puruṣah*, which is available in usage.

Kāśikā explains the term *samartha* as *śakta* 'capable, fit.' It further adds that which is capable of expressing the meaning of the analyzed form (*vigrahavākya*) should be treated as *samartha* (*Kāśikā* on 2.1.1: *vigrahavākyārthābhidhāne yaḥ śaktaḥ sa samartho veditavyaḥ*). Given this, we can say that since *rājapuruṣaḥ* is capable of expressing the meaning of *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ*, its analyzed form, it is *samartha*. This interpretation will lead one to believe that the *sāmarthya* 'fitness, capability' condition relates to the compound. However, *Kāśikā* offers yet another interpretation. That is, that the condition of *sāmarthya* directly relates to syntactically related *pada* which undergo the process of integration. This way, it is the constituent units of a compound which will be treated as *samartha*. As far as the compound is concerned, it can still be treated as *samartha*, but only indirectly, because of its dependence upon the string of *pada* which share the condition of *sāmarthya* (*Kāśikā* on 2.1.1: *atha vā samarthapadāśrayatvāt samarthaḥ*).

The *sāmarthya* 'fitness' of the uncompounded strings is termed *vyapekṣā* 'mutual expectancy'. This implies that mutual expectancy relation between meanings of two or more *pada* should be treated as the condition for their integration into a single unit. Two or more *pada* can be treated as sharing a mutual expectancy relationship via their meanings when one of them cannot be interpreted without the other. Thus, *rājñaḥ*

is a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) which cannot be interpreted without the qualified *pada* (*viśeṣya*) *puruṣah*. It is also apparent from this that *puruṣaḥ* is the principal *pada* (*pradhāna*), as opposed to *rājñaḥ*, which is secondary (*upasarjana*). To sum up, *vyapekṣā* is the *sāmarthya* characteristic of the constituents of a compound. The *sāmarthya* of the integrated units (such as compounds) has been assigned the term *ekārthībhāva* 'emergence of a single integrated meaning'. Thus, *rājapuruṣaḥ* is *samartha* because it denotes a single integrated meaning which has emerged as a result of integration.

Our example *rājapuruṣaḥ* illustrates that two or more *pada* sharing a mutual expectancy relationship may be combined to yield a single integrated unit, provided such an integration also results in the emergence of a single integrated meaning. It should be remembered here that this 'emergence of a single integrated meaning' condition does not necessarily entail a one-to-one correspondence between the constituent meanings and the meaning which emerges out of integration. In the case of *rājapuruṣah*, one can say that since the compound is optional, and also since the compound string can be used as an alternant to the uncompounded string *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* with no difference in meaning, there is a one-to-one correspondence. However, not all emergent meanings equal the meanings of the non-integrated strings. Similarly, not all compounds can be used optionally with their uncompounded counterparts with no difference in meaning. This makes it important to add that, even though *padavidhi* requires the emergence of a single integrated meaning as a condition of fitness, the emergent meaning does not necessarily have to be identical with the meaning of the uncompounded string. For example, *khaṭvārūḍhaḥ* 'a person fit for contempt or censure, etc.' has a parallel string *khaṭvām-ārūḍhaḥ* 'he who has climbed into a bed', which does not have the same meaning. Contrary to this, we can also find a compound which does not denote any derogatory meaning, even though a parallel uncompounded string does so. Thus we get *dāsīputraḥ* 'son of a maidservant' and *dāsyāḥ putraḥ* 'son of a bitch'.

In view of the preceding discussion, we can conclude that *padavidhi* is a syntactic operation which takes two or more fully inflected and syntactically related (*samartha*) *pada* and integrates them into a single unit, provided such an integration also results in the emergence of a single integrated meaning. Whether such an emergent meaning is similar or dissimilar to the meaning of the constituent units does not make any difference.

Furthermore, formation of compounds is allowed only when *samārthya* is of the type *ekārhībhāva* 'single integrated meaning'. That is, mere mutual expectancy of the type of *vyapekṣā*, with no resultant single integration of meaning, will not be allowed to yield a compound. Optional compounds

can be used optionally with their analyzed forms (*vigrahavākya*) in contradistinction to the obligatory (*nitya*) compounds, which are not allowed such facility.

Compounds are treated as one of the major types of *vṛtti* 'integration'. An integration where the constituents of its parallel unintegrated string do not abandon their individual meanings is aptly termed *ajahatsvārthā* 'that which does not abandon its own (constituent) meaning'. An integrated unit with meanings contrary to its constituent meanings is termed *jahatsvārtha* 'that which has abandoned its (constituent) meaning'.

One obvious result of compound-formation is the general deletion of nominal endings of its constituent units. There are certain other operations which are performed subsequent to the process of integration. They generally relate to the order of the constituent units and the number, gender and accent of compounds. These operations and others, with their exceptions, will be discussed in the context of appropriate rules.

2.1.2 सुबामन्त्रिते पराङ्गवत्स्वरे

sub āmantrite parāṅgavat svare
/ *sup* 1/1 *āmantrite* 7/1 *parāṅgavat* ∅ = *parasya aṅgavat* (*ṣas. tat.*); *svare* 7/1/
subantam āmantrite paratah parasyāṅgavad bhavati svare
In matters of *svara* 'accent', a *pada* which ends in *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) is treated as though part of the following *pada* provided this latter has been termed *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritam*).

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍena aṭan 'O you wandering around with a bowl'
paraśunā vṛścan 'O you cutting with the ax'
madrāṇāṃ rājan 'O king of Madra'
kāśmīrāṇāṃ rājan 'O king of Kāśmīra'

1. A *pada* (1.4.15 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) which ends in a *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ...*) is treated as part of the *pada* which immediately follows it, provided this latter is an *āmantrita* 'vocative' (2.3.48 *sā' mantritam*) and an operation concerning *svara* 'accent' is to be performed.

As indicated by the suffix *vatUP* in *parāṅgavat*, this is an extension (*atideśa*) rule. More specifically, it can be termed *tādātmyātideśa* 'extension of sameness', whereby characteristics of one thing can be extended to something else, relative of course to some particular purpose. This rule, for the specific purpose of accentuation, extends the property of sameness of nature (*tatsvabhāvatva*) to a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*, on the condition that this *pada* precedes a vocative (*āmantrita*).

The word *aṅga* is used here in its non-technical sense of 'part' (*avayava*).

Accordingly, when a preceding *pada* that ends in a *sUP* becomes part of a following *āmantrita*, it acquires the properties of an *āmantrita* insofar as accent is concerned. Rule 6.1.198 *āmantritasya ca* states that the initial (*ādi*) vowel of a vocative is marked with *udātta* 'high pitch'. When a *pada* ending in a *sUP* and immediately preceding a vocative becomes part of the vocative, it qualifies for the same accent as that which would be available to a vocative. That is, the *pada* which has become part of a vocative will, as will the vocative, receive high pitch initially (*ādyudātta*).

It should be remembered in this context that, when a *pada* ending in a *sUP* becomes part of a vocative, both *pada* jointly become vocative where accent is concerned. Both words will be treated as one composite word; and, according to rule 6.1.198 *āmantritasya ca*, the initial vowel of the composite word (the word that ends in a *sUP*) will have high pitch (*udātta*). The vocative per se will not have high pitch on its initial vowel because, for purposes of accentuation, the vocative form will be constituted by the combination of both words.

For example, *madrāṇāṃ rājan* 'O king of Madra' is a sequence of two fully inflected words where the first, *madrāṇāṃ*, ends in a *sUP*, which is genitive. It is immediately followed by *rājan*, a *pada* termed *āmantrita*. Rule 6.1.198 *āmantritasya ca* would assign the *udātta* accent to the initial vowel of a vocative, which in the absence of rule 2.1.2 *sub āmantrite...* will, in the present context, be *rājan*. However, under the provisions of rule 2.1.2 the vocative will be *madrāṇāṃrājan*, the total sequence. Consequently, the *a* of *madrāṇāṃ*, and not the *ā* of *rājan*, will receive the *udātta* accent. Thus, the result will be *madrāṇāṃrājan*.

In view of the preceding discussion, one can assume that the function of this rule is to enable a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* to obtain, as in the case of a vocative, the *udātta* accent on its initial vowel provided, of course, that the vocative immediately follows such a *pada*. The *udātta* accent would not be available if the vocative preceded the *pada* ending in a *sUP*, as is shown in the following example:

> *devadatta kuṇḍénāṭan* 'O you, Devadatta, who are wandering with a bowl'

Here, the preceding vocative (*devadatta*) cannot be considered a part of *kuṇḍenāṭan*, as far as the scope of 2.1.2 is concerned. To put it differently, *kuṇḍena* is a *pada* ending in a *sUP*, namely, *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending'. As such, it can be treated as part of *aṭan*, a vocative immediately following it. The *u* of *kuṇḍena* will receive the *udātta* accent, as it will be the initial vowel of the extended vocative *kuṇḍenāṭan*. This is the consequence of the condition of *parāṅgavat* 'as if part of the subsequent'. The condition of *svare* 'when an operation relative to accent' rules out the treatment of a *pada* ending in a *sUP* as part of a following vocative,

when an operation relative to something other than accent is to be performed. That is, for the purpose of operations other than those relative to accent, the *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and precedes a vocative will not be treated as part of that vocative.

Consider, for instance,

> *kūpe siñcan* 'O you, who are bathing in the water-well'

where, if *kūpe* were to be treated as part of the vocative for an operation other than one dealing with accent, the *s* of *siñcan* would be changed into *ṣ*. It is said that only a *pada* ending in a *sUP* can be treated as part of a following vocative. Thus, in examples, such as:

> *pīḍye pīḍyamāna* 'I grieve, O you who are grieving',

pīḍye, because it ends in a *tiN̄*, cannot be treated as part of *pīḍyamāna*, the following vocative.

This rule is given under the scope of 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*. Therefore, whenever a *pada* ending in a *sUP* is to be treated as part of a following vocative, the condition of *sāmarthya* must be met.

2.1.3 प्राक्कडारात्समासः

> *prākkaḍārāt samāsaḥ*
> / *prāk* 0 *kaḍārāt* 5/1 *samāsaḥ* 1/1/
> *kaḍārasaṃśabdanāt prāg yānita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas te samāsa-saṃjñā veditavyāḥ*
> Items enumerated prior to 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye* are termed *samāsa* 'compound'.

EXAMPLE:

> *yathāvṛddham* 'whoever are old' (2.1.7 *yathā 'sādṛśye*) as in *yathāvṛddhaṃ brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva* 'invite whatever *brāhmaṇa* are old'

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'heading' rule with its scope extending prior to rule 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*. That is, this rule introduces the term *samāsa*, which in turn should be carried up to rules prior to 2.2.38. Questions have been raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 562-63) about the purpose of including the word *prāk* 'prior to' in the rule. It is said that indicating the limit of the domain of rule 2.2.3 could hardly be the purpose, as that could easily have been accomplished by the ablative (*pañcamī*) of *kaḍārāt*. What, then, could be the function of *prāk*? The *Mahābhāṣya* explains that *prāk* is used to facilitate *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'inclusion of names'. This is made necessary because rule 2.2.3 is contained within the scope of rule 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*, which demands that only one term be used. Now, if

saṃjñāsamāveśa was not facilitated by the use of *prāk*, difficulties would arise. For example, rule 2.2.3 would introduce the term *samāsa* to every subsequent rule prior to 2.2.38. If there is another rule which introduces another term, then both terms cannot be used simultaneously (*yugapad*). They cannot even be used in turn (*paryāya*). Besides, these two terms have their scope only within this section, and if they were unable to apply here they would become without scope (*niravakāśa*). A rule without scope would become vacuous (*vyartha*).

This 'inclusion of names' for terms (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*), in consonance with rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*), is accomplished by treating *prāk*... 'prior to...' as the subject (*uddeśya*) parallel to *samāsaḥ* 'compound', its predicate (*vidheya*), in the first instance. Subsequently, for the assignment of the other terms, *prāk samāsaḥ* is treated as the subject parallel to, for example, *avyayībhāvaḥ*, *tatpuruṣaḥ*, etc., as the predicate. See my remarks under the following rule for further details of rule-splitting.

Consider an example from this section, where the terms *samāsa* (2.1.3) and *avyayībhāva* (2.1.5) will both become applicable. We know that 1.4.1 will not allow *saṃjñāsamāveśa*. These terms, and the rules which introduce them, have no scope of application elsewhere. They will become vacuous on account of being without scope (*niravakāśa*). It is to remove this difficulty and also to facilitate *saṃjñāsamāveśa* that *prāk* has been used in this rule. That is, by using *prāk*, Pāṇini indicates that within this domain a form termed *samāsa* can still be assigned another term such as *avyayībhāva*, etc. Of course, this is done through the delimitation of the domain (*avadhidvāra*), as *prāk* means 'prior to'. Additionally, rule-splitting is manipulated to accomplish desired results (*iṣṭasiddhyartham*). Thus, a compound such as *upakumbham* 'near the jar' can be assigned both *samāsa* and *avyayībhāva* designations.

Scope: 1.1.30 *tṛtīyāsamāse*

2.1.4 सह सुपा

saha supā
I saha Ø supā 3/1 I
(sup #2, samāsaḥ #3)
yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatra 'sup saha supā' ity upasthitaṃ draṣṭavyam
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* combines with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* to yield a *samāsa*.

EXAMPLE:

kaṣṭaśritaḥ 'he who has fallen upon grief' (2.1.24 *dvitīyā*...)

1. Note that commentators require the *anuvṛtti* of *sup* from rule 2.1.2

sub āmantrite.... This makes the present rule read as *sup saha supā*. A question is raised as to why the word *saha* should be used explicitly in the rule. The instrumental ending in *supā* should itself account for the denotatum of *saha*, as is also the case elsewhere, in rules such as 1.2.65 *vṛddho yūnā....* Accordingly, *saha* cannot be taken merely to serve the function of indicating the meaning 'with'.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 567) stipulates that *saha* is *yogāṅga* 'part of the rule'. That is, it is used to facilitate *yogavibhāga* 'rule-splitting'. In this way, with the *anuvṛtti* of *sup* from rule 2.1.2 *sub āmantrite...*, rule 2.1.4 will read as *sup saha supā* and will be split into two rules as follows:

(1) *sup (samarthena) saha (samasyate)* 'a *pada* ending in a *sUP* is combined with a syntactically related *pada*'

(2) *sup (samarthena) supā saha (samasyate)* 'a *pada* ending in a *sUP* is combined with a syntactically related *pada* ending in a *sUP*'

The result of this combination will be given the designation *samāsa* by rule 2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*, as has been stipulated by *samasyate* in the paraphrase of each split rule. The condition of *sāmarthya* 'syntactic relation' derives from rule 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*, as I have indicated by *samarthena* in the paraphrase of the split rule. The second split rule, above, will permit a compound where both constituent units end in a *sUP*. Conversely, the first split rule will permit a combination where one *pada* ends in a *sUP*, but the other does not. Patañjali cites examples such as *anuvyacalat* 'he moved afterwards' and *anuprāviśat* 'he entered afterwards'. In these examples *anu*, an indeclinable which is technically required to end in *sUP* for purposes of compound-formation, is combined with *vyacalat* and *prāviśat*, which are forms ending in a *tiṄ* 'verbal inflectional ending'. The purpose of rule-splitting, as indicated by the use of *saha*, is thus to permit the formation of compounds which would otherwise not be permitted by existing rules. Commentators also cite additional examples, such as *punaranusyūtam* 'newly tailored' and *punarniṣkṛtaḥ* 'newly built', as available in usages like the following:

(*a*) *punaranusyūtaṃ vastraṃ deyam* 'a newly tailored garment should be given'

(*b*) *punarniṣkṛtaḥ rathaḥ* 'a newly built chariot'

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 565-67) goes into still finer interpretations and implications of this rule, which I do not discuss here. Note, however, that both of the above split-rules allow the formation of compounds separately. The first is viewed to allow compounds where a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* is treated as *samartha* because its base is *samartha*. Such constituents are called (*samarthaprakṛtika*), in contrast with the other more general constituents which become *samartha* only when ending in a *sUP*. Both types of *subanta* constituents partake in the formation of compounds. A distinction between the two types of *subanta* often becomes consequential

for further operations, especially the introduction of subsequent nominal endings.

It is clear that this rule is an *adhikāra*, as it is carried along with the *sup* of rule 2.1.2 *sub āmantrite* to subsequent rules, either completely or in part, as the case may be. Since, however, this rule also allows the formation of compounds it should be considered as a *vidhi* 'operational' rule as well.

2.1.5 **अव्ययीभावः**

avyayībhāvaḥ
/*avyayībhāvaḥ* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3)
yānita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo' vyayībhāvasaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ
A *samāsa* enumerated hereafter is termed *avyayībhāva*.

EXAMPLE:

yathāvṛddham 'who are old' (2.1.7 *yathā 'sādṛśye*) as in
yathāvṛddhaṃ brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva 'invite the *brāhmaṇa* who are old'

1. This rule is also an *adhikāra*, thereby delimiting the scope of compounds termed *avyayībhāva*. The scope of this rule extends up to and including rule 2.1.21 *anyapadārthe ca*.... It is stated that Pāṇini, by formulating a longer term such as *avyayībhāva*, wishes to indicate that the term denotes its etymological meaning (*anvartha*) of *anavyayam avyayaṃ bhavati* 'that which was not an indeclinable (*avyaya*) becomes an indeclinable'. What purpose can be served by employing a term denoting its etymological meaning? Commentators explain that an indeclinable compound, as a general principle, has the meaning of its first constituent as principal (*pradhāna*). Yet this could hardly be the purpose of employing *avyayībhāva* as a term interpretable in its etymological sense. This is because Pāṇini does not define his compound categories, with the possible exception of *bahuvrīhi* (rule 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*), on the basis of the prominence of constituent meanings. What else could be the purpose? It may be to operationally distinguish between indeclinables, in general, and those which became indeclinable by way of compound-formation. For, certain operations may become applicable to indeclinables in general; but there may be certain others which do not apply to indeclinables termed compounds. In this way, the use of the long term *avyayībhāva* indicates restricted operational provisions available only to compounds.

Scope: 1.1.41 *avyayībhāvaś ca*

2.1.6 **अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यृद्ध्यर्थाभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भावपश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्य यौगपद्यसादृश्यसम्पत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु**

avyayam vibhaktisamīpasamṛddhivyṛddnyarthābhāvātyayāsampratiśabda-prādurbhāvapaścādyathānupūrvyayaugapadyasādṛśyasampattisākalyān-tavacaneṣu

/ *avyayam* 1/1 *vibhakti...vacaneṣu* 7/1 = *vibhaktiś ca samīpam ca samṛddhiś ca vyṛddhiś ca arthābhāvaś ca atyayaś ca asamprati ca śabda-prādurbhāvaś ca paścāc ca yathā ca ānupūrvyam ca yaugapadyam ca sādṛśyam ca sampattiś ca sākalyam ca antaś ca* = *vibhakti...antāḥ* (*dv.*), *te vacanāś ca* = *vibhakti...vacanāḥ, teṣu* /

(*sup* #2, *samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5)

vibhaktyādiṣv artheṣu yad avyayam tat samarthena subantena samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati

An *avyaya* 'indeclinable' combines with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* to yield a *samāsa* termed *avyayībhāva* provided the *avyaya* denotes *vibhakti* 'sense of a nominal ending'; *samīpa* 'proximity'; *samṛddhi* 'prosperity'; *vyṛddhi* 'lack of prosperity'; *arthābhāva* 'scarcity'; *atyaya* 'lapse'; *asamprati* 'inappropriateness for the occasion'; *śabdaprā-durbhāva* 'initiation of a discourse'; *paścāt* 'after'; *yathā* 'sense of *yathā*'; *ānupūrvya* 'one after the other, sequence'; *yaugapadya* 'simul-taneity'; *sādṛśya* 'similarity'; *sampatti* 'propriety'; *sākalya* 'entirety'; and *anta* 'limit'.

EXAMPLES:

adhistri 'pertaining to women'
adhikumāri 'pertaining to girls'
upakumbham 'near the pot'
upamaṇikam 'near the waterjar'
sumadram 'the prosperity of the people of Madra'
sumagadham 'the prosperity of the people of Magadha'
durgavadikam 'the lack of prosperity of the Gavadikas'
duryavanam 'the lack of prosperity of the Yavanas (Ionians)'
nirmakṣikam 'absence of flies'
nirmaśakam 'absence of mosquitoes'
nirhimam 'end of winter'
niḥśītam 'end of winter'
atitaisṛkam 'the time to wrap around *taisṛka* (a wrap made in Tisṛkā) has passed'
itipāṇini 'the word Pāṇini is famous in the world'
tatpāṇini 'id.'
anuratham pādātam 'the infantry follows the chariots'
anurūpam 'corresponding to the beauty, appropriate to the beauty'
pratyartham 'relative to each and every meaning'

yathāśakti 'not going beyond one's strength or power'
anjuyeṣṭhaṃ praviśantu bhavantaḥ 'please enter according to seniority'
sacakraṃ dhehi 'move alongside the cart as its wheels turn'
sakikhi 'like a *kikhi* (jackal)'
sabrahma bābhravāṇām 'the union of the descendants of Babhru with the *brahman*'
sakṣatram śālaṅkāyanānām 'the union worthy of the descendants of Śālaṅki with bravery'
satṛṇam abhyavaharati 'he eats it along with the straw'
sabusam abhyavaharati 'he eats it along with the chaff'
sāgny adhīte 'he studies until he has studied the complete treatise on Agni'
seṣṭipaśubandham adhīte 'he studies until he has studied the treatise on animal sacrifice with desiderata (*iṣṭi*)'

1. Note that the process of forming a compound with an indeclinable entails introduction of a *sUP* after the indeclinable, even though we normally understand that an indeclinable is not used with any inflectional ending (*vibhakti*). Thus, a compound such as *upakumbham* is technically derived from the underlying string *upa* + *sŪ kumbha* + *Ṅas*, where the nominative singular ending *sU* is introduced after *upa* 'near'. Rule 2.1.6 allows the formation of this compound because *upa* is used in the sense of *samīpa* 'proximate', and *kumbha*, ending in the genitive *Ṅas*, is syntactically related to it. This relation is based on the transposition (*vyatyaya*) of *kumbha* brought out (*upajanita*) by the meaning of *upa* 'proximity'. The *sŪ* after *upa* is introduced by rule 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...* and, like the *Ṅas* of *kumbha*, is deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. The formation takes place after the derivation of the compound, under the condition of the assignment of the term *prātipadika* to the derivate compound. Rule 2.1.6 introduces the word *avyaya* in the nominative (*prathamā*). Accordingly, an element introduced with the nominative in a rule allowing the formation of a compound is termed *upasarjana* 'secondary element'. This causes the placement of *upa* +*sŪ* initially in the compound string *upa* + *sŪ kumbha* + *Ṅas*, under the provision of rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanam pūrvam*. After the deletion of the endings the string becomes *upakumbha*. The compound can now be subjected to operations specific to *samāsa, avyayībhāva* and *avyaya*. I shall show these operations in the appendix, where full derivations of examples are provided. Suffice it to say, at this point, that an indeclinable can be combined with a syntactically related *pada*, so that it becomes itself a *pada* ending in a *sUP*. Of course, semantic conditions demanded by rules allowing compound-formation must also be met.

2. It is important to note that indeclinables are enumerated here with

their meanings as a condition which must be met before the compound-formation takes place. Furthermore, the second constituent must be syntactically related to the indeclinable constituent of the compound under consideration. I have tried to present these meaning conditions by translating them as closely as possible. However, some of them still need particular clarifications. Commentators have taken special pains to explain both the meaning conditions and the aspect of *sāmarthya* entailed by a given compound. For example, consider the following:

(*a*) The meaning of *adhi* in *adhistri* is *vibhakti*. Commentators explain *vibhakti* as 'that by means of which the meaning of a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) is distinguished: *vibhajyate' nayā prātipadikārtha iti.* (*PM* ad *Kāś* 10:20). They further claim that what is indicated by *vibhakti* is indeed *kārakaśakti* 'the power of a *kāraka*'(1.4.23 *kārake*) *vibhaktiśabdena kārakaśaktir abhidhīyate.* (*PM* ad *Kāś* 10:20). Accordingly, the second constituent must end in a *sUP* denoting a *kāraka.* The *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal ending' after *strī* 'woman' in the underlying string of the compound *adhistri* thus denotes *adhikaraṇa* (1.4.45) *ādhāro' dhikaraṇam*), a *kāraka.*

(*b*) The compound *sumadram* has been permitted under the meaning condition of *samṛddhi* 'prosperity'. It is to be noted that, if the compound does not denote the prominence of this meaning, it will be a *tatpuruṣa*. That is, the form will be *sumadrāḥ* 'the prosperous people of Madra'. An opposite meaning condition has been specified by *vyṛddhi* 'lack of prosperity'. There has been argument as to why *arthābhāva* 'scarcity' itself cannot account for the cases specified by *vyṛddhi.* Commentators agree that 'scarcity' is the nature of things, and that a compound having an indeclinable with the meaning *vyṛddhi* can, therefore, be covered by *arthābhāva.* However, it is the second constituent of the compound whose 'scarcity' is denoted by compounds formed under the meaning condition of *arthābhāva*. Thus, *nirmaśakam* denotes the absence of *maśaka* 'mosquitoes', the second member of the compound. Contrarily, *durgavadikam,* a compound formed under the meaning condition of *vyṛddhi,* does not denote the 'scarcity' of the Gavadikas. Instead, it denotes the absence of their prosperity (*ṛddhi*).

(*c*) The word *atyaya* has been glossed as *atikrama* which, in turn, means 'non-existence'. Lack of existence can also be denoted by *arthābhāva*. However, *arthābhāva* can also cover instances where something never existed. Instances denoted by *atyaya* cover examples where something first existed, and then later lapsed into non-existence. Similarly, *asamprati* specifies an instance

where 'absence' is indicated with reference to current (*varttamāna*) time (*kāla*) only. Accordingly, the definition of *atitaisṛkam* can be paraphrased as 'absence of occasion at the current time for wrapping with the wraps made in Tisṛkā'. An absence denoted by *arthābhāva* could cover the absence over past, present and future: all the possible times. Thus, the *ati* in *atitaisṛkam* denotes *nedānīm* 'not at the current time'.

(*d*) The word *śabdaprādurbhāva* refers to the recurring utterance of a word, thereby implying that the denotatum of that word is very famous. For instance, *itipāṇini* and *tatpāṇini* mean 'the word Pāṇini is famous in the world'.

(*e*) The word *yathā* has been used to indicate that an indeclinable combines when it has the sense of *yathā* (*yathārtha*). There are four meanings of the word *yathā*: *yogyatā* 'fitness, appropriateness'; *vīpsā* 'all pervading'; *padārthānativṛtti* 'not going beyond'; and *sādṛśya* 'similarity'. Thus, *anurūpam* means 'appropriate to one's beauty'; *pratyartham* means 'relative to each and every meaning'; and *yathāśakti* 'not going beyond one's capability'.

(*f*) The word *sādṛśya* has been glossed as *tulyatā* 'equality'. An example of the compound is *sakikhi* 'like a jackal', where the indeclinable *saha* has been used in the sense of *yathā*. A question is raised, in connection with this, as to why compounds such as these cannot be covered under *yathārtha* (see (*f*), above). Nyāsa (II: 23) explains that, if the word *sādṛśya* were not explicitly used, then a compound would have been permitted only when *sādṛśya* was the principal (*pradhāna*) constituent, by way of being a qualified item (*viśeṣya*). A compound such as *sakikhi*, where *sādṛśya*, denoted by *saha*, is not *pradhāna* but is secondary (*guṇībhūta*), could therefore be ruled out.

(*g*) The word *sampatti* denotes 'something other than prosperity' (*samṛddher anyaḥ*). If it did not, the compound could have been covered under the meaning condition of *samṛddhi* 'prosperity'. Actually, *sampatti* denotes *anurūpātmabhāva* 'fit, worthy, or deserving'.

(*h*) A question is raised concerning the separate statement of the meanings of *sākalya* 'entirety' and *anta* 'end, limit'. For, *sākalya* can itself account for *anta*. In fact, *anta* here means a limit which can be set within the entirety of a thing. That is why a sentence such as *sāgny adhite* can be interpreted as 'he recites till the end of the Agni section and not beyond'. The end denoted under the meaning condition of *sākalya* would have included the entire treatise of which the section dealing with Agni is a part.

2.1.7 यथाऽसादृश्ये

yathā 'sādṛśye
/ *yathā* Ø *asādṛśye* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*sup* #2, *samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *avyayam* #6)
'yathā' ity etad avyayam asādṛśye vartamānaṃ supā saha samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
The indeclinable *yathā* combines with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* provided *sādṛśya* 'similarity' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yathāvṛddhaṃ brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva 'invite the *brāhmaṇa* who are old'
yathādhyāpakam āmantrayasva 'invite those who are the teachers'

1. Note that rule 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti*... already allows for the formation of a compound, where an indeclinable may have the meaning of *yathā*. The meanings of *yathā* covered by rule 2.1.6 include *sādṛśya*. Rule 2.1.7 prohibits the formation of a compound when *yathā* is used in the sense of *sādṛśya*. This creates some difficulty in understanding the purpose of rule 2.1.7, especially in view of the provisions made by 2.1.6. commentators disagree on the interpretation of rule 2.1.7 (see Joshi, 1969: 94-104).

A question arises whether this *sūtra* should be treated as *vidhi* 'operation', *niyama* 'restriction', or *niṣedha* 'negation'. Note that a rule is treated as negation only in the context of a positive provision that has been previously made. Since there is no such positive provision made by the previous rule for *yathā*, and used in the sense of something other than *sādṛśya*, this rule cannot be treated as a negation. The lack of a provision is also responsible for the treatment of this rule as a *vidhi*. For, this rule makes a provision which others have not yet made. This rule cannot be treated as a *niyama* because a restriction is imposed in view of some confusion with the scope of some other rule. Since rule 2.1.6. does not make any provision which may create a confusion with the scope of the present rule, the question of its status as a *niyama* should not arise. Besides, refer to the *paribhāṣā* (109) *vidhiniyamasambhave vidhir eva jyāyān*, whereby a *vidhi* interpretation is favored over a *niyama* should they both obtain in a single situation.

Nāgeśa, in his *Laghuśabdenduśekhara* discusses this rule in detail along with the proposal of rule-splitting and questions of the rule's dual status as a *vidhi* and *pratiṣedha*. I do not discuss this here, for lack of interest.

2.1.8 यावदवधारणे

yāvad avadhāraṇe
/ *yāvat* ∅ *avadhāraṇe* 7/1/
(*sup* #2, *samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *avyayam* #6)
'yāvat' ity etad avyayam avadhāraṇe vartamānaṃ supā saha samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
The indeclinable *yāvat* combines with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* provided *avadhāraṇa* 'delimiting, determining the extent, as many as...' is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

yāvadamatraṃ brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva 'invite as many *brāhmaṇa* as there are pots'

1. The indeclinable *yāvat* is used in the sense of *avadhāraṇa*, glossed as *iyattāparicchedа* 'determining the exact limit'. It is for this reason that a compound such as *yāvadamatram*, as in *yāvadamatraṃ brāhmaṇān āmantrayasva*, is interpreted as 'as many (*brāhmaṇa*) as there are pots'. Compounds such as *yāvaddattam*, as in *yāvad dattaṃ tāvad bhuktam* 'he ate as long as he was served the food', are not permitted, since *avadhāraṇa* is not the sense of *yāvat*. Here, 'as long as' lacks a comparable fixed reference, such as we find in the case of 'as many *brāhmaṇa* as there are pots'.

2.1.9 सुप्प्रतिना मात्रार्थे

sup pratinā mātrārthe
/ *sup* 1/1 *pratinā* 3/1 *mātrārthe* 7/1 = *mātrāyāḥ arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5)
mātrārthe vartamānena pratinā saha subantaṃ samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* combines with *prati* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* when *prati* denotes *mātrā* 'a little bit'.

EXAMPLES:

asty atra kiṃcit śākaprati 'there is a little bit of vegetable here'
asty atra kiṃcit sūpaprati 'there is a little bit of soup here'

1. A question is raised as to why *sUP* is used in this rule, when it can be available from the *anuvṛtti* of *sUP* from rule 2.1.2 *sub āmantrite....* In *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* (II: 25) it is stated that the *sUP* of 2.1.2 *sub āmantrite...* cannot be carried via *anuvṛtti*, as it is associated with the *anuvṛtti* of *avyayam* of 2.1.6 *avyayam vibhakti....* Pāṇini here wants to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *avyayam*, which could not be done without dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *sUP*. For the

two are associated with each other, and if one is dropped the other must also be dropped. It is therefore in order to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *avyayam* that *sUP* is used explicitly in this rule.

2. Note that under the provisions of this rule, a *pada* ending in a *sUP* combines with *prati* only when *prati* is used in the sense of *mātrā*. *Kāśikā* (II: 25) cites *bindu* 'drop', *stoka* 'a bit', or *alpa* 'little' as synonyms of *mātrā*. A counterexample such as *vṛkṣaṃ prati* would not yield a compound, as *prati* here is not used in the sense of *mātrā*.

2.1.10 अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा

akṣaśalākāsaṃkhyāḥ pariṇā
/ *akṣaśalākāsaṃkhyāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *pariṇā* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5)
akṣaśabdaḥ, śalākāśabdaḥ, saṃkhyāśabdaś ca pariṇā saha samasyante, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *akṣa* 'dice', *śalākā* 'ivory stick', or an item which denotes *saṃkhyā* 'a numeral', combines with *pari* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva*.

EXAMPLES:

akṣapari 'missed by one die'
śalākāpari 'missed by one ivory stick'
ekapari 'missed by one'
dvipari 'missed by two'
tripari 'missed by three'
catuṣpari 'missed by four'

1. The compounds formed by this rule are used in the context of gambling (*kitavavyavahāra*). The *pada* containing *akṣa* 'dice' or *śalākā* 'ivory stick' are instrumental in the loss or win in the game. It is, therefore, understood that they will be used with *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending'. The win or loss in a game of dice, for example, in *pañcikā*, a game played with five dice or ivory sticks, is indicated by how the dice fall. If they all fall either face down, or face up, the player wins. But if just one falls otherwise, the player loses.

2.1.11 विभाषा

vibhāṣā
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tad vibhāṣā bhavati
What follows hereafter is *vibhāṣā* 'optional'.

EXAMPLES:

See under subsequent rules.

1. This rule is introduced as *adhikāra*, whereby *vibhāṣā* is carried to subsequent rules to indicate that compounds formed hereafter will be optional. That is, a compound such as *bahirgrāmam* 'outside the village' can optionally be used as an alternative to *bahir grāmāt*, its analyzed form (*vigrabhavākya*). The introduction of this rule at this stage also indicates that compounds formed under the provisions of the preceding rules are obligatory (*nitya*). In other words, they have no analyzed form which can be used as their alternant. Note that *vibhāṣā* carries up to 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*.

A question is raised against the formulation of this rule, especially in view of the formulation of rule 2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā*, where *vā* is used to denote optionality. That is, if *vā* in rule 2.1.18 can account for optionality, then this *vibhāṣā* formulation is vacuous. Commentators explain that this is *mahāvibhāṣā*, the general domain of option. This does not rule out the existence of particular domains within its scope. Rule 2.1.18 allows for the formation of the indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) compounds such as *pāregaṅgam* and *madhyegaṅgam* parallel to *pāraṃ gaṅgāyāḥ* and *madhyaṃ gaṅgāyāḥ*. Such compounds are optional in the sense that they can be used parallel to their respective analyzed forms. This is the option which rule 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā* provides. The *vā* of 2.1.18 provides for genitive compounds, such as, *gaṅgāpāram* and *gaṅgāmadhyam* parallel to *gaṅgāyāḥ pāram* and *gaṅgāyāḥ madhyam*, and optionally applies to *pāregaṅgam* and *madhyegaṅgam* their *avyayībhāva* counterparts. The *avyayībhāva* compound. in the absence of *vā*, and at the strength of its status as a particular provision (*viśeṣavidhāna*), would have blocked the more general provision of the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. This explains the importance of rule 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā*.

In summary, rule 2.1.11 provides for options between compounds and their analyzed forms, whereas other terms of options within this domain provide for options between the compounds themselves.

2.1.12 अपपरिबहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या

apaparibahirañcavaḥ pañcamyā
/ *apaparibahirañcavaḥ* 1/3 = *apa ca pari ca bahiś ca añcuś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *pañcamyā* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11)
'*apa, pari, bahis, añcu*' *ity ete subantāḥ pañcamyantena vibhāṣā samasyante, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *apa* 'excluding', *pari* 'around', *bahis* 'outside', or a form which ends in affix *añcU*, optionally combines with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of *sUP*' to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva*.

EXAMPLES:

apatrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained outside of Trigartta'
apa trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'id.'
paritrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained around Trigartta'
pari trigarttebhyo vrṣṭo devaḥ 'id.'
bahirgrāmam 'outside the village'
bahir gramāt 'id.'
prāggrāmam 'prior to, or east of, the village'
prāg gramāt 'id.'

1. Note that *apa* and *pari* are *karmapravacanīya*, denoting the sense of *varjana* 'exclusion, prohibition' (1.4.88 *apaparī varjane*). Rule 2.3.10 *pañcamy apāṅparibhiḥ* introduces *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of nominal endings' after a nominal stem used in conjunction with them. It is in this sense that we say that *apa* and *pari* govern *pañcamī*. A similar provision of *pañcamī* is also made for a nominal stem used in conjunction with *añcU* (2.3.29 *anyārād...*). However, there is no rule which makes such provision for *pañcamī* for stems used in conjunction with *bahis* 'outside'. How, then, could *bahis* be combined with a *pada* which ends in *pañcamī*? Since Pāṇini nevertheless uses *pañcamī* we can make the following two inferences:

(*i*) That *bahis* combines only with a *pada* ending in *pañcamī*, and that
(*ii*) Pāṇini's explicit mention of *pañcamī* in connection with *bahis* makes the provision for a nominal stem to end in *pañcamī* (*Mbh* II: 575).

The word *pañcamī* of this rule will become meaningless unless one of these inferences is accepted. For, *pañcamī* has already been provided in the case of *apa*, *pari*, and *añcU*. If *pañcamī* serves no purpose in connection with *bahis*, it becomes useless. The first inference (i) is acceptable only on the basis of meaning, as can also be attested by the general provision of rule 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*. This, as Kaiyaṭa observes, accounts for usages such as *bahir gato grāmāt* 'he went out from the village'....

2.1.13 आङ्मर्यादाभिविध्योः

āṅ maryādābhividhyoḥ
/ *āṅ maryādābhividhyoḥ* 7/2 = *maryādā ca abhividhiś ca* (*itar.dv.*); *tayoḥ* /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *pañcamyā* #12)
'*āṅ*' *ity etan maryādāyām abhividhau ca vartamānaṃ pañcamyantena saha vibhāṣā samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati*
Optionally *āṄ* combines with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *pañcamī* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* when *āṄ* denotes *maryādā* 'exclusive limit; up to, though not including'; and *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit; up to and including'.

EXAMPLES:

āpāṭaliputraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained up to (but not including) Pāṭaliputra'
ā pāṭaliputrād vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'id.'
ākumāraṃ yaśaḥ pāṇineḥ 'the fame of Pāṇini has reached even the young'
ā kumārebhyo yaśaḥ pāṇineḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *āṄ* is a *karmapravacanīya* when it denotes *maryādā* 'extent, limit' (1.4.89 *āṅ maryādāvacane*). It also governs *pañcamī* (2.3.10 *pañcamy apāṅparibhiḥ*). Since *āṄ* is a *karmapravacanīya* only when it denotes *maryādā*, the expression *maryādābhividhi* should not be used in this rule.

The argument that *abhividhi* should be stated in the rule, since it cannot be inferred from rule 1.4.89 *āṅ maryādāvacane*, is unacceptable because *maryādā* 'extent, limit' is a general word which also includes the particular meaning of *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. Why, then, did Pāṇini need to use *maryādābhividhi* in this rule? It was necessary so that even the slow-witted could easily understand. (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* II: 30: *tathāpi mandadhiyāṃ sukhāvabodhanārthaṃ maryādābhividhigrahaṇam.*)

2.1.14 **लक्षणेनाभिप्रत्याभिमुख्ये**

lakṣaṇenābhipraty ābhimukhye
/ *laksaṇena* 3/1 *abhipratī* 1/2 (*itar.dv.*) *ābhimukhye* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11)
lakṣaṇavācinā sahābhipratī śabdāv ābhimukhye vartamānau vibhāṣā samasyete, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
Either *abhi* or *prati* may combine with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* provided *abhi* or *prati* denotes *ābhimukhya* 'towards, facing towards'.

EXAMPLES:

abhyagni śalabhāḥ patanti 'the moths are falling towards the fire'
agnim abhi śalabhāḥ patanti 'id.'
pratyagni śalabhāḥ patanti 'id.'
agniṃ prati śalabhāḥ patanti 'id.'

1. This rule allows for *abhi* and *prati*, when meaning *ābhimukhya* 'to face toward', to combine with a *pada* ending in *dvitīyā*. Furthermore, this *pada* should also denote *lakṣaṇa* 'a mark by which something is thus characterized'. The term *karmapravacanīya* is assigned to *abhi* and *prati* by rules 1.4.91 *abhir...* and 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyāna...* respectively. Rule 2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte...* introduces *dvitīyā* 'accusative' after a nominal stem used in conjunction with *abhi* and *prati*. A compound such

as *abhyagni śalabhāḥ patanti* 'the moths are falling towards the fire' will then have a parallel analyzed form *agnim abhi*. The word *agni* here serves as a *lakṣaṇa*, characterizing the place (*deśa*) which, in turn, has become the locus (*adhikaraṇa*) for the falling of the moths. The condition of *ābhimukhya* is also met, since the moths fall directly towards the fire. For further details on *lakṣaṇa*, see my comments under rules 1.4.84 *anur lakṣaṇe* and 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyāna....*

2.1.15 अनुर्यत्समया

anur yatsamayā
/ *anuḥ* 1/1 *yatsamayā* Ø = *yasya samayā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *lakṣaṇena* #14)
anur yasya samīpavācī tena lakṣaṇabhūtena saha vibhāṣā samasyate
Optionally *anu* combines with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *lakṣaṇa* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* provided *anu* denotes proximity with the denotatum of the above *pada*.

EXAMPLES:

anuvanam aśanir gataḥ 'the thunderbolt passed close to the forest'
anu vanasya aśanir gataḥ 'id.'

1. The word *samayā* denotes proximity (*sāmīpya*). The compound *yatsamayā* is analyzed as a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) *tatpuruṣa*; and, read with *anuḥ*, it is interpreted as 'that *pada* (which denotes *lakṣaṇa*) whose proximity *anu* denotes'. But how could the genitive ending be introduced after *yad*, when the same has been denied by a *vārttika* (*Mbh* II: 769)? Besides, even if one is able to justify *ṣaṣṭhī*, the compound itself will be blocked by 2.2.11 *pūraṇaguṇasuhitārtha....* This will happen because *samayā* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). Commentators (*PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* II: 31) take a lengthy route explaining how *ṣaṣṭhī*, and not *dvitīyā*, is justified. They also explain how *samayā*, because it denotes 'thing' (*sattva*), cannot be called an *avyaya* 'indeclinable'. Consequently, *samayā* not being an *avyaya*, the formation of the compound cannot be blocked by rule 2.2.11. I omit the details of this argument for fear of expatiation. I also interpret *yatsamayā* as *yaṃ padārthaṃ samyā dyotyate* 'the thing which is denoted by *samayā*' as has already been advocated by Bhaṭṭoji in his *SK*. This clearly supports the interpretation of *yad* in this rule as ending in the *dvitīyā*. I accept this interpretation because it is straightforward.

Note that rule 2.1.6 *avyayam...* may also account for the derivates of this rule, owing to the inclusion there of *samīpa*. However, the derivate in that instance will be an obligatory (*nitya*) compound, as opposed to the

optional one of this rule. Moreover, the denotatum of *samayā* in rule 2.1.6 *avyayam...* is slightly different from the one intended in the context of the present rule. This rule requires *samayā* to denote a meaning which gives prominence to the locus (*adhikaraṇaśakti*). Rule 2.1.6 *avyayam...* gives prominence to 'proximity' (*sāmīpya*). This becomes an additional reason for the formulation of this rule.

2.1.16 यस्य चायामः

yasya cāyāmaḥ
/ *yasya* 6/1 *ca* Ø *āyāmaḥ* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *lakṣaṇena* #14, *anuḥ* #15)
anur yasyāyāmavācī tena lakṣaṇabhūtena saha vibhāṣā samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
Optionally *anu* combines with a syntactically related *pada* that ends in *sUP* and denotes *lakṣaṇa*, to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* when *anu* denotes the *āyāma* 'length' of the denotatum of this *pada*.

EXAMPLES:

anugaṅgaṃ vārāṇasī 'Vārāṇasī extends along the river Gaṅgā'
anu gaṅgāyāḥ vārāṇasī 'id.'
anuyamunaṃ mathurā 'Mathurā extends along the river Yamunā'
anu yamunāyāḥ mathurā 'id '

1. This rule provides for the formation of a compound between *anu* and a *pada* whose *āyāma anu* denotes, and which serves as *lakṣaṇa*. Consider, for example, *anugaṅgaṃ vārāṇasī* 'Vārāṇasī extends along the river Gaṅgā as far as the river extends', which has its parallel analyzed form *gaṅgāyā anu*. Here, *gaṅgā* serves as *lakṣaṇa* to characterize the expanse of the city of Vārāṇasī. Why cannot the city itself be treated as *lakṣaṇa*, characterizing the expanse of the river? Because that which can serve as *lakṣaṇa* must also be famous. The city is, to say the least, relatively less famous than the river. The *karmapravacanīya anu* denotes the expanse of Gaṅgā which, in turn, characterizes the expanse of the city.

2.1.17 तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतीनि च

tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca
/ *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni* 1/3 = *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛti yeṣāṃ tāni* (*bv.*); *ca* Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5)
tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni śabdarūpāṇi avyayībhāvasaṃjñakāni bhavanti
Forms such as *tiṣṭhadgu*, etc., also are termed *avyayībhāva*.

EXAMPLES:

tiṣṭhadgu (*kālaḥ*) 'the time when the cows stand for milking'

vahadgu (kālaḥ) 'the time when cows conceive or bulls plow'
khaleyavam 'the time when the barley is on the threshing floor'
daṇḍādaṇḍi 'fighting one another with sticks'

1. This is a *nipātana* 'ad hoc' rule, whereby Pāṇini enumerates compounds such as *tiṣṭhadgu*, etc. These compounds are considered as derived; that is, no rule other than this has been offered to show their derivational process. Particle *ca* has been used here in the delimiting (*avadhāraṇa*) sense of *eva* 'alone, only'. Consequently, compounds enumerated in the list headed by *tiṣṭhadgu* alone should be formed. The use of *ca* in the sense of *eva* protects these examples from becoming part of other compounds. For instance, a compound such as **paramatiṣṭhadgu kālaḥ* 'the best time for milking cows' is not permitted.

2.1.18 **पारेमध्ये षष्ठ्या वा**

pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā
/ *pāre, madhye* (deleted 1/1) *ṣaṣṭhyā* 3/1 *vā* Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11)
pāramadhyaśabdau ṣaṣṭhyantena saha vibhāṣā samasyete, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
Optionally *pāre* and *madhye* combine with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva*.

EXAMPLES:

pāregaṅgam 'across the river Gaṅgā'
pāraṃ gaṅgāyāḥ 'id.'
madhyegaṅgam 'in the middle of the river Gaṅgā'
madhyaṃ gaṅgāyāḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *pāre* and *madhye* are technically not words ending in the locative (*saptamī*). Instead, they are given in the nominative (*prathamā*) with the endings deleted. This would then give the forms *pāra* and *madhya*. How is it that we are given the forms *pāre* and *madhye*? Commentators explain that *pāra* and *madhya* are terminated in *e* when they combine with a *pada* ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Of course, this terminal *e* replacement is ad hoc, and could only be justified via *nipātana*.

Commentators (*Bālamanoramā* ad *SK*) explain that this ad hoc provision for *e* is made to restrict the scope of such compounds to contexts where locative (*saptamī*) meaning (*saptamyartha*) is not possible. For, if one interprets the compound *pāregaṅgam* as *gaṅgāyāḥ pāre*, where *pāre*, a constituent ending in the locative (*saptamī*), is to combine with *gaṅgāyāḥ*, a constituent ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), then rule 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*, on the basis of *bahulam*, could easily accomplish the non-deletion (*aluk*) of locative (*saptamī*). Subsequent application of shortening (*hrasvatva*) of the

ā of *gaṅgā*, and the replacement by *am* under the dictates of the assignment of the term *napuṃsaka* 'neuter', will produce the desired *pāregaṅgam*. But this would make the ad hoc provision of *e* vacuous (*vyartha*). Consequently, indication of the absence of locative meaning (*saptamyarthābhāva*) is treated as the purpose of the terminal *e* (*edantatva*) in *pāre* and *madhye*.

2.1.19 संख्या वंश्येन

saṃkhyā vaṃśyena
/ *saṃkhyā* 1/1 *vaṃśyena* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11)
vaṃśyavācinā subantena saha saṃkhyā samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which denotes *saṃkhyā* optionally combines with a syntactically related *pada* denoting *vaṃśya* 'member of a lineage' to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva*.

EXAMPLES:

dvimuni vyākaraṇasya vaṃśyau 'there are two sages in the lineage of grammar'
trimuni vyākaraṇasya vaṃśyāḥ 'there are three sages in the lineage of grammar'

1. The word *vaṃśya* has been explained as 'born in the lineage'. It is a derivative of *vaṃśa* meaning 'members of a lineage with similar characteristics derived either by birth or by learning' (*Kāś* II: 36: *vidyayā janmanā vā prāṇinām ekalakṣaṇasantāno vaṃśa ity abhidhīyate*). Thus, *ekaviṃśati bhāradvājam* 'the twenty-one descendants of Bharadvāja', where *bhāradvājam* denotes twenty-one descendants who were born in the lineage of Bharadvāja, parallel to *ekaviṃśatiḥ bharadvājāḥ*. A grammarian is called *vaiyākaraṇa* because he studies *vyākaraṇa* 'grammar'. Similarly, *trimuni vyākaraṇasya...* means that 'there are three sages in the lineage of grammar'; namely, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali, who are descendants in the lineage of grammar.

Note that when there is a desire to express non-difference (*abhedavivakṣā*) between, for example, the science of grammar and its descendants, there obtains a syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). The expression parallel to the compound becomes: *trimuni vyākaraṇam...*, which would then imply that the three sages themselves constitute what one calls grammar.

2.1.20 नदीभिश्च

nadībhiś ca
/ *nadībhiḥ* 3/1 *ca* 0/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *saṃkhyā* #19)

nadīvacanaiḥ śabdaiḥ saha saṃkhyā samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which denotes *saṃkhyā* optionally combines with a syntactically related *pada* denoting *nadī* 'river' to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva*.

EXAMPLES:

saptagaṅgam 'seven streams of the river Gaṅgā'
dviyamunam 'two streams of the river Yamunā'
pañcanadam 'the confluence of five rivers'
saptagodāvaram 'seven streams of the river Godāvarī'

1. The word *nadī* of *nadībhiḥ* is specified in the plural to indicate that it should be interpreted neither as a technical term (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*), nor as a word representing its own form (1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā*). Instead, it should be interpreted as denoting its meaning alone. The compounds formed under the provision of this rule are desired in the sense of *samāhāra* 'aggregation'. This is what the *Mahābhāṣya* states by *samāhāre cāyam iṣyate*. Commentators explain that the *ca* is used in the delimiting sense of *eva* 'alone, only'. This means that compounds covered by this rule are permitted only in the sense of aggregation.

2.1.21 अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम्

anyapadārthe ca saṃjñāyām
/ *anyapadārthe* 7/1 = *anyaḥ padārtho yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *ca* Ø *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *avyayībhāvaḥ* #5, *sup* #9, *nadībhiḥ* #20)
nadībhiḥ saha subantam anyapadārthe vartamānaṃ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye samasyate, avyayībhāvaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* combines with a syntactically related *pada* which denotes *nadī* to yield a compound termed *avyayībhāva* provided the compound denotes a name which is distinct from something denoted by its individual constituents.

EXAMPLES:

unmattagaṅgam 'name of a place where the Gaṅgā flows tempestuously'
lohitagaṅgam 'name of a place where the water of the Gaṅgā is red'
kṛṣṇagaṅgam name of a place where the water of the Gaṅgā is black'
śanairgaṅgam 'name of a place where the Gaṅgā flows slowly'

1. The word *saṃkhyā* is not carried to this rule, though *nadī* is. Note that *vibhāṣā* is to be excluded from the context of this rule, because the compounds cannot be used optionally with their analyzed forms. Consequently, they are treated as *nitya* 'obligatory'. That is, the analyzed form of the compound cannot be optionally used to denote the same meaning, which is what will be required if *vibhāṣā* were accepted. For example, *unmattagaṅgam* is a compound parallel to which an analyzed form, *unmattā gaṅgā yasmin* 'that in which the Gaṅgā flows tempestuously', can be cited. But there is a difference in their meanings. The compound refers to a particular place where the Gaṅgā flows tempestuously. The analyzed form refers to any place where the Gaṅgā may flow tempestuously. It is for this reason that *anyapadārthe* 'in the sense of something outside the constituency of the compound' and *saṃjñāyām* 'when a name' are included as conditions in the wording of this rule.

Note further that the places named by the compounds do not necessarily have to have the state of the Gaṅgā, or its water, as characterized by their constituent meanings. What is important here is the name, and not the truth or the falsity of the characterization.

Scope: 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*

2.1.22 तत्पुरुषः

tatpuruṣaḥ
/ tatpuruṣaḥ 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9)
tatpuruṣaḥ iti saṃjñā 'dhikriyate prāg bahuvrīheḥ, yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatpuruṣasaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ
Compounds enumerated prior to 2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ* are termed *tatpuruṣa*.

EXAMPLE:

kaṣṭaśritaḥ 'he who has fallen upon grief' (see 2.1.24 *dvitīyā...*)

2.1.23 द्विगुश्च

dviguś ca
/ dviguḥ 1/1 *ca* 0/
dviguś ca samāsas tatpuruṣasaṃjño bhavati
A compound termed *dvigu* (2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ*) is also termed *tatpuruṣa*.

EXAMPLES:

pañcarājam 'a collection of five kings'
daśarājam 'a collection of ten kings'

dvyahaḥ 'a collection of two days'
tryahaḥ 'a collection of three days'
pañcagavam 'a collection of five cows'
daśagavam 'a collection of ten cows'

1. A question is raised about the desirability of formulating this rule. The purpose of this rule is to assign to a compound both the terms *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ*) and *dvigu*. It is argued that assignment of the term *tatpuruṣa* could be automatically available, as this is the domain of *tatpuruṣa*. The term *dvigu* could also be assigned by rule 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ*. In this way, one does not require the present rule. However, its purpose is to save the *tatpuruṣa*, a general term (2.1.22), from being blocked by *dvigu*, a particular term (2.1.52). For, this is the domain of *ekasaṃjñā* where, unless otherwise specified, *saṃjñāsamāveśa* 'inclusion of names' may not be allowed. Bhaṭṭoji (*SK* II: 31) still maintains that this rule could be dispensed with. To do this, one simply has to read *ca* 'and' at the end of rule 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ*. But this might entail rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*), such as *saṃkhyāpūrvaḥ* and *dviguś ca*, so that application of the terms *tatpuruṣa* and *dvigu* one after the other (*paryāya*) can be avoided.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 582) states that the term *tatpuruṣa* is needed for compounds such as *pañcagavam* 'a collection of five cows', so that, given the string *pañcago*, *samāsānta* affix (5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*) *ṬaC* (5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki*) can be introduced. The compound is also to be called *dvigu*, formed in the sense of *samāhāra* 'collection' (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada...*), otherwise it could not be termed neuter (2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). See the appendix, under this rule, for derivational details.

2.1.24 **द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः**

dvitīyā śritātītapatitagatātyastaprāptāpannaiḥ
I dvitīyā 1/1 *śritā...pannaiḥ* 3/3 (*itar. dv.*) *I*
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22)
dvitīyāntaṃ subantaṃ śritādibhiḥ saha vibhāṣā samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* ending in *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of *sUP*' optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* and containing *śrita* 'resorted to, attained, fallen upon', *atīta* 'gone through, over or beyond', *patita* 'fallen into', *gata* 'gone, departed', *atyasta* 'thrown beyond', *prāpta* 'reached, attained', or *āpanna* 'gotten to'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭaśritaḥ 'he who has fallen upon grief'
narakaśritaḥ 'he who has attained *naraka* (hell)'

kāntārātītaḥ 'he who has gone beyond the forest'
narakapatitaḥ 'he who has fallen into hell'
grāmagataḥ 'he who has departed for the village'
taraṅgātyastaḥ 'he who has been thrown beyond the waves'
tuhinātyastaḥ 'he who has been thrown beyond the dew'
sukhaprāptaḥ 'he who has reached happiness'
sukhāpannaḥ 'he who has reached happiness'
duḥkhāpannaḥ 'he who has gotten to unhappiness'

1. Note that *sup* and *supā* are carried over. The term *dvitīyā* thus becomes a qualifier to the *pada* ending in *sUP*. Similarly, *supā* is read with *śrita*, etc. *Kāśikā*'s gloss reflects this: *dvitīyāntaṃ subantaṃ śritādibhiḥ (subantaiḥ) saha samasyate...* 'a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* is combined with another *pada* containing *śrita*, etc.'.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 582–87) discusses the possibility of interpreting compounds such as *kaṣṭaśritaḥ* in two ways: as *kaṣṭaṃ śritaḥ* 'grief-stricken' and as *kaṣṭaṃ śritaṃ yena* 'he by whom grief is resorted to'. The first interpretation yields a *tatpuruṣa*, as opposed to the second, which yields a *bahuvrīhi*. There is no difference in meaning; and, in following a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, no problem of accentuation could be faced. On this basis, rule 2.1.24 could be rejected. Patañjali, however, does not reject the rule. He shows that a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation may have a different meaning, as compared with the *bahuvrīhi*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, in contrast with a *tatpuruṣa* may not entail differences of meaning, or accent, in case of certain specific examples. It may, however, entail differences of both meaning and accent in case of many others. Besides, it may also require preplacement (*pūrvanipāta*) of a constituent which otherwise would be required to be postplaced (*paranipāta*) in a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation. It is in view of these difficulties that rule 2.1.24 is to be accepted the way it is. I omit illustrative detatils in support of these observations for fear of expatiation. The *Mahābhāṣya* also accepts a *vārttika* whereby *gamī* and *gāmī* 'goer' should be included in the rule along with *śrita*, etc., to facilitate the formation of *grāmagamī*/*grāmagāmī* 'he who is to go to the village'. For further details on the discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya* see Joshi (1969: 151–64).

2.1.25 स्वयं क्तेन

svayaṃ ktena
/ svayam ∅ ktena 3/1/
(samāsaḥ #3, saha supā #4, sup #9, vibhāṣā #11, tatpuruṣaḥ #22)
'svayam' ity etat subantaṃ ktāntena saha vibhāṣā samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
Optionally *svayam* 'oneself' combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a nominal stem terminated in *Kta*.

EXAMPLES:

svayaṃdhautau pādau 'feet washed by oneself'
svayaṃvilīnam (*ājyam*) 'the *ghee* which has melted by itself'

1. Commentators note that the word *dvitīyā* cannot be treated as carried here to qualify *svayam*; it is carried here for *anuvṛtti* in subsequent rules (*uttarārtha*).

The purpose of allowing the formation of a compound between *svayam* and a *pada* which contains a nominal stem ending in *Kta* is *aikapadya* '(their) treatment as part of one word' and *aikasvarya* 'assignment of one accent'. For example, rule 6.1.223 *samāsasya* assigns the *udātta* accent on the final vowel of a compound. If a compound between *svayam* and *dhauta* is not permitted, the desired *udātta* accent could not be available to *svayaṃdhauta* of *svayaṃdhautau pādau*.

2.1.26 खट्वा क्षेपे

khaṭvā kṣepe
/ *khaṭvā* 1/1 *kṣepe* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *dvitīyā* #24, *ktena* #25)
khaṭvāśabdo dvitīyāntaḥ ktāntena saha kṣepe gamyamāne samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* combines with a syntactically related *pada* terminated in *sUP* and containing a stem which ends in *Kta* to yield a compound termed *tatpuruṣa* provided *kṣepa* 'censure' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvārūḍhaḥ 'a person deserving of contempt who climbs into the marriage bed without finishing his studies and getting the permission of his teacher'
khaṭvāplutaḥ 'a person deserving of contempt because of following the wrong path'

1. A compound such as *khaṭvārūḍhaḥ* is treated as obligatory (*nitya*) because the meaning of the compound is different from its corresponding uncompounded form *khaṭvām ārūḍhaḥ*. The first denotes contempt (*nindā*), whereas the second simply refers to someone who has climbed into bed. This means two things: 'censure' is the meaning of the compound; and *vibhāṣā* is not to be read with this rule. Incidentally, *khaṭvārūḍhaḥ* may also generally characterize a person who has gone on the wrong path (*vimārgaprasthita*).

2.1.27 सामि

sāmi
/ *sāmi* 0/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *ktena* #25)
'sāmy' ity etad avyayaṃ subantaṃ ktāntena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
The word *sāmi* 'half' is combined with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem ending in *Kta* to yield a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

sāmikṛtam 'half done'
sāmipītam 'half drunk'
sāmibhuktam 'half eaten'

1. Note that *sāmi* is an indeclinable meaning 'half' (*arddha*). The word *dvitīyā* cannot be associated with *sāmi*, since the latter does not denote an object. For, the power (*śakti*) to be an object (*karma*) requires a *dravya* 'thing' to serve as its locus (*ādhāra*). The purpose of forming a compound with *sāmi* is again *aikapadya* and *aikasvarya*.

2.1.28 कालाः

kālāḥ
/ *kālāḥ* 1/3/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *dvitīyā* #24, *ktena* #25)
kālavācinaḥ śabdā dvitīyāntāḥ ktāntena saha samasyante vibhāṣā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* and denotes time (*kāla*) optionally combines with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem in *Kta* to yield a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

aharatisṛtā muhūrttāḥ 'the *muhūrtta* which have gone beyond the day'
rātryatisṛtā muhūrttāḥ 'the *muhūrtta* which have gone beyond the night'
māsapramitaś candramāḥ 'the new moon of *pratipadā* which has started to measure the month by her shape'

1. The word *kālāḥ* does not entail *svarūpavidhi* 'process of interpreting a word as denoting its form only', as would be required by rule 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya*....The plural in *kālāḥ* is thus also not restrictive.

Note that this, as well as the subsequent rule, could have been jointly

formulated as *kālāḥ atyantasaṃyoge*. This would have been economical, also, in view of the additional saving of *ca* used in the subsequent rule. This, however, would have restricted the new rule to applying only when the condition of *atyantasaṃyoga* 'total connection' was met. A separate formulation of rule 2.1.28 allows a *pada* which denotes time to combine with a *pada* containing *Kta* without the restriction of *atyantasaṃyoga*. Besides, the *anuvṛtti* of *Kta* is inoperative in the case of the subsequent rule.

For example, a compound such as *rātrisaṃkrāntāḥ* can be formed by combining (*rātri* + *am* + *saṃkrānta* + *sŪ*), where *rātri* + *am* denotes time and ends in *dvitīyā*. Similarly, *saṃkrānta* + *sŪ* contains *saṃkrānta*, which ends in the affix *Kta*. The compound can be used as a modifier to specific *muhūrtta* denoting a measure of time, each measure being equal to forty-eight minutes. These *muhūrtta* are six in number. They are called *carācara* 'transient', and they ascend at some time in the night during the winter, or during the day in the summer. Another compound, *māsapramitaḥ*, is used here as a modifier of the moon, which has just started to measure the passage of the month by her shape. Note that neither the *muhūrtta* of the first example, nor the moon of the second, have an uninterrupted or continuous connection with the night, or with the month. As opposed to this, compounds formed under the subsequent rule will not be limited to the constituency of a form containing *Kta*, but will be limited by the condition of continuous connection.

2.1.29 अत्यन्तसंयोगे च

atyantasaṃyoge ca
/ *atyantasaṃyoge* 7/1 = *atyantaḥ saṃyogaḥ* (*karm.*), *tasmin*; *ca* Ø/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *dvitīyā* #24, *kālāḥ* #28)
kālavācinaḥ śabdā dvitīyāntā atyantasaṃyoge gamyamāne supā saha samasyante vibhāṣā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* and denotes time optionally combines with a syntactically related *pada* terminated in *sUP* to yield a *tatpuruṣa* compound also when *atyantasaṃyoga* 'continuous connection' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

muhūrttasukham 'happiness for one full *muhūrtta*'
sarvarātra kalyāṇī 'one whole blissful night'
sarvarātraśobhanā 'one whole beautiful night'

1. The word *ktena* is not carried to this rule, so that the constituency of the compound is not limited to a *pada* which underlies a stem ending in *Kta*. However, the condition of a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* and denotes

time still obtains. Furthermore, there must be continuous connection with the word which denotes time, and with the denotatum of the second constituent. Thus, *muhūrttasukham* denotes a happiness extending through the total duration of a *muhūrtta*.

2.1.30 तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन

tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena
/ *tṛtīyā* 1/1 *tatkṛta* (deleted 3/1) = *tena kṛtam* (*tṛ. tat.*) *arthena* 3/1; *guṇavacanena* 3/1 = *guṇayuktavān vacanaḥ* (*up. tat.*)/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22)
tṛtīyāntaṃ subantaṃ guṇavacanenārthaśabdena ca saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *tṛtīya* 'third triplet of *sUP*', optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*, and either (*i*) denotes a quality produced by the denotatum of the *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā*, or (*ii*) contains *artha*.

EXAMPLES:

śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ 'split into pieces by a *śaṅkulā* (nutcracker)'
kirikāṇaḥ 'a person who has but one eye due to the charge of a boar'
dhānyārthaḥ 'wealth derived from grain'

1. This rule allows the combination of a *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* with another *pada* which denotes quality (*guṇavacana*), or contains *artha* 'purpose; possession, wealth' provided that the quality denoted by the second constituent is caused by the denotatum of the one ending in *tṛtīyā*. Thus, we get examples such as:

śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ 'split into pieces by a *śaṅkulā* (nutcracker)'

where *śaṅkulā* ends in *tṛtīyā*, and *khaṇḍaḥ* denotes the quality of split into pieces produced by the nutcracker. Similarly, a compound such as the second of the above examples

kirikāṇaḥ 'a person who has but one eye due to the charge of a boar'

is permissible since *kiri*, the boar, is the producer of the quality of being one-eyed. However, *akṣṇākāṇaḥ* 'one-eyed' would not be permissible under this rule, because *akṣi* 'eye' could not be accepted as producing the quality of being one-eyed.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 589–91) discusses the implications of the words *takṛtārthena* and *guṇavacanena*. First of all, the constituency of the compound formed under this rule must entail causal relationship. Secondly, this relationship is not produced by the *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā*. Instead, it is the denotatum of the *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā* that produces the quality which, in turn, resides in the denotatum of the other *pada*. Thus, the causal

relationship is produced via the meaning (*arthadvāraka*). For example, the denotatum of *śaṅkulayā*, a *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā*, is *karaṇa* 'instrument', the cause of the quality of *khaṇḍana* 'splitting' which now resides in the denotatum of *khaṇḍa* 'piece'. The word *tatkṛta* of *tatkṛtārthena* is also important. Obviously *tad* 'that' refers to the *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā*; *kṛta* means 'made, done'. But since the causal relationship is mediated by the denotatum of the *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā*, *tatkṛta* should mean 'made by the action of the denotatum of the *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā*'. This brings the word *guṇavacanena* 'that which has *guṇa* 'quality' as its denotatum (*vacana*)' into focus, insofar as its meaning is concerned. Thus, *khaṇḍa* initially denoted the quality of *khaṇḍana* 'splitting'; but it now denotes the substance (*dravya*) with *khaṇḍaguṇa* 'something modified with the quality caused by splitting'.

A question has also been raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* about the use of the word *artha*; for the sense of *artha* should become available even without its explicit use. The rule should therefore have been formulated as: *tṛtīyā tatkṛtena guṇavacanena*. This, however, is rejected by Patañjali. It is further argued that, if *artha* is to be retained for clarity, why can it not be used with *tṛtīyā* also? This would require the rule to be formulated as: *tṛtīyārthena tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena*. Patañjali does not accept this either. Instead, he says that the word *artha* is used here to facilitate rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*). Thus, there will be two rules: *tṛtīyā tatkṛtena* and *tṛtīyā arthena*. The second split rule will enable us to account for compounds where a word which ends in *tṛtīyā* combines to form a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a word containing *artha*. In this way, we get examples like:

dhānyena arthaḥ = *dhānyārthaḥ* 'money derived from *dhānya* (grain)'

This rule-splitting would also make the explicit use of the word *artha* in the following rule unnecessary. Incidentally, treatment of *arthena* of *tatkṛrārthena* as separate from *tatkṛta* in the wording of this rule via *yogavibhāga* leaves *tatkṛta* as used without a nominal ending. Commentators explain that *tatkṛta* is used here with a deleted instrumental ending (*luptatṛtīyākam*).

2.1.31 **पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः**

pūrvasadṛśasamonārthakalahanipuṇamiśraślakṣṇaiḥ
/ *pūrvasadṛśa...ślakṣṇaiḥ* 3/1 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *tṛtīyā* #30)
'*pūrva, sadṛśa, sama, ūnārtha, kalaha, nipuṇa, miśra, ślakṣṇa*' *etaiḥ saha tṛtīyāntaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* optionally combines with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* to yield a *tatpuruṣa* compound

provided the latter contains *pūrva* 'earlier, prior', *sadṛśa* 'like', *sama* 'similar, same', *ūna* 'less' and its synonyms, *kalaha* 'quarrel', *nipuṇa* 'skillful, adept', *miśra* 'mixed', or *ślakṣṇa* 'gentle, smooth'.

EXAMPLES:

māsapūrvaḥ 'earlier by a month'
saṃvatsarapūrvaḥ 'earlier by a year'
mātṛsadṛśaḥ 'like his/her mother'
pitṛsadṛśaḥ 'like his/her father'
mātṛsamaḥ 'same as his/her mother'
pitṛsamaḥ 'same as his/her father'
māṣonam 'less by a measure of weight'
māṣavikalam 'id.'
kārṣāpaṇonam 'less by a gold or silver coin (*kārṣāpaṇa*)'
kārṣāpaṇavikalam 'id.'
asikalahaḥ 'quarrel by sword'
vākkalahaḥ 'quarrel by word'
vāgnipuṇaḥ 'skilled at words'
ācāranipuṇaḥ 'skilled at how to behave'
guḍamiśraḥ 'mixed with jaggery'
tilamiśraḥ 'mixed with sesame'
ācāraślakṣṇaḥ 'polite in behavior'

1. Note that the inclusion of the word *artha* in this rule has been rejected by Patañjali. Kaiyaṭa (Joshi 1969: 180) thinks that *artha* should be retained in this rule, not to form a compound independently, but to be read with *ūna* to specify a compound formation with *ūna* and its synonyms (*ūnārtha*). But Kaiyaṭa accepts that this purpose can be served, even without using the word *artha* explicitly. For, a word can denote itself as well as its synonyms, without the use of *artha*. This brings reference to rule 6.2.152 *ūnārthakalaham...*, which, according to Mīmāṃsaka (1974: 95), includes the word *artha* to indicate the desirability of compound formations with the synonyms of *ūna*. This, claims Mīmāṃsaka, is Pāṇini's intent. The use of the word *artha*, he argues, will become vacuous if this interpretation is not accepted.

The validity of the word *artha* as part of this rule can only serve one purpose: *artha* is to be jointly read with *ūna* to denote *ūnārtha*, '*ūna*, and items which denote the sense of *ūna*'. This will allow compounds such as *māṣonaḥ* and *māṣavikalaḥ*, where in the second example *vikala* is a synonym of *ūna*. If Patañjali's rejection of the word *artha* in this rule is accepted, these compounds can still be derived under the provisions of the preceding rule, with their corresponding analyzed forms *māṣeṇa kṛto ūnaḥ* and *māṣeṇa kṛto vikalaḥ*. In this case, *ūna* also becomes unnecessary in this rule.

Finally, the word *artha* can be associated here only with *ūna*. For Pāṇini explicitly states the synonym of *sama* as *sadṛśa* in this rule. Thus, *artha* cannot be associated with others.

Note that *sama* and *sadṛśa* form a compound with a *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā*, on the grounds that *tṛtīyā*, in connection with them, is already provided for by rule 2.3.72 *tulyārthair....* Such a *tṛtīyā* is, however, unavailable in connection with the other items. How could they be combined? *Kāśikā* states that such a *tṛtīyā* would be made available to them on the authority of this rule.

2.1.32 कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम्

kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam
/ *kartṛkaraṇe* 7/1 = *kartā ca karaṇaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmin*; *kṛtā* 3/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *tṛtīyā* #30)
kartari karaṇe ca yā tṛtīyā tadantaṃ kṛdantena saha samasyate bahulam, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* and denotes either *kartṛ* 'agent' or *karaṇa* 'instrument' variously (*bahulam*) combines with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a *kṛt* to form a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

ahihataḥ 'killed by snakebite'
nakhanirbhinnaḥ 'split open by nails'
paraśucchinnaḥ 'cut by an axe'

1. Kātyāyana (*Mbh* II: 593) suggests that *kṛtā* 'with a word containing an item which ends in a *kṛt* affix' should be replaced with *ktena* 'with a word which contains an item ending in a *kṛt* affix, namely *Kta*'. If *kṛtā* is retained in this rule, *ktena* must also be used. In this way, *kṛtā* can modify *ktena* to denote 'with a word which contains an item ending in a *kṛt* affix, namely *Kta*'. This modifier function of *kṛt* will be nothing but 'decorative' (*uparañjaka*) anyway, since affix *Kta* is a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*). Patañjali concludes that *ktena* should not be used, because the very use of *bahulam* can account for the limitation of the compound formation with a *pada* which underlies an item ending in affix *Kta*. Incidentally, *bahulam* 'variously' refers to the characteristic application of a rule, such that it sometimes applies, sometimes applies only optionally, and sometimes does not apply at all. Thus, as *Kāśikā* points out, it becomes a way to explain violations of diverse kinds which cannot be accounted for by precise statements (*sarvopādhi-vyabhicārārtham*).

2.1.33 कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने

kṛtyair adhikārthavacane
/ *kṛtyaiḥ* 3/3 *adhikārthavacane* 7/1 = *arthasya vacanam* (*sas. tat.*) = *arthavacanam, adhikam ca tad arthavacanaṃ ca* = *adhikārthavacanam* (*karm.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *tṛtīyā* #30, *kartṛkaraṇe* #32)
kartṛkaraṇayor yā tṛtīyā tadantaṃ subantaṃ kṛtyaiḥ saha samasyate ' dhikārthavacane gamyamāne vibhāṣā
A *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā*, and denotes either *kartṛ* or *karaṇa*, optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a *kṛtya* derivate provided *adhikārthavacana* 'exaggerating' is understood.

EXAMPLES:

kākapeyā nadī 'a river so full that even a crow sitting on its bank can drink water' or 'a river so low that even a crow can drink it up'
śvalehyaḥ kūpaḥ 'a waterwell full to its brim so that even a dog can lap its water' or 'a waterwell with so little water that even a dog can lap it dry'

1. This rule provides for a word which ends in *tṛtīyā* to be optionally combined with a word which contains an item ending in a *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*) affix, provided the word which ends in *tṛtıyā* denotes *kartṛ* or *karaṇa*, and the compound derived denotes *adhikārtha* 'exaggeration'. The word *adhikārthavacana* means 'statement of praise (*stuti*) or censure (*nindā*) made by inventing qualities or faults'. Consequently, a compound such as *kākapeyā* as in *kākapeyā nadī*, can denote both praise or censure: in the examples given below, the first denotes praise, and the second, censure.

pūrṇatoyā nadī...kākair api śakyā pātum 'a river so full...even the crows can drink water' (praise)
alpatoyā nadi...kākair api śakyā pātum 'a river with so little water... even a crow could drink it up' (censure)

2.1.34 अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम्

annena vyañjanam
/ *annena* 3/1 *vyañjanam* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *tṛtīyā* #30).
vyañjanavāci tṛtīyāntaṃ annavācinā subantena saha samasyate vibhāṣā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* and denotes *vyañjana* 'condiments;

things which are added to make food taste good' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes *anna* 'an article of food'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhyodanaḥ 'rice mixed with yogurt'
kṣīraudanaḥ 'rice mixed with milk'

1. This rule allows for the formation of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, where one constituent ends in *tṛtīyā* and another underlies a word which denotes *anna* 'food, grain', provided the former denotes *vyañjana* 'flavoring ingredient'. *Kāśikā* explains that *anna* and *uyañjana,* in this context, refer to things that are *saṃskārya* 'to be flavored' and *saṃskāraka* 'that which flavors' respectively. Note that the action of flavoring *saṃskāra*) forms the basis for the *sāmarthya* relationship that obtains between *anna* and *vyañjana.* An example such as *dadhyodanaḥ* is consequently explained as *dadhnā upasiktaḥ odanaḥ* 'rice mixed with yogurt', where the action of *upaseka* 'flavoring, soaking' qualifies rice, though is not denoted by a constituent word of the compound. This is what *Kāśikā* implies by *vṛttau kriyāyā antarbhāvāt.....* 'on account of the inherence of action in integration'. For example, *upaseka* denotes the inhered action in the example discussed.

2.1.35 **भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम्**

bhakṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam
/ bhakṣyeṇa 3/1 *miśrīkaraṇam* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *tṛtīyā* #30)
miśrīkaraṇavāci tṛtīyāntaṃ bhakṣyavācinā subantena samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* and denotes *bhakṣya* 'something edible' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *miśrīkaraṇa* 'admixture'.

EXAMPLES:

guḍadhānāḥ 'rice crisps mixed with jaggery
guḍapṛthukāḥ parched rice mixed with jaggery.

1. This rule allows for the formation of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, where one constituent ends in *tṛtīyā* and another underlies a word which denotes something edible (*bhakṣya*) provided the former denotes *miśrīkaraṇa* 'admixture'. The word *bhakṣya* is explained by *Kāśikā* as anything solid (*khara*) or soft (*viśada*) which, in turn, could be eaten by chewing (*hanu calana: PM* ad *Kāśikā*). A detailed discussion ensues in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 595–97) concerning the *sāmarthya* relationship between the constituents of compounds covered by this rule. It is argued that such a

relationship does not obtain here, mainly because the constituents are *kāraka* denoted by *saṃskārya* and *saṃskāraka*. For *sāmarthya* obtains only between a *kāraka* and its related actionn (*kriyā*). It does not obtain between *kāraka* themselves. To further strengthen the argument, an analogy is used of a ladder (*niśrayaṇi*) and its rungs (*kāṣṭha*). It is said that the rungs, since they are joined (*yukta*) to the two vertical parts, are qualified as sharing a *sāmarthya* relationship with them. They cannot be said to be *samartha* with each other, since they are not joined to each other. This same argument could be applied to *kāraka*. Consequently, a compound formed with consituents without *sāmarthya* should be treated as *asamartha* 'semantically lacking integration'.

It is first suggested that this impaired *sāmarthya* could be restored on the authority of the formulation of the rules themselves. This solution, however, would rule out many other examples for which such an authority is not available. It is suggested, therefore, that a new rule should be formulated with the following interpretation:

> A word containing a compound base which ends in *Kta* where its first constituent ends in *tṛtīyā* is combined with another....

A rule formulated with its content as summarized above would require a two step compound formation to yield example *dadhyodanah*:

(1) *dadhnā upasiktaḥ* = *dadhyupasiktaḥ*
(2) *dadhyupasiktaḥ odanaḥ* = *dadhyodanaḥ*

Obviously, such a rule formation would also require the deletion of *upasikta* +*sU*, the middle constituent (*madhyamapadalopa*); and it would have to be included in the section of rules dealing with compounds formed of syntactically coordinated (*samānādhikaraṇa*) constituents. Examples such as *guḍadhānāḥ* of the present rule can also be derived, parallel to its analyzed form *guḍasaṃsṛṣṭāḥ dhānāḥ*, where *dhāna* denotes 'parched grains'. This view, however, has been abandoned, since the specification of deletion of internal constituents would prove an endless process.

2.1.36 **चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितैः**

> *caturthi tadarthārthabalihitasukharakṣitaiḥ*
> / *caturthī* 1/1 *tadarthārtha....rakṣitaiḥ* 3/1 = *tasmai idam* = *tadartham* (*caṭtat*), *tadartham ca arthaś ca baliś ca hitaś ca sukhaṃ ca rakṣitaś ca* = *tadarthārthābalihitasukharakṣitāni* (*itar. dv* with in *caṭtat*), *taiḥ*/
> (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22)
> *'tadartha, artha, bali, hita, sukha, rakṣita' ity etaiḥ saha caturthyantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*
> A *pada* which ends in *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of *s*UP' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada*

which ends in *sUP* and denotes *tadartha* 'a thing intended for what is denoted by the constituent in *caturthī*', or contains nominal stems *artha* 'purpose', *bali* 'sacrificial offering', *hita* 'beneficial', *sukha* 'pleasure', or *rakṣita* 'reserved, protected'.

EXAMPLES:

yūpadāruḥ 'wood intended for making a sacrificial post'
kuṇḍalahiraṇyam 'gold intended for making earrings'
brāhmaṇārthaṃ payaḥ 'milk intended for the *brāhmaṇa*'
brāhmaṇārthā yavāgūḥ 'barley gruel intended for the *brāhmaṇa*'
kuberabaliḥ 'sacrificial offering intended for Kubera, the guardian of wealth'
mahārājabaliḥ 'sacrificial offering intended for Indra'
gohitam 'beneficial for the cows'
aśvahitam 'beneficial for the horses'
gosukham 'for the pleasure of the cows'
aśvasukham 'for the pleasure of the horses'
gorakṣitam 'reserved for the cows'
aśvarakṣitam 'reserved for the horses'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that compounds entailing *tādarthya* 'meant for the sake of the denotatum of a word which ends in *caturthī*' are limited to constituents where the word ending in *caturthī* denotes modification (*vikāra*) of some material (*prakṛti*) denoted by the second constituent. Thus we get *kuṇḍalāya hiraṇyam*, where *kuṇḍala*, ending in *caturthī*, denotes *vikāra* of *hiraṇya* 'gold' (constituting the second constituent). Limiting *tādarthya* compounds of this rule to *prakṛti-vikāra* contexts is required so that a compound like **randhanasthālī*, parallel to *randhanāya sthālī* 'pot meant for the sake of cooking' can be blocked. Besides, if one accepts the general context of such compounds as *tādarthya*, then specific mention of *bali* 'ritual oblation' and *hita* 'beneficial to' becomes redundant, since *tādarthya* is already inhered there. This, in turn, becomes a mark (*liṅga*) for restricting *tādarthya* examples to *prakṛti-vikāra* contexts.

The use of the word *artha* is again made to inform that the compounds formed are obligatory (*nitya*). For this reason, the analyzed form (*vigrahavākya*) of a compound such as *brāhmaṇārtham* of *brāhmaṇārthaṃ payaḥ* must be furnished by means of a word outside the constituency of the compound (*asvapada*). The statement is necessary since *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' is carried here. Additionally, obligatory compounds with *artha* entail usage in all three genders (*sarvaliṅgatā*). That is, these compounds are allowed to be used in accordance with the gender of entities they qualify. It is necessary to make such a provision in view of rule 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*, which assigns the gender of a *tatpuruṣa*

compound to be similar to the gender of its following constituent. Thus, *brāhmaṇārthaḥ sūpaḥ*(masculine), *brāhmaṇārthaṃ payaḥ* (neuter), and *brāhmaṇārthā yavāgūḥ* (feminine) all get covered.

2.1.37 **पञ्चमी भयेन**

> *pañcamī bhayena*
> / *pañcamī* 1/1 *bhayena* 3/1/
> (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22)
> *pañcamyantaṃ subantaṃ bhayaśabdena subantena saha samasyate vibhāṣā, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*
> A *pada* which ends in *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of *sUP*' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *bhaya* 'fear'.

EXAMPLES:

> *vṛkabhayam* 'fear of a wolf'
> *caurabhayam* 'fear of a thief'
> *dasyubhayam* 'fear of a bandit'

1. It has been suggested in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 605) that *bhīta* 'frightened', *bhīti* 'fear' and *bhīḥ* 'id.' must also be stated in the rule. In this way, compounds such as *vṛkabhītaḥ* 'frightened of a wolf', *vṛkabhītiḥ* 'fear of a wolf' and *vṛkabhīḥ* 'id.' could be accounted for. This modification is desired, especially when one interprets the word *bhaya* in this rule as denoting its form (*svarūpa*) only. But a modification of this rule to include the synonyms of *bhaya* may also entail some undesired compounds. One such example, parallel to *vṛkāt trāsaḥ*, is *vṛkatrāsaḥ*, where *trāsa* is a synonym of *bhaya*. Yet another proposal seeks compounds to be formed with *bhaya*, *nirgata* 'gone outside of', and *jugupsu* 'disgusted with'. Consequently, this proposal seeks to reformulate the rule as *pañcamī bhayanirgatajugupsubhiḥ*.

2.1.38 **अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः**

> *apetāpoḍhamuktapatitāpatrastair alpaśaḥ*
> / *apetāpoḍha...patrastaiḥ* 3/3 =(*itar. dv.*) *alpaśaḥ* 0/
> (*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *pañcamī* #37)
> '*apeta, apoḍha, mukta, patita, apatrasta*' *ity etaiḥ saha pañcamyantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*; '*alpaśaḥ*' *iti samāsasyālpaviṣayatām ācaṣṭe*
> A *pada* ending in *pañcamī* optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound of limited frequency (*alpaśaḥ*), with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *apeta* 'removed, gone away', *apoḍha* 'carried away, removed', *mukta* 'released, freed', *patita* 'fallen', or *apatrasta* 'scared of'.

EXAMPLES:

sukhāpetaḥ 'removed from happiness'
kalpanāpoḍhaḥ 'removed from (lacking) imagination'
cakramuktaḥ 'freed from the wheel'
svargapatitaḥ 'fallen from heaven'
taraṅgāpatrastaḥ 'frightened by waves'

1. The word *alpaśaḥ* is included in the wording of this rule to indicate that only a limited number of words with *pañcamī* should be combined. This allows compound formations parallel to *prāsādāt patitaḥ* 'fallen off the rooftop' and *bhojanād apatrastaḥ* 'thrown away from food' to be ruled out.

2.1.39 स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन

stokāntikadūrārthakṛcchrāṇi ktena
/ *stokāntika...kṛcchrāṇi* 1/3 =*stokaś ca antikaś ca dūraś ca* = *stokāntikadūrāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *stokāntikadūrās te' rthāḥ yeṣāṃ te* = *stokāntikadūrārthāḥ* (*bv.*), *stokāntikadūrārthāś ca kṛcchraṃ ca, tāni* = *stokāntika... kṛcchrāṇi* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *ktena* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *pañcamī* #37)
'*stoka, antika, dūra*' *ity evam arthāḥ śabdāḥ kṛcchraśabdaś ca pañcamyantāḥ ktāntena saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in *pañcamī* and contains *kṛcchra* 'trouble, difficulty' or stems which denote *stoka* 'a bit', *antika* 'near, proximate', or *dūra* 'far', optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *Kta*.

EXAMPLES:

stokānmuktaḥ 'freed by a slight margin'
antikādāgataḥ 'arrived from a nearby place'
abhyāśādāgataḥ 'id.'
dūrādāgataḥ 'arrived from a faraway place'
viprakṛṣṭādāgataḥ 'id.'
kṛcchrānmuktaḥ 'released with difficulty'
kṛcchrāllabddhaḥ 'obtained with difficulty'

1. Note that rule 6.3.2 *pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyaḥ* will not permit the deletion of nominal endings of these compounds.

2.1.40 सप्तमी शौण्डैः

saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ
/ *saptamī* 1/1 *śauṇḍaiḥ* 3/3/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22)
saptamyantaṃ śauṇḍādibhiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*' optionally

combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *śauṇḍa* 'cunning, skilled' etc.

EXAMPLES:

akṣaśauṇḍaḥ 'he who is skilled or cunning at the game of dice'
akṣakitavaḥ 'id.'
akṣadhūrttaḥ 'he who cheats at the game of dice'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 604) discusses the question of whether the plural in *śauṇḍaiḥ* is to be interpreted as referring to items listed in the *gaṇa* 'group' headed by *śauṇḍa*, or solely to its own plural form. The lack of the word *ādi* 'beginning with, etc.', which makes a reference to the *gaṇa*, raises this question. The *Mahābhāṣya* concludes that a reference to the *gaṇa* is desired. This, in turn, will facilitate the formation of compounds with the synonyms of *śauṇḍa*. The plural in *śauṇḍaiḥ* itself can account for all this. Consider the example *akṣakitavah*, where *kitava* is a synonym of *śauṇḍa*.

2.1.41 **सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च**

siddhaśuṣkapakvabandhaiś ca
/ *siddha...bandhaiḥ* 3/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* 0 /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40)
'siddha, śuṣka, pakva, bandha' ity etaiḥ saha saptamyantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A pada which ends in *saptamī* optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *siddha* 'established, made', *śuṣka* 'dried', *pakva* 'cooked, ripe', or *bandha* 'tied, bound'.

EXAMPLES:

sāṃkāśyasiddhaḥ 'made or known in Sāṃkāśya'
kāmpilyasiddhaḥ 'made or known in Kāmpilya'
ātapaśuṣkaḥ 'dried in the sun'
chāyāśuṣkaḥ 'dried in the shade'
sthālīpakvaḥ 'cooked in a *sthālī* (vessel)'
kumbhīpakvaḥ 'cooked in a small earthen pitcher'
cakrabandhaḥ 'tied with a wheel'

2.1.42 **ध्वांक्षेण क्षेपे**

dhvāṅkṣeṇa kṣepe
/ *dhvāṅkṣeṇa* 3/1 *kṣepe* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40)

dhvāṅkṣavācinā saha saptamyantaṃ subantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati kṣepe gamyamāne
A *pada* ending in *saptamī* optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *dhvāṅkṣa* 'crow' or its synonyms, provided contempt (*kṣepa*) is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

tīrthadhvāṅkṣaḥ 'fickle as a crow in a holy place'
tīrthakākaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *dhvāṅkṣa* 'crow' is treated here as referring to its synonyms as well. Thus, compounds such as *tīrthakākaḥ* can also be derived. A student who lacks diligence in his studies, and thus does not stay long at the teacher's, is often given this name. Obviously, the teacher's place is a *tīrtha* 'holy place'.

2.1.43 कृत्यैर्ऋणे

kṛtyair ṛṇe
/ *kṛtyaiḥ* 3/3 *ṛṇe* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40)
kṛtyapratyayāntaiḥ saha saptamyantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati, ṛṇe gamyamāne
A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem in *kṛtya* (3.1.97 *aco yat*) provided *ṛṇa* 'debt' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

māsadeyam 'a debt which is to be repaid in a month'
saṃvatsaradeyam 'a debt which is to be repaid in a year'
tryahadeyam 'a debt which is to be repaid in three days'

1. Kātyāyana (*Mbh* II: 605) proposes a modification of this rule as follows: *kṛtyair niyoge yatā* 'a word ending in *saptamī* combines with a word which contains an item ending in the *kṛtya* affix (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*) *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*), provided the compound denotes obligation (*niyoga*)'. The condition of *niyoga* is required to cover examples like *pūrvāhṇegeyam* 'a chant one is obligated to make in the morning'. The condition of *yatā* will restrict the constituency of compounds to where the other member contains a derivate in *yaT*. Consequently, **pūrvāhṇedātavyā* (*bhikṣā*) 'alms given in the morning', etc., will be blocked. Patañjali rejects the condition of *niyoga* on the grounds that *ṛṇe*, when accepted as used in a much more generalized sense of something one must necessarily do (*āvaśyaka*), will account for it. He does, however, accept the condition of *yaT*, possibly to block compound formation parallel to *pūrvāhṇe dātavyā bhikṣā*. But the problem of

the validity of this condition still remains. *PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* both state that the *anuvṛtti* of *alpaśaḥ* 'in a limited manner' from 2.1.38 could account for what *yatā* does. Incidentally, the non-deletion of *saptamī* in the above examples is accomplished by rule 6.3.13 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam.* The compounds covered by this rule are also treated as obligatory (*nitya*).

2.1.44 संज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām
/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye saptamyantaṃ supā saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* ending in *saptamī* combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* provided the compound denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

araṇyetilakāḥ 'wild sesame'
araṇyemāṣāḥ 'wild beans'
vanekiṃśukāḥ 'wild *Kiṃśuka* flowers'

1. The condition of *saṃjñā* requires that compounds so formed denote a name. Since an analyzed form cannot denote a name, the compounds should be accepted as obligatory (*nitya*). For example, *araṇyemāṣāḥ* means 'wild beans growing in the forest'. The analyzed form *araṇye māṣāḥ* may mean 'there are Mung beans growing in the forest'. The non-deletion of *saptamī* is accomplished by 6.3.9 *halantāt saptamyāḥ.*

2.1.45 क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवाः

ktenāhorātrāvayavāḥ
/ *ktena* 3/1 *ahorātrāvayavāḥ* 1/3 = *ahaś ca rātriś ca* = *ahorātrau* (*dv.*), *tayor avayavāḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40)
aharavayavāḥ rātryavayavāś ca saptamyantāḥ ktāntena saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* and denotes a part of day or night optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* and containing a stem in *Kta*.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvāhṇakṛtam 'that which was done in the first part of the day'
pūrvarātrakṛtam 'that which was done in the first part of the night'
aparāhṇakṛtam 'that which was done in the second part of the day'
apararātrakṛtam 'that which was done in the second part of the night'

1. The word *avayava* 'part' is included in this rule to block the formation of compounds parallel to *rātrau kṛtam* 'that which was done in the night', where *rātri* 'night' denotes entirety (*kārtsnya*) and not *avayava*.

2.1.46 तत्र

tatra
| tatra Ø|
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40, *ktena* #45)
'tatra' ity etat saptamyantaṃ ktāntena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* constituted by *tatra* optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem in *Kta*.

EXAMPLES:

tatrabhuktam 'eaten there'
tatrakṛtam 'made or done there'
tatrapītam 'drunk there'

1. This rule is required for covering examples such as *tatrakṛtam* 'done there', where *tatra* does not end in *saptamī*. Instead, it is a derivate of *tad* 'that' formed with the affix *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*) to denote the sense of *saptamī*. This is why the word *saptamī* carried via *anuvṛtti* must be interpreted as denoting not its form (*tacchabda*), but its characteristic feature (*dharma*), namely, the denotation of locus (*adhikaraṇa*). The purpose of forming such compounds is *aikasvarya* and *aikapadya* (see note under 2.1.25).

2.1.47 क्षेपे

kṣepe
| kṣepe 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40, *ktena* #45)
kṣepe gamyamāne saptamyantaṃ ktāntena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* ending in *sUP* provided *kṣepa* 'contempt' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

avataptenakulasthitaṃ tava etat 'this conduct of yours (i.e running around with no respect for duty) is like that of a mongoose running about on hot ground'

udakeviśīrṇaṃ tava etat 'this conduct of yours is as if going down the drain'
pravāhemūtritaṃ tava etat 'this conduct of yours is as if urinating in running water'

1. Note that the meaning of *kṣepa* derives here from *kāryeṣv anavasthitatā* 'lack of stability or concentration' leading to failure (*niṣphalatā*). The non-deletion of *saptamī* is accomplished by 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam.* The last two examples attest to the belief that defecating or urinating in water is a contemptible act. Incidentally, these compounds are treated as obligatory (*nitya*) on account of the meaning condition of *kṣepa.*

2.1.48 **पात्रेसमितादयश्च**

pātresamitādayaś ca
/ *pātresamitādayaḥ* 1/3 = *pātresamita ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ca* Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *saptamī* #40, *kṣepe* #47)
pātresamitādayaḥ śabdās tatpuruṣasaṃjñā bhavanti, kṣepe gamyamāne
Items enumerated in the list headed by *pātresamita* also are termed *tatpuruṣa* when *kṣepa* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pātresamitāḥ 'those who gather around only when food is served'
pātrebahulāḥ 'those who are variously around at the time when food is served'
udarakrimiḥ 'worm in the belly, i.e., low person'
kūpakacchapaḥ 'a tortoise in a waterwell, i.e., narrow-minded'
kūpacūrṇakaḥ 'powder in a waterwell, i.e., insignificant'
avaṭakacchapaḥ 'a tortoise in a hole, i.e., narrow-minded'

1. The words *pātresamita*, etc., are listed as part of a larger *gaṇa* headed by *yuktārohin* (6.2.81 *yuktārohyādayaś ca*). This extracted short listing is consequently treated as *ākṛtigaṇa*, an enumeration with limited membership with the possibility of addition. The compounds covered by this rule derive as cited in the list. That is, their formation is ad hoc (*nipātana*). Heuristically, though, an example like *pātresamita* can be explained as formed of a word ending in *saptamī*, with another underlying item ending in *Kta*. Because they are included in the list headed by *yuktārohin*, these compounds will be assigned *udātta* on their first (*ādi*) vowel by rule 6.2.81 *yuktā...*).

The particle *ca* is used, here, in the sense of *eva* 'alone, only', so that larger compounds parallel to, for example, *paramāḥ pātresamitāḥ* 'those who are extremely parasitical', can be blocked. The denotatum of *ca* also indicates the meaning of compounds to be that of contempt.

2.1.49 पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन

pūrvakālaikasarvajaratpurāṇanavakevalāḥ samānādhikaraṇena
/ *pūrvakālaikasarvajaratpurāṇanavakevalāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *samānādhikaraṇena* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22)
'*pūrvakāla, eka, sarva, jarat, purāṇa, nava, kevala*' *ity ete subantāḥ samānādhikaraṇena supā saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem that either denotes *pūrvakāla* 'something which naturally precedes another' or is constituted by *eka* 'one', *sarva* 'all', *jarat* 'aged', *purāṇa* 'ancient, old', *nava* 'new', or *kevala* 'only', optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

snātānuliptaḥ 'he who first bathed then anointed'
kṛṣṭasamīkṛtam 'he who ploughed the field first then leveled it'
ekabhikṣā 'one and only alm'
ekaśāṭī 'one and only garment'
sarvadevāḥ 'all the gods'
sarvamanuṣyāḥ 'all men'
jaraddhastī 'an old elephant'
jaradgṛṣṭiḥ 'an old cow which delivered only once'
purāṇānnam 'old grain'
purāṇāvasatham 'an old dwelling'
navānnam 'newly harvested grain'
kevalānnam 'only grain'

1. The word *sāmānādhikaraṇya* 'coreferentiality, syntactic coordination' is explained by *Kāśikā* as 'the process whereby an item which has varying meanings (*bhinna- pravṛttinimitta*) is integrated (*vṛtti*) with another item to denote a single meaning (*bhinnapravṛttinimittasya śabdasya ekasminn arthe vṛttiḥ sāmānādhikaraṇyam*). This will obviously restrict the reference of items cited in this rule to their form only. That is, compounds with their synonyms will be blocked. *Kāśikā* adds, however, that in the case of *pūrvakāla*, the reference is made via meaning (*arthadvāraka*). Thus, a word which denotes *pūrvakāla* 'prior time' can be combined with a word which denotes other time (*aparakāla*). This will yield examples such as *snātānubhuktaḥ* 'one who has bathed, then eaten', where the action of bathing (*snāna*) is performed prior to the action of eating (*bhojana*). It is clear that *snāna* and *bhojana* have their own contextual usages, even though in *snātānubhuktaḥ* they both denote a single meaning, i.e., the same person. How does one understand that *pūrvakāla* should be interpreted as given

via meaning? One understands this on the basis that items such as *pūrva-kāla* can be fully comprehended only in relation to items such as *apara-kāla*: they refer to relative things.

2. Note that compounds covered by this rule can also be formed in view of provisions made by rule 2.1.59 *viśeṣaṇam...*, where a qualifier constituent (*viśeṣaṇa*) is required to be preplaced, as is specified by *viśeṣaṇam* in the nominative (1.2.43 *prathamā...*). This rule also provides for preplacement, though with a difference. This preplacement is ordered in view of the possibility of postplacement (*paranipāta*). That is, its provision of preplacement is restrictive in view of some possible postplacement. For example, *snātānuliptaḥ* is interpreted as *pūrvaṃ snātaḥ paścād anuliptaḥ*, where 'bathing' qualifies 'anointing'. But one may also wish to speak of this relationship as reversed which, in turn, would require postplacement of what is required to be preplaced. It is to prevent compound formations which involve such reversals, with resultant postplacement of qualifiers, that this rule is formulated.

2.1.50 **दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम्**

diksaṃkhye saṃjñāyām
/ *diksaṃkhye* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhi-karaṇena* #49)
digvācinaḥ śabdāḥ saṃkhyā ca samānādhikaraṇena subantena saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati, saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and signifies *diś* 'direction' or *saṃkhyā* 'number' combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* provided the compound denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrveṣukāmaśamī 'east Iṣukāmaśamī'
apareṣukāmaśamī 'west Iṣukāmaśamī'
pañcāmrāḥ 'name of a village'
saptarṣayaḥ 'name of a galaxy; Great Bear'

2.1.51 **तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च**

taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca
/ *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre* 7/1 = *taddhitārthaś ca uttarapadaṃ ca samāhāraś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmin*; *ca* Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49, *diksaṃkhye* #50)
taddhitārthe viṣaye uttarapade ca parataḥ samāhāre cābhidheye diksaṃkhye supā saha samasyete, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem denoting *diś* or *saṃkhyā* optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* when either the meaning of a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix finds its scope, a third *pada* is to follow, or *samāhāra* 'collection, grouping' is to be denoted.

EXAMPLES:

paurvaśālaḥ 'that which is located in the eastern hall'
āparaśālaḥ 'that which is located in the western hall'
pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ 'he to whom the eastern hall is dear'
aparaśālāpriyaḥ 'he to whom the western hall is dear'
pāñcanāpitiḥ 'related to five barbers'
pañcakapālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in five bowls'
pañcagavadhanaḥ 'he who possesses five cows as his wealth'
daśagavadhanaḥ 'he who possesses ten cows as his wealth'
pañcakumāri 'a group of five girls'
daśakumāri 'a group of ten girls'

1. The words *samānādhikaraṇena* and *diksaṃkhye* are carried to this rule. The word *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre* is interpreted as a *dvandva* of *samāhāra* 'grouping' type, with the constituents *taddhitārthe, uttarapade,* and *samāhāre,* all ending in *saptamī*. Obviously, this rule allows for compounds in three categories:

(*i*) *taddhitārthe,* where a word denoting direction or number is combined with another word in syntactic coordination, provided the sense of *taddhita* affix finds its scope;
(*ii*) *uttarapade,* where a word which denotes direction or number is combined with another word in syntactic coordination provided there follows still another word; and
(*iii*) *samāhāre,* where a word which denotes direction or number is combined with another in syntactic coordination provided that the meaning of *samāhāra* is to be denoted.

The *saptamī* in (i) is interpreted as that of domain (*viṣaya*). It cannot be interpreted as denoting 'when the sense of a *taddhita* is to be denoted'. For, examples like *pāñcanāpitiḥ* cannot qualify for the introduction of a *taddhita*. The sense of a *taddhita* would already be included in the compound. Under the *viṣayasaptamī* interpretation, the compound will be allowed in anticipation of the denotation, via introduction of a *taddhita* affix.

Consider the derivation of *paurvaśālaḥ* from *pūrvā* + *Ṅi śālā* + *Ṅi,* the two constituents which are in syntactic coordination. The compound is permitted on the understanding that a *taddhita* affix, such as *aÑ* (4.2.107

dikpūrvapadāt. .), will subsequently be introduced to denote the sense of 'located there': *pūrvā* + *Ṅi* + *śālā* + *Ṅi* –> *pūrvāśālā*; *pūrvāśālā* + *aÑ* –> *paurvaśāla*; *paurvaśāla* + *sŪ* – >*paurvaśālaḥ*. The denotation of the *taddhita* affix via *aÑ* is treated as *bhāvin* 'to take place subsequently'. In view of mutual dependency *(anyonyāśrayatva)*, this appears problematic. That is, the compound cannot be formed if the sense of a *taddhita* affix is not denoted; and the *taddhita* affix cannot denote its sense unless it is introduced after the compound. Both of these conditions are impossible to satisfy at the same time. It is to resolve this difficulty that the sense of the *taddhita* affix is considered as *bhāvin*. This interpretation is possible only when *saptamī* in *taddhitārthe* is interpreted as denoting the domain (*viṣaya*).

The *saptamī* in *uttarpade* is viewed as *parasaptamī*, whereby we get the following interpretation:

> A word which denotes *diś* or *saṃkhyā* is combined with a word in syntactic coordination provided there is another word which follows.

Clearly, the condition of *uttarapade* makes the compound with *diś* and *saṃkhyā* as part of a larger compound. Thus, *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed from *pūrvā* + *sŪ* + *śālā* + *sŪ* + *priya* + *sŪ*, where an internal *tatpuruṣa* with the first two constituents is formed under the condition of the third. The compound must be formed in this manner, so that *udātta* accent at the end (*antodātta*) (of *śālā*) can be accomplished before *priya* + *sŪ*. This kind of *tatpuruṣa*, internal to a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is obligatory (*nitya*). Thus, given the string *pañcan* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas* + *dhana* + *sU*, a *bahuvrīhi* parallel to *pañca gāvo dhanam asya* 'he who possesses five cows as his wealth' is formed. Subsequently, *pañcan* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas* forms a *tatpuruṣa*. This alone would allow the introduction of the affix *ṬaC* (5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki*) to yield *pañcan* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas* + *ṬaC* – > *pañcago* + *a*. A wrong from **pañcagodhana* would result in the absence of *ṬaC*. It is evident that a *bahuvrīhi* that anticipates an internal obligatory *tatpuruṣa* is to be formed first. Of course, the internal *tatpuruṣa* will be formed subsequently. A *dvandva* internal to a *bahuvrīhi*, such as *vāgdṛṣadapriyaḥ* 'he who likes speech and stone' from *vāk* + *sŪ* + *dṛṣad* + *sŪ* + *priya* + *sŪ*, is similarly formed.

It is stated that a compound that entails *samāhāra* is not possible with a constituent which denotes *diś* 'direction'. For, a *samāhāra* is a group of items with varying denotata, as is possible in the case of numbers which distinguish them. The scope of the denotata of *diś* is fixed (*pratiniyata*).

Questions have also been raised about the word *samāhāra* itself. It can have two interpretations:

(*i*) *samāharaṇaṃ samāhāraḥ* 'the action of grouping together is called *samāhāra*'

(*ii*) *samāhriyata iti samāhāraḥ* 'that which is grouped...'

The choice of action (*i*) or object (*ii*) meaning when deriving *samāhāra* has its consequences. For example, the object interpretation would create problems in the derivation of *pañcakumāri* 'a group of five girls', where the meaning of *kumārī* 'girl' is principal. The rule which assigns compound formation (2.1.51) does not cite the constituent represented by *kumārī* in the nominative. This qualifies *kumārī* to be used with various endings. As a result, neither rule 1.2.43 *prathamā...* nor 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte* can term *kumārī* an *upasarjana*. Not being an *upasarjana*, *kumārī* in *pañcakumāri* cannot have its final long vowel replaced with a short vowel (1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*).

Similarly, one cannot derive *pañcakhaṭvī* 'a group of five cots' parallel to *pañca khaṭvāḥ samāhṛtāḥ*. Note that *pañcakhaṭvī* is optional to neuter *pañcakhaṭvam*. A lack of assignment of the term *upasarjana* to *khaṭvā* would block its *ā*, to be replaced with *a*. This, in turn, would block the introduction of feminine affix *ṄīP* by 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ*. Commentators thus favor the first (*i*) interpretation over the second (*ii*).

2.1.52 संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुः

saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ
/ *saṃkhyāpūrvaḥ* 1/1 = *saṃkhyā pūrvā yasmāt* (*bv.*); *dviguḥ* 1/1/
'*taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca*' *ity atra yaḥ saṃkhyāpūrvaḥ samāsaḥ sa dvigusaṃjño bhavati*
A compound (formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārth...*) when it begins with a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number' is termed *dvigu*.

EXAMPLES:

pañcakapālaḥ 'a ritual oblation of food prepared in five bowls'
daśakapālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls'
pañcanāvapriyaḥ 'he to whom five boats are dear'
pañcamūlī 'a bunch of five radishes'

1. A compound with constituents in syntactic coordination, formed under the provisions of the preceding rule, is termed *dvigu* if its first constituent denotes number. Our present rule thus becomes a residue (*śeṣa*) of rule 2.1.51. Note that *Paribhāṣā* 61 states that a provision made for an operation (*vidhi*) or its negation (*pratiṣedha*) applies to that which is most immediate (*anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā*). Consequently, compounds with number constituents covered by the preceding rule alone are referenced here. However, a reference to compounds formed by rules 2.1.49, 2.1.50, and 2.1.51, which together form the context (*prakaraṇa*) of compounds with constituents in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*), cannot be ruled out. A reference to compounds allowed thus far in general can also be accepted here; but this would result in all kinds of problems.

For example, an *avyayībhāva* compound such as *dvimuni* 'two sages' would then be termed *dvigu*, necessitating original accent for its first

constituent by 6.2.29 *igantakāla....* The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 617) discusses this and the other two interpretations, with examples and counter-examples. The final view favors only those compounds which are formed by rule 2.1.51. See the appendix for derivational details.

2.1.53 कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैः

kutsitāni kutsanaiḥ
/ *kutsitāni* 1/3 *kutsanaiḥ* 3/3/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
kutsitavācīni subantāni kutsanavacanaiḥ subantaiḥ saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and signifies *kutsita* 'object of contempt' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and signifies *kutsā* 'contempt'.

EXAMPLES:

vaiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ 'a grammarian who, when asked a question, does not know the answer and stares at the sky'
yājñikakitavaḥ 'a priest who cheats, for money, by performing the ritual for someone not qualified'
mīmāṃsakadurdurūḍhaḥ 'a ritualist (*mīmāṃsaka*) who does not know what he argues about'

1. Note that the words *kutsita* and *kutsana*, which specify the constituency of compounds covered by this rule, are both given in plural. This indicates that reference is being made to their synonyms and not to their form. The use of plural thus blocks interpretations exclusive to word-forms (*svarūpavidhi*) *kutsita* and *kutsana*. Note that what is censured in these compounds is the reason for which they are used (*pravṛttinimitta*). Thus, *vaiyākaraṇakhasūciḥ* is 'a grammarian who, when asked a question, does not know the answer and stares at the sky'. That is, he is slow-witted (*niṣpratibha*). What is censured here is not grammar itself, but the grammarian's lack of intelligence, which constitutes the cause for the use of the expression. A compound such as *vaiyākaraṇaścauraḥ* 'grammarian crook' therefore cannot be permitted by the present rule. For it is the grammarian's property of being a crook and not his property of being a grammarian which is censured.

2.1.54 पापाणके कुत्सितैः

pāpāṇake kutsitaiḥ
/ *pāpāṇake* 1/2 = *pāpaṃ ca aṇakaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*); *kutsitaiḥ* 3/3/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49, *kutsanaiḥ* #53)

'pāpa, aṇaka' ete subante kutsitavacanaiḥ saha samasyete, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *pāpa* 'low, wicked' or *aṇaka* 'contemptible' optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and signifies the object of disrespect.

EXAMPLES:

pāpanāpitaḥ 'a wicked barber'
pāpakulālaḥ 'a wicked potter'
aṇakanāpitaḥ 'a contemptible barber'
aṇakakulālaḥ 'a contemptible potter'

1. A question is raised as to why compounds with *pāpa* and *aṇaka* cannot be accounted for by the preceding rule. It is explained that *pāpa* and *aṇaka* denote *kutsana*, and hence will not be placed first in the compound if they happen to be covered by rule 2.1.53. A reference to *kutsana* in *tṛtīyā* (as opposed to *prathamā*) will block the *upasarjana* designation required for preplacement (*pūrvanipāta*). Our present rule makes *pūrvanipāta* possible. It can thus be also treated as an exception to the preceding rule. How did Pāṇini come to state *kutsitaiḥ* explicitly, when he could have done without by using *anuvṛtti*? Jinendrabuddhi thinks that the explicit mention of *kutsitaiḥ* was made for the sake of clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

2.1.55 उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः

upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ
/ *upamānāni* 1/3 *sāmānyavacanaiḥ* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
upamānavācīni subantāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ subantaiḥ saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *upamāna* 'standard of comparison' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes a common quality.

EXAMPLES:

śastrīśyāmā devadattā 'Devadatta's daughter is as black as a *śastrī* (a small, black knife)'
kumudaśyenī 'white as a water lily'
haṃsagadgadā 'a woman with a sweet, soft voice'

1. This rule allows the formation of a compound between a word which denotes *upamāna* 'standard of comparison' and another denoting a common property (*sāmānyavacana*). shared with the thing compared

(*upameya*). The word *sāmānyavacana* refers to items which denote properties common to the *upamāna* and the *upameya*. The word *śastrīśyāmā* 'black as a knife' of *śastrīśyāmā devadattā* 'Devadatta's daughter is as black as a *śastrī*' serves as a celebrated example. Here, *śastrī*, which denotes *upamāna*, is combined with *śyāmā* 'black', which denotes the property of blackness common to both the knife and the daughter of Devadatta, the *upameya*. The word *śyāmā* denotes a quality or a thing possessed of that quality (*guṇavacana*). How can it be considered as *sāmānyavacana*? Commentators inform us that a qualifier becomes *sāmānyavacana* when, after having denoted the quality, it finds its locus in the thing it qualified. The word *śastrī* is famous as having the quality of *śyāmatva* 'blackness'; having denoted blackness, *śyāmatva* now resides in the daughter of Devadatta it qualified.

Further questions have been raised about the validity of forming such compounds. For example, the word *śastrī* relates to *śastrī*, whereas *śyāmā* relates to *devadattā*. Consequently, because of the lack of *sāmānādhikaraṇya* 'coreferentiality', the compound cannot be allowed. It is said that this is no problem. Since *upamāna* and *upameya* are two different entities, words which denote them will entail *vaiyadhikaraṇya* 'reference to different loci'. A compound between items which denote varying loci can be permitted on the strength of this rule itself (*vacanasāmarthya*). Or, one can say that *śastrī* also refers to *devadattā* on the basis of *tādharmya* 'shared characteristics' constituted by the quality of blackness (*śyāmaguṇatva*).

2. This rule, along with the following, is formulated to facilitate the preplacement (*pūrvanipāta*) of constituents serving as those which are qualified (*viśeṣya*). A statement to this effect becomes necessary in view of situations where both constituents can be used as qualified elements the way one wishes (*kāmācāra*).

2.1.56 उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्याप्रयोगे

upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge
| upamitam 1/1 *vyāghrādibhiḥ* 3/3 *sāmānyāprayoge* 7/1 = *na prayogaḥ* = *aprayogaḥ (nañ. tat.), sāmānyasya aprayogaḥ* = *sāmānyāprayogaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin |*
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
upameyavāci subantaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmarthyād upamānavacanaiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati, na cet sāmānyavācī śabdaḥ prayujyate
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and signifies *upameya* 'object to be compared' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains items enumerated in the list headed by *vyāghra* 'tiger', provided a word which denotes common quality is not used.

EXAMPLES:

puruṣavyāghraḥ 'a man like a tiger'
puruṣasiṃhaḥ 'a man like a lion'

1. A word denoting a thing compared (*upameya*) can be combined with another word which contains an item listed in the set headed by *vyāghra* 'tiger', provided a word denoting their common property is not used. The common property referenced here in connection with *upamāna* and *upamita* is bravery, etc. (*śauryādi*). A compound is not permitted by this rule when a word denoting a common property is used. This rule facilitates the preplacement (*pūrvanipāta*) of *puruṣa* 'man' in *puruṣa-vyāghraḥ* 'man like a tiger', which would have been placed subsequent to *vyāghra* had the compound been formed by 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*. *Kāśikā* states that this rule is formulated to facilitate the preplacement of a *viśeṣya* 'qualified'. Note that the compound *puruṣavyāghraḥ*, parallel to *puruṣo vyāghra iva śūraḥ*, is not permitted, since *śūraḥ* denotes the property common to *puruṣa* and *vyāghra*. The compound is permitted parallel to *puruṣo vyāghra iva* instead.

2.1.57 **विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम्**

viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam
/ *viśeṣaṇaṃ* 1/1 *viśeṣyeṇa* 3/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
viśeṣaṇavācī subantaṃ viśeṣyavācinā subantena saha bahulaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samaso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes a qualifying property (*viśeṣaṇa-vācī*) variously combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes the object so qualified.

EXAMPLES:

nīlotpalam 'blue lotus'
raktotpalam 'red lotus'
kṛṣṇasarpaḥ 'black snake (cobra)'
lohitaśāliḥ 'red rice'

1. This rule allows for the formation of *tatpuruṣa* compounds where both of the constituents are syntactic coordinates, but one denotes a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) and the other a qualified (*viśeṣya*). Thus, we get examples like *kṛṣṇasarpaḥ* 'black snake', where *kṛṣṇa* is a qualifier to *sarpa*. The compound is formed parallel to *kṛṣṇaś cāsau sarpaś ca* 'that which is black as well as is a snake'.

Kāśikā explains *viśeṣaṇa* and *viśeṣya* as *bhedaka* 'distinguisher' and *bhedya* 'distinguished'. It is argued (*Mbh* (II: 627) that, given the word *kṛṣṇa*, one understands the quality 'blackness' in general. Similarly, given the word *sarpa*, one understands the thing named *sarpa* in general. However, given *kṛṣṇasarpaḥ*, the quality of blackness is particularized to the one available in the black snake; the denotatum of snake is particularized now to the context of blackness. In this way, both *kṛṣṇa* and *sarpa* can serve as qualifiers and qualifieds. This being the case, the term *upasarjana* cannot be assigned to one over the other. Which, then, should be placed first in the compound? That which does not denote a substance (*dravya*). Obviously, *upasarjana* is here interpreted in its etymological sense of 'subordinate' (*apradhāna*). Further questions have been raised as to why the meaning of *dravya* should be treated as principal. A *dravya* does not abandon its locus, unlike *guṇa*, which may or may not reside in its locus. Besides, a *guṇa* needs *dravya* to serve as its locus.

The word *bahulam* is included here to allow freedom from all specifications. For example, a compound is here allowed to be optional, whereas with *bahulam* in the rule it could also be obligatory. Thus, we get *nīlotpalam*, parallel to *nīlam utpalam* 'blue lotus'. But we get *kṛṣṇasarpaḥ* 'black snake' and *lohitaśāliḥ* 'red rice' as obligatory compounds, and we do not get a compound parallel to *rāmo jāmadagnyaḥ* 'Rāma, the son of Jamadagni'. The use of *bahulam*, thus, means that the compound may apply, it may not apply, or it may apply only obligatorily.

2.1.58 पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च

pūrvāparaprathamacaramajaghanyasamānamadhyamadhyamavīrāś ca
/ *pūrva...vīrāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49, *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa* #57)
'pūrva, apara, prathama, carama, jaghanya, samāna, madhya, madhyama, vīra' ity ete subantāḥ samānādhikaraṇena supā saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP*, denotes a distinguishing quality and contains *pūrva* 'former', *apara* 'later, next', *prathama* 'first, foremost', *carama*, 'last', *jaghanya*, 'low, last' *samāna* 'similar, same', *madhya* 'intermediate', *madhyama* 'moderate, middle', or *vīra* 'brave, heroic' optionally combines with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes the object so qualified.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvapuruṣaḥ 'ancestor, former person'
aparapuruṣaḥ 'descendant, later person'
prathamapuruṣaḥ 'foremost person, third person'

caramapuruṣaḥ 'last person'
jaghanyapuruṣaḥ 'person of the lowest class'
samānapuruṣaḥ 'similar (same) person'
madhyapuruṣaḥ 'person in the middle'
madhyamapuruṣaḥ 'average person, second person'
vīrapuruṣaḥ 'brave person, hero'

1. The examples covered by this rule can be accounted for by the preceding rule. For the constituency of compounds here still relates to *viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya* 'qualifier-qualified'. Why then is this rule formed? For expatiation (*prapañca*) of the scope of the preceding rule. Commentators explain that the word *bahulam* 'variously' does not specify 'how variously'. A rule such as this offers some particulars concerning the context of the preceding rule. It is in this sense that this rule is an expatiation (*prapañca*), relative to the preceding one.

2.1.59 **श्रेण्यादयः कृतादिभिः**

śreṇyādayaḥ kṛtādibhiḥ
/ *śreṇyādayaḥ* 1/3 = *śreṇi ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *kṛtādibhiḥ* 1/3 = *kṛta ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
śreṇyādayaḥ subantāḥ kṛtādibhiḥ samānādhikaraṇaiḥ saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *śreṇi* 'an order, or group of traders or artisans', etc., optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *kṛta* 'made, done'.

EXAMPLES:

śreṇikṛtāḥ 'a group formed from those who were not in a group'
ekakṛtāḥ 'arranged together as one'

1. This rule references the constituency of its compounds by enumeration. The first list, specified by *śreṇyādayaḥ* 'items listed in the group headed by *śreṇi*', is a *gaṇapāṭha* (*GP*) listing. The second is what is generally referred to as *ākṛtigaṇa*, a *gaṇa* listing which is open-ended and serves only illustrative purposes. Thus, *kṛtādibhiḥ* refers to items such as *kṛta* 'made' and the like, which one can find in the usage. It is stated by a *vārttika* on this rule that items such as *śreṇi* 'group' are to be treated as used in the sense of affix *CvI* (*cvyartha*). Commentators identify the sense of *CvI* as *abhūtatadbhāva* 'that which became something which it previously was not'. Hence, *śreṇi* refers to a group of people who earn their livelihood by pursuing a common profession or business (*PM* ad *Kāś* II: 80: *ekena śilpena paṇyena vā ye jīvanti teṣāṃ samūhaḥ*). With the addition of the

abhūtatadbhāva sense of *CvI*, the meaning of *śreṇi* would thus become: 'a grouping of people earning their livelihood by pursuing a common profession or business, who were not previously grouped'. Note that the word *ādi* in *śreṇyādayaḥ* accordingly means *vyavasthā* or *prakāra* 'specific type'; *śreṇyādayaḥ* would therefore mean *śreṇi*, and the like, available in usage.

2.1.60 **क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ्**

ktena nañviśiṣṭena anañ
/ *ktena* 3/1 *nañviśiṣṭena* 3/1 = *nañ eva viśiṣṭo yasmin* (*bv.*), *tena*; *anañ* 1/1 = *na vidyate nañ yasmin* (*bv.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
nañviśiṣṭena ktāntena samānādhikaraṇena saha anañ ktāntaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which ends in *sUP*, contains a stem in *Kta* and does not contain *naÑ* 'not' optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and is rendered distinct only by *naÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtākṛtam 'partly done, partly not done'
bhuktābhuktam 'partly eaten, partly not eaten'
pītāpītam 'partly drunk, partly not drunk'

1. The word *viśiṣṭa* is used here in the sense of *adhika*, which can sometimes give the sense of *avadhāraṇa* 'specific delimitation', as in *devadatto yajñadattāt svādhyāyena viśiṣṭaḥ* 'Devadatta excels Yajñadatta by study'. This sentence thus implies that Devadatta and Yajñadatta differ only in respect of studying. Their other qualities remain the same. Sometimes, however, *adhika* may mean the opposite of non-delimitation (*niravadhāraṇa*). This preceding sentence can also give one the impression that Devadatta and Yajñadatta are different as far as study goes; whether or not their other qualities are similar is left without any specificity. The meaning of *avadhāraṇa* or *niravadhāraṇa* has to be determined on the basis of context, since the form of the sentence happens to be the same. In the context of this rule, a word containing a non-*ncÑ* item which ends in affix *Kta* is combined with another word in syntactic coordination, provided this latter also contains an item which ends in *Kta*, and is distinguished (*viśiṣṭa*) from the former by means of *naÑ*.

Let us take the example of *kṛtākṛtam*, where the two constituents are *kṛtam* and *akṛtam*. They both contain forms ending in the suffix *Kta*, such that one (*kṛta*) is distinguished from the other (*akṛta*) only on the basis of the negative *naÑ*. It is this sense of *sāvadhāraṇa* 'with delimitation' which is implied here by the use of *nañviśiṣṭa* 'that which has been distinguished by *naÑ*'. Obviously, the difference between the two constituents has to be

minimally identifiable to the difference of *naÑ*. But what of examples like *uditānuditam* 'partly spoken, partly unspoken', where a word containing a *Kta* (*udita*) is combined with another syntactically coordinate word which contains *Kta* (*anudita*) and is distinguished by *naÑ*? The derivation of *anudita* entails the introduction of the augment *nUṬ*, in addition to *naÑ*. Thus, the difference between *udita* and *anudita* is not limited only to *naÑ*. Commentators say (see *PM* ad *Kāś*) that the introduction of *nUṬ* forms part of the qualification by *naÑ*. That is, a *naÑ* derivate such as *anudita* is obligatorily going to have the introduction of *nUṬ*. In this sense, *anudita* is still minimally different from *udita*. The *naÑ* alone, especially since it also conditions *nUṬ*, is responsible for the difference. The compound will thus be permitted.

What does a compound like *kṛtākṛtam* denote? How could one thing be called 'made' and at the same time 'not made'? One can understand the meaning of this compound by transferring the quality of the 'unmade' part to the whole. Thus, a part 'unmade' will render the whole, in a manner of speaking, 'unmade'. After all, a son can be called a 'non-son' (*aputra*) for failing to do something for which he may be called a 'son' (*putra*).

As an expatiation of *bahulam* of 2.1.57 two *vārttika* are offered in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 638): (i) that compounds like *kṛtāpakṛtam* 'done, though badly', etc., should be enumerated; (ii) that examples such as *gatapratyāgatam* 'went out to go to place X, though returned without reaching there', etc., should also be enumerated. Patañjali proposes to account for these examples by replacing the meaning condition of *nañviśiṣṭena* by *anañ ktāntena kriyāvisamāptau* 'with a non-*naÑ* word containing *Kta* when the sense is that of lack of properly completing the action'. See *Mbh* (ibid.).

2.1.61 सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः

sanmahatparamottamotkṛṣṭāḥ pūjyamānaiḥ
/ *san...kṛṣṭāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *pūjyamānaiḥ* 3/3/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
'*sat, mahat, parama, uttama, utkṛṣṭa*' *ity ete pūjyamānaiḥ saha samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *sat* 'true, wise, good', *mahat* 'great', *parama* 'best', *uttama* 'excellent', or *utkṛṣṭa* 'excellent' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes one deserving of respect or praise.

EXAMPLES:

satpuruṣaḥ 'a wise man'

mahāpuruṣaḥ 'a great man'
paramapuruṣaḥ 'the best man'
uttamapuruṣaḥ 'an excellent man'
utkṛṣṭapuruṣaḥ 'an excellent man'

1. The word *pūjyamānaiḥ* conditions the use of *sat*, etc., in the sense of praise (*pūjā*). If this were not so, how else could praise be denoted in an example like *mahāpuruṣaḥ* 'a great man', where *puruṣa* simply means 'man'? The word *sat*, by 3.2.127 *tau sat*, cannot refer to an item ending in affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*. For, they do not denote praise. Further, how do compounds such as *mahodadhiḥ* 'a great ocean' and *mahādrumaḥ* 'a great tree' come to be formed? There is no praise involved in them. The compound simply states the fact of the great expanse of the ocean or the unusual height of the tree. Such compounds can be formed by 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*. Or, the word *bahulam* could be carried here from that rule.

2.1.62 वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम्

vṛndārakanāgakuñjaraiḥ pūjyamānam
/ *vṛndārakanāgakuñjaraiḥ* 3/3 = (*itar. dv.*); *pūjyamānam* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
'*vṛndāraka, nāga, kuñjara*' *ity etaiḥ pūjyamānavāci subantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes someone deserving of respect or praise combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *vṛndāraka* 'excellent; beautiful', *nāga* 'snake; the best of any kind', or *kuñjara* 'elephant; the most prominent kind'.

EXAMPLES:

govṛndārakaḥ 'an excellent ox; a beautiful cow'
aśvavṛndārakaḥ 'an excellent horse'
gonāgaḥ 'excellent cow'
aśvanāgaḥ 'excellent horse'
gokuñjaraḥ 'a cow of quality'
aśvakuñjaraḥ 'a horse of quality'

1. A word which denotes 'he who ought to be praised' is combined with a word constituted by *vṛndāraka*, *nāga*, and *kuñjara*. The very use of *pūjyamānam* 'ought to be praised' makes one expect that *vṛndāraka*, *nāga*, and *kuñjara* would denote praise (*pūjā*). Words such as *vṛndāraka* and *kuñjara*, as well as *nāga*, denote the class (*jāti*) of *deva* 'gods' and *gaja* 'elephants', respectively. The question of *pūjā* 'praise' would not arise if

they did not serve as *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. Since *vyāghra*, etc., are given as part of *ākṛtigaṇa*, where *vṛndāraka*, etc., can also be included, rule 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ...*, itself, can account for the examples of this rule. Why, then, is this rule needed? So that the compound is permitted only when praise (*pūjā*), and not *nindā* 'reproach', is denoted.

2.1.63 **कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने**

katarakatamau jātiparipraśne
/ *katarakatamau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *jātiparipraśne* 7/1 = *jāteḥ paripraśnaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
katarakatamau jātiparipraśne varttamānau samarthena supā saha samasyete, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP*, contains *katara* 'which one of two' or *katama* 'who one of many', and denotes *jāti* 'class' about which questions are asked, optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada*.

EXAMPLES:

katarakaṭhaḥ 'who is the Kaṭha of these two'
katamakaṭhaḥ 'who is the Kaṭha among these people'
katarakālāpaḥ 'who is the Kālāpa of these two'
katamakālāpaḥ 'who is the Kālāpa among these people'

1. This rule allows for the formation of a compound of words constituted by *katara* 'who of the two' and *katama* 'who of the many' with words in syntactic coordination with them when *katara* and *katama* are questioning about a class (*jātiparipraśna*). How is it that the words *katara* and *katama* must be qualified with *jātiparipraśna*? Is this meaning not already understood? Such a qualification is necessary because *katara* and *katama* may be used in questioning something other than a class. Consider, for example, the following sentences:

(*i*) *kataro bhavator devadattaḥ* 'which one of you is Devadatta?'
(*ii*) *katamo bhavatāṃ devadattaḥ* 'who among you is Devadatta?'

2.1.64 **किं क्षेपे**

kiṃ kṣepe
/ *kiṃ* 1/1 *kṣepe* 7/2/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
'*kim*' *ity etat kṣepe gamyamāne supā saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *kim* 'who, what, which' optionally combines with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* provided *kṣepa* 'contempt' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kiṃrājā 'a worthless king'
kiṃsakhā 'a worthless friend'
kiṃgauḥ 'a worthless cow'

1. Rule 5.4.70 *kimaḥ kṣepe* blocks the introduction of any *samāsānta* (5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*) affix after compounds covered by this rule.

2.1.65 **पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्बष्कयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः**

poṭāyuvatistokakatipayagṛṣṭidhenuvaśāvehadvaṣkayaṇīpravaktṛ-śrotriyādhyāpakadhūrtair jātiḥ
/ *poṭā...dhūrtaiḥ* 1/3 = *poṭā ca yuvatiś ca stokaś ca katipayaṃ ca gṛṣṭiś ca dhenuś ca vaśā ca vehad ca vaṣkayaṇī ca pravaktā ca śrotriyaś ca adhyāpakaś ca dhūrtaś ca* = *poṭā...dhūrtāḥ (itar. dv.), taiḥ; jātiḥ* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
poṭādibhiḥ saha jātivāci subantaṃ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *jāti* 'class' optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains any of the following:
poṭā 'a hermaphrodite'
yuvati 'young female'
stoka 'a little'
katipaya 'several, some, so many'
gṛṣṭi 'a cow which has delivered only once'
dhenu 'a cow which has recently delivered'
vaśā 'a barren cow'
vehat 'a cow that miscarries'
vaṣkayaṇī 'a cow with a young calf'
pravaktṛ 'an expounder, announcer'
śrotriya 'learned in the Veda, conversant with sacred knowledge'
adhyāpaka 'teacher'
dhūrta 'cunning, crafty'

EXAMPLES:

ibhapoṭā 'young female elephant'
ibhayuvatiḥ 'a young female elephant'
agnistokaḥ 'a little fire'
udaśvitkatipayam 'some buttermilk'
gogṛṣṭiḥ 'a cow which has delivered only once'

godhenuḥ 'a cow which has recently delivered'
govaśā 'a barren cow'
govehat 'a cow that miscarries'
govaṣkayaṇī 'a cow with a young calf'
kaṭhapravaktā 'a Kaṭha who is an expounder'
kaṭhaśrotriya 'a Kaṭha who is learned in the Veda'
kaṭhādhyāpakaḥ 'a Kaṭha who is a teacher'
kaṭhadhūrtaḥ 'a Kaṭha who is crafty (skilled)'

1. This rule allows the optional formation of compounds between a word which denotes *jāti* 'class' and a word in syntactic coordination containing *poṭā*, etc. Words denoting *jāti* are referenced as qualifieds (*viśeṣya*) as against *poṭā*, etc., which are given as adjectives (*viśeṣaṇa*). The formation of these compounds can be accomplished by 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa...*, though *poṭā*, etc., must in that case be preplaced. The compounds covered by this rule require the adjectives to be postposed.

2.1.66 प्रशंसावचनैश्च

praśaṃsāvacanaiś ca
/ *praśaṃsāvacanaiḥ* 3/3 *ca* 0 /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49, *jātiḥ* #65)
jātivāci subantaṃ praśaṃsāvacanaiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *jāti* optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *praśaṃsā* 'praise'.

EXAMPLES:

goprakāṇḍam 'an excellent cow'
aśvaprakāṇḍam 'an excellent horse'
gomatallikā 'an excellent bull'
aśvamatallikā 'an excellent horse'
gomacarcikā 'an excellent cow'
aśvamacarcikā 'an excellent horse'

1. This rule allows the formation of compounds of words which denote *jāti* with words in syntactic coordination denoting *praśaṃsā* 'praise'. There are three ways to denote praise (*praśaṃsāvacana*);

(*i*) A word denoting *jāti* may denote praise when used for something else (*parārthe prayujyamānāḥ praśaṃsām ācakṣate*). Thus, *siṃho devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is a lion'.
(*ii*) Sometimes a qualifier-qualified relation (*guṇaguṇī*) results in praise.

Thus, *ramaṇīyo grāmaḥ* 'a beautiful village'.

(*iii*) On occasion, certain words conventionally denote praise. Thus, *gomatallikā* 'an excellent cow'.

The word *vacana* in this rule is used so that compounds with conventional meaning (iii) alone should be formed with this rule. That is, examples from (i) will be ruled out. Furthermore, compounds which by convention (*rūḍhi*) denote praise are used in their own respective genders: they do not change for the gender of the others. Thus, *aśvamatallikā* 'an excellent horse', where *matallikā* does not change for the masculine 'horse' (*aśva*).

2.1.67 **युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः**

yuvākhalatipalitavalinajaratībhiḥ
/ *yuvā...jaratībhiḥ* 3/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
khalatyādibhiḥ samānādhikaraṇaiḥ saha yuvaśabdaḥ samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *yuvā* 'young' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related co-referential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains any of the following:

khalati 'bald'
palita 'greyhaired'
valina 'wrinkled'
jaratī 'aged, old (female)'

EXAMPLES:

yuvakhalatiḥ 'a young man who has gone bald'
yuvakhalatī 'a young woman who has gone bald'
yuvapalitaḥ 'a young man who has gone grey'
yuvapalitā 'a young woman who has gone grey'
yuvavalinaḥ 'a young man who has wrinkled'
yuvavalinā 'a young woman who has wrinkled'
yuvajaran 'a young man who looks old'
yuvajaratī 'a young woman who looks old'

1. Note that the word *yuvā* 'young' is used in the masculine whereas the word *jaratī* 'old' is used in the feminine. The formation of compounds obtains under the condition of syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). But *yuvā*, masculine, and *jaratī*, feminine, cannot share syntactic coordination. Their meanings are also diametrically opposed. Commentators inform us that, by using *jaratī* in feminine, Pāṇini wants to indicate the *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* 'reference to a particular nominal stem also includes reference to its particular genders . One can thus infer *yuvā jaran* as well as *yuvatir jaratī*

from *yuvā jaratī*. Incidentally, the opposition of meaning between *yuvā* and *jaratī* can be reconciled by the fact that someone may look old even in youth, due to malnutrition, etc. Thus, the referent of *yuvā* or *jaratī* is not limited to masculine or feminine only. Others find problems with the exact interpretation of the *paribhāṣā* just cited. For example, a reference to a particular gender may be available if the reference is made by the nominal stem. Can reference to the masculine be made by the reference of the stem *jarat* in the feminine? It probably cannot. Kaiyaṭa (see Mīmāṃsaka 1974: 155) therefore proposes *jaradbhiḥ* as another reading for *jaratībhiḥ*.

2. See note (2) under rule 2.1.55 *upāmānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ* for an additional explanation of the formulation of this rule, especially since compounds covered by the current rule may also be formed under provisions of rule 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇam...*

2.1.68 कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या

kṛtyatulyākhyā ajātyā
/ *kṛtyatulyākhyā* 1/1 = *tulyasya ākhyā* = *tulyākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *kṛtyaś ca tulyākhyā ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *tat.*); *ajātyā* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
A *pada* which ends in *sUP*, and contains either a stem in *kṛtya* or a stem synonymous with *tulya* 'equal, similar', optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and does not denote *jāti* 'class'.

EXAMPLES:

bhojyoṣṇam 'warm food'
bhojyalavaṇam 'salty food'
pānīyaśītam 'cold drink'
tulyaśvetaḥ 'equally white'
tulyamahān 'equally great'
sadṛśaśvetaḥ 'equally white'
sadṛśamahān 'equally great'

1. This rule allows for a word which contains an item ending in a *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*) affix, or a word constituted by *tulya* 'equal' or its synonym, to combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with another word in syntactic co-ordination, provided this latter does not denote *jāti* 'class'. We thus get examples like *bhojyoṣṇam* 'warm food', *tulyaśvetaḥ* 'equally white', and *sadṛśaśvetaḥ* 'id.' A compound parallel to *bhojya odanaḥ* will not be permitted by this rule, simply because *odanaḥ* 'rice' denotes *jāti*.

The word *ākhyā* 'denotation' is included so that *tulya* is not treated as denoting its form (*svarūpa*) only. The word *kṛtya*, itself, does not denote

its form only. By its association (*sāhacarya*), *tulya* should also not be restricted in this way.

Words such as *uṣṇam* in *bhojyoṣṇam* are qualifiers (*guṇavācaka*). As such, and especially in the absence of the present rule, they will be placed first in the compound (2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇam...*). This rule thus facilitates their post-placement (*paranipāta*). Note that compounds such as *tulyamahān* can be formed by 2.1.61 *sanmahat*.... However, this rule will be preferred over 2.1.61 for the reason that it is subsequent (*paratvāt*). Rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* will facilitate this. Observe that *sāvakāśatva* 'valid scope of application elsewhere' of rules in conflict is one of the conditions of *tulyabalatā* 'equal strength of rules in conflict' which rule 1.4.2 implies. Our present rule is *sāvakāśa* in examples like *tulyaśvetaḥ* 'equally white', while rule 2.1.61 has its valid scope in examples like *mahāpuruṣaḥ* 'great man'. The other condition of *tulyabalatā*, i.e., simultaneous (*yugapad*) application of two rules in a single context, entails examples such as *tulyamahān*, where rules 2.1.61 *sanmahat*... and 2.1.68 *kṛtyatulyākhyā*... become applicable at the same time. Incidentally, *tulya* in *tulyaśvetaḥ* denotes the sense of equality (*tulyārtha*), whereas *mahat* in *mahāpuruṣaḥ* denotes inequality (*atulyārtha*).

2.1.69 वर्णो वर्णेन

varṇo varṇena
/ *varṇaḥ* 1/1 *varṇena* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
varṇaviśeṣavāci subantaṃ varṇaviśeṣavācinā subantena samānādhikaraṇena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *varṇa* 'color' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *varṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣṇasāraṅgaḥ 'black and (at the same time) variegated'
lohitasāraṅgaḥ 'red and (at the same time) variegated'
kṛṣṇaśabalaḥ 'black and (at the same time) brindled'
lohitaśabalaḥ 'red and (at the same time) brindled'

1. The word *varṇa* in both its occurrences is to be interpreted as denoting 'a particular word for color'. In addition, both compound constituents must be in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). Thus, we get the example *kṛṣṇaśabalaḥ* 'black and (at the same time) brindled', or 'variegated black', where *kṛṣṇa* is in syntactic coordination with *śabalaḥ* 'variegated', by way of (*dvāreṇa*) being the part (*avayava*) present in the whole (*samudāya*) constituted by variegation.

2.1.70 कुमारः श्रमणादिभिः

kumāraḥ śramaṇādibhiḥ
/ *kumāraḥ* 1/1 *śramaṇādibhiḥ* 3/3/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
kumāraśabdaḥ śramaṇādibhiḥ saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains the stem *kumāra* 'boy' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem enumerated in the list headed by *śramaṇa* 'ascetic'.

EXAMPLES:

kumāraśramaṇā 'a female ascetic who is still young'
kumārādhyāpakaḥ 'a teacher who is still very young'

1. Note that *śramaṇā* 'female ascetic, hard-working', etc., are given in the feminine. Consequently, their compounds should be formed with the corresponding feminine constituent *kumārī*. This is necessitated because *kumāra* is given in the masculine. See (*Pbh* 72) *prātipadikagrahaṇe...* for details. Also refer to note 1 under rule 2.1.67 *yuvā khalati....*

2.1.71 चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या

catuṣpādo garbhiṇyā
/ *catuṣpādaḥ* 1/1 = *catvāraḥ pādā yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*; *garbhiṇyā* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
catuṣpād vācinaḥ subantā garbhiṇīśabdena samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes a *catuṣpād* 'quadruped' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related coreferential *pada* constituted by *garbhiṇī* 'pregnant'.

EXAMPLES:

gogarbhiṇī 'a pregnant cow'
ajāgarbhiṇī 'a pregnant goat'

2.1.72 मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च

mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca
/ *mayūravyaṃsakādayah* 1/3 = '*mayūravyaṃsaka*' *ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te; ca* Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #3, *saha supā* #4, *sup* #9, *vibhāṣā* #11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #22, *samānādhikaraṇena* #49)
mayūravyaṃsakādayaḥ śabdās tatpuruṣasaṃjñā bhavanti

Items enumerated in the list headed by *mayūravyaṃsaka* 'as cunning as a peacock' are also termed *tatpuruṣa.*

EXAMPLES:

mayūravyaṃsakaḥ 'as cunning as a peacock'
chātravyaṃsakaḥ 'as cunning as a student'
kāmbojamuṇḍaḥ 'one whose shaven head is like the head of a resident of Kamboja'
yavanamuṇḍaḥ 'one whose shaven head is like the head of a Yavana (Ionian)'

1. This rule allows for the formation of compounds such as *mayūravyaṃsakaḥ* by *nipātana* 'ad hoc'. The word *ca* is used in the sense of *avadhāraṇa,* exact delimitation of the scope. That is, no further compounds such as **paramamayūravyaṃsakaḥ* would be permitted. Note that words such as *vyaṃsaka* qualify for post-placement (*paranipāta*) on the strength of this rule. This is true of all the other examples including *yavanamuṇḍaḥ* 'one whose shaven head is like the head of a Yavana (Ionian)'. Examples such as *hastegṛhya* will qualify for *LyaP* by 7.3.37 *samāso' nañpūrve ktvo lyap.* Elsewhere, *haste gṛhītvā* 'after having grabbed in the hand' and *punar datvā* 'after having given again' would entail *Ktvā* as usual.

2.2.1 **पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे**

pūrvāparādharottaram ekadeśinā ekādhikaraṇe
/ pūrvāparādharottaram 1/1 = *pūrvaṃ ca aparaṃ ca adharaṃ ca uttaraṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*); *ekadeśinā* 3/1 = *ekadeśo 'syāsti* (*karm.*), *tena*; *ekādhikaraṇe* 7/1 = *ekaṃ ca tad adhikaraṇaṃ ca* (*karm.*). *tasmin /*
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22)
avayavivācinā subantena saha pūrva, apara, adhara, uttaraśabdāḥ sāmarthyād ekadeśavacanāḥ samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *pūrva* 'fore', *apara* 'back', *adhara* 'lower', or *uttara* 'upper' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and refers to a single substance (*ekādhikaraṇa*) with parts (*ekadeśin*).

EXAMPLES:

pūrvakāyaḥ 'the front of the body'
aparakāyaḥ 'the back of the body'
adharakāyaḥ 'the lower part of the body'
uttarakāyaḥ 'the upper part of the body'

1. *Kāśikā* explains the word *ekadeśin* as *avayavin* 'that which has parts;

a whole'. Because they are syntactically related (*samartha*) with items denoting an *ekadeśin*, *pūrva* 'front', etc., are treated as denoting parts (*ekadeśa-vacana*). Besides, if *pūrva*, etc., are not treated as denoting parts, the second constituent of the compound referred to here as denoting a whole makes no sense. For, a part (*ekadeśa*) necessarily implies a corresponding whole (*ekadeśin*). It is for this reason that a generalized reference with *pūrva*, etc., is interpreted as having been made in the particular sense of a part. The word *ekādhikaraṇa* has been used here as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *ekadeśin*, thereby giving the sense of 'that which is one, and is, at the same time, also the substratum, i.e., substance (*ekaṃ ced adhikaraṇam ekadravyam ekadeśi bhavati*). This is what *Nyāsa* calls *ekasaṃkhyāviśiṣṭaṃ dravyam* 'a thing qualified by the number one'.

Since an *ekadeśin* serves as the locus or substratum for its parts, the *saptamī* is acceptable in *ekādhikaraṇe*. But to accept the qualifier status of *ekādhikaraṇa* on the one hand, and the instrumental which denotes the qualified in the word on the other, is problematic. The syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) necessary for items termed qualifier-qualified (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya*) thus becomes impaired. Jinendra (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* II: 96) suggests that *saptamī* in *ekādhikaraṇe* is used in the sense of *tṛtīyā* (*ekādhikaraṇa ity atra tṛtīyārtha evaiṣā saptamī*). It is not a *saptamī* introduced by 2.3.36 *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca* (*na saptamy adhikaraṇe ca ity anena*).

Note that the constituency of compounds covered by this rule entails *avayavāvayavisambandha* 'part-whole relationship'. This may occasion the use of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' after items denoting a whole (*ekadeśin*). Additionally, such a compound should then be covered by 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*. *Kāśikā* states that the formulation of this rule constitutes an exception (*apavāda*) to genitive compound (*ṣaṣṭhīsamāsāpavādo' yaṃ yogaḥ*).

The condition of *ekadeśinā* will not permit a compound parallel to *pūrvaṃ nābheḥ kāyasya* 'part of the body prior to the navel', where *nābhi* is used in the ablative (*pañcamī*) to denote *avadhi* 'limit' marked by association with *diś* 'direction'. The navel thus cannot be called *ekadeśin*. Similarly, *ekadeśitva* 'partness' must also be qualified by *ekatva* 'singularity'. A compound parallel to *pūrvaṃ chātrāṇāṃ* 'the front of the students' cannot therefore be permitted, since even though the group can serve as *ekadeśa*, the students are many.

2.2.2 अर्धं नपुंसकम्

ardhaṃ napuṃsakam
/ *ardham* 1/1 *napuṃsakam* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇe* #1)
'*ardham*' *ity etad napuṃsakam ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇena samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*

A *pada* which contains *ardha* 'half' in neuter optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and refers to a single substance with parts.

EXAMPLES:

ardhapippalī 'half of a pepper'
ardhakośātakī 'half of a squash'

1. Note that the words *ekadeśinā* and *ekādhikaraṇe* are carried. This obviously limits the compound constituency in a way similar to that of the preceding rule, though with a qualification. *Kāśikā* informs us that *ardham* 'exact half' is to be interpreted here as *āviṣṭaliṅga* 'fixed gender; neuter'. The word *ardha* in neuter is invariably used in the sense of an exact half. The question of gender in this context becomes pertinent, since a word denoting part (*avayava*) will normally be expected to take the gender of the whole whose part it denotes (*abhidheya*). A word denoting part thus can be seen in all the three genders; but the part which consists of the exact half of the whole will, in the present case, have to be in neuter.

A compound with *ardham* is permitted when it is used in the neuter, consequent upon denoting an exact half. This again is an exception to the genitive compound, where we get an example such as *ardhapippalī*, parallel to *ardhaṃ pippalyāḥ*. Incidentally, *ardhapippalī* is a feminine in consonance with *pippalī*, the second constituent of the compound (2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*). It does not go through the shortening (*hrasva*) of its final *ī*, since *pippalī* is not an *upasarjana* (cf. 1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭa samāsa upasarjanam*; 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*).

Note that the condition of *napuṃsakam* rules the compound *grāmārdhaḥ*, parallel to *grāmasya ardhaḥ*, out of the scope of this rule. For *ardha* 'half', here, denotes 'part, section' (*khaṇḍa*), as opposed to an 'exact half' (*samāṃśa*). The condition of *ekadeśinā* blocks the formation of a compound between *ardham* and *devadattaḥ* of *ardhaṃ paśor devadattasya* 'half of Devadatta's cattle'. For, *devadatta* is the owner (*svāmin*) and hence is *anekadeśin* 'residing in more than one locus' in relation to the cattle he owns. Contrarily, *paśuḥ* 'cattle', because it has a single locus, can be viewed as an *ekadeśin* in a compound, such as, *ardhapaśuḥ*. A compound parallel to *ardhaṃ pippalīnām* will not be permitted either, since *pippalī* is plural and violates the condition of *ekādhikaraṇe*.

2.2.3 **द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम्**

dvitīyatṛtīyacaturthaturyāṇy anyatarasyām
| dvitīya...turyāṇi 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* Ø |
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇe* #1)

dvitīyādīni śabdarūpāṇi ekadeśinaikādhikaraṇena sahānyatarasyāṃ samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *dvitīya* 'second', *tṛtīya* 'third', *caturtha* 'fourth', or *turya* 'fourth' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and refers to a single substance with parts.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyabhikṣā 'second portion of alms'
bhikṣādvitīyam 'id.'
tṛtīyabhikṣā 'third portion of alms'
bhikṣātṛtīyam 'id.'
caturthabhikṣā 'fourth portion of alms'
bhikṣācaturtham 'id.'
turyabhikṣā 'fourth portion of alms'
bhikṣāturyam 'id.'

1. This rule also forms an exception to the genitive compounds. However, since Pāṇini uses *anyatarasyām* 'optionally', a genitive compound can also be allowed additionally. The restriction of *pūraṇaguṇa...* (2.2.11) does not apply here, because of the use of *anyatarasyām*. Thus, we get *dvitīyabhikṣā*, parallel to *dvitīyaṃ bhikṣāyāḥ*, 'second portion of alms'. A genitive compound under the provision of *anyatarasyām* will be *bhikṣādvitīyam*. See note 2 under 2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā* on how rule 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā* interacts with *anyatarasyām* of this rule.

It is stated that a compound with *turīya*, in addition to *turya*, is desired. Thus, *turīyabhikṣā*, parallel to *turīyaṃ bhikṣāyāḥ*, or *bhikṣāturīyam*.

Note that, given *dvitīyaṃ bhikṣāyā bhikṣukasya*, *bhikṣuka* cannot be combined with *dvitīyam*, since it does not denote the *ekadeśin*. Similarly, the plural of *bhikṣāṇām* in *dvitīyaṃ bhikṣāṇām* will violate the condition of *ekādhikaraṇa*. Compounds parallel to these strings will, thus, not be permitted.

2.2.4 **प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया**

prāptāpanne ca dvitīyayā
/ *prāptāpanne* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* Ø *dvitīyayā* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *anyatarasyām* #3)
'*prāpta, āpanna' ity etau dvitīyāntena saha samasyete, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *prāpta* 'obtained' or *apānna* 'reached' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

prāptajīvikaḥ 'he who has obtained his livelihood'
jīvikāprāptaḥ 'id.'
āpannajīvikaḥ 'he who has reached (attained) his livelihood'
jīvikāpannaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ekadeśinā* and *ekādhikaraṇe* are not carried here, because they are incompatible. The compound formation allowed by this rule is limited to the constituency of *prāpta* and *āpanna*, along with a word in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'. Obviously, the provision of this rule may be treated as an exception to 2.1.24 *dvitīyāśritātīta*.... But *anyatarasyām* will again permit the formation of compounds specific to rule 2.1.24. Thus, this rule allows *prāptajīvikaḥ*, parallel to *jīvikāprāptaḥ* of 2.1.24. The word *jīvikā* will be termed *upasarjana* by 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti*.... Consequently, its long *ā* will be replaced with short (1.2.48 *gostriyor*...). How is it that *prāptajīvikaḥ* is not assigned feminine gender according to *jīvikā* (cf. 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandva*...)? An exception to gender in accordance with the following constituent is made by the *Mahābhāṣya* (see *vt.* I, under 2.4.26 *dvigu-prāptāpannālaṃ*...). Refer, also, to the *Mahābhāṣya* under this rule for a much finer interpretation of this rule, especially in view of the derivation of *prāptajīvikā*, a compound parallel to *jīvikāṃ prāptā strī* 'a woman who has obtained her livelihood'.

2.2.5 कालाः परिमाणिना

kālāḥ parimāṇinā
/ *kālāḥ* 1/3 *parimāṇinā* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22)
parimāṇavācinā subantena saha sāmarthyāt parimāṇavacanāḥ kālaśabdāḥ samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem denoting *kāla* 'time, duration' optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a *pada* ending in *sUP* and containing a stem denoting *parimāṇin* 'item to be measured'.

EXAMPLES:

māsajātaḥ 'born a month ago'
saṃvatsarajātaḥ 'born a year ago'
dvyahajātaḥ 'born two days ago'
tryahajātaḥ 'born three days ago'

1. This rule limits the constituency of its examples to *parimāṇaparimāṇi-sambandha* 'measure-measured relationship'. The word *parimāṇin* thus

refers to the thing which may be measured. Based on the necessary condition of *sāmarthya* between that which denotes a *parimāṇin* and that which denotes time (*kāla*), we conclude that the latter denotes the measure (*parimāṇa*). Accordingly, a word which denotes time becomes the measure of that which is measured (*parimāṇin*). The *parimāṇaparimāṇi-sambandha* would naturally require the use of genitive after the item which denotes *parimāṇin*. More particularly, a compound with *parimāṇin* in genitive may become the subject of genitive compound (*ṣaṣṭhīsamāsa*).

A genitive compound formed under 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī* would yield the form **jātamāsaḥ*, where the constituent ending in genitive will have to be pre-placed. This rule favors the form *māsajātaḥ*, with the preplacement of the non-genitive constituent *māsaḥ*. It is in this sense that the present rule is treated as a exception to 2.2.8. Commentators also note that *māsa-jātaḥ* can also be derived as a *bahuvrīhi* compound, parallel to *māso jātaḥ asya* 'he of whom one month has passed', with practically no difference of meaning or accent.

It is argued that a person born (*jātaḥ*) does not necessarily become *parimāṇin* with reference to the month (*māsa*), a measure of time (*pari-māṇa*). If this were so, a compound such as *māsajātaḥ*, parallel to *māso jātasya*, would not be permitted. The discrepency, however, is reconciled by the fact that the function of an item such as *māsa*, as a measure of time, can only be understood in connection with items such as *jātaḥ*, the relative *parimāṇin*.

2.2.6 नञ्

nañ
/ nañ Ø */*
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22)
nañ samarthena subantena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* constituted by *naÑ* 'not' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

abrāhmaṇaḥ 'a non-Brāhmaṇa'
avṛṣalaḥ 'a non-Vṛṣala'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 666-76) discusses in detail the logico-semantic implications of negation in general, and of a negative (*na*) compound in particular. The example discussed is *abrāhmaṇa* of *abrāhmaṇam ānaya* 'bring him who is not a *brāhmaṇa*'. Questions have been raised about the person who will be brought in response to the command. Will he be a *brāhmaṇa*? Why not? After all, it is a *tatpuruṣa* compound, where the meaning

of the second constituent is principal (*pradhāna*). But, in compliance with the command, he who is brought is not a *brāhmaṇa*. This contradicts the view that the meaning of the second constituent is principal in a *tatpuruṣa* compound. Is it, then, possible for us to accept that it is the meaning of *naÑ*, the first constituent, which is principal in such a case? This possibility will also encounter problems. Firstly, *naÑ* is an indeclinable. Therefore, the compound must also be termed an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*).

Secondly, the relation between the constituents is that of qualifier-qualified (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya*) nature. The *na* denotes non-existence in general (*asatsāmānya*). Given the phrase, *abrāhmaṇaḥ kṣatriyaḥ*, difficulty of interpretation will arise. The sense intended is that the *kṣatriya* is similar, though not identical, to a *brāhmaṇa*. That is, he is *brāhmaṇa bhinna tad* (*brāhmaṇa*) *sadṛśa* 'not a *brāhmaṇa*, although he is similar to one'. The *asatsāmānya* interpretation will reduce the *sādṛśya* 'similarity' to non-existence.

A third proposal, to accept *abrāhmaṇaḥ* as a compound with the prominence of the meaning of something outside the constituency of the compound, is also made. This, too, runs into problems, owing mainly to the negative meaning of *naÑ* in relation to *brāhaṇa*. That is, the *sādṛśya* 'similarity' meaning cannot be established. Besides, the question of forming a *karmadhāraya* with two constituents in syntactic coordination, as opposed to a *bahuvrīhi*, would also arise.

The *Mahābhāṣya* accepts the prominence of the meaning of the second constituent *brāhmaṇa*, with the stipulation that *na* denotes *asatsāmānya* 'non-existence in general' and *brāhmaṇa* denotes 'non-existence of an aspect of Brāhmaṇaness (*brāhmaṇatva*) in particular'. The particular aspect of *brāhmaṇatva* recognized with *asatsāmānya* is *brāhmaṇatva* by birth. In this way, a qualifier-qualified relationship resulting in *sāmānādhikaraṇya* 'syntactic coordination' can be established. Thus, *na brāhmaṇaḥ* = *brāhmaṇaḥ* = *brāhmaṇaḥ bhinnaḥ kṣatriyaḥ brāhmaṇasadṛśaḥ* = *abrāhmaṇaḥ*. The similarity established between a *brāhmaṇa* and a *kṣatriya* may be a fair complexion (*gaura varṇa*); ritual conduct (*śucyācāra*); brown (*piṅgala*) eyes; and golden hair (*kapilakeśa*). The difference (*bheda*) thus constituted could be birth (*jāti*). The difficulty of *brāhmaṇa* denoting 'non-existence of an aspect of *brāhmaṇatva*' has been recognized as the secondary meaning of the word *brāhmaṇa*. A primary meaning would be '*brāhmaṇatva* by birth'. In a negative compound such as *abrāhmaṇaḥ*, *brāhmaṇa* denotes the non-existence of its primary meaning. That is, *brāhmaṇa* is used in the sense of *brāhmaṇasadṛśa*. This sense, however, could be brought about only when *brāhmaṇa* is used with *naÑ*. Consequently, *naÑ* becomes the revealer (*dyotaka*) of this meaning. For further details see Joshi (1973: 70–105). Also recall my notes under rule 1.2.45 *arthavadadhātuḥ*....

The denotata of *naÑ* are explained in six ways, as follows:

(*i*) *sādṛśya* 'similarity, resemblance' as in *abrāhmaṇaḥ*

(*ii*) *abhāva* 'lack, non-existence', as in *ajñāna* 'lack of knowledge'
(*iii*) *bheda* 'difference' as in *apaṭaḥ* 'something other than cloth'
(*iv*) *alpatā* 'smallness', as in *anudarā kanyā* 'a girl with no belly; with a very slender waist'
(*v*) *aprāśastya* 'unpraiseworthiness,' as in *akālaḥ* 'inopportune time'
(*vi*) *virodha* 'opposition', as in *anītiḥ* 'immorality'

Bālamanoramā and *Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK* explain *abrāhmaṇaḥ* as *āropita-brāhmaṇaḥ*, an impostor, where imposition (*āropitatva*) becomes the meaning of *naÑ*. This meaning, incidentally, is covered by (*i*) above.

2.2.7 ईषदकृता

īṣad akṛtā
/ *īṣat* ∅ *akṛtā* 3/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22)
'īṣat' ity ayaṃ śabdo' kṛdantena supā saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which contains *īṣat* 'a little, slight' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* but does not contain a stem in *kṛt*.

EXAMPLES:

īṣatkaḍāraḥ 'slight yellow'
īṣatpiṅgalaḥ 'id.'

1. A proposal has been made in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 677) to read *guṇavacanena* 'with that which denotes quality' in place of *akṛtā*. That is, *īṣat* should be combined with a word which ends in a *sUP*, and denotes a quality. Such a specification is needed to block a compound parallel to *īṣad gārgyaḥ* 'slightly Gārgya', where *gārgyaḥ* contains a base which ends in the *taddhita* affix *yaÑ*.

2.2.8 षष्ठी

ṣaṣṭhī
/ *ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22)
ṣaṣṭhyantaṃ subantaṃ samarthena subantena saha samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'sixth triplet of *sUP*' optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

rājapuruṣaḥ 'king's man'
brāhmaṇakambalaḥ '*brāhmaṇa*'s blanket'

1. This rule allows the formation of compounds between a word ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and another which may be syntactically related to it. However, because its genitive constituent is not qualified, the rule obviously becomes much wider in application. An effort will subsequently be made to restrict this scope by rules such as 2.2.10 *na nirdhāraṇe*, 2.2.12 *ktena ca pūjāyām*, 2.2.13 *adhikaraṇavācinā ca*, and 2.2.14 *karmaṇi ca*, etc.

Rule 2.2.10 *na nirdhāraṇe* has an extra restriction in the form of a *vārttika*. It is stated that a genitive introduced by enumerating specific bases (*pratipadavidhāna*) should also not be permitted to combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound. This *vārttika* has been accepted as the reason for stating another *vārttika*. This happens to be the first *vārttika* of the present rule. It requires a specification whereby a genititve, introduced in connection with a word containing a derivate in *kṛt*, is allowed to form a *tatpuruṣa* compound. Such a specification would appear to be useless, given the already wider scope of this rule; but it would seem perfectly logical in view of the restriction of 2.2.10. That is, *vārttika* one, under 2.2.10, denies formation of a compound where a genitive may have been introduced by any rule other than 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*. If such a restriction is accepted, then compounds such as *idhmapravaścana* 'that by means of which one cuts the wood' could never be derived. For, the genitive in *idhmasya* has been introduced by rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*, in connection with its use with *pravaścanaḥ*, a derivate ending in *kṛt*. To facilitate the formation of *idhmapravaścana*, *vārttika* one under this rule must be stated. Moreover, it must also be stated to cancel the prohibition issued by *vārttika* of 2.2.10. It is in this sense that commentators accept the *vārttika* of this rule as the *purastādapakarṣa* 'retraction'.

2.2.9 याजकादिभिश्च

yājakādibhiś ca
/ *yājakādibhiḥ* 3/3 = *yājaka ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *te*; *ca*: Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8)
yājakādibhiḥ saha ṣaṣṭhī samasyate tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which contains a stem enumerated in the list headed by *yājaka* 'sacrificer'.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇayājakaḥ 'the sacrificing priest of a *brāhmaṇa*'
kṣatriyayājakaḥ 'the sacrificing priest of a *kṣatriya*'

1. A compound allowed by this rule could have been easily covered by the preceding rule. As such, this rule should not be formulated. *Kāśikā* states that examples such as *brāhmaṇayājakaḥ*, etc., could not be derived in view of the restriction laid down by rule 2.2.16 *karttari ca*. For, suffix *aka*, i.e., *ṆvuL*, in *yājaka* is introduced to denote *kartṛ*. This rule, then, is given as a reinforcement (*pratiprasava*) of the provision of the preceding rule, obviously in view of an impending prohibition (*anyena nivartitasya punaḥ pravṛtyabhyanujñānam*).

It is stated that the use of *ca* in this rule is intended for gathering aspects of application not covered by specific rules (*anuktasamuccaya*). Consider, for example, the compound *candanagandhaḥ* 'fragrance of sandalwood' parallel to *candanasya gandhaḥ*, which could not be permitted because of the formulation of rule 2.2.11 *pūraṇaguṇasuhitārtha*.... A provision for compounds such as these, with a constituent denoting quality (*guṇa*) and the other ending in genitive, is made by yet another *vārttika* under this rule: *tatsthaiś ca guṇaiḥ*.... This *vārttika* restricts the quality words to those which may be perceived as *tatstha* 'within that'. The word *tat*, because of its proximity with *guṇa* in the *vārttika*, is interpreted as having *guṇa* itself as its antecedent. Thus, *tatstha* will be interpreted as 'that (quality) which is located within itself'.

It is noted in connection with this that a quality is always perceived as having a substance (*dravya*) as its locus (*ādhāra*). How, then, could *guṇa* be stated to be located within itself? Commentators explain that certain qualities are perceived with words, only as extracted from their substance (*śabdena dravyān niṣkṛtā eva pratyāyante*). Thus, *gandha* in *candanasya gandhaḥ* is perceived as a quality separate from its substance, the sandalwood. It is a quality which is always perceived in appositional (*vyadhikardṇa*) relationship with its substance; it is not perceived as subservient (*uparañjaka*) to the substance. There are certain other qualities, such as the whiteness (*śuklatva*) in *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* 'the white cloth', which can be perceived as being one with the substance. That is why one gets the syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). Similar syntactic coordination is not available in the case of *candanasya gandhaḥ*: that is, *candanaṃ gandhaḥ* is out of the question. Note, however, that in the case of *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ*, *paṭasya śuklaḥ* is also available. In other words, 'whiteness' is a quality which can be perceived in both ways: either in the *sāmānādhikaraṇa* or the *vyadhikaraṇa* relationship with its substance. A compound which entails *vyadhikaraṇa* (perception of the quality alone) is permitted by the *vārttika* in question.

This also brings up the question of compound formation parallel to *balākāyāḥ śauklyam* 'the whiteness of the crane'. A compound parallel to this string is not permitted, since the quality of whiteness is not *tatstha*. Note that whether or not a quality can be treated as *tatstha* is based only on meaning (*arthasya ca tatsthatvam āśrīyata iti*: see *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa ad

Mbh II: 679). It is the condition of *tatsthatva* that also rules out the formation of compounds with the qualifiers of these quality words. Thus, *tīvra* in *ghṛtasya tīvro gandhaḥ* 'the strong smell of ghee' cannot be combined.

2.2.10 न निर्धारणे

na nirdhāraṇe
| na Ø nirdhāraṇe 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8)
nirdhāraṇe yā ṣaṣṭhī sā na samasyate
A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *nirdhāraṇa* 'setting apart, singling out' does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

kṣatriyo manuṣyāṇāṃ śūratamaḥ 'a *kṣatriya* is bravest among men'
kṛṣṇā gavām sampannakṣīratamā 'the black one among cows is richest in milk'
ḍhāvann adhvagānāṃ śīghratamaḥ 'he who runs is the fastest among those who go by the road'

1. The word *nirdhāraṇa* has been explained by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* as singling out one part from among many, of a whole based upon class, quality, or action (*jātiguṇakriyābhiḥ samudāyād ekadeśasya pṛthak karaṇaṃ nirdhāraṇam*). For example, consider *manuṣyāṇāṃ kṣatriyaḥ śūratamaḥ* 'a *kṣatriya* is bravest among men', where, from among many groups (*samudāya*) of men, a single group of men is singled out as the bravest, owing to its quality (*guṇa*) of bravery. Note that it is the part of a whole which is here singled out on the basis of its quality, etc. *Kāśikā* uses the word *ekadeśa* 'part' to signify the entity thus singled out. See Joshi (1973: 141) for details on removing possible difficulties in this explanation. Note also that the genitive which specifies *nirdhāraṇa* is introduced by rule 2.3.41 *yataś ca nirdhāraṇam*. Also refer to my notes under 2.2.8, concerning the implications of the *vārttika* under this rule.

2.2.11 पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसदव्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन

pūraṇaguṇasuhitārthasadavyayatavyasamānādhikaraṇena
| pūraṇa...karaṇena 3/1 = *pūraṇaṃ ca guṇaś ca suhitārthāś* (*suhito 'rtho yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*)) *ca sat ca avyayaṃ ca tavyaś ca samānādhikaraṇaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tena |*
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8, *na* #10)
'pūraṇa, guṇa, suhitārtha, sad, avyaya, tavya, samānādhikaraṇa' ity etaiḥ saha ṣaṣṭhī na samasyate

A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and entails one of the following:
pūraṇa 'a stem which ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix (ordinal number; 5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe*, etc.)'
guṇa 'a stem which denotes quality'
suhitārtha 'a stem which denotes satisfaction'
sat 'a stem which ends in affixes termed *sat*'
avyaya 'an indeclinable'
tavya 'a stem which ends in *tavyaT* suffix'
samānādhikarana 'item in syntactic coordination'

EXAMPLES:

chātrāṇāṃ pañcamaḥ 'fifth among the students'
chātrāṇāṃ daśamaḥ 'tenth among the students'
balākāyāḥ śauklyam 'the whiteness of the crane'
kākasya kārṣṇyam 'the blackness of the crow'
phalānāṃ tṛptaḥ 'satisfaction of fruits'
brāhmaṇasya kurvan 'while doing some work of a *brāhmaṇa*'
brāhmaṇasya kurvāṇaḥ 'id.'
brāhmaṇasya kṛtvā 'after having done the work of a *brāhmaṇa*'
brāhmaṇasya hṛtvā 'id.'
brāhmaṇasya kartavyam 'worth doing for a *brāhmaṇa*'
rājñaḥ pāṭaliputrakasya 'of the king of Pāṭaliputraka'
pāṇineḥ sūtrakārasya 'of Pāṇini, the composer of the *sūtra*'

1. The word *pūraṇaguṇasuhitārtha* is a *dvandva* compound where *artha*, occurring at its end, must be associated with each one of its constituents (cf. *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ padaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*). Consequently, the word *guṇa* will be considered here as *guṇārthe* 'that which is used in the sense of quality'. In this way, the word *guṇa* will not denote only its form (1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpam*...), nor will it denote the vowels *a*, *e*, and *o*, based on the *paribhāṣā* (9) *kṛtrimākṛtrimayoḥ kṛtrimeṇa kāryasampratyayaḥ*.

There is a detailed discussion on the word *guṇa* itself in the *Mahābhāṣya*. It has been explained as referring to two types of qualifiers: *guṇavacana* 'words which denote quality'; and *guṇopasarjanadravyavācin* 'words which denote a substance qualified by quality'. The first type has been defined as a quality which inheres to a substance (*dravya*), but which can also be removed from it (*sattve niviśate' paiti*). This kind of *guṇa* is considered as essentially different from the substance. Qualities such as *rūpa* 'color' and *śabda* 'sound' are examples. The second type refers to qualities which can be expressed in all genders, like *śuklaḥ* in *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* 'white cloth'; *śuklaṃ vastram* 'white garment'; and *śuklā śāṭī* 'white garment'. These are possible because of the use of the quality word in accordance with the word which denotes substance.

Rule 2.2.11 blocks the formation of compounds with both types of quality words. Thus, *kākasya kārṣṇyam* 'the blackness of the crow' cannot yield **kākakārṣṇyam*. Similarly, *brāhmaṇasya śuklāḥ* in *brāhmanasya śuklāḥ dantāḥ* 'the white teeth of the *brāhmaṇa*' cannot yield a compound, since the genitive in *brāhmaṇasya* is not introduced based upon *dantāḥ* 'teeth'. Instead, *śuklāḥ* modifies *dantāḥ*, and by context one understands that *śuklāḥ* refers to *dantāḥ*. That is, *śuklāḥ* by itself becomes the substratum (*ādhāra*) of the quality *śuklatva* 'whiteness'. The genitive in *brāhmaṇasya* is introduced in relation to *śuklāḥ*. Consequently, *brāhmaṇasya śuklāḥ* cannot yield a compound such as **brāhmaṇasuklāḥ*. Also see my note under rule 2.2.9. Joshi (1972: 144-47) presents a very detailed discussion on this aspect of the word *guṇa*. Commentators also note that the negation (*pratiṣedha*) of quality (*guṇa*) words in relation to compounds covered by this rule is not universal (*nitya*).

Note that *saṃkhyā* 'number' can also be treated as a *guṇa* word. This being the case, compounds such as *goviṃśatiḥ* 'score of cows' should not be permitted. It is argued that examples such as *niṣkaśatam* 'a hundred Niṣka' are indicators (*jñāpaka*) for the understanding that compounds with *saṃkhyā* are not blocked (cf. 5.2.119 *śatasahasrāntāc ca niṣkāt*). How else could one talk about *niṣka* terminating in *śata* or *sahasra*?

The genitive in examples such as *balākāyāḥ śauklyam* obtains in the sense of *guṇaguṇin* 'quality and that which inheres it'. Rule 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* will introduce this genitive. The genitive in examples such as *brāhmaṇasya kṛtvā* will be introduced by 2.3.71 *kṛtyānāṃ karttari vā*.

Note that examples such as *phalānāṃ suhitaḥ* entail a genitive which is introduced to denote *karaṇa* 'means'. Similarly, the genitive in *brāhmaṇasya kurvan* is not introduced in relation to, for instance, the pot (*ghaṭa*), as in *brāhmaṇasya ghaṭaṃ kurvan* 'making the pot of the *brāhmaṇa*'. The word *kurvan* denotes the servant (*kiṅkara*).

A compound with an indeclinable (*avyaya*) is blocked only when the indeclinable ends in a *kṛt* affix. This becomes known from the use of the word *avyaya* between the affixes *sat* and *tavya*, which are both *kṛt*. This will thus not block the formation of a compound such as *vṛkṣopari*, parallel to *vṛkṣasyopari* of *vṛkṣasyopari kākas tiṣṭhati* 'there is a crow sitting on the tree'.

2.2.12 क्तेन च पूजायाम्

ktena ca pūjāyām
/ *ktena* 3/1 *ca* Ø *pūjāyām* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8, *na* #10)
kto yaḥ pūjāyāṃ vihitas tena ṣaṣṭhī na samasyate

A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* also does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*, contains a stem in *Kta* and denotes *pūjā* 'honoring'.

EXAMPLES:

rājñāṃ mataḥ 'honored by kings'
rājñāṃ buddhaḥ 'known by kings'
rājñāṃ pūjitaḥ 'honored by kings'

1. Note that *pūjā* here refers to rule 3.2.188 *matibuddhipūjā*.... Similarly, the word *kta* is used in this instance to symbolize the provisions of the rule. Consequently, *kta* should be interpreted here as referring to all instances of *kta* introduced by rule 3.2.188, and not only to that which denotes the sense of *pūjā* 'praise'. The word *pūjā* thus becomes an *upalakṣaṇa* 'mark' for the operational provisions of rule 3.2.188.

2.2.13 अधिकरणवाचिना च

adhikaraṇavācinā ca
/ *adhikaraṇavācinā* 3/1 *ca* Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* # 2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8, *na* # 10, *ktena* # 12)
adhikaraṇavācinā ktena ṣaṣṭhī na samasyate
A pada which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*, contains a *Kta* and denotes *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'.

EXAMPLES:

idam eṣāṃ yātam 'this is their path of going'
idam eṣāṃ bhuktam 'this is their place of eating'

1. The word *adhikaraṇa*, like the word *pūjā* in the preceding rule, refers to rule 3.4.76 *kto' dhikaraṇe*.... Here, *Kta* again becomes an *upalakṣaṇa* 'mark'. The blocking of compounds with a constituent in *Kta* is thus limited to the *Kta* introduced by rule 3.4.76.

2.2.14 कर्मणि च

karmaṇi ca
/ *karmaṇi* 7/1 *ca* Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8, *na* #10)
karmaṇi ca yā ṣaṣṭhī sā na samasyate
A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *karman* 'object' also does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

gavāṃ dohaḥ 'milking of cows'
āścaryo gavāṃ doho 'gopālakena 'it is a surprise to see the non-cowherd milking the cow'

odanasya bhojanam 'eating of rice' as in
rocate odanasya bhojanaṃ devadattena 'eating of rice pleases Devadatta'

1. The word *ktena* is not carried here. The word *karman* therefore qualifies *ṣaṣṭhī*. But the *ṣaṣṭhī* intended here is one which is specific to 2.3.66 *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*. Thus, a compound between *odanasya bhojanam* in *rocate me devadattena odanasya bhojanam* 'I like Devadatta's eating of rice' will not be permitted, since the genitive in *odanasya* is introduced by rule 2.3.66 to denote *karman* 'object'. The prohibition of a genitive denoting *kartṛ*, which is to follow, also becomes an indicator that *karman* in this rule refers to rule 2.3.66. In this way, compounds such as *idhmapravaścanaḥ*, where *idhma* entails a genitive denoting *karman* (and *LyuṬ* denotes *karaṇa*) cannot be blocked.

2.2.15 तृजकाभ्यां कर्त्तरि

tṛjakābhyāṃ karttari
/ *tṛjakābhyām* 3/2 *karttari* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8, *na* #10, *karmaṇi* #2.2.14)
karttari tṛjakābhyām (*karttari yau tṛjakau tābhyām*) *karmaṇi* (*yā*) *ṣaṣṭhī* (*sā*) *na samasyate*
A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *karman* does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*, contains a stem in *tṛC* or *aka*, and denotes *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

apāṃ sraṣṭā 'producer of water'
purāṃ bhettā 'destroyer of cities'
odanasya bhojakaḥ 'eater of rice'
saktūnāṃ pāyakaḥ 'drinker of *saktu* (powdered roasted grain mixed with water)'

1. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK* II: 52-54) interprets rules 2.2.15 and 2.2.16 differently from the *Kāśikā*. According to him these *sūtra* have the following meanings:

2.2.15 A *pada* in *ṣaṣṭhī* does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a *pada* which contains a stem in *tṛC* or *aka* and denotes agent (*kartṛ*).

2.2.16 A *pada* in *ṣaṣṭhī* which denotes agent does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a *pada* which contains a stem in *aka*.

The above interpretations are based on two important considerations.

(*i*) Bhaṭṭoji does not treat *karttari* as an adjective of *ṣaṣṭhī* in rule 2.2.15.
(*ii*) Bhaṭṭoji treats *karttari* as an adjective of ṣaṣṭhī in 2.2.16 but drops *tṛC* as part of the rule. He does not treat *tṛC* as being carried from 2.2.15.

As is apparent from the *vṛtti* and the translation, *Kāśikā* treats *karttari* as an adjective of *ṣaṣṭhī* in 2.2.15. Further, it treats *karttari* as an adjective of *tṛjakau* in 2.2.16. Obviously, *Kāśikā* retains *tṛC* in the interpretation of 2.2.16 carried from 2.2.15.

Bhaṭṭoji argues that since *ṣaṣṭhī* is an *anuvṛtti* element, while *tṛjakau* is expressly mentioned in rule 2.2.15, *karttari* should qualify *tṛjakau*. Apparently, *Kāśikā* disagrees. But, as *Kāśikā* points out, there are problems in its own interpretation. Although *Kāśikā* interprets *karttari* as an adjective to *ṣaṣṭhī*, there are no examples given for such a *ṣaṣṭhī* denoting agent and being syntactically relatable to a *pada* containing *tṛC*. Such examples simply do not exist. But such examples may be available if *ṣaṣṭhī* is not constrained by the qualifier *karttari*. This is what Bhaṭṭoji is advocating. This leads him to accept *karttari* as an adjective of *tṛC* and *aka*. But since *tṛC* obligatorily denotes agent, to further qualify it with *karttari* only amounts to stating the most obvious. This is the drawback which *kāśikā* realizes in stating that *karttari* does not qualify *tṛC* and, because of its association (*sāhacarya*), *aka*. But *Kāśikā* should then drop *tṛC* from the rule, as there are no examples. *Kāśikā* states that *tṛC* should be retained here for *anuvṛtti* in later rules. If Bhaṭṭoji accepts the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC* in 2.2.16, he will face the same problem of a lack of examples that *Kāśikā* faces in 2.2.15. It is for this reason that Bhaṭṭoji qualifies *ṣaṣṭhī* by *karttari* in 2.2.16. To avoid further problems, he does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC* in 2.2.16.

Bhaṭṭoji's position seems to be stronger, since he can offer an example for *tṛC* in 2.2.15 by not allowing *karttari* to qualify *ṣaṣṭhī*. Because he does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC* in 2.2.16, he can afford to qualify *ṣaṣṭhī* with *karttari* there. That way he need not even postulate, as *Kāśikā* does, that *tṛC* is intended in 2.2.15 for *anuvṛtti* in subsequent rules.

Dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC* also has consequences for rule 2.2.17 *nityaṃ krīḍājīvikayoḥ*, whereby an obligatory compound is ordered for a *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* provided the resulting compound denotes *krīḍā* 'sport' or *jīvikā* 'livelihood'. If one does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC* in 2.2.16, as Bhaṭṭoji does not, the *ṣaṣṭhī* will combine only with a *pada* which contains a stem in *aka*. Bhaṭṭoji does not have to accept the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC* in 2.2.17 because there are no compounds with *tṛC* and *ṣaṣṭhī* that could denote *krīḍā* or *jīvikā*. Again, Bhaṭṭoji's is the stronger position, especially when *Kāśikā* carries the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC*, but fails to give any examples because they simply do not exist.

The above discussion is based on the positions taken by *Kāśikā* and Bhaṭṭoji's *Śabdakaustubha*. Since I have already presented the views of *Kāśikā* in detail, I cite only the statements from the *Śabdakaustubha*:

> *prathamasūtre kartṛgrahaṇaṃ tṛjakayor eva viśeṣaṇaṃ yuktam, tayoḥ śrutatvāt, na tu ṣaṣṭhyāḥ. evaṃ ca tṛjuttarārtha ity api na kalpyam. akasyaiva cottaratrānuvṛttir na tu tṛcaḥ, asambhavāt. tathā ca sūtradvayasya*

> *vyatyāsenārtha ucita iti. vāmanastu—ake jīvikārthe iti sūtre 'ake iti kim' ramaṇīyakartteti jīvikāyāṃ tṛcaṃ pratyudājahāra....* 'the citation of *kartṛ* in the first rule is made to qualify *tṛC* and *aka*; this position is appropriate, since *tṛC* and *aka* are expressly mentioned in the rule, and the *ṣaṣṭhī* is not. This way, one does not have to postulate that *tṛC* is used in the rule for *anuvṛtti* in subsequent rules. For, that is impossible (in view of the lack of examples). Consequently, it is only appropriate to be interpreted conversely (*vyatyāsena*). Vāmana, indeed, offered an example under rule *ake jīvikārthe* by asking 'why *ake*?'....'

The fact that Vāmana, the co-author of *Kāśikā*, gave *ramaṇīyakarttā* 'he who beautifies' as an example denoting *jīvikā* 'livelihood' in rule 6.2.73 *ake jīvikārthe,* adds another dimension to the controversy surrounding the interpretation of 2.2.15–2.2.17. Note that *Kāśikā* admits that examples for 2.2.17 with *tṛC* do not exist. How, then, does *Kāśikā* give an example in 6.2.73? Traditionalists may excuse this contradiction on the basis that Jayāditya wrote the *Kāśikāvṛtti* on 2.2.15–2.2.17, while Vāmana wrote the one on 6.2.73. Such differences are not uncommon for two authors. But even if one does not accept this explanation and still treats *Kāśikā*'s position as weak, there is something else that casts serious doubt on Bhaṭṭoji's position. Bhaṭṭoji's position looks stronger until one reads his *Siddhāntakaumudī* on 6.2.73. Surprisingly, Bhaṭṭoji uses the same example, *ramaṇīyakarttā,* which Vāmana puts forward. This places Bhaṭṭoji in a very awkward situation. The question becomes this: how could he argue on the basis of the absence of examples of *tṛC* in 2.2.17 in his *Śabdakaustubha,* and yet give an example in his *Siddhāntakaumudī*? His troubles are compounded because, if he does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛC* in 2.2.17, then the example cited in *SK* (ad 6.2.73) cannot be derived. Thus, he is making contradictory statements in his two works. To top it all, it seems, he has copied Vāmana's example (*ramaṇīyakarttā*), as Vāmana happens to be the earlier of the two.

2. Note that *Kāśikā*'s interpretation of rules 2.2.15–2.2.16 is against the *Mahābhāṣya*. This, then, generally becomes the basis for rejecting *Kāśikā*'s interpretation. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 685) accepts that *karmaṇi,* from rule 2.2.14, is carried as a qualifier of *ṣaṣṭhī* in 2.2.15. The *karttari* of 2.2.15 then qualifies *tṛC* and *aka*. In this way, rule 2.2.15 is interpreted as: 'a *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *karman* does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP*, contains a stem in *tṛC* or *aka*, and denotes *kartṛ*'. This will block compounds such as *apāṃ sraṣṭā,* (cited by *Kāśikā* under 2.2.16), where the genitive in *apām* is introduced to denote *karman* by rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti.*

A similarly different interpretation of rule 2.2.16 will make *karttari* a qualifier to its *ṣaṣṭhī*, thereby rendering the interpretation of the rule as: 'a *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *kartṛ* additionally does not combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem in *aka*'. This will then cover examples such as *bhavataḥ śāyikā*, which the *Kāśikā* cites under rule 2.2.15. Pāṇinīyas generally prefer this converse (*vyatyasta*) interpretation of rules 2.2.15–2.2.16.

I have interpreted rules 2.2.15–2.2.16 in a way similar to that in the *SK* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, while knowing full well that his position also has its flaws. His position, however, happens to be in consonance with the *Mahābhāṣya*. Moreover, *Kāśikā*'s position is very difficult to defend. I have switched about the examples of *Kāśikā* to suit this preferred interpretation of rules 2.2.15–2.2.16.

2.2.16 **कर्त्तरि च**

karttari ca
/ *karttari* 7/1 *ca* Ø /
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8, *na* #10, *aka* #15)
karttari (*yā*) *ṣaṣṭhī* (*sā*) *akena na samasyate*
A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and denotes *kartṛ* additionally does not combine, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a stem in *aka*.

EXAMPLES:

bhavataḥ śāyikā 'your turn for sleeping'
bhavataḥ āsikā 'your turn for sitting'

1. Note that, according to *Kāśikā*, *karttari* 'when denoting *kartṛ*' should be treated as qualifying *aka* only. For, *tṛC* is always introduced to denote *kartṛ*. That is, it never abandons (*vyabhicarati*) its *kartṛ* denotatum. However, *aka* can sometimes denote agent (*kartṛ*), while on other occasions it can denote *bhāva* 'root sense'. Since a qualifier-qualified (*viśeṣaṇa- viśeṣya*) relationship obtains only when a qualifier may be able to abandon the qualified, (which happens to be the case with *aka*), *aka* alone should be qualified with *karttari*.

2.2.17 **नित्यं क्रीडाजीविकयोः**

nityaṃ krīḍājīvikayoḥ
/ *nityaṃ* Ø *krīḍājīvikayoḥ* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *ṣaṣṭhī* #8, *aka* #15)
krīḍāyāṃ jīvikāyāṃ ca nityaṃ ṣaṣṭhī akena samasyate, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* obligatorily combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *aka* provided *krīḍā* 'sport' or *jīvikā* 'livelihood' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā 'a sport in which the *uddālaka* flowers are crushed'
vāraṇapuṣpapracāyikā 'a sport in which the *vāraṇa* flowers are gathered'
dantalekhakaḥ 'a person who makes his living by painting teeth'
nakhalekhakaḥ 'a person who makes his living by painting nails'

1. The word *nitya* in this rule serves two purposes:
   (*i*) it makes the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* unnecessary for itself, as well as for other subsequent rules, and;
   (*ii*) it also stops the *anuvṛtti* of *na* 'not' on grounds of incompatibility with its own provisions.

Compounds covered by this rule are obligatory, since their analyzed forms will not be able to denote their intended meanings. Note that the compounds could have been allowed by rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*. However, this rule is needed so that the compounds could be allowed as obligatory in the case of *krīḍā*. Observe also in this connection that *ṆvuL*, in examples such as *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā*, is introduced by rule 3.3.109 *saṃjñāyām* with the *anuvṛtti* of 3.3.108 *rogākhyāyāṃ ṇvul bahulam*. Now, an analyzed form of such compounds cannot denote *krīḍā*. Consequently, *vibhāṣa* must be dropped. This is what *nityam* accomplishes in the case of *krīḍā*. A compound in the case of *jīvikā* would not be allowed by rule 2.2.15 *tṛjakābhyāṃ karttari*. Thus, this rule becomes necessary for making such a compound obligatorily available.

2.2.18 कुगतिप्रादयः

kugatiprādayaḥ
/ *kugatiprādayaḥ* 1/3 = *pra ādir yeṣāṃ te prādayah* (*bv.*), *kuś ca gatiś ca prādayaś ca* = *kugatiprādayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *nityam* #17)
kugatiprādayaḥ samarthena śabdāntareṇa saha nityaṃ samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
Items such as *ku* 'bad', or those which are either termed *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*), or else are listed in the set headed by *pra* (1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*), obligatorily combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with another syntactically related word.

EXAMPLES:

kupuruṣaḥ 'an evil person'
urarīkṛtam 'that which has been accepted'

duṣpuruṣaḥ 'a wicked person'
supuruṣaḥ 'a gentleman'
atipuruṣaḥ 'id.'
āpiṅgalaḥ 'a little reddish-brown'

1. A question has been raised about the use of the word *prādi* with *gati*. Note that *pra*, etc., are the items to which the term *gati* applies (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*). Commentators explain that *pra*, etc., are termed *gati* in connection with their usage with verbs. This rule uses *pra*, etc. to indicate their non-usage with verbs. That is, this rule allows the formation of compounds with *pra*, etc., whether they are relatable to verbs or not. When they are relatable to verbs, they will be combined on the strength of being *gati*. When they are not relatable to verbs, they can still be combined on the strength of the explicit statement of *pra*, etc. It is with this specific meaning of *pra*, etc., that *vārttika* I is introduced to block their combination when they have been termed a *karmapravacanīya*.

2. The word *ku* is interpreted as an indeclinable because of its citation in association with (*sāhacarya*) items termed *gati*, etc. It can further be treated as an indeclinable because it does not decline for gender (*liṅga*) or number (*saṃkhyā*). An interpretation of *ku* as denoting *pṛthivī* 'earth' is, thus, ruled out. Note in connection with this that rule 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam* assigns the term *avyaya* to those items which (*i*) are listed in the group headed by *svar*; or (*ii*) have been termed *nipāta*. Our indeclinable word *ku* is not included in either assignment.

3. Note that a compound with *pra*, etc., even when they are not termed *gati* as denoted by *prādi*, is still a very generalized provision. This may lead to undesired compounds. It is to restrict the scope of these compounds that a series of *vārttika* (*Mbh* II: 688-90) have been introduced. For example:

(*a*) *pra*, etc., should combine with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in the nominative (*prathamā*) in the sense of *gata*, etc. Thus, we get *prācāryaḥ* 'he who has excelled an *ācārya*'.

(*b*) *ati*, etc., are combined with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* in the sense of *krānta*. Thus, we get *atimālā* 'that which has excelled the garland'.

(*c*) *ava*, etc., are combined with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* in the sense of *kruṣṭa*. Thus, we get *avakokilaḥ* 'that which has been heralded by the cuckoo; spring'.

(*d*) *pari*, etc., are combined with a *pada* which ends in *caturthī* in the sense of *glāna* 'disgusted, weary'. Thus, we get *paryadhyayanaḥ* 'weary of studying'.

(*e*) *nir*, etc., are combined with a syntactically related *pada* which ends in *pañcamī* in the sense of *krānta*. Thus, we get *niṣkauśāmbiḥ* 'gone outside of *kauśāmbī*'.

2.2.19 उपपदमतिङ्

upapadam atiṅ
/ *upapadam* 1/1 *atiṅ* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *nityam* #17)
upapadam atiṅantaṃ samarthena śabdāntareṇa saha samasyate nityam, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
An *upapada* (3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*) which does not end in *tiṄ* (3.1.78 *tiptas...*) obligatorily combines, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a syntactically related item.

EXAMPLES:

kumbhakāraḥ 'maker of pots'
nagarakāraḥ 'builder of cities'
aśvakrītī 'she who has been purchased with horses'
dhanakrītī 'she who has been purchased with wealth'

1. Note that the *vṛtti* does not include the word *pada* as a qualifier to the syntactically related item combining with items termed *upapada*, etc. This is in view of the *paribhāṣā* (76) *gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāk subutpatteḥ* 'a compound of items termed *gati*, *upapada*, or those which denote a *kāraka* with an item terminated in a *kṛt* affix, is formed prior to the introduction of a *sUP*'.

Take, for instance, a compound between *kumbha* + *Ṅas* and *kāra*. Here, *kāra* is derived by introducing the *kṛt* affix *aṆ* after the verbal root *ḌukṛÑ*, under the condition of the cooccurring *pada* (*upapada*; 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*), namely *kumbha* + *Ṅas*, which denotes *karman* 'object'. That is, an obligatory compound *kumbhakāra* is formed from *kumbha* + *Ṅas* + *kāra*, where *kāra* is a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*) terminated in the *kṛt* affix *aṆ*. The *paribhāṣā* requires that *kumbha* + *Ṅas* be combined prior to any *sUP* which is introduced after *kāra*. Commentators explain that, without accepting this *paribhāṣā*, one would run into problems in deriving forms such as *vyāghrī* 'tigress', or *aśvakrītī* 'she who was purchased with horses', etc. Refer to this *paribhāṣā* in the *Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa for details. Such a mode of combination also applies to *gati* compounds of 2.2.18.

Note, however, that combining a *kṛt* derivate prior to the introduction of a *sUP* is basically a strategy to arrive at the desired derivate. Considering this, Jinendra (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* II: 123) adds: *na hy anena sarvatra... prāk subutpatteḥ samāso bhavati. kiṃ tarhi? kvacid eveṣṭaviṣaye.* '*paribhāṣā* (76) does not dictate the formation of a compound prior to the introduction of *sUP* in all instances. It does so only in instances where desired'. How do we know this? By the optionally required

non-deletion of *saptamī* under the provision of rule 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*.

It is in view of this *paribhāṣā*, and the related strategy that *supā* '...with a *pada* ending in *sUP* (2.1.4)', is not treated as valid here.

2.2.20 अमैवाव्ययेन

amaivāvyayena
/ *amā* 3/1 *eva* Ø *avyayena*/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *upapadam* #19)
avyayenopapadasya yaḥ samāso so' maiva bhavati, nānyena
When an *upapada* is to be combined, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with an *avyaya* 'indeclinable', the *avyaya* must be one which ends in *am*.

EXAMPLES:

svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats food after making it savoury, tasty'
lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats food after making it salty'

1. This rule provides for the formation of a compound with an *upapada* and an indeclinable, with the restriction that the latter ended in *am* alone. We thus get examples such as *svāduṃkāram*, as in *svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte*, where the indeclinable in question is *kāram*. Such a compound was already available under the provisions of the preceding rule. Why, then, should we also have this rule? If one argues that it is formulated to restrict the compound (*niyama*) to instances of indeclinables ending in *am*, then what could possibly be the function of *eva* 'alone, only'? The word *eva* cannot be included simply for restriction, as provision for something which is already available serves a restrictive purpose. The *eva*, then, should be interpreted as serving the special restrictive function as follows:

> 'a conjoined word (*upapada*) under the provision of this rule should combine with an indeclinable ending in *am*, provided also that *am* is introduced by a rule exactly as its related conjoined *pada* (*tulya-vidhānam*)'

Nyāsa (ad *Kāś* II: 125) explains this *tulyavidhāna* as involving two necessary conditions:

(*i*) *am* has to be the one and only affix introduced by a rule, and
(*ii*) the conjoined *pada* (*upapada*) which forms a constituent under the provisions of this rule should also be the conjoined *pada* specified for the introduction of that *am*: (*yena vākyenāmeva pratyayo vidhīyate na tu pratyayāntaram, tena yad upapadaṃ nirdiśyate tad amaiva tulya-vidhānam, tasyaiva samāso yathā syāt...*).

Thus, the use of *eva* is to ensure (*avadhāraṇa*) the desired results (*iṣṭa*).

Consider the counter-example *agre bhuktvā* 'having eaten first', which is an optional form to *agre bhojam* approved by rule 3.4.24 *vibhāṣā' grepra-thamapūrveṣu*. A compound parallel to *agre bhojam* cannot be permitted by this rule, since *am* of *bhojam* is introduced by rule 3.4.24, which also introduces *tumUN*. The *am* of our examples is introduced by 3.4.26 *svādumi....* The word *avyaya* is used here just for clarity (*spaṣṭārtham*).

2.2.21 तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम्

tṛtīyāprabhṛtīny anyatarasyām
/ *tṛtīyāprabhṛtīni* 1/3 *tṛtīyāprabhṛti yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/ (*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *upapadam* #19, *amaivāvyayena* #20)
'upadaṃśastṛtīyāyām' ity ataḥ prabhṛti yāny upapadāni tāny amaivāvyayena sahānyatarasyāṃ samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
An *upapada* which is referenced by rules 3.4.47 *upadaṃśa...* through 3.4.64 *anvacyā...* optionally combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with an *avyaya* which terminates in *am*.

EXAMPLES:

mūlakopadaṃśaṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats while taking a bite of a radish'
mūlakena upadaṃśaṃ bhuṅkte 'id.'
uccaiḥkāram ācaṣṭe 'he speaks aloud'

1. The word *anyatarasyām* is used here to counter the *anuvṛtti* of *nityam* 'obligatorily' and *eva* 'alone', mostly because what they provide will run counter to the provision of this rule. That *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' is the opposite of *nityam* is obvious. The provision of *eva* relates to *tulyavidhāna*, as I have already explained in my notes under the previous rule. That provision is made optional in this rule. That is, *am*, for the purposes of this rule, does not have to be introduced exclusively by a rule. This rule would also permit the formation of a compound with *am*, which may have been introduced by a rule in addition to some other affix. The option offered by *anyatarasyām* is technically referred to as *prāptāprāpta*. It is *prāpta* 'available' with reference to *am* entailing *tulyavidhāna* (3.4.47 *upadaṃśas...*); it is *aprāpta* elsewhere.

Thus, 3.4.47 allows the compound *mūlakopadaṃśam*, where *am* refers to affix *ṆamUL* exclusively introduced by rule 3.4.47 *upadaṃśas....* As opposed to this, consider *nīcaiḥkṛtya* 'softly' and *nīcaiḥkāram* 'id.', where a compound is permitted with *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL*, both introduced by the single rule 3.4.59 *avyaye' yathābhipretākhyāne....* Obviously, *tulyavidhāna* would not have permitted these two compounds.

2. The word *tṛtīyāprabhṛtīni* specifies *upapada* referenced in rules 3.4.47 *upadaṃśas tṛtīyām* to 3.4.53 *dvitīyāyāṃ ca*.

2.2.22 क्त्वा च

ktvā ca
/ *ktvā* 3/1 *ca* ∅ /
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *tatpuruṣaḥ* #2.1.22, *tṛtīyāprabhṛtīny anyatarasyām* #21)
tvā pratyayena saha tṛtīyāprabhṛtīny upapadāni anyatarasyām samasyante, tatpuruṣaś ca samāso bhavati
An *upapada* which is referred to by rules 3.4.47 *upadaṃśa...* through 3.4.64 *anvacyā...* also combines optionally, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, with a form ending in *Ktvā*.

EXAMPLES:

uccaiḥkṛtya 'having raised (the voice)'
uccaiḥ kṛtvā 'id.'

1. Note that the preceding rule allowed the formation of a compound only with *am*. This rule additionally allows the formation of compounds with *ktvā*. The *ktvā* in this context has to be one introduced by rule 3.4.59 *avyaye....* The example *uccaiḥkāram* of rule 2.2.21 is parallel to *uccaiḥkṛtya* of this rule. Incidentally, *ktvā*, in view of the context, is treated as ending in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

2.2.23 शेषो बहुव्रीहिः

śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ
/ *śeṣaḥ* 1/1 *bahuvrīhiḥ* 1/1/
śeṣaḥ samāso bahuvrīhisaṃjño bhavati
The remainder is termed *bahuvrīhi*.

EXAMPLES:

citraguḥ 'he who owns brindled cows'
śabalaguḥ 'id.'

1. Questions have been raised about the exact referent of the word *śeṣa*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 698) discusses three possibilities as follows:
(*i*) *śeṣa* refers to the remainder of the words with reference to which no compound formation has yet been specified;
(*ii*) *śeṣa* refers to the remainder of word meanings with reference to which no compound formation has yet been specified; and
(*iii*) *śeṣa* refers to the remainder of the compound types already specified.

The *Mahābhāṣya* offers yet another interpretation of *śeṣa*. It is said that compound formation of constituents terminating in different nominal endings has been specified by earlier rules. The only nominal ending

that has not yet been specified for the formation of compounds is the nominative (*prathamā*). It is clear from the discussion, and from some related *vārttika*, that none of the above interpretations is free of problems. If, however, one focuses on the context itself, one finds that a generalized referent for *śeṣa* is not hard to comprehend. Thus, *śeṣa* refers to 'that which is other than that which has already been stated' (*upayuktād anyaḥ*). What has already been stated is: the formation of compounds *avyayī-bhāva* and *tatpuruṣa* with specific constituency and meanings. The word *śeṣa* then refers to a non-*avyayībhāva*/non-*tatpuruṣa* compound formed with constituents and meanings yet to be stated.

2.2.24 **अनेकमन्यपदार्थे**

anekam anyapadārthe
/ *anekam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *anyapadārthe* 7/1 = *anyac cāsau padam* (*karm.*), *anyapadasya arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *karm.*), *tasmin* /
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *bahuvrīhiḥ* #23)
anekaṃ subantaṃ anyapadārthe vartamānaṃ samasyate, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati
Many syntactically related *pada* which end in *sUP* optionally combine, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, when the compound denotes the meaning of something other than its own constituents.

EXAMPLES:

prāptodako grāmaḥ 'a village to which water has reached'
prāptam udakaṃ yaṃ grāmam 'id.'
ūḍharatho 'naḍvān 'a bullock by whom a chariot has been pulled'
ūḍho ratho yena 'he by whom a chariot has been pulled'
upahṛtapaśū rudraḥ 'Rudra to whom an animal has been offered sacrificially'
upahṛtaḥ paśur yasmai 'id.'
uddhṛtaudanā sthālī 'a pot from which rice is lifted'
uddhṛta odano yasyāḥ 'id.'
citragur devadattaḥ 'Devadatta is one who owns brindled cows'
citrā gāvo yasya '(Devadatta is) one who owns brindled cows'
vīrapuruṣako grāmaḥ 'a village in which there are brave men'
vīraḥ puruṣā yasmin '(a village) in which there are brave men'

1. This rule provides for the formation of compounds with two or more constituents, provided the meaning expressed by the compound is that of something outside its constituency. The word *anekam* 'more than one' is in the nominative used as a qualifier to *sUP* (in the nominative carried from 2.1.2 *sub āmantrite...*). Because of its use in the nominative

(*prathamā*), *anekam* cannot be treated as a modifier to *supā* in the instrumental carried from rule 2.1.4 *saha supā*.

The purpose of using the word *anekam* is clearly to allow for the compound formation of more than two constituents. In the absence of *anekam*, a *bahuvrīhi* could not be allowed with multiple (*bahu*) constituency. Commentators cite the following verse as an example of *bahuvrīhi* with multiple constituency:

> *susūkṣmajaṭakeśena sugajājinavāsasā* /
> *putrī parvatarājasya kuto hetor vivāhitā* //
> 'how come the daughter of the king of the mountains was married to the one who wears a fine lock of matted hair, and has beautiful elephant-hide for clothing'

Note that *susūkṣmajaṭakeśena* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound with an internal *bahuvrīhi*, together totalling a constituency of four words. It can therefore be analyzed as *suṣṭhu sūkṣmā jaṭā yeṣu te susūkṣmajaṭāḥ*; *tādṛśāḥ keśā asya iti susūkṣmajaṭakeśaḥ*. The four can also be combined in a direct *bahuvrīhi* with the analyzed form such as *suṣṭhu sūkṣmā jaṭāḥ keśā asya iti*.

The word *anyapadārthe*, used as a qualifier of *bahuvrīhi* compounds, can also serve as a distinguisher for the domain of *tatpuruṣa* compounds. That is, the presence of the qualifier determines the meaning of a *bahuvrīhi* compound as that of something outside its constituency. A lack of this qualifier, such as one finds in the case of a *tatpuruṣa*, will distinguish the domain of a *tatpuruṣa* from that of a *bahuvrīhi*.

There are several *vārttika* to this rule in the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 701-19). Consider, for example, the following:

(*a*) A statement should be made that *bahuvrīhi* should be formed out of constituents in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*), and not out of constituents with different loci (*vyadhikaraṇa*). A compound such as *pañcabhuktaḥ*, of *pañcabhir bhuktam asya*, would denote a different sense.

(*b*) A *bahuvrīhi* formed of indeclinable constituents should also be stated to cover *uccairmukhaḥ* 'he who has a raised forehead', etc.

(*c*) A *bahuvrīhi* should be stated to be formed of constituents where the first word is in the locative, or denotes a standard of comparison (*upamāna*), and where a subsequent word also gets deleted. Thus, we get *kaṇṭhekālaḥ* 'he in whose throat is blackness', parallel to *kaṇṭhe sthitaḥ kālo yasya*.

(*d*) A *bahuvrīhi* with deletion of a subsequent word should also be stated, for instances where the first constituent ends in the genitive and denotes collection or modification. Thus, *suvarṇālaṃkāraḥ*, parallel to *suvarṇasya vikāro' laṃkāro' sya* 'he whose ornament is the modification (made) of gold'.

(*e*) A compound with constituents which denote existence, used with *naÑ*, with optional deletion of a subsequent word, should also be stated. This gives examples such as: *avidyamānaputraḥ* 'he whose son is not', or *aputraḥ*, parallel to *avidyamānaḥ putro yasya*, where *vidyamāna* can undergo optional deletion.
(*f*) Compounds such as *astikṣīrā*, with *asti*, a particle, as in *astikṣīrā brāhmaṇī* 'a *brāhmaṇa* woman with milk', should be stated.

Kāśikā states that a *bahuvrīhi* compound is formed with its denotatum as the denotatum of any one of the nominal endings (*vibhakti*), except for the nominative (*Kāś* II: 128: *prathamārtham ekaṃ varjayitvā sarveṣu vibhaktyartheṣu bahuvrīhir bhavati*). This, in turn, becomes the interpretation of the word *anyapadārtha*, used in this rule in the locative. Obviously, the sense of the nominal ending is treated as principal in a *pada*, as compared with that of its base (*prakṛti*). As such, it is the denotatum of the nominal ending which is associated with the meaning condition of *anyapadārthe*. Thus, *prāptam udakaṃ yaṃ grāmam* has a parallel *bahuvrīhi* in *prāptodakaḥ* of *prāptodako grāmaḥ* 'a village to which water has reached'. Similar examples are available for other meanings: *ūḍharathaḥ*, *upahṛtapaśū*, *uddhṛtaudanā*, *citraguḥ*, and *vīrapuruṣakaḥ*, parallel to uncompounded forms such as *ūḍho ratho yena* 'he by whom a chariot has been pulled'; *uddhṛta odano yasyāḥ* 'a pot from which rice is lifted'; *upahṛta paśur yasmai* 'Rudra to whom an animal has been offered sacrificially'; *citrā gāvo yasya* '(Devadatta) is one who owns brindled cows'; and *vīrāḥ puruṣā yasmin* '(a village) in which there are brave men', respectively.

Note that the variable relative pronoun *yad* 'that', used as *yam*, *yena*, *yasmai*, *yasyāḥ*, *yasya*, and *yasmin*, denotes the sense of the nominal endings *dvitīyā*, *tṛtīyā*, *caturthī*, *pañcami*, *ṣaṣṭhī*, and *saptamī* respectively. The antecedent of these variables constitutes the denotatum of the compounds in questions. It is in this sense that commentators state that a *bahuvrīhi* denotes the sense of every nominal ending, except for the nominative. *Kāśikā* offers the counter-example *vṛṣṭe deve gataḥ* 'he went as it rained', where the sense of the nominative, i.e., *prātipadikārtha* 'nominal stem notion', does not become the sense of the compound mostly because of lack of usage (*anabhidhāna*). That is, a compound such as **vṛṣṭadeva* is not permitted, since it cannot denote the sense of *vṛṣṭe deve*.

2.2.25 **संख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये**

saṃkhyayā 'vyayāsannādūrādhikasaṃkhyāḥ saṃkhyeye
/ *saṃkhyayā* 3/1 *avyayāsannādūrādhikasaṃkhyāḥ* 1/3 = *avyayaṃ ca āsannaś ca adūraś ca adhikaś ca saṃkhyā ca (itar. dv.)*; *saṃkhyeye* 7/1/ (*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *bahuvrīhiḥ* #23)

saṃkhyeye yā saṃkhyā varttate tayā sahāvyayāsannādūrādhikasaṃkhyāḥ samasyante, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains an *avyaya*, or *āsanna* 'proximate', *adūra* 'not far, near', *adhika* 'more', or *saṃkhyā* 'number', optionally combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains a *saṃkhyā* denoting a thing counted (*saṃkhyeya*).

EXAMPLES:

upadaśāḥ 'those which are near to the ten already counted'
upaviṃśāḥ 'those which are near to the twenty already counted'
āsannadaśāḥ 'id.'
āsannaviṃśāḥ 'id.'
adhikadaśāḥ 'those which are more than the ten already counted'
adhikaviṃśāḥ 'those which are more than the twenty already counted'
dvitrāḥ 'two or three things'
tricaturāḥ 'three or four things'

1. This rule allows for the formation of a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a number word used in the sense of a thing counted. The other constituent could either be an indeclinable, or any one of the enumerated items. Thus, we get a compound such as *upadaśāḥ* 'that which is proximate to ten; either nine or eleven'. It is argued that such a compound could still be formed by rule 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa....* But the compound would be an *avyayībhāva*, and it, too, would have the meaning of its first constituent as prominent. The meanings, however, would be different. The *bahuvrīhi* would denote the *saṃkhyeya*, the sense in which its first member would be used. The *avyayībhāva* would denote proximity (*sāmīpya*). The *bahuvrīhi* thus denotes the thing which is proximate (*samīpin*), as opposed to the *avyayībhāva* which denotes proximity (*sāmīpya*). Thus, an *avyayībhāva* compound such as *upadaśa* can still be formed, though the meaning will be that of proximity.

2.2.26 दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले

diṅnāmāny antarāle
/ *diṅnāmāni* 1/3 = *diśāṃ nāmāni* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *antarāle* 7/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11. *bahuvrīhiḥ* #23)
diṅnāmāni subantāni antarāle vācye samasyante, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *diś* 'direction: east, west, etc.' optionally combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes *diś* provided the compound means *antarāla* 'intermediate direction'.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇapūrvā 'south-eastern direction'
pūrvottarā 'north-eastern direction'
uttarapaścimā 'north-western direction'
paścimadakṣiṇā 'south-western direction'

1. This rule allows the compound formation of words denoting directional names, provided the resultant compound denotes an intermediate point (*antarāla*). Obviously, *antarāla* is a meaning which belongs to a word outside the constituency (*anyapadārtha*) of the derivate, therefore rule 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* could itself allow the compound formation Why, then, have this rule? The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 725-27) discusses various details of this aspect of the problem (see Joshi 1974: 117-33). Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* II: 136) states that this rule is required so that *bahuvrīhi* compounds, with words which denote directional names, can be formed even in the following three cases:

(*i*) when their denotatum is something other than that of *matUP*;
(*ii*) when their denotatum is similar to that of the nominative (*prathamā*); and
(*iii*) when their constituents entail lack of syntactic coordination (*vaiyadhikaraṇya*).

For example, a compound such as *citraguḥ* 'he who possesses brindled cows' entails 'possession' which, in turn, happens to be the denotatum of affix *matUP*. This rule may be necessary for forming *bahuvrīhi* where the sense of *matUP* is not involved. I have already indicated in my notes under 2.2.23 *śeṣo bahuvrīhiḥ* and 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* that those rules may permit the formation of *bahuvrīhi* only when the constituents are in syntactic coordination, or when the derivate denotes the sense of any nominal ending other than that of the nominative. This rule again may permit such compound formations. This is basically the point made by Haradatta.

2. The word *nāma* 'name' is used in this rule to emphasize that a constituent, fit to form a compound under the provisions of this rule, must not only denote 'direction' but must do it 'primarily'. That is, it should denote a directional name as a *rūḍhi* 'conventional practice', and not as *yaugika* 'derivationally arrived at'. Examples cited more often for directional names in this category are *aindrī* 'east' and *kauberī* 'north', which denote directions only derivationally, and by inference. The words really refer to that which pertains to Indra, or Kubera, respectively.

2.2.27 तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे

tatra tenedam iti sarūpe

| tatra ∅ tena 3/1 *idam* 1/1 *iti ∅ sarūpe* 1/2/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *bahuvrīhiḥ* #23)
tatreti saptamyante sarūpe pade teneti ca tṛtīyānte idam etasminn arthe samasyete, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati
A *pada* which ends either in *saptamī* or *tṛtīyā* optionally combines, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, with an identical *pada* where the compound denotes *iti* 'thus'.

EXAMPLES:

keśākeśi 'a fight where one seized the other's hair'
daṇḍādaṇḍi 'a fight where one attacked the other with a stick'
musalāmusali 'a fight where one attacked the other with a club'

1. The word *tatra* is here treated as ending in locative (*saptamī*; 5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*). The word *tena* is obviously an instrumental (*tṛtīyā*). The word *sarūpe* is to be read with both. That is, a *pada* which ends in the locative, or one ending in the instrumental, combines to form a *bahuvrīhi* compound with another identical (*sarūpa*) *pada* which ends in the locative or instrumental. The word *idam*, used with *iti* 'thus', provides for the meaning of the derivate compound. First of all, the word *iti* would rule out any reference to the form (*svarūpa*). Secondly, it would be used with words in the locative or instrumental, to clearly figure out the meaning of the compounds in question. Thus, *tena idam iti*, where *iti* does not refer to the word-forms *tena idam*, can be interpreted as 'that by means of which this...'. These compounds, because of the force of *iti*, will therefore express the desired meanings (*vivakṣārtha*). Note that examples such as *keśākeśi* and *daṇḍādaṇḍi* are used in the context of fights and, as such, entail reciprocity (*paraspara*) in fights (*praharaṇa*). This sense of reciprocal attack is outside the constituency of the compound (*anyapadārtha*) anyway.

Note that the compound constituents end with the same endings, and have identical forms. This occasions the use of *ekaśeṣa* 'retention of only one' (cf. 1.2.64 *sarūpāṇām ekaśeṣa ekavibhaktau*). The *ekaśeṣa* is blocked on the strength of the formulation of this rule, itself.

2.2.28 तेन सहेति तुल्ययोगे

tena saheti tulyayoge
| tena 3/1 *saha ∅ iti ∅ tulyayoge* 7/1 = *tulyaś cāsau yogaś ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmin |*
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *bahuvrīhiḥ* #23)
'saha' ity etac chabdarūpaṃ tulyayoge vartamānaṃ 'tena' ity tṛtīyāntena saha samasyate, bahuvrīhiś ca samāso bhavati

A *pada* constituted by *saha* 'with' optionally combines, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, with a *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* provided the referents of both have the same relation to the action.

EXAMPLES:

saputraḥ (*āgataḥ*) 'he came with his son'
sacchātraḥ (*āgataḥ*) 'he came with his student'
sakarmakaraḥ (*āgataḥ*) 'he came with his servant'

1. Note that *saha* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*), and that it can combine with a word which ends in *tṛtīyā* provided it is also used in the sense of *tulyayoga* 'identical connection'. A *saha* is treated as occurring in *tulyayoga* when there happen to be two or more entities related with a common action. Thus, *putreṇa sahāgataḥ pitā* 'the father came with the son', where both the father and the son are equally related with the action of coming (*āgamana*). They are so marked by the use of *saha*. A compound such as *saputraḥ* cannot be formed with relevant constituents from: *sahaiva daśabhir putrair bhāraṃ vahati gardabhī* 'the female donkey is carrying the load, even when she has ten sons'. The sense here is that of presence (*vidyamānatā*) and not of the connection of the sons with the action of carrying. It is stated, though, that the condition of *tulyayoga* is limited in effect (*prāyika*). That is, it cannot cover everything (*asarvaviṣaya*). Failure to demand this condition would facilitate the formation of compounds such as *sakarmaka* 'that which has an object', *salomakaḥ* 'he who has hair', etc., which do not share the condition of *tulyayoga*.

2.2.29 चार्थे द्वन्द्वः

cārthe dvandvaḥ
/ *cārthe* 7/1 = *cena* (*kṛtaḥ*) *arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *dvandvaḥ* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3, *saha supā* #2.1.4, *sup* #2.1.9, *vibhāṣā* #2.1.11, *anekam* #24)
anekaṃ subantaṃ cārthe vartamānaṃ samasyate, dvandvasaṃjñaś ca samāso bhavati
Two or more *pada* which end in *sUP* optionally combine with each other, in a *dvandva* compound, in the sense of *ca* 'and'.

EXAMPLES:

plakṣanyagrodhau 'a *plakṣa* and a *nyagrodha* tree'
dhavakhadirapalāśāḥ '*dhava*, *khadira*, and *palāśa* trees'
vāktvacam 'speech and skin'

1. This rule allows the formation of *dvandva* compounds under the meaning condition of *cārtha* 'sense of *ca*'. The *ca* is a particle generally

meaning 'and'. Since not all meanings generalized as 'and' can form a *dvandva* compound, a close look at the meaning of *ca* is necessary. Commentators recognize four types of meaning of *ca*, as follows:

(*i*) *samuccaya* 'collection', where mutually independent items are brought together simply on the basis of their relation to some common factor. For example, consider:
aharahar nayamāno gāmaśvaṃ puruṣaṃ paśum /
vaivasvato na tṛpyati surāyā iva durmadī //
'Unsatisfied even when he is carrying off cows, horses, men, and animals, day in and day out, Yama (the god of death) is like an alcoholic who is never satiated by drinking liquor'. Here, cows, horses, etc., are mutually independent, though they are brought into close relation by the single action of *nayana* 'carrying off'. The *samuccaya* sense is so obvious that *ca* does not need to be explicitly used (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*: *yadā parasparanirapekṣāḥ padārthā ekasmin pratisambandhini samuccīyante tadā samuccayaḥ... atra nayatikriyāyām ekasyāṃ gavādīnāṃ samuccayaḥ*). This sense of *samuccaya* can also be found in *rājño gauś cāśvaś ca* 'the king's cow and horse', and *raktaḥ paṭaḥ kuṇḍalaṃ ca* 'the red cloth and the earring'.

(*ii*) *anvācaya* 'aggregation', where an independent item is made dependent in conformity with another principal item (*pradhāna*). Consider, for example, *bho baṭo, bhikṣāṃ aṭa gāṃ cānaya* 'O, child, go the rounds and collect alms; also the cow'. Here, bringing alms is principal, and bringing the cow is secondary. The person commanded will primarily perform the begging of alms; if, perchance, while doing so he sees the cow, he will also bring that. He will not, however, put any special effort into bringing the cow.

Note that a *dvandva* compound is not permitted for instances where the *ca* means *samuccaya* and *anvācaya*. This is because the condition of *sāmarthya* 'syntactico-semantic relation' lacks items which can be brought together. Items in *samuccaya* remain independent of each other (*nirapekṣa*), whereas in *anvācaya* there obtains the dependence of the secondary item upon the primary. This is what causes the impairment of the condition of *sāmarthya* (cf. 2.2.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*).

(*iii*) *itaretarayoga* 'one joined with the other', where two items are brought close to each other via their mutual expectancy to a third. Thus, *itaretarayoga* becomes like a subtype of *samuccaya* and *anvācaya*. However, a difference does exist. The two items in *itaretarayoga* are both principal, though share a mutual expectancy relationship in regard to the third. Consider the example *devadattayajñadattābhyām idaṃ kāryam* 'this is to be done by Devadatta and Yajñadatta', where *devadatta* and *yajñadatta* are independent

of each other, but are brought close via the action of doing a particular thing; they are mutually related via this action.

(*iv*) *samāhāra* 'grouping', where one group of things is brought together with another group of things via something else. Such grouping causes individual differences to become subservient to the force which brings them together. Consider, for example, *chatropānaham* 'the umbrella and the shoes', where *chatra* 'umbrella' and *upānaha* 'shoes' are independent things, but are brought together via their location in each other's proximity (*saṃhati*).

A *dvandva* compound with the last two instances (iii-iv) is permitted, since the *sāmarthya* relationship between the constituents is not impaired.

2.2.30 उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्

upasarjanaṃ pūrvam
/ *upasarjanam* 1/1 *pūrvam* 1/1/
(*samāsaḥ* #2.1.3)
upasarjanasaṃjñakaṃ samāse pūrvaṃ prayoktavyam
A *pada* which is termed *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamā...*) is placed first in a compound.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭaśritaḥ (see 2.1.24 *dvitīyā...*)
śaṃkulākhaṇḍaḥ, etc. (see 2.1.30 *tṛtīyā...*, etc.)

1. It is stated that the word *samāsaḥ*, carried from rule 2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*, is transformed into *samāse*, its locative counterpart, so that it can be interpreted as 'in a compound'. This contextually conditioned transposition of a nominal ending (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*) is not uncommon.

A constituent specified by the nominative (*prathamā*) in the rules which allow the formation of compounds is termed *upasarjana*. However, the word is used in its etymological sense (*anvartha*) of 'secondary' (1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa...*). Rule 2.2.30 requires that a constituent termed *upasarjana* be placed first (*pūrvam*) in the compound. For example, given the strings *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *puruṣa* + *sU*, from whence derives the compound *rājapuruṣa* 'king's man', *rājan* + *Ṅas* is termed *upasarjana* because of rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*. That is, 2.2.8 allows the formation of a compound where one constituent ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and another is a syntactically related word. The word *ṣaṣṭhī* in rule 2.2.8, which specifies constituents such as *rājan* + *Ṅas*, is given in the nominative (*prathamā*). Consequently, *rājan* + *Ṅas* is termed *upasarjana* and is placed first in the compound string *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *puruṣa* + *sU*.

An objection is made to the formation of this rule, on the grounds that

no usage to the contrary of *upasarjana* constituents is found. If everyone uses the compounds in the correct order of constituent combination, then the rule should not have been formed. It is stated, then, that a rule such as this is required to block any wrong order of constituents (*viparītaprayoga*). The word *pūrvam* is thus used to block any postplacement of a constituent termed *upasarjana* (*Kāś*: *pūrvavacanam paraprayoga-nivṛtyartham*).

2.2.31 **राजदन्तादिषु परम्**

rājadantādiṣu param
/ *rājadantādiṣu* 7/3 = *rājadanta ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *param* 1/1/
(*upasarjanam* #30)
rājadantādiṣu param upasarjanaṃ prayoktavyam
A *pada* which is termed *upasarjana*, with reference to compounds enumerated in the list headed by *rājadanta*, is placed at the end.

EXAMPLES:

rājadantaḥ 'front tooth, king of teeth'
agrevaṇam 'edge of the forest'

1. This rule heads the series of adjustments in the general rule of the preplacement (*pūrvanipāta*) of a compound constituent termed *upasarjana*. The word *rājadantādiṣu* clearly refers to a list of compounds headed by the compound *rājadanta*. Note that this rule simply states that an *upasarjana* is to be postplaced in the compounds of this specific list. This postplacement can also be called *nipātana* 'ad hoc'.

Note that the list headed by *rājadanta* contains two types of compounds:

(*i*) compounds which postplace constituents termed *upasarjana*, and thus become an exception to rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*; and
(*ii*) compounds which postplace a constituent against a provision made elsewhere, and thus form an exception to some other rule.

The 'ad hoc' nature of the formation of compounds contained in this list is also emphasized by examples such as *agrevaṇam* 'edge of the forest', where the locative of *agra* + *Ṅi* does not undergo deletion.

2.2.32 **द्वन्द्वे घि**

dvandve ghi
/ *dvandve* 7/1 *ghi* 1/1/
(*pūrvam* #31)
dvandvasamāse ghyantaṃ pūrvaṃ prayoktavyam
A *pada* which terminates in *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo...*) is placed first in a *dvandva* compound.

EXAMPLES:

paṭuguptau 'clever and secretive'
mṛduguptau 'soft and secretive'

1. Note that the word *pūrvam*, of rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*, now becomes valid. It was not retained in the preceding rule because of its incompatibility with *param*. This rule with *pūrvam* thus provides for the preplacement of a constituent of a *dvandva* compound which ends in *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*). The constituents of a *dvandva* compound are treated as equal. In this way, the question of principal (*pradhāna*) or secondary (*upasarjana*) does not arise. It is to determine the order of these principal constituents that this rule is formulated. In other words, this rule is formulated so that, in cases of doubt or of provisions indicating otherwise, a particular ruling could be obtained.

What about a *dvandva* compound with more than one constituent termed *ghi*? The rule of preplacement applies to only one constituent. Thus, we get *hariguruharāḥ* or *hariharaguravaḥ*, where *hari* and *guru* are two constituents termed *ghi*. The restriction of preplacement will apply to only one (here *hari*) and not to *guru*, relative to *hara*. It is for this reason that *hari* is preplaced, though *guru* and *hara* could be switched.

2.2.33 अजाद्यदन्तम्

ajādyadantam
/ *ajādyadantam* 1/1 = *ac ādir yasya tat* = *ajādiḥ* (*bv.*), *ad ante yasya tat* (*bv.*), *ajādi cādaḥ adantaṃ ca* = *ajādyadantam* (*karm. tat.*) /
(*pūrvam* #30, *dvandve* #32)
ajādyadantaṃ śabdarūpaṃ dvandve samāse pūrvaṃ prayoktavyam
A *pada* which begins with *aC* (a vowel) and ends in *aT* (*a*; cf. 1.1.70 *taparas...*) is placed first in a *dvandva* compound.

EXAMPLES:

uṣṭrakharam 'a camel and a donkey'
uṣṭraśaśakam 'a camel and a rabbit'

1. Note that rules 2.2.30 and 2.2.32 determine the order of placement of a given constituent by means of the technical terms *upasarjana* and *ghi*. Rule 2.2.31 does the same by means of enumeration (*parigaṇana*). Our present rule determines the order by specifying the initial (*ādi*) and the final (*anta*) sound segments of the constituent. Thus, our rule requires that a constituent beginning with a vowel (*aC*) and terminating in *aT* (*a*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) is to be placed first in a *dvandva* compound.

The provision of this rule is not free of problems. Additionally, one may find a conflict of this rule with rule 2.2.32 *dvandve ghi*. Consider the

examples *indrāgnī* 'Indra and Agni' and *indravāyū* 'Indra and Vāyu', where *indra* begins with a vowel and ends with *a*. Similarly, *agni* and *vāyu* end in *i* and *u*, respectively. These last two qualify for preplacement under the provisions of rule 2.2.32. But *indra* qualifies for preplacement under the present rule. There is clearly a conflict here. The tradition invokes rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, and rules in favor of the subsequent provision. This is how *indra* comes to be preplaced.

2.2.34 अल्पाच्तरम्

alpāc taram
/ *alpāc taram* 1/1 = *alpo 'c yasmin tat* (*bv.*), *anayor atiśāyane alpāc* = *alpāc taram* /
(*dvandve* #32, *pūrvam* #30)
alpāc taraṃ śabdarūpaṃ dvandve samāse pūrvaṃ prayoktavyam
A *pada* which contains fewer *aC* (vowels) is placed first in a *dvandva* compound.

EXAMPLES:

plakṣanyagrodhau 'a *plakṣa* and a *nyagrodha* tree'
dhavakhadirapalāśāḥ '*dhava*, *khadira*, and *palāśa* trees'
śaṅkhadundubhivīṇā 'conch-shell, bugle, and *vīṇā* (a string instrument)'
vīṇāśaṅkhadundubhayaḥ '*vīṇā*, conch-shell, and bugle'

1. This rule provides for preplacement on the basis of a fewer number of vowels in a given constituent. However, there are very many problems with this provision. Consider the series of *vārttika* given under this rule:

(*i*) *ṛtunakṣatrāṇām ānupūrvyeṇa samānākṣarāṇāṃ pūrvanipāto vaktavyaḥ*
'preplacement should be stated for constituents which denote a prior season (*ṛtu*) or constellation (*nakṣatra*), and consist of an equal number of syllables (*samānākṣara*)'
Thus: *citrāsvātī* 'the constellations *citrā* and *svātī*'

(*ii*) *laghvakṣaraṃ ca pūrvaṃ nipatatīti vaktavyam*
'it should be stated that a constituent consisting of a short syllable is also preplaced'
Thus: *śaraśādam* 'reed and weed'.

(*iii*) *abhyarhitaṃ ca pūrvaṃ nipatatīti vaktavyam*
'it should be stated that a constituent denoting someone worthy of respect (*abhyarhita*) is also preplaced'
Thus: *mātāpitarau* 'mother and father', where the question of which parent is worthier of respect is resolved, according to canonical tradition, in favor of the mother (*mātā*).

(*iv*) *varnānām ānupūrvyeṇa pūrvanipātaḥ*
'constituents which denote *varṇa* 'caste group' should be preplaced in accordance with their relative order'

Thus: *brāhmaṇakṣatriyabiṭśūdrāḥ*
'brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya, and *śūdra'*
Note that the consideration of an equal number of syllables is not applicable in this instance.

(*v*) *bhrātuś ca jyāyasaḥ pūrvanipāto vaktavyaḥ*
'preplacement should also be stated for the constituent which denotes an older brother'
Thus: *yudhiṣṭhirārjunau* 'Yudhiṣṭhira and Arjuna'

(*vi*) *saṃkhyāyā alpīyasyāḥ pūrvanipāto vaktavyaḥ*
'preplacement of a constituent which denotes a smaller number should be stated'
Thus: *dvitrāḥ* 'two and three'

2.2.35 सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ

saptamīviśeṣaṇe bahuvrīhau
/ *saptamīviśeṣaṇe* 1/2 (*dv.*) *bahuvrīhau* 7/1/
(*pūrvam* #30)
saptamyantaṃ viśeṣaṇaṃ ca bahuvrīhisamāse pūrvaṃ prayoktavyam
A *pada* which ends in *saptamī* or denotes a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

EXAMPLES:

kaṇṭhekālaḥ 'he in whose throat is blackness'
urasilomā 'he who has hair on his chest'
citraguḥ 'he who owns brindled cows'
śabalaguḥ 'id.'

1. If one understands the meaning of compounds in terms of principal and secondary constituents, with the further stipulation that the secondary constituent will be placed first, then the constituents of a *bahuvrīhi* compound will all qualify for the status of *upasarjana*. For, the meaning of something outside of the constituency is principal in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. A problematic situation arises, since all constituents obviously cannot be placed first. This rule resolves some of the problems. It provides that a *bahuvrīhi* constituent which either ends in locative, or is a qualifier, is placed first. Thus, *kaṇṭhe* and *citrā* in *kaṇṭhekālaḥ* and *citraguḥ* are placed first, on account of ending in locative, or of being a qualifier. Further adjustments are provided by *vārttika* relative to the preplacement of constituents in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. For example, preplacement is also required of pronouns (*sarvanāman*) and numeral (*saṃkhyā*). Thus, *sarvaśvetaḥ* 'all-white' and *dvyanyaḥ* 'he for whom there are two others', etc.

2.2.36 निष्ठा

niṣṭhā
/ *niṣṭhā* 1/1/
(*pūrvam* #30, *bahuvrīhau* #35)
niṣṭhāntaṃ ca bahuvrīhisamāse pūrvaṃ prayoktavyam
A *pada* which contains a stem in *niṣṭhā* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*) is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtakaṭaḥ 'he who has already finished making the mat'
bhikṣitabhikṣiḥ 'he who has already received alms'

1. A proposal for postplacement is made by a *vārttika* in connection with those *niṣṭhā* constituents which occur with items denoting *jāti* 'class', *kāla*, 'time' and *sukha* 'pleasure'. Thus, we get *śārṅgajagdhī* 'she who ate Mung beans', *māsajātaḥ* 'he since whose birth a month has elapsed', and *sukhajātaḥ* 'he who has achieved happiness'.

2.2.37 वाऽऽहिताग्न्यादिषु

vā "hitāgnyādiṣu
/ *vā0 āhitāgnyādiṣu* 7/3 = *āhitāgniḥ ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *teṣu*/
(*pūrvam* #30, *bahuvrīhau* #35, *niṣṭhā* #36)
āhitāgnyādiṣu niṣṭhāntaṃ pūrvaṃ vā prayoktavyam
A *pada* which contains a stem in *niṣṭhā* and is enumerated under the list headed by *āhitāgni* is only optionally placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

EXAMPLES:

āgnyāhitaḥ 'he who has lighted the ritual fire'
āhitāgniḥ 'id.'
jātaputraḥ 'he who has a son born'
putrajātaḥ 'id.'

2.2.38 कडाराः कर्मधारये

kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye
/ *kaḍārāḥ* 1/3 *karmadhāraye* 7/1/
(*pūrvam* #30, *vā* #37)
kaḍārādayaḥ śabdāḥ karmadhāraye samāse vā pūrvaṃ prayoktavyam
A *pada* which contains *kaḍāra* 'yellow, etc.' only optionally is placed first in a *karmadhāraya* compound.

EXAMPLES:

kaḍārajaiminiḥ 'a pale Jaimini'
jaiminikaḍāraḥ 'id.'

2.3.1 अनभिहिते

anabhihite
/ anabhihite 7/1/
'anabhihite' anukte anirdiṣṭe karmādau vibhaktir bhavati
(A nominal ending occurs only) when (what it expresses is) not expressed by some other means.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ karoti 'he is making a mat'
grāmaṃ gacchati 'he is going to the village'
kriyate kaṭaḥ 'a mat is being made'
śatyaḥ 'a thing bought for a hundred'
śatikaḥ 'id.'
prāptodako grāmaḥ 'a village to which water has reached'

1. The word *anabhihite* is used here in the sense of *anukta* 'not stated' or *anirdiṣṭa* 'not specified'. The *Kāśikā* calls it a governing rule (*adhikāra*) which, in turn, means that rules dealing with the introduction of nominal endings (*vibhakti*) must take this *sūtra* into consideration.

2. The purpose of this *sūtra* is to specify conditions under which a particular nominal ending can be introduced. Thus, rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, read with rule 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, specifies that *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' can be introduced after a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) to express *karman* 'object' (1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*), when the same has not already been expressed by some other means. That is, if *karman* has already been expressed, it should not be expressed again by means of nominal endings. Rule 2.3.1, therefore, serves as a constraint for the introduction of nominal endings. It allows the introduction of nominal endings only when their denotatum has not already been expressed by some other means. Commentators specify by enumeration (*parigaṇana*) the following four ways in which the denotatum of a nominal ending can be expressed elsewhere:

(*i*) affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*...);
(*ii*) affixes termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *krd atiṅ*);
(*iii*) affixes termed *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*); and
(*iv*) items termed *samāsa* 'compound' (2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt*...).

These four ways of expression can be illustrated by the use of examples (*a*)-(*e*), below:

(*a*) *devadatta odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking rice'

This sentence expresses the agent (*kartṛ*) by means of the verbal ending *tiṄ*. As a result *devadatta*, the named agent, is put in the nominative, expressing nothing but the notion of the nominal stem (*prātipadikārtha*; 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha...*). Since the *karman* of the action denoted by the verbal root *pac* 'to cook' remains unexpressed, *am*, the second triplet of nominal ending, has been introduced after *odana* to express it.

(*b*) *devadattena odanaḥ pacyate* 'rice is being cooked by Devadatta'

Sentence (*b*) expresses the object by means of the verbal ending *te*. This necessitates the introduction of the nominative after *odana* to express the nominal stem notion. But since the agent remains unexpressed, *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending', *Ṭā*, has been introduced after *devadatta* to express it.

The above two examples show how an agent or object expressed otherwise cannot again be expressed by means of nominal endings.

(*c*) *devadattena kaṭaḥ kṛtaḥ* 'a mat was made by Devadatta'

Sentence (*c*) expresses the object by means of the *kṛt* affix *Kta* in *kṛtaḥ*. Consequently, *kaṭa* 'mat' is used in the nominative, where nothing but the nominal stem notion is expressed. The third triplet, *Ṭā*, has been introduced after *devadatta* to express agent.

(*d*) *śatyo' śvaḥ* 'a horse bought for a hundred'

The object is expressed in sentence (*d*) by means of the *taddhita* affix *yaT* (5.1.21 *śatāc ca...*).

(*e*) *prāptodako grāmaḥ* 'a village to which water has reached'

In sentence (*e*), the object is expressed by means of a compound. The compound *prāptodakaḥ* 'that to which water has reached' is a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*), where the object of reaching has already been expressed. This explains why *grāma* 'village' has been put in the nominative.

It should be clear from the preceding examples, and their explanations, that the denotata of nominal endings can be expressed by diverse means. A nominal ending is used to express its denotatum if, and only if, the same has not already been expressed by something else.

3. The function of rule 2.3.1 can also be viewed as establishing an interdependency among rules expressing *kāraka* or non-*kāraka* relations. Thus, the introduction of nominal endings is dependent upon the information whether or not their denotatum has already been expressed by some other means. Such information is necessary to avoid duplication in expressing a *kāraka* or non-*kāraka* relation. In addition, if a denotatum can be expressed by diverse means, strings employing those diverse means can be said to be relatable to each other.

A constraint, in the form of rule 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, underscores this aspect of relatability among structures expressing similar denotata.

Thus, sentence (*a*) is related to sentence (*b*) in the sense that (*b*) is the passive counterpart of (*a*). Their derivations start with a common string:

devadatta (*kartṛ*) + *odana* (*karman*) + *kṛ* + *LAṬ*.

The derivation then branches off in two directions, depending on what kind of verbal ending is selected to replace *LAṬ*.

Note in this connection that affixes referred to as *LA*, of which *LAṬ* is one, are introduced after a transitive root when either agent or object is to be expressed. They are introduced after an intransitive root when either agent or *bhāva* 'root-sense' is to be expressed (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca...*). Furthermore, these abstract suffixes are eventually replaced, generally by the verbal endings referred to as *tiṄ*. It is at the level of the selection of *tiṄ* that a decision must be made, whether *tiṄ* should be expressing agent, object, or *bhāva*. Once this decision has been made, and a proper *tiṄ* has been selected, the further selection of nominal endings can be made. Similar relatability also exists between structures expressing *kāraka* or non-*kāraka* relations through diverse means.

4. The negative particle *naÑ* 'not', and therefore the present rule (*anabhihite*), has been interpreted in two ways:

(*i*) as *prasajya*, where the negative particle is construed with the verb; and

(*ii*) as *paryudāsa*, where the same has been construed with a noun.

Rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, etc., when read with 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, can thus receive the following two interpretations:

(*i*) *anabhihite karmaṇi dvitīyā na bhavati* 'a *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' does not occur when *karman* 'object' is expressed otherwise'

(*ii*) *anabhihite karmaṇi dvitīyā bhavati* 'a *dvitīyā* occurs when *karman* is not expressed otherwise'

The first interpretation construes the negative particle *naÑ* with the verb *bhavati*, and thus renders the status of rule 2.3.2 restrictive (*pratiṣedha*). The second interpretation construes the negative particle *naÑ* with the noun *karman*, and consequently renders the status of 2.3.2 operational (*vidhi*). The *Mbh* (II: 764-65) has discussed these interpretations in connection with this example:

(*f*) *prāsāda āste* 'he is sitting on the roof of the palace'

Here, *prāsāda* 'palace' has been placed in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*'. Now, this *saptamī* has been introduced to denote *adhikaraṇa* 'locus', which is also the denotatum of affix *GHaÑ*, introduced after *pra* + *sad* to derive *prāsāda*. It can be argued that, if the locus has already been expressed by *GHaÑ* in *prāsāda*, the introduction of *saptamī* to denote locus again will make no sense. The *paryudāsa* interpretation allows the introduction of *Ṅi*, the locative singular ending, to denote the locus of *ās* 'to sit' which

still remains to be expressed. That is, *āste*, the verb form, has not already expressed it. Besides, *GHaÑ* expresses the locus of *sad*. It should also be noted that rules 2.3.2, etc., are basically operational in nature; hence, a *paryudāsa* interpretation is favored.

2.3.2 **कर्मणि द्वितीया**

karmaṇi dvitīyā
/ *karmaṇi* 7/1/ *dvitīyā* 1/1/
(*anabhihite* #1)
karmaṇi kārake yā saṃkhyā tatra dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati
A *dvitīyā* occurs when *karman* is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ karoti 'he is making a mat'
grāmaṃ gacchati 'he is going to the village'

1. This rule, read with 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, states that *dvitīyā* (*am*, *auṬ*, *Śas*) can occur after a nominal stem to express *karman* (1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*), provided the *karman* has not already been expressed by some other means. In the notes under the previous rule, I have already illustrated instances where *karman* has been expressed by means of something other than a nominal ending.

In the first of the above examples (*kaṭaṃ karoti*) *am*, the accusative singular ending, has been introduced after *kaṭa* to express the object of the action denoted by the verbal root *kṛ* 'to make'. This introduction of *am* was made possible by the fact that there was nothing in the sentence that expressed the object in question. The verbal ending *ti*, in *karoti*, is expressing the agent.

2. Note that *dvitīyā*, etc., are terms assigned to the triplet of nominal endings which Pāṇini accepts from the earlier grammarians. Additionally, the word *karman* has been used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, in the sense of both an action (*kriyā*) and an object. Of course, in rule 2.3.2 *karman* is used in the sense of object, as defined by rules 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*, etc.

3. The *Kāśikā* states that a *saṃkhyā* 'number' is also expressed with the nominal endings. That is, the *am* in *kaṭam*, in addition to expressing the object, also expresses the singular number. Further, *Kāśikā* takes *saṃkhyā* as the principal denotatum, and uses *karman* as its qualifier: *karmaṇi kārake yā saṃkhyā tatra dvitīyā* '*dvitīyā* occurs when a number, having its locus in the participant named object, is to be expressed, providing the same has not already been expressed otherwise'.

Bhaṭṭoji (*SK* I: 600) simply says: *anukte karmaṇi dvitīyā syāt* '*dvitīyā* occurs to express *karman* when it is not expressed otherwise'. Note that

Bhaṭṭoji does not mention *saṃkhyā* here. That is, according to him, the denotatum of *dvitīyā* is a *karman* which has not been expressed otherwise.

The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses the question of the denotatum of nominal endings. According to one view, number (*saṃkhyā*) is the denotatum of nominal endings, while the other regards nominal endings as generally denoting a *kāraka*. A discussion of these two views is necessitated by rules such as 1.4.21 *bahuṣu bahuvacanam*, which states that a plural ending is to be introduced to denote plurality (*bahutva*). This establishes that number could indeed be the denotatum of nominal endings. When a nominal ending is selected, rules such as 1.4.21 are brought close to the context of rules such as the present one (2.3.2). These two rules, read with 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, will then specify that:

> *anabhihite karmaṇi dvitīyā bahuṣu bahuvacanam* 'second plural triplet of nominal ending is introduced when the multiplicity of *karman* is not already expressed otherwise'

If one takes the view that number is principal (*pradhāna*), and *kāraka* is secondary (*gauṇa*), number becomes the denotatum of nominal endings. As we have seen, *Kāśikā* takes *saṃkhyā* as *pradhāna*, whereas *SK* treats *kāraka* as *pradhāna*. For a detailed explication of these views, consult the *Mbh* (II: 752–69) where, on the basis of the view that *kāraka* is the denotatum of nominal endings, rule 2.3.1 is also shown to be unnecessary.

4. The *Mbh* (II: 770) states in a *ślokavārttika* that *dvitīyā* is also introduced after a nominal stem, cooccurring with *ubhayataḥ* 'on both sides'; *sarvataḥ* 'on all sides'; *dhik* 'interjection denoting censure'; *uparyupari* 'high above'; and *adhyadhi* 'down below', etc. Thus, we get the following sentences:

(*a*) *ubhayato grāmam* 'on both sides of the village'
(*b*) *sarvato grāmam* 'on all sides of the village'
(*c*) *dhik devadatta* 'shame on you, Devadatta!'
(*d*) *uparyupari grāmam* 'high above the village'
(*e*) *adhyadhi grāmam* 'down below the village'
(*f*) *adho' dho grāmam* 'id.'

2.3.3 **तृतीया च होश्छन्दसि**

> *tṛtīyā ca hoś chandasi*
> / *tṛtīyā* 1/1 *ca* Ø *hoḥ* 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
> (*karmaṇi dvitīyā* #2, *anabhihite*#1)
> *chandasi viṣaye juhoteḥ karmaṇi kārake tṛtīya vibhaktir bhavanti, dvitīyā ca*
> A *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*' also occurs optionally to *dvitīyā* in the Vedic when *karman* of *hu* 'to call; to perform a ritual sacrifice' is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

yavāgvāgnihotraṃ juhoti 'he is offering an oblation of *yavāgū* (barley gruel) to the *agnihotra* (a kind of ritual fire)'
yavāgūm agnihotraṃ juhoti 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā*, in addition to *dvitīyā*, in those Vedic usages where the *karman* of the action denoted by the verbal root *hu* is to be expressed. Obviously, this rule will allow two forms, as shown in the examples above.

Note that, in the first sentence, *yavāgū* is put in *tṛtīyā*, and *agnihotra* in *dvitīyā*, whereas in the second they are both put in *dvitīyā*. The meaning, of course, is that someone is offering a ritual oblation of barley gruel, and anticipating that Agni will be the goal.

2.3.4 अन्तराऽन्तरेणयुक्ते

antarāntareṇa yukte
/ *antarāntareṇa* 3/1 = *antarā ca antareṇa ca* (*itar. dv.*);
antarāntareṇa yuktaḥ (*tr. tat.*), *tasmin*; *yukte* 7/1/ (*dvitīyā* #2)
antarā' ntareṇa śabdau nipātau gṛhyete ābhyāṃ yoge dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati
A *dvitīyā* occurs when *antarā* 'in between' and *antareṇa* 'without' are in use.

EXAMPLES:

antarā tvāṃ ca māṃ ca kamaṇḍaluḥ 'in between you and me is the *kamaṇḍalu* (water pot)'
antareṇa puruṣakāraṃ na kiṃcil labhyate 'nothing is gained without diligent effort'

1. This rule allows the introduction of *dvitīyā*, after a nominal stem cooccurring with the particles *antarā* and *antareṇa*. Commentators explain that *antarā*, the particle, should not be confused with *antarā*, the feminine derivative ending in the affix *ṬāP*. Similarly, *antareṇa* is not to be mistaken for the instrumental singular of *antara*; it, too, is a particle. We know this by association (*sāhacarya*). Since *antareṇa* is cited in this rule in association with *antarā*, an indeclinable, it is evident that *antareṇa* should also be understood as an indeclinable. The idea of association also applies in the case of *antarā* used with *antareṇa*. Again, as *antareṇa* is not a form ending in the affix *ṬāP*, *antarā* should not be interpreted as ending in *ṬāP*. Reasoning based on association has its parallels as well. For instance, because association demands similarity of class, one understands *guru-bhārgavau* as meaning 'Jupiter and Sun', and not 'the teacher and Paraśurāma, the son of Jamadagni'. In the same manner, *antarā* and *antareṇa* must both be interpreted as *nipāta*, indeclinables.

2. This rule introduces *dvitīyā* as an exception to *ṣaṣṭhī* 'sixth triplet of nominal ending; genitive'. If this rule was not formulated, a sentence such as *antarā tvāṃ ca māṃ ca kamaṇḍaluḥ,* (above), where *yuṣmad* 'you' and *asmad* 'I' have been used in the accusative, would be rendered as *antarā tava ca mama ca kamaṇḍaluḥ.* That is, *yuṣmad* and *asmad* would qualify for residual (*śeṣa*) genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) by rule 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe.* This rule is, therefore, an exception to genitive.

2.3.5 कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे

kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge
/ *kālādhvanoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *atyantasaṃyoge* 7/1 = *atyantaṃ saṃyogaḥ* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmin* /
(*dvitīyā* #2)
kālaśabdebhyo' dhvaśabdebhyaś ca dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati atyantasaṃyoge gamyamāne
A *dvitīyā* occurs after stems denoting *kāla* '(measure of) time' or *adhvan* '(measure of) path, road' when *atyantasaṃyoga* 'continuous connection' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

māsam adhīte 'he studies for one whole month'
saṃvatsaram adhīte 'he studies for one whole year'
māsaṃ kalyāṇī 'this whole month is beneficial'
saṃvatsaraṃ kalyāṇī 'this whole year is beneficial'
krośam adhīte 'he studies the entire distance of a *krośa* (two miles)'
yojanam adhīte 'he studies the entire distance of a *yojana* (nine miles)'
krośaṃ kuṭilā nadī 'the river is full of bends for the entire distance of a *krośa*'

1. This rule allows the introduction of *dvitīyā* after a nominal stem denoting *kāla* or *adhvan*, providing continuous connection (*atyantasaṃyoga*) with some action (*kriyā*), thing (*dravya*), or quality (*guṇa*) is denoted.

2. Note that this introduction of *dvitīyā* is made directly, and not via the assignment of the *kāraka* termed *karman*. If the latter were the case, this rule would not be required; for rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* would introduce the ending. This direct introduction of *dvitīyā* causes some problems, especially in connection with intransitive verbs like *ās*. Consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *devadattaḥ māsam āste* 'Devadatta stays for a month'
(*b*) *devadattena māsam āsyate* 'id.'

The word *māsam*, in both of these sentences, will be used with *dvitīyā*, because *māsa* denotes time, and its continued connection with the action

denoted by *ās* is being expressed. The verbal form in (*a*) is expressing the agent, while in (*b*) it is expressing the action (*bhāva*). This is in accordance with the specification of 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*, whereby we learn that a *LA* suffix, (of which *te* in sentence (*b*) is a replacement), is introduced after an intransitive verb root when either action or agent is to be denoted. Since in sentence (*b*) the agent remains unexpressed by the verbal form, *devadatta* is used with *tṛtīyā* (2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*).

Now consider the following sentence:

(*c*) *devadattena māsaḥ āsyate*

Sentence (*c*) is attested by the *Mahābhāṣya*. The *te* in this sentence is expressing the object (*karman*). That is why *māsaḥ* is in the nominative which, in turn, is expressing nothing but the nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*). But *te*, which expresses the object in (*c*), is a replacement of *LA* introduced after *ās*, an intransitive (*akarmaka*) verb. As such, *LA* could only be introduced to denote either the agent or the action. How could a replacement of *LA*, introduced after an intransitive verb, express an object? Besides, rule 2.3.5 explicitly requires *māsa* to be put in *dvitīyā*. Given this, sentence (*c*) looks ungrammatical.

It is to account for sentences like (*c*) that Kātyāyana has written a *vārttika* (*Mbh* II: 774): *atyantasaṃyoge karmaval lādyartham* 'for purposes of denotation by means of *LA*, etc., words denoting *kāla* and *adhvan* should be treated as if they were *karman*'. If accepted, this *vārttika* would account for the introduction of *LA* where its replacement in *te* could denote *karman*. Thus, *māsa* would be used with *dvitīyā* in an active sentence, where the verb would express the agent. In a passive sentence such as (*c*), *māsa* would express the nominal stem notion, while *karman* would be expressed by the verbal form. Note that under this interpretation, *dvitīyā* would be introduced by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*. Rule 2.3.5 would therefore not be required at all. But there are still problems in accepting the *vārttika*. For example, how is one to derive a sentence like

(*d*) *āsyate māsaḥ* 'a month is spent sitting'

Actually, this sentence can be derived by accepting the verb as intransitive, and subsequently introducing *LA* to denote *bhāva* 'action'. However, the status of *karman*, assigned by the *vārttika* to *māsa*, remains to be considered. It would not allow *māsa* be put in the nominative. Accordingly, if one wants to express action with the verb, the sentence should be

(*e*) **āsyate māsam*

which is ungrammatical. To allow the derivation of (*d*), as opposed to (*e*), the wording of the *vārttika* must be brought into focus. The *vārttika* uses affix *vatI* after *karman*, thereby implying that an item denoting *kāla* or *adhvan* is to be treated as though it were *karman*. The *vārttika* does not rule out the possibility of their not being termed non-*karman*; for *vatI*

marks *atideśa* 'transfer to some entity of something which it did not possess'. This does not mean that what the entity possessed prior to the transfer no longer exists. Consider the following sentence:

(*f*) *brāhmaṇavat kṣatriye varttitavyam* 'one should treat a *kṣatriya* like a *brāhmaṇa*'

This injunction does not imply that a *kṣatriya* ceases to be a *kṣatriya*, simply because he is to be treated like a *brāhmaṇa*. Similarly, words denoting time and space can be treated like *karman*, though they will not on that account cease to be non-*karman*. When one does not wish to treat a word denoting time or space as *karman*, *māsa* in (*d*) can be put in the nominative. The question of a wrong derivation, such as (*e*), would not arise, since the *vārttika* makes rule 2.3.5 unnecessary.

Patañjali, however, refuses to accept the *vārttika*. He also recommends that the present rule (2.3.5) should be retained. But if he chooses to retain the *sūtra* and reject the *vārttika*, he cannot account for sentence (*c*). That is, he cannot establish that the verb *ās* is transitive; nor can he establish it as intransitive. For sentences such as

(*c*) *devadattena māsaḥ āsyate*

ās must be established as transitive. But if one has taken Patañjali's position, rejecting the *vārttika* and accepting the *sūtra* as stated, *māsaḥ* must be used with *dvitīyā*; in which case the result would be:

(*b*) *devadattena māsam āsyate*

Furthermore, the question of treating *ās* as intransitive is not the only difficulty. It is also important that *dvitīyā* be introduced via the assignment of the term *karman*. Even with the intransitive view, one still cannot derive (*c*), where *māsaḥ* may be put in the nominative. That is, if one retains *sūtra* 2.3.5, whereby only *dvitīyā* could be introduced after *māsa*, the derivation would not be possible. Attempts have been made to accommodate sentence (*c*) by interpreting *akarmaka* 'intransitive' and *sakarmaka* 'transitive' in various ways. But there is no satisfactory solution to the problem unless the *vārttika* is accepted. See Joshi (1976: 70–79) for further details.

2. Recall the statement that this *sūtra* would no longer be required if the above-mentioned *vārttika* were accepted, and that the *karman* status of words denoting time and space were extended. But note also that the introduction of *dvitīyā* would thus be made by means of rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*. This, in turn, would cover only those instances where continuous connection with action was being expressed. Instances like

(*g*) *krośaṃ kuṭilā nadī* 'the river is crooked for the entire length of one mile'

cannot be covered, since what obtains here is a continuous connection between a word denoting time, and a word denoting quality (*guṇa*).

The same goes for continuous connection involving a word denoting *dravya* 'thing'. For this, rule 2.3.5 must be retained as formulated.

2.3.6 अपवर्गे तृतीया

apavarge tṛtīyā
/ *apavarge* 7/1 *tṛtīyā* 1/1/
(*kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge* #5)
apavarge gamyamāne kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati
A *tṛtīyā* occurs after stems denoting *kāla* or *adhvan* when both *atyantasaṃyoga* and *apavarga* 'accomplishment' are signified.

EXAMPLES:

māsenānuvāko' dhītaḥ 'he studied and accomplished the understanding of the *anuvāka* (a group of particular Vedic hymns) in one month'
saṃvatsareṇānuvāko' dhītaḥ 'he studied and accomplished the understanding of the *anuvāka* in one year'
krośenānuvāko' dhītaḥ 'he studied and accomplished the understanding of the *anuvāka* in two miles'
yojanenānuvāko' dhītaḥ 'he studied and accomplished the understanding of the *anuvāka* in nine miles'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā*, instead of *dvitīyā* made available by rule 2.3.5. It is constrained by an additional requirement of *apavarga* 'accomplishment'. Compare the following sentences:
(*a*) *māsam adhīto' nuvāhkaḥ* 'he read the *anuvāka* for a month'
(*b*) *māsenādhīto' nuvākaḥ* 'he read the *anuvāka* for a month and fully understood it'
Sentence (*a*) must retain *dvitīyā* after *māsa* if it is to denote that the person simply read the *anuvāka*, though he did not understand it. Sentence (*b*) uses *tṛtīyā* to make the accomplishment known.

2.3.7 सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये

saptamīpañcamyau kārakamadhye
/ *saptamīpañcamyau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kārakamadhye* 7/1 = *kārakayor madhyaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /
(*kālādhvanoḥ* #5)
kārakayor madhye yau kālādhvanau tābhyāṃ saptamīpañcamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ
A *saptami* seventh triplet of *sUP*' or *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of *sUP*' occurs after stems denoting *kāla* or *adhvan* when a span of time or distance between two *kāraka* is signified.

EXAMPLES:

> *adya bhuktvā devadatto dvyahe bhoktā* 'having eaten today, Devadatta will eat after two days'
> *adya bhuktvā devadatto dvyahād bhoktā* 'id.'
> *ihastho' yam iṣvāsaḥ krośe lakṣyaṃ viddhyati* 'sitting here, this archer pierces his target up to a distance of two miles'
> *ihastho' yam iṣvāsaḥ krośāl lakṣyaṃ viddhyati* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *saptamī* or *pañcamī* after an item which denotes time and space, providing they intervene between two *kāraka* 'participants in an action'. Consider the above examples, where the third and fourth illustrate the usages of *saptamī* and *pañcamī* respectively. In these sentences, the word *krośa* intervenes between two *kāraka*; it denotes the space between the archer (*iṣvāsaḥ*), who is the agent of *vyadh* 'to pierce', and his target (*lakṣya*), which is the object of *vyadh*.

The first two examples present some difficulty. They can possibly not meet the condition that the word denoting time should occur between two *kāraka*. These sentences have *bhuktvā*, which represents a prior action in relation to the subsequent action, again denoted by *bhuj* 'to consume'. This being the case, affix *Ktvā* has been introduced under the condition that the agent of the prior action, as well as that of the subsequent action, should be the same (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*). Devadatta is that same agent, and, consequently, the condition of having two participants is not met. In both sentences, *dvyahan*, a word denoting time, intervenes between the same participant.

Commentators explain that the word *kāraka* in 2.3.7 should not be interpreted as meaning *kāraka* per se. Instead, it should be interpreted to mean the power (*śakti*) of a *kāraka*. Thus, *devadatta* is the locus of the power which, in turn, qualifies him to become the agent. Since the power that brings about the action of consuming today is different from that which enables the agent to accomplish the action two days later, *dvyahan* can be treated as occurring between two participants.

2. Another problem of interpretation has been raised in connection with *saptamīpañcamyau*.... Commentators warn us against interpreting the introduction of *saptamī* and *pañcamī* in accordance with the rule of *yathāsaṃkhya* (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*). In other words, one should not introduce *saptamī* after items denoting *kāla*, and should not introduce *pañcami* after items denoting *adhvan*. This is based on the understanding that *kāla* and *adhvan* have been enumerated in a set in a given order, to which another set constituted by *saptamī* and *pañcamī* corresponds. *Kāśikā* refers to rule 1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ*, and states that equivalencies based upon order of enumeration are assigned only where *svarita* 'circumflex accent' is intended. Rule 2.3.7 lacks this intended *svarita*.

2.3.8 कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया

karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā
/ *karmapravacanīyayukte* 7/1 = *karmapravacanīyair yuktaḥ* (*tr. tat.*), *tasmin*; *dvitīyā* 1/1/
karmapravacanīyair yukte dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati
A *dvitīyā* occurs after a nominal stem used in conjunction with a *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.83 *karma...*).

EXAMPLES:

śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat 'it rained after the chanting of the *saṃhitā* of Śākalya'
āgastyam anv asiñcat prajāḥ 'it rained over the people after chanting of the *saṃhitā* of Agastya'

1. The word *anu* is termed *karmapravacanīya* by rule 1.4.84 *anur lakṣaṇe*, when it is used in the sense of *lakṣaṇa* 'mark, symbol'. In the first example, *śākalyasya saṃhitām anu prāvarṣat*, *anu* is used as a mark for the rain to follow the chanting.

2.3.9 यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी

yasmād adhikaṃ yasya ceśvaravacanaṃ tatra saptamī
/ *yasmād* 5/1 *adhikam* 5/1 *yasya* 6/1 *ca*Ø *īśvaravacanam* 1/1 *tatra* Ø *saptamī* 1/1/
(*karmapravacanīyayukte* #8)
yasmād adhikaṃ yasya ceśvaravacanaṃ karmapravacanīyair yukte tatra saptamī vibhaktir bhavati
A *saptamī* occurs after that which is conjoined with a *karmapravacanīya* and which refers, either to a thing (e.g., *khāri*) than which something else (e.g., *droṇa*) is greater, or to a people whose lordship is being expressed.

EXAMPLES:

upa khāryāṃ droṇaḥ 'a *droṇa* is more than a *khāri*'
upa niṣke kārṣāpaṇam 'a *kārṣāpaṇa* is more than a *niṣka*'
adhi pañcāleṣu brahmadattaḥ 'Brahmadatta rules over the Pañcālas'

1. This rule introduces *saptamī*, as opposed to *dvitīyā*, after a nominal stem which cooccurs with a *karmapravacanīya*, and which denotes either something more than its denotatum, or its lordly position or ownership (*īśvaravacanatā*). Note that the term *īśvaravacana* is interpreted here in two ways, based upon the fact that lordship or ownership are relative notions. That is, both the thing owned (*svam*) and the owner (*svāmin*) are mutually expectant. Thus, an item denoting something owned can also be used, with

saptamī, as an item denoting the owner. Such an item is most obviously provided for by this rule.

The following sentences exemplify this point:

(*a*) *adhi brahmadatte pañcālāḥ*

(*b*) *adhi pañcāleṣu brahmadattaḥ*

Here, the *saptamī* is to be used in turn (*paryāya*), and not simultaneously (*yugapad*) after both items. Both denote a thing owned, or the owner; and, of course, both cooccur with a *karmapravacanīya*. This rule, as indicated earlier, forms an exception to *dvitīyā* introduced by the preceding rule.

Items cooccurring with a *karmapravacanīya*, where *saptamī* is required, and where there is to be denoted something more than the denotatum of the items concerned, present no problem. Thus, in the example

upakhāryāṃ droṇaḥ

the measure of weight called *droṇa* is described as more than another measure of weight, called *khāri*. In this case, *khāri* is to be put in *saptamī*, as it occurs with *upa* (a *karmapravacanīya*; 1.4.87 *upo' dhike ca*) and it denotes a measure of weight compared with which *droṇa* is greater.

2.3.10 **पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः**

pañcamy apāṅparibhiḥ

/ ***pañcamy*** **1/1** ***apāṅparibhiḥ*** **3/1** (*itar.dv.*)/

(***karmapravacanīyayukte*** **# 8**)

'apa, āṅ, pari' ity etaiḥ karmapravacanīyair yoge pañcamī vibhaktir bhvati

A *pancamī* occurs after an item in conjunction with the *karma-pravacanīya apa*, *āṄ*, or *pari*.

EXAMPLES:

apa trigarttebhyo *vṛṣṭo* ***devaḥ*** 'it rained up to, though excluding, Trigartta'

ā pāṭaliputrād *vṛṣṭo* ***devaḥ*** 'it rained up to Pāṭaliputra'

pari pari trigarttebhyo *vṛṣṭo* ***devaḥ*** 'it rained around Trigartta'

1. The *karmapravacanīya* designation of *apa* and *pari* is allowed by rule 1.4.88 ***apaparī varjane***. Rule 1.4.89 ***āṅ maryādāvacane*** assigns the term ***karma-pravacanīya*** to *āṄ*. Since these term-assignments are constrained by specific semantic conditions, one ought to consult these rules when interpreting the examples.

2.3.11 **प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात्**

pratinidhipratidāne ca yasmāt

/ *pratinidhipratidāne* 1/2 (*itar.dv.*) *ca* Ø *yasmāt* 5/1/

(*pañcamī* # 10, ***karmapravacanīyayukte*** # 8)

yasmāt pratinidhir yataś ca pratidānaṃ tatra karmapravacanīyayukte pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati

A *pañcamī* also occurs after that which is both conjoined with a *karmapravacanīya* and either serves as one for whom someone else is a substitute (*pratinidhi*), or denotes a thing for which something else is given in exchange (*pratidāna*).

EXAMPLES:

abhimanyur arjunataḥ prati 'Abhimanyu is the substitute for Arjuna'
pradyumno vāsudevataḥ prati 'Pradyumna is the substitute for Vāsudeva'
māṣān asmai tilebhyaḥ prati yacchati 'he is giving him the Mung beans in exchange for the sesame'

1. This rule introduces *pañcamī* after a nominal stem which cooccurs with a *karmapravacanīya*, under the condition that either *pratinidhi* 'substitute', or *pratidāna* 'thing for which something else is given in exchange', is being denoted. In the examples cited, Arjuna, for whom Abhimanyu serves as a substitute, cooccurs with *prati*, a *karmapravacanīya* demanding *pañcamī*. Similarly, *tila* is used with *pañcamī*, as *māṣa* are given in return for them.

2.3.12 **गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि**

gatyarthakarmaṇi dvitīyācaturthyau ceṣṭāyām anadhvani
/ *gatyarthakarmaṇi* 7/1 = *gatir artho yeṣāṃ te* = *gatyarthāḥ* (*bv.*), *gatyarthānāṃ karma* = *gatyarthakarma* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with internal *bv.*) *dvitīyācaturthyau* 1/2 *ceṣṭāyām* 7/1 *anadhvani* 7/1/
(*anabhihite* #1)
gatyarthānāṃ dhātūnāṃ ceṣṭākriyāṇāṃ (*parispandanakriyāṇām*) *karmaṇi kārake' dhvavarjite dvitīyācaturthyau bhavataḥ*
Either *dvitīyā* or *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of *sUP*' occurs to express the object of a verb of movement (*gati*), provided that the object is not expressed otherwise, that it is not *adhvan*, and that the action involves actual movement (*ceṣṭā*).

EXAMPLES:

grāmaṃ gacchati 'he goes to the village'
grāmāya gacchati 'id.'
grāmaṃ vrajati 'id.'
grāmāya vrajati 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *dvitīyā* and *caturthī*, after a nominal stem, to express the *karman* of an action denoted by a root having the signification of *gati* 'going', providing
(*i*) the *karman* is not characterized by *adhvan* 'road', and
(*ii*) the action entails *ceṣṭā* 'physical effort'.

Note that this optional introduction of *dvitīyā* and *caturthī* is made in the context of an action and object which are both special. Thus, action must be denoted by a root having the signification of *gati*. This will allow the first two examples given above. It will not, however, allow of a sentence like:

(*a*) *odanaṃ pacati*

Here, the action denoted by *pac* 'to cook' does not signify *gati* 'going'. The act of going must also involve physical effort (*ceṣṭā*) so that a sentence such as

(*b*) *manasā pāṭaliputraṃ gacchati* 'he is mentally going to Pāṭaliputra'

can be excluded from the scope of this *sūtra*. Finally, the action does not necessarily have to be denoted by *gam* 'to go'. Any one of the synonyms of *gam* can denote the action. As a result, the action denoted by the verbal root *gam* in the preceding sentences can also be denoted by *vraj* 'to wander'. Thus we get the following sentences:

(*c*) *grāmaṃ vrajati*

(*d*) *grāmāya vrajati*

(*e*) *manasā pāṭaliputraṃ vrajati*

Note that the object, like the action, is also constrained. For example, it cannot be identified as *adhvan* 'road', or a word synonymous with it. This would exclude such sentences as

(*f*) *panthānaṃ gacchati*

(*g*) *pathe gacchati*

Two questions arise in this connection: how do we know that the excluded object is not only *adhvan* but also its synonym? And what forms the basis for excluding sentence (*g*) from the scope of this rule?

The first question is raised because 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya...* demands that a word cited in this grammar must denote its form only. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś* II: 165) explains that, since *anadhvan* 'non-*adhvan*' is used with *saptamī*, and is construed as a modifier to *karman* (also in *saptamī*), Pāṇini's specification by means of *anadhvani* is basically semantic. Besides, the form of the word *adhvan* cannot serve as an object here. Only what is denoted by the form can participate as an object (*saptamīnirdeśe hy anadhvani karmaṇīty anvayaḥ. nānadhvanaḥ prakṛter ity artha eva karma nādhvaśabdaḥ; tenādhvaparyāye' pi caturthī vaktavyā*). Furthermore, if Pāṇini intended *adhvan* to denote its form only, he would have put it in the nominative.

Commentators explain that sentence (*g*) is excluded from the scope of this rule because of semantic restriction. That is, when someone is already on the road and is traversing (*āsthita*) it, an object signified by *adhvan* or its synonym will not be allowed by this rule to be used with *caturthī*. When, for example, someone is lost and wishes to approach the right road from the wrong, the use of *caturthī* is correct. Thus, sentence

(*g*) entails an object which is denoted as the road to be approached, and not that already being traversed. (*Kāś* II: 165: *āsthitapratiṣedhaś ceyaṃ vijñyeyaḥ. āsthitaḥ = saṃprāptaḥ, ākrānta ucyate. yatra tu utpathena panthānaṃ gacchati, tatra bhavitavyam eva caturthyā: pathe gacchati*). Note that to disallow *caturthī*, in accordance with the semantic constraint just explained, does not mean the disallowing of *dvitīyā*, which will in any event be ruled by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*.

2. A question is raised as to why *dvitīyā* is to be expressly mentioned in this rule, when it could easily have been carried from 2.3.2. If the intent was to introduce *caturthī* as an optional form to *dvitīyā*, the rule should simply have been formulated as *gatyarthakarmaṇi caturthī vā* 'optionally *caturthī* when the object of an action signifying '*gati*' is to be denoted'. Actually, *dvitīyā* is expressly mentioned to allow the blocking of a rule which could prevent the use of *dvitīyā* as an exception. To block the rule which blocks *dvitīyā* (*bādhakabādhana*) is, therefore, the purpose of explicitly mentioning *dvitīyā*.

Kāśikā cites two examples:

(*h*) *grāmaṃ gantā* 'goer of the village'

(*i*) *grāmāya gantā* 'id.'

In example (*h*), *dvitīyā* is introduced by this rule to denote object. Rule 2.3.2 cannot introduce *dvitīyā* after *grāma* in (*h*), because *grāma* is co-occurring with *gantā*, a *kṛt*-derivate (3.4.67 *karttari kṛt*) ending in *tṛC* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*). Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* allows the introduction of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' to denote the object in such instances. Thus, sentence (*h*) should be read as

(*j*) *grāmasya gantā*

Here, rule 2.3.12 disallows the application of 2.3.65 which, in turn, blocks 2.3.2. This *bādhyabādhakabhāva* can also be explained as the optional blocking of *dvitīyā* by *caturthī* in this rule, versus the blocking of 2.3.2 by 2.3.65.

3. A question is further raised in connection with the use of *gatyarthakarmaṇi*. Why did not Pāṇini simply use *gatikarmaṇi* 'when the object of an action denoted by a root signifying *gati* is to be expressed'? By using *gatyarthakarmaṇi*, Pāṇini wishes to indicate that rule 2.3.12 does not apply where *gati* may be the meaning of an action entailing physical effort only through the association of something else. Thus, in a sentence such as

(*k*) *striyaṃ gacchati* 'he is fornicating with the woman'

gati, entailing physical effort, is not the direct meaning of the verbal root *gam*. One gets this meaning only through the association of the word *strī* 'woman'.

2.3.13 चतुर्थी सम्प्रदाने

caturthī sampradāne

/ *caturthī* 1/1 *sampradāne* 7/1/

(*anabhihite* #1)
sampradāne kārake caturthī vibhaktir bhavati
A *caturthī* occurs to express *sampradāna* when it is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti 'he gives a cow to the teacher'
māṇavakāya bhikṣāṃ dadāti 'he gives alms to the boy'
devadattāya rocate 'it is pleasing to Devadatta'
puṣpebhyaḥ spṛhayati 'he longs for the flowers'

1. This rule introduces *caturthī* to denote *sampradāna* 'dative'. The assignment of the term *sampradāna* in the first two examples, *upādhyāyāya gāṃ dadāti* and *māṇavakāya bhikṣāṃ dadāti*, has been made by 1.4.32 *karmaṇā yam abhipraiti sa sampradānam*. Rules 1.4.33 *rucyarthānāṃ prīyamāṇaḥ* and 1.4.37 *spṛher īpsitaḥ* assign the term *sampradāna* in the last two examples, *devadattāya rocate* and *puṣpebhyaḥ spṛhayati*, respectively.

2.3.14 **क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः**

kriyārthopapadasya ca karmaṇi sthāninaḥ
/ *kriyārthopapadasya* 6/1 = *kriyārthā kriyā upapadaṃ yasya* (*dhātuḥ*) (*bv.* with final *pada* deleted), *tasya*; *ca* Ø *karmaṇi* 7/1 *sthāninaḥ* 6/1/
(*caturthī* #13, *anabhihite* #1)
kriyārthopapadasya ca sthānino' prayujyamānasya dhātoḥ karmaṇi kārake caturthī vibhaktir bhavati
A *caturthī* occurs to express the object of a verb which, though not actually used in a sentence, denotes an action for which another (expressed) action is intended, provided also that such an object is not otherwise expressed.

EXAMPLES:

edhebhyo vrajati 'he is going in order to bring some firewood'
puṣpebhyo vrajati 'he is going in order to bring some flowers'

1. This rule introduces *caturthī* to denote the object of an action, denoted by a root, conjoined with another root which denotes an action intended for the former, providing this intended action is not explicitly stated. Consider the following sentence:

(*a*) *puṣpāṇy āhartuṃ vrajati* 'he is going to fetch flowers'

The action here is denoted by *vraj* 'to go', and is intended for the implied action of fetching (*āhartum*) flowers. Rule 2.3.13 cannot introduce *caturthī* to denote the object of *āhṛ* 'to fetch', because the sense of the action denoted by it is explicitly stated in the sentence by *āhartum*, a form ending in *tumUN* (3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ*...). Here, 2.3.2 introduces *dvitīyā* after *puṣpa* 'flower' to denote the object. But consider

(*b*) *puṣpebhyo vrajati* 'id.'
where the object is being expressed by *caturthī*, as the action denoted by *āhṛ* is not explicitly stated in the sentence, and where *vraj* denotes an action intended for it.

2. The term *upapada* 'conjoined, cooccurring *pada*' has been defined by 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham* 'that which has been referred to by *saptamī* in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* is an *upapada*'. The expression *kriyārthopapadasya* of this rule thus refers to rule 3.3.10 *tumunṇvulau kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyām*, where the words *kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyām* end in locative and specify an *upapada*.

A question may be raised here about Pāṇini's use of *kriyārthopapadasya*. Why did he use it to introduce *caturthī*, when he could easily have introduced *caturthī* by 2.3.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha...*? The reason is obvious. The *caturthī* introduced by this rule must denote the object of an action denoted by a form ending in *tumUN*, though not explicitly stated in the sentence. Consider the example

(*c*) *praviśa (gṛhaṃ) piṇḍīṃ (bhakṣaya)* 'enter the house and eat rice-balls'

where the action of entering the house is intended for the purpose of eating rice-balls. But since *bhakṣaya* is a form ending in *LOṬ*, and not in *tumUN*, we cannot get the form of

(*d*) *praviśa piṇḍyai*

That is, we cannot use *caturthī* after *piṇḍī* by this rule, even if we delete *bhakṣaya* from the sentence. Moreover, a form ending in *LOṬ* cannot denote *kriyārthopapada*, as *LOṬ* is not introduced in that sense.

3. The word *sthānin* is also used, traditionally, to denote that which is not explicitly stated but implicitly assumed (*PM* ad *Kāś* II: 168: *yatra gamyate cārtho na ca prayujyate śabdaḥ sa sthānī* 'a *sthānin* is also that whose meaning is comprehended though the word is not used'). This is, of course, a practice in the Pāṇinian parlance.

2.3.15 **तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात्**

tumarthāc ca bhāvavacanāt

/ *tumarthāt* 5/1 = *tumunaḥ artha ivārtha yasya sa tumarthaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt ca* Ø *bhāvavacanāt* 5/1 =*bhāvasya vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt* /

(*kriyārthopapadasya ca karmaṇi sthāninaḥ* #14, *caturthī* #13, *anabhihite* #1)

tumarthabhāvavacanapratyayāntāt prātipadikāc caturthī vibhaktir bhavati

A *caturthī* occurs after a nominal stem which terminates in an affix that denotes action and is synonymous with *tumuN*.

EXAMPLES:

pākāya vrajati 'he is going to do the cooking'

tyāgāya vrajati 'he is going to abandon'
bhūtaye vrajati 'he is going for prosperity'
sampattaye vrajati 'he is going for wealth'

1. This rule introduces *caturthī* after a nominal stem which ends in an affix denoting action (*bhāva*), similar to the denotatum of *tumUN*.

By the expression *bhāvavacanāt*, Pāṇini refers to rules of the domain of 3.3.18 *bhāve*. His use of the word *tumarthaḥ* 'similar to the meaning of *tumUN*' refers to rule 3.3.11 *bhāvavacanāś ca*, whereby suffixes such as *GHaÑ* are introduced under the condition of a future action intended by another action. According to rule 2.3.15, *caturthī* should be introduced after a stem ending in the suffix introduced by 3.3.11.

Once again, one may ask why *caturthī* cannot be introduced by 2.3.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha*.... The answer is that, in an example like the first, (*pākāya vrajati*), the sense of 'for the purpose of that...' would already be expressed by the suffix *GHaÑ* of *pāka* 'cooking'. This being the case, *caturthī* cannot be introduced by 2.3.36. Furthermore, only *prathamā* 'nominative' can be introduced after *pāka* to denote its nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*). To remove this difficulty, we must have rule 2.3.15 to introduce *caturthī*.

Note also that *bhāvavacanāt* requires that the stem after which *caturthī* is to be introduced should denote *bhāva*. Consequently, *caturthī* cannot be introduced, for example, after *kāraka* of *kārako vrajati* 'the one who will do is going'. Here, affix *ṆvuL* in *kāraka* is denoting *kartṛ* 'agent'. Besides, according to this rule, *tādarthya* is related to the meaning of the root and not to that of the agent.

Another question has also been the subject of discussion. Why cannot *kriyārthopapadasya* be carried from the earlier rule, and be used as a qualifier to *bhāvavacanāt*? If this were done, *tumartha* would not be required to be stated. The fact that *kriyārthopapadasya* ends in the genitive, and *bhāvavacanāt* in the ablative, should pose no problem, since the genitive of *kriyārthopapadasya* can be changed to ablative so that it can serve as a qualifier to *bhāvavacanāt*. However, *kriyārthopapada* could only serve as a qualifier to the root, and not to a form ending in an affix denoting *bhāva*, similar to *tumUN*; therefore *tumartha* must be stated in this rule. Note that *kriyārthopapada* refers to a root denoting future action intended by another action.

2.3.16 **नमःस्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधालंवषड्योगाच्च**

namaḥsvastisvāhāsvadhālaṃvaṣaḍyogāc ca
/ *namaḥ...yogāt* 5/1 = *namaś ca svasti ca svāhā ca svadhā ca alaṃ ca vaṣaṭ ca* = *namaḥ...vaṣaṭ* (*dv.*), *tair yogaḥ* = *namaḥ...yogaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with internal *dv.*), *tasmāt ca* Ø/
(*caturthī* #13)

'namaḥ, svasti, svāhā, svadhā, alaṃ, vaṣaṭ' ity etair yoge caturthī vibhaktir bhavati

A *caturthī* occurs after items in conjunction with *namas* 'obeisance'; *svasti* 'well-being'; *svāhā*, *svadhā*, and *vaṣaṭ* 'calls symbolizing obeisance accompanied by ritual oblation'; or *alam* 'enough, equal to'.

EXAMPLES:

namo devebhyaḥ 'our obeisance to the gods'
svasti prajābhyaḥ 'our blessings for the children'
svāhā' gnaye 'our obeisance to Agni'
svadhā pitṛbhyaḥ 'ritual oblations for our forefathers'
alaṃ mallo mallāya 'this wrestler is equal to the other one'
vaṣaḍ indrāya 'ritual oblations for Indra'

1. This *sūtra* introduces *caturthī* after a nominal stem which is used in conjunction with *namas*, etc. The word *yoga* (as in *yoge* of this rule) is derived from *yuj* 'to join, yoke' used with the suffix *GHaÑ* to denote *karman* 'object'. This being the case, *caturthī* is to be introduced after a stem which is used in conjunction with *namas*, etc. All the stems enumerated in this *sūtra* are indeclinables (*avyaya*).

2. The use of the word *ca* in this rule is also significant. Normally, *ca* is used to gather something which is not already stated (*anuktasamuccaya*). But there is nothing additional here that needs to be gathered. Hence, the *ca*, according to the commentators, is for the reassignment (*punarvidhāna*) of *caturthī*. The sense of *ca* here is thus *eva* 'only'. That is, *caturthī* alone should be used in accordance with the specifications of this rule. For example, rule 2.3.73 *caturthī cāśiṣi...* introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* when benediction (*āśīḥ*) is being denoted. That is, in a sentence, such as:

(*a*) *svasti gobhyo bhūyāt* 'may the cows be happy'

one would expect *ṣaṣṭhī* after *go* 'cow'. But, because of the use of *ca* in the present rule, *caturthī* alone can be used.

3. It is claimed by *upapadavibhakteḥ kārakavibhaktir balīyasī* (cf. *paribhāṣā* 103 of Nāgeśa's *Paribhāṣenduśekhara*) that a rule which introduces a *vibhakti*, with reference to a *kāraka*, is more powerful than a rule which introduces it with reference to a conjoined (*upa*) *pada*. The *caturthī* here is introduced under the condition of conjoined *pada* such as *namaḥ*, etc. Whenever there is a conflict between a rule introducing a *vibhakti* with reference to a *kāraka* and another rule introducing a *vibhakti* with reference to a conjoined *pada*, the rule which introduces the *vibhakti* with reference to a *kāraka* prevails. Consider the following sentence:

(*b*) *namasyati devān* 'he is bowing down to the gods'

The word *deva* 'god' is used here with *dvitīyā*, by rule 2.3.2, with reference

to *karman*. Thus, *dvitīyā* is a *kāraka-vibhakti*. A *caturthī* introduced by this rule will be blocked because it is conditioned by the conjoined *pada*: *namas*. Thus,

(*c*) **namasyati devāya* 'id.'

will not be permitted.

2.3.17 मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु

manyakarmaṇy anādare vibhāṣā' prāṇiṣu
| manyakarmaṇi 7/1 = *manyateḥ karma* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin; anādare* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *aprāṇiṣu* 7/1/
(*caturthī* #13, *anabhihite* #1)
manyakarmaṇi prāṇivarjite vibhāṣā caturthī vibhaktir bhavati anādare gamyamāne

A *caturthī* optionally occurs to express the object of *manĀ* 'to consider, treat' provided that such an object is not expressed otherwise, that it does not denote *prāṇin* 'living being', and that disrespect is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

na tvā tṛṇaṃ manye 'I do not consider you so much as even a blade of grass'
na tvā tṛṇāya manye 'id.'
na tvā busaṃ manye 'I do not consider you as even chaff'
na tvā busāya manye 'id.'

1. This rule optionally introduces *caturthī* to denote a non-living (*aprāṇin*) object of *manĀ*, when *anādara* 'disrespect' is being denoted. Obviously, when the option of denoting such an object by *caturthī* is not taken, *dvitīyā* will be introduced by 2.3.2.

Consider the second of the above examples (*na tvā tṛṇāya manye*). Why is not *yuṣmad* 'you', as the object of *man* 'to treat', put in *caturthī*? First of all, *yuṣmad* denotes a living being. Secondly, the *karman* should also denote disrespect; and in the example, it is not the person, but the straw, which is associated with disrespect.

2. How are we to know which *manĀ* is intended by the rule? The *manĀ* of the root-class *tanādi* '*tanŪ*, etc.', or that of the class of *divādi* '*div*, etc.'? The *manĀ* in this rule must refer to the root of the *tanādi* class, as Pāṇini makes the reference by using *manya* (*man* used with the augment *ŚyaN* of the *tanādi* class).

2.3.18 कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया

kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā
| kartṛkaraṇayoḥ 7/2 *tṛtīyā* 1/1/
(*anabhihite* #1)

karttari karaṇe ca kārake tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati
A *tṛtīyā* occurs to express *kartṛ* and *karaṇa* when they are not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

devadattena kṛtam 'made by Devadatta'
yajñadattena bhuktam 'eaten by Yajñadatta'
dātreṇa lunāti 'he is cutting with a sickle'
paraśunā chinatti 'he is cutting with an ax'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* to denote *kartṛ* and *karaṇa* 'instrument'. For details of the assignment of these terms, refer to 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ karttā* and 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*, respectively.

2.3.19 सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने

sahayukte' pradhāne
/ *sahayukte* 7/1 *apradhāne* 7/1/
(*tṛtīyā* #18)
sahārthena yukte' pradhāne tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati
A *tṛtīyā* occurs after stems which denote *apradhāna* 'secondary' and are used in conjunction with *saha* 'with' or its synonyms.

EXAMPLES:

putreṇa sahāgataḥ pitā 'the father came with the son'
putreṇa saha gomān pitā 'the father is going with the son'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* after a nominal stem which denotes non-principal (*apradhāna*), and is used in conjunction with an item having the signification of *saha*.

Paṇini could have formulated the rule as *sahena apradhāne*. That is, *yukte* could have been left out, being accounted for by *sahena* 'with *saha*' That way, this rule-formulation would have been similar to 2.3.32 *pṛthag-vinā-nānābhis*.... Pāṇini, however, did not formulate the rule following the pattern of 2.3.32. He did not do so because, by using *yukte*, he wanted to indicate that *saha* represented not only itself, but also its synonyms, such as *sākam*, *sārdham*, and so on.

2. The status *pradhāna* 'principal' or *apradhāna* 'non- principal' should be decided on the basis of direct or indirect relatability with action. Consider the first example, *putreṇa sahāgataḥ pitā*, where both father and son, since they come together, are relatable to the action of coming. Of the two, the father is principal because he can be directly related to the action. The son can be related to the action only indirectly, through accompaniment (*sāhitya*). Or, to put it differently, the idea of the son's relatability to the action comes through interpretation (*artha*). As opposed

to this, the father's relatability to the action is direct: it comes directly from the form (*śabda*). Needless to say, relatability based only upon interpretation is non-principal.

3. Commentators indicate that when the sense of accompaniment is understood, as opposed to being explicitly stated by means of *saha* or one of its synonyms, *tṛtīyā* could still be used. Pāṇini himself has used it in rule 1.2.65 *vṛddho yūnā tallakṣaṇaś ced eva viśeṣaḥ*, where *yuvan* is used in *tṛtīyā* without the use of *saha*.

2.3.20 **येनाङ्गविकारः**

> *yenāṅgavikāraḥ*
> / *yena* 3/1 *aṅgavikāraḥ* 1/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) /
> (*tṛtīyā* #18)
> *yenāṅgena vikṛtenāṅgino vikāro lakṣyate tatas tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*
> A *tṛtīyā* occurs after a stem which denotes an *aṅga* 'limb' which is marked by deformity.

EXAMPLES:

> *akṣṇā kāṇaḥ* 'deformed by (the loss of) an eye'
> *pādena khañjaḥ* 'deformed by (the loss of) a foot'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* after a nominal stem which denotes *aṅga* 'part, limb' and marks a deformity (*vikāra*) of the *aṅgin* 'whole, body'. The *aṅgin* is here denoted by an *aṅga*, a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) derivative, where affix *aC* is introduced after *aṅga* 'part' by 5.2.126 *arśādibhyo...* to denote the sense of *matUP* (4.2.67 *tad asminn astīti...*). The derived form is still an *aṅga*. The part itself is referred to by the variable *yena* 'that by which...'.

Why should we have the condition that a deformed part should denote the deformity of its whole? Where the deformity of the part itself is to be denoted, *tṛtīyā* cannot be used. Compare the two sentences below, for example:

(*a*) *akṣi kāṇam asya* 'he has but one eye'
(*b*) *akṣṇā kāṇaḥ* 'he is but one-eyed'

2.3.21 **इत्थम्भूतलक्षणे**

> *itthaṃbhūtalakṣaṇe*
> / *itthaṃbhūtalakṣaṇe* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /
> (*tṛtīyā* #18)
> *kaṃcit prakāraḥ prāptaḥ itthaṃbhūtaḥ, tasya lakṣaṇam itthaṃbhūta-lakṣaṇam, tatas tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati*
> A *tṛtīyā* occurs after a stem when 'the state just reached' is marked.

EXAMPLES:

api bhavān kamaṇḍalunā chātram adrākṣīt 'did you see a student with a *kamaṇḍalu*'
api bhavān śikhayā parivrājakam adrākṣīt 'did you see a wandering ascetic with a top (*śikhā*)'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* after a nominal stem which stands for a characteristic mark (*lakṣaṇa*) distinguishing the particular (*prakāra*) from the general. The word *itthaṃbhūta* is derived by introducing affix *thamU* (5.3.24 *idamas thamuḥ*) after *idam* 'this' to denote *prakāra* 'particular' (as distinguished from 'general'). The word *bhūta* of *itthaṃbhūta* is explained as *prāpta* 'reached, obtained'. Thus, if a word serves as a characteristic mark distinguishing the particular from the general, *tṛtīyā* should be used.

For example, consider

(*a*) *jaṭābhis tāpasaḥ* 'he is an ascetic, as marked by his matted hair'

Here, *jaṭā* 'matted hair' serves as a mark distinguishing him as an ascetic, a particular kind of man, from other men in general. Refer to my notes under 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthaṃbhūtākhyāna...* for additional details.

2.3.22 **संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि**

saṃjño' nyatarasyāṃ karmaṇi
/ *saṃjñaḥ* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1/
(*tṛtīyā* #18, *anabhihite* #1)
saṃpūrvasya jānāteḥ karmaṇi kārake anyatarasyāṃ tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati
A *tṛtīyā* optionally occurs to express the object of *jñā* 'to know', used with the preverb *sam*, when the same is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

pitrā saṃjānīte 'he recognizes his father'
pitaraṃ saṃjānīte 'id.'
mātrā saṃjānīte 'he recognizes his mother'
mātaraṃ saṃjānīte 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā*, as an option to *dvitīyā* of 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, to denote the object of *jñā* 'to know, understand, recognize', used with the preverb *sam*.

Note that 1.4.43 *saṃpratibhyām anādhyāne* introduces *ātmanepada* 'middle' after *saṃjñā*, a replacement for *LA*, under the condition that *ādhyāna* 'wistful remembrance; to miss' is not denoted. Consider the first two examples above. These sentences do not denote *ādhyāna*. If that were

the case, *parasmaipada* 'active' endings would have been introduced after the verb, to yield:

(*a*) *pitrā saṃjānāti* 'he misses his father'

(*b*) *pitaraṃ saṃjānāti* 'id.'

But there is a further complication in connection with this. Rule 2.3.52 *adhīgarthadayeṣāṃ karmaṇi* introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' to express the *karman* of, among other things, an action denoted by a verbal root which has the signification of *adhi-iK* 'to remember'. Thus, in (*a*) and (*b*), we would be required to use *ṣaṣṭhī* in place of *dvitīyā* or *tṛtīyā*. The sentence would thus read:

(*c*) *pituḥ saṃjānāti*

Obviously, a situation of conflict obtains between 2.3.22 and 2.3.52. Rule 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* will thus be invoked to resolve the conflict in favor of the introduction of *ṣaṣṭhī* by 2.3.52.

Note further that, irrespective of whether or not *ādhyāna* is expressed, a *karman* in connection with a form which ends in a *kṛt* affix will be denoted by *ṣaṣṭhī* as required by rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*. Again, 1.4.2 will resolve the conflict in favor of 2.3.65, the subsequent rule. A sentence such as

(*d*) *mātuḥ saṃjātā* 'the mother was remembered'

would come under the scope of 2.3.65.

2.3.23 हेतौ

hetau
/ *hetau* 7/1/
(*tṛtīyā* #18)
hetuvācinas tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati
A *tṛtīyā* occurs after a stem which denotes *hetu* 'cause'.

EXAMPLES:

dhanena kulam 'a clan prospers by wealth'
kanyayā śokaḥ 'grief comes by having a daughter'
vidyayā yaśaḥ 'fame comes by knowledge'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* to express *hetu* 'cause'. The word *hetu* in this rule is not to be confused with the technical term *hetu* defined by rule 1.4.55 *tatprayojako hetuś ca* 'the causal agent of *kartṛ* is additionally termed *hetu*'. The *hetu* of this rule is the non-technical word of popular (*laukika*) usage which denotes 'cause'. This rule would become useless if *hetu* were to be interpreted here as technical, for 2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā* could then easily account for *tṛtīyā*. *Kāśikā* explains the non-technical *hetu* as 'that which is capable of bringing about results' (*phalasādhanayogyaḥ*

padārtho loke hetur ucyate). However, this can also be said of *karaṇa* 'instrument', as defined by rule 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*: '*karaṇa* is that which participates in an action as the most effective means'.

Compare Bhartṛhari (*VP* III: 25–26, 138–141):

> *dravyādiviṣayo hetuḥ karaṇaṃ niyatakriyam /*
> *karttā kartrantarāpekṣaḥ kriyāyāṃ hetur iṣyate//*
> 'substance (*dravya*) forms the scope of *hetu* 'cause', as opposed to a *kāraka* 'participant', which is restricted to action (*kriyā*). An agent depending upon another agent to accomplish an action is also called *hetu*'
> *kriyāyai karaṇaṃ tasya dṛṣṭaḥ pratinidhis tathā /*
> *hetvarthā tu kriyā tasmān na sa pratinidhīyate //*
> '*karaṇa* is for the sake of action and it is seen substituted. Since action is dependent upon *hetu*, *hetu* cannot be substituted'

The above two *kārikā* of Bhartṛhari view *hetu* as the cause or purpose of an action, as opposed to *karaṇa* which is a participant in an action. Instrument is thus dependent upon action which, in turn, is dependent upon *hetu*. A *karaṇa* is to be designated by an action, and is to be brought to participate by an agent. When the designated means is not available for use in accomplishing the action, another means can serve as a substitute. A *karaṇa* can, therefore, be substituted. However, this is not true of *hetu*.

Bhartṛhari also recognizes another distinction between *karaṇa* and *hetu*. He regards *karaṇa* as dependent upon *vyāpāra*, intermediate action. Thus, if *paraśu* 'axe' is to serve as *karaṇa* for splitting wood, (denoted by *bhid* 'to split'), there must be some intermediate actions; such as raising the axe (*udyamana*), and bringing it down (*nipātana*). Such intermediate actions are not required for *hetu*.

2.3.24 अकर्त्तर्यृणे पञ्चमी

> *akarttary ṛṇe pañcamī*
> */ akarttari 7/1 ṛṇe 7/1 pañcamī 1/1/*
> (*hetau* #23)
> *kartṛvarjitaṃ yad ṛṇaṃ hetus tataḥ pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati*
> *A pañcamī* occurs after a stem which signifies *ṛṇa* 'debt' provided *ṛṇa* serves as a *hetu* other than *kartṛ* 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

> *śatād baddhaḥ* 'he was bound because of the debt of a hundred'
> *sahasrād baddhaḥ* 'he was bound because of the debt of a thousand'

1. This rule introduces *pañcamī* after a nominal stem standing for a debt (*ṛṇa*) and serving as *hetu*, though not as *kartṛ*. Note that a *ṛṇa* serving

as *hetu* can be termed *kartṛ* by rule 1.4.55 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*. Given the nature of rule 1.4.55, one can safely assume that an example for *hetu* termed *kartṛ* will be available only when a causal action is being denoted. For, *hetu* termed agent becomes the prompter agent of a causative sentence:

(*a*) *śatena adhamarṇaḥ uttamarṇena bandhitaḥ* 'the debtor was imprisoned by the creditor because of the debt of a hundred'

Here *śata*, the amount of debt, is a cause which is termed *hetu* because it serves as an instigator (*prayojaka*) for the *kartṛ*, (the creditor), to have the debtor imprisoned. It is clear that *śata*, a *hetu* termed *kartṛ*, cannot be used with *pañcamī* according to the present rule. In a non-causal sentence, however, *śata* (denoting a debt) can be put in *pañcamī*:

(*b*) *śatād baddhaḥ* 'he was imprisoned because of (the unpaid debt of) a hundred'.

2.3.25 **विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम्**

vibhāṣā guṇe' striyām
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *guṇe* 7/1 *astriyām* 7/1/
(*pañcamī* #24, *hetau* #23)
guṇe hetāv astrīliṅge vibhāṣā pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati
A pañcamī optionally occurs after a non-feminine stem which denotes *hetu* as well as *guṇa* 'quality'.

EXAMPLES:

jāḍyād baddhaḥ 'he was caught on account of his foolishness'
jāḍyena baddhaḥ 'id.'
pāṇḍityān muktaḥ 'he was freed on account of his wisdom'
pāṇḍityena muktaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule makes the *pañcamī* introduced by the preceding rule optional, on the condition that *hetu* denotes a quality (*guṇa*) and is not feminine. For instance, *jāḍya* 'foolishness', in the first of the above examples, is non-feminine and a quality, thus fulfilling the condition.

If the option of *pañcamī* is not taken, *tṛtīyā* can be used, as in the second example.

Note that if the word standing for *hetu* is feminine, or denotes anything other than a quality, *pañcamī* cannot be ruled. Thus:

(*a*) *buddhyā muktaḥ* 'he was saved because of his intelligence'
(*d*) *dhanena kulam* 'a family respected because of wealth'

2.3.26 **षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे**

ṣaṣṭhī hetuprayoge
/ *ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1 *hetuprayoge* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /
(*hetau* #23)

hetuśabdasya prayoge hetau dyotye ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem which denotes 'cause' when *hetu* itself is used in conjunction.

EXAMPLE:

annasya hetor vasati 'he lives here because of food'

1. Note that this rule requires a nominal stem to constitute the cause and also to cooccur with *hetu*. Thus, in a sentence such as the above example, *anna* represents the cause for which someone lives in a certain place. This stem is also used with *hetu*, thereby ensuring the use of *ṣaṣṭhī* after *anna*. The *ṣaṣṭhī* after the nominal stem *hetu* is introduced under the condition of coreferentiality (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with *anna*.

2.3.27 **सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च**

sarvanāmnas tṛtīyā ca
/ *sarvanāmnaḥ* 6/1 *tṛtīyā* 1/1 *ca* Ø /
(*ṣaṣṭhī hetuprayoge* #26, *hetu* #23)
sarvanāmno hetuśabdasya prayoge hetau dyotye tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati
A *tṛtīyā*, as well as *ṣaṣthī*, occurs after a pronominal stem which denotes 'cause' when *hetu* itself is used in conjunction.

EXAMPLES:

kasya hetor vasati 'what is the reason for his living here'
kena hetunā vasati 'id.'
yasya hetor vasati 'the reason he lives here...'
yena hetunā vasati 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā*, in addition to the *ṣaṣṭhī*, after a pronominal stem which is used with *hetu* itself, and of course when *hetu* is to be denoted. Consider the second of the examples, *kena hetunā vasati*, parallel to

(*a*) *kasya hetunā vasati* 'id.'

Here, the pronominal stem *kim* 'who, what' is used with *hetu*, in *tṛtīyā* and *ṣaṣṭhī* respectively. The *tṛtīyā* and *ṣaṣṭhī* after *hetu* are introduced under the condition of its coreferentiality with *kim*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 797) observes that practically any nominal ending can be seen as denoting *hetu* when a pronominal is used coreferentially with *hetu*, itself. Furthermore, the synonyms of *hetu*, such as *kāraṇa*, *nimitta*, *prayojana*, etc., can also be used in place of *hetu* in these sentences.

Consider the following sentences, where *nimitta* is used in the nominal endings *dvitīyā* through *saptamī*:

(*b*) *kiṃ nimittaṃ vasati*
(*c*) *kena nimittena vasati*

(*d*) *kasmai nimittāya vasati*
(*e*) *kasmān nimittād vasati*
(*f*) *kasya nimittasya vasati*
(*g*) *kasmin nimitte vasati*

2.3.28 **अपादाने पञ्चमी**

apādāne pañcamī
/ *apādāne* 7/1 *pañcamī* 1/1/
(*anabhihite* #1)
apādāne kārake pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati
A *pañcamī* occurs after a nominal stem when *apādāna* (1.4.24 *dhruvam...*) is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

gramād āgacchati 'he is coming from the village'
parvatād avarohati 'he is climbing down the mountain'
vṛkebhyo bibheti 'he is afraid of wolves'
adhyayanāt parājayate 'he is weary of studying'

1. This rule introduces *pañcamī* after a nominal stem to denote *apādāna* 'ablative' as defined by rules 1.4.24 through 1.4.31.

2.3.29 **अन्यारादितरर्त्तेदिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते**

anyārāditararttedikśabdāñcūttarapadājāhiyukte
/ *anyā...yukte* 7/1 = *anyaś ca ārāc ca itaraś ca ṛte ca dikśabdaś ca añcūttara-padaś ca āc ca āhi ca* = *anyārāditararttedikśabdāñcūttarapadājāhayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *taiḥ yuktaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmin* /
(*pañcamī* #28)
'anya, ārāt, itara, ṛte, dikśabda, añcūttarapada, āc, āhi' ity etair yoge pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati
A *pañcamī* occurs after stems in construction with the following:
anya 'other, different'
ārāt 'far, near'
itara 'the one other than'
ṛte 'without'
dikśabda 'a directional name'
añcūttarapada 'a directional name which has *añcU* 'bend' as its final member'
āC 'a stem terminating in affix *āC* (5.3.36 *dakṣiṇād...*)'
āhi 'a stem terminating in affix *āhi* (5.3.37 *āhi ca dūre*)'

EXAMPLES:

anyo devadattāt 'someone different from Devadatta'

bhinno devadattāt 'id.'
ārād devadattāt 'far from Devadatta'
ārād yajñadattāt 'near Yajñadatta'
itaro devadattāt 'someone other than Devadatta'
ṛte devadattāt 'without Devadatta'
pūrvo grāmāt parvataḥ 'the mountain is east of the village'
uttaro grīṣmo vasantāt 'summer comes after spring'
prāg grāmāt 'to the east of the village'
pratyag grāmāt 'to the west of the village'
dakṣiṇā grāmāt 'to the south of the village'
uttarā grāmāt 'to the north of the village'
dakṣiṇāhi grāmāt 'in the far south of the village'
uttarāhi grāmāt 'in the far north of the village'

1. This rule introduces *pañcamī* after a nominal stem used with *anya*, etc. The word *anya* 'other' is used to represent itself as well as its synonyms, such as *bhinna*, *itara*, etc. If this were accepted, why does Pāṇini use *itara* again in this rule? Bhaṭṭoji (*SK* I: 665) explains that the mention of *itara* in this rule is just for expatiation (*prapañca*). However, *Kāśikā* seems to make a finer distinction between the meanings of *anya* and *itara:* it explains *itara* as referring to someone in oppositional relation to someone else specified (*nirdiśyamānasya pratiyogī*). *Nyāsa* seems to agree with the *Kāśikā* when it gives the example:

(*a*) *devadattaḥ śūraḥ, itaraḥ kātaraḥ* 'Devadatta is brave, the other one is a coward'

which is meant to show that the referent of *itara* is a person in oppositional relation to Devadatta. But Haradatta observes that the interpretation of *Kāśikā* is questionable (*cintya*).

2. The word *ārāt* denotes *dūra* 'far' or *antika* 'near', and thus qualifies a stem used in connection with it to optionally choose *ṣaṣṭhī* instead of *pañcamī*.

3. The word *ṛte* is an indeclinable meaning 'without'.

4. The word *diś* is used in this rule with the word *śabda*, perhaps to indicate, thereby, that usages where *diś* 'direction' is used to denote location (*deśa*) or time (*kāla*) are also covered by this rule. Consider the following sentences:

(*b*) *pūrvo grāmāt parvataḥ* 'the mountain is before the village' and
(*c*) *pūrvo grīṣmād vasantaḥ* 'spring is prior to summer'

Here, *grāma* and *grīṣma*, used with *pūrva*, can qualify for *pañcamī* even though *pūrva*, a word denoting direction, is used to denote location and time.

2.3.30 षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन

ṣaṣṭhy atasarthapratyayena

/ *ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1 *atasarthapratyayena* 3/1 = *ataso' rthaḥ atasarthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *atasarthe pratyayaḥ* = *atasartha- pratyayaḥ* (*sap. tat.*), *tena* / *atasarthena pratyayena yukte ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem used in conjunction with a nominal stem terminated in an affix which has the sense of *atasUC* (5.3.28 *dakṣiṇottarābhyām...*).

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇato grāmasya 'in the south of the village'
uttarato grāmasya 'in the north of the village'
purastād grāmasya 'toward the east of the village'
upari grāmasya 'above the village'
upariṣṭād grāmasya 'id.'

2.3.31 एनपा द्वितीया

enapā dvitīyā
/ *enapā* 3/1 *dvitīyā* 1/1/
enapā yukte dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati

A *dvitīyā* occurs after a stem used in conjunction with another stem which ends in affix *enaP* (5.3.35 *enab...*).

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇena grāmam 'not far in the south of the village'
uttareṇa grāmam 'not far in the north of the village'

1. The word *enapā* refers to rule 5.3.35 *enab anyatarasyām adūre...*, whereby affix *enaP* is optionally introduced after *uttara* 'north, upper'; *adhara* 'lower, below'; and *dakṣiṇa* 'south, right', when what is denoted is not far (*dūra*). The sense of *enaP* is given as the same as that of *astāti* (cf. 5.3.26 *dikśabdebhya...*).

2. Note that *Kāśikā* cites these two examples:

(*a*) *dakṣiṇena grāmasya* 'by the south of the village'
(*b*) *uttareṇa grāmasya* 'by the north of the village'

whereby *ṣaṣṭhī* is also shown as a desired option for the *dvitīyā* (*ṣaṣṭhy api iṣyate* 'genitive is also desired'). But *Kāśikā* also states that rule 2.3.31 is formulated in view of the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) which would have been available from the preceding rule. Does rule 2.3.31 in fact introduce *dvitīyā* to block the *ṣaṣṭhī* made available by the preceding rule? It does, according to *Kāśikā's* statement: *pūrveṇa ṣaṣṭhyāṃ prāptāyāṃ vacanam* 'this statement is made in view of the genitive made available by the preceding rule'. However, one quickly becomes doubtful when *Kāśikā* adds that *ṣaṣṭhī* is also desired (*iṣṭa*); for how could the desired results be obtained? *Kāśikā* suggests splitting (*yogavibhāga*) this rule into two parts, in addition to

carrying *ṣaṣṭhī* from the previous rule, as a solution. If we follow this suggestion we will get two rules:

(*i*) *enapā ṣaṣṭhī* '*ṣaṣṭhī* occurs...'; and

(*ii*) *enapā dvitīyā* '*dvitīyā* occurs...'.

3. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not discuss this rule. However, Nāgeśa (*Udyota* ad *Mbh* II: 802), in connection with a *vārttika*, observes that rule 2.3.31 precedes rule 2.3.30 in the order of rules in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* available to Patañjali. If this is accepted, then the question of carrying *ṣaṣṭhī* does not arise. Nāgeśa also criticizes *Kāśikā*'s attempt at *yogavibhāga* as questionable (*cintya*). Yudiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka (*Mbh* III: 340) states that Nāgeśa's claim, concerning the changed order of the *sūtra* and according to the *Mahābhāṣya*, is perhaps based on the *vārttika*'s words *dvitīyāṣaṣṭhyoḥ*. Nāgeśa thinks that, in accordance with the specification for fewer vowels (cf. 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*), *ṣaṣṭhī* should have been used first in *dvitīyā-ṣaṣṭhyoḥ*. Since it is not, claims Mīmāṃsaka, Nāgeśa assumes that it suggests the reversal in order of 2.3.31 *enapā dvitīyā* and 2.3.30 *ṣaṣṭhyartha...* in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Mīmāṃsaka considers Nāgeśa's claim to be questionable, and states that the order of constituency in *dvitīyāṣaṣṭhyoḥ* is, after all, numerical.

2.3.32 **पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्**

pṛthagvinānānābhis tṛtīyā' nyatarasyām
I pṛthagvinānānābhiḥ 3/3 (*itar. dv.*) *tṛtīyā* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pañcamī* #28)
'pṛthak, vinā, nānā' ity etair yoge tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati, anyatarasyāṃ pañcamī ca
A *tṛtīyā* optionally occurs to *pañcamī* after a stem in conjunction with *pṛthak* 'separate'; *vinā* 'without, separate'; or *nānā* 'separate'.

EXAMPLES:

pṛthag devadattena 'separate from, or except for Devadatta'
pṛthag devadattāt 'id.'
vinā devadattena 'id.'
vinā devadattāt 'id.'
nānā devadattena 'id.'
nānā devadattāt 'id.'

1. Note that, to account for usages of *dvitīyā* such as those in the following verse, or *pṛthag devadattam* parallel to its own example, the *Kāśikā* suggests *yogavibhāga* 'rule-splitting' in addition to carrying *dvitīyā* from the previous rule:

vinā vātaṃ vinā varṣaṃ vidyutprapatanaṃ vinā I
vinā hastikṛtān doṣān kenemau pātitau drumau II

'what, other than a storm, rainstorm, lightning, or an elephant's mischief, caused these two trees to fall?'
The *Mahābhāṣya* does not approve of the *anuvṛtti* of *dvitīyā*; and even less does it approve of the *yogavibhāga*.

2.3.33 करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य

karaṇe ca stokālpakṛcchrakatipayasyāsattvavacanasya
/ *karaṇe* 7/1 *ca* Ø *stokālpakṛcchrakatipayasya* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*), *asattvavacanasya* 6/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*pañcamī* #28, *tṛtīyā* #27, *anabhihite* #1)
'*stoka, alpa, kṛcchra, katipaya' ity etebhyo' sattvavacanebhyaḥ karaṇe kārake' nyatarasyāṃ tṛtīyā bhavati*
A *tṛtīyā* optionally occurs to *pañcamī* to express *karaṇa* 'instrument' after *stoka* 'a little'; *alpa* 'a little'; *kṛcchra* 'difficult'; or *katipaya* 'a few' provided they do not denote *sattva* 'substance', and *karaṇa* is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

stokān muktaḥ 'just about freed'
stokena muktaḥ 'id.',
alpān muktaḥ 'id.'
alpena muktaḥ 'id.'
kṛcchrān muktaḥ 'freed with difficulty'
kṛcchreṇa muktaḥ 'id.'
katipayān muktaḥ 'freed by a few'
katipayena muktaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* to denote *karaṇa* after *stoka, alpa, kṛcchra,* and *katipaya* when they do not denote *sattva* 'substance'. The option of introducing *tṛtīyā* to denote *karaṇa* is, in fact, already available by rule 2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos....* This rule, however, introduces *tṛtīyā* as an option to *pañcamī*, as it is understood by the *anuvṛtti* of *pañcamī* (2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*) and *tṛtīyā anyatarasyām* (2.3.32 *pṛthagvinā...*). Thus, *pañcamī* is ruled as an option to *tṛtīyā* of 2.3.18 which, in turn, is made optional to *tṛtīyā* of this rule. Of course, a condition that *sattva* 'substance' is not the denotatum of *stoka*, etc., is imposed. The result is examples like those above.

2. The word *asattvavacana* 'not signifying substance' is important here. A thing can denote 'substance' and can serve as *karaṇa* in an action because it participates as the means. A substance may be viewed as possessing certain qualities (*guṇa*) or properties (*dharma*). Thus we get examples such as the following:

(*a*) *stokena viṣeṇa hataḥ* 'he was killed by a bit of poison'

In the example above, *viṣa* is *sattva*, possessing the property of being only a little bit in quantity; it serves as the *karaṇa* of killing, though qualified by *stoka*. That is, *viṣa* serves as *karaṇa*, denoting a substance

serving as locus (*āśraya*) of the quality *stoka*. Both the *sattva* and its *dharma* are thus inseparable (*abhinna*). It is in this sense that we claim that the denotatum of *stoka* is *viṣa*. When both the *dharma* and *dharmin* are said to be *abhinna*, the *dharma* denotes *dharmin* (*sattva*). In such instances, this rule will not apply. The *tṛtīyā* after both *stoka* and *viṣa* in sentence (*a*) has been introduced by 2.3.18.

Now recall two of the examples given at the beginning of this note:

(*b*) *stokān muktaḥ* 'just about freed'
(*c*) *stokena muktaḥ* 'id.'

Here, *pañcamī* and *tṛtīyā* are introduced after *stoka* by this rule. Though *stoka* denotes quality in (*b*) and (*c*), it does not denote *sattva* as it does in (*a*).

It follows from the preceding discussion that *stoka* denotes quality, though it can also be used without denoting *sattva* as its locus. In sentences (*b*) and (*c*) it refers to effort (*āyāsa*) which is not *sattva*, but serves as *karaṇa* in accomplishing the action denoted by *muc* 'to release, set free'. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* II: 190) sums it up as follows:

> 'when a word which denotes *dharma* 'property' is spoken of as participating in an action as *karaṇa* without denoting its *dharmin*, the thing which serves as its locus, it is then treated as not denoting *sattva*. A word like *stoka* qualifies for this status when it does not represent the thing whose property of smallness it denotes'

Note that *stoka*, etc., do not denote *sattva* when used as a qualifier to an action (*kriyāviśeṣaṇa*), as action (*kriyā*) does not denote *sattva*. Remember in this context that an action is brought to accomplishment (*sādhyatva*), and a root therefore denotes an action which is in the state of being accomplished (*sādhyamānāvasthā*). Thus, consider these examples:

(*d*) *calati* 'he is moving'
(*e*) *calanaṃ karoti* 'he is (in the state of) doing (accomplishing) the act of walking'
(*f*) *stokaṃ calanaṃ karoti* 'he is doing a little bit of walking'

The first example, (*d*), can be rephrased as the second, (*e*). A qualifier like *stoka*, to the action denoted by *catana*, will be termed *karman* 'object' in a sentence such as (*f*); so it is important for the purposes of this rule that a qualifier (such as *stoka*) should denote not only *asattva* 'non-substance', but also *karaṇa* (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* II: 90). This is also the significance of using *karaṇa* in this rule.

3. The words *stoka*, etc., are synonymous, yet they have been mentioned separately to block other synonyms from coming under the scope of this rule. Consequently, this rule will not permit sentences like:

(*g*) *mātrayā muktaḥ* 'he became free with little effort' to avail themselves of optional *pañcamī*.

2.3.34 दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम्

dūrāntikārthaiḥ ṣaṣṭhy anyatarasyām
/ *dūrāntikārthaiḥ* 3/1 = *dūraś ca antikaś ca* = *dūrantikau* (*itar. dv.*), *tau arthau yeṣām* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*), *taiḥ*; *ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pañcamī* #28)
dūrāntikārthaiḥ śabdair yoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally occurs to *pañcamī* after a stem used in conjunction with *dūra* 'far', *antika* 'near', or their synonyms.

EXAMPLES:

dūraṃ grāmāt 'away from the village'
dūraṃ grāmasya 'id.'
viprakṛṣṭaṃ grāmāt 'id.'
viprakṛṣṭaṃ grāmasya 'id.'
antikaṃ grāmāt 'near the village'
antikaṃ grāmasya 'id.'
abhyāśaṃ grāmāt 'id.'
abhyāśaṃ grāmasya 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* as an optional form to *pañcamī* after nominal stems used in conjunction with forms which have the signification of *dūra* 'far' and *antika* 'near'. Note that the word *anyatarasyām* is understood from the preceding rule; Pāṇini perhaps should not have explicitly stated it again in this rule. However, remember that not only *anyatarasyām*, but also *pañcamī* and *tṛtīyā* were understood in the preceding rule. This being the case, the *ṣaṣṭhī* introduced by this rule would have become optional to both *tṛtīyā* and *pañcamī*. It is to block *tṛtīyā* that Pāṇini explicitly uses *anyatarasyām* in this rule. Furthermore, if *tṛtīyā* were to be an optional form, this would have been accomplished by the *anyatarasyām* of the earlier rule, since both are carried to that rule from 2.3.32 *pṛthag....* The *anyatarasyām* of this rule would therefore be useless if *pañcamī*, alone, were not intended as an option to *ṣaṣṭhī* (*Nyāsa* II: 191).

2.3.35 दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च

dūrāntikārthebhyo dvitīyā ca
/ *dūrāntikārthebhyaḥ* 5/3 *dvitīyā* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*tṛtīyā* #33, *pañcamī* #28)
dūrāntikārthebhyaḥ śabdebhyo dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati, cakārāt pañcamī tṛtīyāpi samuccīyate
A *dvitīyā*, as well as *pañcamī* or *tṛtīyā*, optionally occurs after *dūra*, *antika*, or their synonyms.

EXAMPLES:

dūraṃ grāmasya 'far from the village'
dūrād grāmasya 'id.'
dūreṇa grāmasya 'id.'
antikaṃ grāmasya 'near the village'
antikād grāmasya 'id.'
antikena grāmasya 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *dvitīyā*, in addition to *pañcamī* and *tṛtīyā*, after stems which denote the sense of *dūra* and *antika*. The use of the word *ca* makes it possible for both *pañcamī* and *tṛtīyā* to be carried via *anuvṛtti*. Note that *tṛtīyā* was specifically blocked in the preceding rule by the inclusion of the word *anyatarasyām*. No such inclusion blocks it here. So, *tṛtīyā* is also carried on the strength of the recurrence of *pañcamī* (*Nyāsa* II: 192: *tad anuvṛttisāmarthyāt tṛtīyāpi samuccīyate iti cakāreṇa*). Besides, if *pañcamī*, alone, were intended to be carried here, *anyatarasyām* should have been carried from the preceding rule for the purpose. For this reason, there was actually no need to have *ca* in this rule.

2. Note that *dūra, antika*, and their synonyms can take *dvitīyā, tṛtīyā* and *pañcamī* only when they are not used as qualifiers. If they are used as qualifiers, they must take the endings of their qualifieds.

2.3.36 सप्तम्यधिकरणे च

saptamy adhikaraṇe ca
| saptamī 1/1 *adhikaraṇe* 7/1 *ca* Ø*|*
(*dūrāntikārthebhyaḥ* #35, *anabhihite* #1)
saptamī vibhaktir bhavaty adhikaraṇe kārake, cakārād dūrāntikārthebhyaś ca
A *saptamī* occurs after a nominal stem when *adhikaraṇa* 'locus' is not expressed otherwise; additionally, it occurs after *dūra, antika*, or their synonyms.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭe āste 'he is sitting on the mat'
śakaṭe āste 'he is sitting in the cart'
sthālyāṃ pacati 'he is cooking in the pot'
dūre grāmasya 'far from the village'
antike grāmasya 'near the village'

1. This rule allows for the occurrence of *saptamī* after nominal stems to denote *adhikaraṇa* when the same is not expressed otherwise. This *saptamī* also occurs after stems which denotes *dūra* and *antika*, as is specified by the use of *ca* in the formulation of the rule. Note also that the preceding rule allows for the introduction of *dvitīyā* after *dūra* and *antika*,

in addition to *tṛtīyā* and *pañcamī*. That is, either one of these four endings (*dvitīyā*, *tṛtīyā*, *pañcamī*, and *saptamī*) can alternately be used after stems which have the denotata of *dūra* and *antika*.

The following *vārttika* (*Mbh* II: 805–6) have been discussed with a view to expanding the scope of this rule:

(*i*) *sādhv-asādhuprayoge ca saptamī vaktavyā*
'*saptamī* should also be stated to occur after a stem used with *sādhu* 'nice' and *asādhu* 'not nice''
Example: *sādhur devadatto mātari, asādhur pitari* 'Devadatta is nice with his mother, and not so nice with his father'

(*ii*) *kārakārhāṇāṃ ca kārakatve*
'*saptamī* should also be stated to occur after a stem used with that which qualifies to be a *kāraka* and becomes a *kāraka*'
Example: *ṛddheṣu bhuñjāneṣu daridrā āsate* 'the poor watch while the rich eat'

Note in this example that the rich, on account of their wealth, are capable of becoming an agent. The word *daridra* 'poor' is to be used with *saptamī* when the agency of the rich is actually denoted.

(*iii*) *akārakārhāṇāṃ cākārakatve*
'*saptamī* also occurs after that which is neither capable of becoming a *kāraka*, nor is used as one'
Example: *daridreṣu āsīneṣu ṛddhā bhuñjate* 'the rich eat while the poor sit'

(*iv*) *tad viparyāse ca*
'*saptamī* is to be also stated when contraposition (*viparāsya*) of the same is denoted'
Example: *ṛddheṣv āsīneṣu daridrā bhuñjate* 'the poor eat while the rich sit'

Note here that the contraposition is intended in relation to that which is capable of becoming a *kāraka*, but does not become one, and vice-versa.

(*v*) *nimittāt karmasaṃyoge saptamī vaktavyā*
'*saptamī* should also be stated to occur after a stem which denotes *nimitta* 'cause, purpose' used with an object (*karman*)'
Example: *carmaṇi dvīpinaṃ hanti dantayor hanti kuñjaram* //
keśeṣu camarīṃ hanti sīmni puṣkalako hataḥ //
'they kill a tiger for the hide; an elephant for the tusk; a wild cow for the hair of its tail; and a deer (*puṣkalaka*) for its musk'

2.3.37 यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम्

yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam
/ *yasya* 6/1 *ca* Ø *bhāvena* 3/1 *bhāvalakṣaṇam* 1/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) /
(*saptamī* #36)

yasya ca kriyayā kriyāntaraṃ lakṣyate tato bhāvavataḥ saptamī vibhaktir bhavatī
A *saptamī* occurs after a stem whose implied action characterizes another action.

EXAMPLES:

goṣu duhyamānāsu gataḥ 'he left when the cows were being milked'
dugdhāsv āgataḥ 'he returned when the cows were (already) milked'
agniṣu hūyamāneṣu gataḥ 'he left when oblations were being offered to the ritual fire'
huteṣv āgataḥ 'he returned when oblations were (already) offered to the ritual fire'

1. This rule introduces *saptamī* after the nominal stem which implies the *bhāva* 'action', and characterizes another *bhāva*. The word *bhāva* 'action' here should be interpreted differently from *kriyā* 'action'. This is because an action is a composite of several actions. For, an 'action', when not specified otherwise, denotes a process. This is the case with *kriyā*, which does indeed denote an action with process; that is, an action in the process of being brought to completion (*sādhya*). Once this action is brought to completion, it becomes *siddha* 'accomplished'. In the present rule, the word *bhāva* denotes an action which is *siddha*, and not an action which is *sādhya*, denoted by a verb root (*dhātu*).

Kāśikā glosses *bhāva* as *kriyā*, and further paraphrases the rule as follows:

yasya ca bhāvena = yasya ca kriyayā kriyāntaraṃ lakṣyate tato bhāvavataḥ saptamī vibhaktir bhavati
'that by whose implied action another action is characterized (marked); *saptamī* is introduced after that which implies the *bhāva* 'action''

If *bhāva* and *kriyā* are not intended here to denote the same thing, why did *Kāśikā* gloss *bhāva* as *kriyā* in this rule? Did the authors of *Kāśikā* miss the distinction? One must conclude that they did not. Their paraphrase of the rule itself is sufficient to bring out the distinction. They say: *tato bhāvavataḥ saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal ending is to be introduced after that nominal stem which implies an action'. Now, both *bhāva* and *kriyā* have 'action' as their central meaning. The difference between an action denoted by a root, and an action denoted by a nominal stem, is one of *sādhya* and *siddha*. Since this rule introduces the ending after a nominal stem which implies an action, the action of the nominal stem can be recognized as *bhāva*. Moreover, the action denoted by a nominal stem is always an action which is *siddha*. This is why the authors of the *Kāśikā* deemed it unnecessary to make an explicit statement about the difference between *bhāva* and *kriyā*. The problem, however, is not yet resolved.

2. The action which the nominal stem implies, and the further action which this inhered action characterizes, do not have to be already accomplished (*sīddha*). The important point is that one action must characterize another. Moreover, the action that a nominal stem implies has to be known (*jñāta*), or famous (*prasiddhā*). If it is not famous, then it may not qualify to characterize another action.

For instance, the first example under this rule is:

(*a*) *goṣu duhyamānāsu gataḥ* 'he left when the cows were being milked'

where the action of milking (denoted by *duh*) is known. The action of leaving (denoted by the root *gam*) is characterized by that of milking. However, the question of process, as noted earlier, is not actually crucial. Obviously, in (*a*) the action of milking was still in process when the person left. But this was not necessary; the milking could even have been accomplished. Thus, we get the alternative sentence:

(*b*) *goṣu dugdhāsu gataḥ* 'he left when the cows had already been milked'

The same can be said of the characterized action. What is important to remember in this context is that one action serves as the characteristic mark for the timing of the other action. The action that serves as a mark is known or famous, while the further action, the timing of which is characterized, is unknown (*anirjñāta*).

Speaking technically, Pāṇini uses the variable *yad* 'that' in the genitive. As such, it signifies the locus of action. The nominal stem which implies an action which characterizes another action must be either an agent or object, the locus of the action concerned. Sentence (*a*) is an example where the object of milking, the cow, serves as the locus of action which characterizes another action. An example where the locus of action is agent is :

(*c*) *brāhmaṇeṣu adhīyāneṣu gataḥ* 'he went when the *brāhmaṇa* were chanting'.

2.3.38 **षष्ठी चानादरे**

ṣaṣṭhī cānādare

/ *ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1 *ca* Ø *anādare* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam* #37, *saptamī* #36)

anādarādhike bhāvalakṣaṇe bhāvavataḥ ṣaṣṭhīsaptamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ

A *ṣaṣṭhī* also occurs after a stem whose implied action characterizes another action provided *anādara* 'disrespect' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

rudataḥ prāvrājīt 'not paying any attention to the crying relatives, he became a wandering ascetic'

rudati prāvrājīt 'id.'

krośataḥ prāvrājīt 'not paying any attention to the angry relatives, he became a wandering ascetic'
krośati prāvrājīt 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* as an option to *saptamī* provided *anādara* 'disrespect' is denoted. Note that *anādara* is used with reference to the locus of the action characterized, as can be seen in the examples given above.

2.3.39 स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च

svāmīśvarādhipatidāyādasākṣipratibhūprasūtaiś ca
/ *svāmī...prasūtaiḥ* 3/3 = *svāmī ca īśvaraś ca adhipatiś ca dāyādaś ca sākṣī ca pratibhūś ca prasūtaś ca* = *svāmī...prasūtāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *taiḥ*; *ca* Ø /
(*ṣaṣṭhī* #38, *saptamī* #36)
'*svāmin, īśvara, adhipati, dāyāda, sākṣin, pratibhū, prasūta' ity etair yoge ṣaṣṭhīsaptamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ*
A *ṣaṣṭhī*, as well as a *saptamī*, occurs after a stem used in conjunction with *svāmin* 'master, owner'; *īśvara* 'lord, master'; *adhipati* 'ruler, master'; *dāyāda* 'heir'; *sākṣin* 'witness'; *pratibhū* 'guarantor'; or *prasūta* 'offspring'.

EXAMPLES:

gavāṃ svāmī 'owner of cows'
goṣu svāmī 'id.'
gavām īśvaraḥ 'id.'
goṣv īśvaraḥ 'id.'
gavām adhipatiḥ 'id.'
goṣv adhipatiḥ 'id.'
gavāṃ dāyādaḥ 'he who inherits cows'
goṣu dāyādaḥ 'id.'
gavāṃ sākṣī 'witness of cows'
goṣu sākṣī 'id.'
gavāṃ pratibhūḥ 'guarantor of cows'
goṣu pratibhūḥ 'id.'
gavāṃ prasūtaḥ 'offspring of cows'
goṣu prasūtaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces both *ṣaṣṭhī* and *saptamī* after a nominal stem used in conjunction with *svāmin*, etc. The force of *ca* makes it possible for both endings to be carried. This rule is required so that *saptamī* can be made an option to *ṣaṣṭhī*, (which, however, would have been available in any case from rule 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*).

Note also that *svāmin*, etc., are all synonymous. Why did not Pāṇini use one of these with *artha* 'meaning' to account for the others, as he does in

so many other cases? He avoided doing this in order to ensure that only the cited synonyms came under the scope of this rule. In other words, he did not want the totality of possible synonyms to be included. Thus, since *rājā* has not been cited even though it is a synonym, a sentence like the following,

(*a*) *grāmasya rājā* 'the king of the village',

will not be allowed to have an optional form, such as

(*b*) *grāme rājā*

where *grāma* could be used in *saptamī*. It, therefore, becomes clear that this rule is required, more to allow an optional *saptamī* than to allow *ṣaṣṭhī*.

2.3.40 **आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम्**

āyuktakuśalābhyāṃ cāsevāyām

/ *āyuktakuśalābhyām* 3/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ∅ *āsevāyām* 7/2/

(*ṣaṣṭhī* #38, *saptamī* #36)

āyuktaḥ vyāpāritaḥ, kuśalaḥ nipuṇaḥ tābhyāṃ yoge āsevāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ ṣaṣṭhīsaptamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ

A *ṣaṣṭhī*, as well as a *saptamī*, occurs after a stem used in conjunction with *āyukta* 'delegated, appointed' or *kuśala* 'skilled' provided *āsevā* 'diligence' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

āyuktaḥ kaṭakaraṇasya 'one who is entrusted with (and diligently involved in) making a mat'

āyuktaḥ kaṭakaraṇe 'id.'

kuśalaḥ kaṭakaraṇasya 'one who is skilled at (and diligently involved in) making a mat'

kuśalaḥ kaṭakaraṇe 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* and *saptamī* after nominal stems used with *āyukta* 'delegated, appointed' and *kuśala* 'skilled' when *āsevā* 'diligence' is denoted. Thus we get examples such as the pairs above.

Note that the locative after *kaṭakaraṇa* 'mat-making' would, in any case, be available on account of its serving as the domain of *āyuktatā* 'delegation' and *nipuṇatā* 'skill'. The rule is required more for the optional *ṣaṣṭhī* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* II: 197: *āyuktatā nipuṇatā ca kaṭādikaraṇaviṣayaiveti saptamyām eva prāptāyāṃ pakṣe ṣaṣṭhīvidhānārthaṃ vacanam*).

2.3.41 **यतश्च निर्धारणम्**

yataś ca nirdhāraṇam

/ *yataś* ∅ *ca* ∅ *nirdhāraṇam* 1/1/

(*ṣaṣṭhī* #38, *saptamī* #36)

yato nirdhāraṇaṃ tataḥ ṣaṣṭhīsaptamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ
A *ṣaṣṭhī* or *saptamī* also occurs after a stem which denotes many, from amongst which one is singled out.

EXAMPLES:

manuṣyāṇāṃ kṣatriyaḥ śūratamaḥ 'the *kṣatriya* is bravest among men'
manuṣyeṣu kṣatriyaḥ śūratamaḥ 'id.'
gavāṃ kṛṣṇā saṃpannakṣīratamā 'the black among cows is richest in milk'
goṣu kṛṣṇā saṃpannakṣīratamā 'id.'
adhvagānāṃ dhāvantaḥ śīghratamāḥ 'those who run are the fastest among those who go by the road'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* and *saptamī* after that stem which denotes a group, or whole, from which a part is singled out on the basis of *jāti* 'class'; *guṇa* 'quality'; and *kriyā* 'action'. The above examples illustrate this point.

2. *Nyāsa* (*Kāśikā* II: 197) observes that this rule is simply an expatiation (*prapañca*). If the part is contained within the whole, the whole would serve as the locus, and hence *saptamī* could easily be ruled by 2.3.35 *saptamy adhikaraṇe ca*. The *ṣaṣṭhī*, too, can be accounted for by 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*, on the grounds that there obtains a part and whole relationship (*avayavāvayavibhāva*):

kimarthaṃ punar idam. yāvatā nirdhāryamāṇo' vayavaḥ samudāyāntarbhūtaḥ; tatra yadā samudāyādhikaraṇatvaṃ vivakṣyate tadā saptamī siddhaiveti... yadā tv avayavāvayavisambandhas tadā ṣaṣṭhī... satyam etat; prapañcārthaṃ vacanam.

2.3.42 पञ्चमी विभक्ते

pañcamī vibhakte
/ *pañcamī* 1/1 *vibhakte* 7/1/
(*yataś ca nirdhāraṇam* #41)
yasmin nirdhāraṇāśraye vibhaktam asyāsti tataḥ pañcamī vibhaktir bhavati
A pañcamī occurs after a stem which denotes something from which something different is distinguished.

EXAMPLES:

māthurāḥ pāṭaliputrakebhyaḥ sukumāratarāḥ 'the people of Mathurā are more youthful than the people of Pāṭaliputra'
māthurāḥ pāṭaliputrakebhyaḥ āḍhyatarāḥ 'the people of Mathurā are more prosperous than the people of Pāṭaliputra'

1. This rule introduces *pañcamī* after a nominal stem which denotes something from which something different is distinguished. For instance,

in the first example, the people of Mathurā are set apart from those of Pāṭaliputra; the two groups of people are shown to be different, lacking in similarity.

Note the following sentence:

(*a*) *goṣu kṛṣṇā saṃpannakṣīratamā* 'the black among cows is richest in milk'

Here, *go* will not qualify for *pañcamī* because the cows, both black and non-black, are not completely separable. A black cow is still part of the same larger herd, comprising black and non-black cows. Thus, the previous rule (2.3.41) covers instances where a part is singled out from the whole, but is not considered to be separate from it. The present rule covers other instances, where two entities are regarded as distinct.

Nyāsa observes that, once again, this rule is an effort to expatiate. Clearly, a thing set apart denotes movement away, and therefore *pañcamī* can be ruled by 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*, read with 1.4.24 *dhruvam....*

2.3.43 साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रतेः

> *sādhunipuṇābhyām arcāyāṃ saptamy aprateḥ*
> / *sādhunipuṇābhyām* 3/1 (*itar. dv.*) *arcāyām* 7/1 *saptamī* 1/1 *aprateḥ* 6/1/
> '*sādhu, nipuṇa*' *ity etābhyāṃ yoge' rcāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ saptamī vibhaktir bhavati*
> A *saptamī* occurs after a stem used in conjunction with *sādhu* 'good, well-behaved' or *nipuṇa* 'kind, skilled' provided *prati* is not in use and *arcā* 'respect' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

> *mātari sādhuḥ* 'he is good to his mother'
> *pitari sādhuḥ* 'he is good to his father'
> *mātari nipuṇaḥ* 'he is kind to his mother
> *pitari nipuṇaḥ* 'he is kind to his father'

1. This rule introduces *saptamī* after a nominal stem used with *sādhu* or *nipuṇa* provided *arcā* is denoted and *prati* is not used. The semantic condition with reference to *arcā* disallows *saptamī* where, for example, a statement of fact (*tatvakathana*) is made. Thus:

(*a*) *sādhur bhṛtyo rājñaḥ* 'the good servant of the king'.

2. The formal condition of *aprateḥ* 'when *prati* is not used' disallows the use of *saptamī* in *mātaram* of a sentence such as:

(*b*) *sādhur devadatto mātaraṃ prati* 'Devadatta is good to his mother'.

2.3.44 प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च

> *prasitotsukābhyāṃ tṛtīyā ca*

/ *prasitotsukābhyām* 3/2 = *prasitaś ca utsukaś ca* = *prasitotsukau* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *tṛtīyā* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*saptamī* #36)
'prasita, utsuka' ity etābhyāṃ yoge tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavati cakārāt saptamī ca
A *tṛtīyā*, as well as *saptamī*, also occurs after a stem used in conjunction with *prasita* 'preoccupied' or *utsuka* 'concerned, eager'.

EXAMPLES:

keśaiḥ prasitaḥ 'he who is preoccupied with his hair'
keśeṣu prasitaḥ 'id.'
keśair utsukaḥ 'he who is concerned about his hair'
keśeṣu utsukaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule additionally introduces *tṛtīyā* after a nominal stem used with *prasita* and *utsuka*. The *Kāśikā* explains *prasita* as *yas tatra nityam evāvabaddhaḥ* 'he who is always preoccupied with something'. Note that *prasita* can also mean 'dazzling white'; although, because of the association (*sāhacarya*) of *utsuka*, it too is interpreted as denoting an action.

2.3.45 नक्षत्रे च लुपि

nakṣatre ca lupi
/ *nakṣatre* 7/1 *ca* Ø/ *lupi* 7/1/
(*tṛtīyā* #44, *saptamī* #36)
lubantān nakṣatraśabdāt tṛtīyāsaptamyau vibhaktī bhavataḥ
A *tṛtīyā*, as well as *saptamī*, also occurs after a stem which terminates in *LUP* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya*; 4.2.4 *lub aviśeṣe*) and denotes *nakṣatra* 'constellation'.

EXAMPLES:

puṣyeṇa pāyasam aśnīyāt 'one should eat *pāyasa* (rice pudding) during the constellation *puṣya*'
puṣye pāyasam aśnīyāt 'id.'
maghābhiḥ palalaudanam aśnīyāt 'one should eat *palalaudana* (sweet rice) during the constellation *maghā*'
maghāsu palalaudanam aśnīyāt 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* and *saptamī* after a nominal stem which denotes *nakṣatra* and ends in *LUP*. The use of the word *LUP* in *saptamī* refers to rules 4.2.3 *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* and 4.2.4 *lub aviśeṣe*, where the first rule introduces affix *aṆ* after a word denoting *nakṣatra* 'constellation' provided its time of conjunction with the moon is to be denoted. The second rule (4.2.4) deletes the affix when no additional specification

is being made. Thus, one expects to derive *pauṣyaḥ* by introducing affix *aṆ* after *puṣya*, a constellation, to denote the time of its conjunction with the moon. Rule 4.2.4 deletes the affix on the grounds that no further specification relative to the conjunction, or any additional information, is furnished.

To return to our present rule, we find that the condition of 'no additional specification' is also valid here. That is, the stem after which *tṛtīyā* and *saptamī* are to be introduced should not only stand for a constellation, but also for a general time-frame in which the moon enters the constellation, when no specific information is given in addition. It would thus be possible to derive *puṣyaḥ*, and not the expected *pauṣyaḥ*, by introducing affix *aṆ* to denote a general time-frame for the lunar conjunction with the constellation Puṣya. Note that, given the string *puṣya* + *aṆ*, the affix will subsequently be deleted by 4.2.4 *lub aviśeṣe*. This, in turn, will block the *vṛddhi* replacement in *au* for the *u* of *puṣya*. It is in this sense that we say that one expects to derive *pauṣya*, but one ends up with *puṣya*.

2. This rule is required more for *tṛtīyā* than for *saptamī*, since *saptamī* could have been introduced by 2.3.35 *saptamy....*

2.3.46 प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा

prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā
/ *prātipadikārtha...mātre* 7/1 = *prātipadikasya arthaḥ* = *prātipadikārthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *prātipadikārthaś ca liṅgaṃ ca parimāṇaṃ ca vacanaṃ ca* = *prātipadikārtha...mātram* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmin; prathamā* 1/1/
prātipadikārthamātre liṅgamātre parimāṇamātre vacanamātre prathamā vibhaktir bhavati
A *prathamā* 'first triplet of *sUP*' occurs when only *prātipadikārtha* 'meaning of the stem, stem notion'; *liṅga* 'gender'; *parimāṇa* 'measure'; or *vacana* 'number' is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

uccaiḥ 'high up'
nīcaiḥ 'low down'
kumārī 'girl'
vṛkṣaḥ 'tree'
droṇaḥ 'a measure of weight'
khārī 'id.'
ekaḥ 'one'
dvau 'two'
bahavaḥ 'many'

1. This rule introduces *prathamā* to denote only the nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*), gender (*liṅga*), measure (*parimāṇa*) and number (*saṃkhyā*). The formulation of the rule needs some explanation. The expression *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre* specifies the meaning condition under which *prathamā* can be introduced. The word *mātra* denotes *avadhāraṇa* 'exclusion' and is used at the end of a *dvandva* compound (namely, *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanam*). Since an item used at the end of a *dvandva* compound is associated with each of its constituents (*dvandānte śrūyamāṇaḥ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*), *mātra* is read with each of the constituents. As a result, we get the meaning: nominal stem notion only; gender only; measure only; and number only.

This interpretation, however, runs into problems. The *prathamā* can only express the nominal stem notion in the case of an indeclinable base, such as *uccaiḥ* 'high up'; *nīcaiḥ* 'low down', etc. Elsewhere, number and gender are expressed concurrently with the nominal stem notion. Thus, the nominative singular ending *sU* in the word *kṛṣṇaḥ* expresses both masculine gender and singular number; but it also expresses the meaning of the nominal stem. Clearly, this is why *prathamā* in *kṛṣṇaḥ* cannot be said to denote only the sense of the nominal stem, gender, or number. Yet the wording of the rule seems to demand the expression of just one sense: either that of the nominal stem, that of the gender, or that of the number.

To end the confusion, commentators explain that, since the meaning of the nominal stem is to be expressed in any event, this is done by *prathamā*. The expression of gender, measure, or number is additional. That is, *prathamā* is introduced when nothing but nominal stem notion, or nominal stem notion plus gender, measure, or number is to be denoted. Accordingly, we get examples of indeclinables (*avyaya*) where nothing but the nominal stem notion is to be expressed. Words such as *kumārī* 'girl', *vṛkṣaḥ* 'tree', and *kuṇḍam* 'fire-pit, bowl' denote, in addition to their stem notion, the gender: feminine, masculine, or neuter. They are all cited here in the singular, and thus their *prathamā* also denotes number (*vacana*). If, however, separate mention of *vacana* as the denotatum of *prathamā* is not made on this account, nominal stems *eka* 'one', *dvi* 'two' and *bahu* 'many' would not qualify for the introduction of *prathamā*.

An example of *prathamā* denoting *parimāṇa* 'measure' is given as *droṇa*. By using *prathamā* after *droṇa*, one also expresses the sense of measure in addition to the nominal stem notion. That is, the relationship obtaining between that which measures (*paricchedaka*) and that which is measured (*paricchedya*) is expressed in addition to the stem-notion.

This rule has been extensively discussed, with the main focus of contention on what could be the meaning of a nominal stem. Patañjali

(II: 809–18) indicates that *svārtha* 'stem-notion'; *dravya* 'concrete thing'; *liṅga* 'gender'; *saṃkhyā* 'number'; and *kāraka* are five meanings of the nominal stem. This is what has been referred to as 'nominal stem'. If Patañjali's view is accepted, then the separate mention of gender and number in this rule becomes useless. Kaiyaṭa argues that *kāraka* is the denotatum of *vibhakti* 'nominal ending' and should therefore be excluded from the stem notion. Others could argue against the inclusion of gender and number as well.

This leaves *svārtha* and *dravya* as the two denotata of a nominal stem. It is for this reason that Bhaṭṭoji characterizes *prātipadikārtha* as *niyatopasthitikaḥ* 'that which is invariably denoted when the nominal stem is cited'. *Kāśikā* glosses *prātipadikārtha* as *sattā* 'being'. *Nyāsa*, however, finds certain problems with this approach. It points out that, if *sattā* refers to *jāti*, the consequence would be the exclusion of *vyakti* 'individual, particular'. In this case, *devadatta*, et al., will not qualify, since they are particular individuals. The condition of 'being' would also exclude items such as *ākāśakusuma* 'sky-flower', simply because they cannot be said to exist. *Nyāsa* concludes that the meaning of a nominal stem should be 'comprehended without reference to any other thing'. *Kāśikā*, incidentally, uses the word *sattā* just as an *upalakṣaṇa*, a distinguisher which distinguishes even when absent (*avidyamāna*).

2.3.47 सम्बोधने च

sambodhane ca
/ *sambodhane* 7/1 *ca* Ø /
(*prathamā* #46)
sambodhane ca prathamā vibhaktir bhavati
A *prathamā* also occurs after a stem when *sambodhana* 'address' is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

he devadatta 'O Devadatta!'
he devadattau 'O, two Devadattas'
he devadattāḥ 'O, many Devadattas'

1. This rule allows the use of *prathamā* to also denote *sambodhana*, glossed as *abhimukhīkaraṇa* 'to attract someone's attention, to address'. Further, note that the meaning of *sambodhana* will be denoted by *prathamā* in addition to the meaning of the nominal stem.

2.3.48 साऽऽमन्त्रितम्

sā' mantritam
/ *sā* 1/1 *āmantritam* 1/1/

(*sambodhane* #47, *prathamā* #46)
sambodhane yā prathamā tadantaṃ śabdarūpam āmantritasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A form which ends in *prathamā* and denotes *sambodhana* is termed *āmantrita*
Examples are as outlined under the preceding rule.

1. This rule assigns the term *āmantrita* to a form which ends in *prathamā* and denotes *sambodhana.*

2. It is generally accepted that an affix cited in the grammar denotes a form that ends in that affix (1.1.72 *yena vidhis...*). Patañjali (*Mbh* II: 361) indicates that an affix denotes its form only when the affix is cited in a rule which assigns a term. If this were not the case, Pāṇini would not have had to use *antam* explicitly in 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam.*

Rule 2.3.48 uses *sā,* referring to *prathamā,* and it assigns the term *āmantrita.* What should be considered as the meaning of this rule? Should *prathamā, sU, au, Jas,* or a form ending in it, be termed *āmantrita*? Jinendrabuddhi says that, if Pāṇini intended the term to be assigned to the form of *prathamā* alone, he should have used *sambodhana.* He would not then have needed the term *āmantrita.* But since he uses *āmantrita,* the term must have some special purpose. The purpose is perhaps for *sā* to refer to a form which ends in *prathamā* and denotes *sambodhana.*

3. The purpose of including the term *āmantrita* is also to assign the *udātta* accent, by rule 6.1.198 *āmantritasya ca* to the initial vowel of a form which ends in *prathamā* and denotes *sambodhana.* Under certain other conditions, it is manipulated to assign blanket *anudātta* (8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca*). Similarly, this term assignment also makes it possible for a vocative turned *āmantrita* to be treated as non-existent in matters of the assignment of accent to a following word.

Scope: 8.1.72 *āmantritaṃ pūrvam avidyamānavat*

2.3.49 एकवचनं सम्बुद्धिः

ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ
/ *ekavacanam* 1/1 *sambuddhiḥ* 1/1/
(*āmantritam* # 48, *prathamā* # 46)
āmantrita prathamāyā yad ekavacanaṃ tat sambuddhisaṃjñaṃ bhavati
A singular *āmantrita* is termed *sambuddhi.*

EXAMPLES:

he paṭo 'O, clever one!'
he devadatta 'O, Devadatta!'

1. This rule assigns the term *sambuddhi* to the singular ending *sU* of *prathamā* termed *āmantrita.* Two interrelated questions arise in connection

with this. Firstly, why is the term *sambuddhi* not assigned here to a form which ends in *sU*? And secondly, why did Pāṇini not use *sU* instead of *ekavacana*?

Pāṇini uses *ekavacana* to indicate that, in this rule, *sambuddhi* should be assigned to the affix itself, and not to a form which ends in it. Otherwise, as in the previous rule, a form ending in nominative singular termed *āmantrita* would qualify for the assignment of the term. This point is also applicable to the second of the above questions; for if Pāṇini had used *sU* instead of *ekavacana*, no special directions would have been given concerning the assignment of the term *sambuddhi*, except for the wrong assignment of the term to a nominative singular.

Consider the string *paṭu* + *sU* of *he paṭo*, where *sU* is termed *sambuddhi*: rule 7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*, read with 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca*, will order *guṇa* for the final *u* of *paṭu* (The same would be the case with the final *i* of *agni* + *sU* of *he agne* 'O, Agni!'). The *sU* could then be deleted by rule 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddeḥ*.

Scope: 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ*

2.3.50 **षष्ठी शेषे**

ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe
/ *ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1 *śeṣe* 7/1/
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a nominal stem when the remainder (*śeṣa*) is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

rājñaḥ puruṣasya gṛham 'the house of the servant of the king'
paśoḥ pādaḥ 'foot of an animal'
pituḥ putraḥ 'son of a father'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* after a nominal stem to denote that which remains (*śeṣa*) to be stated. The word *śeṣa* has been explained as referring to those meanings not already specified by rules such as 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, etc., and 2.3.46 *prātipadikārtha*.... Thus, any meaning which does not come within the scope of those rules, beginning with 2.3.2 and up to and including 2.3.46, should be treated as the denotatum of *ṣaṣṭhī* (referred to here by *śeṣa*). These meanings are identified as *svasvāmisambandha* 'owner-owned relation', etc. Note that *sambandha* entails dual locus (*dviṣṭha*), yet it is denoted by *ṣaṣṭhī*, introduced after a stem which denotes the qualifier (*viśeṣana*) and not the qualified (*viśeṣya*). The latter is principal (*pradhāna*), as opposed to the qualifier which is subsidiary (*gauṇa*). For details, see Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*, under rule 2.3.50).

2.3.51 **ज्ञो ऽविदर्थस्य करणे**

jño' vidarthasya karaṇe
/ *jñaḥ* 6/1 *avidarthasya* 6/1 = *vido' rthaḥ* = *vidarthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *na vidarthaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*; *karaṇe* 7/1/
(*ṣaṣṭhī* #50)
jānāter avidarthasya ajñānārthasya karaṇe kārake ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem to express, as a remainder, the *karaṇa* of *jñā* when not used in the sense 'to know'.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣo jānīte 'he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is ghee'
madhuno jānīte 'he offers the ritual oblation thinking it is honey'

1. The expression 'not used in the sense 'to know' ', qualifying *jñā*, needs some explanation. The normal sense of the root *jñā* is that of knowing. However, in sentences such as the first example, above, the root is used not in the sense 'to know', but in that of proceeding with an action with (or without) a certain supposition. For instance, one proceeds with the ritual oblation treating some other substance as if it were ghee. Here, *jñā* means 'to proceed, engage in', but to do so on the basis of false knowledge or of a misapprehension. Conversely, if one were to proceed with the ritual actually using ghee, *jñā* would still refer to that proceeding, but without any such misapprehension being implied.

2.3.52 **अधीगर्थदयेशां कर्मणि**

adhīgarthadayeśāṃ karmaṇi
/ *adhīgarthadayeśām* 6/3 = *adhīgartho yeṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ te adhīgarthāḥ* (*bv.*), *adhīgarthāś ca dayaś ca īś ca* = *adhīgarthadayeśaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣāṃ*; *karmaṇi* 7/1/
(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)
adhīgarthāḥ = *smaraṇārthāḥ*, '*dayadānagatirakṣaṇeṣu*', *īś aiśvarye eteṣāṃ karmaṇi kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati*
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem to express, as a remainder, the *karman* of verbs which denote the sense of *adhīk* (*adhi* + *iK*) 'to remember'; *dayĀ* 'to give, feel pity, protect, move'; and *īś* 'to rule'.

EXAMPLES:

mātur adhyeti 'he remembers his mother'
mātuḥ smarati 'id.'
sarpiṣo dayate 'he gives the ghee'
sarpiṣa īśṭe 'he controls the ghee'
madhuna īśṭe 'he controls the honey'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote the object of verbal roots which have the signification of *adhi* + *iK* 'to remember' when the same is to be expressed as the remainder. Note that *dvitīyā* can express the *karman* when it is not expressed otherwise (2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). When the same object is to be expressed as a remainder of 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīya*, 2.3.52 *adhīgartha*...can be applied to introduce *ṣaṣṭhī*. Thus, we get the first two examples shown above, which we shall call (*a*) and (*b*). A sentence such as:

(*c*) *smṛtā mātā tena* 'the mother was remembered by him' expresses the object of *smṛ* by the verb. Consequently, *mātā* cannot be used with *dvitīyā*. Rule 2.3.52 *adhīgartha*...thus illustrates two levels of constraints. Level one constrains the introduction of *dvitīyā*, with reference to 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, and to any other means outside the domain of 2.3.1 *anabhihite* whereby *karman* could be expressed. Sentences (*a*) and (*c*) will be covered by this dependency in selection of the means of expressing an object. Conversely, level two constraint will operate within the domain of 2.3.1 *anabhihite*. That is, if the option of expressing the object is available to rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, under the condition of 2.3.1 *anabhihite*, then that option could be taken by 2.3.2. If 2.3.2 takes the option, the *karman* will be expressed by *dvitīyā*, as in *mātaram*. If, however, the option is not taken, the object can then be expressed as the remainder (*śeṣa*) by rule 2.3.52 *adhīgartha*..., thereby yielding sentence (*b*) as an alternative.

2. Note that rules 2.3.51 *jño' vidarthasya karaṇe* through 2.3.64 *kṛtvo' rthaprayoge*...form a set, where *ṣaṣṭhī* is introduced with reference to the enumeration of specific stems. It is for this reason that the *ṣaṣṭhī* is called *pratipadavidhānāṣaṣṭhī* 'a genitive introduced with reference to specific words'. It is to be remembered that the *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 681) does not allow the formation of a compound with a constituent in *ṣaṣṭhī* introduced by a rule of this set. Instead, the compounds with a genitive constituent are permitted when the genitive happens to be marked with 'remainder' (*śeṣalakṣaṇā*; cf. 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*). Thus, *śeṣalakṣaṇā*, as opposed to the *pratipadavidhānā*, forms the second type of genitive. A third type is called *kṛdyogā*, 'that which is introduced in conjunction with an item which ends in a *kṛt* affix'. Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛ karmaṇoḥ kṛti* forms a set by itself, whereby *kṛdyogā ṣaṣṭhī* is introduced. A fourth type of *ṣaṣṭhī*, in contradistinction to the preceding three, which are taken together as forming a single group, is called *sthāneyogā* (see my note under rule 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*).

2.3.53 कृञः प्रतियत्ने

kṛñaḥ pratiyatne
/ *kṛñaḥ* 6/1 *pratiyatne* 7/1/
(*karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

karoteḥ karmaṇi kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite pratiyatne gamyamāne ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem to express the *karman* of *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' when it is expressed as a remainder and *pratiyatna* 'introducing a new quality to something' is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

edho dakasyopaskurute 'the burning wood introduces new quality to water'

1. The word *pratiyatna* has been glossed by *Kāśikā* as *guṇāntarādhānam* 'bringing about another quality'. Thus, in the above example, *edha* (masculine) or *edhas* (neuter), meaning firewood, is credited with bringing a new quality to water (*daka* or *udaka*). For the purpose of this example, *edha* and *daka* are treated as the bases after which nominative and genitive are introduced to yield *edhaḥ* and *dakasya.*

This rule also requires that the condition of *śeṣa* be fulfilled, in case one wishes to introduce the genitive to denote *karman.* That is, 2.3.2 could also denote the *karman*, thereby yielding the sentence *edho dakam upaskurute.* If 2.3 53 is preferred, with the desire to express *karman* via *śeṣatva*, the form would then be *edho dakasyopaskurute.*

Note also in connection with this that, given the meaning condition of *pratiyatna*, rule 1.3.32 *gandhanāvakṣepaṇasevanasāhasikyapratiyatna...* introduces *ātmanepada* as a replacement of *LAṬ* and occurs after the verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *upa.* This same meaning condition also causes rule 6.1.138 *upāt pratiyatna...*to introduce the augment *sUṬ* before the *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used with *upa*, to yield *upaskṛ.*

2.3.54 रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरेः

rujārthānāṃ bhāvavacanānām ajvareḥ

/ *rujārthānām* 6/3 = *rujā artho yeṣām* (*bv.*) *bhāvavacanānām* 6/3 = *bhāvo vacanaḥ yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām ajvareḥ* 6/1 = *na jvariḥ* = *ajvariḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya* /

(*karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

rujārthānāṃ dhātūnāṃ bhāvavacanānāṃ bhāvakartṛkānāṃ jvarivarjitānāṃ karmaṇi kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati

A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express the *karman* of roots which denote the meaning of *ruj* 'to break, to afflict' provided that *jvari* 'to have fever' is not one of the roots; that action denoted by these roots has an agent which denotes *bhāva* 'action'; and that *karman*, itself, is expressed as a remainder.

EXAMPLES:

caurasya rujati rogaḥ 'the disease afflicts the thief'
caurasyāmayaty āmayaḥ 'id.'

1. Here, *ṣaṣṭhī* is introduced to denote the object of roots, excluding *jvari*, which have the meaning of *ruj* and have an agent which denotes their own action. The rule requires two conditions:

(*i*) that the action denoted by the root must be synonymous with the action denoted by *ruj*, with the exception of *jvari*; and

(*ii*) that this action, though in the state of being accomplished (*sādhyamānāvasthā*), must be denoted by a nominal which serves as the agent and in an already accomplished state (*siddhāvasthā*).

The object must, of course, be expressed as a remainder.

Consider the first example:

(*a*) *caurasya rujati rogaḥ* 'the disease is afflicting the thief'

The agent of *ruj* in this sentence is *roga* 'disease', derived by introducing affix *GHaÑ* after the verbal root *ruj*. The word *roga* constitutes the agent of the action; thus, it denotes *bhāva* in an already accomplished state. The thief (*caura*) is the object of the sentence, which for the purposes of this rule is opted to be expressed as a remainder. If this option of expressing the object was not accepted, rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* would have applied to yield:

(*b*) *cauraṃ rujati rogaḥ* 'id.'

For a detailed discussion of the difference between an action in the state of being accomplished, as opposed to one already accomplished, see my note under rule 2.3.37 *yasya ca bhāvena bhāvalakṣaṇam*.

2.3.55 **आशिषि नाथः**

āśiṣi nāthaḥ
/ *āśiṣi* 7/1 *nāthaḥ* 6/1
(*karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)
'nādhṛ, nāthṛ, yācñāpatāpaiśvaryāśīḥṣu' paṭhyate, tasyāśīḥ kriyasya karmaṇi kārake śeṣatvena vivakṣite ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express the *karman* of *nāthṚ* when it denotes *āśīḥ* 'benediction', and *karman* itself is expressed as a remainder.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣo nāthate 'he wishes for the blessing of ghee'
madhuno nāthate 'he wishes for the blessing of honey'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote the object of *nāthṚ* when the root is used in the sense of *āśīḥ*, as shown in the above examples. Note that *āśīḥ* is glossed as *yācñā* 'to pray for, beg'. Furthermore, *ṣaṣṭhī* is available when one wishes to express the *karman* as *śeṣa*. Otherwise, *dvitīyā* can be used.

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: 2.3.55) explains that *āśīḥ* is denoted in

the examples, by the wish for ghee which one does not have, and is expressed as the prayer 'May there be ghee (or honey) for me!' (*sarpir yasya nāsty ato' rthitvād āśāste saḥ, sarpir me bhūyād iti*).

2.3.56 जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम्

jāsiniprahaṇanāṭakrāthapiṣāṃ hiṃsāyām
/ *jāsini...piṣāṃ* 6/3 = *jāsiś ca niprahaṇaṃ ca nāṭaś ca krāthaś ca piṣ ca= jāsini...piṣaḥ* (*itar. div.*), *tesāṃ hiṃsāyām* 7/1/
(*karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)
'jāsi, niprahaṇa, nāṭa, krātha, piṣ' ity etesāṃ dhātūnāṃ hiṃsākriyāṇāṃ karmaṇi kārake ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a nominal stem to express, as a remainder, the object of an action denoted by the verbal roots *jasU* 'to wish harm to, to torment' and *han* 'to smite', used with the preverbs *ni* and *pra*, *naṭ* 'to injure' and *krāth* and *pis*, they mean 'to wish harm to'.

EXAMPLES:

caurasyojjāsayati 'he is beating the thief'
caurasya niprahanti 'they are beating the thief'
caurasya nihanti 'id.'
caurasya prahanti 'id.'
caurasya praṇihanti 'id.'
caurasyonnāṭayati 'he is torturing the thief'
caurasyotkrāthayati 'id.'
caurasya pinaṣṭi 'id.'

1. This rule allows the denotation of the object of the selected verbs under the meaning condition of *hiṃsā* provided the same is to be denoted as a remainder. In the absence of taking the option of expressing the object as a remainder, *dvitīyā*, by 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, will obtain.

Note that *jāsi* does not refer here to the causal form of *jasU*. Instead, it refers to the *jasU* 'to wish harm to, to torment' of the *cur-ādi* class, which, when used with the preverb *ud*, gives the sense of *hiṃsā*. Similarly, *han* is referenced here as used with the preverbs *ni* and *pra*. *Kāśikā* informs us that *han* can be used with these preverbs in three different ways:

(*i*) in the form of *saṃghāta*, jointly in the order of enumeration as *nipra-han*;
(*ii*) in the *vigrahīta* form, separately as *ni-han*, *prahan*; or
(*iii*) in the *viparyasta* form, conversely in the order of enumeration as *pra-ni- han*.

The words *saṃghāta*, *vigrahīta*, and *viparyasta* thus technically explain the manner in which these preverbs are used with *han*. The verbal root

naṭ is also required to denote the meaning of *hiṃsā*, which it does when used with the preverb *ud*. The verbal root *krath* belongs to the *bhvādi* class, enumerated in its subset headed by *ghaṭ* 'to strive'. Roots belonging to the *ghaṭādi* group, which total fifty-five, are treated as marked with *M*. This, in turn, causes the shortening of their *vṛddhi* vowels before the causal suffix *ṆiC*.

Pāṇini refers to *krath* by its *vṛddhi* form *krāth*, because, under the *Mit* treatment just mentioned, it will lack the *vṛddhi*. That is, he does not want *krath* to undergo shortening of its *vṛddhi* vowel before the causative *ṆiC*. Note that he also cites *jasU* and *naṭA* as *jāsi* and *nāṭA*; again, this is intended to ensure that the option of denoting the *karman* of these roots as a remainder is available only when they are used in these modified forms. Consider the following examples:

(*a*) *caurasya ujjāsanam* 'the torturing of the thief'
(*b*) *caurasya unnāṭanam* 'id.'
(*c*) *caurasya krāthanam* 'id.'

Here, we find the modified usage of the roots. But compare

(*d*) *cauram ajījasat* 'he tortured the thief'

where *ṣaṣṭhī* could not be introduced to denote the object because the root is not available in the form of *jās*. Needless to say, the object in this instance must be expressed with *dvitīyā*. *Nyāsa* clarifies the issue as follows:

> *atra hīkāro dhātunirdeśārthaḥ kṛtaḥ, 'ikśtipau dhātunirdeśe' iti. yady evam, jāsīty ākāraḥ katham śrūyate. ucyate-ākāram uccārya vikṛtanirdeśaḥ kṛtaḥ; vikṛtanirdeśas tu yatrasyaitad rūpaṃ bhavati tatraiva yathā syād anyatra mā bhūd: dasyum ajījasad iti*
>
> 'Here *i* (in *jasi*) has been used to refer to the root in accordance with the convention '*ikśtipau dhātunirdeśe*'. If it is so, how do we come to have the *ā* in *jāsi*? It is stated that Pāṇini, by reading the *ā* instead of *a*, made a reference to the modified form *jās* of the root. By this he indicated that what is stated by this rule obtains only where the root is available in the modified form. Thus, the rule will not apply in the case of: *dasyum ajījasat* 'he tortured the bandit'.'

2. Note also that *ṣaṣṭhī* can be introduced only in the context of the roots enumerated by this rule. A root such as *hiṃs*, though it signifies 'to harm', does not come under the stipulation of this rule. A sentence like:

(*e*) *cauram hinsati* 'he kills the thief'

therefore cannot have the genitive to express the object.

2.3.57 व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः

vyavahṛpaṇoḥ samarthayoḥ
/ *vyavahṛpaṇoḥ* 6/2 *samarthayoḥ* 6/2/
(*karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)

'vyavahṛ, paṇa' ity etayoḥ smarthayoḥ samānārthayoḥ karmaṇi kārake ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express the *karman* of *vyavahṛ* 'to conduct' and *paṇ* 'to bargain' when they are used synonymously.

EXAMPLES:

śatasya vyavaharati 'he is bartering or trading with a hundred'
sahasrasya vyavaharati 'he is bartering or trading with a thousand'
śatasya paṇate 'he is bargaining with a hundred'
sahasrasya paṇate 'he is bargaining with a thousand'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* to express the object of the action denoted by verbal root *hṛ* used with the preverbs *vi* and *ava,* and also by the verbal root *paṇ* when used with a signification similar to that of *hṛ*. The above two roots become synonymous when they denote 'gambling' and 'barter'. They then become the concern of this rule. The *samartha* 'same meaning' condition is necessary, since these roots can also signify other meanings. Thus, in the following sentences

(*a*) *brāhṃ paṇāyate* 'he praises the *brāhmaṇa*'
(*b*) *śalākaṃ vyavaharati* 'he is counting the dice'

the same roots have been used in the sense of praise *(stuti)* and counting *(gaṇana)* respectively. Thus, no genitive obtains.

A question may be raised about the word *samartha.* After the compound-formation, why was not the long vowel *(dīrgha) sandhi* applied to yield *samārtha*? Commentators indicate that the sequence *a* + *a* was subjected to a single replacement *(ekādeśa),* similar to the subsequent *(pararūpa) a,* by the *vārttika: sakandhvādiṣu pararūpaṃ vācyam.*

2.3.58 **दिवस्तदर्थस्य**

divas tadarthasya
/ *divaḥ* 6/1 *tadarthasya* 6/1 = *saḥ artho yasya* = *tadarthaḥ (ṣaṣ.taṭ), tasya* /
(karmaṇi #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)
vyavahṛpaṇisamānārthasya dīvyateḥ karmaṇi ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express the *karman* of *div* 'to play' when it denotes a meaning similar to that of *vyavahṛ* 'to gamble' and *paṇ* 'to barter'.

EXAMPLES:

śatasya dīvyati 'he is gambling with a hundred'
sahasrasya divyati 'he is gambling with a thousand'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote the object of the action denoted by *div* 'to play' used in the sense of 'gamble' and 'barter'.

A question is raised as to why this rule should be stated separately from the preceding one. That is, verbal root *div*, synonymously used with *uyavahṛ* and *paṇ*, could very easily have been accommodated by the wording of the preceding rule. *Kāśikā* states that a split rule is required so that only *div* could be associated with the provision of 2.3.59 *vibhāṣopasarge*. If *div* were given as part of the preceding rule, all the roots would have become applicable in the context of rule 2.3.59. A separate formulation of this rule with *div* is thus *uttarārtha* 'for the sake of that which follows'.

The word *tad* 'that' is a varible which refers to the verbal roots *vyavahṛ* and *paṇ* and, when read with *arthasya* and *divaḥ*, gives the required interpretation: 'the object of the action denoted by *div* when used in the sense of *vyavahṛ* and *paṇ*' This condition of *tadarthasya* rules out genitive after *brāhmaṇa* in the example.

(*a*) *brāhmaṇaṃ dīvyati* 'he praises the *brāhmaṇa*'
where *div* is used in the sense of *stuti* 'praise'.

2.3.59 **विभाषोपसर्गे**

vibhāṣopasarge
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *upasarge* 7/1
(*divas tadarthasya* #58, *karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭ hī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)
upasarge sati divas tadarthasya karmaṇi kārake vibhāṣā ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally occurs to express the *karman* of *div* when it is used with a preverb and it denotes a meaning similar to that of *vyavahṛ* and *paṇ*.

EXAMPLES:

śatasya pratidīvyati 'he is gambling with a hundred'
śataṃ pratidīvyati 'id.'
sahasrasya pratidīvyati 'he is gambling with a thousand'
sahasreṇa pratidīvyati 'id.'

1. This rule makes optional the obligatory provision of *ṣaṣṭhī* of rule 2.3.58, when *div* is used with a preverb. If the option is not taken, *dvitīyā* will obtain.

2.3.60 **द्वितीया ब्राह्मणे**

dvitīyā brāhmaṇe
/ *dvitīyā* 1/1 *brāhmaṇe* 7/1/
(*divas tadarthasya* #58, *karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣ thī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)
brāhmaṇaviṣaye prayoge divas tadarthasya karmaṇi kārake dvitīyā vibhaktir bhavati

A *dvitīyā* occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* to express the *karman* of *div* when this root is used with a meaning similar to that of *vyavahṛ* and *paṇ* provided the *karman* is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLE:

gāmasya tadahaḥ sabhāyaṃ dīvyeyuḥ 'they should stake a cow for him in the gambling hall that day' (*Mait Saṃ* 1.6.11.56)

1. This rule is required to block the *ṣaṣṭhī* which would otherwise obtain to denote the object of *div*, used without a preverb. Of course, the *dvitīyā* is relatable only to usage in the *Brāhmaṇa*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* II: 220) explains that what is referred to here by the term *Brāhmaṇa* is really the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*.

2.3.61 **प्रेष्यब्रुवोर्हविषो देवतासम्प्रदाने**

preṣyabruvor haviṣo devatāsampradāne
/ *preṣyabruvoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *haviṣaḥ* 6/1 *devatāsampradāne* 7/1 = *devatā sampradānam yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin* /
(*brāhmaṇe* #60, *karmaṇi* #52, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)
preṣyabruvor haviṣaḥ karmaṇaḥ ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati devatā sampradāne sati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs in the *Brāhmaṇa* to express the *karman* of *praiṣ* 'to send forth, utter' and *brū* 'to utter', when the *karman* stands for a ritual oblation offered to a deity and is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

agnaye chāgasya haviṣo vapāyā medasaḥ preṣya 'offer the ritual oblation of goat, fat and marrow to Agni' (*KŚ* 6.6.26)
agnaye chāgasya haviṣo vapāyā medaso' nubrūhi 'make a pledge of the ritual oblation of goat, fat and marrow to Agni' (*KŚ* 6.6.26)

1. *Kāśikā* indicates that *iṣya* refers to the *divādi* root *iṣĀ* 'to go'. Furthermore, only its use in *LOṬ*, and that only in the second person singular, is intended by this rule. That the *iṣĀ* of *divādi* is intended is made clear by the use of *ŚyaN* in (*preṣya*). Because of *sāhacarya* 'association', *brū* is understood to be similarly constrained.

2.3.62 **चतुर्थ्यर्थे बहुलं छन्दसि**

caturthyarthe bahulaṃ chandasi
/ *caturthyarthe* 7/1 *bahulaṃ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)
chandasi viṣaye caturthyarthe ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati bahulam
A *ṣaṣṭhī* variously occurs in the sense of *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of *sUP*' in the Veda.

EXAMPLES:

puruṣamṛgaś candramasaḥ '...to the moon, a male deer' (*Vāj* 24.35)
puruṣamṛgaṃ candramase 'id.'
godhā kālakā dārvāghāṭaste vanaspatīnāṃ 'to the god of vegetation, a lizard, kālaka bird, and dārvāghāṭa' (*Vāj* 24.35)
godhā kālakā dārvāghāṭaste vanaspatibhyaḥ 'id.'

2.3.63 **यजेश्च करणे**

yajeś ca karaṇe
/ *yajeḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø *karaṇe* 7/1/
(*bahulaṃ chandasi* #62, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)
yajer dhātoḥ karane kārake chandasi bahulaṃ ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* also variously occurs in the Veda to express the *karaṇa* of *yajA* when it is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

ghṛtasya yajate 'he performs the ritual sacrifice with ghee' (*Śat* 4.4.2.4)
ghṛtena yajate 'id.'
somasya yajate 'he performs the ritual sacrifice with soma' (*Śat* 4.4.2.5)
somena yajate 'id.'

2.3.64 **कृत्वोऽर्थप्रयोगे कालेऽधिकरणे**

kṛtvo' rthaprayoge kāle' dhikaraṇe
/ *kṛtvo' rthaprayoge* 7/1 *kṛtvaso' rthaḥ* = *kṛtvo' rthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *kṛtvo' rtha eva artho yeṣāṃ te* = *kṛtvo' rthāḥ* (*bv.*), *kṛtvo' rthasya prayogaḥ* = *kṛtvo' rthaprayogaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmin; kāle* 7/1 *adhikaraṇe* 7/1/
(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite*#1)
kṛtvo' rthānāṃ pratyāyānāṃ prayoge kāle' dhikaraṇe ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express *adhikaraṇa* 'locus' after a stem which denotes time (*kāla*) and is used in conjunction with a word which ends in an affix having the sense of *kṛtvas* *UC* (5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyāḥ...*), provided *adhikaraṇa* is not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

pañcakṛtvo' hno bhuṅkte 'he eats five times a day'
dvirahno' dhīte 'he studies twice a day'

2.3.65 कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति

kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti
/ *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ* 7/2 *kṛti* 7/1
(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite*#1)
kṛtprayoge karttari karmaṇi ca ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem to express *kartṛ* and *karman*, when the stem is used in conjunction with an item which ends in *kṛt* (2.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*), and when *kartṛ* and *karman* are not expressed otherwise.

EXAMPLES:

bhavataḥ śāyikā 'your turn to sleep'
bhavata āsikā 'your turn to sit'
apāṃ sraṣṭā 'producer of water'
purāṃ bhettā 'destroyer of cities'

1. Note that the condition of *kṛti* 'when used in conjunction with an item which ends in a *kṛt*' is required so that a *kartṛ* or *karman* is not expressed with a genitive occurring after a stem used in conjunction with an item which ends in a *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitaḥ*). The *kartṛ* or *karman*, if expressed with the genitive, must be related with the action denoted by the root underlying the item which ends in *kṛt*. In the absence of this blocking function of *kṛti*, in connection with the denotation of *kartṛ* and *karman* of the action which underlies a *taddhita* derivate, the use of *kṛti* would become useless. For, only two types of affixes (*tiṄ* and *kṛt*) are introduced after a verbal root in relation to whose action one talks about the expression of *kartṛ* and *karman*. Rule 2.3.69 *na lokāvyayaniṣṭhā...* does not allow the genitive to express the *kartṛ* or *karman* in conjunction with an item which ends in a *tiṄ*. This leaves only those items which may end in a *kṛt*. To retain *kṛti* in the rule to perform any function other than blocking the genitive in relation to an item which ends in a *taddhita* would be to state the most obvious. Thus, given the sentence

(*a*) *kṛtapurvī kaṭaḥ* 'he who has already made the mat; he who is experienced in mat-making'

the word *kṛtapūrvī* is derived by introducing affix *inI* after *kṛtapūrva*, by rule 5.2.87 *sa pūrvāc ca*, a compound. Note that the affix *Kta* in *kṛta* of *kṛtapūrvī* denotes *bhāva*, thereby leaving the object yet to be expressed. But since it is part of a *taddhita* derivate its expression by the genitive under the provisions of this rule must be negated.

2.3.66 उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि

ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi
/ *ubhayaprāptau* 7/1 = *ubhayoḥ prāptiḥ yasmin saḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmin karmaṇi* 7/1/

(*kṛti* #65, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)
ubhayoḥ prāptir yasmin kṛti so' yam ubhayaprāptiḥ; tatra karmaṇy eva ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs to express only the *karman*, when both *kartṛ* and *karman*, if not expressed otherwise, are to be expressed by introducing *ṣaṣṭhī* after stems used in conjunction with an item ending in *kṛt*.

EXAMPLES:

āścaryo gavāṃ doho' gopālakena 'it is a surprise to see the non-cowherd milking the cow'
rocate me odanasya bhojanaṃ devadattena 'Devadatta's eating of rice pleases me'

1. This rule is necessitated in view of the diversity of the denotata of a *kṛt* affix. For example, a *kṛt* can be introduced to denote agent, object, or *bhāva*. In the case of instances where a *kṛt* expresses an agent, genitive by this rule could express the object, and vice versa. But what if a *kṛt* denotes *bhāva*, rather than either the agent or the object? This rule provides for the genitive under those circumstances to express only the *karman*.

Consider the first example, above. Here, *dohaḥ*, a derivative of *duh* 'to milk', expresses action by means of the *kṛt* affix *GHaÑ*. This clearly leaves the object, as well as the agent, of *duh* unexpressed. The present rule introduces genitive to express the *karman* after *go* 'cow', instead of after *agopālaka* 'one who is not a cowherd'. The *kartṛ* is then expressed by *tṛtīyā* introduced after *agopālaka*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 836) discusses a *vārttika* whereby a genitive under these circumstances may be allowed to denote *kartṛ*. This exception is made in view of a *kṛt* derivate which ends in affixes *aka* or *a* used in the feminine. Thus, consider the sentence

(*a*) *cikīrṣā devadattasya kaṭasya* 'Devadatta's desire of making a mat' where *cikīrṣā* contains a feminine base which ends in *ṬāP*. This feminine base underlies *cikīrṣa*, a *kṛt* base derived by introducing affix *a* by rule 3.3.102 *a pratyayāt*. Incidentally, *cikīrṣa*, after which affix *a* is introduced, is a derivate ending in *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ*...). Under the provision of the *vārttika*, the genitive can then express both the agent and the object, as is obvious from the genitive in *devadattasya* (the agent) and *kaṭasya* (the object).

An additional *vārttika* under this same rule further modifies the scope of these feminine derivates and the denotation of the agent by genitive. Consequently, a genitive can be used to express the agent only optionally where the feminine contains a base ending in an affix other than *aka* or *a*. Thus, we get two versions of the sentence below:

(*b*) *vicitrā hi sūtrasya kṛtiḥ pāṇineḥ* 'ingenious indeed is the making of the *sūtra* by Pāṇini'
(*c*) *vicitrā hi sūtrasya kṛtiḥ pāṇininā* 'id.'

Here, *pāṇineḥ*, ending in the genitive, optionally expresses the object; while *pāṇininā*, the instrumental, expresses the agent. The feminine form *kṛti* is derived by introducing the *kṛt* affix *KtiN* after the verbal root *kṛ*.

2.3.67 **क्तस्य च वर्तमाने**

ktasya ca vartamāne
/ *ktasya* 6/1 *ca* Ø *vartamāne* 7/1/
(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)
ktasya vartamānakālavihitasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs, to express *kartṛ* and *karman*, after a stem used in conjunction with an item which ends in *Kta* and denotes *vartamāna* 'current time'.

EXAMPLES:

rājñāṃ mataḥ 'honored by kings'
rājñāṃ pūjitaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *mata* and *pūjita* in the above examples are items which end in affix *Kta*. This affix is introduced in the sense of *vartamāna* by rule 3.2.188 *matibuddhi*.... The word *rājñām* is thus put in the genitive plural, made available by this rule under the condition of cooccurrence with an item which ends in *Kta*.

A question is raised as to why one should have this rule, when its provision can be made available by rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*. After all, *Kta* is a *kṛt* affix. It is said that this rule is necessary to provide for the genitive, which otherwise would be blocked by rule 2.3.69 *na lokāvyayaniṣṭhā*.... Affix *Kta* is also assigned the term *niṣṭhā* by rule 1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*.

2.3.68 **अधिकरणवाचिनश्च**

adhikaraṇavācinaś ca
/ *adhikaraṇavācinaḥ* 6/1 *ca* Ø /
(*ktasya* #67, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)
'kto' dhikaraṇe ca' vakṣyati, tasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati
A *ṣaṣṭhī* occurs after a stem in conjunction with an item which ends in *Kta* (3.4.76 *kto' dhikaraṇe*) and denotes *adhikaraṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

idam eṣām āsitam 'this is where they sit'
idam eṣām śayitam 'this is where they recline'

1. This is again an effort to make available the provision of genitive, which could otherwise be denied by the following rule.

2.3.69 न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम्

na lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛnām

/ *na* ∅ *lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛnām* 6/3 = *khalo' rthaḥ* = *khalarthaḥ*, *khalartha eva artho yeṣāṃ te* = *khalarthāḥ* (*bv.*), *laś ca uś ca ukaś ca avyayaṃ ca niṣṭhā ca khalarthaś ca tṛn ca* = *lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛn* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām* /

(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*#50)

'*la, u, uka, avyaya, niṣṭhā, khalartha, tṛn*' *ity eteṣāṃ prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir na bhavati*

A *ṣaṣṭhī* does not occur to denote *kartṛ* and *karman* after a stem used in conjunction with any of the following:

(*i*) *la*: 'the replacements of *LA*, in *ŚatṚ*, *ŚānaC*, (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ...*), *KānaC* (3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā*), *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*), *Ki* and *Kin* (3.2.171 *ādṛg...*)';

(*ii*) *u*: 'an item which ends in affix *u* (3.2.168 *sanāśaṃsabhikṣa uḥ*)';

(*iii*) *uka*: 'an item which ends in affix *ukaÑ* (3.2.154 *lasapata...*)';

(*iv*) *avyaya* 'an indeclinable';

(*v*) *niṣṭhā*: 'an item which ends in affixes *Kta* or *KtavatU* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*)';

(*vi*) *khalartha*: 'an item ending in an affix which denotes the sense of *KHaL* (3.3.126 *īṣad...*)'; and

(*vii*) *tṛn*: 'an item which ends in affixes introduced by rules 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ...* through 3.3.69 *tṛn*'.

EXAMPLES:

odanaṃ pacan 'cooking the rice'
odanaṃ pacamānaḥ 'id.'
odanaṃ pecānaḥ 'he cooked the rice'
odanaṃ pecivān 'id.'
papiḥ somaṃ '...drank the Soma'
dadirgāḥ '...gave away cattle'
kaṭaṃ cikīrṣuḥ 'he who is wishing to make a mat'
odanaṃ bubhukṣuḥ 'he who desires to eat rice'
āgāmukaṃ vārāṇasīṃ rakṣa āhuḥ 'people say that even the demons wish to come to Vārāṇasī for release'
kaṭaṃ kṛtvā 'having made the mat'
odanaṃ bhuktvā 'having eaten the rice'
odanaṃ bhuktavān 'he ate the rice'
devadattena kṛtam 'made by Devadatta'
īṣatkaro kaṭaḥ bhavatā 'it is easy for you to make the mat'
īṣatpānaḥ somo bhavatā 'it is easy for you to drink Soma'

somaṃ pavamānaḥ 'ritually purifying the Soma'
naḍam āghnānaḥ 'beating the dancer'
kartā kaṭān 'he who will make the mat'
vaditā janāpavādān 'he who will be saying bad things about people'

1. This rule disallows the introduction of *ṣaṣṭhī*, to denote *kartṛ* and *karman*, after a nominal stem used in conjunction with the following:
(*i*) a replacement of *LA*;
(*ii*) a form which ends in the affix *u*;
(*iii*) a form which ends in *ukaÑ*;
(*iv*) an indeclinable;
(*v*) a form which ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā*;
(*vi*) a form ending in the affixes which have the signification of *KHaL*; and
(*vii*) a form which ends in affix *tṛN*.

The compound base *lokāvyayaniṣṭhākhalarthatṛn* may be broken down as follows: *loka* + *avyaya* + *niṣṭhā* + *khalartha* + *tṛn*. The first item, *loka*, is still a complex form underlying (*u* + *uka*) + *la*. That is, *u* and *uka* are joined to form a *dvandva* compound (*ūkau*) and its base (*ūka*) is then combined with *la*. Thus, *u* + *uka* = *ūka*; *la* + *ūka* = *loka*. If one combines *u* + *la* first, *u* will then have to be placed first in the resultant compound, because *u* has the minimum number of vowels as compared with *la*. The result will then be: *ula*. If one now combines *uka*, the result will be *ukala*.

Commentators indicate that *LA*-replacements refer here to affixes *ŚatṚ*, *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe*), *KānaC* (3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā*), *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*), *Ki*, and *Kin* (3.2.171 *adṛgamahana...*). Affixes *u* and *uka* refer to rules 3.2.168 *sanāśaṃsabhikṣa uḥ* and 3.2.154 *lasapatapada...ukañ*, whereby affixes *u* and *ukaÑ* are introduced.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 839-40) discusses certain *vārttika* in connection with the negations of this rule. For example, a negation of genitive, relative to *uka*, is not applicable in the context of verbal root *kam* in the Classical (*bhāṣā*) language (*ukapratiṣedhe bhāṣāyām apratiṣedhaḥ*). We thus get examples such as this:

(*a*) *dāsyāḥ kāmukaḥ* 'lustful towards the maidservant'

Furthermore, in the context of the negation of genitive relative to an indeclinable, items which end in affixes *tosUN* (3.4.16 *bhāvalakṣaṇe...*) and *kasUN* (3.4.13 *īśvare...*) should be stated as exceptions. This will provide an example like:

(*b*) *purā sūryasyodetoḥ* 'before the rising of the sun' (*KS* 8.3)

The word *tṛn* here is interpreted as an abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*: *tṛN*) formed by the *tṛ* of the *Śatṛ* of 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv...* and the *N* of 3.3.69 *tṛn*. This interpretation, however, would require that *ṣaṣṭhī* be

negated in the context of *Śatṛ* only optionally. This will give the parallel examples:

(*c*) *cauraṃ dviṣan* 'hitting the thief'

(*d*) *caurasya dviṣan* 'id.'

2.3.70 अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ण्ययोः

akenor bhaviṣyadādhamarṇyayoḥ

/ *akenoḥ* 6/2 *akaś ca in ca* = *akenau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; bhaviṣyadādhamarṇyayoḥ* 7/2 = *bhaviṣyac ca ādhamarṇyaṃ ca* = *bhaviṣyadādhamarṇye* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ* /

(*na* #69, *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite* #1)

akasya bhaviṣyati kāle vihitasya, inas tu bhaviṣyati cādhamarṇye ca vihitasya prayoge ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir na bhavati

A *ṣaṣṭhī* does not occur to express the *karman* of those verbs which contain items terminated in affixes *aka*, or *in*, to denote future, or future in addition to *ādhamarṇya* 'debt', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ kārako vrajati 'he who will make the mat is going'
odanaṃ bhojako vrajati 'he who will eat the rice is going'
grāmaṃ gamī 'he is the one who will go to the village'
grāmaṃ gāmī 'id.'
śataṃ dāyī 'he is the one who will pay back the debt of a hundred'
sahasraṃ dāyī 'he is the one who will pay back the debt of a thousand'

1. This rule disallows *ṣaṣṭhī* after a nominal stem used in conjunction with a form which ends in *aka* or *inI*, and denotes either future, or future and *ādhamarṇya*, respectively. Note that this rule enumerates a set of two affixes denoting a corresponding set of two meanings. The question is: can one treat the denotatum of *aka* as future, and the denotatum of *inI* as *ādhamarṇya*? Or, should one treat both the meanings as the denotata of both the suffixes?

First of all, the assignment of meanings should not be made in terms of the order of enumeration (*saṃkhyāta*). Secondly, *aka* is found only denoting 'future', while *inI* is found denoting both 'future' and *ādhamarṇya*. We may therefore conclude that 'future' alone is the denotatum of *aka* in this rule. In the case of *inI*, as attested by usage, both the meanings obtain (*Mbh* II: 840-41). In order to arrive at this interpretation, Patañjali suggests that we resort to *yogavibhāga*. Consequently, the rule will be split into two as follows:

(*i*) *akasya bhaviṣyati*: '...in conjunction with a form ending in *aka* when 'future' is being denoted'

(*ii*) *ina ādhamarṇye*: '...in conjunction with *inI* when 'future' and *ādhamarṇya* are being denoted'

2. Note that because of the meaning condition of 'future', only those instances of *aka* will be considered valid where *aka* denotes 'future'. Thus, a reference to rules 3.3.10 *tumun-ṇvulau...* and 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* is obvious in the case of forms which end in *aka*. Affix *inI* refers here to both *inI* and *ṆinI*: one is an *Uṇādi* affix introduced by 3.2.3 *bhaviṣyati gamyādayaḥ*, and the other is introduced by 3.3.170 *āvaśyakādhamarṇyayor....* Two examples of this are respectively:

(*a*) *grāmaṃ gāmī* 'he is the one who will go to the village'

(*b*) *śataṃ dāyī* 'he is the one who will pay back the debt of a hundred'

2.3.71 कृत्यानां कर्त्तरि वा

kṛtyānāṃ karttari vā

/ *kṛtyānām* 6/3 *karttari* 7/1 *vā* Ø /

(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50, *anabhihite*#1)

kṛtyānāṃ prayoge karttari vā ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktir bhavati, na karmaṇi

A *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally occurs to express *kartṛ*, and not *karman*, when an item which ends in a *kṛtya* affix is used in conjunction.

EXAMPLES:

bhavatā kaṭaḥ kartavyaḥ 'the mat should be made by you'

bhavataḥ kaṭaḥ kartavyaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally to denote *kartṛ*, and not *karman*, after a nominal stem which is used in construction with an item ending in an affix termed *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*). In other words, this rule makes the obligatory provision of 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* optional. Consider, for example, the following sentence:

(*a*) *geyo māṇavakaḥ sāmnām* 'the boy is the chanter of the Sāman hymn' where *geyaḥ* contains *geya* which, in turn, is derived by introducing affix *yaT* (3.4.68 *bhavyageya...*) to optionally denote *kartṛ*. In sentence (a) then, *geyaḥ* denotes the agent. That being the case, the object remains unexpressed. Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* can now introduce *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote the object after *sāman*. Note that this rule makes an optional provision; hence, it might be assumed that its prohibition of *karman* coming under the purview of this rule is also optional. But this assumption would have been correct only if *karttari* had not been used in this rule. That is, the obligatory provision of 2.3.65 becomes optional only when the denotatum is *kartṛ* and not when it is *karman*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (II: 841) suggests *yogavibhāga* 'rule-splitting' for the present rule, whereby two rules can be obtained:

(*i*) *kṛtyānām* and

(*ii*) *karttari vā*.

Furthermore, *kṛtyānām* will have the *anuvṛtti* of *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*

from rule 2.3.66 *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*, and that of *na* from 2.3.69 *na lokāvyaya....* The two rules will then read:

(*i*) *kṛtyānām ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi na* 'a *ṣaṣṭhī* does not occur to denote *kartṛ* or *karman* after a nominal stem used in conjunction with a form which ends in an affix termed *kṛtya*'

(*ii*) *karttari vā* 'a *ṣaṣṭhī* optionally occurs to denote *kartṛ* after a nominal stem used in conjunction with an item which ends in an affix termed *kṛtya*'

Patañjali considers *yogavibhāga* necessary to account for the optional *ṣaṣṭhī* which denotes agent in sentences such as:

(*b*) *netavyāḥ vrajaṃ gāvaḥ kṛṣṇasya* 'Kṛṣṇa will take the cows to the grazing pasture'

Note that *netavya* is a form which ends in *tavyaT*, a *kṛtya* suffix. While *kṛṣṇa* can qualify for *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote agent by blocking the provision of 2.3.66 *ubhayaprāptau karmaṇi*, the word *vraja* will also qualify for genitive under the provision of rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*. However, this would give the wrong result: **netavyāḥ vrajasya gāvaḥ kṛṣṇasya*

If *yogavibhāga* is accepted, the first rule will block the denotation of both *kartṛ* and *karman* by means of optional *ṣaṣṭhī*. The second rule allows the optional *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote *kartṛ*. Thus, we have sentence (*c*) parallel to (*b*):

(*c*) *netavyāḥ vrajaṃ gāvaḥ kṛṣṇena.*

2.3.72 तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम्

tulyārthair atulopamābhyāṃ tṛtīyā' nyatarasyām
/ tulyārthaiḥ 3/3 tulyaḥ artho yeṣāṃ te tulyārthāḥ (bv.),
taiḥ, atulopamābhyām 3/2 tulā ca upamā ca = tulopame (itar. dv.), na tulopame = atulopame (nañ. tat.), tābhyāṃ; tṛtīyā 1/1 anyatarasyām 7/1/ (ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe #50)
tulyārthaiḥ śabdair yoge tṛtīyā vibhaktir bhavaty anyatarasyām; pakṣe ṣaṣṭhī ca, tulopamāśabdau varjayitvā

A *tṛtīyā* optionally occurs when a synonym of *tulya* 'equal, identical' other than *tulā* or *upamā* is used in conjunction, and the relation to be expressed is that of 'remainder'.

EXAMPLES:

tulyo devadattena 'equal to Devadatta'
tulyo devadattasya 'id.'
śadṛśo devadattena 'id.'
śadṛśo devadattasya 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *tṛtīyā* as an option to *ṣaṣṭhī*, after a nominal stem used in conjunction with a word which has the signification of *tulya* 'equal', and is other than *tulā* and *upamā*.

Note that Pāṇini did not have to use the word *artha* with *tulya* to indicate items having the sense of *tulya,* since he uses *tulyārtha* in the plural. If he meant just the form, he should have used the singular, as is his normal practice. Since he uses the plural, there must be some special purpose. What could that be? The purpose is to accept only those synonyms of *tulya* which could qualify as synonymous without any cooccurrence condition. Because of this cooccurrence exclusion, forms such as *iva* will not be treated as valid. Thus, in the example

(*a*) *gaur iva gavayaḥ* 'a cow is like any other cow'

iva denotes synonymity with *tulya*; but the same is conditioned by the occurrence of *gavayaḥ*. That is, consider a sequence such as this:

yathā X, *tathā* Y 'the way X, the same way Y'

Here, *tathā* Y governs the use of *iva.*

A sentence such as

(*b*) *pitṛtulyaḥ prājñyaḥ* 'equal to his father in intelligence'

will also be blocked from having *ṣaṣṭhī* after *prājña* 'intelligent', as the speaker wishes to indicate *prājña* either as *hetu* 'cause' or as *karaṇa* 'means'. This being the case, only *tṛtīyā* can be introduced.

2. Pāṇini's inclusion of the word *anyatarasyām* in this rule may seem a useless excercise, since the earlier rule already has *vā*. Why was *vā* not carried to denote optionality instead? This question is pertinent, because both *vā* and *anyatarasyām* denote optionality. Commentators add here that *anyatarasyām* has been used so that it can be carried to the next rule. If *vā* had been carried instead, *tṛtīyā* would also have been carried, due to its association with *vā*. Thus, Pāṇini used *anyatarasyām* to block the *anuvṛtti* of *tṛtīyā* from the following rules.

2.3.73 **चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितैः**

caturthī cāśiṣyāyuṣyamadrabhadrakuśalasukhārthahitaiḥ
/ *caturthī* 1/1 *ca* ∅ *āśiṣi* 7/1 *āyuṣya...hitaiḥ* 3/3 = *āyuṣyaṃ ca madraś ca bhadraś ca kuśalaṃ ca sukhārthaś ca hitaś ca* = *āyuṣya...hitaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *taiḥ* /
(*ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe* #50)
āśiṣi gamyamānāyām 'āyuṣya, madra, bhadra, kuśala, sukha, artha, hita' ity etair yoge caturthī vibhaktir bhavati; *cakāro vikalpānukarṣaṇārthaḥ*

A *caturthī* optionally occurs after a stem when items having the signification of *āyuṣya* 'longevity'; *madra* 'joy'; *bhadra* 'good fortune'; *kuśala* 'well-being'; *sukha* 'comfort, happiness'; *artha* 'prosperity'; or *hita* 'benefit' are used in conjunction and benediction is expressed as a remainder.

EXAMPLES:

> *āyuṣyaṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* 'may Devadatta live long'
> *āyuṣyaṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* 'id.'
> *madraṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* 'may Devadatta be happy'
> *madraṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* 'id.'
> *bhadraṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* 'may Devadatta enjoy good fortune'
> *bhadraṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* 'id.'
> *kuśalaṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* 'may Devadatta remain well'
> *kuśalaṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* 'id.'
> *sukhaṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* 'may Devadatta be happy'
> *sukhaṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* 'id.'
> *artho devadattāya bhūyāt* 'may Devadatta be prosperous'
> *artho devadattasya bhūyāt* 'id.'
> *hitaṃ devadattāya bhūyāt* 'may things be beneficial for Devadatta'
> *hitaṃ devadattasya bhūyāt* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *caturthī* as an option to *ṣaṣṭhī* after a nominal stem used in conjunction with *āyuṣya* 'longevity', etc., when *āśīḥ* 'benediction' is to be denoted. The *ca* in this rule is used to carry *anyatarasyām* 'optionally'. Since *caturthī* is being introduced optionally, in the event that this option is not taken, *ṣaṣṭhī* will be the choice.

2.4.1 द्विगुरेकवचनम्

> *dvigur ekavacanam*
> / *dviguḥ* 1/1 *ekavacanam* 1/1/
> *dviguḥ samāsaḥ ekavacanaṃ bhavati*
> A *dvigu* compound has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

> *pañcapūlī* 'a bundle of five bunches'
> *daśapūlī* 'a bundle of ten bunches'

1. A question is raised (*Mbh* II: 846) concerning the need for this rule. It is argued that since *dvigu* is here intended as one formed with the sense of *samāhāra* 'grouping', and since a grouping of more than one thing is by nature singular (*ekavacana*), this rule is not necessary.

It is proposed that this rule should be formulated so that a *samāhāra* can denote singular. This is necessary, because number is denoted with reference to each and every substance (*dravya*), and also because a *dvigu* entails syntactic coordination with *saṃkhyā* 'number'. If number is to be introduced with reference to each and every substance, then a compound, such as *pañcapūlī* of *pañcapūlīyaṃ śobhanā* 'this beautiful bundle of five bunches', should have plural ending. A singular could

be gotten only with some special effort (*yatna*). Our present rule does just that.

However, there is yet another problem. The singular in *iyam* 'this', an iterant (*anuprayoga*), or subsequent referent for *pañcapūlī*, could not qualify for singular; the affix which has been introduced to denote singular in *pañcapūlī* is conditioned by the fact that *pañcapūlī* is a *dvigu* compound. The singular in *iyam* becomes questionable, since it is not even a compound.

Commentators propose that the word *ekavacanam* in this rule should be interpreted, not in its technical (*pāribhāṣika*), but in its non-technical sense. Rule 2.4.1 would give the following meaning if *ekavacanam* is interpreted in its technical sense:

> 'an affix termed *ekavacana* occurs after a nominal stem when the sense of one is denoted'

The non-technical sense of *ekavacanam* would give this meaning:

> 'a *dvigu* is treated as denoting the sense of one'

This interpretation first analyzes the compound *ekavacanam* as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*: *ekasya vacanam* 'denotation of one'. Secondly, it relies on the etymological (*anvartha*) interpretation of the word. Thirdly, as is obvious from the translation of this rule, the meaning is *ātideśika* 'extensional' in nature. This being the case, the singular comes by way of extension, and not by way of each and every substance. The problem of the syntactic coordination of *dvigu* with *saṃkhyā* is also removed. That is, if *pañcapūlī*, a *samāhāra-dvigu*, is treated as having the denotation of one, then its *anuprayoga* 'iterant' (such as *iyam*) also gets the singular. Incidentally, the *ṣaṣṭhī* in *ekasya vacanam* denotes *vācyavācakabhāva* 'signified-signifier relationship'.

The *dvigu* in this rule must be interpreted as *samāhāra-dvigu*. The *taddhitārtha-dvigu*, also covered by rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca*, must be excluded from the reference of *dvigu* here. If it is not, examples such as *pañcasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtaḥ* /... *saṃskṛtau* /... *saṃskṛtāḥ* =*pañcakapālaḥ* / *pañcakapālau* / *pañcakapālāḥ* will result. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāśikā* II: 238) observes that the *ca* of the following rule, when brought close to the *dvigu* of this rule, will give the sense of *avadhāraṇa* 'exact delimitation'. That is, a *dvigu* denotes the sense of one only in *samāhāra*. Consequently, a *dvigu* is here treated as meaning *samāhāradvigu*.

The word *samāhāra* itself has been interpreted in two ways (for an explanation of which see my notes under rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*...). If the object interpretation of *samāhāra* is favored, then *khaṭvā* 'cot' in *pañcakhaṭvaḥ* cannot be referenced with *prathamā* 'nominative', nor can it be referred to with a fixed nominal ending (*ekavibhakti*). Consequently, *khaṭvā* cannot be termed an *upasarjana* which, in turn, will not facilitate

the shortening of its final *ā* to yield *khaṭvaḥ*. An object interpretation would require the introduction of nominal endings in accordance with the term 'object' (*karman*). Thus, *pañcapūlī*, in an object interpretation of *samāhāra*, would denote the five bunches to be grouped. The endings will accordingly be introduced in syntactic coordination with the object. The action interpretation of *samāhāra* would denote the meaning of a group (*samūha*) in which the individual entities thus grouped would have lost their individual identities. (cf. *PM* ad *Kāś* II: 239: *tirohitāvayavabhedaḥ samūharūpaḥ samāhāraḥ...*).

Commentators (*BM* ad *SK* II: 70-71) state that a *karman* interpretation of affix *GHaÑ* in *samāhāra* is preferred to justify the formulation of rule 2.4.1 *dvigur ekavacanam*. Thus, a *karman* interpretation would give prominence to the items grouped in a *samāhāradvigu* compound. The compound then requires a dual or plural ending in accord with the number of items involved. Rule 2.4.1. *dvigur...* will intervene at this time to extend the singular denotatum instead. A compound such a *pañcapūlī* will be extended the denotatum of singular in the wake of the possibility of plural.

An action interpretation of *samāhāra* would render rule 2.4.1 *dvigur...* unnecessary. For, in that case, a compound such as *pañcapūlī*, would automatically get singular based on the fact that action is obligatorily singular.

2.4.2 द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम्

dvandvaś ca prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām
/ *dvandvaḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø *prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām* 6/3 = *prāṇī ca tūryaś ca senā ca* = *prāṇitūryasenāḥ* (*dv.*), *teṣām aṅgāni* = *prāṇitūryasenāṅgāni* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *teṣām* /
(*ekavacanam* # 1)
prāṇyaṅgānāṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati, tathā tūryāṅgānāṃ senāṅgānāṃ ca
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote body parts of a living being; players of a musical instrument; or a division of the army, has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇipādam 'hands and feet'
śirogrīvam 'head and neck'
mārdaṅgikapāṇavikam 'the Mṛdaṅga and Paṇava drummers'
vīṇāvādakaparivādakam 'the Vīṇā and Parivādinī players'
rathikāśvāroham 'the charioteers and the cavalry'
rathikapādātam 'the charioteers and the infantry'

1. The word *aṅga* in this rule is read at the end of the *dvandva* compound *prāṇitūryasenā*. Consequently, *aṅga* will be read with each of the constituents of this compound (cf. *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*: 'An item cited at the end of a *dvandva* compound is to be read with each one of its constituents.'). The word *aṅga* is read in the plural, thus giving the interpretation of individual constituents as *prāṇyaṅgānāṃ dvandvaḥ*, etc. A singular reading will yield the constituents as *prāṇyaṅgasya dvandvaḥ*, etc. This will occasion the use of singular, as opposed to the plural. A split reading of this rule, with individual constituents read with *aṅga* in plural, will yield three sentences:

(*a*) *prāṇyaṅgānāṃ dvandvaḥ* (*ekavad bhavati*) 'a *dvandva* with constituents which denote 'the body parts of living beings' is treated as denoting the sense of one'

(*b*) *tūryāṅgānāṃ dvandvaḥ*... 'a *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote 'the players of musical instruments'...'

(*c*) *senāṅgānāṃ dvandvaḥ*... 'a *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote 'divisions of the army'...'

Note that a *dvandva* compound is permitted in the two senses of *samāhāra* and *itaretarayoga* (see my notes under 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*). An *itaretarayoga* of *prāṇyaṅga*, etc., is ruled out because the negation of *dadhipayas*, etc., stated in 2.4.14, would then become vacuous (*vyartha*). For, a negation made in the absence of a positive provision is useless.

2.4.3 अनुवादे चरणानाम्

anuvāde caraṇānām
/ *anuvāde* 7/1 *caraṇānām* 6/3/
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)
caraṇānāṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati anuvāde gamyamāne
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote different branches of the Vedas has the denotatum of one provided *anuvāda* 'recitation' alone is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

udagāt kaṭhakālāpam 'the Kaṭha and the Kālāpa prospered with their recitation'
pratyaṣṭhāt kaṭhakauthumam 'the Kaṭha and Kauthuma attained fame with their recitation'

1. The word *caraṇa* is explained as denoting various branches (*śākhā*) of the Vedas. It may also indirectly refer to people subscribing to those branches (*PM* ad *Kāś* II: 242: *caraṇaśabdaḥ kaṭhakālāpādiṣu śākhābhedeṣu mukhyaḥ, tad adhyāyiṣu puruṣeṣu gauṇaḥ*). This rule allows for *ekavadbhāva*

'treating something as denoting the sense of one', in the context of *anuvāda* 'recitation or interpretation based on information from elsewhere'. For example, *udagāt kaṭhakālāpam*, the first of the above examples, means that the Kaṭha and the Kālāpa prospered. The fact that this information is based on some indirect source is important for *ekavadbhāva* of this rule. A counter-example, *udguḥ kaṭhakālāpāḥ* 'id.', is thus offered to show that the information is not based on an indirect source, but on the observance of first recitation.

2.4.4 अध्वर्युक्रतुरनपुंसकम्

adhvaryukratur anapuṃsakam
/ *adhvaryukratuḥ* 1/1 = *adhvaryoḥ* (*sambandhī*) *kratuḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *anapuṃsakam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)
adhvaryukratuvācināṃ śabdānām anapuṃsakaliṅgānāṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati
A *dvandva* compound with non-neuter constituents which denote the ritual sacrifices of *Yajurveda* has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

arkāśvamedham 'the ritual sacrifices of Arka and Aśvamedha'
sāyāhnātirātram 'the ritual sacrifices of Sāyāhna and Ātirātra'

1. The word *adhvaryu* primarily means a *ṛtvij* 'priest at a sacrifice'. It is here interpreted as meaning the *Yajurveda*, a secondary meaning, because its primary meaning will only fit in a context when the *adhvaryu* becomes a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice'. This is not possible here. The word *adhvaryukratuḥ* thus specifies the constituency of the compound via its constituent meanings. The translation is therefore: 'a *dvandva* compound...which denotes the ritual sacrifices of *Yajurveda*...'. Incidentally, *kratu* has been used in the technical sense of a Soma sacrifice of the *Yajurveda*. It thus cannot refer to the sacrifices of *Yajurveda* in general. *Kāśikā* offers *darśapaurṇamāsau* 'the Darśa and Paurṇamāsa sacrifices of the *Yajurveda*' as a counter-example.

2.4.5 अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम्

adhyayanato viprakṛṣṭākhyānām
/ *adhyayanataḥ* Ø *viprakṛṣṭākhyānām* 6/3 = *aviprakṛṣṭā ākhyā yeṣām* (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣām*/
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)

adhyayanena nimittena yeṣāṃ aviprakṛṣṭā pratyāsannā ākhyā teṣāṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote close proximity for the reason of study has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLE:

padakramakam 'the person who has studied both the *pada* and the *krama* arrangements of Vedic recitation'
kramakavārttikam 'the person who has studied both the *krama* arrangement and the *vārttika*'

1. This rule allows *ekavadbhāva* for *dvandva* compounds with constituents which denote proximity to each other. The proximity, however, is to be established by their relative importance or the order in which they are to be studied. Thus, the first example, *padakramakam*, establishes close proximity between the *pada* and the *krama* arrangements of recitation. A *padapāṭha* recitation may also be easier than its corresponding *kramapāṭha* recitation. Such a proximity is not available between the grammarian and the ritualist of, for example, *yājñikavaiyākaraṇau*, where *ekavadbhāva* is not permitted.

2.4.6 जातिरप्राणिनाम्

jātir aprāṇinām
/ *jātiḥ* 1/1 *aprāṇinām* 6/3/
(*ekavacanam* # 1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)
jātivācināṃ śabdānāṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati prāṇino varjayatvā
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote class names (*jāti*) other than those of living beings has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

ārāśastrī 'an awl and a black knife'
dhānāśaṣkuliḥ 'parched rice and deep fried bread'

1. This rule extends *ekavadbhāva* to a *dvandva* compound which may have the constituency of words which denote *jāti*. An exception in the form of *aprāṇinām* is also furnished with the intended interpretation of the negative as *paryudāsa* (see my note under rule 2.3.1 for details). This negation blocks the *ekavadbhāva* to a *dvandva* compound such as

(*a*) *rūparasagandhasparśāḥ* 'form, taste, smell, and touch'

where it is the *jāti* of quality (*guṇa*), and not that of a *dravya* 'thing', that is denoted. This negation will also block *ekavadbhāva* in compounds such as

(*b*) *gamanākuñcanaprasāraṇāni* 'moving, contracting, and expanding'

where what is denoted is a class of actions. Note that

(*c*) *brāhmaṇakṣatriyabiṭśūdrāḥ*
would be denied *ekavadbhāva*, for the obvious reason that it denotes classes of living beings. An example such as
(*d*) *nandanapāñcajanyau* 'Kṛṣṇa's sword and conch'
would be disqualified for *ekavadbhāva* because it denotes the names of things, not of classes of things.

2.4.7 **विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदी देशोऽग्रामाः**

viśiṣṭaliṅgo nadī deśo' grāmāḥ
/ *viśiṣṭaliṅgaḥ* 1/1 = *viśiṣṭo bhinno liṅgo yasya* (*bv.*); *nadī* 1/1 *deśaḥ* 1/1 *agrāmāḥ* 1/3/
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)
viśiṣṭaliṅgānām = *bhinnaliṅgānāṃ nadīvācināṃ śabdānāṃ deśavācināṃ ca grāmavarjitānāṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati*
A *dvandva* compound with constituents of different genders which denote names of rivers and places, but not of villages, has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

gaṅgāśoṇam 'the rivers Gaṅgā and Śoṇa'
kurukurukṣetram 'the country of the Kurus, and Kurukṣetra'

1. The word *viśiṣṭa* is used here in the sense of *bheda* 'difference'. Consequently, the word *bhinnaliṅgānām* means 'of those with different genders'. Note that, because of the negation of *agrāmāḥ*, the words *nadī* and *deśa* are not treated as denoting their forms.

The words *nadī* and *deśa* are not specified by means of a compound. This is done to block the *ekavadbhāva* in those *dvandva* compounds which may have mixed (*vyatikīrṇa*) constituents; that is, compounds which may have one constituent denoting *nadī* and another which denotes *deśa*, (as opposed to all constituents which denote either *nadī* or *deśa*). If one wished to put *nadī* and *deśa* in the form of a compound, what kind of a compound would that be? Would it be a *samāhāra*, or an *itaretarayoga*? If a *samāhāra*, then it should be neuter, by rule 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*; if an *itaretarayoga*, then there will be an occasion for dual (*dvivacana*). The specification is therefore made without putting them in a compound. This means that a *dvandva* compound allowed for *ekavadbhāva* must have its constituents denoting either *nadī* or *deśa*, but not both.

2.4.8 **क्षुद्रजन्तवः**

kṣudrajantavaḥ
/ *kṣudrajantavaḥ* 1/2 /
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)

kṣudrajantuvācināṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote small creatures has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

daṃśamaśakam 'a bedbug and a mosquito'
yūkālikṣam 'a louse and a nit'

1. Note that the word *kṣudra* is used in varying senses. It can, for example, refer to a miserly person (*kṛpaṇa*); to a person who may be of low birth (*jāti*; *śūdra*) or of low character (*śīlahīna*); or to a person who may have a deformed limb (*aṅgahīna*; cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* II: 250; also refer to 4.1.131 *kṣudrābhyo vā*). The word is also used to denote small size or amount (*apacitaparimāṇa*). In the context of *jantu*, it is interpreted as follows:

kṣudrajantur anasthiḥ syād atha vā kṣudra eva yaḥ /
śataṃ vā prasṛtau yeṣāṃ kecid ā nakulād api //
'a *kṣudrajantu* is either without bones, or simply little; it is also those creatures of whom a hundred can fill one hand; some even characterize it as creatures up to the size of the mongoose'

Obviously, *kṣudra* read in association with *jantu* refers, in general, to creatures of insignificant size.

2.4.9 **येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः**

yeṣāṃ ca virodhaḥ śāśvatikaḥ
/ *yeṣām* 6/3 *ca* ∅ *virodhaḥ* 1/1 *śāśvatikaḥ* 1/1/
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)
yeṣāṃ śāśvatiko virodhas tadvācināṃ śabdānāṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote natural antipathy has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

ahinakulam 'snake and mongoose'
mārjāramūṣakam 'cat and mouse'

1. The force of the particle *ca* in the formulation of this rule is to demarcate exact meaning (*avadhāraṇa*). That is, *ekavadbhāva* becomes applicable only to those compounds whose constituents denote animals with a permanent antipathy towards each other. By inference, then, this rule provides for obligatory *ekavadbhāva* when the particular meaning condition (of antipathy) is met.

2.4.10 **शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम्**

śūdrāṇām aniravasitānām

/ śūdrāṇām 6/3 *aniravasitānām* 6/3 = *na niravasitāḥ* = *aniravasitāḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣām /*
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote non-outcast (*aniravasita*) *śūdra* has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

takṣāyaskāram 'a carpenter and a blacksmith'
rajakatantuvāyam 'a washerman and a weaver'

1. The word *niravasita* has been explained as:

yair bhukte pātraṃ saṃskāreṇāpi na śudhyati 'those whose eating from a pot makes its purification impossible even by means of rituals'

Note that ritual purity here refers to cleaning a pot with ash, or heating it in fire. This rule, as translated, entails constituents which denote those *śūdra* who are non-outcast, in that they are not of the *niravasita* category.

2.4.11 **गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि च**

gavāśvaprabhṛtīni ca
/ gavāśvaprabhṛtīni 1/3 = *gavāśvaṃ prabhṛti yeṣāṃ tāni* (*bv.*); *ca* Ø /
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)
gavāśvaprabhṛtīni kṛtaikavadbhāvāni dvandvarūpāṇi sādhūni bhavanti
A *dvandva* compound enumerated in the list headed by *gavāśvam* 'cows and horses' also has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

gavāśvam 'cows and horses'
gavāvikam 'cows and sheep'

1. This rule is by nature 'ad hoc' (*nipātana*). It thus does not extend the denotatum of one to the compounds, but simply states them as given by enumeration. Many of the items contained in the list headed by *gavāśvam* form an exception to rule 2.4.12 *vibhāṣā...*, which makes the provision of *ekavadbhāva* optional.

2.4.12 **विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम्**

vibhāṣā vṛkṣamṛgatṛṇadhānyavyañjanapaśuśakunyaśvavaḍavapūrvā-parādharottarāṇām
/ vibhāṣā 1/1 *vṛkṣa...ottarāṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)
'*vṛkṣa, mṛga, tṛṇa, dhānya, vyañjana, paśu, śakuni, aśvavaḍava, pūrvāpara, adharottara*' *ity eteṣāṃ dvandvo vibhāṣaikavad bhavati*

A *dvandva* compound optionally has the denotatum of one when its constituents denote *vṛkṣa* 'tree'; *mṛga* 'deer'; *tṛṇa* 'straw'; *dhānya* 'grain'; *vyañjana* 'condiments'; *paśu* 'domestic animal'; *śakuni* 'bird'; *aśvavaḍava* 'horses and mares'; *pūrvāpara* 'first and last; preceding and following'; and *adharottara* 'lower and upper'.

EXAMPLES:

plakṣanyagrodham 'Plakṣa and Nyagrodha trees'
plakṣanyagrodhau 'id.'
rurupṛṣatam 'Ruru and spotted deer'
rurupṛṣatāḥ 'id.'
kuśakāśam 'reeds and weeds'
kuśakāśāḥ 'id.'
vrīhiyavam 'rice and barley'
vrīhiyavāḥ 'id.'
dadhighṛtam 'yogurt and ghee'
dadhighṛtāḥ 'id.'
gomahiṣam 'cows and water-buffaloes'
gomahiṣāḥ 'id.'
tittirakapiñjalam 'partridges and heathcocks'
tittirakapiñjalāḥ 'id.'
aśvavaḍavam 'horses and mares'
aśvavaḍavau 'id.'
pūrvāparam 'first and last'
pūrvāpare 'id.'
adharottaram 'lower and upper'
adharottare 'id.'

1. The words *vṛkṣa*, etc., all qualify the word *dvandva* individually, thereby yielding the meaning:

'*a* dvandva compound with constituents which denote *vṛkṣa* 'tree' etc.'

Commentators inform us that *vṛkṣa*, etc., do not refer to their general categories, but to a specific tree, and so on. Thus, what is intended here is a *dvandva* compound with its constituents denoting something specific. Note that the required constituency would also rule out the synonyms of the specific words enumerated; for a *dvandva* compound entails *cārtha* 'the sense of 'and' (*ca*)' which, in turn, entails *bhinnārthatā* 'meaning distinction'. Such a meaning distinction is not possible in the case of *paryāya* 'synonyms'.

A further question is also raised in connection with this. Why could the constituency not be defined in terms of the general and the particular, as is the case with the example

(*a*) *govalīvardam* 'cows and bullocks'
where *go* is a general term and *valīvarda* 'bullock' is a corresponding particular? It is said that such usages are not available (*anabhidhānāt*). That is, one does not get examples such as
(*b*) *vṛkṣadhavam* 'trees and Dhava trees'
How, then, is example (*a*) to be explained? It is true that *go* refers to the general category of 'cattle'. When used in association with 'bullock' (*valīvarda*), however, *go* must mean *gavī* 'cow'. The compound *govalīvardam* can thus be explained without difficulty.

A compound with constituents which denote *vṛkṣamṛgatṛṇadhānya* qualifies for *ekavadbhāva* obligatorily by rule 2.4.6 *jātir aprāṇinām*. The present rule makes that provision optional. In the case of the other compounds listed by this rule, no other rule provides for *ekavadbhāva*. The provision is further made optional. In this way, the option becomes *prāptāprāpta* 'made available which it was not'.

Why is the word *mṛga* 'deer' used in this rule, when it could easily have been covered by *paśu* 'animal'? The word *mṛga* is used to indicate that the *dvandva* compound, to which is extended *ekavadbhāva* under the provisions of this rule, must have its constituents belonging to the same class (*tulyajātīya*). Thus, *ekavadbhāva* would be blocked in the case of compounds where the constituency involves animals of different classes. A separate reference to *aśvavaḍava* is made to block *ekavadbhāva*, where synonyms may have been used. A compound such as *aśvavaḍave* would not, therefore, qualify. It is also stated (*PM* ad *Kāś.* II: 256) that *aśvavaḍava* is cited for application by specific citation (*pratipadavidhāna*). Consequently, in view of *ekavadbhāva* of this rule, *aśvavaḍavau*, a masculine dual, will be blocked in favor of *aśvavaḍavam*, a singular neuter.

2.4.13 **विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि**

vipratiṣiddhaṃ cānadhikaraṇavāci
/ *vipratiṣiddham* 1/1 *ca* Ø *anadhikaraṇavāci* 1/1 = *adhikaraṇaṃ vakti* = *adhikaraṇavāci, na adhikaraṇavāci* = *anadhikaraṇavāci* (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2, *vibhāṣā* #12)
vipratiṣiddhārthānāṃ śabdānāṃ anadhikaraṇavācinām adravyavācināṃ dvandva ekavad bhavati
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote opposite meanings, excluding *adhikaraṇa* 'thing, material object', optionally has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

śītoṣṇam 'cold and hot'
śītoṣṇe 'id.'

sukhaduḥkham 'happiness and grief'
sukhaduḥkhe 'id.'
jīvitamaraṇam 'life and death'
jīvitamaraṇe 'id.'

1. The word *vipratiṣiddha* is explained as *parasparaviruddha* 'one opposed to the other', further qualified by *anadhikaraṇavāci* 'not having the denotatum of *adhikaraṇa*'. Commentators state that *adhikaraṇa* here does not denote its technical meaning of 'locus' (*ādhāra*). Instead, it denotes 'a thing' (*dravya*). Our rule thus refers to a compound where the constituents do not denote a thing or a material object. The *ca* of this rule is used to bring *vibhāṣā* from the previous rule. Consequently, we get alternate forms, such as the last pair of examples, above: *jīvitamaraṇam* and *jīvitamaraṇe*, where both mean 'life and death' but the second is a dual.

2.4.14 न दधिपयआदीनि

na dadhipayaādīni
/ *na* Ø *dadhipayaādīni* 1/3 /
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2)
dadhipayaādīni śabdarūpāṇi naikavad bhavanti
A *dvandva* compound enumerated in the list headed by *dadhipayasī* 'yogurt and milk' does not have the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

dadhipayasī 'yogurt and milk'
sarpirmadhunī 'ghee and honey'
madhusarpiṣī 'honey and ghee'

1. This rule starts the negation of *ekavadbhāva*, as related to the provisions made thus far. Consider, for example, *dadhipayasī*, a compound which is denied the extension of *ekavadbhāva* made available by rule 2.4.12 *vibhāṣā....* The option of *ekavadbhāva* was available on account of the constituents denoting *vyañjana* 'condiments'. *Kāśikā* cites the two additional examples (above), where *ekavadbhāva* is blocked on account of the denotation of *vyañjana*.

2.4.15 अधिकरणैतावत्त्वे च

adhikaraṇaitāvattve ca
/ *adhikaraṇaitāvattve* 7/1 = *etāvato bhāvaḥ* = *etāvattvam, adhikaraṇasya etāvattvam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin* /
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2, *na* #14)
adhikaraṇasyaitāvattve parimāṇe gamyamāne dvandvo naikavad bhavati
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote a measure, or quantity of a thing, does not have the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

daśa dantoṣṭhāḥ 'ten sets of teeth and lips'
daśa mārdaṅgikapāṇavikāḥ 'groups of ten Mṛdaṅga and Paṇava drummers'

1. This rule disallows *ekavadbhāva* to a compound which denotes the extent (*etāvattva*) of things. As a consequence, *ekavadbhāva* is not available to examples, such as *daśa dantoṣṭhāḥ*, where *daśa* denotes the extent.

2.4.16 विभाषा समीपे

vibhāṣā samīpe
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *samīpe* 7/1 /
(*ekavacanam* #1, *dvandvaḥ* #2, *adhikaraṇaitāvattve* #15)
adhikaraṇaitāvattvasya samīpe vibhāṣā dvandva ekavad bhavati
A *dvandva* compound with constituents which denote an approximate measure, or extent of a thing, optionally has the denotatum of one.

EXAMPLES:

upadaśaṃ dantoṣṭham 'approximately ten (nine or eleven) sets of teeth and lips'
upadaśā dantoṣṭhāḥ 'id.'
upadaśaṃ mārdaṅgikapāṇavikam 'groups of approximately ten (nine or eleven) Mṛdaṅga and Paṇava drummers'
upadaśā mārdaṅgikapāṇavikāḥ 'id.'

1. This rule extends *ekavadbhāva* optionally to a compound which denotes an approximate measure. While the preceding rule denied *ekavadbhāva*, with reference to the denotation of extent in general, this rule gives us optional forms such as those listed in pairs above. An extent in the proximity of ten could be either nine (*nava*) or eleven (*ekādaśa*). Note that an indeclinable may form either an *avyayībhāva* (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti...*), or a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.25 *saṃkhyayāvyayāsanna...*) with another constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number'. A compound with *ekavadbhāva* is interpreted as an *avyayībhāva*, since a corresponding *bahuvrīhi* would denote the sense of 'many'.

2.4.17 स नपुंसकम्

sa napuṃsakam
/ *saḥ* 1/1 *napuṃsakam* 1/1 /
yasyāyam ekavadbhāvo vihitaḥ sa napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati dvigur dvandvaś ca
A *dvigu* or a *dvandva* compound which has the denotatum of one is neuter.

EXAMPLES:

pañcagavam 'a group of five cows'
daśagavam 'a group of ten cows'
pāṇipādam 'hands and feet'
śirogrīvam 'head and neck'

1. A compound which has thus received *ekavadbhāva* is neuter (*napuṃsaka*). What is the referent of *saḥ* 'that'? It is that which has received *ekavadbhāva*. What has received *ekavadbhāva*? A compound termed *dvigu* or *dvandva*.

Note that this rule is introduced as an exception to the stipulation of *paravalliṅgatā* 'assignment of gender to a compound in consonance with its following constituent' (cf. 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*). Furthermore, in the context of a *dvandva* with *ekavadbhāva*, neuter becomes obligatory (*nitya*). In the case of a *dvigu*, it is not obligatory. This is shown by, for example, the *ṄīP* of

(*a*) *pañcakhaṭvī* 'a group of five cots'

which is parallel to *pañcakhaṭvam*.

Consider, also, the *vārttika* relative to gender under the present rule. For instance:

akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyāṃ bhāṣyate 'a *dvigu* with its subsequent member ending in *a* is stated in feminine'

Accordingly, we get examples such as

(*b*) *pañcapūlī* 'a bundle of five bunches'

2.4.18 अव्ययीभावश्च

avyayībhāvaś ca
/ *avyayībhāvaḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø /
(*napuṃsakam* #17)
avyayībhāvaś ca samāso napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati
An *avyayībhāva* compound is also neuter in gender.

EXAMPLES:

adhistri 'pertaining to women'
unmattagaṅgam 'a place where the Gaṅgā flows tempestuously'

1. This rule becomes necessary in view of rule 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*. whereby a *dvandva* and a *tatpuruṣa* is assigned gender in accordance with that of its following constituent. The meaning of the initial constituent is prominent in an *avyayībhāva*, for which no rule is formulated. The gender of a *bahuvrīhi*, because its denotatum falls outside its constituency, is assigned in accordance with something else. This

rule, therefore, is required to assign gender to the *avyayībhāva* compounds. The *ca* is generally used to bring something which has not been stated (*anuktasamuccaya*) into a rule: in this instance, the purpose of *ca* is to include the assignment of gender to an *avyayībhāva*.

This rule must be stated so that an *avyayībhāva* compound, such as *adhistri*, may not be assigned feminine. This possible assignment of feminine, in accordance with its subsequent constituent, will also be in consonance with the denotatum of the compound. The compound may end up with assignment of no gender whatsoever if one relies on the prominence of the indeclinable *adhi*. Similarly, in the absence of this rule, masculine gender may become available to the second example, *unmattagaṅgam*, on the basis of the fact that it denotes a place.

Note that the assignment of neuter by this rule to an *avyayībhāva* facilitates the short replacement of its long final vowel by rule 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya*. Thus, we get a shortening of *ī* and *ā* in *adhistri* and *unmattagaṅgam*.

2.4.19 तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः

tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ
/ *tatpuruṣaḥ* 1/1 *anañkarmadhārayaḥ* 1/1 = *nañ ca karmadhārayaś ca* = *nañkarmadhārayaḥ* (*sam. dv.*), *na nañkarmadhārayaḥ* = *anañkarmadhārayaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*napuṃsakam* #17)
nañsamāsaṃ karmadhārayaṃ ca varjayitvā anyaś tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavatīty etad adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam, yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatra
A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *naÑ* nor a *karmadhāraya* is neuter in gender.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇasenam 'the army of *brāhmaṇa* soldiers'
brāhmaṇasenā 'id.'

1. The word *anañkarmadhārayaḥ* is interpreted as 'that *tatpuruṣa* in which there is no *naÑ* or *karmadhāraya*' (*nañkarmadhārayau na vidyete yasmiṃs tatpuruṣe*). Obviously, the compound is a *bahuvrīhi* with an internal *dvandva* constituted by *anañkarmadhārayau*.

Questions have been raised concerning the type of the *dvandva* compound underlying *anañkarmadhārayaḥ*. If it is *samāhāra*, then the compound should be assigned the neuter gender (*napuṃsaka*); if it is *itaretara*, then the number should be dual (*dvivacana*). Commentators say that both types, on the strength of the usage found in the *sūtra* (*sautratvāt*), will be

correct. After all, the *sūtra* are like the Vedas, where contraposition of number and gender is not hard to find:

> *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* (II: 264): '*...nirdeśasya sautratvād ubhayathāpy adoṣaḥ; tathā hi chandovat sūtrāṇi bhavantīti...*'.

2. This rule is given as an *adhikāra*, and hence is carried through rules 2.4.25 *vibhāṣā*.... Consider the two examples, above, which are versions of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither *naÑ* nor *karmadhāraya*. The present rule assigns neuter, later to be made optional by rule 2.4.25 *vibhāṣā*....

Note that a general qualifier, such as *tatpuruṣaḥ*, is required so that neuter cannot be assigned to a *bahuvrīhi* compound like the following:

(*a*) *dṛḍhasenaḥ* 'the king whose army is strong'

A similar qualification of *tatpuruṣaḥ* by *anaN* and *karmadhārayaḥ* is also needed to block neuter to, for example,

(*b*) *asenā* 'a no good army'

which is a *naÑ*, and

(*c*) *paramasenā* 'an excellent army'

which is a *karmadhāraya*.

2.4.20 **संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु**

> *saṃjñāyāṃ kanthośīnareṣu*
> / *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *kanthā* 1/1 *uśīnareṣu* 7/3 /
> (*napuṃsakam* #17, *tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ* #19)
> *saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye kanthāntas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati, sā cet kanthā uśīnareṣu bhavati*
> A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *naÑ* nor a *karmadhāraya*, and which ends in *kanthā* 'a locality', is neuter in gender provided the compound denotes the name of a place in the region called Uśīnara.

EXAMPLE:

> *sauśamikantham* 'the city of the descendants of Suśama'
> *āhvarakantham* 'the city of the descendants of Ahvara'

1. The word *kanthā* is used here as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *tatpuruṣa*. Accordingly, and also in view of *tadantavidhi* 'the process of interpreting a word as denoting something which ends in it', *kanthā* will be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa* compound which has *kanthā* as its final constituent.

2.4.21 **उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम्**

> *upajñopakramaṃ tadādyācikhyāsāyām*
> / *upajñopakramam* 1/1 = *upajñāyate 'sau upajñā, upakramyate 'sau*

upakramaḥ, upajñā ca upakramaś ca = upajñopakramam (sam. dv.); tadādyācikhyāsāyām 7/1 = *ākhyātum icchā = ācikhyāsā, tayoḥ(upajñopakramayoḥ) ādiḥ = tadādiḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tadādeḥ ācikhyāsā = tadādyācikhyāsā (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasyām* /
(*napuṃsakam* #17, *tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ* #19)
upajñā ca upakramaś ca upajñopakramam, tadantas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati tadādyācikhyāsāyām
A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *naÑ* nor a *karmadhāraya*, and which ends in *upajñā* 'ingenuity' or *upakrama* 'initiative', is neuter in gender when the compound denotes the first person who used his ingenuity or who initiated something.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇiny upajñam akālakaṃ vyākdraṇam 'a grammar with no (definition of) *kāla* 'time, tense' is the creation of Pāṇini's ingenuity'
nandopakramāṇi mānāni 'the standard measure of weight was first started by Nanda'

1. The words *upajñā* and *upakrama* are interpreted as 'ingenuity' and 'initiation', respectively. A *tatpuruṣa* compound ending in *upajñā* or *upakrama* is assigned neuter gender when the beginning of either is desired as the denotatum. Thus, in the first example, the ingenuity of Pāṇini has innovated a grammar without a section on *kāla* 'tense'. A similar innovation (of standard weights) is credited to Nanda in the second example.

2.4.22 छाया बाहुल्ये

chāyā bāhulye
/ *chāyā* 1/1 *bāhulye* 7/1 /
(*napuṃsakam* #17, *tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ* #19)
chāyāntas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati bāhulye gamyamāne
A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *naÑ* nor a *karmadhāraya*, and which ends in *chāyā* 'shadow', is neuter in gender provided the compound denotes *bāhulya* 'abundance'.

EXAMPLES:

śalabhacchāyam 'a thick cloud of locusts'
ikṣucchāyam 'an abundance of sugar cane'

1. Note that a *tatpuruṣa* compound which ends in *chāyā* is optionally assigned neuter by rule 2.4.25 *vibhāṣā*.... This rule makes that optional provision obligatory when, of course, *bāhulya* 'abundance' is also denoted. This *bāhulya*, however, is relative to the meaning of the first constituent, as in the examples, where the abundance of locusts and sugar cane is expressed.

2.4.23 सभा राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा

sabhā rājā' manuṣyapūrvā
/ *sabhā* 1/1 *rājā' manuṣyapūrvā* 1/1 = *na manuṣyaḥ* = *amanuṣyaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *rājā ca amanuṣyaś ca rājāmanuṣyau* (*itar. dv.*), *rājā' manuṣyau pūrvau yasyāḥ sā* = *rājā' manuṣyapūrvā sabhā* (*bv.*) /
(*napuṃsakam* #17, *tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ* #19)
sabhāntas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati sā cet sabhā rājapūrvā, amanuṣyapūrvā ca bhavati
A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *naÑ* nor a *karmadhāraya*, and which ends in *sabhā* 'assembly hall', is neuter in gender provided *sabhā* is preceded either by a synonym of *rājā* 'king' or by a constituent which denotes *amanuṣya* 'non-human'.

EXAMPLES:

inasabham 'the king's council'
rakṣasabham 'the assembly of demons'

1. Note that the word *rājan* 'king', qualifying *sabhā* 'assembly hall', is interpreted as denoting only its synonyms (*Kāś*: *paryāyavacanasyaiveṣyate*). Refer to my note 2(*c*) under rule 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya*... for an account of the implications of a *vārttika* in connection with the application of this rule.

Note here that a word which denotes a particular king would also disqualify a compound from being assigned neuter. For example, one would not get:

**candraguptasabham* 'the assembly hall of King Candragupta'

The restriction of *amanuṣya* would favor examples such as the second, above; but it would rule out something like:

**devadattasabham* 'the assembly hall of Devadatta'

The word *sabhā*, as is already shown in the translation, is to be read here in the sense of *śālā* 'hall'.

2.4.24 अशाला च

aśālā ca
/ *aśālā* 1/1 *ca* 0 /
(*napuṃsakam* # 17, *tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ* #19, *sabhā* #23)
aśālā ca yā sabhā tadantas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati
A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *naÑ* nor a *karmadhāraya*, and which ends in *sabhā* 'assembly hall', is neuter in gender provided *sabhā* does not denote *śālā* 'house'.

EXAMPLES:

strīsabham 'gathering of women'
dāsīsabham 'gathering of maids'

1. This rule requires that the word *sabhā* should be interpreted in a sense other than that of *śālā* 'hall'. *Kāśikā* clearly states that *sabhā*, for purposes of the present rule, is to be treated as denoting *saṃghāta* 'assembly, gathering'. Thus, a *tatpuruṣa* compound such as

(*a*) *anāthasabhā* 'hall of orphans, orphanage'

could not be assigned neuter, as opposed to feminine, since *sabhā* is not used in the sense of 'gathering'. Nor could it qualify for neuter under the previous rule, on account of the negation of *amanuṣyapūrvā*.

2.4 25 विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम्

vibhāṣā senāsurācchāyāśālāniśānām
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *senā...niśānām* 6/3 = *senā ca surā ca chāyā ca śālā ca niśā ca* = *senāsurācchāyāśālāniśāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tāsām* /
(*napuṃsakam* #17, *tatpuruṣo' nañkarmadhārayaḥ* #19)
'*senā, surā, chāyā, śālā, niśā' ity evam antas tatpuruṣo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati vibhāṣā*
A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is neither a *naÑ* nor a *karmadhāraya*, and which ends in *senā* 'army'; *surā* 'liquor'; *chāyā* 'shadow'; *śālā* 'house, hall'; or *niśā* 'night', is optionally neuter in gender.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇasenam 'an army of *brāhmaṇa*'
brāhmaṇasenā 'id.'
yavasuram 'liquor made from barley'
yavasurā 'id.'
kuḍyacchāyam 'shadow of the wall'
kuḍyacchāyā 'id.'
gośālam 'cowhouse'
gośālā 'id.'
śvaniśam 'night of the dogs'
śvaniśā 'id.'

1. Note that *tatpuruṣaḥ*, in the nominative, and carried from 2.2.19, is here transformed into *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. Read with *napuṃsakam* it yields the meaning:
senādyantānāṃ tatpuruṣānāṃ napuṃsakatvam 'neuterness of the *tatpuruṣa* compounds ending in the constituents *senā*, etc.'

Kāśikā offers only a straightforward interpretation in the *vṛtti*.
The *vibhāṣa* 'optional provision' of this rule is treated as *aprāpta* 'that

which was not available', because neuter (*napuṃsaka*) was not available to the compounds under discussion from any earlier rule.

2. The word *chāyā* is included here with the understanding that *bāhulya* 'abundance' will not be the intended meaning. If this were so, the obligatory provision, made via the semantic restriction of 2.4.22 *chāyā bāhulye*, would then become vacuous.

3. *Nyāsa* explains the compound (and ninth example, above) *śvaniśam* as 'the night in which the dogs howl around wildly'. Haradatta, perhaps on the basis of the *Śābarabhāṣya* (to which Bhaṭṭoji also subscribes), says that *śvaniśam* refers to the fourteenth night (*caturdaśī*) of the dark fortnight (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*) when, according to tradition, the dogs fast (*PM* ad *Kāś* II: 269: *yasyāṃ niśāyāṃ śvāna upavasanti sā śvaniśam ity ucyate. sā punaḥ kṛṣṇa-caturdaśī tasyāṃ hi śvāna upavasantīti prasiddhiḥ*).

2.4.26 परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयोः

paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ
/ *paravat* Ø *liṅgam* 1/1 *dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ* 6/2 /
parasya yal liṅgaṃ tad bhavati dvandvasya tatpuruṣasya ca
A *dvandva* or a *tatpuruṣa* compound is similar to its final constituent in gender.

EXAMPLES:

kukkuṭamayūryau 'a rooster and a peahen'
mayūrīkukkuṭau 'a peahen and a rooster'
arddhapippalī 'half of a pepper'
arddhakośātakī 'half of a *kośātakī* fruit'
arddhanakharañjanī 'half of the nail polish'

1. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś* II: 269) gives a very straightforward explanation of the aspects of this rule's formulation. I summarize this in the following paragraphs:

A *dvandva* compound is said to have the meaning of each of its constituents as principal (*pradhāna*). This rule makes a restrictive provision (*niyama*) of gender, in accordance with the following constituent of the compound, where the constituency entails differing genders. The compound cannot be assigned differing genders either simultaneously (*yugapad*), or in turn (*paryāya*). Also note that neuter (*napuṃsaka*) has already been extended to instances of *samāhāra-dvandva*. The present rule thus extends gender in accordance with the gender of the following constituent, relative to the *dvandva* compound of *itaretarayoga* type.

A *tatpuruṣa* compound may have the meaning of either its initial or its final constituent as principal. Thus, we get examples such as the third, above, which is *arddhapippalī* 'half of a pepper'. Here, the meaning of the first constituent is principal. However, in a word like:

(*a*) *rājakumārī* 'the daughter of the king'
the principal meaning resides in the following constituent. *Nyāsa* observes that, in view of this, the assignment of gender in accordance with that of the following constituent, in compounds where the meaning of the following constituent is principal, becomes useless; such a compound will in any case have the required gender. This rule, therefore, provides for the extension of gender, in consonance with that of the following constituent, in instances where a *tatpuruṣa* compound may have the meaning of its initial constituent as principal.

The *ekadeśisamāsa* (2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottaram*...) is basically the focus of this rule in the case of *tatpuruṣa*. The word *dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ* is interpreted as genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) dual, as opposed to locative (*saptamī*). A locative interpretation would make the *pada* preceding an item specified by locative the focus of operation (cf. 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe*...). The *pada* specified by locative for the purposes of the application of this rule would be the following constituent of a *dvandva* or a *tatpuruṣa* compound. The focus of the extension of gender operation would therefore become the preceding constituent. Applied to an example such as the second above, (*mayūrīkukkuṭau*), this would cause the deletion of the feminine suffix of *mayūrī* 'peahen'. A *tatpuruṣa* compound, as in *arddhapippalī*, would also then demand transfer of feminine to *arddha*, which is neuter.

Thus, *dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ* is interpreted as genitive, with the result that the compound itself becomes the focus of the operation of gender extension. The extension of an operation, or the lack of it, relative to the preceding constituent, is avoided in this way. Since the extension of gender relates to the compound, an iterant (*anuprayoga*), such as *idam*, would also qualify for the same gender. Consider

(*b*) *kukkuṭamayūryāv ime*

(*c*) *mayūrīkukkuṭāv imau*

where *ime* and *imau*, in feminine and masculine respectively, are iterants of their corresponding compounds.

Further questions have arisen concerning the true meaning of *paraval liṅgam*. It has been asked whether the reference of *liṅga* is made to the form (*śabda*) which denotes the gender one understands, or to the meaning. Commentators agree upon the latter answer, that it is the meaning which is made the focus of extension in *paraval liṅgam*. Reference to the form would entail the notion of an affix denoting the gender. This would cause the introduction of the affix denoting gender in accordance with the following constituent. That affix would then have to be introduced after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*); and this would create confusion.

2.4.27 **पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ**

pūrvavad aśvavaḍavau

/ *pūrvavat* Ø *aśvavaḍavau* 1/2 /
aśvavaḍavayoḥ pūrvaval liṅgaṃ bhavati
A *dvandva* compound of *aśva* 'stallion' and *vaḍava* 'mare' is similar to its first constituent in gender.

EXAMPLE:

aśvavaḍavau 'a stallion and a mare'

1. This rule extends gender to a compound, particularly *aśvavaḍava*, in accordance with the gender of its initial constituent. Note that *aśva* 'stallion' will dictate the gender of the compound. Consequently, we get the masculine dual in the example *aśvavaḍavau* above. Recall that the denotatum of singular was optionally extended to *dvandva* compounds with constituents which denote animals (*paśudvandva*) by rule 2.4.12 *vibhāṣā vṛkṣamṛgatṛṇadhānya*. Obviously, the provisions of the present rule will be accepted where the former option is not. For, the *paśudvandva* to which the option of singular applies would be neuter by rule 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*.

This rule thus forms an exception to the preceding one. It also forms the residue, via this extension of gender, of rules 2.4.12 *vibhāṣā vṛkṣamṛgatṛṇa-dhānya...* and 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*.

2.4.28 **हेमन्तशिशिरावहोरात्रे च छन्दसि**

hemantaśiśirāv ahorātre ca chandasi
/ *hemantaśiśirau* 1/2 *ahorātre* 1/2 *ca* Ø *chandasi* 7/1 /
(*pūrvavad* #27)
'hemantaśiśirau, ahorātre' ity etayoś chandasi viṣaye pūrvaval liṅgaṃ bhavati
A *dvandva* compound of *hemanta* 'autumn' and *śiśira* 'winter', or of *ahan* 'day' and *rātri* 'night', is similar to its first constituent in gender, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

hemantaśiśirau 'autumn and winter'
ahorātre 'day and night'

1. This rule forms an exception to *paravaliṅgatā*, or gender in accordance with the gender of the following constituent (2.4.26 *paraval liṅgam...*), especially in the context of the Vedic. Thus, we get the first example, where *hemanta* is masculine and *śiśira* is neuter. In the absence of the provision of this rule, the compound would have been neuter. A similar explanation can be given for the second example, *ahorātre*, where the compound is extended neuter in accordance with its initial constituent *ahan*, which is neuter, as opposed to the feminine *rātri*.

2.4.29 रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि

rātrāhnāhāḥ puṃsi
/ *rātrāhnāhāḥ* 1/3 = *rātraś ca ahnaś ca ahaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *puṃsi* 7/1 /
(*kṛtasamāsāntānāṃ nirdeśaḥ*) '*rātra, ahna, aha' ity puṃsi bhāṣyante*
A compound with *rātra*, *ahna*, or *aha* as its final constituent is masculine in gender.

EXAMPLES:

dvirātraḥ 'a time span consisting of two nights'
trirātraḥ 'a time span consisting of three nights'
catūrātraḥ 'a time span consisting of four nights'
pūrvāhṇaḥ 'forenoon'
aparāhṇaḥ 'afternoon'
madhyāhnaḥ 'midday'
dvyahaḥ 'a time span of two days'
tryahaḥ 'a time span of three days'

1. Again, this rule is an exception to *paravalliṅgatā* of 2.4.26. For example, given the compounds (listed above) *dvirātraḥ* and *madhyāhnaḥ*, rule 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgam...* would require the former to be feminine and the latter, neuter, in accordance with the respective genders of *rātri* and *ahan*.

Note that this rule specifies *rātra*, *ahna*, and *aha* not by their base forms, but by their forms derived after the introduction of the *samāsānta* affixes (*Kāś*: *kṛtasamāsāntānāṃ nirdeśaḥ*). For example, *dvirātra* is a *samāhāra-dvigu* derived from the string

dvi + au + rātri + au

by 2.1.51 *taddhitārtha...*, and parallel to the sentence

dve rātrī samāhṛte 'the two nights grouped'

Given the form *dvirātri*, the *samāsānta* affix *aC* will be introduced by rule 5.4.87 *ahaḥ sarvaikadeśa....* The *i* of *dvirātri* will subsequently be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Our present rule will then extend the masculine, whereby

dvirātr(*i* → Ø) + *a*(*C* → Ø) = *dvirātr* + *a* = *dvirātra*

will yield the form *dvirātraḥ*.

2.4.30 अपथं नपुंसकम्

apathaṃ napuṃsakam
/ *apatham* 1/1 *napuṃsakam* 1/1 /
apathaśabdo napuṃsakaliṅgo bhavati
The *nañ-tatpuruṣa apatha* 'a path not fit to be followed' is neuter in gender.

EXAMPLES:

apatham idam 'this is a path not fit to be followed'
apathāni gāhate mūḍhaḥ 'only an idiot follows a wrong path'

1. The word *apatha* is specified here as ending in the *samāsānta* affix *aC*. That is, this extension of neuter constitutes an exception to the masculine only with reference to the negative of *pathin* 'path, road', used with a *samāsānta* suffix. Note in connection with this that a *samāsānta* affix after a compound constituent, such as *pathin* used with *naÑ*, is optionally blocked by rule 5.4.72 *patho vibhāṣā*. Thus, if the option of the *samāsānta* affix were availed, then rule 6.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ*... would introduce affix *aC*. This, in turn, would yield *apatha*, which, in accordance with the provision of the present rule, will be extended neuter. If the option of the *samāsānta* affix is not taken, the derivate would be masculine (*apanthāḥ*), as opposed to the neuter *apatham*.

2.4.31 अर्द्धर्चाः पुंसि च

arddharcāḥ puṃsi ca
/ *arddharcāḥ* 1/3 *puṃsi* 7/1 *ca* Ø /
(*napuṃsakam* #30)
arddharcādayaḥ śabdāḥ puṃsi napuṃsake ca bhāṣyante
Items enumerated in the list headed by *arddharca* 'half a hymn' are both neuter and masculine in gender.

EXAMPLES:

arddharcaḥ 'half a hymn'
arddharcam 'id.'
gomayaḥ 'cow-dung'
gomayam 'id.'

1. This rule optionally extends masculine to the neuter in case of items contained in the list headed by *arddharca* 'half a hymn'. *Kaśikā* remarks that this extension of gender is made with reference to the forms of the enumerated compounds, although there may be some where the gender is established on the basis of the meaning. For example, *padma* and *śaṅkha*, which denote *nidhi* 'treasure', are masculine. They are, however, both masculine and neuter when used in the sense of 'lotus':

śabdarūpāśrayā ceyaṃ dviliṅgatā kvacid arthabhedenāpi vyavatiṣṭhate, yathā padmaśaṅkhaśabdau nidhivācakau puṃliṅgau jalaje ubhayaliṅgau

2.4.32 इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ

idamo 'nvādeśe 'śanudāttas tṛtīyādau
/ *idamaḥ* 6/1 *anvādeśe* 7/1 *aś* 1/1 *anudāttaḥ* 1/1 *tṛtīyādau* 7/1 /
ādeśaḥ = *kathanam*, *anvādeśaḥ* = *anukathanam*; *idamo 'nvādeśaviṣayasyāśādeśo bhavaty anudāttas tṛtīyādau vibhaktau parataḥ*
The word *idam* 'this' is replaced by *anudātta* 'high-pitched' *aŚ* when

it is followed by nominal endings beginning with *tṛtīyā*, and when it occurs as part of an *anvādeśa* 'a tagged statement; a statement which follows'.

EXAMPLES:

ābhyāṃ chāttrābhyāṃ rātrir adhītā, atho ābhyām aharapy adhītam 'these two students studied the whole night and then they studied the whole day'
asmai chāttrāya kambalaṃ dehi, atho asmai śāṭakam api dehi 'give a blanket to this student and also give him a loincloth'

1. The word *ādeśa* has been glossed by *Kāśikā* as *kathanam* 'a statement'; *anvādeśa* thus becomes *anukathanam* 'a tagged statement'. This rule orders *idam* to be replaced with *aŚ*, with the further stipulation that *aŚ* be *anudātta*. In the first of the above examples, the words *ābhyām aharapy adhītam* will be treated as *anvādeśa*. The word *ābhyām* entails the replacement of *idam* by *aŚ*:

idam + *bhyām* = (*idam* → *aŚ*) + *bhyām* = *a* + *bhyām*= *ābhyām*

Note that the replacement of *idam* by *aŚ* is total, because *aŚ* is marked with *Ś* (1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). Furthermore, whether *aŚ* replaces *idam* or not, the derivate will be unaffected, except in case of its accent and when 5.3.7 *avyayasarvanāmnā*... has applied. Given the form *ābhyām*, where *idam* has been replaced by *aŚ*, *ā* will be *anudātta*. In the absence of *anvādeśa*, the nominal ending will not be *anudātta*. It will have to be marked *udātta* by 6.1.171 *ūḍidampadādya*..., since it occurs after a base which is marked *anudātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

2.4.33 एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ

etadas tratasos tratasau cānudāttau
/ *etadaḥ* 6/1 *tratasoḥ* 7/2 = *traś ca taś ca* = *tratasau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *tratasau* 1/2 *ca* ∅ *anudāttau* 1/2 /
(*anvādeśe, anudāttaḥ* #32)
etado 'nvādeśaviṣayasyāśādeśo bhavaty anudāttas tratasoḥ parataḥ; *tau cāpi tratasāv anudāttau bhavataḥ*
The word *etad* 'this' is replaced by *anudātta aŚ* when it occurs as part of *anvādeśa* and is followed by affixes *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyā*...) or *tasIL* (5.3.7 *pañcamyā*...), which, in turn, also become *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

etasmin grāme sukhaṃ vasāmaḥ, atho atra yuktā adhīmahe 'we live happily in this village and thus let us study diligently here'
etasmāc chātrāc chando 'dhīṣva, atho ato vyākaraṇam apy adhīṣva 'study Veda from this student and also study grammar from him'.

1. Note that *idam* is not carried in this rule, for reasons of incompatibility with *etad*. It will, however, be valid in the next rule, as will *etad*. Furthermore, *atra* and *ato* (*atas*) are replacements for *etasmin* and *etasmāt* respectively.

The present rule orders three operations simultaneously (*yugapad*): the replacement of *aŚ* for *etad*; the *anudātta* accent for *aŚ*; and further *anudātta* accent for affixes *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*) and *tasIL*(5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil*).

2.4.34 द्वितीयाटौस्स्वेनः

dvitīyāṭaussv enaḥ
/ *dvitīyāṭaussu* 7/3 = *dvitīyā ca ṭā ca oś ca* = *dvitīyāṭausaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *enaḥ* 1/1 /
(*idamo 'nvādeśe anudāttaḥ* #32, *etadaḥ* #33)
dvitīyā, ṭā, os ity eteṣu parata idametador anvādeśaviṣayayor enaśabda ādeśo bhavati anudāttaḥ
The words *idam* and *etad* are replaced by *anudātta ena* when they occur as part of *anvādeśa* and are followed by *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of *sUP*'; *Ṭā* 'singular third triplet of *sUP*'; or *os* 'dual sixth or seventh triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

imaṃ chāttraṃ chandam adhyāpaya, atho enaṃ vyākaraṇam adhyāpaya 'teach Veda to this student and also teach him grammar'
anena chāttreṇa rātrir adhītā, atho enenāhar apy adhītam 'this student studied the whole night and he also studied the whole day'
anayoś chāttrayoḥ śobhanaṃ śīlam, atho enayoḥ prabhūtaṃ svam 'these two students have very nice conduct and thus also have a lot of wealth'

1. Note that *idamaḥ* is carried via *anuvṛtti*, frequently called *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'.

2.4.35 आर्धधातुके

ārdhadhātuke
/ *ārdhadhātuke* 7/1 /
'ārdhadhātuke' ity adhikāro' yam, 'ṇyakṣattriyārṣañitaḥ' iti yāvat; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tad ārdhadhātuke veditavyam
When an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam śeṣaḥ*) ..

EXAMPLES:

bhavyam 'ought to be brought about'
praveyam 'ought to be woven'
ākhyeyam 'ought to be told'

1. This rule is given as an *adhikāra,* governing rule enumerated prior to 2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyā....* Commentators indicate that the locative here is to be interpreted as *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain', whereby operational provisions made by rules contained within this domain will become applicable, in anticipation of the domain of *ārdhadhātuka* being presented at some later stage. That is, when an *ārdhadhātuka* finds its scope. *Kāśikā* makes the distinction between 'replacement in anticipation of an affix' as opposed to 'when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows'. This is done by using the words *viṣaye* and *parataḥ* respectively. The distinction, for reasons of readability, consistency, and style, may not always be maintained in the English translation of the rules. Explanatory notes and relevant derivational details will, however, be provided to clear up any confusion.

Now consider, for example,

(*a*) *vadhyāt* 'may he kill...'

which is third person singular of *LIN* denoting benediction. Here, verbal root *han* is replaced with *vadha* under the provisions of rule 2.4.42 *hano vadha liṅi.* A minimum paraphrase of the aforementioned rule, read with the *anuvṛtti* of *ārdhadhātuke* of the present rule, will be as follows:

> *hanter vadha liṅi ārdhadhātuke* '*vadha* (comes as a replacement) in place of *han* when an *ārdhadhātuka* (replacement of) *LIṄ* finds its scope'

A *parasaptamī,* as opposed to a *viṣayasaptamī,* interpretation would require the paraphrase to be:

> '*vadha* (comes as a replacement) in place of *han* when an *ārdhadhātuka* (replacement of) *LIṄ* follows'

This being the case, a *vadha* replacement of *han* will not be realized unless *LIṄ* is introduced after *han* (3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi*), and is subsequently replaced with the third personal singular *parasmaipada* ending *tiP* (3.4.76 *lasya;* 3.4.77 *tiptasjhi...*). That is, *han* cannot be replaced with *vadha* unless *tiP*, an *ārdhadhātuka* affix by 3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi,* follows.

According to the commentators, this replacement operation is desired to be applied in anticipation of the *ārdhadhātuka* affix to be introduced later. For this, take as an example the derivation of the first example listed under the present rule:

(*as* → *bhū*) + *yaT*)) + *sU*

where rule 2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ* orders *bhū* as a replacement for *as* 'to be'. Rule 3.1.97 *aco yat* introduces suffix *yaT* after a verbal root ending in a vowel (*aC*). Obviously, *yaT* cannot be introduced after *as*, since it ends in a consonant. However, if *bhū* comes as a replacement, in anticipation of the subsequent introduction of *yaT*, everything will be in order. Rule 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo 'nalvidhau* will enable *bhū* to be treated as *as*, the verb root it replaced.

If one waits for the replacement to take place after the introduction of the suffix, wrong forms will result. Let us now introduce affix *ṆyaT* after *as*, for which it can qualify on account of its ending in a consonant. Given the string

as + *ṆyaT*

where *bhū* replaces *as*, we get:

bhū + *ṆyaT*

The *ū* of *bhū* will then undergo *vṛddhi*, and we will eventually get the wrong form **bhāvyam*. Similarly,

bru + *yaT*

will yield -

(*brū* → *vac*) + *yaT*

where *vac* will be ordered as a replacement for *brū*. A wrong form (**vacyam*) will thus result:

(*vac* + *ya*) + *sU* → *vac* + *ya* + (*sU* → *am*) = *vac* + *y* (*a* + *a* → *a*)*m* = **vacyam*

2.4.36 अदो जग्धिर्ल्यप्ति किति

ado jagdhir lyap ti kiti

/ *adaḥ* 6/1 *jagdhiḥ* 1/1 *lyap* (deleted 7/1) *ti* 7/1 / *kiti* 7/1 / (*ārdhadhātuke* #35)

ado jagdhir ādeśo bhavati lyapti parataḥ, takārādau ca kiti pratyaye

The word *ad* is replaced by *jagdhI* when *LyaP* (7.1.3 *samāse...*), or an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with *t* and marked with *K*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

prajagdhyaḥ 'having eaten properly'
vijagdhyaḥ 'having eaten specially'
jagdhaḥ 'eaten'
jagdhavān 'he ate'

1. The *i* at the end of the substitute *jagdhi* is for the sake of pronunciation (*uccāraṇārtha*). (Note in connection with this that, in the English translation of this and subsequent rules, 'word' means 'the form of the word cited'.) The substitute is thus *jagdh*. A question is raised as to why the rule must state *LyaP*, when its purpose can be served by *ti kiti* 'when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with *t* and marked with *K* follows'.

Let us consider the derivation of *prajagdhya*, which contains the verbal root *ad*, after which the absolutive suffix *Ktvā* has been introduced by 3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ....* Rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* orders an obligatory compound in the case of *prajagdhya*, where *pra*, an item in the list headed by *pra*, combines with the resultant form of *ad* + *Ktvā*. Rule

7.1.37 *sāmse' nañpūrve kto lyap* requires that *Ktvā* be replaced with *LyaP*. Note that the replacement of *Ktvā* by *LyaP*, by rule 7.1.37, could still be available on the grounds that *Ktvā* is an affix marked with *K* and beginning with *t*. Thus, *LyaP* should not have been stated in the rule on hand. But Pāṇini states it; therefore, it must have some special purpose to serve.

Commentators (*Mbh* II: 873) think that *LyaP* is used to indicate (*jñāpanārtha*) that an externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) *LyaP* blocks the application of an internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) operation. Note that the replacement of *ad* by *jagdh* is an internally conditioned operation, and hence should apply first, as compared with the application of the replacement of *Ktvā* by *LyaP*. The following verse from the *Mahābhāṣya* sums up the function of the retention of *LyaP*:

> *jagdhau siddhe' ntaraṅgatvāt tikitīti lyab ucyate/*
> *jñāpayaty antaraṅgāṇāṃ lyapā bhavati bādhanam//*
> 'an explicit mention of *LyaP*, even when its purpose can be accomplished by the internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) replacement of *ad* by *jagdh* before a *t*-initial affix marked with *K*, is to indicate that *LyaP* can block internally conditioned operations.'

2.4.37 लुङ्सनोर्घस्लृ

> *luṅsanor ghasḷ*
> / *luṅsanoḥ* 7/2 *ghasḷ* 1/1 /
> (*ārdhadhātuke* #35, *adaḥ* #36)
> *luṅi sani ca parato 'do ghasḷ ādeśo bhavati*
> The word *ad* is replaced by *ghasḶ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUṄ* 'aorist', or affix *saN*, is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

> *aghasat* 'he ate'
> *aghasatām* 'they (two) ate'
> *aghasan* 'they ate'
> *jighatsati* 'he wishes to eat'
> *jighatsataḥ* 'they (two) wish to eat'
> *jighatsanti* 'they wish to eat'

1. The purpose of marking the replacement of *ad* by *Ḷ* is to facilitate the introduction of *aṄ* as a replacement for *CLI* before *LUṄ* (cf. 3.1.55 *puṣādidyutādlṛditaḥ...*). For details, refer to the derivation of the example *aghasat* in the appendix under this rule.

2.4.38 घञपोश्च

> *ghañapoś ca*
> / *ghañapoḥ* 7/2 = *ghañ ca ap ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* 0 /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *adaḥ* # 36, *ghasḷ* # 37)
ghañ api ca parato 'do ghasḷ ādeśo bhavati
The word *ad* is replaced by *ghasḶ* when *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*) and *ap* (3.3.59 *upasarge...*) follow.

EXAMPLES:

ghāsaḥ 'food'
praghasaḥ 'voracious'

2.4.39 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/ *bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *adaḥ* # 36, *ghasḷ* # 37, *ghañapoḥ* # 38)
chandasi viṣaye bahulam ado ghasḷ ādeśo bhavati
The word *ad* is replaced by *ghasḶ* in the Vedic variously, when *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *GHaÑ* and *aP* follow.

EXAMPLES:

ghastān nūnam 'they two just ate
sagdhiḥ 'common meal'

1. The word *bahulam* has been explained as follows:

kvacit pravṛttiḥ kvacid apravṛttiḥ
kvacid vibhāṣā kvacid anyad eva /
vidher vidhānaṃ bahudhā samīkṣya
catur-vidhaṃ bāhulakaṃ vadanti //
'after having carefully scrutinized the operational provisions' *bāhulaka* 'variously' is stated as: sometimes application; sometimes lack of application; sometimes application only optionally; and on occasion yet something else'

In view of this explanation, the propriety of using *bahulam* is questioned, especially as *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' is used in the subsequent rule. If *bahulam* can also be construed as an operation entailing optionality, then *bahulam* itself should have been carried to the subsequent rule. This would have made the use of *anyatarasyām* unnecessary there. Alternatively, Pāṇini should have used *anyatarasyām* here, and have carried the same term to the following rule.

Commentators state that the *bāhulaka* entails the necessity of applying, not applying, applying only optionally, or otherwise, a rule without which the desired form cannot be obtained. The notion of optionality expressed by *anyatarasyām* is also considered necessary, but it is systematic as opposed to the ad hoc (*nipātana*) nature of the notion of *bāhulaka*.

Besides, Pāṇini does not accept *bahulam* and *anyatarasyām* as synonymous, as is demonstrated by his use of *anyatarasyām* in the next rule.

2.4.40 **लिट्यन्यतरस्याम्**

liṭy anyatarasyām
/ *liṭi* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *adaḥ* # 36, *ghasḷ* # 37)
liṭi parato ado 'nyatarasyāṃ ghasḷ ādeśo bhavati
The word *ad* optionally is replaced by *ghasḶ* when an *ardhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṬ* 'perfect' follows.

EXAMPLES:

āda 'he ate'
jaghāsa 'id.'
ādatu 'they two ate'
jakṣatuḥ 'id.'
āduḥ 'they ate'
jakṣuḥ 'id.'

2.4.41 **वेञो वयिः**

veño vayiḥ
/ *veñaḥ* 6/1 *vayiḥ* 1/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *liṭy anyatarasyām* # 40)
veño vayir ādeśo bhavati anyatarasyāṃ liṭi parataḥ
The word *veÑ* 'to weave' optionally is replaced by *vayI* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uvāya 'he wove'
ūyatuḥ 'they two wove'
ūvatuḥ 'id.'
ūyuḥ 'they wove'
ūvuḥ 'id.'

2.4.42 **हनो वध लिङि**

hano vadha liṅi
/ *hanaḥ* 6/1 *vadha* 1/1 (deleted) *liṅi* 7/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35)
hanter dhātor vadha ity ayam ādeśo bhavati liṅi parata ārdhadhātuke
The word *han* 'to kill' is replaced by *vadha* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṄ* 'precative' follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *vadhyāt* 'may he kill'
> *vadhyāstām* 'may they two kill'
> *vadhyāsuḥ* 'may they kill'

1. Note that the replacement of *han* is given as *vadha*, an *adanta* 'that which ends in *a*'. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* II: 289) observes that 'it is the style of Pāṇini to cite replacements which end in a consonant with (final) *i* for ease of pronunciation, as *jagdh* in *jagdhiḥ* (2.4.36 *ado jagdhir...*); a lack of marking *vadh* with *i*, as opposed to *a*, is to indicate that the replacement is *akārānta* 'that which ends in *a*'. There are two consequences of having the replacement ending in *a*:

(*i*) no blocking of *iṬ*, and
(*ii*) the blocking of *vṛddhi*, which would otherwise be available by rule 7.2.3 *vadavraja....*

Consider, for example, the derivation of *avadhīt* 'he killed', at the stage of *avadh* + *s* + *t*. Here rule 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe...* is unable to block the introduction of the augment *iṬ*, mainly because *vadha*, the replacement given as ending in *a*, is not constituted by a single vowel. This *a* is deleted later by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*.

2.4.43 लुङि च

> *luṅi ca*
> / *luṅi* 7/1 *ca* ∅ /
> (*ārdhadhātuke* #35, *hano vadha* #42)
> *luṅi ca parato hano vadha ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
> The word *han* is also replaced by *vadha* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *avadhīt* 'he killed'
> *avadhiṣṭām* 'they two killed'
> *avadhiṣuḥ* 'they killed'

1. Why did Pāṇini not make the replacement provision of this rule along with that of the previous one? This would have saved him one rule. He did not formulate a joint rule because, in that case, *LIṄ* and *LUṄ* would both be part of the rule. This would create problems with the provision of rule 2.4.44 *ātmanepadeṣv...*, where the *anuvṛtti* of *LUṄ* alone is valid. A joint formulation with *LIṄ* and *LUṄ* both as part of a single rule would demand the *anuvṛtti* of both in rule 2.4.44 *ātmane-adeṣv.....* For, items introduced simultaneously must be dropped, or carried together via *anuvṛtti*.

Besides, if *LIṄ* were carried to 2.4.44 consequent upon a joint formulation, the obligatory provision of 2.4.42 *hano vadha lini* would become optional in the context of *LIṄ*. It is to block this undesired result that Pāṇini chose to formulate rules 2.4.42 *hano vadha lini* and 2.4.43 *luṅi ca* separately.

2.4.44 आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम्

ātmanepadeṣv anyatarasyām
/ *ātmanepadeṣu* 7/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *hano vadha* # 42)
ātmanepadeṣu parato hano luṅy anyatarasyāṃ vadha ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *han* optionally is replaced by *vadha* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUṄ* termed *ātmanepada* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āvadhiṣṭa 'he killed'
āhata 'id.'
āvadhiṣātām 'they two killed'
āhasātām 'id.'
āvadhiṣata 'they killed'
āhasata 'id.'

1. This rule provides for optional replacement, as opposed to the obligatory replacement made available by the preceding rule. Of course, the context of this optional provision is marked by *ātmanepada*.

2.4.45 इणो गा लुङि

iṇo gā luṅi
/ *iṇaḥ* 6/1 *gā* 1/1 *luṅi* 7/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35)
'*iṇaḥ gā*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati luṅi parataḥ*
The word *iṆ* 'to go' is replaced by *gā* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

agāt 'he went'
agāyi bhavatā 'you went'

1. What is the purpose of again stating *LUṄ*, when it has already been given in the preceding rule? This *LUṄ* must be unqualified (*aviśeṣa*). It should therefore be construed as obligatory, as opposed to the optional *LUṄ* of the preceding rule. Additionally, its context is not constrained by

ātmanepada. The purpose of *LUṄ* here is thus to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *ātmanepadeṣv anyatarasyām*.

2.4.46 **णौ गमिरबोधने**

ṇau gamir abodhane
/ *ṇau* 7/1 *gamiḥ* 1/1 *abodhane* 7/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *iṇaḥ* # 45)
ṇau parata iṇo' bodhanārthasya gamir ādeśo bhavati
The word *iṆ* is replaced by *gamI* when it is followed by the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *ṆiC* and does not denote *bodhana* 'understanding'.

EXAMPLES:

gamayati 'he has him go'
gamayataḥ 'they two have him go'
gamayanti 'they have him go'

1. It is obvious, from the use of *ṇau*, that *gami* is stated here as a non-causal replacement for *iṆ*. The *i* of *gami* is then used to facilitate the pronunciation.

Note that the explicit use of *LUṄ* in the previous rule, as opposed to bringing it via *anuvṛtti*, has consequences for this rule. I have already stated in my note under 2.4.45 that Pāṇini uses *LUṄ* explicitly to get rid of *ātmanepada* and *anyatarasyām*. This being the case, *gamI* will here replace *iṆ* before *ṆiC* in both *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada*. Additionally, this replacement will be obligatory, since *anyatarasyām* is also dropped.

The condition of *abodhane* 'when not used in the sense of understanding' is imposed so that *gamI* cannot replace *iṆ* in derivates like *pratyāyayati* '...makes one understand'.

2.4.47 **सनि च**

sani ca
/ *sani* 7/1 *ca* Ø /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *iṇaḥ* # 45, *gamir abodhane* # 46)
sani parata iṇo' bodhanārthasya gamir ādeśo bhavati
The word *iṆ* is replaced by *gamI* when an *ārdhadhātuka saN* follows and *iṆ* does not denote *bodhana*.

EXAMPLES:

jigamiṣati 'he wishes to go'
jigamiṣataḥ 'they two wish to go'
jigamiṣanti 'they wish to go'

1. A split rule is stated separately from the preceding rule to facilitate the subsequent (*uttarārtha*). That is, if this rule were not stated separately,

then the subsequent rule would have been forced to have the *anuvṛtti* of both *ṇau* and *sani*. The *anuvṛtti* of *ṇau* is undesired for the subsequent rule.

Note that *saN* is qualified for the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* only when it is introduced by rules beginning with 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ*.... That is, a *saN* introduced by rules 3.1.5 and 3.1.6 is excluded.

2.4.48 इङश्च

iṅaś ca
/ *iṅaḥ* 6/1 *ca* Ø /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *gamiḥ* # 46, *sani* # 47)
iṅaś ca sani parato gamir ādeśo bhavati
The word *iṄ* 'to study' is also replaced by *gamI* when an *ārdhadhātuka* *saN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

adhijigāṃsate 'he wishes to study'
adhijigāṃsete 'they two wish to study'
adhijigāṃsante 'they wish to study'

2.4.49 गाङ् लिटि

gāṅ liṭi
/ *gāṅ* 1/1 *liṭi* 7/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *iṅaḥ* # 48)
gāṅādeśo bhavatīṅo liṭi parataḥ
The word *iṄ* is replaced by *gāṄ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṬ* is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

adhijage 'he studied'
adhijagāte 'they two studied'
adhijagire 'they studied'

1. Note that this replacement would be applicable in anticipation of the *LIṬ* affix, in a way similar to that of some rules already stated in the beginning of the *ārdhadhātuka* section, headed by 2.4.35 *ārdhadhātuke*. The replacement is marked with *Ṅ* to facilitate the introduction of *ātmanepada* endings in place of *LIṬ*.

An objection is made to the marking of *gā* with *Ṅ*, especially when the *ātmanepada* affixes may be easily obtained by treating *gā* as *iṄ*, the root it replaced. Now, *iṄ* is marked with *Ṅ*; hence, *gā* when treated as *iṄ* will automatically be marked with *Ṅ*. Commentators say that *gā* is still marked with *Ṅ*, to indicate that, in rule 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi*..., *gāṄ* is to be interpreted as this very replacement. For details of consequences relative to *gā*, as

marked with *N*, refer to my notes and derivations under rule 1.2.1. Also see derivations of examples cited here in the appendix.

2.4.50 विभाषा लुङ्लृङोः

vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *luṅlṛṅoḥ* 7/2 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *iṅaḥ* # 48, *gāṅ* # 49)
luṅi lṛṅi ca parata iṅo vibhāṣā gāṅ ādeśo bhavati
The word *iṄ* is replaced by *gāṆ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LUṄ* or *LṚṄ* is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

adhyagīṣṭa 'he studied'
adhyaiṣṭa 'id.'
adhyagīṣātām 'they two studied'
adhaiṣātām 'id.'
adhyagīṣata 'they studied'
adhyaiṣata 'id.'
adhyagīṣyata 'he will study'
adhyaiṣyata 'id.'
adhyagīṣyetām 'they two will study'
adhyaiṣyetām 'id.'
adhyagīṣyanta 'they will study'
adhyaiṣyanta 'id.'

1. Note that the use of *vibhāṣā* ensures a set of two optional forms. When the option of replacing *iṄ* with *gāṄ* is accepted, rule 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...* becomes applicable. That is, *gāṄ* is extended the status of being marked with *Ṅ*. This means that the root will have its final vowel replaced by *īT* (6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpā...*). Furthermore, rules relative to *guṇa* (8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt*); the augment *āṬ* (6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*); and a single *vṛddhi* replacement (6.1.88 *āṭaś ca*) will be blocked. Conversely, in the event that the option of replacing *iṄ* with *gāṄ* is chosen, *īT* will be blocked through *guṇa*, and *āṬ* and a single *vṛddhi* replacement will become available. See the appendix for derivational details.

2.4.51 णौ च संश्चङोः

ṇau ca saṃścaṅoḥ
/ *ṇau* 7/1 *ca* Ø *saṃścaṅoḥ* 7/2 = *san ca caṅ ca* = *saṃścaṅau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ* /

(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35, *iṅaḥ* # 48, *gāṅ* # 49, *vibhāṣā* # 50)
ṇau sanpare caṅpare ca parata iṅa vibhāṣā gāṅ ādeśo bhavati
The word *iṄ* optionally is replaced by *gāṄ* when it is followed by a *ṆiC* which is followed by *saN* and *caṄ* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridrusru-bhyaḥ...*).

EXAMPLES:

adhijigāpayiṣati 'he wishes to teach'
adhyāpipayiṣati 'id.'
adhyajīgapat 'he taught'
adhyāpipat 'id.'

1. Note that the *parasaptamī* 'that which marks the right condition of an operation' in *Ṇi* (of *ṇau*) is to be interpreted relative to the verbal root *iṄ*. This will yield the interpretation 'when *ṆiC* follows *iṄ*'. By contrast, the *parasaptamī* given in *saṃścaṅoḥ* is to be interpreted relative to *ṆiC*. This will result in the following interpretation: 'when *saN* and *caṄ* follow *ṆiC*'.

2.4.52 **अस्तेर्भूः**

aster bhūḥ
/ *asteḥ* 5/1 *bhūḥ* 1/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35)
aster dhātor bhū ity ayam ādeśo bhavati ārdhadhātuke
The word *as* is replaced by *bhū* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

bhavitā 'he will become'
bhavitum 'in order to become'
bhavitavyam 'ought to become'

1. This rule allows for the replacement with *bhū* of *as* when *LIṬ* is to find its scope. The replacement is, however, blocked when *as* is used subsequently (*anuprayukta*) in examples such as *īhāmāsa* 'he strove'. How is this to be ascertained? From the use of the abbreviatory term *kṛÑ* in rule 3.1.40 *kṛñcānuprayujyate liṭi*, which refers to roots *kṛ*, *bhū*, and *as*. The abbreviatory term itself is formed by taking the *kṛ* of 5.4.40 *kṛbhvastiyoge...* and joining it with the *Ñ* of rule 5.4.58 *kṛño dvitīyatṛtīya....* If *as* is to be replaced with *bhū* when *as* is used subsequently, the use of the abbreviatory symbol *kṛÑ* would become vacuous (*vyartha*).

2.4.53 ब्रुवो वचिः

bruvo vaciḥ
/ *bruvaḥ* 6/1 *vaciḥ* 1/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35)
bruvo vacir ādeśo bhavati ārdhadhātuke viṣaye
The word *brūÑ* 'to speak' is replaced by *vacI* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

vaktā 'speaker'
vaktum 'in order to speak'
vaktavyam 'ought to be spoken'

1. The final *i* of *vacI* is used, once again, for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). Note also that *brūÑ* is marked with *Ñ*, and *ātmanepada* will therefore be available to it when, of course, the fruit of the action is to accrue to the agent (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye...*). This *ātmanepada* will be available via *sthānivadbhāva* of 1 1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo'...* when *brūÑ* is replaced with *vacI*.

2.4.54 चक्षिङः ख्याञ्

cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ
/ *cakṣiṅaḥ* 6/1 *khyāñ* 1/1/
(*ārdhadhātuke* # 35)
cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ ādeśo bhavaty ārdhadhātuke viṣaye
The word *cakṣIṄ* 'to speak, relate' is replaced with *khyāÑ* when an *ardhadhātuka* affix is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

ākhyātā 'he who will relate'
ākhyātum 'in order to relate'
ākhyātavyam 'ought to be related'

1. My remarks under the notes of previous rule concerning *ātmanepada* via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*) remain pertinent to the replacement *khyāÑ* of the present rule. *Kāśikā* makes the following statement:

sthānivadbhāvena nityam ātmanepadaṃ na bhavati ñakārānubandha-karaṇasāmarthyāt
'on account of the *Ñ* as an *it* (in *khyāÑ*), the obligatory *ātmanepada* (on the strength of *Ṅ* as an *it* in *cakṣIṄ*) via *sthānivadbhāva* does not apply'

That is, Pāṇini marks the replacement *khyā* with *Ñ* as an *it* so that, via *sthānivadbhāva*, *khyāÑ* may still be considered a verbal root similar to *cakṣIṄ*. Thus, *khyāÑ* will be qualified to receive *ātmanepada* under the provision of rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ*.... But the same *sthānivadbhāva* must also require that *khyā* be treated as marked with *Ṅ*, in consonance with the root *cakṣIṄ* which it replaces. Consequent upon this, rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam* would require *ātmanepada*. Pāṇini first blocks the obligatory *ātmanepada* of 1.3.12, and then makes it available under the condition of rule 1.3.27 *svaritañitaḥ*....

2.4.55 वा लिटि

vā liṭi
/ *vā* Ø *liṭi* 7/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* #35, *cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ* #54)
liṭi parataś cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ ādeśo va bhavati
The word *cakṣIṄ* optionally is replaced by *khyāÑ* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ācakhyau 'he related'
ācacakṣe 'id.'
ācakhyatuḥ 'they two related'
ācacakṣāte 'id.'
ācakhyuḥ 'they related'
ācacakṣire 'id.'

1. This rule simply makes the obligatory replacement of *cakṣIṄ* by *khyāÑ* optional in the context of *LIṬ*.

2.4.56 अजेर्व्यघञपोः

ajer vy aghañapoḥ
/ *ajeḥ* 6/1 *vī* 1/1 *aghañapoḥ* 7/2 = *ghañ ca ap ca* = *ghañapau* (*itar. dv.*), *na ghañapau* = *aghañapau* (*nañ. tat*), *tayoḥ* /
(*ārdhadhātuke* #35, *vā* #55)
ajer dhātoḥ 'vī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty ārdhadhātuke parato ghañapau varjayitvā
The word *ajA* 'to move, lead' is replaced by *vī* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix other than *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*) or *ap* (3.3.69 *samudor ajaḥ*...) follows.

EXAMPLES:

pravayaṇīyaḥ 'fit for leading'

pravāyakaḥ 'he who leads or conducts'

1. Note that the replacement provided by this rule does not become effective before the affixes *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*) and *ap* (3.3.69 *samudor ajaḥ...*). This is necessary so that forms such as *samāja* 'society' and *samaja* 'herd' can be derived. In this connection, however, a *vārttika* (*Mbh* II: 880) demands that a similar restriction should also apply when affix *KyaP* follows. This would make possible the derivation of *samajyā* 'meeting, fame'. It is also proposed that the provision should be made optional before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with a consonant and is denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL* ('all consonants except *y*'; *Śs* 5-14). This would allow the derivation of examples such as follows, parallel to *pravetā*.
(*a*) *prājitā* 'one who carries, sets in motion'

2.4.57 **वा यौ**

vā yau
/ *vāḥ* 1/1 *yau* 7/1 /
(*ārdhadhātuke* #35, *ajer vī* #56)
yau parabhūte ajer vā 'vī ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *ajA* optionally is replaced by *vī* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LyuṬ* (3.3.117 *karaṇā...*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

pravayaṇo daṇḍaḥ 'a stick or goad (for leading)'
prājano daṇḍaḥ 'id.'
pravayaṇam ānaya 'bring the stick or goad (for leading)'
prājanam ānaya 'id.'

1. Note that *yu* is used as a cover term for affixes *KHyuN* (3.2.56 *āḍhya...*), *ṬyuL* (4.3.23 *sāyaṃ...*), *yuC* (3.2.148 *calana...*), *Lyu* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi...*), and *LyuṬ* (3.3.113 *kṛtya...*). The context of our present rule requires *yu* to refer here only to *LyuṬ*.

2.4.58 **ण्यक्षत्रियार्षञितो यूनि लुगणिञोः**

ṇyakṣatriyārṣañito yūni lug aṇiñoḥ
/ *ṇyakṣatriyārṣañitaḥ* 5/1 = *ñ it yasya sa ñit* (*bv.*), *ṇyaś ca kṣatriyaś ca ārṣaś ca ñic ca* = *ṇyakṣatriyārṣañit* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *yūni* 7/1 *luk* 1/1 *aṇiñoḥ* 6/2 = *aṇ ca iñ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ* /
ṇyantāt kṣatriyagotrād ārṣād ñitaś ca parayor aṇiñor yūni lug bhavati

Affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ* are deleted by *LUK* when they denote *yuvan* 'young descendant' and occur after:

(*i*) *ṇya* 'a form which ends in affix *Ṇya*' (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*),
(*ii*) *kṣatriya* 'a form which denotes a *gotra* (grandson on) descendant of a *kṣatriya*',
(*iii*) *ārṣa* 'a form which denotes a *gotra* descendant of a *ṛṣi* (sage)', or
(*iv*) *ñit* 'a form which ends in a *gotra* affix marked with *Ñ*'.

EXAMPLES:

kauravyaḥ pitā 'descendant of Kuru'
kauravyaḥ putraḥ 'grandson of Kuru'
śvāphalkaḥ pitā 'descendant of Śvaphalka'
śvāphalkaḥ putraḥ 'grandson of Śvaphalka'
vāsiṣṭhaḥ pitā 'descendant of Vasiṣṭha'
vāsiṣṭhaḥ putraḥ 'grandson of Vasiṣṭha'
baidaḥ pitā 'descendant of Bida'
baidaḥ putraḥ 'grandson of Bida'
taikāyaniḥ pitā 'descendant of Tika'
taikāyaniḥ putraḥ 'grandson of Tika'.

1. This rule heads the section of deletion by means of *LUK* (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*). This term deletes affixes, with the further stipulation that operations characteristic of an affix do not apply in relation to an *aṅga*, when the deletion has been accomplished by means of an item which contains a *LU* (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). Additionally, we learn from rules 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki* and 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane* that when a *taddhita* is deleted by means of *LUK*, the feminine of an *upasarjana* 'secondary' element is also dropped. However, the original number and gender is still applicable to a *taddhita* derivate when the affix has been deleted by means of *LUK*.

Our present rule identifies the conditions under which affixes *aṆ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) and *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) may be deleted by *LUK*. The semantic condition common to all the contexts of this deletion is the denotation of *yuvan* 'a descendant with his elders still alive' (4.1.163 *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā*).

See the appendix for derivational details.

2.4.59 पैलादिभ्यश्च

pailādibhyaś ca
/ *pailādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *paila ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *ca* Ø /
(*yūni luk* # 58)
'paila' ity evam ādibhyaś ca yuvapratyayasya lug bhavati
A *yuvan* affix also is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after items enumerated in the list headed by *paila*.

EXAMPLES:

pailaḥ pitā 'descendant of Pīlā'
pailaḥ putraḥ 'grandson of Pīlā'

1. Affix *aṆ* is introduced after *pīlā* (4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā*) to denote a *gotra* (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*) descendant. The resultant form receives affix *phiÑ* by rule 4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*, to denote a young *gotra* descendant. Our present rule deletes this affix *phiÑ* by means of *LUK*. See the appendix for derivational details.

The other derivates of the *paila* group entail items ending in affix *iÑ*. The deletion of *phaK*, introduced after them to denote 'young *gotra* descendant' (4.1.101. *yañiñoś ca*), is accompalished by the following rule. The derivational details of relevant examples can be found in the appendix, under the preceding and subsequent rules.

2.4.60 इञः प्राचाम्

iñaḥ prācām
/ *iñaḥ* 6/1 *prācām* 6/3/
(*yūni luk* #58)
gotre ya iñ tadantād yuvapratyayasya lug bhavati
A *yuvan* affix is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after an item which terminates in *iÑ* and denotes the *gotra* descendants of Easterners.

EXAMPLES:

pānnāgāriḥ pitā 'a *gotra* descendant of Pannāgāra'
pānnāgāriḥ putraḥ 'a young *gotra* descendant of Pannāgāra'

2.4.61 न तौल्वलिभ्यः

na taulvalibhyaḥ
/ *na* Ø *taulvalibhyaḥ* 5/3 /
(*yūni luk* # 58)
taulvalyādibhyaḥ parasya yuvapratyayasya lug na bhavati
A *yuvan* affix is not deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after items which denote *gotra* and are enumerated in the list headed by *taulvali*.

EXAMPLES:

taulvaliḥ pitā 'a *gotra* descendant of Tulvala'
taulvalāyanaḥ putraḥ 'a young *gotra* descendant of Tulvala'

1. The word *taulvalāyanaḥ* denotes the young descendant of Tulvala, and is derived by introducing affix *phaK* (4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca*) after

taulvali. As is true of many previous examples, the references to derivates are furnished by citation of the *gaṇa* listings. Obviously, *taulvali* heads the list of items enumerated in the *GP*. All such items will normally receive *gotra* affix *iÑ*, after which rule 4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca* will introduce *phaK*.

2.4.62 तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम्

tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām
/ *tadrājasya* 6/1 *bahuṣu* 7/3 *tena* 3/1 *eva* Ø *astriyām* 7/1 /
(*luk* #58)
'te tadrājāḥ', 'ñyādayas tadrājā' ity vakṣyati, tasya tadrājasaṃjñasya pratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyāstrīliṅgasya lug bhavati, tenaiva cet tadrājena kṛtaṃ bahutvaṃ bhavati
The *tadrāja* (4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ*, 5.3.119 *ñyādayas...*) affix of a base which denotes 'plurality' (*bahu*) is deleted by *LUK* provided that 'plurality' relates to the meaning of the affix, and the base is not used in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgāḥ 'the princes of Aṅga'
vaṅgāḥ 'the princes of Vaṅga'

1. This rule provides for the deletion of an affix termed *tadrāja* (4.1.117 *te tadrājāḥ*) when it occurs after a non-feminine base which denotes the sense of 'plurality' in relation to the meaning of the affix. Thus, affix *aṆ* is introduced after the syntactically related nominal base *āṅga* 'a prince of Aṅga', a base which ends in *aṆ*. If one wishes to derive the 'many princes of Aṅga' from *āṅga* + *Jas*, where *āṅga*, a base not used in the feminine, has the denotatum of 'plurality' relative to the meaning of *aṆ*, *āṅga* must lose affix *aṆ* via *LUK*-deletion. Consequently, we wil get: (*āṅga* + *aṆ* → *aṅga*) + *Jas* = *aṅgāḥ*. Note that *āṅga* not only loses its *aṆ*, but also its initial *vṛddhi*. This is in consonance with *paribhāṣa*: *nimittasyāpāye naimittikasyāpy apāyaḥ*, whereby 'the effect of a cause (*naimittika*) must also be removed at the time when the cause is removed'. Needless to say, the *vṛddhi* of *a* was conditioned by affix *aṆ* introduced after the nominal stem *aṅga* terminated in *Ṅas* (4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*).

2. Questions have been raised about the correct interpretation of this rule, which I discuss here, in view of the following paraphrase of *Kāśikā*:

tadrājasaṃjñasya pratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyāstrīliṅgasya lug

bhavati tenaiva cet tadrājena kṛtam bahutvaṃ bhavati 'a non-feminine affix termed *tadrāja* is deleted by *LUK* when it denotes 'plurality' provided 'plurality' is conditioned by the affix itself'

The preceding reference is a very literal translation of the paraphrase of *Kāśikā*. It does not make use of the process of *tadantavidhi*, whereby a form is interpreted as denoting something which may end in it. That is, it does not interpret *tadrājasaṃjñasya pratyayasya* as 'a form which ends in an affix termed *tadrāja*'. This leads to acceptance of *bahuṣu* and *asrīliṅgasya* as modifiers to the affix. Commentators prefer an interpretation based on *tadantavidhi*, whereby *bahuṣu* and *astrīliṅgasya* become modifiers to the form (nominal base) which ends in an affix termed *tadrāja*. Some might object to this interpretation by noting that if *tadrājasya* is interpreted as *tadrājāntasya* 'that which ends in a *tadrāja* affix', deletion by *LUK* may also become applicable to that which ended in the affix. This, however, is not accurate. For, rule 1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ* specifically restricts *LUK* to the context of affixal deletion. Thus, *bahuṣu* is treated as a qualifier to the base, and not the affix.

Note that the use of the word *eva* in *tenaiva* requires that the scope of 'plurality' be limited to the denotatum of the affix, itself. It is because of this restriction that *aṅgāḥ* still denotes 'many princes of Aṅga'. That is, it does not denote something as 'many Aṅgas'. It is in this sense that *Kāśikā* states *tenaiva cet tadrājena kṛtaṃ bahutvam bhavati* '...provided the 'multiplicity' is caused by the affix termed *tadrāja*, itself'. Incidentally, the term *tadrāja* applies to affixes introduced by rules 4.1.168 *janapada*... through 4.1.173 *sālvāyava*....

2.4.63 यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे

yaskādibhyo gotre
/ *yaskādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *gotre* 7/1 /
(*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām* # 62)
'yaska' ity evamādibhyaḥ parasya gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyāstrīliṅgasya lug bhavati, tenaiva ced gotrapratyayena kṛtaṃ bahutvaṃ bhavati

The *gotra* affix of a base that is derived from items enumerated in the list headed by *yaska* and which denotes 'plurality' is deleted by *LUK* provided that 'plurality' relates to the meaning of the affix, and the base is not used in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

yaskāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Yaska'
labhyāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Labhya'

1. This rule requires the deletion of affix *aṆ*, introduced under the condition of plurality (*bahutva*) by rule 4.1.112 *śivādibhyo' ṇ*. Thus, *aṆ* itself causes the plurality.

2.4.64 यञञोश्च

yañañoś ca
/ *yañañoḥ* 6/2 = *yañ ca añ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* Ø /
(*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām* # 62, *gotre* # 63)
yaño 'ñaś ca gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu vartamānasyāstrīliṅgasya lug bhavati
The *gotra* affixes *YaÑ* and *aÑ* which denote 'plurality' are deleted by *LUK*, provided that 'plurality' relates to the meaning of the affix, and the base is not used in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

gargāḥ 'male *gotra* descendants of Garga'
bidāḥ 'male *gotra* descendants of Bida'

1. Note that rule 4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye...* introduces affix *aÑ* after *bida*, etc. Once this affix is deleted, the *vṛddhi* conditioned by this affix (*tannimittaka*) is also removed. Thus, we will get forms such as *bidāḥ*.

2.4.65 अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च

atribhṛgukutsavasiṣṭhagotamāṅgirobhyaś ca
/ *atri...āṅgirobhyaḥ* 5/3 = *atri ca bhṛguś ca kutsaś ca vasiṣṭhaś ca gotamaś ca aṅgirāś ca* = *atri...aṅgirasaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* Ø /
(*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām* # 62, *gotre* # 63)
atryādibhyaḥ parasya gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu lug bhavati
A *gotra* affix which occurs as part of a base derived from *atri*, *bhṛgu*, *kutsa*, *vasiṣṭha*, *gotama* or *aṅgiras*, and denotes 'plurality' is also deleted by *LUK* provided that 'plurality' relates to the meaning of the affix, and the base is not used in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

atrayaḥ '*gotra* descendants of Atri'
bhṛgavaḥ '*gotra* descendants of Bhṛgu'
kutsāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Kutsa'
vasiṣṭhāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Vasiṣṭha'
gotamāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Gotama'
aṅgirasaḥ '*gotra* descendants of Aṅgiras'

1. Note that affix *ḍhaK* is introduced to denote 'young *gotra* descendant' after *atri* by rule 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*, where plurality is also caused

by the affix. Our present rule deletes this affix to facilitate the derivation of *atrayaḥ*. The remaining bases (*bhṛgu*, etc.) get affix *aṆ* by rule 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka...* and, after the deletion of the affix, yield forms such as *bhṛgavaḥ*, etc. Incidentally, rule 7.3.109 *jasi ca* orders *guṇa* in *bhṛgavaḥ*. Forms unaffected by this deletion, like the singular and dual of *atri* + *ḍhaK*, will yield *ātreyaḥ*, *ātreyau*, and so on, where *vṛddhi* will be retained.

2.4.66 **बह्वच इञः प्राच्यभरतेषु**

bahvaca iñaḥ prācyabharateṣu
/ *bahvacaḥ* 5/1 *iñaḥ* 6/1 *prācyabharateṣu* 7/3 /
(*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaiva* # 62, *gotre* # 63)
bahvacaḥ prātipadikād ya iñ vihitaḥ prācyagotre bharata gotre ca vartate, tasya bahuṣu lug bhavati
The *gotra* affix *iÑ*, which occurs as part of a polysyllabic base used to denote 'plurality' of the *gotra* descendants of the *prācya* 'eastern' and *bharata* people, is deleted by *LUK*, provided 'plurality' relates to the meaning of the affix.

EXAMPLES:

pannāgārāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Pannāgāra'
mantharaiṣaṇāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Manthareṣaṇa'
yudhiṣṭhirāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Yudhiṣṭhira'
arjunāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Arjuna'

1. This rule deletes affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) which denotes the many *gotra* descendants of the *prācya* and *bharata* people. It does so, however, only when the base after which the affix is introduced is polysyllabic (*bahvac*). Obviously, *pannāgāra* and *yudhiṣṭhira* are polysyllabic bases, and yield the forms *pannāgārāḥ* and *yudhiṣṭhirāḥ* under the provisions of this rule. In the absence of the affixal deletion in singular and dual, as well as in situations where the bases are not polysyllabic, forms such as *pānnāgāriḥ* and *vaikayaḥ* result.

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś* II: 311) remarks that *prācyabharata* of *prācyabharateṣu* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *prācya* and *bharata*. Here, *prācya* denotes 'general' (*sāmānya*) and *bharata* denotes 'particular' (*viśiṣṭa*). This compound could be justified by the maxim *gobalīvarda*: 'cows and the bullock, a particular within that general class' ('*prācyabharateṣu*' *iti dvandvas tu sāmānyaviśeṣavācinor gobalīvardanyāyeneti bhāvaḥ*).

A question is raised as to why *bharata* should be made a part of the rule, when its denotatum is already included in *prācya*. *Kāśikā* (II: 311) states that *bharata* is mentioned separately here to indicate that *prācya*, used elsewhere, will exclude the denotation of *bharata* (cf. *bharatāḥ prācyā eva*; *teṣāṃ punar grahaṇaṃ jñāpanārtham—anyatra prāg grahaṇe bharata-*

grahaṇaṃ na bhavatīti; tena 'iñaḥ prācām' iti bharatānāṃ yuvapratyayasya lug na bhavati). Consequently, there is no *LUK*-deletion applicable to *bharata* derivates under the provisions of rule 2.4.60 *iñaḥ prācām*. We thus get *ārjuniḥ* and *ārjunāyanaḥ* for, respectively, the father and son *gotra* descendants of Arjuna.

2.4.67 न गोपवनादिभ्यः

na gopavanādibhyaḥ
/ *na* ∅ *gopavanādibhyaḥ* 5/3 =*gopavana ādir yeṣāṃ te gopavanādayaḥ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ* /
(*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaiva* # 62, *gotre* # 63)
gopavanādibhyaḥ parasya pratyayasya lug na bhavati
A *gotra* affix occurring after *gopavana*, etc., used in the plural, is not deleted by *LUK* when 'plurality' is denoted relative to the meaning of the affix.

EXAMPLES:

gaupavanāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Gopavana'
śaigravāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Śigru'

1. This rule forms an exception to the *LUK* applicable to affix *aÑ* introduced by rule 4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye....* The deletion by *LUK* is ordered by rule 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca*, where the sense of 'plurality' relative to the meaning of the affix is still the attendant situation. Note also that the *gopavanādi gaṇa* is a sublisting contained within the larger listing of the *bidādi* group. The resultant form, under the provisions of this rule, will be the first example

gaupavanāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Gopavana'

where the affix, as well as the *vṛddhi*, is retained.

2.4.68 तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे

tikakitavādibhyo dvandve
/ *tikakitavādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *tikaś ca kitavaś ca* = *tikakitavau* (*itar. dv.*), *ādiś ca ādiś ca* = *ādī*, *tau ādī yeṣāṃ te* = *tikakitavādayaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *dvandve* 7/1 /
(*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām* # 62, *gotre* # 63)
tikādibhyaḥ kitavādibhyaś ca dvandve gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu lug bhavati
A *gotra* affix which occurs as part of a *dvandva* compound that is used to denote 'plurality', and which is composed of constituents enumerated in the lists headed by *tika* and *kitava*, is deleted by *LUK* when 'plurality' relates to the meaning of the affix.

EXAMPLES:

tikakitavāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Tika and Kitava'
vaṅkharabhaṇḍīrathāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Vaṅkhara and Bhaṇḍīratha'

1. This rule allows for the deletion of affixes *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) and *phiÑ* (4.1.154 *tikādibhyaḥ...*). Note that *dvandva* (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*), and the denotation of plurality relative to the meaning of the affix, are the two conditions for deletion to occur.

2.4.69 उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे

upakādibhyo 'nyatarasyām advandve
/ *upakādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *advandve* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām* # 62, *gotre* # 63)
'*upaka*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ parasya gotrapratyayasya bahuṣu lug bhavati anyatarasyāṃ dvandve cādvandve ca*
A *gotra* affix which occurs after *upaka*, etc., and which denotes 'plurality', whether individually or as part of a *dvandva* compound, is optionally deleted by *LUK* when 'plurality' relates to the meaning of the affix.

EXAMPLES:

upakāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Upaka'
aupakāyanāḥ 'id.'
lamakāḥ '*gotra* descendants of Lamaka'
lāmakāyanāḥ 'id.'

1. The word *advandve* is used here to facilitate the discontinuation of the domain of *dvandve*. That is, it is not used to disallow the optional *LUK* under the condition of the lack of a *dvandva* compound It is simply used to state that in situations of non-*dvandva*, the deletion is optional in the context of the bases denoted by *upakādi*. Obviously, two sets of forms, one with *dvandva* (such as *upakalamakāḥ*), and one without (such as *upakāḥ*), will result where the option of *dvandva* is available.

2.4.70 आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच्

āgastyakauṇḍinyayor agastikuṇḍinac
/ *āgastyakauṇḍinyayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *agastikuṇḍinac* 1/1 = *āgastiś ca kuṇḍinac ca* (*sam. dv.*) /
(*luk* # 58, *bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām* # 62, *gotre* # 63)
āgastyakauṇḍinyayor aṇo yañaś ca bahuṣu lug bhavati, pariśiṣṭasya ca prakṛtibhāgasya yathāsaṃkhyam 'agastikuṇḍinac' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ

A *gotra* affix (*aṆ* or *yaÑ*) which occurs as part of *āgastya* or *kauṇḍinya* and which denotes 'plurality' is deleted by *LUK* when 'plurality' relates to the meaning of the affix; the resultant bases are replaced by *agasti* and *kuṇḍinaC* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

agastayaḥ '*gotra* descendants of Agasta'
kuṇḍināḥ '*gotra* descendants of Kuṇḍin'

1. This rule does not only provide for the *LUK*- deletion of affixes *aṆ* (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka...*) and *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādi...*). It also states that the bases *āgastya* and *kuṇḍinī*, which result from the affixal deletion, should be replaced by *agasti* and *kuṇḍinaC* respectively. This will yield examples such as the two given above. The *C* of the replacement *kuṇḍinaC* is intended for accent. The word *kuṇḍinī* is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). Its replacement (*kuṇḍinaC*) will therefore also receive *udātta* on its middle *i*.

2.4.71 **सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः**

supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ
/ *supaḥ* 6/1 *dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* 6/2 = *dhātuś ca prātipadikaś ca* = *dhātuprātipadike* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ* /
(*luk* # 58)
supo vibhakter dhātusaṃjñāyāḥ prātipadikasaṃjñāyāś ca lug bhavati
A *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas...*) which occurs as part of a *dhātu* 'root' or a *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' is deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

putrīyati 'he wishes a son for himself'
rājaputraḥ 'king's son, prince'

1. *Kāśikā* (II: 316) invokes *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 90) *tadantargatās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante* in connection with the interpretation of this rule. This *paribhāṣā* allows a variable to refer also to something contained within it. The terms *dhātu* and *prātipadika* could, therefore, also apply to items contained within them. If this *paribhāṣā* were not accepted, problems would arise in relation to the *sUP* contained, for instance, in *putrīya*. This is a verbal root which is derived from the string

putra + *am* + *KyaC*

(3.1.8 *supaḥ ātmanaḥ kyac*), where rule 7.4.33 *kyaci ca* replaces the final *a* of *putra* with *ī*, to yield:

putr + *ī* + (*K* → ∅) *ya* + (*C* → ∅).

The resultant unit

putrī + *am* + *ya*

is termed *dhātu* by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Our present rule then applies to delete the *am* to yield *putrīya*.

However, if one interprets the dual ending in *dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* as locative (*saptamī*), a problem could arise in deleting *am* by the present rule. The locative, then, could only denote *upaśleṣa* 'proximity'. This being the case, rule 2.4.71 would become applicable only to, for example, instances such as the *sU* of *vṛkṣa* + *sU*, where *sU* must remain in the proximity of the nominal stem *vṛkṣa*. Alternatively, if a genitive dual interpretation is accepted within the stipulation of the *paribhāṣā* # 90, everything will be in order. That is, deletion of a *sUP* then does not have to be conditioned by the proximity with a nominal stem.

The *paribhāṣā* is especially necessary so that a *sUP*, such as *am*, contained within a root like

putrī + *am* + *ya*,

could still be recognized as separate from the group (*samudāya*) for purposes of this deletion. For, a part (*avayava*) contained within a group may also qualify for the term applicable to the group: *samudāyeṣu hi pravṛttāḥ śabdāḥ avayaveṣv api varttante*. The nominal ending thus can be termed either a nominal stem, or a verbal root. This will obviously create further problems in deleting the *sUP*.

2.4.72 **अदिप्रभृतिभ्यः शपः**

adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ
/ *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *adiprabhṛti yeṣāṃ te* = *adiprabhṛtayaḥ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *śapaḥ* 6/1 /
(*luk* # 58)
adiprabhṛtibhya uttarasya śapo lug bhavati
Affix *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *karttari*...) is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by *adĀ* 'to eat'.

EXAMPLES:

atti 'he eats'
hanti 'they kill'

2.4.73 **बहुलं छन्दसि**

bahulaṃ chandasi
/ *bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 /
(*luk* # 58, *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* # 72)
chandasi viṣaye śapo bahulaṃ lug bhavati
Affix *ŚaP* is variously deleted by *LUK* in the Vedic when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by *adĀ*.

EXAMPLES:

vṛtraṃ hanati 'he kills Vṛtra'
ahiḥ śayate 'the snake reclines'
trādhvaṃ no devāḥ 'O gods, protect us'

1. Note that *bahulam* 'variously' means that a given provision, such as the deletion of *ŚaP*, applies irregularly.

2.4.74 **यङोऽचि च**

yaṅo 'ci ca
/ *yaṅaḥ* 6/1 *aci* 7/1 *ca* Ø /
(*luk* # 58, *bahulaṃ chandasi* # 73)
yaṅo lug bhavati aci pratyaye parataḥ; cakāreṇa bahulagrahaṇam anukṛṣyate, na tu chandasīti
Affix *yaṄ* (3.1.22 *dhātor...*) is variously deleted by *LUK* when affix *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi...*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

loluvaḥ 'he who cuts again and again'
popuvaḥ 'he who wipes again and again'
śākuniko lālapīti 'the bird hunter speaks again and again'
dundubhir vāvadīti 'the drum is sounding again and again'

1. The *ca* of this rule is used to attract *bahulam*, and not *chandasi*. Consequently, affix *yaṄ* is variously deleted in both the Vedic and Classical languages (*bhāṣā*). By *bahulam*, we understand that deletion or the lack of it obtains where it is desired, or undesired, respectively. The *aC* refers to affix *aC*, not to the abbreviatory term *aC* which denotes vowels. It is for this reason that the *Kāśikā* in its gloss uses *ac-pratyaye*. It is also stated that, because of *bahulam*, deletion may become applicable to *yaṄ* occurring even before a non-*aC* affix. Obviously, this all constitutes some further expatiation of the notion of *bahulam*.

2.4.75 **जुहोत्यादिभ्यः श्लुः**

juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ
/ *juhotyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *juhoti ādir yeṣāṃ te* = *juhotyādayaḥ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *śluḥ* 1/1 /
(*śapaḥ* # 72)
juhotyādibhya uttarasya śapaḥ ślur bhavati
Affix *ŚaP* is deleted by *ŚLU* when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by *hu* 'to call; to perform a ritual sacrifice'.

EXAMPLES:

juhoti 'he performs the ritual'
bibharti 'he provides for...'

1. This rule only carries the *anuvṛtti* of *ŚaP*, and not of *yaṄ*. Additionally, *ŚaP* is replaced by *ŚLU* to thereby cause reduplication (*dvitva*) by 6.1.10 *ślau*.

2.4.76 **बहुलं छन्दसि**

bahulaṃ chandasi
/ *bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 /
(*śapah* #72, *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ* #75)
chandasi viṣaye bahulaṃ śapaḥ ślur bhavati
Affix *ŚaP* is variously deleted by *ŚLU* in the Vedic when it occurs after roots enumerated in the list headed by *hu*.

EXAMPLES:

dāti priyāṇi 'he gives pleasant things'
dhāti priyāṇi 'he holds pleasant things'

1. Here again *bahulam* implies *yatroktaṃ tatra na bhavati anyatrāpi bhavati* 'it does not apply where provided for but does apply elsewhere'. That is, it does not apply after roots belonging to the class headed by *hu* 'to call', while elsewhere it does apply.

2.4.77 **गातिस्थाघुपाभूभ्यः सिचः परस्मैपदेषु**

gātisthāghupābhūbhyaḥ sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu
/ *gāti...bhyaḥ* 5/3 = *gātiś ca sthāś ca ghuś ca pāś ca bhūś ca* = *gātisthāghupābhūvaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *sicaḥ* 6/1 *parasmaipadeṣu* 7/3 /
(*luk* # 58)
'*gāti sthā, ghu, pā, bhū*' *ity etebhyaḥ parasya sico lug bhavati parasmaipadeṣu*
Affix *sIC* (3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*) is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after *gā* 'to go', *sthā* 'to stand', *ghu* 'roots termed *ghu*'. (cf. 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*), *pā* 'to drink', or *bhū* 'to be, become', and a *parasmaipada* (1.4.99 *laḥ paras...*) affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

agāt 'he went'
asthāt 'he stayed'
adāt 'he gave'
adhāt 'he held'
apāt 'he drank'
abhūt 'it became...'

1. Note that only *LUK*, and not *ŚLU*, is carried to this rule. Additionally, *gāti* refers to the replacement *gā* of verbal root *iṆ* 'to go', as is provided for by rule 2.4.45 *iṇo gā luṅi*. It is further stated that *pā* refers to *pib* 'to drink'. The term *ghu* is assigned by rule 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*. Finally, *LUK* obtains only in *parasmaipada* 'active'.

2.4.78 **विभाषा घ्राधेट्शाच्छासः**

vibhāṣā ghrādheṭśācchāsaḥ
/ vibhāṣā 1/1 *ghrādheṭśācchāsaḥ* 5/1 = *ghrāś ca dheṭ ca śāś ca chāś ca sāś ca* = *ghrādheṭśācchāsam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt /*
(*luk* # 58, *sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu* # 77)
'*ghrā, dheṭ, śā, chā, sā*' *ity etebhya uttarasya sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu vibhāṣā lug bhavati*
Affix *sIC* optionally is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after *ghrā* 'to smell', *dheT* 'to suck, drink', *śā (śo)* 'to pare', *chā (cho)* 'to cut', or *sā (so)* 'to destroy', and a *parasmaipada* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

aghrāt 'he smelled'
aghrāsīt 'id.'
adhāt 'he sucked'
adhāsīt 'id.'
aśāt 'he pared'
aśāsīt 'id.'
acchāt 'he cut'
acchāsīt 'id.'
asāt 'he destroyed'
asāsīt 'id.'

1. Note that verbal root *dheṬ* is assigned the term *ghu*. As such, it already had the deletion of *sIC* made obligatorily available (*prāpta*) by the preceding rule. Our present rule makes that obligatory provision optional. In case of the other cited roots, no provisions have previously been made available (*aprāpta*). This rule makes it optionally available. See the appendix for derivational details.

2.4.79 **तनादिभ्यस्तथासोः**

tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ
/ tanādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *tan ādir yeṣāṃ te* = *tanādayaḥ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *tathāsoḥ* 7/2 = *taś ca thāś ca* = *tathāsau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ /*
(*luk* # 58, *sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu* # 77, *vibhāṣā* # 78)
tanādibhya uttarasya sicas tathāsoḥ parato vibhāṣā lug bhavati

Affix *sIC* optionally is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after roots enumerated in the class headed by *tanU* 'to expand', and when affixes *ta* 'third person singular *ātmanepada*' and *thās* 'second person singular *ātmanepada*' follow.

EXAMPLES:

atata 'he expanded'
ataniṣṭa 'id.'
atathāḥ 'you expanded'
ataniṣṭhāḥ 'id.'

1. Note that the earlier rules have this deletion taking place in the active. This rule, however, requires the deletion before middle affixes *ta* and *thās*. Affix *ta*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) here with *thās*, refers to *ātmanepada* 'middle'. See the appendix for derivational details.

2.4.80 **मन्त्रे घसह्वरणशवृदहाद्वृच्कृगमिजनिभ्यो लेः**

mantre ghasahvaraṇaśavṛdahādvṛckṛgamijanibhyo leḥ
/ *mantre* 7/1 *ghasa...janibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ghasaś ca hvaraś ca ṇaśaś ca vṛ ca dahaś ca āc ca vṛj ca kṛ ca gamiś ca janiś ca* = *ghasahvara...janayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *leḥ* 6/1 /
(*luk* # 58)
mantraviṣaye 'ghasa, hvara, ṇaśa, vṛ, daha, āt, vṛc, kṛ, gami, jani' ity etebhya uttarasya ler lug bhavati
Affix *LI* (*CLI*; 3.1.43 *cli luṅi*) is deleted by *LUK* in the Vedic when it occurs after *ghasL* 'to eat', *hvṚ* 'to be crooked', *ṇaśĀ* 'to be destroyed', *vṛÑ* to 'choose, cover', *dah* 'to burn', *āT* 'roots which end in *ā*', *vṛcĀ* 'to avoid', *DUkṛÑ* 'to make, do', *gamI* 'to go', or *janI* 'to be born'.

EXAMPLES:

akṣan pitaro' mīmadanta pitaraḥ (*Tai Sam*1.8.5.3) 'our forefathers ate the ritual oblation and were pleased'
mā hvarmitrasya tvā (*Tai Sam* 1.1.4.1) 'you should not have acted deceitfully toward friends'
dhūrtiḥ praṇaṅ martyasya (*RV* 1.18.3) '...destruction brought by humans'
suruco vena āvaḥ (*Vāj* 13.3) 'the glowing sun illuminated (covered) the universe'
ādhak (*RV* 6.61.14) '...has burnt'
āprā dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣam (*RV* 1.115.1) '...filled the sky, earth, and horizon with its rays'
parā varg bhārabhṛdyathā (*RV* 8.75.12) '...threw like one who carries loads'

akran 'they made'
agman 'they went'
ajñata vā asya dantāḥ (*Ait* 7.14.2) 'his teeth had not then appeared'

1. The word *mantra* is used here as an *upalakṣaṇa* 'indicator, mark' for *chandas* 'Vedic in general'. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* II: 325-26) raises the question of using *LI* when *sIC* is already in use. The *LI* here refers to *CLI* which, in turn, is substituted by *sIC* (3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*). It is stated that *LI* is mentioned for subsequent rules. Additionally, it is used here to indicate that operations relative to *sIC* provided, for example, by rule 6.1.187 *ādiḥ sico' nyatarasyām*, are not carried. See the appendix for derivational details.

2.4.81 **आमः**

āmaḥ
/ *āmaḥ* 5/1 /
(*luk* # 58, *leḥ* # 80)
āmaḥ parasya ler luk bhavati
Affix *LI(LIṬ)* is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after affix *ām* (3.1.35 *kāspraty...*).

EXAMPLES:

īhāṃcakre 'he exerted...'
ūhāṃcakre 'he reasoned...'
īkṣāṃcakre 'he desired...'

1. Note that *āmaḥ* refers to affix *ām* which, in turn, is introduced after verbal root *īhĀ* 'to strive' by rule 3.1.36 *ijādeś ca...*, under the condition of a following affix, namely *LIṬ*. This also means that *LI*, carried from the preceding rule, is now making the reference to *LIṬ*. A reference to *CLI*, as in the previous rule, would not make sense here. Derivational details are given under rule 1.1.63 *āmpratyayavat....*

2.4.82 **अव्ययादाप्सुपः**

avyayād āpsupaḥ
/ *avyayāt* 5/1 *āpsupaḥ* 6/1 = *āp ca sup ca* = *āpsup* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya* /
(*luk* # 58)
avyayād uttarasyāpaḥ supaś ca lug bhavati
Affixes *āP* (*ṬāP*, *ḌāP*, *CāP*; feminine affixes, cf. 4.1.3 *striyām*) and *sUP* are deleted by *LUK* when they occur after an *avyaya* 'indeclinable'.

EXAMPLES:

tatra śālāyām 'there in the house'
yatra śālāyām 'in the house where...'

kṛtvā 'having made'
hitvā 'having impelled'

1. The word *tatra* and *yatra* are derived by introducing affix *traL* after specific bases ending in *saptamī* 'seventh triad of *sUP*' (5.3.10 *saptamyās*...). *Kāśikā* offers the first example

tatra śālāyām 'there in the house'

where *tatra* ends in *traL* and is termed an *avyaya* (1.1.38 *taddhitaś cā*...). The term 'indeclinable' is available to *tatra* on the strength of its being a form ending in a *taddhita*. The word *śālā* ends in the feminine affix *ṬāP* and is modified by *tatra*. Because it is a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), the affix must also end in feminine, like *śālā*, which is the qualified (*viśeṣya*). This requires the introduction of *ṬāP* after *tatra*, which our present rule deletes by *LUK*. Similarly, *sUP* affixes introduced after nominal stems termed *avyaya* are also deleted. A case in point could be the *avyayībhāva* compound which is termed an *avyaya*, as well as a nominal stem (1.2.45 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*). The details of a deletion of *sUP* after an *avyayībhāva* compound are to be found under relevant rules.

2.4.83 **नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम्त्वपञ्चम्याः**

nāvyayībhāvād ato 'm tv apañcamyāḥ
| na ∅ avyayībhāvāt 5/1 *ataḥ* 5/1 *am* 1/1 *tu ∅ apañcamyāḥ* 6/1 = *na pañcamī* = *apañcamī* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyāḥ |*
(*luk #* 58, *avyayād āpsupaḥ#* 82)
adantād avyayībhāvād uttarasya supo na lug bhavati, amādeśas tu tasya supo bhavaty apañcamyāḥ
A *sUP* which occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *aT* (*a*; 1.1.70 *taparas*...) is not deleted; instead, *sUP* is replaced by *am* provided it is not a *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

upakumbhaṃ tiṣṭhati '... is sitting near the pitcher'
upakumbhaṃ paśya '... see near the pitcher'

1. This rule makes two provisions:
(*i*) for the negation (*pratiṣedha*) of the *LUK*-deletion of a *sUP* which occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *a*; and
(*ii*) for the replacement by *am* of that same *sUP*, except when it is an ablative (*pañcamī*).

The rule, therefore, forms an exception to that which precedes it. It also requires that two operations should be performed simultaneously (*yugapad*). Further, we are dealing with a negative as well as a positive

provision. If both provisions are given in the form of a single rule problems may occur. For instance, an *am* replacement may also be negated, on account of its association with the negation of *LUK*-deletion.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (III: 902-3) discusses the proposal to split this rule into two *(yogavibhāga)*, as follows.

(*i*) ***nāvyayībhāvād ataḥ...*** 'deletion by means of *LUK* of a *sUP* which occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *a* does not take place...'

(*ii*) ***am tv apañcamyāḥ*** 'a *sUP* which occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *a* which is not a *pañcamī* is replaced by *am*'

This arrangement separates the two provisions of the rule. The negation of *apañcamyāḥ* in this split interpretation is read in the context of *paribhāṣā* 62:

> *anantarasya vidhir vā bhavati pratiṣedho vā* 'an operation (*vidhi*) or negation (*pratiṣedha*) applies to that which is most immediate (*anantara*)'.

The *Mahābhāṣya*, however, rejects the proposed rule-splitting, saying that *tu*, itself, will account for this. In what way? This word *tu* 'indeed' would become restrictive (*niyāmaka*), and would mean:

'*pañcamī* '...ablative' indeed will not be replaced by *am*'.

Note that *Kāśikā*, perhaps for the sake of clarity, puts the *vṛtti* of this rule into two sentences:

> *adantād avyayībhāvād uttarasya supo na lug bhavati /*
> *amādeśas tu tasya supo bhavaty apañcamyāḥ//*

2.4.84 तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम्

tṛtīyāsaptamyor bahulam

/ tṛtīyāsaptamyoḥ 6/2 *tṛtīyā ca saptamī ca = tṛtīyāsaptamyau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; bahulam* 1/1 /

(*nāvyayībhāvād ato 'm tv apañcamyāḥ* # 83)

tṛtīyāsaptamyor vibhaktyor bahulam ambhāvo bhavati

A *tṛtīyā* or *saptamī* is variously replaced by *am* when it occurs after an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in *a*.

EXAMPLES:

upakhumbhena kṛtam 'made near the pitcher'
upakumbhaṃ kṛtam 'id.'
upakumbhe nidhehi 'place it near the pitcher'
upakumbhaṃ nidhehi 'id.'

1. Note that rule 2.4.83 *nāvyayībhāvād...* provides for an obligatory

replacement of a nominal ending by *am* after an *avyayībhāva* compound. It offers *am* by way of negating the deletion of an ending by *LUK*. The present rule makes the obligatory provision of *am* 'various' (*bahulam*). As a consequence *am* may or may not replace the *tṛtīyā* or *saptamī* which occurs at the end of an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *a*. Note that *am* was offered by the previous rule to block the *LUK*-deletion. The same will happen here. That is, if *am* does not replace an ending, deletion will not apply. Thus, we get examples like the first pair given above.

2.4.85 लुटः प्रथमस्य डारौरसः

luṭaḥ prathamasya ḍāraurasaḥ
/ *luṭaḥ* 6/1 *prathamasya* 6/1 *ḍāraurasaḥ* 1/3 = *ḍāś ca rauś ca raś ca* (*itar. dv.*) / *luḍādeśasya prathamapuruṣasya parasmaipadasyātmanepadasya ca 'ḍā, rau, ras' ity ete ādeśā bhavanti yathāsaṃkhyam*
The third person *tiṄ*-replacements of *LUṬ* (3.3.15 *anadyatane...*) are replaced by *Ḍā*, *rau*, and *ras*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

kartā 'he will make'
kartārau 'they two will make'
kartāraḥ 'they will make'
adhyetā 'he will study'
adhyetārau 'they two will study'
adhyetāraḥ 'they will study'

1. Our rule concerns the third personal (*prathama*; 1.4.101 *tiṅa-strīṇitrīṇi...*) replacements of *LUṬ* (3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*), which are *tiP*, *tas*, and *jhi* of *parasmaipada* (1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*); and *ta*, *ātām*, and *jha* of *ātmanepada* (1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*). The rule here requires that these should be replaced by *Ḍā*, *rau*, and *ras*. Obviously, such replacement entails six substitutes for three substituenda. The assignment of equivalency in terms of the order of enumeration (*saṃkhyātānudeśa*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*) is ruled out because of the unequal number of the corresponding substituenda. Equivalency has therefore to be assigned by the most immediate context (*ānantarya*) of meaning (*artha*). This happens to be the singular, dual, and plural in each category of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*. That is, the same three replacements will replace the singular, dual, and plural elements in the categories of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*. Rule 1.3.10 regulates equivalency within the single categories of *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*. Thus, *Ḍā*, *rau*, and *ras* replace *tiP*, *tas*, and *jhi* respectively in *parasmaipada*. Similarly, they replace *ta*, *ātām*, and *jha* in *ātmanepada*.

Adhyāya Three

3.1.1 प्रत्ययः

pratyayaḥ
/pratyayaḥ 1/1/
pratyayaśabdaḥ saṃjñātvenādhikriyate
An affix...

EXAMPLES:

kartavyám 'that which should be done'
karaṇīyám 'that which is to be done'

1. This is an *adhikāra*, and as such, *pratyayaḥ*, a name (*saṃjñā*), carries to all rules through the end of book five (*adhyāya*). Consequently, all items introduced in this domain, within specified contexts, will be termed *pratyaya*. An exact specification as to what qualifies assignment of the term *pratyaya* within this domain follows. But first, it is important to understand the nature of this term.

The term *pratyaya* is introduced by way of an *adhikāra* so assignment of the term, as well as operations relative to it, can be accomplished with economy (*lāghava*). It would, obviously, be prolix (*gaurava*) if individual rules were formulated to assign the term *pratyaya* each time a *pratyaya* was introduced. The reason, simply put, is that the *saṃjñā* is one and the name bearers (*saṃjñin*) many; there is hardly a shared, or common, feature by which assignment of the term can easily be made. Hence, it is not possible, for example, to formulate a rule similiar to 1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*, whereby assignment of the term *pratyaya* could be made following the pattern of the term *vṛddha*.

Formulating a general rule *sap pratyayaḥ* to assign the term *pratyaya* to items denoted by the abbreviatory term *saP* would not be successful. For it is not, necessarily, an accurate assumption that our abbreviation *saP* is formed by joining the *sa* of 3.1.7 *dhatoḥ samānakartṛkād icchāyāṃ vā san* and the *P* of 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*. For example, consider rules 3.1.34 *sib bahulaṃ leṭi* and 3.1.106 *vadaḥ sup kyap ca*, etc. If one were to operate in accordance with *pratyāsatti-nyāya*, the maxim of proximity, the *P* of *saP* would be interpreted as that of the *siP* in 3.1.34 *sib bahulaṃ leṭi*. It is, therefore, argued that the maxim of pervasion, or extended limit (*vyāpti*), should be accepted. Consequently, the *P* would be interpreted as the *P* of *tanaP* (7.1.45 *taptanapta...*). However, this mode of assignment for the term *pratyaya* will just not work. For, there are many other *P* used as *it*.

2. Commentators identify two types of meanings: *laukika*, the general meaning obtained from usage; and *śāstrīya*, the meaning one gets both by the process of concurrent presence (*anvaya*) and concurrent absence (*vyatireka*). This second is called the technical (*śāstrīya*) meaning as it is only valid within the realm of grammar. Pāṇini assigns certain meanings to affixes which can be discerned by comparing forms through the technique of *anvaya* and *vyatireka*. The idea is to compare forms and assign meaning differentials to corresponding units of formal differences.

The term *pratyaya* can be treated as used in its traditional etymological sense (*anvarthasaṃjñā*) of 'that by means of which meaning is made comprehensible' (*pratiyanty anena artham*). This also includes instances where the particular meaning of an affix is left without any specification (*anirdiṣṭa*). Such affixes must then be interpreted as denoting *svārtha*, the sense of the base after which they are introduced (*anirdiṣṭāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhavanti*).

The preceding discussion begs the question as to whether or not a *vikaraṇa* such as *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *karttari śap*), or an *āgama* 'augment' such as *aṬ* can be assigned the term *pratyaya*. It can be argued, here, that since such affixes are not assigned any meaning they should not qualify for the term. This argument is countered, however, on grounds that traditionally when they have not been assigned any particular meaning, they denote *svārtha*. This assumption qualifies them for the assignment of the term *pratyaya*.

The tradition treats *āgama*, a term which Pāṇini did not use, as secondary elements (*guṇībhūta*). That is, *āgama* are introduced to items as their initial (*ādi*), final (*antya*), or inserted elements, depending on whether they are marked with *Ṭ*, *K*, or *M*, respectively (1.1.46 *ādyantau*...; 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*). Refer also to the *Pbh.* (12): *yadāgamās tadguṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante* whereby a reference to an *āgama* is to be made by that whose part it has become. This then implies that an *āgama* can be called an affix only when it becomes the part of an affix. Assignment of the term will apply only to the larger unit which includes the *āgama*, and not to the *āgama* per say. Thus, an *āgama*, from this viewpoint, is not an affix. In contrast, *vikaraṇas* have been accepted as affixes as is obvious from their operational contexts. Moreover, an affix is generally introduced (*vidhīyate*) with reference to a *dhātu* (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*), or a *prātipadika* (4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*), its subject (*uddeśya*). That is, an affix constitutes the predicate (*vidheya*) in relation to its base. Such a relationship is not possible in case of an *āgama*. A *vikaraṇa*, such as *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*), can be introduced under the condition of the assignment of the technical term *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*), relative to a *dhātu*, with operational consequences. We already know that items denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ* are termed affixes. The association of *tiṄ* with *śit*

(in rule 3.4.113), referring to items such as *ŚaP*, also qualifies *ŚaP*, etc., to be similarly called affixes. Rule 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*, indeed, assigns the term *kṛt* to affixes other than those denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*. Pāṇini, again, does not use the term *vikaraṇa*.

Scope: 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*, etc.

3.1.2 परश्च

paraś ca
/paraḥ 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1)
paraś ca sa bhavati dhātor vā prātipadikād vā yaḥ pratyayasaṃjñaḥ
And that which is termed an affix occurs subsequently....

EXAMPLES:

karttavyam 'that which should be done'
taittirīyam 'a treatise composed by Tittiri'

1. This rule is also an *adhikāra*. Or else, it can be interpreted as a *paribhāṣā*. For rule 3.1.2, when joined with rule 3.1.1, yields the following interpretation:

'that which is assigned the term *pratyaya* occurs subsequently...'

If one treats rule 3.1.2 as an *adhikāra* then one also has to accept that it is carried to each and every rule (*pratiyogam upatiṣṭhate*) of the domain headed by rule 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*. A *paribhāṣā* interpretation would enable it to sit in one place (*ekadeśastha*), though at the same time be applicable throughout the domain (*sarvatra śāstre vyāpriyate*) like a lamp placed in one place yet capable of illuminating the entire room (*sarvaṃ veśmam abhijvalayati*). It, however, does not have to be carried to each and every rule of the domain (*na tu pratiyogam upatiṣhate*). If it is an interpretive provision (*paribhāṣā*), then it must also have a characteristic mark (*liṅga*). Of course, the characteristic mark, in this case, is the assignment of the term *pratyaya* itself.

The purpose of *ca*, when it does not function to bring anything unstated close to a given context (*anuktasamuccaya*), is *avadhāraṇa* 'delimitation, exact specification'. Consequently, we understand that what is assigned the term *pratyaya* occurs only after a root (*dhātu*), or a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). Incidentally, since *dhātu* is generally identified as 'that which denotes an action', an affix can be introduced after anything that denotes action. This way, a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* can also qualify for the introduction of an affix. Similarly, a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* along with items which may end in feminine affixes (4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*), would also qualify for the introduction of an affix. This obligatory requirement of subsequent occurrence may not restrict an *uṇādi* affix to occur only subsequently because of *bahulam* 'variously' of 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*.

With the condition of *paratva* no longer obligatory, the *uṇādi* affixes can be preposed, postposed, or even infixed.

3.1.3 आद्युदात्तश्च

ādyudāttaś ca
/*ādyudāttaḥ* 1/1 = *ādir udātto yasya (bv.); ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2)
ādyudāttaś ca bhavati yaḥ pratyayasaṃjñaḥ
That which is termed an affix, and occurs subsequently, is high-pitched initially.

EXAMPLES:

kārttavyám
taittirīyám

3.1.4 अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ

anudāttau suppitau
/*anudāttau* 1/2 *suppitau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2)
supaḥ pitaś ca pratyayānudāttā bhavanti
That which is termed an affix, occurs subsequently, and is denoted by *sUP* (*svaujas....*, 1.4.103 *supaḥ*), or is marked with *P* as an *it*, is low-pitched initially.

EXAMPLES:

dṛṣadau 'nom. du. of *dṛṣad* 'pebble'
dṛṣadáḥ 'nom. plural ...'
pacáti 'he is cooking'
paṭháti 'he is reading, reciting'

1. This rule constitutes an exception to the preceding one. That is, what the preceding rule made unavailable (*aprāpta*) is made available (*prāpta*) here by the present rule. The *sUP*, in this rule, refers to the *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviatory term' *sUP*, which denotes nominal endings (4.1.2 *svaujas*...). Why can it not be interpreted as the locative plural (*saptamī bahuvacana*) *suP*? In that case, the *anudātta* accent would thus become available to it automatically on the basis of the inclusion of *pit* within this rule. To make a specific provision for *anudātta* by means of a locative (*saptamī*) would thus become unnecessary. Therefore, the interpretation of *sUP* as the *suP* of locative plural would just not make any sense. The last two examples illustrate accent as conditioned by affix *tiP* which, obviously, is an item marked with *P* (*Pit*).

3.1.5 गुप्तिज्किद्भ्यः सन्

guptijkidbhyaḥ san
/*guptijkidbhyaḥ* 5/3 (*dv.*) / *san* 1/1 /
(*pratyayaḥ* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2)
'gupa gopane, tija niśāne, kita nivāse' etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ san pratyayo bhavati
Affix *saN* occurs after verbal roots *gupA* 'to protect, preserve, hide', *tijA* 'to sharpen' and *kitA* 'to dwell, to percieve'.

EXAMPLES:

jugupsate 'he censures, despises...'
titikṣate 'he forbears, endures...'
cikitsate 'he cures (a disease)...'

1. Note that this rule does not specify the semantic condition under which affix *saN* is to be introduced. It is generally believed that affixes which are not assigned a particular meaning are treated as denoting the sense of their bases (*anirdiṣṭāḥ pratyayāḥ svārthe bhavanti*). A *vārttika* (cf. *Kāśikā* under this rule) states that *saN* is desired when the derivates denote *nindā* 'censure', *kṣamā* 'forgiving', and *vyādhipratīkāra* 'curing diseases'. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*) calls this meaning qualification non-universal (*prāyikam etad upādhivacanam*). *Nyāsa* states that *nindā*, etc., indeed constitute the denotata of *saN*. This can be ascertained by employing the technique of *anvaya* 'concurrent presence' and *vyatireka* 'concurrent absence'. Thus, given *jugupsate* and *gopayati* 'hides', a comparison marked by the presence of *saN* in the first, and its absence in the second, also corresponds to the presence and absence of the meaning of *nindā*, etc. This difference in meaning is to be attributed to *saN*. Incidentally, affix *SaN* is to be introduced after specified verbal roots used with meanings discussed here. Elsewhere, these roots will take their regular forms, *gopayati*, etc.

2. Commentators explain that introduction of *saN* here, as well as in the next rule, is made with reference to individual roots, and not with the express mention of *dhātoḥ* 'after a verbal root'. It is for this reason that this *saN* is not assigned the term *ārdhadhātuka* by rule 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ...* As a consequence, *saN* cannot condition the introduction of augment *iṬ* by rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. This absence of *iṬ* constitutes the major operational difference between the *saN* of these two rules and the *saN* which is introduced by rules 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ...*, etc. *Kāśikā* claims that the *anudātta* vowel in *gupĀ* 'to hide', etc., as an *it*, is intended for *ātmanepada* endings by rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*. It is because *anudātta* is an *it* that *gupĀ*, here, could not refer to '*gupA*' 'be agitated' or '*gupU*' 'to preserve, protect'.

3.1.6 मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य

mānbadhadānśānbhyo dīrghaś cābhyāsasya
/ mān...śānbhyaḥ 5/3 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1/ *ca* ∅ *abhyāsasya* 6/1/
(pratyayaḥ # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *san* # 5)
'māna pūjāyām, badha bandhane, dāna avakhaṇḍane, śāna avatejane' ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ san pratyayo bhavati,
abhyāsasya cekārasya dīrghādeśo bhavati
Affix *saN* occurs after verbal roots *mānA* 'to honor, respect', *badhA* 'to bind, tie', *dānA* 'to split, cut in pieces' and *śānA* 'to sharpen'; in addition, long *ī* replaces the short *i* of the *abhyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable'.

EXAMPLES:

mīmāṃsate 'he investigates...'
bībhatsate 'he detests...'
dīdāṃsate 'he straightens out...'
śīśāṃsate 'he sharpens...'

1. Note that out of the four verbal roots *mānA*, *badhA*, *dānA*, and *śānA*, the first two are marked with *anudātta* as their *it*. The last two are marked with *svarita* as an *it*. Consequently, the first two get the *ātmanepada* endings by rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam* as opposed to the last two which get *ātmanepada* by rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye...* It is obvious that this rule orders two operations: the introduction of *saN* and the long -*ī* replacement for the short -*i* of the reduplicated syllable. The *saN* again is intended under specific semantic conditions. Thus, it is introduced after *mānA* in the sense of 'desire to know' (*jijñāsā*); after *badhA* when the sense is *vairūpya* 'ugliness, disgust'; and after *śānA* when the sense is *tīkṣṇīkaraṇa* 'sharpening'.

Kāśikā proposes that '*vā*' of the following rule should be read as part of this rule. This makes the introduction of *saN* optional and hence, *mānayati*, *bādhayati*, *dānayati* and *niśānayati* are derived parallel to forms in *saN*.

3.1.7 धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा

dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ samānakartṛkād ichāyāṃ vā
/dhātoḥ 5/1 *karmaṇaḥ* 6/1 *samānakartṛkāt* 5/1 = *samānaḥ kartā yasya tasmāt (bv.); icchāyām* 7/1 *vā* ∅/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *san* # 5)
iṣikarma yo dhātor iṣiṇaiva samānakartṛkaḥ tasmād icchāyām arthe vā san pratyayo bhavati
Affix *saN* optionally occurs to denote *icchā* 'wish' after roots which underlie the object of, and share the same agent with, *iṣ* 'to wish'.

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣati 'he wishes to do'
jihīrṣati 'he wishes to carry away'

1. Note that *dhātoḥ* 'after a verbal root', *karmaṇaḥ* 'after that which is an object', and *samānakartṛkāt* 'after that which has its agent similar to the agent of' are all presented with *pañcamī* 'the fifth triad of nominal ending'. The semantic condition of *icchāyām* 'in the sense of 'to wish' is given in the locative (*saptamī*). The above translation shows the object in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with the verbal root which, in turn, denotes action. Recall that object (*karman*) is defined by rule 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*, a participant in an action which the agent most desires to reach. How could the participant most desired by the agent, as interpreted by way of his action, be constituted by a *dhātu* which denotes that action? For, a *karman* is a participant in the action which the root denotes. Commentators explain that *dhātvartha*, the sense of a root, can constitute *karman*, but the sense cannot be constituted by the word-form *dhātu*. Pāṇini's use of *karmaṇaḥ* as a modifier to *dhātu*, thus, refers to the object constituted by the sense of *dhātu*. The *karmatva* 'objectness' and *samānakartṛkattva* 'same agentness' of the sense of the root (*dhātvartha*) is extended to the *dhātu* 'root' by way of its meaning (*arthadvāra*). Since *artha* 'meaning' constitutes the object and shares the identical agent, that which denotes *artha*, namely *dhātu*, by extension, can also be treated as such. Consider for example, rule 2.4.2 *dvandvaś ca...* where *prāṇyaṅga* 'part of a living organism' is also treated as the organism which it denotes it (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* II:347: *artho dvāram upāyo yasya tad arthadvāram iti. arthasya karmatvāt samānakartṛkatvāc ca tad vacano' pi dhātur artha-dharmeṇopacārāt karmasamānakartṛkaś...*). Sense, thus, becomes the means for the transference of *karmatva* and *samānakartṛkatva* to the root which denotes it. This may appear to be problematic, but meaning is the only way for *karmaṇaḥ* and *samānakartṛkāt* to become modifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *dhātu* in this context.

2. Why should Pāṇini explicitly state *dhātoḥ* in the rule where the same could be easily understood through the use of *karmaṇaḥ* and *smānakartṛkāt*? Commentators explain two special purposes for the explicit use of *dhātoḥ* in this rule:

(*a*) so that *saN* can not be introduced after a verbal root used with a preverb (*upasṛṣṭa*), and (*b*) so that *saN* can be assigned the term *ārdhadhātuka* under the provisions of rule 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*. *Kāśikā* explains the first of these functions with the example *prācikīrṣat* parallel to *prakartum aicchat* '...wished to do' where *saN* is to be introduced after *kṛ* and not after *pra+ kṛ*, *kṛ* used with the preverb *pra*. There would obviously be some derivational problems if one introduced *saN* after *prakṛ*.

First, *pra* of *prakṛ* would qualify for doubling (*dvitva*). Secondly, a *saN*-derivate with *prakṛ* would qualify to receive affixes *LAṬ*, etc., consequent upon the assignment of the term *dhātu* by rule 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Given these operations, especially before affix *LUṄ*, the preverb would become part of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*). Consequently, augment *āṬ* would have to be introduced to it. The resultant derivate would be incorrect, with the augment preposed to the formal unit termed an *aṅga*.

To understand the second purpose served by the explicit use of *dhātoḥ* in this rule, one can contrast it with the introduction of *saN* covered by the preceding two rules. No explicit mention of *dhātoḥ* in the preceding two rules, explain the commentators, blocks the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* to their *saN*. In contrast, the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* should only be made to that *saN* which is introduced with the explicit mention of *dhātoḥ*. This perhaps follows from the fact that rule 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ...*, which assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka*, is contained in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* II:351 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ ity anena dhātor ity evaṃ dhātuśabdam uccārya vihitasya pratyayasyārdhadhātukasaṃjñāvidhānāt. iha dhātor ity eva sano vidhānam ity ārdhadhātukasaṃjñā bhavati* 'because the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* to an affix is made by rule 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ* through explicit use of the word *dhātoḥ*, here, too, the term *ārdhadhātuka* can only be assigned at the strength of the introduction of *saN* with the explicit mention of *dhātoḥ*)'.

How do we know that the consequence of introducing affix *saN* with the explicit mention of the term *dhātu* is limited to the assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka*? It is stated that assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* and its relative effect is the only difference seen between the derivates of this rule and those of the preceding two rules. Because this term *ārdhadhātuka* is available to the derivates under this rule, they receive the augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*). Obviously, this augment is lacking in the derivates of the preceding rules.

3. The conditions of *karmaṇaḥ* and *samānakartṛkāt* are given so that, for example, *saN* could not be introduced to produce a derivate parallel to *gamanena icchati* '...he wishes by means of his action of going'. The *tṛtīyā* in *gamanena* expresses *karaṇa*. The condition of *samānakartṛkāt* is required so that a *saN* derivate parallel to *bhojanam icchati* of *devadattasya bhojanam icchati yajñadattaḥ* 'Yajñadatta wishes for Devadatta to eat' is blocked on grounds that the agent of *iṣ* 'to wish' and *bhojana* 'eating' are not the same.

4. There are two interesting *vārttika* (*Mbh.* III:40-45) under this rule whereby a provision is made so that: (*a*) *saN* can be introduced when mere *āśaṃkā* 'fear, suspicion, premonition' is expressed, and (*b*) *saN*

can not be introduced after a form which already ends in *saN*. Consider the following examples:

(*i*) *pipatiṣati kūlam* 'the embankment is about to fall'
(*ii*) *śvā mumūrṣati* 'the dog is about to die'
(*iii*) *cikīrṣitum icchati* '...wishes to wish to do'

The first two examples illustrate *āśaṃkā*. These sentences can literally be translated as: 'the embankment wishes to fall' and 'the dog wishes to die' respectively. Commentators (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* II:351-52) note that, in the instance of the embankment (*kūla*), *āśaṃkā* seems to be the logical meaning since *kūla*, for reasons of being inanimate, lacks the faculty of wishing. We have to additionally invoke the *āśaṃkā* meaning in case of sentence (*ii*) where, although the dog is animate, and may be spoken of as being capable of wishing, the desire to live is so strong that someone's desire to die is hard to believe.

5. Note that the restriction illustrated by sentence (*iii*) relative to the second *vārttika* can be shown to be also valid in case of at least three kinds of affixes. Consider the following verse (*Mbh.* III:45):

śaiṣikān matubarthīyāc
chaiṣiko matubarthikaḥ/
sarūpaḥ pratyayo neṣṭaḥ
sannantān na san iṣyate//

'a *śaiṣika* affix similar in form is not to be introduced after items which end in a *śaiṣika* (a *taddhita* affix introduced in the sense of something other than what has already been stated by rules prior to 4.2.92 *śeṣe*), or one that denotes the sense of *matUP* (possession; cf. 4.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup*) ; a *saN* is also not desired after a form which ends in *saN*'

3.1.8 सुप आत्मनः क्यच्

supa ātmanaḥ kyac
/supaḥ 5/1 *ātmanaḥ* 6/1 *kyac* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *karmaṇaḥ, icchāyām, vā* #7)
iṣikarmaṇaḥ eṣitur ātmasambandhinaḥ subantād icchāyām arthe vā kyac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *kyaC* optionally occurs to denote *icchā* after a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes the object of one's own wish.

EXAMPLES:

putrīyati 'he wishes a son for himself'

1. As is obvious from the *vṛtti* of this rule, both *karmaṇaḥ* and *iccāyāṃ vā* are carried. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *KyaC* after a

pada which ends in a *sUP*. This *pada* ending in a *sUP* is qualified, as was *dhātoḥ* in the preceding rule, by *karmaṇaḥ*. Consequently, the *pada* after which *KyaC* is to be introduced is to constitute the object of *iṣ* 'to wish'. Furthermore, *ātmanaḥ* 'one's own' is interpreted as denoting the object of the wish by the agent of *iṣ*. Again the derivate is optional. Thus, *putrīyati*, a derivate in *KyaC* introduced after *putra* + *am*, a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and constitutes the object of *iṣ*, can be used alternately with *ātmanaḥ putram icchati* 'he wishes a son for himself'.

Note that the condition of *supaḥ* is included so that *KyaC* can be introduced after a *pada*. Obviously, *supa* is here interpreted as denoting a form which ends in a *sUP* (*subantāt*). This is possible in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (24): *pratyayagrahaṇe tadantā grāhyāḥ*. Of course, the two conditions of *karmaṇaḥ* and *icchāyāṃ vā* must also be met. It is further stated that the condition of *sUP* is included so that **mahāputrīyati* parallel to *mahāntaṃ putram icchati* '...wishes a great son...' could not be derived by introducing *KyaC* after a sentence (*vākya*). Note, however, that *mahāputrīyati* can still be derived parallel to the string *mahāputram icchati* by first combining *mahat* + *sU* + *putra* + *sU* to yield *mahāputra* and then providing *mahāputra* + *am* for this introduction of *KyaC*.

The condition of *ātmanaḥ* runs parallel to *samānakartṛkāt* of the preceding rule. The condition of *samānakartṛkatva* 'identical agent' makes it possible for the object denoted by *karmaṇaḥ* to be wished for by somebody else (*parārtha*). The introduction of a new condition in *ātmanaḥ* not only clearly demarcates the domains of *saN* and *KyaC* but also facilitates the cancellation of the condition of *samānakartṛkatva*. *KyaC* is to be introduced not only after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*, but also when the object of wish is not intended for somebody else (*parārtha*). Thus, *rājñaḥ putram icchati* '...wishes a son for the king' does not qualify for *KyaC* to produce **rājaputrīyati*.

2. Affix *KyaC* is marked with *K* so that reference to it can be made by the *kye* of 1.4.15 *naḥ kye*. That is, given the provision that an item ending in *n* alone be termed a *pada* when an affix marked with *K* follows, *KyaC*, if not marked with *K*, would be excluded. Consequently, in *rājīyati* '...acts as if he were a king' derived from *rājan* + *am* + *KyaC*, *n* could not be deleted by rule 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*.

The *C* as an *it* in *KyaC* is used to distinguish it from *KyaṄ* and *KyaṢ*. It is also used to facilitate *sāmānya-grahaṇa*, a general reference to all three affixes *KyaC*, *KyaṄ* and *KyaṢ*, with a single term. Supposing this reference was made by use of the term *Kit*, *Kya* without *C* could not be included as a referent along with *KyaṄ* and *KyaṢ*. For, these two would have two *it*-elements as opposed to the single *it* of *Kya*. It is to save the general reference from being impaired (*sāmānyagrahaṇavighāta*) that *C* is used as an *it* in *KyaC*. The idea that *C* of *KyaC* is used to obtain *udātta*

accent is an undesirable one. Besides, this accent can be easily made available at the strength of the assignment of the term *dhātu* to the item ending in *KyaC*, or the term *pratyaya* to *KyaC* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*) itself.

3. A *vārttika* prohibits the introduction of *KyaC* parallel to *idam icchati* 'he wishes for it' and *uccaiḥ icchati* 'he wishes for something loudly' where the first involves a nominal stem ending in *-m* and the second an indeclinable (*avyaya*).

3.1.9 काम्यच्च

kāmyac ca
/*kāmyac* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *karmaṇaḥ, icchāyām vā* #7, *supaḥ, āmanaḥ* #8)
Affix *kāmyaC*, too, optionally occurs to denote *icchā* after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes the object of one's (own) desire.

EXAMPLES:

putrakāmyati 'he wishes a son for himself'
vastrakāmyati 'he wishes clothes for himself'

1. The question is raised as to why this rule was not formulated as: *supa ātmanaḥ kyackāmyacau*, thereby collapsing this, as well as the preceding rule, into one. After all, *KyaC* and *kāmyaC* are both introduced after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* (*subanta*). In addition to being economical, this would eliminate the need for *ca* in this rule. But apparently, Pāṇini saw a problem in introducing both suffixes by means of one rule. First of all, if the affixes were given as part of one rule, they would both qualify for *anuvṛtti* in the subsequent rule. Note that only *KyaC* is required to be carried subsequently (*uttaratra*). In addition, *k* of *kāmyaC* is not considered an *it*. Had it been so, it would invoke the application of rules 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. Therefore, to treat the *k* of *kāmyaC* as an *it* would serve no purpose. This, again, would have occasioned the separate mention of the two affixes.

3.1.10 उपमानादाचारे

upamānād ācāre
/*upamānāt* 5/1 *ācāre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *karmaṇaḥ, vā* #7, *supaḥ, kyac* #8)
upamānāt karmaṇaḥ subantād ācāre' rthe vā kyac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KyaC* optionally occurs to denote *ācāra* 'conduct, treatment' after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes an *upamāna* 'object of comparison'.

EXAMPLES:

putrīyati chātram 'he treats the student as his son'
prāvārīyati kambalam 'he treats (uses) the blanket as an upper garment'

1. It should be clear from our discussion of rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*) under the preceding rule that *KyaC* alone is carried over. Furthermore, since the sense of the affix is stated to be the action denoted by *ācāra*, the object (*karman*) is to be determined accordingly. That is, the affix is introduced after a *pada* which denotes the object of *ācāra* and also serves as an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. In this sense the object is determined via the affixal meaning denoted by the action. For example, *putram iva ācarati chātram ācāryaḥ* 'the teacher treats the student as his own son' where *putra* 'son' is the standard of comparison and the student is the thing compared (*upamita*). Consequently, after *putra* + *am*, the *upamāna*, affix *KyaC* can optionally be introduced to denote the sense of *ācāra* which in this case happens to be the action underlying *ācarati*, the verbal *pada*. The object status of the *upamāna* is determined here via the meaning of the affix similar to the action denoted by the verb.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule states that *KyaC* can also be used after a *pada* which denotes *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. Thus, we get: *prāsādīyati kuṭyām* 'he treats (enjoys living in) the hut as if (he were living in) a palace'. This *vārttika* is necessary because, similar to the *upameya*, the thing compared (*kuṭyām*), one also expects the *upamāna*, the standard of comparison (*prāsāda*), to end in *saptamī*, the seventh triad of *sUP*. But were this the case, it would make it impossible for *prāsāda* to still denote the object since *saptamī* generally denotes locus (*adhikaraṇa*). It is to accommodate usage such as the preceding, as well as ones such as *kuṭīyati prāsāde* 'treats (feels the comforts of) living in a palace as (the discomforts of) living in a hut', that this *vārttika* is required.

Note that *Kāśikā* uses *kuḍye* in place of *kuṭyām* in the above example. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* II: 361) cites *kuṭyām* as the appropriate reading (cf. *kuṭyām iti tu yuktaḥ pāṭhaḥ*). I have accepted *kuṭyām* mostly because it is in consonance with the *Mahābhāṣya*.

3. Also see note 2 under the next rule.

3.1.11 कर्त्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च

karttuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca
/*karttuḥ* 5/1 *kyaṅ* 1/1 *salopaḥ* 1/1 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *supaḥ* #8, *upamānād ācāre* #10)
upamānāt karttuḥ subantād ācāre' rthe vā kyaṅ pratyayo bhavati, sakārasya ca lopo bhavati

Affix *KyaṄ* optionally occurs to denote *ācāra* after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes an agent serving as an *upamāna*; in addition, the final - *s* of the nominal stem (*prātipadika*) is deleted.

EXAMPLES:

śyenāyate kākaḥ 'the crow appears (behaves) as if it were a falcon'
puṣkarāyate kumudaḥ 'the lily appears like a blue lotus'
payāyate (takram) 'the buttermilk appears, or tastes like, milk'
payasyate (takram) 'id'

1. This rule, unlike the general pattern, provides for two operations (*kārya*) to take place simultaneously (*yugapad*). Thus, we find that affix *KyaṄ* is introduced after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* (in the present case a nominative), denotes the agent of *ācāra*, and additionally serves as a standard of comparison (*upamāna*). Note that *ācāra* is carried here to ensure that the agency of the thing serving as *upamāna* be restricted to the action denoted by *ācāra*. We also find that the rule also requires deletion of the final *-s* of the nominal stem. Since both operations are given at the same time, one may expect them to apply at the same time. That is, where one applies, so must the other. Therefore, one would assume that *KyaṄ* should be introduced only when there is a nominal stem which ends in *-s*, which thereby enables the application of its deletion. This interpretation, however, is incorrect. The *Mahābhāṣya* (III: 56-57) observes that *KyaṄ* is given as the principal provision (*pradhānanśiṣṭa*) in contrast with the deletion of *-s* which is secondary (*anvācayaśiṣṭa*). It is as if a person who, when ordered *grāme bhaikṣaṃ cara devadattaṃ cānaya* 'go beg for food in the village; also bring Devadatta', goes to the village and primarily begs for food though secondarily, brings Devadatta (if he can find him). That is, one would introduce *KyaṄ* with the understanding that one must also delete *-s* if it occurs.

2. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* (II:361) observes that the *ca* of this rule is used for the sake of *anvācaya* 'secondary provision'. This will offer two interpretations:

(*i*) *karttuḥ kyaṅ bhavati sarvatra* 'affix *KyaṄ* occurs universally after a *pada* which denotes *kartṛ*...'
(*ii*) *yatra tv asti sakāras tatra tasyāpi lopaḥ* 'a final *-s*, if there is one, is deleted in the process'

Interpretation of *ca* as *samuccaya* 'aggregation' implies that one entity anticipates the presence of the other. More directly, both operations are considered to be primarily provided. This means that where one applies the other must also apply. Or, when two strictly simultaneous provisions are made, one in the absence of the other gets cancelled. Conversely,

an interpretation of *ca* as *anvācaya* maintains that *KyaṄ* can be introduced irrespective of whether or not deletion of *-s* occurs. For, here *KyaṄ* is the primary provision.

Now consider some examples:

(*iii*) *payāyate takram* 'the buttermilk appears (tastes) like milk'
where given the string *payas* + *sU* + *KyaṄ*, this rule deletes the final *-s* of the nominal stem *payas* 'milk'. However, consider

(*iv*) *śyenāyate kākaḥ* 'the crow appears (behaves) as if it were a falcon'
where though *KyaṄ* is introduced, there is no *s*-deletion. This is because *śyena* 'falcon' does not end in *-s*. For, *Kāśikā* clearly states:

> *anvācayaśiṣṭaḥ salopaḥ tad abhāve' pi kyaṅ bhavaty eva* '*s*-deletion is provided for secondarily; (therefore) even in its absence, *KyaṄ* must be introduced'.

3. Note that *vā* 'or not; optionally' carried from rule 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ...* makes the introduction of *KyaṄ* optional, and since *KyaṄ* is associated with the deletion of *-s*, the deletion of *-s* becomes optional as well. However, looking at the *vārttika* (*Mbh.* III: 58) *ojasopsarasor nityaṃ payasas tu vibhāṣayā*, we find that the deletion of *-s* is obligatory (*nitya*) in case of *ojas* 'vigor' and *apsaras* 'celestial beauty.' This contrasts with the case of *payas* where *-s*-deletion is optional. We assume from this discrepancy that the optional *s*-deletion made available by *vā* is a *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. Such options are limited to selected forms only. This explains that we must have *ojāyate* and *apsarāyate* with deletion of *-s* required, and yet can also derive forms such as *payāyate* and *payasyate*, where the option for *s*-deletion applies.

Note that *karttuḥ*, in the context of *s*- deletion, must be interpreted as ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) denoting 'in place of' (*sthānaṣaṣṭhī*)'. This genitive, read with 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*, will identify the locus of the operation of *s*-deletion; the *-s* which is to be deleted has to be the final (*antya*). For example, it is the final *-s* of *payas*, as opposed to the penultimate *s*, similar to one as in *hiṃsa*, which becomes the object of deletion.

4. An additional *vārttika* under this rule provides for optional introduction of affix *KvIP* after *avagalbha* 'dare-devil', *klība* 'coward, impotent' and *hoḍa* 'insulting'. Affix *KyaṄ* can be introduced if the option of *KvIP* is not accepted. Forms such as *avagalbha*, etc., are given as ending in affix *aC* via rule 3.1.33 *nandigrahipacādi....* As a consequence, the status of *anunāsikatva* 'nasality' and *anudāttatva* 'low-pitch' is brought to *avagalbha* with reference to its *aC*. The *aC*, which occurs before *KvIP*, is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. The introduction of the *ātmanepada* affix after *avagalbha*, etc., will thus be ensured by *anudātta* (1.3.12 *anudattāṅita...*), subsequent to the introduction of *KvIP*. Actually, *ātmanepada*, can still be available to

these forms simply because they are cited with *anudātta* to begin with. The introduction of affix *KvIP*, a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*), does not result in the assignment of the term *prātipadika* under the provision of rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*. For, that would block the introduction of the verbal inflectional endings, *tiṄ*. Needless to say, *tiṄ* can only be introduced, as a replacement of *LA*, after items termed *dhātu*. The authority on which the application of 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* is blocked in the case of items which end in *KvIP* lies within the statement *kvibantā dhātutvaṃ na jahati* (cf. *Udyota* ad *Mbh.* V: 62).

The purpose of citing *avagalbha*, etc., as ending in *aC* is to make them *anekāc* 'that which consists of more than one vowel'. This, in turn, will block the application of the *vārttika* ad 3.1.35 *kāspratyayād...*, *kāsgrahaṇe cakās upasaṃkhyānam* (*Mbh.* III:114). The forms, because they end in an affix, will still qualify for the introduction of *ām* thereby yielding derivates such as *avagalbhāṃcakre*, etc. Note that the status of *anekāctva* 'more-than-one vowelness' is not determined by consideration of the root along with the preverb. The optional introduction of *KvIP* secures the introduction of *ām*. The result is a variety of forms such as: *galbhate* (with no *aC*, no *KvIP*), *avagalbhate* (with *aC* and *KvIP*); *avagalbhāyate* (with *aC* and *KyaṄ*), and *avagalbhāṃcakre* (with *aC*, *KvIP* and *ām*).

3.1.12 भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्वेर्लोपश्च हलः

bhṛśādibhyo bhuvy acver lopaś ca halaḥ
|bhṛśādibhyaḥ 5/1 *bhuvi* 7/1 *acveḥ* 5/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø
halaḥ 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *kyaṅ* #11)
'bhṛśa' ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo' cvyantebhyo bhuvi bhavaty arthe kyaṅ pratyayo bhavati, halantānāṃ ca lopaḥ
Affix *KyaṄ* optionally occurs to denote the sense of *bhū* 'be, become' after nominal stems enumerated in the list headed by *bhṛśa* 'bountiful, bright' when those stems do not end in affix *CvI*; in addition, any final consonant (*hal*) of the stem is replaced by zero.

EXAMPLES:

bhṛśāyate 'what was less becomes bountiful'
śīghrāyate 'he, who was slow, becomes fast'
unmanāyate 'he, who was not interested, becomes interested'

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix *KyaṄ* as its principal (*pradhāna*) provision. It also allows the deletion of the final consonant of a nominal stem as a secondary provision (*anvācaya*). Thus, *KyaṄ* will be introduced irrespective of the deletion of a final consonant. This affix is

introduced in the sense of *ācāra* under the provisions of the preceding rule. It is introduced here to denote the sense of *bhū* 'to become'.

2. Why is it necessary to state the negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *acveḥ* 'when not ending in affix *CvI*'. The stipulation, here, is that rule 5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve kṛbhvastiyoge...*, read with a corresponding *vārttika* (*Mbh.* III:60), introduces affix *CvI* in the sense of *abhūtatadbhāva* 'the sense of becoming something which it previously was not'. Logically, affix *KyaṄ* cannot be introduced after a form to denote *abhūtatadbhāva* because that would be redundant. It is stated that the negation would become vacuous (*vyartha*) if *KyaṄ* were introduced after a form which ended in *CvI*. Or conversely, if *CvI* were introduced after a word enumerated under the list headed by *bhṛśa*. By stating *acveḥ*, Pāṇini accepts that items listed in the set headed by *bhṛśa* may or may not be used with *CvI*. Affix *KyaṄ* is introduced after that which does not end in *CvI*.

3. Note that forms which belong to the *bhṛśādi* list, and do not end in *CvI*, not only qualify for the introduction of *KyaṄ* but also constitute an exception to 5.4.50 *kṛbhvastiyoge....* A form in *CvI*, because it denotes *abhūtatadbhāva* (even if it belongs to the *bhṛśādi* class), is blocked from receiving *KyaṄ* since it already expresses the sense of the affix to be introduced. Therefore, it would follow that *acveḥ* should not have been stated. However, Pāṇini states *acveḥ* in order to inform us that forms which end in *KyaṄ* are similar (*sadṛśa*) to those ending in *CvI*. The word *acveḥ*, or its *naÑ* 'negative particle', is interpreted as *paryudāsa* and gives the sense of *tadbhinnatatsadṛśa* 'similarly dissimilar' (cf. my notes under 1.2.45 *arthavad...*). Obviously, the similarity between forms ending in *KyaṄ* with those ending in *CvI* is based on meaning (*artha*), not form (*śabda*). It is because of the *abhūtatadbhāva* meaning via the *paryudāsa* interpretation of the negation in *acveḥ* that *kva divā bhṛśā bhavanti ye rātrau bhṛśāḥ* 'what becomes of the bright stars of the night during the day?' does not have a corresponding *KyaṄ* derivate. In this example, it is because of *bhṛśa*, which here means *nakṣatra* 'star'. Affix *KyaṄ* is thus introduced to denote the sense of *bhavati* after items enumerated in the list headed by *bhṛśa* within the context of *abhūtatadbhāva*.

Note, also, that if an item is cited in the list headed by *bhṛśa* with a prefix, only the form without the prefix qualifies for the introduction of the affix. This allows for forms such as *unmanāyate*, where augment *āṬ* is introduced with reference to an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) which does not include a prefix (*anupasṛṣṭa*).

3.1.13 लोहितादिडाज्भ्यः क्यष्

lohitādiḍājbhyaḥ kyaṣ
/lohitādiḍājbhyaḥ 5/3 kyaṣ 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, vā #7, bhuvi acveḥ #12)

lohitādibhyo ḍājantebhyaś ca bhavaty arthe kyaṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KyaṢ* optionally occurs to denote the sense of *bhū* 'to be, become' after a non-*CvI* nominal stem enumerated in the list headed by *lohita* 'red', and also after an item which ends in affix *ḌāC* (5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād...*).

EXAMPLES:

lohitāyati 'that which was not red becomes red'
lohitāyate 'id.'
paṭapaṭāyati '... makes *paṭapaṭa* noise'
paṭapaṭāyate 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *KyaṢ* after items cited in the list headed by *lohita*, and also after those which end in affix *ḌāC* (5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād...*). Of course, *abhūtatadbhāva*, the condition which governs meaning, as well as the restriction of *acveḥ*, is still valid here.

The *Mahābhāṣya* (III:366) suggests that the rule should have been formulated only as *lohitaḍājbhyaḥ kyaṣ* thereby reducing *lohitādi* to *lohita*. This, apparently, is because there is no *gaṇa* 'listing of stems in groups' known as *lohitādi*. Affix *KyaṢ*, as opposed to *KyaṄ*, is selected so that *parasmaipada* affixes can optionally be introduced after these items in accordance with the provision of rule 1.3.90 *vā kyaṣaḥ*.

Kāśikā recognizes the *lohitādi* as an *ākṛtigaṇa*. This kind of listing is in general open-ended, and in particular includes a limited number of items. Thus, *lohitādi* according to the *Kaśikā*, is a *gaṇa* with a possibility for addition when one finds forms which share operational features common to forms already on the list. *Kāśikā*, indirectly, admits, that some of the words which belong to the *bhṛśādi* group may also be found in the *lohitādi* list. Similarly, some of the *lohitādi* words may be found under the *bhṛśādi* list. Those of the *lohitādi* listed under the *bhṛśādi*, says *Kāśikā*, must end in *KyaṄ*. Those of the *bhṛśādi* listed in the *lohitādi* will take *KyaṢ*.

2. The *Paribhāṣā* (72) *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* 'a citation made by means of a *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' also includes references to corresponding forms in different genders'. This enables *lohinī*, the feminine counterpart of *lohita*, also to qualify for the introduction of *KyaṢ*.

3. I have already explained that the *K* of *KyaṢ* is intended as an *it* for generally referencing this affix along with *KyaC* and *KyaṄ*. For example, consider rule 1.4.15 *naḥ kye* where a general reference to these affixes is made by means of *K*. Note, also, that *KyaṢ* makes the optional introduction of *parasmaipada* with the *ātmanepada* (1.3.90 *vā kyaṣaḥ*) possible. Thus we get: *lohitāyati*; *lohitāyate*.

4. There are forms such as *nidrā* 'sleep', etc., which are treated as part of the *lohitādi* group. Now, *nidrā* refers to a property (*dharma*) as opposed to a thing (*dravya; dharmin*) which other *lohitādi* stems denote. Commentators indicate that, for the purpose of introducing *KyaṢ* (*kyaṣvidhi*), stems such as *nidrā* are treated as if denoting a thing. This is natural given the denotational power of words (*śabdaśaktisvabhāva*). Accordingly, usages such as *nidrāyate*, parallel to *anidrāvān nidrāvān bhavati* 'he who did not feel sleepy earlier is feeling so now,' can be accounted for.

3.1.14 **कष्टाय क्रमणे**

kaṣṭāya kramaṇe
/kaṣṭāya 4/1 *kramaṇe* 7/1
(pratyayaḥ #1 *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *kyaṅ* #11*)*
kaṣṭaśabdāc caturthīsamarthāt kramaṇe' rthe' nārjave kyaṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KyaṄ* optionally occurs to denote *kramaṇa* 'striving, moving' after a syntactically related *pada* which underlies *kaṣṭa* 'suffering, wrong, wicked', and ends in *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal ending'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭāyate '...is moving with wicked intentions'

1. Note that *kaṣṭa* specifies the left context for the introduction of affix *KyaṄ*. Commentators explain that *kaṣṭa* is specified in *caturthī* so that *KyaṄ* can not be introduced after *kaṣṭa* used with any other nominal ending. This *caturthī* enables *kaṣṭa* to be syntactico-semantically relatable (*saṃgatārtha*) with *kramaṇa*, the meaning condition for affix *KyaṄ*. The word *kramaṇa* in the context of this rule means *anārjava* 'crookedness; wickedness'. Incidentally, it is *KyaṄ*, and not the *KyaṢ*, which is carried via *anuvṛtti*. We know this from the mark of *svarita* which is available only with *KyaṄ* (cf. Nyāsa ad *Kāś. kyaṅ eva svaritatvāt*). Besides, *KyaṄ* is desired also for *ātmanepada*.

2. A *vārttika* (*Mbh.* III:367) states that *KyaṄ*, in addition to *kaṣṭa*, should also be introduced after *sattra*, *kakṣa*, *kṛcchra* and *gahana* to denote *pāpacikīrṣā* 'desire to commit a sinful act'. *KyaṄ* cannot be introduced in its general sense (*sāmānyārtha*) of *kramaṇa* commonly paraphrased as *pādaviharaṇa* 'treading along'. Consequently, as *Nyāsa* puts it: *anārjavalakṣaṇaṃ yat kramaṇaṃ tatraiva pratyayaḥ* 'the affix should be introduced only where *kramaṇa* is characterized by *anārjava* 'crookedness'.

3.1.15 **कर्मणो रोमन्थतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः**

karmaṇo romanthatapobhyāṃ vartticaroḥ

/*karmaṇaḥ* 5/1 *romanthatapobhyām* 5/2 *vartticaroḥ* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *kyan* #11)
romanthaśabdāt tapaḥśabdāc ca karmaṇo yathākramaṃ vartticaror arthayoḥ kyaṅ pratyayo bhavati.
Affix *kyaṄ* optionally occurs after *romantha* 'chewing the cud', and *tapas* 'penance, austerity' when these end in *dvitīyā* 'the second triad of *sUP*' and denote the object of *vartti* 'to repeat' and *cara* 'to observe, perform' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

romanthāyate gauḥ 'the cow is chewing the cud'
tapasyati 'he observes austerity'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* (III: 68) explains *romantha* as *mantha* 'chewing' something *udgīrṇa* 'thrown out' or *nigīrṇa* 'passed out as waste'.

2. The word *karmaṇaḥ* is interpreted as ending in the ablative (*pañcamī*), on account of its syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with *romanthatapobhyām*, and forms the left context for the introduction of affix *KyaṄ*. Since *romanthatapobhyām* is given in the ablative dual (*dvivacana*), it should also follow that *karmaṇaḥ* be given in the dual. It is given in the singular (*ekavacana*) since it modifies *romanthatapobhyām*, a compound with two constituents where each yields separate sentences of interpretation: *romanthaṃ varttayati* '...is chewing the cud' and *tapaś carati* '...is practicing penance'. Obviously, *romantha* and *tapas* are *karman* of actions denoted by *vartti* 'to cause to turn' and *car* 'to wander'. Incidentally, parallel to *romanthāyate gauḥ*, one would also expect the *ātmanepada* ending rather than the *parasmaipada* in *tapasyati tapaḥ*. The *ātmanepada* is appropriate, here, because affix *KyaṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. An *iṣṭi* of the *Mahābhāṣya* provides for the *parasmaipada* ending after *tapas*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* makes yet another proposal requiring that the sense of *vartti* be qualified with *hanucalana* 'jaw movement'. It implies that *kīṭo romanthaṃ varttayati* 'the insect is rolling up the ball of feces' could not qualify for a parallel *KyaṄ* derivate. For, obviously, 'rolling up' does not entail 'jaw movement'. The affix is clearly introduced after a *pada* which constitutes the object of the action denoted by *romantha* 'chewing the cud'. The *romantha* of the counter-example *kīṭo romanthaṃ varttayati*, does not entail any such action.

3.1.16 **बाष्पोष्मभ्यामुद्वमने**

bāṣpoṣmabhyām udvamane
/*bāṣpoṣmabhyām* 5/2 *udvamane* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *kyaṅ* #11, *karmaṇaḥ* #15)
bāṣpaśdbdād ūṣmaśabdāc ca karmaṇa udvamane' rthe kyaṅ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KyaṄ* optionally occurs to denote *udvamana* 'emission' after a *pada* which contains *bāṣpa* 'vapor, steam' and *ūṣman* 'heat' when these nominals end in *dvitīyā* to denote object.

EXAMPLES:

bāṣpāyate kūpaḥ 'the waterwell emits vapor'
uṣmāyate '...emits steam'.

1. A *vārttika* which provides *KyaṄ* after *phena* 'foam' is also given under this rule to account for *phenāyate* parallel to *phenam udvamati* '...emits foam'.

3.1.17 शब्दवैरकलहाभ्रकण्वमेघेभ्यः करणे

śabdavairakalahābhrakaṇvameghebhyaḥ karaṇe
/*śabda... meghebhyaḥ* 5/3 *karaṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *kyaṅ* #11, *karmaṇaḥ* #15)
śabda, vaira, kalaha, abhra, kaṇva, megha' ity etebhyaḥ karaṇe karoty arthe kyaṅ pratyato bhavati
Affix *KyaṄ* optionally occurs to denote *karaṇa* 'doing' after *śabda* 'sound, noise', *vaira* 'hostility', *kalaha* 'quarrel', *abhra* 'cloud', *kaṇva* 'sin', or *megha* 'cloud', when they denote the object of making or doing.

EXAMPLES:

śabdāyate '...makes noise'
vairāyate '...becomes hostile'
kalahāyate '...quarrels'
abhrāyate '...causes the clouds to form'
kaṇvāyate '...commits a sinful act'
meghāyate ūṣmā 'the heat creates clouds'

1. The word *karaṇa* of *karaṇe* is interpreted here as meaning 'action', and should not be confused with the *kāraka* named *karaṇa* as per 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ....* To interpret *karaṇa* as denoting the *kāraka* would bring the sense of affix *KyaṄ* in direct conflict with the *karman* 'object' denoted by the base after which the affix is introduced to denote *karaṇa*.

Note that forms such as *śabdāyati* would derive from *śabda* + *am* + *ṆiC* where *ṆiC* will be introduced after *śabda* + *am* to denote the sense of *karoti* '...does'. This, of course, will happen when the option of *KyaṄ* is not availed.

2. A *vārttika* also provides for the introduction of affix *KyaṄ* after *sudina* 'happy days', *durdina* 'sad days' and *nīhāra* 'fog' to account for *sudināyate, durdināyate,* and *nīhārāyate.* The *Amarakośa* explains *durdina* as *meghācchanna* 'an overcast day'.

3.1.18 सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम्

sukhādibhyaḥ kartṛvedanāyām
/sukhādibhyaḥ 5/3 *kartṛ (deleted* 6/1) *vedanāyām* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *kyaṅ* #11, *karmaṇaḥ* #15)
'sukha' ity evam ādibhyaḥ karmabhyo vedanāyām arthe' nubhave kyaṅ pratyayo bhavati, vedayituś cet kartuḥ sambandhīni sudkādīni bhavanti

Affix *KyaṄ* optionally occurs after nominal stems enumerated in the list headed by *Sukha* 'pleasure, happiness' provided the derivate denotes agent's own experience (*kartṛvedanā*).

EXAMPLES:

sukhāyate devadattaḥ 'Devadatta experiences pleasure'
duḥkhāyate devadattaḥ 'Devadatta experiences grief'

1. This rule introduces affix *KyaṄ* to denote *vedanā* 'experience' after a *pada* which is constituted by *sukha*, etc., and denotes *karman* provided *vedanā* is relatable to the agent's own experience of joy, etc. That is, *KyaṄ* is to be introduced after a *pada* which constitutes the object of the agent's own experience. Thus, *sukhāyate* of *sukhāyate devadattaḥ* is derived by introducing *KyaṄ* after *sukha* + *am* which is the object of Devadatta's experience. This explains why the rule has *kartṛ*. One must also note that *kartṛ* qualifies *sukha*, etc. That is, it does not qualify *vedanā*. For, if it qualified *vedanā*, *devadattasya sukhaṃ vedayate prasādhakaḥ* 'the attendant of Devadatta experiences his (Devadatta's) joy' would also come under the purview of this rule. After all, *prasādhaka*, here, is the agent of *vedanā* as is Devadatta. However, **sukhāyate prasādhako devadattasya* will be blocked because what is experienced is not the 'joy' of the 'attendant', the agent of *vedanā*. But there still is a problem. If *kartṛ* is not a modifier to *vedanā* then the *sāmarthya* 'syntactic connection' between them is impaired. This will not permit the compound *kartṛvedanā*.

Nyāsa (II:375) observes that compound formation must be valid because Pāṇini, himself, uses it in the rule (*sautratvāt*). Or, one can accept that *kartṛ* is used with deleted genitive (*luptaṣaṣṭhīka*). This preference would not subscribe to the formation of a compound with *kartṛ* and *vedanā* as constituents (*sautratvān nirdeśasya saty api asāmarthye samāso bhavaty adoṣaḥ. atha vā, asamāsa eva, ṣaṣṭhyās tv aśravaṇaṃ 'supāṃ suluk' iti luptatvāt*). Note that accepting the compound based on its usage in the *sūtra* (*sautratvāt*) is conducive to economy (*lāghava*). A proposal with the ad hoc (*nipātana*) deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* is prolix (*gaurava*).

The genitive in *kartuḥ*, as a modifier to *sukha*, etc., has to be interpreted to denote *āśrayāśrayin* 'locus and object of locus' relation. This way, the agent becomes the locus (*āśraya*) where the object of locus (*āśrayin*), such as *sukha*, etc., are located.

3.1.19 नमोवरिवश्चित्रङः क्यच्

namovarivaścitraṅaḥ kyac
/*namovarivaścitraṅaḥ* 5/1 *kyac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *karmaṇaḥ* #15, *karaṇe* #17)
'namas, varivas, citraṅ' ity etebhyo vā kyac pratyayo bhavati, karaṇaviśeṣe pūjādau
Affix *KyaC* optionally occurs to denote *karaṇa* 'doing' after *padas* which underlie *namas* 'salutation', *varivas* 'honor, service' or *citraṄ* 'wonder', and end in *dvitīyā* to express the object of doing.

EXAMPLES:

namasyati devān 'he offers salutations to the gods'
varivasyati gurūn 'he honors teachers'
citrīyate '...causes to wonder...'

1. The word *karaṇe* is still carried. Although it refers to action in general (*sāmānya*), it is interpreted in this rule in the sense of particular actions such as *pūjā* 'worship', etc. This particular meaning contrasts with the general meaning, but is not difficult to obtain knowing the denotational power of words (*śabdaśaktisvabhāva*). Contextually, *namas* 'obeissance' also relates to the action of paying respect which is denoted by *pūjā*. Likewise, interpretations of *varivas* and *citra* are not hard to determine. Thus, *varivas* relates to the action denoted by *paricaryā* 'serving, nursing' where as *citra* relates to *āścarya* 'astonishment'.

2. Commentators cite *namasyati gurūn* 'he pays obeissance to his teacher' as an example for *namas* . They, however, question the use of *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal ending' after *guru* 'teacher' especially in view of *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' already provided for by rule 2.3.16 *namaḥ svastisvāhā...* This rule requires the use of *caturthī* when words such as *namaḥ, svasti, svāhā*, etc., are in construction. Thus our example sentence should instead be: *namasyati gurubhyaḥ*. It is stated that the word *namas*, in *namasyati gurūn*, is used secondarily (*guṇībhūta*) to the meaning of affix (*pratyayārtha*) *KyaṄ*. This would leave *namas* with practically no signification at all (*anarthaka*). Rule 2.3.16 cites *namas* with its primary signification of obeissance. It is therefore not *anarthaka* in rule 2.3.16. According to the *Paribhāṣā* (15) *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya* 'when a citation is made with reference to something with signification, this does not include reference to any corresponding non-significant citation'. This way, *caturthī* should not be used in *namasyati gurūn*.

Yet another way out is suggested by treating *namasyati gurūn* as the paraphrase of *namaskāreṇa pūjayati gurūn*, where *namaskāra* becomes the means by which one worships the teacher. The *tṛtīyā* in *namaskāreṇa*

as well as the *dvitīyā* in *gurūn* thus denote the *kāraka* namely *karaṇa* and *karman* respectively. The *caturthī* of rule 2.3.16 is a nominal ending (*vibhakti*) required because of a conjoined condition (*upapada*) of *namas*, etc. This *caturthī* is thus an *upapada-vibhakti,* a nominal ending which is introduced based on a specific cooccurrence condition. This invokes the *Paribhāṣā* (103) *upapadavibhakteḥ kārakavibhaktir balīyasī* whereby a nominal ending introduced relative to a *kāraka* is treated as stronger than one introduced relative to a conjoined condition. This way, the *dvitīyā* in *namasyati gurūn* will block the *caturthī* which would have otherwise obtained.

3. Commentators explain that the *Ṅ* of *citraṅaḥ* is intended to secure *ātmanepada* in *citrīyate* and is contrasted with *parasmaipada* of ★*citrīyati*. The *Ṅ* would automatically invoke rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*. Note that *citrīyate* may be interpreted as denoting either 'X is astonished', or 'X causes Y to be astonished'. Some prefer the causal meaning over the non-causal.

3.1.20 पुच्छभाण्डचीवराण्णिङ्

pucchabhāṇḍacīvarāṇ ṇiṅ
/*pucchabhāṇḍacīvarāt* 5/1 *ṇiṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *karmaṇaḥ* #15, *karaṇe* #17)
'*puccha bhāṇḍa civāra' ity etebhyo ṇiṅ pratyayo bhavati karaṇaviśeṣe*
Affix *ṆiṄ* optionally occurs to denote *karaṇa* after a *pada* which contains *puccha* 'tail,' *bhāṇḍa* 'pot' or *cīvara* 'rags', a monk's robe' and denotes the object of doing.

EXAMPLES:

utpucchayate gauḥ 'the cow tosses its tail upward'
saṃbhāṇḍayate 'he arranges the pots in a pile'
saṃcīvarayate bhikṣuḥ 'the monk obtains or wears the *cīvara*'

1. The word *karaṇe* is still carried. This rule then introduces affix *ṆiṄ* after *puccha, bhāṇḍa,* and *cīvara* which end in *dvitīyā* and denote *karman.* The word *karaṇa* of *karaṇe* is again interpreted as denoting a particular action (*karaṇaviśeṣa*). There are several *iṣṭi* whereby *Kāśikā* outlines the meanings relative to the three bases identified in the rule. Thus, a *ṆiṄ* derivate of *puccha* used with the preverbs *ud* and *pari* would signify 'hurling up' and 'hurling around' the tail (cf. *pucchād udasane paryasane vā*). Thus we get: *utpucchayate/paripucchayate gauḥ* 'the cow is hurling up/hurling around its tail', respectively. We similarly get *saṃbhāṇḍayate* and *saṃcīvarayate* from nominals such as *bhāṇḍa* and *cīvara* in the sense of 'collecting pots' and 'procuring or wearing rags' respectively. These

iṣṭi thus assign the meanings of *samācayana* 'collecting' and *arjana* 'procuring' or *paridhāna* 'wearing' to *ṆiṄ* in the above contexts.

2. The *Ṇ* of the affix is used for general reference (*sāmānyagrahaṇārtha*). Refer for example to rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* where *Ṇ* is used to invoke reference to affixes with *Ṇ* as an *it*. The *Ṅ* of the affix, as usual, is used for *ātmanepada*. This is why *puccha*, etc., cannot be read as part of the items in the subsequent rule. The endings required in the rule are *parasmaipada*.

Note, also, that because these newly derived roots inhere their objects, they are considered intransitives (*akarmaka*).

3.1.21 मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच्

muṇḍamiśraślakṣṇalavaṇavratavastrahalakalakṛtatūstebhyo ṇic
/*muṇḍa...tūstebhyaḥ* 5/3 *ṇic* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7, *karmaṇaḥ* #15, *karaṇe* #17)
'*muṇḍa, miśra, ślakṣṇa, lavaṇa, vrata, vastra, hala, kala, kṛta, tūsta*' *ity etebhyo karaṇe ṇic pratyayo bhavati*

Affix *ṆiC* optionally occurs to denote *karaṇa* after *padas* which contain *muṇḍa* 'bald, shaven', *miśra* 'mixed', *ślakṣṇa* 'smooth', *lavaṇa* 'salt, salty', *vrata* 'ritual vow', *vastra* 'attire', *hala* 'a big plow', *kala* 'a bud, dice', *kṛta* 'favour, dice' or *tūsta* 'cleaning, combing (hair)', and which denote the object of doing.

EXAMPLES:

muṇḍayati 'he shaves head'
miśrayati 'he mixes something with something else'
ślakṣṇayati 'he smooths...'
lavaṇayati 'he makes something salty'
payo vrtayati 'he observes the ritual vow to subsist on milk'
saṃvastrayati 'he covers with or wears a garment'
halayati 'he takes a big plow'
kalayati 'he picks a bud or die'
kṛtayati 'he accepts a favor, or holds a die'
vitūstayati keśān 'he combs, or cleans his hair'

1. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* II:377) recalls that the formulation of rule 3.2.21 *muṇḍamiśra...* where the condition of *karaṇe* is nothing but an expatiation (*prapañca*) of a couple of *gaṇasūira*. With this rule Pāṇini provides for something which is already made available by the *gaṇasūtra: prātipadikād dhātvarthe bahulam iṣṭhavac ca* 'affix *ṆiC* variously occurs after a nominal stem (*prātipadika*) to denote the sense of the verbal root.... Why does he do that? Apparently, out of his compassion (*anugraha*) for the slow-witted (cf. *mandabuddhīnām anugrahāya*).

Why did Pāṇini not include the examples of this rule under rule 3.1.25 *satyāpapāśa...*? Because this rule involves some examples where introduction of *ṆiC* will be blocked due to the impairement of the required syntactico-semantic condition (*sāmarthya*).

This *gaṇasūtra* is cited as part of the *curādi* group of roots along with the following:

> *tat karoti tad ācaṣṭe* 'affix *ṆiC* occurs after a nominal stem in the sense of '...makes, or does that', or '...says that''

Of course, 'that' is a variable, and the use of the present tense (in *karoti* and *ācaṣṭe*) is just for illustration (*nidarśana*). That is, use of *ṆiC* occurring after a nominal stem with the above two meanings is not restricted to the current time (*varttamāna*) only.

The meaning of the action in connection with *muṇḍa, miśra, ślakṣṇa,* and *lavaṇa* can be easily comprehended. *Kāśikā* informs, however, that a *ṆiC* derivate of *vrata* could denote *bhojana* 'consuming', or 'refraining from consuming' (*tannivṛtti*). Thus, we get *payo vratayati* '... is drinking milk, or refraining from drinking it'; and *vṛṣalānnaṃ na vratayati* '...refrains from eating food offered by a lowly untouchable'.

3.1.22 **धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ्**

> *dhātor ekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre yaṅ*
> /*dhātoḥ* 5/1 *ekācaḥ* 5/1 = *eko' c yasmin sa (bv.), tasmāt; halādeḥ* 5/1 = *hal ādir yasya sa* =*halādeḥ (bv.) tasmāt;*
> *kriyāsamabhihāre* 7/1 *yaṅ* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *vā* #7)
> *ekāj yo dhātur halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre vartate tasmād yaṅ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *yaṄ* optionally occurs after a monosyllabic verbal root beginning with a consonant when *kriyāsamabhihāra* 'repetitious or intense action' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

> *pāpacyate* 'cooks repeatedly'
> *yāyajyate* 'repeatedly performs ritual sacrifice'
> *jājvalyate* 'illuminates or burns intensely'

1. This rule introduces affix *yaṄ* after a verbal root which begins with a consonant *(halādi)*, consists of a single vowel *(ekāc)*, and is used to denote the intensity or frequency of an action (*kriyāsamabhihāra*). The word (*kriyāsamabhihāra*) has been explained as (*paunaḥpunya*) 'intensity, or repetition of an action, or *bhṛśārtha* 'signification of abundance, multiplicity'. Thus, *punaḥ punaḥ pacati* '...cooks again and again' yields a corresponding *yaṄ*-derivative *pāpacyate.* Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś* II:380) sums up an

interesting distinction between *bhṛśārtha* and *paunaḥpunya*, the two interpretations of *kriyāsamabhihāra*, as follows:

...pradhānakriyāṇāṃ paunaḥpunyaṃ samabhihāraḥ... avayavakriyāṇāṃ bhṛśārthatā samabhihāraḥ 'repetition of the principal action is *kriyāsamabhihāra*; in the case of secondary actions, it is their multiplicity which is termed *samabhihāra*'. Note that Indian grammarians consider a given action to be a composite of several actions such that the principal among them is identified with the fruit of the action. Thus, verbal root *pac* denotes the act of cooking while the fruit of this action is known as *viklitti* 'softening'. The act of cooking rice (*taṇḍula*), for example, is considered as a composite of several actions, such as 'washing the rice', 'preparing the fire', 'putting rice in the pot', 'placing the pot on the stove', and 'increasing or decreasing the heat', etc. These, ultimately, lead to the realization of the principal action called *viklitti*. This is what the verbal root *pac* denotes. *Nyāsa* recognizes the meaning of *kriyāsamabhihāra* in the context of secondary actions as *phalātireka* 'exuberance in the fruit of action'.

2. The word *dhātu* (of *dhātoḥ*) must be stated so that introduction of affix *yaṄ* does not obtain after a verbal root used with a preverb. If *dhātu* were intended in this rule to refer to a word-form which simply denoted an action (*kriyā*), then the rule need not have used *dhātu* explicitly. This purpose of *dhātoḥ* could easily be served by the context of *kriyāsamabhihāra*. For, one talks about *kriyāsamabhihāra* only in the context of an action which, in turn, is denoted by a verbal root, used with or without a preverb (*upasarga*). Pāṇini, by explicit use of the word *dhātoḥ*, indicates that *yaṄ* should be introduced after a non-prefixed (*anupasṛṣṭa*) verbal root. This is desired for operational reasons such as non-doubling of the preverb, etc. I have already explained this under 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ....* But this could hardly be the main purpose of explicitly using the word *dhātoḥ*. The assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* by rule 3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ* is the primary reason. For, in the absence of the assignment of this term operations relative to rules such as 2.4.53 *bruvo vaciḥ* cannot apply.

Note that *dhātoḥ* is qualified here with *halādi* 'that which has a consonant at its beginning' so that *yaṄ* can not be introduced after *īkṣ* 'to see', a root obviously beginning with a vowel. The word *ekāc* constitutes another qualification which blocks the introduction of *yaṄ* after roots such as *jāgṛ* 'to wake up', which consists of more than one vowel. Incidentally, *ekāc*, like *halādeḥ*, must also be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound as I have already shown here in connection with the text of this rule. That is, it should not be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa*.

Note further that a *vārttika* enumerates a list of verbal roots after which *yaṄ* is introduced, even though the roots violate the conditions of *halādi* or of *ekāc*, or of both.

3.1.23 नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ

nityaṃ kauṭilye gatau
/nityaṃ 1/1 *kauṭilye* 7/1 *gatau* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ, yaṅ* #22)
gativacanād dhātoḥ kauṭilye gamyamāne nityaṃ yaṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yaṄ* obligatorily occurs after a verbal root with the signification of *gati* 'movement', provided *kauṭilya* 'crookedness' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

caṅkramyate 'walks in a crooked way'
dandramyate 'moves in a crooked way'

1. This rule introduces affix *yaṄ* obligatorily (*nityam*) after a verbal root with the signification of *gati* 'motion' provided that *kauṭilya* 'crookedness' is denoted. The word *gatau* thus becomes a modifier to the base, i.e., *dhātu*, with the interpretation: *gatyarthe varttamānād dhātoḥ* 'after a verbal root used with the signification of motion'. Obviously, affix *yaṄ* is used here in the sense of something other than *kriyāsamabhihāra*. The affix must also be obligatorily introduced to account for the fact that there is no usage parallel to the *yaṄ*-derivate which could express the desired meaning. But this is paradoxical. Why does one have to account for a parallel expression when that expression is already non-existent? The word *nitya* then must have some other purpose for its use. *Kāśikā* states that *nitya* is used here to clearly demarcate the scope (*viṣayaniyamārtha*). That is, *yaṄ* must be introduced after a verbal root which signifies *gati* with accompanying *kauṭilya*. That is, *yaṄ* should occur after a verbal root with the meaning of *gati* only when *kauṭilya* is denoted. It should never be introduced when *kriyāsamabhihāra* is signified. Haradatta thinks that the formulation of the *sūtra* (without *nitya*) itself should be sufficient. For, the preceding rule introduces *yaN* after roots in general where as this one introduces it after a class of roots in particular. The qualification of *kauṭilye* would constitute an exception to *kriyāsamabhihāra*. Thus, by *takrakauṇḍinyanyāya* (cf. vol. I, p.15 ff.), *kriyāsamabhihāra* will be blocked. Haradatta concludes that the use of *nitya* is thus questionable (*cintya*).

Why did Pāṇini use *nityam* when its purpose could have been served by invoking *takrakauṇḍinyanyāya*? *Tattvabodhinī* (ad *SK* III:470) claims that the explicit use of *nityam* is made to show that *takrakauṇḍinyanyāya* is not universally valid. The paraphrase of *SK* presents the meaning and scope of this rule as follows:

gatyarthāt kauṭilya eva yaṅ syān na tu kriyāsamabhihāre

'affix *yaṄ* should occur after a verbal root with the signification of *gati* when *kauṭilya*, and not when *kriyāsamabhihāra*, is denoted'

Obviously, Bhaṭṭoji interprets *nityam* as used in the sense of 'only' (*eva*). The *Mahābhāṣya* maintains that the analyzed form of a derivate such as *caṅkramyate* does not denote *kriyāsamabhihāra*. Consequently, *yaṄ* cannot be used in that sense anyway. This, in turn, makes the use of the word *nityam* unnecessary, as is also true in connection with *bhāvagarhā* of the following rule.

3.1.24 लुपसदचरजपजभदशगृभ्यो भावगर्हायाम्

lupasadacarajapajabhadaśagṝbhyo bhāvagarhāyām
/lupa...gṝbhyaḥ 5/3 *bhāvagarhāyām* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ, yaṅ* #22, *nityam* #23)
'lup sad car jap jabh gṝ ity etebhyo bhāvagarhāyāṃ yaṅ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *yaṄ* obligatorily occurs after verbal roots *lupĀ* 'to break, cut' *sadĀ* 'to sit', *carĀ* 'to move, walk', *japĀ* 'to chant', *jabhĀ* 'to yawn', *dah* 'to burn' and *gṝ* 'to swallow' only when *bhāvagarhā* 'contempt for action' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

lolupyate '...cuts, breaks in a contemptible manner
sāsadyate '...sits in a contemptible manner'
cañcūryate '...walks, moves in a contemptible manner'
jañjapyate '...chants in a contemptible manner'
jañjabhyate '...yawns in a contemptible manner'
dandahyate '...he burns in a contemptible manner'
dandaśyate '...he bites in a contemptible manner'
nijegilyate '...he swallows in a contemptible manner'

1. This rule introduces affix *yaṄ* after a select number of roots when *bhāvagarhā* 'censure of the action denoted by the root' is denoted. This rule also carries the word *nityam* thereby, again, meaning: *yaṄ* is to be introduced after these roots only when *bhāvagarhā* is to be denoted. The use of *nitya*, then, becomes a means to demarcate the exact scope of the denotation of *yaṄ*. Thus, *lolupyate* denotes the censurable manner in which someone is carrying out the action of *chedana* 'cutting'.

Kāśikā cites the counter-example *sādhu japati* '...is chanting beautifully' to show that *yaṄ* can not be introduced when the root-sense is being praised. Similarly, *mantraṃ japati vṛṣalaḥ* 'the lowly untouchable is chanting the hymns' can not qualify for a parallel derivate in *yaṄ* because what is censured is a *vṛṣala*, the means (*sādhana*), and not the action (*bhāva*).

Haradatta explains the counter-example as *sādhanagarhā* since a *śūdra*, let alone a *vṛṣala*, does not have the right to chant the Vedic hymns. The

right (*adhikāra*) is here the means by which the *śūdra* could accomplish the act. When an action cannot be accomplished because there is a lack of proper means, the action becomes subject to censure. There are severe pronouncements against a *śūdra* chanting the hymns: *śūdrasya vedam upaśṛṇvatas trapujatubhyāṃ śrotrapratipūraṇam; uccāraṇe jihvācchedaḥ, dhāraṇe tu śarīrabhedaḥ* 'should a *śūdra* be found listening to the chanting of a Vedic hymn, his ears should be filled with hot lead and lac; should he be found studying the Veda, his tongue should be chopped off; and should he be found internalizing it he is to be dismembered'.

3.1.25 सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालोमत्वचवर्मवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो णिच्

satyāpapāśarūpavīṇātūlaślokasenālomatvacavarmavarṇacūrṇacurādibhyo ṇic
/*satyāpa...curādibhyaḥ* 1/1 *ṇic* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)
satyādibhyaś cūrṇaparyantebhyaḥ, curādibhyaś ca ṇic pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆiC* occurs after nominal stems *satya* 'truth, *pāśa* 'snare', *rūpa* 'form, shape' figure', *vīṇā* 'lute', *tūla* 'cotton', *śloka* 'verse', *senā* 'army', *loma* 'hair on the body', *tvac* 'skin', *varma* 'protective armor', and *cūrṇa* 'powder'; it also occurs after verbal roots belonging to the class headed by *cur* 'to steal'.

EXAMPLES:

satyāpayati 'he speaks the truth'
vipāśayati 'he frees from a snare'
rūpayati 'he brings into form, sees'
upavīṇayati 'he sings to the accompaniment of the *vīṇā* (lute)'
anutūlayati 'he makes swabs from cotton and straw'
upaślokayati 'he praises or sings by chanting a verse'
abhiṣeṇayati 'he attacks with an army'
anulomayati 'he massages to clear the roots of the hair'
tvacayati 'he pinches'
avacūrṇayati 'he sprinkles powdered medicine on the wound'
corayati 'he steals...'
cintayati 'he worries; thinks...'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆiC* after two sets of forms: (*i*) after the twelve items enumerated which begin with *satyāpa*, etc., and (*ii*) after roots listed in the group headed by *cur* 'to steal'. The word *satyāpA* carries its final *A* just for the sake of pronunciation (*uccāraṇārtha*). Furthermore, *satyāpA* is treated as derived by the introduction of *āpUK*, an augment (*āgama*), to *satya*. Thus, *satya* + *āp*(*UK* → ∅) = *satyāp*. Pāṇini makes

the citation as *satyāpA*. A proposal in the *Mahābhāṣya* states that the introduction of *āpUK* must be stated in connection with *artha*, *satya*, and *veda*. As far as *satyāpa* is concerned, the *āpUK* has to come via *nipātana* 'ad hoc' as Pāṇini provides for. It is because of *āpUK* that no deletion of *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) by 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ* is applicable.

Note, in connection with this, that rule 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ* deletes the *ṭi* part of an *aṅga* before affixes *iṣṭhaN*, etc., by the *gaṇasūtra: prātipadikād dhātvarthe bahulaṃ iṣṭhavac ca* 'operations similar to affix *iṣṭhaN* take place variously after a nominal stem when the sense of the root is to be denoted'. The derivate could thus have been accomplished. But along with *ṭeḥ* application, *ṭi*-deletion would become applicable. Additionally, as is the case with all *iṣṭhaN* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau*) derivates, masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*; 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād*...) also applies. However, masculine transformation is also blocked in the context of *āpUK*.

The tradition believes that *ṆiC* after a nominal stem is introduced in two senses of *tat karoti* '...does or makes that', or *tad ācaṣṭe* '...says that'. Thus we get: *satyāpayati* parallel to *satyam ācaṣṭe* '...speaks the truth'. Perhaps, commentators explain the particular meanings of the cited formations because the sense of *tat karoti* and *tad ācaṣṭe* often becomes rather difficult to clearly establish. My glosses of relevant examples are an effort toward capturing the instances in which the commentators think these derivates are used. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś* II:386-87) states that the distinction between meanings is based on generalizations . This does not rule out usages in other more specific meanings.

In contrast, note that in the case of *curādi* roots, the sense of affix *ṆiC* has to be the root-sense (*svārtha*) as no meaning has been specified (*nirdiṣṭa*) in this context.

2. The *Ṇ* of affix *ṆiC* is given as an *it* for *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. The *C* as an *it* is given to secure the final (*anta*) high pitch (*udātta*) by rule 6.1.163 *citaḥ*.

3.1.26 हेतुमति च

hetumati ca

/*hetumati* 7/1 *ca* Ø/

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *ṇic* #25)

hetor vyāpāraḥ hetumān, tasminn abhidheye dhātor ṇicpratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṆiC* occurs after verbal roots when *hetumat* 'causal action' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ kārayati 'he has someone make the mat'

odanaṃ pācayati 'he has someone cook the rice'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆiC* after a verbal root when causal action is expressed. The word *hetu* is used in this grammar in both the sense of cause (*nimitta*) and as the causal agent (*hetu*). Thus, we have rule 1.4.55 *tatprayojako hetuś ca* whereby the instigator (*prayojaka*) of an independent agent is additionally termed *hetu*. This, obviously, has derivational consequences. Consider, for example, the sentence *devadatto yajñadattena taṇḍulaṃ pācayati* 'Devadatta has Yajñadatta cook the rice' where Devadatta is prompting Yajñadatta to cook the rice. Yajñadatta is still the independent agent (*svatantrakartṛ*; 1.4.54 *svatantraḥ karttā*) though with a qualification. He is now being prompted by Devadatta. In this context, Devadatta is the prompter or causal agent. He is an agent independent of the action of prompting. He, therefore, is assigned the additional term *hetu*. Rule 3.1.26 *hetumati ca* requires the introduction of affix *ṆiC* when the activity of agent termed *hetu* is to be expressed.

Commentators caution that the condition of *hetumati* should not be interpreted as meaning 'causal agent' per se. It should instead be interpreted as denoting the characteristic action (*vyāpāra*) of instigation (*preraṇa*). Thus, the action of instigation characteristic of the causal agent (*prayojakavyāpāra*) is the denotatum of *hetumat*.

Let us understand this in view of the derivation of *pācayati*. This verbal form is derived from *pac* + (*Ṇ* → ∅)*i* (*C* → ∅), where rule 3.1.26 introduces affix *ṆiC*. This yields *pāci*, a verbal root (*dhātu*; 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*) after which 3.2.123 *varttamāne laṭ* introduces affix *LAṬ*. Note that *LA* affixes are introduced after a transitive root when either the agent or the object is to be denoted; they are introduced after an intransitive root when either the agent or the root-sense (*bhāva*) is to be denoted (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*). Coming back to the context of *pāci* + *LAṬ*, we replace *LAṬ* with *ti*(*P* → ∅) as per rules 3.4.77 *lasya* and 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* This *ti* is selected to denote the agent of *pāci*, i.e., the causal agent Devadatta. But this agent is also termed *hetu* by rule 1.4.55 *tatprayojako....* Affix *ṆiC*, introduced by 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*, is intended to denote this *hetumat*, i.e., the action (*vyāpāra*) of instigation (*preraṇa*). The prompted agent, in this case Yajñadatta, will then have to be denoted by *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal endings' introduced by rule 2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos tṛtīyā*. For, the causal agent is denoted by the verb. I have omitted some derivational details which can be found in the appendix.

3.1.27 **कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक्**

kaṇḍvādibhyo yak
/*kaṇḍvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *yak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)

'kaṇḍūñ' ity evam ādibhyo yak pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yaK* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the list headed by *kaṇḍūÑ* 'to scratch' to denote *bhāva* 'root sense'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṇḍūyati 'he scratches...'
kaṇḍūyate 'id.'
mantūyati 'he offends...'
mantūyate 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *yaK* after items enumerated in the list headed by *kaṇḍūÑ* 'to itch, scratch'. These items are treated as both a *dhātu* and a *prātipadika*. What then should we accept here as the base for affix *yaK*? The *Mahābhāṣya* states that *yaK* should be introduced after *dhātu* because *dhātu* is here provided for by the context (cf. 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco...*). Besides, the *K* of *yaK* as an *it* is used here to block *guṇa*. If *yaK* were to be introduced after a nominal stem, *K* as an *it* for the affix becomes useless. For, the *guṇa* which is to be blocked by the *it* obtains before an affix introduced only after a verbal root.

What makes us understand that *kaṇḍū*, etc., can also be nominal stems? Pāṇini indicates this usage by citing *kaṇḍū*, etc. with a built-in long vowel. For, the long vowel, say the *ū* of *kaṇḍūÑ*, could easily be implemented by the application of rule 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ*. Pāṇini, thus, did not jump the derivational process without a specific purpose in mind. The *Mahābhāṣya* (III:101) sums up the preceding explanation with the following verse:

dhātuprakaraṇād dhātoḥ,
kasya cāsañjanād api/
āha cāyam imaṃ dīrghaṃ,
manye dhātur vibhāṣitam//

2. The *Ñ* of *kaṇḍūÑ*, and the like, is intended for the selection of the *ātmanepada* (1.3.12 *svaritañitaḥ...*).

3. In the absence of any meaning specification, *yaK* should be introduced to denote *svārtha*, the sense of the root itself. Bhoṭṭoji (*SK* III:544) states that *yaK* is introduced obligatorily *(nıtyam)* after these roots when *dhātvartha* 'root-sense' is denoted. The word *kaṇḍū* is explained as *gātra-vikarṣaṇa* 'scratching' while *mantūÑ* is paraphrased as *aparādha* 'guilt, crime'. Similar meaning specifications are also available for others.

4. Items such as *magadha*, *sukha*, *duḥkha*, etc., which are read with a final *a*, undergo through its deletion (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*). This yields forms such as *magadhyati*, *sukhyati*, and *duḥkhyati*, etc. This list also includes items such as *loṭ* and *leṭ* which are independent word- forms, and should not be confused with the abstract suffixes *LOṬ* and *LEṬ*. This distinction

is only logical in view of the nature of the items enumerated. The list is not an enumeration of affixes. Thus, because of their association (*sāha-carya*) with other non-affixes, *loṭ* and *leṭ* will be treated as non-affixal units meaning 'shine' and 'a bit' respectively.

5. When affix *yaK* is not introduced, *kaṇḍū*, etc., can be treated as nominal stems. Affixes such as *KvIP*, etc., can thus be introduced to derive *kaṇḍūḥ, kaṇḍūtiḥ* 'itching', etc., where *sU* is introduced after *kaṇḍū* and *kaṇḍūti* subsequent to the deletion of *KvIP*. These derivates of *KvIP* are treated as feminine.

3.1.28 गुपूधूपविच्छिपणिपनिभ्य आयः

gupūdhūpavicchipaṇipanibhya āyaḥ
/gupūdhūpavicchipaṇipanibhyaḥ 5/3 *āyaḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)
'gupū...pana' ity etebhyo dhātubhya āya pratyayo bhavati
Affix *āya* occurs to denote root-sense after verbal roots *gupŪ* 'to protect, preserve', *dhūpa* 'to heat, fumigate, torture', *vicchI* 'to move toward, approach', *paṇI* 'to praise' and *panI* 'to praise'.

EXAMPLES:

gopāyati 'he preserves, protects...'
dhūpāyati 'he heats, fumigates...'
vicchāyati 'he moves toward...'
paṇāyati 'he praises...'
panāyati 'id.'

1. Affix *āya*, in the absence of a particular specification of meaning (*arthanirdeśābhāvāt*) again denotes *svārtha* 'root-sense'. I have tried to capture the specific meanings of the roots in question in the translation. There are two meanings generally assigned to *pan*, namely 'to barter' and 'to praise' (*stuti*). The 'praise' meaning is accepted, here, because of the associated listing of this root with *paṇ*, which also means 'to praise'.

Note that *vicchI* has been enumerated in the group of roots headed by *tud*. On this basis, its *āya*-derivates will take the augment *Śa* (3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ...*) and not *ŚaP*.

2. Note that *paṇA* and *panA* have an *anudātta* vowel as their *it*. As such they are qualified for the introduction of the *ātmanepada* affixes. But their derivates in *āya* do not receive the *ātmanepada* affixes. That is, forms such as *gopāyate* are not correct. *Kāśikā* adds that these newly derived roots do not take *ātmanepada* affixes since they are altogether different roots. But what about their being marked with an *anudātta* vowel? Does that marking not become vacuous (*vyartha*)? On the contrary, the mark (*liṅga*), in this case the *anudātta* vowel as an *it*, has already

performed its function (*kṛtakārya*) in connection with roots which did not terminate in affix *āya*. The question of a mark becoming vacuous arises in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (cf. *PŚ* 107.) *avayaveṣv acaritārthaṃ liṅgaṃ samudāyasya viśeṣakaṃ bhavati* 'a mark made on a part qualifies the derived whole (*samudāya*) if it has yet to accomplish what it was used for'.

3.1.29 ऋतेरीयङ्

ṛter īyaṅ
ṛteḥ 5/1 *īyaṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)
ṛter īyaṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *īyaṄ* occurs to denote root-sense after verbal root *ṛtI* 'to hate'.

EXAMPLE:

ṛtīyate 'he hates...'

1. This verbal root is treated as *sautra* because it is only available in the *sūtra*. That is, it is not available in the listing of roots of the *Dhātupāṭha* (*DP*). *Kaśikā* informs that this root is used in the sense of 'censure, despise' (*ghṛṇā*). In the absence of any specific meaning given for *īyaṄ*, *dhātvartha* 'root-sense' becomes the denotation of the affix. The root, according to some (*eke*), may also mean *kṛpā* 'compassion, mercy' though in the context on hand it is 'to despise'.

2. A question is raised as to why Pāṇini did not formulate the rule as *ṛteś chaḥ*, thereby deriving *ṛtīyate* via *īy* as a replacement for affix *cha* by 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnī...* *Kāśikā* explains that Pāṇini preferred to introduce *īyaṄ* to indicate (*jñāpanārtha*) that 7.1.2 does not apply in case of affixes introduced after a verbal root.

Note that the root is here interpreted as ending in the consonant *t*. It should not be treated as ending in *i*. For, if Pāṇini intended the root to end in *i* he would not have specified the affix with a long *īyaṄ*. The short *i* of *iyaṄ* would have produced the long *ī* of the derivates through *savarṇadīrgha* 'homogenous long vowel replacement'.

3.1.30 कमेर्णिङ्

kamer ṇiṅ
/*kameḥ* 5/1 *ṇiṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)
kamer dhātor ṇiṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆiṄ* occurs to denote root-sense after verbal root *kamU* 'to wish'.

EXAMPLE:

kāmayate 'he wishes for...; loves...'

1. The *Ṇ* of affix *ṆiṄ* is to facilitate *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. The *Ṅ*, as usual, conditions the selection of *ātmanepada*. The resultant form, i.e., *kāmi*, becomes a verbal root in view of 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*.

3.1.31 **आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा**

āyādaya ārddhadhātuke vā
/*āyādayaḥ* 1/3 *ārddhadhātuke* 7/1 *vā* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1; *paraś ca* #2)
ārddhadhātukaviṣaye ārddhadhātukavivakṣāyām āyādayaḥ pratyayā vā bhavanti
Affixes *āya*, etc., optionally occur after a verbal root when an *ārddhadhātuka* affix (3.1.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) is to follow.

EXAMPLES:

goptā 'he who will protect'
gopāyitā 'id.'
arttitā 'he who will hate'
ṛtīyitā 'id.'
kamitā 'he who will love'
kāmayitā 'id.'

1. This rule makes the introduction of three preceding affixes, *āya*, *īyaṄ*, and *ṆiṄ*, optional when one anticipates the introduction of an *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukam...*) affix. The basis for introduction of an affix in anticipation lays in an interpretation of the locative of *ārddhadhātuke* as *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain'. This locative here cannot be interpreted as *parasaptamī*, a locative specifying the right context for an operation to obtain on what precedes. For, that would require the *ārddhadhātuka* affix to be already in place after the root. That is, an affix termed *ārddhadhātuka* would have to be introduced prior to *āya*, etc. This would create problems. For example, consider the feminine base *gupti* derived by introducing affix *KtiN* (3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*) after *gup* where the option of introducing *āya* from this rule is not accepted. There are no derivational problems in this case. However, given the string *gup* + *KtiN*, if one introduces affix *āya* under the condition of the *ārddhadhātuka* affix *Ktin*, an undesired form *gopāti* would result. That is, given *gup* + *āya* + *ti*, *ya* will be deleted in view of rules 6.1.66 *ato lopaḥ* and 6.4.48 *lopo vyor valiḥ*. The desired form *gopāyā*, a feminine optional to *gupti*, is derived by introducing *āya* in anticipation of the *ārddhadhātuka* affix *a* of 3.3.102 *a pratyayāt*. Thus we have:

gopaya + *a* → *gopāyā*

Note that the *guṇa* in *gupti* is blocked by the *K* of *KtiN*. The same cannot be blocked in case of *gopāyā*. The optional introduction of affixes *āya*, etc., would have become obligatory had this rule not been formulated. This way, it is possible to select desired affixes. Thus, in the above illustration, *KtiN* is dropped in anticipation of the *ārddhadhātuka* affix *a* when *āya* is introduced to derive a feminine form. Refer to the appendix for derivational details; cf. *PM* (ad *Kāś*. II:406) for a finer interpretation of *saptamī* in *ārddhadhātuke* of this rule.

3.1.32 सनाद्यन्ता धातवः

sanādyantā dhātavaḥ
/*sanādyantāḥ* 1/3 *dhātavaḥ* 1/3/
sanādyantāḥ samudāyā dhātusaṃjñā bhavanti
Forms which end in affixes *SaN*, etc., are termed *dhātu* 'verbal root'.

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣati 'he wishes to do'
putrīyati 'he wishes a son for himself'
putrakāmyati 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *sanādyantāḥ* in two steps as follows:
(*a*) *san ādir yeṣāṃ te sanādayaḥ* 'items which are enumerated with *saN* at their beginning are called *sanādayaḥ*'
(*b*) *sanādayo' nte yeṣāṃ te sanādyantāḥ* 'items in whose final position affixes *saN*, etc., occur are called *sanādyanta*'.

The (*b*) above is thus a *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* interpretation of the *bahuvrīhi* compound underlying *sanādyantāḥ*, where *anta* is treated as a constituent which denotes an *avayava* 'part of a whole'. As such, *sanādyantāḥ* could be paraphrased as: *sanādayo' ntāvayavā yeṣāṃ samudāyānām* 'those composites which have affixes *saN*, etc., as their final element'. A *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* entails construing one of its constituents with the verb.

The word *dhātu*, here, refers to the technical term *dhātu* (*svarūpapadārthaka*). It does not refer to, for example, its usual denotata referred to by rule 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*. If it did refer to *bhū*, etc., here, this term assignment would not make any sense.

2. Note that affixes *saN*, etc., are referenced here in the context of term assignment (*saṃjñāvidhi*). This way, as has been illustrated in connection with rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*, the *Paribhāṣā* (28) *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantagrahaṇaṃ nāsti* finds its scope. Since this rule relates to an operation relative to a term (*saṃjñā*) entailing affixes (*pratyaya*), items which may end in affixes referenced here may be thrown out of the scope of this rule. That is, items which end in affixes *saN*, etc., will

not qualify for assignment of the term *dhātu*. It is to indicate that *tadanta-vidhi* is desired in the context of this assignment of the term *dhātu* that the word *anta* is explicitly used in this rule. It is argued, however, that with the explicit introduction of the word *anta* in rule 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*, Pāṇini already exhausted any further application (*kṛtapravṛt-tivighāta*) of this unique method of *tadantavidhi*. Commentators refute this interpretation by saying that the use of the word *anta* again in this rule simply makes the reinforcement (*pratiprasava*) of that *tadantavidhi* application. This also clears the way for the assignment of the term *dhātu* to those forms which not only begin with the base after which the affix is introduced but also those which end in it. Consequently, given *devadattaś cikīrṣati*, the term *dhātu* cannot be assigned to the form which begins with *devadatta* and ends in affix *saN*.

3. A question is further raised as to why this term assignment of *dhātu* was not formulated as *sanādyantāś ca* and placed immediately after 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*, a rule which also assigns the same term. This way, the word *dhātavaḥ* would not have to be repeated. Commentators explain that this could not be possible. Such a formulation would have lacked clarity with regard to the exact specification of desired affixes. With the rule formulated the way it is, and also sequenced where it is, one clearly understands *sanādi* as referring to the eleven (twelve if *KvIP* is also included) affixes (*saN, KyaC, kāmyaC, KyaṄ, KyaṢ, ṆiṄ, ṆiC, yaṄ, yaK, āya, īyaṄ*) enumerated in the list headed by *saN*. It may further be argued, in view of economy and contextual proximity, to leave the rule the way it is but to have 1.3.1 follow it with a rephrased reading *bhūvādayaś ca*.

However, commentators also see problems with this set of formulation. They say that this order would enable the term *dhātu* to be assigned to only those *bhū*, etc., which terminated in affixes *saN*, etc. Consequently, verbal roots *gup*, etc., would still qualify for the term but many other forms would be excluded. It is, therefore, suggested to leave the rule the way it is.

4. The function of this term assignment is to bring the derivates of this rule functionally on a par with items referred to by rule 1.3.1 *bhūvādayo*.... Consequently, the derivates of this rule also qualify for the introduction of affixes, and subsequent operations, in the domain of rule 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*.

3.1.33 **स्यतासी लृलुटोः**

syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ
/syatāsī 1/2 = *syaś ca tāsiś ca (itar. dv.); lṛluṭoḥ* 7/2 = *lṛ ca luṭ ca (itar. dv.)/*
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)

lṛ-rūpaṃ utsṛṣṭānubandhaṃ sāmānyam eva, tasmin luṭi ca parato dhātor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ syatāsī pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *sya* and *tāsI* respectively occur after verbal roots when *LṚ* and *LUṬ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

kariṣyati '...will make or do tomorrow'
akariṣyat '...made or did yesterday'
śvaḥ karttā '...will make or do tomorrow'
mantā '...will think'

1. The word *LṚṬ* is interpreted, here, as referring to both the *LṚṬ* and *LṚṄ* affixes. Dropping the *it* to thereby make a general reference by means of *LṚ*, also serves another purpose. Note that *LṚṬ*, *LṚṄ* and *LUṬ*, three affixes form the right context for the introduction of two affixes *sya* and *tāsI*. That is, there are three conditioning factors (*nimitta*) for two conditioned elements (*nimittin*). Obviously, this impairs assignment of equivallancies in accordance with the number of elements enumerated (*saṃkhyātānudeśa*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*). Commentators explain that, in making a common reference with *LṚ* to *LṚṬ* and *LṚṄ*, Pāṇini saves the *saṃkhyātānudeśa* from impairment. As such, *sya* can be introduced when replacement of either a *LṚṬ* or *LṚṄ* follows. Similarly, *tāsI* can be introduced when a replacement of *LUṬ* follows.

2. Note, also, that *tāsI* is given with a final *I* which *Kāśikā* (in the section supposedly written by Jayāditya) identifies as an *it*. The purpose of this *it* is to block the deletion of *n* in, for example, *mantā*, which is briefly derived as follows

(*a*) *man* + (*LUṬ*→*ta*→ *Ḍā*) = *man* + *ā*)
(*b*) *man* + *tās*(*I*→∅) + *ā* → *man* + *tās* + *ā*
(*c*) *man* + *t*(*ās*→ ∅) + *ā* → *man* + *t* + *ā* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*)
(*d*) *man* + *t* + *ā*→6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal...*
ma (*n*→∅) *t* +*ā* = **matā*

I have omitted here the initial details of this derivation. Refer to the derivation of *paṭhitā* and *kaṇitā* in the appendix of rule 1.1.6 *dīdhīvevīṭām* for further details.

Note that the deletion of *n* in (*d*) will obtain because (*Ḍ*)*ā*, a substitute of *LUṬ* via *ta* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya...*), is treated as if marked with *Ṅ* by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. For, the *aṅga*, i.e., *man* + *t*, will not be able to meet the condition of *anidita* 'that which does not have *i* as an *it*' of 6.4.24 *aniditām....* Thus, the application of rule 6.4.24 *aniditām hal...* is blocked by treating the *tāsI* of *mantāsI* as marked with *I* as an *it*. Vāmana, the co-author of the *Kāśikā*, treats the final *I* of *tāsI* as added simply for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇa*; cf. Vāmana under rule 7.1.58 *idito num...*).

Nyāsa (III: 410–11) hastens to add that Vāmana's statement does not constitute a conflict between the co-authors. Actually, the *n* which is the object of this deletion must also be the penultimate (*upadhā*; 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva*...). Note that rule 6.4.24 *aniditām hal*... is contained in the section headed by 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*. This rule makes the application of a *sūtra* suspended (*asiddha*) in view of the application of any other rule prior to rule 6.4.129 *bhasya*. In view of this, the application of rule 6.4.24 renders the application of rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* without scope. This means that the output of step (*c*), as far as rule 6.4.24 was concerned, will still be: *man* + *tās* + *ā*. That is, *n* which 6.4.24 would ordinarily delete, no longer constitutes the penultimate segment of the presuffixal base (*aṅga*). Consequently, the question of the deletion of *n*, as well as the addition of *I* as an *it* to *tās*, will not arise. It is with this understanding that Vāmana says that the *I* is used for ease of articulation.

Vāmana's view is tenable only if one does not accept that the deletion of *ṭi* can be accomplished at the strength of the *ḍit* (*Ḍ* as an *it*) status of an item even when lacking the assignment of the term *bha* (cf. *Mbh.* IV: 783: *ḍity abhasyāpi anubandhakaraṇa-sāmarthyāt*). I do not offer any additional detail on this for fear of expatiation. Note, however, that taking recourse to the *ḍit* status for the application of rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* is a fairly general practice in the Pāṇinian parlance. Consequently, the *i* of *tāsi* is treated as facilitating pronunciation. Refer to the derivation of *bhavitā*, etc., under rule 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī*... for derivational details.

Some claim that without the *I* as an *it*, it would be impossible to save the *s* of *tāsI* from being designated as an *it* by 1.3.3 *halantyam*. Consequently, rule 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* would delete the *s*. Therefore, *I* is used to save the *s* from deletion. This view should be abandoned. What could possibly be the purpose of assigning the term *it* to *s*? A *s* as an *it* may invoke the assignment of the term *pada* by rule 1.4.16 *siti ca*. But this will create difficulty in connection with the derivation of forms such as *hantā* 'he who will kill' where 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ*...would then demand the deletion of-*n*.

3. Note that the tradition accepts *sya*, etc., as an exception to *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*).

3.1.34 **सिब्बहुलं लेटि**

sib bahulaṃ leṭi
/*sip* 1/1 *bahulaṃ* 1/1 *leṭi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)
dhātoḥ sip pratyayo bhavati bahulaṃ leṭi parataḥ
Affix *sIP* occurs variously after a verbal root when *LEṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

joṣiṣat 'may he make us happy'

tāriṣat 'may he move ahead'

1. This rule, on account of being marked with *bahulam,* applies variously. That is, sometimes it applies, at others it does not; sometimes it applies only optionally, yet, on occasion, it applies in an entirely different manner. Of course, it applies when *LEṬ* (3.4.7 *liṅarthe leṭ*) follows. Note that *LEṬ* usages are exclusive to the Vedic. The *I* of *sIP* is used to facilitate pronunciation whereas its *P* as an *it* intended for proper accentuation (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*).

3.1.35 **कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि**

kāspratyayād ām amantre liṭi
/*kāspratyayāt* 5/1 *ām* 1/1 *amantre* 7/1 *liṭi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)
'kāsṛ' śabdakutsāyām tataḥ pratyayāntebhyaś ca dhātubhya ām pratyayo bhavati liṭi parato' mantraviṣaye
Affix *ām* occurs after *kāsR̥* 'to cough' and roots which end in an affix, provided *LIṬ* follows and the usage is not the Mantra part of the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

kāsāñcakre 'he coughed'
lolūyāñcakre 'he cut repeatedly'

1. The word *pratyaya* is, here, used to refer to affixes *saN*, etc. Consequently, and also in consonance with the *Paribhāṣā* (24) *pratyayagrahaṇe...*, *pratyaya* denotes items ending in affixes *saN*, etc. (*sannantebhyaḥ*). This, in turn, becomes a qualifier to *dhātu* as this is the domain of *dhātu.* This yields the following interpretation:

...pratyayāntebhyo dhātubhya... '...after verbal roots ending in affixes *saN*, etc.,...'

Thus, affix *ām* is to be introduced after verbal root *kāsR̥*, or after verbal roots which end in affixes *saN*, etc.

The negation of *amantre* entails *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain, topic'. It is not an instance of *parasaptamī,* the locative which forms the right context for an operation to take place on what precedes. A *viṣaya-saptamī* interpretation of the negation of *amantre* will reduce the scope of application of this rule to *bhāṣā* 'classical Sanskrit' and the *brāhmaṇa.* The word *mantra* (cf. *PM* ad *Kāś.* II:414) refers to the three Vedas: *ṛk, yajuṣ* and *sāman* where *atharvā* is treated as included within the first two. Why did Pāṇini not use *chandasi* as is his general practice? The use of *chandasi* would exclude the *brāhmaṇa* usages from the scope of this rule. Thus, *mantra* is used here to bring *brāhmaṇa* usages within the scope of this rule additionally with those of the *bhāṣā* 'classical Sanskrit'.

The *m* of *ām* cannot be deleted by the joint application of 1.3.3 *halantyam* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. Note that such a deletion would be vacuous (*vyartha*) because of lack of any definite purpose (*phalābhāva*). The single purpose for which *M* is made an *it* is to facilitate the application of rule 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*. This rule allows for the introduction of an item marked with *M* as an *it* after the final vowel of the item for which the specification is made. Our rule on hand, does not require invoking 1.1.47 *mid aco....* Rule 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ* and 3.1.2 *paraś ca* will govern the situation here. Furtliermore, *ām* is introduced after *kās* (by this rule) and *ās* (by 3.1.37 *dayāyāsaś ca*). If *m* of *ām* was an *it* then *ā* will have to be introduced after the long vowel of *kās* and *ās*. This produces *kā* + *ā* + *s* => *kās* and *ā* + *ā* + *s* => *ās*, the same form. Why introduce *ā(M)* when the desired form can be gotten without introducing it? That the introduction of *ām* is not futile becomes an indication (*jñāpaka*) for not treating the *M* of *ām* as an *it*.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule proposes that *ām* should be stated to occur also after polysyllabic (*anekāc*) roots so that *culumpāñcakāra* 'he fondled...' and *daridrāñcakāra* 'he became poor or displayed poor taste', etc., can be accounted for. This proposal also requires *anekācaḥ* 'that which consists of more than one vowel' to replace *pratyayāt* of this rule.

Note, in connection with this, that *ām* is a *kṛt* affix (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) termed *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ...*). Forms which end in *ām* are termed nominal stem by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita....* But the nominal endings introduced after an item which ends in *ām* are deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ*. Such items are termed *avyaya* on account of being *kṛdanta* terminating in *-m* (1.1.38 *kṛn mejantaḥ*).

Also note that rule 3.1.40 *kṛñcānuprayujyate...* will provide for the tagged (*anuprayukta*) verbal roots *kṛ*, *bhū* and *as* before *LIṬ*. This *LIṬ*, however, is deleted by 2.4.81 *āmaḥ*. Normally, one would expect *ātmanepada-parasmaipada* affixes to replace the *LA*-affixes as is provided for by rule 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...* read with 3.4.77 *lasya* . But in an example such as *īhāñcakre*, *LIṬ* gets deleted and *ātmanepada* ending *-ta* is introduced as a replacement for a freshly introduced *LIṬ* after forms which end in *-ām*.

3.1.36 इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः

ijādeś ca gurumato 'nṛcchaḥ
/*ijādeḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø *gurumataḥ* 5/1 *anṛcchaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *ām, amantre, liṭi* #35)
ijādir yo dhātur gurumān ṛcchativarjitas tasmāc ca liṭi parata ām pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ām* occurs after a verbal root which begins with *iC* (*i,u,ṛ,ḷ,e, o, ai, au*; *Śs* 1-4) and contains a *guru* vowel (1.4.11 *saṃyoge...*),

though is not *ṛcch* 'to go', provided *LIṬ* follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

īhāñcakre 'he tried'
ūhāñcakre 'he reasoned about'

1. This rule provides for *ām* after a verbal root which begins with *iC* and has a *guru* vowel, but is not constituted by *ṛcch*. Other conditions remain the same. It is interesting to note that a vowel denoted by *iC* can satisfy both the conditions of *ijādi* and *gurumān*. Why did Pāṇini not state just the condition of *gurumān*? That would qualify verbal roots *takṣ*, and *rakṣ* for the introduction of *ām*, an undesired situation in view of their derivates namely *katakṣa* and *rarakṣa*. This rule requires that the root which begins with *iC* (*ijādiḥ*) must also be *gurumān*; that which contains a vowel termed *guru*.

2. A *vārttika*, obviously to account for forms such as *prorṇunāva* '...covered properly', demands that verbal root *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover' should be treated as an exception.

3.1.37 दयायासश्च

dayāyāsaś ca
/*dayāyāsaḥ* 5/1 = *dayaś ca ayaś ca* = *dayāyās tasmāt (sam. dv.)*; *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *ām*, *amantre*, *liṭi* #35)
'daya-aya-āsa' ity etebhyaś ca liṭi parata ām pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ām* also occurs after verbal roots *dayA* 'to give, to go, to protect', *ayA* 'to go' and *āsA* 'to sit' provided *LIṬ* follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

dayāñcakre 'he protected'
palāyāñcakre 'he ran away'
āsāñcakre 'he sat down'

1. Verbal roots *ayA* and *āsA* are explained as signifying *gati* 'movement' and *upaveśana* 'sitting' respectively. However, *dayA* is explained as signifying *dāna* 'giving', *gati* as well as *rakṣaṇa* 'protection'. This rule introduces affix *ām* under the condition of a following *LIṬ*. Given *parā* + *ay* + *ām* + *cakre* where verbal root *ayA* is used with the preverb *parā*, the *-r* of *parā* gets replaced with *-l* by 8.2.19 *upasarga...*

3.1.38 उषविदजागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्

uṣavidajāgṛbhyo 'nyatarasyām

|uṣavidajāgṛbhyaḥ 5/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *ām, amantre, liṭi* #35)
'uṣa vida jāgṛ' etebhyo liṭi parato 'nyatarasyām ām pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ām* optionally occurs after verbal roots *uṣA* 'to burn', *vidA* 'to know' and *jāgṛ* 'to wake up' provided *LIṬ* follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

oṣāñcakāra 'he burned'
uvoṣa 'id.'
vidāñcakāra 'he perceived'
viveda 'id.'
jāgarāñcakāra 'he woke up'
jajāgāra 'id.'

1. This rule makes the introduction of *ām* optional after the three verbal roots cited as above. Note that *vidA* is interpreted as active (*parasmaipada*), signifying *jñāna* 'knowledge', because of its association with *uṣA* and *jāgṛ* which are active. That is, *vidA* is neither interpreted as the middle (*ātmanepada*) root meaning 'to exist, think', nor as active-middle (*ubhayapadī*) with the signification 'to gain, benefit'. Furthermore, because of its association with *jāgṛ* which is an *adādi* root, it is treated, here, as belonging to the *adādi* group of roots. The final *A* with *vid* is used so that the penultimate *guṇa* can be blocked. Note, however, that citation of *vidA* with its final *A* is restricted only to the context of affix *ām*. That is, absence of *guṇa* is only applicable in the context of the following *ām*.

3.1.39 भीह्रीभृहुवां श्लुवच्च

bhīhrībhṛhuvāṃ śluvac ca
|bhīhrībhṛhuvām 6/3 *śluvat* Ø *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *ām, amantre, liṭi* #35, *anyatarasyām* #38)
'ñibhī hrī ḍubhṛñ hu' ity etebhyo liṭi parata ām pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām, ślāv iva cāsmin kāryaṃ bhavati
Affix *ām* optionally occurs after verbal roots *ÑIbhī* 'to fear', *hrī* 'to be bashful, to be ashamed', *ḌUbhṛÑ* 'to hold, provide for' and *hu* 'to offer ritual oblation, to call' provided *LIṬ* follows and the usage is not from the Mantra part of the Vedic; in addition, these roots undergo operations similar to those which occur when *ŚLU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bibhayāñcakāra 'he became frightened'

bibhāya 'id.'
jihrayāñcakāra 'he became ashamed'
jihrāya 'id.'
bibharāñcakāra 'he provided for'
babhāra 'id.'
juhavāñcakāra 'he offered ritual oblation'
juhāva 'id.'

1. This rule not only optionally introduces affix *ām* before *LIṬ* occurring after the roots cited, but also orders an additional operation similar to that with *ŚLU* (*śluvat*). This additional operation results into reduplication (*dvitva*) by rule 6.1.10 *ślau*, and a replacement in - *i* (*itva*; 7.4.76 *bhīhrībhṛñām*...). Note that *śluvat* contains affix *vatI* ruled, in view of rule 5.1.116 *tatra tasyeva*, after a syntactically related *pada* which ends in locative (*saptamī*), particularly *tatra*, as the variable *tad* in rule 5.1.116 suggests. This *pada*, of course, is *ślu* + *Ṅi* which with *vatI*, yields the interpretation *ślau iva* 'as if when *ŚLU* follows'. Obviously, *śluvat* marks an extension (*atideśa*) of an operational type (*kāryātideśa*). If this extension is not ordered, reduplication, for the reason of *ām* intervening between the root and *LIṬ*, will be blocked. Similarly, *itva* also would not obtain.

3.1.40 **कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि**

kṛñ cānuprayujyate liṭi
/*kṛñ* 1/1 *ca* Ø *anuprayujyate* (form in *tiṄ*) *liṭi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *ām* #35)
ām pratyayasya paścāt kṛñ anuprayujyate liṭi parataḥ.
Verbal roots denoted by the abbreviatory term *kṛÑ* occur after an item which ends in affix *ām* when *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pācayāñcakāra 'he cooked'
pācayāmbabhūva 'id.'
pācayāmāsa 'id.'

1. Commentators explain that *kṛÑ* does not, here, refer to the single root *DukṛÑ*. Instead, it is an abbreviatory term formed with *kṛ* of rule 5.4.50 *kṛbhvastiyoge*... and the *Ñ* of 5.4.58 *kṛño dvitīyatṛtīya*... (cf. *Mbh.* III:122: *kṛñ iti nedaṃ dhātugrahaṇam; kiṃ tarhi? pratyāhāragrahaṇam. kva sanniviṣṭānāṃ pratyāhāraḥ? kṛbhvastiyoge ity ataḥ prabhṛty akṛño ñakārāt*). The abbreviatory term should technically denote four roots, i.e., *kṛ*, *bhū*, *as*, and *pad*, used with the preverb *sam*. However, the first three verbs denote generalized action, and their *LIṬ* forms are tagged after items which terminate in *ām* introduced after roots denoting particular actions. Since verbal root *pad*, used with the preverb *sam*, does not denote a

generalized action, its derivate in *LIṬ* can not be tagged (SK III: 57: *teṣāṃ kriyāsāmānyavācitvād āmprakṛtīnāṃ viśeṣavācitvāt tadarthayor abhedenānvayaḥ; sampadis tu pratyāhāre'ntarbhūto' py ananvitārthatvān na prayujyate*). Note, also, that *as*, in the context of this rule, cannot be replaced with *bhū* (2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ*). For, if Pāṇini intended this replacement, he would not have included *bhū* in 5.4.50 *kṛbhvastiyoge....* Besides, he could have formulated this rule simply as *kṛbhvanuprayujyate liṭi.*

3.1.41 विदाङ्कुर्वन्त्वित्यन्यतरस्याम्

vidāṃkurvantv ity anyatarasyām
/vidāṃkurvantu (form ending in *tiṄ*) *iti* Ø *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
vidāṃkurvantv ity etad anyatarasyām nipātyate
The form *vidāṃkurvantu* is optionally derived by *nipātana.*

EXAMPLES:

vidāṃkurvantu 'let them know'
vidantu 'id.'

1. This is an ad hoc (*nipātana*) rule which provides for *vidāṃkurvantu,* a form of the verbal root *vidA* ending in *-ām* and tagged with *kṛ* terminating in *LOṬ*. We know that the tagged form of *kṛ, bhū,* and *as* are only available in *LIṬ*. The first ad hoc provision of this rule is to provide for the tagged forms also in *LOṬ*. We thus get: *vid* + *LOṬ*. Secondly, this rule, again by *nipātana,* blocks the *guṇa* before *ām*. Thirdly, this rule provides for the deletion of *LOṬ* to produce *vidām*. Finally, a *LOṬ* form of *kṛ, bhū,* or *as* will be tagged, again, under the ad hoc provision of this rule (cf. SK III:289 *vetter leṭy ām guṇābhāvo loṭo luk loḍantakaroty anuprayogaś ca vā nipātyate*).

It should be noted here, that in the absence of availing the option of tagging a form of *kṛ, bhū,* or *as* in *LOṬ*, the resultant form will be *vidantu.*

2. Pāṇini cites only one form *vidāṃkurvantu,* a third person plural, perhaps because of its greater frequency. This, however, does not rule out the existence of other forms. The use of *iti* in the rule is, perhaps, made to indicate just that.

3.1.42 अभ्युत्सादयांप्रजनयांचिकयांरमयामकःपावयांक्रियाद् विदामक्रन्निति छन्दसि

abhyutsādayāṃprajanayāṃcikayāṃramayāmakaḥpāvayāṃkriyād vidāmakrann iti cchandasi
/abhyutsādayām...ramayāmakaḥ 1/1 *pāvayāṃkriyād vidāmakran* (forms ending in *tiṄ*) *iti* Ø *chandasi* 7/1/
(*anyatarasyām* #41)
'abhyutsādayām' ity evam ādayaś chandasi viṣaye' nyatarasyāṃ nipātyante

Forms such as, *abhyutsādayāmakaḥ*, *prajanayāmakaḥ*, *cikayāmakaḥ*, *ramayāmakaḥ*, *pāvayāṃkriyāt* and *vidāmakran* are derived optionally by *nipātana* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

abhyutsādayāmakaḥ 'x had y sit on top of...'
prajanayāmakaḥ 'x brought about the existence of...'
cikayāmakaḥ 'x had y arrange...'
ramayāmakaḥ 'x had y play around...'
pāvayāṃkriyāt 'may x have y purified...'
vidāmakran 'x attained the knowledge of...'

1. This rule optionally provides for ad hoc formations such as *abhyutsādayāmakaḥ*, *prajanayāmakaḥ*, *cikayāmakaḥ*, *ramayāmakaḥ*, *pāvayāṃkriyāt*, and *vidāmakran*. The *akaḥ* of the rule, obviously, has to be read at the end of each one of the cited forms: *abhyūtsādayām*, etc. Here, as also is the case with the previous rule, *nipātana* provides for diverse operations. For example, verbal roots *sad*, *jan* and *ram* (*sadḶ.*, *janḶ*, *ramU*) are treated as ending in *ṆiC*. Given *jani*, *rami* and *sadi*, used with relevant preverbs, *ām* is introduced under the condition of the following *LUṄ*. The *akaḥ*, of course, is tagged subsequently. The *vṛddhi*, for example, in *abhyutsādayāmakaḥ* is also availed by *nipātana*. Verbal root *ciÑ* in *cikayāmakaḥ* receives *ām* before *LUṄ* but doubling (*dvitva*) and replacement of *c* by *k* (*kutva*) is availed by *nipātana*. The *i* of *ṆiC* in *ciki* goes through *guṇa (e)* and its subsequent *ay* replacement, again by *nipātana*. The next derivate *pāvayāṃkriyāt* also has *ām*. After the *ṆiC* form of *pūÑ*, *ām* is introduced before *LIṄ*. The *LIṄ* form of *kṛ*, i.e., *kriyāt*, is also subsequently tagged. Our final derivate *vidāmakran* receives *ām* before *LUṄ* after *vidA*. The *guṇa* of *i*, in *vid*, is blocked by *nipātana* and *akran* is subsequently tagged.

Note that derivational details, such as those above, are provided to show that what Pāṇini provides, is ad hoc; citation of fully derived forms automatically rules out any need toward furnishing derivational details.

Note, also, that parallel to these ad hoc forms in the Vedic, we find *abhyudasīṣadat*, *prajījanat*, *acaiṣīt*, *arīramat*, *pāvyāt* and *avediṣuḥ* in the classical language. Check the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.43 च्लि लुङि

cli luṅi
/*cli* (1/1 *deleted*) *luṅi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)

dhātoś cliḥ pratyayo bhavati luṅi parataḥ
Affix *CLI* occurs after a verbal root when *LUṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

See under subsequent rules for examples.

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix *CLI* after a root when *LUṄ* follows. Note that in addition to the *anuvṛtti* of 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*, 3.1.2 *paraś ca*, etc., this rule also gets the *anuvṛtti* of *dhātoḥ* from 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco... Kāśikā* states that I in *CLI* is for ease of pronunciation. Obviously, a sequence of *C* and *l* will be hard to pronounce without a vowel. Refer to my notes under the following rule for additional details. The *C* is used as an *it* for final *udātta* accent by 6.1.163 *citaḥ*. The *C* is assigned the term *it* by 1.3.7 *cuṭū*. Our present rule is an exception to rules 3.1.68 *kartari śap*, etc., whereby the *vikaraṇa*, namely *ŚaP*, etc., are introduced.

3.1.44 च्लेः सिच्

cleḥ sic
/*cleḥ* 6/1 *sic* 1/1/
(*luṅi* #43)
cleḥ sij ādeśo bhavati
Affix *CLI* is replaced with *sĪC* after a verbal root when *LUṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

akārṣīt 'he made something'
ahārṣīt 'he carried something'

1. This rule introduces *sĪC* as a replacement for *CLI* where, according to *Kāśikā*, *Ī* is used to facilitate pronunciation. The *C* is used, as previously, for accent. Bhaṭṭoji, in consonance with the *Mahābhāṣya*, accepts *Ī* as an *it*. This position is necessary so that the deletion of the penultimate *-n* of the root, for example in *amaṃsta* 'he knew', can be blocked. Thus, given *aṬ* + *man* + *sĪC* + *ta* → *amans* + *ta*, rule 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala...* becomes applicable. This rule will delete *-n* unless its introduction is conditioned by *Ī* as an *it*. The *n* of *amaṃsta* is saved from deletion since *Ī* in *sĪC* is an *it*. An additional condition of *Ṅit* required for the application of 6.4.24 is met by treating *ta* as if it were *Ṅit* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*).

Kāśikā, apparently, does not accept this interpretation. How else can *Kāśikā* block the deletion of *n*? By taking recourse to an indication (*jñāpaka*)

from rule 1.2.14 *hanaḥ sic* which extends to *sIC* occurring after *han* the status of *kit* 'marked with *K* as an *it*'. *Kāśikā* maintains that this extension of status as *kit* serves as a *jñāpaka*. It indicates that the deletion (*lopa*) of a penultimate (*upadhā*) sound of an item which ends in *sIC* (*sijanta*) does not take place.

A question as to why *sIC* had to be marked with *C* as an *it* becomes pertinent here. For, since a replacement of *CLI*, it would already be treated as marked with *C*. Commentators explain that *C* is retained in the replacement to secure the *anudātta* accent (6.1.163 *citaḥ*) which otherwise could become unavailable. Besides, if *sIC* was not marked with *C* rule 2.4.80 *mantre ghasahva...* would have to state *ser luk* instead of *ler luk*. This would cause the application of rule 6.1.187 *āditaś ca* whereby an optional initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*) accent will be made available. A reference to *sIC* without *C* especially as *seḥ* will create other problems also (cf. SK and *Tattvabodhinī* under this rule).

Note that Pāṇini provides for *CLI* as a general affix before *LUṄ*. He, subsequently, replaces it with *sIC* to which *Ksa*, etc., form an exception. Why did Pāṇini not introduce *sIC* in general (*utsarga*) before *LUṄ*, and make *Ksa*, etc., its exception. This would have made the introduction of *CLI* unnecessary. Commentators explain that *sIC* is intervened by *CLI* so that *aniṭaḥ* of the subsequent rule can be construed as a qualifier to *CLI*. For, in its absence, *aniṭaḥ* may be construed as a qualifier to the verbal root (*dhātoḥ*). The following is the interpretation of rule 3.1.45 where *aniṭaḥ* is treated as a qualifier to *CLI*:

> *śalanto yo dhātur igupadhas tasmāt parasya cleḥ aniṭaḥ ksa ādeśo bhavati* '*Ksa* comes in place of *CLI* when it is used without *iṬ* after a verbal root which...'

If *aniṭ* were made a qualifier to *dhātoḥ* instead, then *Ksa* could not be used in place of a *CLI* which occurs after a root that is *aniṬ*. For example, *aghukṣat* from *guhŪ* + *LUṄ*, where *CLI* is replaced with *Ksa*, cannot be derived. For, verbal root *guhŪ* is used with *iṬ*. If one considers it as *aniṭ* on account of its *Ū* as an *it* then *Ksa* will have to be introduced obligatorily over *sI*. Note in this connection that rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyati...* introduces *iṬ* to an affix occurring after verbal root *guhŪ*. This partial *aniṭ* status of the root gets cancelled by the equally partial *iṬ* status. It is thus desired to let *aniṭ* modify *CLI*. This way, *Ksa* will replace *CLI* optionally when it is *aniṭ*; elsewhere, it will be replaced with *sIC*. See *PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* (II: 429-30) for further details.

But the *aniṭ* status of *CLI* will be held up in the derivation. For example, *sIC* will be blocked by *Ksa* because this latter is an exception in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (cf. *PŚ*. 64): *prakalpya cāpavādaviṣayam utsargo' bhiniviśate*. The

Ksa will be held up until *iṬ* is available to *CLI* only to be blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe*. Now the *aniṭ* status of *CLĪ* will be established.

3.1.45 शल इगुपधादनिटः क्सः

śala igupadhād aniṭaḥ ksaḥ
/*śalaḥ* 5/1 *igupadhāt* 5/1 *aniṭaḥ* 5/1 *ksaḥ* 1/1/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44)
śalanto yo dhātur igupadhas tasmāt parasya cler aniṭaḥ ksa ādeśo bhavati
Ksa replaces *CLI* before *LUṄ* when *CLI* occurs without *iṬ* after a verbal root which terminates in *ŚL* (*ś., ṣ., s, h;* cf. *Śs.* 13-14) and has an *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ, Śs.* 1-2) in its penultimate (*upadhā*) position.

EXAMPLES:

adhukṣat 'he milked (the cow)'
alikṣat 'he licked (the milk)'

1. This rule is an exception to the *sĪC* replacement of *CLI*. The *K* is made an *it* to block the *guṇa* of the short penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhaguṇa*). Note that *K* is not intended to block *vṛddhi*. For, that will obtain only with *sĪC*. For additional details refer to note #2 under the previous rule. Also refer to derivations under this rule in the appendix.

3.1.46 श्लिष आलिङ्गने

śliṣ āliṅgane
/*śliṣaḥ* 5/1 *āliṅgane* 7/1/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *ksaḥ* #45)
śliṣer dhātor āliṅganakriyāvacanāt parasya cleḥ ksa ādeśo bhavati
Ksa occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *śliṣA* when *LUṄ* follows and *āliṅgana* 'embracing' is expressed.

EXAMPLE:

āślikṣat kanyāṃ devadattaḥ 'Devadatta embraced the girl'

1. The nature of this rule is restrictive (*niyama*). That is, it restricts the introduction of *Ksa* as a replacement for *CLI* after verbal root *śliṣ* only when *āliṅgana* 'embracing' is denoted.

Note that verbal root *śliṣ* is enumerated in the list headed by *puṣ* 'to nourish'. Consequently, it must have its *CLI* replaced with *aṄ* in view of rule 3.1.55 *puṣādidyutādi....* The restrictive provision of *Ksa*, as a replacement for *CLI* made by this rule, seems out of order. For, only that provision is accepted as restrictive which happens to be made against an already existing positive provision (cf. *PŚ* 20: *siddhe sati ārambho niyamāya bhavati*).

Since no such provision has been made, the replacement in *aṄ* blocks the replacement in *Ksa*. This is the difficulty.

A proposal for a split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of the rule is, therefore, made to resolve this difficulty. The following are the two split-rules:

(*a*) *śliṣaḥ* (read with *Ksa* of the preceding rule) '*Ksa* occurs in place of *sIC* occurring after verbal root *śliṣ*' and

(*b*) *āliṅgane ksa* '*Ksa* occurs in place of *sIC* occurring after verbal root *śliṣ* only when *āliṅgana* is denoted'.

The conflict can thus be removed. For, the split interpretation enables the first rule to make a positive provision for *Ksa* which can then be restricted in the context of *āliṅgana*.

Note, however, that the preceding resolution of the difficulty also has its own problem. That is, the restrictive provision of *Ksa* may also block the provision of *CiṆ* of 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* the way it blocks the provision of *aṄ* of rule 3.1.55 *puṣādi*.... Consequently, *samāśleṣi* of *samāśleṣi kanyā devadattena* 'the girl was hugged by Devadatta' cannot be derived. Commentators explain that since a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) can only block the most immediately available subsequent provision, and not any other provision made thereafter, *Ksa* should only be able to block *aṄ*. The blocking of *CiṆ* can, thus, be averted in view of *Paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 60): *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*. Commentators also suggest another alternative. They say that *Ksa* made available by this rule will be negated by the subsequent rule. Once *Ksa* is blocked, *sIC* and *aṄ*, for example in deriving *adṛśat*, or *adrākṣīt* 'he saw', can be made available by rule 3.1.57 *irito vā*. This, also, would not affect the *CiṆ* of 3.1.66 *Ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

3.1.47 न दृशः

na dṛśaḥ
/*na* Ø *dṛśaḥ* 5/1/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *ksaḥ* #45)
dṛśer dhātoḥ parasya cleḥ ksādeśo na bhavati
Ksa does not occur in place of *CLI* after verbal root *dṛśIR* 'to see' when *LUṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

adarśat 'he saw...'
adrākṣīt 'id.'

3.1.48 णिश्रिद्रुस्रुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चङ्

ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ kartari caṅ
/*ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ* 5/3 *kartari* 7/1 *caṅ* 1/1/

(dhātoḥ #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44)
ṇyantebhyo dhātubhyaḥ 'śri-dru-sru' ity etebhyaś ca parasya cleś caṅādeśo bhavati kartṛvācini luṅi parataḥ
CaṄ occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal roots ending in *Ṇi*, or after *śri* 'to serve', *dru* 'to move' and *sru* 'to drip', when *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

acīkarat 'he had someone made something...'
ajīharat 'he had someone take something away...'
aśiśriyat 'he served...'
adudruvat 'he went away'
asusruvat 'it dripped, or flowed'

1. This rule introduces *CaṄ*, as an exception to *sIC*, the replacement for *CLI*, after two sets of verbal roots: (*a*) those which terminate in *Ṇi*, and (*b*) those which are constituted by *śri*, dru and *sru* provided *LUṄ*, which follows, denotes *kartṛ*.

Note that *ṇi* here makes a generalized reference to both affixes *ṆiC* and *ṆiṄ* (3.1.31 *āyādayaḥ* ...). The *C* of affix *CaṄ* is used to distinguish it from affix *aṄ* of 3.1.52 *asyativakti*... Consequently, 6.1.12 *caṅi* does not include any reference to *aṄ*. The *aṄ* derivates thus are not subject to reduplication. The *Ṅ* of *caṄ* as an *it* is intended to block *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* (cf. 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*).

Note also that *śri* is a root which can take both the active (*parasmaipada*) as well as middle (*ātmanepada*) endings. Thus we will get two forms: *aśiśriyat* / *aśiśriyata*. The condition of *kartari* rules out passives such as:

akārayiṣātāṃ kaṭau devadattena 'two mats were caused to be made by Devadatta'

where *sIC* comes as a replacement for *LIṄ*.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule requires that verbal root *kamI* should also be cited along with *śri*, *dru* and *sru*. But what is the purpose of making this provision when *kamI*, after receiving *ṆiṄ* from 3.1.30 *kamer ṇiṅ*, would automatically get *caṄ*? The enumeration is required so that *caṄ* can be made available to *kamI* even when it does not receive *ṆiṄ*. Thus, consider *acakamata* 'he loved' as opposed to *acīkamata* 'id' where the second example entails the introduction of *ṆiṄ*. Refer to 7.4.93 *sanval laghuni*..., etc., for the option of *ṆiṄ* in connection with affix *caṄ*.

3.1.49 विभाषा धेट्श्व्योः

vibhāṣā dheṭśvyoḥ

/vibhāṣā 1/1 dheṭśvyoḥ 6/2/
(dhātoḥ #22, luṅi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari, caṅ #48)
dheṭ pāne ṭuośvi gativṛddhyoḥ etābhyām uttarasya cler vibhāṣā caṅādeśo bhavati
CaṄ optionally occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal roots *dheṬ* 'to suck, drink' and *ṬUOśvi* 'to go, grow' when *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

adadhat 'he suckled...'
adhāt 'id.'
adhāsīt 'id.'
aśiśviyat 'he grew...'
aśvat 'id.'
aśvayīt 'id.'

1. This rule makes the *CaṄ* replacement of *CLI* optional in case of verbal roots *dheṬ* and *ṬUOśvi*. Obviously, when the option of *CaṄ* is not availed, *CLI* will be replaced with *sIC*. This *sIC* will be deleted via *LUK* by rule 2.4.78 *vibhāṣā...* Since the deletion of *sIC* is also optional, there will be two forms as is illustrated by *adhāt* and *adhāsīt*. Note, in connection with this, that *ṬUOśvi* is also qualified to receive *aṄ* as a replacement for *CLI*, by rule 3.1.58 *jṝ stambhumrucumlucu....* Obviously, for *TUOśvi*, we get three possibilities:
(*a*) *sIC* by 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*,
(*b*) *CaṄ* optionally to *sIC* by 3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dheṭśvyoḥ*, and
(*c*) *aṄ* optionally to *siC* by rule 3.1.58 *jṝ stambhumrucumlucu...*
Of course, all the options covered by this rule will obtain only when *LUṄ* is used to denote *kartṛ*, since *kartari* from the preceding rule continues.

3.1.50 गुपेश्छन्दसि

gupeś chandasi
/gupeḥ 5/1 chandasi 5/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, luṅi #43, cleḥ #44, kartari #48, vibhāṣā #49)
gupeḥ parasya cleś çhandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā caṅādeśo bhavati
CaṄ also occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *gupl* 'to protect, preserve', when the usage is Vedic and LUṄ which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

imán no mitrāvaruṇau gṛhāṇajūgupatam

'Mitra and Varuṇa protected these houses of ours'
agauptam 'he protected...'
agopiṣṭam 'id.'
agopāyiṣṭam 'id.'

1. This rule makes the *CaṄ* replacement of *CLI* optional for verbal root *gupŪ* in Vedic. *Kāśikā* states that this *gupŪ* should be treated as a root which does not terminate in affix *āya* (of 3.1.28 *gupūdhūpa*...). Obviously, *gupŪ*, when terminated with *āya*, will be treated as a different verbal root. Thus, we get the following forms:

(*a*) *ajūgupatam* where the option of *CaṄ* is availed in accordance with this rule;

(*b*) *agauptam* where the available *sIC* replacement of *CLI* is accepted with the understanding that *SIC* will be deleted by 8.2.26 *jhalojhali*;

(*c*) *agopiṣṭam* where, on account of *gupŪ* being marked with *Ū* as an it, rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūti*... will optionally introduce the augment *iṬ*. Rule 7.2.4 *neṭi* will then block the *vṛddhi* in favor of penultimate *guṇa* of the short (*laghūpadha*) vowel.

(*d*) *agopāyiṣṭam* where *sIC* occurs after *gupŪ* terminating in *āya* and receiving *iṬ*.

Of course, these provisions are given with reference to the Vedic. The *CaṄ* form is not available in the classical language. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.51 **नोनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः**

nonayatidhvanayatyelayatyardayatibhyaḥ
/*na* Ø *ūnayatidhvanayatyelayatyardayatibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*dhātoḥ* # 22, *luṅi* # 43, *cleḥ* # 44, *kartari* # 48, *vibhāṣā* # 49, *chandasi* # 50)

'ūna parihāṇe, dhvana śabde, ila preraṇe, arda gatau yācane ca' ity etebhyo (dhātubhyo ṇyantebhyaḥ pūrveṇa cleś caṅi prāpte chandasi viṣaye na bhavati
CaN does not occur in place of affix *CLI* after verbal roots *unA* 'to decrease, lessen', *dhvanA* 'to sound', *ilA* 'to send' or *ardA* 'to go, beg', when the usage is Vedic, the roots are used with *Ṇi*, and *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ūnayīḥ '...has decreased'
dhvanayīt '...has sounded'
ailayīḥ '...has sent'
arddayīt '...has begged'

1. The option of a *CaṄ* replacement for *CLI* in the Vedic is hereby blocked in case of the causal (*ṆIC*) forms of verbal roots *ūnA*, *dhvanA*, *ilA* and *ardA*. This rule is, thus, an exception to rule 3.1.48 *ṇiśridru...* That is, in the Vedic usages of the specified roots, *sIC*, as opposed to *CaṄ*, will replace *CLI*. Affix *CaṄ* will replace *CLI* in the classical language. Consequently, this leads to reduplication by 6.1.11 *caṅi*. The parallel classical forms will be: *auninat*, *adidhvanat*, *aililat*, and *ārddidat*.

3.1.52 अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ्

asyativaktikhyātibhyo ṅ
/*asyativaktikhyātibhyaḥ* 5/1 *aṅ* 1/1/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48)
'asu kṣepaṇe, vaca paribhāṣaṇe, brūñ ādeśo vā; khyā prakathane cakṣiṅādeśo vā' ity etebhyaḥ parasya cler aṅādeśo bhavati kartṛvācini luṅi parataḥ
Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aṄ* after verbal roots *asU* 'to toss, throw', *vacA* 'to speak' or *khyā* 'to relate, tell' when *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

paryāsthata '...has tossed...around...'
avocat '...has spoken...'
ākhyat '...has declared...'

1. Note that *asyati*, on account of being used with the *vikaraṇa ŚyaN*, refers to *asU* 'to throw, hurl', a *divādi* root. The remaining two forms refer to the verbal roots *vac* 'to speak' and *khyā* though with a qualification. Verbal root *vac* as well as the *vac* replacement of *brūÑ* 'to speak' are both referenced here by *vakti*. However, *khyā* only refers to the *khyāÑ* replacement of *cakṣIṄ* (2.4.54 *cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ*). It does not, here, refer to verbal root *khyā* 'to speak'.

2. This rule offers *aṄ* as an exception to *CaṄ* to replace *CLI* when *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

Since *as* is a verbal root of the *divādi* group, also contained in the subgroup of *puṣādi* (3.1.55 *puṣādi...*), *aṄ* is available to it automatically. Why this inclusion of *asU* in this rule? It is stated that this inclusion is to enable *as* to qualify for *ātmanepada* endings. Rule 3.1.55 allows for only the *parasmaipada*. Note that *paryāsthata* is a derivate with the third singular *ātmanepada* ending *-ta*.

3.1.53 लिपिसिचिह्वश्च

lipisicihvaś ca

/lipisicihvaḥ 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48, *aṅ* #52)
'lipa upadehe, sica kṣaraṇe hveñ sparddhāyām' ity etebhyaś ca parasya cler aṅādeśo bhavati
Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aṄ* also after verbal roots *lipA* 'to coat, smear', *sicA* 'to pour out, sprinkle' or *hvēN* 'to challenge' when *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

alipat 'he coated something with...'
asicat 'he watered...'
āhvat 'he challenged...'

1. This rule separately provides for *caṄ* as a replacement for *CLI* after verbal roots *lipA*, *sicA* and *hveÑ*. Why did Pāṇini not include these roots in the preceding rule? So that only this *aṄ* is made optional under the condition of an *ātmanepada* affix following these three roots. A combined listing would have brought all the roots under the purview of rule 3.1.54 *ātmanepadeṣv*...which makes such optional provision. The first two roots, i.e., *lipA* and *sicA*, receive *ātmanepada* by 1.3.12 *svaritañitaḥ*... because of a *svarita* vowel as their *it*; *hveÑ* recieves *ātmanepada* because it has *Ñ* as an *it*.

3.1.54 आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम्

ātmanepadeṣv anyatarasyām
/ātmanepadeṣu 7/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48, *aṅ* #52, *lipisicihvaḥ* #53)
lipisicihva ātmanepadeṣu parataś cler aṅādeśo bhavati anyatarasyām
Affix *CLI* is optionally replaced with *aṄ* after verbal roots *lipA*, *sicA* and *hveÑ*, when an *atmanepada* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* (1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

alipata 'he coated something with...'
alipta 'id.'
asicata 'he sprinkled...'
asikta 'id.'
ahvata 'he challenged...'
ahvāsta 'id.'

1. See my note under the preceding rule.

3.1.55 पुषादिद्युताद्यॢदितः परस्मैपदेषु

puṣādidyutādyḷditaḥ parasmaipadeṣu
/*puṣādidyutādyḷditaḥ* 5/1 *parasmaipadeṣu* 7/1/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48, *aṅ* #52)
puṣādibhyaḥ dyutādibhyaḥ ḷdidbhyaś ca dhātubhyaḥ parasya cleḥ parasmaipadeṣu parato' ṅādeśo bhavati
Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aṄ* after verbal roots enumerated in the groups headed by *puṣA* 'to nourish, thrive' and *dyutA* 'to shine,' and after roots which have *Ḷ* as their *it*, when a *parasmaipada* (1.4.100 *laḥ parasmaipadam*) replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

apuṣat '...nourished, or... thrived...'
adyutat '... shined...'
agamat '...went...'
aśakat '... became capable...'

1. The word *puṣādi* '*puṣA*, etc.' may refer to sets of roots classified in all four groups; the *bhvādi*, *divādi*, *kryādi* and *curādi*. This may create confusion. However, *puṣādi* cannot refer to *bhvādi* because *dyutādi* is a subsection of it. That is, since Pāṇini makes a separate mention of *dyutādi*, *puṣādi* must be other than that of its own class *bhvādi*.

This establishes *dyutādi* as *bhvādi*. Could *puṣādi* be interpreted here as referring to the *kryādi* class of roots? It can not. For, there will thus be only four roots *puṣA* 'to prosper', *muṣA* 'to steal', *khacA* 'to reappear' and *grahA* 'to hold'. Pāṇini would have been better off by marking them with *Ḷ* as an *it*. This way, he would not have needed to state *puṣādi*. By deduction then *puṣādi* must be interpreted to refer to a subgroup of *divādi*. The context also favors this interpretation, and repeating *asU* marked with *ŚyaN* in 3.1.52 *asyati...* further strengthens this position.

Why does Pāṇini not mark *puṣādi* and *dyutādi* also with *Ḷ*? This way, he does not have to make a three-way mention of these roots. Besides, *aṄ* in place of *CLI* could then be introduced in a much more straightforward manner. *Nyāsa* states that it will create problems. For, there are several roots within this *puṣādi* type, now proposed to be marked with *Ḷ* as an *it*, which are also marked with *U* or *A* as an *it*. As such, operations relative to 7.2.56 *udito vā* and 7.2.16 *āditaś ca* may be blocked on account of *Ḷ* as an *it*. The *dyutādi* verbs could also not be cited with *Ḷ* as an *it*.

The *puṣādi* group within *divādi* contains roots beginning with *puṣA* through *gṛdhŪ* 'to wish'. The *dyutādi* within the *bhvādi* class contains roots beginning with *dyutA* 'to glow, shine' through *kṛpŪ* 'to be capable'.

3.1.56 सर्त्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च

sarttiśāstyarttibhyaś ca
/sarttiśāstyarttibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* Ø/
(dhātoḥ #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48, *aṅ* #52,
parasmaipadeṣu #55)
'sṛ gatau, śāsu anuśiṣṭau, ṛ gatau' ity etebhyaḥ parasya cler aṅādeśo bhavati
Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aṄ* after verbal roots *sṛ* 'to move, go', *śāsU* 'to instruct' and *ṛ* 'to go' when a *parasmaipada* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

asarat 'it moved...'
aśiṣat 'he instructed...'
ārat 'he went...'

1. The purpose of stating this rule separately is to enable specified roots to receive *aṄ* as a replacement for their *CLI*. Then, Pāṇini, indeed, should have formulated rule 3.1.55 as *puṣādi...sarttiśāstyarttibhyaś ca parasmaipadeṣu*. That way, he would have saved one rule. But that formulation could provide for *aṄ* only when a *parasmaipada* affix followed. This rule, on account of its separate formulation, enables the cited roots to receive *aṄ* as a replacement for *CLI* also when an *ātmanepada* affix follows. In the absence of this special provision, the effort (*yatna*), made in formulating this rule separately becomes vacuous (*vyartha*). What is the purpose of the *ca*? So that *parasmaipada* can still be made available to subsequent rules.

2. Bhaṭṭoji informs us (*SK* III: 218-19) that, on account of their association (*sāhacarya*) with *śās*, cited here with its deleted *vikaraṇa* *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*), *sṛ* and *ṛ* should also be interpreted as belonging to the class where the *vikaraṇa* gets deleted. Verbal roots *sṛ* and *ṛ* are thus not interpreted as belonging to the *bhvādi* class. Instead, they are interpreted as *juhotyādi*, roots where the *vikaraṇa* gets deleted by 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*. Also see *PM* ad *Kāśikā* (II: 442).

3.1.57 इरितो वा

irito vā
/iritaḥ 5/1 *vā* Ø/
(dhātoḥ #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48, *aṅ* #52, *parasmaipadeṣu* #55)
irito dhātoḥ parasya cler aṅādeśo vā bhavati
Affix *CLI* is optionally replaced with *aṄ* after verbal roots marked

with *ĪR* as an *it* when a *parasmaipada* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

abhidat 'he split something'
abhaitsīt 'id.'
acchidat 'he cut something'
acchaitsīt 'id.'

1. The replacement in *aṄ* for *CLI* is made optional in case of roots which have *ĪR* as an *it*. The assignment of the term *it* to *Ī* and *R* of *ĪR* should be made separately by rules 1.3.2 *upadeśe...* and 1.3.3 *halantyam*. For, there is no single rule whereby *ĪR* can be assigned the term. Note also that the *ātmanepada* endings can be introduced at the strength of the *svarita* vowel *Ī* as an *it* (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye...*).

2. Note that *sĪC* will replace *CLI* if the option of *aṄ* is not accepted. Obviously, this will lead to operations such as the introduction of *iṬ* (*iḍāgama*; 7.3.96 *astisico...*), a replacement in *vṛddhi* characterized by the final consonant (*halantalakṣaṇā*; 7.2.3 *vadavraja ...*) of the presuffixal base (*aṅga*), etc. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.58 जृस्तम्भुम्रुचुम्लुचुग्रुचुग्लुचुग्लुञ्चुश्विभ्यश्च

jṝstambhumrucumlucugrucuglucugluñcuśvibhyaś ca
/jṝsta... śvibhyaḥ 5/3 = *(itar.dv.); ca* Ø/
(dhātoḥ #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44. *kartari* #48, *aṅ* #22, *parasmaipadeṣu* #55, *vā* #57)
jṛsvayohānau, stambhu sautro dhātuḥ, mrucu mlucu gatyarthau, grucu glucu steyakaraṇe, gluñcu ṣasja gatau, ṭuośvi gativṛddhyoḥ' ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ parasya cler vā aṅādeśo bhavati

Affix *CLI* is also optionally replaced with *aṄ* after verbal roots *jṝsA* 'to waste away, grow old', *stambhU* 'to stop', *mrucU* and *mlucU* 'to go, move', *grucU* and *glucU* 'to steal', *gluñcU* 'to move, go', and *ṬUOśvi* 'to go, grow', when a *parasmaipada* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ajarat 'he wasted away, ...grew old'
ajārīt 'id.'
astabhat 'he stopped...'
astambhīt 'id.'

amrucat 'he moved'
amrocīt 'he moved'
amlucat 'he stole'
amlocīt 'id.'
agrucat 'he stole...'
agrocīt 'id.'
aglucat 'id.'
aglocīt 'id.'
aglañcat 'he went...'
agluñcīt ' id.'
aśvat 'he grew...'
aśvayīt 'id.'
aśiśviyat 'id.'

1. This rule provides for *aṄ* as an optional replacement to *sĪC* for *CLI* after the eight verbs enumerated here. The *anuvṛtti* of *cleḥ*, *aṅ*, and *vā*, all three, is valid here. Commentators state that. even though *glucU* and *gluñcU* both are cited, there are only three forms one needs to account. That is, *aglucat*, *aglocīt* of *glucU*, and *agluñcīt* of *gluñcU*. But using only one of the roots in the rule can refer to both, and hence, can account for all the three forms. For example, a reference made with *glucU* will yield two of its own forms: *aglucat* and *aglocīt*, with *aṄ* and *sĪC* respectively. A third form, i.e., *agluñcīt*, will be derived with *sĪC* relative to *gluñcU*. A reference made with *gluñcU* similarly yields two of its own forms, i.e., *aglucat* and *agluñcīt*. The third form *aglocīt* will be derived with *sĪC* relative to *glucU*. *Kāśikā* claims meaning difference *(arthabhedāt)* as the basis for dual citation. Hardatta *(PM* ad *Kāś.* II:444) claims that the *arthabheda* theory of dual citation goes against Patañjali's position of *anekārthatvād dhātūnām arthabhedo na prayojaka ubhayopadānasya* 'semantic difference of verbal roots based on the multiplicity of meaning should not constitute the basis for the citation by means of both'. Besides, *Padamañjarī* emphatically rejects the proposal of using only one verb to refer to both by saying: *idaṃ bhāṣyaviruddham* 'this is against the position of the *Mahābhāṣya*'. Some *(kecit)* further claim that non-deletion of *ñ* in *agluñcat* is assured on the very basis of dual citation (see *Kāśikā* II:444). *Kāśikā* remarks that *stambhU*, as a root, is only attested by the usage of the Pāṇinian rule *(sautra)*.

3.1.59 **कृमृदृरुहिभ्यश्छन्दसि**

kṛmṛdṛruhibhyaś chandasi
/*kṛmṛdṛruhibhyaḥ* 5/3 *chandasi* 7/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48, *aṅ* #52)

'kṛ mṛ dṛ ruhi' ity etebhyaḥ parasya cleś chandasi viṣaye' ṅādeśo bhavati
Affix *CLI* is replaced with *aṄ* after verbal roots *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make', *mṛṄ* 'to die', *dṛ* 'to tear apart' and *rhuA* 'to grow', when the usage is Vedic and a *parasmaipada* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

akarat '...made'
amarat '...died'
adarat '...ripped apart...'
parvatam āruhat 'climbed up the mountain'

1. This *aṄ* replacement of *CLI* is Vedic. The first three verbs receive *aṄ* as against *sIC* . Verbal root *ruh* receives *aṄ* against *Ksa* of rule 3.1.45 *śala igupadhād....* Note that *parasmaipada* in *amarat* is made available by 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*. For, *mṛṄ* should receive *ātmanepada* based upon its *Ṅ* as an *it* (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita...*). We get forms such as *akārṣīt, amṛta, adārīt* and *arukṣat* in the Classical language.

3.1.60 **चिण् ते पदः**

ciṇ te padaḥ
/*ciṇ* 1/1 *te* 7/1 *padaḥ* 5/1/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48)
pada gatau asmād dhātoḥ parasya cleś ciṇ ādeśo bhavati
CIṆ occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *padA* 'to go' when the *ta* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

udapādi sasyam 'he cultivated the young crop'
samapādi bhaikṣam 'he procured food from charity'

1. The *ta* is the third singular middle (*ātmanepada*) suffix. It can not be interpreted here as referring to the *ta*-replacement of the second personal active (*parasmaipada*) suffix (cf. 3.4.101 *tasthasthamīpām...*) because verbal root *padA* is only used in the *ātmanepada*. Note that, in case of the third plural middle ending *jha*, rule 7.1.5 *ātmanepadeṣv...* will introduce *at* as a replacement to yield *udapatsata* 'they pulled out...'.

2. Pāṇini did not intend *vā* to be carried to this rule. For, he uses *anyatarasyām* in the next rule. That is, he would not have stated *anyatarasyām* in the next rule if *vā* were already available via *anuvṛtti* from this rule.

3.1.61 **दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्**

dīpajanabudhapūritāyipyāyibhyo' nyatarasyām

/dīpa...pyāyibhyaḥ 5/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *kartari* #48 *ciṇ, te* #60)
'dīpī dīptau, jani prādurbhāve, budha avagamane, pūrī āpyāyane, tāyṛ santānapālanayoḥ, opyāyī vṛddhau' ity etebhyaḥ parasya cleś taśabde parato' nyatarasyāṃ ciṇ ādeśo bhavati
CiṆ optionally occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal roots *dīpI* 'to shine', *janĪ* 'to be born', *budhA* 'to know, perceive', *pūrĪ* 'to overfill', *tāyṚ* 'to stretch' and *Opyāyī* 'to grow' when the *ta* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

adīpi 'it shined...'
adīpiṣṭa 'id.'
ajani '...was born...'
ajaniṣṭa 'id.'
abodhi 'he perceived...'
abuddha 'id.'
apūri 'it overfilled...'
apūriṣṭa 'id.'
atāyi 'it stretched...'
atāyiṣṭa 'id.'
apyāyi 'it grew...'
apyāyiṣṭa 'id.'

1. This provision of *CiṆ* to replace *sĪC* is, once again, made for the selected verbal roots under the condition of the third singular *ātmanepada* suffix-*ta*. Furthermore, *CiṆ* is made optional only when *ta* denotes agent (*kartṛ*). For, when the *ta* replacement of *LUṄ* denotes *bhāva* (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*), rule 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* will obligatorily demand *CiṆ*. Verbal roots *janĪ* and *budhA* are not interpreted as accepting the *parasmaipada* affixes because of their association (*sāhacarya*) in this rule with roots which accept the *ātmanepada* affixes. Of course, the option is available only when *ta* denotes agent.

3.1.62 **अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि**

acaḥ karmakartari
/acaḥ 5/1 *karmakartari* 7/1/
(dhātoḥ #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *ciṇ, te* #60, *anyatarasyām* #61)
ajantād dhātoḥ cleḥ karmakartari taśabde parataś ciṇ ādeśo bhavati
CiṆ optionally occurs in place of affix *CLI* after verbal roots which end in *aC* (a vowel) when the *ta* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *karmakartṛ* 'object treated as agent' follows.

EXAMPLES:

akāri kaṭaḥ svayam eva 'the mat (was) made (by) itself'
akṛtaḥ kaṭaḥ svayam eva 'id.'
alāvi kedāraḥ svayam eva 'the harvest got harvested by itself'
alāviṣṭa kedāraḥ svayam eva 'id.'

1. This rule allows for an optional replacement of *CiṆ* when *ta* follows roots which terminate in a vowel. However, note that *ta* must, in this context, denote an object turned agent (*karmakartṛ*). An object becomes agent when, relative to its action, one wishes to express it as the agent on account of its extreme conduciveness toward accomplishing that action. For example, consider the following sentences.

(*a*) *devadattaḥ kaṭaṃ akarot* 'Devadatta made the mat'
(*b*) *akāri kaṭo devadattena* 'the mat was made by Devadatta'
(*c*) *akāri kaṭaḥ svayam eva* 'the mat (was) made (by) itself'

The first sentence is active where the verb expresses the agent by means of the third singular verbal ending *ti*. Devadatta, of course, is the agent of making the mat. The second sentence expresses the object *kaṭa* 'mat' by the verbal form, and the agent, by the instrumental singular ending in (*b*) *Devadattena*. The third sentence again expresses the agent with the verb, but this agent is object turned agent. That is, the speaker wishes to express the extreme facility with which, for example, the material, as if by itself, turned into a mat. This is the reason why *kaṭa* is put in the nominative to express the nominal stem notion only. See also my discussion of *karmakartṛ* under rule 3.1.87 *karmavat...* for additional details.

An object is extended the status of an agent by rule 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ*. Consequently, operations relative to rule 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* become available. Note, however, that this provision for *CiṆ* replacement of *CLI* under rule 3.1.66 is obligatory (*nitya*). Our present rule (3.1.62) makes it optional. Since the option is made in view of what was already made available by 3.1.87 *karmavat...*, this rule entails the *prāptavibhāṣā* type of option. The verbs expressing *karmakartṛ* will receive the *ātmanepada* endings by rule 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. If the option of *CiṆ* is not accepted, derivates will involve a replacement in *sIC*. The *anuvṛtti* of *karmakartṛ* covers rules up to 3.1.65.

3.1.63 दुहश्च

duhaś ca
/*duhaś* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *ciṇ, te* #60 *anyatarasyām* #61, *karmakartari* #62)

duha parpūraṇe asmāt parasya cleś ciṇ ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
CiṆ also optionally occurs in place of *CLI* after verbal root *duhA* 'to milk' when the *ta* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *karmakartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

adohi gauḥ svayam eva 'the cow milked itself'
adugdha gauḥ svayam eva 'id.'
adohi gaur gopālakena 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'

1. This rule provides, again optionally, a replacement in *CiṆ* for *CLI* after verbal root *duh*. This type of option is technically known as *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*; an option made available which it was previously not. That is, what rule 3.1.89 *duhsnunamāṃ yakciṇau* obligatorily denies to *duh* is optionally available to it by this rule. Of course, the conditions of *ta* and *karma-kartṛ* still apply. Consider the following sentences:
(*a*) *adohi gaur gopālakena*
'the cow was milked by the cowherd'
(*b*) *adohi gauḥ Svayam eva*
'the cow (was) milked (by) itself'
where *adohi* in (*a*) expresses the object as opposed to the object-turned agent of (*b*). The *CiṆ* replacement in case of the straight *karman* in (*a*) is obligatory (*nitya*), whereas it is optional in (*b*). If, however, this option is not availed, rule 3.1.45 *śala igupadhād...* will provide for *Ksa* to yield (*c*) *adugdha gauḥ svayam eva* parallel to (*b*).

3.1.64 न रुधः

na rudhaḥ
/*na* Ø *rudhaḥ* 5/1/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *ciṇ, te* #60, *anyatarasyām* #61, *karmakartari* #62)
rudhir āvaraṇe asmāt parasya cleḥ karmakartari ciṇ ādeśo na bhavati
CiṆ does not optionally occur in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *rudhIR* 'to obstruct' when the *ta* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *karmakartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLE:

anvavāruddha gauḥ svayam eva 'the cow stopped by itself'

1. This rule blocks the *CiṆ* replacement for *CLI* after verbal root *rudhIR* 'to obstruct'. Note that this negation is applicable to the positive provision made by rule 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ*.

3.1.65 तपोऽनुतापे च

tapo' nutāpe ca
/tapaḥ 5/ *anutāpe* 7/ *ca* 0/
(dhātoḥ #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *ciṇ, te* #60, *karmakartari* #62, *na* #64)
tapa santāpe asmāt parasya cleś ciṇ ādeśo na bhavati karmakartary anutāpe ca
CiṆ does not occur in place of affix *CLI* after verbal root *tapA* 'to heat, be hot' when the *ta* replacement of *LUṄ* denotes *karmakartṛ*, or *anutāpa* 'repentance' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

atapta tapas tāpasaḥ 'the ascetic observed the penance'
anvavātapta pāpena karmaṇā 'he repented for his sinful acts'

1. This rule again blocks the *CiṆ* replacement for *CLI* after verbal root *tapA* 'to observe penance, be hot', and additionally also when *anutāpa* 'repentance' is denoted. Consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *atapta tapas tāpasaḥ*
'the penance tormented the ascetic'
(*b*) *atapta tapas tāpasaḥ*
'the ascetic observed the penance'
(*c*) *anvavātapta pāpena karmaṇā*
'...repented (was tormented by) the sinful deed'

Note that (*a*) and (*b*) list the same sentence with different interpretations. Sentence (*a*) implies that the observance of penance (*tapas*) with its characteristic marks such as fasting (*upavāsa*), etc., tormented the ascetic (*tāpasa*). Obviously, the penance is the agent (*kartṛ*) of tormenting the ascetic (*karman*). Sentence (*b*) implies that the ascetic (*kartṛ*) with his desire to achieve heaven (*svarga*) observed the penance (*karman*) willfully enduring all the torment in the process. In this instance, *tapas*, as Jinendrabuddhi observes, is used in the sense of special knowledge (*jñānaviśeṣa*) leading toward enlightenment. Sentence (*b*) alone constitutes an example of *karmakartṛ* in view of this rule.

Sentence (*c*) implies that someone repented some sinful acts he earlier performed. Verbal root *tapA* used with the preverb *anu* is, here, treated as intransitive and denotes the sense of repentance. The instrumental ending in *pāpena* is used to denote the *hetu* 'cause' of repentance. The *ta* of *atapta* denotes the action (*bhāva*). Or else, *pāpa* could also be treated as the agent where *ta* would denote the object, i.e., the sinner, thereby implying the sinner was haunted by the sinful deed. The word *pāpa* can thus be interpreted here in the sense of both the 'sinner' as well as the 'sin'.

3.1.66 **चिण् भावकर्मणोः**

ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
/*ciṇ* 1/1 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* 7/2/
(*dhātoḥ* #22, *luṅi* #43, *cleḥ* #44, *te* #60)
dhātoḥ parasya cleś ciṇ ādeśo bhavati bhāve karmaṇi taśabde parataḥ
CiṆ occurs in place of affix *CLI* after a verbal root when the *ta* replacement of *LUṄ* which denotes *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object' follows.

EXAMPLES:

aśāyi bhavatā 'you slept'
akāri kaṭo devadattena 'a mat was made by Devadatta'
ahāri bhāro yajñadattena 'the load was carried by Yajñadatta'

1. A question is raised regarding the explicit use of *CiṆ* when the same could have been made available via *anuvṛtti* from rule 3.1.60 *ciṇ te padaḥ*. This rule uses *CiṆ* explicitly because *ciṆ* of 3.1.60 is associated with *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' of 3.1.61 *dīpajanabudha...*, and its subsequent negation (*niṣedha*) by *na* of 3.1.64 *na rudhaḥ*. If *CiṆ* of 3.1.60 *ciṇ te padaḥ* is carried via *anuvṛtti*, *anyatarasyām* and *na*, on account of association (*sāhacarya*), must also be carried.

But *anyatarasyām* could automatically be blocked by *na* since negation only obtains when a provision (such as the one made by *anyatarasyām*) already exists (*prāptipūrvakatvāc ca niṣedhasya*). But since the provision of *CiṆ*, before a *ta* which denotes *bhāva* and *karman* is not made previously, the question of carrying *na* to negate it also does not arise. Thus, the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* and *na* will automatically be blocked. That is, *CiṆ* could still be carried. But note that *CiṆ* of 3.1.60 *ciṇ te padaḥ* is used within the context of *kartari*. Our present rule requires *CiṆ* in the context of *bhāva* and *karman*. This still could not justify the explicit use of *CiṆ* as *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* would counter *kartari*. Why, then, is *CiṆ* used explicitly? It is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Or else, an explicit use of *CiṆ* is made out of compassion for the slow-witted (*mandadhiyam anugṛhītum*).

For a detailed explanation of *bhāva* and *karman*, see my notes under rules 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau...*, 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamam...* See relevant examples in the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.67 **सार्वधातुके यक्**

sārvadhātuke yak
/*sārvadhātuke* 7/1 *yak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* #66)

bhāvakarmavācini sārvadhātuke parataḥ dhātor yak pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yaK* occurs after a verbal root when a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*) affix which denotes *bhāva* or *karman* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āsyate bhavatā 'you are seated'
kriyate kaṭaḥ 'a mat is being made'
gamyate grāmaḥ 'the village is gone to'

1. This rule introduces affix *yaK* after a verbal root when a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) affix which denotes *bhāva* 'root sense' and *karman* 'object' follows. Obviously, *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*, carried from the preceding rule, is used as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *sārvadhātuke*. How come this rule was not formulated as *bhāvakarmaṇayoḥ* with the following interpretation: *bhāvakarmaṇayoḥ* (*abhidheyayoḥ*) *sārvadhātuke* (*parataḥ*) *yak pratyayo bhavati* 'affix *yaK* occurs after a verbal root before a following *sārvadhātuka* affix when *bhāva* and *karman* are denoted'? This formulation could not be made because, in this grammar (*śāstre*), it is only at the strength of the *sārvadhātuka* that the denotation of *bhāva* and *karman* is comprehended. How do we know this? From rule 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi...*, where it is the replacement of *LA* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*), a *sārvadhātuka*, which makes the denotation known? This question is raised in view of deciding whether *bhāva* and *karman* were the denotata of the *sārvadhātuka* affix, or of *yaK*, the *vikaraṇa*.

2. A *vārttika* (*Mbh.* III: 146) states that *karmakartṛ* should also be mentioned as a *nimitta* 'condition' for the introduction of *yaK*. But since that could be accomplished automatically by the extension of *karmavat* of 3.1.87 *karmavat...*, *karmakartṛ* should not be mentioned in this rule. But 3.1.68 *kartari śap* will block it on the basis of *vipratiṣedha* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...*). That is, 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak* will find its scope in connection with the denotation of straight (*śuddha*) *karman* as in *pacyata odanaḥ* 'the rice is being cooked'. Rule 3.1.68 *kartari śap* will find its independent scope in sentences like *odanaḥ pacati* 'the rice is cooking'. In the context of *karmakartṛ*, *karma* and *kartṛ* will both be simultaneously applicable. Rule 3.1.68 will thus block 3.1.67 on the basis of being subsequent (*paratva*). It is suggested by the *vārttika* that *karmakartṛ* should be stated in the rule. The *Mahābhāṣya* rejects the *vārttika* on grounds that *yaK* obtains in the context of *karmakartṛ*. Besides, blocking by *ŚaP* entails *śāstrātideśa*, extension of a rule, whereas *yaK* of 3.1.87 is an instance of *kāryātideśa*, the extension of an operation. This makes the provision of *kāryātideśa* which introduces *yaK* more powerful than the *śāstrātideśa* provision of *ŚaP*. Consequently, the 3.1.87 provision for *yaK* will win in the conflict. Thus, we get *pacyata odanaḥ svayam eva* 'the rice is cooking by itself'.

3. The *K* of *yaK* is used as an *it* to block *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, and to facilitate *samprasāraṇa*. For example, given *bhū* + *yaK* + *ta* = *bhūyate*, rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* is blocked from introducing *guṇa* for *u* of *bhū*. Similarly, given *mṛj* + yaK + *ta* = *mṛjyate*, rule 7.3.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* is blocked from introducing *vṛddhi* for the *ṛ* of *mṛj*. The *K* of *yaK* also facilitates the *samprasāraṇa*, for example in *ijyate*, by rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnāṃ kiti* where *K* forms the right context.

3.1.68 **कर्त्तरि शप्**

kartari śap
/*kartari* 7/1 *śap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22 *sārvadhātuke* #67)
kartṛvācini sārvadhātuke parato dhātoḥ śap prayayo bhavati
Affix *ŚaP* occurs after a verbal root when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* 'agent' follows.

EXAMPLES:

paṭhati 'he reads or recites'
apaṭhat 'he read or recited'

1. Note that *P* as an *it*, in affix *ŚaP*, is intended for accent (*svara*; 3.1.3 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *Ś* as an *it* facilitates the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*). The same applies to the *Ś* of *ŚyaN*, etc.

3.1.69 **दिवादिभ्यः श्यन्**

divādibhyaḥ śyan
/*divādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *śyan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)
'div'ity evam ādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ śyan pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ŚyaN* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *div* 'to play' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dīvyati 'he is playing'
sīvyati 'he is sewing'

1. This rule constitutes an exception to the preceding rule. The *N* as an *it* in *ŚyaN* is intended for accent. Thus, by rule 6.1.191 *ñnityādir nityam*, we get an obligatory high-pitch accent (*ādyudātta*) initially.

3.1.70 वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुक्रमुक्लमुत्रसित्रुटिलषः

vā bhrāśabhlāśabhramukramuklamutrasitruṭilaṣaḥ
/*vā* Ø *bhrāśa... laṣaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *śyan* #69)
'*ṭubhrāśṛṭubhlāśṛbhramukramuklamutrasitruṭilaṣa*' *ity etebhyo vā śyan pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *ŚyaN* optionally occurs after verbal roots *ṬUbhrāśṚ* 'to shine, glitter' *ṬUbhlāśṚ* 'to shine, glitter', *bhramU* 'to wander, rove', *kramU* 'to walk', *klamU* 'to be tired or exhausted', *trasI* 'to be afraid, scared', *truṭI* 'to break, split, tear' and *laṣ* 'to shine' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bhrāśate 'it shines, glitters'
bhrāśyate 'id.'
bhlāśate 'id.'
bhlāśyate 'id.'
bhramati 'he wanders around'
bhrāmyati 'id.'
krāmati 'he walks'
krāmyati 'id.'
klāmati 'he becomes tired'
klāmyati 'id.'
trasati 'he is afraid of...'
trasyati 'id.'
truṭati 'he breaks...'
truṭyati 'id.'
laṣati 'it shines...
laṣyati 'id.'

1. Note that *bhram* denotes both *bhram* 'to wander', a root of the *bhū* class (*bhvādi*), and *bhram* 'to move', a root of the *div* class (*divādi*). The *divādi bhram* yields *bhrāmyati* with *ŚyaN* where lengthening (*dīrgha*) of the root vowel is ordered by 7.3.74 *śamām aṣṭānāṃ dīrghaḥ śyani*. The *ŚaP* forms of both *divādi* as well as *bhvādi* are the same: *bhramati*. We will also get two additional forms: *bhramyati* and *bhrāmyati* where the first is the *ŚyaN* form of the *bhvādi* root. The second, with the lengthened vowel, is the derivate of the *divādi* root. The *dīrgha* by 7.3.74 is not applicable to *bhvādi*. Verbal roots *kram* and *tras* are listed in the *divādi* group as against *truṭ* which is *tudādi*. The other verbal roots are all *bhvādi*.

2. Note that the *vā* of the rule denotes the option (*vibhāṣā*) of the *ubhayatra* type. That is, the option is available in both instances: where it was

previously available (*prāpta*), and where it was not (*aprāpta*). For example, *bhram*, *klam* and *tras* already have *ŚyaN* because of their membership in the *divādi* class. Verbal root *truṭ* has *ŚyaN* available on account of its being a *tudādi* root. The *bhvādi* roots are provided the option which was previously unavailable. In case of the *divādi* roots, the *ŚyaN* was available obligatorily (*nitya*).

3.1.71 **यसोऽनुपसर्गात्**

yaso 'nupasargāt
/*yasaḥ* 5/1 *anupasargāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *śyan* #69, *vā* #70)
yaso' nupasargād vā śyan pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ŚyaN* occurs optionally after verbal root *yasU* 'to strive' used without a preverb when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yasati 'he strives'
yasyati 'id.'

1. Note that *yasU* is a *divādi* root. Consequently, it will obligatorily have *ŚyaN*. This rule makes the provision optional when the root is used without a preverb (*upasarga*). Note, also, that the following rule provides for this optional introduction of *ŚyaN* after *yasU* when used with the preverb *sam*. Thus we get: *saṃyasyati* with *ŚyaN*, and *saṃyasati* with *ŚaP*. This optional provision of *ŚyaN* made for *yasU* when used with the preverb *sam* is restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. That is, *ŚyaN* is optional to *ŚaP*, in case of *yasU*, only when the root is used with the preverb *sam*.

3.1.72 **संयसश्च**

saṃyasaś ca
/*saṃyasaḥ* 5/1 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *śyan* #69, *vā* #70)
saṃpūrvāc ca yaser vā śyan pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ŚyaN* optionally occurs after verbal root *yasU* used with the preverb *sam* when a *sarvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

saṃyasati 'he strives...
saṃyasyati 'id.'

1. The *ca* of this rule brings *vā* from the preceding rule. Why is *yasU* explicitly stated in the rule when it could have been made available via *anuvṛtti*? So that there is no confusion about some other verb (*dhātvantarāśaṃkā*). The reader may think that *yasU*, since it is not carried from the *anuvṛtti*, refers, here, to some other verb. That is, the rule should have been stated as *samaḥ* with *yasU* carried via *anuvṛtti*. However, this is not acceptable, since *samaḥ* may then be misinterpreted as yielding the meaning: 'after the verbal roots *ṣamA* and *ṣṭamA*'. This reference to roots by *samaḥ* could be made possible because of the discontinuation of *yasU*. The rule therefore must make explicit reference to *yasU*. For, this does not cause any confusion.

3.1.73 **स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः**

svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ
/*svādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *śnuḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)
Śruvaḥ śnupratyay bhavati śruvaḥ' śruvaḥ 'śṛ'ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix *Śnu* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *ṣuÑ* 'to press out, squeeze' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sunoti 'he presses out (the Soma)'

1. This rule introduces *Śnu*, an exception to *ŚaP*, after verbal roots of the *svādi* group. Note that in the derivation of *sunoti*, the *u* of the root does not undergo *guṇa* since rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* blocks it via extending *Śnu* the status of being marked with *Ṅ*. The *guṇa* of *u* in *Śnu* could not be blocked before the *sārvadhātuka* affix *tiP* since it is marked with *P* as *it*. Needless to say, 1.2.4 cannot extend the *Ṅit* status to *tiP*. The *Ś* of *Śnu* is intended as an *it* for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*.

3.1.74 **श्रुवः शृ च**

śruvaḥ śṛ ca
/*śruvaḥ* 5/1 *śṛ* (*deleted* 1/1) *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *śnuḥ* #73)
śruvaḥ śnupratya bhavati śruvaḥ 'śṛ' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix *Śnu* occurs after verbal root *śru* 'to hear' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows; in addition, *śru* is replaced by *śṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

śṛṇoti 'he hears...'

śṛṇutaḥ 'they two hear...'
śṛṇvanti 'they (plural) hear...'

1. This rule introduces two things:
(*a*) *Śnu* after verbal root *śru*, and
(*b*) *śṛ* as a replacement for *śru*.
Verbal root *śru*, because it is a *bhvādi* root, only qualifies for *ŚaP*. This rule provides for *Śnu*. Again, this is an exception to *ŚaP*. Note that these two provisions are both made in conjunction so that the *śṛ* replacement for *śru* is not applicable in connection with some other affix. The word-form *śruvaḥ* is interpreted as ending in *pañcamī* in consonance with the context of the introduction of an affix (*pratyayavidhi*). When related to the context of the replacement of *śru* with *śṛ*, it will be read as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) to denote 'in place of'.

3.1.75 **अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम्**

akṣo' nyatarasyām
/*akṣaḥ* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *śnuḥ* #73)
akṣo' nyatarasyām śnu pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Śnu* optionally occurs after verbal root *akṣŪ* 'to pervade' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

akṣṇoti 'he pervades...
akṣati 'id.'

1. Verbal root *akṣU* is again a *bhvādi* root. Consequently, it does not have *Śnu* available to it. This rule provides the option of *Śnu* against *ŚaP*. Thus, on account of making something available which previously was not, this rule illustrates an instance of *aprāptavibhāṣā*.

3.1.76 **तनूकरणे तक्षः**

tanūkaraṇe takṣaḥ
/*tanūkaraṇe* 7/1 *takṣaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *śnuḥ* #73, *anyatarasyām* #75)
takṣaḥ tanūkaraṇe vartamānād anyatarasyām śnu pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Śnu* optionally occurs after verbal root *takṣŪ* when it signifies *tanūkaraṇa* 'to reduce by planning' and a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

takṣṇoti kāṣṭham 'he planes the wood'
takṣati kāṣṭham 'id.'

1. This, again, is a *bhvādi* root. The *tanūkaraṇa* qualifier is used to indicate that the verb can be used in more than one sense. The optional provision of *Śnu* is made only when *takṣŪ* is used in the sense of *tanūkaraṇa*.

3.1.77 **तुदादिभ्यः शः**

tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ
/tudādibhyaḥ 5/3 *śaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)
tudādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ śaḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Śa* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *tudA* 'to hurt, torment' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tudati 'he torments'
nudati 'he moves, investigates, or pushes...'

1. Here, again, *Śa* is used to block *ŚaP*.

3.1.78 **रुधादिभ्यः श्नम्**

rudhādibhyaḥ śnam
/rudhādibhyaḥ 5/3 *śnam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoh* #22. *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)
rudhādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ śnam pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ŚnaM* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *rudhIR* 'to hold down, round up' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ruṇaddhi 'he holds down, or rounds up...'
bhinatti 'he splits...'

1. Note that the *Ś* of *ŚnaM* is not intended here as an *it* to facilitate assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*). Instead, it is treated as an *it* to qualify *na* so that rule 6.4.23 *śnān nalopaḥ* can be interpreted as: '...deletion of *na* occurring after the *na* qualified with *Ś*'. Obviously, *na*, qualified with *Ś*, here relates to *ŚnaM*. Rule 6.4.111 *śnāsor al lopaḥ* entails the same. The *Ś* is not an *it* for the assignment of the term

sārvadhātuka, since operations relative to this term assignment (deletion of *a* (*allopa*); *guṇa*; and introduction of *iṬ* (*iḍāgama*, etc.)) do not obtain in case of the *rudhādi* roots.

The *M* of *ŚnaM* is intended here as an *it* to locate the place of operation (*deśaviddhyartha*). That is, given *M* as an *it*, *ŚnaM* is introduced after the last among the vowels of an item (1.1.47 ***mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ***).

3.1.79 **तनादिकृञ्भ्यः उः**

tanādikṛñbhya uḥ
/*tanādikṛñbhyaḥ* 5/3 *uḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)
tanādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ kṛñaś ca u pratyayo bhavati
Affix *u* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *tanU* 'to stretch, expand' and also after verbal root *kṛÑ* 'to make, do' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tanoti 'he stretches...'
karoti 'he makes...'

1. Note that Pāṇini refers to *kṛÑ* separately from the *tanādi* roots. This gives rise to the speculation that either (*a*) he did not consider *kṛÑ* as a root of the *tanādi* class, or (*b*) he intended something special in connection with *kṛÑ*. These speculations are valid since *kṛÑ* is now available as part of the *tanādi* group. The *Mahābhāṣya* (III:156) rejects *kṛÑ* as part of the rule because Patañjali also accepts *kṛÑ* as the root of the *tanādi* class. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK* III: 289) states that by mentioning *kṛÑ* separately Pāṇini indicates the irregularity of operations relative to *gaṇa* 'listing of items in classes'. He argues that the derivation of *viśvaset* is made possible because of this irregularity. That is, verbal root *śvas*, used with the preverb *vi*, should have lost its *ŚaP* on account of being an *adādi* root (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*). That *ŚaP* was not deleted is explained by the irregular nature of operations relative to *gaṇa*.

Kāśikā states that *kṛÑ* is mentioned separately from *tanādi* so that any other operation relative to *tanādi* will not apply to *kṛÑ*. That is, no other operation characteristic of the *tanādi* verbs, other than one covered by this rule, applies to *kṛÑ* (*tanādipāṭhād eva upratyaye siddhe karoter upādānaṃ niyamārtham. anyat tanādikāryaṃ mā bhūd iti*). In case of *kṛÑ*, the optional *LUK*- deletion of *sIC* made available to the *tanādi* roots by rule 2.4.79 *tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ* will be blocked.

3.1.80 **धिन्विकृण्व्योर च**

dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca

/dhinvikṛṇvyoḥ 6/2 *a (deleted* 1/1*) ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *uḥ* #79)
'dhinvikṛṇyor' ity etayor dhātvor upratyayo bhavati akāraś cāntādeśaḥ
Affix *u* occurs after verbal roots *dhinvI* 'to please, satisfy, or to be pleased, be satisfied' and *kṛṇvI* 'to hurt, injure' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows; in addition, the final sound segment of the root is replaced with *a*.

EXAMPLES:

dhinoti 'he is happy'
kṛṇoti 'he hurts...'

1. This rule orders two operations in conjunction: affix *u*, and a final replacement in *-a* for verbs. Note that both of these roots are *bhvādi*. Hence, they have *ŚaP* available to them. This rule provides for *u*.

That is, given *dhi* + *nUM* + *v* + *tiP* = *dhinv* + *tiP*, *u* is ordered along with the final replacement in *-a*. This yields: *dhin (v → a)* + *u* + *tiP* = *dhin* + *u* + *ti* where *a* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. A question is raised as to why the short penultimate vowels of the *aṅga* do not undergo *guṇa* by 7.3.86 *pugantalanghūpadhasya ca*. Rule 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau* states that a replacement of *aC* (vowel), conditioned by a subsequent element, is treated as what it replaced when an operation on what precedes is to be performed. That is, the string, for purposes of the *guṇa*-replacement of the short penultimate vowel (*laghūpadha-guṇa*), will still be: *dhinv* + *u* + *ti*. As a result, rule 7.3.86 does not find a short vowel in the penultimate position for its application.

3.1.81 क्र्यादिभ्यः श्ना

kryādibhyaḥ śnā
/kryādibhyaḥ 5/1 *śnā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68)
kryādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ śnā pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Śnā* occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the class headed by *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to buy, barter' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

krīṇāti 'he purchases...'
krīṇītaḥ 'they two purchase...'

1. This, again, is an exception to the *ŚaP* though the *Ś* of *Śnā*,

similar to that of *ŚaP*, is intended as an *it* for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka*.

3.1.82 स्तम्भुस्तुम्भुस्कम्भुस्कुम्भुस्कुञ्भ्यः श्नुश्च

stambhustumbhuskambhuskumbhuskuñbhyaḥ śnuś ca
/stambhu...skuñbhyaḥ 5/3 *śnuḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22, *sārvadhātuke* #67, *kartari* #68, *snā* #81)
ādyāś catvāro dhātavaḥ sautrāḥ 'skuñ āpravaṇe' ity etebhyaḥ śnā pratyayo bhavati

Affix *Śnā*, as well as *Śnu*, occurs after verbal roots *stambhU*, *stumbhU*, *skambhU*, *skumbhU* 'to stop, block or restrain' and *skuÑ* 'to jump, cover' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which denotes *kartṛ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

stabhnāti 'he stops...'
stabhnoti 'id.'
stubhnāti 'id.'
stubhnoti 'id.'
skabhnāti 'id.'
skabhnoti 'id.'
skubhnāti 'id.'
skubhnoti 'id.'
skunāti 'he jumps; covers...'
skunoti 'id.'

1. The first four verbal roots are *sautra*, as attested by their use within the rules. The *ca* in the rule is used to bring *Śnā*. This means, that both *Śnā* as well as *Śnu* are made available to these roots. Note, however, that the two applications are to take place in turn (*paryāya*). Wrong forms will result if they are introduced simultaneously (*yugapad*).

Because of the *sautra* nature of most of the roots, and also because of their association here with *Śnā* and *Śnu*, one may infer that the operational scope of these roots is limited to *Śnā* and *Śnu* only. This, however, is not true. These roots avail general operational scope (*sāmānyaviṣayatā*) at the strength of their citation with *Ū* as an it. As a result, they receive *Ktvā*, and the optional *iṬ* by rule 7.2.56 *udito vā*. Similarly, in *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* blocks *iṬ*. Note that the penultimate *-n* of these roots is also deleted by rule 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala...*

3.1.83 हलः श्नः शानज्झौ

halaḥ śnaḥ śānajjhau

/halaḥ 5/1 *śnaḥ* 6/1 *śānac* 1/1 *hau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)
hala uttarasya śnā pratyayasya śānaj ādeśo bhavati hau parataḥ
Affix *Śnā* is replaced by *ŚānaC* if *Śnā* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *hL*(a consonant) and *hi* (a replacement of the second person singular active ending *siP*; cf. 3.4.87 *ser hya...*) follows.

EXAMPLE:

muṣāṇa ratnāni 'you steal the jewels'

1. *Kāśikā* states that *Śnaḥ* in this rule is included to clearly mark what *ŚānaC* will replace (*sthāninirdeśa*). In the absence of *śnaḥ*, there will be confusion as to whether *Śnā* was also carried to the context of the replacement by *ŚānaC*.

A question is raised as to why *ŚānaC* is to be marked with *Ś* as an *it* when the same can be made available via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*). Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* III: 460) is against this duplication since *ŚānaC* will receive its *Śit* status on account of being a replacement for *Śnā*. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāśikā* III: 460-61) states that the explicit *Ś* marking of *ŚānaC* is intended so that when *Śnā* is introduced variously (*bahulam*; 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*), *ŚānaC* can still replace it. Thus, given the string *mid* + (*Śnā* → *ŚānaC*) = *mid* + *āna*, we get *midāna*. This also blocks the application of 7.3.82 *mider guṇaḥ*. Otherwise, similar to the derivation of *medhyati*, we will end up with *medāna*, a wrong form. For how Haradatta accounts for the blocking of *guṇa* in *midāna*, and also for additional purposes for which *Ś* as an *it* in *ŚānaC* is to be restated, see *PM* and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* under this rule.

3.1.84 छन्दसि शायजपि

chandasi śāyaj api
/chandasi 7/1 *śāyac* 1/1 *api* 0/
chandasi viṣaye śnaḥ śāyaj ādeśo bhavati, śānaj api
Śnā, in the Vedic, is replaced with *ŚāyaC* and *ŚānaC*, when it occurs after a verbal root ending in a consonant (*hal*) and *hi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gṛbhāya jihvayā madhu 'take with your tongue the sweet (Soma)'
badhāna paśum 'you kill the animal'

3.1.85 व्यत्ययो बहुलम्

vyatyayo bahulam
/vyatyayaḥ 1/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*chandasi* #84)

yathāyathaṃ vikaraṇāḥ śabādayo vihitāḥ, teṣāṃ chandasi viṣaye bahulaṃ vyatyayo bhavati
There are, in the Vedic, diverse variations from the rules.

EXAMPLES:

bhedati '...shatters...'
marati '...dies'
nesatu 'may he lead'
taruṣema 'may we go across'

1. This rule is formulated to indicate that rules relative to these *vikaraṇa* apply variously in the Vedic. The word *vyatyaya* is explained as going against the rules (*vyatigamana*). The word *bahulam* 'variously' is used to indicate that a given *vikaraṇa* may also be found introduced in consonance with a given rule. Similarly, many different operations contrary to the rules can be accomplished with *bahulam*. The contradiction of a given rule may entail introduction of *ŚaP* where *ŚnaM* is expected. An example is *bhedati*. Similarly, *marati* illustrates how *ŚaP* is introduced in place of *Śa*. In addition, the *parasmaipada* ending is also introduced via *vyatyaya* in *marati*. Now consider *neṣatu* and *taruṣema* where the first is derived from *nī* + *siP* + *ŚaP* + *tu*, and the second from *tṛ* + *u* + *siP* + *ŚaP* + *ti* + *mas*. The first string has two personal endings, as compared to the second which has three. The second also has two *vikaraṇa*, i.e., *u* and *ŚaP*, in contrast with the single *ŚaP* of the first.

3.1.86 **लिङ्याशिष्यङ्**

liṅy āśiṣy aṅ
/*liṅi* 7/1 *āśiṣi* 7/1 *aṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #22)
āśiṣi viṣaye yo liṅ tasmin parataś chandasi viṣaye' ṅ pratyayo bhavati
In Vedic, *aṄ* occurs after verbal roots when *LIṄ* which denotes *āśīḥ* 'benediction' follows.

EXAMPLES:

upashtheyam 'may I resolve...'
upageyam 'may I sing...'
gamema 'may we go...'
vocema 'may we speak...'
videyam 'may I know...'
śakeyam 'may I be able to...'
āruheyam 'may I ascend to...'

1. This rule introduces affix *aṄ* when, in the Vedic, affix *LIṄ* which denotes benediction (3.3.173 *āśiṣi liṅloṭau*) follows. This is an exception

to *ŚaP*. Affix *LIṄ* is assigned the term *sārvadhātuka* by rule 3.4.117 *chandasy ubhayathā*. *Kāśikā* states that this rule is applicable only in the context of verbal roots *sthā* 'to stand', *gā* 'to sing', *gam* 'to go', *vac* 'to speak', *vid* 'to know', *śak* 'to be able to' and *ruh* 'to grow'. Note that a *vārttika* proposes that, in the case of the verbal root *dṛś* 'to see', *aK*, and not *aṄ*, should be the affix. This is needed for the derivation of *dṛśeyam* where, because of the *Kit* status of *aK*, *guṇa* which obtains because of *aṄ* by rule 7.4.16 *ṛdṛśo' ṅi guṇaḥ*, could be blocked.

3.1.87 कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः

karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ
/karmavat Ø *karmaṇā* 3/1 *tulyakriyaḥ* 1/1/
karmaṇi kriyā karma, karmasthayā kriyayā tulyakriyaḥ karttā karmavad bhavati
When the *kartṛ* of a given *kriyā* 'action' behaves in the same way as does a *karman* 'object', the *kartṛ* is treated as if it were the *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

bhidyate kāṣṭham svayam eva 'the wood is splitting by itself'
abhedi kāṣṭham 'the wood split'
kāriṣyate kaṭaḥ svayam eva 'the mat will make itself'

1. This is an extension rule (*atideśa*) whereby an operation (*kārya*) is extended (*atidiśyate*) to an entity for which it previously did not qualify. This type of *atideśa* is called *kāryātideśa* 'extension of an operation'. Affix *vatI* in *karmavat* is ruled in consonance with 5.1.115 *tena tulyam...* It is not ruled in view of 5.1.116 *tatra tasyeva* as is known from the nominative (*prathamā*) of *tulyakriyaḥ*. If it were, Pāṇini would have used *tulyakriya* either as *tulyakriye* in the locative (*saptamī*), or as *tulyakriyasya* in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Note that the use of the variable *tad* 'that' in the two rules, 5.1.115 and 5.1.116, as in many *taddhita* and non-*taddhita* rules, requires that its referents be reconstructed in accordance with the nominal endings of the variable in the rule.

2. The word *tulya* denotes the sense of similar (*sadṛśa*). The compound *tulyakriyaḥ* is interpreted as 'that which has its action similar to...'. It would seem, the word *karman*, in this sense, is interpreted in its non-technical meaning of *kriyā* 'action'. But this way, *karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ* would yield the interpretation: *kriyayā tulyā kriyā yasya* 'that which has its action similar to an action'. This does not make any sense. Therefore, it may be better to interpret *karman* as *sādhana* 'means', i.e., a *kāraka* 'participant'. This, then, will be its technical interpretation. But that may also create a problem when interpreting *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ*. The *karman* 'object' and *kriyā* 'action' are two different things. The first

has *dravya*, a thing, as its locus whereas the second does not. How could there be a similarity between the object, a *sādhana*, with that which is to be accomplished (*sādhya*) via its participation. It is, therefore, suggested that this similarity be established on the basis of the action located in the *sādhana*, the object. Now *karman* of *karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ* can primarily denote the action located within it (*tatstha*). Its *sādhana* denotatum becomes secondary (*gauṇa*). That is, *karma* becomes *karmasthakriyāvāci* 'that which denotes the action located within the object'. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* glosses *karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ* as *karmasthayā kriyayā tulyakriyaḥ* 'that which has its action similar to the action located within the object'. The word *tulyakriyaḥ* becomes the qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the agent (*kartṛ*).

There are two participants *karman* and *kartṛ* involved here. For a *kartṛ* to be treated as if *karman*, the action of the *kartṛ* should be identical with the action located within the object. In view of this, *Kāśikā* paraphrases the rule as: *yasmin karmaṇi kartṛbhūte' pi tadvat kriyā lakṣyate yathā karmaṇi sa karttā karmavad bhavati* 'an agent is treated as if it was an object when its action is similar to the action located in the object prior to its turning into an agent'. The similarity of the action demanded by this rule implies that (*a*) an object has turned agent, and (*b*) that the action of this object turned agent is similar to the action for which it served as the locus before turning agent. An agent can be treated as if it is an object if the action remains the same even when the object has turned agent.

3. Commentators make a distinction between *kriyā* 'action' and *bhāva* 'root-sense' where the first is *sādhya* 'to be accomplished by the participants' and the second has already been accomplished (*siddha*). An action can be viewed as located in its object *karmasthakriyaka*. The root-sense (*bhāva*) with its object as locus can be called *karmasthabhāvaka*. An action which has its agent as locus is termed *kartṛsthakriya*. This term contrasts with the *kartṛsthabhāvaka*, where the agent is viewed as the locus of *bhāva*. Let us consider the following sentences:

(1) *devadattaḥ kāṣṭhaṃ bhinatti* 'Devadatta splits the firewood'
(2) *agniḥ ghaṭaṃ pacati* 'the fire cooks the earthen jar'
(3) *devadatto grāmaṃ gacchati* 'Devadatta goes to the village'
(4) *devadatta āste* 'Devadatta sits'

The action, 'to split' (*dvidhābhavana*) denoted by *bhid*, is located in the object (*karman*) here identified as the *kāṣṭha*. The action denoted by *bhid* is thus *karmasthakriya*. The *bhāva* of the accomplished action, denoted by *pac*, is located in its object *ghaṭa* 'jar'. Sentences (3) and (4) similarly illustrate instances of actions called *kartṛsthakriya* and *kartṛsthabhāvaka*. Commentators characterize the differences between *bhāva* and *kriyā* by *aparispandanasādhanasādhyo dhātvartho bhāvaḥ* '*bhāva* is that which is

accomplished without movement serving as the means'. In contrast, *kriyā* is accomplished as *saparispandanasādhanasādhya* with movement serving as the means. The treatment of an agent as if it were an object (*karmavadbhāva*) is generally limited to actions of the *karmasthakriya* and *karmasthabhāvaka* type. Consider now the following sentences:

(5) *kāṣṭhaṃ bhidyate svayam eva* 'the firewood splits by itself'
(6) *kāṣṭhena bhidyate svayam eva* 'id.'

If we compare sentences (1) and (5) we find that *kāṣṭha* is the object in (1) and the agent in (5). That is, the same object has turned agent in sentences (5) and (6). The *ya* in *bhidyate* is introduced by 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak* under the condition of *te* which denotes the object (*karman*). It is for this reason that *kāṣṭham* in the nominative denotes the nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*). If one wishes to denote *bhāva* with the *LA* affix introduced after the verbal root, one will then have to denote the agent with the nominal ending as is the case in (6). The instrumental after *kāṣṭha* denotes *kartṛ*. For further details of the notion of an object turned agent, see my detailed comments under rule 1.3.67 *ṇer aṇau yat...*

Note that *karmavadbhāva* has certain operational consequences. For example, it entails the application of rule 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* whereby *ātmanepada* affixes are introduced as replacements for the *LA* affixes. It also entails the application of 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak* whereby affix *yaK* is introduced.

4. Now consider rule 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭtāsiṣu bhāvakarmaṇor...* which extends operations similar to *CiṆ* (*ciṇvadbhāva*) in connection with a set of roots. That is, certain operations become applicable to an *aṅga* similar to those when affix *CiṆ* follows. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad IV: 739) sums up operations relative to *ciṇvadbhāva* as follows:

ciṇvad vṛddhir yuk ca hanteś ca ghatvaṃ
dīrghaś cokto yo mitāṃ vā ciṇīti/
iṭ cāsiddhas tena me lupyate ṇir
nityaś cāyaṃ valnimitto vibhāti//

'*vṛddhi*, augment *yuK*, the *gh* replacement for *han*, and the optional lengthening of those marked with *M*, obtain here in *ciṇvadbhāva* as they do when *CiṆ* follows; the *iṬ* available through *ciṇvadbhāva* is *asiddha* 'suspended' because of being *ābhīya* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrā' bhāt*); hence, *Ṇi* gets deleted (6.4.21 *ṇer aniṭi*); this *iṬ* is obligatory (*nitya*) as opposed to the *valādi iṭ* (7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasya...*) which is *anitya* 'non-obligatory''

The following are the major operations resulting out of *ciṇvadbhāva*:

(7) Rules 7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti* and 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* order *vṛddhi* conditioned by an affix marked by *Ṇ* as an *it*.
(8) Rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ* orders the introduction of augment *yuK* to roots which terminate in *ā*.

(9) Since affix *CiṆ* is marked with *Ṇ*, rule 7.3.54 *ho hanter...* applies to replace the *h* of *han* with *gh*.
(10) Rule 6.4.93 *ciṇṇamulor dīrgho' nyatarasyām* also orders optional lengthening of short penultimate vowels of an *aṅga* marked with *M*. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.88 तपस्तपःकर्मकस्यैव

tapastapaḥ karmakasyaiva
/tapastapaḥ 6/1 *karmakasya* 6/6 *eva* Ø/
(*karmavat* #87)
tapa santāpe asya karttā karmavad bhavati, sa ca tapaḥ karmakasya nānya-karmakasya
The *kartṛ* of an action denoted by ***tapA*** is to be treated as ***karman*** only when the object in question is ***tapas*** **'austerity, penance'.**

EXAMPLES:

tapyate tapas tāpasaḥ 'the ascetic observes penance'
atapta tapas tāpasaḥ 'the ascetic observed penance'

1. This rule allows for treatment of the agent of the verbal root *tapA* as an object, if and only if, the action denoted by the root constitutes *tapas* 'penance' alone as its object. Obviously, if *tapA* is to be the object, the notion of *karmasthakriya*, where *karmavadbhāva* was permitted by the previous rule, would not be valid here. For, *tapas* cannot serve as the locus of the action denoted by the root. This rule thus provides for *karmavadbhāva* which previously was unavailable. This rule does not carry '*karmaṇaḥ tulyakriyaḥ*', since the *anuvṛtti* would require the similarity of actions (*kriyāṣādṛśya*). This rule, however, offers an instance of dissimilarity of actions (*kriyāvaisādṛśya*). Consider, for example, the following sentences:

(1) *upavāsāni tapāṃsi tāpasaṃ tapanti* 'austerities such as fasting, etc., torment the ascetic'
(2) *tāpasaḥ tapas tapyate svargāya* 'the ascetic observes penance for attaining heaven'
(3) *tapyate tapas tāpasaḥ* 'id.'

The first sentence denotes an action whereby practice of austerities results in suffering. The second does not entail suffering. It entails earning merits (*puṇyārjana*) which will enable the ascetic to reach heaven. The third of course denotes the same action as (2). Both (2) and (3) represent sentences where *karmavadbhāva* has applied. Instances such as (4) *uttapati suvarṇaṃ suvarṇakāraḥ kuṇḍalābhyām* 'the goldsmith is heating up the gold for (making) earrings' would not qualify for *karmavadbhāva* since the object here is gold (*suvarṇa*).

3.1.89 न दुहस्नुनमां यक्चिणौ

na duhasnunamāṃ yakciṇau
/na Ø duhasnunamām 1/2 *yakciṇau* 1/2/
(karmavat #87)
'duha snu nam' ity eteṣāṃ karmakartari yakciṇau karmavadbhāvāpadiṣṭau na bhavataḥ
Affixes *yaK* and *CiṆ* do not occur after verbal roots *duh* 'to milk', *snu* 'to drip' and *nam* 'to bend' when their *kartṛ* is treated as *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

dugdhe gauḥ 'the cow yields milk'
prasnute śoṇitam 'the blood drips'
namate daṇḍaḥ 'the stick bends'

1. This rule negates the provisions of *yaK* and *CiṆ* made available via the process of *karmavadhāva.* That is, out of the four basic operations made available via *karmavadbhāva,* only *ātmanepada* and *ciṇvadbhāva* are allowed in situations where these verbs occur. This last has been provided for only those *aṅga* which end in a vowel. This requirement disqualifies *duh* and *nam.* Thus, *ciṇvadbhāva* is only available to *snu* As far as the restriction of *CiṆ* is concerned, *duh* will still optionally receive it from rule 3.1.63 *duhaś ca.* Thus, only *yaK* is denied to *duh* by this rule.

Note that negation of *yaK* makes *ŚaP* available unless otherwise stated. The negation of *CiṆ* results in the introduction of *sIC.* For further details of these and other operational consequences, see the appendix.

2. It has been suggested via *vārttika* proposals to extend this negation of *yaK* and *CiṆ* to roots which are causal (*ṆiC*; 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*). Additionally, the negation should be extended to *śranthA* 'to loosen', *granthA* 'to bind, compose', and *brūÑ* 'to speak', as well as to intransitive roots qualified for *ātmanepada* terminations. This will account for *kārayate kaṭaḥ svayam eva* 'the mat is caused to be made by itself', *brūte ślokaḥ svayam eva* 'the verse is being recited by itself', and *vikurvate saindhavāḥ svayam eva* 'the horses gallop beautifully by themselves', etc.

3.1.90 कुषिरजोः प्राचां श्यन् परस्मैपदं च

kuṣirajoḥ prācāṃ śyan parasmaipadaṃ ca
/kuṣirajoḥ 6/2 *prācām* 6/3 *śyan* 1/1 *parasmaipadam* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
kuṣa niṣkarṣe rañja rāge anayor dhātvoḥ karmakartari prācām ācāryāṇāṃ matena śyan pratyayo bhavati parasmaipadaṃ ca
According to Eastern grammarians, affix *ŚyaN,* as well as a following *parasmaipada,* may occur after verbal roots *kuṣA* 'to drag (out)' and *rañjA* 'to color, dye' when their *kartṛ* is treated as if it were *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

kuṣyati pādaḥ svayam eva 'the foot is dragging by itself'
rajyati vastraṃ svayam eva 'the cloth is dyeing by itself'

1. This rule is an exception to the *yaK* and *ātmanepada* made available under the provisions of 3.1.85 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ*, etc. The use of the word *prācām*, in the opinion of the Eastern grammarians, is simply used for showing variation or option. It cannot be interpreted here as denoting respect (*pūjā*) to the Eastern grammarians since that will not allow option. In this view, *ŚyaN* and *parasmaipada* endings are to be used as opposed to the *yaK* and *ātmanepada*. The difference in the derivates parallel to the use of *yaK* and *ŚyaN* is mainly in the area of augment *nUM* and the accent. Thus, in case of *ŚyaN*, augment *nUM* is obligatory (*nitya*) by rule 7.1.81 *śapśyanor nityam*. The initial *udātta* 'high-pitch' accent is also obtained on account of *ŚyaN* being marked with *N*. In case of *yaK*, the *nUM* becomes optional by 7.1.80 *āc chīnadyor num*, and *yaK* alone is marked with the initial high-pitch.

3.1.91 **धातोः**

dhātoḥ
/dhātoḥ 5/1/
dhātor ity ayam adhikāro veditavyaḥ ā tṛtīyādhyāyaparisamāteḥ
After a verbal root...

EXAMPLES:

karttavyam 'that which should be done'
karaṇīyam 'that which is to be done'

1. This is a governing rule (*adhikāra*) which extends as far as the end of book three. Affixes introduced within this domain are to be introduced 'after a verbal root'. A question is raised as to why *dhātoḥ* is explicitly stated when it can be brought via *anuvṛtti* from rule 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*.... *Kaśikā* states that *dhātoḥ* is explicitly stated as a heading (*adhikāra*) so that terms *kṛt* and *upapada* do not apply outside this domain. For example, if it were not made a separate domain containing 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*, the word *upapada* could also apply in the previous contexts. Consequently, given 3.1.43 *cli luṅi*, one would interpret it as: '*CLI* occurs when *LUṄ* is conjoined with it'. Similar problems arise when assigning the term *kṛt* as per rule 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*. Affixes introduced in the previous sections would also have qualified for assignment of this term. This would lead further to the assignment of the term *prātipadika* (cf. 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*) and the introduction of affixes termed *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*... within the domain of rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt*...). Of course, this would result in undesired derivations.

A third purpose for the explicit mention of *dhātoḥ* is to block assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* outside this domain. For, if the term is not blocked, examples such a *jugupsate* would qualify for augment *iṬ* by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. Blocking the interaction of rules not included in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* with those characterizing '*vā' sarūpavidhi*' of rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo...* is an additional purpose for explicit use of '*dhātoḥ*'.

3.1.92 तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम्

tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham
/*tatra* Ø *upapadam* 1/1 *saptamīstham* 1/1/
(*dhātoḥ* # 91)
tatraitasmin dhātvadhikāre tṛtīye yat saptamīnirdiṣṭaṃ tad upapadasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
That which is specified here (in this domain of rule 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*) by means of *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal endings' is termed an *upapada* 'a word which occurs in conjunction' with another word.

EXAMPLE: .

kumbhakāraḥ 'potmaker'

1. The word *saptamīstha* is explained as *saptamyā nirdiṣṭam* 'that which has been specified by means of *saptamī*'. The term *upapada* 'conjoined word' applies only to that word which has been specified with the use of the locative ending in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*. Thus, *upapada* is a name (*saṃjñā*) applicable to a *pada* that ends in the locative, its nominatum (*saṃjñin*). The word *stha* is used so that a specification made by means of *saptamī* can be interpreted as 'that which ends in *saptamī*'. If *stha* were not used in the rule, *Paribhāṣā* (28) *saṃjñāvidhau pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir nāsti* would impose an interpretation that blocks *tadantavidhi* 'interpretation of *X* as ending in *Y* if *Y* specifies *X*, and is also an affix.' The stated *paribhāṣā* disallows *tadantavidhi* in the context of the assignment of a name. Assignment of the term *upapada* is characterized by the use of *saptamī* relative to a rule (*sautra*) and is, thus, universally valid in this domain. Consider 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*, where *karmaṇi* is specified by means of *saptamī*. This rule, when read with 3.1.92, is interpreted as: affix *aṆ* occurs after a verbal root when 'that which ends in this rule in *saptamī*, occurs with the root as an *upapada*'. What is given here in *saptamī* is *karman* 'object'. Consequently, we learn that affix *aṆ* is introduced when 'an *upapada* which denotes *karman* (as per specification of 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*) is used in conjunction with the verbal root.'

It is also stated that normally *saṃjñā* are meant for economy. Why does Pāṇini use the long term *upapada*? So an etymological interpretation can

be made: *upoccāritaṃ padam upapadam* 'that which is spoken nearby is termed *upapada*'. Here, the word *pada*, itself, is to be interpreted in its etymological sense: *padyate gamyate artho yena* 'that by means of which meaning is comprehended'. The technical interpretation of *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) 'that which ends in a *sUP*, or *tiṄ*', will demand the conjoined word to end in *sUP* before compound formation can take place. This is the expatiation (*prapañca*) of the *Paribhāṣā* (76): *gati kārakopapadānāṃ...* whereby the compound formation of an *upapada* and an item ending in a *kṛt* affix is required to take place prior to the introduction of *sUP*. This, obviously, brings the requirements of the *samartha-paribhāṣā* (2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*) close to this context via specification of the term *upapada*.

3.1.93 कृदतिङ्

kṛd atiṅ
/*kṛt* 1/1 *atiṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *dhātoḥ* #91, *tatra* #92)
asmin dhātvadhikāre tiṅvarjitaḥ pratyayaḥ kṛt saṃjño bhavati
A non-*tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptas...*) affix is termed *kṛt*.

EXAMPLES:

karttavayam 'that which should be done'
karaṇīyam 'that which is to be done'

1. One major purpose for assigning the term *kṛt* to non-*tiṄ* affixes is to qualify their derivates for the assignment of the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita....* This will eventually lead to operational provisions made for nominal stems in the domain of 4.1.1 *ṅyāp....*

3.1.94 वाऽसरूपोऽस्त्रियाम्

vā' sarūpo striyām
/*vā* Ø *asarūpaḥ* 1/1 *astriyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *dhātoḥ* #91, *tatra* #92)
asmin dhātvadhikāre' samānarūpaḥ pratyayo' pavādo vā bādhako bhavati stryadhikāravihitapratyayaṃ varjayitvā
A formally different (*asarūpa*) affix, introduced by an exception rule in this domain of *dhātoḥ*, optionally blocks the introduction of its general counterpart except when the affix relates to the domain of rules which allow the derivation of feminine forms.

EXAMPLES:

vikṣepakaḥ 'trouble(maker)'
vikṣeptā 'id.'

vikṣipaḥ 'id.'
cikīrṣā 'desire to do'
jihīrṣā 'desire to carry, fetch'

1. This *paribhāṣā* is important because an exception which (*a*) belongs to the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, (*b*) is not relative to a rule contained in the subdomain of 3.3.94, and (*c*) is constituted by an affix dissimilar in form, optionally blocks its general counterpart. Note that all three conditions must be met to qualify for optional blocking. Thus, rule 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* introduces affixes *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* as part of a general provision. Rule 3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ* introduces affix *Ka* as an exception. Both of these rules, given in the domain of 3.1.91, introduce affixes which are dissimilar in form (*asarūpa*) and do not belong to the subdomain of rule 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*. Given this, affix *Ka* optionally blocks affixes *ṆvuL* and *tṛC*. Note that the application of a general rule is normally blocked by its exception. Rule 3.1.94 provides for optional blocking. Furthermore, formal similarity of the affixes, or lack of it, should be determined independently of their *it*. Consider the following rules:

3.1.97 *aco yat* 'affix *yaT* occurs after a verbal root which terminates in a vowel...'
3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat* 'affix *ṆyaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *ṛ* (short or long) or a consonant'

This first is a general rule to which the second is an exception. Affixes *yaT* and *ṆyaT*, given in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, do not belong to its subdomain headed by rule 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*. However, the formal difference between these affixes is zero. That is, they are not dissimilar (*asarūpa*) in form. Consequently, *ṆyaT* will obligatorily block *yaT*.

Now consider the following rules:

3.3.94 *stiyāṃ ktin* 'affix *KtiN* occurs after a verbal root when action is denoted in feminine'
3.3.102 *a pratyayāt* 'affix *a* occurs after a verbal root which terminates in an affix, and when action is denoted in feminine.

Obviously, these two rules are both contained in the subdomain headed by 3.1.94 *striyāṁ....* Affixes *KtiN* and *a* are dissimilar in form, yet *a*, as an exception, will obligatorily block its general counterpart *KtiN*. The nature of this obligatory blocking by a rule of the subdomain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* can also be understood by analyzing the provision of rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* itself.

Rule 3.1.94 makes the following provisions:

(*i*) a formally dissimilar affix ruled as an exception in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* blocks its general counterpart only optionally, and

(*ii*) what is provided for by 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpa...* in the preceding statement (*i*) is not valid in connection with rules contained in the subdomain headed by 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin.*

The provision for optional blocking, available for formally dissimilar affixes, and introduced in the general domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, is obligatorily denied its particular subdomain of 3.3.94 *stryām ktin*.

2. It should be remembered, in the context of rule 3.3.94, that the tradition notes some exceptions to its provision commonly referred to as *vā' sarūpavidhi*. Consider these three exceptions:

(*a*) *tācchīlikeṣu vā' sarūpavidhir nāsti* 'the process of *'vā' sarūpa'* does not apply to rules relative to affixes generally known as *tacchīlika* (3.2.134 *ākves...*, etc.).

(*b*) *ktalyuṭtumunkhalartheṣu vā' sarūpavidhir nāsthi* 'the process of *'vā' sarūpa'* does not apply to rules relative to affixes *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū...*), *LyuṬ* (3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo...*), *tumUN* (3.3.10 *tumunṇvulau...*), as well as those which may have the signification of *KHaL* (3.4.70 *tayor eva...*)'

(*c*) *lādeśeṣu vā' sarūpavidhir nāsti* 'the process of *'vā' sarūpa'* does not apply relative to affixes (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*, etc.) which come in place of *LA*'

The implications of these preceding have been explained at appropriate places in the appendix.

3.1.95 कृत्याः

kṛtyāḥ
/*kṛtyāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)
ṇvultṛcau iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmāṇ ṇvulsaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhavam anukramiṣyāmaḥ kṛtyasaṃjñakās te veditavyāḥ
Affixes introduced hereafter are termed *kṛtya*.

EXAMPLE:

Refer to relevant rules subsequently.

1. Note that *Kāśikā* reads the *sūtra* as *kṛtyāḥ prāṅ ṇvulaḥ*. Kaiyaṭa (*Pradīpa* ad *Mbh.* III: 200) informs that the *sūtra* was formulated simply as *kṛtyāḥ*. Haradatta explains that *prāṅ ṇvulaḥ* was further added by the authors of the *Kāśikā*. Obviously, *Kāśikā*'s addition is intended to clearly demarcate the extent (*avadhi*) to which this *adhikāra* carries (*adhikriyate*). The scope of this rule extends up to 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*. But why could the scope not be interpreted as extending up to 3.3.108 *rogākhyāyāṃ ṇvul bahulam*. This could not be accepted as the 'extent' (*avadhi*) since 3.3.169 *arhe kṛtyatṛcaś ca* makes the reference to *tṛC* separately from *kṛtya*. Similarly, a separate

mention of *ṆvuL* without *tṛC* in rule 3.3.108 *rogākhyāyām...* should not be treated as marking the extent of the scope of this rule. In view of this, 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* is accepted as marking the extent. If this is how an extent could be correctly understood, then *prāṇ ṇvulaḥ* need not be stated explicitly with the rule. This is what Haradatta means when he says that the rule is simply formulated as *kṛtyāḥ* by Pāṇini (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* III: 495: '*kṛtyāḥ*' *etad eva paṭhitaṃ sūtrakāreṇa*).

2. *Kāśikā* cites rules 2.1.33 *kṛtyair adhikārthavacane* and 2.3.71 *kṛtyānāṃ karatari vā*, etc., to explain the operational scope of the term *kṛtya* (3.1.91 *kṛd atiṅ*). The first rule illustrates how a *tatpuruṣa* compound can be formed with a constituent termed *kṛtya*. The second illustrates the optional use of *ṣaṣṭhī* to denote the agent in conjunction with an item which ends in affixes termed *kṛtya*.

3.1.96 तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः

tavyattavyānīyaraḥ
/*tavyattavyānīyaraḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)
dhātos tavyat tavya anīyar ity ete pratyayā bhavanti
Affixes *tavya*, *tavyaT* and *anīyaR* occur after verbal roots.

EXAMPLES:

karttavyám 'that which should be done'
karaṇīyám 'that which is to be done'

1. The *T* of *tavyaT* and the *R* of *anīyaR* are given as *it* for the purpose of accent (*svarārtha*). Thus, the *ya* of *tavya* is marked *svarita* in accordance with rule 6.1.179 *tit svaritam*. Rule 6.1.211 *upottamaṃ riti* similarly requires that *anīya* be marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). Note, here, that *tavya* is marked *udātta* initially, in accordance with 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*.

2. There are two *vārttikas* under this rule. The first states that affix *tavyaT* also occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *vas* 'to dwell'; additionally, the affix is considered to be marked with *Ṇ*. This latter provision facilitates *vṛddhi* in deriving *vāstavyaḥ* 'the resident of...'. It is suggested that the *vārttika* is unnecessary since 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam* provides for this.

The second *vārttika* requires the addition of affix *KelimaR* to this rule. This enables usage such as *bhidelimāni kāṣṭhāni* 'the firewood splits...'. *Kāśikā* further adds that *KelimaR* is also intended in the context of *karmakartṛ* 'object turned agent'. The *Mahābhāṣya* illustrates *KelimaR* only in the context of the straight (*śuddha*) *karman*. It is suggested that this *vārttika* is also not required since 3.3.113 *kṛtyallyuṭo bahulam* could also account for *KelimaR*.

3.1.97 अचो यत्

aco yat
/*acaḥ* 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)
ajantād dhātor yat pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *aC* (vowel; cf. *Śs* 1–4).

EXAMPLES:

geyam 'that which is to be sung'
peyam 'that which is to be drunk'
jeyam 'that which is to be won'

1. The *T* as an *it* in affix *yaT* is intended for the initial high-pitch accent (*ādyudātta*) of the derivate by rule 6.1.213 *yato' nāvaḥ*.

What is the purpose of stating 'after roots which end in a vowel'? One can easily understand this from the fact that affix *ṆyaT* is introduced after roots ending in a consonant (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*). A simple deduction could account for *yaT* after roots which terminate in a vowel. *Kāśikā* informs that '*acaḥ*' 'after...ending in a vowel' is included so that a root which initially ended in a vowel, but does not do so at a later derivational stage, can also qualify for *yaT*. Thus, consider the derivation of *ditsyam* 'that which is wished to be cut' and *dhitsyam* 'that which is wished to be held' from verbal roots *dā* 'to cut' and *dhā* 'to hold' used with affix *saN*, to yield the forms *dits* and *dhits* after the deletion of the final *-a* by rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. If *ṆyaT* were to be introduced, thinking that the root ended in a consonant, rule 6.1.185 *tit svaritam* would order the *svarita* accent. This would result in a wrong derivation. The correct derivation requires the initial high-pitch ruled by 6.1.213 under the condition of *yaT*. This, however, is acceptable only when one thinks that the deletion of the final *-a* took place prior to the introduction of suffix *yaT*. Since the deletion of the final *-a* by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* requires an *ārdhadhātuka* affix to follow, *-a* cannot be deleted prior to the introduction of *yaT*. Thus, to say that *acaḥ* is used for the purpose of accommodating roots which previously ended in *aC*, but which do not now, is not acceptable. What, then, is the purpose of explicitly stating *acaḥ*? None other than: *vispaṣṭārtham* 'for clarity'.

Nyāsa discovers yet another twist to this conclusion. What if one deletes *a* with the assumption that an *ārdhadhātuka* affix will find its scope even when it does not follow at the time of the deletion? In that case, one will have to interpret the locative of *ārdhadhātuke*, which forms the condition of deletion, as *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain'. The introduction of *yaT* will then be accomplished after a root which previously ended in *a* but

did not end at the time of the affixal introduction. But this will still be accepted as partially (*pākṣika*) true. That is, true if one accomplishes the deletion under the assumed scope of an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Not so if the deletion is accomplished under the condition of an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which follows.

2. It has been suggested by a *vārttika* that verbal roots *tak* 'to fly', *śas* 'to leap', *cat* 'to ask', *yat* 'to strive' and *jan* 'to be born' should also be mentioned so that, by the introduction of *yaT*, we can get *takyam*, etc. Note that these roots all end in a consonant, and hence normally, affix *ṆyaT* should be introduced after them. However, their correct derivation must involve *yaT*. This makes the *vārttika* necessary.

Yet another *vārttika* proposes that *yaT* not only be optionally introduced after the verbal root *han* 'to kill', but *han* should also be replaced with *vadha*. This is to account for *vadhyam* 'he who is to be killed' used optionally with *ghātyam*, a derivate of *ṆyaT*.

3.1.98 पोरदुपधात्

por adupadhāt
/poḥ 5/1 *adupadhāt* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *yat* #97*)*
pavargāntād dhātor akāropadhād yat pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *pU (p, ph, b, bh, m;* cf. 1.1.69 *aṇudit...)* and has an *aT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*) in its *upadhā* 'penultimate position'(1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*).

EXAMPLES:

śapyam 'that which is to be cursed'
labhyam 'that which is to be attained'
japyam 'that which is to be chanted'

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix *yaT* after a verbal root which ends in *pU* (*p, ph, b, bh, m*) and also has *a* in its penultimate position. The *taparakaraṇa* of *aT* in *adupadhāt* is intended to specify the vowel quality *-a* in consonance with 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*.

Consequently, a root such as *āp* 'to obtain' which ends in *p*, but which has a long *ā* in its penultimate position, does not qualify for the introduction of affix *yaT*. It must therefore take affix *ṆyaT* to derive *āpyam* 'that which is to be obtained'.

2. Note that the formulation of this rule in many ways constitutes an exception to affix *ṆyaT*. Rule 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat* provides for the introduction of affix *ṆyaT* after verbal roots which terminate in a consonant. The context of the introduction of *ṆyaT* is similar to this context characterized

by *poḥ* 'after that which ends in *p, ph, b, bh, m*. These labial stops, along with their corresponding nasal *m*, are consonants. The condition of *poḥ*, when not satisfied, results in the introduction of affix *ṆyaT* after roots which end in a consonant other than ones denoted by *pU*, and which also have *a* in their *upadhā*. Thus we will get *ṆyaT* derivates such as *pākyam* 'that which is to be cooked' and *vākyam* 'that which is to be spoken; a sentence'. This is why our present rule has the condition of *poḥ*.

The next condition, characterized as *adupadhāt* 'after that which has *a* as next to its last sound', is required to again block affix *ṆyaT*. Consider, thus, the examples *gopyam* 'that which is to be concealed' and *kopyam* 'to be angry about', derived with *ṆyaT* introduced after verbal roots *gup* 'to conceal, preserve' and *kup* 'to be angry', respectively. These examples are assigned *svarita* accent by rule 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*. The *yaT* derivates of our present rule will get the initial high pitch accent by 6.2.213 *yato' nāvaḥ*. Incidentally, *gup* has been glossed by commentators as denoting *gopanakutsana* 'to conceal, censure' and *vyākulīkaraṇa* 'to agitate'. Their membership in varying classes and the assignment of *ātmanepada-parasmai-pada* affixes is not crucial to the context of this rule.

3.1.99 शकिसहोश्च

śakisahoś ca
/*śakisahoḥ* 6/2 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)
'*śakḷ śaktau, ṣaha marṣaṇe,*'
anayor dhātvor yat pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yaT* also occurs after verbal roots *śakḶ* 'to be strong, capable' and *ṣahA* 'to endure, forgive'.

EXAMPLES:

śakyam 'possible to do'
sahyam 'endurable'

3.1.100 गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे

gadamadacarayamaś cānupasarge
/*gadamadacarayamaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø *anupasarge* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *yat* #97)
'*gada vyaktāyāṃ vāci, madī harṣe, cara gatibhakṣaṇayoḥ, yama uparame*'
ity etebhyaś cānupasargebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yaT* also occurs after verbal roots *gadA* 'to speak', *madA* 'to rejoice, be drunk', *carA* 'to move, eat' and *yamA* 'to sustain, hold, control' when no *upasarga* 'preverb' is used.

EXAMPLES:

gadyam 'that which is worth speaking'
madyam 'that which is worth being happy about'
caryam 'that which is worth eating'
yamyam 'that which is controllable'

1. This rule forms an exception to *ṆyaT* of 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*. Note that verbal root *yam* is included in this rule to restrict it from receiving *yaT*, though only when used without a preverb. Affix *yaT* is already available to *yam*, when used with a preverb, from rule 3.1.98 *por adupadhāt.*

2. Note that *anupasarge* which ends in the locative (*saptamī*) is interpreted here as *anupasargebhyaḥ* 'after those... which do not have any preverb present' (*avidyamānopasargebhyaḥ*). This interpretation clearly construes the locative (*saptamī*) of *anupasarge* as an ablative (*pañcamī*). How could the *saptamī* be interpreted as *pañcamī*? By transposing *saptamī* with *pañcamī* in consonance with the context.

Why can the *saptamī* of *anupasarge* not be interpreted as characterizing an *upapada* in view of rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadam*...? This, as well as the *paryudāsa* and *prasajya* interpretation of *naÑ* 'negative' with possible consequences, has been discussed in the commentaries which I omit here for lack of interest.

3.1.101 अवद्यपण्यवर्या गर्ह्यपणितव्यानिरोधेषु

avadyapaṇyavaryā garhyapaṇitavyānirodheṣu
/*avadyapaṇyavaryā* 1/1 *garhyapaṇitavyānirodheṣu* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *yat* #97)
'avadya, paṇya, varyā' ity ete śabdā nipātyante, 'garhya, paṇitavya, anirodha' ity eteṣv artheṣu yathāsaṃkhyam
Affix *yaT* occurs in the derivation of *avadya, paṇya* and *varyā* when they denote *garhya* 'fit for censure', *paṇitavaya* 'fit to be purchased' and *anirodha* 'to be unrestrained' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

avadyam pāpam 'a sin fit to be censured'
paṇyaḥ kambalaḥ 'a blanket fit to be purchased'
paṇyā gauḥ 'a cow fit to be purchased'
śatena varyā kanyā 'a girl worthy to be aspired by hundreds of suitors'

1. This rule offers, by *nipātana*, three derivates *avadya, paṇya* and *varyā* used with *yaT* to denote *garhya, paṇya* and *anirodha* respectively. The final word is derived in the feminine from verbal root *vṛÑ* 'to choose'. In a sense, other than *anirodha*, affix *KyaP* is to be chosen for *vṛÑ*

(3.1.109 *etistuśās...*). *KyaP* is available after *vad* by rule 3.1.106 *vadaḥ supi kyap*. Verbal root *paṇ* is qualified for *ṆyaT* by 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*. Our present rule provides for *yaT*.

3.1.102 **वह्यं करणम्**

vahyam karaṇam
/*vahyam* 1/1 *karaṇam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *yat* #97)
vaher dhātoḥ karaṇe yat nipātyate
Affix *yaT* occurs after verbal root *vahA* 'to carry' to derive *vahya* by *nipātana* when *karaṇa* 'means, instrument' (1.4.42 *sādhakatamam...*) is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

vahyaṃ śakaṭam 'a cart by means of which things are carried'

1. Note that *kṛtya* affixes are introduced to denote *bhāva* and *karman* only (3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*). This rule provides for *yaT* by *nipātana* with an additional requirement that the derivate denote *karaṇa* 'instrument' (1.4.42 *sādhaka...*).

3.1.103 **अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः**

aryaḥ svāmivaiśyayoḥ
/*aryaḥ* 1/1 *svāmivaiśyayoḥ* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *yat* #97)
ṛ gatau asmān ṇyati prāpte svāmivaiśyayor abhidheyayor yat pratyayo nipātyate
Affix *yaT* occurs after verbal root *ṛ* 'to go' to derive *arya* by *nipātana* when the derivate denotes *svāmin* 'lord, master' or *vaiśya* 'trader; person of the Vaiśya caste'.

EXAMPLES:

aryaḥ svāmī 'a respectable master'
aryo vaiśyaḥ 'a respectable Vaiśya'

1. This rule, again, provides for *yaT*, rather than *ṆyaT*, by way of *nipātana*, to derive *aryaḥ* with the denotata of *svāmī* and *vaiśya* . The word *aryaḥ* of this rule is treated as two for purposes of accent. The one, derived with the denotatum of *vaiśya*, should be marked high-pitched initially. We know this from the *Phiṭsūtra* (17) *aryasya svāmyākhyāyām* especially at the strength of the word *ākhyā* 'denotation'. The *arya* with the denotation of 'master' will be marked high-pitched finally (*antodātta*).

3.1.104 उपसर्या काल्या प्रजने

upasaryā kālyā prajane
/*upasaryā* 1/1 *kālyā* 1/1 *prajane* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *yat* #97)
'*upasaryā' ity nipātyate kālyā cet prajane bhavati*
Affix *yaT* occurs after verbal root *upasṛ* 'to approach' to derive *upasaryā* by *nipātana* when *kālyā prajane* 'she who has approached the time fit for first breeding' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

upasaryā gauḥ 'a cow which has approached the time fit for its first breeding'
upasaryā vaḍavā 'a mare which has approached the time fit for its first breeding'

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation of *upasaryā*, obviously a feminine, with the introduction of affix *yaT* after verbal root *sṛ* used with the preverb *upa*. The word *kālyā* means 'she who has approached the time for...'. The word *prajana* is used in the sense of 'first impregnation' (*prathmagarbhagrahaṇam*).

3.1.105 अजर्यं सङ्गतम्

ajaryaṃ saṃgatam
/*ajaryam* 1/1 *saṃgatam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *yat* #97)
'*ajaryam' ity nipātyate saṃgataṃ ced bhavati*
Affix *yaT* occurs by *nipātana* after verbal root *jṛṣA* 'to waste away, decay' used with *naÑ* 'not' to derive *ajarya* 'imperishable' when *saṃgata* 'friendship' is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

ajaryaṃ no' stu saṃgatam 'may our friendship remain imperishable'.

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation of *ajarya* with *yaT* in the sense of *saṃgamana* 'companionship'. Affix *yaT* is here used with the denotation of an agent by *nipātana*. Of course, being a *kṛtya*, it can only denote *bhāva* or *karman*. Because it denotes *kartṛ*, *yaT* forms an exception to *tṛC*. A parallel *tṛC* derivate would be *ajaritā* as in *ajaritā kambalaḥ* 'a fairly new blanket.'

3.1.106 वदः सुपि क्यप् च

vadaḥ supi kyap ca
/*vadaḥ* 5/1 *supi* 7/1 *kyap* 1/1 *ca* Ø/

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *yat* #97, *anupasarge* #100)

vader dhātoḥ subante upapade anupasarge kyap pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca

Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal root *vadA* 'to speak' used without a preverb when a *pada* (1.1.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) which ends in *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ...*) occurs in conjunction.

EXAMPLES:

brahmodyam 'a discussion about the Brahman (creator); the recitation of the Vedas'
brahmavadyam 'id.'
satyodyam 'the speaking of truth'

1. Note that *vad* is interpreted, here, as used without a preverb because *anupasarge* is carried. The word *supi*, since it ends in the locative (*saptamī*) dictates, the cooccurrrence condition of a word ending in *sUP* (3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*; also see 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*). The *ca* is used to optionally provide for affix *yaT*. We will thus get two forms: one with *KyaP* and the other with *yaT*.

3.1.107 भुवो भावे

bhuvao bhāve

/*bhuvaḥ* 5/1 *bhavē* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* # 91, *anupasarge* # 100, *supi*, *kyap* # 106)

bhavater bhāve kyap pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KyaP* occurs to denote *bhāva* 'root-sence' after verbal root *bhū* 'to be, become' used without a preverb when a *pada* which ends in *sUP* occurs in conjunction.

EXAMPLES:

brahmabhūyaṃ gataḥ 'became one with the Brahman (creator); passed away'
brahmatvaṃ gataḥ 'id.'
devabhūyaṃ gataḥ 'became one with the gods; passed away'
devatvaṃ gataḥ 'id.'

1. This rule provides for *KyaP* to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' after verbal root *bhū* under the conditions of both *anupasarge* and *supi*. Of course, *yaT* is not carried here.

2. *Kāśikā* states that the word *bhāve* is used here for *anuvṛtti* in the subsequent (*uttarārtha*) rule. As for as this rule is concerned, *KyaP* cannot denote anything other than *bhāva*. Consequently, *bhāve* should not be

stated in the rule. How do we know that *KyaP* in this rule cannot denote anything other than *bhāva*. From the fact that *kṛtya* affixes denote *bhāva* and *karman* (3.4.70 *tayor eva...*); and in case of *bhū*, an intransitive (*akarmaka*) wihtout the use of any preverb (*upasarga*), the question of the denotation of *karman* does not arise.

3.1.108 हनस्त च

hanas ta ca
/hanaḥ 5/1 *ta* (*deleted nominative*) *ca*Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *anupasarge* #100, *supi kyap*#106, *bhāve* #107)
hanter dhātoḥ subanta upapade' nupasarge bhāve kyap pratyayo bhavati takāraś cāntādeśaḥ
Affix *KyaP* occurs to denote *bhāva* after verbal root *han* 'to kill' used without a preverb, when a *pada* which ends in *sUP* occurs in conjunction; additionally, *t* comes in place of the root final *n*.

EXAMPLES:

brahmahatyā 'the killing of a *brāhmaṇa*'
aśvahatyā 'the killing of a horse'

1. This rule carries *anupasarge*, *supi* and *bhāve*, and introduces affix *KyaP*. Additionally, the rule orders -*t* as a replacement for the final -*n* of *han* (cf. 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*).

3.1.109 एतिस्तुशास्वृदृजुषः क्यप्

etistuśāsvṛdṛjuṣaḥ kyap
/etistuśāsvṛdṛjuṣaḥ 5/1 *kyap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)
eti, stu, śās, vṛ, dṛ, juṣ ity etebhyaḥ kyap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal roots *iṆ* 'to go', *ṣṭu* 'to praise, *śās* 'to instruct', *vṛÑ* 'to choose', *dṛṄ* 'to honor' and *juṣĪ* 'to enjoy'.

EXAMPLES:

ityaḥ 'that which is to be gone to'
stutyaḥ 'he who is to be praised'
śiṣyaḥ 'he who is to be instructed; a student'
vṛtyaḥ 'that which is to be selected'
ādṛtyaḥ 'he who is to be honored'
juṣyaḥ 'that which is to be enjoyed'

1. Note that *anupasarge*, *supi* and *bhāve* are not carried here. For, *KyaP* is here introduced after a root in general (*sāmānya*).

A question is raised as to why *KyaP* is to be stated in the rule when it is already available from *anuvṛtti*. Commentators explain that *KyaP* is stated here to serve a restrictive purpose (*niyamārtha*). It does not allow this rule to be blocked by any other rule of this section in the context of the enumerated verbs. Thus, *KyaP* is cited to block a rule which might otherwise block the application of this rule (*bādhakabādhana*). For example, it blocks the *ṆyaT* of 3.1.125 *or āvaśyake* in the derivation of *avaśyastutyaḥ* 'he who is definitely to be praised'.

Note that *vṛ* in this rule refers to verbal root *vṛÑ* 'to choose' and not to *vṛṄ* 'to praise, serve'. Similarly, *eti* refers to verbal root *iṆ* 'to go', and not *iṄ* 'to study' which normally occurs with the preverb *adhi*.

2. A *vārttika* proposes the optional introduction of *KyaP* after verbal roots *śaṃs*, *duh* and *guh* to derive *śaṃsyam*, *dohyam* and *gohyam* parallel to *śasyam* 'that which to be praised', *duhyam* 'that which is to be milked' and *guhyam* 'that which is to be hidden'. The glossed examples are derived with *yaT*.

Yet another *vārttika* mentions that *KyaP* should be introduced after verbal root *añj* 'to anoint' used with the preverb *āṄ* when the denotation is a name (*saṃjñā*). This should account for *ājyam* 'clarified butter'.

3.1.110 ऋदुपधाच्चाक्लृपिचृतेः

ṛdupadhāc cākḷpicṛteḥ
/*ṛdupadhāt* 5/1 *ca* Ø *akḷpicṛteḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)
ṛkāropadhāc ca dhātoḥ kyap pratyayo bhavati kḷpicṛtī varjayitvā
Affix *KyaP* also occurs after a verbal root which, with the exception of *kḷpĪ* 'to be able to' and *cṛtI* 'to hurt', has *ṛ* in its *upadhā* (1.1.65 *alo' ntyātpūrva...*).

EXAMPLES:

vartyam 'that which is to be observed'
vṛddhyam 'that which is to be grown'

1. Note that *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) in *ṛT* is intended so that only the short *-ṛ* is specified for the penultimate position of a root. Thus, it excludes *kṝtA* 'to chant' which derives *kīrtyam* 'that which is to be chanted'.

2. A *vārttika* proposes for verbal root *sṛj* 'to create' to receive *ṆyaT* when the same is used in conjunction with a word which contains *pāṇi* 'hand'. This dervies *pāṇisargyā* of *pāṇisargyā rajjuḥ* 'a rope to be made by twisting with the hands'. *ṆyaT* is also provided after *sṛj* used with the preverbs *sam* and *ava* to derive *samavasargyā* 'that (feminine) who is to be abandoned'.

3.1.111 ई च खनः

ī ca khanaḥ
/ī 1/1 Ø *khanaḥ* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106)
khaner dhātoḥ kyap pratyayo bhavatīkāraś cāntādeśaḥ
Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal root *khanU* 'to dig'; in addition, the root-final *n* is replaced by *ī*.

EXAMPLES:

kheyam 'that which is to be dug'

1. Commentators debate whether the long *ī* as a replacement is justified. For, to derive *kheyam*, one must apply rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* which, given the string *kha* + *ī* + *KyaP*, orders a single *guṇa* replacement *e* in place of both *a* + *ī*. This *guṇa* replacement is applicable even when the -*n* of the root is replaced with a short -*i*. This leads us to question why Pāṇini should order a long replacement when a short is easier to pronounce (*supaṭha*), and which does not create any problem in derivation.

It is stated that the long replacement is specified in the composite (*praśliṣṭa*) form of *ī* which results out of a sequence of *i* + *i* subsequent to the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. The first -*i* is intended as a replacement for the -*n*, whereas the second is required to block a rule which otherwise may block the provision of this rule (*bādhakabādhanārtha*). What is blocked here is rule 6.4.41 *ye vibhāṣā* which may order long -*ā* to replace the final sound segment of the root. I omit any further details for reasons of the complexity of arguments.

3.1.112 भृञोऽसंज्ञायाम्

bhṛño' saṃjñāyām
/bhṛñaḥ 5/1 *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106)
bhṛñor dhātor asaṃjñāyām viṣaye kyap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal root *bhṛÑ* 'to provide for' when *saṃjñā* 'name' is not denoted.

EXAMPLE:

bhṛtyāḥ karmakarāḥ 'the servants who are to be provided for'

1. This rule provides for the derivation of *bhṛtyāḥ* 'those who are to be provided for; servants' under the condition of *asaṃjñā* 'no name'. If one wishes to derive, for example *bhārya*, the name of a *kṣatriya*, one must introduce affix *ṆyaT*.

2. A *vārttika* makes the *KyaP* optional, however, when the root is used with the preverb *sam*. This yields dual forms: *saṃbhṛtyaḥ/saṃbhāryaḥ*

where the condition of *asaṃjñā* still persists. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* III: 508) states that the optional provision of the *vārttika* is *prāptavibhāṣā*. That is, *KyaP* was formerly obligatory. The *vārttika* now provides for it optionally.

3.1.113 मृजेर्विभाषा

mṛjer vibhāṣā
/*mṛjeḥ* 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)
mṛjer dhātoḥ kyap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KyaP* occurs optionally after verbal root *mṛjŪ* 'to wipe, cleanse'.

EXAMPLES:

parimṛjyaḥ 'that which is to be cleansed'
parimārgyaḥ 'id.'

1. The optional provision of this rule is recognized as *prāptavibhāṣā*. For, this rule makes the obligatory provision of 3.1.110 *ṛdupadhāc...* optional. Note that *mṛj* had the obligatory *KyaP* available to it on account of its penultimate *ṛ*. The option parallel to *KyaP* will entail *ṆyaT*.

3.1.114 राजसूयसूर्यमृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकृष्टपच्याव्यथ्याः

rājasūyasūryamṛṣodyarucyakupyakṛṣṭapacyāvyathyāḥ
/*rājasūya...vyathyāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)
rājasūya, sūrya, mṛṣodya, rucya, kupya, kṛṣṭapacya, avyathya ity ete śabdāḥ kyapi nipātyante
Affix *KyaP* occurs in the derivation of *rājasūya, sūrya, mṛṣodya, rucya, kupya, kṛṣṭapacya,* and *avyathya* via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

rājasūyaḥ 'a great ritual sacrifice performed at the time of the coronation of a king.'
sūryaḥ 'sun'
mṛṣodyam 'untruth'
rucyam 'that which is pleasing'
kupyam 'that which is to be hidden'
kṛṣṭapacyāḥ 'vegetation which dries up easily after the field has been plowed'
avyathyaḥ 'he who does not become anguished'

1. This rule presents seven derivates of *KyaP* by *nipatāna*. They not only involve *KyaP* by *nipātana* but also entail diverse operations which

would otherwise not obtain. Thus, in deriving *rājasūya*, *nipātana* also provides for the lack of *tUK* and the lengthening (*dīrgha*) of the *u* of the root. Similarly, *kupyam* entails the introduction of *KyaP* in the context of a name (*saṃjñā*) along with devoicing (*aghoṣatva*) of the root-initial *g*. This derivate, thus, underlies the verbal root *gup*. As the glosses of the above derivates suggest, they are diversely derived to denote *saṃjñā* 'name'; *asaṃjñā* 'non-name', *kartṛ* 'agent', and *karman* 'object'.

3.1.115 भिद्योद्ध्यौ नदे

bhidyoddhyau nade
/*bhidyoddhyau* 1/2 *nade* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* 106)
bhider ujjheś ca kyab nipātyate nade' bhidheye
Affix *KyaP* occurs by *nipātana* in the derivation of *bhidya* and *uddhya* when *nada* 'river' is denoted as the agent.

EXAMPLES:

bhidyaḥ 'a river which undercuts its banks'
uddhyaḥ 'a river which washes its banks'

1. These two derivates are listed separately from the examples of the preceding rule because of difference in their meaning condition as specified by *nade*.

3.1.116 पुष्यसिद्ध्यौ नक्षत्रे

puṣyasiddhyau nakṣatre
/*puṣyasiddhyau* 7/2 *nakṣatre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kyap* #106)
puṣeḥ siddheś cādhikaraṇe kyab nipātyate nakṣatre' bhidheye
Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal roots *puṣA* 'to thrive' and *sidhU* 'to succeed', to derive *puṣya* and *siddhya* by *nipātana*, when the derivates denote *nakṣatra* 'constellation'.

EXAMPLES:

puṣya 'name of the eighth constellation'
siddhya 'id.'

1. This rule offers two ad hoc derivates of *KyaP* under the meaning condition of *nakṣatra* . In this context *KyaP* denotes the locus (*adhikaraṇa*) of moon (*candra*).

3.1.117 विपूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु

vipūyavinīyajityā muñjakalkahaliṣu
/*vipūyavinīyajityāḥ* 1/3 *muñjakalkahaliṣu* 7/3/

(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106)
vipūya, vinīya, jitya ity ete śabdā nipātyante yathāsaṃkhyaṃ muñja, kalka, hali ity eteṣv artheṣu bodhyeṣu
Affix *KyaP* occurs after a verbal root to derive *vipūya, vinīya* and *jitya* by *nipātana* when *muñja* 'reed', *kalka* 'sediment' and *hala* 'plow' are denoted respectively.

EXAMPLES:

vipūyo muñjaḥ '*muñja*, a particular reed, which is to be processed for making...'
vinīyaḥ kalkaḥ 'medicinal sediment to be removed'
jityo haliḥ 'a big board used for levelling the field after plowing'

1. This rule offers three ad hoc derivates *vipūya, vinīya* and *jitya* with their corresponding denotation of *muñja, kalka* and *hala.* Note that the underlying roots, because they end in a vowel, qualify to receive *yaT* by 3.1.97 *aco yat.* The *yaT* derivates, which denote something outside the meaning condition of this rule, will be: *vipavya* 'that which is to be thoroughly cleaned', *vineya* 'that which is to be removed' and *jeya* 'that which is to be won'.

3.1.118 प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेश्छन्दसि

pratyapibhyāṃ graheḥś chandasi
/*pratyapibhyām* 5/2 *graheḥ* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106)
'praty api' ity evam pūrvād graheḥ kyap pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
Affix *KyaP* occurs in the Vedic after verbal root *grahI* 'to hold, seize, accept' when the root is used with the preverbs *prati* and *api.*

EXAMPLES:

mattasya na pratigṛhyam '(a gift) not to be accepted from an arrogant person'
tasmān nāpigṛhyam '(a gift) thus not to be accepted...'

1. This rule accounts for Vedic usages *pratigṛhyam* and *apigṛhyam* parallel to classical usages *pratigrāhyam* and *apigrāhyam.* The Vedic derivates involve *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi...*). The compound-formation between *api, prati,* and *grāhyam* is in accordance with rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ.*

3.1.119 पदास्वैरिबाह्यापक्ष्येषु च

padāsvairibāhyāpakṣyeṣu ca
/*padāsvairibāhyāpakṣyeṣu* 7/3 *ca* Ø/

(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106)
pade' svairiṇi bāhyāyāṃ pakṣe cārthe graher dhātoḥ kyap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KyaP* also occurs after verbal root *grahI* when the derivates denote *pada* 'word', *asvairī* 'not independent', *bāhyā* 'gone outside' and *pakṣya* 'partisan'.

EXAMPLES:

pragṛhyaṃ padam 'a *pada* termed *pragṛhya*' (1.1.11 *īdūded...*)
avagṛhyaṃ padam 'a *pada* with the contracted *a* (*avagraha*)'
gṛhyakā ime 'these are not independent'
grāmagṛhyā senā 'an army on the outside of the village'
nagaragṛhyā senā 'an army on the outside of the city'
vāsudevagṛhyāḥ 'those who are on Vāsudeva's side'

1. This rule provides for *KyaP* after verbal root *grahI* when the derivates denote *pada*, *asvairī*, *bāhyā* and *pakṣya*. Note that *bāhyā* is given in the feminine. It does not, however, mean, by extension, that *bāhyaḥ* or *bāhyam* (masculine, neuter) are not permitted.

3.1.120 **विभाषा कृवृषोः**

vibhāṣā kṛvṛṣoḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *kṛvṛṣoḥ* 6/2/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap # 106)
kṛño vṛṣeś ca vibhāṣā kyap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KyaP* optionally occurs after verbal roots *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' and *vṛṣU* 'to rain'.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtyam 'that which is to be done'
kāryam 'id.'
vṛṣyam 'that which is to be showered upon'
varṣyam 'id.'

1. This rule makes the optional provision for *KyaP* after verbal roots *kṛ* and *vṛṣ*. Note that *kṛ* would have qualified for affix *ṆyaT* of 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*. Affix *KyaP* could have been obligatorily available to *vṛs* on account of its penultimate *ṛ*. This rule makes both of these provisions optional to *KyaP*.

3.1.121 **युग्यं च पत्रे**

yugyaṃ ca patre
/*yugyam* 1/1 *ca* Ø *patre* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, kyap #106)
yugyam iti nipātyate patraṃ ced bhavati

Affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal root *yuj* to derive *yugyam* by *nipātana* when the derivate denotes *patra* 'cart, conveyance'.

EXAMPLES:

yugyo gauḥ 'that to which a bull is yoked; a cart'
yugyo' śvaḥ 'that to which a horse is yoked; a cart'

1. This rule offers the *KyaP* derivate *yugya* in the sense of conveyance (*vāhana*) by *nipātana*. The *j* of *yuj* is changed to *g* also by *nipātana*.

3.1.122 **अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम्**

amāvasyad anyatarasyām
/*amāvasyat* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)
amāśabdaḥ sahārthe varttate, tasminn upapade vaser dhātoḥ kāle' dhikaraṇe ṇyat pratyayo bhavati, tatra anyatarasyāṃ vṛddhyabhāvo nipātyate
Affix *ṆyaT* optionally occurs after verbal root *vas* to derive *amāvasyā* by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

amāvasyā 'the time when sun and moon are in conjunction'
amāvāsyā 'id.'

1. This rule offers *amāvasyā* as an option to *amāvāsyā* via the ad hoc provision of *nipātana*. The word *amāvasyā* brings *amāvāsyā* as the focus of *anyatarasyām* on the basis of the *Paribhāṣā* (38) *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* 'that which is modified in part does not become a different whole'. A reference to *amāvāsyā* should also bring *amāvasyā* close to that context accordingly.

3.1.123 **छन्दसि निष्टर्क्यदेवहूयप्रणीयोन्नीयोच्छिष्यमर्यस्तर्याध्वर्यखन्यखान्यदेवयज्यापृच्छ्यप्रतिषीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचाय्यपृडानि**

chandasi niṣṭarkyadevahūyapraṇīyonnīyocchiṣyamaryastaryādhvaryakhanyakhānyadevayajyāpṛcchyapratiṣīvyabrahmavādyabhāvyastāvyopacāyyapṛḍāni
/*chandasi* 7/1 *niṣṭarkya...pṛḍāni* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)
niṣṭarkyādayaḥ śabdāś chandasi viṣaye nipātyante
Forms such as *niṣṭarkya*, etc., are derived in the Vedic by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

niṣṭarkyaṃ cinvīta paśukāmaḥ 'one who wishes for the wealth of animals should arrange the (ritual) fire on *viṣṭavarya* bricks'
devahūyaḥ 'invocation to gods'

praṇīyaḥ 'fit to be carried'
unnīyaḥ 'fit to be carried up high'
ucchiṣyáḥ 'fit to be abandoned'
maryaḥ 'fit to die'
staryā 'fit to be spread'
dhvaryaḥ 'fit to be bent'
khanyaḥ 'fit to be dug'
khānyaḥ 'id.'
dévayajyā 'ritual sacrifice fit for the gods'
āpṛcchyáḥ 'fit to be asked'
pratisīvyaḥ 'fit to be sewn'
brahmavádyaḥ 'a discussion about Brahman'
bhāvyaḥ 'fit to exist'
stavyaḥ 'fit to be praised'
upacāyyapṛḍam 'gold fit to be collected'

1. This rule offers a series of ad hoc derivations with affixes *KyaP*, *ṆyaT*, and *yaT*. Obviously, regular rules would otherwise have made these derivations impossible. For example, in case of *niṣṭarkya*, the root *kṛt*, used with *nis*, would have qualified for *ṆyaT*. This rule allows for *KyaP*. There is also the transposition (*viparyaya*) of the root-final *t* with its initial *k* again by *nipātana*. This same *nipātana* is also responsible for the *s* of *nis* to change to *ṣ*. Similarly, affix *ṆyaT*, as well as a replacement in *āy* (*āyādeśa*), will also be made available to *upacāyya*, again by *nipātana*. The following verse sums it up:

> *niṣṭarkye vyatyayaṃ vidyān nisaḥ ṣatvaṃ nipātanāt/*
> *ṇyadāyādeśa ity etāv upacāyye nipātitau//*

Similar *nipātana* provisions are made in connection with other derivates. The following verse specifies individual derivates with affixes and verbal roots:

> *ṇyad ekasmāc caturbhyaḥ kyap caturbhyaś ca yato vidhiḥ/*
> *ṇyad ekasmād yaśabdaś ca dvau kyapau ṇyad vidhiś catuḥ//*
> 'affix *ṆyaT* occurs after one verbal root (*niṣṭarkya*); *KyaP* and *yaT* after four each (*devahūya* through *khanya* respectively); and *ṆyaT* and *ya* in one each (*khānya* and *devayajyā*); *KyaP* twice (in *āpṛcchya*, *pratiṣīvya*); and *ṆyaT* again four times (in *brahmavādya*, etc.)'

3.1.124 ऋहलोर्ण्यत्

ṛhalor ṇyat
/*ṛhaloḥ* 6/1 *ṇyat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)
ṛvarṇāntād dhātor halantāc ca ṇyat pratyayo bhavati

Affix *NyaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *ṛ* or in a consonant.

EXAMPLES:

kāryam 'that which is to be done'
hāryam 'that which is to be carried'
dhāryam 'that which is to be held'
vākyam 'that which is to be said'
pākyam 'that which is to be cooked'

1. Note that the *ṣaṣṭhī* of *ṛhaloḥ* is used in the sense of *pañcamī* which is required to mark the left context for introduction of the affix.

3.1.125 ओरावश्यके

or āvaśyake
loḥ 5/1 *āvaśyake* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇyat* #124)
uvarṇāntād dhātor ṇyat pratyayo bhavaty āvaśyake dyotye
Affix *NyaT* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *u* when *āvaśyaka* 'necessary, urgent' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

lāvyam 'that which is to be cut'
pāvyam 'that which is to cleansed'

1. Note that *oḥ* refers to roots ending in *u* (1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*). The *NyaT* of this rule becomes an exception to the *yaT* of 3.1.97 *aco yat*. See further details in the appendix.

3.1.126 आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमश्च

āsuyuvapirapilapitrapicamaś ca
/*āsuyu...camaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇyat* #124)
āṅpūrvāt sunoteḥ yu, vapi, rapi, lapi, trapi, cam ity etebhyaś ca ṇyat pratyayo bhavati
Affix *NyaT* also occurs after verbal roots *ṣūÑ* 'to press out', used with the preverb *āṄ*, *yu* 'to mix', *ḌUvapA* 'to sow', *rapA* and *lapA* 'to speak', *trapŪṢ* 'to be ashamed' and *camU* 'to sip'.

EXAMPLES:

āsāvyam 'fit to be fermented'
yāvyam 'fit to be mixed'
vāpyam fit to be sown'

rāpyam 'fit to be spoken'
lāpyam 'id.'
trāpyam 'fit to be ashamed about'
ācāmyam 'fit to be sipped or consumed'

1. The derivates covered by this rule constitute exceptions to rules 3.1.97 *aco yat* and 3.1.98 *por adupadhāt*. Verbal root *ṣūÑ* is intended to be used with the preverb *āṄ*. The *yu* 'to mix' should not be confused with *yuÑ* 'to tie'. A reference to *yuÑ* will be blocked because '*yu*' is given without any *it*. The *ca* is used to account for what may have been left out (*anukta-samuccayārtha*). A case in point is: *dābhyam* 'that which is to be cleansed' derived from *dabhI*.

3.1.127 आनाय्योऽनित्ये

ānāyyo' nitye
/*ānāyyaḥ* 1/1 *anitye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇyat* #124)
ānāyyaḥ iti nipātyate nitye' bhidheye
Affix *ṆyaT* occurs to derive *ānāyyaḥ* by *nipātana* when the derivate denotes *anitya* 'impermanence, non-eternal'.

EXAMPLES:

ānāyyo dakṣiṇāgniḥ 'the *dakṣiṇāgni*, one of the three ritual fires, is called *ānāyyaḥ*'

1. The word *ānāyya* is derived by *nipātana* with *ṆyaT* introduced after verbal root *ṇīÑ* 'to lead' used with the preverb *āṄ*. The word itself denotes *dakṣiṇāgni* 'the southern fire', though it is not the real *dakṣiṇāgni*. Instead, it is the fire which is brought from the *gārhapatya* fire to ritually ignite the *dakṣiṇāgni* fire. The *dakṣiṇāgni* is called *anitya* 'impermanent' since its source or place is not definite. Besides, it is not kept burning all the time.

Note that when the fire is brought from a source other than the *gārhapatya*, the derivate will be *āneya*. The *dakṣiṇāgni* can also be ignited by bringing the fire from the house of a *vaiśya*, or *bhrāṣṭra* 'commercial place where grains are roasted'.

2. The replacement in *āya* for *ai* of *n(ī→ai)* + *ya* is made possible by *nipātana*.

3.1.128 प्रणाय्योऽसम्मतौ

praṇāyyo' sammatau
/*praṇāyyaḥ* 1/1 *asammatau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇyat* #124)
praṇāyyaḥ iti nipātyate' sammatāv abhidheye

Affix *ṆyaT* occurs to derive *praṇāyya* by *nipātana* when *asammati* 'disapproval' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

praṇāyyaḥ 'thief'

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation of *praṇāyya* from *praṇīÑ* when the meaning is *asammati*. Thus we get: *praṇāyya* of *praṇāyyaś chauraḥ* 'the thief; the one who is to be censured'. The regular form parallel to this *nipātana* will be *praṇeya* 'tractable' derived with *ya*.

2. The word *praṇāyya* is also used in the sense of 'disciple, initiate' (*antevāsī*) where the usage is conditioned by the semantic condition of lack of desire for results. Thus, we get the following in the *Kāśikā*:

> *jyeṣṭhāya putrāya pitā brahma prabrūyyāntevāsine, nānyasmai kasmaicaneti* 'the father should initiate the oldest son, the one who is closeby, the disciple, with the single syllable mantra *oṃ* which symbolizes *brahman* 'the supreme being' and not to just anybody'

The word *sammati*, in this preceding context, means *abhilāṣā* 'desire' (*niṣkāmatayā*), in the absence of which (*tadabhāvena*), with lack of desire serving as means, one becomes *antevāsī*. It is therefore proper (*yujyate*) to offer initiation to that closeby initiate (*tasmai praṇāyyāyāntevāsine*) who, with no desire for results (*niṣkāmāya*), strives to obtain *mokṣa* 'release' (*mokṣārthaṃ yatamānāya*).

3.1.129 पाय्यसान्नाय्यनिकाय्यधाय्या मानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु

pāyyasānnāyyanikāyyadhāyyā mānahavirnivāsasāmidhenīṣu
/*pāyya...dhāyya* 1/3 *māna...sāmidhenīṣu* 7/3/
(*prayayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇyat* #124)
pāyyādayaḥ śabdā nipātyante yathāsaṃkhyaṃ māne, haviṣi, nivāse, sāmidhenyāṃ cābhidheyāyām
Affix *ṆyaT* occurs to derive *pāyya, sānnāya, nikāyya* and *dhyyā* by *nipātana* when the derivatives denote *māna* 'standard measure', *havi* 'ritual oblation of food', *nivāsa* 'place of residence' and *sāmidhenī* 'a particular hymn' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

pāyyam 'any standard measure of weight'
sānnāyam 'ritual oblation of food'
nikāyyaḥ 'place of residence'
dhāyyā 'the *sāmidheni* hymn'

1. This rule offers the ad hoc derivation of four forms *pāyya, sānnāyya, nikāyya,* and *dhāyyā* respectively in the sense of *māna* 'standard of measure',

havi 'ritual oblation of food', *nivāsa* 'dewelling', and *sāmidhenī* 'a hymn of the *Ṛgveda*'.

Note that all these examples would have qualified for affix *yaT* since their roots end in vowels. Pāṇini chose to state them as derived by *nipātana* since there are diverse operational things for which the roots, even with *ṆyaT*, would not qualify. The safest course for him was then to cite the forms as derived.

Consider for example *pāyya* derived from: *mā* (*Ṅ*→∅) + (*Ṇ*→∅) *ya*(*T*→∅)→*mā* + *ya*, where affix *ṆyaT* occurs after verbal root *māṄ* 'to measure' via *nipātana*. In order for this string to derive *pāyya*, the root-initial *m* is to be replaced with *p* again by *nipātana*. Furthermore, rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk* has to introduce the augment *yUK*. This will then yield: (*m* → *p*) *ā* + (*y* (*UK* → ∅) + *ya* → *pā* + *y* + *ya* = *pāyya*. The *c* of *ciÑ* is similarly replaced with *k* in the ad hoc derivation of *nikāyya*. Furthermore, there is *i* → *ai* (*vṛddhi*) which subsequently produces *ai* → *āy*. Thus, *ni* + *ci*(*Ñ* → ∅) = *ni*(*c* → *k*)(*i* → *ai*) + (*Ṇ* → ∅)*ya*(*T* → ∅) = *nik*(*ai* → *āy*) + *ya* = *nikāyya*. Similar derivational situations are found in other examples.

3.1.130 क्रतौ कुण्डपाय्यसंचाय्यौ

> *kratau kuṇḍapāyyasaṃcāyyau*
> /*kratau* 7/1 *kuṇḍapāyyasaṃcāyyau* 1/2/
> (*pratyayaḥ* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* # 91, *ṇyat* # 124) .
> *kuṇḍapāyya saṃcāyya ity etau śabdau nipātyete kratāv abhidheye*
> Affixes *yaT* and *ṆyaT* occur by *nipātana* to derive *kuṇḍapāyya* and *saṃcāyya* when the derivates denote *kratu* 'sacrifice'.

EXAMPLES:

> *kuṇḍapāyyáḥ* 'a ritual sacrifice in which *Soma* is drunk from a bowl'
> *saṃcāyyaḥ* 'a ritual sacrifice in which *Soma* is pressed out'

1. This rule offers *kuṇḍapāyya* and *saṃcāyya* to denote specific ritual sacrifices, again by *nipātana*. The word *kuṇḍapāyya* is said to have been derived by the introduction of affix *yaT*, in the sense of locus (*adhikaraṇa*), after verbal root *pā* 'to drink' under the condition of a cooccurring word which underlies *kuṇḍa* and ends in the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*). Our next example *saṃcāyya* could have been derived similarly by the introduction of affix *ṆyaT* after verbal root *ciÑ* used with the preverb *sam*. Affix *yaT*, in the first example, is intended for accent by 6.1.213 *yato' nāvaḥ*. Of course, *ṆyaT* would bring 6.1.185 *tit svaritam* for accentuation.

If a particular ritual sacrifice is not denoted, derivates parallel to these ad hoc ones will be *kuṇḍapānam* 'to drink out of a pitcher or bowl' and *saṃceyaḥ* 'to be gathered, arranged'.

3.1.131 अग्नौ परिचाय्योपचाय्यसमूह्याः

agnau paricāyyopacāyyasamūhyāḥ
/*agnau* 7/1 *paricāyya...samūhyāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇyat* #124)
paricāyya-upacāyya-samūhya ity ete śabdā nipātyante agnāv abhidheye
Affix *ṆyaT* occurs after verbal root *ciÑ* to derive *paricāyya, upacāyya* and *samūhya* by *nipātana* when *agni* 'fire' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

paricāyyáḥ 'a place where the ritual fire is placed'
upacāyyaḥ 'a fire which has gone through ritual purification'
samūhyám cinvīta paśukāmaḥ 'one who wishes for wealth of cattles should arrange the ritual fire'

1. Our three ad hoc derivates *paricāyya, upacāyya* and *samūhya* are derived with the denotatum of *agni* 'fire'. Elsewhere, the forms will be *pariceyam* 'to be collected from all sides', *upaceyam* 'to be heaped up', and *saṃvāhyam* 'to be carried'.

The first word *paricāyya* is derived from *pari* + *ci* by the introduction of affix *Ṇyat* where *i->ai->āy* also comes via *nipātana*. Thus, *paric* (*i→ai→āy*) + (*Ṇ→∅*) *ya* (*T→∅*) = *paricāy* + *ya* = *paricāyya*. Our second example is similar to the first. The third *samūhya* is derived from verbal root *vah* used with the preverb *sam*. This root, because it ends in a consonant, is already qualified for *ṆyaT*. Why do we, then, have to bring *ṆyaT* via *nipātana*? Note that *vah* also undergoes *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*) in the ad hoc derivation which would otherwise be blocked because *ṆyaT* is not marked with *K* (*akit*). Furthermore, the *a* of *vah* is replaced with its long counterpart (*dīrgha*) *ā* which would otherwise not be available under the provisions of 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Thus, all functions come via *nipātana*.

3.1.132 चित्याग्निचित्ये च

cityāgnicitye ca
/*cityāgnicitye* 1/2 *ca* ∅/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *agnau* #131)
cityaśabdo' gnicityā śabdaś ca nipatyete
Affixes *KyaP* and *ya* occur by *nipātana* to also derive *citya* and *agnicityā*, respectively when *agni* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

cityaḥ 'fire of the funeral pyre'
agnicityā 'heaping or arranging fire'

1. This rule offers *citya* and *agnicityā*, both derived by *nipātana*, with affixes *KyaP* and *ya* denoting *karman* and *bhāva* respectively. The augment *tUK* in *citya* is ordered by 6.1.69 *hrasvasya*... Our next example, *agnicityā*, entails affix *ya* introduced under the cooccurrence condition of *agni*. The augment *tUK*, as well as no *guṇa* for *-i*, comes via *nipātana*. Because of the introduction of *ya* by *nipātana*, this derivate gets the final high-pitch (*antodātta*) by 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*. Note that *ṆyaT* would bring *svarita* to the affix by 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*.

2. Note that *Kāśikā* and *Nyāsa* both seem to accept these ad hoc derivations by means of affix *ya*. Haradatta clearly states that *citya* is derived with *KyaP*, an exception to *yaT*, to denote the object (*karman*) here given as *agni*. This, in turn, causes the derivate to be marked with the *udātta* accent initially. The second example is derived with *ya* to denote *bhāva* 'action'. Haradatta states that deriving the second example with *KyaP* would not have required the introduction of *tUK*, but then there would have been problem with the accent. It is therefore to secure the final *udātta* accent that the second example is derived with *ya*.

Should we then accept that the authors of *Kāśikā* and *Nyāsa* are wrong? Perhaps not. First of all, these derivations are ad hoc. That is, anything is possible. Secondly, what is specified by them as *yakāra* 'the *ya*' may refer to both *KyaP* and *ya*. It is just that these authors did not feel it necessary to provide any additional details of the derivation of *citya*.

3.1.133 ण्वुल्तृचौ

ṇvultṛcau
/ṇvultṛcau 1/2/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91)
sarvadhātubhyo ṇvultṛcau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* occur after verbal roots.

EXAMPLES:

kārakaḥ 'he who is the doer'
karttā 'id.'
hārakaḥ 'he who fetches'
harttā 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affixes *ṆvuL* and *tṛC* after roots in general. Since both the affixes cannot be introduced concurrently, they are to be introduced in turn (*paryāya*). The *C* of *tṛC* is not used for accent. For, that is automatically accounted for by the affixal accentuation (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Thus, *C* is instead intended to distinguish (*bhedaka*) *tṛC* from *tṛN* (3.2.135 *tṛn*). A reference with *tṛ* without any *it* could denote both *tṛC* and *tṛN* as in rules 5.3.59 *tuś chandasi* and 6.4.154 *tur iṣṭhemeyassu*.

3.1.134 नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः

nandigrahipacādibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ
/nandigrahipacādibhyaḥ 5/3 *lyuṇinyacaḥ* 1/3/
(pratayayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91*)*
nandyādibhyo lyuḥ, grahādibhyo ṇiniḥ, pacādibhyo' c pratyayā bhavanti
Affixes *Lyu, ṆinI* and *aC* occur after verbal roots enumerated in the groups headed by *nandI* 'to please', *grahI* 'to take, accept' and *pac* 'to cook' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

nandanaḥ 'he who is pleasing; a son'
vāsanaḥ 'that which chirps; a bird'
grāhī 'he who accepts or holds'
utsāhī 'enthusiast'
śvapacaḥ 'he who eats a dog; a person of the very low untouchable *śūdra* caste'

1. This rule introduces three affixes after three corresponding verbal groups. The assignment of the three affixes to their corresponding verbal groups is made in view of rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam*... The word *ādi* has to be read with each constituent of the *dvandva* compound *nandigrahipacaḥ* *(dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate)*. Consequently, we get the interpretation: *nandi*, etc., *grahi*, etc., and *paci*, etc. Note that these roots are not referenced here as listed in the *DP*. Instead, they are abstracted from the listing of nominal stems in the *GP*. Thus, given *nandanaḥ*, one can abstract the verbal root *ṬUnadI* 'to please; prosper', etc. (see *Kāś: nandigrahipacādayaś ca na dhātupāṭhataḥ sanniviṣṭā gṛhyante, kiṃ tarhi; 'nandana ramaṇa' ity evam ādiṣu prātipadikagaṇeṣv apoddhṛtya ye paṭhyante te nirdiśyante)*. See the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.135 इगुपधज्ञाप्रीकिरः कः

igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ kaḥ
/igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ 5/1 *kaḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91*)*
igupadhebhyo jānāteḥ prīṇāteḥ kirateś ca kapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal roots which have an *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ; Śs.* 1-2) in their *upadhā;* and after *jñā* 'to know', *prīÑ* 'to please' and *kṝ* 'to scatter'.

EXAMPLES:

vikṣipaḥ 'he who makes trouble'
vilikhaḥ 'he who writes'
budhaḥ 'he who knows'

kṛśaḥ 'he who is thin'
priyaḥ 'he who endears'
kiraḥ 'he who scatters'

1. This rule introduces affix *Ka* after verbal roots *jñā, prīÑ* and *kṛ*, or after any verb which may have a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* (*Śs* 1–2) in its penultimate (*upadhā*) position. The *K* as an *it* in *Ka* is used to block *guṇa*. *Kāśikā* informs that *deva* 'god', *seva* 'service' and *meṣa* 'ram' should not be treated as derived with *Ka*. They should be treated as part of *pacādi* of 3.1.135. Note in this connection that *pacādi* is treated as an open-ended *ākṛtigaṇa*. See the appendix for derivational details.

3.1.136 आतश्चोपसर्गे

ātaś copasarge
/*ātaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø *upasarge* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *kaḥ* #135)
ākārāntebhyo dhātubhya upasarga upapade kapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ka* also occurs after verbal roots which end in *ā* (cf. 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when the root cooccurs with a *pada* constituted by an *upasarga* 'preverb'.

EXAMPLES:

prasthaḥ 'mountain'
suglaḥ 'very weary'
sumlaḥ 'very despondent'

1. This rule again introduces affix *Ka*, though requires that the roots end in -*ā* and cooccur with a word constituted by an *upasarga* 'prefix'. Note that affix *Ka* is introduced here as an exception to affix *Ṇa* of 3.1.141 *śyādvyadhāsru...*

3.1.137 पाघ्राध्माधेट्दृशः शः

pāghrādhmādheṭdṛśaḥ śaḥ
/*pāghrādhmādheṭdṛśaḥ* 5/3, *śaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *upasarge* #136)
pādibhyo dhātubhya upasarga upapade śapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Śa* occurs after verbal roots *pā* 'to drink', *ghrā* 'to smell', *dhmā* 'to blow, beat', *dheṬ* 'to suck' and *dṛś* 'to see' when the roots cooccur with a *pada* constituted by an *upasarga*.

EXAMPLES:

utpibaḥ 'he who picks up and drinks'
vipibaḥ 'he who drinks in a typically bad manner'

ujjighraḥ 'he who smells something'
vijighraḥ 'he who smells something in a typically bad manner'
uddhamaḥ 'he who blows or beats something'
vidhamaḥ 'he who blows or beats against something'
uddhayaḥ 'he who drinks '
vidhayaḥ 'he who drinks in a typically bad manner'
utpaśyaḥ 'he who looks up'
vipaśyaḥ 'he who looks in a typically bad manner'

1. This rule introduces affix *Śa* after verbal roots *pā, ghrā, dhmā, dheṬ*, and *dṛś*. Other conditions remain similar to the preceding rule. The first four, since they yield a form terminated in *-ā*, are allowed *Śa* as opposed to *Ka* or *Ṇa*. The last verbal root has *ṛ* in its penultimate position, and hence qualifies for *Ka* by 3.1.135 *igupadh...*

2. *Kāśikā* informs that some, which also includes the *Mbh.*, do not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *upasarge* in this rule. In that case, we will not get *Śa*. For example, *dṛś* will then have the *Ka*-derivate: *paśyaḥ* 'he who sees'.

The *Ś* of the affix is intended as an *it* for assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*).

A *vārttika* prohibits *ghrā* to avail *Śa* when the derivate is to denote a name. Obviously, what is in focus is *vyāghraḥ* 'tiger'.

3.1.138 **अनुपसर्गाल्लिम्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजिचेतिसातिसाहिभ्यश्च**

anupasargāl limpavindadhāripārivedyudejicetisātisāhibhyaś ca
lanupasargāt 5/1 *limpa...sāhibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, śa #138)
anupasargebhyo limpādibhyaḥ śapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Śa* occurs after verbal roots *limpA* 'to coat, smear', *vindA* 'to acquire', *dhāri* 'to cause to hold; carry', *pāri* 'to cause to cross, go over', *vedi* 'to inform, proclaim', *udeji* 'to shake', *ceti* 'to cause to become aware, perceive' and *sāhi* 'to endure, support', when used without an *upasarga*.

EXAMPLES:

limpaḥ 'he who coats x with y'
vindaḥ 'he who acquires'
dhārayaḥ 'he who holds, bears'
pārayaḥ 'he who crosses over'
vedayaḥ 'he who informs, knows'
udejayaḥ 'he who shakes, disturbs'
cetayaḥ 'he who revives someone'
sātayaḥ 'he who makes one happy; supporter'
sāhayaḥ 'he who endures'

1. This rule introduces affix *Śa* after specified roots when they are used without preverbs. Pāṇini refers to *limp* and *vind* with *nUM*. The derivations must start with the augmented forms. The other roots are either *curādi*, or are here intended to end in *ṆiC*. The last two verbal roots are attested on the authority of the rules (*sautra*).

2. A *vārttika* proposes the introduction of *Śa* also after *limp* when it is used with the preverb *ni*. The intended derivate is *nilimpaḥ* 'name of a deity; cow'. There is yet another *vārttika* which proposes the introduction of *Śa* after *vind* when it is used with *go* to derive the proper noun *govinda* '*Kṛṣṇa*'.

3.1.139 ददातिदधात्योर्विभाषा

dadātidadhātyor vibhāṣā
/dadātidadhātyoḥ 5/2 *vibhāṣā 1/1/*
(*pratyayaḥ* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* # 91, *śaḥ* # 137, *anupasargāt* # 138)
dāño dhāñaś ca vibhāṣā śapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Śa* optionally occurs after verbal roots *ḌudāÑ* 'to give' and *ḌUdhāÑ* 'to hold', when used without an *upasarga*.

EXAMPLES:

dadaḥ 'he who gives'
dāyaḥ 'donor; inheritance'
dadhaḥ 'he who holds, bears'
dhāyaḥ 'he who supports'

1. This rule optionally introduces affix *Śa* after verbal roots *ḌUdāÑ* and *ḌUdhāÑ* when they are not used with any preverbs. Note that *Ṇa* was obligatorily available to these roots by rule 3.1.141 *śyādvyadhā...* at the strength of their final *-ā*. This rule makes that provision optional. When used with preverbs these roots will receive *Ka* by 3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*.

3.1.140 ज्वलितिकसन्तेभ्यो णः

jvalitikasantebhyo' ṇaḥ
/jvalitikasantebhyaḥ 5/3 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *anupasargāt* #138, *vibhāṣā* #139)
jvala dīptau ity evam ādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ kasa gatau ity evam antebhyo vibhāṣā ṇapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṇa* optionally occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the set which begins with *jvalA* 'to be aflame, to glow' and ends with *kasA* 'to go' when the roots are not used with an *upasarga*.

EXAMPLES:

jvalaḥ 'burning, glowing'
jvālaḥ 'id.'
calaḥ 'moving'
cālaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṇa* after the set of verbal roots of the *bhvādi* which begins with *jval* and terminates with *kas*. The conditions of *anupasargāt* and *vibhāṣā* also carry. That is, when the option of *Ṇa* is not accepted, affic *aC* will apply (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacād...*).

3.1.141 **श्याऽऽद्व्यधास्रुसंस्रवतीणवसावहृलिहश्लिषश्वसश्च**

> *śyādvyadhāsrusaṃsravatīṇavasāvahṛlihaśliṣaśvasaś ca*
> */śyād...śvasaḥ 5/1 ca ∅/*
> (*pratyayaḥ* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* # 91, *ṇaḥ* # 141)
> *śyaiṅ ākārāntebhyaś ca dhātubhyaḥ, vyadha, āsru, saṃsru, atīṇ, avasā avahṛ, liha, śliṣa, śvasa ity etebhyaś ca ṇapratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *Ṇa* also occurs after the following:

(*a*) verbal root *śyaiṄ* 'to go, move',
(*b*) roots which end in *-ā*,
(*c*) verbal root *vyadhA* 'to pierce', used with the preverb *sam*,
(*d*) verbal root *iṆ* 'to go' used with the preverb *ati*,
(*e*) verbal root *ṣo* 'to finish' and *hṛ* 'to take, carry' used with the preverb *ava*, and
(*f*) verbal roots *lih* 'to lick', *śliṣ* 'to embrace', and *śvas* 'to breathe'.

EXAMPLES:

avaśyāyaḥ 'frost, dew'
pratiśyāyaḥ 'cold, flu'
dāyaḥ 'inheritance'
dhāyaḥ 'id.'
vyādhaḥ 'hunter'
āsrāvaḥ 'that which oozes; wound'
saṃsrāvaḥ 'that which flows; oozes'
atyāyaḥ 'transgression, cruelty'
avasāyaḥ 'completion'
avahāraḥ 'taking away; stealing'
lehaḥ 'licking'
śleṣaḥ 'embracing'
śvāsaḥ 'breathing'

1. This rule does not carry *anupasargāt* and *vibhāṣā*. Affix *Ṇa* is introduced here after verbal root *śyaiṄ*, or roots which end in *āT* (1.1.70

taparas tatkālasya), i.e., *dā* and *dhā*. It is also introduced after verbal roots *vyadh* and *sru* used with the preverb *āN̊*, *iṆ* used with the preverb *ati*, *ṣo* and *hṛ* used with the preverb *ava*, and *lih*, *śliṣ* and *śvas*. Note that restrictions relative to the use of the preverbs apply only where stated. Elsewhere, the affix can be introduced after verbal roots used with or without any other preverb.

2. A question is raised as to why *śyaiṄ*, which yields a form in *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe...*), is to be specified. The specification of *āT* 'after roots ending in *-ā*' is sufficient to handle it. *Kāśikā* states that this separate mention is made for the purpose of blocking a rule which may block this provision (*bādhakabādhanārtha*). That is, it is to block the particular (*viśeṣa*) provision of *Ka* made by 3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge* which otherwise would have blocked the general (*sāmānya*) affix *Ṇa*.

3.1.142 **दुन्योरनुपसर्गे**

dunyor anupasarge
/dunyoḥ 6/2 anupasarge 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, ṇaḥ #140)
dunoter nayateś cānupasarge ṇapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṇa* occurs after verbal roots *ṬUdu* 'to heat, burn' and *ṇīÑ* 'to lead' when not used with a preverb.

EXAMPLES:

dāvaḥ 'that which burns; forest fire'
nāyaḥ 'one who leads'

1. Note that verbal roots *du* and *ṇīÑ* yield the forms *pradavaḥ* 'burning' and *praṇayaḥ* 'love' with affix *aC* introduced after them under the provision of rule 3.1.134 *nandigrahi...* Of course, the roots will then be used with the preverb *pra*.

3.1.143 **विभाषा ग्रहः**

vibhāṣā grahaḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 grahaḥ 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, paraś ca #2, dhātoḥ #91, ṇaḥ #140)
vibhāṣā graher dhātoḥ ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṇa* occurs optionally after verbal root *grahI* 'to accept, take'.

EXAMPLE:

grāhaḥ 'he who grabs; crocodile'

1. This rule provides for optional *Ṇa* after verbal root *grah*. This option is made against the *aC* of 3.1.134 *nadigrahi...* Commentators inform

that this special type of option is *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. Consequently, they explain the special meaning in which the option is available. For example, *grāhaḥ* is obligatorily derived when *jalacara* 'that which moves in water; crocodile, shark, etc.' is the denotatum. In the context of planets, the form must be: *grahaḥ*.

A *vārttika* suggests that *bhāvaḥ* 'state', as opposed to *bhavaḥ* 'existence', should be similarly derived.

3.1.144 **गेहे कः**

gehe kaḥ
/*gehe* 7/1 *kaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *grahaḥ* #143)
graher dhātoḥ kaḥ pratyayo bhavati gehe kartari
Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal root *grahI* 'to seize' when *geha* 'abode' is denoted as the agent.

EXAMPLES:

gṛham 'that which holds the grains, etc.; house'
gṛhāḥ 'wife'

1. This rule offers affix *Ka* to derive forms denoting *gṛha* 'home' as agent. Note that agent, in terms of meaning, becomes the qualifier to the meaning of the affix. It is not a cooccurring word (*upapada*). This gives us: *gṛham* 'home'; *gṛhāḥ* 'wife'; and *gṛhāṇi* 'homes' where the masculine plural form denotes wife.

3.1.145 **शिल्पिनि ष्वुन्**

śilpini ṣvun
/*śilpini* 7/1 *ṣvun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91)
dhātoḥ ṣvun pratyayo bhavati śilpini kartari
Affix *ṢvuN* occurs after verbal roots when *śilpin* 'artisan' is denoted as the agent.

EXAMPLES:

narttakaḥ 'dancer'
khanakaḥ 'digger'
rajakaḥ 'washerman; one who dyes clothes'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṢvuN* after roots when the derivate denotes an artist agent. Here again *śilpini* is a qualifier to the meaning of the affix. It does not denote cooccurrence as 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...* would have it.

The *Ṣ* is intended as an it so that these derivates can get *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaura...*) to denote their feminine counterparts.

A *vārttika* under this rule proposes that *ṢvuN* should be restricted to verbal roots *nṛtI* 'to dance', *khanI* 'to dig' and *rañjI* 'to color'. This will give: *narttakaḥ, khanakaḥ* and *rajakaḥ*. The corresponding feminine forms with *ṄīṢ* are: *narttakī, khanakī* and *rajakī*. A statement is also desired about the loss of the nasal of *rañj*.

3.1.146 गस्थकन्

gas thakan
/gaḥ 5/1 *thakan* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *śilpini* #145*)*
gāyateṣ ṭhakan pratyayo bhavati śilpini kartari
Affix *thakaN* occurs after verbal root *gai* 'to sing' when *śilpin* is denoted as the agent.

EXAMPLES:

gāthakaḥ 'singer'
gāthikā 'female singer'

1. Note that reference to verbal root *gā* is made after subjecting it through the deletion of *ā* by rule 6.4.64 *āto lopaḥ*.

3.1.147 ण्युट् च

ṇyuṭ ca
/ṇyuṭ 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *gaḥ* #146*)*
gāyater ṇyuṭ pratyayo bhavati śilpini kartari
Affix *ṆyuṬ* also occurs after *gai* when *śilpin* is denoted as the agent.

EXAMPLES:

gāyanaḥ 'singer'
gāyanī 'female singer'

1. Obviously, this rule introduces a parallel derivation in the form of *gāyanaḥ*. This, as compared with the results of the preceding rule, is an alternant to *gāyakdḥ*. The *ca* is used here to bring *gaḥ* from the preceding rule. Since affix *ṆyuṬ* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, rule 4.1.5 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...* will rule *ṄīP* for deriving the corresponding faminine form *gāyanī* 'a female singer'.

The *ca* is used to assure the subsequent *anuvṛtti* of *ṆyuṬ*, though not of *thakaN*. If *thakaN* was meant to be carried, the preceding rule would have been formulated as: *go ṇyuṭthakanau*.

3.1.148 हश्च व्रीहिकालयोः

haś ca vrīhikālayoḥ
/*haḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø *vrīhikālayoḥ* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *ṇyuṭ*#147)
jahāter jihāteś ca dhāto ṇyuṭ pratyayo bhavati vrīhau kāle ca kartari
Affix *ṆyuT* occurs after verbal roots *OhāK* 'to abandon' and *OhāṄ* 'to go' when *vrīhi* 'rice' and *kāla* 'time', respectively, are denoted as agents.

EXAMPLES:

hāyanāḥ 'a variety of rice'
hāyanaḥ 'a year'

1. Affix *ṆyaṬ* is also introduced after specified verbal roots when the derivatives denote *vrīhi* 'rice' and *kāla* 'time' as agents. As is obvious from my translation, *haḥ* refers to the introduction of affix *ṆyaṬ* after both the verbal roots *OhāK* and *OhāṆ*. Of course, they both share the form *hā* after the deletion of their *it*. The *ca* is here used to bring *ṆyaṬ*. As usual, *vrīhikālayoḥ* is an adjective to the agent, and not the cooccurrence condition marked by the locative as per 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*

3.1.149 प्रसृल्वः समभिहारे वुन्

prasṛlvaḥ samabhihāre vun
/*prasṛlvaḥ* 5/3 *samabhihāre* 7/1 *vun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* # 1, *paraś ca* # 2, *dhātoḥ* # 91)
Affix *vuN* occurs after verbal roots *pruṄ* 'to go', *sṛ* 'to crawl' and *lūÑ* 'to cut' when *samabhihāra* 'doing well' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

sarakaḥ 'he who crawls well'
avakaḥ 'he who cuts well'

1. This rule introduces affix *vuN* after verbal roots *pruṄ*, *sṛ*, and *lūÑ* when the derivate denotes *samabhihāra* 'properly performed action'. Note that *samabhihāra* elsewhere may mean 'repetition'. *Kāśikā* clearly states that here the meaning is to be accepted as *sādhukāritva* 'doing something well'. Obviously, *sādhukāritva* is the inferential meaning based on repetition. After all, people develop skills to do things beautifully after repeatedly doing them.

3.1.150 आशिषि च

āśiṣi ca
/*āśiṣi* 7/1 *ca* Ø/

(*pratyayaḥ* #1, *paraś ca* #2, *dhātoḥ* #91, *vun* #149)
āśiṣi gamyamānāyāṃ dhātumātrād vun pratyayo bhavati
Affix *vuN* also occurs after verbal roots when *āśīḥ* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

jīvatāt 'may he live long'
jīvakaḥ 'id.'
nandatāt 'may he be happy'
nandakaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *vuN* after roots in general when 'benediction' (*āśīḥ*) is denoted. The *ca* is used here to bring *vuN*. The word *āśīḥ* itself denotes a prayer with an underlying action. The denotatum of the affix is an agent. It is for this reason that we interpret the action denoted by the verb as an object of prayer for the agent. Thus, we get *nandakaḥ* 'may he who rejoices rejoice' and *jīvakaḥ* 'may he who lives live for long'.

3.2.1 **कर्मण्यण्**

karmaṇyaṇ
/*karmaṇi* 7/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* 3.1.91)
sarvatra karmaṇy upapade dhātor aṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aṆ* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) which denotes *karman* 'object'.

EXAMPLES:

kumbhakāraḥ 'maker of pots'
nagarakāraḥ 'architect'
kāṇḍalāvaḥ 'one who cuts a branch'
śaralāvaḥ 'one who cuts the weeds'
vedādhyāyaḥ 'one who studies the Vedas'
carcāpāraḥ 'one who studies the *carcāpāṭha* (Vedic recitation with repetition of words)'

1. Note that *karmaṇi*, in view of rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*, must be interpreted as the conjoined word (*upapada*) which denotes *karman* 'object'. Since Pāṇini uses '*aśabdasaṃjñā*' in 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā*, *karman* must be interpreted, here, as denoting object. Thus, for the introduction of affix *aṆ* after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ*, we must have a conjoined word which denotes object. Let us say that the word which denotes the object contains *kumbha*, a nominal stem. In order for this to form a word and denote an object, we must introduce a nominal ending (*sUP*). Accusative (*dvitīyā*) is normally introduced after a

nominal stem to denote an object. In case of *kumbha*, it has to be a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), since the derivate is anticipated to cooccur with an item ending in a *kṛt* affix. Rule 2.3.65 *katṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* thus rules genitive. This yields: *kumbha* + *ām*. Verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* will now qualify to receive affix *aṆ* leading to the derivation of *kāra*.

There is an interdependency between the introduction of an affix after a verbal root, and the introduction of the nominal ending after a stem to derive the word which constitutes an *upapada*. Rule 3.2.1 cannot introduce affix *aṆ* unless there is a cooccurring word with the denotatum of object. Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ...*, which introduces genitive after a *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' to denote the object, requires the cooccurrence of a derivate ending in a *kṛt* affix. That is, *aṆ* cannot be introduced unless genitive is introduced; the genitive could not be introduced unless *aṆ* was introduced. What is the way out of this *itaretarāśrayadoṣa* 'fault stemming out of mutual dependency'?. The cooccurrence of the *kṛt*-derivate has to be at least mentally (*buddhyā*) accepted. This clears the way for introduction of the nominal ending to denote *karman*. Note that the locative of *karmaṇi* in 3.2.1, at the strength of 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*, already approves the cooccurrence of the anticipated *kṛt*-derivate with another derivate which denotes an object. Thus, the co-occurrence of the *kṛt*-derivate has to be assumed prior to the introduction of a nominal ending denoting *karman*.

Note that such compounds are obligatory (*nitya*). Their analysed forms simply serve the heuristic purpose of making their meanings clear. Derivations can proceed even with the simple inference of *prātipadika* (+*karman*) *dhātu* (+*aṆ*). That is, the *karman* of rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* in the locative yields the following meaning when read with rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*:

> 'the *kṛt* affix *aṆ* occurs after a verbal root (*dhātoḥ*) when it (the root) cooccurs with a word denoting *karman*'.

Whether that *karman* is denoted at some point with a genitive, or an accusative, is not crucial for the derivate in *kṛt* on hand. It is for this reason that Varadarāja assumes *kumbha* + *am* as the *upapada*. This assumption of an accusative of the *upapada* is made based on the express mention of *karmaṇi* in the wording of this rule. Besides, it is more directly relatable to the *karman* of 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*. The fact still remains though that a majority of scholars favor the genitive ending with the *upapada*.

The tradition also believes that given the derived string: *kumbha* + *ām* + *kāra*, where *kāra* is a *kṛt*-derivate in *aṆ*, rule 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ* allows the compound formation even before a *sUP* is introduced after *kāra* (cf. *PŚ*): *gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāk sub-utpatteḥ* 'an item denoting *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*), *kāraka* (1.4.23 *kārake*), and

upapada (3.1.92 *tatropapadam...*) is combined with a syntactically related item ending in a *kṛt* prior to the introduction of a *sUP*')).

2. Refer to my discussion of the types of *karman* discussed under 1.4.49 *kartur īpsitatamaṃ karma*. *Kāśikā* illustrates this rule with examples of *nirvartya*, *vikārya*, and *prāpya*, all the three types of *karman*. This is done simply to refute observations of some that *aṆ*-derivates entail only that object which is defined by rule 1.4.49. Still others say that only two *karman*, *nirvartya* and *vikārya*, are to be covered. That the *prāpya* is not covered is known by the statement of Kātyāyana where he makes a provision only for the two. For an instance of the *prāpya-karman* of *vedādhyāyaḥ* 'Vedic recital', he says that special mention must be made. There are no instances of *prāpyakarman* with *aṆ* parallel to *grāmaṃ gacchati* '...goes to the village', *ādityaṃ paśyati* '... sees the sun', and *himavantaṃ śṛṇoti* 'listens to the Himālaya', because of a lack of usage (*anabhidhānāt*). The nature of *prāpyakarman* itself is believed to be the reason of lack of usage. For, it is not brought into existence from some previous state of non-existence like the *nirvartyakarman* of *kumbhaṃ karoti* '...makes a pot'. Nor is it brought forth with some modification from some previous state of existence like the *vikāryakarman* of *kāṇḍaṃ lunāti* '...is cutting the log (into pieces).' It simply denotes its relationship with the action: 'the object of...'.

3. A *vārttika* proposes that in case of *śīlI*, *kāmI*, *bhakṣI* and *ācarI*, a provision should be made for affix *Ṇa*. Additionally, the derivates should have the original accent of their first constituent. This will enable the derivation of *māṃsaśīlaḥ* 'he whose nature is to eat meat', *māṃsakāmaḥ* 'he whose nature is to desire meat', and *kalyāṇācāraḥ* 'he whose nature is to do good'. These derivates are recommended with *Ṇa* in view of their feminine counterparts. A derivate in *aṆ* requires *ṄīP* in its corresponding feminine. The *Ṇa* requires *ṬāP* in its feminine. Thus, it is to facilitate the correct feminine *māṃsaśīlā*, etc., in addition to proper accent, that *māṃsaśīla*, etc., is to be derived with *Ṇa*.

The derivation of *sukhapratīkṣaḥ* 'he whose nature is to endure a great deal' also requires *Ṇa* for obtaining the correct feminine derivate *sukhapratīkṣā*.

3.2.2 ह्वावामश्च

hvavāmaś ca

/hvāvāmaḥ 5/1 *ca* ∅

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91*)*

'hveñ sparddhāyāṃ śabde ca, veñ tantusantāne, māṅ māne' ity etebhyaś ca karmaṇy upapade' ṇ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *aṆ* also occurs after verbal roots *hveÑ* 'to call out', *veÑ* 'to weave' and *māṄ* 'to measure' when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

svargahvāyaḥ 'one who calls out to heaven'
tantuvāyaḥ 'a weaver'
dhānyamāyaḥ 'one who weighs grains'

1. It becomes clear from the *ā*-final (*hvā, vā, mā*) reference to *hveÑ* 'to call', *veÑ* 'to weave' and *māṄ* 'to measure' that this rule is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to the following. That is, these roots take *aṆ* as opposed to the *Ka* of the following rule, which is required of roots that end in *ā*. Note that rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ* introduces augment *yUK* after a verbal root which ends in -*ā* before a following *kṛt* affix marked with *Ṇ* or *M*. The roots of this rule thus qualify for *yUK*, which is not possible under the provision of the next rule.

3.2.3 आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः

āto' nupasarge kaḥ
/*ātaḥ* 5/1 *anupasarge* 7/1 = *avidyamāna upasargo yasya asau (bv.), tasmin; kaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1)
ākārāntebhyo' nupasargebhyaḥ karmaṇy upapade kapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal roots ending in *ā* when they are used without preverbs, and cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

pārṣṇitram 'that which protects the back'
aṅgulitram 'that which protects fingers; gloves'

1. This constitutes an exception to *aṆ*, and concerns roots terminated in -*ā* used without preverbs (*upasarga*). Affix *aṆ* will be introduced instead when the roots are used with preverbs. Thus, *gosandāyaḥ* 'he who properly makes the gift of a cow' is a counter-example where *dā* is used with the preverb *sam*.

3.2.4 सुपि स्थः

supi sthaḥ
/*supi* 7/1 *sthaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kaḥ* #3)
subanta upapade tiṣṭhateḥ kapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal root *sthā* 'to stand' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

samasthaḥ 'one who lives under normal conditions; happy'
viṣamasthaḥ 'one who lives under abnormal conditions; unhappy'

1. This rule introduces affix *Ka* after a verbal root when used in conjunction with a *pada* ending in *sUP*. The word *karmaṇi* is dropped since it cannot make any sense used with *sthā*, which is intransitive (*akarmaka*). Besides, *supi* 'when a *pada* ending in *sUP*' specifies a much more generalized cooccurrence condition.

2. There is a proposal to interpret this rule via *yogavibhāga* 'rule-splitting' as follows:

(*a*) *supi* where *ātaḥ* is carried to yield the interpretation, 'affix *Ka* is introduced after verbal roots which end in *ā* and occur in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *sUP*';

(*b*) *sthaś ca* where *ātaḥ* is not carried since *sthā* ends in *ā*. This yields the interpretation, 'affix *Ka* is introduced after verbal root *sthā* when it is used in conjunction with a word ending in *sUP*'.

What is the purpose of this *yogavibhāga*? And why make a reference to *sthā* separately from roots which end in *-ā*? Isn't *sthā* contained in the class of these roots? Commentators explain that the first split rule accounts for *Ka* where agent (*kartṛ*) is denoted. The second accounts for instances where *bhāva* 'root-sence' is denoted. If special effort is not made, the affix could only be interpreted as denoting *bhāva*. For, an affix with no specification of its meaning denotes the sense of its base (cf. *PŚ* 123: *anirdiṣṭāḥ pratyayā bhāve bhavanti*).

The word *dvipaḥ* denotes an 'elephant' characterized as: *dvābhyām (aṅgābhyāṃ) pibati* 'he who drinks with two limbs'. Clearly, affix *Ka* here denotes the agent of drinking. As opposed to this, *ākhūtthaḥ* (*ākhūnām utthānam*) 'the swarming of rats' denotes *bhāva*.

3. *Kāśikā* states that, from here on, both *karmaṇi* and *supi* should be carried. Derivates which contain a transitive verbal root will be read with the cooccurrence condition of *karmaṇi*. Others, otherwise, would have the condition of *supi*.

3.2.5 **तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः**

tundaśokayoḥ praimṛjāpanudoḥ
/tundaśokayoḥ 7/2 *parimṛjāpanudoḥ* 6/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kaḥ* #3)
tundaśokayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayoḥ parimṛjāpanudoḥ dhātvoḥ kapratyayo bhavati

Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal roots *mṛjŪ* 'to cleanse', used with the preverb *pari*, as well as after *ṆUnudI* 'to move', used with the preverb *apa*, when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which contains *tunda* 'belly, navel' and *śoka* 'grief' as *karman* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

tundaparimṛja āste 'the lazy one is sitting here'
śokāpanudaḥ putro jātaḥ 'a son, the remover of grief, is born'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *Ka* after verbal roots *mṛj* and *nud* used with *pari* and *apa* respectively. The cooccurrence condition is specified by *tunda* and *śoka* which constitute the *pada* which denotes object (*karmaṇi*). Thus we get the above examples.

A *vārttika* states that *tundaparimṛjaḥ* should be limited to denoting the meaning of 'lazy; he who sits idly doing nothing but cleaning his navel'. The word *śokāpanudaḥ* should similarly be limited to denoting 'someone who brings happiness'. This is to be stated in view of *śokāpanodaḥ*, a derivate of *aṆ*, meaning: 'one who (by explaining, for example, the impermanence (*anityatā*) of this world), removes grief by removing attachment, but who does not bring any joy'. In contrast, the 'son' (*putra*), not only removes the grief by removing the state of sonlessness but also brings joy.

An additional *vārttika* proposes that *mūlavibhuja* 'chariot', *nakhamuca* 'bow', *kākaguha* 'sesame' and *kumuda* 'white water lily' be derived with affix *Ka* by *nipātana*.

3.2.6 प्रे दाज्ञः

pre dājñaḥ
/*pre* 7/1 *dājñaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *karmaṇi* #1, *kaḥ* #3)
dadāter jānāteś ca dhātoḥ prenopasṛṣṭāt karmaṇy upapade kapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal roots *ḌUdāÑ* 'to give' and *jñā* 'to know' when they are used with the preverb *pra* and cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

sarvapradaḥ 'he who gives everything'
pathiprajñaḥ 'he who knows the roads very well'

1. This rule requires introduction of affix *Ka* after verbal roots *dā* 'to give' and *jñā* 'to know' used with the preverb *pra*. Note that roots terminated in -*ā*, and used without any preverbs, are already provided with affix *Ka* (2.3.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*). This rule starts the introduction of affixes where roots could be used with preverbs. In the absence of this rule, the roots could have qualified for *aṆ*. In this sense, this rule is an exception to the rule which introduces *aṆ*. The cooccurrence condition is still constituted by a word denoting *karman*.

3.2.7 समि ख्यः

sami khyaḥ
/*sami* 7/1 *khyaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *kaḥ* #3)
sampurvāt khāy ity etasmād dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade kapratyayo bhavati

Affix *Ka* occurs after verbal root *khyāÑ* 'to relate, tell', used with the preverb *sam*, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

gosaṃkhyaḥ 'he who counts the cows'

1. This rule offers nothing new as compared with the preceding one. Note, however, that *khyā* here denotes the replacement *khyāÑ* of *cakṣiṄ* 'to relate' (2.4.54 *cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ*).

3.2.8 गापोष्टक्

gāpoṣṭak
/*gāpoḥ* 6/2 *ṭak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *anupasarge* #3)
gāyateḥ pibateś ca dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade' nupasarge ṭak pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṬaK* occurs after verbal roots *gai* 'to sing' and *pā* 'to drink' used without a preverb when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

śakragaḥ 'he who sings the praises of Indra'
sāmagaḥ 'he who recites the *Sāmaveda*'
surāpaḥ 'he who drinks liquor'

1. This rule carries both '*karmaṇi*' as well as '*anupasarge*'. The *K* as an *it* in the affix facilitates application of rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa...* The *Ṭ* conditions the feminine derivate to end in *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*).

2. A *vārttika* proposes for affix *ṬaK* to be introduced after *pā* 'to drink', and *surā* and *śīdhu* 'liquor' to constitute its cooccurring objects. Thus, we get *surāpaḥ* 'he who drinks liquor', *surāpī* 'she who drinks liquor'. Similarly, *śīdhupaḥ* and *śīdhupī*. Note that if *pā* means 'to protect' then *ṬaK* cannot be used. Thus, we get: *surāpā* 'one who protects the liquor'. Similarly, if the object is not constituted by *surā*, the form will be different. This is illustrated by the difference in the feminine form: *kṣīrapā brāhmaṇī* 'a *brāhmaṇa* (widow) woman subsisting on milk'. The feminine is *kṣīrapā* parallel to *surāpī*. Consider the following where feminine is formed variously:

yā brāhmaṇī (surāpī/surāpā) bhavati naināṃ devāḥ patilokaṃ nayanti 'gods do not reunite a *brāhmaṇa* woman with her husband after death if she drinks liquor'.

3.2.9 हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच्

harater anudyamane' c
/*harateḥ* 5/1 *anudyamane* 7/1 *ac* 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1)
harater dhātor anudyamane varttamānāt karmaṇy upapade' c pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aC* occurs after verbal root *hṛÑ* 'to carry, fetch' when it cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and *anudyamana* 'lack of effort' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

aṃśaharaḥ 'he who receives a share'
rikthaharaḥ 'he who inherits wealth'

1. This rule introduces affix *aC* after verbal root *hṛÑ* when it is used without a preverb, and cooccurs with a *pada* denoting an object, provided *udyamana* 'to lift or hurl' is not expressed. This affix constitutes an exception to *aṆ*. Thus, we get: *bhārahāraḥ* 'porter' in *aṆ* as opposed to *aṃśaharaḥ* in *aC*.

2. A *vārttika* enumerates some cooccurrence conditions under which *grah* 'to grab' should be allowed affix *aC*. Thus, we get: *śaktigrahaḥ* 'he who holds a spear', *lāṅgalagrahaḥ* 'plough-man', *aṅkuśagrahaḥ* 'the elephant trainer', *yaṣṭigrahaḥ* 'an ascetic with a shaft', and *dhanurgrahaḥ* 'an archer', etc. Another *vārttika* advocates the derivation of *sūtragrahaḥ* 'holder of the thread; one who wears the sacred thread', also from *aC* under the specific meaning condition of 'holding'. Elsewhere, we get the form: *sūtragrāhaḥ* 'he who brings or produces the thread'

3.2.10 वयसि च

vayasi ca
/vayasi 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, harateḥ, ac #9)
vayasi gamyamāne harateḥ karmaṇy upapade' c pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aC* also occurs after verbal root *hṛÑ*when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the derivate signifies *vayas* 'age'.

EXAMPLES:

asthiharaḥ 'a dog old enough to chew on bones'
kavacaharaḥ 'a *kṣatriya* old enough to wear protective armor'

1. This rule introduces affix *aC* in the context of *udyamana* which the preceding rule denies. Note that *udyamana*, whether real or imagined, must be relatable to a stage in life, i.e., youth, etc., which, in turn, is brought about by passage of time (*Kāś. yad udyamanaṃ kriyamāṇaṃ sambhāvyamānaṃ vā vayo gamayati tatrāyaṃ vidhiḥ*).

3.2.11 आङि ताच्छील्ये

āṅi tācchīlye
/*āṅi* 7/1 *tācchīlye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *harateḥ ac* #9)
āṅpūrvād harateḥ karmaṇy upapade' c pratyayo bhavati tācchīlye gamyamāne
Affix *aC* occurs after verbal root *hṛÑ* used with the preverb *āṄ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the derivate denotes *tācchīlya* 'natural inclination; characteristic nature'.

EXAMPLES:

puṣpāharaḥ 'he whose nature is to bring flowers'
phalāharaḥ 'he whose nature is to bring fruits'

1. This rule requires the introduction of *aC* after *hṛÑ* when it is used with the preverb *āṄ*, cooccurs with a word denoting an object, and *tācchīlya* is denoted by the derivate. Thus, we get *puṣpāharaḥ* 'he whose nature is to bring flowers'. The sense of *tācchīlya* is, here, explained by *Kāśikā* as: *puṣpādyāharaṇe svābhāvikī phalānapekṣā pravṛttir asya* 'he whose involvement in fetching the flowers, etc., is natural; without any expectation of results'. Elsewhere, we get: *bhārahāraḥ* 'he who carries the load for wages'.

3.2.12 अर्हः

arhaḥ
/*arhaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *ac* #9)
'arha pūjāyām' asmād dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade' c pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aC* occurs after verbal root *arhA* 'to deserve' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

pūjārhā 'she who deserves respect'

1. This rule allows for *aC* after *arhA* cooccurring with a word which denotes *karman*. It is an exception to the *aṆ*, and the corresponding derivates differ in the feminine. Thus we get derivates such as *pūjārhā*. It is because of affix *aC* that feminine affix *ṬāP* is introduced by 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*. The *aṆ* derivate will entail *ṄīP* by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*

Derivation of the masculine form does not offer anything special with reference to the selection of affixes.

3.2.13 स्तम्बकर्णयोः रमिजपोः

stambakarṇayoḥ ramijapoḥ
/stambakarṇayoḥ 7/2 *ramijapoḥ* 6/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *supi* #4, *ac* #9)
'stamba, karṇa' ity etayoḥ subantayor upapadayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ramijapor dhātvor ac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aC* occurs after verbal roots *ramA* 'to sport' and *japA* 'to whisper, chant' when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *stamba* 'grass' and *karṇa* 'ear' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

stamberamaḥ 'one who finds joy in playing with the pile of grass; elephant'
karṇejapaḥ 'one who whispers in the ear; fault-finder'

1. Note that *stamba* and *karṇa* do not here constitute the *pada* which denotes *karman*. For, *ramI* 'to play' is intransitive (*akarmaka*) and *jap* 'to mutter, chant' has *śabda* 'noise' as its only object. This is why *supi* is selected, as opposed to *karmaṇi*, to refer to the cooccurring word. Both *stamba* and *karṇa* should end in the locative (*saptamī*). Thus we get *stamberamaḥ* 'one who finds joy in playing with the pile of grass; an eleplant' and *karṇejapaḥ* 'fault-finder, slanderer'.

3.2.14 शमि धातोः संज्ञायाम्

śami dhātoḥ saṃjñāyām
/śami 7/1 *dhātoḥ* 5/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ac* #9)
śamy upapade dhātumātrāt saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye' c pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aC* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* which contains *śam* 'to be tranquil, beneficial' and the derivate signifies a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

śaṃkarā nāma privrājikā 'a wandering female ascetic named *Śaṃkarā*'
śaṃkarā nāma śakunikā 'a bird named *śaṃkarā*'

1. This rule introduces affix *aC* after verbal roots in general when *śam* constitutes the cooccurring word, and the derivate is to denote a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus we get: *śaṃkaraḥ* 'Lord Śiva'. Why did Pāṇini use the word

dhātoḥ again? This is to indicate that whenever there is a rule which may block introduction of *aC*, that rule should be blocked by *aC* instead (*bādhakabādhanārtha*). For example, consider rule 3.2.20 *kṛño hetutācchīlyānulomyeṣu* which introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *kṛÑ* when the cooccurring object denotes *hetu* 'cause', *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature', and *ānulomya* 'amiability'. Now, if one wants to derive *śaṃkara* 'he whose nature it is to do good', rule 3.2.20 would become applicable. The purpose of restating *dhātoḥ* in our present rule is to block affix *Ṭa* in favor of *aC*. Thus, *Śaṃkara* will invariably be derived by *aC*. That is, all other things being equal, the consequence of blocking *Ṭa* by *aC* can be seen in the feminine derivate parallel to *śaṃkara*, the *aC*-derivate. The feminine form is derived by the introduction of affix *ṬāP* (4.1.14 *ajādy*...). That is, the form will be *śaṃkarā*, and not *śaṃkarī*, a derivate in *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...) parallel to the masculine derivate in *Ṭa* derived by 3.2.20 *kṛño hetu*...

3.2.15 अधिकरणे शेतेः

adhikaraṇe śeteḥ
/*adhikaraṇe* 7/1 *śeteḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ac* #9)
śeter dhātor adhikaraṇe subanta upapade' c pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aC* occurs after verbal root *śīṄ* 'to recline' when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'.

EXAMPLES:

khaśayaḥ 'one who reclines in the sky; bird'
garttaśayaḥ 'one who reclines in a hollow'

1. The *pada* which satisfies the cooccurrence condition must, here, be inferred as *supi*, since *karman* cannot make sense on account of the intransitive (*akarmaka*) *śī* 'to recline, sleep'. The meaning condition of *adhikaraṇe* further makes it possible to infer that the cooccurring word ends in the locative (*saptamī*). Thus we get *khe* = *ākāśe śete* = *khaśayaḥ*.

2. There are four *vārttika* under this rule which, in one way or the other, propose the introduction of affix *aC* when the cooccurrence condition of *adhikaraṇa* is not met. Consequently, we get *pārśva* 'side' in the derivation of *pārśvaśayaḥ* 'one who sleeps on his sides'. Similarly, we get *udaraśayaḥ* 'he who sleeps on his belly' and *pṛṣṭhaśayaḥ* 'he who sleeps on his back'. Yet another *vārttika* proposes the derivation of *uttānaśayaḥ* 'he who sleeps facing up' and *avamūrddhaśayaḥ* 'he who sleeps face-down'. The first *vārttika* implies that the cooccurring word ends in the instrumental. The second implies that it ended in the nominative. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

3.2.16 चरेष्टः

careṣṭaḥ
/careḥ 5/1 *ṭaḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *adhikaraṇe* #15)
carater dhātor adhikaraṇe subanta upapade ṭapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *car* 'to wander' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes locus (*adhikaraṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

kurucaraḥ 'he who wanders in the country of the Kurus'
kurucarī 'she who wanders in the country of the Kurus'

1. This rule carries *adhikaraṇe* from the preceding rule. Consequently, affix *Ṭa* is introduced after *car*. Of course, the cooccurring word which ends in the locative (*saptamī*) will denote *adhikaraṇa*. Thus we get *kurucarī* = *kuruṣu carati yā sā* 'she who wanders in the country of the Kurus'. The new affix *Ṭa*, as opposed to *aC*, is intended for the feminine derivate in *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*). The masculine in both cases would be *kurucaraḥ*. However, the feminine in the absence of *Ṭa* would have been *kurucarā*, a derivate in *ṬāP* by 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ...*

3.2.17 भिक्षासेनादायेषु च

bhikṣāsenādāyeṣu ca
/bhikṣāsenādāyeṣu 7/3 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91,
supi # 4, *careṣ ṭaḥ* # 16)
'bhikṣā, senā, ādāya' ity eteṣūpapadeṣu carer dhātoṣ ṭapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *car* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *bhikṣā* 'alms', *senā* 'army' and *ādāya* 'having obtained, brought'.

EXAMPLES:

bhikṣācaraḥ 'one who begs for alms'
senācaraḥ 'one who joins the army; soldier'
ādāyacaraḥ 'one who, after having obtained something, eats, or departs'

1. This rule again introduces affix *Ṭa*, but not in the sense of *adhikaraṇa*. Furthermore, it enumerates items such as *bhikṣā* 'alms', *senā* 'army' and *ādāya* 'having brought' which must constitute the cooccurring words

ending in *sUP*. For example, we get *bhiksāṃ carati* = *bhikṣācaraḥ* 'a beggar; he who earns alms' and *senāṃ carati* = *senācaraḥ* 'a soldier; he who joins or visits the army'. Obviously, these two are in consonance with *karmaṇi*, which forms the cooccurrence condition. The third *ādāyacaraḥ* has *ādāya* constituting the cooccurring word. It is a derivate in *LyaP* (7.1.37 *samāse' nañpūrve ktro lyap*) that denotes prior time (*pūrvakāla*). That is, it does not meet the condition of denoting an object. It is stated that *ādāya* would, here, denote the object at the strength of the Pāṇinian citation (*uccāraṇa-sāmarthya*). Consequently, *ādayācaraḥ* is explained as: 'one who, after having obtained something, eats, or departs'.

3.2.18 पुरोऽग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्त्तेः

puro' grato' greṣu sartteḥ
/puro' grato' greṣu 7/3 *sartteḥ* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṭa* #16*)*
'puras, agratas, agra' ity eteṣūpapadeṣu sartter dhātoṣ ṭa pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *sṛ* 'to crawl, move' when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *puras, agratas* or *agre* 'front'.

EXAMPLES:

puraḥsaraḥ 'he who goes ahead; messenger'
agratahsaraḥ 'id.; leader'
agresaraḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *sṛ* when it is used with a cooccurring word constituted by *puraḥ*, *agrataḥ* and *agre*. The form *agre* is given, by way of *nipātana*, to ensure the derivation of *agresaraḥ*.

3.2.19 पूर्वे कर्त्तरि

pūrve kartari
/pūrve 7/1 *kartari* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṭaḥ* #16, *sartteḥ* #18*)*
pūrvaśabde kartṛvāciny upapade sartter dhātoṣ ṭapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *sṛ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pūrva* as *kartṛ* 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvasaraḥ 'one who goes first'

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *sṛ* used in conjunction with *pūrva* as the agent. An example in point is: *pūrvasaraḥ*. This derivate should be contrasted with *pūrvasāraḥ* 'he who moves to the Eastern country', parallel to *pūrvadeśaṃ sarati*, a derivate in *aṆ* where the cooccurring word denotes an object.

3.2.20 ख्याजङ्घाबाह्वहर्यत्तद्धनुररुष्षु

kṛño hetutācchīlyānulomyeṣu
/kṛñaḥ 5/1 *hetutācchīlyānulomyeṣu* 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *karmaṇi* #1, *ṭa* #16)
karmaṇy upapade karoter dhātoṣ ṭapratyayo bhavati hetau tācchīlye ānulomye ca gamyamāne
Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*, and the derivates denote *hetu* 'cause', *tācchilya* or *ānulomya* 'amiability, favorableness'.

EXAMPLES:

śokakarī 'that which causes grief'
yaśaskarī 'that which brings fame'
śrāddhakaraḥ 'one who performs the *śrāddha* (ritual offering for the dead)'
arthakaraḥ 'that which brings riches'
praiṣakaraḥ 'one who does as ordered'
vacanakaraḥ 'he who does as is told'

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ*; under the condition of a conjoined *karman*, when the derivate denotes *hetu* 'cause', *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature', and *ānulomya* 'amiability'. Thus we get: *yaśkarī vidyā* 'knowledge which is *hetu* (the cause) behind fame', *arthakaraḥ* 'he whose nature is to earn money', and *vacanakaraḥ putraḥ* 'a son who does what is asked of him' respectively. Note that affix *aṆ* (2.3.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*) must be introduced outside these meanings.

3.2.21 दिवाविभानिशाप्रभाभास्करान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिबिबलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रक्षेत्रसं-ख्याजङ्घाबाह्वहर्यत्तद्धनुररुष्षु

divāvibhāniśāprabhābhāskarāntānantādibahunāndīkiṃlipilibibalibhaktikartṛcitrakṣetrasaṃkhyājaṅghābāhvaharyattaddhanuraruṣṣu
/divā...aruṣṣu 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *karmaṇi* #1, *supi* #4, *ṭaḥ* #16, *kṛñaḥ* #20)
divādiṣūpapadeṣu karoter dhātoṣ ṭapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains one of the following:

divā 'day', *vibhā* 'illumination, *niśā* 'night', *prabhā* 'light', *bhāsa* 'illumination', *anta* 'end', *ananta* 'endless', *ādi* 'beginning', *bahu* 'many, much', *nāndī* 'benediction', *kim* 'what', *lipi* 'script', *libi* 'script', *bali* 'ritual oblation', *bhakti* 'devotion', *kartṛ* 'doer', *citra* 'colorful, picture', *kṣetra* 'field', *saṃkhyā* 'numerals', *jaṅghā* 'thigh', *bāhu* 'arm', *ahan* 'day', *yad* 'that which (relative pronoun)', *tad* 'that which', *dhanus* 'bow' or *arus* 'wound'.

EXAMPLES:

divākaraḥ 'sun'
vibhākaraḥ 'id.'
niśākaraḥ 'moon'
bhāskaraḥ 'sun'
antakaraḥ '...one who brings something to an end; death'
anantakaraḥ 'he who does endless things'
ādikaraḥ 'one who begins; creator; founder'
bahukaraḥ 'one who does so many things'
nāndīkaraḥ 'he who recites the invocation'
kiṃkaraḥ 'servant'
lipikaraḥ 'copier'
libikaraḥ 'id.'
balikaraḥ 'one who offers ritual oblation'
bhaktikaraḥ 'devotee'
kartṛkaraḥ 'agent of doing'
citrakaraḥ 'maker of colorful objects; painter'
kṣetrakaraḥ 'farmer'
ekakaraḥ 'one who does only one thing at a time'
jaṅghākaraḥ 'runner; courier'
bāhukaraḥ 'laborer; brave'
ahaskaraḥ 'sun'
yatkaraḥ 'he who does what is needed'
tatkaraḥ 'he who does only what he is told'
dhanuṣkaraḥ 'bow-maker; archer'
aruṣkaraḥ 'wound'

1. Note that this rule introduces affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* outside contexts covered by the preceding rule. Furthermore, the cooccurring words of this rule may or may not denote an object. This necessitates that both *karmaṇi* as well as *supi* be carried here. Which one is to be associated with a given derivate depends on whether or not the item cited in this rule can constitute an object. For example, since the word *divā* 'during the day' primarily denotes *adhikaraṇa* 'locus', its use in the derivation is to be made relative to the cooccurrence denoted by *supi*. Note, however, that the denotation of object by *divā*, in connection with *ḌUkṛÑ*, is not

impossible to comprehend. The remaining items can constitute the object. Thus, *prabhāṃ karoti* = *prabhākaraḥ* 'that which brings out light; Sun', etc.

2. Commentators inform that the word *bhāskara* is indicated, here, as having *-s* by *nipātana*. That is, the *-s* does not change to *visarga* via *r* (*rutva-visarga*). See the appendix for other derivational details.

3. A *vārttika* under this rule states that affix *aC* is to be introduced after *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root cooccurs with *kim* 'what', *yad* 'that which', *tad* 'that' and *bahu* 'many'. This statement is necessary so that feminine derivates, parallel to the masculine in *aC*, can be formed with affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*). Note that a derivate which terminates in *Ṭa* is required to take the feminine affix *ṄīP* in view of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*

3.2.22 कर्मणि भृतौ

karmaṇi bhṛtau
/*karmaṇi* 7/1 *bhṛtau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *ṭa* #16, *kṛñaḥ* #20)
karmavācini karmaśabda upapade karoteṣ ṭa pratyayo bhavati bhṛtau gamyamānāyām
Affix *Ṭa* occurs after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *karman* 'action; thing to be done' as object and the derivate signifies *bhṛti* 'wages'.

EXAMPLES:

karmakaraḥ 'one who works for wages; servant'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *Ṭa* when *ḌUkṛÑ* is used with a cooccurring word which not only denotes *karman* 'object', but is also constituted by *karman* 'action'. The derivate must additionally denote *bhṛti* 'wages; substistence'. Note that *karman* of this rule is interpreted as denoting its word-form only (*svarūpa*). If the derivate does not denote wage-earning, affix *aṆ* will be applied to derive *karmakāraḥ* 'one who does something without any wages'. Obviously, in the context of wages (*bhṛti*), *karman* 'work' becomes the price (*nirveśa*) paid for the work accomplished.

3.2.23 न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचाटुसूत्रमन्त्रपदेषु

na śabdaślokakalahagāthāvairacāṭusūtramantrapadeṣu
/*na* 0 *śabda...padeṣu* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *ṭa* #16, *kṛñaḥ* #20)
śabdādiṣūpapadeṣu karoteṣ ṭapratyayo na bhavati

Affix *Ṭa* does not occur after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root co-occurs with a nominal *pada* with *śabda* 'word', *śloka* 'verse of praise', *kalaha* 'quarrel', *gāthā* 'story', *vaira* 'enmity', *cāṭu* 'sycophant', *sūtra* 'a rule', *mantra* 'a *mantra*' or *pada* 'word' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

śabdakāraḥ 'grammarian'
ślokakāraḥ 'he who writes verses of praise; poet'
kalahakāraḥ 'he who quarrels'
gāthākāraḥ 'writer of a story'
vairakāraḥ 'enemy'
cāṭukāraḥ 'sycophant'
sūtrakāraḥ 'he who formulates rules'
mantrakāraḥ 'he to whom a *mantra* is revealed; sage'
padakāraḥ 'he who divides the *saṃhitā* text into the *pada* text'

1. Note that the negation of this rule is aimed against the positive provision of affix *Ṭa* made available after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* by rule 3.2.20 *kṛño hetu...* Rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* will now introduce the general (*autsargika*) affix *aṆ* in these contexts where *Ṭa* is negated.

3.2.24 स्तम्बशकृतोरिन्

stambaśakṛtor in
|stambaśakṛtoḥ 7/2 in 1/1|
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, kṛñaḥ #20)
'stamba, śakṛt' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayor in pratyayo bhavati
Affix *iN* occurs after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *stamba* 'bundle of grass' and *śakṛt* 'excrement' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

stambakariḥ 'bundle of grass; paddy'
śakṛtkariḥ 'one which excretes all the time; a calf'

1. This rule introduces affix *iN* after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when *stamba* and *śakṛt* constitute the cooccurring objects. A *vārttika* under this rule proposes that such derivates should be limited to denoting the sense of paddy (*vrīhi*) and calf (*vatsa*). For, elsewhere, the derivates will entail *aṆ* with forms such as *stambakāraḥ* 'sheaf-maker' and *śakṛtkāraḥ* 'he who excretes'.

3.2.25 हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ

harater dṛtināthayoḥ paśau

/harateḥ 5/ dṛtināthayoḥ 7/3 paśau 7/ /
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, in #24)
dṛti, nātha ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadáyoḥ harater dhātau paśau kartari in pratyayo bhavati
Affix *iN* occurs after verbal root *hṛ* 'to carry' when the root coöccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *dṛti* 'leather bag' or *nātha* 'lord, master' as *karman* and the derivate denotes an animal (*paśu*) agent.

EXAMPLES:

dṛtihariḥ paśuḥ 'an animal carrying a big leather bag full of water'
nāthahariḥ paśuḥ 'an animal carrying its master'

1. Affix *iN* is also introduced after verbal root *hṛ* when the cooccurring object is constituted by *dṛti* and *nātha*, and the derivate denotes an animal agent. Thus, *nāthahariḥ* denotes an animal which carries its master. Outside the meaning condition of an animal, the derivates have to be derived with affix *aṆ* as in *nāthahāraḥ* 'he who carries his master'.

3.2.26 **फलेग्रहिरात्मम्भरिश्च**

phalegrahir ātmaṃbhariś ca
/phalegrahiḥ 1/1 ātmaṃbhariḥ 1/1 ca Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, in #24)
phalegrahiḥ ātmaṃbhariḥ ity etau śabdau nipātyete
Affix *iN* also occurs by *nipātana* in the derivation of *phalegrahiḥ* and *ātmaṃbhariḥ*.

EXAMPLES:

phalegrahiḥ 'that which bears fruit; tree'
ātmaṃbhariḥ 'he who provides for his own self; self-centered'

1. This rule introduces affix *iN* after *grah* and *bhṛÑ* by means of *nipātana* to derive *phalegrahiḥ* 'that which holds (bears) fruit; tree' and *ātmaṃbhariḥ* 'he who provides for himself'. The first example entails the cooccurrence of *phala* 'fruit' with its termination in *e* both by *nipātana*. Similarly, the cooccurrence of *ātman* with the augment *mUM* is also accomplished via *nipātana* in the second example.
2. Commentators state that *ca* is used here to bring something which may have remained unstated (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). Thus, we also get: *kukṣimbhariḥ* and *udarambhariḥ* meaning 'he whose preoccupation is always to fill his belly'

3.2.27 छन्दसि वनसनरक्षिमथाम्

chandasi vanasanarakṣimathām
/chandasi 7/1 *vanasanarakṣimathām* 6/3/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *in* #24)
'vana ṣaṇa sambhaktau, rakṣa pālane, matha vilodane' ity etebhyaḥ karmaṇy upapade chandasi viṣaye in pratyayo bhavati
Affix *iN* occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal roots *vanĀ* and *ṣaṇĀ* 'to respect, win', *raksA* 'to protect' and *manthA* 'to churn' when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which denotes *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇavaním... '...honoring a *brāhmaṇa...*'
gosaním... '...winning a cow...'
páthirakṣi... '... protector of the road...'
hávirmathīnām... '...the ritual oblation of food churned out...'

3.2.28 एजेः खश्

ejeḥ khaś
/ejeḥ 5/1 *khaś* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* # 1)
'ejṛ kampane' ity asmād ṇyantāt karmaṇy upapade khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaŚ* occurs after verbal root *ejṚ* 'to tremble', used with *ṆiC* 'causative', when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

aṅgamejayaḥ 'he who causes limbs to tremble with fear'
janamejayaḥ 'he who causes people to tremble with fear'

1. Note that affix *KHaŚ* is marked with two elements of *it*: *KH* and *Ś*. The first is intended for the introduction of augment *mUM* by rule 6.3.66 *arurdviṣad...*; the second is needed to facilitate the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113 *tiṅśit....* The verbal root is specified as *eji* which refers to the causal form (*ṇyanta*) of *ejṚ* 'to tremble'.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule proposes the introduction of affix *KHaŚ* after verbal roots *ajA* 'to go', *dheṬ* 'to suck', *tud* 'to torment' and *OhāK* 'to abandon' when they are used with cooccurring words constituted by *vāta* 'wind', *śunī* 'female dog', *tila* 'sesame' and *śarddha* 'flatus' respectively. Thus we get: *vātamajāḥ* 'the deer which move with the swiftness of wind', *śunindhayaḥ'* 'those which suckle at the breast of a female dog; puppies', *tilantudaḥ* 'those who crush the sesame for oil; oilmen' and *śarddhañjahāḥ* (*māṣāḥ*) 'the Mung beans which cause excessive gas'.

3.2.29 नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्माधेटोः

nāsikāstanayor dhmādheṭoḥ
/nāsikāstanayoḥ 7/2 dhmādheṭoḥ 6/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khaś #28)
nāsikāstanayoḥ karmaṇy upapadayor dhmādheṭor dhātvoḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaŚ* occurs after verbal roots *dhmā* 'to blow, beat' and *dheṬ* 'to suckle, drink' when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *nāsikā* 'nose' and *stana* 'breast' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

nāsikandhamaḥ 'he who blows through his nose'
nāsikandhayaḥ 'he who drinks through his nose'
stanandhayaḥ 'one who suckles at the breast...; an infant'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *KHaŚ* after verbal roots *dhmā* and *dheṬ* when they cooccur with objects constituted by *nāsikā* and *stana*.

Note that *nāsikāstana* of *nāsikāstanayoḥ* does not follow the rule of constituent ordering specified for such compounds. That is, it does not prepose *stana* as rule 2.2.34 *alpāc taram* would demand on the basis of comparatively fewer vowels in *stana*. This transposition in order consequently indicates that the principle of *yathāsaṃkhya* (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*) is not desired in connection with the assignment of equivalency of cooccurring words and the verbs of this rule. That is, the rule should not be interpreted as meaning that '*KHaŚ*' is introduced after *dhmā* and *dheṬ* when *nasikā* and *stana* constitute the cooccurring words'. In fact, *stana* constitutes a cooccurring word only in the context of *dheṬ* On the other hand, *nāsikā* appears in the context of both the verbs.

2. The feminine derivate parallel to *stanandhayaḥ* is derived as *stanandhayī* with affix *ṄīP* as per rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...* at the strength of *Ṭ* as an *it* in the verb.

3.2.30 नाडीमुष्ट्योश्च

nāḍīmuṣṭyoś ca
/nāḍīmuṣṭyoḥ 7/2 ca 0 /
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khaś #28, dhmādheṭoḥ #29)
Affix *KHaŚ* occurs after verbal roots *dhmā* and *dheṭ* when the roots also cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *nāḍī* 'tube, vein' and *muṣṭi* 'fist' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

nāḍindhamaḥ 'he who blows through a tube'
muṣṭindhamaḥ 'he who blows through his fist'
nāḍindhayaḥ 'he who drinks through a tube'
muṣṭindhayaḥ 'he who suckles at the breast through his fist; an infant'

1. Here again the assignment of equivalency of cooccurring words and verbal roots *dhmā* and *dheṬ* is not made according to the order of enumeration (*saṃkhyātānudeśa*) for reasons similar to those discussed in connection with the preceding rule.

2. Particle *ca* is again used to facilitate the derivation of forms for which no statement is made (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). This way, we can account for the derivates of *KHaŚ* such as *ghaṭindhamaḥ* 'he who blows through a pitcher', *ghaṭindhayaḥ* 'he who drinks from a pitcher', *khārindhamaḥ* 'kettle drummer', *khārindhayaḥ* 'he who drinks from a kettle', *vātandhamaḥ* and *vātandhayaḥ* 'mountain'.

3.2.31 उदि कूले रुजिवहोः

udi kūle rujivahoḥ
/*udi* 7/1 *kūle* 7/1 *rujivahoḥ* 6/2/
(*pratyayoḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *khaś* #28)
'rujo bhaṅge, vaha prāpaṇe' ity etābhyām utpūrvābhyāṃ kūle karmaṇy upapade khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaŚ* occurs after verbal roots *ruj* 'to break, shatter' and *vahA* 'to carry', used with the preverb *ud*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *kūla* 'bank' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

kūlamudrujaḥ 'that which breaks the embankment; a chariot, or river'
kūlamudvahaḥ 'the river which washes away the embankment'

1. This rule introduces affix *KHaŚ* after verbal roots *ruj* and *vah* used with the preverb *ud* when they cooccur with a word constituted by *kūla* 'edge' denoting *karman* 'object'. Thus we get *kūlamudrujaḥ*. Note that *udi*, when interpreted as locative, cannot qualify for cooccurrence condition. It must therefore serve the function of indicating the use of the preverb *ud* with the verb.

3.2.32 वहाभ्रे लिहः

vahābre lihaḥ
/*vahābhre* 7/1 *lihaḥ* 5/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khaś #28)
'vaha, abhra' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayoḥ liher dhātoḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaŚ* occurs after verbal root *lihA* 'to lick' when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *vaha* 'shoulder' and *abhra* 'cloud' as *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

vahaṃlihaḥ gauḥ 'that which licks its yoke-hurt shoulders; an ox'
abhraṃlihaḥ 'that which reaches the clouds; a palace, or winds that carry the clouds'

1. This rule introduces affix *KHaŚ* after verbal root *lih* when *vaha* and *abhra* constitute the cooccurring objects. Thus, we get: *vahaṃlihaḥ* and *abhraṃlihaḥ*.

3.2.33 परिमाणे पचः

parimāṇe pacaḥ
/parimāṇe 7/1 *pacaḥ* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khaś #28)
parimāṇe karmaṇy upapade paceḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaŚ* occurs after verbal root *ḌUpacAṢ* 'to cook' when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *parimāṇa* 'a measure' as *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

prasthampacā sthālī 'a pot big enough for cooking food equal in weight to a *prastha*'
droṇampacaḥ 'a pot big enough for cooking food equal in weight to a *droṇa*'
khārimpacaḥ kaṭāhaḥ 'a kettle which is big enough for cooking food equal in weight to a *khārī*'

1. This rule introduces affix *KHaŚ* when what constitutes the cooccurring object denotes *parimāṇa* 'measure'. Thus, *prasthampacā* (*sthālī*) denotes a pot which is big enough for cooking something equal in weight to a *prastha.* Note that a *prastha* equals one-fourth of the weight of a *droṇa* which itself is one-sixteenth of a *khāri.* A *khāri* could be close to 150 kilograms in weight.

3.2.34 **मितनखे च**

mitanakhe ca
/mitanakhe 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *khaś* #28, *pacaḥ* #33)
'mita, nakha' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayoḥ paceḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaŚ* also occurs after verbal root *ḌUpacAṢ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *mita* 'measured, limited' and *nakha* 'nails' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

mitampacā brāhmaṇī 'a *brāhmaṇa* woman who cooks very limited amount of food'
nakhampacā yavāgūḥ 'barley gruel so hot that could burn the nails'

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *pac*, and introduces affix *KHaŚ* to derive the stated examples when *mita* and *nakha* constitute the cooccurring objects.

3.2.35 **विध्वरुषोस्तुदः**

vidhvaruṣos tudaḥ
/vidhvaruṣoḥ 7/2 *tudaḥ* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *khaś* #28)
'vidhu, arus' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayoḥ tuder dhātoḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaŚ* occurs after verbal root *tud* 'to torment' when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *vidhu* 'moon' and *arus* 'wound' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

vidhuntudaḥ rāhuḥ 'Rāhu (one of the moon's nodes) which, according to mythology, torments (eclipses) the moon'
aruntudaḥ 'an acutely painful wound'

3.2.36 **असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः**

asūryalalāṭayor dṛśitapoḥ
/asūryalalāṭayoḥ 7/2 *dṛśitapoḥ* 6/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *khaś* #28)
'asūrya, lalāṭa' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayoḥ dṛśitapor dhātoḥ khaś pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KHaŚ* occurs after verbal roots *dṛśIR* 'to see' and *tapA* 'to heat, be hot' when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *asūrya* 'not... sun' and *lalāṭa* 'forehead' respectively as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

asūryampaśyā rājadārāḥ 'women of the royalty who do not even see the sun let alone any other man'
lalāṭantapaḥ sūryaḥ 'that which burns the forehead; blazing sun'

1. This rule introduces affix *KHaŚ* after verbal roots *dṛśIR* and *tapA* when they cooccur with an object constituted by forms such as *asūrya* and *lalāṭa* 'forehead' respectively. Thus *asūryampaśyā rājadārāḥ*. Note that *asūrya* entails *naÑ* 'negation' of *darśana* 'seeing' denoted by *dṛśIR* which gets replaced with *paśya* (7.3.78 *pāghrā...*). Affix *KHaŚ* cannot be introduced if the negation related to Sun (*sūrya*). Thus, *naÑ* negates the verb and not the noun Sun. The compound lacks *sāmarthya* 'fitness' based on syntactico-semantic relation, and hence, its formation is allowed only at the strength of this rule.

3.2.37 **उग्रम्पश्येरम्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च**

ugrampaśyerammadapāṇindhamāś ca
/ugram...dhamāḥ 1/3 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *khaś* #28)
'ugrampaśya, irammada, pāṇindhama' ity ete śabdā nipātyante
Affix *KHaŚ* also occurs after verbal roots in the derivation of *ugrampaśya, irammada* and *pāṇindhama* by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

ugrampaśyaḥ 'he who is fierce looking'
irammadaḥ 'one who takes delight in drinking; Agni; lightning in the clouds'
pāṇindhamaḥ 'a road which is traversed while clapping to ward off animals, snakes, etc.; a lonely, dark road'

1. This rule derives *ugrampaśya, irammada,* and *pāṇindhama*. This last has been explained by Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś* II:566) as: *yeṣu gacchadbhiḥ sarpādyapanodāya pāṇayo dhmāyante* 'a road while traversing which one claps hands to ward off snakes, etc.'

3.2.38 **प्रियवशे वदः खच्**

priyavaśe vadaḥ khac
/priyavaśe 7/1 *vadaḥ* 5/1 *khac* 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1., paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1)
'priya, vaśa' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayor vader dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal root *vadA* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *priya* 'dear' and *vaśa* 'obedient, submissive' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

priyaṃvadaḥ 'he who speaks dear'
vaśaṃvadaḥ 'obedient, submissive'

1. This rule introduces affix *KHaC* after verbal root *vad* 'to speak' when it cooccurs with an object constituted by *priya* and *vaśa*. The *KH* of this affix as an *it* is intended for the augment *mUM* (6.3.67 *arurdviṣad...*). Its *C* is used as an *it* to distinguish it from any other affix (*viśeṣaṇārtha*). Thus, consider 6.4.94 *khaci hrasvaḥ*, where affix *KHaC* qualified with *C* distinguishes itself from *KHaŚ*.

2. A question is raised as to why examples covered by this rule cannot be derived by *KHaŚ* instead. This will save the trouble of having an additional affix. It is stated that a different affix, i.e., *KHaC*, is intended more for the derivates of subsequent rules (*pratyayāntarakaraṇam uttarārtham*). For example, in the derivates of the next rule, *KHaC* facilitates the shortening of the long vowel (6.4.94 *khaci hrasvaḥ*) and the deletion of *ṆiC*. If the affix is formulated more for the purpose of the subsequent rules then why formulate it here (*iha karaṇe kiṃ prayojanam*)? For purposes of indicating (*jñāpanārtham*) that it can be applicable elsewhere also. This way, one does not have to make a statement that *KHaC* obtains also when a nominal *pada* cooccurs with *gam* in the derivation of *mitaṅgamo hastī* 'slow-moving; elephant'.

3. Note that *vihaṅgaḥ* / *vihaṅgamaḥ* 'bird' and *bhujaṅgaḥ* / *bhujaṅgamaḥ* that which moves crookedly; snake' are also stated as derived by *nipātana* (see *vārttikas* under this rule).

3.2.39 **द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः**

dviṣatparayoḥ tāpeḥ
/dviṣatparoyoḥ 7/2 *tāpeḥ* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, karmaṇi #1, khac #38)
dviṣatparayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayos tapor dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal root *tāpi* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *dviṣat* 'enemy' and *para* 'others' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

dviṣantapaḥ 'he who torments the enemies'
parantapaḥ 'he who torments others (enemies)'

1. Verbal root *tāpi* is interpreted here as ending in *ṆiC*. That is, affix *KHaC* is introduced only after the causal form of *tapA* 'be hot'. Thus, we get *dviṣantapaḥ* and *parantapaḥ*. Note that *tāpeḥ* thus could be interpreted as referring to the causal (*ṆiC*) form of the *bhvādi* root *tapA* as well as the *curādi*, which is causal anyway.

Note that affix *aṆ*, and not *KHaC*, is to be introduced when *dviṣat* ends in the feminine and constitutes the cooccurring word denoting object. Thus, *dviṣatīṃ tāpayati* = *dviṣatītāpaḥ* 'he who tortures women'.

3.2.40 **वाचि यमो व्रते**

vāci yamo vrate
/*vāci* 7/1 *yamaḥ* 5/1 *vrate* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *khac* #38)
vākśabde karmaṇy upapade yamer dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bavati vrate gamyamāne
Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal root *yamA* 'to curb, suppress' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *vāk* as *karman* and the derivate denotes *vrata* 'ritual vow'.

EXAMPLES:

vācaṃyama āste 'here he is, having taken a ritual vow of not speaking'

1. This rule introduces affix *KHaC* after verbal root *yam* when it is used with *vāk* 'speech' as *karman* and the derivate is to denote *vrata*. The word *vrata* is explained as *śāstre vihitaḥ niyamaḥ* 'conduct in consonance with the prescriptions of religious treatises'. Thus, *vācaṃyama āste*. Note that if the meaning is not '*vrata*' the derivate will entail *aṆ*. That is, it will be *vāgyāmaḥ* 'he whose voice is restrained for some reason or the other'.

3.2.41 **पूःसर्वयोर्दारिसहोः**

pūḥsarvayor dārisahoḥ
/*pūḥsarvayoḥ* 7/2 *dārisahoḥ* 6/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* # 3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* # 3.1.91, *karmaṇi* # 1, *khac* # 38)
'pur, sarva' ity etayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ dārisahor dhātvoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal roots *dāri* 'to split' and *ṣahA* 'to

endure' when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which contains *pur* or *sarva* 'all' as *karman,* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

purandaraḥ 'he who rips the cities apart; Indra'
sarvaṃsahaḥ 'he who endures everything; a king'

1. This rule introduces affix *KHaC* after verbal roots *dāri* and *ṣah* 'to endure' when they are used with cooccurring objects *pur* and *sarva* respectively. Thus we get: *purandaraḥ* and *sarvaṃsaho rājā*. *Kāśikā* suggests that *bhagandaraḥ* 'fistula in the anus' should also be derived by introduction of *KHaC* with *bhaga* as the cooccurring object of *dāri*.

3.2.42 सर्वकूलाभ्रकरीषेषु कषः

sarvakūlābhrakarīṣeṣu kaṣaḥ
/sarvakūlābhrakarīṣeṣu 7/3 *kaṣaḥ* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *khac* #38)
'sarva, kūla, abhra, karīṣa' ity eteṣūpapadeṣu kaṣer dhātoḥ khac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal root *kaṣA* 'to scratch, scrape, injure' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *sarva, kūla, abhra* or *karīṣa* 'cowdung' as *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

sarvaṃkaṣaḥ khalaḥ 'a wicked person who destroys everything'
kūlaṃkaṣā nadī 'a river which scrapes its banks'
abhraṃkaṣo giriḥ 'a mountain which is so high that it reaches the clouds'
karīṣaṃkaṣā vātyā 'a whirlwind strong enough to blow away the cowdung'.

3.2.43 मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कृञः

megharttibhayeṣu kṛñaḥ
/megharttibhayeṣu 7/3 *kṛñaḥ* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi*#1, *khac* #38)
'megha, ṛti, bhaya' ity eteṣu karmasūpapadeṣu kṛñaḥ khac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when it cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *megha* 'cloud', *ṛti* 'misfortune' or *bhaya* 'fear' as *karman.*

EXAMPLES:

meghaṃkaraḥ 'that which causes clouds to form'
ṛtiṃkaraḥ 'that which is unfortunate'
bhayaṃkaraḥ 'that which causes fear'

1. Note that *abhayaṅkaraḥ* 'he who removes fear' is also derived with *KHaC* when *ḌUkṛÑ* cooccurs with *abhaya*, which denotes object.

3.2.44 क्षेमप्रियमद्रेऽण् च

kṣemapriyamadre' ṇ ca
/kṣemapriyamadre 7/1 *aṇ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* # 3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* # 3.1.91, *khac* # 38, *kṛñaḥ* #43)
'kṣema, priya, madra' ity eteṣu karmasūpapadeṣu karoter aṇ pratyayo bhavati cakārāt khac ca
Affix *aṆ*, as well as *KHaC*, occurs after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when it coocurs with a *pada* which contains *kṣema* 'well-being', *priya*, or *madra* 'joy', as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

kṣemakāraḥ 'that which is beneficent; propitious'
kṣemaṃkaraḥ 'id.'
priyakāraḥ 'he who does things which are dear'
priyaṃkaraḥ 'id.'
madrakāraḥ 'he who does what brings joy'
madraṃkaraḥ 'id.'

1. Note that Pāṇini could have formulated the rule as: *kṣemapriyamadre vā* 'affix *KHaC* is introduced optionally...'. But note that he, instead, used *aṆ* to indicate that the option is available for *aṆ* against *KHaC*, and no other affix. This would, then, rule out the *Ṭa* of rule 3.2.20 *kṛño tācchīlya...* Blocking affix *Ṭa* would automatically lead to blocking the introduction of *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*) in the case of corresponding feminine derivates. For, the choice of the feminine affix is conditioned by *Ṭ* as an *it* in the affix. Thus we get a derivate such as: *alpārambhāḥ kṣemakarāḥ* 'small beginnings bring prosperity' as opposed to **kṣemakarī*.

3.2.45 आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः

āśite bhuvaḥ karaṇabhāvayoḥ
/āśite 7/1 *bhuvaḥ* 5/1 *karaṇabhāvayoḥ* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* # 3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* # 3.1.91, *supi* # 4, *khac* # 38)
āśitaśabde subante upapade bhavater dhātoḥ karaṇe bhāve cārthe khac pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KHaC* occurs to denote *karaṇa* 'instrument', or *bhāva* 'root-sense', after verbal root *bhū* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *āśita* 'he who has eaten to his satisfaction'.

EXAMPLES:

āśitaṃbhavaḥ odanaḥ 'a variety of rice which pleases the appetite'
āśitaṃbhavaṃ varttate 'it is the state of eating to one's satisfaction'

1. This rule would require *supi* to constitute the cooccurrence condition, since verbal root *bhū* 'to be' is intransitive (*akarmaka*).

3.2.46 **संज्ञायां भृतॄवृजिधारिसहितपिदमः**

saṃjñāyāṃ bhṛtṛvṛjidhārisahitapidamaḥ
/*saṃjñāyāṃ* 7/1 *bhṛtṛvṛjidhārisahitapidamaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *khac* #38)
'bhṛ, tṛ, vṛ, ji, dhāri sahi, tapi, dama' ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye khac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaC* occurs after verbal roots *bhṛÑ* 'to provide', *tṛÑ* 'to float', *vṛÑ* 'to choose', *ji* 'to win', *dhāri* 'to hold', *ṣahA* 'to endure', *tapA* 'to be hot' or *damA* 'to control' when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

viśvambharā vasundharā 'the earth which provides for everyone'
rathantaraṃ sāma 'a particular recital of the *Sāmaveda*'
patiṃvarā kanyā 'a girl who is about to chose her husband'
śatruñjayo hastī 'an elephant who conquers the enemy'
yugandharaḥ parvataḥ 'a mountain'
śatruṃsahaḥ 'a person who can face his enemies'
śatruṃtapaḥ 'a person who torments his enemies'
arindamaḥ 'a person who crushes his enemies'

1. Note that both '*karmaṇi*', as well as '*supi*', constitute the cooccurrence condition, depending on the derivate on hand. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś* III:571) explains it as follows:

saṃjñāśabdā hi dvividhā bhavanti kecid avayavārthānugatāḥ, yathā saptaparṇa iti; kecit tu viparītāḥ tailapāyikā iti. tad iha yatrāvayavārthānugamo' sti viśvambharaḥ, śatruntapa ityādiṣu, tatra karmaṇīti sambadhyate; yatra tv avayavārthānugamo nāsti, yathā rathantaraṃ sāma, tatra vyutpatyarthaṃ supīti sambadhyate: rathena taratīti rathe taratīti vā 'names

indeed are of two types: some follow the meaning of their constituents as in *saptaparṇa* 'that which has seven leaves'; some such as *tailapāyikaḥ* do just the opposite. Consequently here, where the meaning of the derivate such as *viśvambharaḥ* follows the constituency, '*karmaṇi*' is related to the derivational context as the cooccurring *pada*; in examples such as *rathantaraṃ sāma* where the derivate does not follow the constituent meaning, '*supi*' is related...'.

2. Note, that outside the meaning of *saṃjñā*, affix *aṆ* should apply to derive examples such as *kuṭumbabhāraḥ* (*kuṭumbaṃ bibhartti*) 'he who provides for his family'.

3.2.47 **गमश्च**

gamaśca
/*gamaś* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *khac* #38, *saṃjñāyām* #46)
gamer dhātoḥ supy upapade saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye khac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHaC* also occurs after verbal root *gam* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā*.

EXAMPLE:

sutaṃgamaḥ 'name of a sage'

3.2.48 **अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः**

antātyantādhvadūrapārasarvānteṣu ḍaḥ
/*antā...sarvānteṣu* 7/3 *ḍaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *gamaḥ* #47)
'*anta, atyanta, adhvan, dūra, pāra, sarva, ananta*' *ity eteṣu karmasūpapadeṣu gamer ḍapratyayo bhavati*
Affix *Ḍa* occurs after verbal root *gam* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *anta* 'end', *atyanta* 'excessive', *adhvan* 'path, road', *dūra* 'far', *pāra*, 'across, the other side', *sarva* or *ananta* 'endless' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

antagaḥ 'he who keeps going until the end'
atyantagaḥ 'he who goes very fast'
adhvagaḥ 'he who traverses the road; a traveller'
dūragaḥ 'he who goes very far'
pāragaḥ 'he who has crossed over'
sarvagaḥ 'he who goes everywhere'
anantagaḥ 'he who goes to infinity'

1. Note that '*saṃjñāyām*' is not carried here. The *Ṭ*, as an *it*, is intended to facilitate the deletion of *ṭi* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*; 1.1.62 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*). There is a problem here. The *ṭi*-deletion applies to an item which has been assigned the term *bha*. These derivates should not entail this term-assignment. That is, the application of *ṭi*-deletion becomes questionable. It, however, still applies at the very strength of the *Ḍ* of the affix as an *it*. The *Ḍ* conditions *ṭi*-deletion in rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. If *ṭi*-deletion does not apply to these examples, making *Ḍ* as an *it* would become vacuous (*vyartha*). Also see the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ; dity abhasyāpi anubandhakaraṇasāmarthyāt*).

2. Note that the *Mbh.* (III: 236–37) also considers some *vārttikas* under this rule for deriving *pannagaḥ* 'that which goes while creeping'; *sarvatragaḥ* 'he who goes everywhere; omnipresent', *uragaḥ* 'snake; that which moves by means of its chest'; *sugaḥ* 'that which is easily accessible'; *durgaḥ* 'that which is not easily accessible; fort'; and *nirgaḥ* 'country'.

3.2.49 **आशिषि हनः**

āśiṣi hanaḥ
/*āśiṣi* 7/1 *hanaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *ḍaḥ* #48)
āśiṣi gamyamānāyāṃ hanter dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade ḍapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ḍa* occurs after verbal root *han* 'to kill' when it cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and *āśīḥ* 'blessing' is signified.

EXAMPLE:

śatruhaḥ 'may he be the killer of his enemies'

1. Affix *aṆ* applies to derive forms such as *śatrughātaḥ* 'he who kills the enemy' when, contrary to the context of this rule, *āṣīḥ* 'benediction' is not denoted. There are some *vārttika* proposals under this rule to provide for forms as follows:

(*a*) *dārvāghāṭaḥ* 'wood-pecker': derived by introducing affix *aṆ* after *han* used with the preverb *āN* provided *dāru* 'wood' constitutes the object and the derivate denotes a name;

(*b*) *aṆ* is introduced also when *cāru* cooccurs with *han*, used with the preverb *āṄ* to derive *cārvāghāṭaḥ* 'he who plays well on a musical instrument', optionally with *cārvāghātaḥ* '*id.*';

(*c*) affix *aṆ* is also introduced after verbal root *han* to derive *varṇasaṃghāṭaḥ*/*varṇasaṃghātaḥ* 'inventory of sounds, or letters' when the root is used with the preverb *sam*, and the cooccurring word denotes object.

Note that all these derivates entail a replacement in *ṭ* for their final.

This replacement is obligatory in case of the derivates of (*a*), though optional in cases of (*b*) and (*c*).

3.2.50 **अपे क्लेशतमसोः**

ape kleśatamasoḥ
/*ape* 7/1 *kleśatamasoḥ* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *ḍaḥ* #48, *hanaḥ* #49)
apapūrvād hanteḥ kleśatamasoḥ karmaṇor upapadayor ḍapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ḍa* occurs after verbal root *han* used with the preverb *apa* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *kleśa* 'suffering' or *tamas* 'darkness' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

kleśāpahaḥ puttraḥ 'a son who removes suffering'
tamopahaḥ sūryaḥ 'the sun which removes darkness'

1. The derivates of this rule relate to 'non-benedictive' meanings. Verbal root *han* is required here to be used with the preverb *apa*. The benedictive meaning is available from the preceding rule, itself.

3.2.51 **कुमारशीर्षयोर्णिनिः**

kumāraśīrṣayor ṇiniḥ
/*kumāraśīrṣayoḥ* 7/2 *ṇiniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *hanaḥ* #49)
'kumāra, śīrṣa' ity etayor upapadayoḥ hanter ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *kumāra* 'boy, prince', *śīrṣa* 'head' as *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

kumāraghātī 'a child-killer; killer of a prince'
śīrṣaghātī 'a killer who kills by beheading'

1. Note that *śīrṣa*, from *śiras*, is derived by *nipātana*. It should not be confused relative to rule 6.1.60 *śīrṣañ chandasi*, which is limited to the Vedic. Besides, the latter reference is made with *śīrṣan* ending in *-n*. What we find here is a form ending in *-a* (*śīrṣa*).

The final *I* as an *it* in *ṆinI* is intended to protect its *n* from being deleted by 1.3.3 *halantyam*-1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. The *Ṇ*, of course, is intended to facilitate *vṛddhi*. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

Note that rule 3.2.78 *supy ajātau ṇinis tācchīlye* would account for examples of this rule if it was not for the condition of *tācchīlya*. This rule, then, must apply to examples where the context does not include *tācchīlya*.

3.2.52 **लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक्**

lakṣaṇe jāyāpatyoṣ ṭak
/*lakṣaṇe* 7/1 *jāyāpatyoḥ* 7/2 *ṭak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *hanaḥ* #49)
hanter jāyāpatyoḥ karmaṇor upapadayor lakṣaṇavati kartari ṭak pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṭak* occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *jāyā* 'wife' or *pati* 'husband' as *karman* and the derivate denotes a *kartṛ* thus characterized.

EXAMPLES:

jāyāghno brāhmaṇaḥ 'a *brāhmaṇa* who kills his wife'
patighnī vṛṣalī 'a *vṛṣalī* (low-caste woman) who killed her husband'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṬaK* when *han* cooccurs with an object constituted by *jāyā* and *pati* provided the derivate characterized an agent. Thus, we get the example: *jāyāghnaḥ* as in *jāyāghno brāhmaṇaḥ* where *jāyāghnaḥ* 'killer of the wife' characterizes a *brāhmaṇa*. The *K* as an *it* facilitates the penultimate deletion (*upadhālopa*) of *a* by rule 6.4.98 *gamahana...* The *Ṭ* as an *it* facilitates the introduction of affix *ṄīP* in feminine derivates (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*), such as *patighnī* of *patighnī vṛṣalī*.

3.2.53 **अमनुष्यकर्तृके च**

amanuṣyakartṛke ca
/*amanuṣyakartṛke* 7/1 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *hanaḥ* #49, *ṭak* #52)
amanuṣyakartṛke vartamānād hanter dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade ṭak pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṬaK* also occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the derivate denotes a non-human *kartṛ* thus characterized.

EXAMPLES:

jāyāghnas tilakālakaḥ 'a mole on the husband characterizing the death of his wife'
patighnī pāṇirekhā 'a line on the wife's palm characterizing the death of her husband'

śleṣmaghnaṃ madhu 'honey, the cough-killer'
pittaghnaṃ ghṛtam 'ghee, the killer of bile'

1. This rule conditions the introduction of affix *ṬaK* after *han* by requiring its agent to be *amanuṣya* 'non-human'. Thus, we get *patighnī* of *patighnī pāṇirekhā*, where the agent of *han* is 'the line in the palm'. One can similarly see *madhu* 'honey', a non-human agent, the killer of cough in *śleṣmaghnaṃ madhu*.

Note that *karmaṇi* still constitutes the cooccurrence condition. The word *amanuṣyakartṛka* can not be treated as a qualifier to the cooccurring *karman* because to do so would not make any sense.

3.2.54 **शक्तौ हस्तिकपाटयोः**

śaktau hastikapāṭayoḥ
|śaktau 7/1 *hastikapāṭayoḥ* 7/2|
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1, *hanaḥ* #49, *ṭak* #52)
śaktau gamyamānāyāṃ hastikapāṭayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayor hanteṣ ṭak pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṬaK* occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *hastī* 'elephant' or *kapāṭa* 'door' as *karman* and the derivate denotes *śakti* 'strength'.

EXAMPLES:

hastighnaḥ manuṣyaḥ 'a man strong enough to kill an elephant'
kapāṭaghnaś cauraḥ 'a thief strong enough to break the door open'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of *ṬaK* after *han* even when it has a human agent. Thus, we get *kapāṭaghnaḥ* as in *kapāṭaghnaś cauraḥ* 'one who is capable of breaking doors; a thief'.

3.2.55 **पाणिघताडघौ शिल्पिनि**

pāṇighatāḍaghau śilpini
|pāṇighatāḍaghau 1/2 *śilpini* 7/1|
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #1)
pāṇigha, tāḍagha' ity etau śabdau nipātyete śilpini kartari
Forms such as *pāṇigha* and *tāḍagha* are derived by *nipātana* when *śilpī* 'artisan' is denoted as *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇighaḥ 'a drummer; he who plays by using his hand'
tāḍaghaḥ 'a blacksmith who makes things by pounding'

1. This rule allows for the *ad hoc* (*nipātana*) derivation of *pāṇighaḥ* and *tāḍaghaḥ* with the introduction of affix *Ka* after *han* cooccurring with the object *pāṇi* 'hand' and *tāḍa* 'beating'. The deletion of the penultimate *a* of *han*, as well as the replacement of *h* with *gh*, is accomplished via *nipātana*. Note that when the derivates do not denote an artisan (*śilpī*), they take the forms: *pāṇighātaḥ* 'hitting with fists; boxing', *tāḍaghātaḥ* 'hammering'.
A *vārttika* also proposes the listing of *rājaghaḥ* 'killer of a king' under this rule.

3.2.56 **आढ्यसुभगस्थूलपलितनग्नान्धप्रियेषु च्व्यर्थेष्वच्वौ कृञः करणे ख्युन्**

āḍhyasubhagasthūlapalitanaghāndhapriyeṣu cvyartheṣv acvau kṛñaḥ karaṇe khyun
/āḍhyasubhagasthūlapalitanagnāndhapriyeṣu 7/3 *cvyartheṣu* 7/3 *acvau* 7/1 *kṛñaḥ* 5/1 *karaṇe* 7/1 *khyun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.2.91, *karmaṇi* #1)
āḍhyādiṣu karmasūpapadeṣu cvyartheṣv acvyanteṣu karoter dhātoḥ karaṇe kārake khyun pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KHyuN* occurs to denote *karaṇa* (1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*) after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and contains *āḍhya* 'rich', *subhaga* 'charming, beneficent', *sthūla* 'big, huge', *palita* 'old', *nagna* 'naked', *andha* 'blind' or *priya* 'dear', provided these preceding denote the sense of, but do not end in, affix *CvI*.

EXAMPLES:

āḍhyaṃkaraṇam 'that which makes one rich'
subhagaṃkaraṇam 'that which makes one charming'
sthūlaṃkaraṇam 'that which makes one huge'
palitaṃkaraṇam 'that which makes one old'
nagnaṃkaraṇam 'that which makes one naked'
andhaṃkaraṇam 'that which makes one blind'
priyaṃkaraṇam 'that which makes one dear to someone'

1. This rule introduces affix *KHyuN* after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when it cooccurs with an object which is constituted by *āḍhya*, etc., and denotes the sense of, but does not end in, *CvI* (5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve*...). Additionally, the derivate has to denote *karaṇa* 1.4.42 *sādhakatamaṃ karaṇam*). Thus we get:

āḍhyaṃkaraṇam 'that by means of which one becomes prosperous which he was previously not', etc.

1. Note that rule 5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve* introduces *CvI* in the sense of *abhūtatadbhāva*. But this sense can be expressed even without the introduction of affix *CvI*. This is what is intended by the negation of *acvau*

'when not ending in affix *CvI*'. Consequently; *āḍhyīkurvanty anena* 'that by means of which one is made prosperous' cannot qualify for *KHyuN*. That is, *āḍhyī* ends in affix *CvI*. A counter example for where *āḍhya* is neither used in *CvI*, nor denotes the sense of *CvI*, is *āḍhyaṃ tailena kurvanti* 'they anoint (him) with oil'. Here again *KHyuN* is not permitted.

3.2.57 कर्त्तरि भुवः खिष्णुच्खुकञौ

kartari bhuvaḥ khiṣṇuckhukañau
kartari 7/1 *bhuvaḥ* 5/1 *khiṣṇuckhukañau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *āḍhya... priyeṣu cvyartheṣv acvau* #56)
āḍhyādiṣu subanteṣūpapadeṣu cvyartheṣv acvyanteṣu bhavater dhātoḥ kartari kārake 'khiṣṇuc, khukañ' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *KHiṣṇuC* and *KHukaÑ* occur to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *bhū* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and contains *āḍhya* 'rich', *subhaga* 'charming', *sthūla* 'huge', *palita* 'old', *nagna* 'naked', *andha* 'blind' or *priya* 'dear' provided these preceding denote the sense of, but do not end in, affix *CvI*.

EXAMPLES:

āḍhyambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes rich'
āḍhyambhāvukaḥ 'id.'
subhagambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes charming'
subhagambhāvukaḥ 'id.'
sthūlambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes huge'
sthūlambhāvukaḥ 'id.'
palitambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes old'
palitambhāvukaḥ 'id.'
nagnambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes naked'
nagnambhāvukaḥ 'id.'
andhambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes blind'
andhambhāvukaḥ 'id.'
priyambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one who becomes dear'
priyambhāvukaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affixes *KHiṣṇuC* and *KHukaÑ* after verbal root *bhū* 'to be' under circumstances similar to the preceding rule except that, here, the derivate denotes *kartṛ*. Obviously, the use of *kartari* in this rule cancels the *karaṇe* of the earlier rule. Why did Pāṇini have to use *kartari* to cancel *karaṇa* when he could have accomplished this just by leaving *karaṇa* without *svarita* accent. That way, the *anuvṛtti* of *karaṇa* would have been dropped. Commentators explain that dropping *karaṇa* without dropping *āḍhya*, etc., which are also

associated with it, may create confusion. Normally, one would expect the cancellation of both *karaṇa* and *āḍhya*, etc. Besides, *kartari* is required for subsequent rules.

Note that *KH*, as an *it* in both affixes, is intended for the augment *mUM* (6.3.67 *arurdviṣad...*). The *C* of *KHiṣṇuC* is intended for accent (6.1.163 *citaḥ*). The *Ñ* of *KHukaÑ* is intended for *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*).

3.2.58 स्पृशोऽनुदके क्विन्

spṛśo' nudake kvin
/spṛśaḥ 5/1 *anudake* 7/1 *kvin* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4)
spṛśer dhātor anudake subanta upapade kvin pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvIN* occurs after verbal root *spṛś* 'to touch' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *sUP* but does not contain *udaka* 'water'.

EXAMPLES:

ghṛtaspṛk 'he who touches *ghee*'
mantraspṛk 'he who touches by means of a *mantra*'
jalaspṛk 'he who touches by means of water'

1. It is stated that *supi* should, here, be accepted as constituting the cooccurring word. But this goes against the normal practice of accepting *karmaṇi* as the cooccurring word when the verbal root is transitive. The *karmaṇi* condition is not accepted since *kartari* is carried from the preceding rule, and also since the cooccurring words are diverse in nature. Thus, we can get the *kartṛ* meaning of the derivate via either a cooccurring word denoting an object, or via a word denoting instrument. Consider *ghṛtaspṛk* = *ghṛtaṃ spṛśati* as an example of the first in contrast with *mantraspṛk* =*mantreṇa spṛśati*, an example for the second. It is thus better to accept *supi*. Besides, the *kartṛ*-denotatum of the derivates is easily established on the basis of 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*.

The *N* of *KvIN* is used to distinguish it from *KvIP*, etc., as in rules 8.2.62 *kvin pratyayasya...* The *K* of *KvIN* is intended for blocking *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. The *I* of the affix, along with its *v*, is intended to qualify 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* whereby a more general reference can be made.

3.2.59 ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्रग्दिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिक्रुञ्चां च

ṛtvigdadhṛksragdiguṣṇigañcuyujikruñcāṃ ca
/ṛtvig...kruñcām-6/3 *(itar. dv.)*; *ca* 0/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, supi #4, *kvin* #58)

ṛtvigādayaḥ pañca śabdāḥ kvinpratyayāntā nipātyante, apare trayo dhātavo nirdiśyante

Affix *KvIN* occurs by *nipātana* in the derivation of *ṛtvik, dadhṛk, srak, dik,* and *uṣṇik*; in addition, it occurs after verbal roots *añcU* 'to bend', *yujI* 'to join, yoke' and *kruñcA* 'to be crooked', when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

ṛtvik 'a priest; he who performs ritual sacrifices regularly'
dadhṛk 'brave'
srak 'garland'
dik 'direction'
uṣṇik 'a meter with seven syllables in a quarter'
prāṅ 'east'
pratyaṅ 'west'
udaṅ 'north'
yuṅ 'one who joins x with y'
aśvayuk 'he who yokes the horse (to a cart)'
kruṅ 'one who is crooked; a crane'

1. The first five words beginning with *ṛtvik* are derived via *nipātana* with *KvIN*. The next three derivates are given specific to their roots. For an example of what is ad hoc in the first five examples, and how the derivates relative to the three roots derive, see the appendix.

3.2.60 त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च

tyadādiṣu dṛśo' nālocane kañ ca
/*tyadādiṣu* 7/3 *dṛśaḥ* 5/1 *anālocane* 7/1 *kañ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *kvin* #58)
tyadādīṣūpapadeṣu dṛśer dhātor anālocane' rthe vartamānāt kañ pratyayo bhavati, cakārāt kvin ca

Affix *KaÑ*, as well as *KvIN*, occurs after verbal root *dṛśIR* 'to see' when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *tyad* 'that', etc., and *ālocana* 'seeing' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

tyādṛk 'like that'
tyādṛśaḥ 'id.'
tādṛk 'id.'
tādṛśaḥ 'id.'
yādṛk 'like the one which...'
yādṛśaḥ 'id.'

vedavit 'he who knows the Veda'
pravit 'he who knows things well'
brahmavit 'he who knows about the Brahman'
kāṣṭhabhit 'he who splits the wood'
prabhit 'he who splits (wood) very well'
rajjucchid 'he who cuts the ropes'
pracchid 'he who cuts (the ropes) very well'
śatrujit 'he who conquers the enemy'
prajit 'he who wins well'
senānīḥ 'commander of the army'
praṇīḥ 'he who leads well'
grāmaṇīḥ 'the leader of the village'
agraṇīḥ 'he who leads'
rāṭ 'he who is full of splendor'
samrāṭ 'emperor'

1. This rule allows for both affixes *KaÑ* and *KvIN* after verbal root *dṛśIR* when it occurs with *tyad* 'that', etc., and the derivate does not denote 'to see'. The derivates of this rule are semantically treated as *rūḍha* 'conventional'. Consequently, there is no 'action of seeing' entailed albeit the presence of *dṛśIR*. A *vārttika* under this rule proposes to expand the scope of this rule to account for examples such as: *sadṛk* / *sadṛśaḥ* 'similar'; and *anyādṛk* / *anyādṛśaḥ* 'like something else'. A further proposal states that affix *Ksa* is also introduced after *dṛśIR*. This will account for *yādṛkṣaḥ* / *tādṛkṣaḥ* / *anyādṛkṣaḥ* / *kīdṛkṣaḥ*. Obviously, the examples covered by the two *vārttika* proposals entail *samāna* 'similar' and *anya* 'other' as *upapada*.

2. The *Ñ* of *KaÑ* is used as an *it* to distinguish it from affixes, such as *ṬHaK* and *ṬHaÑ*, especially relative to the formation of the feminine. Consider for example rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*

3. Note that *ālocana* of *anālocane* is explained as 'perception by means of eyes'. The word *anālocana* should then refer to 'lack of perception by means of eyes'. However, this rule implies the negation of 'perception in general' no matter what means is employed in the process (cf. *PM* ad *Kāś.* II:884: *ālocanaṃ cakṣussādhanaṃ vijñānam iti, iha tu jñānamātraṃ pratiṣedhaṃ manyate*). Indeed in the contextual meaning of *darśana* 'seeing (and thereby perceiving)', affix *aṆ* will apply to derive examples such as *taddarśaḥ* parallel to the analysis *taṃ paśyati* 'he who sees him'.

3.2.61 **सत्सूद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्विप्**

satsūdviṣadruhaduhayujavidabhidacchidajinīrājām upasarge' pi kvip
/*satsūdviṣa...rājām* 6/3 *upasarge* 7/1 *api* Ø *kvip* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4)
sadādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ subante upapade upasarge' pi, anupasarge' pi kvip pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal roots *ṣadL̥* 'to sit', *sŪÑ* 'to give birth to', *dviṣA* 'to hate', *druhA* 'to be hostile', *duhA* 'to milk', *yujIR* 'to join, yoke' *vidA* 'to know, become, to consider', *bhidIR* 'to split', *chidIR* 'to cut', *ji* 'to win', *ṇīÑ* 'to lead' and *rājR̥* 'to shine' when the roots are used with or without preverbs, and cooccur with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

śúciṣat 'he who resides in purity; Brahman'
antarikṣasat 'he who resides in the sky'
úpasat 'he who sits near'
aṇḍasūḥ 'that which lays eggs'
śatasūḥ 'that which gives birth to a hundred...'
prasūḥ 'one who brings about; parents'
mitradviṭ 'one who is hostile to a friend'
mitradhrūk 'id.'
pradviṭ 'enemy'
pradhruk 'id.'
godhuk 'he who milks cows'
pradhuk 'he who milks (cows) very well'
aśvayuk 'he who yokes the horse'
prayuk 'he who yokes (the horse) very well'

1. The word *supi* constitutes the cooccurrence condition for reasons similar to rule 3.3.58 *spr̥śo' nudake*... Consequently, *karmaṇi* is not associated as the cooccurring word. The word *upasarge' pi*, because of the locative in *upasarge*, requires care in interpretation. If it was given in the ablative (*pañcamī*), it could have been interpreted as a qualifier to the verbal roots. The interpretation then would have been: 'affix...occurs after verbal roots...when used with (or without) a preverb'.

2. The locative ending considers *upasarga*, or its absence, as forming, in addition to *supi*, the cooccurrence condition. But the additional specification of *upasarge' pi*, for purposes of the cooccurrence condition, is not necessary since *supi*, itself, would account for this. After all, the preverbs will be treated as ending in *sUP* for purposes of forming the cooccurring word. Why should we have *upasarge' pi* in addition to *supi*? Commentators state that the explicit use of *upasarga* is made for indicating (*jñāpakārtha*) that elsewhere in the preceding sections, whenever *supi* forms the cooccurrence condition, it does not include *upasarga*. Consider for example 3.1.106 *vadaḥ supi kyap ca*, where *supi* constitutes the cooccurrence condition. This *supi*, as indicated by the explicit use of *upasarge* in our present rule, will not include *upasarga* as a cooccurring word which ends in *sUP*. But this is hardly acceptable as the purpose, since *anupasarge* is carried

from rule 3.1.100 *gadamadacarayamaś cānupasarge....* If the purpose of *upasarge*, in this rule, is to block the inclusion of *upasarge* elsewhere, then one does not need *anupasarge* from *anuvṛtti* in 3.1.106. Thus, the indicatory function (*jñāpakārtha*) of *upasarge* as stated is not acceptable. What, then, is *upasarge' pi* used for? Simply for clarification (*vispaṣṭārtham*). If this were not acceptable, then *anupasarge* would be dropped from the *anuvṛtti* in rules where *supi* constitutes the cooccurrence condition. Still others say the indicatory function of *upasarge' pi* is intended to block *upasarge* from inclusion in rule 3.2.58 *spṛśo' nudake*. This way, *upaspṛśati* and *saṃspṛśati* are blocked from yielding parallel derivates in *KvIN*.

2. Note that *sū*, here, refers to *adādi* root *ṣūṄ* 'to give birth to', and not to verbal root *tṣū* 'to inspire' of *tudādi*. The association (*sāhacarya*) in the listing of *bhaj* with *dviṣa* determins it. However, *yuja* of the rule must include reference to both *yujIR* 'to join' and *yujA* 'to concentrate'. A reference with *vida* must include the three verbal roots: *vidA* 'to know', *vidA* 'to be, exist' and *vidA* 'to consider, think'. It cannot, however, include reference to *vidḶ* 'to gain', since *vid* of this rule is cited as ending in *-a* (*akārānta*). Consequently, it can only refer to roots which are specified as ending in *-a*.

3.2.62 भजो ण्विः

bhajo ṇviḥ
/bhajaḥ 5/1 *ṇviḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *upasarge' pi* #61)
bhajer dhātoḥ subanta upapade upasarge' pi anupasarge' pi ṇvipratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆvI* occurs after verbal root *bhajA* used with or without a preverb, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

ardhabhāk 'he who has one half of a share'
prabhāk 'a division, fraction'

1. Note that *upasarge* and *supi* are both carried here. The *Ṇ* of *ṆvI* is intended as an *it* for *vṛddhi*. The *I*, used with the *v*, is intended as an *it* for facilitating a general reference to 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*.

3.2.63 छन्दसि सहः

chandasi sahaḥ
/chandasi 7/1 *sahaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *upasarge* #61, *ṇviḥ* #62)
chandasi viṣaye saher dhātoḥ subanta upapade ṇvipratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṆvI* occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root *ṣahA* 'to endure' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

jalāṣāṭ 'one who conqueres waters'
turāṣāṭ 'one who overpowers the mighty; Indra'

1. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* II:588) informs that an example such as *pṛtanāṣāṭ* 'victorious', in the classical language, is questionable (*cintya*).

3.2.64 **वहश्च**

vahaś ca
/*vahaḥ* 5/1 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṇviḥ* #62, *chandasi* #63)
vaher dhātoś chandasi viṣaye subanta upapade ṇvipratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆvI* also occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root *vahA* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

praṣṭhavāṭ 'one who carries the heaviest of weights'
dityavāṭ 'one who carried two years; a two year old steer'

1. Note that a separate listing of *vahaś ca* is necessary to block *sahaḥ* from carrying to subsequent rules. If reference to both *sah* and *vah* was made together in the preceding rule, then both roots would have qualified for *anuvṛtti*. The split listing of rule (*yogavibhāga*) enables only *vah* to be carried subsequently (*uttarārtha*).

3.2.65 **कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ञ्युट्**

kavyapurīṣapurīṣyeṣu ñyuṭ
/*kavyapurīṣapurīṣyeṣu* 7/3 *ñyuṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *chandasi* #63, *vahaḥ* #64)
'kavya, purīṣa, purīṣya' ity eteṣūpapadeṣu chandasi viṣaye vaher dhātor ñyuṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ÑyuṬ* occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root *vahA* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *kavya* 'ritual oblation of food for the dead', *purīṣa* 'human waste' or *purīṣya* 'id.'

EXAMPLES:

kavyavāhánaḥ pitṝṇām 'he who carries ritual oblation of food to the ancestors'

púrīṣavāhánaḥ 'one who removes ordure'
purīṣyavāhánaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule provides for affix *ÑyuT* against *Ṇvl*, which was already available. The *Ñ*, as an *it*, is intended for accent as well as *vṛddhi* (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*; 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇ iti*). The *Ṭ*, as an *it*, is intended to secure the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇa...*). The *yu* of this affix is replaced with *aka* of rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*.

3.2.66 हव्येऽनन्तः पादम्

havye' nantaḥpādam
/*havye* 7/1 *anantaḥpādam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* # 3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* # 3.1.91, *supi* # 4, *chandasi* #63, *vahaḥ* #64, *ñyuṭ* #65)
havyaśabde upapade chandasi viṣaye vaher dhātor ñyuṭ pratyayo bhavati, anantaḥpādaṃ ced vahir vartate
Affix *ÑyuṬ* occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal root *vahA* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *havya* 'ritual oblation of food' and the derivate does not occur in the middle of a *pāda* 'quarter'.

EXAMPLE:

agniś ca havyavā hanaḥ 'Agni, the one who carries ritual oblation of food to the gods'

1. Note that *antaḥpādam* is interpreted as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the derivate with *vah*. The word *antaḥ* is similar to *madhyaḥ* 'in the middle' semantically. The word *pādaḥ* is interpreted as a quarter of a hymn, because of the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. The compound *antaḥpādam* could be viewed as an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) allowed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ*...in the sense of *vibhakti* (locus within). Thus, *anantaḥpādam* is interpreted as 'not located in the middle of the quarter (of a hymn)'. If *vah* is (included in a derivate) used in the middle of a quarter, then affix *Ṇvl* is used as is clear from the counter-example: *havyavāḍagnirajaráḥ pitā náḥ*.

3.2.67 जनसनखनक्रमगमो विट्

janasanakhanakramagamo viṭ
/*jana...gamaḥ* 5/1 *viṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *chandasi* #63, *vahaḥ* #64, *ñyuṭ* #65)
janādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ subanta upapade chandasi viṣaye viṭ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *vIṬ* occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal roots *janA* 'to be born', *saN* 'to give', *khanA* 'to dig', *kramU* 'to step' and *gam* 'to go' when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

abjāḥ 'born in water'
gojāḥ 'born in earth'
goṣā 'winner of cows'
vilakhāḥ 'a burrower'
kūpakhāḥ 'well-digger'
dádhikrāḥ '(Agni) who receives milk'
agregā unnētṛṇām 'the leader...'

1. Note that this rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*, *upasarge*, and *supi*. Verbal roots *janA* and *sanA* make references to the sets of two verbs each: *janA* 'to give birth to'; *janĪ* 'to be born'; and *sanA* 'to give' or *ṣaṇA* 'to worship'.

The *Ṭ* of the affix is intended as an *it* to block a general reference to any affix with *vI* (cf. 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*). Note that in the absence of *Ṭ*, *vI*, in view of 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*, would not refer to just one affix. Further, *vI* is also intended to function as a qualifier in rules such as 6.4.41 *viḍvanor*....

3.2.68 अदोऽनन्ने

ado' nanne
/*adaḥ* 5/1 *ananne* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *viṭ* #67)
ader dhātor ananne supy upapade viṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *vIṬ* occurs after verbal root *ad* 'to consume' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and does not contain *anna* 'food'.

EXAMPLES:

āmāt 'one who eats raw food'
sasyāt 'one who eats vegetables'

1. Note that *chandasi* no longer carries; *supi* constitutes the cooccurring word, and the affix is still *vIṬ*.

3.2.69 क्रव्ये च

kravye ca
/*kravye* 7/1 *ca* Ø/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *viṭ* #67, *adaḥ* #68)
kravyaśabde upapade ader dhātor viṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *vIṬ* also occurs after verbal root *ad* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and contains *kravya* 'meat'.

EXAMPLE:

kravyāt 'one who eats raw meat'

1. It is stated in the *Mahābhāṣya* that this rule is separately formed to indicate that *vā' sarūpavidhi* does not apply here. That is, affix *aṆ* is not applicable. But if it were the case, how would ***kravyādaḥ*** 'eater of cooked meat' be derived? It is noted that ***kravyādaḥ*** does not involve ***kravyāt*** of this rule. Instead, ***kravyāda*** is derived by introducing affix *aṆ* under the cooccurrence condition of *kṛtavikṛta*, a listing in the *pṛṣodarādi* class (6.3.109 *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*), which gets the form of ***kravya*** (*Kāś.*: *kṛtavikṛtaśabde upapade aṇ, tasya ca pṛṣodarādipāṭhāt kravyabhāvaḥ*). Our present derivate means 'the eater of raw flesh; carnivorous'. The derivate which ends in *aṆ*, i.e., ***kravyādaḥ***, signifies 'the eater of cooked meat'.

3.2.70 **दुहः कब्घश्च**

duhaḥ kab ghaśca
/*duhaḥ* 6/1 ***kap*** 1/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4)
duher dhātoḥ supy upapade kap pratyayo bhavati, ghakāraś cāntādeśaḥ
Affix *vIṬ* occurs after verbal root ***duh*** 'to milk' when the root cooccurs with a ***pada*** which ends in a *sUP*; in addition, the final *h* of the root is replaced by ***gh***.

EXAMPLES:

kāmadughā dhenuḥ 'a cow which grants all desires; a cow which yields as much milk as one desires'
dharmadughā 'a cow which is milked only for religious purposes'

3.2.71 **मन्त्रे श्वेतवहोक्थशस्पुरोडाशो ण्विन्**

mantre śvetavahokthaśaspuroḍāśo ṇvin
/*mantre* 7/1 *śveta...puroḍāśaḥ* 5/1 *ṇvin* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4)
'śvetavaha, ukthaśas, puroḍāśa' ity etebhyo ṇvin pratyayo bhavati mantre viṣaye
Affix *ṆvIN* occurs, in the Mantra by *nipātana*, after verbal roots *vah* 'to carry', *śaṃs* 'to praise', and *dāś* 'to give' when they cooccur

with a nominal *pada* which contains *śveta* 'white', *uktha* 'hymns', and *puras* 'in front of' to derive *śvetavaḥ*, *ukthaśas* and *puroḍāś* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

śvetavā indraḥ 'Indra; the one whom white horses carry'
ukthaśā yajamānaḥ 'a ritual sacrificer who chants praises with the hymns of the *Sāmaveda*'
puroḍāḥ 'ritual oblation of food'

1. The word *mantra* refers to the *mantra* literature only. It does not, for example, refer to the *brāhmaṇas*, which constitute expositions of the *mantra* (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* III:593: *na hi mantragrahaṇena brāhmaṇaṃ gṛhyate; tasya granthāntaratvāt; mantravyākhyāne granthaviśeṣe brāhmaṇa-śabdo varttate, na tu mantre*). Also refer to *amantre* in rule 3.1.35 *kāsprat-yayād....*

Although it is enough to say that the examples of this rule are derived with affix *ṆvIN* via *nipātana*, see some additional details in the appendix.

3.2.72 **अवे यजः**

ave yajaḥ
/*ave* 7/1 *yajaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *mantre*, *ṇvin* #71)
ave upapade yajer dhātor ṇvin pratyayo bhavati mantre viṣaye
Affix *ṆvIN* occurs in the *Mantra* after verbal root *yajA* 'to perform a ritual sacrifice' when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* constituted by *ava*.

EXAMPLE:

tvám yájñe váruṇasyāvayā asi
'you are the priest of Varuṇa at the sacrifice'

1. This rule, seemingly, should have been made part of the preceding rule. A separate rule (*yogavibhāga*) became necessary so that the *anuvṛtti* of '*śvetavaha*, etc.' could be blocked. For, they would have to be carried to the subsequent rule if '*ave yajaḥ*' were made part of the preceding rule. Besides, that could have only allowed the *anuvṛtti* of *yaj* used with the preverb *ava*. The *anuvṛtti* of *yaj* alone is required in the rule which follows. *Kāśikā* rightly remarks that a split formulation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule is intended for the subsequent rule (*uttarārtha*).

3.2.73 **विजुपे छन्दसि**

vij upe chandasi
/*vic* 1/1 *upe* 7/1 *chandasi* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *yajaḥ* #72)
'upa upapade yajeś chandasi viṣaye vic pratyayo bhavati
Affix *vIC* occurs in the Vedic after verbal root *yajA* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *upa*.

EXAMPLES:

upayaḍbhīr ūrdhvaṃ vahanti 'they carry it up by means of chanting of *upayaṭ* (eleven small sections of the *mantras* of the *Yajurveda*)'

1. Note that carrying *mantre* could not have accounted for the forms which *chandasi* does. A reference with *chandasi* includes *mantra* as well as '*brāhmaṇa*'.

But why to formulate this rule when rule 3.2.75 *anyebhyo*...could account for what this rule does. That rule already includes '*vij*', '*chandasi*', and the reference to '*yaj*'. Commentators explain that this rule is 'restrictive' (*niyama*) in purpose. What is the restriction? The derivates of this rule are limited to the Vedic. Classical Sanskrit usages are, thus, ruled out.

The *C* is made an *it* to facilitate reference with 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*. Absence of *C* as an *it* will leave the affix with only one *it*. Consequently, 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* will refer to only one affix *vI*, and not also to *KvIP*, etc.

3.2.74 आतो मनिन्क्वनिब्वनिपश्च

āto maninkvanibvanipaś ca
/*ātaḥ* 5/1 *maninkvanibvanipaḥ* 1/3 *ca* Ø /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *vic chandasi* #73)
ākārāntebhyo dhātubhyaḥ supy upapade chandasi viṣaye manin, kvanip, vanip ity ete pratyayā bhavanti
Affixes *manIN*, *KvanIP* and *vanIP*, in addition to *vIC*, occur in the Vedic, after verbal roots which end in *ā*, used with or without any preverb, and cooccur with a *pada* ending in a *sUP*

EXAMPLES:

sudāmā 'he who gives generously'
aśvatthāmā 'one who stands like a horse'
sudhīvā 'he who dresses well'
supīvā 'he who drinks well'
bhūridāvā 'he who gives generously'
ghṛtapāvā 'he who drinks ghee (clarified butter)'
kīlālapāḥ 'he who drinks Kīlāla (sweet beverage)'
śubhaṃyāḥ 'he who walks gracefully'

1. Note that *chandasi*, *supi* and *upasarge' pi* are carried via *anuvṛtti*. The *ca* is used in this rule to facilitate the *anuvṛtti* of *vIC*. Thus, *vIC* can also be

introduced. The *N* as an *it* in *manIN* is for initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*). The *P* of *KvanIP* and *vanIP* is used as an *it* for *anudātta* accent (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *I* as an *it* is *uccāraṇārtha* 'for ease of articulation'.

3.2.75 **अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते**

anyebhyo' pi dṛśyante
/*anyebhyaḥ* 5/1 *api* Ø *dṛśyante* (a *pada* ending in *tiṄ*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *vic* #73, *maninkvanibvanipaḥ* #74)
anyebhyo' pi dhātubhyo' anākārāntebhyo 'manin, kvanip, vanip' ity ete pratyayā dṛśyante, vic ca
Affixes *manIN*, *KvanIP* and *vanIP*, along with *vIC*, are seen to occur also after roots other than those which end in *ā*.

EXAMPLES:

suśarmā 'great destroyer (of sins)'
prātaritvā 'he who goes in the morning'
vijāvā 'he who brings into being'
agregāvā 'he who goes first'
rēḍasī 'one who injures...'

1. Note that *chandasi* is discontinued. Commentators explain that *api* is used to indicate diverse violations of operational rules (*sarvopādhivyabhicārārtha*). It here refers particularly to the status of roots used with or without any preverb.

The word *dṛśyante* 'are seen' keeps open the list of derivates. That is, one ought to search what other usages can be found. When found they should be treated as correct. Note that the use of *api* as well as *anyebhyaḥ* does not mean that the said affixes occur after any verb. This leaves no control, since earlier specifications would then not make any sense. It would be illogical to say that affixes *X*, *Y*, *Z* occur after verbal roots ending in *ā*, and then to add subsequently that they can occur after any verbal root. It is, therefore, suggested by *Kāśikā* that *anyebhyaḥ* means *anākārāntebhyaḥ* 'those which do not end in -*ā*'. Our earlier rule relates to the Vedic but this one deals also with the classical language (*bhāṣā*).

3.2.76 **क्विप् च**

kvip ca
/*kvip* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *upasarge' pi* #61)
sarvadhātubhyaḥ sopapadebhyo nirupapadebhyaś ca chandasi bhāṣāyāṃ ca kvip pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KvIP* also occurs after a verbal root, used with or without a preverb, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

ukhāsrat 'that which falls off a pot'
parṇadhavat 'that which causes leaves to fall'
vāhābhraṭ 'that which falls off a vehicle'

1. This rule introduces affix *KvIP* after verbal roots in general whether they are used: with or without a preverb, and in the Vedic, or in the Classical language.

3.2.77 **स्थः क च**

sthaḥ ka ca
/*sthaḥ* 5/1 *ka* (1/1 deleted) *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *upasarge' pi* #61)
'sthā' ity etasmād dhātoḥ supy upapade kaḥ pratyayo bhavati, kvip ca
Affix *Ka*, and *KvIP* as well, occurs after verbal root *sthā* 'to stand' used with or without a preverb, when this root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

śaṃsthaḥ 'one who is living happily'
śaṃsthāḥ 'those who are living happily'

1. Note that '*supi*' and '*upasarge' pi*' are both relevant here. Affix *Ka* is introduced by this rule in addition to *KvIP*. This of course is understood from the use of *ca* 'and'. Affix *Ka* is used, in this rule, without a nominal ending (*avibhaktikanirdeśa*). Otherwise, the rule should have been: ...*kaś ca*.

It is stated that this rule should not have been formed, because affixes *Ka* and *KvIP* could have been made available by rules 3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ*, and 3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi*... respectively. It is argued that rule 3.2.14 *śami dhātoḥ saṃjñāyām* will become applicable because of the inclusion of the word '*dhātoḥ*'. Thus, affix *aC* may also qualify to block affixes *Ka* and *KvIP* via 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*. Our present rule is thus stated separately to block a rule which may, in turn, qualify to block it (*bādhakabādhanārtha*). Affixes *Ka* and *KvIP* block *aC* in such instances of conflict.

3.2.78 **सुप्यजातौ णिनिस्ताच्छील्ये**

supy ajātau ṇinis tācchīlye
/*supi* 7/1 *ajātau* 7/1 *ṇiniḥ* 1/1 *tācchīlye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

ajātivācini subanta upapade tācchīlye gamyamāne dhātor ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆinI* occurs to denote *tācchīlya* 'one's nature' after verbal roots used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and does not denote *jāti* 'class'.

EXAMPLES:

uṣṇabhojī 'he whose nature is to eat warm food'
śītabhojī 'he whose nature is to eat cold food'

1. Note that '*supi*' of this rule could have been easily obtained via *anuvṛtti* from the preceding rule. However, explicit mention of it becomes necessary because '*supi*' of the preceding rule is also associated with '*upasarge*'. If one is carried, the other must also be carried. This rule does not require the *anuvṛtti* of *upasarge*. Therefore, dropping '*upasarge*' requires explicit use of '*supi*'. Bhaṭṭoji (*SK IV:* 75) observes as follows:

> *iha vṛttikāreṇopasargabhinna eva supi ṇinir iti vyākhyāya 'utpratibhyām āṇi sartter upasaṃkhyānam' iti paṭhitam. Haradattamādhavādibhiś ca tad evānusṛtam. etac ca bhāṣyavirodhād upekṣyam. prasiddhaś copasarge' pi ṇiniḥ...*
>
> 'here, the author of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, explained '*ṇini*' without '*upasarga*', and subsequently stated *utpratibhyām*'... This same interpretation is followed by Haradatta and Mādhava, etc. However, because this interpretation is contrary to the *Mahābhāṣya*, it should be neglected. Indeed, *ṇini* is common in the context of *upasarga*'.

Kāśikā, since it does not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *upasarge*, lists an *iṣṭi* which provides for *ṆinI* after verbal root *sṛ*, used with the preverb *āṄ* and preceded by *ud* and *prati*. The examples are: *udāsāriṇyaḥ* and *pratyāsāriṇyah*. The purpose of stating *supi* when it is already available from the *anuvṛtti*, in view of the *Mahābhāṣya* and *SK*, seems to provide for *ṆinI*, also, when the root is used with preverbs.

3.1.79 कर्त्तर्य्युपमाने

kartaryupamāne
/*kartari* 7/1 *upamāne* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇiniḥ* #78)
kartṛvācini upamāna upapade dhātor ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal roots when they occur in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *upamāna* 'object of comparison' as *kartṛ* 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

uṣṭrakrośī 'one who makes noise like a camel'
dvāṅkṣarāvī 'one who makes noise like a crow'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆinI* after a verbal root cooccurring with a *pada* which denotes *kartṛ* constituted by an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. That is, the cooccurring agent becomes the standard of comparison for the agent denoted by the derivate. Consider *dhvāṅkṣarāvī* 'the person who (agent of the derivate) makes the shrill cry like a crow (the cooccurring agent).

This, along with the subsequent rule, makes a provision for *ṆinI* outside the meaning conditions of the preceding rule.

3.2.80 **व्रते**

vrate
/vrate 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṇiniḥ* #78)
vrate gamyamāne subanta upapade dhātor ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆinI* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and the derivate denotes *vrata* 'ritual vow'.

EXAMPLE:

sthaṇḍilaśāyī 'he who has taken a vow to sleep on the bare ground'
aśrāddhabhojī 'he who has taken a vow not to eat at the *śrāddha* (ritual oblation of food offered to the dead)'

3.2.81 **बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये**

bahulamābhīkṣṇye
/bahulam 1/1 *ābhīkṣṇye* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṇiniḥ* #78)
abhīkṣṇye gamyamāne dhātor bahulam ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆinI* occurs variously after verbal roots when they cooccur with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and, when *ābhīkṣṇya* 'to do something over and over again' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣāyapāyiṇo gāndhārāḥ 'the residents of *Gāndhāra* who repeatedly drink *kaṣāya* (herbal juice) in order to stay healthy'
kṣīrapāyiṇa uśīnarāḥ 'the residents of *Uśīnara* who repeatedly drink milk'

1. The word *ābhīkṣṇya* is explained as *paunaḥpunya* 'to do something over and over again', and thus, constitutes an exception to the semantic condition of rule 3.2.78 *supy ajātau...* The use of '*bahulam*' makes it clear that elsewhere, for example in *kulmāṣakhādaḥ* 'he who eats only boiled food', *ṆinI* does not apply.

3.2.82 **मनः**

> *manaḥ*
> /*manaḥ* 5/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṇiniḥ* #78)
> *manyateḥ subanta upapade ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati,*
> Affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal root *manA* 'to think' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP*.

EXAMPLES:

> *darśanīyamānī* 'he who considers something worth seeing'
> *śobhanamānī* 'he who considers something beautiful'

1. Commentators explain that *man*, here, refers to the verbal root *manĀ* 'to think', a *divādi* root, as opposed to the *manŪ* 'to know, understand' of the *tanādi* group. The derivates of this rule do not create any problem because of this distinction in roots. However, problems could arise because of a difference in the *vikaraṇa*.

Note that the object of *man* which constitutes the cooccurrence condition should not be the same as the agent of the derivate. Thus, *surūpamānī* means 'he who considers someone else as handsome'. The next rule accounts for examples where the object as well as the agent are the same.

3.2.83 **आत्ममाने खश्च**

> *ātmamāne khaśca*
> /*ātmamāne* 7/1 *khaś* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *supi* #4, *ṇiniḥ* #78, *manaḥ* #82)
> *ātmamāne varttamānān manyateḥ supy upapade khaś pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *KHaŚ*, as well as *ṆinI*, occurs after verbal root *manA* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and the derivate denotes *ātmamāna* 'thinking about one's own self'

EXAMPLES:

> *darśanīyammanyaḥ* 'he who thinks about himself as (handsome and hence,) worth seeing'
> *darśanīyamānī* 'id.'

paṇḍitammanyaḥ 'he who thinks about himself as a scholar'
paṇḍitamānī 'id.'

3.2.84 भूते

bhūte
/bhūte 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1 *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91*)*
'bhūte' ity adhikāraḥ 'varttamāne laṭ' iti yāvad yad ita ūrddham anukramiṣyāmaḥ 'bhūte' ity evaṃ veditavyam
An affix, hereafter, occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past (*bhūta*).

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭomayājī 'he who has performed the ritual sacrifice of *agniṣṭoma* as a means for going to heaven'

1. This is a governing rule extending prior to rule 3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*. The denotatum of the affixes to be introduced hereafter will be 'past'. But this past must relate to the sense of the root after which a given affix is introduced.

3.2.85 करणे यजः

karaṇe yajaḥ
/karaṇe 7/1 *yajaḥ* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ#3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇiniḥ* #78, *bhūte* #84*)*
yajater dhātoḥ karaṇa upapade ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati bhūte
Affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal root *yajA* used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and signifies *karaṇa* 'instrument', provided action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

agniṣṭomayājī

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *ṆinI*. It is stated that *KHaŚ* is not carried, since it is not marked with *svarita*. The rule, therefore, introduces *ṆinI* after verbal root *yajA* 'to perform ritual sacrifice' when the cooccurring word denotes *karaṇa*, and the action is located in the past. Thus we get: *agniṣṭomayājī* 'he who performed the ritual sacrifice by means of *agniṣṭoma*'. But *agniṣṭoma*, being the ritual itself, cannot be accepted as *karaṇa*. How could one perform the *agniṣṭoma*, the object of *yaj*, by means of (*karaṇa*), again the *agniṣṭoma*?. Besides, how could the denotation of both be made concurrently. Commentators offer lengthy

explanations for the sacrificer's feeling (*bhāvanā*) of reaching heaven by means of the merits of *agniṣṭoma*. That is, when a person performs the ritual sacrifice of *agniṣṭoma*, he is motivated by *svargakāmo agniṣṭomena yajeta* 'one wishing for heaven should sacrifice by means of *agniṣṭoma*'. This way, the general action of bringing about the goal of reaching heaven becomes the *karaṇa* to the particular action of performing the *agniṣṭoma*, the object of *yaj*.

3.2.86 **कर्मणि हनः**

karmaṇi hanaḥ
/*karmaṇi* 7/1 *hanaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇiniḥ* #78, *bhūte* #84)
karmaṇy upapade hanter dhātor ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati bhūte kāle
Affix *ṆinI* occurs after verbal root *han* 'to kill' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* to denote *karman* 'object' and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

pitṛvyaghātī 'he who killed his paternal uncle'
mātulaghātī 'he who killed his maternal uncle'

1. *Kāśikā* states that the derivates should also involve the meaning of *kutsā* 'censure'. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not say anything about this though such a meaning is not difficult to comprehend based on the denotational power of words (*śabdaśaktisvābhāvya*). Thus, we get *pitṛvyaghātī* 'he who killed his paternal uncle' parallel to the analyzed form *pitṛvyaṃ hatavān* 'he killed his paternal uncle'. *Kāśikā's* intent to make the meaning of censure as a condition is not against the denotational power of the derivate. One would comprehend *kutsā* 'censure' even if it is not stated. It is for this reason that we do not get a derivate parallel to the analyzed form: *cauraṃ hatavān* 'he killed the thief'. For, killing a thief may not deserve censure.

3.2.87 **ब्रह्मभ्रूणवृत्रेषु क्विप्**

brahmabhrūṇavṛtreṣu kvip
/*brahmabhūṇavṛtreṣu* 7/3 *kvip* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi hanaḥ* #86)
brahmādiṣu karmasūpapadeṣu hanter dhātoḥ kvip pratyayo bhavati bhūte
Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal root *han* when the root cooccurs

with a *pada* which contains *brahma* 'brāhmaṇa', *bhrūṇa* 'foetus' and *vṛtra* 'a demon' as *karman* and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

brahmahā 'he who killed a *brāhmaṇa*'
bhrūṇahā 'he who killed a foetus'
vṛtrahā 'Indra, who killed the demon Vṛtra'

1. Why should we have this rule since rule 3.2.76 *kvip ca* can already accomplish what this rule is intended to do? *Kāśikā* states that this rule is needed to underline some restrictions (*niyamārtham*). That is, this rule restricts the conjoined words (*upapada*), verbal root (*dhātu*), tense (*kāla*) and the scope of the affix (*pratyayaviṣaya*). The *Mahābhāṣya* (III: 254–55) speaks about two restrictions. First that affix *KvIP* should be introduced after verbal root *han*, only when the conjoined words are constituted by *brahma*, *bhrūṇa* and *vṛtra*. This will block examples such as *puruṣaṃ hatavān* = *puruṣahā* with *KvIP*. Secondly, this *KvIP*, introduced after *han* together with the restriction of conjoined words, only applies with reference to past action. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not accept the other two restrictions stated by *Kāśikā*. Nāgeśa (*Udyota* ad *Pradīpa*) states that: *brahmādiṣu hanter eva bhūte kvib bhavati, brahmādiṣu hanteḥ kvib bhūta eva... niyamadvayaṃ nābhyupagatam* 'affix *KvIP* occurs only after verbal root *han*...; only when the action is located in the past... these two restrictions were not accepted'. Obviously, there must be usages refuting the claims of other restrictions.

3.2.88 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/*bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi, hanaḥ* #86, *kvip* #87)
chandasi viṣaye upapadāntare' pi hanter bahulaṃ kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvIP* occurs variously in the Vedic after verbal root *han* when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

mātṛhā saptamaṃ narkaṃ praviśet 'may the one who killed his mother lay in the seventh hell'

1. It is stated that *bahulam* 'variously' is used in view of restrictions of the preceding rule. *Kāśikā* states that the restriction of *upapada* has been

compromised with the use of *mātṛ* in *mātṛhā* of *mātṛhā saptamaṃ narakaṃ praviśet*. The use of *mātṛ* as the conjoined *karman* can be justified only at the strength of *bahulam*.

3.2.89 सुकर्मपापमन्त्रपुण्येषु कृञः

sukarmapāpamantrapuṇyeṣu kṛñaḥ
/*sukarma...puṇyeṣu* 7/3 *kṛñaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi* #86, *kvip* #87)
svādiṣu karmasūpapadeṣu karoter dhātoḥ kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *su* 'good', *karma* 'act, deed', *pāpa* 'sin', *mantra* 'a *mantra*' or *puṇya* 'merit' as *karman* and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

sukṛt 'he who has done something well'
karmakṛt 'he who has done the work'
pāpakṛt 'he who has done a sinful deed'
mantrakṛt 'he to whom a *mantra* has been revealed'
puṇyakṛt 'he who has earned merit'

1. *Kāśikā* states that the three restrictions of *kāla* 'time', *upapada* 'cooccurring word', and *pratyaya* 'affix' also apply in the context of this rule. The restriction of *dhātu* is not valid since other roots can form part of the derivates.

Note that because the restriction of *kāla* demands the introduction of affix *KvIP*, *karma kṛtavān* 'he did the work' cannot qualify for *aṆ* to derive *karmakāraḥ*. That is, affix *aṆ* cannot be introduced when the action is denoted in the past. Because of the restriction of *upapada* as outlined by specific nominal bases, *mantram adhītavān* = *mantrādhyāyaḥ* 'he who studied the Mantra' gets *aṆ* alone. That is, *KvIP* can only be introduced after verbal root *kṛ* used in conjunction with *su*, etc. Similarly, because of the restriction of *pratyaya*, *KvIP* is valid in the context of the past (*bhūta*). That is, *mantraṃ karoti kariṣyati vā* will be qualified only for *aṆ*. The derivate ending in *KvIP*, i.e., *mantrakṛt*, cannot be used when the action is denoted at the current or the future time

3.2.90 सोमे सुञः

some suñaḥ
/*some* 7/1 *suñaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi* #86, *kvip* #87)

some karmaṇy upapade sunoter dhātoḥ kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal root *ṣUÑ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *soma* as *karman* and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

somasut 'he who pressed out *Soma*'

1. *Kāśikā* claims that all four restrictions of *kāla*, *upapada*, *pratyaya* and *dhātu* are operative here as well as in the subsequent rule. Thus, consider (*PM* ad *Kāś*):

(*a*) *bhūtakālasya kvipi niyatatvāt somaṃ sutavān somasāva ity aṇ na bhavati* 'because affix *KvIP* is to occur when the action is denoted in the past, *aṆ* cannot be introduced to derive *somasāvaḥ* parallel to the analyzed form: *somaṃ sutavān* 'he pressed out the Soma';

(*b*) *dhātoḥ soma evopapade niyatatvāt surāṃ sutavān surāsāva ity aṇ eva bhavati* 'because *soma* alone forms the *upapada*, affix *aṆ* alone occurs in *surāsāvaḥ* parallel to the analyzed form: *surāṃ sutavān* 'he distilled the liquor';

(*c*) *...dhātau niyatatvāt somaṃ krītavān somakrīr iti kvib na bhavati* 'because of the restriction on verbal root *ṣuÑ*, *somakrīḥ* does not qualify for affix *KvIP*, against *aṆ*, to derive it parallel to the analyzed form *somaṃ krītavān* 'he purchased Soma';

(*d*) *kvipo bhūte niyatatvāt somaṃ sunoti soṣyati veti vivakṣāyāṃ kvib na bhavati* 'because *KvIP* is restricted to past alone, one's desire to say, 'he presses out the Soma; ... will press it out' does not entail *KvIP* against *aṆ*'.

3.2.91 अग्नौ चेः

agnau ceḥ
/*agnau* 7/2 *ceḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi* #86, *kvip* #87)
agnau karmaṇy upapade cinoter dhātoḥ kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal root *ciÑ* when the root cooccurs with *agni* 'fire' as *karman* and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

agnicit 'he who heaped the ritual fire'

3.2.92 कर्मण्याग्न्याख्यायाम्

karmaṇy agnyākhyāyām

/karmaṇy 7/1 *agnyākhyāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi* #86, *kvip* #87, *ceḥ* #91)
karmaṇy upapade cinoteḥ karmaṇy eva kārake kvip pratyayo bhavati agnyākhyāyām
Affix *KvIP* occurs to denote *karman* after verbal root *ciÑ* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

śyenacit 'a ritual fire (place) arranged in the shape of a falcon'
kaṅkacit 'a ritual fire (place) arranged in the shape of a heron'

1. Note that '*ceḥ*' and '*karmaṇi*' are carried from the preceding rule. The second *karmaṇi*, which is explicitly stated in the rule, is intended to regulate the meaning of the affix. Thus, affix *KvIP* of this rule should be introduced only when *karman* is the denotation of the derivate. Thus, we get *śyenacit* parallel to the analysed form *syena iva cīyate* 'that which is arranged like (the form of) a falcon' as opposed to *syena iva citavān* 'he arranged like a falcon'.

2. The word '*ākhyā*' is used to specify the particular traditional meaning (*rūḍhi*) of the derivate. Thus, it is not the general traditional meaning of 'fire' but the special conventional meaning of 'arranging bricks (*iṣṭakācayaḥ*) to prepare the special receptacle for one of the three ritual fires, *āvahanīya*, in the shape of a falcon'. Commentators hasten to add here that this meaning is denoted only by the form which results by the combination (*samudāya*) of *dhātu* 'root', *upapada* 'cooccurring word' and *pratyaya* 'affix'.

3.2.93 कर्मणीनिर्विक्रियः

karmaṇīnir vikriyaḥ
/karmaṇi 7/1 *iniḥ* 1/1 *vikriyaḥ* 5/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)
vipūrvāt krīṇāter dhātor 'ini' pratyayao bhavati
Affix *inI* occurs after verbal root *krīÑ* 'to barter, buy', used with the preverb *vi*, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

somavikrayī 'he who sold Soma'
rasavikrayī 'he who sold liquor'

1. The explicit use of the word *karmaṇi* is intended again for special meaning. *Nyāsa* characterizes it as follows: *yat karma kriyāsambandham*

anubhavati karttuḥ kutsām āvahati tat kutsānimittaṃ karma yathā syād... 'a *karman* which, while being associated with the action, brings *kutsā* to the agent; that object, the cause of *kutsā*, is (intended to be denoted here)'. Thus, we get *rasavikrayī* 'the one who sells liquor' where liquor, the object, when associated with the action of selling, brings *kutsā* to the agent, the person who sells'. But why not carry *karmaṇi* by *anuvṛtti* from the preceding rule where it also denotes a special meaning? To do so would bring a special meaning which is not desired here. Explicitly stating '*karmaṇi*', thus, blocks the undesired meaning of '*karman*' of the preceding rule.

3.2.94 दृशेः क्वनिप्

dṛśeḥ kvanip
/*dṛśeḥ* 5/1 *kvanip* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi* #86)
dṛśer dhātoḥ karmaṇy upapade kvanip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvanIP* occurs after verbal root *dṛśIR* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

merudṛśvā 'he who has seen Meru'
paralokadṛśvā 'he who has seen the world beyond'

1. Note that *KvanIP* is already available to *dṛśIR* from 3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi*... What, then, is the purpose of this rule? The purpose is to block the occurrence of other affixes (*pratyayāntaranivṛtyartham*) such as *manIN* and *aṆ*.

3.2.95 राजनि युधिकृञः

rājani yudhikṛñaḥ
/*rājani* 7/1 *yudhikṛñaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *bhūte* #84, *karmaṇi* #86, *kvanip* #94)
rājanśabde karmaṇy upapade yudhyateḥ karoteś ca kvanip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvanIP* occurs after verbal roots *yudh* 'to fight' and *ḌukṛÑ* 'to do, make' when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

rājayudhvā 'he who had the king fight'
rājakṛtvā 'he who made someone the king'

1. Note that *yudh* is generally treated as intransitive (*akarmaka*). This goes against the requirement that it be conjoined with an object (*karman*). Commentators explain that *yudh* is used here with *antarbhāvitaṇyartha*, inhered causal meaning. Thus, it is a transitive (*sakarmaka*) verbal root.

3.2.96 **सहे च**

sahe ca
/*sahe* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *kvanip* #94, *yudhikṛñaḥ* #95)
sahe śabde copapade yudhikṛñor dhātvoḥ kvanip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvanIP* also occurs after verbal roots *yudh* and *ḌUkṛÑ* when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *saha* 'with' and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

sahayudhvā 'he who fought along with someone else'
sahakṛtvā 'he who did something along with someone else'

1. Note that *saha*, as an *upapada*, is not modified here with *karman* 'object', since it denotes 'non-thing' (*astvavacana*). That is, *saha* cannot denote an object.

3.2.97 **सप्तम्यां जनेर्डः**

saptamyāṃ janer ḍaḥ
/*saptamyāṃ* 7/1 *janeḥ* 5/1 *ḍaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)
saptamyante upapade janer dhātor ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ḍa* occurs after verbal root *janA* 'to be born' when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal endings' and when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

upasarajaḥ 'he who was born by first impregnation'
mandurajaḥ 'he who was born in a stable'

1. Note that *saptamī* of *saptamyām* denotes the locative nominal ending. This makes the *pratyayagrahaṇa-paribhāṣā* (*Pbh.* 24) apply to yield the interpretation 'that which ends in a locative nominal ending'. This explanation is necessary in view of 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya*..., and 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ*....

2. Note that the deletion of a *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*), even when it is part of a non-*bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), is made possible at the strength of *Ḍ* as an *it* in the affix (cf. *Mbh.* ad 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*: *ḍity abhasyāpy anubandhakaraṇasāmarthyāt*).

3.2.98 **पञ्चम्यामजातौ**

pañcamyām ajātau
/*pañcamyām* 7/1 *ajātau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *janer ḍaḥ* #97)
pañcamyanta upapade jātivarjite janer ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ḍa* occurs after verbal root *janA* when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which ends in *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of nominal endings' and signifies something other than a *jāti* 'class' provided the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

buddhijaḥ 'that which had its source in intelligence'
saṃskārajaḥ 'that which had its source in the *saṃskāra* (habits)'
duḥkhajaḥ 'that which had its source in grief'

3.2.99 **उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम्**

upasarge ca saṃjñāyām
/*upasarge* 7/1 *ca* Ø *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *janer ḍaḥ* #97)
upasarge copapade janer ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ḍa* also occurs after verbal root *janA* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains a preverb and the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLE:

athemā mānavī prajāḥ 'this, thus, is the progeny of Manu'

1. Note that the denotation of name (*saṃjñā*) should be made by the form which results out of the combination of *dhātu*, *upapada* and *pratyaya*. That is, *saṃjñā* cannot be accepted as the meaning of any one of these elements individually.

3.2.100 **अनौ कर्मणि**

anau karmaṇi
/*anau* 7/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *janer ḍaḥ* #87)
anu pūrvād janeḥ karmaṇy upapade ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ḍa* occurs after verbal root *janA* when the root is used with the preverb *anu*, and cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *karman*, provided the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

pumanujaḥ 'he who was born after a brother'
stryanujaḥ 'he who was born after a sister'

1. Note that verbal root *janI* will become transitive when used with the preverb *anu*. We also find that *anu* is used in the locative. This raises the question why *anu*, based on its specification in the locative, cannot be treated as an *upapada*? See the explanation given under 2.3.31 *udi kūle rujivahoḥ*.

3.2.101 अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते

anyeṣv api dṛśyate
/*anyeṣu* 7/3 *api* 0 *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *janer ḍaḥ* #97)
anyeṣu apy upapadeṣu kārakeṣu janer ḍaḥ pratyayo dṛśyate
Affix *Ḍa* is also seen to occur after verbal root *janA* when the root cooccurs with items other than those specified, and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

ajaḥ 'unborn'
dvijāḥ '*brāhmaṇas*; twice-born'
brāhmaṇajo dharmaḥ 'a *dharma* which originated with a *brāhmaṇa*'
kṣatriyajaṃ yuddham 'a fight which originated with a *kṣatriya*'
abhijāḥ 'he who was born'
parijāḥ keśāḥ 'hairs which grow all over'
anujaḥ 'born after; younger brother'
parikhā 'that which has been dug all around'; a moat'
ākhā 'pond'

1. This rule recalls the introduction of affix *Ḍa* after verbal root *janI* used with conjoined words of varying denotata. Thus, it has been stated that when the conjoined word is constituted by *pañcamī* (2.3.98), *Ḍa* comes after *janI* provided the *upapada* does not denote *jāti*. But this rule offers *brāhmaṇaja* and *kṣatriyaja* in *brāhmaṇajo dharmaḥ*, etc. It has been

additionally stated that *Ḍa* is introduced after *janI* when a preverb constitutes an *upapada* and a name is denoted by the derivate (3.2.99). Our present rule offers examples where the derivates denote something other than a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus, we get *abhijāḥ* and *parijāḥ*. Similarly, it has been stated (3.2.99 *anau karmaṇi*) that when *janI* is used with the preverb *anu*, *karman* must be denoted by the *upapada*. This rule offers examples such as *anujaḥ* where the *upapada* is not a *karman*.

2. The word *api* has already been explained (3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi...*) to be responsible for many violations of operational rules (*sarvopādhivyabhicārārtham*). This allows *Ḍa* to also occur after other roots (*dhātvantara*), as well as under the condition of other *kāraka* (*kārakāntare' pi*). Thus, we get examples such as *parikhā* and *ākhā* from *khanU* 'to dig'.

3.2.102 निष्ठा

niṣṭhā
/*niṣṭhā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)
niṣṭhāsaṃjñakaḥ pratyayo bhūte bhavati
An affix termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtam 'that which has already been done'
kṛtavān 'he did...'
bhuktam 'that which has already been consumed'
bhuktavān 'he ate...'

1. Commentators note, here, the problem of *itaretarāśraya* 'mutual dependency'. They note that this rule introduces affixes which have been termed *niṣṭhā*. But there is a problem in understanding how those affixes could be termed *niṣṭhā*, since they have not yet been introduced? To remove such a conflict, commentators note that assignment of the term *niṣṭhā* would be comprehended as taking place later (*bhāvinīsaṃjñā vijñāyate*). That is: that which is subsequently termed *niṣṭhā* is introduced when the action is located in the past (*bhūta*). Note that the term *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) is assigned to affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU*. Affix *Kta* is used to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' (3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*) as opposed to *KtavatU*, which is used to denote *kartṛ* 'agent' (3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*).

2. A *vārttika* under this rule proposes that a *niṣṭhā* affix should also be stated when the onset of an action (*ādikarman*) is denoted. It is stated that the initial stages of actions could not entail their own past. This makes

introduction of *niṣṭhā* impossible. The *vārttika*, by using *ādikarmaṇi* 'when the onset of an action is denoted', refers to rule 3.2.187 *ñītaḥ ktaḥ* whereby *niṣṭhā* affix *Kta* is introduced when the action is located within current time. Thus, we get *prakṛtaḥ kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ* 'Devādatta started making the mat', etc. Refer also to rule 3.4.71 *ādikarmaṇi...*

3.2.103 सुयजोर्ङ्वनिप्

suyajor ṅvanip
/*suyajoḥ* 6/2 *ṅvanip* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)
sunoter yajateś ca ṅvanip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄvanIP* occurs after verbal roots *ṣuÑ* and *yaj* when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

sutvā '... pressed out the Soma'
yajvā '... performed the ritual sacrifice'

3.2.104 जीर्यतेरतृन्

jīryater atṛn
/*jīryateḥ* 5/1 *atṛn* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)
jīryater atṛn pratyayo bhavati bhūte
Affix *atṚN* occurs after verbal root *jṝṣ* 'to grow old, decay' when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

jaran 'old, aged'

1. Note that affix *atṚN* obviously forms an exception to affixes termed *niṣṭhā*. As such they can be blocked only optionally, as has been provided for by rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*. That is, forms such as *jīrṇaḥ* and *jīrṇavān* which are derivates of affixes assigned the term *niṣṭhā*, can still be used optionally with *jaran*. The *Ṛ* as an *it* in *atṚN* facilitates the introduction of augment *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugid acām...*). The *N* as an *it* is intended for initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*) accent.

3.2.105 छन्दसि लिट्

chandasi liṭ
/*chandasi* 7/1 *liṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)
chandasi viṣaye dhātor liṭ pratyayo bhavati bhūte

Affix *LIṬ* occurs after a verbal root in the Vedic when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

ahaṃ sūryam ubhayató dadarśa 'I saw the sun from both sides of it'
ahaṃ dyāvā́pṛthivī ātátāna 'I encompassed both heaven and earth'

1. A question is raised about the formulation of this rule. It is argued that this rule is redundant; what it accomplishes can be accomplished by rule 3.4.61 *chandasi luṅlaṅliṭaḥ*. However, 3.4.61 introduces *LIṬ* under the conditions of related actions (*dhātusambandha*) and *anyatarasyām* 'optionally'. Our present rule introduces affix *LIṬ* after verbal roots in general with no strings of *dhātusambandha* and *anyatarasyām* attached. Thus we get: *ahaṃ sūryám ubhayató dadarśa* and *ahaṃ dyāvā-pṛthivī ātátāna.*

3.2.106 लिटः कानज्वा

liṭaḥ kānaj vā
/*liṭaḥ* 6/1 *kānac* 1/1 *vā* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *chandasi* #105)
chandasi viṣaye liṭaḥ kānaj ādeśo bhavati
KānaC optionally comes in place of affix *LIṬ* in the Vedic when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

agniṃ cikyānaḥ 'he heaped the ritual fire'
somaṃ suṣuvāṇaḥ 'he presssed out the Soma'
varuṇaṃ suṣuvāṇaḥ 'he distilled the liquor'

1. This rule introduces affix *KānaC* as a replacement for *LIṬ* in the Vedic. The *K* of the affix is intended as an *it* to facilitate operations specific to an item assigned the status of *Kit* (1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo...*). The *C* is intended for the final high-pitch (*antodātta*) of 6.1.160 *citaḥ*. This, as well as affix *KyasU* of the next rule, denotes *kartṛ* via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad...*; 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*; 3.1.91 *kṛd atiṅ*). Affix *KānaC* is termed *ātmanepada* by rule 1.4.99 *taṅānāv. . . .* This adds another dimension to the use of *KānaC*. That is, it should be restricted to the replacement of *LIṬ* only when the root after which *LIṬ* is introduced qualifies for *ātmanepada.*

Note that *liṭaḥ* is used in this rule in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) to indicate that it is the *sthānī* 'item to be replaced' (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). Why did Pāṇini not bring *liṭ* via *anuvṛtti* from the preceding rule? The fact that we want *liṭ* here in the genitive, as opposed to the nominative (*prathamā*)

which the *anuvṛtti* provides, should not pose any problem. For, we have ample instances of transposition of nominal endings (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*) to suit the context. Thus, the nominative of *liṭ* can be changed to read as genitive in the context of rule 3.2.106. This will also be economical, since *liṭ* in the genitive does not have to be explicitly stated in this rule. *Kāśikā* states that an explicit mention of *LIṬ* is intended to inform that *KānaC* and *KvasU* are also replacements of *LIṬ* of 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*. Haradatta does not agree with this position. He states that *LIṬ* is explicitly mentioned in this rule so that there is no confusion about the status of *KānaC* and *KvasU*. That is, he, following the *Mahābhāṣya*, believes that, in the absence of *liṭaḥ*, *KānaC* and *KvasU* will be treated as independent affixes. They will be treated as replacements of *LIṬ* in view of the present formulation. Haradatta also takes recourse to the *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*. 62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā* 'an operation, or corresponding negation, is limited to the most immediate'. This prohibits *KānaC* and *KvasU* from being replacements for the *LIṬ* of rule 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*. Refer also to my notes under rule 3.2.108 *bhāṣāyam*....

3.2.107 क्वसुश्च

kvasuś ca
/kvasuḥ 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *chandasi liṭaḥ, vā* #105–6*)*
chandasi liṭaḥ kvasur ādeśo bhavati
KvasU comes optionally in place of *LIṬ* in the Vedic when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

jakṣivān '...ate'
papivān '...drank'

1. Note that *KvasU* is termed *parasmaipada* by 1.4.98 *laḥ parasmaipadam*. Consequently, it should be introduced as a replacement of *LIṬ* only after a verbal root which qualifies to receive *parasmaipada* endings.

2. A question is raised as to why *KvasU* is introduced as a replacement separately from *KānaC*. Why did Pāṇini not combine the provision of this rule with that of the preceding? Commentators say that a separate rule-formulation was necessary to block the *anuvṛtti* of *KānaC* in the subsequent rule. If both were given as part of a single rule, then when one was carried the other would also have carried.

3.2.108 भाषायां सदवसश्रुवः

bhāṣāyāṃ sadavasaśruvaḥ

/bhāṣāyām 7/1 *sadavasaśruvaḥ* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṭaḥ, vā* #106, *kvasu* #107)
'sada, vasa, śru' ity etebhyaḥ parasya liṭo bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye (vā) kvasur ādeśo bhavati
Affix *LIṬ* is optionally replaced with *KvasU* in the Classical language when *LIṬ* occurs after verbal roots *sadA* 'to sit', *vasA* 'to dwell' and *śru* 'to hear' and the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

upasedivān kautsaḥ pāṇinīm 'Kautsa was subservient to Pāṇini'
upāsadat... 'id.'
anūṣivān kautsaḥ pāṇinīm
'Kautsa lived subsequently to Pāṇini'
anvavātsīt... 'id.'
upaśuśruvān kautsaḥ pāṇinīm
'Kautsa heard about Pāṇini...'
upāśrouṣīt... 'id.'

1. Note that the *Kāśikāvṛtti* interprets this rule differently from others as follows:

'sada, vasa, śru' ity etebhaḥ parasya liṭo bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye vā kvasur ādeśo bhavati 'KvasU optionally comes in place of *LIṬ*, in the Classical language, when *LIṬ* occurs after verbal roots *'sada, vasa* and *śru* to denote the action in the past'

Note that affix *LIṬ*, in this section, is introduced only in the Vedic to denote the sense of general past (*bhūta*). That is, *LIṬ* is not introduced after verbal roots to denote general past in the Classical language. *Kāśikā* therefore states that since Pāṇini introduces the replacement, and since the replacement would become vacuous if there were no *sthānī*, an item to be replaced, we must assume that *LIṬ* is given as the *sthānī* by way of the specification of its replacement. *Kāśikā* thus treats the introduction of *LIṬ* as understood. This now clears the way for *KvasU* to optionally replace *LIṬ*.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK*: IV:114) interprets this rule differently:

sadādibhyo bhūtasāmānye bhāṣāyāṃ liḍ vā syāt, tasya ca nityaṃ kvasuḥ 'affix *LIṬ* optionally is introduced to denote 'past in general' after verbal root *sada*, etc., when the usage is classical; and *KvasU* obligatorily comes in place of *LIṬ*'

Vāsudeva Dīkṣita (ad *SK* IV:114) explains Bhaṭṭoji's position as follows:

'vā grahaṇaṃ liṭaiva saṃbaddhyate; tasya kvasus tu nitya iti bhāṣye spaṣṭam. pakṣe luṅ, tasya bhūtasāmānye vihitatvāt. 'the use of *vā* must be associated with *LIṬ* only; that *KvasU* is its obligatory replacement has already been made clear in the *Mahābhāṣya*. In the absence of this optional *LIṬ*, *LUṄ* (3.2.110 *luṅ*) will be the choice, since it has been introduced in the sense of general past'.

It is clear from the preceding discussion that the *Kāśikā* differs with the *Mahābhāṣya*. Commentators such as Haradatta and Nāgeśa accept that affix *LIṬ* is introduced here optionally in the sense of general past after three particular verbs of the classical language. Elsewhere, in the classical language, then, we will get affix *LUṄ*, which has been introduced to denote past in general. Rule 3.2.108 introduces *KvasU* as a replacement for *LIṬ* which denotes general past and is optionally introduced after the three verbal roots of the classical language. Since the word *vā* 'optionally', in this interpretation, is to be related to *LIṬ*, *KvasU* will become the obligatory replacement of *LIṬ*. This position of Haradatta was also accepted by Bhaṭṭoji. Haradatta advises that '*Kāśikā*'s interpretation of this rule should be restructured to reflect this correct interpretation (*vṛttigrantho' pi asminn evārthe yojanīyaḥ*). To sum up, *Kāśikā* makes a logical deduction that *LIṬ* is introduced in the Classical language after the cited verbs with the signification of general past. Affix *KvasU* then optionally replaces it. Others accept that both *LIṬ* and *KvasU* are introduced by this rule. Affix *LIṬ* is introduced optionally but is replaced obligatorily by *KvasU*. I omit details of how the *Mahābhāṣya*, Haradatta, and Nāgeśa offer interpretations which make *Kāśikā's* interpretation unacceptable. Although I chose to translate the rule in view of the *Kāśikā*, I put the *vā* of the *vṛtti* in parenthesis to indicate the difference of interpretation.

3.2.109 **उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश्च**

upeyivāśvānanūcānaś ca
/upeyivān-anāśvān-anūcānaḥ 1/3 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *liṭaḥ*, *vā* #106)
'upeyivān, anāśvān, anūcān' ity ete śabdā nipātyante
Forms such as *upeyivān*, *anāśvān* and *anūcān* are derived by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

upeyivān 'he reached there'
anāśvān 'he did not eat'
anūcān 'he did not speak'

1. Note that the examples under this rule are given as derived by

nipātana. It is not, therefore, relevant to explain their derivational processes. However, check the appendix for some ad hoc applications.

The word *vā* is carried here. Consequently, in the opinion of the *Kāśikā*, *KvasU* will be optional. In the opinion of others, *LIṬ*, ruled in the sense of general past, will become optional. See notes under the preceding rule.

3.2.110 लुङ्

luṅ
lluṅ 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)
bhūte' rthe varttamānād dhātor luṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LUṄ* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

akārṣīt 'he made..,'
ahārṣīt 'he carried something away'

1. This rule introduces affix *LUṄ* after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the past (*bhūta*). The *Ṅ* as an *it* is intended for qualification in rules such as 3.4.99 *nityaṃ ṅitaḥ*. The *U* is also used for qualification (*viśeṣaṇārthaḥ*), though in rules such as 6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ*, whereby *aṬ*, an augment marked with *udātta*, is introduced to an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*) before *LUṄ*, etc.

3.2.111 अनद्यतने लङ्

anadyatane laṅ
lanadyatane 7/1 *laṅ* 1/1/
(pratayayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84)
avidyamānādyatane bhūte' rthe varttamānād dhātor laṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṄ* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in a past which is non-current (*anadyatanabhūta*).

EXAMPLES:

akarot 'he made...'
aharat 'he took away'

1. The word *anadyatana*, used here as qualifier to *bhūta*, is a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the analyzed form: *avidyamāno' dyatano yasmin* 'that (a past) within which no current time is present'. Commentators show how a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation causes problems. For example, the affix would become applicable in *adya hyo vā abhukṣmahi* 'we ate today or yesterday?'.

This sentence obviously involves a combination of opposites: current and non-current. This meaning is gotten by the *paryudāsa* interpretation of *anadyatana*: *adyatanād anyaḥ* 'something other than the current'. A *prasajya* interpretation of *anadyatana* with the analysis, *adyatane na bhavati* 'not when the current' will also be problematic. For, this interpretation will allow *LUṄ* when the action is denoted in past in general. Our rule requires *LUṄ* here with the exception of the current past (*anadyatanabhūta*). Note that *LAṄ* cannot apply where even a trace of 'today' is found. The *tatpuruṣa* interpretation based on the *paryudāsa* or *prasajya* interpretation of *anadyatana* = *adyatanād yo anyaḥ* or *adyatane na bhavati* is thus rejected.

Nyāsa (ad *Kāśikā* II: 624) explains *adyatana* as follows:

> *divasaḥ sakalo' tikrāntāyā rātreś caturtho yāma āgāminyāś ca prathamo yāmaḥ* 'the time constituted by the entire day, the fourth quarter of the night before, and the first quarter of the night to come'.

If a person, in reply to the question 'where did you stay', answers 'I stayed right here', then he should use his reply either in *LUṄ* or in *LAṄ*. If he stayed, and slept, during the first three quarters of the previous night and woke up in its last quarter, he should use *LAṄ* as: *aham atrāvātsam*. For, the three quarters of the last night will constitute *anadyatana* for him. If the man asked did not have even a wink of sleep in all the four quarters of the past night then to denote the sense of 'continuous non-sleeping' (*jāgaraṇasantatau*) one should use *LUṄ* as: *aham atrāvasam* 'I stayed right here'. This is a *vārttika* proposal in the *Mahābhāṣya* under the preceding rule.

A *vārttika* proposes the use of *LAṄ* when some popular episode of the past, which has not been witnessed by any living person, is presented as witnessed by the relator (*parokṣe ca lokavijñāte prayoktur darśanaviṣaye laṅ vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get: *aruṇad yavanaḥ sāketam* 'the Yavana enforced a siege on the Sāketa'.

3.2.112 अभिज्ञावचने लृट्

> *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ*
> /*abhijñāvacane* 7/1 *lṛṭ* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111)
> *abhijñāvacane upapade bhūtānadyatane lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *abhijñā* 'recollection', and when the action is denoted in a non-current past.

EXAMPLE:

> *abhijānāsi devadatta kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ* 'remember Devadatta, when we lived in *Kaśmīra*'

1. This constitutes an exception to *LAṄ*. The word *abhijñā* has been explained as 'recollection' (*smṛti*). The *saptamī* in *abhijñāvacane* indicates that a statement of recollection should constitute the cooccurring word (*upapada*). Thus, we get a sentence such as *abhijānāsi devadatta kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ* where *LṚṬ* has been introduced to denote a past which is non-current (*anadyatana*).

2. The word *vacana* in *abhijñāvacana* has been used to facilitate the synonyms (*paryāya*) of *abhijñā* to qualify as the cooccurring word. Thus, *abhijānāsi* of the example sentence could be replaced with *smarasi, buddhyase, cetayase*, etc., with no effect on the use of *LṚṬ*. A rule which uses *abhijñā* without *vacana* would be interpreted to specify the condition as: 'when *abhijñā* itself constitutes the cooccurring word'.

3.2.113 न यदि

na yadi
/*na* Ø *yadi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ* #112)
yac chabdasahite' bhijñāvacana upapade lṛṭ pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *LṚṬ* does not occur after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *abhijñā* relative to some non-current action in the past, and is used in conjunction with *yad* 'that which'.

EXAMPLES:

abhijānāsi devadatta yat kaśmīreṣv avasāmaḥ
'remember, Devadatta, that we lived in Kaśmīra'

3.2.114 विभाषा साकांक्षे

vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣe
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *sākāṅkṣe* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ* #112)
abhijñāvacane upapade yac chabdasahite kevale ca vibhāṣā liṭ pratyayo bhavati, sākāṅkṣaś cet prayoktā
Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root, used with or without *yad*, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *abhijñā* relative to some non-current action in the past, provided the speaker wishes to add some additional information.

EXAMPLES:

abhijānāsi devadatta kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmas tatraudanaṃ bhokṣyāmahe

'remember, Devadatta, when we lived in Kaśmīra and ate rice there'
abhijānāsi devadatta yat kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmaḥ, yat tatraudanaṃ bhokṣyāmahe
'remember, Devadatta, that we lived in Kaśmīra and ate rice there'

1. Commentators interpret this rule to be an instance of *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. That is, this rule provides for something which was available (*prāpta*); at the same time it also provides for something which was unavailable (*aprāpta*). Affix *LṚṬ* is available by rule 3.2.114 *abhijñāvacane*... It is made unavailable by the negation of rule 3.2.115 *na yadi*. Our present rule provides *LṚṬ*, optionally, with or without the use of *yad* in the co-occurring word, provided the speaker expects to add more information. Thus, *LṚṬ* is used in *vatsyāmaḥ* of *abhijānāsi devadatta (yat) kaśmīreṣu vatsyāmas tatraudanaṃ bhokṣyāmahe* 'remember Devadatta, we lived in Kaśmīra and ate rice there'. Note that *bhokṣyāmahe* takes *LAṄ*, since the provision of *LṚṬ* is optional. Conversely, we can get *abhijānāsi devadatta, kaśmīreṣv avasāma, yat tatraudanaṃ abhuñjamahi* where *yad* is used and the first verb is used in *LAṄ*.

Kāśikā explains *sākāṅkṣe* as *lakṣyalakṣaṇayoḥ sambandhe prayoktur ākāṅkṣā* 'expectancy on part of the speaker about the relationship between the action forming the goal and that which marks that goal'. In the sentences cited, *vāsa* 'stay' marks the goal of *bhojana* 'eating'. The speaker in these sentences expects to inform about this relationship.

3.2.115 परोक्षे लिट्

parokṣe liṭ
/*parokṣe* 7/1 *liṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111)
bhūtānadyatanaparokṣe' rthe varttamānād dhātor liṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṬ* occurs after a verbal root when an unwitnessed (*parokṣa*) action which is not current (*anadyatana*) is denoted in the past (*bhūta*).

EXAMPLES:

cakāra 'he made...'
jahāra 'he took away...'

1. Note that both *anadyatane* and *bhūte* are carried. They are further modified by *parokṣe* of this rule to mean: 'in the sense of an action located in a past which is not related with today, nor has been witnessed by the

speaker'. The *Mahābhāṣya* raises the question of defining this past in terms of a time-frame though leaves the reader to decide for himself. Two things become clear in the discussion: (*a*) the past of this rule has nothing to do with (the elapsed time of) today, and (*b*) *parokṣa* could simply be understood as 'that which remains beyond the power of sensory perception of the speaker'. Thus, *parokṣabhūta* of the *anadyatana* type could refer to a time-frame encompassing time-immemorial to the last minute of the third quarter of the last night.

2. A *vārttika* proposes that *LIṬ* is to be used irrespective of *parokṣa* and *anadyatana* when an action is located in the past and *apahnava* 'denial' is denoted. Thus, someone asked: *kaliṅgeṣu sthito' si* 'have you been to the country of Kaliṅga?' An answer such as: *nāhaṃ dakṣiṇāpathaṃ praviveśa* 'I did not venture into the South of the country' with *LIṬ* is justified at the strength of the denial of past action.

3.2.116 **हशश्वतोर्लङ् च**

haśaśvator laṅ ca
/haśaśvatoḥ 7/2 *laṅ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *parokṣe liṭ* #115*)*
haśaśvatayor upapadayor laṅ pratyayo bhavati cakārāl liṭ ca
Affix *LAṄ*, and *LIṬ* as well, occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with *ha* and *śaśvat* and an unwitnessed action which is not current is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

iti hākarot 'thus he did with resolve'
iti ha cakāra 'id.'
śaśvad akarot 'he always did it'
śaśvac cakāra 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *LAṄ*, additionally to *LIṬ*, to denote the sense of an unwitnessed non-current past when the root cooccurs with *ha* and *śaśvat*. Thus, we get *akarot* with *LAṄ* parallel to *cakāra* with *LIṬ*.

3.2.117 **प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले**

praśne cāsannakāle
/praśne 7/1 *ca* Ø *āsannakāle* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *parokṣe, liṭ* #115, *laṅ* #116)
āsannakāle pṛcchyamāne bhūtādyatanaparokṣe' rthe varttamānād dhātoḥ laṅliṭau bhavataḥ

Affixes *LAṄ* and *LIṬ* occur after a verbal root when a question is asked about an action of the recent past which is not current, and which was not witnessed by anyone.

EXAMPLES:

agacchad devadattaḥ 'did Devadatta leave?'
jagāma devadattaḥ 'id.'
ayajad devadattaḥ 'did Devadatta perform the ritual sacrifice?'
iyāja devadattaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces both *LAṄ* and *LIṬ* after a verbal root when a question is asked about some unwitnessed action of a non-current past of relatively recent time. Thus, consider *agacchad devadattaḥ* / *jagāma devadattaḥ* 'did Devadatta leave?'. Note that *jagāma devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta left', with *jagāma*, a form of *LIṬ*, cannot be used optionally with *LAṄ* in the answer. But what is *āsanna* 'proximate, recent, or immediate'? How proximate or immediate to the current day must it be? There is no specification to be exact though normally a time-frame of five years is acceptable to the logicians (*naiyāyika*).

Why must the derivate involve a question relative to recent times? So that *bhavantaṃ pṛcchāmi* 'I ask you sir!', *jaghāna kaṃsaṃ kila vāsudevaḥ* 'did Vāsudeva indeed kill Kaṃsa' could not come under the purview of this rule. Note that the question is being asked about the killing of Kaṃsa (*kaṃsavadha*) which cannot be accepted as recent (*āsannakālika*).

3.2.118 लट् स्मे

laṭ sme
/*laṭ* 1/1 *sme* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *parokṣe* #115)
smaśabda upapade bhūtānadyatanaparokṣe laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṬ* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with *sma*, and when an action which is not current, and which was not witnessed by anyone, is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLE:

naḍena sma purādhīyate 'they studied holding the (burning) reed in their hands (for light)'

1. This is an exception to the *LIṬ* of 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*. Some, according to Haradatta, explain the example sentence as:

purā kalpe naḍākhyaṃ tṛṇaviśeṣaṃ haste gṛhītvā adhīyānā adhīyate sma 'the students studied in the ancient times with *naḍa*, a particular reed, in their hands'.

3.2.119 अपरोक्षे च

aparokṣe ca
/aparokṣe 7/1 *ca* 0/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *anadyatane* #111, *laṭ, sme* #118)
aparokṣe ca bhūtānadyatane' rthe varttamānād dhātoḥ sma upapade laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṬ* also occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with *sma*, and when an action which is not current, but which may have been witnessed by someone, is denoted in the past.

EXAMPLES:

evaṃ sma pitā bravīti 'thus my father used to speak'
iti smopādhyāyaḥ kathayati 'thus my teacher used to say'

1. The preceding rule allows for *LAṬ* when the root cooccurs with *sma*, and when the action, which may have been witnessed, is located in the non-current past. This rule allows for *LAṬ* even when the action is not of the unwitnessed type.

2. A question is raised against the formulation of this rule. It is argued that dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *parokṣe* in the preceding rule would have made the derivation of both the *parokṣa* and *aparokṣa* derivates possible. This would have saved the formulation of this rule. Commentators explain that dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *parokṣe* in the preceding rule would have also resulted in the suspension of the *anuvṛtti* of *anadyatane*. This, in turn, is not desired.

3.2.120 ननौ पृष्टप्रतिवचने

nanau pṛṣṭaprativacane
/nanau 7/1 *pṛṣṭaprativacane* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1 *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *laṭ* #118)
nanuśabda upapade praśnapūrvake prativacane bhūte' rthe laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṬ* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with *nanu* and response to a question about an action in the past is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

akārṣīḥ kaṭaṃ devadatta 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?'

nanu karomi bhoḥ 'indeed I made (it)'
avocas tatra kiṃcid devadatta 'Devadatta, did you say something there?'
nanu bravīmi bhoḥ 'indeed I did'

1. Note that '*anadyatana*' and '*parokṣa*' are not carried. That is, this rule allows affix *LAṬ* in the sense of past in general. The conditions are: that '*nanu*' should cooccur with the verbal root, and that what the derivate denotes constitutes the answer to a question. Thus, someone asked: *akārṣīḥ kaṭam*? 'did you make the mat'. The answer will include *LAṬ*: *nanu karomi bhoḥ* 'yes, I did'.

3.2.121 **नन्वोर्विभाषा**

nanvor vibhāṣā
/nanvoḥ 7/2 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte* #84, *laṭ* #118, *pṛṣṭaprativacane* #120)
naśabde nuśabde copapade pṛṣṭaprativacane vibhāṣā laṭ pratyayo bhavati bhūte
Affix *LAṬ* optionally occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with *na* and *nu* and response to a question about an action in the past is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

akārṣīḥ kaṭaṃ devadatta 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?'
na karomi bhoḥ 'I did not make (it)'
nākārṣam 'id.'
ahaṃ nu karomi 'indeed I made (it)'
ahaṃ nvakārṣam 'id.'

1. This rule makes the provision of the preceding rule optional in the context of *na* and *nu* when they constitute the conjoined word. Both '*bhūte*' and '*pṛṣṭaprativacane*' are carried. Thus, we get the following:

Question : *akārṣīḥ kaṭaṃ devadatta* 'did you make the mat Devadatta?'
Answer : *na karomi bhoḥ* 'I did not make it'; *nākārṣam* 'id.'; *ahaṃ nu karomi* 'indeed I made it'

3.2.122 **पुरि लुङ् चास्मे**

puri luṅ cāsme
/puri 7/1 *luṅ* 1/1/ *ca* Ø *asme* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhūte*,

anadyatane #111, *laṭ* #118, *vibhāṣā* #121)
'purā' śabda upapade smaśabdavarjite bhūtānadyatane' rthe vibhāṣā luṅ pratyayo bhavati laṭ ca
Affix *LUṄ* occurs, optionally with *LAṬ*, after a verbal root which cooccurs with *purā*, and is not used in conjunction with *sma*, provided the action is denoted in a past which is not current.

EXAMPLES:

vasantīha purā chātrāḥ 'students lived here earlier'
avātsuḥ purā chātrāḥ 'students lived (here) earlier'
avasann iha purā chātrāḥ 'students lived here earlier'
ūṣur iha purā chātrāḥ 'I hear that students lived here earlier'

1. Note that the word *anadyatane* is carried via *maṇḍūkapluti*. This rule offers *LUṄ* after a verbal root when *purā* 'once upon a time; previously' forms the cooccurring word and *sma* is not used. Of course, the action has to be located in the past of the non-current time. The derivate is again optional to *LAṬ*. If, however, the option of *LUṄ* and *LAṬ* are not accepted, *LIṬ* and *LAṄ* can be introduced. Note that *LIṬ* will be introduced by 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*. Thus we get the following four sentences:

(*a*) *vasantīha purā chātrāḥ* (*LAṬ*) 'students lived here earlier'
(*b*) *avātsuḥ purā chātrāḥ* (*LUṄ*) 'id.'
(*c*) *avasann iha purā chātrāḥ* (*LAṄ*) 'id.'
(*d*) *ūṣur iha purā chātrāḥ* (*LIṬ*) 'I hear that students lived here earlier'

The first three sentences mean the same thing. The fourth implies that the speaker has not witnessed the action by himself. This is explained by the requirement of 3.4.115 *parokṣe liṭ*.

3.2.123 वर्त्तमाने लट्

varttamāne laṭ
/*varttamāne* 7/1 *laṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
varttamāne' rthe varttamānād dhātor laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṬ* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted at the current time (*varttamāna*).

EXAMPLES:

bhavati '...becomes'
pacati '...cooks'
paṭhati 'reads, recites'

3.2.124 लटः शतृशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे

laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe
/*laṭaḥ* 6/1 *śatṛśānacau* 1/2 *aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)
laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ aprathamāntena cet tasya sāmānādhikaraṇyaṃ bhavati
Affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* occur after a verbal root in place of *LAṬ* when the action is denoted at the current time, and when *LAṬ* is not coreferential with a *pada* which ends in the nominative (*prathamā*).

EXAMPLES:

pacantaṃ devadattaṃ paśya 'see Devadatta cooking'
pacamānaṃ devadattaṃ paśya 'id.'
pacatā kṛtam '(it was) done by one who was cooking'

1. The word *aprathamā* equates with *na prathamā*. It is a *naÑ-tatpuruṣa* compound where the negative particle *naÑ* interpreted as *paryudāsa* = *tadbhinna-tatsadṛśa* 'that which is different from *X* but is also similar to it'. Thus, *aprathamā* is interpreted as 'that which is different from *prathamā* but is also similar to it'. The compound *aprathamā* thus denotes the nominal endings *dvitīyā* 'accusative', etc., which are different from the nominative (*prathamā*) but also share similarities because of their membership in the same class of nominal endings. The denotatum of *aprathamā* as 'that which is different from but is also similar to the *prathamā*' is modified in view of the interpretive maxim (cf. *Paribhāṣā*. 24) *pratyayagrahaṇe tadantasya grahaṇam* 'specification by means of an affix refers to that which ends in that affix'. Consequently, *aprathamā* is interpreted as: 'that which does not end in *prathamā* but ends in something similar to it'.

2. The word *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* is explained as a *bahuvrīhi* compound meaning: *samānam* = *abhinnam adhikaraṇaṃ vācyaṃ yasya* 'that whose denotatum is identical to the denotatum of...'. When *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* is modified by *aprathamā* and is put in the locative as a compound-base forming the syntactico-semantic condition for the replacement operation of this rule, it is interpreted as: 'when the denotatum of *LAṬ* is identical with the denotatum of a form which ends in a nominal ending other than the nominative'. The entire expression thus outlines the syntactico-semantic condition required of the form which ends in *LAṬ*. If the condition is met, *LAṬ* can be replaced with *ŚatṚ* or *ŚānaC*, where *Ś* is used as an *it* to facilitate the introduction of affixes *ŚaP*, etc. This operation is

consequent upon assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātuka*). Let us examine the following sentences:

(1) *devadatta odanaṃ pacati* 'Devadatta is cooking rice'
(2) *ahaṃ devadattaṃ paśyāmi* 'I see Devadatta'
(3) *ahaṃ odanaṃ pacantaṃ devadattaṃ paśyāmi* 'I see Devadatta cooking rice'

Note that the first two sentences do not entail any coreferentiality of the type on hand. The third entails a coreferential relationship between *Devadattam* and *pacantam*. Given the string *pac* + *LAṬ* + *devadatta* + *am*, *LAṬ* can be replaced with *ŚatṚ* or *ŚānaC* if the denotatum of this *LAṬ* is similar to the denotatum of a word which ends in a nominal ending other than the nominative. If *devadatta* + *am*, which ends in *dvitīyā*, has the same denotatum as the *LAṬ*, then *LAṬ* can be replaced with *ŚatṚ* or *ŚānaC*. What is the denotatum of *LAṬ*? Rule 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* explains that *LA* denotes agent (*kartṛ*) and object (*karman*) after a transitive root (*sakarmaka*); it denotes the agent and root-sense (*bhāva*) after an intransitive (*akarmaka*) root. The *am* after *devadatta* + *am* is understandably introduced to denote the *karman*. If the *LAṬ* denotes *karman*, then it can be replaced with *ŚatṚ* or *ŚānaC*.

Note that the coreferentiality between the denotata of words such as *devadattam* and the *LAṬ* in *pac* + *LAṬ* must be determined in view of the action. For example, the *karman* denoted by *am* of *devadatta* + *am* could be coreferential with the *karman* denoted by the *LAṬ* of *pac* + *LAṬ*, if and only if, they are *karman* in relation to the same action. Thus, sentence (3) has Devadatta as the object of seeing; *pacantam* denotes the same object. However, *pacantam* does not denote *odanam* which constitutes the object of *pac*, a different action.

Note, in addition, that a *LAṬ* denotes *kartṛ*, *bhāva*, or *karman* not by itself, but by its replacements (*ādeśa*). Thus, to say that *pac* + *LAṬ* in sentence (3) denotes *karman* is technically incorrect. Actually, this *karman* could be denoted by affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*, or by a verbal ending which comes as a replacement. How, then, should the coreferentiality of *LAṬ* with a word which ends in a nominal ending other than *prathamā* be understood? Commentators state that the property (*dharma*) of denoting coreferentiality is to be transferred to the replacement of *LAṬ* for purposes of its replacements with *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*. That is, it has to be imagined. For additional details relative to the replacement, see the appendix.

Note that sometimes we also find a replacement in affixes *ŚatṚ* or *ŚānaC* when the denotatum of *LAṬ* is coreferential with the denotatum of a *pada* which ends in the nominative. *Kāśikā* states that *LAṬ* is again used in the rule just to indicate this. This purpose is aptly called: *adhikavidhāna*

'that which is more than what a rule in question could provide for'. Thus we get the sentence: *san brāhmaṇaḥ* '... is a *brāhmaṇa*'.

3. *Kāśikā* further informs that some interpret the rule with the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣa* from 3.2.121 *nanvor vibhāṣā* in order to explain the coreferentiality of *LAṬ* with a word which ends in *prathamā*. The rule thus becomes *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* in the sense that (*a*) *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* obligatorily replace *LAṬ* when it is coreferential with a word which ends in a nominal ending other than *prathamā*, and (*b*) *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* replace *LAṬ* optionally when the coreferentiality obtains between *LAṬ* and a word which ends in *prathamā*. This all is to somehow account for usages entailing coreferentiality with nominative which goes against the rule.

Note additionally that *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*, for reasons of being constituted by more than one sound segment, and also for being marked with *Ś*, replace *LAṬ* in its entirety (*sarvādeśa*).

3.2.125 **सम्बोधने च**

sambodhane ca
/*sambodhane* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacau* #124)
sambodhane ca viṣaye laṭaḥ śatṛśānacau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* occur after a verbal root in place of *LAṬ* also when *sambodhana* 'address' is denoted in relation to an action located at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

he pacan 'o, you, the cooking one'
he pacamāna 'id.'

1. This rule orders the replacement by *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* under the constraint of coreferentiality with *prathamā* though this *prathamā* should be introduced to denote *sambodhana* (2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*).

3.2.126 **लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः**

lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ
/*lakṣaṇahetvoḥ* 7/2 *kriyāyāḥ* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacau* #124)
lakṣaṇe hetau cārthe varttamānād dhātoḥ parasya laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv ādeśau bhavataḥ, tau cel lakṣaṇahetukriyāviṣayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* occur after a verbal root in place of *LAṬ* when the action denoted by the root constitutes a *lakṣana* 'characteristic mark', or *hetu* 'cause', of some other action.

EXAMPLES:

śayānā bhuñjate yavanāḥ 'the Ionians eat while reclining'
arjayan vasati 'he is living here in order to earn money'
adhīyāno vasati 'he is living here in order to study'

1. This rule introduces *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* in place of *LAṬ* when the action denoted by the root marks or characterizes another action, or serves as the *hetu* 'cause of the same. Thus, consider:

(*a*) *śayānā bhuñjate yavanāḥ* 'the Ionians eat while reclining'
(*b*) *tiṣṭhan mūtrayati yavanaḥ* 'the Ionian urinates while standing
(*c*) *adhīyāno vasati vārāṇasyām* 'he stays in Vārāṇasī for the purpose of studying'

Affix *ŚatṚ* replaces *LAṬ* after *sthā* 'to stand' in sentence (*b*) since the action denoted by this root characterizes the way the Ionians 'urinate'. The first sentence introduces *ŚānaC* as a replacement for *LAṬ*.after verbal root *śīṄ* 'to recline' since the action denoted by this root characterizes the way the Ionians eat. Sentence (*c*) explains how *adhīyānaḥ*, a derivate of *adhi* + *i* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced with *ŚānaC*, constitutes the *hetu* 'cause, reason' for the action of 'staying' denoted by verbal root *vas* 'to dwell'.

3.2.127 तौ सत्

tau sat
/*tau* 1/2 *sat* 1/1/
tau śatṛśānacau satsaṃjñau bhavataḥ
Affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* are termed *sat*.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇasya kurvan 'while doing the work of a *brāhmaṇa*...'
brāhmaṇasya kariṣyan 'id.'
brāhmaṇasya kariṣyamāṇaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule assigns the term *sat* to affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* both. The word *tau* thus refers to *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*. But such a reference requires that *Śatṛ* and *ŚānaC* be given in the dual as *śatṛśānacau*. Since such a dual form cannot be gotten via *anuvṛtti* from the preceding rule, reference to these two affixes by means of *tau* becomes problematic. Commentators explain that *tau* is used here to make a direct reference to the dual form of these affixes found in rule 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv*... For, we get the most generalized reference to the two affixes in that rule. Our term *sat* could be assigned only to the *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* replacements of *LAṬ* with reference to the current (*varttamāna*) action if the dual form *śatṛśānacau* of the earlier rule is not treated as the focus of reference for *tau*. It could not be applicable, for example, to the replacements of *LṚṬ* (3.3.14 *lṛṭaḥ*

sad vā). The idea is to indicate *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* by *tau* in their unqualified forms.

The purpose of assigning the term *sat* is to facilitate the application of rules such as 2.2.11 *pūraṇaguṇasuhitārtha...* whereby a *pada* which ends in genitive is blocked from forming a compound. Consider also rule 3.3.14 *lṛṭaḥ sad vā* whereby *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* are introduced as replacements for *LṚṬ*.

3.2.128 **पूङ्यजोः शानन्**

> *pūṅyajoḥ śānan* 1/1/
> /*pūṅyajoḥ* 6/2 *śānan* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)
> *pūṅoḥ yajeś ca dhātoḥ śānan pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *ŚānaN* occurs after verbal roots *pūṄ* 'to cleanse' and *yajA* 'to sacrifice' when the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

> *pavamānaḥ* 'that which purifies; Agni'
> *yajamānaḥ* 'he who performs the ritual sacrifice'

1. Note that *ŚānaN* is not a replacement of *LA*. Instead, it is an independent affix like *ṆvuL* and *tṛC*, etc. Commentators explain that treating this affix as a replacement of *LAṬ* will be problematic. For example, introduction of this affix as a replacement of *LAṬ* will become optional in view of the provisions of *vā"sarūpavidhi* (3.1.94 *vā"sarūpo...*). Thus, *yajate* and *pavate* will also become optional to *yajamānaḥ* and *pavamānaḥ*. This, at least to some, may not create any problem since it is stated that the provisions of *vā"sarūpavidhi* are not applicable to the replacements of *LA*. The optional *yajate* and *pavate* can thus be blocked. But if one still treats the affix as a replacement of *LAṬ* then the affix will also have to denote a 'means' (*sādhana*) as is provided for by rule 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*. This may lead further to the problems of assignment of the terms *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada*, and accentuation. It is to remove these difficulties that this affix is not treated as a replacement. It is, instead, used as a *kṛt* affix to denote the agent in accordance with the provision of 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*. The formulation of rule 3.2.127 *tau sat* to intervene between this rule and those dealing with *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* as replacements of *LA* constitutes the evidence for *ŚānaN* to be accepted as an independent affix.

3.2.129 **ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश्**

> *tācchīlyavayovacanaśaktiṣu cānaś*
> /*tācchīlya...śaktiṣu* 7/3 *cānaś* 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
tācchīlyādiṣu dhātoś cānaś pratyayo bhavati
Affix *CānaŚ* occurs after a verbal root to denote *tācchīlya* 'one's nature', *vaya* 'age' or *śakti* 'capability' when the action is denoted at the current time

EXAMPLES:

katīha muṇḍayamānāḥ 'how many are here with shaven heads'
katīha bhūṣayamāṇāḥ 'how many here are well-dressed'
katīha kavacaṃ paryasyamānāḥ 'how many here are wearing protective armor'
katīha śikhaṇḍaṃ vahamānāḥ 'how many here have a topknot'
katīha nighnānāḥ 'how many here are killers'
katīha pacamānāḥ 'how many here are cooks'

1. Note that the word '*vacana*' is not required in the rule. For, the affix can be introduced to denote age (*vaya*) even without '*vacana*' as in 3.2.10 *vayasi ca*. Haradatta (*Kāśikā* II: 646) explains that the word *vacana* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). *Nyāsa* treats it as a variation (*vaicitrya*) in style.

Note that *CānaŚ* again is an independent affix. The fact that *CānaŚ* is not a replacement of *LAṬ* also removes the restriction of *ātmanepada* imposed upon the affix by 1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*. Thus, *CānaŚ* can also be used after roots where *parasmaipada* is allowed.

3.2.130 **इङ्धार्योः शत्रकृच्छ्रिणि**

iṅdhāryoḥ śatrakṛcchriṇi
Iiṅdhāryoḥ 5/2 *śatṛ* 1/1 (deleted) *akṛcchriṇi* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *vartamāne* #123)
iṅo dhāreś ca dhātvoḥ śatṛpratyayo bhavati akṛcchriṇi kartari
Affix *ŚatṚ* occurs after verbal roots *iṄ* 'to go' and *dhāri* 'to hold' when the agent accomplishes the action at the current time with no difficulty.

EXAMPLES:

adhīyan pārāyaṇam 'someone studying the *Pārāyaṇa* with no difficulty at all'
dhārayan upaniṣadam 'someone comprehending the *Upaniṣad* with no difficulty at all'

1. The word *akṛcchra* is explained as *sukhasādhyaḥ* 'that which is accomplished with ease'. The word *adṛcchriṇi* modified with *kartari* yields the

following meaning: 'when the sense of the root denoted is easy to accomplish by the agent' (*sukhasādhyo yasya kartrur dhātvarthaḥ*).

Verbal root *dhāri*, a causal form of *dhṛ* 'to hold', means 'to hold' in the sense of comprehending something with the facility to explain and recall. Thus, *dhārayan upaniṣadam* equates with *akṛcchreṇa upaniṣadaṃ dhārayati* 'he (the agent) is able to comprehend the *Upaniṣad* with the facility of explaining and recalling it'. As opposed to this, consider the sentence: *kṛcchreṇa vyākaraṇaṃ dhārayati* 'he is able to comprehend grammar with difficulty'.

Note that *ŚatṚ* was not available to verbal roots *iṄ* 'to go' and *dhāri* 'to hold', in causitive. The first verb is required to receive an *ātmanepada* affix on account of its *Ṅ* as an *it*. The second can also receive the same if the fruit of its action accrues to its agent (1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye*...). This rule, instead, makes *ŚatṚ* available after both the verbal roots.

3.2.131 द्विषोऽमित्रे

dviṣo' mitre
/*dviṣaḥ* 5/1 *amitre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)
amitre kartari dviṣer dhātoḥ śatṛpratyayo bhavati
Affix *ŚatṚ* occurs after verbal root *dviṣ* 'to hate' when the agent of a current action is denoted as 'enemy'.

EXAMPLES:

dviṣan '...the one who is hating'
dviṣantau '...the two who are...'
dviṣantaḥ '...the many who...'

1. Note that the word *amitra* 'non-friend' is traditionally used in the sense of an enemy (*śatru*). Otherwise, the affix may also become applicable in: *dveṣṭi bhāryā patim* 'the wife is jealous of her husband'.

3.2.132 सुञो यज्ञसंयोगे

suño yajñasaṃyoge
/*suñaḥ* 5/1 *yajñasaṃyoge* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)
yajñasaṃyukte' bhiṣave varttamānāt sunoter dhātoḥ śatṛpratyayo bhavati
Affix *ŚatṚ* occurs after verbal root *ṣuÑ* 'to press out' when a current action is denoted in relation to a *yajña* 'ritual sacrifice'.

EXAMPLE:

sarve sunvantaḥ 'everyone participates at the ritual of pressing out the Soma...'

1. The word *yajñasaṃyoga* denotes the object associated with the ritual sacrifice. The intended object of association is the agent or the sacrificer. There are two types of sacrificers: *yājaka* 'the priest who performs the ritual' and *yajaka* 'he for whose welfare the ritual is performed'. The rule should have been simply formed as '*suño yajñe*'. The word *saṃyoge* restricts the association of the ritual to the principal agent (*yajaka*) only. *Kāśikā* thus states that the word *saṃyoga* is used to restrict the usage to the *yajaka*'s association alone.

3.2.133 अर्हः प्रशंसायाम्

arhaḥ praśaṃsāyām
/*arhaḥ* 5/1 *praśaṃsāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)
arhater dhātoḥ praśaṃsāyāṃ śatṛpratyayo bhavati
Affix *ŚatṚ* occurs after verbal root *arhA* 'to deserve' when praise is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

arhann iha bhavān vidyām 'you, sir, deserve knowledge here'
arhann iha bhavān pūjām 'you, sir, deserve praise here'

3.2.134 आ क्वेस्तच्छीलतद्धर्मतत्साधुकारिषु

ā kves tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu
/*āṄ* Ø *kveḥ* 5/1 *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* 7/3/
ā etasmāt kvip saṃśabdād yānita ūrddhvam anukramiṣyāmas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu te veditavyāḥ
Affixes introduced as far as *kveḥ* (3.2.77 *bhrājabhās*...) occur after a verbal root to denote a *kartṛ* 'agent' who performs an action because of his nature (*śīla*), sense of duty (*dharma*), or skill (*sādhukārī*).

EXAMPLE:

To be given under appropriate rules

1. This rule enumerates three semantic conditions under which affixes prior to rule 3.2.177 *bhrājabhāsadhurvidyut*... are to be used. The *āṄ* of *ā* indicates *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. As a consequence, *KvIP* should also be treated as denoting these meanings.

Pāṇini uses *tad* 'that' as a variable in all three semantic conditions. What could be the antecedent of this variable? It must refer to *dhātu* because this is the domain of *dhātu*. But given the word *śīla* 'the characteristic habit, conduct' read with *tad*, reference to the *śīla* of a verbal root

does not make any sense. However, *śīla* refers to the *śīla* of the agent (*kartṛ*) since derivates denote agent (3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*). Commentators explain that the word-form *dhātu* cannot be associated with items such as *śīla*, etc. Consequently, *dhātu* refers to its denotatum, the action, which is to be associated with *śīla*, etc., of the agent which the derivates denote. Thus, *tacchīlaḥ* would be interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to the analyzed form: *tad (dhātvarthaḥ) śīlo yasya* 'he whose characteristic nature is what the verbal root denotes'. Similarly, *taddharma* and *tatsādhu-kārī* will be interpreted as: 'he whose conduct is what the root denotes' and 'he who does well what the root denotes' respectively.

3.2.135 तृन्

tṛn
/*tṛn* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *vartta-māne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
sarvadhātubhyas tṛn pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix *tṛN* occurs after verbal roots to denote a *kartṛ* who performs an action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

karttā kaṭān 'he whose nature it is to make mats'
vaditā janāpavādān 'he whose nature is to spread malicious gossip'
muṇḍayitāraḥ śrāviṣṭhāyanā bhavanti vadhūm ūḍhām 'the *śrāviṣṭhāyanās* have the heads of their brides shaven'
annam apaharttāra āhvarakā bhavanti śrāddhe siddhe 'the *āvharaka* (outcasts) steal the ritual oblation of food as soon as the ritual is completed'

3.2.136 अलंकृञ्निराकृञ्प्रजनोत्पचोत्पतोन्मदरुच्यपत्रपवृतुवृधुसहचर इष्णुच्

alaṃkṛñnirākṛñprajanotpacotpatonmadarucyapatrapavṛtuvṛdhusahacara iṣṇuc
/*alaṃkṛñ...sahacaraḥ* 5/1 *iṣṇuc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādukāriṣu* 7/3)
alaṃkṛñādhibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu iṣṇuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix *iṣṇuC* occurs after the following verbal roots when the *kartṛ* performs an action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill:

a) *ḌUkṛÑ* when used with *alam*, or the preverbs *nir* and *āṄ*

(*b*) *janA* 'to be born' used with the preverb *pra*
(*c*) *ḌUpacaṢ* 'to cook'
(*d*) *pat* 'to fall'
(*e*) *madI* 'to be joyous' used with the preverb *ud*
(*f*) *rucA* 'to shine'
(*g*) *trapŪṢ* 'to be abashed' used with the preverbs *apa*
(*h*) *vṛtU* 'to turn'
(*i*) *vṛdhU* 'to grow'
(*j*) *rahA* 'to endure'

EXAMPLES:

alaṃkariṣṇuḥ 'he whose nature is to decorate (things)'
nirākariṣṇuḥ 'he whose nature is to repudiate'
prajaniṣṇuḥ 'he who is good at producing'
utpaciṣṇuḥ 'he who is good at cooking'
utpatiṣṇuḥ 'he whose nature is to go higher up'
unmadiṣṇuḥ 'he whose nature is to be mad'
rociṣṇuḥ 'shining'
apatrapiṣṇuḥ 'he whose nature is not to be abashed'
varttiṣṇuḥ 'revolving'
vardhiṣṇuḥ 'growing'
sahiṣṇuḥ 'enduring, brave'
cariṣṇuḥ 'he whose nature is to wander about'

See the appendix for derivational details.

3.2.137 णेश्छन्दसि

ṇeś chandasi
/*ṇeḥ* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *iṣṇuc* #136)
ṇyantād dhātoś chandasi viṣaye tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu iṣṇuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix *iṣṇuC* occurs in the Vedic to denote *kartṛ* after a verbal root which ends in *ṆiC* when the agent brings about an action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

dṛṣadaṃ dhārayīṣṇavaḥ 'those who carry the stones...'
vīrudháḥ pārayiṣṇaváḥ 'those who nurture the plants'

3.2.138 भुवश्च

bhuvaś ca
/bhuvaḥ 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *iṣṇuc* #136, *chandasi* #137)
bhavater dhātoś chandasi viṣaye tacchīlādiṣv iṣṇuc pratyayao bhavati
Affix *iṣṇuC* also occurs in the Vedic to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *bhū* when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLE:

bhaviṣṇúḥ 'that which is to come into existence'

1. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the preceding rule, to include the provision of the present rule, as: '*ṇibhūbhyāṃ ca*'? A separate rule is formulated so that only *bhū* is carried in the subsequent rule. A joint formulation would also have required the *anuvṛtti* of *ṆiC*.

Kāśikā states that the use of *ca* is made to account for roots not covered thus far (*anuktasamuccaya*). Thus, we get *bhrājiṣṇuḥ* of *bhrājiṣṇunā lohitacandanena*. Note that this root gets *KvIP* (3.2.177 *bhrājabhās...*) in the classical language. The derivate *bhrājiṣṇuḥ* could thus be accounted for by *ca*. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* does not state this form.

3.2.139 ग्लाजिस्थश्च क्स्नुः

glājisthaś ca ksnuḥ
/glājisthaḥ 5/1 *ca* Ø *ksnuḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *bhuvaḥ* #138)
'glā, ji, sthā' ity etebhyo dhātubhyaś cakārād bhuvaś ca tacchīlādiṣu ksnuḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ksnu* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *glai* 'to be weary', *ji* 'to win', *sthā* 'to stand', and *bhū* 'to be' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty or skill.

EXAMPLES:

glāsnuḥ 'he whose nature is to be weary'
jiṣṇuḥ 'he whose nature is to win'
sthāsnuḥ 'he whose nature is to be firm'
bhūṣṇuḥ 'that which is to be'

1. Note that '*chandasi*' no longer continues. The *k* of the affix is actually *g* changed to *k* because of *sandhi*. Here is how the *Mahābhāṣya* illustrates it:

> *ksor gitvān na sthā īkāraḥ kṅitor ītvaśāsanāt/*
> *guṇābhāvas triṣu smāryaḥ śryuko' niṭtvaṃ gakor itoḥ//*
> 'because of the *G* as an *it* in *Gsnu*, no -*ī* replaces the *ā* of *sthā* (6.4.66 *ghumāsthā...*);
> for that replacement is allowed only before an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*;
> the *G* is also included in *kṅiti ca* (1.1.5) so that *guṇa* is blocked; the *G* is also included in 7.2.11 *śruyakaḥ kiti* consequent upon which the *iṬ* is blocked before an affix marked with *G* and *K*'

Also see the discussion under rule 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.*

3.2.140 त्रसिगृधिधृषिक्षिपेः क्नुः

> *trasigṛdhidhṛṣikṣipeḥ knuḥ*
> */trasigṛdhidhṛṣikṣipeḥ 5/ knuḥ //*
> *(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)*
> *trasādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu knuḥ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *Knu* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *trasA* 'to be terrified', *gṛdhU* 'to be greedy', *ÑIdhṛṣA* 'to dare' and *kṣipA* 'to hurl' when the agent brings about the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty or skill.

EXAMPLES:

> *trasnuḥ* 'terrified'
> *gṛdhnuḥ* 'greedy'
> *dhṛṣṇuḥ* 'daring'
> *kṣipnuḥ* 'he who throws'

3.2.141 शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुण्

> *śam ity aṣṭābhyo ghinuṇ*
> */śam 5/1 (deleted); iti Ø aṣṭābhyaḥ 5/3 ghinuṇ 1/1/*
> *(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134)*
> *śamādibhyo dhātubhyo' ṣṭābhyas tacchīlādiṣu ghinuṇ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *GHinUṆ* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after the eight verbal roots which begin with *śamA* 'to be calm' when the agent perfoms the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

śamī 'calm'
tamī 'desirous'
damī 'taming, controlling'
śramī 'hard-working'
bhramī 'roaming, whirling'
klamī 'tired'
kṣamī 'forgiving'
pramādī 'careless'
unmādī 'crazy'

1. The word *iti*, as is clear from the enumeration of the eight roots, is used here in the sense of *ādi* 'beginning'. The *GH* of *GHinUṆ* is used as an *it* so that the final *c, j* of a root can be replaced with *k, g* before an affix marked with *GH* (7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ*). *Kāśikā* states that the *U* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). The *Mahābhāṣya* does not accept that it is introduced for ease of articulation. Instead, it treats it as an *it*. This is valid in view of forms *śaminītarā* and *śaminitarā* where the shortening of *ī* is optionally conditioned by *U* as an *it*. *Kāśikā* accepts the shortening as obligatory (*nitya*). For details, see PM and *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* on this rule. The *Ṇ* is an *it* for *vṛddhi*.

3.2.142 सम्पृचानुरुधाङ्यमाङ्यसपरिसृसंसृजपरिदेविसंज्वरपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषद्रुहदुहयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यजरजभजातिचरापचरामुषाभ्याहनश्च

sampṛcānurudhāṅyamāṅyasaparisṛsaṃsṛjaparidevisaṃjvaraparikṣipapariraṭaparivadaparidahaparimuhaduṣadviṣadruhaduhayujākrīḍavivicatyajarajabhajāticarāpacarāmuṣābhyāhanaś ca
/*saṃpṛcā...hanaḥ* 5/1 = (*sam. dv.*); *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *ghinuṇ* #141)
saṃpṛcādibhyc dhātubhyo ghinuṇ bhavati tacchīlādiṣu
Affix *GHinUṆ* occurs after the following verbal roots to denote a *kartṛ* who performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill:

(*a*) '*pṛcĪ*' 'to contact' used with the preverb *sam* (a *rudhādi parasmaipada* root,)
(*b*) '*rudhIR*' 'to cover' used with the preverb *anu* (a *rudhādi* root qualified to take both *ātmanepada* as well as *parasmaipada* endings),
(*c*) '*yamA*' to be weary, desist' used with *āṄ* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),
(*d*) '*yasU*' 'to strive' used with *āṄ* (a *divādi parasmaipada* root),
(*e*) '*sṛ*' 'to go' used with the preverb *pari* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),
(*f*) '*sṛjĀ*' 'to release', used with the preverb *sam* (a *divādi ātmanepada* root),

(*g*) '*devṚ*' 'lament' used with the proverb *pari* (a *bhvādi ātmanepada* root),

(*h*) '*jvarA*' 'to be sick' used with the preverb *sam* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),

(*i*) '*kṣipA*' 'to hurl, inspire'. used with the preverb (a *tudādi parasmaipadaātmanepada*), or (*divādi parasmaipada* root),

(*j*) '*raṭA*' 'to cram' used with the preverb *pari* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),

(*k*) '*vadĀ*' 'to speak' used with the preverb *pari* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),

(*l*) '*dahĀ*' 'to burn' used with the preverb *pari* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),

(*m*) '*muhĀ*' 'to be confused' used with the preverb *pari* (a *divādi parasmaipada* root),

(*n*) '*duṣĀ*' 'to modify, spoil' used with the preverb *pari* (a *divādi parasmaipada* root),

(*o*) '*dviṣA*' 'to dislike' (an *adādi* root used in both *ātmanepadaparasmaipada*),

(*p*) '*druhĀ*' 'to hurt' (a *divādi parasmaipada* root),

(*q*) '*duhA*' 'to fill, milk' (an *adādi* both *ātmanepada-parasmaipada* root),

(*r*) '*yūjIR*' 'to join' or '*yujA*' 'to concentrate' (*rudhādi ātmanepada-parasmaipada*, or *divādi ātmanepada*),

(*s*) '*krīḍṚ*' 'to play' used with the preverb *āṄ* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),

(*t*) '*vijIR*' 'to separate' used with the preverb *vi* (a *rudhādi ātmanepada-parasmaipada* root),

(*u*) '*tyajĀ*' 'to deteriorate, be old' (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),

(*v*) '*rañjA*' 'to color, be in love' (a *divādi ātmanepada-parasmaipada* root),

(*w*) '*bhajĀ*' 'to serve' (a *bhvādi* root in both *ātmanepada-parasmaipada*),

(*x*) '*carA*' 'to wander' used with the preverb *ati* (a *bhvādi parasmaipada* root),

(*y*) '*carA*' and '*muṣA*' 'to steal' used with the preverb *apa* (both *kryādi parasmaipada* roots),

(*z*) '*hanA*' 'to kill' used with the preverb *abhi* and *āṄ* (an *adādi parasmaipada* root).

EXAMPLES:

samparkī 'he who makes contact; is related'
anurodhī 'he who requests, insists, or complains'
āyāmī 'one who expands, or restraints'
āyāsī 'one who strives'
parisārī 'one who moves around, or is present everywhere'
saṃsargī 'one who is joined, or is in contact, with...'
paridevī 'he who laments, or grieves'

saṃjvārī 'one who is afflicted with very high fever'
parikṣepī 'one who scatters things around'
parirāṭī 'one who rotes outloud,
parivādī 'one who is skilled at speaking; talkative'
paridāhī 'that which burns'
parimohi 'one who is infatuated'
doṣī 'guilty'
dveṣī 'one who wishes harm to'
drohī 'one who wishes to injure'
dohī 'one who milks the cows'
yogī 'a *yogī*; one who is in union with...'
ākrīḍī 'one who is playful'
vivekī 'one who is capable of telling the right from the wrong'
tyāgī 'one who abandons; a renunciate'
rāgī 'one who is attached'
bhāgī 'he who has a share'
aticārī 'one who transgresses; a wanderer'
apacārī 'he whose conduct is immoral'
āmoṣī 'he who steals'
abhyāghātī 'he who attacks to kill'

3.2.143 **वौ कषलसकत्थस्रम्भः**

vau kaṣalasakatthasrambhaḥ
/*vau* 7/1 *kaṣalasakatthasrambhaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *ghinuṇ* #141)
'kaṣa hiṃsārthāḥ lasa śleṣakrīḍanayoḥ, kattha ślāghāyām, srambhu viśvāse' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo viśabda upapade ghinuṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHinUṆ* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *kaṣA* 'to hurt', *lasA* 'to embrace, sport', *katthA* 'to praise, boast' and *srambhU* 'to trust', used in conjunction with *vi*, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

vikāṣī 'one who hurts someone'
vilāsī 'one who pursues sensuous pleasures'
vikatthī 'one who brags about himself'
visrambhī 'one who is trustful'

3.2.144 **अपे च लषः**

ape ca laṣaḥ
/*ape* 7/1 *ca* Ø *laṣaḥ* 5/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1 *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *ghinuṇ* #141, *vau* #143*)*
'laṣa' kāntau asmād dhātor apa upapade cakārād vau ca ghinuṇ bhavati
Affix *GHinUṆ* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *laṣA* 'to wish, shine', used in conjunction with *api* and *vi*, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

apalāṣī 'greedy, thirsty'
vilāsı 'id.'

3.2.145 **प्रे लपसृद्रुमथवदवसः**

pre lapasṛdrumathavadavasaḥ
/pre 7/1 *lapasṛdrumathavadavasaḥ* 5/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlatatdharmatatsādhurkāriṣu* #134, *ghinuṇ* #141*)*
'pra' upapade lapādibhyo ghinuṇ bhavati
Affix *GHinUṆ* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *lapA* 'to speak aloud', *sṛ*, *dru* 'to move', *mathA* 'to churn', *vadA* 'to speak' and *vasA* 'to dwell', used in conjunction with *pra*, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

pralāpī 'one who shoots off his mouth'
prasārī 'one that expands or flows'
pradrāvī 'one who runs away; fugitive'
pramāthī 'tormenting'
pravādī 'one who reports'
pravāsī 'one who lives away from his native place'

1. Note that '*vasA*' in this rule refers to one which means 'to dwell', not to the '*vasA*' 'to cover'.

3.2.146 **निन्दहिंसक्लिशखादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो वुञ्**

nindahiṃsakliśakhādavināśaparikṣipaparirataparivādivyābhāṣāsūyo vuñ
/ninda...sūñaḥ 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vuñ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134*)*
nindādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu vuñ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *vuÑ* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *nindA* 'to reproach', *hiṃsA* 'to injure', *kliśA* 'to suffer' and *khādṚ* 'to consume,

eat'; *ṇaśA* 'to be lost' used with the causal suffix *ṆiC* and the preverb *vi*; *kṣipA* and *raṭA* used with the preverb *pari*; *bhāṣA* 'to speak' used with the preverbs *vi* and *āṄ*; and *asūyA* 'to find fault'; when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

nindakaḥ 'he who reproaches'
hiṃsakaḥ 'he who causes injury'
khādakaḥ 'he who eats'
vināśakaḥ 'he who destroys'
parikṣepakaḥ 'he who hurls things all around'
parirāṭakaḥ 'he who cries out loud; one who shouts'
parivādakaḥ 'he who reproaches'
asūyakaḥ 'he whose nature is to find fault in the qualities of others'

1. Note that *ninda...āsūyaḥ* enumerates the bases after which affix *vuÑ* is to be introduced. This enumeration, however, is given in the nominative as opposed to ablative (*pañcamī*) which is a common practice to mark the left context in relation to which something is to be introduced. Commentators explain that this nominative is to be read as used in the sense of ablative.

It is stated that affix *ṆvuL* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) alone could have accounted for the derivates of this rule. The derivates of *ṆvuL* do not differ in form with those of *vuÑ*. There is also no difference in accentuation except in case of *asūyakaḥ* which, because of its *Ñ* as an *it*, requires that the initial syllable of its base be marked with *udātta* (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). A derivate of *ṆvuL*, because of its *L* as an *it*, requires the syllable which preceded the affix to be marked with *udātta* (6.1.193 *liti*). Pāṇini then should have formulated this rule just for *asūyakaḥ*. He would have left the other examples within the scope of *ṆvuL*. But there is still a problem. Pāṇini introduces affix *tṛN* in the sense of *tacchīla*, etc. (3.2.135 *tṛn*). This, as well as *ṆvuL* and *tṛC*, would also become available in addition to *vuÑ* in view of 3.1.94 *vā" sarūpo' striyām*. This further suggests that Pāṇini should not have introduced affix *vuÑ* after *ninda*, etc. But he still did it. Commentators state that this was done to indicate that '*tṛC*, etc., do not apply via *vā" sarūpa* in the context of *tacchīla*, etc.' (cf. *Kāś. tacchīlikeṣu vā' sarūpanyāyena tṛjādayo na bhavanti*).

3.2.147 **देविक्रुशोश्चोपसर्गे**

devikruśoś copasarge
/devikruśoḥ 6/2 ca 0 upasarge 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, varttamāne #123, tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu #134, vuñ #146)

devayateḥ kruśeś copasarge upapade vuñ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *vuÑ* also occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *divA* 'to play' and *kruśA* 'to cry out', when they are used in conjunction with a preverb and when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

ādevakaḥ 'he who plays; mourns; gambles'
paridevakaḥ 'id.'
ākrośakaḥ 'he who cries out loud; one who approaches in anger'
parikrośakaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that verbal root *div*, here, denotes both the *divādi 'divU'* 'to play' and the *curādi 'divU'* 'to coo'. The *curādi* root will receive *ṆiC* from 3.1.26 *hetumati ca.*

3.2.148 चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद्युच्

calanaśabdārthād akarmakād yuc
/*calanśabdārthāt* 5/1 *akarmakāt* 5/1 *yuc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
calanārthebhyaḥ śabdārthebhyaś cākarmakebhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu yuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yuC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after intransitive verbal roots signifying *calana* 'movement' and *śabda* 'noise' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

calanaḥ 'he who goes'
copanaḥ 'he who crawls, creeps'
śabdanaḥ 'he who makes noise'
ravaṇaḥ 'he who roars; cries'

3.2.149 अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः

anudāttetaś ca haladeḥ
/*anudāttetaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø *halādeḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *akarmakāt yuc* #148)
anudātted yo dhātuḥ halādir akarmakaḥ tataś ca yuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yuC* also occurs to denote *kartṛ* after an intransitive verbal root which begins with a consonant, is marked with *anudātta* 'low-pitch' as an *it*, and whose agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

varttanaḥ 'that which exists'
varddhanaḥ 'he who is growing'

1. Note that *ādi* in *halādi* is used to block *tadantavidhi* (1.1.73 *yena-vidhis...*) whereby, in the absence of *ādi*, the verbal roots would have been interpreted as ending in a consonant. The use of *ādi* gives the desired interpretation: 'beginning with a consonant'.

3.2.150 जुचङ्क्रम्यदन्द्रम्यसृगृधिज्वलशुचलषपतपदः

jucaṅkramyadandramyasṛgṛdhijvalaśucalaṣapatapadaḥ
/*juca...padaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *yuc* #148)
juprabhṛtibhyo dhātubhyo yuc pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix *yuC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *jucA* 'to go, move', *caṅkram* 'to walk; move crookedly', *dandram* 'to walk', *sṛ* 'to crawl, move', *gṛdhU* 'to be greedy', *jvalA* 'to burn brightly, shine', *śucA* 'to be sad, worry', *laṣA* 'to wish', *patA* 'to fall' and *padA* 'to step', when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

javanaḥ 'fast-moving; a horse'
caṅkramaṇaḥ 'one who wanders around; one who walks crookedly'
dandramaṇaḥ 'id'.
saraṇaḥ 'flowing, moving'
garddhanaḥ 'greedy'
jvalanaḥ 'shining, glowing'
śocanaḥ 'sad, worrying'
laṣaṇaḥ 'greedy'
patanaḥ 'falling'
padanaḥ 'moving, walking'

1. Note that *ju* is a *sautra* root 'attested by the *sūtra*'. Some say it denotes 'movement' though others claim that it denotes 'moving with speed'. The next two roots, *caṅkramya* and *dandramya*, have been derived with affix *yaṄ* (3.1.23 *nityam kauṭilye gatau*).

Note that verbal roots *ju*, *caṅkramya*, *dandramya*, etc., all denote 'movement' (*calana*). Verbal root *padA* is marked with *anudātta* as an *it* and also begins with a consonant. Consequently, these roots would have qualified for *yuC* automatically under the provisions of the preceding two rules. Why did Pāṇini have to formulate this separate rule? *Kāśikā* states

that a separate mention is made because the derivates of this rule derive with the introduction of affix after transitive (*sakarmaka*) roots. The use of *padĀ* makes this known. *Kāśikā* further states that others (this also includes the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*) consider the use of *padA* as indicating the validity of *paribhāṣa:* (68) *tacchilikeṣu vā' sarūpa vidhir nāsti*. Thus, in deriving *alaṃkariṣṇuḥ*, affix *iṣṇuC* is introduced after *alaṃkṛÑ*. If the said *paribhāṣā* was valid in case of *tacchīliku* derivates then affix *trN* could have been introduced to derive **alaṃkarttā*, a wrong derivate. Thus, the general (*utsarga*) *tṛN* is blocked by the particular *iṣṇUC*. But since Pāṇini has already made known the inapplicability of the provisions of 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* in rule 3.2.146 *nindahiṃsaklisà*...by introduction of *vūÑ* when *ṆvuL* could have accomplished the derivates, why does he repeat the same inapplicability here by use of *padA*. It is stated that the inapplicability shown earlier covers the situation where a '*tacchīlika*' and a 'non-*tacchīlika*' rule-interaction may be involved. This indication is made here to show that '*vā*' *sarūpavidhi*' does not apply even when two interacting rules are both '*tacchīlika*'. The two rules in focus are 3.2.149 and 3.2.154 *laṣapatapadasthā*.... There are additional details of this *jñāpaka* which I omit for lack of interest. *Kāśikā* calls the *jñāpaka* as *prāyika*, not universally valid. That is, one can find forms such as *gantā* where *tṛN* finds its scope as against the *ukaÑ* of rule 3.2.154 *laṣapatapada*...

3.2.151 क्रुधमण्डार्थेभ्यश्च

> *krudhamaṇḍārthebhyaś ca*
> /*krudhamaṇḍārthebhyaḥ* 5/3 *ca* Ø/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *yuc* #148)
> '*krudha kope, maḍi bhūṣāyām*' *ity etad arthebhyaś ca dhātubhyo yuc pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *yuC* also occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *krudhA* 'to be angry' and *maḍI* 'to adorn' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

> *krodhanaḥ* 'irascible'
> *roṣaṇaḥ* 'id.'
> *maṇḍanaḥ* 'decorating'
> *bhūṣaṇaḥ* 'decorating'

1. Here again, in the absence of the mention of some specific affix, *tṛN* is supposed to be blocked. That is, *yuC* blocks *tṛN*. Note that this *yuC* cannot be introduced after *alaṃkṛÑ* against the provision of 3.2.136 *alaṃkṛñ*...

3.2.152 न यः

na yaḥ
/*na* Ø *yaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *varttamāne* #123, *tatcchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *yuc* #148)
yakārāntād dhātor yuc pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *yuC* does not occur after a verbal root which terminates in *y*.

EXAMPLES:

knūyitā 'one who makes noise'
kṣmāyitā 'one who shakes'

1. The negation of *yuC* makes it possible for the introduction of affix *tṛN* after the roots concerned.

3.2.153 सूददीपदीक्षश्च

sūdadīpadīkṣaś ca
/*sūdadīpadīkṣaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *yuc* #148, *na* #152)
'*sūda, dīpa, dīkṣa, ity etebhyaś ca yuc pratyayo na bhavati*
Affix *yuC* also does not occur after verbal roots *ṣūdA* 'to drip', *dipA* 'to shine' and *dīkṣA* 'to initiate'.

EXAMPLES:

suditā 'dripping'
dīpitā 'shining'
dīkṣitā 'an initiate'

1. This rule negates affix *yuC* in case of three roots '*ṣūdA*', '*dīpA*' and '*dīkṣA*'. That is, affix *yuC* will be blocked by this negation in favor of *tṛN*. However, in case of *dīpA*, this could have been accomplished by rule 3.2.167 *namikampi*... Thus, the inclusion of *dīpA* for negating *yuC* is vacuous. If it is said that *dīpA* is included to indicate the inapplicability of '*vā*' *sarūpavidhi*' relative to *tacchīlika* provisions, then that, too, has been indicated by earlier rules (3.2.146 *nindahiṃsa*... and 3.2.150 *jucaṅkramya*...). Besides, the 'inapplicability' provision is not universally valid. If it were universally valid, then affix *ra* (of 3.2.167 *namikampi*...) would have already blocked *yúC*. So what is the purpose of this negation here? Examples under 3.2.149 *anudāttet*.. and 3.2.167 *namikampi*... as contrasted by *kamanā*/*kamrā yuvatiḥ* 'beautiful maiden' show the *prāyika* nature of the '*vā sarūpa*' inapplicability. That is, even in case of *tacchilika* affixes, 3.1.94 *vā sarūpa*... may find its scope. Consequently, an affix which is given as an exception (*apavāda*) and is not similar in form with its corresponding general

(*utsarga*) affix blocks the general affix optionally. Thus, we get *kamrā* as opposed to *kamanā*.

2. If affix *yuC* is blocked by this negation after *ṣūdA*, how could one derive *madhusūdana* 'the killer of the demon Madhu; Kṛṣṇna' and *ripusūdana* 'the killer of the enemies'? One possible way would be to accept that the provisions of this negation are not obligatory (*nitya*). That is, one can find *yuC* after *ṣūdA* in some instances. How do we know this? From the fact that this rule negates *yuC* separately from the preceding rule. It would have been easier to collapse the negations of both the rules together. The split negation thus indicates that the negation is not obligatory. Another possible way to derive *madhusūdana*, etc., is to treat them as forming part of the *nandyādi* group of rule 3.1.134 *nandigrahi....* They could thus be derived with the introduction of affix *Lyu*. There is yet another way: derive it by *LyuṬ* of 3.3.113 *kṛtyallyuṭo bahulam*.

3.2.154 **लषपतपदस्थाभूवृषहनकमगमशॄभ्य उकञ्**

laṣapatapadasthābhūvṛṣahanakamagamaśṝbhya ukañ
/laṣa...śṝbhyaḥ 5/1 *ukañ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
laṣādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu ukañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ukaÑ* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *laṣA* 'to shine', *patA* 'to fall', *padA* 'to step', *sthā* 'to stand', *bhū* 'to be, become', *vṛṣU* 'to rain', *hanA* 'to kill', *kamU* 'to desire', *gamḶ* 'to go' and *śṝ* 'to hurt' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty or skill.

EXAMPLES:

apalāṣukaṃ vṛṣalasaṅgatam 'it is not desirable to be friends with a Vṛṣala'
prapātukā garbhā bhavanti 'fetuses have a tendency to abort'.
upapādukaṃ sattvam '... substance comes into existence'
upasthāyutā enaṃ paśavo bhavanti
'...animals approach him...'
prabhāvukam annam bhavati 'food is effective (for health)'
pravarṣukāḥ parjanyāḥ 'clouds are the ones who rain'
āghātukaṃ pākalikasya mūtram 'the urine of an elephant (when touched or smelled) has a tendency to kill'
kāmukā enaṃ striyo bhavanti 'women become desirous of him'
āgāmukaṃ vārāṇasīṃ rakṣa āhūḥ 'even a demon is said to be desirous of coming to Vārāṇasī (for release)'
kiṃśārukaṃ tīkṣṇam āhuḥ 'an arrow is said to be piercing'

1. Note that rule 3.2.144 *ape ca laṣaḥ* introduces affix *GHinUṆ*, and this rule introduces affix *ukaÑ*. This rule is applicable via '*vā*' *sarūpavidhi*', the negation of which in case of the *tacchīlika* affixes has to be treated as not universal. Thus, we get a derivate such as *apalāṣī*, parallel to *apalāṣuka*, of this rule.

3.2.155 **जल्पभिक्षकुट्टलुण्टवृङः षाकन्**

jalpabhikṣakuṭṭaluṇṭavṛṅaḥ ṣākan
/*jalpabhikṣakuṭṭaluṇṭavṛṅaḥ* 5/1 *ṣākan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
jalpādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu ṣākan pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṢākaN* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *jalpA* 'to speak', *bhikṣA* 'to beg', *kuṭṭA* 'to cut, censure', *luṇṭA* 'to steal' and *vṛṄ* 'to be shattered' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

jalpākaḥ 'talkative'
bhikṣākaḥ 'beggar'
kuṭṭākaḥ 'one who cuts'
luṇṭākaḥ 'one who robs'
varākaḥ 'miserable'

1. Note that verbal root *jalpA* 'to talk' is intransitive, and as such, rule 3.2.148 *calana...* applies to introduce affix *yuC*. Verbal root *bhikṣĀ* is also subject to the introduction of *yuC* by 3.2.149 *anudātteta...* Affix *iṣṇuC* is similarly available to verbal roots *kuṭṭA* and *luṇṭA* by rule 3.2.137 *ṇeś chandasi*. Verbal root *vṛṄ* has affix *KikiN* available to it by rule 3.2.171 *ādṛgamahajanaḥ...* Affix *ṢākaN* constitutes an exception to all these affixes. Its *Ṣ* as an *it* is intended to facilitate the feminine derivates in *ṄīṢ* by rule 4.1.41 *ṣigaurādibhyaś ca*.

3.2.156 **प्रजोरिनिः**

prajoriniḥ
/*prajoḥ* 5/1 *iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhāotḥ* #3.1.91. *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
prapūrvāj javateḥ tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu iniḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *inI* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *ju* 'to ruṇ' used with the preverb *pra*, when the agent perfoms the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty or skill.

EXAMPLES:

prajavī 'runner, courier'
prajavinau 'id.' (nom. dual)

1. It is stated that the *n* of *inI* is saved from deletion by 1.3.3 *halantyam* read with 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* because of *I* as an *it*. Note that affix *yuC* is already available to *ju* by 3.2.150 *jucaṅkramya....* This rule, however, makes *inI* available when the root is used with the preverb *pra*.

3.2.157 **जिदृक्षिविश्रीण्वमाव्यथाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च**

jidṛkṣiviśrīṇvamāvyathābhyamaparibhūprasūbhyaś ca
/jidṛkṣi...prasūbhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhāotḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *iniḥ* #156)
jiprabhṛtibhyo dhātubhya iniḥ pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix *inI* also occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *ji*, *dṛÑ* 'to respect', *kṣi* 'to destroy, be wasted', *śṛÑ* 'to serve' used with the preverb *vi*, *iṆ* 'to go' used with the preverb *ati*; *ṬUvam* 'to vomit', *vyathA* 'to torment' used with *naÑ* 'not', *amA̤* 'to be sick' used with the preverb *abhi*, *bhū* used with the preverb *pari*, and *sū* 'to inspire' used with the preverb *pra*, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

jayī 'one who wins'
darī 'one who respects'
kṣayī 'one who is destroyed'
viśrayī 'one who serves'
atyayī 'one who transgresses'
vamī 'one who throws up'
avyathī 'one who does not become tormented'
abhyamī 'one who is sick'
paribhavī 'one who humiliates someone'
prasavī 'one who inspires'

1. Note that a reference with *kṣi* denotes both '*kṣi*' 'to deteriorate' and '*kṣi*' 'to dwell'. At the same time, *prasū* refers to the verbal root *ṣū* 'to inspire', and not to *ṣūṄ* 'to give birth to'.

3.2.158 **स्पृहिगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच्**

spṛhigṛhipatidayinidrātandrāśraddhābhya āluc
/spṛhi...śraddhābhyaḥ 5/3 *āluc* /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #23, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

'spṛha īpsāyām, gṛha grahaṇe, pata gatau, daya dānagatirakṣaṇeṣu, drā kutsāyāṃ gatau nipūrvas tatpūrvas' ca, tado nakārāntatā ca nipātyate; ḍudhāñ śratpūrvaḥ' ity etebhyaś tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu āluc pratyayo bhavati

Affix *āluC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *spṛhI* 'to desire', *gṛhI* 'to take', *patI* 'to move', *dayI* 'to give, move, protect, and *drā* 'to despise; go' used with the preverbs *ni* and *tad,* as well as, *ḌUdhāÑ* 'to hold, place' used with *śrat,* when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

spṛhayāluḥ 'one who desires'
gṛhayāluḥ 'one whose nature is to receive or take'
patayāluḥ 'one who has a tendencey to fall'
dayāluḥ 'compassionate'
nidrāluḥ 'one who sleeps too much'
tandrāluḥ 'one who is lazy'
śraddhāluḥ 'respectful'

1. Note that the first three of these seven roots are read in the *curādi* group with *-a* at the end. This *-a* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* consequent upon which there is no *guṇa* and *vṛddhi.* Note that the *d* of *tad* in *tad-drā* is changed into *-n* by *nipātana.*

A *vārttika* under this rule advocates that *śīṄ* should also be enumerated here so that *śayāluḥ* 'sleepy' can, also, be derived.

3.2.159 दाधेट्सिशदसदो रुः

dādheṭsiśadasado ruḥ
/dā...sadaḥ 5/1 *ruḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *āluc* #158)
'dā, dheṭ si, śada, sada' ity etebhyo ruḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *āluC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *ḌUdāÑ*, *dheṬ*, *siÑ* 'to tie, bind', *śadḶ* 'to sharpen, fall' and *ṣadḶ* 'to sit' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

dāruḥ 'one who gives; generous'
dhārur vatso mātaram 'a child who suckles at the breasts of his mother'
seruḥ 'one who ties'
śadruḥ 'one who sharpens, falls'
sadruḥ 'one who sits or rests'

1. Note that '*dā*' here refers to all the three roots which yield a form in *dā*. Thus, we have *ḌudāÑ* 'to give', *do* 'to split' and *deṄ* 'to preserve, protect'. Note that *dāṆ* and *dāP* are excluded from this reference.

3.2.160 सृघस्यदः क्मरच्

sṛghasyadaḥ kmarac
lsṛghasyadaḥ 5/1 *kmarac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
'*sṛ, ghasi, ad*' *ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ tacchīlādiṣu karttṛṣu varttamāne kāle kmarac pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *KmaraC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *sṛ* 'to flow', *ghasI* and *adA* 'to eat' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

sṛmaraḥ 'one who moves well; a kind of deer'
ghasmaraḥ 'one whose nature is to eat; gluttonous'
admaraḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ghasI* is a separate base from *ad* though they are both used in the same sense of 'consuming'. The *K* of *KmaraC* blocks *guṇa*.

3.2.161 भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच्

bhañjabhāsamidaḥ ghurac
lbhañjabhāsamidaḥ 5/1 *ghurac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
'*bhañja, bhāsa mida*' *ity etebhyo ghurac pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu*
Affix *GHuraC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *bhañjA* 'to crush, break', *bhāsṚ* 'to shine' and *ÑImidĀ* 'to be oily, fat' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

bhaṅguraṃ kāṣṭham 'wood which has the natural tendency to split, fragile'
bhāsuraṃ jyotiḥ 'flame which is naturally shining; luminous'
meduraḥ paśuḥ 'a fat animal'

1. Note that rule 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku...* brings about a replacement in *k/g* for the *c/j* of a root before an affix marked with *GH*. Obviously, *GHuraC* is one of those affixes. Commentators inform that because of the natural denotational power of words (*śabdaśaktisvābhāvyāt*), we find derivates of *bhañjA* which denote *karmakartṛ* 'object termed agent' (cf. 3.1.87 *karmavat...*).

3.2.162 विदिभिदिच्छिदेः कुरच्

vidibhidicchideḥ kurac
/*vidibhidicchideḥ* 5/1 *kurac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1., *dhāotḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
vidādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu kurac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KuraC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *vidA* 'to know', *bhidIR* 'to split' and *chidIR* 'to cut' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

viduraḥ paṇḍitaḥ 'a scholar is one who knows'
bhiduraṃ kāṣṭham 'wood which has the natural tendency to split'
chidurā rajjuḥ 'rope which has the natural tendency to break'

1. Commentators explain that *vid* here does not denote *lābha* 'gain'. It is here used in the sense 'to know'. We also get the denotatum of *karmakartṛ* in connection with *bhid* and *chid*. Note that Jñānendra Sarasvatī in his *Tattvabodhini* ad *SK* (IV : 129) states, in the context of at least *chid*, that *Kāśikā*'s claim of *karmakartṛ* denotation is not correct. Jñānendra informs that *naitad bhāṣye dṛṣṭam* 'this has not been seen in the *bhāṣya*'. Some interpret this to mean that *Kāśikā*'s interpretation contradicts Patañjali's. Note, however, that this rule has not been discussed in the *Mahābhāṣya*.
2. *Kāśikā* proposes the introduction of affix *KuraC* after verbal root *vyadhA*, along with *samprasāraṇa*, to derive *vidhuraḥ* 'widower'.

3.2.163 इण्नश्जिसर्त्तिभ्यः क्वरप्

iṇnaśjisarttibhyaḥ kvarap
/*iṇnaśjisarttibhyaḥ* 5/3 *kvarap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
'iṇ, naś, ji, sartti' ity etebhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu kvarap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvaraP* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *iṆ* 'to go', *naś* 'to be lost, destroyed', *ji* 'to win' and *sṛ* 'to move, crawl' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

itvaraḥ 'one whose nature is to wander'
itvarī 'id.' (feminine)
naśvaraḥ 'perishable'
naśvarī 'id.' (feminine)

jitvaraḥ 'he whose nature is to win'
jitvarī 'id.'
sṛtvaraḥ 'one whose nature is to wander'
sṛtvarī 'id.' (feminine)

1. Note that *P* as an *it* in *KvaraP* is intended for the introduction of augment *tUK* (*tugāgama*) by 6.1.71 *hrasvasya...* The *K*, again, is to block *guṇa*.

3.2.164 **गत्वरश्च**

gatvaraś ca
/gavaraḥ 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
'gatvara' iti nipātyate, gamer anunāsikalopaḥ kvarap pratyayaś ca
Affix *KvaraP* also occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *gam* 'to go' in the derivation of *gatvara* by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

gatvaraḥ 'one whose nature is to wander'
gatvarī 'id.' (feminine)

1. Note that the *-m* of *gam* in *gatvaraḥ/gatvarī* is deleted by *nipātana*. The feminine is formed with *ṄīP* in view of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*

3.2.165 **जागरूकः**

jāgarūkaḥ
/jāgarūkaḥ 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhāotḥ* #3.1.91, *vrttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
jāgartter ūkaḥ pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix *ūka* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *jāgṛ* 'to be awake' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLE:

jāgarūkaḥ 'awake, alert'

3.2.166 **यजजपदशां यङः**

yajajapadaśāṃ yaṅaḥ
/yajajapadaśāṃ 6/3 *yaṅaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)

yajādīnāṃ yaṅantānām ūkaḥ pratyayo bhavati tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix *ūka* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *yajA* 'to sacrifice', *japA* 'to whisper' and *daśA* 'to bite' when the agent performs the action because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

yāyajūkaḥ 'he whose nature is to perform ritual sacrifices'
jañjapūkaḥ 'he whose nature is to chant inaudibly'
dandaśūkaḥ 'he whose nature is to bite; a snake'

3.2.167 **नमिकम्पिस्म्यजसकमहिंसदीपो रः**

namikampismyajasakamahiṃsadīpo raḥ
/*nami...dīpaḥ* 5/1 *raḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
namyādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu raḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ra* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *namI* 'to bend', *kapI* 'to shake, move', *ṣmiṄ* 'to smile', *jasU* 'to set free; be exhausted' used with *naÑ* 'not', *kamU* 'to shine' and *hisI* 'to injure, hurt' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

namraṃ kāṣṭham 'a wood which is soft'
kamprā śākhā 'the branch of a tree which naturally shakes in the wind'
smeraṃ mukham 'a face which smiles'
ajasraṃ juhoti 'one who performs ritual sacrifices incessantly'
kamrā yuvatiḥ 'a young woman who is beautiful'
hiṃsro dasyuḥ 'a bandit who is fierce by nature'
dīpraṃ kāṣṭham 'a wood which is burning'

1. Refer to my notes on 3.2.153 *sūdadīpadīkṣaś ca*. The derivate of *jasU*, *ajasram*, should denote *kriyāsātatya* 'continuous action'.

3.2.168 **सनाशंसभिक्ष उः**

sanāśaṃsabhikṣa uḥ
/*sanāśaṃsabhikṣaḥ* 5/1 *uḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
sannantebhyo dhātubhya āśaṃseś ca tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu uḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *u* occurs to denote *kartṛ* either after verbal roots which end in affix *saN*, or after *śaṃs* 'to desire' used with the preverb *āṄ*, and

bhikṣa 'to beg', when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣuḥ 'one who wishes to make something'
jihīrṣuḥ 'one who wishes to take something away'
āśaṃsuḥ 'he whose nature is to wish well'
bhikṣuḥ 'one whose nature is to beg; beggar'

1. Note that *saN* here does not refer to a verbal root such as *ṣaṆU* 'to give'. It refers, instead, to the form which ends in affix *saN*. Besides, a reference to *ṣaṆU* would not make any sense. Verbal root *śaṃs* used with the preverb *āṄ* refers to *śaṃs* which denotes 'wish'. This interpretation is possible because the reference is made, here, with *āṄ*. Thus, *śaṃs* does not denote *stuti* 'praise'.

3.2.169 **विन्दुरिच्छुः**

vindur icchuḥ
/*vinduḥ* 1/1 *icchuḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *uḥ* #168)
vider numāgama iṣeś chatvam ukāraś ca nipātyate tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu
Affix *u* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *vidA* 'to know' and *iṣ* 'to wish' in the derivation of *vindu* and *icchu* by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

vinduḥ 'one who knows'
icchuḥ 'desirous'

1. Note that these two derivates are given as derived by the ad hoc process of *nipātana*. The introduction of affix *u*; the augment *nUM* (in *vinduḥ*); and the change of *ṣ* to *ch* in *icchuḥ* is accomplished by *nipātana*.

3.2.170 **क्याच्छन्दसि**

kyāc chandasi
/*kyāt* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *uḥ* #168)
kyapratyayāntād dhātoś chandasi viṣaye tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu ukārapratyayo bhavati
Affix *u* occurs to denote *kartṛ* in the Vedic after verbal roots which end in affix *Kya* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*) when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

mitrayuḥ 'one who wishes for a friend'
saṃsvedayuḥ 'one who perspires'
sumnayuḥ 'one who wishes for comfort'

1. Note that the reference with '*Kya*' in '*kyāt*' is made to refer to affixes *KyaC, KyaṢ* and *KyaṄ* in general. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* II: 670) informs that affix *u* should also be introduced after forms which end in affix *yaK*. Such an inference can be made on the basis of the reference by *Kya* itself. After all, *Kya* refers to affixes which all have *K* as their *it*, and which condition the assignment of the term *dhātu* by rule 3.1.32 *Sanādyantā....* Affix *yaK* is no different from them in this respect. An example for a derivate in *u* with a base which ends in affix *yaK* could be: *bhuraṇyuḥ* (in dual) 'an epithet of the Aśvins'.

3.2.171 **आदृगमहनजनः किकिनौ लिट् च**

ādṛgamahanajanaḥ kikinau liṭ ca
/*ādṛgamahanajanaḥ* 5/1 *kikinau* 1/2 *liṭ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* # 134, *chandasi* # 170)
ākārāntebhya ṛvarṇāntebhyaś ca 'gama, hana, jana' ity etebhyaś chandasi viṣaye tacchīlādiṣu kikinau pratyayau bhavataḥ, liḍvac ca tau bhavataḥ

Affixes *Ki* and *Kin* occur to denote *kartṛ* in the Vedic after verbal roots which end in *āT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*) or *ṛ*, and after *gamA, hanA* and *janA* as well, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill; in addition, *Ki* and *Kin* are treated as if they were *LIṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

papiḥ somam 'one who drinks the *Soma*'
dadiragāḥ 'one who gives a cow'
jagmir yuvā 'the young man who leaves'
jaghnir vṛtram 'the killer of *Vṛtra*'
jajñir bījam 'one who makes the seed sprout'

1. The *LIṬ* of this rule is interpreted as denoting the sense of *liḍvat* 'as if ending in *LIṬ*'. This is clearly an *atideśa* 'extension' interpretation. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāśikā* II: 671) explains that 'words used in the sense of some other words denote the sense of affix *vatI* even without its use'. Thus, given *siṃho māṇavakaḥ* 'the boy is like a lion', one understands the sense of *tulya* 'like' without the use of *vatI*. Similarly to this, we can interpret *LIṬ* to denote the sense of 'like an item which ends in affix *LIṬ*'. This is clearly intended to allow operations similar to *LIṬ* in case of items which

end in affixes *Ki* and *KiN*. This obviously is an extension of the operational type (*kāryātideśa*). Consequently, operations such as doubling (*dvitva*), etc., will apply. See the derivations in the appendix. There is practically no formal difference in the two types of derivates except for accent.

2. A proposal is made to make the application of affixes *Ki* and *KiN* after all the verbal roots. This proposal is based on usages which entail other verbs. Separate proposals are also made to account for forms such as *dadhiḥ* 'he who holds', *cakriḥ* 'he who makes', etc., by introducing these affixes in the classical usage. Some forms are also proposed to be derived by introduction of these affixes after bases which end in affix *yaṄ*. See the *Mahābhāṣya* under this rule for details.

3.2.172 **स्वपितृषोर्नजिङ्**

svapitṛṣor najiṅ
/*svapitṛṣoḥ* 6/2 *najiṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
svapes tṛṣeś ca tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu najiṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *najIṄ* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *ÑIṣvap* 'to sleep' and *ÑItṛṣĀ* 'to be thirsty' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

svapnak 'he whose nature is to sleep a lot'
tṛṣṇak 'he who is always thirsty'

3.2.173 **शॄवन्द्योरारुः**

śṛvandyor āruḥ
/*śṛvandyoḥ* 6/2 *āruḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
'*śṛ, vadi' ity elābhyāṃ dhātubhyāṃ tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣv āruḥ pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *āru* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *śṛ* 'to hurt' and *vadI* 'to pay obeisance, praise' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

śarāruḥ 'one who hurts; wicked'
vandāruḥ 'one whose nature is to praise; a bard'

1. Note that *śṛ* has *ukaÑ* available to it from 3.2.154 *laṣapatapada*... Similar provision of *yuC* is also available to *vand* by rule 3.2.149 *anudāttetaś ca*... This rule simply provides for *āru*.

3.2.174 भियः क्रुक्लुकनौ

bhiyaḥ kruklukanau
/*bhiyaḥ* 5/1 *kruklukanau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
'ñibhī bhaye' asmād dhātoḥ tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu kruklukanau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Kru* and *KLukaN* occur to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *ÑIbhī* 'to fear' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

bhīruḥ 'a coward; a bear'
bhīlukaḥ 'id.'

1. A proposal is also made by a *vārttika* to derive *bhīrukaḥ* by introducing affix *KrukaN* after verbal root *ÑIbhī*.

3.2.175 स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच्

stheśabhāsapisakaso varac
/*stheśabhāsapisakasaḥ* 5/1 *varac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
'sthā gatinivṛttau, īśa aiśvarye, bhāsṛ dīptau, pisṛ, pesṛ gatau, kasa gatau' ity etebhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu varac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *varaC* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *sthā*, *īśA* 'to govern', *bhāsṚ*, *pisṚ* 'to move, crawl' and *kasA* 'to move' when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

sthāvaraḥ 'that which is stationary by nature'
īśvaraḥ 'lord'
bhāsvaraḥ 'that which is shining by nature; sun'
pesvaraḥ 'that which moves or destroys'
vikasvaraḥ 'that which opens, expands; blossoming

3.2.176 यश्च यङः

yaś ca yaṅaḥ
/*yaḥ* 1/1 *ca* 0 *yaṅaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *varac* #175)
'yā prāpaṇe' asmād yaṅantāt tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu varac pratyayo bhavati

Affix *varaC* also occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *yā* 'to go' terminated in affix *yaṄ* when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLE:

yāyāvaraḥ 'a gypsy'

3.2.177 **भ्राजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपॄजुग्रावस्तुवः क्विप्**

bhrājabhāsadhurvidyutorjipṛjugrāvastuvaḥ kvip
/bhrāja...stuvaḥ 5/1 *kvip* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134)
bhrājādibhyo dhātubhyas tacchīlādiṣu kartṛṣu kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvIP* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal roots *bhrājṚ* and *bhāsṚ* 'to shine', *turVĪ*, *thurVĪ*, and *durVĪ* 'to hurt, injure', *dyuT* 'to shine', *ūrjA* 'to be strong', *pṛ* 'to fill', *ju* 'to move' and *ṣṭuÑ* 'to praise', used with *grāva*, when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

vibhrāṭ 'shining'
bhāḥ 'shine; light'
dhūḥ 'hurting; yoke, weight'
vidyut 'lightning'
ūrk 'power, energy'
pūḥ 'that which fills'
grāvastut 'stone-worshipper'

1. Note that *KvIP* could be made available to these roots by 3.2.76 *kvip ca* read with 3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate*. This reintroduction of *KvIP* is nothing but the expatiation (*prapañca*) of the interpretation that '*vā' sarūpavidhi*' does not apply in case of *tacchīlika* affixes, and that this interpretation is not universally valid (*prāyika*).

3.2.178 **अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते**

anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate
/anyebhyaḥ 5/3 *api* Ø *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *tacchīlataddharmatatsādhukāriṣu* #134, *kvip* #177)
anyebhyo' pi dhātubhyas tacchīlikeṣu kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvIp* also occurs to denote *kartṛ* after other verbal roots when the agent performs the action at the current time because of his nature, sense of duty, or skill.

EXAMPLES:

yuk 'that which binds'
chit 'that which cuts or pierces'
bhid 'that which splits'

1. Commentators state that *'dṛśyate'* is not required. For, *'anyebhyo' pi'* itself can account for everything. They add, however, that *'dṛśyate'* is used to facilitate or block certain operations generally not available to these derivates. Lengthening (*dīrgha*), doubling (*dvirvacana*), *samprasāraṇa*, or lack of it, can be cited as some examples. Refer to derivational details in the appendix..

3.2.179 **भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः**

bhuvaḥ saṃjñāntarayoḥ
/*bhuvaḥ* 5/1 *saṃjñāntarayoḥ* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *kvip* #177)
bhavater dhātoḥ saṃjñāyām antare ca gamyamāne kvip pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KvIP* occurs after verbal root *bhū* when *saṃjñā* 'name' or *antara* 'intermediary' is denoted.'

EXAMPLES:

vibhūḥ 'a name'
pratibhūḥ 'a guarantor'

3.2.180 **विप्रसंभ्यो ड्वसंज्ञायाम्**

viprasaṃbhyo ḍvasaṃjñāyām
/*viprasaṃbhyaḥ* 5/3 *ḍu* 1/1 *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *bhuvaḥ* #179)
'vi, pra, sam' ity evam pūrvād bhavater dhātoḥ ḍupratyayo bhavati, na cet saṃjñā gamyate
Affix *Ḍu* occurs after verbal root *bhū* used with the preverbs *vi*, *pra* and *sam*, when the action is located in the present and *saṃjñā* is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vibhuḥ 'all-pervading'
prabhuḥ 'lord'
sambhuḥ 'one who comes into existence'

1. A *vārttika* also proposes to derive *mitadruḥ* 'he who has the least compassion', etc., with affix *ḌU*. The word *śambhuḥ* is to be similarly

derived though in this case the root is treated as causal with a built in sense of *ṆiC*. Thus, we get *śaṃ* = *sukhaṃ bhāvayati* = *śambhuḥ* 'he who brings about the experience of joy'.

3.2.181 धः कर्मणि ष्ट्रन्

dhaḥ karmaṇi ṣṭran
/dhaḥ 5/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1 *ṣṭran* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)
dhayater dadhāteś ca karmaṇi kārake ṣṭran pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṢṭraN* occurs to denote *karman* 'object' after verbal root *dhā* when the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLE:

dhātrī 'a wet-nurse; nurse'

1. Note that *karmaṇi* does not here refer to a conjoined word (*upapada*) which denotes *karman*. For, if that was the desired interpretation, Pāṇini would have put this rule in the section of 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*. This would have saved him the use of '*karmaṇi*'. But this would have still entailed the explicit use of *ṣṭran* in the next rule. What is so good about this economy (*lāghava*)? Well, using *ṣṭran* is certainly more economical than *karmaṇi*. To sum up, *karmaṇi* outlines *karman* as the meaning of the affix.

Note that the *Ṣ* of *ṢṭraN* is used as an *it* to facilitate the introduction of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* by rule 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca.*

3.2.182 दाम्नीशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे

dāmnīśasayuyujastutudasisicamihapatadaśanahaḥ karaṇe
/dāmnī...nahaḥ 5/1 *karaṇe* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *ṣṭran* #181)
'dāp, ṇīñ śasu, yu, yujir, ṣṭuñ, tuda, ṣiñ, ṣicir, miha, patḷ, danś, ṇaḥ' ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ karaṇe kārake ṣṭran pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṢṭraN* occurs to denote *karaṇa* 'instrument' after verbal roots *dāp* 'to cut', *ṇīÑ* 'to lead', *śasU* 'to hurt', *yu* 'to join', *yujIR* 'to bind, yoke', *ṣṭuÑ* 'to praise', *tudA* 'to torment', *ṣiÑ* 'to tie, bind', *ṣicIR* 'to sprinkle', *mihA* 'to water', *patḶ* 'to fall', *daṃś* 'to bite' and *ṇahA* 'to tie' when the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

dātram 'that by which one cuts; a sickle'
netram 'eye'
śastram 'weapon'
yotram 'a rope by which one fastens the yoke'
yokram 'id.'

stotram 'that by means of which one praises; a verse of praise'
totram 'a cattle-prod'
setram 'that which binds the bones; a ligament'
sektram 'sprinkler'
meḍhram 'cloud; organ of urination'
patram 'a vehicle'
daṃṣṭrā 'a big tooth
naddhram 'thong'

1. Note that *dāP* here refers only to the verbal root *dāP* 'to cut', and not to all verbal roots which yield a form in '*dā*', as discussed in connection with rule 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*. The reason is simply lack of usage (*anabhidhāna*). The word *karaṇe*, again, refers to the meaning of the affix, and not to any cooccurrence condition.

2. Note that rule 3.2.142 *samprcānurudhā...* makes the reference to verbal root *rañjA* with deleted nasal. This, in turn, was treated as an indication that the derivate, for example *rāgī*, would lose the *ñ*. How come the same does not apply in case of verbal root *daṃś* in deriving *daṃṣṭrā*? Well, the derivate is listed in the *ajādi* group of nominals (cf. 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) which, in turn, attests to the non-deletion of the nasal.

The *Ṣ* is, again, intended for the feminine. Note, however, that after its deletion by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*, read with 1.3.6 *ṣaḥ pratyayasya*, the *-ṭ* of affix ṢṭraN is replaced with *-t*. This happens in view of the *paribhāṣā nimittāpāye naimittikasyāpy apāyaḥ* 'the effect must also be removed when the cause is removed' (cf. *Pbh.* 87: *Sanniyogaśiṣṭānām...*). The *Ṣ* was responsible for the *t* to change into *-ṭ*; the *ṭ* must also be removed in favor of *-t* when *Ṣ* is gone.

3.2.183 हलसूकरयोः पुवः

halasūkarayoḥ puvaḥ
/*halasūkarayoḥ* 7/2 *puvaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *ṣṭran* #181, *karaṇe* #182)
'*pū*' *iti pūṅpuños sāmānyena grahaṇaṃ asmād dhātoḥ karaṇe kārake ṣṭran pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *ṢṭraN* occurs to denote *karaṇa* after verbal root *pū* when the *karaṇa* is part of a *hala* 'plough' or *sūkara* 'pig' and the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

halasya potram 'the front end of a plough'
sūkarasya potram 'the front end of a pig's face'

1. Note that *'pū'* in this rule refers to verbal roots *'pūÑ'* and *'puÑ'* both. The genitive in *'halasūkarayoḥ'* is interpreted to denote 'part' (*avayava*). The word *karaṇe*, again, does not set any cooccurrence condition.

3.2.184 **अर्तिलूधूसूखनसहचर इत्रः**

arttilūdhūsūkhanasahacara itraḥ
/*artti...caraḥ* 5/1 *itraḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *karaṇe* #182)
'ṛ, lūñ, dhū, ṣū, khanu, ṣaha, cara gatibhakṣaṇoyoḥ' ity etebhyo dhātubhyaḥ karaṇe kārake itra pratyayo bhavati
Affix *itra* occurs to denote *karaṇa* after verbal roots *ṛ* 'to go', *lūÑ* 'to cut', *dhū* 'to shake', *sū* 'to inspire', *khanU* 'to dig', *ṣahA* 'to endure' and *carA* 'to wander, consume' when the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

aritram 'an oar'
lavitram 'a knife'
dhavitram 'a fan'
savitram 'inspirer'
khanitram 'an instrument for digging; a spade'
sahitram 'endurance'
caritram 'conduct'

1. Note that *dhū* and *sū* refer only to *dhū* and *ṣū* 'to inspire', since they have been cited without any *it*. They, thus, do not refer to *'dhūÑ'*, *'ṣuÑ'* and *'ṣūÑ'*, etc. (cf. *Paribhāṣā* (82) *niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya*).

3.2.185 **पुवः संज्ञायाम्**

puvaḥ saṃjñāyām
/*puvaḥ* 5/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *karaṇe* #182, *itraḥ* #184)
pavater dhātoḥ karaṇe kārake itrapratyayo bhavati, samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
Affix *itra* occurs to denote *kartṛ* after verbal root *pū* when *saṃjñā* 'a name' is signified and the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

darbhaḥ pavitram '*darbha*, a kind of grass which serves as a means of ritual purification'
barhiṣ pavitram '(a ring of) *darbha* which serves as a means of ritual purification'

1. The referents of '*pū*' here are similar to that of rule 3.2.183 *hala-sukarayoḥ...*

3.2.186 कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः

kartari carṣidevatayoḥ
/kartari 7/1 *ca* Ø *ṛṣidevatayoḥ* 7/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123, *karaṇe* #182, *itraḥ* #184, *puvaḥ* #185)
puvaḥ karaṇe kartari ca itrapratyayo bhavati ṛṣidevatayor yathā-saṃkhyaṃ sambandhaḥ, ṛṣau karaṇe devatāyām kartari
Affix *itra* occurs after verbal root *pū* to denote *karaṇa* when the signification is *ṛṣi* 'a Vedic hymn'; and to denote *kartṛ* when the signification is *devatā* 'god', provided the action is expressed at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

pavitro yam ṛṣiḥ 'a Vedic hymn which serves as a means of ritual purification'
agniḥ pavitraṃ sa mā punātu 'Agni is sacred, may he purify me'
vāyuḥ somaḥ sūrya indraḥ pavitraṃ te mā punantu 'Vāyu, Soma, and Indra are sacred, may they purify me'

1. Note that *ca* is used, here, to bring both '*pū*' as well as '*karaṇe*'. Additionally, '*karaṇa*' and '*kartṛ*' share the equivalency relationship with '*ṛṣi*' and '*devatā*' in the order of their enumeration (1.3.10 *yathā-saṃkhyam...*). That is, affix *itra* denotes *karaṇa* when the derivate denotes a *ṛṣi*. It denotes *kartṛ* when the derivate denotes *devatā*. Thus, we get *pavitra* 'the sage who is most instrumental in ritually purifying something'. The same affix in *pavitra* can denote *kartṛ* when the derivate is *pavitram* as in *agniḥ pavitraṃ sa mā punātu* 'Agni is sacred; may Agni purify me'.

3.2.187 ञीतः क्तः

ñītaḥ ktaḥ
/ñītaḥ 5/1 *ktaḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #123)
ñīto dhātor varttamāne' rthe ktapratyayo bhavati
Affix *Kta* occurs after a verbal root with *Ñ* as an *it* when current action is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

minnaḥ 'oily, fat'
kṣviṇṇaḥ 'a word said while sneezing'
dhṛṣṭaḥ 'daring'

1. Note that *Kta* is an affix termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). As such, rule 3.2.102 *niṣṭhā* introduces it when the action denoted by the roots is to be located in the past (3.2.84 *bhūte*). This rule allows the introduction of affix *Kta* after verbal roots marked with *Ñ* as an *it* even though the action signified by their roots is denoted at the current time. Thus, what was not available, relative to a current action, is made available to some select roots.

3.2.188 मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च

matibuddhipūjārthebhyaś ca
/matibuddhipūjārthebhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* # 3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* # 3.1.91, *varttamāne* # 123, *kta* # 18
'matiḥ icchā, buddhiḥ jñānam, pūjā satkāraḥ' ity etad arthebhyaś ca dhātubhyo varttamāne' rthe kta pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Kta* occurs after verbal roots which have the signification of *mati* 'wish, intent', *buddhi* 'knowledge, perception' and *pūjā* 'reverence' when the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

rājñāṃ mataḥ 'the king's intent'
rājñām iṣṭaḥ 'the king's wish'
rājñāṃ buddhaḥ 'the king's knowledge'
rājñāṃ jñātaḥ 'id.'
rājñāṃ pūjitaḥ 'revered by the king'
rājñām arcitaḥ 'id.'

1. Obviously, the scope of the preceding rule is extended in connection with roots which have the signification of *mati*, *buddhi*, and *pūjā*. The *ca*, as commentators claim, is used for inclusion of derivates unaccounted for. The following verse enumerates quite a few of them:

śīlito rakṣitaḥ kṣānta ākruṣṭo juṣṭa ity api
ruṣṭaś ca ruṣitaś cobhāv abhivyāhṛta ity api/
hṛṣṭatuṣṭau tathā kāntas tathobhau saṃyatodyatau
kaṣṭaṃ bhaviṣyatīty āhur amṛtaḥ pūrvavat smṛtaḥ//

The verse includes these derivates: *śīlita* 'practiced', *rakṣita* 'protected', *kṣānta* 'forbearing', *ākruṣṭa* 'censured', *juṣṭa* 'pleased', *ruṣṭa* 'angry', *ruṣita* 'id.', *abhivyāhṛta* 'uttered', *hṛṣṭa* 'happy', *tuṣṭa* 'satisfied', *kānta* 'favorite', *saṃyata* 'restrained', *udyata* 'ready', *kaṣṭa* 'misery in the offing', *amṛta* 'immortal', *supta* 'asleep', *śayita* 'reclining', *āśita* 'consumed', *lipta* 'smeared', and *tṛpta* 'satisfied'. They are all in the context of *varttamāna*. The last five are also attested but are not included in the verse.

3.3.1 उणादयो बहुलम्

uṇādayo bahulam
/uṇādayaḥ 1/3 *bahulam* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *varttamāne* #3.2.123)
uṇādayaḥ pratyayā varttamāne' rthe saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye bahulaṃ bhavanti
Affixes *uṆ*, etc., occur variously after verbal roots when the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

kāruḥ 'doer; artisan'
vāyuḥ 'wind'
pāyuḥ 'anus'
jāyuḥ 'an effective medicine; victorious'
māyuḥ 'choler (one of the cardinal humors of the body); sun'
svāduḥ 'tasty food'
sādhuḥ 'a well-disposed person'
āśuḥ 'one who moves fast'

1. This rule introduces affixes generally known as *uṆ*, etc. (*uṇādi*). It is believed in the Pāṇinian tradition that there were two versions of the *uṇādisūtra* listing: a larger one with ten quarters (*daśapādī*) and a shorter one (*pañcapādī*) with five quarters. The first rule of the *pañcapādī* version introduces affix *uṆ*. A claim is made that the *uṇādi* affixes number well over three hundred. The tradition recognizes items derived by the use of the *uṇādi* affixes as nominal stems.

The adherents of Pāṇini do not believe in the theory that all nominals are derived from verbal roots through affixation. Pāṇini presents some aspects of derivation simply to show that an effort can still be made. Or else, it is his way of showing respect to grammarians, such as Yāska and Śākaṭāyana, who believed that all nominals are derived from verbal roots via affixal processes.

2. The word *bahulam* is explained in four ways: (*a*) it implies the application (*pravṛtti*) of a given rule in some cases, (*b*) it also implies the non-application of the same rule in other cases, (*c*) in still other cases, it indicates the same rule applies only optionally (*vibhāṣā*) and (*d*) there may be additional aspects of diverse application. The following summarizes these four interpretations of the notion of *bāhulaka*:

kvacit pravṛttiḥ kvacid apravṛttiḥ
kvacid vibhāṣā kvacid anyad eva/
vidher vidhānaṃ bahudhā samīkṣya,
caturvidhaṃ bāhulakaṃ vadanti//

'sometimes application; at times the lack of the same; sometimes the application is only optional; yet on occasions still differently indeed; after having properly analyzed its multifarious application they speak of these four types of *bāhulaka*'

The *Mahābhāṣya* states the nature of *bāhulaka*, especially in case of the *uṇādi* affixes as follows:

bāhulakaṃ prakṛtes tanudṛṣṭeḥ,
prāyasamuccayanād api teṣām/
kāryasaśeṣavidheś ca tad uktaṃ,
naigamarūḍhibhavaṃ hi susādhu//
nāma ca dhātujam āha nirukte,
vyākaraṇe śakaṭasya ca tokam/
yan na padārthaviśeṣasamutthaṃ,
pratyayataḥ prakṛteś ca tad ūhyam//
'the *bāhulaka* is stated with reference to a limited number of bases: the affixes have similarly been cited non-universally; it is for this reason that *bāhulaka* is stated with operations still unaccounted for; *bāhulaka* also accounts for the correctness of the many Vedic and colloquial names. A nominal in the *Nirukta*, as well as in the grammar of *Śākaṭāyana*, is stated to have been derived from the verb; that which is not stated as derived by means of verbal bases and affixes must be researched for its derivation.'

The *Mahābhāṣya* offers some further insights into these derivates:

saṃjñāsu dhāturūpāṇi pratyayāś ca tataḥ pare/
kāryād vidyād anūbandham etac chāstram uṇādiṣu//
'the verbal forms when deriving names; affixes introduced after verbal roots; an *it* to be determined by lack of an operation such as *guṇa*; these which have not been stated elsewhere should form as the standard when inferring the derivation of *uṇādi*'

Kāśikā, in the paraphrase (*vṛtti*) of rule 3.3.1 *uṇādayo...*, states that '*varttamāne*' and '*saṃjñāyām*' are both carried here. They yield the understanding, when read with ***bahulam***, that the ***uṇādi*** affixes occur after verbal roots to derive names when the action is denoted at the current time. They can also be seen where they may not be provided for. Some affixes which are not stated at all may have to be ascertained from usage.

3.3.2 **भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते**

bhūte' pi dṛśyante
/bhūte 7/1 *api* Ø *dṛśyante* (verbal *pada*)/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, uṇādayaḥ #1)
bhūte kāle' py uṇādayaḥ pratyayā dṛśyante
Affixes *uṆ*, etc., also are seen to occur after verbal roots when the action is located in the past.

EXAMPLES:

vartma 'that which has been traversed; a road'
carma 'that which has been lived in; skin'
bhasma 'that which remained after burning; ash'

1. This rule informs that *uṇādi* affixes are also seen when the action is located in the past. The word *dṛśyante* attests to the usage (*prayoga*) as evidence. Obviously, *bhūta* is contrasted, here, with *vartamāna* 'current time' of the preceding rule.

3.3.3 भविष्यति गम्यादयः

bhaviṣyati gamyādayaḥ
/bhaviṣyati (verbal *pada) gamyādayaḥ* 1/3/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, uṇādayaḥ #1)
bhaviṣyati kāle gamyādayaḥ śabdāḥ sādhavo bhavanti
Affixes *uṆ*, etc., occur in the derivation of *gamī* 'one who will go', etc. when the action is denoted in the future (*bhaviṣyati*).

EXAMPLES:

gamī grāmam 'one who will go to the village'
āgāmī 'that which will come'
prasthāyī 'one who will depart'
pratirodhī 'one who will oppose'
pratibodhī 'one who will be awake'
pratiyodhī 'one who will fight against'
pratiyogī 'one who will compete; an adversary'
āyāyī 'one which will come'
bhāvī 'that which will happen'

1. This rule provides for *uṇādi* affixes to be used when the action may be located at a future time. The provision is made in connection with a group of derivates such as *gamī* 'he who will go'. Note that 'future' is to be regarded as signification for the affix only. That is, the base does not have any future meaning. Additionally, this future must be abstracted from usages as encountered; it should not be treated as given in a generalized manner. That is, the scope of *uṇādi* in the past and future is very limited.

2. A *vārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* states that, the way this rule stands, usages which entail *anadyatana-bhaviṣyat* 'future not pertaining to the current day' cannot be accounted for. That is, it can only account for general future (*LṚṬ*), without any qualification at all. Hence, to accommodate usages of *gamī*, etc., where the denotata entails *anadyatana* aspect of future (*LUṬ*), the *vārttika* should be stated. Thus, *śvo gamī grāmam* 'he will go to the village tomorrow'. If no *vārttika* provision is made, the rule can only account for general future.

3.3.4 **यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट्**

yāvatpurānipātayor laṭ
/yāvatpurānipātayoḥ 7/2 *laṭ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3)
yāvatpurāśabdayor nipātayor upapadayor bhaviṣyati kāle dhātor laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṬ* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with the particles (*nipāta*) *yāvat* and *purā* and the action is denoted in the future.

EXAMPLES:

yāvad bhuṅkte 'he surely will eat'
purā bhuṅkte 'id.'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of *LAṬ* after verbal roots which occur with the particles *yāvat* 'definitely' and *purā* 'id.'. Note that *yāvat* and *purā* not only have to be interpreted as particles, but they must also be restricted to the meanings outlined. The word *nipāta* is used in the rule to exclude, for example, *yāvat* 'as long as', the relative which corresponds to its correlative *tāvat* '...that long' and *purā*, 'the instrumental singular of *pur* 'village''

3.3.5 **विभाषा कदाकर्ह्योः**

vibhāṣā kadākarhyoḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *kadākarhyoḥ* 7/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *laṭ* #4)
'kadā, karhi' ity etayor upapadayor vibhāsā bhaviṣyati kāle dhātor laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṬ* optionally occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with *kadā* and *karhi* and the action is located in the future.

EXAMPLES:

kadā bhuṅkte 'when will he eat'

kadā bhokṣyate 'id.'
kadā bhoktā 'id.'
karhi bhuṅkte 'id.'
karhi bhokṣyate 'id.'
karhi bhoktā 'id.'

1. Commentators explain that the option of *LAṬ* is made available against both *LṚṬ* 'general future' as well as *LUṬ* 'first future'. Such a statement is necessary since *bhaviṣyati*, which is carried here, denotes the sense of future in general, excluding that which relates to the current day (*adyatana*). It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* outlines two forms parallel to one of *LAṬ* made available by this rule. That is, *bhuṅkte* of *LAṬ* against *bhokṣyase* of *LṚṬ* and *bhoktā* of *LUṬ*. The option, of course, enables *LAT* to denote future.

3.3.6 **किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम्**

kiṃvṛtte lipsāyām
/*kiṃvṛtte* 7/1 *lipsāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *laṭ* #4, *vibhāṣā* #5)
kiṃvṛtta upapade lipsāyāṃ bhaviṣyati kāle dhātor vibhāṣā laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṬ* optionally occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *kiṃvṛtta* 'a form of *kim*; what', *katara* 'which one of the two' and *katama* 'which one of the many' when the derivate signifies *lipsā* 'desire to obtain, solicitation' and the action is denoted in the future.

EXAMPLES:

kaṃ bhavanto bhojayanti 'who will you feed, sir?'
kaṃ bhavanto bhojayitāraḥ 'id.'
kataro bhikṣāṃ dāsyati 'who among these two will give the alms?'
kataro bhikṣāṃ dadāti 'id.'
kataro bhikṣāṃ dātā 'id.'
katamo bhikṣāṃ dāsyati 'who among these many will give the alms?'
katamo bhikṣāṃ dadāti 'id.'
katamo bhikṣāṃ dātā 'id.'

1. The word *kim* used with *vṛtta* refers to the inflectional possibilities of the nominal base *kim* 'what, which'. Thus, *kiṃvṛttam* refers to '*kim* ending in a *sUP*'. *Kāśikā* informs that forms of *kim* which end in affixes *Ḍatara* and *Ḍatama* are, also, to be treated as applicable in this context.

The word *lipsā* denotes *labdhum icchā* 'desire to obtain'. Thus, affix *LAṬ* can be optionally introduced against *LṚṬ* and *LUṬ* when *kim*, or a form of it, is used with the verbal root provided *lipsā* is denoted in relation to a future action. Note also that the *Mahābhāṣya* (cf. *Śabdenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa ad 8.1.66 *yadvṛttān nityam*) implies the *anuvṛtti* of *kadā* and *karhi* in this rule from the preceding. *Kāśikā* does not do so.

3.3.7 लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च

lipsyamānasiddhau ca
/lipsyamānasiddhau 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *laṭ* #4, *vibhāṣā* #5)
lipsyamānasiddhau gamyamānāyām bhaviṣyati kāle dhātor vibhāṣā laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṬ*, also, optionally occurs to denote a future action after a verbal root when an accomplishment is conditioned by a wish fulfilled.

EXAMPLES:

yo bhaktaṃ dadāti sa svargaṃ gacchati 'he who gives rice goes to heaven'
yo bhaktaṃ dāsyati sa svargaṃ gamiṣyati 'he who will give rice will go to heaven'
yo bhaktaṃ dātā sa svargaṃ gantā 'id.'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of *LAṬ*, optionally to *LṚṬ* and *LUṬ* when accomplishment of something is indicated by what is desired to be obtained. For example, someone wishing for a bowl of rice may say: *yo bhaktaṃ dadāti sa svargaṃ gacchati* 'he who gives rice will go to heaven'. This sentence will use *LAṬ* as an option to *LṚṬ* and *LUṬ*, since the speaker indicates the accomplishment of going to heaven by the fulfillment of his desire for rice. But why is this rule formulated when *lipsā* of the preceding rule could still accommodate the derivates of this rule? This rule is stated separately because *kimvṛtta* is not required here as the cooccurrence condition. But as this optional rule, in the absence of specification of *kiṃvṛtta*, could apply to the situation of both *kiṃvṛtta* as well as non-*kiṃvṛtta*, mention of *kiṃvṛtta* in the earlier rule would similarly account for situations of non-*kiṃvṛtta*. This rule, thus, should not be stated, since it seemingly is redundant. Its purpose, nevertheless, becomes apparent when one notes that the earlier rule allows for the option only when *kiṃvṛtta* cooccurs.

3.3.8 लोडर्थलक्षणे च

loḍarthalakṣaṇe ca

/loḍarthatlakṣaṇe 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *laṭ* #4, *vibhāṣā* #5)
loḍarthaḥ praiṣādir lakṣyate yena sa loḍarthatlakṣaṇo dhātvarthaḥ, tatra varttamānād dhātor bhaviṣyati kāle vibhāṣā laṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LAṬ* also occurs optionally after a verbal root when the action denoted by the root characterizes some other action with the signification of *LOṬ* 'imperative' (3.3.162 *loṭ ca*).

EXAMPLES:

upādhyāyaś ced āgacchati atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva 'if the teacher comes, you should study grammar'
upādhyāyaś ced āgamiṣyati atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva 'id.'
upādhyāyaś ced āgantā atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīśva 'id.'

1. The word *loḍarthalakṣaṇe* 'when used with a signification characterized by the meaning of *LOṬ*' becomes the qualifier to the verbal root. The 'meaning of *LOṬ*' is explained as *praiṣādi* 'command, etc.', where *ādi* 'etc.' refers to meanings such as *vidhi* 'that which is to be done', *nimantraṇa* 'invitation', etc. (3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇa...*).

Note that the derivates of the present rule occur in conditional sentences as is marked by *cet* 'if'. The action of 'going', denoted by *āgacchati*, anticipates the signification of *LOṬ* by the action denoted by *adhīṣva*. This *LAṬ* is optional to *LṚṬ* and *LUṬ* as is known by the next two sentences of the examples.

3.3.9 **लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्त्तिके**

liṅ cordhvamauhūrttike
/liṅ 1/1 *ca* Ø *ūrdhvamauhūrttike* 7/1 = *muhūrttād ūrddhvam* = *ūrddhvamuhūrttam (pañc, tat.); ūrddhvamuhūrtte bhavam* = *ūrddhvamauhūrttikam, tasmin/*
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *laṭ* #4, *vibhāṣā* #5, *loḍarthalakṣaṇe* #8)
ūrdhvamauhūrttike bhaviṣyati kāle loḍarthalakṣaṇārthe varttamānād dhātor vibhāṣā liṅ pratyayao bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* 'optative', as well as *LOṬ*, optionally occurs to denote a future action after a verbal root when the action denoted by the root characterizes another action with the signification of *LOṬ* and future time exceeds by a *muhūrtta* 'fortyeight minutes'.

EXAMPLES:

upari muhūrttasya upādhyāyaś ced āgacched atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam

adhīṣva 'if the teacher comes after a *muhūrtta*, you should study grammar'
upari muhūrttasya upādhyāyaś ced āgacchati atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva 'id.'
upari muhūrttasya upādhyāyaś ced āgamiṣyati atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva 'id.'
upari muhūrttasya upādhyāyaś ced āgantā atha tvaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīṣva 'id'.

1. Note that '*bhaviṣyati*', '*vibhāṣā*', and '*loḍarthalakṣaṇe*' are all carried here. The word *bhaviṣyati* is further modified by *ūrdhvamauhūrttike* 'when the future beyond a period slightly over three quarters of an hour (*muhūrtta*) is denoted'. But 'slightly over three quarters of an hour' of what time? *Nyāsa* explains that *ūrddhvamauhūrttike* is used to denote a time proximate to the present (*ūrddhvamauhūrttikaś cāyaṃ vartamānasya pratyāsanne varttate*). The word *ūrddhvamauhūrttika* in itself is an ad hoc (*nipātana*) compound, attested at the strength of the Pāṇinian usage of this rule. The *ca* of this rule also brings the *anuvṛtti* of *LAṬ*. Consequently, we will get four forms: one of *LIṄ* and one each of *LṚṬ*, *LUṬ* and *LAṬ*.

3.3.10 तुमुन्ण्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम्

tumunṇvulau kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyām
/*tumunṇvulau* 1/2 *kriyāyām* 7/1 *kriyārthāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3)
kriyārthāyāṃ kriyāyām upapade dhātor bhaviṣyati kāle tumunṇvulau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *tunUN* and *ṆvuL* occur to denote future after a verbal root which is used in conjunction with an action intended for the future action.

EXAMPLES:

bhoktuṃ vrajati 'he is going for the purpose of eating'
bhojako vrajati 'id.'

1. Note that '*bhaviṣyati*' is still carried. The word *kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyām* 'action intended for the sake of another action' forms the cooccurrence condition. Thus, *bhoktum* of *bhoktuṃ vrajati* involves the introduction of affix *tumUN* after verbal root *bhuj* 'to consume' under the condition of its cooccurrence with the action denoted by verbal root *vraj* 'to go'. Verbal root *vraj* can be recognized here as denoting 'an action undertaken for the sake of the action denoted by *bhuj*'. Obviously, the action denoted by *bhuj* will take place in the future. The *artha* in *kriyārthāyām* denotes *prayojana* 'purpose'.

The conditions of *kriyāyām* and *kriyārthāyām* must both be met. Thus, *bhikṣiṣya ity asya jaṭāḥ* 'he has matted hair so that he can receive alms' will not qualify. The word *jaṭā* does not denote any action. It is simply a cooccurring word intended for the sake of the action of receiving alms (*bhikṣikriyā*). Similarly, *dhāvatas te patiṣyati daṇḍaḥ* 'as soon as you run, your stick will fall' will also not qualify for *tumUN*. What we get in *dhāvataḥ*, here, is an *upapada* denoting action, and not an action for the sake of another action. After all, the man is not running so that the fall of the stick could take place.

2. A question is raised as to why *ṆvuL* is to be restated in this rule when rule 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* already provides for it. Pāṇini lists *ṆvuL* separately from *tṛC* to indicate that this *ṆvuL* cannot be used optionally with *tṛC, Lyu, ṆinI*, or *aC*, etc., as may be the case under the provision of rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*. Note that the use of this *ṆvuL*, as opposed to that of 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*, is also different in other ways. For example, consider the following sentences which employ both the *ṆvuL* affixes:

(*a*) *odanasya bhojako yāti* 'he who will eat rice is going'

(*b*) *odanaṃ bhojako yāti* 'he is going for eating rice'

The first sentence has *bhojaka* derived by rule 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* as opposed to the second which derives under the provision of this rule. Affix *ṆvuL* in both (*a-b*) denotes the agent (*kartṛ*); the genitive and accusative of *odana* similarly denote the object. Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* would have required genetive to denote the *karman* in (*b*). But that is blocked by 2.3.70 *akenor bhaviṣyad ādhamarṇyayoḥ* in favor of 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*. Sentence (*a*) still gets genitive to denote the object. This constitutes one basic difference between the two *ṆvuL* rules. Of course, this *ṆvuL* also has *kriyārthakriyā* and *bhaviṣyati* as attending situations. Note that affix *ṆvuL* denotes *kartṛ* in view of rule 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt* read with 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*. Affix *tumUN* is responsible for assignment of the term *avyaya* to its derivates in view of rule 1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ*. A derivate of *tumUN* will still be called an item ending in *kṛt*. But can this derivate still denote *kartṛ*? No. A *kṛdanta* termed *avyaya* denotes *bhāva* 'root-sense'. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 3.4.9 *tumarthesesena...*) states that *avyayakṛto bhāve bhavanti* 'a form which ends in a *kṛt* (*kṛdanta*) affix, and is termed indeclinable (*avyaya*), denotes 'root-sense' (*bhāva*)'.

Note that this introduction of *tumUN* does not require the condition of *samānakartṛkatva* 'identical agent'. That is, the agent denoted by the action of the root after which this rule introduces *tumUN* does not have to be identical with the agent of action denoted by the root which underlies the conjoined word. The agent of *bhoktum* does not have to be identical with the agent of *vrajati* in the sentence *bhoktum vrajati* 'he is going for eating'. Bhaṭṭoji and other grammarians state that *samānakartṛkatva*, though not explicitly stated, still should form a valid condition. That is

they rule out the introduction of *tumUN* in the absence of the identical agent condition. Consequently, the condition of identical agent becomes the norm for these examples. This may be the reason why Pāṇini did not state it here explicitly. But why did he then state it in 3.3.158 *samāna-kartṛkeṣu...* May be he should have stated it here too. For an example of the violation of identical agent condition, see the following from Kālidāsa (*Abhijñāna*:VI:22):

> *vāṣpaś ca na dadāty enāṃ draṣṭuṃ citragatām api* 'and the vapor (caused by tears rolling down my eyes) would not even let me see her in the picture'

The agent of *dṛś* 'to see' underlying *draṣṭum*, a form ending in *tumUN*, is different from the agent of *dā* 'to give' in *dadāti*. Scholars have gathered many other exceptions, for which see Bhimasena Shastri (*Laghuśiddhānta-kaumudī* III:180).

3.3.11 भाववचनाश्च

> *bhāvavacanāś ca*
> */bhāvavacanāḥ* 1/3 *ca* Ø/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *kriyā-yāṃ kriyārthāyām* #10)
> *bhāvavacanāḥ pratyayā bhaviṣyatikāle kriyāyām upapade kriyārthāyāṃ bhavanti*
> Affixes which have the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' (3.3.8 *bhāve*) also occur after a verbal root used in conjunction with an action intended for some future action.

EXAMPLES:

> *pākāya vrajati* 'he is going for the purpose of cooking'
> *bhūtaye vrajati* 'he is going for the purpose of acquiring wealth'
> *puṣṭaye vrajati* 'he is going for the purpose of nourishment'

1. This rule introduces an affix with the denotatum of *bhāva* after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the future, and the root is conjoined with another root which denotes an action intended for the future action. Commentators explain *bhāvavacanāt* as referring to affixes which denote *bhāva*, and are given in the domain of 3.3.18 *bhāve*. If this were correct then we would not need this rule. For, 3.3.18 *bhāve*, itself, can account for what this rule does. Commentators explain that the provisions of 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* do not become applicable in case of *tumUN* (see my note under 3.1.94). Consequently, *tumUN* would have obligatorily blocked any other affix with the denotatum of *bhāva*. It is for this reason that we must have this rule. Also see note (2) under the next rule.

But why do we have to use *vacanāt*? Why can we not simply have *bhāve*? It is stated that by using '*vacanāt*' we get this special meaning: affixes which have been introduced in the sense of *bhāva* occur in the manner of those which denote *bhāva* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* III:15: *bhāve ye vihitāḥ pratyayās te tathā bhavanti yathā bhāvasya vācakā bhavanti*). What does it mean? It means that they occur following the manner in which they are specified. That is, *vacanāt* of *bhāvavacanāt* drastically restricts the bases after which affixes, in view of rule 3.3.10 *bhāvavacanāś ca*, will be introduced under the cooccurrence condition of an action intended for another action. They could be only those bases which have been enumerated in the context of the introduction of affixes in the domain of 3.3.18 *bhāve* with their specific conditions. This clearly rules out any mixing (*vyatikara*) of specifications with regard to bases and their qualifications.

For example, 3.3.56 *er ac* specifies that affix *aC* be introduced only after a verbal root which ends in *i* (short/long). Similarly, affix *GHaÑ* is introduced after verbal root *ciÑ* with the semantic qualification of *hastādāna* 'obtaining by hand', further restricted by *asteye* 'when not related to stealing'. This is what is meant by the denotation of *bhāva*, in accordance with specific qualifications, as invoked by the use of *vacanāt* in this rule.

3.3.12 **अण् कर्मणि च**

aṇ karmaṇi ca
/*aṇ* 1/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyām* #10)
dhātor aṇ pratyayo bhavati bhaviṣyati kāle karmaṇy upapade kriyāyāṃ ca kriyārhtāyām
Affix *aṆ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *karman* when the root also cooccurs with an action intended for some future action.

EXAMPLES:

kāṇḍalāvo vrajati 'he is going for the purpose of cutting a branch'
aśvadāyo vrajati 'he is going for making the gift a horse'
godāyo vrajati 'he is going for making the gift a cow'
kambaladāyo vrajati 'he is going for the purpose of giving away blankets'

1. The *ca* of this rule is used to indicate *sanniyoga* 'concurrent application' of the conditions of *kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyām* and *karmaṇi*. If this *ca* were not used, application in turn (*paryāya*) would obtain. Consequently, *aṆ* could be introduced when the condition of *kriyārthakriyā* was met. Similarly, *aṆ* could also be introduced when the condition of *karman*,

but not of *kriyārthakriyā*, was met. The force of *ca* is to make both conditions apply concurrently. Consider for example *aśvadāyo vrajati* 'he is going in order to make the gift of a horse', where *aśvadāyaḥ* is derived by introducing affix *aṆ* after verbal root *dā* under the cooccurrence condition of *aśva* + *Ṅas* which, in turn, denotes the *karman* of 'giving'. At the same time, the action of going, denoted by verbal root *vraj*, is taking place for the sake of the action of 'giving the horse' denoted by *dā* used with *aśva* + *Ṅas*, its object.

2. Note that rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* introduces *aṆ* in general (*utsarga*). The same is blocked by *ṆvuL* of 3.3.10 *tumunṇvulau...*, an exception (*apavāda*), at the strength of the indication (*jñāpaka*) that '*vā*' *sarūpavidhi*' does not apply there. Our present rule reintroduces *aṆ* which, because it constitutes an exception (*apavāda*), blocks *ṆvuL* which, in turn, blocked the earlier *aṆ*. This second *aṆ* also blocks affixes such as *Ka*, etc. (*kādi*; 3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*, 3.2.8 *gāpoṣ ṭak*, etc.), for reasons of its placement subsequently (*paratva*; 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe...*; see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* on interaction of rules in relation to *paratva*). Note that, in the context of the introduction of *ṆvuL* by rule 3.3.10 *tumunṇvulau...*, affixes *tṛC*, etc., did not become applicable because the provision of '*vā*' *sarūpavidhi*' does not extend to their application. This rule comes within the scope of '*vā*' *sarūpavidhi*', hence, in situations where this *aṆ* obtains, *ṆvuL* of 3.3.10 *tumunṇvulau...* also obtains by way of exception. Thus we get: *edhān āhārako vrajati* 'he is going to bring the firewood'.

3.3.13 लृट् शेषे च

lṛṭ śeṣe ca
/*lṛṭ* 1/1 *śeṣe* 7/1 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3,
kriyāyāṃ kiryārthāyām #10)
śeṣe śuddhe bhaviṣyati kāle cakārāt kriyāyāṃ copapade kriyārthāyāṃ dhātor lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root when a future action, or a concurrent action intended for the future action, is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kariṣyati 'he will do'
kariṣyāmīti vrajati
'I will do it' thus he goes'

1. Note that '*bhaviṣyati*' is still carried. The word *śeṣa* 'remainder' is used so that affix *LṚṬ* can also be introduced in a context other than that which has *kriyārthakriyā* as an *upapada*. This context has been identified simply as '*bhaviṣyati*' 'future'. Thus, this rule will introduce *LṚṬ* where

future alone is denoted. Additionally, it will introduce *LṚṬ* after a verbal root also when the root cooccurs with an action intended for the future action. Consider *kariṣyati* where 'future' is denoted under the provision of *śeṣe* as opposed to *kariṣyāmīti vrajati* where *LṚṬ* is introduced under the cooccurrence condition of *vraj* which, in turn, denotes an action intended for the action of doing something in the future.

3.3.14 लृटः सद्वा

lṛṭaḥ sad vā
/*lṛṭaḥ* 6/1 *sat* 1/1 *vā* ∅/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3, *kriyāyāṃ kriyārthāyām* #10 *śeṣe* #13)
lṛṭaḥ sthāne satsaṃjñau śatṛśānacau vā bhavataḥ
An affix which is termed *sat* (3.2.127 *tau sat; ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*) optionally comes after a verbal root in place of *LṚṬ* when a future action, or a concurrent action intended for the future action, is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kariṣyantaṃ devadattaṃ paśya 'see Devadatta who will do it'
kariṣyamāṇaṃ devadattaṃ paśya 'id.'
he kariṣyan 'O you, who will do (it)'
he kariṣyamāṇa 'id.'
arjayiṣyamāṇo vasati 'he lives (here) in order that he will earn'

1. This rule optionally introduces affixes termed *sat* (3.2.127 *tau sat*) as replacements for *LṚṬ*. Rule 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe* introduces the two affixes, *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*, under the condition of coreferentiality (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with a word which terminates in a nominal ending other than the nominative (*aprathamā*). The option of this present rule is interpreted as *vyavasthitavibhāṣa* 'fixed option' ascertained based upon available usage. This kind of an option sometimes applies obligatorily (*nitya*), sometimes optionally, and yet on still other occasions both ways. Consequently, the replacement with *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* is obligatory when coreferentiality with a word which ends in the nominative is not involved. The replacement will become optional when coreferentiality with a word which ends in the nominative obtains.
Consider the following examples:

(*a*) *kariṣyantaṃ devadattaṃ paśya* (*ŚatṚ*) 'see Devadatta who will...'
(*b*) *kariṣyamāṇaṃ devadattaṃ paśya* (*ŚānaC*) 'id.'
(*c*) *he kariṣyan* 'O! you! who will do'
(*d*) *he kariṣyamāṇa* 'id.'
(*e*) *arjayiṣyan vasati* 'he lives here so that he will make a living'

(*f*) *arjayiṣyamāṇo vasati* 'id.'
(*g*) *śayiṣyanto bhokṣyante yavanāḥ* 'the Ionians will be eating while reclining'
(*h*) *śayiṣyamāṇā bhokṣyante yavanāḥ* 'id.'

The above sentences, in sets of two, show instances of the replacement of *LṚṬ* with *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* respectively. These above options are obligatory. Thus, the first two sentences illustrate the use of *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* to replace *LṚṬ*, where the derivate is not coreferential with any word in *prathamā*. The second set (*c-d*) offers examples in *sambodhana* 'address' (3.2.125 *sambodhane ca*). The third (*e-f*) set offers examples where *hetu* 'cause, purpose' conditions the replacement (3.2.126 *lakṣaṇahetvoḥ kriyāyāḥ*). The last two sentences (*g-h*) illustrate replacements under the condition of an action which characterizes another action (*lakṣaṇa*). These are all instances where Pāṇini intended *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC* obligatorily. For optional replacements, where coreferentiality with a word ending in the nominative obtains, consider *kariṣyati* / *kariṣyate devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta will do' parallel to *kariṣyan* or *kariṣyamāṇo devadattaḥ*.

These replacements also become available obligatorily, relative to an affix (*pratyaya*) or a following word (*uttarapada*). Thus we get: *kāriṣyataḥ* and *kariṣyamāṇiḥ* 'the male offspring of he who will do' parallel to *kariṣyato' apatyam*; and *kariṣyad bhaktiḥ* and *kariṣyamāṇabhaktiḥ* 'this is the devotion of one who will do' parallel to *kariṣyato bhaktiḥ*.

2. Explicit mention of *lṛṭaḥ* 'in place of *LṚṬ*' is made to specify that affixes termed *sat* come as replacements, and not independently, after a root. Thus, *lṛṭaḥ* specifies the item to be replaced (*sthāninirdeśa*).

3.3.15 अनद्यतने लुट्

anadyatane luṭ
/*anadyatane* 7/1 *luṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhaviṣyati* #3)
bhaviṣyadanadyatane' rthe varttamānād dhātor luṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LUṬ* occurs after a verbal root when a future action which is not current is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śvaḥ karttā 'he will do (it) tomorrow'
śvo bhoktā 'he will eat tomorrow'

1. This rule is an exception to *LṚṬ* since '*bhaviṣyati*' is also carried. The word *anadyatana* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the paraphrase: *adya bhāvo nāsty asminn iti* 'that in which there is no sense of today'. Consequently, *anadyatane* read with *bhaviṣyati* will yield the interpretation:

when the action is denoted in the future with no sense of today'. The word '*bhaviṣyati*' refers to future in general and thus relates to the context of affix *LṚṬ*. Affix *LUṬ* will now denote 'future' but without any reference to the futurity of the current day. This is the force of *anadyatane*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *anadyatane* will rule out the introduction of *LUṬ* in a context where mixing of 'today with tomorrow' may be involved. Thus, *adya śva vā bhaviṣyati* 'it will happen today, or tomorrow' will obligatorily have *LṚṬ*.

2. A *vārttika* in the *Mahābhāṣya* proposes that *LUṬ* (*śastanī*) should be used in the sense of *LṚṬ* (*bhaviṣyatyarthe*) when *paridevana* 'complaint, lamentation' is denoted. Thus, *iyaṃ nu kadā gantā, yaivam pādo nidadhāti* 'when will she, the one who sets her foot this way (very slowly), reach there'; *ayaṃ kadā' dhyetā, ya evam anabhiyuktaḥ* 'when will he, the one who is so inattentive, be able to study anything'.

3.3.16 **पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ्**

padarujaviśaspṛśo ghañ
/*padarujaviśaspṛśaḥ* 5/1 *ghañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
padādibhyo dhātubhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *padA* 'to step', *rujA* 'to be sick', *viśA* 'to enter', and *spṛśA* 'to touch'.

EXAMPLES:

pādaḥ 'foot'
rogaḥ 'disease'
veśaḥ 'one who enters'

1. Note that '*bhaviṣyati*' is no longer carried in this rule. Thus, affixes introduced hereafter could refer to all tenses. A derivate which terminates in *GHaÑ* will denote *kartṛ* by 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*. In the example *pādaḥ* 'foot' which is analysed as: *padyate' sau* 'that which goes', the feet serve as means (*karaṇa*) more than anything else. It is for this reason that commentators add: *karaṇa* is denoted here by way of *kartṛ* based upon the speaker's desire to speak about it as the agent (*karaṇasya kartṛtvena vivakṣā*).

A *vārttika* approves the derivation of *sparśaḥ* 'that which afflicts' with *GHaÑ* when the meaning is illness (*upatāpa*). The word *sparśaḥ*, in the sense of 'touch', is derived through the introduction of affix *aC* by 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo...* The *aC*-derivate *sparśaḥ* receives the high-pitch accent at the end (*antodātta*). The accent with *GHaÑ* will be high-pitch initially (*ādyudātta*). The *GH*, as an *it* in *GHaÑ*, is used to facilitate *kutva* 'replacement with *k*, etc.' by rule 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ*. The *Ñ* as

as an *it* is used to facilitate *vṛddhi*, as well as, initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*; 6.1.197 *ñnityādir...*) accent.

3.3.17 सृ स्थिरे

sṛ sthire
/*sṛ (deleted* 5/1) *sthire* 7/1)
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16)
sartter dhātoḥ sthire kartari ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *sṛ* to denote a stable agent.

EXAMPLES:

candanasāraḥ 'essence of sandalwood'
khadirasāraḥ 'essence of catechu'

1. Note that *sṛ* is referenced, here, without the ablative (*pañcamī*), and thereby makes the specification (*nirdeśa*) without a nominal ending (*avibhaktika*). The word *sthira*, which outlines the semantic condition, is treated as a qualifier to the agent. That is, affix *GHaÑ* will denote the agent modified by *sthira* 'fixed, stable'. It is thus not a cooccurrence condition marked by locative of 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...* The word *sthira*, itself, is explained as *kālāntarasthāyī* 'that which remains static through intervals of time; longlasting'. The word *sṛ* makes reference to both verbal roots *sṛ* and *ṛ*, which are synonymous in the sense 'to go'.

3.3.18 भावे

bhāve
/*bhāve* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16)
bhāve vācye dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after a verbal root when *bhāva* 'root-sense' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

paktiḥ 'cooking'
pakvam 'id.'
pacanam 'id.'
pākaḥ 'id.; nom. singular'
pākau 'nom. dual'
pākāḥ 'nom. plural'

1. The word '*bhāve*' specifies the scope of affix *GHaÑ*, and is, itself, derived by introduction of this affix after verbal root *bhū* 'to be'. Can this

limit the introduction of affix *GHaN* only to the action denoted by *bhū?* Obviously not, since the idea is to make the affix available after roots in general.

2. The specification of this rule anticipates affix *GHaN* to denote *bhāva* 'root sense, action'. But 'action' is characteristically the denotatum of verbal roots. How could an affix denote the same? Commentators explain that it is the property of the action denoted by the root that becomes the denotatum of affix *GHaÑ*. Actions may be spoken of as having two properties: that of being yet to be accomplished (*sādhyatā*) and that of having been accomplished (*siddhatā*). Affix *GHaÑ* denotes *bhāva* in the sense of denoting the property of the root-sense termed *siddhatā*. This also enables the 'root-sense' (*dhātvartha*) to now relate to number and gender. For, it is more like a thing (*dravya*). Remember, however, in this context that Pāṇini's use of '*bhāve*' in masculine singular is not *tantra* 'principal'. That is, it is not technically restrictive of derivates to be used only in masculine singular. Thus, derivates which denote *bhāva* can be also related with genders other than masculine, and numbers other than singular. Consider for example the derivation of *paktiḥ, pacanam*, on the one hand, and of *pākau* and *pākāḥ*, on the other.

3.3.19 अकर्त्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम्

> *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām*
> /*akartari* 7/1 *ca* Ø *kārake* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.01, *ghañ* #16)
> *kartṛvarjite kārake saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after a verbal root to denote a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* when the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

> *prāsaḥ* 'that which people hurl; a spear'
> *prasevaḥ* 'that which people stitch; a sack'
> *āhāraḥ* 'that from which one receives nourishment; food'

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* to denote a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus we get:

(*a*) *prāsaḥ* = *prāsyanti taṃ prāsaḥ* 'that which people hurl; spear'
(*b*) *prasevaḥ* = *prasīvyanti tam* 'that which people stitch up; a sack'
(*c*) *āhāraḥ* = *āharanti rasam yasmāt* 'that from which people derive nourishment; food'

1. The word *akartari* is interpreted as the negative *tatpuruṣa* compound of the *paryudāsa* type. Given this, the negative of *akartari* will be interpreted as negating something different from, though still similar to (*tadbhinnatatsadṛśa*), a *kartṛ*. That is, *naÑ* will negate *kartṛ* and yet, together with

kartṛ, will still specify the *kāraka* condition. This meaning cannot be derived, under the *prasajya* interpretation, without special efforts. It is argued that the use of '*kārake*' of this rule is unnecessary, since a *paryudāsa* interpretation will automatically account for it. That is, *akartari*, itself, enables the affix to be introduced in the sense of something similar to, though not, exactly the *kartṛ*. The referent of 'something other than, but similar to a *kartṛ*' is clearly a *kāraka* other than a *kartṛ*. The word '*kārake*' of this rule is thus used for clarity.

Commentators accept 'rule-splitting' (*yogavibhāga*) as the special effort by which one gets the *prasajya* meaning of negation in *akartari* thereby leading to the desired interpretation of the rule. Thus, we get two sentences: *saṃjñāyām ghañ bhavati* 'affix *GHaÑ* occurs when the derivate denotes *saṃjña*'; *kartari tu na bhavati* 'affix *GHaÑ*, however, does not occur when *kartṛ* is denoted'. But an objection is raised against the first sentence. Since the sense of the affix is not specified by the first sentence, the affix will denote the 'sense of its base, the root'. How could it then denote a *kāraka* other than an agent? It is to remove this difficulty in the *prasajya* interpretation that '*kārake*' is used here. For further details of the two types of negation, see my notes under rule 1.4.17 *svādiṣu*...

The *ca* of this rule is displaced, as regards its order, relative to *saṃjñāyām*. Commentators explain that this may leave some possibility for usage where *saṃjñā* is not denoted by the derivate. Thus, we get *lābhaḥ* 'gain' in *ko bhavatā lābho labdhaḥ* 'what gain was made by you sir?'

3.3.20 परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः

parimāṇākhyāyāṃ sarvebhyaḥ
/*parimāṇākhyāyām* 7/1 *sarvebhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
parimāṇākhyāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ sarvebhyo dhātubhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots in general to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the derivate denotes a measure of weight.

EXAMPLES:

taṇḍulanicāyaḥ 'one heaped measure of rice'
śūrpaniṣpāvaḥ 'two winnowing basketfuls of...'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *GHaÑ* after verbal roots in general when the derivate denotes some measure of weight other than conventional. The word *ākhyā* is used, here, to reject the

conventional measures of weight such as *prastha, droṇa,* etc. Clearly then, the word *parimāṇa* is used more in its derivational sense of 'distinguishing one measure of anything from another'. What accomplishes this distinction becomes the means by which those measures are distinguished. Thus, we get *nicāyaḥ* in *taṇḍulanicāyaḥ* parallel to *ekas taṇḍulānāṃ nichāyaḥ* 'one heap of rice of some measure'. My use of 'of some measure' shows how *one (eka),* the numeral, measures the 'heap', as opposed to the *prastha* or *droṇa.* For, in the latter case, we must use 'one heap of rice equal to the measure of a *prastha* or *droṇa*'. Thus, the use of *ākhyā* rules out any conventional measure of weight. Similarly, one can get *niṣpāvau* as in *dvau śūrpaniṣpāvau* where two, the number of winnowing baskets measures the grain.

2. Note that *nicāyaḥ* could have become the derivational subject of 3.3.56 *er ac* whereby affix *aC* is introduced after a verbal root terminated in *i.* The rest of the conditions of '*akartari ca kārake, bhāve,* etc.' are the same. Our present rule thus forms an exception to 3.3.56 *er ac.* It also forms an exception to rule 3.3.57 *ṛdor ap,* whereby affix *aP* is introduced after verbal roots which ends in *ṛ* and *u.* Our second example, *niṣpāvaḥ / niṣpāvau,* could have qualified for 3.3.57 which is blocked. Obviously, the *paribhāṣā* of 'prior exceptions block the most immediately available operational provisions, and not those available subsequently (*purastāpavādān*) does not apply here. For, this rule blocks *aC* as well as *aP.* This, again, may be the dictate of '*sarvebhyaḥ*' of this rule. However, one must understand that this affix cannot block the affixes which are to be introduced to denote *bhāva* in the domain of 3.3.94 *striyām ktin* (*ghañanukramaṇam ajapor viṣaye, strīpratyayās tu na bādhyante*). *Kāśikā* states clearly that *GHaÑ* is provided where *aC* and *aP* would otherwise find their scope. But how do we know this? It is understood from the *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *sarvebhyaḥ* which becomes coreferential with *dhātoḥ,* and thus indicates the exception (*apavāda*) relative to the formal-base (*prakṛtyāśraya*). The exception denoted by *sarvebhyaḥ* is thus not relative to meaning (*arthāśraya*). Hence, feminine affixes are not blocked. If, however, Pāṇini intended this rule to be an exception relative to the meaning, he would have used *sarva* 'all' in the locative plural as *sarvasmin.* Obviously, 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin* entails specifications relative to meaning. Thus we get *KtiN* in *ekā tilocchittiḥ* 'one heap of sesame', etc.

3. A *vārttika* also provides for the introduction of affix *GHaÑ* in the sense of agent after verbal roots *dṛ* 'to split' and *jṝ* 'to be old' when they are used in *ṆiC.* This *vārttika* additionally provides for the *LUK*-deletion of *ṆiC.* Thus we get: *dārāḥ* = *dārayanti te* 'wife; she who causes the split among brothers', and *jārāḥ* = *jarayanti te* 'lovers of married women; those who cause a woman to become old'. Note that *dārāḥ* obligatorily is plural

masculine. The word *jāra* has been explained as *praśchannapatiḥ* 'secret husband' or *upapatiḥ* 'other husband'.

3.3.21 इङश्च

iṅaś ca
/*iṅaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
iṅo dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *iṄ* 'to study' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

adhyāyaḥ 'a lesson; chapter of a treatise'
upādhyāyaḥ 'he from whom one studies; a teacher'

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* after verbal root *iṄ* 'to study' as an exception to affix *aC* of rule 3.3.56 *er ac*. Note that *aC* would have become available to *iṄ* for reason that it ends in *-i*. Thus we get *GHaÑ* after *iṄ* used with the preverb *adhi* to yield *upādhyāyaḥ*, 'he from whom one studies'. Affix *GHaÑ*, obviously, denotes *apādāna* 'ablative', which is in consonance with 1.4.29 *ākhyātopayoge*. One can similarly derive *adhyāyaḥ*, though *GHaÑ* would then denote the *karman* 'object' of studying.

A feminine counterpart of the derivate in *GHaÑ*, according to a *vārttika*, is formed in this case with *ṄīṢ* optionally with *ṬāP*. This yields two forms: *upādhyāyī* and *upādhyāyā* 'a female teacher'. Note that the word which signifies 'the wife of the teacher' is to be obligatorily derived by introduction of affix *ṄīṢ* by rule 4.1.48 *puṃyogād ākhyāyām*. This same rule will introduce *ṄīṢ* in case of *upādhyāyī*, meaning 'the female teacher'. Obviously, *upādhyāyī* thus may mean two things: 'the female teacher' and 'the wife of the teacher'. Perhaps it is to disambiguate this that augment *ānUK* is optionally introduced to derive *upādhyāya* (*ānUK*) + *ṄīṢ* = *upādhyāyānī*. This provision of *ānUK* is made by a *vārttika* :

upādhyāyamātulābhyāṃ vā 'optionally after *upādhyāya* and *mātula* 'mother's brother'. Now one, preferably, can use *upādhyāyānī*, rather than *upādhyāyī*, if one wishes to make sure that the listener will not interpret *upādhyāyī* to mean 'the female teacher'.

A *vārttika* also provides for *GHaÑ* after verbal root *śṛ* 'to injure' and *vṛÑ* 'to select' to derive *śāraḥ* meaning *vāyuḥ* 'wind', *varṇaḥ* 'color', and *nivṛtam* 'that by means of which one covers the body; covering'. The

denotatum of *GHaÑ* in these instances is *karaṇa*. Thus, *vāyuḥ* 'wind; that by means of which something (like a leaf) falls; *varṇa* 'color; that by means of which something is made colorful (*citrīkaraṇa*); and *nivṛtam* 'covering; that by means of which one covers one's body to protect from cold, etc.'. The *Mahābhāṣya* uses the following to illustrate the meaning of *nivṛtam* in *nīśāraḥ*:

> *gaur ivākṛtanīśāraḥ prāyeṇa śiśire kṛśaḥ* 'he who remains with his body uncovered like that of a cow in winter is usually feeble'.

3.3.22 उपसर्गे रुवः

> *upasarge ruvaḥ*
> /*upasarge* 7/1 *ruvaḥ* 5/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
> *upasarge upapade rauter dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *ru* 'to make noise' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains a preverb and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

> *saṃrāvaḥ* 'noise'
> *uparāvaḥ* 'id.'
> *virāvaḥ* 'id.'

1. This again is an exception to affix *aP* available from 3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*. The same is true about the subsequent rule where *aP* is already available to specified roots because they end in *-u*. Both of these rules have cooccurrence conditions constituted by a preverb. Note that *saṃyāvaḥ* of the next rule is explained by Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*) as a deepfried bread stuffed with a lentil paste mixed with jaggery and cumin seed, etc.

3.3.23 समि युद्रुदुवः

> *samy yudruduvaḥ*
> /*sami* 7/1 *yudruduvaḥ* 5/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1. *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
> *samy upapade 'yu, dru, du' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *yu* 'to mix', *dru* 'to move; drip' and *du* 'to burn; be afflicted' to denote *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *sam* and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

saṃyāvaḥ 'a kind of pudding'
sandrāvaḥ 'running'
sandāvaḥ 'id.'

3.3.24 श्रिणीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे

śriṇībhuvo' nupasarge
/*śriṇībhuvaḥ* 5/1 *anupasarge* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
'śri, ṇī, bhū' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo' nupasargebhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *śri* 'to go', *ṇīÑ* 'to lead' and *bhū* 'to be, become' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root is not used with a preverb and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

śrāyaḥ 'shelter'
nāyaḥ '(that by) means (of which one leads)'
bhāvaḥ 'existence; condition'

1. This rule constitutes an exception to both affixes *aC* and *aP*. *Kāśikā* paraphrases '*anupasarge*' in the locative as '*anupasargebhyaḥ*' in the ablative just to show that the *saptamī* of '*anupasarge*' is used in the sense of *pañcamī*. A question is raised as to why we get *prabhāvaḥ* 'splendour, power' as opposed to *prabhavaḥ* in *prabhāvo rājñaḥ* 'the power of the king'. It is explained that *prabhāvaḥ* is derived by combining *pra* and *bhāvaḥ*, a *GHaÑ*-derivate, to yield a *prādi* compound. Thus, in *prabhāvaḥ, GHaÑ* is not used after verbal root *bhū* conjoined with the preverb *pra*. The word *anupasarga* of *anupasargebhyaḥ* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* with the analyzed form: *avidyamāna upasarga eṣām* 'those whose preverb does not appear'. Why do we get *nayaḥ* as opposed to *nāyaḥ* in *rājño nayaḥ* 'the rule of the king'? Affix *GHaÑ* should have been chosen over *aC* because verbal root *ṇīÑ* is used without a preverb. Affix *aC*, however, has been chosen because of the *bāhulaka* 'variously' provision of 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

3.3.25 वौ क्षुश्रुवः

vau kṣuśruvaḥ
/*vau* 7/1 *kṣuśruvaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)

vau upapade 'kṣu śru' ity etābhyāṃ dhātubhyāṃ ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *ṬUkṣu* 'to sneeze; make noise' and *śru* 'to move' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *vi* and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

vikṣāvaḥ 'noise'
viśrāvaḥ 'flow; fame'

1. This rule is again an exception to *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*). For, the roots end in *u*. Note that *vi* forms the cooccurrence condition. Elsewhere, the derivates will be *kṣavaḥ* 'sneezing' and *śravaḥ* 'ear'.

3.3.26 अवोदोर्नियः

avodor niyaḥ
/*avodoḥ* 7/2 *niyaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
'ava, ut' ity etayor upapadayor nayater dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *ṇīÑ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *ava* and *ud* and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

avanāyaḥ 'the act of falling down; downfall'
unnāyaḥ 'elevation; prosperity'

1. How come affix *GHaÑ* is not used to derive *unnayaḥ* of *unnayaḥ-padārthānām* 'abundance of things' when *ṇīÑ* is used with the preverb *ud*. This is again because of affix *aC* introduced under the provision of *bāhulaka* of 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

3.3.27 प्रे द्रुस्तुस्रुवः

pre drustusruvaḥ
/*pre* 7/1 *drustusruvaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
praśabda upapade 'dru, stu, sru' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *dru* 'to run', *stu* 'to praise', and *sru* 'to move' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

pradrāvaḥ 'running; flight'
prastāvaḥ 'occasion; proposal of praise'
prasrāvaḥ 'flow; dripping; urination'

1. Forms such as *dravaḥ* 'fluid', *stavaḥ* 'praise' and *sravaḥ* 'flow' will be derived by introducing affix *aP* when *pra* is not the cooccurring condition.

3.3.28 **निरभ्योः पूल्वोः**

nirabhyoḥ pūlvoḥ
/*nirabhyaḥ* 7/2 *pūlvoḥ* 6/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
nirabhipūrvayoḥ pūlvor dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *pū* 'to cleanse' and *lūÑ* 'to cut' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *nis* and *abhi* respectively and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

niṣpāvaḥ 'cleaning; particular kind of lentil; winnowed grain'
abhilāvaḥ 'cutting; harvesting'

1. A reference with *pū* is made, here, to both verbal roots *pūṄ* 'cleanse, purify' and *pūÑ* 'id'. Commentators explain that the preverb should be associated with the cited roots in accordance with the order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ*...). That is, *nis* should be used with *pūṄ* and *pūÑ*, as opposed to *abhi*, which is to be used with *lūÑ*. We will get *pavaḥ* 'cleansing, winnowing' and *lavaḥ* 'harvesting, mowing' by introduction of affix *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*) when *nis* and *abhi* are not used.

3.3.29 **उन्न्योर्ग्रः**

unnyor grah
/*unnyoḥ* 7/2 *graḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
unnyor upapadayoḥ 'gṛ' ity etasamād dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *gṝ* 'to make noise; to swallow' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ud* and *ni* and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

> *udgāraḥ samudrasya* 'the roaring of the sea'
> *nigāro devadattasya* 'Devadatta's eating'

1. Note that *grah* makes reference to both verbal roots *gṝ* 'to utter' and *gṝ* 'to swallow'. Thus, we get *udgṝaḥ samudrasya* 'the roaring of the sea' and *nigāro devadattasya* 'eating of Devadatta'. Elsewhere, we will get *garaḥ* to denote 'swallowing' by introduction of affix *aP*.

3.3.30 कॄ धान्ये

kṝ dhānye
/*kṝ*(deleted 5/1) *dhānye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *unnyoḥ* #29)
'kṝ' ity etasmād dhātor unnyor upapadayor ghañ pratyayo bhavati dhānyaviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *kṝ* 'to scatter' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ud* and *ni* and the derivate denotes the name of a grain.

EXAMPLES:

> *utkāro dhānyasya* 'winnowing of grains'
> *nikāro dhānyasya* 'id.'

1. Note that '*unnyoḥ*' is carried here so that *utkāraḥ* and *nikāraḥ* can be derived with *ud* and *ni*. The word *dhānya* is used to qualify the meaning of the derivate. It should not be treated as denoting the sense of the base (*prakṛtyartha*), or affix (*pratyayārtha*). Since the scope of the derivate is recognized with *dhānya*, *kṝ* is interpreted as denoting *vikṣepa* 'to scatter', and not *hiṃsā* 'to harm'. Besides, a *GHaÑ*-derivate with *kṝ* denoting *hiṃsā* is not available in usage. Thus we get *utkāraḥ* 'winnowing' and *nikāraḥ* 'id.'. Elsewhere, we get *utkaraḥ* and *nikaraḥ* as in *bhaikṣyotkaraḥ* 'heap of alms' and *puṣpanikaraḥ* 'heap of flowers'.

3.3.31 यज्ञे समि स्तुवः

yajñe sami stuvaḥ
/*yajñe* 7/1 *sami* 7/1 *stuvaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
yajñaviṣaye prayoge sampūrvāt stauter ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *ṣṭuÑ* 'to praise' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root is used with

the preverb *sam* and the derivate denotes a name relative to some ritual.

EXAMPLE:

saṃstāvaś chandogānām 'a place where, having been assembled, the chanters (*chandogāḥ*) chant the hymns of praise'

1. Note that *saṃstāvaḥ* denotes a place at a ritual where the *brāhmaṇa* jointly sit and chant the hymns (*sametya stuvanti yasmin deśe chandogāḥ sa deśaḥ 'saṃstāvaḥ'*...). Obviously, the place becomes a means by serving as the locus of chanting at the ritual (*adhikaraṇa-sādhanatva*). Elsewhere, in a non-ritual context, we will get *saṃstavah* as in *saṃstavaś chātrayoḥ* 'mutual praises of two students'.

3.3.32 प्रे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे

pre stro' yajñe
/*pre* 7/1 *straḥ* 5/1 *ayajñe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akarttri ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
'stṝñ ācchādane' asmād dhātoḥ praśabde upapade ghañ prtyayo bhavati, na ced yajñaviṣayaḥ prayogo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *stṝÑ* 'to shade; cover' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes a name not related to a ritual.

EXAMPLE:

śaṅkhaprastāraḥ 'a spread of conch shells'

1. Note that, in the context of *yajña*, the derivate will be *prastaraḥ* as in *barhiṣprastaraḥ* 'a bed of Kuśa grass'.

3.3.33 प्रथने वावशब्दे

prathane vāv aśabde
/*prathane* 7/1 *vau* 7/1 *aśabde* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akarttri ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *straḥ* #32)
'stṝñ ācchādane' asmād dhātor viśabda upapade ghañ pratyayo bhavati prathane gamyamāne, tac cet prathanaṃ śabdaviṣayaṃ na bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *stṝÑ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a *pada* which contains *vi* and the derivate denotes *prathana* 'spreading out, expanse' not related to *śabda* 'speech'.

EXAMPLE:

paṭasya vistāraḥ 'spreading of clothes'

1. This rule introduces *GHaÑ* under the meaning condition of 'expanse (length or width)' provided this meaning is not related to *śabda* 'speech'. Thus we get: *vistāraḥ* in *paṭasya vistāraḥ* 'the length of the cloth'. Consider *tṛṇavistaraḥ* 'a bundle of grass' and *vistaro vacasām* 'prolixity of words', where the first lacks the meaning of 'expanse', and the second relates to the 'expanse' of words.

3.3.34 छन्दोनाम्नि च

chandonāmni ca
/*chandonāmni* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.3.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *straḥ* #32, *vau* #33)
vipūrvāt stṛṇāteś chandonāmni ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *stṝÑ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root is used with the preverb *vi* and the derivate denotes the name of a meter.

EXAMPLES:

viṣṭārapaṅktiḥ 'that in which the syllables are spread out; name of a Vedic meter'
viṣṭārabṛhatī 'id.'

1. This rule again introduces *GHaÑ* after verbal root *stṝÑ* used with the preverb *vi*, though under a different meaning condition. The word *chandonāmni* 'in denoting the name of a meter' forms this condition. The word *chandas* does not refer, here, to the *mantra* or *brāhmaṇa* literature. We understand this from the explicit use of the word *nāman* 'name'. Note, additionally, that the locative (*saptamī*) in *chandonāmni* denotes *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. That is, the name of the meter is not the word which terminates in affix *GHaÑ*. Instead, the derivate in *GHaÑ* forms part of a larger unit which denotes the name of a meter. Thus, the larger structure becomes the locus (*avayavin* 'whole') for the part (*avayava*), as is *viṣṭārabṛhatī*, a compound, for *viṣṭāra*, a constituent terminated in *GHaÑ*.

3.3.35 उदि ग्रहः

udi grahaḥ
/*udi* 7/1 *grahaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)

udy upapade graher dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *grahA* 'to seize' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ud*.

EXAMPLE:

udgrāhaḥ 'lifting up'

1. This, again, is an exception to affix *aP* of rule 3.3.58 *grahavṛdṛ.....*

3.3.36 **समि मुष्टौ**

sami muṣṭau
/sami 7/1 *muṣṭau* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *grahaḥ* #35)
samy upapade graher dhātor ghañ bhavati muṣṭiviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *grahA* 'to seize' used in conjunction with *sam* when the derivate denotes *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* relative to *muṣṭi* 'fist'.

EXAMPLES:

aho, mallasya saṃgrāhaḥ 'Wow! the look at the firmness of the grip of the wrestler'
aho, muṣṭikasya saṃgrāhaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *muṣṭau* 'in the context of fist' refers to the action. The word 'fist' could refer to 'fistful of something' where the meaning will be *parimāṇa* 'measure'. It can also refer to a particular formation of fingers (*aṅgulīnāṃ racanāviśeṣaḥ*) as in *muṣṭinā hanti* '. . . killing him by punching'. We cannot accept 'measure' as the reference here because we already have its provision made under rule 3.3.20 *parimāṇākhyāyāṃ sarvebhyaḥ*. This rule, therefore, derives forms in the context of the second meaning: *aho mallasya saṃgrāhyaḥ*. Elsewhere, we will get: *saṃgraho dhānyasya* 'the collection of grains'.

3.3.37 **परिन्योर्नीणोर्द्यूताभ्रेषयोः**

parinyor nīṇor dyūtābhreṣayoḥ
/parinyoḥ 7/2 *nīṇoḥ* 6/2 *dyūtābhreṣayoḥ* 7/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
pariśabde niśabde copapade yathāsaṃkhyaṃ niya iṇaś ca dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *ṇīÑ* 'to lead' and *iṆ* 'to go' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *pari* and *ni* respectively and their derivates denote *dyūta* 'gambling' and *abhreṣa* 'propriety' respectively.

EXAMPLES:

pariṇāyena śārān hanti 'he throws the dice after moving about'
eṣo' tra nyāyaḥ 'this is what is proper here'

1. This rule allows for *nī* used with *pari* to receive *GHaÑ* in the context of gambling, and for *iṆ* used with *ni* to receive *GHaÑ* in the context of conduct not contrary to the norm. Our rule thus assigns the conditions of cooccurrence and context in accordance with the order of enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*). Elsewhere, we find *pariṇayaḥ* 'wedding' and *nyayaḥ* 'destruction', both derivates of *aC*.

3.3.38 परावनुपात्यय इणः

parāv anupātyaya iṇaḥ
/*parau* 7/1 *anupātyaye* 7/1 *iṇaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
pariśabda upapade iṇo dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati, anupātyaye gamyamāne
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *iṆ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pari* and the derivate denotes *anupātyaya* 'succession, turn, order'.

EXAMPLES:

tava paryāyaḥ 'your turn'
mama paryāyaḥ 'my turn'

1. This rule introduces *GHaÑ* after verbal root *iṆ* when used in conjunction with *pari* provided the context is *anupātyaya* 'not transgressing order or succession'. In the absence of this context, the derivate will be *paryayaḥ* as in *kālasya paryayaḥ* 'lapse of time', again a derivate in *aC*.

3.3.39 व्युपयोः शेतेः पर्याये

vyupayoḥ śeteḥ paryāye
/*vyupayoḥ* 7/2 *śeteḥ* 5/1 *paryāye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)

*'vi upa' ity etayor upapadayoḥ śeter dhātor ghañ bhavati, **paryāye** gamyamāne*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *śīṄ* 'to recline' to denote ***bhāva***, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *vi* and *upa* and the derivate denotes *paryāya* 'order, turn'.

EXAMPLES:

tava viśāyaḥ 'your turn to sleep'
mama viśāyaḥ 'my turn to sleep'
tava rājopaśāyaḥ 'your turn to sleep near the king'

1. This rule introduces *GHaÑ* after verbal root *śīṄ* 'to recline, sleep' when it cooccurs with *vi* and *upa*, and the context is that of *paryāya* 'turn'. Why is *paryāya* to be stated explicitly when the previous rule uses *anupātyaya* in the same sense? That is, why not bring *anupātyaya* from the preceding rule via *anuvṛtti* instead of using *paryāye*? Commentators explain that the use of an additional form brings additional meaning to the application of the rule. It gives the rule the strength to block a rule which otherwise might block it (*bādhakabādhanārtha*). For example, when the context of *paryāya* entails *abhividhi* 'inclusive extent', this rule can be blocked by rule 3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāve inuṇ*. The use of *paryāye* indicates that *inuṆ* of 3.3.44 is blocked by the *GHaÑ* of this rule.

3.3.40 हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये

hastādāne cer asteye
/*hastādāne* 7/1 *ceḥ* 5/1 *asteye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
hastādāne gamyamāne cinoter dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati, na cet steyaṃ bhavati

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *ciÑ* 'to heap' to denote ***bhāva***, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* when the action involves use of hands, but does not entail stealing.

EXAMPLES:

puṣpapracāyaḥ 'picking the flowers (by hand)'
phalapracāyaḥ 'picking fruits (by hand)'

1. This rule introduces *GHaÑ* in the context of 'bringing something by means of hands; picking up, plucking' provided 'stealing' (*steya*) is not denoted. The word *hastādāna* denotes proximity with the object (*hastādānagrahaṇena pratyāsattir ādeyasya lakṣyate*). That is, where hands are enough to accomplish the action of bringing, and no other means are

expected to be employed. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* offers a counter-example in *vṛkṣaśikhare phalapracayaṃ karoti* 'he is picking fruits from top of the tree (by means of a pole, etc.)'. Obviously, the fruits are not within easy reach of the hands of the person picking them.

3.3.41 **निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेष्वादेश्च कः**

nivāsacitiśarīropasamādhāneṣv ādeś ca kaḥ
/nivāsa...dhāneṣu 7/3 *ādeḥ* 6/1 *ca* ∅ *kaḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ceḥ* #40)
'nivasanty asminn iti nivāsaḥ, cīyate' sau citiḥ, pāṇyādi samudāyaḥ śarīraṃ, rāśīkaraṇam upasamādhānam' eteṣv artheṣu cinoter ghañ pratyayo bhavati, dhātor ādeś ca kakāra ādeśaḥ
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *ciÑ* to denote *bhāva,* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the derivate denotes *nivāsa* 'dwelling', *citi* 'that which is gathered', *śarīra* 'body' or *upasamādhānā* 'heap, pile'; in addition, the initial *c* of the root is replaced by *k*.

EXAMPLES:

cikhallinikāyaḥ 'the dwellings of Cikhallis'
ākāyam agniṃ cinvīta 'one should arrange the funeral pyre the size of the body'
anityakāyaḥ 'the body which is impermanent'
mahāgomayanikāyaḥ 'a big pile of cow dung'

1. This rule allows for two operations: the introduction of affix *GHaÑ* when the derivate denotes *nivāsa, citi* , *śarīra* and *upasamādhāna*; and the replacement of the initial *c* of the root by *k*. Note that *upasamādhāna* denotes the action of piling up things which may be scattered around. Thus we get *mahāgomayanikāyaḥ* 'a big pile of cow dung made by picking it up from around the place'. It is for this reason that we get *cayaḥ* 'collection' as in *mahān kāṣṭhanicayaḥ* 'a huge bundle of firewood', where the meaning is *bahutva* 'multiplicity' as opposed to *upasamādhāna*.

3.3.42 **संघे चानौत्तराधर्ये**

saṃghe cānauttarādharye
/saṃghe 7/1 *ca* ∅ *anauttarādharye* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #19, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ceḥ* #40, *ādeś ca kaḥ* #41)
saṃghe vācye cinoter dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati ādeś ca kaḥ
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *ciÑ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the derivate denotes a *saṃgha*

'assembly of people', with no hierarchical arrangement; in addition, the initial *c* of the root is replaced by *k*.

EXAMPLES:

bhikṣukanikāyaḥ 'the assembly of beggars'
brāhmaṇinikāyaḥ 'the assembly of *brāhmaṇas*'
vaiyākaraṇanikāyaḥ 'the assembly of grammarians'

1. The word *saṃgha* has been explained as *prāṇinām samudāyaḥ* 'group of living beings'. As the *Kāśikā* states, people can be grouped on the basis of two things: either by subscribing to a common religious faith, or by being part of a relative hierarchy (*auttarādharya*). The *paryudāsa* negation in *anauttarādharye* limits the scope of this rule to the first kind of *saṃgha*. Thus, we get *vaiyākaraṇanikāyaḥ* 'association, school, or assembly of grammarians'. *Kāśikā* also offers two counter-examples: *sūkaranicayaḥ* 'drove of hogs' and *pramāṇasamuccayaḥ* 'the collection of proofs'. The first, however, could only qualify as a counter-example when the hogs are lying on their backs suckling at their mother's breasts. Elsewhere, in the state of being seated together, they could also qualify as a *saṃgha*. The second counter-example simply shows an assembly of non-living entities.

3.3.43 कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियाम्

karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām
/*karmavyatihāre* 7/1 *ṇac* 1/1 *striyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
karmavyatihāre gamyamāne dhātor ṇac pratyayo bhavati strīliṅge vācaye, tac ca bhāve
Affix *ṆaC* occurs after a verbal root to denote *bhāva* when the derivate ends in the feminine and denotes *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocity of action'.

EXAMPLES:

vyāvakrośī 'reciprocal cursing or joking'
vyāvalekhī 'reciprocal writing'
vyāvahāsi varttate 'there is shared laughter...'

1. The word *karmavyatihāra* has been explained as 'reciprocity or exchange' of an action (*karman*). Obviously, the word *karman* does not refer to the *kāraka* termed *karman* (cf. 1.3.14 *kartari karmavyatihāre...* for additional details). The affix denotes *bhāva* and the derivate is to be feminine. Note that because of the dominance of action in 'reciprocity or exchange' that the denotatum of a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* is simply not possible. It is

for this reason that '*akartari ca kārake*' is not read with the rule. The *C* as an *it*, in this affix, is intended to distinguish this affix from the others. Refer to rule 5.4.14 *ṇacaḥ striyām añ*, where affix *ṆaC* is used to qualify the base after which affix *aÑ* is introduced. The *C*, thus, is not intended for the final high-pitch (*antodātta*).

A question is raised as to why this rule should be formulated separately from the domain of 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*. For it would seem to be more logical to place this rule there. It is stated that this rule is placed outside the domain of 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin* in order to block what otherwise might have blocked (*bādhakabādhanārtha*) this rule. Thus, in the domain of rule 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*, an exception obligatorily blocks its related general rule. If our present rule were placed in the domain of 3.3.94, rules which could block 3.3.94 could also block it. Pāṇini, by placing this rule outside of the domain of 3.3.94, takes it outside the reach of blocking by those rules.

Consider for example *vyāvacorī* and *vyāvacarcā* where the first contains verbal root *cur* 'to steal' and the second contains *carc* 'to study'. The first would have qualified for affix *vuC* of rule 3.3.107 *ṇyāsaśrantho yuc* on account of its treatment as ending in *ṆiC*. The second would have similarly qualified for affix *aṄ* by rule 3.3.105 *cintipūjikathi...* The resultant forms would have been: *coraṇā* 'stealing' and *carcā* or *carcanā* 'studying'. This would have blocked the derivation of *vyāvacorī* and *vyāvacarcā* by yielding **vyāvacoraṇā* and **vyāvacarcanā* as parallel forms. Placing rule 3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre...* outside of 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin* makes the derivation of desired forms possible. Note that there are instances where affix *ṆaC*, though technically given, does not apply. Consider *vyatīkṣā* and *vyatīhā* 'reciprocal wish; and reciprocal effort', where affix *a* (3.3.103 *gusoś ca halaḥ*), and not *ṆaC*, is employed. But now consider *vyātyukṣī* 'throwing water at each other' where, even though the scope approves affix *a*, *ṆaC* applies. How do we get these mutually opposite applications? Consider rule 3.3.113 *kṛtyaluṭo bahulam*, especially the ramification of the term '*bahulam*'.

3.3.44 अभिविधौ भाव इनुण्

abhividhau bhāva inuṇ
/abhividhau 7/1 *bhāve* 7/1 *inuṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
abhividhau gamyamāne dhātor bhāve inuṇ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *inUṆ* occurs after a verbal root to denote *bhāva* when the derivate denotes *abhividhi* 'extent, limit'.

EXAMPLES:

sāṅkūṭinam 'burning all around'

sāmrāviṇam 'noise all around'
sāndrāviṇaṃ varttate 'water is flowing all around'

1. This rule introduces affix *inUṆ* to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' when the derivate denotes *abhividhi* 'all pervasiveness'. The word *abhividhi* has been aptly explained by *Kāśikā* as 'total connection with action and quality' (*kriyāguṇābhyām kārtsyena sambandhaḥ*). Thus, we get *sāṃkūṭinam* 'burning all-around' and *sāṃrāviṇam* 'noise all-around' implying that the action of 'burning' and 'sounding' are all pervasive. The *u* of *inUṆ* is used to facilitate pronunciation (*uccāraṇārtha*).

Note that derivates which end in *inUṆ* further receive affix *aṆ* by rule 5.1.15 *aṇ inuṇaḥ* to denote the sense of their bases (*svārtha*). The introduction of *aṆ* takes place under the condition of the base qualified (*viśiṣṭa*) with *sam*, where *sam* is termed *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*).

A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* against the explicit use of *bhāve*, especially when it could have been understood from 3.3.18 *bhāve*. Besides, the derivates, here, can only denote *bhāva*. The context would not permit the denotation of a *kāraka*. So why explicitly state *bhāve* when it is obvious? The explicit use of *bhāve* is made to block the application of *va' sarūpavidhi*, i.e., optional blocking of a general rule by its formally dissimilar exception. For example, rule 3.3.18 *bhāve* introduces affix *GHaÑ* in relation to which *inuṆ*, of our present rule, is a formally dissimilar exception. If *vā' sarūpa* finds its scope here, *inuṆ* can only optionally block the application of *GHaÑ*. The explicit mention of *bhāve* indicates that the blocking is obligatory. Similarly, affix *Kta* of 3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*, used with affix *inUṆ*, is also ruled out based upon the explicit mention of *bhāve* in this rule.

The derivates of *inUṆ* are neuter by nature (*svabhāvataḥ*). A non-inclusion of *GHaÑ* or *Kta* amounts to the general non-inclusion of any other affix in this context of *inUṆ*. This position is correct, though the inclusion of affix *LyuṬ* in the context of *inUṆ* is desired, since we find examples such as *saṃkūṭanam*. How would one account for this? Recourse must now be taken to the '*bahulam*' of 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

3.3.45 **आक्रोशेऽवन्योर्ग्रहः**

ākrośe' vanyor grahaḥ
/ākrośe 7/1 *avanyoḥ* 7/2 *grahaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
'ava, ni' ity etayor upapadayor graher dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *grahA* 'to seize' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ava* and *ni* and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'scolding, cursing'.

EXAMPLES:

> *avagrāho hanta te vṛṣala bhūyāt* 'may you land in misery, oh, *vṛṣala*'
> *nigrāho hanta te vṛṣala bhūyāt* 'may you land in jail, oh, *vṛṣala*'

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* after verbal root *grah* 'to hold, grab' when the rule cooccurs with '*ava*' and '*ni*' and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger, cursing'. A question is raised as to why *inUṆ*, which is most immediately associated with this context, cannot be accepted as carried in place of *GHaÑ*. Commentators explain that affix *GHaÑ* is treated as carried, here, since it can be more logically related to the context. Some say that what is carried is normally marked with the *svarita* accent. Affix *GHaÑ* is carried, since it is marked with *svarita*, for purposes of *anuvṛtti*. Affix *inUṆ* cannot be accepted as carried because of the lack of its *svarita* mark.

The word *ākrośaḥ* has been explained as *śapanam* 'cursing'. Haradatta (*PM*:III:45) explains *śapanam* as *aniṣṭāśaṃsanam* 'hoping for something undesired to happen'. Consequently, our two examples, *avagrāhaḥ* and *nigrāhaḥ*, are explained as *abhibhavaḥ* 'downfall' and *nirodhaḥ* 'incarceration'. Elsewhere, we will find derivates such as *avagrahaḥ* 'splitting' and *nigrahaḥ* 'restraint', both derived with affix *aP*(cf. 3.3.58 *grāhavṛdṛ*...).

3.3.46 प्रे लिप्सायाम्

> *pre lipsāyām*
> /*pre* 7/1 *lipsāyām* 7/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *grahaḥ* #45)
> *praśabda upapade graher dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes *lipsā* 'desire to obtain; greed'.

EXAMPLES:

> *pātrapragrāheṇa carati bhikṣuḥ piṇḍārthī* 'the beggar desirous of rice-balls wanders about carrying a bowl'
> *sruvapragrāheṇa carati dvijo dakṣiṇārthī* 'a *brāhmaṇa* desirous of receiving a monetary gift at the ritual wanders about carrying a ritual ladle'

1. This rule is an exception to rule 3.3.58 *grahavidṛ*... which assigns affix *aP*. The *pātra* in *pātragrāha* as well as the *sruvā* 'ritual ladle' in *sruva-pragrāha*, serve as characteristic marks for the *bhikṣu* and the *dvija*. Thus, *pātrapragrāheṇa carati bhikṣuḥ piṇḍārthī* and *sruvapragrāheṇa carati dvijo*

dakṣiṇārthī. We get *pragrahaḥ*, as in *pragraho devadattasya* 'the arrogance of Devadatta', if the condition of *lipsā* is not met.

3.3.47 **परौ यज्ञे**

parau yajñe
/*parau* 7/1 *yajñe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *grahaḥ* #45)
pariśabda upapade graher ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pari* and the derivate is related to ritual sacrifice (*yajña*).

EXAMPLES:

uttaraparigrāhaḥ 'northern side of the fire altar at the ritual sacrifice named *darśapaurṇamāsa*'
adharaparigrāhaḥ 'southern side of the fire altar at the ritual sacrifice named *darśapaurṇamāsa*'

1. Note that *parigrāhaḥ* refers to *svīkaraṇa* 'determination' of the sacrificial altar (*vedideśa*) by means of *sphya* 'a sword-shaped piece of wood'. This rule forms an exception to *aP* in the context of *yajña* 'ritual sacrifice'. Elsewhere, the derivate will be *parigrahaḥ* as in *parigraho devadattasya* 'Devadatta's firm resolve'.

3.3.48 **नौ वृ धान्ये**

nau vṛ dhānye
/*nau* 7/1 *vṛ* (deleted 5/1) *dhānye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akarttri ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
niśabde upapade 'vṛ' ity etasmād dhātor dhānyaviśeṣe' bhidheye ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal root *vṛ* (*vṛṄ* 'to cover'; *vṛÑ* 'to chose, select') to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ni* and the derivate denotes *dhānya* 'grains'.

EXAMPLE:

nīvārā nāma vrīhayo bhavanti '*nīvāra* are, wild rice'

1. This rule introduces *GHaÑ* in the context of *dhānya* 'grains'. This again is an exception to *aP* (cf. 3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*). The reference by *vṛ* is intended to be made to both *vṛṄ* and *vṛÑ* 'to cover'. Note that this rule specifies

the semantic scope of its derivates as *dhānya* 'grain' in general. But the example illustrates '*dhānya*' in particular. Thus, *nīvāra* refers to a particular kind of rice. *Kāśikā* states that the semantic context is indeed grains in particular (*dhānyaviśeṣa*)

A derivate outside the semantic scope of *dhānya* will be *nivarā* as in *nivarā kanyā* 'a girl of distinction; an unmarried girl'.

3.3.49 **उदि श्रयतियौतिपूद्रुवः**

udi śrayatiyautipūdruvaḥ
/*udi* 7/1 *śrayatiyautipūdruvaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
ucchabda upapade śrayatyādibhyo ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs after verbal roots *śri* 'to go, resort to', *yu* 'to mix', *pū* 'to cleanse' and *dru* 'to go, melt' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *ud*.

EXAMPLES:

ucchrāyaḥ 'flight'
udyāvaḥ 'mixing'
utpāvaḥ 'purification (of sacrificial utensils)'
uddrāvaḥ 'flight'

1. This rule is an exception to *aP* of 3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*, and to *aC* of 3.3.56 *er ac* in the case of *śri*.

2. How would one explain the derivation of *samucchrayaḥ* as used in the *Vālmīkīya-rāmāyaṇam*: *patanāntā samucchrayāḥ* 'the rise (of evil) to the top ends in the downfall'. This can be treated as optionally derived with *aC* in view of '*vibhāṣā*' carried from the following rule. How can '*vibhāṣā*' be brought in this reverse fashion of *anuvṛtti*? It will be in consonance with the maxim (*nyāya*) known as *siṃhāvalokita* 'the glancing back of the lion'. This option (*vibhāṣā*) has then to be interpreted as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed-option' so that it does not become applicable in other cases. If this 'lion-like glancing back of *vibhāṣā*' of the fixed type is not acceptable, one can always invoke 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*.

3.3.50 **विभाषाऽऽङि रुप्लुवोः**

vibhāṣā" ṅi rupluvoḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *āṅi* 7/1 *rupluvoḥ* 6/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
āṅy upapade rauteḥ plavateś ca vibhāṣā ghañ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal roots *ru* 'to cry' and *plu* 'to float' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *āṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

ārāvaḥ 'noise; howling'
āravaḥ 'id.'
āplāvaḥ 'bathing; flooding'
āplavaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* optionally to affix *aP* of 3.3.57 *ṛdor ap* when verbal roots *ru* 'to roar' and *plu* 'to float' cooccur with *āṄ*, and when the derivate denotes *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*. Thus we get *ārāvaḥ* 'roaring noise' and *āplāvaḥ* 'big splash; bathing' parallel to *āravaḥ* and *āplavaḥ*. Note that *GHaÑ* is made optional in contrast to the obligatory *GHaÑ* made available by rule 3.3.22 *upasarge ruvaḥ*.

3.3.51 **अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे**

ave graho varṣapratibandhe
/*ave* 7/1 *grahaḥ* 5/1 *varṣapratibandhe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *vibhāṣā* #50)
'ava' upapade graher dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati vibhāṣā varṣapratibandhe' bhidheye
Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ava* and the derivate denotes *varṣapratibandha* 'lack of rain in season'.

EXAMPLES:

avagrāho devasya 'absence of rain; drought'
avagraho devasya 'id.'

1. Note that *varṣapratibandha* is explained as 'absence of rain, for some reason or the other, even when the time for it has approached' (*prāptakālasya varṣasya kutaścin nimittād abhāvaḥ*). Thus we get: *avagrāho devasya*/*avagraho devasya* 'god's holding back of the rains'. Note that 'for some reason or the other' may refer to 'sinful deeds of the people of the area'.

3.3.52 **प्रे वणिजाम्**

pre vaṇijām
/*pre* 7/ *vaṇijām* 6/3/

(*pratyayaḥ* # 3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* # 3.1.91, *ghañ* # 16, *bhāve* # 18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *vibhāṣā* #50, *grahaḥ* #51)
praśabda upapade graher dhātor vibhāsā ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva,* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ,* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate signifies relation to a *vaṇik* 'merchant, trader'.

EXAMPLES:

tulāpragrāheṇa carati vaṇik 'the merchant travelling about with a scale'
tulāpragraheṇa carati vaṇik 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *GHaÑ* optionally to *aP* of 3.3.58 *grahavṛdṛ...* when verbal root *grah* cooccurs with *pra* and the derivate denotes something relative to *vaṇik.* Of course, the affix will be introduced with the denotatum of *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ.* Thus we get, *tulāpragrāheṇa carati* or *tulāpragraheṇa carati* 'the trader is wandering holding the strings of the scale'. Note that the trader is not central to the meaning of the derivate. It is the 'holding of the weighing scale by its insert strings' which is in focus. The meaning, though, is characterized by the association of the trader. If this association is lacking, one would find examples such as *pragrahaḥ* as in *pragraho devadattasya* 'Devadatta's grip..'.

3.3.53 रश्मौ च

raśmau ca
/*raśmau* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *vibhāṣā* #50, *grahaḥ* #51, *pre* #52)
praśabda upapade graher dhātor vibhāṣā ghañ pratyayo bhavati raśmiś cet pratyayāntenābhidhīyate
Affix *GHaÑ*, also, optionally occurs after verbal root *grahA* to denote *bhāva,* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ,* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes *raśmi* 'rein'.

EXAMPLES:

pragrahaḥ 'that by means of which animals are tethered; rein'
pragrāhaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that although the word *raśmi* has a rather general scope of meaning, given the nature of the derivates, it is interpreted in the sense of *rajju* 'rope, string', used for restraining purposes.

3.3.54 वृणोतेराच्छादने

vṛṇoter ācchādane
/*vṛṇoteḥ* 5/1 *ācchādane* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *vibhāṣā* #50, *pre* #52)
praśabda upapade vṛṇoter dhātor vibhāṣā ghañ pratyayo bhavati pratyayāntena ced ācchādanaviśeṣa ucyate
Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal root *vṛÑ* 'to cover' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pra* and the derivate denotes *ācchādana* 'covering; attire'.

EXAMPLES:

prāvāraḥ 'cloak; shawl'
pravaraḥ 'id.'

1. This rule extends the option to verbal root *vṛÑ* 'to cover' in the context of the derivational meaning of *ācchādana* 'covering'. Here again the scope of 'covering' is wider, though the usage is restricted to a particular kind of covering, such as a 'cloak'. This rule is optional to 3.3.58 *grahavṛdṛ...* which introduces affix *aP*. Note that *vṛ*, unlike rule 3.3.48 *nau vṛ dhānye*, excludes any reference to *vṛṄ*. In fact, Pāṇini refers to this root, here, with the augment *Śnu* simply to cancel the reference to *vṛṄ*. Outside the meaning of 'covering', we get *pravarā* as in *pravarā gauḥ* 'an excellent cow'.

3.3.55 परौ भुवोऽवज्ञाने

parau bhuvo' vajñāne
/*parau* 7/1 *bhuvaḥ* 5/1 *avajñāne* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *vibhāṣā* #50)
pariśabda upapade bhavater dhātor ghañ pratyayo bhavati avajñāne gamyamāne
Affix *GHaÑ* optionally occurs after verbal root *bhū* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pari* and the derivate denotes *avajñāna* 'disrespect, insult'.

EXAMPLES:

paribhāvaḥ 'disrespect'
paribhavaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that '*vibhāṣā*' is carried, and the derivate meaning is characterized with *avajñāna* glossed as *asatkāra* 'insult, neglect'. Elsewhere, *paribhava* would mean *sarvato bhavanam* 'existing all around; surrounding'.

3.3.56 एरच्

er ac
leḥ 5/1 *ac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
ivarṇāntād dhātor bhāve akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām ac pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aC* occurs after a verbal root which ends in *i* when the derivate denotes *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

cayaḥ 'arranging, picking; heap'
ayaḥ 'going, knowledge'
jayaḥ 'winning; victory'
kṣayaḥ 'wasting away; waste'

1. This rule introduces affix *aC* after a verbal root which ends in *i*, and when *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* is denoted. This is an exception to *GHaÑ*. The *C* as an it is intended to distinguish affix *aC* (*viśeṣaṇārtha*) from, for example, affix *aP* in rule 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ...*

2. A *vārttika* proposes that *bhaya* 'fear', etc., should be enumerated as derived from verbal root *bhī* 'to fear', etc., by introduction of affix *aC*. This accounts for examples such as *bhayam* and *varṣam* 'rain'. The *vārttika* is necessary so that affix *Kta*, etc., can be blocked in the context of these neuter forms.

Yet another *vārttika* proposes that, in the Vedic, *javaḥ* and *savaḥ* are to be derived by affix *aC* introduced after verbal root *ju*, a root attested by the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*sautra*) though unavailable elsewhere, and verbal root *ṣuÑ* 'to press out'. This *vārttika* proposal is made against affix *aP* of the following rule which would otherwise be applicable. Note, in connection with this, that derivates of *aC* or *aP* would not differ in form. They would, however, differ in accent. Thus, the derivate of *aP* will get the initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*) as against the final high-pitch (*antodātta*) of the derivate of *aC*.

3.3.57 ऋदोरप्

ṝdor ap
ṝdoḥ 5/1 *ap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghañ* #16, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
ṝkārāntebhya uvarṇāntebhyaś ca ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal roots which end in *ṝ* or *u* when the derivate denotes *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

karaḥ 'scattering'
garaḥ 'poison'
śaraḥ 'arrow'
yavaḥ 'barley'
stavaḥ 'praise'
lavaḥ 'harvesting'
pavaḥ 'winnowing'

1. This again is an exception to *GHaÑ*. The *P* as an *it* in *aP* is intended to secure the low-pitch (*anudātta*) as per rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau supptitau.* Note that the form *ṝd* followed by *uḥ* to yield the constituent word *ṝduḥ,* which occurs in the ablative as *ṝdoḥ,* has some interesting perspectives. First of all, its *-d* is actually *t,* thereby making the reference by *ṝt* of *ṝduḥ* subject to interpretation of rule 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya.* Thus, *ṝ,* here, refers only to roots which end in long *-ṝ.* Secondly, since *u* refers to roots which end in *u* both short or long, and is not constrained, we understand that *taparakaraṇa* (see my note under 1.1.70) does not carry the interpretation: *tād api paras taparaḥ* '*tapara* is also that which occurs after '*t*'. Thirdly, the *-t* of *taparakaraṇa* is given as *-d* for ease of articulation (*mukhasukhārtha*). Fourthly, the *dvandva* compound of the *samāhāra* type in *ṝduḥ* is given in the masculine at the authority of this *sūtra* itself. Finally, *ṝdoḥ* is genitive, and not the *pañcamī* 'ablative', which is what would be required of an item that constitutes the left context for the introduction of an affix. Here, the genitive is used in the sense of ablative (*pañcamyarthe ṣaṣṭhī*).

3.3.58 ग्रहवृदृनिश्चिगमश्च

grahavṛdṛniścigamaś ca
/*grah...gamaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
grahādibhyo dhātubhyo' p pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal roots *grahA*, *vṛ* 'to choose, cover', *dṛ* 'to respect', *ciÑ* used with the preverb *nis,* and *gam,* when the derivate denotes *bhāva,* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ.*

EXAMPLES:

grahaḥ 'a planet',
daraḥ 'splitting, caving in; fear'
varaḥ 'bopn, blessing'
niścayaḥ 'resolve'
gamaḥ 'trip, march'

1. This rule introduces affix *aP*, as an exception to *GHaÑ*, after verbal roots *grah*, *vṛ* (*vṛṄ* as well *vṛÑ*), *dṛ* 'to respect' and *gam*. Affix *aP* is introduced as an exception to *aC* in case of verbal root *ci* used with *nir* or *nis*. Of course, in this case, the forms will be similar though the accent will differ. Note that verbal root *vṛ* refers to both *vṛṄ* and *vṛÑ* as preverb *nis* could be interpreted as referring to both *nir* and *nis*. The *nir* reference may create problems. It is therefore safer to accept *nis*. The derivate of *niści* with *aP* constitutes an exception to the accentuation of 6.2.144 *thāthaghañaktāj...* The accent in *niścayaḥ* is, thus, high-pitch in the middle (*madhyodātta*) as opposed to the *antodātta* 'final high-pitch' in case of *aC*. A middle high-pitch has the designation *kṛt* as its basis.

2. A *vārttika* proposes the inclusion, also, of *vaśaḥ* 'obedient' and *raṇaḥ* 'battle' in the list of *aC*-derivates. Yet another *vārttika* proposes the introduction of affix *Ka* in the sense of the denotatum of *GHaÑ* after verbal roots *sthā* 'to stand', *snā* 'to bathe', *pā* 'to drink', *vyadh* 'to torment' and *han* 'to kill'. This is to account for examples such as: *prasthaḥ* 'mountain top', *prasnaḥ* 'a kettledrum to store water for bathing', *prapā* 'roadside stalls where travellers are offered drinking water', *āvidhaḥ* 'an instrument for piercing', *vighnaḥ* 'obstacle' and *āyudham* 'weapon; instrument for fighting'.

3.3.59 उपसर्गेऽदः

upasarge' daḥ
/*upasrge* 7/1 *adaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
upasarga upapade ader dhātor ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *adA* 'to consume' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains a preverb.

EXAMPLES:

vighasaḥ 'half-chewed morsel'
praghasaḥ 'a glutton'

1. Affix *aP* is also to be treated as an exception to *GHaÑ* in this as well as the subsequent rule. Note that *ad* is replaced with *ghasḶ* by rule 2.4.38 *ghañapoś ca*. A question is asked as to why Pāṇini did not introduce the affix after *ghasḶ*? That way, he could have eliminated one (replacement) operation. True. But it would create problems elsewhere. For example, rule 3.3.60 *nau ṇa ca* would then also introduce *Ṇa* after *ghasḶ*. Refer to *ṇyādaḥ* under the following rule. The word *ghāsaḥ* 'grass; that which is consumed' is given as a counter-example, where *ad* is used without a preverb.

3.3.60 नौ ण च

nau ṇa ca
/*nau* 7/1 *ṇa* (deleted 1/1) *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *adaḥ*)
niśabda upapade ader dhātor ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati, cakārād ap ca
Affix *Ṇa*, as well as *aP*, occurs after verbal root *adA* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ni*.

EXAMPLES:

nyādaḥ 'eating'
nighasaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule allows the introduction of both affixes *Ṇa* and *aP* when *ad* cooccurs with *ni*. Verbal root *ad* could not be replaced with *ghasḶ* in the first example.

3.3.61 व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे

vyadhajapor anupasarge
/*vyadhajapoḥ* 6/2 *anupasarge* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
'vyadha, japa' ity etayor anupasargayor ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal roots *vyadhA* 'to pierce' and *japA* 'to mutter' when the roots are not used with a preverb, and when the derivate denotes *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

vyadhaḥ 'wound'
japaḥ 'muttering'

1. This rule introduces affix *aP* as an exception to *GHaÑ* when verbal roots *vyadh* and *jap* are not used with a preverb. For, with preverbs we would get derivates such as *āvyādhā* 'piercing' and *upajāpā* 'revealing a secret', derivates of *GHaÑ* ending in the feminine affix *ṬāP*. Note that the *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' in *vyajapoḥ* is used in the sense of *pañcamī* 'ablative'. The negation in *anupasarge* is *prasajya* whereby we get the interpretation that the affix is introduced only when the verbal roots are used alone (*kevalābhyāṃ bhavati*). Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.* III: 53) advises that the *vṛtti* of this rule is to be similarly interpreted. That is, what is negated is the use of the verbs with preverbs. The cooccurring words are also ruled out since they are not specified.

3.3.62 स्वनहसोर्वा

svanahasor vā
/*svanahasoḥ* 6/2 *vā* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *anupasarge* #61)
svanahasor anupasargayor vā ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* optionally occurs after verbal roots *svanA* 'to sound' and *has* 'to laugh' when the roots are not used with a preverb and the derivate denotes *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

svanaḥ 'sound, noise'
svānaḥ 'id.'
hasaḥ 'laughter'
hāsaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *anupasarge* is still carried. Here, again, we find *ṣaṣṭhī* in the sense of *pañcamī*. Thus, *svanaḥ ca hasaḥ ca, tayoḥ = svanahasoḥ*. The rule makes an optional provision for *aP* against *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*). In connection with the preverbs, affix *GHaÑ* alone is to be introduced. Thus, we get: *prahāsaḥ* 'wild laughter'. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* orders *vṛddhi* in case of derivates of *GHaÑ*.

3.3.63 यमः समुपनिविषु च

yamaḥ samupaniviṣu ca
/*yamaḥ* 5/1 *samupaniviṣu* 7/3 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *anupasarge* #61, *vā* #62)
'sam, up, ni, vi' ity eteṣūpapadeṣu anupasarge' pi yamer vā ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* optionally occurs after verbal root *yamA* 'to reach, give' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root is used with or without a preverb, or cooccurs with or without a nominal *pada* which contains *sam*, *up*, *ni* and *vi*.

EXAMPLES:

saṃyamaḥ 'restraint'
saṃyāmaḥ 'id.'
upayamaḥ 'marriage'
upayāmaḥ 'id.'
niyamaḥ 'restrictive rule'
niyāmaḥ 'id.'
viyamaḥ 'curb; distress'

viyāmaḥ 'id.'
yamaḥ 'restraint, discipline'
yāmaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *anupasarge* and *vā* are still carried. This means there will be two derivational possibilities in case of *aP*: one when verbal root *yam* cooccurs with *sam, up, ni, vi,* and the other when it is used alone. Thus we get five forms: *saṃyamaḥ, upayamaḥ, niyamaḥ, viyamaḥ,* and *yamaḥ*. Since affix *aP* is optionally introduced with *GHaÑ*, we will also get five parallel derivates in *GHaÑ*. Thus, *saṃyāmah, upayāmaḥ, niyāmaḥ, viyāmaḥ,* and *yāmaḥ*. The derivation of *yamaḥ* and *yāmaḥ*, without any preverb, is made possible because of the particle *ca* which brings *'anupasarge'* close to the context of this rule.

3.3.64 **नौ गदनदपठस्वनः**

nau gadanadapaṭhasvanaḥ
/*nau* 7/1 *gadanadapaṭhasvanaḥ* 5/1 *(sam. dv.)*/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19, ap #57, vā #62)
niśabda upapade 'gada, nada, paṭha, svana' ity etebhyo dhātubhyo vā ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* optionally occurs after verbal roots *gadA* 'to speak', *nadA* 'to sound', *paṭhA* 'to read, recite' and *svanA* 'to sound', to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the roots cooccur with or without a nominal *pada* which contains *ni*.

EXAMPLES:

nigadaḥ 'a lecture'
nigādaḥ 'id.'
ninadaḥ 'noise'
ninādaḥ 'id.'
nipaṭhaḥ 'reading, reciting'
nipāṭhaḥ 'id.'
nisvanaḥ 'noise'
nisvānaḥ 'id.'

1. The use of *ni* cancels the use of any other preverb in this context. Consequently, we get eight forms in two sets of four each for *aP* and *GHaÑ*.

3.3.65 **क्वणो वीणायां च**

kvaṇo vīṇāyāṃ ca
/*kvaṇoḥ* 5/1 *vīṇāyām* 7/1 *ca* Ø/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *anupasarge* #61, *vā* #62, *nau* #64)
kvaṇater dhātor nipūrvād anupasrgāc ca vīṇāyāṃ vā ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* optionally occurs after verbal root *kvaṇA* 'to jingle', whether it is used with *ni*, or no preverb at all, when *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, is denoted; or when the derivate relates to *vīṇā* 'a stringed musical instrument'.

EXAMPLES:

nikvaṇaḥ 'sound; tone'
nikvāṇaḥ 'id.'
kvaṇaḥ 'id.'
kvāṇaḥ 'id.'
kalyāṇakvaṇā vīṇā 'the sound of a *vīṇā* which is soothing'

1. Note that *nau*, *vā*, and *anupasarge* are carried here. This means that verbal root *kvaṇ* will receive the affix when it cooccurs with *ni*. It will also receive the affix when it is used without a preverb. Of course, the affix will be *aP* optionally introduced with *GHaÑ*. Thus we get *kvaṇaḥ*, *nikvaṇaḥ* as a derivate for *aP* as opposed to *kvāṇaḥ* and *nikvāṇaḥ* which are examples of *GHaÑ*. The *Amarakośa* considers these all synonymous.

2. This rule also makes an optional provision for affixes *aP* and *GHaÑ* in the context of *vīṇā*. Since a general provision for such affixation is already made in the context of *ni*, the additional provision made with '*vīṇāyām*' must relate to contexts other than *ni*. This, then, accounts for examples such as: *kālyaṇaprakvaṇā vīṇā* / *kalyāṇaprakvāṇā vīṇā* 'a beautiful sounding Vīṇā'.

3.3.66 **नित्यं पणः परिमाणे**

nityaṃ paṇaḥ parimāṇe
/*nityam* 0 *paṇaḥ* 5/1 *parimāṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
'*paṇa vyavahāre stutau ca*' *asmād dhātor nityam ap pratyayo bhavati parimāṇe gamyamāne*
Affix *aP* obligatorily occurs after verbal root *paṇA* 'to barter; praise' when *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* is denoted, and the derivate signifies *parimāṇa* 'a measure of weight'.

EXAMPLES:

mūlakapaṇaḥ 'a specific measure of radish for sale'
śākapaṇaḥ 'a specific measure of leafy vegetables for sale'

1. This rule provides for the obligatory introduction of affix *aP* after verbal root *paṇA* 'to barter, praise' when a measured quantity (*parimāṇa*) is denoted. Thus we get: *mūlakapaṇaḥ* and *śākapaṇaḥ*. A counter-example in *pāṇaḥ* 'barter' is offered in case the meaning of 'measured quantity' (*parimāṇa*) is not denoted.

Needless to say, the word *nitya* 'obligatorily' is used, here, to cancel *vā* 'optionally'

3.3.67 मदोऽनुपसर्गे

mado' nupasarge
/*madaḥ* 5/1 *anupasarge* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
mader dhātor anupasargād ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *madA* 'to be excited; intoxicated' when it is used without a preverb and the derivate denotes *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

vidyāmadaḥ 'arrogant pride of knowledge'
dhanamadaḥ 'pride of money'

1. This *aP* is an exception to *GHaÑ* in the context of verbal root *mad* when used without a preverb. Thus we get *vidyāmadaḥ*, where the compound is allowed by rule 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. A proposal is discussed with reference to the order and formulation of rules 3.3.66, 3.3.67 and 3.3.68. That is: why not formulate the next rule as *nityaṃ madaḥ pramadasammadau harṣe paṇaḥ parimāṇe* and place it after 3.3.65 *kvaṇo....* This way, *anupasarge* in rule 3.3.67 would not have to be stated and the new formulation would also be more economical. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* III: 55) states that the new formulation cannot rule out the association of '*anupasarge*' within the context of '*paṇaḥ parimāṇe*'. The present formulation of rule 3.3.67 with the explicit use of '*anupasarge*' clearly rules out such an association. For, if this association were intended, Pāṇini would not have explicitly stated '*anupasarge*' in this rule. Consequently, in the context of '*parimāṇa*', affix *aP* could also be made possible after verbal root *paṇA*, coocurring with a preverb. Haradatta also criticizes (ad *Kāśikā* III: 55) the view (see *Nyāsa*) that rule 3.3.67 *mado' nupasarge* is formulated and placed as such to indicate the irregularity (*anityatva*) of its provision. The *anityatva* proposal makes possible the derivation of *mādaḥ*. Haradatta finds this opinion (*apara āha*; see *Nyāsa* on this rule) as untrustworthy (*nāptabhāṣitam*).

3.3.68 प्रमदसंमदौ हर्षे

pramadasammadau harṣe
/pramadasammadau 7/2 *harṣe* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ, bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
'pramada, sammada' ity etau śabdau nipātyete harṣe' bhidheye
Affix *aP* occurs in the derivation of *pramada* and *sammada* by *nipātana* when the derivates denote *harṣa* 'joy'.

EXAMPLES:

kanyānāṃ pramadaḥ 'the joy of the girls'
kokilānāṃ sammadaḥ 'the joyful cooing of the cuckoo'

1. This rule proposes the ad hoc (*nipātana*) derivation of *pramada* and *sammada* in the context of joy (*harṣa*). Pāṇini chose not to derive these forms because the derivates involve a meaning which is more conventional (*rūḍhi*) than derivational. The condition of 'joy' is given in view of counter-examples such as *pramādaḥ* 'carelessness, error' and *sammādaḥ* 'frenzy'.

3.3.69 समुदोरजः पशुषु

samudor ajaḥ paśuṣu
/samudoḥ 7/2 *ajaḥ* 5/1 *paśuṣu* 7/3/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
samudor uapadayor ajater dhātoḥ paśuviṣaye dhātvarthe ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *ajA* 'to go' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *sam* and *ud* and the derivate refers to a group of animals.

EXAMPLES:

samajaḥ paśūnām 'a herd of animals'
udajaḥ paśūnām 'the herding'

1. This rule introduces affix *aP*, an exception to *GHaÑ*, to signify root-sense (*bhāva*) after verbal root *ajA* 'to go, wander' when it cooccurs with *sam* and *ud*; and the context relates to *paśu* 'animal'. No further specification of the sense of the root is necessary, since *ajA* used with *sam* in the context of animals means *samudāya* 'herd'. It similarly denotes *preraṇa* 'directing, driving' when used with *ud*. Thus we get: *samajaḥ* and *udajaḥ paśūnām* in the meanings stated. We also get the derivates of

GHaÑ, such as, *samājo brāhmaṇānām* 'the assembly of *brāhmaṇas*' and *udājaḥ kṣatriyānām* 'the drive of the *kṣatriyas*'.

3.3.70 अक्षेषु ग्लहः

akṣeṣu glahaḥ
/*akṣeṣu* 7/3 *glahaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
'glahaḥ' iti nipātyate akṣaviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *grahA* to derive *glahaḥ*, by *nipātana*, when the action relates to *akṣa* 'die'.

EXAMPLE:

akṣasya glahaḥ 'a throw of dice'

1. Our example *glahaḥ* as in *akṣasya glahaḥ* is a *nipātana*. This ad hoc derivation is needed because *grah* with *aP* can only derive *grahaḥ*. Since the affix is still *aP*, this rule contributes by *nipātana* the change of *r* into *l* of *grah*. Of course, this occurs within the context of (gambling with) dice.

Still others propose that the root here is *glahI*. The derivate *glahaḥ* of *aP* is, thus, contrasted with the *GHaÑ* derivate *glāhaḥ*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* III: 56) explains that others accept *akṣeṣu* as referring to 'the stake at the game of dice'.

3.3.71 प्रजने सर्त्तेः

prajane sartteḥ
/*prajane* 7/1 *sartteḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
sartter dhātor prajane viṣaye ap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *sṛ* 'to move' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the derivate refers to *prajana* 'first impregnation'.

EXAMPLES:

gavām upasaraḥ 'first servicing of the cows'
paśūnām upasaraḥ 'first servicing of the animals'

1. *Kāśikā* explains the example *gavām upasaraḥ* as *strīgavīṣu puṃgavānāṃ garbhādhānāya prathamam upasaraṇam* 'the first move of a male cow toward impregnating a female cow'. Refer also to 3.1.104 *upasaryāḥ kālyā prajane*.

3.3.72 ह्वः सम्प्रसारणं च न्यभ्युपविषु

hvaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca nyabhyupaviṣu

/hvaḥ 5/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1 *ca* Ø *nyabhyupaviṣu* 7/3/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57)
'ni, abhi, up, vi' ity etesūpapadeṣu hvayater dhātoḥ samprasāraṇam ap pratyayaś ca bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hveÑ* 'to call out' to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ni*, *abhi*, *upa* and *vi*. In addition, *hveÑ* undergoes *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*).

EXAMPLES:

nihavaḥ 'invocation, praying'
abhihavaḥ 'id.'
upahavaḥ 'invitation'
vihavaḥ 'calling'

1. This, again, is an exception to *GHaÑ*. The condition of cooccurence is restricted to these four preverbs especially in view of *prahvāyaḥ*, a derivate in *GHaÑ*, meaning 'a summons'.

3.3.73 **आङि युद्धे**

āṅi yuddhe
/āṅi 7/1 *yuddhe* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hvaḥ samprasāraṇaṁ* #72)
āṅi upapade hvayater dhātoḥ samprasāraṇam, ap pratyayaś ca bhavati yuddhe' bhidheye
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hveÑ* to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *āṄ* and the derivate relates to *yuddha* 'battle'.

EXAMPLE:

āhavaḥ 'the place where challenges are made; battlefields'

1. Note that, outside the context of *yuddha*, we will get *āhvāyaḥ* 'calling, inviting', a *GHaÑ* form.

3.3.74 **निपानमाहावः**

nipānam āhāvaḥ
/nipānam 1/1 *āhāvaḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.9, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #72)
āṅpūrvasya hvayater dhātoḥ samprasāraṇam, ap pratyayaḥ vṛddhiś ca nipātyate, nipānaṃ ced abhidheyaṃ bhavati

Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hveÑ* to derive *āhāvaḥ* by *nipātana* when the root is used with the preverb *āṄ* and the derivate denotes *nipānam* 'trough'. In addition, *hveÑ* undergoes *samprasāraṇa.*

EXAMPLE:

āhāvaḥ paśūnām 'the place where animals are brought for water; a trough'

1. Note that the cooccurring *āṄ*, along with the *samprasāraṇa* and *vṛddhi*, is provided via *nipātana*. Since the derivation is presented via *nipātana*, there is no need to even suggest any derivational steps.

3.3.75 भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य

bhāve' nupasargasya
/bhāve 7/1 *anupasargasya* 6/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ap* #57, *hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #72)
anupasargasya hvayateḥ samprasāraṇam, ap pratyayaś ca bhavati bhāve' bhidheye
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hveÑ* to denote *bhāva* when the root is not used with any preverb. In addition, *hveÑ* goes through *samprasāraṇa*.

EXAMPLE:

havaḥ 'calling'

1. Note that *bhāve* is used here to get rid of the *anuvṛtti* of '*akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām*' (*bhāvagrahaṇam 'akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām' ity asya nirāsārtham*). Why is the explicit mention of *bhāve* not interpreted here as intended for blocking '*vā*' *sarūpavidhi*' similar to the situation of rule 3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāve inuṇ*. It is not interpreted as such, because there is no formally dissimilar (*asarūpa*) affix to be blocked.

Nyāsa (ad *Kāśikā* III: 58) brings to our attention yet another objection to *bhāve*. It argues that *bhāve* should not be stated at all. Of the two meaning conditions of '*bhāve*' and '*akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām*', the second can be easily ruled out on the basis of a lack of relevant examples. This will clearly leave '*bhāve*' to constitute the meaning condition. There is, thus, no point stating that '*bhāve*' is included in order to get rid of *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām*. *Nyāsa* agrees that Pāṇini, nevertheless, states '*bhāve*' out of compassion for the slow-witted (*mandabuddhīnām anugrahāya*).

3.3.76 हनश्च वधः

hanaś ca vadhaḥ
/hanaḥ 5/1 *ca* Ø *vadhaḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ap* #57, *bhāve' nupasargasya* #75*)*
hanter dhātor anupsarge bhāve ap pratyayo bhavati, tatsanniyogena ca vadhādeśaḥ, sa cāntodāttaḥ
Affix *aP* also occurs after verbal root *hanA* 'to kill', not used with a preverb, when the derivate denotes *bhāva*. In addition, *han* is replaced by *vadha*.

EXAMPLES:

vadhaś corāṇām 'the killing of thieves'
vadho dasyūnām 'the killing of bandits'

1. Note that both '*bhāve*' and '*anupasargasya*' are carried. Although verbal root *han* is given in the ablative (*pañcamī*), '*anupasargasya*' will still have to be read with it as a modifier. The replacement in *vadha* for *han* is also intented on account of contextual proximity. The replacement is intended as *antodātta* 'high pitched at the end'. Thus, with an *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*) *aP* in the following position, the final *-a* of *vadha* is deleted, by rule 6.4.68 *ato lopaḥ*, with practically no change in meaning with *ghātaḥ*.

Commentators explain that the *ca* in this rule is intentionally put in the middle to indicate that *GHaÑ* can also be introduced parallel to *aP* in the sense of *bhāva*. This would account for *ghātaḥ* 'killing', a *GHaÑ* derivate signifying *bhāva*.

3.3.77 मूर्त्तौ घनः

mūrttau ghanaḥ
/mūrttau 7/1 *ghanaḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76*)*
mūrttāv abhidheyāyāṃ hanter ap pratyayo bhavati ghanaṅś cādeśaḥ
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA* to be replaced concurrently with *ghana* when the derivate denotes *mūrti* 'hardness, solidity'.

EXAMPLES:

abhraghanaḥ 'the thickness of clouds'
dadhighanaḥ 'the thickness of yogurt'

1. This rule introduces affix *aP* after *han* when the derivate denotes *mūrti* 'solidity, thickness'. Thus we get *abhraghanaḥ*, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound which denotes *abhrasya kāṭhinyam* 'the thickness of clouds'.

One would similarly find *dadhighanaḥ* 'the thickness of yoghurt' where the qualified element (*dharmin*; *dadhi*) is denoted by the quality (*dharma*; *ghanam*), just as *śuklaḥ* 'white' may denote *paṭaḥ* 'cloth' containing the quality. The root at the same time gets replaced with *ghana*.

3.3.78 अन्तर्घनो देशे

antarghano deśe
/*antarghanaḥ* 1/1 *deśe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *ghanaḥ* #77)
antaḥpūrvād hanter ap pratyayo bhavati, ghanādeśaś ca bhavati deśe' bhidheye
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be concurrently replaced with *ghana*, when the root is used with the preverb *antar* and the derivate signifies *deśa* 'country; a particular area'.

EXAMPLE:

antarghanaḥ 'name of region in the Vāhīka country'

1. This rule introduces affix *aP* after verbal root *han* when the root is used with *antar*, and the derivate denotes the name of a country (*deśa*). This clearly brings '*akartari ca kārake...*' close to the context of this rule. Our rule additionally provides *ghana* as a replacement, via *nipātana*, for *han*. Thus, we get *antarghanaḥ*, the name of a region...(*saṃjñībhūto vāhīkeṣu deśaviśeṣaḥ*). Some read the name with *ṇ* as *antarghaṇaḥ*, which is also acceptable (*tad api grāhyam*). In the absence of the signification of the name of a country, the derivate will be: *antarghātaḥ* 'slaughter house'.

3.3.79 अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च

agāraikadeśe praghaṇaḥ praghāṇaś ca
/*agāraikadeśe* 7/1 *praghaṇaḥ* 1/1 *praghāṇaḥ* 1/1 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *ghanaḥ* #78)
prapūrvasya hanteḥ 'praghaṇa, praghāṇa' ity etau śabdau nipātyete agāraikadeśe vācye
Affix *aP*, and *GHaÑ* as well, occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be concurrently replaced with *ghana*, when the root is used with the preverb *pra* to derive *praghaṇa* and *praghāṇa* respectively, via *nipātana*, to designate 'part of the house'.

EXAMPLES:

praghaṇaḥ 'porch, portico'
praghāṇaḥ 'id.'

1. The words *praghaṇaḥ* and *praghāṇaḥ* are derived by means of *nipātana* by introducing affix *aP* after *han* used with *pra,* where *han* also gets replaced with *ghana.* For reasons similar to the preceding rule, '*akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām*' is also brought close to the context of this rule. For, the derivates denote *agāraikadeśa* 'a part of the house'. Thus, we get: *praghaṇaḥ* and *praghāṇaḥ* generally explained as: *dvāraprakoṣṭho vāhyaḥ* 'the outer area to the entrance of the house'. Elsewhere, we will get *praghātaḥ* 'killing'.

3.3.80 **उद्घनोऽत्याधानम्**

udghano' tyādhānam
/udghanaḥ 1/1 *atyādhānam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *ghanaḥ* #77)
utpūrvasya hanter udghana iti nipātyate, atyādhānaṃ ced bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA,* to be concurrently replaced with *ghana,* when the root is used with the preverb *ud* to derive *udghana,* by *nipātana,* and the derivate designates *atyādhāna* 'workbench, support'.

EXAMPLE:

udghanaḥ 'a carpenter's workbench; a chopping block'

1. This rule offers an additional ad hoc form: *udghanaḥ,* obviously with *aP* introduced after *han* used with *ud.* The *ghana* replacement is also given. Since the derivate denotes a name, '*akartari ca kārake...*' is also understood. *Kāśikā* explains *udghanaḥ* as: *yasmin kāṣṭhe sthāpayitvā anyāni kāṣṭhāni takṣyante* 'that piece of wood on which other woods are plained'. The condition of *atyādhāna* can thus be explained as constituting the supporting base on which something is placed. The derivate outside of this meaning will be *udghātaḥ* 'beginning'.

3.3.81 **अपघनोऽङ्गम्**

apaghano' ṅgam
/apaghanaḥ 1/1 *aṅgam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *ghanaḥ* #77)
apapūrvasya hanter apaghana iti nipātyate aṅgaṃ ced bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA,* to be further replaced with *ghana* to derive *apaghana* by *nipātana,* when the root is used with the preverb *apa* and the derivate denotes *aṅga* 'limb'.

EXAMPLE:

apaghanaḥ 'a limb'

1. *Kāśikā* states that *aṅga* here means either a hand or foot. Elsewhere, the derivate will be *apaghātaḥ* 'killing'.

3.3.82 करणेऽयोविद्रुषु

karaṇe' yovidruṣu
/*karaṇe* 7/1 *ayovidruṣu* 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *ghanaḥ* #77)
'ayas, vi, dru' ity eteṣūpapadeṣu hanter dhātoḥ karaṇe kārake' p pratyayo bhavati, ghanādeśaś ca
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be further replaced with *ghana*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *ayas*, *vi* and *dru*, and the derivate denotes *karaṇa* 'instrument'.

EXAMPLES:

ayoghanaḥ 'a steel hammer'
vighanaḥ 'id.'
drughanaḥ 'an axe'

1. Note that *drughanaḥ* is also found as *drughaṇaḥ*.

3.3.83 स्तम्बे क च

stambe ka ca
/*stambe* 7/1 *ka* (deleted 1/1) *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *ghanaḥ* #77, *karaṇe* #82)
stambaśabda upapade karaṇe kārake hanteḥ kaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād ap, tatra ghanādeśaḥ
Affix *Ka*, as well as *aP*, occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be further replaced with *ghana*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *stamba* and the derivate denotes *karaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

stambaghnaḥ 'a sickle'
stambaghanaḥ 'id.'

1. Elsewhere, in the context of a non-*karaṇa* denotatum, we get *stambaghātaḥ* 'the cutting of grass', a derivate in *GHaÑ* which denotes *bhāva*.

3.3.84 **परौ घः**

parau ghaḥ
/*parau* 7/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *karaṇe* #82)
pariśabda upapade hanter dhātor ap pratyayo bhavati karaṇe kārake gha-śabdaś cādeśaḥ
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA*, to be further replaced with *gha*, when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *pari* and the derivate denotes *karaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

parighaḥ 'that by means of which one strikes; a club'
palighaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that the *r* of *parighaḥ* is optionally replaced with *l* by 8.2.22 *pareś ca....*

3.3.85 **उपघ्न आश्रये**

upaghna āśraye
/*upaghnaḥ* 1/1 *āśraye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76, *ghanaḥ* #77, *karaṇe* #82)
upapūrvasya hanter ap pratyaya upadhālopaś ca nipātyate, āśrayaśabdaḥ sāmīpyaṃ pratyāsattiṃ lakṣyati
Affix *ap* occurs by *nipātana* after verbal root *hanA*, with further replacement by *gha* and deletion of its *upadhā* (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*), when it is used with the preverb *upa* and the derivate denotes *āśraya* 'vicinity, proximity'.

EXAMPLES:

parvatopaghnaḥ 'in the vicinity of the mountain; foothills'
grāmopaghnaḥ 'in the vicinity of the village'

1. The word *āśraya* denotes 'shelter' by way of *sāmīpya* 'proximity'. Thus we get *parvatopaghnaḥ* 'that which is near the mountain'. Affix *aP*, along with the cooccurring condition of *upa*, and the deletion of the penultimate *a* of *han*, are all given by *nipātana*.

3.3.86 **सङ्घोद्घौ गणप्रशंसयोः**

saṃghodghau gaṇapraśaṃsayoḥ
/*saṃghodghau gaṇapraśaṃsayoḥ* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76)

samudor upapadayor hanter dhātor ap pratyayo bhavati, ṭilopa ghatvaṃ ca nipātyate, yathāsaṃkhyaṃ gaṇe' bhidheye
praśaṃsāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA* when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *sam* and *ud* to derive *saṃgha* and *udgha* by *nipātana*, provided the derivates denote *gaṇa* 'group' and *praśaṃsā* 'praise', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

saṃghaḥ paśūnām 'herd of animals'
udgho manuṣyāṇām 'praiseworthy among men'

1. Note that the deletion of *ṭi*, i.e., *an*, of *han* (1.1.63 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*), and the *gh* replacement for *h*, is accomplished via *nipātana*. Elsewhere, we will get a derivate in *GHaÑ* such as *saṃghātaḥ* 'union'. The *sam* and *upa* derivates denote *gaṇa* and *praśaṃsā*, respectively, in view of rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*

3.3.87 निघो निमितम्

nigho nimitam
/*nighaḥ* 1/1 *nimitam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *ap* #57, *hanaḥ* #76)
'nigha' iti nipūrvād hanter ap pratyayaṣ ṭilopaghatvaṃ ca nipātyate, nimitaṃ ced abhidheyaṃ bhavati
Affix *aP* occurs after verbal root *hanA* when the root is used with the preverb *ni* to derive *nigha* by *nipātana*, provided the derivate denotes *nimita* 'having equal dimension all around'.

EXAMPLES:

nighā vṛkṣāḥ 'trees of equal dimension'
nighāḥ śālayaḥ 'a paddy equal in height'

1. The provision of this rule, again by *nipātana*, is similar to the preceding. The deletion of *ṭi* (*ṭilopa*) and replacement in *gh* (*ghatva*), is also valid here. The verb is to be used with the preverb *ni*, and the derivate meaning has to be *nimita*. It is explained as *sarvataḥ ārohataḥ pariṇāhataś ca tulyaḥ* 'that which is equal on all sides in height and breadth'. Thus the examples: *nighā vṛkṣāḥ* 'trees equally tall and wide' and *nighāḥ śālayaḥ* 'rice paddies of equal height'. Elsewhere, we get *nighātaḥ* 'striking a blow', a derivate in *GHaÑ*.

3.3.88 ड्वितः क्त्रिः

ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ

/ḍvitaḥ 5/1 *krtiḥ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18)
ḍvito dhātoḥ ktriḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ktri* occurs to denote *bhāva* after a verbal root marked with *ḌU* as an *it.*

EXAMPLES:

paktriman 'cooked; ripened'
uptrimam 'sown'
kṛtrimam 'artificial'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *Ktri* after a root which has *ḌU* as an *it* and when *bhāva* is denoted. Affix *Ktri,* because of its own derivational nature, is used to denote *bhāva,* and cannot be construed alone. For, rule 4.4.20 *kter man nityam* obligatorily (*nityam*) introduces affix *maP* after a word which ends in affix *Ktri.* The sense of affix *maP* is *nivṛtta* 'completed'. Thus *paktrimam* denotes 'fully cooked'. It is in this sense that a derivate in *Ktri* can not be interpreted separately from a derivate in *maP* (*kevalo na prayujyate*).

2. The roots with *ḌU* as an *it* are illustrated here as *ḌUpacAṢ* 'to cook', *ḌUvap* 'to sow' and *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make'. The *K* of *Ktri* is used to block *guṇa* or *vṛddhi.* The derivates go through *samprasāraṇa* via rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām...*

3.3.89 **ट्वितोऽथुच्**

ṭvitho' thuc
/ṭvitaḥ 5/1 *athuc* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
ṭvitor dhātor athuc pratyayo bhavati bhāvādau
Affix *athuC* occurs after a verbal root marked with *ṬU* as an *it* when *bhāva,* and a *kāraka* other than a *kartṛ,* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vepathuḥ 'trembling'
svayathuḥ 'swelling'
kṣavathuḥ 'coughing, sneezing'

1. This rule refers to roots which have *ṬU* as their *it.* Affix *athuC* is again introduced to denote *bhāva,* etc. One can treat this as an exception to *GHaÑ.* Affix *GHaÑ* cannot obtain via *vā' sarūpavidhi,* since the usages simply do not exist. This observation of *Nyāsa* is contrary to Haradatta's claim in the *PM* according to which a *GHaÑ* derivate parallel to *athuC* via *vā' sarūpavidhi* is found. The *ca* of affix *athuC* is intended as an *it* for accent (*svarārtha*).

3.3.90 यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ्

yajayācayatavicchapracchārakṣo naṅ
/*yaj...rakṣaḥ* 5/1 *(sam. dv.)*; *naṅ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18, akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām #19)
yajādibhyo dhātubhyo naṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *naṄ* occurs after verbal roots *yajA*, *yācA* 'to ask for', *yatA* 'to strive, exert', *vicchA* 'to go; shine', *pracchA* 'to ask' and *rakṣA* 'to protect, preserve' when *bhāva* or a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yajñaḥ 'ritual sacrifice'
yācñā 'solicitation'
yatnaḥ 'effort'
viśnaḥ 'questioning'
rakṣṇaḥ 'protection; preservation'

1. This rule accepts '*bhāve*' and '*akartari ca kārake...*' as the denotatum of affix *naṄ*. The *Ṅ* as an *it* is intended to block *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, as the case may be (1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*). Note that, except for the derivate of *yāc*, all the others are masculine. Affix *GHaÑ* also finds its scope at the strength of the *vā' sarūpavidhi*, depending on usages such as *yāgaḥ* parallel to *yajñaḥ*. The derivate of *yāc*, i.e., *yācñā*, is feminine where its *naṄ* is an exception to affix *a* of 3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*. The *vā' sarūpavidhi* is blocked here at the strength of 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*. The lack of *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ*), in the case of *praśna* (cf. 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi...*), even when there is a following affix marked with *Ṅ*, can be only explained by citing the precedent of rule 3.3.177 *praśne cāsanna....*

3.3.91 स्वपो नन्

svapo nan
/*svapaḥ* 5/1 *nan* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhāve #18)
Affix *naN* occurs after verbal root *ÑIṣvaP* 'to sleep' when the derivate denotes *bhāva*.

EXAMPLE:

svapnaḥ 'dreaming; a dream'

1. This rule offers *svapna* as a derivate with the signification of *bhāva*. It is, thus, an exception to *GHaÑ*. The *N* as an *it* in *naN* is intended to secure initial high-pitch (*ādyudātta*) by rule 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*.

3.3.92 उपसर्गे घोः किः

upasarge ghoḥ kiḥ
/*upasarge* 7/1 *ghoḥ* 5/1 *kiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
upasarge upapade ghusaṃjñakebhyo dhātubhyo kiḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ki* occurs after verbal roots termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adap*) when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains a preverb and the derivate denotes *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

pradiḥ 'giving; a gift'
pradhiḥ 'outer edge of a wheel, rim'
antarddhiḥ 'hiding, disappearing'

1. Note that the ablative *ghoḥ* qualifies *dhātoḥ*, thereby yielding the interpretation 'after verbal roots termed *ghu*',.

The rule still carries '*bhāve*' and '*akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām*'. Consequently, affix *Ki* will be introduced to denote *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than a *kartṛ*. The roots, of course, have to be those termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhā ghv adāp*). The *K*, as an *it* in *Ki*, is intended to facilitate the deletion of *ā* by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. Thus we get: *antarddhiḥ* 'hiding' from *antardhā* + *Ki*, for which see the appendix.

3.3.93 कर्मण्यधिकरणे च

karmaṇy adhikaraṇe ca
/*karmaṇi* 7/1 *adhikaraṇe* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ghoḥ*, *kiḥ* #92)
karmaṇy upapade ghusaṃjñakebhyo dhātubhyaḥ kiḥ pratyayo bhavati adhikaraṇe kārake
Affix *Ki* also occurs after verbal roots termed *ghu* when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which denotes *karman* and the derivate denotes *adhikaraṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

jaladhiḥ 'that where water is held; ocean'
śaradhiḥ 'that where arrows are placed; quiver'

1. The word '*ghoḥ*' still carries to qualify '*dhātoḥ*'. Note that both *karmaṇi* and *adhikaraṇe* are given in *saptamī* 'seventh triad of *sUP*'. We understand from Pāṇinian practice, that the denotata of affixes is provided by the use of *saptamī*. We also know, from rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ*

saptamīstham, that an item placed in *saptamī*, within the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, characterizes an *upapada* 'conjoined word'. Obviously, both *karman* and *adhikaraṇa* cannot constitute an *upapada*; nor can they constitute the denotatum of affix *Ki* (*pratyayārtha*). We must take recourse to *vyākhyāna* 'interpretation of the learned' in order to find which one of the two denotes *upapada*. Commentators agree that *karman* constitutes an *upapada*. This leaves *adhikaraṇa* to characterize the denotatum of *Ki*. The word *adhikaraṇa* is explicitly stated to rule out the introduction of this affix in the sense of *bhāva*, or *karaṇa*, etc. The *ca* of the rule is used to attract (*anukarṣanārtha*) *Ki* from the preceding rule.

3.3.94 **स्त्रियां क्तिन्**

> *striyāṃ ktin*
> /*striyām* 7/1 *ktin* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *bhāve* #18, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19)
> *strīliṅge bhāvādau dhātoḥ ktin pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *KtiN* occurs after a verbal root when *bhāva*, and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*, is denoted in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

> *kṛtiḥ* 'action, creation'
> *citiḥ* 'gathering, heaping'
> *matiḥ* 'comprehension, thinking'

1. This rule introduces affix *KtiN* to denote *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*. Obviously, *bhāve* and *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* become valid in this context. Affix *KtiN* is an exception to affixes *aC*, *aP* and *GhaÑ*. It is an exception to *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*) when introduced after a verbal root ending in *i*. It is an exception to *aP* when introduced after a verbal root which ends in *u* or *ṛ* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*). Elsewhere, affix *KtiN* constitutes an exception to *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*). Also note, in connection with this, that *vā' sarūpavidhi* (3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*) is not valid here.

2. A *vārttika* proposes that *KtiN* should also be introduced to derive forms such as *āptiḥ* 'gain', etc., from verbal roots *āp* 'to gain', etc. This list of roots, referred to here by *āp*, etc., is not enumerated. That is, one has to determine the membership in this list of *āp*, etc., by following the usages (*Kāś: ābādayaḥ prayogato' nusarttavyāḥ*). Thus we get forms such as: *āptiḥ* 'gain', *rāddhiḥ* 'accomplishment', *labdhiḥ* 'gain', *dīptiḥ* 'glow' from *āp* 'to gain', *radh* 'to accomplish', *labh* 'to obtain', and *dip* 'to glow'.

An additional *vārttika* manipulates *KtiN* to accommodate usages such as *śrutiḥ* 'that by means of which one hears; ear', *iṣṭiḥ* 'that by means of which one performs rituals; a ritual sacrifice', and *stutiḥ* 'that by means of

which one pleases someone; praise, prayer'. These derivates all denote *karaṇa*.

A *vārttika* also proposes that forms such as *glāniḥ* 'exhaustion', *mlāniḥ* 'weariness', *jyāniḥ* 'aging' and *hāniḥ* 'loss' should be derived with affix *Ni*, introduced after verbal roots *glai* 'to be weary', *mlai* 'id.', *jyā* 'to be old' and *hā* 'to abandon' respectively.

Yet another *vārttika* states that affix *KtiN* also occurs after roots which end in *ṝ*, or those such as *lūÑ* 'to cut', etc., to derive forms such as *kīrṇiḥ* 'scattering', *gīrṇiḥ* 'praise', and *lūniḥ* 'cutting', etc. In addition, the *vārttika* extends to affix *KtiN* the treatment of *niṣṭhā* in order to enable its derivates to avail the change of their *t* into *n*. Thus, given the string (*kṝ*→*kir* →*kīr*) + (*K*→∅)*ti* = *kīr* + *ti*, rule 8.2.42 *radābhyām*... will replace the *t* with *n* to yield *kīrṇīh*, which results in *kīrṇiḥ*. See further details relative to the examples in the appendix. There are two more *vārttika* which deal with *sampat* 'prosperity', *vipat* 'distress' and *pratipat* 'access', etc. The first proposes the introduction, and subsequent deletion, of *KvIP* to derive these forms. The second proposes that affix *KtiN* be introduced after them to derive *sampatti*, *vipatti*, and *pratipatti*.

3.3.95 स्थागापापचो भावे

> *sthāgāpāpaco bhāve*
> /*sthāgāpāpacaḥ* 5/1 *bhāve* 7/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94)
> *sthādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ strīliṅge bhāve ktin pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *KtiN* occurs after verbal roots *sthā* 'to stand', *gā* 'to sing', *pā* 'to drink' and *pac* 'to cook' when the derivate denotes *bhāva* 'action' in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

> *prasthitiḥ* 'a trip, journey'
> *udgītiḥ* 'singing of the hymns of the *Sāmaveda*; loud singing'
> *saṃgītiḥ* 'singing'
> *prapītiḥ* 'drinking; receptacle for water'
> *saṃpītiḥ* 'drinking together'
> *paktiḥ* 'cooking'

1. This rule introduces affix *KtiN* to denote *bhāva* in the feminine after verbal roots *sthā* 'to stand', *gā* 'to sing', *pā* 'to drink' and *pac* 'to cook'. The *pā* here should not be interpreted as referring to *pā* 'to protect'. Of course, *gā* can also refer to verbal root *gāN* 'to go'.

Note that *bhāve* is restated to counter any other meaning conditions, such as '*akartari ca kārake*'. Commentators explain that affix *KtiN* in this

rule serves the function of blocking an exception (*apavādasya bādhakaḥ*). That is, it blocks the application of affix *aṄ* which happens to be an exception to the general affix *GHaÑ*. Affix *aṄ* is available to verbal roots *sthā*, etc., by rule 3.3.106 *ātaś copasarge*. It is available to verbal root *pac*, based on its status as *ṣit*, by rule 3.3.104 *ṣidbhidādibhyo*.... Why does it not block the application of 3.3.110 *vibhāṣā*..., which makes the optional provision of affix *iÑ* parallel to *ṆvuL* of rule 3.3.109 *saṃjñāyām*?. It is stated that *KtiN* cannot block *iÑ*, since *KtiN* happens to be a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*). Consequently, it can only block the most immediately available provision, and not the one which is subsequent (cf. *pbh*.: *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). Thus, *KtiN* cannot be made available to block the application of *iÑ*.

3.3.96 मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमनविदभूवीरा उदात्तः

mantre vṛṣeṣapacamanavidabhūvīrā udāttaḥ
/*mantre* 7/1 *vṛṣe*...*vīrāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95)
mantre viṣaye vṛṣādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ ktin pratyayo bhavati, udāttaḥ
Affix *KtiN*, marked with *udātta* 'high-pitch', occurs in the *mantra* literature after verbal roots *vṛṣU* 'to rain', *iṣU* 'to wish', *ḌUpacAṢ* 'to cook', *manA* 'to think', *vidA* 'to know', *bhū* 'to be, become', *vī* 'to go' and *rā* 'to give, bring' when the derivates denote the action (*bhāva*) in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

vṛṣṭiḥ 'rain'
iṣṭiḥ 'wish; sacrifice'
paktiḥ 'cooking'
matiḥ 'thinking'
vittiḥ 'knowing'
bhūtiḥ 'being, becoming'
vītiḥ 'going; enjoying'
rātiḥ 'giving'

1. The provisions of this rule are limited to the *mantra* section of the Vedic literature. Our rule, additionally, provides for affix *KtiN* to be marked with *udātta* 'high pitch'. Note, in connection with this, that rule 6.1.197 *ñnityādir*... provides *udātta* accent initially for a derivate which ends in affix *KtiN*. Obviously, that derivate, in accordance with the provision of the *udātta* of this rule, will become *antodātta*.

3.3.97 ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्त्तयश्च

ūtiyūtijūtisātihetikīrttayaś ca

/ūti...kīrttayaḥ 1/5 *(itar. dv.); ca* 0/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *udāttaḥ* #96).
ūtyādayaḥ śabdāḥ nipātyante
Forms such as *ūti, yūti, jūti, sāti, heti* and *kīrtti* are derived to denote action in the feminine by *nipātana* with their final vowel marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

ūtiḥ 'preserving; sport'
yūtiḥ 'joining, yoking, partaking'
jūtiḥ 'running; speeding'
sātiḥ 'destruction'
hetiḥ 'weapon'
kīrttiḥ 'fame'

1. This rule provides for the ad hoc derivation (*nipātana*) of the forms *ūti*, etc. Note, however, that it is not much the derivation by affix *KtiN*, that the route of *nipātana* is followed. Instead, it is the *antodatta* 'final high-pitch' accent for which one must take recourse to *nipātana*. There are some additional applications for which one also resorts to *nipātana*. Thus, we get the lengthening of the root-vowel in *yūti* and *jūti*. Other derivational problems in which *nipātana* must be invoked are not hard to comprehend. Besides, one is not obligated to provide for such details anyway.

3.3.98 **व्रजयजोर्भावे क्यप्**

vrajayajor bhāve kyap
/vrajayajoḥ 6/2 *bhāve* 7/1 *kyap* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *udāttaḥ* #96)
vrajayajor dhātvoḥ strīliṅge bhāve kyap pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KyaP*, marked with *udātta*, occurs after verbal roots *vrajA* 'to go, wander' and *yajA* 'to sacrifice' when the derivates denote action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

vrajyā 'wandering about'
ijyā 'worshipping, sacrificing'

1. Note that the word *udātta* is carried here. Does this cancel the *anudātta* accent available to affix *KyaP* by rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*? Yes, but not at the strength of its availability, which in turn is due to the *pit* status

of *KyaP*. The *K* of *KyaP*, thus, does not bring the *anudātta* accent simply for *udātta* to cancel it. The express mention of *udātta* will rule out any other accentual provision. It is for this reason that commentators regard the *pit* status of *KyaP* as intended for subsequent rule (*uttarārtha*). The *P* of *KyaP* there enables rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* to introduce the augment *tUK* (*Kāś*: *pitkaraṇam uttaratra tugartham*). Note that *ijyā* of this rule has to go through *samprasāraṇa* by rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām...* The *KyaP* of this rule is an exception to *KtiN*.

3.3.99 **संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविदषुञ्शीङ्भृञिणः**

> *saṃjñāyām samajaniṣadanipatamanavidaṣuñśīṅbhṛñiṇaḥ*
> /*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *sama...ñiṇaḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *udāttaḥ* #96 *kyap* #97)
> *samajādibhyo dhātubhyaḥ kyap pratyayo bhavti udāttaḥ, saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye*
> Affix *KyaP*, marked with *ūdatta*, occurs after verbal roots *ajA* 'to go' used with the preverb *sam*, *ṣad* 'to sit, rest' and *pat* 'to fall' used with the preverb *ni*, and *manA* 'to think', *vidA* 'to know', *ṣuÑ* 'to press out', *śīṄ* 'to recline' and *bhṛÑ* 'to provide' when *bhāva* and a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* is denoted in the feminine and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

> *samajyā* 'assembly, gathering'
> *niṣadyā* 'a seat; marketplace'
> *nipatyā* 'slippery place; battlefield'
> *manyā* (*matyā*) 'thinking; the veins of the neck'
> *vidyā* 'knowing; knowledge'
> *sutyā* 'the time when Soma is pressed out'
> *śayyā* 'bed'
> *bhṛtyā* 'wages; female servant'
> *ityā* 'means of transportation; palanquin; guiding light'

1. Note that *bhāva* of 3.3.95 *sthāgāpāpaco bhāve* is not carried. The rule thus introduces affix *KyaP* after *samaj*, *niṣad*, *nipat*, *man*, *vid*, *ṣuÑ*, *śīṄ* and *bhṛÑ* to denote *bhāva*, when the name of a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* is denoted in the feminine. The fact that *bhāve* is not carried, even though derivates denote 'action', does not create a problem, since this denotation of *bhāva* 'action' is not technical by way of the *adhikāra*. Instead, it is the denotation via the meaning of the derivates and attested by usage. The word *udātta* is still carried for purposes of accentuation. Thus we get *samajyā* 'that where people assemble; an assembly', *niṣadyā* 'that in which one

reclines; a bed', *nipatyā* 'the ground where people fall; slippery ground', etc. Note that these examples denote names as well as *adhikaraṇa*, a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ*. Additionally, by way of the derivates, they also denote the action of gathering, reclining or falling. Examples such as *manyā*, *vidyā* and *ityā*, etc. denote *karaṇa* 'instrument'.

A question is raised as to why this rule must use *saṃjñāyām* when the same could be available by the *anuvṛtti* of *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām*'? It is stated that the *saṃjñāyām* of the *anuvṛtti* is associated with '*akartari ca kārake*'. Consequently, affix *KyaP* would be available to *samaj*, etc., only when the name of a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* was denoted. It would not be available to the name of a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* which also denotes *bhāva*. It is for this reason that *saṃjñāyām* is restated (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś* III: 73: *tasmād bhāve' pi saṃjñām eva yathā syād ity evam arthaṃ punaḥ saṃjñāgrahaṇam*).

3.3.100 कृञः श च

kṛñaḥ śa ca
/*kṛñaḥ* 5/1 *śa* (deleted 1/1) *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *udāttaḥ* #96 *kyap* #97)
karoter dhātoḥ striyāṃ ktin pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Śa*, and *KyaP* marked with *udātta* as well, occurs after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' when the action is denoted in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

kriyā 'action, creation'
kṛtyā 'id.'
kṛtiḥ 'id.'

1. The function of *ca* is to optionally enable the application of affix *KyaP*. Thus, we optionally get affix *Śa* with *KyaP*. Commentators state that affix *KtiN* should also be made optionally available with *KyaP* and *Śa*. In order to facilitate this, recourse is taken to *yogavibhāga* whereby a two-way split of this rule is made:
(i) *kṛñaḥ kyab bhavati* 'affix *KyaP* occurs after verbal root *kṛÑ*...'
(ii) *kṛñaḥ śa ca* 'affix *Śa*, additionally with *KtiN* (on account of *ca*), also occurs after *kṛÑ*'
This yields three forms: one each with affixes *KyaP*, *Śa* and *KtiN* as in *krityā*, *kriyā* and *kṛtiḥ* respectively. Note that in the absence of *yogavibhāga*, *ca* could be relatable to *KyaP* only. This will leave out *KtiN* forms.

2. Note that when affix *Śa* is introduced to denote *bhāva*, rules 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak* and 7.4.28 *riṅ śyagliṅkṣu* will apply. The first will introduce

yaK, whereas the second will replace the final short *ṛ* of the root with *riN*. The *Ś* is given as *it* in *Śa* to block *guṇa* via its status as marked with *Ṅ* by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. Obviously, *Ś* as an *it* is also responsible for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* to *Śa* by 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*. Affix *yaK* will be blocked in cases where *Śa* is introduced to denote the name of a *kāraka* other than *kartṛ* (*akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām*). However, *riṄ* must still be introduced to replace *ṛ*, though under the condition of affix *Śa*, itself. That is, under the condition that *Śa* followed *kṛ*. Now rule 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām...* will replace the *i* of *ri* by *iyAṄ*. Refer to the appendix for additional details.

3.3.101 इच्छा

icchā

/icchā 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, striyāṃ ktin #94, bhāve #95, śaḥ #101)

Affix *Śa* occurs after verbal root *iṣU* in the derivation of *icchā* by *nipātana* when the derivate denotes the action in the feminine.

EXAMPLE:

icchā 'wishing'

1. This rule derives *icchā* to denote *bhāva* in the feminine by *nipātana* with affix *Śa*. The non-introduction of *yaK* is provided for by *nipātana*. See additional details for deriving *icchā* from *iṣ* + *Śa* with no *yaK* in the appendix.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule states that *parisaryā* 'wandering about', *paricaryā* 'service', *mṛgayā* 'hunting' and *aṭāṭyā* 'roaming about' should also be derived with *Śa* via *nipātana*. The words *parisaryā* and *paricaryā* are derived from *parisṛ* and *paricar* with affix *Śa* and *yaK*. The first example also entails *guṇa* (as opposed to the lack of it), all by *nipātana*. I have already stated that because of the *Śit* status of *Śa*, which makes it *Ṅit* in view of 1.3.4 *sārvadhātukam...*, *guṇa* should not apply. Of course, with *nipātana* anything can happen. For, if it was not for *nipātana*, *a* of *mṛga* would have been deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. Our last example, *aṭāṭyā*, is derived from *aṭ* + *Śa* → *aṭ* + *yaK* + *Śa* = *aṭ* + *ya* + *a* where *ṭ* of *aṭ* goes through doubling (*dvirvacana*) with *y* of *yaK*. Given *aṭy* + *aṭy* + *a* + *a*, the first *y* is deleted, and the second *a* will be lengthened to yield: *aṭ (y* → *Ø/) (a* → *ā)* + *aṭy* + *a* = *aṭāṭya*. Finally, *aṭāṭyā* will be derived with affix *ṬāP*. Of course, everything happens by *nipātana*. There is yet another *vārttika* under this rule which proposes the ad hoc derivation of *jāgarām* 'to remain awake' and *jāgaryām* where the first will be derived with affix *a* and the second with *Śa* along with *yaK*.

3.3.102 अ प्रत्ययात्

a pratyayāt
/*a* (deleted 1/1) *pratyayāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95)
pratyayāntebhyo dhātubhyaḥ striyām akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *a* occurs after roots which end in an affix when derivates denote action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣā 'desire to do'
jihīrṣā 'desire to take away'
puttrīyā 'desire for having a son of one's own'
putrakāmyā 'id.'
lolūyā 'desire to cut over and over again'
kaṇḍūyā 'itching'

1. This rule introduces affix *a* after roots terminated in affixes provided action is denoted in the feminine. Obviously, the input for this rule would be constituted by roots defined by rule 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. This rule forms an exception to *KtiN*. Additionally, affix *a* enables derivates such as *cikīrṣā* 'desire to do', etc., to be termed *prātipadika* by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*. This, in turn, enables them to receive feminine affix *ṬāP* and nominal endings.

2. Note that the *a* of this rule (*a pratyayāt*) is used without a nominal ending. Technically speaking, the form should have been *aḥ*, ending in the nominative singular as per the Pāṇinian practice. Some still consider the wording of the rule to be: *aḥ pratyayāt*.

3.3.103 गुरोश्च हलः

guroś ca halaḥ
/*guroḥ* 5/1 *ca* 0 *halaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *a* #102)
halanto yo dhātur gurumān tataḥ striyām akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *a* occurs after a verbal root which ends in a consonant and contains a long vowel termed *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*) when the derivate signifies action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍā 'burning; an adultress'
huṇḍā 'attacking; a tigress'

īhā 'effort, wishing'
ūhā 'argumentation'

1. Note that this is the domain of *dhātu*, and as such, *guru* and *hal* are to be treated as qualifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *dhātu* 'verbal root'. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* paraphrases the rule as: *halanto yo dhātur gurumān tataḥ...* 'after that root which is *halanta* 'ends in a consonant' and is *gurumān* 'contains a *guru* vowel'. But how does the *Kāśikā* get the meaning of *gurumān* when the rule simply states *guru*? It is possible to interpret *guru* as *gurumān*, because there is no root which ends in a consonant (*halanta*) termed *guru*. The term *guru* always applies to a vowel which is part of something. That something, in this context, has to be the *dhātu* 'verbal root' terminated in a consonant. Thus, it is via *abhedopacāra* 'assumed non-difference' of that which is *guru*, and that which contains it (*gurumān*), that *Kāśikā* interprets *guru* as *gurumān*.

There is still another question. Why is the paraphrase not worded by switching around the two qualifiers *gurumān* and *halanta*? That is, why is the paraphrase not given as: *gurvanto yo dhātur halvān* 'after a verbal root which ends in a *guru* vowel and contains a consonant'. This transposition (*viparyaya*) of qualifiers is not desired as is indicated by the use of *ceṣṭā* 'strife' and *āśaṃsā* 'expectation' in rules 2.3.12 *gatyarthakarmaṇi dvitīyācaturthyau...* and 3.3.134 *āśaṃsāyāṃ bhūtavac ca*. Note that both of these words are derived with affix *a*, and their roots do not end in a *guru* vowel.

3.3.104 षिद्भिदादिभ्योऽङ्

ṣidbhidādibhyo' ṅ
|ṣidbhidādibhyaḥ 5/3 *aṅ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95)
ṣidbhyo bhidādibhyaś ca striyām aṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aṄ* occurs after verbal roots either marked with *Ṣ* as an *it*, or enumerated in the list headed by *bhidIR* 'to split', when the derivate denotes the action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

jarā 'old age'
trapā 'shame, shyness'
bhidā 'splitting'
chidā 'cutting'

1. Note that *bhidā*, etc., refer to the *gaṇapāṭha* (*GP*) listing containing nominal stems which end in affix *aṄ*. This raises a problem. Should affix *aṄ* of this rule be introduced after items referenced here as *bhidā*, etc.,

which already end in *aṄ*? The answer must be in the negative. For, *bhidā*, etc., are nominal stems which already end in affix *aṄ*. Our present rule requires the introduction of affix *aṄ* after verbal roots. What then is the problem? If we interpret that *aṄ* is to be introduced after verbal roots *bhid* 'to split', etc., to derive *bhidā*, etc., then the listing of fully derived forms in the *GP*, becomes vacuous (*vyartha*). If, on the other hand, one refers to the *GP*, as Pāṇini does here, the introduction of the affix for derivation becomes vacuous. It is therefore suggested that neither of these is vacuous. They both, especially the introduction of the affix, are given so that there is no doubt (*asandeha*) about the derivational process or correctness of the forms. Thus, the *GP* listing is given so that one understands that only listed items are correct. The introduction of affix *aṄ* is specified so that one does not consider the derivation of *bhidā*, etc., to have taken place, for example, with the introduction of affix *Ka* of rule 3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ kaḥ*.

3.3.105 **चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च**

cintipūjikathikumbicarcaś ca
/cintipūjikathikumbicarcaḥ 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *aṅ* #104)
'citi, pūji, kathi, kumbi, carca' ebhyo dhātubhyo yuci
prāpte striyām aṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aṄ* also occurs after verbal roots *citi* 'to think', *pūji* 'to worship, respect', *kathi* 'to relate, tell', *kumbI* 'to cover' and *carcA* 'to learn, discuss' when the derivates denote the action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

cintā 'thinking, worrying'
pūjā 'worship'
kathā 'story'
kumbā 'a slip made of heavy material; periphery of a sacrificial place'
carcā 'recitation, reading'

1. Note that this rule contains verbal roots which belong to the *curādi* group. Since they are all treated as ending in the causal affix *ṆiC*, they qualify for the introduction of affix *yuC*. This rule, for reasons of introducing affix *aṄ* instead, may be treated as a prior exception to rule 3.3.107 *ṇyāsaśrantho yuc*. But since this rule also contains *ca*, *aṄ* is to be optionally introduced with *yuC*. Thus we get the *aṄ*-derivate *cintā* parallel to the *yuC*-derivate *cintanā*.

3.3.106 आतश्चोपसर्गे

ātaś copasarge
/*ātaḥ* 5/1 *ca* Ø *upasarge* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #95, *aṅ* #104)
ākārāntebhyo dhātubhya upasarge upapade striyām aṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *aṄ* occurs after verbal roots which end in *ā* when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains a preverb and the derivates denote the action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

pradā 'a gift'
upadā 'id.'
pradhā 'placing, establishing'
upadhā 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *aṄ* after roots which terminate in *ā*, and are used in conjunction with an *upasarga* 'preverb'. Of course, action in the feminine has to be the denotatum. Consequently, affix *aṄ* becomes an exception to *KtiN*. Thus we get *pradā* 'gift', *upadā* 'id.' etc.

A *vārttika* proposes the derivation of *śraddhā* 'respect' and *antarddhā* 'hiding', with *śrat* and *antar* treated as an *upasarga* 'preverb' forming an *upapada*. Note that *śrat* and *antar* are indeclinables (*avyaya*) which, for purposes of the derivation of the two forms, have to be treated as preverbs. The word *antarddhā*, used with affix *Ki*, can also have an alternate form, *antarddhi*.

3.3.107 ण्यासश्रन्थो युच्

ṇyāsaśrantho yuc
/*ṇyāsaśranthaḥ* 5/1 *yuc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *saṃjñāyām* #19, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98)
ṇyantebhyo dhātubhyaḥ 'āsa, srantha' ity etābhyām ca striyāṃ yuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yuC* occurs after verbal roots which end in *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*), and after *āsA* 'to sit' and *śranthA* 'to loosen, relax', when the derivate denotes the action in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

kāraṇā 'to have something done'
hāraṇā 'to have something taken away'
āsanā 'to have someone sit'
śranthanā 'to loosen; be relaxed'

1. Note that the *ṆiC*-derivates of this rule will form an exception to affix *a* of 3.3.102 *a pratyayāt*. The derivates of *ās* 'to sit' and *śranth* 'to loosen, release, be happy' will derive without *ṆiC*, and hence, not treated as entailing *yuC* as an exception to *a*.

There are the following *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*a*) affix *yuC* is to be introduced after verbal roots *ghaṭṭA* 'to move', *vandA* 'to praise' and *vidA* 'to perceive' to derive *ghaṭṭanā* 'shaking', *vandanā* 'praise' and *vedanā* 'perception, information';

(*b*) affix *yuC* is to be introduced to derive *adhyeṣaṇā* 'entreating, soliciting' and *anveṣaṇā* 'inquiry, search' from *iṣ* when the derivate does not denote 'desire';

(*c*) *yuC* can optionally be used with *KtiN* after *iṣ* used with the preverb *pari* to derive *paryeṣaṇā* 'thorough search'. The optional *KtiN* derivate will be: *parīṣṭiḥ* where, because of the *K* of the affix, no *guṇa* will apply.

3.3.108 **रोगाख्यायां ण्वुल् बहुलम्**

rogākhyāyāṃ ṇvul bahulam

/*rogākhyāyām* 7/1 *ṇvul* 1/1 *bahulam* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98)

rogākhyāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ dhātor bhahulam ṇvul pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṆvuL* occurs variously after a verbal root to denote action in the feminine when the derivate denotes the name of a disease.

EXAMPLES:

pracchardikā 'vomiting'
pravāhikā 'diarrhea'
vicarcikā 'itching'

1. This rule, for reasons of *bahulam*, can be accepted as an exception to all rules. Affix *ṆvuL* thus is introduced variously when the denotatum is a 'disease' (*roga*). Thus we get *pracchardikā* 'vomiting', etc. However, *ṆvuL*, at the strength of *bahulam*, may not apply in some other examples. Consider *śiro'rttiḥ* 'headache' which derives from *KtiN*.

There are a series of *vārttika* under this rule which provide for diverse derivates as follows:

(*a*) introduction of affix *ṆvuL* to indicate the meaning of a root as in *āśikā* 'eating' and *śāyikā* 'reclining';

(*b*) introduction of affixes *iK*, *ŚaP* and *tiP* to specify verbal roots as in *śtipaḥ*;

(*c*) introduction of affix *kāra* to merely indicate a sound-segment (*varṇa*) as in *akāraḥ* 'the sound-segment *a*' and *ikāraḥ* 'the sound-segment *i*';

(*d*) introduction of affix *ipha* when the denotatum of *r* as a sound-segment is intended as in *repha* 'the sound-segment *r*';
(*e*) introduction of affix *cha* after *matvartha* with the deletion of its final *-a* to form *matvarthīya* 'relative to that which has the sense of *matUP*';
(*f*) introduction of affix *iÑ* after verbal roots *aj*, etc., to derive *ājiḥ* 'fighting', etc.;
(*g*) introduction of affix *iK* after *kṛṣ* 'to draw', etc., to derive *kṛṣiḥ* 'ploughing, farming', etc.

3.3.109 **संज्ञायाम्**

saṃjñāyām
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98, *ṇvul* #108)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye dhātor ṇvul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆvuL* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted as a *saṃjñā* 'name' in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

uddālakapuṣpabhañjika 'a sport in which the *uddālaka* flowers are crushed'
varaṇapuṣpapracāyikā 'a sport in which the *varaṇa* flowers are gathered'
abhyūṣakhādikā 'a game in which one competes by eating deep-fried breads'
ācoṣakhādikā 'a game in which one competes by eating while suckling'
śālabhañjikā 'a game in which one competes by plucking the flowers of the *śāla* tree'
tālabhañjikā 'a game in which one competes by plucking palm flowers'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆvuL* also after a verbal root when *saṃjñā* 'name' is denoted. Thus we get the examples: *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā*, *varaṇapuṣpapracāyikā*, *abhyūṣakhādikā*, etc. All examples entail a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound obligatorily allowed by 2.2.17 *nityaṃ krīḍājīvikayoḥ*. Note further that the genitive itself is ruled by 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*.

3.3.110 **विभाषाख्यानपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च**

vibhāṣā' khyānaparipraśnayor iñ ca
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *ākhyānaparipraśnayoḥ* 7/2 *iñ* 1/1 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyāṃ ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98, *ṇvul* #108)

pariprasne ākhyāne ca gamyamāne dhātor iñ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *iÑ* optionally occurs after a verbal root to denote the action in the feminine when the derivate relates to *ākhyāna* 'answer' or *pariprasna* 'question'.

EXAMPLES:

kā tvaṃ kārim akārṣīḥ 'what work did you do?'
kāṃ kriyām akārṣīḥ 'id.'
kāṃ kṛtyām akārṣīḥ 'id.'
kāṃ kṛtim akārṣīḥ 'id.'
sarvāṃ kārim akārṣam 'I did all the work'
sarvāṃ kārim akārṣam 'id.'
sarvāṃ kriyām akārṣam 'id.'
sarvāṃ kṛtyām akārṣam 'id.'
sarvāṃ kṛtim akārṣam 'id.'

1. This rule optionally introduces affix *iÑ* with other relevant affixes after a verbal root when question (*pariprasna*) and answer (*ākhyāna*) is denoted. The use of *ca* also brings affix *ṆvuL* to the context of this rule. Thus, there will be two examples: one with *iÑ* and the other with *Ṇvul*. Additionally, there may be more. Thus consider the following sentences:

(*i*) *kāṃ tvaṃ kārim akārṣīḥ* 'what work did you do?'
(*ii*) *kāṃ kārikāṃ akārṣīh* 'id.'
(*iii*) *kāṃ kriyām akārṣīḥ* 'id.'
(*iv*) *kāṃ kṛtyām akārṣīḥ* 'id.'
(*v*) *kāṃ kṛtim akārṣīḥ* 'id.'

The above sentences entail affixes *iÑ*, *ṆvuL*, *Śa*, *KyaP*, and *KtiN* respectively. The same can be stated for the other set of sentences. As far as this rule is concerned, *iÑ* is introduced, additionally, and is used with *ṆvuL* which, in turn, becomes optional to other affixes. The word *vibhāṣā* thus refers to the other affixes which may become applicable. Affix *Śa*, additionally, used with *KyaP*, in the above examples, is provided by rule 3.3.100 *kṛñaḥ śa ca*. The *KtiN* is obtained by a split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of the same.

Why does Pāṇini place *ākhyāna* 'answer' before *pariprasna* 'question' in the rule? One would normally expect question to come first. The ordering of these two words is given for technical reason in view of rule 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*. This rule requires preplacement of a compound constituent with fewer vowels.

3.3.111 पर्यायार्हर्णोत्पत्तिषु ण्वुच्

paryāyārharṇotpattiṣu ṇvuc
/*paryāyārharṇotpattiṣu* 7/3 *ṇvuc* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *striyām ktin* #94, *bhāve* #98, *vibhāṣā* #110)

paryāyārhaṇotpattiṣv artheṣu dhātor ṇvuc pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṆvuC* optionally occurs to denote the action in the feminine when the derivate signifies *paryāya* 'turn', *arha* 'deserving', *ṛṇa* 'debt' or *utpatti* 'production'.

EXAMPLES:

bhavataḥ śāyikā 'your (polite) turn to sleep'
bhavato' gragrāsikā 'your (polite) turn to eat first'
arhati bhavān ikṣubhakṣikām 'you (polite) deserve to eat the sugarcane'
ikṣubhakṣikāṃ me dhārayasi you owe me the opportunity to eat the sugarcane'
odanabhojikāṃ me dhārayasi 'you owe me a meal of rice'
payaḥpāyikāṃ me dhārayasi 'you owe me a drink of milk'
ikṣubhakṣikāṃ me udapādi 'an opportunity for me to eat the sugarcane is produced...'
odanabhojikāṃ me udapādi 'an opportunity for me to eat a meal of rice is produced...'
payaḥpāyikāṃ me udapādi 'an opportunity for me to have a drink of milk is produced...'

1. This rule optionally introduces affix *ṆyuC* to *ṆvuL* when the derivate denotes a feminine action relative to *paryāya, arha, ṛṇa,* and *utpatti.* Note that there is no formal difference between the derivates of *ṆvuL* and *ṆvuC*. However, there is a difference in their accent (*svara*). A *ṆvuL* derivate will have an *udātta* accent on the syllable which precedes the affix in view of the *L* as an *it* in the affix (6.1.193 *liti*). The *ṆvuC* derivate will, on account of its *C* as an *it*, get *udātta* accent at its final syllable (*antodātta*).

2. Note further, that the derivates of this rule, because of their special meaning constraints, form an exception to affixes *KtiN* and *a*, etc.

3.3.112 आक्रोशे नञ्यनिः

ākrośe nañi aniḥ
/*ākrośe* 7/1 *nañi* 7/1 *aniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *akartari ca kārake saṃjñāyām* #19, *stiyām* #94, *bhāve* #98)

Affix *ani* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *naÑ* 'not' to denote the action in the feminine when *ākrośa* 'cursing' is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

akaraṇis te vṛṣala bhūyat 'may misfortune befall you, oh, *vṛṣala*'

1. This rule introduces affix *ani* as an exception to *KtiN*, etc., under the semantic condition of *ākrośa* provided also that the root is used in conjunction with the negative particle *naÑ*.

3.3.113 कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम्

kṛtyalyuṭaḥ bahulam
/*kṛtyalyuṭaḥ* 1/3 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
kṛtyasaṃjñakāḥ pratyayā lyuṭ ca bahulam artheṣu bhavanti
Affixes termed *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*) and *LyuṬ* occur after verbal roots to denote diverse meanings.

EXAMPLES:

snānīyaṃ cūrṇam 'sandal paste fit to be used when bathing'
dānīyo brāhmaṇaḥ 'a *brāhmaṇa* fit to be given a gift'
rājabhojanāḥ śālayaḥ 'rice fit for the dinner of the king'
rājācchādanāni vāsāṃsi 'clothing fit to be worn by the king'

1. Note that *bhāve* and *akartari ca kārake* are no longer carried. The *bahulam* of this rule qualifies its affixes termed *kṛtya* and *LyuṬ* to be used with diverse denotata. That is, they can also be used outside the meaning conditions where they have been introduced (*yatra vihitād tato' nyatrāpi bhavanti*). Thus, affixes termed *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāh*) have been introduced to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object' (3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtyakhalarthāḥ*). Additionally, they can be used to denote other *kāraka*, in view of the provisions of this rule. Consider, for example, the following:

(*i*) *snānīyaṃ cūrṇam*
(*ii*) *dānīyo vipraḥ*

where the *kṛtya* affix *anīyaR* is used to denote *karaṇa* 'instrument' and *sampradāna* 'dative' respectively. Rules 3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca* and 3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca* introduce *lyuṬ* to denote *bhāva* and *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* respectively. However, in view of this rule, one can also get *LyuṬ* when the denotatum is *karman* and *apādāna* as in *apasecanam* 'that which is watered badly' and *prapatanam* 'the point from whence something falls'. Other violations, which result out of *bahulam*, can also be cited. For example, affix *ṆvuL* is introduced to denote *kartṛ* 'agent'. But it can be found to denote *karman* in *pādahārakaḥ* 'that which is carried by feet'. This is a violation of 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*.

3.3.114 नपुंसके भावे क्तः

napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ
/*napuṃsake* 7/1 *bhāve* 7/1 *ktaḥ* 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
napuṃsakaliṅge bhāve dhātoḥ ktaḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Kta* occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the neuter (*napuṃsaka*).

EXAMPLES:

hasitam 'laughter'
sahitam 'endurance'
jalpitam 'talking'

1. A question is raised against the explicit use of *bhāve* especially since *Kta* can denote *bhāva* in view of 3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtya....*? But that rule makes its provision only in the context of *bhūta* 'past'. This rule introduces affix *Kta* in a general frame of time, and in the neuter (*napuṃsaka*). Some say that this rule is needed so that affix *Kta* can also be introduced to denote *bhāva* after the intransitive verbal root, in a manner similar to the derivation of *odanasya bhojanam* and *odanasya pākaḥ* with affix *GHaÑ* after verbal root *pac*. Note that this interpretation is based on the understanding that 3.4.70 *tayor eva...* will not allow a derivate which denotes *bhāva* after a transitive root. Furthermore, if affix *Kta*, in this analysis, were introduced after a transitive verbal root to denote *bhāva*, then what nominal ending should be introduced to denote *karman* 'object'? The answer has to be: the genitive marked by a conjoined word which ends in a *kṛt* affix (*kṛdyogalakṣaṇā*). But this is problematic. Rule 2.3.69 *na lokāvyayaniṣṭhā...*blocks the introduction of such a genitive provided by rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*. For, affix *Kta* brings assignment of the term *niṣṭhā* (1.1.28 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). This difficulty can be removed by accepting the view that such a blocking cannot be applicable to the domain of rule 3.3.114 *napuṃsake....* For, Paṇini would not, then, have formulated this rule. In summary, this rule introduces *Kta* to denote *bhāva* in neuter after intransitive verbal roots.

3.3.115 ल्युट् च

lyuṭ ca
/*lyuṭ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, napuṃsake bhāve #114)
napuṃsakaliṅge bhāve dhātor lyuṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LyuṬ* also occurs after a verbal root when the action is denoted in the neuter.

EXAMPLES:

hasanaṃ chātrasya 'the laughter of the student'
śobhanam 'beautiful'

japanam 'talking'
śayanam 'sleeping'
āsanam 'seat'

1. This rule, additionally, introduces affix *LyuṬ* to *Kta* with the denotatum as stated in the earlier rule. Why were the two rules not read as one? The split-rule presentation is necessary because of the subsequent rule. The next rule requires only the *anuvṛtti* of *LyuṬ*. If the two rules were presented as one then *Kta* would also carry to the next rule.

3.3.116 कर्मणि च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम्

karmaṇi ca yena saṃsparśāt karttuḥ śarīrasukham
/*karmaṇi* 7/1 *ca* Ø *yena* 3/1 *saṃsparśāt* 5/1 *karttuḥ* 6/1 *śarīrasukham* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *napuṃsake bhāve* #114, *lyuṭ* #115)
yena karmaṇā saṃspṛśyamānasya kartuḥ śarīrasukham utpadyate tasmin karmaṇy upapade dhātor napuṃsakaliṅge bhāve lyuṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LyuṬ* occurs after a verbal root to denote an action in the neuter when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which denotes *karman* and the agent derives physical pleasure from contacting the object.

EXAMPLES:

payaḥpānaṃ sukham 'drinking of milk is comforting'
odanabhojanaṃ sukham 'eating of rice is comforting'

1. This rule introduces affix *LyuṬ* after a verbal root to denote an action in the neuter when it is used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes an object, and when the agent of the sentence finds physical (as opposed to mental) happiness by means of touching the object. A question is raised as to why this rule should be stated when its provisions could easily be covered by the preceding rule. Commentators explain that a separate rule is necessary so that, by specifying the condition of the conjoined word which denotes an object, an obligatory *upapada* compound can be formed. Thus, *odanabhojanaṃ* of *odanabhojanaṃ sukham* is an *upapada* compound where *odana* + *Ṅas* constitutes the conjoined *pada* which denotes object. The preceding rule cannot derive this kind of compound to denote action in the neuter. The same is true about the next example *payaḥpānam*. It is argued that these examples, with their actions of 'consuming' and 'drinking', cannot satisfy the condition of *saṃsparśa* 'touch'. The word *saṃsparśa* is here used to underline the fact that such formations are to be blocked in the context where the agent does not have any physical contact with the object. Consider the following counter-examples:

(*a*) *agnikuṇḍasyopāsanaṃ sukham* 'it is a joy to sit by the fireside'

(*b*) *tūlikāyā utthānaṃ sukham* 'it is a joy to wake up in a bed with a mattress filled with cotton'

(*c*) *guroḥ snāpanaṃ sukham* 'it is a joy to assist the teacher in bathing'

(*d*) *putrasya pariṣvañjanaṃ sukham* 'embracing the son brings joy'

Sentence (*a*) illustrates that the condition of *saṃsparśa* (physical contact) is not met there. Of course, proximity does not entail any contact. Sentence (*b*) does not meet the condition of the object which forms the conjoined word. It is clear that the word *tūlikāyāḥ* in the ablative denotes *apādāna*. The next sentence entails *guru* as the object, and not the agent, of the action denoted by *snāpanam*. Finally, the last example illustrates that the embrace offers mental joy (*mānasī prītiḥ*) rather than the physical.

3.3.117 करणाधिकरणयोश्च

karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca
/*karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* 7/2 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *lyuṭ* #115)
karaṇe adhikaraṇe ca kārake dhātor lyuṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LyuṬ* also occurs after a verbal root when the derivate denotes *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

idhmapravaścanaḥ 'that by means of which one cuts; an axe'
palāśaśātanaḥ 'that by means of which one cuts the *palāśa* tree'
godohanī '(pot) used for milking the cow'
saktudhānī '(pot) in which *saktu* is stored'

3.3.118 पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण

puṃsi saṃjñāyāṃ ghaḥ prāyeṇa
/*puṃsi* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1 *prāyeṇa* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117)
pulliṅgayoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayor abhidheyayor dhātor ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
Affix *GHa* generally occurs after a verbal root when the derivate names a *karaṇa* or *adhikaraṇa* in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

dantacchadaḥ 'that which covers the teeth; lips'
uraśchadaḥ paṭaḥ 'that which covers the chest; a garment'
ākaraḥ 'the place where they arrive to work; a mine'
ālayaḥ 'the place where one settles down; home'

1. This rule introduces affix *GHa* after a verbal root to denote *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa*, when the derivate is to denote a name in the masculine.

The *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa* thus become the denotata of the affix. The word *prāyeṇa* is used so that application of this rule does not become absolute (*Kāś.*: *prāyagrahaṇam akārtsnyārtham*). The three conditions: *puṃsi*, *saṃjñāyām* and *prāyeṇa* distinguish this rule from the preceding.

3.3.119 **गोचरसंचरवहव्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च**

> *gocarasaṃcaravahavrajavyajāpaṇanigamāś ca*
> */gocara...nigamāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* Ø/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *puṃsi saṃjñāyām ghaḥ* #119)
> *gocarādayaḥ śabdā ghapratyayāntā nipātyante pūrvasmin evārthe*
> Affix *GHa* occurs in the derivation, by *nipātana*, of *gocara, saṃcara, vaha, vraja, vyaja, āpaṇa* and *nigama*, when the derivate names a *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa*, in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

> *gocaraḥ* 'grazing field for cows'
> *saṃcaraḥ* 'that by which one goes; road, path'
> *vahaḥ* 'that by means of which one goes; a vehicle, conveyance'
> *vrajaḥ* 'that by means of which one moves'
> *vyajaḥ* 'that by means of which one moves the air; a fan'
> *āpaṇaḥ* 'the place where they come to barter; marketplace'
> *nigamaḥ* 'the place which one enters; marketplace; the *Vedas*'

1. This rule provides for *gocara*, etc., in the sense of *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa*, as is the case with the previous rule. The derivates of this rule are given as ad hoc (*nipātana*) so that they can be kept out of the scope of rule 3.3.121 *halaś ca*. For, all these derivates entail a verbal root which ends in a consonant. This rule can also be treated as a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to the *GHaÑ* of rule 3.3.121 *halaś ca*. A derivate such as *vyajaḥ* is able to block the application of rule 2.4.56 *ajer vyaja...*, essentially because of *nipātana*. Rule 2.4.56 provides *vī* as a replacement for verbal root *aj* before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix other than *GHaÑ* and *aP*.

The *ca* of the rule is used to bring something not stated (*anuktasamuccayārtha*) within the scope of this rule. This may cover examples, such as, *kaṣaḥ* and *nikaṣaḥ* 'touchstone' which otherwise would have involved *GhaÑ*. But these examples could easily be covered by the previous rule. Why do we have to have this rule? This rule is stated because its examples are given as ad hoc. This is not the case with either the previous, or the following rule, which assigns *GHaÑ*. These rules both involve examples with fairly straightforward derivational meanings: *karaṇa* and *adhikaraṇa*.

3.3.120 अवे तॄस्त्रोर्घञ्

ave tṛstror ghañ
/*ave* 7/1 *tṛstroḥ* 6/2 *ghañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *puṃsi saṃjñāyām prāyeṇa ghaḥ* #119)
'ava' upapade tarates tṛṇāteś ca dhātoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ saṃjñāyāṃ ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs generally after verbal roots *tṝ* 'to float' and *stṛÑ* 'to spread' when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *ava* and the derivate denotes the name of a *karaṇa*, or an *adhikaraṇa* in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

avatāraḥ 'that by means of which one comes down; incarnation; steps of a pond'
avastāraḥ 'that by means of which one covers; tent; curtain'

This is an exception to *GHa* of the preceding rule. The word *prāyeṇa* is also carried here. Consequently, some derivates may denote a *karaṇa* or *adhikaraṇa*, but not a name (*saṃjñā*). This also attests to the observation of *Kāśika* that *prāyeṇa* 'generally' could be applicable to 'all' conditions (*kārtsyena*) of a rule which includes it. The *Ñ* of *GHaÑ* is intended for *vṛddhi* (cf. 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*) as well as for accent (*svarārtha*). A replacement in *kU* (*kutva*) by rule 7.3.52 *cajoḥ kughiṇyatoḥ*, under the condition of affixal *GH* is applicable only subsequently (*uttaratra*; see *Kāś.* ad this rule).

3.3.121 हलश्च

halaś ca
/*halaḥ* 5/1 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *puṃsi saṃjñāyām prāyeṇa* #118, *ghañ* #120)
halantād dhātoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayor ghañ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* generally occurs after a verbal root also when the root ends in a *hL* (consonant; *Śs. 5-14*) and the derivate names a *karaṇa* or *adhikaraṇa* in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

lekhaḥ 'that in which one inscribes; writing'
vedaḥ 'that by which one knows; the *vedas*'
veṣṭaḥ 'that which is entered into; tent; garment'
bandhaḥ 'that which obstructs; obstruction'
mārgaḥ 'that on which one seeks; road'

apamārgaḥ 'that by which something is removed; a particular plant used for curing diseases'
vīmārgaḥ 'a particular tree; broom'

1. This rule can be treated as an exception to the preceding *GHa* rules. For, it carries all three conditions of *karaṇdhikaraṇayoḥ, puṃsi* and *saṃjñyāyām prāyeṇa*. The derivates of this rule entail *vṛddhi* and *kutva*.

3.3.122 **अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च**

adhyāyanyāyodyāvasaṃhārādhārāvāyāś ca
/*adhyāya...vāyāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *puṃsi saṃjñāyām prāyeṇa* #118, *ghañ* #120)
adhyāyādayaḥ śabdāḥ ghañantā nipātyante
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs, by *nipātana*, in the derivation of *adhyāya, nyāya, udyāva, saṃhāra, ādhāra*, and *āvāya* when the derivate names a *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa* in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

adhyāyaḥ 'that in which one studies; a chapter, book'
nyāyaḥ 'that by which one is guided; rule, law; precept'
udyāvaḥ 'that with which something else is mixed; mixture'
saṃhāraḥ 'that by which something is destroyed'
ādhāraḥ 'that in which something is held; locus'
āvāyaḥ 'that where weaving is done'

1. This ad hoc provision is in consonance with a derivation in *GHaÑ*. The problem that *GHaÑ* is made available to roots which terminated in a consonant is no problem at all. The ad hoc provision is made so that roots not terminated in a consonant (*ahalatha*) can also qualify for the introduction of the affix. Our ad hoc derivates underlie roots which do not terminate in a consonant.

The *ca* of this rule can, again, be treated as used to account for something not stated (*anuktasamuccaya*). Consider for example *avahāraḥ* 'removal'. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) states that the author of the *vṛtti* has, indeed, found an ingenious way to account for *avahāraḥ*, which, otherwise, is accounted for by *vārttika*.

3.3.123 **उदङ्कोऽनुदके**

udaṅko' nudake
/*udaṅkaḥ* 1/1 *anudake* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1 *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *puṃsi saṃjñāyām prāyeṇa* #118, *ghañ* #120)
'*udaṅka*' *iti nipātyate, anudakaviṣayaś ced dhātvartho bhavati*

Affix *GHaÑ* occurs in the derivation of *udaṅka* by *nipātana* provided the action does not relate to water and the derivate names a *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa*, in the masculine.

EXAMPLE:

tailodaṅkaḥ 'oil-can made of hide'

1. This rule, again, provides for a derivate via *nipātana*. A separate rule to account for what could have been accounted for by rule 3.3.121 is made necessary in view of the condition of *anudake* 'when the denotatum is not water'.

3.3.124 **जालमानायः**

jālamānāyaḥ
/*jālam* 1/1 *ānāyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *puṃsi saṃjñāyām prāyeṇa* #118, *ghañ* #120)
'ānāyaḥ' iti nipātyate, jālaṃ cet tad bhavati
Affix *GHaÑ* occurs, by *nipātana*, in the derivation of *ānāyaḥ* when the derivate denotes 'snare, fishing net'.

EXAMPLES:

ānāyo matsyānām 'fishing net'
ānāyo mṛgāṇām 'snare for catching deer'

3.3.125 **खनो घ च**

khano gha ca
/*khanaḥ* 5/1 *gha* (deleted 1/1) *ca* Ø /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karaṇādhikaraṇayoḥ* #117, *puṃsi saṃjñāyām prāyeṇa* #118, *ghañ* #120)
khanater dhātoḥ karaṇādhikaraṇayor ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati, cakārād ghañ ca
Affix *GHa*, as well as *GHaÑ*, occurs after verbal root *khanA* when the derivate names a *karaṇa*, or *adhikaraṇa* in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

akhanaḥ 'that by means of which, or where, one digs; a spade; mine'
ākhānaḥ 'id.'

1. The inclusion of *ca* in the rule is made so that *GHaÑ* can also be optionally introduced to *GHa*. Derivates of *GHaÑ*, as usual, will involve *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*.

3.3.126 **ईषद्दुःसुषु कृच्छ्राकृच्छ्रार्थेषु खल्**

īṣadduḥsuṣu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu khal

/*īṣadduḥsuṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *kṛcchrārtheṣu* 7/3 (*bv.* with *int. dv.*); *khal* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

'īṣad, dus, su' ity eteṣūpapadeṣu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu dhātoḥ khal pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KHaL* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *īṣat*, *dus*, or *su* when the derivate meaning is qualified with *kṛcchra* 'difficult' and *akṛcchra* 'easy'.

EXAMPLES:

īṣatkaro bhavatā kaṭaḥ 'the mat is easy for you to make'
duṣkaraḥ 'difficult to make or do'
sukaraḥ 'easy to make or do'
īṣadbhojaḥ 'easy (pleasant) to eat'
durbhojaḥ 'difficult to eat'
subhojaḥ 'easy (pleasant) to eat'

1. Note that this rule lists the three cooccurring elements with two generalized meanings of *kṛcchra* and *akṛcchra*. How do we know which meaning is related to what *upapada*? We know from usage that *īṣat* and *su* do not occur in the sense of *kṛcchra*. Similarly, *duḥ* does not occur when the context is related to *akṛcchra*. This will restrict *īṣat* and *su* to the meaning condition of *akṛcchra*, as opposed to *dus*, which will be restricted to the condition of *kṛcchra*.

Note that affix *KHaL* has been provided by rule 3.4.70 *tayor eva*...in the sense of *bhāva* and *karman*. The *KH* as an *it* in the affix is not intended, here, for *khitkārya* 'operations relative to an item marked with *KH* as an *it*', as per rule 6.3.66 *khity anavyayasya*. For, *khitkārya* is given there in the context of items other than indeclinables (*anavyaya*). Of course, *dus*, etc., are indeclinables. Why is this affix then marked with *KH* as an *it*? To facilitate the introduction of augment *mUM* in subsequent cases. Thus, affix *KHaL* is subsequently introduced even when a non- indeclinable forms an *upapada*. Augment *mUM* is facilitated there via the application of rule 6.3.67 *arurdviṣadajantasya*.... The *L* as an *it* is, of course, intended to assure the *udātta* accent on what precedes the affix (cf. 6.1.193 *liti*).

3.3.127 कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृञोः

kartṛkarmaṇoś ca bhūkṛñoḥ

/*kartṛkarmaṇoḥ* 7/2 *ca* Ø *bhūkṛñoḥ* 6/2/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *īṣadduḥsuṣu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu khal* #126)

bhavateḥ karoteś ca dhātor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ kartari karmaṇi copapade cakārād īṣadādiṣu ca khal pratyayo bhavati

Affix *KHaL* also occurs after verbal roots *bhū* and *DUkṛÑ* when the roots, in addition to *īṣat*, *dus*, and *su*, cooccur with a nominal *pada* which denotes *kartṛ* and *karman* respectively and the derivate meaning is qualified with *kṛcchra* and *akṛcchra*.

EXAMPLES:

īṣadāḍhyambhavaṃ bhavatā 'you (polite) are to be rich with ease'
durāḍhyambhavam 'difficult to be rich'
īṣadāḍhyaṅkaraḥ 'easy to be made rich'
svāḍhyaṅkaro devadatto bhavatā 'it is easy for you to make Devadatta rich'

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix *KHaL* after verbal roots *bhū* and *kṛ* when they cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *kartṛ* and *karman* respectively. Thus, *kartṛ* and *karman* are not given here as the denotata of the affix. They are given as *upapada*. The *ca* is used so that *īṣat, dus* and *su* can also be part of the cooccurrence condition.

A *vārttika* under this rule suggests that *kartṛ* and *karman*, used here as part of the cooccurrence condition, should be treated as if they ended in *CvI*. This will bring the sense of 'that which became something it previously was not' (*abhūtatadbhāva*) close to the meaning of the derivates.

3.3.128 **आतो युच्**

āto yuc
/*āt*ḥ 5/1 *yuc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *īṣadduḥsuṣu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu* # 126)
kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu īṣadādiṣūpapadeṣu ākārāntebhyo dhātubhyo yuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yuC* occurs after verbal roots when they end in *ā*, and cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *īṣat, dus,* and *su,* provided the derivate meaning is qualified with *kṛcchra* and *akṛcchra.*

EXAMPLES:

īṣatpānaḥ somo bhavatā 'it is easy for you to drink Soma'
duṣpānaḥ 'difficult to drink'
supānaḥ 'easy to drink'
īṣaddāno gaur bhavatā 'it is easy for you to make the gift of a cow'
durdānaḥ 'difficult to give'
sudānaḥ 'easy to give'

1. This rule introduces affix *yuC*, an affix with its denotatum similar to *KHaL* (*khalartha*), when *īṣat, dus* and *su* occur with the verbal roots terminated in *a*. Affix *yuC* is, thus, an exception to *KHaL*. Note that rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* orders the *yu* to be replaced with *ana*. Given the example, *īṣatpānaḥ somo bhavatā* 'Soma is easy for you to drink', *bhavat* 'you' must be put in the instrumental to denote the agent, because affix *yuC* in *īṣatpānaḥ* denotes *karman*. Affix *yuC*, thus, forms an exception to *KHaL*, though shares similar denotata.

3.3.129 छन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः

chandasi gatyarthebhyaḥ
/*chandasi* 7/1 *gatyarthebhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *īṣadduḥsuṣu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu* #126, *yuc* #128)
īṣadādiṣu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣūpapadeṣu gatyarthebhyo dhātubhyaś chandasi viṣaye yuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yuC* occurs, in the Vedic, after verbal roots with the signification of *gati* 'motion' when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *īṣat, dus*, and *su* and the derivate meaning is qualified with *kṛcchra* and *akṛcchra*.

EXAMPLES:

sūpasadano' gniḥ 'Agni, the one who is easy to reach'
sūpasadanam antarikṣam 'the world. in between (the earth and the heaven) is easy to reach'

3.3.130 अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते

anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate
/*anyebhyaḥ* 5/3 *api* Ø *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *īṣadduḥsuṣu kṛcchrākṛcchrārtheṣu* #126, *yuc* #128, *chandasi* #129)
anyebhyo' pi dhātubhyo gatyarthebhyaś chandasi viṣaye yuc pratyayo bhavati
Affix *yuC* also is seen to occur, in the Vedic, after verbal roots signifying something other than *gati* when the roots cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *īṣat, dus* and *su* and the derivate meaning is qualified with *kṛcchra* or *akṛcchra*.

EXAMPLES:

sudohanām akṛṇod... gām '... made it easy to milk...'
suvedanām akṛṇod... gām '... made it easy to find...'

3.3.131 वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा

vartamānasāmīpye vartamānavad vā
/*vartamānasāmīpye* 7/1 *vartamānavat* Ø *vā* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
vartamānasamīpe bhūte bhaviṣyati ca vartamānād dhātor vartamānavat pratyayā bhavanti
Affixes which denote the action at the current time optionally occur after a verbal root when the action is denoted at a time proximate to the current.

EXAMPLES:

kadā devadatta āgato' si 'when did you come, Devadatta!'
ayam āgacchāmi 'I am coming now'
āgacchantam eva māṃ viddhi 'consider me just arriving'
ayam āgamam 'I just arrived'
eṣo' smy āgataḥ 'here I have arrived'
kadā devadatta gamiṣyasi 'when will you go Devadatta!'
eṣa gacchāmi 'here I go'
gacchantam eva māṃ viddhi 'consider me gone'
eṣa gamiṣyāmi 'here I go'
gantāsmi 'id.'

1. This rule optionally allows for a verbal root whose action is located at a time proximate to *vartamāna* 'current time' to receive affixes similar to those whose action is located at the current time. The phrase *vartamāna-sāmīpye* 'in the proximity of the current time' is interpreted as referring to 'past' or 'future' proximate to the current time. The *vatI* of *vartamāna-vat* clearly marks the rule as an extension (*atideśa*). Pāṇini uses *vatI* to ensure that all instances of *vartamāna* do not come under the scope of this rule. What then should be accepted as the scope of this extension? Commentators note, that only those instances where the action is conditioned by *vartamāne* should come under the scope of this rule. The reference, here, is to the specification of rule 3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*. This clearly establishes the scope of the extension up to, and including, rule 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*. But still caution must be used. Consider 3.2.128 *pūṅyajoḥ...* which introduces *ŚānaN*, parallel to *LAṬ* when the action is located at the current time. This affix cannot optionally be used when the relative action is located in the past or future. It is for this reason that *vatI* is used in the rule.

Consider now the following sentences:

(*a*) *devadatta kadā' gato' si* 'when did you arrive Devadatta?'
(*b*) *ayam āgacchāmi* 'I arrived just now'
(*c*) *āgacchantam eva māṃ viddhi* 'consider me arrived'
(*d*) *ayam āgamam* 'I have just arrived'
(*e*) *eṣo' smi āgataḥ* 'here I am'
(*f*) *eṣa āgatavān* 'id.'
(*g*) *kadā gamiṣyasi* 'when will you go?'
(*h*) *eṣa gacchāmi* 'I (will) go now'
(*i*) *gacchantam eva māṃ viddhi* 'consider me gone'
(*j*) *eṣa gamiṣyāmi* 'I (will) go right now'
(*k*) *eṣa gantāsmi* 'consider me gone'

Sentences (*b–e*) and (*h–i*) constitute answers to the questions posed by sentences (*a*) and (*g*) respectively. Sentences (*b*) and (*h*) manipulate the

replacements of *LAṬ* to locate answers for an action in the past and future. The *ŚatṚ* of (*c*) and (*i*) in *āgacchantam* and *gacchantam* do the same. Similar observations can be made about other affixal usages. Sentences (*d*), (*f*), and (*i*) manipulate the past. Similarly, one can find the future also employed to answer the questions.

3.3.132 आशंसायां भूतवच्च

> *āśaṃsāyāṃ bhūtavac ca*
> */āśaṃsāyām 7/1 bhūtavat Ø ca Ø/*
> *(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, vartamānavad vā #131)*
> *bhaviṣyati kāle āśaṃsāyām gamyamānāyāṃ dhātor vā bhūtavat pratyayā bhavanti*
> Affixes which denote past action also optionally occur after a verbal root when *āśaṃsā* 'expectation' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

> *upādhyāyaś ced āgamat vyākaraṇam adhyagīṣmahi* 'if the teacher came, we will study grammar'
> *upādhyāyaś ced āgataḥ vyākaraṇam adhītavantaḥ* 'id.'
> *upādhyāyaś ced āgacchati vyākaraṇam adhīmahe* 'id.'
> *upādhāyaś ced āgamiṣyati vyākaraṇam adhyeṣyāmahe* 'id.'

1. Note that *vā* 'optionally' still carries. The condition of *vartamāna-sāmīpye*, however, is dropped. The condition of *āśaṃsā*, in the context of this rule, has been explained as: *aprāptasya priyārthasya prāptum icchā* 'desire to obtain something dear'. Obviously, future becomes the scope of the action denoted by *aśaṃsā*. Note that, the wish may be expressed at the current time but its attainment falls within the scope of future. This rule provides for the introduction of affixes similar to the past and present in the context of an action located in the future. The *ca* of the rule brings *vartamāna* close to the context of this rule. Let us examine the following:

(*a*) *upādhyāyaś ced (āgamat) (āgataḥ), (āgacchati), (āgamiṣyati); ete vyākaraṇam (adhyagīṣmahi), (adhītavantaḥ), (adhīmahe), adhyeṣyāmahe* 'if the teacher comes we will study grammar'

Note that *āgamat* and *adhyagīṣmahi* are forms of *LUṄ* which locate the action in the past in general. Forms such as *āgataḥ* and *adhītavantaḥ* similarly employ the *niṣṭhā* (1.1.25 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). The present affixes will yield forms such as *āgacchati* and *adhīmahe* with *LAṬ*. The option of future provides forms, such as, *āgamiṣyati* and *adhyeṣyāmahe*.

Commentators explain that since the rule uses *bhūtavat*, with its denotatum as *bhūtasāmānya* 'general past', *LUṄ* alone should come under

the scope of this rule. Thus, proposals for locating particular past actions via affixes *LAṄ* (3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ*) and *LIṬ* (3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*) must fall outside the scope of this rule. *Kāśikā* states that affixes *LAṄ* and *LIṬ* cannot be allowed because they denote a particular past (*bhūtaviśeṣa*), as against the general past (*bhūtasāmānya*), which forms the basis for the extension in this rule (*sāmānyātideśe viśeṣānatideśāl laṅliṭau na bhavataḥ*).

3.3.133 क्षिप्रवचने लृट्

kṣipravacane lṛṭ
/*kṣipravacane* 7/1 *lṛṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *āśaṃsāyām* #132)
kṣipravacana upapade āśaṃsāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ dhātor lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* which signifies *kṣipram* 'quickly' provided *āśaṃsā* is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

upādhyāyaś cet kṣipram āgamiṣyati, kṣipraṃ vyākaraṇam adhyeṣyāmahe 'if the teacher comes quickly, we will quickly study the grammar'

1. Derivates of this rule form an exception to the condition of *bhūtavac ca* of the preceding rule. The word *vacana* in *kṣipravacana* is used so that synonyms of *kṣipra* can also be included in the cooccurrence condition. That is, *kṣipra* is not limited here to denoting its form only (*svarūpa* 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ...*).

If this rule were to form an exception to the preceding, then Pāṇini should have formulated this rule simply as: *na kṣipravacane* 'but not when *kṣipra*, or its synonyms, occur in conjunction with the verbal root'. Once the provision of the preceding rule was negated *āśaṃsā* could have automatically made the introduction of *LṚṬ* 'general future'. For, *āśaṃsā* necessarily entails future. Commentators explain that a negative formulation of this rule would not be able to block the introduction of *LUṬ*, which also denotes future. It is to keep *LUṬ* out of the scope of this rule that Pāṇini formulates our present rule with the explicit mention of *LṚṬ*.

3.3.134 आशंसावचने लिङ्

āśaṃsāvacane liṅ
/*aśaṃsāvacane* 7/2 *liṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.3.91)
āśaṃsā yenocyate tad āśaṃsāvacanaṃ tasminn upapade dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *LIṄ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *āśaṃsā*.

EXAMPLE:

upādhyāyaś ced āgacchet āśaṃse yukto' dhīyīya 'if the teacher comes, I hope you will study diligently'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIṄ* after roots which cooccur with a word which denotes *āśaṃsā*. Note that, *āśaṃsā* necessarily entails future, and as such, the provisions of this rule could have been covered by rule 3.3.132 *āśaṃsāyāṃ bhūtavac ca*. A separate rule is formulated, however, to block the introdcution of affixes introduced in consonance with *bhūtavac ca* of 3.3.132. Note that, affixes similar to the past (*bhūta*) are optionally introduced to the future under the *āśaṃsā* provisions of rule 3.3.132. This rule simply introduces *LIṄ*. Besides, this rule requires the denotation of *āśaṃsā* via its cooccurrence condition.

Kāśikā brings out an interesting aspect of rule formulation with the example; *āśaṃse kṣipram adhīyīya* 'I hope you will learn fast'. It is stated that this example entails *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict among two rules of equal strength'. That is, in addition to this present, the preceding rule also becomes applicable to this example. Consider the following examples which illustrate equal strength (*tulyabalatā*):

(*a*) *kṣipram vyākaraṇam adhyeṣyāmahe* 'we will quickly study grammar'
(*b*) *āśaṃse yukto' adhīyīya* 'I hope you will study diligently'
(*c*) *āśaṃse kṣipram adhīyīya* 'I hope you will learn fast'

It is stated that sentence (*a*) falls within the scope of rule 3.3.133, at the strength of the condition of *kṣipra*. Consequently, affix *LṚṬ* is introduced after verbal root *adhi-i*. Sentence (*b*) illustrates that affix *LIṄ* must be used because of the cooccurrence condition of *āśaṃsā*. Since rules 3.3.133 and 3.3.134 both have their separate scope of application elsewhere, they are *sāvakāśa*. They both become applicable in case of sentence (*c*) since both the conditions of *kṣipra* and *āśaṃsā* are met. The example is derived with the introduction of affix *LIṄ*, based upon resolution of the conflict in favor of the subsequent rule (*paratva*; 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*).

3.3.135 **नाऽनद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः**

nānadyatanavat kriyāprabandhasāmīpyayoḥ
/nānadyatanavat Ø kriyāprabandhasāmīpyayoḥ 7/2 (itar. dv.)/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
anadyatanavat pratyayavidhir na bhavati kriyāprabandhe sāmīpye ca gamyamāne

Affixes which occur to denote the action at a non-current time

do not occur after a verbal root when *kriyāprabandha* 'uninterrupted action' and *sāmīpya* 'immediate time' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yāvajjīvam bhṛśaṃ annaṃ adāt 'as long as he lived he gave food'
...bhṛśaṃ annaṃ dāsyati '...he will always give food'
yāvajjīvaṃ putro' dhyāpipat 'as long as he lived he taught his son'
yāvajjīvam adhyāpayiṣyati 'he will teach as long as he lives'
ye' yaṃ paruṇamāsy atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo' gnīn ādhita 'on the full moon that has just passed, the teacher consecrated the ritual fires'
ye' yaṃ paruṇamāsy atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo somenāyaṣṭa 'on the full moon that has just passed, the teacher performed the Soma sacrifice'
ye' yaṃ paurṇamāsy atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo gām adita 'on the full moon that has just passed, the teacher made the gift of a cow'
ye' yam amāvāsyā āgāminī, etasyām upādhyāyo' agnīn ādhāsyate 'on this coming night of the (lunar) new moon, the teacher will consecrate the ritual fires'
ye' yaṃ paruṇamāsy atikrāntā, etasyām upādhyāyo somena yakṣyate 'on this coming night of the (lunar) new moon, the teacher will perform the Soma sacrifice'
ye' yam amāvāsyā" gāminī, etasyām upādhyāyo gāṃ dāsyate 'on this coming night of the (lunar) new moon, the teacher will make gift of a cow'

1. This rule negates affixal operations similar to those which obtain in the context of *anadyatana* 'not relative to the current day' when continuity (*prabandha*) and proximity (*sāmīpya*) are expressed. Consider the following examples for illustration:

(*a*) *yāvajjīvam bhṛśam annam adāt* 'he kept giving food generously as long as he lived'
(*b*) *yāvajjīvam bhṛśam annaṃ dāsyati* 'he will keep giving food generously as long as he lives'
(*c*) *yeyaṃ paurṇamāsy atikrāntā etasyām upādhyāyo agnīn ādhita somenāyaṣṭa gām adita* 'on the full-moon which just passed the teacher consecrated the ritual fire, performed the Soma sacrifice, and made the gift of a cow'
(*d*) *yeyam amāvāsyā" gāminī etasyām upādhyāyo' gnīn ādhāsyate somena yakṣyate* 'on the night of this coming new moon the teacher will consecrate the ritual fire and perform the Soma sacrifice'

The first two sentences illustrate the condition of continuity (*kriyāprabandha*), whereas the next two illustrate proximity (*sāmīpya*). The word *yāvajjīvam* in the first two examples denotes the continuity of the action of giving away food. Words such as *yeyam...atikrāntā...etasyām* and

yeyam amāvāsyā" gāminī...etasyām clearly indicate that the said sacrificial actions outlined in these sentences were performed, or will be performed, at a time not pertaining to today, but not very distant either. The negation of *anadyatanavat* demands that affixes introduced with reference to an action pertaining to today will be blocked. There are two affixes *LAṄ* 'past imperfect' and *LUṬ* 'first or immediate future' which have been introduced by 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ* and 3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ* respectively when a past or future action is not located relative to the current day. Our present rule blocks the introduction of these affixes under the conditions of *kriyāprabandha* and *sāmīpya*. The rule instead requires the introduction of affixes *LUṄ* and *LṚṬ* which denote general past and future respectively, as per rules 3.2.110 *luṅ* and 3.3.13 *lṛṭ śeṣe ca*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* questions the propriety of using double negatives (*niṣedhadvaya*) in *nānadyatanavat* = *na* + *an* + *adyatanavat* 'not similar to that which is not pertaining to the current day'. It is argued that this rule blocks the application of *LAṬ*, *LAṄ* and *LUṬ*. A suggested formulation of the *sūtra* as *anadyatanavat* can be able to block only *LAṬ*. The desired blocking of *LAṄ* and *LUṬ* cannot be accomplished. Thus, the rule must negate *anadyatana*, as opposed to *adyatana*, in order to subsequently negate the introduction of *LAṄ* and *LUṬ*, in addition to *LAṬ*. Note, in connection with this, that rules 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ* and 3.3.15 *anadyatane lut* both explicitly state the condition of *anadyatana*. It is to negate *LAṄ* and *LUṬ* that *anadyatana* must also be negated.

3.3.136 **भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन्**

bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane' varasmin
/bhaviṣyati (verbal *pada*) *maryādāvacane* 7/1 *avarasmin* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *nānadyatanavat* #135)
bhaviṣyati kāle mayādāvacane saty avarasmin pravibhāge anadyatanavat pratyayavidhir na bhavati
Affixes which occur after a verbal root to denote the action at a non-current time do not occur to denote a future action when the anterior side of a *maryādā* 'limit, extent' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

yo' yam adhvā gantavya āpāṭaliputtrāt tasya yad avaraṃ kauśāmbyās tatra dvir odanaṃ bhokṣyāmahe 'this road which extends up to *Pāṭaliputra*, on its anterior side before *Kauśāmbī* we will eat rice twice'
yo' yam adhvā gantavya āpāṭaliputtrāt tasya yad avaraṃ kauśāmbyās tatra saktūn pāsyāmaḥ 'this road which extends up to *Pāṭaliputra*, on its anterior side before *Kauśāmbī* we will drink *saktu*'

1. This rule, again, blocks operations similar to those which obtain when the action is denoted at a time other than the current. This blocking occurs under the cooccurrence condition of a word which denotes *maryādā* 'extent', with reference to a prior segment (*avara*). Note that, *anadyatanavat* is, alone, carried from the preceding rule. The condition of *bhaviṣyati* is used to block the non-current past (*bhūtānadyatana*) affix *LAṄ*. The rule will now only block the *LUṬ* which pertains to the non-current future. The general future affix *LṚṬ* will find scope of application once affix *LUṬ* is blocked. The condition of *maryādā-vacana*, further qualified with *avarasmin*, is required to block the introduction of *LṚṬ* with reference to the extent relative to a succeeding segment. Consider for example the following sentence:

(*a*) *yo' yam adhvā gantavya āpāṭaliputrāt tasya yat paraṃ kauśāmbyās tatra dvirodanaṃ bhoktāsmahe* 'we will eat rice twice on our way to Pāṭaliputra in the segment of the road subsequent to Kauśāmbī'

Affix *LṚṬ* cannot be introduced, here, after verbal root *bhuj*, because the act of eating takes place with reference to a subsequent section of the road to Pāṭaliputra. Consider this next sentence, where *LṚṬ* is used with reference to an extent relative to the prior segment of the spatial unit:

(*b*) *yo' yam adhvā gantavya āpāṭaliputrāt tasya yad avaraṃ kauśāmbyās tatra dvirodanaṃ bhokṣyāmahe* 'we will eat rice twice on our way to Pāṭaliputra in the segment of the road prior to Kauśāmbī'

The specification of extent (*maryādā*) in this rule is given relative to a segment (*deśa*) of a larger spatial unit. Thus 'the road to Pāṭaliputra' is one complete spatial unit of which the subsequent segment is marked by Kauśāmbī in sentence (*a*). This cannot qualify for the use of *LṚṬ*. Sentence (*b*) illustrates the spatial unit marked by the city of Kauśāmbī as 'the prior segment of the spatial unit marked by Pāṭaliputra'. This sentence rightly uses affix *LṚṬ*.

3.3.137 कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम्

kālavibhāge cānahorātrāṇām
/*kālavibhāge* 7/1 *ca* Ø *anahorātrāṇām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91,
nānadyatanavat #135, *bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane' varasmin* #136)
kālamaryādavibhāge saty avarasmin pravibhāge bhaviṣyati kāle anadyatanapratyayavidhir na bhavati

Affixes which occur after a verbal root to denote the action at a non-current time do not occur to denote a future action when the anterior part of a temporal limit is denoted with no reference to day and night.

EXAMPLES:

yo' yaṃ saṃvatsara āgāmī tatra yad avaram āgrahāyaṇyās tatra yuktā adhyeṣyāmahe 'this coming year, during the time prior to the full moon of *agrahāyana* (the ninth lunar month) we will study diligently'

ye' yaṃ saṃvatsara āgāmī tatra yad avaram āgrahāyaṇyās tatraudanaṃ bhokṣyāmahe 'this coming year, during... we will eat rice'

1. This rule, again, blocks operations parallel to an action located in the future, though not pertaining to the future of the current day (*adyatana*). Since this rule defines the extent with reference to the prior segment of a unit of time (*kāla*), the determination of extent in the preceding rule must refer to a spatial unit. The condition of *anahorātrāṇām* is significant, because in its absence, the preceding rule easily have accounted for the negation. The use of *anahorātrāṇām* extends the scope of the negation to specification of the prior segment of an extent via units such as *ahorātra* 'day and night'. *Kāśikā* emphasizes that an extent marked by even the touch of *ahorātra* will become the subject of this negation. Consider the following sentences for illustration:

(*a*) *yo' yaṃ māsa āgāmī tasya yo' varaḥ pañcadaśarātras tatra yuktā adhyetāsmahe* 'we will study diligently during the first fifteen nights (fortnight) of the next month'

(*b*) *yo' yaṃ triṃśadrātra āgāmī tasya yo' varo' rddhamāsaḥ..* we will study diligently during the first half-month of the coming thirty nights

(*c*) *yo' yaṃ triṃśad ahorātra āgāmī tasya yo' varaḥ pañcadaśarātras tatra...*'we will study diligently during the first fifteen of the coming thirty nights'

Note that, because of the inclusion of *ahorātra*, the negation applies no matter how the extent of the first half of the month is defined.

Commentators note that the formulation of this rule separately from the preceding cannot be justified by the use of *anahorātrāṇām*. They state that the provision of this rule could still be made by the preceding rule if *anahorātrāṇām* was read in it: *bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane' varasminn ahorātrāṇām*. Pāṇini, nonetheless, formulates two rules (*yogavibhāga*) so that the subsequent rule can receive the negation only in the context of an extent defined with reference to time (*kāla*). An extent marked in relation to a unit of space would, thus, not qualify in the context of the subsequent rule.

3.3.138 परस्मिन् विभाषा

parasmin vibhāṣā
/*parasmin* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *nānadyatanavat* #135, *bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane* #136, *kālavibhāge cānahorātrāṇām* #137)

kālamaryādāvibhāge sati bhaviṣyati kāle parasmin pravibhāge vibhāṣā anadyatanavat pratyayavidhir na bhavati, na ced ahorātrasambandhī pravibhāgaḥ

Affixes which occur after a verbal root to denote the action at a non-current time optionally do not occur to denote a future action when the posterior part of a temporal limit is denoted with no reference to day and night.

EXAMPLES:

yo' yaṃ saṃvatsara āgāmī tasya yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra yuktā adhyeṣyāmahe 'this coming year, in the part posterior to the full moon of *agrahāyaṇa*, we will study diligently'

yo' yaṃ saṃvatsara āgāmī tasya yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra yuktā adhyetāsmahe 'id.'

yo' yaṃ saṃvatsara āgāmī tasya yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra saktūn pāsyāmaḥ 'this coming year, in the part posterior to the moon of *agrahāyaṇa*, we will drink *saktu*'

yo' yaṃ saṃvatsara āgāmī tasya yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra saktūn pātāsmaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule makes the negative provision of the preceding rule optional in the context of a future action, relative to an extent determined by the subsequent (*parasmin*) segment of a unit of time. Of course, the condition of *anahorātrāṇām* is also valid. This will offer a set of two optional examples as follows:

(*a*) *yo' yaṃ samvatsara āgāmī tatra yat paramāgrahāyaṇyās tatra yuktā adhyeṣyāmahe* 'we will diligently study during that part of the coming year which will be subsequent to the full-moon of the month of *agrahāyaṇa*'

(*b*) *yo' yaṃ samvatsara...:tatra yuktā adhyetāsmahe* 'id.'

Note that, *adhyeṣyāmahe* of sentence (*a*) uses the general future affix *LṚṬ* as opposed to the *LUṬ* denoting the non-current (*anadyatana*) future, in *adhyetāsmahe* of sentence (*b*). Since this rule carries all except *avarasmin* of the preceding rule, restrictions relative to *bhaviṣyati maryādāvacane* and *kālavibhāge cānahorātrāṇām* still apply. Refer to *Kāśikā* for a detailed listing of specific counter-examples.

3.3.139 लिङ्निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ

liṅnimitte lṛṅ kriyātipattau

/*liṅnimitte* 7/1 *lṛṅ* 1/1 *kriyātipattau* 7/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, bhaviṣyati #136) liṅnimitte bhaviṣyatikāle lṛṅ pratyayo bhavati kriyātipattau satyām
Affix *LṚṄ* occurs after a verbal root to denote a future action provided conditions of *LIṄ* obtain and completion of the action is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇena ced āyāsyan na śakaṭam paryābhaviṣyat 'if he came by the southern road, the cart will not overturn'
abhokṣyata bhavān ghṛtena yadi matsamīpe āgamiṣyat 'if you came near me, you will have food with ghee'

1. This rule introduces affix *LṚṄ*, conditioned by *LIṄ*, when *kriyātipatti* 'non-completion' of a future action is denoted. Rule 3.3.156 *hetuhetumator liṅ* identifies the conditions of *LIṄ* as *hetu* 'cause' and *hetumat* 'effect'. Consider now the following sentence:

(*a*) *dakṣiṇena ced āyāsyan na śakaṭaṃ paryābhaviṣyat*

Notice that 'going by the right side of the road' forms the cause (*nimitta*) for the effect: 'no overturning of the cart'. But since the driver (for some reason or the other as we already know) will not go by the right side of the road, the cart cannot be saved from overturning. This is what *kriyātipatti* 'non-coming about, or non-completion' of an action means.

The 'cause-effect' relationship is recognized as *hetuhetumadbhāva*. *Kāśikā* states that the speaker uses sentences with a full understanding of the characteristic mark (*liṅga*; the *hetu*) along with that which is characterized (*liṅgī*; the *hetumat*). The non-completion of the action is comprehended from some other source (*liṅgaliṅge buddhyā tadatipattiṃ ca pramāṇāntarād avagamya vaktā vākyaṃ prayuṅkte*).

Consider thus this next sentence:

(*b*) *yadi kamalakam āhvāsyan na śakaṭaṃ paryābhaviṣyat* 'if he calls Kamalaka (for help), the cart will not overturn'

This sentence denotes the future scope of the non-completion of the action of 'calling out' (*āhvāna*), the cause (*hetu*), and 'overturning (*paryābhavana*)', the effect (*hetumat*; *hetuhetumator āhvānaparyābhavanayor bhaviṣyatkālaviṣayor atipattir ito vākyād avagamyate*).

2. A question is raised with regard to the explicit mention of the word *kriyā* in this rule. It is said that *atipatti* would itself denote the sense of *kriyātipatti* because this is the domain of *dhātoḥ*. Thus, the rule might well have been formulated simply as: *liṅnimitte lṛṅatipattau*. But this could have occasioned serious interpretational problems. That is, because of the presence of *liṅnimitta*, *attipatti* could be interpreted as that of *liṅnimitta*. It is for this reason that *kriyā* must be stated in this rule.

3.3.140 भूते च

bhūte ca
/bhūte 7/ ca 0/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṅnimitte lṛṅ kriyātipattau #139)
bhūte ca kāle liṅnimitte kriyātipattau satyāṃ lṛṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LṚṄ* also occurs after a verbal root to denote the action in the past when conditions of *LIṄ* obtain and completion of action is not expressed.

EXAMPLES:

dṛṣṭo mayā bhavatputro' nnārthī caṅkramyamāṇaḥ, aparaś ca dvijo brāhmaṇārthī, yadi sa tena dṛṣṭo' bhaviṣyat tadā' bhokṣyata, na tu bhuktavān, anyena pathā sa gataḥ 'I saw your son wandering about for food; the other person I saw was a *brāhmaṇa* looking for a *brāhmaṇa* to feed; if your son would have been seen by the *brāhmaṇa* then he could have eaten, but he could not eat as he went the other way'

1. This rule, read in toto with the preceding rule, extends the introduction of *LṚṄ* when the action is located in the past (*bhūta*). Our example sentence above has *yadi sa tena dṛṣṭo' bhaviṣyat* 'if your son would have been seen by him' as the *hetu* and *tadā abhokṣyata* 'then your son would have been fed' as the *hetumat*. The non-completion of the action is: *na dṛṣṭaḥ* '(the son) was not seen', and *na tu bhuktavān* 'indeed, did not eat'. The sentence uses *dṛṣṭo mayā bhavatpuro' nnārthī...brāhmaṇārthī* to clearly establish the action in the past.

3.3.141 वोताप्योः

votāpyoḥ
/vā 0 utāpyoḥ 7/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, liṅnimitte lṛṅ kriyātipattau #139, bhūte #140)
'utāpyoḥ samarthayor liṅ' iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmāt sūtrāvadher yad ita ūrddhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatra bhūte liṅnimitte kriyātipattau lṛṅ vā bhavatīty etad adhikṛtaṃ bhavati
Affix *LṚṄ* optionally occurs after a verbal root, prior to 3.3.152 *utāpyoḥ...*, to denote the action in the past when conditions of *LIṄ* obtain and completion of action is not expressed.

EXAMPLES:

kathaṃ nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalam ayājayiṣyat 'how come you, sir, have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'

1. Note that the wording of this rule underlies: *vā* + *āṄ* + *utāpyoḥ* = *votāpyoḥ*. The use of *ā* (*Ṅ*→*0*) is made to indicate the extent (*maryādā*) though not of the inclusive (*abhividhi*) type. Thus, what is stated up to, but not including, rule 3.3.152 *utāpyoḥ samarthayor liṅ* entails the optional introduction of affix *LṚṄ* under the condition of *LIṄ* when non-coming about of an action in the past is expressed. Obviously, this rule is an *adhikāra*. A rule which is not relatable to *LIṄ* cannot come under the scope of this rule, since the provision of *LṚṄ* is made optional, here, with *LIṄ*.

3.3.142 **गर्हायां लडपिजात्वोः**

> *garhāyāṃ laḍ apijātvoḥ*
> /*garhāyām* 7/1 *laṭ* 1/1 *apijātvoḥ* 7/2/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
> *garhāyāṃ gamyamānāyām apijātvor upapadayor dhātor laṭ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *LAṬ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* which contains *api* and *jātu* when *garhā* 'censure' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

> *api tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayati* 'how come you, sir, have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'
> *jātu tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayati garhāmahe, aho anyāyyam etat* 'you, sir, have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice; I despise that, oh, it is improper'

1. Note that affix *LAṬ* is introduced by 3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ* when the action is located at the current time. This rule is formulated so that *LAṬ* can also be used in the past and future. Of course, when the cooccurrence condition of *api* and *jātu* is met, along with the condition of *garhā*. We see in our examples that performing a sacrifice for a lowly untouchable (*vṛṣala*) is an act to be censured.

Kāśikā states that this rule comes into conflict with other rules which introduce affixes *LAṄ*/*LIṬ*, in the past, and *LUṬ*/*LṚṬ* in the future. This conflict is resolved in favor of the introduction of affix *LAṬ*, in view of the present rule, and based on *paratva* of 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe....* The *Mahābhāṣya* considers the introduction of *LAṬ* with reference to the condition of *garhā* as meaningless. For, the completion of the action for which someone is to be censured is still not stated. If one gets the meaning of censure in the sentence, one gets it from *tāccīlya* 'characteristic habit, or inclination'. Thus, a person may be inclined toward doing things which may be perceived as done for the sake of the ritual sacrifice for the *vṛṣala*. This action can be accepted as if the agent performed the sacrifice for the *vṛṣala*. This will rule out the past as well as the future. Affix *LAṬ*

can be introduced as usual in the temporal sense of the current action. The discussion in the *Mahābhāṣya* also implies that such an interpretation will allow the replacement of *LAṬ* with affixes *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*. Patañjali concludes that the formulation of our present rule is defective.

Note that affix *LṚṄ* cannot be optionally introduced, here, with *LAṬ*, since the provisions of this rule do not entail *hetuhetumadbhāva*.

3.3.143 **विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च**

vibhāṣā kathami liṅ ca
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *kathami* 7/1 *liṅ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *garhāyāṃ laṭ* #142)
kathaṃ śabda upapade garhāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ*, and *LAṬ* as well, optionally occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *katham* and *garhā* is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

kathaṃ nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet
kathaṃ nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayati
kathaṃ nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati
kathaṃ nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayitā
kathaṃ nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ ayājayat
kathaṃ nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayāñcakāra

1. This rule allows for introduction of affix *LIṄ*, and *LAṬ* as well, provided the verbal root occurs in conjunction with *katham* 'how come?', and *garhā* is denoted. Note that, the word *vibhāṣā* is not used, here, optionally to provide for affix *LAṬ*. For, that can be easily recieved from *ca* 'and'. Actually, *vibhaṣā* is used, here, to provide for *LIṄ*, as well as *LAṬ*, used with other *LA* affixes as the case may be. Consider the following sentences for illustration:

(*a*) *kathaṃ nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet* 'how come sir, you perform the sacrifice for a *vṛṣala*?
(*b*) *kathaṃ...yājayati* 'how come... is performing...'
(*c*) *kathaṃ...yājayiṣyati* 'how come...will perform...'
(*d*) *kathaṃ...yājayitā* 'id.'
(*e*) *kathaṃ...ayājayat* 'how come...performed...'
(*f*) *kathaṃ...yājayāñcakāra* 'id.'

Note that sentences (*a*) and (*b*) illustrate the provisions of this rule, as per the use of *LIṄ* and *LAṬ* via *ca* 'and'. The remaining sentences involve affixes of the past and future as an option to *LIṄ* and *LAṬ*.

2. Usages which may entail *kriyātipatti* in the context of *hetuhetumadbhāva*, and with the scope of the action in the past (*bhūta*), will optionally use

LṚṄ together with *LAṄ*. Thus, compare sentence (*a*) with the following sentence (*g*):

(*g*) ***kathaṃ nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalam ayājayiṣyat*** 'how come you performed the sacrifice for the *vṛṣala* sir!?'

Note, however, that when the action which involves *kriyātipatti* has the scope of future, then *LṚṄ* will have to be used obligatorily (*nityam*).

3.3.144 **किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ**

kiṃvṛtte liṅlṛṭau
/*kiṃvṛtte* 7/1 *liṅlṛṭau* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *garhāyām* #142)
kiṃvṛtta upapade garhāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ dhātor liṅlṛṭau pratyau bhavataḥ
Affixes *LIṄ* and *LṚṬ* occur after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* which contains *kim*, provided *garhā* is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

ko nāma vṛṣalo yaṃ tatra bhavān yājayet 'who, sir, is this *vṛṣala* for whom you have performed the sacrifice?'
ko nāma vṛṣalo yaṃ tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati 'who, sir, is this *vṛṣala* for whom you have performed the sacrifice'
kataro nāma vṛṣalo yaṃ tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet 'which indeed, sir, is this *vṛṣala* for whom you have performed the sacrifice'

1. Note that *garhāyām* still carries. The *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* is dropped. This rule, thus, provides for the introduction of affixes *LIṄ* or *LṚṬ* when the root cooccurs with a word constituted by *kim* 'who, what' (*kiṃvṛtta*). The word *vṛtta* of *kiṃvṛtta* refers to the paradigmatic form of *kim*, which also includes forms with affixes *Ḍatar* and *Ḍatam*. The explicit use of *LIṄ* in this rule is made so that the *anuvṛtti* of *LAṬ* from the preceding rule based on its association (*sāhacarya*) with *LIṄ* can be blocked. The use of *LṚṬ*, alone, in addition to *LIṄ*, is clearly made to exclude any other *LA* affix. This provision of *LIṄ* and *LṚṬ* consequently becomes an exception to all *LA* affixes.

The use of *LṚṄ*, however, becomes optional when 'non-completion' of a past action relative to *hetuhetumadbhāva* is expressed. The future of this type, of course, will use *LṚṄ* obligatorily. Also see notes under the preceding rule.

3.3.145 **अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि**

anavakḷptyamarṣayor akiṃvṛtte' pi
/*anavakḷptyamarṣayoḥ* 7/2 *akiṃvṛtte* 7/1 *api* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅlṛṭau* #144)

'kiṃvṛtte copapade' navaklṛptyamarṣayor dhātor liṅlṛṭau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *LIṄ* and *LṚṬ* occur after a verbal root even when the root does not cooccur with a nominal *pada* which contains *kim* provided *anavaklṛpti* 'incredibility' or *amarṣa* 'intolerance' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

nāvakalpayāmi, na saṃbhāvāyāmi, na śraddhe, tatra bhavān nāma vṛṣalaṃ yājayet 'I do not believe, imagine, nor respect that you, sir, may have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'
nāvakalpayāmi, na saṃbhāvayāmi, na śraddhe, tatra bhavān nāma vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati 'I do not believe, imagine, nor respect that you, sir, will have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'
na marṣayāmi tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet 'I do not tolerate that you, sir, may have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'
na marṣayāmi tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati 'I do not tolerate that you, sir, will have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'

1. This rule provides for introduction of affixes *LṚṄ* and *LṚT* after both verbal roots which cooccur with a form of *kim*, or those which do not, provided, of course, *anavaklṛpti* 'incredibility' *(asambhāvanā)* and *amarṣa* 'intolerance' (*akṣamā*) are denoted.

The order of constituents in *anavaklṛptyamarṣa* is not in consonance with rules. That is, *amarṣa* should have been placed first because it contains fewer vowels than the other constituent *anavaklṛpti* (2.2.34 *alpāctaram*). By not following the technical provision, Pāṇini makes it known that, in the context of this rule, assignment of an equal number of elements to two sets does not follow *saṃkhyātānudeśa* (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*), order of enumeration. That is, given the introduction of two affixes *LIṄ* and *LṚṬ* under the condition of *anavaklṛpti* and *amarṣa*, one should not, following the provision of rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...*, think that: 'affix *LIṄ* is to be introduced when *anavaklṛpti* is denoted'; and 'affix *LṚṬ* is to be introduced when *amarṣa* is denoted'.

Note that, the non-completion of a past action under the condition of *hetuhetumadbhāva* will be optionally denoted by *LṚṄ*. That provision will become obligatory in case of the non-completion of a future action:

nāvakalpayāmi tatra bhavān nāma vṛṣalam ayājayiṣyat.

3.3.146 **किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट्**

kiṃkilāstyartheṣu lṛṭ
/*kiṃkilāstyartheṣu* 7/3 *lṛṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *anavaklṛptyamarṣayoḥ* #145)
kiṃkilāstyartheṣūpapadeṣu anavaklṛptyamarṣayor dhātor lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *kiṃkila*, or a *pada* which may have the signification of *asti*, when *anavakḷpti* or *amarṣa* is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

kiṃkil nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi 'I do not respect or tolerate that you, sir, may have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'
asti nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi 'id.'
bhavati nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi 'id.'
vidyate nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati na śraddhe na marṣayāmi 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *LṚṬ* under the cooccurrence condition of *kiṃkila* 'a particle which denotes anger', or a word with the signification of *asti* 'existence', i.e., *asti, bhavati*, or *vidyate*, provided *anavakḷpti* and *amarṣa* are expressed. Thus, we get: (*kiṃkila*), *asti, bhavati*, or *vidyate bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayiṣyati* 'Oh, how shameful, indeed, is your performing the sacrifice for the lowly untouchable'. The provision of this rule forms an exception to affix *LIṄ* of the earlier rule.

Affix *LṚṄ* cannot be used, here, since there is no condition of *hetuhetumadbhāva*.

3.3.147 जातुयदोर्लिङ्

jātuyador liṅ
/*jātuyadoḥ* 7/2 *liṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *anavakḷptyamarṣayoḥ* #145)
'jātu, yad' ity etayor upapadayor anavakḷptyamarṣayor gamyamānayor dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with *jātu* and *yad* when *anavakḷpti* or *amarṣa* is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

jātu tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet na śraddhe, na marṣayāmi
yan nāma tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet

1. This is an exception to *LṚṬ*, outlined under the cooccurrence condition formed by *jātu* 'perhaps' and *yad* 'that which...'. A *vārttika* recommends that *yadā*, and *yadi* should also be included under items which form the cooccurrence condition. The rule, itself, introduces *LIṄ* as an exception to the *LṚṬ* of rule 3.4.145 *anavaklṛptyamarṣayor....*

3.3.148 यच्चयत्रयोः

yaccayatrayoḥ

/*yaccayatrayoḥ* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *anavakḷptyamarṣayoḥ* #145, *liṅ* #147)
'yacca, yatra' ity etayor upapadayor anavakḷptyamarṣayor gamyamānayor dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *yacca* and *yatra* when *anavakḷpti* or *amarṣa* is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

yacca tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet na śraddhe, na marṣayāmi 'I do not respect, and can not tolerate, that you sir, may have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice.'
yatra tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet na śraddhe, na marṣayāmi 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIṄ* similar to the preceding rule, though under the cooccurrence condition constituted by *yacca* 'and that which', and *yatra* 'and the place where'. Why did Pāṇini not state the cooccurrence condition of this rule as part of the preceding rule? This would have saved him a rule. Commentators observe that a separate rule (*yogavibhāga*) is needed so that only *yacca* and *yatra* can be carried to the subsequent rule. A joint listing of rules would have required carrying the entire listing of cooccurrence conditions.

2. Note that in the context of general past with 'non-completion' (*kriyātipatti*), affix *LṚṄ* can also be introduced. In the case of future, *LṚṄ* is introduced obligatorily.

3. Note that *yacca* and *yatra*, the two cooccurring words, cannot be associated with the two conditions of *anavakḷpti* and *amarṣa*, as per the principle of *saṃkhyātānudeśa* (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam*....)

3.3.149 **गर्हायां च**

garhāyāṃ ca
/*garhāyām* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #147, *yaccayatrayoḥ* #148)
'yacca, yatra' ity etayor upapadayor dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati garhāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
Affix *LIṄ* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *yacca* and *yatra* when *garhā* is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

yacca tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet ṛddho vṛddhaḥ san brāhmaṇaḥ, garhāmahe, aho, anyāyyam etat 'I despise that you, sir, a wealthy old *brāhmaṇa*, will have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice; this, indeed, is improper'

yatra tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet ṛddho vṛddhaḥ san brāhmaṇaḥ, garhāmahe, aho, anyāyyam etat 'id.'

1. Note that *anavakḷptyamarṣayoḥ* is not carried here. The cooccurrence condition of *yacca* and *yatra*, in addition to *LIṄ*, is still valid. The *LIṄ* provision of this rule, under the cooccurrence condition of *yacca* and *yatra*, and coupled with the denotatum of *garhā*, constitutes an exception to the other *LA* affixes. The optional and obligatory provisions of *LṚṄ*, under the condition of *kriyātipatti* in the past and future, will obtain as usual.

3.3.150 **चित्रीकरणे च**

citrīkaraṇe ca
/*citrīkaraṇe* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #147, *yaccayatrayoḥ* #148)
yaccayatrayor upapadayoś citrīkaraṇe gamyamāne dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *yacca* and *yatra* when *citrīkaraṇa* 'astonishment' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

yacca tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet, āścaryam etat 'it is astonishing that you, sir, will have a *vṛṣala* perform the sacrifice'
yatra tatra bhavān vṛṣalaṃ yājayet, āścaryam etat 'id.'

1. The provision of this rule is similar to the preceding, except that *citrīkaraṇa* 'astonishment' replaces *garhā* as the meaning condition. Under the condition of *kriyātipatti*, *LṚṄ* is applicable to past and future actions as indicated earlier.

3.3.151 **शेषे लृडयदौ**

śeṣe lṛḍ ayadau
/*śeṣe* 7/1 *lṛṭ* 1/1 *ayadau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *citrīkaraṇe* #150)
śeṣe upapade citrīkaraṇe gamyamāne dhātor lṛṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LṚṬ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with an item other than *yacca* and *yatra*. with additional exception of *yadi*, when *citrīkaraṇa* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

āścaryaṃ citram adbhutam andho nāma parvatam ārokśyati, badhiro nāma vyākaraṇam adhyeṣyate 'it is astonishing, indeed, that a blind one will climb the mountain, a deaf one will study the grammar'

1. Commentators state that the word *śeṣa* 'remainder' is used here in relation to *yacca* and *yatra*. Thus, *LṚṬ* is used when *yacca* and *yatra* are not used as *upapada* provided 'astonishment' is denoted. Of course, *yadi* is also excluded. Why can we not accept the residual scope of this rule in relation to *citrīkaraṇe*. This will then permit *yacca* and *yatra* to form the cooccurrence condition, but rule out the denotatum of 'astonishment'. Commentators state that *citrīkaraṇe* is marked with *svarita*, and hence must be carried to our present rule. Conversely, *yacca* and *yatra* should not be carried to this rule, since they are not marked with *svarita*. This introduction of *LṚṬ* is also explained as an exception to all other *LA* affixes. Affix *LIṄ* cannot be introduced either, because of an absence of *hetuhetumadbhāva*.

3.3.152 **उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ्**

utāpyoḥ samarthayor liṅ
/utāpyoḥ 7/2 *samarthayoḥ* 7/2 *liṅ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91*)*
'uta, api' ity etayoḥ samarthayor upapadayor dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *uta* and *api*, provided they mean the same thing.

EXAMPLES:

uta kuryāt 'yes, he may do'
api kuryāt 'id.'
utādhīyīta 'yes, he may read'
apyadhīyīta 'id.'

1. Note that *uta* and *api* are synonymous when denoting the sense 'yes indeed (*bāḍham*).' The following sentences illustrate how *LIṄ* cannot be introduced because of lack of synonymity between *uta* and *api*:

(*a*) *uta daṇḍaḥ patiṣyati* 'is the stick going to fall?'
(*b*) *api dvāraṃ dhāsyati* 'he is closing the door, I hope'

The first sentence uses *uta* as an interrogative function word. The second uses *api* in association with *dhā* in the sense 'to close'.

The provision of this rule, again, constitutes an exception to all other *LA* affixes. Furthermore, the *anuvṛtti* of 3.3.114 *votāpyoḥ* is no longer valid. Consequently, the optional introduction of *LṚṄ*, relative to 'non-completion' of a past action under the condition of *hetuhetumadbhāva*, no longer remains optional. From here on, it will become obligatory (*nitya*), as has been the case with a future action.

3.3.153 **कामप्रवेदनेऽकच्चिति**

kāmapravedane' kacciti

/kāmapravedane 7/1 *akacciti* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #152)
kāmapravedane gamyamāne' kaccity upapade dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with an item other than *kaccit* when *kāmapravedana* 'expression of desire' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kāmo me bhuñjīta bhavān 'it is my wish that you eat'
abhilāṣo me bhuñjīta bhavān 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* glosses *kāmapravedana* as *svābhiprāyāviṣkaraṇam* 'revealing one's intent'. The exclusion of *kaccit* as an *upapada* is necessary, since it expresses hope. Consider *kaccid jīvati te mātā kaccid jīvati te pitā* '(I hope) your mother, and your father as well, are alive' which is offered as a counter-example. Obviously, it may create problems of interpretation.

3.3.154 **सम्भावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे**

sambhāvane' alam iti cet siddhāprayoge
/saṃbhāvane 7/1 *alam* ∅ *iti* ∅ *cet* ∅ *siddhāprayoge* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #152)
sambhāvane' rthe vartamānād dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati siddhaś ced alamo' prayogaḥ
Affix *LIṄ* occurs after a verbal root denoting an action that entails *sambhāvana* 'possibility' provided the sense of *alam* 'capability' is expressed implicitly.

EXAMPLES:

api śirasā parvataṃ bhindyāt 'he can break a mountain with his head'
api droṇapākaṃ bhuñjīta 'he can eat a *droṇa* of food'

1. Note that the condition of *siddhāprayoge* requires that a given meaning be expressed without use of the word explicitly. The word *siddhāprayoge* is used, here, as the qualifier to *alam* to thus yield the meaning: 'when the sense of *alam* is denoted without its explicit use'. Consider the following sentences:

(*a*) *api parvataṃ śirasā bhindyāt* 'it is fully expected that he will break the mountain with his head'
(*b*) *videśasthāyī devadatta prāyeṇa gamiṣyati grāmam* 'I expect that Devadatta, who is living away, will some day return to the village'
(*c*) *alaṃ devadatto hastinaṃ haniṣyati* 'Devadatta is capable of killing the elephant'

The first sentence expresses the expectation that someone is capable (*alam*) of breaking the mountain with his head. The capability of bringing

about the expected action, though, is expressed here without the explicit use of the word *alam*. Affix *LIṄ* is thus rightly used after verbal root *bhid* 'to split'. The expectation of sentence (*b*) lacks the expression of Devadatta's capability to return to the village. This is why *LIṄ* is not introduced with *gam*. Sentence (*c*) does not qualify for the introduction of *LIṄ* because of the explicit use of *alam*.

3.3.155 **विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽयदि**

vibhāṣā dhātau saṃbhāvanavacane' yadi
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *dhātau* 7/1 *sambhāvanavacane* 7/1 *ayadi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #152, *sambhāvane' lam iti cet siddhāprayoge* #154)
sambhāvanavacane dhātāv upapade yacchabdavarjite dhātor vibhāṣā liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* optionally occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a root which signifies *sambhāvana* when *yad* 'that which...' is not used and the sense of *alam* is implicit.

EXAMPLES:

sambhāvayāmi bhuñjīta bhavān 'I expect that you will eat'
sambhāvayāmi bhokṣyate bhavān 'id.'
avakalpayāmi bhuñjīta bhavān 'I presume that you will eat'
avakalpayāmi bhokṣyate bhavān 'id.'

1. This rule makes the obligatory provision of the preceding rule optional in connection with a verbal root cooccurring with some other root which signifies *sambhāvana* provided *yad* is not used, and capability is denoted without the explicit use of *alam*. Thus, the examples: (*sambhāvayami*) / (*avakalpayāmi*) (*bhokṣyate*) / (*bhuñjīta*) *bhavān* 'I expect sir! that you are capable of eating', where *bhokṣyate* and *bhuñjīta* are optional forms in the context of *sambhavāvayāmi* and *avakalpayāmi* and denote 'expectation'. Of course, the sense of *alam* is understood.

3.3.156 **हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ्**

hetuhetumator liṅ
/*hetuhetumatoḥ* 7/2 = *hetuś ca hetumac ca* = *hetumatī, tayoḥ (itar. dv.); liṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *vibhāṣā* #155)
hetubhūte hetumati cārthe vartamānād dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* optionally occurs after a verbal root when *hetu* 'cause' and *hetumat* 'effect' are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇena ced yāyāt na śakaṭaṃ paryābhavet 'the cart will not overturn

if he goes by the right side of the road'
dakṣiṇena cet yāsyati na śakaṭaṃ paryābhaviṣyati 'id.'

1. Since the provision of this rule is optional, one can also find the use of *LṚṬ* parallel to *LIṄ*:

(*a*) *dakṣiṇena ced yāyān na śakaṭaṃ paryābhavet*
(*b*) *dakṣiṇena ced yāsyati na śakaṭaṃ paryābhaviṣyati*

A sentence such as *hantīti palāyate* '...runs away because he is killing' cannot qualify for *LIṄ* since both *hanti* and *palāyate* are given in the present. Note that *iti* is used in the sense of *hetu*, recognized here as *hanana*. The action of 'running away' is the effect (*hetumat*).

A restatement of *LIṄ* when it is already available from the *anuvṛtti* is made so that the context of this usage can be limited to the future only.

3.3.157 **इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ**

icchārtheṣu liṅloṭau
/*icchārtheṣu* 7/1 *liṅloṭau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
icchārtheṣu dhātuṣūpapadeṣu dhātor liṅloṭau pratyau bhavataḥ
Affixes *LIṄ* and *LOṬ* occur after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of *iṣ* 'to wish'.

EXAMPLES:

icchāmi bhuñjīta bhavān 'it is my wish that you please eat'
icchāmi bhuṅktāṃ bhavān 'id.'
kāmaye bhuñjīta bhavān 'id.'
kāmaye bhuṅktāṃ bhavān 'id.'

1. The specific use of *LIṄ*, along with *LUṬ*, is made so that this optional provision can be treated as an exception to all other *LA* affixes (*sarvalakārāṇām apavādaḥ*).

3.3.158 **समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन्**

samānakartṛkeṣu tumun
/*samānakartṛkeṣu* 7/3 *tumun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *icchārtheṣu* #157)
icchārtheṣu dhātuṣu samānakartṛkeṣūpapadeṣu dhātos tumun pratyayo bhavati
Affix *tumUN* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of *iṣ*, provided both actions share the same *kartṛ* 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

icchati bhoktum 'he wishes to eat'

kāmayate bhoktum 'id.'
vāñchati bhoktum 'id.'
vaṣṭi bhoktum 'id.'

1. Note that the identical agent condition is given in relation to the base after which affix *tumUN* is introduced. Thus, *tumUN* cannot be introduced after verbal root *bhuj* 'to consume' in **devadattaṃ bhoktum icchati yajnadattaḥ* 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat' because *iṣ* does not have Devadatta as its agent. The correct sentence should be: *devadattaṃ bhuñjānam icchati yajñadattaḥ*.

A question is raised as to why *icchan karoti* cannot avail *tumUN* to yield *icchan kartum*? After all, the cooccurrence condition is met along with the condition of identical agents. However, sentences, such as, *icchan kartum* do not occur in usage at all. The grammar does not have to account for something which does not exist.

3.3.159 **लिङ् च**

liṅ ca
/*liṅ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *icchārtheṣu* #157, *samānakartṛkeṣu* #158)
icchārtheṣu samānakartṛkeṣu dhātuṣūpapadeṣu dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with the other which has the signification of *iṣ* provided both actions share the same *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

bhuñjīyetīcchati 'he wishes that you eat'
adhīyīyetīcchati 'id.'

1. This rule is stated separately from the preceding so that, in the subsequent rule, only *LIṄ* (and no *tumUN*) can be carried. Thus, split-formulation (*yogavibhāga*) is intended for what follows (*yogavibhāga uttarārtham*).

3.3.160 **इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्त्तमाने**

icchārthebhyo vibhāṣā vartamāne
/*icchārthebhyaḥ* 5/3 *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *vartamāne* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #159)
icchārthebhyo dhātubhyo vartamāne kāle vibhāṣā liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* optionally occurs after verbal roots with the signification of *iṣ* when the action is denoted at the current time.

EXAMPLES:

icchet 'he wishes...'
icchati 'id.'
kāmayate 'id.'
kāmayeta 'id.'

1. This optional provision of *LIṄ* is made in view of 3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*. That is, we will get two forms: *icchet*, as well as, *icchati*.

3.3.161 **विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्टसम्प्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ्**

vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhīṣṭasampraśnaprārthaneṣu liṅ
/*vidhi...prārthaneṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *liṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
vidhyādyartheṣu dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* occurs after a verbal root when *vidhi* 'command, injunction', *nimantraṇa* 'invitation', *āmantraṇa* 'polite address, pro forma invitation,' *adhīṣṭa* 'polite wish, solicitation', *sampraśna* 'proper question', and *prārthanā* 'request, prayer' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ kuryāt 'he should make the mat'
grāmaṃ bhavān āgacchet 'you, sir, should come to the village'
iha bhavān bhuñjīta 'you, sir, please eat here'
iha bhavān āsīta 'you, sir, please sit here'
adhīcchāmo bhavantaṃ māṇavakaṃ bhavān upanayet 'it is my earnest wish that you please perform the initiation of my son'
kiṃ nu khalu bho vyākaraṇam adhīyīya 'should I study grammar'
bhavati me prārthanā vyākaraṇam adhīyīya 'it is my request that I should study grammar'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIṄ* after a verbal root when *vidhi*, *nimantraṇa*, *āmantraṇa*, *adhīṣṭa*, *sampraśna* and *prārthanā* are denoted. Note that the first four meanings all entail instigation of some sort or the other. Separate mention of particular words is simply an expatiation (*prapañca*) of the same. There have been some efforts to differentiate these meanings. Thus, *vidhi* is to be used in the context of a command issued to someone younger, or someone who is an employee. Conversely, *adhīṣṭa* may entail a situation where one entreats an elder, or respectable person, to do something. Commentators explain this with *satkārapūrvako vyāpāraḥ* which is mostly approaching one's elders, for example, a teacher, in order to request them to do something. A difference between *nimantraṇa* and *āmantraṇa* is made on the basis of *kāmacāra* 'doing as one pleases'. That is, *āmantraṇa* can be seen as an invitation which a person

can decline without any (ritual) consequences. A *nimantraṇa* is glossed as *niyogakaraṇa*, something one is delegated (and may be obligated) to do. This clearly rules out 'doing as one pleases' (*kāmacāra-karaṇam*). The scope of these meanings can be summarized as command, request, and deliberation. Commentators have also discussed the following four questions in connection with these meanings:

(*a*) Are *vidhi*, etc., the meanings of the base (*prakṛtyartha*) after which affix *LIṄ* is to be introduced?

(*b*) Are these meanings to be accepted as the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārtha*)?

(*c*) Are these meanings to be accepted as modifiers to the meaning of the base (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇaṇa*)?

(*d*) Are these meanings to be accepted as modifiers to the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇa*)?

The second view is unacceptable, since *LIṄ* could, then, only be introduced when the bases which denote these meanings are used. Thus, we will only get *vidadhyāt, nimantrayet, āmantrayet, adhīcchet, sampracchet*, and *prārthayet*. The (*c*) above is also not acceptable, since there is no additional meaning that one gets by modifying the base-meanings with *vidhi*, etc. The first view must also be unacceptable. For, *vidhi*, etc., could then become the denotators of the affixal meanings of *bhāva* 'action', *kartṛ* 'agent', and *karman* 'object'. Commentators accept the fourth view whereby *vidhi*, etc., are accepted as the modifiers of the affixal meanings.

This rule, again, is treated as an exception to the introduction of all *LA* affixes.

3.3.162 लोट् च

loṭ ca

/*loṭ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *vidhinimantraṇa... prārthaneṣu* #161)

loṭ pratyayo bhavati dhātor vidhyādiṣv artheṣu

Affix *LOṬ* also occurs after a verbal root when *vidhi, nimantraṇa, āmantraṇa, sampraśna* and *prārthanā* are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭaṃ tāvad bhavān karotu 'in the meantime, you please make the mat'

grāmaṃ bhavān āgacchatu 'you please come to the village'

amutra bhavān āstām 'you please sit there'

amutra bhavān bhuṅktām 'you please eat there'

iha bhavān bhuṅktām 'id'

adhīcchāmo bhavantaṃ māṇavakaṃ bhavān adhyāpayatu 'it is my wish that you please teach my son'

adhīcchāmo bhavantaṃ māṇavakaṃ bhavān upanayatām 'id.'
kiṃ nu khalu bho vyākaraṇam adhyayai 'it is my wish to study grammar, sir'
bhavati me prārthanā vyākaraṇam adhyayai 'id.'

1. This split-rule (*yogavibhāga*) is made so that in the subsequent rule only *LOṬ* can be carried. A joint formulation of this rule with the earlier one would make the *anuvṛtti* of *LIṄ* required.

3.3.163 **प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च**

praiṣātisargaprāptakāleṣu kṛtyāś ca
/praiṣātisargaprāptakāleṣu 7/3 *kṛtyāḥ* 1/3 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *loṭ* #162)
praiṣādiṣv artheṣu dhātoḥ kṛtyasaṃjñakāḥ pratyayā bhavanti, cakārāl loṭ ca
Affixes termed *kṛtya*, and *LOṬ* as well, occur after a verbal root when *praiṣa* 'direction, ordering', *atisarga* 'granting permission' and *prāptakāla* 'proper time' are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

bhavatā kaṭaḥ karaṇīyaḥ 'the mat should be made by you'
bhavatā kaṭaḥ karttavyaḥ 'id.'
bhavatā kaṭaḥ kṛtyaḥ 'id.'
bhavatā kaṭaḥ kāryaḥ 'id.'
karotu kaṭaṃ bhavān iha preṣitaḥ 'I commission you to please make the mat'
karotu kaṭam bhavān atisṛṣṭaḥ 'I grant you permission to make the mat'
bhavataḥ prāptakālaḥ kaṭakaraṇe 'It is time for you to make the mat'

1. This rule introduces *kṛtya* affixes after a verbal root when *praiṣa*, *atisarga*, and *prāptakāla* are denoted. The *ca* of this rule is used so that *LOṬ* can be carried from the preceding rule. Thus, *LOṬ* becomes an option to the provision of this rule. Consider thus the following examples:

(*a*) *bhavatā kaṭaḥ* (*karaṇīyaḥ*, *kartavyaḥ*, *kṛtyaḥ*, or *kāryaḥ*) 'the mat should be made by you'
(*b*) *karotu kaṭaṃ bhavān iha preṣitaḥ* 'please make the mat here as commissioned'
(*c*) *karotu kaṭaṃ bhavān atisṛṣṭaḥ* 'please make the mat as you are asked'
(*d*) *bhavataḥ prāptakālaḥ kaṭakaraṇe* 'the time for you to make the mat has arrived'

The first sentence illustrates the option of four affixes: *anīyaR*, *tavyaT* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*), *KyaP* (3.1.120 *vibhāṣa kivṛṣoḥ*), and *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*) respectively. Sentences (*b*-*d*) illustrate the optional

LOṬ with reference to the meaning conditions of *praiṣa*, *atisarga*, and *prāptakāla*.

Why must we provide for the introduction of the *kṛtya*, here? Are they not covered already to denote *bhāva* and *karman* (3.4.70 *tayor eva...*)? Besides, introduction in the specific context of *praiṣa*, etc., is included within the general context of *bhāva* and *karman*. Thus, *kṛtyāḥ* should not be stated in the rule. The argument that *kṛtyāḥ* is used so that the specific provision of *LOṬ* will block the general provision of the *kṛtya* affixes will not hold. For, the provision of *vā' sarūpavidhi* (3.1.94 *va' sarūpo' striyām*) will not let that happen. Pāṇini still reads *kṛtyāḥ* in this *sūtra* to indicate that the provisions of *vā' sarūpavidhi* do not necessarily apply in each and every instance beyond the scope of rule 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin* (cf.: *stryadhikārāt pareṇa vā' sarūpavidhir nāvaśyaṃ bhavati*).

3.3.164 **लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्त्तिके**

liṅ corddhvamauhūrttike
/*liṅ* 1/1 *ca* Ø *ūrdhvamauhūrttike* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *praiṣātisargaprāptakāleṣu* #163)
praiṣādiṣu gamyamāneṣu ūrddhvamauhūrttike' rthe varttamānād dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yathāprātaṃ ca
Affix *LIṄ*, and *kṛtya* and *LOṬ* as well, occurs after a verbal root when *praiṣa*, *atisarga* and *prāptakāla* are denoted with reference to a unit of future time exceeding a *muhūrtta*.

EXAMPLES:

upari muhūrttasya bhavatā khalu kaṭaḥ karttavyaḥ 'the mat should be made by you after a *muhūrtta*'
upari muhūrttasya bhavatā khalu kaṭaḥ karṇīyaḥ 'id.'
upari muhūrttasya bhavatā khalu kaṭaḥ kāryaḥ 'id.'
bhavān khalu kaṭaṃ kuryāt 'you should indeed make the mat'
bhavān khalu kaṭaṃ karotu 'id.'
bhavān iha preṣitaḥ 'you have been commissioned...'
bhavān atisṛṣṭaḥ 'id.'
bhavān prāptakālaḥ kaṭakaraṇe 'your time... has come'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIṄ*, in addition to the *kṛtya* affixes and *LOṬ*, provided *praiṣa*, *atisarga*, and *prāptakāla* are denoted relative to a period of time over a *muhūrtta* 'forty-eight minutes'.

3.3.165 **स्मे लोट्**

sme loṭ
/*sme* 7/1 *loṭ* 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *praiṣātisargaprāptakāleṣu* #163 *ūrddhvamauhūrttike* #164*)*
smaśabda upapade praiṣādiṣu gamyamāneṣūrddhvamauhūrttike' rthe vartta-mānād dhātor loṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LOṬ* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *sma* when *praiṣa, atisarga* and *prāptakāla* are denoted with reference to a unit of future time exceeding a *muhūrtta.*

EXAMPLES:

ūrdhvaṃ muhūrttād bhavān kaṭaṃ karotu sma 'you should please make the mat after a *muhūrtta*'
ūrdhvaṃ muhūrttād bhavān grāmaṃ gacchatu sma 'you should please go to the village after a *muhūrtta*'
ūrdhvaṃ muhūrttād bhavān māṇavakam adhyāpayatu sma 'you should please teach (my) son after a *muhūrtta*'

1. This rule introduces affix *LOṬ* under the cooccurrence condition of *sma* as an exception to *LIṄ* and the *kṛtya* affixes of rule 3.1.163 *praiṣātisarga....* The *anuvṛtti* of *praiṣāti...kāla* and *ūrddhvamauhūrttike* is still valid.

3.3.166 अधीष्टे च

adhīṣṭe ca
/*adhīṣṭe* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *sme loṭ* #165*)*
smaśabda upapade' dhīṣṭe dhātor loṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LOṬ* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *sma* when *adhīṣṭa* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aṅga sma rājan māṇavakam adhyāpaya 'O king, please teach (my) son'
aṅga sma rājann aganihotraṃ juhudhi 'O king, please perform the Agnihotra'

1. This rule introduces affix *LOṬ*, as an exception to *LIṄ* of rule 3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇādhīṣṭa...* provided the root occurs in conjunction with *sma*, and *adhīṣṭa* 'request' is denoted. Thus we get: *aṅga sma rājan māṇavakam adhyāpaya* 'I most respectfully request you O king! to kindly teach my son'.

3.3.167 कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन्

kālasamayavelāsu tumun
/*kālasamayavelāsu* 7/3 *tumun* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91*)*
kālādiṣūpapadeṣu dhātos tumun pratyayo bhavati

Affix *tumUN* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* which contains *kāla, samaya* or *velā.*

EXAMPLES:

kālo bhoktum 'it is time to eat'
samayaḥ khalu snānabhojane sevitum 'it is time now to attend to bathing and eating'
velā bhoktum 'it is time to eat'

1. A question is raised as to why this rule was not formulated simply as *kālādiṣu tumun.* That is, why use *samayā* and *velā* when they are synonymous with *kāla* 'time'. Pāṇini uses all three instead to indicate that synonyms of *kāla* can also form an *upapada.* The inclusion of only three, rather than all, synonyms of *kāla* should be treated as illustrative only. That is, words such as *avasara,* etc., can also qualify to form an *upapada.*

3.3.168 लिङ् यदि

liṅ yadi
/liṅ 1/1 *yadi* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kālasamayavelāsu* #167*)*
yacchabde upapade kālādiṣu dhātor liṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LIṄ* occurs after a verbal root when the root cooccurs with a nominal *pada* which contains *kāla, samaya,* or *velā* and *yad* is used.

EXAMPLES:

kālo yad bhuñjīta bhavān 'it is time for you to eat'
samayo yad bhuñjīta bhavān 'id.'
velā yad bhuñjīta bhavān 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIṄ* under the cooccurrence condition of *yad* 'that which...' in addition to *kāla,* etc. This clearly is an exception to the *tumUN* of the preceding rule.

3.3.169 अर्हे कृत्यतृचश्च

arhe kṛtyatṛcaś ca
/arhe 7/1 *kṛtyatṛcaḥ* 1/3 *ca* 0/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *liṅ* #168*)*
arhe kartari vācye gamyamāne vā dhātoḥ kṛtyatṛcaḥ pratyayā bhavanti cakārāl liṅ ca
Affixes *kṛtya* and *tṛC,* and *LIṄ* as well, occur after a verbal root when the agent is denoted as deserving.

EXAMPLES:

bhavatā khalu kanyā voḍhavyā 'you indeed deserve to marry the girl'
bhavatā khalu kanyā vāhyā 'id.'
bhavatā khalu kanyā vahanīyā 'id.'
bhavatā khalu kanyā voḍhā 'id.'
bhavān khalu kanyāṃ vahet 'id.'
bhavān khalu kanyām arhet 'id.'

1. The *ca* of the rule is used to further facilitate the introduction of *LIṄ*. Thus there will be three types of examples:

(*a*) *bhavatā khalu kanyā voḍhavyā*
(*b*) *bhavān khalu kanyāyā voḍhā*
(*c*) *bhavān khalu kanyāṃ vahet*

These sentences illustrate the usage of affixes *tavya* (*kṛtya*), *tṛC*, and *LIṄ* respectively.

A question is raised against the introduction of affixes *kṛtya* and *tṛC* by this rule. It is argued that these affixes could be made available in the specific context of *yogyatā* 'fitness' in the same manner as they are made available elsewhere in more generalized contexts. But what if affix *LIṄ*, which is also made available here, blocks the general provision of *kṛtya* and *tṛC* via *vā' sarūpa* of rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyāṃ*?. That is evenmore the reason why mention of *kṛtya* and *tṛC* becomes necessary. For, *vā' sarūpavidhi* does not regularly apply in the context of rules subsequent to the domain of rule 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*.

3.3.170 आवश्यकाधमर्ण्ययोर्णिनिः

āvaśyakādhamarṇyayor ṇiniḥ
/*āvaśyakādhamarṇyayoḥ* 7/2 *ṇiniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
avaśyambhāvaviśiṣṭe ādhamarṇyaviśiṣṭe ca kartari vācye dhātor ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆinI* occurs after a verbal root when the agent performs the action out of necessity (*āvaśyaka*), or indebtedness (*ādhamarṇya*).

EXAMPLES:

avaśyaṅkārī 'he who is sure to do'
śataṃdāyī 'he who owes someone a hundred'

1. Note that the conditions of 'necessity' and 'indebtedness' qualify the *kartṛ* which, in turn, becomes the denotatum of the affix (*pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇam*). They cannot be accepted here as specifying a cooccurrence (*upapada*) condition.

3.3.171 कृत्याश्च

kṛtyāś ca
/kṛtyāḥ 1/3 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *āvaśyakādhamarṇyayoḥ* #170)
kṛtyasaṃjñakāś ca pratyayā āvaśyakādhamarṇyayor upādhibhūtayor dhātor bhavanti
Affixes termed *kṛtya* also occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified by *āvaśyaka* or *ādhamarṇya*.

EXAMPLES:

bhavatā khalu avaśyaṃ kaṭaḥ karttavyaḥ 'the mat should be made by you'
bhavatā khalu avaśyaṃ kaṭaḥ karaṇīyaḥ 'id.'
bhavatā khalu avaśyaṃ kaṭaḥ kāryaḥ 'id.'
bhavatā khalu avaśyaṃ kaṭaḥ kṛtyaḥ 'id.'
bhavatā śataṃ dātavyam 'the debt of the hundred should be paid by you'
bhavatā sahasraṃ deyam 'the debt of the thousand should be paid by you'

1. This rule additionally provides for *kṛtya* affixes used with *ṆinI* under contexts similar to the preceding rule. An objection is made against the inclusion of the *kṛtya* affixes in this context by a separate rule. It is argued that rules already available for the introduction of *kṛtya* affixes can account for this instance also. But, in the absence of this rule, they could be blocked by the specific provision of *ṆinI* of the last rule. This cannot happen because *kṛtya* affixes are introduced to denote *bhāva* and *karman* (3.4.70 *tayor eva...*); affix *ṆinI* is employed to denote the agent. Counter arguments state that a *kṛtya* can also denote an agent as is the case (though optionallly via *nipātana*) in rule 3.4.68 *bhavyageyapravacan....* The rule thus must include *kṛtya* in the context of *ṆinI*.

3.3.172 शकि लिङ् च

śaki liṅ ca
/śaki 7/1 *liṅ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kṛtyāḥ* #171)
śaknotyarthopādhike dhātvarthe liṅ pratyayo bhavati cakārāt kṛtyāś ca
Affix *LIṄ*, and those termed *kṛtya* as well, occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified with *śak* 'to be able'.

EXAMPLES:

bhavatā khalu bhāro voḍhavyaḥ 'you can indeed carry the load'
bhavatā khalu bhāro vahanīyaḥ 'id.'

bhavatā khalu bhāro vāhyaḥ 'id.'
bhavān khalu bhāraṃ vahet 'id.'
bhavān iha śaktaḥ 'you, sir, are able to do this'

1. This rule introduces affix *LIṄ*, in addition to the *kṛtya*, when the capability of the agent is expressed in relation to the action. The word *śaki* is thus a qualifier for the action denoted by the root. Commentators notice that the inclusion of *kṛtya* affixes in this context by *ca* is made in view of an otherwise impending blocking by *LIṄ* (*Kāś.*: *sāmānyavihitānāṃ punar vacanaṃ liṅā bādhā mā bhut* 'a restatement of the general *kṛtya* affixes is made so that they can not be blocked by *LIṄ*).

3.3.173 **आशिषि लिङ्लोटौ**

āśiṣi liṅloṭau
/*āśiṣi* 7/1 *liṅloṭau* 7/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
āśīrviśiṣṭe' rthe varttamānād dhātor liṅloṭau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *LIṄ* and *LOṬ* occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified with *āśīḥ* 'benediction, blessing'.

EXAMPLE:

ciraṃ jīvatu bhavān 'may you live long'

1. This rule introduces affixes *LIṄ* and *LOṬ* when benediction (*āśīḥ*) is denoted. The word *āśīḥ* is here used as a modifier to the base after which these affixes must be introduced (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇam*). That is, action denoted by the verbal root must be modified by benediction. Thus, consider the example sentences where *ciram* 'long' modifies the action denoted by *jīv* 'to live'.

A counter-example to it will be: *ciraṃ jīvati devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is living a long life'. Why can *LIṄ* not be brought to the context of this rule by the use of *ca*? Explicit mention of *LIṄ* is necessary so that the *anuvṛtti* of *kṛtya*, as a result of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *LIṄ* in the earlier rule, can be blocked.

3.3.174 **क्तिच्क्तौ च संज्ञायाम्**

kticktau ca saṃjñāyām
/*kticktau* 1/2 *ca* Ø *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *āśiṣi* #173)
āśiṣi viṣaye dhātoḥ kticktau pratyayau bhavataḥ samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
Affixes *KtiC* and *Kta* occur after a verbal root when the action is qualified with *āśīḥ* and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

tañutāt tantiḥ 'may he weave; a weaver'
sanutāt sātiḥ 'may it happen; wealth or gift'
bhavatāt bhūtiḥ 'prosperity, success'
manutāt mantiḥ 'respect'
devā enaṃ deyāsur devadattaḥ 'Devadatta (may gods give him...)'

1. This rule introduces affixes *KtiC* and *Kta*, still within the scope of *āśīḥ* provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus we have *Kta* used to derive *devadattaḥ* parallel to *devā enaṃ deyāsuḥ* 'may the gods give him, i.e., Devadatta'. An example for *KtiC* is *tantiḥ* 'weaver' parallel to *tanutāt* 'may he weave'.

Note that the *C* as an *it* in *KtiC* is to distinguish (*viśeṣaṇārtha*) it from *KtiN* in rules such as 6.4.39 *na ktici dīrghasya*. Furthermore, *Kta* is a general affix to which this *KtiC* could have formed an exception, had this rule not included *Kta* along with *KtiC*. It is, therefore, an effort to save *Kta* from being blocked by *KtiC* that this rule provides for *Kta*.

3.3.175 माङि लुङ्

māṅi luṅ
/*māṅi* 7/1 *luṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *āśiṣi* #173)
māṅy upapade dhator luṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LUṄ* occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with *māṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

mā kārṣīt 'let him not do (it)'.
mā hārṣīt 'let him not take (it) away'

1. This provision of *LUṄ* is treated as an exception to all *LA* affixes (*sarvalakārāṇām apavādaḥ*). That is, one must use affix *LUṄ*, and *LUṄ* alone, after a verbal root when it is used in conjunction with *māṄ*'.

3.3.176 स्मोत्तरे लङ् च

smottare laṅ ca
/*smottare* 7/1 *laṅ* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *māṅi* #175)
smaśabdottare māṅy upapade dhātor laṅ pratyayo bhavati
cakārāl luṅ ca
Affix *LAṄ*, and *LUṄ* as well, occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with *māṄ* and is followed by *sma*.

EXAMPLES:

mā sma karot 'let him not make...'
mā sma kārṣīt 'id.'
mā sma harat 'let him not take away...'
mā sma hārṣīt 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *LAṄ*, optionally to *LUṄ*, when *sma* follows a verbal root, and *māṄ* is used in conjunction with the same. Affix *LUṄ* is brought to the context of this rule by means of *ca*.

3.4.1 धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः

dhātusambandhe pratyayāḥ
/dhātusambandhe 7/1 = *dhātvarthayoḥ sambandho dhātusambandhaḥ, tasmin (ṣaṣ. tat.); pratyayāḥ* 1/3/
dhātusambandhe sati ayathākāloktā api pratyayā sādhavo bhavanti
Affixes also occur when a relationship between actions is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭomayājy asya putro janitā 'he who will perform the Agniṣṭoma will have a son born'
kṛtaḥ kaṭaḥ śvo bhavitā '(we will talk) tomorrow about the making of the mat'

1. Commentators explain that the word *dhātusambandha* means *dhātvarthasambandha* 'relationship between the action denoted by verbal roots'. This implies, then, that *dhatū* is here interpreted to mean *dhātvartha* 'sense of root'. Such an interpretation is made possible via transference (*upacāra*) of meaning (*abhidheya*) to the form (*abhidhāna*). That is, the form *dhātu*, which ordinarily denotes verbal roots '*bhū*, etc.' (*bhvādi*), is here treated as secondary (*gauṇa*) to its meaning (*dhātvartha*). The word *dhātu* is further interpreted as plural (*bahuvacana*), to yield the interpretation 'relationship between the actions denoted by verbal roots', because 'relationship' (*sambandha*) is a concept with multiple loci (*anekādhiṣṭhāna*).

How can one characterize the relationship between the meaning of roots? Commentators identify the relationship as *viśeṣaṇaviśeṣya* 'qualifier-qualified'. They also note that, since the denotatum of the word which ends in a *tiṄ* is central to the meaning of a sentence, and also since a modified element (*viśeṣya*) is principal (*pradhāna*) in relation to the modifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), which is secondary (*gauṇa*), a relationship expressed by the word ending in a *sUP* is secondary. That is, a relation expressed by a *sUP* in terms of a *kāraka* is secondary to the relation expressed in terms of an action (*kriyā*). In view of this, the *Nyāsa* notes: *sarvatra tiṅarthavācyo' rtho viśeṣyaḥ subantavācyas tu viśeṣaṇam* 'the meaning denoted by a word which ends in a *tiṄ*

always refers to that which is 'modified', rather than to that which is 'modifier', which is denoted by the word which ends in a *sUP*. Consider *agniṣṭomayājī*, a word which ends in a *sUP*, where the denotatum of past (*bhūta*) which not only modifies the meaning of *janitā*, a modified word ending in *tiṄ*, but also abandons the 'past' for the 'future' of *janitā*, the principal word.

Kāśikā further elaborates with *ayathākāloktā api pratyayā sādhavo bhavanti* 'affixes introduced in the tenses other than those assigned to them are also treated as correct'. Consider again *agniṣṭomayājy asya putro janitā*, where *agniṣṭomayājin* is derived by introducing affix *ṆinI* by rule 3.2.85 *karaṇe yajaḥ* with the denotatum of past (*bhūta*). In contrast, *janitā* entails *LUṬ* with the denotatum of a future (*bhaviṣyati*) not pertaining to today (*anadyatana*). The past of *agniṣṭomayājin* when related with the future of *janitā* denotes future. For this reason, what was intended to have the sense of 'he who performed the *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice' will now take the sense of 'he who will perform the *agniṣṭoma* sacrifice in the future'. That is, the 'future' denotatum of *ṆinI*, in association with the future of *janitā*, can here be treated as correct. The second example also entails 'past' as the denotatum of *niṣṭhā* in *kṛtaḥ*; *bhavitā* of course entails 'future'. The 'past' of *Kta* thus denotes the 'future' in association with the 'future' of *bhavitā*. Note that if the 'past' of *ṆinI* in *agniṣṭomayājin* is rigidly interpreted as 'past', the futurity of the sacrifice cannot be comprehended.

A question is also raised as to why 'past' is required to denote 'future'. Why is 'future' not required to denote 'past'? That is, why is a transposition (*viparyaya*) of the tenses not comprehended? Such a transposition is not possible, because only the tense of the modifier can be changed to that of the modified. The modifier follows the modified, and not the other way around. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā* III: 141) is thus correct: *pradhānānurodhena guṇasya kālaparityāgaḥ* 'the secondary element, the modifier, abandons its tense under the dictates of the modified, the primary element'. The principal element or the modified, i.e. *janitā*, thus can not abandon its tense in favor of *agniṣṭomayājin*, the modifier, or secondary element. That is, we can get only the following interpretation:

(*i*) *so' sya putro janitā yo' agniṣṭomena yaṣṭā* 'a son will be born to him who performs the sacrifice by means of *Agniṣṭoma*'

This sentence is synonymous with our first example, given the understanding that *ṆinI* abandons its 'past' for the 'future' of *janitā* as indicated by *yaṣṭā* of sentence (*i*).

2. A question is raised against the explicit use of the word *pratyaya* in the rule, especially when it can easily be received via *anuvṛtti*. Commentators state that the earlier *pratyaya* (carried from 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) is associated with '*dhātu*'. As a consequence, only those affixes which are introduced after a verbal root come under the scope of this rule. The word '*pratyaya*' is explicitly stated so that an affix such as a *taddhita* (4.1.76

taddhitāḥ), which is not introduced after a verbal root, can also be treated as correct in instances where it denotes a tense other than the one for which it is specified. Consider the following examples:

(*ii*) *gomān āsīt* 'he is the one who owned cows'
(*iii*) *gomān bhavitā* 'he is the one who will own cows'

Note that *gomān* has affix *matUP*, a *taddhita*, introduced by rule 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty...* in the sense of present (*vartamāna*). Used with *āsīt* of the 'past' and *bhavitā* of the 'future' it will still be treated as correct in denoting 'past' and 'future'. It is to allow for diverse affixes, that the word '*pratyaya*' is explicitly stated in this rule.

3.4.2 क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च तध्वमोः

kriyāsamabhihāre loṭ loṭo hisvau vā ca tadhvamoḥ
/*kriyāsamabhihāre* 7/1 = *samabhiharaṇam samabhihāraḥ; kriyāyāḥ samabhihāraḥ (saṣ. tat.), tasmin; loṭ* 1/1 *loṭaḥ* 6/1 *hisvau* 1/2 = *hi ca sva ca (itar. dv.); vā* ∅ *ca* ∅ *tadhvamoḥ* 6/2 = *ta ca dhvam ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ*/
(*dhātusambandhe* #1)
samabhihāraviśiṣṭakriyāvacanād dhātor loṭ pratyayo bhavati sarveṣu kāleṣu; tasya ca loṭo hi, sva ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ, tadhvambhāvinas tu vā bhavataḥ.

Affix *LOṬ* occurs after a verbal root when repeated or excessive action (*kriyāsamabhihāra*) is denoted; this *LOṬ* is replaced with *hi* and *sva* obligatorily, and with *ta* and *dhvam* optionally.

EXAMPLES:

lunīhi lunīhy ity ayaṃ lunāti 'you cut, you cut,' thus 'he cuts repeatedly'
lunīhi lunīhi ity eva ahaṃ lunāmi 'you cut, you cut,' thus 'I cut repeatedly'
lunīhi lunīhi ity eva ayam alāvīt 'you cut, you cut,' thus 'he cut repeatedly'
lunīhi lunīhi ity eva ayaṃ laviṣyati 'you cut, you cut,' thus 'he will cut repeatedly'

1. Commentators explain that this *LOṬ* is an exception to all *LA*-affixes. For example, it is introduced under the condition of *kriyāsamabhihāra*, an action which is performed either excessively, or over and over again. The root after which the *LOṬ* is to be introduced does not, by itself, denote *kriyāsamabhihāra*. For this reason, *Kāśikā* uses the expression: *samabhihāraviśiṣṭakriyāvacanāt...* '*LOṬ* occurs after a root which denotes an action qualified by repetition...'. The repetition of verbal forms, such as *lunīhi lunīhi* 'you cut and cut...', makes the denotatum of *kriyāsamabhihāra* possible. That is, someone commanded someone, "you cut (it)". Consequently, "he cuts it again and again". Furthermore, there is no temporal restriction to the use of *LOṬ*, which is why *Kāśikā* adds: *loṭ pratyayo bhavati sarveṣu kāleṣu* 'affix *LOṬ* occurs in all tenses'. Refer to the first two sentences

of the example. These are in the present tense as opposed to the third and fourth, which are used in past and future respectively.

2. Note that this *LOṬ*, unlike other *LA*-affixes, is not assigned its replacements from the eighteen *tiṄ*-affixes of the two sets of *parasmaipada* 'active' and *ātmanepada* 'middle'. Instead, Pāṇini orders *hi* and *sva* as two obligatory replacements. The first is a replacement for the second person singular *parasmaipada* 'active' ending *si*, by rule 3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*. The second refers to the second person singular *ātmanepada* 'middle' ending *thās*, which gets replaced with *se*, by rule 3.4.80 *thāsas se*. This *se* ultimately yields the form *sva* by rule 3.4.91 *svābhyāṃ vāmau*. Note that both *hi* and *sva* are replacements relative to *LOṬ*. Since *hi* and *sva* are replacements for *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* endings respectively, we conclude that *hi* and *sva* are also *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* replacements. But we cannot accept that they are to be limited also to second person and singular usages. For this reason the *Mahābhāṣya* states: *hisvau sarveṣāṃ puruṣāṇāṃ sarveṣāṃ ca vacanānām iṣyate* '*hi* and *sva* are intended for any person, or number'. Consequently, *hi* is a replacement covering the three persons and three numbers of *parasmaipada LOṬ*. The same function is assigned for the representation of *ātmanepada* by *sva* in all three persons and numbers.

In which sense is affix *LOṬ* introduced? It could not be *kriyāsamabhihāra*, since that forms the condition for the introduction of *LOṬ*. The sense of *LOṬ*, in the absence of any explicit statement to the contrary, and in consonance with *anirdiṣṭārthāḥ pratyayā bhāve bhavanti* 'affixes enumerated with no specific meaning should be introduced to denote *bhāva*', must be accepted as *bhāva* 'root-sense'. The replacements of *LOṬ* in *hi* and *sva* thus also denote *bhāva*.

This rule also introduces *ta* and *dhvam* as two replacements for *LOṬ*, though only optionally (*vā*). The *ta*, here, refers to the replacement in *ta* for *thas*, the second person dual *parasmaipada* ending of rule 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ tāntantāmaḥ*. Thus, *ta* becomes a *parasmaipada* replacement as opposed to *dhvam*, which is clearly an *ātmanepada* second personal plural ending.

Note that in the above sentences *kriyāsamabhihāra* is denoted via doubling the verb form (cf. *Mbh. kriyāsamabhihāre dve bhavataḥ*). What follows these doubled up second personal forms that denote *kriyāsamabhihāra* is a tagged statement (*anuprayoga*), which is rendered in different persons and tenses. It is in this sense that the provisions of this rule go beyond imperative (*LOṬ*).

3. This rule is interpreted as split into several sentences (*yogavibhāga*) for interpretation. Vāsudeva Dīkṣita (*Bālamanoramā* ad *SK* III: 650) illustrates these following sentences:

(*a*) *kriyāsamabhihāra* (*viśiṣṭakriyāvṛtter*) *dhātor loṭ* 'affix *LOṬ* is introduced after a verbal root which denotes an action qualified by repetition'

(*b*) *loṭo hisvau* '*hi* and *sva* replace *LOṬ*'
(*c*) *loṭo loṭ hisvau* '*hi* and *sva*, which replace *LOṬ*, are treated as *LOṬ*'
(*d*) *vā ca tadhvamoḥ* '*ta* and *dhvam* optionally replace *LOṬ*'

The third sentence in this split interpretation is consequential. For, it implies the transfer of the characteristics of *LOṬ* to *hi* and *sva*. Commentators explain that this transfer is necessary to bring the *parasmaipada*, *ātmanepada*, and *tiṄ* designations to *hi* and *sva*. Note that replacements for *LA* affixes are termed *parasmaipada* (1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*). A subset of these replacements, i.e. *taṄ*, is termed *ātmanepada* (1.4. *taṅānāv*...). Note also that *sva* is not a member of the abbreviatory term *taṄ*. Consequently, it does not qualify for assignment of the term *ātmanepada*. A transfer of the characteristic properties of *LOṬ* to *hi* and *sva* makes the assignment of the said terms possible. For this one must have the *anuvṛtti* of *LOṬ* in the third sentence as a qualifier to *hisvau*. In view of 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*, such an extension of characteristic properties is necessary for assignment of the term *pada* to the derivates .

3.4.3 **समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम्**

samuccaye' nyatarasyām
/*samuccaye* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *dhātusambandhe* #1, *loṭ loṭo hisvau vā ca tadhvamoḥ* #2)
samuccīyamānakriyāvacanād dhātor anyatarasyāṃ loṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LOṬ* optionally occurs after verbal roots which signify an array of related actions; *hi* and *sva* obligatorily replace this *LOṬ* and *ta* and *dhvam* replace it optionally.

EXAMPLES:

bhrāṣṭram aṭa maṭham aṭa khadūram aṭa sthālyapidhānam aṭety eva ayam aṭati; ...*imāv aṭataḥ*; ...*ime aṭanti* 'go to the place where they roast grains; go to the place of the ascetics; go to the room and as far as to the cleaning place of the pots'; ...thus he goes; thus those two are going; thus they all are going'
chando' dhīṣva vyākaraṇam adhīṣva niruktam adhīṣvety eva aham adhīye; ...*āvām adhīvahe*; ...*vayam adhīmahe* 'study the Vedas, study grammar, study the Nirukta,' thus I study; ...thus we study; ...thus we all study'
chando' adhīṣe vyākaraṇam adhīṣe niruktam adhīṣe ity eva tvam adhīṣe; ...*yuvām adhīyāthe*; *yūyam adhīṣve* 'study the Vedas, study grammar, study the Nirukta,' thus you study; ...thus you two study; ...thus you all study'

1. The word *samuccaya* has been explained as an 'array' or 'multitude' of actions. *LOṬ* is thus to be introduced after each verbal root

which forms part of the signification that constitutes an array of actions. Therefore, it is not introduced after a single verbal root which signifies a multitude of actions. It is, instead, introduced after each root which forms a part of the many roots that signify an array of actions. Note that merely lining up verbal roots to signify an array of actions does not merit the introduction of *LOṬ*. Rather, it is the relationship that obtains among the actions denoted by the lined up roots that qualifies the introduction of *LOṬ*. What, then, makes the listing of roots related in actions? The actions are related via common participants (*sādhana*; or *kāraka*). Thus, a single *kāraka*, termed agent, performs all actions outlined in the above examples. The actions thus become related via their participant, the agent. Compare (*PM* ad *Kaś* III: 149): *ekasmin sādhane yā kriyāḥ samuccīyante tadvācibhyo dhātubhyaḥ pratyaya ity arthaḥ* 'thus the affix is introduced after roots which signify actions that are put together relative to a single participant...'.

Note that this rule illustrates the difference between *samabhihāra* and *samuccaya* in relation to action (*kriyā*). The first could mean: repetition of an action (*paunaḥpunya*), or excessive performance of an action (*bhṛśārtha*). In contrast, *samuccaya* necessarily entails more than one action. That is, *samabhihāra* is possible in case of even a single action, whereas *samuccaya* obligatorily entails more than one action.

2. Note that the consequence of an optional introduction of *LOṬ* results in the introduction of other *LA*-affixes. These are of course, optionally introduced with *LOṬ*. See the last example for illustration, where *LAṬ* has been introduced optionally with *LOṬ* of the second example. Like the earlier rule *LOṬ* is not limited to imperative only. It can be used in all three tenses. Of course, the tagged verbal root indicates the varying tenses. The optional *LA* affixes are introduced after roots forming part of the array of actions. Thus we get:

(*a*) *chando' dhīṣva vyākaraṇam adhīṣva...*
(*b*) *chando' adhīte vyākaraṇam adhīte...*

where the first optionally introduces *LOṬ* to *LAṬ*, for example, of the second. The tagged sentences can be used in all three tenses. This is what it means to accept *LOṬ* as ruled in all tenses.

One must also remember, here, that *LOṬ* of the lined up actions obligatorily can be replaced with *hi* and *sva*. Of course, *ta* and *dhvam* replace it only optionally.

3.4.4 **यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन्**

yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ pūrvasmin
/yathāvidhi Ø *anuprayogaḥ* 1/1/
(dhātoḥ #91)

pūrvasmin loḍvidhāne yathāvidhy anuprayogo bhavati
A tag, in case of the preceding provision, must be in line with that after which *LOṬ* occurs.

EXAMPLES:

lunīhi lunīhīty evāvaṃ lunāti 'you cut, you cut,' thus 'he cuts'
adhīṣvādhīṣvety evāyam adhīte 'you study, you study,' thus 'he studies'

1. Note that this rule is not formulated to state that a tag sentence is used. For, that is already available by the fact that *LOṬ* is introduced under the condition of a relationship between root meanings. A relation between root-meanings cannot be available unless more than one roots are used one after the other. Rather, this rule is formulated to emphasize that the tag sentence must also have the same root as the one after which *LOṬ* was introduced. This is what *yathāvidhi* means in this context. It also becomes clear that *anuprayoga* is not used in the sense of *paścādbhāvin* 'that which follows in a sequence'. It means 'in accordance with what precedes'. Thus, given the above two example sentences, where affix *LOṬ* is used after verbal roots *lū* 'to cut' and *adhi-i* 'to study' respectively, we get the tag sentences such as *evāyam lunāti* and *evāyam adhīte* or *evāyaṃ chinatti* 'thus he cuts' and *evāyaṃ paṭhati* 'thus he recites'. Note that verbal roots *chid* and *paṭh* may be used synonymously with *lū* and *adhi-i*.

The word *pūrvasmin* 'in case of the preceding provision' refers to the introduction of *LOṬ* by rule 3.1.2 *kriyāsamabhihāre...*, and hence is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Note that the following rule (3.4.5 *samuccaye' sāmānyavacanasya*) accounts for the nature of the tag sentence, relative to rule 3.4.3 *samuccaye' nyatarasyām*. Thus, even if *pūrvasmin* were not there, this rule would be interpreted relative to rule 3.4.2. That is, this rule would apply outside the scope of *samuccaya* anyway. The idea that a particular verbal root is to be used in the tag sentence is derived through exclusion of the general action required for the tag sentences of the *samuccaya*. A tag, in case of more than one action, must use a root of generalized nature. Elsewhere, as is the case relative to the provisions of rule 3.4.2 *kriyāsamabhihāre...*, only particular roots should be used. Obviously, such roots must be those after which *LOT* occurs.

If it is understood that the provision of rule 3.4.5 *samuccaye...* facilitates the understanding elsewhere that, in the case of *kriyāsamabhihāra*, the same root is used, then *pūrvasmin* and *yathāvidhi* should not be used in this rule. For, 3.4.5 can easily make the scope of 3.4.2 understood. May be rule 3.4.4 should not even be formulated. We already know, in connection with this, that *pūrvasmin* is used for clarity. Inclusion of *yathāvidhi* in the rule is also needed because sentences such as *lunīhi lunīhi ity evāyaṃ lunāti* can also be rendered as: *ayaṃ lunāti lunīhi iti*. That is,

a tag sentence can also precede. It thus becomes necessary to state that what is used as a tag must be in accord with the particular verb after which *LOṬ* is introduced.

3.4.5 समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य

samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya
/*samuccaye* 7/1 *sāmānyavacanasya* 6/1 = *ucyate anena iti vacanam; sāmānyasya vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *anuprayoge* #4)
dvitīye loḍvidhāne samuccaye sāmānyavacanasya dhātor anuprayogaḥ kartavyaḥ
A tag relative to verbal roots after which *Loṭ* occurs under the condition of *smuccaya* must denote a common action.

EXAMPLES:

odanaṃ bhuṅkṣva saktūn piba dhānā khādety evāyam abhyavaharati 'eat rice, drink the powdered parched gram diluted in water, eat the parched rice', thus he consumes'.

1. This rule provides for a common verbal root in case of a tag used in sentences where the introduction of *LOṬ* is provided for by rule 3.4.3 *samuccaye' nyatarasyām*. Our example thus provides for *abhyavahāra* as the action which is synonymous with *bhuj* 'to consume', *pā* 'to drink', and *khād* 'to eat'. The use of a single common verbal root is also economical (*lāghava*), as opposed to the repetition of each one of the preceding verbs. Note however that, this notion of economy is not much respected in the Classical language (see *Kāś* : *lāghavaṃ ca laukike śabdavyavahāre nādriyate*).

3.4.6 छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः

chandasi luṅlaṅliṭaḥ
/*chandasi* 7/1 *luṅlaṅliṭaḥ* 1/3 = *luṅ ca laṅ ca liṭ ca* (*itar.dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *dhātusambandhe* #1, *anyatarasyām* #3)
chandasi viṣaye dhātusambandhe sarveṣu luṅlaṅliṭaḥ pratyayā bhavanti
Affixes *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LIṬ* optionally occur in the Vedic to denote any time when the sense of roots is related.

EXAMPLES:

śakalāṅguṣṭhako 'karat 'he divides (it) in parts to the size of the thumb'
ahaṃ tebhyó' karaṃ namáḥ 'I pay my obeisance to them'
agnimadya hotāramavṛṇītāyaṃ yajamānaḥ 'this sacrificer chooses Agni as his priest today'

ạdyā mạmārạ '...dies today'
adya mriyate 'id.'

1. Note that *LUṄ* 'aorist', *LAṄ* 'imperfect' and *LIṬ* perfect' are, here, introduced in diverse tenses. This introduction is interpreted as optional on the basis that *anyatarasyām* is carried from rule 3.4.3 via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'. That is, these affixes are optionally allowed with other *LA*-affixes. Consequently, their scope of application becomes much more generalized. For example, *akarat* and *akaram* of the first two sentences are *LUṄ*- derivates used in the sense of *LAṬ*. That is, past is used in the sense of the present. The third sentence uses *LAṄ*, denoting past imperfect, in place of *LAṬ*. The next sentence uses *LIṬ* instead of *LAṬ* as is shown by *mriyate*.

2. Recall that such widening of the scope of these *LA*-affixes is given in the context of related actions. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kaś* III:153) perhaps rightly remarks that: *udāharaṇeṣu dhātusambandho mṛgyaḥ* 'the connection between actions denoted by roots of these examples should be investigated'. Obviously, it is a difficult situation. To what is the sense of the root *kṛ* in *akaram* relatable ?

3.4.7 **लिङर्थे लेट्**

liṅarthe leṭ
/liṅarthe 7/1 = *liṅo' rthaḥ liṅarthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin; leṭ* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *anyatarasyām* #3, *chandasi* #6)
yatra liṅ vidhīyate tatra chandasi viṣaye' nyatarasyāṃ leṭ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *LEṬ* optionally occurs in the sense of *LIṄ* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

joṣiṣāt 'let him enjoy...'
tāriṣat 'let him stretch out'
patāti vidyut 'let the lightning strike'

1. Note that affix *LIṄ* 'optative' is generally used in the sense of *vidhi* 'prompting', etc., (3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇa...*). The forms of *LEṬ* 'subjunctive' refer exclusively to the Vedic language.

3.4.8 **उपसम्वादाशङ्कयोश्च**

upasaṃvādāśaṅkayoś ca
/upasaṃvādāśaṅkayoḥ 7/2 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *leṭ* #7)
upasaṃvāde āśaṅkāyāṃ ca gamyamānāyāṃ chandasi viṣaye leṭ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *LEṬ* also occurs after a root in the Vedic when *upasaṃvāda* 'contractual agreement' and *āśaṃkā* 'apprehension' are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ahameva paśūnāmīśai 'indeed, I am the lord of the cattles'
madagrā eva vo gráhā gṛhyāntai '...should accept the pot with Soma'
nejjihmāyantyo narakaṃ patām '...may fall into hell because of wicked deeds'

1. Note that this provision of *LEṬ* is made in the sense of *LIṄ*. It could not have been made available through the previous *sūtra* as *anyatarasyām* made that provision optional. This provision, hence, is obligatory (*nitya*).

Kāśikā explains *upasaṃvāda* as *paribhāṣaṇam; kartavye paṇabandhaḥ* 'a verbal agreement regulating certain transactions'. The word *āśaṅkā* has been explained as a logical deduction of apprehension in view of certain actions (*kāraṇataḥ kāryānusaraṇaṃ tarka utprekṣā*). *Kāśikā* further illustrates *upasaṃvāda* by the following:

yadi me bhavān idaṃ kuryād aham api bhavate idaṃ dāsyāmi 'should you do this for me sir! I shall also give you this'

The last sentence of the examples illustrates *āśaṅkā*, where it is feared that committing some bad deed will logically lead to a fall into hell.

3.4.9 **तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेन्क्सेकसेनध्यैअध्यैन्कध्यैकध्यैन्शध्यैशध्यैन्तवैतवेङ्तवेनः**

tumarthe sesenaseasenksekasenadhyaiadhyainkadhyaikadhyainśadhyai-śadhyaintavaitaveṅtavenaḥ
/tumarthe 7/1 = tumuno' rthaḥ = tumarthaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin; sesenasea... tavaitaveṅtavenaḥ 1/3 (itar. dv.)/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6)
tumarthe chandasi viṣaye dhātoḥ sayādayaḥ pratyayā bhavanti
Affixes *se, seN, ase, aseN, Kse, KaseN, adhyai, adhyaiN, Kadhyai, KadhyaiN, Śadhyai, ŚadhyaiN, tavai, taveṄ*, and *taveN* occur after a verbal root in the Vedic to denote the sense of affix *tumUN*.

EXAMPLES:

vakṣe rāyaḥ '...naming the wealth'
tā vām eṣe '...for going...'
jīvasé '...for living...'
preṣe '...for sending...'
śriyasé '...for beauty...'
kāmamupacāradhyai '...for approaching...
āhuvadhyai '...for invoking...'
śriyadhyai '...for prosperity...'

vāyave pibádhyai '...for swallowing the wind...'
rādhāsaḥ saha mādáyadhyai '... for exhilaration by ritual oblation of food...'
pātavai '... for drinking...'
sūtáve '...for birthing...'
gantáve '...for going...'
kartave '...for doing...'
hartave '...for fetching...'

1. Note that affix *tumUN* is introduced after verbal roots under diverse conditions of *kriyārthakriyā* 'an action intended for another' (3.3.11 *tumunṇvulau...*), *samānakartṛkatva* 'same agent' (3.3.158 *samānakartṛkeṣu...*), *upapada* 'conjoined words' (3.3.167 *kāla...*; 3.4.65 *śakadhṛṣa...*; 3.4.66 *paryāpti...*). What does *tumUN* denote in these rules? There is no clear specification available. One can argue, here, that since affix *tumUN* is introduced after verbal roots (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*), and also since it is not an affix denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*, it should be treated as a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*). This, in turn, would qualify *tumUN* to denote agent (*kartṛ*) as per rule 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*. Commentators oppose this line of reasoning about the denotatum of affix *tumUN*. They claim that if *tumUN* were to denote agent, then Pāṇini need not have explicitly used the expression *tumarthe* 'in the sense of affix *tumUN*'. For, again, why state the obvious? Since Pāṇini does state the obvious, then doing so must have some special purpose. That special purpose is to bring *tumUN* within the sphere of affixes whose denotata is not specifically stated (*anirdiṣṭārtha*). Once this is accepted, the denotatum of *tumUN* no longer remains doubtful. For, affixes introduced with no specification of meaning (*anirdiṣṭārtha*) denote the sense of the bases (*bhāve*) after which they occur. Since *tumUN* is introduced after a verbal root, its denotatum must be accepted as 'sense of the root (*dhātvartha* / *bhāva*)'.

2. Note that the formal difference between these fifteen affixes can be explained in terms of their *its*: *N*, *K*, *Ś*, and *Ṅ*. These *it* cause a difference of accentuation (*svara*) in their respective derivates. Additionally, the *Ṅ* causes lack of *guṇa*. The following illustrates the distribution, based on their difference in *it*, of these affixes in five sets:

(*i*) *se, seN, Kse*
(*ii*) *ase, aseN, KaseN*
(*iii*) *adhyai, adhyaiN, Kadhyai, KadhyaiN, Śadhyai, ŚadhyaiN*
(*iv*) *tavai*
(*v*) *tave, taveṄ*

The *N* as an *it* is intended for the obligatory initial high-pitch (*ādyudatta*) of 6.1.191 *ñnityādir nityam*. Elsewhere, rule 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca* will control the affixal accent. The *Ṅ* will also block *guṇa*.

3.4.10 प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यथिष्यै

prayai rohiṣyai avyathiṣyai
/prayai Ø rohiṣyai Ø avyathiṣyai Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, tumarthe #9)
prayai rohiṣyai avyathiṣyai ity ete śabdā nipātyante chandasi viṣaye
The words: *prayai* 'to proceed', *rohiṣyai* 'to climb', and *avyathiṣyai* 'for not being weary' are derived by *nipātana* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

prayai 'to proceed'
apām oṣádhīnāṃ rohiṣyai 'water for vegetation'
avyathiṣyai 'for not being weary'

3.4.11 दृशे विख्ये च

dṛśe vikhye ca
/dṛśe Ø vikhye Ø ca Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, tumarthe #9)
dṛśe vikhye ity etau chandasi viṣaye nipātyete
The words: *dṛśe* 'to see' and *vikhye* 'to see, behold' are derived in the Vedic by *nipātana* in the sense of *tumUN*.

EXAMPLES:

dṛśe viśvāya sūryam 'the sun is for us all to see'
vikhye tvā harāmi 'I fetch this for you to see

3.4.12 शकि णमुल्कमुलौ

śaki ṇamulkamulau
/śaki 7/1 *ṇamulkamulau* 1/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, chandasi #6, tumarthe #9)
śaknotau dhātāv upapade chandasi viṣaye tumarthe dhātos ṇamulkamul ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *ṆamUL* and *KamUL* occur in the Vedic to denote the sense of *tumUN* after a verbal root used in conjunction with *śak* 'to be able to'.

EXAMPLES:

agniṃ vaí devā vibhājaṃ naśaknuvan 'the gods were not able to divide Agni'
apalupaṃ nāśaknuvan '...were not able to split'

1. Note that the *Ṇ* in *ṆamUL* is an *it* used to introduce *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti*); the purpose of *K* is to block *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* in *KamUL* (1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*). The *L* of both the affixes is an *it*, used for accentuation (6.1.193 *liti*).

3.4.13 ईश्वरे तोसुन्कसुनौ

īśvare tosunkasunau
/*īśvare* 7/1 *tosunkasunau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *tumarthe* #9)
īśvaraśabda upapade chandasi viṣaye tumarthe dhātos tosunkasunpratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *tosUN* and *KasUN* occur to denote the sense of *tumUN* in the Vedic after a verbal root used in conjunction with the word *īśvara* 'lord, master'.

EXAMPLES:

īśvaro' bhicaritoḥ 'the lord is capable of enchanting'
īśvaro vilikhaḥ '...god is to write...'
īśvaro vitṛdaḥ '...god is to provide'

1. Note that assignment of the term *avyaya* to the derivates is by rule 1.1.39 *ktvāto*... The *K* as an *it* in *KasUN* is used to block any *guṇa*, or *vṛddhi*.

3.4.14 कृत्यार्थे तवैकेन्केन्यत्वनः

kṛtyārthe tavaikenkenyatvanaḥ
/*kṛtyārthe* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) *tavaikenkenyatvanaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6)
Affixes *tavai*, *Ken*, *Kenya*, and *tvaN* occur after verbal roots in the Vedic to denote the sense of affixes termed *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

anvétavai '...is to be pursued'
parídhātavai '...is to be worn'
nāvagāhe '...is not to be immersed into'
didṛkṣeṇyaḥ '...is wished to be seen'
kartvá haviḥ '...ritual oblation is to be prepared'

1. Note that the *kṛtya* affixes mentioned here are introduced in the sense of *bhāva* 'root-sense', and *karman* 'object', for which see 3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtya*.... A *kṛtya* affix introduced after a transitive verbal root generally denotes *karman*; that which is introduced after an intransitive root denotes *bhāva*. The assignment of the term *avyaya* to the derivates is made by rule 1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ*.

Note that affix *tavai* is also introduced under rule 3.4.9 *tumarthe*....

Obviously, that *tavai* was introduced in the sense of *tumUN*. This rule introduces *tavai* in the sense of a *kṛtya* affix. It is further stated that a *kṛtya* affix can also be found used in the sense of an agent (*kartṛ*) as in rule 3.4.68 *bhavyageya*... A *kṛtya* affix can also be found used in the sense of *karaṇa* (cf. 3.1.102 *vahyaṃ karaṇam*). Since Pāṇini explicitly uses *kṛtya* to indicate the denotata, we must here infer a reference to rule 3.4.70 *tayor*... For, the word *kṛtya* is also explicitly stated there.

3.4.15 **अवचक्षे च**

avacakṣe ca
/avacakṣe Ø ca Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *kṛty-ārthe* #14)
avapūrvāc cakṣiṅa eś pratyayo nipātyate
Affix *eŚ* occurs in the Vedic to denote the sense of a *kṛtya* affix after verbal root *cakṣIṄ*, used with the preverb *ava*, to derive *avacakṣe* by *nipātana*.

EXAMPLE:

nāvacakṣe '...is not to look down upon'

1. Note that the *Ś* of *eŚ* is intended here for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*. This is necessary to block the introduction of *khyāÑ*, which is conditioned by an *ārdhadhātuka* affix as per rule 2.4.54 *cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ*.

3.4.16 **भावलक्षणे स्थेण्कृञ्वदिचरिहुतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन्**

bhāvalakṣaṇe sthenkṛñvadicarihutamijanibhyas tosun
/bhāvalakṣaṇe 7/1 *sthen...bhyaḥ* 5/3 *(itar. dv.), tosun* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *tumarthe* #9)
bhāvo lakṣyate yena tasminn arthe vartamānebhyaḥ sthādibhyo dhātubhyaś chandasi viṣaye tumarthe tosun pratyayo bhavati
Affix *tosUN* occurs in the Vedic to denote the sense of *tumUN* after verbal roots *sthā* 'to stay, stand', *iṆ* 'to go', *kṛ* 'to do', *vad* 'to speak', *car* 'to wander, move', *hu* 'to offer ritual oblation, call', *tam* 'to be weary' and *jan* 'to be born', provided these roots characterize some other action.

EXAMPLES:

āsáṃsthātór védyāṃ sīdanti (*KS* 11.6) 'they are sitting till the end'
purā sūryasyodetor ādheyaḥ (*KS* 8.3) 'the ritual fire should be arranged before the rise of Sun'

purā vatsānām apākartoḥ (*KS* 31.15) 'before the arrival of those who remove the calves away from the cows'
purā pravaditor agnau prahotavyam 'the ritual oblation should be offered to the fire before the finish of the chanting'
purā pracaritorāgnīdhrīye hotavyam 'the ritual oblation should be offered before the priest finishes the chanting'
ā hotor apramattas tiṣṭhati '...stays on till the end of the ritual oblation'
ā tamitor āsīta 'stayed on till he (wished, or) became weary'
kāmam ā vijánitoḥ... '...the wish for producing...'

1. Note that the roots after which affix *tosUN* is to be introduced must characterize an action. To interpret *bhāvalakṣaṇe* as a qualifier to the root, i.e., 'when action is expressed', can be misleading. The word *bhāvalakṣaṇa* can be explained as: 'that by which *bhāva* 'action' is characterized'. But the roots denote action anyway. The present rule finds its scope when a root which denotes an action characterizes another action denoted by another root.

3.4.17 **सृपितृदोः कसुन्**

sṛpitṛdoḥ kasun
/*sṛpitṛdoḥ* 5/2 *kasun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *chandasi* #6, *tumarthe* #9, *bhāvalakṣaṇe* #16)
sṛpitṛdor dhātvor bhāvalakṣaṇe' rthe vartamānayoś chandasi viṣaye tumarthe kasun pratyayo bhavati
Affix *KasUN* occurs in the Vedic to denote the sense of *tumUN* after verbal roots *sṛp* 'to crawl' and *tṛd* 'to pierce, harm' when the roots characterize some other action.

EXAMPLES:

purā krurasyá visṛpo virapśin (*Tait Sam* 1.1.9.3) 'before the cruel one gets away'
purā jartṛbhyá ātṛdáḥ 'before the neck is pierced to bleeding'

1. Note that the provision of *KasUN*, with *K* as an *it*, is made as usual to block any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*.

3.4.18 **अलंखल्वोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां क्त्वा**

alaṃkhalvoḥ pratiṣedhayoḥ prācāṃ ktvā
/*alaṃkhalvoḥ* 7/2 *pratiṣedhayoḥ* 7/2 *prācāṃ* 6/3 *ktvā* 0/
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
'alaṃ, khalu' ity etayoḥ pratiṣedhavācinor upapadayor dhātor ktvā pratyayo bhavati prācām ācāryāṇāṃ matena

According to the Eastern grammarians, affix *Ktvā* occurs after verbal roots used in conjunction with *alam* and *khalu* when prohibition (*pratiṣeha*) is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

alam uktvā 'do not speak'
khalūktvā 'id.'

1. Note that a reference by *prācām* 'of the Easterners' marks the optional forms (*vibhāṣā*). Thus, in the opinion of others, *alam uktvā* will have a form such as *alaṃ vacanena* as an option . Obviously, others will not use *Ktvā*.

3.4.19 उदीचां माङो व्यतीहारे

udīcām māṅo vyatīhāre
/*unīcām* 6/3 *māṅaḥ* 5/1 *vyatīhāre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvā* #18)
māṅo dhātor vyatīhāre vartamānād udīcām ācāryāṇām matena ktvā pratyayo bhavati
According to Northern grammarians, affix *Ktvā* occurs after verbal root *māṄ* 'to exchange, barter' when reciprocity is denoted.

EXAMPLE:

apamitya yācate 'first begs, then exchanges'

1. Note that rule 3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ...* introduces *Ktvā* after a verbal root which denotes a prior action. In the opinion of the Northerners, this rule, though optionally, provides for *Ktvā* without this condition. That is, *Ktvā* may be used here after a root which denotes a subsequent action. Thus, the beggar first begs, then exchanges the alms with another beggar. A form optional to the Northerners will be *yācitvā apamayate*, where *Ktvā* is introduced after *yāc*, a root which denotes a prior action subsequent to which the action of 'exchange' takes place. If one still wants to believe that *Ktvā* must always be used with a root which denotes prior action, the sentence *apamitya yācate* should be interpreted as: 'he first exchanges what he has begged and then goes begging again'. But this meaning could be accomplished through rule 3.4.21 *samāna-kartṛkayoḥ....* Thus, one questions the purpose of this rule.

2. Note also that the root referenced here is: *meṄ*. The cited form, *māṄ*, results as a replacement of the original *e* by *ā* before the *Ktvā* suffix under the provision of rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe' śiti*. Citation of the root, with its replacement in *ā*, indicates that a root does not lose its status as ending in *iC* (*e, ai, o, au*) provided it is used with an *it* (cf. *nānubandhakṛtam aneyantatvam*). See rule 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp* for further details.

3.4.20 परावरयोगे च

parāvarayoge ca
/*parāvarayoge* 7/1= *paraś ca avaraś ca parāvarau, tābhyāṃ yogaḥ* (*tr. tat* with int. *dv.*); *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvā* #18)
pareṇa pūrvasya yoge gamyamāne avareṇa ca parasya dhātoḥ ktvā pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ktva* also occurs after a verbal root when location relative to *para* 'subsequent' and *avara* 'prior' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aprāpya nadīṃ parvataḥ sthitaḥ 'the mountain is located prior to the river'
atikramya tu parvataṃ nadī sthitā 'the river is located beyond the mountain'

1. Note that *avara* 'prior' and *para* 'subsequent' are relative terms. That is, one is used with the expectation of the other. Since the relative terms are very definite in their connotation, citation of *para* and *avara* can also bring back *para* and *pūrva*. Note that the *Kāśikā* glosses the rule with ...*gamyamāne*.... Consequently, the relative notion of *para* and *avara* does not have to be explicitly stated. This relationship between *para* and *avara* is understood. Thus the first sentence literally means 'the mountain is located at the place where the river has not yet been reached'. The second sentence literally means 'the river is located at the place one has reached by going beyond the mountain'. The first sentence has the mountain (*parvata*) qualified by its connection with the river, which is subsequently located (*paranadīyogena parvato viśeṣyate*). The second example has the river qualified by the mountain, which is located previously to it.

3.4.21 समानकर्त्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले

samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle
/*samānakartṛkayoḥ* 7/2 *pūrvakāle* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvā* #18)
samānaḥ kartā yayor dhātvarthayos tatra pūrvakāle dhātvarthe vartamānād dhātoḥ ktvā pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ktvā* occurs after a verbal root which denotes a prior action relative to some subsequent action provided both actions share the same agent.

EXAMPLES:

bhuktvā vrajati 'he goes after having eaten'
pītvā vrajati 'he goes after having drunk'

1. This rule introduces affix *Ktvā* after a root which denotes a prior action and shares the same agent with some subsequent action. Note that the sharing of the same agent is specified with reference not to the verbal roots but to their denotata, the action. Consider thus the following sentence:

(*a*) *snātvā khādati* '...eats after having bathed'

where the actions denoted by *snā* 'bathe' and *khād* 'to eat' share the same third person singular agent. Note also that *Ktvā* is introduced after *snā* because the action denoted by *snā* happens to be prior to the action denoted by *khād*.

2. Commentators also relate this connection to the notion of *kāraka* as the power *(śakti)* of an action *(kriyā)*, which is considered to reside in a given locus *(ādhāra)*. Now consider the following sentence:

(*b*) *devadatto grāmād āgatya snānaṃ kṛtvā dugdhaṃ pītvā sukhena svapiti* 'Devadatta is sleeping happily after having come from the village, bathed and having drunk milk'

One can easily see that this complex sentence entails four actions denoted by *āgam 'to come'*, *snā* 'to bathe', *pā* 'to drink' and *svap* 'to sleep' respectively. These actions all have a third persons singular *kartṛ* as their power which, in turn, has *devadatta* as its locus *(śaktyādhāra)*.

It is generally believed that a set of two actions such that one is located prior in time *(pūrvakāla)* with reference to the other will have two different sets of powers. That is, the action located at a prior time with reference to one located subsequently will not share similar *kārakaśakti*. This being the case, the condition of *samānakartṛkatva* as laid down by this rule becomes impossible to meet. Therefore, it is impossible to introduce affix *Ktvā* after a verbal root which denotes a prior action in relation to a subsequent one. Commentators explain that this rule, while stating the condition of *samānakartṛkatva*, does not specify any distinction (*bheda*) between the power *(śakti)* of an action termed *kāraka*, i.e., *kartṛ*, and the locus of the power *(śaktyādhāra)*, for example, *devadatta*. Consequently, a single locus of power (such as *devadatta)* can be spoken of as being related to all the other actions. The condition of *samānakartṛkatva* as stated by this rule can still be treated as valid.

3. Some argue that the dual of *samānakartṛkayoḥ* is also consequential. That is, this dual is chosen to restrict the number of actions relative to the introduction of affix *Ktvā* to two: one to be located at a prior time relative to another located at a subsequent time. Commentators state that the dual of *samānakartṛkayoḥ* cannot be accepted, here, as *pradhāna* 'principal'. For, this rule makes its provision by treating action *(kriyā)* as principal. This action is only specified, here, as twofold in terms of time: *pūrvakāla* 'prior time'and *uttarakāla* 'subsequent time'. Our rule thus makes its provision with reference to two variables: coreferentiality

(samānakartṛkatva), and location of action in time *(pūrvāparakālatva)*. It does not limit the number of actions located at a prior time to one as far as the introduction of *Ktvā* is concerned. The question of limiting the number of actions located at some subsequent time falls outside the scope of this rule. It also does not have any control over the order of roots denoting prior action. That is, one can have either (*c*) or (*d*) as follows:

(*c*) *snātvā bhuktvā pītvā vrajati*, or

(*d*) *pītvā bhuktvā snātvā vrajati.*

One may sequence them differently as desired. However, given the denotational power of words and some culturally preferred sequence of actions, preference of order may be imposed. Thus,

(*e*) *snātvā bhuktvā pīvā svapiti* may be a preferred sequence of actions.

4. Note that a sentence such as:

(*f*) *bhuktavati brāhmaṇe gacchati devadattaḥ* would not qualify for *Ktvā* after *bhuj* 'to consume' because there is no identical agent.

A sentence such as:

(*g*) *vrajati jalpati ca* '....goes and mutters as well'

is similarly out of the scope of this rule, since the two actions entail *yaugapadya* 'simultaneity'. But what about sentence *(h)*:

(*h*) *āsyaṃ vyādāya svapiti* '... sleeps with mouth open', or,

(*i*) *cakṣuḥ sammīlya hasati* '... laughs with his eyes closed'?

These sentences do involve the introduction of *Ktvā*, though the actions denoted by the roots after which the affix is introduced do not denote prior location in time *(pūrvakālatā)*. Instead, the actions of 'sleeping' and 'opening' as well as those of 'closing' and 'laughing' occur at the same time. Or, when one occurs the other one also occurs. A *vārttika* is proposed to account for these usages.

3.4.22 **आभीक्ष्ण्ये णमुल् च**

ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul ca

|ābhīkṣṇye 7/1 *ṇamul* 1/1 *ca* Ø

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvā* #18, *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle* #21)

ābhīkṣṇyaviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānād dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati, cakārāt ktvā ca

Affix *ṆamUL*, as well as *Ktvā*, occurs after a verbal root which denotes a prior action and shares the same agent with a subsequent action provided *ābhīkṣ ṇya* 'repetition' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

bhojaṃ bhojaṃ vrajati 'he goes having eaten and eaten'

bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati 'id.'

pāyaṃ pāyaṃ vrajati 'he goes having drunk and drunk
pītvā pītvā vrajati 'id'.

1. Note that the preceding rule also carries here in full. That is, the provisions of this rule are applicable to an action located at a prior time, in relation to an action located at a subsequent time, provided both the actions share the same agent. The word *ābhīkṣṇya* is explained here as *paunaḥ paunya* 'over and over again', and is additionally treated as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the sense of the root after which affix *ṆamUL*, optionally with *Ktvā*, is to be introduced. The word *ābhīkṣṇya* is here used in the sense of 'repetition' (*vīpsā*) which, in turn, is expressed by doubling the derivates (cf. 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*). Thus, *bhojaṃ bhojaṃ vrajati* '...: eats, eats, and goes', or *bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati* 'id'.

3.4.23 न यद्यनाकांक्षे

na yady anākāṅkṣe
/na Ø yadi Ø anākāṅkṣe 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvā* #18, *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle* #21, *ṇamul* #22)
yacchabda upapade dhātoḥ ktvāṇamulau pratyayau na bhavato' nākāṅkṣe vācye
Affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* do not occur after a verbal root which cooccurs with *yad* and denotes a prior action sharing the same agent with a subsequent action when *ābhīkṣṇya* is expressed and *ākāṅkṣā* 'expectancy' relative to some third action is not signified.

EXAMPLES:

yad ayaṃ bhuṅkte tataḥ pacati 'he repeatedly cooks and eats...'
yad ayam adhīte tataḥ śete' 'he repeatedly reads and sleeps'

1. This rule blocks the introduction of affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* after a verbal root whose action is located prior to some relatively subsequent action provided *yad* 'that' cooccurs with it, and the sentence with the central meaning of these prior and subsequent actions is not dependent upon any third action for completion of its sense. Consider for example the following sentence:

(*a*) *yad ayaṃ bhuktvā vrajati adhīta eva tataḥ param*

'he indeed studies when he goes after eating',
where *yad* is in conjunction with verbal root *bhuj* 'to consume' denoting a prior action in relation to the subsequent action denoted by *vraj* 'to go'. The structural unit containing the two sets of prior and subsequent actions is thus derived as: *yad ayam bhuktvā vrajati* 'that he goes after having eaten...' But this unit is not able to denote a complete meaning. Instead, it is dependent upon *adhīta eva tataḥ param* 'certainly studies afterwards'

for the expression of any complete meaning. It is in this sense that the first sentential unit is dependent (*sākāṅkṣa*) upon the second for completion of its sense. Consider now this following sentence:

(*b*) *yad ayaṃ bhuṅkte tataḥ pacati* 'he repeatedly eats then cooks'

where the sentential unit containing the prior and subsequent actions is not dependent upon any third action to express a complete meaning. But *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* are still not allowed, since *bhuj* cooccurs with *yad*.

2. Note that the negation of this rule also extends to provisions made by the previous rule because of the context of *pūrvakālatva* and *Ktvā*. Jinendrabuddhi rightly remarks (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*. under this rule): *pūrvakālaprakaraṇāpekṣayā pratiṣedhaḥ kriyate tasmād yuktaḥ pūrvasūtravihitasyāpi pratiṣedhaḥ* 'since the negation is made in relation to the context of an action located at a prior time, it is, therefore, only appropriate that it extend also to the provision of the preceding rule'.

3.4.24 **विभाषाऽग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु**

vibhāṣā' gre prathamapūrveṣu
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *agreprathamapūrveṣu* 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvā* #18, *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle* #21, *ṇamul* #22)
'agre, prathama, pūrva' ity eteṣūpapadeṣu samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle dhātoḥ ktvāṇamulau pratyayau vibhāṣā bhavataḥ
Affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* optionally occur after a verbal root which denotes a prior action, and shares the same agent with a subsequent action, provided the root which denotes prior action occurs with *agre* 'ahead of', *prathama* 'first' or *pūrva* 'prior to'.

EXAMPLES:

agre bhojaṃ vrajati 'having eaten ahead he goes'
agre bhuktvā vrajati 'id.'
prathamaṃ bhojaṃ vrajati 'having eaten first he goes'
prathamaṃ bhuktvā vrajati 'id.'
pūrvaṃ bhojaṃ vrajati 'id.'
pūrvaṃ bhuktvā vrajati 'id.'
agre bhuṅkte tato vrajati 'id.'

1. This rule optionally negates the provisions of the previous rule when a verbal root which denotes a prior action in relation to some subsequent action, with which it also shares the same agent, cooccurs with *agre*, *prathama*, and *pūrva*. Note that this optional negation is made available in view of a previously non-existent provision. This option is called *aprāptavibhāṣā*. This cannot be called *prāptavibhāṣā*, since *vibhāṣā* must be related to a rule which makes provisions relative to both affixes *Ktvā* and

ṆamUL at the same time. The provision made by rule 3.4.22 *ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul ca* is only partial.

The *anuvṛtti* of *ābhīkṣṇye* is dropped, here; because the option provided for by this rule would then have become related to the preceding rule. But *ābhīkṣṇya* is also related with rule 3.4.22 from whence it is carried to the preceding rule. Commentators explain that an explicit mention of *vibhāṣā* in this rule indicates that affixes *LAṬ*, etc., can also be optionally introduced to affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* of this rule. If *ābhīkṣṇye* were carried here, then *LAṬ*, etc., could not be introduced parallel to *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL*. For, sentences with *LAṬ*, etc., parallel to *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL*, do not obtain when *ābhīkṣṇya* is denoted. That is, *agre bhuṅkte bhuṅkte tato vrajati* 'first he eats and eats and then goes' cannot be used parallel to a sentence with *Ktvā*. What is intended is for *agre bhuktvā vrajati/ agre bhojaṃ vrajati*, optionally to occur with *agre bhuṅkte tato vrajati*, where no *ābhīkṣṇya* is involved.

3.4.25 कर्मण्याक्रोशे कृञः खमुञ्

karmaṇy ākrośe kṛñaḥ khamuñ
/karmaṇi 7/1 *ākrośe* 7/1 *kṛñaḥ* 5/1 *khamuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūvakāle* #21)
Affix *KHamUÑ* occurs after verbal root *kṛÑ* which denotes a prior action, and shares the same agent with a subsequent action, provided it cooccurs with a *pada* that signifies *karman* and *ākrośa* 'insult, abuse' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

coraṃkāram ākrośati 'he is a thief, thus he shouts in anger'
coro' si, dasyur asi ity ākrośati 'you are a thief, you are a bandit, thus he shouts in anger'

1. Note that the condition of *pūrvakālatva*, and of *samānakartṛkatva* as well, is still valid. Thus, we get:

coraṃkāram ākrośati 'he angrily shouts that someone is a thief',

where calling someone a thief is simply for the purpose of expressing anger rather than to iterate that someone is really a thief.

The *KH* as an *it* in the affix facilitates the introduction of augment *mUM* by rule 6.3.65 *arurdviṣad....*

3.4.26 स्वादुमि णमुल्

svādumi ṇamul
/svādumi 7/1 *ṇamul* 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle* #21, *kṛñaḥ* #2)

svādvartheṣūpapadeṣu kṛño ṇamul pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *kṛÑ* when it denotes a prior action, and shares the same agent with a subsequent action, provided *KṛÑ* is also used with an item that signifies *svādu* 'delectable'.

EXAMPLES:

svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'having made his food delectable, he eats'
sampannaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'having made his food rich, he eats'
lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'having made his food salty, he eats'

1. Note that *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle* and *kṛñaḥ* are both carried here. The word *svādumi*, though used in *saptamī* 'locative', does not restrict the conjoined word (*upapada*) to *svādu* 'palatable' alone. Instead, it refers to a conjoined form with the meaning of *svādu*. Thus, this rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after verbal root *kṛÑ*, when it denotes a prior action relative to some subsequent action with which it also shares the same agent, provided that *kṛÑ* also cooccurs with a *pada* which has the signification of *svādu* 'palatable'. How do we know that *svādu* is to be interpreted here as denoting its meaning, and not its form (*śabda*; cf. 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ* ...)? *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś.*) explains this as follows:

> *arthaparatvaṃ tu nirdeśasyāvicchinnācāryaparamparayopadeśdād vijñāyate* 'that this specification is made in view of meaning is from teachers to students through the continued tradition'.

Acceptance of this view, entailing a specification of meaning, also makes it possible for the synonyms of *svādu* to constitute the conjoined *pada*. Thus we get examples such as *lavaṇaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte* parallel to *svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte*, where *lavaṇam* is used synonymously with *svādum*.

2. Note that *svādu* in the specification of this rule is given as *svādum*, a form which ends in *-m* (*mānta*). This *-m* is, indeed, ad hoc (*nipātana*). Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule simply as *svādau ca*, thereby introducing *KHamUÑ* to enable the cooccurring word with *svādu* to end in *-m*? Given *svādu* + *kṛ* + *KHamUÑ*, rule 6.3.67 *arurdviṣad*... would bring the augment *mUM* to *svādu*. This, in turn, would enable *svādu* to end in *-m*. Besides, it would also have been more economical.

Commentators say that *KHamUÑ*, indeed, brings *mānta* 'ending in *-m*' status to *svādu*, but is not trouble free. For, rule 4.1.44 *voto guṇavacanāt* then occasions the introduction of affix *ṄīṢ*. This would, obviously, yield undesired results. A specification with built in ad hoc *-m*, as the existing rule provides, rules out the introduction of *ṄīṢ*, since the cause (*nimitta*) for such an introduction is then removed. Besides, it is not

necessarily true that an introduction of *KHamUÑ* always leads to the introduction of *m* via *mUM*. For rule 6.3.67 also has a built-in exception of *anavyayasya* '...not of that which is an indeclinable'. This blocks the *mānta* status of *svādu*, interpreted to end in affix *CvI*. For it is then an indeclinable (*avyaya*). Thus, introducing *KHamUÑ* would, in some cases, occasion the introduction of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ*. Yet, in still other cases, it cannot secure the *mānta* status. Introducing *KHamUÑ*, with the ad hoc *mānta* status, restricts this clearly for the purpose of indeclinables which end in affix *CvI*. This, in turn, occasions the application of rule 7.4.26 *cvau ca*, whereby a long vowel is introduced. Starting the application of this rule with affix *ṆamUL*, along with the ad hoc *-m*, saves the derivates from problematic operations. Additionally, in view of the principle of *vā' sarūpa*, one can also find examples such as *svāduṃ kṛtvā bhuṅkte* '...eats after having made something palatable', where *Ktvā* can be introduced parallel to *ṆamUL*.

3. *Kāśikā* states that these affixes are all introduced with the denotata of *bhāva* 'root-sense'. However, if this is the situation, then why is the instrumental ending (*tṛtīyā*) not introduced after *devadatta* in the sentence:

devadattaḥ svāduṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte?

For, affix *ṆamUL* denotes *bhāva*; *tṛtīyā* must be introduced to express the agent. *Kāśikā* states that, since no distinction in this section is maintained between the power, or *kāraka*, of an action and its locus, the *Ktvā* has already expressed the agent. If this were not the case, the condition of *samānakartṛkatva*, which forms the basis for the introduction of *Ktvā*, would be impaired (cf. my notes under rule 3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ*...). It thus becomes unnecessary to introduce *tṛtīyā* after *devadatta* to express the agent. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses such questions in detail under this rule. The conclusion there is to view two types of actions in the case of the examples on hand: the main action (*pradhānakriyā*), and the secondary action (*guṇakriyā*). The action of making something palatable is a secondary action in relation to the action denoted by eating (*bhuj*). The distinction between actions also applies to the powers of these actions, i.e., the *kāraka*. The expression of a *kāraka* relationship by the main action enables the secondary action to have its own such *kāraka* automatically expressed. That is, the expression of *kartṛ* by *te* of *bhuṅkte*, the main action, renders the agent of the action denoted by *kṛ* of *svāduṃ kṛtvā* automatically expressed. This idea, of expression of the *kāraka* relative to the principal and the secondary actions of these examples, has been explained as follows:

anuprayujyamānād dhātor yasmin kārake lādayo vihitās tatraivāvyayakṛto' pi bhavanti 'the *kāraka* relations, which are expressed by the *LA*

affixes of roots which denote tagged actions, are the same as those of actions underlying indeclinables derived by affixes termed *kṛt*.'

Note that the *Kāśikā* takes recourse to *bhāva* as the expression of affixes in the *tumUN* domain (*tumarthādhikāra*), along with the idea to keep the coreferentiality condition of agents intact, to arrive at the same interpretation. The idea of the principal and subsequent actions, along with the idea of the denotation of their powers, is voiced very systematically by the following two verses of *Bhartṛhari*:

pradhānetarayor yatra dravyasya kriyayoḥ pṛthak
śaktir guṇāśrayā tatra pradhānam anuruddhyate ||
pradhānaviṣayā śaktiḥ pratyayenābhidhīyate
yadā guṇe tadā tadvad anuktāpi pratīyate ||

'the power of a secondary action follows the power of the primary action when a single thing has two such actions; when the power of the principle action is expressed by the (replacement of the *LA*) affix, the power of the secondary action is treated as also expressed'

3.4.27 अन्यथैवंकथमित्थंसु सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्

anyathaivaṃkathamitthaṃsu siddhāprayogaś cet
/*anyathaivaṃkathamitthaṃsu* 7/3 *siddhāprayogaḥ* 1/1 *cet* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kṛñaḥ* #25, *ṇamul* #26)
anyathādiṣūpapadesu kṛño ṇamul pratyayo bhavati, siddhāprayogaś cet karoter bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *kṛÑ* when it is used with ***anyathā*** 'otherwise', ***evam*** 'this way', ***katham*** 'how, like what', or ***ittham*** 'like this', provided a non-use (*aprayoga*) of *kṛÑ* is also valid (*siddha*).

EXAMPLES:

anyathākāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats his food improperly'
anyathā bhuṅkte 'id.'
evaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats his food like this'
kathaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats his food like what'
itthaṃkāraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats his food like this'
itthaṃ bhuṅkte 'id.'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affix *ṆamUL* after *kṛ* when it occurs in conjunction with items such as *anyathā*, *evam*, and *katham*, etc., provided.the non-use (*aprayoga*) of *kṛ* is established (*siddha*). Thus, examples such as *anyathā bhuṅkte* and *anyathākāraṃ bhuṅte* would mean the same thing. That is, *kāram* does not contribute anything different to the meaning than what *anyathā*, itself, can accomplish. Consider now the counter-example:

anyathā kṛtvā śiro bhuṅkte 'he eats having turned his face in the other direction',

where *ṆamUL* cannot be introduced because the non-use of *kṛ* is not established. That is, deletion of *kṛ* would impair the meaning.

3.4.28 **यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने**

yathātathayor asūyāprativacane
/*yathātathayoḥ* 7/2 *asūyāprativacane* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kṛñaḥ* #25, *ṇamul* #26, *siddhāprayogaś cet* #27)
yathātathāśabdayor upapadayoḥ kṛño ṇamul pratyayo bhavati, asūyāprativacane gamyamāne
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *kṛÑ* when it is used with *yathā* 'the way in which' and *tathā* 'that way', provided non-use of *kṛÑ* is also valid and a response against *asūyā* 'fault-finding' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

yathākāram ahaṃ bhokṣye tathākāram aham, kiṃ tavānena 'I eat the way I do, what does this have to do with you'
yathākṛtvā' haṃ śiro bhokṣye, kiṃ tavānena 'I eat by keeping my head the way I do, what does this have to do with you'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after verbal root *kṛ* when non-use of the root is valid provided, further, that the words *yathā* and *tathā* are used in conjunction, and the 'response against finding fault' (*asūyāprativacana*) is expressed. Thus, we get an example such as:

yathākāram ahaṃ bhokṣye tathākāram aham, kim tavānena 'I eat the way I do; what does this have to do with you'

Note that the person spoken to must have earlier tried to find fault with the eating manner of the speaker of this sentence, which constitutes a response. Now consider this:

yathā kṛtvā' haṃ bhokṣye tathā tvaṃ drakṣyasi 'you will see the way I eat',

where *ṆamUL* cannot be introduced because the sentence does not constitute a response to an expressed fault. The following sentence shows how *ṆamUL* can still not be introduced in the absence of the established meaning of *kṛ*:

yathā kṛtvā' haṃ śiro bhokṣye kiṃ tavānena 'what does how I turn my head and eat have to do with you'

Incidentally, the word *asūyā* is explained as finding faults with someone's qualities (*guṇeṣu doṣāviṣkaraṇam*).

3.4.29 कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये

karmaṇi dṛśividoḥ sākalye
/karmaṇi 7/1 *dṛśividoḥ* 6/2 *sākalye* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)
karmaṇy upapade sākalyaviśiṣṭe' rthe dṛśividor dhātvor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *dṛśIR* 'to see' and *vidA* 'to know' when they are used with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and is qualified by *sākalya* 'entirety'.

EXAMPLES:

kanyādarśaṃ varayati 'every girl he sees he chooses for a wife'
brāhmaṇavedaṃ bhojayati 'he feeds every *brāhmaṇa* he knows'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after verbal roots *dṛśIR* 'to see', and *vid* 'to know' when they are used in conjunction with a word which denotes *karman* and is qualified with *sākalya* 'entirety'. Consider, thus, the sentence:

brāhmaṇavedaṃ bhojayati

which can be paraphrased as:

yaṃ yaṃ brahmaṇaṃ jānāti labhate vicārayati vā tān sarvān bhojayati 'he feeds all the *brāhmaṇa* that he knows, could think of, or find'.

Note that the preceding sentences basically denote the *brāhmaṇa*, the object of feeding (*bhuji*), in their entirety (*sākalya*). It is in this sense that the commentators discuss the notion of *sākalyaviśiṣṭārtha* 'meaning qualified by entirety'. Affix *ṆamUL* is thus introduced under the meaning condition of a conjoined word which denotes an object in its entirety. That is, if the *brāhmaṇa*, the objects of feeding, were not to be fed in their entirety, the affix could not have been introduced. Now consider the counter-example:

brāhmaṇaṃ dṛṣṭvā bhojayati 'he feeds a *brāhmaṇa* when he sees one',

where feeding a single *brāhmaṇa* when seen, obviously, goes against the notion of 'entirety'. The affix, consequently, cannot be allowed here.

3.4.30 यावति विन्दजीवयोः

yāvati vindajīvayoḥ
/yāvati 7/1 *vinajīvayoḥ* 6/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)
yāvacchabda upapade vindater jīvateś ca ṇamul pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *vidḶ* 'to gain, profit' and *jīvA* 'to be alive' when they are used in conjunction with *yāvat* 'as much as; as long as'.

EXAMPLES:

yāvad vedaṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats as long as he gets'
yāvaj jīvam adhīte 'he studies as long as he lives'

1. Note that what is specified here with *vinda* is verbal root *vidḶ*'. How do we know this? We know this because the *n* of *vinda* has its source in the introduction of augment *nUM* by rule 7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām*. No other similar root gets this augment.

3.4.31 चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः

carmodarayoḥ pūreḥ
/*carmodarayoḥ* 7/2 *pūreḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmaṇi* #29)
carmodarayoḥ karmaṇor upapadayoḥ pūrayater ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *pūri* 'to cause to fill' when it is used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and contains *carman* 'skin, hide' or *udara* 'belly'.

EXAMPLES:

carmapūraṃ stṛṇāti 'he spreads the hide to the extent it can cover...'
udarapūraṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats until his belly is full'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after verbal root *pūri* 'to fill'. The specification by *pūreḥ* 'after verbal root *pūri* implies the causative root. For, a non-causal *pūri* 'be full' cannot be transitive, and hence will not qualify to be used in the context of this rule. The words *carman* and *udara* constitute the cooccurrence condition. Thus, we get: *udaraṃpūraṃ bhuṅkte* 'he eats until his belly is full'.

3.4.32 वर्षप्रमाण ऊलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम्

varṣapramāṇa ūlopaś cāsyānyatarasyām
/*varṣapramāṇe* 7/1 *ūlopaḥ* 1/1 *ca* Ø *asya* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmaṇi* #29, *pūreḥ* #31)
pūrayater dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati, ūlopaś cāsya pūrayater anyatarasyāṃ bhavati, samudāyena ced varṣasya pramāṇaṃ gamyate
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *pūri* when it is used with a *pada* which denotes *karman* and when *varṣapramāṇa* 'measure of rain' is expressed; in addition, the *ū* of *pū*, is optionally deleted.

EXAMPLES:

> *goṣpadapūraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained enough to fill up the hoof-print of a cow'
> *goṣpadapraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'id.'
> *sītāpūraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained enough to fill up a furrow'
> *sītapraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'id.'

1. This rule not only introduces affix *ṆamUL*, but also orders an additional operation, though only optionally. The verbal root is still *pūri*. The cooccurrence condition of an object is still valid. The optional operation, in addition to the introduction of the affix, is the deletion of the long *ū* of the root. Of course, these operations both apply only when the derivate denotes 'the extent of rain' (*varṣapramāṇa*). Thus, we get the sentences such as:

> *goṣpadapūraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained as much as could fill up the foot-prints of cows'
> *goṣpadapraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'id.
> where the second sentence shows the optional deletion of *ū*.

2. There is a very detailed proposal refuting the provision of the optional deletion of *ū* in the *Mahābhāṣya* . The discussion centers around the introduction of affix *Ka* by rule 3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*, to thereby derive a form which is identical in form, meaning, and accent with the derivate in *ṆamUL*. I skip, here, the details of this refutation, as well as that of the additional considerations for introduction of affix *GHaÑ*.

3.4.33 **चेले क्नोपेः**

> *cele knopeḥ*
> /*cele* 7/1 *knopeḥ* 5/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmaṇi* #29, *varṣapramāṇe* #32)
> *'knūyī śabde undane ca' asmāṇ ṇyantād dhātoś celārtheṣu karmasu upapadeṣu ṇamul pratyayo bhavati, varṣapramāṇe gamyamāne*
> Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *knopi* 'to cause to be wet' when it is used with a *pada* which signifies *cela* 'clothing' as *karman*, and when the derivate expresses a measure of rain.

EXAMPLES:

> *celaknopaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained enough to make the clothes wet'
> *vastraknopaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'id.'
> *vasanaknopaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after verbal root *knūYĪ*, used with *ṆiC*, to denote the sense of 'making something wet' provided an

object which denotes *cela* 'clothes' is used in conjunction, and 'extent of rain' is also denoted. The specification of the verbal root is made with the inclusion of the augment *pUK*. This, in turn, becomes the basis for interpreting the use of the root in the causative with affix *ṆiC*. For, *pUK* can be introduced to *knūYĪ* by rule 7.3.36 *ar... rtihrīvlī...* only when it ends in *ṆiC*. Thus we get examples such as:

celaknopaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained enough to cause the clothes to be wet'

3.4.34 निमूलसमूलयोः कषः

nimūlasamūlayoḥ kaṣaḥ
/*nimūlasamūlayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *kaṣaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmaṇi* #29)
nimūla-samūla-śabdayoḥ karmavāciny upapadayoḥ kaṣer dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *kaṣA* 'to scrape, rub' when it is used in conjunction with a ***pada*** which denotes a ***karman*** constituted by *nimūla* 'without roots' and *samūla* 'with roots'.

EXAMPLES:

nimūlakāṣaṃ kaṣati 'removes (a plant) without the roots'
samūlakāṣaṃ kaṣati 'removes (a plant) with the roots'

1. Note that our examples *nimūlakāṣam* and *samūlakāṣam*, which denote the object of *kaṣA* and both also include *kāsa*, a derivate of *kaṣA*, the same action. How come the action is stated twice? Is there a difference in these actions? Actually, these actions are both the same. The action denoted by *kaṣA* is repeated in view of the provision of rule 3.4.46 *kaṣādiṣu yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ*. Commentators explain *samūlakāṣaṃ kaṣati* as *saha mūlena kaṣaṇaṃ karoti* 'accomplishes the action of cutting along with the roots'. This is how all examples are to be understood in this entire section. It is stated that these same actions can be viewed as used in a qualifier-qualified (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣya*) relationship where one action is general (*sāmānya*) as opposed to the other which is particular (*viśeṣa*). This way, the same action (*dhātvartha*) can also be viewed as different (*PM ad Kāś. III:178. ekasyaiva dhātvarthasya sāmānyaviśeṣabhāvena bhede sati viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāvaḥ*). Note further that the condition of *samānakartṛkatva* 'single agentness' is still valid in this section.

3.4.35 शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः

śuṣkacūrṇarūkṣeṣu piṣaḥ
/*śuṣkacūrṇarūkṣeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *piṣaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* 3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmaṇi* #29)

suṣkādiṣu karmavāciṣupadeṣu piṣer dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *piṣL* 'to grind to powder' when it is used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes a *karman* with the signification of *śuṣka* 'dried', *cūrṇa* 'powdered', and *rūkṣa* 'coarse'.

EXAMPLES:

śuṣkapeṣaṃ pinaṣṭi '...grinds something dry to powder'
cūrṇapeṣaṃ pinaṣṭi '...grinds something (already split into small pieces) to powder'
rūkṣapeṣaṃ pinaṣṭi 'grinds something coarse to powder'

3.4.36 समूलाकृतजीवेषु हन्कृञ्ग्रहः

samulākṛtajīveṣu hankṛñgrahaḥ
/*samūlākṛtajīveṣu* 7/3 *hankṛñgrahaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karmaṇi* #29)
'*samūla, akṛta, jīva*' *ity eteṣu śabdeṣu karmasūpapadeṣu yathāsaṃkhyaṃ* '*han, dṛñ, graha*' *ity etebhyo dhātubhyo ṇamul pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *han* 'to kill', *kṛÑ* 'to do' and *grahA* 'to hold' when they are used with a *pada* which denotes *karmaṇ* and correspondingly, is constituted by *samūla* 'including the root', *akṛta* 'not done' and *jīva* 'living being'.

EXAMPLES:

samūlaghātaṃ hanti 'he destroys completely, roots and all'
akṛtakāraṃ karoti 'he does something done never before'
jīvagrāhaṃ gṛhṇāti 'he seizes him alive'

3.4.37 करणे हनः

karaṇe hanaḥ
/*karaṇe* 7/1 *hanaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)
karaṇe upapade hanter dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *han* when it is used with a *pada* which denotes *karaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇighataṃ vediṃ hanti 'he strikes the sacrificial altar with his hand'
pādaghātaṃ bhūmiṃ hanti 'he stamps the earth'

1. This rule again introduces affix *ṆamUL* after the verbal root *han*, though this time under the cooccurrence condition of an instrument (*karaṇa*).

3.4.38 स्नेहने पिषः

snehane piṣaḥ
/*snehane* 7/1 *piṣaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karaṇe* #37)
snehanavācini karaṇe upapade piṣer dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *piṣL* when it is used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *karaṇa* with the signification of *snehana* 'lubricating, smoothing'.

EXAMPLES:

udapeṣaṃ pinaṣṭi 'grinds something with water'
tailapeṣaṃ pinaṣṭi 'grinds something with oil'

1. Note that affix *ṆamUL* is introduced here under the cooccurrence condition of *snehana*, that by means of which something is lubricated, or smoothed. Thus *snehana* here serves as the *karaṇa* for accomplishing the action of grinding something to powder. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś* III:180) states *snehane* of this rule is interpreted as specifying meaning, and not the cooccurrence (*upapada*) condition. Thus, *snehane* means *snehanavācin* 'that which signifies lubricating, or smoothing'. If *snehana* specifies meaning then how do we know that *karaṇa* constitutes an *upapada*? By *vyākhyāna* 'explanations of the learned', and through the meaning of the word *snehana* = *snihyate yena tat snehanam* 'that by means of which something is lubricated, or smoothed'. This condition of *snehana* could not be included in 3.4.35 *śuṣkacūrṇa...* because affix *ṆamUL* is introduced there under the meaning condition of *karman*. Here, of course, it is being introduced under the meaning condition of *karaṇa*.

3.4.39 हस्ते वर्त्तिग्रहोः

haste vartigrahoḥ
/*haste* 7/1 *vartigrahoḥ* 6/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karaṇe* #37)
hastavācinini karaṇe upapade vartayater gṛhṇāteś ca ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *varti* 'to cause to turn' and *grahA* 'to seize' when they are used with a *pada* which denotes *karaṇa* and is constituted by stems which signify *hasta* 'hand'.

EXAMPLES:

hastavartaṃ vartayati 'he turns something with his hand'
karavartaṃ vartayati 'id.'
pāṇivartaṃ vartayati 'id.'

hastagrāhaṃ gṛhṇāti 'he seizes or accepts with his hand'
karagrāhaṃ gṛhṇāti 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after the causal form of verbal roots *vṛt*, and also after verbal root *grah* provided a word which denotes 'hand' (*hasta*) as instrument (*karaṇa*) occurs in conjunction with them. This interpretation clearly accepts the word *hasta* as referring to stems having the signification of 'hand'. The specification is semantic (*arthanirdeśa*). Thus, we get examples such as:

(*a*) *hastavarttaṃ varttayati* and
(*b*) *pāṇivarttaṃ varttayati* parallel to:
(*c*) *hastena varttayati* 'rolls up something with hands into a ball', and
(*d*) *pāṇinā varttayati* 'id.'.

3.4.40 स्वे पुषः

sve puṣaḥ
/*sve* 7/1 *puṣaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *karaṇe* #37)
svavācini karaṇe upapade puṣer dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *puṣA* 'to nourish, thrive' when it is used with a *pada* which denotes *karaṇa* and is constituted by a stem which signifies *sva* 'one's own'.

EXAMPLES:

svapoṣaṃ puṣṇāti 'he thrives on his own'
ātmapoṣaṃ puṣṇāti 'id.'
pitṛpoṣaṃ puṣṇāti 'he thrives on account of his father'
mātṛpoṣaṃ puṣṇāti 'he thrives on account of his mother'

1. The word *sva* is used, here, in the sense of its meanings such as: *ātmīya* 'one's own', *jñāti* 'relation', and *dhana* 'property'.

3.4.41 अधिकरणे बन्धः

adhikaraṇe bandhaḥ
/*adhikaraṇe* 7/1 *bandhaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)
adhikaraṇavāciny upapade badhnāter ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *bandh* 'to bind' when it cooccurs with a *pada* which denotes *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'.

EXAMPLES:

cakrabandhaṃ badhnāti 'he ties... to a wheel'
kūṭabandhaṃ badhnāti 'he ties... to a post'

3.4.42 संज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām
/saṃjñāyām 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26, bandhaḥ #41)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye badhnāter dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *bandh* when the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

krauñcabandhaṃ badhnāti 'he is tying the *krauñcabandha* (name of a knot shaped like a heron)'
mayūrikābandhaṃ badhnāti 'he is tying the *mayūrikābandha* (name of a knot shaped like a peahen)'
aṭṭālikābandhaṃ baddhaḥ 'he was tied by the *aṭṭālikābandha* (name of a knot shaped like a palace)'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* under the meaning condition of a name (*saṃjñā*). Unlike the preceding rule, it is not conditioned by locus (*adhikaraṇa*). Thus, the example, *cakrabandhaṃ badhnāti* , of the previous rule would treat *cakra* 'wheel' as the locus to which something or someone will be tied. In contrast, our present rule provides for *mayūrikābandhaṃ badhnāti* 'he ties someone with a knot called Mayūrikā (Peahen)'. This rule is clearly formulated to accommodate non-locus (*anadhikaraṇa*) examples with name (*saṃjñā*) as denotata.

3.4.43 कर्त्रोर्जीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः

kartror jīvapuruṣayor naśivahoḥ
/kartroḥ 7/2 jīvapuruṣayoḥ 7/2 naśivahoḥ 6/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ṇamul #26)
jīvapuruṣayor kartṛvācinor upapadayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ naśivahor dhātvor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *naśA* 'to disappear' and *vahA* 'to carry' when they are used with a *pada* which denotes *kartṛ* and contais *jīva* and *puruṣa* 'man, person', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

jīvanāśaṃ naśyati 'that which lives dies'
puruṣavāhaṃ vahati 'the man is carrying a man'

1. This rule begins the introduction of affix *ṆamUL* under the co-occurrence condition of *kartṛ* when verbal roots *naś* and *vah* are conjoined with *jīva* and *puruṣa*, respectively. Thus we get:

(*a*) *jīvanāśaṃ naśyati* '...perishes with destruction of life'
(*b*) *puruṣavāhaṃ vahati* 'the man carries the load of a man'

The condition of a *kartṛ* as an *upapada* will rule out derivates parallel to *jīvena naṣṭaḥ* '... destroyed by life' and *puruṣeṇoḍhaḥ* '... carried by a man'.

3.4.44 **ऊर्ध्वे शुषिपूरोः**

ūrdhve śuṣipūroḥ
/*ūrdhve* 7/1 *suṣipūroḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *kartroḥ* #43)
ūrdhvaśabde kartṛvāciny upapade śuṣipūror dhātvor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *śuṣI* 'to be dry' and *pūrI* 'to fill up' when they cooccur with a *pada* which denotes *kartṛ* and contains *ūrdhva* 'upright'.

EXAMPLES:

ūrdhvaśoṣaṃ śuṣyati vṛkṣaḥ 'the tree dries up while standing upright'
ūrdhvapūraṃ pūryate '...is filled up to the brim'

3.4.45 **उपमाने कर्मणि च**

upamāne karmaṇi ca
/*upamāne* 7/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1 *ca* 0/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *kartroḥ* #43)
upamāne karmaṇy upapade cakārāt kartari dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes a *karman*, and *kartṛ* as well, as an *upamāna* 'object of comparison'.

EXAMPLES:

ghṛtanidhāyaṃ nihitaṃ jalam
'the water is preserved as if it was clarified butter (*ghṛta*)'
ajakanāśaṃ naṣṭaḥ
'...was wasted away like a goat'

3.4.46 **कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः**

kaṣādiṣu yathāvidhy anuprayogaḥ
/*kaṣādiṣu* 7/3 *yathāvidhi* 0 *anuprayogaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *kartroḥ* #43)
'nimūlasamūlayoḥ' ity etad ārabhya kaṣādayaḥ, eteṣu yathāvidhy anuprayogo bhavati

A tag in case of verbal roots enumerated beginning with *kaṣA* 'to scrape' (3.4.34 *nimūlasamūlayoḥ kaṣaḥ*) must be in line with the root which ends in *ṇamUL*.

EXAMPLE:

nimūlakāṣaṃ kaṣati 'he cuts down to the root'

1. This rule is restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. It requires that a tag (*anuprayoga*) in connection with roots headed by *kaṣ* must be in consonance with (*yathāvidhi*) that of a root which ends in *ṇamUL*. Consider for example the sentence:

ajakanāśaṃ naṣṭaḥ '...was wasted away like a goat',

where affix *ṆamUL* is introduced after verbal root *naś*. Our present rule requires that if affix *ṆamUL* is introduced after verbal roots such as *kaṣ*, etc., such verbs, alone, should also be used as a tag. The verb form *naśyati* represents the tag which under the dictates of the present rule is in accordance with the *naś* of *ajakanāśaṃ* after which affix *ṇamUL* is introduced.

3.4.47 उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम्

upadaṃśas tṛtīyāyām
/*upadaṃśaḥ* 5/1 *tṛtīyāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)
'daṃśa daśane' asmād dhātor upapūrvāt tṛtīyānta upapade ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal root *daṃśA* 'to bite', used with the preverb *upa*, when it occurs with a *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

mūlakopadaṃśaṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats his food taking a bite of radish'
ārdrakopadaṃśaṃ bhuṅkte 'he eats his food taking a bite of ginger-root'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after verbal root *daṃś* 'to bite' used with the preverb *upa* provided a word which ends in the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) forms the *upapada*. Thus, we get the example:

mūlakopadaṃśaṃ bhuṅkte

where the object of *bhuj* 'to eat' is the morsel of radish turned into such by means of the bites (*upadaṃśa*). Bites thus serve as the means whereby the object radish, now turned into morsels, is consumed.

The compound formation of derivates such as *upadaṃśa* with the co-occurring words which denote *karaṇa* is optional as provided for by rule 2.2.21 *tṛtīyāprabhṛtīny....*

Note also that, in this entire section of *ṆamUL*, rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* would also apply. That is, affix *Ktvā* would also apply to derive optional forms such as *mulakenopadaśya bhuṅkte*, parallel to the derivates of *ṆamUL*.

3.4.48 **हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम्**

hiṃsārthānāṃ ca samānakarmakāṇām
/*hiṃsārthānām* 6/3 *ca* Ø *samānakarmakāṇām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *tṛtīyāyām* #47)
hiṃsārthānāṃ dhātūnām anuprayogadhātunā samānakarmakāṇāṃ tṛtīyānta upapade ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after those verbal roots which signify *hiṃsā* 'injury, killing', and share the same object (*karman*) with roots subsequently used as a tag, provided they cooccur with a *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍopaghātaṃ gāḥ kālayati 'he wards off the cows by hitting with a stick'
daṇḍatāḍaṃ gāḥ kālayati 'id.'

1. This rule provides for the introduction of affix *ṆamUL*, still under the cooccurrence condition of a word which ends in *tṛtīyā*, though with some additional conditions. The root after which affix *ṆamUL* is to be introduced must meet the following three conditions:

(*a*) it must denote an action with the signification of *hiṃsā*,
(*b*) it must occur with a tagged root, and
(*c*) it must share an identical object with the tagged action.

Consider the following example:

(*d*) *daṇḍopaghātaṃ gāḥ kālayati* 'he wards off the cows with the blow of a stick',

where the action underlying *upaghāta* is synonymous with the action denoted by the tagged verbal form *kālayati*. Why should we have the condition of actions sharing identical objects? Observe the following:

(*e*) ***cauraṃ daṇḍenopahatya gopālako gāḥ kālayati*** **'having beaten up the thief with the stick the cowherd is now hitting the cows,'**

where the absence of an 'identical object' does not permit the introduction of *ṆamUL*.

3.4.49 **सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः**

saptamyāṃ copapīḍarudhakarṣaḥ
/*saptamyām* 7/1 *ca* Ø *upapīḍarudhakarṣaḥ* 5/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *tṛtīyāyām* #47)
upapūrvebhyaḥ pīḍarudhakarṣebhyaḥ saptamyanta upapade cakārāt tṛtīyānta upapade ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *pīḍA* 'to press', *rudhA* 'to obstruct, ward off' and *kṛṣA* 'to drag, plough' when used with the preverb *upa,* and in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *saptamī* 'the seventh triplet of *sUP*' or *tṛtīyā.*

EXAMPLES:

pārśvopapīdaṃ śete 'he sleeps lying on his side'
vrajoparodhaṃ gāḥ sthāpayati 'he keeps the cows restrained in the cowpen'
pāṇyupakarṣaṃ dhānāḥ saṃgṛhṇāti 'he collects grains picking up by hand'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after three cited verbal roots, all used with the preverb *upa,* when cooccurring with a word which ends in the locative (*saptamī*) or *tṛtīyā.* Note that the use of *ca* enables *karaṇa* to also form the cooccurrence condition, parallel to *saptami,* thereby yielding two derivates for each verbal root. A compound such as *pārśvopapīḍam* is made optional by rule 2.2.21 *tṛtīyāprabhṛty anyatarasyām.* Consequently, there will be two optional forms parallel to *pārśvopapīḍam.* That is, we have two optional forms: *pārśvayor upapīḍam* and *pārśvābhyām upapīḍam,* where the first takes the option of *saptamī* as opposed to the *tṛtīyā* of the second.

The word *upa* of the rule must be associated with all three verbal roots. Commentators indicate that the three verbal roots first form a *dvandva* compound of the *samāhara* type with the form *pīḍarudhakarṣa.* This subsequently combines with *upapūrvaḥ* 'that which has a preceding *upa*', where *upapūrvaḥ* would further undergo the deletion (*lopa*) of its second component word (*uttarapada*), yielding *upapīḍarudhakarṣa.* Incidentally, verbal root *kṛṣ,* because of specification with the *a* of *Śap,* and along with the *guṇa* of *ṛ* in *karṣaḥ,* will be interpreted here to belong to the class of roots headed by *tud* 'to torment'.

3.4.50 **समासत्तौ**

samāsattau
/*samāsattau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *tṛtīyāyām* #47, *saptamyām* #49)
samāsattau gamyamānāyāṃ tṛtīyāsaptamyor upapadayor dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *saptamī* or *tṛtīyā*, provided the derivate denotes *samāsatti* 'proximity, contiguity'.

EXAMPLES:

keśagrāhaṃ yudhyante 'they are fighting by grabbing each other's hair'
hastagrāhaṃ yudhyante 'they are fighting by holding each other's hands'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṆamUL* after a verbal root which co-occurs with a *pada* which ends either in the 'instrumental', or in the 'locative' provided the derivate denotes *samāsatti* 'close proximity'. Thus we get:

hastairgrāhaṃ yuddhyante 'they are fighting by siezing one another with hands',

where the on-set of fight (*yuddhasaṃrambha*) brings the fighters in close proximity to one another.

3.4.51 **प्रमाणे च**

pramāṇe ca
/*pramāṇe* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *tṛtīyāyām* #47, *saptamyām* #49)
pramāṇe gamyamāne tṛtīyāsaptamyor upapadayor dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* also occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with a *pada* ending in *tṛtīya* or *saptamī*, provided *pramāṇa* 'measure of length' is expressed.

EXAMPLES:

dvyaṅgulotkarṣaṃ khaṇḍikāṃ chinatti 'he cuts a piece of wood into pieces equal in measure to the width of two fingers'
tryaṅgulotkarṣaṃ khaṇḍikāṃ chinatti 'he cuts a piece of wood into pieces equal in measure to the width of three fingers'

1. Our compound *dvyaṅgulotkarṣam* is explained with parallel strings such as: *dvyaṅgule utkarṣam* and *dvyaṅgulenotkarṣam*. The word *pramāṇa* is treated as a synonym of *dairghya* 'length'.

3.4.52 **अपादाने परीप्सायाम्**

apādāne parīpsāyām
/*apādāne* 7/1 *parīpsāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2. *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26)

parīpsāyāṃ gamyamānāyām apādāna upapade dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which denotes *apādāna* 'ablative', provided *parīpsā* 'haste' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

śayyotthāyaṃ dhāvati 'he rises from the bed and runs'
bhrāṣṭrāpakarṣam apūpān bhakṣayati 'he eats the cakes straight from the oven'

1. Note that the condition of *parīpsā* would rule out a *ṆamUL* formation corresponding to *āsanād utthāya gacchati* '...rises from his seat and goes'. Affix *Ktvā* is employed in *utthāya* because of lack of 'haste'. Our cited examples signify haste. The first indicates that the man is in such a hurry that he does not even care to wash his face, etc. The second indicates that someone is so hungry that he cannot wait for a plate to eat from; he cannot even wait for the cakes to cool off.

3.4.53 द्वितीयायां च

dvitīyāyāṃ ca
/*dvitīyāyām* 7/1 *ca* ∅/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *parīpsāyām* #52)
dvitīyānta upapade parīpsāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *NamUL* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative', provided *parīpsā* 'haste' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

yaṣṭigrāhaṃ yuddhyante 'they grab a stick and fight'
loṣṭagrāhaṃ yudhyante 'they pick up a lump of clay and fight'

1. Note that *dvitīyā* is here used as an option to both *saptamī* and *tṛtīyā*. The condition of 'haste' is still operative. Thus, the fighters of our example sentences are in such a haste to fight that they do not bother taking an appropriate weapon to fight.

3.4.54 स्वाङ्गेऽध्रुवे

svāṅge' dhruve
/*svāṅge* 7/1 *adhruve* 7/1 = *na dhruve (nañ. tat.)*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *dvitīyāyām* #53)
adhruve svāṅgavāciny dvitīyānta upapade dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* and denotes one's own (*sva*) non-vital (*adhruva*) body-part (*aṅga*).

EXAMPLES:

akṣinikāṇaṃ jalpati 'he mutters having closed his eyes'
bhrūvikṣepaṃ kathayati 'he speaks having raised his eyebrows'

1. Note that the compound is still optional. The condition of *adhruve* as a qualification to *svāṅge* is explained as 'that by losing which one does not die' (*Kāś. yasminn aṅge chinne' pi prāṇī na mriyate tad adhruvam*). A counter-example is offered in *utkṣipya śiraṃ kathayati* 'he narrates something having moved his head on sides' where *śiras* 'head' is a vital part of the body. This example thus has *Ktvā* as opposed to *ṆamUL*.

3.4.55 परिक्लिश्यमाने च

parikliśyamāne ca
/parikliśyamāne 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *dvitīyāyām* #53, *svāṅge* #54)
parikliśyamāne svāṅgavācini dvitīyānta upapade dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* also occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* and denotes one's body-part totally afflicted with the action.

EXAMPLES:

uraḥpeṣam yudhyante 'they fight crushing their rib cages'
śiraḥpeṣaṃ yudhyante 'they fight crushing their heads'

1. This rule accounts for usages which may involve a vital body-part (*dhruva*; see *Kāś.* III: 188: *dhruvārtho' yam ārambhaḥ*).

3.4.56 विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः

viśipatipadiskandāṃ vyāpyamānāsevyamānayoḥ
/viśipatipadiskandām 6/3 *(itar. dv.)*; *vyāpyamānasevyamānayoḥ* 7/3 *(itar. dv.)*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *dvitīyāyām* #53)
dvitīyānte upapade viśyādibhyo dhātubhyo ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *viśI* 'to enter', *patI* 'to fall', *padI* 'to move', and *skandI* 'to leap' when the roots are used in conjunction with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā*, provided *vyāpyamāna* 'that which totally pervades' and *āsevā* 'successive connection' are signified.

EXAMPLES:

gehānuprapātam āste 'he enters each and every house, and stays'; 'he enters a house time and again, and stays'
gehānuprapātam āste 'id.'
gehānuprapādam āste 'id'
gehāvaskandam āste 'jumping from house to house he stays'; 'jumping time and again to a house he stays'

1. The words *vyāpyamāna* and *āsevā* are explained as characteristics of *dravya* 'thing' and *kriyā* 'action' respectively. *Kāśikā* explains *vyāpti* as: *viśyādibhir kriyābhir anavayena padārthānāṃ sambandhaḥ* 'total connection of things with the action denoted by roots such as *viś*, etc.'. The word *āsevā* refers to *vīpsā* 'each and every; total absorption; repetition, etc.' of an action.

Note that in the absence of a compound, we will get two forms one each for *vyāpti* and *āsevā*. Thus, the first example will have two parallel sentences where either a nominal, or a verbal form, is repeated to denote *vīpsā* (8.1.4 *nityam vīpsayoḥ*):

(*i*) *gehaṃ geham anupraveśam āste*
(*ii*) *geham anupraveśam anupraveśam āste*

Similar sentences can be formed parallel to other examples. This repetition, i.e., *gehamgeham; anupraveśam anupraveśam,* is not allowed in case of the formation of a compound.

What is the purpose of formulating this rule? If one argues that this rule is formulated to include the condition of *āsevā* then that is not valid; since *āsevā* and *ābhīkṣṇya* are the same things, and affix *ṆamUL* is already introduced under the meaning condition of *ābhīkṣṇya* by rule 3.4.22 *ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul ca.* Is this rule formulated to block *Ktvā* by *ṆamUL*? No, since *Ktvā* is not desired to be blocked. The rule is formulated to facilitate the formation of an optional compound under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* (cf. *Kāś.: nanu ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul vihita eva, āsevā cābhīkṣṇyam eva, kimarthaṃ punar āsevāyām ṇamul ucyate? ktvānivṛtyartham iti cet; na; iṣṭatvāt tasya. dvitīyopapadārthaṃ tarhi vacanam: upapadasamāsaḥ pakṣe yathā syāt*).

3.4.57 अस्यतितृषोः क्रियान्तरे कालेषु

asyatitṛṣoḥ kriyāntare kāleṣu
/*asyatitṛṣoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *kriyāntare* 7/1 *kāleṣu* 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *dvitīyāyām* #53)
kriyāntare dhātvarthe vartamānābhyām asyatitṛṣibhyāṃ dvitīyānteṣu kālavācīṣūpapadeṣu ṇamul pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *asU* 'to hurl' and *tṛṣA* 'to be thirsty' when the roots denote an interval between actions, and co-occur with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* with the signification of *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

dvyahātyāsaṃ gāḥ pāyayati '...has the cattles drink water at an interval of two days'
dvyaham atyāsaṃ gāḥ pāyayati 'id.'
dvyahatarṣaṃ gāḥ pāyayati 'id.'
dvyahaṃ tarṣaṃ gāḥ pāyayati 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* explains the examples as meaning *adya pāyayitvā dvyaham atikramya punaḥ pāyayatīty arthaḥ* 'it means that someone has the cows drink water today; and then has them drink again after two days'. That is, the actions denoted by *aty-as* and *tṛṣ*, i.e., *atyasana* and *tarṣaṇa*, set, the action of drinking water by the cows, apart by two days. The word *antara* in *kriyāntare* thus denotes *vyavadhāna* 'hiatus'.

3.4.58 **नाम्न्यादिशिग्रहोः**

nāmny ādiśigrahoḥ
/*nāmni* 7/1 *ādiśigrahoḥ* 6/2 *(itar. dv.)*/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ṇamul* #26, *dvitīyāyām* #53)
nāmaśabde dvitīyānta upapade ādiśer graheś ca dhātor ṇamul pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṆamUL* occurs after verbal roots *diś* 'to permit' used with the preverb *āṄ*, and *grah* 'to sieze', when the roots cooccur with a *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* and denotes a name (*nāman*).

EXAMPLES:

nāmādeśam ācaṣṭe '...announces by calling out the name
nāmagrāham ācaṣṭe 'id.'

3.4.59 **अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने कृञः क्त्वाणमुलौ**

avyaye' yathābhipretākhyāne kṛñaḥ ktvāṇamulau
/*avyaye* 7/1 *ayathābhipretākhyāne* 7/1 = *na yathābhipretam* = *ayathābhipretam; ayathābhipretasya ākhyānam* = *ayathābhipretākhyānam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with an internal *nañ*); *tasmin; kṛñaḥ* 5/1 *ktvāṇamulau* 1/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
avyaya upapade' yathābhipretākhyāne gamyamāne karoteḥ ktvāṇamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* occur atter verbal root *krÑ* 'to do, make',

used in conjunction with a *pada* constituted by an *avyaya* 'indeclinable', provided *ayathābhipreta* 'not as one expects' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇa putras te jātaḥ, kiṃ tarhi vṛṣala nīcaiḥkṛtyācakṣe; nīcaiḥ kṛtvā...; nīcaiḥkāram... 'a son of yours is born O Brāhmaṇa!; how come you are announcing it in such a low voice O Vṛṣala!'
brāhmaṇa kanyā te garbhiṇī, kiṃ tarhi vṛṣala uccaiḥkṛtyācakṣe; uccaiḥ kṛtvā...; uccaiḥkāram... 'your daughter has become pregnant O Brāhmaṇa!; how come you are announcing it in such a high voice O Vṛṣala!'

1. This rule allows for optional *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* formations. Thus, we get four forms: *uccaiḥ kṛtvā*, *uccaiḥkṛtya*, and *nīcaiḥ kāram* and *nīcaiḥkāram*, where the second form in each set of *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* is gotten from optional compound formation allowed by rules 2.2.22 *ktvā ca* and 2.2.21 *tṛtīyāprabhṛtīny...* respectively.

The word *ayathābhipretākhyāna* is explained as *na yad yad abhipretam iṣṭam tasya ākhyānam* 'statement of things (in a manner) which is not desired'. Thus, announcing the birth of a son in a low voice is highly undesired; announcing the pregnancy of the daughter in a loud voice is equally undesired.

2. Why do we have to have *Ktvā* mentioned in this rule when we already have it available through *vā' sarūpavidhi* in this entire section? Affix *Ktvā* is specifically mentioned here to facilitate the formation of compound by rule 2.2.22 *ktvā ca*. But why do we have to mention *ṆamUL* again in this section of *ṆamUL*? So that *ṆamUL* could be brought on a par with *Ktvā* since 2.2.22 *ktvā ca* also contains 2.2.21 *tṛtīyāprabhṛtīny....* This also enables the subsequent *anuvṛtti* of both *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL*.

3.4.60 तिर्यच्यपवर्गे

tiryacy apavarge
/tiryaci 7/1 apavarge 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ 3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *kṛñaḥ ktvāṇamulau* #59*)*
tiryak śabde upapade kṛñaḥ ktvāṇamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ apavarge gamyamāne
Affixes *Kivā* and *ṆamUL* occur after verbal root *kṛÑ* to do, make', junction with a *pada* constituted by *tiryac* 'oblique', when *apavarga* 'completion' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

tiryakkṛtya gataḥ '...went after having completed the work...'
tiryak kṛtvā gataḥ 'id.'

tiryakkāraṃ gataḥ 'id.'

1. The formation of compound is optional as has already been explained under the previous rule.

3.4.61 स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृभ्वोः

svāṅge taspratyaye kṛbhvoḥ
/svāṅge 7/1 taspratyaye 7/1 kṛbhvoḥ 5/2/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, ktvāṇamulau #59)
taspratyaye svāṅgavāciny upapade karoter bhavateś ca dhātvoḥ ktvāṇmulau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* occur after verbal roots *kṛÑ* and *bhū* used in conjunction with a *pada* which contains a stem that ends in affix *tasI* (5.4.45 *apādāne cā...*) and denotes 'one's limb'.

EXAMPLES:

mukhataḥkṛtya gataḥ 'he left with his face toward...'.
mukhataḥkṛtvā gataḥ 'id.'
mukhataḥkāraṃ gataḥ 'id.'
pṛṣṭhatobhūya gataḥ 'he turned his back and left'
pṛṣṭhatobhūtvā gataḥ 'id.'
pṛṣṭhatobhāvaṃ gataḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* after verbal roots *kṛ* and *bhū* occurring in conjunction with a *pada* which terminates in affix *tasI* (5.4.45 *apādāne...*) and denotes *svāṅga* 'one's own limb'. Note that the introduction of these affixes does not follow *yathāsaṃkhya* 'application in consonance with the number of elements in referenced sets'. That is, one should not understand *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* to be introduced after verbal roots *kṛ* and *bhū* respectively. This is known from the interpretation of the learned (*vyākhyāna*).

Note that an example such as *mukhataḥkṛtya gataḥ* '...left with his face toward...' entails both conditions of *svāṅga* as well as termination in affix *tasI*. The following sentences illustrate counter-examples to these conditions:

(*a*) *sarvataḥ kṛtvā gataḥ* 'left having finished the work completely'
(*b*) *mukhīkṛtya gataḥ* 'that which was not facing, left...'
(*c*) *mukhataḥ kṛtvā gataḥ*

where the first example does not contain 'one's own limb'; the second entails affix *CvI*, as opposed to *tasI*; and the third has *tas* as the verb, as opposed to an affix.

The compound-formation in relevant examples of this rule is regulated similar to the provisions of rule 3.4.59 *avyaye' yathābhipretākhyāne....*

3.4.62 नाधार्थप्रत्यये च्व्यर्थे

nādhārthapratyaye cvyarthe
/*nādhārthapratyaye* 7/1 *cvyarthe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *ktvāṇamulau* #59, *kṛbhvoḥ* #61)
nādhārthapratyaye śabde cvyartha upapade kṛbhvor dhātoḥ ktvāṇamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* occur after verbal roots *kṛÑ* and *bhū* when they cooccur with a *pada* which ends in an affix with the signification of *nā*, or *dhā* and denote the sense of affix *CvI*.

EXAMPLES:

nānākṛtvā gataḥ 'after having made something manifold which it was previously not, he left'
nānākṛtya gataḥ 'id.'
nānākāraṃ gataḥ 'id.'
vinākṛtya gataḥ 'having abandoned it he left'
vinākṛtvā gataḥ 'id.'
vinākāraṃ gataḥ 'id.'
nānābhūya gataḥ 'it became many which it was previously not'
nānābhūtvā gataḥ 'id.'
nānābhāvaṃ gataḥ 'id.'
vinābhūya gataḥ 'it went without becoming what it was not; it went having remained the same'
vinābhūtvā gataḥ 'id.'
vinābhāvaṃ gataḥ 'id.'

1. This rule allows for the introduction of affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* after verbal roots *kṛ* and *bhū* when they occur in conjunction with words ending in affixes which have the signification of *nā* (5.2.27 *vinañbhyāṃ*...) and *dhā* (5.3.42 *saṃkhyyāyā*...), provided the same also denotes the sense of *CvI* (5.4.50 *abhūtatad*...).

The sense of *CvI* is explained as *abhūtatadbhāva* 'the sense of something becoming something which it previously was not'. Consider the following illustrations:

(*a*) *nānākṛtvā gataḥ* 'he left after making something manifold which it was previously not'
(*b*) *nānākṛtyagataḥ* 'id.'
(*c*) *nānākāraṃ gataḥ* 'id.'
(*d*) *anānā nānā kṛtvā gataḥ* 'id.'
(*e*) *dvidhā kṛtvā gataḥ* 'he left after splitting something in two'
(*f*) *dvidhākṛtya gataḥ* 'id.'
(*g*) *dvidhākāraṃ gataḥ* 'id.'

Note that the words *nānā* and *dvidhā* end in the affixes *nā* and *dhā*, which denote the sense of 'variety' and 'splitting in two', respectively. That is, they denote 'multiplicity' and 'splitting in two' which previously was not the case. The meaning of *CvI* can be better understood by example (*d*) which is a paraphrase of (*a-c*). The three examples in two sets (of *a-c*, and *e-g*) each give a non-compound form of *Ktvā* parallel to its compound counterpart and followed by the form in *ṆamUL*. Rule 2.2.22 *ktvā ca* again provides for the optional compound.

The condition that words such as *nānā* and *dvidhā* must end in affixes which have the sense of *nā*, or *dhā* is important, because it means that examples such as *hiruk kṛtvā gataḥ* '...left without making...', or '*pṛthak kṛtvā gataḥ* '...left having set aside...' can be kept out of the scope of this rule.

A question is raised as to why Pāṇini had to state 'when ending in affixes which have the signification of *nā* and *dhā*'. Why did he simply not say 'when ending in affixes *nā* and *dhā*? A formulation via 'affixal meaning' is favored to accommodate forms which denote the sense of *dhā*, but end in an affix other than *dhā*. Rules 5.4.42 *saṃkhyāyāḥ*... through 5.3.45 *dvitryoś ca* introduce affixes *dhā*, *dhyamUÑ*, and *dhamUÑ* with same signification. This specification of meaning is not crucial in case of *nā* since no other affix is used to denote its sense. Why do we then have the specification of *nā* made as '*nā-pratyayārtha*? Because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *dhārtha*.

3.4.63 **तूष्णीमि भुवः**

tūṣṇīmi bhuvaḥ
/*tūṣṇīmi* 7/1 *bhuvaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1 *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91 *ktvāṇamulau* #12)
tūṣṇīṃśabda upapade bhavater dhātoḥ ktvāṇamulau pratyayau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* occur after verbal root *bhū* when it co-occurs with an indeclinable *pada* constituted by *tūṣṇīm* 'silent'.

EXAMPLES:

tūṣṇīṃbhūya 'having become silent'
tūṣṇīṃbhūtvā 'id.'
tūṣṇīṃbhāvam 'id.'

1. A question is raised as to why *bhū* should be explicitly stated in this rule when it is already available via *anuvṛtti* from rule 3.1.61 *svāṅge tas-pratyaye kṛbhvoḥ*. It is said that *bhū* in that rule is associated with *kṛ*, hence, carrying *bhū* via *anuvṛtti* would have also meant carrying *kṛ*. It is to drop *kṛ* that *bhū* is explicitly stated in this rule.

The option of compounds is available from rules 2.2.21 *tṛtīyāprabhṛtīny anyatarasyām* and 2.2.22 *Ktvā ca.*

3.4.64 अन्वच्यानुलोम्ये

anvacy ānulomye
/anvaci 7/1 *ānulomye* 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1 *paraś ca* #3.1.2 *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91 *ktvāṇamulau* # 12*)*
anvakśabda upapade bhavater dhātor ānulomye ktvāṇamulau bhavataḥ
Affixes *Ktvā* and *ṆamUL* occur after verbal root *bhū* to be, become' when it cooccurs with an indeclinable *pada* constituted by *anvak* 'favorably' providing the derivate denotes *ānulomya* 'conduciveness'.

EXAMPLES:

anvagbhūtvā"ste 'he remains a servant'
anvagbhūyāste 'id.'
anvagbhāvam āste 'id.'

1. The word *ānulomya* is explained as *anulomatā* 'favorability', *anukūlatva* 'conduciveness' and *paracittanuvidhāna* 'acting in conformity with someone else's wishes'.

3.4.65 शकधृषज्ञाग्लाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हास्त्यर्थेषु तुमुन्

śakadhṛṣajñāglāghaṭarabhalabhakramasahārhāstyartheṣu tumun
/śaka...artheṣu 7/3 *(itar. dv.); tumun* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91*)*
śakādiṣūpapadeṣu astyartheṣu vā dhātumātrāt tumun pratyayo bhavati
Affix *tumUN* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with *śakA* 'to be able', *dhṛṣA* 'to be bold, daring', *jñā* 'to know', *glai* 'to be weary', *ghaṭA* 'to strive', *rabhA* 'to begin', *labhA* 'to obtain', *kramA* 'to stride', *ṣahA* 'to endure', *arhA* 'to deserve', and with a root which has the signification of *asti* 'to be, become'.

EXAMPLES:

śaknoti bhoktum 'he is able to eat'
dhṛṣṇoti bhoktum 'he dares to eat'
jānāti bhoktum 'he knows how to eat'
glāyati bhoktum 'he becomes weary of eating'
ghaṭate bhoktum 'he strives to eat'
ārabhate bhoktum 'he begins to eat'
labhate bhoktum 'he obtains food for eating'
prakramate bhoktum 'he starts to eat'
sahate bhoktum 'he endures eating'
arhati bhoktum 'he deserves to eat'

asti bhoktum 'there is food here'
bhavati bhoktum 'id.'
vidyate bhoktum 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *tumUN* after a verbal root used in conjunction with *śak* 'to be able to', etc., or with a root with the signification of *as* 'to be'. One wonders why Pāṇini has to reintroduce *tumUN*when it is already available to verbal roots in general (3.3.10 *tumunṇvulau...*). Commentators say that this earlier provision is made under the cooccurrence condition of *kriyārthakriyā* 'an action intended for another action'. Our present Rule provides for the introduction of affix *tumUN* without this requirement. Thus, we get:

śaknoti bhoktum '...is able to eat',

where the action denoted by *bhuj* is not intended by the action denoted by *śaknoti*.

Note that the meanings of individual examples can be gerenalized as: competence, ability (*yogyatā*), incompetence, inability (*aśakti*), skill (*prāvīṇya*), or possibility (*sambhava*), depending on what kind of root is selected for the introduction of *tumUN*. These meanings, thus, can be determined by the context.

3.4.66 **पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु**

paryāptivacaneṣv alamartheṣu
/paryāptivacaneṣu 7/3 alamartheṣu 7/3/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91, tumun #65)
paryāptivacaneṣv alamartheṣūpapadeṣu dhātos tumun pratyayo bhavati
Affix *tumUN* occurs after a verbal root used in conjunction with a *pada* which has the signification of *alam* 'sufficient, enough' qualified with *paryāpti* 'abundance, competence'.

EXAMPLES:

paryāpto bhoktum 'he is capable of eating...'
alaṃ bhoktum 'id.'
bhoktuṃ pārayati 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *tumUN* after a verbal root used in conjunction with a word which has the sense of *alam* and denotes *paryāpti* 'abundance, capability'. Thus consider:

alaṃ kṛtvā 'enough with doing it, or do not do it',

where affix *Ktvā* is introduced by rule 3.4.18 *alaṃkhalvoḥ....* The sentence obviously does not satisfy the additional qualification of *paryāpti*. The sense of *paryāpti* can be recognized either as 'abundance' or as 'capability'.

A sentence such as *alaṃ bhoktum* satisfies the requirement, and can thus be interpreted either in the sense of 'abundance of food', or in the sense of 'the capability of the person who is eating'.

3.4.67 **कर्त्तरि कृत्**

kartari kṛt
/kartari 7/1 *kṛt* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1; *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
kṛtsaṃjñakāḥ pratyayāḥ kartari kārake bhavanti
Affixes termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) occur to denote *kartṛ* 'agent'.

EXAMPLES:

kārakaḥ 'he who does'
nandanaḥ 'he who pleases'
grāhī 'he who seizes'
pacaḥ 'he who cooks'

1. This rule specifies the denotatum of affixes termed *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*). The nature of this rule is explained as residual (*śeṣa*). That is, an affix termed *kṛt* will denote an agent (*kartṛ*) unless otherwise provided for by some other rule. Consider for example rule 3.2.56 *āḍhyasubhaga...* which introduces affix *KHyuN* to denote the sense of *karaṇa* 'instrument'. A residual status of rule 3.1.67 *kartari kṛt* also assigns it the staus of a general rule (*sāmānya*) destined to be blocked by any particular rule (*viśeṣa*), such as rule 3.4.56 *āḍhyasubhaga....* This rule thus provides for an affix termed *kṛt* to denote *kartṛ*, unless already stated otherwise. Affixes introduced by rules such as 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau* will thus denote *kartṛ* as provided for by this rule.

3.4.68 **भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा**

bhavyageyapravacanīyopasthānīyajanyāplāvyāpātyā vā
/bhavya...pātyāḥ 1/3 *(itar. dv.); vā* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *kṛt* #67)
bhavyādayaḥ śabdāḥ kartari vā nipātyante
Words such as *bhavya, geya, pravacanīya, upasthānīya, janyā, plāvyā,* and *pātyā* are derived by *nipātana* to optionally denote *kartṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

bhavyaḥ 'that which comes into existence; existence'
geyaḥ 'he who sings; that which is sung'
pravacanīyaḥ 'he who explicates; that which is explicated'
upasthānīyaḥ 'he who stays near; he nearby whom one stays'
janyaḥ 'he who comes into being'

janyam 'that which is brought into existence'
āplāvyaḥ 'he who immerses'
āplāvyam 'that which is immersed'
āpātyam 'one who assails'
āpātyam 'that which is assailed'

1. Note that affixes termed *kṛtya*, *Kta*, or those which may have the signification of *KHaL*, denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' when they occur after an intransitive root. They, however, denote *karman* 'object' when they occur after a transitive root as is provided for by rule 3.4.70 *tayor eva*.... Our present rule makes an optional provision of *kartṛ* available to all roots underlying *bhavya*, etc. That is, rule 3.4.70 will assign the signification of *karman*, or *bhāva* optionally to the denotatum of *kartṛ* of this rule. In the case of intransitive roots, the option of *kartṛ* will be made against the provision of *bhāva*. It will be made against the provision of *karman* in case of a transitive verbal root. Consider for example the following sentences for illustration:

(*a*) *pravacanīyo guruḥ svādhyāyasya* 'the teacher, the one who is to explain the Veda'
(*b*) *pravacanīyo guruṇā svādhyāyaḥ* 'the teacher by who the Veda is to be explained',

where sentence (*a*) expresses the agent (*guru*) by means of affix *anīyaR*. Consequently, the nominative (*prathamā*) of *guruḥ* expresses just the stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*). The object of the action denoted by *pravac*, i.e., *svādhyāya*, is expressed by the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), as per rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ*....

The word *guru* in the next example is in the instrumental to express the agent, as opposed to the object which is now expressed by *anīyaR* of *pravacanīyaḥ*.

3.4.69 लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः

laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ
/laḥ 1/3 *karmaṇi* 7/1 *ca* 0 *bhāve* 7/1 *ca* 0 *akarmakebhyaḥ* 5/3/
(dhātoḥ #3.1.91, *kartari* #67*)*
lakāraḥ karmaṇi kārake bhavanti cakārāt kartari bhavanti; akarmakebhyo dhātubhyo bhāve bhavanti, cakārāt kartari ca
LA affixes occur after transitive verbal roots to denote *karman* or *kartṛ*; they also occur after intransitive verbal roots to denote *kartṛ* or *bhāva*.

EXAMPLES:

gamyate grāmo devadattena 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'
gacchati grāmaṃ devadattaḥ 'Devadatta is going to the village'

āsyate devadattena 'Devadatta is sitting'
āste devadattaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *laḥ* is, here, interpreted as the nominative plural of *l* which is used here to refer to *LA* affixes in general. An ablative, or genetive singular interpretation of *laḥ* would cause serious interpretational problems. Additionally, for *l* to be able to refer to such affixes in general, it must also be used here without any of the *it* elements.

Note that the word *ca* 'and' is used twice. This splits the rule into two as follows:

(*a*) *laḥ karmaṇi kartari ca* '*LA* affixes occur to denote *karman*, and *kartṛ* as well, after roots which are transitive (*sakarmaka*);

(*b*) *laḥ bhāve kartari cākarmakebhyaḥ* '*LA* affixes occur to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense, and *kartṛ* as well, after verbal roots which are intransitive (*akarmaka*).

The first *ca* brings *kartari* from the preceding rule close to the context of interpretation (*a*). The second *ca* brings the same *kartari* close to the context of interpretation (*b*). The use of *akarmaka* 'intransitive', in contradistinction with *sakarmaka*, automatically provides the context of *sakarmaka* to the preceding interpretation. Interpretation (*b*) for reasons of having *akarmakebhyaḥ* in the plural as a modifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) of *dhātoḥ* also requires transposition of number (*vacanavipariṇāma*) in the *anuvṛtti*. That is, the word *dhātoḥ* will be read, here, as *dhātubhyaḥ*. The preceding interpretation makes it impossible for the *LA* affixes to denote *bhāva* after transitive roots. This is made clear by the explicit use of *akarmakebhyaḥ*.

2. Note that rule 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt* introduces affixes termed *kṛt* to denote *kartṛ*. Rule 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ* assigns the term *kṛt* to affixes other than those denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*. The term *kṛt*, obviously, also becomes available to the ten abstract *LA* affixes. Consequently, and in consonance with the specification of rule 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt*, a *LA* affix can only be introduced with the denotatum of *kartṛ*. The formulation of rule 3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi*... thus becomes necessary. Assignment of the term *kṛt* to *LA* has further consequences. For instance, affixes termed *LA* can either be replaced with *tiṄ* (*tiṅbhāvī*; 3.4.77 *tiptasjhi*...), or by some other (non-*tiṄ*; *atiṅbhāvī*) affix. A *tiṄ* replacement of *LA*, for the reason of being a non-*kṛt*, only qualifies for denoting *bhāva* and *karman*. A non-*tiṄ* replacement of *LA*, on the other hand, qualifies for denoting the *kartṛ*. Rule 3.4.69 adds significantly towards the resolution of this difficulty.

Consider now the following sentences for illustration:

(*c*) *gamyate grāmo devadattena* 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'
(*d*) *gacchati grāmaṃ devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is going to the village'
(*e*) *āsyate devadattena* 'Devadatta stays...'
(*f*) *āste devadattaḥ* 'id.'

(*g*) *devadattena odano bhujyate* 'the rice is eaten by Devadatta'

(*h*) *devadattena bhujyate* 'Devadatta is eating'

Sentences (*c*) and (*d*) express the object and agent by *tiṄ* replacements of affix *LAṬ*. Since the object is expressed by *ta* of *gamyate* in (*c*), the agent must be expressed with *tṛtīyā* (2.3.18 *kartṛkaraṇayos...*). Additionally, *grāma* must be used with the nominative (*prathamā*) just to express the nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*) as the object is already expressed by the verbal form. Contrary to this, sentence (*d*) expresses the agent with *ti*. This causes *devadatta* to be used with the nominative to express merely its nominal stem-notion. The object, since it is not expressed by the verb, must now be expressed with the use of the accusative (*dvitīyā*; 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*). Sentence (*e*) expresses its agent with the instrumental ending (*tṛtīyā*); its verb, on account of being intransitive, expresses *bhāva* 'root-sense'. Sentence (*f*) expresses the agent by means of the verbal ending. Sentence (*g*) expresses its object and agent similar to sentence (*c*). However, note that in sentence (h), the verb still expresses the object. One cannot interpret, here, the expression of *bhāva* to be parallel to *āsyate* of sentence (*e*). This is precisely because of the explicit statement of *akarmakebhyaḥ* in the rule. This is also the basis for stating that *bhāva* cannot be expressed by *LA* which occurs after a transitive (*sakarmaka*) verbal root.

3. An action as the meaning of a verbal root has two aspects: its fruit or result (*phala*), and its process (*vyāparā*).

Let us consider the following sentence for illustration:

(*i*) *devadattaḥ sthālyāṃ pacaty odanam agninā* 'Devadatta is cooking rice in the pot by means of fire'

The action of cooking as a process entails procuring rice, firewood, fire, pot and water; washing the rice in the pot, adding water, and putting the pot on the stove follows. But this can only happen with the assumption that the fire is already made. All these actions are treated as inhered in the principal action which we understand as 'cooking', the denotatum of *pac*. But what happens when this process of cooking is completed? We find that the rice-grains have acquired the quality termed softening (*viklitti*). This is what the grammarians call the result of an action. The locus of the action in the preceding sentence is the pot; the locus of the softening is the rice, the object; the locus of the process (*vyāpāra*) is *devadatta*, the agent. A verbal root is treated as *sakarmaka* 'transitive' if its action entails different loci for its process and result. All other verbal roots will be treated as *akarmaka*. Obviously, verbal root *pac* is *sakarmaka*.

3.4.70 **तयोरेव कृत्यक्तखलर्थाः**

tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ

/tayoḥ 7/2 *eva* Ø *kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ* 1/3/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *karmaṇi bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* #69)
tayor eva bhāvakarmaṇoḥ kṛtyasaṃjñakāḥ ktakhalarthāś ca pratyayā bhavanti
Affixes termed *kṛtya* (3.1.91 *kṛtyāḥ*), and those which have the signification of *Kta* (3.3.114 *napuṃsake...*) and *KHaL* (3.3.126 *īṣadduḥsuṣu...*), occur to denote only *bhāva* or *karman*.

EXAMPLES:

karttavyaḥ kaṭo bhavatā 'the mat should be made by you'
āsitavyaṃ bhavatā 'you should sit'
kṛtaḥ kaṭo bhavatā 'the mat was made by you'
āsitaṃ bhavatā 'you sat down'
īṣatkaro kaṭaṃ bhavatā 'the mat is easy for you to make'
īṣadāḍhyaṃbhavaṃ bhavatā 'you (polite) are to be rich with ease'

1. This rule assigns the denotata of *bhāva* and *karman* to *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*), *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), as well as to those affixes which have the signification of *KHaL*. The word *eva* 'alone' is used to exclude *kartari* of the preceding rules from being effective here. Thus, *bhāva* and *karman*, alone, are to be treated as the denotata of specified affixes. Let us consider some examples:

(*a*) *karttavyaḥ kaṭo bhavatā* 'a mat should be made by you'
(*b*) *śayitavyaṃ bhavatā* 'you must recline'
(*c*) *kṛtaḥ kaṭo bhavatā* 'a mat is made by you'
(*d*) *śayitaṃ bhavatā* 'you have reclined'
(*e*) *īṣatkaro kaṭo bhavatā* 'the mat is easy for you to make rightaway'
(*f*) *īṣad āḍhyaṃbhavo bhavatā* 'it is easy for you to be rich rightaway',

where the first two sentences express *karman* and *bhāva*, respectively by their *kṛtya* affix *tavyaT*. The next two sentences manipulate affix *Kta* to denote, again, the *karman* and *bhāva* notions. The last set of two sentences manipulates the affix *KHaL*, and again denotes *karman* and *bhāva* respectively.

Kāśikā states that, since *bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* is still carried, these affixes cannot denote *bhāva* in case of a transitive (*sakarmaka*) verbal root.

3.4.71 आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्त्तरि च

ādikarmaṇi ktaḥ kartari ca
/ādikarmaṇi 7/1 *ktaḥ* 1/1 *kartari* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1 *karmaṇi bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* #69)
ādikaramaṇi yaḥ kto vihitaḥ sa kartari bhavati
Affix *Kta* which occurs to denote the onset of an action denotes *kartṛ* as well.

EXAMPLES:

> *prakṛtaḥ kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta started to make the mat'
> *prakṛtaḥ kaṭo devadattena* 'id.'
> *prakṛtaṃ devadattena* 'id.'

1. Note that the word *karman* of *karmaṇi* is not used in the sense of the technical term *karman* 'object'. It is, instead, used in the more general sense of 'action' which when qualified with *ādi* means 'onset of an action'. The compound *ādikarma* is thus interpreted as a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compound with the analysed form: *ādibhūtaḥ kriyākṣaṇaḥ* 'that which is the initial moment of an action'. Note that *Kta* is a *niṣṭhā* suffix introduced within the specification of *bhūte* (3.2.84) 'when the action denoted by the verb is located in the past'. This is the reason that the 'onset of an action' which forms part of the condition of this rule, is to be further specified as: 'the onset of an action located in the past'. Our rule can be explained as: affix *Kta* introduced after a verbal root, with reference to the onset of an action in the past, denotes agent; because of the *ca*, it additionally can denote *bhāva* and *karman*. Note that the preceding rule provides for *Kta* to denote *bhāva* and *karman* as explained. This rule extends the denotatum of *kartṛ* in the case of *Kta* used with the specification of *ādikarma*. Consider now the following sentences:

(*a*) *prakṛtaḥ kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta started making a mat'
(*b*) *prakṛtaḥ kaṭo devadattena* 'a mat was started being made by Devadatta'
(*c*) *prakṛtaṃ devadattena* 'it was begun by Devadatta',

where the first sentence has *devadatta* in the nominative to express the nominal stem-notion *(prātipadikārtha)* because the agent is already expressed by the *Kta* of *prakṛtaḥ*. Sentence (*b*) must use the instrumental ending (*tṛtīyā*) to express the agent because the *Kta* of *prakṛtaḥ* now expresses the object. This explains why *kaṭaḥ* must be used with the nominative to denote the nominal stem-notion. Sentence (*c*) denotes *bhāva* with the *Kta* of *prakṛtaḥ*. Consequently, *devadatta* must be used with the instrumental to denote the agent. Note that *pra* in all these sentences can be treated as denoting 'the onset of the action'. The denotatum of *bhāva*, as we have already seen, is not possible in the context of an action which is denoted by a transitive root. This raises a question against the status of the verbal root used in *prakṛtaḥ* of sentence (*c*). Commentators explain that *Kta* denotes *bhāva* with reference to the verbal root treated as intransitive because of an unexpressed object. Haradatta (*Padamañjarī* ad *Kāśikā* III: 208) states it as follows:

> *atra karmaṇo' vivakṣitatvena dhātor akarmakād bhāva eva ktaḥ* 'affix *Kta* is introduced here to denote *bhāva* alone because the verbal root becomes intransitive for lack of an intent to denote the object'

3.4.72 **गत्यर्थाकर्मकश्लिषशीङ्स्थासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च**

gatyarthākarmakaśliṣaśīṅsthāsavasajanaruhajīryatibhyaś ca
/*gatyarthā...jīryatibhayaḥ* 5/3 *ca* ∅/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *karmaṇi bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ* #69, *kartari* #71)
gatyarthebhyo'dhātubhyo' karmakebhyaḥ śliṣādibhyaś ca yaḥ ktaḥ sa kartari bhavati, cakārād yathāprāptaṃ ca bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
Affix *Kta* occurs to denote *kartṛ*, *bhāva* and *karman*, after intransitive verbal roots which have the signification of *gati* 'motion', and also after verbal roots *śliṣA* 'to embrace', *śīṄ* 'to recline', *sthā* 'to stand', *āsA* 'to sit', *vasA* 'to dwell', *janA* 'to be born', *ruhA* 'to grow', and *jṝ* 'to become old, be wasted away'.

EXAMPLES:

gato devadatto grāmam 'Devadatta went to the village'
gato devadattena grāmaḥ 'id.'
gataṃ devadattena 'Devadatta went'
glāno bhavān 'sir, you are sad'
glānaṃ bhavatā 'id.'
āsito bhavān 'sir, you are seated'
āsitaṃ bhavatā 'id.'
upaśliṣṭo guruṃ bhavān 'sir, you embraced the teacher'
upaśliṣṭo gurur bhavatā 'sir, the teacher was embraced by you'
upaśliṣṭaṃ bhavatā 'sir, you embraced...'
upaśayito guruṃ bhavān 'sir, you reclined near the teacher'
upaśayito gurur bhavatā 'id.'
upaśayitaṃ guruṃ bhavān 'sir, you reclined...'
upasthito guruṃ bhavān 'sir, you appeared before the teacher'
upasthito gurur bhavatā 'id.'
upasthitaṃ bhavatā 'sir, you appeared'
upāsito guruṃ bhavān 'sir, you worshipped your teacher'
upāsito gurur bhavatā 'sir, the teacher was worshipped by you'
upāsitaṃ bhavatā 'sir, you worshipped...'
anūṣito guruṃ bhavān 'sir, you lived near the teacher'
anūṣito gurur bhavatā 'id.'
anūṣitaṃ bhavatā 'sir, you lived...'
anujāto māṇavako māṇavikām 'the boy was born after the girl'
anujātā māṇavakena māṇavikā 'id.'
anujātaṃ māṇavakena 'the boy was born after...'
ārūḍho vṛkṣaṃ bhavān 'you climbed the tree sir!'
ārūḍhaṃ vṛkṣo bhavatā 'the tree was climbed by you sir'
ārūḍhaṃ bhavatā 'sir, you climbed...'

anujīrṇo vṛṣalīṃ devadattaḥ 'Devadatta made the *vṛṣalī*, the lowly *śūdra* woman battered'
anujīrṇā vṛṣalī devadattena 'id.'
anujīrṇaṃ devadattena 'Devadatta battered...'

1. Note that the rule also uses *ca* 'and', consequent upon which affix *Kta* can also be used to denote *bhāva* and *karman*. Consider the following set of examples for illustration:

(*a*) *gato devadatto grāmam* 'Devadatta went to the village'
(*b*) *gato devadattena grāmaḥ* 'the village was gone to by Devadatta'
(*c*) *gataṃ devadattena* 'Devadatta is gone'

Note that affix *Kta* in sentence (*c*) denotes *bhāva*, as opposed to the *karman* of sentence (*b*). This is the reason why *devadatta*, the agent, is expressed by *tṛtīyā* in both the sentences. Since the object in sentence (*b*) is already expressed by *Kta*, *grāma* must be used with the nominative to denote the nominal stem-notion. Sentence (*a*) must use *dvitīyā* with *grāma* to denote the object, since affix *Kta* there denotes the agent. It is for this reason that *devadatta* is used in the nominative to express the stem-notion. Note that the same verb is used in all these sentences. It is treated in the first two sentences as transitive (*sakarmaka*). It cannot be treated as such in sentence (*c*). For, in the absence of the desire to specify the object it will be treated as intransitive (see my notes under 3.4.70). Refer also to my earlier statement about the impossibility of the denotation of *bhāva* by an affix introduced after a transitive verbal root. Verbal roots such as *śliṣĀ*, etc., are specifically enumerated in this rule because, with the use of a preverb, they become transitive (cf. *Kāśikā* III: 209: *śliṣādayas sopasargakās sakarmakā bhavanti, tadartham eṣām upādānam*). Otherwise, they would have qualified for the provision of this rule on the basis of their intransitivity.

3.4.73 दाशगोघ्नौ सम्प्रदाने

dāśagoghnau sampradāne
/*dāśagoghnau* 1/2 *sampradāne* 7/1/
dāśagoghnau śabdau sampradāne kārake nipātyete
Forms such as *dāśa* and *goghna* are derived by *nipātana* when they are to denote *sampradāna* 'dative'.

EXAMPLES:

dāśaḥ 'he to whom something is given'
goghnaḥ 'a guest for whom one kills a cow'

1. This rule allows for affixes *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi*...), or *ṬaK* (3.2.8 *gāpoṣṭak*) to denote *sampradāna* 'dative', by the process of *nipātana*, with

words such as *dāśaḥ* 'he to whom a gift is made', or *goghnaḥ* 'he for whom a cow is killed'. The word *dāśaḥ* is analysed as *dāśanti tasmai* 'he to whom a gift is made', and is derived by the introduction of affix *aC*. The word *goghnaḥ* is similarly derived by introducing affix *ṬaK* by *nipātana* with the analysed form: *āgatāya tasmai dātuṃ gāṃ ghnanti* 'a guest for whom they kill a cow in offering'. This word does not mean 'the killer of a cow' such as a *cāṇḍāla* 'the very lowly untouchable outcast', etc. The affixes employed here should denote *kartṛ* by 3.1.93 *kartari kṛt*. This rule makes an ad hoc provision for dative.

2. The word *goghnaḥ* means a guest deserving of *madhuparka* 'a ritual welcome with the offering of yogurt (*dadhi*), ghee (*sarpiṣ*), water (*jala*), honey (*kṣaudrā*), and sugar (*sitā*). The offering thus entails two cow products (*vikāra*). It is unacceptable to many, and at least debatable, whether they really killed a cow in honor of a special guest. Those not subscribing to the killing of a cow interpretation read the word *goghnaḥ* to mean 'a guest for whom cow products were made as welcoming offerings'. The root *han* in this interpretation must mean *gati* 'movement' as opposed to *hiṃsā* 'killing'. The *gati* meaning of *han* is further interpretable as *jñāna* 'knowing', *gamana* 'going', or *prāpti* 'attaining'. The *gati* meaning of *han* in *goghnaḥ* can thus be claimed to be *prāpti* 'attaining'. The word *go* 'cow', itself, on the authority of the *Nirukta* (II.5), can be interpreted as 'cow product' (*govikāra*). This, then, allows the meaning of *goghnaḥ* to be in line with the belief that cows were not killed.

3.4.74 भीमादयोऽपादाने

bhīmādayo' pādāne
/bhīmādayaḥ 1/3 *apādāne* 7/1/
bhīmādayaḥ śabdā apādāne nipātyante
The words *bhīma* 'frightening', etc., derive via *nipātana* when *apādāna* 'ablative' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

bhīmaḥ 'he who people fear'
bhayānakaḥ 'id.'
bhīṣmaḥ 'id.'

1. The words listed as *bhīma* 'frightening', etc., are derivates of *uṇādi* '*uṆ* etc.' affixes. This ad hoc provision is against the provision of 3.1.93 *kartari kṛt*.

3.4.75 ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः

tābhyām anyatroṇādayaḥ
/tābhyām 5/2 *anyatra* Ø *uṇālayaḥ* 1/1/

(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1)
uṇādayaḥ śabdāḥ tābhyām apādānasampradānābhyām anyatra kārake bhavanti
Affixes *uṆ*, etc., also occur outside of the denotata of dative (*sampradāna*) and ablative (*apādāna*).

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣiḥ 'farming; that which is tilled'
tantuḥ 'thread; that which is stretched'

1. This rule makes a provision for the *uṇādi* affixes to denote other *kāraka* in addition to *sampradāna* and *apādāna* for whom provisions have already been made. The words *tābhyām anyatra,* obviously, refer to the context 'other than the denotational context of dative and ablative'. The word *tābhyām* is basically used to bring close the context of *sampradāna.* The *apādāna* would have been available even without *tābhyām.*

3.4.76 क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः

kto' dhikaraṇe ca dhrauvyagatipratyavaṣānārthebhyaḥ
/ktaḥ 1/1 *adhikaraṇe* 7/1 *ca* Ø/
drauvyagatipratyavasānārthebhyaḥ 5/3/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, paraś ca #3.1.2, dhātoḥ #3.1.91)
dhrauvyagatipratyavasānārthebhyo yaḥ kto vihitaḥ so' dhikaraṇe bhavati cakārād yathāprāptaṃ ca
Affix *Kta* occurs after verbal roots which signify *dhrauvya* 'to remain fixed', *gati* 'motion' and *pratyavasāna* 'eating, consuming' to additionally denote *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'.

EXAMPLES:

āsito devadattaḥ 'Devadatta is seated'
āsitaṃ tena 'he is seated'
idam eṣām āsitam 'this is their place of sitting'
yāto devadatta grāmam 'Devadatta went to the village'
yātaṃ devadattena 'Devadatta went'
bhukta odano devadattena 'Devadatta ate rice'
devadattena bhuktam 'Devadatta ate'
idam eṣāṃ bhuktam 'this is their food'

1. This rule provides for affix *Kta* to occur after verbal roots which have the signification of *dhrauvya* 'intransitive (stative) action', *gati* 'movement', and *pratyavasāna* 'eating' to denote *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. Note that because *ca* is stated in the rule, the denotata of *bhāva, karman,* or *kartṛ*, where applicable, will additionally still apply. The following outlines actions with possible denotata of *Kta*:

(*a*) intransitive (stative) actions: *adhikaraṇa, kartṛ,* and *bhāva;*
(*b*) actions with the signification of movement: *adhikaraṇa, kartṛ, karman,* and *bhāva;*
(*c*) actions with the signification of eating: *adhikaraṇa, karman,* and *bhāva*

That is, affix *Kta,* depending on the nature of an action, may denote *adhikaraṇa,* additionally with *bhāva, karman* and *kartṛ.*

The following examples illustrate the four denotata of affix *Kta* introduced after verbal roots which have the signification of *gati:*

(*d*) *yāto devadatto grāmam* (*kartṛ*) 'Devadatta went to the village'
(*e*) *yāto devadattena grāmaḥ* (*karman*) 'the village was gone to byDevadatta'
(*f*) *yātaṃ devadattena* (*bhāva*) 'Devadatta is gone'
(*g*) *idam eṣāṃ yātam* (*adhikaraṇa*) 'this is their place for sitting'

The denotata of *Kta* with other verbal roots can be similarly illustrated. Note that the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) in *eṣām* is ruled by 2.3.68 *adhikaraṇavācinaś ca* under the cooccurrence condition of *Kta* which denotes *adhikaraṇa.*

3.4.77 लस्य

lasya
/*lasya* 6/1/
In place of *LA*...

1. Note that *l* is, here, used to denote the ten abstract affixes *LAṬ*, etc., in general. The expression *la* includes *a* for ease of articulation. The word *la*, used in the genitive, is interpreted as the *sthānin* 'an item to be replaced' (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). The rule is also an *adhikāra* 'heading', thereby implying that it will be carried to all rules contained within its domain. Pāṇini enumerates ten abstract *LA* affixes with distinguishing *it*-elements (*anubandhaviśiṣṭāḥ*), and specific temporal or other meanings (*arthaviśeṣe kālaviśeṣe ca*).

3.4.78 तिप्तस्झिसिप्थस्थमिब्वस्मस्तातांझथासाथांध्वमिड्वहिमहिङ्

tiptasjhisipthasthamibvasmastātāṃjhathāsāthāṃdhvamiḍvahimahiṅ
/*tip...mahiṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *lasya* #77)
lasya tibādaya ādeśā bhavanti
Affixes *tiP, tas, jhi, siP, thas, tha, miP, vas, mas, ta, ātām, jha, thās, āthām, dhvam, iT, vahi* and *mahiÑ* occur in place of *LA*

EXAMPLES:

pacati 'he cooks'

pacataḥ 'they two cook'
pacanti 'they (plural) cook', etc.

1. This rule introduces a set of eighteen verbal endings indicated by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*. They are classed in two sets of *parasmaipada* 'active' and *ātmanepada* 'middle' with reference to three numbers and persons in each set as follows:

	singular	dual	plural
parasmaipada:			
IIIrd pers.	*tip*	*tas*	*jhi*
IInd Pers.	*siP*	*thas*	*tha*
Ist Pers.	*miP*	*vas*	*mas*
atmanepada:			
IIIrd Pers.	*ta*	*ātam*	*jha*
IInd Pers.	*thās*	*āthām*	*dhvam*
Ist Pers.	*iṬ*	*vahi*	*mahiṄ*

Note that these endings are also called *vibhakti* (1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*). The assignment of the terms *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* are made by rules 1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*, etc. A further classification on the basis of *prathama* 'third', *madhyama* 'second', and *uttama* 'first' persons in each set is ordered by rule 1.4.101 *trīṇi....* Finally, each set is classified into three numbers: *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual', and *bahuvacana* 'plural'.

The *P* in *tiP* is for accent, as per 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*. The *Ṭ* of *iṬ* is used as an *it* for specification via rules such as 3.4.106 *iṭo' t*. It is not used, here, to indicate the place (*deśa*) with reference to an operation (*vidhi*), such as rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* provides for. The question arises obviously because of two operational interpretations of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) which are pertinent here, namely *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive denoting the relation: in place of' and *avayavaṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive denoting some part of a whole'. All other *tiṄ* replacements of *LA* are brought via the first interpretation of genitive meaning 'in place of'. It is certainly odd to interpret the introduction of *iṬ* relative to the 'part of a whole' relationship. There is no reason for seventeen of the affixes to be introduced based on one meaning, and just one based on the other. The *Ṅ* of *mahiṄ* is simply to facilitate the formation of the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*. Why can this *Ṅ* not be interpreted as given to block *guṇa*, or *vṛddhi*, similar to the rules such as 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*? Because that purpose could easily be served by rule 1.1.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*.

3.4.79 **टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे**

ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e
/*ṭitaḥ* 6/1 *ātmanepadāṇām* 6/3 *ṭeḥ* 6/1 *e* (deleted 1/1)
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *lasya* #77)

ṭito lakārasya sthāne yāny ātmanepadāni teṣāṃ ṭer ekārādeśo bhavati
The *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi...*) of an *ātmanepada* (1.4.100 *taṅānāv...*) replacement of a *LA*, marked with *Ṭ*, is replaced by *e*.

EXAMPLES:

To be provided under appropriate rules.

1. This rule provides a replacement in *e* for the *ṭi* part of an *ātmanepada* ending which replaces the *LA* affixes marked with *Ṭ*. There are six *LA* affixes which have *Ṭ* as an *it*: *LAṬ*, *LIṬ*, *LUṬ*, *LṚṬ*, *LEṬ*, and *LOṬ*. The term *ṭi* is assigned by rule 1.1.63 *aco' ntyādi ṭi* to that part of an item which is constituted by the last of its vowels. Thus, *ta*, the third person singular *ātmanepada* replacement of a *LAṬ* affix, such as *LAṬ*, will be replaced with *te*. But rule 1.1.64 assigns the term *ṭi* with reference to the last among the vowels of a form. The *ātmanepada* ending has just one vowel. For purposes of this operation, as well as the assignment of the term *ṭi*, a form consisting of a single vowel will be treated as constituting itself as its last vowel.

3.4.80 **थासः से**

thāsaḥ se
/*thāsaḥ* 6/1 *se* (deleted 1/1)/
(*lasya* #77, *ṭitaḥ* #79)
ṭito lakārasya sthāne yaḥ thās tasya sthāne se ādeśo bhavati
The *thās*, a replacement for a *LA* affix marked with *Ṭ*, is replaced by *se*.

EXAMPLES:

pacase 'you are cooking'
pakṣyase 'you will cook'

1. This rule orders a replacement in *se* for affix *thās*, replacement which occurs in place of a *LA* marked with *Ṭ*. Why did Pāṇini not provide for this replacement with the formulation: *thaḥ sa* 'the *th* of an *ātmanepada*-replacement of a *LA* affix marked with *Ṭ* is replaced with *sa*'? The *sa* could later yield *se* via the application of the preceding rule. This formulation could have been economical. But this would also have applied in case of the *th* of *āthām*, which is not desired.

3.4.81 **लिटस्तझयोरेशिरेच्**

liṭas tajhayor eśirec
/*liṭaḥ* 6/1 *tajhayoḥ* 6/2 *eśirec* 1/1/
liḍādeśayos tajhayor yathāsaṃkhyam 'eś irec' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ

The *ta* and *jha* which replace *LIṬ* are replaced by *eŚ* and *ireC* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

pece 'third person singular middle perfect'
pecāte 'third person dual middle perfect'
pecire 'third person plural middle perfect'

1. This rule provides for *eŚ* and *ireC* as replacements for affixes *ta* and *jha* respectively when they occur in place of *LIṬ*. The *Ś* of *eŚ* is used as an *it* for *sarvādeśa* 'total replacement' in view of 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*. The *C* of *ireC* is used as an *it* to provide for the *udātta* accent as per rule 6.1.163 *citaḥ*..

3.4.82 **परस्मैपदानां णलतुसुस्थलथुसणल्वमाः**

parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatusthalathusaṇalvamāḥ
/parasmaipadānām 6/3 *ṇal...māḥ* 1/3 *(itar. dv.)/*
(liṭaḥ #81)
liḍādeśānāṃ parasmaipadasaṃjñakānāṃ yathāsaṃkhyam tibādīnāṃ ṇalādayo navādeśā bhavanti
ṆaL, atus, us, thaL, athus, a, ṆaL, va and *ma* come in place of the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

papāca 'third person singular active perfect'
pecatuḥ 'third person dual active perfect'
pechuḥ 'third person plural active perfect'

1. Note that this rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *liṭaḥ*. Consequently, the nine affixes *ṆaL, atus, us*; *thaL, athus, a*; and *ṆaL, va, ma* come in place of the nine *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIṬ*, namely *tip, tas, jhi*; *siP, thas, tha*; and *miP, vas, mas*, respectively. Since these nine replacements are enumerated for an equal nine *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIṬ*, 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam...* will assign equivalency in the order of enumeration. Thus, *tip, tas, jhi*, will be replaced by *ṆaL, atus*, and *us*, respectively. Other equivalents can similarly be determined.

2. Commentators agree that these affixes replace the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIṬ* in toto (*sarvādeśa*). The question of a total, or partial, replacement arises in view of rules 1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya* and 1.1.54 *anekalśit sarvasya*. The first rule requires that a replacement specified for an item given in the genitive should replace only the last sound segment of that item. The second rule states that if the replacement consists of more than one sound segments, and is marked with *ś* as an *it*, it should

replace the item in toto. Remember in connection with this, that treatment of an item consisting of more than one sound segment is determined irrespective of the *it* elements. The *Ṇ* and *L* of *ṆaL* are both *it*. Consequently, *a*, the real replacement, cannot be treated as consisting of more than one sound segment. Since the condition of *anekāltva* 'more than one sound segmentness' is not met, *tiP* cannot be replaced by *ṆaL* in toto. Instead, *ṆaL* should replace only the final sound segment of *tiP*, namely *-i*. This would produce wrong forms, as the desired form can only be derived by total replacement (*sarvādeśa*). Commentators explain that *ṆaL* should be treated as consisting of more than one *aL* based on its *it* elements. These elements should be treated as part of *ṆaL*, thereby giving it the status of containing more than one *aL* 'sound segment' till the time rule 1.3.7 *cuṭū* does not term them *it*, and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* does not delete them. Affix *ṆaL* can be treated as consisting of more than one *aL* at the time of replacement. For, rule 1.3.7 *cuṭū* can find *ṆaL* only after *ṆaL* has replaced *tiP*. The reason is simple. Rule 1.3.7 *cuṭū* assigns the term *it* to the denotata of *cU* and *ṭU* occurring at the beginning of an affix (*pratyaya*). The term *pratyaya* cannot be assigned to *ṆaL* unless it has replaced *tiP*. For, *ṆaL* will be called an affix via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating the substitute as if it was like the substituendum'. Once *ṆaL* has replaced *tiP* in toto, there is no problem in 1.3.7 and 1.3.9 applying to delete the *it* elements.

A similar question is raised against the second personal plural ending *tha* getting a replacement in *a*. This replacement, again, does not consist of more than one sound segment. Consequently, it should come under the purview of rule 1.1.54 *alo' ntyasya*. Commentators again use their ingenuity, and explain that the *a* is not just a single sound segment *a*. Instead, it is a combination of a sequence of *a+a*, where rule 6.1.91 *ato guṇe* subsequently orders a single replacement in place of both. If one accepts that *tha* is replaced with a sequence of *a+a* then the condition *anekāltva* is met, and *a* can replace *tha* in toto. The moral is that: all these substitutes replace their substituenda in toto.

Note, incidentally, that *Ṇ* is an *it* so that 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* can order operations such as the *vṛddhi*, and the like. The *L* of *ṆaL* is treated as an *it* to facilitate operations specific to accentuation as per rule 6.1.187 *liti*.

3.4.83 **विदो लटो वा**

vido laṭo vā
/*vidaḥ* 5/1 *laṭaḥ* 6/1 *vā* Ø/
(*dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatususthalathusaṇalvamāḥ* #82)
'vida jñāne' asmād dhātoḥ pareṣāṃ laḍādeśānāṃ parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalādayo nava vikalpenādeśā bhavanti

ṆaL, etc., optionally and respectively occur in place of the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LAṬ* which occur after verbal root *vidA* 'to know'.

EXAMPLES:

veda 'third person singular present indicative active'
vetti 'id.'
vidatuḥ 'third person dual present indicative active'
vittaḥ 'id.'
viduḥ 'third person plural present indicative active'
vidanti 'id.'

1. This rule makes provisions of the preceding rule optional in case of *parasmaipada* replacements of *LAṬ* which occur after verbal root *vidĀ* 'to know'. How do we know that the specified root is not the one that means 'to exist' (*sattā*), 'to think' (*vicāra*), or 'to gain' (*lābha*)? We know this from the fact that roots with the first two meanings do not allow active (*parasmaipada*) endings. The root with the last meaning is also ruled out because *vidaḥ*, of the rule, is specified in *pañcamī* 'ablative'. As a result, and also in consonance with rule 1.1.66 *tasmād ity uttarasya*, the replacements of *LAṬ*, in order for this rule to apply, must occur directly after the verbal root. If we accept the root to be *vid* 'to gain', the root, and endings, will be intervened by the augment *nUM* ruled by 7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām*.

Obviously, because of the optional nature of this rule, there will be two sets of examples: one with replacements in *ṆaL*, etc., and the other in *tiP*, etc.

3.4.84 ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः

bruvaḥ pañcānām āditaḥ āho bruvaḥ
/*bruvaḥ* 5/1 *pañcānām* 6/3 *āditaḥ* 0 *āhaḥ* 1/1 *bruvaḥ* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91, *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatususthalathusaṇalvamāḥ* #82, *laṭo vā* #83)
bruvaḥ parasya laṭaḥ parasmaipadānāṃ pañcānām ādibhūtānāṃ ṇalādaya ādeśā bhavanti
Ṇal, etc., occur optionally and respectively, after verbal root *brū* 'to speak', in place of the first five replacements of *LAṬ*, with the additional provision that *āh* replaces *brū*.

EXAMPLES:

āha/*āhatuḥ* /*āhuḥ*
āttha /*āhathuḥ* 'he speaks, etc.'

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of both *parasmaipadānām* as well as of *laṭo vā*. It provides for a replacement in *ṆaL*, etc., for the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LAṬ*, though in a limited manner. It allows for only the first five *parasmaipada* replacements of *LAṬ*, i.e., *tiP*, *tas*, *jhi*, *siP*, and *thas*, to be replaced with the first five elements enumerated beginning with *ṆaL*, etc. Here again, the elements will replace items in accordance with the principle of *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalence in order of enumeration'. Note, also, that since verbal root *brū* also gets replaced with *āh*, this replacement must also be carried out, along with the replacement in *ṆaL*, etc. For, operations provided in conjunction must also be performed, or rejected, in conjunction (*sanniyogaśiṣṭānāṃ saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha vā nivṛttiḥ*).

2. Note that the word *āditaḥ* is used to clearly specify the referents of the five replacements. They should accordingly be counted, beginning with the first (*āditaḥ*). Why did Pāṇini have to repeat *bruvaḥ*? To make it clear that *brū* will constitute the *sthanī* 'item to be replaced' for *āh*, the substitute (*ādeśa*). The first *bruvaḥ* is in the ablative (*pañcamī*), and as such, it cannot serve as a *sthānī* since a *sthānī* is specified in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). The specification of the *sthānī* is also required to limit the replacement by *āh* to the context of *parasmaipada* affixes.

3.4.85 लोटो लङ्वत्

loṭo laṅvat
/*loṭaḥ* 6/1 *laṅvat* 0/
loṭo laṅvat kāryāṃ bhavati
Affix *LOṬ* is treated as if it were *LAṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

pacatām 'third person dual imperative active'
pacatam 'second person dual imperative active'
pacata 'second person plural imperative active'
pacāva 'first person dual imperative active'
pacāma 'first person plural imperative active'

1. Note that *laṅvat* 'similar to *LAṄ*' marks an extension (*atideśa*). That is, this rule extends the operations applicable to *LAṄ* to *LOṬ*. If it were not for this extension, replacements such as *tām*, *tam*, *ta*, and *am*, ordered respectively for *tas*, *thas*, *tha*, and *miP*, and replacement of a *LA* suffix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...*), would not be made available to replacements of *LOṬ*.

2. Note, also, that rule 3.4.99 *nityaṃ ṅitaḥ* requires an obligatory (*nitya*) deletion of the *s* of the first personal dual endings (*vas*, *mas*) which replaces a *LA* marked with *Ṅ*. This deletion of *-s* will also be available to the two replacements of *LOṬ* at the strength of the extensional (*ātideśika*) provision of this rule.

A question is raised as to why some other provisions made for a *LA* affix marked with *Ṅ* do not apply to replacements of *LOṬ* in consonance with this extension. For examples of what should, but does not, apply see rules 3.4.108 *jher jus,* and 3.4.111 *laṅaḥ śākaṭāyanasyaiva. Kaśikā* states that *vā* from rule 3.4.83 *vido laṭo vā* is carried to this rule to restrict its provision to *vyasthitavibhāṣā*. That is, the option will be available in a limited and specific manner. This, in turn, accounts for the non-application of the provisions of the two rules just cited.

3.4.86 एरुः

er uḥ
/*eḥ* 6/1 *uḥ* 1/1/
(*loṭaḥ* #85)
loḍādeśānām ikārasya ukārādeśo bhavati
The *i* of affixes which replace *LOṬ* is replaced by *u*.

EXAMPLES:

pacatu 'third person singular imperative active'
pacantu 'third person plural imperative active'

1. This rule provides for *u* to replace the *i* of a replacement of *LOṬ*. Consider thus affixes *ti* and *jhi* whose *i* is replaced with *u*, as in *bhavatu* and *bhavantu* 'may he,...they, become', when they replace *LOṬ*. How come the *i* of *siP* and *miP*, second and third person sigular replacements of *LOṬ*, does not get replaced with *u*? Rules 3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca,* and 3.4.89 *mer niḥ* make different provisions for them.

3.4.87 सेर्ह्यपिच्च

ser hy apic ca
/*seḥ* 6/1 *hi* (deleted 1/1) *apit* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*loṭaḥ* #85)
loḍādeśasya seḥ 'hi' ity ayayam ādeśo bhavati, apic ca bhavati
A *siP* replacement of *LOṬ* is replaced by *hi* and is treated as though not marked with *P*.

EXAMPLES:

lunīhi 'second person singular imperative active of *lū* (to cut)'
rādhnuhi 'id. of *rādh* (to achieve).'

1. This rule provides for two concurrent operations: a replacement in *hi* for the *si* of a replacement of *LOṬ*; and treatment of *hi* as if it was not marked with *P* as an *it*. This subsequent provision is made in view of the *pit* status of *hi* which is automatically available on the basis of *sthānivadbhāva*

'treatment of a replacement as if it were the item it replaced'. The second provision is, thus, restrictive.

2. This restrictive provision has some noteworthy consequences. For example, in the event of a negation of the *pit* status of *hi*, rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātum apit* is now free to accord *hi* the status of being marked with *Ṅ*. This status of *Ṅ* blocks the application of *guṇa*. It similarly facilitates the application of rule 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ*, whereby *ī* is ordered as replacement for the *ā* of *Śnā* followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K*, or *Ṅ*.

3.4.88 वाच्छन्दसि

vā chandasi
/*vā* 0 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*loṭaḥ* #85, *ser hy apit* #87)
lādeśaś chandasi viṣaye hiśabdo vā' pid bhavati
The *hi* replacement of a *siP* which occurs in place of *LOṬ*, in the Vedic, is optionally treated as though not marked with *P*.

EXAMPLES:

prīṇāhi '2nd person singular imperative active of *prīÑ* (to please)'
prīṇīhi 'id.'

1. This rule makes the otherwise obligatory provision of the preceding rule optional in the context of the Vedic.

3.4.89 मेर्निः

mer niḥ
/*meḥ* 6/1 *niḥ* 1/1/
(*loṭaḥ* #85)
loḍādeśasya mer nir ādeśo bhavati
A *miP* replacement of *LOṬ* is replaced by *ni*.

EXAMPLES:

pacāni '1st person singular imperative active of *pac*'
paṭhāni id. 'id. of *paṭh*'

1. This constitutes an exception to the provisions of rule 3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat*, and 3.4.86 *eruḥ*. That is, the *mi* replacement of *LOṬ* does not have its *i* replaced with *u* as rule 3.4.86 would have it. Similarly, this *mi* cannot be replaced with *am* as rule 3.4.101 *tasthastha...* would have it. Finally, the *i* of *mi* is also immune from deletion by 3.4.101 *itaś ca* as rule 3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat* would, otherwise, have it.

3.4.90 आमेतः

ām etaḥ

/*ām* 1/1 *etaḥ* 6/1/
(*loṭaḥ* #85)
loṭsambandhina ekārasya 'ām' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *eT* (1.1.70 *taparas*...), relative to *LOṬ*, is replaced by *ām*.

EXAMPLES:

pacatām '3rd person singular imperative middle of *pac*'
pacetām '3rd person dual imperative middle of *pac*'
pacantām '3rd person plural imperative middle of *pac*'

1. Note that *loṭaḥ* is still carried. This rule provides for an *e* relative to a replacement of *LOṬ* to be replaced with *ām*. Recall that rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām*... provides for a replacement in *e* specifically for the *ṭi* part of a replacement of a *LA* suffix marked with *ṭ*. This rule provides *ām* instead. Our present rule can thus be cited as an exception to rule 3.4.79.

2. A question is raised as to the relationship between the *e* and affix *LOṬ*. The relationship can be identified as that of a 'qualifier' (*viśeṣaṇa*) and a 'qualified' (*viśeṣya*). There can be two possibilities: (*a*) *e* is the qualifier to *LOṬ*, or (*b*) *LOṬ* is a qualifier to *e*. The first interpretation would entail *tadantavidhi* which, in turn, would provide only *ām* in place of a replacement of *LOṬ* which ended in *e*. It is for this reason that the second interpretation is accepted. This interpretation will not entail *tadantavidhi*, because *e* will now become principal (*pradhāna*), since it is now the qualified.

3.4.91 **सवाभ्यां वामौ**

savābhyāṃ vāmau
/*savābhyām* 5/2 *vāmau* 1/2/
(*loṭaḥ* #85, *etaḥ* #90)
sakāravakārābhyām uttarasya loṭsambandhina ekārasya yathā-saṃkhyaṃ 'va, am' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ
A replacement in *eT*, relative to *LOṬ*, when it occurs after *s* or *v* is replaced by *va* and *am*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

pacasva '2nd person singular imperative middle of *pac*'
pacadhvam '2nd person plural imperative middle'

1. This rule constitutes an exception to the preceding. For, it requires replacing the *e* of a replacement of *LOṬ* by *va* and *am* if *e* occurs after *s* and *v* respectively. Consider for example *pacasva*, where *e* happens to be the *e* of *se*, a replacement of *thās* (3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*) ordered for *LOṬ*.

3.4.92 आडुत्तमस्य पिच्च

āḍ uttamasya pic ca
/*āṭ* 1/1 *uttamasya* 6/1 *pit* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*loṭaḥ* #85)
loṭasambandhina uttamapuruṣasyā' ḍāgamo bhavati, sa cottamapuruṣaḥ pid bhavati
A first person replacement, relative to *LOṬ*, receives the augment *āṬ* which also is treated as though marked with *P*.

EXAMPLES:

karavāṇi '1st person singular imperative active of *kṛÑ*'
karvāva '1st person dual imperative active of *kṛÑ*'
karavāma '1st person plural imperative active of *kṛÑ*'
karavai '1st person singular imperative middle of *kṛÑ*'
karavāvahai '1st person dual imperative middle of *kṛÑ*'
karvāmahai '1st person plural imperative middle of *kṛÑ*'

1. This rule introduces augment *āṬ* to first personal replacements relative to *LOṬ*. Additionally, the rule extends the status of *pit* 'that which has *P* as an it' to the first personal affixes. Why is the *pit* status not extended to the augment itself? That would not make any sense (*nirarthakatvāt*). For, the *pit* status can either bring the *anudātta* accent, or it can cause *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. The *anudātta* accent is automatically applicable to *āṬ* since it is an augment. The *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* applications would not concern *āṬ* since, not being a *pratyaya*, it cannot condition them. The status of *pit* is thus not assigned to *āṬ*. It is assigned, instead, to the replacement of *LOṬ* basically to counter *ṅidvadbhāva* of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*, and thereby, to facilitate the application of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. See other derivational details in the appendix.

3.4.93 एत ऐ

eta ai
/*etaḥ* 6/1 (deleted 1/1)/
(*loṭaḥ* #85, *uttamasya* #92)
loḍ uttamasambandhina ekārasya aikārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *eT* relative to the first personal replacement of *LOṬ* is replaced by *ai*.

EXAMPLES:

karavai 'first person singular...'
karavāvahai 'first person dual...'
karavāmahai 'first person plural...'

1. This rule allows *ai* to replace *e* of a replacement of *LOṬ*. This is an exception to *ām*, ruled by 3.4.90 *ām etaḥ*.

3.4.94 लेटोऽडाटौ

leṭo' ḍāṭau
/*leṭaḥ* 6/1 *aḍāṭau* 1/2/
leṭo aḍāṭāgamau bhavataḥ paryāyeṇa
Augments *aṬ* and *āṬ* are introduced, in turn (*paryāyeṇa*), to affixes which replace *LEṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

joṣiṣat 'may he be happy'
tāriṣat 'may he go across...'
mandiṣat 'may be happy'
pátāti vidyut 'the lightning strikes...'

1. This rule introduces two augments (*āgama*), *aṬ* and *āṬ*, relative to a single replacement of affix *LEṬ*. Are these augments both to be introduced simultaneously (*yugapad*)? Absolutely not. For, as they are both marked with *Ṭ*, and as per rule 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*, they will both have to be introduced at the beginning of the affix which replaces *LEṬ*. It is impossible to make both of them initial to the single element concurrently. Obviously, the augments have to be introduced in turn (*paryāya*).

3.4.95 आत ऐ

āta ai
/*ātaḥ* 6/1 *ai* (deleted 1/1)/
(*leṭaḥ* #94)
leṭsambandhina ākārasya aikārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *āT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*), relative to *LEṬ*, is replaced by *ai*.

EXAMPLES:

mantrayaite '3rd person dual subjunctive middle of *mantri*'
mantrayaithe '2nd person dual subjunctive middle of *mantri*'

1. This rule orders *ai* as a replacement for *ā*, relative to a replacement of *LEṬ*. This replacement is applicable to the *ā* of the two affixes *ātām*, third person dual, and *āthām*, second person dual, of *ātmanepada*.

3.4.96 वैतोऽन्यत्र

vaito' nyatra

/vā Ø etaḥ 6/1 anyatra Ø/
(leṭaḥ #94, ai #95)
leṭsambandhina ekārasya vā aikārādeśo bhavati anyatra
A replacement in *āT*, relative to *LEṬ*, elsewhere, is optionally replaced by *ai*.

EXAMPLES:

aham eva paśūnām īśai
madágrā eva vo grahā́ gṛhyāntai

1. The word *anyatra* 'elsewhere' is used, here, relative to the preceding rule. That is, a replacement in *ai* for *ā* of a replacement of *LEṬ* should apply outside the scope of the preceding rule. This statement becomes necessary to exclude the application of this rule in the derivation of forms such as *mantrayaite*. See additional details in the appendix.

3.4.97 **इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु**

itaś ca lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu
/itaḥ 6/1 ca Ø lopaḥ 1/1 parasmaipadeṣu 7/3/
(leṭaḥ #94, vā #96)
leṭsambandhina ikārasya parasmaipadaviṣayasya vā lopo bhavati
The *iT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*) of a *parasmaipada* replacement, relative to *LEṬ*, is optionally deleted by *LOPA* (1.1.60 *adarśanam...*).

EXAMPLES:

joṣiṣat
tāriṣat
mandiṣai

1. This rule orders for an optional deletion of the *i* of a *parasmaipada* replacement of *LEṬ*.

3.4.98 **स उत्तमस्य**

sa uttamasya
/leṭaḥ #94, vā #95, lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu #97)
leṭsambandhina uttamapuruṣasya sakārasya vā lopo bhavati
The *s* of the first person replacement, relative to *LEṬ*, is optionally deleted by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

karavāva/karavāvaḥ
karavāma/karavāmaḥ

1. This rule provides for optional deletion of the *s* of a replacement of

LEṬ in the first (*uttama*) person. The word *uttama* is, obviously, used so that this deletion does not become applicable in other persons.

3.4.99 **नित्यं ङितः**

nityaṃ ṅitaḥ
/nityam 1/1 *ṅitaḥ* 6/1/
(lasya #77, *lopaḥ* #97, *sa uttamasya* #98*)*
ṅito lakārasya ya uttamas tasya nityaṃ sakārasya lopo bhavati
The *s* of the first person replacement of a *LA* affix, marked with *Ṅ*, is obligatorily deleted by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

apacāva 'first person dual imperfect active of *pac*'
apacāma 'first person plural imperfect active of *pac*'

1. This rule requires obligatory deletion of the *s* of first personal replacements for those *LA* affixes which may be marked with *Ṅ*. The word *nitya* is used so that the *anuvṛtti* of *vā* is suspended. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *LEṬ* is also suspended.

3.4.100 **इतश्च**

itaś ca
/itaḥ 6/1 *ca* Ø/
(lasya #77, *lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu* #97, *nityaṃ ṅitaḥ* #99*)*
ṅil lakārasambandhina ikārasya nityaṃ lopo bhavati
The *iT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*), relative to a replacement of *LA* marked with *Ṅ*, is also deleted obligatorily by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

apacat '3rd singular active form of *pac* in *LAṄ*'
apākṣīt '3rd singular active form of *pac* in *LUṄ*'

1. This rule requires obligatory deletion of the *i* of a replacement of a *LA* affix marked with *Ṅ*. Thus, consider the derivation of *apacat* 'he cooked' from *pac* + *LAṄ*, where the *LA* affix gets replaced with the third person singular active ending *ti*. The final *i* of the affix gets deleted by this rule. Note that the deletion is not applicable to the *i* of a replacement affix termed *ātmanepada*. For, *parasmaipada* is carried here.

3.4.101 **तस्थस्थमिपां तांतंताम:**

tasthasthamipāṃ tāṃtaṃtāmaḥ
/tasthasthamipāṃ 6/3 *tāṃtaṃtāmaḥ*/
(lasya #77, *ṅitaḥ* #99*)*

ṅil lakārasambandhinām caturṇāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ tāmādaya ādeśā bhavanti
The *tas, thas, tha* and *miP* replacements for *LA*, marked with *Ṅ*, are obligatorily replaced by *tām, tam, ta* and *am*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

apacatām
apacatam
apacata
apacam

1. This rule enumerates four replacements for an equal number of earlier replacements of a *LA* affix marked with *Ṅ*. Thus, this rule offers *tām, tam, ta,* and *am* as replacements for *tas, thas, tha,* and *miP*, third person dual, second person dual and plural, and first person singular *parasmaipada* 'active' endings, respectively. The assignment of equivalency between the two sets of four forms are made on the basis of the order of enumeration in corresponding sets, as per rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam....* Thus, *tām* will replace *tas, tam* will replace *thas*, and so on. The examples of *pac*, listed above, all relate to *LAṄ*.

3.4.102 **लिङः सीयुट्**

liṅaḥ sīyuṭ
/*liṅaḥ* 6/1 *sīyuṭ* 1/1/
liṅādeśānāṃ sīyuḍ āgamo bhavati
A replacement of *LIṄ* receives the augment *sīyUṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

paceta
paceyātām
paceran

1. This rule introduces augment *sīyUṬ* to the replacements of affix *LIṄ*. Note that this is a general rule (*sāmānya*) to which the next rule is an exception. Since the next rule introduces *yāsUṬ* as the augment for the replacements of *LIṄ* in the *parasmaipada*, *sīyUṬ* must be introduced only to the *ātmanepada* replacements of *LIṄ*. The cited examples illustrate the forms of *pac*.

2. The *Ṭ*, as an *it* in both *sīyUṬ* and *yāsUṬ*, is intended to indicate the place where the augments will be introduced (*deśaviddhyartha*). The *U*, in both cases, is intended for pronunciation.

3.4.103 **यासुट् परस्मैपदेषूदात्तो ङिच्च**

yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdātto ṅic ca

lyāsuṭ 1/1 *parasmaipadeṣu* 7/3 *udāttaḥ* 1/1 *ṅit* 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(*liṅaḥ* #102)
parasmaipadaviṣayasya liṅo yāsuḍ āgamo bhavati, sa codātto bhavati, ṅic ca
A *parasmaipada* replacement of *LIṄ* receives the augment *yāsUṬ*, which is treated as *udātta* 'high-pitched' and is marked with *Ṅ*.

EXAMPLES:

kuryāt
kuryātām
kuryuḥ

1. As stated in the preceding notes, *yāsUṬ* is an augment introduced to the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIṄ*. This rule also makes two additional provisions: *yasUṬ* is treated as marked *udātta*, as opposed to the general *udātta* applicable to the augments (cf. *PM* and *Kāś*). Additionally, *yāsUṬ* is treated as marked with *Ṅ* as its *it*.

2. Note that an augment becomes part of item for which it is specified (*yadāgamā guṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*). That is, if *yāsUṬ* is to be introduced to a replacement of a *LA* affix, marked with *Ṅ* as its *it*, the replacement will also qualify for the status as *Ṅit*. Now, if an augment becomes part of the item for which it is specified, *yāsUṬ* will also become part of the replacement marked with *Ṅ*. That is, via the item to which it is introduced, *yāsUṬ* will also be treated as marked with *Ṅ*. What then is the purpose of restating the *Ṅit* status? The purpose is to indicate (*jñāpanārtham*) that replacements of *LA* affixes are not considered as marked with *N* at the strength of those affixes (see *Kāśikā* under this rule: *lakārāśrayaṅitvam ādeśānāṃ na bhavati* and the derivational details of *acinavam* and *akaravam* for details). They qualify for treatment as marked with *Ṅ*, rather at the strength of being replacements. Incidentally, examples cited under this rule here are IIIrd person singular, dual, and plural of *kṛÑ*.

3.4.104 किदाशिषि

kid āśiṣi
/*kit* 1/1 *āśiṣi* 7/1/
(*liṅaḥ* #102, *yasuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdāttaḥ* #103)
āśiṣi yo liṅ tasya yāsuḍ āgamo bhavati, sa codāttaḥ kidvad bhavati
A *parasmaipada* replacement of *LIṄ* which denotes *āśis* 'benediction' receives the augment *yāsUṬ* which is treated as *udātta*, and is marked with *K*.

EXAMPLES:

iṣyāt

iṣyātām
iṣyāsuḥ
jāgaryāt
jāgaryāstām
jāgaryāsuḥ

1. This rule extends the status of *kit* to the *parasmaipada* replacements of *LIṄ* introduced in the context of benediction (*āśis*). Note that the *kit* status is extended to the affix, and not to the augment. For, that will not serve any purpose (*prayojanābhāvāt*). This *kit* status facilitates *samprasāraṇa* by rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām...* in case of verbal roots *vac* 'to speak', *svap* 'to sleep', and *yaj* 'to perform a ritual sacrifice' for which see the appendix. The *kit* status also facilitates the application of *guṇa* in examples, such as *jāgaryāt*, as shown in the appendix. Note that elsewhere in examples, such as *vācyāt*, which does not denote benediction, *vac* does not go through *samprasāraṇa*. Incidentally, cited examples illustrate IIIrd person singular, dual, and plural forms of verbal roots *iṣ* 'to wish' and *jāgṛ* 'to be awake'.

3.4.105 झस्य रन्

jhasya ran
/*jhasya* 6/1 *ran* 1/1/
(*liṅaḥ* #102)
jhasya liṅādeśasya ran ādeśo bhavati
The *jha* replacement of *LIṄ* is replaced by *ran*.

EXAMPLES:

paceran
yajeran
kṛṣīran

1. This rule introduces *ran* to replace the *jha* replacement of *LIṄ*. This may also be treated as an exception to 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ* which requires the *jh* of an affix to replaced with *ant*. Note that the *n* of *ran* is saved from the assignment of the term *it*, and consequent deletion by rule 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*, by rule 1.3.3 *halantyam*, because of rule 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau....* Obviously, the *n* of *raṅ* is part of an inflectional ending (*vibhakti*).

3.4.106 इटोऽत्

iṭo' t
/*iṭaḥ* 6/1 *at* 1/1/
(*liṅaḥ* #102)

liṅādeśasya iṭaḥ 'at' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The *iṬ* replacement of *LIṄ* is replaced by *aT* (1.1.70 *taparas...*).

EXAMPLES:

paceya
yajeya
kṛṣīya
hṛṣīya

1. This rule introduces *aT* as a replacement for the *iṬ*, first person singular *(ātmanepada)* replacement of *LIṄ*. Commentators explain this *T* does not qualify for being saved from the assignment of the term *it* as per rule 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau....* For, this *T* is only used for ease of articulation (*mukhasukhārtham*).

2. Note that the *iṬ* of this rule cannot be interpreted to refer to the augment *iṬ*. For, when specifications are made by means of items with signification, those with no signification are ruled out (cf. *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya*). The cited examples are forms of verbal roots *pac* and *kṛ*.

3.4.107 सुट् तिथोः

suṭ tithoḥ
/*suṭ* 1/1 *tithoḥ* 6/2/
(*liṅaḥ* #102)
liṅsambandhinos takārathakārayoḥ suḍ āgamo bhavati
The *t* and *th* of a replacement, relative to *LIṄ*, receive the augment *sUṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣīṣṭa
kṛṣīyāstām
kṛṣīṣṭāḥ
kṛṣīyāsthām

1. This rule introduces augment *sUṬ* to the *ti* and *th* relative to a replacement of *LIṄ*. The *i* of *ti* is just for ease of articulation. Obviously *t* and *th* together, and without the intervening *i*, will be very difficult to pronounce. The introduction of this augment makes affixes *ta, ātām, thās* and *āthām* take the forms: *sta, āstām, sthās*, and *āsthās* respectively. Note that *sUṬ* cannot be accepted here as an exception to *sīyUṬ*. For, they both have different scopes. Augment *sīyUṬ* is specified for *LIṄ*, as opposed to the *sUṬ* which is specified for the *t* and *th* of *LIṄ*. These two augments can now both be accommodated in the context of *LIṄ*. The examples are all forms of verbal root *kṛ*.

3.4.108 झेर्जुस्

jher jus
/jheḥ 6/1 *jus* 1/1/
(liṅaḥ #102)
liṅādeśasya jher jus ādeśo bhavati
The *jhi* replacement of *LIṄ* is replaced by *Jus*.

EXAMPLES:

paceyuḥ
yajeyuḥ

1. This rule introduces *Jus* to replace the third personal plural *parasmaipada* replacement of *LIṄ*. Again, this can be treated as an exception to 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*. This replacement will be valid for both kinds of *LIṄ*, i.e., *vidhiliṅ* of 3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇa...* and *āśīḥ* of 3.3.173 *āśiṣi liṅloṭau*.

3.4.109 सिजभ्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च

sijabhyastavidibhyaś ca
/sijabhyastavidibhyaḥ 5/3 *(itar. dv.) ca* Ø/
(lasya #77, *ṅitaḥ* #99, *jher jus* #108)
sicaḥ parasya abhyastasaṃjñakebhyo vetteś cottarasya jher jus ādeśo bhavati
A *jhi* which occurs after *sIC*, or after that which is termed *abhyasta*, or else, after verbal root *vid*, is replaced with *Jus*.

EXAMPLES:

akārṣuḥ
abibhayuḥ
aviduḥ

1. This rule begins provisions not related to *LIṄ* (*aliṅartha*). It offers *Jus* as a replacement for *jhi* when the same occurs either after *sIC*, or after an item termed *abhyasta*, or else after the verbal root *vid* 'to know'. Special mention of *vid*, and items termed *abhyasta*, separate from *sIC*, is made to exclude *sIC*. Note that this replacement is applicable only in the context of *LA* affixes marked with *Ṅ* as their *it*. Commentators state that *ṅitaḥ* is carried here from rule 3.4.99 via *maṇḍūkapluti* to facilitate this interpretation. Thus, this replacement is not available in the context of *LA* affixes marked with *Ṭ* as their *it*. Separate mention of *abhyasta* and *vid* enables this replacement to also apply in the context of *LUṄ*. Recall that *sIC* is applicable in *LUṄ* (cf. 3.1.43 *luṅi* and 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*).

Note that verbal root *vid* is here specified without its *vikaraṇa*. It can then be interpreted differently. However, *vid*, meaning *sattā* 'existence',

is out since it would permit only *ātmanepada* endings. Of course, *jhi* is not *ātmanepada*. Verbal root *vid*, meaning *lābha* 'gain', is also out since its *vikaraṇa* comes in between the root and *jhi*. This rule will not permit the replacement if an intervention of this sort occurs. It is, therefore, recommended to interpret *vid* meaning *jñāna*, since its *vikaraṇa* gets deleted by *LUK*, and there is close proximity between the verbal root and *jhi*.

3.4.110 आतः

ātaḥ
/*ātaḥ* 5/1/
(*jherjus* #108, *sicaḥ* #109)
sica ākārāntāc ca parasya jher jusādeso bhavati
The *jhi* which occurs after *sIC*, and also after a verbal root ending in *ā*, is replaced by *Jus*.

EXAMPLES:

aduḥ
adhuḥ
asthuḥ

1. This rule offers a restriction (*niyama*). It states that if there is to be a *Jus* replacement for *jhi* occurring after *sIC*, it should be effective only after a verbal root which ends in *ā*. How could *jhi* be found after a verbal root ending in *ā*, and at the same time, after *sIC*. For, the root and *jhi* will be intervened by *sIC*.

Commentators state that *sicaḥ*, carried from the preceding rule, here means 'after *sIC* which has gone through deletion by *LUK*'. If the reference is to a deleted *sIC*, then how could one satisfy the condition of the replacement? That is, how can one meet the condition that *jhi* to be replaced by *Jus* is occurring after *sIC*? By the provisions of rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* 'operations relative to an affix obtain even when the affix gets deleted'. This rule thus applies only where the verbal root ends in *ā* and there occurs the deletion of *sIC* by *LUK*. See derivational details in the appendix.

Note that *t* of *ātaḥ* is for ease of articulation (*mukhasukhārtha*). The cited examples are forms of verbal roots *dā*, *dhā* and *sthā* for which see the appendix.

3.4.111 लङः शाकटायनस्यैव

laṅaḥ śākaṭāyanasyaiva
/*laṅaḥ* 6/1 *śākaṭāyanasya* 6/1 *eva* 0/
(*jherjus* #108, *ātaḥ* #110)

ākārāntād uttarasya laṅādeśasya jher jusādeśo bhavati, śākaṭāyanasyā-cāryasya matena

In the opinion of *Śākaṭāyana*, the *jhi* replacement of *LAṄ* which occurs after a verbal root which ends in *ā* is replaced by *Jus*.

EXAMPLES:

ayuḥ
ayān

1. This rule states that a *jhi* replacement of *LAṄ* which occurs after a verbal root ending in *ā*, can also be replaced with *Jus* only in the opinion of the grammarian Śākaṭāyana. Obviously, in the opinion of others the replacement will not take place. It is, thus, an optional provision. The examples are optional forms of verbal root *yā* 'to go'.

2. A question is raised here against explicitly using the word *lṅaḥ* in the rule. For, even without its explicit use *Jus* can obtain in place of the *jhi* replacement of *LAṄ*, at the strength of *ṅitaḥ* available from the *anuvṛtti*. Commentators state that an explicit mention of *LAṄ* becomes necessary so that the provision of this rule can be stopped from becoming available to extensional *LAṄ*. That is, the *LOṬ*, which gets treated as if it were *LAṄ* by rule 3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat*, cannot qualify for the provisions of this rule.

3.4.112 द्विषश्च

dviṣaś ca
/dviṣaḥ 5/1 *ca* Ø/
(jher jus # 108 *laṅaḥ śākaṭāyanasyaiva* # 111)
dviṣaḥ parasya laṅādeśasya jher jusādeśo bhavati śākaṭāyanasyācāryasya matena

The *jhi*-replacement of *LAN* which occurs after verbal root *dviṣ* 'to harm' is also replaced with *Jus* in the opinion of Sākaṭāyana.

EXAMPLES:

adviṣuḥ 'they wished to harm'
adviṣan 'id.'

1. The *ŚaP* after verbal root *dviṣ* is deleted by rule 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*.

3.4.113 तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम्

tiṅśitsārvadhātukam
/tiṅśit 1/1 *sārvadhātukam* 1/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)

tiṅaḥ śitaś ca pratyayāḥ sārvadhātukasaṃjñā bhavanti
Affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*), and affixes marked with *Ś* as an *it*, are termed *sārvadhātuka*.

EXAMPLES:

bhavati
nayati
pavamānaḥ
yajamānaḥ

1. This rule assigns the term *sārvadhātuka* to those affixes which are introduced after a verbal root, and are either denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*, or are marked with a *Ś* as their *it*. The assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* facilitates the introduction of affixes such as *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*), etc., which, in turn, enable the application of *guṇa* as per rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha....* The same assignment of the term can also facilitate the introduction of augment *iṬ* in the case of verbal roots which belong to the class headed by *rudh* 'to obstruct'. Other operations relative to the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* are not hard to find. See the appendix for further details. Examples cited as above are *LAṬ* and *ŚānaC* forms of verbal roots *bhū*, *nī*, *pū* and *yaj*.

3.4.114 आर्धधातुकं शेषः

ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ
/*ārdhadhātukam* 1/1 *śeṣaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *dhātoḥ* #3.1.91)
tiṅaḥ śitaś ca varjayitvā' nyaḥ pratyayaḥ śeṣo dhātusaṃśabdanena vihita ārdhadhātukasaṃjño bhavati
An affix which occurs after a *dhātu* but is not a *sārvadhātuka* is termed an *ārdhadhātuka*.

EXAMPLES:

lavitā
lavitum
lavitavyam

1. This rule assigns the term *ārddhadhātuka* to those affixes which are introduced after a verbal root, and are neither marked with *Ś* as their *it*, nor are denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*. That is, a non-*Śit*, or non-*tiṄ* affix introduced after a verbal root will be termed *ārddhadhātuka*. Our examples illustrate affixes *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT* after verbal root *lūÑ* 'to cut'.

Commentators state that this term assignment must be made only in those contexts where the affix which conditions the term-assignment is

introduced after a verbal root with the explicit mention of *dhātoḥ*. It is for this reason that affixes introduced within the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, alone, qualify for the assignment of this term. For example, affix *saN* introduced by 3.1.5 *guptijkidbhyaḥ san* cannot qualify for the assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka*, since its introduction has been made by stating the roots, and not *dhātoḥ* 'after the verbal root'. Obviously, lack of term-assignment blocks operations relative to the term.

The assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* also facilitates the operation of *guṇa*, as has already been noted in connection with the preceding rule (cf. 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha*...). It also facilitates the introduction of augment *iṬ*, as is clear from the provisions of rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ*...). The word *śeṣa* is used so that this term can apply to the exclusion of the affixes covered by the preceding rule.

3.4.115 लिट् च

liṭ ca
/liṭ 1/1 *ca* Ø/
(ārddhaddhatukam #114)
liḍādeśas tiṅ ārddhadhātukasaṃjño bhavati
A *tiṄ* replacement of *LIṬ* also is termed *ārddhadhātuka*.

EXAMPLES:

pecitha
śekitha
jagle
mamle

1. The examples illustrate the forms of verbal roots *pac* 'to cook', *śak* 'to be able to', *glai* 'to be weary' and *mlai* 'to be sad'. The rule offers an exception to the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* of rule 3.4.113 *tiṅśit*.... Thus, a *tiN* which replaces *LIṬ* is termed *ārddhadhātuka*. Commentators observe, here, that the use of *śeṣa* in the preceding rule excludes class inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*). That is, *śeṣaḥ* blocks the assignment of the two terms *sārvadhātuka* and *ārddhadhātuka* to a single entity such as one denoted by *tiN*. There is no such indication in case of our present rule. Why cannot both terms be made applicable to the *tiṄ* replacements of *LIṬ*? After all, outside of the domain of one term (*ekasaṃjñā*), two terms can be applied to a single entity. It is not difficult to see how assignment of both terms to a single entity could create difficulty. How can one indicate that class inclusion of terms is not intended here? By bringing *eva* 'alone' from rule 3.4.111 *laṅaḥ*..., whereby we understand that *ārddhadhātuka*, alone (*eva*) should be assigned to the *tiN* replacement of *LIṬ*. This is how bringing *eva* results into a restrictive (*niyama*) interpretation of this rule.

3.4.116 लिङाशिषि

liṅāśiṣi
/liṅ 1/1 *āśiṣi* 7/1/
(ārddhadhātukam #114*)*
āśiṣi viṣaye yo liṅ sa ārddhadhātukasamjño bhavati
A *tiN* replacement of *LIṄ* which denotes *āśiṣ* 'benediction' is termed *ārddhadhātuka*.

EXAMPLES:

laviṣīṣṭa 'may you cut'
paviṣīṣṭa 'may you purify'

1. This rule assigns the term *ārddhadhātuka* also to a *LIṄ* which denotes benediction (3.3.173 *āśiṣi* ..). This constitutes an exception to the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka*, of rule 3.4.113 *tiṅśit*.... A class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) of these terms can again be blocked by bringing *eva* from rule 3.4.111 *laṅaḥ*....

3.4.117 छन्दस्युभयथा

chandasy ubhayathā
/chandasi 7/1 *ubhayathā* Ø/
chandasi viṣaye ubhayathā bhavati sārvadhātukam ārddhadhātukaṃ ca
An affix in the Vedic may be termed either way.

EXAMPLES:

vardhantu
svastaye
viśṛṇvire
somam indrāya sunvire
upastheyāma

1. This rule constitutes an expatiation (*prapañca*) of 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*. That is, in the Vedic, one can find all kinds of instances contrary to the provisions stated for the assignment of the terms *sārvadhātuka* and *ārddhadhātuka*. Thus, the term *ārddhadhātuka* may not be applied in favor of *sārvadhātuka*, and vice versa. One can also find assignment of these two terms both in a single word, and regardless of any existing provision for individual assignments. Assignment of both terms of course is contrary to the provisions made. These exceptions are made so that operations relative to assignment of these terms can be availed. Refer to the appendix for further details concerning derivational implications of cited examples.

A question is raised as to why the exceptional application of the terms *sārvadhātuka* and *ārddhadhātuka* are not understood, here, to be restricted to the context of replacements for *LIṄ*? Why must one accept this application as relevant to the provisions of the entire section which deals with the assignment of these terms? Commentators state that the entire section dealing with assignment of these terms is to be understood based on usages which are not limited to replacements of *LIṄ*.

APPENDIX

Derivational History of Examples

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The second and third *adhyāya* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* deal with the following major operational provisions:

1. Derivation of compounds (2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*)
2. Derivation of *pada* ending in *sUP* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantam...*)
3. Derivation of *pada* ending in *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi...*)
4. Derivation of verbal roots ending in affixes *saN*, etc. (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*)
5. Derivation of nominal stems ending in affixes termed *kṛt* (1.4.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*)

1. *Derivation of Compounds*

Pāṇini presents the derivation of compounds in the domain of 2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ* subject to the condition of *sāmarthya* 'fitness, capability' as underlined by rule 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*. This condition has been explained in detail in the *Mahābhāṣya*; also see my notes under this rule. Note that rule 2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt...* heads a domain which includes rules upto and including 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye*. The formation of a compound takes place under specific provisions of rules read with 2.1.4 *saha supā*. That is, a *pada* ending in *sUP* is combined with another *pada* ending in *sUP* provided they both are syntactico-semantically related, and hence, qualified to be integrated into a compound. Integration has thus been described as a process whereby two or more syntactico-semantically related nominal *pada* are combined to yield a formal unit with a single integrated meaning (*ekārthībhāva*). My notes under individual rules furnish qualifying details.

The domain of compound-formation with its individual subdomains is as follows:

2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*
2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt samāsaḥ*
2.1.4 *saha supā*
2.1.5 *avyayībhāvaḥ* through
2.1.21 *anyapadārthe ca saṃjñāyām*;
2.1.22 *tatpuruṣaḥ* through
2.2.22 *ktvā ca*;
2.2.23 *bahuvrīhiḥ* through
2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*;
2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*

The above recognizes *avyayībhāva*, *tatpuruṣa*, *bahuvrīhi*, and *dvandva* as four types of compounds. Rules 1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ* and 2.1.23 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ* recognize two subtypes of *tatpuruṣa*. Rule 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā* adds another dimension to the description of compounds. That is, compounds specified after this rule are treated as optional unless stated otherwise. They are used parallel to their analyzed form (*vigrahavākya*). Thus, a compound such as *rājapuruṣaḥ* 'king's man' can be used optionally with its analyzed form *rājñaḥ puruṣaḥ* with no difference in meaning. These two units are considered as alternants because they derive from the same underlying string: *rājan* + *Ṅas puruṣa* + *sU*.

The following is a summary of operations performed relative to the formation of compounds:

(*a*) *sUP*-deletion

Deletion (*LOPA*) of nominal endings (*sUP*) contained within compound derivates termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*) via express mention of *LUK* by rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*.

(*b*) Order of constituents

The constituents of a compound are arranged in a particular order as per specifications of rules such as 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*. This rule demands that a constituent termed *upasarjana* be placed first in a compound. Rule 1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭa samāsa upasarjanam* assigns the term *upasarjana* to that constituent of a compound which has been specified with the nominative (*prathamā*) by the rule which allows the formation.

(*c*) Assignment of number and gender

It is only logical to assign number (*vacana*) and gender (*liṅga*) to a derived compound since its underlying constituents may vary in this respect. Rules which assign number and gender to compounds are also contained in the fourth quarter of *adhyāya* two. Here are a few major rules dealing with the assignment of number and gender:

2.4.1 *dvigur ekavacanam*
'a compound termed *dvigu* has the denotatum of one'

2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*
'a *dvigu* or *dvandva* compound with the denotatum of one (*ekavacana*) is assigned neuter (*napuṃsaka*)'

2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*
'the gender of a *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* compound is assigned similar to the constituent which follows'

It must also be noted in connection with the assignment of gender to compounds that, in case of *karmadhāraya* and *bahuvrīhi* compounds, a feminine form is replaced by its corresponding masculine as, for example, is provided by rule 6.3.33 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṃskād...*, etc. Obviously, these

rules must also have consequences for the derivation of compounds. I have used the word 'masculine transformation' parallel to the traditional *puṃvadbhāva* to show this replacement of a feminine by a corresponding masculine.

(*d*) Non-deletion of *sUP* via *LUK*

It has already been stated that affixes denoted by *sUP*, when forming part of a compound string, are deleted by *LUK* as per rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. There are, however, certain compounds which do not permit the deletion of their *sUP*. A provision for non-deletion of *sUP* (*aluk*) is made by rules contained within the domain of 6.3.1 *alug uttarapade*. This rule, for reasons of not allowing *sUP*-deletion, constitutes an exception to rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. A compound string must also check rules which may block *LUK*-deletion of *sUP*.

(*e*) Introduction of affixes

Note that certain compound strings are subjected to operations relative to the introduction of affixes in the domain of 5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*. This affixation may also subject the resultant strings to operations in the domain of rule 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*.

(*f*) Accentuation (*svara*)

Assignment of accent through the application of rules contained in the domain headed by 6.1.223 *samāsasya* can be accepted as the last operation relative to the derivation of compounds. But since rules of the entire second quarter (*pada*) of *adhyāya* six constitute an exception to rule 6.2.223 *samāsasya* they must also be consulted in the context of the assignment of accent.

Rules contained within the domain outlined by 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* through 2.2.38 *kaḍārāḥ karmadhāraye* define the main domain of compound formation. All other rules brought close to the context of compound-derivation must be treated as part of an extended domain. Operations which I have just outlined proceed more or less in the order shown. One must however be prepared for some specific exceptions. They will of course be noted at appropriate places.

All compound strings are termed nominal stem (*prātipadika*) after which they qualify for operations relative to the domain of rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* and 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*... etc.

2. *Derivation of pada ending in sUP*

A *pada* has generally been defined as a form ending in an affix denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*, or *tiṄ*. A *sUP* is introduced after a nominal stem, or an item ending in feminine affixes *Ṅī* and *āP*, to derive a nominal *pada*. The third quarter of *adhyāya* two of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* discusses conditions under which one can introduce the *sUP* affixes. Rule 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*... enumerates a set of twenty-one affixes abbreviated

as *sUP* and grouped in seven triplets (*trik*) of three elements each. Individual triplets have been termed *prathamā* 'first', *dvitīyā* 'second', etc. The three elements of each individual triplet is termed *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual', and *bahuvacana* 'plural' respectively. The introduction of these *sUP* affixes after a nominal stem is regulated by rule 2.3.1 *anabhihite* 'when not already expressed'. That is, a *sUP* affix cannot be introduced when its denotatum has already been expressed by some other means.

The *sUP* affixes denote diverse *kāraka* and non-*kāraka* relations. The *kāraka*, in turn, have been discussed in the domain of rule 1.4.23 *kārake*. It is imperative that a selection of *sUP* must necessarily involve rules of the *kāraka* section. I shall refer to it as the process of *sUP*-selection. Once the placement of these affixes has taken place the derivational process becomes largely automatic. I shall explain only a few important derivations of nominal *pada*. Refer to the explanatory details of nominals already derived in the appendix of volume II.

3. *Derivation of pada ending in tiṄ*

Rule 3.4.77-78 *lasya; tiptasjhisipthas...* introduce a set of eighteen elements denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ* to replace what are generally referred to as the abstract *LA* affixes. A *LA* affix is introduced after a transitive verbal root to denote either *kartṛ* 'agent', or *karman* 'object'. It is introduced after an intransitive verbal root to denote *kartṛ* and *bhāva* 'root-sense' (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyaḥ*). The *tiṄ* elements which replace a *LA* are classified into two sets of *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* where each set contains three triplets of three elements. Each triplet is termed *prathama* 'third', *madhyama* 'second', and *uttama* 'first' persons. Each element of individual triplets is termed singular (*ekavacana*), dual (*dvivacana*), and plural (*bahuvacana*) respectively. I have already explained in detail many derivations entailing these affixes in volume II. The process of selecting a *tiṄ* affix has also been discussed at the beginning of the appendix there.

4. *Derivation of verbal roots ending in affixes saN, etc.*

Parallel to the derivation of complex nominal stems such as *samāsa* 'compound', and derivates which end in affixes *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*), or *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*), Pāṇini also provides for the derivation of complex verbal roots ending in affixes headed by *saN* (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). That is, derivates ending in affixes enumerated beginning with *saN* are termed *dhātu* 'verbal root'. These affixes are : *saN* (3.1.5 *guptijkidbhyaḥ...* through 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ...*); *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*); *kāmyaC* (3.1.9 *kāmyac ca*); *KyaṄ* (3.1.11 *karttuḥ kyaṅ...*); *KyaṢ* (3.1.13 *lohitādi...*); *KyaC* (3.1.19 *namovarivasa...*); *ṆiṄ* (3.1.20 *pucchabhāṇḍa...*); *ṆiC* (3.1.21 *muṇḍamiśra...*); *yaṄ* (3.1.22 *dhātor...*), *yaK* (3.1.27 *kaṇvādibhyo...*); *āya* (3.1.28 *gupūdhū...*); *īyaṄ* (3.1.29 *ṛter...*); and

ṆiṄ (3.1.30 *kamer ṆiṄ*). Rule 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ* assigns the term *dhātu* 'verbal root' to forms which end in these affixes. The derivates are then qualified for operations in the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*.

5. *Derivation of nominal stems ending in kṛt*

The domain of these derivates is headed by 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ* in addition to the following:

3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*
'that which is specified in this domain of *dhātoḥ* with *saptamī* is termed an *upapada* 'cooccurring word'

3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*
'an affix which is not denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ* is termed *kṛt*'

3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*
'a formally dissimilar affix which constitutes an exception in this domain of *dhātoḥ* blocks its general counterpart only optionally except when both rules form part of the domain of *striyām* (3.3.94 *striyāṃ*)'

3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*
'affixes introduced hereafter (prior to 3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) are termed *kṛtya*'

Rules 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ* and 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ* do not assign the terms *kṛt* and *kṛtya* to two sets of different affixes. Instead *kṛtya* affixes form a subset of *kṛt*. That is, affixes introduced in the subdomain of 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ* will be assigned both the terms. Elsewhere, in this domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*, affixes, other than those denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*, will be assigned the single term *kṛt*. The class-inclusion of the terms *kṛtya* within *kṛt* enables the *kṛtya* derivates to be assigned the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*.

Rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham* offers a cooccurrence condition by means of the term *upapada* 'cooccurring, or conjoined word'. The term is given a definition by means of the mark of *saptamī*. That is, an *upapada* is a word which is specified by the locative (*saptamī*) nominal ending of an operational rule within the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*. The cooccurring word thus forms the left context for the introduction of an affix in this domain. Now consider the following rule:

3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*
'affix *aṆ* occurs after a verbal root which cooccurs with a *pada* 'word' denoting *karman* 'object'

A nominal stem such as *kumbhakāra* is derived by introducing affix *aṆ* after verbal root *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do, make' under the cooccurrence condition of the word *kumbhānām* terminating in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī: kumbha* + *ām*), and denoting object (*karman*). Rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadam...* joined with

rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* explains that affix *aṆ* can be introduced after a verbal root only when a word denoting *karman* cooccurs. The locative (*saptamī*) of *karmaṇi* in rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* thus is a mark for bringing close to its context the specification of rule 3.1.92. Consequently, *kumbha* + *ām*, an *upapada* denoting object (*karman*) constitutes the condition for the introduction of affix *aṆ* after verbal root *kṛÑ*.

Rule 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām* makes an interesting proposal, especially in view of rule-interaction. It is generally believed that an exception (*apavāda*) blocks its general counterpart (*utsarga*) obligatorily. But this obligatory blocking by an exception is made optional with the following specifications:

(i) the exception and general relationship must be shared by affixes of the domain of 3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*;
(ii) the affixes relative to this proposal must be dissimilar in form (*asarūpa*); and
(iii) the affixes (exception and the general both) must be enumerated outside the scope of rule 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*.

If a set of two affixes such that one is an exception to the other, a general, meets all these three conditions, the exception will block its general counterpart only optionally. This practically negates the notion of obligatory blocking by an exception. There is a fairly large number of rule-interaction within this domain which comes under the scope of rule 3.1.94. The tradition uses the term *vā' sarūpavidhi* to characterize this blocking.

The preceding has been an introduction to the operational provisions made by rules of *adhyāya* two and three. This will serve as reference for quickly understanding the perspective of derivational details which follow.

Examples as usual have been numbered in the order of their occurrence in the text. Since the derivational history of a great number of examples relating to the operational scope of these two *adhyāya* has already been presented in the first two volumes of this study, our choice of derivations will be guided by necessity, and desire to avoid duplication. It is therefore not unreasonable to expect frequent references to similar derivations, derivational steps, or explanations, already presented. The format of our presentation is largely narrative. However, derivational steps or explanations are offered by way of complementing explanatory notes presented under individual rules.

DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES

2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*

Examples under this rule are furnished to explain the condition of *sāmarthya* 'fitness to combine in a compound', in the absence of which

formation of compounds will be blocked. Consider for illustration the following:

(*a*) *paśya devadatta kaṣṭam*
śrito viṣṇumitro gurukulam
'see the misery Devadatta! Viṣṇumitra has taken recourse to the teachers' house'

(*b*) *kiṁ tvaṃ kariṣyasi śaṅkulayā*
khaṇḍo devadatta upalena
'what will you do with the nutcracker Devadatta! it is already split by the cowdung-cake'

(*c*) *gaccha tvaṃ yūpāya dāru devadattasya gehe*
'you go for fetching the ritual post; the log is in Devadatta's house'

(*d*) *bhāryā rājñaḥ puruṣo devadattasya*
'the wife of the king; man of Devadatta'

These examples each entail a set of two *pada* such as *kaṣṭam* / *śritaḥ*; *śaṅkulayā* / *khaṇḍaḥ*; *yūpāya* / *dāruḥ*; and *rājñaḥ* / *puruṣaḥ*. They are identical with those which may share syntactico-semantic relationship, and subsequently, combine to yield compounds such as *kaṣṭaśritaḥ*; *śaṅkulā-khaṇḍaḥ*; *yūpadāruḥ*; and *rājapuruṣaḥ*. In strings (*a*) through (*d*) we find that the syntactico-semantic relationship between words such as *yūpāya dāruḥ* is impaired. For, *yūpāya* 'for the ritual post' is relatable to the injunction of 'you go for fetching the ritual post' than to 'the log' of 'the log is in Devadatta's house'. Similar impairment of *sāmarthya* relationship can also be witnessed in other examples. It is because of the lack of syntactico-semantic relation (*sāmarthya*) between elements of a given string.that formation of a given compound is blocked.

2.1.2 *sub āmantrite parāṅgavat svare*

This rule allows a word ending in a *sUP* to be treated as part of the following word provided this latter is termed an *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā'mantritam*). This purpose of 'treating the former as part of the subsequent' (*parāṅgavadbhāva*) is accent (*svara*). Consider the following two examples:

(1) *kuṇḍena aṭan*

(2) *paraśunā vṛścan*

where *aṭan* and *vṛścan* are two *pada* ending in the nominative (*prathamā*) denoting *sambodhana* 'address'. Rule 2.3.48 *sāmantritam* assigns the term *āmantrita* to the nominative singular denoting address. Now consider the following rules:

1.2.39 *svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttānām*
'every *anudātta* which occurs after a *svarita* is replaced by *ekaśruti* 'monotone' in *saṃhitāpāṭha* 'recitation of the Veda with phonetic changes as effected by *sandhi* rules'

6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*
'a *pada*, except for its one syllable (for which an *udātta* 'high-pitch', or *svarita* 'circumflex' may be made available) is marked *anudātta* 'low-pitched'

6.1.192 *āmantritasya ca*
'the initial (*ā*) of an item termed *āmantrita* is also marked with *udātta*'

8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca*
'and that which is termed an *āmantrita*, and occurs subsequently to another *pada*, is also marked *anudātta* provided it does not occur at the beginning of a quarter (*pada*) verse'

8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*
'a *svarita* comes in place of an *anudātta* when it occurs after an *anudātta*'

Given the string *kuṇḍena aṭan* the preceding word *kuṇḍena* will be treated as part of the following word *aṭan* because of the assignment of the term *āmantrita*. The word *aṭan* of the string would be subject to the application of rule 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca* which will mark it with the single accent *anudātta* in toto (*sarvānudātta*). But our present rule intervenes. That is, what rule 8.1.19 sees as a string of two words, i.e., an *āmantrita* following a non-*āmantrita*, is treated as one word for purposes of accentuation. Rule 8.1.19 cannot apply unless the string consisted of two words. This occasions the application of rule 6.1.92 *āmantritasya ca* of the sixth *adhyāya* (*ṣāṣṭhika*) whereby the initial syllable of the single word *kuṇḍenāṭan* is assigned the *udātta* accent. The *ku* of *kuṇḍena*, treated as part of the larger word *kuṇḍenāṭan*, for purposes of accent, is marked *udātta*. Rule 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* now assigns *anudātta* accent to all syllables except the *ku*. However, rule 8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya...* requires that *ḍe* of *kuṇḍe* be marked with *svarita*. Rule 1.2.39 *svaritāt...* will now assign *ekaśruti* after the *svarita* of *ḍe*.

Similar explanations also apply in case of the term *āmantrita* when assigned to *vṛścan* of *paraśunā vṛścan*. The consequence of *parāṅgavadbhāva* 'treating a preceding word as part of the following *āmantrita*' is similar to *kuṇḍena aṭan*. Thus we get: *kuṇḍéna aṭan* and *paraśúnā vṛścan*.

2.1.3 *prāk kaḍārāt...*-2.1.5 *avyayaṃ vibhakti...*

Refer to subsequent rules for relevant examples.

2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpasamṛddhi...*

This rule allows for an indeclinable (forming a *pada* by ending in a *sUP* as per 2.1.4 *saha supā*) to combine with any other *pada*, again ending in a *sUP*, providing they both were syntactico-semantically related. Note that the word *avyaya* is specified in this rule with the nominative (*prathamā*). Consequently, the indeclinable *pada* will be termed an *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamā...*), and will be placed first in the compound (2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*).

This rule specifies *vibhakti*, etc., as denotational conditions which must be met prior to the formation of individual compounds. It is for this reason that the word *vacana* 'denotation' must be used with each one of the words such as *vibhakti* which specify individual semantic conditions. The derivational history of examples given under this rule is not very different from many already discussed elsewhere. Let us list some of the examples:

(3) *adhistri*
(4) *upakumbham*
(5) *sumagadham*
(6) *durgavadikam*
(7) *nirmakṣikam*
(8) *atitaisṛkam*
(9) *itipāṇini*
(10) *anuratham*
(11) *anurūpam*
(12) *pratyartham*
(13) *anujyeṣṭham*

Our example (3) *adhistri* is derived from *strī* + *Ṅi* + *adhi* + *sU* where *adhi* is an indeclinable denoting *vibhakti* which conditions the use of *saptamī* 'locative' after *strī*. Note that the order of elements in the string *strī* + *Ṅī* + *adhi* + *sU* must be changed to: *adhi* + *sU* + *strī* + *sU*. This preplacement of the secondary constituent of the compound is ordered at the strength of the assignment of the term *upasarjana* to the *pada* constituted by *adhi* + *sU*. Rule 1.2.43 *prathamā...* assigns the term *upasarjana* to that constituent of a compound which has been referenced with the nominative (*prathamā*; in the present case *avyayam*) in the rule which allows the formation of the compound on hand. Rule 2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam* orders the preplacement. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' after which 2.4.72 *supo dhātu...* orders the deletion of nominal endings by *LUK*. The resultant compound is assigned the term *napuṃsaka* 'neuter' by rule 2.4.18 *avyayībhāvaś ca* read with 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*. The assignment of the term *napuṃsaka* is consequential. For example, in case of *adhistrī*, which yields the string *adhistrī* + *sU* after the application of 4.1.2 *svauj...*, the long final vowel of *strī* is replaced with short *-i* as per 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya*. This will give us: *adhistri* + *sU* which will subsequently have its *sUP* deleted by *LUK* as per rule 2.4.82 *avyayādāp supaḥ*.

The preceding offers a string of operations guided mainly by the assignment of the terms *upasarjana*, *samāsa*, *avyayībhāva*, *avyaya*, *prātipadika*, and *napuṃsaka*. Thus, *upasarjana* orders preplacement. It may offer some other operation elsewhere. The assignment of the term *samāsa* leads to

the assignment of the term *prātipadika* which, in turn, causes the deletion of *sUP*. The assignment of the term *avyayībhāva* leads to the assignment of the term *avyaya* which then causes the assignment of the term *napuṃsaka*. We have further witnessed how a *napuṃsaka* causes the shortening of the long vowel. Similarly, we also see how the *sU* after *adhistri* is dropped at the strength of the assignment of the term *avyaya*. One can easily see a dependency relationship between the assignment of the terms and consequent operations. Additionally, one must also note the hierarchy of operations relative to the hierarchy of terms assigned. For example, *samāsa, avyayaībhāva, avyaya, napuṃsaka,* and *prātipadika* entail class-inclusion of terms (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*). Operations conditioned by these terms must also follow the relative order in which the terms are assigned. (See pp. 193–99 of volume one for a systematic discussion of this and other details relative to the derivation of compounds in general, and *avyayībhāva* in particular. Refer also to the derivation of (144) *pratyagni*, and (145) *upāgni* in the appendix of volume II, pp. 376–77). These derivations have a lot common with *adhistri* and *upakumbham* where this latter is derived from *upa* + *sU* + *kumbha* + *Ṅas*. Note that *upa* is used here in the sense of *sāmīpya* 'proximity' relative to the pot (*kumbha*). This explains why we must have the genitive *Ṅas* after *kumbha*. Recall that rule 2.4.82 *avyayādāp...* deletes the *sUP* introduced after an *avyayībhāva* compound termed *avyaya*. However, if the compound termed *avyaya* terminates in *a* then a *sUP*, except for a *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of nominal ending', is replaced with *am*, in accordance with rule 2.4.83 *nāvyayībhāva....* Given the string *upakumbha* + *am* where *sU* is replaced with *am*, rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will order a single *a*-replacement for the sequence of two. Thus, *upakumbh (a+a→a) m* = *upakumbham*. Derivates such as (4-6) and (10-13) entail this replacement of their *sUP* by *am*. Obviously, they also entail the application of rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*. Examples (7-8) entail shortening of their final long vowel *ā*. It is not difficult to derive the rest of the examples in view of derivational details already furnished. The remaining examples involve an indeclinable *pada* with *su, dur, nir, ati,* and *prati*, or *anu*, used with specified meanings. Incidentally, given the string *prati* + *artham* rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies after the deletion of the nominal endings. This, in turn, produces *prat(i→y)artham* = (13) *pratyartham*.

2.1.9 *sup pratinā...*-2.1.10 *akṣa...pariṇā*

Note that the indeclinables of these two rules are not specified with nominative (*prathamā*). Consequently, their preplacement, due mainly to a lack of assignment of the term *upasarjana*, cannot be accomplished. Thus we get examples such as: (14) *sūpaprati* and (15) *akṣapari* where *prati* and *pari* are postposed in the compound. The nominal endings introduced after these compound bases will be deleted by *LUK* of rule 2.4.82 *avyayādāp supaḥ*.

2.1.12 *apaparibahirañcavaḥ pañcamyā*

Note that because of the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* there will be two sets of examples: (16)/(17) *apatrigarttam/apa trigarttebhyaḥ*; (18)/(19) *paritrigarttam/ pari trigarttebhyaḥ*; and (20)/(21) *bahirgrāmam/bahir grāmāt*. The *pañcamī*, in case of *apa* and *pari*, is provided for by rule 2.3.10 *pañcamy apāṅparibhiḥ* at the strength of their designation as *karmapravacanīya* by rule 1.4.88 *apaparī varjane*. The *pañcamī* of *bahis* must be obtained at the strength of the Pāṇinian usage of this rule. The singular ablative ending *ṄasI*, given the string such as *bahisgrāma* + *ṄasI* is replaced by *āt* by rule 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅasāminātsyāḥ*. The *s* of *bahis* will be replaced with *r* by 8.2.66 *sasjuṣo ruḥ*.

2.1.14 *lakṣaṇenābhipratī ābhimukhye*

This rule again will yield two sets of examples: (22)/(23) *abhyagnim/ agnim abhi* and *pratyagnim/agniṃ prati*. I have already shown the derivation of *pratyagnim* (see vol. I, pp. 376-77). Note that *abhi* and *prati* are termed *karmapravacanīya* by rules 1.4.91 *abhir abhāge* and 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthambhūtākhyāna...* respectively. The accusative nominal ending (*dvitīyā*) is ruled by 2.3.8 *karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā*.

2.1.17 *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca*

Examples such as (24) *tiṣṭhadgu*, (25) *vahadgu*, (26) *khaleyavam*, (27) *āyatīgavam* 'the time when the cows return from grazing', and (28) *lūyamānayavam* 'the time when the barley is harvested', etc., are all taken straight from the *GP*. The assignment of the term *avyayībhāva* is ad hoc (*nipātana*). These examples must be handled via *nipātana*, since operationally their constituents will not qualify for yielding the *avyayībhāva* compounds. Thus, *tiṣṭhadgu* has its first constituent derived from *sthā* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced with *ŚatṚ*. The *o* of its *go* is replaced with *u* (a short counterpart of *o*) by rule 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*. Example (25) *vahadgu* is no different. While (26) *khaleyavam* illustrates how the locative (*saptamī*) in *khale* is retained via *nipātana* (27) involves the lack of *puṃvadbhāva*. Additionally, this latter example entails the introduction of *samāsānta* (5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*) affix *ṬaC*. Finally, (28) *lūyamānayavam* requires that *LAṬ* be replaced with *ŚānaC* again by *nipātana*.

2.1.18 *pāre madhye ṣaṣṭhyā vā*

This rule offers the combination of *pāra* and *madhya* with a *pada* ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) to yield an *avyayībhāva* compound optionally to a genitive *tatpuruṣa*. It is in this sense that the provision of this rule is treated as an exception to the rule which allows the formation of the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Thus we will get (29) *pāregaṅgam* and (30) *madhyegaṅgam* parallel to *pāre gaṅgāyāḥ* and *madhye gaṅgāyāḥ* where *pāre* and *madhye* are retained as ending in *e* via *nipātana* at the strength of the citation of the rule. The genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds will be (31) *gaṅgāpāram* and (32) *gaṅgāmadhyam* parallel to the strings: *pāraṃ gaṅgāyāḥ*

and *madhyaṃ gaṅgāyāḥ*. Note that *vā* 'optionally' is employed in the rule to provide for the *avyayībhāva* compound optionally to the genitive *tatpuruṣa*. The larger domain of option (*mahāvibhāṣā*; 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā*) provided for the parallel analyzed forms (*vigrahavākya*) in relation to both the *avyayībhāva* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The *vā* of this rule provides for the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound optionally to *avyayībhāva*.

2.1.23 *dviguś ca*

Note that (33) *pañcarājī* and (34) *daśarājī* are very similar in derivation to (35) *dvyahaḥ* and (36) *trayhaḥ* which I have already derived as part of (114) *dvyahapūrvāya* and (115) *tryahapūrvāya* (cf. vol. I, pp. 367-68). These compounds are allowed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada....* They are assigned the term *dvigu* by rule 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ*. Given the compound string *pannñcarājan*, rule 5.4.91 *rājāha...* will introduce affix *ṬaC*. The resultant string *pañcarājan* + *(Ṭ)a(C)* = *pañcarājana* will lose its *ṭi* (the form *na* constituted by the last vowel; 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) as per 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* read with 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. This will produce: *pañcarāja* (*na*→∅) = *pañcarāja*. Since a *dvigu* compound with its following constituent ending in *a* is treated as feminine, rule 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ* (in view of the statement *akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyāṃ bhāṣyate*) introduces affix *ṄīṢ*. Given the string *pañcarāja* + *ī* (after *it*-deletion) the *a* before the feminine affix *ī* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The next example (34) *daśarājī* is similarly derived. The *n* of *pañcan* and *daśan* in these examples is deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*.

Note that (37) *pañcagavam* and (38) *daśagavam* with their bases *pañcagava* (cf. (61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ* under rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada...*)) and *daśagava* deriving from: *pañcago* + *ṬaC* and *daśago* + *ṬaC*, after the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* do not permit the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* even though the bases terminate in *a*. The *samāsānta* affix is introduced by 5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki*. The compounds are assigned neuter gender as per rule 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*. Recall that this assignment of gender is mediated by *ekavadbhāva* 'treating something as denoting one' of 2.4.1 *dvigur ekavacanam*. Of course, the term *dvigu* is assigned by rule 2.1.10 *saṃkhyā....*

2.1.24 *dvitīyā śritātīta...*

This rule allows for compounds where a *pada* ending in accusative (*dvitīyā*) is combined with another *pada* constituted by *śrita*, etc. Thus, from *kaṣṭa* + *am* + *śrita* + *sU*, *kāntāra* + *am* + *atīta* + *sU*, *naraka* + *am* + *patita* + *sU*, *grāma* + *am* + *gata* + *sU*, *taraṅga* + *am* + *atyasta* + *sU*, *sukha* + *am* + *prāpta* + *sU*, and *sukha* + *am* + *āpanna* + *sU*, we derive (39) *kaṣṭaśritaḥ*, (40) *kāntārātītaḥ*, (41) *narakapatitaḥ*, (42) *grāmagataḥ*, (43) *taraṅgātyastaḥ*, (44) *sukhaprāptaḥ*, and (45) *sukhāpannaḥ*. Note that (40), (43), and (45) also involve the application of rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...* which, after the formation of the compound, and the subsequent deletion

of *sUP*, orders the sequence *a+a* at the junction of the two combined bases to be replaced with a single long *ā*.

Note that a *tatpuruṣa* compound is assigned gender in accordance with its subsequent constituent. Since all such constituents are here used as modifiers to a masculine noun these compounds will all be assigned masculine. They can also be interpreted as *bahuvrīhi* though there will then be a difference in accent. Commentators do not accept the *bahuvrīhi* interpretation. The accents for examples (39) and (42) is controlled by rule 6.2.47 *ahīne dvitīyā* which is an exception to 6.2.144 *thāthaghañkta...* which, in turn, regulates the accents of other examples. Rule 6.2.47 demands the retention of the original accent of the first constituent (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*). Thus, *kaṣṭaśrita* will retain the *udātta* accent of the final syllable (*antodātta*) of *kaṣṭa*. Rule 6.2.144 assigns *udātta* accent to the final syllable of a constituent terminating in affixes *tha, atha, GHaÑ, Kta*, etc. provided what precedes them is either a *gati, kāraka*, or an *upapada*. This rule thus marks the compound as *antodātta*. Many compounds including *kaṣṭaśritaḥ, rājapuruṣaḥ*, and *yūpadāruḥ* have been derived (pp. 447-50) in volume II.

2.1.27 *sāmi*

This rule provides for examples such as (46) *sāmikṛtam* and (47) *sāmipītam* where *sāmi* is an indeclinable. One of the purposes of forming a compound with *sāmi* is to get a single *udātta* accent (*aikaśvarya*) on the final syllable. In the absence of the compound-formation *sāmi* and *pītam* will both have *udātta* accent on their final syllables. The compound, of course, will have a single *udātta* as: *sāmikṛtám*.

2.1.28 *atyantasaṃyoge ca*

Note that our example (48) *sarvarātrakalyāṇī* entails two step compounds. That is, one has to first derive *sarvarātra*, and then use it with *dvitīyā* 'accusative' to combine with *kalyāṇī* + *sU*. A compound between *sarvā* + *sU* + *rātri* + *sU* is permitted by rule 2.1.49 *pūrvakālaikasarva....* This will yield *sarvarātri* where rule 6.3.41 *puṃvat karmadhāraya...* will replace *sarvā* with *sarva*, its masculine counterpart. Given the *tatpuruṣa* compound *sarvarātri* rule 5.4.87 *ahaḥ sarvaikadeśa...* will introduce the *samāsānta* affix *aC* which subsequently will lead to the deletion of *i* by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. This will give us: *sarvarātr(i→∅)* + *a* = *sarvarātr* + *a* = *sarvarātra* One can now form the string *sarvarātra* + *am* to combine it with *kalyāṇī* + *sU*. Of course, the resultant compound will be: *sarvarātrakalyāṇī*, a compound of the *dvitīyā-tatpuruṣa* type with an internal *tatpuruṣa* compound of the *samānādhikaraṇa* 'coreferential' type.

2.1.29 *tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthena...*

Note that (49) *śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ* and (50) *kirikāṇaḥ* are derived from *śaṅkulā* + *Ṭā* + *khaṇḍa* + *sU*, and *kiri* + *Ṭā* + *kāṇa* + *sU* under the condition that the quality denoted by *khaṇḍa* + *sU* and *kāṇa* + *sU* is produced

by the *pada* which ends in *tṛtīyā*. How do *khaṇḍa* and *kāṇa* denote quality? Actually, affix *MatUP* is introduced after *khaṇḍa* and *kāṇa* to denote the sense of 'that which has 'splitting' or 'one-eyedness' as its quality (*khaṇḍakāṇa guṇo' syāsti*)'. Affix *MatUP* is introduced, and is subsequently deleted, by two *vārttika* proposed under rule 5.2.94 *tad asyāsti*.... The words *khaṇḍa* and *kāṇa* cannot denote quality unless they denote substance (*dravya*). For, a quality resides in the substance. These words can denote quality residing in a substance once *MatUP* is introduced. For, then they start denoting a thing qualified with the quality of *khaṇḍana* and *kāṇatva*. The compound *kirikāṇaḥ* will thus mean: a person qualified with the state of being one-eyed, a quality produced by the charge of a boar.

2.1.38 *stokāntikadūrārthakṛcchrāṇi ktena*

This rule offers examples where *LUK*-deletion of *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of *sUP*' is blocked by rule 6.3.2 *pañcamyā stokādibhyaḥ*. As a result we get (51) *stokānmuktaḥ* from *stoka* + *ṄasI* + *mukta* + *sU* → *stoka* + *ṄasI* + *mukta* + (*sU* → Ø) = *stoka* + *ṄasI* + *mukta* → *stoka* + *āt* + *mukta* = *stokātmukta*. Note that *ṄasI*, when blocked from deletion, is replaced with *āt* (cf. rule 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasi*...). Given the compound string *stokātmukta* one can introduce *sU* to derive *stokānmuktaḥ* via *sUP*-selection and *r-visarga* (see vol. II, pp. 319-20). The *t* of *stokāt* will be first replaced with *d*, and then by *n* to produce *stokānmuktaḥ* by the application of 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ*... and 8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike*... respectively. The derivation of (52) *dūrādāgataḥ* follows the same pattern.

Notice that because of the non-deletion of the nominal ending *pañcamī* there is no obvious difference between the compound and its parallel analyzed form. What then is the purpose of forming a compound. First of all the compound is allowed in the context of special meanings. Secondly, the compound formation allows for the string of two words to be joined together. This is what is known as *aikapadya*. Finally, the compound allows for a single *udātta* accent at the final syllable. This is what is known as *aikasvarya* 'single-accentness'.

I have shown the derivation of *stokānmuktaḥ* from the underlying *stoka* + *ṄasI* + *mukta* + *sU* for clarity. The tradition here invokes the *paribhāṣā*: *gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāk subutpatteḥ* thereby demanding that the underlying string be: *stoka* + *ṄasI* + *mukta* since *mukta* is a derivate ending in affix *kṛt*. This way *sUP* introduced after *mukta* will not have to be deleted.

2.1.50 *diksaṃkhye saṃjñāyām*

Examples such as (53) *pūrveṣukāmaśamī*, (54) *pañcāmrāḥ*, and (55) *saptarṣayaḥ* are derived from *pūrvā* + *sU* + *iṣukāmaśamī* + *sU*, *pañcan* + *Jas* + *āmra* + *Jas*, and *saptan* + *Jas* + *ṛṣi* + *Jas* parallel to *pūrvā cāsau iṣukāmaśamī ca*, *pañca ca te āmrāḥ*, and *sapta ca te ṛṣayaḥ*. The compound is additionally termed *karmadhāraya* by rule 1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ*....

The endings as usual will be deleted after the formation of the compound. The *n* of *pañcan* and *saptan* will be deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ....* Given the string *pūrva* + *iṣukāmaśamī*, and *sapta* + *ṛṣi*, rule 6.1.84 *ād guṇaḥ* will order a single *guṇa* replacement in place of the two vowels at the junction of constituent bases of the compound. Thus, we get *pūrv (a + i → e)ṣukāmaśamī* = *pūrveṣukāmaśamī*, and *sapt (a + ṛ → ar)ṣi* = *saptarṣi.*

2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca*

(56) *paurvaśālaḥ*
(57) *āparaśālaḥ*
(58) *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ*
(59) *āparaśālāpriyaḥ*
(60) *pāñcanāpitiḥ*
(61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ*
(62) *pañcagavam*
(63) *pañcapūlī*
(64) *pañcakumāri*

(56) *paurvaśālaḥ*

The first example is derived by combining the two syntactically related words *pūrvā* + *Ṅi* and *śālā* + *Ṅi* into a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the understanding that a *taddhita* affix will be subsequently introduced. Note that the introduction of the *taddhita* affix cannot take place unless we have a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). We cannot have a nominal stem unless we first form a compound and let 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assign the term nominal stem. We are thus caught in the difficulty (*doṣa*) technically known as *itaretarāśraya*. It is to remove this difficulty that a *tatpuruṣa* compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*...in anticipation of the introduction of a *taddhita* affix. The locative of *taddhitārthe* is interpreted as *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain' to facilitate this procedure. The compound base, after the *LUK*-deletion of *Ṅi*, will be: *pūrvāśālā.* The application of *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' (6.3.33 *striyāṃ...* read with the statement of the *Mahābhāṣya: sarvanāmno vṛttimātre puṃvadbhāvaḥ* ad 2.2.26 *diṅnāmāny...*) will yield:

pūrv(ā → a) + *śālā* = *pūrvaśālā.*

Rule 4.2.107 *dikpūrvapadād...* will now introduce the residual (*śaiṣika*; 4.2.91 *śeṣe*) *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *Ña* after (*paraś ca*) the nominal stem (4.1.1 *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt...*) *pūrvaśālā*. The resultant string will be: *pūrvaśālā* + (*Ñ* → ∅) *a* = *pūrvaśālā* + *a*. The assignment of the terms *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt...*), *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), etc., will occasion the application of rules 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣvacām...* and 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* to yield: *p(u → au)rvaśāl(ā → ∅)* + *a* = *paurvaśāl* + *a* = *paurvaśāla*, again a nominal stem by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita....* Deriving *paurvaśālaḥ* via *sUP*-selection, and *s-visarga* is not difficult. Similar application of rules will

derive (57) *āparaśālaḥ*. These two examples illustrate the *taddhitārthe* aspect of our present rule.

Deriving (58) *pūrvaśālāpriyaḥ* 'he to whom eastern hall is dear' entails a *bahuivrīhi* formation of three constituents (*tripadabahuvrīhi*): *pūrvā* + *sU* + *śālā* + *sU* + *priyā* +*sU* meaning *pūrvā śālā priyā yasya*. This *bahuvrīhi* of three constituents is interpreted as containing a subtype of the *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya* (1.2.24 *tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ...*) namely *pūrvaśālā*. The formation of the *bahuvrīhi* is allowed by 2.1.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* though the *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* between *pūrvā* + *sU* and *śālā* + *sU* is allowed by rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada...* under the condition of *uttarapade*, the following constituent, i.e., *priyā* + *sU*. A *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya* is required also to block the retention of the original accent of the base of the initial constituent (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*) in a *bahuvrīhi* (cf. 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*). The *karmadhāraya* will occasion the application of rule 6.1.217 *samāsasya* whereby the final *ā* of *pūrvaśālā* will be marked *udātta*. Thus, the purpose of forming a *tatpuruṣa* compound is mainly to ensure the final high pitch accent (*antodātta*) on the last constituent of the compound. Or, to let rule 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau...* to be blocked by rule 6.1.217 *samāsasya*. The *bahuvrīhi* will have *priyā* as the final constituent, and hence, the desired accent cannot be gotten. Furthermore, the *antodātta* of *pūrvaśālā* will also occasion the application of other accent rules such as 6.1.151 *anudāttaṃ padam...*, 8.4.65 *udāttānudāttayoḥ* whereby the *bahuvrīhi* will have the accent as follows: *pūrvaśālāpríyaḥ*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (59) *āparaśālāpriyaḥ*. These two examples illustrate the condition of *uttarapade* of rule 2.1.51.

An example of *samāhāra* with a directional word (*dikśabda*) is not possible. Compounds such as (60) *pāñcanāpitiḥ* and (61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ* illustrate instances of *taddhitārthe* and *uttarapade* respectively with a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*). These again are *bahuvrīhi* compounds with three constituents.

(60) *pāñcanāpitiḥ*
(61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ*
(62) *pañcagavam*

Our first example derives from *pañcan* + *ām* + *nāpita* + *ām* with the expectation that a compound will be formed in anticipation of the scope of a *taddhita* suffix *iÑ* introduced to denote an *apatya* 'offspring' by rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. This will yield the compound-base *pañcanāpita* with the deletion, first of its *sUP*, and subsequently of the *n* of *pañcan* (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*), after which we will get affix *iÑ* in view of the assignment of the term *prātipadika* by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*. This will produce *pañca(n* → *∅)* + *nāpita* + *i(Ñ* → *∅)* = *pañcanāpita* + *i*

which, after the application of *vṛddhi*, as explained earlier in connection with the derivation of (56) *paurvaśālaḥ*, will yield: *pāñcanāpita* + *i*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, as explained in (56) *paurvaśālaḥ*, will delete the final *a* of *nāpita* to yield: *pāñca* + *nāpit (a* → ∅*)* + *i* = *pāñcanāpiti*. To derive *pāñcanāpitiḥ* by subsequently introducing *sU* and applying *s- visarga* is not problematic at all.

Example (61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ* contains the string: *pañcan* + *Jas* + *go* + *Jas* + *dhana* + *sU* for deriving a *tripada-bahuvrīhi* 'a *bahuvrīhi* compound with three constituents' where *pañcan* + *Jas* + go + *Jas* forms an internal *tatpuruṣa* termed *dvigu* on account of having a number word as its initial constituent (2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ*). If one simply wants to derive a *samāhāra* 'grouping, collection' type of *dvigu*, the form will be: *pañcagavam* (cf. example (37) under rule 2.1.23), a neuter (*napuṃsaka*; 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). Note that the *samāhāra-dvigu* base *pañcango* goes through the deletion of its *n*. Rule 5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki* introduces the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* to yield: *pañcago* + *a*. Our form *pañcagava* derives by application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Affix *sU* introduced after the neuter nominal stem *pañcagava* will be replaced with *am* by rule 7.1.23 *ato' m*. Given the string *pañcagava* + *(sU* → *am)* = *pañcagava* + *am*, rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will apply to yield: *pañcagav (a+a* → *a) m* = *pañcagavam*. One can also refer to *dvigu* derivates such as (438) *pañcendraḥ*, (440) *pañcaśaṣkuliḥ*, (441) *pañcaśaṣkulam*, and *pañcagoṇiḥ* in the appendix of volume II for additional details.

Recall that *pañcagava* forms part of (61) *pañcagavadhanaḥ*, a *tripada-bahuvrīhi* where the introduction of a *samāsānta* affix becomes obligatory (*nitya*). For, *vibhāṣā* still carries, and in the context of the following word (*uttarapade*), an optional *tatpuruṣa*, such as *pañcago*, would otherwise yield a *bahuvrīhi* compound with three constituents: *pañcagodhanaḥ*.

Examples (62) *pañcapūlī* and (63) *pañcakumāri* are derived as *samāhāra-dvigu* similar to *pañcagavam*. Given the string *pañcan* + *ām* + *pūla* + *ām* parallel to the analyzed form (*vigraha-vākya*) *pañcānāṃ pūlānāṃ samāhāraḥ* 'a collection, or grouping of five bunches' the resultant compound will be: *pañcapūla*. This, in turn, will receive the feminine affix *ṄīP* by rule 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ* for reasons that a *dvigu* compound terminating in *a* is used in the feminine (cf. *vt: akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyāṃ bhāṣyate* ad 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). The final *a* of *pañcapūla*, before *ṄīP*, will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Thus: *pañcapūl(a* → ∅*)* + *ī* = *pañcapūlī*.

Example (63) *pañcakumāri* contains *pañcan* + *ām* + *kumārī* + *ām* whereby we get *pañcakumārī* after *sUP*-deletion, and the extension of singular number (*ekavadbhāva*; 2.1.41 *dvigur ekavacanam*), and neuter gender (*napuṃsaka*; 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). Rule 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake...* then orders the long *ī* of *kumārī* replaced with the short to yield: *pañcakumār (ī* → *i)* =*pañcakumāri*

A nominal ending such as the nominative singular *sU* introduced after *pañcakumāri* will be deleted by rule 7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt.*

2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ*

We have already seen how a *dvigu* such as *pañcapūlī* is derived. Our example (64) *pañcakapālaḥ* derives from *pañcan* + *suP* + *kapāla* + *suP* under the *taddhitārthe* condition of the preceding rule. The compound base *pañcakapāla* is assigned the name *dvigu*, and receives the *taddhita* affix *aṆ* in the sense of *saṃskṛtam* by 4.2.15 *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ*. Affix *aṆ* is subsequently deleted by rule 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye* for reasons of occurring after a *dvigu* and being a *taddhita* with no denotatum of *apatya* 'offspring'. One can also derive (65) *pañcanāvapriyaḥ* under the condition of *uttarapade*, i.e., *priya* + *sU*. Our *dvigu* compound *pañcanau* will receive the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* by rule 5.4.99 *nāvo dvigoḥ*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* will replace the *au* of *nau* with *āv* before the *a* (of *ṬaC*) to yield: *pañcan (au→āv)* + *a* = *pañcanāva*. The rest of the rule applications are similar to examples already discussed in the preceding rule.

2.1.60 *sanmahatparamottamotkṛṣṭāḥ*

Example (66) *mahāpuruṣaḥ* is derived from *mahat* + *sU* + *puruṣa* + *sU* where, given *mahatpuruṣa*, rule 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ samānā...* introduces *āT* (*ātva*) as a replacement for the final sound segment of *mahat* (cf. 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Thus, *maha (t→ā)puruṣa* = *mah (a+ā→ā)puruṣa* = *mahāpuruṣa.*

2.1.67 *yuvākhalatipalitavalinajaratībhiḥ*

Note that the feminine in *jaratī* does not restrict the formation of such compounds to feminine only. Thus we not only get (67) *yuvajaratī* from *yuvati* +*sU* + *jaratī* + *sU* and (68) *yuvakhalatī* from *yuvati* + *sU* + *khalatī* + *sU*, but also *yuvajaran* and *yuvakhalatiḥ*, etc. The derivational process does not offer any difficulty. The *n* of *yuvan* will be deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. The feminine examples will also have *yuva* through *puṃvadbhāva* of 6.3.42 *puṃvad karmadhāraya....*

2.1.68 *kṛtyatulyākhyā ajātyā*

Examples such as (69) *bhojyoṣṇam* and (70) *pāniyaśītam* have *bhojya* and *pāniya* derived from verbal roots *bhuj* 'to consume' and *pā* 'to drink' with the introduction of the *kṛtya* affixes *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor...*) and *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*).

2.1.70 *kumāraḥ śramaṇādibhiḥ*

Note that one of the purposes of formulating this rule is to facilitate the preplacement of *kumāra*. The listing of nominals headed by *śramaṇā* includes both masculine as well as feminine forms. For reasons of coreferentiality (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) *kumāra* is interpreted as specifying both *kumāra* and *kumārī*. Thus, feminine bases of the list will be combined with *kumārī* and the masculine will have both the choices (*...ye tu puṃliṅgāḥ tair ubhayathā*). Example (71) *kumāraśramaṇā* entails *puṃvadbhāva* again by 6.3.42 *puṃvat karmadhāraya....*

2.2.4 *prāptāpanne ca dvitīyayā*
This rule offers two sets of optional examples:

(72) *prāptajīvikaḥ* / (73) *jīvikāprāptaḥ*
(74) *āpannajīvikaḥ* / (75) *jīvikāpannaḥ*

The second example in each set is a *dvitīyā- tatpuruṣa* formed optionally to the first by this rule. Note also that the second example has *jīvikā* as the first constituent in the compound. This is made possible by assigning to *jīvikā* the term *upasarjana* by rule 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte*. This also causes the shortening of the long *ā* of *jīvikā* by rule 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya* as in *prāptajīvikaḥ*. The first example of each set will have *prāpta* and *āpanna* as initial constituent.

2.2.5 *kālāḥ parimāṇinā*
Examples such as (76) *dvyahajātaḥ*, (77) *tryahajātaḥ*, and (78) *saṃvatsarajātaḥ* are like genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds parallel to *dvyahaḥ jātasya*, *tryahaḥ jātasya*, and *saṃvatsaraḥ jātasya* respectively. For, their constituency entails *parimāṇaparimāṇi-sambandha* 'measure-measured' relationship. Thus, a person born (*parimāṇī*) is measured by a word denoting time (*kāla*), the measure (*parimāṇa*). The genitive in these examples obviously obtains after the word which denotes *parimāṇin*.

Note that *dvyahaḥ* and *tryahaḥ* are *samāhāradvandva* compounds parallel to *dvayor ahnoḥ samāhāraḥ* 'a collection of two days' and *trayor ahnoḥ samāhāraḥ* 'a collection of three days'. Given the strings: *dviahan* and *triahan*, rule 5.4.91 *rājāhasakhibhya...* introduces the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC*. The result becomes: *dviahan + (Ṭ→Ø) a (C→Ø) = dvi + ahan + a*, and *tri + ahan + a*. Rule 6.4.145 *ahnaṣ...* now applies to delete the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) part of *ahan* of both the examples (cf. examples (35-36) under 2.1.23 *dviguś ca*). This yields: *dvi + ah (an→Ø) a* and *tri + ah (an→Ø) +a* which after the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will produce: *dv (i→y) ah + a = dvyaha* and *tr (i→y) ah + a = tryaha* respectively. Note in this connection that *ahan* is not replaced with *ahna* because of the negation of rule 5.4.89 *na saṃkhyā....*

2.2.6 *naÑ*
The derivation of the negative *tatpuruṣa* compounds is fairly straightforward. However, the following rule- applications must be noted:

(*a*) 6.3.73 *nalopo nañaḥ*
'the *n* of *naÑ* is deleted before a following word (*uttarapade*)'

(*b*) 6.3.74 *tasmān nuḍ aci*
'*n (UṬ)* is introduced to that which follows the deletion and begins with a vowel (*aC*)'

Examples (79) *abrāhmaṇaḥ* and (80) *anaśvaḥ* parallel to *na brāhmaṇaḥ* and *na aśvaḥ* are given here to illustrate the application of the two rules just cited. A compound string such as *na + brāhmaṇa* will go through

the deletion of the *n* reducing the string to: *a* + *brāhmaṇa* = *abrāhmaṇa* where the (*b*) above will not apply because *brāhmaṇa* does not begin with a vowel. It will however, apply in case of a string such as (*n*→∅)*a* + *aśva* = *n* + *aśva*. This will entail the introduction of augment *nUṬ* to *aśva* at the beginning because of the *Ṭ* as an *it* (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). Thus, *a* + *n* (*UṬ*→∅) + *aśva* = *anaśva*.

2.2.15 *tṛjakābhyāṃ kartari*

Rules 2.2.15 through 2.2.17 have been interpreted differently by the *Kāśikā* and the *SK*. Since I have accepted the position of the *SK* I have also switched the examples. Thus we get examples (81) *apāṃ sraṣṭā* (82) *purāṃ bhettā*, (83) *vajrasya bharttā*, and (84) *saktūnāṃ pāyakaḥ* under this rule.

Note that *sraṣṭā*, *bhettā*, and *bharttā* are all derivates of *tṛC* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) containing the strings *sṛj* + *tṛC*, *bhid* + *tṛC* and *bhṛ* + *tṛC*. Refer to derivation (697) *bhettā* in volume II for specific details. Deriving *sraṣṭā* from *sṛj* + *tṛC* entails some additional rule application. Rule 6.1.58 *sṛjidṛśoḥ* will introduce augment *a(M)* to yield: *sṛ* + *a* + *j* + *tṛ*; a subsequent application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will produce *s(ṛ→r)* + *a* + *j* + *tṛ*. Rule 8.2.36 *vraśca...* will replace *j* by *ṣ* which, in turn, cause the replacement of *t* of *tṛ* by *ṭ* via the application of rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. We will now have *s* + *ra* + *ṣ* + *ṭṛ*. I have not shown here the application of rules on affix *tṛC*. One can easily find that in derivations of *cetā*, *bhettā*, and *chettā* in volume II.

Note that the derivation of *bharttā* entails *guṇa* similarly to *bhettā*. The derivations of *apām* and *purām*, genitive plurals denoting an object, from *ap* + *ām* and *pur*+*ām*, is straightforward. The derivation of *pāyakaḥ* in *saktūnāṃ pāyakaḥ* entails the introduction of affix *ṆvuL*. It also requires the application of rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk...* which will introduce *yUK* to yield: *pā* + *y* + *vu*. For deriving *pāyaka* from this string apply 7.1.1 *yuvor....* Thus, *pā*+*y*+(*vu*→*aka*) = *payaka* + *sU* = *pāyakaḥ*. Incidentally, the word *saktūnām* is derived from *saktu* + *ām* where rule 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* introduces *n* (*UṬ*→∅) to yield: *saktu* + *n* + *ām*. Rule 6.4.3 *nāmi* will now apply to replace the short *u* of *saktu* with its long counterpart to produce: *sakt* (*u*→*ū*)*n* + *ām* = *saktūnām*.

The *m* of *saktūnām*, as well as that of *purām*, etc., will be replaced with *anusvāra* by rule 8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ* before a consonant such as the *p* of *pāyakaḥ*.

2.2.16 *kartari ca*

Examples such as (85) *bhavataḥ śayikā* and (86) *bhavata āsikā* also form an exception to the formation of genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Note that *śāyikā* and *āsikā* are both derived by introducing affixes *ṆvuC* and *ṬāP*. Thus, affix *ṆvuC* is introduced after *śī*(*Ṅ* → ∅) to yield *śī* + *vu* which, through the application of rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* (with 1.4.13 *yasmāt...*;

6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) becomes: *śī* + (*vu*→*aka*) = *śī* + *aka*. The string becomes *ś*(*ī*→*ai*) + *aka* = *śai* + *aka* after *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. Rule 6.1.75 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* then applies to yield: *ś*(*ai*→*āy*) + *aka* = *śāy* + *aka* = *śāyaka*, a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) terminating in a *kṛt* affix. Feminine affix *ṬāP* is now introduced by rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* under the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām* read with 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*. The *a* before *k* of *śāyaka* + *ā* is replaced with *i* by rule 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt....* This will produce *śāy*(*a*→*i*)*ka* + *ā* from whence we ultimately get: *śāyikā*. One can similarly derive *āsikā*. The genitive in *bhavataḥ* derives from *bhavat* + *Ṅas* which produces *bhavataḥ* through *s*→*r*→ *visarga*.

2.2.17 *nityaṃ krīḍājīvikayoḥ*

Examples such as (87) *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā* and (88) *vāraṇapuṣpapracāyikā* illustrate the genitive *tatpuruṣa* with the meaning of sport (*krīḍā*). Examples such as (89) *dantalekhakaḥ* and (90) *nakhalekhakaḥ* are cited for *jīvikā* 'livelihood'. Both *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā* and *vāraṇapuṣpapracāyikā* entail *kṛt* derivates (*bhañjikā*; *pracāyikā*) in feminine. Thus, *bhañjikā* derives from *bhañj* + *ṆvuL* = *bhañj* + *aka*. The rest of the application of rules to derive *bhañjikā* from this string is similar to *śāyikā*. Remember, however, that affix *ṆvuL* is introduced with the denotatum of name (*saṃjñā*) by rule 3.3.109 *saṃjñāyām*. Furthermore, *bhañjikā* + *sU* combines with *puṣpa* + *ām* to yield: *puṣpabhañjikā* which is then combined with *uddālaka* + *ām* to produce *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā*. This last is allowed by rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī*. Similar rules apply in deriving *vāraṇapuṣpapracāyikā* where *pracāyikā* derives from *ciÑ* used with the preverb *pra*. Given *pra* + *ci* + (*vu*→*aka*), rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* orders *vṛddhi* to produce: *pra*+*c*(*i*→*ai*)+*aka*. The *ai* is then replaced with *āy* through the application of 6.1.75 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* to yield: *pra*+*c*(*ai*→*āy*)+ *aka* = *pracāyaka*. Deriving *pracāyikā* from *pracāyaka* + *ṬāP* does not offer anything new. Our examples *dantalekhakaḥ* and *nakhalekhakaḥ* both entail *lekhakaḥ* derived from *likh* + *ṆvuL* where *ṆvuL* gets replaced with *aka*. Of course, *i* of *likh* goes through the *guṇa* replacement *e* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*). Both *nakha* and *danta* of the examples will be constituting a *pada* in the genitive as: *danta* + *ām* and *nakha* + *ām*.

2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*

This rule covers examples of compound formation generally known as *prādisamāsa*. Examples such as (91) *kupuruṣaḥ* and (92) *duṣpuruṣaḥ* are easy to derive. The *s* of *dus* in *duṣpuruṣaḥ* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.3.41 *idudupadhasya cāpratyayasya*. Refer to the appendix of volume II for derivation of compound forms such as *ūrīkṛtam* and *ūrīkṛtya*.

There are quite a few *vārttika* under this rule which also provide for compounds such as (93) *atimālaḥ*, (94) *alaṃkumāriḥ*, (95) *niṣkauśāmbiḥ* and (96) *nirvārāṇasiḥ*. These examples have been fully derived in the appendix of volume II. The derivation of *alaṃkumāriḥ* proceeds from *kumārī* + *sU* +

alam + *sU* where *kūmārī* is termed an *upasarjana* by 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti cāpūrvanipāte*. The final long *ī* of *kumārī* will be replaced with short by 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*. Given *alamkumāri* the *m* will be replaced with *anusvāra* by 8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ* to yield: *alaṃkumāri*. Deriving *alaṃkumāriḥ* via introduction of *sU* and subsequent *rutvavisarga* should not pose any difficulty.

2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*

One of the most celebrated examples of *upapadasamāsa* is (97) *kumbhakāraḥ*. The derivation contains the string *kumbha* + *ām* + *kāra* +*sU* though with a reminder that such a compound should be formed prior to the introduction of the nominal endings (cf. *PŚ* (76): *gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāk subutpatteḥ*). The genitive of *kumbha* + *ām* is inferred as denoting an object (*karman*) through the variable reference of 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* read with rule 3.1.92 *tatropapadaṃ saptamīstham*.

Rule 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ* introduces affix *aṆ* to derive *kāra* via *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. Thus: *(kṛ + a (Ṇ→∅) = k (ṛ→ār) + a = kāra*.

Examples such as (98) *aśvakrītī* and (99) *dhanakrītī* contain the strings: *aśva* + *Ṭā* + *krīta* + *sU* and *dhana* + *Ṭā* + *krīta* + *sU*. *Kāśikā* uses example (98) to illustrate how, if the compounds are formed after introducing the *sUP*, the introduction of *ṄīṢ* will be blocked. The compound formation is allowed by 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. Given the compound form *aśvakrīta*, rule 4.1.50 *krītāt karaṇapūrvāt* will introduce affix *ṄīṢ*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will apply on *aśvakrīta* + *(Ṅ→∅)ī(Ṣ→∅)* to delete the final *a* of *aśvakrīt(a→∅)*, a form termed *bha*, under the following *ī*. This will produce the compound base *aśvakrītī* after which a *sU* may be introduced only for deletion by 6.1.66 *halṅyābbhyo....*

2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* ... 2.2.25 *saṃkhyayā...*

Refer to many examples of *bahuvrīhi* derivates in the appendix. For a typical *bahuvrīhi* such as *citraguḥ* parallel to *citrā gāvo yasya* 'he who owns brindled cows' refer to derivation (432) there.

Examples such as (100) *upadaśāḥ* parallel to *daśānāṃ samīpe ye* 'those which are in the vicinity of ten' contain a string such as: *up* + *sU* + *daśan* + *ām* where a *bahuvrīhi* compound is ordered by this rule. The resultant form *upadaśan* (after *sUP*-deletion) receives the *samāsānta* affix *ḌaC* by 5.4.73 *bahuvrīhau saṃkhyeye....* This yields *upadaśan* + *(Ḍ→∅)a(C→∅)* = *upadaśan* + *a* where the *aṅga*-final *an* is deleted by 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. The compound base *upadaś* + *a* = *upadaśa* can now take the nominative plural ending *Jas* where, after *it*-deletion of *J*, rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* orders *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*, a homogenious long vowel replacement similar to the first. That is: *upadaśa* + *(J→∅) as* = *upadaś (a+a→ā) s* = *upadaśās*. The preceding form produces *upadaśāḥ* through *rutva-visarga*.

Similar rule application is required for deriving (101) *upaviṃśāḥ* parallel to *viṃśateḥ samīpe ye*. Note, however, that rule 6.4.142 *ti viṃśater ḍiti* will delete the *ti* of *viṃśati*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will apply on *upaviṃśa* + *a* to produce *upaviṃśā* via *parasavarṇadīrgha*, a long vowel replacement similar to the following vowel of a sequence. One can similarly also derive (102) *āsannadaśāḥ* and (103) *adūradaśāḥ*, etc. Deriving (104) *dvitrāḥ* from *dvitr(i→∅)* + *ḌaC* + *Jas* through *ṭi*-deletion of *dvitri*, etc., is not problematic. An example such as (105) *tricaturāḥ* receives affix *aC* as opposed to *ḌaC* in view of the proposal of the *vārttika* (ad 5.4.73 *bahuvrīhau...*): *caturo' cprakaraṇe tryupābhyām upasaṃkhyānaṁ*. This introduction of affix *aC* also facilitates the non-deletion of the *ṭi* part by rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*.

2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*

It is very easy to understand the derivational consequences of this as well as the following rules from the details of compound derivations already discussed. Refer to particular examples such as *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ*, *śaṅkulākhaṇḍaḥ*, and *rājapuruṣaḥ*, etc., in the appendix of volume II.

2.3.1 *anabhihite*...2.3.73 *caturthī cāśiṣya...*

Note that these rules mostly relate to conditions under which a nominal ending denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ...*) can be introduced after a nominal stem (1.2.45 *arthavad adhātur...*; 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita...*) to derive nominal *pada* 'word'. I have already shown the derivation of numerous nominal words in the appendix of volume II. Quite a few such derivates will be derived in the next two volumes. I have therefore not shown any derivations here.

2.4.3 *anuvāde caraṇānām*

Examples such as (106) *udagāt* and (107) *pratyaṣṭhāt* as in *udagāt kaṭhakālāpam* and *pratyaṣṭhāt kaṭhakauthukam* are *LUṄ* derivates of verbal root *iṆ*, used with the preverb *ud*, and *sthā* used with the preverb *prati*, respectively. These derivations in many ways follow the patterns of numerous *LUṄ* derivates already derived in the appendix of volume II. Refer to *akariṣyat*, *acīkarat*, *acaiṣīt*, and *ajīharat*, etc., for general operations relative to *LUṄ*. Note that *sIC* of these examples will be deleted by rule 2.4.77 *gātisthā....* This will leave: *ud+a+i+t* where *i* will be replaced with *gā* by 2.4.45 *iṇo gā luṅi*.

2.4.5 *adhyayanato' viprakṛṣṭa...*

Examples such as (108) *padakakramakam* entails the introduction of affix *vuN* by rule 4.2.61 *kramādibhyo vun* after both *pada* and *krama* to derive *padaka* and *kramaka*. Affix *ṭhaK* is similarly introduced after *vṛtti* to derive (109) *vārttika* by rule 4.2.60 *kratūkthādi....* Follow the derivation of (197) *dādhikam* in the appendix of volume II to derive *vārttika* from *vṛtti* + *ṭhaK*.

2.4.11 *gavāśvaprabhṛtīni ca*

Note that examples such as (110) *gavāśvam* are listed in the *GP* with *ekavadbhāva* 'treatment as if singular'. One can understand though that the *dvandva* compound can be allowed by rule 2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ* in addition to the *avaṄ* replacement for *o* of *go* by 6.1.119 *avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya* to yield *gavāśvam*. Other examples should be similarly understood.

2.4.29 *rātrāhnāhāḥ puṃsi*

Note that examples (111) *dvirātraḥ*, (112) *trirātraḥ*, and (113) *catūrātraḥ* are derived by combining *dvi*, *tri* and *catur* with *rātri*, *ahna* and *aha* in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthotlarapada*.... Rule 5.4.87 *ahaḥ sarvaika*... introduces the *samāsānta* affix *aC*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will as usual delete the *bha*-final *i*, or *a*. Our present rule assigns masculine to compound bases terminating in the *samāsānta* affix (cf. *Kāś: kṛtasamāsāntānāṃ nirdeśaḥ*). This assignment of masculine is necessary in view of *paravalliṅgatā* 'assignment of gender in consonance with the gender of the following constituent' which may obtain due to *rātri* (feminine) and *ahna* (neuter).

Note that *catūrātraḥ* entails the application of 8.3.14 *ro ri* whereby the *r* of *catur* is deleted. The *u* of *catu* is replaced with *ū* to yield *catūrātra* via the application of rule 6.3.111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya*....

An example such as (114) *pūrvāhṇaḥ* is derived by combining *pūrva* + *sU ahan* + *Ṅas* by rule 2.2.1 *pūrvaparādharottara*.... A combined base *purva* + *ahan* receives the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* by 5.4.91 *rātrāha*.... Rule 5.4.88 *ahno' hna etebhyaḥ* orders the *ahan* of *pūrva* + *ahan* + *(Ṭ)a(C)* to be replaced with *ahna*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* deletes the final *a* of *ahna* before the *a* of *ṬaC* to yield: *pūrva* + *ahn* + *a* = *pūrvāhna*. One can derive *pūrvāhṇaḥ* from *pūrvāhna* + *sU* via *rutva-visarga* where the *n* of *pūrvāhna* will be replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.7 *ahno' adantāt*. Similar rules apply in deriving (115) *aparāhṇaḥ* and (116) *madhyāhnaḥ* where this last example does not get its *n* replaced with *ṇ* because of the lack of a preceding *r*.

2.4.36 *ado jagdhir lyapti kiti*

This rule allows a replacement in *jagdh* for verbal root *ad* 'to consume' to derive (117) *prajagdhya*, (118) *vijagdhya*, (119) *jagdhaḥ*, and (120) *jagdhavān*. Our first example has verbal root *ad* used with the preverb *pra*. The affix occurring after *ad* is *LyaP* for which see the derivation of (195) *prakṛtya* in the appendix of volume II. The application of this rule will produce: *pra* + *(ad* → *jagdh)* + *(L*→*0) ya (P*→*0)* = *prajagdhya*. Example (118) *vij˘gdhya* follows the same pattern.

Example (119) *jagdhaḥ* is derived by introducing the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.28 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*; 3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*) after verbal root *ad*. Given the replacement in *jagdh* for *ad* we get: *(ad* → *jagdh)* + *(K*→*0) ta* = *jagdh* + *ta*. The *t* of *ta* is replaced with *dh* by rule 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*.... The final *dh* of *jagdh* of *jagdh* + *dha* will then be replaced with *d* by rule 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*. This will produce *jag(dh*→*d)* + *dha* = *jagd* + *dha* on which rule

8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe* applies. The result is: *(d→∅) + dha = jagdha;* a nominal stem after which *sU* can be introduced to derive *jagdhaḥ* through *rutva-visarga.*

Refer to the derivation of (30) *citavān* in the appendix of volume II for deriving *jagdhavān.* Note that some operations relative to the change of *t→dh, dh→d,* and *d→∅* as explained in case of *jagdhaḥ* will also be applicable on *(ad→jagdh) + (K→∅) tavat (U→∅) = jagdh + tavat.*

2.4.37 *lṛṅsanor ghasḷ*

This rule introduces *ghasL* as a replacement for *ad* to derive forms such as (121) *aghasat,* (122) *aghasatām,* (123) *aghasan*; and (124) *jighatsati,* (125) *jighatsataḥ,* (126) *jighatsanti.* These derivations are not very different from the many *LUṄ* and *saN* derivations already discussed in the appendix of volume II. Verbal root *ad* will be replaced with *ghas(L→∅)* before affixes *LUṄ* and *sa(N→∅).* For arriving at the string *aṬ + ghas + CLI + t* refer to the derivation of (18) *acaiṣīt* in the appendix of volume II. The *CLI* will then be replaced with *a (Ṅ→∅)* by rule 3.1.55 *puṣādidyutādi...* on account of *L* as an *it.* This will produce: *a + ghas + a + t = aghasat.* Note that the augment *aṬ* has been introduced here by rule 6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅ....* This introduction of the augment must be done subsequent upon the replacement of *ad* by *ghasL.* For, *ad* begins with a vowel, and consequently, 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām* may introduce the augment *āṬ.* This obviously will produce the wrong form *āghasat.* This introduction of *āṬ* can be blocked if *ghasL* replaced *ad* first. Refer to the derivation of (467) *apacatām* (appendix vol. II) for deriving (122) *aghasatām.* Of course, keeping in mind the replacement relative to this rule. Deriving (123) *aghasan* from *aṬ + ghas + a + (jh→ant)* should not be problematic. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will order a single replacement in place of the vocalic sequence *a+a* to yield: *aghas + ant.* The *t* of the sequence *nt* will be deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ.*

The next set of three examples all entail affix *saN* and subsequent doubling (*dvitva*) for which refer to derivation (304) *rurudiṣati* in the appendix of volume II. Note that doubling will take place after the replacement in *ghasL.* This will produce: *ghas + ghas + sa* where *sa* will be termed an *ārddhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ....* This will occasion the introduction of augment *iṬ* by rule 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ...* which, in turn, will be blocked by rule 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe....* Note that doubling and the application of rule 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will produce *gha(s→∅) + ghas + sa.* Rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* now applies to yield: *(gh→jh)a + ghas + sa = jha + ghas + sa.* Rule 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* will further replace the *jh* with *j* to produce *ja + ghas + sa.* The *a* of *ja* will then be replaced with *i* under the provision of rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ.* Rule 7.4.49 *saḥ syārddha...* will now replace the *s* of *ghas* in *ji + ghas + sa* with *t* to produce: *ji + ghat + sa = jighatsa,* a verbal root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā....* One can easily

derive *jighatsati* from *jighatsa* + *ŚaP* + *(LAṬ* →*tiP)* where the sequence *a*+*a* will again be replaced with *a* by 6.1.96 *ato guṇe*. Examples (125) *jighatstaḥ* and (126) *jighatsanti* can be derived similarly to *pacataḥ* and *pacanti* (cf. appendix of volume II) from *jighatsa* + *LAṬ*.

2.4.40 *liṭy anyatarasyām*

Refer to derivations (231) *jakṣatuḥ* and (232) *jakṣuḥ* in the appendix of volume II. Examples such as (127) *ādatuḥ* and (128) *āduḥ* are optional with no replacement of *ad* by *ghas*. Examples such as (129) *jaghāsa* and (130) *āda* are also optional where *jaghāsa* is derived with the replacement for *ad* in *ghas*. These derivations both start with *ad* + *a* where *a* is a replacement of *tiP* which in itself is a replacement of *LAṬ*. Doubling and deletion by 7.4.60 *halādi...* will produce the two strings as follows: *gha* + *ghas* + *a* and *a* + *ad* + *a*. The first will produce *jaghas* + *a* after changes similar to *jighatsati*. Note, however, that *ja* does not change into *ji* in this case. The penultimate *a* of *jaghas* of *jaghas* + *a* will be lengthened by rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* to produce *jagh(a*→*ā)s* + *a* =*jaghāsa*. Our optional string *a* + *ad* + *a* will be subject to the application of rule 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*. This will replace the first *a* with *ā*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāhḥ* will now apply on *ā* + *ad* + *a* to produce *ā* + *ād* + *a*. Finally, rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will replace the sequence *ā*+*ā* to produce *(ā*+*ā*→*ād)* + *a* = *āda*.

2.4.41 *veño' nyatarasyām*

This rule accounts for the optional *LIṬ* examples of *veÑ* such as (131) *uvāya*, (132) *ūvatuḥ*, (133) *ūvuḥ*, and (134) *ūyatuḥ* and (135) *ūyuḥ*. All these derivations begin with *ve(Ñ*→*0)* + *LIṬ* where *LIṬ* gets replaced with *tiP*, etc., only to be further replaced with *ṆaL*, *atus* and *us* of 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ....* Note, however, that our present rule orders the replacement *vay* for *veÑ* before the *ārdhdhātuka* affix *LIṬ*. The *parasmaipada* replacements such as *ṆaL*, etc., will follow. Our string *vay* + *(ti(P*→*0)* → *(Ṇ*→*0)a(L*→*0))* = *vay* + *a* will go through the application of doubling, *saṃprasāraṇa* (6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*) and 7.4.60 *halādi...* to yield: *vay* + *vay* + *a* = *va* + *vay* + *a* = *(v*→*uay* + *vay* + *a)* = *uvay* + *a*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* now yields *uv(a*→*ā)y* + *a* = *uvāya*.

Our next form *ūvatuḥ* is derived from *vay* + *atus* where *atus* is the replacement for the third person dual *parasmaipada* ending *tas*. The *y* of *vay* + *atus* escapes the *samprasāraṇa* available from rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi....* Instead, it is replaced with *v* to change the string to *vav* + *a* by rule 6.1.39 *vaś cānyatarasyām*. The processes of doubling, the *samprasāraṇa* of the initial *va* and *halādiśeṣa* will now produce *u* + *uv* + *atus*. The desired form *ūvatuḥ* can then be produced by the application of *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe...*) and *rutva-visarga*. Note here that *v* as a replacement for the *y* of *vay* by rule 6.1.39 *vaścānyatarasyāṃ kiti* is optional. In the absence of availing that option we will get *ūyatuḥ* parallel to *ūvatuḥ*. We

will also end up with two optional forms *ūvuḥ* and *ūyuḥ* deriving from *vay* + *us* in the plural where *us* is a *parasmaipada* replacement for *LIṬ* via *jhi*.

Note further that the provisions of rule 2.4.41 *veño vayi* are also optional. If this option is not availed we will get (136) *vavau*, (137) *vavatuḥ* and (138) *vavuḥ*. The root-final *e* in all these three examples is replaced with *ā* with reference to rule 6.1.45 *adeca upadeśe*.... The *a* of *NaL* in *vā* + *(LIṬ→NaL)* = *vā* + *a* is replaced with *au* by 7.1.34 *āta au ṇalaḥ*. The final *a* of *vā* is then deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. The *samprasāraṇa* is here blocked by rule 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*. This should facilitate the derivation of these forms with no difficulty.

2.4.42 *hano vadha liṅi*

Examples such as (139) *vadhyāt*, (140) *vadhyāstām*, and (141) *vadhyasuḥ* involve *vadha* as the replacement for verbal root *han* before affix *LIṄ* introduced as per rule 3.3.173 *āśiṣi liṅloṭau*. The resultant string *(han→vadha)* + *(LIṄ→ti(P→∅)* = *vadha* + *ti* receives *yāsUṬ* as the augment by rule 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipade*.... This will produce *vadha* + *yās* + *t*. Rule 3.4.100 *itaś ca* will as usual delete the *i* of *ti*. The final *a* of *vadha* of the resultant string *vadha* + *yās* + *t* will be deleted by rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. This will produce *vadh(a→∅)* + *yās* +*t* where an application of rule 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor*... deletes the *s* to yield: *vadh* + *yā(s→∅)* + *t* = *vadhyāt*.

The derivation of *vadhyāstām* from *(han→vadha)* + *(LIṄ→tas)* = *vadha* + *yās (UṬ→∅)* + *tas* =*vadhyās* + *tas* is easy. The *tas* is here replaced with *tām* to produce *vadhyāstām* by rule 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ*.... The plural form *vadhyāsuḥ* is similarly derived from *vadha* + *yās* + *jhi* where rule 3.4.108 *jher jus* orders *(J→∅)us* to replace *jhi* to produce: *vadha* + *yās* + *us*. An application of rules as shown will turn *vadha* + *yās* + *us* into *vadhyāsuḥ*.

2.4.43 *luṅi ca*

Refer to the derivation of (211) *avadhīt* in the appendix of volume II. Examples (142) *avadhiṣṭām* and (143) *avadhiṣuḥ* are third personal dual and plural forms containing: *avadh (a→∅)* + *i* + *s* + *tas* = *avadh* + *i* + *s* + *tas* and *avadh* + *i* + *s* + *jhi* where *tas* and *jhi* are dual and plural third personal replacements for *LUṄ*. Our *tas* gets replaced with *tām* to yield: *avadh* + *i* + *s* + *tām* where rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ* orders the *s* to be replaced with *ṣ*. This, in turn, will cause the application of rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* whereby *t* of *tām* will be replaced with *ṭ*. Thus, *avadhi(s→ṣ)* + *(tās→ṭām))* = *avadhiṣṭām*. The plural form *avadhiṣuḥ* entails an additional application of rule 3.4.109 *sijabhyasta*... whereby the *jhi* of *avadhis* + *jhi* is replaced with *Jus* to derive *avadhiṣ* + *u(s→r→ḥ)* = *avadhiṣuḥ* via *rutva-visarga*.

2.4.45 *iṇo gā luṅi*

This rule replaces verbal root *i(N→∅)* with *gā* to derive the *LUṄ*-

derivates (144) *agāt* and (145) *agāyi*. The first is derived from *aṬ* + *gā* + *ti* where *tiP* replaces *LUṄ*. The *i* of *ti* is deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca* and the *aṬ* augment is introduced as usual by rule 6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅ*.... Note that this derivation will also involve the introduction *CLI* and its replacement with *sIC*. The *sIC* of the resultant string *a+gā+s+t* will be deleted by 2.4.77 *gātisthā*.... The next example *agāyi* derives from *a(Ṭ)* + *(iṆ→gā)* + *(C)i(Ṇ)* + *t* where 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* introduces *CiṆ*. Our string *a+gā+i* receives the augment *yUK* by rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇ*.... It finally goes through the deletion of its *t* by rule 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*.

2.4.47 *sani ca*

Our examples (146) *jigamiṣati* is *saN*-derivate of verbal root *iṆ*. This rule turns *i* + *sa* into *gam* + *sa* which through doubling produces *gam* + *gam* + *sa*. The application of rule 7.4.60 *halādi*... yields *ga* + *gam* + *sa*. The *iT* will be introduced by rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ*.... Additionally, *ga* + *gam* + *i(Ṭ→0)* + *sa* will have the *a* of *ga* replaced with *i* by 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*. This will give us *gigamisa* where 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* will turn the initial *g* into *j*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ* will replace the *s* with *ṣ*. Thus, *J(a→i)+gam+i+(s→ṣ)a* = *jigamiṣa*. I have here shown only the partial derivation of *jigamiṣati* which derives from *(i→gam)* + *saN))* + *LAṬ*. Refer to the derivations of similar *saN*-derivates such as (304) *rurudiṣati*, (305) *vividiṣati*, (307) *jighṛkṣati*, (309) *pipṛcchiṣati* and (312) *cikīrṣati*, etc., in the appendix of volume II for systematic derivational details in steps. Deriving (147) *jigamiṣataḥ* and (148) *jigamiṣanti* with *tas* and *jhi* as replacements for *LAṬ* should not pose any difficulty.

2.4.48 *iṅaś ca*

Our example (149) *adhijigāṃsate* entails the *saN*-derivate of verbal root *iṆ* used with the preverb *adhi*. Given *adhijigam* + *sa* + *LAṬ* where *adhijigam* is produced after replacing *iṆ* with *gam* and performing operations such as doubling, *cutva*, and *itva* (such as: *(g→j)(a→i)gam*) before *saN*. The second *a* of *adhijigam* goes through *ātva* 'replacement in *ā*' of rule 6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ sani*. The *m* of *adhijig(a→ā)m* + *sa* is replaced with *anusvāra* by 8.3.24 *naścāpadāntasya*.... This will yield *adhijigāṃsa* which, when followed by *LAṬ*, will produce *adhijigāṃsate* similarly to many third person singular *ātmanepada* forms already derived. The same can be said about deriving the third personal dual and plural examples (150) *adhijigāṃsete* and (151) *adhijigāṃsante* with the *ātmanepada* endings replacing *LAṬ*.

2.4.49 *gāṅ liṭi*

The three examples under this rule again are third personal forms of *ātmanepada*: (152) *adhijage*, (153) *adhijagāte* and (154) *adhijagire*. The first form derives from *adhi(i→gā)* + *(LIṬ→ta)*. The *ta* is subsequently replaced with *eŚ* by rule 3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor*.... The *ā* of *gā* is deleted by rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. This produces *g(ā→0)* + *(ta→e(Ś→0)* = *g* + *e* which, read with the preverb *adhi*, will be: *adhi* + *g* + *e*. Note that doubling takes

place without the preverb. The doubling is allowed by rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anābhyāsasya* with *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating the substitute as if it was the substituendum' facilitated by 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci.* This will produce *adhigā* + *g* + *e*. The shortening (*hrasva*; 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*) of *ā* of *adhigā* followed by the *cutva* of *g*→*j* will produce *adhi(g*→*j)(ā*→*a)ge* = *adhijage.* Refer to earlier derivational details for specific rule application relative to doubling (*dvitva*). The next example *adhijagāte* derives from *adhijag* + *āte* where the dual *ātmanepada* ending *ātām* goes through the replacement of its *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) by *e* by rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ...*:

Our last example *adhijagire* involves the replacement of third personal plural *ātmanepada* ending *jha* with *ireC* in view of rule 3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor...* to yield *adhijag* + *ire* (*C*→∅) = *adhijagire.*

2.4.50 *vibhāṣā luṅlṛṅoḥ*

Refer to derivations (266) *adhyagīṣṭa*, (267) *adhyagīṣātām*, and (268) *adhyagīṣata* in the appendix (pp. 425–27) of volume II. The derivation of (155) *adhyaiṣṭa*, (156) *adhyaiṣātām* and (157) *adhyaiṣata* is optional to the preceding. The root *i* in this case is not replaced with *gā*. Given *adhi*+*i*, the root gets the augment *āṬ* (6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*). Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* will apply on *adhi* + *ā* (*Ṭ*→∅) + *i* + *ṣ* + *t* to require *guṇa* of *i* to produce: *adhi*+*ā*+*e*+*ṣṭa*. Rule 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* will replace the sequence *ā*+e with a single *vṛddhi* vowel *ai*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ āci* will now apply on *adhi*+*ai*+*ṣṭa* to produce *adhyaiṣṭa* via replacing the *i* of *adhi* with *y*. The derivation of *adhyaiṣātām* begins with *adhyaiṣ* + *ātām* where *LUṄ* is replaced with the third person dual *ātmanepada* ending *ātām*. The plural form *adhyaiṣata* is easy to derive with reference to *adhyagīṣata.*

The following is a select list of two sets of *LṚṄ* derivates:

(158) *adhyagīṣyata*, (159) *adhyagīṣyetām*, (160) *adhyagīṣyanta*; and (161) *adhyaiṣyata*, (162) *adhyaiṣyetām*, (163) *adhyaiṣyanta.*

The first example (158) *adhyagīṣyata* derives from the string *adhi*+*aṬ*+(*i*→*gā*)+(*LṚṄ*→*ta*) where *LṚṄ* has been introduced by rule 3.3.139 *liṅnimitte....* Rule 3.1.33 *syatāsī...* introduces affix *sya* after the *gāṄ* replacement of *i* to produce: *adhi* + *a* + *gā* + *sya* + *ta*. Rule 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā...* (read with 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...*) will then replace the *ā* of *gā* with *ī*. This will produce: *adhi* + *a* + *gī* + *sya* + *ta*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will replace the *i* of *adhi* with *y*; and 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* will change the *s* of *sya* with *ṣ*. Thus: *adh(i*→*y)* + *a* + *gī* + (*s*→*ṣ)ya* + *ta* = *adhyagīṣyata*. An optional form to this will be (161) *adhyaiṣyata* deriving from *adhi* + *āṬ* + *i* + *sya* + *ta* where *āṬ* will be the augment because the root, in the absence of a replacement in *gāṄ*, will still be *ajādi* 'vowel-initial'. Other details such as single *vṛddhi* replacement *ai* for *ā* + *i*; the *y* replacement for the *i* of *adhi*, and the *s*→*ṣ* change in *sya* are easy to understand. The dual form (159) *adhyagīṣyetām* derives from *adhyagīṣya* + *ātām* where the *ā* of *ātām* gets

replaced with *iy* of rule 7.2.81 *āto ṅitaḥ*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then applies on *adhyagīṣya* + (*ā→iy*) *tām* = *adhyagīṣya* + *iy* + *tām* to produce: *adhyagīṣy* (*a+i→e*) *y* + *tām* where 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* will delete the second *y*. Thus: *adhyagīṣye*(*y*→∅) + *tām* = *adhyagīṣyetām*. Note that the form *adhyagiṣya*, which I cite here, before *ātām* is just for convenience. One has to arrive at the derivation of that form gradually through step by step procedures beginning with *iṆ* + *LṚṄ*, etc. Follow similar procedures to derive other examples.

2.4.51 *ṇau ca saṃścaṅoḥ*

This rule orders *gāṄ* as an optional replacement for *iṄ* relative to (164) *adhijigāpayiṣati*, (165) *adhyāpipayiṣati*, (166) *adhyajīgapat* and (167) *adhyāpipat*.

The first example derives from (*adhi* + (*i*(*Ṇ*→∅)→*gā*)) + (*Ṇ*→∅)*i*(*C*→∅))) + *sa* (*N*→∅)))) where 3.1.26 *hetumati ca* first introduces affix *ṆiC*. The result of this, i.e., *i+i* used with *adhi*, is termed a verbal root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā*.... Affix *saN* is introduced by rule 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ*...after *adhi*+ *gā* +*i* where our present rule replaces *i* with *gā*. Augment *pUK* is then introduced to the root by rule 7.3.36 *arttihrīvlīri*... to yield: *adhi* + *gā* + *p*(*UK*→∅) + *i* + *sa*. Rule 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ*... to yield: *adhi* + introduce *i*(*Ṭ*=∅) before the *ārddhadhātuka* affix *sa*: *adhi*+*gā* + *p* + *i* + *i* + *sa*. The operation of doubling will now take place under the provision of rule 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ* read with 6.1.1 *ekāco dve*.... Note that doubling will affect *gāp* to produce: *adhi* + *gāp* + *gāp* + *i* + *i* + *sa*. That is, augment *pUK* will be treated as part of the verbal root for purposes of doubling. This same, as usual, will not be true of the preverb *adhi*. The application of rules 6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ* and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will change the string to: *adhi* + *gā*(*p*→∅) + *gāp* + *i* + *i* + *sa*. Rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* will cause *cutva* of the *g* of *gā* to yield: *adhi* + (*g*→*j*)*ā* + *gāp* + *i* + *i* + *sa*. Rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* apply *itva* whereby we get: *adhi* + *j*(*ā* →*i*) + *gāp* + *i* + *i* + *sa* = *adhijigāpi* + *i* + *sa*. Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* will order *guṇa* for the final *i* of *adhijigāpi* to produce *adhijigāpe* which, in turn, will yield *adhijigāp*(*e*→*ay*) + *i* + *sa*, through the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Our resultant string *adhijigāpayi*(*s*→*ṣ*)*a* = *adhijigāpayiṣa* (through the application of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*) will still be a termed a verbal root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Consequently, *LAṬ*→*tiP*, and *ŚaP* introduced after *adhijigāpayiṣa* will produce *adhijigāpayiṣati*.

We will have (165) *adhyāpipayiṣati* if the option of *gā* replacement of verbal root *i* is not availed. It will produce the verbal root *adhyāpipayiṣa* from the basic string: *adhi* + *i* + *i* + *sa*. Affix *ṆiC* will condition the *i* of the root to be replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart *ai* via 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. Rule 6.1.48 *krīṅjīnāṃ*...will then order *ā* as a replacement (*ātva*) to yield: *adhi* + *āpi* + *i* + *sa*. The application of *guṇa* and its replacement in *ay*, similar to the preceding example, will produce: *adhi* + *āpayiṣa*. The next

form *adhi* + *ā*+ *pi* + *payiṣa* will be produced through doubling under the provisions of rules 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya* read with 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*. This doubling would involve *rūpātideśa* whereby its result will be: *pi* + *pay*. Finally, *adh(i→y)* + *āpipayiṣa* = *adhyāpipayiṣa* will produce: *adhyāpipayiṣati* similar to the preceding example.

Form (166) *adhyajīgapat* is a *LUṄ* derivate of verbal root *iṄ* used with the preverb *adhi*, and the causative suffix *ṆiC*. The *i* of *adhi* + *i* + *ṆiC* is replaced with *gā* to produce: *(adhi* + *(i→gā))* + *(Ṇ→∅)i(C∅)))* =*adhi* + *gā* + *i*. Rule 3.2.10 *luṅ* introduces affix *LUṄ* to realize: *adhi* + *gā* + *i* + *LUṄ* = *adhi* + *gā* + *i* + *LUṄ*. Two additional rule applications (3.1.43 *cli luṅi* and 3.1.48 *ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ...*) will change the string to: *adhi* + *gā* + *i* + *(CLI→(C→∅) a (Ṅ→∅)* + *i LUṄ* = *adhi* +*gā* + *i* + *a* + *LUṄ*. Rule 3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthasthа...*read with 3.4.77 *lasya* will, of course, replace *LUṄ* with *ti(P→∅)* to yield *adhi* + *gā* + *i* + *a* + *ti*. A subsequent application of rule 3.4.100 *itaś ca* will reduce the *ti* to *t*. The string will now be *adhi* + *gā* + *i* + *a* + *t*. Rule 7.3.36 *artihrīvlīrīknūyī...*will again introduce the augment *pUK* subsequent to which the *i*, i.e., *ṆiC*, will be deleted by rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. This will produce: *adhi* + *gāp* + *a* + *t* where the *ā* of *gāp*, the penultimate of sound of an *aṅga* before affix *CaṄ*, will be replaced with its short counterpart by rule 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ....* Our string will now become *adhi* + *gap* +*a* + *t*. Doubling and related applications will produce *adhi* + *(g→j) a (p→∅)* + *gap* + *a* + *t* = *adhi* + *ja* + *gap* + *a* + *t* where *sanvadbhāva* 'extending operations characteristic to affix *saN*' will further cause the application of rules 7.4.79 *sanyataḥ* and 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni caṅpare....* This will cause *itva* 'replacement in *i*' whereby we get: *adhi* + *j (a→i)* + *gap* + *a* + *t* = *adhi* + *ji* + *gap* + *a* + *t*. Rule 7.4.94 *dīrghoḥ laghoḥ* will then replace the short *i* of *ji* with long to yield *adhi* + *jī* +*gap* + *a* + *t*. Our string *adhi* + *jī* + *gap* + *a* will still be termed an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*) whereby rule 6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅ...*will introduce the augment *a(Ṭ→∅)*. The resultant string *adhi* + *a* + *jī* + *gap* + *a* + *t* will be subject to the application of rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* whereby the *i* of *adhi* will be replaced with *y* to produce *adhyajīgapat*.

An optional form such as (167) *adhyāpipat* will be derived in the absence of not availing the option of replacing *iṄ* with *gā*. The initial string *adhi* + *iṄ* + *ṆiC* = *adhi* + *i* + *i* will as usual go through *vṛddhi*, *ātva* (6.1.48 *krīṅ nau...*), and introduction of *pUK* to produce *adhi* + *(i→ai→āt)* + *p* + *i*. Operations such as the introduction of *LUṄ*, *CLI*, *CaṄ*, the deletion of *ṆiC* (*ṇilopa*), and shortening of the *ā* of *adhi* + *āp* will produce: *adhi* + *ap* + *a* + *t*. Doubling is here performed via *rūpātideśa* of 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci* because the application of 6.1.11 *caṅi* read with 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya* will not be possible. For, the *p* is not a vowel. The *rūpatideśa-dvitva* will change the string to *adhi* + *api* + *p* + *a* + *t*. Rule 6.4.72 *āḍajādīnām...*will introduce the augment

āṬ which, after the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* and 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*, will produce *adhi* + *āṬ* + *api* + *p* + *a* + *t* = *adh* (*i*→*y*) + *ā* (*Ṭ*→Ø) + *api* + *p* + *a* + *t* = *adhy* + (*ā*+*a*→*ā*) *pi* + *pa* + *t* = *adhyāpipat*.

2.4.53 ***bruvo vaciḥ***

The *ātmanepada* derivates (168) *ūce* and (169) *vakṣyate* derive from (*brū*→*vac*) + (*LIṬ*→*ta*)) and (*brū*→*vac*) + (*LṚṬ*→*ta*)). Our first string *vac* + *ta* goes through the replacement in *eŚ* for its *ta* (3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor*...) followed by the *samprasāraṇa* of rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*.... This produces the *uc* + *e* which through doubling (*dvitva*) and related operations becomes (*u*(*c*→Ø) *uc* + *e*). An application of *savarṇadīrgha* will finally produce (*u*+*u*→*ū*)*c* + *e* = *ūce*.

Deriving (169) *vakṣyate* from (*vac* + (*LṚṬ*→*ta*)) will require the introduction of *sya* of 3.1.33 *syatāsī*...followed by *ta*→*te* of 3.4.79 *ṭita ātmanepadānāṃ*.... The resultant string *vac* + *sya* + *te* will go through *kutva* of *c* by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*. The new output *vak* + *sya* + *t* + (*e*) will become *vak* + (*s*→*ṣ*)*ya* + *te* = *vakṣyate* after the application of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*.

2.4.55 ***vā liṭi***

Examples (170) *ācakhyau*, (171) *ācakhyatuḥ*, (172) *ācakhyuḥ*; and (173) *ācacakṣe*, (174) *ācacakṣāte*, (175) *ācacakṣire* illustrate the optional replacement of *cakṣIṄ* by *khyāÑ* (2.4.54 *cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ*). The first set of three examples are derived by taking the option of replacement. The next set obviously does not accept the optional replacement. Example (170) *ācakhyau* is derived from *ā*+ (*cakṣ*→*khyā*) + (*LIṬ*→ *tiP*)) where *tiP* gets further replaced with *ṆaL* of 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ*.... Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anābhyāsasya* will apply to produce *ā* + *ca* + *khyā*. Rule 7.1.34 *āta au ṇalaḥ* will then apply to replace *a* of (*Ṇ*)*a*(*L*) with *au*: *ā* + *ca* + *khyā* + (*a*→*au*) = *ā* + *ca* + *khyā* + *au*. An application of rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhireci* will introduce a single *vṛddhi* replacement to finally produce: *ācakhy*(*ā* + *au*→*au*) = *ācakhyau*.

Follow additional rule application similar to *papatuḥ* and *papuḥ* (appendix of volume II) to derive *ācakhyatuḥ* and *ācakhyuḥ*. The remaining three examples do not involve the replacement in *khyāÑ*. Their derivation is very similar to (153) *adhijagāte* and (154) *adhijagire* given under rule 2.4.49 *gāṅ liṭi*.

2.4.56 ***ajer vy aghañapoḥ***

Examples such as (176) *pravetā*, (177) *prājitā*, etc., will follow the pattern of (168) *bhavitā* and (170) *bhavitum* derived under rule 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā* (cf. appendix of volume II). Remember, however, that derivates with a replacement in *vī* will not be allowed the introduction of augment *iṬ* (cf. 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe*...). Thus, we will get *pravetā* through *guṇa* by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*. We will, of course, get: *prājitā* if the root is not replaced with *vī*. The derivation will also involve introduction of *iṬ* but no *guṇa*.

2.4.58 ***ṇyakṣatriyārṣañito***...

A derivate such as (178) *kauravyaḥ* could mean both 'a father who is the offspring of Kuru' as well as 'a son, or younger offspring such as a grandson, of Kuru' depending on what *taddhita* affix (relative to what base) has been manipulated for the derivation. Thus, *kauravyaḥ* can be derived from *kuru* + *Ṅas* by introducing affix *Ṇya* of 4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo...* read within the domain of 4.1.91 *tasyāpatyam*. An 'offspring' (*apatya*) such as 'a grandson, and so on' is assigned the term *gotra* (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*). Affix *Ṇya* thus denotes a *gotra* descendant. Rule 1.4.18 *yaci bham* will assign the term *bha* to *kuru* of *kuru* + *Ṅas* + (*Ṇ*→Ø)*ya*. Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* will, as usual, delete the *Ṅas*. Our string *kuru* + *ya* will change to *kur(u→o)* + *ya* first through *guṇa* of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ:* and next to *k(u→au)ro* + *ya* through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*. Rule 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye* will then apply to bring about *kaur(o→av)* + *ya* = *kauravya* + *sU*→ *kauravyaḥ*. This derivate will denote a descendant such as a grandson', etc. A derivate of the same form though with the denotation of a *gotra*-descendant (son of a grandson, etc.; 4.1.163 *jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā*) can be derived with affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) introduced after *kauravya*. This *iÑ*-derivate will still be *kauravya* because 2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyārṣa...* will subsequently delete the affix. That is, (*kauravya* + (*iÑ*→Ø)) + *sU*))) = *kauravyaḥ*.

One can similarly derive (179) *śvāphalkaḥ* from *śvaphalka* + *aṆ* of 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka....* A similar form derived with *iÑ* will denote *yuvāpatya* 'young grandson etc.' as opposed to the *gotrāptya* 'grandson, etc.'. Other such examples can be easily derived by following the derivational pattern of many *taddhita* derivates of volume II.

2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu tenaivāstriyām*

Example such (180) *aṅgāḥ* derives from *aṅga* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* where *aṆ* is introduced by rule 4.1.170 *dvyañmagadha...* to denote 'many male descendants'. The affix is termed *tadrāja* by 4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ*. Our present rule (2.4.62 *tadrājasya...*) deletes *aṆ*. The resultant derivate, after *LUK*-deletion of *Ṅas* by 2.4.71 *supo dhātu...*, will still be *aṅga*. One can now introduce the nominative plural ending *Jas* to derive *aṅgāḥ* via *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* (6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*) and *rutva-visarga*. Note that this derivational option with the deletion of affix *aṆ* is made available masculine plural. The singular and dual masculine forms will still be *āṅgaḥ* and *āṅgau* with *vṛddhi* and no-deletion of *aṆ*.

2.4.70 *āgastyakauṇḍinyayor agastikuṇḍinac*

This rule provides for *LUK*-deletion of affixes *aṆ* and *yaÑ* when their denotata is 'many'. It also allows for *agasti* and *kuṇḍinaC* to replace *agasta* and *kuṇḍinī*. Obviously, derivates with one or two (non-plural) denotata will not involve affixal deletion, or stated replacements. Thus, we will get. (181) *agastayaḥ* derived from *agastya* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka...*). The deletion of affix *aṆ* as with the concurrent replacement will produce

agasti, a new derivate. One can easily derive *agastayaḥ* from *agasti* + (*J*→∅) *as* via *guṇa* by 7.3.109 *jasi ca*, and the *ay* replacement of the resultant *e* by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Thus, *agast(i→e→ay)* + *as* = *agastay* + *a(s→r(U→∅))* = *agastayaḥ*. Here again, the singular and dual derivates will still be *āgastyaḥ* and *āgastyau* with no affixal deletion, or replacement permitted.

Similar rules apply in deriving (182) *kuṇḍināḥ* from *kuṇḍina* + (*J*→∅)*as*. This derivation begins with *kuṇḍinī* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* where rule 4.1.105 *gargādibhyo...* introduces affix *yaÑ*. Our present rule deletes the affix and introduces *kuṇḍina* (*C*→∅) as a replacement for *kuṇḍinī*. The final derivate *kuṇḍināḥ* can then be derived from *kuṇḍina* + *Jas*. Once again *kauṇḍinyaḥ* and *kauṇḍinyau* will be the derivates in nominative singular and dual with no deletion of affix *yaÑ* and no replacement in *kuṇḍinaC*.

2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*

Our example (183) *putrīyati* derives from *putrīya* + *LAṬ* where *putrīya*, a verbal root ending in affix (*K*→∅)*ya*(*C*→∅)) introduced after *putra* + *am* by rule 3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ....* The *am* of *putra* + *am* + *ya* is deleted by our present rule consequent upon the assignment of the term *dhātu* by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā....* The *a* of *putra* is replaced with *ī* by rule 7.4.33 *kyaci ca* to produce *putrīya*, a verbal root after which (*LAṬ*→*ti(P)*) and (*Ś*)*a(P)* can be introduced. Thus, *putrīya* + *a* + *ti* = *putrīyati* where 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* replaces the vocalic sequence *a*+*a* with *a*.

Since numerous derivations involving the *LUK*-deletion of *sUP* by this rule have already been explained in the appendix of this and volume II, no further efforts will be made to explain the operational aspects of this rule.

2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*

Example (184) *dveṣṭi* derives from *dviṣ* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* where our present rule deletes *ŚaP*. An application of *guṇa* yields *dv(i→e)ṣ* + *ti* = *dveṣ* + *ti* which after the application of rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* produces *dveṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) = *dveṣṭi*.

2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca*

Note that the derivational details of *loluvaḥ* and *popuvaḥ* have already been presented in the appendix of volume II. Example (185) *pāpaṭhīti* derives from *paṭh* + (*yaṄ*→∅) where this rule orders the *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*. Operations relative to doubling will apply on *paṭh* to produce *paṭh* + *paṭh*→ *pa* + *paṭh* = *pa* + *paṭh* where 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ* will order the legthening of the duplicated syllable: *p(a→ā)* + *paṭh* = *pāpaṭh*, a verbal root by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. The resultant string *pāpaṭh* + *ŚaP* + *ti(P)* will be subject to *LUK*-deletion of *ŚaP* whereby we will get: *pāpaṭh* + *ti*. Rule 7.3.94 *yaṅo vā* will then introduce *ī(Ṭ*→∅) to produce *pāpaṭh* + *ī* + *ti* = *pāpaṭhīti*. Similar application of rules will derive (186) *lālapīti* 'chirps again and again' and (187) *vāvadīti* from verbal roots *lap* and *vad*.

2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*

Note that *juhoti* has already been derived as example (250) in the appendix of volume II. Deriving (188) *bibharti* from *(bhṛ + (ŚaP→ŚLU-deletion)) + ti(P→∅)))*is not very difficult given numerous other derivations involving doubling. Doubling will produce *bhṛ + bhṛ + ti* which, in turn, produces *bhar + bhṛ + ti* via the application of rule 7.4.66 *ur at* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*. The resultant string *(bh(ṛ→ar) + bhṛ + ti* will produce *bha(r→∅) + bhṛ + ti* after the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Rule 7.4.76 *bhṛñām it* orders *itva* whereby we get: *bh(a→i) + bhṛ + ti*. This string goes through the application of rule 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* whereby its initial *bh* is changed to *b* to produce *(bh→b)i + bhṛ + ti*. The *guṇa* replacement *ar* for the *ṛ* of *bhṛ* by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* can easily produce *bi + bh(ṛ→ar) + ti = bi + bhar + ti = bibharti*.

Our next example (189) *nenekti* is similarly derived from (*ṇij(IR→∅) + ŚaP + ti(P)* where this rule again applies the deletion. The root-initial *ṇ* is changed to *n* by 6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ*. Doubling and *halādi-śeṣa* applies after this to produce *ni(j→∅) + nij + ti* which, through the application of 7.4.75 *nijāṃ trayā...*, becomes *n(i→e) + nij + ti = ne + nij + ti*. The *laghūpadhaguṇa* application of rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* changes this preceding string into: *ne + n(i→e)j + ti*. Deriving *nenekti* from *ne + nej + ti* will need the application of *kutva* 'a replacement in sounds denoted by *ku*' (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) and *cartva* 'a replacement in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *cR*' (8.4.55 *khari ca*). Thus: *ne + ne(j→g) + ti = ne + ne(g→k) + ti = nenekti*.

2.4.76 *bahulaṃ chandasi*

Examples (190) *dāti* and (191) *dhāti* derive from *dā + (LAṬ→ tiP)* and *dhā + (LAṬ→tiP)* where no *ŚLU* applies to the *ŚaP* of these roots. Instead, the deletion takes place by *LUK*. A lack of *ŚLU* also results into no doubling by 6.1.10 *ślau*. The derivation thus becomes very straightforward. Note that these roots belong to the *juhotyādi* class; and as such, doubling, etc., should have applied. But they do not at the strength of *bahulam*.

The same effect of *bahulam* enables the application of doubling, etc., where there is no scope. Consider now the example (192) *vivaṣṭi* which derives from *vaś + ti(P)*. We get the example (193) *vaṣṭi* in the classical language where *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *LUK*. Our example in the Vedic at the strength of *bahulam* enables the verbal root *vaś* to go through *dvitva* 'doubling' even though it does not belong to the *juhotyādi* class. It is a root of the *adādi* class which has its *ŚaP* go through *ŚLU* at the strength of *bahulam*. This of course will occasion the application of operations relative to doubling. The result will be: *vaś + vaś + ti = va + vaś + ti*. The *bahulam* provision of this rule will also provide for the *itva* of *va* to produce *v(a→i) + vaś + ti = vi + vaś + ti*. The *ś* of the string will be changed

to *ṣ* to produce *vi* + *vaṣ* + *ti* by the application of rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasja....* The *t* of *ti* will then be changed to *ṭ* by rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* to produce *vivaṣ* + *(t→ṭ)i* = *vivaṣṭi.*

Similar rule applications will produce (194) *vivakti* through subsequent *kutva* of *viva(c→k)ti.*

2.4.79 *tanādibhyastathāsoḥ*

This rule provides for sets of optional derivates such as (195) *atata* and (196) *atanişṭa*; and (197) *atathāḥ* and (198) *atanişṭhāḥ* from *tan* + *sIC* + *ta* and *tan* + *sIC* + *thās*, each resulting into two forms depending on whether or not the option of deleting *sIC* is availed. Thus, with the augment *a(Ṭ→∅)* and deletion of *sIC* we will get the *ta* form *a* + *tan* + *ta*. It will produce *ata(n→∅)* + *ta* through the deletion of *n* by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa....* Of course, the *ātmanepada* will be introduced by 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ....* A non-deletion option of *sIC* would give a parallel form *atanişṭa* from *a* + *tan* + *i(Ṭ→∅)* + *s(IC→∅)* + *ta* where the *s* of *sIC* will be replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) of 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*. Further application of *ṣṭutva* by 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* will produce *a* + *tan* + *i* + *ṣ* + *(t→ṭ)a* = *atanişṭa*. Deriving *atathāḥ* and *atanişṭhāḥ* offer nothing new except for the *rutva-visarga*.

2.4.80 *mantre ghasahvaraṇaśavṛdahād...*

Refer to derivation (233) *akṣan* in the appendix of volume II. Example (199) *mā hvaḥ* derives from *hvṛ* + *LUṄ* where affix *LUṄ* is introduced after verbal root *hvṛ* cooccurring with *mā(Ṅ→∅)* by rule 3.3.175 *māṅi luṅ*. Note that *CLI* of *mā hvṛ* + *(LUṄ→ti(P→∅)* will be deleted by our present rule. Rule 3.4.100 *itaś ca* will as usual delete the *i* of *ti*. The introduction of augment *aṬ* will be blocked by rule by 6.4.74 *na māṅyoge*. The string with these applications will become: *mā hvṛ* + *t(i→∅)* = *mā hvṛ* + *t*. The *guṇa* application of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha...*, read with 1.1.5 *uraṇ raparaḥ*, will produce *mā hv(ṛ→ar)* + *t* = *mā hvar* + *t*. The *t* will now be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...* to yield *mā* + *hvar* = *mā hvar* which through *rutva-visarga* will produce *mā hva(r→ḥ)* = *mā hvaḥ.*

Our next derivate (200) *praṇaṅ* as in *praṇaṅ martyasya* is again a *LUṄ* derivate of verbal root *ṇaś* used with *pra* where the *ṇ* of the root has been replaced with *n* by rule 6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ*. Note, however, that after the deletion of *CLI*; blocking of *aṬ* because of the cooccurrence condition of *māṄ* in the full *mantra* of which *praṇaṅ* is a part; and the deletion of *i* as well as of *t* of *ti*; rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi* will again order the *ṇ* to replace the *n* of *pra* + *naś* to produce *pra* + *ṇaś*. The final *ś* of the string will go through *kutva* of rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* whereby we will get *pra* + *ṇa(ś→g)*. This resultant *g* will be finally changed into *ṅ* to yield *pra* + *ṇa(g→ṅ)* = *praṇaṅ* of *praṇaṅ martyasya* by rule 8.4.45 *yaro' nunāsike....*

The next derivate (201) *āvaḥ* derives from *ā(Ṅ→∅)* + *vṛ(Ñ→∅)* = *āvṛ* + *tiP* similarly to *hvaḥ* of *mā hvaḥ*. Note that because of an absence of the cooccurrence of *māṄ*, the augment *aṬ* cannot be blocked here. Thus, we

will get *ā* + *a*(*Ṭ*→∅)) + *vṛ* via *savarṇadīrgha*. Other derivational details are same as in *hvaḥ*.

The next example (202) *dhak* is a derivative of *dah* where *LUṄ* has been replaced with the second person singular *parasmaipada* ending *si*(*P*→∅). Of course, this example will be derived with the blocking of the augment *aṬ* because of the cooccurrence of *māṄ*. If the root is treated as occurring with *āṄ* then the form will be *ādhak* where the initial long *ā* will be gotten through *savarṇadīrgha* of *ā* + *a*(*Ṭ*→∅)) similarly to *āvaḥ*. I shall now return to the derivation of *dhak* from *dah* + *si* similarly to the other examples. The *si* as well as *CLI* will also be deleted here. The *h* of the remaining *dah* will be replaced with *gh* to produce: *da(h→gh)* via the application of 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ*. The *d* of the resultant *dagh* will further be replaced with *dh* via the application of rule 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo jhasantasya*. The form will now be (*d*→*dh*)*a* + *gh* = *dha* + *gh*. The final *gh* will be first replaced with *g* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo nte*); and then with *k* by rule 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*. This will give us *dha(gh→g→k)* = *dhak*. Since this last rule application is optional one can still retain *dhag* as the derivative.

One can similarly derive (203 *āprāḥ* as a derivative of verbal root *prā* used with the preverb *āṄ* where *LUṄ* gets replaced with *siP* additionally to the introduction of the augment *aṬ*. Our string *āṄ* + *aṬ* + *prā* + *siP* will as usual produce *āprās* where contrary to the preceding example the deletion of *s* is not undertaken. The desired form *āprāḥ* is then gotten via *rutvavisarga*.

Deriving (204) *parāvark* from *parā* + *v(ṛ→ar)j* + *t(i→∅)*) = *parā* + *a*(*Ṭ*→∅) + *varj a* (*t*→∅) = *par(ā+a)* = *parā* + *var(j→g→k))* = *parāvark* should not be difficult to comprehend. The *guṇa* application in *v(ṛ→ar)j* + *ti* is that of the *laghūpadha* type.

The next two examples (205) *akran*, and (206) *agman* are both third person plural *LUṄ*-derivates where *jhi* comes as its replacement after verbal roots *kṛ*, and *gam*. Our third example (207) *ajñata*, a derivate of verbal root *jan*, entails the replacement of its *LUṄ* by the third person plural *ātmanepada* ending *jha*. All these examples also entail the deletion of *CLI* (by this rule) and the introduction of augment *aṬ*. The *jh* gets replaced with *ant* of 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ* and the *i* of *anti* as usual gets deleted. The *t* of *akṛ* + *ant* will go through its deletion by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopah*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will apply on *akṛ* + *an* to produce *ak(ṛ→r)* + *an* = *akran*. Example (206) *agman* is relatively easier to derive. Rule 6.4.98 *gamahanajana...* applies on *ajan* + *jha* to delete the penultimate *a* of *jan* whereby we get: *aj* + *n* + *jh*. The *jh* at the end of the string gets replaced with *ata* to yield *aj* + *n* + (*jh*→*at*)*a* = *aj* + *n* + *ata* via the application of rule 7.1.5 *ātmanepadeṣv*.... This string *aj* + *n* + *ata* will now go through the *ścutva* of 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* to yield: *aj* + (*n*→*ñ*) + *ata* = *ajñata*.

3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*

This rule is formulated by way of providing accent for items introduced as affixes. An example such as (207) *kartavyam* is derived by introducing affix (3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*) *tavyaT* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*) after (3.1.2 *paraś ca*) verbal root *(ḌU)kṛ(Ñ)* via the application of *guṇa* of *ṛ* by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*. Thus, *k(ṛ→ar)* + *tavya(T→∅)* = *kar* + *tavya*, which will be termed a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*), and consequently, will receive affix *sU* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ...*). This *sU*, however, will be replaced with *am* by rule 7.1.24 *ato' m* to produce *kartavya* + *(sU→am)* = *kartavya* + *am*. An application of rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will change the string *kartavya* + *am* into *kartavy(a+a→a)m* = *kartavyam*. One can also optionally apply rule 8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāḥ dve* for doubling up the *t* in *kartavyam* to produce *karttavyam*. But this still is not the complete story.

Our present rule is an accent rule. It assigns the *udātta* accent on the initial syllable of the affix. Thus, *távyaT* will be marked *udātta* initially as shown. The final accentuation of *kartavyam* will have to wait for provisions of rules 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padaṃ ekavarjam* (read with the *Mbh.* statement *sati śiṣṭasvaro balīyān*) and 8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ* to furnish the final accent as *kartavyám*.

Example (208) *taittirīyam* derives from *tittiri* + *Ṭā* + *cha(Ṇ→∅)* where the *taddhita* (4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*) affix *chaṆ* has been introduced after *tittiri* + *Ṭā* through the variable reference of the affixal denotatum of *tena proktam* 'stated/promulgated by X' (4.1.101 *tena proktam*). The affix is introduced by rule 4.3.102 *tittirivaratantu....* The *ch* of *tittiri* + *cha* is replaced with *īy* to produce *tittiri* + *īy* + *a* under the provisions of rule 7.1.2 *āyaneyinīyiyaḥ....* Our final form *taittirīya* will be produced by the applications of rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* and 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The first rule will order the *vṛddhi* substitute *ai* for the first *i* of *tittiri* where as the second will delete its last *i*. Thus, *t(i→ai)ttir(i→∅)* + *īya* = *taittir* + *īya* = *taittirīya*. The nominative singular ending *sU* introduced after the nominal stem *taittirīya* will produce *taittirīyam* similarly to *karttavyam* though again with a little detail on the accentuation.

The replacement *īy* will be marked *udātta* via the *sthānivadbhāva* provision of rule 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*. This will set aside the accent of the base as per the *satiśiṣṭasvara* provision made by the statement of the *Mbh.* under rule 6.1.158 *anudāttam....* The final accent is again determined as shown in case of the earlier example as: *taittīrīyám*. Note that the base *tittiri* is itself marked *udātta* at its final *i* (*antodātta*) by *Phiṭsūtra* 1 : *phiṣo' nta udāttaḥ*.

3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*

This again is an accent rule whereby affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*, or those marked with *P* as their *it*, are marked *anudātta*.

Our first example (209) *dṛṣadau* derives from *dṛṣad* + *au* where *dṛṣad* is a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*) terminating in the *uṇādi* affix *ad(I→∅)*. This affix is introduced after verbal root *dṝ* where *ṣ(UK→∅)* is also introduced as an augment. Thus, *dṛṣ* + *ad* = *dṛṣad*. I do not show here the detailed derivation since *bāhulaka* is also involved with the *uṇādi* derivates. Affix *au* is of course the nominative dual introduced after *dṛṣad*. This ending in view of our present rule will be marked *anudātta* with the understanding that the final accent of *dṛṣadau* will be decided in view of 8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ* as follows: *dṛṣadaú*.

The nominative plural form (210) *dṛṣadáḥ* can be similarly derived from *dṛṣad* + *(J→∅)as* = *dṛṣad* + *a (s→r→ḥ))* via placement of *Jas* and *rutva-visarga*.

I have already shown the derivation of *pacati* (as derivation (488) in the appendix of volume II). I shall here explain only its accentuation. Rule 6.1.162 *dhātoḥ* will assign the *udātta* accent to the *a* of verbal root *pac*. The two affixal elements, *tiP* and *ŚaP*, of the underlying string *pac* + *tiP* = *pac* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*, will both, in view of our present rule, be marked with *anudātta*. For, they are both marked with *P* as their *it*. The result is: *pac* + *a* + *ti*. The *a* will then be changed to *svarita* by 8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*. Rule 1.2.39 *svaritāt saṃhitāyām* will then intervene to assign *ekaśruti* 'monotone' to the *ti* to produce the final accent as: *pacáti*. The same goes for examples such as *paṭháti*.

3.1.5 *guptijkidbhyaḥ san*

I have already discussed the derivational history of numerous *saN*-derivates. Deriving (211) *jugupsate* and (212) *titikṣate* from *gup* + *sa* and *tij* + *sa* should not pose any difficulty. For example, doubling and *halādiśeṣa* will produce: *gu* + *gup* + *sa* and *ti* + *tij* + *sa*. The initial *g* of *gup* + *gup* + *sa* will be replaced with *j* via *cutva* of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. Thus, *(g→j)u* + *gup* + *sa* = *jugupsa*. The *j* of our string *ti* + *tij* + *sa* will go through *kutva* under the application of rule 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*. The result of this rule application, i.e, *ti* + *ti(j→g)* + *sa*, is processed by rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* to produce: *ti* + *ti(g→k)* + *sa*. Finally, the *s* of *titik* + *sa* will be replaced with *ṣ* to produce the verbal root *ti* + *tik* + *(s→ṣ)a* = *titikṣa* by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Deriving *jugupsate* and *titikṣate* from *jugupsa* + *LAṬ* and *titikṣa* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* gets replaced with the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* is fairly straightforward.

Note that the *saN* introduced by this rule does not qualify for the assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* by rule 3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ* mostly because it has not been introduced with the direct specification of *dhātoḥ* as is the case with the *saN* introduced, for example, by rule 3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ*.... Consequently, there is no introduction of augment *iṬ* in case of (211) *jugupsate*.

3.1.6 *mānbadhadānśānbhyo*...

Our examples (213) *mīmāṃsate*, (214) *bībhatsate*, (215) *dīdāṃsate*, and (216) *śīśāṃsate* all entail a corresponding long vowel replacement for the vowel of their reduplicated syllable (*abhyāsa*). This constitutes an additional provision made by rule 2.1.6 *mānbadhadān....* The first example contains the verbal root *mīmānsa* which, in turn, derives from *mān* + *sa*. We will get the string *mā* + *mān* + *sa* after doubling (*dvitva*) and *halādi-śeṣa*. Rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* will require the shortening of *mā* to produce: *m(ā→a)* + *mān* +*sa* which with the application of *itva* by 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*: *m(a→i)* + *mān* + *sa*. Our present rule will now order the long vowel replacement for the short *i* of *mi* to produce: *m(i→ī)* + *mān* + *sa* = *mīmānsa*. An introduction of *LAṬ* and related operations will derive *mīmānsate*. Similar application of rules are also involved in deriving *dīdāṃsate*. Note, however, 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* orders the *n* to be replaced with the *anusvāra* in all cases except for (214) *bībhatsate*. This example derives from *badh* +*sa* which, through doubling and related operations including the lengthening of this rule, will produce *bī* + *badh* + *sa*. Rule 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo jhaṣ...*will now apply to replace the *b* of *badh* with *bh*. That is, *bī* + *(b→bh)adh* + *sa* = *bībhadh* + *sa*. Rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* will now apply to yield: *bībha(dh→t)* + *sa* = *bībhatsa*. Affix *LAṬ* replaced with the third singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* after *bībhatsa* can easily produce *bībhatsate*.

3.1.15 *karmaṇo romanthatapobhyāṃ...*

Deriving (217) *romanthāyate* and (218) *tapasyati* from *romantha* + *am* + *KyaṄ* and *tapas* + *am* + *KyaṄ* follows the pattern of many similar derivations already shown in the appendix of the earlier volume. Rule 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ* will order the lengthening of the final *a* of *romanmth(a→ā)* + *am* + *ya*. The *am* as usual will be deleted by 2.4.71 *supodhātu...*after the assignment of the term *dhātu*. The *Ṅ* as an *it* will require the selection of an *ātmanepada* (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*) ending *ta* after *romanthāya* to derive *romanthāyate*. Note that *tapasya* will be used with the *parasmaipada* ending *ti* in view of the *vārttika: tapasaḥ parasmaipadaṃ ca*.

The derivational history of the following derivates in *KyaC* is also similar. The *KyaC* will require the selection of *parasmaipada* endings as opposed to the *ātmanepada* of *KyaṄ*.

3.1.22 ***dhātor ekāco halādeḥ kriyāsamabhihāre...***

Examples (219) *pāpacyate*, (220) *yāyajyate*, (221) *jvājalyate* and (222) *dedīpyate* derive from verbal roots *pac*, *yaj*, *jval* and *dīpI* with the introduction of affix *yaṄ* where its *Ṅit* status will as usual require the *LAṬ* to be replaced with *ātmanepada*. Apply, on *pac* + *ya(Ṅ→0)*, rules similar to (185) *pāpaṭhīti* for deriving *pāpacya* after which *LAṬ→ta→te*, *ŚaP*, and a single *guṇa*-replacement like the following (*pararūpa*) by 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will derive *pāpacyate*. Similar rules will apply in deriving *yāyajyate*. Note that the application of 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnāṃ...* whereby *samprasāraṇa* may become applicable in case of *yāyajyate* is blocked because of the lack

of the *Kit* status of affix *yaṄ*. Example (222) *dedīpyate* entails the application of *guṇa (d(ī→e)* + *dīp* + *ya* by 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*.

3.1.23 *nityaṃ kauṭilye gatau*

Example (223) *caṅkramyate* derives from *kram* + *yaṄ* which after doubling and related operations produces *ka* + *kram* + *ya*. An application of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* applies *cutva* to yield *(k→c)a* + *kram* + *ya* = *ca* + *kram* + *ya*. Augment *nUK* is now introduced to change the string to *ca* + *n* *(UK→Ø)* + *kramya*. This *n* as usual will be replaced with *anusvāra* by 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya*.... A further application of rule 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* on the resultant string *caṃ* + *kram* + *ya* will replace the *anusvāra* with *ṅ* to produce: *caṅkramya*. The final derivate *caṅkramyate* can now be derived very easily. Similar rules will apply in deriving (224) *dandramyate* from *dram* + *yaṄ*.

3.1.24 *lupasadacarajapajabhadaha...*

Our example (225) *lolūyate* can be easily derived from *lup* + *yaṄ* through doubling, *halādiśeṣa*, and subsequent *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* by 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ*. The result will be a verbal root: *lup* + *ya (N→Ø)* = *(lup→lu)* + *lup* + *ya* = *l(u→o)* + *lup* + *ya* = *lolupya*. An introduction of *LAṬ→ta* with subsequent application of relavant rules will produce: *lolupyạte*.

The derivation of (226) *sāsadyate* from *sad* + *yaṄ* entails legthening of the *a* of the *abhyāsa* by 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitiḥ*. The resultant root *sāsadya* will receive *LAṬ* to derive *sāsadyate*. Our example (227) *cañcūryate* requires the augment *nUK* to derive: *ca* + *n(UK→Ø)* + *car* + *ya* = *ca* + *n* + *car* + *ya* after doubling and subsequent *halādiśeṣa*. The *a* of *car* occurring subsequent to the *abhyāsa* will be replaced with *u* by rule 7.4.88 *utparasyātaḥ*. This will produce *ca* + *n* + *c (a→u)r* + *ya* = *cancurya*. This *u* will now be lengthened by 8.2.77 *hali ca* to derive *canc(u→ū)ūrya*, again a verbal root. Introduction of *LAṬ→t(a→e)* with the subsequent addition of *(S→Ø)a (P→Ø)* will yield *cancūryate*. The *n→ṃ→ñ* change to arrive at *ca (n→ṃ→ñ)cūryate* = *cañcūryate* involves the application of rules similar to the last step of (223) *caṅkramyate*.

The derivation of (228) *jañjapyate* involves similar rule application except that *nUK* is here introduced by 7.4.86 *japajabhadahadaśabhañja*.... Similar rules will apply in deriving examples such as (229) *jañjabhyate*, (230) *dandahyate*, and (231) *dandaśyate*. This last example will have the deletion of its first *ṃ* by rule 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal...* at the derivational stage of doubling prior to *halādiśeṣa* as follows: *da(ṃ→Ø)ś* + *daṃś* + *ya* = *daś* + *daṃś* + *ya*. One can now apply *halādiśeṣa*, *nUK*, and other rules as indicated to derive *dandaśyate*.

The derivational history of (232) *nijegilyate* entails the application of *itva* of rule 7.1.100 *ṛt id dhātoḥ* in the *aṅga* section (6.4.1 *aṅgasya*; 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis...*). This replacement of *ṛ* of *gṛ* + *ya(N→Ø)* = *gṛ* + *ya* will produce *g (ṛ→ir)* + *ya* as per 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*. Our string *gir* + *ya*

will produce *gi* + *gir* + *ya* through doubling and related operations. The *cutva* of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* followed by the *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* by 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* will produce: *(g→j)i* + *gir* + *ya* = *j(i→e)* + *gir* + *ya* = *je* + *gir* + *ya*. The *r* of *gir* will go through a replacement in *l* (*latva*) by 8.2.20 *gro yaṅi*. Thus, *jegi(r→l)ya* = *jegilya*, a verbal root. Our example derives from *(nijegilya* + *(LAṬ→t(a→e))* where verbal root *jegilya* is used with the preverb *ni*.

3.1.25 *satyāpapāśavīṇātūla...*

Note that the final *a* in *satyāp(a)* is to facilitate pronunciation (*uccāraṇārtha*). The derivate *satyāp* entails the introduction of augment *āpUK* by *nipātana*. An introduction of affix (*Ṇ*→∅)*i*(*C*→∅) will produce *satyāpi* which will be assigned the term *dhātu* by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Our next example (233) *satyāpayati* can be derived from *satyāpi* + *(LAṬ→ti* (*P*→∅) = *satyāpi* + *ti* where rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...* will cause the *guṇa* of *i* before (*Ś*→∅)*a*(*P*→∅), a *sārvadhātuka* (3.1.113 *tiṅśit...*), to produce *satyāp (i→e)* + *a* + *ti*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will now replace the resultant *e* with *ay* to derive *satyāp(e→ay)* + *a* + *ti* = *satyāpayati*. All the other nominal stems will similarly derive (234) *vipāśayati* (with the root used with *vi*), (235) *rūpayati*, (236) *upavīṇayati* (with the root used with *upa*), (237) *anutūlayati* (with the root used with *anu*), (238) *upaślokayati* (with the root used with *upa*), (239) *abhiṣeṇayati* (with the root used with *abhi*), (240) *anulomayati* (with the root used with *anu*), (241) *tvacayati*, (242) *saṃvarmayati* (with the root used with *sam*), (243) *varṇayati*, and (244) *avacūrṇayati* (with the root used with *ava*). Note that stems such as *tvaca* which are given with the final *a* will go through the deletion of this *a* before affix *ṆiC* by rule 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*. A feminine stem such as *senā* will go through *puṃvadbhāva*.

The verbal derivates of the class headed by *cur*, etc., pose no difficulty. For example, (245) *corayati* derives from *cur* + (*Ṇ*→∅)*i*(*C*→∅) = *cur* + *i* = *c(u→o)r* + *i* = *cori* where the *laghūpadhaguṇa* '*guṇa*-replacement for the short penultimate vowel' of the root is ordered by 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*. The resultant derivates of *ṆiC* will all be reassigned the term *dhātu* by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ* so that *LAṬ* can be introduced. Our string *cori* + *LAṬ* should subsequently produce *corayati* similarly to the *guṇa* and *e→ay* replacement of (233) *satyāpayati*.

3.1.28 *gupūdhūpavicchipaṇipanibhya āyaḥ*

Examples such as (246) *gopāyati*, (247) *dhūpāyati*, (248) *vicchāyati*, (249) *paṇāyati* and (250) *panāyati* do not pose any derivational problems. The first *gopāyati* will entail *laghūpadhaguṇa* similarly to *corayati* of the earlier rule. I omit here the details of deriving *gopāyati* from *gopāya*, the resultant *dhātu* via placement of *LAṬ→tiP* and related operations.

3.1.30 *kamer ṇiṅ*

Deriving (251) *kāmayate* from *kāmi* + *(LAṬ→t(a→e)* = *kāmi* + *te* is not

problematic. The *vṛddhi* in *k(a→ām)* + (*Ṇ*→∅)*i*(*Ṅ*→∅) = *kām* + *i* = *kāmi* is accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* because of the *Ṇ* as an *it* in the affix. This, of course, brings an *ātmanepada* affix as a replacement for *LAṬ* by rule 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita....*

3.1.31 *āyādaya ārddhadhātuke vā*

Our example (252) *goptā* is a *LUṬ*-derivate (3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*) of verbal root *gup* where, given *gup* + *LUṬ*, affix *āya* became available from rule 3.1.28 *gupūdhūpavicchi....* This rule optionally blocks this introduction of *āya*. Follow the derivational hostory of (43) *kaṇitā* (in the appendix of volume II) to derive *goptā* from *gup* + *LUṬ*. Remember, however, that verbal root *gup* is marked with *U* as an *it*. This, under the provisions of rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyati...*, will cause the optional introduction of augment *iṬ*. Our example *goptā* does not avail the option of introducing *iṬ*. But if one avails this option, the example parallel to *goptā* will be (253) *gopitā*.

A third form (254) *gopāyitā* will be derived from *gup* + *āya* = *gopāya*; and *gopāya* + *LUṬ* where *gopāya* will be the newly derived verbal root. Deriving *gopāya* from *gup* + *āya* through *guṇa* of *u* under the condition of the *ārddhadhātuka* affix *āya* is not problematic. Deriving *gopāyitā* from *gopāya* + *tās* (refer to the derivation of *kaṇitā* in the appendix of volume II) entails the introduction of *iṬ* by rule 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ....* The *a* of *āya* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. Thus, *gopāy(a→∅)* + *i*(*Ṭ*→∅) + *tās* = *gopāyitā*.

Similar rules will apply in deriving (255) *arttitā* from *ṛt* + *LUṬ* where the *īyaṄ* option of rule 3.1.29 *ṛter īyaṅ* is not availed. An option to introduce *īyaṄ* will derive (256) *ṛtīyitā* from *ṛt* + *īya* + *iṬ* + *tās* where the *a* of *īya* will be deleted similarly to that of *āya*. Parallel derivations such as (257) *kamitā* and (258) *kāmayitā* can be made from *kam* + *tās* and *kam* + *iṬ* + *īya* + *tās* depending on whether the option of *ṆiṄ* is accepted. The *vṛddhi* of *kam* in *kāmayitā* with the option of *ṆiṄ* will be accomplished by rule 7.2.116 *ata 'upadhāyāḥ*.

3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*

Refer again to (43) *kaṇitā* in the appendix of volume II for deriving (259) *mantā* and (260) *saṃgantā* from *man* + *tās* + (*Ḍ*)*ā* and *samgam* + *tās* + (*Ḍ*)*ā*. The *m* of *gam* will go through *parasavarṇa* application of rule 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*.

3.1.34 *sib bahulaṃ leṭi*

The derivation of (261) *joṣiṣat* begins with *juṣ* + *LEṬ* where affix *LEṬ* is introduced by rule 3.4.7 *liṅarthe leṭ*. Augment *aṬ* is introduced by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...*to produce: *juṣ* + *i*(*Ṭ*→∅) + *LEṬ* which after the *tiP* replacement of *LEṬ* becomes: *juṣ* + *i* + *ti*. Our present rule then introduces *s*(*IP*→∅) to realize: *juṣ* + *i* + *s* + *ti*. A subsequent application of rule 3.4.94 *leṭo' ḍāṭau* introduces *a*(*Ṭ*→∅) to *LEṬ* to yield *juṣ* + *i* + *s* + *a* + *ti*.

Rule 3.4.94 *itaś ca lopaḥ parasmaipadeṣu* will then delete the *i* of *ti* to produce *juṣ + i + s + a + t (i→∅) = juṣ + i + s + a + t*. The application of *guṇa* (7.2.35 *sārvadhātukārddha...*) followed by the *s→ṣ* replacement of 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ* will finally produce *j(u→o)ṣ + i + (s→ṣ) + a + t = joṣiṣat*. Note further that the *parasmaipada* of this example is ad hoc justifiable via 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*.

Similar rules derive (262) *tāriṣat* from *tṝ* where the *a* of *tar + i + s + a + t* after the *guṇa* of the root-vowel will be replaced with *ā* to produce: *t(a→ā)r + i + s + a + t = tāriṣat*. This replacement by *ā* is also ad hoc justifiable via 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*. Affix *sIP*, with reference to a *vārttika* proposal (ad this rule; *sib bahulaṃ chandasi ṇit*), can be variously treated as if marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*. This can facilitate *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ñ ṇiti*. Thus, *t(ṝ→ār) + s... = tāriṣat*.

Deriving (263) *mandiṣat* from *madI + LEṬ* entails the introduction of augment *nUM* by rule 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*. This will turn the string initially into *ma (n (UM→∅) d +s + ti*. Subsequent operational steps will realize *mand + i + (s→ṣ) + a + t = mandiṣat*. Here again the *parasmaipada* justifiable via *vyatyaya*.

3.1.38 *uṣavidajāgṛbhyo' nyatarasyām*

This rule allows for the optional introduction of affix *ām* after verbal roots *uṣA, vida,* and *jāgṛ*. I have already shown many such derivations though with *cakre* for which see the appendix of volume II under rule 1.3.63 *āmpratyayavat....* This rule requires the use of (264) *cakāra*, a *parasmaipada* of *kṛ* used here as an iterant (*anuprayoga*) as opposed to its *ātmanepada* form *cakre*. For, these roots are *parasmaipada*. Thus, *kṛ + LIṬ→ ti(P→∅) = kṛ + ti* where *ti* is replaced with *(N→∅)a(L→∅)* of 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām ṇalatusus....* Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya* now applies doubling (*dvitva*) to produce: *kṛ + kṛ*. Rule 7.4.66 *ur at* then orders *a* as a replacement for *ṛ* which becomes *ar* in view of rule 1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*. The string now becomes *k(ṛ→ar) + kṛ + a = kar + kṛ + a*. This string becomes *ca + kṛ + a* through the *r*-deletion of *kar* via *halādiśeṣa*, and the *cutva* of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. Thus: *ka (r→∅) + kṛ + a = (k→c)a + kṛ + a = ca + kṛ + a*. Rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* subsequently applies *vṛddhi* to bring about *ca + k(ṛ→ār) + a = cakāra*. Deriving (265) *oṣāñcakāra*, (266) *vidāñcakāra*, and (257) *jāgarāñcakāra* through the introduction of *ām* after *uṣ, vida* and *jāgṛ* is not very difficult. The first and the third derivate would entail *(laghūpadha)guṇa*. Thus, *(u→o)ṣ + ām + cakāra = oṣāñcakāra*, etc. Verbal root *vida* has been specified, through ad hoc (*nipātana*) as ending in *a* (*adanta*). This *a* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. The question of *laghūpadhaguṇa* in case of *vid + ām* does not arise because the deleted *a* becomes present through *sthānivadbhāva*. This rules out the presence of an *iK* in the penultimate position, a requirement for the application of *laghūpadhaguṇa*. The other rule applications are not hard to comprehend.

3.1.39 *bhīhrībhrūhuvāṃ...*

This rule transfers operations similar to *ŚLU*, i.e., doubling by 6.1.10 *ślau*, and *itva* by 7.4.76 *bhṛñām it*. Examples (267) *bibhayāñcakāra*/(268) *bibhāya*; (269) *jihrayāñcakāra*/(270) *jihrāya*; and (271) *juhavāñcakāra*/(272) *juhāva* illustrate this.

Our first example *bibhayāñcakāra* is derived from *bhī* + *LIT* where *LIT* gets deleted; and an option of *ām* is accepted. Given *bhī* + *ām* + *kṛ* + *ṆaL* the string goes through doubling to produce *bhī* + *bhī* + *ām*.... I omit here the details of deriving *cakāra* to avoid duplication. After the *itva* of 7.4.76 *bhṛñām* it followed by the application of 8.4.54 *abhyāse carca* we get: *bh(ī→i)* + *bhī* + *ām* = *(bh→b)i* + *bhī* + *ām* = *bi* + *bhī* + *ām*. Deriving *bibhayāñcakāra* from *bi* +*bhi* + *ā* + *cakāra* is easy. Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhaḍhātukyoḥ* offers *guṇa* producing *bi* + *bh (ī→e)* + *ām...* which, in turn, produces *bi* + *bh (e→ay)* + *ām...* through the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Thus, *bi* + *bhay* + *ām* + *cakāra* = *bibhayāñcakāra* where 8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ* changes the *m* of *ām* to *ṃ*. The *anusvāra*, similar to the last step of (223) *caṅkramyate* becomes *ñ*. A string such as *bhī* + *LIṬ* where the option of *ām* is not accepted will produce *bhī* + *a* from *bhī* + *(Ṇ)a(L)* = *bhī* + *bhī* + *a* = *bh(ī→i)* + *bhi* + *a* = *(bh→b)* + *bibhāya* = *bi* + *bhī* +*a*.

An application of *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) followed by *āy* as its replacement by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will produce: *bi* + *bh(ī→ai)* + *a* = *bi* + *bh(ai->āy)* + *a* = *bibhāya*.

Similar rules apply in deriving *jihrayāñcakāra* and *jihrāya* from *hrī* + *hrī* + *ām* + *LIṬ* and *hrī* + *(LIṬ->tiP->ṆaL* where the *h* of the duplicated syllable changes first into *jh* and then into *j* via the application of rules 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* and 8.4.54 *abhyāse carca* respectively. Incidentally, the non-initial *r* of *hrī*, the duplicated syllable, cannot be retained due to special interpretation of the compound *halādi* of rule 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Other examples follow similar derivational history.

3.1.40 *kṛñcānuprayujyate liṭi*

This rule, by interpretation, provides for the iterant, or tagged phrase, also to be constituted by verbal roots *bhū* and *as* in addition to *kṛ*. An example for these new iterants is furnished as (273) *pācayāmbabhūva* and (274) *pācayāmāsa*. Deriving *āsa* of *pācayāmāsa* from *ās* + *ṆaL* is not very difficult. Doubling and related operations will produce *a(s→Ø)* + *as* + *(N→Ø) a (L->Ø)* = *a* + *as* + *a* where the first *a* will be lengthened by 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*. Rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghāḥ* will then apply to produce *(a->ā)* + *as* + *a* = *(ā+a* = *ā)s* + *a* = *āsa*.

The derivation of *babhūva* begins with *bhū* + *(LIṬ->tiP->ṆaL)* = *bhū* + *a* where 6.4.88 *bhuvo vug luṅliṭoḥ* orders the introduction of *vUK*. This changes the string to *bhū* + *vUK* + *a* = *bhūv* + *a*. Doubling and *halādiśeṣa* will produce *bhū(v->Ø)* + *bhū* + *a* = *bhū* + *bhūv* + *a*. Rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* orders the short counterpart for the long vowel of *bhū* only to be subsequently replaced with *a* by rule 7.4.73 *bhavateraḥ*. Thus, *bh(ū→u)* + *bhūv*

+ *a* = *bh(u→a)* + *bhūv* + *a* = *bha* + *bhūv* + *a*. Rule 8.4.54 *abhyāse carca* finally produces *(bh→b)a* + *bhūv* + *a* = *ba* + *bhūv* + *a* = *babhūva* by replacing the *bh* of *bha* with *b*. It should be easier now to understand the derivation of *pācayāmbabhūva* our complete example.

3.1.41 *vidāṃkurvantv ity anyatarasyām*

Let us derive first *kurvantu* of (275) *vidāṅkurvantu*. The derivation begins with verbal root *kṛ* + *(LOṬ→jhi)* where *jh* further gets replaced with *ant* to produce *kṛ* + *(jh→ant)i* = *kṛ* + *anti* by rule 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*. Rule 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhya uḥ* then introduces the *vikaraṇa u* after which the *i* of *anti* is replaced with *u* of 3.4.86 *eruḥ*. Thus, *kṛ* + *u* + *anti* = *kṛ* + *u* + *ant(i→u)* = *kṛ* + *u* + *antu*. A further application of *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ* will produce *k(ṛ→ar)* + *u* + *antu* = *kar* + *u* + *antu*. This string will then go through *utva* of rule 6.4.110 *ata ut sārvadhātuke* to yield *k(a→u)r* + *u* + *antu* = *kuru* + *antu*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will finally produce *kur(u→v)* + *antu* = *kurvantu*.

Let us now return to *vidāṅkurvantu* where, given *vid* + *LOṬ*, affix *ām* is introduced via *nipātana* to produce *vid* + *ām* + *LOṬ*. Blocking the application of *laghūpadhaguṇa* of rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadha...*, in *vid* before *ām*, is again accomplished via *nipātana*. The deletion of *LOṬ* and, the tagged *LOṬ* in *kurvantu*, further emphasizes the ad hoc nature of this derivation. These remarks relative to application of rules in deriving forms such as *vidāṅkurvantu* are made only for explanatory purposes. The derivates under *nipātana* need not be furnished any derivational details.

Our string *vid* + *LOṬ*, in the absence of this optional ad hoc introduction of *ām*, will derive the regular form *vidantu*.

3.1.42 *abhyutsādayāṃprajanayāṃcikayāṃ...chandasi*

This rule again makes optional ad hoc provisions relative to the Vedic usages. The examples in the classical language will still be (276) *abhyudasīṣadat*, etc., derived from *ṣad* + *ṆiC* + *LUṄ* where *abhi* and *ud* are preverbs used with verbal root *ṣadḶ*. Follow derivational steps similarly to (240) *āṭiṭat* in the appendix of volume II till you derive: *abhi* + *ut* + *sād* + *i* + *(C)a(Ṅ)* + *(LUṄ →ti(P)*. Rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* then applies to delete the *i* of *ṆiC*. A subsequent application of rule 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ* on *abhi* + *ut* + *sād* + *(i→∅)* +*a* + *ti* will change the string to *abhi* + *ut* + *s(ā→a)d* + *a* + *ti* = *abhi* + *ut* + *sad* + *a* + *ti*. The *i* of *ti* will be finally deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. Doubling and *halādiśeṣa* will produce: *abhi* + *ut* + *sa(d→∅)* + *sad* + *a* + *t(i→∅)*. The *itva* of *sa* by 7.4.79 *sanyataḥ* via *sanvadbhāva* followed by the lengthening of the resultant *i* of *sa→i* = *s(i→ī)* by 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ* will produce: *abhi* + *ut* + *sī* + *sad* + *a* + *t*. Note here that doubling does not apply to the preverbs as is clear from numerous derivations already explained. I have carried the preverbs just for explanatory purposes; also for keeping track of the full derivational string. Incidentally, I should

also have brought rule 6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅ*...whereby augment *a(Ṭ)* will be introduced to the root. This will change the string to: *abhi* + *ut* + *sī* + *sad* + *a* + *ti* = *abhi* + *ut* + *a(Ṭ)* + *sī* + *sad* + *a* + *t* = *abhi* + *ut* + *sī* + *sad* + *a* + *t*. Refer to the derivational history of (240) *āṭiṭat* (volume II) and (166) *adhyajīgapat*, under rule 2.4.51 *ṇau ca*...for systematic application of rules.

Note, however, that the *i* of *abhi* will be replaced with *y* through the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. The *s* of *sad* will be similarly replaced with *ṣ* via the application of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Thus, *abh (i→y)* + *ud* + *a* + *sī* + *(s→ṣ)ad* + *a* + *t* = *abhy* + *ud* + *a* + *sī* + *ṣad* +*a* + *t* = *abhyud* + *asīṣadat* = *abhyudasīṣadat*.

3.1.45 *śala igupadhād aniṭaḥ ksaḥ*

Our examples (277) *adhukṣat* and (278) *alikṣat* are *LUṄ*-derivates of *duh* and *lih*. The underlying strings as usual are: *a(Ṭ→Ø)* + *duh* + *(LUṄ→ tiP→t)* = *a* + *duh* + *CLI* + *t* where this rule introduces *Ksa* as a replacement for *CLI*. The resultant string, i.e., *a* + *duh* + *(CLI→(K→Ø)sa* + *t* =*a* + *duh* + *sa* + *t* goes through the application of rule 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ* whereby the *h* of *duh* is replaced with *gh*. The *d* of *du(h→gh)* is also replaced with *dh* by rule 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo bhaṣ*.... This changes the string to *a* + *du(h→gh)* + *sa* + *t* = *a* + *(d→dh)ugh* + *sa* + *t*. The *gh* is then replaced with *k* by rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* to produce *a* + *dhu(gh→k)* + *sa* + *t* = *adhuk* + *sat*. The *s* of the string will then be replaced with *ṣ* to realize *adhuk* + (*s* → *ṣ*) *at* = *adhukṣat* by 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Note that the root was subject to the application of *laghūpadhaguṇa* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) which was blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. Similar application of rules will derive (278) *alikṣat*. Note, however, that the *h* of *lih* is replaced with *ḍh* by 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*. The *ḍh* is then replaced with *k* by rule 8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si*.

3.1.47 *na dṛśaḥ*

This rule does not allow the *Ksa*-replacement for the *CLI* occurring after *dṛśIR* 'to see'. Rule 3.1.57 *irito vā* applies instead to optionally introduce *a(Ṅ)*. The string at this stage will be *a* + *dṛś* + *(CLI→a(Ṅ)* + *t* = *a* + *dṛś* + *a* + *t*. Note that *aṄ* replaces *CLI* at the strength of *IR* as an *it* in the root. The *ṛ* of the root does not go through *laghūpadhaguṇa* before *aṄ* because 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* blocks it. The *guṇa* instead is brought about by 7.4.16 *ṛdṛśo' ṅi guṇah*. Thus, *a* + *d(ṛ→ar)ś* + *a* + *t* = (279) *adarśat*.

It should be remembered that 3.4.100 *irito vā* provides *aṄ* as a replacement for *CLI* only optionally. Affix *s(IC→Ø)* will replace *CLI* in the situation where the option of *aṄ* is not availed. The string at this stage will be *a* + *dṛś* + *s* + *t*. Rule 6.1.58 *sṛjidṛśor*... then will insert *aM* after *dṛ* to produce *a* + *dṛ* + *a(M→Ø)* + *ś* + *s* + *t*. Rule 7.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies at this stage to change the string to *a* + *d(ṛ→r)* + *a* + *ś* + *s* + *t* = *adra* + *ś* + *s* + *t*. Rule 7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* will subsequently cause *vṛddhi*

whereby we will get *adr(a→ā)* + *ś* + *s* + *t*. Rule 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte* will then introduce *ī(Ṭ→∅)* to produce *adrā* + *ś* + *s* + *ī* + *t*. Rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛjmṛj*...will further replace the *ś* with *ṣ*. The resultant string, i.e., *adrāṣ* + *s* + *ī* + *t* will go through the application of rule 8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si* whereby its *ṣ* will be changed to *k*. This will produce *adrā (ṣ→k)* + *s* + *ī* + *t* = *adrāk* + *sīt*. The application of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* is needed to change *s* into *ṣ* to finally produce *adrāk* + *(s→ṣ)* + *īt* = (280) *adrākṣīt*.

3.1.47 *ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ karttari caṅ*

Refer to the appendix under rule 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu* for deriving *acīkarat* and *ajīharat*. Example (281) *aśiśriyat* also derives with *CaṄ* as a replacement for *CLI*. Doubling (by 6.1.11 *caṅi*), *halādiśeṣa*, introduction of *aṬ* (*aḍāgama*), and *tiP* will produce *a (Ṭ→∅)* + *śi* + *śri* + *a* + *t*. Rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu*...will then introduce *iyAṄ* to realize: *aśiśr(i→iy(AṄ→∅)* + *a* + *t* = *aśiśriyat*. Similar derivational steps have to be followed to derive (282) *asusruvat* and (283) *adudruvat* where rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu*..., in these cases, introduces the replacement *uvAṄ*.

3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dheṭśvyoḥ*

This rule introduces *caṄ* as a replacement for *CLI* only optionally. Thus, we will get two forms (284) *adadhat* and (285) *adhāt* where (285) illustrates the optional deletion of *sIC*. We will get (286) *adhāsīt* parallel to *adhāt* if the optional deletion of *sIC* is not undertaken. Note that *adadhat* is derived from *aṬ* + *dhā* + *dhā* + *(CLI→ca(Ṅ)* + *t* where the *e* of verbal root *dhe(Ṭ)* goes through a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) by rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*.... Doubling, and other operations are similar to the many examples already given. The *ā* of the root *dhā* will be deleted by rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* under the condition of the *ārddhadhātuka* affix *caṄ* marked with *Ṅ*. The resultant string, i.e., *a* + *dhā* + *dh (ā→∅)* + *a* + *t*, will have its *dhā* go through shortening of *ā* by rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. This will give us *a* + *dh(ā→a)* + *dh* + *a* + *t* = *a* + *dha* + *dh* + *a* + *t* where *dh* will go through a replacement in *d* (*jaśtva;* 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*). The result will be *a* + *(dh→d)a* + *dh* + *a* + *t* = *adadhat*. A parallel form *adhāt* can be derived by taking the optional *sIC* as a replacement for *caṄ*. This *sIC*, however, will be deleted, though optionally, by rule 2.4.78 *vibhāṣā ghrādheṭ*.... We will thus get *a* + *dhā* + *(CLI→ sIC)* + *t*. If the *LUK*-deletion of *sIC* is not opted then we will get *adhāsīt* from *a* + *dhā* + *sIC* + *īṬ* + *t* similarly to *alāvīt* for which see the appendix under rule 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*. Rule 7.2.73 *yamaramanama*... will introduce *sAK* prior to the *i(Ṭ)* of 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. Thus, *a* + *dhā* + *s(AK)* + *s(IC)* + *ī(Ṭ)* + *i (Ṭ)* + *t* = *adhā* + *s* + *s* + *ī* + *i* + *t*. The *s* of the *sIC* will be eventually deleted by 8.2.28 *iṭ īṭi*. Rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*...will then apply to realize *a* + *dhā* + *s* + *(ī* + *i* = *ī)* + *t* = *adhāsīt*.

Deriving (287) *aśiśviyat* from *aṬ* + *śvi* + *śvi* + *caṄ* + *t* entails *iyAṄ* after doubling and related rule applications. A replacement in *aṄ* for *CLI* as

opposed to the present *CaṄ* will produce (288) *aśvat* from *aṬ* + *śvi* + *aṄ* + *t*. Note that the *aṄ* is introduced by 3.1.58 *jṝstambhumrucumlucu*.... The final *i* of the root will be replaced with *a* by rule 7.4.18 *śvayater aḥ*. The result will be: *a* + *śv (i→a)* + *a* + *t* = *aśv* + *a* + *a* + *t*. Finally, rule 6.1.96 *ato guṇe* will finally bring the single vowel substitute to derive *aśv(a+a→a) t* = *aśvat*.

Yet another optional form (289) *aśvayīt* can be derived if the optional replacement *aṄ* is not accepted. This will bring in *sIC*. Refer to the derivational history of *alāvīt* under 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*; also that of (286) *adhāsīt*. Note that the *vṛddhi* application of 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* is blocked by 7.2.5 *hmyantakṣaṇaśvasa*.... An application of *guṇa* by rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*...followed by the *ay* replacement of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will produce: *a* + *śv (i→e→ay)* + *i* + *s* + *ī* + *t*. The deletion of *s* and *savarṇadīrgha* will produce *aśvayīt* similarly to (286) *adhāsīt*.

3.1.50 *gupeś chandasi*

Examples (290) *ajūgupatam* and (291) *agauptam*, (292) *agopiṣṭam*, and (293) *agopāyiṣṭam* illustrate the provisions of this rule. The first, *ajūguputam*, derives from *gup* + *(CLI→CaṄ)* + *LUṄ →thas* where this rule provides *CaṄ* as a replacement for *CLI* and *LUṄ* is replaced with the second person dual *parasmaipada* ending *thas* in related operations, as well as the augment *aṬ*. Doubling, *halādiśeṣa*, *cutva* of *g* and the introduction of *aṬ* produces *a* + *(g→j)u* + *gup* + *a* + *thas* = *a* + *ju* + *gup* + *a* + *thas*. The second personal *thas* has to be replaced with *tam* as is required by rule 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām*.... The short *u* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *ju*, will subsequently be replaced with its long counterpart due to rule 6.1.7 *tujādīnāṃ dīrgho' bhyāsasya*. The result will thus be *a* + *jū* + *gup* + *a* + *(thas→tam)* = *ajūgupatam*.

Example (291) *agauptam* derives by replacing *CLI* with *sIC* obviously in the absence of replacing the same with *CaṄ*. This will produce the initial string as *a* + *gup* + *s (IC→0)* + *(LUṄ→ thas→tam))* = *a* + *gup* + *tam*. Note that the introduction of *iṬ* (*iḍāgama*) as per rule 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ*... is optionally not accepted here as per rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūti*.... Rule 7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* then orders *vṛddhi* for the *u* of *gup* to produce *a* + *g (u→au)p* + *tam* = *agauptam*.

Example (292) *agopiṣṭam* derives from *a* + *gup* + *i* + *s* + *tam* where the optional *iṬ* of rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūti*...is availed. The *vṛddhi* which was available from 7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* is blocked by 7.2.4 *neṭi*. Instead, we see the application of *laghūpadhaguṇa* whereby we get *a* + *g(u→o)p* + *i* + *s* + *tam*. Our final form *agopiṣṭam* will be produced via the applications of rules 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ* and 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* as follows: *agopi(s→ṣ)* + *(t→ṭ)am* = *agopiṣṭam*.

The next example (293) *agopāyiṣṭam* contains verbal root *gopāya* derived from *gup* + *āya* where affix *āya* is optionally introduced by 3.1.31 *āyādaya ārddhadhātuke vā* and *laghūpadhaguṇa* applies to produce *g(u→o)p* + *āya* =

gopāya. An introduction of *LUṄ*, followed by the *sIC*-replacement for *CLI* as well as the introduction of *aṬ* will produce *a + gup + s + tam* where *tam* is again a replacement of *LUṄ* via *thas*. The *vṛddhi* similarly to the preceding example became available but in this case was blocked by 7.2.4 *neṭi*. Rule 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ*...will introduce *iṬ* where, given *a + gopāya + i(Ṭ) + s + tam*, the *a* of *gopāya* will be deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. We will thus have *a + gopāy + i + s + tam* which through the application of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* and 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* becomes *a + gopāy + i + (s→ṣ) + tam = a + gopāy + i + ṣ + (t→ṭ)am = agopāyiṣṭam*.

3.1.52 *asyativaktikhyātibhyo' ṅ*

Example (294) *paryāsthata* derives from *as + (CLI→aṄ) + (LUṄ→ ta)* where our present rule orders *CaṄ* as a replacement for *CLI* and *LUṄ* gets replaced with the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta* as per the *vt: upasargād asyatyuhyor*... ad rule 1.3.30 *nisamupavibhyoḥ*.... Of course, verbal root *as* 'to throw' is here used with the preverb *pari*. The augment in this case is *āṬ* of 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*.... This produces *pari. + ā (Ṭ→∅) + as + a(N→∅) + ta* where 7.4.17 *asyates thuk* introduces *th(UK)*. The resultant string, i.e., *pari + ā + as + th + a + ta*, will go through *yaṇādeśa* and *savarṇadīrgha* to produce: *par(i→y) + (ā+a→ā)s + th + a +ta = paryāsthata*.

Example (295) *paryāsthetām* is third person dual where *LUṄ* is replaced with *ātām*. Rule 7.2.81 *āto ṅitaḥ* applies on the string such as *paryāsth + a + ātām* to replace the *ā* of *ātām* with *iy*. The result becomes *paryāsth + iy + tām*. Rule 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* deletes the *y* subsequent to which 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* applies to yield *paryāsth + a + i(y→∅) + tām = paryāsth + (a+i= e) + tām = paryāsthetām*.

Examples (296) *avocat*, (297) *avocatām*, and (298) *avocan*; or (299) *ākhyat*, can be similarly derived. The first, *avocat* derives from *aṬ + vac + CLI→ aṄ + (LUṄ→tiP→t))* = *a + vac + a + t*. Rule 7.4.20 *vaca um*, read with 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*, introduces *uM* to yield *a + va + u(M→ ∅)c + a + t = a + va + u + c + a + t*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will finally produce *a + v(a+u→o)c + a + t = avocat*. The derivational history of *avocatām* does not offer anything new except for *tām* coming as a substitute for *tas* by 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām*.... Deriving *avocan* from *aṬ + vac + aṄ + (LUṄ→(jh→ant)i = a + vac + a + anti* is not very difficult. The final *i* is deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*, and the *t* is dropped by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*. Thus, *a + (vac→va + u)c + a + (jh→ant(i→∅) = a + v(a+u→o)c + a + an(t→∅) = avoca + an*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will replace the sequence *a+a* with *a* as *avoc (a+a→a)n = avocan*. Our last form *ākhyat* contains the verbal root *khyā* used with the preverb *āṄ*. Thus, it derives from *āṄ + aṬ + khyā + LUṄ→tiP→t = ā + a + khyā + t* where the *ā* of *khyā* is deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* to yield *ā + a+ khy(ā→∅)+ a + t*. An application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* finally produces *(ā+a = ā)khy + a + t = ākhyat*.

3.1.53 *lipisicihvaś ca*

Deriving (300) *alipat* from *aṬ + lip + aṄ + (LUṄ→tiP)* and (301) *asicat* from *aṬ + ṣic + aṄ + (LUṄ→tiP)* is easy. Remember, however, that the *laghūpadhaguṇa* available from 7.3.86 *puganta laghūpadhasya ca* is blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.* The initial *ṣ* of the root in *asicat* is replaced with *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ....* Example (301) *āhvat* derives like *ākhyat* from *āṄ + aṬ + hve (Ṅ→0) + aṄ + tiP* where the *e* of *hve* goes through a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) by rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe....* The deletion of this resultant *ā* as well as the *savarṇadīrgha* replacement for *(ā+a=ā)+ hv(ā→0) + a + t = āhvat* is same as in *ākhyat.*

3.1.54 *ātmanepadeṣv anyatarasyām*

Deriving *ātmanepada* forms such as (302) *alipata,* (303) *alipta;* (304) *asicata,* (305) *asikta;* and (306) *ahvata,* (307) *ahvāsta* entails the introduction of *ātmanepada* affixes by rule 1.3.72 *svaritañitaḥ kartrabhiprāye....* It also entails optionally replacing *CLI* with either *aṄ* of this rule, or *sIC* of 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic.* Thus, *alipata* derives from *aṬ + lip + (CLI→aṄ) + (LUṄ→ta).* This preceding can also produce an optional form *alipta* when *CLI* is instead replaced with *sIC.* Rule 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali* will then delete the *sIC.* Similar rules apply in deriving *asicata* and *asikta* with an additional rule application of *c* by *k* (*kutva*) of rule 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ.* Note here that rule 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali* which deletes *sIC* is contained in the *tripādī;* and hence, is treated as suspended (*asiddha*) in view of rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca.* That is, rule 7.3.86 will demand *laghūpadhaguṇa.* This, however, will be blocked by 1.2.11 *liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu* based on the extension (*atideśa*) of *kitva,* status with *K* as an *it.* The *hveÑ* forms are not difficult to derive especially in view of the preceding derivates.

3.1.56 *sarttiśāstyarttibhyaś ca*

The derivational history of (308) *asarat* begins similarly to *asicat* though entails *guṇa* by 7.4.16 *ṛdṛśo' ṅi guṇaḥ* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ.* The *guṇa* of rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* will be blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca.* Similar rules apply in deriving *ārat* where *āṬ* is introduced as the augment by rule 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām.* Deriving (309) *aśiṣat* entails the application of two rules: 6.4.34 *śāsa id aṅhaloḥ* and 8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnāṃ....* The first rule causes a replacement in *i* (*itva*) for the *ā* in the *upadhā* of the root. The second replaces the *s* of the root with *ṣ.*

3.1.57 *irito vā*

One can also derive (310) *abhidat,* and (311) *acchidat* similar to examples of the preceding rule. Note, however, in case of *acchidat,* that given *aṬ + chid + aṄ + t,* augment *tUK* will be introduced by rule 6.1.73 *che ca.* The resultant string *a + t + chid + a + t* will go through *ścutva* of rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* to produce *a + (t→c) + chid + a + t = acchidat.*

Our optional forms such as (312) *abhaitsīt,* and (313) *acchaitsīt* derive with the option of *sIC.* Thus, given *aṬ +* tUK *+ chid + (CLI→sIC) + t*

similarly to the preceding examples, rule 7.3.96 *astisico' apṛkte* will introduce *īṬ* whereby we will get: *a* + *t* + *chid* + *s* + *ī*(*Ṭ*→*∅*) + *t*. This rule-application will be followed by that of 7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ* whereby we will get *vṛddhi* of the *i* of *chid* marked by the terminal consonant *(halantalakṣaṇā)*. The resultant string, i.e., *a+t* + *ch(i* → *ai)d* + *s*+ *ī* + *t*, will go through the application of 8.4.55 *khari ca* which requires a replacement in *caR (cartva)*. Thus, we get *a* + *t* + *chai (d→t)* + *sīt* + *acchaitsīt* where I have not shown steps common with the preceding derivatives.

3.1.60 *ciṇ te padaḥ*

An example such as (314) *udapādi* derives from *ud* + *aṬ* + *pad* + *CiṆ* + *ta* where *CiṆ* is a replacement of *CLI* and *ta* is third singular *ātmanepada* denoting an agent. The *ta* is deleted by 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*. The *vṛddhi* is, of course, ordered by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*.

3.1.63 *duhaś ca*

Our example (315) *adohi* derives from *aṬ* + *duh* + *(CLI→CiṆ)* + *LUṄ* → *ta*) through the deletion of the obligatory *ta* denoting object, and, of course, *guṇa*. We get (316) *adugdha* from *aṬ* + *duh* + *(CLI→Ksa)* + *(LUṄ→ta))* where *Ksa* replaces *CLI* by rule 3.1.45 *śala igupa*.... This *Ksa*, however, is deleted by 7.2.73 *lug vā*.... The resultant string *aduh* + *ta* will produce *adugdha* via the application of rules 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ*, 8.2.40 *jhaṣas tathor*..., and 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi* whereby we get the series of replacements. Thus, while the first rule changes the *h* of *duh* into *gh*, the second replaces the *t* of *ta* with *dh*. Finally, the third rule applies on *adugh* + *dha* to realize *adu(gh→g)* + *dha* = *adugdha*.

3.1.64 *na rudhaḥ*

Example (317) *anvavāruddha* derives from *anu* + *ava* + *aṬ* + *rudh* + *(CLI→sIC→∅)* + *(LUṄ→ta)* where *sIC* is deleted by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. The *t* of *ta* will be replaced with *dh* by rule 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*...; the *dh* of *rudh* will similarly be replaced with *d* by rule 8.4.52 *jhalāṃ*.... Thus we get *anu* + *ava* + *a* + *ru(dh→d)* + *(t→dh)a* = *an(u→v)* + *av(a+a→ā)* +*ruddha* = *anvavāruddha* additionally through *yaṆ* and *savarṇadīrgha*. Note that the consequence of blocking *CiṆ* as a replacement for *CLI* is to introduce *sIC* which gets deleted by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. Examples such as (318) *atapta* and (319) *anvavātapta* given under the following rule can be similarly derived.

3.1.66 *ciṇbhāvakarmaṇoḥ*/3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*

The derivation of (320) *akāri* from *aṬ* + *kṛ* + *(CLI→CIṆ)* + *ta* via *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* is not difficult. Examples such as (321) *āsyate*, (322) *śayyate* and (323) *gamyate* with the introduction of *yaK* under the condition of a following affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit*...) does not pose much of a problem. Thus, given *ās* + *LAṬ→ta* where *LAṬ* is introduced to denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' and subsequently gets replaced with the third person singular *ātmanepada* ending *ta*, our present rule introduces *ya(K→∅)* to produce *ās* + *ya* + *ta*. Our final form *āsyate* is derived by replacing the

a of *ta* by *e* under the provisions of rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām....* The other forms can be similarly derived. Remember, however, that, in case of *śayyate*, the final vowel of verbal root *śī* gets replaced with *ayAṄ* of rule 7.4.22 *ayaṅ yi kṅiti*. Thus, *ś (i→ay) + ya + te = śayyate*. An example such as *kriyate* manipulates the *LA* affix to denote the object. See the appendix under rule 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* for deriving *kriyate* and similar other forms.

3.1.68 *karttari śap*

Refer to the appendix under rule 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇah* for deriving *bhavati* and *pacati*.

3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*

Examples such as (324) *dīvyati* or (325) *sīvyati* can be derived by introducing (*Ś*→*Ø*)*ya*(*N*→*Ø*) as opposed to *ŚaP* before *tiP*. Remember that the *ṣ* of *ṣivU* 'to sew' is as usual replaced with *s* by rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*. The *laghūpadhaguṇa* of *i* is blocked because of the status of this affix as *pit* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). This penultimate (*upadhā*) *i* is replaced with its long counterpart under the provision of rule 8.2.77 *hali ca*.

3.1.70 *vā bhrāśabhlāśabhramuklamutrasitruṭilaṣaḥ*

Deriving the optional (*ŚyaN* / *ŚaP*) sets of examples for roots specified by this rule is not very difficult. Let us just consider the two examples: (326) *bhrāśate*, and (327) *bhrāśyate*. An application of rules 7.3.74-75 *śamāṃ aṣṭānām...*, *ṣṭhīvuklamucamāṃ...*, and 7.3.76 *kramaḥ parasmaipadeṣu* order *vṛddhi* in case of *bhram*, *klam*, and *kram*, etc. In case of the derivates of *truṭ* we will have to introduce *Śa* optionally with *ŚyaN* since the root belongs to the *tudādi* class.

3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ...*/3.1.74 *śruvaḥ śṛ ca*

Deriving (328) *sunoti* and (329) *sinoti* from *ṣuÑ* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) and *ṣiÑ*+ (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) with subsequent introduction of *Śnu* entails *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* before *tiP*. The root-initial *ṣ* will be replaced with *ṣ* of 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ....* The initial *guṇa* is blocked for reasons similar to the derivation of (324) *dīvyati*.

Examples such as (330) *śṛṇoti*, (331) *śṛṇutaḥ*, and (332) *śṛṇvanti* derive from *śru* + *LAṬ* where the root is replaced with *śṛ*. The *LAṬ* is replaced with *tiP*, *tas*, or *jhi* as desired. The first example entails *guṇa* where as the second and third do not. The third, however, entails *yaṆ*, i.e., *śriṇ(u→v)* + *anti*. The *n* of *Śnu* is replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṃ....* Incidentally, be advised that by providing for a replacement in *śṛ* simultaneously with the introduction of affix *Śnu*, Pāṇini wants to emphasize that elsewhere in the context of some other affix this replacement will not be allowed.

3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*

Note in connection with the derivation of (333) *tudati* and (334) *nudati* from *tud* +*LAṬ* and *nud* + *LAṬ* that the *Ś* as an it in the affix is intended for the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka* by 3.1.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*. This will enable affix *Śa* also to be treated as if marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. For, rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* will view it as a *sārvadhātuka* affix not marked with *P* (*apit*).

3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*

Examples (335) *ruṇaddhi* and (336) *bhinatti* derive from (*rudh(IR→Ø)* + *LAṬ*)and *bhid(IR→Ø)* + *LAṬ* where this rule introduces *ŚnaM* under the condition of the following *tiP* replacement of *LAṬ*. The string at this stage is: *ru*+ *na* + *dh* + *ti* and *bhi* + *na* + *d* + *ti*. Notice that the *M* as an *it* in *ŚnaM* is used for specifying the locus of operation (*deśavidhyartha*). Consequently, the affix is introduced after the last among the vowels of the roots in consonance with rule 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*. Refer to the derivation of (146) *viruṇaddhi* under the appendix of this rule (1.1.47) for additional details. Note also that rules 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor...* and 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś...* are not valid in the context of *bhi* + *na* + *d* + *ti*. Instead, the *d* of *bhid* is replaced with *t* by rule 8.4.55 *khari ca*.

3.1.80 *dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca*

Examples (337) *dhinoti* and (338) *kṛṇoti* derive from *dhin (v→a)* + *u* + *(LAṬ→tiP)* and *kṛn(v→a)* + *u* + *(LAṬ→tiP)* where this rule introduces *u* under the condition of the following *ti*. It also requires the root-final *v* to be replaced with *a*. Note that these roots belong to the *bhvādi* class, and hence qualify for *ŚaP*. This rule makes a provision for *u* instead. Rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* then deletes the root-final substitute *a*. The resultant strings *dhin* + *u* + *ti* and *kṛn* + *u* + *ti* go through *guṇa* as per 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*. It is stated that the *n* of *nUM* in *kṛnvI* is replaced with *ṇ* at the strength of a *vārttika* (ad 8.4.1 *ṛvarṇāc ceti vaktavyam*).

Note that the roots are actually *dhivI* and *kṛvI*. But since Pāṇini specifies them as *dhinvI* and *kṛṇvI*, we understand that they come with the augment *nUM* attached to them at the outset.

3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*

Examples such as (339) *krīṇāti* and (340) *prīṇāti* derive from (*ḌU→Ø)krī(Ñ→Ø)* + *(LAṬ→tiP)* and *prīÑ* + *(LAṬ→tiP)* where this rule introduces *Śnā* to yield *krī* + *nā* + *ti* and *prī* + *nā* + *ti*. Rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupvām...* will finally replace the *n* of *nā* with *ṇ* to derive *krīṇāti* and *prīṇāti*. Note that the corresponding dual forms (341) *krīṇītaḥ* and (342) *prīṇītaḥ* will have to go through the application of *ītva* of rule 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ* whereby the *ā* of *nā* will be replaced with *ī*. Of course, the *s* of the dual ending *tas* will also go through *rutva-visarga*.

3.1.82 *stambhustumbhuskambhuskumbhuskuñbhyaḥ śnuś ca*

Note that the nasal (*anunāsika*) *m* of the root will be deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ....* Examples such as (343) *stabhnāti*, with *(Ś→Ø)nā)*, and (344) *stubhnoti* with *(Ś→Ø) nu* and *guṇa*, are not difficult to derive. The *U* of the roots is of course an *it*.

3.1.83 *halaḥ śnaḥ śānaj hau*

This rule requires that *Śnā* occurring after a verbal root terminating in a consonant be replaced with *ŚānaC* when *hi* follows. Thus, given *muṣ* + *LOṬ→si(P→Ø)* where *LOṬ* is introduced by 3.3.162 *loṭ ca*, the second person singular replacement of *LOṬ* is subsequently replaced with *hi* by

3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca.* It is with the string at the stage of *muṣ* + *nā* + *hi* that our present rule introduces (*Ś*→∅)*āna*(*C*→∅) as a replacement for *nā*. This yields *muṣ* + *āna* + *hi* where *hi* is subsequently deleted by rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ*. Rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṃ...* finally replaces the *n* of *āna* with *ṇ* to produce (345) *muṣāṇa*. Similar rules will derive (346) *puṣāṇa* from *puṣ* + *LOṬ*.

3.1.86 *liṅy āśiṣy aṅ*

Examples such as (347) *upastheyam* derive from *upa* + *sthā* + *LIṄ* where affix *LIṄ* is introduced after verbal root *sthā* used with the preverb *upa* by rule 3.3.173 *āśiṣi liṅloṭau*. The affix is further replaced with the first personal ending *miP* of 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi....* This yields *upa* + *sthā* + *mi(P)*. This string goes through the application of rules 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām...*and 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣu...*whereby *mi(P)* is replaced with *am*, and augment *yāsUṬ* is attached. Thus we get *upa* + *sthā* + (*mi(P)*→*am*) = *upa* + *sthā* + *yās* (*UṬ*→∅) + *am*. Our present rule introduces *aṄ* at this stage to realize *upa* + *sthā* + *a*(*Ṅ*→∅) +*yās* + *am*. It is interesting to note that a replacement of affix *LIṄ* is assigned the term *ārddhadhātuka* by rule 3.4.116 *liṅ āśiṣi*. The same replacement can also be assigned the term *sārvadhātuka* by the 'either-or' (*ubhayathā*) provision of rule 3.4.117 *chandasy ubhayathā* in case of the Vedic language. The *am* replacement of *LIṄ* via *miP* is here accepted as *sārvadhātuka* to facilitate the application of rules 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya* and 7.2.80 *ato yeyaḥ* whereby first the *s* of *yās* is deleted. The *yā* is then replaced with *iy*. Thus we get *upa* + *sthā* + *a* +*yā*(*s*→∅) + *am* = *upa* + *sthā* + *a* + (*yā*→*iy*) + *am* = *upa* + *sthā* + *a* + *iy* + *am*. The *ā* of *sthā* will then be deleted by rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* under the condition of the following *aṄ*. The resultant string *upa* + *sth*(*a*→∅) + *a* + *iy* + *am* will go through the application of a single *guṇa* replacement for its sequence *a*+*i* as per rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. Thus, *upa* + *sth* + (*a*+*i*→*e*)*y* + *am* = *upastheyam*.

An example such as (348) *upageyam* can be similarly derived from *upa* + *gai* + *LIṄ* where rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe...*will order *ā* as a replacement (*ātva*) for the *ai* of verbal root *gai* 'to sing'.

A third example, (349) *gamema*, can be derived from *gam* + *LIṄ* where *LIṄ* gets replaced with the first person plural *parasmaipada* ending *mas*. The string will be expanded to *gam* + (*yā*→*iy*)(*s*→∅)) +*a* + *mas*, similarly to (347) *upastheyam*. The *s* of *mas* will be deleted by rule 3.4.99 *nityaṃ ṅitaḥ*. The *y* will also be deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. The rest should pose no problem.

An example for verbal root *vac* is given as (350) *vocema* which, in turn, can be derived similarly to *gamema*. Note, however, that given *vac* +*a* + *yās* + *mas*, rule 7.4.20 *vaca um* will introduce *uM* to *vac*. Rule 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ* would demand that *u*(*M*→∅) be introduced to *vac* after its *a*. This will yield *va* + *u* + *c* + *a* + *yās* + *mas*. Rule applications relative to *yāsuṬ* will produce *va* + *u* + *c* + *a* + *iy* + *mas*. A two-fold application of rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will be required to realize *v* (*a*+*u*→*o*) + *c* + (*a*+*i*→*e*)*y*

+ *mas* = *vocey* + *mas*. The deletions relative to the *s* of *mas* and *y* of *vocey* will follow the pattern of *gamema* to finally produce *vocema*.

Additional examples such as (351) *videyam*, (352) *śakeyam* and (353) *āruheyam* are similarly derived by introducing affix *LIṄ* after specified verbal roots used with or without any preverbs as desired.

3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ*

Note that (354) *abhedi* derives similarly to (315) *adohi*. The derivation of *adugdha* has already been discussed under rule 3.1.63 *duhaś ca*. The derivation of (355) *kāriṣyate* follows in many ways the derivation of *kariṣyati* for which see example (742) under the appendix of rule 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis....* Treating an agent as if an object (*karmavadbhāva*) entails performing operations similarly to *CiṆ* (*ciṇvatkārya*). That is, introducing *sya* and *iṬ* by rule 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭ...*; and applying *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. Thus, *kṛ* + *(LṚṬ→t(a→e)* = *kṛ* + *te* = *kṛ* + *i* + *sya* + *te* = *k(ṛ→ār)* + *i* + *sya* + *te* = *kār* + *i* + *(s→ṣ)ya* + *te* = *kāriṣyate*. The *ātmanepada* in this example has been introduced by rule 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

3.1.89 *na duhsnunamāṃ yakciṇau*

Example (356) *dugdhe* derives from *duh* + *(LAṬ→t(a→e))* where *ta*, the third person singular *ātmanepada* replacement of *LAṬ*, is additionally required to go through the *e* replacement (*etva*; 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānā...*) of its *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*). Refer to the derivational details of (316) *adugdha* for the application of rules relative to the *h* of *duh* and *t* of *te* to finally derive *dugdhe*. Note, however, that affix *ŚaP* will be introduced by 3.1.68 *karttari śap* in the event of *yaK* being negated for *duh* by the present rule. The *śap* will subsequently be deleted by rule 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyah....* Of course, *ātmanepada* will be introduced by 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

Example (357) *prasnute* similarly derives from *pra* + *snu* + *(LAṬ→t(a→e))* = *prasnu* + *te*. Our next example (358) *prāsnoṣṭa* is a *LUṄ*-derivate of verbal root *snu*, used with the preverb *pra*, where this present rule blocks *CiṆ* as a replacement for *CLI*. Thus, given *pra* + *aṬ* + *snu* + *(CLI→sIC)* + *(LUṄ→ta)))* = *pra* + *a* +*snu* + *s* + *ta*, *guṇa*, *ṣatva* (8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*), *ṣṭutva* (8.4.44 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*) and *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) will produce *prāsnoṣṭa* as follows:

pra + *a* + *sn(u→o)* + *s* + *ta (guṇa)* = *pra* +*a* + *sno* + *(s→ṣ)* + *ta (ṣatva)* = *pra* + *a* + *sno* + *ṣ* + *(t→ṭ)a (ṣṭutva)* = *pr(a+a→ā)* + *sno* + *ṣ* + *ṭa (savarṇadīrgha)* = *prāsnoṣṭa*.

Yet another example (359) *prāsnāviṣṭa* derives from *pra* + *a* + *snu* + *iṬ* + *sIC* + *(LUṄ→ta)* where the option of *ciṇvatkārya* as provided for by rule 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭ...*is availed. The *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* will apply to produce *pra* + *a* + *sn(u→au)* + *i* + *s* + *ta*. A replacement in *āv* for *au* by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will realize *pra* + *a* + *sn(au→āv)* + *i* + *s* + *ta* = *pra* + *a* + *snāv* + *i* + *s* + *ta*. An application of *ṣatva*, *ṣṭutva*, and *savarṇadīrgha* will produce *prāsnāviṣṭa*.

The derivates of *nam* such as (360) *namate* and (361) *anaṃsta* are

derived similarly from *nam* + *ta* and *aṬ* + *nam* +*sIC* + *ta* where the first derivate is denied *yaK* and hence is thus left with *ŚaP*. The second derivate is denied *CIṆ*, and hence is left with *sIC*. The *m* of *a* + *nam* + *s* + *ta* is replaced with *anusvāra* by rule 8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*.

3.1.97 *aco yat*

This rule introduces affix *yaT* after roots ending in vowels. We thus get examples (362) *geyam* from *gai* + *yaT*, (363) *peyam* from *pā* + *yaT*, (364) *ceyam* from *ciÑ* + *yaT*, and (365) *jeyam* from *ji* + *yaT*. Note that the *ai* of *gai* goes through *ātva* of rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśa*.... Rule 6.4.65 *īd yati* then applies on *g(ai→ā)* + *ya(T→∅)* = *gā* + *ya* to replace the final *ā* of the *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis*...) with *ī* (*ītva*) under the condition of affix *yat*, an *ārddhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). The nominal stem *g(ā→ī)* + *ya* = *g* + *(ī→e)* + *ya* = *g* + *e* + *ya* =*geya* can now be derived via the application of *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*. A nominal ending *sU* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*...) introduced after the nominal stem (1.2.46 *krttaddhitasamāsāś ca*) *geya* will be subsequently replaced with *am* of 7.1.24 *ato' m* to produce *geya* + (*sU→am*) = *geya* + *am*. An application of 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will then order a single substitute (*ekādeśa*), similar to preceding (*pūrvarūpa*) in form, to replace the vocalic sequence of *a* + *a*. We thus get *gey(a+ a→a)m* = *geyam*. Other examples can be similarly derived through the application of *guṇa* before *yaT*. Note though that affix *yaT* will be termed *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*) consequent upon which it can only denote *bhāva* and *karman* as per 3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtya*.... The denotation of *kartṛ* 'agent' as per 3.4.67 *kartari kṛt* will thus not be available to it.

3.1.106 *vadaḥ supi kyap ca*

Example (366) *brahmodyam* contains the nominal stem *brahmodya* which, in turn, derives from *brahman* + *Ṅas* + *vad* + *KyaP* where *Ṅas* denotes object (*karman*). Incidentally, *brahman* + *Ṅas* gets its *n* deleted by rule 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādi*...requires the *samprasāraṇa* of the *v* of *vad*. We thus get *brahma* (*n→∅*) + *Ṅas* + (*v→u)ad* + (*K→∅)ya(P→∅)* = *brahma* + *Ṅas* + *uad* + *ya*. Rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* will then apply to replace the sequence *u+a* with *u* thereby to produce *brahma* + *Ṅas* + *ud* + *ya* = *brahma* + *Ṅas* + *udya*. Rule 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ* will then order the formation of an *upapada* compound subsequent to which *Ṅas* will be deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. The resultant string *brahmaudya* will go through a single *guṇa*-replacement in *o* by rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* for its sequence *a+u* to produce *brahm(a+u→o)dya* = *brahmodya*. The final example *brahmodyam* will be derived from *brahmodya* + *sU* similarly to (362) *geyam* from *geya* + *sU*. Note that the *upapada* compound is allowed with reference to the *paribh: gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāk subūtpatteḥ*. Refer to my discussion of this under the text and appendix of rule 2.2.19

upapadam atiṅ.

A derivate such as (367) *brahmavadyam* which contains the nominal stem *brahmavadya* will be derived parallel to *brahmodyam* if the option of introducing affix *yaT*, as opposed to *KyaP*, is accepted. Similar rules will apply in deriving optional examples such as (368) *satyodyam* and (369) *satyavadyam.*

3.1.109 *etistuśāsvṛdṛjuṣaḥ*

Deriving forms such as (370) *ityaḥ* from *(i + KyaP) + sU))*, (371) *stutyaḥ* from *(stu + KyaP) + sU))*, etc., entails the introduction of augment *tUK* by rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti....* An example such as (372) *śiṣyaḥ* will be derived from *(śās + KyaP) + sU))* where the penultimate *ā* will go through a replacement in *i* (*itva*) by rule 6.4.34 *śās idaṅhaloḥ*. The *s* of the resultant string *ś(a→i)s + ya)* will go through *ṣatva* of rule 8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnām...* to produce: *śi(s→ṣ)ya)) = śiṣya*, the nominal stem after which *sU* will be introduced.

3.1.113 *mṛjer vibhāṣā*

A set of optional examples such as (373) *parimṛjyaḥ* and (374) *parimārgyaḥ* will derive from *(pari + mṛj + KyaP) + sU))* and *(pari + mṛj + ṆyaT) + sU))* since affix *KyaP* is here introduced optionally to *ṆyaT* of 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat.* This optional provision of *KyaP* was obligatorily available to verbal root *mṛj* because of being *ṛdupadha*. Now the *KyaP* becomes optional. The derivational history of *parimṛjyaḥ* with *KyaP* is straightforward. Deriving *parimārgyaḥ* entails *vṛddhi* (*parim(ṛ→ār)j...*) by 7.2.11 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* followed by *kutva* (*parimār(j→g)...*) of rule 7.3.53 *cajoḥ ku....*

3.1.120 *vibhāṣā kṛvṛṣoḥ*

Each verbal root will have a set of optional derivates where the option will be relative to affixes *KyaP* and *ṆyaT*. Refer to the derivational details of *ityaḥ* for deriving the nominal stem *kṛtya* of (375) *kṛtyam*. Follow the final steps of (362) *geyam* for deriving *kṛtyam* from *kṛtya + sU*. Example (376) *kāryam* contains the nominal stem *kārya* which, in turn, derives from *(kṛ + ṆyaT) + sU))* through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti.*

3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*

Note that derivates ending in affix *ṆyaT* such as *kāryam* where the root ends in *ṛ* will be subject to the application of *vṛddhi* by rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. Derivates with *ṆyaT* introduced after verbal roots ending in a consonant will go through *vṛddhi* of rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Examples such as (377) *vākyam* and (378) *pākyam* will go through *kutva* as per rule 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku....*

3.1.126 *āsuyuvapirapilapicamaś ca*

The *ṆyaT* derivates such as (379) *āsāvyam*, and (380) *yāvyam* contain *āsāvya + sU* and *yāvya + sU*. Deriving *āsāvya* from *ā(Ṅ→Ø) + (ṣ→s)u + (Ṇ)ya(T) = āsu + ya* where *āṄ* is a preverb and the root-initial *ṣ* is replaced with *s* of 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ...* of course requires *vṛddhi*. However, note that

given *āsā* + *ya*, rule 6.1.80 *dhātos tannimittasyaiva* will apply to produce *āsā* + *v* + *ya* = *āsāvya*. Other examples such as (381) *vāpyam*, etc., will just involve *vṛddhi* as per rules mentioned in connection with the derivates of preceding rule.

3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo lyuṇinyacaḥ*

Our example (382) *nandanaḥ* contains *nandana* + *sU* where *nandana* derives from *(ṬU→∅)nad(Ī→∅)* + *(L→∅)yu))* = *nad* + *yu*. Rule 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* introduces augment *n(UM→∅)* to produce *na* + *n* + *d* + *yu*. The *yu* of the affix will be replaced with *ana* of 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*. The *n* before *d* is also replaced with *anusvāra* of rule 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya* whereby we get *na* + *(n→ṃ)* + *d* + *ana*. The *anusvāra* is then changed back to *n* as per *parasavarṇa* of 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*. It is advised by a *vārttika* under this rule that *nad* should receive affix *Lyu* only after having received *ṆiC* from 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. This *ṆiC* will also be deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*.

Example (383) *grāhī* contains the nominal stem *grahin* derived by introducing affix *ṆinI* after *grah*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will then cause *vṛddhi* to produce the nominal stem *gr(a→ā)h* + *in* = *grāhin*. Deriving *grāhī* from *grāhin* + *sU* entails the deletions of *n* (by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ...*) and *sU* (by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...*). The short *i* of *grāhi* is replaced with its long counterpart by rule 6.4.13 *sau ca*.

An example such as (384) *pacaḥ* derives from *(pac* + *aC)* = *paca* + *sU))* via further application of *rutva-visarga*.

3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ*

Example (385) *vikṣipaḥ* derived from *(vi* + *kṣip* + *(K→∅)a)* + *sU* = *(vikṣip* + *a)* + *sU))* where *vi* is a preverb and the *guṇa* of *i* is blocked at the strength of the *Kit* status of the affix (*kitvād guṇābhāvaḥ*). A derivate of *jñā* such as (386) *jñaḥ* entails the deletion of *ā* (*āllopa*) by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. A similar derivation of (387) *priyaḥ* from *prī(Ñ→∅)* + *a)* + *sU))* entails *iyAṄ* as a replacement for the *ī* of *prī* as per rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu....* Rule 7.1.100 *ṝta id dhātoḥ* similarly orders *i* as a replacement for the *ṝ* of *kṝ* in deriving (388) *kiraḥ*. Note that the replacement becomes *ir* (*rapara*) in view of rule 1.151 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*.

3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*

Examples such as (389) *prasthaḥ*, (390) *suglaḥ*, and (391) *sumlaḥ* contain stems which derive by introducing affix *Ka* after verbal roots *sthā*, *glai*, and *mlai* used in conjunction with *pra* and *su*. Note that the *ai* of *glai* and *mlai* will go through a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) by rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe....* For deletion of *ā* to arrive at the desired form refer to *āllopa* of (386) *jñaḥ*.

3.1.137 *pāghrādhmādheṭdṛśaḥ*

Examples such as (391) *utpibaḥ*, (392) *ujjighraḥ*, (393) *uddhamaḥ*, (394) *uddhayaḥ*, and (395) *utpaśyaḥ* contain stems which derive by introducing affix *Śa* after verbal roots *pā*, *ghrā*, *dhmā* and *dheṬ* whether used in

conjunction with a preverb. These examples all have the cooccurrence condition of *ud*. Thus, given *ud* + *pā* + (*Ś*→*0*)*a* = *ud* + *pā* + *a*, rule 3.4.67 *kartari śap* will introduce (*Ś*)*a*(*P*) to produce *ud* + *pā* + *a* + *a*. The root will then be replaced with *pib* by rule 7.3.78 *pāghrādhmāsthā....* We will thus get *ud* + *pib* + *a* + *a* which through the application of rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will produce *ud* + *pib* + (*a*+*a*→*a*) = *ud* + *pib* + *a* = *utpiba*. Note that the *d* of *ud* will be changed to *t* by *cartva* of rule 8.4.55 *khari ca*. Deriving *utpibaḥ* from *utpiba* + *sU* is easy. The other roots, except for *dheṬ*, will also get their replacements such as *jighṛ*, *dham*, and *paś* by the same rule under similar condition of a following *SaP*. Deriving *ujjighraḥ* will also entail *cartva*. All other rules are similar to *utpibaḥ*. Deriving *uddhayaḥ* from *ud* + *dhe*(*Ṭ*→*0*) + *a* + *a* =*ud* + *dhe* + *a* + *a* also involves *pararūpa* whereby we get *ud* + *dhe* + (*a*+*a*→*a*). A replacement in *ay* (*ayādeśa*) for the *e* of *dhe* by 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will finally produce *ud* + *dh*(*e*→*ay*)*a* = *uddhaya*, a nominal stem after which *sU* can be introduced to derive *uddhayaḥ*. Note that examples can also be derived without accepting the cooccurrence condition of the preverbs.

3.1.138 *anupasargāl limpavindadhāripārivedyudejicetisātisāhibhyaś ca*

Examples such as (396) *limpaḥ* derive from *lip* + (*Ś*)*a* + (*Ś*)*a* where the first *Śa* is the *vikaraṇa* of the *tudādi* group of roots introduced as per 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ....* A further introduction of *nUM* by 7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām* produces *li* + *n*(*UM*→*0*)*p* + *a* + *a* = *linp* + *a* + *a* which through *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* (cf. 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya*; 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*) ultimately derives *limpa*. An introduction of *sU* and subsequent *rutva-visarga* yields *limpaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (397) *vindaḥ*.

An example such as (398) *dhārayaḥ* derives from *dhāraya* + *sU* where *dhāraya* is a nominal stem derived by introducing affix *Śa* after verbal root *dhāri*, a *ṆiC* derivate of *dhṛÑ*. The resultant string *dhāri* + *ŚaP* + *Śa* = *dhāri* + *a* + *a* will go through *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha...*) and *ayādeśa* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) to produce *dhār*(*i*→*e*→*ay*)*a* + *a* = *dhāraya* +*a*. Deriving *dhāraya* from *dhāray*(*a*+*a*→*a*) via *pararūpa* is easy. Similar rule applications are needed to derive (399) *pārayaḥ* from *pṛ* + *ṆiC* = *pāri* + *Śa* and (400) *udejayaḥ* from *ud*+*ejṚ*+*ṆiC* = *udeji* + *Śa*. The remaining roots, except for *sāti*, will receive their *ṆiC* from 3.1.25 *satyāpa...curādibhyo ṇic* for deriving (401) *vedayaḥ*, (402) *cetayaḥ*, and (403) *sāhayaḥ*. This last example will be derived from *sāti* + *ŚaP* + *Śa* where verbal root *sāti* is treated as *sautra* 'attested only by the *sūtra*'.

3.1.139 *dadātidadhātyor vibhāṣā*

This rule produces an optional set of two examples (405) *dadaḥ*, (406) *dāyaḥ*; and (407) *dadhaḥ*, (408) *dhāyaḥ* for verbal roots *ḌUdāÑ* and *ḌUdhāÑ*. Note that a *ŚaP* introduced before affix *Śa* will be deleted by 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ....* This will lead to doubling whereby we will get *dā* + *dā* + *a*. A short *a* will replace the long *ā* of the reduplicated syllable

(*abhyāsa*) *dā* by rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. This will be followed by the deletion of *ā* (*āllopa*) thereby to yield *d(ā→a)* + *dā* + *a* = *da* + *d(ā→∅)* + *a* = *dada*. Now one can derive *dadaḥ* from *dada* + *sU*. Our optional example *dāyaḥ* derives from *dā* + *Ṇa* = *dā* + *yUK* + *Ṇa* where *Ṇa* is introduced optionally to *Śa* by rule 3.1.141 *śyādvyadhāsru*.... The *yUK* is subsequntly introduced by 7.3.33 *āto yukciṇkṛtoḥ*.

One can similarly derive *dhāyaḥ*. Deriving *dadhaḥ* would entail the application of 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* whereby the *dh* of the reduplicated syllable (*abhyāsa*; at the stage when the string is: *dha* + *dh* + *a*) will be replaced with *d* to produce (*dh* → *d*)*a* + *dh* + *a* = *dadha*.

3.1.141 *śyādvyadhāsrusaṃsrvatīṇa*...

Deriving (409) *avaśyāyaḥ* from *avaśyāya* + *sU* entails the introduction of affix *Ṇa* after verbal root *śyaiṄ* used in conjunction with *ava*. An application of *ātva* of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*... followed by the introduction of *yUK* will produce *ava* + *śy(ai→ā)(Ṅ)* + *(Ṇ)a* = *ava* + *śyā* + *y(UK)* + *a* = *avaśyāya*. Deriving *avaśyāyaḥ* with the introduction of *sU* and *rutva-visarga* is easy.

Deriving (410) *āsrāvaḥ* from *ā(Ṅ→∅)* + *sru* + *(Ṇ)a* = *a* + *sru* + *a* entails *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. An application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will then replace the *au* by *āv*: *a* + *sr(u→au→āv)* + *a* = *āsrāva))* + *sU* = *āsrāvaḥ)))*.

3.1.146 *gas thakan*

Example (411) *gāthikā* derives from *gai* + *thaka(N→∅)* through *ātva*: *g(ai→ā)* + *thaka* = *gā* + *thaka* = *gāthaka*. Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* then introduces the feminine affix *ṬāP*. The *itva* application of rule 7.3.44 *pratyayasthātkāt*... and the *savarṇadīrgha* of 6.1.101 finally produces *gāth* (*a→i*)*ka* + *(T→∅)ā(P→∅)* = *gāthik(a* + *ā→ā)* = *gāthikā*. Affix *sU* introduced after *gāthikā* will be subsequently deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*....

3.1.147 *ṇyuṭ ca*

Example (412) *gāyanī* derives from *gai* + *(Ṇ)yu(Ṭ)* + *ṄīP))* where *ātva* again applies. This gives us (*g(ai→ā)* + *yu* = *gā* + *yu*. Rule 7.3.33 *āto yukcinkṛtoḥ* then introduces *yUK* whereby the string becomes *gā* + *y(UK→∅)* + *yu*. The *yu* will finally be replaced with *ana* of rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*. Thus, *gā* + *y* + *yu→ ana* = *gāyana*. This nominal stem will then receive the feminine affix *(Ṅ)ī(P)* of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*.... Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will order the deletion of the final *a* of *gāyana* to produce: *gāyan(a→∅)* + *ī* = *gāyanī*. The nominal ending *sU* introduced after *gāyanī* will again be deleted.

3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*

Refer to derivational details of (97) *kumbhakāraḥ* and (136) *svāduṃkāram* under the appendices of rules 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ* and 1.1.39 *kṛnmejantaḥ* respectively for a general idea on deriving the examples of this rule. Example (413) *vedādhyāyaḥ* contains the string *veda* + *Śas* + *(adhi+iṄ)* + *aṆ*

where *adhi*+ *i* + *a* derives *adhyāya* through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) and *āyādeśa* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*). Thus, *adhi* + (*e*→*ai*) + *a* = *adhi* + (*ai*→ *āya*) + *a*. An application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* would as usual turn *adhi* + *āy* + *a* into *adhyāya* via *adh*(*i*→ *y*) + *āy* + *a*. The accusative plural after *veda* will as usual be deleted after the formation of the compound *vedādhyāya* where 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* has also applied on *ved*(*a* + *a*→*ā*) *dhyāya*)).

3.2.2 *hvāvāmāś ca*

Note that (414) *putrahvāyaḥ* and (415) *tantuvāyaḥ* are derivates of verbal roots *hveÑ* and *veÑ* which will go through *ātva* before *a*(*Ṇ*). Our present rule specifies them with *ātva*. Rule 7.3.33 *āto yukciṇkṛtoḥ* will introduce *yUK* to realize *hv*(*e*→*ā*) + *a* = *hvā* + *y*(*UK*→0) + *a* = *hvāya*. Deriving *putrahvāyaḥ* from (*putra* + *am* + *hvāya*) + *sU* is not any difficult. Similar rules apply in deriving *tantuvāyaḥ*.

3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*

Examples (416) *godaḥ* and (417) *kambaladaḥ* also derive with the cooccurring condition of an object though with the introduction of affix *Ka* after verbal root *dā*. The *ā* of *dā*, as in many other derivates to follow, will be subsequently deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. All other operations are similar to other derivates. Same sets of rules can derive (418) *pārṣṇitram* by introducing affix *Ka* after verbal root *trā* under the cooccurrence condition of the object constituted by *pārṣṇi*. Note that *pārṣṇitra* + *sU* will yield *pārṣṇitram* via the application of rules 7.1.24 *ato' m* and 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*. Thus, *pārṣṇitra* + (*sU*→ *am*) = *pārṣṇitr*(*a* + *a*→*a*)*m* = *pārṣṇitram*.

3.2.8 *gāpoṣ ṭak*

Note that verbal roots *gā* and *pā* as usual will be subjected to the deletion of their *ā* (*āllopa*). Examples such as (419) *śakragaḥ* and (420) *sāmagaḥ* will have their feminine forms derived by affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...) at the strength of the *Ṭit* status of affix *ṬaK*. Examples such as (421) *surāpaḥ* and (420) *surāpī*, a feminine, can be similarly derived.

3.2.13 *stambakarṇayoḥ ramijapoḥ*

Note that examples (422) *stamberamaḥ* and (423) *karṇejapaḥ* entail the non-deletion (*aluk*) of their *saptamī* by rule 6.3.9 *halantāt saptamyāḥ*.

3.2.14 *śami dhātoḥ saṃjñāyām*

Deriving (424) *śaṅkaraḥ* from *śaṅkara* + *sU* where affix *aC* is introduced after verbal root *kṛ*, under the cooccurrence condition of the indeclinable (*avyaya*) *śam* entails *guṇa* of *ṛ*. Of course, additionally to the change of *m* to *anusvāra* (8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*) and that of *anusvāra* to *parasavarṇa* form of *ṅ* (8.4.54 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*). The derivation of (425) *śaṃbhavaḥ* would not only entail *guṇa* but also *avādeśa*. Thus, *śam* + *bh* (*u*→*o*→*av*) + *aC* = *śa* (*m*→*ṃ*)*bhava* = *śaṃbhava* where *m* will be replaced with the *anusvāra*. Deriving (426) *śaṃvadaḥ* is easy.

3.2.21 *divāvibhāniśāprabhābhāskārāntād*...

Note that (427) *divākaraḥ* and (428) *vibhākaraḥ*, etc., offer nothing new

in their derivation. Deriving (429) *ahaskaraḥ* requires a replacement in *r* for the *n* of *ahan* by 8.2.69 *ro' supi*. This *r* will then go through a replacement in *visarga* by 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor....* Finally, the *visarga* itself will be replaced with *s* by 8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkamikaṃsa....* The derivation of (431) *aruṣkaraḥ* will entail replacing the *s* of *arus* with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) by rule 8.3.45 *nityaṃ samāse....* The derivation of (432) *dhanuṣkaraḥ* offers nothing new.

3.2.28 *ejeḥ khaś*

The derivation of(433) *aṅgamejayaḥ* begins with the introduction of affix *KHaŚ* after the *ṆiC* form *eji* of verbal root *ejṚ* 'to tremble' where *eji* will still be a root in view of rule 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. Note that *eji* + *(KH→∅)a(Ś→∅)* will also receive *(Ś→∅)a(P→∅)* to produce *eji* + *a* + *a* which, through the application of *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...*) will become *ej(i→e)* + *a* + *a* = *eje* + *a* + *a*. Remember that *aṅga* will also be part of the string after the formation of the compound, and the *sUP*-deletion of *am*. Rule 6.3.67 *arurviṣad...*will now introduce *m* *(UM→∅)* to *aṅga* under the condition of the following *eje* + *a* + *a* which ends in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. This will produce *aṅgam* + *eje* + *a* + *a* = *aṅgameje* + *a* + *a*. The *ayādeśa* of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will then produce *aṅgamej (e→ay)* + *a* + *a*. Finally, the *pararūpa* application of rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will realize *aṅgamejay* +*(a+a→a)* = *aṅgamejaya*. Similar rules apply in deriving the nominal stem *janamejaya* of (434) *janamejayaḥ*.

3.2.29 *nāsikāstanayoṇ...*

Examples such as (435) *nāsikandhamaḥ* entails the application of rule 7.3.78 *pāghrādhmāsthā...* whereby *dhmā* is replaced with *dham*. The resultant string thus becomes *nāsikā* + *dham* + *a*. The long *ā* of *nāsikā* is replaced with short by 6.3.66 *khity anavyayasya*. The augment *mUM*, and subsequent *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* applications will eventually derive the nominal stem *nāsik(ā→a)* + *m* + *dham* + *a* = *nāsikam* + *dhama* =*nāsika(m→ṃ→n)* + *dhama* = *nāsikandhama*. Note that example (436) *nāsikandhayaḥ* involves the *ayādeśa* of the *e* of *dheṬ*. The derivation of (437) *stanandhayaḥ* is not different either. Note, however, that, to derive a parallel feminine form (438) *stanandhayī*, one has to introduce *ṄīP* by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ....*

3.2.35 *vidhvaruṣos tudaḥ*

Note that the *parasavarṇa* replacement of *ṃ* of the string *vidhu* + *m* *(UM→∅)* + *tud* + *a* = *vidhu (m→ṃ)* + *tuda* = *vidhu (ṃ→n)* + *tuda* = (439) *vidhuntudaḥ* by rule 8.4.59 *vā padāntasya* is optional. The same applies to (440) *aruntudaḥ*.

3.2.39 *dviṣatparayos tāpeḥ*

Note that (441) *dviṣantapaḥ* and (442) *parantapaḥ* also entail rule applications similar to the preceding examples. The root *tap* is here used as ending in *ṆiC*. Thus, the introduction of *KHaC* after *tāp* + *i*, where *vṛddhi* is caused by 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*, produces *tāp* + *i* + *a*. The introduction of *m (UM)* to *dviṣat* will realize the string *dviṣa* + *m* + *t* + *tāp* + *i* + *a*. Affix *ṆiC* will

subsequently be deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. The penultimate long vowel of *tāp* will be shortened under the condition of the following *KHaC* by 6.4.94 *khaci hrasvaḥ*. The string will now become *dviṣamt* + *tāp* + (*i*→∅) + *a* = *dviṣamt* + *t(ā→a)p* + *a* = *dviṣamt* + *tapa*. The final *t* of *dviṣamt* will be deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*. One can now apply the *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* to derive the nominal stem *dviṣantapaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *parantapaḥ*.

3.2.44 *kṣemaPriyamadre' ṇ ca*

Deriving examples (443) *kṣemakāraḥ* optionally to (444) *kṣemaṃkaraḥ* is not very complex. Remember that affix *aN* will condition *vṛddhi* (as in *kāraḥ*) in contrast to *KHaC* which will introduce *mUM*. Similar rules apply in deriving (445) *priyakāraḥ* and (446) *priyaṃkaraḥ*.

3.2.48 *antātyantādhvadūrapāra...*

Examples such as (447) *antagaḥ*, (448) *atyantagaḥ*, and (449) *adhvagaḥ*, etc., entail the deletion of the *ṭi* of *gam*, i.e., *am*, under the condition of the *Ḍit* status of affix *Ḍa* (cf. *Kāś.* ad 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ: ḍityabhasyāpy anubandha-karaṇasāmarthyāt ṭilopo bhavati*). An example such as (450) *śatruhaḥ* of the following rule will also entail similar deletion.

3.2.50 *ape kleśatamasoḥ*

The derivates of affix *Ḍa* such as (451) *kleśāpahaḥ* and (452) *tamopahaḥ* will again involve the deletion of the *ṭi* (*an*) of *apahan*. Deriving *kleśāpaha* from *kleśa* + *apah* + *a* involves *savarṇadīrgha*. Deriving *tamopaha* from *tamas* + *apah* + *a* involves *rutva* of *s* by 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. Rule 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād apluteḥ* then applies on *tamar* + *apaha* to replace the *r* with *u*. This occasions the application of rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* whereby the sequence *a*+*u* of *tam(a+u)+ apaha* is replaced with a single *guṇa* vowel *o*. The resultant *tamo* + *apaḥ* requires the *pūrvarūpa-ekādeśa* 'single substitute similar to the first' of 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* in place of the sequence *o*+*a*. Thus we get *tam(o+a→o)paha* = *tamopaha*.

3.2.51 *kumāraśīrṣayor ṇiniḥ*

Example (453) *kumāraghātī* derives from *kumāraghātin* + *sU* where *ghātin* derives by introducing affix *ṆinI* after verbal root *han* under the cooccurrence condition of *kumāra* + *am*, a *pada* denoting an object. The *h* of *han* will be replaced with *gh* before *in* (7.3.54 *ho hanter...*) thereby producing *kumāra* + *ghan* + *in*. The *n* of *ghan* will then be replaced with *t* by rule 7.3.32 *hanasto' ciṇ....* The resultant string, *kumāra* + *gha(n→t)* + *in* = *kumāra* + *ghat* + *in* will now go through the *vṛddhi* of the penultimate *a* by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* to realize *kumāra* + *gh(a→ā)t* + *in* = *kumāraghātin*. **Deriving *kumāraghātī* from *kumāraghātin* + *s(U→∅)* entails *(i→ī)*** by 6.4.13 *sau ca*. That is, *kumāraghāt (i→ī)n* + *s* = *kumāraghātīn* + *s*. Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...* will delete the *s* followed by the deletion of *n* by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. We will thus get *kumāraghātīn* + (*s*→∅) = *kumāra-ghātī(n→∅)* = *kumāraghātī*.

An example such as (454) *śīrṣaghātī* can be similarly derived with the understanding that *śiras* gets replaced with *śīrṣa* by this very rule.

3.2.52 *lakṣaṇe jāyāpatyoṣ ṭak*

The examples of this rule entail the deletion of the penultimate part of *han* (6.4.98 *gamahana...*) thereby producing *jāyā* + *h(a→∅)n* + *a* = *jāyāhna*. The *h* of the string will be replaced with *gh* by rule 7.3.54 *ho hanter*...to produce *jāyā(h→gh)na*. The nominative (*prathamā*) singular *sU* can now be introduced to derive (455) *jāyāghnaḥ*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (456) *patighnī* though via the introduction of the feminine affix *ṄīP* after *patighna*. The *ṭit* status of *Ṭak* will facilitate the introduction of *ṄīP* by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*....

3.2.56 *āḍhyasubhagasthūlapalita...*

The derivation of examples such as (457) *āḍhyaṃkaraṇam*, (458) *subhagaṃkaraṇam*, (459) *sthūlaṃkaraṇam*, etc., are similar to the derivation of other affixes marked with *KH* as *it*. One can refer to the derivation of (433) *aṅgamejayaḥ*, etc., where the introduction of *mUM* is a must. The *kṛ* + *KHyuN* sequence will produce *karana* through the *ana* replacement for the *yu* of the affix. The *n* will then be replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ*.... The derivation of *āḍhyaṃkaraṇam* from *āḍhyaṃkaraṇa* + *sU* will follow rule-application similar to *pārṣṇitra* + *sU* of (418) *pārṣṇitram*.

3.2.58 *spṛśo' nudake kvin*

An example such as (460) *mantraspṛk* is derived by introducing affix *KvIN* after verbal root *spṛś* used in conjunction with a *pada* ending in *sUP* though not constituted by the nominal stem *udaka*. Rule 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* will delete the affixal *v* to produce *mantra* + *Ṭā* + *spṛś* + (*v*→∅). The *Ṭā* will also be deleted after the formation of the compound *mantraspṛś*. The string *mantraspṛś* + *s*(*U*→∅) will have its affixal *s* deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*.... The *ś* of *mantraspṛś* will go through *kutva* of 8.2.62 *kvin pratyayasya* read with 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*. The resultant string, i.e., *mantraspṛ(ś→kh)* = *mantraspṛkh* will go through the applications of two rules. Rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* will require replacing the *kh* with *g*. Rule 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* will provide *k* as an optional replacement for the resultant *g*. Thus, *mantraspṛ(ś→kh→g→k)* = *mantraspṛk*.

Similar set of rules apply in deriving (461) *jalaspṛk*. Refer to (II: 446-47) for the full derivational history of *ghṛtaspṛk*.

3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛksragdig...*

Note that (462) *ṛtvik*, (463) *dadhṛk*, (464) *srak*, (465) *dik*, and (466) *uṣṇik* are derived with affix *KvIN* via *nipātana*. The first example *ṛtvik* derives from *yaj* + *KvIN* = *yaj* + (*v*→∅) = *yaj* where *yaj* will go through *samprasāraṇa* of 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyaj*...to yield (*y*→*i*)*aj*→*i*(*a*→∅)*j* = *ij*. Note here that *ij* will be the final part of the compound *ṛtuij* since *KvIN* was introduced after verbal root *yaj* under the cooccurrence condition of a

nominal word constituted by *ṛtu*. Deriving *ṛtvik* from *ṛt(u→v)ij* = *ṛtvi* (*j→g→k* = *ṛtvik*) entails the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* followed by relevant rules at the end of (456) *mantraspṛk*. Deriving *dadhṛk* entails doubling (*dvitva*) of *dhṛṣ* before *KvIN* via *nipātana*. That is, *dhṛṣ* + *dhṛṣ* + *KvIN→dhṛ(ṣ→0)* + *dhṛṣ* + (*v→0*) = *dh(ṛ→a)* + *dhṛṣ* = *(dh→d)a* + *dhṛṣ* = *dadhṛ(ṣ→k)*. Refer to many examples where rule application relative to doubling has already been explained. The *r* of *dhṛ* is replaced with *a* by 7.4.66 *ur at*. Other examples can also be similarly derived via *nipātana*.

The derivation of (467) *prāṅ* from *pra* + *añc* + *KvIN* will produce *prāñc* + *KvIN* through 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*.... The *ñ* will be deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*.... The (*v* of) *KvIN* will be deleted as explained. Given a string such as *prāc* + *sU*, rule 7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ sarvanāmasthāne*... will inrtroduce *nUM* to change the string to *prā* + *n(UM→0)* + *c* + *s*. The affixal *s* will again be deleted. The *c* will be deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*. The result of this rule application *prān* + (*c→0*) + (*s→0*) = *prān* will now go through *kutva* of 8.2.62 *kvinpratyayasya kuḥ* whereby we get the final derivate *prā(n→ṅ)* = *prāṅ*. Similar rules will derive (468) *pratyaṅ* from *prati* + (*añc* + *v*) = *prati* + *aṅ* = *prat(i→y)aṅ*. Using *ud* + *añc* + *v* will derive (469) *udaṅ*. Note that in deriving (470) *kruṅ* from *kruñc* + *v* = *kru(ñ→0)* = *kru(nUM)c* = *krunc* + *s*, parallel to *prā*+ *nUM* + *c* + *s* of (468) *prāṅ*, *krunc* does not lose its penultimate *n* because of *nipātana*.

3.2.60 *tyadādiṣu dṛśo' nālocane kañ ca*

Deriving optional forms such as (470) *tyādṛk* by introducing affix *KvIN* after verbal root *dṛś* used in conjunction with a nominal *pada* constituted by *tyad* where *tyad* would lose its final sound segment *d* before the nominal ending under the provision of rule 7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*. The resultant string after the formation of compound will be: *tyad* + *dṛś* + *KvIN*. A derivate with the cooccurrence condition of *tad*, i.e., (471) *tādṛk*, will similarly yield the string *ta* + *dṛś* + *KvIN*. A replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) of rule 6.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnaḥ* will then apply to change the strings to: *ty(a→ā)* + *dṛś* + *v*, and *t(a→ā)* + *dṛś* +*v*. The application of *kutva* of 8.2.62 *kvinpratyayasya* along with the deletion of the *s* of *sUP* as shown in earlier examples will produce *tyādṛk* and *tādṛk*.

Examples (472) *tyādṛśaḥ* and (473) *tādṛśaḥ* involve the introduction of affix *KaÑ*, optionally to *KvIN*, after verbal root *dṛś*. They, however, will lack *kutva* as is the case with *KvIN*. Consequently, the derivates will be *tyādṛś* + (*K→0*)*a*(*N→0*) = *tyādṛśa*; and *tādṛśa*. Operations relative to *sUP*-selection, and *rutva-visarga* will ultimately realize *tyādṛśaḥ* and *tādṛśaḥ*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (474) *yādṛk* and (475) *yādṛśaḥ* with the conjoined word *yad*.

3.2.61 *satsūdviṣadruhaduhayuj...kvip*

Note that affix *KvIP* will be deleted in toto. The resultant compounds

under the cooccurrence conditions of *vedi*, *śuci*, and *antarikṣa* will subsequently go through *sUP*- selection, and deletion, to derive (476) *vediṣat*, (477) *śuciṣat*, and (478) *antarikṣasat*. The initial *ṣ* of the verbal root *ṣadḶ* will be replaced with *s* by rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*. The *ṣ* comes back as a replacement for the *s* of *vedisat* and *śucisat* through the application of 8.3.106 *pūrvapadāt*. The final *t* of the examples is an optional replacement for *d* under the provision of rule 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*.

Deriving (479) *aṇḍasūḥ* and (480) *śatasūh* with *KvIN* introduced after verbal root *sū* used in conjunction with a *pada* constituted by *aṇḍa* and *śata* is easy. Verbal roots *dviṣ*, *druh* and *duh*, through the introduction of affix *KvIP* under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal *pada* constituted by *mitra*, and *go* will yield derivates such as (481) *mitradviṭ*, (482) *mitradhruk*, (483) *godhruk*, and (484) *godhuk*. Note that the *ṣ* of *mitradviṣ* will get a replacement in *ḍ* by rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*. The *ḍ* will then get replaced by *ṭ* with the application of 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*. The *h* of *mitradruh* will be first replaced with *gh* of rule 8.2.33 *vā druhamuh....* An application of rule 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo bhaṣ...* will replace the *d* of *druh* with *dh*. The string will now be *mitra(d→dh)ru(h→gh))* = *mitradhrugh*. The final *gh* will then go through the application of rules 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* and 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* to produce *mitradhru(gh→g)* = *mitradhru(g→k)* = *mitradhruk*. Examples (483) *godhruk* and (484) *godhuk* will require similar rule applications. The *h* of *duh* will be replaced with *gh* by rule 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ*. Examples of *yuj*, such as (485) *aśvayuk* and (486) *prayuk*, will receive their final *k* as a replacement for *g* (8.4.56 *vāvasāne*), which earlier replaced the *j* of *yuj* through the *kutva* of rule 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*. The rest of the examples can be similarly derived. Remember though that the *ṇ* replacement for the *n* of (487) *grāmaṇīḥ* and (488) *praṇīḥ* comes via *nipātana*.

3.2.62 *bhajo ṇviḥ*

Refer to the derivation of *ardhabhāk* (II: 447) for the application of this rule.

3.2.63 *chandasi sahaḥ*

An example such as (489) *turāṣāṭ* is derived by introducing affix *ṆvI* after verbal root *sah* under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* constituted by *tura*. Note that *tura* will receive a replacement in *ā* for its final *a* by 6.3.137 *anyeṣām api dṛśyate*. The *a* of *sah* will also go through *vṛddhi* before *ṆvI* as per 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. The *h* of the resultant *turāsāh* will go through *ḍhatva* of 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*. This will produce *turāsāḍh*. An application of 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* followed by that of 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* will produce: *turāsā(ḍ→ṭ)* = *turāsāṭ*. The *s* of *turāsāṭ* will be replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.56 *saheḥ sāḍaḥ saḥ*.

3.2.67 *janasanakhanakramagamo viṭ*

The derivation of (490) *abjāḥ* requires the introduction of affix *vIṬ*

under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* constituted by *ap*. Deriving *abjāḥ* from *(ap+jan)sU))*, where affix *vIṬ* is deleted by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*, entails replacing the root-final *n* or *m* by *ā* (*ātva*; cf. 6.4.41 *viḍvanor...)*. The resultant *(ap + ja + ā) + sU))* will go through the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ svarṇe....* The *p* of *ap + j(a+ā→ā) = sU)) = ap + jā + sU* will be replaced with *b* by 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*. Deriving *abjāḥ* from *abjā + sU* requires *rutva-visarga*. Similar rules apply in deriving (491) *goṣāḥ* with verbal root *san* where its *s* is replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.108 *sanoter anaḥ*. An example such as (492) *agregāḥ* entails non-deletion of the locative ending (*saptamī*) as per the *bāhulaka* of 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*.

3.2.68 *ado' nanne*/3.2.69 *kravye ca*

Examples (493) *āmāt*, (494) *sasyāt*, and (495) *kravyāt* derive from *āma + am + ad + vIṬ*, *sasya + am + ad + vIṬ*, and *krvya +am + ad + vIṬ* where *vIṬ* is as usual deleted by rule 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*. The *ātva* of *āma*, etc., followed by *savarṇadīrgha* will derive *āmāt*, *sasyāt* and *kravyāt*. Rule 6.1.67 *halṅyābbhyo...* will delete the *sU* introduced after these derivates.

3.2.70 *duhaḥ kab ghaś ca*

Deriving (496) *kāmadughā* and (497) *dharmadughā* from *kāma + am + duh + Ka* and *dharma + am + duh + Ka* entails replacing the *h* of *duh* with *gh* (*ghatva*) as per rule 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ*. Affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāP*) will be subsequently introduced after *kāmadugha* and *dharmadugha* to denote feminine. The *sU* introduced after the feminine derivates will be deleted by 6.1.67 *halṅyābbhyo....*

3.2.71 *mantre śvetavahokthaśapuroḍāśo ṇvin*

Example such as (498) *śvetavāḥ*, and (499) *ukthaśāḥ* derive from *(śveta + Ṭā + vah + ṆvIN) + sU))* and *(uktha + Ṭā + śaṃs + ṆvIN) + sU))* where the instrumental ending *Ṭā* denotes agent (*kartṛ*) in the first example, and instrument (*karaṇa*) in the second. Note that the second example can also have the cooccurring *pada* with the denotatum of *karman* 'object'. Affix *ṆvIN*, in these examples, is replaced with *ḌaŚ* as per the *vārttika: śvetavahādīnāṃ ḍas padasya ca* under this rule. The application of yet another *vārttika: ḍity abhasyāpi ṭer lopaḥ* (ad 6.4.14 *atvasantasya cādhātoḥ*) will change the string to *śvetavah + (Ḍ→0)as)) = śvetav(ah→0) + as = śvetav + as = śvetavas*. The introduction of *sU* followed by the long vowel replacement of 6.4.14 *atvasantasya...* will produce *śvetavas + s(U) = śvetav(a→ ā)s + s(U) = śvetavās + s(U)*. Rule 6.1.67 *halṅyābbhyo...* will as usual delete the *sU*, and *rutva-visarga* will produce *śvetavā(s → r → ḥ) = śvetavāḥ*. The next example can also be similarly derived. Note, however, that the nasal of the root is deleted by *nipātana*. One can also derive (500) *puroḍāḥ* where affix *ṆvIN* is introduced after verbal root *dāś(Ṛ)* under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal *pada* constituted by *puras*. Note that *puras* will be changed to *puro* as per the applications of rules 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*, 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād...*, and 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*.

Thus: *pura(s→r→u* = *pur(a+u→o))*. The string *pur(as→o)* + *dāś* + *NvIN→(D)as* will subsequently produce *puroḍāś* + *as* + *sU* where the *d* of the root will be replaced with *ḍ* through *nipātana*. The resultant string, i.e. *puroḍāś* + *as* will, as in the preceding example, go through the *ṭilopa* as well as of the *sU* to finally derive *puroḍāḥ*.

3.2.72 *ave yajaḥ*

A long vowel replacement for the *a* of *yaj* followed by the *Ḍas*-replacement for *ṆvIN* of *(avayaj* + *ṆvIN)* + *sU))* will ultimately produce (501) *āvayāḥ*.

3.2.73 *vijupe chandasi*

Deriving (502) *upayaṭ* from *upayaj* + *vIC* will entail the total deletion of the affix followed by the *ṣ*-replacement for the *j* of *yaj* by rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasja....* This *ṣ* will further be replaced with *ḍ* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). One can optionally derive *upayaṭ* from *upayaḍ* + *(sU→∅)* = *upayaḍ* by applying 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*.

3.2.74 *āto maninkvanibvanipaś ca*

This rule allows, in the Vedic, the introduction of affixes *manIN*, *KvanIP*, and *vanIP* additionally to *vIC* after verbal roots ending in *ā*. This explains why we have examples of *dā*, *sthā*, *dhā* and *pā* as in (503) *sudāmā*, (504) *aśvatthāmā*, (505) *sudhīvā*, (506) *supīvā*, and (507) *bhūridāvā*, etc.

Our first example *sudāmā* contains *(su* + *dā* + *manIN)* + *sU* = *sudāman* + *s* where rule 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau* orders the lengthening of the penultimate vowel of the *aṅga*. Thus: *sudām (a→ā)n* + *sU* = *sudāmān* + *sU*. The deletion of *n* will be accomplished by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ....* The *s(U)* as usual will be deleted by 6.1.67 *halṅyābbhyo....*

The derivation of *aśvatthāmā* parallel to *aśva iva tiṣṭhati* contains *(aśva* + *sU* + *sthā* + *manIN)* + *sU))* where, because of its listing in the group of nominals known as *pṛṣodara*, etc., *aśvasthāman* must go through the *t*-replacement for its *s* to produce *aśvatthāman* (cf. 6.3.109 *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*). The rest of the derivation remains similar to the preceding examples.

The derivation of *sudhīvan* and *supīvan* requires a replacement in *ī* (*ītva*) for the *ā* of the roots as per rule 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpā....* Our last example, *bhūridāvā*, derives similarly from *bhūridāvan* + *sU* where the affix introduced after *dā* happens to be *vanIP*.

3.2.76 *kvip ca*

Example (508) *ukhāsrat* derives with the introduction of affix *KvIP* after verbal root *srams* under the cooccurrence condition of *ukhā*. The affix is as usual deleted. The nasal of *ukhāsrams* + *sU* is also deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhā....* The final *s* of *ukhāsras*, will after the deletion of *sU*, be replaced with *d* in view of 8.2.72 *vasusransudhvaṃsu....* The resultant form *ukhāsrad* can now be changed into *ukhāsrat* via the *t*-replacement for its final *d* as per rule 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*.

Similar rules will apply in deriving (509) *parṇadhvat*.

Example (510) *vāhābhraṭ* derives by introducing affix *KvIP* after verbal root *bhraṃś* 'to fall down' under the cooccurrence condition of *vāha*. The *ś* of *vāhabhraś*, subsequently to the deletion of the nasal of the root, will be replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjsṛjmṛj*.... The resultant *vāhabhraṣ*, of course after the deletion of *sU*, will receive the *ḍ→ṭ* replacement for its final *ṣ* to produce *vāhabhraṭ* similarly to (502) *upayaṭ*. The lengthening of the *a* of *vāha* in *vāhabhra* to realize *vāhābhraṭ* is accounted for by 3.2.75 *anyeṣām api dṛśyante*.

3.2.77 *sthaḥ ka ca*

An example such as (511) *śaṃsthaḥ* derives by introducing affix *Ka* after verbal root *sthā* used in conjunction with the indeclinable *pada śam* where, given, *śaṃsthā* + *a*, rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* deletes the long *ā*. Finally, *śaṃstha* + *s* will produce *śaṃsthaḥ* through *rutva-visarga*. A parallel derivate with affix *KvIP* will be (512) *śaṃsthāḥ*.

3.2.78 *supy ajātau ṇinis tācchīlye*

Deriving examples such as (513) *uṣṇabhojī*, and (514) *śītabhojī* from underlying strings such as *(uṣṇa* + *bhuj* + *ṆinI)* + *sU*, and *(śīta* + *bhuj* + *ṆinI)* + *sU))* entail *guṇa* whereby we get *uṣṇa* + *bh(u→o)j* + *in*. The rest of the rules are similar to (455) *kumāraghātī*.

3.2.81 *bahulam ābhīkṣṇye*

Deriving (514) *kaṣāyapāyiṇaḥ* and (515) *kṣīrapāyiṇaḥ* from *kaṣāyapāyin* + *Jas* and *kṣīrapāyin* + *Jas* where the nominal stems *kaṣāyapāyin* and *kṣīrapāyin* entail the introduction of affix *ṆinI* after verbal root *pā* under the cooccurrence condition of the nominal *pada* constituted by *kaṣāya* and *kṣīra* respectively. The introduction of *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*) followed by *rutvavisarga* and the *ṇ*-replacement (*ṇatva*) are subsequently required operations to realize the derivates. Thus: *kaṣāyapāyin* + *(J→∅)as))* = *kaṣāyapāyina(s→ḥ)* = *kasāyapāyi(n→ṇ)aḥ* = *kaṣāyapāyiṇaḥ*. The next example also follows similar rule application.

3.2.83 *ātmamāne khaś ca*

This rule introduces affixes *KHaŚ* and *ṆinI* to optionally derive (516) *darśanīyammanyaḥ* and (517) *darśanīyamānī*. The *ṆinI* form as usual entails the penultimate *vṛddhi* in *man* + *in* => *mānin*. Deriving *darśanīyamānī* from *darśanīyamānin* + *sU* does not offer anything new. Deriving *darśanīyammanyaḥ* from *darśanīyammanya* + *sU* involves the introduction of affix *KHaŚ* after verbal root *man* under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal *pada* constituted by *darśanīya*. A string such as *darśanīya* + *man* + *(KH→∅)a(Ś→∅)* = *darśanīya* + *man* + *a* will receive *ŚyaN* because the root belongs to the *divādi* class (3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*). The introduction of augment *mUM* by 6.3.67 *arurdviṣat*... will be next. Thus: *darśanīya* + *man* + *ya* + *a* = *darśanīya* +*m(UM→∅)* + *man* + *ya* + *a* = *darśanīyammanya* + *a*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will finally produce the nominal stem

darśanīammanya which after the introduction of *sU* and subsequent *rutva-visarga* will produce *darśanīyammanyaḥ*. Additional examples such as (518) *paṇḍitammanyaḥ* and (519) *paṇḍitamānī* can be similarly derived.

3.2.85 *karaṇe yajaḥ*/3.2.86 *karmaṇi hanaḥ*

Examples under these rules require the cooccurrence condition of *karaṇa* 'instrument' and *karman* 'object' respectively for the introduction of affix *ṆinI* after verbal roots *yaj* and *han*. Thus, we get (520) *agniṣṭomayājī* and (521) *mātulaghātī*. Refer to (455) *kumāraghātī* for derivational details of the second example.

3.2.87 *brahmabhrūṇavṛtreṣu kvip*

Examples such as (522) *brahmahā*, (523) *bhrūṇahā* and (523) *vṛtrahā* involve the deletion of *n*, and lengthening (6.4.13 *sau ca*) similar to (455) *kumāraghātī*.

3.2.89 *sukarmapāpamantrapuṇyeṣu kṛñaḥ*

Deriving examples such as (524) *sukṛt*, (525) *karmakṛt*, (526) *mantrakṛt* and (527) *puṇyakṛt* by introducing affix *KvIP* after verbal root *kṛ* under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* constituted by *su*, etc., requires augment *tUK* by 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti....* Thus: *sukṛ* + (*KvIP*→$\emptyset$) + *t*(*UK*) = *sukṛt*, etc.

3.2.90 *some suñaḥ*/3.2.91 *agnau ceḥ*

See derivations (252) *agnicit* and (253) *somasut* (II: 421-23) under the appendix of rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyaya....*

3.2.93 *karmaṇīnirvikriyaḥ*

3.2.94 *dṛśeḥ kvanip*

3.2.95 *rājani yudhikṛñaḥ*

3.2.96 *sahe ca*

The derivation of (528) *somavikrayī*, (529) *rasavikrayī* and (530) *madya-vikrayī* requires the introduction of affix *inI* after verbal root *krīÑ* used with the preverb *vi* under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* which ends in *sUP* and denotes an object. Thus, *soma* + *am* + *vi* + *krī* + *in* will go through *sUP*-deletion, *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha...*) and *ayādeśa* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) to produce *somavikr(ī→e→ay)* + *in* = *soma-vikrayin*. The derivation of *somavikrayī* from *somavikrayin* + *sU* is not very different from derivates such as (455) *kumāraghātī* which require *n*-deletion (*nalopa*), and lengthening (*dīrghatva*), etc. The same applies to other such derivates.

Deriving (531) *vārāṇasīdṛśvā* by introducing affix *KvaniP* after verbal root *dṛśIR*, used with *vārāṇasī* serving as its *karman*, will also require the deletion of *n* of *vārāṇasīdṛśvan* + *sU*. The lengthening of *a* at the end to produce *vārāṇasīdṛśvā* before *sU* will be accomplished by 6.4.8 *sarvanā-masthāne....* The *sU*, of course, will be deleted. Similar set of rules will apply in deriving (532) *paralokadṛśvā* and (533) *pāṭaliputradṛśvā*. Examples (534) *rājayudhvā*, (535) *rājakṛtvā*; and (536) *sahayudhvā*, and

(537) *sahakṛtvā* are different only in terms of specific conditions of cooccurrence.

3.2.97 *saptamyāṃ janer ḍaḥ*

The derivation of (538) *upasarajaḥ* and (539) *mandurajaḥ* requires the introduction of affix *Ḍa* after verbal root *jan* under the cooccurrence condition of a nominal *pada* ending in the locative (*saptamī*). Thus: *upasara + Ṅi + jan + (Ḍ→∅)a = upasara + jan + a* after the deletion of *Ṅi*. Note that *upasarajana* of *upasarajana + sU* goes through the deletion of its *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) eventhough it is not a *bha* in view of 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* (cf. *Mbh.* ad this rule: *ḍity abhasyāpy anubandhakaraṇasāmarthyāt*). Deriving *upasaraj(an→∅)a + s(U→∅) = upasarajaḥ* parallel to *upasare jātaḥ* 'born out of the first pregnancy' through *rutva-visarga* offers nothing new. Same rules will apply in deriving *mandurajaḥ* from *(mandurā + Ṅi) + jan + Ḍa) + sU))* parallel to *mandurāyāṃ jātaḥ* 'born in a stable'. Note that the *ā* of *mandurā* is shortened by 6.3.63 *ṅyāpoḥ saṃjñā....*

3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*

Refer to the appendix of rule 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* for derivational details of examples cited under this rule.

3.2.103 *suyajor ṅvanip*

Deriving (540) *sutvā* by introducing affix *(Ṅ)van(IP)* after verbal root *ṣuÑ* first requires the replacement by *s* of the root-initial *ṣ* by rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*. Secondly, given *su + van*, rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* introduces the augment *tUK*. Deriving *sutvā* from *sutvan +sU* offers nothing new. Similar rules with the exception of *tUK* apply in deriving *yajvā*.

3.2.104 *jīryater atṛn*

Example (541) *jaran* is derived by introducing affix *at(ṚN)* after verbal root *jṝ* where the final *ṝ* of the root goes through *guṇa* to produce *j(ṝ→ar) + at(ṚN→∅) = jar + at*. Rule 7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ sarvanāmasthāne' dhātoḥ* introduces augment *nUM* to *jarat + sU* to produce *jara(n(UM →∅)t + sU*. The deletion of *sU*, and also that of the final *t* of the conjunct (*saṃyogāntalopa*) yields *jaran*. The nominative dual and plural forms of *jarat*, i.e., (542) *jarantau* and (543) *jarantaḥ*, can be similarly accomplished from *jarat + au* and *jarat + (J→∅) as* via the application of *nUM* and (in case of the plural) *rutva- visarga*.

3.2.105 *chandasi liṭ*

Our example (544) *ātatāna* is derived by introducing affix *LIṬ* (and subsequently replacing it with *ṆaL* as per 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇal...*) after verbal root *tan(U→∅)* used with the preverb *ā(Ṅ→∅)* Doubling and related operations such as *halādiśeṣa* will produce *ā + ta + tan + a* where 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will order *vṛddhi* to realize *āta + t(a→ā)n + a = ātatāna*. The derivation of (545) *dadarśa* from *dṛ + dṛś + a* is not difficult. Refer to examples with doubling and other similar operations for further rule application.

3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā*

Examples such as (545) *cikyānaḥ* and (546) *suṣuvāṇaḥ* derive from *ci* + *ci* + *āna* and *su* + *su* + *āna* where verbal roots *ci(Ñ)* and *su* (with its initial *ṣ* replaced with *s*) go through doubling of 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* and *LIṬ* gets replaced with *KānaC*. The string *ci* + *ci* + *āna* will go through the application 7.3.58 *vibhāṣā ceḥ* whereby we will get *ci* + *(c→k)i* + *āna* = *ci* + *ki* + *āna*. Rule 6.1.71 *aciśnudhātu...* will then have its *iyaṄ* blocked in favor of the *yaṆ* of 6.4.82 *eranekāco' saṃyoga....* Thus: *ci* + *k(i→y)* + *āna* = *cikyāna*. Deriving *cikyānaḥ* from *cikyāna* + *sU* is easy. Similar rules apply in deriving *suṣuvāṇaḥ* where the second *ṣ* is a replacement of *s* by 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* and the *ṇ* is a replacement for the *n* of *āna* as per rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅnum....*

3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*

Examples such as (547) *jakṣivān* and (548) *papivān* derive from *(ad* + *LIṬ)* +*sU* and *(pā* + *LIṬ)* + *sU* where *LIṬ* is replaced with *(K)vas(U)*. Rule 2.4.40 *liṭy anyatarasyām* then orders *ghas* as a replacement for *ad* to change the string to *(ad→ghas)* + *(LIṬ→vas)* = *ghas* + *vas*. Doubling and related operations will produce *gha* + *ghas* + *vas* where 7.2.76 *vasvekāj...* will then introduce *i(Ṭ)*: *gha* + *ghas* +*i* + *vas*. The penultimate *a* of the *aṅga* will then be deleted by 6.4.100 *ghasibhasor hali* to yield *gha* + *gh* *(a→Ø)s* + *i* + *vas*. Rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* will replace the remaining *gh* with *k*. The *s* of *gha* + *ks* + *i* + *vas* will go through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) whereby we get *gha* + *k(s→ṣ)* + *i* + *vas* = *jakṣi* + *vas*. The initial *gh* of the string will change into *j* (*cartva*) via *jh* (*cutva*) through the application of rules 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* and 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*. See the derivational history of (30) *citavān* under the appendix of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* for details of how *(gh→jh→j)a(gh→k(s→ṣivas)* + *sU))* will finally produce *jakṣivān*.

Deriving *papivān* from *(pā* + *pā* + *vas)* + *sU* is comparatively easier. The *ā* before *vas* will be deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. Augment *iṬ* will also be introduced here to produce *pā* + *p* + *i* + *vas* through the facility of *rūpātideśa* 'extension of form' of rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*. Finally, the *ā* of *pā in pā* + *p* + *i* + *vas* will go through shortening (*hrasva*) by 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. Deriving *papivān* from *papivas* + *sU* again requires reference to the derivation of *citavān* as mentioned.

3.2.108 *bhāṣāyāṃ sadavasaśruvaḥ*

This rule makes the replacement of *KvasU* optional in case of these three verbs relative to the classical usage. An example such as (549) *upasedivān* will thus derive from *(upa* + *sad* + *sad* + *i* + *vas)* + *sU))* similarly with reference to rules of the preceding examples. Note, however, that the root is used with the preverb *upa* which, as usual, will not be part of doubling. Rule 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhye...* will then delete the first *sad* and order *e* as a replacement (*etva*) thereby changing the string to *upa* + *(sad→Ø)* + *s(a→e)d* + *i* + *vas* = *upa* + *sed* + *i* + *vas* = *upasedivas*.

The long vowel replacement (*dīrgha*) for the short (*hrasva*) of *vas* in *upasedivas* will be ordered by rule 6.4.10 *sānmahataḥ saṃyogasya*. Following the derivational patterns of the preceding examples will produce *upasedivān* from *upasedivas* + *sU*. Forms such as (550) *upāsadat* derive similarly to (300) *alipat* where *aṄ* replaces *CLĪ* by 3.1.55 *puṣādi*.... The derivation of (551) *upāsīdat* requires that *sad* be replaced with *sīd* before *ŚaP* by 7.3.78 *pāghrādhmāsthā*... to produce *upa* + *a(Ṭ)* + *(sad→sīd)* + *(Ś)a(P)* + *t*= *upa* + *a* + *sīd* + *a* + *t*. An application of *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*...) will finally produce *up(a+a→ā)* + *sīd* + *a* + *t* = *upāsīdat*. Yet another example (552) *upasasāda* can be derived by introducing affix *LIṬ* after verbal root *sad* used with the preverb *upa* where the *LIṬ* will be introduced by 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*. The *tiP* which will replace *LIṬ* of *upa* + *sad* + *LIṬ* will be further replaced with *ṆaL* of 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ*.... Doubling and related operations will then follow to produce *upa* + *sa* + *sad* + *a*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will produce the final derivate by ordering the *vṛddhi*-replacement for the penultimate *a*. Thus, *upasas(a→ā)d* + *a* = *upasasāda*.

The derivation of (553) *anūṣivān* proceeds with the introduction of *KvasU* after verbal root *vas* used with the preverb *anu*. Rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*... then orders *samprasāraṇa* which also causes the deletion of *a* of *vas*. This will produce *anu* + *us* + *vas*. Doubling, *halādiśeṣa*, and *iṬ* will then apply to realize *anu* + *u* + *us* + *i* + *vas* where rule 8.3.60 *śāsivasighas*... further orders *ṣ* as a replacement for *s* of *us*. This will give us *anu* + *u* + *uṣ* + *i* +*vas* = *anūṣivas* via *savarṇadīrgha*. Affix *su* can now be introduced to derive *anūṣivān* from *anūṣivas* + *sU*.

The derivation of (554) *anvavātsīt* is in many ways similar to the derivation of (20) *alāvīt* in the appendix of volume II. The *vṛddhi* is accomplished in this example by 7.2.3 *vadavrajahala*.... The *t* of *anvavāt* in *anvavātsīt* is replaced for *s* in view of rule 7.4.49 *saḥ syārdhadhātuke*. Rule 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte* introduces the augment *ī(Ṭ)* for which see the derivation of (16) *akārṣīt* again in the appendix of volume II. Note that the introduction of *iṬ* is blocked by rule 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe*....

The derivation of (555) *anvavasat* form *anu* + *aṬ* + *vas* + *LUṄ* is not very different from the many *LUṄ*-derivates already explained. Deriving (556) *anūvāsa* from *anu* + *u* + *v(a→ā)s* + *a* entails replacing *LIṬ* with *ṆaL* via *tiP* as in (552) *upasasāda*. The application of *samprasāraṇa* and related operations will finally produce the derivate.

The derivation of (557) *upaśuśruvān* requires the introduction of *KvasU* after verbal root *śru* used with the preverb *upa*. Doubling and other operations similar to the derivates of the preceding rule will also apply. The derivation of (558) *upāśrauṣīt*, a derivate in *LUṄ*, is similar to that of (16) *akārṣīt* (cf. appendix of volume II). Example (559) *upaśuśrāva*, a derivate in *LIṬ*, offers nothing new.

The derivation of (560) *aśṛṇot* proceeds with *śru* + *LAṄ* which, after the *śṛ* replacement for *śru* by 3.1.74 *śruvaḥ...*, and the introduction of the *vikaraṇa Śnu*, receives *aṬ*. This yields *a(Ṭ)* + *śṛ* + *Śnu* + *(LAṄ→tiP→t)* = *a* + *śṛ* + *nu* + *t*. Note that the *guṇa* of *ṛ* of *śṛ* before *Śnu* is blocked at the strength of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. However, the *guṇa* for the *u* of *Śnu* before *tiP* cannot be blocked. Thus, we get *aśṛ* + *n(u→o)* + *t* which after the *ṇ* as a replacement for its *n* (*ṇatva*; vide the *vārttika: ṛvarṇāntasya ṇatvaṃ vācyam*) produces *aśṛṇot*.

3.2.109 *upeyivānanāśvānanūcānaś ca*

Deriving (561) *upeyivān* from *upa* + *i* + *(LIṬ→KvasU)* with subsequent doubling will produce *upa* + *i* + *i* + *vas*. The reduplicate *i* will go through lengthening (*dīrgha*) as per rule 7.4.69 *dīrgha iṇaḥ kiti*. This rule allows a replacement in *yaṆ* for the *i* of *upa* + *(i→ī)* + *i* + *vas* = *upa* + *ī* + *(i→y)* + *vas* via *nipātana* since *i* occurs before a consonant. The resultant string *upa* + *ī* + *y* + *vas* will receive *iṬ* as per rule 7.2.67 *vasvekāj....* This will give us *upa* + *ī* + *y* + *i(Ṭ)* + *vas* = *upa* + *ī* + *yi* + *vas*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will finally produce *up(a+ī→e)* + *yi* + *vas* = *upeyivas* from which one can easily derive *upeyivān* following the derivational pattern of other derivates in *KvasU*.

Now consider the optional derivates such as (562) *upāgāt* from *upa* + *i* + *(CLI→sIC→∅)* + *(LUṄ→tiP→t)* = *upa* + *i* + *t*; (563) *upait* from *upa* + *i* + *(LUṄ→tiP→t)* = *upa* + *i* + *t;* and (564) *upeyāya* from *upa* + *(LIṬ→tiP→(Ṇ)a(L)* = *upa* + *i* + *a*. Our first example *upāgāt* will require verbal root *i* to be replaced with *gā* as per rule 2.4.45 *iṇo gā luṅi*. The *sIC* is deleted by 2.4.77 *gātisthāghupā....* The string will receive *ā(Ṭ)* (6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*) whereby we will get *upa* + *ā* + *gā* + *t* = *upāgāt* through *savarṇadīrgha*. Note that the *i* of *tiP* is deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*.

The second example will also receive *āṬ* though its *ŚaP* will be deleted by 7.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ....* A single *vṛddhi* replacement ordered for the sequence *ā+i* by rule 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* will give us *upa(ā* + *i* = *ai)* + *t* = *upa* + *ai* + *t*. A second single *vṛddhi* replacement will then be ordered by 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* whereby the sequence *a* + *ai* of *upa* + *ai* + *t* will be replaced with *ai* to finally derive *up(a* + *ai*= *ai)* = *upait*.

The derivation of *upeyāya* entails *(LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL)* after *i* 'to go', used with the preverb *upa*, whereby we get *upa* + *i* + *a*. Rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* then orders *vṛddhi* for *i* which gives us *upa* + *(i→ai)* + *a* =*upa* + *ai* + *a*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* then orders *āy* as a replacement for *ai* to produce: *upa* + *āy* + *a*. Rule 6.4.78 *abhyāsasyāsavarṇe* read with 1.1.53 *ṅic ca* will introduce *iyAṄ* to change the string to *upa* + *iy(AṄ→∅)* + *āy* + *a* = *upa* + *iy* + *āy* + *a*. The final form will be realized by the application of rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. Thus: *up(a+i* = *e)y* + *āy* + *a* = *upeyāya*.

Yet another derivate of *KvasU* is cited here as (565) *anāśvān* parallel to *na āśvān*. The derivate contains *aś* + *KvasU* which ultimately produces

āśvān from *āśvas* + *sU*. Note that doubling and related operations will produce *a(ś→∅)* + *aś* + *vas* = *a* + *aś* + *vas*. The initial sequence *a+a* will go through the single *guṇa* replacement in *a* of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. The result will be *(a+a→a)ś* + *vas* = *aś* + *vas*. Rule 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ* will then order the lengthening of *a* to give us *(a→ā)ś* + *vas* = *āśvas*. The introduction of augment *iṬ* by rule 7.2.67 *vasvekāj...* is blocked here by our present rule via its provision of *nipātana*. Follow the derivation of *KvasU* examples to derive *anāśvān* from *anāśvas* + *sU* where the base in itself is a negative (*naÑ*) *tatpuruṣa* compound. Note that the *n* of *na(Ñ→∅)* + *āśvas* is deleted by 6.3.73 *nalopo nañaḥ*. The resultant string will then receive the augment *nu(Ṭ→∅)* by rule 6.3.74 *tasmān nuḍ aci*. This will give us *(n→∅)a* + *āśvas* = *a* + *n(UṬ→∅)* + *āśvas* = *anāśvas*, the nominal base after which *sU* will be introduced to derive *anāśvān*.

Our next example (566) *nāśīt* is again a negative *tatpuruṣa* compound where given *na* + *āśīt* rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* applies to yield *n(ā+a→ā)śīt*. Our example *āśīt* contains the string *ā(Ṭ)* + *aś* + *ī(Ṭ)* + *(CLI→sIC→∅))* + *(LUN→t(i→∅(P→∅)))* = *aś* +*t* where augment *ī(Ṭ→∅)* is introduced by 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte*. This will be followed by the deletion of *sIC* by rule 8.2.28 *iṭ īṭi*. The details of elements of the string are similar to other derivates already derived. The application of a single *vṛddhi* replacement in *ā* by rule 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* will then produce: *(ā* + *a→ā)ś* + *ī* + *t*= *āśīt*.

One can also derive (567) *nāśnāt* parallel to *na āśnāt* which also entails the augment *āṬ* and the *vikaraṇa Śnā* as per 3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*. A derivate of *LIṬ* such as (568) *nāśa* can also be derived from *a* + *aś* + *(LIṬ→(tiP→Ṇ)a(L))* = *a* + *aś* + *a*. This string will first go through *vṛddhi* of the *upadhā* of the verbal root: *a* + *(a→ā)ś* + *a* (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*); the next *vṛddhi* will apply to the reduplicate (*abhyāsa*): *(a→ā)* + *āś* + *a* = *ā* + *āśa* (7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*). An application of *savarṇadīrgha* will produce *(ā+ā* = *ā)ś* + *a* = *āśa*. The application of *savarṇadīrgha* is also required on the string *na* + *āśa* after the negative *tatpuruṣa* compound.

The derivation of (569) *anvavocat* entails the replacement of *brū* by *vac* (2.4.53 *bruvo vaciḥ*) given *anu* + *brū* + *LUṄ*. Refer to the derivation of (296) *avocat* for further details. Note that *anu* + *avocat* yields *anvavocat* via the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. A *LAṄ* derivate such as (570) *anvabravīt* is derived from *anu* + *a(Ṭ)* + *brū* + *(Ś)a(P)* + *tiP* where rule 7.3.93 *bruva īṭ* introduces *ī(Ṭ)*. This *ŚaP* is deleted by 2.4.72 *adi prabhṛtibhyaḥ...* to give us *anu* + *a* + *brū* + *ī* + *t(i→∅)* = *anu* + *a* + *brū* + *ī* + *t*. An application of *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*) followed by a replacement in *av* by rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will produce: *anu* + *a* + *br(u→o→av)* + *ī* + *t* = *anu* + *a* + *brav* + *ī* + *t*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will then apply on *anu* to produce: *an(u→v)* + *a* + *brav* + *ī* + *t* = *anv* + *a* + *brav* + *ī* + *t* = *anvabravīt*.

Refer to the derivational history of (131) *uvāya* for deriving (571) *anūvāca* from *anu* +*vac* + *LIṬ*.

3.2.110 *luṅ*/3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ*

Refer to the derivation of *akārṣīt* and *ahārṣīt* under the appendix of 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*. One can also refer to the *LAṄ*-derivate (201) *akurutām* (vol. II: 396–97) for specific details of deriving (572) *akarot* and (573) *aharat* which contain *a(Ṭ)* + *kṛ* +*u* + *tip* and *aṬ* + *hṛ* + (*Śa(P)* + *ti(P)*) respectively. The derivation of *akarot* requires the *guṇa* of both *ṛ*→*ar* and *u*→*o* to produce *a* + *k(ṛ*→*ar)* + *(u*→*o)* + *t* = *akarot*. Our next example requires the *guṇa* of *ṛ*. Thus: *a* + *h(ṛ*→*ar)* + *a* + *t* = *aharat*.

3.2.112 *abhijñāvacane lṛṭ*

The derivation of (574) *vatsyāmaḥ* proceeds from *vas* + *sya* + *mas* similarly to the underlying string of (742) *kariṣyati* (vol. II: 509–10) which differs only in the selection of *tiP* as opposed to the first personal dual *vas* of the example on hand. Rule 7.4.49 *saḥ syārdhadhātuke* will replace the *s* of *vas* with *t* to produce *va(s*→*t)* + *sya* + *mas*. The final *a* of *vatsya* will go through lengthening (*dīrgha*) via the application of rule 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*. Thus: *vatsy(a*→*ā)* + *mas* = *vatsyāmas*. A subsequent application of *rutva-visarga* will finally derive *vatsyāma(s*→*r*→*ḥ)* = *vatsyāmaḥ*.

3.2.113 *na yadi*

A derivate such as (575) *avasāma* will derive from *a(Ṭ)* + *vas* + *ŚaP* + *mas* where *vas* will be a replacement for *LAṄ* of 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ*. The final derivate will be realized via lengthening as in the preceding example followed by the deletion of the *s* of *mas* by 3.4.99 *nityaṃ ṅitaḥ*.

3.2.114 *vibhāṣā sākāṅkṣe*

An example such as (576) *bhokṣyāmahe* derives from *bhuj* + *sya* + *mahi* where *mahi(Ṅ)* is a first personal plural *ātmanepada* replacement for *LṚṬ*. The root vowel *u* will go through the *guṇa* of its penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhaguṇa*). Rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e* will as usual produce *bhoj* + *sya* + *mah (i*→*e)* = *bhoj* + *sya* + *mahe*. The *j* will then change to *k* through *g* as per the *kutva* and *cartva* of rules 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* and 8.4.55 *khari ca* respectively. The *s* of *bho(j*→*g*→*k)* + *sya* + *mahe* will then go through *ṣatva* of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. This in addition to the lengthening of the *a* of *sya* will produce *bhok* + *(s*→*ṣ)y(a*→*ā)* + *mahe* = *bhokṣyāmahe*.

An optional example in *LUṄ*, i.e. (577) *abhuñjmahi*, derives from *a(Ṭ)* + *bhuj* + (*LUṄ*→*mahi*) where 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* introduces (*Ś*)*na*(*M*) after the *u* of *bhuj* on account of *M* as an *it* (1.1.47 *midaco' ntyāt paraḥ*). The *a* of *na* in *a* + *bhu* + *na* + *j* + *mahi* will be deleted by 6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ* to produce *a* + *bhun(a*→*0)j* + *mahi* = *abhunj* + *mahi*. Rules 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* and 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* will now derive *abhu(n*→*ṃ*→*ñ)j* + *mahi* = *abhuñjmahi*.

3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ*

Refer to the appendix of rule 1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana...* where I have explained the derivation of (231) *jakṣatuḥ* and (232) *jakṣuḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (578) *cakāra* and (579) *jahāra* from *kṛ* + *LIṬ* and *hṛ* + *LIṬ* where *LIṬ* will have to be replaced with *ṆaL* and *ṛ* of the root will go through *vṛddhi*. One can similarly derive (580) *vilalāpa* from *vi* + *lap* + *(LIṬ→ṆaL))* = *vi* + *la* + *lap* + *a* = *vilal(a→ā)p* + *a* = *vilalāpa* through doubling, *halādiśeṣa*, and *dīrgha*. The same is true of (581) *jagāma* from *ga* + *gam* + *a* where the *g* of reduplicate *ga* additionally gets replaced with *j*.

3.2.117 *praśne cāsannakāle*

The derivation (582) *iyāja* from *ya* + *yaj* + *(LIṬ→ṆaL)* requires doubling. Additionally, the reduplicated syllable *ya* goes through *samprasāraṇa*, and the deletion of *a*, to produce: *(y→i)(a→0)* + *yaj* + *a* = *i* + *yaj* + *a* which through *dīrgha* of the *a* of *iyaj* produces *iy(a→ā)j* + *a* = *iyāja*. Note that (583) *jaghāna* can also be similarly derived from *han* + *(LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL))* which after doubling and *halādiśeṣa* will produce *ha* + *han* + *a*. The *cutva* in *jh* of rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* followed by the *j* replacement of *jh* by 8.4.54 *abyāse car ca* will change the string to *(h→jh→j)a* + *han* + *a*. Rule 7.3.54 *ho hanter...* will then order the *h* of *han* to be replaced with *gh* for reason that *ṆaL* is marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*. Deriving *jaghāna* from *ja* + *(h→gh)an* + *a* = *ja* + *ghan* + *a* will just require the *vṛddhi* of the penultimate (*upadhā*) vowel *a* by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*.

3.2.119 *aparokṣe ca*

The derivation of (584) *adhyāpayati* as in *adhyāpayati sma* begins with *adhyāpi* for deriving which refer to (167) *adhyāpipat*. The introduction of *LAṬ→tiP* and *ŚaP* followed by *guṇa* of *i* and subsequent replacement in *ay* will produce *adhyāp(i→e→ay)* + *a* + *ti* = *adhyāpayati*. The derivation of (585) *bravīti* from *brū* + *ŚaP* + *LAṬ→tiP* entails the introduction of *ī(Ṭ* (7.3.93 *bruva īṭi*) whereby we get *brū* + *ī* + *ti*. Note that *ŚaP* is deleted by 2.4.72 *adi prabhṛtibhyaḥ*. For the remaining application of *guṇa* of the *ū* of *brū* and its subsequent replacement in *av* refer to the derivation of (570) *anvabravīt*.

3.2.121 *nanvor vibhāṣā*

Refer to the derivation of (16) *akārṣīt* (vol. II, 332–33) for deriving (586) *akārṣam* which differs from the former in respect of *miP* as a replacement for *LUṄ*. Note that rule 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ...*will subsequently replace *miP* with *am*.

3.2.122 *puri luṅ cāsme*

Our example (586) *avātsuḥ* derives from *a(Ṭ)* + *vas* + *s(ĪC)* + *(LUṄ→jhi)* where *jhi* subsequently gets replaced with *(J)us* of 3.4.109 *sijabhyastavidibhyaś ca*. The *s* of *vas* will be replaced with *t* by 7.4.49 *saḥ*

syārdhadhātuke and its *a* will go through *vṛddhi* by 7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ*. Thus, *a* + *v(a→ā)(s→t)* + *s* + *us* = *avātsu(s→r→ḥ)* = *avātsuḥ*. Refer to the derivational history of *ījuḥ* (vol. II: 428–29) for deriving (587) *ūṣuḥ* from *vas* + *(LIṬ→jhi→Jus)* through doubling, *samprasāraṇa* and other related operations. Note that rule 8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnām...* will replace the *s* of *ūs* in *ūs* + *us* with *ṣ*. The application of *rutva-visarga* will finally produce *uṣū(s→ḥ)* = *ūṣuḥ*.

3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānavāv aprathamāsamānādhikaraṇe*

An example such as (589) *pacantam* contains *pacat* + *am* where *pacat* is derived from *pac* + *(Ś)a(P)* + *LAṬ*. The *LAṬ* in this example is replaced with *ŚatṚ*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will finally produce the nominal stem *pac* + *(a+a→a)t* = *pacat*. The final form *pacantam* will be derived by the introduction of *nUM* by rule 7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ sarvanāmasthāne*. Thus: *paca(n(UM→Ø)* + *t* + *am* = *pacantam*. The nominative/vocative singular form of *pacat* will be derived form *pacat* + *sU* where *nUM* will be introduced to derive *pacant* + *sU*. Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...* will as usual delete *sU*. The final *t* of *pacant* will then be deleted to produce *pacan(t→Ø)* = (590) *pacan* by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*. A replacement in *(Ś)āna(C)* for *LAṬ* followed by the introduction of *m(UK)* by rule 7.2.82 *āne muk* will similarly produce the nominal stem *pac* + *a* + *m* + *āna* = *pacamāna*. The subsequent introduction of *am* after *pacamāna* together with the application of 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will then realize *pacamān (a+a→a)m*=(591) *pacamānam*. Deriving (592) *pacatā*, the instrumental singular of *pacat*, from *pacat* + *(Ṭ)ā* is easy. The instrumental singular of *pacamāna* from *pacamāna* + *(Ṭ)ā* requires that *Ṭā* be replaced with *ina* by rule 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅasāminātsyāḥ*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then applies on *pacamāna* + *ina* to produce *pacamān(a+i→e)na* = *pacamānena*. Another derivate with *āna* is (593) *vidyamānaḥ* derived from *(vid* + *(Ś)ya(N)* + *m(UK→Ø)* + *(LAṬ→āna* = *vidyamāna))* + *sU)))* = *vidyamānaḥ*. One can similarly derive (594) *adhīyānaḥ* from *adhīyāna* + *sU* where the nominal stem *adhīyāna* entails a replacement in *āna* for *LAṬ* after verbal root *i* used with the preverb *adhi*. Thus, *adhi* + *i* + *(LAṬ→ āna)* = *adhī* + *āna* through *savarṇadīrgha*. Rule 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām...* will then introduce *iyAṄ* to produce *adhī* + *iy(AṄ)* + *āna*. An application again of *savarṇadīrgha* will realize *adhīyāna* which after the introduction of *sU* will derive *adhīyānaḥ*.

The derivation of (595) *juhvat* entails the deletion of *ŚaP* of *hu* + *hu* + *ŚaP* + *(LAṬ→ŚatṚ)* where *ŚaP* gets subsequently deleted by 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*. Refer to the derivation of (250) *juhoti* (vol. II: 420) for how the *h* of the reduplicate syllable is replaced with *j* in *(h→j)u* + *hu* + *at* = *ju* + *hu* + *at*. The *u* of *hu* will go through *yaṆ* of 6.4.87 *huśnuvoḥ sārvadhātuke* to finally realize *ju* + *h(u→v)* + *at* = *juhvat*.

The derivation of (596) *śayānāḥ* contains the string *śī (Ṅ→Ø)* +

(ŚaP→∅) + (LAṬ→ŚānaC) = śī + āna where *ŚaP* gets deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ....* The *ī* of the verbal root goes through *guṇa* and the corresponding replacement in *ay* by rules 7.4.21 *śīṅaḥ sārvadhātuke...* and 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Thus we get *ś(ī→e→ay) + āna = śayāna*, a nominal stem after which the nominative plural ending *Jas* can be introduced to derive *śayānāḥ*. Rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* will order a single long vowel replacement for both the final *a* of *śayāna* and the initial *a* of *as* to produce *śayān(a+a→ā)s = śayānās*. This last will produce *śayānāḥ* through *rutva-visarga* of the final *s*.

Note that (597) *tiṣṭhantaḥ* derives from *tiṣṭhat + (J)as* where *tiṣṭh* is a replacement of *sthā* by rule 7.3.78 *pāghrā....* The introduction of *n(UM)* followed by *rutva-visarga* should produce *tiṣṭh + at + as = tiṣṭhant + as = tiṣṭhanta(s→r→ḥ) = tiṣṭhantaḥ*.

3.2.127 *tau sat*

The derivation of (598) *kariṣyan* proceeds with *kṛ + LṚṬ* similarly to (742) *kariṣyati* for which see the appendix under rule 1.4.13 *yasmāt...* (vol. II: p. 510). Deriving *kariṣyan* from *kariṣya + at* on the pattern of *kariṣyati* should not be problematic since *kariṣya* is common to them. Given *kariṣya + at* where *at* is the *ŚatṚ* replacement for *LṚṬ*, rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will then apply to produce *kariṣy(a+a→a)t = kariṣyat*. The introduction of *nUM*, and deletion of *t* at the end of the conjunct *(saṃyoga)*, will yield *kariṣyan*. Of course, the *sU* will again go through deletion.

Deriving (599) *kurvan* from *kṛ + (LAṬ→(Ś)at(Ṛ)) = kṛ + u + at* entails *guṇa* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* before *u* of 3.1.79 *tanādi-kṛñbhyabhya....* The *a* of *k(ṛ→ar) + u + at = kar + a + at* will go through a replacement in *u* (*utva*) by rule 6.4.110 *ata ut sārvadhātuke*. The resultant string, i.e., *k(a→u)r + u + at = kur + u + at*, will produce *kur + (u→v)at = kurvat* through the application of rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Our final derivate *kurvan* should then derive from *kurvat + sU*.

Derive (600) *kurvāṇaḥ* from *kṛ + u + (Ś) + āna (C)* where the operations similar to the preceding example will produce *kurvāna*. The *n* of the base will go through a replacement in *ṇ* and the *s* of *sU* will go through *rutva-visarga*. Deriving (601) *kariṣyamāṇaḥ* from *kariṣya + āna* will entail the introduction of *mUK*, *ṇatva*, and *rutva-visarga* of the *s* of *sU*.

3.2.129 *tācchīlyavayovacanaśaktiṣu cānaś*

The root after which affix *(C)āna(Ś)* is introduced as a replacement for *LAṬ* to derive (602) *muṇḍayamānāḥ* is *muṇḍi*. The *ṆiC* will of course be introduced by 3.1.21 *muṇḍamiśra....* We will get *muṇḍ(i→e→ay) + (Ś)a(P) + (LAṬ→āna) = muṇḍay + a + āna* via the familiar process of *guṇa* and its replacement in *ay*. Rule 7.2.82 *āne muk* will then introduce *m(UK)* to realize *muṇḍaya + m + āna = muṇḍayamāna*. An introduction of the nominative plural *Jas* followed by the single long replacement (*pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*) of rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* will produce

muṇḍayamāna + (*J*→Ø)*as* = *muṇḍayamān(a+a→ā)s* = *muṇḍayamānās*. The final derivate will just require an application of *rutva-visarga*.

One can similarly derive (603) *bhūṣayamāṇāḥ* from *bhūṣ* + *ṆiC* = *bhūṣi* + *LAṬ* = *bhūṣi* + *a* + *āna*. Note, however, that given *bhūṣayamānāḥ* rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅnum*...will change the *n* to *ṇ*. Yet another example such as (604) *paryasyamānāḥ* where *ŚyaN* is introduced after verbal root *as* used with *pari* is not difficult to derive. The *i* of *pari* goes through its replacement in *y* and *mUK* is again introduced before *āna*. Similar rules apply in deriving (605) *vahamānāḥ* and (606) *pacamānāḥ*. The derivation of (607) *nighnānāḥ* from *ni* + *han* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ* → *CānaŚ*) entails two deletions: the deletion of *ŚaP* by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyo*...; followed by the deletion of the penultimate (*upadhā*) *a* of *nihan* by rule 6.4.98 *gamahanajana*...at the strength of *CānaŚ*, a *sārvadhātuka* affix not marked with *P* as *it*, being treated as if marked with *Ṅ* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). The *h* of *nihn* + *āna* will be replaced with *gh* to realize: *ni(h→gh)n* + *āna* via rule 7.3.54 *ho hanter*...read with 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*. Our final derivate *nighnānāḥ* will be derived from *nighnāna* + (*J*)*as* similar to the forms already discussed.

3.2.130 *iṅdhāryoḥ śatrakṛcchriṇi*

The derivation of (608) *adhīyan* proceeds from *adhi* + *i* + *ŚaP* + (*LAT*→ *ŚatṚ*) where, subsequent to the deletion of *ŚaP* by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*..., *savarṇadīrgha* of *i* + *i* followed by the introduction of *nUM* will produce *adh(i* + *i* → *ī)* + *a* + *n* + *t* = *adhīyant*. The introduction and deletion of *sU* followed by the deletion of the final *t* of the conjunct will realize *adhīyan*. The derivation of (609) *dhārayan* requires the use of *dhāri* a derivate of *dhṛ* terminating in affix *ṆiC*. Operations such as *guṇa* and subsequent replacement in *ay* will produce *dhār(i→e→ay)* + *a* + *at* where *a* is technically the *vikaraṇa Śa* of rule 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ*...

3.2.131 *suño yajñasaṃyoge*

The derivation of (610) *sunvantaḥ* proceeds with *ṣuÑ* + *Śnu* + (*LAṬ*→*at*) where, given *ṣu* + *nu* + *at*, the root-initial *ṣ* gets replaced with *s* (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ*...). Rule 6.4.87 *huśnuvoḥ sārvadhātuke* will then apply to bring: *su* + *n(u→v)* + *at*. The introduction of *nUM* and *Jas* to subsequently derive *sunvantaḥ* through *rutva-visarga* does not offer anything new.

3.2.132 *tṛn*

Note that *karttā* has already been derived as derivation (177) under the appendix of volume II(p. 388). The next example (611) *vaditā* derives from *vad* + *i(Ṭ)* + *tṛ* for which see (7) *taritā* in the appendix of volume II under rule 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*. The derivation of (612) *muṇḍayitāraḥ* begins with *muṇḍi* + *i* + *tṛ* + (*J*)*as* where the first *i* is technically affix *ṆiC* introduced by 3.1.21 *muṇḍa*.... Note that the *a* of *muṇḍa* before the causal *ṆiC* will be deleted by a *vārttika* proposal under 6.5.155 *ṭeḥ*. The *guṇa* of *i* (7.3.84

sārvadhātukārdha...; 3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukam...*) and subsequent replacement of *e* in *ay* will produce *muṇḍ(i →e→ay)i + tṛ = muṇḍayitṛ*. The final form will be derived from *muṇḍayitṛ + (J)as* through the *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* and *rutva-visarga* as: *muṇḍayit(ṛ→ ār)a(s→ḥ)) = muṇḍayitāraḥ)))*.

3.2.136 *alaṃkṛñnirākṛñprajanotpacotpatonmada...iṣṇuc*

The derivation of (613) *alaṃkariṣṇuḥ* contains *(alaṃkṛ + iṣṇuC) + sU* where *ṛ* of *alaṃkṛ* goes through *guṇa*. The *s* of *sU* of course goes through *rutva-visarga*. Examples such as (614) *nirākariṣṇuḥ* similarly derive from *nir + āṄ + kṛ + iṣṇuC) + sU*)). Other examples such as (615) *sahiṣṇuḥ* and (616) *cariṣṇuḥ*, etc., may not meet the necessary condition for *guṇa*.

3.2.137 *ṇeś chandasi*

The derivation of (617) *dhārayiṣṇavaḥ* and (618) *pārayiṣṇavaḥ* contains *(dhāri + iṣṇuC) + (J)as* and *(pāri + iṣṇuC) + (J)as* where the roots before *iṣṇuC* terminate in *ṆiC*. It is also for this reason that the *i* of *ṆiC* gets replaced with *ay* by rule 6.4.55 *ayāmantāl....* Thus we get *dhār(i→ay) + iṣṇu + as = dhārayiṣṇu + as*. One can similarly get *pārayiṣṇu + as*. An application of *guṇa* by 7.3.109 *jasi ca* followed by the *av* replacement for the resultant *e* will produce *dhārayiṣṇ(u→o→av) + as = dhārayiṣṇavas*. The application of *rutva-visarga* will provide *dhārayiṣṇavaḥ*. The same applies in case of *pārayiṣṇavaḥ*.

3.2.141 *śamityaṣṭābhyo ghinuṇ*

Our example (619) *śamī* contains *śam + in(UṆ→0)* where the *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* is blocked by rule 7.3.34 *nodāttopadeśasya....* Rule 6.4.13 *sau ca* then orders the long replacement for the short penultimate *i* to produce *śamīn*. The *sU* after the base will be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo....* The *n* also goes through deletion though by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Similar derivational history is shared by (620) *tamī*, (621) *damī* and (622) *bhramī*, etc. The derivation of *unmādī* additionally requires the change of the *d* of *ud* into *n* by 8.4.45 *yaro' nunāsike....*

3.2.142 *sampṛcānurudhāṅyamāṅyasaparisṛsaṃsṛj...*

The derivation of examples (623) *samparkī*, (624) *rāgī* and (625) *tyāgī*, etc., entails *kutva* of 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ*. The nasal of *rañj* is treated as deleted via *nipātana* at the strength of its citation in this rule. Other examples can be similarly derived via the application of operations such as *vṛddhi*, etc. Note that some examples will have the *vṛddhi* of the penultimate vowel by rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Others such as (626) *parisārī* will have *vṛddhi* by 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. Example (623) *samparkī* will similarly have the *guṇa* of the penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhaguṇa*).

3.2.146 *nindahiṃsakliśakhāda...vuñ*

Note that rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* replaces the *vu* with *aka*. Thus we get *nindaka + sU* = (627) *nindakaḥ*, (628) *hiṃsakaḥ*. and (629) *khādakaḥ*, etc. Verbal roots *ṇidI* and *hisI* get the forms *nind* and *hiṃs* through the *nUM* of 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*. Roots such as *vad* and *(ṇ→n)aś* will receive *vuÑ*

while ending in *ṆiC*. This *ṆiC* would subsequently be deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. The deletion of the final *a* of *asūya* in (630) *asūyakaḥ* is accomplished by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*.

3.2.148 *calanaśabdārthād akarmakād yuc*

Note that rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* will replace affix *yu(C)* with *ana*. Thus, given *ru* + *yu*, rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadha...* would require *guṇa*: *r(u→o)* + *(yu→ana)*. The *o* will subsequently be replaced with *av* by 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*. The final derivate (631) *ravaṇaḥ* will derive from *ravana* + *sU* where *n* will be replaced with *ṇ* and *s* will go through *rutva-visarga*. The *n→ṇ* change will take place in view of 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ...*. Additional examples such as (632) *calanaḥ*, (633) *copanaḥ* and (634) *śabdanaḥ* can be similarly derived through *guṇa* (in (633), and *rutva-visarga*.

3.2.150 *jucaṅkramyadandramyasṛgṛdhijvalaśucalaṣapatapadaḥ*

The derivation of (635) *javanaḥ* from *ju* + *yu(C)* follows the pattern of (631) *ravaṇaḥ*. Refer to the derivation of verbal roots (223) *caṅkramya* and (224) *dandramya* after which *yu(C)* will be introduced to derive (636) *caṅkramaṇaḥ* and (637) *dandramaṇaḥ*. The root-final *ya* is deleted by 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ*. Changes such as (*yu→ana*), *n→ṇ* (*ṇatva*), and *rutva-visarga* are not hard to accomplish.

3.2.152 *na yaḥ*/3.2.153 *sūdadīpadīkṣaś ca*

The derivational history of examples (638) *knūyitā*, (639) *kṣmāyitā*, (640) *sūditā*, and (641) *dīpitā* follows the pattern of *tṛN* derivates already explained under rule 3.2.135 *tṛn*. Affix *tṛN* (3.2.135 *tṛn*) is introduced after cited roots when this rule blocks the introduction of *yuC*.

3.2.154 *laṣapatapadasthābhūvṛṣahana...ukañ*

Examples such as (642) *apalāṣukam*, (643) *prapātukāḥ*, (644) *kāmukāḥ*, and (645) *āgāmukāḥ*, and (646) *upasthāyukāḥ*, etc., all entail *vṛddhi* before *ukaÑ* conditioned by *Ñ*. Our last example requires the introduction of *yUK* by rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*.

3.2.155 *jalpabhikṣakuṭṭaluṇṭavṛṅaḥ ṣākan*

The derivation of (647) *jalpākaḥ*, etc., from *(jalp* + *(Ṣ)āka(N))* + *sU)))*, etc., is straightforward. However, deriving (648) *varākaḥ* requires *guṇa* of the penultimate *ṛ*. Note that the *Ṣ* as an *it* in the affix conditions the introduction of feminine affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*) in deriving examples such as (649) *varākī*.

3.2.156 *prajor iniḥ*

The derivation of (650) *prajavī* with *inI* proceeds with *pra* + *ju* + *in* which produces *prajavin* through *guṇa* and subsequent replacement in *av*. Our string *prajavin* + *sU* entails the lengthening of *i* by 6.4.13 *sau ca* to realize *prajav(i→ī)n*. Refer to (619) *śamī* for details relative to the deletion of *n* and *sU*.

3.2.157 *jidṛkṣiviśrīṇvamāvyathābhya....*

The derivation of examples (651) *jayī* form *ji* + *inI*, (652) *darī* from *dṛ* + *inI*, (653) *atyayī* from *ati* + *i* + *inI*, (654) *paribhavī* from *pari* + *bhū* + *inI* and (655) *prasavī* from *pra* + *ṣū* + *inI* entails *guṇa* and corresponding replacement in *ay* or *av*. The last example also requires *s* as a replacement for the root-initial *ṣ* as per 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*.

3.2.158 *spṛhigṛhipatidayinidrātandrāśraddhābhya āluc*

The first three roots—*spṛha, gṛha* and *pata* are enumerated as *curādi* group of roots terminating in *a*. Consequently, their forms with affix *ṆiC* will be: *spṛha* + *i*, *gṛha* + *i* and *pata* + *i*. This root-final *a* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* thereby yielding *spṛhi, gṛhi* and *pati* after which affix *āluC* is to be introduced. The first two strings may have rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* apply to cause *guṇa* of their penultimate *ṛ*. The last example similarly may be a candidate for *vṛddhi* of its penultimate vowel by rule 7.2.116.*ata upadhāyāḥ*. This *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, however, is blocked at the strength of *sthānivadbhāva* which makes the deleted *a* as if part of the string. Thus, there will be no penultimate vowel to which *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* could apply. Rule 6.4.55 *ayāmanta...*will then order *ay* as a replacement for the root-final *i* thereby yielding *spṛh(i→ay)* + *ālu* = *spṛhayālu*. The introduction of *sU* followed by *rutva-visarga* will derive the final form (656) *spṛhayāluḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (657) *gṛhayāluḥ* and (658) *patayāluḥ*.

3.2.159 *dādheṭsiśadasado ruḥ*/2.3.160 *sṛghasyadaḥ...*

Deriving (659) *dāruḥ* from *(dā* + *ru)* + *sU*; (660) *dhāruḥ* from *(dhe(Ṭ)* + *ru)* + *sU*; (661) *seruḥ* from *(si* + *ru)* + *sU*; (662) *śadruḥ* from *(śad* + *ru)* + *sU*; and (663) *sadruḥ* from *sad* + *ru* + *sU* through *guṇa* (in (661)) and *rutva-visarga* in general is not difficult. Note, however, that the *dhā* of *dhe(Ṭ)* is obtained as a replacement for the root-final *e* from rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe....*

Examples of *KmaraC* such as (664) *sṛmaraḥ*, (665) *ghasmaraḥ* and (666) *admaraḥ* are derived without *guṇa* because of the *K* as the affixal *it* (cf. 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*).

3.2.161 *bhañjabhāsamido ghurac*

Refer to the derivation of (493) *bhaṅguram* in the appendix (pp. 465–66) of volume II. Other examples are easy to derive.

3.2.163 *iṇnaśjisartibhyaḥ kvarap*/3.2.164 *gatvaraś ca*

Note that *guṇa* will be as usual blocked because of 1.2.5 *kṅiti ca*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti...*will introduce *tUK* to *i* + *(K)vara(P)* to derive *(i* + *t(UK)* + *vara)* + *sU* = (667) *itvaraḥ*. Deriving (668) *itvarī* would require the introduction of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ....* Similar rules will apply in deriving (669) *jitvaraḥ*/ (670) *jitvarī*; (671) *sṛtvaraḥ*/ (672) *sṛtvarī*. Note that (673) *naśvaraḥ*/ (674) *naśvarī* do not qualify for *tUK*. The *iṬ* in these examples is blocked by rule 7.2.8 *neḍ vaśikṛti*.

Note that rule 3.2.164 itself provides for the deletion of the *am* of *gam* via (*nipātana*) to facilitate the derivation of (674) *gatvaraḥ* and (675) *gatvarī*.

3.2.166 *yajajapadaśām yaṅah*

Follow the derivation pattern of (218) *sāsadyate* under rule 3.1.24 *lupasadacarajapa...* to derive *yāyajya*. Similar derivations under that rule are to be followed to derive *jañjapya* and *dandaśya*. Rule 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ* will subsequently delete the *ya* of *ya(Ṅ)* to produce *yāyaj(ya→∅)* + *ūka* = *yayajūka*. Similar deletion of *ya* also occurs in other examples. Deriving (676) *yāyajūkaḥ*, (677) *jañjapūkaḥ*, and (678) *dandaśūkaḥ* with the introduction of *sU* and *rutva-visarga* is easy.

3.2.168 *sanāśaṃsabhikṣa uḥ*/3.2.169 *binduricchuḥ*

Refer to the derivation of (222) *cikīrṣakaḥ* and (223) *jihīrṣakaḥ* to derive verbal roots *cikīrṣa* and *jihīrṣa*. These roots are required so that affix *u* can be introduced by this rule to derive *(cikīrṣ(a→∅) + u) + sU* = (679) *cikīrṣuḥ*. The root-final *a* will be deleted by rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (680) *jihīrṣuḥ*. Example (681) *āśaṃsuḥ* derives from *(aśas(I) + u)) + sU)))* where *nUM* is introduced after the last vowel of the root at the strength of its *I* as an *it* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). Deriving (682) *bhikṣuḥ* from *(bhikṣ + u) + sU))* is straightforward.

Our next examples, i.e. (683) *binduḥ* and (684) *icchuḥ*, entail the introduction of *nUM* to *vid*; and the *ch* as a replacement for the *ṣ* of *iṣ* both via *nipātana*. Rule 6.1.73 *che ca* introduces *t(UK→∅)* which through the application of 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* produces *i(ṣ→ch) +u* = *i(t)ch + u* = *i(t→c)ch + u* = *icchu*.

3.2.171 *ādṛgamahanajanaḥ kikinau liṭ ca*

The derivation of (685) *papiḥ* proceeds with *pā + Ki(N→∅)* where rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* deletes the final *ā* of the root. Doubling by 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...*in view of rule 1.1.58 *dvirvacane' ci* via treating affixes *Ki* or *KiN* as if they were *LIṬ* produces *pā + p + i*. Rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* read with 6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ* will replace the long vowel of *pā* with its corresponding short to realize *p(ā→a) + p + i* = *papi*. The placement of *sU* followed by *rūtva-visarga* will produce *papiḥ*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (686) *dadiḥ* from *dā*.

The derivation of (687) *taturiḥ* proceeds with *tṝ + Ki* where the root-final *ṝ* is replaced with *u* in view of 7.1.103 *bahulaṃ chandasi* read with 1.1.51 *ur an raparaḥ*. This will give *tṝ→tur + i*. Doubling, and the application of 7.4.66 *ur at* read again with 1.1.51 will yield *t(ṝ→ar) + tur + i* = *tar + tur + i*. An application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will reduce the string to *ta(r→∅) + tur + i* = *taturi* which, through *sU* and *rutva-visarga* will produce *taturiḥ*. Similar rules will apply in deriving (688) *jaguriḥ* from *jāgṛ*.

The derivation of (688) *jagmiḥ* from *gam + Ki* also entails doubling and related operation whereby we get *ga + gam + i*. The *g* of the reduplicate *ga* will be replaced with *j* of rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. The penultimate *a* of *ja + gam* will then be deleted by 6.4.98 *gamahanajana...* to

produce *ja* + *g(a*→∅*)m* + *i* = *jagmi*. Similar rules apply in deriving (689) *jaghniḥ* and (690) *jajñiḥ* from *han* + *Ki* and *jñā* + *Ki*.

3.2.172 *svapitṛṣor najiṅ*

The derivation of (691) *svapnak* proceeds with *svap* + *naj(IṄ*→∅) where the application of *kutva* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) and *cartva* (8.4.56 *vāvasāne*) derives the nominal stem as *svapna(j*→*g*→*k)* = *svapnak*. The *sU* of *svapnak* + *s(U)* will then be deleted by 6.1.68 *halyāṅbhyo*.... Deriving (692) *tṛṣṇak* from *(tṛṣ* + *naj)* + *sU* entails replacing the *n* of the affix with *ṇ* by 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ ṇo naḥ*....

3.2.177 *bhrājabhāsadhurvidyutorji...kvip*

The derivation of (702) *pūḥ* from *(pṝ* + *KvIP)* + *sU* entails a re-derived by introducing affix *KvIP* after verbal root *bhrāj(Ṛ*→∅) used with the preverb *vi*. Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*...read with 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* subsequently deletes the affix. The *sU* of *vibhrāj* + *sU* will also be deleted leaving *vibhrāj*. The terminal *j* of the string will be replaced with *ṣ* through the application of rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛj*...read with 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. The *ṣ* is further replaced with *ḍ* to derive *vibhrāḍ* through the application of rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*. An optional application of 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* can then be availed to replace the final *ḍ* with *ṭ* to derive *vibhrāṭ*.

The nominative dual and plural forms (694) *vibhrājau* and (695) *vibhrājaḥ* derive by introducing *au* and *(J)as*. Example (696) *bhāḥ* derives via *rutva-visarga* of the final *s* of *bhās* after the deletion of *KvIP* and *sU*. The dual and plural forms (696) *bhāsau* and (697) *bhāsaḥ* are easy to derive. Deriving (698) *vidyut* from *(vidyut* + *KviP)* +*sU))* is easy. The derivation of (699) *ūrk* entails the *kutva* and *jaśtva* of the final *j* of *ūr(j*→*g*→*k)* as per rules 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* and 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*. The corresponding dual and plural forms (700) *ūrjau* and (701) *ūrjaḥ* are easy to derive.

The derivation of (702) *pūḥ* from *(pṝ* + *KvIP)* + *sU* entails a re-placement in *u* (*utva*) followed by its lengthening as per rules 7.1.102 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya* and 8.2.76 *rvor upadhāyā dīrgha*.... Note that *utva* will be followed by *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). Thus, *p(ṛ*→*ur* + *KvIP* = *p(u*→*ū)r* + *(KvIP*→∅) = *pūr* + *(sU*→∅) = *pū(r* →*ḥ)* = *pūḥ*.

3.2.178 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate*

Deriving (703) *yuk* from *(yuj* + *KvIP)* + *sU* additionally requires the *j*→*g*→*k* replacement as explained in connection with (699) *ūrk*. Deriving (704) *chit* and (705) *bhit* from *(chid* + *KvIP)* + *sU* just requires the change of the root-final *d* to *t* by 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*.

3.2.180 *viprasaṃbhyo ḍv asaṃjñāyām*

Deriving (706) *vibhuḥ* from *(vibhū* + *(Ḍ*→∅*)u)* + *sU* via *rutva-visarga* first requires the deletion of the root- final *ū* by *ḍity abhasyāpi*..., a proposal under rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Similar rules apply in deriving (707) *prabhuḥ* and (708) *saṃbhuḥ*.

3.2.181 *dhaḥ karmaṇi ṣṭran*

Note that the *Ṣ* of affix *ṢṭraN* is given as an *it* to facilitate the introduction of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* by rule 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca.* One can derive (709) *dhātrī* from *(dhā + ṭra) + (Ṅ)ī(Ṣ)) + sU* where the *ṭ* of the affix will change to *t* because of the deletion of its *Ṣ* as an *it*. Note that the *Ṣ* serves as a condition for the change of *t* to *ṭ* in *ṢṭraN*. The affixal form will always be realized as *tra* after the deletion of *Ṣ*. The final *a* of *dhātra* before *ī* of *ṄīṢ* will be deleted to derive *dhātrī* by rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca.* A similar form will also result if one used verbal root *dheṬ* where 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe...* will replace the final *e* of the root with *ā*.

3.2.182 *dāmnīśasayuyujastutudasi...*

The derivation of (710) *meḍhraḥ* proceeds with *mih + tra* where *laghūpadhaguṇa* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) and the *ḍh* replacement for *h* (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*) follows to realize *m(ī→e)(h→ḍh) + tra = meḍh + tra.* Rule 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathordho' dhaḥ* then replaces the t of *tra* with dh. We thus get *meḍh + (t→dh)ra =meḍh + dhra.* The *dh* is then replaced with *ḍh* in view of 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The *ḍh* of *meḍh* in *meḍh + (dh→ḍh)ra = meḍh + ḍhra* is then deleted by 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*. This gives us *me (ḍh→∅) + ḍhra = meḍhra.* One can similarly derive (711) *yoktram* through *guṇa* and *kutva.* Note that rule 7.1.24 *ato' m* will replace the *sU* with *am* after *yoktra.* Rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will then apply on *yoktra + am* to realize *yoktr(a+a→a)m = yoktram.* Deriving (712) *dātram,* (713) *stotram,* (714) *totram,* (715) *netram* and (716) *śastram* requires similar rule applications. Note that (717) *daṃṣṭrā* derives with *ṬāP* instead of *ṄīS*.

Deriving (718) *naddhram* from *nah + tra* requires the application of rules 8.2.34 *na ho dhaḥ* to produce *na(h→dh) + tra = nadh + tra.* Rule 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathordho' dhaḥ* will then apply to realize *nadh + (t→dh)ra = nadh + dhra.* The final form of the nominal stem *naddhra* will be derived after the application of rule 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi.* Thus, *na(dh→d) + dhram = naddhram.* Note that the introduction of *iṬ* in case of roots such as *śas,* etc., is blocked by 7.2.9 *titutratathasi....*

3.2.188 *matibuddhipūjārthebhyaś ca*

Note that (719) *mataḥ* of *rājñāṃ mataḥ* is derived from *mata + sU* where *mata* contains *man + (K)ta.* Rule 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe...*will block the introduction of *iṬ* subsequent to which the *n* will be deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa....* Incidentally, the formation of a compound between *rājan + Ṅas* and *mata + sU* is disallowed by 2.2.12 *ktena ca pūjāyām.* The genitive of *rājan + Ṅas* will be introduced by 2.3.67 *ktasya ca vartamāne.* Follow applications similar to *nadh + tra* of (718) *naddhram* to derive (720) *buddhaḥ* from *(budh + (K)ta) + sU)).* The derivation of (721) *pūjitaḥ* would require the introduction of *i(Ṭ)* by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ....* Similar rules apply in deriving (722) *arcitaḥ.* Note, however, that these

roots will have the forms *pūji* and *arci* if they are accepted as *curādi*. Their final *i* will then have to be deleted by rule 6.4.52 *niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi*.

3.3.5 *vibhāṣā kadākarhyoḥ*

This rule allows for the derivation of *LAṬ* forms optional to *LṚṬ* and *LUṬ*. The derivation of (723) *bhuṅkte* begins with *bhuj* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*) where *LAṬ* gets replaced with *ta*. Rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e* then replaces the *a* of *ta* with *e*. Rule 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam* then introduces *śnam* to produce *bhu* + (*Ś*)*na*(*M*) + *j* + *t*(*a*→*e*) = *bhu* + *n* + *j* + *te*. The *j* of *bhuj* becomes *k* via *g* through the application of rules 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* and 8.4.54 *khari ca*. This will give *bhu* + *n* + (*j*→*g*→*k*) + *te* = *bhu* + *n* + *k* + *te*. The *n* will then be replaced with *ṅ* via *anusvāra* as per rules 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* and 8.4.54 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*. Thus, *bhu*(*n*→*ṃ*→*ṅ*) + *k* + *te* = *bhuṅkte* (cf. *prayuṅkte* of 1.3.64 for missing details).

The derivation of (724) *bhokṣyate* begins with *bhuj* + *LṚṬ* where *LṚṬ* gets replaced with *ta*. The *ta* itself yields to *te* as is the case with *bhuṅkte*. Our string *bhuj* + *te* will go through *guṇa* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*. The resultant string, i.e., *bh*(*u*→*o*)*j* + *te*, will receive *sya* of 3.1.33 *stayāsī*.... The result will be *bhoj* + *sya* + *te*. The *j*→*g*→*k* will also be applicable here. The *s* of *sya* will go through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Thus, *bho*(*j*→*g*→*k*) + *sya* + *te* = *bhok* + (*s*→*ṣ*)*ya* + *te* = *bhokṣyate*.

The derivation of (725) *bhoktā* begins with *bhuj* + (*LUṬ*→ *ti*(*P*)) = *bhuj* + *ti* where 3.1.33 *syatāsī*... introduces *tās* to change the string to *bhuj* + *tās* + *ti*. The *ti* will subsequently be replaced with *Ḍā* of rule 2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya*.... This will yield *bhuj* + *tās* + (*Ḍ*→∅)*ā* = *bhuj* + *tās* + *ā*. A *vārttika* ad rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* (cf. *ḍity abhsyāpy anubandhakaraṇa*...) will then delete the *ās* (cf. 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of *tās* whereby we get *bhuj* + *t*(*ās*→∅) + *ā* = *bhuj* + *tā*. An application of *guṇa* on *u* followed by the *j*→*g*→*k* similarly to the preceding examples will produce *bh*(*u*→*o*)(*j*→*g*→*k*) + *tā* = *bhoktā*.

3.3.6 *kiṃvṛtte lipsāyām*

Examples (726) *bhojayanti* derives from *bhuj* + *ṆiC* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* where *jh* of *jhi* gets replaced with *ant* of 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*. The application of *guṇa* on the *u* of *bhuj* under the condition of the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *ṆiC* will produce *bh*(*u*→*o*)*ji* + *a* +*anti* = *bhoji* + *a* + *anti*. The *i* will then be replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *e* under the condition of the *sārvadhātuka* affix *ŚaP*. The resultant *e* of *bhoj*(*i*→*e*) + *a* + *anti* = *bhoje* + *a* + *anti* will go through its replacement in *ay* thereby to produce *bhoj*(*e*→ *ay*) + *a* + *anti*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will then replace the sequence of *a* + *a* with a single *a* to produce *bhojay* + (*a*+*a*→*a*) *nti* = *bhojayanti*.

The derivation of (727) *bhojayitāraḥ* proceeds with *bhuj* + *ṆiC* = *bhoji* + *LUṬ*→*jhi* = *bhoji* + *tās* + *jhi* = *bhoji* + *tās* + *a* + *jhi*. The *jhi* of our string will be replaced with *ras* of 2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya*.... The

introduction of *i(Ṭ)* by 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ...* followed by *guṇa* of *i* with subsequent *ay* will produce *bhoj(i→e→ay)* + *i* + *tās* + *ras* = *bhojayitās* + *ras*. The *s* of *tās* will then be deleted by rule 7.4.51 *ri ca*. The application of *rutva-visarga* on the resultant string *bhojayitā* (*s*→∅) + *ras* will produce *bhojayitāra(s→r→ḥ)* = *bhojayitāraḥ*.

The derivation of (728) *dadāti* begins with *dā* + *(LAṬ→ti(P)* which after the introduction, and deletion via *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ...*), of *ŚaP*, requires doubling as well as the shortening of the reduplicate. Thus, *dā* + *ti* = *dā* + *(ŚaP→∅)* + *ti* = *dā* + *dā* + *ti* = *d(ā→a)* + *dā* + *ti* = *dadāti*. Note that the shortening of the reduplicate (*dā*) is accomplished by rule 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. The derivation of (729) *dātā* from *dā* + *LUṬ* follows relevant rules similar to (725) *bhoktā*. Deriving (730) *dāsyati* from *dā* + *sya* + *ti* offers nothing new.

3.3.8 *loḍarthalakṣaṇe ca*

The derivation of (731) *āgacchati* contains *āgam* + *(Ś)a(P)* + *(LAṬ→ti(P)* = *āgam* + *a* + *ti* where 7.3.77 *iṣugamiyamāṃ chaḥ* introduces *ch* as a replacement for the final *m* of *āgam*. Rule 6.1.73 *che ca* then introduces the augment *tUK* to produce *āga (m→ch)* + *a* + *ti* = *āga(t(UK→∅)ch)* + *a* + *ti* = *āgatch* + *a* + *ti*. Rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* then orders *c* as a replacement for *t* to produce *āga(t→c)ch* + *a* + *ti* = *āgacchati*. The derivation of (732) *āgamiṣyati* contains *āgam* + *iṬ* + *sya* + *ti* where *ti* is a replacement for *LṚṬ* and *iṬ* has been introduced by 7.2.58 *gamer iṭ parasmaipadeṣu*. The *s* of *sya* in *āgam* + *i* + *sya* + *ti* will subsequently be replaced with *ṣ* to realize *āgamiṣyati* by 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Our last example (733) *gantā* derives similarly to (725) *bhoktā* obviously with no *j→g→k* change. The *m* of *gam* changes to *n* (8.4.54 *anusvārasya...*) via *anusvāra* (8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*) to realize ***ga(m → ṃ → n)tā = gantā***.

Example (734) *adhīṣva* derives form *adhi* + *i* + *(ŚaP→∅)* + *(LOṬ→sva)* where *ŚaP* gets deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti...* and *LOṬ* gets replaced with the second person singular *ātmanepada* ending *thās*. This *thās* of *adhi* + *i* + *thās* subsequently gets replaced with *se* of rule 3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*. But then the *e* of *se* is also replaced with *va* by rule 3.4.90 *savābhyāṃ vāmau*. Thus, *adhi* + *i* + *(thās→s(e→va))* = *adhi* + *i* + *sva*. The vocalic sequence *i* + *i* will have a long replacement to yield *adh(i+i→ī)* + *sva* = *adhīsva*. The *s* will then be replaced with *ṣ* in view of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*.

3.3.9 *liṅ cordhvamauhūrttike*

The derivation of (735) *āgacchet* entails the introduction of affix *LIṄ* after verbal root *gam* used with the preverb *ā*. The *LIṄ* will be replaced with the third personal *parasmaipada* ending *tiP* to give us: *āgam* + *ti*. The root *āgam* will yield the form *āgacch* similar to (731) *āgacchati*. The *parasmaipada* replacement *ti* of *āgacch* + *(Ś)a(P)* + *ti* = *āgacch* + *a* + *ti* will then receive the augments *yās(UṬ)* and *s(UṬ)* of rules 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ*

parasmaipadeṣu.. and 3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ* to produce: *āgacch* + *a* + *yās* (*UṬ*→∅) + *s*(*UṬ*→∅) + *ti* = *āgacch* + *a* + *yās* + *s* + *ti*. The *i* of *ti* will then be deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. The resultant string, *āgacch* + *a* + *yās* + *s* + *t* gets the *yā* replaced with *iy* by rule 7.2.80 *ato yeyaḥ*. This gives us *āgacch* + *a* + (*yā*→*iy*)*s* + *s* + *t* = *āgacch* + *a* + *iy* + *s* + *s* + *t* which then suffers the loss of *y* and the two *s* segments on account of rules 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* and 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya*. The result will be: *āgacch* + *a* + *i* (*y*→∅) (*s*→∅) + (*s*→∅) + *t* = *āgacch* + *a* + *i* + *t*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will derive the final derivate as *āgacch* + (*a*+*i*→*e*) + *t* = *āgacch* + *e* + *t* = *āgacchet*.

3.3.16 *padarujaviśaspṛśo ghañ*

The derivation of (736) *pādaḥ* and (737) *rogaḥ* from *pad* + (*GH*)*a*(*Ñ*) = (*pad* + *a*) + *sU* entails *vṛddhi* of *a* of *pad* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) followed by the *rutva-visarga* of *s*(*U*). The derivation of *rogaḥ* entails *guṇa* of the short penultimate (*laghūpada*) *u* of *ruj* before the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *GHaÑ*. The *j* of *roj* also gets replaced with *g* via *kutva* of 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (738) *veśaḥ*.

3.3.20 *parimāṇākhyāyāṃ sarvebhyaḥ*

3.3.21 *iṅaś ca*

The derivation of (739) *niṣpāvaḥ* entails introducing *GHaÑ* after *pū* used with *nir* where *nir* + *pū* + *a* goes through the *ṣ* replacement for the *r* of *nir* via *visarga* in view of rules 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor*...and 8.3.41 *idudupadhasya*.... Thus, *ni*(*r*→*ḥ*→ *ṣ*)*pū* + *a* = *niṣpū* + *a*. The *ū* will then go through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*...) in *au* with the corresponding replacement in *āv* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*). This will give us the nominal stem *niṣp*(*ū*→*āv*) + *a* = *niṣpāva* after which *sU* can be introduced to derive *niṣpāvaḥ*. A derivate of *kṛ* such as (740) *kāraḥ* just requires *vṛddhi*, one of the two characteristic operations applicable to the derivates of *GHaÑ*. Note that the other operation is *kutva* by 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ*. I shall, from here on, not derive any derivate in *GHaÑ* unless it entails some additional operations. The nominative dual forms of these two derivates, i.e., (741) *niṣpāvau* and (742) *kārau*, would require the placement of the dual ending *au*.

Examples (743) *adhyāyaḥ* and (744) *upādhyāyaḥ* are similarly derived from *adhi* + *i* + *a* and *upa* + *adhi* + *i* + *a* where *upa* and *adhi* yield *upādhi* through *savarṇadīrgha*. The application of *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āy* will produce *adhi* + (*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *a* and *upādhi* + (*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *a*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* will then apply to derive *adh*(*i*→*y*)*āy* + *a* = *adhyāya* and *upādh*(*i*→*y*)*āy* + *a* = *upādhyāya*.

3.3.26 *avodor niyaḥ*

Deriving (745) *unnāyaḥ* requires the introduction of affix *GHaÑ* after verbal root *nī* used in conjunction with a *pada* constituted by *ud*. The usual *vṛddhi* and *āy* replacement will produce *nāya*. A compound formation of *ut* + *sU* + *nāya* will yield *utnāya* where the *t* will be replaced with *n* by

8.4.45 *yaro' nunāsike....* Thus, *u(t→n) + nāya = unnāya + sU => unnāyaḥ.* Similar rules apply in deriving (746) *avanāyaḥ.*

3.3.38 *parinyornīṇordyūtābhreṣayoḥ*

Note that the *n* of *parin(i→ai→āy) + a = parināya + (Ṭā)* is replaced with *ṇ* through the application of rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse',pi....* Thus, *pari(n→ṇ)āya + (ā→ina) = pariṇay(a+i=e)na* = (747) *pariṇāyena.*

3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām*

The first example (748) *vyāvakrośī* is derived by introducing affix *ṆaC* after verbal root *kruś* combined with *vi* and *ava* via rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* where 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* replaces the *i* of *vi* with *y* and the root goes through the *guṇa* of its penultimate vowel. This produces *v(i→y) + ava + kr(u→o)ś + (Ṇ)a(C) = vy + ava + krośa + a = vyavakrośa,* a nominal stem after which affix *aÑ* (5.4.14 *ṇacaḥ striyām*) is to be introduced. This gives us *vyavakrośa + a(Ñ→0).* Note that rule 7.3.3 *na yvābhyāṃ padāntā...* offers *ai* as an augment to the initial vowel of the string which is blocked by *vṛddhi* of rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ.* The result is: *vy(a→ā) vakrośa + a =vyāvakrośa + a.* Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* then applies to derive *vyāvakroś(a+a→a) = vyāvakrośa,* still a nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*) after which rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ...*introduces *ṄīP.* The final *a* of *vyāvakrośa + ī* is deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* whereby we get *vyāvakroś(a→0) + ī = vyāvakrośī.* A subsequent placement and deletion of *sUP* by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo...*will finally derive *vyāvakrośī.*

Similar rules apply in deriving (749) *vyāvalekhī* and (750) *vyāvahāsī* from *vi + ava + likh + ṆaC* and *vi + ava + has + ṆaC* where *likh* also goes through the application of *laghūpadhaguṇa.*

3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāva inuṇ*

Example (751) *sāṃkūṭinam* is derived by introducing affix *inUṆ* after verbal root *kū* combined with *sam* again by 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ.* Affix *aṆ* is then introduced after *saṃkūṭ + in = samkūṭin* where *samkūṭin + a(Ṇ→0) = saṃkūṭin + a* is saved by 6.4.164 *inaṇy anapatye* from going through the deletion of *in* by rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite.* The *a* of *sam* instead goes through *vṛddhi* followed by the *anusvāra* of *m* by rules 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām...*and 8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ* respectively. This will give us *s(a→ā(m→ṃ))kūṭin + a = sāṃkūṭina.* The nominative singular ending *sU* introduced after *sāṃkūṭina* will be replaced with *am* to realize *sāṃkūṭina + am* which after the application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will yield *sāṃkūṭinam.*

A derivate of *inUṆ* with verbal root *ru* combined with *sam* will be (752) *sāṃrāviṇam* where the *u* of *ru* goes through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) and subsequent replacement in *āv* corresponding to *au.* The *am* also replaces the *sU* additionally to the replacement of *n* by *ṇ* in view of 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ....* We thus get the final derivate *sāṃr(u→au-āv)i(n→ṇ)a + (sU→am) = sāṃrāviṇ(a+a = a)m = sāṃrāviṇam.*

3.3.52 *raśmau ca*

3.3.53 *vṛṇoter ācchādane*

The first rule offers (753) *pragrāhaḥ*, a derivate in *GHaÑ*, optionally to (754) *pragrahaḥ*, a derivate in *aP*.

The second rule offers yet another *GHaÑ* derivate optionally to *aP*. We thus get (755) *prāvāraḥ* where the lengthening of the *a* of *pra* is ordered by 6.3.122 *upasargasya ghañy amanuṣye bahulam*. We will have a derivate such as (756) *pravaraḥ* if the option of *GHaÑ* is not accepted.

3.3.72 *hvaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca...*

This rule introduces affix *aP* after verbal root *hveÑ* used in conjunction with *ni*, *abhi*, *upa*, and *vi* to derive (757) *nihava* + *sU*=> *nihavaḥ*, (758) *abhihavaḥ*, (759) *upahavaḥ*, and (760) *vihavaḥ*. Note that verbal root *hve(Ñ)* yields the form *hvā* through the application of rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe....* This rule also requires *samprasāraṇa* of the *v* of *hvā* in *nih(v→u)ā* + *a(P)* = *nihu* + *ā* + *a*. Rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* then applies to replace the sequence *u* + *ā* by *u* to realize *nihu* + *a*. An application of *guṇa* followed by the *av* replacement for the resultant *o* will provide us with *nih(u→o→av)* + *a* = *nihava*. An introduction of *sU* and subsequent *rutva-visarga* will produce *nihavaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktri*

Refer to the appendix of 1.3.5 *ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ* for the derivational details of examples listed under this rule.

3.3.90 *yajayācayatavicchapracchrakṣo naṅ*

Examples such as (761) *yajñaḥ*, (762) *yācñā*, (763) *yatnaḥ*, (764) *viśnaḥ*, (765) *praśnaḥ*, and (766) *rakṣṇaḥ* derive from *(yaj + na) + sU*, *(yāc + na) + (Ṭ)ā) + sU))*, *(yat + na) + sU))*, *(vicch + na) + sU))*, *(pracch + na) + sU))*, and *(rakṣ + na) + sU))*. The first two examples require replacing the *n* of *na* with *ñ* (*ścutva*) by rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*. The second also requires the introduction of the feminine affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*). Our third example is easy to derive. The fourth and fifth require *ś* as a replacement for the *cch* of the roots as per rule 6.4.19 *cchvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike* to thereby yield *vi(cch→śna* and *pra(cch→ś))na*. Deriving *rakṣṇa* from *(rakṣ + na) + sU* will subsequently require the replacement of *n* by *ṇ* as per rule 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ....*

3.3.92 *upasarge ghoḥ kiḥ*

3.3.93 *karmaṇy adhikaraṇe ca*

Note that the *K* of affix *Ki* is intended as an *it* to facilitate the deletion of the long *ā* of verbal roots *dā* and *dhā* by rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. Thus, we get *dā* + *(K→∅)i* = *d(ā→∅)* =*di*; *dhā* + *(K)i* = > *dhi*. Examples such as (767) *pradiḥ*, (768) *pradhiḥ*, and (769) *antarddhiḥ* should now be easier to derive under the cooccurrence condition of *pra*, and *antar*; of course, with subsequent formation of compounds by 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ* and

introduction of *sU* as well as *rutva-visarga*. Note, however, that *antar* is treated as an *upasarga* at the strength of a *vārttika* ad 1.1.65 *alo'n tyāt pūrva upadhā* (*antaḥ śabdasya...*). Similar rules apply in deriving (770) *jaladhiḥ* and (771) *śaradhiḥ*.

3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*

3.3.95 *sthāgāpāpaco bhāve*

The derivation of (772) *kṛtiḥ*, (773) *citiḥ*, and (774) *matiḥ* from *(kṛ + (K→Ø)ti(N→Ø)) + sU)), ci(Ñ) + (K)ti(N)) + sU*, and *man + (K)ti(N)) + sU* is straightforward. Note, however, that the *n* of *man* is deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa....* Additionally, rule 6.1.97 *ñnityādir nityam* assigns the initial *udātta* accent to the item ending in affix *KtiN*. Rule 3.3.96 *mantre vṛṣeṣapacamana...* assigns, for usages in the *mantra* literature, the *udātta* accent to affix *KtiN*. The *guṇa* of *ṛ* and *i* in *kṛti* and *citi* is blocked at the strength of affix *KtiN* marked with *K* as an *it* (1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*).

The derivation of (775) *paktiḥ* requires the application of rule 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* whereby the *c* of *pac* is replaced with *k*. The derivation of (776) *prasthitiḥ* requires the *i* as a replacement (*itva*) for *ā* of *prasthā* as per rule 7.4.40 *dyatisyatimāsthā....* This *itva*, in case of (777) *saṃgītiḥ*, is accomplished by 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpā....* The same applies in case of (778) *prapītiḥ* and (779) *sampītiḥ*.

3.3.98 *vrajayajor bhāve kyap*

3.3.99 *saṃjñāyām samajaniṣadanipatamanavida...*

Deriving (780) *vrajyā* from *(vraj + (K)ya(P)) + ṬāP)) + sU)))* is not very difficult. The affix is *udātta*; hence, the accentuation will be: *vrajyá*.

The derivation of (781) *samajyā*, (782) *niṣadyā*, (783) *nipatyā*, (784) *manyā*, (785) *vidyā*, (786) *sutyā*, (787) *śayyā*, (788) *bhṛtyā*, and (789) *ityā* also entails affixes *KyaP*, *ṬāP* and *sU*. Note that *sutyā*, *bhṛtyā* and *ityā* entail the introduction of *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kiti tuk*). Furthermore, the *ī* of *śī(Ṅ)* is replaced with *ayAṄ* in deriving *ś(i→ay) + ya = śayya* on way to *śayyā*.

3.3.100 *kṛñaḥ śa ca*

This rule would permit three derivates (790) *kriyā*, (791) *kṛtyā*, and (792) *kṛtiḥ* from *(kṛ + ya(K) + Śa) + ṬāP)) + sU))), (kṛ + (t(UK) +(K)ya(P) + ṬāP)) + sU)))* and *(kṛ + Kti(N)) + sU)))* respectively. Note that the first derivate will have *yaK* introduced before affix *Śa* with its denotatum as *bhāva*. Of course, the *yaK* will be introduced by 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*. The *ṛ + ya + a* of the first example will have its *ṛ* replaced with *riṄ* of rule 7.4.28 *riṅ śayag liṅkṣu*. Thus, *k(ṛ→ri) + ya + a* where 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will apply to produce *kriy(a+a→a) = kriya*. Deriving *kriyā* with *ṬāP* through *savarṇadīrgha* and deletion of *sU* should not be difficult. Note that *yaK* can also be introduced before *Śa* denoting *karman*. The

derivate will still be *kriyā* but the derivational path will differ. Thus, after the introduction of *riN̄*, rule 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātu...* read with 1.1.53 *ṅic ca* will introduce *iyAṄ* to produce *k(r̥→r(i→iyAṄ)) + a = kriya*. This subsequently with *ṬāP*and *sU* will derive *kriyā*. The derivate in *KyaP* will receive *tUK* from rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kiti tuk* to derive *kr̥tyā*. The derivate in *KtiN* can be justified at the strength of the statement of the *Mahābhāṣya* ad this rule.

3.3.101 *icchā*

The derivation of (793) *icchā* from *iṣ + Śa* is blocked from receiving *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) via *nipātana*. The *ṣ* of the root will receive *ch* followed by the introduction of augment *tUK* as per rules 7.3.77 *iṣugamiyamāṃ...* and 6.1.73 *che ca*. Rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* will then apply on *i(ṣ→ch) + a = i(t(UK→∅)ch+ a = iich + a* to replace the *t* with *c* to produce *i (t→c)ch + a = iccha*. The introduction of *ṬāP* and *sU* will then derive *icchā*.

3.3.102 *a pratyayāt*

Refer to the derivation of verbal roots *cikīrṣa*, etc., under rules dealing with affixes *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ karmaṇaḥ...*), *KyaC*, and *KāmyaC*. The derivates of this rule require the introduction of affix *a* after *cikīrṣa*, etc., where the root-final *a* will be deleted before affix *a* by rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. Rule 1.2.46 *kr̥ttaddhitasamāsāś ca* will assign the term nominal stem (*prātipadika*) to *cikīrṣa*, etc., to enable the introduction of feminine affix *ṬāP* by 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*. Thus, we will get (794) *cikīrṣā*, (795) *jihīrṣā*, (746) *putrīyā*, (797) *putrakāmyā*, (798) *lolūyā*, and (799) *kaṇḍūyā*.

3.3.104 *ṣidbhidādibhyo' ṅ*

3.3.105 *cintipūjikathikumbicarcaś ca*

The derivation of (800) *jarā* would require *guṇa* by rule 7.4.16 *r̥̄dr̥śo'ṅi guṇaḥ* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ* to yield *j(r̥̄→ar) + a(Ṅ)*.

The roots of examples under rule 3.3.104 would all end in *ṆiC* which subsequently will be deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. This will give us derivates such as (801) *cintā*, (802) *pūjā*, (803) *kathā*, (804) *kumbā*, and (805) *carcā* via *ṬāP*, *savarṇadīrgha* (as in *cinta + (Ṭ)ā(P) = cint(a+a→ā) = cintā*), and the deletion of *sU* as in other examples. Note that *cintā* would also require the introduction of augment *n(UM)* by rule 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* to yield *cit(ṆiC→∅) + a = ci(n(UM)t + a = cinta*.

An optional example (806) *cintanā* is also derived with the introduction of affix *yu(C)* optionally to *aṄ*. Rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* will replace the *yu* with *ana* to yield *cint + (yu→ana) = cintana*. The introduction of *ṬāP* followed by the placement and deletion of *sU* as well as *savarṇadīrgha* will produce *cintanā*.

3.3.107 *ṇyāsaśrantho yuc*

Examples (807) *kāraṇā* and (808) *hāraṇā* require verbal roots *kāri* and *hāri* where affix *NiC* is introduced after *kr̥* and *hr̥* by rule 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*.

The *ṛ* of the roots has gone through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* and the term *dhātu* is subsequently assigned by 3.1.32 *sanādyantā....* The *ṆiC* before *yuC* will again be deleted by rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. The *n* of *kār(ṆiC→ 0) + (yu→ana) = kār + ana* will be replaced with *ṇ* by rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ....* Examples such as (809) *āsanā* and (810) *śranthanā* will of course be derived without roots ending in *ṆiC*.

3.3.108 *rogākhyāyāṃ ṇvul bahulam*

The derivation of (811) *pracchardikā* contains *pra + chad + ṆiC + (Ṇ)vu(L)) + ṬāP)) + sU* where *ṆiC* is introduced by rule 3.1.25 *satyāpapāśarūpavīṇā....* Follow rules similar to (85) *śāyikā* with the understanding that this example will require the introduction of *tUK* by 6.1.73 *che ca* followed by the *c*-replacement (*ścutva*) of 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*. Our next example (812) *pravāhikā* will be similarly derived by introducing *ṆiC* after *pra-vah* by rule 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. The *NiC* in both these examples will be deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. Similar rules apply in deriving (813) *vicarcikā*. The *vu* of *ṆvuL* would of course be replaced with *aka* of 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*.

The derivation of (814) *śiro' rttiḥ* proceeds with the derivation of *arttiḥ* from *ard + (K)ti(N)* where 8.4.55 *khari ca* applies to produce *ar(d→t) + ti = artti*, and 7.2.9 *titutratha...* blocks the introduction of augment *iṬ*. Our derivate *artti* is then combined in a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound with *śiras* where its *s* is replaced with *r* via 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. Rule 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād...* then applies on *śirar + artti* to replace the *r* with *u* thereby producing *śirau + artti*. The application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will then replace the sequence *u + a* with *o* to produce *śir(a+u→o) + artti = śiro artti*. Rule 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* will finally order *o* as a replacement for both *o* and *a* to produce *śiro' rtti*. The introduction of *sU* followed by *rutva-visarga* will derive *śiro' rttiḥ*.

3.3.110 *vibhāṣākhyānaparipraśnayor iñ ca*

This rule allows for *iÑ* optionally with *ṆvuL* with the understanding that, due to the inclusion of *vibhāṣā*, other relevant affixes can also be introduced. Thus, consider these derivates where I also indicate their derivational strings:

(815) *kārim* from *kṛ + iÑ = kāri* where *vṛddhi* is accomplished by 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*;

(816) *kārikām* from *k(ṛ→ār) + (ṆvuL→aka) = kār + i(Ṭ) + aka + ṬāP* where rules similar to (85) *śāyikā* apply to produce *kārikā*. The examples in sentences are given in the accusative for which the introduction of *am* and relevant operations have to be performed.

Refer to the derivation of additional examples under rules 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin* and 3.3.100 *kṛñaḥ śa ca*.

The derivation of examples with verbal root *gaṇa* proceeds with its causal form *gaṇi* since the root belongs to the *curādi* class. Note that the

final *a* of *gaṇa* gets deleted by rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. The *vṛddhi* of the penultimate *a* of *gaṇ* cannot be accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* for reasons that the deleted *a* will become alive by *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as if it was the item replaced'. Thus, *vṛddhi* cannot apply since the penultimate (*upadhā*) position will now be occupied by *ṇ*, and not the *a*. The *ṆiC* itself gets deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*.

3.3.112 *ākrośe nañy aniḥ*

Note that (817) *akaraṇiḥ* derives from *naÑ* + *kṛ* + *ani* where *ṛ* of the root goes through *guṇa* before *ani* to produce *na* + *k(ṛ→ar)* + *ani* = *na* + *karani*. The *n* of *na* is deleted by 6.3.73 *nalopo nañaḥ*. The introduction of *sU* followed by *rutva-visarga* will produce *akara(n→ṇi)(s(U)→ḥ))* = *akaraṇiḥ* where 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅnum...* will replace the *n* with *ṇ*.

3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*

Note that deriving (818) *snānīyam* from *(snā* + *anīya(R))* + *sU))* and (819) *dānīyaḥ* from *(dā* + *anīya(R))* + *sU))* entails *savarṇa- dīrgha* before the nominative singular ending *sU*.

The derivation of (820) *apasecanam* from *(apa* + *sic* + *LyuṬ)* + *sU))*, (821) *avasrāvaṇam* from *ava* + *srāvi* + *LyuṬ)* + sU, (822) *rājabhojanāḥ* from *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *bhojana* + *sU* with *bhojana* deriving from *bhuj* + *LyuṬ* entails diverse significations. The first example requires *guṇa*. The second loses the *i*, i.e., (*ṆiC*), to 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* and has the *n* replaced with *ṇ*. The derivation of *bhojana* entails *guṇa* of *u* of *bhuj* followed by the formation of the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Of course, the *yu* of *LyuṬ* is replaced with *ana* by 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*. The *sU* of the first two examples goes through *am* for which see (751) *sāṅkūṭinam*. The nominative plural ending *(J)as* after *rājabhojana* causes the long vowel replacement homogeneous with the preceding *a* of the sequence *a+a* at the end (*pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*; 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ...*). Finally, an application of *rutva-visarga* will derive *rājabhojan(a+a→ ā)(s→r→ḥ)* = *rājabhojanāḥ*.

3.3.116 *karmaṇi ca yena saṃsparśāt...*

3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*

The derivation of (823) *odanabhojanam* and (824) *payaḥpānam* requires the derivation of *odanabhojana* and *payaḥpāna* via the introduction of affix *LyuṬ* after verbal roots *bhuj* and *pā* used in conjunction with words constituted by *odana* and *payas* with the denotata of object (*karman*). The *rutva-visarga* of *s* of *payas* followed by the *am* replacement of the *sU* introduced after these obligatory compounds is not difficult to comprehend.

The derivation of (825) *idhmapravraścanaḥ* from *idhma* + *Ṅas* + *pravraśca* + *sU*, and of (826) *palāśaśātanaḥ* from *palāśa* + *Ṅas* + *śātana* + *sU* involves genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Note that the derivation of *śātana* proceeds with the causal form of the verbal root *śad(Ḷ)*. Affix *LyuṬ* is then introduced after *ś(a→ā)d(Ḷ→Ø)* + *(Ṇ)i(C)* = *śādi*. This *ṆiC* is, however, deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. The *d* of the root is replaced with *t*

by rule 7.3.42 *śader agatau taḥ*. Thus, *śā(d→t)(ṆiC→∅) + (LyuṬ→ana) = śātana*.

The derivation of (827) *godohanī* and (828) *saktudhānī* again involves the genitive type of *tatpuruṣa* compound though the derivates will be denoting *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. The resultant compound base *godohana* from *go* + *Ṅas* + *dohana* + *sU* where *dohana* derives from *duh* + *(LyuṬ→ana)* through *guṇa* then receives the feminine affix *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ....* Thus, *god(u→o)h + ana = godohana + (Ṅ)ī(P) = godohanī* where the final *a* of *godohana* gets deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *sU* of *godohanī + sU* will be subsequently deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo....* Similar rules are applied in deriving *saktudhānī*.

3.3.118 *puṃsi saṃjñāyāṃ prāyeṇa...*

The derivation of (829) *dantacchadaḥ* and (830) *uraśchadaḥ* requires the introduction of affix *GHa* after verbal root *chad* used with *ṆiC* of 3.1.25 *satyāpapāśarūpa....* Note further that *chādi*, the causal form of *chad*, must also cooccur with the nominal *pada* constituted by *danta* and *uras* with the denotatum of *karman*. Thus, we get *danta + Śas + chādi + (GH)a* and *uras + Śas + chādi + (GH)a* where the penultimate *ā* of *chādi* goes through shortening (*hrasva*) as per rule 6.4.96 *chāder ghe' d...* to produce *ch(ā→a)di =chadi*. The *ṆiC* again gets deleted in view of 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. Rule 6.1.73 *che ca* then introduces the augment *t(UK)* to *danta* to realize *dantat + chada*. Rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* then subjects this *t* to be replaced with *c* whereby we get *danta(t→c)chad + a = dantacchada*. Note that *uraśchadaḥ* does not qualify for the introduction of *tUK*.

Deriving (831) *ālayaḥ* by introducing affix *GHa* after verbal root *lī* used with the preverb *ā(Ṅ→∅)* requires *guṇa* of *ī* followed by the replacement of *e* in *ay*. Thus, we get *āl(ī→e→ay) + a = ālaya + s(U) = ālayaḥ*.

3.3.120 *ave stṛstor ghañ*

3.3.121 *halaś ca*

The derivation of (832) *avatāraḥ* from *(avatṛ + (GH)a(Ñ) + sU))* and of (833) *avastāraḥ* from *avastṛ + (GH)a(Ñ) + sU))* requires the *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) of *ṛ* followed by *rutva-visarga* of *sU*.

The *vṛddhi* in deriving (834) *vīmārgaḥ* from *(vi + mṛj(ŪṢ) + (GH)a(Ñ) + sU))* and (835) *apāmārgaḥ* from *(apa + mṛj(ŪṢ) + (GH)a(Ñ) + sU))* entails *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* as per rule 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*. The resultant string *vim(ṛ→ār)j + a) = vimārj + a* would require that the short *i* of *vi* be replaced with long in view of rule 6.3.122 *upasargasya ghañy....* The *j* of the resultant string *v(i→ī)mārj + a* will then be replaced with *g* of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* to produce *vīmār(j→g) + a = vīmārga*. Similar rules will apply in deriving *apāmārga*. The final derivates will now require *sU* and *rutva-visarga*.

3.3.123 *udako' nudake*

The derivation of (836) *tailodaṅkaḥ* contains *taila* + *Ṅas* + *udaṅka* where *udaṅka* derives by introducing affix *GHaÑ* after verbal root *añc* used with the preverb *ud* under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* constituted by *taila* denoting object. The derivation requires *kutva* of 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ*. Thus, *taila(Ṅas→∅)* + *udañca→tailodañca* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*); *tailodañ(c→k)a* = *tailoda(ñ→ṃ)ka* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya...*); *tailoda(ṃ→ṅ)ka* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*).

3.3.127 *kartṛkarmaṇoś ca bhūkṛñoḥ*

This rule derives examples with two conjoined *pada* simultaneously. Thus, (837) *īṣadāḍhyaṃkaraḥ* is derived by introducing affix *KHaL* after verbal root *kṛ* used in conjunction with two nominal *pada* constituted by *īṣad* and *āḍhya* with the denotatum of object. The same explanation can be forwarded for reconstructing the underlying string of (838) *svāḍhyaṅkaraḥ*. The derivation of (839) *īṣadāḍhyaṃbhavaḥ*, and (840) *svāḍhyaṃbhavaḥ* not only requires affix *KHaL* to be introduced after verbal root *bhū* but also requires the conjoined *pada* to denote *kartṛ*. The root vowels *ṛ* and *ū* undergo *guṇa*. The *o* of *bhū→bho* is replaced with *av*. The *m* in all these examples comes via the introduction of augment *m(UM)* of rule 6.3.67 *arur dviṣat....* Rule 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* then replaces the *m* with *anusvāra*.

3.3.131 *vartamānasāmīpye vartamānavad vā*

3.3.132 *āśaṃsāyāṃ bhūtavac ca*

I have already explained many derivates with *LAṬ*, *ŚatṚ*, *Kta*, *LUṄ*, *LUṬ*, and *LṚṬ*. The derivates of these rules do not involve anything substantially different. The derivation of (841) *āgamat* contains *ā(Ṅ)* + *a(Ṭ)* + *gam* + *CLI* + *t* where the *i* of *ti(P)* gets deleted (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) and *CLI* is replaced with *a(Ṅ*; 3.1.55 *puṣādi...)* to derive *ā* + *a* + *gam* + *a(Ṅ→∅)* + *(LUṄ→t(i→∅))*. The *savarṇadīrgha* of *ā+a* will produce: *ā+a→ā* + *gam* + *a* + *t* = *āgamat*.

Derive (842) *adhyagīṣmahi* similarly to *adhyagīṣṭa* of rule 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi...* (vol. II, 425-26). Of course, parallel to step (*a*) of *adhyagīṣṭa*, one will have to select the first person plural *ātmanepada* ending *mahi(Ṅ)* to replace *LUṄ* of this example. The derivation of (843) *āgataḥ* from *(āgam* + *(K)ta)* + *s(U))* requires the deletion of the root-final *m* by rule 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa...* before *rutva-visarga*. Derive (844) *adhīmahe* from *adhi* + *i* + *(ŚaP→∅)* + *mah(i→e)* = *adh(i+i→ī)* + *mahe* = *adhīmahe*. The deletion of *ŚaP* is accomplished by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ....* The *e* as a replacement (*etva*) for the *i* of *mahi*, of course, comes through the application of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e*.

The derivation of (845) *adhyeṣyāmahe* contains the string *adhi* + *i* + *sya* + *(LṚṬ→mah(i→e)* where *sya* is introduced in place of *ŚaP* before *mahi*. The root, i.e., *i*, goes through *guṇa* before affix *sya*, an *ārdhadhātuka* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*). The resultant string, i.e., *adhi* +

(i→e) + *sya* + *mahe*, then goes through the application of rules 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* and 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi* to produce: *adh(i→y)* + *e* + *sy(a→ā)* + *mahe* = *adhyeṣyāmahe*. The *s* is finally replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*.

3.3.134 *āśaṃsāvacane liṅ*

The derivation of (846) *adhīyīya* contains *adhi* + *i* + *(LIṄ→sīy(UṬ→∅)* + *i(Ṭ→∅)* = *adhi* + *i* + *sīy* + *i* where rule 3.4.102 *liṅaḥ sīyuṬ* introduces *sīy(UṬ)* before the first person singular replacement *iṬ* of *LIṄ*. The *i* of *iṬ* is then replaced with *a* by rule 3.4.106 *iṭo' t*. We thus get: *adhi* + *i* + *sīy* + *a*. Rule 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo*...then deletes the *s* of *sīy(UṬ)* to produce: *adhi* + *i* + *(s→∅)īy* + *a* = *adhi* + *i* + *īya*. Verbal root *i* is then replaced with *iy(AṄ→∅)* to produce *adhi* + *(i→iy)* + *īya* = *adhi* + *iy* + *īya*. The application of *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*...) will finally produce: *adh(i+ī→ī)y* + *īya* = *adhīy* + *īya* = *adhīyīya*.

3.3.135 *nānadyatanavat kriyāprabandhasāmīpyayoḥ*

Note that (847) *adāt* contains *aṬ* + *dā* + *sIC* + *t*, as in (144) *agāt* under rule 2.4.45 *iṇo gā luṅi*; and many similar examples already derived, where *sIC* gets deleted by 2.4.77 *gātisthāghupābhūbhyaḥ*....

The derivation of (848) *adhyāpipat* proceeds with *adhi* + *i* + *i* where affix *ṆiC* is introduced (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) after verbal root *iṄ* used with the preverb *adhi*. The root is replaced with *ā* by rule 6.1.48 *krīṅjīnāṃ*.... Augment *pUK* is then introduced by rule 7.3.36 *artihrīvlīrī*... to produce *adhi* + *(a→ā)p(UK→∅)* + *i* = *adhi* + *āp* + *i*. Affixes *LUṄ* and *CLĪ* are then introduced with reference to the derived root *adhi* + *āpi*. Note that affix *LUṄ* is replaced with *ti(P)* where the *i* of *ti* is deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. Affix *CLĪ* is also replaced with *(C)a(Ṅ)* of 3.1.48 *ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ*.... This gives us: *adhi* + *āpi* + *(CLĪ→(C)a(Ṅ)* + *(LUṄ→t(i→∅)* = *adhi* + *āpi* + *a* + *t*. Doubling of *pi* as per 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya* will produce *adhi* + *āpi* + *pi* + *a* + *t*. Rule 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām* then introduces *ā(Ṭ)*. The result is: *adhi* + *ā(Ṭ→∅)* + *āpi* +*pi* + *a* + *t* = *adhi* + *ā* + *āpi* + *pi* + *a* + *t*. An application of rule 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* will order a single *vṛddhi* replacement for the sequence of *ā*+*ā* thereby producing *adhi* + *(ā* + *ā→ā)pi* + *pi* +*a* + *t* = *adhi* + *ā* + *pi* + *pi* + *a* + *t*. The deletion of *(Ṇ)i(C)* by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* yields *adhi* + *ā* + *pi* + *p(i→∅)* + *a* + *t* = *adhi* + *āpipat* which through the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* becomes *adh(i→y) apipat* = *adhyāpipat*. Note that I held the application of this last rule to facilitate proper understanding of the fact that doubling and the introduction of augments is undertaken without recognizing the existence of the preverbs.

The derivation of (849) *ādhita* requires the introduction of affix *LUṄ* after verbal root *dhā* used with the preverb *āṄ*. Rule 1.2.17 *sthāghvor ic ca* also applies to replace the root-final *ā* with *i* to produce *ā(Ṅ→∅)* + *dh(ā→i)* + *LUṄ* = *ādhi* + *LUṄ*. The introduction of *a(Ṭ)* and *sIC*

(6.4.71 *luṅlanlṛṅ*...; 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*) precede the *ātmanepada* replacement in *ta* for *LUṄ*. The resultant string, i.e., *ā* + *a(Ṭ)* + *dhi* + *sIC* + *ta*, loses its *sIC* to 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt*. The initial vocalic sequence of *ā+a* will be replaced with *ā* through *savarṇadīrgha*. One can similarly derive (850) *adita* from *aṬ* + *dā* + *LUṄ*. The derivation of (851) *ayaṣṭa* contains *a(Ṭ)* + *yaj* + *sIC* + *ta* where *sIC* gets deleted by rule 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*; and *yaj* receives *ṣ* as a replacement for its final *j* from rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛjamṛja*.... This produces *aya(j→ṣ)* + *ta* = *ayaṣ* + *ta*. Rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* will finally replace the *t* with *ṭ* to produce *ayaṣ* + *(t→ṭ)a* = *ayaṣṭa*. The derivation of (852) *ādhāsyate*, (853) *yakṣyate* and (854) *dāsyate* can be accomplished following relevant rules of (724) *bhokṣyate* and other derivational patterns already explained.

3.3.136 *bhaviṣyati maryādavacane' varasmin*

The derivation of (855) *bhokṣyāmahe* contains *bhuj* + *sya* + *(LṚṬ→mahi)*, and also shares the *j→g→k* as well as *s→ṣ* change with (724) *bhokṣyate*. The lengthening of the *a* of *bhokṣya* is accomplished by 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*. Example (856) *pāsyāmaḥ* is similarly derived from *pā* + *sya* + *(LṚṬ→mas)* where *LṚṬ* gets replaced with first person plural *parasmaipada* ending *mas*.

3.3.138 *parasmin vibhāṣā*

The derivation of (857) *adhyetāsmahe* and *pātāsmaḥ* contains *adhi* + *i* + *tās* + *mahiṄ* and *pā* + *tās* + *mas* where *mahiṄ* and *mas* are replacements for *LṚṬ*. Note that affix *tās* has been introduced by 3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*. The *i* of *mahiṄ* has gone through *etva* of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e*. Of course, *adhi* + *i* yields *adhi* + *(i→e)* = *adh(i→y)* + *e* = *adhye* through *guṇa* and *y* replacing *i*.

3.3.139 *liṅnimitte lṛṅ kriyātipattau*

Example (858) *paryābhaviṣyat* contains the string *pari* + *ā(Ṅ→0)* + *a(Ṭ)* + *bhū* + *i(Ṭ→0)* + *sya* + *(LṚṄ→t(i→0)* = *par(i→y)ā* + *(bhū→bho→bhav)* + *i* + *sya* + *t* = *paryābhavi(s→ṣ)yat* = *paryābhaviṣyat* where *i* of *ti* is deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. The *guṇa* of *ū* in *bhū* with subsequent replacement *av* is accomplished by rules 7.3.87 *sārvadhātukārdha*... and 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Example (858) *āgamiṣyat* similarly derives from *ā(Ṅ)* + *a(Ṭ)* + *gam* + *i(Ṭ)* + *sya* + *t*. The derivation of (860) *abhokṣyata* requires the underlying string *aṬ* + *bhuj* + *sya* + *ta* where *LṚṄ* is replaced with the third person singular *ātmanepada* suffix *ta*.

3.3.143 *vibhāṣā kathami liṅ ca*

Example (861) *yājayati* contains *yāji* + *ŚaP* + *(LAṬ→ti(P)* = *yāji* + *a* + *ti* which, with *guṇa* and subsequent replacement in *ay* produces *yājayati*. A derivate with *LṚṬ* will similarly be (862) *yājayiṣyati* derivable from *yāji* + *i(Ṭ)* + *sya* + *ti* . Example (863) *yājayet* contains *yāji* +*ŚaP* + *yās(UṬ)* + *s(UṬ)* + *(LIṄ→ti)* similarly to (735) *āgacchet*. The derivation of (864) *bhavitā* is not very different from (43) *kaṇitā* for which see

vol. II, pp. 343-44. Remember, however, that the root here ends in affix *ṆiC*.

The derivation of (865) *ayījayat* contains the string *(aṭ + yāj + (Ṇ)i(C) + (CLI→CaṄ)) + (LUṄ→t(i→Ø))* = *a + yāj + i + a + t* similarly to (738) *acīkarat* for which see (vol. II, pp. 506–08). Our present example will require the shortening of the long *ā* of *yāj* followed by the deletion of *ṆiC* by rules 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅi upadhā...* and 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* respectively. Doubling, etc., will then follow to derive the final derivate similar to *acīkarat*. Refer to derivations such as (257) *jāgarāñcakāra* for deriving (866) *yājayāñcakāra* from *yāji + LIṬ*.

3.3.151 *śeṣe lṛḍ yadau*

Example (867) *ārokṣyati* contains *āruh + sya + (LṚṬ→ti)* = *āruh + sya + ti* where 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* orders *guṇa* of *u* in *ruh* to realize: *ār(u→o)h + sya + ti*. Rules 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ* and 8.2.41 *ṣaḍoḥ kaḥ si* then apply to replace *h* with *k* via *ḍh*. We thus get: *āro (h→ḍh→k) + sya + ti* = *ārok + syati*. The *s* of *sya* is finally replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* to derive *ārok(s→ṣ)yati* = *ārokṣyati*. Our next example (868) *adhyeṣyate* similarly derives from *adhi + i + sya + t(a→e)*.

3.3.153 *kāmapravedane...*

The derivation of (869) *bhuñjīta* contains *bhuj + (LIṄ→ta)* where *Śnam* is introduced by 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ....* The resultant string, i.e., *bhu + na + j + ta*, receives *(s)īy(UṬ)* and *s(UṬ)* with subsequent deletion of both the *s* segments similarly to (846) *adhīyīya*. This will yield: *bhu+ n + j + īy + ta* = *bhunj + ī + ta* where *y* gets subsequently deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. The *n* is replaced with its palatal counterpart via *ṃ* per application of rules 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya...* and 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*. Thus, *bhu(n→ṃ→ñ) + j + ī(y→Ø) + ta* = *bhuñjīta*.

3.3.157 *icchārtheṣu liṅloṭau*

Example (870) *bhuṅktām* also contains *bhu + n(a→Ø) + j + ta* = *bhunj + ta* where *ta*, for reasons of being a replacement of *LOṬ*, goes through the application of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e* to produce *bhunj + t(a→e)* = *bhunj + te*. This *e* is further replaced with *ām* by rule 3.4.90 *ām etaḥ* to yield *bhunj + t(e→ām)* = *bhunj + tām*. Refer to the derivation of (723) *bhuṅkte* for rules responsible for changing *bhunj + tām* into *bhun(j→g→k) + tām* = *bhu(n→ṃ→ṅ)k + tām* = *bhuṅktām*.

3.3.158 *samānakartṛkeṣu tumun*

3.3.159 *liṅ ca*

Example (871) *bhoktum* contains *bhuj + tum(UN→Ø)* where *j* is also replaced with *k* via *g* as in the previous example. The derivation of (872) *bhuñjīya* can be accomplished by following the derivation of (869) *bhuñjīta* where first person singular *iṬ* (as opposed to *ta*) replaces *LIṄ*. The *i* of *iṬ* is subsequently replaced with *a* (3.4.106 *iṭo' t*) to yield *bhunj + ī y +*

(i→a) = bhunjīya. Refer to the derivation of *adhīyīya* under rule 3.3.134 *āśaṃsāvacane....*

3.3.160 *icchārthebhyo vibhāṣā vartamāne*

Example (873) *vaṣṭi* derives from *vaś* + *(ŚaP→Ø)* + *(LAṬ→ ti(P)* = *vaś* + *ti* where *ŚaP* gets deleted because the root belongs to the *adādi* group (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...*). The palatal *ś* is then replaced with *ṣ* on account of 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasja....* The *t* then changes to *ṭ* through the application of 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The derivation of (874) *uśyāt* requires *samprasāraṇa* of rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi....* Thus, *(vạ→ua→uś)* + *(ŚaP→Ø)* + *(LIṄ→t(i→Ø)* = *uś* + *t*. Refer to the derivation of (736) *āgacchet* for deriving *uś* + *yā(s* + *s→Ø)* + *t* = *uśyāt* where this example does not have its *yā* replaced with *īy*.

Example (875) *kāmayate* contains *kāmi* + *ŚaP* + *(LAṬ→t(a→e)* = *kāmi* + *a* + *te* where *kāmi* ends in *ṆiC* which causes the *vṛddhi* of its *a*. The *ātmanepada* affix *ta* replaces *LAṬ* and as usual yields *te*. The *guṇa* of *i* followed by the replacement of resultant *e* in *ay* is not difficult to comprehend. We thus get *kām(i→e→ay)* + *a* + *te* = *kāmayate*. Example (876) *kāmayeta* similarly contains *kāmi* + *a* + *(LIṄ→ta)* where the *a* of the *ātmanepada* ending does not go through *e* (*etva*) but the *yā* of *yāsUṬ* gets replaced with *iy*. This gives us: *kāmi* + *a* + *yās* + *s* + *ta* = *kāmi* + *a* + *(yā→iy)s* + *s* + *ta* = *kāmi* + *a* + *iy* + *(s* + *s→Ø)* + *ta* = *kām (i→e→ay)* + *a* + *iy* + *ta* = *kāmay* + *a* + *i(y→Ø)* + *ta* = *kāmay* + *(a+i→e))* + *ta* = *kāmayeta*. Refer to (736) *āgacchet* for relevant details.

3.3.161 *vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhīṣṭa...*

3.3.162 *loṭ ca*

Example (877) *kuryāt* contains *kṛ* + *u* + *(LIṄ→ti(P))* = *kṛ* + *u* + *yās* + *s* + *t(i→Ø)* where *ṛ* goes through its *guṇa* replacement in *ar* before the *vikaraṇa u* (3.1.79 *tanādikṛñ...*). The *a* of *ar* is replaced with *u* as per 6.4.110 *ata ut sārvadhātuke*. This produces *k(ṛ→ar* + *u...)* = *k(a→u)r* + *u...* = *kur* + *u* + *yās...* similarly to (736) *āgacchet*. Note that the *u* of *kur* + *u* + *yās...* is deleted by 6.4.109 *ye ca*. The rest of the rules are similar to (736) *āgacchet*.

Example (878) *adhyayai* contains *i* + *(Śap→Ø)* + *(LOṬ→i(Ṭ)→e)* where *e* comes as a replacement (*etva*) of the first person singular *ātmanepada* replacement of *LOṬ* as per rule 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām....* This *e*, however, is further replaced with *ai* of rule 3.4.93 *et ai*. Augment *āṬ* is then introduced by rule 3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca* to produce *i* + *ā(Ṭ)* + *(e→ai)* = *i* + *ā* + *ai*. Rule 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* then orders a single *vṛddhi* replacement for *ā* + *ai* to produce *i* + *ai*. The application of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātuka...* and 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* finally produce: *(i→e→ay)* + *ai* = *ayai*. Note that *adhi* + *ayai* produces *adhyayai* through the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*.

3.3.163 *praiṣātisargaprāptakāleṣu kṛtyāś ca*

Note that the *kṛtya* examples are given optionally to those of *LOṬ*. Example (879) *karaṇīyaḥ* derives by introducing affix *anīya* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*) after verbal root *kṛ*, i.e., ((*kṛ* + *anīya*) + *sU*, through *guṇa*, *n*→*ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ*...) and *rutva-visarga*. Example (880) *kartavyaḥ* is similarly derived from (*kṛ* + *tavyaT*) +*sU*. Examples (881) *kṛtyaḥ* and (882) *kāryaḥ* derive from (*kṛ* + *KyaP*) + *sU* and (*kṛ* + *ṆyaT*) + *sU* respectively. Affixes *KyaP* and *ṆyaT* are introduced here by rules 3.1.120 *vibhāṣā kṛvṛṣoḥ* and 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*. Our derivate in *KyaP* lacks *guṇa* because of *K*; the *ṆyaT* derivate will require *vṛddhi* because of *Ṇ* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*). Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* introduc augment *t*(*UK*) in *kṛtyaḥ*. Deriving (883) *karotu* from *kṛ* + *u* + (*LOṬ*→*ti*) = *kṛ* + *u* + *ti* requires replacing the *i* of *ti* by *u* of 3.4.86 *eruḥ* followed by the *guṇa* of both *ṛ* and *u* by 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*. This produces: *k*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + (*u*→*o*) + *t*(*i*→*u*) = *karotu*.

3.3.166 *adhīṣṭe ca*

Example (884) *adhyāpaya* contains *adhyāpi* + (*Ś*)*a*(*P*) + (*LOṬ*→ *si*(*P*)) where *adhyāpi* is derived similarly to the derived root in (167) *adhyāpipat*. The *si* is subsequently replaced with *hi* of 3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*. Rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ*, however, will delete the *hi* to produce *adhyāp*(*i*→*e*→*ay*) + *a* + (*si*→*hi*→∅) = *adhyāpaya* through *guṇa* and subsequent replacement in *ay*.

Follow the derivational patterns of (250) *juhoti* (vol. II, p. 420) to arrive at *ju* + *hu* + *si*, of (885) *juhudhi*, from *hu* + (*LOṬ*→*si*). The *si* will again be replaced with *hi* similarly to the preceding example. Rule 6.4.101 *hujhalyor he dhiḥ* will then replace *hi* with *dhi* to produce *ju* + *hu* + (*si*→*hi*→*dhi*) = *juhudhi*.

3.3.169 *arhe kṛtyaś ca*

Example (886) *voḍhavyā* is a feminine derivate in *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) introduced after *voḍhavya* which, in turn, contains *vah* + *tavya*. The *h* of *vah* and the *t* of *tavya* are replaced with *ḍh* and *dh* by rules 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ* and 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor ddho' dhaḥ* respectively. This gives us: *va*(*h*→*ḍh*) + (*t*→*dh*)*avya* = *vaḍh* + *dhavya*. The *ḍh* is then deleted by 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ* which, in turn, conditions the *a* of *va*(*ḍh*→∅) = *va* to change to *o* by rule 6.3.112 *sahivahor od avarṇasya*. We thus get *v*(*a*→*o*) + *dhavya* = *vo* + *dhavya*. Rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* finally replaces *dh* with *ḍh* to produce *vo* + (*dh*→*ḍh*)*avya* = *voḍhavya* which with (*Ṭ*)*ā*(*P*) and susbequent addition of *sU* produces *voḍhavyā*. Refer to the derivation of (8) *cetā* under the appendix of rule 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ* to derive the *tṛC* derivate (887) *voḍhā* where the *h* of *vah* and the *t* of *tṛC* will also go through changes just noted for *voḍhavya*.

3.3.174 *ktickticau ca saṃjñāyām*

Examples such as (888) *mantiḥ* and (889) *tantiḥ* contain *man* + (*K*)*ti*(*C*) + *sU*

and *tan* + *(K)ti(C)* + *sU* where the *a* of *tan* and *man* are saved from being replaced with the *ā* of rule 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijhaloḥ...* at the strength of 6.4.39 *na ktici....* The same holds in case of the deletion of their *n* by rule 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa....* This, however, is blocked by 6.4.39 *na ktici....* The application of *rutva-visarga* on the *s* of *manti* + *s(U)* and *tanti* + *s(U)* finally produces the desired derivates.

Note that (890) *sātiḥ* similarly derives from *ṣan* + *ti* + *s(U)* where the root-initial *ṣ* is replaced with *s* under the application of rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ....* The *n* of *san* + *ti* is replaced with *ā* by 6.4.45 *sanaḥ ktici...* to produce *sa(n→ā)* + *ti* = *s(a* + *ā* => *ā)* + *ti* = *sāti.*

Similar rules apply in deriving (891) *bhūtiḥ*. Example (892) *dattaḥ* derives from *dā* + *(K)ta* = *dāta* + *s(U)* where rule 7.4.46 *do dad ghoḥ* replaces *dā* with *dad*. Rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* then applies to produce *(dā→dad)* + *ta* = *da(d→t))* + *ta* = *datta.* The introduction of *sU* followed by *rutva-visarga* will produce *dattaḥ*. The instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound *devadattaḥ* thus has *datta* as one of its constituents.

3.4.2 *kriyāsamabhihāre loṭ loṭo hisvau vā ca taddhvamoḥ*

Example (892) *lunīhi* derives from *lū* + *(Ś)nā* + *(LOṬ→hi))* where *LOṬ* gets replaced with *hi*, and the *ā* of *nā* gets replaced with *ī* by rule 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ*. This produces *lū* + *n(ā→ī)* + *(LOṬ→hi))* = *lū* + *nīhi*. The *ū* of *lū* gets a short replacement per rule 7.3.80 *pvādīnāṃ hrasvaḥ* to produce *l(ū→u)* + *nīhi* = *lunīhi*. The doubling in *lunīhi lunīhi* expresses repetition of the action (*kriyāsamabhihāra*).

Note that *alāvīt* has already been derived as example (20, pp. 334-34) of volume II. Example (893) *alāviṣṭām* entails the replacement of the third person dual *tas* by *tām* of rule 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām....* Thus, *alāvis* + *tām* = *alāviṣṭām* through *s→ṣ* and *t→ṭ* changes per rules 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* and 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The derivation of (842) *alāviṣuḥ* entails replacing the third personal plural *jhi* by *Jus* of 3.4.108 *jher jus*. Thus, *alāvi(s→ṣ)* + *(jhi→(J)us)* = *alāviṣ)* + *u(s→r→ḥ)* = *alāviṣuḥ*. The derivation of (894) *adhīṣva* involves *adhi* + *i* + *(LOṬ→sva)* = *adhīṣva* through *s→ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and similar long vowel replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*).

3.4.6 *chandasi luṅlaṅliṭaḥ*

Example (895) *akarat* derives from *a(Ṭ)* + *kṛ* + *(CLĪ→a(Ṅ)* *(LUṄ→t(i→∅))* = *a* + *kṛ* + *a* + *t* through *guṇa* of *ṛ* (7.4.16 *ṛdṛśo' ṅi guṇaḥ)*; deletion of *i* of *tiP* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*); and *aṄ* as a replacement for *CLĪ* (3.1.59 *kṛmidruruhi...*). The derivation of (896) *akaram* contains *a* + *kṛ* + *a* + *am* where *am* is a replacement of *miP*, the first person singular replacement of *LUṄ* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ...*). Rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* orders a single replacement for the sequence *a+a* of *a* + *kar* + *a* + *(mi→am)* = *akar* + *(a+a→a)m* = *akaram.*

The derivation of (897) *avṛṇīta* proceeds with *a (Ṭ)* + *vṝ(N)* + *(Ś)nā* + *ta* where *ṝ* goes through shortening, and the *ā* of *nā* goes through the

replacement in *ī* to produce *avṛṇīta* via the *n*→*ṇ* change brought about by 8.4.1 *raṣābhyām no ṇaḥ....*

Example (898) *mamāra* derives from *mṛ(Ṅ)* + *(LIṬ→ti→ (Ṇ)a(L))* where *LIṬ* is replaced with the active (*parasmaipada*) ending *ti*, subsequently *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām ṇalatusus...*) at the strength of 1.3.61 *mriyater...*, even when the root is marked with *Ṅ* to receive middle (*ātmanepada*) endings as per 1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*. The *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* by 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ* produces *m(ṛ→ār)* + *a*. Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* then causes doubling which, in turn, introduces *mṛ* to the string to realize *mṛ* + *mār* + *a* via treating *mār* still as *mṛ* in view of the *sthānivadbhāva* of 1.1.58 *dvirvacane' ci*. Rule 7.4.66 *ur at* then replaces *ṛ* with *a* to produce *m(ṛ→a)* + *mār* + *a* = *mamāra*.

3.4.7 *liṅarthe leṭ*

3.4.8 *upasaṃvādayoś ca*

Refer to the appendix of 3.1.34 *sib bahulaṃ leṭi* for derivational details of cited examples. Example (899) *īśai* derives from *īś* + *(LEṬ→i(Ṭ)→e→ai)* = *īś* + *ai* = *īśai* where the replacement of *LEṬ* in *i→e→ai* is similarly to (878) *adhyayai*. Note, however, that *ai* here is ordered by 3.4.96 *vaito' nyatra*. Our next example, i.e., (900) *gṛhyāntai*, similarly derives from *grah* + *LEṬ* where *(jh→ant)a* (3.4.77 *tiptasjhi*; 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*) replaces *LEṬ* to realize *grah* + *anta*. Rule 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak* then introduces *ya(K)* whereby the string becomes *grah* + *ya* + *anta*. The *a* of the *ātmanepada* ending *ta* will go through its replacement in *e* (*etva*). The root will then go through *samprasāraṇa* of rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi...* to realize *g(r→ṛ)ah* + *ya* + *ant(a→e)* = *gṛah* + *ante*. The vocalic sequence *ṛ+a*, as usual, will be replaced with the *ṛ* in view of rule 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*. Rule 3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca* then introduces *ā(Ṭ)* whereby we get *gṛh* + *ya* + *ā* + *ante*. The vocalic sequence *ā+a* is then replaced with *ā* by 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* to produce *gṛh* + *ya* + *(ā+a→ ā)nte* = *gṛh* + *ya* + *ānte*. The *e* of *ānte* is also replaced with *ai* of rule 3.4.93 *et ai* to realize *gṛhya* + *āntai* where *savarṇadīrgha* finally realizes *gṛhy(a+ā→ā)ntai* = *gṛhyāntai*. Similar rules apply in deriving (901) *ucyāntaiḥ* from *vac* + *LEṬ*. Example (902) *patāma* derives from *pat* + *(LEṬ→mas)* where *mas* gets replaced with *ma* of 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām....* The *āṭ* is here introduced by rule 3.4.94 *leṭo' aḍāṭau*.

3.4.9 *tumarthe sesenase...taveṅ tavenaḥ*

Many of the examples of this rule have been derived in this and the preceding volume. Example (903) *preṣe* contains *pra* + *i* + *(K)se* where *pra* is a preverb. The application of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* and 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* produces *pra* + *i* + *(s→ṣ)a* = *pr(a+i→e)ṣe* = *preṣe*. Example (904) *śriyase* contains *śri(Ñ)* + *(K)ase(N)* where rule 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvāṃ...* orders *iy(AṄ)* as a replacement for the root-final *i* to yield: *śr(ī→iy)ase* = *śriyase*. The derivation of (905) *āhuvadhyai* contains *ā* + *hu* + *(K)adhyai*,

or *(K)adhyai(N)* where 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* replaces *u* with *v*. Note that (906) *pibadhyai* contains *pā* + *(Ś)adhyai* where rule 7.3.78 *pāghrādhmāsthāmnādāṇ...* orders *pā* replaced with *pib*. Example (907) *mādayadhyai* contains *mādi* + *(Ś)adhyain* where *mādi* is the causal form of *mad* 'to be happy' derived via *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) and subsequent *vṛddhi*. The final derivate is produced from *mādi* + *adhyaiN* through *guṇa* and *ay* replacing *e*.

3.4.10 *prayai rohiṣyai avyathiṣyai*

Example (908) *prayai* is derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of affix *Kai* after verbal root *yā* used with the preverb *pra*. The *ā* of *pra* + *yā* + *(K)ai* is then deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*. The next two examples, (909) *rohiṣyai* and (910) *avyathiṣyai*, are derived form *ruh* + *iṣyai*, through *guṇa*, and *naÑ* + *vyath* + *iṣyai*. The *sU* introduced after these derivates is deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*. The assignment of the term *avyaya* is made at the strength of 1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ*.

3.4.12 *śaki ṇamulkamulau*

Examples (911) *dṛśe* and (912) *vikhye* are derivates of *(K)se* introduced after verbal roots *dṛśIR* and *khyā*, used with the preverb *vi* with the deletion of its *ā* similarly to (908) *prayai*. Examples (913) *vibhājam* and (914) *apalupam* are derived from *vibhaj* + *(Ṇ)am(UL)* and *apalup* + *(K)am(UL)* where the verbal roots are used with the preverbs *vi* and *apa*. The first example entails *vṛddhi* conditioned by the *Ṇ* as per rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. The second example cannot undergo either *vṛddhi* or *guṇa* because of the *K* as an it in affix *KamUL*. The deletion of *sU* in all these examples is conditioned by the assignment of the term *avyaya* to them: the first two based on their ending in *e*; the subsequent two based on their termination in *m*.

3.4.14 *kṛtyārthe tavaikenkenyatvanaḥ*

The derivation of (916) *didṛkṣeṇyaḥ* begins with the derivation of its underlying root *didṛkṣa* from *dṛś* + *dṛś* + *sa(N)* through the introduction of affix *saN*, doubling (*dvitva*), replacement in *a* followed by *r* (7.4.66 *ur at*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*) and *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60 *halādi...*). This produces *dṛś* + *dṛś* + *sa* => *da* + *dṛś* + *sa*. Rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* then orders *i* as a replacement for the *a* of *da* to produce *d(a→i)* + *dṛś* + *sa* = *di* + *dṛś*. The *ś* is then replaced with *k* of rule 8.2.41 *ṣaḍoḥ kaḥ si* to produce *di* + *dṛ(ś→k)* + *sa* = *didṛk* + *sa*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* then orders the *s* to be replaced with *ṣ*. The resultant form, i.e., *didṛkṣa*, is assigned the term *dhātu* by rule 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*.

3.4.11 *dṛśe vikhye ca*

3.4.21 *samānakartṛkayoḥ pūrvakāle*

3.4.22 *ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul ca*

The derivation of (917) *bhuktvā* and (918) *pītvā* derive from *bhuj* + *(K)tvā* and *pā* + *(K)tvā* where *kutva* entails *j→g→k* similar to (725) *bhoktā*, and *pītvā* entails the replacement of *ā* with *ī* by rule 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāpā....*

The derivates of the next rule entail doubling of *bhojam* and *pāyam* as

in (919) *bhojaṃbhojam* and (920) *pāyaṃpāyam*. The individual forms are derived by introducing affix *(Ṇ)am(UL)* after verbal roots *bhuj* and *pā* where *u* of *bhuj* goes through *guṇa*, and *pā* receives the augment *y(UK)* of rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇ....*

3.4.25 *karmaṇy ākrośe kṛñaḥ khamuñ*

3.4.26 *svādumi ṇamul*

The derivation of (921) *coraṃkāram* and (922) *dasyuṃkāram* requires the introduction of affix *(KH)am(UÑ)* after verbal root *kṛ* under the co-occurrence condition of a word constituted by *cora* and *dasyu* with the denotata of *karman* 'object'. The derivation of *kāra* obviously requires *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* by 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*. The *am* will be deleted via the formation of the compound. Note, however, that augment *m(UM)* will be introduced by rule 6.3.67 *arurdviṣadajantasya...* on account of the affixal *KH* as an *it*. Thus, *cora + am + k(ṛ→ār) + (KH)am(UÑ) = cora + (am→∅) + kāram = cora + m(UM) + kāram = coramkāram*. Similar application of rules will yield *dasyumkāram*. The *m→ṃ* change will result due to rule 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*.

The examples of the second rule have already been derived as (136) *svāduṃkāram*, (137) *sampannaṃkāram*, and (138) *lavaṇaṃkāram* under the appendix of volume II (pp. 372-74).

3.4.36 *samūlākṛtajīveṣu...*

3.4.37 *karaṇe hanaḥ*

3.4.39 *haste varttigrahoḥ*

The derivation of (923) *samūlaghātam* contains *(samūla + am + han + (Ṇ)am(UL)) + sU)))* similarly to (450) *śīrṣaghātī*.

Examples (924) *akṛtakāram* and (925) *jīvagrāham* are similarly derived from *(naÑ + kṛ + Kta = akṛta + am + kṛ + (Ṇ)am(UL) + sU))*, and *jīva + am + grah + (Ṇ)am(UL)) + sU))*.

Deriving (926) *pāṇighātam* from *pāṇi + bhyām + han + (Ṇ)am(UL)) + sU))* follows similar derivational patterns. The derivation of (927) *hastavarttam* contains *hasta + Ṭā + vartti + (Ṇam(UL)) + sU))* where *vartti* is the causative form of *vṛt* 'to turn' ending in affix *ṆiC*. The *ṆiC*, however, is deleted subsequently by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*.

3.3.47 *upadaṃśas tṛtīyāyām*

3.4.48 *hiṃsārthānāṃ ca samānakarmakāṇām*

Deriving (928) *mūlakopadaṃśam* from *mūlaka + Ṭā + upadaṃś + (Ṇ)am(UL) +'sU))* is not very difficult especially in view of the preceding details. Example (929) *ārdrakopadaṃśam* is not different either. Note, however, that the derivates of *ṆamUL* are in many ways parallel to the derivates of *Ktvā*. We will then also get forms such as (930) *mūlakenopadaśya* where the *m* of the root is deleted by rule 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ*. The nasal will also be deleted in (931) *daṇḍenopahatya* (6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśavana...*) parallel to *daṇḍopaghātam*. Incidentally, *upahatya* of

daṇḍenopahatya also requires augment *tUK* of rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*. The formation of compounds is allowed in all these instances by 2.2.21 *tṛtīyā....*

3.4.52 *apādāne parīpsāyām*

Examples such as (932) *śayyotthāyam* and (933) *randhrāpakarṣam* derive from *śayyā + ṄasI + ut + sthā + (Ṇ)am(UL)) + sU))* and *randhra + ṄasI + apakṛṣ + (Ṇ)am(UL) + sU))* where the *s* of the preverb *sthā* will be replaced with *t* by rule 8.4.60 *udaḥ sthāstambhoḥ....* This *th* will be subsequently deleted by 8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe*. Note also that *utthāyam* also requires the introduction of *yUK* of rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇ....* The *ā* of *śayyā* and the *u* of *utthāya* are replaced with *o* by 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*.

3.4.61 *svāṅge taspratyaye kṛbhvoḥ*

Note that *mukhataḥ* of examples such as (934) *mukhataḥkāram*, (935) *mukhatobhūya*, and (936) *mukhatobhāvam* entails the introduction of affix *tasIL* of rule 5.4.45 *apādāne cāhīyaruhoḥ*. The *s* of *mukhatas* goes through *rutva-visarga* in *mukhataḥkāram*. The *rU*, however, is changed to *u* via rule 6.1.114 *haśi ca* in cases of *mukhatobhūya* and *mukhatobhāvam*. The resultant sequence of, for example, *mukhata(ḥ→rU→u) = mukhat(a + u)* is replaced with *o* to produce *mukhatobhūya* or *mukhatobhāvam* through the application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*.

3.4.68 *bhavyageyapravacanīyopasthānīyajanyāplāvyāpātyā vā*

Our first example (937) *bhavyaḥ* derives from *(bhū + yaT) + sU))* through *guṇa* and subsequent *av* replacement of *o*. Note that affix *yaT* is introduced by rule 3.1.97 *aco yat*. The *av* replacement for *o* comes from 6.1.80 *dhātos tannimittasyaiva*. A similar replacement in *āv* for the resultant *vṛddhi* in *au* of *ā(Ṅ→0) + plu + (Ṇ)ya(T)* is also ordered by this same rule to derive an example such as (938) *āplāvyaḥ*. The *ṆyaT* is introduced by rule 3.1.125 *or āvaśyake*. Examples (939) *pravacanīyaḥ* and (940) *upasthānīyaḥ* entail the introduction of affix *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*) after verbal roots *vac* and *sthā* used with the preverbs *pra* and *upa*.

3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmakaśliṣaśīṅsthāsavasa...*

Note that (941) *gataḥ* derives from *(gam + Kta) + sU))* where *m* is deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa....* Examples (942) *glāna* and (943) *āsita* derive from *glai + (K)ta* and *ās + (K)ta* where the first receives a replacement in *ā* for the *ai* by rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe...*; the second receives the augment *iṬ*. Furthermore, *gl(ai→ā) + ta = glā + ta* will have the *t* replaced with *n* by 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder....* Deriving (944) *upaśliṣṭa* from *upaśliṣ + (K)ta* requires the *t* to be replaced with *ṭ* by rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The derivation of (945) *anūṣita* from *anu + vas + (K)ta* not only requires the introduction of *iṬ* by rule 7.2.52 *vasati kṣudhor iṭ* but also *samprasāraṇa* and related operations on the *va* of *vas* by rule 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnam....* We thus get *anu + (v→u)as + i(Ṭ) + (K)ta = anu + usita = anūṣita* through

savarṇadīrgha. The *s* of *anūsita* is replaced with *ṣ* in accordance with rule 8.3.60 *śāsivasighasi....*

The derivation of (946) *ārūḍhaḥ* from *(āruh +(K)ta) + sU))* requires the *h* to be replaced with *ḍh* and the *t* with *dh* through the applications of rules 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ* and 8.2.40 *jhaṣasta....* The resultant *āru(h→ḍh) + (t→dh)a = āruḍh + dha* will then have its *dh* replaced with *ḍh* by 8.4.40 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The first *ḍh* of *āruḍh + ḍha* will then be deleted by 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ* subsequent to which rule 6.3.111 *ḍhra lope...* will demand the *u* of *āru(ḍh→Ø) + ḍha* to be replaced with *ū* to produce *ārūḍha*.

Example (947) *anujīrṇaḥ* contains *(anu + jṝ + (K)ta) + sU))* where *ṝ* is replaced with *i* followed by *r* by rule 7.1.101 *ṝt id dhātoḥ* read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*. The *t* of *anuj(ṝ→ir) + ta = anujir + ta* is replaced first with *n* then by *ṇ* through the application of rules 8.2.42 *radābhyām...*and 8.4.1 *raṣābhyām....* The *i* of *anujir + (t→n→ṇ)a = anujir + ṇa* is then replaced with *ī* by 8.2.77 *hali ca* to produce *anujīrṇaḥ*.

3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*

Example (948) *pacase* derives from *pac + (Ś)a(P) + (LAṬ→ thās→se)* where our present rule replaces *thās* with *se*. Example (949) *pecise* from *pac + (LIṬ→se)* entails doubling where, given *pa + pac + i(Ṭ) + se, pa* gets deleted by 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhye' nādeśer liṭi*, and *s* is replaced with *ṣ* by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. The derivation of (950) *paktāse* contains *pac + LUṬ→thās→se* (3.3.15 *anadyatane luṭ*) where *LUṬ* is replaced with *se* via *thās*, and rule 3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ* introduces *tās* to realize *pac + tās + se*. Note that the *s* of *tās* is subsequently deleted by 7.4.50 *tasastyor lopaḥ* to produce: *pac + tā(s→Ø) + se = pac + tāse*. The *c* of *pac* will then go through its replacement in *k* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) to realize the final derivate as *pa(c→k) + tāse = paktāse*. The same *kutva* will also apply in case of (951) *pakṣyase* which contains the string *pac + sya + (LṚṬ→se)*. The *s* of *pa(c→k) + sya + se* will be replaced with *ṣ* to realize *pak + (s→ṣ)ya + se = pakṣyase*.

3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatususthalathusaṇalvamāḥ*

Example (952) *papāca* derives from *pa + pac + (Ṇ)a(L)* via doubling where *a* of *pac* goes through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *aco' ñṇiti...* to produce: *pa + p(a→ā)c + a = papāca*. Examples such as (953) *pecatuḥ*, (954) *pecuḥ*, (955) *pecitha*, etc., in addition to doubling, also require the application of 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhye...* whereby the reduplicated element (*abhyāsa*) is deleted, and *a* of the root is replaced with *e* similarly to (949) *pecise*. The derivation of (956) *papaktha* contains *pa + pac + tha* where *c→k*(*kutva*) is the only significant operation beyond doubling. Note here that 7.2.62 *upadeśe' tvataḥ* cannot permit the introduction of *iṬ*.

3.4.84 *bruvaḥ pañcānām ādita...*

The derivation of examples such as *āha*, etc., has already been explained in the appendix of volume II. Example (957) *āttha* derives from *brū* +

(Ś)a(P) + si(P) = brū + a + si where our present rule replaces *si* with *thaL*, *brū* gets replaced with *āha* and the *h* of *āha* is further replaced with *th* by rule 8.2.35 *āhas thaḥ*. This gives us: *(brū→ā(h→th) + (Ś)a(P)→∅)) + (si→tha(L)) = āth + tha*. The *th* of *āth* will be replaced with *t* to realize *ā(th→t) + tha = āttha*.

3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*

Refer to the derivation of *lunīhi* under rule 3.4.2 *kriyāsamabhihāre....* Example (958) *punīhi* will follow the same pattern. The derivation of (959) *rādhnuhi* will entail the introduction of the *vikaraṇa Śnu* since the root belongs to the *svādi* group (3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*). Similar rules apply in deriving (960) *takṣṇuhi* with the understanding that the *n* of *nu* is here changed to *ṇ* by 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ....*

3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca*

The derivation of (961) *karavāṇi* contains the string *kṛ + u + ni* where *ni* is a further replacement (3.4.89 *mer niḥ*) of the first person singular replacement of *mi* in itself a replacement of *LAṬ*, and the *u* is the *vikaraṇa* of the *tanādi* class (3.1.79 *tanādi...*). Rule 3.4.92 then introduces *ā(Ṭ)* to realize *kṛ + u + ā + ni* which then goes through the *guṇa* of *ṛ* under the condition of *u*. This produces *k(ṛ→ar) + u + a + ni*. The *u* will now be subject to the application of *guṇa* under the condition of *āni* thereby producing *k(ṛ→ar) + (u→o) + āni = kar + o + āni*. The replacement in *av* for *o* followed by the change of *n* to *ṇ* by 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇah...* will finally realize *kar + (o→av) + ā(n→ṇ)i = karavāṇi*.

3.4.95 *eta ai*

Example (962) *mantrayaite* derives from *mantri + (Ś)a(P) + (LEṬ→āt(ām→e))* where *mantri* ends in affix *ṆiC*, *LEṬ* is replaced with the third person dual *ātmanepada* ending *ātām*, and *ām* of *ātām* is further replaced with *e* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām...*) thereby yielding *mantri + a + āte*. The *ā* of *āte* is subjected to the application of our present rule whereby *ā* is replaced with *ai*. This gives us: *mantri + a + (ā→ai)te) = mantri + a + aite*. The *guṇa* of *i* followed by the *ay* replacement of the resultant *e* will then produce: *mantr(i→e→ay) + a + aite = mantraya + aite*. An application of 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will finally bring about *mantray (a+ai→ai)te = mantrayaite*.

Similar rules apply in deriving the second person dual (967) *mantrayaithe* from *mantri + a + āthām*. The derivation of (868) *karavaite* and (960) *karavaithe* proceed with *kṛ +u + ātām* and *kṛ + u +āthām* where *u*, the *vikaraṇa* introduced by rule 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñ...*, goes through *guṇa* and subsequent replacement of *o* by *av*.

3.4.97 *sa uttamasya*

3.4.98 *nityaṃ ṅitaḥ*

The derivation of (970) *karavāva* and (971) *karavāma* optionally to (972) *karavāvaḥ* and (973) *karavāmaḥ* contains the strings *kṛ + u + ā(Ṭ) +*

(LAṬ→vas) and *kṛ + u + ā(Ṭ) + (LAṬ→maḥ)* where *āṬ* is introduced by 3.4.94 *leṭo' aḍāṭ*. Here again both *ṛ* and *u* go through *guṇa*, with *av* in case of *u*, to produce *k(ṛ→ar) + (u→o→av) + ā + vas = kar + av + ā + vas = karavāvas*. Similar rules will apply to bring about: *karavāmas*. Our present rule will then offer the optional deletion of the final *s* to derive *karavāva* and *karavāma*. If, however, this option is not availed, the result will be *karavāva(s→r→ḥ) = karavāvaḥ* and *karavāma(s→r→ḥ) = karavāmaḥ*.

The derivation of (974) *apacāva* and (975) *apacāma* from *a(Ṭ) + pac + (Ś)a(P) + (LAṄ→vas)= apaca + vas* and *a(Ṭ) + pac + (Ś)a(P) + (LAṄ→mas) = apaca + mas* requires the deletion of the final *s* as obligatory (*nitya*). Thus, rule 3.4.99 *nityaṃ ṅitaḥ* will allow only one set of forms in the first person dual and plural. Rule 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi* finally applies to realize *apac(a→ā) + va(s→0) = apacāva*. The plural is similarly derived as: *apac(a→ā) + ma(s→0) = apacāma*.

3.4.100 *itaś ca*

Example (976) *apākṣīt* contains *a(Ṭ) + pac + s(ĪC) + ī(Ṭ) + (LUṄ→ti(P))* where our present rule deletes the *i* of *tiP*; and *īṬ* is introduced by rule 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte*. The introduction of *aṬ* and *sĪC* should be easier to comprehend by now. The next stage in the derivation relates to the *vṛddhi* of the *a* of *pac* (7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ*) followed by the *kutva* of *c* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). Thus, *ap(a→ā)c + s + ī + t = apā(c→k) + s + ī = apākṣīt*. The *s* of *apāksīt* will then be replaced with *ṣ* to produce *apāk(s→ṣ)īt = apākṣīt* by rule 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*.

3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ tāṃtaṃtāmaḥ*

The derivates of *LAṄ* are not very difficult to derive. The examples of *LUṄ* need some explanation. For example, (977) *apāktām* contains *a(Ṭ) + pac + (sIC→0) + (LUṄ→tas→tām) = apac + tām* where *vṛddhi* and *kutva* change *pac* to *pāk* similarly to the earlier example, and *sĪC* gets deleted by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. We thus get: *ap(a→ā) (c→k) + tām = apāktām*. Other examples of *LUṄ*, i.e., (978) *apāktam* from *a(Ṭ) + (pac→pāk) + (LUṄ→thas→tam))* and (979) *apākta* from *a(Ṭ) + (pac→pāk) + (LUṄ→tha→ta))*, follow similar application of rules. The derivation of (980) *apākṣam* from *a(Ṭ) + (pac→pāk) + (s(ĪC)→ṣ)) + (LUṄ→mi(P) →am))* does not meet the conditions under which its *s(ĪC)* can be deleted. Consequently, the *s* of the string is retained with its subsequent replacement with *ṣ*.

3.4.102 *liṅaḥ sīyuṭ*

Examples (981) *paceta*, (982) *paceyātām* and (983) *paceran* derive from *pac + (Ś)a(P) + LIṄ* where *LIṄ* gets replaced with the third personal singular, dual, and plural *ātmanepada* endings *ta*, *ātām* and *jha* respectively. Our present rule introduces *sīy(UṬ→0)* to the replacements of *LIṄ* although the *s* and *y* of *sīy* are deleted by rules 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo...* and

6.1.66 *lopo vyor...* respectively in the first example. An application of *guṇa* finally produces *pac* + (*s*→∅) (*ī*→*e*) (*y*→∅) + *ta* = *pac* + *e* + *ta* = *paceta*. Note that yet another augment *sUṬ* is also introduced to the first example by rule 3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ*. This again is deleted by the same rule which deletes the *s* of *sīy*.

The deletion of *y* is not applicable in deriving *paceyātām*. The last example has its *jha* replaced with *ran* in addition to the deletions of *s* and *y*.

3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdātto ṅic ca*

3.4.104 *kid āśiṣi*

Example (984) *kuryāt* contains *kṛ* + *u* + (*LIṄ*→*ti*) where *ti* loses its *i* to 3.4.100 *itaś ca*, and our present rule introduces *yās(UṬ)* to realize: *kṛ* + *u* + *yā* + *t*(*i*→∅) = *kur* + *u* + *yās* + *t*. The *u* then causes the *guṇa* of *ṛ* whereby we get *k*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *u* + *yā* + *t* = *kar* + *u* + *yāt*. Rule 6.4.101 *at ut sārvadhātuke* now replaces the *a* of *kar* with *u* (*utva*) to produce *k*(*a*→*u*)*r* + *u* + *yāt* = *kur* + *u* + *yāt*. The *u* before *yāt* will then be deleted by 6.4.109 *ye ca*. We thus get: *kur* + (*u*→∅) + *yāt* = *kuryāt*. The derivation of (985) *kuryātām* requires that *LIṄ* be replaced with *tas* which, in turn, be replaced with *tām* of 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām*..... This will give us *kṛ* + *u* + (*LIṄ*→*tas* →*tām*), from whence *kuryātām* can be derived similarly to the preceding example. Our next example, (986) *kuryuḥ*, contains *kṛ* + *u* + *yās* + *us* where *us* is a replacement of *jha* (3.4.108 *jher jus*) which itself is a replacement of *LIṄ*. The application of *guṇa* and *utva* followed by the deletion of *u* similar to the preceding two examples will yield *kur* + (*u*→∅) + *yās* + *us* = *kur* + *yās* + *us*. The *s* is then deleted by 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya* to yield *kur* + *yā* + *us*. The vocalic sequence of *ā* + *u* will then have to be replaced with a single vowel similar to the following (*parasavarṇa*) as per 6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt*. Thus, *kur* + *y*(*ā*+*u*→*u*)*s* = *kuryus*. The application of *rutva-visarga* will now derive *kuryuḥ*.

Similar rules apply in deriving examples (987) *iṣyāt*, (988) *iṣyāstām* and (989) *iṣyāsuḥ* which are all derivates of *iṣ* in *LIṄ* denoting 'benediction (*āśiṣi*). It must, however, be understood that the replacements of *LIṄ* in these examples are treated as marked with *K* as their *it*. This is for blocking any *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. The deletion of *s* of *yās* in the first two examples is accomplished by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor*.... The assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* to *LIṄ* with the denotatum of 'benediction' blocks the introduction of *Śa* of 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*.

3.4.104 *jhasya ran*

3.4.105 *iṭo' t*

The derivation of (990) *paceran* contains *pac* + (*Ś*)*a*(*P*) + *sīy* + *jha* where *LIṄ* gets replaced with *ran* via *jha*. The *y* and *s* will as usual be deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* and 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo*.... This will give us:

pac + a + (s→∅)ī(y→∅) + (LIṄ→jha→ran))) = *pac + a + ī + ran* where 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* must apply to produce *pac(a+ī→e) + ran = pac + e + ran = paceran.*

Example (991) *paceya* contains *pac + a + īy + i(Ṭ)* where *i(Ṭ)* is the first person singular *parasmaipada* replacement of *LIṄ*, and *sīy(UṬ)* again loses its *s* similarly to the preceding examples. Our present rule replaces *i(Ṭ)* with *a* whereby we get *pac + a + īy + (i(Ṭ)→a)) = pac + a + īy + a.* An application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will finally produce *pac + (a +i→e)y + a = paceya.*

Deriving (992) *kṛṣīya* from *kṛ + sīy + i(Ṭ)→a* where *i(Ṭ)* is a replacement of *LIṄ*. The *s* of *kṛ + sīy + a* has its *s* replaced with *ṣ*.

3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ*

3.4.108 *jher jus*

Refer to the derivation of (339) *kṛsīṣṭa* under the appendix of rule 1.2.12 *uś ca*. The remaining examples should be similarly derived. Note that these examples entail benedictive *LIṄ* where 1.2.12 *uś ca* conditions lack of *guṇa*.

Example (993) *paceyuḥ* contains *pac + (Ś)a(P) + yās(UṬ) + (jha→(J)us)) = pac + a + yās + us* where rule 7.2.80 *ato yeyaḥ* will introduce *iy* in place of *yā* of *yās* to produce *pac + a + (yā→iy)s + us)) = pac + a + iy + s + us.* The *s* as usual will be deleted by 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya*. The final form will be realized by the application of single *guṇa* replacement (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*), on the vocalic sequence of *a+i*, and *rutva-visarga* on the final *s*. Thus, *pac + (a+i→e)y + u(s→r→ḥ)) = paceyuḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving (994) *yajeyuḥ*.

3.4.109 *sij abhyastavidibhyaś ca*

Examples (994) *akārṣuḥ* and (995) *ahārṣuḥ* are derived similarly to (10) *akārṣīt* and (17) *ahārṣīt* explained under the appendix of rule 1.13 *iko guṇavṛddhī*. Note, however, that these derivates require *jhi* to replace *LUṄ* which, in turn, will be replaced with *us*. Furthermore, rule 7.3.96 *atisico' pṛkte...* will not apply in these examples. Thus, *a + (kṛ→ār) + s + (jhi→us)) = akār(s→ṣ) + us = akārṣu(s→r→ḥ) = akārṣuḥ.*

The preceding examples illustrate the replacement in *Jus* for *jhi* occurring after *sIC*. Examples (996) *abibhayuḥ* and (937) *ajihrayuḥ* entail this replacement after items termed *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abyastam*). The derivation of *abibhayuḥ* begins with *bhī + (ŚaP→ŚLU) + (LUṄ→jhi)* where *ŚaP* is deleted by means of *ŚLU*, which, in turn, conditions doubling (*dvitva*) to produce (*bhī + bhī + jhi*). The long *ī* of the first *bhī* will be replaced with short by 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. The resultant string *bh(ī→i) + bhī + us* then requires the application of 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca* whereby the *bh* of *bhi* is replaced with *b* to produce: *(bh→b)i + bhī + jhi = bi + bhi + jhi.* The introduction of *aṬ* and replacement of *jhi* by *us* follow to realize: *aṬ + bhī + bhī + (jhi→us).* Note that the output of doubling, i.e., *bhī + bhī*,

is assigned the term *abhyasta* to facilitate the replacement of *jhi* by *us*. The *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*) of *ī* followed by the *av* replacement (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) for the resultant *e* will produce: *a* + *bi* + *bh(ī→e→ay)* + *us* = *abibhayus*. The application of *rutva-visarga* will finally realize *abibhayu(s→r→ḥ)* = *abibhayuḥ*.

The derivation of (998) *ajihrayuḥ* similarly realizes the string *hrī* + *hrī* + *jhi* = *h(r→∅)ī* + *hrī* +*jhi* = *h(ī→i)* + *hrī* + *(jhi→us)* = *a* + *hi* + *hrī* + *us* after doubling, *halādiśeṣa*, shortening of *ī*, introduction of *aṬ* and *us* replacement for *jhi*. This string will finally require the application of rules 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* and 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* to replace the *h* of *hi* with *j* via *jh* respectively. This will give us *a* + *(h→jh→j)i* + *hrī* + *us* which then goes through *guṇa*, *e→ay*, and *rutva-visarga* similar to the preceding example to derive *ajihrayuḥ*.

Example (999) *ajāgaruḥ* follows similar derivational pattern though with fewer rule application. For, the deletion of *ŚaP* in this example is accomplished by *LUK* of 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...* which would not permit doubling. Thus, *aṬ* + *jāg(ṛ→ar)* + *u(s→r→ḥ))* = *ajāgaruḥ* through *guṇa* and *rutva-visarga*. Note that *us* cannot replace *jhi* unless *jhi* is occurring after a form which has been termed *abhyasta*. The term *abhyasta* cannot be assigned unless the root goes through doubling (*dvitva*). It is to allow the replacement in *us* for *jhi* after verbal roots *jāgṛ*, and the like, that rule 6.1.6 *jakṣityādayaḥ ṣaṭ* is formulated. This rule assigns the term *abhyasta* to six roots even without doubling. Similar rules apply in deriving (1000) *aviduḥ*.

3.4.110 *ātaḥ*

The derivation of (1001) *aduḥ* contains *a(Ṭ)* + *dā* + *(sIC→∅)* + *(LUṄ→jhi→us))* = *a* + *dā* + *us*. Rule 6.1.93 *usyapadāntāt* then applies to replace the root-final *ā* with *u* to produce *ad(ā→u)s* = *adus* whereby we get *adu(s→r→ḥ)* = *aduḥ* through *rutva-visarga*. Similar rules apply in deriving (1002) *adhuḥ* from *a* + *dhā* + *us*, and (1003) *asthuḥ* from *a* + *sthā* + *us*.

3.4.111 *laṅaḥ śākaṭāyanasyaiva*

Note that (1004) *ayuḥ* and (1005) *avuḥ* derive as optional forms of (1006) *ayān* and (1007) *avān* from *a(Ṭ)* + *yā* + *(ŚaP→∅)* + *(LUṄ→ jhi))* = *a* + *yā* + *jhi* and *a* + *vā* + *(jhi→us)* respectively where 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ...* deletes the *ŚaP*. If, however, one does not accept the option favored by Śākaṭāyana, the derivate would be *ayān* where *jhi* will be replaced with *ant* of 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*. The resultant string, i.e., *ayā* + *(jh→ant)i* = *ayā* + *anti*, will have the *i* deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca* thereby producing *ayā* + *ant(i→∅)* = *ayā* + *ant*. The application of 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* will then delete the final *t* to derive *ayā* + *an(t→∅)* = *ayā* + *an*. The vocalic sequence *ā* + *a* will then be replaced with the single

long *ā* to produce *ay(ā+a→ā)n* = *ayān* through *savarṇadīrgha*. Same steps have to be followed to derive *avān*.

3.4.115 *liṭ ca*

Examples (1008) *pecitha* and (1009) *śekitha* contain *pac* + *(LIṬ→siP→thaL))* = *pac* + *tha* and *śak* + *tha* where 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ*... replaces the *LIṬ* with *thaL* via the second personal *parasmaipada* singular affix *siP*. Rule 3.4.115 *liṭ ca* assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka* to *tha* to facilitate the introduction of *i(Ṭ)* via 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*. But rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* with operations relative to doubling must apply to derive *pa* + *pac* + *tha* which, with the introduction of *i(Ṭ)*, will yield *pa* + *pac* + *i* + *tha*. Rule 6.4.121 *thali ca seṭi* now applies to delete the *pa* of doubling, and replace the *a* of *pac* under the condition of the following *tha*. The result is: *(pa→Ø)* + *p(a→e)c* + *i* + *tha* = *pacitha*. Similar rules apply in deriving *śekitha*.

The derivation of (1010) *jagle* and (1011) *mamle* contain *glai* + *(LIṬ→ta)* = *glai* + *ta* and *mlai* + *ta* where 3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor eśirec* orders *ta* replaced with *e(Ś→Ø)* to yield *glai* + *e*. The root then receives *ā* as a replacement (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*...) for its *ai* whereby we get *gl(ai→ā)* + *e* = *glā* + *e*. Doubling and related operations such as *halādiśeṣa*, and short-replacement (*hrasva*) for the long *ā* then produces *glā* + *glā* + *e* = *gā* + *glā* + *e* = *g(ā→a)* + *glā* + *e* = *ga* + *glā* + *e*. The *ā* of *glā* is then deleted by 6.4.64 *āto plopa iṭi ca* to realize: *ga* + *gl(ā→Ø)* + *e* = *ga* + *gle*. The *g* of *ga* is then replaced with *j* by rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* to derive *(g→j)a* + *gle* = *jagle*. Similar rules will apply in deriving *mamle*.

3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi*

Example (1012) *laviṣīṣṭa* and (1013) *paviṣīṣṭa* contain *lū* + *i(Ṭ)* + *sīy(UṬ)* + *s(UṬ)* + *(LIṄ→ta)* and *pū* + *i(Ṭ)* + *sīy(UṬ)* + *s(UṬ)* + *ta* similarly to (315) *bhitsīṣṭa* (vol. II, pp. 436-37) under the appendix of rule 1.2.11 *liṅsicāv ātmanepadeṣu*. Note here that the assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* under the conditions of benedictive *LIṄ* enables the introduction of *iṬ* by 7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. There are basically three operations, i.e., *guṇa* of the *u* of roots, subsequent replacement by *av* of the resultant *o*, and *ṣ* coming as a replacement for the two *s* elements of the string (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*).

3.4.117 *chandasy ubhayathā*

Example (1014) *vardhantu* contains *vardhi* + *(LOṬ→jhi→antu)* where *vardhi* is derived by introducing affix *ṆiC* after *vṛdh* through *guṇa*, and *LOṬ* is replaced with *jhi* which is subsequently replaced with *ant* by 7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*. The *i* of *jhi* will be replaced with *u* by 3.4.86 *er uḥ*. The result will be: *vardhi* + *ant(i→u)* = *vardhi* + *antu*. The *i* of *ṆiC* is then deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* to yield *vardh(i→Ø)* + *antu* = *vardhantu*. The assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* causes the deletion of affix *ṆiC*.

Example (1015) *svastaye* contains *(su +as + KtiN)* + *Ṅe))* where affix

KtiN is introduced after verbal root *as* occurring with *su* to derive the nominal base *s(u→v)* + *as* + *ti* = *svasti*. The derivation of the dative form *svastaye* from *svasti* + (*Ṅ→Ø*)*e* requires the application of rule 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi* whereby *svasti* is optionally assigned the term *ghi* as opposed to *nadī*. Rule 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* applies as a result to allow for the *guṇa* of *i* to produce: *svast(i→e)* + *e* = *svaste* + *e*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* will then replace the first *e* with *ay* to realize: *svast(e→ay)* + *e* = *svastaye*. Note that affix *KtiN* in *svasti* is to be termed *ārddhadhātuka* by 3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ* but our present rule instead assigns the term *sārvadhātuka* thereby blocking *bhū* (2.4.52 *aster bhūḥ*) from replacing *as*. Additionally, the *a* of *as* is also not deleted by rule 6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ* on account of the lack of the assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* to affix *KtiN*.

Example (1016) *viśṛṇvire* derives from *vi* + *(śru→śṛ)* + *(Ś)nu* + *LIṬ→jha→ire(C))*) where *LIṬ* is replace with *ireC* via the third person plural *ātmanepada* suffix *jha*, and rule 3.1.74 *śruvaḥ śṛ ca* introduces the *śṛ* as a replacement for *śru* together with *(Ś)nu*. This explains why we get *viśṛ* + *nu* + *ire*. Both *u* and *n* of *nu* then go through replacements in *v* (6.4.87 *huśnuvoḥ sārva...*) and *ṇ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*) respectively. This gives us: *viśṛ* + *(nu→ṇv)* + *ire* = *viśṛṇvire*. Note that blocking the assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* in favor of *sārvadhātuka* facilitates the *vikaraṇa* as well as the replacement of the root. The next example (1017) *sunvire* similarly derives from verbal root *ṣu→su* (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ...*) where doubling by 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor...* cannot be accomplished because *LIṬ* does not occur directly after the root. It is, instead, intervened by *Śnu* which, in turn, is introduced at the strength of the assignment of the term *sārvadhātuka*. Lack of doubling thus can also be treated as the consequence of the provision of this rule. This provision of the *sārvadhātuka*, of course, goes against the *ārddhadhātuka* proposal of 3.4.116 *kidāśiṣi*.

Our next example (1018) *upastheyāma* contains the string *upa* + *sthā* + *yās(UṬ)* + *(LIṄ→mas))* = *upasthā* + *yās* + *mas* where the assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* or *sārvadhātuka* is both made as a choice. Thus, the deletion of *s* of *mas*, by rule 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo...*, takes place at the strength of assigning the term *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit...*). The assignment of the term *ārddhadhātuka* by our present rule makes it possible for the *ā* of *sthā* to be replaced with *e* in view of rule 6.4.67 *er liṅi*. This is how we get: *upasth(ā→e)* + *yā* + *ma(s→Ø)* = *upastheyāma*.

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The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume IV

English Translation of Adhyāyas Four and Five with Sanskrit Text, Transliteration, Word-Boundary, Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes, Derivational History of Examples, and Indices.

Rama Nath Sharma

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काशीनाथतनूजस्य हरिनाथाऽनुजन्मनः
सौभद्ररघुनाथस्य पुत्रो ज्येष्ठो महात्मनः।
व्याकरोदष्टकं यच्च पाणिनेस्तद्धितं स्मरन्
पादयोस्ताततातानां न्यस्य मोदं समाश्रितः॥

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Preface

This present is the fourth of a planned previously five but now six-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the third of the four translation volumes of the *sūtrapāṭha* of Pāṇini, with Sanskrit text, transliteration, word-boundary, *anuvṛtti, vṛtti,* English translation, examples, explanatory notes, derivations and appendices. This volume contains the English translation of *adhyāyas* four and five of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* The fifth and sixth volumes of this series will soon be published with the English translation of *adhyāyas* six, seven and eight.

I have, as usual, relied very heavily on commentarial sources for sorting out issues relative to rule-formulation, interpretation, application and order. Three *prakriyā* texts, the *Rūpāvatāraḥ* of Dharmakīrti, the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita have served as primary sources for derivational details. I have benefited most from the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the *Vyākaraṇacandrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri, the *Kāśikāvṛtti,* with the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi and *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta (with Hindi translation of Jayashankar Lal Tripathi), the *Aṣṭādhyāyībhāṣya* of Prajñā Devī, the Hindi translation of the *Laghukaumudī* of Varadarāja made by Bhimsen Shastri and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī and the *Bālamanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita. I have mostly followed the *Kāśikāvṛtti* with the *Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī* for explanatory notes. Here again, under individual rules, I have taken detours to accommodate remarks of cultural importance.

I have presented some general derivational processes at the beginning of the appendix so that repetition can be minimized. I have still offered major derivational details to illustrate issues, both in the text as well as in the appendix. Frequent references to derivational details of earlier volumes have proved very helpful.

I fully realize the extremely complex nature of the form and content of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* I am also aware of my own limitations due to which I may have made many mistakes. I realize that there are many typographical errors in the earlier volumes. I have tried not to repeat them in this volume. As I get to the end of my work on the last *adhyāya* I feel that I should have better completed the last volume first. This would have offered some better insights into arrangements of discussions. I do intend to edit the earlier volumes of the *sūtrapāṭha* and additionally, present a more detailed version of volume one. I shall greatly appreciate my reader's comments in this regard.

I must express my deep sense of indebtedness to authors of works I have regularly consulted. My brother Narendra and Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi,

both of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University at Varanasi, have always been generous to me in giving of their time. I have, as usual benefited greatly from the writings of Professor George Cardona.

The University of Hawaii, especially through its Research Council and Research Relations, has been very generous in supporting my research endeavors with grants. The American Institute of Indian Studies still remains the major funding agency to support this entire project. I am grateful to the University of Hawaii and the American Institute of Indian Studies for their continued support. I must express my special thanks to Chris Bopp without whose programing skills I would have been lost in the software jungle. These volumes owe a great deal to him. Finally, these volumes owe the most to my wife Kamala who has always protected me from many of my duties as a householder. I could not do this project without her support.

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Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
Ait	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
bv	*bahuvrīhi*
cat tat	*caturthī-tatpuruṣa*
DP	*Dhātupāṭha*
dat	dative
du	dual
dv	*dvandva*
dvi tat	*dvitīyā-tatpuruṣa*
id	idem
itar dv	*itaretara-dvandva*
fem	feminine
GP	*Gaṇapāṭha*
gen	genitive
inst	instrumental
int	internal
KS	*Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*
Kāś	*Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana-Jayāditya with *Padamañjarī* (*PM*) of Haradatta and the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi
loc	locative
LS	*Laghuśabdenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
Mbh	*Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali with the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and the *Udyota* of Nageśa
masc	masculine
nañ tat	*nañ-tatpuruṣa*
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
PM	*Padamañjarī* of Haradatta as *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana Jayāditya
PŚ	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
Pai	*Paippalāda Saṃhitā*
pbh	*paribhāṣā*
pañc	*pañcamī*
pl	plural
RV	*Ṛgveda*
SK	*Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the *Bālamanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī
SP	*Sūtrapāṭha*

sam	*samāhāra*
sg	singular
Śs	*Śivasūtra*
Śat	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
ṣaṣ	*ṣaṣṭhī*
Tai	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*
tat	*tatpuruṣa*
tr/tṛt	*tṛtīyā*
VP	*Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari with the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā
vt	*vārttika*
Vāj	*Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*
voc	vocative

Adhyāya Four

Pāda One

4.1.1 ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात्

ṅyāpprātipadikāt
/ *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* 5/1 = *ṅī ca āp ca prātipadikaṃ ca* = *ṅyāpprātipadikam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2)
adhikāro'yam; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāma āpañcamādhyāyaparisamāpteḥ ṅyāpprātipadikād ity evaṃ tad veditavyam
An affix (henceforth, through the end of *adhyāya* five) occurs after that which either ends in affixes marked with *Ṅī* and *āP*, or is a nominal stem (*prātipadika*).

Examples:

Look under subsequent rule(s).

1. This governing rule (*adhikāra*) specifies bases after which affixes enumerated in its domain can be introduced. The expression *ṅyāp* refers to a form which ends in feminine affixes marked with *Ṅī* and *āP*. These individual terms can each refer to three feminine affixes: *ṄīṢ*, *ṄīP* and *ṄīN*, on the one hand, and *CāP*, *ṬāP* and *ḌāP*, on the other. That *Ṅī* and *āP* each refer to a class of three affixes each is made possible by their specification by means of *Ṅī* and *āP*, used with no additional *it*-elements: *N*/ (*ṄīN*), *Ṣ*/ (*ṄīṢ*), *P*/ (*ṄīP*); and *C*/ (*CāP*), *Ṭ*/ (*ṬāP*), *Ḍ*/ (*ḌāP*).

Rule 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . constitutes a subdomain, whereby a set of twenty-one nominal endings termed *vibhakti* (1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*) are introduced. These nominal endings are generally referred to by the abbreviatory term *sUP* (1.4.103 *supaḥ*). Rule 4.1.3 *striyām* heads another subdomain under which feminine affixes specified by *ṅyāp* are introduced. These two subdomains, headed by 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . and 4.1.3 *striyām*, both require a nominal stem as their input. Additionally, an output of the subdomain headed by 4.1.3 *striyām*, i.e., a form which ends in feminine affixes characterized as *ṅyāp*, can also form an input to the subdomain of 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . . That is, a nominal stem which takes the option of 4.1.3 *striyām*, to derive a feminine form ending in *ṅyāp*, re-enters the domain of 4.1.1 to avail the option of 4.1.2 *svaujas*. . . . This re-entry of a feminine form to the subdomain of 4.1.2 is obligatory. A nominal stem which, upon entering the domain of 4.1.1, opts for the option of 4.1.2 may also get re-entry to the domain of 4.1.1, especially for derivational options of its subdomain headed by 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*.

2. Note that rule 4.1.1 does not have any predication (*vidheya*). Consequently, the purpose of its formulation should be accepted as facilitating the application of other rules (*parārtha*). It is also a governing rule, and hence, has a valid scope of application prior to the domain of 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*.

Kāśikā explains that *ṅyāpprātipadikam* specifies two types of forms: (*i*) nominals ending in feminine affixes marked with *Ṅī* and *āP*; and nominal stems covered by rules 1.2.45 *arthavad*... and 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*.... This specification is made possible by the *samāhāra* type of *dvandva* compound in *ṅyāpprātipadikam*. That this specification is made via *samāhāradvandva* is clear from the singular (*ekavacana*) in *ṅyāpprātipadikam*. An *itaretarayoga* type formation of a *dvandva* compound would have required its specification via plural, as . . . *prātipadikebhyaḥ*. This *samāhāra* specification also rules out the possibility of any other compound-formation. If such a possibility is not ruled out then *ṅyāpprātipadikam* may also be interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, parallel to *ṅyāpoḥ prātipadikam*, meaning: a nominal stem termed compound with constituents terminating in *Ṅī* and *āP*. Consequently, *sU*, etc., could be introduced only after compound bases such as *rājakumārī*, etc., which end in *Ṅī*, and not after *kumārī*, etc., which could not qualify as compounds. One can argue here that *ṅyāpoḥ prātipadikam* refers to a nominal stem which ends in *Ṅī* and *āP*, and thus could refer to both a compound as well as a non-compound base. One can thus facilitate the introduction of *sUP* also after forms such as *kumārī*. This, however, will create difficulty of interpretation. For, *ṅyāpoḥ prātipadikam* will have *prātipadikam* as part of predication. The *prātipadika* of 4.1.1 is part of the subject (*uddeśya*). Consequently, the sense of one cannot be equated with the sense of the other, especially relative to the introduction of *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujas*...), the predicate (*vidheya*).

3. It is argued that to state that affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* occur after 'that which ends in *Ṅī* and *āP*, or else, is a nominal stem' is not necessary. For, an affix, in view of 3.1.2 *paraś ca*, will have to occur after something, anyway. Rule 4.1.1 makes a specification with regard to that after which *sUP* can be introduced. One can even say that affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* can be introduced only after bases covered by specifications made by *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*. If one does not accept this then there could be problems. *Padamañjarī*, ad *Kāś*., outlines four types of bases: (*i*) verbal roots (*dhātu*), (*ii*) items ending in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ* (*tiṅanta*), (*iii*) a sentence (*vākya*) and (*iv*) items which end in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*. If a particular specification in terms of *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* is not made then *sUP*, *ṬāP*, etc., feminine affixes, *aṆ*, and the *taddhita* affixes commonly known as the *svārthikas* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*, etc.), will occur after these four types of bases in accord with the order of their enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*).

Kāśikā claims that, based upon deduction, one can still find those same bases forming left context of an affixal operation, as one would otherwise

have by means of a specification such as *ṅyāpprātipadikam*. However, it is in view of specifications such as *vṛddha* 'that among whose vowels the first is a *vṛddhi* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad*. . .)', *avṛddha* 'that which is not *vṛddha*', *a-varṇa* 'the vowel *a*', *svara* 'accent' and *dvyac* 'that which contains two vowels', that a specification such as *ṅyāpprātipadikam* becomes necessary:

> *vṛddhāvṛddhāvarṇasvaradvyajlakṣaṇapratyayavidhau*
> *tatsampratyayārtham ṅyāpprātipadikagrahaṇam kartavyam*
> 'to employ *ṅyāpprātipadikam* is necessary for facilitating the understanding of an affixal operation characterized by specifics such as *vṛddha, avṛddha, avarṇa, svara,* and *dvyac*'

For, *vṛddha*, etc., are given as qualifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *ṅyāpprātipadikam*. It will indeed be a confusing situation to find modifiers used without their corresponding modifieds. Thus, if *ṅyāpprātipadikam* is not specified then operational scopes, for example of rules such as 4.1.157 *vṛddhād agotrāt*, 4.1.160 *prācām avṛddhāt phin*, 4.1.95 *ata iñ*, 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ* and 4.4.7 *nau dvyacaṣ ṭhan*, would run into interpretational confusion. For, these rules must be supplied with *ṅyāpprātipadikam* as a qualified (*viśeṣya*) for modifiers such as *vṛddha, avṛddha, adanta*, etc.

A question is raised against including *ṅyāp* in the specification of this rule, especially when *prātipadikāt* itself can account for it. For, a *prātipadika* also carries reference to its counterparts in other genders (*Paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam*). The inclusion of *ṅyāp* is made to ensure that a *taddhita* affix can also be introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in affixes denoting feminine (*SK*: . . . *ṅyābgrahaṇam ṅyābantāt taddhitotpattir yathā syān ṅyābhyām prāṅ mā bhūd ity evam artham*). Consider the derivation of *āryakā* from *ārya* + *ṬāP* + *kaN*, where *kaN*, a *taddhita* affix, denotes *svārtha*, the meaning of its nominal base. If affix *kaN* is introduced after *ārya*, prior to *ṬāP*, then the result will be *āryakā*, Rule 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*. . . will then apply on *āryakā* to replace its *a*, which precedes *k*, with *i*. The result will be: *āryikā*. This derivate will be unique since the *i*-replacement for *a* is obligatory (*nitya*). That is, *āryakā*, a parallel form to *āryikā*, can never be derived. If *ṬāP* is introduced prior to the introduction of *kaN*, then, given *āryā* + *ka*, the final *ā* of *āryā* will be replaced with its short counterpart by rule 7.4.13 *ke 'ṇaḥ*. This will give us *āryaka*. One can now derive *āryikā*, from *āryaka* + *ṬāP* where the short *a* before *k* will be treated as the *ā* it replaced. This will then facilitate the optional application of rule 7.3.46 *udīcām ātaḥ*. . ., whereby the *a* before *k* will be optionally replaced with *i*. We will thus get *āryikā*, parallel to *āryakā*.

Kāśikā recognizes that 'a specification by means of *ṅyāp* also facilitates introducing *taddhita* affixes after bases which end in *ṅyāp* (*tadantāt taddhitavidhānārtham ṅyābgrahaṇam*). Consider the derivation of *kālitarā* 'a female relatively more black . . .', where the comparative suffix *taraP* is in-

troduced after *kālī* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajyopapade* . . .), a derivate ending in *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.42 *jānapadakuṇḍa* . . ., to denote relative prominence (*prakarṣa*). Commentators state that *kālitarā* cannot be derived unless the specification of its base is made by *ṅyāp*. For, denotation of feminine by *ṄīṢ*, and that of relative prominence by *taraP*, will create a conflicting situation. That is, the scope elsewhere (*sāvakāśatva*) of a feminine affix must be one where 'feminine' alone is denoted. The scope elsewhere of *prakarṣa* 'relative prominence' must be one where *prakarṣa* alone is denoted. Thus, *kālī* and *kālatarah* illustrate instances where both meanings have their independent scope (*sāvakāśatva*). An example such as *kālitarā*, presents a situation of conflict where both meanings find their scope. This conflict can be resolved in accord with 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. Consequently, only *prakarṣa*, and no feminine can be expressed, mostly because *taraP* is subsequent. If, however, the bases are specified with *ṅyāp* then *kālitarā* can be derived with no problem.

4.1.2 **स्वौजसमौट्छष्टाभ्यांभिस्ङेभ्यांभ्यस्ङसिभ्यांभ्यस्ङसोसांङ्योस्सुप्**

svaujasmauṭchaṣṭābhyāmbhisṅebhyāmbhyasṅasibhyāmbhyasṅasosāṃṅyossup / *svaujas . . . sup* 1/1 = *su ca au ca jaś ca . . . oś ca sup ca* = *svaujas . . . sup* (*sam. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #1)
'*su, au, jas, am, auṭ, śas, ṭā, bhyām, bhis, ṅe, bhyām, bhyas, ṅasi, bhyām, bhyas, ṅas, os, ām, ṅi, os, sup*' *ity ete pratyayā ṅyāpprātipadikād bhavanti*
Affixes *sU, au, Jas; am, auṬ, Śas; ṭā, bhyām, bhis; Ṅe, bhyām, bhyas; ṄasI, bhyām, bhyas; Ṅas, os, ām* and *Ṅi, os, suP* occur after that which either ends in affixes marked by *Ṅī* and *āP*, or is termed a nominal stem.

EXAMPLES:

kumārī 'girl'
gaurī 'a female of fair complexion; Shiva's consort'
śārṅgaravī 'a female name'
khaṭvā 'cot'
bhaurājā 'a city with many kings'
kārīṣagandhyā 'a granddaughter of Karīṣagandhi'
dṛṣad 'nominative singular of *dṛṣad* 'pebble, rock''

1. Refer to the appendix for derivational details of these examples. The first, *kumārī*, constitutes an example for both *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* and *ṄīP* (4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*). The next two, *gaurī* and *śārṅgaravī*, represent affixes *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*) and *ṄīN* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravādyaño* . . .). The next three examples, *khaṭvā, bahurājā* and *kārīṣagandhyā*, represent derivates of *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*), *ḌāP* (4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām* . . .) and *CāP* (4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*), respectively.

2. The twenty-one suffixes enumerated by this rule have been classified into seven triads of *prathamā* 'first', *dvitīyā* 'second', *tṛtīyā* 'third', *caturthī* 'fourth', *pañcamī* 'fifth', *ṣaṣṭhī* 'sixth', and *saptamī* 'seventh' (1.4.101 *tiṅas-trīṇi*. . .). Individual members of each triad are further assigned the terms *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual' and *bahuvacana* 'plural', respectively (1.4.102 *tāny ekavacana* . . .). The following is a tabular listing for reference:

	singular	*dual*	*plural*
prathamā	*sŪ*	*au*	*Jas*
dvitīyā	*am*	*auṬ*	*Śas*
tṛtīyā	*Ṭā*	*bhyām*	*bhis*
caturthī	*Ṅe*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
pañcamī	*ṄasI*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
ṣaṣṭhī	*Ṅas*	*os*	*ām*
saptamī	*Ṅi*	*os*	*suP*

The vowels which have been used as *it* in these elements either facilitate articulation, or distinguish endings from each others (*viśeṣaṇārtha*). The *Ṭ*, as an *it* in *Ṭā*, is used to facilitate formation of the abbreviatory term *sŪṬ*. The final *P* of *suP* is brought as an *it* so that these nominal endings all can be referred to by the single abbreviatory term *sŪP*.

The denotata of these nominal endings have been outlined as number (*saṃkhyā*), nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*) and *karman* 'object' etc., by rules enumerated elsewhere (2.3.1 *anabhihite*, etc.; *Kāś.*: *saṃkhyākarmādayaś ca svādīnām arthāḥ śāstrāntareṇa vihitās tena sahāsyaikavākyatā*). This rule, for its proper interpretation, must share the 'single-sentenceness' relationship (*ekavākyatā*) with them. Thus, rule 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, read with 2.3.1 *anabhihite* and rule 4.1.2 *svaujas*. . ., can be interpreted as a single sentence as follows:

> 'affixes termed *dvitīyā*, particularly its members termed *ekavacana* 'singular', *dvivacana* 'dual' and *bahuvacana* 'plural', occur after an item which either ends in a feminine affix denoted by *Ṅī* and *āP*, or is termed a *prātipadika*, provided an object (*karman*) not expressed otherwise, is to be expressed'

Recovering the context of a rule, via 'single-sentenceness' (*ekavākyatā*), often entails an elaborate network of related rules. My interpretation of 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā* shows the involvement of only a few important rules.

Note that accepting the signification of affixes denoted by *sUP* as *saṃkhyākarmādi* 'number and object, etc.' is also problematic. For example, if *saṃkhyākarmādi* is the denotatum of a *sUP* then these affixes cannot be introduced after indeclinable bases (*avyaya*). Consequently, Pāṇini's provision of deleting a *sUP* by means of *LUK* after an indeclinable (2.4.82 *avyayād*

āp supaḥ) becomes meaningless (*vyartha*). But since Pāṇini provides for deleting a *sUP* after an indeclinable, introduction of the same after an indeclinable cannot be challenged. That is, a *sUP* will be introduced after an indeclinable even when *saṃkhyākarmādi* are not denoted. It is a different story that nominative (*prathamā*) singular (*ekavacana*) alone could then be introduced.

4.1.3 स्त्रियाम्

striyām
/*striyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1)
yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas striyām ity evaṃ veditavyam
The following affixes occur after a nominal stem when feminine is to be denoted.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. That this rule is formulated to facilitate application of other rules (*parārtha*) is clear from the specification of *striyām* in locative (*saptamī*), especially with absence of any predicate (*vidheya*). It offers *jāti* 'class', particularly *strītva* 'femininity', as scope for application of rules it governs. A question is raised as to what *strītva* is. It is explained that, like the general class of *gotva* 'cowness', *strītva* also finds varying loci (*āśryaya*), both general (*sāmānya*) and particular (*viśeṣa*). In the absence of a well defined particular locus, it may, on occasions, be comprehended in a manner similar to *brāmaṇatva* 'Brāhmaṇaness' based on *upadeśa*. *Kāśikā*, therefore, explains this *jāti* of *strītva* as *sāmānyaviśeṣ ā bahuprakārāḥ* 'general and particular of varying types' (*Kāś.: sāmānyaviśeṣāḥ strītvādayo gotvādaya iva bahuprakārā kvacid āśrayaviśeṣābhāvād upadeśavyaṅyā eva bhavanti yathā brāhmaṇatvādayaḥ*).

Sanskrit grammarians do not clearly define what gender is. Patañjali recognizes prominence of 'breasts' and 'hair' as distinguishing marks for 'females' and 'males', respectively. A thing which is different from two is characterized as 'neuter':

stanakeśavatī strī syāl lomaśaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ/
ubhayor antaraṃ yac ca tadabhāve napuṃsakam//

But this could only characterize biological gender. It cannot apply to a host of things such as *khaṭvā* 'cot', *mālā* 'garland', *ghaṭa* 'pot', *paṭa* 'cloth', etc.

Grammarians rely solely upon usages for determining gender (*lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*). What about the belief that gender is already included within the denotatum of a nominal stem (*prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam*)? If the notion of femininity (*strītva*) is included within the sense of a *prātipadika*

then what is the purpose of introducing a feminine affix. It is argued that feminine affixes are employed to manifest this notion of gender inhered by nominal stems. They thus reinforce its comprehension by way of definitizing it. As far as comprehension of gender, per se, is concerned, one may, in many instances, comprehend it even without the use of a feminine suffix.

2. Note that this rule forms a subdomain of 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt.* The *anuvṛtti* (from rule 4.1.1) of *prātipadikāt* alone is valid here since a form which ends in a feminine affix (*ṅyābanta*) cannot form an input to the subdomain which introduces that affix.

4.1.4 अजाद्यतष्टाप्

ajādyataṣ ṭāp

/ *ajādyataḥ* 5/1 = *ajādiś ca at ca* = *ajādyat; tasmāt* = *ajādyataḥ* (*sam. dv.*); *ṭāp* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #41, *striyām* #3)

ajādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo' akārāntāc ca prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṭāp pratyayo bhavati

Affix *Ṭāp* occurs after a nominal stem which is abstracted from the group headed by *ajā* 'she-goat', or after a stem which ends in *-aT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*), when feminine is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ajā 'she-goat'
eḍakā 'ewe'
caṭakā 'sparrow'
aśvā 'mare'

1. The *P* of *ṬāP* is given as an *it* for the general low pitch (*anudātta*) accent of rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau.* The *Ṭ* is used as an *it* to distinguish *ṬāP* from affixes such as *CāP* and *ḌāP.* The *T* of *aT* is, of course, part of *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*), whereby stems ending in *a* (of short duration) alone can qualify.

This provision of *ṬāP,* especially in view of its specification with *ajādi* 'that which begins with *ajā*', is made against affixes *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīP,* which may otherwise find their scope of application. Note that the listing of the *ajādi* group is not made with the enumeration of nominal stems *aja,* etc. It is, instead, made with *ajā,* etc., which are items derived with affix *ṬāP* already introduced (*kṛtaṭāppratyaya*). Thus, *ṬāP* will be introduced after stems specific to those of *ajā,* etc.

Affixes *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīP,* as against *ṬāP,* could be conditioned by factors such as: (*i*) signification of *jāti* 'class', (*ii*) marked association of a female with a corresponding male (*puṃyoga-lakṣaṇa*), (*iii*) a following word with the denotatum of flower of fruits (*puṣpaphalottarpada*), or (*iv*) age (*vaya*), etc.

Consider, for example, the derivation of *śūdrā* 'a female of the class characterized as *śūdra*'. This provision of *ṬāP* is made against denotation of a 'wife', in relation to the 'husband'. Thus, the wife of a *śūdra* is not called *śūdrā*. Instead, *śūdra* denotes a class of females (*jāti*). For denoting a 'female (wife)' corresponding to a 'male (husband)', one has to introduce affix *ṄīṢ* to derive *śūdrī*, parallel to *śūdrasya bhāryā* 'wife of a *śūdra*'. This 'association with a male (*puṃyoga*)' does not work with forms which have *mahat* as their first constituent. Thus, the wife of an *ābhīra*, a class synonymous with *mahāśūdra*, will not be called *mahāśūdrī*. Instead, *ṬāP* will be used to derive *mahāśūdrā*. This exception is made possible because of *tadantavidhi*, interpreting a form as ending in that by means of which a specification is made (1.1.73 *yena vidhis tadantasya*). Incidentally, an *ābhīra* is characterized as the offspring of a *brāhmaṇa* father and an *ugrā* mother. An *ugrā*, in turn, is a female born of a *śūdrā* mother and a *kṣatriya* father.

Kāśikā states that the following *paribhāṣā* is not valid in this connection:

> *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena tadantavidhir nāsti*
> 'a specification made by means of a particular nominal stem is not interpreted as referring also to a form which may end in that nominal stem'

Consequently, we get forms such as *atidhīvarī* 'an excellent fisherwoman', *atipīvarī* 'a very fat woman', *atibhavatī* 'a very respected woman' and *atimahatī* 'a very great woman'. Examples such as *ajā* 'she-goat', *aśvā* 'mare' and *caṭakā* 'sparrow' denote *jāti* 'class'; *bālā* 'maiden', *pākā* 'girl', *vatsā* 'female calf', and *mandā* 'feeble woman', etc., denote age (*vaya*). One can similarly get other examples in other categories where *ṬāP* is introduced to block *ṄīṢ* or *ṄīP*.

2. Why should *ajādi* be explicitly mentioned in this rule especially when, since all bases of *ajādi* end in *a*, specification made with *ataḥ* can account for *ṬāP*? For, all the *ajādi* bases end in *a*. A special mention of *ajādi* is made here to block provisions of *ṄīṢ* (4.1.63 *jāter astrīviṣayād . . .*) and *ṄīP* (4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*).

3. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita interprets *ajādyataḥ* as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhyanta*). A *pañcamyanta* 'ending in a fifth triplet of *sUP*' interpretation is problematic. For example, given *pañcaja* 'a group of five goats', *ṬāP* will yield a wrong form: **pañcājā*. A genitive interpretation will yield the correct form *pañcājī*, with *ṄīP* of 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ*. Actually, these two interpretations relate to questions of whether denotation of feminine should be accepted as meaning of a base, or of an affix. If affix, then a *pañcamī* interpretation of *ajādyataḥ*, read in view of *ṬāP*, will yield the following meaning:

> 'affix *ṬāP* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *a*, or after a nominal which is inferred from the group headed by *ajā*, when feminine is denoted'

This interpretation will accept 'feminine' as the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārtha*). A genitive interpretation will accept 'feminine' as included within the meaning of the base. What would be the function of a feminine affix under this interpretation? It will simply manifest the notion of gender inhered by the base (*dyotayati*). Thus, a genitive interpretation of *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* will yield the following meaning:

> 'affix *ṬāP* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *a*, or is inferred from the group headed by *ajā*, when the sense of feminine inhered by the base is made manifest'

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita accepts the genitive interpretation, along with 'revelation or manifestation' as the meaning of feminine affixes. The tradition has discussed both views relative to the denotation of gender. Those who accept gender as part of the meaning of a nominal stem believe that an affix is introduced to 'manifest or reveal' this meaning (*striyāṃ yat prātipadikaṃ vartate tasmāt ṭābādayaḥ*). This view accepts the base after which a feminine affix is to be introduced as qualified with 'feminineness' (*strītvaviśiṣṭa*). Adherents of the other view believe that an affix is introduced after a base when gender is to be denoted (*striyām abhidheyāyāṃ ṭābādayo bhavanti*). This view will give prominence to affixal meaning: *prakṛtipratyayau sahārthabrūtas tayoḥ pratyayārthasyaiva prādhānyam* 'affixal meaning is principal when a specification is made concurrently by means of a base as well as an affix'. But this will create problems. Since 'feminine' is to be expressed as affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*) qualified by meaning of the base (*prakṛtyartha*), singular (*ekavacana*) alone can be used. What is the use of dual and plural forms? If feminine is to be accepted as a notion inhered by the base then this problem would not arise. Commentators have discussed and resolved this, and host of other problems concerning the two views, in relation to the fivefold (*pañcaka*) meaning of bases (*prātipadika*), and the notions of *jāti* 'class', *vyakti* 'individual', *padārtha* 'substance' and *sattā* 'existence'. I omit any further discussion of them for lack of interest. My translations and discussions reflect acceptance of both the views.

4.1.5 **ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप्**

> *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*
> /*ṛnnebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ṛt ca n ca* = *ṛnn* (*sam. dv.*); *tasmāt; ṅīp* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1 *striyām* #3)
> *ṛkārāntebhyo nakārāntebhyaś ca prātipadikebhyaḥ striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems which end in *ṛ* (*ṛT*, cf. 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) and *n*.

EXAMPLES:

> *kartrī* 'she who does . . .'

hartrī 'she who carries . . .'
daṇḍinī 'she (a female ascetic) who carries a shaft'
chatriṇī 'she who carries an umbrella'

1. Note that *Ṅ*, as an *it* in *ṄīP*, is intended for reference to affixes *ṄīP*, *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīN* in general (*sāmānyagrahaṇa*). That is, in its absence, a reference with *Ṅ* of *Ṅyāp* in rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*, will have to be limited to just two affixes. What is the purpose of *P* as an *it*? It is used so that *ṄīP* can be distinguished (*viśeṣaṇārthaḥ*) from *ṄīN* and *ṄīṢ*. This *P*, as has already been stated, also accounts for *anudātta*.

2. Note that *ṛnnebhyaḥ* is interpreted as: 'after that which ends in *ṛ* and *n*'. Such an interpretation is possible only when one treats *ṛnnebhyaḥ* as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *prātipadikāt* (here read as *prātipadikebhyaḥ*), in accord with *tadantavidhi* 'treating a qualified (*viśeṣya*) as ending in that which qualifies (*viśeṣaṇa*)'.

4.1.6 उगितश्च

ugitaś ca
/*ugitaḥ* 5/1 = *ug it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
ug id yatra sambhavati yathākathañcit tad ugic chabdarūpam, tadantāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine also after a form which ends in an *it* denoted by the abbreviatory term *uK* (*u, ṛ, ḷ*; cf. *Śs.* 1-2).

EXAMPLES:

bhavatī 'you (feminine polite of *bhavat*)'
atibhavatī 'you (feminine extremely polite)'
pacantī 'she who is cooking'
yajantī 'she who is performing a ritual sacrifice'

1. Note that *uK* denotes *u, ṛ, ḷ*. The form *ugit* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *ug it yasya* 'that which has sounds denoted by *uK* as an *it*'. We know that the meaning of a *bahuvrīhi* falls outside of its constituent meanings (*anyapadārtha*). Can *prātipadika* of *prātipadikāt* be accepted as the denotatum of the *bahuvrīhi* compound *ugit*? That is, can *ugit* be accepted as a modifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *prātipadika*? To accept *prātipadikāt* as a qualified (*viśeṣya*) for *ugit* will facilitate the introduction of *ṄīP* in *bhavatī* and *mahatī*, where nominal stems *bhavatŨ* and *mahatŨ* have *Ũ* as an *it*. But this interpretation will block *ṄīP* in examples such as *gomatī* 'a river; she who is rich in cows' where it is affix *matUP*, and not the nominal stem *go*, which has *uK* as an *it*. Examples such as *arvatī* 'mare' will also be excluded since what is an *ugit* there is *tṚ*, a replacement of *n* of *arvan*, itself an *ugit*. It is therefore suggested that *ugit* be interpreted not as a nominal stem but as a qualifier.

This qualifier status of *ugit*, when read with *prātipadikāt*, will facilitate *tadantavidhi* and yield the following interpretation:

> 'affix *ṄīP* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in a form containing a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *uK* as an *it*'

2. A *vārttika* proposes that roots with *uK* as an *it* should be excluded from the scope of this rule. This will exclude roots *saṃsŪ* and *dhvaṃsŪ* of *ukhāsrat* 'fallen from a pot' and *parṇadhvat* 'fallen from a leaf'. An additional *vārttika* suggests that forms ending in affix *añcŪ* should be included to enable the derivation of *prācī* 'east' and *pratīcī* 'west' with *ṄīP*. The *Mahābhāṣya* rejects this *vārttika*, and accepts *yogavibhāga*, whereby *anyatarasyām* of rule 4.1.8 *pādo' nyatarasyām* will be treated as a rule by itself. It will be accepted as a residual (*śeṣa*) rule to 4.1.6, 4.1.7 and 4.1.8. This rule will then be treated as *vyavasthitavibhāṣā*, whereby a *dhātu* which qualifies as *ugit* will receive *ṄīP* only when it ends in *añcŪ*

4.1.7 **वनो र च**

> *vano ra ca*
> /*vanaḥ* 6/1 *ra* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* ϕ #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
> *vannantād prātipadikāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati rephaś cāntādeśaḥ*
> Affix *Ṅīp* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which terminates in *van*, with an additional provision that *r* comes in place of the final sound of that which ends in *van*.

EXAMPLES:

> *dhīvarī* 'fisherman's wife'
> *pīvarī* 'a fat woman'
> *śarvarī* 'night; Rati, Kāma's wife'
> *paralokadṛśvarī* 'a female; capable of seeing through the world beyond'

1. Commentators state that 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo* ... could easily account for derivates of this rule. For, stems which end in *van* also qualify as those which end in *n*. A separate formulation of this rule is needed so that *r* can be concurrently be introduced as a replacement.

Note that *van* is a cover term for affixes *KvanIP*, *vanIP* and *ṄvanIP*. These affixes enable their bases to qualify as those ending in *n*. That is, *van* of the rule means: that (a nominal stem) which ends in *van* (*vann-antāt prātipadikāt*). Commentators state that *van* also refers to a nominal stem which ends in a form ending in affix *van*. That is, *van* means: a nominal stem which ends in a nominal stem ending in *van* (*vann-antāt prātipadikāntāt prātipadikāt*). This second interpretation is gotten via *Paribhāṣā* (24): *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādes tadantasya grahaṇam* 'that after which an affix is introduced

refers not only to a form which ends in that affix, but also to that which ends in the form ending in that affix'.

The word-form *van* cannot be here interpreted as denoting verbal root *vanU* 'to beg', because 'a specification relatable to both an affix (*pratyaya*) as well as a non-affix (*apratyaya*), is interpreted as referring to an affix alone' (*Paribhāṣā* (111): *pratyayāpratyayayoḥ pratyayasyaiva grahaṇam*). Besides, interpreting *van* to refer to verbal root *vanU* would not make any sense.

A *vārttika* states that this rule cannot introduce *ṄīP* after a form which, prior to introduction of an affix denoted by *van*, ended in a sound segment denoted by the abbreviatory term *hŚ* (*Śs.* 5-10; *vano na haśaḥ*). Consider *śarvarī* where a *van* affix has been introduced after *śṛ* which does not end in *hŚ*. A form, such as *śar* which ends in *r* is produced through application of *guṇa* before *van*. Now consider *sahayudhvā brāhmaṇī* where *sahayudh*, which ends in *dh* (a *hŚ*), receives *kvanIP* (3.2.94 *dṛśeḥ kvanip*). Affix *ṄīP*, and *r* as a replacement for *n* as well, are thus blocked.

4.1.8 पादोऽन्यतरस्याम्

pādo' nyatarasyām
/*pādaḥ* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
pādantāt prātipadikād anyatarasyāṃ striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* optionally occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *pād* 'foot'.

EXAMPLES:

dvipāt 'that which has two feet'
dvipadī 'id'.
catuṣpāt 'that which has four feet'
catuṣpadī 'id'.
sahayudhvā brāhmaṇī 'a Brāhmaṇa woman who was a fighting companion'

1. This rule specifies *pādaḥ*, an ablative of *pād*, where the *samasānta* affix *ṬaC*, of *pāda*, has already been deleted. That is, *pād*, with deleted *ṬaC*, occurs at the end of a compound. Thus, *dvipād* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound originally with the form *dvipāda*. Rule 5.4.140 *saṃkhyā*... deletes its final *a*, subsequent to which *pād* is replaced with *pad* by rule 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat*. We will get *dvipād* if the option of *ṄīP* is not accepted. Recall that 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat* is contained within the subdomain of 6.4.129 *bhasya*. Our string *dvipād* cannot be termed *bha* unless affix *ṄīP* is introduced. Lack of assignment of the term *bha* blocks the replacement of *pād* by *pad*. The *d* of *dvipād* is optionally replaced with *t* (*cartva*) of 8.4.55 *vā' vasāne*.

4.1.9 टाबृचि

ṭāb ṛci
/*ṭāp* 1/1 *ṛci* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *pādaḥ* #8)
ṛci vācyāyāṃ pādantāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṭāp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṬāP* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *pād*, to denote feminine, when a hymn (*ṛcā*) is signified.

EXAMPLES:

dvipadā ṛk 'a hymn with two quarters'
tripadā ṛk 'a hymn with three quarters'
catuṣpadā ṛk 'a hymn with four quarters'

1. Note that our preceding rule makes a provision for *ṄīP*. This rule overrides that provision by introducing *ṬāP* under the special meaning condition of *ṛcā*. The sense of locative in *ṛci* is that of denotation (*abhidheya*). That is, this locative does not denote scope (*viṣaya*). For, a scope interpretation will restrict this rule to the *Ṛgveda*. Accepting the denotational meaning of locative will let this rule apply everywhere (*Nyāsa: yadi hi viṣaya-nirdeśaḥ syāt . . . ṛggrantha eva syāt, nānyatra; abhidheya-nirdeśe ti sarvatra bhavatīti bhāvaḥ*).

4.1.10 न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यः

na ṣaṭsvasrādibhyaḥ
/*na* ϕ *ṣaṭsvasrādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *svasā ādir yeṣām te svasrādayaḥ; ṣaṭ ca svasrādayaś ca* = *ṣaṭsvasrādayas, tebhyaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* #4, *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp* #5)
ṣaṭsaṃjñakebhyaḥ svasrādibhyaś ca prātipadikebhyaḥ strīpratyayo na bhavati
An affix which denotes feminine does not occur after a nominal stem which is termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*), or is listed in the group headed by *svasṛ* 'sister'.

EXAMPLES:

pañca brāhmaṇyaḥ 'five Brāhmaṇa women'
sapta brāhmaṇyaḥ 'seven Brāhmaṇa women'
svasā 'sister'
duhitā 'daughter'
nanāndā 'husband's sister'
yātā 'husband's brother's wife'
catasraḥ 'four . . .'

1. Note that this rule negates all feminine affixes which have been made available thus far (*Kāś.: yo yataḥ prāpnoti sa sarvaḥ pratiṣidhyate*). It should not

be interpreted simply as a negation of *ṄīP*, since *ṄīP* constitutes the most immediate context (*anantaratvāt*). Our rule also negates *ṬāP*. Incidentally, *ṄīP* still forms the most immediate context since a provision for *ṬāP* of 4.1.10 *ṭāb ṛci* is made against it. Besides, this *ṬāP* is not intended to be carried via *anuvṛtti* (*asvaritavāt*).

It is argued that items termed *ṣaṭ* are number words (*saṃkhyā*), and as such, they simply facilitate comprehending quantitative differences of things. They do not facilitate any understanding of gender per se. Comprehension of gender takes place via syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) of number words with things which they distinguish (*Nyāsa*: *saṃkhyāś ca bhedamātraṃ dravyasya pratyāyayanti, na strītvam; yā tu tasya strītvapratītiḥ sā śabdāntareṇa sāmānādhikaraṇyād bhavati*). A negation of feminine in relation to *ṣaṭ*, when the same is not made available, is vacuous (*vyartha*). Negation (*pratiṣedha*) makes sense only when a positive provision is available. It was made clear in connection with 4.1.3 *striyām* that a qualifier, such as *śukla* 'white', qualifies for a feminine affix in accord with its qualified. This same is also true of items termed *ṣaṭ*.

2. Note that *pañca* (of *pañca brāhmaṇyaḥ*) and *catasṛ* represent two sets of derivates where feminine affixes are negated. The first word is blocked from receiving *ṄīP* (of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*) which was available in view of the final *n* of *pañcan* 'five'. Recall that 1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ* assigns the term *ṣaṭ* to *pañcan* on account of its final *n*. Thus, given *pañcan* + *Jas* we get *pañcan* + (*Jas*→ϕ) = *pañca* (*n*→ϕ), where 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk* and 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya* are responsible for deleting *Jas* and *n*, respectively. The second example *catasṛ* becomes an exception to 4.1.5 because *catasṛ* is a replacement for *catur* (7.2.99 *tricaturos striyām* . . .). This negation of *ṄīP* and *ṬāP*, conditioned by *ṣaṭ*, is applicable also items which end in a *ṣaṭ*. For example, consider *priyapañcā* of *priyapañcā draupadī* 'Draupadī for whom five are dear'.

A question is asked as to why an item termed *ṣaṭ* cannot qualify for *ṬāP* after deletion of its *n* has taken effect. Why *pañca*, at the strength of now ending in *a*, cannot get *ṬāP* (*ṣaṭsaṃjñānām ante lupte ṭāb utpattiḥ kasmān na syāt*)?. One cannot argue here that this negation then would become vacuous (*vyartha*). This negation would have served its purpose by blocking the next immediate (*anantara*) *ṄīP* anyway (*Paribhāṣā* (62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā*). It is stated that *ṬāP* can be blocked by accepting the deleted *n* of *pañcan* as suspended (*asiddha*; 8.2.2 *nalopaḥ supsvarasaṃjñātugvidhiṣu*). But how could *n*-deletion be treated as *asiddha* when operations relative to *ṬāP* are not included within the scope of 8.2.2. This scope of *ṬāP* comes well within the scope of *sub-vidhi* of 8.2.2 when one accepts the formation of the abbreviatory term *sUP*, formed with *sU* of 4.1.2 *svaujas* . . . and the *P* of 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*. That is, *ṬāP* cannot be introduced because deletion of *n* will become *asiddha*. But accepting the formation of the abbreviatory term (*pratyāhārā*) *sUP* with the *P* of 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*, to include operations

relative to *ṬāP*, will create problems elsewhere. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses this, and other aspects of this problem, in detail. Patañjali rejects this notion of *asiddhatva*, especially in the derivational context of *bahucarmikā nagarī* 'a city with hide in abundance', where *n*-deletion of *bahucarman*, if treated as *asiddha*, will block the *i* (*itva*) of 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt kāt*. . . . That is, given *bahucarmaka* + *ṬāP*, the *a* of *aka* cannot be found immediately before the *k*. For, the deleted *n* of *bahucarman* will then be there through *asiddhatva*. This will then block *itva*.

Consequently, '*striyām*' *ity arthamātram apekṣya tatra yad uktaṃ bhavati tan na bhavati* 'that (*ṄīP* and *ṬāP*) which is provided there in view of denotation of meaning specified by *striyām* does not apply here'.

4.1.11 मनः

manaḥ
/*manaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ*#3.1.1, *paraś ca*#3.1.2, *prātipadikāt*#1, *striyām*#3, *ṅīp*#5 *na* #10)
mannantād prātipadikān ṅīp pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* does not occur to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *man*.

Examples:

dāmā 'nominative singular of *dāman* 'rope''
dāmānau 'nominative dual of *dāmān*'
dāmānaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sīmā 'nominative singular of *sīman* 'limit, parting of hair''
sīmānau 'nominative dual . . .'
sīmānaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
atimahimā 'nominative singular of *atimahiman*; he who has excelled in glory'
atimahimānau 'nominative dual . . .'
atimahimānaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule negates the provision of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*.

2. Note that *man* refers here to forms which end in affixes, for example, the *Uṇādi* (IV.144) *manIN*, etc. Commentators explain that *man* must also refer to any stem which may end in *man*. That is *man* does not have to be affix *man*. How do we know this? From *paribhāṣā* (17): *aninasmangrahaṇān arthavatā cān arthakena ca tadantavidhiṃ prayojayanti* 'specifications made by means of *an*, *in*, *as* and *man*, entail *tadantavidhi*, a process whereby that by means of which a specification is made refers also to that which ends in it, whether or not *an*, etc., are meaningful'. This *paribhāṣā* has been read in the *Mahābhāṣya* under rule 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*. Note that *sīman* and *atimahiman* end in *man*, though *man* is not an affix. That is, *man* is not mean-

ingful. Examples such as *pāman* 'skin disease' and *dāman* 'rope, string', with nominative forms such as *pāmā, pāmānau, pāmānaḥ*; and *dāmā, dāmānu, dāmānaḥ*, do terminate in affix *man*. This *man* is meaningful because of being an affix.

4.1.12 अनो बहुव्रीहेः

ano bahuvrīheḥ
/*anaḥ* 5/1 *bahuvrīheḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #5, *na* #10)
annantād bahuvrīheḥ striyām ṅīp pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* does not occur to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which ends in *an*.

EXAMPLES:

suparvā 'nominative singular of *suparvan*; . . . whose joints are beautiful'
suparvāṇau 'nominative dual . . .'
suparvāṇaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sucarmā 'nominative singular of *sucarman*; . . . whose skin is beautiful'
sucarmāṇau 'nominative dual . . .'
sucarmāṇaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. Note that *bahuvrīheḥ* simply means 'after a *bahuvrīhi* compound'. Our examples, though, illustrate only one kind of *bahuvrīhi*, namely, that which ends in *an* but does not go through deletion of its penultimate (*upadhālopa*) sound. Rule 4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām* will make an optional provision for *ḌāP*, against *ṄīP*, in case of *bahuvrīhi* compounds which end in *an*, and go through deletion of their *upadhā*. The fact that this rule covers instances of *bahuvrīhi* compounds which end in *an*, with no deletion of their *upadhā*, becomes known by process of elimination (*pāriśeṣyāt*). Also, this rule negates *ṄīP* against optional *ḌāP* of the next rule, and optional *ṄīP* of 4.1.28 *anupadhālopino*. . . . That is, this rule blocks *ṄīP* in toto. The *ḌāP* of the next rule is made optional to absence of a feminine affix.

Why do we have to include the condition of *bahuvrīheḥ*? So that *atirājī*, a *tatpuruṣa* compound parallel to *atikrāntā rājānam* 'she who has excelled the king', may not qualify for *ṄīP*.

4.1.13 डाबुभ्यामन्यतरस्याम्

ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām
/*ḍāp* 1/1 *ubhābhyām* 5/2 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.3.3, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
ḍāp pratyayo bhavati ubhābhyām; mannantād prātipadikād annantāc ca

bahuvrīher anyatarasyām
Affix *ḌāP* optionally occurs after both, i.e., a nominal stem which ends in *man* and a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *an*.

EXAMPLES:

pāmā
pāme
pāmāḥ
sīmā
sīme
sīmāḥ
bahurājā 'nominal singular of *bahurājā*, an assembly of many kings'
bahurāje 'nominative dual . . .'
bahurājāḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
bahudhīvā 'a very clever female'
bahudhīvarī 'id.'
bahupīvā 'a very fat female'
bahupīvarī 'id.'

1. Note that *ubhābhyām* 'after both . . .' refers to nominal stems which (*i*) end in *man* (4.1.11 *manaḥ*); or (*ii*) constitute a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *an* (4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*). These two categories of stems are not allowed *ṄīP* in view of the two preceding rules. The *ṄīP* which is negated here may become available to these stems by rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. Our present rule makes an optional provision for *ḌāP* against the negation of *ṄīP*. The word *ubhābhyām* restricts optional *ḌāP* to two categories of specified stems. Examples, such as *sīmā/ sīme/ sīmāḥ*, illustrate the option of *ḌāP*. Affix *ṄīP* must remain negated in cases where this optional *ḌāP* is not accepted. This will yield forms, such as *sīmā/ sīmānau/ sīmānaḥ*, where no feminine affix is introduced. An optional *ḌāP*, in the context of a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *an*, produces examples such as *bahurājā/ bahurāje/ bahurājāḥ*. Not accepting this option will again lead to negation of *ṄīP* (4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*). This will produce examples such as *bahurājā/ bahurājānau/ bahurājānaḥ*, with no choice of a feminine affix. Note that this optional provision for *ḌāP* would cause *ṭi*-deletion in a presuffixal base termed *bha* (6.4.143 *teḥ*). Not accepting *ḌāP* would result in retention of the base-final *n*.

2. What is the purpose of *anyatarasyām* in this rule (*Kāś.*: *anyatarasyāṃ grahaṇaṃ kimartham*)? Is *anyatarasyām* used here to allow negation of *ṄīP* in cases where option of *ḌāP* is not accepted? Or is it used for allowing option of *ṄīP* against its own negation, or else, against the option of *ḌāP* just proposed. The first interpretation is not appropriate (*ādyaṃ tāvad ayuktam*) since *ḌāP*, and a negation of *ṄīP* as well, is already made available by the explicit statement of *ḍāb ubhābhyām* (4.1.13) '*ḌāP* after both . . . (*vacanasāmarthyāt*)'. Obviously, this provision of *ḌāP* cannot be made optional to

the obligatory negation of ṄīP. A non-application of negation, or of optional ḌāP, will make both provisions meaningless. Thus, they both will have to be applied: ṄīP obligatorily, and ḌāP optionally. This interpretation is possible even without the explicit use of *anyatarasyām*.

The second interpretation is also inappropriate (*dvitīyam apy ayuktam*). For, if *anyatarasyām* is intended to provide the option of ṄīP to a *bahuvrīhi*, with no deletion of its *upadhā* (4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino'nyatarasyām*), then negation of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* will become useless. If *anyatarasyām* is, instead, understood as providing the option of ḌāP to *bahuvrīhi* stems which go through deletion of their *upadhā* but which do not take the option of ṄīP of 4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino'nyatarasyām*, then it does not make any sense. For, *anyatarasyām* of 4.1.28 itself will account for option of ḌāP. The *anyatarasyām* of this rule is thus not required.

Kāśikā states that *anyatarasyām* should be used here for offering ḌāP as an option to ṄīP of 4.1.7 *vano ra ca*, which, without this *anyatarasyām*, will remain negated because of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* (*Nyāsa*: *ṅībrephāv aprāptau, 'ano bahuvrīheḥ' iti pratiṣedhāt; tasmāt tadvidhānārtham anyatarasyāṃ grahaṇaṃ kartavyam*). Consider *bahudhīvā* and *bahudhīvarī* as examples. The *Mahābhāṣya* proposes split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule as follows:

(*i*) *ḍāb ubhābhyāṃ bhavati*, where both *manaḥ* (4.1.11) and *ano bahuvrīheḥ* are carried;

(*ii*) *anyatarasyām*, where *ano bahuvrīheḥ* alone is carried.

This second split-rule is intended for making affix ṄīP (of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*), and replacement in *r* for *n* (of 4.1.7 *vano ra ca*), both optionally available.

4.1.14 अनुपसर्जनात्

anupasarjanāt

/*anupasarjanāt* 5/1 = *na upasarjanam* = *anupasarjanam* (*nañ. tat.*); *tasmāt*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)

yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo'nupasarjanād ity evaṃ tad veditavyam

Affixes enumerated hereafter occur after a nominal stem which is not termed an *upasarjana* (1.2.43 *prathamā nirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam*).

EXAMPLES:

kurucarī 'she who wanders in the country of the Kurus'
madracarī 'she who wanders in the country of Madras'

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid through 4.1.77 *yūnas tiḥ*. Note that *anupasarjana*, of *anupasarjanāt*, is explained by rule 1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam* as a compound constituent which is specified with nominative (*prathamā*) in a rule allowing formation of compounds.

The word *anupasarjana* 'non-secondary', of *anupasarjanāt*, is a negation (*pratiṣedha*) of the *prasajya* type yielding the interpretation: *upasarjanān ṅībādayo na bhavanti* 'affixes *ṄīP*, etc., do not occur after an *upasarjana*'. A *paryudāsa* interpretation will yield the interpretation: *upasarjanād anyasmān ṅībādayo bhavanti* 'affixes *ṄīP*, etc., occur after a form other than an *upasarjana*'. The first interpretation is a straight negation (*niṣedha*). It will not permit affix *ṄīṢ*, in *kukkuṭīpādaḥ*, because *kukkuṭī* will be termed an *upasarjana* by rule 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī* where *ṣaṣṭhī*, a *pada* ending in genitive, is specified with nominative (*prathamā*). This argument is not valid since introduction of *ṄīṢ* will take place prior to compound-formation at the strength of being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). The formation of compound, an externally conditioned operation, will take place with *kukkuṭī* as a constituent ending in *ṄīṢ*. But the *ṄīṢ* of *kukkuṭī* will also be blocked. How? The word *anupasarjana* means *pradhāna* 'principal'; and *kukkuṭī* denotes *jāti* 'class'. A *pradhāna* is comprehended relative to an *apradhāna* 'secondary'. We do not have anything non-principal, or secondary, relative to which *kukkuṭa* can be accepted as 'principal'. Consequently, the *paryudāsa*, or operational interpretation of negation, is faulty (*tasmād vidhi pakṣo'yaṃ duṣṭaḥ*). The negation in *anupasarjanāt* is therefore accepted as *prasajya*, whereby we understand that '*ṄīP*, etc., do not occur after that which is *upasarjana* 'secondary; non-principal'.'

Now consider *kurucarī*, a *tatpuruṣa* compound (2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*) formed with *kuru* + *sUP* and *cara*, where *cara* is a derivate of *Ṭa* (3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*), a *kṛt* affix introduced after verbal root *car* under the co-occurrence condition of *kuru* + *suP*. The word *cara* cannot be accepted as an *upasarjana* since it is part of a *tatpuruṣa* compound where meaning of the following constituent is principal (*uttarapadapradhāna*). It can also not be accepted as an *upasarjana* because it is not specified with a nominative in the wording of the rule which allows formation of this compound. Consequently, we get affix *ṄīP*. The same could not be true of *bahukurucarā* 'an area full of those who wander in the country of the Kurus', a *bahuvrīhi* compound where individual constituents are all considered as *upasarjana*. A *ṄīP* will thus be blocked. Incidentally, the final *a* of *kurucara* and *madracara* will be deleted by 6.4.147 *yasyeti ca*, before the *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . ., of course, introduced at the strength of *Ṭ* as an *it* in affix *Ṭa*.

2. Note that *anupasarjanāt* qualifies *prātipadikāt* which, when read with *ataḥ* of 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*, will yield this following interpretation:

> 'an affix occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *a*, and is not an *upasarjana* . . .'

This negation of *anupasarjanāt* is not required if *tadantavidhi* 'a specification made by an item also refers to that which ends in that item' is not accepted. For, *Paribhāṣā* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena tadantavidhir nāsti*

'*tadantavidhi* becomes inoperative when a specification happens to be made by enumerating individual nominal stems'. But *anupasarjanāt* is required for offering negation (*pratiṣedha*) in the following rules. The negation itself cannot be accomplished without accepting the notion of *tadantavidhi*. What is the way out of this difficulty? *Kāśikā* states that *tadantavidhi* is operative in this section (*asmin prakaraṇe tadantavidhir iti*). But it becomes operative only in the context of that which is 'non-secondary' or 'principal'. A *vārttika* (*śūdrā cāmahatpūrvā jātiḥ*) under 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* makes this known. If *tadantavidhi* is not accepted then, given *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādes tadantasya ca grahaṇaṃ bhavati* 'a specification made with an affix refers to a form which begins with the base after which that affix is introduced, and also to the form which ends in that affix', the *aṆ* of the next rule will refer to a form which ends in *aṆ*. We can thus derive *aupagavī* 'female descendant of Upagu' with the introduction of *ṄīP* after *aupagava*, a *taddhita* derivates ending in *aṆ*. But this *paribhāṣā* will create problems in deriving *kumbhakārī* 'a female potter' where *kāra* is a derivate ending in *aṆ*. The compound base *kumbhakāra* cannot be accepted as ending in a form (*kāra*) which, in turn, ends in *aṆ*. That is, *kāra* alone can qualify to receive the affix. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation will facilitate affixal introduction after *kumbhakāra*, a form ending in *kāra* (*Nyāsa*: *tadantavidhau tu jñāpite kāraśabdāntād apīkāraḥ sidhyati*). Incidentally, *aṆ* of next rule is interpreted as a *taddhita* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*) as well as a *kṛt* (3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*).

4.1.15 टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रच्तयप्ठक्ठञ्कञ्क्वरपः

ṭiḍḍhāṇañdvayasajdaghnañmātractayapṭhakṭhañkañkvarapaḥ
/ *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . . kvarapaḥ* 5/1 = *ṭa it yasya sa ṭit* (*bv.*); *ṭic ca ḍhaś ca . . . kvarap ca* = *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . . kvarap* (*sam. dv.*); *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
ṭidādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems which end in *a* (*adanta*) and have, as their final (*antya*), a non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) form either marked with *Ṭ*, or ending in affixes *ḍha*, *aṆ*, *aÑ*, *dvayasaC*, *daghnaC*, *mātraC*, *tayaP*, *ṭhaK*, *ṭhaÑ*, *kaÑ* and *KvaraP*.

EXAMPLES:

kurucarī 'she who wanders in the country of the Kurus'
madracarī 'she who wanders in the country of the Madras'
sauparṇeyī 'a female descendent of Suparṇī'
vainateyī 'a female descendent of Vinatā'
kumbhakārī 'she who makes pots'
nagarakārī 'she who builds cities; a female architect'
autsī 'a female descendent of Utsa'
audapānī 'a female descendent of Udapāna'

urudvayasī 'a river with chest-deep water'
ūrudaghnī 'id.'
ūrumātrī 'id.'
jānudvayasī 'a river with knee-deep water'
jānudaghnī 'id.'
jānumātrī 'id.'
pañcatayī 'that which has five parts'
daśatayī 'that which has ten parts'
ākṣikī 'a female who gambles with dice'
śālākikī 'id.'
lāvaṇikī 'a female who sells salt'
yādṛśī 'the (feminine) kind which . . .'
tādṛśī 'that (feminine) kind . . .'
itvarī 'she who is in haste'
naśvarī 'she who will perish; fragile'
āḍhyaṃkaraṇī 'she who makes one rich'
subhagaṅkaraṇī 'she who brings prosperity'

1. Note that *ataḥ* 'that which ends in *a*' is carried everywhere as a qualifier to nominal stems (*Kāś.*: *ataḥ iti sarvatrānuvartate*). It is used as such where possible (*tat sati sambhave viśeṣaṇam bhavati*). It is treated as carried for subsequent rules where context of a given rule requires otherwise (*Nyāsa*: *yatra sambhavati tatra viśeṣaṇaṃ bhavati, yatra tu na sambhavati tatrottarārtham eva* . . .). Note that this entire rule, along with *ataḥ*, serves as a qualifier to *prātipadikam*, especially in accord with *tadantavidhi*. Thus, *ataḥ*, read with *prātipadikāt*, will be interpreted as: after a nominal stem which ends in *a*. The word *Ṭit* can similarly refer to a nominal stem which is either marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, or else, ends in that which is marked as such. Affixes *ḍha*, etc., will yield the interpretation: 'after a nominal stem which ends in affix *ḍha*, etc., or ends in a form which ends in affix *ḍha*, etc.'. Remember, however, that referents of *ṭit* and *ḍha*, etc., must also qualify as an *anupasarjana* 'non-secondary' or 'principal'. Refer to notes under the preceding rule.

2. The word *ṭit* 'that which has *Ṭ* as an *it*' refers to two sets of forms: (*i*) an affix which has *Ṭ* as an *it*; and (*ii*) a nominal stem, or a verbal root, which may have *Ṭ* as an *it*. This rule accepts both of these interpretations. Thus we get *kurucarī* where *kurucara* is a nominal stem ending in *cara* which, in turn, ends in affix *Ṭa* marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*. There are also nominal stems, such as *nadaṬ*, *devaṬ* and *coraṬ*, etc., which are marked with *Ṭ* and are listed in the *pacādi* group. They yield forms such as *nadī* 'river', *devī* 'divine' and *corī* 'a female thief', etc. Similarly, we get *stanandhayī* 'a girl sucking on her mothers' breasts' where *dheṬ*, a verbal root ending in *Ṭ*, receives affix *KHaŚ* (3.2.29 *nāsikāstanayor*. . .) to derive *dhaya*. Note that *pacamāna* 'he who is cooking' and *yajamāna* 'he who is performing a ritual sacrifice' do not qualify for

their status as *ṭit* even though they involve affix *ŚānaC*, a replacement of *LAṬ* marked with *Ṭ*. Commentators state that *ṭit* status of *LAṬ*, for purposes of this rule, is not accepted. Why? Because it has two *it* elements. That is, *ekānubandhakagrahaṇe na dvyanaubandhakasya* 'a specification made with one *it* does not refer to a form with two *it* elements'. *LAṬ* also has *Ǎ* as an additional *it*. But this exclusion of *LǍṬ* will create problems: (*a*) not accepting *Ṭ* as an *it* renders the *ṭit* status of *LAṬ* as vacuous (*vyartha*); and (*b*) accepting the two *anubandha* as reason for exclusion must also exclude *LyuṬ*, etc., where *karaṇī* and *sāmagī* are derived with *ṄīP*, based upon *Ṭ* as an *it*. The *Ṭ* of *LAṬ* will not be useless because its purpose is basically to facilitate application of 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭet e*. The *Ṭ* of *LyuṬ* must be included within the scope of this rule, otherwise, in its absence, making *LyuṬ* as *ṭit* will become useless (*ṭitkaraṇam anarthakaṃ syāt prayojanāntarāsambhavāt*). Besides, an operation conditioned by an *it* does not apply on a replacement of *LA* if the *it* happens to be contained within the *LA*. This is how *vakṣyamāṇā*, a derivate of *LṚṬ*, does not get *ṄīP* of 4.1.5 *ugitaś ca*, based upon *Ṛ* and *Ṭ* of *LṚṬ*. If the replacements of *LA* were also treated as marked with what they replaced then Pāṇini would not need to state *ṅic ca* in 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣūdātto ṅic ca*. For, a replacement of *LIṄ* would then attain the status of *Ṅīt* anyway. Why then try to provide this status to a replacement via extension.

The tradition also restricts the *ṭit* status of an *āgama* 'augment' from conditioning the introduction of *ṄīP*. If the *ṭit* status of an *āgama* could condition the introduction of *ṄīP* then, in examples such as *sāyaṃtanī* 'relative to evening', *ṄīP* will already be available at the strength of *tUṬ* (5.3.23 *sāyaṃciram . . .*), the augment. Why then mark affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* (5.3.23 *sāyaṃciram . . .*) with *Ṭ* as an *it*? Note that *sāyaṃtana*, of *sayaṃtanī*, derives from *sāyam* + *Ṭyu* with augment *tUṬ*. Thus, *sāyam* + *t* + (*yu*→*ana*) = *sāyaṃtana*. The *ṭit* status of *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*). Consequently, *paṭhitā* of *paṭhitā vidyā* 'knowledge was attained' does not get *ṄīP* on account of the *ṭit* status of augment *iṬ*.

3. Note that affix *ḍha* is specified here without any indicatory symbol (*anubandha*). This, in view of *Paribhāṣā* (82): *niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya*, would not allow an affix marked with *K*, for example *ḍhaK*, to also refer to *ḍha*, an affix with no *anubandha*. Consequently, this reference with *ḍha* will be limited to 4.4.106 *ḍhaś chandasi* and 5.3.102 *śilāyā ḍhaḥ*, where examples of the second rule will be characteristically limited to neuter (*Nyāsa*: *svabhāvata eva napuṃsake vartate*). Derivates of the first rule will also exclude feminine since a form such as **sabheyī* is not attested. We must therefore accept a reference by this *ḍha* to a *ḍha* which is used with an *anubandha*. This is the only way we can save this *ḍha* from becoming vacuous (*vyartha*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

4. A *vārttika*, under this rule, also recommends *ṄīP* after stems which (*i*)

either end in *naÑ* (*strīpuṃsābhyām nañsnañau bhavanāt*), *snaÑ*, *īkaK* and *KHyuN*, or (*ii*) are constituted by *taruṇa* and *taluna*. Thus, we get: *straiṇī* 'that which is found among women', *pauṃsnī* 'a female deserving of men', *śāktīkī* 'she whose weapon is a spear', *yāṣṭīkī* 'she whose weapon is her shaft', *āḍhyaṃkaraṇī* 'she who makes one rich', *taruṇī* 'young female' and *takunī* 'id.'.

4.1.16 **यञश्च**

yañaś ca
/*yañaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14)
anupasarjanād yañantāc ca prātipadikāt striyām ṅīp prartyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* also occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *yaÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

gārgī 'a female descendent of Garga'
vātsī 'a female descendent of Vatsa'

1. Why did Pāṇini not include affix *yaÑ* in the earlier rule. This would have saved him one rule. A split formulation is made so that affixes of the earlier rule could be stopped from being carried to the next rule (*yogavibhāga uttarārthaḥ*). That is, a joint formulation with *yaÑ*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with them, would also qualify them for application in the next rule. This next rule requires the *anuvṛtti* of *yaÑ* alone. This way, affix *Ṣpha* is restricted to occur only after stems which end in *yaÑ*, and not after stems which may end in an affix of the preceding rule.

A *vārttika* requires that, for purposes of this rule, a reference to *yaÑ* be limited to the domain of *apatya* (4.1.93 *tasyāpatyam*). That is, affix *yaÑ*, for example of 4.3.10 *dvīpād anusamudraṃ yañ*, which falls within the domain of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* should be excluded. Such a restriction will facilitate the derivation of *dvaipyā* '. . . found in an island' with *ṬāP*.

4.1.17 **प्राचां ष्फ तद्धितः**

prācāṃ ṣphas taddhitaḥ
/*prācām* 6/3 *ṣphaḥ* 1/1 *taddhitaḥ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *yañaḥ* #16)
prācām ācāryāṇāṃ matena yañantāt striyāṃ ṣphaḥ pratyayo bhavati sa ca taddhitasaṃjñaḥ
Affix *Ṣpha*, termed a *taddhita*, occurs, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *yaÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyāyaṇī 'a granddaughter of Garga'
vātsyāyanī 'a granddaughter of Vatsa'
gārgī 'id.'
vātsī 'id.'

1. This rule introduces affix *Ṣpha*, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, as an option to *ṄīP* of the preceding rule.

2. Affix *Ṣpha* is assigned the term *taddhita* so that its derivates can be termed nominal stems (*prātipadīka*) as per 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*. A *Ṣ* as an *it* facilitates the application of 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*.

Note that derivates of this rule denote feminine by means of two affixes: *Ṣpha* and *ṄīṢ*. Why should feminine be expressed by *ṄīṢ* of rule 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca* when the same is already expressed by affix *Ṣpha* of this rule? Commentators note that *Ṣpha* itself does not denote feminine. It is marked with *Ṣ* to facilitate the application of *ṄīṢ*. This makes denotation of feminine as a joint function of both *Ṣpha* and *ṄīṢ* (*Nyāsa*: *na hi kevalaḥ ṣphaḥ strītvam abhivyaṅktuṃ samartha iti ṅīṣam apekṣate*).

3. Commentators note that *sarvatra* 'everywhere' is brought here from the following rule so that no other provision can block the provision of this rule. For example, rule 4.1.75 *āvatyāc cāp* allows affix *CāP* to denote feminine after a nominal stem which terminates in *yaÑ*. A reading of *sarvatra*, from the following rule, will block rule 4.1.75 *āvaṭyāc cāp* from introducing *CāP*. Thus, *sarvatra* is to be brought to block a provision which may otherwise block the provision of this rule (*bādhakabābhanārtha*).

4.1.18 सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः

sarvatra lohitādikatantebhyaḥ
/*sarvatra* ϕ *lohitādikatantebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *lohita ādir yeṣāṃ te* = *lohitādayaḥ*; *kata ante yeṣāṃ te* = *katantāḥ* (*bv.*) = *lohitādayaś ca te katantāś ca* (*karm. tat.* with int. *bv.*); *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayah* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *yañaḥ* #16, *ṣphas taddhitaḥ* #17)
sarvatra lohitādibhyaḥ kataparyantebhyo yañantebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṣphaḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *Ṣpha*, termed a *taddhita*, occurs to denote feminine, in the opinion of all grammarians, after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in affix *yaÑ* and is enumerated in the list beginning with *lohita* 'read' through *kata*.

EXAMPLES:

lauhityāyanī 'granddaughter of Lohita'
śāṃsityāyanī 'granddaughter of Śaṃsita'

bābhravyāyanī 'granddaughter of Babhru'
śākalyāyanī 'granddaughter of Śakala'
śākalāḥ 'students of Śākalya'

1. Note that *sarvatra* means *sarveṣāṃ mate* 'in the opinion of all grammarians'. The nominal listing, specified here as *lohitādi*, is a subgroup within *gargādi*. The word *śakala* comes at the end of *lohitādi* which is the first *gaṇa* here. The second group of nominals, i.e., *kaṇvādi*, begins with *śakala* and extends through *kata*. Such a specification is made so that *śakala* could form the 'end' and 'beginning', respectively, of these two groups. What is this *tadantādi* 'forming the end and beginning of that' purpose of *śakala* in defining these two groups? A *lohitādi* ending in *śakala* defines the scope of *Ṣpha*. A *kaṇvādi*, with *śakala* at the beginning, defines the scope of *aṆ*. The following verse summarizes the specification:

kaṇvāt tu śakalaḥ pūrvaḥ katād uttara iṣyate/
pūrvottarau tadantādi ṣphāṇau tatra prayojanam//

This specification is needed to modify the order of listing in the *gaṇa*. That is, given the order: '*kapi, kata, kurukata, anaḍuh, kaṇva, śakala*', an effort is made to remove *kapi* and *anaḍuh* away, and place *śakala* in between *kata* and *kaṇva*. This will put *śakala* at the boundary of the two *gaṇas*. Why *śakala*? Because it can be used with *Ṣpha* and *aṆ* both. Thus, we get *śākalyāyanī* 'a granddaughter of Śakala' and *śākalāḥ* 'students of Śākalya'.

4.1.19 कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च

kauravyamāṇḍūkābhyāṃ ca
/*kauravyamāṇḍūkābhyām* 5/2 = *kauravyaś ca māṇḍūkaś ca* = *kauravyamāṇḍūkau* (*itar. dv.*) *tābhyām; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṣphas taddhitaḥ* #17)
'*kauravya, māṇḍūka*' *ity etābhyām striyām ṣpha pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *Ṣpha*, termed a *taddhita*, also occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems *kauravya* and *māṇḍūka*.

EXAMPLES:

kauravyāyaṇī 'granddaughter of Kuru'
māṇḍūkāyanī 'granddaughter of Maṇḍūka'

1. Note that *Ṣpha* of *kauravyāyaṇī* and *māṇḍūkyāyanī* forms an exception to affixes *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) and *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .), respectively. That is, *kauravya* qualifies for *ṬāP* because it ends in *a*. Affix *ṄīP* becomes available to *maṇḍūka* on the basis of its *aṆ*. Our present rule offers *Ṣpha* as an exception which, subsequently, leads to the introduction of *ṄīṢ* after *kauravyāyana* and *māṇḍūkāyana*. Our first stem *kauravya* derives from

kuru + *Ṅas* + *Ṇya* of 4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ,* through the application of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* and 6.1.76 *vānto yi pratyaye.* Thus, *kuru* + *Ṅas* + *Ṇya* → *kuru* + *ya* → *kuru* + *ya* → *kur* (*o*→*av*) + *ya* → *kurav* + *ya.* Rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām* . . . will replace the initial *u* with its *vṛddhi* counterpart *au,* based upon *Ṇya* being *Ṇit.* Affix *aṆ* is introduced after *maṇḍūka* + *Ṅas* (4.1.119 *ḍhak ca maṇḍukāt*) to derive *māṇḍūka* through initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of the final *a* of *maṇḍuka.* Deriving *kauravyāyaṇī* from *kauravya* + (*Ṣph*→*āyan*) *a* + *ṄīP*→ *kauravyāyanī* + *sU* = *kauravyāyaṇī,* involves operations such as *a*-deletion of *bha, āyan* as a replacement for *ph,* deletion of *sU* and *ṇatva.* Similar derivational steps are followed in deriving *māṇḍūkāyanī.*

2. A *vārttika* recommends that *āsuri,* derived with the introduction of *iÑ* after *asura* + *Ṅas,* also be enumerated as part of this rule. Obviously, this is intended to account for examples such as *āsurāyaṇī.*

4.1.20 **वयसि प्रथमे**

vayasi prathame
/ *vayasi* 7/1 *prathame* 7/1 /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14)
prathame vayasi yat prātipadikaṃ śrutyā vartate tataḥ striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in -*a* and denotes the first stage of life.

EXAMPLES:

kumārī 'an adolescent female'
kiśorī 'id.'
varkarī 'a young she-goat'

1. Commentators explain *vayas* as a physical state brought about by *kāla* 'time'. They further illustrate it as *yauvanādiḥ* 'yough, etc.' *Kāśikā* states that affixal provisions of this rule apply to nominal stems which, no sooner they have been articulated, can make the listener comprehend the age (*śrutyā; śravaṇamātreṇa*). This is why *uttānaśayā* 'an adolescent female, she who sleeps on her back' and *lohitapādikā* 'she whose feet are red' cannot be covered by this rule. These stems literally do not denote age.

2. It is hard to exactly define the first stage of life. A two-way classification of age as 'young' and 'old' can be characterized with notions of *upacaya* 'growth of vital body elements' and *apacaya* 'decline of vital body elements'. Some accept four stages of life: *bālya* 'adolescence', *yauvana* 'youth', *madhya* 'middle' and *sthavira* 'old'. Commentators describe the age of *bālya* as covering the period through which one normally subsists on 'milk' and 'staples' (*kṣīrānna-vartakaḥ*). But some state that this also includes youth. In this view,

then, there will only be three stages of life where *bālya* and *yauvana* will be treated as one. For this reason, some just consider three relevant stages in life: the first when one pursues studies (*vidyā*), the second when one pursues pleasures of life or wealth (*dhana*), and the third when one practices austerity (*tapas*). But others subscribe to yet another notion of thee stages:

> *āṣoḍaśād bhaved bāto yāvat kṣīrānnavartakaḥ/*
> *madhyamaḥ saptatir yāvat parato vṛddha ucyate//*
> 'one is called an 'adolescent' till the age of sixteen when one subsists on milk and staples; the middle age extends up to seventy beyond which one is called old'

Our example *kumārī* 'a female adolescent' is, at times, also explained as not denoting the first part of life. It can also refer to a female with no sexual contact with a male (*puṃyogābhāva*). That is, a girl prior to her wedding. What if one does not get married for a long time? She cannot be called a *kumārī*? For, a female in her youth is called *strī* 'woman' (*prāptayauvanā stry abhidhīyate*), and a *kumārī* is no *strī*.

3. Some are inclined to interpret *prathame* of this rule as *acarame* '. . . non-final (old)'. If *prathame* refers to the '. . . non-old' stage of life then derivates denoting youth can also be covered by this rule. That is, we will not need any *vārttika* (*vayasy acarama iti vaktavyam*) for deriving *vadhūṭi* 'a female in her youth' and *ciraṇṭī* 'an unmarried woman (still residing with her parents)'.

4. Refer to the appendix of 4.1.2 for derivational details.

4.1.21 द्विगोः

> *dvigoḥ*
> */dvigoḥ 5/1/*
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14)
> *dvigusaṃjñakād prātipadikāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *a* and is termed *dvigu* (2.1.52 *saṃkhyā* . . .).

EXAMPLES:

> *pañcapūlī* 'a bundle of five bunches'
> *daśapūlī* 'a bundle of ten bunches'

1. The word *dvigu* here refers to a *samāhāradvigu* formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca*. A *vārttika* claims that this rule applies to only those *dvigu* compounds which contain a final constituent terminating in *a* (*akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyām iṣṭaḥ*). Why then *triphalā* 'collection of three fruits' is derived with *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*)? Its stem is listed in the *ajādi* group. Refer to (62) *pañcapūli*, in the appendix of vol. III, for derivational details.

4.1.22 अपरिमाणबिस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि

aparimāṇabistācitakambalyebhyo na taddhitaluki
/*aparimāṇa* . . . *kambalyebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *na parimāṇam* = *aparimāṇam* (*nañ. tat.*); *aparimāṇaṃ ca bistā ca ācitaś ca kambalyaṃ ca* = *aparimāṇa* . . . *kambalyāni* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *na* ϕ *taddhitaluki* 7/1 = *taddhitasya luk* = *taddhitaluk* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *dvigoḥ* #21)
aparimāṇāntād dvigor bistācitakambalyāntāc ca taddhitaluki sati ṅīp pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* does not occur to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem termed *dvigu*, which ends in a constituent denoting 'non-measure' (*aparimāṇa*), or ends in *bista*, *ācita* and *kambalya*, provided deletion of a *taddhita* affix, by means of *LUK*, has taken effect.

EXAMPLES:

pañcāśvā '. . . purchased for five horses'
daśāśvā '. . . purchased for ten horses'
dvivarṣā '. . . she whose two years have passed'
trivarṣā '. . . she whose three years have passed'
dvibistā '. . . she who cooks grains cqual to two Bistas in weight'
dvyācitā '. . . she who cooks grains equal to two Ācitas in weight'
dvikambalyā '. . . purchased for two blankets'

1. This rule negates the provision of our preceding rule. *Kāśikā* offers *dvyāḍhakī* 'she who cooks something equal to two *āḍharkas* in weight' and *pañcāśvī* 'a herd of five horses' as counter-examples where the stem of the first ends in *āḍhaka* denoting 'measure'. The second stem does not meet the condition of deletion of its *taddhita* affix by *LUK*.

4.1.23 काण्डान्तात् क्षेत्रे

kāṇḍāntāt kṣetre
/*kāṇḍāntāt* 5/1 = *kāṇḍam ante yasya sa kāṇḍāntaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *kṣetre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *dvigoḥ* #21, *na taddhitaluki* #22)
kāṇḍaśabdāntād dvigos taddhitaluki sati kṣetre vācye ṅīp pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* does not occur to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem termed *dvigu* which ends in *kāṇḍa*, if deletion of a *taddhita* affix by means of *LUK* has taken effect, and the derivate signifies (*kṣetra*).

EXAMPLES:

dvikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ 'part of a field equal in measure to two Kāṇḍas; sixteen lower arm-lengths, or approximately twenty-four feet'

trikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ 'part of a field equal in measure to three Kāṇḍas; twenty-four lower arm-lengths or approximately thirty-six feet'

1. Note that negation of *ṄīP* is already available with reference to *kāṇḍa* when something 'other than measure' (*aparimāṇa*) is denoted. This rule is formulated to restrict that negation of the earlier rule to the context of *kṣetra* (*Kāś.*: *kāṇḍa-śabdasyāparimāṇavācitvāt pūrveṇaiva pratiṣedhe siddhe kṣetre niyamārtham vacanam*). Thus, *dvikāṇḍī rajjuḥ* 'a rope equal in measure to two Kāṇḍas' cannot avail this negation, obviously because it does not denote *kṣetra.*

2. Why is the word *anta* used in this rule when its sense can be gotten via *tadantavidhi.* A formulation which excludes *anta,* for example *kāṇḍāt kṣetre,* will present *kṣetra* as a qualifier to *kāṇḍa.* This will give us the meaning *kṣetre yaḥ kāṇḍaśabdas tadantād dvigoḥ* '. . . after a *dvigu* which ends in *kāṇḍa* with the signification of *kṣetra.* . . .' Such an interpretation will not be able to block *ṄīP* in *dvikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ* because *kāṇḍa* will then be denoting *pramāṇa* 'measure'. The sense of *kṣetra* will then be denoted by *dvikāṇḍa.* This interpretation will unnecessarily block *ṄīP* in *dvikāṇḍī vaḍavā* 'a mare purchased with land equal in measure to two Kāṇḍas'. An explicit use of *anta* cannot allow *kṣetra* to become a qualifier to *kāṇḍa* since, in that case, only that which ends in *kāṇḍa* can be qualified with *kṣetra.*

3. A derivate such as *dvikāṇḍā,* as in *dvikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ,* parallel to *dve kāṇḍe pramāṇam asyāḥ,* will receive affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *dvyasajdaghnacmātrac*). But this, or for that matter *dvyasaC* and *daghnaC* as well, will be deleted (cf. *vt.* ad 5.2.37 *pramāṇe*. . .: *dvigor nityam*). Affix *ṄīP* is now blocked in favor of *ṬāP.*

4.1.24 पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम्

puruṣāt pramāṇe' nyatarasyām
/*puruṣāt* 5/1 *pramāṇe* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīp* #5, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *dvigoḥ* #21, *na taddhitaluki* #22)
pramāṇe yaḥ puruṣaśabdas tadantād dvigos taddhitaluki sati anyatarasyām na ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP,* optionally does not occur to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem termed *dvigu,* when the same ends in *puruṣa* 'person, man' used as a measure and deletion of a *taddhita* affix by means of *LUK* has taken effect.

EXAMPLES:

dvipuruṣā parikhā 'a moat with its width (or depth) equal in measure to the height of two men'
dvipuruṣī parikhā 'id.'

1. This optional negation of *ṄīP* is made against the obligatory negation characterized earlier with *aparimāṇa* (4.1.22 *aparimāṇa* . . .). The twin conditions of *pramāṇa* and *taddhitaluki* are also important. A non-denotation of *pramāṇa* will clear the way for *ṬāP* in *dvābhyāṃ puruṣābhyāṃ krītā* = *dvipuruṣā vaḍavā* 'a mare purchased by two men'. A non-deletion of the *taddhita* affix will similarly yield *dvipuruṣī*, denoting *samāhāra* 'grouping'.

2. How can *puruṣa*, a word which denotes *jāti* 'class', denote *pramāṇa*? Because of its association with *pramāṇa* (*pramāṇaśabdenasambandhāj jātivacano' pi puruṣaśabdaḥ pramāṇe vartate*). The measure of a person is regarded as equal to five Aratni: *pañcāratniḥ puruṣaḥ*. What is an Aratni? Length of an elbow measured to the tip of the little finger is called Aratni.

4.1.25 बहुव्रीहेरूधसो ङीष्

bahuvrīher ūdhaso ṅīṣ
/ *bahuvrīheḥ* 5/1 *ūdhasaḥ* 5/1 *ṅīṣ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1 *striyām* #3)
ūdhasśabdāntād bahuvrīheḥ striyām nīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a *bhauvrīhi* compound which ends in *ūdhas* 'udder'.

EXAMPLES:

ghaṭodhnī 'a cow with udder like a pitcher'
kuṇḍodhnī 'a cow with udder like a bowl'

1. Note that the condition of *aT* 'ending in *a*' is still valid. Since a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *ūdhas* will obviously not meet this condition, affix *ṄīṢ* will be introduced only after *anaṄ* has replaced the final *s* of *ūdhas* (5.4.131 *ūdhaso' naṅ*).

This provision of *ṄīṢ* is made against optional negations of *ṄīP* and *ḌāP* of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* and 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām.* The condition of *bahuvrīhi* is important to block *ṄīṢ* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound (2.2.4 *prāptāpanne ca* . . .), for example, *prāptā ūdhaḥ* = *prāptodhā* 'female young of a cow who can reach her mother's udder'.

4.1.26 संख्याव्ययादेर्ङीप्

saṃkhyāvyayāder ṅīp
/ *saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃkhyā ca avyayaṃ ca* (*dv.*); *saṃkhyāvyaye ādinī yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṅīp* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *bahuvrīher ūdhasaḥ* #25)
saṃkhyāder avyayādeś ca bahuvrīher ūdhasśabdāntād śabdād ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which

ends in *ūdhas,* and begins either with a number (*saṃkhyā*) or an indeclinable (*anyaya*).

EXAMPLES:

dvyūdhnī 'a cow with two udders'
nirūdhnī 'a cow with no udder'

1. Why do we have to state *ādi* 'that which begins with . . .' in this rule? For, in its absence, the rule will be interpreted as meanig: 'after a *bahuvrīhi* which ends in *ūdhas,* used in combination after either a number word or an indeclinable. . . .' That is, a *bahuvrīhi* where an indeclinable, or a word denoting number, is not immediately followed by *ūdhas,* will be blocked from receiving *ṄīP.* Thus, *dvividhodhnī* 'a cow with two udders' cannot be derived with *ṄīP.* The *pañcamī* of *saṃkhyāvyayābhyām* will, otherwise, require *ūdhas* to immediately follow the number word or indeclinable (*PM:* . . . *pañcamīnirdeśāt tābhyām anantaro ya ūdhaḥ śabdas tadantād eva syāt, padāntaravyavāye tu na syād.* . . .)

4.1.27 दामहायनान्ताच्च

dāmahāyanāntāc ca
/ *dāmahāyanāntāt* 5/1 = *dāma ca hāyanaś ca* = *dāmahāyanau; dāmahāyanau ante yasya sa* = *dāmahāyanāntaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *bahuvrīheḥ* #25, *saṃkhyāvyayāder ṅīp* #26)
saṃkhyāder bahuvrīher dāmaśabdāntād hāyanaśabdantāc ca striyām ṅīp pratyayao bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs, to denote feminine, also after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which begins with a word denoting number (*saṃkhyā*) and ends in *dāman* 'rope', or *hāyana* 'year'.

EXAMPLES:

dvidāmnī '. . . tied with two ropes'
tridāmnī '. . . tied with three ropes'
dvihāyanī '. . . two years old'

1. Note that *ūdhas* and *avyaya* are no longer carried. But why should *saṃkhyā* be carried when *avyaya* is dropped. It is stated that *saṃkhyā* alone is marked with *svarita* (1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ*). This rules out *ṄīP* in *uddāmā vaḍavā* 'wild mare'.

This provision of *ṄīP* must be obligatory (*nitya*) since it is here made against (*i*) negative (4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*) and optional (4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām* . . .) provisions of *ṄīP* and *ḌāP* on the one hand, and (*ii*) the optional provision of *ṄīP* over *ḌāP* (4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino* . . .), on the other.

Examples of *hāyana* are available only in the context of *vaya* 'age' (*vt. hāyano vayasi smṛtaḥ*). Thus, we get *caturhāyaṇī kanyā* 'a girl who is four years old', parallel to *catvāri hāyanāni yasyāḥ sā*. Affix *ṬāP* is blocked in favor of *ṄīP* to derive *caturhāyaṇī*. A counter-example to this is: *caturhāyanā śālā* 'a hall which was built four years ago', where *ṬāP* could not be blocked because *vayas* is not denoted. Note that *ṇ* cannot replace *n* of *hāyana* if age is not denoted (*ṇatvam api tricaturbhyāṃ hāyanasya*).

4.1.28 अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम्

ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām
/*anaḥ* 5/1 *upadhālopinaḥ* 5/1 = *upadhāyā lopaḥ* = *upadhālopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *upadhālopo' syāstīti* = *upadhālopī* (*bv.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *bahuvrīheḥ* #25, *ṅīp* #26)
annanto yo bahuvrīhir upadhālopī tasmād anyatarasyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP*, optionally, occurs to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which ends in *an* and anticipates the deletion of its penultimate sound (*upadhā*).

EXAMPLES:

bahurājā sabhā 'an assembly with many kings'
bahurājñī 'id.'
bahurāje sabhe 'two assemblies with many kings'

1. The condition of *upadhālopinaḥ* is restrictive in nature. That is, *ṄīP* is allowed only after that *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *an* and goes through deletion of its penultimate *a* (*Nyāsa*: *tasmād upadhālopina eva ṇīb yathā syāt anupadhālopino mā bhūd ity evam artham idam ucyate* '. . . this rule is stated so that *ṄīP* is allowed only after that which has gone through deletion of its penultimate sound, and not after that which has not gone through deletion of its penultimate sound'). This deletion of the penultimate *a* is accomplished by 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ*.

Note that this optional provision of *ṄīP* is restrictive. For, it is made against the negative provision of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*. It is also relatable to optional provision of *ḌāP* of 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām*. Thus, a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *an*, but which goes through deletion of *a*, will have an optional derivate in *ḌāP* (4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām* . . .): *bahurājā/ bahurāje/ bahurājāḥ*, nominative singular, dual and plural. If this option is not accepted then *ṄīP* (which is negated by 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*) can be introduced by this rule, provided deletion of *a* (*upadhālopa*) has taken effect. This will give us another set of nominative forms: *bahurājñī, bahurājñau, bahurājñaḥ*. If *a* is not deleted, then we will get a third set of forms where, obviously, *a* will be

retained but *ḌāP* and *ṄīP* will both be negated. This set of forms will follow the pattern of *rājan* 'king'. Thus, *bahurājā*, *bahurājānau* and *bahurājānaḥ*. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

4.1.29 **नित्यं संज्ञाछन्दसोः**

nityam saṃjñāchandasoḥ
/ nityam ϕ *saṃjñāchandasoḥ* 5/2 = *saṃjñā ca chandaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *bahuvrīheḥ* #25, *ṅīp* #26, *ana upadhālopinaḥ* #28)
annantād bahuvrīher upadhālopinaḥ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye chandasi ca nityaṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs, obligatorily, to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which ends in *-an* and anticipates the deletion of its penultimate sound segment (*upadhā*), provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*), or else, is restricted to the Vedic language.

EXAMPLES:

surājñī 'name of a village; a village with a good king'
atirājñī 'name of a village; a village whose king has excelled others in ruling'
gauḥ pañcadāmnī 'a cow tied with five ropes'
dvidāmnī 'a cow tied with two ropes'

1. This constitutes an exception to the option offered by the preceding rule (*vikalpasyāpavādaḥ*). Commentators state that *nityam* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, this rule will be interpreted as obligatory even when *nityam* is not used. That is, a provision made against one which already exists is accepted as obligatory (*ārambhasāmarthyān nityaṃ bhavati*). An optional *ṄīP* is already available from the preceding rule. Why make a provision again if it is not going to be obligatory (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *pūrveṇaiva hi vikalpena ṅīp siddhaḥ, tadārambhasamarthyād eva ṅīp nityaṃ bhaviṣyati anyathā hīdaṃ vacanam anarthakaṃ syāt*).

Refer to the derivational history of *dvyurūdhnī* for deriving *pañcadāmnī*, etc. Rules similar to *bahurājñī* apply in deriving *surājñī* and *atirājñī*, parallel to *śobhanā rājāno yasyāṃ sā* and *atikrāntā rājāno yasyāṃ sā*, respectively.

4.1.30 **केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्यकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाच्च**

kevalamāmakabhāgadheyapāpāparasamānāryakṛtasumaṅgalabheṣajāc ca
/ kevalam . . . bheṣajāt 5/1 = *kevalaś ca māmakaś ca bhāgadheyaś ca pāpaś ca aparaś ca samānaś ca āryakṛtaś ca sumaṅgalaś ca bheṣajaṃ ca kevala . . . bheṣajam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* = ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26 *saṃjñāchandasoḥ* #29)

kevalādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ saṃjñāyāṃ chandasi viṣaye striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems *kevala* 'only', *māmaka* 'my own', *bhāgadheya* 'share', *pāpa* 'evil', wicked', *apara* 'other', *samāna* 'similar, equal', *āryakṛta* 'made, or done, by a noble', *sumaṅgala* 'auspicious' and *bheṣaja* 'medicine', provided derivates denote a *saṃjñā*, or they are restricted to the Vedic language.

EXAMPLES:

kevalī 'a female name'
māmakī 'this is mine'
bhāgadheyī 'property, inheritance'
pāpī tv iyam 'this woman indeed is a sinner'
utāpa̱rībhyó ma̱gha̱vā vijígye 'Indra won over deceitful designs'
samānī pravāṇī '. . . weaver's shuttle'
āryakṛtī '. . . made by nobles'
sumaṅgalī '. . . auspicious'
bheṣajī 'medicine, cure'

1. Note that *saṃjñāchandasoḥ* is carried from the last rule. Consequently, derivates in *ṬāP*, i.e., *kevalā, māmakā*, etc., which cannot meet the twin conditions of *saṃjñāchandasoḥ* will serve as counter-examples to *ṄīP*. Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* will introduce *ṬāP* in the Classical language where derivates do not denote a *saṃjñā*. *Kāśikā* enumerates such examples of *ṬāP* with the qualification of *bhāṣāyām* 'in the Classical language'. Obviously, their denotata fall outside the domain of *saṃjñā*.

The derivation of these forms offers nothing new. Refer to many derivates of *ṬāP* and *ṄīP* already derived.

4.1.31 रात्रेश्चाजसौ

rātreś cājasau
/*rātreḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *ajasau* = *na jasau* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26, *saṃjñāchandasoḥ* #29)
jasviṣayād anyatra saṃjñāyāṃ chandasi ca rātriśabdād ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs after *rātri* 'night' to denote feminine when the derivate denotes a name, or constitutes an usage of Vedic, provided the context involves an ending other than *Jas*.

EXAMPLES:

yā ratrī sṛṣṭā 'the night which was created . . .'
rātrībhiḥ 'by nights . . .'

1. Note that *saptamī* in *ajasau* is interpreted as denoting domain (*viṣaya*).

This way, the internal (*antaraṅga*) provision of *ṄīP* does not come into conflict with the external (*bahiraṅga*) provision of an ending other than *Jas* 'nominative plural'.

A *vārttika*, under this rule, recommends that *ajasau* should be interpreted as *ajasādiṣu* to yield the interpretation: 'outside the domain of endings enumerated beginning with *Jas*'. Acceptance of this *vārttika* will restrict application of this rule to two derivates of *rātri*, nominative singular and dual. It is argued that Pāṇini, by formulating the negation as *ajasau*, locative singular of *ajasi* (where *i* is added for pronunciation), as against the more economical *ajasi*, intended to express some additional meaning. That additional meaning can be accepted as the desired interpretation of *ajasau* as 'within the domain of an ending other than *Jas*' (*Nyāsa: iha lāghavārtham 'ajasi' iti vaktavye' jasāv ity uktam mātrādhikyād arthādhikyasūcanārtham tenājasādiṣu ṅīb bhavatīti*). This extended application will block *ṄīP* in *rātriṃ sahoṣitvā* 'after having stayed through the night together' where *rātrim* is an accusative form.

2. Our example *rātrī*, a nominative singular, is derived with *ṄīP* where 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* deletes the final short *i* of the base. The nominative plural form of *rātri* (with *Jas*) is *rātrayaḥ*, as opposed to *rātryaḥ*. Given *rātri* + (*J*) *as*, rule 7.3.109 *jasi ca* applies to yield *rātre* + *as* which, after a replacement in *ay* for *e* by 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*, produces *rātrayaḥ*. A form such as *rātryaḥ* will be blocked because of negation of *ajasau*.

How would one explain a form such as *rātryaḥ* in *timirapaṭalair avaguṇṭhitāś ca rātryaḥ* 'nights veiled by layers of darkness?' The word *rātryaḥ* is the nominative plural of *rātrī* which, in turn, ends in *ṄīṢ* characterized by *bahvādi* of 4.1.45 *bahvādibhyaś ca*. The *rātrī* of *rātryaḥ* is formed with the *kṛt* affix *triP* (*Uṇādi* IV.67).

4.1.32 **अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक्**

antarvatpativator nuk

/ *antarvatpativatoḥ* 6/2 = *antarvat ca pativat ca* = *antarvatpativatau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *nuk* 1/1

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26)

antarvatpativator nug bhavati ṅīp ca pratyayaḥ

Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after *antarvat* and *pativat*, with a concurrent provision that they also receive augment *nUK*.

EXAMPLES:

antarvatnī 'a pregnant woman'

pativatnī 'she whose husband is alive'

1. This rule offers two bases *antarvat* and *pativat* in relation to which augment *nUK* is introduced. Affix *matUP* is introduced, via *nipātana*, for deriving *antarvat* parallel to *antaḥ asyāṃ asti garbhaḥ* 'she inside whom is a fetus'.

Rule 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn* . . . introduces affix *matUP* after a nominal stem which ends in nominative and is in syntactic coordination with *asti* 'exists'. The word *antaḥ* signifies locus (*adhikaraṇa*), and thus, is not in syntactic coordination with *asti*. This rule, by citing *antarvat* as the base (*prakṛti*), is allowing *matUP* by *nipātana*. The *m* of *mat* will, of course, be replaced with the *v* of 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca*. . . . The base *pativat* can qualify for *matUP*, parallel to *patiḥ asty asyāḥ*, where syntactic coordination is not impaired. This base, however, cannot qualify for a replacement in *v*. This rule then allows *m* of *matUP* to be replaced with *v* via *nipātana*. *Kāśikā* cites the following verse:

> *antarvat-pativatos tu matub-vatve nipātanāt/*
> *garbhiṇyāṃ jīvapatyāṃ ca vāc chandasi tu nugvidhiḥ//*
> '*antarvat* and *pativat* derive with *matUP*, and a replacement in *v* via *nipātana*, in the sense of 'a pregnant woman' and 'one whose husband is alive', respectively; augment *nUK*, in the Vedic, is, however, optional'

2. Commentators explain that *ṄīP* could also be introduced by rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. That is, let this and the next rule just introduce augment *nUK*. The forms which end in *n* could then qualify for *ṄīP* of rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. Why did Pāṇini not follow this suggestion. He followed this method of *nipātana*, instead, to limit *ṄīP* to specialized contexts. That is, *ṄīP* is introduced after *antarvat* when the derivate denotes a pregnant woman. Similarly to this, *pativat* must also denote a woman whose husband is alive. Thus, these derivates must be limited to contexts of *garbha* 'pregnancy' and *pati* 'husband'. *Kāśikā* cites *antarasyāṃ śālāyāṃ vidyate* '. . . is inside the house' and *patimatī pṛthivī* 'the land has a king' as counter-examples where absence of required meanings would not permit *ṄīP*. Note that a provision of *ṄīP* is primary, as opposed to that of *nUK* which is secondary. For, this section deals with feminine affixes. The introduction of *nUK* cannot be made independently. It must be restricted to specified bases.

Deriving *antarvatnī* from (*antarvat* + *n*(*UK*) + *ṄīP*) + *sU*) is straightforward. The word *pativatnī* follows the same pattern. Affix *matUP* is introduced after *antar* via *nipātana*. The *m* of *matUP* is replaced by *v* in view of 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca*. The *v* in *pativat* is also accomplished via *nipātana*. Our present rule offers *nUK* and *ṄīP*.

4.1.33 **पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे**

> *patyur no yajñasaṃyoge*
> /*patyuḥ* 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1 *yajñasaṃyoge* 7/1 = *yajñena saṃyogaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmin*/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26)
> *patiśabdāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati nakāraś cādeśaḥ yajñasaṃyoge gamyamāne*

Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stem *pati*, with the additional provision of *n* to come in place of its final sound, when sacrificial connection (*yajñasaṃyoga*) is signified.

EXAMPLES:

yajamānasya patnī '. . . wife of one for whom a ritual sacrifice is performed'

patni! vācaṃ yacha 'O wife! offer your concurrence . . .'

1. Note that if *yajñasaṃyoga* 'ritual connection' is to be interpreted as 'connection with *yajña*' as such, then *yajñasya patir iyaṃ brāhmaṇī* 'this Brāhmaṇa woman is the master of this ritual sacrifice' would also qualify for operational provisions of this rule. The form of the word *pati*, used in conjunction with the word-form *yajña*, cannot satisfy the necessary requirement of *yajñasaṃyoga*. Commentators state that *yajñasaṃyoga* must be mediated by a semantic connection between meanings of *yajña* and *pati*, qualified with *strī*. Obviously, the word-form *pati* is not capable of participating in the sacrifice. It is the denotation of the word *pati*, and not its form (*śabda*), which is required to be associated with the meaning of the sacrifice, either as a means, or as one to whom the fruit of the ritual accrues. Our example, *yajñasya patir iyaṃ brāhmaṇī*, does not qualify *brāhmaṇī* as a means, or as the person to whom merits accrue. Our other example i.e., *yajamānasya patnī*, involves sacrificial connection since *patnī* participates in rituals with her husband, and she also shares merits which accrue (*tatsādhanatvāt phalagrahītṛtvād vā*). She can be accepted as connected with the sacrifice even when she does not actively participate in it. For, the money which her husband uses for making gifts at the sacrifice is not only partly hers but also her husband is obligated to seek her consent before gifting it away (*PM*: *madhyakaṃ ca dampatyor dhanam . . . tataś ca tyāge bhāryāyā apy anumatir apekṣyata iti*). Incidentally, *yajña* is explained as 'abandoning one's ownership of all things in favor of ownership of gods' (*devatoddeśena svadravyatyāgaḥ*).

How would one justify *patnī* in *vṛṣalasya patnī* 'wife of a lowly untouchable'? How could there be *yajñasaṃyoga* when a *vṛṣala* is not allowed to participate in a sacrifice (*PM*: *śūdrasyaiva yajñe'nadhikṛtatvād yajñenāsaṃyogāt kathaṃ tadbhāryāyā yajñasaṃyogaḥ*). By way of *upamāna* 'analogy'. After all, she becomes a *patnī* because she has taken vows before Agni (*PM*: *agnisākṣikaṃ yat pāṇigrahaṇam tad vṛṣalādīnām apy asti*).

2. Many accept that this *sūtra* is formulated only for introducing *n* as a replacement for the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*) of a base. For, given *pat* + (*i*→*n*) = *patn*, rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp* can then introduce *ṄīP*, anyway. This view, however, may create derivational difficulties. Incidentally, *pat*(*i*→*n*) + (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*P*) + *sU* will yield *patnī*, without any problem. The genitive of *patyuḥ* thus facilitates the replacement. Note that *patnī* + *sU* will also yield

patni, a vocative, where the long final *ī* is replaced with short (*hrasva*) through application of rule 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor*. . . . The genitive of *patyuḥ* will have to be interpreted as *pañcamī* 'ablative' for purpose of introducing *ṄīP*.

4.1.34 **विभाषा सपूर्वस्य**

vibhāṣā sapūrvasya

/*vibhāṣā* ϕ *sapūrvasya* 6/1 = *saha* (*vidyamānaḥ*) *pūrvaḥ avayavo yasya tat* = *sapūrvam* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *striyām* #4.1.3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīp* #26)

patiśabdāntasya prātipadikasya sapūrvasya anupasarjanasya striyām vibhāṣā nakārādeśo bhavati

Affix *ṄīP*, with an additional provision of *n* coming to replace the final sound segment of the base, occurs optionally to denote feminine after a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem which contains *pati* as its final constituent, used in combination after an initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

vṛddhapatiḥ 'she whose husband is old'
vṛddhapatnī 'id.'
sthūlapatiḥ 'she whose husband is fat'
sthūlapatnī 'id.'

1. This optional *ṄīP*, offered here against the condition of *yajñasaṃyoga* (4.1.33 *patyur*. . .), occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *pati*. Additionally, since such an option was previously not made available (*aprāpta*), it is called *aprāptavibhāṣā*.

2. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *anupasarjanāt* and *patyuḥ*. These two, along with *sapūrvasya*, are brought as qualifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*) close to *prātipadikāt* so that this rule can be properly understood. That is, *anupasarjanāt* is not a qualifier to *pati* but is a qualifier to that which ends in *pati*.

The word *saha*, as replaced with *sa* of *sapūrvasya*, can mean *tulyayoga* 'similar connection with an action', for example, in: *saśiṣyo gurur āgataḥ* 'the teacher came with his student'. The teacher and the taught are both connected here with the action of *āgamana* 'coming'. The word *saha* could also mean: *sattā* 'existence', as in: *sahaiva daśabhiḥ putrair bhāraṃ vahati gardabhī* 'the female donkey carries the load herself even when she has ten sons'. The context of this rule requires *saha* to be interpreted as *sattā*. That is, *sapūrvasya* is to be interpreted as *vidyamānapūrvasya* 'that which has something to precede it'. If *sapūrvasya* were to be interpreted with *saha* as meaning *tulyayoga*, the rule, especially its concurrent provision of replacement in *n*, will read as follows:

sahapūrveṇa patiśabdāntasya nakāto bhavati

'-*n* comes in place of that which ends in *pati* and is preceded by something equally connected with the action'

Commentators note that such an interpretation will create difficulties. For example, -*n* could then be available also to *vṛddha* of *vṛddhapatiḥ*.

Two meanings are generally assigned to *pūrva*: (*a*) *vyavasthā* 'a definite arrangement of ruling', as in *pūrvaṃ mathurāyaḥ pāṭaliputram* 'Pāṭaliputra is in the east of Mathurā'; and (*b*) *avayava* 'part of a whole', as in *pūrvaṃ kāyasya* 'front of the body'.

The first meaning will interpret the rule as: *vidyamānaḥ pūrvo yasmāt tasya patiśabdāntasya nakāro bhavati* '-*n* is introduced to a nominal stem which ends in *pati*, used after an initial constituent'. This interpretation will run into problem. That is, augment *n* will be blocked in *dṛḍhapatnī* 'she whose husband is strong', because of lack of something to precede it. Commentators, therefore, suggest that *saha* of this rule is to be interpreted as denoting *sattā* 'existence'. The word *pūrva* must then be interpreted as denoting *avayava* 'part'. This will yield the correct interpretation of *sapūrvasya*: *saha vidyamānaḥ pūrvo' vayavo yasya tat* 'that which (ends in *pati* and) has a constituent to precede (*pati*)'.

4.1.35 नित्यं सपत्न्यादिषु

nityaṃ sapatnyādiṣu
/*nityaṃ* ϕ *sapatnyādiṣu* 7/3 = *sapatnī* = *samānaḥ patir yasyāḥ sā*; *sapatnī ādir yeṣāṃ te sapatnyādayaḥ* (*bv.*), *teṣu*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīp* #26, *patyur naḥ* #33)
sapatnyādiṣu yaḥ patiśabdaḥ tasmāt striyāṃ nityaṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati nakāraś cāntādeśaḥ
Affix *ṄīP* occurs obligatorily to denote feminine after *pati*, with an additional provision of *n* replacing its final sound segment, provided *pati* is included within a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *sapatnī* 'co-wife'.

EXAMPLES:

sapatnī 'she who has a common husband'
ekapatnī 'she who has one husband'

1. *Kāśikā* accepts *n* as the principal provision of this rule: *nityaṃ nakārādeśaḥ* . . . *ṅīp tu labhyata eva* '*n* is offered here as an obligatory provision; *ṄīP*, indeed, is already available'.

2. The word *nityam* is used here for clarity (*nityagrahaṇam vispaṣṭārtham*). For a provision made for something which already exists is treated as obligatory. This provision of *ṄīP* with *n* is made against an optional provision which is already available from the preceding rule. Since our present rule does not

use *vā* 'optionally', its provision will be treated as obligatory. Hence, *nityam* need not be stated explicitly.

3. The *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of *sUP*', in *sapatnyādiṣu*, denotes *viṣaya* 'scope'. Consequently, *n* will be restricted to replace the *i* of *pati*, only when *sapatnī*, etc., form the scope of derivation.

4. Note that there is no listing of *gaṇa* headed by *sapatni*. Consequently, this Pāṇinian reference of *sapatnyādiṣu* becomes a suspect. Commentators explain that *sapatnyādi* here refers to a listing known as *samānādi*. What makes one understand this? The analyzed form of the word *sapatnī*: *samānaḥ patiḥ yasyāḥ sā*, a *bahuvrīhi* formed with *sa* replacing *samāna*, via *nipātana*. Since *samāna* itself, and not any of its synonyms, can be replaced with *sa* when a *bahuvrīhi* compound with *pati* is formed, *samāna* becomes a means of reference. Words such as *samāna* 'equal, same' *eka* 'one', *vīra* 'brave', *piṇḍa* 'lump (of food)', *bhrātṛ* 'brother', *putra* 'son' and *dāsa* 'slave' will all be included in this reference. That is, *sapatnī* is interpreted as heading a listing of compounds formed with *pati* as the final constituent. Words listed in the group headed by *samāna* will be used before *pati* as initial constituents. Why did Pāṇini not state *samānādiṣu*? He instead used *sapatnyādiṣu* to account for the *sa*-replacement of *samāna* by this rule.

4.1.36 पूतक्रतोरै च

pūtakrator ai ca
/putakratoḥ 6/1 *ai* (deleted 1/1); *ca* φ
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīp* #26)
anupasarjanāt pūtakratoḥ prātipadikāt striyām ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after the non-*upasarjana* nominal stem *pūtakratu*, with an additional provision that its final *u* be replaced with *ai*.

EXAMPLES:

pūtakratāyī 'wife of Pūtakratu'

1. This rule introduces *ṄīP* after *pūtakratu* with an additional provision that *ai* replace the final *u* of the base. Recall that a base after which an affix is introduced is marked with *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of *sUP*'. Recall also that an augment is introduced to a form marked with genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Since these operations both are applicable in case of *pūtakratu*, its form *pūtakratoḥ*, a *pañcamī*, will also have to be interpreted as *ṣaṣṭhī*. *Kāśikā* reminds that operational provisions of this, and the next two rules as well, are made in the context of *puṃyoga* 'connection of a male with a corresponding female' (*traya ete yogāḥ puṃprakaraṇe draṣṭavyāḥ*).

Affix *ṄīP* is introduced after *pūtakratu* in the sense of *pūtaḥ kratuḥ yena*

saḥ 'the wife of one by whom the sacrifice was made sanctified'. Deriving *pūtakratāyī* form (*pūtakratu* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*, where this rule also provides for the final *u* of *pūtakratu* to be replaced with *ai*, is easy. Given *pūtakrat* (*u*→*ai*) + *ī*, rule 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* will apply to yield *pūtakrat* (*ai*→*āy*) + *ī* = *pūtakratāyī* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *pūtakratāyī*.

4.1.37 वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः

vṛṣākapyagnikusitakusīdānām udāttaḥ
/ *vṛṣākapyagnikusitakusīdānām* 6/3 = *vṛṣākapiś ca agniś ca kusitaś ca kusīdaś ca* = *vṛṣākapyagnikusitakusiddāḥ* (*itar. dv.*) *teṣā*; *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #4, *ṅīp* #26, *ai* #36)
vṛṣākapyādīnām anupasarjanānām udātta aikārādeśo bhavati striyām ṅīp ca pratyayaḥ
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after non-*upasarjana* nominal stems *vṛṣākapi*, *agni*, *kusita* and *kusīda*, with an additional provision that *ai* marked *udātta* come in place of their final vowel.

EXAMPLES:

vṛṣākapāyī 'wife of Vṛṣākapi'
agnāyī 'wife of Agni'
kusitāyī 'wife of Kusita'
kusīdāyī 'wife of Kusīda'

1. Note that *vṛṣākapi* is marked with *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; *Phiṭsūtra* 42: *laghāv ante dvayoś ca* . . .). This rule offers *ai*, concurrently marked *udātta*, as a replacement for the final *i* of specified bases. When this *ai* is replaced with *āy* before *ī* of *ṄīP*, the *udātta* accent of *ai* also gets transferred to *āy*. A final *udātta* accent to *agni*, etc., is already available through *sthānivadbhāva*, relative to the replacement of the final vowel. That is, *ai* can be treated as *udātta* because it replaces the final *i* of *agni*, etc., which is *udātta* to start with (*Phiṭsūtra* 1: *phiṣo'nta udāttaḥ*). Thus, *agnāyī*, *kusitāyī*, *kusīdāyī*, etc.

4.1.38 मनोरौ वा

manor au vā
/ *manoḥ* 6/1 *au* (deleted 1/1) *vā* ϕ
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīp* #26, *ai* #36, *udāttaḥ* #37)
manuśabdāt striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati aukāraś cāntādeśaḥ aikāraś codāttaḥ
Affix *ṄīP* optionally occurs to denote feminine after nominal stem *manu*, with the additional provision that *au*, or *ai* marked *udātta*, come in place of its final.

EXAMPLES:

> *manoḥ strī* = *manā́yī* 'wife of Manu'
> *manā́vī* 'id.'
> *mánuḥ* 'id.'

1. This optional introduction of *ṄīP* yields three forms: one with no *ṄīP* and no replacement in *au/ai*: *manuḥ*; two forms with *ṄīP*, where one ends in a replacement in *au*, i.e., *manā́vī*, and the other in *ai*, i.e., *manā́yī*. Of course, *au* and *ai* are replaced with *āv* and *āy* before *ṅīP*.

Incidentally, *mánu* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, in consonance with the *Uṇādisūtra* (1.10).

4.1.39 **वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तो नः**

> *varṇād anudāttāt topadhāt taḥ naḥ*
> /*varṇāt* 5/1 *anudāttāt* 5/1 *topadhāt* 5/1 = *takāra upadhā yasya sa* = *topadhaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *taḥ* 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīp* #26, *vā* #38)
> *varṇavācino' dantād anupasarjanāt prātipadikād anudāttāntāt topadhād vikalpena striyāṃ ṅīp pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *ṄīP* occurs optionally to denote feminine after a nominal stem which terminates in *a*, is marked *anudātta* at the end, contains a *t* in its *upadhā* and signifies *varṇa* 'color', with an additional provision that the penultimate *t* be simultaneously replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

> *enī́* 'brindled, variegated'
> *etā́* 'id.'
> *śyenī́* 'white'
> *śyetā́* 'id.'
> *háriṇī* 'green'
> *háritā* 'id.'

1. Note that words with the signification of color are marked *udātta* at the beginning in consonance with *Phiṭsūtra* 33: *varṇānāṃ taṇatinitāntānām*. Consequently, rule 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam*... will mark the remainder of these words as *anudātta*. The condition of *topadha* '*t* in next to the last position' is important because, elsewhere, we will get *ṄīṢ* in consonance with the next rule.

2. The condition of a final *a* (*ataḥ*) marked *anudātta*, is still valid here. Thus *śitiḥ* 'white' qualifies, neither for *ṄīP*, nor for a replacement in *n*. Words such as *śvetā* derive from *ṬāP*, since *śveta* 'white' is not marked *anudātta* at the end. *Phiṭsūtra* 21: *ghṛtādīnāṃ ca* marks it *udātta* at the end. Derivational

details of these forms do not offer anything new. Accentuation and *t*→*n*, for example in *et*(*a*→*n*) + *ī* = *enī*, are the only two important things. The word *harita* will also involve *n*→*ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

4.1.40 अन्यतो ङीष्

anyato ṅīṣ
/ *anyataḥ* → *ṅīṣ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *varṇānudāttāt* #39)
topadhād anyataḥ varṇavācino' anudāttāntāt prātipadikāt striyām ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem which denotes *varṇa* 'color' and ends in *a* marked *anudātta*, even when it does not have any *t* in its *upadhā*.

EXAMPLES:

s̱āraṅgī́ 'brindled; variegated'
ḵalmāṣī́ 'brindled with black'

1. Note that *kalmāṣa* and *sāraṅga* have their final *a* marked *audātta* in view of *Phiṭsūtra* 42: *laghāv ante dvayoś*. . . . That is, their initial and final vowels are marked *anudātta* because their middle vowel is marked *udātta* in view of this *Phiṭsūtra*.

4.1.41 षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च

ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca
/ *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ṣ it yasya sa ṣit* (*bv.*); *gaur ādir yeṣāṃ te gaurādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *ṣit ca gaurādayaś ca* = *ṣidgaurādayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with *int. bv.*) *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)
ṣidbhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo gaurādibhyaś ca striyām ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after non-*upasarjana* nominal stems which are either marked with *Ṣ* as an *it*, or are enumerated in the list headed by *gaura* 'fair complexioned; white'.

EXAMPLES:

nartakī 'a female dancer'
rajakī 'washerwoman'
gārgyāyaṇī 'a female descendant of Garga'
vātsyāyanī 'a female descendant of Vatsa'
gaurī 'fair complexioned; Pārvatī'
matsī 'fish'

1. Note that *gaurādi* is an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*). A *vārttika* introduces augment *āM*, optionally in case of *anaḍuh*, to derive *anaḍ(u→v) āh + ī* ≐ *anaḍvāhī* and *anaḍuh + ī = anaḍuhī* 'cow'. Refer to examples (477) *narttakī* and (478) *rajakī* in the appendix of vol. II. Refer to the appendix of rule 4.1.17 *prācāṃ ṣpha* . . . for deriving *gārgyāyaṇī* and *vātsyāyanī*. Deriving *gaurī* from *gaura + ī* will entail deletion of *a* by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Deriving *matsī*, from *matsya + ī*, will additionally require the deletion of *y* by 6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyāgastyamatsyānāṃ*. . . . Thus, *mats(y→ϕ) a + ī = mats(a→ϕ) + ī = matsī + sU = matsī*.

4.1.42 **जानपदकुण्डगोणस्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककबराद् वृत्त्यमत्रावपनाकृत्रिमा-श्राणास्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनायोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु**

jānapadakuṇḍagoṇasthalabhājanāgakālanīlakuśakāmukakabarād vṛttyamatrāvapanākṛtrimāśrāṇāsthaulyavarṇānācchādanā'yovikāramaithunecchākeśaveśeṣu

/*jānapadakuṇḍagoṇa* . . . *kabarāt* (*sam. dv.*) 5/1 *vṛttyamatrāvapanā* . . . *keśaveśeṣu* (*itar. dv.*) 7/3/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)

jānapadādibhya ekādaśebhyaḥ prātipadikebhya ekādaśasu vṛtyādiṣv artheṣu yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after non-*upasarjana* nominal stems *jānapada, kuṇḍa, goṇa, sthala, bhāja, nāga, kāla, nīla, kuśa, kāmuka,* and *kabara,* when derivates denote *vṛtti* 'livelihood', *amatra* 'pot', *āvapana* 'sack', *akṛtrimā* 'natural high place', *śrāṇā* 'cooked', *sthūlya* 'imposing, huge', *varṇa* 'color', *anācchādana* 'non-covering', *ayovikāra* 'something made of iron', *maithunecchā* 'desire to have sex' and *kabara* 'hairdo', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

jānapadī 'livelihood'
kuṇḍī 'pot'
goṇī 'sack'
sthalī 'high grounds'
bhājī '(rice)-gruel'
nāgī 'fat (rope, elephant)'
kālī 'colored (black)'
nīlī 'medicinal herb'
kuśī 'something made of iron'
kāmukī 'a sexually aroused female'
kabarī 'a female with colorful hairdo'

1. Note that *jānapadī* can be interpreted as a derivate of *ṄīṢ*, so long as it

1. Note that *jānapadī* can be interpreted as a derivate of *ṄīS*, so long as it denotes *vṛtti* 'livelihood'. It should be interpreted as a derivate of *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .), when denoting something other than *vṛtti*. Thus, *jānapadī*, parallel to *janapade bhavā*, where *jānapada* is a derivate of *aÑ*. Similar meaning distinctions are also maintained in connection with other derivates. Thus, we get *nāgī* with *ṄīṢ* when *jāti* 'class' (4.1.63 *jāter*. . .) is denoted. Elsewhere, we get *nāgā* where the denotation is *guṇa* 'quality'. Similarly, we get *kālī*/ *kālā* 'a cruel female' and *nīlī* (female and medicinal herb) / *nīlā* (optionally a name). The same is true of *kāmukī* (sexually aroused) / *kāmukā* (desirous); *kabarī* (colorful hairdo) / *kabarā* (brindled).

Recall that derivates of *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīP* differ only in accent. Examples with signification of *amatra*, etc., derive with *ṄīṢ* because of particular meaning conditions. Elsewhere, they must be derived with *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*).

4.1.43 शोणात्प्राचाम्

śoṇāt prācām

/*śoṇāt* 5/1 *prācām* 6/3/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)

śoṇaśabdāt prācām ācāryāṇān matena striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṄīṢ*, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which is constituted by *śoṇa* and is not an *upasarjana*.

EXAMPLES:

śoṇī vaḍavā 'a red mare'

śoṇā vaḍavā 'id.'

1. Note that since *śoṇa* denotes color, rule 4.1.39 *varṇād* . . . would have introduced *ṄīP*. This provision is then restrictive (*niyamārtha*). That is, *ṄīṢ* will be introduced only in the opinion of the Easterners.

4.1.44 वोतो गुणवचनात्

voto guṇavacanāt

/*vā* ϕ *utaḥ* 5/1 *guṇavacanāt* 5/1 = *guṇaṃ uktavān guṇavacanaḥ, tasmāt*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)

guṇavacanāt prātipadikād ukārāntāt striyāṃ vā ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs optionally to denote feminine after a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem which ends in *u* and has the signification of quality (*guṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

paṭvī 'a clever woman'

paṭuḥ 'id.'
mṛdvī 'a tender woman'
mṛduḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* glosses the word *guṇavacanaḥ* as *guṇam uktavān* 'that which denoted quality in the past'. That is, *guṇavacana* refers to a form which now denotes a 'thing' (*dravya*) it qualified in the past, and having done that, has currently become one and the same with that thing (*Nyāsa: sa punar yaḥ prāg guṇaṃ vidhāya paścād . . . abhedopacārād vā tadvad dravyam abhidhatte sa veditavyaḥ*).

Kāśikā offers *śucir iyaṃ brāhmaṇī* 'this Brāhmaṇa woman is pure'; and *ākhuḥ* 'mouse' as counter-examples, where *śuci* 'pure' is a qualifier but does not end in *u*, and *ākhu* ends in *u* but is not a qualifier.

2. A *vārttika* recommends, for *vasu* 'pure', to receive *ṄīP* so that its derivate *vāsvī* can be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*vasuśabdād guṇavacanād ṅīb ādyudāttārtham*). Yet another *vārttika* negates introduction of *ṄīṢ* after nominal stem *kharu*, or after a stem which may have a conjunct in its next to the last position (*upadhā*). Thus, we get *kharur iyaṃ brāhmaṇī* 'this Brāhmaṇa girl is desirous of getting married' and *pāṇḍur iyam brāhmaṇī* 'this Brāhmaṇa woman is pale'. Deriving *paṭvī* from (*paṭu* + *ṄīṢ* + *sU*), through application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* and *it/sUP*-deletions, offers nothing new. A form such as *paṭuḥ* will be derived as an option to *paṭvī* with no feminine affix involved.

3. The following verse, in the *Mahābhāṣya*, explains what *guṇa* is:

satve niviśate'paiti pṛthag jātiṣu dṛśyate/
ādheyaś cākriyājaś ca so' sattvaprakṛtir guṇaḥ//
'that which resides in a substance but may go away from it; that which is seen in different classes of things; . . . which can be brought about (*ādheya*), yet could still not be brought about by action (*akriyāja*); that is what quality is, something distinct from the nature of *sattva*.

4.1.45 बह्वादिभ्यश्च

bahvādibhyaś ca
/ bahvādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *bahur ādir yeṣāṃ te bahvādayaḥ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . .*prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *vā* #44)
'*bahu*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *ṄīṢ* optionally occurs to denote feminine also after nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *bahu* 'many', etc.

EXAMPLES:

bahvī 'many'
bahuḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *bahu* should not be included here since it denotes *guṇa* 'quality', and thus, could have been covered by the earlier rule. It is included here for use in the next rule (*bahuśabdo guṇavacana eva, tasyeha pāṭha uttarārthaḥ*).

2. Proposals, by means of *vārttikas,* have been made for introducing *ṄīṢ* (*i*) after a stem which ends in *i* and denotes a human limb; or (*ii*) after a stem which ends in affix *KtiN* (3.3.94 *ktin*). Thus we get: *dhamaniḥ/ dhamanī* 'vein, nerve': *rātri/ rātrī* 'night'. Some even claim that *ṄīṢ* could be introduced after any stem ending in *i,* provided it did not have the signification of a *KtiN.*

4.1.46 नित्यं छन्दसि

nityaṃ chandasi
/ *nityam* ф *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *bahvādibhyaḥ* #45)
bahvādibhyaś chandasi viṣaye nityaṃ striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs obligatorily, in Vedic, to denote feminine after nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *bahu* and are not termed an *upasarjana.*

EXAMPLES:

bahvī 'name of a medicine'

1. It is argued that *nityam* 'obligatorily' should not be stated in this rule. Why? Because its purpose can be served even without using it explicitly. How? If the rule is formulated simply as *chandasi,* with the *anuvṛtti* of the preceding rule except for *vā,* then, its provision will become obligatory for Vedic. For, this will be a provision made against an already available provision. But where is this provision for Vedic made? The provision made by the earlier rule, especially with no mention of Vedic, applies optionally also to Vedic. This is what an already made provision is. When a new provision is made with *chandasi,* and without the use of *vā,* it can only be obligatory (cf. *ārambhasāmarthyān nityaṃ bhavati*). Thus, Pāṇini should not have stated *nityam. Kāśikā* states that *nityam* is included here for use in the following rule (*nityagrahaṇam uttarārtham*).

4.1.47 भुवश्च

bhuvaś ca
/ *bhuvaḥ* 5/ *ca* ф/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *nityaṃ chandasi* #46)
chandasi viṣaye striyāṃ bhuvo nityaṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs, in Vedic, to denote feminine, also after a non-

upasarjana nominal stem which ends in *bhu*.

EXAMPLES:

parbhvī 'she who is a ruler'
vibhvī 'she who is omnipresent'
śambhvī 'she who is benevolent'

1. How come *svayambhū* 'he who comes into existence by himself' cannot have a corresponding feminine derivate such as *svayambhvī*? Because *bhuvaḥ* of this rule specifies *bhu* in *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This ablative is introduced after a base terminating in short *u*. But, in that case, the ablative form should have been *bhoḥ*? That is, after the application of *guṇa* by 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti*. This specification by *bhuvaḥ* can then be accepted as limited to the realm of grammar (*sautra*). *Kāśikā* states that the word *utaḥ* is carried from 4.1.44 *voto* . . . to further specify the short *u* of *bhu*, via *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*).

2. Note that words such as *vibhu*, etc., which are referenced here as ending in short *u*,derive with affix *Ḍu* of rule 3.2.180 *viprasambhyo ḍv asaṃjñāyām*.

4.1.48 पुंयोगादाख्यायाम्

puṃyogād ākhyāyām
/puṃyogāt 5/1 = *puṃsā yogaḥ* (*sambandhaḥ*) = *puṃyogaḥ* (*tṛ. tat.*), *tasmāt; ākhyāyām* 7/1/
puṃyogād hetor yat prātipadikaṃ striyāṃ vartate puṃsa ākhyābhūtaṃ tasmād ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *a* and signifies a male in relation to whom a female is to be expressed.

EXAMPLES:

gaṇakī 'astrologer's wife'
prasṭhī 'wife of a chief'

1. The nominal stem after which *ṄīṢ* occurs is explained by *Kāśikā* as: 'that which denoted a male but is currently used to denote a female based upon her relationship with that male' (*puṃyogādd hetor yat prātipadikaṃ striyāṃ vartate puṃsa ākhyābhūtaṃ* . . .). The *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *puṃyogāt* thus denotes *hetu* 'cause'. The word *puṃyogāt* is necessary to block *ṄīṢ* in examples such as *devadattā*, where a female is called as such irrespective of her association with a male. Commentators explain that *puṃyoga* becomes a *hetu* in relation to a female when *prasava* 'giving birth' is involved. Although, in *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, one can also find *ṄīṢ* even when a daughter (*duhitṛ*) is signified. The examples are: *kekayī* 'a daughter of Kekaya'. Similarly, one can cite *devakī*, parallel to *devakasya duhitā* 'daughter of Devaka'. Such examples prompt *Tattvabodhinī* (ad *SK*) to note that *puṃyoga* may also include *janya-janakabhāva*, offspring-father relationship (*sa ceha dampatibhāva eveti nāgrahaḥ; kiṃ tu*

janyajanakabhāvo'pi gṛhyate).

The word *ākhya* '. . . denotation of . . .' is used to exclude a nominal which signifies a female. Or else, a nominal stem which does not signify a male. Thus, we get *prastha* which does not denote a female. It is a derivate of *Ka* (3.1.3 *āto'nupasarge kaḥ*) where rule 8.3.92 *praṣṭho'gragāmini* causes retroflexion in deriving the feminine form *praṣṭhī*.

2. A *vārttika* negates *NīS* in connection with *gopālaka* 'one who tends cows', etc. Thus, the wife of a *gopālaka* will be called *gopālikā*. Yet another *vārttika* recommends *CāP*, after *sūrya*, to derive *sūryā* when *devatā* 'divinity' is denoted.

4.1.49 **इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक्**

> *indravaruṇabhavaśarvarudramṛḍahimāraṇyayavayavanamātulācāryāṇām ānuk*
>
> /*indravaruṇa . . . ācāryāṇām* 6/3 = *indraś ca . . . ācāryaś ca* = *indra . . . ācāryāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ānuk* 1/1/
>
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *puṃyogāt* #48)
>
> *indrādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati, ānuk cāgamaḥ*
>
> Affix *NīṢ* occurs to denote a female, in association with a corresponding male, after non-*upasarjana* nominal stems *indra* 'Indra', *varuṇa* 'Varuṇa', *bhava* 'Śiva', *śarva* 'id.', *rudra* 'id.', *mṛḍa* 'id.', *hima* 'ice, snow', *araṇya* 'forest', *yava* 'barley', *yavana* 'Ionian', *mātula* 'mother's brother', and *ācārya* 'teacher, preceptor' where, additionally, they also receive augment *ānUK*.

EXAMPLES:

> *indrāṇī* 'wife of Indra'
> *varuṇānī* 'wife of Varuṇa'
> *bhavānī* 'wife of Bhava'
> *śarvāṇī* 'wife of Śarva'
> *rudrāṇī* 'wife of Rudra'
> *mṛḍānī* 'wife of Mṛḍa'
> *himānī* 'glacier'
> *araṇyānī* 'big dense forest'
> *yavānī* 'bad barley'
> *yavanānī* 'Ionian script'
> *mātulānī* 'maternal uncle's wife'
> *ācāryānī* 'wife of a teacher'

1. This introduction of *NīṢ*, to denote a female in association with a corresponding male (*puṃyoga*), has already been made available by the preceding rule. At least eight stems listed under this rule, i.e., *indra, varuṇa, bhava,*

śarva, rudra, mṛḍa, mātula and *ācārya,* could avail *ṄīṢ* of the preceding rule. Why do we have to read them here? So that *ānUK* can be introduced to them. The three remaining stems, i.e., *hima, araṇya* and *yava,* cannot receive *ṄīṢ* to denote a female 'in association with a male' for obvious reason of impossibility (*asambhāvanā*). The denotation of such a 'female' corresponding to a *yavana* is not available in usage.

The following *vārttikas* relate to special derivational provisions:

(*a*) Affix *ṄīṢ* should be introduced after *hima* and *araṇya* only when *mahatva* 'greatness, importance' is to be denoted (*himāraṇyayor mahatve, mahadd himaṃ himānī; mahad araṇyam araṇyānī*).

(*b*) Affix *ṄīṢ* should be introduced after *yava* when quality of its denotatum is expressed as bad (*yavād doṣe, duṣṭo yavo yavānī*).

(*c*) Affix *ṄīṢ* is to be introduced after *yavana* when the derivate denotes a script (*yavanāl lipyām; yavanānī lipiḥ*).

(*d*) Affix *ṄīṢ* is to be introduced obligatorily, though *ānUK* only optionally, after nominal stems *mātula* and *upādhyāya.* Of course, when *puṃyoga* is denoted (*upādhyāyamātulābhyāṃ vā*).

(*e*) The *n* of *ānUK,* in deriving *ācāryānī,* a feminine corresponding to *ācārya,* does not get replaced with *ṇ.*

(*f*) Affix *ṄīṢ* is also introduced optionally to denote feminine after *arya,* a trader (*vaiśya*), and *kṣatriya,* a warrior (*kṣatriya; aryakṣatriyābhyaṃ vā*).

(*g*) Affix *ṄīṢ* is also introduced after *mudgala,* in Vedic, to denote feminine. A provision of *ānUK,* marked with *L* as an *it,* is also made concurrently with *ṄīṢ* (*mudgalāc chandasi lic ca*).

2. Note that *himānī,* according to some (*Jijñāsu* II: 26), denotes depth, and not the expanse, of ice. Yāska explains *araṇyānī* as *patnī* 'wife' of *araṇya.* It is further explained that *patnī* means *pālayitṛ* 'protector, preserver', which is what a big forest is to its resident animals. The word *yavānī* entails *doṣa* 'badness', often explained as qualified with 'insignificance'. Incidentally, *yavānī* also means Arigano.

4.1.50 क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात्

krītāt karaṇapūrvāt
/*krītāt* 5/1 *karaṇapūrvāt* 5/1 = *karaṇaṃ pūrvam asmin iti karaṇapūrvaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ,* #4 *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40)
krītaśabdāntāt prātipadikāt karaṇapūrvāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *krīta* 'purchased', and is used in combination after an initial compound constituent with the signification of *karaṇa* 'means'.

EXAMPLES:

> *vastrakrītī* '. . . purchased by means of clothes'
> *vasanakrītī* 'id.'

1. The word *pūrva* is used in this rule to ensure that the constituent which denotes *karaṇa* modifies the nominal stem as its *avayava* 'part' (*PM*: . . . *avayavavāci pūrvaśabdaḥ prātipadikaṃ tu viśeṣyam* . . .). The word *krīta* will facilitate a *tadantavidhi* interpretation: 'that which ends in *krīta*', again by way of being a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the nominal stem. With *pūrvāt* as another modifier, the rule will mean: 'that which ends in *krīta*, and has an initial constituent denoting *karaṇa* to precede *krīta*'. Such an interpretation will not only block the introduction of *ṄīṢ* after a compound which may have an intervening constituent between *krīta* and the constituent which denotes *karaṇa*, but will also block *ṄīṢ* in expressions such as **aśvena krītī*.

2. Our example compounds are allowed by 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*, prior to the introduction of nominal ending. Thus, *vastra* + *Ṭā* + *krīta* combines to yield *vastrakrīta* after deleting *Ṭā* by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. This is how we find the nominal stem *krīta* combined after *vastra* with the significance of *karaṇa*. How come we do not get *ṄīṢ* in *dhanakrītā* of *sā hi tasya dhanakrītā prāṇebhyo'pi garīyasī* 'she, his wife purchased with money, is precious than his life'. It is stated that *bahulam*, of 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*, will take care of non-compliance with *paribhāṣā* (76): *gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāk subutpatteḥ* 'a compound of *gati*, etc., with constituents terminating in a *kṛt*, is formed prior to the introduction of a *sUP*'. That is, *bahulam* may clear the way for formation of such compounds even after introduction of *sUP*. Thus, *krīta* will first receive *ṬāP* and then *dhana* + *Ṭā krītā* + *sU* will combine to yield *dhanakrītā*.

4.1.51 क्तादल्पाख्यायाम्

> *ktād alpākhyāyām*
> /*ktāt* 5/1 *alpākhyāyām* 7/1 = *alpasya ākhyā* = *alpākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām*/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *karaṇapūrvāt* #50)
> *karaṇapūrvāt prātipadikāt ktāntād alpākhyāyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati*
> Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem which ends in *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktavatū niṣṭhā*) and is used in combination after an initial constituent denoting *karaṇa*, providing the derivate denotes *alpa* 'little'.

EXAMPLES:

> *abhraviliptī dyauḥ* 'sky with a few scattered clouds'
> *sūpaviliptī pātrī* 'a pot with very little soup'

1. *Kāśikā* states that *alpākhyāyām* is used as a qualifier to derivate meanings (*samudāyopādhiḥ*). It cannot be accepted as denoting a constituent meaning. Thus, if an example such as *abhraviliptī* is interpreted as *alpair abhrair viliptaḥ* 'overspread with fewer clouds' *alpa* becomes a modifier to *abhra* 'cloud', a constituent. If, instead, it is treated as a modifier to the derivate then *alpa* will be a modifier to *abhraviliptī* 'overspreading'. It is argued that there is no way *alpa* can be stopped from qualifying *abhra* in this example. After all, scantness of cloud-spread is easily relatable to scantness of clouds. But, contrarily, one can say that scantness of cloud-spread is the derivate meaning via which one infers scantness of clouds. The word *alpa* is not used in the compound because its meaning is understood (*PM*: *abhrāṇām alpatve sati tadvilepanasyālpatvam avaśyambhāvīti . . . vṛttau gatārthatvād alpaśabdasyāprayogaḥ*).

2. The condition of *alpa* is also significant otherwise. For, in its absence, *candanānuliptā* 'anointed with sandal-paste' of *candanānuliptā brāhmaṇī* 'a *brāhmaṇa* woman profusely anointed with sandalpaste' will also qualify for *ṄīṢ*, thereby yielding a wrong form **candanānuliptī*. The sense of *anulepana* 'anointement', in this example, is *bāhulya* 'abundance', exactly the opposite of *alpa*.

4.1.52 **बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात्**

bahuvrīheś cāntodāttāt

/*bahuvrīheḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *antodāttāt* 5/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *ṅīṣ* #40, *ktāt* #51)

bahuvrīhir yo' ntodāttas tasmāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a *bahuvrīhi* nominal stem which has a constituent ending in *Kta* as its final and is also marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

śaṅkhabhinnī 'she who has a rent on her forehead'
urubhinni 'she who has a rent on her thigh'
galakotkṛttī 'she who has a protruding neck'
keśalūnī 'she who has her hair cut'

1. This rule offers examples where the first compound constituent denotes *svāṅga* 'one's limb'. An optional provision of *ṄīṢ* is made by the following rule in contexts where the first constituent denotes something other than *svāṅga* (*Kāś.*: *svāṅgapūrvapado bahuvrīhir ihodāharaṇam; asvāṅgapūrvapadād vikalpaṃ vakṣyati*).

2. The *anuvṛtti* of *ktāt*, unlike the preceding rule, cannot facilitate a *tadantavidhi* interpretation of this rule as: '. . . after a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *Kta*'. This is due to non-application of two *paribhāṣās* (24/29):

pratyayagrahaṇa and *kṛdgrahaṇa.* Consequently, 'after that which ends in *Kta*' becomes a qualifier to the final constituent of the *bahuvrīhi* compound.

3. Rule 2.2.36 *niṣṭhā* would not permit postposing (*paranipāta*) a compound constituent which ends in *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). A *vārttika* proposal is, therefore, made to accomplish this (*jātikālasukhādibhyaḥ paravacanam*). Rule 6.2.170 *jātikālasukhādibhyo* . . . marks all examples *udātta* at the end.

4. Following *vārttika* proposals are also relevant:

(*a*) A *bahuvrīhi* compound which is marked *udātta* at the end, and has *jāta* as its final constituent, should be excluded (*antodāttāj jātapratiṣedhaḥ*). This will exclude examples such as: *dantajātā* 'she whose teeth have appeared'; *stanajātā* 'she whose breasts have developed'.

(*b*) A derivate such as *pāṇigṛhītī* should be restricted to special meaning of *bhāryā* 'wife' (*pāṇigṛhītyādīnām arthaviśeṣe*). One whose hand was held for some other reason (*yathākathaṃcit*) should be called: *pāṇigṛhītā.*

(*c*) A *bahuvrīhi* compound with initial constituents in *bahu, naÑ, su, kāla* and *sukha,* etc., should be excluded from the scope of this rule (*abahunañsukālasukhādipūrvād iti vaktavyam*). This will offer examples of *ṬāP* such as: *bahukṛtā* 'she who has done much'; *akṛtā* 'she who has done nothing'; *sukṛtā* 'she who has done good things'; *māsajātā* 'she, since whose birth, one month has elapsed'; and *sukhajātā* 'she whose time of happiness has arrived'.

4.1.53 **अस्वाङ्गपूर्वपदाद्वा**

asvāṅgapūrvapadād vā

/ *asvāṅgapūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *na svāṅgam* = *asvāṅgam* (*nañ-tat.*); *asvāṅgam pūrvapadaṃ yasya saḥ* (*bv.* with int. *nañ-tat.*)

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *ktāt* #51, *bahuvrīheś cāntodāttāt* #52)

asvāṅgapūrvapadād antodāttāt ktāntād bahuvrīheḥ striyāṃ vā ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs optionally to denote feminine after a nominal stem termed *bahuvrīhi* which ends in *Kta,* has its final vowel marked *udātta* and does not contain an initial constituent denoting *svāṅga* 'limb' (*asvāṅga-pūrvapadāt*).

EXAMPLES:

sārṅgajagdhī 'she who ate wet-gingers'
sārṅgajagdhā 'id.'
palāṇḍubhakṣitī 'she who ate onions'
palāṇḍubhakṣitā 'id.'

surāpītī 'she who drank liquor'
surāpītā 'id.'

1. The obligatory provision of *ṄīṢ* made by the earlier rule, is here rendered optional. Thus, we get *sārṅgajagdhī* or *śārṅgajagdhā*. Rule 6.2.120 *jātikālasukhādibhyo* . . . assigns a final *udātta* accent to the compound under the condition of *jāti*, denoted by its first constituent (*PM*: *sarvatra jātikālasukhādibhyaḥ' ity antodāttatvam*). Items such as *śārṅga* and *palāṇḍu* represent a class of edibles (*bhakṣyajātiḥ*).

The exclusion of a compound with its initial constituent denoting *svāṅga* is made in view of *śaṅkhabhinnī* and *urubhinnī* where the initial constituents denote *svāṅga*. *Kāśikā* also offers *vastracchannā* and *vasanacchannā* as counter-examples where the fnal constituents are not marked *udātta* at the end, especially in view of negation of *anācchādanāt* 'not after that which denotes *ācchādana* 'covering' (6.2.170 *jātikālasukhādibhyo' nācchādanāt* . . .). That is, initial constituents retain their original accent (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*). Incidentally, these compounds are formed parallel to *vastraṃ channaṃ yayā* 'she by whom cloth is spread over'. A *vārttika* proposal, for names and Vedic usages, is made to account for *karmadhārayá* compounds such as *pravṛddhavilūnī/pravṛddhavilūnā* 'she who is excessively old and has her hairs cut' on the basis of *bāhulaka*. Some also interpret the compound as a *bahuvrīhi*. *Kāśikā* clearly states that it is not a *bahuvrīhi* (*nāyaṃ bahuvrīhiḥ*).

4.1.54 स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात्

svāṅgāc copasarjanād asaṃyogopadhāt
/*svāṅgāt* 5/1 *ca* ɸ *upasarjanāt* 5/1 *asaṃyogopadhāt* 5/1 = *saṃyogaḥ upadhāyāṃ yasya tat saṃyogopadham* (*bv.*); *na saṃyogopadham* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* 4.1.4, *ṅīṣ* #40, *vā* #53)
svāṅgaṃ yad upasarjanaṃ asaṃyogopadhaṃ tadantāt prātipadikāt striyām vā ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ*, occurs to optionally denote feminine also after a nominal stem which contains an *upasarjana* used as its final constituent with the denotatum of *svāṅga* '(one's own) limb', and which does not contain a conjunct in its *upadhā* (penultimate position; 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva* . . .).

EXAMPLES:

candramukhī 'she who has a moon-like face'
candramukhā 'id.'
atikeśī mālā 'a garland extending beyond the length of hair'

1. Note that *upasarjanāt* is interpreted as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the nomi-

nal stem, via *tadantavidhi*, to yield the interpretation: *upasarjanāntāt prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana*'. The expressions *svāṅgāt* and *asaṃyogopadhāt* are used as qualifiers to *upasarjanāt* to yield the following meaning:

> '. . . an *upasarjana* which denotes a limb (*svāṅga*) and does not contain a conjunct in its *upadhā* (*asaṃyogopadhāt*)'

The word *svāṅga* is not interpreted here as 'one's own limb'. Grammarians use it more like a technical term with the following definition:

> *adravaṃ mūrtimat svāṅgaṃ prāṇistham avikārajam/*
> *atasthaṃ tatra dṛṣṭaṃ cet tasya cet tat tathāyutam//*
> *svāṅga* is 'that which is not liquid', 'that which has a form', 'that which is located within living beings', 'that which is not born as a modification of something'; *svāṅga* is also 'that which may not be located within living beings at the current time but which may have been witnessed as part of them sometimes in the past', and *svāṅga* is also 'that which is not located in a living being, but which is associated with a non-living in a manner similar to its association with a living'

The qualification of *adravam* is relevant in relation to examples such as *susvedā* 'she who perspires profusely', where *ṄīṢ* cannot be introduced since *sveda* is *drava* 'liquid'. An example such as *sujñānā* cannot avail *ṄīṢ* because knowledge does not have any form (*mūrti*). The *sumukhā* of *sumukhā śālā* 'a hall with beautiful entrance' is similarly out because *mukha* here belongs to a non-living thing, i.e., *śālā*. An example such as *bahuśophā* 'she whose limbs are greatly swollen' involves *śopha* 'swelling', characterizing modification of limbs (*vikāraja*). An example such as *atikeśī* with *ṄīṢ*, illustrates 'hair' (*keśa*) as part of a living being (*prāṇistha*). Contrast this with *sukeśā rathyā* 'a road full of beautiful hair' where their status as 'part of humans' is shown as a thing of the past. Finally, consider *dīrghamukhī pratimā* 'statue with a large face' where 'large face' is associated with 'the statue' in a manner similar to 'some real large face' associated with 'a living being'.

4.1.55 नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाच्च

nāsikodarauṣṭhajaṅghādantakarṇaśṛṅgāc ca
| nāsikodarauṣṭhaja . . . śṛṅgāt 5/1 = *nāsikā ca udaraṃ ca oṣṭhaś ca . . . śṛṅgaṃ ca* = *nāsikodarauṣṭha . . . śṛṅgāc* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *vā* #53, *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* #54)
svāṅgaṃ nāsikādyantāt prātipadikāt striyām vā ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs optionally to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* with the signification of *svāṅga*, namely

nāsikā 'nose', *udara* 'belly', *oṣṭha* 'lip', *jaṅghā* 'thigh', *danta* 'tooth', *karṇa* 'ear' and *śṛṅga* 'horn'.

EXAMPLES:

tuṅganāsikī 'she who has a high nose'
tuṅganāsikā 'id.'
tilodarī 'she who has a birthmark similar to a sesame on her abdomen'
tilodarā 'id.'
bimboṣṭhī 'she whose lips are (bright-red) like the Bimba fruits'
bimboṣṭhā 'id.'
dīrghajaṅghī 'she whose thighs are large'
dīrghajaṅghā 'id.'
samadantī 'she whose teeth are even'
samadantā 'id.'
cārukarṇī 'she whose ears are beautiful'
cārukarṇā 'id.'
tīkṣṇaśṛṅgī 'an animal with sharply pointed horns'
tīkṣṇaśṛṅgā 'id.'

1. The provisions of this rule are stated in view of negations characterized by *saṃyogopadhāt* (4.1.54), *bahvacaḥ* (4.1.56) and *sahanañvidyamānapūrvāt.* The first two, *nāsikā* and *udara,* of the seven stems enumerated here for optional introduction of *ṄīṢ,* contain many vowels (*bahvac*). These two thus form prior exceptions (*purastāpavāda*) to the negation of 4.1.56 *na kroḍādi bahvacaḥ.* It is also logical in view of (*Paribhāṣā* 60): *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān* 'prior exceptions block operational provisions which immediately follow, and not any subsequent'. The remaining five stems (*oṣṭha,* etc.), all contain conjuncts in penultimate positions (*saṃyogopadha*). They, thus, constitute an exception to *asaṃyogopadhāt* of 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt.* But these stems can also constitute an exception to 4.1.57 *sahanañvidyamānapūrvāc ca.* However, note that rule 4.1.55 *nāsikodarauṣṭha*... is an exception (*apavāda*), read in between 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc*... and 4.1.57 *sahanañ*.... Consequently, it must operate in accord with *Paribhāṣā* 61: *madhye'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān* 'exceptions placed in between two operational provisions block an operational provision which precedes, and not a provision which follows'. The five stems of our present rule thus illustrate an exception to the *asaṃyogopadhāt* provision of the preceding rule. The optional provision of *ṄīṢ* of this rule is blocked by negation of 4.1.57 *sahanañ*..., mostly because of being subsequent (*para*), though not most immediate (*anantara*).

2. The following three *vārttikas* cover additional derivates:

(*i*) An optional provision of *ṄīṢ* should also be made after a nominal stem which ends in *puccha* 'tail' to account for derivates such as *kalyāṇapucchī/ kalyāṇapucchā* '... one whose tail is beautiful' (*pucchāc*

ceti vaktavyam).

(*ii*) An obligatory (*nityam*) provision of *ṄīṢ* should be made after a nominal stem which ends in *puccha*, used in combination after *kabarā* 'body of hair', *maṇi* 'pearl, jewel', *viṣa* 'poison' and *śara* 'arrow' to account for derivates such as *kabarapucchī* 'that (feminine) which has a beautiful body of hair on its tail (a peahen)'; *maṇipucchī* 'that (feminine) which has a jeweled tail'; *viṣapucchī* 'that (feminine) which has a poisonous tail (a scorpion)'; and *śarapucchī* 'that (feminine) which has an arrowlike tail (a particular bird)'.

4.1.56 न क्रोडादिबह्वचः

na kroḍādibahvacaḥ

/*na* ϕ *kroḍādibahvacaḥ* = *kroḍa ādir yeṣāṃ te kroḍādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *bahvo aco yasmin sa* = *bahvacaḥ* (*bv.*); *kroḍādayaś ca bahvac ca* = *kroḍādibahvac, tasmāt* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ataḥ* #4, *ṅīṣ* #40, *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* #54)

kroḍādyantād bahvajantāc ca prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo na bhavati

Affix *ṄīṢ* does not occur after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* 'secondary' constituent with the signification *svāṅga* and is either listed in the group headed by *kroḍa* 'lap, flank of a horse', etc., or else, consists of many vowels (*bahvac*).

EXAMPLES:

kalyāṇakroḍā 'she whose lap is auspicious; a mare with auspicious flanks'
kalyāṇakhurā '(a goat) with auspicious hooves'
kalyāṇamukhā 'she who has an auspicious face'
pṛthujaghanā 'she whose thighs are fat'
mahālalāṭā 'she whose forehead is large'

1. Note that *kroḍādi* is an *ākṛtigaṇa*, an open-ended group whose membership is determined by usage. Haradatta explains *kroḍā* as *aśvānām uraḥ* 'flanks of horses', a feminine (*strīliṅgo'yam*). *Bālamanoramā* and *Tattvabodhinī*, ad *SK*, approve the use of *kroḍā* in all three genders (*Bālamanoramā: amaras tu 'na nākroḍaṃ bhujāntaram' iti strītvaṃ napuṃsakatvaṃ cāha. kvacit kośe puṃstvam api dṛśyate . . . evaṃ ca liṅgatraye'py udāharaṇam nirbādham*).

Our expression *kroḍādibahvacaḥ* is a modifier to *prātipadikāt*, where *svāṅgāt* and *upasarjanāt* are also paraphrased with it. That is, items denoted by *kroḍādibahvacaḥ*, a qualifier, must form the final of a nominal stem after which affix *ṄīṢ* is negated. They must also denote *svāṅga* and, at the same time, be termed an *upasarjana*. This all is gotten via *tadantavidhi*, relative to a qualifier treated as final of its qualified. A negation of *ṄīṢ* makes the introduction of *ṬāP* possible.

4.1.57 सहनञ्विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च

sahanañvidyamānapūrvāc ca
/ *sahanañvidyamānapūrvāt* 5/1 = *saha ca nañ ca vidyamānam ca sahanañ-vidyamānam; sahanañvidyamānaṃ pūrvaṃ yasya sa = sahanañvidyamāna-pūrvaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* #54, *na* #56)
'*saha, nañ, vidyamāna*' *ity evaṃ pūrvāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo na bhavati*
Affix *ṄīṢ* also does not occur to denote feminine after an *upasarjana* nominal stem which denotes *svāṅga* and is used in combination preceded by *saha* 'with', *naÑ* 'not' and *vidyamāna* 'existent'.

EXAMPLES:

sakeśā 'she who has hair'
akeśā 'she who does not have any hair'
vidyamānakeśā 'she who has hair'
sanāsikā 'she who has a nose'
anāsikā 'she who does not have a nose'
vidyamānanāsikā 'she who has a nose'

1. Note that this rule negates *ṄīṢ*, made available by rules 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* and 4.1.55 *nāsikodaroṣṭha....* Affix *ṬāP* is thus introduced in the absence of *ṄīṢ*. The *sa*, in *sakeśā*, results from the formation of compound with *saha*, as per rule 2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*. This *saha* is reduced to *sa* in view of rule 6.3.70 *vopasarjanasya*. In examples such as *akeśā*, *naÑ* is combined in a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the sense of *asti* 'is', in accord with a *vārttika* (under 2.2.24 *anekam...*): *nañó'styarthānāṃ bahuvrīher vā cottara-padalopaś ca vaktavyaḥ*. Compounds of other examples are allowed by 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*.

2. Why do we have to have *pūrvāt* in the rule? It is stated that *pūrva* here means *avayava* 'part of a whole' which, when used with *saha*, etc., becomes a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*). What does it qualify? It qualifies the nominal stem which is termed an *upasarjana* and which denotes *svāṅga*. Thus, affix *ṄīṢ* will be negated after a nominal stem whose final constituent is an *upasarjana* with the denotation of *svāṅga*, and which has *saha*, *naÑ* and *vidyamāna* as its initial constituent. This specification, by means of *avayava*, is also necessary to block this negation from applying to examples such as *kalyāṇavidyamāna-mukhā* 'she whose face is benevolent', where a constituent denoting *svāṅga* simply follows *saha*, etc.

If this was the intended interpretation then the rule should have been formulated as *sahanañvidyamānebhyaḥ*, thereby meaning: '*ṄīṢ* does not occur after a nominal stem which ends in an *upasarjana* signifying *svāṅga*, used

of *vidyamānamukhā*, parallel to *vidyamānaṃ mukham asyāḥ*, but will also block *ṄīṢ* in *kalyāṇavodyamānamukhī*. But it will not be able to block the *ṄīṢ* in *vidyamānakalyāṇamukhī*. It is, therefore, necessary to have *pūrva*, with its signification of a 'part' (*avayava*), as a condition. A formulation with *pañcamī* alone (as *sahanañvidyamānebhyaḥ*) is not sufficient (see *PM* ad *Kāś.* for further details).

4.1.58 नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम्

nakhamukhāt saṃjñāyām
/*nakhamukhāt* 5/1 = *nakhaṃ ca mukhaṃ ca* = *nakhamukham* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* #54, *na* #56)
nakhamukhāntāt prātipadikāt saṃjñāyāṃ striyāṃ viṣaye ṅīṣ pratyayo na bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* does not occur to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *nakha* 'nail' and *mukha* 'face', and the derivate is to name a female (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

śūrpaṇakhā 'Rāvaṇa's sister'
gauramukhā 'name of a woman'

1. This rule again negates the provision of *ṄīṢ* made by rule 4.1.54 *svāṅgāccopasarjanāt*. Elsewhere, when the derivate does not denote a name, we will get examples such as *tāmranakhī kanyā* 'a girl whose nails are red as copper' and *candramukhī* 'she whose face is as beautiful as moon'. These examples both entail *ṄīṢ*. A derivate such as *śūrpaṇakhā* can be derived with *ṬāP*, as against *ṄīṢ*, if the derivate is a name. A demoness, for reasons of possessing finger-nails similar in shape to a winnowing basket, can be called *śūrpanakhī*. This derivate will lack the replacement of its *n* by *ṇ* (*ṇatva*), which would otherwise obtain in a derivate of *ṬāP* signifying a name (*saṃjñā*; 8.4.3 *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām agaḥ*). A combination of *ṇatva* and *ṄīṢ* is not attested (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na punaḥ śūrpaṇakhīti ṇatvaṅīṣoḥ samāveśaḥ sādhuḥ*).

4.1.59 दीर्घजिह्वी च च्छन्दसि

dīrghajihvī ca cchandasi
/*dīrghajihvī* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40)
dīrghajihvī iti chandasi viṣaye nipātyate
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs, via *nipātana*, to derive *dīrghajihvī* in Vedic, when the derivate denotes a female name.

EXAMPLES:

dīrghajihvī 'a female name; she who has a long tongue'

1. This derivation, via *nipātana*, is necessitated because *dīrghajihva*, a masculine meaning 'one who has a long tongue', contains a conjunct in its penultimate (*upadhā*) position. Obviously, it does not qualify for affix *ṄīṢ* of rule 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*. Our present rule makes it available (*prāpta*), via *nipātana*, what was not available (*aprāpta*).

How come the rule is not formulated as *dīrghajihvāc chandasi*? That is, why do we have to accept this provision of *nipātana* with a final *ī*? A specification with *dīrghajihvī*, via *nipātana*, was made so that this form could be treated as obligatory. Note that the preceding rules involve negations (*pratiṣedha*; 4.1.56 *na kroḍādi*...), and optional provisions as well, of *ṄīṢ* (4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanād*...). Our present rule cannot be treated as a negative, since a negative provision makes sense only in the context of a positive provision already made (*prāptipūrvakatvāc ca pratiṣedhānām*). Such a positive provision for *ṄīṢ*, relative to a form ending in *jihvā*, or for that matter *jihvī*, is ruled out because of their penultimate conjunct (*saṃyogopadha*). This operational provision of *ṄīṢ* may be wrongly treated as optional. A reference with *dīrghajihvī*, via *nipātana*, makes the derivate obligatory.

2. This rule uses *ca* to bring *saṃjñāyām* close to its context.

4.1.60 दिक्पूर्वपदान् ङीप्

dikpūrvapadān ṅīp
/*dikpūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *dik pūrvapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṅīp* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
dikpūrvapadāt prātipadikād ṅīp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīP* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which begins with a constituent denoting *diś* 'direction'.

EXAMPLES:

prāṅmukhaṃ yasyāḥ = *prāṅmukhī* 'she whose face is toward east; she who is facing east'
prāṅmukhā 'id.'
prāṅnāsikī 'she whose nose is toward east; she who is facing east'
prāṅnāsikā 'id.'

1. Note that derivates of *ṄīṢ* differ from those of *ṄīP* only in accent (*svare viśeṣaḥ*). Affix *ṄīP*, because of its *P* as an *it*, is *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Affix *ṄīṢ* is marked *udātta* as the beginning, as per 3.1.2 *ādyudāttaś ca*. In this sense, derivates of *ṄīP* constitute an exception (*apavāda*) to operational (*vidhi*) or negational (*pratiṣedha*) provisions of *ṄīṢ* made by rules such as 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*, etc. But there is a greater correlation

between this provision of *ṄīP* and operational-negational provisions of earlier rules (*Kāś.*: '*svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*' *ity evamādividhipratiṣedhaviṣayaḥ sarvo'-py apekṣyate*). That is, *ṄīP* of this rule should be allowed after a nominal stem which begins with a directional word in the manner (and specification) similar to those under which *ṄīṢ* is allowed by rule 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*, etc. Affix *ṄīP* of this rule should also be negated with reference to specifications under which *ṄīṢ* is negated by earlier rules (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* (III: 363): *tena yatra viṣaye ṅīṣ vihitas tatraiva ṅīb vidheyaḥ/ yatra tu viṣaye ṅīṣ pratiṣiddhas tatra ṅīb api pratiṣiddhyata iti*).

Consider, for illustration, rules 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* and 4.1.55 *nāsikodarauṣṭha*. . . which provide for optional (*vā*) introduction of *ṄīṢ*. Our first rule requires *ṄīṢ* to be introduced after an *upasarjana* 'secondary' constituent signifying 'one's own limb' (*svāṅga*). Additionally, this stem must end in *a* (*ad-anta*), and must not have a conjunct in its penultimate position (*asaṃyogopadha*). The *mukha*, of *prāṅmukhī* of rule 4.1.60 *dikpūrvapadād ṅīp*, is an *upasarjana*. It denotes *svāṅga*, ends in *a* and does not have a conjunct in its next to the last position. It also meets the requirement of 4.1.60 *dikpūrvapadāt*, since *pūrva* precedes it. The way is now clear for optional derivation of *prāṅmukhī* and *prāṅmukhā*. This *ṄīP*, however, cannot be introduced to derive **prāggulphī*, parallel to *prāggulphā* 'she whose ankles are turned toward east; she who has her back to the east'. For, *gulpha* is denied *ṄīṢ*, and consequently the *ṄīP*, of our present rule because it contains a conjunct (*saṃyoga*) in its next to the last position (*upadhā*). A negation of *ṄīṢ* is also required by rule 4.1.56 *na kroḍādibahvacaḥ*, thereby blocking the derivation of **prākkroḍī* with *ṄīP* of our present rule.

Incidentally, refer to (467) *prāṅ*, in the appendix of vol. III, for additional derivational details. Recall further that derivates of *ṄīP* and *ṄīṢ* differ only in accent.

2. A question is raised as to why, in an example such as *prāṅmukhā*, one must introduce affix *ṬāP*. Why can we not introduce *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.55 *svāṅgāccopasarjanād*. . ., once rule 4.1.60 *dikpūrvapadāt*. . . has denied *ṄīP*? It is stated that, in cases where both a general (*utsarga*) as well as an exceptional provision (*apavāda*) is made by means of an option (*vibhāṣā*), the general does not apply when its corresponding exception ceases to apply. Thus, *ṄīP* is an exception to *ṄīṢ*. These affixes both have been introduced in this context as part of an optional provision. Consequently, *ṄīṢ* must also be blocked (*PM* ad *Kāś.* (III: 363): *ṅipā mukte* '*svāṅgāc copasarjanāt*' *iti ṅīṣ api na bhavati. katham? uktam etat: yatrotsargāpavādau dvāv api vikalpitau tatrāpavādena mukto utsargo na pravartate*). Pāṇini's own practice is cited in support of such a conclusion. That is, rule 4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā* did not need *vā*. For, once *pīlā* is optionally released from the scope of *aṆ* at the strength of *mahāvibhāṣā* (and no *vā* of rule 4.1.118), *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak* would apply anyway. This will happen, again optionally, at the strength of *mahāvibhāṣā*. But once *pīlā* is

released optionally from *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120, can *aṆ* now apply? Yes, if there was no *vā* in 4.1.118. Since we have *vā* in 4.1.118, both 4.1.118 and 4.1.120 become optional, where *aṆ* is general as opposed to *ḍhaK* which is an exception. But we still get optional *aṆ* under the provision of 4.1.118? That *aṆ* is different from the *aṆ* we are talking about. That *aṆ* is ruled by 4.1.112 *viśvādibhyo'ṇ*. It is not the general affix *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*. What then is the purpose of *vā* in 4.1.118? To let the general *aṆ* of 4.1.83 apply optionally to *ḍhaK*.

3. The word *pada* is used in the rule so that any directional word, and not just *diś*, can brought within the scope of this rule.

4.6.61 **वाहः**

vāhaḥ
/*vāhaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *chandasi* #59)
vāhantāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs, in Vedic, to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in a non-secondary constituent, namely *vāha*.

EXAMPLES:

dityauhī 'a two-year old cow'
praṣṭhauhī 'a cow with her first born'

1. Note that *vāh* is derived with affix *ṆvI* of 3.2.64 *vahaś ca*, read with 3.2.63 *chandasi sahaḥ*, under the cooccurrence condition of an object. That *vāhaḥ* is interpreted as a qualifier to *prātipadikāt*, via *tadantavidhi*, to get the sense of 'the stem which ends in *vāh*', is clear since *vāh* cannot be used by itself (*PM*: *kevalasya vāhaḥ sambhavo nāsti* . . .). It must be used as the final constituent of an obligatory compound formed with a conjoined *pada* denoting *karman*, and consequently, termed nominal stem (*prātipadika*).

4.1.62 **सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम्**

sakhyaśiśvīti bhāṣāyām
/*sakhī* 1/1 *aśiśvī* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *bhāṣāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40)
'*sakhī, aśiśvī*' *ity etau śabdau ṅīṣanto bhāṣāyām nipātyete*
The words *sakhī* and *aśiśvī* are derived, via *nipātana* with *ṄīṢ*, in the Classical language.

EXAMPLES:

sakhīyaṃ me brāhmaṇī 'this Brāhmaṇa woman is my friend'
aśiśvī = *nāsyāḥ śiśur astīti* 'a childless woman'

1. The qualification of *bhāṣāyām* is necessary because, in Vedic, we find usages such as: *sakhā saptapadī bhava* '(you) be my friend of seven steps!'; *aśiśum iva māṃ ayaṃ śiśur abhimanyate* 'this child treats me as if I (feminine) was childless'.

Note that *Kāś.* explains *aśiśvī* as *nāsyāḥ śiśuḥ* 'she of whose there is no child'. That is, *aśiśvī* is derived, via *nipātana,* as a feminine corresponding with *aśiśuḥ,* a *bahuvrīhi.* That is, *aśiśuḥ* is not a *tatpuruṣa* compound parallel to *na śiśuḥ* 'absence of a child'. The derivation of *aśiśvī,* parallel to a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of *aśiśuḥ,* will create difference in meaning.

4.1.63 जातेरस्त्रीविषयादयोपधात्

jāter astrīviṣayād ayopadhāt
/yāteḥ 5/1 *astrīviṣayāt* 5/1 = *strī viṣayo yasya* (*bv.*); *na strīviṣayaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt; ayopadhāt* = *ya upadhā yasya; na yopadhaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40)
jātivāci yat prātipadikaṃ na ca striyām eva niyatam astrīviṣayaṃ yakāropadhaṃ ca tasmāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which (*i*) ends in *a* with the significance of *jāti* 'class', (*ii*) is not obligatorily limited to the scope of feminine (*astrīviṣayāt*) and (*iii*) does not have *y* in its penultimate position (*ayopadhāt*).

EXAMPLES:

kukkuṭī 'hen'
mayūrī 'pea-hen'
brāhmaṇī 'a Brāhmaṇa woman'
nāḍāyanī 'granddaughter of Naḍa'

1. The three conditions, of *jāteḥ* 'after a stem which denotes a class', *astrīviṣayāt* 'after a stem which is not obligatorily limited to the scope of feminine' and *ayakāropadhāt* 'after a stem which does not have *y* in its penultimate position', are required so that derivates such as *muṇḍā* 'a female with shaven head', *makṣikā* 'fly' and *kṣatriyā* 'a woman of the warrior caste' can be kept out of the scope of this rule. Note that *muṇḍā,* a quality word (*guṇavacana*), does not denote *jāti.* The second *makṣikā* is uniquely feminine. The third stem, *kṣatriya,* of course, has *y* in its *upadhā.*

Grammarians state that *jāti* should be distinguishable by *ākṛti* 'form, appearance'. A class of cows (*gotva*) should thus be comprehensible by means of a form containing particulars such as dewlap, hooves, tail, and horns, etc. Note that such forms are not necessarily restricted to the denotatum of animate beings. Thus bank of a river (*taṭa*) can also denote *jāti.* A word which is not used in all genders but, when used once, cognizes many others, also

denotes *jāti.* The word *vṛṣala* can be accepted as denoting *jāti* since it can cognize the totality of *śūdras.* Grammarians also accept words with the significance of *gotra,* i.e., descendants, and *caraṇa* 'Vedic lineage', as denoting *jāti.* The following verse sums it up:

ākṛtigrahaṇā jātir liṅgānāṃ ca na sarvabhāk/
sakṛdākhyātanirgrāhyā gotraṃ ca caraṇaiḥ saha//

2. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *ataḥ* '. . . which ends in *a*', used as a qualifier to *prātipadikāt,* will block *ṄīṢ* from being introduced after a stem, namely *go* 'cow', which denotes *jāti.*

3. A *vārttika* recommends that negation of *yopadha* 'that which has *y* in its *upadhā*' should not apply to *haya* 'horse', *gavaya* 'wild cow', *mukaya* 'mule', *matsya* 'fish' and *manuṣya* 'human male', which all denote *jāti* via appearance (*ākṛti*).

4. Our example *nāḍāyanī* is derived from (*nāḍāyana* + *ṄīṢ*) + *sU,* where *nāḍāyana* itself derives from *naḍa* + *Ṅas* + *phaK* with the signification of a *gotra*-descendant (grandson, etc.) of Naḍa. A *vṛddhi*-replacement for the initial *a* of *naḍa* is ordered by 7.2.118 *kiti ca,* at the strength of *phaK* being marked with *K* as an *it.* Rule 7.1.2 *āyaneyī* . . . orders *āyana* as a replacement for the *pha* of affix *phaK.* All other examples are easy to derive.

4.1.64 **पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलबालोत्तरपदाच्च**

pākakarṇaparṇapuṣpaphalamūlabālottarapadāc ca
/pāka-karṇa-parṇa-puṣpa-phala-mūla-bālottarapadāt 5/1 = '*pāka* . . . *bālāḥ*' *ity ete śabdāḥ uttarapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *jāteḥ* #63)
pākādyuttarapadāj jātivācinaḥ prātipadikāt striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* also occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which denotes *jāti,* and has *pāka* 'cooking', *karṇa* 'ear', *parṇa* 'leaf', *puṣpa* 'flower', *phala* 'fruit', *mūla* 'root' and *bāla* 'young, tail' as its final.

EXAMPLES:

odanapākī 'a medicinal plant'
śaṅkukarṇī 'id.'
śālaparṇī 'id.'
śaṅkhapuṣpī 'id.'
dāsīphalī 'id.'
darbhamūlī 'id.'
gobālī 'id.'

1. Note that it is impossible to determine constituent meanings in these examples. Consequently, their paraphrases should be accepted simply as a

means of understanding derivational processes (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *vyutpattimātrārtham tv asau kriyate, na tv atrāvayavārtho vidyate*). Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) also recognizes difficulties in furnishing derivational details: *odanapākādayaḥ saṃjñāśabdā yathākathañcid vyutpādyāḥ* 'words such as *odanapākī* are names, and should, somehow or the other, be derived with effort'. This 'somehow . . . with effort' must also serve as an answer to the question: 'how could these word denote *jāti*?'. I have not tried here to derive any examples since that would require determining bases, affixes and operational steps.

The condition of *astrīviṣayāt* would not permit these stems to be included within the scope of the preceding rule. A *vārttika* requires that *y* of *matsya* be deleted only when a feminine affix with *Ṅ* as an *it* follows (*Mbh.* ad 6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyāgastyamatsyānām* . . .). Stems which end in *puṣpa, phala* and *mūla*, but which are not desired to be included here, are enumerated within the *ajādi* group of 4.1.14 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp.*

4.1.65 इतो मनुष्यजातेः

ito manuṣyajāteḥ
/*itaḥ* 5/1 *manuṣyajāteḥ* 5/1 = (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ṅīṣ* #40, *anupasarjanāt* #54)
ikārāntāt prātipadikān manuṣyajātivācinaḥ striyāṃ ṅīṣ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ṄīṢ* occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary nominal stem which ends in *i* and denotes a class of humans (*manuṣyajāti*).

EXAMPLES:

avantī 'a female (*gotra*) descendant of Avanti'
dākṣī 'a female (*gotra*) descendant of Dakṣa'

1. Note that *avantī* derives with affix *ÑyaṄ* (4.1.171 *vṛddhetkosalāj* . . .), introduced after the syntactically related nominal stem *avanti*. This affix, however, is deleted by *LUK* of 4.1.176 *striyām avantikunti*. . ., at the strength of assignment of the term *tadrāja* (4.1.172 *te tadrājāḥ*). This rule then introduces affix *ṄīṢ* to produce *avantī*, after 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* deletes the short *i* of *avanti*. Our second example *dākṣī* is derived with *ṄīṢ* introduced after *dākṣi* '(gotra) descendant of Dakṣa', a derivate of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) introduced after syntactically related nominal stem *dakṣa*. Note that *gotra* itself accounts for status as *jāti* of these examples (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *sarvatra gotraṃ hi jātiḥ*).

2. A question is raised against explicit use of *jāteḥ* in the wording of this rule. That is, why can it not be gotten from the preceding rule via *anuvṛtti*. It is stated that *jāteḥ* of 4.1.63 is further qualified with *ayopadhāt*. Our present rule explicitly uses *jāteḥ* to cancel this association (*sāhacarya*). That is, *ṄīṢ* of this rule can be introduced also to derive examples such as *audameyī* 'a fe-

male *gotra*-descendant of Udameya', where *udameya* contains *y* in its penultimate position (*yopadha*; . . . *punar jātigrahaṇaṃ yopadhād api yathā syāt*).

3. A *vārttika* requires that *sautaṅgamī* 'a city built by Sutaṅgama' and *maunacittī* 'a city built by Municitta' should also be derived with *ṄīṢ*, even though the condition of *jāteḥ* is not met (*iñ upasaṃkhyānam ajātyartham*).

4.1.66 ऊङुतः

ūṅ utaḥ
/*ūṅ* 1/1 *utaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ayopadhāt* #63, *manuṣyajāteḥ* #65)
ukārāntān manuṣyajātivācinaḥ prātipadikāt striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *uT* (*u*), does not have a *y* in its penultimate position and signifies a class of humans.

EXAMPLES:

brahmabandhūḥ = *brahmā* (*vipraḥ*) *bandhur asyāḥ* 'a (brāhmaṇa)woman whose brother if a brāhmaṇa (but who herself does not behave like one)'
vīrabandhūḥ 'a (kṣatriya) woman whose brother is brave but who herself is not'

1. The *Ṅ*, in *ūṄ*, used as a qualifier for facilitating references by rules such as 6.1.175 *noṅ dhātvoḥ*, etc. It is argued that a short *u* of this affix can itself yield its long counterpart, through the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Thus, *brahmabandhu* + *uṄ* = *bahmabandhū*. Why is this affix then specified with a long *ū*? A long *ū* is used to block the *samāsānta* affix *kaP* of 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* (III: 373): *yadi dīrgho noccāryeta tadā 'śeṣād vibhāṣā' iti paratvāt pakṣe kap syāt, atas tadbādhanārthaṃ dīrghoccāraṇam*). Note that this *kaP* could become applicable at the strength of being subsequent (*para*). Haradatta explains that *ū* of *ūṄ* is a combination of *u* + *u*, where *u* is meant for blocking *kaP* of 5.4.154 (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ukāradvayaṃ dīrgheṇa nirdiṣṭam, tatra dvitīya ukāraḥ kapo bādhanārthaḥ*). Incidentally, *brahmabandhūḥ* is derived as example (711) in the appendix of vol. II.

2. Stems of this rule are qualified with *ayopadhāt* so that examples such as *adhvaryuḥ*, of *adhvaryur brāhmaṇī* 'a brāhmaṇa woman who is also a good *adhvaryu* (priest at a sacrifice)', can be kept out of the scope of this rule.

3. A *vārttika* recommends *ūṄ* also after forms signifying *aprāṇin* 'inanimate things', though with the exception of *rajju* 'rope', etc. Examples in point are *alābūḥ* 'round squash' and *karkandhūḥ* 'Jujube (a berry) tree, or its fruit'.

4.1.67 बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम्

bāhvantāt saṃjñāyām
/ bāhvantāt 5/1 = *bāhu ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.26, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66)
bāhvantāt prātipadikāt saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in *bāhu* 'arm', provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

bhadrabāhūḥ 'a female named Bhadrabāhū'
jālabāhūḥ 'a female named Jālabāhū'

1. The condition of *saṃjñāyām* is needed to exclude examples parallel to *vṛttau bāhū yasyāḥ* = **vṛttabāhūḥ* 'a female whose arms are round'.

4.1.68 पङ्गोश्च

paṅgoś ca
/ paṅgoḥ 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66)
paṅguśabdāt striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine also after *paṅgu* 'crippled'.

EXAMPLES:

paṅgūḥ 'a crippled female'

1. This rule introduces *ūṄ* after *paṅgu* which denotes quality (*guṇa*). It thus constitutes an exception to the preceding rule which offers *ūṄ* under the condition of *jāti*.

2. A *vārttika* recommends *ūṄ* for deriving *śvaśrū* from *śvaśura* + *ūṄ*, under the condition of *puṃyoga* 'association of a female with a corresponding male'. This *vārttika* also requires that *u*, and the final *a* of *śvaśura* as well, be deleted. The authenticity of this *vārttika* is questioned because it is not available in the *Mahābhāṣya* (*bhāṣye tv idaṃ na dṛśyate*). Nāgeśa accepts *śvaśura* as non-derived (*avyutpanna*).

4.1.69 ऊरूत्तरपदादौपम्ये

urūttarapadād aupamye
/ urūttarapadāt 5/1= *urūr uttarapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *aupamye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66)
urūttarapadāt prātipadikād aupamye gamyamāne striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which contains *ūru* as its final constituent, provided the derivate signifies comparison (*aupamya*).

EXAMPLES:

kadalīstambhorūḥ 'a woman whose thighs resemble the trunk of a banana tree'
karabhorūḥ 'a woman whose thighs resemble the trunk of an elephant'
nāganāsorūḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* offers *vṛttorūḥ* 'a woman whose thighs are round' as a counter-example where the condition of *aupamya* is lacking.

4.1.70 संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च

saṃhitaśaphalakṣaṇavāmādeś ca
/ *saṃhitaśaphalakṣaṇavāmādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃhita-śapha-lakṣaṇa-vāmāḥ ādau yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66, *urūttarapadāt* #69)
'*saṃhita, śapha, lakṣaṇa, vāma*' *ity evam ādeḥ prātipadikād urūttarapadāt striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which contains *ūru* as its final constituent and is used in combination after an initial constituent, namely *saṃhita* 'joined', *śapha* 'hoof', *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' and *vāma* 'beautiful'.

EXAMPLES:

saṃhitorūḥ 'a woman whose thighs touch each other'
śaphorūḥ 'a woman whose thighs are joined with each other as hooves'
lakṣaṇorūḥ 'a woman with marks on her thighs'
vāmorūḥ 'a woman with beautiful thighs'

1. The condition of *aupamya* is not required here. A *vārttika* recommends that *saha* 'with' and *sahita* 'together' should be included in the wording of this rule to account for examples such as *sahorūḥ* and *sahitorūḥ*, parallel to *saṃhitorūḥ* (*sahitasahābhyām ceti vaktavyam*).

4.1.71 कद्रुकमण्डल्वोश्छन्दसि

kadrukamaṇḍalvoś chandasi
/ *kadru-kamaṇḍalvoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66)
kadruśabdāt kamaṇḍaluśabdāc ca chandasi viṣaye striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine, in Vedic, after nominal stems *kadru* and *kamaṇḍalu*.

EXAMPLES:

kadrūśca vai sauparṇī ca 'sun-dried brown ginger-root'

mā sma kamaṇḍalūṃ śūdrāya dadyāt '... should not give one's Kamaṇḍalu to a Śūdra'

1. Note that *kadru* signifies a color (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *kadruśabdo varṇa-viśeṣavacanaḥ*). This provision for *ūṄ* is made against *ṄīṢ* (of 4.1.44 *voto guṇavacanāt*) which, in turn, was blocked (by the *vārttika*: *kharusaṃyo-gopadhayoḥ pratiṣedho vācyaḥ*) on account of *dr*, the penultimate (*upadhā*) conjunct (*saṃyoga*) of *kadru*. Some even question the idea of denoting feminine by *kadru*. For, it denotes quality (*guṇavacana*), and as such, it must depend on its qualified element (*viśeṣya*) for denoting gender. Our present rule offers *ūṄ* against this reasoning.

Affix *ūṄ* is made available to *kamaṇḍalu*, by a *vārttika* (*aprāṇijāteś ca* . . .; 4.1.66 *ūṅ utaḥ*), at the strength of its denotatum of *aprāṇin* 'non-living'. Our present rule restricts this *vārttika*-proposal to usages of Vedic.

4.1.72 संज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām

/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *ūṅ* #66, *kadrūkamaṇḍalvoḥ* #71)

kadrukamaṇḍaluśabdābhyāṃ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye striyām ūṅ pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ūṄ* occurs to denote feminine after nominal stems *kadru* and *kamaṇḍalu*, when derivates denote a name (*saṃjñāyām*).

EXAMPLES:

kadrūḥ 'Kadru, a daughter of Vinatā'
kamaṇḍalūḥ 'a female deer'

1. This rule is formulated to account for non-Vedic usage (*Kāś.*: *acchando'-rthaṃ vacanam*).

4.1.73 शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन्

śārṅgaravādyaño ṅīn

/ *śārṅgaravādy-añaḥ* 5/1 = *śārṅgarava ādir yeṣām; śārṅgaravādayaś ca añ ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *tasmāt; ṅīn* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *atas* #4, *jāteḥ* #63)

śārṅgaravādibhyo' ñantebhyaś ca prātipadikebhyaḥ striyāṃ ṅīm pratyayo bhavati

Affix *ṄīN* occurs to denote feminine after a non-secondary (*anupa-sarjana*) nominal stem which denotes *jāti* and is either listed in the group headed by *śārṅgarava*, or terminates in *a* of affix *aÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

śārṅgaravī 'a daughter of Śṛṅgarava'
kāpaṭavī 'a daughter of Kapaṭu'
baidī 'a female *gotra*-descendant of Bida'
aurvī 'a female *gotra*-descendant of Urva'

1. *Kāśikā* states that *jāteḥ* (from 4.1.63 *jāter* . . .) is to be carried here so that *ṄīṢ* of that rule can be blocked in favor of *ṄīN* of this rule.

2. Derivates of *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīN* only differ in accent. A derivate of *ṄīN* is marked *udātta* at the beginning in view of 6.1.191 *ñnityādir nityam.* A derivate of *ṄīṢ* will be marked *udātta* at the end. Refer to example (710) *śārṅgaravī* in the appendix of vol. II. Stems of the *śārṅgaravādi* group are all derivates of *aṆ.* Thus *śṛṅgaru* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* → *ś*(*ṛ*→*ār*) *ṅgaru* + *a* → *śārṅgar* (*u*→*o*→*av*) + *a* → *śārṅgarava,* etc., through initial *vṛddhi* and *guṇa,* followed by a replacement in *av.* Refer to (1) *aupagavaḥ,* in the appendix of vol. II, for deriving other examples. Derivates such as *baidī* and *aurvī* are derived with affix *aṆ* of 4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye*. . . .

3. A *gaṇasūtra* specifies that *narī* 'human female' should be derived from *nṛ* + *ṄīN,* or *nara* + *ṄīN,* with an additional provision of *vṛddhi* (*nṛnarayor vṛddhiś ca*).

4.1.74 यङश्चाप्

yaṅaś cāp
/*yaṅaḥ* 5/1 *cāp* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3)
yaṅantāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ cāp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *CāP* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which ends in affix *yaṄ.*

EXAMPLES:

āmbaṣṭhyā 'a daughter of the country of Ambaṣṭha'
kausalyā 'a daughter of the country of Kosala'
kārīṣagandhyā 'a female offspring of Karīṣagandhi'
vārāhyā 'a female descendant of Varāha'
bālākyā 'a female descendant of Balāka'

1. Note that this specification by means of *yaṄ* refers to affixes *ÑyaṄ* (*vṛddhetkosalāj*. . .) and *ṢyaṄ* (4.1.78 *aṇiñor*. . . *ṣyaṅ gotre*) both (*Kāś.*: *ñyaṅaḥ ṣyaṅaś ca sāmānyagrahaṇam etat*). The *P* as an *it* in *CāP* is included for general references, for example, in *ṅyap* of 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt.* It is not intended for assigning accent in view of 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau.* For, accent will be assigned by 6.1.163 *citaḥ,* based on *paratva.* A derivate such as *āmbaṣṭhyā* derives from (*ambaṣṭha* + *Ṅas* + *ÑyaṄ* → *āmbaṣṭh* (*a*→ϕ) + *ya* + (*C*) *ā*(*P*) =

āmbaṣṭhy(*a*→ϕ) + *ā* = *āmbaṣṭhyā* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *āmbaṣṭhyā*, through applications of rules effecting initial *vṛddhi*, deletion of *bha*-final *a* (6.4.129 *bhasya*; 6.4.144 *yasyeti ca*) and *sUP*-deletion. For a derivate of *ṢyaṄ*, namely *kārīṣagandhyā*, refer to example (24) in the appendix. Deriving *vārāhyā*, from *varāha* + (*iÑ* →*ṢyaṄ*) + *CāP*, and *bālākyā*, from *balāka* + (*iÑ*→*ṢyaṄ*) + *CāP*, involves quite a few rule applications. Affix *iÑ* is first introduced by rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ*, read with 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*, 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*, 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* and 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, read with 1.4.18 *yaci bham* and 6.4.129 *bhasya*, then deletes the final *a* of *varāha* and *balāka* to yield *varāh* (*a*→ϕ) + *i* and *balāk* (*a*→ϕ) + *i*. Rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeha* will now accomplish initial *vṛddhi* to produce: *vārāhi* and *vālāki*. These nominal stems must go through application of rule 4.1.78 *aṇiñor*. . . when feminine (4.1.3 *striyām*) is to be denoted. That is, the *i* of *iÑ* will then be replaced with *ṢyaṄ* to produce *vārāhya* and *bālākya*. Rule 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp* will then introduce affix *CāP*, conditioned by *yaṄ* (here *ṢyaṄ*). We will finally get *vārāhyā* and *bālākyā*, through *savarṇadīrga*-replacement for *a* of *ya* and *ā* of *CāP*. Thus *vārāhy*(*a* + *ā*→*ā*) = *vārāhyā* and *bālāky*(*a* + *ā*→*ā*) = *bālākyā*.

2. A *vārttika* also recommends *CāP* after a nominal stem which ends in *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo* . . .). Thus, we get: *śārkarākṣyā* 'a female descendant of Śarkarākṣa' and *pautimāṣa* 'a female descendant of Pūtimāṣa'.

4.1.75 आवट्याश्च

āvaṭyāc ca
/ *āvaṭyāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *anupasarjanāt* #14, *cāp* #74)
āvaṭyāc ca striyāṃ cāp pratyayo bhavati
Affix *CāP* occurs to denote feminine also after the non-*upasarjana* nominal stem *āvaṭya*.

EXAMPLES:

āvaṭyā 'a granddaughter of Avaṭa'

1. Note that *āvaṭya* ends in affix *yaÑ*. Recall that *avaṭa* receives *yaÑ* at the strength of its listing in the group headed by *garga* (*gargādi*; 4.1.104 *gargādibhyo yañ*). Affix *ṄīP* of 4.1.16 *yañaś ca* becomes available to *āvaṭya* because it is a derivate of *yaÑ*. Our present rule thus offers *CāP* as an exception to *ṄīP*. Deriving *āvaṭyā*, from *avaṭa* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*→*āvaṭya*, and (*āvaṭya* + *CāP*) + *sU*), is not very difficult.

4.1.76 तद्धिताः

taddhitāḥ
/ *taddhitāḥ* 1/3/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāp-prātipadikāt* #1)
adhikāro'yam. ā pañcamādhyāyaparisamāpter yānita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas taddhitasaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ
Affixes introduced henceforth, through the end of *adhyāya* five, are termed *taddhita.*

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rule(s).

1. Affixes of this domain are assigned the term *taddhita* so that their derivates can be assigned the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*). Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* will then delete nominal endings contained within such derivates.

2. Why is the heading not given in singular as is the case, for example, in 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ,* 3.1.2 *paraś ca* and 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ.* A plural in *taddhitāḥ* is used so that derivates, not covered by enumerated rules could also be covered (*Nyāsa: anuktā ye taddhitā lakṣaṇavākyair anabhihitās teṣām api parigraho yathā syāt*). A singular would restrict the assignment of the term *taddhita* strictly to derivates of individual rules. A plural keeps the assignment open-ended. Consequently, derivates of proposed *vārttikas,* as well as examples of rule-splitting, and of extensional provisions of rules on hand, can also qualify. Some also observe that plural in *taddhitāḥ,* as opposed to singular of *kṛd atiṅ* (3.1.93), is used for indicating multiplicity (*bahutva*) of these affixes.

3. Why is this domain of *taddhita* not read prior to the domain of 4.1.3 *striyām*? What is so good about this proposal? One need not have to state *ṅyāp* in rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt.* A derivate ending in a *taddhita* affix will be termed a nominal stem. Reading 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* before 4.1.3 *striyām* would also make the use of *taddhitaḥ* in 4.1.17 *prācāṃ ṣpha taddhitaḥ* unnecessary. Finally, *ca* of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will also not be needed since *taddhita* itself will account for it. Commentators do not accept this idea of reading 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ* before 4.1.3 *striyām,* because *Ṅ* of feminine affixes denoted by *ṅyāp* can then not be termed as *it.* For, 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* will negate it. Besides, how would one then stop *guṇa* of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ,* in *paṭu + ī = paṭvī,* if this reversed order of domains is accepted.

Scope: 1.2.46 *kṛt-taddhitasamāsāś ca*

4.1.77 यूनस्तिः

yūnas tiḥ
/*yūnaḥ* 5/1 *tiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *taddhitāḥ* #76)
'yuvan' śabdāt prātipadikāt striyāṃ tiḥ pratyayo bhavati
Affix *ti,* termed *taddhita,* occurs to denote feminine after a nominal stem which signifies *yuvan* 'young male'.

EXAMPLES:

yuvatiḥ 'young female'

1. This rule introduces affix *ti* as an exception to *ṄīP* of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp.* Why can rule 4.1.65 *ito manuṣyajāteḥ* not apply here to introduce *ṄīṢ*? Because *yuvan* does not denote a class of humans (*manuṣyajāti; yauvanasya vā' jātitvāt*). It simply denotes age (*vaya*). Haradatta (*PM: tyantāt 'ito manuṣyajāteḥ' iti ṅīṣ na bhavati*) considers it as an exception to *ṄīṢ*. Bhaṭṭoji does not accept it because it is against the *Mahābhāṣya.* See *SK,* with *Tattvabodhinī,* on this rule for further details.

Our example *yuvatiḥ* is derived from (*yuva* (*n*→ϕ) + *ti*), through deletion of *n* (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ* . . .), where rule 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanamasthāne* assigns the term *pada.*

4.1.78 अणिञोरनार्षयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः ष्यङ् गोत्रे

aṇiñor anārṣayor gurūpottamayoḥ ṣyaṅ gotre
/ *aṇiñoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *anārṣayoḥ* 6/2 (*nañ. tat.*), *tayoḥ; gurūpottamayoḥ* 6/2 = *gurū upottamaṃ yayoḥ* (*bv.*), *tayoḥ; ṣyaṅ* 1/1 *gotre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *taddhitāḥ* #76)
gotre yāv aṇ-iñau vihitāv anārṣau tadantayoḥ prātipadikayor gurūpottamayoḥ striyāṃ ṣyaṅ ādeśo bhavati
ṢyaṄ comes in place of *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ* when they denote a *gotra*-descendant of someone other than a sage (*ṛṣi*), and occur after a nominal stem containing a *guru* vowel in its next to the last position (*upottama*), provided derivates denote feminine.

EXAMPLES:

kārīṣagandhyā 'a female descendant of Karīṣagandhi'
kaumudagandhyā 'a female descendant of Kumudagandhi'
vārāhyā 'a female descendant of Varāha'
bālākyā 'a female descendant of Balāka'

1. What does one understand from *aṇiñoḥ*? Affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ*? Or else, forms which may end in them (*samudāya*)?. Since it is impossible to find a *guru* vowel in next to the last position of affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ,* as is demanded by *gurūpottamayoḥ,* the word *aṇiñoḥ* must refer to forms ending in affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ.* Accepting this view would run into problems with conditions of *gotre* and *anārṣayoḥ.* These two cannot be interpreted as qualifiers to forms ending in affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ.* The word *gotra* is here interpreted as used in its technical sense of 4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti*. . ., even though our present rule is not contained within the domain of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam.* Since affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ* are introduced under the meaning condition of *gotre,* and espe-

cially since corresponding bases, or derivates, are not introduced under this condition, *gotre* must qualify affixes *aÑ* and *iÑ*. What if one still insists on interpreting *gotre* as a qualifier to forms ending in affixes *aÑ* and *iÑ*? Then *anārṣayoḥ* will create problem as a qualifier to those forms. It will simply be impossible to apply (*asambhavāt*). It is with this in mind that *Kāśikā* paraphrases its *vṛtti* as: *gotre yāv aṇ-iñau vihitāv anārṣāv* . . . 'affixes *aÑ* and *iÑ*, introduced with the signification of a *gotra* other than that of a sage. . . .'

2. Commentators also invoke *paribhāṣā* (13): *nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*, whereby we learn that a replacement relates to that with reference to which it is specified. Since *ṢyaṄ*, as a replacement, is specified by means of *aṇiñoḥ* in *ṣaṣṭhī*, it should come as a replacement in place of the affixes (*Kāś.*: *nirdiśyamānasyādeśa bhavanty ity aṇiñor eva vijñāyate, na tu samudāyasya*). A question is further raised about the status of *ṢyaṄ*. Should it be accepted as an affix in addition to being a replacement (*ādeśa*)? Or should it uniquely be accepted as an affix. Commentators state that it can be accepted as an affix. They cite rules 3.2.8 *gāpoṣ, ṭak* and 5.2.2 *vrīhiśālyor ḍhak*, etc., where an affix is introduced with specifications in genitive. It is argued that accepting *ṢyaṄ* as an affix would create problems in deriving *audamegheya*. That is, given *udameghasyāpatyam strī* 'a female offspring of Udamegha', rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ* will introduce *iÑ*. Our present rule will introduce *ṢyaṄ*, as an affix, after *udamegha* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*. Given *udamegha* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* + *ṢyaṄ*, rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will apply to delete *i*(*Ñ*). An introduction of affix *CāP* to the result will yield *audameghyā*. If affix *ḍhaK* is introduced to denote the female offspring of *audameghyā*, and *ḍha* is replaced with *eya*, the desired rule application of 6.4.151 *āpatyasya ca taddhite' nāti*, to delete the *y* of *audameghyā* before the *taddhita* affix *ḍha*→*eya*, will be blocked. For, this *y* is not the *y* of an affix denoting an 'offspring'. This deletion of *y* will be blocked because of its source in *ṢyaṄ* treated as an affix. If, on the other hand, *ṢyaṄ* is treated as a replacement of *aÑ* or of *iÑ*, *y* of *audameghyā* can be deleted. For *ṢyaṄ* will then qualify to be treated as *aÑ*, via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo'-nalvidhau*). This preceding briefly illustrates problems involved in accepting *ṢyaṄ* as an affix. It is argued that accepting it as a replacement (*ādeśa*) is also problematic. For example, *ṢyaṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. It also consists of more than one sound. If we accept *Paribhāṣā* (22): *pratyayagrahaṇe tadantasyāpi grahaṇam*, then *aṇiñoḥ* will refer to forms which end in these affixes. Given this, *ṢyaṄ* should replace their final *a*, or *i*, in accord with its *Ṅ* as an *it* (1.1.53 *ṅic ca*). But 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya* would favor total replacement because of the *anekāltva* status of *ṢyaṄ*. Commentators mostly favor the replacement view (*ādeśapakṣa*) for which see the *Mahābhāṣya*.

3. Rule 1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*, read with 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*, defines *guru* as a short (*hrasva*) vowel which occurs before a conjunct (*saṃyoga*). The condition of *gurūpottamayoḥ* thus requires its referent to contain at least a sequence of three syllables, where the first syllable will be formed by a short

vowel followed by a conjunct occurring as part of its last syllable. The word *uttama* refers to the last of such syllabic sequences. This is the minimum required of a form to be called *gurūpottama* 'that which contains a *guru* in its next to the last syllabic position'. A short vowel which forms 'next to the last' syllable before a conjunct forming part of the last syllable of a sequence will thus be called *upottama.* Consider *kaumudagandhi,* a sequence of five syllables, where its last syllable is formed by the final *a* preceded by *ndh,* a conjunct (*saṃyoga*). Rule 1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru* will assign the term *guru* to its non-final short vowel *a* which occurs before *ndh.* The word *kaumudagandha* will thus be termed *gurūpottama,* because it contains the *guru* vowel *a* which, in turn, occurs next to its last (*uttama*) *a* of *ndha.* Refer to (24) *kārīṣagandhyā* in the appendix for additional details. Refer to my notes under 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp* for details on deriving *vārāhyā* and *bālākyā.*

The condition of *aṇiñoḥ* will block examples such as *ārttabhāgī* 'a female descendant of Ṛtabhāga', a derivate of *aÑ,* from availing this replacement in *ṢyaṄ.* Consequently, *ārttabhāgī,* which meets every condition except for *aṇiñoḥ,* will be derived with *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ. . . . Kāśikā* rightly explains that *baidī* and *aurvī* are derived with affix *ṄīN,* introduced after *baida* and *aurva.* That is, because *baida* and *aurva* end in affix *aÑ* (4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye bidādibhyo'ñ;* 4.1.73 *śārṅgaravādaño. . . . añantebhyaḥ baidī aurvī*). Now observe what *Kāśikā* states on *ārttabhāgī,* a counter-example illustrating *aṇiñoḥ* of this rule: *aṇiñor iti kim. ṛtabhāgasyāpatyam, bidāditvād añ ārttabhāgī . . . ṭiḍḍhāṇañ iti ṇīb eva bhavati. Kāśikā* here emphasizes that affix *ṄīP,* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ . . .* alone, is introduced after *ārttabhāga.* That is, because it ends in *aÑ* characterized by its memebership in the *bidādi* group. These two statements are conflicting with respect to *ṄīN* and *ṄīP. Nyāsa* calls it carelessness (*pramāda; . . . pramādapāṭho'yam*) and states that *ṄīN* should also be read here in place of *ṄīP.* Haradatta accepts *ṄīN* as correct but notes that *Kāśikā*'s *ṄīP* is offered to indicate the generally available option (*PM: prāptimātrābhiprāyeṇedam uktam. atra hi 'śārṅgaravādyañaḥ' iti ṇīnā bhāvyam*).

The condition of *anārṣayoḥ* will similarly rule out a replacement in connection with *vāsiṣṭhī* and *vaiśvāmitrī,* where Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra are names of sages (*ārṣa*). Derivates such as *aupagavī* 'female descendant of Upagu' and *kāpaṭavī* 'female descendant of Kapaṭu' will not qualify because they cannot meet the condition of *gurūpottamayoḥ.*

4.1.79 गोत्रावयवात्

gotrāvayavāt
/ *gotrāvayavāt* 6/1 = *gotraṃ ca tadavayavaṃ ca* (*karm.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *aṇiñoḥ, ṣyaṅ, gotre* #78)

gotrāvayavāḥ = gotrābhimatāḥ kulākhyāḥ puṇikabhuṇikamukharaprabhṛtayaḥ, tato gotre vihitayor aṇiñoḥ striyāṃ ṣyaṅādeśo bhavati
ṢyaṄ comes in place of *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ* which occur to denote a *gotra* descendant after a nominal stem with the signification of a clan, provided the derivates denote feminine.

EXAMPLES:

pauṇikyā 'a female descendant of Puṇika'
bhauṇikyā 'a female descendant of Bhuṇika'

1. The word *gotrāvayava* 'part of a *gotra*' refers to a nominal stem whose denotatum is not a *gotra*, per se, but which is accepted as such in common practice. The word *avayava* here means *apradhāna* 'non-principal' relative to *gotra*, its corresponding *pradhāna* 'principal'. A *gotra* is treated as *pradhāna* for reasons of being listed in the *pravarādhyāya*. That which is not listed in the *pravarādhyāya*, but is generally accepted by people as a *gotra*, is here referred to as *gotrāvayava*. *Kāśikā* explains *gotrāvayava* as referring to *kulas* 'clans' such as *puṇika* and *bhuṇika*, etc.

This rule offers *ṢyaṄ* as a replacement in contexts where nominal bases do not have a *guru* vowel in their penultimate position (*Kāś.*: *agurupottamārtham ārambhaḥ*). The derivation of *pauṇikyā* and *bhauṇikyā* begins with *puṇika* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* and *bhuṇika* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, where affixes *iÑ* and *aṆ* are introduced by rules 4.1.95 *ata iñ* and 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo* . . ., respectively. Our present rule then introduces *ṢyaṄ* in place of *iÑ* and *aṆ* which, with *CāP*, produce *pauṇik(i→ya)* + *ā* = *pauṇiky(a→ϕ)* + *ā* = *pauṇikyā* and *bhauṇik(a→ya)* + *ā* = *bhauṇiky(a→ϕ)* + *ā* = *bhauṇikyā*.

4.1.80 क्रौड्यादिभ्यश्च

krauḍyādibhyaś ca
/ *krauḍyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *krauḍi ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *ṣyaṅ, gotre* #78)
'*krauḍi*' *ity evamādibhyaś ca striyāṃ ṣyaṅ pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *ṢyaṄ*, a *taddhita*, occurs after a nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *krauḍi*, provided the derivate is to denote feminine.

EXAMPLES:

krauḍyā 'a female descendant of Kruḍa'
lāḍyā 'a female descendant of Laḍa'

1. This rule is formulated for derivates where condition of *agurūpottama* and *aṇiñoḥ* cannot be met. Some of the stems listed in the *krauḍyādi* group are derivates of *iÑ*. They are enumerated at the beginning, prior to *caupayata*. Stems beginning with *caupayata*, and listed prior to *saudhātaki*, are derivates

of *aṆ*. Of course, *saudhātaki* also ends in *iÑ*. This provision of *ṢyaṄ* is made for stems which end in *iÑ* and *aṆ*, but do not meet the condition of *gurūpottama*. This *ṢyaṄ* is also made available to other stems, i.e., *gaukakṣyā*, etc., which meet the condition of *gurūpottama*, but which do not meet the condition of *aṇiñoḥ* (*Nyāsa*; *ye' trāṇantā iñantāś ca paṭhyante tān praty ayam agurupottamārtha ārambhaḥ. ye tv anye tān praty ayam aṇiñarthaḥ*).

Kāśikā accepts *ṢyaṄ* as an affix, as is clear from its use of *pratyayo bhavati* in the *vṛtti*. Recall that the genitive of *aṇiñoḥ* may lead one to accept *ṢyaṄ* as a replacement (*ādeśa*). Haradatta sees no problem in accepting *ṢyaṄ* as an affix because *krauḍyādibhyaḥ* is specified here in *pañcamī* (*krauḍyādibhya iti pañcamīnirdeśat pratyayapakṣe' py atra doṣābhāvāc ca* . . .).

2. Two *gaṇasūtras* are also read in the *krauḍyādi* group so that *sūtyā* 'young daughter of a charioteer' and *bhojyā* 'a daughter of the Bhoja Kṣatriyas' could be derived with *ṢyaṄ*.

4.1.81 दैवयज्ञिशौचिवृक्षिसात्यमुग्रिकाण्ठेविद्धिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्

daivayajñiśaucivṛkṣisātyamugrikāṇṭheviddhibhyo' nyatarasyām
/ daivayajñi-śaucivṛkṣi-sātyamugri-kāṇṭheviddhibhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #1, *striyām* #3, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *ṣyaṅ*, #78)
'*daivayajñi, śaucivṛkṣi, sātyamugri, kāṇṭheviddhi*' *ity eteṣām anyatarasyāṃ ṣyaṅ pratyayo bhavati*
Affix *ṢyaṄ*, a *taddhita*, optionally comes in place of the final sound segment of nominal stems *daivayajñi*, *śaucivṛkṣi*, *sātyamugri* and *kāṇṭheviddhi*, provided the derivates denoted feminine.

EXAMPLES:

daivayajñyā 'a female descendant of Devayajña'
daivayajñī 'id.'
śaucivṛkṣyā 'a female descendant of Śucivṛkṣa'
śaucivṛkṣī 'id.'
sātyamugryā 'a daughter of Satyamugra'
sātyamugrī 'id.'
kāṇṭheviddhyā 'a daughter of Kaṇṭheviddha'
kāṇṭheviddhī 'id.'

1. Note that all these stems end in *iÑ*. The word *gotra* is also not carried. That is, the replacement in *ṢyaṄ* which was obligatorily available (*prāpta*) in the context of *gotra* by the preceding rule is here made optional. This is an instance of *prāptavibhāṣā*. But since *iÑ* can also be introduced when a non-*gotra* (direct) descendant is denoted, an option of *ṢyaṄ* made available for such derivates will be treated as *aprāptavibhāṣā*. Our present rule thus illus-

trates an option known as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā.* If this option of *ṢyaṄ* is not accepted then 4.1.65 *ito manuṣyajāteḥ* will introduce *ṄīṢ.* Of course, *CāP* of 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp* will be introduced when *ṢyaṄ* is accepted as an option. Consider *daivayajñā* and *daivayajñī* which derive from: *daivayajñi* + *ṢyaṄ* + *CāP* = *daivayajñ*(*i*→ϕ) + *ya* + *ā*→*daivayajñyā* and *daivayajñi* + *ṄīṢ*→*daivayajñī,* respectively. These are both derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). Other operations, i.e., *vṛddhi,* assignment of the term *bha* and deletion of *i* (*i-lopa*), etc., are similar to many examples already discussed. Examples *śaucivṛkṣyā/ śaucivṛkṣī* and *sātyamugryā/ sātyamugrī* are similarly derived. The last two examples derive parallel to *satyam ugraṃ asya,* where preplacement of *satya* and introduction of augment *mUM* is accomplished via *nipātana.* Our examples *kāṇṭheviddhyā/ kāṇṭheviddhī* derive parallel to *kaṇṭhe viddhaṃ asya* where 6.3.12 *amūrdhamastakāt* allows non-deletion (*aluk*) of *saptamī* 'locative'.

4.1.82 समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा

samarthānāṃ prathamād vā
/*samarthānām* 6/3 *prathamāt* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76)
ito gre 'prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ' iti yāvat taddhitāḥ samarthānāṃ prathamād vā bhavanti
An affix, termed *taddhita,* occurs (from here on prior to 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*) after the first among syntactically related (*samartha*) nominal stems.

EXAMPLES:

upagor apatyam = *aupagavaḥ* 'male descendant of Upagu'
upagvapatyam 'id.'

1. This rule is an *adhikāra,* valid prior to 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ.* It offers an optional introduction of a *taddhita* affix under the condition of *sāmarthya,* syntactico-semantic fitness, or syntactic relation. Since a *taddhita* affix is to be introduced after first among syntactically related nominals (*samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*), one must have a string of (generally two) syntactically related nominals so that the affix can be introduced after the first.

Refer to our discussion of *sāmarthya* under rule 2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ.* The formulation of our present rule raises some very interesting questions:

(*a*) A nominal which can be called *samartha* generally ends in a nominal ending denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . .). The context of rule 4.1.82 requires the *anuvṛtti* of *prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem' from 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt.* That is, specification of the base after which a *taddhita* affix can be introduced under the provision of rule 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā,* the heading rule of an interior domain, is different from the specification of 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt,* the heading rule of this do-

main. Rule 4.1.1 requires introduction of affixes after a nominal stem. Our present rule requires it to take place after a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*). How can one reconcile this difference?

(*b*) The specification that a *taddhita* affix be introduced after the first among syntactically related nominals also needs some explanation. Since syntactically related nominals occur in a sentence, one can interpret *prathamāt* 'after the first' to mean: after the first syntactically related nominal of a sentence. That is, given *upagor apatyam*, a string of two syntactically related nominals, one will introduce affix *aṆ* after *upagoḥ*. But what will one do if the string is given as *apatyam upagoḥ*. Introducing *aṆ* after *apatyam* will lead to wrong results. The 'first' (*prathamāt*) of our rule does not mean 'first' in a sentence. What then is specified by *prathamāt*?

Commentators explain that genitive in *samarthānām* denotes *nirdhāraṇa* 'singling out one from among many'. Thus, *prathamāt* refers to that syntactically related nominal stem which is specified first in a rule specific to which an affix is to be introduced. For example, consider 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* where the first *pada*, i.e., *tasya*, is specified with genitive. This *sūtra*, read with 4.1.82 *samarthānām* . . . and 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*, will produce the following controlled interpretation:

> 'affix *aṆ*, termed a *taddhita*, optionally occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', when the derivate denotes 'an offspring (*apatya*)''

Obviously, the *pada* which ends in genitive is none other than the antecedent of *tad* used in genitive, i.e., *tasya*, the first *pada* of rule 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. That is, *prathamāt* refers to the antecedent of a variable used in rules such as 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, etc., where it is also specified as first. Let us return to the question of incompatibility between *prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem', and *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* 'optionally after that which is first among the syntactically related *padas*'. Commentators state that the antecedent of *tad* in *tasya* is a nominal stem, as is required by 4.1.1 *prātipadikāt*. This nominal stem becomes *samartha* 'syntactically related' after being used with the genitive nominal ending *Ṅas* relative to *apatyam*, another such syntactically related nominal stem ending in nominative (*prathamā*). Thus, the incompatibility between *prātipadikāt* and the referent of *samarthānāṃ prathamāt* is removed by interpreting *samarthānāṃ prathamāt* as: 'after the first syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive'. The affix still occurs after a *prātipadika* as desired by 4.1.1 *prātipadikāt*. It is a different story that it is first in relation to one or more such units, and that it ends in an ending denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*.

It is clear that order of elements in a sentence does not determine the 'first' after which a *taddhita* affix is to be introduced. Commentators explain

that *upagor apatyam*, or *apatyam upagoḥ*, are two analyzed forms (*vigrahavākya*) parallel to *aupagavaḥ*, the optional (*vā*) *taddhita* derivate of affix *aṆ*.

Kāśikā specifies referents of *prathamāt* by citing rules such as 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, 4.2.1 *tena raktaṃ rāgāt* and 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*, etc., where *tasya*, *tena* and *tatra*, all involve variable references. *Kāśikā* clearly states that: *teṣu sāmarthye sati prathamanirdiṣṭād eva vikalpena pratyayo bhavatīti veditavyam* 'one should understand that an affix is introduced optionally only after the first among them, i.e., those specified by *tasya*, *tena* and *tatra*, provided the condition of *sāmarthya* is met'.

Incidentally, a derivate such as *aupagavaḥ* is used optionally with *upagor apatyam*, its sentential counterpart. Recall that a compound (*samāsa*) is also formed under the condition of *sāmarthya* (2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*). This will allow *upagu* + *Ṅas apatya* + *sU* to also yield a compound, namely *upagvapatyam*. How could this option be known in the context of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*. It is stated that *anyatarasyām* of 4.1.81 *daiva-yajñiśaucivṛkṣi* . . . is carried here to make this option known.

4.1.83 प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण्

prāg dīvyato' ṇ
/*prāk* ϕ *dīvyataḥ* 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2)
prāg dīvyatsaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo' ṇ pratyayas tatra bhavatīti veditavyam.
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs optionally, from here on prior to 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati* . . ., after the first among syntactically related nominals. . . .

EXAMPLES:

aupagavaḥ 'a descendant of Upagu'
kāpaṭavaḥ 'a descendant of Kapaṭu'

1. This heading rule (*adhikāra-sūtra*) introduces affix *aṆ* and governs rules enumerated prior to *dīvyati* (4.4.2 *tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam*). Thus, *dīvyati* specifies the extent (*avadhi*) of this domain. This rule is obviously a heading (*adhikāra*). It can also be interpreted as a *paribhāṣā*, or else, simply as a *vidhi* 'operation'.

Questions have been raised against the wording of this rule. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule as *prāg dīvyater aṇ*? *Kāśikā* informs that Pāṇini chose to specify the limit of this domain by accepting *dīvyat*, a part (*ekadeśa*) of *dīvyati*, of rule 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*. . . . Why did he not formulate the rule simply as *dīvyato' ṇ*? After all, this is the domain of *aṆ*. The formulation of this rule as *dīvyato' ṇ* would create interpretational problems. For example, *dīvyataḥ*, used in *pañcamī* 'ablative' with no use of *prāk*, followed by *aṇ* in *prathamā* 'nominative', an affix, would make us believe that *dīvyataḥ* speci-

fies bases after which affix *aṆ* is to be introduced. It is to clearly specify the scope of this rule, and to also do that by way of meaning (*arthadvāra*), that *prāk* is used with *dīvyato' ṇ*.

Kāśikā states that *aṆ* should be introduced as a general affix, leaving aside the scope of its related exceptions (*apavādaviṣayaṃ parihṛtyāṇ pravarttate*). It does not make any difference whether the rule is interpreted as an *adhikāra*, *vidhi* or *paribhāṣā*. But how could a governing rule which is required to be read with each and every rule of its domain be excluded from the context of its related exceptions? Thus, how do we know that the wording of rule 4.1.95 *ata iñ* should not be accepted as: *ata iñ aṇ ca*. After all, *aṇ*, being part of the *adhikāra*, must also carry to each and every rule of its domain (*pratiyogam upatiṣṭhate*). Similar arguments can also be made with reference to *paribhāṣā* and *vidhi* aspects of interpretation. The fact that *aṆ* does not apply where its related exceptions do is known from *jñāpaka*. Pāṇini indicates this by formulating his rules with *vā* and *anyatarasyām* (4.2.19 *udaśvito' nyatarasyām*), etc. Thus, if *aṆ* was not to apply outside the scope of its exceptions, then what was the purpose of formulating 4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā* with *vā*. Affix *ḍhaK* was already available from 4.1.121 *dvyacaḥ*. The *aṆ* of course, would have been available from this rule.

4.1.84 अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च

aśvapatyādibhyaś ca
/ *aśvapatyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *aśvapatir ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83)
aśvapatyādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ prāg dīvayatīyeṣu artheṣu aṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati*, after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *aśvapati*.

EXAMPLES:

āśvapataḥ 'male offspring of Aśvapati'
śātapataḥ 'male offspring of Śatapati'

1. Note that our next rule provides for affix *Ṇya* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *pati*. Since example of our present rule all end in *pati*, they also qualify for *Ṇya*. Our present rule offers *aṆ*, instead.

2. Recall that this rule is contained within the larger domain of *aṆ* which is valid prior to 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*. . . . Consequently, affixes, for example *Ṇya*, etc., will be introduced as exceptions to their general counterpart *aṆ*. Since our present rule does not offer any meaning specification for introduction of *Ṇya*, it will be introduced to denote the sense of all meanings specified

with reference to all affixes introduced within this domain. In other words, a derivate such as *āśvapatam* can denote diverse meanings, i.e., *apatya* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*), *samūha* (4.2.36 *tasya samūhaḥ*), and so on. This blanket denotation of meaning with reference to meanings specified for affixes introduced in the domain of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* is apply termed *prāgdīvyatīya* 'relative to that which is specified prior to *dīvyati*'.

Note that *āśvapataḥ* and *śātapataḥ* are derivates of *aṆ* introduced after *aśvapati* + *Ṅas* and *śatapati* + *Ṅas*. This produces *āśvapata* and *śātapata* after *bha*-deletion of *i* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) and initial *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti*). Introduction of *sU*, via *rutva-visarga* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*; 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor*. . .), will produce *āśvapataḥ* and *śātapataḥ*. But since derivates of *aṆ* denote diverse meanings, consequent upon which they can also be treated as neuter, one additionally gets forms such as *āśvapatam* and *śātapatam*. That is, *sU* is replaced there by *am* (6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*). Rule 7.1.24 *ato'm* then applies on *āśvapata* + *am* and *śātapata* + *am* to produce *āśvapat*(*a* + *a*)*m* = *āśvapatam* and *śātapat*(*a* + *a*)*m* = *śātapatam*. Such derivates will be derived with *aṆ* introduced under meaning conditions, for example, of 4.2.37 *tasya samūhaḥ*, etc.

4.1.85 **दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्ण्यः**

dityadityādityapatyuttarapadāṇ ṇyaḥ

/ *dity-adity-āditya-paty-uttarapadāt* 5/1 = *patir uttarapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*); *ditiś ca aditiś ca ādityaś ca patyuttarapadaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṇyaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #83)

'*diti, aditi, āditya*' *ity etebhyaḥ patyuttarapadāc ca prātipadikāt prāg dīvyatīyeṣu artheṣu ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *diti, aditi* and *āditya*, and also after stems which have *pati* as their following constituent, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati*.

EXAMPLES:

daityaḥ 'male offspring of Diti'
ādityaḥ 'male offspring of Aditi'
ādityam 'a ritual oblation of which Āditya is the divinity'
prājāpatyam 'a ritual oblation of which Prajāpati is the divinity'
saināpatyam 'that which belongs to Senāpati, etc.'

1. Note that *dityadityādityapatyuttarapadāt* is interpreted as a *dvandva* compound of two constituents *dityadityāditya* and *patyuttarapada* where *dityadityāditya* itself is a *dvandva* compound with three constituents: *diti, aditi* and

āditya. The word *patyuttarapada* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the paraphrase: *paty uttarapadaṃ yasya* 'that whose following constituent is *pati*'. Thus we first form a *bahuvrīhi* with *pati* and *uttarapada* as its constituents. We then form the *dvandva* compound *dityadityāditya*. That is, we do not form the *dvandva* compound **dityadityādityapati* first, and then move on to forming a *bahuvrīhi* with *uttarapada*. For, such a *bahuvrīhi* would have also qualified *diti*, *aditi* and *āditya* to receive *Ṇya* after their own bases ending in *pati*. This of course is not desired (*aniṣṭa*). Commentators state that the first method of forming a *bahuvrīhi* with *pati* and *uttarapada* is correct. This is known on the basis of proximity (*pratyāsatti*) between *pati* and *uttarapada*. If not, we should accept it simply as the interpretation (*vyākhyāna*) of the learned (*śiṣṭa*).

2. There is a series of *vārttikas* introduced under this rule. Thus, affix *Ṇya* is also recommended after *yama* to derive *yāmyam*. Another proposal is made for affixes *Ña* and *ÑaÑ* to be introduced after *pṛthivī* 'earth', in Vedic, to derive *pārthiva*. A derivate of *Ña* yields the feminine form *pārthivā* with affix *ṬāP* (cf. 4.1.4 *ajādy*...). A derivate of *ÑaÑ*, in accord with 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*..., will yield *pārthivī* with *ṄīP*.

Affixes *yaÑ* and *aÑ* are further recommended after *deva* to derive *daivyam* and *daivam*. A proposal is also made to derive *bāhīkaḥ* with affix *īkaC* after *bahis* 'outside'. A Vedic form will be derived with accentual difference, still as *bāhīkaḥ*, though with affix *īkaÑ*.

Affix *yaÑ* is also recommended for deriving *bāhyaḥ* from *bahis*, though with deletion of its *ṭi*, i.e., *is*. The *ṭi* of *sthāman* is also replaced with *a* to derive *aśvatthāmaḥ*. The *s* of *sthāman* is replaced with *t* because of its listing in the *pṛṣodarādi* group. Examples such as *uḍulomāḥ* and *śaralomāḥ* are also derived in plural where *an* of *loman* is replaced with *a*. An affix which begins with *a* is to be replaced with *yaT* when it occurs after *go* to derive a 'cow-product' such as *gavyam*, etc.

3. A proposal is made for affixes *Ṇya*, etc., which are here characterized with special meanings, to block suffixes *aṆ*, etc., on the basis of *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'prior exception'. Note that these affixes are marked with special meaning such as *apatya*, etc. This is how a conflict occurs between their application and the application of *Ṇya*, etc. Thus, an 'offspring of *Diti* (*diter apatyam*)' will still be *daitya* derived with *Ṇya* as opposed to *ḍhaK* of 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*. Similarly, 'a group of vegetation (*vanaspatīnāṃ samūhaḥ*)' will still be *vānaspatyam* derived with *Ṇya*, as against being a derivate of *ṭhaK*. It must be remembered that *aṆ*, etc., which are here introduced with generalized meanings, contrary to their particular meanings of *apatya*, etc., will still block *Ṇya*, etc. Thus, *auṣṭrapatam* 'pertaining to Uṣṭrapati' will still derive with *aÑ* of 4.3.123 *pattrādhvaryupariṣadaś ca*, as opposed to *Ṇya* (4.3.96 *acittād*...).

Our examples *daityaḥ*, *ādityaḥ* and *ādityam* are easy to derive. They all

require *bha*-deletion: the first two of *i* and the last of *a*. Our last example also goes through optional deletion of its *y* before *ya* (8.4.64 *halo yamāṃ yami lopaḥ*). Thus, *ādity*(*a*→ϕ) + *ya* = *ādit*(*y* + ϕ) + *ya* = *āditya*. We will end up with *āditya* if optional deletion of *y* is not accepted.

4.1.86 उत्सादिभ्योऽञ्

utsādibhyo' ñ
/*utsādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *utsa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83)
utsādibhyaḥ prāg dīvyatīyeṣu artheṣv añ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati*, after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *utsa*.

EXAMPLES:

autsaḥ 'male offspring of Utsa, etc.'
audapānaḥ 'male offspring of Udapāna, etc.'

1. Note that *aÑ* is introduced here as an exception to *aṆ*, and its related exceptions such as *iÑ*, etc. (*aṇas tadapavādānāṃ ca bādhakaḥ*), as well. Of course, with the denotatum of affixes enumerated within the *prāgdīvyatīya* section.

2. Affix *aÑ* is introduced after *grīṣma* when it does not mean a meter (*achandasi*). It is introduced after *udasthāna* when the same means a place. We thus get examples such as *graiṣmaḥ* 'pertaining to summer' and *audasthānaḥ* 'pertaining to the place named Udasthāna'. If these meanings are not denoted then we will get: *graiṣmī* 'a meter' and *audasthiniḥ* 'male offspring of Udasthāna', respectively.

Commentators also refer here to a *gaṇa-sūtra*, i.e., *vaṣkayā' se*, where, as they claim, *ase* means: when not in a compound. Such a meaning is gotten by accepting *sa* as a term of earlier grammarians for *samāsa*. That is, *aÑ* is introduced after *vaṣkaya*, provided the base is not a compound constituent. Thus, we get *vāṣkayaḥ* 'male offspring of Vaṣkaya'. If the condition of *ase* is not met then *iÑ* must be introduced to derive examples such as *gauvaṣkayiḥ*.

4.1.87 स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां नञ्स्नञौ भवनात्

strīpuṃsābhyāṃ nañsnañau bhavanāt
/*strī-puṃsābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *nañ-snañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tau*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82)
prāg bhavanasaṃśabdanād ye' rthās teṣu strīśabdāt pūṃsśabdāc ca

yathākramaṃ nañ-snañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *naÑ* and *snaÑ* occur, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to *bhavana* (5.2.1 *dhānyānāṃ bhavane*. . .), after syntactically related nominal stems *strī* 'female' and *puṃs* 'male', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

strīṣu bhavan = *strainam* '. . . born among, beneficial for, or a group of, women, etc.'
pauṃsnam 'born among, beneficial for, or a group of, men, etc.'

1. This rule allows affixes *naÑ* and *snaÑ* after *strī* and *puṃs*, respectively, to denote the sense of affixes introduced prior to 5.2.1 *dhānyānāṃ bhavane.* This obviously covers meanings such as 4.2.37 *tasya samūhaḥ,* 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ,* 4.3.74 *tata āgataḥ* and 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam,* etc.

Commentators remind that *strī* and *puṃs* do not refer here to forms derived with feminine affixes parallel to their masculine counterparts. This reference is strictly to the form (*śabda*) of *strī* and *puṃs.* That is, it cannot refer to derivates of feminine affixes *ṬāP,* etc. It can also not refer to a derivate of affix *gha* either (3.3.118 *puṃsi saṃjñāyāṃ* . . .).

2. Commentators note that *naÑ* and *snaÑ* can also not be introduced to denote the sense of *vatUP,* as is provided for by rule 5.1.115 *tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ.* Pāṇini's own usage of *puṃvat,* rather than *pauṃsa* in rule 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣitapuṃskād*. . . indicates it. Can this *jñāpaka* of *puṃvat* rule out a parallel derivate such as *strīvat?* No. It is true that rule 6.3.34 only uses *puṃvat,* but this *jñāpaka* also applies to *strīvat* (cf. *Kāś.*: *yogāpekṣam iti strīvad ity api siddham*).

Deriving *strainam* from (*strī* + *ām* + *naÑ*) + *sU* would involve initial *vṛddhi* and *ṇatva.* Our next example would involve deletion of *s* at the end of *puṃs* (8.2.33 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*). Note that *strī* + *ām* is illustrated here as a syntactically related *pada* ending in genitive, in view of specifications such as *tasya* of 4.2.36 *tasya samūhaḥ,* etc. Other specifications will require different endings.

4.1.88 द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये

dvigor lug anapatye
/*dvigoḥ* 5/1 *luk* 1/1 *anapatye* 7/1 = *na apatyam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83)
dvigor yaḥ sambandhī nimittatvena taddhitaḥ prāg dīvyatīyo' patyapratyayaṃ variayitvā tasya lug bhavati
LUK comes in place of a *taddhita* affix which, when not denoting an offspring (*apatya*), serves as a condition for forming a *dvigu* and signifies the sense of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati.*

EXAMPLES:

pañcasū kapāleṣu saṃskṛtaḥ = *pañcakapālaḥ* 'ritual oblation of food prepared in five bowls'
daśakapālaḥ 'ritual oblation of food prepared in ten bowls'
dvau vedāv adhīte = *dvivedaḥ* 'he who studies two Vedas'
trivedaḥ 'he who studies three Vedas'

1. This rule requires the deletion, by *LUK*, of a *taddhita* affix which (*a*) serves as the condition (*nimitta*) for forming a *dvigu* compound and (*b*) does not have the signification of *apatya* 'offspring'. Note that *bhavanāt* is not valid here. That is, any reference to the signification of affixes introduced prior to 5.2.1 *dhānyānāṃ bhavane*... is ruled out. The exclusion of *bhavanāt*, especially when read with the negation of *anapatye*, establishes the domain of this deletion. Additionally, this reference further gets restricted to those affixes which begin with a vowel (*ajādi*; 4.1.89 *eko gotre*).

The genitive in *dvigoḥ* modifies *taddhitaḥ* to yield the meaning: *dvigor yaḥ sambandhī taddhitaḥ* 'a *taddhita* affix introduced relative to a compound termed *dvigu*'. This *taddhita* affix is further restricted with the qualification of *anapatye*. How could a *taddhita* be introduced relative to a *dvigu* compound? By serving as the condition (*nimitta/hetu*) for its formation (*Kāś.*: *dvigor yaḥ sambandhī nimittatvena taddhitaḥ* ... 'a *taddhita* affix which is related to a compound termed *dvigu* by way of *nimitta* 'condition').' Commentators note that this *nimitta* or *hetu* interpretation of genitive also accounts for a *taddhita* affix which is introduced subsequent to the formation of a *dvigu*. How could a *taddhita* affix form the condition of forming a *dvigu* and, at the same time, be introduced subsequently. This is possible when one considers the introduction of the affix as *bhāvin* 'that which will take place subsequently'. A *dvigu* can thus be formed with the understanding (*buddhyādhyavasāyāt*) that a *taddhita* will be introduced later on.

Why do we have to interpret *dvigoḥ* as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*)? Why can we not interpret it as ending in ablative (*pañcamī*)? An ablative ending in *dvigoḥ* would yield the following interpretation of this rule:

dvigoḥ parasya anapatyasya prāgdīvyatīyasya lug bhavati
a *taddhita* affix which (*i*) occurs after a compound termed *dvigu*, (*ii*) has the signification of affixes introduced prior to *dīvyati*, but which (*iii*) does not denote the sense of an *apatya*, is deleted by *LUK*.

This *pañcamī* interpretation will enable *LUK*-deletion to apply irrespective of whether or not a *taddhita* affix forms the condition (*nimitta*) of forming a *dvigu* compound. Thus, it will allow deletion in *pañcakapālaḥ*, parallel to *pañcakapāleṣu saṃskṛtaḥ puroḍāśaḥ*, where the affix conditions compound-formation. It will similarly allow deletion in derivates parallel to: *pañcakapālasya puroḍāśasyedaṃ khaṇḍam* 'this is a part of the ritual oblation of *puroḍāśa*

which was prepared in five bowls'. The derivate in this instance will be *pāñcakapālaḥ*, derived with *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. Obviously, a *pañcamī* interpretation will yield wrong derivates. Consequently, a genitive interpretation with denotation of *nimitta* is preferred.

The condition of *anapatye* is imposed so that a *taddhita* affix, such as *iÑ*, which has the signification of *apatya*, in examples such as *dvaidevadattiḥ* = *dvayoḥ devadattayor apatyam* 'an offspring of two Devadattas', or *traidevadattiḥ* = *trayāṇām devadattānām apatyam* 'an offspring of three Devadattas', is saved from this deletion. The condition of *dvigoḥ*, with its genitive denoting *nimitta*, is imposed so that the deletion does not apply where the affix does not condition formation of a *dvigu* compound. We have already cited *pāñcakapālaḥ* in this connection. The deletion of a *taddhita* affix, for example *cha*, does not take place in examples such as *pāñcakapālīyam* because rule 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam*, which specifies the scope of *cha*, falls outside of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section.

Note that the *nimitta* interpretation of *ṣaṣṭhī* in *dvigoḥ* is desired (*iṣṭa*), so that deletion by *LUK* could be restricted to contexts where formation of a *dvigu* compound is conditioned by a *taddhita* affix not denoting an *apatya*. It is for this reason that *dvigoḥ* is not accepted as ending in *pañcamī*. Furthermore, the genitive interpretation is limited to the denotation of *nimitta*. This *nimitta* interpretation blocks the genitive from being interpreted as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of'.

Note that deletion by *LUK* will block initial *vṛddhi* in *pañcakapālaḥ*, where the *taddhita aṆ* conditions the formation of *dvigu*. This *vṛddhi* cannot be blocked when deletion of the affix does not apply. Consider the *aṆ* of *pāñcakapālaḥ* which does not form the condition of forming a *dvigu* and which is introduced parallel to *pañcakapālasya idam* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*).

4.1.89 गोत्रेऽलुगचि

gotre' lug aci

/gotre 7/1 *aluk* 1/1 *aci* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #83)

'*yaskādibhyo gotre' ity ādinā yeṣāṃ gotrapratyayānāṃ lug uktas teṣām ajādau prāg dīvyatīye viṣayabhūte pratiṣiddhyate*

LUK does not come in place of an affix with the significance of a *gotra*, when a *taddhita* affix of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section which begins with a vowel (*aC*) finds it scope.

EXAMPLES:

gargāṇāṃ chātrāḥ = *gārgīyāḥ* 'students of the many offsprings of Garga'
āttreyīyāḥ 'students of the many offsprings of Atri'
khārapāyaṇīyāḥ 'students of the many offsprings of Kharapa'

1. This rule blocks *LUK*-deletion of a *taddhita* affix which signifies a *gotra* descendant, provided an affix of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section which also begins with a vowel finds its scope. The condition of *gotre* specifies the nature of the affix whose deletion is being blocked. That is, the affix in question must be relatable to rules such as 2.4.63 *yaskādibhyo gotre*, etc. Why do we have to accept this? Because this negative provision of non-deletion, by *LUK*, will not make any sense unless a positive provision for such a deletion was already made. Rules 2.4.63 *yaskādibhyo gotre*, etc., make such a positive provision. Incidentally, this provision for deletion is made in the context of non-feminine plurals only.

2. The *saptamī* in *aci* is not interpreted as *parasaptamī*, a locative denoting 'when that which follows'. Such as interpretation will create difficulty in deriving examples such as *gārgīyāḥ* and *vātsīyāḥ*, the many *gotra*-descendants of Garga and Vatsa. Given *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*), we will be tempted to delete *yaÑ* which, in turn, will cause non-*vṛddhi* of the initial *a* of *garga*. That is, the resultant base will not be *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasya* . . .). If the base is not *vṛddha* then affix *cha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*) cannot be introduced. One cannot delete *yaÑ*, and invoke 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*, since 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will not help us restore *vṛddhi*. Besides, how could affix *yaÑ*, whose deletion forms a condition for lack of *vṛddhi* on the one hand, can constitute a condition through this revived *vṛddhi* to facilitate introduction of affix *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*, on the other? If one wants to retain the *vṛddha* status of the base so that affix *cha* can be introduced then one must save *yaÑ* from being deleted by *LUK*. If non-deletion of *yaÑ* were to take place when affix *cha* followed, as a *parasaptamī* interpretation would imply, then *cha* becomes a condition for non-deletion. We already know how non-deletion, because it allows the base to remain *vṛddha*, serves as a condition for introducing affix *cha*. This is what commentators characterize as the difficulty of 'mutual dependence' (*itaretarāśraya*). It is because of this difficulty, especially as it relates to the *parasaptamī* interpretation of *aci*, that a *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of scope' interpretation is preferred.

3. The condition of *gotre* disallows non-deletion, by *LUK*, of affix *aÑ* after *kubalī* and *badarī*, as is demanded by 4.3.163 *phale luk*. That is, with the understanding that affix (*ch*) *a*, which begins with a vowel via its replacement in (*iy*)*a*, will find its scope relative to the specification of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. Affix *aÑ* here denotes 'fruit', a modification (*vikāra*). It does not denote a *gotra*.

The condition of *aci* is imposed so that affixal deletion is not blocked in examples such as *gargarūpyam* 'that which has come from the descendants of Garga' where the affix in question, i.e., *rūpya*, begins with a consonant (*halādi*). The condition of *prāgdīvyatīya* is imposed so that derivates such as *gārgīyam* 'that which is beneficial to the many descendants of Garga' could

not qualify for non-deletion. Rule 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam* falls outside the *prāgdīvyatīya* section.

Note that the correct derivate should be *gargīyam* (and not *gārgīyam*). This example derives from *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* + *cha*, where *cha* is introduced by 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ*. Affix *yaÑ* gets deleted by 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca*. This removes the initial *vṛddhi* made available by *yaN*. For *yaÑ* is the *nimitta* 'cause' for *vṛddhi*, and if the *nimitta* is removed then *vṛddhi*, its corresponding *naimittika* 'effect', must also be removed. The example should thus be *gargīyam*. Most of the texts including *Kāśikā* and *SK* retain *gārgīyam*. The author of *Tattvabodhinī* notes, however, that *gargīyam* should be accepted as correct (*nādivṛddhir iti bhāvaḥ*).

4. A *gotra* descendant of Atri will be called *ātreya*, derived with *ḍhaK*, i.e., *eya*, of 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ* and 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnī*. . . . Affix *ḍhaK* will be deleted by *LUK* of 2.4.65 *atribhṛgukutsa* . . . when *bahutva* 'multiplicity' will be denoted. Thus, a corresponding nominative plural form will be *atryayaḥ*, as opposed to **ātryeyāḥ*. This deletion of *ḍhaK*, however, will be blocked in deriving *ātreyīyāḥ* 'many students of the descendants of Atri'. Thus, assuming the introduction of a vowel-initial affix (*ajādi-pratyaya*), we will retain *ḍhaK*. Given *ātryeya* + *ām* + *ḍhaK*, we can then derive *ātrey*(*a*→ϕ) + (*ām*→ϕ) + (*cha*→*īya*) = *ātreyīya* with the signification of 'many students of Ātreya'. An example such as *khārapāyaṇīyāḥ* follows the similar pattern. That is, we will get *kārapāyaṇa* with *phaK* (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*) through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.118 *kiti ca*, parallel to *kharapasya apatyāni bahūni*. Now if one wants to derive *khārapāyaṇīyāḥ* with the signification of 'many students of Khārapāyaṇa', rule 2.4.63 *yaskādibhyo gotre* will require deletion of *phaK*. But this will be blocked in view of our present rule thus clearing the way for deriving *khārapāyaṇ* (*a*→ϕ) + (*cha*→*īya*) = *khārapāyaṇīya* + *Jas*→*khārapāyaṇīyāḥ*.

4.1.90 यूनि लुक्

yūni luk

/*yūni* 7/1 *luk* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1; *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #83, *aci* #89)

prāg dīvyatīye'jādau pratyaye vivakṣite buddhisthe'nutpanna eva yuva pratyayasya lug bhavati

LUK comes in place of *taddhita* affix which denotes *yuvan* 'youth' (4.1.163 *jīvati to vaṃśye yuvā*), provided a *taddhita* affix of the *prāg-dīvyatīya* section which begins with a vowel (*ajādi*) finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

phāṇṭ/āhṛtāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Phāṇṭāhṛta'
bhāgavittāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Bhāgavitta'

taikāyanīyāḥ 'students of Taikāyanīya'
kāpiñjalādāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Kāpiñjalāda'

1. This rule provides for deletion of an affix which may have the signification of *yuvan*, provided a *taddhita* affix of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section which also begins with a vowel finds its scope.

Anticipating the occurrence of a *prāgdīvyatīya* suffix adds complexity to the operational scope of this rule (*Kāś.*: *prāgdīvyatīye' jādau pratyaye vivakṣite buddhisthe' nupapanna eva yuvapratyayasya lug bhavati* 'deletion of an affix denoting *yuvan* takes place when a *prāgdīvyatīya* affix beginning with a vowel is still assumed, and is not introduced (*buddhistha*)'). One starts following usual operational provisions (relative to *prāgdīvyatīya* suffixes) soon after the deletion has taken effect (*Kāś.*: *tasmin nivṛtte sati yo yataḥ prāpnoti sa tato bhavati* 'this out of the way, an affix is then introduced where it obtains').

Consider the derivation of *phāṇṭāhṛtāḥ* 'students of the young grandson of Phaṇṭāhṛta'. Note that *phāṇṭāhṛta* can also be interpreted as a young descendant of *phāṇṭāhṛti*, who, in turn, is a direct descendant (*anantarāpatya*) of *phāṇṭāhṛta*. Rule 4.1.150 *phāṇṭāhṛtimimatābhyāṃ ṇaphiñau* introduces affix *Ṇa* to derive *phāṇṭāhṛta*, a young descendant of *phāṇṭāhṛti*, itself a derivate of 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. If we now want to derive *phāṇṭāhṛta*, paraphrased as *phāṇṭāhṛter yuvāpatyasya chātrāḥ* 'students of the young descendant of Phāṇṭāhṛti', we must apply 4.1.90 *yūni luk* to delete affix *Ṇa*. Of course, with the understanding that 4.2.111 *iñaś ca* will later on introduce *Ṇa*. This deletion will restore *phāṇṭāhṛti*, the base after which *Ṇa* was introduced. A new derivate of *Ṇa* is now derived as *phāṇṭāhṛta*, with reference to the restored base *phāṇṭāhṛti*. We will similarly get *bhāgavitti* and *taikāyani*, derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) and *phiÑ* (4.1.154 *tikādibhyaḥ phiñ*), respectively, parallel to *bhāgavittasyāpatyam* and *tikasya gotrāpatyāni*. A 'young (*yuvan*) descendant of Bhāgavitti' will be derived as *bhāgavittika* with affix *ṭhaK* (4.1.148 *vṛddhāṭ ṭhak* . . .) and subsequent application of 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*. One can now derive *bhāgavittāḥ* 'many students of the young descendant (Bhāgavittika) of Bhāgavitta' where affix *aṆ* will be introduced after *bhāgavittika* + *Ṅas*. But the *ṭhaK* of *bhāgavittika* will be deleted in anticipation of this *aṆ* thereby restoring *bhāgavitti*, the base after which *ṭhaK* was introduced. We will finally get (*bhāgavitt*(*i*→ϕ) + *aṆ*) + *Jas* = *bhāgavittāḥ*. This same is true of *kāpiñjalādāḥ* 'many students of Kāpiñjalādi' where *kāpiñjalādi* is a derivate of *iÑ* parallel to *kapiñjalādasyāpatyam* 'a *gotra* descendant of Kapiñjalāda'. An introduction of *Ṇya* (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*) with reference to *kāpiñjalādi* will yield *kāpiñjalādya* 'a young (*yuvan*) descendant of Kapiñjalādi'. A derivate denoting the 'many students of Kāpiñjalādya' will entail deletion of *Ṇya* and as a result, restore the base back to *kāpiñjalādi*. Now 4.2.111 *iñaś ca* can derive *kāpiñjalāda* with *aṆ*.

We can similarly get *taikāyanīyāḥ* from (*tika* + *Ṅas* + *phiÑ*) = (*taikāyan* (*i*→ϕ) + (*cha*→*īya*)) + *Jas* = *taikāyanīyāḥ*. A deletion of *cha* will restore the

base back to *taikāyani.* Another *cha* of 4.2.113 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* will yield the nominal stem as *taikāyanīya.* Thus we get: *taikāyaniḥ* 'a *gotra* descendant of Tika', *taikāyanīyaḥ* 'a young descendant of Tika' and *taikāyanīyaḥ* 'many students of Taikāyanīya'.

2. The condition of *aci* and *prāgdīvyatīya* are still valid. Refer to counter-examples such as *phāṇṭāhṛtarūpyam* and *bhāgavittikīyam,* where the second is a derivate of *cha* of 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ.*

4.1.91 फक्फिञोरन्यतरस्याम्

phakphiñor anyatarasyām
/*phak-phiñoḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #83, *aci* #89, *yūni luk* #90)
phak-phiñor yuvapratyayayoḥ prāg dīvyatīye'jādau pratyaye vivakṣite' nyatarasyāṃ lug bhavati
LUK comes optionally in place of affixes *phaK* and *phiÑ,* used with the signification of *yuvan,* when a *taddhita* affix of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section beginning with a vowel finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

gārgīyāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Garga'
gārgyāyaṇīyāḥ 'id.'
vātsīyāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Vatsa'
vātsyāyanīyāḥ 'id.'
yāskīyāḥ 'students of the young grandson of Yāska'
yāskāyanīyāḥ 'id.'

1. What was offered obligatorily by the preceding rule is here made optional in connection with affixes *phaK* and *phiÑ.* This will produce two optional derivates: *gārgīyāḥ* and *gārgyāyaṇīyāḥ,* etc. Note that *gārgya* + *phaK* will produce *gārgyāyaṇa,* through (*pha*→*āyana*) and (*āya*(*n*→*ṇ*)*a*). Of course, *gārgya* derives from *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ.* Note that deletion of affix *phaK* will restore the base back to *gārgya.* This base will yield *gārgyīya,* via *cha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). A non-deletion of *phaK* will give us *gārgyāyaṇa* which, after the introduction of *cha,* will produce *gārgyāyaṇīya.* This same is also true of *vātsīyāḥ*/*vātsyāyanīyāḥ,* and *yāskīyaḥ*/*yāskāyanīyāḥ.*

4.1.92 तस्यापत्यम्

tasyāpatyam
/*tasya* 6/1 *apatyam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #83)

'tasya' iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād apatyam ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati

A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled to denote the sense of *apatya* after the first syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

upagor apatyam = *aupagavaḥ* 'male offspring of Upagu'
āśvapataḥ 'male offspring of Aśvapati'
daityaḥ 'male offspring of Diti'
autsaḥ 'male offspring of Utsa'

1. This rule makes its specification, via meaning (*artha*) of two of its *padas*: *tasya*, a variable which ends in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), and *apatyam*, an offspring. Note that *tasya* and *apatyam* are both given as singular. The first could be accepted as masculine, as opposed to the second which is neuter. Does this mean that our present rule will allow affixes to be introduced only after masculine singular bases? That is, will it not allow derivates of feminine and neuter bases parallel to, for example, *devadattāyā apatyam* or *kulasyāpatyam*, where *devadattā* and *kula* are feminine and neuter, respectively. Will this rule allow derivates to have their signification limited to one *apatya*, since its specification is made by *apatyam* in singular? Commentators explain that these specifications refer to offsprings in general (*Kāś.*: *apatyamātrañceha gṛhyate*). However, this general meaning of 'offspring' is qualified with the meaning of the base (*prakṛtyarthaviśiṣṭaḥ*). This particular specification of number and gender (masculine-neuter, singular) is not central (*antaṅyaka*), and hence, is not intended to exclude others.

Why do we have to have a separate formulation of this rule? Why can it not be included within rule 4.3.120 *tasyedam*? That is, what is the use of this rule when *aṆ* could be introduced to denote the sense of *apatya* by 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. It is argued that a rule such as 4.1.95 *ata iñ* needs our present rule (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) as a qualification to its own meaning. But this could hardly be the purpose of formulating 4.1.92 separately. This purpose could have been served by a combined formulation of rules 4.1.92 and 4.1.95 as: *tasyāpatyam ata iñ*.

It is claimed that, in the absence of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, rule 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* will block 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, especially in case of bases which may qualify as *vṛddha*. A derivate in *cha* would certainly be undesired. A separate formulation of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* will not permit this blocking of 4.3.120 by 4.2.114. A *ślokavārttika* summarizes as follows:

tasyedam ity apatye'pi bādhanārthaṃ kṛtaṃ bhavet/
utsargaḥ śeṣa evāsau vṛddhānyasya prayojanam//

'This sense of *apatya* can also be covered by the *aṆ* of *tasyedam*. A separate

formulation should then be accepted for blocking *cha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*), so that it could not block *aṆ* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). The fact that blocking (*bādhya-bādhakabhāva*) does not obtain here because of marked differences in affixal denotatum cannot hold. A general (*utsarga*) rule will still be viewed as *śeṣa*, especially in view of its related exceptions. Rule 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* is then formulated to account for derivates of bases termed *vṛddha*.

How could a general rule not contained within the *śaiṣika* section block a *śaiṣika*? The sense of *apatya* which conditions the *aṆ* of *tasyāpatyam* falls outside the scope of 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, which governs 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. The question of blocking *cha* thus does not arise.

2. A separate formulation of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* is still needed since bases such as *bhānu*, which do not end in *a* but qualify as *vṛddha*, may qualify for *cha*. How? Denotation of an 'offspring' in their context will become residual (*śaiṣika*). That is, in relation to a formulation such as *tasyāpatyam ata iñ*. This will produce *bhānavīyaḥ*, as opposed to *bhānavaḥ*, a derivate permitted under 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, read separately from 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. This separate formulation of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* also saves the 'sense of *apatya*' from becoming *śaiṣika*.

There are three types of descendants: direct descendants (*anantarāpatya*), descendants termed *gotra* 'grandson, etc.' (*gotrāpatya*) and young *gotra* descendants (*yuvāpatya*). For example, Garga's son will be called *gārgi*, a direct descendant (*anantarāpatya*). A grandson of Garga, i.e., the son of Gārgi, will be called *gārgya*, 'grandson, and any descendant thereafter' (*gotrāpatya*). A young son of Gārgya, when Garga is alive, is called *gārgyāyaṇa* (*yuvāpatya*). That is, a *gārgya* is called *gārgyāyaṇa* when *garga* is alive. A younger *gārgya* can still be called *gārgyāyaṇa* when *garga* and *gārgi* are dead but when an older brother of *gārgyāyaṇa* is still alive. A *gārgya* is still called *gārgyāyaṇa*, though only optionally, when, instead of an older *gārgya*, a cousin, etc., of *gārgi*, or his own maternal grandfather (*mātāmaha*) is alive. Note in this connection that a *gotra*-descendant is derived by introducing affixes only after the base which denotes the first person in the lineage. Thus, *gārgi* and *gārgya* will be derived with *iÑ* and *yaÑ* introduced after the same syntactically related base *garga*. Of course, *gārgyāyaṇa* will be derived with *gārgya* as its base. This same is also true of *aupagavaḥ* deriving from *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* with the signification of 'male direct descendant of Upagu'. A grandson of Upagu will still be *aupagava* derived with the same base and affix. That is, one will not derive a *gotra*-descendant of Upagu with affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) introduced after *aupagava* + *Ṅas*.

> *paramaprakṛtir gargo gārgis tu tadanantaraḥ/*
> *gotre gārgyas tṛtīyasyāt turyo gārgyāyaṇo yuvā//*
> '*garga* is the first base after which we get the second *gārgi*; *gārgya*, this third, will be a *gotra*-descendant; *gārgyāyaṇa*, the fourth, will be a *yuvā*'.

4.1.93 एको गोत्रे

eko gotre
/*ekaḥ* 1/1 *gotre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82)
gotre eka eva pratyayo bhavati, sarve'patyena yujyante
Only one *taddhita* affix occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem when *gotra* descendants are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyaḥ 'male descendant (grandson, and subsequent descendants) of Garga'
nāḍāyanaḥ 'male descendant (grandson, and subsequent descendants) of Naḍa'

1. This rule makes a restrictive (*niyama*) provision in the wake of an endless cycle of *taddhita* derivates. Thus, a male offspring of Garga can be called *gārgiḥ*. A son of Gārgi will be called *gārgya*. What will one call the son of Gārgya, a grandson of Gārgi, or a great-grandson of Garga? Given the derivation of *gārgi* and *gārgya*, one would expect different forms for each subsequent generation of descendants. This rule restricts the difference of forms to zero beyond denotation of a grandson. That is, a descendant belonging to any generation subsequent to that of a grandson will be referred to as the same. All descendants of Garga will thus be referred to as *gārgya*. It is in this sense that our present rule makes a restrictive provision for affixes (*pratyaya-niyama*) denoting an *apatya*.

There is an additional question which must also be answered. What should be the base for deriving a word meaning 'grandson of Garga'? Whether it should be *garga* + *Ṅas* or *gārgi* + *Ṅas*? Commentators state that our present rule also states a restriction with regard to bases (*prakṛti*). The base, no matter what generation (from grandson on) of descendants is to be denoted, must be *garga* + *Ṅas*, the original base (*Kāś.*: *gotrāpatye vivakṣite eka eva śabdaḥ prathamā prakṛtiḥ pratyayam utpādayatīti prakṛtir niyamyate*). This rule, in this sense, also makes a restrictive provision for bases (*prakṛtiniyama*).

2. Such a restrictive provision is also justified in view of the word *apatya* 'offspring'. This word, in popular usage (*laukika*), generally refers to a most direct, or immediate (*avyavahitāpatya*), descendant. Thus, *aupagava*, a derivate of *upagu* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, will mean 'a son of Upagu'. A son of *aupagava* will be called *aupagavi*, a derivate of *aupagava* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*. What would one call the son of Aupagavi? He will be called: *aupagavāyana*, a derivate of *aupagavi* + *Ṅas* + *phaK*. This is what the technical process of deriving each subsequent direct descendant will look like. Consequently, we will get derivates such as *aupagavāyani* 'a son of Aupagavāyana; *aupagavāyanāyana*

'a son of Aupagavāyani'; *aupagavāyanāyani* 'a son of Aupagavāyanāyana'; and *aupagavāyanāyanāyana* 'a son of Aupagavāyanāyanāyani', etc. The number of affixes will gradually repeat in the order of *aṆ* 'first direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* 'second direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* + *phaK* 'third direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* + *phaK* + *iÑ* 'fourth direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* + *phaK* + *iÑ* + *phaK* 'fifth direct descendant'; *aṆ* + *iÑ* + *phaK* + *iÑ* + *phaK* + *iÑ* 'sixth direct descendant', etc. The absurdity of this process will become obvious if one thinks about the form of the 'one-hundredth direct descendant'. That derivate would involve a series of 99 affixes. Obviously, this affixal permutation had to be restrained.

Pāṇini defines *gotra* as an *apatya* 'offspring' at the level of a grandson, or any thereafter (*pautraprabhṛti*). If a grandson, or any descendant subsequent to him, can also be called an *apatya*, then the general usage of the word *apatya*, made in the sense of a 'most direct or immediate descendant', cannot be acceptable in grammar. An *apatya*, in grammar, can also refer to a *vyavahitāpatya* 'non-immediate offspring'. We obviously have two categories of *apatya* in grammar: (*i*) an *apatya* who is not a *gotra* and (*ii*) an *apatya* who is an *apatya* by way of being a *gotra*. The first category will cover a direct or most immediate descendant. Thus, a son of Garga is: *gārgiḥ*, a derivate of *garga* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). A son ot Gārgi, or a grandson of Garga, will be called: *gārgyaḥ*, a derivate of *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*). What about the great-grandson of Garga, or the grandson of Gārgi, or for that matter, the son of Gārgya? They will be called *gārgya*.

There was no way to check the endless cycle of affixes had Pāṇini not formulated our present rule. This rule states that only one affix should be used to denote a descendant termed *gotra*. Furthermore, it also requires that only one base, namely the original (in this case *garga*), must be used as the base. The result will be: *gārgya*, a derivate of *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*. *Kāśikā* rightly observes that a restrictive provision is needed so that whether one denotes a direct, or indirect, descendant termed *gotra*, affix *yaÑ* alone is to be used after *garga* (*sarvasmin vyavahitajane'pi gotrāpatye gagrgaśabdād yañeva bhavatīti pratyayo niyamyate*). This, in a way, also restricts an affix.

But since this affix is introduced after the same base *garga*, irrespective of what generation of a *gotra* descendant is denoted, this rule also makes a restrictive provision for bases.

4.1.94 गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम्

gotrād yūny astriyām

/*gotrāt* 5/1 *yūni* 7/1 *astriyām* 7/1 = *na strī* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82)

yūny apatye vivakṣite gotrād eva pratyayo bhavati na paramaprakṛtyanantarayuvabhyaḥ

A *taddhita* affix occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a descendant termed *gotra*, provided a non-female *yuvan* 'youth' is to be denoted.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyasya apatyaṃ yuvā = gārgyāyaṇaḥ 'young son of Gārgya'
dākṣer apatyaṃ yuvā = dākṣāyaṇaḥ 'young *gotra*-descendant of Dakṣa'

1. This too is a restrictive rule (*Kāś.: ayam api niyamaḥ*). A base with the signification of a *gotra*, alone, receives the affix when a *yuvāpatya* 'young son of a grandson' is denoted. The affix cannot be introduced after the first base (*paramaprakṛti*), i.e., that which signifies the first person of the lineage. It can also not be introduced after a base which signifies a son (*anantaraprakṛti*). Thus, *garga* will be used as the base for deriving both *gārgi* 'son of Garga' and *gārgya* 'son of Gārgi'. The same will be used for deriving any of the other *gotra* descendants thereafter. But when one has to express the son of Gārgya, while Gārgya is still alive, one must use *gārgya*, the base which expresses the *gotra*. Thus, a male descendant of the fourth generation termed *yuvan*, in addition to being a *gotra*, will require the third generation base for receiving an affix to express itself. All other *gotra* descendants would require the first base.

2. The negation of *astriyām* rules out any *yuvāpatya* 'young descendant' in feminine. It, however, does not rule out a female *gotra*-descendant.

4.1.95 अत इञ्

ata iñ
/*ataḥ* 5/1 *iñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
akārāntāt prātipadikād iñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ* occurs to denote an offspring (*apatyam*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *a* and is used in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*).

EXAMPLES:

dakṣasyāpatyaṃ = dākṣiḥ 'Dākṣi, a (direct male) descendant of Dakṣa'
dāśarathiḥ 'Dāśarathi, a (direct male) descendant of Daśaratha'

1. The word *ataḥ* of this rule qualifies *prātipadikāt* via *tadantavidhi*, an operational provision whereby *x* can be interpreted also as 'that which ends in *x*'. That is, a nominal stem (*prātipadika*), in the context of our present rule, should be treated as ending in *aT* (cf. 1.1.69 *taparas tatkālasya*).

2. This rule introduces affix *iÑ* as an exception to the more general provision of *aṆ*. Note that an affixal provision, made with no specification re-

garding what generation of offspring is in focus, denotes any and all descendants. Affix *iÑ* can thus be used to denote an offspring in general.

3. How can one explain the derivate *dāśaratha* of *pradīyatāṃ dāśarathāya maithilī* '. . . let the princess of Mithilā be given away (in marriage), to the son of Daśaratha?' The correct derivate should be *dāśarathi*. A derivate such as *dāśaratha*, parallel to *daśarathasya ayam* 'this one of Daśaratha', will still be valid in consonance with *tasya* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, a residual genitive (4.2.92 *śeṣe*, *Kāś.*: *śeṣavivakṣayā bhaviṣyati*). But will this *daśarathasya ayam* be an *apatya*? Refer to our discussion under 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* regarding blocking of *aṆ* by *cha*. Justifying *dāśaratha* as signifying an *apatya* will demand establishing residual relationship, through complex maneuvers, between a general provision (*utsarga*) i.e., *aṆ* and what is left by its related exception (4.1.95 *ata iñ*), on the one hand, and 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, read with 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, on the other.

4.1.96 बाह्वादिभ्यश्च

bāhvādibhyaś ca
/ *bāhvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *iñ* #95)
'*bāhu*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye iñ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ* also occurs to denote an offspring after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *bāhu* and ends in genitive.

EXAMPLES:

bāhaviḥ 'a male descendant of Bāhu'
aupabāhaviḥ 'a male descendant of Upabāhu'

1. This rule introduces *iÑ* after syntactically related nominal stems *bāhu*, etc., which do not end in *a* (*Kāś.*: *anakārārtha ārambhaḥ*). Commentators further note that, in certain instances, this rule also resolves *bādhyabādhakabhāva*, a situation of conflict arising because of two provisions where one must be blocked. This rule can also, in view of these conflicts, be accepted as formulated for blocking (*Kāś.*: *kvacid bādhakabādhanārtha*). Thus, a subset of *bāhu* group of stems, beginning with *ajīgartta* through *udaṅka*, ends in *a*. It, therefore, qualifies for *iÑ* of the earlier rule. But this *iÑ* will, in the absence of our present provision, be blocked by the *aṆ* of 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka*. . . . Our present rule, based upon the listing of these items within the *bāhvādi* group, resolves the conflict in favor of *iÑ*.

2. The *ca* of this rule is used for accounting something which may have been left out (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). That is, *ca* is used so that *bāhvādi*, as a group, can be treated as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

4.1.97 सुधातुरकङ् च

sudhātur akaṅ ca
/sudhātuḥ 6/1 *akaṅ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92 *iñ* #95)
sudhātṛśabdād apatye iñ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena ca tasyākaṅādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ* occurs to denote an offspring after the syntactically related nominal stem *sudhātṛ* which ends in genitive, with an additional provision that *akAṄ* come in place of its final sound segment.

EXAMPLES:

saudhātakiḥ = *sudhātur apatyam* 'male offspring of Sudhātṛ'

1. Note that *sudhātuḥ* can be interpreted as ablative and genitive singular both. It will be interpreted as 'ablative' for purposes of introducting affix *iÑ*. The genitive, of course, is needed for facilitating a replacement in *akAṄ*. The *Ṅ* of *akAṄ* is an *it*, though its *a* before *Ṅ* is used for ease of articulation. The *ca* of this rule is used for bringing *iÑ*.

Our example, *saudhātaki*, derives from *sudhātṛ* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*, where the final *ṛ* of *sudhātṛ* is replaced with *akAṄ* in view of 1.1.51 *ṅic ca*. One can now accomplish initial *vṛddhi* on *sudhāt*(*ṛ*→*ak*) + *i* = *sudhātak* + *i* to derive *s*(*u*→*au*) *dhātak* + *i* = *saudhātaki*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for *vyāsa, varuṇa, niṣada, caṇḍāla* and *bimba* to receive *iÑ* and *akAṄ*. This will produce *vaiyāsaki, naiṣādaki, cāṇḍālaki* and *baimbaki*, through *bha*-deletion of the final *a* and initial *vṛddhi*, of *vyāsa*, etc. Note, however, that 7.3.3 *na yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyām*... will block *vṛddhi*, and insert *aiC*, before *y* in *vaiyāsaki*.

4.1.98 गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च्फञ्

gotre kuñjādibhyaś cphañ
/gotre 7/1 *kuñjādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *cphañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
gotrasaṃjñake'patye vācye kuñjādibhyaś cphañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *CphaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and is listed in the group headed by *kuñja*, provided the derivate is to denote an *apatya* termed *gotra*.

EXAMPLES:

kuñjasya gotrāpatyam = *kauñjāyanyaḥ* 'Kauñjāyana, a grandson of Kuñja'
kauñjāyanyau 'the two *gotra*-descendants of Kuñja'
kauñjāyanyāḥ 'many *gotra*-descendants of Kuñja'

1. Affix *CphaÑ* is an exception to *iÑ*, especially in view of the *kuñjādi* stems which end in *a*. The *C* is included as an *it* to distinguish this affix from *phaÑ* of 4.1.110 *aśvādibhyaḥ phañ* (*cakāro viśeṣaṇārthaḥ*). The *Ñ*, of course, is intended as an *it* to facilitate initial (*ādi*) *vṛddhi* (*ñakāro vṛddhyarthaḥ*; 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*).

4.1.99 नडादिभ्यः फक्

naḍādibhyaḥ phak
/*naḍādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *phak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98)
'*naḍa*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo gotrāpatye phak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *phaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive and is listed in the group headed by *naḍa*, provided the derivate is to denote a descendant termed *gotra*.

EXAMPLES:

naḍasya gotrāpatyam = *nāḍāyanaḥ* 'Nāḍāyana, a grandson of Naḍa'
cārāyaṇaḥ 'Cārāyaṇa, a grandson of Cara'

1. Note that stems of the *naḍādi* group will receive *phaK* as an exception to *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). Of course, when derivates denote a *gotra* descendant. Elsewhere, for example in case of *nāḍi* 'direct (male) descendant of Naḍa', one must introduce *iÑ* since the denotatum is a direct descendant.

4.1.100 हरितादिभ्योऽञः

haritādibhyo' ñaḥ
/*haritādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *añaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phak* #99)
haritādibhyo' ñantebhyo' patye phak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *harita*, and ends in *aÑ*, provided a descendant termed *gotra* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

haritasyāpatyam = *hāritāyanaḥ* 'Hāritāyana, a young *gotra*-descendant of Harita'
kaidāsāyanaḥ 'a young *gotra*-descendant of Kidāsa'

1. Note that stems headed by *harita* form a subgroup within a larger group headed by *bida*. Rule 4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye bidādibhyo' ñ* introduces *aÑ* with the signification of *gotra*. That is, *harita*, etc., receives *aÑ* to denote a *gotra*-

descendant. Why is this rule introducing *phaK* to denote a *gotra* descendant? Besides, provisions of 4.1.93 *eko gotre* go against two affixes for denoting a *gotra*-descendant. It is to resolve this conflict that *gotra* is here interpreted as referring to a *gotra*-descendant termed *yuvan.*

A derivate ending in *aÑ*, i.e., *hārita*, can now be used for deriving *hāritāyana* 'a young *gotra* descendant of Harita', a derivate of *phaK.* But notice that the derivate must still denote a *gotra*-descendant. It is to resolve this conflicting situation that *gotra* of this rule is interpreted as referring to a *gotra*-descendant termed *yuvan.* Now *phaK* can be introduced to derive *hāritāyanaḥ*, a son of Hārita. As specified earlier under 4.1.93 *eko gotre*, and required by 3.1.94 *gotrād yūni* . . ., the derivates of this rule must accept their bases as ending in an affix denoting a *gotra.* But since our present rule uses *añaḥ* as a qualifier, via *tadantavidhi*, to stems of the *haritādi* group, and also since *aÑ* denotes a *gotra*, one need not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *gotre* in this rule. It is also at the strength of this Pāṇinian provision (*vidhāna-sāmarthyāt*) of *phaK* after a base qualified with *aÑ*, that we understand *yuvāpatya* as the affixal denotatum.

4.1.101 यञिञोश्च

yañiñoś ca
/*yañiñoḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *phak* #99)
yañantād iñantāc ca prātipadikād apatye phak pratyayo bhavati
Affix *phaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in affixes *yaÑ* and *iÑ*, provided a *gotra*-descendant is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyāyaṇaḥ 'young great grandson of Garga'
vātsyāyanaḥ 'young great grandson of Vatsa'
dākṣāyaṇaḥ 'young great grandson of Dakṣa'
plākṣāyaṇaḥ 'young great grandson of Plakṣa'

1. Note that *gotre*, received through *anuvṛtti*, must be used as a qualifier to *yaÑ* and *iÑ* (*gotragrahaṇena yañiñau viśiṣyete*). Such a qualification would make it impossible for this rule to apply to *yaÑ* and *iÑ* derivates of rules 4.3.10 *dvīpād anusamudraṃ yañ* and 4.2.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭha* . . ., respectively. For, these rules do not introduce these affixes with the denotatum of a *gotra.* Here again, we find that *phaK* is introduced with the denotatum of an *apatya.* But since the bases specified here must end in affixes *yaÑ* and *iÑ*, we understand, especially in view of 4.1.93 *eko gotre* and 4.1.94 *gotrād yūni* . . ., that *phaK* is introduced to denote a young *gotra*-descendant.

4.1.102 शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद् भृगुवत्साग्रायणेषु

śaradvacchunakadarbhād bhṛguvatsāgrāyaṇeṣu
/*śaradvac-chunaka-darbhāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *bhṛgu-vatsa-āgrāyaṇeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *phak* #99)
'*śaradvat, śunaka, darbha*' *ity etebhyo gotrāpatye phak pratyayo bhavati yathāsaṃkhyaṃ bhṛguvatsāgrāyaṇeṣv artheṣu apatyaviśeṣeṣu*
The *taddhita* affix *phaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śaradvat, śunaka* and *darbha,* when ending in genitive, provided their derivates denoted a *gotra*-descendant of *bhṛgu, vatsa* and *āgrāyaṇa,* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

śāradvatāyanaḥ 'a grandson of Śaradvat, a descendant in the lineage (*gotra*) of Bhṛgu'
śaunakāyanaḥ 'a grandson of Śunaka, a descendant in the lineage of Śunaka'
dārbhāyaṇaḥ 'a grandson of Darbha, a descendant in the lineage of Darbha'
āgrāyaṇaḥ 'a grandson of Āgrāyaṇa, a descendant in the lineage of Āgrāyaṇa'

1. Note that *śaradvat* and *śunaka* are enumerated within the *bidādi* group of nominals. As such, they qualify for affix *yaÑ* of 4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye.* . . . Our third nominal, *darbha,* qualifies for affix *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ.* The *phaK* of our present rule thus blocks *yaÑ* and *iÑ* both.

2. The specification of *bhṛgu, vatsa* and *āgrāyaṇa* is made so that, elsewhere, one can derive forms such as *śāradvataḥ, śaunakaḥ* and *dārbhiḥ,* parallel to *śāradvatāyanaḥ, śaunakāyanaḥ* and *dārbhāyaṇaḥ* of our present rule.

4.1.103 द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम्

droṇaparvatajīvantād anyatarasyām
/*droṇa-parvata-jīvantāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *phak* #99)
droṇādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo gotrāpatye' nyatarasyāṃ phak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phaK* occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *droṇa, parvata* and *jīvanta,* when they end in genitive to denote a *gotra*-descendant.

EXAMPLES:

drauṇāyanaḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Droṇa'

drauṇiḥ 'id.'
pārvatāyanaḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Parvata'
pārvatiḥ 'id.'
jaivantāyanaḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Jīvanta'
jaivantiḥ 'id.'

1. This rule introduces *phaK* as an option to *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ.* However, the denotatum must be a *gotrāpatya,* as opposed to a most immediate offspring (*anantrāpatya*). If *phaK* is introduced to derive a *gotra*-descendant then Aśvatthāmā, the son of Droṇācārya, should not be called *drauṇāyanaḥ.* The *droṇa* of this *drauṇāyanaḥ* is not the *droṇa* of the *Mahābhārata.* Hence the question of *drauṇāyanaḥ* referring to *aśvatthāmā* does not arise.

4.1.104 अनृष्यानन्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽञ्

anṛṣy ānantarye bidādibhyo' ñ
/*anṛṣi* (deleted 5/3) = *na ṛṣiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ānantarye* 7/1 *bidādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98)
bidādibhyo gotrāpatye' ñ pratyayo bhavati; anṛṣibhyo' nantare bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs to denote a *gotra*-descendant after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and is listed in the group headed by *bida,* with the exception that stems not signifying a sage denote an immediate offspring (*anantarāpatya*).

EXAMPLES:

baidaḥ 'a grandson of Bida'
aurvaḥ 'a grandson of Urva'
pautraḥ = *putrasyāpatyam* 'son's son'
dauhitraḥ 'daughter's son'

1. This rule introduces *aÑ* to derive forms signifying a *gotra*-descendant. such a signification is blocked in case of stems which denote a non-sage (*anṛṣi*). The derivates of such nominals must denote a most immediate offspring (*anantarāpatya*), instead.

2. The word *anṛṣi* is interpreted as *luptapañcamīka* 'that which has its ablative deleted'. A fully derived ablative plural form of *anṛṣi,* i.e., *anṛṣibhyaḥ,* will serve as a qualifier to *bidādibhyaḥ.* Such a qualification will make it clear that *bidādi* group of nominals constitute two types: (*i*) those (such as *bida, bharadvāja, kaśyapa,* etc.) which denote a sage, and (*ii*) those (such as *putra, duhitṛ, nanāndṛ*) which denote someone other than a sage. Derivates of the first category will denote a *gotra*-descendant. Derivates of the second will denote the most direct offspring. Derivates of stems denoting a sage also qualify as exceptions to the *aÑ* of 4.1.111 *ṛṣyandhaka. . . .* Derivates of the

non-sage category, for example *dauhitra* and *pautra,* also form exceptions to affixes *aṆ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) and *iÑ* (4.1.93 *ata iñ*), respectively.

4.1.105 गर्गादिभ्यो यञ्

gargādibhyo yañ
/gargādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *yañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98)
gargādibhyo gotrāpatye yañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and is listed in the group headed by *garga,* provided the derivate denotes a *gotra*-descendant.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyaḥ 'a grandson of Garga'
vātsyaḥ 'a grandson of Vatsa'

1. How come *jāmadagnyaḥ* and *pārāśaryaḥ* are used with the signification of 'Paraśurāma' and 'Pārāśara', the most immediate offsprings? It is true that *jāmadagnyaḥ* and *pārāśaryaḥ* denote *gotra*-descendants, as opposed to *jāmadagnaḥ* and *pārāśaraḥ,* the sons of Jamadagni and Parāśara. But *jāmadagnyaḥ* and *pārāśaryaḥ* are used in the sense of 'sons'. This is made possible by transferring the meaning of a direct descendant (*anantarāpatya*) to the form of a *gotra*-descendant.

4.1.106 मधुबभ्र्वोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः

madhubabhrvor brāhmaṇakauśikayoḥ
/madhu-babhrvoḥ 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *brāhmaṇa-kauśikayoḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105)
madhuśabdād babhruśabdāc ca gotrāpatye yañ pratyayo bhavati yathāsaṃkhyaṃ brāhmaṇe kauśike ca vācye
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *madhu* and *babhru,* when ending in genitive, provided a *gotra*-descendant, namely that of *brāhmaṇa* and *kauśika,* respectively, is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

mādhavyaḥ 'grandson of Madhu, a Brāhmaṇa'
bābhravyaḥ 'grandson of Babhru, a Kauśika by lineage'

1. Note that *babhru* is listed in the *gargādi* group of nominals. Consequently, *yaÑ* was already available to it from the preceding rule. A separate mention of *babhru* is made here to restrict its *yaÑ*-derivate to the context of a *gotra*-

descendant of Kauśika. That is, *babhru*, here, means *kauśika*. The listing of *babhru*, in the *gargādi* group, is made as part of a subgroup of *lohitādi*. This being the case, its feminine will be formed, in view of *Ṣpha* of 4.1.18 *sarvatra lohitādi . . .*, with the *N̄īṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*. Thus, we will also get *bābhravyāyaṇī* 'a granddaughter of Babhru'.

2. Note that *mādhavaḥ* and *bābhravaḥ*, as derivates of *aṆ* of 4.1.95 *tasyāpatyam*, will denote a non-Brāhmaṇa and non-Kauśika descendant of Madhu and Babhru, respectively.

4.1.107 कपिबोधादाङ्गिरसे

kapibodhād āṅgirase
/ *kapi-bodhāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *āṅgirase* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105)
kapibodhaśabdābhyām āṅgirase'patyaviśeṣe gotre yañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kapi* and *bodha*, when ending in genitive, provided derivates denote a *gotra*-descendant of the lineage of Aṅgirasa.

EXAMPLES:

kāpyaḥ 'grandson of Kapi, an Āṅgirasa by gotra'
baudhyaḥ 'grandson of Bodha, an Āṅgirasa by gotra'

1. Note that *kapi* is included within the *gargādi* group. As such, affix *yaÑ*, and *Ṣpha* of 4.1.18 *sarvatra lohitādi . . .* as well, is available to it. A specification is made here for restricting a derivate of *yaÑ* to the context of a *gotra*-descendant of Aṅgirasa. The word *bodha* is a non-sage stem enumerated within the *bāhvādi* group of 4.1.94 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*. Outside the restrictive meaning of *āṅgirase*, we will get: *kāpeyaḥ* 'grandson of Kapi' and *baudhiḥ* 'grandson of Bodha'. A granddaughter of Kapi, through *Ṣpha* of 4.1.18 *sarvatra lohitādi . . .*, will be called: *kāpyāyanī*.

4.1.108 वतण्डाच्च

vataṇḍāc ca
/ *vataṇḍāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105, *āṅgirase* #107)
vataṇḍaśabdād āṅgirase'patyaviśeṣe gotre yañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *vataṇḍa*, when ending in genitive, provided a *gotra*-descendant of the lineage of Aṅgirasa is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vātaṇḍyaḥ 'grandson of Vataṇḍa, an Āṅgirasa by gotra'

1. Note that *vataṇḍa* is enumerated in two groups: *gargādi* and *śivādi*. Consequently, it qualifies for both affixes *yaÑ* (of 4.1.105 *gargādibhyo' ñ*) and *aṆ* (of 4.1.112 *śivādibhyo' ṇ*). The purpose of specifying *vataṇḍa* in this rule is restrictive (*niyamārtha*). Affix *yaÑ* alone is to be used after *vataṇḍa* when the derivate is a *gotra*-descendant of Aṅgirasa. A derivate with the signification of someone other than an Āṅgirasa, in view of the *gargādi* listing of *vataṇḍa*, will be: *vātaṇḍyaḥ*. A derivate in consonance with the *śivādi* listing will be: *vātaṇḍaḥ*, derived with affix *aṆ*.

4.1.109 लुक् स्त्रियाम्

luk striyām
/*luk* 1/1 *striyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105, *āṅgirase* #107, *vataṇḍāt* #108)
vataṇḍaśabdād āṅgirasyāṃ striyāṃ yañpratyayasya lug bhavati
LUK comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* which occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *vataṇḍa*, provided the derivate denotes a female *gotra*-descendant of Aṅgirasa.

EXAMPLES:

vataṇḍī 'female descendant of Vataṇḍa, an Āṅgirasa by gotra'

1. This rule provides for *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaÑ* after *vataṇḍa* when the derivative denotes a female *gotra*-descendant of Aṅgirasa. Affix *ṄīN* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravād* . . .) is then introduced to derive *vataṇḍī* 'female descendant of Vataṇḍa in the lineage of Aṅgirasa'. Obviously, *vataṇḍa* is listed in the *śārṅgaravādi* group. The *lohitādi* listing of *vataṇḍa* will derive: *vātaṇḍyāyanī*, a derivate of *yaÑ* where *ṄīṢ* is facilitated by *Ṣpha* (4.1.18 *lohitādi* . . .). A *śivādi* listing will produce *vātaṇḍī*, a derivate of *aṆ* with *ṄīṢ*. This *ṄīṢ*, however, cannot be deleted since this usage falls outside the scope of this rule.

4.1.110 अश्वादिभ्यः फञ्

aśvādibhyaḥ phañ
/*aśvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *phañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *yañ* #105)
aśvādibhyo gotrāpatye phañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem

listed in the group headed by *aśva*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes a *gotra*-descendant.

EXAMPLES:

āśvāyanaḥ 'grandson of Aśva'
āśmāyanaḥ 'a grandson of Aśman'

1. Note that the *aśvādi* group also includes nominals such as *ānaḍuhya*, etc., which already denote a *gotra*-descendant. Affix *phaÑ*, in these instances, will be introduced to derive forms with the signification of a *yuvāpatya* 'young *gotra*-descendant'.

4.1.111 भर्गात् त्रैगर्त्ते

bhargāt traigartte
/ *bhargāt* 5/1 *traigartte* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #98, *phañ* #110)
bhargaśabdād apatye viśeṣe traigartte gotre phañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phaÑ*, with the denotatum of a *gotra*-descendant, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *bharga*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate signifies '. . . born in the country of Trigartta'.

EXAMPLES:

bhārgāyaṇaḥ 'grandson of Bharga, born in Trigartta'

1. We will get *bhārgiḥ*, a derivate of *iÑ* (3.1.95 *ata iñ*), outside the meaning condition of *traigartte*.

4.1.112 शिवादिभ्योऽण्

śivādibhyo'ṇ
/ *śivādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
śivādibhyo'patye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and is listed in the group headed by *śiva*, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

śaivaḥ 'a descendant of Śiva'
prauṣṭhaḥ 'a descendant of Proṣṭha'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *gotre*, carried from 4.1.98 *gotre kuñjādibhyaś*. . .,

is no longer valid. Consequently, affixal provisions will not be made under the meaning condition of *apatyam* of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. This provision of affix *aṆ* is, obviously, made as an exception to affixes *iÑ*, etc. (*Kāś.*: *yathāyatham iñādīnām apavādaḥ*). The word *takṣan* 'carpenter' is included within the *śivādi* group simply to block the *iÑ* of rule 4.1.153 *udīcām iñ*. But this inclusion of *takṣan* within the *śivādi* group will, at the same time, also block the affixal provision of *Ṇya* of 4.1.152 *senāntalakṣaṇakāribhyaś ca*. For, the word *takṣan* means an 'artisan'. This will make the derivation of *tākṣṇaḥ* and *tākṣaṇyaḥ* impossible. Commentators explain that inclusion of *takṣan* in the *śivādi* group is intended for blocking *iÑ*, etc., and not *Ṇya*. How do we know this? We know it from the fact that *takṣan* is listed here along with (*sāhacarya*) *supiṣṭa*, etc. Since *supiṣṭa*, etc., are listed here with the intent of blocking *iÑ*, *takṣan* should also share this same intent (*Kāś.*: *takṣanśabdo' tra paṭhyate kārilakṣaṇam udīcām iñaṃ bādhitum. ṇyapartyayasya tu bādhā neṣyate*; *Nyāsa*: *supiṣṭaśabdādobhiḥ sāhacaryāt*). Besides, blocking of *Ṇya* is not desired. Thus we get two derivates: *takṣṇaḥ*, with *aṆ*, and *tākṣaṇyaḥ*, with *Ṇya*.

2. The word *gaṅgā* is also included here in the *śivādi* group. It has also been listed, elsewhere, in the *śubhrādi* (4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*) and *tikādi* (4.1.154 *tikādibhyaḥ phiñ*) groups. Obviously, there will be three derivates: one each of *aṆ*, *ḍhaK* and *phiÑ*, respectively: *gāṅgaḥ*, *gāṅgeyaḥ* and *gāṅgāyaniḥ*. These affixes cannot entail any blocking of each other.

3. A question is also raised against including *aṆ* in the wording of this rule. Why state *aṆ* when it will be automatically available, once the particular provisions of *iÑ*, etc., of this domain are exhausted. Some say that *aṆ* is explicitly stated so that, in case of derivates of *ṛṣṭiṣeṇa*, one can get affix *aṆ*. This *aṆ*, in case of *ṛṣṭiṣeṇa*, will block *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. It will also block affix *Ṇya* of 4.1.152 *senāntalakṣaṇa*..., which would otherwise block *iÑ*. The *aṆ* is stated here explicitly to indicate that this, and other affixal provisions, apply as stated (*yathāprāptam*). Some claim that *aṆ* is explicitly stated for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

4. A *vārttika* provision of *aṆ* is made for stems which consist of two vowels (*dvyac*) and denote a woman with the name of a *nadī* 'river' (*dvyaco nadyāḥ*). Thus, *sandhyā* will have a derivate such as *sāndhyaḥ*. This is an exception to affix *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*. Another *vārttika* proposal will allow *traivaṇa*, a descendant of Triveṇī, with the additional requirement that *triveṇī* be replaced with *trivaṇa*. Thus, *triveṇyā apatyam* = *traivaṇaḥ* 'Traivaṇa, a descendant of Triveṇī'.

4.1.113 अवृद्धाभ्योनदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः

avṛddhābhyo nadīmānuṣībhyas tannāmikābhyaḥ

/ *avṛddhābhyaḥ* 5/3 = *na vṛddhāḥ* = *avṛddhāḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tābhyaḥ*; *nadīmānuṣībhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyaḥ*; *tannāmikābhyaḥ* = *tāni nāmāni*

yāsām tāḥ (*bv.*), *tābhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
avṛddhāni yāni nadīnāṃ mānuṣīṇāṃ ca nāmadheyāni tebhyo'patyae'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote a descendant, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, has a form other than one termed *vṛddha*, and signifies a *nadī* 'river' or *mānuṣī* 'human female', named as such (*tan-nāmikā*).

EXAMPLES:

yamunāyā apatyam = *yāmunaḥ* 'Yāmuna, a descendant of Yamunā'
irāvatyā apatyam airāvataḥ 'Airāvata, a descendant of Irāvatī'
vaitastaḥ 'a descendant of Vitastā'
nārmadaḥ 'a descendant of Narmadā'
śikṣitāyā apatyam = *śaikṣitaḥ* 'Śaikṣita, a descendant of Śikṣitā'
cintitāyā apatyam = *caintitaḥ* 'Caintita, a descendant of Cintitā'

1. Note that the negation of *avṛddhābhyaḥ* is used to specify the stem-form (*śabdadharmaḥ*), namely, 'that which is other than one termed *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācāmādis tad vṛddham*)'. A specification by *nadīmānuṣībhyaḥ* characterizes meaning (*arthadharma*). These both, via non-difference (*abheda*) of form and meaning (*śabdārtha*), specify bases (*prakṛti*). The word *tannāmikābhyaḥ* 'after those thus named' specifies a base relative to the signification of which the affix is to be introduced. Consequently, *nadī* and *mānuṣī* must be accepted as denotata of feminine bases whose offsprings the affix will name. This affixal provision of *aṆ* is an exception to the *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*.

2. The condition of *mānuṣībhyaḥ* excludes bases with non-human denotata. Thus, *vinatā* and *suparṇā* are excluded because they are names of birds (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *suparṇa-vinatā-śabdau pakṣiṇīnām abhidheye, na nadīmānuṣyau*). The condition of *avṛddhābhyaḥ* will exclude bases, for example, *cāndrabhāgā* and *vāsavadattā*, which qualify as *vṛddha*. These must have their derivates in *ḍhaK*: *cāndrabhāgeyaḥ* and *vāsavadatteyaḥ*, parallel to *cāndrabhāgāyā apatyaṃ pumān* and *vāsavadattāyā apatyaṃ pumān*. The condition of *tannāmikābhyaḥ* 'after bases thus named' is laid down to exclude derivates parallel to *śobhanāyā apatyam* 'the descendant of woman who is beautiful'. That is, if *śobhanā*, a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), is not used as a name.

4.1.114 ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च

ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇikurubhyaś ca
/*ṛṣy-andhaka-vṛṣṇi-kurubhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ṛṣayaś ca andhakāś ca vṛṣṇayaś ca kuruvaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
ṛṣyādikurvantebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo'patye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and signifies a sage (*ṛṣi*), an *andhaka*, a *vṛṣṇi*, or else, a *kuru*, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

vāsiṣṭhaḥ 'a descendant of Vasiṣṭha'
vaiśvāmitraḥ 'a descendant of Viśvāmitra'
śvāphalkaḥ 'a descendant of Śvaphalaka'
vāsudevaḥ 'a descendant of Vasudeva'
nākulaḥ 'a descendant of Nakula'

1. Note that *vasiṣṭha*, etc., are popularly known as sages (*ṛṣi*). A sage is characterized as one to whom *mantras* were revealed (*ṛṣayo mantradarśinaḥ*). *Kāśikā* notes that a descendant of *atri*, a sage, will still be *āttreya*, a derivate of *ḍhaK* (4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*). This rule, since it has been placed as an exception (*apavāda*) in between (*madhye*) rules 4.1.95 *ata iñ* and 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*, can only block a preceding provision (*pūrvān*), and not any subsequent (*nottarān*). That is, only *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ* can be blocked by the *aṆ* of our present rule. Obviously, this *aṆ* cannot block the *ḍhaK* of 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ* (cf. *Paribhāṣā* (61): *madhye'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). A conflict between the *aṆ* of this rule (*ṛsy-aṇ*), and the *Ṇya* of 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*, etc., particularly in examples such as *āttreyaḥ*, *jātasenyaḥ* and *augrasenyaḥ*, etc., is resolved on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ*...). Derivates of this rule, thus, constitute an exception only to the affixal provision of *iÑ*. Incidentally, *andhaka*, *vṛṣṇī* and *kuru* denote clans (*vaṃśākhyā*).

4.1.115 मातुरुत्संख्यासंभद्रपूर्वायाः

mātur ut saṃkhyāsambhadrapūrvāyāḥ
/*mātuḥ* 6/1 *ut* 1/1 *saṃkhyāsambhadrapūrvāyāḥ* 6/1 = *saṃkhyā ca saṃ ca bhadraś ca; saṃkhyāsaṃbhadrāḥ pūrva yasyāḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasyāḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
mātṛśabdāt saṃkhyāpūrvāt sampūrvād bhadrapūrvāc cāpatye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati, ukāraś cāntādeśaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *mātṛ*, where its final *ṛ* is concurrently replaced with *u*, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya* and *mātṛ* is used in combination after a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'a number word', or after *sam* and *bhadra*.

EXAMPLES:

dvayor mātror apatyam = *dvaimāturaḥ* 'a son of two mothers'

ṣāṇmāturaḥ 'a son of six mothers'
sāmmāturaḥ 'the son of a great mother'
bhādramāturaḥ 'the son of a benevolent mother'

1. It is argued that this rule is formulated mainly for providing *u* as a replacement for the final *ṛ* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*) of *mātṛ*, of course, in conjunction with *aṆ*. The affix is, of course, available from 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*.

2. The phrase *saṃkhyā-sam-bhadra-pūrvāyāḥ* is used as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *mātṛ*, its qualifed (*viśeṣya*). But *mātṛ* can also be masculine, as we find in *dhānyaṃ mimīte* = *dhānyamātṛ* 'one who weighs grains'. Why was this reference not made with a qualifier in masculine? Affix *aṆ* is here made available to *mātṛ*, only when the same is used in feminine (*Kāś.*: *strīliṅganirdeśo'rthāpekṣaḥ*). Consequently, a descendant of *sam-mātṛ* 'he who weighs something properly', a masculine base, cannot be derived with *aṆ* and the concurrent replacement in *u* for its *ṛ*. That is, feminine alone should be understood from the *mātṛ* of this rule. After all, its derivates will be denoting descendants, and *mātṛ* is a kin word (*sambandhiśabda*).

4.1.116 कन्यायाः कनीन च

kanyāyāḥ kanīna ca
/*kanyāyāḥ* 6/1 *kanīna* (delete 1/1) *ca* ɸ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
kanyāśabdād apatye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati; tatsanniyogena kanīnaśabda ādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kanyā* 'unmarried girl', with an additional provision that it concurrently be replaced with *kanīna*, when *kanyā* ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kanyāyā apatyam = *kānīnaḥ* 'son of an unmarried girl; Karṇa; Vyāsa'

1. The word *kanyā* generally means a virgin (*akṣatayoni*). How could a girl be called *kanyā*, and, at the same time, also be spoken of as having an offspring? Patañjali resolves this conflict by interpreting *kanyā* as one who had sex with a man prior to ritual wedding. Some maintain that a *kanyā*, if she enters into sexual relationship with a 'god' or 'sage', still remains a virgin.

2. The word *kanīna*, because of its contextual proximity, is treated as a replacement for *kanyā* which, in turn, receives *aṆ*. The *aṆ*, itself, is an exception to affix *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*. Incidentally, *kanīna* replaces *kanyā*, in toto, in view of 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*.

4.1.117 विकर्णशुङ्गछगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु

vikarṇaśuṅgachagalād vatsabharadvājātriṣu
/*vikarṇa-śuṅga-chagalāt* 5/1 = *vikarṇaś ca śuṅgaś ca chagalaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *vatsabharadvājātriṣu* 7/3 *vatsaś ca bharadvājaś ca atriś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
vikarṇaśuṅgachagalaśabdebhyo yathāsaṃkhyaṃ vatsabharadvājātriṣv apatyaviśeṣeṣv aṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vikarṇa, śuṅga* and *chagala,* when ending in genitive, provided an *apatya* of *vatsa, bharadvāja* and *atri,* respectively, is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vaikarṇo bhavati vātsyaś ca 'son of Vikarṇa, a descendant of Vatsa'
śauṅgaḥ 'son of Śuṅga, a descendant of Bharadvāja'
chāgalaḥ 'son of Chagala, a descendant of Atri'

1. This rule provides for *aṆ* after bases *vikarṇa, śuṅga* and *chagala,* when derivates denote an offspring in the lineage of *vatsa, bharadvāja* and *atri,* respectively. The words *vatsa, bharadvāja* and *atri* are specified here as bases, parallel to *vikarṇa, śuṅga* and *chagala,* for deriving forms with the sense of a *gotra*-descendant of *vatsa, bharadvāja* and *atri.* That is why, derivates of this rule are explained with qualifiers such as: *vaikarṇo bhavati vātsyaś ca* 'one who is Vaikarṇa, and at the same time, also a descendant of Vatsa' etc. Obviously, these derivates signify a *gotrapatya* 'an offspring termed Gotra'.

4.1.118 पीलाया वा

pīlāyā vā
/*pīlāyāḥ* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112)
pīlāyā apatye vā'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *pīlā,* when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

pīlāyā apatyam = *pailaḥ* 'a male descendant of Pīlā'
paileyaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *pīlā* is a female name. As such, it already has *aṆ* available from 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo....* But that *aṆ* is blocked by *ḍhaK* of rule 4.1.121

dvyacaḥ, since *pīlā* consists of two vowels. Our present rule offers *aṆ* as an option to *ḍhaK* which blocked the *aṆ* characterized as *tannāmika* '. . . thus named'. The *ḍhaK* of 4.1.121 cannot block this optional provision in favor of its own obligatory one, because this optional *aṆ* is specified with reference to a particular base (*pratipadokta*).

4.1.119 ढक् च मण्डूकात्

ḍhak ca maṇḍūkat
/*ḍhak* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *maṇḍūkāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *aṇ* #112, *vā* #118)
maṇḍūkaśabdād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati cakārād aṇ ca vā
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK*, and *aṆ* as well, occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *maṇḍūka*, when it ends in genitive and the derivative denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

māṇḍūkeyaḥ 'a descendant of Maṇḍūka'
māṇḍūkaḥ 'id.'
māṇḍūkiḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *vā* is carried from the preceding rule to introduce *ḍhaK*, optionally with *aṆ*. The *ca* is used to indicate that *aṆ* is optional. It is optional to *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ* because *maṇḍūka* ends in *a*. We will thus get three derivates: *māṇḍūkeyaḥ*, with *ḍhaK*, *māṇḍūkaḥ*, with *aṆ*, and *māṇḍūkiḥ*, with *iÑ*. Incidentally, *māṇḍūkeya* will derive from (*maṇḍūka* + *Ṅas* + *ḍhaK*) + *sU*, where its affixal *ḍh* will be replaced with *ey* of 7:1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ*. . . .

4.1.120 स्त्रीभ्यो ढक्

strībhyo ḍhak
/*strībhyaḥ* 5/3 *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
strībhyo'patye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which terminates in a feminine affix, and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

suparṇāyā apatyam = *sauparṇeyaḥ* 'son of Suparṇā'
vainateyaḥ 'son of Vinatā'

1. Note that *strī* 'female', of *strībhyaḥ*, specifies bases which end in femi-

nine affixes *ṬāP*, etc. (*Kāś.*: *strīgrahaṇena ṭābādipratyayāntāḥ śabdā gṛhyante*). Our bases, *suparṇā* and *vinatā*, both end in *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*). But why is *strī* not interpreted as specifying the word-form *strī*? Because the rule makes its specification in plural. Since the form *strī* is one, its specification should have been made in singular (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *svarūpagrahaṇam tu na bhavati bahuvacananirdeśāt*; *Nyāsa*: *svarūpagrahaṇe hi tasyaikatvād ekavacanenaiva nirdeśaṃ kuryāt*). In the absence of denotation of feminine by means of a feminine affix, bases such as *iḍaviḍa* and *darada*, which are names of females, do not qualify for derivates of this rule. They derive *aiḍaviḍaḥ* 'son of Iḍaviḍa' and *dāradaḥ* 'son of Darada', instead.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for *vaḍavā* to receive affix *ḍhaK* when the derivate denotes a *vṛṣa* 'stallion, stud'. Thus we get: *vāḍaveyaḥ*. But if the derivate means an *apatya* then the derivate will be *vāḍavaḥ* 'foal'. A *vārttika* proposal for affix *aṆ*, instead, is made for feminine bases *kruñcā* 'heron' and *kokilā* 'cuckoo'. These will produce *krauñcaḥ* and *kaukilaḥ*, through *bha*-deletion and initial *vṛddhi*.

4.1.121 द्व्यचः

dvyacaḥ
/*dvyacaḥ* 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *strībhyo ḍhak* #120)
dvyacaḥ strīpratyayāntād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies feminine, contains two vowels and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

dattāyā apatyam = *dātteyaḥ* 'Dattā's son'
gaupeyaḥ 'Gopā's son'

1. Why do we need this rule when its derivates are already covered by the earlier rule? This rule is formulated as an exception to 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo nadīmānuṣībhyas*. . . . Thus, *dattā* and *gopā* are names of human females, and as such, a derivate denoting their *apatya* should have been derived with *aṆ*. This rule offers *ḍhaK*, instead. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* offers *yāmunaḥ*, a derivate of *aṆ* with its base *yamunā* containing more than two vowels, as a counter-example.

4.1.122 इतश्चानिञः

itaś cāniñaḥ
/*itaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *aniñaḥ* 5/1 = *na iñ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120, *dvyacaḥ* #121)
ikārāntāt prātipadikād aniñantād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which contains two vowels, ends in an *i*, other than that of *iÑ*, and is used in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

āttreyaḥ 'son of Atri'
naidheyaḥ 'son of Nidhi'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *strībhyaḥ* is suspended. The *ca* is used here to attract *dvyacaḥ* (*Kāś.*: *cakāraḥ 'dvyacaḥ' ity asya anukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). The condition of *itaḥ* is imposed so that bases such as *dakṣa* and *plakṣa*, which are disyllabic but which end in *a*, could be kept out of the scope of this rule. The condition of *aniñaḥ* is imposed to similarly exclude bases such as *dākṣi* and *plākṣi* which end in affix *iÑ*. Thus, *dākṣiḥ* and *dākṣāyaṇaḥ* serve as counter-examples for these conditions. Of course, *dvyacaḥ* is needed here to exclude a base, for example *mārīci*, which ends in *i* but consists of more than two vowels.

2. Note that *āttreyaḥ* and *naidheyaḥ* are derivates of *atri* and *nidhi* which, in turn, are names of sages. This rule thus also blocks the *aṆ* of 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇi*. . . .

4.1.123 शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च

śubhrādibhyaś ca
/*śubhrādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *śubhra ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120)
'*śubhra*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo ḍhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śubhra*, provided it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

śaubhreyaḥ 'son of Śubhra'
vaiṣṭapureyaḥ 'son of Viṣṭapura'

1. Note that nominals, referenced here as *śubhrādi*, consist of bases which, without this rule, qualify for affixes *aṆ* and *iÑ*, etc. For example, bases which end in *a* will form an exception to affix *iÑ*. Similarly, *śalākā*, *kurekā*, *ambikā*, *aśokā*, *khaṭvā* and *piṅgalā*, etc., will form an exception to *aṆ*, characterized as

tannāmika (4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo*...). A base, for example *vidhavā*, will form an exception to affix *ḍhraK* (4.1.131 *kṣudrābhyo vā*). Bases such as *kiṃkasā, rohiṇī, ajavasti* and *śakandhi*, etc., will form exceptions to *ḍhaÑ* of 4.1.135 *catuṣpādbhyo ḍhañ*. The *ḍhaK* of our present rule can be accepted as an exception to all these affixes.

2. Commentators state that *ca* of this rule is used for bringing some additional bases under the scope of this rule (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). This way, one can also derive *pāṇḍaveya* (optionally; no deletion by 6.4.147 *ḍhelopo'-kadrvāḥ*) and *gāṅgeya*. A proposal is also made to treat this listing as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

4.1.124 **विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे**

vikarṇakuṣītakāt kāśyape
/*vikarṇa-kuṣītakāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kāśyape* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120)
vikarṇaśabdāt kuṣītakaśabdāc ca kāśyape'patyaviśeṣe ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vikarṇa* and *kuṣītaka*, when ending in genitive, provided derivates denote an *apatya* of Kāśyapa.

EXAMPLES:

vaikarṇeyaḥ 'son of Vikarṇa, a Kāśyapa by gotra'
kauṣītakeyaḥ 'son of Kuṣītaka, a Kāśyapa by gotra'

1. A separate rule for these two bases becomes necessary in view of the restriction of *kāśyape*. Elsewhere, we will have *vaikarṇiḥ* and *kauṣītakiḥ*, both derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*).

4.1.125 **भ्रुवो वुक्च**

bhruvo vuk ca
/*bhruvaḥ* 5/1 *vuk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120)
bhrūśabdād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena ca vug āgamaḥ
The *tadhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *bhrū*, with the additional provision of *vUK* to come in place of *bhrū*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

bhrauveyaḥ 'a descendant of Bhrū'

1. The *ca* is used to bring affix *ḍhaK*, in conjunction with which *vUK* is introduced as an augment. The word *bhruvaḥ* can thus be interpreted as

ending in *pañcamī* 'ablative', for purposes of introducing affix *ḍhaK*. It can also be interpreted as ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', for introducing the augment. Incidentally, the *U* of *vUK* is used to facilitate articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). The *K* is an *it* which, in consonance with 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*, enables *v* to be introduced as the end (*anta*) of *bhrū*. We thus get *bhrū(v) + Ṅas + ḍhaK = bhr(ū→au) v + (ḍh→ey) a = bhrauveya + sU→bhrauveyaḥ*. A wrong form, i.e., **bhrāveyaḥ*, will result if *vUK* is not introduced as an augment.

4.1.126 कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ्

kalyāṇyādīnām inaṅ
/*kalyāṇyādīnām* 6/3 = *kalyāṇy ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *inaṅ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120)
'*kalyāṇī*' *ity evamādīnām śabdānām apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati; tatsanniyogena ca inaṅādeśaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *kalyāṇī*, with an additional provision that *inAṄ* come in place of the final sound segment of these stems, provided they end in genitive and derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kālyāṇineyaḥ 'Kalyāṇī's son'
saubhāgineyaḥ 'Subhagā's son'
daurbhāgineyaḥ 'Durbhagā's son'

1. Note that stems of the *kalyāṇyādi* group mostly end in feminine affixes. They could have thus qualified for affix *ḍhaK* (4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*). This rule, in case of bases which end in feminine affixes, is primarily formulated to provide *inAṄ* as a replacement (*ādeśa*). It offers both the affix as well as *inAṄ* to bases not ending in a feminine affix (*Kāś.*: *strīpratyayārthānām ādeśārthaṃ grahaṇam pratyayasya siddhatvāt. anyeṣām ubhayārtham*). Of course, *inAṄ*, since it is marked with *Ṅ* (1.1.53 *ṅic ca*), will replace the final sound segment of *kalyāṇī*, etc. That *A* of *inAṄ* is not an *it*. Deriving *kālyāṇineyaḥ* from *kalyāṇ(ī→in) + Ṅas + ḍha = kalyāṇin + (ḍh→ey) a = k(a→ā) lyāṇin + eya = kālyāṇineya + sU = kālyāṇineyaḥ*, via applications of 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ* ... and 7.2.118 *kiti ca*, offers nothing new.

Note that *subhagā* and *durbhagā* will both have a replacement in *vṛddhi* for their first two vowels, as is required by 7.3.19 *hṛdbhagasindhvanta*. . . . Thus, *subhag(ā→in) + Ṅas + ḍha = subhagin + (ḍh→ey) a = s(u→au) bh(a→ā) gin + eya = saubhāgineya + sU = saubhāgineyaḥ*. Similarly, *daurbhāgineyaḥ*.

4.1.127 कुलटाया वा

kulaṭāyā vā
/*kulaṭāyā* 6/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhak* #120, *inaṅ* #126)
kulaṭāyā apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavati, tatsanniyogena ca vā inaṅādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kulaṭā*, with an additional provision that *inAṄ* come in place of the final sound segment of *kulaṭā*, provided this base ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kulaṭāyā apatyam = *kaulaṭineyaḥ* 'son of a woman of (no) character'
kaulaṭeyaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again, the affix is available from 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*. This rule is formulated especially for replacement in *inAṄ*. The fact that only *inAṄ*, and not affix *ḍhaK*, is optional (*vā*), is known from interpretation of the learned (*vyākhyāna*). This yields two forms: *kaulaṭineyaḥ* and *kaulaṭeyaḥ*, where the first derivate receives an optional *inAṄ*.

2. The word *kulaṭā* is explained as denoting a woman of low moral character (*duḥśīla*). This word, however, could also refer to a woman who may not be of a low moral character but who, in order for begging, wanders from one door (family) to the other (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yā punar bhikṣālipsayā suśīlāpi kulāny aṭati*). It is argued that the *kulaṭā* of this rule means a *bhikṣuṇī* 'a beggar' who wanders door to door but maintains her moral character (*kulāny aṭantī śīlaṃ na bhinatti*). A derivate, relative to *kulaṭā*, denoting a woman of low moral character (*kulāny aṭantī śīlaṃ bhinatti*) will, of course, be: *kaulaṭeraḥ*, a derivate of affix *ḍhraK* (4.1.131 *kṣudrābhyo vā*). Incidentally, the *ḍh* of *ḍhraK*, as usual, will be replaced with *ey* after which *y* will be deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. Rule 7.2.118 *kiti ca* will accomplish initial *vṛddhi*.

4.1.128 चटकाया ऐरक्

caṭakāyā airak
/*caṭakāyāḥ* 5/1 *airak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
caṭakāyā apatye airak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *airaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *caṭakā* 'sparrow', when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

cāṭakairaḥ 'son of a woman named Caṭakā; male sparrow'

1. There are two *vārttika* proposals: (*i*) affix *airaK* be also made available after *caṭaka* (*caṭakāc ceti vaktavyam*); and (*ii*) *airaK* be deleted by *LUK* when deriving a female offspring (*striyam apatye lug vaktavyaḥ*). These proposals will facilitate deriving *cāṭakairaḥ* and *caṭakā*, respectively.

2. A formulation of this rule as *caṭakād airak*, with a masculine base, i.e., *caṭaka*, can also account for *caṭakā*, a feminine, as per *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam.* Deletion by *LUK*, of *airaK*, will still be needed for deriving the female offspring of *caṭaka*. Jinendrabuddhi claims that this *sūtra* was originally formulated as: *caṭakād airak.* Now, because of carelessness, we find the rule as *caṭakāyā airak* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *pulliṃgād api striyām iṣyata eva luk. evaṃ caṭakād airak ity etat sūtram āsīt. idānīṃ pramādāc ca caṭakāyā iti pāṭhaḥ*).

4.1.129 गोधाया ढ्रक्

godhāyā ḍhrak
/*godhāyāḥ* 5/1 *ḍhrak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
godhāyā apatye ḍhrak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhraK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *godhā*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

gaudheraḥ 'son of a woman named Godhā; a male alligator'

1. Note that *godhā* will additionally have a derivate in *ḍhaK*, i.e., *gaudheyaḥ* (4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*), since it is also listed as part of the *śubhrādi* group.

4.1.130 आरगुदीचाम्

ārag udīcām
/*ārak* 1/1 *udīcām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *godhāyāḥ* #129)
godhāyā apatye udīcām ācāryāṇāṃ matena ārak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *āraK*, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *godhā*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

godhāraḥ 'son of a woman named Godhā; male alligator'

1. Commentators explain that *udīcām* is used here to show respect (*pūjārtham*). That is, it is not used for stating an option (*vikalpārtham*). For, a provision made for *āraK*, parallel to affixes *ḍhaK* and *ḍhraK*, will, at the strength of an explicit statement, become optional (*vacana-sāmarthyāt*).

2. Why do we have to state *āraK*? Why not simply state *rak*? The *ā* of *āraK* is not needed since *ā* is already given at the end of *godhā*. But Pāṇini still uses *āraK* so that bases which may not end in *ā* can also avail this affixal provision. Consider *jāḍāraḥ* 'son of an idiot' and *pāṇḍāraḥ* 'son of an impotent; a bastard', where these bases do not end in *ā*.

4.1.131 क्षुद्राभ्यो वा

kṣudrābhyo vā
/*kṣudrābhyaḥ* 5/1 *vā* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhrak* #129)
kṣudrābhyo vā'patye ḍhrak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhraK* occurs optionally after a syntactically related nominal stem signifying *kṣudrā*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate is to denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kāṇeraḥ 'son of a woman who has but one eye'
kāṇeyaḥ 'id.'
dāseraḥ 'son of a maid'
dāseyaḥ 'id.'

1. The *anuvṛtti* of *ḍharK* alone is valid here. The word *kṣudrā* is explained as a female who either lacks, or is deficient in, a limb (*aṅgahīnā*), or else, does not have any moral character (*śīlahīnā*). Haradatta explains *śīlahīnā* as *aniyatapuṃskā dāsīprabhṛtayaḥ* 'slaves, or maids, etc., who have no fixed male partners'.

Note that *kṣudrā* specifies a base via meaning (*artha*), and not via form (*Kāś.*: *arthadharmeṇa tadabhidhāyinyaḥ prakṛtayo nirdiśyante*). That is, affix *ḍhraK* is not to be introduced after the word *kṣudrā*. It should be introduced after bases similar in meaning to *kṣūdrā*.

The *vā* of this rule makes affix *ḍhraK* optional to *ḍhaK* of 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*.

4.1.132 पितृष्वसुश्छण्

pitṛṣvasuś chaṇ

/*pitṛṣvasuḥ* 5/1 *chaṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
pitṛṣvasṛśabdād apatye chaṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *chaṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *pitṛṣvasṛ*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate is to denote an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

paitṛṣvasrīyaḥ 'father's sister's son'

1. Note that *chaṆ* forms an exception to the more general *aṆ* of 3.1.92 *tasyāpatyam.* Incidentally, the final *ṛ* of *pitṛṣvasṛ* is replaced with *r* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*). Rule 7.1.3 *āyaneyīnī* . . ., of course, has the affixal *ch* replaced with *īy.* This, after initial *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti*), will produce *pitṛṣvasṛ* + *Ṅas* + *chaṆ*→*pitṛṣvasṛ* + *cha*→*pitṛṣvasṛ* + (*ch*→*īy*) *a*→*pitṛṣvas*(*ṛ*→*r*) + *iya* = *paitṛṣvasrīya* + *sU*→*paitṛṣvasrīyaḥ.*

4.1.133 ढकि लोपः

ḍhaki lopaḥ
/*ḍhaki* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *pitṛṣvasṛ* #132)
pitṛṣvasur apatyapratyaye ḍhaki parato lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of the final (1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*) sound segment of *pitṛṣvasṛ* when the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK,* used with the signification of *apatya,* follows.

EXAMPLES:

paitṛṣvaseyaḥ 'father's sister's son'

1. This rule requires that *ṛ* of *pitṛṣvasṛ* be deleted in conjunction with affix *ḍhaK.* But since there is no rule which makes a provision for *ḍhaK* after *pitṛṣvasṛ,* the question of deleting its *ṛ* does not arise. One must accept the existence of such a provision since Pāṇini makes it a condition (*nimitta*) for deleting *ṛ.* Our present rule itself, if there is no other rule, must provide for *ḍhaK.* For, how could one talk about *LOPA* 'non-appearance (*adarśana*)' when there is no appearance (*darśana*) to start with.

4.1.134 मातृष्वसुश्च

mātṛṣvasuś ca
/*mātṛṣvasuḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76,

samarthānāṃ prathamād vā #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *pitṛṣvasṛ* #132, *ḍhaki lopaḥ* #133)

mapitṛṣvasur apatyapratyaye ḍhaki parato lopo bhavati

LOPA also comes in place of the final sound segment of a syntactically related nominal stem, particularly *mātṛṣvasṛ*, when it ends in genitive and the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* follows with the signification of an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

mātṛṣvasrīyaḥ 'mother's sister's son'
mātṛṣvaseyaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule extends the deletion of final *ṛ* also to *mātṛṣvasṛ* 'mother's sister'. However, this deletion cannot be accomplished unless *ḍhaK* follows. Commentators explain that *mātṛṣvasṛ* is specified here relative to *pitṛṣvasṛ*. They conclude on this basis that whatever happens to *pitṛṣvasṛ* also happens to *mātṛṣvasṛ* + *Ṅas*. Accepting this specification of *mātṛṣvasṛ*, relative to *pitṛṣvasṛ*, also saves *ṛ* from deletion before *chaṆ*. We will get two forms: *mātṛṣvasrīyaḥ*, with *chaṆ* but no deletion of *ṛ* before *chaṆ*, and *mātṛṣvaseyaḥ*, with *ḍhaK* and deletion of *ṛ* (*Kāś.*: *pitṛṣvasur yad uktaṃ tan mātṛṣvasur api bhavati chaṇ pratyayo ḍhaki lopaś ca*).

2. The *ca* of this rule is used for bringing *mātṛṣvasuḥ* close to this context of *pitṛṣvasuḥ*, for proper interpretation. This way, we can say that *mātṛṣvasṛ* receives operational provisions of both *chaṆ* and *ḍhaK*, similar to *pitṛṣvasṛ*. More importantly, *paribhāṣā* (62) *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā*, can no longer deny *chaṆ* and *ḍhaK* to *mātṛṣvasṛ*. Recall that this *paribhāṣā* allows an operational or negative provision only in most immediate contexts. Accepting this *paribhāṣā*, with no expectancy relationship between *pitṛṣvasṛ* and *mātṛṣvasṛ*, can only provide for deletion of *ṛ* on the basis of most immediate context of 4.1.133 *ḍhaki lopaḥ*. It cannot permit *chaṆ*, which is non-immediate, though desired. Accepting an expectancy relationship between specifications of *mātṛṣvasṛ* and *pitṛṣvasṛ* accomplishes what is desired.

4.1.135 चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढञ्

catuṣpādbhyo ḍhañ

/ *catuṣpādbhyaḥ* 5/3 *ḍhañ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)

catuṣpādabhidhāyinībhyaḥ prakṛtibhyo'patye ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem with the signification of a quadruped (*catuṣpād*), when the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kāmaṇḍaleyaḥ 'offspring of an animal named kamaṇḍalu'

śauntibāheyaḥ 'offspring of an animal named śuntibāhū'
jāmbeyaḥ 'offspring of a jackal'

1. Here too, through the characteristic meaning of a *catuṣpād*, we find references to bases which denote a *catuṣpād*. Specification of *catuṣpādbhyaḥ* in plural is thus intended to exclude introduction of *ḍhaÑ* after *catuṣpād*, the word-form (*bahuvacananirdeśaḥ svarūpavidhinirāsāya*). Affix *ḍhaÑ*, in itself, is an exception to affixes *aṆ* and *ḍhaK*, etc.

4.1.136 गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च

gṛṣṭyādibhyaś ca
/*gṛṣṭy-ādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ḍhañ* #135)
gṛṣṭyādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *gṛṣṭi*, and ends in genitive, provided the derivate is to denote an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

gṛṣṭer apatyam = *gārṣṭeyaḥ* 'son of Gṛṣṭi, the woman who gave birth but once'
hṛṣṭi 'son of Hṛṣṭi'

1. This affixal provision of *ḍhaÑ* forms an exception to affixes *aṆ* (in case of *mittrayu* and *ajabasti*) and *ḍhaK* (in case of others) of 4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka* . . . and 4.1.122 *itaś cāniñah*, respectively.

2. Note that *gṛṣṭi* refers to a female who has given birth but once. A provision of affix *ḍhaK*, in connection with *catuṣpād*, is already made for animals. This provision of *ḍhaÑ*, in relation to *gṛṣṭi*, must be made for those who do not possess four legs (*acatuṣpād*; *Kāś.*: *acatuṣpādarthaṃ vacanam*).

4.1.137 राजश्वसुराद्यत्

rājaśvasurād yat
/*rājaśvasurāt* 5/1 = *rājā ca śvasuraś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
rājan-śvasurśabdābhyām apatye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *rājan* 'king' and *śvasura* 'father-in-law', when ending in genitive, provided the derivates denote an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

rājanyaḥ 'king's descendant'
śvasuryaḥ 'wife's brother'

1. A *vārttika* recommends that this signification of *apatya*, in the context of *rājan*, should also be constrained with *jāti* 'class, caste' (*rājño'patye jātigrahaṇam*). Thus, *rājanyaḥ* should be understood as: *rājanyo bhavati kṣatriyaś ca* 'a *rājanya* is one who is also a Kṣatriya'. Elsewhere, we will get *rājanaḥ* 'son of a Vaiśya or Śūdra' with *aÑ*, and no restriction of *jāti*.

Note that *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of *rājan* is blocked by 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. Deriving *śvasuryaḥ* from *śvasura* + *Ṅas* + *yaT* involves *bha*-deletion of the final *a* of *śvasura*.

4.1.138 क्षत्राद् घः

kṣatrād ghaḥ
/*kṣatrāt* 5/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
kṣatraśabdād apatye ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kṣatra*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kṣatriyaḥ 'descendant of a Kṣatra'

1. The word *kṣatriya* also refers here to *jāti*. Elsewhere, we will get *kṣātriḥ* 'son of a Kṣatriya, born in a Śūdrā mother', a derivate of *iÑ*.

2. Why can we not interpret *gha* of this rule as relating to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*). Recall that rule 7.1.2 *āyaneyi*... makes a provision for *gh* of this affix to be replaced with *iy*. This, in turn, indicates (*jñāpayati*) that references relative to an affixal provision, for example this *gha*, must be limited to form only (*svarūpa*).

4.1.139 कुलात्खः

kulāt khaḥ
/*kulāt* 5/1 *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
kulaśabdāntāt prātipadikāt kevalāc cāpatye khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kula*, or a stem with *kula* as its final constituent, when these stems end in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kulīnaḥ 'born in a high family'
āḍhyakulīnaḥ 'born in a rich and high family'
śrotriyakulīnaḥ 'born in the high family of a śrotriya'

1. Note that our next rule makes a restrictive provision for *kula* with the qualification of *apūrvapadāt* 'when not used in combination after a preceding constituent'. This indicates that *kula* can be used as a base, either by itself or with a preceding constituent. Our present rule covers bases of both kinds (*Kāś.*: *uttarasūtre pūrvapadapratiṣedhād iha tadantaḥ kevalaś ca dṛśyate*).

4.1.140 अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यड्ढकञौ

apūrvapadād anyatarasyām yaḍḍhakañau
/*apūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *avidyamānaṃ pūrvapadaṃ yasya tad apūrvapadam* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *yaḍ-ḍhakañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *kulāt* #139)
apūrvapadāt kulaśabdād anyatarasyāṃ 'yat, ḍhakañ' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *ḍhakaÑ* occur, optionally, after the syntactically related nominal stem *kula*, not used in combination after a preceding constituent, provided it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kulyaḥ 'born in a high family'
kauleyakaḥ 'id.'
kulīnaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *apūrvapadam* is paraphrased as *na vidyamānaṃ pūrvapadaṃ yasya* 'that which does not have a constituent *pada* to precede'. That is, *kulāt*, carried from the preceding rule, is here qualified with 'absence of a preceding compound constituent' (*Kāś.*: *samāsasambandhipūrvapadasyābhāvena kulaśabdo viśeṣyate*). This affixal provision of *yaT* and *ḍhakaÑ* is, of course, optional (*anyatarasyām*). We will get a derivate in *kha* (4.1.139 *kulāt* . . .) when this option is not availed. There will thus be three derivates: *kulyaḥ*, *kauleyakaḥ*, *kulīnaḥ*.

2. A question is raised as to why *pūrvapada* should be interpreted as denoting 'a constituent used in combination to precede *kula*'? Why can it not be simply interpreted as 'a word (*pada*) which occurs before *kula*'. This interpretation is not favored because one talks about *pūrvapada* 'a *pada* which precedes' and *uttarapada* 'a *pada* which follows' generally in the context of a compound.

3. Why was this rule not formulated simply as: *apūrvād anyatarasyāṃ yaḍḍhakañau*? The desired interpretation can be gotten, even without the use of the word *pada* (*Nyāsa*: *apūrvād ity evaṃ kasmān noktam*; *evam api hīṣṭaṃ siddhaṃ bhavati*). The rule will also be shorter (*laghu ca sūtraṃ bhavati*).

Commentators explain that *pada* is used to clearly specify what should not precede *kula*. That is, the affixal provision of *yaT* and *ḍhakaÑ*, optionally with *kha*, is not available to *kula* when it is preceded with a constituent termed *pada*. That is, only a constituent termed *pada*, when preceding *kula*, can disqualify it from availing this option. The restriction does not apply when something other than a *pada* is used with *kula*. This facilitates derivation of forms such as *bahukulyaḥ*, *bāhukuleyakaḥ* and *bahukulīnaḥ*, where *bahu* is not a *pada*. It is, instead, an affix (*bahuC*; 5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt*).

4.1.141 महाकुलादञ्खञौ

mahākulād añkhañau
/*mahākulāt* 5/1 *añ-khañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *anyatarasyām* #140)
mahākulaśabdād añkhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *aÑ* and *khaÑ* occur optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *mahākula*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

māhākulaḥ 'born in a great family'
māhākulīnaḥ 'id.'
mahākulīnaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *anyatarasyām* is also carried. Thus, we will also get a derivate in *kha*, additionally with those in *aÑ* and *khaÑ*. A derivate of *khaÑ*, because of its *Ñ* as an *it*, will qualify for initial (*ādi*) *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti*). A derivate of *kha* will not qualify for the same.

4.1.142 दुष्कुलाड्ढक्

duṣkulāḍ ḍhak
/*duṣkulāt* 5/1 *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *anyatarasyām* #140)
duṣkulaśabdād apatye ḍhak pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *duṣkula*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

dauṣkuleyaḥ 'born in a bad family'
duṣkulīnaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again, due to the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām*, we will get *duṣkulīnaḥ*, a derivate in *kha* parallel to *dauṣkuleyaḥ*.

4.1.143 स्वसुश्छः

svasuś chaḥ
/*svasuḥ* 6/1 *chaḥ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ*, #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
svasṛśabdād apatye chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *svasṛ*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.
svasur apatyam = *svasrīyaḥ* 'sister's son'

1. This *cha* is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo*. . . .

4.1.144 भ्रातुर्व्यच्च

bhrātur vyac ca
/*bhrātuḥ* 5/1 *vyat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
bhrātṛśabdād apatye vyat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vyaT* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *bhrātṛ*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

bhrātṛvyaḥ 'brother's son'
bhrātrīyaḥ 'id.'

1. The *T* as an *it*, in *vyaT*, is intended for *svarita* (6.1.185 *tit svaritam*). The affixal provision itself is an exception to *aṆ*. The option of *cha* is facilitated by *ca*, thereby yielding a derivate such as *bhrātrīyaḥ*.

4.1.145 व्यन् सपत्ने

vyan sapatne
/*vyan* 1/1 *sapatne* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *bhrātuḥ* #144)
bhrātṛśabdād vyan pratyayo bhavati samudāyena ced amitraḥ sapatna ucyate

The *taddhita* affix *vyaN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *bhrātṛ*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes *sapatna* 'non-friendly, enemy'.

EXAMPLES:

bhrātṛvyaḥ kaṇṭakaḥ 'an enemy, a thorn'

1. Commentators agree that derivates of this rule do not denotate an *apatya*. That is, *bhrātṛvyaḥ*, here, does not denote 'brother's son'. Why is this rule inserted in the middle of this section dealing with *apatya*? Is it possible to accept the derivate of this rule as denoting an *apatya* with unfriendly persuasions? That is, in contradistinction to one who is truly like a son? We cannot accept the sense of *apatya* as valid here. For, a derivate of this rule must denote *sapatna* 'one who is not a friend (*amitra*)'. Besides, making a provision for *vyaN*, to denote an *apatya*, will be vacuous (*vyartha*). For, the preceding rule already offers *vyaT* with the denotatum of an *apatya*. What if a brother's offspring becomes an enemy? That will allow affix *vyaN* with the sense of *sapatna*. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* rightly remarks: *apatyārtho nāsty eva* 'the sense of an offspring is certainly not involved here' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: . . . *yo'pi sapatno bhrātur apatyaṃ sambhavati, so'py ādyudāttād bhrātṛvyaśabdāt sapatnarūpeṇaiva pratīyate, nāpatyarūpeṇa . . . ataḥ susthūktam: 'apatyārtho nāsty eva'*).

Note that derivates of *vyaT* and *vyaN* do not differ in form. They, however, differ in accent which accounts for their semantic difference. A derivate of *vyaT*, an affix with *T* as an *it* (*tit*), receives *svarita* view of 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*. A derivate of *vyaN*, an affix with *N* as an *it* (*nit*), is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*; 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). Thus, the same form *bhrātṛvya* can be interpreted differently, depending on whether it is marked with a *svarita* or *udātta* accent.

4.1.146 रेवत्यादिभ्यष्ठक्

revatyādibhyaṣ ṭhak
/*revatyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *revatī ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
revatīty evamādibhyo'patye ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *revatī*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

raivatikaḥ 'son of Revatī'
āśvapālikaḥ 'son of Aśvapālī'

1. This affixal provision of *ṭhaK* forms an exception to affixes *ḍhaK* (relative to four bases ending in feminine affixes; 4.1.113 *avṛddhābhyo* . . .), *aṆ* (relative to *vṛkavañcin*) and *iÑ* (relative to bases ending in *a*; 4.1.95 *ata iñ*).

4.1.147 गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च

gotrastriyāḥ kutsane ṇa ca
/*gotrastriyāḥ* 5/1 = *gotraṃ ca sā strī* = *gotrastrī* (*karm. tat.*), *tasyāḥ*; *kutsane* 7/1 *ṇa* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
gotraṃ yā strī tadabhidhāyinaḥ śabdād apatye ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavti, cakārāt ṭhak ca kutsane gamyamāne
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa*, and *ṭhaK* as well, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a female *gotra*-descendant, and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya* with an additional signification of *kutsana* 'reproach'.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyā apatyam = *gārgaḥ jālmaḥ* 'Gārga, the despicable young son of Gārgī'
gārgikaḥ 'id.'
glucukāyanyā apatyam = *glaucukāyanaḥ* 'Glaucukāyana, the despicable young son of Glucukāyanī'
glaucukāyanikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ca* is used for facilitating the optional introduction of affix *ṭhaK*. The word *gotra* is used here in the technical sense of *pautraprabhṛti* 'grandsons, etc.' (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*). This rule makes its affixal provision after a base which denotes a female *gotra*-descendant. Thus, its derivates will have the signification of a 'young *gotra*-descendant', in accord with 4.1.94 *gotrād yūny astriyām*.

2. *Kāśikā* explains *kutsā*, of *kutsane*, as *pitur asaṃvijñāne mātrā vyapadeśo' patyasya kutsā* 'referring to a son by a derivate of his mother's name, especially when the father is not known, thereby putting him to shame'.

Nyāsa implies that it is the action of the son, and not his lineage, that subjects him to *kutsā*. Making a reference to him by a derivate of his mother's name, instead of that of his father's, brings *kutsā*. There is enough evidence to subscribe to the idea of both matrilineal and patrilineal kinds of families. Simply because of someone is referred to by a derivate of his mother's name should not invite censure. A mother may be the granddaughter of a highly respectful family but the son, by his conduct, may prove to be despicable (*Nyāsa*: *atra kenacit pratiṣiddhācaraṇādinā kutsā veditavyā*).

3. *Kāśikā* cites *kārikeyaḥ*, *aupagavir jālmaḥ* and *gārgeyo māṇavakaḥ* as coun-

ter-examples, respectively, for three conditions of *gotram*, *striyāḥ* and *kutsane*. The first, i.e., *kārikeyaḥ*, is derived from *kārikā* + *Ṅas* + *ḍhaK*, where *kārikā* derives from *kṛ* + *ṆvuL* + *ṬāP*. The word *kārikā* does not denote a *gotra*. The second, i.e., *aupagaviḥ*, of *aupagavir jālmaḥ*, denotes a 'despicable young male *gotra*-descendant of Upagu' which must be derived with *iÑ*. For, its base, i.e., *aupagava*, still denotes a male. The sense of *kutsā* must be relatable to some unworthy action of the 'young *gotra*-descendant'.

4.1.148 वृद्धाट्ठक् सौवीरेषु बहुलम्

vṛddhāṭ ṭhak sauvīreṣu bahulam
/*vṛddhāt* 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1 *sauvīreṣu* 7/3 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *kutsane gotre* #147)
vṛddhāt sauvīragotrād apatye bahulaṃ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati kutsane gamyamāne

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, variously (*bahulam*), after a syntactically related nominal termed *vṛddha*, when ending in genitive with the signification of a *gotra*-descendant of the country of Sauvīras, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya* with an additional implication of *kutsana*.

EXAMPLES:

bhāgavittikaḥ 'a despicable young son of Bhāgavitti, a resident of the country of Sauvīras'
bhāgavittāyanaḥ 'id.'
tārṇabindavikaḥ 'a despicable young son of Tārṇabindava, a resident of the country of Sauvīras'
tārṇabindaviḥ 'id.'
ākaśāpeyikaḥ 'a despicable young son of Ākāśapeya'
ākaśāpeyiḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *kutsane* and *gotre* are both carried here. Why do we have to use *vṛddhāt* when *gotre* itself can account for it. That is, a base with the denotatum of a *gotra*-descendant will also be *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*). It is stated that *vṛddhāt* is used so that the *anuvṛtti* of *striyāḥ* is cancelled (*Kāś.*: *vṛddhagrahaṇaṃ strīnivṛtyartham*). For, *gotre* and *striyāḥ* share a joint specification. Consequently, if one is carried the other must also be carried. The word *gotra* is used earlier as a qualifier to *striyāḥ*. Now, it will qualify *vṛddhāt*. If *vṛddhāt* is not accepted as used for dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *striyāḥ* then *vṛddhāt* will not serve any purpose. That is, a base which will be denoting a *gotra*-descendant of the country of Sauvīras will be obligatorily *vṛddha*. Why then to restate it? Obviously, the word *vṛddha* is used here in the technical sense of a form having a *vṛddhi* vowel as its first. It is not used in the sense of an elder. The word *sauvīreṣu* refers to residents of the coun-

try of Sauvīras, the *gotra*-descendants in focus. It is thus used as a qualifier to the base (*prakṛti-viśeṣaṇam*).

2. The use of the word *bahulam* 'variously' is debatable. *Kāśikā* claims that *bahulam* distinguishes a set of four *sūtras*: 4.1.147 through 4.1.150 (*bahula-grahaṇam upādhivaicitryārtham*). The first of these rules applies only in the context of *kutsana*. The last one applies only in the context of a *gotra*-descedant of the country of Sauvīras. The two rules in the middle subscribe to both of these contexts. This is what is made clear with the use of *bahulam* (*teṣu prathamaḥ kutsana eva; antyaḥ sauvīragotra eva; madhyamau dvayor api; tad etad bahulagrahaṇāl labhyate*).

3. The following verse enumerate three *gotra*-descendants of the country of Sauvīras which receive *ṭhaK* of this rule:

> *bhāgapūrvapado vittir dvitīyas tārṇabindavaḥ/*
> *tṛtīyas tv ākaśāpeyo gotrāt ṭhag bahulaṃ tataḥ//*
> 'the first is *vitti*, used in combination with *bhāga* as a preceding constituent; the second is *tārṇabindu*; and the third is *ākaśāpeya*; these are bases after which *ṭhaK*, characterized with *bahulam*, occurs'

4.1.149 फेश्छ च

> *pheś cha ca*
> /*pheḥ* 5/1 *cha* 1/1 (deleted) *ca* φ/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *kutsane gotre* #147, *vṛddhāt ṭhak sauvīreṣu bahulam* #148)
> *phiñantāt prātipadikāt sauvīragotrād apatye chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārāt ṭhak kutsane gamyamāne*
> The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *vṛddha*, when ending in *phiÑ* with the signification of a *gotra*-descendant of the country of Sauvīras, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya* with the implication of *kutsana*.

EXAMPLES:

> *yāmundāyanīyaḥ* 'the despicable son of Yāmundāyani'
> *yāmundāyanikaḥ* 'id.'

1. Note that *phe* refers to affix *phiÑ*. Why can it not also refer to affix *phiÑ*? It is explained that *phe* must refer to *phiÑ*, since its *Ñ* facilitates initial *vṛddhi*. That this *vṛddhi* is required becomes clear from the condition of *vṛddhāt*. The *N*, as an *it* in *phiN*, will not facilitate initial *vṛddhi*, and hence, *cha*, in the absence of a base termed *vṛddha*, will be blocked.

Note that *ca* is used to attract affix *ṭhaK*. Thus, we also get: *yāmundāyanikaḥ*. A derivate parallel to *yāmundāyanīyaḥ*, of course with no implications of *kutsana*, will be: *yāmundāyaniḥ*, where *aÑ*, of 4.1.90 *tasyāpatyam*, will be de-

leted by 2.4.58 *nyakṣatriyārṣañito* . . ., and *phiÑ* will be introduced by 4.1.54 *tikādibhyaḥ phiñ*. A *ślokavārttika* enumerates derivates of this rule with implications for four rules beginning with 4.1.147 *gotrastriyāḥ kutsane ṇa ca*:

yamundaś ca suyāmā ca vārṣyāyaṇiḥ phiñaḥ smṛtāḥ/
sauvīreṣu ca kutsāyāṃ dvau yogau śabdavit smaret//

The first rule (4.1.147 *gotrastriyāḥ*. . .) is limited to the context of *kutsana*; the last (4.1.150 *phāṇṭāhṛti*. . .) is limited to the context of *sauvīreṣu*. The two in the middle, i.e., 4.1.148 *vṛddhāṭṭhak* . . . and 4.1.149 *pheś ca*, apply when the two contexts of *kutsane* and *sauvīreṣu* are both met.

4.1.150 फाण्टाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिञौ

phāṇṭāhṛtimimatābhyāṃ ṇaphiñau
/*phāṇṭāhṛti-mimatābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṇa-phiñau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *gotre* #147, *sauvīreṣu* #148)
'*phāṇṭāhṛti-mimata*'*śabdābhyāṃ sauvīraviṣayābhyām apatye ṇaphiñau pratyayau bhavataḥ*
The *taddhita* affxes *Ṇa* and *phiÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *phāṇṭāhṛti* and *mimata*, both signifying a *gotra*-descendant of Sauvīra, provided the stems ended in genitive and their derivates were to denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

phāṇṭāhṛtasya sauvīragotrasyāpatyam = *phāṇṭāhṛtaḥ* 'a great grandson of Phāṇṭāhṛta of Sauvīra'
phāṇṭāhṛtāyaniḥ 'id.'
maimataḥ 'a great grandson of Mimata of Sauvīra'
maimatāyaniḥ 'id.'

1. This rule outlines two bases and two affixes. But commentators do not favor application in accord with enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*). That is, they do not favor introducing *Ṇa* after *phāṇṭāhṛti* and *phiÑ* after *mimata*. It is stated that Pāṇini's own practice of placing *phāṇṭāhṛti* first in *phāṇṭāhṛtimimtābhyām*. . ., in violation of 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*, indicates that assignment of equivalency in order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*) should not be followed here. Had it not been the case, he would have placed *mimata* first, because it contains fewer vowels (2.3.34 *alpāc taram*). But *Kaiyaṭa* (see *Pradīpa* ad *Vyākaraṇamahābyhāṣya*) does not agree with the position, especially because it is not universally valid. I do not discuss this any further because of complexity of arguments.

2. This affixal provision of *Ṇa* and *phiÑ* forms an exception to *phaK* of

4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca.* The word *mimata* would have gotten affix *phaK* from 4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak.* Bases which do not subscribe to the semantic scope of *sauvīreṣu* must select *phaK* to yield: *phāṇṭāhṛtāyanaḥ* and *maimatāyanaḥ.*

4.1.151 कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः

kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ
/*kuru-ādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *ṇyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānām prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
'*kuru*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *kuru,* when the same ends in genitive and the derivate is to denote an *apatya.*

EXAMPLES:

kauravyaḥ 'a descendant of Kuru'
gārgyaḥ 'a descendant of Garga'
kauravyāyaṇiḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Kuru'

1. Note that rule 4.1.172 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ* also provides for affix *Ṇya,* with *kauravyaḥ* as its derivate. Our present rule will also yield *kauravyaḥ*-an identical form with similar accent. Why do we have two different rules? It is stated that affix *Ṇya* (4.1.172 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ*) is introduced after a base which denotes a *kṣatriya* (4.1.168 *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ*). Our present rule introduces *Ṇya* outside of this context. Thus, one rule yields a derivate with the signification of a Kṣatriya; the other a non-Kṣatriya. The *Ṇya* of 4.1.172 is also termed *tadrāja* (4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ*). Consequently, when the denotation is plural, and plurality is caused by the affix itself, the affix goes through deletion by *LUK.* A derivate of our present rule is given in singular, i.e., *kauravyaḥ.* A corresponding plural will be: *kauravyāḥ.* Rule 4.1.172 will yield forms such as: *kauravyaḥ* and *kuravaḥ,* where *kuravaḥ,* would involve affixal deletion by *LUK* (2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu . . .*). Note that *kauravya,* with the denotation of a Kṣatriya, is listed in the *tikādi* group of nominals. Consequently, we will also find a derivate in *phiÑ,* namely *kuravyāyaṇiḥ* 'a young *gotra*-descendant of Kuru'.

2. The word *rathakāra* is also listed in this group of *kurvādi.* It denotes a *jāti* 'caste-group' which *Kāśikā* recognizes as 'a bit lower than the three caste-groups of *brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas* and *vaiśyas* (*Kāś.*: *traivarṇikebhyaḥ kiṃcin nyūnā rathakārajātiḥ*). Why can we not interpret *rathakāra* as 'one who makes (*kārin*) chariots'? Because such a base with the signification of a *kārin* 'artisan' is already included in the specification of the next rule.

3. Our listing of *kurvādi* also includes a feminine base, i.e., *keśinī.* We understand from this feminine specification that there is no masculine trans-

formation (*puṃvadbhāva*). Thus, we get *kaiśinyaḥ*, as opposed to **kaiśinaḥ*. Since a listing in masculine can itself allow the affix after a corresponding base in feminine (cf. *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe* . . .), this listing of *keśinī*, in feminine, must have some special purpose. Lack of *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' is recognized as the special purpose.

4. The word *vāmaratha*, a base listed in this group of *kurvādi*, is, except for accentuation (*svaraṃ varjayitvā*), treated as similar to derivates of the *kaṇvādi* group (4.2.11 *kaṇvādibhyo gotre*), a subgroup of *gargādi* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo gotre*). For, it is also listed in the *kaṇvādi*. Thus, its derivates will follow the pattern of the *kaṇvādi* derivates, except when it comes to accent. For example, a derivate of *yaÑ* introduced after a base of the *kaṇvādi* group will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). A derivate of this rule will be marked *udātta* at the end, in consonance with affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

4.1.152 सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च

senāntalakṣaṇakāribhyaś ca
/ *senāntalakṣaṇakāribhyaḥ* 5/3 = *senā ante yasya* (*bv.*); *senāntaś ca lakṣaṇaṃ ca kāriś ca* = *senāntalakṣaṇakārayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ṇyaḥ* #151)
senāntāt prātipadikāl lakṣaṇaśabdāt kārivacanebhyaś cāpatye ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either contains *senā* as its final constituent, or is constituted by *lakṣaṇa* 'mark', or else, is a nominal stem signifying *kārin* 'artisan', when the stems end in genitive and their derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kāriṣeṇyaḥ 'son of Kariṣeṇa'
hāriṣeṇyaḥ 'son of Hariṣeṇa'
lākṣaṇyaḥ 'son of Lakṣaṇa'
tāntuvāyyaḥ 'son of a weaver'
kaumbhakāryaḥ 'pot-maker's son'

1. Note that since a specification made by means of a nominal stem does not allow any reference to a form which may end in it (*Paribhāṣā* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena tadantavidhir nāsti*), our present rule uses *anta*, after *senā*, to avail the sense of 'that which ends in *senā* (*tadantavidhi*)'. Now observe *lakṣaṇa* which is specified without any such effort made toward availing *tadantavidhi*. Consequently, *lakṣaṇa*, has to be interpreted as specifying a nominal stem constituted by *lakṣaṇa*. The word *kāribhyaḥ* specifies bases at the strength of meaning (*arthagrahaṇasāmarthyāt*), namely *kārin* 'ar-

tisan' (*Kāś.*: *kāriśabdaḥ kārūṇāṃ tantuvāyādīnāṃ vācakaḥ* 'the word *kārin* denotes artisans such as 'weavers', etc.').

4.1.153 उदीचामिञ्

udīcām iñ
/*udīcām* 6/3 *iñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *ṇyaḥ* #151)
senāntalakṣaṇakāribhyo'patye iñ pratyayo bhavati udīcāṃ matena
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ*, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either contains *senā* as its final constituent, or is constituted by *lakṣaṇa* 'mark', or else, is a nominal stem signifying *kārin* 'artisan', when the stems end in genitive and their derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kāriṣeṇiḥ 'son of Kariṣeṇa'
hāriṣeṇiḥ 'son of Hariṣeṇa'
lākṣaṇiḥ 'son of Lakṣaṇa'
tāntuvāyiḥ 'son of a weaver'
kaumbhakāriḥ 'pot-maker's son'

1. *Kāśikā* states that an affixal provision of *iÑ*, in addition to *Ṇya*, could easily provide for the opinion. Why did Pāṇini then have to state *udīcām*?. He did this for variation in style (*vacitryārtham*; *vacanasāmarthyād eva pratyayasamāveśe labdhe ācāryagrahaṇaṃ vaicitryārtham*).

2. Note that the listing of nominals known as *śivādi* also includes *takṣan*. Consequently, we get *tākṣṇaḥ* 'son of a carpenter'. There will be an additional form, i.e., *tākṣaṇyaḥ*, derived with *Ṇya* of the preceding rule. The *iÑ* of this rule, and not the *Ṇya* of the preceding rule, will be blocked by affix *aṆ* of 4.1.112 *śivādibhyo'ṇ* (*Kāś.*: *takṣanśabdaḥ śivādiḥ*; *tenāṇāyam iñ bādhyate, na tu ṇyaḥ*). Why is affix *iÑ*, and not *Ṇya*, blocked by *aṆ*? Jñānendrasarasvatī (see *Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*: *takṣanśabdo'trāṇartham paṭhyate, ṇyapratyayena samāveśo'treṣyate, na tu iñā*) observes that *takṣan* is read in the *śivādi* group for facilitating *aṆ*. This *aṆ* is desired to be grouped with *Ṇya*, an affix marked with *Ṇ*, and not with *iÑ* marked with *Ñ*.

4.1.154 तिकादिभ्यः फिञ्

tikādibhyaḥ phiñ
/*tikādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *phiñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)

'tika' ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye phiñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *tika*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

taikāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Tika'
kaitavāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Kitava'

1. The *tikādi* group also lists *vṛṣa* which, on account of a *vārttika* proposal made under rule 4.1.155 *kauśalyakārmāryābhyāṃ ca*, qualifies *phiÑ* for receiving augment *yUṬ*.

2. The word *kauravya* is also included in this group. Is this a derivate of *Ṇya* of 4.1.172 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ*? Or else, it is a derivate of *Ṇya* of 4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*. The first denotes a *gotra*-descendant of a Kṣatriya; the second denotes someone other than a Kṣatriya. Note that *aurasa* is also listed in the same group, immediately preceding *kauravya*. Since *aurasa*, as a derivate of *aÑ* of 4.1.168 *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ*, denotes a *kṣatriya*, *kauravya*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) in this listing with *aurasa*, must also denote a *kṣatriya*. This *kauravya* is thus a derivate of 4.1.172 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ*.

A derivate denoting an offspring of *kauravya*, itself a derivate of affix *Ṇya* of 4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*, will still be *kauravya*, derived with the introduction, and subsequent deletion, of *iÑ* of 4.1.95 *ata iñ*. This deletion of *iÑ* is accomplished by 2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyārṣañitaḥ* . . ., and is illustrated by the sentence: *kauravyaḥ pitā kauravyaḥ putraḥ* 'a son of Kauravya, a *gotra*-descendant of Kuru, is Kauravya'. This illustration is valid only in the context of deletion of *iÑ*. For, rule 2.4.58 *ṇyakṣatriyārṣañitaḥ* . . . does not provide for deletion of *phiÑ* introduced after a base ending in *Ṇya*.

4.1.155 **कौशल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च**

kauśalyakārmāryābhyāṃ ca
/ kauśalya-kārmāryābhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ɸ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151)
kauśalya-kārmāryaśabdābhyām apatye phiñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kauśalya* and *kārmārya*, when they end in genitive and their derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kauśalyāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Kosala'
kārmāryāyaṇiḥ 'a descendant of Karmāra'

1. This provision of *phiÑ* is an exception to *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). Note that the bases are here specified as *kauśalya* and *kārmārya*. This may lead one to accept them as derivates of affixes *ÑyaṄ* (4.1.171 *vṛddhet kosalājādāññyaṅ*) and *Ṇya* (4.1.152 *senāntalakṣaṇa* . . .), respectively. Patañjali refutes this belief and states that affix *phiÑ* is desired to be introduced only after the original base (*paramaprakṛti*), i.e., *kosala* and *karmāra* (*paramaprakṛter evāyam iṣyate*). Why can we not introduce *phiÑ* after *kauśalya* and *kārmāra* as Pāṇini specifies? The derivates will still be the same but their meaning will differ. If *phiÑ* is introduced after *kauśalya* and *kārmāra* then derivates will denote 'young *gotra*-descendants'. What is desired is the denotation of an *apatya*. How can we get initial bases, i.e., *kosala* and *karmāra*, to end in *y* before *phiÑ*? A *vārttika* under this rule provide for *phiÑ* to denote *apatya* after *dagu, kosala, karmāra, chāga* and *vṛṣa*. This same *vārttika* also makes an additional provision for augment *yUṬ*, introduced to what replaces *phiÑ* (*dagu-kosala-karmāra-chāga-vṛṣāṇāṃ yuṭ*). Thus: *kosala* + *Ṅas* + *phiÑ*→*kosala* + *phi* = *kosal*(*a*→ϕ) + (*ph*→*āyan*) *i*→*kosal* + (*y*) *āyani*→*k*(*o*→*au*) *sal* + *yāyani* = *kausalyāyani* + *sU*→ *kauśalyāyaniḥ*.

4.1.156 अणो द्व्यचः

aṇo dvyacaḥ
/ *aṇaḥ* 1/1 *dvyacaḥ* 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151)
aṇantād dvyacaḥ prātipadikād apatye phiñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *aṆ* and contains two vowels, provided the derivate denotes an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

kārtrāyaṇiḥ 'a descendant of Kartṛ'
hārtrāyaṇiḥ 'a descendant of Hartṛ'

1. This affixal provision of *phiÑ*, with the denotation of an *apatya* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*), is made as an exception to affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). The condition of *aṇaḥ* which, through the process of *tadantavidhi*, requires the base receiving *phiÑ* to end in *aṆ*, blocks bases such as *dākṣi*, etc., from receiving *phiÑ*. Hence, an offspring of *dākṣi*, itself a derivate of *iÑ*, will be *dākṣāyaṇaḥ*, a derivate of *phaK* (4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca*). The condition of *dvyacaḥ* is imposed so that bases, such as *aupagava*, etc., do not qualify for *phiÑ*. Of course, *aupagava* will receive *iÑ* to derive *aupagaviḥ* 'a son of Aupagava'.

2. Note that this *phiÑ* is made optional by a *vārttika* in case of bases of the *tyadādi* group. Thus, *tyādaḥ* 'his son' and *tyādāyaniḥ* will be derivates of *aṆ* and *phiÑ*, respectively (*vt. tyadādīnāṃ vā phiñ vaktavyaḥ*).

Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* does not comment on this rule. The *vārttika* then becomes a suspect. The *SK* does not mention this *vārttika*. The author of the *Bālamanoramā* accepts seeing this *vārttika* somewhere, but declares its proposal as carelessness (see *Bālamanoramā* ad *SK*: '*tyadādīnāṃ phiñ vā vācyaḥ: tyādāyaniḥ, tyādaḥ' iti kvacit pustake dṛśyate, tat tu prāmādikam*). Where did the *Kāśikā* get it from?

4.1.157 उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रात्

udīcāṃ vṛddhād agotrāt

/*udīcām* 6/3 *vṛddhāt* 5/1 *agotrāt* 5/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151)

vṛddhaṃ yac chabdarūpam agotraṃ tasmād apatye phiñ pratyayo bhavati udīcām ācāryāṇāṃ matena

The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ*, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, occurs to denote an *apatya* after a syntactically related *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis*. . .) nominal stem which does not end in an affix with the signification of a *gotra*-descendant.

EXAMPLES:

āmraguptāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Āmragupta'
grāmarakṣāyaṇiḥ 'a descendant of Grāmarakṣa'
nāpitāyaniḥ 'descendant of a barber'

1. Note that *āmraguptāyaniḥ* will have *āmraguptiḥ*, a derivate of *iÑ*, as its counterpart, in the opinion of other grammarians. The condition of *vṛddhāt* will approve of bases such as *āmragupta*, etc., but will disqualify *yajñadatta*, etc. Consequently, we will get *yājñadattiḥ* 'son of Yajñadatta', a derivate of *iÑ*. Finally, the condition of *agotrāt* will rule out a base such as *aupagava* to receive *phiÑ*. It must then receive *iÑ* to derive *aupagaviḥ* with the denotation of a young *gotra*-descendant of Upagu.

2. Recall that 4.1.153 *udīcām iñ* introduces *iÑ*, to denote an *apatya*, also after bases which may have the signification of an artisan (*kārin*). A derivate of *nāpita* 'barber', a base which is *vṛddha* and which does not end in an affix with the signification of a *gotra*, will be: *nāpitāyaniḥ*. This is a derivate of *phiÑ*, and not of *iÑ*. The *iÑ* of 4.1.153 will be blocked by *phiÑ* of this rule on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*).

A conflict between two rules of equal strength (*tulyabala*) must be backed with an independent scope of application (*sāvakāśatva*) of rules involved. Commentators explain that *iÑ* finds its independent scope in *tantuvāyiḥ* 'son of a weaver'. Affix *phiÑ* finds its independent scope of application in *āmraguptāyaniḥ*. But it is the derivate of *nāpita*, i.e., *nāpitāyaniḥ*, where affixes *iÑ* and *phiÑ* both become applicable at the same time (*ihobhayaṃ*

prāpnoti). Affix *phiÑ* blocks *iÑ*, because the rule which introduces *phiÑ* is subsequent in order to one which introduces *iÑ*.

4.1.158 वाकिनादीनां कुक्च

vākinādīnāṃ kuk ca
/ *vākinādīnāṃ* 6/3 = *vākina ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *kuk* 1/1 *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151, *udīcām vṛddhād agotrāt* #157)
'*vākina*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'patye phiñ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena caiṣāṃ kug āgamaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ*, with an additional provision of augment *kUK*, occurs, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, to denote an *apatya* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vākina*.

EXAMPLES:

vākinakāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Vākina'
gāredhakāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Gāredha'

1. Note that reading *vṛddhād agotrāt* in this rule does not make much sense. The *ca* of this rule makes *udicām* and *phiñ* necessary, instead. This rule becomes optional in view of *udīcām*. A reading of *vṛddhād agotrāt* is not necessary, because stems of the *vākinādi* group which meet the conditions of *vṛddhāt* and *agotrāt* will get their *phiÑ* from the earlier rule. This rule can then offer them *kUK* as an augment. Thus, *vākina*, *gāredha*, *kāka* will all receive *phiÑ* from the earlier rule. They will receive *kUK* from this rule. This rule will provide for optional *phiÑ*, and *kUK* as well, to bases which are included in the *vākinādi* group but which may not meet the specifications of *vṛddhāt* and *agotrāt*. Thus, *kārkatyakāyaniḥ*.

A special provision of *phiÑ*, *kUK*, and deletion of *n*, is made for *carmin* and *varmin* to derive *cārmikāyaṇiḥ* 'son of Carmin' and *vārmikāyaṇiḥ* 'son of Varmin', where *carmin* and *varmin* both end in affix *inI*, based upon their listing in the *brīhyādi* group (5.2.11 *ata iniṭhanau*).

2. Note that *phiÑ* and *kUK* are both made optional because of the *anuvṛtti* of *udīcām*. For example, affix *iÑ* will be introduced to derive *vākiniḥ* and *gāredhiḥ* in the opinion of others.

4.1.159 पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम्

putrāntād anyatarasyām
/ *putrāntāt* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76,

samarthānāṃ prathamād vā #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *phiñ* #151, *udīcām vṛddhād* #157)
putrāntāt prātipadikād yaḥ phiñ pratyayas tasmin parabhūte'nyatarasyāṃ kug āgamo bhavati putrāntasya
Augment *kUK*, in the opinion of Northern grammarians, is introduced optionally to a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which contains *putra* as its final constituent, provided affix *phiÑ* follows with the signification of *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

gārgīputrakāyaṇiḥ 'a son of Gārgīputra'
gārgīputrāyaṇiḥ 'id.'
gārgīputriḥ 'id.'

1. Reading *agotram* with *putrāntāt* will not make any sense here. For, a base such as *gārgīputra* can receive affix *phiÑ* from rule 4.1.157 *udīcāṃ vṛddhād....* This rule makes an optional provision of augment *kUK*, for *gārgīputra* + *Ṅas* + *phiÑ*, a base which already ends in *phiÑ*. *Kāśikā* makes it quite clear in the *vṛtti*. We get *gārgīputrakāyaṇiḥ*, optionally with *gārgīputrāyaṇiḥ*, when the option of *kUK* is not availed. There is also a third derivate *gārgīputriḥ* where, in the absence of optional *phiÑ*, *kUK* also gets blocked. For, *kUK* is introduced only when *phiÑ* is in proximity. That is, *gārgīputriḥ* is a derivate of *iÑ*.

4.1.160 प्राचामवृद्धात् फिन् बहुलम्

prācām avṛddhāt phin bahulam
/*prācām* 6/3 *avṛddhāt* 5/1 (*nañ*); *phin* 1/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
avṛddhac chabdarūpād apatye phin pratyayo bhavati bahulaṃ prācāṃ matena
The *taddhita* affix *phiÑ*, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, occurs variously (*bahulam*) to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically related non-*vṛddha* nominal stem which ends in genitive.

EXAMPLES:

glucukāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Glucuka'
ahicumbakāyaniḥ 'a descendant of Ahicumbaka'

1. The word *prācām*, according to *Kāśikā*, is used here as a mark of respect to Eastern grammarians. For, *bahulam*, *udīcām*, *prācām*, *anyatarasyām*, etc., all denote option (*vikalpa*). That is, *bahulam* itself could account for options offered by this rule. Thus, *prācām* is not used for stating an option (*tatrācārya grahaṇam pūjārtham*). But since *bahulam* may, at times, not even entail an option, as, for example, in *dākṣiḥ*, it better be considered here as used for

variation (*vaicitryārtham*). The option could have been indicated by carrying *anyatarasyām* from the preceding rule.

2. *Kāśikā* cites *glaucukiḥ* and *rājadantiḥ* as counter-examples for dual conditions of *prācām* and *avṛddhāt*, respectively.

4.1.161 **मनोर्जातावञ्यतौ षुक् च**

manor jātāv añyatau ṣuk ca
/*manoḥ* 5/1 *jātau* 7/1 *añyatau* 1/2 = *añ ca yat ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ṣuk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *samarthānām prathamād vā* #82)
manuśabdād 'añ, yat' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ tatsanniyogena ṣug āgamo bhavati samudāyena cej jātir gamyate
The *taddhita* affixes *aÑ* and *yaT* occur after the syntactically related nominal stem *manu*, with an additional provision for it to receive augment *ṣUK*, when the derivate is to denote *jāti* 'class'.

EXAMPLES:

mānuṣaḥ 'a human being'
manuṣyaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that, because of *jātau*, the denotation of an *apatya* (*apatyārtha*) is ruled out (*nāsty eva*). It is for this reason that affix *aÑ*, in its plural derivate *mānūṣāḥ*, cannot be deleted by *LUK* of 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca*. A derivate of *manu* with the signification of an *apatya* can be derived as *mānavaḥ*. Of course, by introducing the general affix *aÑ* of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. The *n* of *mānava* is replaced with its retroflex counterpart *ṇ*, thereby yielding the derivate as *māṇava*, if the offspring thus signified happens to be one of unworthy conduct, or else, is an idiot.

apatye kulsite mūḍhe manor autsargikaḥ smṛtaḥ/
nakārasya ca mūrdhanyas tena siddhyati māṇavaḥ//

4.1.162 **अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम्**

apatyam pautraprabhṛti gotram
/*apatyam* 1/1 *pautraprabhṛti* 1/1 *gotram* 1/1/
pautraprabhṛti yad apatyam tad gotrasaṃjñam bhavati
An offspring, namely a grandson, and any other thereafter, is termed *gotra*.

EXAMPLES:

gargasyāpatyam pautraprabhṛti = *gārgyaḥ* 'a descendant, namely a grandson, and any thereafter, of Garga'
vātsyaḥ 'a descendant, namely a grandson, and any thereafter, of Vatsa'

1. This rule assigns the term *gotra* to descendants, such as 'grandsons and any thereafter' (*pautraprabhṛti*). Note that the word *apatya* 'offspring' is generally interpreted as denoting 'sons, grandsons, etc.', in general. But, in grammar, the term *apatya* refers only to a direct descendant, such as 'a son, or daughter'. A grandson, or any thereafter, is technically not viewed as an *apatya*. But since a grandson can still be viewed as an *apatya*, relative to his own father in relation to whose father he is to be called a *gotra*, the assignment of these terms is relative. That is why, an offspring, such as a grandson, or any other thereafter (*pautraprabhṛti*), is assigned the term *gotra*, relative to the person whose *pautra* 'grandson' he is. How come *pautraprabhṛti* is qualified here with *apatya*? This is simply an extension (*vyapadeśa*).

2. The assignment of the term *gotra* has its consequences. For example, no matter whether *gotra* refers to a grandson, or to a descendant many generations thereafter, the affix denoting *gotra* must, in each case, be introduced after the first base. That is, the base which denotes the grandfather. Note, however, that a non-female young (*yuvan*) descendant will be denoted by the derivate of a base denoting *gotra*. Thus, a son and a grandson of Garga will be called *gārgiḥ* and *gārgyaḥ*, respectively. A son of Gārgya, and any son or grandson of his thereafter, will also be called *gārgyaḥ*. All these descendants of Garga will be derived from the single base *garga*. However, *gārgyāyaṇaḥ*, a young great grandson of Garga, will be derived by accepting *gārgya*, meaning a *gotra*-descendant of Garga, as its base.

Scope: 4.1.93 *eko gotre*, etc.

4.1.163 जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा

jīvati tu vaṃśye yuvā
/*jīvati* 7/1 *tu* φ *vaṃśye* 7/1 *yuvā* 1/1/
(*apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti* #162)
vaṃśye jīvati sati pautraprabhṛty apatyaṃ yuvasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
The offspring of a grandson, and any other thereafter, is, instead, termed *yuvan*, when a *vaṃśya* 'father, or someone equal to him' is alive.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyāyaṇaḥ 'great grandson of Garga'
vātsyāyanaḥ 'great grandson of Vatsa'

1. Note that *tu* is used in the rule for exact delimitation of the term. Thus, *yuvan* is assigned, uniquely, against *gotra* (*Kāś.*: *yuvaiva bhavati, na gotram iti*). That is, there is no class-inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) of the terms *gotra* and *yuvan*. They can also not apply in turn (*paryāya*). The word *pautraprabhṛti* does not qualify *apatyam*, here, by way of coreferentiality (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). Instead, *pautraprabhṛti* is transformed into genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), to thereby yield

the paraphrase: *pautraprabhṛter yad apatyam* 'an offspring of a grandson, or any other thereafter'. Thus the term *yuvan* is assigned to a son, beginning with the fourth generation of descendants (*Kāś.*: *tena caturthād ārabhya yuvasaṃjñā vidhīyate*).

There will be problems if one allowed *saṃjñāsamāveśa* between *gotra* and *yuvan.* For example, affixes *phaK* (4.1.101 *yañiñoś ca*) and *phiÑ* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*) are introduced to derive the young sons of Śālaṅki and Paila, respectively. Our derivates will be *śālaṅkiḥ* and *pailaḥ*, respectively, where the two affixes also go through deletion (2.4.59 *pailādibhyaś ca*). If there is class-inclusion of the terms *gotra* and *yuvan*, then, provisions of deletion, and non-deletion, of rules 2.5.59 *pailādibhyaś ca* and 4.1.89 *gotre' lug aci* will come into conflict. I leave out any further discussion of this conflict for fear of expatiation. Suffice to say that *tu* is used here to rule out class-inclusion.

4.1.164 भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि

bhrātari ca jyāyasi
/ *bhrātari* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *jyāyasi* 7/1/
(*apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti* #162, *jīvati yuvā* #163)
bhrātari jyāyasi jīvati kanīyān bhrātā yuvasaṃjño bhavati pautraprabhṛter apatyam
The offspring of a grandson, and any other thereafter, is termed *yuvan*, also when his older brother (instead of his father, or any other like him) is alive.

EXAMPLES:

gārgye jīvati gārgyāyaṇo'sya kanīyān bhrātā
'Gārgyāyaṇa, the young grandson of Garga, provided his older brother Gārgya is alive'
vātsyāyanaḥ 'Vātsyāyana, the young grandson of Vatsa, provided his older brother Vātsya is alive'

1. The young offspring of a grandson, or any other thereafter, is called *yuvan*, when his older brother is alive. For example, if the grandson of Garga, namely Gārgya, has two sons, then the younger son will be called a *yuvan*, provided the older son is still alive, and all of their *vaṃśya*, i.e., father, or those of his likes, are dead. Thus, the younger son of Gārgya will be called Gārgyāyaṇa, when his older brother, also called Gārgya, is still alive. If the older brother is dead, then he will be called Gārgya. This rule is formulated with a focus on non-*vaṃśya*. Normally, a *vaṃśya* is an ancestor. A brother cannot be called as such, either directly or by tradition, because he cannot qualify as a source (*kāraṇa*) for the progeny of his own generation (*Kāś.*: *bhrātā tu na vaṃśyaḥ; akāraṇatvāt*).

4.1.165 वाऽन्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति

vā'nyasmin sapiṇḍe sthaviratare jīvati
/*vā*ϕ *anyasmin* 7/1 *sapiṇḍe* 7/1 = *samānaṃ piṇḍaṃ yasya* (*bv.*); *sthaviratare* 7/1 *jīvati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti* #162, *jīvati yuvā* #163)
bhrātur anyasmin sapiṇḍe sthaviratare jīvati pautraprabhṛter apatyaṃ jīvad eva yuvasaṃjñaṃ vā bhavati
The offspring of a grandson, when alive, is optionally termed *yuvan*, provided someone older in age, or relation, though not a brother, is alive and who comes from within the past seven generations.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyasyāpatyam = *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* 'a son of Gārgya'
gārgyaḥ 'a grandson of Garga'

1. The word *sapiṇḍa* is explained as representing seven generations of forefathers, or of sons and grandsons, either direction counting from one's own (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ātmanaḥ prabhṛti pitrādiṣu putrādiṣu vā gamyamāneṣu saptamapuruṣo' vadhir yeṣāṃ te*). The word *jīvati*, a locative (*saptamyanta*), is construed with *sapiṇḍe sthaviratare* to yield the interpretation: 'while a *sapiṇḍa*, older in age or relation, is alive'. The second *jīvati*, a verbal *pada*, is construed with *apatyam*. The word *sthaviratare*, with affix *taraP*, indicates 'superiority of age and place in relational hierarchy' (*sthānena vayasā cotkṛṣṭe*).

2. There are two *vārttikas* under this rule which *Kāśikā* lists separately as rules. Thus, the first, *vṛddhasya ca pūjāyām*, assigns the term *yuvan* optionally to a *gotra*-descendant when *pūjā* 'respect' is denoted. That is, *gārgyaḥ*, a *gotra*-descendant of Garga, can be optionally referred to as *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* 'a young *gotra*-descendant of Garga' when respect is denoted.

A second *vārttika*, which *Kāśikā* also lists separately as a rule, is: *yūnaś ca kutsāyām*. It optionally assigns the term *gotra* to a *yuvan*, when the denotatum is *kutsā* 'censure, reproach'. Obviously, this *vārttika* proposal is exactly opposite of the preceding. Thus, *gārgyāyaṇa* can be referred to, though only optionally, as *gārgya*, when reproach is denoted.

Notice that I do not list these *vārttikas* as *sūtras*.

4.1.166 जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादञ्

janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ
/*janapadaśabdāt* 5/1 *kṣatriyāt* 5/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92)
janapadaśabdo yaḥ kṣatriyavācī tasmād apatye' ñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs, to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically

related nominal stem which ends in genitive and names a *janapada* 'country, region' with the signification of a *kṣatriya*.

EXAMPLES:

pāñcālaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Pañcālas'
aikṣvākaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Ikṣvākus'

1. This rule allows *aÑ* after a base which names a *janapada*, and at the same time, also denotes a *kṣatriya*. Thus, *pañcāla* denotes a *kṣatriya*. It can also denote a *janapada*. We can thus get a derivate in *aÑ* as: *pañcālaḥ*. Note that words such as *pañcāla*, when used with the signification of a *janapada*, are always used in the plural.

2. These are two important *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*a*) Affix *aÑ* is introduced to denote a king (*rājanya*), as it is used to denote an *apatya*, when the base signifies a kṣatriya as well as a *janapada*. Thus, the king of the country of the Pañcālas will be called *pāñcālaḥ*.

(*b*) Affix *aṆ*, instead, is recommended after *puru* to denote a king. Thus, *pauravaḥ* will denote the king of the Purus, parallel to *purūṇāṃ rājā*. Note that *puru* does not denote a *janapada*. As such, it could have availed *aṆ* of the *prāgdīvyatīya* section. This *vārttika* provision of *aṆ*, after *puru*, is intended also for assignment of the term *tadrāja* (4.1.174 *te tadrājāḥ*).

4.1.167 साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च

sālveyagāndhāribhyāṃ ca
/*sālveya-gāndhāribhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ* #167)
sālveyagāndhāriśabdābhyām apatye'ñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* also occurs, to denote an *apatya*, after syntactically related nominal stems *sālveya* and *gāndhāri*, when they end in genitive and name a *janapada* 'country, region' with the signification of a *kṣatriya*.

EXAMPLES:

sālveyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the Sālveya country'
gāndhāraḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the Gāndhāri country'

1. Note that this provision of *aÑ* is made as an exception to affix *ÑyaṄ* of 4.1.169 *vṛddhetkośalāj*. . . . For, these two bases denote *janapada* and thus, affix *aÑ* is available to them from 4.1.168 *janapadaśabdād*. . . . But since these bases also denote a *kṣatriya*, affix *ÑyaṄ* also becomes available to them. Our

present rule thus offers *aÑ* as an exception to *ÑyaṄ*. Incidentally, derivates of these bases can also denote a king.

4.1.168 द्व्यञ्मगधकलिंगसूरमसादण्

dvyañmagadhakaliṅgasūramasād aṇ
/*dvyañmagadhakaliṅgasūramasāt* 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *dvyac ca magadhaś ca kaliṅgaś ca sūtramasaś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt* 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ* #167)
janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyābhidhāyino 'dvyacaḥ, magadha, kaliṅga, sūramasa' ity etebhyaś cāpatye'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, names a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya*, and either consists of two vowels, or else, is constituted by *magadha*, *kaliṅga* and *sūramasa*, provided derivates denote an *apatya*.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgasyāpatyam āṅgaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Aṅgas; the ruler of Aṅgas'
vāṅgaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Vaṅgas; the ruler of Vaṅgas'
māgadhaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Magadhas; the ruler of Magadhas'
kāliṅgaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Kaliṅgas; the ruler of Kaliṅgas'
sauramasaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Sūramasas; the ruler of Sūramasas'

1. Affix *aṆ* is here introduced as an exception to the *aÑ* of 4.1.166 *janapadaśabdād*. . . . These affixal provisions differ only in accent.

4.1.169 वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ञ्यङ्

vṛddhetkosalājādāñ ñyaṅ
/*vṛddhetkosalājādāt* 5/1 = *vṛddhaś ca ic ca kosalaś ca ajādaś ca* = *vṛddhetkosalājādam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt ñyaṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167)
vṛddhāc ca prātipadikād ikārāntāc ca kosala-ajāda-śabdābhyāṃ cāpaye ñyaṅ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ÑyaṄ* occurs, to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and names a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya*, provided the base is either termed *vṛddha*, or ends in *i*, or else, is constituted by *kosala* and *ajāda*.

EXAMPLES:

āmbaṣṭhānām apatyam = *āmbaṣṭhyaḥ* 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of Āmbaṣṭha'
āvantyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of Avanti'
kausalyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of Kosala'
ājādyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of Ājādas'

1. This provision for *ÑyaṄ* is made as an exception to affix *aÑ* (4.1.166 *janapada* . . .). For, all these bases denote *janapada* and *kṣatriya*. The *i* in *vṛddhet* is used with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*) to block *ÑyaṄ* in case of bases, such as *kumārī*, etc., where *kumārī* can denote *janapada* and *kṣatriya*, both. We can thus get *kaumāraḥ*, with *kumārī* as its base.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for affix *ḌyaṆ*, instead, to occur after *pāṇḍu* to denote both an *apatya* and king. This will give us: *pāṇḍya*, from *pāṇḍu* + *Ṅas* + *ḌyaṆ*, where *u* of *pāṇḍu* gets deleted at the strength of *Ḍ* as an *it* (*ḍity abhasyāpi ṭer lopaḥ*). Incidentally, this *pāṇḍu* does not denote either the color 'white', or Yudhiṣṭhira's father. A derivate of this *pāṇḍu*, with the denotatum of an *apatya*, will be *pāṇḍavaḥ*, a derivate of *aṆ*.

4.1.170 कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः

kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ
/*kurunādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *nakāra ādir yeṣām* = *nādayaḥ*; *kuruś ca nādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *ṇyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167)
kuruśabdān nādibhyaś ca prātipadikebhyo ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs, to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which (*i*) ends in genitive, (*ii*) is constituted by *kuru*, or else, (*iii*) begins with *n* (*nādi*), provided these bases all name a *janapada* with the signification of a kṣatriya.

EXAMPLES:

kurūṇām apatyam = *kauravyaḥ* 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Kurus; the King of the country of the Kurus'
naiṣadhyaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Niṣadhas; the King of the country of the Niṣadhas'

1. Note that *ādi*, of *nādi*, which occurs at the end of the *dvandva* com-

pound *kurunādi*, cannot be associated with *kuru*. For, there is no listing of *janapada* headed by *kuru* (cf.: *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaḥ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*).

2. This affixal provision of *Ṇya* is an exception to affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ*, both. Recall that *kuru*, because of being diasyllabic (*dvyac*), could have received *aṆ* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*) and *aÑ* (4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt* . . .).

4.1.171 **साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकालकूटाश्मकादिञ्**

sālvāvayavapratyagrathakālakūṭāśmakād iñ
/*sālvāvayavapratyagrathakālakūṭāśmakāt* 5/1 = *sālvasya avayavaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *sālvāvayavaś ca pratyagrathaś ca kālakūṭaś ca aśmakaś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*); *tasmāt*; *iñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167)
sālvāvayavebhyaḥ pratyagrathakālakūṭāśmakaśabdebhyaś cāpatye iñ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *iÑ* occurs, to denote an *apatya*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and names a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya*, provided it either names a part (*avayava*) of Sālva, or else, is constituted by *pratyagratha*, *kālakūṭa* and *aśmaka*.

EXAMPLES:

audumbariḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of Udumbara, a region in the country of the Sālvas'
yaugandhariḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of Yugandhara, a region in the country of the Sālvas'
prātyagrathiḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Pratyagrathas'
kālakūṭiḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Kālakūṭas'
āśmakiḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Aśmakas'

1. The word *sālva* refers to a particular clan of warriors (*kṣatriyaviśeṣa*). This word is also used to denote the place of their residence (4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt* . . .). There are six accepted regions of the country of the Sālvas, namely *udumbara*, *tilakhala*, *madrakāra*, *yugandhara*, *bhuliṅga* and *śaradaṇḍa*, as the following verse enumerates:

udumbarās tilakhalā madrakārā yugandharāḥ/
bhuliṅgāḥ śaradaṇḍāś ca sālvāvayavasaṃjñitāḥ//

4.1.172 **ते तद्राजाः**

te tadrājāḥ

/te 1/3 *tadrājāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167)
'janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ' ity evam ādayaḥ pratyayās tadrājasaṃjñā bhavanti
The *taddhita* affixes which occur after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in genitive and naming a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya* are termed *tadrāja.*

EXAMPLES:

Refer to examples under preceding rules.

1. Note that *te* refers to affixes *aÑ,* etc. (*añādi*), which have just been introduced by rules beginning with 4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt....* How dc we know that *te* does not refer to affixes which denote an *apatya* and are introduced by rules prior to 4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt....* Commentators explain that denotation of an *apatya* by our present section of affixes is intervened by affixes denoting *gotra* and *yuvan.* This interruption is meant to facilitate proper antecedent for *te.* A pronominal antecedent, for example of *te,* can only be located within a section not interrupted by something different.

Note that because of the assignment of the term *tadrāja,* these affixes will be deleted by *LUK* in plural (2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu*...). The initial *vṛddhi* of the derivates will also be disallowed because of 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya.* Thus, we will get derivates such as: *pañcālāḥ, aṅgāḥ,* etc.

Scope: 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahiṣu*..., etc.

4.1.173 कम्बोजाल्लुक्

kambojāl luk
/kambojāt 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167, *te tadrājāḥ* #172)
'janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād añ' ity anena vihitasya pratyayasya kambojāl lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja* is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kamboja,* naming a *janapada* with the signification of a *kṣatriya.*

EXAMPLES:

kambojaḥ 'a kṣatriya descendant, or the king, of the country of the Kambojas'

1. This deletion by *LUK* is intended for *aÑ* of rule 4.1.166 *janapadakṣa-*

triyād. . . . The initial *vṛddhi*, in *kamboja*, is also blocked. A proposal is also made to extend this *LUK* to derivates such as *colaḥ*, *keralaḥ*, *yavanaḥ* and *śakaḥ*.

4.1.174 स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च

striyām avantikuntikurubhyaś ca
/ *striyām* 7/1 *avantikuntikurubhyaḥ* 5/3 = *avantiś ca kuntiś ca kuravaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167, *te tadrājāḥ* #172)
avanti-kunti-kuruśabdebhya utpannasya tadrājasya striyām abhidheyāyāṃ lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja*, which occurs to denote a female offspring after syntactically related nominal stems *avanti*, *kunti* and *kuru*, is also deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

avantīnām apatyaṃ strī = *avantī* 'a female kṣatriya descendant of the country of Avanti; a princess of Avanti'
kuntī 'a female kṣatriya descendant of the country of Kunti; a princess of Kunti'
kurūḥ 'a female kṣatriya descendant of the country of Kuru; a princess of Kuru'

1. This deletion, by *LUK*, is intended for affixes *ÑyaṄ* (4.1.169 *vṛddhetkosalād*. . .) and *Ñya* (4.1.170 *kurunādibhyo ṇyaḥ*). Since this deletion will be applicable only in cases of feminine derivates, we will get derivates such as *āvantyaḥ*, *kauntyaḥ* and *kauravyaḥ*, etc., elsewhere. Obviously, the initial *vṛddhi* of these derivates cannot be stopped when affixal deletion by *LUK* does not apply.

4.1.175 अतश्च

ataś ca
/ *ataḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167, *te tadrājāḥ* #172, *striyām* #174)
akārapratyayasya tadrājasya striyām abhidheyāyāṃ lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja*, which has *a*(*T*) as its form and occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in genitive, is deleted by *LUK* when the derivate denotes a female descendant.

EXAMPLES:

śūraseni 'a female kṣatriya descendant of Śūrasena'
madrī 'a female kṣatriya descendant of Madra'

1. Why was this rule formulated as *ataś ca*? Why was it not formulated as *asya*? It is stated that the *t* in *ataḥ* is made for clarity (*viṣpaṣṭārtham*). If this rule was formulated as *asya*, with its *a* in genitive, one may confuse it with the genitive singular form of *idam*. Can *t* be accepted as used for ruling out any reference to long *a*? No. Because there is a long *ā* termed *tadrāja* (*asambhavāt*).

2. Commentators warn that a *tadantavidhi* (1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya* interpretation of *ataḥ* as 'in place of a *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja* which ends in *a*' is not desired. For, out of five affixes termed *tadrāja*, four end in *a*. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation could only spare one(*iÑ*; 4.1.171 *sālvāvayava*...) from deletion. This interpretation, therfore, must be abandoned. Besides, how could one think of *tadantavidhi* when a specification for deletion is made for a *tadrāja* affix occurring after *avanti*, etc. That is, such a specification would become useless if *tadantavidhi* were to be accepted.

4.1.176 न प्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः

na prācyabhargādiyaudheyādibhyaḥ
/*na* ϕ *prācya-bhargādi-yaudheyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *bharga ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *yaudheya ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *prācyaś ca bhargādayaś ca yaudheyaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #82, *tasyāpatyam* #92, *janapadaśabdāt kṣatriyād* #167, *te tadrājāḥ* #172, *striyām* #174)
prācyebhyo bhargādibhyo yaudheyādibhyaś cotpannasya lug na bhavati
A *taddhita* affix termed *tadrāja* which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem with the signification of an Eastern country, or after bases listed in the group headed by *bharga* and *yaudheya*, is not deleted by *LUK* when a female descendant is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pañcālasyāpatyaṃ strī = *pāñcālī* 'a female kṣatriya descendant of the country of the Pañcālas; a princess of Pañcāla'
āṅgī 'a female kṣatriya descendant (or princess) of the country of the Aṅgas'
vāṅgī 'a female kṣatriya descendant (or princess) of the country of the Vaṅgas'
bhārgī 'a female kṣatriya descendant (or princess) of the Bhargas'
yaudheyī 'a female kṣatriya descendant (or princess) of the Yaudheyas'

1. Note that *pāñcālī* is a derivate of *ṄīN* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravād año*...). The word *pāñcāla*, a derivate of *aÑ* (4.1.166 *janapadaśabdāt*...), which receives the feminine affix *ṄīN*, escapes deletion of its *aÑ* because of this rule. The deletion, which was made available by the preceding rule, is thus blocked. Derivates such as *āṅgī* and *vāṅgī* can similarly escape deletion of *aṆ* (4.1.168 *dvyañmagadhakaliṅga* ...). It is only after the deletion required by 4.1.175 *alaś ca* is blocked, that affix *ṄīṢ* is introduced by 4.1.63 *jāter astrī*... to denote feminine. Affix *aṆ* of *yaudheyī* (5.3.117 *parśvādi-yaudheyādibhyo*...) also escapes this deletion. Incidentally, rule 5.3.119 *ñyādayas tadrājaḥ* assigns the term *tadrāja* to affix *aṆ* of 5.3.117 *parśvādi-yaudheyādibhyo*.... Once the term *tadrāja* is assigned, 4.1.175 *ataś ca* becomes applicable.

PĀDA TWO

4.2.1 तेन रक्तं रागात्

tena raktaṃ rāgāt
/tena 3/1 *raktam* 1/1 *rāgāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*, #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.92)
tṛtīyāsamarthād rāgaviśeṣavācinaḥ śabdāt 'raktam' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, particularly *aṆ* (3.1.83 *prāgdīvyato'ṇ*), occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* and signifies 'color', when the derivate denotes '... colored by means of that....'

EXAMPLES:

kaṣāyeṇa raktaṃ vastraṃ = *kāṣāyam* '(a place of cloth) colored by means of an yellowish red dye'
kusumbhena raktaṃ vastraṃ = *kausumbham* '(a piece of cloth) colored by means of an yellowish green dye'

1. Commentators explain *raktam* 'colored', a derivate of verbal root *rañj*, as: *śuklasya varṇāntarāpādānam* 'changing a quality, such as *śukla* 'white', into some other quality (*guṇāntara*)'. Such an explanation is necessary since *rakta* means two things: 'attached', as in *striyāṃ raktaḥ* '... attached to a woman' and 'colored', as in *raktā gauḥ* 'red cow'. The word *rāga* can be derivationally interpreted, either as 'that by means of which one colors something' (*rajyate'nena iti*), or as 'action of coloring' (*rañjanakriyā*). This second meaning, especially in view of *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' of *tena*, is not tenable since 'the action of coloring will then have to be interpreted as its own means' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na hi rañjanakriyaiva rañjanakriyāyāḥ karaṇam bhavati* 'the action of coloring cannot be accepted as its own means'). This view, i.e., that *rāga* is derived with affix *GHaÑ* with the signification of *bhāva* 'action', is

then abandoned. The word *rāga* is then interpreted as denoting 'color', especially that by means of which a quality known as 'white' is changed into some other quality. This interpretation accepts the word *rāga* to have derived with affix *GHaÑ* denoting *karaṇa* 'means'. Needless to say that *rāga* is here interpreted as *rajyate'nena iti* 'that by means of which something is colored'. That is, *rāga* 'color' is not interpreted here as the word-form *rāga*. The specification is made in terms of 'meaning' (*artha*), and not of form (*svarūpa*). How do we know that this rule makes a specification based on meaning (*artha*), and not on form (*svarūpa*), of *rāga*? We know this from interpretations of teachers, received through tradition.

2. A question is also raised against accepting the meaning of 'coloring' as 'an action whereby change is brought into a quality such as white'. For, this will create problems in understanding *kāṣāyau gardabhasya karṇau* 'yellowish red are the ears of donkey'; and *hāridrau kukkuṭasya pādau* 'turmeric-yellow are the rooster's feet'. Since those 'ears' or 'feet' were never 'white', the question of changing their 'white quality' by means of color, from 'white' to 'non-white', does not arise. Commentators explain that this should not create any problem. That is, one can accept *kāṣāya* 'yellowish red' and *hāridra* 'turmeric-yellow' as standards of comparison (*upamāna*). These examples both have to be understood metaphorically.

Deriving *kāṣāya* from (*kaṣāya* + *Ṭā* + *aṆ*) involves deletion of *Ṭā* (2.4.71 *supo dhātu . . .*), *bha-saṃjñā* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), *a-lopa* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) and *vṛddhi*. Thus, *k*(*a*→*ā*)*ṣāy*(*a*→ϕ) + *a* = *kāṣāya*. Deriving *kāṣāyam* from *kāṣāya* + (*sU*→*am*; 7.1.24 *ato'm*) = *kāṣāy*(*a* + *am*→*am*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*)) = *kāṣāyam*))). It follows patterns to many derivates already discussed.

4.2.2 लाक्षारोचनाट्ठक्

lākṣārocanāṭ ṭhak

/ *lakṣārocanāt* 5/1 = *lākṣā ca rocanā ca* = *lākṣārocanam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhak* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.92, *tena raktaṃ rāgāt* #1)

lākṣādibhyo rāgavacanebhyas tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'raktam' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *lākṣā* 'lac' and *rocanā* 'yellow pigment', when ending in *tṛtīyā*, provided the derivate denotes '. . . colored by means of that'.

EXAMPLES:

lākṣikam = *lākṣayā raktaṃ vastram* '(a piece of cloth) colored by means of Lākṣā (lac)'

roucanikam = *rocanayā raktaṃ vastram* '(a piece of cloth) colored by means of Rocanā (yellow pigment)'

1. This rule introduces affix *ṭhaK*, as an exception to *aṆ*, under conditions specified by the preceding rule. The *ṭha* of *ṭhaK* is replaced with *ika* by rule 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*.

2. Note that the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, at the strength of the *vt*: *śakala-kardamābhyām aṇ api iṣyate* '*aṆ* is also desired after *śakala* and *kardama*', inserts *śakala* and *kardama* in the wording of this *sūtra* (cf.: *lākṣārocanāśakalakardamāṭ ṭhak*).

3. This rule also lists some additional *vārttikas*. For example, consider *nīlam* '(a piece of cloth) colored by indigo', *pītakam* '(a piece of cloth) colored by an yellow dye', *hāridram* '(a piece of cloth) colored by turmeric' and *māhārājanam* '(a piece of cloth)colored by a dye made from safflower (*mahārajana*)', where the first two examples involve introduction of affixes *aN* (*nīlyā an*) and *kaN* (*pītāt kan vaktavyaḥ*), respectively, as an exception to affix *aṆ*. The last two examples are derived with *aÑ* (*haridrā-mahārajanābhyām añ vaktavyaḥ*), again as an exception to *aṆ*.

Examples of this rule would require *ṭhaK* to yield *ika*, thereby producing *rocan*($\bar{a} \rightarrow \phi$) + (*ṭha*$\rightarrow$*ika*) = *r*(*o*$\rightarrow$*au*)*canika* = *roucanika*, through additional application of *vṛddhi* (7.2.118 *kiti ca*).

4.2.3 नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः

nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ
/*nakṣatreṇa* 3/1 *yuktaḥ* 1/1 *kālaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām prathamād vā* #4.1.92, *tena* . . . #1)
tena tṛtīyāsamarthād nakṣatraviśeṣavācinaḥ śabdād yuktaḥ ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a particular constellation (*nakṣatra*), and ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', provided the derivate denotes a time when moon may be in conjunction with that constellation.

EXAMPLES:

puṣyeṇa yuktā rātriḥ = *pauṣī rātriḥ* 'a night during which moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya'
pauṣamalaḥ 'a day during which moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya'

1. Questions have been raised against the condition of *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* 'time in conjunction with a constellation'. The tradition looks at the notion of time (*kāla*) in two ways, of action (*kriyā*) and substance (*dravya*). If one accepts time as an action then what action should this condition of *yuktaḥ kālaḥ* relate to. Should this relate to conjunction of a constellation, such as *puṣya*, with an action located in substances such as *sūrya* 'Sun', etc.? Or, should one interpret this conjunction as a conjunction of specific con-

stellations with the action located within itself? Either of these views would rule out the possibility of time forming a conjunction with any constellation. The first view would rule out conjunction because 'action' will then be accepted as located within something other than a constellation and time of conjunction. The second view is only partly acceptable. That is, it does not go against accepting conjunction of a constellation with action (time) located within that constellation, but it goes against *yuktaḥ*, the qualifier. An action located within a constellation cannot be viewed as ever moving away from that constellation. It will form a non-separable relationship with the constellation (*samavāya-sambandha*). It is because of absence of separation (*vyabhicārābhāvāt*), of time from a constellation, that *yuktaḥ* cannot be accepted as a qualifier to time. For, if it is inhered by the constellation then to qualify it as *yuktaḥ* 'conjoined with it' does not make any sense. Thus, the view that *kāla* 'time' is *kriyā* 'action' is not acceptable.

The question of conjunction (*yoga*) does not arise also where 'time' is accepted as 'substance' (*dravya*). For, time is eternal (*nitya*) and all-pervading (*sarvagata*). How could one talk about conjunction of time with a constellation, when time is obligatorily inhered by that constellation? That is, it is not possible to accept the conjunction of *puṣya*, etc., with 'time', when *puṣya*, etc., themselves are manipulated in usage as denoting time. Time is not something separate from them. There is no night or day which is not associated with a constellation. Consequently, *yuktaḥ* is useless as a qualifier. It is to remove this difficulty, and to still accept the notion of 'conjunction', of 'time' with constellations, that recourse is taken to the notion of proximity (*sāmīpya*) denoting conjunction (*yoga*). Remember *gaṅgāyāṃ ghoṣaḥ* 'huts of cowherds in the Gaṅgā? The 'huts', obviously, are not in the river, but are spoken of as being there because of their close proximity with the river. Well, the analogy is very similar. Since a specific time is spoken of as the time of conjunction, relative to the proximity of moon with a particular constellation, that constellation is treated as conjoined with specific time.

4.2.4 लुबविशेषे

lub aviśeṣe

/*lup* 1/1 *aviśeṣe* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.92, *tena*. . . #1, *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* #3)

pūrveṇa vihitasya pratyayasya lub bhavati aviśeṣe, na cen nakṣatrayuktasya kālasya rātryādiviśeṣo' bhidhīyate; yāvān kālo nakṣatreṇa yujyate' horātras tasyāviśeṣe lub bhavati

A *taddhita* affix, thus introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* and names a constellation, is replaced with *LUP* when the time of conjunction is not qualified with specifics.

EXAMPLES:

adya puṣyaḥ 'moon is in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya today'
adya kṛttikā 'moon is in conjunction with the constellation Kṛttikā today'

1. Recall that *LUP* is a special term employed to delete affixes (1.1.61 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*). This rule provides for deletion of an affix by means of *LUP*, if the time denoted by the derivate happens to be non-specific (*aviśeṣa*). Thus, consider *adya puṣyaḥ* 'moon is in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya* today' where *adya* denotes a very general span of time. The affix in this derivate must be deleted, by means of *LUP*, because no specific time of conjunction is stated. Consider now *pauṣī rātriḥ* 'a night when moon is in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya*'. The affix cannot be deleted here because *rātriḥ* 'night' is a particular time-span within the general time-span of a day'.

What is the extent of time to which moon could be spoken of as being in conjunction with a constellation? Twenty-four hours, eight quarters (*prahara*), one day. Can deletion of an affix thus be relatable to the general time frame of a day and night? Yes, but with the understanding that a given particular (span of time) within a general (span of time) can also be spoken of as constituting its own general span of time. That is, if the time of conjunction is specified as *adya*, a general time-span made of both the day and night, then the affix will be deleted. The affix will also be deleted if conjunction within a day or night is spoken of as general with no qualifications relative to any of their parts, i.e., *prahara* 'quarter', etc. Thus, consider *adya puṣyo hyaḥ kṛttikā* 'moon is in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya* today; tomorrow she will be in conjunction with *kṛttīkā*'. The affixes in these examples will be deleted because *adya* and *hyaḥ* are specified as general time-spans for moon's conjunction. Actually, a non-specific (*aviśeṣa*) time-span of conjunction is one where total time of conjunction is given with no qualification by any of its specific components (cf. *PM* ad *Kāśikā*: *tad etad evaṃ yāvān kālo nakṣatreṇa yujyate tasya sarvasya pratyayāntenābhidhānam aviśeṣaḥ; tad ekadeśasyābhidhānam aviśeṣaḥ*). The negative (*naÑ*) of *aviśeṣa* is construed with the verb to yield a *prasajyapratiṣedha* interpretation of the rule as: *nakṣatrayuktasya kālasya yatra viśeṣo rātryādis tatra lub na bhavati* '*LUP* does not apply in contexts where some specific time, for example 'night', of conjunction with a constellation is stated'.

2. Note that deletion of an affix also results in removal of consequences related to that affix. For example, introducing a *taddhita* affix may involve initial *vṛddhi* as its consequence. In the event of an affixal deletion, by means of *LUP*, *vṛddhi* must also be removed. Rule 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* would block the application of *vṛddhi* which, in the absence of deletion by *LUP*,

could have been permitted by rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*. Thus, operations characteristic of an affix do not apply in relation to an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyaya-vidhis*. . .) where deletion of an affix is accomplished by means of a term containing *LU* (*lumān*).

Note that *pauṣī* could be derived from *puṣya* + *aN* with initial *vṛddhi*, *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*: *p*(*u*→*au*)*ṣy*(*a*→ϕ) + *a*. The *y* of the string will then be deleted by 6.4.149 *sūryatiṣya*. . . . Of course, *Ṅīp*, will then be introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

4.2.5 **संज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम्**

saṃjñāyāṃ śravaṇāśvatthābhyām
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *śravaṇāśvatthābhyām* 5/2 = *śravaṇaś ca aśvatthaś ca* = *śravaṇāśvatthau* (*itar. dv.*); *tābhyām*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.92, *tena*. . . #1, *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* #3, *lup* #4)
śravaṇaśabdād aśvatthaśabdāc cotpannasya pratyayasya lub bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śravaṇa* and *aśvattha*, when ending in *tṛtīyā*, is deleted by means of *LUP*, provided derivates denote the time of moon's conjunction with a constellation as a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

śravaṇā rātriḥ 'name of a particular night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Śravaṇa'
aśvattho muhūrttaḥ 'name of a particular moment in time when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation *Aśvattha*'

1. Note that the preceding rule restricts deletion of an affix by means of *LUP* only to the condition of a general denotatum (*aviśeṣa*). Our present rule makes a provision for deletion in the context of a particular (*viśeṣa*) denotatum. The use of *saṃjñā* should, however, not lead one to conclude that this rule is restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. For, whenever doubts with regard to operational (*vidhi*) or restrictive (*niyama*) nature of a rule arise, decision is made in favor of an operation (*vidhi-niyamasambhave vidhir eva jyāyān*). Besides, *LUP* is also seen in examples, such as *śravaṇākārttikī*, where the denotatum is not a name (*PM* ad *Kāś*.: '*śravaṇākārttikī*' *ity asaṃjñāyām api lupo darśanāc ca*).

A question is also raised against retention of the feminine suffix in *śravaṇā*. How come deletion by *LUP* does not cause removal of the feminine affix in consonance with *yuktavadbhāva* 'original status in number and gender' (1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*). That is, *śravaṇā* should be replaced with its mas-

culine counterpart *śravaṇa*. It is concluded that feminine is retained on the basis of *nipātana*, especially with reference to *śravaṇā* of 4.2.23 *vibhāṣā phālgunīśravaṇākārttikīcaitribhyaḥ*.

2. The condition of *saṃjñā* is imposed so that usages, such as *śrāvaṇī rātriḥ* 'a night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation *śravaṇa*' and *āśvatthī rātriḥ* 'a night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Aśvinī', do not come under the purview of this rule.

4.2.6 द्वन्द्वाच्छः

dvandvāc chaḥ

/*dvandvāt* 5/1 *chaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* . . . #1, *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* #3, *lup* #4)

nakṣatradvandvāt tṛtīyāsamarthād yukte kāle chaḥ pratyayo bhavati viśeṣe cāviśeṣe ca

The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *dvandva*, which ends in *tṛtīyā* and is composed of constituents with the signification of a constellation (*nakṣatra*), provided derivates denote a time of moon's conjunction.

EXAMPLES:

rādhānurādhīyā rātriḥ 'a night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Rādhā and Anurādhā'

tiṣyapunarvasavīyam ahaḥ 'a day when moon may be in conjunction wtih the constellations Tiṣya and Punarvasu'

adya rādhānurādhīyam 'moon is in conjunction with the constellations Rādhā and Anurādhā today'

adya tiṣyapunarvasavīyam 'moon is in conjunction with the constellations Tiṣya and Punarvasu today'

1. Note that the word *nakṣatra*, of *nakṣatreṇa*, because of the contextual need for it to qualify *dvandva*, is here interpreted as ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. Thus, we get *nakṣatrasya dvandvāt* = *nakṣatradvandvāt*, where *nakṣatradvandva* is interpreted as *nakṣatravācināṃ śabdānāṃ dvandvaḥ* 'a *dvandva* compound formed of constituents denoting constellations'.

2. Note that the first two examples specify a general time, as opposed to the next two which specify a particular. This explains why, for application of our present rule, the condition of *aviśeṣe*, or *viśeṣe*, is not consequential.

Given *tiṣyapunarvasu* + *Ṭā* + *cha*, rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* would delete *Ṭā*. Rule 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ* will then require *guṇa* of the final *u* of *punarvasu*. The *ch* of affix *cha* will be replaced with *īy* (7.1.2 *āyaneyī* . . .), to produce *tiṣyapunarvas*(*u*→*o*) + (*ch*→*īy*) *a* = *tiṣyapunarvaso* + *īya*. The *o* will then be replaced with *av*, of 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*, to produce *tiṣyapunar-*

vas(o→av) īya = *tiṣyapunarvasavīyam.* Incidentally, *tiṣyapunarvasavīyam* is here used as a qualifier to *adya* 'today', an indeclinable (*anyaya*). How can one then justify its neuter (*napuṃsaka*)? Gender follows usage (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *adyetyasyāliṅgatve'pi tadviśeṣaṇasya napuṃsakatvam, lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya* 'although *adya* has a status of non-gender, its qualifier is used as neuter. For, gender is dependent upon usage').

3. *Kāśikā* states that affix *cha* blocks the application of its deletion by *LUP* (4.2.4 *lub aviśeṣe*) on the basis of being subsequent (*paratva*; 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .). But the question of *cha* blocking its deletion on the basis of *paratva* does not arise, since a conflict resolved in favor a subsequent provision must obtain simultaneously (*yugapad*). That is, introduction and deletion of *cha* does not become applicable simultaneously. Since appearance (*darśana*) and non-appearance (*adarśana*) of an affix could not be applicable simultaneously, *LUP* with its signification of affixal non-appearance (*pratyayalopa*) cannot find any scope in the context of *cha.* Commentators explain that an exception stated in between only blocks a prior provision, and not any subsequent (*Paribhāṣā* (61): *madhye'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). As such, *LUP* can only block *aN,* and not this *cha.* How can one determine that *LUP* cannot block *cha* unless one suspects that *LUP* may find its scope in the context of *cha?* This then becomes an indicator for accepting that *LUP* can also be heard in the context of *cha.* But only *cha* can block *LUP,* and that too on the basis of *paratva* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *nanu yugapatprāptayor vipratiṣedhaḥ, na ca lupchayor yugapatprasaṅgaḥ. pratyayādarśanasya hi lupsaṃjñā, tasya katham pratyayena saha prasaṅgaḥ? tasmād ayaṃ atrārthaḥ: madhye'pravādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān iti, evam ayaṃ lub aṇa eva bhavati nāsya chasya. tenāyaṃ cho lupo viṣaye śrūyate. etad eva lupaṃ paratvād bādhate cha iti bādhakatvam* . . . *yato'yaṃ paras tena lub asya na bhavati tena tadviṣaye'py asau śrūyate*).

4.2.7 दृष्टं साम

dṛṣṭaṃ sāma

/*dṛṣṭaṃ* 1/1 *sāma* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* . . . #1)

tṛtīyāsamarthād dṛṣṭaṃ sāma ity etasminn arthe ḍhak pratyayo bhavati

A *taddhita* affix, namely *aN,* occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā,* provided the derivate denotes revelation of Sāman hymns received by. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kruñcena dṛṣṭaṃ sāma = *krauñcaṃ sāma* 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Kruñca'

vāsiṣṭham 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Vasiṣṭha'

vaiśvāmitram 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Viśvāmitra'

1. Note that *dṛṣṭam* 'seen' is used here as a qualifier to *sāma*. This is perfectly in line with the traditional belief that Vedic hymns were revealed to seers. It is in this sense that they were seen by them.

2. This *sūtra* has been accepted as a *vārttika* by the *Mahābhāṣya*. *Kāśikā* accepts it as a rule. Incidentally, Bhaṭṭoji (cf. *SK*) also accepts it as a rule.

4.2.8 कलेर्ढक्

kaler ḍhak
/*kaleḥ* 5/1 *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* . . . #1, *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma* #7)
kaliśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād dṛṣṭaṃ sāma ity etasminn arthe ḍhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kali*, when ending in *tṛtīya*, provided the derivate denotes 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kalinā dṛṣṭaṃ sāma = *kāleyam* 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Kali'

1. Note that *ḍhaK* is here introduced as an exception to *aṆ*. *Kāśikā* uses the word *sarvatra* 'everywhere' to indicate what is stated by the *vārttika*: *sarvatrāgnikalibhyāṃ ḍhag vaktavyaḥ*. That is, in this domain of rules called *prāgdīvyatīya* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*), *agni* and *kali* will, everywhere (*sarvatra*), receive affix *ḍhaK*, no matter what corresponding derivates were to signify. Consequently, affix *ḍhaK* will not only be introduced after *agni* to denote the sense of 'she is the deity of . . .', as is provided for by rule 4.2.24 *sāsya devatā*, it can also be introduced after *agni* to derive forms signifying meanings specified under other rules of this (*prāgdīvyatīya*) domain. The introduction of affix *ḍhaK*, after *kali*, can thus not be limited to the context of a denotatum such as: 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by . . .' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na kevalam agneḥ* '*sāsya devatā*' *ity asminn evārthe ḍhak, nāpi kevalaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ sāmety atraivārthe kaler ḍhak; api tu sarveṣv eva prāgdīvyatīyeṣv ity arthaḥ*).

Many do not accept this as a *sūtra* of Pāṇini. For, what the *sūtra* is supposed to provide is provided by the *vārttika*.

2. Note that the *ḍh* of affix *ḍhaK* will be replaced with *ey*, to yield *eya* of *kāleyaḥ* with the application of 7.1.2 *āyaneyī*. . . . The *vṛddhi* replacement for the first vowel of *kali* will be ordered by rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādis*. . . .

3. A verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes *vārttika*-proposals made in the context of this and the preceding rule:

dṛṣṭe sāmani jāte ca dvir aṇ ḍid vā vidhīyate/
tīyād īkak na vidyāyā gotrād aṅkavad iṣyate//

'the *aN* which denotes the sense of *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma* (4.2.7 *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma*), and also that which denotes the sense of 'born there' (4.3.25 *tatra jātaḥ*), is optionally marked with *Ḍ* as an *it*; affix *īkaK*, though not when qualifying *vidyā*, is optionally introduced after ordinals such as *dvitīya* 'second', etc.; an affix, i.e., *vuÑ* (4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ*), similar to *aṅka* (4.3.127 *saṅghāṅka*...), can be introduced to denote the sense of *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma* after a nominal stem signifying a *gotra*-descendant'.

A *vārttika* proposal to optionally mark *aN* with *Ḍ*, as an *it* (*ḍit*), facilitates *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. This will optionally derive *auśanasam* and *auśanam*, parallel to *uśanasā dṛṣṭaṃ sāma*, where *auśanas* has its final *s* deleted as a consequence of optional *Ḍ* as an *it*. Examples of *aN* with the signification of *tatra jātaḥ* are: *śatabhiṣajaḥ* 'born in the constellation *Śatabhiṣa*'. Commentators remind that *aN*, in order to qualify for its optional status as *ḍil*, must be one which becomes applicable, after having been blocked by some other affix earlier. Thus, the *aN* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* is blocked by *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*. It is made available again by 4.3.16 *sandhivelād*.... It thus qualifies for its status as *ḍit*. Derivates such as *śatabhiṣajaḥ*/ *śatabhiṣaḥ* illustrate it.

A *vārttika* proposal for *īkaK* is optionally made after ordinals ending in *tīya*. This proposal is not valid when the ordinal qualifies *vidyā*. Consider *dvaitīyīkam*/ *dvitīyakam* as examples for optional *īkaK*. But compare *tṛtīyā* of *tṛtīyā vidyā* which forms an exception to it.

A proposal for *vuÑ*, for example in *aupagavakam* 'Sāman hymns received by Aupagava', is not hard to comprehend.

4.2.9 वामदेवाड्ड्यड्ड्यौ

vāmadevāḍ ḍyaḍḍyau
/ *vāmadevāt* 5/1 *ḍyaḍḍyau* 1/2 = *ḍyat ca ḍyaḥ ca* (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena*... #1, *dṛṣṭaṃ sāma* #7)
vāmadevaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād dṛṣṭaṃ sāma ity etasminn arthe '*ḍyat*' '*ḍya*' *ity etau pratyayu bhavataḥ*
The *taddhita* affixes *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* occur after the syntactically related nominal stem *vāmadeva*, when the same ends in *tṛtīyā* and the derivate is to signify 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by....'

EXAMPLES:

vāmadevena dṛṣṭaṃ sāma = *vāmadevyām* 'revelation of Sāman hymns received by Vāmadeva'
vāmadevena dṛṣṭaṃ sāma = *vāmadevyam* 'id.'

1. Note that derivates of these two affixes only differ in accent. This accentual difference is brought about by *T* as an *it* in the first affix. Thus, a

derivate of *ḌyaT*, because of *T* as an *it*, will be marked with *svarita* (6.1.179 *tit svaritam*) at the end. Derivates of *Ḍya*, on the other hand, will be marked *udātta* at the beginning, as is provided for by rule 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*. These affixes both constitute an exception to *aṆ*.

2. Derivates of *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya*, on account of their *Ḍ* as an *it*, will both involve *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*. But why do we have to accept these affixes marked with *Ḍ*? What is accomplished by *ṭi*-deletion can be accomplished by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, even when the affixes were given as *yaT* and *ya*. But this will render the *Ḍ* of *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* as vacuous. This, in turn, becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*): an affix specified without an *it* does not include references to its counterparts specified with an *it* (*Paribhāṣā* 82: *niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya*). Similarly, an affix specified with one *it* does not include references to its counterparts specified with two *it*-elements (*Paribhāṣā* 83: *tadanubandhakagrahaṇe nātadanubandhakasya*). A specification made by *ya* and *yaT* cannot refer to both *Ḍya* and *ḌyaT* which is required, for example in *avāmadevyam*, to block the final *udātta* of 6.2.156 *yayatoś cātadarthe*. A specification with *Ḍya* and *ḌyaT* accomplishes that. Consequently, *avāmadevyam* is not marked *udātta* at the end. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *naÑ* (6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*...).

A *kārikā* verse summarizes it as follows:

siddhe yasyeti lopena kimartham yayatau ḍitau/
grahaṇaṃ mā'tadarthe bhūd vāmadevyasya nañsvare//

4.2.10 परिवृतो रथः

parivṛto rathaḥ
/parivṛtaḥ 1/1 *rathaḥ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena*... #1)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt parivṛtaḥ ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yo'sau parivṛto rathaś cet sa bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, particularly *aṆ*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā*, provided the derivate denotes 'a chariot covered with that....'

EXAMPLES:

vāstraḥ = *vastreṇa parivṛto rathaḥ* 'a chariot covered with a piece of cloth'
kāmbalo rathaḥ 'a chariot covered with a blanket'
cārmaṇaḥ 'a chariot covered with hide'

1. The condition of *ratha* is imposed to block derivates of *aṆ* parallel to *vastreṇa parivṛtaḥ kāyaḥ* 'a body covered with cloth'.

Note also that *parivṛtaḥ* means *samantād veṣṭitaḥ* 'completely covered'. Thus,

a thing can be called *parivṛta* when no part of it is left uncovered (*Kāś.*: *yasya na kaścid avayavo vastrādibhir veṣṭitas tatra na bhavati*). This rule will then not permit a derivate parallel to *chātraiḥ parivṛto rathaḥ* 'chariot covered with students'.

4.2.11 पाण्डुकम्बलादिनिः

pāṇḍukambalād iniḥ

/*pāṇḍukambalāt* 5/1 = *pāṇḍuś cāsau kambalaś ca* = *pāṇḍukambalaḥ* (*karma.tat.*), *tasmāt; iniḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* . . . #1, *parivṛto rathaḥ* #10)

pāṇḍukambalaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt parivṛto rathaḥ ity etasminn arthe iniḥ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *pāṇḍukambala* when it ends in *tṛtīyā* and the derivate denotes 'a chariot covered with that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pāṇḍukambalī = *pāṇḍukambalena parivṛto rathaḥ* 'a chariot covered with a white (woolen) blanket'

1. What is the purpose of formulating this rule with *inI* when this same affix is already available from 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*? Commentators explain that, in the absence of *inI* of this rule, *aṆ* would become applicable. The fact that this rule is formulated, even when *inI* is available from 5.2.115, indicates its purpose. It is formulated to block *aṆ* (*Kāś.*: *matvarthīyenaiva siddhe vacanam aṇo nivṛtyartham*).

4.2.12 द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ्

dvaipavaiyāghrād añ

/*dvaipavaiyāghrāt* 5/1 = *dvaipaṃ ca vaiyāghraṃ ca* = *dvaipavaiyāghram* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; añ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* . . . #1, *parivṛto rathaḥ* #10)

dvīpivyāghrayor vikārabhūte carmaṇī dvaipavaiyāghre tābhyāṃ tṛtīyāsamarthābhyām parivṛto ratha ity etasminn arthe'ñ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra*, when they end in *tṛtīyā* and their derivates denote 'a chariot covered with that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

dvaipaḥ = *dvaipena parivṛto rathaḥ* 'a chariot covered with panther's hide'

vaiyāghraḥ 'a chariot covered with tiger's hide'

1. Note that *dvaipa* and *vaiyāghra* refer to products (*vikāra*) derived from panthers (*dvīpin*) and tigers (*vyāghra*), respectively. But since the context requires such products to function as means of covering, we interpret them as hide.

2. This provision of *aÑ* is made against *aṆ*.

4.2.13 कौमारापूर्ववचने

kaumārāpūrvavacane
/kaumāra 1/1 (deleted) *apūrvavacane* 7/1 = *na pūrvaḥ apūrvaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya vacanam* = *apūrvasya vacanam* (*gen. tat.* with int. *nañ tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
kaumāra ity etad aṇpratyayāntaṃ nipātyate'pūrvavacane
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, in deriving *kaumāra* via *nipātana*, when the derivate denotes *apūrvavacana* 'not married before'.

EXAMPLES:

kaumāraḥ patiḥ = *apūrvapatiṃ kumārīṃ patir upapannaḥ* 'the groom who married a girl not married before'
kaumārī bhāryā = *apūrvapatiḥ kumārī patim upapannā* 'a girl, not married before, married this groom'

1. This rule derives *kaumāra* with *aṆ*, via *nipātana*, under the meaning condition of *apūrvavacana* 'not married before'. A question is raised as to whose previously unmarried status the affix signifies. Commentators state that the affix denotes the 'previously unmarried status' of a female. Consider the two paraphrases of our examples. The first one has *kaumāraḥ*, derived in masculine by introducing affix *aṆ* after the syntactically related nominal *kumārī*. Notice the paraphrase where *kumārī* is used in accusative, and affix *aṆ* is introduced to denote the 'husband' (*pati*). That is, 'the husband who reached the girl not married before'. The second paraphrase requires introducing *aṆ* after the syntactically related nominal *kumārī*, ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. Its derivate will then denote the female, its own sense (*svārtha*). In both these cases, *apūrvavacana* qualifies the female. The following verse sums it up:

kaumārāpūrvavacane kumāryā aṇ vidhīyate/
apūrvatvaṃ yadā tasyāḥ kumāryāṃ bhavatīti vā//

That *apūrvavacana*, the status of not being married before, applies uniquely to the female becomes known at the strength of *nipātana* (*PM* ad *Kāś.* III:518: *striyā evāpūrvatvam ity etat tu nipātanabalāl labhyate*).

4.2.14 तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः

tatroddhṛtam amatrebhyaḥ
/*tatra* ϕ *uddhṛtam* 1/1 *amatrebhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
saptamīsamarthād amatravācinaḥ śabdāt 'uddhṛtam' ity etasmin arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī* 'locative' and signifies *amatra* 'utensil', provided the derivate denotes *tatroddhṛtam* '. . . remaining there in the pot. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śārāva odanaḥ = *śārāveṣūddhṛtaḥ odanaḥ* 'rice remaining in bowls . . .'
kārparaḥ odanaḥ 'rice left over in a vessel'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *tatroddhṛtam* as a qualifier for food (*annam*) left over in a pot after eating (*bhuktocchiṣṭam uddhṛtam ucyate*).
The condition of *amatrebhyaḥ* is significant so that usages parallel to *pāṇāv uddhṛtaḥ* 'food remaining in hands . . .' can be ruled out.

4.2.15 स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते

sthaṇḍilāc chayitari vrate
/*sthaṇḍilāt* 5/1 *śayitari* 7/1 *vrate* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #14)
sthaṇḍilaśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt śayitary abhidheye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *sthaṇḍila* 'bare ground', when ending in *saptamī* 'locative', provided the derivate denotes a *śayitṛ* 'agent of sleeping' under the obligation of a religious vow (*vrata*).

EXAMPLES:

sthaṇḍilo bhikṣuḥ = *sthaṇḍile śayitum vratam asya* 'a monk who took a vow to sleep on bare grounds'
sthaṇḍilo brahmacārī 'a celibate who took a vow to sleep on bare floors'

1. Note that the word *vrata* characterizes conduct prescribed by scriptures or religious treatises (*śāstra*). The condition of *vrata* is required so that *sthaṇḍila*, of *sthaṇḍile śete brahmadattaḥ* 'Brahmadatta sleeps on bare ground', does not qualify for a derivate in *aṆ*.

4.2.16 संस्कृतं भक्षाः

saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ
/*saṃskṛtam* 1/1 *bhakṣāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraśrca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #14)
tatreti saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtam' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāś cet te bhavanti
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī*, provided the derivate denotes an item of food 'processed in there' (*tatra saṃskṛtam*).

EXAMPLES:

bhrāṣṭrāḥ = bhrāṣṭre saṃskṛtā bhakṣāḥ 'items of food prepared in a frying pan'
kālaśāḥ 'items of food prepared in a jar (of brass or copper)'
kaumbhāḥ 'items of food prepared in an earthen jar'

1. Note that the word *saṃskṛta* refers to an item which goes through *saṃskāra*. Commentators explain '*saṃskāra* as a process through which qualities of a thing are enhanced' (*sata utkarṣādhānam*). Items of food can be treated as *saṃskṛta* if they are processed through some special technique of cooking, preparing, and/or introducing ingredients, whereby they become more palatable.

2. It is stated that the neuter singular (*napuṃsakaliṅgatvam ekavacanatvaṃ ca*) in *saṃskṛtaṃ* is used to denote *jāti* 'class'. The plural masculine in *bhakṣāḥ* is used to denote particular things (*vastu*).

4.2.17 शूलोखाद्यत्

śūlokhād yat
/*śūlokhāt = śūlaṃ ca ukhā ca śūlokham* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #14, *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* #15)
śūlaśabdād ukhāśabdāc ca saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śūla* and *ukhā*, when ending in *saptamī*, provided the derivate denotes 'an item of food processed in there'.

EXAMPLES:

śūle saṃskṛtaṃ = śūlyaṃ māṃsam 'meat roasted on a pit'
ukhyam 'an item of food prepared in a pot called Ukhā'

1. This rule introduces *yaT* as an exception to *aṆ*. The word *ukhā* here

means a particular pot (*pātraviśeṣa*), and not, for example, *svāṅga* 'one's limb'. For, it will then be impossible to comprehend objects of processing.

4.2.18 दध्नष्ठक्

dadhnaṣ ṭhak

/dadhnaḥ 5/1 *ṭhak/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #14, *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* #15)

dadhiśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati

A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaK*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem *dadhi* 'yoghurt', when ending in *saptamī*, provided the derivate denotes 'an item of food processed in there'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhni saṃskṛtaṃ = *dādhikam* 'an item of food processed in yoghurt'

1. Why can we not account for this usage by means of rule 4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak*, read with 4.4.3 *saṃskṛtaṃ*. Commentators explain that the derivate in that case will still be *dādhikam*. However, since 4.4.3 *saṃskṛtaṃ* also gets the *anuvṛtti* of *tena*, from 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*. . ., there will be a difference in meaning. That is, the derivate of 4.4.3 *saṃskṛtaṃ* will be an item of food whose qualities are enhanced by means of *dadhi* 'yoghurt'. That is, yoghurt will then serve as the primary means of making food palatable. The derivate of our present rule will not have yoghurt as its primary means of processing. Instead, things such as salt, pepper, and spices, etc., will serve as means of enhancing the quality of food. The yoghurt will simply serve as a base (*ādhāra*). Shall we then understand that yoghurt is similar in function to the pit on which meat is roasted? As a pit does not bring any special quality to the meat but simply serve as locus for roasting it, so is the yoghurt. Well, yes but not quite. It is very difficult to accept that an item of food which has yoghurt as its base does not get any enhancement in its quality from it. That is, if a person likes yoghurt, and hence, treats it as base for preparing his food. On the other hand, the pit can be accepted as not bringing any enhancement in the quality of food. The pit also remains unaffected insofar as its own status is concerned. The yoghurt differs with the pit in these respects. However, these both share one basic thing: they are both items which may not be treated as primary processors of food due to which an item of food may have in quality enhanced.

4.2.19 उदश्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम्

udaśvito' nyatarasyām

/udaśvitaḥ 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* 4.1.76, *tatra* #14, *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* #15, *ṭhak* #18)

udaśvic chabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ' ity etasminn arthe anyatarasyāṃ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *udaśvit*, when ending in *saptamī*, provided the derivate denotes an item of food 'processed in there'.

EXAMPLES:

audaśvitam 'an item of food prepared in buttermilk'
audaśvikam 'id.'

1. An optional introduction of *ṭhaK* would also result in the application of rule 7.3.51 *isusuktāntāt kaḥ* which, in turn, will replace the *ṭha* of *ṭhaK* with *ka* to yield *audaśvitka*, after initial *vṛddhi* is accomplished. If, on the other hand, one does not accept the option of introducing *ṭhaK*, and, instead, selects affix *aṆ*, the result will be *audaśvitam*, a form without *ka*.

4.2.20 क्षीराड्ढञ्

kṣīrād ḍhañ
/*kṣīrāt* 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* 4.1.76, *tatra* #14, *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* #15)

kṣīraśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ' ity etasminn arthe ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kṣīra*, when it ends in *saptamī* and the derivate denotes an item of food 'processed in there'.

EXAMPLES:

kṣaireyī = *kṣīre saṃskṛtā yavāgūḥ* 'barley-gruel prepared in milk'

1. Our example derives from *kṣīra* + (*ḍh*→*ey*) *a* = *kṣīr*(*a*→ϕ) + *eya* = *kṣ*(*ī*→*ai*) *r* + *eya* = *kṣaireya* = *kṣaireya* + *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .) = *kṣairey*(*a*→ϕ) + *ī* = *kṣaireyī*.

4.2.21 सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम्

sāsmin paurṇamāsīti saṃjñāyām
/*sā* 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *paurṇamāsī* 1/1 *iti* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* # 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

seti prathamāsamarthād 'asmin' iti saptamyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ paurṇamāsī ced bhavati

A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided the nominal in

prathamā signifies a *paurṇamāsī* 'full-moon night' and the derivate names a locus.

EXAMPLES:

pauṣī paurṇamāsī asmin = pauṣo māsaḥ 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya'

1. Commentators explain that derivates of this rule can denote a month, or one-half of a month, depending on what the speaker wishes to indicate as locus of full-moon. Similarly, one can also speak of a year during which a particular full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya.*

Note that *Kāśikā* also reads *saṃjñāyām* in the wording of this *sūtra.* This addition is made in view of a *vārttika* proposal. *Kāśikā* claims that *saṃjñāyām* is used to indicate its similarity of meaning with *iti,* which is not commonly known from general usage. The *Mahābhāṣya* uses *iti* alone. The *SK* also follows the *Mahābhāṣya.* The phrase *sā'smin paurṇamāsī* has *sā* ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. That is how we get the variable specification of: 'a syntactically related nominal stem ending in nominative'. The word *paurṇamāsī,* again in nominative, establishes the denotatum of the *pada* ending in nominative. The *saptamī,* of *asmin,* specifies 'locus' as affixal denotatum.

2. Note that *saṃjñā* is the denotatum of the derivate. Given the example, *pauṣo māsaḥ,* parallel to *pauṣī paurṇamāsy astīty ity asmin māse* 'a month in which full-moon night happens to be in conjunction with the constellation Puṣya', where *pauṣaḥ* is a qualifier to *māsaḥ* 'month', we have to first derive *pauṣī* by introducing *aṆ* after *puṣya* + *Ṭā,* under the provision of rule 4.2.3 *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ.* This will give us *pauṣī* as a qualifier for the full-moon night when moon may be in conjunction with the constellation *puṣya* (cf. *puṣyeṇa yuktā paurṇamāsī pauṣī*). Affix *aṆ* will then be introduced after *pauṣī* + *Ṅi* to derive (*pauṣī* + (*Ṅi*→ϕ) + *a*(*Ṇ*→ϕ)) = (*pauṣ*(*ī*→ϕ) + *a*)) = *pauṣa.* This deletion of *ī* is, of course, ruled by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca.* Deriving *pauṣaḥ* from *pauṣa* + *sU* offers nothing new.

4.2.22 आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाट्ठक्

āgrahāyaṇyaśvatthāṭ ṭhak
/ *āgrahāyaṇyaśvatthāt* 5/1 = *āgrahāyaṇī ca aśvatthaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsmin paurṇamāsīti* #21)
āgrahāyaṇīśabdād aśvatthaśabdāc ca prathamāsamarthāt paurṇamāsyupādhikād asminn iti saptamyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *āgrahāyaṇī* and *aśvattha,* when they end in *prathamā* to share syntactic coordination with *paurṇamāsī,* and their derivates name a locus.

EXAMPLES:

āgrahāyaṇiko māsaḥ 'a month, half-month, or year, when full-moon occurs in the constellation Āgrahāyaṇī.'
āśvatthikaḥ 'a month, half-month, or year, when full-moon occurs in the constellation Aśvattha.'

1. The word *aśvattha* refers to the constellation *Aśvinī*. The affix itself is an exception to *aṆ*.

4.2.23 **विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः**

vibhāṣā phālgunīśravaṇākārtikīcaitrībhyaḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *phālgunīśravaṇākārtikīcaitrībhyaḥ* 5/3 = *phālgunī ca śravaṇā ca kārtikī ca caitrī ca (itar. dv.)/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsmin paurṇamāsīti* #21, *ṭhak* #22)
phālgunyādayaḥ paurṇamāsīśabdās tebhyo vibhāṣā ṭhak pratyayo bhavati sāsmin paurṇamāsīti saṃjñāyām ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *phālgunī, śravaṇā, kārtikī* and *caitrī*, when they end in nominative sharing syntactic coordination with *paurṇamāsī* and their derivates name a locus.

EXAMPLES:

phālguniko māsaḥ = *phālgunī paurṇamāsy asmin māse* 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Phālgunī'
phālgunaḥ 'id.'
śrāvaṇiko māsaḥ 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Śrāvaṇa'
śrāvaṇaḥ 'id.'
kārtikikaḥ māsaḥ 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Kṛttikā'
kārttikaḥ 'id.'
caitriko māsaḥ 'a month when full-moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Citrā'
caitraḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *aṆ*, instead, will be introduced when the option of *ṭhaK* is not availed. The *ṭha* of the affix will, of course, be replaced with *ika*, of rule 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*, to derive examples such as *phālgunikaḥ*.

4.2.24 **सास्य देवता**

sāsya devatā
/sā 1/1 *asya* 1/1 *devatā* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82)
seti prathamā samarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ devatā cet sā bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *devatā*, when the same ends in nominative and the derivate denotes 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

aindraṃ haviḥ = *indro devatā'sya* 'a ritual oblation of which Indra is the divinity'
ādityaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which Āditya is the divinity'
bārhaspatyaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which Bṛhaspati is the divinity'

1. Commentators explain that affix *aṆ*, in these examples, is introduced in the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. It becomes known from *asya* 'of this one's'. They also emphasize that the syntactically related nominal stem after which the affix is to be introduced must end in nominative, and denote a divinity. The derivate, thus, signifies a ritual oblation of which the divinity is the denotatum of the syntactically related *pada* ending in nominative. Thus, we get *aindraḥ*, from *indra* + *sU* + *aṆ*, where *indra* is the name of a divinity, associated with the ritual oblation namely *aindraḥ*.

Commentators rephrase the meaning of *sā'sya devatā* as: *yāgasampradānaṃ devatā deyasya puroḍāśādeḥ svāminī* 'the recipient divinity of a sacrifice; a presiding deity with ownership rights over oblations, such as *puroḍāśa*, etc.'

If ritual oblation is important in determining a derivate such as *aindraḥ*, then *aindraḥ* cannot denote a *mantra* in *aindro mantraḥ* 'a *mantra* of which Indra is the divinity'. For, there is no ritual oblation involved. Commentators explain that *aindraḥ* can denote a *mantra* even when there is no ritual oblation involved. A divinity serves as the principal recipient of a ritual oblation because of deserving respect. The same divinity, if still deserving respect, can be treated as the recipient of a *mantra* and *stuti* 'praise'. Thus, *mantra* and *stuti* can also be identified as oblations.

2. Why do we have to state *sā* in this rule when it is already available from *anuvṛtti*. *Kāśikā* states that *sā* of the *anuvṛtti* is associated with *saṃjñāyām*. It is to drop *saṃjñāyām* that this rule restates *sā*. For others, *sā* could be accepted as restated for the purpose of dropping *iti*.

4.2.25 कस्येत्

kasya it
/*kasya* 6/1 *it* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyapprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)

kasya ikārādeśo bhavati pratyayasanniyogena
The final *a* of the syntactically related nominal stem *ka* (which signifies a divinity, ends in the nominative, and receives the *taddhita* affix *aṆ* to denote 'the divinity of . . .') is replaced with *i*.

EXAMPLES:

kāyaṃ haviḥ = ko devatā asya 'a ritual oblation of which Ka is the divinity'

1. Note that the word *ka* denotes *prajāpati*, one of the major divinities. Affix *aṆ*, with the signification of 'the divinity of . . .', is already available to *ka* from the previous rule. Of course, when *ka* is a syntactically related *pada* ending in nominative. This rule thus not formulated for making the introduction of affix *aṆ*, after *ka*, possible. The express purpose of formulating this rule is to allow the *a* of *ka* to be replaced with *i*. Thus, we get: *ka + sU + aṆ = k(a→i) + sU + aṆ = ki + (sU→ϕ) + a(Ṇ→ϕ) = ki + a*. A *vṛddhi* replacement for *i* of *ki*, which will subsequently be replaced with *āy*, will produce: *k(i→ai→āy) + a = kāya*, a nominal stem with the denotatum of a ritual oblation of which Prajāpati is the divinity'.

4.2.26 शुक्राद् घन्

śukrād ghan
/ *śukrāt* 5/1 *ghan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
śukraśabdāt 'sāsya devatā' ity asminn arthe ghan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ghaN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śukra*, when ending in nominative, provided the derivate denotes 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śukriyaṃ haviḥ = śukro devatā asya 'a ritual oblation of which Śukra is the divinity'
śukriyā ṛk 'a hymn of the *Ṛgveda* of which Śukra is the divinity'

1. Note that *śukriyam* derives from *śukra + sU + ghaN* which, after *a-lopa* and *iy* replacement for *gh*, yields *śukr(a→ϕ) + sU + (gh→iy) a(N→ϕ) = śukr + (sU→ϕ) + iya = śukriya*. Finally, we get *śukriya + (sU→am) = śukri(a+a→a) m = śukriyam*, through the application of 7.1.24 *ato'm* and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*.

4.2.27 अपोनप्त्रपांनप्तृभ्यां घः

aponaptrapāṃnaptṛbhyām ghaḥ
/ *aponaptrapāṃnaptṛbhyām* 5/2 *ghaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)

'*aponaptṛ, apāṃnaptṛ*' *ity etābhyāṃ ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*sāsya devatā*' *ity asmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *aponaptṛ* and *apāṃnaptṛ*, when ending in nominative, provided derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

aponaptriyaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which Aponapāt is the divinity'
apāṃnaptriyaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which Apāṃnapāt is the divinity'

1. This rule offers affix *gha* as an exception to *aṆ*. Note that *aponapāt* and *apāṃnapāt* both end in *t*, and have the signification of a divinity. It is via *nipātana*, and for this affixal provision alone, that *aponaptṛ* and *apāṃnaptṛ* are specified here as a bases.

4.2.28 छ च

cha ca

/*cha* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23, *aponaptrapāṃnaptṛbhyām* #27)

'*aponaptṛ-apāṃnaptṛ*' *ity etābhyāṃ chaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*sāsya devatā*' *ity asmin viṣaye*

The *taddhitā* affix *cha* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *aponaptṛ* and *apāṃnaptṛ*, when ending in nominative, provided derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

aponaptrīyaṃ haviḥ 'a ritual oblation of which *aponapāt* is the divinity'.
apāṃnaptrīyaṃ haviḥ '. . . *apāṃnapāt* . . .'

1. Note that rules 4.2.26 and 4.2.27 are formulated separately to avoid confusion concerning introduction of their affixes in accord with order of enumeration (*Kāś*.: *yogavibhāgaḥ saṃkhyātānudeśaparihārārthaḥ*). Thus, if these two rules were formulated jointly, as *aponaptrapāṃnaptṛbhyāṃ ghachau*, one may understand that 'affixes *gha* and *cha* are to be introduced after *aponaptṛ* and *apāṃnaptṛ*, respectively'. This interpretation, of course, will create problems.

2. A *vārttika* proposes that *paiṅgākṣīputra*, etc., must also be included in this provision of *cha*, so that derivates such as *paiṅgākṣīputrīyam* and *tārṇabindavīyam* could be covered. Yet another proposal recommends affixes *cha* and *gha*, both after *śatarudra*, to derive *śatarudrīyam* and *śatarudriyam*.

4.2.29 महेन्द्राद् घाणौ च

mahendrād ghāṇau ca
/*mahendrāt* 5/1 *ghāṇau* 1/2 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23, *cha* #28)
mahendraśabdād ghāṇau pratyayau bhavataḥ cakārāc chaś ca 'sāsya devatā' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *gha* and *aṆ*, and *cha* as well, occur after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *mahendra*, when it ends in nominative and derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

mahendriyaṃ haviḥ = *mahendro devatā asya* 'a ritual oblation of which *mahendra* is the 'divinity''
māhendram 'id.'
mahendrīyam 'id.'

1. Why was this rule not formulated as *mahendrād aṇ ca*? This way, the *ca* of this new formulation would have attracted *cha* and *gha*, both. Such a formulation would not only account for all derivates, but would also be economical. Commentators state that *ca* of this new formulation will be able to attract only affix *cha* of the immediately preceding rule. It cannot attract affix *gha* of yet another rule which precedes *cha*. It is to avoid this situation that affixes *gha* and *aṆ* both were included in the present formulation. Its *ca* is thus used for bringing affix *cha*.

4.2.30 सोमाट् ट्यण्

somāṭ ṭyaṇ
/*somāt* 5/1 *ṭyaṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
The *taddhita* affix *ṬyaṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *soma*, when it ends in nominative and the derivate denotes the 'divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

saumyaṃ haviḥ = *somo devatā asya* 'a ritual oblation of which the divinity is Soma'
saumyaṃ sūktam = *somo devatā asya sūktasya* 'a *sūkta* 'collection of hymns of praises' of which the divinity is Soma'

1. Note that affix *ṬyaṆ* is marked with *Ṭ* to facilitate the introduction of feminine affix *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Thus, a hymn of the *Ṛgveda*, with

Soma as its divinity, will be called *saumī ṛk*, where *saumī* derives with affix *ṄīP* because *ṬyaṆ* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*. Remember that the feminine form has lost its affixal *y* because of application of rule 6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya*. The *Ṇ* of *ṬyaṆ* is intended as an *it* to facilitate *vṛddhi*. Affix *ṄīP* in *saumī* is introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

4.2.31 वाय्वृतुपित्रुषसो यत्

vāyvṛtupitruṣaso yat
/ *vāyvṛtupitruṣasaḥ* 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
vāyvādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati 'sāsya devatā' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vāyu, ṛtu, pitṛ* and *uṣas*, when they end in nominative and derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

vāyur devatāsya = *vāyavyam* 'a ritual oblation of which Vāyu is the divinity'
ṛtavyam 'a ritual oblation of which Ṛtu is the divinity'
pitryam 'a ritual oblation of which ancestors are the divinity'
uṣasyam 'a ritual oblation of which Uṣas is the divinity'

1. Note that *vāyavyam* derives from *vāyu* + *sU*+ *yaT* where, given *vāyu* + *ya*, rule 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ* causes *guṇa* to yield *vāy*(*u*→*o*) + *ya*. An application of 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye* produces *vāy*(*u*→*av*) + *ya* = *vāyavya*. Deriving *pitriyam* from (*pitṛ* + *yaT*) involves the application of 7.4.27 *rīṅ ṛtaḥ* to produce *pit*(*ṛ*→*rī*) + *ya*. An application of *bha-saṃjñā* and *ī-lopa* will subsequently produce *pitr*(*i*→ϕ) + *ya* = *pitrya*. Our final derivate *pitryam* derives from *pitrya* + (*sU*→*am*) = *pitry*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *m*) = *pitryam*.

4.2.32 द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च

dyāvāpṛthivīśunāsīramarutvadagnīṣomavāstoṣpatigṛhamedhāc cha ca
/ *dyāvā* . . . *medhāt* 5/1 = *dyāvāpṛthivyau ca śunāsīrau ca marutvat ca agnīṣomau ca vāstoṣpatiś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *cha* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23, *yat* #31)
dyāvāpṛthivyādibhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca 'sāsya devatā' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dyāvāpṛthivī, śunāsīra, marutvat, agnīṣoma, vāstoṣpati* and *gṛhamedha*, when they end in nominative and derivates denote 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

dvāvāpṛthivīyam haviḥ = dvāvāpṛthivyau devate asya 'a ritual oblation of which Heaven and Earth are the divinities'
dyāvāpṛthivyám 'id.'
śunāsīrīyam 'a ritual oblation of which Wind and Sun are the divinities'
śunāsīryam 'id.'
marutvatīyám 'a ritual oblation of which Marutvat (Indra) is the divinity'
marutvatyam 'id.'
agnīṣomīyam 'a ritual oblation of which Agni and Soma are the divinities'
agnīṣomyam 'id.'
vāstoṣpatīyam 'a ritual oblation of which Vāstoṣpati is the divinity'
vāstoṣpatyam 'id.'
gṛhamedhīyám 'a ritual oblation of which Gṛhamedha is the divinity'
gṛhamedhyam 'id.'

1. Note that the derivates of this rule are exceptions to *aṆ* and *Ṇya.* Our example *dyāvāpṛthivī* is a *dvandva* parallel to *dyau ca pṛthivī ca.* The word *dyāvā* is a replacement for *divas* of 6.3.29 *divo dyāvā.* An introduction of *cha* through *bha-saṃjñā* and *ī-lopa* will produce: *dyāvāpṛthiv(ī→ϕ) + (ch→īy) a)) = dyāvāpṛthivīya.* Deriving *dyāvāpṛthivīyam* from *dyāvāpṛthivīya + sU* offers nothing new. The word *śunāsīra* also involves a (*devatā*)-*dvandva,* parallel to *śunaś ca sīraś ca,* where *śuna* receives *ān. AṄ* and the compound base becomes *śun(a+ā→ā) n)) + sīra = śunāsīra,* through *dīrgha.* Deriving *śunāsīryam* from *śunāsīra + ya = śunāsīr(a = ϕ) + ya* and *śunāsīrya + sU,* through *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa,* etc. is not difficult. The derivation of *agnīṣomīyam* and *agnīsomyam* involves the application of rules 6.3.27 *īdagneḥ somavaruṇayoḥ* and 8.3.83 *agneḥ stutstomasomāḥ.* That is, the short final *i* of *agni* is replaced with *ī* and the *s* of *soma* is replaced by *ṣ.* The rest of the operations offer nothing new. Note that *vāstoṣpatiḥ* is treated as correct at the strength of this specification itself. The *ṣ*-replacement for the final *s* of *vāstos* can be accomplished also by 8.3.53 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ pati. . . .*

4.2.33 अग्नेर्ढक्

agner ḍhak
/*agneḥ* 6/1 *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
agniśabdād ḍhak pratyayo bhavati 'sāsya devatā' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *agni,* when ending in nominative, provided the derivate denotes 'the divinity of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

> *āgneyo'ṣṭakapālaḥ* = *agnir devatā asya aṣṭakapālasya* 'a ritual oblation named Aṣṭakapāla (prepared in eight bowls) which has Agni as its divinity'

1. This rule offers affix *ḍhaK* as an exception to *aṆ*. In fact, a *vārttika* under this rule recommends affix *ḍhaK* after *agni* and *kali* (cf. 4.2.8 *kaler ḍhak*) to denote the sense of all *taddhita* affixes enumerated in the domain headed by 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* (*prāgdīvyatīyeṣu taddhitārtheṣu sarvatrāgnikalibhyāṃ ḍhag vaktavyaḥ*). Refer also to my notes under 4.2.8 *kaler ḍhak.*

4.2.34 कालेभ्यो भववत्

> *kālebhyo bhavavat*
> /*kālebhyaḥ* 5/3 *bhavavat* ϕ/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
> *kālaviśeṣavācibhyaḥ śabdebhyo bhavavat pratyayā bhavanti 'sāsya devatā' ity asmin viṣaye*
> The *taddhita* affixes which occur after syntactically related nominal stems having the signification of 'time' (*kāla*), to denote '. . . the divinity of. . .', occur in a manner similar to affixes introduced for derivates with the signification of 'born at, or existing in, there. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

> *māsikam* = *māso devatā asya* 'a ritual oblation of which a given month is the divinity'
> *sāṃvatsarikam* 'a ritual oblation of which a given year is the divinity'
> *ārdhamāsikam* 'a ritual oblation of which a given fortnight is the divinity'

1. This rule, as is clear from the *vat* of *bhavavat*, is an extension rule (*atideśa*). It extends the derivational process of rules contained within the section headed by 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*, a subdomain of 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, to derivates of this section. This, however, is done with some qualification. That is, the syntactically related nominal stems after which affixes are to be introduced must have time (*kāla*) as their signification. Secondly, the sense in which a *taddhita* affix of the other section was introduced must be 'born in, or existing in, there'. If an affix is introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes time and the resultant derivate is to denote 'born, or existing, in there', the same affix is to be also introduced after that stem under similar conditions to denote 'the divinity of. . . .' This rule thus copies bases, conditions and affixes, of this other section, and imposes the signification of its own on their derivates (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: . . . *yābhyaḥ prakṛtibhyo yena*

viśeṣaṇena bhave' rthe vidhāsyante ye pratyayāḥ ihāpi tābhya eva prakṛtibhyas tenaiva viśeṣaṇena ta eva pratyayā bhavanti iti). Thus, consider rule 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ* which introduces affix *ṭhaÑ* after a nominal stem with the denotation of time (*kāla*). It allows for a derivate such as *māsikam*. Our present rule states that this same *māsikam*, with this same affix and derivational constraints, will be derived here to denote 'the divinity of....'

4.2.35 महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाट्ठञ्

mahārājaproṣṭhapadāṭ ṭhañ
/*mahārājaproṣṭhapadāt* 5/1 = *mahārājā ca proṣṭhapadā ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sāsya devatā* #23)
mahārājaśabdāt proṣṭhapadaśabdāc ca ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'sāsya devatā' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *mahārāja* and *proṣṭhapada*, when they end in nominative and their derivates denote 'the divinity of....'

EXAMPLES:

māhārājikam = *mahārājo devatā asya* 'a ritual oblation of which Mahārāja (Kubera) is the divinity ...'
prauṣṭhapadikam = *proṣṭhapado devatā asya* 'a ritual oblation of which Proṣṭhapada is the divinity'

1. A *vārttika* under this rule also proposes the derivation of *nāvayajñikaḥ* 'the time when new fruits are offered at a sacrifice', etc., with *ṭhaÑ*. Yet another *vārttika* favors the introduction of affix *aṆ* after *pūrṇamāsa* to derive *paurṇamāsī* 'the day of a month when moon is full'. Incidentally, *prauṣṭhapadikam* of this rule is an exception to *aṆ* of 4.2.3 *nakṣatreṇa*.... Deriving examples through *ika*-replacement of *ṭha* and initial *vṛddhi* should pose no problem.

4.2.36 पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः

pitṛvyamātulamātāmahapitāmahāḥ
/*pitṛvyamātulamātāmahapitāmahāḥ* 1/3 = *pitṛvyaś ca mātulaś ca mātāmahaś ca pitāmahaś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
pitṛvyādayo nipātyante
The words *pitṛvya*, *mātula*, *mātāmaha* and *pitāmaha* are derived via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

pitṛvyaḥ 'father's brother'
mātulaḥ 'mother's brother'
mātāmahaḥ 'mother's father'
pitāmahaḥ 'father's father'

1. This rule derives four words via *nipātana.* It is stated that affixes *vyaT* and *ulaC* are introduced after *pitṛ* and *mātṛ*, respectively, to derive *pitṛvya* and *mātula.* Similar introduction of affix *ḌāmahaC* is made after *pitṛ* and *mātṛ.* Words signifying 'father's mother' and 'mother's mother' are derived by introducing affix *ṢiT.* The *Ṣ* as an *it* in *ṢiT* will facilitate the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* to derive *pitāmahī* and *mātāmahī.* A proposal is also made to exclude *Ṣ* as an *it* from the affix. This will facilitate the derivation of *mātāmaha* 'mother's mother' (found in the *mantra* literature), parallel to *mātāmahī.* Haradatta opposes it by saying that *mātāmahā* is not found in the *mantra* literature.

3. There are three *vārttika* proposals where the first introduces affixes *soḍha, dūsa* and *maṁsaC* after *avi* 'sheep' to denote the sense of milk (*dugdha*). Thus, *avisoḍham, avidūsam* and *avimaṁsam.* The second proposal recommends affixes *piñja* and *peja* after *tila* to denote *niṣphala* 'fruitless; oilless (sesame)' to yield: *tilapiñjaḥ/ tilapejaḥ.* A third proposal treats *piñja* as marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* in Vedic. This *Ḍ* will facilitate *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) to yield *tilapiñaja.*

4.2.37 तस्य समूहः

tasya samūhaḥ
/tasya 6/1 *samūhaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82)
'tasya' iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'samūhaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after the first among syntactically related *padas* which ends in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), provided the derivate denotes 'a collection of group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kākam = *kākānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'flock of crows'
śaukam 'a fight of parrots'
bākam 'a flock of cranes'

1. This domain of affixes denoting *samūha* extends up to 4.2.50 *initrakatyaś ca.* It is stated that nominal bases which qualify for this affixal provision must be marked *udātta* at the beginning, and must denote a living being (*cittavat*) other than a *gotra*-descendant (*Kāś.*: *cittavadāduidāttamagotraṃ yasya ca nānyat*

pratipadaṃ grahaṇam). These specifications are made so that affixes *ṭhaK*, *aÑ* and *vuÑ* of 4.2.47 *acittahasti*..., 4.3.44 *anudāttāder*... and 4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭor*..., respectively, do not come into conflict with affixes of this section.

2. A *vārttika* under this rule recommends affix *grāma* after syntactically related nominal stems *guṇa*, *karaṇa*, *tatva*, *śabda*, and *indriya*, to derive *guṇagrāmaḥ* 'embodiment of qualities', *karaṇagrāmaḥ* 'embodiment of skills', etc. Incidentally, this *guṇādi* group of nominals is treated as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

4.2.38 **भिक्षादिभ्योऽण्**

> *bhikṣādibhyo' ṇ*
> / *bhikṣādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *aṇ* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
> '*bhikṣā*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo' ṇ pratyayo bhavati* '*tasya samūhaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
> The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *bhikṣā* 'alms', when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that'.

EXAMPLES:

> *bhaikṣam* = *bhikṣāṇāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a collection of alms'
> *gārbhiṇam* 'a group of pregnant women'
> *yauvatam* 'a group of young women'

1. Why do we have to state *aṆ* explicitly when the same can be easily made available by not making any particular affixal provision. After all, this is the domain of affix *aṆ*. Commentators explain that *aṆ* is specifically mentioned because *aÑ* may qualify for this provision, instead. The word *bhikṣā* is marked *udātta* at the end (3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*). Rule 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ* would thus block *aṆ* in favor of *aÑ*. It is to block affix *aÑ*, which would otherwise block *aṆ* (*bādhakabādhanārtha*), that affix *aṆ* is specifically mentioned in this rule. The word *yuvati* is included in the *bhikṣādi* group to save it from *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' of 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv*... (*vt*: *bhasyāḍhe taddhite*). This *puṃvadbhāva* is also related to specific provision of *aṆ* in this rule. I omit its discussion here for fear of expatiation.

4.2.39 **गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वुञ्**

> *gotrokṣoṣṭrorabhrarājarājanyarājaputravatsamanuṣyājād vuñ*
> / *gotrokṣoṣṭrorabhrarājarājanyaputravatsamanuṣyājāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vuñ* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)

gotrādibhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes a *gotra*, or is constituted by *ukṣan*, *uṣṭra*, *urabhra*, *rājan*, *rājanya*, *rājaputra*, *vatsa*, *manuṣya* and *aja*, provided the derivate is to signify 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

aupagavakam 'a group of descendants of Upagu'
aukṣakam 'a group of oxen'
auṣṭrakam 'a herd of camels'
aurabhrakam 'a flock of rams'
rājakam 'a gathering of kings'
rājanyakam 'a gathering of nobles'
rājaputrakam 'a group of princes'
vātsakam 'a group of calves'
mānuṣyakam 'a group of men'
ājakam 'a flock of goats'

1. Note that the word *gotra* is here interpreted as denoting *apatya* 'offspring' in general. It thus does not here denote its technical meaning of a descendant such as 'a grandson, or any other thereafter' (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti gotram*).

Kāśikā states that the *y* of *rājanya* and *manuṣya* does not go through deletion of rule 6.4.151 *apatyasya ca taddhite' nāti*. But if *apatya* of this rule is interpreted in its non-technical meaning then the question of deleting *y* by rule 6.4.151 does not arise. For, 6.4.151 requires *y* to be part of a *taddhita* derivate which denotes a descendant in the technical sense of the term. A *vārttika*, such as *prakṛtyā' ke rājanyamanuṣyayuvānaḥ* (cf. 7.1.1 *yuvur anākau*), which requires non-deletion of *y* is then not needed. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*) observes that such a statement may still be required. For, there are some who still believe that *rājanya* and *manuṣya* denote the technical sense of *apatya* 'offspring, descendant'.

A *vārttika* recommends that affix *vuÑ* should also be introduced after *vṛddha* to derive *vārddhakam* 'a group of old people'.

4.2.40 केदाराद्यञ् च

kedārād yañ ca
/*kedārāt* 5/1 *yañ* 1/1/ *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
kedāraśabdād yañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād vuñ ca 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ*, and *vuÑ* as well, occurs after the syntactically

related nominal stem *kedāra*, when ending in genitive, provided the derivate denotes 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kedārāṇāṃ samūhaḥ = *kaidāryam* 'a group of irrigated fields'
kaidārakam 'id.'

1. A *vārttika* recommends affix *yaÑ* after *gaṇikā* to derive *gāṇikyam* 'a group of courtesans'.

4.2.41 ठञ् कवचिनश्च

ṭhañ kavacinaś ca
/*ṭhañ* 1/1 *kavacinaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
kavacin śabdāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati '*tasya samūhaḥ*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kavacin*, and *kedāra* as well, when both end in genitive, provided derivates denote 'a group or collection of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kāvacikam 'a group of armored men'
kaidārikam 'a group of irrigated fields'

1. Commentators state that *ca* in this rule is used to attract *kedārāt* from the preceding rule (*cakāraḥ kedārād ity asyānukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). This provision of *aÑ* may be treated as an exception to the *aÑ* of 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ*. Note that *kavacin*, because of its affix, is marked *udātta* at the end. That is, it is not marked *udātta* at the beginning, and hence, is qualified for *aÑ*. The *ṭi*-deletion of *in* in *kavacin* is accomplished by 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

4.2.42 ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन्

brāhmaṇamāṇavavāḍavād yan
/*brāhmaṇamāṇavavāḍavāt* 5/1 = *brāhmaṇaś ca māṇavaś ca vāḍavaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *yan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
brāhmaṇādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo yan pratyayo bhavati '*tasya samūhaḥ*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *brāhmaṇa*, *māṇava* and *vāḍava*, when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'a collection, or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇyam = *brāhmaṇānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a group of brāhmaṇas'
māṇavyam 'a group of boys'
vāḍavyam 'a group of foals; a group of submarine-fires'

1. Why was a provision for *yaÑ* (4.2.40 *kedārād*. . .) not made for deriving these forms. For, all three bases are *vṛddha* and *yaN* cannot be claimed, in view of its *N* as an *it*, for initial *udātta*. Affix *yaÑ* can also satisfy that need (6.1.197 *ñinityādir nityam*). Note here that *ṭhaÑ* cannot be brought here through *anuvṛtti* because it is not marked with *svarita* (*asvaritatvāt*). Affix *yaN* was selected to indicate that there are other usages where *yaÑ* could prove problematic. Consider, for example, *pṛṣṭhyam* where *yaÑ* could have required *vṛddhi*. Besides, *yaN* is allowed to occur after *pṛṣṭha* which is not *vṛddha*.

2. A series of *vārttikas* recommend deriving *pṛṣṭhyaḥ* 'a group of prayers' (from *pṛṣṭha* 'praise' with affix *yaN*); *ahīnaḥ* 'a group of sacrifices' (from *ahan* + *Ṅas* + *kha*, where *ahan* means 'a sacrificial day'); *pārśvam* 'a collection of axes' (from *parśu* + *Ṅas* + *ṆaS*); and *vātūlaḥ* 'a group of lunatics' (from *vāta* + *Ṅas* + *ūla*), etc. Accepting the arguments put forward in paragraph one will render the *vārttikas* unnecessary.

Incidentally, *vāḍavya* can also be interpreted as a *brāhmaṇa* who, similar to the (submarine) fire, is never satisfied.

4.2.43 ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल्

grāmajanabandhusahāyebhyas tal
/*grāmajanabandhusahāyebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *tal* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
grāmādibhyas tal pratyayo bhavati '*tasya samūhaḥ*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *taL* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *grāma*, *jana*, *bandhu* and *sahāya*, when ending in genitive, provided derivates denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

grāmatā = *grāmāṇāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a group of villages'
janatā 'a group of people'
bandhutā 'a group of kinsmen'
sahāyatā 'a group of associates'

1. A *vārttika* recommends that *gajatā* should also be derived with this affix to denote 'a group of elephants'. Note that derivates of *taL* are treated as feminine. Consequently, feminine affix *ṬāP* is introduced to derive *grāmatā*, etc.

4.2.44 अनुदात्तादेरञ्

anudāttāder añ
/anudāttādeḥ 5/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
anudāttādeḥ śabdād añ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is marked *udātta* at the beginning, and ends in genitive, provided its derivate is to denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kā̱potám = kapotānāṃ samūhaḥ 'a flock of pigeons'
mā̱yūrám 'a flock of peacocks'
ta̱ittirám 'a flock of partridges'

4.2.45 खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च

khaṇḍikādibhyaś ca
/khaṇḍikādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36, *añ* #44)
'khaṇḍikā' ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo' ñ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *khaṇḍikā*, when it ends in genitive, and the derivate denotes 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

khāṇḍikam = khaṇḍikānāṃ samūhaḥ 'heaps of peas'
vāḍavam 'submarine-fires'

1. This rule is formulated to permit derivates which have their bases marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudāttārtham*); or which denote inanimate objects (*acittārtham*).

A *vārttika* recommends inclusion of *kṣudrakamālava* in the list of words headed by *khaṇḍikā*. This will facilitate blocking of affix *vuÑ* after *kṣudrakamālava*. Affix *vuÑ* would become applicable because *kṣudraka* and *mālava* are both derivates with the signification of a *kṣatriya*. But since the initial constituent of the compound *kṣudrakamālava* will be marked *anudātta*, especially in view of rule 6.2.223 *samāsasya* which marks it *udātta* at the end, this compound should receive affix *aÑ* of the preceding rule. That is, it should not be included as an example under our present rule. It is further argued that this example is included among derivates of our present rule to block

vuÑ of rule 4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭrorabhra....* But this explanation is not acceptable either. The *aÑ* of 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ* could have blocked that *vuÑ* on the basis of *paratva.* But the derivation of *aupagavakam* and *kāpaṭavakam* proves that *vuÑ* is not blocked by this *aÑ.* It is suggested that *aÑ* can block *vuÑ* only when derivates of *aÑ* denote an army. That is, if *kṣaudrakamālava* denotes an army, i.e., *kṣudrakamālavī,* of *kṣaudrakas* and *mālavas,* affix *aÑ* can block *vuÑ.* The following *ślokavārttika* summarizes the preceding discussion:

añsiddhir anudāttādeḥ ko'rthaḥ kṣudrakamālavāt/
gotrād vuñ na ca tadgotraṃ tadantān na ca sarvataḥ//
jñāpakaṃ syāt tadantatve tathācāpiśaler vidhiḥ/
senāyāṃ niyamārthaṃ ca yathā bādhyeta cāñ vuñā//

'What is the purpose of including *kṣudrakamālava* in the *khaṇḍikādi* group when *aÑ* is available from 4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ?* Affix *vuÑ* is introduced after a stem which ends in an affix with the denotatum of a *gotra.* Why can we not treat *kṣudrakamālava* as ending in a *gotra* affix on the basis of *tadantavidhi?* After all, *mālava* ends in a *gotra* affix, and if we resort to *tadantavidhi,* we can get the interpretation: that which ends in that which ends in a *gotra.* But *tadantavidhi* does not apply everywhere. It is valid only with reference to specifically enumerated bases, i.e., *mālava,* and not with reference to those which may end in them (*Paribhāṣā* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena...*). The inclusion of *kṣudrakamālava* in the *gaṇa* then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) that *tadantavidhi* applies when the derivates signify *samūha.* This is approved by *dhenor anañaḥ* of Āpiśali (cf. *Mbh.* ad 4.2.47 *acittahasti...*), whereby *dhenu* receives *ṭhaK* to denote *samūha,* provided it is not used after *naÑ.* If *tadantavidhi* is not accepted as valid, relative to the signification of *samūha,* then the negative provision of *anañaḥ* does not make any sense. The inclusion of *kṣudrakamālava,* in the *khaṇḍikādi* group, is also made for restricting *aÑ* to contexts where derivates denote *senā* 'army'. It is here that *aÑ* blocks *vuÑ*'.

4.2.46 चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत्

caraṇebhyo dharmavat
/ *caraṇebhyaḥ* 5/3 *dharmavat* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
caraṇaśabdāḥ kaṭhakalāpādayaḥ; tebhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ samūhe dharmavat pratyayā bhavanti
A *taddhita* affix occurs after syntactically related nominal stems which denote *caraṇa* in the same manner as it occurs to denote *dharma,* pro-

vided the stems end in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭhānāṃ samūhaḥ = kāṭhakam 'a group of Kaṭhas', 'those who belong to the Kaṭha school of Vedic'
kālāpakam 'a group of Kalāpas', 'those who belong to the Kalāpa school of Vedic'

1. The word *caraṇa* is used here in the sense of the first person who established a particular branch of Vedic learning. Those who subscribe to this branch of Vedic will also be called by the same name. Thus, *kaṭha* is accepted as one who established the Kaṭha branch of Vedic learning, Adherents of this branch will be aptly called Kaṭhas.

A *vārttika* under rule 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ* recommends affix *vuÑ* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes *dharma* 'code of conduct' and *āmnāya* 'traditional codes'. We understand from *dharmavat*, an extensional provision, that whatever derivates we get under the provision of *vuÑ*, those same derivates can also denote 'a group or collection'. Conversely, whatever affix is introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem with whatever qualification to denote *dharma*, the same is introduced under the provision of this rule to denote 'a collection or group'. Thus, *kaṭhānāṃ dharmaḥ = kāṭhakam* 'code of conduct of the Kaṭhas' is derived by introducing affix *vuÑ* after the syntactically related nominal stem *kaṭha*, denoting a branch of Vedic and ending in genitive, provided further that the derivate is to denote *dharma*. This same provision is extended to the context of rule 4.2.46 *caraṇebhyo dharmavat*. Consequently, derivates, such as *kāṭhakam*, will also be denoting 'a collection or group of the Kaṭhas'.

Note that *vat* of *dharmavat* denotes all-likeness (*sarvasādṛśya*). A question is raised as to how one relates *dharmavat* of this rule to the *dharma* (of the *vārttika*: *caraṇād dharmāmnāyayor iṣyate*) of rule 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ*? The word *dharma* is not used in rule 4.3.126. The *dharmavat* of this rule itself becomes a mark (*liṅga*) to indicate that such a provision will follow. The provision, though, happens to have been made via a *vārttika*.

Note that this extensional (*ātideśika*) provision of the *vārttika* is residual in nature. That is, it is a residue of all provisions (*sarvayogaśeṣam*) made within the scope of rule 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād*. . . .

4.2.47 अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक्

acittahastidhenoṣ ṭhak
/ *acittahastidhenoḥ* 5/1 = *acittaṃ ca hastī ca dhenuś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhak* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
acittārthebhyo hastidhenuśabdābhyāṃ ca ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* also occurs, either after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *acitta* 'inanimate objects', after the syntactically related nominal stems *hastin* 'elephant' and *dhenu*, provided these stems all ended in genitive and their derivates were to denote 'a collection or group'.

EXAMPLES:

apūpānāṃ samūhaḥ = *āpūpikam* 'a bunch of deep-fried cakes'
śāṣkulikam 'a bunch of deep-fried breads'
hāstikam 'a herd of elephants'
dhenukam 'a bunch of cows'

1. The affixal provision of this rule is treated as an exception to both *aṆ* and *aÑ*. The *ṭh* of the affix is replaced with *ika*, or *ka*, as is provided by rules 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ* and 7.3.51 *isusuktāntāt kaḥ*.

2. A *vārttika* (claimed by the *Mbh*, as a *sūtra* of Āpiśali) under this rule disallows *ṭhak* after *dhenu*, when the same is used with the negative affix *naÑ*. Thus, one cannot derive **ādhenukam* 'a group of non-cows'. The correct derivate will be *ādhenavam*.

4.2.48 केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम्

keśāśvābhyāṃ yañchāv anyatarasyām
/*keśāśvābhyām* 5/2 *yañchau* 1/2 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
'keśa, aśva' ity etābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'yañ, cha' ity etau pratyayau bhavato' nyatarasyām 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *yaÑ* and *cha* optionally occur after syntactically related nominal stems *keśa* 'hair' and *aśva* 'horse', respectively, when they end in genitive and derivate denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kaiśyam = *keśānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a bunch of hairs'
kaiśikam 'id.'
aśvānām samūhaḥ = *aśvīyam* 'a herd of horses'
āśvam 'id.'

1. Note that affixes *ṭhaK* (4.2.47 *acitta* . . .) and *aṆ* are made available after *keśa* and *aśva*, respectively. These affixes will be introduced if options

(*anyatarasyām*) of introducing *yaÑ* and *cha* are not accepted. Incidentally, *keśa* is treated as *acitta* 'inanimate'.

4.2.49 **पाशादिभ्यो यः**

pāśādibhyo yaḥ
/*pāśādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
pāśādibhyo yaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *pāśa* 'snare', when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pāśyā = *pāśānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a bunch of snares'
tṛṇyā 'a heap of straws'

1. Note that these derivates are given in feminine. Why? Because of usage (*lokāśrayatvāt liṅgasya*). Obviously, only feminine examples are found in usage.

4.2.50 **खलगोरथात्**

khalagorathāt
/*khalagorathāt* 5/1 = *khalaś ca goś ca rathaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36)
khalagorathaśabdebhyo yaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *khala*, *go* and *ratha*, when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

khalyā = *khalānāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a group of threshing floors'
gavyā 'a herd of cows'
rathyā 'a caravan of chariots'

1. A question is raised as to why these three words were not included in the group of words headed by *pāśa*. This would have saved one rule. Commentators state that a split rule (*yogavibhāga*) was necessary for the sake of subsequent rules (*uttarārtha*). That is, our following rule requires the *anuvṛtti* of *khala*, *go* and *ratha* only. If these nominal stems were included in the *pāśādi* group, and were made part of the preceding rule, all the *pāśādi* stems would have also qualified for *anuvṛtti* to the next rule. This, in turn, would have created problems.

4.2.51 इनित्रकट्यचश्च

initrakaṭyacaś ca
/ *initrakaṭyacaḥ* 1/3 = *iniś ca traś ca kaṭyac ca* = *initrakaṭyacaḥ* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya samūhaḥ* #36, *khalagorathāt* #50)
khalagorathaśabdebhyo yathāsaṃkhyam 'ini', 'tra', 'kaṭyac' ity ete pratyayā bhavanti 'tasya samūhaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *inI*, *tra* and *kaṭyaC* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *khala*, *go* and *ratha*, respectively, when the stems end in genitive, and derivates denote 'a collection or group of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

khalinī 'a group of threshing floors'
gotrā 'a herd of cows'
rathakaṭyā 'a caravan of chariots'

1. *Kāśikā* also recommends affixes *inI*, *khaṇḍaC*, *skandhaC* and *kāṇḍa* after group of stems known as *khalādi* '*khala*, etc.', *kamalādi* '*kamala*, etc.', *narakarituraṅga* '*nara*, *kari* and *turaṅga*' and *pūrvādi* '*pūrva*, etc.', respectively. This will yield derivates such as *kuṇḍalinī*, *kamalakhaṇḍam*, *naraskandhaḥ* and *pūrvakāṇḍam*, respectively.
Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* makes the *vārttika* proposal only for affix *inI*.

4.2.52 विषयो देशे

viṣayo deśe
/ *viṣayaḥ* 1/1 *deśaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya* . . . #36)
tasya iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād 'viṣayaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati, yo'sau viṣayo deśaś cet sa bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes *deśa* 'place (of residence). . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śibīnāṃ viṣayo deśaś cet śaibaḥ 'place of residence of the descendants of Śibi'

1. Note that the word *viṣaya* is used in diverse senses of *grāma-samudāya* 'group of villages, residential settlements'; object of perception, i.e., 'beauty for eyes' (*cakṣur viṣayo rūpam*); characteristic preoccupation (*atyantaśīlitā*) and, sometimes, non-existence of something outside some place (*anyatrā-*

bhāva), for example, fish in relation to water (*matsyānāṃ viṣayo jalam*). This rule uses *viṣaya* in the sense of *grāmasamudāya* 'a cluster of villages'.

4.2.53 राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ्

rājanyādibhyo vuñ
/*rājanyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *rājanya ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya* . . . #36, *viṣayo deśe* #52)
rājanyādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ vuñ pratyayo bhavati '*viṣayo deśe*' *ity etasminn arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *rājanya,* when the same ends in genitive and the derivate is to denote the 'place (of residence of . . .).'

EXAMPLES:

rājanyakaḥ = *rājanyānāṃ viṣayo deśaḥ* 'place of residence of the royalty'
mālavakaḥ 'place of residence of the Mālavas'

1. Note that this *vuÑ* is an exception to the *aṆ* of the preceding rule. This listing of *rājanyādi* is also accepted as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*). The *ādi* of *rājanyādi* means *prakāra,* thereby yielding the meaning: '*rājanya,* and the likes of it'.

4.2.54 भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ

bhaurikyādyaiṣukāryādibhyo vidhalbhaktalau
/*bhaurikyādyaiṣukāryādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *bhauriki ādir yeṣāṃ te* = *bhaurikyādayaḥ*; *aiṣukāri ādir yeṣāṃ te* = *aiṣukāryādayaḥ*; *bhaurikyādayaś ca aiṣukāryādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with internal *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *vidhalbhaktalau* 1/2 = *vidhal ca bhaktal ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *tasya* . . . #36, *viṣayo deśe* #52)
bhaurikyādibhya aiṣukāryādibhyaś ca yathāsaṃkhyaṃ '*vidhal, bhaktal*' *ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ* '*viṣayo deśe*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affixes *vidhaL* and *bhaktaL* occur after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the set headed by *bhauriki* and *aiṣukāri,* respectively, provided the stems end in genitive and their derivates denote the 'place (of residence of . . .).'

EXAMPLES:

bhaurikividhaḥ 'place of residence of the Bhaurikis'
aiṣukāribhaktaḥ 'place of residence of the Aiṣukāris'

1. This again is an exception to *aṆ*. Note that Bhaṭṭoji (cf. *SK*), unlike the masculine examples of *Kāśikā*, lists his examples in neuter. Jñānendrasarasvatī (*Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*) notes that neuter of these examples is due to usage (*klībatvaṃ lokāt*). One wonders if these examples were used in masculine at the time, or place, of the authors of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.

4.2.55 **सोऽस्यादिरिति च्छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु**

> *so' syādir iti cchandasaḥ pragātheṣu*
> /*saḥ* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *ādiḥ* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *chandasaḥ* 5/1 *pragātheṣu* 7/3/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
> '*saḥ*' *iti prathamāsamarthāt* '*asya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ chandaś cet tadādir bhavati, yat tad asyeti nirdiṣṭaṃ pragāthāś cet te bhavanti*
> A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs to denote the sense of genitive, after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a meter (*chandas*) and ends in nominative, provided further that this nominal stem occurs at the beginning of a set of verses (*pragātha*) denoted by the derivate.

EXAMPLES:

> *prāṅthaḥ pragāthaḥ* = *paṅktir ādir asya* 'a set of verses beginning with *paṅkti*, a meter with five syllables in a quarter'
> *ānuṣṭubhaḥ* 'a set of verses beginning with *anuṣṭubh*, a meter with eight syllables in a quarter'

1. Note that *saḥ*, in nominative, specifies nominative as the ending for making a stem syntactically related (*samartha*). The word *ādiḥ* modifies the nominal base. The *iti* is, of course, used to iterate *vivakṣā* 'intent to speak'. That is, intent to speak about *pragātha* with *paṅkti* at the beginning. This, in turn, turns *pragātheṣu* into a qualifier to the affixal meaning (*pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇam*). Of course, the plural *pragātheṣu* is used in the sense of singular: *pragāthasya*. The word *asya* refers to one of the meanings of *ṣaṣṭhī*, 'the affixal denotatum'.

The word *pragātha* refers to a combination of hymns structured in different meters (*Kāś.*: *yatra dvau ṛcau pragrathanena tisraḥ kriyante sa pragrathanāt prakarṣagānād vā* '*pragāthaḥ*' *ity ucyate* '*pragātha* is a combination of two verses turned into a third type of its own, either due to the way they are combined, or due to excellence of their recitation'). A *pragātha* is generally named after its first hymn.

The word *chandas* here does not refer to a hymn. Instead, it refers to a meter.

2. A *vārttika* recommends that *aṆ* should be introduced after a base with

the signification of a meter to denote its own sense. It should also be used in the neuter (*chandasaḥ pratyayavidhāne napuṃsake svārtha upasaṃkhyānam*).

4.2.56 संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः

saṃgrāme prayojanayoddhṛbhyaḥ
/ *saṃgrāme* 7/1 *prayojanayoddhṛbhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *so'sya* #55)
prayojanavācibhyo yoddhṛvācibhyaś ca śabdebhyaḥ prathamāsamarthebhyo' syeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe saṃgrāme' bhidheye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs with the signification of genitive, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and is in syntactic coordination with *prayojana* and *yoddhṛ*, provided the derivate denotes a battle (*saṃgrāma*).

EXAMPLES:

bhādraḥ saṃgrāmaḥ = *bhadrā prayojanam asya saṃgrāmasya* 'a battle which has capturing Bhadrā as its purpose'
saubhadraḥ 'a battle which has capturing Subhadrā as its purpose'
ahimālaḥ saṃgrāmaḥ = *ahimālā yoddhāro' sya saṃgrāmasya* 'a battle which has the Ahimālas as warriors'
bhārataḥ 'a battle which has the descendants of Bharata (Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas) as warriors'

1. Note that, here again, *saḥ* specifies the syntactically related base to end in nominative. The phrase *prayojanayodhṛbhyaḥ* modifies the base in *prathamā* 'nominative'. Recall that an affix is introduced here after the first among syntactically related nominal stems (4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād*...). This will make only one base, i.e., that which is in syntactic coordination with *prayojana*, to receive the affix. It is stated that the base which may be in syntactic coordination with *yodhṛ* will also qualify for the affix, since *prayojana-yodhṛbhyaḥ* is referred to by the *prathamā* of *saḥ* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: ... *viśeṣyadvāreṇa prayojanayoddhāra eva prathamānirdiṣṭāḥ*). The locative (*saptamī*) of *saṃgrāme* makes 'battle' as the affixal denotatum. This, in turn, modifies the affixal meaning specified by *asya*. How could *saṃgrāme* in locative modify *asya* in genitive? The locative of the modifier will be transformed into genitive of the modifier for purposes of this interpretation.

The conditions of *prayojana* and *yoddhṛ* are required so that derivates parallel to *subhadrā prayojanam asya dānasya* 'a gift which has Subhadrā as its goal' and *subhadrā prekṣikā asya saṃgrāmasya* 'a battle of which Subhadrā is the eye-witness' can be blocked.

4.2.57 तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः

tad asyāṃ praharaṇam iti krīḍāyāṃ ṇaḥ
/*tat* 1/1 *asyām* 7/1 *praharaṇam* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *krīḍāyām* 7/1 *ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76 *so' sya* #55)
tad iti prathamāsamarthāt ' asyām' iti saptamyarthe ṇah pratyayo bhavati yai tad iti nirdiṣṭaṃ praharaṇaṃ ced bhavati; yad asyām iti nirdiṣṭaṃ krīḍā cet sā bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa* occurs with the signification of locative (*saptamī*), after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and is in syntactic coordination with *praharaṇam* 'weapon', provided the antecedent of *asyām*, the locative, is *krīḍā* 'sport, game'.

EXAMPLES:

dāṇḍā = *daṇḍaṃ praharaṇam asyāṃ krīḍāyām* 'a sport in which sticks are used as weapons'
mauṣṭā 'a sport in which fists are used as weapons'

1. Note that *tad* specifies the syntactically related base as ending in *prathamā*. The locative of *asyām* specifies affixal meaning. A syntactic coordination between *tad* and *praharaṇam*, as mediated by *iti*, requires the base which ends in *prathamā* to denote *praharaṇa* 'weapon'. A syntactic coordination between *asyām* and *krīḍāyām* will similarly require the antecedent of *asyām* to be *krīḍa* 'sport'. The use of *iti* is intended for *vivakṣā*. Incidentally, feminine derivates with the signification of a game will be derived by introducing affix *ṬāP* of 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*.

2. Needless to say, the twin conditions of *praharaṇam* and *krīḍāyām* are important. Otherwise, derivates parallel to *mālā bhūṣaṇam asyāṃ krīḍāyām* 'a sport in which garland is used as an ornament', and *khaḍgaḥ praharaṇaṃ asyāṃ senāyām* 'an army in which sword is used as the weapon' will qualify for provisions of this rule.

4.2.58 घञः सास्यां क्रियेति ञः

ghañaḥ sāsyāṃ kriyeti ñaḥ
/*ghañaḥ* 5/1 *sā* 1/1 *asyām* 7/1 *kriyā* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *ñaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ghañantāt kriyāvācinaḥ prathamāsamarthāt ' asyām' iti saptamyarthe strīliṅge ñaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ña* occurs with the signification of *saptamī* 'locative' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative, and is a derivate of *GHaÑ* with the denotatum of an action (*kriyā*).

EXAMPLES:

śyainampātā = śyenapāto' syāṃ vartate 'an action during which falcons fall (hunting of falcons)'
tailampātā 'that (action) during which sesame is dropped . . .; a ritual known as *svadhā*'

1. Note that *sā* requires the syntactically related nominal base to end in *prathamā*. The word *asyām* specifies the affixal meaning. The word *kriyā*, also in *prathamā*, is used as a qualifier to the meaning of the syntactically related base which ends in *prathamā*. The word *ghañaḥ* specifies that the base which is required to end in *prathamā* must end in *GHaÑ* with *kriyā* 'action' as its denotatum. The word *iti* is again used to indicate *vivakṣā* 'speaker's intent'. Deriving *pāta* from *pat* + *GHaÑ* with initial *vṛddhi* is easy. Deriving *śyainampāta* and *tailampāta* involves formation of compounds parallel to *śyenānāṃ pātaḥ* and *tilānāṃ pātaḥ*. Affix *Ña* of this rule then cause initial *vṛddhi*. Rule 6.2.65 *śyenatilasya pāte ñe* introduces augment *mUM* to realize *śy*(*e*→*ai*) *na*(*mUM*) *pāta* = *śyainampāta* and *tailampāta*.

Why must we state *sā* and *asyām* for specifying base and affixal meanings when the same can be gotten via *anuvṛtti* from the previous rule? But since specifications of our previous rule is made in association (*sāhacarya*) with *krīḍā*, carrying anything from this rule will also involve *krīḍā*. The specifications of this rule are more general. Thus, observe the following:

daṇḍapāto' syāṃ tithau vartate = *dāṇḍapātā tithiḥ* 'the day on which sticks will fall'
mausalpātā tithiḥ 'the day on which clubs will fall'

4.2.59 तदधीते तद्वेद

tad adhīte tad veda
/ *tat* 2/1 *adhīte* (verbal form) *tat* 2/1 *veda* (verbal form)
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tad iti dvitīyāsamarthād '*adhīte*', '*veda*' *ity etayor arthayor yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related *pada* which ends in accusative (*dvitīyā*), provided the derivate denotes '. . . studies or knows that'.

EXAMPLES:

vyākaraṇam adhīte = *vaiyākaraṇaḥ* 'he who studies or knows grammar, a grammarian'
nairuktaḥ 'he who studies or knows the Nirukta'

1. An additional mention of *tad* is made to separate 'those who are study-

ing (*adhīyānaḥ*)' from 'those who are accomplished scholars (*viduṣaḥ*)'. That is, the dual use of *tad* yields two interpretations to affixal meaning: *tad adhīte* 'studies that' and *tad veda* 'knows that'. The affix could have been used only in the combined sense of 'studies and knows that', had *tad* not been used twice.

4.2.60 क्रतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताट्ठक्

kratūkthādisūtrāntāt ṭhak

/*kratūkthādisūtrāntāt* 5/1 = *uktha ādir yeṣām te* = *ukhtādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *sūtram ante yasya sa sūtrāntaḥ* (*bv.*); *kratuś ca ukthādayaś ca sūtrāntaś ca* = *kratūkthādisūtrāntam* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *tasmāt ṭhak* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #59)

kratuviśeṣavācibhya ukthādibhyaś ca sūtrāntāc ca ṭhak pratyayo bhavati '*tad adhīte tad veda*' *ity asmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either ends in accusative and signifies a particular ritual sacrifice (*kratu*), or is one of the stems listed in the group headed by *uktha*, or else, terminates in *sūtra*, provided these derivates all denote 'studies or knows that'.

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭomam adhīte veda vā = *āgniṣṭomikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, texts dealing with the ritual sacrifice of *Agniṣṭoma*'

aukthikaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, Uktha, a particular treatise relative to Sāman hymns'

vārttikasūtrikaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, a given *sūtra* with corresponding *vārttikas*'

1. This rule offers *ṭhaK* as an exception to *aṆ*. A series of *vārttika* are also given under this rule to make the following provisions:

(*a*) That which ends in *sūtra*, but does not begin with *kalpa*, should also be allowed the affixal provision of this rule. Thus, *aukthikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, Uktha'.

(*b*) Stems which end in *vidyā*, *lakṣaṇa* and *kalpa* should also be allowed to avail the affixal provision of this rule. Thus, we get: *sārpavidhyikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, how to cure snake-bites'; *gaulakṣaṇikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, characteristic qualities of cows'; *mātṛkalpikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the Mātṛkalpa'.

(*c*) Affix *ṭhaK* is not introduced when *vidyā* is used in combination after *aṅga*, *kṣatra*, *dharma* and *saṃsarga*.

(*d*) Affix *ṭhaK* should also be introduced after a stem which names a narrative (*ākhyāna*) or story (*ākhyāyikā*), or else, is constituted by

itihāsa and *purāṇa*. Thus: *vāsavadattikaḥ* 'the story of Vāsavadattā'; *aitihāsikaḥ* 'historical' and *paurāṇikaḥ* 'pertaining to a Purāṇa'.

(*e*) Affix *ṭhaK* is deleted after words which begin with *sarva* and *sa*, or which constitute a *dvigu* compound. Thus we get: *sarvavedaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, all the Vedas'; *savārttikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the *sūtras* along with corresponding *vārttikas*'; *dvivedaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, two Vedas'.

(*f*) Affix *ṭhaK* is introduced after *anusū*, *lakṣya* and *lakṣaṇa* to denote *tad adhīte tad veda*. Thus, *ānusukaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows (the treatise) Anusū', etc.

(*g*) Affix *ikaN* occurs, variously, after a nominal which may have *pada* as its final constituent. Thus, *pūrvapadikaḥ*, etc.

(*h*) Affix *ṢikaN* occurs, variously, after bases which begin with *śata* and *ṣaṣṭhi*, and end in *patha*. Thus, *śatapathikaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the *Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa*', etc.

4.2.61 **क्रमादिभ्यो वुन्**

kramādibhyo vun

/ *kramādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *vun* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50)

'*krama*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo vun pratyayo bhavati* '*tad adhīte tad veda*' *ity asmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *krama*, when the stem ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, that'.

EXAMPLES:

padakaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, the *Padapāṭha* (Vedic recitation in accord with analysis of hymns into *pada*)'

kramakaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, the *Kramapāṭha* (recitation of hymns in the order of two at a time)'

4.2.62 **अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः**

anuubrāhmaṇād iniḥ

/ *anubrāhmaṇāt* 5/1 *iniḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50)

anubrāhmaṇaśabdād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati '*tad adhīte tad veda*' *ity asmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *anubrāhmaṇa*, when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, that'.

EXAMPLES:

anubrāhmaṇaṃ brāhmaṇasadṛśaṃ grantham adhīte vetti vā anubrāhmaṇīṇa 'he who studies, or knows, treatises similar to the Brāhmaṇas'

1. Note that *inI* was already available to *anubrāhmaṇa* from rule 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. Was our present rule formulated to block *ṭhaN* which would have been available in addition to *inI*? In a way yes, though the basic purpose of this rule is to block *aṆ*. Affix *ṭhaN* will be automatically blocked because of lack of usage (*anabhidhānāt*). Note that some do not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *inI* from rule 5.2.115.

4.2.63 वसन्तादिभ्यष्ठक्

vasantādibhyaṣ ṭhak
/*vasantādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50)
'*vasanta*' *ity evam ādibhyaṣ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati* '*tad adhīte tad veda*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vasanta*, when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, that'.

EXAMPLES:

vāsantikaḥ = vasantasahacarito'yaṃ grantho vasantaḥ tam adhīte 'one who studies, or knows, a treatise dealing with, or read during, the spring season'

1. Note that *vasanta* is here interpreted as a text dealing with, or read or recited during, the Spring season, mostly because of the context (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yatra vasanto varṇyate yo vā vasante'dhyeyaḥ*). This *ṭhaK*, a usual, is an exception to *aṆ*.

4.2.64 प्रोक्ताल्लुक्

proktāl luk
/*proktāt* 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50)
proktasahacaritaḥ pratyayaḥ proktaḥ; proktapratyayāntād adhyetṛveditror utpannasya lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurring after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes the sense of *prokta* and ends in accusative is deleted by *LUK*, provided the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, it'.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇininā proktaṃ pāṇinīyam; tad adhīte pāṇinīyaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, what Pāṇini taught'
āpiśalaḥ 'he who studies, or knows, what Āpiśali taught'

1. Note that the denotatum of *proktam* 'taught by . . .', through association (*sāhacarya*), leads us to affixes which are introduced to denote the sense of *prokta*. The reference, obviously, is to 4.3.101 *tena proktam* and affixes introduced by rules of that domain. Our present rule thus provides for deletion of an affix introduced by a rule of the domain headed by 4.3.101. Thus, we get the derivate *pāṇini* by introducing affix *iÑ* after *paṇin*. An introduction of *aṆ* will derive *pāṇina* from the same base *paṇin*, with no difference in meaning. One can now introduce affix *cha* (4.2.113 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*) after *pāṇini* + *Ṭā* to derive *pāṇinīyaḥ*, denoting 'that which has been taught by Pāṇini'. Deriving 'one who studies, or knows, what Pāṇini taught' would require introducing affix *aṆ* (4.2.59 *tad adhīte tad veda*) after *pāṇinīya* + *am*. Given the string *pāṇinīya* + *am* + *aṆ*, our present rule will delete *aṆ*. As a result, the derivate will still be *pāṇinīya* + *sU*→*pāṇinīyaḥ*. One can similarly derive *āpiśalīyaḥ*. Note, however, that *pāṇinīyaḥ*, when meaning 'taught by Pāṇini', will differ in accent with *pāṇinīyaḥ*, meaning 'he who studies, or knows, what Pāṇini taught'. These will also differ in feminine. The *aṆ* derivate, in the absence of deletion of *aṆ*, will have to end in *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .). It would also be marked *udātta* at the end. The feminine, under deletion of *aṆ*, will be derived with affix *ṬāP*, yielding, for example, *pāṇinīyā brāhmaṇī* 'a brāhmaṇa woman who studies, or knows, what Pāṇini taught'.

4.2.65 **सूत्राच्च कोपधात्**

sūtrāc ca kopadhāt
/*sūtrāt* 5/1 *ca* ɸ *kopadhāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50, *luk* #64)
sūtravācinaḥ kakāropadhād utpannasya pratyayasya lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurring after a syntactically related nominal stem which contains *k* in its (*upadhā*) and denotes a body of *sūtra* is deleted by *LUK*, provided the derivate denotes 'studies, or knows, that'.

EXAMPLES:

aṣṭakāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ = *aṣṭāv adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam asya sūtrasya tad aṣṭakam pāṇinīyam; tad adhīte veda vā* 'those who study, or know, the *Aṣṭaka*, a body of *sūtras* arranged in eight chapters which Pāṇini taught'
daśaka vaiyāghrapādīyāḥ 'those who study, or know, the *Daśaka* which Vyāghrapāda taught'

trikāḥ kāśakṛtsnāḥ 'those who study, or know, the *Trika* which Kāśakṛtsna taught'

1. It is because of *kopadhāt* 'after that which has *k* in its *upadhā*' that one interprets *sūtrāt* as referring to 'after that which has signification of a body of *sūtras*'. It cannot thus refer to the word *sūtra*. The words *aṣṭaka, daśaka* and *trika* are all derivates of affix *KaN* (5.1.58 *saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃjñāsaṃghasūtrādhyayaneṣu,* read with 5.1.57 *tad asya parimāṇam*). This *sūtra* is formulated for derivates of bases which do not end in an affix with the denotatum of *prokta.*

A *vārttika* proposes that deletion of an affix by *LUK* of this rule is to be restricted to bases which denote number (*saṃkhyā*). Thus, this deletion will not apply in examples such as *kālāpakam adhīte* = *kālāpakaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the body of *sūtras* taught by Kalāpa'. The *kopadha* condition is also important so that examples such as *catuṣṭayam adhīte* = *cātuṣṭayaḥ* 'he who studies, or knows, the *catuṣṭaya*' could be kept out of the scope of this rule.

4.2.66 **छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि**

chandobrāhmaṇāni ca tadviṣayāṇi
/chandobrāhmaṇāni = chandāṃsi ca brāhmaṇāni ceti chandobrāhmaṇāni (itar. dv.); ca ϕ tadviṣayāṇi 1/3 = *tad adhīte tad veda ity viṣayo yeṣāṃ tāni imāni viṣayāṇi = tadviṣayāṇi (bv.)/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad adhīte tad veda* #50, *luk* #64)
chandāṃsi brāhmaṇāni ca proktapratyayāntāni tad viṣayāṇy eva bhavanti
Derivates of a *taddhita* affix which is marked with the signification of *prokta* and is introduced after bases with the denotation of *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa,* have their scope limited to *tad adhīte tad veda* 'he who studies, or knows. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

kaṭhena proktam adhīyate = *kaṭhāḥ* 'those who study, or know, the Vedic recension taught by Kaṭha'
vājasaneyinaḥ 'those who study, or know, the Vedic recension taught by Vājasaneya'
śāṭyāyaninaḥ 'those who study, or know, the Brāhmaṇa recension taught by Śāṭyāyana'
aitareyiṇaḥ 'those who study, or know, the Brāhmaṇa recension taught by Aitareya'

1. Note that affix which denotes *prokta* 'taught by . . .' is used to derive forms having the signification of 'he by whom a given text is taught'. This *sūtra* requires that if an affix characterized with the signification of *prokta* is introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes the name

of a *chandas* 'Vedic text' and *brāhmaṇa*, the denotatum of the derivate is reassigned as *tad adhite tad veda.* That is, such derivates will not denote 'one who taught the *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa* in question' but will, instead, denote 'those who study, or know, that *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa*'. This rule then restricts the use of *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa* to bases which, when used before an affix characterized with the sense of *prokta*, must denote an *adhyetṛ* 'he who studies', or *veditṛ* 'he who knows'.

2. A question is raised against using the word *brāhmaṇa*, especially when a reference with *chandas* already includes that. It is stated that the purpose of using *brāhmaṇa*, as separately from *chandas*, is to make it clear that a reference with *brāhmaṇa* is not generalized in nature. That is, the word *brāhmaṇa* here refers only to a limited number of *brāhmaṇa* texts. For example, *yājñavalkyena proktāni brāhmaṇāni yājñavalkyāni* 'the *brāhmaṇa* texts which were taught by Yājñavalkya' does not come within the scope of this rule. That is, this example does not denote 'he who studies, or knows. . . .'

A preceptor meaning within the context of *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa* is ruled out in favor of 'he who studies, or knows', because Vedic hymns are not accepted as structured by humans. They are treated as revealed to seers. Some of the texts of the *brāhmaṇas* are not included within the scope of our present rule because they are very subsequent in time.

3. The *ca* is used in this rule for including examples such as *kāśyapinaḥ* 'those who study, or know, the recension of Kalpa texts taught by Kaśyapa', *kauśikinaḥ* 'those who study, or know, the recension of Kalpa texts taught by Kauśika', or *pārāśariṇo bhikṣavaḥ* 'those who study, or know, the body of *sūtras* taught by Parāśara', etc. (*anuktasamuccayārthaś cakāraḥ*). Note that the first two examples involve texts known as *kalpa*. The last involves a *sūtra* text. These could not have qualified if our present *sūtra* did not have *ca* in its wording.

4. The condition of *chandobrāhmaṇāni* is imposed so that examples such as *pāṇinīyaṃ vyākaraṇam* 'the grammar which was taught by Pāṇini' could be kept out of the scope of our present rule. Recall that derivates of this rule must denote 'he who studies, or knows'. Elsewhere, the denotatum must be qualified with *prokta* 'taught by. . . .'

4.2.67 **तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि**

tad asminn astīti deśe tannāmni

/*tat* 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *asti* (verbal form) *iti* ϕ *deśe* 7/1 *tannāmni* 7/1 = *tan nāma yasya sa* (*bv.*), *tasmin*)

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'*tad iti prathamāsamarthād asminn iti saptamyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamartham asti cet tad bhavati, yad asminn iti nirdiṣṭaṃ deśaś cet sa tannāmā bhavati*'

A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs in the sense of locus (*saptamī*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative (*prathamā*) and is in syntactic coordination with *asti* 'exists', provided the derivate 'names a place within which that exists'.

EXAMPLES:

audumbaraḥ = udumbarā asmin deśe santi '(name of) a place where fig trees grow in abundance'
pārvataḥ '(name of) a place where there are many mountains'

1. Note that *tad* refers to a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. The word *asmin* specifies affixal denotatum. The word *asti* is used as a qualifier to the base-meaning (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇam*). Thus, the translation of examples: 'a place (*deśe*) where (*asmin*) that (*tat*) which is in syntactic coordination with *asti* exists'. The word *iti* is used to clearly specify *vivakṣā* 'speaker's desire to speak'. The word *deśe tannāmni* 'in the country so named . . .' is used as qualifier to the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārtha-viśeṣaṇam*).

This rule is formulated as an exception to those which denote the sense of *matUP* (*matvarthīya*). The signification of affixes introduced by our present rule, and of the three rules which immediately follow, is jointly referred to as *cāturarthika* 'section of rules with fourfold signification'. This section of rules is treated as an exception to the rules of the section known as *matvarthīya* (5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup*).

4.2.68 तेन निर्वृत्तम्

tena nirvṛttam
/*tena* 3/1 *nirvṛttam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthād* '*nirvṛttam*' *ity asmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', provided the derivate names a place characterized as 'built by that' (*nirvṛttam*).

EXAMPLES:

sāhasrī parikhā = sahasreṇa nirvṛttā parikhā 'the place where a moat was built by a thousand people; . . . was built for a thousand gold coins'
kauśāmbī nagarī 'the city of Kauśāmbī which was built by Kuśāmba'

1. Note that *tṛtīyā* specifies a syntactically related nominal stem denoting a means by which, or an agent by who, a place so named was brought about (cf. *Kāś.*: *hetau kartari ca yathāyogaṃ tṛtīyā samarthavibhaktiḥ*).

4.2.69 तस्य निवासः

tasya nivāsaḥ
/*tasya* 6/1 *nivāsaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67)
'*tasya*' *ity ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt* '*nivāsaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati deśanāmadheye gamyamāne*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', provided the derivate names a place characterized as '. . . is the country of residence of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

ārjunāvaḥ = *ṛjunāvāṃ nivāso deśaḥ* 'a place where people possessing beautiful boats live'
śibīnāṃ nivāso deśaḥ 'the place of residence of the Śibis'

4.2.70 अदूरभवश्च

adūrabhavaś ca
/*adūrabhavaḥ* 1/1 = *na dūrabhavaḥ* = *adūrabhavaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *tasya* #69)
tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād '*adūrabhavaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', also when the derivate names a place characterized as 'not far from that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

vaidiśam = *vidiśāyā adūrabhavaṃ nagaraṃ vaidiśam* 'the city of Vaidiśā which is located not far from the Vidiśā river'
haimavatam 'the city of Haimavata which is located not far from Himālaya'

1. Note that *tasya* must be carried from the preceding rule to complete the sense of this rule. The syntactically related nominal stem after which the affix should be introduced to denote the sense of 'not being far' must end in genitive. The *ca*, in this rule, is used to combine this rule with the preceding three. Consequently, these four rules will form a single group, and their denotata will be carried to the following rules. If this *ca* was not made part of this *sūtra* then the sense of this rule alone could be associated with the following rules. For, this alone is the most proximate (*anantara*; *Paribhāṣā* (62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā* 'an operation, or negation, obtains only to that which is most proximate').

4.2.71 ओरञ्

or añ
/*oḥ* 5/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *tasya* #69, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)
uvarṇāntāt prātipadikād yathāvihitaṃ samarthavibhaktiyuktād añ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *u* and is used with one of the nominal endings already specified, provided derivates also denote one of the four specified meanings.

EXAMPLES:

araḍūnāṃ nivāso deśaḥ = *āraḍavam* 'the place where the Araḍu clan of kṣatriyas live'
kārkaṭelavam 'the place where Karkaṭelu clan of kṣatriyas live'

1. Note that examples such as *udumbarāvatī* 'a river on the banks of which there are many fig trees' and *ikṣumatī* 'a river nearby which sugarcane is grown', where derivates denote a river, are derived with affix *matUP* of rule 4.2.85 *nadyāṃ matup*. This *matUP* blocks affix *aÑ* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*).

4.2.72 मतोश्च बह्वजङ्गात्

matoś ca bahvajaṅghāt
/*matoḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *bahvajaṅghāt* 5/1 = *bahavo aco yasmin* (*bv.*); *bahvaj aṅgaṃ yasya asau* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *añ* #71, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)
bahvaj aṅgaṃ yasyāsau bahvajaṅgo matup, tadantāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *matUP* and contains a polysyllabic *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis* . . .), provided the derivate is to denote one of the four meanings specified as above.

EXAMPLES:

aiṣukāvatam 'a city not far from the Iṣukāvatī river'
saidhrakāvatam 'a city not far from the forest which is rich in Sidhraka trees'

1. Note that *aiṣukāvatam* denotes a place in close proximity (*adūrabhavaḥ*; 4.1.70) to the Iṣukāvatī river. The word *iṣukāvat*, which denotes the river

when used with *ṄīP*, is derived with affix *matUP* (4.2.85 *nadyāṃ matup*), parallel to *iṣukāḥ santy yasyām* 'that in which there are (grows) weeds'. Affix *ṄīP*, after *iṣukāvat*, is introduced by rule 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca.*

2. The nominal stem after which affix *aÑ* is to be introduced must also contain a polysyllabic (*bahvac*) form as an *aṅga* 'presuffixal base' (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis*...). Of course, relative to an affix, in this case *matUP*. Obviously, *bahvaC* is not intended here as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the nominal stem which is specified here as ending in *matUP*, and which, after becoming syntactically related, receives affix *aÑ*. Instead, it is a polysyllabic form, relative to *matUP*, which qualifies as an *aṅga*. An effort to qualify the nominal stem itself as an *aṅga* with *bahvac* will make the use of the word *aṅga* vacuous (*vyartha*). Besides, if *bahvacaḥ* is interpreted as a modifier to the nominal stem which ends in *matUP*, then *āhimatam* 'a place with many snakes' will have to be derived with *aÑ*, as against *aṆ*. If *bahvacaḥ* is made an adjective to an *aṅga* before *matUP*, *ahimat* cannot receive *aÑ*. For, *ahi* before *matUP* will not qualify as *bahvac*. The same could be true of *yāvamatam* 'a place which is rich in barley', where *yava* of *yavamat* will not qualify as *bahvac*.

4.2.73 बह्वचः कूपेषु

bahvacaḥ kūpeṣu
/*bahvacaḥ* 5/1 *kūpeṣu* 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *tasya* #69, *tad asminn asti*... #67-70)
bahvacaḥ prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ kūpeṣv abhidheyeṣu
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which consists of many vowels (*bahvacaḥ*) and signifies a water-well (*kūpeṣu*), provided the derivate denotes one of the four meanings mentioned as above.

EXAMPLES:

dīrghavaratreṇa nirvṛttaḥ = *dairghavaratraḥ kūpaḥ* 'a water-well built by Dīrghavaratra'
kāpilavaratraḥ 'a water-well built by Kapilavaratra'

1. This is an exception to *aṆ*. For, *bahvacaḥ* here qualifies the nominal stem. It is for this reason, more specifically for dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *aṅgāt*, that *bahvacaḥ* is restated in this rule. *Kāśikā* notes that derivate-meanings are, somehow or the other, related to the four meanings specified earlier (*Kāś.*: *yathāsambhavam arthāḥ sambandhyante*).

4.2.74 उदक्च विपाशः

udak ca vipāśaḥ
/*udak* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *vipāśaḥ* 5/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *añ* #71, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70, *kūpeṣu* #73)

vipāśaḥ uttare kūle ye kūpās teṣv abhidheyeṣu añ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in one of the specified nominal endings and signifies a water-well, provided the water-well is located on the north side of river Vīpāśā.

EXAMPLES:

dattena nirvṛttaḥ kūpaḥ = *dāttaḥ* 'water-well built by Datta on the north side of river Vīpāśā'

gauptaḥ 'a water-well built by Gupta on the north side of river Vīpāśā'

1. What if the water-wells were built by Datta and Gupta on the south side of Vīpāśā?. Affix *aṆ* will then have to be introduced to derive *dāttaḥ* and *gauptaḥ*. These derivates are formally similar to derivates of *aÑ*. They only differ in accent. Forms such as *dāttaḥ* and *gauptaḥ* which do not denote a water-well located on the north side of Vipāśā, will be marked *udātta* at the end (*anta*), in consonance with affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). Words such as *dāttáḥ* and *gauptáḥ*, which denote a water-well on the north side of Vipāśā, will be marked *udātta* the beginning (*ādi*), in view of *Ñ* as an *it* in the affix (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). This variation in form characterized by accentual difference attests to the extremely fine observational insight of Pāṇini (*mahatī sūkṣmekṣikā varttate sūtrakārasya*).

4.2.75 संकलादिभ्यश्च

saṅkalādibhyaś ca

/ *saṅkalādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *saṅkala ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *añ* #71, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)

'*saṅkala*' *ity evamādibhyo' ñ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*

The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *saṅkala*, when it ends in an appropriate nominal ending and its derivate is to denote one of the four meanings specified as above.

EXAMPLES:

sāṅkalaḥ 'that which was built by Saṅkala'

pauṣkalaḥ 'that which was completed by Puṣkala'

1. Note that meanings of many of these derivates must be determined on the basis of interpretation, usage and intent of speakers (*vivakṣā*).

4.2.76 स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राक्षु

strīṣu sauvīrasālvaprākṣu
/*strīṣu* 7/3 *sauvīrasālvaprākṣu* 7/3 = *sauvīraś ca sālvaś ca prāṅ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *deśe tannāmni* #67, *aÑ* #71, *tad asminn asti*... #67-70)
sauvīre strīliṅge vācye deśe vācye sālve prācy añ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in an appropriate nominal ending, provided the derivate names, in feminine, a place in the Sruvīra, Sālva or eastern regions.

EXAMPLES:

dāttāmitrī = *dattāmittreṇa nirvṛttā nagarī* 'a city built in the Sauvīra region by Dattāmittra'
vaidhūmāgnī = *vidhūmāgninā nirvṛttā nagarī* 'a city built in the Sālva region by Vidhūmāgni'
kākandī = *kakandena nirvṛttā nagarī* 'a city built in the eastern region by Kakanda'

1. The words *sauvīra, sālva, prāk* and *strī* are used as modifiers to the country so named (*deśe tannāmni*).

4.2.77 सुवास्त्वादिभ्योऽण्

suvāstvādibhyo' ṇ
/*suvāstvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *suvāstu ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asminn asti*... #67-70)
'*suvāstv ity evam ādibhyo' ṇ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in an appropriate nominal ending and is listed in the group headed by *suvāstu*, provided the derivate denotes one of the four meanings mentioned above.

EXAMPLES:

sauvāstavam = *suvāstor adūrabhavaṃ nagaram* 'Suvāstava, a city located not very far from the river Suvāstu'
vārṇavam 'Vārṇava, a city located not very far from the river Varṇu'

1. Note that affix *aṆ* is introduced here as an exception to affixes *aÑ* (characterized by *oḥ* of 4.2.71 and *kūpa* of 4.2.73-74) and *matUP* (of 4.2.85 *nadyāṃ matup*) both. Why did Pāṇini use *aṆ*, especially when it was already available from the *adhikāra*. Well, the *aṆ* which one gets from *anuvṛtti* gets blocked by *aÑ*, an exception. Stating *aṆ* again sets *aÑ* aside. This new *aṆ*

can also be used for blocking *matUP* of 4.2.85 *nadyāṃ matup*. If *aṆ* was not mentioned here then, according to the principle that an exception listed in the middle blocks only a preceding provision (*Paribhāṣā* (61): *madhye'pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*), could have enabled *aÑ* to block only *aṆ*. It could not have blocked *matUP*. With *aṆ* in place again, *matUP* can also be blocked.

4.2.78 रोणी

roṇī
/*roṇī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.7, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70, *aṇ* #77)
roṇīśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after *roṇī* when the derivate denotes any of the four meanings mentioned above.

EXAMPLES:

rauṇaḥ kūpaḥ 'that (a water-well) which was built by Roṇī'
ājakaroṇaḥ 'that (a water-well) which was built by Ajakaroṇī'

1. A question is raised as to why *roṇī* is not specified in this rule with *pañcamī* 'ablative', as is the practice elsewhere in affixal operations (*pratyaya-vidhau*). It is not specified by ablative so that it can receive an affix after all kinds of its forms. That is, it can receive an affix either by constituting a base by itself, or by occurring as the final constituent of another (*Kāś.*: *roṇīśabdaḥ sarvāvastho'ṇ pratyayam utpādayati kevalas tadantaś ca*).

2. *Kāśikā* again advises caution in interpreting the derivates. It, however, notes that these examples constitute exceptions to derivates of *aÑ* denoting *kūpa* (*kūpalakṣaṇasyāño'pavādaḥ*).

4.2.79 कोपधाच्च

kopadhāc ca
/*kopadhāt* 5/1 = *kakāra upadhā yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.7, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70, *aṇ* #77)
kakāropadhāc ca prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
A *taddhita* affix, namely *aṆ*, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *k* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*) and ends in an appropriate nominal ending, provided also that its derivate denotes one of the four meanings already specified.

EXAMPLES:

kārṇacchidrikaḥ kūpaḥ 'a water-well built by Karṇacchidrikā'
kārkavākavam 'a water-well built by Kṛkavāku'

1. The operational provision of this rule is treated as an exception to one which requires *aÑ* characterized with conditions of *ū* and *kūpa* (4.2.71; 4.2.73). The meanings of examples again have to be investigated and determined with caution.

4.2.80 **वुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरढञ्ण्ययफक्फिञिञ्ञ्यकक्ठकोऽरीहणकृशाश्वर्श्यकुमुदकाशतृण-प्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतंगमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः**

vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaśeniraḍhaññyayaphakphiñiññyakakṭhako'rīhaṇakṛśāśvarśyakumudakāśatṛṇaprekṣāśmasakhisaṅkāśabalapakṣakarṇasutaṅgamapragadinvarāhakumudādibhyaḥ
/ *vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaśeniraḍhaññyayaphakphiñiññyakakṭhakaḥ* 1/3 = *vuñ ca chaṇ ca ka ca ṭhac ca ila ca śa ca ini ca ra ca ḍhañ ca ṇya ca ya ca phak ca phiñ ca iñ ca ñya ca kak ca ṭhak ca* (*itar. dv.*); *arīhaṇakṛśāśva* . . . *kumudādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *arīhaṇādir ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.7, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)
vuñādayaḥ saptadaśapratyayāḥ arīhaṇādayo'pi saptadaśaiva prātipadikagaṇāḥ; tatra yathāsaṃkhyaṃ saptadaśabhyaḥ prātipadikagaṇebhyaḥ saptadaśa pratyayā bhavanti cāturarthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *vuÑ*, *chaṆ*, *ka*, *ṭhaC*, *ila*, *śa*, *inI*, *ra*, *ḍhaÑ*, *Ṇya*, *ya*, *phaK*, *phiÑ*, *iÑ*, *Ñya*, *kaK*, and *ṭhaK* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *arīhaṇa*, *kṛśāśva*, *ṛśya*, *kumuda*, *kāśa*, *tṛṇa*, *prekṣā*, *aśman*, *sakhi*, *saṃkāśa*, *bala*, *pakṣa*, *karṇa*, *sutaṅgama*, *pragadin*, *varāha*, and *kumuda*, respectively, when these stems end in appropriate nominal endings and derivates denote any one of the four meanings already specified.

EXAMPLES:

ārīhaṇakam '*vuÑ*; a city built by Arīhaṇa'
kārśāśvīyaḥ '*chaṆ*; a city built by Kṛśāśva'
ṛśyakaḥ '*ka*; a place full of antelopes'
kumudikam '*ṭhaC*; a city not far from where lotuses blossom in abundance'
kāśilam '*ila*; a place where reeds grow in abundance'
tṛṣaśaḥ '*śa*; a place rich in grass'
prekṣī '*inI*; a city with many theaters'
aśmaraḥ '*ra*; a place with rocks in abundance'
sākheyam '*ḍhaÑ*; a water-well built by Sakhi'
sāṃkāśyam '*Ṇya*; a city built by Saṃkāśa'
balyaḥ '*ya*; a place built by Bala'
pākṣāyaṇam '*phaK*; a city built by Pakṣa'
kārṇāyaniḥ '*phiÑ*; a place built by Karṇa'
sautaṅgamiḥ '*iÑ*; a water-well built by Sutaṅgama'
prāgadyam '*Ñya*; a city built by Pragadin'

vārāhakam '*kaK*; a city built by Varāha'
kaumudikam 'a place where waterlilies blossom in abundance'

1. Note that this rule introduces a set of seventeen affixes which are to be introduced after an equal number of bases. Since the corresponding sets of affixes and bases both contain an equal number of enumerated elements, one must invoke the rule of *yathāsaṃkhya*. That is, one must determine the equivalency of enumerated items in accord with the order in which they have been enumerated in the two sets. Thus, affix one, of the first set of seventeen affixes, should be introduced after the first base of the second set of seventeen bases, and so on (cf. 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*).

A correct interpretation of examples, here again, deserves caution. These bases, in accord with their own denotatum, and in view of the fourfold meanings, must receive affixes only when used with specified nominal endings.

4.2.81 जनपदे लुप्

janapade lup
/*janapade* 7/1 *lup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.7, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70)
'*deśe tannāmni yaś cāturarthikaḥ pratyayo bhavati tasya deśaviśeṣe janapade' bhidheye lub bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem with the signification of *deśa* 'place' is deleted by *LUP*, provided the derivate denotes a particular *janapada* 'cluster of villages' so named as place of residence.

EXAMPLES:

pañcālāḥ 'place of residence of the Pañcāla warriors'
aṅgāḥ 'place of residence of the Aṅga warriors'

1. Note that a deletion by *LUP*, at the strength of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*, lets the original number and gender of the derivate retained. Thus the word *Pañcālāḥ*, a masculine plural, denotes a class of warriors. The cluster of villages which serves as place of residence of these warriors can thus be called *pañcālāḥ*, where affix *aṆ* gets deleted by *LUP*. Consequently, *pañcālāḥ*, though it refers to a single *janapada*, will still retain its original masculine plural status.

Why is the affix not deleted in *audumbaro deśaḥ* 'a place where fig trees grow in abundance'. Because, in that case, *udumbaraḥ*, with affixal deletion, will not be able to denote a place of residence. A place so named (*tannāmni*) does not exist.

4.2.82 वरणादिभ्यश्च

varaṇādibhyaś ca
/ varaṇādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *varaṇa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ф/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.7, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70, *lup* #81)
'*varaṇa*' *ity evamādibhya utpannasya cāturarthikasya pratyayasya lub bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *varaṇa* is deleted by *LUP*, when the derivate denotes any of the four meanings specified earlier.

EXAMPLES:

varaṇāḥ = *varaṇānām adūrabhavo grāmaḥ* 'a village which is not far from where the Varaṇā trees grow in abundance'
śirīṣāḥ 'a village not far from where Śirīṣa trees grow in abundance'

1. This rule offers affixal deletion. It also allows retention of original number and gender of a derivate, even when the derivate does not denote a *janapada* so named as place of residence (*Kāś.*: *ajanapadārtha ārambhaḥ*).

2. The *ca* in this rule is used for bringing some other examples under its scope (*anuktasamuccayārthaś cakāraḥ*). Thus, *kaṭukabadaryā adūrabhavo grāmaḥ* = *kaṭukabadarī* 'a village located not far from the grove of bitter berries', etc. The *ca* also marks *varaṇādi* as an open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*) group.

4.2.83 शर्कराया वा

śarkarāyā vā
/ śarkarāyaḥ 5/1 *vā* ф/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.7, *tad asminn asti* . . . #67-70, *lup* #81)
śarkarāśabdād utpannasya cāturarthikasya pratyayasya vā lub bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs, to denote any one of the four meanings, after the syntactically related nominal *śarkarā* is deleted by *LUP* only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

śarkarā 'a place with pebbles in abundance'
śārkaram 'id. (a derivate with no deletion of *aṆ*)'
śarkarikam 'a derivate of *ṭhaC*'
śārkarakam 'a derivate of *kaK*'

1. Note that *śarkarā* is listed in two groups of words known as *kumudādi* and *varāhādi*. Consequently, *śarkarā* will have two derivates, i.e., *śarkarikam* (with *ṭhaC*) and *śārkarakam* (with *kaK*). Pāṇini did not have to provide for optional deletion by using *vā*. For, a derivate with non-affixal deletion can

be gotten at the strength of listing in a *gaṇa*. This rule should then have provided for deletion without any qualification such as *vā*. But then the deletion will become obligatory (*nitya*). Consequently, providing for derivates with non-affixal deletion, via listing *śarkarā* in two *gaṇas*, will become vacuous (*vyartha*; *PM* ad *Kāś.*: *gaṇayor asya pāṭho' narthakaḥ syāt*). Pāṇini uses *vā* to indicate that this deletion of an affix after *śarkarā* does not relate to provisions of rule 4.2.80. Instead, the optional provision of this rule relates to the more general provision (*autsargika*) of *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāgdīvyato' ṇ*, read with 4.2.66 *tad asminn asti*. . . . Consequently, we will get two forms: *śarkarā*, with deletion of *aṆ*; and *śārkaram*, with no deletion of *aṆ*. A set of two additional forms of *śarkarā* will be derived with affixes *ṭhaK* and *cha* of the following rule. Thus, with two forms of 4.2.80, *śarkarā* will, in all, have six derivates.

4.2.84 ठक्छौ च

ṭhakchau ca
/*ṭhakchau* 1/2 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
śarkarāśabdāt 'ṭhak, cha' ity etau pratyayau bhavataś cāturarthikau
Affixes *ṭhaK* and *cha* occur after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *śarkarā*, when the derivate denotes one of the four meanings specified as above.

EXAMPLES:

śarkarikam 'a place with pebbles in abundance'
śarkarīyam 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā*, once again, emphasizes that meanings of these derivates should be determined with efforts.

4.2.85 नद्यां मतुप्

nadyāṃ matup
/*nadyām* 7/1 *matup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
nadyām abhidheyāyāṃ matup pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *matUP* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem when ending in an appropriate *sUP*, provided the derivate denotes a river.

EXAMPLES:

udumbarāvatī = *udumbarā yasyāṃ santi* 'a river on whose banks there are fig trees'
ikṣumatī 'a river in the vicinity of which sugarcane grows in abundance'

1. This affixal provision of *matUP* is made against one already available from 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asmin.* . . . The provision of this rule then must share the context of *cāturarthika* affixes. Commentators explain that the affix is to be introduced after a base ending in *prathamā* 'nominative', because a connection of this provision with that of 4.2.67 *tad asminn astīti deśe tannāmni* is possible. In fact, commentators claim that this *matUP* serves two purposes: (*a*) it blocks the *aṆ* of 4.2.67 *tad asmin* . . . and (*b*) it, thereby, also specifies the meaning under which it is to be introduced (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: '*tad asyāsty asmin*' *iti matupi siddhe vacanam idaṃ* '*tad asminn astīti*' *prāptasyāṇo bādhanārthaṃ nivṛttādyarthaṃ ca, tat sūcitam*).

2. Since derivates of this rule are constrained with the denotation of *nadī*, the phrase *tannāmni* must be treated as a qualifier to *nadyām*, and not to *deśe*.

4.2.86 मध्वादिभ्यश्च

madhvādibhyaś ca
/ *madhvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*madhu*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo matup pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *matUP* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *madhu*, provided the derivate denotes one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

madhumān 'a place rich in honey'
visavān 'a place where lotus (stalk) grows in abundance'

1. This provision of *matUP* is made where derivates do not denote a 'river' (*anadyartham ārambhaḥ*).

4.2.87 कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो ड्मतुप्

kumudanaḍavetasebhyo ḍmatup
/ *kumudanaḍavetasebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *kumudaś ca naḍaś ca vetasaś ca* = *kumudanaḍavetasāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ḍmatup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*kumuda*', '*naḍa*', '*vetas*' *ity etebhyaḥ śabdebhyo ḍmatup pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *ḌmatUP* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kumuda*, *naḍa* and *vetas*, when derivates denote any of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

kumudvān 'a place rich in white-lilies'
naḍvān 'a place where reeds grow in abundance'
vetasvān 'a place where canes grow in abundance'

1. Note that the *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v* in the first two examples by rule 8.2.10 *jhayaḥ*. This same replacement is accomplished by 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca* in deriving the last example. Since affix *ḌmatUP* is marked with *Ḍ* as an *it*, these derivates also go through deletion of their *a* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*), under assignment of the term *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*).

A *vārttika* under this rule also recommends deriving *mahiṣmat* 'a place with buffaloes in abundance' by introducing affix *ḌmatUP* after *mahiṣa* 'buffalo'.

4.2.88 **नडशादाड् ड्वलच्**

naḍaśādāḍ ḍvalac
/ *naḍaśādāt* 5/1 = *naḍaś ca śādaś ca* = *naḍaśādam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ḍvalac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
naḍaśadaśabdābhyāṃ ḍvalac pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ḌvalaC* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *naḍa* and *śāda*, when derivates denote one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

naḍvalam 'a place where reeds grow in abundance'
śādvalam 'a place rich with prairies'

1. Inclusion of *naḍa* in this rule is made for covering *naḍvalam*. Our preceding rule accounts for *naḍvān*. Here again, *ṭi*-deletion is accomplished via affixal *Ḍ* as an *it*.

4.2.89 **शिखाया वलच्**

śikhāyā valac
/ *śikhāyāḥ* 5/1 *valac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
śikhāśabdād valac pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *valaC* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śikhā*, when the derivate denotes one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

śikhāvalam 'a city with many hill (top)s'

1. Note that rule 5.2.113 *dantaśikhāt saṃjñāyām* also introduces *valaC* after *śikhā*. But that provision is not made for denoting a place. That is intended for replacement, instead (*tad ādeśārthaṃ vacanam*).

4.2.90 उत्करादिभ्यश्छः

utkarādibhyaś chaḥ
/*utkarādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *utkara ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*utkara*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cāturarthikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *utkara*, when derivates denote one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

utkarīyam 'a place with heaps of garbage'
śapharīyam 'a place which is rich in fish'

1. Determining derivate meanings requires efforts.

4.2.91 नडादीनां कुक्च

naḍādīnāṃ kuk ca
/*naḍādīnām* 6/3 *kuk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*naḍa*' *ity evamādīnāṃ kug āgamo bhavati chaś ca pratyayaś cāturarthikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and augment *kUK* in addition, occur after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *naḍa*, when derivates denote one of the four meanings specified above.

EXAMPLES:

naḍakīyam 'a place with reeds in abundance'
plakṣakīyam 'a place with Plakṣa trees in abundance'

1. This rule provides for two operations simultaneously: introduction of affix *cha* and addition of augment *kUK*. Since *kUK* is marked with *K* as an *it*, it will be introduced at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*) of *naḍa*. Rule 7.1.2 *āyaneyī* ... will, as usual, apply to produce *naḍ* + *k*(*UK*→ϕ) + (*ch*→*īy*)*a* = *naḍakīya*.

A *vārttika* under this rule states that the long vowel of *kruñcā* is shortened.

The word *takṣan* gets its *n* deleted. The derivates in question are *kruñcakīyam* 'a country with herons in abundance' and *takṣakīyam* 'a country with snakes in profusion'.

4.2.92 शेषे

śeṣe
/śeṣi 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
śeṣe ity adhikāro'yam; yān ita ūrdhvam pratyayān anukramiṣyāmaḥ śeṣe'rthe te veditavyāḥ
A *taddhita* affix, henceforth, occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem when derivates denote a meaning other than one already specified.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to rules which follow.

1. The word *śeṣe* is used in *saptamī* 'locative' to specify a residual domain in relation to what has already been stated (*upayuktād anyaḥ śeṣaḥ*). We find that rules 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* through 4.2.90 *utkarādibhyaś chaḥ* introduce *taddhita* affixes to denote meanings outlined as *apatya*, etc., through *cāturarthika*. The domain of this rule, aptly called *śaṣika* 'that which relates to residuals', covers rules prior to the domain of 4.3.133 *tasya vikāraḥ*. It introduces affixes with the signification of meanings other than those specified as *apatya*, etc.

Since *śeṣe* is understood in all rules enumerated prior to 4.3.113 *tasya vikāraḥ*, a derivate derived with an affix of this domain will denote all meanings specified within this domain. Consider, for example, the word *grāmīṇa* which is derived by introducing affix *khaÑ* after the syntactically related nominal stem *grāma*. This word can then be used to denote all meanings specified by subdomains such as 4.3.25 *tata jātaḥ* 'born in there', 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* 'found in there', 4.3.74 *tata āgataḥ* 'arrived from there' and 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'belongs to that', etc. This is what is meant by the word *śaiṣika*, especially in view of the *adhikāra* status of rule 4.2.92 *śeṣe*.

2. The domain of *śeṣe* can be further expanded if one treats it also as an operational (*lakṣaṇa*) rule. This interpretation would require a reference to general affixes (*autsargika*), such as *aṆ*, etc., which can then be introduced to denote meanings other than those specified in earlier sections. Thus, affix *aṆ* can be introduced to derive *cākṣuṣam* 'that which is perceived by eyes', where the affix is introduced after *cakṣus* with the denotatum of *tena gṛhyate*, *āśvaḥ rathaḥ* 'a chariot drawn by horses', where the affix is introduced after *aśva* with the denotatum of *tena uhyate*; *cāturam śakaṭam* 'a cart drawn by four oxen (same as the preceding)'; *dārṣadāḥ saktavaḥ* 'stone-ground

Saktu (roasted chickpea flour), where the affix is introduced with the denotatum of *tatra piṣṭam*; and *cāturdaśam rakṣaḥ* 'a demon who appears on the fourteenth night of a month', where the affix is introduced with the denotatum of *atra dṛśyate*, etc. These examples illustrate operational aspects of the domain of 4.2.92 *śeṣe*.

3. Questions have been raised against formulating this rule as a heading (*adhikāra*). To claim that this domain is created to separate its affixes from those which have the signification of *apatya*, and also those known as *cāturarthika*, is debatable. For, these affixes are excluded from affixes of rules such as 4.3.25 *tatra jātaḥ*, etc., on the basis of specific meaning conditions. That is, meaning of *apatya* is not intended to be included in significations marked with *jātaḥ*, etc.

Others still argue that such an inclusion is possible to establish. Thus, *tasyedam* is also read among *jātaḥ*, etc. This sense of *tasyedam* is a general sense to which *apatya*, etc., can be related as corresponding particulars. An affix which is introduced to denote the 'general' can also be introduced to denote its related 'particular'. Thus, affixes *gha*, etc., may become applicable for the denotation of *apatya*, etc. A domain of 4.2.92 *śeṣe* then becomes necessary to block *gha*, etc., from denoting *apatya*, etc.

Yet another purpose can be cited for formulating this domain. Note that *gha*, etc., are introduced with the signification of nominative (*prathamārthe*). If there was no separate domain of 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, one may introduce affixes *aṆ*, etc., of the *prāg dīvyatīya* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*) section, and not *ghaÑ*, when an affix had to be introduced with the signification of accusative (*dvitīyā*), etc. For, one would relate *gha*, etc., with the sense of *prathamā*. A domain such as 4.2.92 *śeṣe* enables one to express meanings not already stated. Thus, *śeṣa* is needed for presenting a comprehensive description (*sākalyārtham*). It has been further argued that all these purposes of formulating 4.2.92 *śeṣe* can be served even without it. If this was the case then why did Pāṇini still formulate it. Perhaps to indicate that a formally similar *śaiṣika* affix cannot be introduced after a base which ended in one. One can thus not introduce *cha* after *śālīya* which ends in *cha*. There is no restriction on introducing a formally dissimilar *śaiṣika* affix after a base which already ends in one.

The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses this rule at length. I omit further details for fear of expatiation.

4.2.93 राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घखौ

rāṣṭrāvārapārād ghakhau

/*rāṣṭrāvārapārāt* 5/1 = *rāṣṭram ca avārapāram ca* = *rāṣṭrāvārapāram* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ghakhau* 1/2/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)

'rāṣṭra', 'avārapāra' ity etābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ghakhāv ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ

The *taddhita* affixes *gha* and *kha* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *rāṣṭra* and *avārapāra*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

rāṣṭriyaḥ 'that which is born in the nation, etc.'
avārapārīṇaḥ 'that which exists on both sides, etc.'
avārīṇaḥ 'that which exists on this side, etc.'
pārīṇaḥ 'that which exists on that side, etc.'
pārāvārīṇaḥ 'that which exists on both sides'

1. This rule provides for affixes after specified bases. The nominal endings which make these bases syntactically related will, along with meanings of corresponding derivates, be outlined subsequently (*Kāś.*: *prakṛti viśeṣopādānamātreṇa tāvat pratyayā vidhīyante*; *teṣāṃ tu jātādayo'rthāḥ samarthavibhaktayaś ca purastād vakṣyante*).

Affixes *gha* and *kha* are here introduced after *rāṣṭra* as an exception to affix *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ.* These affixes, as usual, will produce forms such as *iya* and *īna* (7.1.2 *āyaneyī . . .*), respectively. The word *avārapāram* can be interpreted as a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) *tatpuruṣa* compound. At the strength of compounds such as *rājadanta*, etc., an opposite of the analyzed from also obtains (*vigrahītād viparītāc ca labhyate*). Thus, we can get an additional base *pārāvāram.* Commentators state that these affixes are also desired after individual constituents of the compound *avārapāram.* Thus, *avāra* and *pāra* also qualify as bases. Note that these additional bases are gotten through *vārttika* proposals.

4.2.94 ग्रामाद्यखञौ

grāmād yakhañau
/*grāmāt* 5/1 *yakhañau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
grāmaśabdād 'ya, khañ' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ya* and *khaÑ* occur after the syntactically related nominal stem *grāma*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

grāmyaḥ 'that which is found in a village, etc.'
grāmīṇaḥ 'he who comes from a village, etc.'

1. This rule offers *ya* and *khaÑ* as exceptions to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc*

chaḥ. Note that *grāma* is also read in the *katryādi* group of the next rule. Obviously, *grāma* will have an additional derivate in *ḍhakaÑ.*

4.2.95 कत्र्यादिभ्यो ढकञ्

katryādibhyo ḍhakañ
/ *katryādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *katry ādir yeṣāṃ te= katryādayaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ḍhakañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
'*katri*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ ḍhakañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhakaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *katri,* when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kātreyakaḥ 'that which belongs to Katri, etc.'
aumbheyakaḥ 'that which belongs to Umbhi, etc.'

1. This rule provides for affix *ḍhakaÑ,* as an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ,* insofar as *vṛddha* bases of the *katri* group of nominals are concerned. Other bases of this group would have qualified for the general affix (*austsargika*) *aṆ,* if this rule was not formulated. Thus, it also provides for affix *ḍhakaÑ* as an exception to *aṆ.* The *ḍh* of *ḍhakaÑ* will be replaced with *ey* of 7.2.2 *āyaneyī.* . . . The *Ñ* of the affix is, of course, intended for *vṛddhi.*

4.2.96 कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्यः श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु

kulakukṣigrīvābhyaḥ śvāsyalaṅkāreṣu
/ *kulakukṣigrīvābhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *śvāsyalaṅkāreṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *ḍhakañ* #95)
kulakukṣigrīvāśabdebhyo yathāsaṃkhyam '*śvan*', '*asi*', '*alaṃkāra*' *ity eteṣu jātādiṣv artheṣu ḍhakañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhakaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kula, kukṣi* and *grīvā,* when derivates denote a residual meaning relative to *śvā* 'dog', *asi* 'sword' and *alaṃkāra* 'ornament', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

kauleyako bhavati śvā cet 'a family dog; that which is there in the family'
taukṣeyako bhavaty asiś cet 'a sword (that which exists in a sheath)'
graiveyako bhavaty alaṃkāraś cet 'a necklace (that which exists on neck)'

1. This rule introduces *ḍhakaÑ* against the more general (*autsargika*) affix *aṆ.* Forms such as *kaulaḥ, taukṣaḥ* and *graivaḥ* will be derived with *aṆ* outside the scope of special meanings of *ḍhakaÑ.*

4.2.97 नद्यादिभ्यो ढक्

nadyādibhyo ḍhak

/*nadyādibhyaḥ* 5/1 *nadī ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*); *ḍhak* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)

'*nadī' ity evam ādibhyo ḍhak pratyayo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *nadī*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

Examples:

nādeyam 'that which is found in a river'
māheyam 'that which exists on earth'
vārāṇaseyam 'that which is in Vārāṇasī'

1. Note that in *vārāṇaseyam*, *ḍhaK* blocks *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* which, in turn, is an exception to *aN*. The *nadyādi* group also includes *pūrvanagarī* for which we get a derivate such as *paurvanagareyam* 'that which is found in a city in the east'. Some read this word as *pūrvanagiri*, a combination of *pūr*, *vana* and *giri*, and introduce affix *ḍhaK* after each one of them separately. This produces: *paureyam*, *vāneyam* and *gaireyam*.

2. The word *nadī* is not interpreted here as denoting the technical term *nadī* (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*). For, an inclusion of *mahī*, etc., would then not make any sense.

4.2.98 दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक्

dakṣiṇāpaścātpurasas tyak

/*dakṣiṇāpaścātpurasaḥ* 5/1 = *dakṣiṇā ca paścāt ca puraś ca* = *dakṣiṇāpaścātpuraḥ* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *tyak* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)

'*dakṣiṇā, paścāt, puras' ity etebhyas tyak pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ*

The *taddhita* affix *tyaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dakṣiṇā*, *paścāt* and *puras*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

Examples:

dākṣiṇātyaḥ 'born, or originating, in the south'
pāścātyaḥ 'born, or originating, in the west'
paurastyaḥ 'born, or originating, in the east'

1. Note that because of its association with *paścāt* and *puras*, *dakṣiṇā* is also interpreted as in indeclinable (*avyaya*) ending in *ā* (5.3.36 *dakṣiṇād āc*). This introduction of *tyaK* is an exception to *aN*. It does not have to be contrasted with 4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap* which cannot apply to *dakṣiṇā* anyway.

4.2.99 **कापिश्याः ष्फक्**

kāpiśyāḥ ṣphak
/*kāpiśyāḥ* 5/1 *ṣphak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
kāpiśīśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṢphaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kāpiśī*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kāpiśāyanam madhu 'honey produced in Kāpiśī'
kāpiśayanī drākṣā 'grapes produced in Kāpiśī'

1. A *vārttika* also recommends affix *ṢphaK* after nominal stems *bāhli*, *urdi* and *pardi* to derive *bāhlāyanī* 'that which is found in . . .', *aurdāyanī* and *pārdāyanī*. Note that *Ṣ* as an affixal *it* enables introduction of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*). The *pha* of the affix yields *āyana*, through replacement application of 7.1.2 *āyaneyī*. . . .

4.2.100 **रङ्कोरमनुष्येऽण् च**

raṅkor amanuṣye'ṇ ca
/*raṅkoḥ* 5/1 *amanuṣe* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *aṇ* 1/1/ *ca* ф/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
raṅkuśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati cakārat ṣphak ca śaiṣike' manuṣye' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ*, and *ṢphaK* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *raṅku*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to something non-human.

EXAMPLES:

rāṅkavo gauḥ 'an antelope found in the region named Raṅku'
rāṅkavāyaṇo gauḥ 'id.'

1. Note that the restriction of *amanuṣya* relates to 'non-human' objects. It will not apply to 'non-living' (*aprāṇin*) objects. The word *raṅku* is listed in the *kacchādi* group of nominals. Consequently, *aṆ* was available to it from 4.2.133 *kacchādibhyo' ṇ*. This rule will then make *aṆ* optional to *ṢphaK*, in the context of a non-human denotatum. The negation of *amanuṣya* is interpreted as *paryudāsa*, whereby we get the meaning of *tadbhinnatatsadṛśa* 'something similar to, but different from, a human'. This interpretation is necessary so that derivates such as *rāṅkavaḥ* could be derived as non-living objects, through the application of rule 4.2.133 *kacchādibhyo*. . . . This rule includes *aṆ* also for purpose of saving it from being blocked by *ṢphaK* (*Kāś.*: *viśeṣavihitena ca ṣphakā' ṇo bādha mā bhūd ity aṅgrahaṇam api kriyate*).

The *guṇa* of these examples is accomplished by 6.4.146 or *guṇaḥ*. Application of 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* and 7.1.2 *āyaneyī*. . . is also required to finally produce *rāṅkavāyana*.

4.2.101 द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत्

dyuprāgapāgudakpratīco yat
/*dyuprāgapāgudakpratīcaḥ* 5/1 (*itar. dv.*); *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
'*diva, prāc, apāc, udac, pratyac*' *ity etebhyo pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *div, prāc, apāc, udac* and *pratyac*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

divyam 'that which pertains to heaven; celestial'
prācyam 'pertaining to east; eastern'
avācyam 'pertaining to south; southern'
udīcyam 'pertaining to north; northern'
pratīcya 'pertaining to west; western'

1. This rule provides for *yaT* as an exception to *aṆ*. All the bases listed in this rule are derivates of affix *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛksrag* . . .). They can also be termed indeclinables provided they ended in affix *astātI* (1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*). Since this rule makes its specification of bases irrespective of their status as indeclinables, indeclinable and non-indeclinable bases both will be acceptable here. The indeclinables can then take affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* to produce derivates such as *prāktanam* 'old, earlier, ancient' with 'time' (*kāla*) as its signification (4.3.23 *sāyaṃciram* . . .). The *yaT* will then be blocked by *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .).

4.2.102 कन्थायाष्ठक्

kanthāyāṣ ṭhak
/*kanthāyāḥ* 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
kanthāśabdāṭ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kanthā*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kānthikaḥ 'that which is found in a patched up shawl; lice'

1. This constitutes an exception to *aṆ*.

4.2.103 **वर्णौ वुक्**

varṇau vuk
/*varṇau* 7/1 *vuk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kanthāyaḥ* #102)
varṇau yā kanthā tasyā vuk pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *kanthā*, when it signifies a region in the vicinity of river Varṇu and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kānthakam 'that which is found in the region close to river Varṇu'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *varṇu* as a region in the vicinity of river Varṇu. Note that 'lice' of shawls in the region of Varṇu will be called *kānthikā*, a feminine.

4.2.104 **अव्ययात् त्यप्**

avyayāt tyap
/*avyayāt* 5/1 *tyap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
avyayāt tyap pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *tyaP* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *avyaya*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

amātyaḥ 'he who stays nearby; an executive minister'
ihatyaḥ 'he who is here'
kvatyaḥ 'a resident of what place?'
tatastyaḥ 'he who has arrived from there'
tatratyaḥ 'one who lives there'

1. A proposal is made to limit the scope of this rule to five indeclinables: *amā* 'near, proximate', *iha* 'here', *kva* 'where'; an indeclinable which ends in affix *tasIL*, for example *tatas*; and an indeclinable ending in affix *traL*, as in *tatra*. This enumeration rules out *tyaP* after indeclinables such as *upari*, *puras*, and *pāra*; or those which begin with a *vṛddhi* vowel. Thus, *aupariṣṭaḥ*, *paurastaḥ*, *pārastaḥ* and *ārātīyaḥ* serve as counter-examples.
2. Some *vārttika* proposals made under this rule are as follows:

(*i*) Affix *tyaP* occurs after *ni* to derive *nityam* when the denotatum is 'permanent, eternal'. An additional proposal for affix *tyaP* is made after *nis* when the sense is *gata* 'gone'. This will give us: *niṣṭyaḥ* 'an

outcaste; lowly Śūdra'. In Vedic, there is a proposal for *tyaP* after *āvis*. An example will be: *āviṣṭyaḥ*.

(*ii*) A proposal for affix *aṆ* is made after *araṇya*. Thus, *āraṇyāḥ sumanasaḥ* 'wild-flowers'. Affix *etya* is similarly recommended after *dūra* to derive *dūretyaḥ* 'one who comes from far; traveler'. Finally, *āhaÑ* is recommended after *uttara* to derive: *auttarāhaḥ* 'one who has arrived from the north'.

4.2.105 ऐषमोह्यःश्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम्

aiṣamohyaḥśvaso' nyatarasyām

/ *aiṣamohyaḥśvasaḥ* 5/1 = *aiṣamaś ca hyaś ca śvaś ca* = *aiṣamohyaḥśvaḥ* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)

'*aiṣamas, hyas, śvas*' *ity etebhyo' nyatarasyāṃ tyap pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ*

The *taddhita* affix *tyaP* occurs, only optionally, after syntactically related nominal stems *aiṣamas, hyas* and *śvas*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLE:

aiṣamastyam 'pertaining to this current year'
aiṣamastanam 'id.'
hyastyam 'pertaining to yesterday'
hyastanam 'id.'
śvastyam 'pertaining to tomorrow'
śvastanam 'id.'

1. Note that *śvas* also takes affix *ṭhaÑ* (4.3.15 *śvasas tuṭ ca*) which, through augment *tUṬ*, yields a third form: *śauvastikam*. Rule 7.3.4 *dvārādīnāṃ ca* introduces *au* before the *v* of *śvas*.

2. Other bases will take affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* (4.3.23 *sāyañcirам*...) with augment *tUṬ*. Of course, when the option of *tyaP* is not availed. The *yu* of these affixes will go through application of 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*.

4.2.106 तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ्ञौ

tīrarūpyottarapadād aññau

/ *tīrarūpyottarapadāt* 5/1 = *tīraṃ ca rūpyaṃ ca tīrarūpyam*; *tad uttarapadaṃ yasya tat* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *aññau* 1/2/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)

tīrottarapadād rūpyottarapadāc ca prātipadikād yathāsaṃkhyam '*añ, ña*' *ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ śaiṣikau*

The *taddhita* affixes *aÑ* and *Ña* occur after syntactically related nomi-

nal stems which end in *tīra* and *rūpya*, respectively, provided derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kākatīram 'that which is found in Kākatīra'
pālvalatīram 'that which is found in Palvalatīra'
vārkyarūpyam 'that which is found in Vārkarūpya'
śaivarūpyam 'that which is found in Śivarūpya'

1. These affixes form an exception to affix *aṆ*. A derivate of *Ña* will form its feminine with *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . A derivate of *Ña* will form its feminine with *ṬāP* of 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*.

Why should we phrase the rule as *tīrarūpyottarapadāt*? That is, why the rule cannot be formed as *tīrarūpyāntāt* 'after nominal stems ending in *tīra* and *rūpya*'. The rule cannot be formulated as such because stems such as *bahurūpya*, etc., will also qualify for these affixes. For, *bahurūpya* ends in *rūpya*. The condition of *uttarapadāt* will rule this out since *rūpya* is not the final constituent of a *pada*. Instead, *rūpya* occurs at the end of *bahu* which is an affix (*bahuC*; 5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supaḥ*. . .).

4.2.107 दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां ञः

dikpūrvapadād saṃjñāyāṃ ñaḥ
/ *dikpūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *dik pūrvapadaṃ yasya tad* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *ñaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
dikpūrvapadāt prātipadikād asaṃjñāviṣayād ñaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ña* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which begins with a constituent denoting *diś*, and is not a name (*saṃjñā*), provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

paurvaśālaḥ 'that which is located in the eastern hall'
dākṣiṇaśālaḥ 'that which is located in the southern hall'

1. This again is an exception to *aṆ*. The condition of *asaṃjñā* is responsible for keeping out derivates parallel to *pūrvaiṣukāmaśamaḥ* 'that which is found in the Iṣukāmaśamī of the east' and *aparaiṣukāmaśamaḥ* 'that which is found in the Iṣukāmaśamī of the west', etc. The compound bases are formed in view of rule 2.1.50 *diksaṃkhye saṃjñāyām*. The derivates are names (*saṃjñā*) and both involve *vṛddhi* of the second form (7.3.14 *prācāṃ grāmanagarā ṇām*. . .).

The word *pada* is used in the rule for clarity. For example, it rules out the

interpretation of *dik* as the word-form *dik* (*svarūpa*). The rule would have read as *dikpūrvād* without *pada*. Consequently, it would also have applied to *diggaja*, etc. A semantic interpretation of *diś* 'direction' puts everything in order.

4.2.108 मद्रेभ्योऽञ्

madrebhyo' ñ
/ *madrebhyaḥ* 5/3 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *dikpūrvapadāt* #107)
dikpūrvapadān madraśabdād añ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *madra*, when it is used as the following of a preceding constituent denoting *diś*, and when the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

paurvamadraḥ 'that which is found in the eastern Madra'
āparamadraḥ 'that which is found in the western Madra'

1. Note that affix *aṆ* is available to these derivates because of constituents denoting a directional name. Affix *vuÑ* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api*... may then block *aṆ*. But this can then be blocked by *kaN* of 4.2.131 *madravṛjyoḥ*.... Our present rule instead makes the provision of *aÑ*. The initial *vṛddhi* is made possible via the *paryudāsa* interpretation of *amadrāṇām* in rule 7.3.13 *diśo' madrāṇām*.

4.2.109 उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तात्

udīcyagrāmāc ca bahvaco' ntodāttāt
udīcyagrāmāt 5/1 = *udīci bhavaḥ* = *udīcyaḥ*; *udīcyaś cāsau grāmaś ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *bahvacaḥ* 5/1 (*bv.*); *antodāttāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
udīcyagrāmavācinaḥ prātipadikād bahvaco' ntodāttād añ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related polysyllabic (*bahvac*) nominal stem which is marked *udātta* at the end (*antodāttāt*) and denotes a northern village, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

śaivapuram 'pertaining to Śivapuram'
māṇḍavapuram 'pertaining to Māṇḍavapuram'

1. The words *śivapura* and *māṇḍavapura* are genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds,

and as such, they are marked *udātta* at the end in view of 6.1.223 *samāsasya.* Affix *aÑ* is an exception to *aṆ.*

The three conditions of *udīcyagrāmāt, bahvacaḥ* and *antodāttāt* are imposed so that examples such as *māthuram, dhvajī* and *śārkarīdhānam* can be kept out of the scope of this rule. The first is not a northern village; the second consists of only two vowels (*dvyac*); and the third, is not *antodātta.* The word *dhāna* ends in affix *LyuḌ*, and because of its *L* as an *it*, follows the accentual provisions of 6.1.193 *liti.* It has *dhā* of *dhāna* as *udātta.*

4.2.110 प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण्

prasthottarapadapaladyādikopadhād aṇ
/prasthottarapadapaladyādikopadhāt 5/1 = *prastha uttara padaṃ yasya tat prasthottarapadam* (*bv.*); *paladī ādir yeṣāṃ te paladyādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *kakāra upadhā yasya sa kopadhaḥ; prasthottarapadaṃ ca paladyādayaś ca kopadhaś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt; aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
prasthottarapadāt paladyādibhyaḥ kakāropadhāc ca prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either has *prastha* as its final constituent, or is listed in the group headed by *paladī*, or else, has *k* in its penultimate (*upadhā*) position, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

mādriprasthaḥ 'that which is found in Mādrīprastha'
māhakīprasthaḥ 'that which is found in Māhakīprastha'
pāladaḥ 'that which is found in Paladī'
pāriṣadaḥ 'that which is found in Pariṣada'
nailīnakaḥ 'that which is found in Nilīnaka'
caiyātakaḥ 'that which is found in Ciyātaka'

1. Note that *mādrīprastha* and *māhakīprastha* are places in the north. These examples could have qualified for *aÑ* of the preceding rule. The *aṆ*, in these instances, is offered as an exception to *aÑ.*

Why was this specification not made by *prasthāntāt* 'after that which ends in *prastha*'? For, examples such as *uttamakarṇīprastha* would have then qualified for the introduction of affix *aṆ.* Stating *uttarapadāt* disqualifies *uttamakarṇīprastha* since what is *uttarapada* in this stem is *karṇīprasiha*, and not *prastha.*

2. What is *vāhīka* listed in the *paladī* group when it could easily qualify for *aṆ* because of *k* in its *upadhā*? Inclusion of *vāhīka* in the *paladī* group is made so that *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* could be blocked after it. Note that 4.1.83

prāg dīvyato' ṇ provides for *aṆ* which, in case of *vāhīka*, would be blocked by 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. But this *cha* can then be blocked by *ṭhaÑ*, and *ÑIṭha* of 4.2.117 *vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca*. One wonders why the provision of this *aṆ*, especially against the *aṆ* which has to be blocked by 4.2.114 *vṛddhātc chaḥ*, should be made at all. It is absurd to provide for an affix (*aṆ*), and make it available again in view of an impending exception (*cha*). It is stated that Pāṇini explicitly states *aṆ* in this rule to save this introduction of *aṆ* from both 4.2.114 and 4.2.117. Because of its status as a provision remade, this *aṆ* prevails all exceptions (*punar vidhānād aṇ eva bhavati*). Let us take *vāhīka* again which is *vṛddha*. It has *aṆ* available to it from 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*. It also has affix *cha* available from 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. Affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* of 4.2.117 *vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca* also apply because *vāhīka* is *vṛddha* with 'village' as its signification. If our present rule does not provide *aṆ* to block *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭh* then *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* will be blocked by *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

The word *gomatī* is listed in the *paladī* group to block *vuÑ* of 4.2.123 *ropadhetoḥ prācām*.

4.2.111 कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे

kaṇvādibhyo gotre
/*kaṇvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *gotre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *aṇ* #110)
kaṇvādibhyo gotre yaḥ pratyayo vihitas tadantebhya evāṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *kaṇva* and ends in an affix with the signification of *gotra*, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kāṇvāś chātrāḥ 'students of Kāṇva, a *gotra*-descendant of Kaṇva'
gaukakṣāḥ 'students of the grandson of Gokakṣa'

1. Note that *gotre* does not here constitute the meaning condition for introducing affix *aṆ*. Such an effort would be unnecessary since the meaning is already specified with *śeṣe*. It is not even used here to qualify the nominal stem after which the affix is to be introduced. This would indeed be impossible (*asambhava*) since *saptamī* 'locative' of *gotre*, the qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*), will not be in tune to the *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *kaṇvādibhyaḥ*, the qualified (*viśeṣya*). It is for this reason that *gotre* is construed with the rest of the *sūtra* to yield the meaning: *kaṇvādibhyo gotre yaḥ pratyayo vihitas tadantebhya eva aṇ pratyayo bhavati* '*aṆ* occurs after a *kaṇvādi* base after which an affix with the

signification of *gotre* has been introduced. . . .' The word *gotre* is used here as a qualifier for the affixal operation (*pratyayavidhi*). Consequently, affix *aṆ* is to be introduced after a syntactically related base of the *kaṇvādi* group which ends in a *gotra* affix. The word *gotra* denotes its technical meaning (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti* . . .).

2. Note that *kaṇvādi* is a sublisting within the *gargādi* group. Obviously, that *aṆ* of this rule will be introduced after *kāṇva* and *gaukākṣya* which both end in *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*).

4.2.112 इञश्च

iñaś ca

/*iñaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *aṇ* #110, *gotre* #111)

gotre ya iñ vihitas tadantāt prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in affix *iÑ* signifying *gotra*, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLE:

dākṣāḥ 'students of Dākṣi, a *gotra*-descendant of Dakṣa'
plākṣāḥ 'students of Plākṣi, a *gotra*-descendant of Plakṣa'

1. Note that this rule introduces affix *aṆ* after bases such as *dākṣi* and *plākṣi* which end in affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). This affix cannot be introduced after *sautaṅgami*, which also ends in *iÑ*, because this *iÑ* does not denote a *gotra*. Instead, this affix is introduced by 4.1.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaseni* . . . to denote one of four meanings specified by rules of the *cāturarthika* section. Derivates which terminate in the *gotra* affix *iÑ* denote a meaning similar to one specified by rule 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, of course, when they are derived with the *aṆ* of this rule.

This rule provides for *aṆ* as an exception to affix *cha* of 4.1.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

4.2.113 न द्व्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु

na dvyacaḥ prācyabharateṣu

/*na* ϕ *dvyacaḥ* 5/1 = *dvāv acau yasmin* (*bv.*) = *sa dvyac, tasmāt*; *prācyabharateṣu* 7/3 = *prācyāś ca bharatāś ca* = *prācyabharatāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *aṇ* #110, *gotre* #111)

dvyacaḥ prātipadikāt prācyabharatagotrād iñantād aṇ pratyayo na bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* does not occur after a nominal stem which consists of two vowels (*dvyac*), ends in affix *iÑ* with the signification of a

gotra-descendant of the eastern Bharata lineage, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

caidīyāḥ 'students of Caidi, a descendant of Ceda'
pauṣkīyāḥ 'students of Pauṣki, a descendant of Puṣka'
kāśīyaḥ 'students of Kāśī, a descendant of Kāśa'

1. Note that the condition of *dvyacaḥ* is imposed to exclude bases, such as *pānnāgāri*, which obviously contains more than two vowels. A similar condition of *prācyabharateṣu* is imposed so that bases such as *dākṣi*, a derivate denoting a *gotra* other than one characterized as *prācyabharata*, can be excluded.

2. Why is *kāśi* included here when it could be covered by rule 4.2.116 *kāśyādibhyaś* . . .? The reference in that rule is to *kāśi*, a place. This rule requires a reference to *gotra*. How do we know that *kāśi* of rule 4.2.116 denotes a place? Because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *cedi*, a place name, in that same rule. A *gotra* base such as *kāśi* would take affix *cha*.

3. Note that *bharata* is a *prācya* 'eastern' *gotra*. Why is then mentioned specifically in the rule? To indicate that, elsewhere, *prācya*, when mentioned in a rule, does not include *bharata*. (2.4.66 *bahvacaḥ prācyabharateṣu*; *Kāś*.: *jñāpakād anyatra prācyagrahaṇena bharatagrahaṇaṃ na bhavatīti svaśabdena bharatānām upādānaṃ kṛtam*.)

4.2.114 वृद्धाच्छः

vṛddhāc chaḥ
/*vṛddhāt* 5/1 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *aṇ* #110)
vṛddhāt prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*), when the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

gārgīyaḥ 'a student of Gārgya, a grandson of Garga'
śālīyaḥ 'that which is there in the hall'

1. This rule introduces affix *cha* as an exception to *aṆ*. *Kāśikā* further notes that *cha* also constitutes an exception to some other affixes, based upon its subsequent placement in order (*paratva*) of enumeration. The following examples illustrate this blocking:

(*a*) *ārātīyaḥ* 'that which is found nearby', where *cha* blocks the application of 4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap*;

(*b*) *vāyasatīrīyaḥ* 'found in Vāyasatīra', where *cha* blocks the application of rule 4.2.106 *tīrarūpyottara* . . .;

(*c*) *vāḍavakarṣīyaḥ* 'that which is found in a northern place named Vāḍvakarṣa', where *cha* blocks the application of 4.2.109 *udīcyagrāmāc ca*;

(*d*) *aulūkīyaḥ* 'that which is found in Aulūka', where *cha* blocks the application of rule 4.2.110 *prasthottarapada* . . ., especially with reference to the condition of *kopadhāt.*

These all involve blocking by *paratva* as *Kāśikā* sums up:

avyayatīrarūpyottarapadodīcyagrāmakopadhavidhīṃs tu paratvād bādhate

4.2.115 भवतष्ठक्छसौ

bhavataṣ ṭhakchasau

/*bhavataḥ* 5/1 *ṭhakchasau* (*itar. dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vṛddhāt* #114)

bhavac chabdād vṛddhāt '*ṭhak, chas*' *ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ śaiṣiko chasyāpavādau*

The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaK* and *chaS* occur after the syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem *bhavat,* when its derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

bhāvatkaḥ 'that which belongs to you; yours'

bhavadīyaḥ 'id.'

1. These two affixes constitute an exception to *cha* which was made available under the condition of *vṛddha.* The *S* as an *it* in affix *chaS* is intended for assignment of the term *pada* by rule 1.4.16 *siti ca.* This also results in *d*-replacement of *t* (*jaśtva*) as per rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte.* Why did Pāṇini not introduce affix *kaK,* instead of *ṭhaK,* thereby keeping the derivational process simpler. That is, it could have saved him one replacement operation (of 7.3.51 *isuktāntāt kaḥ*) in deriving, for example, *bhāvatkaḥ.* Pāṇini, instead, chose to introduce affix *ṭhaK* so that affix *ṄīP* can be introduced to derive parallel feminine forms (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .). Note that *bhavat* is assigned the term *vṛddha* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācāmādis* . . .), not because of containing, a *vṛddhi* vowel as its first, but because of its membership in the *tyadādi* '*tyad,* etc.' group (1.1.74 *tyadīdīni ca*).

2. Note that *bhavat* could also be a form of *bhū* 'to be' ending in affix *ŚatṚ* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥśatṛśānacāv* . . .). It will have to take affix *aṆ* because of not being *vṛddha.* The resultant derivate will be: *bhāvataḥ.*

4.2.116 काश्यादिभ्यष्ठञ्ञिठौ

kāśyādibhyaṣ ṭhaññiṭhau

/ kāśyādibhyaḥ 5/1 = *kāśy ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ṭhañniṭhau* 1/2 = *ṭhañ ca ñiṭhaś ca* (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vṛddhāt* #114)
'kāśi' ity evamādibhyaḥ 'ṭhañ, iṭha' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ śaiṣikau
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* occur after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *kāśi*, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kāśikī '... born in Kāśi'
kāśikā '... made at Kāśi'

1. Note that *vṛddhāt* is still carried. Items which are listed in the group specified here as *kāśi*, but which are not *vṛddha*, will still avail these affixes. How? At the strength of the Pāṇinian specification of *kāśyādibhyaḥ*. What then is the need for carrying *vṛddha*, especially when the affixal operation (*pratyayavidhi*) will obtain on the basis of membership in the *kāśyādi* group, whether or not the listed stems were *vṛddha*. The word *vṛddha* is carried perhaps for the sake of subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*).

It is stated that *i* in affix *ÑIṭha* is for the sake of pronunciation (*uccāraṇārtha*). The *Ñ* in both affixes is an *it*. A question is raised as to why *ÑI* cannot be accepted as an *it* in view of 1.3.5 *ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ*? This will create problems in accentuation. That is, the initial *udātta* accent, at the strength of *Ñ* as an *it*, cannot be gotten by derivates of *ÑIṭha* (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). The *Ñ* as an *it* in both affixes is also responsible for selection of feminine affixes: the initial *Ñ* for *ṬāP*, as in *kāśikā*, by rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*; and the final *Ñ* for *ṄīP*, as in *kāśikī*, or rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Incidentally, treating *ÑI* as an *it* in *ÑIṭha* in view of 1.3.5 *ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ* does not create any problem with the introduction of feminine affix *ṬāP*. It, however, does create problems of accentuation. That is, rule 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam* will facilitate required initial *udātta* accent only when *Ñ*, and not *ÑI*, is accepted as an *it*. Remember that accepting *Ñ* as an *it* does not make *i* of *Ñi* as part of affix *ṭha*. For, that will create problems with replacement of *ṭh* by *ik*. It is for this reason that *I* of *ÑIṭha* is accepted as given for ease of articulation.

A *vārttika* states that these affixes can also be introduced after *kāla*, used in combination after *āpad* and *tad* to derive: *āpatkālikī* and *āpatkālikā* 'that which pertains to a time of calamity'; *tātkālikī* and *tātkālikā* 'that which pertains to the most immediate time on hand'.

4.2.117 वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च

vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca
/ vāhīkagrāmebhyaḥ 5/3 = *vāhīkasya vāhīke vā grāmāḥ* (*ṣaṣ./sapt. tat.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vṛddhāt* #114, *ṭhaññiṭhau* #116)
vāhīkagrāmavācibhyo vṛddhebhyaṣ ṭhaññiṭhau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* also occur after syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stems which denote a village in the region of Vāhīka, provided derivates signify a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

śākalikī 'that which is found in Śākalaka, a village in the region of Vāhīka'
śākalikā 'id.'
mānthavikī 'that which is found in Manthavaka, a village in the region of Vāhīka'
mānthavikā 'id.'

1. Note that the word *vṛddha* is carried here. Consequently, this affixal provision becomes an exception to the *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. The Karṇaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* describes the region of Vāhīka as follows:

pañcānāṃ sindhuṣaṣṭhānām antaraṃ ye samāśritāḥ/
vāhikā nāma te deśā na teṣu divasaṃ vaset//
'the region in between the five, and the sixth named Sindhu, rivers, is called Vāhika, where one should not even stay for a day'

4.2.118 विभाषोशीनरेषु

vibhāṣośīnareṣu
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *uśīnareṣu* 7/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vṛddhāt* #114, *ṭhaññiṭhau* #16, *vāhīkagrāmebhyaḥ* #117)
uśīnareṣu ye vāhīkagrāmās tadvācibhyo vṛddhebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vibhāṣā ṭhaññiṭhau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* occur optionally after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes a Vāhīka village in the region of Uśīnara.

EXAMPLES:

saudarśanikī 'she who was born in the Vāhīka village of Sudarśana, in the region of Uśīnara'
saudarśanikā 'id.'
saudarśanīyā 'id.'
āhvajālikī 'she who was born in the Vāhīka village of Āhvajāla, in the region of Uśīnara'
āhvajālikā 'id.'
āhvajālīyā 'id.'

1. Note that affixes *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* will be introduced optionally to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

4.2.119 ओर्देशे ठञ्

or deśe ṭhañ
/*oḥ* 6/1 *deśe* 7/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
uvarṇāntād deśavācinaḥ prātipadikāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *u* and names a *deśa* 'country, place', provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

naiṣādakarṣukaḥ '... born in the region of Niṣādakarṣū'
śābarajambukaḥ '... born in the region of Śābarajambū'

1. Why does Pāṇini have to specifically state *ṭhaÑ*, when the same is available from *anuvṛtti*? He has to state it in order for dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *ÑIṭha*. For, if one is carried, the other must also be carried.
2. How do we know that *vṛddhāt* is not carried here? From the fact that Pāṇini specifies *vṛddhāt* again in the next rule. If it was carried here then there was no need for it to be stated in the next rule.
3. Note that *ṭha* of *ṭhaÑ* in these derivates is replaced with *ka* of 7.3.51 *isusuktāntāt kaḥ*. The long *ū* of the base is replaced with short due to *ka* which then follows (7.4.13 *ke'ṇaḥ*).

4.2.120 वृद्धात्प्राचाम्

vṛddhāt prācām
/*vṛddhāt* 5/1 *prācām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *or deśe ṭhañ* #119)
uvarṇāntād vṛddhāt prāgdeśavācinaḥ prātipadikāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which ends in *u* and names an eastern place, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

āḍhakajāmbukaḥ 'that which is found in Āḍhakajambū'
śakajambukaḥ 'that which is found in Śākajambū'
nāpitavāstukaḥ 'that which is found in Nāpitavāstū'

1. Note that derivates of this rule could have been covered by the preceding rule. This separate formulation is made for restrictive purposes (*niyama*). That is, if *ṭhaÑ* is introduced after a base which denotes the name of a place in the east then it must be introduced only after a base which is termed *vṛddha*. This explains why the condition of *vṛddhāt* is dropped from the preceding rule. It is this restrictive provision which blocks a derivate such as *māllavāstavaḥ* of *mallavāstu* from coming into the scope of this rule.

4.2.121 धन्वयोपधाद् वुञ्

dhanvayopadhād vuñ
/*dhanvayopadhāt* 5/1 = *ya upadhā yasya sa* = *yopadhaḥ* (*bv.*); *dhanvā ca yopadhaś ca* = *dhanvayopadham* (*dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120)
dhanvavācino yakāropadhāc ca deśābhidhāyino vṛddhāt prātipadikāt vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem signifying a place, provided the stem is *dhanvan*, or else, it contains *y* in its *upadhā*, and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

pāredhanvakaḥ 'that which is found in the desert region named Pāredhanvan'
airāvatakaḥ 'that which is found in the region of Airāvata'
sāṃkāśyakaḥ 'that which is found in the region of Sāṃkāśya'
kāmpilyakaḥ 'that which is found in the region of Kāmpilya'

1. The word *dhanvan* is here interpreted as denoting its meaning (*artha*), a desert area, and not its form (*śabda*). It cannot be accepted as denoting its form because of the condition of *vṛddhāt*. Obviously, *dhanvan* is not *vṛddha*.

The words *sāṃkāśya* and *kāmpilya* are both derivates of affix *Ṇya* of rule 4.2.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaseni*. . . .

4.2.122 प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च

prasthapuravahāntāc ca
/*prasthapuravahāntāt* 5/1 = *prasthaś ca puraṃ ca vahaś ca prasthapuravahāḥ*; *ete'nte yasya sa* = *prasthapuravahāntaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121)
'*prastha, pura, vaha*' *ity evamantā deśavācinaḥ prātipadikād vṛddhād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ*

The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes a place and ends in *prastha, pura,* and *vaha,* provided derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

mālāprasthakaḥ 'born in Mālāprastha'
nāndīpurakaḥ 'born in Nāndīpura'
phālgunīvahakaḥ 'born in Phālgunīvaha'

1. Note that derivates with stems which end in *pura* could be easily accounted for by the following rule. For, such stems can qualify as *ropadha* 'having *r* in their *upadhā*'. Pāṇini includes them in this rule so that they are not constrained by the condition of *prācām* 'of the east'.

This affixal provision is an exception to the *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

2. It is argued that the word *anta* is not necessary in this rule. For, one can understand that a nominal stem termed *vṛddha* has to end in *pura,* etc., even without the word *anta.* That is, *pura,* etc., are not *vṛddha,* hence the only way they can be brought in line with the requirement of *vṛddhāt* is by way of their treatment as final elements. Besides, it is impossible to find a place with *pura,* etc., where *pura,* etc., do not come at the end. But still, as *dhanvan* was specified in the preceding rule as a qualifier to the name of a region, the same way *anta* is stated in this rule to block *pura,* etc., from being interpreted as qualifiers to the name of a region.

4.2.123 रोपधेतोः प्राचाम्

ropadhetoḥ prācām
/*ropadhetoḥ* 6/2 = *ra upadhā yasya sa* (*bv.*); *ropadhaś ca īt ca* = *ropadhetau* (*dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tayoḥ*; *prācām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121)
ropadhād īkārāntāc ca prāgdeśavācino vṛddhād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes the name of a place in the eastern region, and has *r* in its penultimate position (*ropadhaḥ*), or else, ends in *ī*, provided these derivates all were to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

pāṭaliputrakāḥ '. . . born in Pāṭaliputra'
kākandakaḥ 'that which is found in Kākandī'

1. Note that *īT* 'that which ends in long *ī*, a specification with *t* at the end (*taparakaraṇa*), is used so that *īT* can refer only to the long *ī*. But this could hardly be the purpose of using *taparakaraṇa.* For, there is no name of a region in the east that ends in a short *i.* Why then use *taparakaraṇa* to block something which does not exist? The use of *taparakaraṇa* can then be ac-

cepted as made for clarity (*viṣpaṣṭārtham*). But what is the confusion? A specification without *taparakaraṇa* would require *ropadhetayoḥ* to be read as *ropadhayoḥ*. This may become confusing. Should we interpret the base here as: *ropadha*; or as *ropadha* + *ī* ?. With *taparakaraṇa*, one would definitely understand a reference to a particular vowel quality. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule as *īropadhād*. . .? Some say it will be prolix (*gaurava*). Others accept it as a variation in style (*vaicitrya*).

4.2.124 जनपदतदवध्योश्च

janapadatadavadhyoś ca
/*janapadatadavadhyoḥ* 5/2 = *sa cāsau avadhis tadavadhiḥ* (*karm. tat.*); *janapadaś ca tadavadhiś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121)
vṛddhāj janapadavācinas tadavadhivācinaś ca prātipadikād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes a region (*janapada*), or an extent of the same, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

ābhisārakaḥ 'that which is found in the region named Abhisāra'
ādarśakaḥ 'that which is found in the region named Ādarśa'
aupuṣṭakaḥ 'that which is found (at, or within) the borders of Upuṣṭa'
śyāmāyanakaḥ 'that which is found (at, or within) the borders of Śyāmāyana'

1. Note that *tad*, a variable, because of its association in the rule with *janapada*, is interpreted as denoting a *janapada*. The word *tadavadhi* is not interpreted as a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) *tatpuruṣa* compound. It is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* instead, thereby yielding a syntactic coordination between *janapada* and *avadhi*. Thus we get the meaning: that which is *janapada* and is also the *avadhi*. If *tadavadhi* means *janapada* then it is useless to use *tad* 'that'. Why can we not formulate the rule simply as: *janapadāc ca*? It is argued that, in the absence of *tad*, the *cha* of a following rule will block the *vuÑ* of this rule, in an example such as *traigarttakaḥ*. For, *traigarttakaḥ* denotes a *janapada* as well as an *avadhi*. The *cha* of rule 4.2.137 *garttottarapadāc chaḥ* is given as a particular (*viśeṣa*; *garttottarapadāt*) and is also subsequent (*para*). Consequently, it would block the *vuÑ* of this rule. Pāṇini uses *tad* to make sure that *vuÑ* of this rule blocks the *cha* instead. Thus, in an example such as *traigarttakaḥ* 'he who was born in Trigartta', *vuÑ* (4.2.126 *kacchāgnivaktra* . . .) blocks *cha*. That is, a base denoting 'region' qualified with 'extent' is not allowed to take any affix other than *vuÑ*.

4.2.125 अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात्

avṛddhād api bahuvacanaviṣayāt

/*avṛddhāt* 5/1 = *na vṛddham* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *api* ɸ *bahuvacanaviṣayāt* 5/1 = *bahuvacanaṃ viṣayo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121, *janapadavadhyoḥ* #124)

avṛddhād vṛddhāc ca janapadāt tadavadhivācinaś ca bahuvacanaviṣayāt prātipadikād vuñ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem used in plural, even when not termed *vṛddha*, provided it denotes a region (*janapada*), or an extent of the same, and the corresponding derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

āṅgakaḥ 'born in the region of Aṅga'
kāliṅgakaḥ 'born in the region of Kaliṅga'
ājamīḍhāḥ 'born (at, or within) the borders of the region of Ajamīḍha'
ājakrandakaḥ 'born (at, or within) the borders of the region of Ajakranda'
dārvakaḥ 'born in the region of Dārva'
jāmbvakaḥ 'born in the region of Jambvā'
kālañjarakaḥ 'born (at, or within) the borders of the region of Kālañjara'
vaikuliśakaḥ 'born (at, or within) the borders of the region named Vaikuliśa'

1. Affix *vuÑ* is here introduced as an exception to affixes *aṆ*, in the context of bases which are not termed *vṛddha*, and *cha*, in the context of bases which are termed *vṛddha*.

2. The condition of *vṛddha* and *avṛddha* applies to forms which were *vṛddha* or *avṛddha* prior to attaining the mandatory plural status. Thus, *āṅgaḥ* has a mandatory plural scope via the provision of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*. The base prior to the derivation of *āṅgaḥ*, and before the mandatory plural scope, was *aṅga*, an *avṛddha*. Pāṇini uses the word *bahuvacanaviṣaya* to specify that the bases, thus qualified, must not ever abandon their plural status. They should never be used in a number other than plural (*ananyatrabhāva*).

3. The word *api* is used here to provide this affixal operation also after bases which are *vṛddha*. But this could hardly be the purpose of using *api*, since this affixal operation is already available to *vṛddha*-bases under the provision of the preceding rule. The word *api* is used here so that, in view of the maxim of *takrakauṇḍinya*, we do not get an occasion for blocking *vuÑ* after *vṛddha* bases. Thus, our preceding rule introduces affix *vuÑ* after a base termed *vṛddha* denoting *janapada* in general. This is similar to 'a gift of

yoghurt to the brāhmaṇas in general' (*dadhi brāhamaṇebhyo dīyatām*). Our present rule introduces *vuÑ* after a base which is not termed *vṛddha*, though it shares a mandatory plural scope (*nityabahuvacanaviṣayatā*). This is akin to 'a gift of buttermilk to Kauṇḍinya' (*takraṃ kauṇḍinyāya*). Now this provision of (4.2.125) *vuÑ*, made for a base not termed *vṛddha*, may block the provision of *vuÑ* made for a base termed *vṛddha* (4.2.124), especially since *vuÑ* is made available also after a *vṛddha* base with a mandatory plural scope (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *tataś ca bahuvacanād api vṛddhād vuñi prāpte ārabhyamāṇo' vṛddhād vuña vṛddhād vuño bādhakaḥ syād*). It is to allow *vuÑ* also after bases termed *vṛddha* that *api* is used here.

4.2.126 कच्छाग्निवक्त्रगर्त्तोत्तरपदात्

kacch āgnivaktrag arttottarapadāt
/ *kacchāgnivaktragarttottarapadāt* 5/1 = *kacchaś ca agniś ca vaktraṃ ca garttaś ca* = *kacchāgnivaktragarttāḥ; te uttarapadāni yasya tat* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vṛddhāt* #120, *vuñ* #121, *avṛddhād api* #125)
kacchādyuttarapadād deśavācinaḥ prātipadikāc ca vṛddhād avṛddhāc ca vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* or non-*vṛddha* nominal stem which has *kaccha*, *agni*, *vaktra* and *gartta* as its final constituent, provided it has the signification of a *janapada* and derivates signify a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

dārukacchakaḥ 'that which is found in Dārukaccha'
paippalikacchakaḥ 'that which is found in Pippalikaccha'
kāṇḍāgnakaḥ 'that which is found in Kāṇḍāgni'
traibhujāgnakaḥ 'that which is found in Tribhujāgni'
saindhuvaktrakaḥ 'that which is found in Sindhuvaktra'
aindravaktrakaḥ 'that which is found in Indravaktra'
bāhugarttakaḥ 'that which is found in Bahugartta'
cākragarttakaḥ 'that which is found in Cakragartta'

1. Note that *uttarapadāt* 'that which has *kaccha*, etc., as its final constituent' is used in this rule because of *kaccha* which, just by itself, is a place name. The other three words cannot be used by themselves, obviously because of not denoting a place. This makes *tadantavidhi* 'that which ends in *agni*, etc.', interpretation necessary.

Why did he not say: *kacchāgnivaktragarttāntāt* 'after that which ends in *kaccha*, *agni*, *vaktra* and *gartta*'? So that stems such as *bahukaccha* do not qualify for this affixal provision. If we use *anta* in the rule then *bahukaccha*, because

of ending in *kaccha*, will qualify for the affix. But if we have *uttarapada*, *bahukaccha* cannot qualify. For, *kaccha* is not the final constituent combined with a *pada*, namely *bahu*. The *bahu* of *bahukaccha* is affix *bahuC* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: '*kacchāgnivaktragarttāntāt*' *iti noktam, bahucpūrvān mā bhūt*, also see my note under 4.2.106 *tīrarūpyottarapadād* . . .).

4.2.127 धूमादिभ्यश्च

dhūmādibhyaś ca
/*dhūmādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vuñ* #121)
dhūmādibhyo deśavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *dhūma*, when the same signifies a place so named, and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

dhaumakaḥ 'that which is found in Dhūma'
khāṇḍakaḥ 'that which is found in Khaṇḍa'

1. Note that *pātheya, videha* and *ānarta* are also listed in the *dhūmādi* group. The first could qualify for *vuÑ* of rule 4.2.121 *dhanvayopadhād* . . ., based upon its penultimate *y*. Pāṇini does not have to list in the *dhūmādi* group for purposes of *vuÑ*. He still does it, perhaps, with the understanding that it does not signify a place (*deśa*). The next two stems could also qualify for *vuÑ* of rule 4.2.124 *janapada*. . ., based upon their signification of *janapada*. They are included in the *dhūmādi* group perhaps because they do not have to denote *deśa*.

Kāśikā adds that affix *vuÑ* is desired (*iṣyate*) after *samudra* when the signification is *manuṣya* 'human' and *nau* 'boat'. Thus we get: *sāmudrako manuṣyaḥ* and *sāmudrikā nau*. A derivate outside of the context of *manuṣya* and *nau* cannot obtain *vuÑ*. Thus, *sāmudraṃ jalam* will serve as a counter-example.

4.2.128 नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः

nagarāt kutsanaprāvīṇyayoḥ
/*nagarāt* 5/1 *kutsanaprāvīṇyayoḥ* 7/2 = *kutsanaṃ ca prāvīṇyaṃ ca* = *kutsanaprāvīṇye* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vuñ* #121)
nagaraśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ kutsane prāvīṇye ca gamyamāne
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem with the denotatum of a city (*nagara*), provided derivates signify censor (*kutsana*) and skill (*prāvīṇya*) relative to a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

nāgarakaḥ 'a skilled, or censored resident, i.e., a thief, of a city' as in:

kenāyaṃ muṣitaḥ panthā gātre pakṣmālidhūsaraḥ/
kenedaṃ likhitaṃ citraṃ manonetravikāśi yat//
'by who this road, made gray due to the pollen, was robbed; by who this picture, which opens (makes happy) both mind and eyes, was drawn'

1. The word *nāgarakaḥ* means a city-dweller who is generally sophisticated and skilled. The two meanings of *kutsā* and *prāvīṇya* must be accepted here as modifiers to the residual meanings of 'born' (*jātaḥ*) and 'found' (*bhavaḥ*), etc. Thus, the first half of the verse denotes the meaning of *kutsā*, relative to a robber born in the city. The second half praises an artist, again a resident of city, where *prāvīṇya* 'skill' is used as a qualifier to the derivate meaning.

4.2.129 **अरण्यान्मनुष्ये**

araṇyān manuṣye
/*araṇyāt* 5/1 *manuṣye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *vuñ* #121)
araṇyaśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣiko manuṣye'bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *araṇya* 'forest', when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to a human.

EXAMPLES:

āraṇyoko manuṣyaḥ 'a person who lives in forest'

1. This provision of *vuÑ* is an exception to *Ṇa*, recommended by a *vārttika* (cf. *araṇyān ṇaḥ*). A *vārttika* under this rule recommends *vuÑ* to derive derivates with the signification of *pathin* 'traveler', *adhyāya* 'sectional discourse', *nyāya* 'maxim', *vihāra* 'game', *manuṣya* 'human' and *hastin* 'elephant' (*pathy-adhyāya-nyāya-vihāra-manuṣya-hastiṣv-iti vaktavyam*). Thus we get examples such as: *āraṇyakaḥ panthāḥ, āraṇyako'dhyāyaḥ,* etc. Yet another *vārttika* recommends an optional *vuÑ* in the context of *gomaya* 'cowdung' to derive *āraṇyakā gomayāḥ,* optionally with *āraṇyāḥ*.

4.2.130 **विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम्**

vibhāṣā kuruyugandharābhyām
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *kuruyugandharābhyām* 5/2 = *kuruś ca yugandharaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *vuñ* #121)

'kuru, yugandhara' ity etābhyāṃ vibhāṣā vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *kuru* and *yugandhara*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kauravakaḥ 'that which is found in the country of the Kurus'
kauravaḥ 'id.'
yaugandharakaḥ 'that which is found in the country of Yugandhara'
yaugandharaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *kuru* and *yugandhara* denote *janapada*. They, therefore, qualify, even if they are not *vṛddha*, for affix *vuN* obligatorily (4.2.124 *avṛddhād api* . . .). Our present rule makes this *vuN* optional (*Kāś.*: *janapadaśabdāv etau; tābhyām 'avṛddhād api' iti nitye vuñi prāpte vikalpa ucyate*).

The word *kuru* is also included in the list of stems headed by *kaccha*. Consequently, it can also receive affix *aṆ* of rule 4.2.133 *kacchādibhyaś ca*. Rule 4.2.134 *manuṣyatasthayor vuñ* also introduces affix *vuN*, obligatorily, after *kuru* to derive *kauravakaḥ*. This obligatory provision cannot be made optional because 4.2.134 *manuṣyatasthayor* . . . will then be left without any scope of application (*niravakāśa*).

4.2.131 मद्रवृज्योः कन्

madravṛjyoḥ kan
/*madravṛjyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119)
madravṛjiśabdābhyāṃ kan pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *madra* and *vṛji*, when they signify a place and derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

madrakaḥ 'born in the country of Madra'
vṛjikaḥ 'born in the country of Vṛji'

1. The *kaN* of this rule is an exception to the *vuN* of 4.2.124 *janapada*. . . .

4.2.132 कोपधादण्

kopadhād aṇ
/*kopadhāt* 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119)

kakāropadhāt prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which has the signification of a place and contains a *k* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*), provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

ārṣikaḥ 'born in Ṛṣika'
māhiṣikaḥ 'born in Māhiṣika'

1. Note that *kakāropadhāt* must qualify a stem denoting *janapada*. If not, derivates of bases with no signification of *janapada*, but with *k* in their *upadhā*, could have received *aṆ* of 4.2.110 *prastthottarapadapaladyādikopadhād aṇ*. This *aṆ* constitutes an exception to affix *vuÑ* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api bahuvacanaviṣayāt*.
2. Commentators infer from this affixal provision of *aṆ* that bases terminating in *u* also receive this *aṆ*. Thus, we get: *ikṣvākuṣu jātaḥ aikṣvākaḥ* 'born in the country of the Ikṣvākus'. That is, *ikṣvāku* in *u*, and hence, *ṭhaÑ* of 4.2.119 or *deśe ṭhañ* becomes available to it. But *vuÑ* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api* . . . blocks it. If *kopadhāt* of this rule was read with no *aṆ* at all, affix *vuÑ* of 4.2.125 would become applicable. But since *aṆ* is stated, *aṆ* must apply.

4.2.133 कच्छादिभ्यश्च

kacch ādibhyaś ca
/*kacchādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *aṇ* #132)
'*kaccha*' *ity evam ādibhyo deśavācibhyo' ṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which names a place, and is listed in the group headed by *kaccha*, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kācchaḥ 'born in Kaccha'
saindhavaḥ 'that which is found in Sindhu'

1. This *aṆ* is an exception to affixes *vuÑ* and *ṭhaÑ*, of rules 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api* . . . and 4.2.119 or *deśe ṭhañ*, respectively. It is an exception to *vuÑ* with reference to bases which signify a *janapada* and have a mandatory plural scope. This is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*, with reference to bases such as *sindhu* and *varṇu*, when they signify *deśa*. The word *kaccha* does not have a mandatory plural scope. Why is it listed here? So that *vuÑ* can be introduced after words of the *kacchādi* group under the *manuṣyatasthayoḥ* provision of the

following rule. Why is the word *vijāpaka* listed in this group when it could have received *aṆ* on the basis of *k* in its *upadhā* (4.2.132 *kopadhād aṇ*)? It is listed here so that *aṆ*, and *vuÑ* of the next rule, could be introduced.

4.2.134 मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्वुञ्

manuṣyatasthayor vuñ

/*manuṣyatathayoḥ* 7/2 = *tasmin tiṣṭhati* = *tasthaḥ* (*bv.*); *manuṣyaś ca tathaś ca* = *manuṣyatasthau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *vuñ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *kacchādibhyaḥ* #133)

'*manuṣye manuṣyasthe ca jātādau pratyayārthe kacchādibhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati*'

The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal with the signification of a place, when the derivate is to denote a residual meaning relative to, or what obtains in, a human.

EXAMPLES:

kācchako manuṣyaḥ 'a man born in Kaccha'
kācchakam asya hasitam 'his laugh is similar to a man of Kaccha'
kācchikā cūḍā 'a hairdo similar to one found in Kaccha'

1. This affixal provision of *vuÑ* is an exception to *aṆ*. The condition of *manuṣyatasthayoḥ* rules out derivates such as *kācchaḥ gauḥ* 'a cow of Kaccha'.

4.2.135 अपदातौ साल्वात्

apadātau sālvāt

/*apadātau* 7/1 *sālvāt* 5/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *manuṣyatasthayoḥ* #134)

apadātāv eva manuṣye manuṣyasthe ca sālvaśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *sālva* when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to either someone other than an infantryman, or to something which obtains in a human.

EXAMPLES:

sālvako manuṣyaḥ 'a horserider of Sālva'
sālvakam asya hasitam 'his laughter is similar to a resident of Sālva'

1. Note that *sālva* listed in the *kacchādi* group. Consequently, affix *vuN* is already available to its subject to the condition of *manuṣyatasthayoḥ*. Why is it specified here? It is specified here for restrictive purposes (*niyamārtham*). The affixal provision of this rule is available to *sālva*, only when the condition of *apadātau* is met.

4.2.136 गोयवाग्वोश्च

goyavāgvoś ca
/*goyavāgoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *sālvāt vuñ* #135)
gavi yavāgvāṃ ca jātādau pratyayārthe sālvaśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs also after the syntactically related nominal stem *sālva*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to *go* 'cow' and *yavāgū* 'barley-gruel'.

EXAMPLES:

sālvako gauḥ 'a cow from Sālva'
sālvikā yavagūḥ 'barley-gruel of the kind made in Sālva'

1. This affixal provision of *vuN* is an exception to *aṆ* which is available to *sālva* on account of its membership in the *kacchādi* group.

4.2.137 गर्त्तोत्तरपदाच्छः

garttottarapadāc chaḥ
/*garttottarapadāt* 5/1 = *gartta uttarapadaṃ yasya tat garttottarapadam* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119)
garttottarapadād deśavācinaḥ prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which designates a place, and has *gartta* as its final constituent, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkagarttīyam 'that which is found in Vṛkagartta'
śṛgālagarttīyam 'that which is found in Śṛgālagartta'

1. The word *uttarapadāt* is used for reasons already explained under 4.2.126 *kacchāgnivaktragarttottarapadāt*. Thus, *bahu* of *bahugartta* has its source in affix *bahuC*. The specification by *uttarapadāt* is hence made to exclude instances where *bahuC* precedes a *pada* in combination. Conversely, where a non-*pada* precedes a following compound constituent. A derivate of *bahugartta* will be: *bāhugarttam*, derived with *aṆ*.

4.2.138 गहादिभ्यश्च

gahādibhyaś ca
/*gahādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *chaḥ* #136)
'*gaha*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *gaha*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

gahīyaḥ 'he who was born in Gaha'
antaḥsthīyaḥ 'he who was born in the midlands'

1. Note that the *gahādi* group contains stems which may or not designate a country. It is for this reason that *deśe* is not carried. Or, if carried, it is used as qualifier to a stem where such a meaning is possible (*Kāś.*: *deśādhikāre'pi sambhavāpekṣaṃ viśeṣaṇam, na sarveṣām*).

2. The affixal provision of *cha* constitutes an exception to provisions of *aṆ* and *vuÑ*. For example, the word *kāmaprastha* should take affix *vuÑ* of rule 4.2.122 *prasthapuravahāntāc ca*. It instead takes *cha*. Other derivates constitute an exception to the general provision of *aṆ*.

3. The following are some *vārttika* proposals made under this rule:

(*a*) Affix *cha* also occurs after *mukha* and *pārśva*, when they end in affix *tasIL*, with an additional provision that *s* of *tasIL* be dropped. We thus get: *mukhatīyam* 'born, or found, in the mouth' and *pārśvatīyam* 'born, or found, on sides'.

(*b*) Affix *cha* also occurs, along with augment *kUK*, after *jana* and *para* to derive *janakīyam* 'pertaining to people' and *parakīyam* 'pertaining to others'.

(*c*) A similar provision for *deva* derives *devakīyam* 'pertaining to god'.

(*d*) Yet another group of stems headed by *veṇu* receives affix *chaÑ* to produce *veṇukīyam* 'that which is made of bamboo; a flute', etc.

4.2.139 प्राचां कटादेः

prācāṃ kaṭādeḥ
/*prācāṃ* 6/3 *kaṭādeḥ* 5/1 = *kaṭa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
prāgdeśavācinaḥ kaṭādeḥ prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem designating a place in the eastern region, when the derivates signifies a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭanagarīyam 'that which is found in Kaṭanagara'

kaṭaghoṣīyam 'that which is found in Kaṭaghoṣa'

1. This affixal provision constitutes an exception to *aṆ*.

4.2.140 राज्ञः क च

rājñaḥ ka ca
/*rājñaḥ* 6/1 *ka* 1/1 (deleted) *ca* ɸ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *chaḥ* #136)
rājñaḥ kakāraś cāntādeśo bhavati chaś ca pratyayaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after *rājan*, with an additional provision of *k* as a replacement for its final, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

rājakīyam 'pertaining to a king'

1. Note that affix *cha* is available to *rājan* from 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. This rule is largely intended for replacing its final *n* with *k*.

4.2.141 वृद्धादकेकान्तखोपधात्

vṛddhād akekāntakhopadhāt
/*vṛddhāt* 5/1 *akekāntakhopadhāt* 5/1 = *akaś ca ikaś ca akekau* (*dv.*); *akekāv ante yasya sa akekāntaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *kha upadhā yasya* (*bv.*); *akekāntaś ca khopadhaś ca* = *akekāntakhopadham* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
vṛddhād deśavācino'ka, ika ity evamantāt khakāropadhāc ca prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which names a place, and either ends in *aka* and *ika*, or has *kh* in its penultimate (*upadhā*) position, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

ārīhaṇakīyam 'that which is found in Ārīhaṇaka'
draughaṇakīyam 'that which is found in Draughaṇaka'
āśvapathikīyam 'that which is found in Āśvapathika'
śālmalikīyam 'that which is found in Śālmalika'
kauṭiśikhīyam 'that which is found in Kauṭiśikha'

1. Commentators state that specifications of bases with reference to *aka* and *ika* is narrow, and uneconomical. They claim that a specification in terms of *kopadhāt* 'after bases having *k* in their penultimate position' should be

preferred, because it is broader and economical (*vyāpakatvāl-laughutvāc ca*; *PM* ad *Kāś.*: *sūtre' kekāntagrahaṇam apanīya kopadhād iti vaktavyam, vyāpakatvāl laghutvāc ca . . .*).

2. This affixal provision constitutes an exception to affixes *aṆ* (4.2.132 *kopadhād aṇ*); and *ṭhaÑ* (4.2.117 *vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca*) and *ÑIṭha*. A specification by *aka* implies that *cha* is introduced to a b:ı·v· which is a derivate of *vuN* of 4.2.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭhajilaseni. . . .* The *SK* cites another example *brāhmaṇakīyaḥ* 'that which is found in Brāhmaṇaka'. Incidentally, this was a region where the brāhmaṇas earned their living by means of weapons (*āyudhajīvin*). *Kāśikā* states that a specification by means of *kopadha*, along with *akekānta*, should account for examples such as *sausukīyam, mausukīyam*, and *aindraveṇukīyam* 'that which is found in Sausuka, Mausuka, and Aindraveṇuka'.

4.2.142 **कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात्**

kanthāpaladanagaragrāmahradottarapadāt
/ *kanthāpaladanagaragrāmahradottarapadāt* 5/1 = *kanthā ca paladaṃ ca nagaraṃ ca grāmaś ca hradaś ca* (*dv.*); *etāni uttarapadāni yasya tat* = *kanthāpaladanagaragrāmahradottarapadam* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136, *vṛddhāt* #141)
kanthādyuttarapadād deśavācino vṛddhāt prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related *vṛddha* nominal stem which denotes a place, and has a final constituent in *kanthā, palada, nagara, grāma* and *hrada*, provided when the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣikanthīyam 'born, or found, in Dākṣikanthā'
dākṣipaladīyam 'born, or found, in Dākṣipalada'
māhikanagarīyam 'born, or found, in Māhikanagara'
dākṣigrāmīyam 'born, or found, in Dākṣigrāma'
dākṣihradīyam 'born, or found, in Dākṣihrada'

1. It is stated that formulating this rule with *antāt* 'after stems which end in *kanthā*, etc.', as opposed to *uttarapadāt*, could have equally served the purpose. For, the question of a preceding *bahuC* (see 4.2.137) does not arise here. The *cha* of this rule again constitutes an exception to affix *vuN* of 4.2.123 *ropadhetoḥ prācām*, insofar as derivates with *nagara* at the end are concerned. This *cha* is an exception to the *ṭhaÑ* and *ÑIṭha* of 4.2.117 *vāhīkagrāmebhyaś ca*.

4.2.143 पर्वताच्च

parvatāc ca
/parvatāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
parvataśabdāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *parvata*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

parvatīyo rājā 'king of a mountain kingdom'
parvatīyo puruṣaḥ 'man from a mountain region'

1. This obligatory provision is made here as an exception to *aṆ*. Our next rule makes this obligatory provision optional in the context of derivates denoting a non-human (*amanuṣye*). Note that *parvata* itself denotes a place (*deśa*). Consequently, *deśe* may not be needed as a qualifier.

4.2.144 विभाषाऽमनुष्ये

vibhāṣā'manuṣye
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *amanuṣye* 7/1 = *na manuṣyaḥ* = *amanuṣyaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
parvataśabdāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati vā, amanuṣye vācye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs only optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *parvata*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to a non-human (*amanuṣya*).

EXAMPLES:

parvatīyāni phalāni 'mountain fruits'
pārvatāni phalāni 'id.'
parvatīyam udakam 'mountain water'
pārvatam udakam 'id.'

4.2.145 कृकणपर्णाद् भारद्वाजे

kṛkaṇaparṇād bhāradvāje
/kṛkaṇaparṇāt 5/1 = *kṛkaṇaś ca parṇaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *bhāradvāje* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *deśe* #119, *chaḥ* #136)
kṛkaṇaparṇaśabdābhyāṃ bhāradvājadeśavācibhyaṃ chaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *kṛkarṇa* and *parṇa*, and signifies a place in the Bhāradvāja region, provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

kṛkaṇīyam 'that which is found in a place named Kṛkaṇa of the Bhāradvāja region'
parṇīyam 'that which is found in a place named Parṇa of the Bhāradvāja region'

1. Note that *bhāradvāja* does not refer to a *gotra* descendant. Instead, it qualifies bases which end in *kṛkaṇa* and *parṇa*, and signify a place. For, to find *kṛkaṇa* and *parṇa* relative to the *gotra* meaning of *bhāradvāja* is impossible (*asambhava*).

PĀDA THREE

4.3.1 युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ् च

yuṣmadasmador anyatarasyāṃ khañ ca
/*yuṣmadasmadoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *khañ* 1/1 *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *chaḥ* #4.2.137)
yuṣmadasmadoḥ khañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ; cakārāc chaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ*, and *cha* as well occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stem *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

yauṣmākīṇaḥ 'that which belongs to you'
yuṣmādīyaḥ 'id.'
yauṣmākaḥ 'id.'
āsmākīnaḥ 'that which belongs to us'
asmadīyaḥ 'id.'
āsmākaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *deśe* is no longer carried. This rule provides for affixes *khaÑ* and *cha* (4.2.137 *garttottarapadāc chaḥ*), optionally with the general (*autsargika*) *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*. Affix *aṆ* is made optional because of *anyatarasyām*. The use of *ca* makes introduction of affix *cha* possible. The main affixal provision of this rule is still *khaÑ* which, when read with *ca*, brings *cha*. The *ca* is thus used for bringing something not specifically stated (*anukta-samuccayārtha*).

The *Mahābhāṣya* resorts to a split-rule (*yogavibhāga*) interpretation, where-

by we get three rules: (*i*) *yuṣmadasmadoḥ*, which assigns *cha* received via *anuvṛtti* from 4.2.137 *garttottarapadāc chaḥ*, (*ii*) *khañ ca*, which assigns *khaÑ* in addition to *cha*, and (*iii*) *anyatarasyām*, whereby *aṆ* is provided optionally to *cha* and *khaÑ*.

It is stated that since there are two bases (*prakṛti*), i.e., *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, and three affixes, i.e., *khaÑ*, *cha* and *aṆ*, the question of assigning equivalency in order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*) does not arise.

4.3.2 तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ

> *tasminn aṇi ca yuṣmākāsmākau*
> /*tasmin* 7/1 *aṇi* 7/1 *ca* ф *yuṣmākāsmākau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #1)
> *tasmin khañi aṇi ca yuṣmadasmador yathāsaṃkhyam 'yuṣmāka, asmāka' ity etāv ādeśāv bhavataḥ*
> The forms *yuṣmāka* and *asmāka* occur in place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, when *taddhita* affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

> *yauṣmākīṇaḥ* 'this is yours'
> *āsmākīnaḥ* 'this is ours'
> *yauṣmākaḥ* 'this is yours'
> *āsmākaḥ* 'this is ours'

1. Note that the antecedent of *tad* in *tasmin* is affix *khaÑ* (*Kāś.*: *tasminn iti sākṣād vihitaḥ khañ nirdiśyate*), and not affix *cha*, received via *anuvṛtti* (*na cakārānukṛṣṭaś chaḥ*). With *tad* referring to *khaÑ*, and *aṆ* specified additionally, we get two replacements *yuṣmāka* and *asmāka* after two bases *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, of course, when affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ* follow. This clearly establishes equivalency of elements in accord with enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*). Commentators hasten to add that equivalency in accord with enumeration does not become valid with reference to conditioning factors (*nimitta*), i.e., affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ*. That is, this rule cannot be interpreted as allowing replacement of *yuṣmad* by *yuṣmāka* before affix *khaÑ*; and that of *asmad* by *asmāka* before affix *aṆ*. This is accomplished, via *yogavibhāga*, as follows: (*i*) *tasmin khañi yuṣmadasmador yuṣmākāsmākau bhavataḥ* '*yuṣmāka* and *asmāka* come in place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, when affix *khaÑ* follows'; (*ii*) *aṇi ca* '*yuṣmāka* and *asmnāka* come in place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, also when affix *aṆ* follows'.

It is because of *yogavibhāga*, and especially because of *tasmin aṇi ca* of this rule, that we do not get replacements for *yuṣmad* and *asmad* when they are followed by affix *cha*. This is, we get *yuṣmadīyaḥ* and *asmadīyaḥ* when *cha* follows.

2. Note that *yuṣmāka* and *asmāka*, because of their status as *anekāl* 'consisting of more than one sound segment', replace *yuṣmad* and *asmad* in toto (*sarvasya*; 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*).

4.3.3 तवकममकावेकवचने

tavakamamakāv ekavacane
/*tavakamamakau* 1/2 = *tavakaś ca mamakaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ekavacane* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #1, *tasminn aṇi ca* #2)
ekavacanaparayor yuṣmadasmados 'tavaka, mamaka' ity etāv ādeśau bhavato yathāsaṃkhyam tasmin khañi aṇi ca parataḥ
The forms *tavaka* and *mamaka* occur in place of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, when they are used in singular (*ekavacane*), and when *taddhita* affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

tāvakīnaḥ 'yours'
tāvakaḥ 'id.'
māmakīnaḥ 'mine'
māmakaḥ 'id.'

1. This rule proposes *tavaka* and *mamaka* as replacements for *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, parallel to provisions made by rules 4.3.2 *tasminn aṇi*... and 7.2.98 *pratyayottarapadayoś ca*. Note that we will end up with derivates such as *tvadīyaḥ* and *madīyaḥ* if affix *cha* followed *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

Here again we do not get assignment of equivalency in the order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*), insofar as the conditioning affixes are concerned. The assignment of equivalency between substitutes and items they replace is, of course, in order of their enumeration.

It is stated that the *saptamī* of *ekavacane* cannot be interpreted as *parasaptamī*, meaning 'when an affix denoting singular follows'. For, such an affix will be invariably deleted after *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Consequently, the question of specifying it as a condition does not arise. But why can the deleted affix still not denote singular in view of 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*. Because the affix is deleted by *LUK*, and a deletion by *LUK* (*lugvidhi*) is treated as stronger. Thus, recourse to *pratyayalakṣaṇa* cannot be taken. One can argue here that since Pāṇini provides for denotation of singular knowing full well that the affix will be deleted, recourse to *pratyayalakṣaṇa* is justified. This is what commentators put as *vacanāt pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ bhaviṣyati* 'operations relative to an affix, even when the affix is deleted, obtain at the strength of an explicit provision made in the rule'.

If one does not accept *pratyayalakṣaṇa* then one has to accept *ekavacane* as nominative dual against the locative. The word *ekavacana* will then be interpreted as: *eko'rtha ucyate yena tad ekavacanam* 'that by which the sense of one is denoted'. The work *ekavacane* will then modify *tavakamamakau,* a nominative dual. This indeed is different from the *parasaptamī* interpretation of *ekavacane.* This way, *tavaka* and *mamaka,* on the basis that they replace *yuṣmad* and *asmad,* will also be treated as denoting the sense of one. That is *ekavacane* will be accepted as a qualifier to *tavakamamakau* by way of being a qualifier to items they replaced (*sthānidvāreṇa*).

4.3.4 अर्धाद्यत्

ardhād yat
/*ardhāt* 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
arddhaśabdād pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *arddha,* when the derivate denotes a residual (*śaiṣika*) meaning.

EXAMPLES:

arddhyam 'that which is found in one half of . . .

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* is an exception to *a.* A *vārttika* recommends affix *ṭhaÑ* after *arddha* when it is used in combination after a preceding constituent (*sapūrvapadāt*). This will cover examples such as *bāleyārddhikam* '. . . found in the first half of the ritual oblation', etc.

2. Deriving *arddhyam* from (*ardha* + *yaT*) + *sU,* through *bha-saṃjña, a-lopa, sU→am* and *ardhy* (*a* + *a→a*) *m* = *ardhyam,* offers nothing new. The doubling of *d* of *ardha* is optional (8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve*).

4.3.5 परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च

parāvarādhamottamapūrvāc ca
/*parāvarādhamottamapūrvāt* 5/1 = *paraś ca avaraś ca adhamaś ca uttamaś ca; parāvarādhamottamāḥ; ete pūrve yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *arddhād yat* #4)
'*para, avara, adhama, uttama*' *ity evam pūrvāc cārdhād yat pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *arddha,* when used in combination after *para, avara, adhama* and *uttama,* provided derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

parārddhyam 'born in the latter half of . . .'

avarārddhyam 'born in the lower half of . . .'
adhamārddhyam 'born in the worst half of . . .'
uttamārddhyam 'born in the best half of . . .'

1. Note that *arddhād yat* is carried. Why was the *sūtra* nor formulated simply as *parāvarādhamottamebhyaḥ* which, with the *anuvṛtti* of *arddhād yat*, could still give the desired interpretation of 'after *arddha* occurring after *para*, etc.'. *Kāśikā* states that *para* and *avara* can also signify 'direction' (*diś*). They can also signify something else, as in *paraṃ sukham* 'greatest pleasure' and *avaraṃ sukham* 'worst pleasure'. Our next rule introduces affix *ṭhaÑ*, in addition to *yaT*, when *arddha* is used in combination as final of a nominal stem denoting *diś*. Given this, *para* and *avara* could have received *yaT* of this rule with the signification of 'non-direction'. They could then have received *yaT*, and *ṭhaÑ* of the next rule as well, with the sense of 'direction'.

A specification by *pūrva*, at the end of this rule, facilitates introduction of *yaT* in case of *pūrva* and *avara*, even when the sense is direction. This provision, as a consequence, also blocks *ṭhaÑ* in directional contexts (*Nyāsa*: *tasmāt pūrvagrahaṇād dikśabdapakṣe'pi parāvarapūrvād yad eva bhavati*).

4.3.6 **दिक्पूर्वपदाट् ठञ् च**

dikpūrvapadāṭ ṭhañ ca
/*dikpūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *dik pūrvapadaṃ yasya tat* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhañ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *arddhād yat* #4)
dikpūrvapadād arddhāntāt prātipadikāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *arddha* when used in combination after a constituent signifying *diś* 'direction', provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvārddhyam 'that which is found in the eastern half of . . .'
paurvārddhikam 'id.'
dakṣiṇārddhyam 'that which is found in the southern half of . . .'
dākṣiṇārddhikam 'id.'

1. Note that the word *pada*, of *padāt* in *dikpūrvapadāt*, is used to cancel the interpretation of *dikpūrvāt* as denoting its form (*svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*). That is, in the absence of *dikpūrvapadāt*, a formulation by *dikpūrvāt* would give us the sense of '. . . after *ardha* when used in combination after *diś* as its preceding constituent. . . .' The use of *padāt*, in *dikpūrvapadāt*, yields the following interpretation: 'after *arddha* used in combination after a constituent which signifies direction. . . .'

Derivates of *ṭhaÑ* will involve initial *vṛddhi* and *ṭha*→*ika* (7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*).

4.3.7 ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ

grāmajanapadaikadeśād añṭhañau
/*grāmajanapadaikadeśāt* 5/1 = *grāmaś ca janapadaś ca* (*dv.*); *tayor ya ekadeśaḥ* = *grāmajanapadaikadeśaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *añṭhañau* 1/2 (*dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *arddhād* #4, *dikpūrvapadād* #6)
grāmaikadeśavācino janapadaikadeśavācinaś ca prātipadikād dikpūrvapadād arddhāntād añṭhañau pratyayu bhavataḥ śaiṣikau
The *taddhita* affixes *aÑ* and *ṭhaÑ* occur after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *arddha*, used in combination after a constituent with the signification of *diś*, and names some part (*ekadeśa*) of a village (*grāma*) or region (*janapada*), provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

ime khalv asmākaṃ grāmasya janapadasya vā paurvārddhāḥ 'these are found in eastern parts of our village, or region'
paurvārdhikāḥ 'id.'
dakṣiṇārddhāḥ 'these are found in the southern part of our village, or region . . .'
dākṣiṇārddhikāḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ṭhaÑ* is not carried because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *yaT*. That is, a partial dropping, or carrying, of elements in the *anuvṛtti* of associated items is not permitted. This *sūtra* does not need the *anuvṛtti* of *yaT*. Affix *ṭhaÑ*, because of its association with *yaT*, had also to be dropped. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the *sūtra* simply as . . . *añ ca*, where *ca* would have brought *ṭhaÑ* from the preceding rule. Bhaṭṭoji states that Pāṇini includes both *aÑ* and *ṭhaÑ* for clarity (*spaṣṭapratipatyartham*). The derivates of both will involve *vṛddhi*. A *ṭhaÑ*-derivate will additionally involve *ika* as a replacement for *ṭha*.

The affixal provision of this rule constitutes an exception to *yaT*. The word *ekadeśa* here denotes *avayava* 'part of a whole'.

4.3.8 मध्यान्मः

madhyān maḥ
/*madhyāt* 5/1 *maḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
madhyaśabdān maḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *ma* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *madhya* 'middle', when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

madhyamaḥ 'born in between . . .'

1. This is an exception to *aṆ*.

2. Affix *ma* is also recommended by a *vārttika* for deriving *ādimaḥ* 'born at the beginning . . .', from the syntactically related nominal stem *ādi* 'initial'. Forms such as *avamam* and *adhamam* can also be derived with *ma* introduced after *avas* and *adhas*, with an additional *vārttika* provision of *s*-deletion after specific bases.

4.3.9 अ साम्प्रतिके

a sāṃpratike
/*a* 1/1 (deleted) *sāṃpratike* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *madhyāt* #8)
akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati madhyaśabdāt sāṃpratike jātādau pratyayārthe
The *taddhita* affix *a* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *madhya*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to something appropriate (*sāṃpratika*).

EXAMPLES:

madhyaṃ kāṣṭham = *nātidīrghaṃ nātihrasvam* 'an appropriate piece of lumber, not too long not too short'
madhyo vaiyākaraṇaḥ 'an average grammarian, not too smart not too slow'
madhyā strī 'an average woman'

1. The word *sāṃpratika* is explained as a *nyāyyam* 'logical', *yuktam* 'appropriate', *ucitam* 'proper' and *sama* 'balanced'.

4.3.10 द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ्

dvīpād anusamudraṃ yañ
/*dvīpāt* 5/1 *anusamudram* 1/1 = *samudraṃ samayā* (*avybh.*);
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)
samudrasamīpe yo dvīpas tasmād yañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem *dvīpa* whose denotatum is located nearby an ocean, provided the derivate is to denote some residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

dvaipyam 'that which is found in a peninsula'

1. The word *anusamudram* is an indeclinable compound (*avyayībhāva*) formed under the provision of rule 2.1.15 *anur yatsamayā.*

Affix *yaÑ* is treated as an exception to *aṆ* and *vuÑ* of 4.1.133 *kacchādibhyaś ca* and 4.1.134 *manuṣyatasthayor vuñ.* Elsewhere, and under conditions other than that of *anusamudram,* we will get *dvaipam* (with *aṆ*) and *dvaipakam* (with *vuÑ*).

4.3.11 कालाट्ठञ्

kālāṭ ṭhañ

/*kālāt* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92)

kālaviśeṣavācinaḥ prātipadikāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies (specific) time, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

vārṣikaḥ 'that which occurs once a year'
ārddhamāsikaḥ 'that which occurs once every fortnight'
sāṃvatsarikaḥ 'that which occurs once every year'

1. This provision of *ṭhaÑ* is an exception to *aṆ.* It is also an exception to 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ.* That is, *ṭhaÑ* blocks *cha* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .).

2. It is stated that some derivates may denote time via some indirect processes (*guṇavṛtyā*). That is, denotation of time may not be as direct as, for example, in *māsikaḥ* and *sāṃvatsarikaḥ.* Consider *kādambapuṣpikam* 'that which is found at the time when Kadamba trees blossom' and *vraihipatālikam* 'that which is found at the time when rice-husks are threshed', where time is denoted via association (*sāhacarya*) with 'blossoming of Kadamba tree' or 'threshing of rice'.

4.3.12 श्राद्धे शरदः

śrāddhe śaradaḥ

/*śrāddhe* 7/1 *śaradaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāṭ ṭhañ* #11)

śaracchabdāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śrāddhe' bhidheye śaiṣikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śarad,* when it signifies time and the derivate denotes *śrāddha* 'rites for ancestors'.

EXAMPLES:

śaradikam śrāddham 'autumnal rites for ancestors'

1. The word *śrāddha* literally means 'gift made with reverence (*śraddhayā dattaṃ dānam*)'. It generally refers to rites (which involve making gifts of food and other items) for a departed relative. The word does not mean a person who has reverence. That is, it refers to action (*karman*), and not to a person (*karma gṛhyate na ca śraddhāvān puruṣaḥ*). Incidentally, these rites, once performed shortly after death of a relative, can also be repeated annually, half-yearly, etc.

A derivate parallel to *śāradikam*, outside the context of *śrāddha*, will be *śāradam*. This, in turn, is a derivate of *aṆ* derived by rule 4.3.16 *sandhivelād*. . . .

4.3.13 विभाषा रोगातपयोः

vibhāṣā rogātapayoḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *rogātapayoḥ* 7/2 (*dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāṭ ṭhañ* #11, *śaradaḥ* #12)
roge ātape cābhidheye śarac chabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo vā bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, optionally, after the syntactically related nominal stem *śarad*, when the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to *roga* 'affliction, disease' and *ātapa* 'sunshine'.

EXAMPLES:

śāradika ātapaḥ 'autumnal sunshine'
śārada ātapaḥ 'id.'
śāradiko rogaḥ 'a disease which afflicts during the autumnal season'
śārado rogaḥ 'id.'

1. A derivate outside the twin conditions of *roga* and *ātapa* will, obligatorily, be *śāradam*, as in *śāradaṃ dadhi* 'yoghurt of the autumnal season'. This *ṭhaÑ* blocks the *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelād*. . . .

4.3.14 निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च

niśāpradoṣābhyāṃ ca
/*niśāpradoṣābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāṭ ṭhañ* #11, *vibhāṣā* #13)
niśāpradoṣaśabdābhyāṃ vibhāṣā ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* also occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *niśā* and *pradoṣa*, when they signify time (*kāla*) and the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

naiśikam 'that which is found at night'
naiśam 'id.'
prādoṣikam 'that which is found at dusk'
prādoṣam 'id.'

1. Note that 4.3.11 *kālāt ṭhañ* provides for *ṭhaÑ*, obligatorily, as an exception to the more general (*autsargika*) affix *aṆ* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*). Of course, after a syntactically related nominal stem having the signification of time. Our present rule makes this obligatory provision optional. It now clears the way also for *aṆ* to apply optionally with *ṭhaÑ*. Thus we get *naiśikam* (with *ṭhaÑ*) and *naiśam* (with *aṆ*).

4.3.15 श्वसस्तुट् च

śvasas tuṭ ca
/*śvasaḥ* 5/1 *tuṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt ṭhañ* #11, *vibhāṣā* #13)
'*śvaḥ*' *śabdād vibhāṣā ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati tasya ca tug āgamo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ*, with an additional provision of augment *tUṬ*, also occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *śvas* signifying 'time', when the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

śauvastikaḥ 'pertaining to tomorrow'
śvastyaḥ 'id.'
śvastanaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that 4.2.105 *aiṣamohyaḥśvaso'nyatarasyām* provides for *tyaP* after *śvas* optionally, among others, with affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* of 4.3.23 *sāyañciram*. . . . Our present rule offers *ṭhaÑ* with an additional provision of augment *tUṬ*. Thus we get three forms: *śauvastikaḥ* (4.3.15), *śvastyaḥ* (4.2.105) and *śvastanaḥ* (4.3.23). Incidentally, these derivates all contain *t*, except that the *t* of *śvastyaḥ* has its source in affix *tyaP*. A provision of *tUṬ* is made available for others. Derivates of *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* only differ in accent. The *yu* of affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* will yield *ana* of 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*.

2. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) informs that *śauvastika* does not involve a *vṛddhi* replacement in place of *a* of *śvas*. Instead, *au* is introduced before *v* (whether it is the final of a *pada* or not; 7.3.4 *dvārādīnāṃ ca* read with 7.3.3 *na vyābhyām* . . .). Note that *śvas* is an indeclinable and is listed in the *dvārādi* group of eleven items which are all denied *vṛddhi*. However, items listed under the *dvārādi* group are augmented with *ai* and *au* before *y* and *v*, respectively (7.1.14 *dvārādīnāṃ ca*). Thus, *ś* + *au* + *vas* + *t* + (*ṭh*→*ika*) = *śauvastika* + *sU* = *śvauvastikaḥ*.

4.3.16 सन्धिवेलाद्यृतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण्

sandhivelādyṛtunakṣatrebhyo' ṇ

/*sandhivelādyṛtunakṣatrebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *sandhivelā ādir yeṣām te* = *sandhivelādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *sandhivelādayaś ca ṛtuś ca nakṣatraṃ ca* = *sandhivelādyṛtunakṣatrāṇi* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11)

sandhivelādibhyo ṛtubhyo nakṣatrebhyaś ca kālavṛttibhyo' ṇ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is either listed in the group headed by *sandhivelā* 'junctional time', or signifies a season (*ṛtu*), or else, is a constellation (*nakṣatra*), provided the derivate is to denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

sāndhivelam 'pertaining to dusk, dawn or noon'
sāndhyam 'id.'
graiṣmam 'that which is found in summer'
śaiśiram 'that which is found in winter'
taiṣam 'born when moon was in conjunction with Tiṣya'
pauṣam 'born when moon was in conjunction with Puṣya'

1. All items specified by this rule denote time, and hence, are qualified to receive affix *ṭhaÑ* from rule 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*. This *aṆ* then is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*.

2. Note that the *sandhivelādi* group contains eight stems where *paurṇamāsī* 'fullmoon night' is one of them. This stem qualifies for affix *cha* of rule 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* because of its *vṛddhi* vowel *au*. Stems, such as *svāti*, which denote a constellation and can be termed *vṛddha* as well, would also qualify for *cha*. This *cha*, however, is blocked by *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ* on the basis of *paratva*. Given this, a formulation to provide affix *aṆ*, without the explicit use of *aṆ*, will only be able to block *ṭhaÑ*. It is to block *cha*, and to allow *aṆ* after items termed *vṛddha*, that *aṆ* is used explicitly in this rule (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *tatra yady aṇgrahaṇaṃ na kriyeta, tābhyāṃ paratvāṭ ṭhañā che bādhite punar vacanāc cha eva syāt. tasmāt tam api bādhitvā vṛddhād aṇ eva syād ity evamartham punar aṇgrahaṇam*).

3. A *vārttika* proposal also recommends *aṆ* after *saṃvatsara* 'year' to derive *sāmvatsara*, as opposed to *sāṃvatsarika*, to denote a residual meaning relative to *phala* 'fruit' and *parvan* 'festival, joyous occasion'.

4.3.17 प्रावृष एण्यः

prāvṛṣa eṇyaḥ

/*prāvṛṣaḥ* 5/1 *eṇyaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11)
prāvṛṣśabdād eṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *eṇya* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *prāvṛṣ* 'rainy season, monsoon' when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

prāvṛṣeṇyo balāhakaḥ 'monsoon clouds'

1. This rule provides for *eṇya* as an exception to *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādyṛtu*. . . .

4.3.18 वर्षाभ्यष्ठक्

varṣābhyaṣ ṭhak
/*varṣābhyaḥ* 5/3 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11)
varṣāśabdāt ṭhak pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *varṣā* 'rain', when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

vārṣikaṃ vāso' nulepanaṃ vā 'rainwear, or an ointment, used during rainy season'

1. Affix *ṭhaÑ* of this rule is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelády*. . . . A plural specification of *varṣā* in *varṣābhyaḥ* is made to indicate that *varṣā*, when denoting 'rainy season', is obligatorily plural.

4.3.19 छन्दसि ठञ्

chandasi ṭhañ
/*chandasi* 7/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *varṣābhyaḥ* #18)
varṣāśabdāc chandasi viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, in Vedic, after the syntactically related nominal stem *varṣā*, when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

nabhaś ca nabhasyaś ca vārṣikāv ṛtū 'the two months, i.e., *nabhas* and *nabhasya*, of rainy season'

1. Affixes after *varṣā* are introduced in the sense outlined by 4.3.120 *tasyedam.* The word *ṛtu* in the context of *varṣā,* here, refers to months constituting parts (*avayava*) of the season.

4.3.20 वसन्ताच्च

vasantāc ca
/*vasantāt* 5/1 *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *chandasi ṭhañ* #19)
vasantaśabdāc chandasi viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, in Vedic, after the syntactically related nominal stem *vasanta,* when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

madhuś ca mādhavaś ca vāsantikāv ṛtū 'Madhu and Mādhava are two months of the spring season'

4.3.21 हेमन्ताच्च

hemantāc ca
/*hemantāt* 5/1 *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *chandasi ṭhañ* #19)
hemantaśabdāc chandasi viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati śaiṣikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *hemanta,* when it signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

sahaś ca sahasyaś ca haimantikāv ṛtū '*saha* and *sahasya* are two months of the winter season'

1. The preceding two rules are both an exception to the *a* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy....* Why did Pāṇini not save one rule by formulating these two rules both as one: *hemantavasantābhyām...*? He preferred a split formulation (*yogavibhāga*), instead, for the sake of the following rule (*uttarārtha*) where *anuvṛtti* of *vasanta* is not needed. A joint formulation will require *vasanta,* because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *hemanta,* to be also carried.

4.3.22 सर्वत्राण्च तलोपश्च

sarvatrāṇ ca talopaś ca
/*sarvatra* φ *aṇ* 1/1 *ca* φ *talopaḥ* = *tasya lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* φ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *chandasi ṭhañ* #19, *hemantāt* #21)
hemantaśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena cāsya takāraḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs everywhere (*sarvatra*; in Vedic and Classical languages) after the syntactically related nominal stem *hemanta*, with the additional provision of deletion of its *t* before *aṆ*, when *hemanta* signifies time and the derivate denotes a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

haimanam vāso' nulepanam vā 'winter clothing, or ointment'
haimantikam 'id.'

1. The word *sarvatra* 'everywhere' is used here to block the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. That is, provisions of this rule are valid for both Vedic as well as Classical languages.

2. Why did Pāṇini have to use *sarvatra* when he could have stopped the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* by not showing it marked with *svarita*. This extra effort of using *sarvatra* is made so that *sarvatra* can also be associated with the preceding rule. This way, affix *ṭhaÑ* can also be introduced after *hemanta* in the Classical language. Thus, we will get three forms: (*a*) a derivate in *ṭhaÑ* of the preceding rule (*haimantikam*); (*b*) a derivate in *aṆ* of this rule with deletion of *t* (*haimanam*); and (*c*) a derivate in *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy*. . ., where *t* is not deleted (*haimantam*).

3. Why is the *ca* used here? To show that this *aṆ* is introduced additionally to the *aṆ* introduced in the context of *ṛtu* 'season' (4.3.16 *sandhivelādy*. . .). What is the difference between the two *aṆ* affixes? The *aṆ* introduced by this rule alone will permit deletion of *t* of *hemanta*. Thus, consider *haimantī* 'that (feminine) which is found in the winter season', where deletion of *t* does not occur

4. The expression *talopa* of *talopaś ca* can be interpreted as 'deletion of *t* and *ta*' both. The first interpretation would have the *t* deleted by this rule. The *a* can then be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The second interpretation would also have the deletion accomplished by this rule. But the *a* (of *ta*) will then have to be accepted as used for ease of articulation.

4.3.23 सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यष्ट्युट्युलौ तुट् च

sāyañciramprāhṇeprage' vyayebhyaṣ ṭyuṭyulau tuṭ ca
/ *sāyañ-ciram-prāhṇe-prage' vyayebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ṭyu-ṭyulau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *tuṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11)
'*sāyam, ciram, prāhṇe, prage*' *ity evam ādibhyo' vyayebhyaś ca ṭyuṭulau pratyayau bhavataḥ, tayoś cādiṣṭayos tuḍ āgamo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL*, with the additional provision of augment *tUṬ*, occur after syntactically related nominal stems *sāyam* 'evening', *ciram* 'for long', *prāhṇe* 'in the morning' and *prage* 'at dawn', and also after indeclinables (*avyaya*), when these stems signify time and their corresponding derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

sāyantanam 'pertaining to day's end'
cirantanam 'that which happened a long time ago'
prāhṇetanam 'pertaining to the first quarter of a day'
pragetanam 'pertaining to a time very early during the day'
doṣātanam 'that which happens during night'
divātanam 'that which happens during day'

1. The words *sāyam* and *ciram* are given here as ending in *m*, via *nipātana*. The words *prāhṇe* and *prage* are similarly given as ending in *e*. Note, however, that *sāyam* and *ciram*, as used in this rule, are not indeclinables. Instead, they are derivates of *GHaÑ*, ending in *m* via *nipātana*. The *Mbh.* seems unwilling to accept them as anything but indeclinables.

2. A *vārttika* recommends the derivation of *ciratnam* 'that which happened way back', *parutnam* 'that which happened last year' and *parāriratnam* 'that which happened prior to the last year' by introducing affix *tna* after *cira*, *parut*, and *parāri*. A second *vārttika* recommends the deletion of *ga* of *praga* before affix *tna*, in deriving *pratnam* in Vedic. Yet another *vārttika* recommends affix *ḌimaC* after *agra*, *paśca* and *anta*, to derive *agrimam* 'that which happens ahead of time', *paścimam* 'that which happens subsequently' and *antimam* 'that which happens at the end'.

3. Note that derivates of *yu*, with augment *tUṬ*, all end in *tana*, where *yu* yields *ana* through the application of rule 7.1.2 *yuvor anākau*. This *tana* cannot be gotten if the augment is introduced to *yu*, the affix. Rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*, allows replacements in *ana* and *aka* in place of affixes *yu* and *vu* when these affixes follow an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi* . . .). Given *sāyam* + *Ṭyu* = *sāyam* + *tuṬ* + *Ṭyu* = *sāyam* + *t* + *yu*, *ana*, a replacement for *yu*, will be blocked because *yu* will then not occur after *sāyam*, the *aṅga*. For, *t*, the augment, intervenes. One cannot here invoke *Paribhāṣā* (12): *yadāgamās tadguṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*, and claim that *t*, since it is an augment, is part of *yu*. Consequently, *t* does not intervene and therefore, does not block the replacement. If this is accepted then deriving *mṛtyu* 'death', from *mṛŃ* + *tUṬ* + *yu*, would become impossible. This has been indicated with reference to the derivation of *anadyatana* under rule 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ*. Needless to say that introducing *tUṬ*, before *yu* is replaced with *ana*, would make the derivation of *anadyatana* impossible. The derivate will then be: *an* + *adya* + *t* + *yu* = **anadyatyu*, a wrong form. To sum up: *tUṬ* should be introduced only after *ana* has replaced *yu*.

4.3.24 विभाषा पूर्वाह्णापराह्णाभ्याम्

vibhāṣā pūrvāhṇāparāhṇābhyām
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *pūrvāhṇāparāhṇābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śeṣe* #92, *kālāt* #11, *ṭyuṭyulau tuṭ* #23)
pūrvāhṇāparāhṇaśabdābhyaṃ vibhāṣā ṭyuṭyulau pratyayau bhavatas tuṭ ca tayor āgamaḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL*, with the additional provision of augment *tUṬ*, occur optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *pūrvāhṇa* 'first half of the day' and *aparāhṇa* 'next half of the day', when derivates denote a residual meaning.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvāhṇetanam '. . . in the morning'
paurvāhṇikam 'id.'
aparāhṇetanam '. . . in the afternoon'
āparāhṇikam 'id.'

1. Note that not accepting this option of *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* will make the option of *ṭhaÑ* (4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*) available. The non-deletion of *saptamī* in *pūrvāhṇetanam* and *aparāhṇetanam* is in consonance with 6.1.17 *ghakālataneṣu*. . . . A derivate when the compound base is not used with *saptamī* will be *pūrvāhṇatana*, paraphrased as *pūrvahṇaḥ soḍho'sya* 'he whose first part of the day is beautiful'.

The word *ahan* is replaced with *ahna* in consonance with 5.4.88 *ahno'hna etebhyaḥ*. The *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* is introduced by 5.4.91 *rājāhaḥ*. . . . The *n* of *ahna* is then replaced with *ṇ* by 8.4.7 *ahno'danṭāt*.

4.3.25 तत्र जातः

tatra jātaḥ
/*tatra* ϕ *jātaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
'*tatra*' *iti saptamīsamarthāt* '*jātaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix, henceforth, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī* 'locative', provided the derivate denotes 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'born in Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'born in Mathurā'
grāmīṇaḥ 'born in a village'

1. This is an *adhikāra* whereby a *taddhita* affix will be introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *saptamī* 'locative'. This specification of *saptamī* by *tatra* is made via meaning (*arthadvāreṇa*): 'after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī* (*saptamīsamarthāt prātipadikāt*)'. This is how the base (*prakṛti*) is specified. The word *jātaḥ* specifies affixal denotatum (*pratyayārtha*). It is argued that such specifications (*nirdeśa*) should not be made at all (*ubhayam anirdeśyam*). For, *śeṣe* can then be interpreted as both a governing rule (*adhikāra*) as well as an operational rule (*vidhi*). Thus, general affixes, such as *aṆ*, etc., can occur in the sense of 'born in there', etc. Particular affixes, such as *gha*, etc., will occur in view of interpretation of *śeṣe* as an *adhikāra*. But such specifications are made nevertheless. Should we then assign this rule the status of a *niyama* 'restriction'? A *niyama* interpretation will lead to so many undesired things (*aniṣṭa*). To claim that—a specification is made so that *taddhita* affixes occur only to denote the sense of, for example, 'born in there', and not to denote the sense of, for example, '. . . is there (*tatrāste*)', or '. . . reclines in there'—is not correct. For, they also are desired elsewhere (*anyatrāpi hi taddhitā iṣyante*).

These specifications are then made to clearly identify affixes and bases in general, especially as they are introduced in relation to their related exceptions.

4.3.26 **प्रावृषष्ठप्**

prāvṛṣaṣ ṭhap
/*prāvṛṣaḥ* 5/1 *ṭhap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25)
prāvṛṭśabdāt saptamīsamarthāj jāta ity etasminn arthe ṭhap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaP* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *prāvṛṣ*, when it ends in *saptamī* 'locative' and the derivate denotes 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

prāvṛṣikaḥ = *prāvṛṣi jātaḥ* 'born in the rainy season'

1. This *ṭhaP* is an exception to the *eṇya* of 4.3.17 *prāvṛṣa eṇyaḥ*. That is, *ṭhaP* alone will be used after *prāvṛṣ* when the sense is 'born in there'. The *P*, as an *it* in *ṭhaP*, is used for accent (*svarārtha*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*).

4.3.27 **संज्ञायां शरदो वुञ्**

saṃjñāyāṃ śarado vuñ
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *śaradaḥ* 5/1 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*

#4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25)
śaracchabdāt saptamīsamarthāj jāta ity etasminn arthe vuñ pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śarad* when it ends in locative and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*) relative to 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

śāradakā darbhāḥ 'a particular (Kuśa) grass which thrives in autumn'
śāradakāḥ mudgāḥ 'a particular (Mung) beans which is harvested in autumn'

1. Affix *vuN* of this rule is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādyṛtu*. . . . The condition of *saṃjñā* is imposed so that a derivate parallel to *śāradaṃ sasyam* 'grain harvested in autumn' could not be derived with *vuN*.
2. Some carry the *anuvṛtti* of *saṃjñāyām* up to rule 4.3.38 *kṛtalabdhakrītakuśalāḥ*. That is, some do not (*Nyāsa*: *kecin nānuvarttayantīty uktaṃ bhavati*).

4.3.28 पूर्वाह्णापराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् वुन्

pūrvāhṇāparāhṇārdrāmūlapradoṣāvaskarād vun
/*pūrvāhṇāparāhṇārdrāmūlapradoṣāvaskarāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vun* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *saṃjñāyām* #27)
pūrvāhṇādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo vun pratyayo bhavati 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye saṃjñāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs to denote the sense of 'born in there' after syntactically related nominal stems *pūrvāhṇa*, *aparāhṇa*, *ārdrā* 'a constellation', *mūla* 'a constellation', *pradoṣa* and *avaskara* 'dung', when these stems end in locative and derivates signify a name.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvāhṇakaḥ 'born in the first half of a day'
aparāhṇakaḥ 'born in the second half of a day'
ārdrakaḥ 'born when moon may be in the constellation Ārdrā'
mūlakaḥ 'born when moon may be in the constellation Mūla'
pradoṣakaḥ 'born at dusk'
avaskarakaḥ 'born in ordure; an insect'

1. Recall that rule 4.3.24 *vibhāṣā pūrvāhṇāparāhṇābhyām* introduces affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL*, optionally, with *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*. Affix *vuN*, in the context of *pūrvāhṇa* and *aparāhṇa*, constitutes an exception to all three affixes: *ṭhaÑ*, *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL*. Derivates such as *ārdrakaḥ* and *mūlakaḥ* illus-

trate that *vuN* is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhyavelādyṛtunakṣatrebhyo' ṇ*. A derivate such as *pradoṣakaḥ* illustrates that, in this case, affix *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.14 *niśāpradoṣābhyām*. . . is blocked by *vuN*. The same is true of *avaskarakaḥ* where affix *vuN* blocks the general (*autsargika*) *aṆ*. Affixes blocked by *vuN* may not be blocked if derivates do not denote a name (*saṃjñā*; *Kāś*.: *asaṃjñāyāṃ tu yathāprāptaṃ ṭhañādaya eva bhavanti*).

4.3.29 **पथः पन्थ च**

pathaḥ pantha ca

/ *pathaḥ* 6/1 *pantha* 1/1 (deleted) *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *vun* #28)

pathiśabdād vun pratyayo bhavati ' tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *pathin* 'road' ending in locative, with an additional provision for it to be concurrently replaced with *pantha*, provided the derivate signifies 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

pathi jātaḥ = *panthakaḥ* 'born on road to . . .'

1. Note that *pathin* is replaced by *pantha* only in close context of this affix (*pratyayasanniyoga*). The word *panthaḥ*, treated as *pañcamī* 'ablative' and *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' both, facilitates proper interpretation of this rule. That is, *pañcamī* facilitates *pratyayavidhi*, i.e., introduction of affix *vuN*; *ṣaṣṭhī* identifies the substituendum (*sthāninirdeśa*). Affix *vuN*, here again, is an exception to *aṆ*.

4.3.30 **अमावास्याया वा**

amāvāsyāyā vā

/ *amāvāsyāyāḥ* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *vuñ* #28)

amāvāsyāśabdād vun pratyayo bhavati vā ' tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *amāvāsyā* 'new moon night', when it ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'born in there'.

EXAMPLES:

amāvāsyakaḥ 'born in a new moon night'

āmāvāsyaḥ 'id.'

āmāvasyaḥ 'id.'

1. Affix *vuN* is provided here as an option to *a* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy*. . . . Needless to say, *amāvāsyā* is listed in the group of stems headed by *sandhivelā*. It also has a variant in *amāvasyā*. Affix *vuN* can also be introduced after *amāvasyā* in accord with *Paribhāṣā* (38): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat*. That is, *amāvasyā*, which differs from *amāvāsyā* in one place (*ekadeśa*), will be treated as *amāvāsyā*. Consequently, we get three forms: *amāvasyakaḥ*, *āmāvāsyaḥ* and *āmāvasyaḥ*.

4.3.31 अ च

a ca
/*a* 1/1 (deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *amāvāsyāyāḥ* #30)
amāvāsyāśabdād akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *a* occurs also after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in locative, when its derivate is to signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

amāvāsyaḥ 'born in a new moon night'
amāvasyaḥ 'id.'

1. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding as: *amāvāsyāyā vā ca* where *ca* could attract *vuN*, and *vā* could make them both optional (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *cakāro vuno'nukarṣaṇārtho bhaviṣyati, vāvacanaṃ cobhayor vikalpārtham*). Since they will both be optional, affix *aṆ* could still be applied. A split-formulation (*yogavibhāga*) is preferred so that one may not be confused about the interpretation of our next rule. That is, a joint formulation could make one think that *kaN* of the next rule was given as an option to *aṆ*.

4.3.32 सिन्ध्वपकराभ्यां कन्

sindhvapakarābhyām kan
/*sindhvapakarābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25)
sindhuśabdād apakaraśabdāc ca kan pratyayo bhavati 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *sindhu* 'river; Indus' and *apakara* 'place name', when they end in locative and derivates signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

sindhukaḥ 'born in Indus valley'
apakarakaḥ 'born in Apakara'

1. Note that *sindhu* is listed in the group of stems known as *kacchādi*. Consequently, affixes *aṆ* and *vuÑ* of 4.2.133 *kacchādibhyaś ca* and 4.2.134 *manuṣyatastha* . . . were already available to it. Affix *kaÑ* blocks them both in case of *sindhu*. It blocks the general *aṆ* in case of *apakara*.

4.3.33 अणञौ च

aṇañau ca
/*aṇañau* 1/2 = *aṇ ca añ ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *sindhvapakarābhyām* #32)
sindhvapakaraśabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyam aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tatra jātaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur also, respectively, after syntactically related nominal stems *sindhu* and *apakara*, when they end in locative and derivates signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

saindhavaḥ 'born in Indus valley'
āpakaraḥ 'born in Apakara'

1. This rule provides for *aṆ* and *aÑ*, respectively, after *sindhu* and *apakara*, parallel to *kaÑ*. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding as: *sindhvapakarābhyāṃ ca kannaṇañaḥ*? A separate formulation of this rule is intended for *yathāsaṃkhya* of *aṆ* and *aÑ* relative to *sindhu* and *apakara*. A joint formulation would have two bases and three affixes thereby impairing this desired *yathāsaṃkhya*.

4.3.34 श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक्

śraviṣṭhāphalgunyanurādhāsvātitiṣyapunarvasuhastaviśākhāṣāḍhābahulālluk
/*śraviṣṭhāphalgunyanurādhāsvātitiṣyapunarvasuhastaviśākhāṣāḍhābahulāt* 5/1 = *śraviṣṭhā ca phalgunī ca anurādhā ca svāti ca tiṣya ca punarvasu ca hasta ca viśākhā ca aṣāḍhā ca bahulā ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25)
śraviṣṭhādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo nakṣatrebhya āgatasya jātārthe lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems

śraviṣṭhā, phalgunī, anurādhā, svāti, tiṣya, punarvasu, hasta, viśākhā, aṣāḍhā and *bahulā*, all ending in locative, is replaced with *LUK* when derivates signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

śraviṣṭhaḥ 'born in the constellation Śraviṣṭhā'
phalgunaḥ 'born in the constellation Phalgunī'
anurādhaḥ 'born in the constellation Anurādha'
svātiḥ 'born in the constellation Tiṣya'
punarvasuḥ 'born in the constellation Punarvasu'
hastaḥ 'born in the constellation Hasta'
viśākhaḥ 'born in the constellation Viśākhā'
aṣāḍhaḥ 'born in the constellation Aṣāḍhā'
bahulaḥ 'born in the constellation Kṛttikā'

1. Note that all specified bases are feminine and they all denote a constellation. The deletion of a *taddhita* affix by means of *LUK* will also result in removal of feminine affixes of individual bases. This is why we get examples such as *śraviṣṭhaḥ*, etc.

2. It is stated, in a *vārttika*, that nominal stems *citrā, revatī* and *rohiṇī* must also be included within the list of bases impacted by *LUK*-deletion. Note, however, that their derivates will still be *citrā, rohiṇī* and *revatī*, in feminine. For, these are used only in feminine. One would get the form *citrā*, parallel to *citrāyāṃ jātā* 'a female born in the constellation Citrā', after deleting the *taddhita* affix and removing the feminine of *citrā*. But since the word can be used only in feminine, one must reintroduce affix *ṬāP* by 4.1.4 *ajādytaṣ ṭāp* to derive *citrā* again. This same is also applicable to *revatī* and *rohīṇī*, parallel to *revatyāṃ jātā* 'a female born in Revatī' and *rohiṇyāṃ jātā* 'a female born in Rohiṇī', although feminine affix *ṄīṢ* will here be reintroduced by 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*. Both these stems are included in the *gaurādi* group.

A second *vārttika* allows the derivation of *phalgunī* and *aṣāḍhā* as exceptions to *aṆ*. They are stated to derive with affixes *Ṭa* and *aN* introduced after *phalgunī* and *aṣāḍhā*, respectively. The *Ṭ* of affix *Ṭa* is intended for *ṬāP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . The *N* of *aN* is intended for accent (*svarārtha*). Feminine affixes of these derivates are not removed because these derivates are used in feminine only. Elsewhere, whether in feminine or in masculine, *śraviṣṭhā* and *aṣāḍhā* also get affix *chaṆ* (cf. *vt.* 3) to derive *śrāviṣṭhīyaḥ* and *āṣāḍhīyaḥ* in masculine, and *śrāviṣṭhīyā* and *āṣāḍhīyā* in feminine.

4.3.35 स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च

sthānāntagośālakharaśālāc ca
/ *sthānāntagośālakharaśālāt* 5/1 = *sthānam ante yasya* (*bv.*); *sthāhnaṃ ca gośālaṃ ca kharaśālaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *luk* #34)
sthānāntāt prātipadikād gośālaśabdāt kharaśālaśabdāj jātārthe pratyayasya lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *sthāna*, or after nominal stems *gośāla* 'cow-pen' and *kharaśāla* 'stable', is replaced with *LUK*, provided these stems terminated in locative and derivates signified 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

gosthānaḥ 'born in a shelter for cows'
gośālaḥ 'id.'
aśvasthānaḥ 'born in a stable'
kharaśālaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that these derivates are not allowed *vṛddhi* because affix *aÑ* has been deleted. The shortening of the final *ā* of *śālā*, in *gośālam*, is accomplished by 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake*. . . .

4.3.36 वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतभिषजो वा

vatsaśālābhijidaśvayukchatabhiṣajo vā
/ *vatsaśālābhijidaśvayukchatabhiṣajaḥ* 5/3 (*sam. dv.*); *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *luk* #34)
vatsaśālādibhyaḥ parasya jātārthe pratyayasya lug vā bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vatsaśālā*, *abhijit*, *aśvayuk* and *śatbhiṣaj* is optionally replaced with *LUK*, when these stems end in locative and derivates signify 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

vātsaśālaḥ 'born in a shelter for calves'
vatsaśālaḥ 'id.'
ābhijitaḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Abhijit'
abhijit 'id.'
āśvayujaḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Aśvayuj'
aśvayuk 'id.'
śātabhiṣajaḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Śatabhiṣak'
śatabhiṣak 'id.'

1. Note that optional non-deletion of *aṆ* would require initial *vṛddhi*, as opposed to lack of *vṛddhi* when *aṆ* is deleted. A question is raised why the next *sūtra*, with its *bahulam*, cannot accomplish what this *sūtra* is formulated to accomplish. It is stated that *vatsaśālā* (or *vatsaśāla*) does not denote any constellation. The other stems denote constellations but, if included in the next rule, they will have their *aṆ* deleted variously, and not optionally. Provisions made by *LUK* and *bahulam* are not the same.

2. Note that affix *aṆ* is optionally treated as marked with *Ḍ* as an *it*, when it is introduced to block an affix which blocks the general *aṆ* signifying 'born there'. The purpose of assigning *ḍit*-status to an affix is to facilitate deletion of *ṭi* in related derivates (cf. vt. *asminn arthe aṇ ḍid vā vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, consider *śatabhiṣaj* + *Ṅi* + *aṆ*, where affix *aṆ* is allowed by 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy*... as an exception to block affix *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ* which, in turn, is responsible for blocking the general affix *aṆ*. The *ṭi* part *aj* of *śatabhiṣaj* is optionally deleted to yield a third form: *śatabhiṣ*(*aj*→ϕ + (*Ṅi*→ϕ) + *a*(*Ṇ*→ϕ)) = *śatabhiṣa* + *sU*→*ḥ* = *śatabhiṣaḥ*.

4.3.37 नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम्

nakṣatrebhyo bahulam
/*nakṣatrebhyaḥ* 5/3 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* ... #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra jātaḥ* #25, *luk* #34)
nakṣatrebhya uttarasya jātārthe pratyayasya bahulaṃ lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem signifying a constellation and ending in locative, is variously (*bahulam*) replaced with *LUK* when derivates denote 'born there'.

EXAMPLES:

rohiṇaḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Rohiṇī'
rauhiṇaḥ 'id.'
mṛgaśirāḥ 'born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation Mṛgaśiras'
mārgaśīrṣaḥ 'id.'

1. Why not carry *vā* from the preceding *sūtra* and drop *bahulam* from this? This will not be proper since *bahulam* and *vā* are not synonymous. It is the *kvacid anyad eva* 'and yet on occasions something else' provision of *bahulam* which makes it possible for introduction of affixes *Ṭa* and *Ṇa* after *phalgunī* and *aṣāḍhā*. Affix *cha* is similarly made possible after *śraviṣṭhā* and *aṣāḍhā*. These affixal provisions are not covered by *pravṛtti* 'application', *apravṛtti* 'lack of application' and *vibhāṣā* 'option' aspects of *bahulam*.

4.3.38 कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः

kṛtalabdhakrītakuśalāḥ
/ *kṛtalabdhakrītakuśalāḥ* 1/3 = *kṛtaś ca labdhaś ca krītaś ca kuśalaś ca* (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24)
saptamīsamarthāt kṛtādiṣv artheṣu yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs, henceforth as specified, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative, provided derivates signify a residual meaning relative to *kṛta* 'made', *labdha* 'received', *krīta* 'bought' and *kuśala* 'skilled'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'made, obtained, bought, or skilled, in Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'made, obtained, bought, or skilled, in Mathurā'
rāṣṭriyaḥ 'made, obtained, bought, or skilled, in the nation'

1. Note that *kṛta* and *jāta* can be used synonymously, as can be *krīta* and *labdha*. Why do we have to specify them separately. It is stated that they are not exactly synonymous, and hence, are specified separately (*bhedenopādānaṃ kriyate*).

4.3.39 प्रायभवः

prāyabhavaḥ
/ *prāyabhavaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24)
saptamīsamarthād ṅyāpprātipadikāt 'prāyabhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to something which generally happens (*prāyabhavaḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'that which frequently happens in Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'that which generally happens in Mathurā'
rāṣṭriyaḥ 'that which generally happens in the nation'

1. Note that rule 4.3.25 *tatra bhavaḥ* can easily account for what this rule offers. An argument in favor of retaining this *sūtra* based on *tatra bhavaḥ* specifying a general meaning (*bhavārtha-sāmānya*) such as 'that which hap-

pens there', as opposed to the 'specific' meaning (*bhavārtha-viśeṣa*) of 'that which generally happens there', is not acceptable. For, the general meaning of *bhavaḥ* will also contain the particular meaning of *prāyabhavaḥ* 'happens generally'. Patañjali, therefore, does not accept the validity of formulating this *sūtra* separately.

Some still argue that *tatra bhavaḥ* signifies the sense of *bhavaḥ* as obligatory (*nitya*). The meaning which *prāyabhavaḥ* specifies is non-obligatory (*anitya*). This clearly establishes that a meaning characterized as *nityabhavaḥ* cannot contain a meaning which is characterized as *anityabhavaḥ*. For, if a *nityabhavaḥ* meaning contains within itself the *anityabhavaḥ* meaning then, given a sound such as *jihvāmūlīya*, parallel to *jihvāmūle bhavaḥ* 'that which is located (pronounced) at the root of tongue', cannot be derived with *cha*. Mainly because a sound is not always pronounced at the root of the tongue. To accept that *prāyabhavaḥ* is included within *tatrabhavaḥ* will amount to saying that there is no difference between them. But accepting this difference does not refute the claim that a general meaning also contains the particular. For, that which happens generally (*prāyeṇa bhavati*) is also that which happens anyway (*bhavaty eva*).

4.3.40 उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्ठक्

upajānūpakarṇopanīveṣ ṭhak
/*upajānūpakarṇopanīveḥ* 5/1 = (*sam. dv.*); *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *prāyabhavaḥ* #39)
upajānvādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'prāyabhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *upajānū* 'close to knees', *upakarṇa* 'close to ears' and *upanīvi* 'close to girdle; . . . navel', when they end in locative and derivates signify a residual meaning relative to 'that which happens generally'.

EXAMPLES:

aupajānukaḥ 'that which is generally found around knees'
aupakarṇikaḥ 'that which is generally found around ears'
aupanīvikaḥ 'that which is generally found around the girdle'

1. Note that *upajānu*, etc., are indeclinable compounds (*avyayībhāva*) signifying proximity (*sāmīpya*; 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . .). A masculine specification of their *samāhāradvandva* is peculiar to the language of the *sūtras*. The *ṭha*→*ka* change in *upajānu* + *ṭha* is in consonance with rule 7.3.51 *isuktāntāt kaḥ*. Elsewhere, the *ṭha* is replaced with *ika* of 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*.

4.3.41 सम्भूते

sambhūte

/sambhūte 7/1

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24)

saptamīsamarthād ṅyāpprātipadikāt sambhūte ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitam pratyayo bhavati

A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative, provided the derivate signifies *sambhūta* 'possibility'.

EXAMPLES:

srughne sambhavati = *sraughnaḥ* 'that which is possible to be found in Srughna'

māthuraḥ 'that which is possible to be found in Mathurā'

rāṣṭriyaḥ 'that which is possible to be found in the nation'

1. The word *sambhūta* is here accepted as meaning: *avaklṛptiḥ* 'possibility, probability' and *pramāṇānatirekaḥ* 'not going beyond some specific measure', where that which is located (*ādheya*) does not go beyond what serves as the locus (*ādhāra*; *ādhārapramāṇādādheyapramāṇasyānatiriktatā*). It thus cannot be interpreted as meaning *ulpattiḥ* 'coming into existence', *sattā* 'existence', or *jāta* and *bhūta* 'born'. Consider now the sentence: *devadatta idānīm srughne sambhāvyate* 'Devadatta is now presumed to be in Srughna', where Devadatta, the *ādheya*, cannot be considered as existing beyond Srughna, the locus (*ādhāra*).

4.3.42 कोशाड् ढञ्

kośāḍ ḍhañ

/kośāt 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *sambhūte* #41)

'*kośaśabdāḍ ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati* '*tatra sambhūte*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kośa* 'cocoon', when ending in locative, provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'possible to be found there'.

EXAMPLES:

kośe sambhūtam = *kauśeyam vastram* 'silk (garment)'

1. Note that *kośe sa,bhavati kauśeyam* literally means 'that which is possible to be found in a shell'. Our derivate *kauśeya* is then open to many interpre-

tations. Thus, it can mean a sword because of the possibility of its being found in a scabbard (*khaṅgakośa*). It can similarly be interpreted as meaning silkworm (*kṛmi*). But since *kauśeya* is generally used in the sense of '(silk) garment', 'sword' and 'worm' interpretations are ruled out.

4.3.43 कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु

kālāt sādhupuṣpyatpacyamāneṣu
/*kālāt* 5/1 *sādhupuṣpyatpacyamāneṣu* 7/3 (*itar.dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24)
kālaviśeṣavācibhyaḥ saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ sādhvādiṣv artheṣu yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative and signifies a particular time (*kālaviśeṣa*), provided derivates denote the residual meaning of *sādhu* 'good, proper', *puṣpyat* 'flowering' and *pacyamāna* 'ripening' in relation to that.

EXAMPLES:

hemante sādhuḥ haimanaḥ prākāraḥ 'an enclosure fit for providing protection from winds during winter'
śaiśiram anulepanam 'an ointment fit for the last two months of winter'
vasante puṣpyanti vāsantyaḥ kundalatāḥ 'the Kunda creepers which blossom in spring'
graiṣmyaḥ pāṭalāḥ 'the Pāṭala flowers which blossom in the summer'
śaradi pacyante śāradāḥ śālayaḥ 'a kind of rice which gets ready for harvesting in the autumn'
graiṣmāyavāḥ 'a barley which gets ready for harvesting in summer'

1. Note that *kāla* does not here refer to its form (*śabda*). Instead, it refers to its meaning (*artha*). We know it from the fact that it is carried as a qualifier in the following rule. If it is interpreted as referring to its form then it will be impossible for it to qualify bases of the next rule (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *na hi svarūpagrahaṇe saty uttarāḥ prakṛtayaḥ śakyā viśeṣayitum*).

4.3.44 उप्ते च

upte ca
/*upte* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43)
saptamīsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikād upte yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati

A *tadhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative and signifies a particular time, provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'sown at that time'

EXAMPLES:

hemante upyante haimantā yavāḥ 'a barley which is sown in the first two months of winter'
graiṣmā vrīhayaḥ 'the rice which is sown during the two months of summer'

1. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this *sūtra* jointly with the preceding? A split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) is made for the following rule (*uttarārtha*). For, *upte* and *kālāt* are carried. A joint formulation would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of *sādhupuṣpyatpacyamāneṣu.*

4.3.45 आश्वयुज्या वुञ्

āśvayujyā vuñ
/ *āśvayujyaḥ* 5/1 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *upte* #44)
āśvayujīśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati upte'rthe
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *āśvayujī* 'a day with full moon in conjunction with the constellation Aśvayuj', when it ends in locative and the derivate signifies a residual meaning of 'sown at that time'.

EXAMPLES:

āśvayujakāḥ māṣāḥ '(Mung) beans sown when full moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Aśvayuj (Aśvinī)'

1. Note that *āśvayujī* is explained as a day when full moon may be in conjunction with the constellation Aśvinī (*aśvinībhyāṃ yuktā paurṇamāsī āśvayujī*). The word *aśvayuj* which serves as base for deriving *āśvayuji* is a synonym of *aśvinī.* Our derivate *aśvayujaka* is derived with *aka* replacement of *vuN* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*) and deletion of *ṄīP* of *aśvayujī.*

4.3.46 ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम्

grīṣmavasantād anyatarasyām
/ *grīṣmavasantāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *upte* #44, *vuñ* #45)
grīṣmavasantaśabdābhyām anyatarasyāṃ vuñ pratyayo bhavati upte' rthe

The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs, optionally after syntactically related nominal stems *grīṣma* 'summer' and *vāsanta* 'spring', when they end in locative and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'sown at that time'.

EXAMPLES:

graiṣmakam '. . . sown in summer'
graiṣmam 'id.'
vāsantakam '. . . sown in spring'
vāsantam 'id.'

1. Note that the general affix *aṆ* will apply if this option of *vuN* is not accepted.

4.3.47 देयमृणे

deyam ṛṇe
/ *deyam* 1/1 *ṛṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *vuñ* #45)
saptamīsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikād deyam ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yad deyam ṛṇaṃ ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies time and ends in locative, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to 'a debt (*ṛṇa*) which ought to be repaid'.

EXAMPLES:

māse deyam ṛṇaṃ = *māsikam* 'a debt which ought to be repaid in a month'
ārddhamāsikam 'a debt which ought to be repaid in a fortnight'
sāmvatsarikam 'a debt which ought to be repaid within a year'

4.3.48 कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद् वुन्

kalāpyaśvatthayavabusād vun
/ *kalāpyaśvatthayavabusāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *deyam ṛṇe* #47)
kalāpi, aśvattha, yavabusa ity etebhyaḥ kālavācibhyaḥ saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'deyam ṛṇam' ity etasminn arthe vun pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* afix *vuN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kalāpin* 'peacock', *aśvattha* 'a tree of the banyan family; Ficus religiosa' and *yavabusa* 'barley-chaff', when they end in locative and have the

signification of time, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to 'a debt which ought to be repaid'.

EXAMPLES:

kalāpakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid before the time when peacocks spread their tails'
aśvatthakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid before the time when Aśvattha trees beat fruits'
yavabusakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid before the time when barley will be threshed'

1. A question is raised as to how *kalāpin*, *aśvattha* and *yavabusa* can be accepted as denoting time (*kāla*). They will all be treated as denoting time by way of association (*sāhacarya*). Thus we get the interpretation: *yasmin kāle kalāpinaḥ* . . . '. . . at the time when peacocks. . . .'

4.3.49 ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्वुञ्

grīṣmāvarasamād vuñ
/*grīṣmāvarasamāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām* . . . #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *deyam ṛṇe* #47)
grīṣmāvarasamaśabdābhyāṃ vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'deyam ṛṇam' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *grīṣma* and *avarasama*, when they end in locative and derivates denote a residual meaning relative to 'a debt which ought to be repaid'.

EXAMPLES:

graiṣmakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid by next summer'
āvarasamakam 'a debt which ought to be repaid on the first day of the new year'

1. Note that the word *samā* is synonymous with *varṣa* 'year'. Why did Pāṇini not account for derivates of this rule with the introduction of affix *vuN*? Because, by providing for a different affix, especially one with *Ñ* as an *it*, he wanted to account for *vṛddhi* of its derivates. This provision of *vuN* constitutes an exception to both *aṆ* (cf. 4.3.16 *sandhivelādyṛtu* . . ., in relation to *grīṣma*) and *ṭhaÑ* (cf. 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*, in relation to *avarasama*). An example such as *āvarasamakam* is also explained differently as: 'a debt which was to be repaid by the end of the preceding year but which still remains unpaid' (*atīte vatsare deyaṃ yad adyāpi na dattam* . . . cf. *PM* ad *Kāś.*).

4.3.50 संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ् च

saṃvatsarāgrahāyaṇībhyāṃ ṭhañ ca
/*saṃvatsarāgrahāyaṇībhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṭhañ* 1/1 *ca* ɸ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* ... #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43, *deyam ṛṇe* #47, *vuñ* #49)
saṃvatsarāgrahāyaṇīśabdābhyāṃ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād vuñ ca 'deyam ṛṇam' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ*, and *vuN* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *saṃvatsara* and *āgrahāyaṇī*, when they end in locative and derivates denote a residual meaning relative to 'a debt which ought to be repaid'.

EXAMPLES:

sāṃvatsarikam 'a debt to be repaid within a year'
sāṃvatsarakam 'id.'
āgrahāyaṇikam 'a debt which ought to be repaid by the full moon day of Āgrahāyaṇa'
āgrahāyaṇakam 'id.'

1. Note that *ṭhaÑ* of this rule will block *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy* ... if *phala* of the *Gaṇasūtra*: *saṃvatsarāt phalaparvaṇoḥ*, read within the *sandhivelādi* group, happens to signify a debt.

4.3.51 व्याहरति मृगः

vyāharati mṛgaḥ
/*vyāharati* (verbal pada); *mṛgaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ* ... #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra* #24, *kālāt* #43)
kālavācinaḥ saptamīsamarthāt prātipadikād 'vyāharati mṛgaḥ' ity asmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies time and ends in locative, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'a wild animal making noise at that time'.

EXAMPLES:

niśāyāṃ vyāharati mṛgaḥ naiśaḥ 'a wild animal which makes noise at night'
naiśikaḥ 'id.'
prādoṣaḥ 'a wild animal which makes noise at dusk'
prādoṣikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *deyam ṛṇam* is no longer carried. The new condition of *vyāharati mṛgaḥ* is interpreted as: *śabdāyate mṛgaḥ* 'the wild animal is making noise', where *mṛgaḥ* is interpreted as 'a wild animal'. The *ṭhaÑ*, in *naiśikam*, will be availed from rule 4.3.14 *niśāpradoṣābhyāṃ ca*. If one does not accept the option of 4.3.14 then *aṆ* of 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy*... will become applicable.

4.3.52 तदस्य सोढम्

tad asya soḍham
/*tat* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *soḍham* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ*... #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *kālāt* #43)
tad iti prathamāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ soḍhaṃ cet tad bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies time and ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided what is used in syntactic coordination with this nominative is also 'bearable (*soḍham*)'.

EXAMPLES:

naiśaḥ 'a student who is accustomed to studying at nights'
naiśikaḥ 'id.'
prādoṣaḥ 'a student who is accustomed to studying at dusk'

1. The expression *soḍham*, of *tad asya soḍham*, is explained as *jitam* 'conquered'. That is, it stands for something while doing which one conquers obstacles involved. It may also indicate something one endures, or goes accustomed to do. But note that what is conquered is not time (*kāla*). Consequently, because of its association with time (*kālasāhacarya*), 'study' could be accepted as a denotatum.

2. Affix *ṭhaÑ* (4.3.14 *niśāpradoṣābhyāṃ ca*) is again ruled optionally with *aṆ*.

4.3.53 तत्र भवः

tatra bhavaḥ
/*tatra* ϕ *bhavaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
'tatra' iti saptamīsamarthāt ṅyāpprātipadikād 'bhavaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, hence forth, occurs as specified, either after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in locative, or after a similar base

ending in a feminine affix, when derivates denote the sense of 'found, existing or obtaining there'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'that which is there in Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'that which is there in Mathurā'
rāṣṭriyaḥ 'that which is there in the nation'

1. The *anuvṛtti* of *kālāt* is no longer valid. The word *tatra* is used here explicitly so that *tad asya* (4.3.52 *tad asya soḍham*) could be dropped. For, the *anuvṛtti* of *tatra* would also have required the *anuvṛtti* of *tad asya* (*tadanuvṛttau tasyāpy anuvṛttiḥ syāt*).

4.3.54 **दिगादिभ्यो यत्**

digādibhyo yat
/ *digādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
'*diś*' *ity evam ādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati* '*tatra bhavaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *diś* 'direction' and ends in locative, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists' there'.

EXAMPLES:

diśi bhavam = *diśyam* 'that which is found in different directions'
vargyam 'that which obtains in a group'

1. The affixal provision of this rule constitutes an exception to affixes *aṆ* and *cha*. That is, a stem which is listed in the *digādi* group, and has a *vṛddhi* vowel initially, will constitute an exception to the *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. All other stems will constitute an exception to the general (*autsargika*) *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*.

2. A proposal to include *mukha* 'face' and *jaghana* 'thigh' in this group of *digādi* nominals is made when these stems do not mean body parts (*śarīrāvayava*). This will give us *mukhyam* 'front' and *jaghanyam* 'back' as in *senāmukhyam* 'front of an army' and *senājaghanyam* 'back of an army'. Note that *mukhya* and *jaghanya* must be derived prior to the formation of compounds. That is, *mukha* and *jaghana* cannot be interpreted via *tadantavidhi* to represent *senāmukha* and *senājaghana* for purposes of introducing affix *yaT*.

4.3.55 शरीरावयवाच्च

śarīrāvayavāc ca
/ *śarīrāvayavāt* 5/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ɸ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *yat* #54)
śarīrāvayavavācinaḥ prātipadikād yat pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* additionally occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in locative and denotes a part of the body, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

danteṣu bhavam = *dantyam* 'that which is found in teeth'
karṇyam 'that which is found in ears'

1. This is an exception to *aN*.

4.3.56 दृतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्ढञ्

dṛtikukṣikalaśivastyastyaher ḍhañ
/ *dṛtikukṣikalaśivastyastyaheḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* 4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
dṛtyādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dṛti* 'leather bag; skin', *kukṣi* 'abdomen', *kalaśi* 'jar', *vasti* 'bladder', *asti* 'existence', and *ahi* 'snake', when these end in locative and derivates signify a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

dṛtau bhavam = *dārteyam* 'that which is in the leather bag'
raukṣeyam 'that which exists in the abdomen'
kālaśeyam 'that which is found in a jar'
vāsteyam 'that which is there in the bladder'
āsteyam 'that which is found in money'
āheyam 'that (poison) which is found in snakes'

1. Note that *asti* is not a form of *as* 'to be'. Instead, it is an indeclinable termed *nipāta* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *nipātasaṃjñakaṃ tiṅantasadṛśaṃ prātipadikam etat, na tiṅantam*). It is, however, synonymous with the verbal form *asti* since

it also means 'existence'. It also means wealth'. Thus, we get *astikṣīrā brāhmaṇī* 'a brāhmaṇa woman who has many cows, and therefore, is rich in milk'.

4.3.57 ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च

grīvābhyo' ṇ ca
/*grīvābhyaḥ* 5/3 *aṇ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* 4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *ḍhañ* #56)
grīvāśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati cakārād ḍhañ ca 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ*, and *aN* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *grīvā* 'blood vessels', when it ends in locative and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

graivam 'that which is found in blood-vessels'
graiveyam 'id.'

1. Why is the specification by *grīvābhyaḥ* made in plural? Is it for facilitating introduction of affixes after plural bases? No. A plural specification is made because of multiplicity (*bahutva*) of *grīvā* which here means 'blood-vessels'. (*Kāś.*: *grīvāśabdo dhamanīvacanaḥ tāsāṃ bahutvād bahuvacanaṃ kṛtam*).
2. Note that *grīvā* could have availed *yaT* of 4.3.55 on account of denoting body part. In this sense the two affixes here constitute an exception to *yaT*.

4.3.58 गम्भीराञ्ञ्यः

gambhīrāñ ñyaḥ
/*gambhīrāt* 5/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
gambhīraśabdād ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *gambhīra* when it ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

gambhīre bhavam gāmbhīryam 'that which is found in depths'

1. A *vārttika* also provides for this affix after *bahis* 'outside', *deva* 'divinity' and *pañcajana* 'name of a demon' to derive *bāhyam* 'that which is located outside' (deletion of *is* via a *vārttika* under 4.1.85 *dityadityādi* . . .); *daivyam*

'divine' and *pāñcajanyam* 'that which was found in the demon *pañcajana*; Kṛṣṇa's conch-shell which was recovered from the body of Pañcajana'.

4.3.59 अव्ययीभावाच्च

avyayībhāvāc ca
/ *avyayībhāvāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *ñyaḥ* #58)
avyayībhāvasaṃjñakāt prātipadikāc ca ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs also after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *avyaya*, when it ends in *saptamī* 'locative' and the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'

EXAMPLES:

pārimukhyam 'around the face'
pārihanavyam 'around the jaw'

1. The *ca* in this *sūtra* is used for bringing the *anuvṛtti* of *Ñya*. Note that affix *Ñya* is introduced only after indeclinables such as *parimukha*, etc. That is, it cannot be introduced after any indeclinable. Why then is the word *avyayībhāva* used in this rule? Pāṇini should have just used *parimukhādibhyaś ca*. The rule is formulated with *avyayībhāva* so that *parimukha*, etc., are not interpreted as *tatpuruṣa* compounds. For, a derivate such as *pārimukhaḥ* parallel to *parigataṃ mukhaṃ parimukham*; *tatra bhavaḥ pārimukhaḥ* will be derived with *aṆ*. The word *parimukham* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound. Similar interpretational problems will also arise in case of *bahuvrīhi* interpretations.

The *parimukhādi* group is enumerated after *digādi* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*). The word *avyayībhāva* is used here as a qualifier to the *parimukhādi* stems. There is no other function of this group in the grammar. It also suggests that the word *avyaya*, at least for purposes of this rule, is restricted to items of the *parimukhādi* group. It is this desired interpretation of *avyayībhāva* which does not permit a derivate such as *aupakūlam* 'that which is located near the bank of a river' to be derived with *Ñya*. The base (*upakūla*) is an indeclinable (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti* . . .) but it is not included in the *parimukhādi* group. Consequently, *aupakūlam* must be derived with *aṆ*.

The word *avyayībhāvāt* had to be used also for the following rules (*uttarārtha*). It is required for 4.3.60 *antaḥpūrvapadāṭ ṭhañ* and 4.3.61 *grāmāt paryanupūrvāt* as well.

4.3.60 अन्तः पूर्वपदाट्ठञ्

antaḥpūrvapadāṭ ṭhañ

/*antaḥpūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *antaḥ pūrvapadam yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* 4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *avyayībhāvāt* #59)
saptamīsamarthād antaḥpūrvapadād avyayībhāvāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related indeclinable nominal stem used in combination after *antaḥ*, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

āntarveśmikam 'that which is located inside the house'
āntargehikam 'id.'

1. Note that *antaḥ* combines in an *avyayībhāva* compound formed in the sense of *vibhaki* 'lotus'. Refer to my notes under rule 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti*... for details. Affix *ṭhaÑ* of this rule is an exception to *aṆ*.

There are a series of *vārttika* and *iṣṭis* under this rule whereby affix *ṭhaÑ* is also introduced after diverse number of bases. For example, *ṭhaÑ* is introduced after *samāna*, whether used by itself or used in combination before a stem (*tadādeś ca*) to derive *sāmānikam* and *sāmānadeśikam*. Affix *ṭhaÑ* is also recommended after *adhyātma*, etc., to derive *ādhyātmikam*, *ādhidaivikam*, etc. The following verse summarizes these, and some more derivates, for which one must refer to the *Mahābhāṣya*:

samānasya tadādeś ca adhyātmādiṣu ceṣyate/
ūrdhvandamāc ca dehāc ca lokottarapadasya ca//
mukhapārśvatasorīyaḥ kugjanasya parasya ca/
īyaḥ kāryo' tha madhyasya maṇmīyau pratyayau tathā//
madhyo madhyaṃ dinaṇ cāsmāt sthāmno lug ajināt tathā//
'affix *ṭhaÑ* is desired after *samāna*, or after that which begins with *samāna*, and also after *adhyātma*, etc.; affix *ṭhaÑ* is desired after *ūrdhvan* used before *dama* and *deha* and also after that which has *loka* at its end; affix *īya* occurs after *mukha* and *pārśva* terminating in *tas*; and *kUK* comes after *jana* and *para*; affix *īya* occurs after *madhya*; and so do affixes *ma* and *mīya*; from *madhya* with *dina* is derived *mādhyandinam* with *aṆ*; the *a* goes through *LUK* after bases which end in *sthāman* and *ajin* as in *aśvatthāman* and *siṃhājinaḥ*'.

4.3.61 ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात्

grāmāt paryanupūrvāt
/*grāmāt* 5/1 *paryanupūrvāt* 5/1 = *pariś ca anuś ca* (*dv.*); *paryanu pūrvaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *avyayībhāvāt* #59, *ṭhañ* #60)
grāmaśabdāntād avyayībhāvāt 'pari, anu' ity evaṃ pūrvāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *avyayībhāva* when the same begins with *pari* and *anu* used in combination before *grāma*, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

pārigrāmikaḥ 'that which is found around the village'
ānugrāmikaḥ 'that which is found near the village'

1. Note that compounds such as *pārigrāmikaḥ* and *ānugrāmikaḥ* are allowed by rules 2.1.12 *apaparibahir*. . . and 2.1.15 *anur yatsamayā*, respectively.

4.3.62 जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेश्छः

jihvāmūlāṅguleś chaḥ
/*jihvāmūlāṅguleḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
jihvāmūlaśabdād aṅguliśabdāc ca chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *jihvāmūla* 'root of the tongue' and *aṅguli* 'finger' when they end in locative and derivates signify a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

jihvāmūlīyam 'that which is located at the root of the tongue'
aṅgulīyam 'that which is found in fingers'

1. Affix *cha* of this rule is an exception to the *yaT* of 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca*.

4.3.63 वर्गान्ताच्च

vargāntāc ca
/*vargāntāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *cha* #62)

vargaśabdāntāc ca prātipadikāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *cha* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *varga* as its final constituent ending in locative, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

kavargīyam '. . . located within the *k*-series'
cavargīyam '. . . located within the *c*-series'

1. This provision of *cha* is an exception to *aṆ*.

4.3.64 अशब्दे यत्खावन्यतरस्याम्

aśabde yatkhāv anyatarasyām
/ *aśabde* 7/1 = *na śabde* (*nañ. tat.*); *yatkhau* (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *vargāntāt* #63)
śabdād anyasmin pratyayārthe vargāntāt prātipadikād anyatarasyāṃ yatkhau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *kha* occur optionally after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *varga* as its final constituent ending in locative, provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to something other than noise (*aśabda*) 'existing in there'.

EXAMPLES:

vāsudevavargyaḥ 'he who is on Vāsudeva's side'
vāsudevavargīṇaḥ 'id.'
vāsudevavargīyaḥ 'id.'
yudhiṣṭhiravargyaḥ 'he who is on Yudhiṣṭhira's side'
yudhiṣṭhiravargīṇaḥ 'id.'
yudhiṣṭhiravargīyaḥ 'id.'

1. Since an optional provision of *yaT* and *kha* is made against *cha*, we will get three forms. The word *śabda* of *aśabda* is used here to contrast derivates of this rule with those of the preceding. Hence, *śadba* can be interpreted here as articulatory noise (*uccāryaśabda*).

2. Why can we not introduce affix *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* after *vāsudevavarga* which is *vṛddha*. It is argued that the *cha* of 4.2.114 will be blocked by *yaT* and *kha* of this rule on the basis of *paratva*. The *cha*, however, will be introduced by the optional provision of this very rule (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: '*vṛddhāc chaḥ*' *ity asya paratvād yatkhau bādhakāv iti vṛddhād apy anena cha eṣitavyaḥ*).

4.3.65 कर्णललाटात्कनलङ्कारे

karṇalalāṭāt kan alaṃkāre
/ *karṇalalāṭāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *kan* 1/1 *alaṃkāre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
karṇa-lalāṭaśabdābhyāṃ kan pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye' laṃkāre' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *karṇa* 'ear' and *lalāṭa* 'forehead' when they end in locative and their derivates signify a residual meaning relative to an ornament 'existing there'.

EXAMPLES:

karṇikā 'that (an ornament) which is worn on ears'
lalāṭikā 'that (an ornament) which is worn on the forehead'

1. Note that the condition of *alaṃkāre* makes this rule an exception to 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca* which, in turn, allows for derivates such as *karṇyam* and *lalāṭyam* with *yaT*. Affix *ṬāP* of *karṇikā* and *lalāṭikā* is introduced by 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*. The *a* before *k* is, of course, replaced with *i* (7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*...).

4.3.66 तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः

tasya vyākhyāna iti ca vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ
/ *tasya* 6/1 *vyākhyāne* 7/1 *iti* ϕ *ca* ϕ *vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ* 1/1 = *vyākhyātavyasya nāma* (*ṣas. tat.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53)
ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ prātipadikād vyākhyāne' bhidheye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati tatra bhave ca
A *taddhita* affix, henceforth, occurs as ruled after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive and names something to be commented upon, when derivates denote a residual meaning relative to a *vyākhyāna* 'commentary', or 'to something found in there'.

EXAMPLES:

saupaḥ 'a commentary on affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*'
kārttaḥ 'a commentary on affixes termed *kṛt*'
taiṅaḥ 'a commentary on affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*'
supsu bhavam = *saupam* 'that which is found in affixes termed *sUP*'

taiṅam 'that which is found in affixes termed *tiṄ*'

1. Note that the base after which an affixal provision is made by this rule must signify something to be commented upon. The meanings under which this provision is made are twofold: *vyākhyāna* 'commentary' and *tatra bhavaḥ* 'that which obtains in there'. An affix which is introduced to denote the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ* will have to be introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in locative.

It is claimed that meanings of *vyākhyāna* and *tatra bhavaḥ* can be gotten, both, from rules 4.3.120 *tasyedam* and 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*. Why then formulate this single rule with dual denotational provisions? Commentators explain that 4.3.53 and 4.3.120 are rules which make general affixal provisions (of, for example, *aṆ*) to which there may be exceptions, such as *ṭhaÑ*, etc. The dual provision of our present rule will block any particular provision which, in turn, may block the general provisions of 4.3.53 and 4.3.120 (cf. *Mahābhāṣya: kimartham bhavavyākhyānayor yugapad adhikāraḥ kriyate? bhavavyākhyānayor yugapad adhikāraḥ apavādavidhānārthaḥ. yugapad apavādān vakṣyāmīti. kim ucyate'pavādavidhānārtham iti na punar nirdeśārtho'pi syāt. kṛtanirdeśau hi tāv arthau. ekas tatra bhava iti. aparas tasyedam iti*).

2. The purpose of using *ca*, close to *vyākhyāne*, in this rule is to attract an affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*) similar to *vyākhyāne*. The affixal meaning of *tatra bhavaḥ* is attracted because of its association (*sāhacarya*). But since the *tatra bhavaḥ* meaning is denoted in the context of a base ending in locative, the genitive *tasya* specifying bases of this rule comes into conflict with it. Commentators state that since *ca* is used after *iti*, it can only attract meaning. It cannot attract any specification of a nominal ending. If it cannot attract specification of a nominal ending then it will only attract the meaning of *bhavaḥ*, and not of *tatra bhavaḥ*. Obviously, *tatra* specifies *saptamī* 'locative'.

When faced with the question of what should the base end in, one would naturally select genitive. Why? Because that is what *tasya* specifies. But this specification by *tasya* applies only to the meaning of *vyākhyāna*. One must then select the locative when one has to signify the meaning of *bhavaḥ* (*Nyāsa: bhavārthe saptamīsamarthād eva pratyayo bhavati*).

4.3.67 बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्ताट्ठञ्

bahvaco'ntodāttāṭ ṭhañ

/ *bahvacaḥ* 5/1 = *bahavo' co yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *antodāttāt* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca* . . . #66)

bahvaco vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ prātipadikād antodāttād bhavavyākhyānayoṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related polysyllabic nominal stem which is marked *udātta* at the end, terminates in genitive (or in locative when the meaning is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and signifies something to be commented upon, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to a *vyākhyāna*, or to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

ṣātvaṇatvikaḥ 'a commentary on rules dealing with replacements in *ṣ* and *ṇ*; or that which is found in such a commentary'
nātānatikam 'a commentary on accentuation dealing with *udātta* and *anudātta*; or 'that which is found in such a commentary'

1. This provision of *ṭhaÑ* is an exception to *aṆ*. A final *udātta* accent is assigned to our example bases by rule 6.1.223 *samāsasya.*

4.3.68 क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च

kratuyajñebhyaś ca
/ *kratuyajñebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *kratavaś ca yajñaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca* . . . #66, *ṭhañ* #67)
kratubhyo yajñebhyaś ca vyākhyātavyanāmabhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo bhavavyākhyānayor arthayoṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kratu* and *yajña* when they end in genitive (or locative when the meaning is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and signify something to be commented upon, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or, to 'that which exists there'.

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭomasya vyākhyānas tatra bhavaḥ = *āgniṣṭomikaḥ* 'a commentary on Agniṣṭoma; or that which is found in such a commentary'
vājapeyikaḥ 'a commentary on Vājapeya; or that which is found in such a commentary'
pākayajñikaḥ 'a commentary on Pākayajña; or that which is found in such a commentary'
nāvayajñikaḥ 'a commentary on Nāvayajña; or that which is found in such a commentary'

1. This rule clearly makes a distinction between *kratu* and *yajña*. Note that *yajña* 'sacrificial ritual' is a very broad term which, within its signification, includes three major types of sacrifices: *iṣṭi*, where ritual oblation to fire with the invocation of *svāhā* is made while sitting; *paśubandha* and *somayajña*, where ritual oblation to fire is offered with the invocation of *vauṣaṭ* while

standing. A *kratu*, when distinguished from a *yajña*, would refer to a *somayajña* where *soma* will be offered as principal oblation (*kratubhya ity eva siddhe yajñagrahaṇam asomayāgebhyo'pi yathā syāt*). A *kratu* could be performed for a period of one to eleven days (*ahīna*), twelve to one hundred days, or one hundred one days to a thousand years.

This rule is formulated to accommodate examples with no final *udātta* (*anantodāttārtha ārambhaḥ*). See the appendix for derivational details. The plural, in contradistinction to a dual, is used in *kratuyajñebhyaḥ* to disallow its interpretation based in form (*svarūpavidhi*). An interpretation based on meaning (*artha*) qualifies bases such as *agniṣṭoma, vājapeya* and *pākayajña* to facilitate affixal operations. An interpretation relying on *svarūpavidhi* will alow affixes to be introduced only after two forms: *kratu* and *yajña.*

4.3.69 अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः

adhyāyeṣv eva ṛṣeḥ
/ *adhyāyeṣu* 7/3 *eva* ϕ *ṛṣeḥ* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca* . . . #66, *ṭhañ* #67)
ṛṣiśabdebhyo bhavavyākhyānayor arthayoṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive (or in locative when the meaning is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and names a *ṛṣi* 'sage', provided the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to a commentary on an *adhyāya* 'chapter', or 'that which is found in there'.

EXAMPLES:

vaiṣṭhasya vyākhyānas tatra bhavo vā = *vāsiṣṭhiko' dhyāyaḥ* 'a chapter in which there is a commentary on the *mantras* revealed to sage Vasiṣṭha; or that which is found in such a commentary'
vaiśvāmitrikaḥ 'a chapter in which there is a commentary on the *mantra* revealed to sage Viśvāmitra; or that which is found in such a commentary'

1. Note that *adhyāya* 'chapter' is here made a qualifier to the signification of affix *ṭhaÑ* (*pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇa*). The tradition generally accepts sages as seers of *mantras* which, in turn, constitute the subject-matter of *saṃhitās.* But this *sūtra,* for purposes of introducing affix *ṭhaÑ,* restricts the names of the seers to those whose names are enumerated in the *pravarādhyāya* 'a chapter on *pravara*' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *etena yady api mantradarṣiṣu ṛṣiśabdaḥ prasiddhaḥ tathāpi pravarādhyāyapaṭhitānām eva grahaṇam iti darśayati*). The word *pravara* generally refers to a principal ancestor in the lineage recognized by the *gotra.* The *adhvaryu,* presiding ritualist, and *hotṛ,* the ritualist who offers oblations to the sacrificial fire with invocations, recite names of their exalted ances-

tors included within the *pravarādhyāya* as part of their *gotra* lineage.

2. Since this rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of the word *vyākhyātavyanāmnaḥ*, the word *ṛṣi*, because of its association (*sāhacarya*), refers to a treatise (*grantha*). How could *ṛṣi* refer to a *grantha*? It is possible, though figuratively (*upacārāt*), to refer to a *mantra* revealed to *Vasiṣtha* as *vasiṣtha*.

4.3.70 पौराडाशपुरोडाशाद् ष्ठन्

paurāḍāśapuroḍāśāt ṣṭhan
/*pauroḍāśapuroḍāśat* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṣṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca* . . . #66)
pauroḍāśaśabdāt, puroḍāśaśabdāc ca bhavavyākhyānayor arthayoḥ ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *pauroḍāśa* 'a *mantra* consecrating *puroḍāśa*, and *puroḍāśa* 'a particular oblation of food' when these stems end in genitive (or in locative when the sense is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and signify something to be commented upon, provided derivates denote a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or that which is found in there.

EXAMPLES:

pauroḍāśikaḥ 'a commentary on the *mantra* used for consecrating ritual oblation of food named'
puroḍāśa; or that which is found in such a commentary'
pauroḍāśikī 'id. (feminine)'
puroḍāśikaḥ 'id.'
puroḍāśikī 'id. (fem.)'

1. Note that *pauroḍāśa* is a derivate of *aṆ* (cf. 5.4.38 *prajñādibhyaś ca*) denoting a *mantra* with which a ritual oblation of powdered rice or barley balls (*piṣṭapiṇḍāḥ*) is consecrated. A commentary, or that which is found in a commentary, on *puroḍāśa* will be called *pauroḍāśikaḥ*. A derivate of *puroḍāśa* + *ṢṭhaN* will be *puroḍāśikaḥ*, where *puroḍāśa* will not refer to ritual oblation. Instead, it will, either figuratively or via association (*upacārāt sāhacaryeṇa vā*), denote the *mantra*. Thus, *pauroḍāśikaḥ* and *puroḍāśikaḥ* will mean the same thing.

2. The *Ṣ* as an *it* in *ṢṭhaN* is used to facilitate derivation of feminine forms with affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaḥ*). The *N* of *ṢṭhaN*, as an *it*, is used for high-pitch accent initially (*ādhyudātta*). The word *pauroḍāśa* is marked *udātta* at the end. This could have qualified for *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.67 *bahvaco'*. . . . The word *puroḍāśa* is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). This could have qualified for affix *aṆ*. These affixes both are blocked by *ṢṭhaN*.

4.3.71 छन्दसो यदणौ

chandaso yadaṇau
/ *chandasaḥ* 5/1 *yadaṇau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca* . . . #66)
chandaḥśabdād bhavavyākhyānayor arthayor yadaṇau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *aṆ* occur after the syntactically related nominal stem *chandas* 'Veda' when it ends in genitive (or in locative when the sense is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and signifies something to be commented upon, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or that which is found in there.

EXAMPLES:

chándasyáḥ 'a commentary on Vedas, or that which is found in such a commentary'
chāndasaḥ 'id.'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* and *aṆ* constitutes a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to *ṭhaK*, characterized by *dvyac* 'that which consists of two vowels' of the next rule.

4.3.72 द्व्यजृद्ब्राह्मणर्क्प्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताट्ठक्

dvyajṛdbrāhmaṇarkprathamādhvarapuraścaraṇanāmākhyātāṭ ṭhak
/ *dvyajṛdbrāhmaṇarkprathamādhvarapuraścaraṇanāmākhyātāt* 5/1 = *dvyac ca ṛc ca brāhamaṇaś ca ṛk ca prathamaś ca adhvaraś ca puraścaraṇaṃ ca nāma ca ākhyātaṃ ca* = *dvyajṛd* . . . *ākhyātam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca* . . . #66)
dvyajādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vyākhyātavyanāmabhyo bhavavyākhyānnayor arthayoṣ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which either has two vowels, or ends in *ṛ*, or else, is constituted by *brāhmaṇa, ṛk, prathama, adhvara* and *puraścaraṇa,* when the stems end in genitive (or in locative when the sense is *tatra bhavaḥ*) and derivates signify a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or that which is found in there.

EXAMPLES:

aiṣṭikaḥ 'a commentary on *iṣṭi* 'a sacrifice', or that which is found in there'
pāśukaḥ 'a commentary on *paśuyāga,* a ritual sacrifice where an animal

is tied with the ritual post; or that which is found in there'
cāturhotṛkaḥ 'a commentary on *caturhotṛ* where four priests offer ritual oblation; or that which is found in the commentary'
brāhmaṇikaḥ 'a commentary on some *Brāhmaṇa* text; or that which is found in there'
ārcikaḥ 'a commentary on Vedic hymns (*ṛk*); or that which is found in there'
prāthamikaḥ 'a treatise dealing with primary (*pradhāna*) and secondary (*upasarjana*) aspects of compound constituency; or that which is found in there'
ādhvarikaḥ 'a commentary on Soma sacrifices; or that which is found in there'
pauraścaraṇikaḥ 'a commentary on preparations for sacrifices; or that which is found in there'
nāmikaḥ 'a treatise on *nāman* 'noun, nominal'; or that which is found in there'
ākhyātikaḥ 'a treatise on *ākhyāta* 'verb'; or that which is found in there'
nāmākhyātikaḥ 'a treatise on nouns and verbs; or that which is found in there'

1. The word *nāmākhyāta* is specified as a compound so that it can also refer to its individual constituents, i.e., *nāma* and *ākhyāta* (*Kāś.*: *nāmākhyāta-grahaṇaṃ saṅghātavigṛhītārtham*).

2. The affixal provision of this rule constitutes an exception to affixes *aṆ* and *ṭhaÑ*. Recall that *ṭhaÑ* of stems with two vowels is an exception to *aṆ*. The *ṭhaK* of stems which end in *ṛ*, consist of many vowels (*bahvac*) and are marked *udātta* at the end, is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. The *ṭhaK* of *brāhmaṇa* and *adhvara* is also an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. Stems such as *nāma* and *ākhyāta* are no different. The remaining examples constitute exceptions to *aṆ*.

4.3.73 अणृगयनादिभ्यः

aṇ ṛgayanādibhyaḥ
/*aṇ* 1/1 *ṛgayanādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ṛgayana ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tatra bhavaḥ* #53, *tasya vyākhyāna iti ca* . . . #66)
ṛgayanādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo bhavavyākhyānayor arthayor aṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *ṛgayana* and end in genitive (or in locative when the sense is *tatra bhavaḥ*), provided derivates signify a residual meaning relative to a commentary, or that which is found in there.

EXAMPLES:

ārgayanaḥ 'a commentary on recitation of the *Ṛgveda*; or that which is found in there'
aupaniṣadaḥ 'a commentary on the Upaniṣat; or that which is found in there'

1. The affixal proposal of this rule is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*, etc. Thus, *ṛgayana* should have received *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.67 *bahvaco'*. . . . The word *upaniṣat* is a derivate of *kṛt*, and hence, is marked *udātta* at the end. It too should have taken *ṭhaÑ*. An example such as *vaiyākaraṇaḥ* constitutes an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

2. Note that *aṆ* could have been gotten via *anuvṛtti*. It is specifically mentioned here for blocking an affixal provision which may otherwise block a provision specifically made. Thus, *vāstuvidyā* is a stem which is *vṛddha* and is also marked *udātta* at the end on account of being a compound (6.1.223 *samāsasya*). This stem can qualify for *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*, though this *cha* may be blocked by affix *ṭhaÑ* of 4.3.67 *bahvaco'*. . . . That is, *cha* will be blocked by *ṭhaÑ* at the strength of an express provision made with the qualification of *bahvacaḥ*. If *aṆ* was not stated in this rule then *cha* would have been blocked by *ṭhaÑ*. The use of *aṆ* is thus made to block an affix (*ṭhaÑ* which may have otherwise blocked the other (*cha*; *Kāś.*: *aṇgrahaṇaṁ bādhakabādhanārtham*). This is how *vāstuvidyaḥ* is derived.

4.3.74 तत आगतः

tata āgataḥ
/*tataḥ* ϕ *āgataḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
tata iti pañcamīsamarthāt 'āgataḥ' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet of nominal endings', when derivates signify the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'he who has arrived from Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'he who has arrived from Mathurā'

1. Note that *tataḥ*, an indeclinable, carries the force of *pañcamī*, as *tatra* carries a similar force of locative (*saptamī*). Affixes in this subdomain will then be introduced after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *pañcamī*. What is the signification of this *pañcamī*? It denotes *apāya* 'move-

ment away from' (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye* . . .). It is further stated that this signification of *apāya* must be primary (*mukhya*; *Kāś.*: *tata iti mukhyaṃ yad apādānaṃ vivakṣitaṃ tad iha gṛhyate*. . .). Thus, *vṛkṣamūlād āgataḥ* of *srughnād āgacchan vṛkṣamūlād āgataḥ* 'while returning from Srughna he arrived from Vṛkṣamūla' will not be allowed to derive **vārkṣamūlikaḥ*. For, the *pañcamī* of *srughnāt* alone denotes the principal sense of *apāya*. The *pañcamī* of *vṛkṣamūla* signifies an *apādāna* of a secondary (*nāntarīyaka*) nature.

4.3.75 ठगायस्थानेभ्यः

ṭhag āyasthānebhyaḥ
/*ṭhag* 1/1 *āyasthānebhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
āyasthānavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaṣ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati '*tata āgataḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in ablative and signifies a 'place of income' (*āyasthāna*), provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

śaulkaśālikaḥ 'one who has returned from the place where revenue is collected'
ākarikam 'that which has arrived from the treasury'

1. The word *āya* is explained as 'money which goes to the ruler (*svāmigrāhyo bhāgaḥ*)'. The word *āyasthāna* thus refers to a place where rulers collect their share.

2. Affix *ṭhaK* is an exception to the general affixal provision of *aṆ*. It also blocks *cha* on the basis of *paratva*. The plural in *āyasthānebhyaḥ* is again used to disallow any wordform (*svarūpavidhi*) interpretation of *āyasthāna*. Obviously, affix *ṭhaK* is not introduced after the form of the word *sāyasthāna*. It is introduced after stem having the signification of *āyasthāna*.

4.3.76 शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण्

śuṇḍikādibhyo'ṇ
/*śuṇḍikādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *śuṇḍika ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
'*śuṇḍika*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati* '*tata āgataḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śuṇḍika,* when the same ends in *pañcamī* and the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

śauṇḍikaḥ 'that (revenue) which has arrived from a tavern'
kārkaṇaḥ 'that which has arrived from the Bhāradvāja area'
audapānaḥ 'that which has been received form Udapāna'

1. Note that *śuṇḍika,* etc., serve as source of revenue (*āyasthāna*). Affix *aṆ* can thus be regarded as an exception to *ṭhaK* of the previous rule, especially in the context of *āyasthāna.* It can also be treated as an exception to *cha* of 4.2.145 *kṛkaṇaparṇād bhāradvāje,* relative to examples such as *kārkaṇaḥ.* It can also be treated as used to block an exception which would otherwise block some specific provision. Refer to *audapānaḥ,* where *aÑ* of 4.1.86 *utsādibhyo' ñ* is blocked by *ṭhaK* of 4.1.75 *ṭhag āyasthānebhyaḥ.* If this rule did not specify *aṆ* then *aÑ* would have blocked *ṭhaK.* Affix *aṆ* is thus used for blocking an affix which would otherwise block some specific provision (*bādhakabādhanārtha*).

4.3.77 विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यो वुञ्

vidyāyonisambandhebhyo vuñ
/ *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *vidyā ca yoniś* = *vidyāyonī* (*dv.*), *tatkṛtaḥ sambandho yeṣām* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
vidyāyonikṛtaḥ sambandho yeṣāṃ te vidyāyonisambandhāḥ, tadvācibhyaḥ śabdebhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *pañcamī* and signifies a person related through *vidyā* 'study' and *yoni* 'birth', provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

aupādhyāyakam 'that (knowledge) which has come from the teacher'
śaiṣyakam 'that which has come from a disciple'
mātāmahakam 'that which has come from maternal grandfather'
pitāmahakam 'that which has come from paternal grandfather'

1. The word *vidyāyonisambandha* characterizes a relationship via 'knowledge' (*vidyā*) and 'birth' (*yoni*), as one finds between a teacher and a taught, and also between blood-relatives, respectively.

4.3.78 ऋतष्ठञ्

ṛtaṣ ṭhañ
/*ṛtaḥ* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74, *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* #77)
ṛkārāntebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vidyāyonisambandhavācibhyaṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṛ* and signifies a person related through *vidyā* and *yoni*, provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

hautṛkam 'that which is received from the sacrificial priest (*hotā*)'
pautṛkam 'that which is received from (one of the sixteen) sacrificial priest (*potā*)'
bhrātṛkam 'that which is received from a brother'
mātṛkam 'that which is received from mother'

1. This affixal provision of *ṭhaÑ* is an exception to *vuN* of the preceding rule. The *t* of *ṛtaḥ* is not necessary, though it is still used for ease of articulation (*mukhasukhārtham*). Why can it not be accepted for excluding a long *ṝ*. It is impossible to find a stem which characterizes a relationship through *vidyā* and *yoni* and also ends in a long *ṝ*. Thus, *t* is not used for excluding any homogeneous *ṝ*.

4.3.79 पितुर्यच्च

pitur yac ca
/*pituḥ* 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg divyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74, *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* #77, *ṭhañ* #78)
pitṛśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhañ ca 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, and *ṭhaÑ* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *pitṛ*, when the same ends in *pañcamī* and the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'having arrived from there'.

EXAMPLES:

pitṛyam 'received from father'
paitṛyam 'id.'

4.3.80 गोत्रादङ्कवत्

gotrād aṅkavat
/*gotrāt* 5/1 *aṅkavat* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* 3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg divyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
gotrapratyayāntāt prātipadikād aṅkavat pratyayavidhir bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
An affixal operation similar to *aṅka* obtains when a *taddhita* affix occurs to denote the residual meaning of *tata āgataḥ* after a syntactically related nominal stem which terminates in a *gotra* affix and is used in *pañcamī*.

EXAMPLES:

aupagavakaḥ 'that which has come from a descendant of Upagu'
aupagavakam 'id.'
kāpaṭavakaḥ 'that which has come from a descendant of Kapaṭu'
kāpaṭavakam 'id.'

1. This rule is extensional (*ātideśika*) in nature. It extends, to its own context, an operation which is similar to one applicable to *aṅka* of 5.3.127 *saṅghāṅkalakṣaṇeṣv*. . . . The affixal provision relative to *aṅka* of 5.3.127 is *aṆ*. Commentators, however, explain that the reference is not exactly to the *aṆ* specification of 5.3.127. It is instead to the *vuÑ* of 5.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ*, via the denotation of 5.3.120 *tasyedam*. The *aṆ* of 5.3.127, and the *vuÑ* of 5.3.126 as well, are both given under the semantic condition of *tasyedam*. Thus, the word *aṅka* is used in our present rule for reference to the general semantic characterization (*lakṣaṇa*) of *tasyedam* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). That is, an affixal operation obtaining after a nominal stem with the signification of a *gotra* when derivates denote *tasyedam*, obtains, also within the extensional provision of this rule after similar stems, even when derivates denote *tata āgataḥ*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) remarks that *vyākhyāna* 'explanation of the learned' alone can explain how *aṅka* is able to refer to the more general meaning of *tasyedam*. *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś.*) resorts to the maxim of *kākebhyo dadhi rakṣyatām* 'let there be some yoghurt saved for crows'. This maxim recommends to the sacrificer to 'leave some yoghurt aside for crows', otherwise, the crows will hover around, will hurt someone, or will simply create nuisance. As the word *kāka* of this maxim is not used for denoting 'crows' alone but is instead used for referring to birds in general, as source of nuisance, the word *aṅka* is similarly used to refer to the general sense of *tasyedam*. This general reference facilitates reference to *vuÑ* of 5.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ*, in addition to facilitating a reference to *aṆ*. Thus, affixes *aṆ* and *vuÑ* of which are introduced to denote the sense of *tasyedam*, elsewhere, are introduced

here to denote the sense of *tata āgataḥ*.

To sum up:

1. The way in which an affixal operation obtains after a *gotra*-base in the domain of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, the same way it obtains here in the domain of 4.3.74 *tata āgataḥ* (*Nyāsa: yathā 'tasyedam' ity atra gotrāt pratyayo bhavati, tathā 'tata āgataḥ' ity atrāpi*).

2. Remember that, outside the domain of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, the word *gotra* is interpreted as used in its popular, non-technical, sense of 'offspring' (*apatya*), at large.

4.3.81 हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः

hetumanuṣyebhyo' nyatarasyāṃ rūpyaḥ
/*hetumanuṣyebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; anyatarasyām* 7/1 *rūpyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92 *tata āgataḥ* #74)
hetubhyo manuṣyebhyaś cānyatarasyāṃ rūpyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *rūpya* occurs, optionally, after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *hetu* 'reason', or *manuṣya* 'a human', and ends in *pañcamī*, provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of *tata āgataḥ*.

EXAMPLES:

samarūpyam 'that which has arrived from level grounds'
samīyam id.'
viṣamarūpyam 'that which has arrived from higher grounds'
devadattarūpyam 'that which has come from Devadatta'
daivadattam 'id.'

1. The word *hetu* is explained as *kāraṇa* 'reason'. Our optional examples *samīyam* and *viṣamīyam* are derived with affix *cha* because *sama* and *viṣama* are listed in the *gahādi* group of 4.3.138 *gahādibhyaś ca*. A parallel example for *devadattarūpyam* will be *daivadattam*, a derivate of *aṆ*.

Why does Pāṇini use plural in *hetumanuṣyebhyaḥ*? So that an interpretation specific to the form of the word *hetumanuṣyebhyaḥ* could be ruled out (*bahuvacanaṃ svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*).

What rule allows for an ablative ending to denote *hetu*? We know that 2.3.23 *hetau* introduces *tṛtīyā* for denoting *hetu*. Our present rule itself will introduce *pañcamī* for this purpose. Incidentally, *sama* 'level' and *viṣama* 'high' can constitute *hetu* of 'arrival' by way of being 'conducive' or 'non-conducive' to it.

4.3.82 मयट् च

mayaṭ ca
/ *mayaṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.2, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tata āgataḥ* #74)
hetubhyo manuṣyebhyaś ca mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati 'tata āgataḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stems signifying *hetu* and *manuṣya*, and ending in *pañcamī*, when derivates denote the residual meaning of *tata āgataḥ*.

EXAMPLES:

samamayam 'that which has arrived from level grounds'
viṣamamayam 'that which has arrived from high grounds'
devadattamayam 'that which has come from Devadatta'

1. Note that this rule is formulated separately from the preceding one so that there may not be any confusion about *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalency between equal number of elements based on order of their enumeration'. That is, so that one does not end up introducing *rūpyaḥ* after *hetu* and *mayaṬ* after *manuṣya*, optionally with, for example, *cha*. The *Ṭ* as an *it* in *mayaṬ* is used to facilitate introduction of feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍ-ḍhāṇañ* . . .). We thus get a feminine counterpart of *samamayam* as *samamayī*.

4.3.83 प्रभवति

prabhavati
/ *prabhavati* (verbal form) /
(*pratyayaḥ* 3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tataḥ* #74)
pañcamīsamarthād ṅyāpprātipadikāt 'prabhavati' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in ablative, provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'that which becomes manifest there'.

EXAMPLES:

himavataḥ prabhavati = haimavati gaṅgā 'the Gaṅgā which is first spotted in the Himālaya'
dāradī sindhuḥ 'the river Sindhu which is first spotted in the Darada ranges'

1. The word *prabhavati* is explained as *prakāśate* 'becomes manifest' or

prathamata upalabhyate '. . . is spotted the first time'. Over verbal root *bhū* is thus used here in the sense of *upalabdhi* 'knowledge, awareness'.

4.3.84 विदूराञ्ञ्यः

vidūrāñ ñyaḥ
/ *vidūrāt* 5/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tataḥ* #74, *prabhavati* #83)
vidūraśabdāñ ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tataḥ prabhavati' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *vidūra* when the stem ends in ablative and the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to 'that which becomes manifest there'.

EXAMPLES:

vidūrāt prabhavati = *vaidūryo maṇiḥ* 'a precious stone found in Vidūra'

1. It is stated that *vaidūrya*, a precious stone, is found in the Vālavāya mountains. They are only processed in Vidūra. It is therefore suggested that the affix must be introduced after *vālavāya*, and not after *vidūra*. It is argued that *vidūra* in *vaidūrya* is basically same as *vālavāya*. Actually *bālavāya* is mediated by *vidūra* as is *vārāṇasī* mediated by *jitvarī*. One should treat *vidūra* as *vālavāya* as businessmen treat *jitvarī* as *vārāṇasī* for auspicious reasons. Thus:

vālavāyo vidūraṃ ca prakṛtyantaram eva vā/
na vai tatreti ced brūyāj jitvarīvad upācaret//

4.3.85 तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः

tad gacchati pathidūtayoḥ
/ *tat* ф *gacchati* (verbal form) *pathidūtayoḥ* 7/2 = *panthāś ca dūtaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
tad iti dvitīyāsamarthād 'gacchati' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yo'sau gacchati panthāś cet sa bhavati dūto vā
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *dvitīyā* 'accusative', when derivates signify the residual meaning of 'is going' (*gacchati*) and the agent of 'going' is a 'road' or 'messenger'.

EXAMPLES:

srughnaṃ gacchati = *sraughanaḥ panthā dūto vā* 'a road, or messenger, going to Srughna'

māthuraḥ 'a road, or messenger, going to Mathurā'

1. How could one accept 'road' as the agent of 'going' when it cannot even move (*Nyāsa: patho niṣkriyatvād gameḥ kartṛtvaṃ nopapadyate*). Note that 'road' becomes the agent of 'going' by way of figure of speech (*puruṣavṛttir gamanaṃ pathy upacaryata iti*).

4.3.86 आभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम्

abhiniṣkrāmati dvāram
/ *abhiniṣkrāmati* (verbal form) *dvāram* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tad* #85)
dvitīyāsamarthād 'abhiniṣkrāmati' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tad abhiniṣkrāmati dvāraṃ ced bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after syntactically related nominal stem ending in accusative when the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'facing out toward' and agent of this action happens to be *dvāra* 'gateway'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnam = srughnam abhiniṣkrāmati kānyakubjadvāram 'a gateway to Kānyakubja facing out toward Srughna'
māthuram 'a gateway to Kānyakubja facing out toward Mathurā'

1. The word *abhiniṣkrāmati* is explained as *ābhimukhyena niṣkrāmati* 'that which faces out toward'. But how could a gateway, a *karaṇa* 'instrument', be treated as an agent? By expressing it independently of the agent similar to the sword of *sādhv asiś chinatti* 'the sword is cutting beautifully'.

4.3.87 अधिकृत्यकृते ग्रन्थे

adhikṛtya kṛte granthe
/ *adhikṛtya* (absolutive form) *kṛte* 7/1 *granthe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tad* #85)
dvitīyāsamarthād 'adhikṛtya kṛte' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tadkṛtaṃ granthaś cet sa bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in accusative, when the derivate signifies a residual meaning relative to some text 'made with a focus on that'.

EXAMPLES:

saubhadraḥ = *subhadrām adhikṛtya kṛto granthaḥ* 'a treatise composed with Subhadrā as its subject'
gairimittraḥ 'a treatise composed with Girimitra as its subject'

1. Note that *kṛte* is derived with affix *Kta*, a *niṣṭhā* (1.1.28 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) which denotes *karman* 'object'. Since the object is thus expressed, an accusative ending after a base such as *subhadrā* should not be allowed. Actually, the *karman* which is here treated as expressed by *Kta* is the *karman* of *kṛ* of *kṛtam*. It is not the *karman* of *adhikṛ* of the absolutive (*lyabanta*).

A *vārttika* notes that *LUP* variously (*bahulam*) an affix of this rule when derivates denote a narrative (*ākhyāyikā*). Thus we get *vāsavadattām adhikṛtya kṛtākhyāyikā* = *vāsavadattā* 'a narrative with Vāsavadattā as its principal character'. But because of *bahulam*, an affix such as one in *bhaimarathī* 'a narrative with Bhīmaratha as its principal character', can also be saved from deletion.

4.3.88 शिशुक्रन्दयमसभद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः

śiśukrandayamasabhadvandvendrajananādibhyaś chaḥ
/ *śiśukrandayamasabhadvandvendrajananādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *śiśūnāṃ krandaḥ* = *śiśukrandaḥ* (*ṣas. tat.*); *yamasya sabhā yamasabham* (*ṣas. tat.*); *indrajananam ādir yeṣāṃ te indrajananādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *śiśukrandaś ca yamasabhaṃ ca dvandvaś ca indrajananādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *tebhyaḥ; chaḥ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe*. #4.2.92, *tad* #85, *adhikṛtya kṛte granthe* #87)
śiśukrandādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati adhikṛtya kṛte granthe
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śiśukranda* and *yamasabhā*, or after stems termed *dvandva*, or else, after items listed in the group headed by *indrajanana*, when these stems all end in accusative and their derivates signify a residual meaning relative to some text made 'with a focus on that'.

EXAMPLES:

śiśukrandīyaḥ 'a treatise on why children cry'
yamasabhīyaḥ 'a book with Yama's court as its subject'
vākyapadīyam 'a treatise with focus on sentence and word'
indrajananīyam 'a book with Indra's birth as its subject'

1. Note that *cha* is here introduced as an exception to *aṆ*. It is stated that *indrajananādi* is an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*). Consequently, membership in this group must be determined on the basis of available usage (*Kāś.*:

indrajananādir ākṛtigaṇaḥ prayogato' nusartavyaḥ, prātipadikeṣu na paṭhyate).

2. A *vārttika* recommends that affixal operation of this rule should not be allowed after a *dvandva* compound composed with constituents denoting gods and demons. Derivates of compound bases such as *devāsura* 'gods and demons' and *rakṣo' sura* 'ghosts and demons' are thus derived with *aṆ*. They yield *daivāsuram* and *rākṣo' suram.*

Why were *śiśukranda* and *yamasabhā* specifically given in the rule. These could have been included in the open-ended group headed by *indrajanana.* They have been mentioned separately for expatiation (*prapañca*). This same expatiation can be cited as reason for not accepting the *vārttika* which disallows affix *cha* after *devāsura.* For, why disallow *cha* when it does not exist in usage.

4.3.89 **सोऽस्य निवासः**

so' sya nivāsaḥ
/*saḥ* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *nivāsaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
'sa' iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ nivāsaś cet sa bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified, to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his place of residence'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ = srughno nivāso' sya 'Sraughna is one whose place of residence is Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'a resident of Mathurā'
rāṣṭriyaḥ 'a national . . .'

1. The word *nivāsa* is explained as *nivasanty asmin nivāsaḥ deśaḥ* 'a place where people live is called *nivāsa*; place of residence'.

4.3.90 **अभिजनश्च**

abhijanaś ca
/*abhijanaḥ* 1/1 *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so' sya* #89)
sa iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ abhijanaś cet sa bhavati

A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified, to denote the sense of genitive, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative, also when the derivate denotes a residual meaning of 'that is his ancestral place of residence'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'he whose ancestral place of residence is Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'he whose ancestral place of residence is Mathurā'

1. Note that *abhijana* means an 'ancestor', or a 'clansman' (*pūrvabāndhavaḥ*). But the affixal provision of this rule is made after a nominal stem which denotes the place of residence of such ancestors. It is stated that *abhijana* can be accepted as denoting a place of residence because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with people (*abhijanas*) who lived there (*yasmin pūrvabāndhavair uṣitam*).

What is the difference between *nivāsa* and *abhijana*? A *nivāsa* could be any place where one currently resides. An *abhijana* will be an ancestral place where earlier clansmen (*pūrva-bāndhavaḥ*) live(d) (*Kāś.*: *yatra sampraty uṣyate sa nivāsaḥ; yatra pūrvair uṣitaṃ so' bhijanaḥ*)

2. This rule is formulated separately from the preceding for the sake of the next rule (*yogavibhāga uttarārthaḥ*). Our next rule does not require the *anuvṛtti* of *nivāsaḥ*. Or, the next affixal provision is made in the context only of *abhijana*.

4.3.91 **आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते**

āyudhajīvibhyaś chaḥ parvate
/ *āyudhajīvibhyaḥ* 5/3 *chaḥ* 1/1 *parvate* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so' sya* #89, *abhijanaḥ* #90)
parvatavācinaḥ prathamāsamarthād abhijanād 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and signifies a mountain, provided its derivate characterizes the mountain an ancestral place of residence of those who earn their living by fighting for others.

EXAMPLES:

hṛdgolīyāḥ 'Hṛdgolīyas are those who earn their living by fighting for others, and whose ancestral place of residence is in the Hṛdgola mountains'
rohitagirīyāḥ 'Rohitagirīyas are those who earn their living by fighting for others, and whose ancestral place of residence is in the Rohitagiri mountains'

1. Note that *āyudhajīvinah* 'those who make their living by means of weapons' is a characteristic qualification for the denotatum of this affixal provision. That is why, one accepts mountain as ancestral place of residence of those who live by means of their weapons. The word *āyudhajīvibhyaḥ* is interpreted as ending in *caturthī* 'fourth triple (plural) of nominal endings'. This fourth triplet signifies *tādarthya* 'for the purpose of. . . .' If it was the fifth triplet (plural) then the meaning would be: *āyudhajīvibhya eva parvate' bhidheye ccho pratyayo bhavati* 'affix *cha* occurs only after a nominal stem which denotes the sense of 'he who makes his living by weapons', provided when the derivate denotes a mountain. . . .' Such an interpretation is, of course, not desired.

The condition of *āyudhajīvibhyaḥ* is imposed so that derivates such as *ārkṣoda* (parallel to *ṛkṣodaḥ parvato' bhijana eṣāṃ brāhmaṇānām = ārkṣodā brāhmaṇāḥ* 'the Ārkṣoda brāhmaṇas, those whose place of residence is the Ṛkṣoda mountain') could be blocked. The condition of *parvate* is imposed so that a derivate, parallel to *sāṅkāśyakā āyudhajīvinaḥ* 'residents of Sāṅkāśya who make their living by fighting for others', could be blocked.

4.3.92 शण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्यः

śaṇḍikādibhyo ñyaḥ

/ *śaṇḍikādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *śaṇḍika ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ñyaḥ*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so' sya* #89, *abhijanaḥ* #90)

'*śaṇḍika' ity evam ādibhyo ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*so' syābhijanaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śaṇḍika* 'name of a place', when it ends in nominative and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is the place of residence of his ancestors'.

EXAMPLES:

śāṇḍikyaḥ 'one whose ancestors lived in Śaṇḍika'

sārvasenyaḥ 'one whose ancestors lived in Sarvasena'

1. Affix *Ñya* is an exception to *aṆ* and *cha*. When one refers to a stem of the *śaṇḍikādi* group which signifies a mountain then *Ñya* constitutes an exception to the *cha* of the preceding rule. If, however, the stem refers to a region (*janapada*) then *Ñya* constitutes an exception to affix *vuÑ* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api*. . . . Affix *Ñya*, in relation to *śaṇḍika*, is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.2.132 *kopadhād aṇ*.

4.3.93 सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ

sindhutakṣaśilādibhyo' ṇañau

/ *sindhutakṣaśilādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *sindhuś ca takṣaśilā ca* = *sindhutakṣaśile* (*dv.*); *sindhutakṣaśile ādī yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; aṇañau* 1/2 = *aṇ ca añ ca* (*itar. dv.*) /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so' sya* #89, *abhijanaḥ* #90)

sindhvādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyas takṣaśilādibhyaś ca yathāsaṃkhyam aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'so' syābhijanaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur after a nominal stem of the group headed by *sindhu* and *takṣaśilā*, respectively, when the stems end in nominative and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that is the place of residence of his ancestors'.

EXAMPLES:

saindhavaḥ 'one whose ancestors lived in the Indus Valley'
vārṇavaḥ 'one whose ancestors lived in the region of Varṇu'

1. Note that *ādi*, because it is used at the end of the *dvandva* compound *sindhutakṣaśile*, should be associated with *sindhu* and *takṣaśilā* both (cf.: *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*).

2. Note that derivates of *aṆ* and *aÑ* do not differ in form. They, however, differ in accent. It is argued that *aṆ* is not necessary here since it can be made available by 4.3.133 *kacchādibhyaś ca*. For, stems such as *sindhu* and *varṇu* are included in the *kacchādi* group. Pāṇini uses *aṆ* here to block the *vuN of* 4.2.134 *manuṣyatatsthayor vuñ*. Affix *aṆ* is also used to block *vuN* of 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api*... which, otherwise, may become available to stems such as *gandhāra, kiṣkindhā, sāradi, urasa* and *darad*. The *aÑ* of *kaumedura, kāṇḍavāraṇa* and *grāmaṇī* (a stem of the *takṣaśilādi* group) constitutes an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*. It is an exception to *aṆ* in the context of other stems.

4.3.94 तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्ढञ्यकः

tūdīśalāturavarmatīkūcavārād ḍhakchaṇḍhañyakaḥ

/ *tūdīśalāturavarmatīkūcavārāt* 5/1 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ḍhakchaṇḍhañyakaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so' sya* #89, *abhijanaḥ* #90)

tūdyādibhyaś caturbhyaḥ śabdebhyo yathāsaṃkhyaṃ catvāra eva 'ḍhak, chaṇ, ḍhañ, yak' ity ete pratyayā bhavanti 'so' syābhijanaḥ' ity asmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK, cha, ḍhaÑ* and *yaK* occur after *tūdī, śalātura,*

varmatī and *kūcavāra*, respectively, when these stems end in nominative and their derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is the place of residence of his ancestors'.

EXAMPLES:

taudeyaḥ 'he whose ancestors lived in Tūdī'
śālāturīyaḥ 'he whose ancestors lived in Śalātura'
vārmateyaḥ 'he whose ancestors lived in Varmatī'
kaucavāryaḥ 'he whose ancestors lived in Kūcavāra'

1. We must follow the process of *yathāsaṃkhya*, assignment of equivalency in accord with order of enumeration, because we have an equal number, four each, of stems and affixes.

4.3.95 भक्तिः

bhaktiḥ
/*bhaktiḥ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89)
sa iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamartham bhaktiś ced bhavati
A *taddhita* affix also occurs as specified, to denote the sense of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided the derivate signifies the residual meaning of 'that is his *bhakti* 'devotion'.'

EXAMPLES:

sraughnaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Srughna'
māthuraḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Mathurā'

1. A derivate of this rule should be treated as object of devotion. The syntactically related nominal base ending in nominative, read in view of *bhaktiḥ*, becomes coreferential with it. Thus, we get *srughnaḥ bhaktiḥ asya* 'one whose devotion is Srughna'. The word *bhakti* itself derives from *bhaj* + *KtiN* where affix *KtiN* is used to denote an *object* serving as a means (*karmasādhana*).

4.3.96 अचित्ताददेशकालाट्ठक्

acittād adeśakālāt ṭhak
/*acittāt* 5/1 = *avidyamānaṃ cittaṃ yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; adeśakālāt* 5/1 = *na deśakālam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt; ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)

deśakālavyatirktād acittavācinaḥ prātipadikāt ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'so'sya bhaktiḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and signifies an inanimate thing other than *deśa* 'locality' or *kāla* 'time', provided derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

āpūpikaḥ = apūpo bhaktir asya 'he whose object of devotion are Apūpas (deepfried cakes)'
śāṣkulikaḥ 'he whose object of devotion are deepfried breads'
pāyasikaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is rice-pudding'

1. This provision of *ṭhaK* is an exception to *aṆ*. It also blocks affix *cha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*), for example in *pāyasikaḥ*, because of being subsequent (*paratvāt*).

4.3.97 महाराजाट्ठञ्

mahārājāt ṭhañ
/ *mahārājāt* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)
mahārājaśabdāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'so'sya bhaktiḥ' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *mahārāja* 'great king' when the same ends in nominative and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

māhārājikaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is his great king'

1. Affix *ṭhaÑ* is introduced separately from *ṭhaK*, mainly for facilitating different accents for corresponding derivates (*Kāś.*: *pratyayāntarakaraṇaṃ svarārtham*). Of course, derivates of *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* both have identical forms. A derivate of *ṭhaÑ* will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta;* 6.1.197 *ñnityādir...*) because of its *Ñ* as an *it*. A derivate of *ṭhaK*, because of its *K* as an *it*, will be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.165 *kitaḥ*).

4.3.98 वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन्

vāsudevārjunābhyāṃ vun
/ *vāsudevārjunābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *vun* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*

#4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)
vāsudevārjunaśabdābhyāṃ vun pratyayo bhavati 'so'sya bhaktiḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *vāsudeva* and *arjuna*, when they end in nominative and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

vāsudevo bhaktir asya = *vāsudevakaḥ* 'he whose object of devotion is Vāsudeva'
arjunakaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Arjuna'

1. Affix *vuN* is an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*, as far as *vāsudeva* is concerned. It is an exception to the more generally specified *aṆ* in the context of *arjuna*. Since derivates of this rule can be easily derived with affix *vuN* of the following rule, and also since there is no formal difference between derivates of *vuN* and *vuN*, we do not need these two separate rules. It is stated that *vāsudeva* is the name (*saṃjñā*) of a particular deity. It is not the name of *kṣatriya* (*Kāś.*: *saṃjñaiṣā devatāviśeṣasya na kṣatriyākhyā*). Some suggest the derivational meaning of *vāsudeva* as: *yasmin samastaṃ vasati sa vāsuḥ* 'he in whom resides all is *Vāsu*'; *vāsuś cāsau devaś; ca* = *vāsudevaḥ* 'Vāsudeva is one who is *vāsu* and, at the same time, also *deva* 'god'.'

The word *arjuna* signifies a 'tree' or 'color', in addition to naming a *kṣatriya*. One may not even get affix *vuN* after *arjuna* (not because it does not signify a *kṣatriya* but) because of *bahulam*. That is, *bahulam* specifies that *vuN* may or may not be available. Our stem *arjuna* should not be treated as an exception to affix *vuN*. It is better to treat it as an exception to *aṆ*.

2. The compound *vāsudevārjunābhyām* has *vāsudeva* placed before *arjuna* which, on account of its fewer vowels (2.2.34 *alpāc taram*), should precede. The compound should thus be *arjunavāsudevābhyām*. No, because a constituent whose denotatum deserves respect precedes (*abhyarhitaṃ pūrvaṃ nipatatīti*).

4.3.99 **गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ्**

gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyo bahulaṃ vuñ
/ *gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *gotraṃ ca kṣatriyaś ca gotrakṣatriyau, tau ākhyā yeṣāṃ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; bahulam* 1/1 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)
gotrākhyebhyaḥ kṣatriyākhyebhyaś ca prātipadikebhyo bahulaṃ vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'so'sya' bhaktiḥ ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs, variously, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and names the *gotra* of a *kṣatriya*, provided derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

glucukāyanir bhaktir asya = glaucukāyanakaḥ 'Glucukāyanaka is he whose object of devotion is Glucukāyani'
aupagavakaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Aupagava'
nākulakaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Nakula'
sāhadevakaḥ 'one whose object of devotion is Sahadeva'

1. The word *ākhyā* is used in this rule to permit *vuN* only after stems which denote famous *gotra* and *kṣatriya* names. That is, *vuN* will not be allowed after any *gotra* or *kṣatriya* stem (*Kāś.*: *prasiddhakṣatriyaparigrahārtham ākhyāgrahaṇam*).

Note that because of *bahulam*, this affixal provision may not even apply. Thus, parallel to *pāṇinaḥ bhaktir asya* 'he whose object of devotion is Pāṇina (synonym of Pāṇini)', we do not get **pāṇinakaḥ*.

4.3.100 जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने

janapadinām janapadavat sarvam janapadena samānaśabdānām bahuvacane
/*janapadinām* 6/3 *janapadavat* ϕ *sarvam* 1/1 *janapadena* 3/1 *samānaśabdānām* 6/3 *bahuvacane* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *so'sya* #89, *bhaktiḥ* #95)
janapadino ye bahuvacane janapadena samānaśabdās iteṣāṃ janapadavat sarvaṃ bhavati pratyayaḥ, prakṛtiś ca, 'so'sya bhaktiḥ' ity asmin viṣaye
A syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a *kṣatriya* in the manner similar to the stem signifying a region with its scope in plural, is, for all operational purposes, treated as the stem denoting a region, provided it ends in nominative and its derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his devotion'.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgā janapado bhaktir asya = āṅgakaḥ 'an Āṅgaka is one whose object of devotion is (the country of residence of) the Aṅga warriors'
vāṅgakaḥ 'a Vāṅgaka is one whose object of devotion is (the country of residence of) the Vaṅga warriors'

1. The word *janapadin* is explained as 'one who rules over a *janapada* 'region'. This *sūtra* is an extension (*atideśa*), whereby operational provisions

of stems which denote a region, and are used in plural, are extended to stems which signify a ruler. That is, bases (*prakṛti*) and affixes (*pratyaya*) for both sets of derivates are identical. This extension refers, particularly, to provisions of rule 4.2.124 *janapadatadavadhyoś ca.* Consequently, all affixes introduced within the domain of rule 4.2.124 after specific bases can also be introduced after stems which denote a *kṣatriya* ruler (*jānapadin*), provided, of course, the condition of *bhakti* is also met. Thus, we have *aṅgāḥ* which can have dual meanings: (*a*) 'he whose object of devotion is the country of Aṅgas', or (*b*) 'he whose object of devotion is the ruler of the country of Aṅgas'.

2. The word *sarva*, as *Kāśikā* states, is used to indicate extension of bases, particularly in singular and dual. The condition of *janapadena samānaśabdānām* is necessary to assure that stems which name a region and signify a *kṣatriya* are also identical. Thus, one cannot apply this extension to *anuṣaṇḍa* which signifies a *janapada* but where the king is *paurava.* A derivate with the signification of *bhakti* parallel to the king has to be *pauravīyaḥ.* The extension of *anuṣaṇḍa* is thus not permitted.

The condition of *bahuvacane* is imposed to indicate the scope of identical forms (*samānaśabdatā*). That is, the extension is stated for bases which are similar in plural. This is no way restricts the extension in plural. That is, bases which have identical forms in plural will enjoy this extension in singular and dual, even though they have differences of forms in singular and dual. Thus, *vāṅgo vāṅgau vā bhaktir asya* = *vāṅgakaḥ* is permitted.

The affixal provision of this rule is an exception to the general *aṆ.*

4.3.101 तेन प्रोक्तम्

tena proktam
/ *tena* 3/1 *proktam* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)
teneti tṛtīyāsamarthāt proktam' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs henceforth after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that which was (brilliantly) expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇininā proktam = *pāṇinīyam* 'the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which was expounded by Pāṇini'
āpiśalam 'a treatise expounded by Āpiśali'
kāśakṛtsnam 'a treatise expounded by Kāśakṛtsna'

1. Note that the word *proktam* is used here in the sense of *prakarṣeṇa uktam*

'that which was brilliantly expounded (and taught)'. The tradition makes a distinction between something which was made, or created, and some thing which was expounded by, or revealed to, a sage. The Vedas, for example, are considered as impersonal (divine; *apauruṣeya*). They are therefore regarded as revealed to sages. Texts such as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are regarded as expounded by way of discourse. A distinction between *kṛta* 'made, written' and *prokta* 'expounded' must be made also in view of 4.3.116 *kṛte granthe.* If *prokta* was here used in the sense of a treatise made (*kṛta*) then rule 4.3.87 could easily account for related derivates. This rule will then become vacuous. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) explains *prokta* as: *adhyāpanenārthavyākhyānena vā prakarṣeṇa prakāśitam* 'brought to light brilliantly via teaching or elucidation'. The word *prakarṣa* is explained as 'excellence'. *Nyāsa* explains *proktam* as 'that which has been elucidated and taught with brilliance (*prakarṣaḥ atiśayaḥ; vyākhyātaṃ tad adhyāpitaṃ vā proktam*). Commentators also state that a treatise made, or composed, by someone can be called *kṛta.* But it can be called *prokta* if it was brought to light via brilliant elucidation and teaching by someone else. Of course, it will be called *prokta* with reference to the person who elucidates and teaches. Thus we can get *anyena kṛtā māthureṇa proktā māthurī vṛttiḥ* 'a *vṛtti* text called *māthurī* which was made by someone else but was elucidated and explained by Māthura'.

4.3.102 तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण्

tittirivaratantukhaṇḍikokhāc chaṇ
/ *tittirivaratantukhaṇḍikokhāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *chaṇ.* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg divyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101)
tittiryādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaś chaṇ pratyayo bhavati '*tena proktam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *chaṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *tittiri, varatantu, khaṇḍika* and *ukha,* when they end in instrumental and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that which was brilliantly expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

tittiriṇā proktam adhīyate = *taittirīyaḥ* 'Taittirīyas are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas brilliantly expounded by Tittiri'
vāratantuvīyāḥ 'Vāratantuvīyas are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by Varatantu'
khāṇḍikīyāḥ 'Khāṇḍikīyas are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by Khaṇḍika'
aukhīyāḥ 'Aukhīyas are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by Ukha'

1. It is stated that Vedic (*chandas*), particularly its *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa* literature, is the desired scope of this rule. *Kāśikā* explains that *chandasi* of 4.3.106 *śaunakādibhyaś chandasi* should be read in rules beginning with this through 4.3.112 *tenaikadik*. Once this scope of *chandasi* is established, derivates which end in suffixes with the denotation of *prokta* will then denote *adhyetṛ* 'he who studies . . .', or *veditṛ* 'he who knows . . .', with their scope limited to *chandas*. Thus, we cannot get *chaN* in a derivate parallel to *tittiriṇā proktaḥ ślokaḥ* 'a verse expounded by Tittiri'. *Kāśikā*'s advice to read *chandasi* from a following rule (4.3.106 *śaunakādibhyaś chandasi*) goes against the normal practice of *anuvṛtti*.

Kāśikā paraphrases *taittirīyaḥ* as *tittiriṇā proktam adhīyate*. That is, it employs the sense of *prokta* and *adhīta* both to explain a derivate with the signification of *prokta*. A derivate signifying *adhīta* should form the scope of 4.2.59 *tad adhīte tad veda*. Commentators (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*.: . . . *chaṇ pratyayaḥ, tebhyaḥ 'tad adhīte' ity aṇ, tasya 'proktāl luk' iti luk*) explain that a derivate of *chaN*, i.e., ending in *īya*, with *prokta* as its signification, receives *aN* of 4.2.59 *tad adhīte* . . . to signify *adhīta*. This *aN*, however, is to be deleted by 4.2.64 *proktāl luk*.

4.3.103 काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनिः

kāśyapakauśikābhyām ṛṣibhyāṃ ṇiniḥ
/ *kāśyapakauśikābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; ṛṣibhyām* 5/2 *ṇiniḥ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101)
kāśyapa-kauśikaśabdābhyām ṛṣivācibhyāṃ ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kāśyapa* and *kauśika* when they denote a sage (*ṛṣi*) and end in instrumental, provided derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that which was expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

kāśyapena proktaṃ kalpam adhiyate = *kāśyapinaḥ* 'Kāśyapins are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by the sage Kāśyapa'
kauśikinaḥ 'Kauśikins are those who study the Mantras and Brāhmaṇas expounded by the sage Kauśika'

1. Note that Kāśyapa and Kauśika expounded the *kalpasūtras*. How could *kalpa* then be considered as part of *chandas* and *brāhmaṇa*, the required scope of our present rule? It is stated that *kalpa* is different from *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*. But since it is here given within the context of *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, *kalpa* must also be included. Here again, the *adhyetṛ* and *veditṛ* interpretations of 4.2.65 will apply.

2. The *Ṇ* of *ṆinI* is required for *vṛddhi* in the next rule. We already have *vṛddhi* in bases of this rule. We cannot accept its *Ṇit*-status as intended for blocking masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāvapratiṣedhaḥ*). For, such operational denotation of *adhyetṛ* and *veditṛ* is not possible in feminine (*striyām avṛtteḥ*). The final *I* of the affix is for articulation. This provision of *ṆinI* can be treated as an exception to *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

4.3.104 कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च

kalāpivaiśampāyanāntevāsibhyaś ca
/ *kalāpivaiśampāyanāntevāsibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ca* ɸ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *ṇiniḥ* #103)
kalāpyantevāsināṃ vaiśampāyanāntevāsināṃ ca ye vācakāḥ śabdāḥ tebhyo ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which names pupils of *kalāpin* and *vaiśampāyana* and ends in instrumental, provided derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that which was expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

haridruṇā proktam adhīyate = *hāridraviṇaḥ* 'Hāridravins are those who study what was expounded by Haridu, a pupil of Kalāpin'
ālambinaḥ 'Ālambins are those who study what was expounded by Ālambin, a pupil of Vaiśampāyana'

1. Note that the word *antevāsin* is explained as a *śiṣya* 'student, pupil, disciple'. This rule, however, does not permit an indirect (*apratyakṣakārin*) pupil to be accepted as an *antevāsin*. That is, a pupil treated as a pupil because of being a pupil's pupil is not accepted as an *antevāsin* for purposes of this rule. *Kāśikā* rightly remarks that *pratyakṣkāriṇo gṛhyante na tu vyavahitāḥ śiṣyaśiṣyāḥ* '*antevāsin* is interpreted as a pupil who studied from the teacher directly, and not indirectly as a pupil's pupil'.

There are four pupils of Kalāpin: Haridru, Chagalin, Tumburu and Ulapa. This rule will not introduce *ṆinI* in the context of Chagalin, since 4.3.109 *chagalino ḍhinuk* would introduce *ḍhinUK*. There are nine pupils of Vaiśampāyana: Ālambi (pupil of Caraka in the eastern country); Palaṅga and Kamala (again of the east); Ṛcābha, Aruṇi and Tāṇḍya (three of the central part of the country); Śyāmāyana (of the north); and Kaṭha and Kalāpīn, where deletion by *LUK* (4.3.107 *kaṭhacarakāl luk*) is stated. Thus consider the following:

haridrur eṣāṃ prathamas tataś chagalitumburū/
ulapena caturthena kālāpakam ihocyate//
ālambiś carakaḥ prācāṃ palaṅgakamalāv ubhau//

ṛcābhāruṇitāṇḍyāś ca madhyamīyāstrayo' pare//
śyāmāyana udīcyeṣu uktaṃ kaṭhakalāpinau//

4.3.105 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु

purāṇaprokteṣu brāhmaṇakalpeṣu
/purāṇaprokteṣu 7/3 = *purāṇena proktāḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *teṣu; brāhmaṇakalpeṣu* 7/3 = *brāhmaṇāni ca kalpāś ca* (*itar. dv.*) *teṣu/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *ṇiniḥ* #103)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt prokte ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati yat proktaṃ purāṇaproktāś ced brāhmaṇakalpās te bhavanti
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of '*brāhmaṇas* and *kalpas* expounded by ancients'.

EXAMPLES:

bhāllavinaḥ 'Bhāllavins are those who study sections of Brāhmaṇas expounded by the ancient sage Bhallu'
aitareyiṇaḥ 'Aitareyins are those who study the Brāhmaṇas expounded by the ancient sage Aitareya'
paiṅgī 'a Kalpa expounded by the ancient sage Piṅga'
āruṇaparājī 'a Kalpa expounded by Aruṇaparājin'

1. The word *purāṇaprokta* is explained as *cirantanena muninā proktāḥ* 'expounded by a sage who is eternally ancient'. It is for this reason that we cannot get *ṆinI* in connection with a *brāhmaṇa* expounded by Yājñavalkya, or the *kalpa* expounded by Āśmarathya. One must then introduce the general affix (*autsargika*) *aṆ* to derive *yājñyavalkyaḥ* and *āśmarathaḥ*. *Kāśikā*, based on evidence from narratives such as the *Mahābhārata*, etc., informs that Yājñavalkya, etc., are relatively less ancient sages. Patañjali, however, does not accept this. He considers Yājñavalkya, etc., as equally ancient though he blocks *ṆinI* after *yājñavalkya*, etc., on grounds of contemporaneity with *śāṭyāyana*, etc.

2. Note that *tadviṣayatā* 'scope of that', as characterized by *adhyetṛ* and *veditṛ* (4.2.66 *chandobrāhmaṇāni ca* . . .), will obtain in the context of *brāhmaṇas* but not the *kalpas*. Why? This rule does not get the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. Refer also to my note on carrying *chandasi* from the following rule to 4.3.102 *tittirivaratantu*. . . .

4.3.106 शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि

śaunakādibhyaś chandasi

/*śaunakādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *śaunaka ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; chandasi* 7/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *ṇiniḥ* #103)
'*śaunaka*' *ity evamādibhyo ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*tena proktam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye chandasy abhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śaunaka*, when the stem ends in instrumental and derivates denote a residual meaning relative to *chandas* expounded by him.

EXAMPLES:

śaunakena proktam adhīyate = *śaunakinaḥ* 'Śaunakins are those who study the Vedic text expounded by Śaunaka'
vājasaneyinaḥ 'Vājasaneyins are those who study the Vedic text expounded by Vājasaneya'

1. The affixal provision of this rule constitutes an exception to affixes *cha* and *aṆ* both. That is, *ṆinI* will be treated as an exception to *cha* in connection with those bases of *śaunakādi* which may be termed *vṛddha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). It can be treated as an exception to *aṆ*, elsewhere (*anyatra*), in case of non-*vṛddha* bases.

Condition of *chandasi* also brings *tadviṣayatā* (scope) of 4.2.66 *chandobrāhmaṇāni ca*. . . .

4.3.107 कठचरकाल्लुक्

kaṭhacarakāl luk
/*kaṭhacarakāt* 5/1 = *kaṭhaś ca carakaś ca kaṭhacarakam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānām prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *chandasi* #106)
kaṭhacarakaśabdābhyām parasya proktapratyayasya lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kaṭha* and *caraka*, to signify *prokta* with its scope in Vedic, is deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭhena proktam adhīyate = *kaṭhāḥ* 'Kaṭhas are those who study the Vedic text expounded by Kaṭha'
carakāḥ 'Carakas are those who study the Vedic text expounded by Caraka'

1. Note that Kaṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampāyana. Consequently, there will

be a deletion of *ṆinI* introduced by rule 4.3.104 *kalāpivaiśampāyanāntevāsinaś ca.* It has been already stated that Caraka is also a name of Vaiśampāyana. Affix *aṆ* (4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*) will thus be deleted after *caraka.* A lack of affixal deletion elsewhere offers derivates such as *kāṭhāḥ* and *cārakāḥ.*

4.3.108 कलापिनोऽण्

kalāpino' ṇ
/kalāpinaḥ 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *chandasi* #106)
kalāpiśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *kalāpin* when it ends in instrumental and its derivate denotes the residual meaning of '. . . expounded by him', relative to *chandas.*

EXAMPLES:

kālāpāḥ 'Kālāpas are those who study the *chandas* expounded by Kalāpa'

1. This provision of *aṆ* is an exception to *ṆinI* which, in turn, was available to *kalāpin* for reasons of denoting a pupil of Vaiśampāyana (4.3.104 *kalāpi* . . .).

2. A *vārttika* provision for *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādiṭi*) of a set of eleven bases which ends in *n* (*nāntasya ṭilopaḥ*) is made here against rule 6.4.164 *inaṇy anapatye.* Our stem *kalāpin* is included within this list (cf. *nāntasya ṭilope sabrahmacāripīṭhasarpikalāpikuthumitaitalijājalijāṅgalilāṅgaliśilāliśikhaṇḍi-sūkarasadmasuparvaṇām upasaṃkhyānam*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

3. *Kāśikā* states that a direct specification of *aṆ,* as against getting it as part of the general provision of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ,* is here made for additional application (*adhikavidhānārtham*). That is, if *aṆ* was not specifically given then the general provision of *aṆ* would have served as an exception to *ṆinI.* But this specific mention of *aṆ* would become vacuous (*vyartha*) if it only served as an exception to *ṆinI.* For, the original *aṆ* was already there to serve that purpose. *Nyāsa* observes that: *yo vihito na ca prāpnoty anena bādhitvāt sa eva bhaviṣyati sa cāṇeva* 'that which was provided (original *aṆ*) but cannot apply because of being blocked by a provision (*ṆinI*) on hand, will alone apply'.

Two extended applications (*adhikavidhāna*) are illustrated by *māthurī vṛttiḥ* 'a *vṛtti* expounded by Māthura' and *saulabhāni brāhmaṇāni* 'the *brāhmaṇas* expounded by Sulabha'. There are other examples such as *maudāḥ, paippalādāḥ, śākalāḥ, jājalāḥ,* etc. Note that the general *aṆ* of these examples could have been blocked by the *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ.*

4.3.109 छगलिनो ढिनुक्

chagalino ḍhinuk
/*chagalinaḥ* 5/1 *ḍhinuk* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101)
chagalinśabdād ḍhinuk pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhinUK* occurs in *chandas* after the syntactically related nominal stem *chagalin* when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'expounded by him'.

EXAMPLES:

chāgaleyinaḥ 'Chāgaleyins are those who study the *chandas* text expounded by Chagalin'

1. As usual we get the deletion of *aṆ* denoting *tad adhīte* . . . 'those who study or know'.

4.3.110 पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोः

pārāśaryaśilālibhyāṃ bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ
/*parāśaryaśilālibhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ* 7/2 = *bhikṣuś ca naṭaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ sūtre* (*ṣas. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *ṇiniḥ* #103, *chandasi* #106)
pārāśaryaśilālibhyāṃ ṇiniḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṆinI* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *pārāśarya* and *śilālin* when they end in instrumental and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'expounded by him', relative to *bhikṣusūtra* and *naṭasūtra*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

pārāśaryeṇa proktam adhīyate = *pārāśariṇo bhikṣavaḥ* 'Parāśarins are those who study the *bhikṣusūtra* expounded by Pārāśarya'
śailālino naṭāḥ 'Śailālins are those who study the *naṭasūtra* expounded by Śilālin'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *ṆinI* is brought here via *maṇḍukapluti* 'frog's leap'. Commentators also state that *chandas* should also be carried. But *bhikṣusūtra* and *naṭasūtra* could be treated as *chandas* only indirectly and by way of figure of speech (*upacārāt*).

2. Note that the *bhikṣusūtras* represent a body of text in the *bāṣkala* branch of the Vedic. Bhiksu Pañcaśikha is considered as the original author of the

bhikṣusūtras. He was, according to the *Mahābhārata,* a *pārāśarya.* Some consider the *bhikṣusūtra* of *pārāśarya* as a precursor to the *vedāntasūtras.* The *naṭasūtras* mostly concentrate on dramaturgy and were, perhaps, incorporated in the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* Patañjali, as the sentence *naṭasya śṛṇoti* '. . . is listening to the narrative of the performer' suggests, does not accept the study of *naṭasūtras* as part of regular instruction. This explains why genitive, as opposed to an ablative (*naṭād*), used in *naṭasya* of this example (1.4.29 *ākhyātopayoge*). Studying dramaturgy was, thus, treated as something falling outside of the teacher-taught tradition of regular systematic instruction. This could have also led to reluctance in accepting the *bhikṣusūtra* and *naṭasūtra* as *chandas.* They may be accepted as *chandas* only when qualities required (*nimittaguṇāḥ*) for something to be treated as *chandas* are transferred to them via *kalpanā* 'imagination'.

4.3.111 कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनिः

karmandakṛśāśvād iniḥ

/ *karmandakṛśāśvāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *iniḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena proktam* #101, *chandasi* #106, *bhikṣunaṭasūtrayoḥ* #110)

karmandakṛśāśvaśabdābhyām iniḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tena proktam' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāsaṃkhyaṃ bhikṣunaṭasūtrayor abhidheyayoḥ

The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs in *chandas* after syntactically related nominal stems *karmanda* and *kṛśāśva* when they end in instrumental and their derivates signify the residual meaning of 'expounded by him', relative to the *bhikṣusūtra* and *naṭasūtra,* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

karmandena proktam adhīyate = *karmandino bhikṣavaḥ* 'Karmandins are those who study the *bhikṣusūtra* expounded by Karmanda'

kṛśāśvino naṭāḥ 'Kṛśāśvins are those performers who study the *naṭasūtra* expounded by Kṛśāśva'

4.3.112 तेनैकदिक्

tenaikadik

/ *tena* 3/1 *ekadik* 1/1 = *eka dik yasya* (*bv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)

teneti tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'ekadik' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati

A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'a direction similar to that'.

EXAMPLES:

sudāmnā ekadik = *saudaminī vidyut* 'the lightning which strikes in the direction of Mount Sudāman is called Saudāminī'.
pailumūlī 'the lightning which strikes in the direction of Pīlumūla is called Pailumūlī'

1. Note that *tena* is specifically used in this *sūtra* to discontinue the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. For, bringing *tena* via *anuvṛtti* would also demand carrying *chandasi* (*Nyāsa*: *pūrvatra hi teneti chando' dhikārasambaddham, atas tadanuvṛttau tasyāpy anuvṛttiḥ syāt*).

4.3.113 तसिश्च

tasiś ca
/ *tasiḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tenaikadik* #112)
tastiś ca pratyayo bhavati '*tenaikadik*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'a direction similar to that'.

EXAMPLES:

sudāmataḥ '. . . in the direction of Mount Sudāman'
pīlumūlataḥ '. . . in the direction of Pīlumūla'

1. Note that derivates of this rule are treated as indeclinables (cf. 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*). The *I* in *tasI* is intended for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*).

4.3.114 उरसो यच्च

uraso yac ca
/ *urasaḥ* 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tenaikadik* #112, *tasiḥ* #113)
'*uraḥ*' *śabdād yat pratyayo bhavati cakārāt tasiś ca* '*tenaikadik*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, and *tasI* as well, occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *uras*, when it ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'a direction similar to that'.

EXAMPLES:

urasā ekadik = *urasyaḥ* 'that which is similar in direction with the chest; up front'
urastaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *yaT* is an exception to *aṆ*. The *ca* is used here to attract *tasI.*

4.3.115 उपज्ञाते

upajñāte
/ *upajñāte* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt '*upajñāte*' *ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes a residual meaning relative to 'something evolved by him'.

EXAMPLES:

pāṇininopajñātam akālakaṃ vyākaraṇam 'the grammar which was evolved by Pāṇini does not have any definition of time'
kāśakṛtsnam 'a grammar evolved by Kāśakṛtsna'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *upajñāta* as *vinopadeśena jñātam* 'that which was evolved without any instruction from someone; ingenious'. The word *akālakam* is explained by *kālaparibhāṣārahitam* 'that which lacks any definition of time'.

4.3.116 कृते ग्रन्थे

kṛte granthe
/ *kṛte* 7/1 *granthe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt '*kṛte*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tatkṛtaṃ granthaś cet sa bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of a 'text made by him'.

EXAMPLES:

vararucinā kṛtāḥ = *vārarucāḥ ślokāḥ* 'verses composed by Vararuci'
bhaikurāṭ 'a treatise composed by Bhikurāṭ'

1. What is the difference between *prokta*, *upajñāta* and *kṛta*. First of all, *kṛta* is brought about as completely original. It is not something as *prokta* which may be, in part, someone else's creation. The creator of a *prokta* text is given more credit for expounding it and making it effectively understood. An *upajñāta* text is explained as *vidyamānam eva jñātam* 'understanding what already existed'. However, this understanding does not involve *upadeśa* 'instruction' as *Kāśikā* explains: *vinopadeśena jñātam*. The word *upajñāta* can thus refer to something which was evolved as a systematic presentation, without instruction from a teacher.

4.3.117 संज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām
/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112, *kṛte* #116)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'kṛte' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*) relative to the residual meaning of 'made by him'.

EXAMPLES:

makṣikābhiḥ kṛtam = *mākṣikam* 'made by the bees; honey'
pauttikam 'id.'

1. This rule is formulated for accounting derivates which denote a name other than that of a treatise (*grantha*; *agranthārtham idam*).

4.3.118 कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ्

kulālādibhyo vuñ
/ *kulālādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112, *kṛte* #116, *saṃjñāyām* #117)
kulālādibhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'tena kṛtam' ity etasminn arthe saṃjñāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *kulāla* 'pot-maker', when the stems end in instrumental and derivates denote a name relative to the residual meaning of 'made by him'.

EXAMPLES:

kaulālakam 'made by a potter; pottery'
vāruḍakam 'made by Varuḍa'

1. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* treats rules 4.3.117-18 as one. Patañjali resorts to rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*) for accounting derivates such as *mākṣikam*, etc. Obviously, our listing of two separate rules is taken from the *Kāśikā* which does not resort to *yogavibhāga*.

4.3.119 क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ्

kṣudrābhramaravaṭarapādapād añ
/ kṣudrā-bhramara-vaṭara-pādapāt 5/1 = *kṣudrā ca bhramaraś ca vaṭaraś ca pādapaś ca (sam. dv.), tasmāt; añ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tena* #112, *kṛte* #116, *saṃjñāyām* #117)
kṣudrādibhyo'ñ pratyayo bhavati 'tena kṛte' ity etasmin viṣaye saṃjñāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kṣudrā* 'small bee', *bhramara* 'bee', *vaṭara* 'churning-stick', and *pādapa*, 'tree', when the stems end in instrumental and derivates denote a name relative to the residual meaning of 'made by him'.

EXAMPLES:

kṣaudram '. . . made by a small bee; honey'
bhrāmaram 'id.'
vāṭaram '. . . made by churning stick; butter'
pādapam 'made by a tree'

1. Affix *aÑ* is an exception to *aṆ*, though derivates do not differ in form. Of course, there is a difference in accent conditioned by *Ṇ* and *Ñ* as *it* element. A derivate of *aṆ* is marked high-pitched at the end (*antodātta*) on account of the affix. An *aÑ*-derivate, because of its *Ñ* as an *it*, will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). Some read *padapa* instead of *pādapa*. A listing such as *pādapa* will attract application of 4.2.11 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*.

4.3.120 तस्येदम्

tasyedam
/ tasya 6/1 *idam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92)

tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'idam' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhi* 'genitive', provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'this is his'.

EXAMPLES:

upagor idam = *aupagavam* 'this belongs to Upagu'
kāpaṭavam 'this belongs to Kapaṭu'

1. Note that *tasya* specifies the nominal stem after which this affixal provision is made. It is given in masculine-neuter singular. This, as has already been explained in connection with rule 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, does not restrict bases to masculine-neuter singular only. Observe that the affixal denotatum is specified by *idam*, a neuter singular. Besides, it refers to 'something' proximate and visible (*pratyakṣa*). This again does not restrict the affixal denotatum to something which is proximate, neuter, and singular; and which could be comprehended directly. That is, bases coming under the scope of this rule should terminate in genitive; and the affixal denotatum should be interpreted relative to the signification of the base in genitive (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *prakṛtau ṣaṣṭyarthamātraṃ vivakṣitam. pratyayārthe'pi ṣaṣṭyarthasambandhimātram, yena vinā ṣaṣṭhyartho na sampadyate*). If the affixal denotatum is comprehended as that which relates to genitive in general then how come *anantara* 'near' and *samīpa* 'proximate', of *devadattasya anantaram* and *devadattasya samīpam*, which are obviously relatable to genitive of *devadattasya*, are excluded? Because of lack of usage (*anabhidhānāt*).

2. There are three *vārttikas* which recommend as follows:

(*i*) Affix *aṆ* should be introduced to a derivate of *vah* terminating in *tṛN* or *tṛC*, with an additional provision of augment *iṬ*. Thus we get: *sāṃvahitram* 'husband's property'. This *vārttika* provision is expressly made for augment *iṬ* in conjunction with *tṛN* and *tṛC*. Affix *aṆ* will be available to such derivates anyway (*saṃvahestur aṇ iṭ ca/ . . . siddha evātrāṇ, iḍartham upasaṃkhyānam*).

(*ii*) Affix *raṆ* should be introduced after *agnīdh*, with an additional assignment of the term *bha*, when the denotatum is *śaraṇa* 'shelter'. This gives us: *āgnīdhram* 'the place where sacrificial fire is arranged and lit; in the vicinity of the presiding priest (*agnīdh*), because of his association with the sacrificial fire'.

(*iii*) Affix *ṢeṇyaṆ* is introduced after *samidh* 'wood for sacrificial fire' when the denotatum is *ādhāna* 'placing and arranging in a heap'. This gives us *sāmidhenyaḥ* 'a *mantra* by means of which firewood is offered to the sacrificial fire'. A parallel feminine derivate in *ṄīṢ*, as facilitated by *Ṣ* as an *it* in *ṢeṇyaṆ*, is *sāmidhenī*, a hymn. The *Ṇ* as an *it* in *ṢeṇyaṆ* is used for facilitating initial *vṛddhi* of derivates.

4.3.121 रथाद्यत्

rathād yat
/*rathāt* 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
rathaśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *ratha* 'chariot', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

rathasya idam rathyam = *cakraṃ vā yugaṃ vā* 'part of a chariot; a wheel, or yoke'

1. Affix *yaT* is here introduced as an exception to *aṆ*. This affixal provision is desired only when derivates signify parts of a chariot. For, usages do not indicate any other signification (*rathāṅga eveṣyate, nañyatra, anabhidhānāt*). What about usages parallel to *rathasya voḍhā* 'one who pulls the chariot' where the denotatum is *voḍhā* 'one who pulls'? Such usages will be covered by *yaT* of 4.4.76 *tad vahati*. . . .

A *vārttika* recommends that *tadantavidhi* should be accepted in case of *yaT*, relative to *ratha*, *sītā* 'furrow' and *hala* 'plough'. Thus observe *paramarathyam* 'best part of a chariot', *uttamarathyam* 'id.', etc.

4.3.122 पत्त्रपूर्वादञ्

pattrapūrvād añ
/*pattrapūrvāt* 5/1 = *pattraṃ pūrvaṃ yasya sa* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120, *rathāt* #121)
pattrapūrvād rathaśabdād añ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *ratha* which ends in genitive and is used in combination after a preceding constituent signifying *pattra*, provided the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

āśvarathaṃ cakram 'wheel of a chariot drawn by horses'
auṣṭraratham '. . . of a chariot drawn by camels'
gārdabharatham '. . . of a chariot drawn by donkeys'

1. It is stated that *pattra* should be here understood in the sense of *vāhya*

'that which is drawn or carried; horses, etc.'. Why? Because of lack of any other meaning available in usage (*anabhidhānāt*). *Kāśikā* paraphrases *pattra* as *patanti teneti* = *aśvādikaṃ vāhanam* 'that by means of which they go; horses, etc. The word *pattra* is here accepted as a derivate of *pad* '*gatau* = *pad* to go'.

4.3.123 पत्त्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च

pattrādhvaryupariṣadaś ca
/*pattrādhvaryupariṣadaḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120, *añ* #122)
pattravācinaḥ prātipadikād adhvaryu-pariṣac-chabdābhyāṃ cāñ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *pattra, adhvaryu* 'priest' and *pariṣad* 'assembly', when the stems end in genitive and derivate denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvasyedaṃ vahanīyam = *āśvam* 'this is something fit for a horse to carry'
auṣṭram 'something fit for a camel to carry'
ādhvaryam 'something belonging to an Adhvaryu'
pāriṣadam 'relating to an assembly'

1. The word *pattra* here refers to a means of transportation. A *vārttika* specifies the affixal meaning in the context of *pattra* as *vāhya* 'that which is to be carried'. Elsewhere, in the context of *adhvaryu* and *pariṣad,* the meaning is *tasyedam.* The word *pattra* is interpreted in this rule as referring to its meaning (*artha*). The other two, *adhvaryu* and *pariṣad,* are interpreted as referring to their form (*svarūpa*). How do we know it? The interpretation of the learned is our only recourse here (*vyākhyānaṃ cātra śaraṇam*).

2. How come this *sūtra* was not jointly formulated with the preceding as: *pattrapūrvapattrādhvaryupariṣado' ñ*? Such a formulation will create problems of interpretation, especially in case of *pattrapūrva.* For example, in a single formulation, *pattrapūrva* cannot be interpreted as a modifier only for *ratha,* thereby yielding: *āśvaratham.* This modifier, i.e., *pattra,* will also modify other stems. We do not have to face this difficulty in a split formulation (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *evaṃ hi pūrvapattrapūrvāt prātipadikād anyato'pi prasajyeta. yogavibhāge pūrvasmin yoge rathād ity anuvṛtte ratha eva pattrapūrvagrahaṇena viśeṣyata iti na bhavaty atiprasaṅgaḥ*). A split reading will allow *ratha* alone to be modified.

4.3.124 हलसीराट्ठक्

halasīrāṭ ṭhak

/halasīrāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
hala-sīra śabdābhyāṃ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *hala* and *sīra* 'plough' when they end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

hālikam 'part of a plough'
sīrakam 'id.'

1. Note that *ṭhaK* is an exception to *aṆ*.

4.3.125 द्वन्द्वाद् वुन्वैरमैथुनिकयोः

dvandvād vun vairamaithunikayoḥ
/dvandvāt 5/1 *vun* 1/1 *vairamaithunikayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
dvandvasaṃjñakād vun pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye vairamaithunikayoḥ pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *dvandva* which ends in genitive, provided its derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to enmity (*vaira*) and conjugal relationship (*maithunika*).

EXAMPLES:

bābhravyaśālaṅkāyanikāḥ 'enmity between the Bābhravyas and the Śālaṅkāyanas'
kākolūkikā 'enmity between crows and owls'
kutsakuśikikā 'marriage of Kutsa with Kuśikā'

1. Our examples are given in feminine because stems ending in *vuN* are used in feminine (*vunnantaḥ svabhāvād eva striyāṃ vartate*). Derivates which signify *vaira*, itself a neuter, are also used in feminine.

Affix *vuN* is an exception to *aṆ*. It also block *cha* of 4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe*...).

2. A *vārttika* disallows a derivate with the signification of *vaira* when the affix is to be introduced after a *dvandva* compound with constituents denoting *deva* 'god' and *asura* 'demon'. The derivates there will be: *daivāsuram* 'enmity between gods and demons', etc.

4.3.126 गोत्रचरणाद् वुञ्

gotracaraṇād vuñ
/*gotracaraṇāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vuN* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
gotravācibhyaś caraṇavācibhyaś ca prātipadikebhyo vuñ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *nuÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems signifying a *gotra* and *caraṇa* 'Vedic branch', when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

aupagavakam 'belonging to the descendants of Upagu'
glaucukāyanakam 'belonging to the descendants of Glucukāyana'
kāṭhakam 'duties or recitation of those subscrbing to the Kaṭha school of Vedic'
kālāpakam 'duties or recitation of those subscribing to the Kalāpa school of Vedic'

1. A *vārttika* states that affix *vuN* should be introduced after a *gotra* stem to denote the sense of genitive. The same should be introduced after a *caraṇa* stem in the sense of *dharma* 'duty' and *āmnāya* 'recitation'.

4.3.127 संघाङ्कलक्षणेष्वञ्यञिञामण्

saṅghāṅkalakṣaṇeṣv añyañiñām aṇ
/*saṅghāṅkalakṣaṇeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *añyañiñām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120, *gotrāt* #126)
saṅghādiṣu pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇeṣv añantād yañantād iñantāc ca prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems terminating in *gotra* affixes *aÑ*, *yaÑ* and *iÑ*, when the stems are used in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to *saṅgha* 'group', *aṅka* 'mark' and *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark'.

EXAMPLES:

baidaḥ saṅghaḥ 'this is an assembly of the descendants of Bida'
baido' ṅkaḥ 'this is the mark of a descendant of Bida'
baidaṃ lakṣaṇam 'this is the characteristic mark of a descendant of Bida'
gārgaḥ 'this is an assembly of the descendants of Garga'

gārgo'ṅkaḥ 'this is the mark of a descendant of Garga'
gārgo lakṣaṇam 'this is the characteristic mark of a descendant of Garga'
gārgo ghoṣaḥ 'this is an assembly of the descendants of Garga'
dākṣaḥ saṅghaḥ 'this is an assembly of the descendants of Dakṣa'

1. A *vārttika* also allows *aṆ* when the signification is *ghoṣa* 'group', in addition to three affixes already stated by the rule. Since the signification now becomes four parallel to three bases characterized by affixes *aÑ*, *yaÑ* and *iÑ*, there is no assignment of equivalency in accord with order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .).

Note that this affixal provision is made as an exception to *vuÑ*.

2. What is the difference between *aṅka* and *lakṣaṇa*? Are not they synonymous? Basically there is no difference between the two. However, a *lakṣaṇa* can be explained as a mark (*cihnam*) which may or may not be the property of its goal uniquely. Thus *vidyā bidānām* has *vidyā* 'knowledge' as a mark which, in turn, could be the unique property of relatives of Bida. And not of anybody else. An *aṅka* 'mark', even though it may be part of a cow, could still not be called as the property of the cow. It will still be the property of its owner (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *lakṣaṇaṃ cihnaṃ lakṣasyeva svam, nānyasya, yathā vidyā bidānām*; . . . *aṅkas tu gavādistho na gavādīnām sambhavati. kiṃ tarhi? tato'nyeṣām, gavādisvāminām*).

3. Note that *Ṇ* of *aṆ* will facilitate the introduction of feminine affix *ṄīP*, and will also block masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*). This *Ṇ* is not intended for *vṛddhi*. Thus, we can get *baidī vidyā'sya* = *baidīvidyaḥ* 'he whose knowledge is characteristically similar to that of a relative of Bida'.

4.3.128 शाकलाद्वा

śākalād vā
/*śākalāt* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120, *gotrāt* #126, *aṇ* #127)
śākalaśabdāt saṅghādiṣu pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇeṣu vā'ṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *śākala* 'follower of Śākalya' when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to *saṅgha*, *aṅka* and *lakṣaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

śākalena proktam adhīyate śākalāḥ teṣāṃ saṅghaḥ
śākalaḥ/śākalakaḥ 'an assembly of those who study what has been expounded by Śākala'

śākalo' ṅkaḥ/ śākalako' ṅkaḥ 'mark of those who study what has been expounded by Śākala'
śākalaṃ lakṣaṇam/ śākalakaṃ lakṣaṇam 'characteristic mark of those who study what has been expounded by Śākala'

1. This is an exception to affix *vuN* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ.*

4.3.129 छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ्ञ्यः

chandogaukthikayājñikabahvṛcanaṭāñ ñyaḥ
/ *chandogaukthikayājñikabahvṛcanaṭāt* 5/1 = *chandogaś ca aukthikaś ca yājñikaś ca bahvṛcaś ca naṭaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg divyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
chandogādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *chandoga, aukthika, yājñika, bahvṛc* and *naṭa* when the stems end in genitive and derivates signify the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to *dharma* 'duty' and *āmnāya* 'group'.

EXAMPLES:

chāndogyam 'code of conduct, or organization, of the Chandoga (Sāmavedic) priests'
aukthikyam 'duty, or organization, of reciters of the Ukthas of *Sāmaveda*'
yājñikyam 'duty, or organization, of ritualists'
bāhvṛcyam 'duty, or organization, of those who can recite many hymns'
nāṭyam 'duty, or organization, of stage performers'

1. This provision of *Ñya* is again an exception to 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ.* It is an exception to the general, *aN* insofar as *naṭa* is concerned. The signification of the affix, namely *dharma* and *āmnāya,* is gotten from a *vārttika* proposal.

4.3.130 न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु

na daṇḍamāṇavāntevāsiṣu
/ *na* ϕ *daṇḍamāṇavāntevāsiṣu* 7/3 = *daṇḍapradhānā māṇavāḥ* = *daṇḍamāṇavāḥ* (*karmadhāraya* with deletion of its middle constituent); *daṇḍamāṇavāś ca antevāsinaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #120)
'*daṇḍamāṇavāḥ*' '*antevāsinaḥ*' *teṣu abhidheyeṣu vuñ pratyayo na bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* does not occur after syntactically related nomi-

nal stems *daṇḍamāṇava* 'celibate guards with their characteristic sticks' and *antevāsin* 'pupil' when they end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his', relative to *dharma* and *āmnāya*.

EXAMPLES:

gaukakṣā daṇḍamāṇavā antevāsini vā 'celibate guards, or students of Gokakṣa'
dakṣāḥ 'celibate guards, or students, of Dakṣa'

1. The word *daṇḍamāṇava* refers to celibates entrusted with security, for example, of a hermitage. They are characterized as such because they always carry a stick.

2. This affixal provision is an exception to the *vuN* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād*. . . . An affix which obtains after a stem designating a *gotra* would, in the absence of this rule, not obtain after *chandoga*, etc.

4.3.131 रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः

raivatikādibhyaś chaḥ
/ *raivatikādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #4.3.120)
raivatikādibhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *raivatika*, when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

raivatikīyaḥ 'belonging to Raivatika'
svāpiśīyaḥ 'belonging to Svāpiśi'

1. This provision of *cha* is made as an exception to *vuN* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād*. . . . A question is also raised against formulation of this rule, especially since one can get *cha* automatically at the strength of *vṛddhi* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). This rule is necessary because stems such as *svāpiśi*, *audamedhi* and *audavāpi* which are listed in the *raivatikādi* group but which may qualify for *aṆ* of 4.2.112 *iñaś ca*, a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to *cha*.

4.3.132 कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण्

kaupiñjalahāstipadād aṇ
/ *kaupiñjalahāstipadāt* 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #4.3.120)

kaupiñjala-hāstipadaśabdābhyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tasyedam' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kaupiñjala* and *hāstipada*, when they end in genitive and derivates denote the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

kaupiñjalaḥ 'belonging to a descendant of Kupiñjala'
hāstipadaḥ 'belonging to a descendant of Hastipada'

1. This again is an exception to the *vuÑ* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād*. . . . *Kāśikā* reads it as a *sūtra* which the *Mahābhāṣya* has a *vārttika*. Kaiyaṭa (*Udyota* ad *Mbh.* under 4.2.129) calls it un-Pāṇinian (*apāṇinīyaḥ sūtreṣu pāṭhaḥ*). The *gotra* affix *aṆ* after *kupiñjala* and *hastipād*, with the replacement of *pād* with *pad*, is all availed through *nipātana*, at the strength of this very rule.

4.3.133 आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च

ātharvaṇikasyekalopaś ca
/ *ātharvaṇikasya* 6/1 *ikalopaḥ* 6/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *śeṣe* #4.2.92, *tasyedam* #4.3.120, *aṇ* #132)
ātharvaṇikaśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena ca ikalopaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *ātharvaṇika*, with an additional provision of deletion of its *ika*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the residual meaning of 'that is his'.

EXAMPLES:

ātharvaṇaḥ 'duty, or organization, of the descendants of Atharvan'

1. Again the affixal signification is determined based upon the *vārttika*: *caraṇād dharmāmnāyayoḥ*. Kaiyaṭa (*pradīpa*), Haradatta (*Padamañjarī*) and Nāgeśa (*Udyota*) accept it as a *sūtra* but others, including the *Mahābhāṣya*, treat it as a *vārttika*. *Kāśikā*, of course, treats it as a *sūtra*. This *aṆ* is again an exception to the *vuÑ* of 4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād*. . ., though this time relative to a *caraṇa*. Thus, *ātharvan* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* = *ātharvaṇaḥ* → 4.3.63 *vasantādibhyaṣ ṭhak* (with the signification of *tad adhīte*. . .) → *ātharvaṇikaḥ* + *aṆ* = *ātharvaṇaḥ* (with the signification of *proktam* 'expounded . . .', though no *LUK* of 4.2.64 *proktāl luk*).

4.3.134 तस्य विकारः

tasya vikāraḥ
/ *tasya* 6/1 *vikāraḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83)
tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'vikāraḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes 'a modification of that'.

EXAMPLES:

aśmano vikāraḥ = *āśmaḥ* 'something made of stone'
bhāsmanaḥ 'something made of ashes'
mārttikaḥ 'something made of clay; pot'

1. The word *vikāraḥ* is explained as bringing the material cause of a thing to another state of existence (*upādānakāraṇasya avasthāntaram*).

2. Why does Pāṇini specify *tasya* when the same is available via *anuvṛtti*? So that 4.2.92 *śeṣe* could be discontinued. If *tasya* is carried through *anuvṛtti* then *śaiṣika* affixes such as *gha*, etc., will also have to be carried (*Mbh. tasya prakaraṇe tasyeti punar vacanaṃ śaiṣikanivṛtyartham*).

4.3.135 **अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः**

avayave ca prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣebhyaḥ
/*avayave* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83 *tasya vikāraḥ* #134)
prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣavācibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyo' vayave yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati cakārād vikāre ca
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive and signifies an animate being (*prāṇin*), a vegetation (*oṣadhi*), or tree (*vṛkṣa*), when derivates denote the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

kāpotaḥ 'limb, or modification, of a pigeon'
māyūraḥ 'limb, or modification, of a peacock'
maurvaṃ kāṇḍam bhasma vā 'stem, or ash, of Mūrvā (a kind of reed)'
kārīraṃ kāṇḍam bhasma vā 'stem, or ash, of a Karīra tree'

1. Note that the domain of 4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ* extends up to 4.3.165 *kaṃsīyaparaśavyayor*. . . . That is, henceforth, affixal provisions will be made with the signification of *vikāra* and *avayava*. Stems which have the signification of *prāṇyoṣadhivṛkṣa* will receive affixes for denoting *avayava* and *vikāra*. Other stems will receive an affix only in the sense of *vikāra*.

4.3.136 **बिल्वादिभ्योऽण्**

bilvādibhyo' ṇ
/ *bilvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *bilva ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83 *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
'*bilva*' *ity evamādibhyo' ṇ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavor arthayoḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *bilva* 'wood-apple tree', when the stems end in genitive and derivates signify the meaning of modification' or 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

bailvaḥ 'a modification, or part, of the wood-apple tree'
vraihaḥ 'a modification, or part of, rice plant'

1. Note that *gavedhukā* is also read in the *bilvādi* group. Affix *aṆ* was available to it automatically, based on its status as *kopadha* 'that which has *k* in its penultimate position' (4.2.132 *kopadhād aṇ*). This stem is offered *aṆ* by way of its listing in the *bilvādi* group mainly for the purpose of blocking *mayaṬ* of 4.3.143 *mayaḍvaitayor*. . ., which would have otherwise blocked the general (*autsargika*) *aṆ*. It is also to block the *mayaṬ* of 4.3.144 *nityaṃ vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ*, in the context of *vṛddha* and *śarādi* stems, that *aṆ* is specified. This *aṆ* is then intended for blocking what otherwise could have blocked the general *aṆ* (*bādhakabādhanārtha*). The remaining stems are included in the *bilvādi* group so that *aÑ* of 4.3.140 *anudatteś ca* can be blocked. This rule thus constitutes a prior excepton (*purastāpavāda*) to 4.3.140.

4.3.137 **कोपधाच्च**

kopadhāc ca
/ *kopadhāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *aṇ* #136)
kakāropadhāt prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati yathāyogaṃ vikārāvayavor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive, and has *k* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*), when derivates denotes a meaning relative to 'modification' or 'part of a whole' as may be the case.

EXAMPLES:

tārkkavam 'modification, or part, of a spindle'
taittiḍīkam 'modification, or part, of a Tamarind tree'

1. This affixal provision is an exception to *aÑ* of 4.3.139 *or añ* and 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*. Nominal stems *tittiḍīka, māṇḍūka, dardurūka* and *madhūka* constitute an exception to 4.3.140, because they are *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*) by *Phiṭsūtra* 42: *laghāvante*. . . . Consequently, they are marked *anudātta* at the beginning.

4.3.138 त्रपुजतुनोः षुक्

trapujatunoḥ ṣuk
/*trapujatunoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*, *ṣuk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *aṇ* #136)
trapujatuśabdābhyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati vikāre tatsanniyogena tayoḥ ṣug āgamo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *trapu* 'lead' and *jatu* 'lac', with an additional provision of augment *ṣUK*, when these stems end in genitive and derivates signify the meaning of 'modification'.

EXAMPLES:

trāpuṣam 'something made of lead'
jātuṣam 'something made of lac'

1. These derivates cannot signify *avayava* because *trapu* and *jatu* do not denote *prāṇin, vṛkṣa* and *oṣadhi* (4.3.135 *avayave* . . .). This rule is an exception to the following:

4.3.139 ओरञ्

or añ
/*oḥ* 6/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
uvarṇāntāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *u*, and is used in genitive, provided derivates signify the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

daivadāravam 'a modification, or part, of a Devadāru tree'
bhādradāravam 'a modification', or part, of a Bhadradāru tree'

1. Both of our example stems are marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra*

37: *pītadravārthānām*). This provision of *aÑ* is made separately because they cannot be covered by 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*.

4.3.140 अनुदात्तादेश्च

anudāttādeś ca
/*anudāttādeḥ* 6/1 = *anudātta ādir yasya* (*bv*.), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *añ* #139)
anudāttādeḥ prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* also occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is marked *anudātta* 'low pitch' at the beginning and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

dādhittham 'a modification, or part, of a Dadhittha (Feronia elephantus) tree'
kāpittham 'a modification, or part, of a Kapittha tree'

1. Note that *dadhittha* and *kapittha* are formed with affix *ka* (3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ*) through the process of *upapadasamāsa* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*), integration of fully inflected words parallel to *dadhnas tiṣṭhati* and *kapau tiṣṭhati*. The result is marked *udātta* at the end in view of 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ*. . . . Consequently, in view of 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*, the rest of the compound is marked *anudātta*.

4.3.141 पलाशादिभ्यो वा

palāśādibhyo vā
/*palāśādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *aÑ* #139)
palāśādibhyaḥ prātipadkebhyo vā' ñ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs only optionally after syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *palāśa*, when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

pālāśam 'a modification, or part, of a Palāśa tree (Butea frondosa)'
khādiram 'modification, or part, of a Khadira tree'

1. The affixal provision of this rule is classed as: *prāptāprāpta* 'a provision made in view of another which may or may not be available'. Our nominal stems *palāśa, khadira* and *śiṃśipā* are marked *anudātta* at the beginning. This makes affix *aÑ* available (*prāpta*) to them. The remaining stems of this rule could not avail *aÑ* which is made available here (*aprāpta*). The *aÑ* of the preceding rule is thus made optional, characterized as *prāptāprāpta* (*Kāś.*: *palāśakhadiraśiṃśipāspandanānām anudāttāditvāt prāpte anyeṣām aprāpte*).

4.3.142 शम्याष्ट्लञ्

śamyāṣ ṭlañ
/*śamyāḥ* 5/1 *ṭlañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
śamīśabdāṭ ṭlañ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *Ṭlañ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *śamī* when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

śāmīlaṃ bhasma 'ash, or part, of a Śamī tree'
śāmīlī sruk 'ritual spoon made from Śamī wood'

1. The *Ṭ* as an *it* in the affix is intended for facilitating feminine forms in *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...). The word *śamī* itself is a feminine ending in *ṄīṢ* because of its membership in the *gaurādi* group. It will also, because of its feminine affix, be marked *udātta* at the end. The *aÑ* of 4.1.140 *anudāttādeś ca* will thus be available to it. Affix *ṬlaÑ* is therefore offered as an exception of *aÑ*.

Incidentally, Bhaṭṭoji (SK 1522 *śamyāḥṣlañ*) accepts the affix as *ṢlaÑ*. This way, our feminine example *śāmīlī* will have to be derived with affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*. *Kāśikā* accepts the affix as *ṬlaÑ*. In this case the *Ṭ* as an *it* will be accepted for facilitating *ṄīP*.

4.3.143 मयड्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोः

mayaḍ vaitayor bhāṣāyām abhakṣyācchādanayoḥ
/*mayaṭ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ *etayoḥ* 7/2 *bhāṣāyām* 7/1 *abhakṣyācchādanayoḥ* 7/2 = *bhakṣyaṃ ca acchādanaṃ ca* = *bhakṣyācchādane; na bhakṣyācchādane* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)

prakṛtimātrād vā mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati bhakṣyācchādanavarjitayor, vikārāvayavayor asthayor bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye yathāyathaṃ pratyayeṣu prāpteṣu
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs optionally in *bhāṣā* 'classical language' after a syntactically related nominal stem in general, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole' of something other than 'food' (*bhakṣya*) and 'clothing' (*ācchādana*).

EXAMPLES:

aśmayam 'a thing made from, or being part of, stone'
āśmanam 'part (son) of sage Aśmaka'

1. The word *etayoḥ* is used here for *avayava* and *vikāra*. Why is *etayoḥ* used when *avayava* and *vikāra* is already available from the *anuvṛtti*. A specification via *etayoḥ* is made to ensure that *mayaṬ* will also be used optionally with specific affixes outlined for *avayava* and *vikāra*. *Nyāsa* thus remarks rightly that: *yadi hy etayor iti nocyeta tato ya ita uttare viśeṣāḥ pratyayā añādayaḥ taiḥ saha sampradhāraṇāyāṃ paratvāt ta eva syuḥ. etayoḥ ity ucyamāne tu viśeṣapratyaya-yeṣv api pakṣe bhavanti tena kapotamayam ityādi siddhaṃ bhavati* 'if *etayoḥ*' is not specified then, specific provisions of *aÑ*, etc. (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo' ñ*), which are being introduced subsequently, when read alongside with *mayaṬ*, will block *mayaṬ* on the basis of *paratva*. With *etayoḥ* included, *mayaṬ* can also be used optionally with special affixes facilitating the derivation of forms such as *kapotamayam*, etc.

2. It is because of the condition of *abhakṣyācchādanayoḥ* that derivates such as *maudgaḥ* 'soup made from Mung beans' or *kārpāsam* 'cotton cloth' do not have any optional form in *mayaṬ*.

4.3.144 नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः

nityaṃ vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ
/ *nityam* 1/1 *vṛddhaśarādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *śara ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *vṛddhaś ca śarādayaś ca* (*dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ bhāṣāyām abhakṣyācchādanayoḥ* #143)
vṛddhebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ śarādibhyaś cābhakṣyācchādanayor vikārāvayavor bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye nityaṃ mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs in *bhāṣā*, obligatorily, after syntactically related nominal stems which are termed *vṛddha*, or are listed in the group headed by *śara* 'read', when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote the meaning of 'modification' and 'part of a whole' of something other than 'food' (*bhakṣya*) and 'clothing' (*ācchādana*).

EXAMPLES:

āmramayam 'modification, or part, of a mango tree'
śaramayam 'some thing made from, or a piece of, reed'

1. The optional provision of the preceding rule is here made obligatory. A question is raised against using the word *nityam*, especially when *mayaṬ* will be introduced obligatorily anyway. Note that *mayaṬ* is used here as an exception to the general *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*. The *aṆ* which is characterized as *kopadha* (4.3.137 *kopadhāc ca*), as well as the *aÑ* of stems ending in *u* (4.3.139 *or añ*) or of stems marked with *anudātta* at the beginning (4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*), will all be blocked by *mayaṬ* of our present rule on the basis of *paratva*. This *mayaṬ* must be obligatory (*nitya*) since optional *mayaṬ* is already available, and formulating this *sūtra* for an optional *mayaṬ* again will be useless. Why use the word *nitya* when the rule is going to be *nitya* anyway? Commentators state that *nitya* is used specifically to account for obligatory *mayaṬ* in cases of monosyllabic stems such as *tvak* 'skin' of *tvaṅmayam* 'made of skin' (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *prāgdīvyatīyāṇo hy apavādo mayaḍ ārabhyate, aṇaṃ tu kopadhalakṣaṇam añam uvarṇāntalakṣaṇam anudāttādilakṣaṇaṃ ca paratvād bādhate. yady hy anityaḥ syāt asya sūtrasyārambho' narthakaḥ syāt; pākṣikasya mayaṭaḥ pūrveṇaiva siddhatvāt*...).

4.3.145 गोश्च पुरीषे

goś ca purīṣe
/*goḥ* 5/1 *ca* ɸ *purīṣe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134 *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
gośabdāt purīṣe' bhidheye mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *go* 'cow', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate signifies *purīṣa* 'ordure'.

EXAMPLES:

gomayam 'cow-dung'

1. Note that *gomayam* is not treated as *vikāra* of cows. It obviously is also not any limb of cows (*purīṣaṃ na vikāro na cāvayavaḥ*). It is stated that when a material (*prakṛti*) attains another state of existence (*avasthānantaram*) only then we talk of *vikāra*. Obviously, a cow does not attain any other state of its existence in *gomaya*.

4.3.146 पिष्टाच्च

piṣṭāc ca
/*piṣṭāt* 5/1 *ca* ɸ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
piṣṭaśabdān nityaṃ mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati 'tasya vikāra' ity etasmin viṣaye.
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *piṣṭa* 'powdered', when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'modification'.

EXAMPLES:

piṣṭamayam 'something reduced to powder'

1. This *mayaṬ* is an exception to the general *aṆ*.

4.3.147 संज्ञायां कन्

saṃjñāyāṃ kan
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyataḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* # 4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
piṣṭaśabdāt kan pratyayo bhavati vikāre saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *piṣṭa*, when the same ends in genitive and the derivate names some particular 'modification'.

EXAMPLES:

piṣṭakaḥ 'a kind of cake'

1. This is an exception to *mayaṬ* of the preceding rule.

4.3.148 व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे

vrīheḥ puroḍāśe
/*vrīheḥ* 5/1 *puroḍāśe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1., *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
vrīhiśabdān mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati puroḍāśe vikāre
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *vrīhi* 'rice', when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes a modification in the form of *puroḍāśa* 'ritual oblation of food'.

EXAMPLES:

vrīhimayaḥ puroḍāśaḥ 'a *puroḍāśa* made of rice'

1. Note that *vrīhi* is included within the *bilvādi* group of 4.3.136

bilvādibhyo' ṇ. Obviously, this provision of *mayaṬ* is an exception of *aṆ*. A derivate of *vrīhi* signifying something other than *puroḍāśa* will be: *vraiham*, derived with *aṆ*.

4.3.149 असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम्

asaṃjñāyāṃ tilayavābhyām
/ *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1 = *na saṃjñā* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin; tilayavābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
tilayavaśabdābhyām asaṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *tila* 'sesame' and *yava* 'barley' when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'modification', and part of a whole' other than a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

tilamayam '. . . made from, or part of, sesame'
yavamayam '. . . made from, or part of, barley'

1. This affixal is an exception to *mayaṭ* of 4.3.143 *mayaḍ vaitayor. . .* That is, rule 4.3.143 does not allow *mayaṬ* because *tila* and *yava* are items of food. Our present rule allows *mayaṬ*. Derivates outside the restriction of *asaṃjñā* will be: *tailam* 'oil' and *yāvakaḥ*, both derived with *kaN* of 5.4.29 *yāvādibhyaḥ kan*.

4.3.150 द्व्यचश्छन्दसि

dvyacaś chandasi
/ *dvyacaḥ* 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143)
dvyacaḥ prātipadikāc chandasi viṣaye mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs in Vedic after a syntactically related nominal stem which consists of two vowels and ends in genitive, provided the derivate signifies 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

parṇamayī juhūḥ '(sacrificial ladle) made of leaves'
śaramayaṃ barhiḥ '(sacrificial spoon) made of reeds'

4.3.151 नोत्वद्वर्ध्रबिल्वात्

notvadvardhrabilvāt
/*na* ϕ *utvadvardhrabilvāt* 5/1 = *ukāro vidyate'smin tad* (*bv.*); *utvac ca vardhraś ca bilvaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *mayaṭ* #143, *dvyacaś chandasi* #150)
utvataḥ prātipadikād vardhrabilvaśabdābhyāṃ ca mayaṭ pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* does not occur, in Vedic, after a syntactically related nominal stem which either consists of two vowels with *u* (*uT*) as one of them, or is constituted by *vardhra* 'strap' and *bilva* 'wood-apple tree', when the stems end in genitive and derivates signify 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

mauñjam '. . . made of Muñja, a kind of reed'
gārmutam '. . . made of Garmut, a kind of reed'
vārdhrī '. . . leather-strap'
bailvam '. . . made of Bilva'

1. This rule blocks *mayaṬ* in favor of the general affix *aṆ*, as far as *mauñjam* is concerned. The word *muñja* is marked *udātta* initially (cf. *Phiṭsūtra* 27: *tṛṇadhānyānāṃ ca dvyaṣām*) and hence, will avail *aṆ* as opposed to the *aÑ* of 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*. The *aÑ* of 4.3.140 will be applicable to *gārmutam* where *garmut* is derived with affix *ut* and augment *muṬ* (*Uṇ.* 1.94-95: *mṛgor utiḥ; gror muṭ ca*). It is marked *udātta* at the end based upon affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Our nominal stem *vardhra* ends in affix *raN* (*Uṇādi* 195: *vṛdhivapibhyāṃ ran*) and hence, is marked *udātta* at the beginning based upon *N* of *raN* as an *it* (*nitsvara*). It takes the general affix *aṆ*. Affix *ṄīP* in *vārdhrī* is gotten from 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Our final example, *bailvaḥ*, gets the *aṆ* from 4.3.136 *bilvādibhyo'ṇ*.

4.3.152 तालादिभ्योऽण्

tālādibhyo'ṇ
/*tālādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *tāla ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv*), *tebhyaḥ; aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
tālādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *tāla* 'palmyra tree', when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

tālaṃ dhanuḥ 'a bow made from the palmyra wood'
bārhiṇam 'something made from peacock feathers'

1. Note that *tālam* must be used in the sense of a bow (*tālād dhanuṣi*). For, elsewhere, the affixal choice must be *mayaṬ*. Our stem *tāla* constitutes an exception to *mayaṬ* of 4.3.144 *nityaṃ vṛddha*. . . . The word *bārhiṇa* is a derivate of *aÑ* of 4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo' ñ*. Consequently, it should have received *aÑ* of 4.3.155 *ñitaś ca tatpratyayāt*. The rest of the stems of *tālādi* group also form an exception of *aÑ*, though for reasons of being marked *anudātta* at the beginning (4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*).

4.3.153 जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे

jātarūpebhyaḥ parimāṇe
/*jātarūpebhyaḥ* 5/3 *parimāṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *aṇ* #152)
jātarūpavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo' ṇ pratyayo bhavati parimāṇe vikāre
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which has the signification of *jātarūpa* 'gold' and ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'weight' (*parimāṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

hāṭako niṣkaḥ 'a gold coin equal in weight to a Niṣka'
jātarūpam 'gold coin'
tāpanīyam 'id.'

1. This affixal provision of *aṆ* is made as an exception of *mayaṬ*, etc. Affix *aṆ* is an exception to *mayaṬ* in connection with *hāṭaka*, etc., which may be termed *vṛddha* (4.3.144 *nityam vṛddha* . . .). It is an exception to *aÑ* (4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*) in connection with *tāpanīyam*, where *tapanīya* is *udātta* in the middle by *Phiṭsūtra* (42) *laghāv ante*. . . .

2. The word *jātarūpa* is not interpreted here as denoting its form (*svarūpa*). It is instead interpreted as denoting its meaning (*artha*). How do we know this? From the plural in *jātarūpebhyaḥ*. An interpretation based on form alone would have required singular (*ekavacanam*) because of its form, i.e., *jātarūpa*, being one.

3. Note that *parimāṇa* must also be accepted as one of the derivational denotata. *Kāśikā* offers a counter example where *aṆ* cannot be used against *mayaṬ* because weight cannot qualify as a denotatum. Thus, *yaṣṭir iyaṃ hāṭakamayī* 'this is a stick made of gold'.

4.3.154 प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ्

prāṇirajatādibhyo' ñ
/*prāṇirajatādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
prāṇivācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo rajatādibhyaś cāñ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems which either signify an animate being (*prāṇivācī*), or are listed in the group headed by *rajata* 'silver', when they end in genitive and their derivates denote 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

kāpotam 'modification, or limb, or a pigeon'
māyūram 'modification', or limb, of a peacock'
rājatam 'made of silver'
lauham 'made of steel'

1. This *aÑ* is an exception to *aṆ* in connection with stems which denote an aminate being and are marked *udātta* at the beginning. The stems which are *vṛddha*, or are marked *anudātta* at the beginning, constitute an exception to *mayaṬ* of 4.3.143-44 *mayaḍ . . . nityam vṛddha. . . .* The stems of the *rajatādi* group which do not denote an animate being follow the same pattern of affixal exception.

2. Why do we have to make a provision of *aÑ* for *rajata* when the same is available from 4.3.140 *ānudāttādeś ca* at the strength of its membership in the *ghṛtādi* group, and its subsequent status as *antodātta*. But that could have been blocked by *mayaṬ* of 4.3.143 *nityam. . . .* It is therefore to block *mayaṬ*, which would have blocked *aÑ*, that *aÑ* is made available to *rajata* here.

4.3.155 ञितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात्

ñitaś ca tatpratyayāt
/*ñitaḥ* 5/1 = *ñ it yasya* (*bv.*); *ca* φ *tatpratyayāt* 5/1 = *tayor vihitaḥ pratyayaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *añ* #154)
ñid yo vikārāvayavapratyayas tadantāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati 'vikārāvayavayoḥ' ity eva
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in an affix marked with *Ñ* as an *it* and denotes 'modifica-

tion' and 'part of a whole', provided the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'modification and part of the whole'.

EXAMPLES:

daivadāravam 'modification, or part of a part, of a Devadāru tree'
pālāśam 'modification, or part of a part, of a Palāśa tree'

1. Note that *tad* of *tatpratyayāt* refers to *vikārāvayava*, the signification of affixes marked with *Ñ*. Such affixes are: *aÑ* (4.3.139 or *añ;* 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca;* 4.3.141 *palāśādibhyo vā;* 4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo' ñ*); *ṬlaÑ* (4.3.142 *śamyāṣ ṭlañ*); *vuÑ* (4.3.157 *uṣṭrād vuñ*); *ḌhaÑ* (4.3.159 *eṇyā ḍhañ*); *yaÑ* and *aÑ* (4.3.168 *kaṃsīya . . .*). The introduction of *aÑ* after bases which denote *vikāra* and *avayava* to denote the same does not cause any formal change in new derivates. Of course, there will be a difference in meaning. A *vikāra* or *avayava* thus denoted will be twice removed from its original material (or whole) of which it will be a modification (or part).

The signification of such new derivates will sometimes become difficult to distinguish. Perhaps because of this and a nearly identical signification of two affixes in relation to common bases that Patañjali refutes the formulation of this rule.

4.3.156 क्रीतवत्परिमाणात्

krītavat parimāṇāt
/ krītavat ɸ *parimāṇāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
parimāṇāt krīta iva pratyayā bhavanti 'tasya vikāraḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
A *taddhita* affix occurs after a nominal stem which signifies some measure (*parimāṇa*) and ends in genitive in a manner similar to that of an affix with the signification of *krīta*, provided the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

niṣkeṇa krītam = naiṣkikam '. . . purchased for (a gold coin equal in weight to) a Niṣka'; '. . . made with gold equal in weight to a Niṣka'
śatena krītaṃ śatyam; śatikam '. . . purchased for a hundred'; 'modification, or part of a hundred'
dvisāhasraḥ '. . . purchased for two thousand . . .'; '. . . part of two thousand'

1. Note that *krītavat* is a derivate of affix *vatl* which here denotes *sarvasādṛśya* 'total similarity'. That is, this rule extends the denotatum of *vikāra* and *avayava* to affixes which are enumerated after specific bases with

specific qualifications to derive specific derivates signifying *krīta.* This extensional provision thus relates to affixal provision of rules beginning with 4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak* through rules contained within the domain of 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ.* Needless to say that affixes here must have the denotatum of 'purchased' (*krīta; PM* ad *Kāś.*: *etad uktaṃ bhavati yābhyaḥ prakṛtibhyo yena viśeṣaṇena ye pratyayā vihitās tābhyaḥ prakṛtibhyas tenaiva viśeṣaṇena ta eva pratyayā vikāre bhavanti*). In a way, this rule extends the denotatum of *krīta* to derivates with the denotation of *avayava* and *vikāra.* Thus, *naiṣkikaḥ* 'purchased for a gold coin equal in weight to a Niṣka', which derives with *ṭhaK* (5.1.1 *tena krītam*) introduced after *niṣka* + *Ṅas,* will also denote *vikāra* and *avayava.* This same is also true of *śatyam* and *śatikaḥ* which are derivates of *ṭhaN* and *yaT* (5.1.21 *śatāc ca* . . .).

4.3.157 उष्ट्राद् वुञ्

uṣṭrād vuñ
/ *uṣṭrāt* 5/1 *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
uṣṭraśabdād vuñ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *uṣṭra,* when it ends in genitive and the derivate signifies 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

auṣṭrakaḥ 'modification, or part, of a camel'

1. Note that this *vuÑ* is an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.154 *prāṇi.* . . .

4.3.158 उमोर्णयोर्वा

umorṇayor vā
umorṇayoḥ 6/2 = *umā ca ūrṇā ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *vuñ* #157)
umāśabdād ūrṇāśabdāc ca vā vuñ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs optionally after syntactically related nominal *umā* 'flax' and *ūrṇā* 'wool', when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

auman 'modification, or part, of flax'
aumakam 'id.'

aurṇam 'modification, or part, of wool'
aurṇakam 'id.'

1. Note that *umā* is marked *udātta* initially in view of the *Phiṭsūtra* 27: *tṛṇadhānyānāṃ ca.* . . . This qualifies it for *aÑ* of 4.3.135 *avayave ca prāṇi.* . . . Our next base *ūrṇā* is *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* 1: *phiṣaḥ*). This makes *aÑ* available to it from 4.3.140 *anudāttadeś ca.*

4.3.159 एण्या ढञ्

eṇyā ḍhañ
/*eṇyāḥ* 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
eṇīśabdād ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *eṇī* 'a female black deer', which ends in genitive, provided the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole.'

Examples:

eṇeyaṃ māṃsam 'flesh of a female black deer'

1. Affix *ḍhaÑ* is here offered as an exception to the *aÑ* of 4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādi.* . . . Note that *eṇa*, the masculine base excluded from this rule, will avail *aÑ* to yield *aiṇam.*

4.3.160 गोपयसोर्यत्

gopayasor yat
/*gopayasoḥ* 6/2 = *go ca payaś ca gopayasī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
go, payas śabdābhyāṃ yat pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *go* 'cow' and *payas* 'milk', when they end in genitive and derivates denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

Examples:

gavyam 'cow product, or limb of a cow'
payasyam 'milk product'

1. This rule is required for blocking optional *mayaṬ* of 4.3.143 *mayaḍvaitayor.* . . . Affix *yaT* could have been available to *go* anyway (*Kāś.*: *sarvatra gor ajādiprasaṅge yad asty eva, mayaḍviṣaye tu vidhīyate.*

4.3.161 द्रोश्च

droś ca
/*droḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *yat* #160)
druśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati vikārāvayavayor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *dru* 'tree, wood', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

dravyam 'modification' and 'part of a tree'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* is an exception to affixes *mayaṬ* (of the *vt.* ad 4.3.144 *nityaṃ . . . ekāco nityaṃ* (*mayaṭ*) and *aÑ* (of 4.3.139 or *añ*). Incidentally, *dravya* signifying a 'thing' (*vastu*) is treated as an un-derived (*avyutpanna*) independent word.

4.3.162 माने वयः

māne vayaḥ
/*māne* 7/1 *vayaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *droḥ* #161)
druśabdān māne vikāraviśeṣe vayaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vaya* occurs after the syntactically related nominal stem *dru*, when the same ends in genitive and the derivate signifies a 'modification' characterized as *māna* 'measure'.

EXAMPLES:

druvayam 'a particular measure made a wood'

1. The word *māne* is explained as *mīyate yena tan mānam, tasmin māne* 'in the sense of that by means of which something is measured'.

4.3.163 फले लुक्

phale luk
/*phale* 7/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)

vikārāvayavayor utpannasya phale tadviṣaye vivakṣite lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in genitive, when the derivate denotes 'modification' and 'part of a whole', is deleted by *LUK*, provided the derivate denotes *phala* 'fruit'.

EXAMPLES:

āmalakam 'fruit of the Āmalaka tree'
badaram 'fruit of the Badara tree'

1. The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* (of 4.3.142 *nityam vṛddha . . .*) in *āmalakī* goes through deletion by *LUK* under the condition of *phale* 'when the signification is fruit'. The feminine affix *ṄīṢ*, introduced by 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ*, is also deleted concurrently. This same feminine affix is also dropped in *badaram* where the deleted *taddhita* affix is *aÑ* of 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*. All these feminine affixes are deleted by 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki*.

2. A question is raised as to how 'fruit' can be accepted as tree's 'modification' (*vikāra*). There are two ways a 'modification' can be defined: one where the material cause is diminished and the other where this cause is retained. Thus, the ash (*bhasma*) of a *khadira* tree can be accepted as its *vikāra*, in the sense that its material cause (tree/wood) is diminished. The same will also apply to a ritual post made of the *khadira* tree where the material cause is retained. A fruit cannot be accepted as *vikāra* of its tree because it neither represents repression, nor retention, of tree. But a fruit can be accepted as *vikāra* of a tree in a manner similar to its leaf (*pallava*). As leaves retain the state of treeness when trees get them, fruits also retain the state of treeness when the trees get to fruition. It it thus appropriate to accept 'fruit' as a *vikāra* of tree.

How can a 'fruit' be treated as 'part of its tree'. It was not a part of the tree when the tree came into existence. As the leaves, with the help of branches, etc., bring to the tree the beginning of a special part, the same way fruits bring speciality to the tree relative to its parts. Fruits, like leaves, can thus be accepted as part of their trees (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *nanu ca phalaṃ vṛkṣasya na ca vikāraḥ, nāpy avayavaḥ. vikāro dvidhā bhavati yo vā prakṛtaṃ nigṛhṇāti: khādiraṃ bhasmeti yo vā prakṛtivyapadeśaṃ karoti: khādiro yūpa iti, na ca phalaṃ vṛkṣam apagṛhṇāti nāpi phalena yuktasya vyapadeśāntaraṃ bhavatīti . . . yathā pallavo na vṛkṣam apagṛhṇāti nāpi tasya vyapadeśāntaraṃ janayati atha ca tasya vikāras tathā phalam api. syād etat. pallavitāvasthāṃ vṛkṣasyāpagṛhyan pallava upajāyate ato yuktā tasya vikārāvayavateti; phalam api tasya phalitāvasthāṃ vṛkṣasyāpagṛhyan phalam upajāyate tasyāpi yukta eva tadvikārabhāvaḥ. yadapy uktam-nāvayavo' nārambhakatvād iti tad apy ayuktam; phalam hyupajāyamānaṃ śākhādyavayavasahāyam anyam eva viśiṣṭaṃ vṛkṣāvayavam ārabhate. tad yathā pallavo viśiṣṭaṃ samudāyāntaram ārabhamāṇo' vayavo bhavati tathā phalam apīti veditavyam*).

4.3.164 प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण्

plakṣādibhyo aṇ
/*plakṣādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *plakṣa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *phale* #163)
plakṣādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ phale vikārāvayavatvena vivakṣite'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *plakṣa*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'fruit' as a 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

plākṣam 'fruit of the Plakṣa (Ficus religiosa) tree'
naiyagrodham 'fruit of the Nyagrodha (Indian fig) tree'

1. Note that this *aṆ*, at the strength of its express provision (*vidhānasāmarthya*), is not subject to deletion by *LUK* of 4.3.163 *phale luk.*

4.3.165 जम्ब्वा वा

jambvā vā
/*jambvāḥ* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *phale* #163, *aṇ* #164)
jambūśabdāt phale' abhidheye vā'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs only optionally after the syntactically related nominal stem *jambū* 'Jujube tree', when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'fruit' as a 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

jāmbavāni jambūni vā phalāni 'fruits of the Jambū (Jujube) tree'

1. Note that this *aṆ* is offered as an option to *aÑ* (4.3.139 *or añ*). Here again it cannot be subject to deletion by *LUK* of 4.3.163. The *aÑ*, however, must go through this deletion to yield *jambu*, where 1.2.48 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya* orders the long final *ū* replaced with its short counterpart (*hrasva*). Our *aṆ* derivate would require this final *ū* to be replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *o* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*), to be further replaced with *av*. The *aṆ* as usual will cause *vṛddhi* to produce *jāmbava*. Incidentally, augment *nUM*, in nominative plural of both *jāmbava* and *jambū*, will be introduced after the application of 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*. The final *a* of *jāmbava* will be lengthened by 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne*. . . .

4.3.166 लुप् च

lup ca
/ *lup* 1/1 *ca* ϕ /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *phale* #163, *vā* #165)
jambvāḥ phale' bhidheye pratyayasya vā lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in genitive, when derivate denotes 'fruit' as a 'modification' and 'part of a whole', is also deleted optionally by *LUP*.

EXAMPLES:

jambūḥ 'fruit of the Jambū tree'
jambu phalam 'id.'
jāmbavam 'id.'

1. Note that *jāmbavam* is a derivate of *aÑ* where deletion of *aÑ* is not possible. The nominative singular forms *jambūḥ* and *jambu* are both derivates of *aÑ* where deletion of *aÑ* can be optionally accomplished by *LUK* or *LUP*. A deletion by *LUP*, as opposed to one by *LUK*, allows *yuktavadbhāva* (1.2.51 *lup yuktavad* . . .), retention of original number-gender of the derivate. The word *jambū*, when denoting fruit, is used in feminine. Consequently, when *aÑ* is deleted via *LUP*, *jambū* is still treated as feminine. The result is *jambūḥ*. When deletion of *aÑ* is to be accomplished optionally with *LUK*, the original feminine of *jambū* cannot be retained. Consequently, as *jambū* will still signify *phala*, a neuter, it will be used in neuter. The result will be: *jambu*. A short for the long final *ū* of *jambū* is caused by 1.2.48 *hravo napuṃsake*. . . .

2. This rule has following *vārttika* proposals:

(*a*) Mention must also be made, in this context of *LUP*, of plants which dry out when their fruits ripen (*phalapākaśuṣām upasaṃkhyānam*). Consider *vrīhayaḥ* 'rice', *yavāḥ* 'barley', etc.

(*b*) An affixal deletion via *LUP* takes place variously in contexts of flowers and roots (*puṣpamūleṣu bahulam*). Thus we get: *mallikā* 'Mallikā flower', where affix *aÑ*, introduced under the condition of *anudātta* at the beginning (*anudāttādi*), gets deleted. But because of *bahulam* 'variously' deletion does not apply in case of *pāṭalāni* 'Pāṭala flower', etc.

4.3.167 हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च

harītakyādibhyaś ca
/ *harītakyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *harītakī ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato' ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135, *phale* #163, *lup* #166)

'harītakī' ity evam ādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ phale pratyayasya lub bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *harītakī* 'myrobalan' is also deleted by *LUP*, when the stem ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'fruit' as a 'modification' and 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

harītakī 'fruit of the myrobalan tree'
kośātakī 'fruit of the Kośātakī tree'

1. Note that *harītaki* is marked *udātta* at the end because of the affix. The deletion which is intended here relates to affix *aṆ* of 4.3.135 *avayave ca....* Note additionally that *LUP* is brought for deletion against *LUK* which was already available from 4.3.163 *phale luk.* The purpose of deletion by *LUP* is again *yuktavadbhāva* where by feminine singular of *harītakī* is retained.

4.3.168 कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञञौ लुक् च

kaṃsīyaparaśavyayor yañañau luk ca
/*kaṃsīyaparaśavyayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; yañañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tau; luk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* #4.1.82, *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* #4.1.83, *tasya vikāraḥ* #134, *avayave* #135)
kaṃsīya-paraśavya-śabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ yañañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tasya vikāraḥ' ity asmin viṣaye tatsanniyogena ca kaṃsīyaparaśavyayor lug bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *yaÑ* and *aÑ* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *kaṃsīya* and *paraśavya*, respectively, with an additional provision of affixal deletion by *LUK*, when the stems end in genitive and derivates denote 'modification'.

EXAMPLES:

kāṃsyaḥ '... made of bronze'
pāraśavaḥ '... made of iron'

1. This rule makes the concurrent provision of deletion by *LUK* of *kaṃsīya* and *paraśavya*. This deletion cannot be applicable to affixes *yaÑ* and *aÑ* because, in that case, the positive provision of their introduction will become vacuous (*vyartha*). Note further that deletion technically applies of the full form of *kaṃsīya* and *paraśavya* since they are specified with *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. However, since this deletion is to be accomplished by *LUK* which, in turn, applies only to the deletion of an affix (1.1.60 *pratyayasya lukślulupaḥ*), only affixes *cha* (in *kaṃsīya*) and *yaT* (in *paraśavya*) will be subject to deletion.

PĀDA FOUR

4.4.1 प्राग्वहतेष्ठक्

prāg vahateṣ ṭhak
/prāk ϕ *vahateḥ* 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prāg vahatisaṃśabdanād yān arthān anukramiṣyāmaḥ ṭhak pratyayas teṣu adhikṛto veditavyaḥ
A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaK*, occurs henceforth as specified prior to *vahati* (4.2.76 *tad vahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam*), after a nominal stem.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣikaḥ 'he who plays with dice'

1. This is a governing rule (*adhikāra*) with its domain extending prior to 4.2.76 *tad vahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam*. Affix *ṭhaK*, as also was the case earlier with *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*, is being introduced as a generalized affix with the understanding that exceptions and adjustments will also be made. Semantically, *ṭhaK* will be introduced with the signification of *dīvyati* 'plays . . .', etc.

2. A question is raised as to why this rule was not formulated as *vahateṣ ṭhak*. This way, *prāk* will not be needed, and the extent of the *adhikāra* will still become known. Pāṇini still uses *prāk* to make clear that affix *ṭhaK*, similar to affix *aṆ*, may still become applicable in subsequent contexts even after it has been blocked by its related exception. Consider, for example, *aṆ* of 4.4.4 *kulatthakopadhād aṇ* which blocks *ṭhaK* in the context of 'garnished with' (4.4.3 *saṃskṛtam*). This *ṭhaK*, though blocked now by *aṆ* will become applicable, for example, in the context of 4.4.5 *tarati* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *atha prāg grahaṇaṃ kimartham. arthaviśeṣe pratyayāntareṇ āpavādena nivarttitasya ṭhak uttarasmin granthāntare punar upasthānaṃ yathā syād ity evam artham. tad yathā: 'saṃskṛtam' ity asminn arthaviśeṣe 'kulatthakopadhāt' ity aṇa nivarttitasyot-taratra arthāntare 'tarati' ity asminn arthe punr upasthānaṃ yathā syād iti*).

3. A *vārttika* recommends that *ṭhaK* should also be introduced after *mā* 'not' when the signification is *tad āha* 'says that' (*ṭhak prakaraṇe tad āheti māśabdādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *mā śabdaḥ* (*kārṣī*) 'do not shout' can quality to avail *ṭhaK* derive *māśabdikaḥ* 'he who says, 'do not shout'. Note that affix *ṭhaK* is here to be introduced after the sentence *mā śabdaḥ* and not after *māśabda*, a nominal stem, which is here the object referred to by *tad* 'that' of the meaning condition *tad āha*. That *ṭhaK* in here introduced after a sentence (*vākya*) is also approved by the second *vārttika* under this rule.

This second *vārttika* allows affix *ṭhaK* after adverbial stem (*kriyāviśeṣaṇāt*) such as *prabhūtam* 'plentiful', etc., when the sense is 'says that'. If *ṭhaK* could

be introduced after *māśabda*, a nominal stem, then formulation of the first *vārttika*, or for that matter the second, would become meaningless. The *ṭhaK* of the second *vārttika* (*āhau prabhūtādibhyaḥ*) is introduced after *prabhūta*, etc., when they end in *am*. Thus, *prabhūtam āha prābhūtikaḥ* 'he who says plentiful'. This *dvitīyā* obviously could not be introduced after the sentence of the first *vārttika*.

There are two more *vārttikas* which recommend affix *ṭhaK* after stems such as *susnāta* 'well bathed', etc., provided, of course, the signification is *pṛcchati* '. . . asks' (*pṛcchatau susnātādibhyaḥ* = *susnātikaḥ*); and after *paradāra* 'someone else's woman' when the signification is fornication (*gacchatau paradārādibhyaḥ* = *pāradārikaḥ*). The following serve as examples:

> *susnātaṃ pṛcchati* = *sausnātikaḥ* 'he who asks 'did you bathe well'?'
> *paradārān gacchati* = *pāradārikaḥ* 'he who fornicates with someone else's woman'.

4.4.2 तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम्

> *tena dīvyati khanati jayati jitam*
> / *tena* 3/1 *dīvyati khanati jayati* (verb forms) *jitam* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
> '*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthād dīvyati khanati jayati jitam ity eteṣv artheṣu ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), when derivates signify *dīvyati* '. . . plays', *khanati* '. . . digs', *jayati* '. . . wins' and *jitam* '. . . won'.

EXAMPLES:

> *ākṣikaḥ* 'he who plays with dice'
> *abhryā khanati* = *ābhrikaḥ* 'he who digs with a spade'
> *akṣair jayati* = *ākṣikaḥ* 'he who wins by means of dice'
> *akṣair jitam* = *ākṣikam* '. . . was won by means of dice'

1. Note that *tena* 'by means of that which ends in instrumental' is a variable which is changed to *pañcamī* 'ablative' so that it can qualify *prātipadikāt* of *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*. This will produce a new variable *tasmāt prātipadikāt* 'after that nominal stem. . . .' A recourse to *tadantavidhi* will then be taken so that *tasmāt*, when read with *prātipadikāt*, can yield the interpretation: *tṛtīyāntāt prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental'. The instrumental of the *pada* after which affix *ṭhaK* will be introduced will, in all instances, denote *karaṇa* 'most instrumental means'. That is, *tṛtīyā* will not, for example, relate to the denotatum of an agent (*kartṛ*). Consequently, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *dīvyati*, *khanati* and *jayati*, where a relevant nominal ends in *tṛtīyā* with denotation of *karaṇa*, *jitam* must also

have its corresponding nominal ending in instrumental denoting a *karaṇa*. A derivate such as **devadattajitam*, parallel to *devadatten a jitam* '. . . was won by Devadatta', is thus out of question. A *tṛtīyā* with its denotation as *kartṛ* is out, obviously because *dīvyati*, *khanati* and *jayati* would express their agent with *LAṬ* (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve* . . .). *Kāśikā* states that *devadattena jitam* '. . . won by Devadatta' and *aṅgulyā khanati* '. . . digs by means of his finger'—where *tṛtīyā* in the first sentence denotes *kartṛ*, and in the second, has the denotatum of *karaṇa*—cannot avail the affixal provision of this rule. For, there are no examples available in usage (*anabhidhānāt*). *Kāśikā* further notes that 'number' (*saṃkhyā*) and 'time' ('tense'; *kāla*), in specifications made by means of *dīvyati*, etc., are no fixed. That is, current time (*vartamāna*) and (third person) singular (*ekavacana*) of *vahati* cannot block *ṭhaK* from being introduced in contexts other than these. It can be introduced also in contexts where the time is *bhūta* 'past' or *bhaviṣyati* 'future', and the number is *bahuvacana* 'plural'.

Notice that a derivate such as *ākṣikaḥ* denotes an agent although what specifies this derivate meaning, i.e., *vahati*, is an action (*kriyā*).

4.4.3 **संस्कृतम्**

saṃskṛtam
/*saṃskṛtam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tena* #2)
tena iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt saṃskṛtam ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental when the derivate denotes '. . . garnished with'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhnā saṃskṛtam = *dādhikam* '. . .garnished with yoghurt'
śāṅgaverikam '. . . garnished with ginger-root'
māricikam '. . . garnished with black pepper'

1. The word *saṃskāra* of *saṃskṛtam* 'that which has gone through *saṃskāra*' is explained as *sata utkarṣādhānam* 'bringing enhancement to qualities which already exist'.

2. A question is raised as to why this rule was not formulated jointly with the preceding. Commentators state that a split-formulation (*yogavibhāga*) is intended for the next rule (*uttarārtham*). That is, *aṆ* of 4.4.4 *kulatthakopadhād aṇ* is treated as an exception only to the *ṭhaK* of *saṃskṛtam* '. . . garnished with'. If *saṃskṛtam* was included as part of the preceding rule then *dīvyati*, etc., could also have become valid in the context of *aṆ* of the next rule.

4.4.4 **कुलत्थकोपधादण्**

kulatthakopadhād aṇ

/*kulatthakopadhāt* 5/1 = *kakāra upadhā yasya* = *kopadhaḥ* (*bv.*); *kulatthaś ca kopadhaś ca* = *kulatthakopadham* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *saṃskṛtam* #3)
kulatthaśabdāt kakāropadhāc chabdāc ca prātipadikād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'saṃskṛtam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after the nominal stem *kulattha* 'a kind of lentil', or after a nominal stem which has *k* in its *upadhā*, provided the stem end in instrumental and derivates signify '. . . garnished with'.

EXAMPLES:

kaulatthaḥ = *kulatthaiḥ saṃskṛtam* '. . . garnished with Kulattha'
taittiḍīkam '. . . garnished with Tamarind'

1. This provision of *aṆ* constitutes an exception to the more general affix *ṭhaK*. Of course, when the denotatum is *saṃskṛtam*. The word *kulattha* is derived parallel to *kule tiṣṭhati*, where the *s* of *stha* is replaced with *t* via *nipātana* under the provision of this rule. Some, however, read the word as *kulastha* with no replacement of *s* by *t* (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*.: *kule tiṣṭhati kulatthaḥ, asmād eva nipātanāt sakārasya takāraḥ; kecit punaḥ sakāramevādhīyate.*

4.4.5 तरति

tarati
/*tarati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2)
teneti tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'tarati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental when the derivate denotes '. . . floats or swims.

EXAMPLES:

kāṇḍaplavikaḥ = *kāṇḍaplavena tarati* 'one who goes across by means of a float made of reeds'
auḍḍupikaḥ 'he who goes across by means of a raft'

4.4.6 गोपुच्छाट्ठञ्

gopucchāṭ ṭhañ
/*gopucchāt* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *tarati* #5)
gopucchaśabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tarati' ity etasminn arthe

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after the nominal stem *gopuccha* 'cow's tail' when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . floats or swims'.

EXAMPLES:

gaupucchikaḥ 'one who goes across holding on to a cow's tail'

1. Note that derivates of *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* do not differ in form. They, however, differ in accent. A stem which ends in a *taddhita* affix marked with *K*, here *ṭhaK*, is accented *udātta* at the end (6.1.165 *kitaḥ*). A stem which ends in an affix marked with *Ñ* is obligatorily accented *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*).

4.4.7 नौद्व्यचष्ठन्

naudvyacaṣ ṭhan
/ *naudvyacaḥ* 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin sa dvyac* (*bv.*); *nauś ca dvyac ca* = *naudvyac, tasmāt* (*sam. dv.* with int. *dv.*); *ṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *tarati* #5)
nauśabdād dvyacaś ca prātipadikāṭ ṭhan pratyayo bhavati '*tarati*' *ity etasminn arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN* occurs after the nominal stem *nau* 'boat', or after a stem which consists of two vowels (*dvyac*), when the stems end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . floats, or swims'.

EXAMPLES:

nāvikaḥ 'he who goes across by a boat; boatman'
ghaṭikaḥ 'he who keeps afloat by means of a raft made with jars'
bāhukaḥ 'he who goes across by means of his arms'

1. This is an exception to the *ṭhaK* of 4.4.5 *tarati*. Note that *ṭha* is replaced with *ka* of 7.3.51 *isusuktāntāt kaḥ* in *bāhukaḥ*. Recall that *ṣ* before *ṭhaN*, in the wording of this rule, does not make the affix as *ṢṭhaN*. The *ṣ* is simply as a result of *sandhi*. Consequently, a feminine parallel to *bāhukaḥ* will be *bāhukā*, a derivate of *ṬāP*, as against *ṄīṢ* characterized with *Ṣ* of 4.4.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*.
The *Mahābhāṣya* explains what affixes in this domain of *ṭhaK* should be treated as marked with *Ṣ* as an *it:*

ākarṣāt parpāde bhastrādibhyaḥ kusīdasūtrāc ca/
āvasathāt kiśarādeḥ ṣitaḥ ṣaḍ ete ṭhagadhikāre/ /

Accordingly, affixes specified by 4.4.9 *ākarṣāt ṣṭhal*, 4.4.10 *parpādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan*, 4.4.16 *bhastrādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan*, 4.4.31 *kusīda-daśaikādaśāt ṣṭhan-ṣṭhacau*, 4.4.53 *kiśarādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan* and 4.4.74 *āvasathāt ṣṭhal* all have *Ṣ* as an *it*.

Obviously, elsewhere, a *ṣ* before *ṭhaK* should be treated as resulting out of *sandhi* (*sāṃhitikaḥ*).

4.4.8 चरति

carati

/ *carati* (verbal *pada*) /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2)

'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt* '*carati*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes '. . . eats with or moves by'

EXAMPLES:

dādhikaḥ 'he who eats, or moves with, yoghurt'

hāstikaḥ 'he who goes by an elephant'

śākaṭikaḥ 'he who goes by a cart'

1. Commentators explain that verbal root *car* of *carati* is used here in two senses of 'eating' (*bhakṣaṇe*) and 'wandering' (*gatau*).

4.4.9 आकर्षात् ष्ठल्

ākarṣāt ṣṭhal

/ *ākarṣāt* 5/1 *ṣṭhal* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *carati* #8)

ākarṣaśabdāt ṣṭhal pratyayo bhavati '*carati*' *ity etasminn arthe*

The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaL* occurs after nominal stem *ākarṣa* 'touchstone' when it ends in nominative and the derivate denotes '. . . wanders about'.

EXAMPLES:

ākarṣikaḥ 'he who wanders with a touchstone; a goldsmith'

ākarṣikī 'she who wanders with a touchstone'

1. The *Ṣ* in *ṢṭhaL* is intended for facilitating feminine affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca.* The *L* as an *it* enables derivates to be marked *udātta* on the syllable which precedes the affix (6.1.193 *liti*).

4.4.10 पर्पादिभ्यः ष्ठन्

parpādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan

/ *parpādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ṣṭhan* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *carati* #8)

'parpa' ity evamādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'carati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *parpa* 'walking stick', when it ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . moves'.

EXAMPLES:

parpikaḥ 'he who moves by means of a stick'
parpikī 'she who . . .'
aśvikaḥ 'he who moves by means of a horse'
aśvikī 'she who . . .'

1. This again is an exception to *ṭhaN*. The *N* as an *it* is intended for initial *udātta* accent (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). The *Ṣ* is again intended for feminine affix *ṄīṢ*.

4.4.11 श्वगणाट्ठञ्च

śvagaṇāt ṭhañ ca
/ *śvagaṇāt* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *carati* #8 *ṣṭhan* #10)
śvagaṇaśabdāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārāt ṣṭhan 'carati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ*, and *ṢṭhaN* as well, occurs after *śvagaṇa* 'group of dogs', when this stem ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . wanders'.

EXAMPLES:

śvāgaṇikaḥ 'he who wanders with a group of dogs'
śvagaṇikaḥ 'id.'
śvāgaṇikī 'she who wanders with a group of dogs'
śvagaṇikā 'id.'

1. Note that derivates of *ṭhaÑ* will go through *vṛddhi* of their first vowel (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*). The *ṄīP* of rule of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . . is facilitated by *T* as an *it*. Derivates of *ṢṭhaN*, however, will not go through *vṛddhi*. They will receive affix *ṄīṢ* at the strength of *Ṣ* as an *it* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ*).

2. Note that *śvan* 'dog' is read in the *dvārādi* group of nominals. As such, its *a* is subject to replacement in *aiC* (7.3.4 *dvārādīnām ca*). This *aiC*, however, is blocked in favor of *vṛddhi* because of 7.3.8 *śvāder iñi*, read with the accompanying *vārttika: ikārādigrahaṇam ca karttavyam śvāgaṇikādyartham*. Thus, *aiC* is blocked when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *i* follows a stem which begins with *śvan*.

4.4.12 वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति

vetanādibhyo jīvati

/ *vetanādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *vetana ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; jīvati* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
tṛtīyāsamarthebhyo vetanādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ 'jīvati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vetana* 'wages', when the same ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . lives by means of'.

EXAMPLES:

vaitanikaḥ 'he who lives by means of wages earned; a worker'
dhānuṣkaḥ 'he who lives on wages earned by means of his bow; an archer'
dāṇḍikaḥ 'he who lives on wages earned by means of his stick; a guard'
dhānurdaṇḍikaḥ 'he who depends on his bow and stick for livelihood'

1. An example such as *dhānurdaṇḍikaḥ* attests that *ṭhaK* can also be introduced after two stems combined together (*saṃghāta*).

4.4.13 वस्नक्रयविक्रयाट्ठन्

vasnakrayavikrayāṭ ṭhan
/ *vasnakrayavikrayāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *jīvati* #12)
vasnakrayavikrayaśabdābhyāṃ tṛtīyāsamarthābhyāṃ ṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'jīvati' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN* occurs after nominal stems *vasna* 'wealth, investment' and *krayavikraya* 'buying and selling' when they end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . lives by means of'.

EXAMPLES:

vasnikaḥ 'he who lives by his wealth'
krayavikrayikaḥ 'he who makes his living by trading'
krayikaḥ 'he who makes his living by buying'
vikrayikaḥ 'he who makes his living by selling'

1. The word *krayavikraya* is to be interpreted as referring to both the compound base *krayavikraya* and its two constituent bases *kraya* and *vikraya*. Thus, we get: *krayikaḥ*, *vikrayikaḥ* and *krayavikrayikaḥ*.

4.4.14 आयुधाच्छ च

āyudhāccha ca
/ *āyudhāt* 5/1 *cha* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *jīvati* #12, *ṭhan* #13)
āyudhaśabdāc chapratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhaṃś ca 'jīvati' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *ṭhaN* as well, occurs after *āyudha* 'weapon', when this stem ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . lives by mean of'.

EXAMPLES:

āyudhīyaḥ 'he who earns his living by means of his weapon'
āyudhikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ca* is used in this rule to facilitate the introduction of *ṭhaN*, again in the sense of *jīvati*.

4.4.15 **हरत्युत्संगादिभ्यः**

haraty utsaṅgādibhyaḥ
harati (verbal *pada*); *utsaṅgādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *utsaṅga ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
utsaṅgādibhyahs tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'harati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *utsaṅga* 'lap', when the same ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . carries with'.

EXAMPLES:

autsaṅgikaḥ 'he who carries on his lap'
auḍḍupikaḥ 'he who carries by means of a raft'

1. Note that *harati* is explained as *deśāntaraprāpaṇa* 'carrying something to a different location'.

4.4.16 **भस्त्रादिभ्यः ष्ठन्**

bhastrādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan
/ *bhastrādibhayḥ* 5/3 *ṣṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *harati* #15)
'bhastrā' ity evamādibhyas tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'harati' ity etasminn arthe ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs after a nominal listed in the group headed by *bhastrā* 'leather pouch', when the same ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . carries with'.

EXAMPLES:

bhastrayā harati = *bhastrikaḥ* 'he who carries (water) by means of a leather pouch'

bhastrikī 'she who carries . . .'

1. The *ṄīṢ* in *bhastrikī* is introduced by 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca.*

4.4.17 **विभाषा विवधवीवधात्**

vibhāṣā vivadha(vīvadh)āt
/ vibhāṣā 1/1 *vivadha(vīvadh)āt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *harati* #15, *ṣṭhan* #16)
vivadhavīvadhaśabdābhyāṃ tṛtīyāsamarthābhyāṃ vibhāṣā 'harati' ity etasminn arthe ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs optionally after nominal stems *vivadha* and *vīvadha* 'shoulder yoke', when they end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . carries with'.

EXAMPLES:

vivadhikaḥ = *vivadhena harati* 'he who carries by means of a shoulder yoke'
vīvadhikaḥ 'id.'
vivadhikī 'she who carries . . .'
vīvadhikī 'id.'
vaivadhikaḥ 'id.'
vaivadhikī 'she who carries . . .'

1. Note that *vivadha* and *vīvadha* are synonymous and are used in the sense of 'road (*pathi*)' or 'shoulder yoke (*paryāhāre*)'. The word *paryāhāra* is explained by *PM* as *ubhayato baddhaśikyo'ṃsavāhyaḥ kāṣṭhaviśeṣa ucyate* 'a bamboo-stick used for carrying, on shoulders, loads of rice, etc., by placing them in two end-bases made of ropes and suspended from both ends of the bamboo-stick'. *Kāśikā* has taken the word *vīvadha* from a *vārttika* and has read it as part of the *sūtra.* That is, the *sūtra* could be simply read as: *vibhāṣā vivadhāt.*

4.4.18 **अण् कुटिलिकायाः**

aṇ kuṭilikāyāḥ
/ aṇ 1/1 *kuṭilikāyāḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *harati* #15)
kuṭilaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'harati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after *kuṭilikā* when it ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . carries with'.

EXAMPLES:

kauṭilikaḥ 'blacksmith; hunter'

1. Commentators explain *kuṭilikā* as 'crooked movement', or 'a crooked iron rod with which blacksmiths manipulate burning coals'. The word *kauṭilikaḥ* is thus explained either as a 'deer' or a 'blacksmith':

(*i*) *kuṭilikayā harati mṛgo vyādham* = *kauṭiliko mṛgaḥ* 'a deer who, by his crooked movement, leads the hunter far away'
(*ii*) *kuṭilikayā haraty aṅgārān* = *kauṭilikaḥ karmāraḥ* 'a blacksmith who manipulates burning coals by means of his crooked iron rod'

4.4.19 **निर्वृत्तेऽक्षद्यूतादिभ्यः**

nirvṛtte akṣadyūtādibhyaḥ
/ *nirvṛtte* 7/1 *akṣadyūtādibhyaḥ* = *akṣadyūta ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2)
akṣadyūtādibhyas tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'nirvṛtte' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *akṣadyūta* 'gambling with dice' when the same ends in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . brought about by'.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣadyūtikam 'an enmity caused by gambling with dice'
jānuprahṛtikam 'an enmity caused by hitting on thighs in wrestling'

4.4.20 **क्त्रेर्मम् नित्यम्**

ktrermam nityam
ktreḥ 5/1 *map* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *nirvṛtte* #19)
tryāntan nityaṃ map pratyayo bhavati 'tena nirvṛtte' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *maP* occurs obligatorily after a nominal stem which ends in *Ktri* (3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ*) and is used with instrumental, provided the derivate denotes '. . . brought about by'.

EXAMPLES:

paktrimam 'brought about by cooking'
uptrimam 'brought about by sowing . . .'

1. Note that *tri* refers here to affixal provision of rule 3.3.88 *ḍvitaḥ ktriḥ*. The word *nitya* obviously ensures that a stem ending in *Ktri* always takes *maP*. A *vārttika* proposes, though, that a stem which denotes *bhāva* 'root-sense' should take affix *imaP*. Thus, *pākena nirvṛttam* = *pāktrimam* 'brought about by cooking'. Refer to the appendix of vol. II under rule 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* for derivational details.

4.4.21 अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ

apamityayācitābhyāṃ kakkanau
/apamityayācitābhyām (itar. dv.), tābhyām; kakkanau 1/2 *(itar. dv.)/*
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *nirvṛtte* #19)
apamitya-yācitaśabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'kak, kan' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'nirvṛtte' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affixes *KaK* and *KaN* occur after nominal stems *apamitya* 'debt' and *yācita* 'begged', respectively, when they end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . brought about by'.

EXAMPLES:

āpamityakam 'brought about by means of a debt'
yācitakam 'brought about by begging'

1. Note that *apamitya* is an indeclinable derived by introducing affix *Ktvā* after verbal root *māN* 'to exchange, barter', where *Ktvā* (of 3.4.19 *udīcāṃ māṅo* . . .) is replaced with *LyaP* (7.1.37 *samāse'nañ* . . .), after there is a compound-formation termed *gati* with *apa*. The *ā* of *māN* is replaced with *i* (6.4.70 *mayater* . . .) and *tUK* (7.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kiti tuk*) is added as an augment. Rule 1.1.40 *ktvātosun* . . . identifies the compound as an *avyaya*. This brings this indeclinable base in conflict with the instrumental which should occur after it. Commentators state that an affix can be introduced after the indeclinable even when it does not end in instrumental (*avibhaktikād eva pratyayavidhiḥ*)

4.4.22 संसृष्टे

saṃsṛṣṭe
/saṃsṛṣṭe 7/1/
(pratyayaḥ #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'saṃsṛṣṭe' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in instrumental, when the derivate denotes the sense of *saṃsṛṣṭa* '. . . properly mixed with'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhnā saṃsṛṣṭam = *dādhikam* 'that which is fully mixed with yoghurt'
māricikam 'properly mixed with black-pepper'

1. The word *saṃsṛṣṭe* is explained as *ekībhūtam abhinnam* 'that which has become one with, or is inseparable from, something'. The argument that rule 4.4.3 *saṃskṛtam* can account for what our present rule is formulated to

do is not acceptable. The word *saṃskāra* of *saṃskṛtam* entails enhancement in a quality which already exists. It is not necessary that *saṃsarga* or *ekībhāva* will bring enhancement. Similarly, it is not necessary that *saṃskāra* will bring *ekībhāva* 'oneness'. Thus, *saṃsarga* with an 'impure' (*aśuci*) thing will lower the quality, rather than enhancing it. A person spoken of as *saṃskṛta* with knowledge (*vidyayā saṃskṛtaḥ = vaidyikaḥ*) will also not become one with knowledge. For, *saṃsarga* is possible only between 'things' (*dravya*), such as *daṇḍa* 'stick' and *puruṣa* 'man', which have forms (*mūrtimat*). Of course, *vidyā* of *vaidyikaḥ* does not have any form (*na tu vidyā mūrtimatī*). It is for this reason that this rule should be left as is (cf. *PM* ad *Kāś.*).

4.4.23 चूर्णादिनिः

cūrṇād iniḥ
/*cūrṇāt* 5/1 *iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *saṃsṛṣṭe* #22)
cūrṇaśabdād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati saṃsṛṣṭe
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs after nominal stem *cūrṇa* 'powdered' when it ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . fully mixed with'.

EXAMPLES:

cūrṇaiḥ saṃsṛṣṭāḥ = cūrṇino'pūpāḥ 'cakes made with powdered . . .'
cūrṇino dhānāḥ 'grains mixed with powdered . . .'

1. Note that *inI* blocks *ṭhaK* when the denotation is *saṃsṛṣṭa*. Affix *ṭhaK* cannot be blocked where 'mixing' does not denote *saṃsarga*.

4.4.24 लवणाल्लुक्

lavaṇāl luk
/*lavaṇāt* 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *saṃsṛṣṭe* #22, *ṭhak* #1)
'*saṃsṛṣṭe*' *ity anenotpannasya ṭhako lavaṇaśabdāl lug bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK*, occurring after *lavaṇa* which ends in instrumental, is deleted by *LUK* when the derivate denotes '. . . fully mixed with'.

EXAMPLES:

lavaṇaḥ sūpaḥ 'soup mixed with salt'
lavaṇā yavāgūḥ 'barley-gruel mixed with salt'

1. Note that *lavaṇa*, for purposes of this deletion, must denote *dravya* 'substance', and not quality (*guṇa*). Thus, this deletion will not apply when

lavaṇa denotes 'quality', as does *śuklaḥ* 'whiteness' in *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* 'white cloth'. A 'quality' word can denote 'substance' when 'substance' and 'quality' both become inseparable. But such a question should not arise since 'quality' is not 'mixed with' 'substance'. That is, *śuklatva* 'whiteness' and *paṭatva* 'clothness' are not mixed together. Instead, *paṭatva* serves as locus (*ādhāra*) where *śuklatva* resides. True, but a 'quality' word can be treated as 'substance' when, after denoting quality, it becomes 'inseparable' with the substance. In any case, deletion must be caused by substance (*Kāśikā: dravyavācī lavaṇaśabdo lukaṃ prayojayati na guṇavācī*).

4.4.25 मुद्गादण्

mudgād aṇ
/*mudgāt* 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *saṃsṛṣṭe* #22)
mudgaśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'saṃsṛṣṭe' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after *mudga* 'Mung beans', when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes '. . . fully mixed with'.

EXAMPLES:

maudga odanaḥ 'rice mixed with Mung beans'
maudgī yavāgūḥ 'barley gruel mixed with Mung beans'

1. Note that *maudgī* is derived with *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇay*. . . .

4.4.26 व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते

vyañjanair upasikte
/*vyañjanaiḥ* 3/3 *upasikte* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
vyañjanavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyas tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'upasikte' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies a condiment (*vyañjana*) and ends in instrumental, provided the derivate denotes '. . . sprinkled, or soaked, with . . .'

EXAMPLES:

dadhnā upasiktam = *dādhikam* 'that which is soaked with yoghurt'
saupikam 'that which is soaked with soup'

1. Why do we have to state this condition of *upaseka* 'sprinkling, soaking' when desired derivates can be gotten under the condition of *saṃsṛṣṭe*? Commentators state that this rule is both operational (*vidhi*) as well as restrictive

(*niyama*). Consequently, *upaseka* is specified against *saṃsṛṣṭa* so that *ṭhaK* alone could be introduced after stems denoting *vyañjana*. Thus, *udakena upasikta odanaḥ* 'rice soaked with water' cannot qualify for *ṭhaK* since *odana* is not a *vyañjana*.

2. Note that *vyañjanaiḥ* is given in *tṛtīyā* as opposed to *pañcamī*. It is stated that *tṛtīyā* is used in the sense of *pañcamī*. But this could hardly be accepted, especially since *tṛtīyā* is already available from *tena*. Why use it, and that too in the sense of *pañcamī*? It is easier to say *vyañjanair upasikte* as opposed to *vyañjanebhya upasikte*. Incidentally, the plural in *vyañjanaiḥ* is used to rule out an interpretation based on form (*svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*). That is, *vyañjana* will be interpreted as 'that which signifies a condiment'.

4.4.27 **ओजःसहोऽम्भसा वर्तते**

ojaḥsaho' mbhasā vartate
/ *ojaḥsahombhasā* 3/1 = *ojaś ca sahaś ca ambhaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tena; vartate* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #2, *ṭhak* #1)
'*ojas, sahas, ambhas*' *ity etebhyas, tṛtīyāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*vartate*' *ity arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *ojas* 'vigor, valor', *sahas* 'courage' and *ambhas* 'water', when they end in instrumental and derivates denote '. . . conducts, or exists with. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

anujasikaḥ 'a person who conducts himself with vigor; heroic'
sāhasikaḥ 'a person who conducts himself with courage; bandit, thief'
āmbhasikaḥ 'that which exists with water; fish'

4.4.28 **तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम्**

tat pratyanupūrvam īpalomakūlam
/ *tat* 2/1 *pratyanupūrvam* 2/1 = *pratiś ca anuś ca* = *pratyanu* (*dv.*); *pratyanu pūrvaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tat; īpalomakūlam* 2/1 = *īpaṃ ca lomaṃ ca kūlaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tat*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
'*prati, anu*' *ity evam pūrvebhya īpa, loma, kūla śabdebhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*varttate*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *īpa* 'water', *loma* 'hair' and *kūla* 'bank', used in conjunction after *prati* and *anu*, provided they end in accusative (*dvitīyā*) and derivates denote 'conducts, or exists with. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pratīpaṃ vartate = *prātīpikaḥ* 'he who conducts himself contrarily'
ānvīpikaḥ 'he who conducts himself favorably'
prātilomikaḥ 'he who conducts himself contrarily'
ānulomikaḥ 'he who conducts himself favorably'
prātikūlikaḥ 'he who conducts himself contrarily'
ānukūlikaḥ 'he who conducts himself favorably'

1. Note that these derivates denote the sense of *pratikūla* 'opposed' and *anukūla* 'favorable'. A search for derivational meanings, for example of *pratikūla* and *anukūla* with focus on *kūla*, will be futile (*PM* and *Kāś.*: *pratikūlānukūlaparyāyau tv etau . . . atrāpi vyutpattimātram arthas tu pūrvoktam eva . . . atrāpi kūlārtho nāsti pratisaraṇaṃ caitayor arthaḥ*).

2. A question is raised as to how *vṛt* 'to turn' of *varttate*, a verbal root denoting an intransitive (*akarmaka*) action, could be associated with an accusative (*dvitīyā*) denoting *karman* 'object'. It is stated that our stems are derived as qualifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*) to an action (*kriyā*). As such, they can be viewed as *karman* in relation to roots which denote an intransitive action (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *kriyāviśeṣaṇasyaivākarmake'pi dhātau karmatvam ākhyātam*). This way, a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* can be treated as neuter singular object (*kriyāviśeṣaṇānām ekatvaṃ karmatvaṃ napuṃsakatvaṃ ca*).

4.4.29 परिमुखं च

parimukhaṃ ca
/*parimukham* 2/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1 *vartate* #27, *tat* #28)
parimukhaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'vartate' ity asminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs also after nominal stem *parimukha* 'around but not facing', when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'conducts, or exists with'.

EXAMPLES:

parimukhikaṃ vartate = *pārimukhaḥ* 'he who stays around (but not facing) . . .; a servant'

1. Some interpret *ca* as used for covering additional examples such as *pāripārśvikaḥ* 'he who stays around . . .; servant'. The word *pārimukhikaḥ* is explained as *svāmino mukhaṃ varjayitvā yaḥ sevako vartate sa* 'a servant who always stays around, though not directly facing, his master'. The word *pari* thus denotes *varjana* 'exclusion'. It is termed *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.83 *apaparī varjane*. Rule 2.1.12 *apaparibahir . . .* allows the formation of

avyayībhāva compound. But *pari* can also be interpreted as denoting *sarvatobhāva* 'presence everywhere'. It can then form a *prādi* compound interpreted as: *yato yataḥ svāmino mukhaṃ tatas tato vartate* 'he is at every place where his master looks'.

4.4.30 **प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम्**

> *prayacchati garhyam*
> /*prayacchati* (verbal *pada*) *garhyam* 2/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
> '*tat*' *ity dvitīyāsamarthāt* '*prayacchati*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yad dvitīyāsamartham garhyaṃ ced bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in accusative when the derivate denotes '. . . gives . . .', provided what he gives 'deserves censure'.

EXAMPLES:

> *dviguṇaṃ prayacchati* = *dvaiguṇikaḥ* 'he who loans out money on conditions of getting twice as much in return'
> *traiguṇikaḥ* 'he who loans out money on conditions of getting three times as much in return'

1. The word *dvaiguṇikaḥ* is explained as a creditor who collects twice the amount of loan of return (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *dvaiguṇika iti uttamarṇa ucyate, na cāsau dviguṇaṃ prayacchati, kiṃ tarhi? skandayitvā dviguṇaṃ gṛhṇāti*). Loaning a certain amount but collecting twice as much in return brings censure.

2. A *vārttika* suggests that a *vṛddhi* derivate under this rule would be *vārddhuṣikaḥ* 'a creditor who lends money for the purpose of increasing it'. This, in turn, will either require replacing *vṛddhi* by *vṛdhuṣi,* or accepting *vṛdhuṣi* as a base synonymous with *vṛddhi.*

4.4.31 **कुसीददशैकादशात् ष्ठन्ष्ठचौ**

> *kusīdadaśaikādaśāt ṣṭhanṣṭhacau*
> /*kusīdadaśaikādaśāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṣṭhanṣṭhacau* 1/2 = *ṣṭhan ca ṣṭhac ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #28 *prayacchati garhyam* #30)
> *kusīdadaśaikādaśaśabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṣṭhan ṣṭhaj ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ* '*prayacchati garhyam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
> The *taddhita* affixes *ṢṭhaN* and *ṢṭhaC* occur after nominal stems *kusīda* and *daśaikādaśa,* respectively, when the stems end in accusative and derivates denote '. . . gives . . .', provided further that what is given 'deserves censor'.

EXAMPLES:

kusīdaṃ prayacchati = *kusīdikaḥ* 'he lends money on excessive interest'
kusīdikī 'she who . . .'
daśaikādaśikaḥ 'he who lends out ten to collect eleven'
daśaikādaśikī 'she who . . .'

1. The derivates of *ṢṭhaN* and *ṢṭhaC* differ only in accent. They also get their feminine counterpart at the strength of affixal *Ṣ* as an *it* (4.1.41 *ṣid-gaurādibhyaś ca*).

2. Note that the agent of *prayacchati* is the creditor, and not the debtor. That is, the creditor is principal, and hence, *prayacchati* is to be interpreted as *gṛhṇāti* 'receives back'. The word *daśaikādaśa* means *ekādaśārthaṃ daśa* 'ten for purposes of eleven'.

4.4.32 उञ्छति

uñchati
/ *uñchati* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
'*tata*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthāt* '*uñchati*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in accusative, when the derivate denotes 'picking up from ground'.

EXAMPLES:

bādarikaḥ 'he who picks up berries from ground'
kāṇikaḥ 'he who picks up (scattered) grains one after the other'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *uñchati* as 'gathering of grains' one after the other, from ground' (*Kāś.*: *bhūmau patitasyaikaikasya kaṇasyopādānam*). This perhaps refers to grains which remain scattered in fields just harvested. A person who subsists on such sources must be extremely poor. Besides, the tradition does not accept food items picked up from grounds as pure.

4.4.33 रक्षति

rakṣati
/ *rakṣati* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
'*tat*' *ity dvitīyāsamarthād* '*rakṣati*' *ity rakṣati ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in accusative, when the derivate denotes 'protects. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

sāmājikaḥ 'one who protects the assembly'
sānniveśikaḥ 'id.'

4.4.34 शब्ददर्दुरं करोति

śabdadarduraṃ karoti
/*śabdadarduram* 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *karoti* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
'*tata*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthābhyāṃ śabdadarduraśabdābhyāṃ* '*karoti*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *śabda* 'sound, noise' and *dardura* 'an earthen pot', when they end in accusative and derivates denote 'makes, or does. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śabdaṃ karoti = *śābdikaḥ* 'one who makes words; a grammarian'
dārdurikaḥ 'a potter who (makes and) plays and Dardura'

1. Note that the word *dardura* means a host of things: cloud, mountain, flute, etc. The derivate meanings must be determined in accord with usage, though the idea of *karoti* must be there. One will thus not get a derivate parallel to *śabdaṃ karoti kharaḥ* 'the donkey is making noise', simply because it is not available in usage (*Nyāsa* and *Kāś.*: . . . *yatra loke vyavahāras tatra pratyayo bhavati nānyatra* . . . *tena śabdaṃ karoti khara ity atra na bhavati*).

4.4.35 पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान् हन्ति

pakṣimatsyamṛgān hanti
/*pakṣimatsyamṛgān* 2/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tān; hanti* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
pakṣyādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyo '*hanti*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *pakṣī* 'bird', *matsya* 'fish' and *mṛga* 'wild animals', when they end in accusative and derivates denote '. . . kills. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śākunikaḥ 'one who hunts birds'
māyūrikaḥ 'one who hunts peacocks'
mātsyikaḥ 'one who catches fish; fisherman'
mainikaḥ 'id.'

mārgikaḥ 'one who hunts wild animals; one who hunts deer'
saukarikaḥ 'one who hunts a boar'
hāriṇikaḥ 'one who hunts deer'

1. Note that *pakṣī, matsya* and *mṛga* are to be interpreted here as denoting their form (*svarūpa*), synonyms (*paryāya*), or any particular (*viśeṣa*) within the general category of their denotatum, of course, in accord with available usage. Thus, *mṛga* is used in the sense of a wild quadruped (*āraṇyāś catuṣpādaḥ*). It can here also refer to a 'deer' in general, or in particular (such as *sāraṅga* 'brindled deer'), or even a particular within the general wild quadruped such as *sūkara* 'boar'.

4.4.36 परिपन्थं च तिष्ठति

paripantham ca tiṣṭhati
/*paripantham* 2/1 *ca* ϕ *tiṣṭhati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28, *hanti* #35)
paripanthaśabdāt tad iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'tiṣṭhati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *paripantha* 'roadside', when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '... stands by'.

EXAMPLES:

paripantham tiṣṭhati = *pāripanthikaś cauraḥ* 'a thief (or someone) who stands by roadside to rob (or kill)'

1. It is stated that *ca* is used to alternately avail other affixal meanings. That is, a *ṭhaK* introduced after *paripantha* will also avail the denotatum of *hanti* 'kills. . . .' Thus, *paripantham hanti* = *pāripanthikaḥ* 'he who kills thieves on a roadside'.

2. Note that *pāripanthika* is an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) compound meaning: *yaḥ panthānam varjayitvā tiṣṭhati yo vā panthānam vyāpya tiṣṭhati* 'he who, in order for robbing travelers, stands by roadside, or stands watching over roads for robbing travelers'.

4.4.37 माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति

māthottarapadapadavyanupadam dhāvati
/*māthottarapadapadavyanupadam* 2/1 = *māthaśabda uttarapadam yasya tat; māthottarapadam ca padavī ca anupadam ca dhāvati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
māthaśabdottarapadāt prātipadikāt 'padavī, anupada' ity etābhyām ca 'dhāvati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which has *mātha* as its final constituent, or is constituted by *padavī* 'path' or *anupada* 'following closely', when the stems end in accusative and derivates denote '. . . runs'.

EXAMPLES:

dāṇḍamāthikaḥ 'he who travels long roads'
pādavikaḥ 'he who pursues a path'
ānupadikaḥ 'he who closely follows'

1. Note that *māthottarapadapadavyanupadam* is specified in *dvitīya* 'accusative'. Why do we have to have this specification in *dvitīyā* (as against a *caturthī* 'ablative'), especially when *dvitīyā* is already available from *anuvṛtti*. It is stated that accusative is still used so that *iṣṭāntād dvitīyāntad yathā syād aniṣṭād mā bhūt* 'this affixal provision is valid after a stem only where desired, and invalid where it is not desired (*aniṣṭa*)'. It is for this reason that a compound formed with *anu* under the provision of rules 2.1.15 *anur yatsamayā*, 2.1.16 *yasya cāyāmaḥ* and 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* does not qualify for introduction of *ṭhaK* (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*).

4.4.38 आक्रन्दाट्ठञ् च

ākrandāṭ ṭhañ ca
/*ākrandāt* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28 *dhāvati* #37)
ākrandaśabdāt tad iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'dhāvati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhak ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *ākranda* 'place of residence, or shelter, for afflicted' when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . runs'.

1. The word *ākranda* is explained as *deśa,* or *ārtānām ayanam* 'place where afflicted people find refuse'.
2. Note that derivates of these affixes differ only in accent. A derivate of *ṭhaÑ* will be marked *udātta* initially, as opposed to that of *ṭhaK* which will be marked *udātta* at the end. The *vṛddhi* in a derivate of *ṭhaÑ* will be affected by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acāṃ ādis*. . . . The *ṭhaK* derivate of course will get its *vṛddhi* from 7.2.118 *kiti ca.*

4.4.39 पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति

padottarapadaṃ gṛhṇāti
/*padottarapadam* 2/1 = *padaśabda uttarapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; gṛhṇāti* (verbal *pada*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
padottarapadaśabdāt 'tat' iti dvitīyāsamarthād 'gṛhṇāti' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhak* occurs after a nominal stem used in combination with *pada* as its final constituent and ends in accusative, provided the derivate denotes '. . . accepts, receives'.

EXAMPLES:

paurvapadikaḥ 'a treatise (or its author) with focus on constituents which precede'
auttarapadikaḥ 'a treatise (or its author) with focus on constituents which follow'

1. The word *pada* is here interpreted as denoting its form (*svarūpa*). That is, it does not denote the *pada* of 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam.*

2. It is stated that *pūrvapada* and *uttarapada* here refer to some specific operational provisions of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, focusing on initial and final constituents of compounds. For example, rules 7.3.10 *uttarapadasya* through 7.3.18 *je proṣṭhapadānām* offer operations relative to constituents which follow. Rules 7.3.19 *hṛdbhagasindhu* . . . through 7.3.31 *yathātathā* . . . focus on constituents which precede. The treatises of our examples could be those focusing on these sets of rules.

4.4.40 प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च

pratikaṇṭhārthalalāmaṃ ca
/*pratikaṇṭhārthalalāmaṃ* 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28, *gṛhṇāti* #39)
pratikaṇṭhārthalalāmaśabdebhyas tad iti dvitīyasamarthebhyaḥ 'gṛhṇāti' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *pratikaṇṭha* 'voice by voice', *artha* 'meaning' and *lalāma* 'characteristic mark, or beauty' when these stems end in accusative and derivates denote 'accepts . . ., receives. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pratikaṇṭhaṃ gṛhṇāti = *prātikaṇṭhikaḥ* 'a treatise which, or a person who, accepts each and every enumeration as focus'
ārthikaḥ 'a treatise which, or a person who, focuses on meaning'
lālāmikaḥ 'a teatise, or its author, with a focus on ornamentation (figures of speech), or aesthetics'

1. The purpose of specifying bases in accusative, in this section of *tad*, is

in invoke: *iṣṭāt syāt aniṣṭān mā bhūt* 'let this affixal provision apply where desired; not apply where not desired'. That is how this affixal provision is blocked after *pratikaṇṭha*, a compound allowed by rule 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* parallel to *pratigataḥ kaṇṭham*. A compound formation favoring the application of this rule is allowed either in the sense of *vīpsā* 'pervasion', by rule 2.1.7 *yathā'sādṛśye*, or in the sense of *ābhimukhya* 'facing towards', by rule 2.1.14 *lakṣaṇenābhipraty*. . . .

2. The word *pratikaṇṭha* is enumerated under the operational context of *pratipadavidhāna* 'enumeration of individual stems in view of specific operational provisions, or in consonance with listings of individual stems in the *Gaṇapāṭha*'.

4.4.41 **धर्मं चरति**

dharmaṃ carati
/*dharmam* 2/1 *carati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
dharmaśabdāt tad iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'carati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *dharma* 'duty' when the stem ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . observes, performs, or practices, with diligence'.

EXAMPLES:

dhārmikaḥ 'he who performs his duties diligently'

1. A *vārttika* also allows this affixal provision after *adharma* 'non-duty'.

2. *Kāśikā* explains *carati* as *caratir āsevāyām, nānuṣṭhānamātre* '*carati* is used here in the sense of *āsevā* 'to perform over and over again; to perform with diligence, and not simply doing it for the sake of doing (*anuṣṭhāna*)'.

The word *dharma* which I here translate as 'duty' is much too wide in its connotation.

4.4.42 **प्रतिपथमेति ठंश्च**

pratipatham eti ṭhaṃś ca
/*pratipatham* 2/1 *eti* (verbal *pada*) *ṭhan* 1/1 *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #28)
pratipathaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'eti' ity asminn arthe ṭhan pratyayo bhavati cakārāt ṭhak ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN*, and *ṭhaK* as well, occurs after nominal stem *pratipatha*, when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . goes. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pratipatham eti = *pratipathikaḥ* 'he who follows every path'
prātipathikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *pratipatha* is an *avyayībhāva* compound similar to *pratikaṇṭha*, formed in the sense of *vīpsā* 'pervasion' or *ābhimukhya* 'facing'.

4.4.43 **समवायान् समवैति**

samavāyān samavaiti
/*samavāyān* 2/3 *samavaiti* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
samavāyavācibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ 'tat' iti dvitīyā-samarthebhyaḥ 'samavaiti' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *samavāya* 'assemblage' and ends in accusative, provided derivates denote '. . . approaches and becomes a part of it'.

EXAMPLES:

samavāyān samavaiti = *sāmavāyikaḥ* 'he who joins a group and becomes a part of it'
sāmūhikaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *samavāya* is explained as *samūha* 'group or assemblage'. It is used in plural (*bahuvacana*) to rule out its interpretation as denoting its form only (*svarūpavidhi*). Verbal form *samavaiti* is explained by *Kāś.* as *āgatya tadekadeśī bhavati* 'one who having approached becomes a part of it'.

4.4.44 **परिषदो ण्यः**

pariṣado ṇyaḥ
/*pariṣadaḥ* 5/1 *ṇyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28, *samavāyān samavaiti* #43)
pariṣado ṇyaḥ bhavati 'samavāyān samavaiti' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs after nominal stem *pariṣad* 'assembly', when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . approaches and becomes a part of it'.

EXAMPLES:

pāriṣadyaḥ 'one who approaches the assembly and becomes a part of it.'

4.4.45 **सेनाया वा**

senāyā vā

/senāyāḥ 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28, *samavāyān samavaiti* #43, *ṇyaḥ* #44)
senāśabdād vā ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'samavāyān samavaiti' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇya* occurs only optionally after nominal stem *senā* 'army', when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes 'approaches and becomes a part of it'.

EXAMPLES:

sainyaḥ 'one who enlists in the army'
sainikaḥ 'soldier'

1. Note that this optional *Ṇya*, when not accepted, will make *ṭhaK* available

4.4.46 संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति

saṃjñāyāṃ lalāṭakukkuṭyau paśyati
/saṃjñāyām 7/1 *lalāṭakukkuṭyau* 2/2 (*itar. dv.*); *paśyati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tat* #28)
lalāṭa-kukkuṭīśabdābhyāṃ tad iti dvitīyāsamarthābhyām 'paśyati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *lalāṭa* 'forehead' and *kukkuṭī* 'hen' when they end in accusative and their derivates name (*saṃjñā*) 'someone who sees. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

lalāṭaṃ paśyati = *lālāṭikaḥ* 'a servant who does not serve his master diligently'
kaukkuṭikaḥ 'a renunciate whose sphere of sight is narrow'

1. The word *saṃjñā* 'name' is used here to delimit the scope of derivational denotatum (*abhidheyaniyamārtham*). Thus, *lālāṭika* means (not one who sees the forehead but) a servant who sees only the 'forehead' of his master. That is, as one who sees only the 'forehead' must stay farther from the person seen, so does a servant. Consequently, he must not be serving his master diligently. For, a diligent servant always stays nearby (*Kāś.*: *sarvāvayavebhyo lalāṭaṃ dūre dṛśyate, tad anena lalāṭadarśanena sevakasya svāminaṃ praty upaśleṣaḥ kāryeṣv anupasthāyitvaṃ lakṣyate*).

The word *kukkuṭī* is used to mark *kukkuṭīpāta* 'leaping and falling of hens' which is limited to a narrow space. A renunciate who strives for becoming one with the supreme (*brahman*) is, while walking, supposed to restrict his sphere of vision to his feet to avoid any possible distraction (*Kāś.*: *bhikṣur avikṣiptadṛṣṭiḥ pādavikṣepadeśe cakṣuḥ saṃyamya gacchati sa* . . .).

4.4.47 तस्य धर्म्यम्

tasya dharmyam
/*tasya* 6/1 *dharmyam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
'*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād* '*dharmyam*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in genitive when the derivate denotes '. . . appropriate conduct or obligation'.

EXAMPLES:

śaulkaśālikam 'that which is proper to do at a place where revenue is collected'
āpaṇikam 'that which is proper to do at a marketplace'

4.4.48 अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः

aṇ mahiṣyādibhyaḥ
/*aṇ* 1/1 *mahiṣyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *mahiṣī ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya dharmyam* #47)
'*mahiṣī*' *ity evamādibhyo*' *ṇ pratyayo bhavati* '*tasya dharmyam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *mahiṣī* 'queen', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'appropriate conduct or obligation'.

EXAMPLES:

māhiṣam '. . . appropriate conduct, or obligation, of the principal queen'
yājamānam '. . . appropriate conduct, or obligation, of a person requesting the priest to perform sacrificial rites'

4.4.49 ऋतोऽञ्

ṛto' ñ
/*ṛtaḥ* 5/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya dharmyam* #47)
ṛkārāntāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati '*tasya dharmyam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *ṛ* and is used in genitive, provided the derivate denotes '. . . appropriate conduct, or obligation'.

EXAMPLES:

potur dharmyaṃ = *pautram* 'proper conduct of the officiating priest'

audgātram 'proper conduct of the Udgātṛ priest'

1. The word *pautram* derives from (*potṛ* + *aÑ*) + *sU* where *ṛ* goes through *yaṆ* in addition to initial *vṛddhi* of *o*.

2. There are three *vārttikas* under this rule:

(*i*) Affix *aÑ* should also be introduced after *nara* to derive *nārī* 'woman' via *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . .). Note that *nṛ* already has *aÑ* available to it for deriving *nāram*. This introduction of *aÑ* after *nara* is intended for blocking *ṭhaK*.

(*ii*) Affix *aÑ*, with an additional provision of deletion of augment *iṬ*, is recommended after *viśasitṛ* to derive *vaiśastram* 'conduct' or obligation, of a ruler'.

(*iii*) Affix *aÑ*, with an additional provision of deletion of affix *ṆiC*, is recommended after *vibhājayitṛ* to derive *vaibhājitram* 'conduct' or obligation, of a person presiding over a partition'.

4.4.50 अवक्रयः

avakrayaḥ

/ *avakrayaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya* #47)

ṛkārāntāt prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati '*tasya dharmyam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in genitive, when the derivate denotes *avakrayaḥ* 'sales tax'.

EXAMPLES:

śaulkaśālikaḥ 'taxes paid at a collection agency'
āpaṇikaḥ 'taxes paid at a marketplace'

1. The word *avakraya* has been explained by Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) as: *vāṇijyārthaṃ tailadhānyādikaṃ deśāntaraṃ nayatā' smin śulkasthāne pratibhāram etāvad deyam iti taddeśādhipatinā yat kalpitaṃ so' vakrayaḥ* . . . '*avakraya* is an amount levied by rulers on traders transporting goods, such as 'oil' and 'grains', to different places. . . .'

2. Note that *dharmyam* is not read in the interpretation of this rule. For, *avakraya* cannot always be called *dharmya*. Taxes levied in amount far exceeding the norms could also fall outside the notion of *dharmya*.

4.4.51 तदस्य पण्यम्

tad asya paṇyam

/ *tat* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *paṇyam* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)

'tat' iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham paṇyam ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhyartha*), after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided further that is signified 'something for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

āpūpikaḥ 'he whose cakes are for sale'
maudakikaḥ 'he whose sweets are for sale'

4.4.52 लवणाट्ठञ्

lavaṇāt ṭhañ
/*lavaṇāt* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya paṇyam* #51)
lavaṇaśabdāt ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya paṇyam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after nominal stem *lavaṇa* 'salt' when it ends in nominative, provided the denotatum of this nominative is '. . . for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

lāvaṇikaḥ 'he whose salt is for sale'

1. The derivates of *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* only differ in accent (*svare viśeṣah*).

4.4.53 किशरादिभ्यः ष्ठन्

kiśarādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan
/*kiśarādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *kiśara ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ṣṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya paṇyam* #51)
'kiśara' ity evamādibhyaḥ ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya paṇyam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *kiśara* 'a kind of fragrance' when the stem ends in nominative and what it denotes is 'something for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

kiśarikaḥ 'he whose Kiśara (saffron) is for sale'
uśīra 'he whose Uśīra (lavender) is for sale'

1. The *kiśara* words are names of particular fragrances (*gandhaviśeṣavacanāḥ*). The *Ṣ* of *ṢṭhaN* is used for facilitating feminine derivates with *ṄīṢ* (4.1.1 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*).

4.4.54 शलालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम्

śalāluno' nyatarasyām
/*śalālunaḥ* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya paṇyam* #51, *ṣṭhan* #53)
śalāluśabdād anyatarasyām ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya paṇyam' ity etad viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, only optionally after nominal stem *śalālu* 'a particular fragrance' when it ends in nominative and what it denotes is 'something for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

śalālukaḥ 'he whose Śalālu fragrance is for sale'
śālālukaḥ 'id.'
śalālukī 'she whose Śalāluka is for sale'
śālālukī 'id.'

1. Note that *ṭhaK* will apply when option of *ṢṭhaN* is not accepted.

4.4.55 शिल्पम्

śilpam
/*śilpam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyathe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham śilpam ced bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is a *śilpa* 'artistic talent, facility' available 'for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

mṛdaṅgavādanaṃ śilpam asya = *mārdaṅgikaḥ* 'a professional Mṛdaṅga drummer'
pāṇavikaḥ 'a professional Paṇava drummer'

1. The word *śilpa* is explained as 'skill' (*kauśala*), a special knowledge acquired through practice (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *śilpaṃ kauśalam iti. kriyābhyāsapurvako jñānaviśeṣaḥ*.

2. Note that the affix is introduced after a stem, for example *mṛdaṅga*, used in the sense of playing. The idea of 'playing a drum' as a 'skill' is inherent in the *taddhita* formation '*Kāś.*: *mṛdaṅgavādane varttamāno mṛdaṅgaśabdaḥ pratyayam utpādayati, śilpaṃ taddhitavṛttāv antarbhavati*).

4.4.56 मड्डुकझर्झरादणन्यतरस्याम्

maḍḍukajharjharād aṇ anyatarasyām
/*maḍḍukajharjharāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; aṇ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya śilpam* #51)
'*maḍḍuka, jharjhara*' *śabdābhyām anyatarasyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati* '*tad asya śilpam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs optionally, to denote the sense of genitive, after nominal stems *maḍḍuka* and *jharjhara* 'names of drums' when they end in nominative and denote a *śilpa* 'for sale'.

EXAMPLES:

māḍḍukaḥ 'a professional Maḍḍuka drummer'
māḍḍukikaḥ 'id.'
jhārjharaḥ 'a professional Jharjhara drummer'
jhārjharikaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again the affixal provision is made after stems which, for purposes of the *taddhita* formation, denote 'playing of drums', and not the 'drums' per se.

4.4.57 प्रहरणम्

praharaṇam
/*praharaṇam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ praharaṇaṃ ced bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is *praharaṇa* 'that by means of which one attacks; weapon'.

EXAMPLES:

asiḥ praharaṇam asya = *āsikaḥ* 'he whose means of attack is a sword'
dhānuṣkaḥ 'he whose means of attack is a bow'

4.4.58 परश्वधाट्ठञ् च

paraśvadhāṭ ṭhañ ca
/*paraśvadhāt* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51, *praharaṇam* #57)
paraśvadhaśabdāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārāṭ ṭhak

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN*, and *ṭhaK* as well, occurs to denote the sense of genitive after nominal stem *paraśvadha* 'axe' when it ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is a *praharaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

pāraśvadhikaḥ 'he whose means of attack is an axe'

1. Again the two sets of derivates differ in accent.

4.4.59 शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक्

śaktiyaṣṭyor īkak
/*śaktiyaṣṭyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *īkak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #51, *praharaṇam* #57)
'*śakti, yaṣṭi*' *śabdābhyām īkak pratyayo bhavati* '*tad asya praharaṇam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *īkaK* occurs to denote the sense of genitive after *śakti* 'spear' and *yaṣṭi* 'stick', when the same end in nominative, provided what they denote is *praharaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

śaktiḥ praharaṇam asya = *śāktīkaḥ* 'he whose means of attack is a spear'
yāṣṭīkaḥ 'he whose means of attack is a stick'

4.4.60 अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः

astināstidiṣṭaṃ matiḥ
/*astināstidiṣṭam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *matiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*asti*', '*nāsti*', '*diṣṭa*' *ity etebhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ* '*asya*' *ity ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ matiś ced bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after nominal stems *asti* 'there is', *nāsti* 'there is not' and *diṣṭa* 'fate' when they end in nominative, provided what they denote is *mati* 'belief, thinking'.

EXAMPLES:

asti matir asya = *āstikaḥ* 'he who believes that a world exists beyond our own; theist'
nāsti matir asya = *nāstikaḥ* 'he who believes that a world does not exist beyond our own; atheist'
daiṣṭikaḥ 'he who believes in fate'

1. It is stated that *asti* and *nāsti* are particles (*nipāta*) which, in turn, could be termed nominal stems. Or else, *asti* and *nāsti*, as verbal forms, can still avail the affixal provision at the strength of Pāṇini's own asking (*Kāś.*: *asti-nāsti-śabdau nipātau, vacanasāmarthyād vā ākhyātād vākyāc ca pratyayaḥ*).

4.4.61 शीलम्

śīlam
/*śīlam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham śīlaṃ ced bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is *śīla* 'one's characteristic nature'.

EXAMPLES:

apūpabhakṣaṇaṃ śīlam asya = *āpūpikaḥ* 'he whose nature it is to eat *apūpa* '*cakes*''
śāṣkulikaḥ 'he whose nature it is to eat *śaṣkulī* 'deep-fried breads''

1. Here again the affix will be introduced after *śīla*, though with an understanding that the *taddhita*-formation will introduce action of eating as an additional qualification to *śīla*.

4.4.62 छत्रादिभ्यो णः

chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ
/*chatrādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *chatra ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #51 *śīlam* #61)
'*chatra*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*tad asya śīlam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote the sense of the genitive, after nominal stems listed in the group headed by *chata* 'cover, umbrella' when they end in nominative, provided what they denote is *śīla*.

EXAMPLES:

chatraṃ śīlaṃ asya = *chātraḥ* 'a student whose nature it is (*i*) to seek shelter under his teacher; or (*ii*) to cover the teachers faults'
bubhukṣā śīlam asya = *baubhukṣaḥ* 'he whose nature it is to be (always) hungry'

1. This, of course, is an exception to *ṭhaK*. *Kāśikā* explains the word *chātra*

as 'a pupil who, while diligently serving his preceptor, also strives to cover his (the former's) pitfalls' (*gurukāryeṣv avahitas tacchidrāvaraṇapravṛttaś chatraśīlaḥ śiṣyaś chātraḥ*).

2. Note that *sthā* is also listed in the *chatrādi* group of nominals. One must, however, read it used with the preverb *ā* thereby yielding *āsthā* 'faith', etc.

4.4.63 कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम्

> *karmādhyayane vṛttam*
> /*karmaḥ* 1/1 *adhyayane* 7/1 *vṛttam* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
> '*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthāt* '*asya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham karma cet tadvṛttam adhyayanaviṣayaṃ bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is *karman* 'action' occurring as part of *adhyayana* 'study'.

EXAMPLES:

> *aikānyikaḥ* 'he of whose there occurred (*bhūtam*) only one other than expected (*anyad*): only one error made at a test (*parīkṣākāle*) recital (*paṭhataḥ*) while studying (*adhyayanaprayuktasya*)'
> *traiyanyikaḥ* 'he of whose there occurred three other than expected: errors, when reciting at a test while studying'

1. Note that *ekānya* which receives *ṭhaK* is a compound allowed under the condition of *taddhitārtha* 'when a *taddhita* affix finds its scope' (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .). The initial analyzed form should thus be: *ekam anyad.* Affix *ṭhaK* is then introduced after *ekānya* derived through *sUP*-deletion and *savarṇadīrgha.* The sense of *adhyayane karma vṛttam* will have to be expressed via the *taddhita* formation. It is with this understanding that *Kāśikā* explains the meaning of *aikānyikaḥ* as: *yasyādhyayan aprayuktasya parīkṣākāle paṭhataḥ skhalitam apapāṭharūpam ekaṃ jātaṃ sa ucyate aikānyikaḥ* '*aikānyika* is one who, while reciting at the time of a test in the process of studying, makes only one error.'

2. The word *karma* here denotes an 'action' (*kriyā*), basically an undesired one (*anīpsita*). That is, it refers to an undesired happening in the context of recitation. The word *adhyayana* refers to either the action (*bhāva*), or the object (*karman*), of studying as means (*sādhana*). The word *vṛttam* is used in the sense of *bhūtam* 'that which occurred' or *jātam* 'that which came into being'. Incidentally, *karma* is not here used in the sense of *tacchīlakarma* 'action as part of someone's characteristic nature'. That is why, under the provision of this rule, one does not get a derivate parallel to *adhyayane japo vṛtto'sya* 'he whose characteristic nature it is to mutter while reciting'.

4.4.64 बह्वच्पूर्वपदाट्ठच्

bahvacpūrvapadāt ṭhac
/*bahvacpūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *bahavo' co yasmin* = *bahvac* (*bv.*); *bahvac pūrvapadaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51, *karmādhyayane vṛttam* #63)
bahvacpūrvapadāt prātipadikāt ṭhac pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya karmādhyayane vṛttam' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC* occurs instead, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which has an initial constituent formed with many vowels, and which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is an 'action' occurring as part of one's study.

EXAMPLES:

trayodaśānyikaḥ 'he of whose there occurred thirteen other than what he expected, i.e., errors, when reciting at a test while studying'
caturdaśānyikaḥ 'he of whose there occurred fourteen . . .'

1. Note that there is a difference of opinion on whether the affix is *ṭhaC*, or it is *ṭhaÑ*. If one accepts *ṭhaÑ* then the derivates will have their first vowel replaced with *vṛddhi*. Thus, we will get *trāyodaśānyikaḥ* and *cāturdaśānyikaḥ*. Our examples illustrate *ṭhaC*.

4.4.65 हितं भक्षाः

hitaṃ bhakṣāḥ
/*hitam* 1/1 *bhakṣāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asya* #51)
'tata' iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ hitam ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is 'an item of food beneficial for . . .'

EXAMPLES:

apūpabhakṣaṇaṃ hitam asmai = *āpūpikaḥ* 'he for whom eating cakes is beneficial'
śāṣkulikaḥ 'he for whom eating deep-fried breads is beneficial'

1. Note that the *vṛtti* paraphrases *asya* as *ṣaṣṭhyarthe* 'in the sense of genitive'. But a *vārttika* provision is made for the use of *caturthī* 'dative' in conjunction with *hita* 'beneficial'. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) states that *caturthyarthe pratyayo na ṣaṣṭhyarthe*. . . *evaṃ tarhy adhikāramātrāpekṣayā* 'the affix is intro-

duced in the sense of dative . . .'; 'in the sense of genitive is stated in view of the *adhikāra*'. It is thus believed that *ṣaṣṭhī* of *asya* is changed to *caturthī*, i.e., *asmai*, for purposes of this rule. Some therefore offer a different formulation of this rule as: *hitaṃ bhakṣās tad asmai*; in which case, the next rule becomes: *dīyate niyuktam*. For, it will then receive *tad asmai* from *anuvṛtti*.

4.4.66 तदस्मै दियते नियुक्तम्

tad asmai dīyate niyuktam
/*tat* 1/1 *asmai* 4/1 *dīyate* (verbal *pada*) *niyuktam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthād* '*asmai*' *iti caturthyarthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ tac ced dīyate niyuktam*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs, to denote the sense of dative (*caturthī*), after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided what it denotes is 'given to him as rightfully his'.

Examples:

agrebhojanam asmai niyuktaṃ dīyate = *āgrabhojanikaḥ* 'he who is offered food before anybody else because that is his right'
āpūpikaḥ 'he who is offered cakes as rightfully his'
śāṣkulikaḥ 'he who is offered deep-fried breads as rightfully his'

1. The expression *dīyate niyuktam* is explained as *niyogena-avyabhicāreṇa dīyate* 'he who is given something without fail as rightfully his'. An example such as *āgrebhojanikaḥ* will be thus explained as 'he who is offered food without fail before anybody else'. That is, he gets the food first if and when it is offered (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yady agrabhojanaṃ dīyate tadāsmai eva* . . .). Some also explain *niyuktam* as *nityam* 'obligatorily'. Thus, *apūpā nityam asmai dīyante āpūpikaḥ* 'one to whom cakes are offered obligatorily'.

4.4.67 श्राणामांसौदनाद् टिठन्

śrāṇāmāṃsaudanāt ṭiṭhan
/*śrāṇāmāṃsaudanāt* 5/1 *tiṭhan* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asmai dīyate niyuktam* #66)
'*śrāṇā*', '*māṃsaudana*' *śabdābhyāṃ ṭiṭhan pratyayo bhavati* '*tad asmai dīyate niyuktam*' *ity etasminn arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *ṬIṭhaN* occurs, to denote the sense of dative, after *śrāṇā* 'barley-gruel' and *māṃsaudana* 'rice cooked with meat', provided what they denote is 'given to him as rightfully his'.

EXAMPLES:

śrāṇikaḥ 'he who is offered barley-gruel as rightfully his'
māṃsaudanikaḥ 'he who is offered rice cooked with meat as rightfully his'
śrāṇikī 'she who is . . .'
māṃsaudanikī 'she who is . . .'

1. The affixal provision constitutes an exception of *ṭhaK*. The *I* in *ṬIṭhaN* is used for facilitating pronunciation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*). The *Ṭ* as an *it* is used for facilitating *ṄīP* of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . . to derive *śrāṇikī* and *māṃsaudanikī*.

One wonders why Pāṇini did not use *ṭhañ*, instead of *ṬIṭhaN*, especially when there is no formal difference in derivates. Some suggest that *māṃsaudana* also refers to its constituents *māṃsa* and *odana*, thereby yielding derivates such as *māṃsikaḥ* and *odanikaḥ*. This way, *ṬIṭhaN* will be justified since it will not allow initial *vṛddhi*. Affix *ṭhañ* would require *vṛddhi* because of its *Ñ* as an *it*. The question of *ṭhañ*, as against *ṬIṭhaN*, is raised because a reading of *ṭhañ* will make the rule more economical.

4.4.68 भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम्

bhaktād aṇ anyatarasyām
/ *bhaktāt* 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tad asmai dīyate niyuktam* #66)
bhaktaśabdād aṇ pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyāṃ 'tad asmai dīyate niyuktam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote the sense of dative, after nominal stem *bhakta* 'food', provided what it denotes is 'given to him as rightfully his'.

EXAMPLES:

bhāktaḥ 'he who is offered food as rightfully his'
bhāktikaḥ 'id.'

1. Affix *aṆ* is offered here as an option to *ṭhaK*.

4.4.69 तत्र नियुक्तः

tatra niyuktaḥ
/ *tatra* ϕ *niyuktaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1)
'tatra' iti saptamīsamarthāt 'niyuktaḥ' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in locative (*saptamī*), when the derivate denotes 'commissioned there....'

EXAMPLES:

śaulkaśālikaḥ 'he who is commissioned to be at a place where revenue is collected'
āpaṇikaḥ 'he who is commissioned to be at a marketplace for collecting revenues'

1. Why use *niyuktaḥ* when the same can be received via *anuvṛtti*? There is a difference in meaning (*arthabheda*). Besides, *niyuktam* of the earlier rule is associated with *tad asmai dīyate*, the nominative after which an affix is to be introduced in the sense of genitive, or dative. The *niyuktaḥ* of our present rule requires the affix to be introduced after a nominal stem ending in locative. The word *niyuktaḥ* means *adhikṛtaḥ* 'commissioned, authorized' or *vyāpāritaḥ* '... delegated to function....'

4.4.70 अगारान्ताद् ठन्

agārāntāt ṭhan
/*agārāntāt* 5/1 = *agāra śabdaḥ ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt; ṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra niyuktaḥ* #69)
agāraśabdāntāt prātipadikāt ṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'tatra niyuktaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN* occurs after a nominal stem which is used in combination with *agāra* as its final constituent, and which ends in locative, provided the derivate denotes 'authorized or commissioned to be there'.

EXAMPLES:

devāgārikaḥ 'he who is authorized to be at the temple'
bhāṇḍāgārikaḥ 'he who is authorized to be at the storage'

4.4.71 अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात्

adhyāyiny adeśakālāt
/*adhyāyini* 7/1 *adeśakālāt* 5/1 = *deśaś ca kālaś ca* (*dv.*); *na deśakālam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tatra* #69)
saptamīsamarthād adeśavācinaḥ prātipadikād akālavācinaś cādhyāyiny abhidheye ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in

locative and signifies either something other than a place (*adeśa*) of residence, or something other than time (*kāla*), when derivates denote someone who studies (*adhyāyin*) there.

EXAMPLES:

śmāśānikaḥ 'he who studies in a crematorium'
cātuṣpathikaḥ 'he who studies at crossroads'
cāturdaśikaḥ 'he who studies on the fourteenth day of the month (when one is not supposed to)'
āmāvāsyikaḥ 'he who studies on the fifteenth day of the month (when one is not supposed to)'

1. This affixal provision is made in the sense of 'one who studies' at a place or time which is not approved by the *śāstras*. Thus, *adeśakāla* denotes a place or time not fit for studying (*Kāś.*: *adhyayanasya yau deśakālau śāstreṇa-pratiṣiddhau tāv adeśakālaśabdenocyete tad idaṃ pratyayavidhānam*).

4.4.72 कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति

kaṭhinā ntaprastārasaṃsthāneṣu vyavaharati
/*kaṭhinā ntaprastārasaṃsthāneṣu* 7/3 = *kaṭhinaśabdaḥ ante yasya* (*vb.*); *kaṭhinā ntaś ca prastāraś ca saṃsthānaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*); *teṣu; vyavaharati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tatra* #69
kaṭhinaśabdāntāt saptamīsamarthāt prastārasaṃsthānaśabdābhyāṃ ca ṭhak pratyayo bhavati, 'vyavaharati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which is used in combination with *kaṭhina* as its final constituent, or after nominal stems *prastāra* 'open space' and *saṃsthāna* 'gathering place', when these stems end in locative and derivates denote '. . . conducts himself properly' (*vyavaharati*).

EXAMPLES:

vaṃśakaṭhine vyavaharati = *vāṃśakaṭhinikaś cakracaraḥ* 'a juggler who travels by cart and conducts well even in a place where quality of bamboo is hard (as opposed to flexible ones he needs for his shows)'
prāstārikaḥ 'one who conducts himself properly in a public place'
sāṃsthānikaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *vyavahāraḥ* is explained by *Kāś.* as *kriyātatva* which Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) explains as *yatra deśe yā kriyā yathā anuṣṭheyā tatra tasyās tathānuṣṭhānam* 'a place where something is done in the manner it is supposed to be done'. For example, a juggler who finds himself in a place where he cannot get springy bamboo poles would have to perform his acts with the

stiff ones. Conducting one's self in a manner one is expected to is also part of *kriyātatva* which *Kāś.* calls *lokavyavahāra.*

The words *prastāra* and *saṃsthāna* have been explained by Haradatta as *sanniveśa* 'place of assembly'.

4.4.73 **निकटे वसति**

> *nikaṭe vasati*
> / *nikaṭe* 7/1 *vasati* (verbal *pada*) /
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tatra* #69)
> *nikaṭaśabdāt saptamīsamarthād 'vasati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in locative when the derivate denotes '. . . stays nearby (*nikaṭe*)'.

EXAMPLES:

> *nikaṭe vasati* = *naikaṭiko bhikṣuḥ* 'a renunciate who lives nearby'

1. Note that the condition of *nikaṭe* '. . . nearby' refers not to someone staying closeby literally. It refers to 'staying nearby' in the sense of what scriptures prescribe. Thus, a renunciate (*bhikṣu*) who, in accord with scriptures (*śāstras*), has taken a vow to live in the forest should live at least two miles away from a vllage. The ascetic of our example is said to be living at a place less than two miles away from the village (*Kāś.*: '*āraṇyakena bhikṣuṇā grāmāt krośe vastavyam*' *iti śāstram*).

4.4.74 **आवसथात् ष्ठल्**

> *āvasathāt ṣṭhal*
> / *āvasathāt* 5/1 *ṣṭhal* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhak* #1, *tatra* #69, *vasati* #73)
> *āvasathaśabdāt saptamīsamarthād 'vasati' ity etasminn arthe ṣṭhal pratyayo bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaL* occurs after nominal stem *āvasatha* 'hut, dwelling', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'stays there'.

EXAMPLES:

> *āvasathikaḥ* 'he who lives in a hut'
> *āvasathikī* 'she who lives in a hut'

1. Note that *L* in the affix is used as an *it* for accent (6.1.193 *liti*). The *Ṣ* as an *it* is used for facilitating affix *ṄīṢ* (4.4.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaḥ*). The word *āvasatha* is a derivate of *Uṇādi* with affix *atha.*

This completes the domian of affix *ṭhaK* (*Kāś.*: *ṭhakaḥ pūrṇo' vadhiḥ, ataḥ param anyaḥ pratyayo vidhīyate*).

4.4.75 प्राग्घिताद्यत्

prāg ghitād yat
/*prāk* ϕ *hitāt* 5/1 *yat* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tasmai hitam*' *iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmād hitasaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo yat pratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, henceforth, occurs as specified prior to . . . *hita* (5.1.1 *tasmai hitam*).

EXAMPLES:

Look under rules which follow:

1. This marks a new domain of affixal introduction. That is, prior to 5.1.1 *tasmai hitam*, affix *yaT* is to be introduced, unless, of course, stated otherwise. This domain of *yaT* extends through the last rule (4.4.144 *bhāve ca*) of this quarter.

4.4.76 तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम्

tad vahati rathayugaprāsaṅgam
/*tat* 2/1 *vahati* (verbal *pada*) *rathayugaprāsaṅgam* 2/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
'*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthebhyo rathayugaprāsaṅgebhyaḥ* '*vahati*' *ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *ratha* 'chariot', *yuga* 'yoke' and *prāsaṅga* 'trial yoke', when the stems end in accusative and their derivates denote '. . . carries . . . (*vahati*)'.

EXAMPLES:

rathyaḥ 'that which draws a chariot'
yugyaḥ 'that which bears a yoke'
prāsaṅgyaḥ 'that which carries a trial yoke'

1. Why did Pāṇini use *rathayugaprāsaṅgam* in *dvitīyā* when the same was already available from *tat* via *anuvṛtti*? It is stated that this specification of *dvitīyā* is made twice so that this affixal provision could be availed after a nominal stem which ends in accusative only where desired. That is, this affixal provision should be ruled out where not desired (*aniṣṭa*). Thus, we do not get *gaur yugyaḥ* 'a cow which bears a yoke'.

The word *prāsaṅga* is explained as 'a piece of wood which young bulls

carry on their shoulders while under training for pulling a plough (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *prāsaṅgaśabdo vatsānāṃ damanakāle skandhe yat kāṣṭham āsajyate tadvācī gṛhyate*)'.

It is stated that *tadantavidhi,* especially in connection with *ratha, sītā* 'furrow' and *hala* 'plough', may also obtain (see *Kāś.*: *rathasītāhalebhyo yadvidhau . . .*). Thus, we get *paramarathyaḥ* 'that which draws a chariot beautifully' and *dvirathyaḥ* 'that which draws two chariots'.

4.4.77 धुरो यड्ढकौ

dhuro yaḍḍhakau

/*dhuraḥ* 5/1 *yaḍḍhakau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76)

'*dhur*' *ity etasmād dvitīyāsamarthād* '*vahati*' *ity etasminn arthe* '*yat, ḍhak*' *ity etau pratyayu bhavataḥ*

The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *ḌhaK* occurs after nominal stem *dhur* 'shoulder harness, axle', when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

dhuraṃ vahatīti = *dhuryaḥ* 'a draft animal which carries a shoulder harness, or axle'
dhaureyaḥ 'id.'

1. Not that the *sūtra* could have been formulated as *dhuro ḍhak ca,* where *ca* could have accounted for the *anuvṛtti* of *yaT* from 4.4.75 *prāg hitāt yat.* Additionally, *Bālamanoramā* ad *SK* informs that *dhuro yañḍhakau* is also available as a different reading of this *sūtra.* The *Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK* accepts *dhuro ḍhak ca* as a better reading ('*dhuro ḍhak ca*' *ity eva suvacam*).

4.4.78 खः सर्वधुरात्

khaḥ sarvadhurāt

/*khaḥ* 1/1 *sarvadhurāt* 5/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76)

sarvadhuraśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād '*vahati*' *ity etasminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after nominal stem *sarvadhur* 'total load, any kind of shoulder harness, axle' when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

sarvadhurāṃ vahati = *sarvadhurīṇaḥ* 'a draft animal which can carry an entire load'

1. Note that *sarvadhurāt* is specified with *caturthī* 'ablative' where *sarvadhura* is neuter. Commentators state that a neuter specification is made so that this nominal stem can be interpreted as referring to its counterparts in all genders (cf. *sāmānye napuṃsakam*). The word *sarvadura* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound analyzed as *sarvā dhūḥ* where the feminine derivate (with *ṬāP*) will be *sarvadhurā*. A specification in feminine would have been more logical, mostly because *dhūḥ* is feminine and gender of a *dvandva* and *tatpuruṣa* compound is determined in consonance with the final constituent (*paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*). A feminine specification is also better in view of meaning (*arthāpekṣayā*).

4.4.79 एकधुराल्लुक् च

ekadhurāl luk ca
/*ekadhurāt* 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76, *kha* #78)
ekadhurāśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'vahati' ity etasminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, with an additional provision of its deletion by *LUK*, occurs after *ekadhurā* when the same ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

ekadhurīṇaḥ 'a draft animal fit for carrying only a single load; or . . . fit only for carrying a load on one of its sides'
ekadhuraḥ 'id.'

1. The function of *ca* is to bring *kha* from the preceding rule. That is, *ekadhurā* also receives *kha*, via *anuvṛtti*, at the strength of *ca*. What about deletion by *LUK*? Since there is no other affix in the context of this rule, one understands that *kha* goes through deletion by *LUK*. But bringing the affix via *anuvṛtti* through *ca*, and then deleting it, makes no sense. It is for this reason that deletion by *LUK* is treated as optional. We thus get two forms *ekadhurīṇaḥ*, with no *LUK*, and *ekadhuraḥ*, with *LUK*. The *kha* of our first example is replaced with *īna* where *n* also gets replaced with *ṇ*.

4.4.80 शकटादण्

śakaṭād aṇ
/*śakaṭāt* 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76)
śakaṭaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'vahati' ity etasminn arthe'ṇ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stem *śakaṭa* 'cart' when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

śakaṭaṃ vahati = *śākaṭo* (*gauḥ*) '(an ox) who draws a cart'

1. It is stated (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) that to specify *aṆ* after *śakaṭa* is meaningless. For, the sense of 'one who carries' (*vahati*) can also be gotten from 'that is his. . . .' That is, the 'ox' whose 'cart' we are talking about could also be the 'one who carries it'. Thus, *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* should have been enough. But since Pāṇini provides for *aṆ* again, it must have some special purpose. The purpose is to allow *tadantavidhi*, allowing the affix also after that which ends in *śakaṭa*. That way, we can also get *dvaiśakaṭaḥ* 'that which carries two carts'.

4.4.81 हलसीराट् ठक्

halasīrāt ṭhak
/*halasīrāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad vahati* #76)
halasīraśabdābhyāṃ dvitīyāsamarthābhyāṃ 'vahati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stems *hala* and *sīra* 'plough', when they end in accusative and derivates denote '. . . carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

halaṃ vahati = *hālikaḥ* 'he who carries a plough'
sairikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that 4.3.124 *halasīrāt ṭhak* could also provide for *ṭhaK*, based upon what has been stated with regard to the preceding rule. We find that this rule is also formulated to allow *tadantavidhi*. We will thus get examples such as *dvaihālikaḥ* and *dvaisīrikaḥ* denoting 'that which can carry two ploughs'.

4.4.82 संज्ञायां जन्याः

saṃjñāyāṃ janyāḥ
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *janyāḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tad vahati* #76)
janīśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'vahati' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after *janī* 'a young woman' when it ends in accusative and the derivate names 'someone who carries. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

janīṃ vahati = *janyā* 'bridesmaid; she who introduces a bride to her groom'

4.4.83 विध्यत्यधनुषा

vidhyaty adhanuṣā
/vidhyati (verbal *pada*); *adhanuṣā* 3/1 (*nañ. tat.*), *tena/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tat* #76)
'*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthād* '*vidhyati*' *ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati na ced dhanuṣ karaṇaṃ bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in accusative when the derivate denotes '. . . pierces (*vidhyati*)', so long as what pierces (*karaṇa*) is not a blow (*dhanuṣ*).

EXAMPLES:

pādau vidhyanti = *padyāḥ śarkarāḥ* 'that which pierces feet; gravel'
ūravyāḥ kaṇṭakāḥ 'those which pierce thighs; thorns'

1. Note that *adhanuṣā*, a form ending in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', is used here in the sense of locative. That is, *adhanuṣā* is interpreted as *dhanuṣaḥ abhāvaḥ* = *adhanuḥ, tasmin sati* 'that in which there is lack of a bow (as an instrument)'. The negation of *adhanuṣā* thus qualifies the action of *vyadhana* 'piercing'. Prominence of *vyadhana* with concurrent negation of 'bow', via *adhanuṣā*, makes 'bow' an instrument. The negation in *adhanuṣā* is used, more as a verbal qualifier than negation of a *karaṇa*.
Incidentally, *pāda* is replaced with *pad* by 6.3.53 *padyaty atadarthe*.

4.4.84 धनगणं लब्धा

dhanagaṇaṃ labdhā
/dhanagaṇam 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *labdhā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tat* #76)
dhanagaṇaśabdābhyāṃ dvitīyāsamarthābhyām '*labdhā*' *ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *dhana* 'wealth' and *gaṇa* 'group', when they end in accusative and their derivates denote 'he who acquires . . . (*labdhā*)'.

EXAMPLES:

dhanyaḥ 'he who acquires wealth'
gaṇyaḥ 'he who acquires a group'

1. Note that *labdhā* is treated as a derivate of *tṛN* introduced after verbal root *labh*. That is, it is not a derivate of *tṛC*. For, a derivate of *tṛC* does not occur in construction with a nominal denoting an object in accusative. Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* disallows an agent or object in construction with a *kṛt* to be denoted by accusative. It requires such agents or objects to be used in genitive. A *tṛC* interpretation of *labdhā* will block accusative, and hence, affix *yaT*. But if *labdhā* is interpreted as a derivate of *tṛN*, everything will be in order. For, 2.3.69 *na lokāvyayaniṣṭhā* . . . will block genitive from denoting an agent or object. An accusative will then be a rightful choice.

4.4.85 अन्नाण्णः

annāṇ ṇaḥ
/*annāt* 5/1 *ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tat* #76, *labdhā* #84)
annaśabdāt '*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthāt* '*labdhā*' *ity etasminn artheṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stem *anna* 'food, grain', when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . one who acquires'.

EXAMPLES:

annaṃ labdhā = *ānnaḥ* 'one who receive food'

1. Note that *labdhā* is a derivate of *tṛN* (3.2.135 *tṛn*), where compound-formation between *annam* and *labdhā* is blocked by 2.3.69 *na lokāvyaya-niṣṭhā*. . . . The *dvitīyā* of *annam* denotes *karman*.

4.4.86 वशं गतः

vaśaṃ gataḥ
/*vaśam* 2/1 *gataḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tat* #76)
vaśaśabdāt '*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthād* '*gataḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *vaśa* 'control, desire', when it ends in accusative and the derivate denotes '. . . reached . . . (*gataḥ*)'.

EXAMPLES:

vaśaṃ gataḥ = *vaśyaḥ* 'one who has reached someone's control, or has gone under the control of someone's desire (*kāmaprāptaḥ*)'

4.4.87 पदस्मिन् दृश्यम्

padasmin dṛśyam
/*padasmin* 7/1 *dṛśyam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
padaśabdāt prathamāsamarthād dṛśyārthopādhikād asminn iti saptamyarthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *pada*, used with *prathamā* 'nominative' in syntactic coordination with *dṛśyam* '. . . is possible to be seen', provided the derivate denotes 'its locus (*asmin*)'.

EXAMPLES:

padaṃ dṛśyam asmin = *padyaḥ kardamaḥ* 'mud in which foot-prints could be seen'
padyāḥ pāṃsavaḥ 'dust on which footprints are visible'

1. Note that this affixal provision is made after *pada* in nominative, based on Pāṇini's own specification. The *padam* is used in the nominative is determined by the fact that there are only two possibilities: nominative and accusative, where accusative is out because *KyaP* of *dṛśyam* has already expressed its denotatum.

The word *asmin*, of course, specifies meaning, with *dṛśyam* forming syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with *padam*. Commentators advise that the object denoted by *dṛśyam*, in the context of our present rule, should be interpreted as possible to be seen (*śakyārtha*). Thus, *padyaḥ* denotes *kardamaḥ* 'mud' in which it is possible to see footprints (*Kāś.*: *śakyate yasmin padaṃ draṣṭuṃ pratimudrotpādanena sa padyaḥ kardamaḥ*). Actually, our derivate denotes the state of mud: not very fluid, not very dry (*nātidravo nātiśuṣka iti*).

4.4.88 मूलमस्याबर्हि

mūlam asyābarhi
/*mūlam* 1/1/ *asya* 6/1 *ābarhi* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
mūlaśabdāt prathamāsamarthād 'ābarhi' ity evam upādhikād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *mūla* 'root' when it ends in nominative and is in syntactic coordination with 'that which is fit to be rooted out', provided the derivate denotes the sense of genitive (*asya*).

EXAMPLES:

mūlam eṣām ābarhi = *mūlyā māṣāḥ* 'Mung beans ready for harvesting'

1. Here again *mūlam* is interpreted as ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. For, an accusative interpretation is simply not possible. The word *ābarhi* is explained as 'those (plants of Mung beans) whose harvest, via uprooting (*ābarhaṇa*), it is (*ābarho' syāsīti*).

4.4.89 संज्ञायां धेनुष्या

saṃjñāyāṃ dhenuṣyā
/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *dhenuṣyā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
'*dhenuṣyā iti nipātyate saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after *dhenu* 'milk-cow', to derive *dhenuṣyā* by *nipātana*, when *saṃjñā* 'name' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dhenuṣyā 'a milk-giving cow, offered to a creditor as a collateral'

1. Note that *dhenuṣyā* is derived via *nipātana* as a feminine form ending in affix *ṬāP*. Thus, we get *dhenu* + *yaT* + *ṬāP* with augment *ṣUK*, i.e., *dhenuṣya* + *ṬāP* = *dhenuṣyā*. Both *yaT* and *ṣUK* are introduced via *nipātana*.
2. *Kāś.* explains *dhenuṣyā* as a milk-giving cow offered as collateral to a creditor (*yā dhenur uttamarṇāya ṛṇapradānād dohanārthaṃ dīyate sā dhenuṣyā*). More generally, such a cow is known as *pītadugdhā* 'that whose milk has been drunk'.

4.4.90 गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ञ्यः

gṛhapatinā saṃyukte ñyaḥ
/ *gṛhapatinā* 3/1 *saṃyukte* 7/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃjñāyām* #89)
gṛhapatiśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt '*saṃyukte*' *ity etasminn arthe ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after nominal stem *gṛhapati* 'householder', ending in instrumental, when the derivate denotes a name 'associated with, or relative to, him (*saṃyukta*)'.

EXAMPLES:

gṛhapatinā saṃyuktaḥ = *gārhapatyo' gniḥ* '*gārhapatya*, ritual fire associated with a householder'

1. Note that there are many other things which could be associated with a householder. It is because of the *anuvṛtti* of *saṃjñā* that we limit the scope of signification to *gārhapatya*. But there are still other ritual fires, for example,

dakṣiṇāgni and *āvahanīya*, which could also be associated with a householder. How could the derivate denote just one fire? Perhaps because of *gārhapatya*, the name.

4.4.91 नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यसमसमितसंमितेषु

nauvayodharmaviṣamūlamūlasītātulābhyas tāryatulyaprāpyavadhyānāmyasamasamitasammiteṣu
/ *nauvayodharmaviṣamūlamūlasītātulābhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *tāryatulyarāpya-vadhyānāmyasamasamitasammiteṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
'nau, vayas, dharma, viṣa, mūla, mūla, sītā, tulā' ity etebhyas tṛtīyā-samarthebhyo' ṣṭabhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo tārya, tulya, prāpya, vadhya, ānāmya, sama, samita, sammita ity eteṣv artheṣu yathāsaṃkhyam yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *nau* 'boat', *vayas* 'age', *dharma* 'duty, righteousness', *viṣa* 'poison', *mūla* 'amount of investment', *mūla* 'root', *sītā* 'furrow' and *tulā* 'balance', when they end in instrumental and when their derivates denote *tārya* 'to be crossed', *tulya* 'to be weighed', *prāpya* 'to be received', *vadhya* 'to be killed', *ānāmya* 'return on an investment', *sama* 'equal to', *samita* 'leveled, planed' and *sammita* 'equal to', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

nāvā tāryam (*tāryā*) = *nāvyam* (*nāvyā*) *udakam* (*nadī*) 'water (river) which can be crossed by boat'
vayasyaḥ sakhā 'a friend (of same age)'
dharmeṇa prāpyam = *dharmyam* 'that which is obtained rightfully'
viṣeṇa vadhyaḥ = *viṣyaḥ* 'one who deserves to be killed by poisoning'
mūlenānāmyam = *mūlyam* 'amount of investment plus profit; that which has been overpowered by the amount of investment'
mūlena samaḥ = *mūlyaḥ paṭaḥ* 'a piece of cloth worth its price'
sītayā samitam = *sītyam kṣetram* 'a field planed out after ploughing'
tulayā sammitam = *tulyam* 'that which is equal in weight to the scale'

1. Note that determination of endings after specified stems is made on the basis of meanings enumerated for derivates. For example, *tārya* 'to be crossed', etc., are affixal meanings (*pratyayārthāḥ*) relative to which, for example after *nau* 'boat', etc., only a *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' with the denotatum of *kartṛ*, *karaṇa*, *hetu*, or *tulyayoga* is possible. Thus, determination of instrumental as the ending after cited nominal stems is made by means (*dvāra*) of meaning (*artha*).

Note that *vayasya* 'one who may be of same age' could only be a friend, mainly because of denotational restrictions. That is, an enemy of same age

cannot be called *vayasya* (*vayasā tulye śatrau na bhavati*). Commentators also state that *viṣeṇa vadhyaḥ* should be interpreted as *viṣeṇa vadham arhati* 'one who deserves to be killed by poisoning'. The word *mūla* in *mūlyenānāmyam* is explained as *vaṇigbhirviniyuktaṃ yad vastu tan mūlaśabdavācyam* 'that which a trader invests is the denotatum of *mūla*'. The word *ānāmyam* is explained as *abhibhavanīyam* 'that which is to be overpowered by the amount of investment' (*mūlena mūlyasya śeṣīkaraṇam abhibhavaḥ*). That is, the amount of investment' (*mūlena mūlyasya śeṣīkaraṇam abhibhavaḥ*). That is, the amount of investment plus whatever profit one gets. The idea of *abhibhava* 'overpowering' comes into picture because 'investment' is considered as 'principal' (*pradhāna*) and profit as 'secondary' (*gauṇa*). The word *ānāmya* is a derivate of *ṆyaT* (3.1.125 *ṛhalor ṇyat*). Affix *ṆyaT* causes *vṛddhi* in *nam* used with the preverb *ā*. Affix *ṆyaT* is used against *yaT* of 3.1.98 *por adupadhāt*.

The next *mūla* means 'equal' (in value to *mūlya*). The example *sītyam kṣetram* is explained as 'a field leveled after ploughing'.

4.4.92 धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते

dharmapathyarthanyāyād anapete

/*dharmapathyarthanyāyāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *anapete* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)

dharmādibhyaḥ pañcamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'anapetaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *dharma* 'duty, righteousness', *pathin* 'path', *artha* 'purpose, interest' and *nyāya* 'law, logic', when they end in ablative and derivates denote the sense of 'not deviating from . . . (*anapeta*)'.

EXAMPLES:

dharmād anapetam = *dharmyam* 'that which is not deviating from duty'
pathyam 'that (food) which is not deviating from the prescription (path)'
arthyam 'that (food) which is not deviating from the goal'
nyāyyam 'that which is not deviating from the law'

1. The idea that ablative (*pañcamī*) is to be introduced after specified stems is again gotten from Pāṇini's own usage of *dharmapathyarthanyāya* in *pañcamī*. The meaning of these derivates must also be determined in consonance with available usage. For example, *pathya* means 'food' which must not deviate from prescribed norms (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *śāstrīyāt patho yad anapetaṃ tat pathyam*). It thus could not be used in the sense of a 'thief' who follows a road to rob.

4.4.93 छन्दसो निर्मिते

chandaso nirmite

/ chandasaḥ 5/1 *nirmite* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
chandaḥ śabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'nirmite' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *chandas* 'desire', when it ends in instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) and its derivate denotes the sense of 'created by the same'.

EXAMPLES:

chandasyaḥ '. . . created by one's own desire'

1. The word *chandas* is here specified as a synonym of 'desire' (*Kāś.*: *icchāparyāyaś chandaḥ śabda iha gṛhyate*). The derivate, i.e., *chandasā nirmitaḥ*, will therefore mean: *icchayā utpāditaḥ* 'brought about by one's own desire'.

4.4.94 उरसोऽण्च

uraso aṇ ca
/ urasaḥ 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *nirmite* #93)
uraḥ śabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'nirmite' ity etasminn arthe 'ṇ pratyayo bhavati cakārād ya ca
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after nominal stem *uras* 'bosom, chest' when it ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes 'brought about by the same'.

EXAMPLES:

urasā nirmitaḥ = aurasaḥ putraḥ 'a son; he who is brought about by one's own heart'
urasyaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again, the denotatum of the derivate is to be limited to '. . . produced by one's own self (cf. *Kāś.*: *ātmanotpāditaḥ*)' as attested by usage. Thus, *aurasaḥ* or *urasyaḥ* could not be used in the sense of *urasā nirmitaṃ sukham* 'happiness brought about by one's own self'.

4.4.95 हृदयस्य प्रियः

hṛdayasya priyaḥ
/ hṛdayasya 6/1 *priyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
hṛdayaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'priyaḥ' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *tadhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *hṛdaya* when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes 'something dear (*priyaḥ*)'.

EXAMPLES:

> *hṛdayasya priyaḥ = hṛdyo deśaḥ* 'that (a place or country) which is dear to one's heart'
> *hṛdyaṃ vanam* 'a forest which is dear to one's heart'

1. Here again, the derivational denotatum is limited in accord with usage. Thus, we cannot get a derivate parallel to *hṛdayasya priyaḥ putraḥ* 'a son who is dear to one's heart'.

Incidentally, *hṛd* is introduced as a replacement for *hṛdaya* by 6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛl lekhaḥ*.

4.4.96 बन्धने चर्षौ

> *bandhane carṣau*
> / *bandhane* 7/1 *ca* ɸ *ṛṣau* 7/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *hṛdayasya* #95)
> *hṛdayaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād bandhane ṛṣāv abhidheye yat pratyayo bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *hṛdaya*, when it ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the sense of *ṛṣi* 'Veda', in relation to *bandhana* 'bind.

EXAMPLES:

> *hṛdayasya bandhanam ṛṣiḥ = hṛdyaḥ* 'a Vedic hymn which, upon recitation, makes one's heart attached to performing good deeds'

1. The word *ṛṣi* is explained as *Veda*. Similarly, *bandhana* is explained as *badhyate yena satkarmasu tad* 'that by means of which one is tied to good deeds.

4.4.97 मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्षेषु

> *matajanahalāt karaṇajalpakarṣeṣu*
> / *matajanahalāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *karaṇajalpakarṣeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
> '*mata, jana, hala*' *ity etebhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ karaṇādiṣv artheṣu yathāsaṃkhyaṃ yat pratyayo bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stems *mata* 'knowledge', *jana* 'individual, person' and *hala* 'plough', when they end in genitive and their derivates denote *karaṇa* 'means', *jalpa* 'chattering' and *karṣa* 'ploughing, dragging', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

> *matasya karaṇam = matyam* 'means of knowledge'

janasya jalpaḥ = janyaḥ 'what people say'
halasya karṣaḥ = halyaḥ 'dragging of ploughs; ploughing'

1. Note that *karaṇa*, etc., outlines the affixal signification. Nominal stems in construction with those signifying the affix must be used in genitive of 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*. The word *karṣa* is also found used in the sense of *parimāṇa* 'measure', though here on account of the context, it is interpreted as denoting action.

4.4.98 तत्र साधुः

tatra sādhuḥ
/ *tatra* ϕ *sādhuḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75)
'*tatra*' *iti saptamīsamarthāt* '*sādhuḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in locative when the derivate denotes 'skilled at that'.

EXAMPLES:

sāmasu sādhuḥ = sāmanyaḥ '. . . skilled in the *Sāmaveda*'
karmaṇyaḥ '. . . skilled at work'
śaraṇyaḥ 'skilled at protecting'

1. The word *sādhu*, as desired here, is explained as 'skilled' (*pravīṇa*) or 'capable, fit' (*yogya*), and not as *upakāraka* 'beneficial'. For, in that case, rule 5.1.3 *tasmai hitam*, because of being subsequent (*para*) in order, would demand affix *yaT* after a nominal stem ending in dative (*catrurthī*).

4.4.99 प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ्

pratijanādibhyaḥ khañ
/ *pratijanādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *pratijana ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; khañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
pratijanādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ khañ pratyayo bhavati '*tatra*' *sādhuḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *pratijana* 'each and every person', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'skilled at that'.

EXAMPLES:

pratijane sādhuḥ = prātijanīnaḥ 'he who is nice to everyone'
sāṃyugīnaḥ 'he who is skilled at wars'

1. This affixal provision of *khaÑ* is made as an exception to *yaT*. Note that

khaÑ could not be introduced after a nominal stem which ends in dative, even when *sādhu* means 'beneficial' in the context of stems listed under the group called *pratijanādi.* Our affix will have to be introduced after a stem ending in locative at the strength of the provision made right here (*Kāś.*: *yatra hitārtha eva sādhvarthaḥ, tatra vacanāt prākkrītīyā bādhyante*).

4.4.100 **भक्ताण्णः**

> *bhaktāṇ ṇaḥ*
> /*bhaktāt* 5/1 *ṇaḥ* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
> *bhaktaśabdād ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye*
> The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa* occurs after nominal stem *bhakta* 'rice', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'fit for. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

> *bhakte sādhuḥ = bhāktaḥ śāliḥ* 'a rice which is easy to cook'
> *bhāktās taṇḍulāḥ* 'rice grains which are easy to cook'

4.4.101 **परिषदो ण्यः**

> *pariṣado ṇyaḥ*
> /*pariṣadaḥ* 5/1 *ṇyaḥ* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
> *pariṣad-śabdād ṇyaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye*
> The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *pariṣad* 'assembly' when it ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

> *pariṣadi sādhuḥ = pāriṣadyaḥ* 'he who is good in an assembly'

1. This again is an exception to *yaT.*

2. A proposal is also made for split-interpretation of this rule. Thus, we will get two rules: (*i*) *pariṣadaḥ* which, when read with the *anuvṛtti* of *Ṇa* from the preceding rule, will account for *pāriṣadaḥ*; and (*ii*) *ṇyaḥ* which, when read with *pariṣad,* will account for *pāriṣadyaḥ.*

4.4.102 **कथादिभ्यष्ठक्**

> *kathādibhyaṣ ṭhak*
> /*kathādibhyaḥ* 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)

kathādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaṣ ṭhak pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *ṬhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *kathā* 'narrative, story', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

kathāyāṃ sādhuḥ = kāthikaḥ 'he who is good at telling stories'
vaitaṇḍikaḥ 'he who is good at controversies'

4.4.103 गुडादिभ्यष्ठञ्

guḍādibhyaṣ ṭhañ
/*guḍādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
guḍādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaṣ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *ṬhaÑ* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *guḍa* 'molasses, jaggery' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

guḍe sādhuḥ = gauḍikaḥ ikṣuḥ '. . . sugarcane good for jaggery'
sāktuko yavaḥ 'barley good for saktu'

4.4.104 पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्ढञ्

pathyatithivasatisvapater ḍhañ
/*pathyatithivasatisvapateḥ* 5/1 = *panthāś ca atithiś ca vasatiś ca svapatiś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
pathyādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after nominal stem *pathin* 'path', *atithi* 'guest', *vasati* 'dwelling' and *svapati* 'one's master', when they end in instrumental and derivates denote 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

pathi sādhuḥ = pātheyam 'that (food) which is good on roads'
atithiṣu sādhuḥ = ātitheyaḥ 'he who is good at treating guests'
vasatyāṃ sādhuḥ = vāsateyi rātriḥ 'that (a night) which is good for staying at a certain place'
svapatau sādhuḥ = svāpateyaṃ dhanam 'wealth good for the master'

1. Note that *pathin* + *ḍhaÑ* yields *path(in→φ)* + *(ḍh→ey) a* = *p(a→ā) th* + *eya* = *pātheya*, through *ṭi*-deletion (6.1.144 *nas taddhite*...), *ey*-replacement for *ḍh* and *vṛddhi* (7.2.117 *co'ñṇiti*).

4.4.105 सभाया: यः

sabhāyā yaḥ
/*sabhāyāḥ* 5/1 *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98)
sabhāśabdād yaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs after *sabhā* 'assembly' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

sabhāyāṃ sādhuḥ = *sabhyaḥ* 'he who is good at public gatherings'

1. Note that derivates of *yaT* and *ya* differ in accent. A derivate of *yaT* will be marked *udātta* at the beginning, as is required by 6.1.213 *yato'nāvaḥ*. A derivate of *ya* will be marked *udātta* at the end on account of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

4.4.106 ढश्छन्दसि

ḍhaś chandasi
/*ḍhaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra sādhuḥ* #98, *sabhāyāḥ* #105)
sabhāśabdād ḍhaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra sādhuḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍha* occurs in Vedic, after *sabhā*, when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'a good at that'.

EXAMPLES:

sabhāyāṃ sādhuḥ = *sabheyaḥ* 'he who is good at public gatherings'

1. Note that *ḍha* is offered here as an exception to *ya*.

4.4.107 समानतीर्थे वासी

samānatīrthe vāsī
/*samānatīrthe* 7/1 *vāsī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98)
samānatīrthaśabdāt tatreti saptamīsamarthād 'vāsī' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *samānatīrtha* '... same

preceptor', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes '. . . resides there (*vāsī*)'.

EXAMPLES:

samāne tīrthe vāsī = *satīrthyaḥ* 'one who resides at the same teacher's place; one who has the same teacher'

1. The word *samānatīrtha* is explained as *samānopādhyāyaḥ* 'same preceptor, teacher' where *tīrtha* is *guru* 'teacher' (*tīrthaśabdeneha gurur ucyate*). A replacement in *sa* for *samāna* is accomplished by applying 6.3.87 *tīrthe ye.*

4.4.108 समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः

samānodare śayita o codāttaḥ
/*samānodare* 7/1 (*samānaṃ ca tad udaraṃ ca* (*karmadhāraya*); *śayitaḥ* 1/1 *o* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98)
samānodaraśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt '*śayitaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati okāraś codāttaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after nominal stem *samānodara* 'same womb' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes '. . . reclined there', with an additional provision that *o* be also marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES

samānodare śayito bhrātā = *s̱am̱ānodáryaḥ* 'a brother, who reclined in the same womb'

1. Note that affix *yaT* would be required by 6.1.179 *tit svaritam* to be marked *udātta.* Rule 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* subsequently assigns blanket *anudātta* except for *ya.* Our present rule blocks this provision of blanket *anudātta* in favor of *o* to be marked *udātta.* The formation of a compound parallel to *samāne udare śayitaḥ* is accomplished in consonance with 2.1.58 *pūrvāpara*. . . .

4.4.109 सोदराद्यः

sodarād yaḥ
/*sodarāt* 5/1 *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *śayitaḥ* #108)
sodaraśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt '*śayitaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs after nominal stem *sodara* 'same womb' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes 'reclined there'.

EXAMPLES:

samānodare śayito bhrātā = sodaryaḥ 'a brother, who reclined in the same womb'

1. Note that derivates of *yaT* and *ya* differ only in accent. A derivate of *ya* will be marked *udātta* at the end on account of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

2. The word *sodara* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound, where *samāna* has been optionally replaced with *sa* (6.3.88 *vibhāṣodare*). The final *a* of *sodara* goes through *a-lopa*. It is stated that *sodara* could still have availed the affixal provision of *yaT*, especially in view of (*Paribh.* 38): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* 'that which is different in one place is treated as if not different'. This will enable *sodara* to be treated as *samānodara* for affixal provision of *yaT*. A separate provision of *ya* is made to account for accentual difference. Incidentally, '*o codāttaḥ*' is not carried to this rule.

4.4.110 भवे छन्दसि

bhave chandasi
/*bhave* 7/1 *chandasi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98)
saptamīsamarthād 'bhave' ity etasminn arthe chandasi viṣaye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs in Vedic after a nominal stem which ends in locative, when the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining there (*tatra bhavaḥ*)'.

EXAMPLES:

namo medhyāya ca vidyutyāyá ca namáḥ 'my obeisance to one who is intelligent, and also to one who is brilliant; (or, to one who comes into existence in intelligence, and brilliance)'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT*, in the context of *bhava* as denotatum, constitutes an exception to affixes such as *aṆ* and *gha*, etc., of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*.

2. Commentators note that this affixal provision of *yaT* is not always availed. That is, there are other derivates which do not avail *yaT*, or conversely, which are derived with different affixes. How does one account for this discrepancy? This should not come as a surprise, especially in view of 'variously' of *chandasi bahulam*. For, one can find deviations in practically every operational provision in Vedic (*sarvavidhīnāṃ chandasi vyabhicārāt*).

3. The *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* is valid through the end of this quarter. The *anuvṛtti* of *bhave*, however, does not go beyond 4.4.118 *samudrābhrād ghaḥ*.

4.4.111 पाथोनदीभ्यां ड्यण्

pāthonadībhyāṃ ḍyaṇ
/*pāthonadībhyām* 5/2 = *pāthaś ca nadī ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; ḍyaṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
pāthaśabdān nadīśabdāc ca ḍyaṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ḌyaṆ* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *pāthas* 'heaven, horizon' and *nadī* 'river', when they end in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

pāthasi bhavaḥ = *pāthyo̲ vṛṣā̲* 'that which exists at the horizon; *Vṛṣā* 'Indra; the second zodiacal sign'
nadyo̲ giró me prayacchati '. . . offers me the invocation'

1. The word *pāthas* has been explained as *antarikṣa* 'horizon, heaven'. Although this word is generally used in the sense of 'food' and 'water', it is used here in the sense of 'non-water' (*asuni vyutpādyate*). How come it means *antarikṣa*? Well, because of 'variously' (*bāhulaka*).
Note that *pāthyaḥ* derives from *pāthya* + *sU*, where deriving *pāthya* from *pāthas* + *Ṅi* + *ḌyaṆ* requires initial *vṛddhi*, as conditioned by *Ṇ* of *ḌyaṆ* as an *it*. The *Ḍ* as an *it* in *ḌyaṆ* will cause *ṭi*-deletion.

4.4.112 वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण्

veśantahimavadbhyām aṇ
/*veśantahimavadbhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
veśantaśabdād himavac chabdāc cāṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *veśanta* 'pond, pool, fire' and *himavat* 'snow-clad mountain', when they end in locative and derivates denote the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

vaiśa̲ntībhyaḥ svāhā 'our invocation to waters in ponds'
haimava̲ntībhyaḥ svāhā 'our invocation to waters in snow-clad mountains'

1. Note that Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) explains *veśanta* as *palvala* 'pond'. Consequently, with the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ*, we get *vaiśantyaḥ* 'water in the pond'.

2. This affixal provision of *aṆ* is an exception to *yaT*.

4.4.113 स्रोतसो विभाषा ड्यड्ड्यौ

srotaso vibhāṣā ḍyaḍḍyau
| srotasaḥ 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *ḍyaḍḍyau* 1/2 = *ḍyat ca ḍya ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
srotaśabdād vibhāṣā 'ḍyat, ḍya' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* occur, in Vedic only optionally, after nominal stem *srotas* 'flow of river' when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining there'.

EXAMPLES:

srotasi bhavaḥ = *srotyaḥ* 'that which is found in flow of a river'
srotyaḥ 'id.'
srotasyaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again the difference between derivates of *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* is that of accent. A derivate of *ḌyaT* will get *svarita* at the end by 6.1.185 *tit svaritam*. A derivate of *Ḍya* will of course be marked *udātta* at the end because of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*)
2. The use of *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' facilitates a third derivate with affix *yaT* of which affixes *ḌyaT* and *Ḍya* are exceptions.

4.4.114 सगर्भसयूथसनुताद्यन्

sagarbhasayūthasanutād yan
| sagarbhasayūthasanutāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *yan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #10)
'sagarbha', 'sayūtha', 'sanuta' ity etebhyaḥ śabdebhyo yan pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaN* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *sagarbha* 'same womb', *sayūtha* 'same herd' and *sanuta* 'same praise', when the stems end in locative and derivates denote the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

anubhrātā = *sagarbhyaḥ* 'a younger brother who reclined in the same womb'
anusakhā sayūthyaḥ 'a young of the same herd'
yo naḥ śanutyaḥ 'that which is in our prayers'

1. Note that *samāna* in all these examples has been replaced with *sa* in view of 6.3.84 *samānasya chandasi*. . . .

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*) analyzes *sanuta* as *samānaṃ nutam*, a derivate of *Kta* denoting 'action' (*bhāva*; 3.3.114 *napuṃsake* . . .). The root which receives *Kta* is thus *ṇu* 'to praise, pray'. A *karmadhāraya* compound (which all three bases are), especially *sanuta*, can be analyzed as *samānañ ca nutañ ca* 'same prayer'. This forms the basis for my translation of *sanutyaḥ*. Vasu (cf. notes under this rule) claims that *sanuta*, in Vedic, refers to a 'concealed place'.

4.4.115 तुग्राद् घन्

tugrād ghan
tugrāt 5/1 *ghan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
tugraśabdād ghan pratyayo bhavati '*tatra bhavaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ghaN* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *tugra* when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

tvam agne vṛṣabhas tugriyāṇām 'Agni, you are the best. . . .'

1. This again is an exception to affix *yaT*. The word *tugra* is explained as *annākāśayajñavariṣṭha* 'food, ether, sacrifice, and excellent'.

4.4.116 अग्राद्यत्

agrād yat
/*agrāt* 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
agraśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati '*tatra bhavaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *agra* 'tip, front', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining, there'.

EXAMPLES:

agre bhavam = *agryam* 'that which is there on the tip, or front'

1. Why does Pāṇini have to state this rule when its provisions are already covered by 4.4.110 *bhave chandasi*. It is stated that this *yaT* is again provided so that the earlier provision of 4.4.110 could not be blocked by the following rule. For, in the absence of this provision, the *ca* of the following rule could

only attract *ghan* of 4.4.115 *tugrād ghan*. The *ca* of the next rule still attracts the *ghan* of rule 4.4.115, but only when it is mediated by 4.4.116.

4.4.117 घच्छौ च

ghacchau ca
/*ghacchau* 1/2 = *ghac ca cha ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110, *agrāt* #116)
agraśabdād yat, ghacchau pratyayau 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *ghaC*, *cha*, *yaT*, and *gha* as well, occur in Vedic after nominal stem *agra*, when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes the sense of 'being, or obtaining there'.

EXAMPLES:

agryam 'that which is on the tip . . .'
agriyam 'id.'
agrīyam 'id.'
agriyam 'id.'

1. Note that *ghaN* is carried at the strength ot *ca*. We thus get *agriyam* which is similar in form with a derivate of affix *gha*. But *agriyam*, a derivate of *ghaN*, will be *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). A derivate of *gha* will be marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

4.4.118 समुद्राभ्राद् घः

samudrābhrād ghaḥ
/*samudrābhrāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*) *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #98, *bhave chandasi* #110)
samudraśabdād abhraśabdāc ca ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tatra bhavaḥ' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *samudra* 'ocean' and *abhra* 'cloud', when they end in locative and derivates denote 'being, or obtaining', there.

EXAMPLES:

samudriyāṇāṃ nadīnām 'of rivers being part of the ocean'
abhriyasyeva ghoṣaḥ 'thunder in clouds'

1. This provision of *gha* is an exception to *yaT*. Incidentally, our compound-base *samudrābhra*, in the wording of this rule, should have *abhra* preposed to *samudra* in view of both 2.2.33 *ajādyantam* and 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*. Pāṇini's own formulation of *samudrābhra* introduces some elements of strangeness to the scope of these rules (*tasya lakṣaṇasya vyabhicāritvāt*).

4.4.119 बर्हिषि दत्तम्

barhiṣi dattam
/*barhiṣi* 7/1 *dattam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *tatra* #98, *chandasi* #110)
barhiḥ śabdāt saptamīsamarthād 'dattam' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *barhis* 'a spread of the Kuśa grass', when the same ends in locative and the derivate denotes '. . . given . . . (*dattam*)'.

EXAMPLES:

barhiṣyéṣu nidhiṣú priyeṣú 'ritual oblation offered on spread of the Kuśa grass'

4.4.120 दूतस्य भागकर्मणी

dūtasya bhāgakarmaṇī
/*dūtasya* 6/1 *bhāgakarmaṇī* 1/2 = *bhāgaś ca karma ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
dūtaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād bhāge karmaṇi cābhidheye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *dūta* 'emissary' when ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), provided the derivate denotes the sense of *bhāga* 'share' and *karman* 'function'.

EXAMPLES:

yadágne yāsi dūtyám 'this is your share O Agni!; this is your function O Agni!'

1. This *yaT* is an exception to *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. The genitive of *dūtasya* itself becomes a mark for genitive, the nominal ending of a base after which the affix is introduced.

4.4.121 रक्षोयातूनां हननी

rakṣoyātūnāṃ hananī
/*rakṣoyātūnām* 6/3 = *rakṣaś ca yātuś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *hananī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
rakṣaḥśabdād yātuśabdāc ca ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'hananī' iti etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *rakṣas* 'demon' and *yātu* 'id.', when they end in genitive and derivates denote 'their female killer'

EXAMPLES:

rakṣasām hananī = *rakṣasyā* 'she who killed demons'
yātūnām hananī = *yātavyā* 'id.'

1. This affixal provision is given as an exception to the residual (*śaiṣika*) *aN* and *cha* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yogaś cāyam śaiṣikayor aṇchayor apavādaḥ*). Here again, the nominal ending is discerned on the basis of genitive used in *rakṣayātūnām*. The word *hananī* is explained as *hanyate anayā* 'she by whom killing is done', where affix *LyuT* of *hanana* denotes *karaṇa*. This genitive should thus be interpreted as denoting the object of 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti*. The plural, instead of a dual, in *rakṣoyātūnām* is used to indicate the killing of many (*bahutva*). These derivates of course end in *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*).

4.4.122 रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये

revatījagatīhaviṣyābhyaḥ praśasye
/*revatījagatīhaviṣyābhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *praśasye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
revatyādibhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ praśasye vācye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *revatī* 'name of a constellation', *jagatī* 'a poetic meter' and *haviṣyā* 'appropriate sacrificial oblation', when they end in genitive and derivates denote the sense of 'exuberant praises'.

EXAMPLES:

revatyāḥ praśasanam = *revatyam* 'exuberant praises of Revatī'
jagatyam 'exuberant praises of Jagatī'
haviṣyāḥ 'exuberant praises of sacrificial oblations'

1. Note that *praśasya*, a derivate of *KyaP* introduced to denote *bhāva* (3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*), determines genitive as the ending to be introduced after bases. This subsequently requires denotation of an object, via genitive. This rule is also formulated in view of *aN* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*) which would otherwise become applicable.

4.4.123 असुरस्य स्वम्

asurasya svam
/*asurasya* 6/1 *svam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
asuraśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'svam' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *asura* 'demon', when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the sense of 'one's own. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

asuryaṃ vā̱ etátpātra̲m, yat yáca̲krávṛttaṃ kúla̲lakṛtam 'this pot, made by the potter at his wheels, is the property of a demon'

1. Here again, *asurasya* determines genitive as the ending to be introduced after *asura* to facilitate *yaT*.
2. The word *svam* is used in the sense of *ātmīyam* 'one's own'. This provision of *yaT* constitutes an exception to the *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *yasyedam*.

4.4.124 मायायामण्

māyāyām aṇ
/ *māyāyām* 7/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *asurasya svam* #123)
asuraśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'māyāyām' svaviśeṣe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *asura*, when the same ends in genitive and the derivate denotes the sense of *māyā* 'illusion'.

EXAMPLES:

āsu̲rīmā̲yā sva̲dhayā́ kṛtā́si '. . . illusion created by the demon at his own will'

1. This affixal provision is an exception to the *yaT* of the preceding rule.

4.4.125 तद्वानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासु लुक्च मतोः

tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra itīṣṭakāsu luk ca matoḥ
/ *tadvān* 1/1 *āsām* 6/3 *upadhānaḥ* 1/1 *mantraḥ* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *iṣṭakāsu* 7/3 *luk* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *matoḥ* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
matubantāt prātipadikāt prathamāsamarthād āsām iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yat pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamartham upadhāno mantras cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs in Vedic, to denote the sense of genitive, after a nominal stem which ends in affix *matUP* and is used in nominative with the signification of an *upadhāna* 'hymn for consecrating bricks intended for preparing the locus of sacrificial fire', provided what the genitive denotes are 'bricks'; additionally, *matUP* is concurrently deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

> *va̱rcasyā̱ upadadhāti* 'he lays down bricks consecrated by the *upadhāna*-hymn containing *varcasvat*'
> *pa̱yasyā̱ḥ* 'he lays down bricks consecrated by the *upadhāna*-hymn containing *payasvat*'

1. The word *tadvān* is explained as *vivakṣito' vayavo' smin* 'a hymn which contains something particular which one wishes to speak about'. It is for this reason that an example such as *varcasyā* is explained as 'arranging bricks consecrated by a specific hymn (*upadhāna*) which contains *varcasvat* as its part'. This part indeed is the focus within *upadhāna*, and is, rightly, treated as the stem after which affixal operation is performed. The word *āsām* 'of those', of course, refers to bricks (*iṣṭakā*).

The word *iti* has been used for restrictive purpose. That is, although *tadvān* refers to a hymn which could be viewed as a sentence, the provision of this affix, because of the use of *iti*, can still be made after one of the stems contained within the hymn.

Note that *tadvān* is the nominative singular of *tadvat*. This itself indicates that *yaT* should be introduced after a syntactically related base ending in *prathamā*. Thus, *varcasvat* + *sU* + *yaT* will yield *varcasya* after deletion of *matUP*. Affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) is then introduced to derive *vayasyā*.

4.4.126 अश्विमानण्

> *aśvimān aṇ*
> / *aśvimān* 1/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110, *tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra iti iṣṭakāsu luk ca matoḥ* #125)
> *aśviśabdād matubantāt prathamāsamarthād āsām iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe aṇ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamartham upadhāno mantraś cet sa bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, in Vedic to denote the sense of genitive, after nominal stem *aśvi* which ends in affix *matUP*, and is used in nominative with the signification of an *upadhāna* 'hymn for consecrating bricks intended for preparing the locus of sacrificial fire', provided what the genitive denotes are 'bricks'; additionally, *matUP* is concurrently deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

> *āśvinī̱r* . . . *upada̱dhāti* 'he lays down bricks consecrated by the hymn which contains *aśvimān*'.

1. How come the word *aśvimān* is used in singular when there are many hymn which have *aśvimān* in them. The singular is used as generic

(*sāmānyāpekṣam ekavacanam*). The word *aśvimān* is specified here with *matUP* so that deletion by *LUK* applies only to *matUP*. That is, it does not apply to *in* which also denotes the sense of *matUP*. A specification without *matUP* would have required deletion of both. Thus, *aśvimat* + *sU* + *aṆ* yields *aśvina* where, consequent upon the deletion of *matUP*, *in* of *aśvin* is brought back in consonance with 6.4.164 *in anapatye*. The *ṄīP* of *aśvinī* is then introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

4.4.127 वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप्

vayasyāsu mūrdhno matup

/*vayasyāsu* 7/3 *mūrdhnaḥ* 5/1 *matup* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *tadvān āsām upadhāno mantra iti iṣṭakāsu luk ca matoḥ* #125)

vayasvān upadhāno mantro yāsāṃ tā vayasyāḥ tāsu abhidheyāsu mūrdhno matup pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *matUP* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *mūrdhan* which ends in affix *matUP*, and is used in nominative, provided what it signifies is an *upadhāna* 'hymn for consecrating bricks named *vayasyā*'; additionally, *matUP* is concurrently deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

mūrdhanvátīr upadadhāti 'he lays the *vayasyā* bricks consecrated by the *upadhāna* hymn containing *mūrdhan*'

1. Note that the word *vayasyā* itself denotes 'bricks' which have been consecrated by the *upadhāna* hymn containing *vayasvān*. Our derivate will thus be *mūrdhanvatī*, a derivate of *ṄīP* of 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*. The derivate also has the denotatum of *vayasyāḥ*, bricks consecrated by an *upadhāna* containing *mūrdhan*. Since the denotatum of both *vayasyāḥ* and *mūrdhanvatīḥ* are the same, though two different names are assigned to the same set of bricks, the *upadhāna* hymn must contain both *vayaḥ* and *mūrdhan*. This is how a hymn could be *vayasvān* and *mūrdhanvān* (*Kāś.*: *yasmin mantre vayaḥśabdo mūrdhanśabdaś ca vidyate sa vayasvān api bhavati mūrdhanvān api*). Affix *yaT* is available to both, but our present rule assigns *matUP* after *mūrdhanvān*. This affixal provision of *matUP* is an exception to the *yaT* of the preceding rule. The newly derived base, after deletion of *matUP* and its subsequent introduction, will still be *mūrdhanmat*. Rule 8.2.9 *mād updhāyāś ca* replaces the *m* of *matUP* with *v*. We can then derive *mūrdhanvatī* with *ṄīP*.

4.4.128 मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः

matvarthe māsatanvoḥ

/*matvarthe* 7/1 *māsatanvoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
yasminn arthe matub vihitas tasmiṃś chandasi viṣaye yat pratyayo bhavati māsatanvoḥ pratyayārthaviśeṣaṇayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic to denote the sense of *matUP* (5.2.94 *tad asyāsty* . . .), after a nominal stem which ends in nominative, provided derivates denote *māsa* 'month' and *tanu* 'body'.

EXAMPLES:

nabhāṃsi vidyante yasmin māse = *nabhasyáḥ* 'a month in which there are clouds'
ojo' syāṃ vidyate = *ojasyā tanū* 'a body in which there is strength'
madhūni santi asmin māse = *madhavyáḥ* 'month of spring when there is nectar in flowers'

1. The idea that the affix is introduced after a stem ending in nominative is derived from the use of *matvarthe.* Note that rule 5.2.94 which introduces *matUP* has *tad,* a variable in nominative. That same variable is brought here to give us the sense of the stem ending in nominative. *Kāś.* states the process and semantic significations as: *prathamāsamarthād astyupādhikāt ṣaṣṭhyarthe saptamyarthe ca yat pratyayo bhavati* 'affix *yaT* occurs in the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a nominal stem which ends in nominative with the qualification of *asti'*. It is in view of this that *nabhasyo māsaḥ* can be explained as: *nabhāṃsi vidyante yasmin māse* 'a month in which there are clouds'; or *nabhāṃsividyante' sya māsasya* 'a month in which there are clouds'. The word *nabhas* is used here in the sense of clouds (*abhreṣu*).

2. Note that *yaT* is clearly made as an exception to affixes introduced to denote the sense of *matUP* (*matvarthīya*). Incidentally, deriving *madhavya* from *madhu* + *ya* requires *guṇa* of *u* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*). This is followed by the application of 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye.* That is, the *guṇa*-replacement in *o* is now replace with *av.*

3. A couple of *vārttika* proposals have also been made under this rule. The first provides for optional *yaT* when the sense is 'immediately following' (*anantara*). This gives us *madhavyaḥ* as an example.

A second proposal states that, at times, the function of *yaT* is carried by its deletion (*LUK*), or simply by *a, i* and *r.* The examples are: *tapaḥ, ūrjaḥ, śuciḥ* and *śukraḥ,* all of which can be interpreted as qualifiers to 'month'.

4.4.129 मधोर्ञ च

madhor ña ca
/*madhoḥ* 5/1 *ña* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110, *matvarthe māsatanvoḥ* #128)

madhuśabdān matvarthe ñaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca
The *taddhita* affix *Ña*, and *yaT* as well, occurs in Vedic to denote the sense of *matUP* after nominal stem *madhu* 'honey', when ending in nominative, provided the derivates denote *māsa* and *tanū*.

EXAMPLES:

mādhavaḥ/ madhavyáḥ 'month (of spring) which has nectar in flowers'
madhúḥ 'id.'

1. Note that these same derivates can also be used as qualifiers to *tanū*. The last example is given in view of the second *vt* proposal of the preceding rule. This derivate involves affixal deletion.

4.4.130 ओजसोऽहनि यत्खौ

ojaso' hani yatkhau
/*ojasaḥ* 5/1 *ahani* 7/1 *yatkhau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110, *matvarthe* #128)
ojaḥśabdān matvarthe yatkhau pratyayu bhavato' hany abhidheye
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *kha* occur in Vedic, to denote the sense of *matUP* after nominal stem *ojas* when ending in nominative, provided the derivate denotes *ahan* 'day'.

EXAMPLES:

ojasyam ahaḥ 'a day of energy and vitality'
ojasīnam ahaḥ 'id.'

1. A question is raised as to why *yaT* is to be used. That is, why not formulate the rule as *ojaso' hani kha ca*, and let *ca* attract *yaT* to this context. This, however, is not acceptable since one may be confused about the function of *ca*. That is, one may be confused about whether or not *ca* should attract *Ña*. Note that *kh* of *kha* in *ojasīna* is replaced with *īn* of 7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ*. . . .

4.4.131 वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल्

veśoyaśaāder bhagād yal
/*veśoyaśaādeḥ* 5/1 = *veśaś ca yaśaś ca veśoyaśasī veśoyaśasī ādau yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; bhagāt* 5/1 *yal* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *matvarthe* #128)
veśoyaśaāder bhagāntāt prātipadikān matvarthe yal pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaL* occurs, in Vedic to denote the sense of *matUP*, after a nominal stem which ends in *bhaga* 'fortune' and is used in construction after *veśas* 'strength' and *yaśas* 'glory'.

EXAMPLES:

veśobhagyaḥ 'he who is fortunate in strength'
yaśobhaghaḥ 'he who is fortunate in glory'

1. Note that *veśas* is used in the sense of *bala* 'strength'. The word *bhaga* is used in various senses of *śrī* 'grandeur', *kāma* 'desire', *prayatna* 'strife', *māhātmya* 'fame', *vīrya* 'valor' and *yaśas*, etc.

4.4.132 खच

kha ca
/*kha* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110, *matvarthe* #128, *veśoyaśaāder bhagāt* #131)
veśoyaśaādvitīyāder bhagāntāt prātipadikān matvarthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs in Vedic, to denote the sense of *matUP* after a nominal stem which ends in *bhaga* and is used in construction after *veśas* 'power' and *yaśas* 'fame'.

EXAMPLES:

veśobhagyaḥ 'one with auspicious powers'
veśobhagīnaḥ 'id.'
yaśobhagyaḥ 'id.'
yaśobhagīnaḥ 'id.'

1. A separate rule (*yogavibhāga*) is formulated so that its *ca* can bring *yaT*. It is also done so that one does not follow the assignment of equivalency in accord with enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .). That is, if the rule is formulated jointly with two affixes, i.e., *yaL* and *kha*, and two base-types, i.e., *veśādibhagānta* 'beginning with *veśas* terminating in *bhaga*' and *yaśādibhagānta* 'beginning with *yaśas* terminating in *bhaga*', one may introduce *yaL* after the first and *kha* after the other. Finally, a split formulation is also needed so that only *kha*, and not *yaT*, is carried to the following rule.

4.4.133 पूर्वैः कृतमिनयौ च

pūrvaiḥ kṛtam inayau ca
/*pūrvaiḥ* 3/3 *kṛtam* 1/1 *inayau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *kha* #132)
pūrvaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt kṛtam ity etasminn arthe 'ina, ya' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ina* and *ya*, and *kha* as well, occur in Vedic, after

nominal stem *pūrva* when the same ends in instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), provided the derivate denotes the sense of *kṛtam* 'done, made'.

EXAMPLES:

pathibhiḥ pūrviṇaiḥ 'the ancestors who laid down the paths'
pathibhiḥ pūrvyaiḥ 'id.'
pathibhiḥ pūrvīṇaiḥ 'id.'

1. The ending of the base, i.e., *tṛtīyā*, is determined again on the basis of *pūrvaiḥ*. The word itself is used here in the sense of ancestors (*pūrvapuruṣa*). That the ancestors laid the paths is nothing but praise for the paths (*tatkṛtāḥ panthānaḥ praśastā iti pathāṃ praśaṃsā*). This provision with *pūrvaiḥ* in plural requires affixes after a plural base. All examples involve *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*. The derivate of *kha* also entails *īn* as a replacement of *kh* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ* . . .).

4.4.134 **अद्भिः संस्कृतम्**

adbhiḥ saṃskṛtam
/*adbhiḥ* 3/3 *saṃskṛtam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *yat* #75, *chandasi* #110)
apśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'saṃskṛtam' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *ap* 'water', when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes the sense of *saṃskṛtam* 'sanctified with'.

EXAMPLES:

apyaṃ haviḥ 'ritual oblation of food sanctified by means of water'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* is an exception to *ṭhaK* of 4.4.1 *prāgvahateṣ ṭhak*. Note that *tṛtīyā* here denotes *karaṇa* 'means'.

4.4.135 **सहस्रेण संमितौ घः**

sahasreṇa sammitau ghaḥ
/*sahasreṇa* 3/1 *sammitau* 7/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt sahasraśabdāt 'sammitau' ity etasminn arthe ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs in Vedic after nominal stem *sahasra*, when the same ends in instrumental and the derivate denotes the sense of *sammita* 'equal'.

EXAMPLES:

a̱yama̱gniḥ sáhasriyáḥ 'this sacrificial fire is one equal to a thousand'

1. Some read *sammitau* as *samitau,* thereby interpreting the example as: 'similar in qualities to a hundred'. The *tṛtīyā* in *sahasreṇa* forms the basis for accepting it as the ending in which the bases should end. Deriving *sahasriya* from *sahasra* + *gha* with *bha-saṃjñā, a-lopa* and *iy* as a replacement for *gh* should pose no problem.

4.4.136 मतौ च

matau ca
/*matau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *sahasreṇa ghaḥ* #135)
matvarthe ca sahasraśabdād ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *gha* also occurs in Vedic to denote the sense of *matUP* after nominal stem *sahasra,* when the same ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

sahasram asya vidyate sahasriyaḥ '... possessing a thousand'

1. The word *matau* specifies *matvartha* 'sense of *matUP*'. This, in turn, determines *prathamā* as the ending in which *sahasra* should end to receive the affix. That is, in consonance with *tat,* a nominative singular, of rule 5.2.94 *tad asyāstīti*... which introduces *matUP.*

This provision of *matUP* is treated as an exception to affixal provisions of 5.2.102 *tapaḥsahasrābhyāṃ vinīnī* and 5.2.103 *aṇ ca.*

4.4.137 सोममर्हति यः

somam arhati yaḥ
/*somam* 2/1 *arhati* (verbal *pada*) *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110)
somaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'arhati' ity etasminn arthe yaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *soma* when the same ends in accusative (*dvitīya*) and the derivate denotes the sense of *arhati* 'deserves'.

EXAMPLES:

somam arhanti = *somyāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ* 'the brāhmaṇas who deserve offerings of Soma (and hence, qualify to participate in the sacrifice)'

1. Here again, accusative is determined as the ending after bases in accord with the specification of *somam* in *dvitīyā.* Affix *ya,* against the already available *yaT,* is introduced because of accent. A derivate of *ya* is marked *udātta* at the end.

4.4.138 मये च

maye ca

/maye 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *somam, yaḥ* #137)
somaśabdān mayaḍarthe yaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ya* also occurs in Vedic to denote the sense of affix *mayaṬ* after nominal stem *soma*, when the same ends in accusative.

EXAMPLES:

somyaṃ (*somamayam*) '... full of Soma'

1. The word *maye* refers to *mayaḍartha* 'sense of affix *mayaṬ*. Since this affix is used by rules such as 4.3.141 *mayaḍvaita*..., 4.3.82 *mayaṭ ca* and 5.4.21 *tatprakṛtavacane*..., in the sense of 'part of a whole' (*avayava*) and 'modification' (*vikāra*), 'arrived' (*āgata*) and 'abundance' (*prācurya*), respectively, our present provision of *ya* will also be made in similar senses after similarly specified bases and nominal endings.

Incidentally, *somya* is also found in Classical usage: *āyuṣmān bhava somyeti vācyo vipro' bhivādane* (*Manusmṛti* II: 125) 'a Brāhmaṇa, in salutation, should be addressed: may you live long sir!'. Haradatta (*PM*) lables this usage, in the Classical language, as *cintya* 'questionable'.

4.4.139 मधोः

madhoḥ
/madhoḥ 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *yat* #130, *maye* #138)
madhuśabdān mayaḍarthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *madhu* to denote the sense of affix *mayaṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

madhavyān '... plentiful'

1. Here again, the sense of *mayaṬ* is fourfold: *avayava, vikāra, āgata* and *prācurya*. See note under the preceding rule. Note that *madhavya* derives from *madhu* + *yaT* with further application of *guṇa* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*: *madh(u→o) + ya*) and a replacement in *av* ending in *v* (*vānta*; 6.1.179 *vānto yi pratyaye*): *madh(o→av) + ya→madhavya.*

4.4.140 वसोः समूहे च

vasoḥ samūhe ca
/vasoḥ 5/1 *samūhe* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *yat* #130, *maye* #138)

vasuśabdāt samūhe vācye yat pratyayo bhavati cakārān mayaḍarthe ca
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *vasu* 'wealth' to denote the sense of *samūha* 'group', and also that of *mayaṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

vasavyaḥ 'abundance of wealth, etc.'

1. Here again, usage determines what fourfold meanings of *mayaṬ* are to be accepted.

A *vārttika* proposal is made for *yaT* to be introduced after *chandas* to denote its stem notion (*svārtha*), when *chandas* is used in between groups of syllables: *ośrāvayeti caturakṣaram/ astu śrau ṣaḍiti caturakṣaram/ yajeti dvyakṣaram/ ye yajāmaha iti pañcākṣaram/ dvyakṣaro vaṣaṭkāraḥ—eṣa vai saptadaśākṣaraś chandasyaḥ prajāpatir yajño mantre vihitaḥ* '*ośravāya* (4 syllables) *astu śrauṣaṭ* (4 syllables), *yaja* (2 syllables), *ye yajāmahe* (5 syllables) and *vaṣaṭ* (2 syllables)—these 17 syllables are *chandasya*, revealed to Prajāpati in the sacrifice'. Obviously, affix *yaT* does not carry any special meaning. The derivate simply denotes *akṣara-samūha* 'group of syllables', the root-sense of *chandasya*.

Another *vārttika* recommends *yaT* after *vasu*. Thus, '*hastau pṛṇasva bahubhir vasaryaiḥ* and *agniriśe vasavyasya*' where *vasavyaḥ* and *vasavyasya* denote the sense of *vasubhiḥ* 'with riches . . .' and *vasoḥ* '. . . of the divinity', respectively. The word *vasu* means 'riches' and 'divinity' both.

The *Mahābhāṣya*, however, refutes these *vārttikas*.

4.4.141 नक्षत्राद् घः

nakṣatrād ghaḥ
/*naskṣatrāt* 5/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110)
nakṣatraśabdād ghaḥ pratyayo bhavati svārthe
The *taddhita* affix *gha* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stem *nakṣatra* 'constellation'.

EXAMPLES:

nakṣatriyebhyaḥ svāhā '. . . oblations to constellations'

1. Note that, in the absence of any specific meaning condition, the derivate will denote its stem-notion (*svārtha*).

4.4.142 सर्वदेवात्तातिल्

sarvadevāt tātil
/*sarva-devāt* 5/1 = *sarvaś ca devaś ca* = *sarvadevam, tasmāt* (*sam. dv.*); *tātil* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*

#4.1.76, *chandasi* #110)
sarvadevaśabdābhyāṃ tātil pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye svārthikaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *tātil* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *sarva* and *deva.*

EXAMPLES:

sarvatātiḥ 'all inclusive'
devatātiḥ 'gods alone'

1. Here again the affix denotes the sense of *svārtha* 'stem-notion'.

4.4.143 **शिवशमरिष्टस्य करे**

śivaśamariṣṭasya kare
/*śiva-śam-ariṣṭasya* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasya; kare* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *tātil* #142)
śivādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ 'kare' ity etasminn arthe tātil pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tātiL* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *śiva, śam* and *ariṣṭa,* provided the signification is *kara* '. . . does'.

EXAMPLES:

śivatātiḥ = *śivaṃ karotīti* 'he who is benevolent'
śantātiḥ 'he who does auspicious things'
ariṣṭatātiḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *kara* of *kare* is derived in the sense of *karoti* '. . . does'.

4.4.144 **भावे च**

bhāve ca
/*bhāve* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *chandasi* #110, *tātil* #142, *śivaśamariṣṭasya* #143)
bhāve cārthe chandasi viṣaye śivādibhyas tatil pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tātiL* also occurs in Vedic after nominal stems *śiva, śam* and *ariṣṭa,* when *bhāva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śivatātiḥ = *śivasya bhāvaḥ* 'the notion of auspiciousness'
śantātiḥ 'id.'
ariṣṭatātiḥ 'id.'

1. It is stated that, like 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* at the beginning (*ārambha*), Pāṇini chose to formulate a *sūtra* for auspiciousness (*maṅgala*) also in the middle (*madhya*) of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī.* Here ends of section on affix *yaT.*

Adhyāya Five

Pāda One

5.1.1 प्राक्क्रीताच्छः

prāk krītāc chaḥ
/*prāk krītāt* 5/1 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.1, 3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tena krītam*' *iti vakṣyati, prāg etasmāt krītasaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaś chapratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *cha*, occurs henceforth prior to *krītāt* (5.1.37 *ten krītam*), after a nominal stem.

Examples:

vatsīyaḥ '. . . beneficial to calves'
avatsīyaḥ '. . . not beneficial to calves'

1. Commentrators indicate that this *sūtra* can be accepted as a *vidhi* 'operational', *adhikāra* 'governing' and *paribhāṣā* 'interpretation'. It is generally accepted as a governing rule with its scope specified via meaning (*arthadvāra*). This rule is formulated as *prāk krītāc chaḥ*, as opposed to *krītāc chaḥ*, so that *krīta* could not be interpreted as specifying a base (*prakṛti*). The word *prāk* is included in the wording of this rule to specify the limit (*avadhi*) of this domain. Note that this *avadhi* is again specified in terms of meaning (*artha*). That is, affix *cha* will be used in the sense of specifications made by *krīta*, etc. Of course, *cha* is a general affix (*utsarga*) and will apply leaving aside the scope of application of its related exceptions (*apavāda*). For further details concerning these interpretational conclusion see my notes under 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato' ṇ*.

5.1.2 उगवादिभ्यो यत्

ugavādibhyo yat
/*ugavādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *gaur ādir yeṣāṃ te gavādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *uś ca gavādayaś ca* = *ugavādayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāk krītāt* #1)
uvarṇāntāt prātipadikād gavādibhyaś ca yat pratyayo bhavati prāk krītīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a nominal stem which either ends

in *u*, or is listed in the group headed by *gava*, to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *krīta*.

EXAMPLES:

śaṅkavyaṃ dāru 'a piece of wood suited for making pegs'
picavyaḥ kārpāsaḥ 'a cotton plant fit for yielding quality cotton'
gavyam '. . . beneficial to cows'
haviṣyam '. . . good for ritual oblation'
nabhyam 'that (oil) which is good for axle'
śunyam/ śūnyam 'that (a quiet place) which is fit for dogs to rest'
ūdhanyaḥ 'that which is beneficial to cow's udders'

1. This rule introduces *yaT* as an exception to *cha*. Of course, *yaT* will be ruled to denote the sense of *cha*. Rules 5.1.5 *tasmai hitam*, 5.1.12 *tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau* and 5.1.16 *tad asya tad asmin syād iti* specify meanings denoted by affix *cha*. Refer to subsequent rules for more examples.

2. The following *gaṇasūtras* are given relative to stems of the *gavādi* group:

(*i*) where *nābhi nabhaṃ ca* not only requires *yaT* after *nābhi* 'axle' but also orders *nābhi* replaced with *nabha*;
(*ii*) where *śunaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ vā ca dīrghatvam* not only requires *yaT* after *śvan* 'dog' but also order *samprasāraṇa*, and optional long vowel replacement; and
(*iii*) where *ūdhaso'naṅ ca* not only requires *yaT* after *ūdhas* 'udder', but also orders *anAṄ* as a replacement for its final (*antya*) *s*.

Note that *nābhi* of the first *aṇasūtra* does not mean 'navel'. A derivate such as *nābhyam*, relative to 'body-part', can be derived with *yaT* of 5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*. The optional lengthening (*dīrgha*) of the second *gaṇasūtra* causes its derivate to be marked *udātta* at the end. Rule 6.1.213 *yato' nāvaḥ* applies to mark the derivate *udātta* at the beginning when option of lengthening is not accepted. The *ca* of the third *gaṇasūtra* is used for making some additional provisions. It is because of the *ca* that *an* is saved from deletion by 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*. Incidentally, *ūdhas* 'udder' is glossed as *kūpa* 'waterwell' by many. It is not acceptable especially when *kūpa* is also listed in the *gavādi* group.

1. Examples such as *śaṅkavya*, *picavya*, and *gavya*, etc., can be easily derived with the application of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* and 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye*. Thus, *śaṅku* + *ya*→*śaṅk*(*u*→*o*) + *ya*→*śaṅk*(*o*→*av*) + *ya* = *śaṅkavya*, etc. Our last example *gavya* will not involve *guṇa*.

5.1.3 कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम्

kambalāc ca saṃjñāyām
/*kambalāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ*

#4.1.76, *prāk krītāt* #1, *yat* #2)
kambalāt prāk krītīyeṣv artheṣu yat pratyayo bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs after nominal stem *kambala* 'blanket' to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *krīta*, provided the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

kambalyam ūrṇā 'a specific measure (about eleven pounds = 100 Pala) of wool sufficient enough for making one blanket'

1. This *yaT* is an exception to *cha*. Questions have been raised against formulating this *sūtra*, especially when *kambalya* can be gotten via *nipātana* of 4.1.22 *aparimāṇa-bistācita-kambalya*. . . . One could hardly argue that this rule is intended for derivates which denote a *saṃjñā*. For, *kambalya* of 4.1.22 also does that. Some claim that *kambalya* of 4.1.22 derives via *nipātana* and denotes *parimāṇa*. Rule 4.1.22 cannot tell whether *kambalya* ends in *yaT* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *nipātanena kambalyaśabdaḥ parimāṇe sādhur ity etāvat pratīyate na tu yadanto'yam iti*). May be the two derivates differ in accent. Only *vyākhyāna* 'interpretations of the learned' could help us here.

5.1.4 **विभाषा हविरपूपादिभ्यः**

vibhāṣā havirapūpādibhyaḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *havirapūpādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *apūpa adir yeṣāṃ te apūpādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *haviś ca apūpādayaś ca* = *havirapūpādayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāk krītāt* #1, *yat* #2)
havir viśeṣavācibhyo'pūpādibhyaś ca prātipadikebhyaḥ prākrītīyeṣv artheṣu vibhāṣā yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which signifies a particular *havi* 'ritual oblation', or is listed in the group headed by *apūpa* 'cake', to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *krīta*.

EXAMPLES:

āmīkṣyaṃ dadhi 'yoghurt, fit for making cheese'
āmikṣīyam dadhi 'id.'
puroḍāśyās taṇḍulāḥ 'rice-grains fit for preparing ritual oblation named puroḍāśa'
puroḍāśīyāḥ 'id.'
apūpyam 'that (finely ground flour) which is fit for baking cakes'
apūpīyam 'id.'

1. A *gaṇasūtra* also recommends this optional *yatT* after stems denoting

anna-vikāra 'grain-products'. Thus we get: *suryāḥ/ suriyāḥ* '(rice)-grains fit for distilling liquor'. Note that the first twelve (*apūpa* through *kiṇva*) stems of the *apūpādi* group can be treated as denoting *anna-vikāra*. Why should we then have this *gaṇa-sūtra*? To account for meanings other than those covered by derivates of the first twelve stems.

5.1.5 तस्मै हितम्

tasmai hitam
/*tasmai* 4/1 *hitam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tasmai*' *iti caturthīsamarthād* '*hitam*' *ity etasmin arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal endings'.

EXAMPLES:

vatsīyaḥ = *vatsebhyo hito godhuk* 'a milkman who is beneficial to calves'
avatsīyaḥ 'a milkman who is not beneficial to calves'

1. Refer to subsequent rules for more examples.

5.1.6 शरीरावयवाद्यत्

śarīrāvayavād yat
/*śarīrāvayavāt* 5/1 = *śarīrasya avayavaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
śarīrāvayavavācinaḥ prātipadikād yat pratyayo bhavati '*tasmai hitam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies 'body-parts' (*śarīrāvayava*) and ends in *caturthī* to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that'.

EXAMPLES:

dantyam 'that which is beneficial to teeth'
nābhyam 'that which is beneficial to navel'
nasyaḥ 'that (a snuff) which is beneficial to nose'

1. This again is an exception to *cha*. The *nāsikā* of *nasyaḥ* is replaced with *nas* in accord with a *vārttika* proposal (cf. *Mbh.* ad 5.1.20 *nas nāsikāyā* . . .).

5.1.7 खलयवमाषतिलवृषब्रह्मणश्च

khalayavamāṣatilavṛṣabrahmaṇaś ca

/khalayavamāṣatilavṛṣabrahmaṇaḥ 5/3 = (*sam. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5, *yat* #6)
khalādibhyo yat pratyayo bhavati 'tasmai hitam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *khala* 'threshing floor', *yava* 'barley', *māṣa* 'Mung beans', *tila* 'sesame', *vṛṣa* 'bull' and *brahman* 'the brāhmaṇas' when they end in *caturthī*.

EXAMPLES:

khalyam 'that which is beneficial to threshing floors'
yavyam 'that which is beneficial to barley'
māṣyam 'that which is beneficial to Mung beans'
tilyam 'that which is beneficial to sesame'
vṛṣyam 'that which is beneficial to bulls'
brahmaṇyam 'that which is beneficial to brāhmaṇas'

1. Note that the final *a* of *khala, yava, māṣa, tila* and *vṛṣa* is deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The word *vṛṣa* is here listed as ending in *a*. Consequently, *vṛṣan* cannot avail an affixal operation parallel to *vṛṣṇe hitam*. The word *brahman* here refers to Brāhmaṇas as a class (*jāti*). The word *brahman* cannot avail this affixal provision parallel to *brahmaṇe hitam* if it signifies Veda. The *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of *brahman* in *brahmaṇyam* does not apply because of 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

The *ca* in the rule is used for something not covered (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). Forms such as *rathyā*, parallel to *rathāya hitā* 'road; beneficial to chariots', can thus be accounted for. Incidentally, such examples also entail *tadantavidhi* 'that which ends in that' (*rathyā*), to account for *dvirathyā* 'a road suitable for two chariots', etc.

5.1.8 अजाविभ्यां थ्यन्

ajāvibhyāṃ thyan
/ajāvibhyām 5/2 = (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; thyan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
'aja, avi' ity etābhyāṃ thyan pratyayo bhavati 'tasmai hitam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *thyaN* occurs to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *aja* 'goat' and *avi* 'sheep' when they end in *caturthī*.

EXAMPLES:

ajathyā 'jasmine, which is beneficial to goats'
avithyā 'Avithyā (a plant), which is beneficial to sheep'

1. Note that *ajathyā* can be derived parallel to both *ajebhyo hitā,* or *ajābhyo hitā,* depending on whether the base is accepted as masculine *aja,* or feminie *ajā.* Our masculine specification by means of *aja* can also account for feminine *ajā* in accord with *Paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam.* Rule 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv ākṛtvasucaḥ* will allow for masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*) in case of *ajā.* For, *thyaN* is enumerated under *tasilādi* group of affixes.

5.1.9 आत्मन्विश्वजनभोगोत्तरपदात् खः

ātmanviśvajanabhogottarapadāt khaḥ
/ *ātmanviśvajanabhogottarapadāt* 5/1 = *bhogaśabda uttarapadaṃ yasya sa bhogottarapadam* (*bv.*); *ātmā ca viśvajanaś ca bhogottarapadaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
'*ātman, viśvajana*' *ity etābhyāṃ bhogottarapadāc ca prātipadikāt khaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*tasmai hitam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *ātman* 'one's self and *viśvajana* 'mankind, all men', or else, after a stem which has *bhoga* as its final constituent, when they all end in *caturthī.*

EXAMPLES:

ātmanīnam 'that which is beneficial to one's self'
viśvajanīnam 'that which is beneficial to humanity'
mātṛbhogīṇaḥ 'that which is beneficial to mother's health'

1. Note that *ātman* should have been specified as *ātma* in accord with 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.* But this deletion was not undertaken, so that the form of the base could be clearly specified. Besides, non-deletion of *n* also saves *uttarapadāt,* cited at the end of the *dvandva* compound *ātman-viśva-jana-bhogottarapadam,* from being associated with all three constituents (cf.: *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*). This way, *uttarapadāt* will be construed only with *bhoga.* How do we understand this? We understand this from non-deletion of *n* which, in turn, creates confusion about the normal extent to which *uttarapadāt* could be associated. This doubt is resolved on the basis of *pratyāsatti* 'close proximity'. Consequently, *uttarapadāt* is associated only with *bhoga* which is most proximate to it. The non-deletion of *ṭi,* i.e., *an* of *ātman,* is blocked in view of 6.4.169 *ātmādhvānau khe.* The *kha,* of course, yields *īna* as *cha* yields *īya* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyaḥ* . . .). The *n* of *mātṛbhogīṇaḥ* is replaced with *ṇ* as per 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ*. . . .

Commentators state that affix *kha* is desired after *viśvajana* only when it is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* compound paraphrased as: *viśve ca te janāḥ*

(*karmadhārayād eveṣyate*). A *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* or *bahuvrīhi* interpretation would qualify for affix *cha* yielding *viśvajanīyam*.

Affix *kha* is also desired after yet another *karmadhāraya* compound, namely, *pañcajana*, to derive *pañcajanīnam* parallel to *rathakāraḥ pañcamo yeṣāṃ te catvāro varṇāḥ pañcajanāḥ* 'Pañcajanas are charioteers, the fifth, in addition to the first four groups of Varṇas' (*vt: pañcajanād upasaṃkhyānam*). A non-*karmadhāraya* compound-base would yield *pañcajanīyam* with *cha*. A *vārttika* proposal requires an obligatory *ṭhaÑ* after *mahājana*, a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa*, to yield *māhājanikam*. Elsewhere, one would get *mahājanīyam*, a derivate of *cha* introduced after the *bahuvrīhi* base *mahājana*.

The word *bhoga* is interpreted here as *śarīra* 'body'. Note that *mātṛ* and *pitṛ*, used without *bhoga*, will receive *cha* and yield *mātrīyam* and *pitrīyam*. An obligatory *kha* is proposed for *ācārya* 'teacher' and *rājā* 'king' when *bhoga* follows them. This yields *ācāryabhogīnaḥ* and *rājabhogīnaḥ*. A *gaṇasūtra* blocks the replacement by *ṇ* of *n* of *ācāryabhogīnaḥ*.

5.1.10 **सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णढञौ**

> *sarvapuruṣābhyāṃ ṇaḍhañau*
> /*sarvapuruṣābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṇaḍhañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
> *sarvapuruṣābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṇaḍhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ, 'tasmai hitam' ity etasmin viṣaye*
> The *taddhita* affixes *Ṇa* and *ḍhaÑ* occur to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *sarva* and *puruṣa*, respectively, when these end in *caturthī*.

EXAMPLES:

> *sārvam* 'beneficial to all'
> *pauruṣeyam* 'beneficial to a person'

1. A *vārttika* proposes that *Ṇa* be introduced after *sarva* only optionally (*sarvāṇ ṇasya vā vacanam*). This optional provision is made so that *sarvīyam* could be derived with *cha* of 5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ*.

An additional *vārttika* assigns *ḍhaÑ* after *puruṣa* also in the sense of *vadha* 'killing', *vikāra* 'modification', *samūha* 'group' and *tenakṛtaḥ* 'brought about by him' (*puruṣād vadha-vikāra-samūha-tena kṛteṣv iti vaktavyam*). Obviously, this proposal for *ḍhaÑ* is made against affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*, 4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo' ñ*, 4.2.37 *tasya samūhaḥ* and 4.3.116 *kṛte granthe*.

5.1.11 **माणवचरकाभ्यां खञ्**

> *māṇavacarakābhyāṃ khañ*
> /*māṇavacarakābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *khañ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai hitam* #5)
māṇavacarakaśabdābhyāṃ khañ pratyayo bhavati 'tasmai hitam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of 'beneficial to that' after syntactically related nominal stems *māṇava* and *caraka*, when the stems end in *caturthī*.

EXAMPLES:

māṇavīnam 'beneficial to young initiates'
cārakīṇam 'beneficial to students and physicians'

1. The word *caraka* is interpreted variously as a student, wandering scholar and physician. This last meaning is favored by *prakriyāsarvasvam* of Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa.

5.1.12 तदर्थं विकृतेः प्रकृतौ

tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau
/ *tadartham* 1/1 = *tasmai idam* (*cat. tat.*); *vikṛteḥ* 5/1 *prakṛtau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
vikṛtivācinaḥ prātipadikāt prakṛtāv abhidheyāyāṃ yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *cha*, occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a material product (*vikṛti*) and ends in *caturthī*, provided the derivate denotes material cause (*prakṛti*) intended for that product.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgārīyāṇi kāṣṭhāni 'wood beneficial for quality charcoal'
prākārīyā iṣṭakāḥ 'bricks beneficial for fencing, because of their quality, shape and size'

1. Some carry *tasmai hitam* 'beneficial to him' in this rule, other do not consider it necessary since 'fitness' (*yogyatā*) and 'sense of benefit' (*hitārthatā*) are present in the context of *prakṛti-vikṛti* 'material cause-product' relationship. Thus, *kāṣṭha*, the material cause for charcoal, must have 'fitness' for, or be beneficial to, *aṅgāra* 'charcoal', its material product.

Note that *tadartham* 'intended for that' is nominative neuter singular. Commentators explain the variable *tad* of *tadartham* as referring to *vikṛti* 'product'. The nominative of *tadartham* is used for ferminine. A question is raised against this kind of transposition of *vibhakti* 'nominal ending' and *liṅga* 'gender'. For, it is only valid in the Vedic. It is argued here that a *sūtra* is also treated as *chandas* (*chandovat sūtrāṇi bhavanti*). In a sentence using

prakṛti and *vikāra*, we find the following relations: *yogyatā* 'fitness' as in *mūtrāya kalpate yavāgūḥ* 'barley-gruel conducive to urination'; *prakṛtyantaranivṛtti* 'disappearance of a given material cause' as in *yavānāṃ dhānāḥ, dhānānāṃ saktavaḥ* 'grains of barley, flour of grains'; and *prakṛty-ananyārtha* 'non-differential sense of material cause and product' as in *aṅgārebhyaḥ etāni kāṣṭhāni* 'these woods are intended for charcoals'. It is this last sense of non-difference that *tadartham* specifies. The word *tadartham* thus becomes a modifier to material cause which, in turn, carries the sense of the affix. It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* paraphrases: *tadarthāyāṃ prakṛtau* 'in the sense of a material cause intended for corresponding product'.

2. Affix *cha* is introduced here after a base which denotes material product. Commentators cite *udakārthaḥ kūpaḥ* 'waterwell for water' as a counter-example where *udaka* is not a material product of *kūpa*. Since *udaka* has *kūpa* as locus (*ādhāra*) of its origin (*utpatti*), *kūpa* can be accepted as *prakṛti*. But *udaka* cannot be accepted as *vikṛti* of *kūpa*, since they are vastly different from one another (*atyantabhedāt*).

The condition of *prakṛtau* is also necessary. For, in its absence, 'material cause-product' relationship will be hard to establish. Thus, consider: *asyarthā kośī* 'sheath for sword' where *asi* is not a product of *kośī*.

5.1.13 छदिरुपधिबलेर्ढञ्

chadirupadhibaler ḍhañ
/ *chadirupadhibaleḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau* #12)
chadirādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tadarthaṃ vikṛteḥ prakṛtau' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *chadis* 'roof, covering', *upadhi* 'part of a chariot, spoke' and *bali* 'ritual oblation of food', which end in *caturthī* and signify a material product, provided derivates denote the *prakṛti* intended for that product.

EXAMPLES:

chādiṣeyāṇi tṛṇāni 'straw fit for roofing (covering)'
aupadheyaṃ dāru 'wood fit for making wheels and spokes of a chariot'
bāleyās taṇḍulāḥ 'rice fit for ritual oblation'

1. This again is an exception to *cha*. The scope of this *sūtra* is similar to that of the preceding. Still, enumeration of three bases is made to facilitate blocking of *cha* by *ḍhaÑ*. Note that if a leather product is considered as fit for covering then *aÑ* of 5.1.13 *carmaṇo' ñ* would still be blocked. *Kāśikā* does not entertain this conflict between two affixes perhaps thinking that enumeration of specific bases (*pratipadavidhāna*), such as *chadis*, etc., will take prec-

edence. Haradatta does not accept this. He favors *ḍhaÑ* over *aÑ* based on the notion of prior exception (*purastāpavāda*). Affix *ḍhaÑ*, in the context of *upadhi*, is desired to denote the sense of its base (*svārtha*; *upadhiśabdāt svārthe pratyayaḥ*) The word *upadhi* itself is used in the sense of *cakra* 'wheel', or part, of a chariot (*rathāṅga*).

A question is raised about how *bāleyās taṇḍulāḥ* involes *prakṛti-vikāra* relationship. Haradatta explains that rice, when prepared for ritual oblation, gets certain enhancement in its quality. Thus, qualities brought about by adding, for example turmeric (*haridrā*), can be acepted as *vikṛti*.

5.1.14 ऋषभोपानहोर्ञ्यः

ṛṣabhopānahor ñyaḥ

/*ṛṣabhopānahoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ñyaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tadartham vikṛteḥ prakṛtau* #12)

'*ṛṣabha, upānah*' *ity etābhyām ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati* '*tadartham vikṛteḥ prakṛtau*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *ṛṣabha* 'bull' and *upānah* 'footwear', which signify a material product (*vikṛti*) and end in *caturthī*, provided derivates denote the material cause (*prakṛti*) intended for that product.

EXAMPLES:

ṛṣabhāya hitam = *ārṣabhyo vatsaḥ* 'a calf fit for becoming a breeding stud'
aupānahyo muñjaḥ 'a particular reed fit for making footwear'

1. This again is an exception to *cha*. Note also that *aupānahyam carma* will still opt for *Ñya*, as against *aÑ* of the following rule, based upon *pūrvavipratiṣedha*, conflict among rules of equal strength where prior rule wins.

5.1.15 चर्मणोऽञ्

carmaṇo'ñ

/*carmaṇaḥ* 6/1 *añ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tadartham vikṛteḥ prakṛtau* #12, *añ* #14)

carmaṇo yā vikṛtiḥ tadvācinaḥ prātipadikād añ pratyayo bhavati '*tadartham vikṛteḥ prakṛtau*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*

The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* also occurs after a nominal stem which signifies a material product of *carman* 'hide' and ends in *caturthī*, provided the derivate denotes the material cause (*prakṛti*) intended for that product.

EXAMPLES:

aupānahyam carma 'hide fit for making sandals'

vārdhraṃ carma 'hide fit for making straps'
vāratraṃ carma 'id.'

1. Note that *carmaṇaḥ* is here interpreted as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), modifying *vikṛti* 'material product'. This again is an exception to *cha*.

5.1.16 तदस्य तदस्मिन् स्यादिति

tad asya tad asmin syād iti
/*tat* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *tat* 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *syāt* (verbal *pada*) *iti* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prathamāsamarthāc chaṣṭhyarthe saptamyarthe ca yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ syāc cet tad bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', or of *saptamī* 'locative', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative (*prathamā*), provided the same is in syntactic coordination with *syāt* to denote the sense of 'there is a possibility of that' or 'it is possible in there'.

EXAMPLES:

prākārīyā iṣṭakāḥ = *prākāra āsām iṣṭakānāṃ syāt* 'bricks, sufficient enough for building a wall'
prāsādīyaṃ dāru = *prāsādaḥ asya syāt* 'wood, sufficient enough for building a palace'
prākārīyo deśaḥ = *prākāro'smin deśe syāt* 'a place where fences could be made'
prāsādīyā bhūmiḥ = *prāsādo'tra syāt* 'land on which a palace could be built'

1. Note that *tat* specifies the syntactically related base as ending in *prathamā* 'nominative'. The genitive *asya* and locative *asmin* specify affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*). This will offer us the interpretation: 'a *taddhita* affix occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal which ends in nominative'. The indeclinable *iti* characterizes *vivakṣā* 'speaker's intent'. The word *syāt*, a derivate of *LIṄ*, denotes *sambhāvanā* 'possibility' (3.3.154 *sambhāvane' lam* . . .) and modifies the base, i.e., that which ends in nominative. That is, it forms a syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with the *pada* which ends in nominative. This will give us two interpretations which are both valid: *tad asya syād iti* '. . . there may be a possiblity of that which ends in the nominative'; and *tad asmin syād iti* '. . . that may be possible in there'.

2. This rule does not entail the sense of *tādarthya* 'intended for that' characterized by *prakṛti-vikārabhāva* 'material cause and modified product' of the preceding rule. What is denoted here is *yogyatā* 'fitness'. Thus, 'abun-

dance of bricks', or 'quality of a place' could make it possible for a wall, or palace, to be built.

Why is *tat* used twice? To make it clear that a single syntactically related nominal, in contexts where more than one affixal meanings is specified, may be construed with every meaning (*Kāś.*: *anekasmin pratyayārthe pratyekaṃ samarthavibhaktiḥ sambandhanīyā*).

5.1.17 परिखाया ढञ्

parikhāyā ḍhañ
/*parikhāyāḥ* 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya tad asmin syād iti* #16)
parikhāśabdāḍ ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya tad asmin syād iti' etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *parikhā* 'moat, ditch' when ending in nominative, provided the same is in syntactic coordination with *syāt* to denote the sense of 'there is a possibility of that', or 'it is possible in there'.

EXAMPLES:

parikhā syād asmin bhūmyām = *pārikheyī bhūmiḥ* 'a piece of land sufficient enough for building a moat'

1. This terminates the general domain of affixes *cha* and *yaT*. Other affixes will be introduced hereafter.

5.1.18 प्राग्वतेष्ठञ्

prāg vateṣ ṭhañ
/*prāk* ϕ *vateḥ* 5/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ' iti vakṣyati; prāg etasmād vatisaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ ṭhañ pratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaÑ*, occurs after a nominal stem to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to that which contains *vati* (5.1.115 *tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules for examples.

5.1.19 आर्हादगोपुच्छसंख्यापरिमाणाट्ठक्

ārhād agopucchasaṃkhyāparimāṇāṭ ṭhak

/ *ā* ɸ *arhāt* 5/1 *agopucchasaṃkhyāparimāṇāt* 5/1 = *agopuccham ca* (*na gopuccham* = *agopuccham* (*nañ. tat.*) *saṃkhyā ca parimāṇaṃ ca* = *agopucchasaṃkhyāparimāṇam* (*dv.* with int. *nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭhak* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'*tad arhati*' *ā etasmād arhasaṃśabdanāt yānita ūrddhvam anukramiṣyāmaṣ ṭhak pratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ, gopucchādīn varjayitvā*

A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaK*, occurs after a nominal stem to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, provided the stem signifies something other than *gopuccha* 'cow's tail', *saṃkhyā* 'number' and *parimāṇa* 'a measure of weight'

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. Note that the domain of this rule is specified by *ārhāt* (*ā* + *arhāt*) where *arha* determins the extent. There are two rules where *asha* is used: 5.1.63 *tad arhati* and 5.1.117 *tad arham.* Rule 5.1.117 *tad arham* cannot be accepted as indicating the extent of this domain since that will make its specification by means of *ārhāt* useless. This should have been accomplished by *vati* of 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ.* Pāṇini should not have used *ārhāt.* Why can this specification by *ārhāt* not be accepted as made for facilitating *ṭhaK* also in the sense of *vati* (*vatyarthe*)? But that would have required 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ* to make the specification by means of *āṄ* denoting *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. But even then *ṭhaK* would become valid in rule 5.1.118 *upasargāc chandasi dhātvarthe. Nyāsa* claims that *ṭhaK* in these instances will be blocked by an affix denoting the sense of *vati.* For, specification of *vati* is made by means of enumerating individual stems (*pratipada-vidhāna*). Besides, such usages of *ṭhaK* are not available (*anabhidhānāt*). It is therefore advised to accept the extent of this domain as specified by *arhati* of 4.1.63 *tad arhati.* Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) says that *vyākhyāna* 'interpretation of the learned' is our only recourse in this matter (*vyākhyānam evātra śaraṇam*).

Note that particle *aṄ* (in *ā* + *ārhāt* = *ārhāt*) is used in the sense of *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. Consequently, *ṭhaK* finds its scope in the sense of *arhati*, though with the exclusion of *gopuccha-saṃkhyā-parimāṇa.* Thus, the scope of *ṭhaK* is included within the scope of *ṭhaÑ* as an exception (*apavāda*). The domain of this rule extends up to 5.1.71 *yajñartigbhyāṃ ghakhau*, since it is included within the scope of 5.1.63 *tad arhati.*

2. Note that *agopuccha-saṃkhyā-parimāṇāt* can be interpreted only as *pratiṣedha* 'negation', since no other meaning is possible. That is, negation applies to all three: *gopuccha, saṃkhyā* and *parimāṇa.* Why can we not interpret this rule to mean: *agupucchāt saṃkhyāyāḥ parimāṇāt* 'after a stem which is not *gopuccha*, and after stems which denote *saṃkhyā* and *parimāṇa*'. This is not acceptable. If Pāṇini intended this interpretation then he should not

have stated *niṣkādibhyaḥ* in 5.1.20 *asamāse niṣkādibhyaḥ*. For, *niṣka* denotes *parimāṇa*, and *parimāṇa* of this rule could have easily accounted for that. The argument that *niṣka* is used for stating restriction (*niyama*) of *asamāsa eva* 'only in a non-compound' is also not acceptable. For, repetition (*anuvāda*) of a word (*parimāṇa* via *niṣka*) to formulate a *niyama* is faulty. Besides, when *vidhi* 'operational' and *niyama* 'restrictive' interpretations are both possible one favors the *vidhi* (*Paribhāṣā* (109): *vidhiniyamasambhave vidhir eva jyāyaḥ*). If *saṃkhyā* and *parimāṇa* were both not negated then inclusion, within *niṣkādi* (5.1.20 *asamāse*...), of *droṇa* with the signification of *parimāṇa*, and of *ṣaṣṭhī* signifying a number, would not make any sense.

3. Is it necessary to include both *saṃkhyā* and *parimāṇa* in this rule? Why can we not make the specification by one, since they both are distinguishers (*paricchedaka*)? One cannot account for both by one because they are not the same. The following verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* explains it:

> *ūrdhvamānaṃ kilonmānaṃ parimāṇaṃ tu sarvataḥ/*
> *āyāmas tu pramāṇaṃ syāt saṃkhyā bāhyā tu sarvataḥ//*
> '*unmāna* is a measure of height; *parimāṇa* is a measure of a thing, all inclusive; *pramāṇa* is a measure of length; *saṃkhyā* falls outside of them all'

What is *saṃkhyā*? It is counting items distinguished (*bhedagaṇana*). Naturally, it cannot be included within *unmāna*, *parimāṇa* and *pramāṇa*.

5.1.20 असमासे निष्कादिभ्यः

> *asamāse niṣkādibhyaḥ*
> /*asamāse* = *na samāsaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *niṣkādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *niṣka ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt*, *ṭhak* #18)
> *niṣkādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'samāse ṭhak pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣv artheṣu*
> A *taddhita* affix, namely *ṭhaK*, occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *niṣka*, when it ends in an appropriate nominal ending and when it is not part of a compound (*asamāse*).

EXAMPLES:

> *naiṣkikam* 'purchased with a Niṣka (gold coin weighing four ounces)'
> *māṣikam* 'purchased with a Māṣa (one-fourth of a Niṣka)'

1. The introduction of *ṭhaK* after a *niṣkādi* word occurring as part of a compound is blocked by the negation of *asamāse*. Consequently, a compound base will receive affix *ṭhaÑ*. Consider, for example, *paramanaiṣkikam* and

uttamanaiṣkikam where rule 7.3.17 *parimāṇāntasyāsaṃjña* . . . orders a *vṛddhi*-replacement in the following constituent.

2. Note that *asamāse* is basically used to negate *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting X as referring not only to X but also to that which ends in X'. Thus, *niṣka* may refer not only to *niṣka* but also to that which may end in *niṣka*. The negation of *asamāse* rules out such references. This negation also serves the purpose of establishing non-negation (*apratiṣedha*) of *tadantavidhi* in case of the preceding rules. Thus, affix *yaT* can be introduced not only after *apūpa* (5.1.2 *ugavādibhyo yat*) and *danta* (5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*), but also after *yavāpūpa* and *rājadanta*, respectively.

The *tadantavidhi* interpretation is also desired in subsequent rules prior to *vati* (5.1.115 *tene tulyaṃ* . . .), though only in the context of stems which may have an initial constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*; *Kāś.*: *ita uttaraṃ ca saṃkhyāpūrvapadānāṃ tadantavidhir iṣyate, tac cāluki*). *Kāśikā* offers *dvaipārāyaṇikaḥ* and *traipārāyaṇikaḥ* as examples with reference to rule 5.1.72 *pārāyaṇaturāyaṇacāndrāyaṇaṃ vartayati*. But this limited *tadantavidhi* is blocked when deletion by *LUK* has applied after a stem (*lugantāyās tu prakṛter neṣyate*). Consider *dviśūrpa* which is a *dvigu* compound in consonance with 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Rule 5.1.26 *śūrpād anyatarasyām* introduces affix *aÑ* optionally with *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ* . . .). These affixes get deleted by *LUK* of 5.1.28 *adhyardha*. . . . One can now derive *dviśaurpikam* in the sense of *dvābhyāṃ śūrpābhyāṃ krītam* 'purchased by two winnowing baskets (filled with grains)' by introducing *ṭhaK* (5.1.37 *tena krītam*). The *vṛddhi* of *ū* in *dviśūrpa* + *ṭhaÑ* is in consonance with 7.3.17 *parimāṇānta*. . . . Note that *aÑ* (or *ṭhaÑ*) after *dviśūrpa* will cancel *tadantavidhi* interpretation. The *ṭhaK* of *dviśūrpa* + *ṭhaK* cannot be deleted by *LUK* of 5.1.28 *adhyardha* . . ., since it does not condition the formation of the *dvigu* compound on hand.

5.1.21 शताच्च ठन्यतावशते

śatāc ca ṭhanyatāv aśate
/*śatāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *ṭhanyatau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *aśate* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
śataśabdāt ṭhanyatau pratyayau bhavataḥ aśate' bhidheye ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaN* and *yaT* occur after nominal stem *śata* to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, when the stem ends in an appropriate nominal ending and the derivate signifies something other than 'a hundred'.

EXAMPLES:

śatikam 'purchased for a hundred'
śatyam 'id.'

1. This provision of *ṭhaN*, and of *yaT*, constitutes an exception to *kaN* of the following rule. Why can *ṭhaN* and *yaT* not be introduced when the derivate denotes *śata*? Observe *śatakaṃ nidānam*, parallel to *śataṃ parimāṇam asya nidānasya* 'Nidāna, a treatise, measured by a hundred (verses)', where the meaning of the base is not different from that of the affix (*Kāś.*: *prakṛtyārthān na bhidyate*). This restriction will not apply when the base meaning is different from that of the derivate. Thus consider *śatikam/ śatyam*, parallel to *śatena krītam* 'purchased for a hundred', where affixes *ṭhaN* and *yaT* cannot be blocked (*vt: śatapratiṣedhe'nyaśatatve'pratiṣedhaḥ* 'negation of *śata* relative to something other than the denotatum of the base does not apply').

5.1.22 संख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन्

saṃkhyāyā atiśadantāyāḥ kan
[saṃkhyāyāḥ 5/1 *atiśadantāyāḥ* 5/1 = *tiś ca śac ca* (*dv.*); *na tiśatāv antāv asyāḥ sā saṃkhyā* (*bv.* with int. *nañ. tat.*); *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
saṃkhyāyā atyantāyā aśadantāyāś ca kan pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣu artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which ends in an appropriate ending and signifies a number, but does not have *ti* and *śata* as its final.

EXAMPLES:

pañcakaḥ paṭaḥ 'a dress purchased for five (coins . . .)'
bahukaḥ '. . . purchased for many (coins . . .)'

1. Stems which may end in *ti*, or *śat*, are blocked from receiving *kaN*. They must instead avail the general affix *ṭhaÑ*. Thus, *pañcan* 'five' of *pañcakaḥ* does not end in *ti* or *śat*. Bases such as *saptati* 'seventy' and *catvāriṃśat* 'forty' cannot avail *kan* since they end in *ti* and *śat*, respectively. They will receive *ṭhaÑ* to produce: *sāptatikaḥ* 'purchased for seventy . . .' and *catvāriṃśatikaḥ* 'purchased for forty. . . .'

Note that Patañjali considers *ti* (in *a-ti-śad-antā*) as meaningful. The *ti* of *saptati* will block *kaN* since it is meaningful. But consider *ti* of affix *Ḍati* which, in turn, is introduced to derive *kati* from *kim* (5.2.41 *kimaḥ saṃkhyāparimāṇe ḍati ca*). This *ti* cannot block *kaN* in deriving *katika* because it is not meaningful. What is meaningful here is *ati*.

2. Incidentally, *bahu* and *gaṇa* are assigned the term *saṃkhyā* by 1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā*.

5.1.23 वतोरिड् वा

vator iḍ vā

/vatoḥ 5/1 *iṭ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *kan* #22)
vatvantāyāḥ saṃkhyāyāḥ kan pratyayo bhavati iḍ āgamaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *kaN*, with an optional provision of augment *iṬ*, occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which signifies a number and ends in *vatU*.

EXAMPLES:

tāvatikaḥ '. . . bought for that much'
tāvatkaḥ 'id.'
yāvatikaḥ '. . . purchased for as much as . . . '
yāvatkaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that 1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā* assigns the term *saṃkhyā* to that which ends in *vatU*. As such, affix *kaN* is already available from the preceding rule. This rule is formulated mostly for optional augment *iṬ*. Incidentally, the ablative (*pañcamī*) of *vatoḥ* implies that, for purposes of *iṬ*, the nominative of *kaN* is interpreted as genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*).

5.1.24 विंशतित्रिंशद्भ्यां ड्वुनसंज्ञायाम्

viṃśatitriṃśadbhyāṃ ḍvun asaṃjñāyām
/viṃśatitriṃśadbhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ḍvun* 1/1 *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
viṃśatitriṃśadbhyāṃ ḍvun pratyayo bhavati asaṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *ḌvuN* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after nominal stems *viṃśati* 'twenty' and *triṃśat* 'thirty', when they end in an appropriate nominal ending and derivates do not denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

viṃśakaḥ = *viṃśati varṣāṇi vayaḥ parimāṇam asya* 'one whose measure of age is twenty years . . .'
triṃśakaḥ 'one whose measure of age is thirty years . . .'

1. Note that derivates with the denotatum of *saṃjñā* will qualify for *kaN* to derive examples such as *viṃśatikaḥ* and *triṃśatikaḥ*. But *kaN* cannot be introduced after a number word which ends in *ti* or *śat*. How would one then derive *viṃśatikaḥ* and *triṃśatikaḥ*? The *Mahābhāṣya* suggests rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*) for resolving this difficulty. The split-rules are as follows:

(*i*) *viṃśati-triṃśadbhyāṃ kan* affix *kaN* occurs after *viṃśati* and *triṃśatī*
(*ii*) *ḍvun asaṃjñāyāṃ* 'affix *ḌvuN* occurs when the derivate does not denote a name (*saṃjñā*)'

5.1.25 कंसाट्टिठन्

kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan
/*kaṃsāt* 5/1 *ṭiṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *ṬiṭhaN* occurs after nominal stem *kaṃsa* 'measure of liquid weight' to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati.*

EXAMPLES:

kaṃsikaḥ 'purchased with something equal in measure to a Kaṃsa'
kaṃsikī 'id.'

1. Note that *kaṃsa* is interpreted here as meaning 'a vessel of (white) copper used as a measure of liquid weight'. It cannot mean just the metal, or the son of Ugrasena, an enemy of Kṛṣṇa. We learn it from the associated context (*sāhacarya*) of *parimāṇa* in the preceding and following rules.

This affixal provision of *ṬIṭhaN* is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. The *Ṭ* as an *it* in the affix facilitates *ṄīP*, for example in *kaṃsikī* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .). The *i* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). The final *N* as an *it* is intended for initial *udātta*. Thus, *kaṃsa* + *ṭha*→*kaṃsa* + *ṭh*→*ika* = *kaṃsika*, though *ika*-replacement, *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*. The *ṄīP* after *kaṃsika* is introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

2. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* also makes the following *vārttika* proposals: Affix *ṬIṭhaN* should also be introduced after *ardha* and *kārṣāpaṇa* to derive *arddhikaḥ/ arddhikī* 'purchased by one half of . . .'; and *kārṣāpaṇikaḥ/ kārṣāpaṇikī* 'purchased for one Kārṣāpaṇa', respectively. An optional proposal for *prati* to replace *kārṣāpaṇa* before *ṬIṭhaN* yields:
pratikaḥ/pratikī (*arddhāc ceti vaktavyam; kārṣāpaṇāṭ ṭiṭhan vaktavyaḥ pratiśabdaś cāsyādeśo vā vaktavyaḥ*).

5.1.26 शूर्पादञन्यतरस्याम्

śūrpād añ anyatarasyām
/*śūrpāt* 5/1 *añ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
śūrpaśabdād anyatarasyāṃ añ pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs optionally after nominal stem *śūrpa* 'a

measure of weight equal to the capacity of one winnowing basket' to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati.*

EXAMPLES:

śaurpam '. . . bought for something equal in weight to a winnowing basket'
śaurpikam 'id.'

1. Affix *aÑ* is here offered as an option against *ṭhaÑ*. Note that *ṭhaK* (5.1.19 *ārhād agopuccha* . . .) cannot be introduced because *śūrpa* denotes *parimāṇa.* The word *śūrpa* generally denotes a 'winnowing basket' (*paripavana-viśeṣa*). It is, however, also used in the sense of a 'measure', specially of grains.

5.1.27 शतमानविंशतिकसहस्रवसनादण्

śatamānaviṃśatikasahasravasanād aṇ
/ *śatamānaviṃśatikasahasravasanāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *aṇ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)
śatamānādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo'ṇ pratyayo bhavati ārhīyeṣv artheṣu
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including, 5.1.63 *tad arhati,* after nominal stems *śatamāna* 'name of a measure of weight', *viṃśatika* 'monetary unit with a denomination of twenty' and *sahasra* 'monetary unit with the denomination of a thousand' and *vasana* 'cloth'.

EXAMPLES:

śatamānena krītam = *śātamānam śatam* 'purchased with something equal in measure to a Śatamāna'
vaiṃśatikaḥ 'bought for a twenty . . .'
sāhasram 'purchased for a thousand . . .'
vāsanam 'purchased with clothes . . .'

1. Note that *śatamāna* denotes *parimāṇa* 'measure' and *sahasra* denotes *saṃkhyā* 'number'. This provision of *aṆ* is thus an exception to both *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ*. It is, in the context of *sahasra,* also an exception to *kaN* of 5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyā atiśa.* . . . Our third nominal stem, i.e., *viṃśatika,* signifies the name (*saṃjñā*) of a 'measure'. It qualifies for *ṭhaÑ* if it names a *parimāṇa.* If used as a name for something else, it will qualify for *ṭhaK.* Finally, *vasana* as such qualifies for *ṭhaK.* Our present rule introduces *aṆ* instead.

5.1.28 अध्यर्धपूर्वद्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम्

adhyardhapūrvadvigor lug asaṃjñāyām

/ *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* 5/1 = *adhyārūḍham ardhaṃ yasmin sa adhyardhaḥ* (*bv.*); *adhyardhaśabdaḥ pūrvaḥ yasmin* (*bv.* with int. *bv.*); *adhyardhapūrvaś ca dviguś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *luk* 1/1 *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18)

adhyardhapūrvāt prātipadikād dvigoś ca parasya ārhīyasya lug bhavati asaṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye

A *taddhita* affix with the signification of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, is deleted by *LUK*, when it occurs either after a nominal stem used in construction after *adhyardha* 'more by one half', or after a compound termed *dvigu*, provided derivates do not denote a name.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhakaṃsam 'purchased for one and a half Kaṃsas of. . .'
trikaṃsam 'purchased for three Kaṃsas of. . .'
adhyardhaśūrpam 'purchased with grains equal to one and one-half measure of a winnowing basket'
triśūrpam 'purchased with grains equal to three measures of a winnowing baskets'

1. Note that *adhyardhakaṃsa* is a compound formed under the condition of *taddhitartha* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . .), parallel to *adhyardhena kaṃsena krītam.* Rule 5.1.25 *kaṃsāt ṭiṭhan* introduces affix *ṬIṭhaN* under the *tadantavidhi* interpretation of 5.1.25 *kaṃsāt ṭiṭhan.* Our present rule orders deletion by *LUK* of *ṬIṭhaN.* Examples such as *dviśūrpam* and *triśūrpam* entail introduction of *aÑ* subequent to compound-formation under the condition of *taddhitārtha.* This *aÑ* is then deleted by *LUK* of this rule since it conditions *dvigu.*

This deletion will not take effect if the derivate (*pratyayānta*) denotes a name (*saṃjñā*). Consider *pāñcalauhitikam* 'that whose measure is equal to five Lohinīs' and *pāñcakalāpikam* 'that whose measure is equal to five Kalāpas', parallel to *pañcalohinyaḥ parimāṇam asya* and *pañcakalāpāḥ parimāṇam asya,* respectively. These are derivates of *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.57 *tad asya parimāṇam*) where, because of the condition of *asaṃjñā,* deletion by *LUK* of *ṭhaÑ* could not apply. Note that *lohinī* of *pañcalohinī* goes through masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*), in consonance with a *vārttika* (*bhasyā'ḍhe taddhite,* cf. 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv*. . .).

2. Note that *adhyardha* denotes *saṃkhyā.* As such, it will entail deletion of *kaN* by *LUK* subsequent to formation of the *dvigu* compound. Why is this listed separately in this rule? It is listed separately to indicate that, occasionally, operations relative to *saṃkhyā* are not performed in the context of *adhyardha.* For example, affix *kṛtvasUC* is not introduced after *adhyardha* to derive *adhyardhakṛtvaḥ.*

5.1.29 विभाषा कार्षापणसहस्राभ्याम्

vibhāṣā kārṣāpaṇasahasrābhyām
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *kārṣāpaṇasahasrābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigor luk* #28)
adhyardhapūrvād dvigoś ca kārṣāpaṇasahasrāntād uttarasyārhīyapratyayasya vibhāṣā lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix with the signification of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, is deleted by *LUK* only optionally, when it occurs either after a nominal stem used in construction after *adhyardha*, or after a compound termed *dvigu*, but ends in *kārṣāpaṇa* and *sahasra*.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhakārṣāpaṇam 'purchased for one and a half Kārṣāpaṇas'
adhyardhakārṣāpaṇikam 'id.'
adhyardhapratikam 'id.'
dvikārṣāpaṇam 'purchased for two Kārṣāpaṇas'
dvikārṣāpaṇikam 'id.'
dvipratikam 'id.'
adhyardhasahasram 'purchased for one and a half thousand'
adhyardhasāhasram 'id.'
dvisahasram 'purchased for two thousand'
dvisāhasram 'id.'

1. This rule requires two types of bases: (*a*) those which begin with *adhyardha* and (*b*) those which are termed a *dvigu*. Both (*a*) and (*b*) must meet an additional requirement: they must end either in *kārṣāpaṇa* or in *sahasra*. This affixal deletion by *LUK* is optional. The deletion specified by the earlier rule is obligatory (*nitya*).

2. Recall that a *vārttika* under 5.1.25 *kaṃsāt ṭiṭhan* proposes the introduction of *ṬIṭhaN* also after *kārṣāpaṇa*. This rule optionally deletes that *ṬIṭhaN*. Recall also that when the option of deleting *ṬIṭhaN* is not accepted, *prati* can replace *kārṣāpaṇa*. Thus we get *adhyardhakārṣāpaṇam* (with deletion); *adhyardhakārṣāpaṇikam* (with non-deletion); and *adhyardhapratikam* (with non-deletion and replacement in *prati*). Examples of *dvigu* will be: *dvikārṣāpaṇam* (with deletion); *dvikārṣāpaṇikam* (with non-deletion); and *dvipratikam* (with non-deletion and replacement in *prati*). Rule 5.1.27 *śatamānaviṃśatika* . . . introduces affix *aṆ* after *sahasra*. Our present rule orders optional deletion of *aṆ* by *LUK* to produce *adhyardhasahasram* (with deletion of *aṆ*); *adhyardhasāhasram* (with non-deletion); *dvisahasram* (*dvigu* with deletion of *aṆ*); and *dvisāhasram* (*dvigu* with non-deletion). The *vṛddhi* of the constituent which follows (*uttarapada*) in *adhyardhasāhasram* and *dvisāhasram* is

accomplished by 7.3.15 *saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃvatsara*. . . . This, of course, is allowed only when *aÑ* is not deleted.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for optional *LUK*-deletion of affixes occurring after *suvarṇa* and *śatamāna*. Of course, conditions of *adhyardha* and *dvigu* will also apply. This will offer examples such as: *adhyardhasuvarṇam/ adhyardhasausvarṇikam* (deletion and non-deletion of *ṭhaÑ*). Now consider parallel examples of *śatamāna: adhyardhaśatamānam/ adhyardhaśātamānam* (deletion/non-deletion of *aÑ*). The *dvigu* examples will be: *dvisuvarṇam/ dvisauvarṇikam* (deletion/non-deletion of *ṭhaÑ*); and *dviśatamānam/ dviśātamānam*. The *vṛddhi* of the following constituent is accomplished by 7.3.17 *parimāṇāntasya*. . . .

5.1.30 द्वित्रिपूर्वान्निष्कात्

dvitripūrvān niṣkāt

/ *dvitripūrvāt* 5/1 = *dviś ca triś ca* (*dv.*); *dvitrayaḥ pūrve yasmin* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *niṣkāt* 5/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *dvigor luk* #28, *vibhāṣā* #29)

dvitripūrvād dvigor niṣkāntād ārhīyapratyayasya vibhāṣā lug bhavati

A *taddhita* affix with the signification of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, is optionally deleted by *LUK* when the same occurs after *niṣka* used as final of a *dvigu* compound beginning with *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three'.

EXAMPLES:

dviniṣkam 'purchased for two Niṣkas'
dvinaiṣkikam 'id.'
triniṣkam 'purchased for three Niṣkas'
trinaiṣkikam 'id.'

1. This deletion applies to *ṭhaK*, not to *ṭhaÑ*, as is specified by 5.1.20 *asamāse niṣkādibhyaḥ*. Of course, non-deletion facilitates *vṛddhi* of the following constituent.

A *vārttika* also proposes this deletion after *niṣka*, used in construction after *bahu*. This will yield *bahuniṣkam bahunaiṣkikam*, where non-deletion results into *vṛddhi* of the following constituent (7.3.17 *parimāṇāntasya* . . .).

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) does not like the use of *pūrvāt* in *dvitripūrvāt*. He favors the formulation of this rule as: *dvitripūrvābhyāṃ niṣkāt*. *Nyāsa* observes that *pūrvāt* is used to indicate something additional (*anyad apy adhikaṃ kiṃcid asti*). This additional provision is mentioned as what the preceding *vārttika* offers.

5.1.31 बिस्ताच्च

bistāc ca

/bistāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *dvigor luk* #28, *vibhāṣā* #29, *dvitripūrvāt* #30)
dvitripūrvād bistāntād dvigaḥ parasyārhīyapratyayasya vibhāṣa lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix with the signification of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, is optionally deleted by *LUK* after *bista*, used as final of a *dvigu* compound beginning with *dvi* and *tri*.

EXAMPLES:

dvibistam 'purchased with two Bistas'
dvibaistikam 'id.'
tribistam 'purchased with three Bistas'
tribaistikam 'id.'
bahubistam 'purchased with many Bistas'
bahubaistikam 'id.'

1. This optional deletion by *LUK* is offered against the obligatory provision of 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvād*. . . . The *ca* is used for attracting *dvitripūrvāt* from the preceding rule. Why was *dvitripūrvāt* not marked with *svarita* to facilitate *anuvṛtti*? Why was *ca* used instead? Pāṇini uses *ca* to indicate that *dvitripūrvāt* is not carried beyond this rule (cf. *cānukṛṣṭam uttaratra nānuvarttate* 'that which is brought via *ca* is not carried subsequently'). *Nyāsa* differs from this interpretation. It says that *ca* is used to provide something additional. That is, it provides for optional deletion by *LUK* also when *bista* is used in construction after *bahu*. Thus, *bahubistam* and *bahubaistikam*.

5.1.32 विंशतिकात्खः

viṃśatikāt khaḥ
/viṃśatikāt 5/1 *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28, *dvitripūrvāt* #30)
adhyardhapūrvāt prātipadikād dvigoś ca viṃśatikaśabdād ārhīyeṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which either begins with *adhyardha*, or has *viṃśatika* used as final of a *dvigu*.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhaviṃśatikīnam 'purchased with one and one-half of a twenty . . . (1.5 Kārṣāpaṇas)'
dviviṃśatikīnam 'purchased with twenty times two . . .'

1. The preceding examples involve two affixal operations. First, affix *aṆ*

(of 5.1.27 *śatamānaviṃśatika* . . .) is introduced and deleted. This rule then introduces *kha*. This *kha* is saved from deletion by *LUK* at the strength of this express provision (*vacanasāmarthyāt*). Obviously, to introduce *kha*, and then delete it, will be meaningless (*anarthaka*). *Nyāsa* observes that these deletion (of *aṆ* and *kha*) do not offer anything special.

5.1.33 **खार्या ईकन्**

khāryā īkan
/*khāryāḥ* 5/1 *īkan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28)
adhyardhapūrvāt prātipadikād dvigoś ca khāriśabdāntād ārhīyeṣv arhteṣu īkan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *īkaN* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after nominal stem *khārī* 'measure of weight' used either in construction after *adhyardha*, or as final of a *dviga*.

EXAMPLES:

adhyardhakhārīkam 'purchased with something equal in measure to one and one-half of a Khārī'
dvikhārīkam 'purchased with something equal in measure to two Khārīs'

1. The following three *vārttika* proposals have also been made in the *Mahābhāṣya*:

(*i*) Affix *īkaN* should also be introduced after *khārī* to yield: *khārīkam*.
(*ii*) Affix *īkaN* should also be introduced after *kākiṇī* used, either with *adhyardha* as its initial, or as final of a *dvigu*, to yield *adhyardhakākiṇīkam*.
(*iii*) Affix *īkaN* should also be introduced after *kākiṇī* to yield: *kākiṇīkam*.

2. The *i* of *khārī* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*.

5.1.34 **पणपादमाषशताद्यत्**

paṇapādamāṣaśatād yat
/*paṇapādamāṣaśatāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28)
adhyardhapūrvād dvigoś ca paṇapādamāṣaśataśabdāntād ārhīyeṣv artheṣu yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which ends in *paṇa*, *pāda*, *māṣa* and *śata*, and either begins with *adhyardha*, or is a compound termed *dvigu*.

Examples:

adhyardhapaṇyam 'purchased with the one and one-half of a Paṇa'
dvipaṇyam 'purchased with two Paṇas'
adhyardhapādyam 'purchased with one and one-half of a Pada'
dvipādyam 'purchased with two Padas'
adhyardhamāṣyam 'purchased with one and one-half of a Māṣa'
dvimāṣyam 'purchased with two Māṣas'
adhyardhaśatyam 'purchased with one and one-half of a hundred'
dviśatyam 'purchased with two hundred'

1. Note that because of association (*sāhacarya*) with *paṇa*, etc., which all denote *parimāṇa* 'measure', *pāda* is also interpreted as denoting the same. It cannot be interpreted as meaning *prāṇyaṅga* 'limb; foot'. Consequently, *pāda* cannot be replaced with *pat* of 6.3.53 *padaty atadarthe* and 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat.*

5.1.35 शाणाद्वा

śāṇād vā
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28, *yat* #34)
śāṇaśabdād adhyardhapūrvād dvigor ārhīyeṣv artheṣu vā yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs optionally to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati,* after a nominal stem which ends in *śāṇa* and either begins with *adhyardha,* or is compound termed *dvigu.*

Examples:

adhyardhaśāṇyam 'purchased with one and one-half of a Śāṇa'
adhyardhaśāṇam 'id.'
dviśāṇyam 'purchased with two Śāṇas'
dviśāṇam 'id.'

1. Note that affix *ṭhaÑ* was made available to *śāṇa* based on its denotation of a measure (*parimāṇa*; 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*). This rule makes that provision optional. Recall that *ṭhaÑ* will be deleted by *LUK* of 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva. . . .* Affix *yaT,* however, cannot be deleted. For, its express introduction by this rule will then become meaningless (*anarthaka*).

2. A *vārttika* recommends that affix *yaT* should also be introduced after a nominal stem which ends in *śata,* and either begins wth *adhyardha,* or is a compound termed *dvigu.* Consider *adhyardhaśatyam/ adhyardhaśatam*; *dviśatyam/ dviśatam* as examples.

5.1.36 द्वित्रिपूर्वादण् च

dvitripūrvād aṇ ca

/*dvitripūrvāt* 5/1 = (*dvau ca trayaś ca* (*dv.*), *dvitrayaḥ pūrve yasmin* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *aṇ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ārhāt* #18, *adhyardhapūrvadvigoḥ* #28, *yat* #34, *śāṇāt* #36)
dvitripūrvāt śāṇāntāt prātipadikāt ārhīyeṣv artheṣu aṇ pratyayaś ca bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs to denote the sense of affixes introduced by rules prior to, and including 5.1.63 *tad arhati*, after a nominal stem which ends in *śāṇa* and is used in combination after *dvi* and *tri*.

EXAMPLES:

dvaiśāṇam 'purchased with two Śāṇas'
dviśāṇam 'id.'
dviśāṇyam 'id.'
traiśāṇyam 'purchased with three Śāṇas'
triśāṇam 'id.'
triśāṇyam 'id.'

1. Note that this is a *vārttika* which *Kāśikā* reads as a *sūtra*. The *aṆ* introduced under this provision becomes optional to *ṭhaÑ* and *yaT*. Thus, we get three forms: one each for: *ṭhaÑ*, *yaT*, and *aṆ*. Thus, *dvaiśāṇam* (*aṆ*), *dviśāṇam* (*ṭhaÑ*) and *dvaiśāṇyam* (*yaT*), etc. The initial *vṛddhi* in derivates of *aṆ* and *yaT* is accomplished by 7.3.17 *parimāṇāntasyāsaṃjñāśāṇayoḥ*.

2. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 5.1.35 *śāṇād vā*) considers this rule as a *vārttika*. Kaiyaṭa (*Pradīpa* ad 5.1.35) does not accept it *ārṣa* 'formulated by Pāṇini' (*sūtreṣv anārṣaḥ pāṭha iti vārttikārambhaḥ*). Haradatta calls it an interpolation (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *vārttike darśanāt sūtreṣv etal prakṣiptam*). I have included it here as a *sūtra* since *Kāśikā* and *Siddhāntakaumudī* both do the same.

5.1.37 तेन क्रीतम्

tena krītam
/*tena* 3/1 *krītam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt* '*krītam*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs, as specified to denote the sense of *krītam*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to examples already discussed under preceding rules.

1. Our preceding rules have enumerated thirteen affixes: *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*); *ṭhaK* (5.1.18 *ārhād agopuccha* . . .); *ṭhaN*/*yaT* (5.1.121 *śatāc*

ca . . .); *kaN* (5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyāḥ* . . .); *ḌvuN* (5.1.24 *viṃśatitriṃśad* . . .); *ṬIṭhaN* (5.1.25 *kaṃsāt ṭiṭhan*); *aÑ* (5.1.26 *śūrpād anyatarasyām*); *aṆ* (5.1.27 *śatamāna-viṃśatika* . . .); *kha* (5.1.32 *viṃśatikāt khaḥ*); *īkaN* (5.1.33 *khāryā īkan*); *yaT* (5.1.34 *paṇapādamāṣa* . . .); and *aṆ* (5.1.36 *dvitripūrvād* . . .). Pāṇini now starts specifying nominal endings which enable stems to become syntactically related (*samartha*). Additionally, this rule also begins specifying the denotata of enumerated affixes. Thus, *tena*, i.e., *tad*, a variable used with *tṛtīyā*, states that an affix, as specified, can occur after a nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* to denote the sense of *krītam* 'purchased by. . . .'

2. Note that, because of affixal meaning of *krītam* 'purchased by . . .', *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' of *tena* is interpreted as occurring after those stems which denote *mūlya* 'purchase price' as *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Thus, parallel to *śatena krītaḥ*, we get *śatikaḥ* where *śata* of *śatena* denotes 'purchase price, a *karaṇa* by means of which something was 'purchased' (*krītam*). This derivational option is not available to strings such as *devadattena krītam* 'purchased by Devadatta' and *pāṇinākrītam* 'purchased by hand' where *tṛtīyā*, after *devadatta* and *pāṇi*, denotes agent and instrument, respectively. More importantly, *devadatta* and *pāṇi* do not denote 'purchase price'. Derivates with the denotatum of *krītam* where instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) may denote something other than a 'purchase price' are not available in usage. Usages are also responsible for lack of derivates where such affixes could be introduced after a base ending in dual or plural nominal ending (*Kāś.*: *dvivacana-bahuvacanāntāt pratyayo na bhavati*). Thus, no affix can be introduced after *prastha* to denote the sense of *krītam*, parallel to *prasthābhyām krītam* and *prasthebhyaḥ krītam* where *prastha* ends in dual and plural, respectively. However, a base with a dual or plural ending could receive such affixes, provided the meaning of the base itself provides evidence for distinguishing it on the basis of duality and plurality (*Kāś.*: *yatra tu prakṛtyarthasya saṃkhyābhedāvagame pramāṇam asti tatra dvivacana-bahuvacanāntād api pratyayo bhavati*). Thus, a nominal stem, for example *dvi* of *dvābhyāṃ krītam* could qualify to receive an affix to derive *dvikam*. Additionally, consider *mudgaiḥ krītam* = *maudgikam* 'purchased by Mung beans' where plural in *mudgaiḥ* is necessary because it is impossible to buy anything with a single grain of Mung beans.

5.1.38 तस्य निमित्तं संयोगोत्पातौ

tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau

/ *tasya* 6/1 *nimittam* 1/1 *saṃyogotpātau* 1/2 = *saṃyogaś ca utpātaś ca* (*itar. dv.*) /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt* '*nimittam*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati, yat tannimittaṃ saṃyogaś cet sa bhavati utpāto vā*

A *taddhita* affix occurs to denote a cause (*nimitta*) after a syntactically

related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', provided the cause is also *saṃyoga* 'coincidence, connection' or *utpāta* 'portent.

EXAMPLES:

śatyaḥ = śatasya nimittaṃ dhanapatinā saṃyogaḥ 'connection with a rich man caused by gain of a hundred . . .'
śatikaḥ 'id.'
śatyam = śatasya nimittam utpāto dakṣiṇākṣispandanam 'twitching of the right eye-lid, a portent indicating gain of a hundred . . .'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *saṃyoga* and *utpāta* as *sambandha* 'association, connection' and *prāṇināṃ śubhāśubhasūcakaḥ pariṇāmaḥ* 'providential acts indicating good or bad results'. Commentators explain that a human body is made of five prime substances (*pañcamahābhūta*): *pṛthivī* 'earth', *ap* 'water', *tejas* 'fire, light', *vāyu* 'wind', and *ākāśa* 'ether'. These substances are known as *utpāta* when they are triggered into action (*kriyā*). The twitching of the right eye-lid (*dakṣiṇākṣi-spandana*) serves as an example. Note, however, that *nimitta* is used here as a *jñāpakahetu* 'cause indicating effect'.

2. A *vārttika* recommends that affix *ṭhaK* should also be introduced after *vāta* 'wind', *pitta* 'choler' and *śleṣma* 'phlegm', provided derivates denote *śamana* 'containment' or *kopana* 'irritation'. Thus we get: *vātikaḥ śākaḥ* 'leafy vegetable which may contain, or cause, gas' and *ślaiṣmikaṃ madhu* 'honey which soothes cough'. Yet another *vārttika* recommends this affixal operation also after *sannipāta* concurrent disorder of 'wind', 'choler' and 'phlegm' to produce: *sānnipātikam*, a medicine which may cure such disorders.

5.1.39 **गोद्व्यचोऽसंख्यापरिमाणाश्वादेर्यत्**

godvyaco' saṃkhyāparimāṇāśvāder yat
/*godvyacaḥ* 5/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *gau ca dvyac ca = godvyac* (*bv.* with int. *sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *asaṃkhyāparimāṇāśvādeḥ = aśva ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *saṃkhyā ca parimāṇaṃ ca aśvādayaś ca*; *na saṃkhyāparimāṇāśvādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau* #38)
gośabdād dvyacaś ca prātipadikāt saṃkhyāparimāṇāśvādivivarjitād yat pratyayo bhavati 'tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote a cause after *go* 'cow, bull', or after a nominal stem which consists of two syllables but does not signify a 'number' (*saṃkhyā*) and 'measure' (*parimāṇa*), and does not belong to the group of stems headed by *aśva* (*aśvādi*), provided the cause is also *saṃyoga* 'connection' or *utpāta* 'portent'.

EXAMPLES:

gavyaḥ 'connection or portent indicating gain of a cow'

svargyam 'connection or portent indicating attainment of heaven'
yaśasyam 'connection or portent indicating fame'
āyuṣyam 'connection, or portent indicating longevity'

1. This provision of *yaT* constitutes an exception to *ṭhaÑ* and *ṭhaK*, etc. The exclusion of *saṃkhyā, parimāṇa* and *aśvādi* is intended to block a derivate of *yaT* parallel to *pañcamam, khārīkam* and *āśvikaḥ*, etc., with *kaN, ṭhaÑ* and *ṭhaK*, respectively.

2. A *vārttika* recommends introduction of *yaT* after *brahmavarcas* to account for *brahmavarcasyam* 'association (with a teacher) for purposes of studying the nature of *brahman* (the supreme self)'.

5.1.40 पुत्राच्छ च

putrāc cha ca
/*putrāt* 5/1 *cha* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau* #38)
putraśabdāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca 'tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs to denote a cause after syntactically related nominal stem *putra* 'son', when ending in genitive, provided the cause is also *saṃyoga* 'connection' or *utpāta* 'portent'.

EXAMPLES:

putrīyam = *putrasya nimittaṃ saṃyoga utpāto vā* 'a cause or portent indicating birth of a son'
putryam 'id.'

1. This optional provision of *cha* is made against *yaT* which is obligatorily available to *putra* on account of its status as *dvyac* 'disyllabic'.

5.1.41 सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामणञौ

sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyām aṇañau
/*sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *aṇañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau* #38)
sarvabhūmi-pṛthivīśabdābhyām yathāsaṃkhyam aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur to denote a cause after syntactically related nominal stems *sarvabhūmi* 'entire earth' and *pṛthivī* 'earth, land', respectively, when they end in genitive, provided the cause is also *saṃyoga* 'connection' or *utpāta* 'portent'.

EXAMPLES:

sārvabhaumaḥ 'connection, or portent, relative to the entire earth'
pārthivaḥ 'connection, or portent, relative to the land'

1. This affixal provision constitutes an exception to *ṭhaK*. Note that affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* cannot be introduced, respectively, to denote the sense of *saṃyoga* and *utpāta*. A *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalency in accord with the order of enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .)' of these affixes relative to *saṃyoga* and *utpāta* cannot be justified, because they both serve as qualifiers to their meaning. Consequently, their *yathāsaṃkhya* relationship must be restricted relative to the two bases: *sarvabhūmi* and *pṛthivī*.

The word *sarvabhūmi* is listed in the group of stems headed by *anuśatika*. Consequently, rule 7.3.20 *anuśatikādīnāṃ ca* applies to cause *vṛddhi* of both syllables of *sarvabhūmi*.

5.1.42 **तस्येश्वरः**

tasyeśvaraḥ
/ *tasya* 6/1 *īśvaraḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyām aṇañau* #41)
'*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthābhyāṃ sarvabhūmi-pṛthivīśabdābhyām aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ* '*īśvaraḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur, respectively, after syntactically related nominal stems *sarvabhūmi* and *pṛthivī* when they end in genitive and derivates signify *īśvara* 'lord, master'.

EXAMPLES:

sārvabhaumaḥ 'lord of the entire earth'
pārthivaḥ 'lord of the land'

1. The explicit use of *tasya* in this *sūtra*, especially when *tasya* is already available from *anuvṛtti*, is made to block the *anuvṛtti* of *tasya nimittaṃ saṃyogotpātau* (*Kāś.*: *ṣaṣṭhīprakaraṇe ṣaṣṭhīsamarthavibhaktinirdeśaḥ pratyayārthasya nivṛttaye anyathā saṃyogotpātāv iva īśvaro' pi pratyayārthasya nimittasya viśeṣaṇaṃ sambhāvyeta*). For, if *tasya* was not used, *īśvara* could have also become a qualifier to the affixal meaning of cause (*nimitta*), similar to *saṃyoga* and *utpāta*.

2. The initial *vṛddhi* of both *sarva* and *bhūmi* in *sārvabhaumikaḥ* is required by 7.3.20 *anuśatikādīnāṃ ca*.

5.1.43 **तत्र विदित इति च**

tatra vidita iti ca
/ *tatra* ϕ *viditaḥ* 1/2 *iti* ϕ *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyām aṇañau* #41)

'*tatra*' *iti saptamīsamarthābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyam aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ* '*viditaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe*

The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur, respectively, after syntactically related nominal stems *sarvabhūmi* and *pṛthivī*, when ending in locative, provided derivates denote the sense of *viditaḥ* 'known'.

EXAMPLES:

sarvabhūmau viditaḥ = *sārvabhaumaḥ* '. . . known throughout the world'
pārthivaḥ '. . . known throughout the land'

1. Note that this rule could have been formulated jointly with the preceding one as: *tasyeśvaras tatra vidita iti ca.* This would have given the paraphrase: *sarvabhūmipṛthivībhyāṃ tasyeśvaras tatra vidita it ca aṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ* 'affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *sarvabhūmi* and *pṛthivī,* when ending in genitive and locative, to denote the sense of 'lord of that' and 'known in there'. Such a formulation would have occasioned *yathāsaṃkhya,* thereby facilitating affix *aṆ* with the denotatum of 'lord' after *sarvabhūmi* ending in genitive. Affix *aÑ,* with the signification of 'known', would have then been restricted to occur after *pṛthivī* ending in locative. A separate formulation is made so that *yathāsaṃkhya* could be impaired (*yathāsaṃkhyanirāsārtham*). Additionally, a separate formulation becomes necessary since only *viditaḥ* is required in the subsequent rule (*uttarārtham*).

5.1.44 लोकसर्वलोकाट्ठञ्

lokasarvalokāt ṭhañ

/ *lokasarvalokāt* 5/1 = *lokaś ca sarvalokaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ṭhañ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *aṇañau* #41, *tatra viditaḥ* #43)

loka-sarvalokaśabdābhyāṃ tatreti saptamīsamarthābhyāṃ '*viditaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of *viditaḥ,* after syntactically related nominal stems *loka* 'universe' and *sarvaloka* 'entire universe' when ending in locative.

EXAMPLES:

loke viditaḥ = *laukikaḥ* 'known throughout the world'
sarvaloke viditaḥ = *sārvalaukikaḥ* 'known throughout the entire universe'

1. The double *vṛddhi* in *sārvalaukikaḥ* is in consonance with 7.3.20 *anuśatikādīnāṃ ca.* Note that a specification of *ṭhaÑ,* in all instances, is made to rule out *ṭhaK.* If a specification was simply made by the base then *ṭhaK* of 5.1.19 *ārhād* . . . would become operative (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *sarvatra ṭhañgraha-*

ṇaṃ ṭhako nivṛtyartham; anyathā hi prakṛtimātranirdeśe kriyamāṇe ārhād iti ṭhak prasajyeta).

5.1.45 तस्य वापः

tasya vāpaḥ
/*tasya* 6/1 *vāpaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād* '*vāpaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the locus of sowing (*tasya vāpaḥ*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in genitive.

EXAMPLES:

prasthasya vāpaḥ kṣetraṃ = *prāsthikam* 'a field in which seeds equal to a measure of Prastha can be sown'
drauṇikam 'a field which requires seeds equal to a measure of Droṇa for sowing'

1. Note that *vāpaḥ* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* signifying *adhikaraṇa* 'locus', parallel to *upyate'smin* 'that (a locus) in which something is sown . . .' (3.3.121 *halaś ca*).

5.1.46 पात्रात् ष्ठन्

pātrāt ṣṭhan
/*pātrāt* 5/1 *ṣṭhan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya vāpaḥ* #45)
pātraśabdāt ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati '*tasya vāpaḥ*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem, namely *pātra* 'container' ending in genitive, when the derivate denotes a 'locus of sowing'.

EXAMPLES:

pātrasya vāpaḥ = *pātrikaṃ kṣetram* 'a field which requires a particular container-ful of seeds for sowing'
pātrikī kṣetrabhaktiḥ 'a furrow which requires a particular container-ful of seeds for sowing'

1. Note that *pātra* here denotes *parimāṇa*. Affix *ṢṭhaN* is thus an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. The *Ṣ* as an *it* facilitates introduction of feminine affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*), for example in *pātrikī*.

5.1.47 तदस्मिन्वृद्ध्यायलाभशुल्कोपदा दीयते

tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate
/*tat* 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *dīyate* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tat*' *iti prathamāsamarthād asminn iti saptamyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati, yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ vṛddhyādi cet tad dīyate*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *saptamī* (*adhikaraṇa* 'locus') after syntactically related nominal stems *vṛddhi* 'interest', *āya* 'income', *lābha* 'profit', *śulka* 'tax' and *upadā* 'bribe', all ending in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided the denotatum of these nominals serves as object of giving (*dīyate*).

EXAMPLES:

pañcakaḥ 'that for which five is paid as interest, income, profit, tax, or bribe'
śatikaḥ 'that for which a hundred is paid as interest, income, profit, tax, or bribe'

1. Note that *vṛddha-āya-lābha-śulkopadāḥ,* in nominative plural, is a *dvandva* compound. If *vṛddhi,* etc., are specified as objects in relation to *dā* 'to give', the third singular passive of *dā* 'to give', i.e., *dīyate,* should be changed to plural *dīyante.* Commentators explain that singular in *dīyate* requires *vṛddhi,* etc., to be associated with it individually, and not collectively (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *na ca taiḥ samuditaiḥ kriyate, kiṃ tarhi, pratyekam*).

The word *vṛddhi,* because of its association (*sāhacarya*) here with stems denoting money (*dhana*), is interpreted as a particular kind of money (*dhanaviśeṣa*). It does not here refer to the technical term *vṛddhi. Kāśikā* explains *vṛddhi* 'interest' as the money which is paid by a debtor on top of what his creditor loaned (*adhamarṇena mūladhanātiriktaṃ deyaṃ dhanam*). The word *āya* is explained as 'money paid to local authorities' (*grāmādiṣu svāmigrāhyo bhāgaḥ*). The money which one gets on top of what one invests is called *lābha* 'profit' (*paṭādīnām upādānamūlād atiriktaṃ dravyam*). The word *śulka* is explained as 'money paid to the king for protection and governance' (*rājabhāgaḥ*). Finally, *upadā* is explained as *utkoca* 'bribe'.

2. A *vārttika* also extends this affixal operation to derivates denoting the sense of *caturthī.* Thus, *pañcako devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta to whom five is given as interest, etc.'.

5.1.48 पूरणार्धाट्ठन्

pūraṇārdhāṭ ṭhan
/*pūraṇārdhāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ṭhan* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate* #47)
pūraṇavācinaḥ śabdād ardhaśabdāc ca ṭhan pratyayo bhavati 'tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN* occurs to denote locus after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and either signifies an ordinal (*pūraṇa*), or is constituted by *ardha*, provided derivates denote *vṛddhi, āya, lābha, śulka* and *upadā* as object given.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyo vṛddhyādir asmin dīyate = *dvitīyakaḥ* 'that in which one pays twice as much interest, income, profit, tax and bribe'
ardhikaḥ 'that in which one pays one-half of a Rūpaka as interest, income, profit, tax and bribe'

1. This affixal provision is made as an exception to *ṭhaK* (5.1.19 *ārhād* . . .) and *ṬIṭhaN* (*vt.*: *ardhāc ceti vaktavyam ad* 5.1.25 *kaṃsāṭ ṭiṭhan*). Incidentally, *ardha* is used here in the sense of one-half of a Rūpaka (Kārṣāpaṇa).

5.1.49 भागाद्यच्च

bhāgād yac ca
/ *bhāgāt* 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate* #47)
bhāgaśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati cakārāt ṭhaṃś ca 'tad asmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, in addition to *ṭhaN*, occurs to denote locus after a syntactically related nominal stem *bhāga* 'share' when ending in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided derivates denote *vṛddhi, āya, lābha, śulka* and *upadā* as objects of giving.

EXAMPLES:

bhāgo vṛddhyādir asmin dīyate = *bhāgyam/ bhāgikaṃ śatam* 'that for which one pays one-half of a Kārṣāpaṇa per every hundred as interest, income, profit, tax and bribe.'
bhāgyā/ bhāgikā viṃśatiḥ 'that for which one pays one-half of a Kārṣāpaṇa on every twenty as interest, income, profit, tax and bribe'

1. The word *bhāga* is also used here in the sense of one-half of a Kārṣāpaṇa.

5.1.50 तद्धरति वहत्यावहति भाराद्वंशादिभ्यः

taddharati vahatyāvahati bhārād vaṃśādibhyaḥ
/ *tat* 2/1 *harati* (verbal *pada*) *vahati* (verbal *pada*) *āvahati* (verbal *pada*

bhārāt 5/1 *vaṃśādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *vaṃśa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*) (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1., *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthādd haratyādiṣv artheṣu yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*

A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after syntactically related nominal stem *bhāra*, when ending in accusative (*dvitīyā*), and occurring in combination after a nominal listed in the group headed by *vaṃśa*, provided derivates denote the sense of *harati* 'carries, steals', *vahati* 'conveys' and *āvahati* 'brings'.

EXAMPLES:

vaṃśabhāraṃ harati, vahati, āvahati vā = *vāṃśabhārikaḥ* 'one who carries, conveys or brings the load of bamboo'

1. Note that *bhārāt* and *vaṃśādibhyaḥ* are both in *pañcamī* 'ablative', though specified with different numbers. This impairs syntactic coordination between them. Consequently, they are construed with different denotatum (*vyadhikaraṇa*). That is, *vaṃśādibhyaḥ* is interpreted as 'after those which have *vaṃśa*, etc., at their beginning'. The word *bhārāt* is interpreted as 'that which ends in *bhāra*'. They both, thus, qualify the base, yielding the following interpretation: after a nominal stem which ends in *bhāra* occurring after a nominal of the group headed by *vaṃśa*. There is yet another interpretation of *bhārād vaṃśādibhyaḥ*, whereby an affix is introduced after *vaṃśa*, etc., when they constitute the load (*bhārabhūta*). This will require interpreting *bhārāt* as *bhārabhūtāt* and, in order for it to qualify *vaṃśādibhyaḥ*, its singular has to be read as plural to yield *bhārabhūtebhyo vaṃśādibhyaḥ*. This second interpretation is not favored since one has to establish modifier-modified relationship between *bhāra* and *vaṃśādi*, via meaning (*arthadvāra*). *Kāśikā* claims that since Pāṇini himself taught this *sūtra* to students with these dual interpretations, they both should be accepted (*Kāś.*: *sūtrārthadvayam api caitad ācāryeṇa śiṣyāḥ pratipāditāḥ tad ubhayam api grāhyam*).

2. The condition of *bhārāt* is necessary to exclude derivates parallel to *vaṃśaṃ harati* where *bhāra* is not involved. The condition of *vaṃśādibhyaḥ* rules out derivates parallel to *vrīhibhāraṃ harati* where *bhāra* is not used with *vaṃśādi*.

3. Verbal form *harati* is explained as: *deśāntaraṃ prāpayati corayati vā* 'carries to a different place or steals'. Verbal form *vahati* is glossed as: *utkṣipya dhārayati* 'picks up and carries'. Finally, *āvahati* is used in the sense of *utpādayati* 'produces'.

5.1.51 **वस्नद्रव्याभ्यां ठन्कनौ**

vasnadravyābhyāṃ ṭhankanau

/*vasnadravyābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ṭhankanau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tadd harati vahatyāvahati* #50)
vasna-dravyaśabdābhyāṃ dvitīyāsamarthābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṭhan-kan ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaN* and *kaN* occur, respectively, after syntactically related nominal stems *vasna* 'initial investment' and *dravya* 'things, money', when ending in accusative, provided derivates denote the sense of *harati, vahati* and *āvahati.*

EXAMPLES:

vasnikaḥ 'one who carries, conveys or produces investment money'
dravyakaḥ 'one who carries, conveys, or produces things (money)'

1. This rule introduces *ṭhaN* and *kaN,* respectively, after *vasna* and *dravya* against affix *ṭhaK* of our earlier rule. The initial *vṛddhi* does not obtain since affixes are marked with *N.* The word *vasna* is glossed as *mūlya* 'investment money'.

5.1.52 सम्भवत्यवहरति पचति

sambhavaty avaharati pacati
/ *sambhavaty avaharati pacati* (verbal *padas*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #50)
'*tad' iti dvitīyāsamarthāt sambhavatyādiṣu artheṣu yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *sambhavati* '... is possible ...', *avaharati* '... carries away, withdraws' and *pacati* '... cooks' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'.

EXAMPLES:

prasthaṃ sambhavaty avaharati pacati vā = *prāsthikaḥ* 'that (pot) which could hold, or in which one carries or cooks, something equal to the measure of one Prastha'

1. Note that *sambhavati* implies that 'the measure of a thing contained (*ādheya*)' does not exceed 'the capacity of its locus' (*ādhāra; ādhārapramāṇād ādheyapramāṇasya nyūnatā*). Why do we have to state it explicitly when we already know that things contained in a container do not exceed its capacity. This container-contained relationship, and hence the sense of *sambhavati,* is not always understood in the context of cooking (*pāka*). Thus, consider *prasthaṃ pacati brāhamaṇī* 'a Brāhmaṇa woman cooks something equal to the measure of a Prastha' where the capacity of the pot is not clearly known. Now consider *sthālīprasthaṃ pacati brāhmaṇī* 'a Brāhmaṇa woman cooks in a

kettledrum capable of cooking (or containing) something equal to the measure of one Prastha' where the condition of *sambhavati* obtains. It is for this reason that *sambhavati* is not relatable here to *pacati*.

2. A *vārttika* recommends that *aṆ* should also be optionally introduced after *droṇa* to account for: *drauṇikī/ drauṇī*, parallel to *droṇaṃ pacati brāhmaṇī*.

5.1.53 आढकाचितपात्रात्खोऽन्यतरस्याम्

āḍhakācitapātrāt kho' nyatarasyām
/ *āḍhakācitapātrāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *khaḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #50, *sambhavaty avaharati pacati* #52)
āḍhakācitapātraśabdebhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyo' nyatarasyāṃ sambhahavādiṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs optionally, to denote the sense of *sambhavati, avaharati,* and *pacati,* after syntactically related nominal stems *āḍhaka, ācita* and *pātra* when they end accusative.

EXAMPLES:

āḍhakaṃ sambhavaty avaharati pacati vā āḍhakīnā/ āḍhakikī; ācitīnā/ ācitikī; pātrīṇā/pātrikī 'a (pot) for which it is possible to contain, carry and cook something equal in measure to an āḍhaka, ācita and pātra'

1. Note that *āḍhaka* and *ācita* denote particular measures of weight. The *Amarakośa* explains *ācita* as equal in weight to a fully loaded bullock-cart (less than a ton). The *āḍhaka* equals a little less than 2.5 kg. Finally, *pātra* literally means a pot, but is here used in the sense of a generalized (*sāmānya*) measure. Affix *kha* is, of course, introduced optionally with *ṭhaÑ*. Feminine affixes *ṬāP* and *ṄīP* are introduced after derivates of *kha* and *ṭhaÑ*, respectively.

5.1.54 द्विगोः ष्ठंश्च

dvigoṣ ṣṭhaṃś ca
/ *dvigoḥ* 5/1 *ṣṭhan* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #50, *sambhavaty avaharati pacati* #52, *āḍhakācitapātrāt anyatarasyām* #53)
āḍhakācitapātrāntād dvigoḥ sambhavatyādiṣv artheṣu ṣṭhan pratyayo bhavati cakārāt khaḥ anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭhaN*, and *kha* as well, occurs optionally to denote the sense of *sambhavati, avaharati* and *pacati,* after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *dvigu* which contains *āḍhaka, ācita* and *pātra* as its final constituent and ends in accusative.

EXAMPLES:

dvyāḍhakī/ dvyāḍhakīnā/ dvyāḍhakī ('that which is capable to hold, carry or cook, something equal in measure of two) āḍhakas'
dvyācitikī/ dvyācitīnā/ dvyācitā ('that which is capable to hold, carry and cook something equal in measure of two) ācitas'
dvipātrikī/ dvipātrīṇā/ dvipātrī ('that which is capable to hold, carry and cook something equal in measure of two pots')

1. Affix *kha* is here introduced optionally with *ṭhaÑ*. This will yield three forms: *dvyācitikī/ dvyācitīnā/ dvyācitā*, etc. Note, however, that deletion by *LUK* (5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva* . . .) will apply to derivates of *ṭhaÑ*. Derivates of *ṢṭhaN* and *kha* will be spared this deletion at the strength of its express provision made by this rule (*vacanasāmarthya*). The *N* as an *it* is for accent (*svara*). The *Ṣ* is, of course, for facilitating feminine derivates in *ṄīṢ*.

2. Affix *ṄīP* is not introduced after *dvyācita* (4.1.21 *dvigoḥ*) since it is blocked by 4.1.22 *aparimāṇabistācita*. . . . Note that, in accord with an *iṣṭi* (*Mbh.* ad 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam: akārāntottarapado dviguḥ striyāṃ bhāṣyate*), affix *ṄīP* is introduced after a *dvigu* compound ending in *a*. However, the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam: pāttrādibhyaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ*) blocks the same after a *dvigu* ending in *pātra*, etc. Thus, a form such as *dvipātrī* should be read as *dvipātram*. This will be similar to *pañcapātram*, etc. *Kāśikā* and *SK* still cite the example as *dvipātrī*.

5.1.55 कुलिजाल्लुक्खौ च

kulijāl lukkhau ca
/*kulijāt* 5/1 *lukkhau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #50, *sambhavaty avaharati pacati* #52, *anyatarasyām* #53, *dvigoṣ ṭhan* #54/
kulijaśabdāntād dvigoḥ sambhavatyādiṣv artheṣu lukkhau bhavataḥ cakārāt ṭhaṃś ca
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, and *LUK* in place of *ṢṭhaN* as well, occurs optionally to denote the sense of *sambhavati, avaharati* and *pacati*, after a syntactically related nominal stem termed *dvigu* which contains *kulija* as its final constituent and ends in accusative.

EXAMPLES:

dve kulije sambhavaty avaharati pacati vā =
dvikulijikī/ dvikulijīnā/ dvikulijā/ dvaikulijikī ('that which is capable to hold, carry or cook something equal in measure of two kulija'),

1. Note that deletion by *LUK* does not apply to *kha* and *ṢṭhaN*, where *ṢṭhaN* is brought here at the strength of *ca*. Thus, this express introduction of *kha* and *ṢṭhaN* will become meaningless if *LUK* were to delete them. What

does this deletion apply to? It applies to the general (*autsargika*) affix *ṭhaÑ*. But it does so only optionally, since *anyatarasyām* is also read with *LUK*. This will produce four forms: one each with *kha* and *ṢṭhaN*; additional two with *ṭhaN* and its deletion by *LUK*. Thus, consider *dvaikulijikī* and *dvikulijā* which are derivates of *ṭhaÑ* with feminine affixes *ṄīP* and *ṬāP*. Our second example involves deletion by *LUK*. Derivates of *kha* and *ṢthaN* are: *dvikulijīnā* and *dvikulijikī*. How come *vṛddhi* is not applicable to *u* of *kulija* which denotes *parimāṇa* and is combined as the following constituent in the compound. This *vṛddhi* is blocked in view of an *iṣṭi* of the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 7.3.20 *parimāṇāntasyāsaṃjñāśāṇayoḥ: kulijagrahaṇam apīṣyate*).

5.1.56 सोऽस्यांशवस्नभृतयः

so'syāṃśavasnabhṛtayaḥ
/*saḥ* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *aṃśavasnabhṛtayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'sa' iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ parimāṇam aṃśavasnabhṛtayaś cet tā bhavanti
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided it signifies *aṃśa* 'share', *vasna* 'invested capital' and *bhṛti* 'wages, salary'.

EXAMPLES:

pañca aṃśo vasno bhṛtir vāsya = *pañcakaḥ* 'one whose share, investment or wages is five . . .'
sāhasraḥ 'one whose share, investment or wages is a thousand . . .'

5.1.57 तदस्य परिमाणम्

tad asya parimāṇam
/*tat* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *parimāṇam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'tat' iti prathamāsamarthād 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati yat prathamāsamarthaṃ parimāṇaṃ cet tad bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā*, provided what ends in *prathamā* denotes a measure (*parimāṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

prasthaṃ parimāṇam asya = *prāsthiko rāśiḥ* 'a heap or pile (of grains) equal in measure to a Prastha'

khāraśatikaḥ 'a pile or heap (of grains) equal in measure to a hundred Khārīs'
varṣaśatikam = *varṣaśataṃ parimāṇam asya* 'that (a sacrifice) which has hundred years as its measure (extent)'
varṣasāhasrikam 'that (a sacrifice) which has a thousand years as its measure (extent)'
ṣāṣṭikaḥ 'he whose measure (extent) of life is sixty years'

1. Note that *parimāṇa* is used here in the sense of a standard of measure (*pramāṇamātra*). It is not used here, for example, in the sense of a particular measure of weight. That *parimāṇa* of this rule also includes *saṃkhyā* is additionally made clear by qualifying *saṃkhyā* with *parimāṇa* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *uttarasūtre saṃkhyāyāḥ parimāṇena viśeṣaṇāt*). Thus, in examples such as *ṣāṣṭikaḥ*, a number (*saṃkhyā*) can also qualify as denoting *parimāṇa*.

2. A question is raised against explicitly specifying base and affixal meaning with *tad asya*, especially when the same is already available via *anuvṛtti*. Commentators explain that *tad asya* is used for reintroducing an affix (*punarvidhāna*). Consider *dviṣāṣṭikaḥ*, parallel to *dve ṣaṣṭhī parimāṇam asya* 'one whose measure of life is two times sixty'. Recall that affix *ṭhaÑ* is available from 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*. This, however, is subject to deletion by *LUK* of 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvadvigor*. . . . It is at the strength of this reintroduction (*punarvidhāna-sāmarthya*) that deletion by *LUK* does not take effect.

5.1.58 **संख्यायाः संज्ञासंघसूत्राध्ययनेषु**

saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃjñāsaṃghasūtrādhyayaneṣu
/*saṃkhyāyāḥ* 5/1 *saṃjñāsaṃghasūtrādhyayaneṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57)
saṃkhyāvācinaḥ prātipadikāt parimāṇopādhikāt prathamāsamarthād 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and denotes *saṃkhyā* 'number' qualified with *parimāṇa* 'measure', provided the derivate denotes *saṃjñā* 'name', *saṃgha* 'grouping', *sūtra* 'aphorism' and *adhyayana* 'study.

EXAMPLES:

pañcaiva pañcakāḥ śakunayaḥ 'name of five particular birds'
pañcakaḥ saṃghaḥ = *pañca parimāṇam asya* 'group of five'
aṣṭakaṃ pāṇinīyam = *aṣṭāv adhyāyāḥ parimāṇam asya sūtrasya* 'eight chapters of Pāṇini's grammatical rules'
pañcarūpāṇy asya adhyayanasya = *pañcakam adhyayanam* 'a study (program) with five stages, or forms, of repetition'

1. The word *parimāṇa* is used here in the general sense of a measure: that by means of which something is measured (*parimīyate yena tat*). This way, *saṃkhyā* also becomes *parimāṇa*. A *vārttika* states that a derivate under the condition of *saṃjñā* should receive the affix to denote the sense of its own base (*svārtha*). For, a word such as *pañca* denotes things counted (*saṃkhyeya*). It is not used in the sense of counting (*saṃkhyāna*). Since the meaning of the base is not different from the meaning of the derivate, the affix should be treated as introduced to denote *svārtha* 'stem-notion'.

The word *adhyayana* is used in the sense of action (*bhāva*). It does not denote object (*karman*) of study. If *adhyayana* denoted object then separate specification by *sūtra* was not necessary. A question is raised as to why *sūtra* should be stated separately from *saṃgha*. After all, collection of *sūtras* is not different from *saṃgha*. It is stated that *saṃgha* is used in the sense of a 'group of sentient beings (*prāṇin*)'. A question is also raised against examples like *pañcakaḥ saṃghaḥ* where *saṃgha* denotes a single entity. How would it denote the plurality of *pañcatva* 'fiveness'? It is stated that *pañcatva* of *saṃgha* is possible to understand via its constituent parts (*avayava*).

Recall that bases with *saṃkhyā* as their denotatum will qualify for *kaN* of 5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyā atiśadantāyāḥ kan*. A *vārttika* recommends affix *Ḍa* after a base which denotes number, provided the derivate denotes *stoma* 'Mantras (hymns) chanted at the Soma sacrifice'. This accounts for *pañcadaśaḥ stomaḥ*, parallel to *pañcadaśa mantrāḥ parimāṇam asya* 'that of which fifteen hymns are a measure'.

Yet another proposal is made for affix *ḌinI*, in Vedic, after bases ending in *śan* and *śat*. Thus, *pañcadaśinaḥ arddhamāsāḥ* 'fortnights with fifteen days as their measure' and *triṃśino māsāḥ* 'months with thirty days as their measure'. A proposal is also made for *ḌinI* after *viṃśati* to account for *viṃśino'ṅgirasaḥ* 'adherents of Aṅgiras with twenty as their measure', parallel to *viṃśatiḥ parimāṇaṃ eṣām*.

5.1.59 **पंक्तिविंशतित्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम्**

paṅktiviṃśatitriṃśaccatvāriṃśatpañcāśatṣaṣṭisaptatyaśītinavatiśatam
/*paṅktiviṃśatitriṃśaccatvāriṃśatpañcāśatṣaṣṭisaptatyaśītinavatiśatam* 1/1 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57)
paṅktyādayaḥ śabdāḥ nipātyante
The nominal stems *paṅkti*, *viṃśati*, *triṃśat*, *catvāriṃśat*, *pañcāśat*, *ṣaṣṭi*, *saptati*, *aśīti*, *navati*, and *śata* are derived via *nipātana* to denote a measure.

EXAMPLES:

pañca parimāṇam asya = *paṅktiś chandaḥ* 'a Vedic meter with five quar-

ters (*pāda*) of eight syllables each as its measure'
dvau daśatau parimāṇam asya = viṃśatiḥ 'group of two tens'
trayo daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = triṃśat 'group of three tens'
catvāro daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = catvāriṃśat 'group of four tens'
pañca daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = pañcāśat 'group of five tens'
ṣaḍ daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = ṣaṣṭiḥ 'group of six tens'
saptadaśataḥ parimāṇam asya = saptatiḥ 'group of seven tens'
aṣṭau daśataḥ parimāṇam asya = aśītiḥ 'group of eight tens'
navadaśataḥ parimāṇam asya = navatiḥ 'group of nine tens'
daśadaśataḥ parimāṇam asya saṃghasya = śatam 'group of ten tens'

1. *Kāśikā* states that whatever, in these examples, cannot be accomplished by applying individual rules, is accomplished by *nipātana* (*yad iha lakṣaṇenānupapannaṃ tat sarvaṃ nipātanāt siddham*). Thus, affix *ti*, and deletion of *an* (*ṭi-lopa*) of *pañcan*, in deriving *paṅkti*, is accomplished by *nipātana*. The *kutva* (*pañ*(*c*→*k*) + *ti* and *anusvāra-parasavarṇa* (*pa*(*ñ*→*ṃ*)*k* + *ti* = *pa*(*ṃ*→*ṅ*)*k* + *ti* = *paṅkti* is in consonance with 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*, 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* and 8.4.58 *anusvārasya*. . . . Affix *śatiC*, with *vin* as a replacement for *dvidaśat*, derives *viṃśati*, parallel to *dvau daśatau parimāṇaṃ asya*. Affix *śat*, with *trin* as a replacement for *tridaśat*, derives *triṃśat*, parallel to *trayaḥ daśataḥ parimāṇam asya*. Affix *śat* also occurs after *catvārin* and *pañcan*, where *pañcan* is replaced by *pañcā*. The *n* of *catvārin* is replaced with *anusvāra*. Similar details of *nipātana* could be provided also for *ṣaṣṭi*, *saptati*, *aśīti* and *navati*, derived from *ṣaḍdaśat*, *saptadaśat*, *aṣṭadaśat* and *navadaśat*, all used with affix *ti*, where *ṣaḍdaśat*, etc., are replaced with *ṣaṣ*, *sapta*, *aśī* and *nava*, respectively. We get *śatam* parallel to *daśadaśataḥ parimāṇam asya*, where *daśadaśat* is replaced with *śa* before affix *ta*.

Note that these derivational details are offered for heuristic purposes only. Ideally, they should be accepted as derived. There are still many derivates where even these heuristic details are hard to come by. It is therefore not uncommon to find explanations such as: *yathākathaṃcid vyutpādyāḥ* 'should be derived somehow or the other'.

5.1.60 पञ्चद्दशतौ वर्गे वा

pañcaddaśatau varge vā
/*pañcaddaśatau* 1/2 = *pañcac ca daśac ca* (*itar. dv.*); *varge* 7/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57)
'*pañcat daśat*' *ity etau vā nipātyete* '*tad asya parimāṇam*' *ity etasmin viṣaye varge*' *bhidheye*
Forms such as *pañcat* and *daśat* are optionally derived via *nipātana* when derivates signify *varga* 'class' as *parimāṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

pañca parimāṇam asya = pañcad vargaḥ 'that which has a class of five as its measure'
pañcako vargaḥ 'id.'
daśad vargaḥ 'a class of ten . . .'
daśako vargaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *saṃgha* and *varga* are nearly synonymous. This *sūtra* uses *varga* so that the *anuvṛtti* of *sūtra* and *adhyayana* could be stopped. Besides, *saṃgha* signifies a 'group of sentient beings', as against *varga* which denotes a 'group' in general (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *saṃghagrahaṇe prakṛte vargagrahaṇaṃ sūtrādhyayanayor anuvṛttir mā bhūd iti, aprāṇyarthaṃ ca; saṃghaśabdasya prāṇiviṣayatvāt*). This optional *nipātana* condition of *varga* is specified against *kaN* of 5.1.22 *saṃkhyāyā*. . . . Thus, *pañcat* and *daśat* are derived with affix *ḌatI* with *ṭi*-deletion of *an* in *pañcan* and *daśan*. Affix *kaN* will of course yield: *pañcakaḥ* and *daśakaḥ*.

5.1.61 सप्तनोऽञ् छन्दसि

saptano' ñ chandasi
/ *saptanaḥ* 5/1 *añ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57, *varge* #60)
'*saptan*' *śabdāc chandasi viṣaye' ñ pratyayo bhavati varge' bhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs to denote *parimāṇa*, in Vedic, after syntactically related nominal stem *saptan*, when the derivate denotes a class.

EXAMPLES:

sapta sāptāny asṛjan 'created seven classes of (Winds) with seven each as their measure; forty-nine'

5.1.62 त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतोर्ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायां डण्

triṃśaccatvāriṃśator brāhmaṇe saṃjñāyāṃ ḍaṇ
/ *triṃśat-catvāriṃśatoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *brāhmaṇe* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *ḍaṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya parimāṇam* #57)
triṃśat-catvāriṃśac chabdābhyāṃ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye ḍaṇ pratyayo bhavati '*tad asya parimāṇam*' *ity asmin viṣaye brāhmaṇe' bhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *ḌaṆ* occurs to denote *parimāṇa* after nominal stems *triṃśat* and *catvāriṃśat*, provided the derivate names a *brāhmaṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

traiṃśāni brāhmaṇāni 'a *brāhmaṇa* text with thirty (chapters) as its measure; the *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*'

catvāriṃśāni brāhmaṇāni 'a *brāhmaṇa* text with forty (chapters) as its measure; the *Mahaitareya-brāhmaṇa*'

1. Note that *saptamī* 'locative' in *brāhmaṇe* is intended for specifying the denotatum (*abhidheya*) of derivates. It is not used as *viṣaya-saptamī* 'locative of domain', thereby limiting derivates to the language of the Brāhmaṇas. Thus, usages of *mantra* and *bhāṣā* 'classical Sanskrit' will also be covered.

2. This affixal provision of *ḌaṆ* is made against *kaN* which, in turn, is available to *triṃśat* in view of the split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of 5.1.24 *viṃśatitriṃśadbhyām*. . . . Affix *ṭhaÑ* is available to *catvāriṃśat* from 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*. Note that *vṛddhi* and *ṭi*-deletion are both applicable to *triṃśat* + *ḌaṆ* and *catvāriṃśat* + *ḌaṆ*. We then get *traiṃśāni* and *catvāriṃśāni* from *traiṃśa* + *Jas* and *catvāriṃśa* + *Jas*.

5.1.63 तदर्हति

tad arhati
/ *tat* 2/1 *arhati* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthāt* '*arhati*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative' when the derivate signifies '. . . deserves (to receive) that'.

EXAMPLES:

śvetacchatraṃ arhati = *śvaitacchatrikaḥ* 'one who deserves a white umbrella'
vāstrayugmikaḥ 'he (a groom) who deserves the gift of two dresses (at his wedding)'
śatikaḥ 'deserves a hundred'
śatyaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *arhati* is explained as *labdhuṃ yogyaḥ* 'one who deserves to receive'. Note that the first two examples are derived with *ṭhaK* (5.1.19 *ārhādagopucchasaṃkhyā* . . .). These both involve initial *vṛddhi* and replacement in *ika*. The last two examples are optional derivates of *ṭhaN* and *yaT*, respectively (5.1.21 *śatāc ca ṭhanyatāv* . . .).

5.1.64 छेदादिभ्यो नित्यम्

chedādibhyo nityam
/ *chedādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *cheda ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63)

chedādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyo 'nityam arhati' ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the class headed by *cheda* 'cutting, chopping' and ends in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that over and over again'.

EXAMPLES:

chedaṃ nityam arhati = chaidikaḥ 'that which deserves frequent cutting (for example, weeds and grass)'
bhedaṃ nityam arhati = bhaidikaḥ 'that (an enemy) who deserves frequent dissension (in his camp)'

1. Note that *nitya* is used in the sense of *paunaḥpunya* 'repeated action' to qualify affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha-viśeṣaṇa*).
2. A *vārttika* recommends *viraṅga* as a replacement for *virāga* 'detachment', a stem of the *chedādi* group. This will account for *vairaṅgikaḥ*.

5.1.65 शीर्षच्छेदाद्यच्च

śīrṣacchedād yac ca
/ *śīrṣacchedāt* 5/1 *yat* 1/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *nityam* #64)
śīrṣacchedaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthāt 'nityam arhati' ity asminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati cakārād yathāvihitaṃ ca
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, and *ṭha* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *śīrṣaccheda* 'chopping of head' when it ends in accusative and the derivate signifies '. . . deserves over and over again'.

EXAMPLES:

śiraś chedaṃ nityam arhati = śīrṣacchedyaḥ 'a sinner who deserves decapitation over and over again'
śairṣacchedikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *śiras* 'head', in the context of this affixal provision, is replaced with *śīrṣa* via *nipāṭana*.

5.1.66 दण्डादिभ्यः

daṇḍādibhyaḥ
/ *daṇḍādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *daṇḍa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65)
daṇḍādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'arhati' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *daṇḍa* 'punishment', when it ends in accusative and the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍam arhati = daṇḍyaḥ 'one who deserves punishment'
vadham arhati = vadhyaḥ 'one who deserves to be killed'

1. *Kāśikā* has a different reading of this *sūtra*, i.e., *daṇḍādibhyo yaḥ*. Bhaṭṭoji and Nāgeśa both read the *sūtra* simply as *daṇḍādibhyaḥ*, where *yaT* is carried from the preceding rule. This also seems in consonance with the *Mahābhāṣya* where, under 3.1.97 *aco yat, vadhya* is stated to have derived with *yaT* (*vt.* ad 3.1.97 *hano vā yat vadhādeśaś ca*). It is for this reason that Jinendra (*Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*) delcares *daṇḍādibhyo yaḥ* a corrupt reading (*apapāṭha*). Note that *vadha*, a derivate of *han*, is also included in this class of *daṇḍādi*. *Kāśikā* accepts *ya* as the affix, possibly because of accentual differences between derivates of *yaT* and *ya*. I have accepted *daṇḍādibhyaḥ* as the reading of this *sūtra* also in view of the following rule where *yaT* (not *ya*) is needed. Accepting *yaT* as part of this rule also facilitates the process of *anuvṛtti*.

2. Note that *nityam* is dropped from *anuvṛtti*. The word *daṇḍa* is used here in the sense of both action (*kriyā*) and substance (*dravya*). However, even with the meaning of substance, an action meaning, such as one denoted by *prahāra* 'hit, attack', is understood.

5.1.67 छन्दसि च

chandasi ca
/ *chandasi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65)
prātipadikamātrāc chandasi viṣaye 'tad arhati' ity etasminn arthe yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* also occurs, in Vedic, after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *dvitīyā* when the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

udakyā vṛttayaḥ 'wheels (of a chariot) which deserves water for cooling their rims'
yūpyaḥ palāśaḥ 'Palāśa wood which deserves to be used for making ritual post'

1. Note that the *Amarakośa* explains *udakyā* as a woman in her period of menstruation (*rajasvalā*). This meaning does not make much sense in the context of *vṛttayaḥ*. Or may be it does. A woman in her menstrual cycle may

not be allowed to fetch water by herself. She thus may deserve water to be offered.

5.1.68 पात्राद् घंश्च

pātrād ghaṃś ca
/pātrāt 5/1 *ghan* 1/1 *ca* ф/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65)
pātraśabdād ghan pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca 'tad arhati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ghaN*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *pātra* 'pot', ending in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

pātram arhati = *pātriyaḥ* 'one who deserves a pot for eating (worthy of eating together); quantity of something deserving a pot as its measure'
pātryaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *pātra* is used in two senses of 'vessel' (*bhājana*) and 'measure' (*parimāṇa*). Affix *ghaN* is thus an exception to both *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ*. These derivates both involve *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*.

5.1.69 कडङ्करदक्षिणाच्छ च

kaḍaṅkaradakṣiṇāc cha ca
/kaḍaṅkaradakṣiṇāt 5/1 *cha* 1/1 *ca* ф/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65)
kaḍaṅkaradakṣiṇāśabdābhyāṃ chaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārād yac ca 'tad arhati' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *kaḍaṅkara* and *dakṣiṇā*, ending in accusative, provided the derivates signify '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

kaḍaṅkaram arhati = *kaḍaṅkarīyo gauḥ* 'a cow deserving the fodder of beans . . .'
kaḍaṅkaryaḥ 'id.'
dakṣiṇām arhati = *dakṣiṇīyo bhikṣuḥ* 'an ascetic who deserves receiving ritual gift'
dakṣiṇyo brāhmaṇaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who deserves receiving ritual gift'

1. Note that *kaḍaṅgara* is a variant reading for *kaḍaṅkara*. How come *ghaN* is not brought to this rule via *ca*? Because only *yaT* is marked with *svarita*.

2. The word *dakṣiṇā* should have been placed first in the wording of this rule because it contains fewer vowels (2.2.34 *alpāc taram*). It was not placed first to indicate the *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in accord with enumeration' (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .) does not apply here. That is, one cannot introduce affixes *cha* and *yaT* after *kaḍaṅkara* and *dakṣiṇā*, respectively.

5.1.70 स्थालीबिलात्

sthālībilāt
/*sthālībilāt* 5/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63, *yat* #65, *cha* #69)
sthālībilaśabdāc chayatau pratyayau bhavataḥ 'tad arhati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, and *yaT* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *sthālībila* ending in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies '. . . deserves that'.

EXAMPLES:

sthālībilam arhanti = *sthālībilīyās taṇḍulāḥ* 'grains of rice which (because of their quality and quantity), deserve to be cooked with water full to the brim of the pot'

1. The word *sthālībila* literally means 'pot-mouth'. Commentators explain *sthālībilya* to mean *pākayogyāḥ* 'worthy of, or fit for, cooking'. But the derivate should then be: *sthālyaḥ*. There must be something special about using the nominal stem *sthālībila*, as against *sthālī*. That is, unless *sthālībila* is used here in the sense of a special pot good for cooking rice.

5.1.71 यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां घखञौ

yajñartvigbhyāṃ ghakhañau
/*yajñartvigbhyām* 5/2 *ghakhañau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad arhati* #63)
yajñaśabdād ṛtvigśabdāc ca yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ghakhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ tad arhati ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *gha* and *khaÑ* occur, to denote the sense of 'deserves that', after syntactically related nominal stems *yajña* 'ritual sacrifice' and *ṛtvig* 'the presiding priest', respectively, when the stems end in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

yajñiyo brāhmaṇaḥ 'a *brāhmaṇa* who is fit to perform a ritual sacrifice'

ārtvijīno brāhmaṇaḥ 'a *brāhmaṇa* who deserves a Ṛtvik to preside over the ritual sacrifice'

1. Affixes *gha* and *khaÑ* are given here as exceptions to *ṭhaK*. A *vārttika* states that these affixes should also be introduced when *arhati* is to be construed with *yajñakarma* 'performance of a sacrifice' and *ṛtvikkarma* 'presiding over a ritual'. This will account for *yajñiyo deśaḥ* 'place fit for sacrifice' and *ārtvijīno brāhmaṇakulam* 'a brāhmaṇa family whose members are fit to be ṛtviks'. The initial *vṛddhi* in *ārtvijīnaḥ* is *rapara,* used with *r* to follow (1.1.51 *uraṇ raparaḥ*).

5.1.72 **पारायणतुरायणचान्द्रायणं वर्तयति**

pārāyaṇaturāyaṇacāndrāyaṇaṃ vartayati
/*pārāyaṇaturāyaṇacāndrāyaṇam* 2/1 (*dv.*); *vratayati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad*... #63, *ṭhañ* #18)
pārāyaṇādibhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ 'vartayati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *vartayati* 'performs ...' after syntactically related nominal stems *pārāyaṇa* 'recitation', *turāyaṇa* 'a year-long sacrifice' and *cāndrāyaṇa* 'a sacrifice in which, among other things, a vow is undertaken to regulate the intake of food in accord with phases of moon', when stems end in *dvitīyā.*

EXAMPLES:

pārāyaṇaṃ vartayaty adhīte = *pārāyaṇikaś chātraḥ* 'a student who recites (studies) the Vedas from beginning to the end'
turāyaṇikaḥ 'one who engages in a year-long sacrifice named Turāyaṇa'
cāndrāyaṇikaḥ 'one who engages in the sacrifice named Cāndrāyaṇa'

1. Note that *arhati* is not carried. That is, the domain of *ṭhaK* is over. Affix *ṭhaÑ,* henceforth, will find its scope prior to *vatI.* Remember, however, that *tat* in *dvitīyā* is still carried to indicate the nominal ending in which specified bases must end.

The sense of *vartayati,* in the context of *pārāyaṇa,* is given as *adhīte* 'studies'. Although a study involves a teacher as well as a taught, derivates of *pārāyaṇa* are interpreted in relation to students only. Derivates of *turāyaṇa* and *cāndrāyaṇa* are also limited to those who perform them. That is, they are not used in relation to their performing priests. Why? Usages indicating otherwise are not available (*anabhidhānāt*).

5.1.73 **संशयमापन्नः**

saṃśayam āpannaḥ

/*saṃśayam* 2/1 *āpannaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad*. . .#63, *ṭhañ* #18)
saṃśayaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'āpannaḥ' ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *āpannaḥ* '. . . having reached the state of . . .' after syntactically related nominal stem *saṃśaya* 'doubt', when the same ends in *dvitīyā.*

EXAMPLES:

saṃśayam āpannaḥ = *sāṃśayikaḥ sthāṇuḥ* 'he who was firm in his opinion about something became doubtful; or one who became doubtful about a pillar as to whether that was a man'

1. Note that agent (*kartṛ*) and object (*karman*) could both be viewed as 'doubtful'. However, because of lack of usage (*anabhidhānāt*), the affix is used in the sense of doubt relating to object only. The word *āpanna* is a derivate of *Kta* denoting agent (*kartṛ*). The word *saṃśayam* is explicitly stated in *dvitīyā* perhaps to indicate this. For, *tat* is already available via *anuvṛtti.* The *Amarakośa* glosses *sāṃśayikaḥ* as *saṃśayāpannamānasaḥ* 'a person with a doubtful mind', obviously in relation to an agent.

5.1.74 **योजनं गच्छति**

yojanaṃ gacchati
/*yojanam* 2/1 *gacchati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad* . . . #63, *ṭhañ* #18)
yojanaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'gacchati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *gacchati* '. . . goes' after syntactically related nominal stem *yojana* 'a distance of eight miles', when the same ends in *dvitīyā.*

EXAMPLES:

yojanaṃ gacchati = *yojanikaḥ* 'one who travels a distance of eight miles'

1. A *vārttika* also recommends this affixal provision after *krośaśata* 'two hundred miles' and *yojanaśata* 'eight hundred miles' to derive *krauśaśatikaḥ* and *yaujanaśatikaḥ.* Additionally, the sense of the derivate is further extended to also include: *abhigamanam arhati* 'one who deserves to be met by going such distances'. Thus, *krauśaśatiko bhikṣuḥ* 'an ascetic who deserves to be met even by going two hundred miles'; and *yaujanaśatika ācāryaḥ* 'a teacher who deserves to be met even if one has to travel eight hundred miles'.

5.1.75 पथः ष्कन्

pathaḥ ṣkan
/pathaḥ 5/1 *ṣkan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad* . . .#63)
pathinśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'gacchati' ity etasminn arthe ṣkan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢkaN* occurs to denote the sense of 'goes . . .' after syntactically related nominal stem *pathin* 'path', when the same ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

panthānaṃ gacchati = *pathikaḥ* 'a traveler; one who traverses a road'
pathikī 'a female traveler'

1. Note that *N* as an *it* is intended for *svarita* accent. The *Ṣ*, of course, is intended for feminine affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*). These derivates of *pathin* both involve deletion of *n*.

5.1.76 पन्थो ण नित्यम्

pantho ṇa nityam
/panthaḥ 5/1 *ṇa* (deleted 1/1) *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat* #63, *gacchati* #74, *pathaḥ* #75)
pathaḥ pantha ity ayam ādeśo bhavati ṇaś ca pratyayaḥ, nityaṃ gacchati ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa* occurs to denote the sense of '. . .goes over and over again' after syntactically related nominal stem *pathin,* with an additional operation of its concurrent replacement with *pantha,* when the stem ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

panthānaṃ nityaṃ gacchati = *pāntho bhikṣāṃ yācate* 'one who invariably goes on roads begging for alms'

1. Note that *nitya* 'always, repeatedly' is used here as a qualifier to the sense of affix *Ṇa.* Such a qualification is necessary for distinguishing *pāntha* from *pathika,* a derivate of *ṢkaN,* which denotes an occasional traveler. Remember that *pantha* replaces *pathin* only in the context of this affixal provision.

5.1.77 उत्तरपथेनाहृतं च

uttarapathenāhṛtaṃ ca

/*uttarapathena* 3/1 *āhṛtam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *gacchati* #74, *ṭhañ* #18)
uttarapathaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād 'āhṛtam' ity etasmin viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād 'gacchati' ity etasmin viṣaye ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of '... brought by ...', and of '... goes' as well, after syntactically related nominal stem *uttarapatha* 'northern road' when the stem ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

uttarapathenāhṛtam = *auttarapathikam* 'that which was brought by northern road'
uttarapathena gacchati = *auttarapathikaḥ* 'a traveler who goes by northern road'

1. Note that specification of nominal endings after bases is made by *tṛtīyā* of *uttarapathena*. The *ca* is used to attract the meaning of *gacchati*. Recall that derivates with denotatum of *gacchati* are introduced after bases ending in *dvitīyā*. Particle *ca* is used here only to attract affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*) explains that since *ca* is used after *āhṛtam*, an affixal meaning, it seems to attract affixal meaning of *gacchati* alone (*cakāro hy arthāt paraḥ śrūyamāṇo'rthamātrasyaiva gacchaty ity asyānukarṣakaḥ* ...).

2. A *vārttika* proposal requires *ṭhaÑ* to also occur after *panthin* to denote the sense of *āhṛtam* and *gacchati*, provided *panthin* ends in *tṛtīyā* and occurs after *vāri* 'water', *jaṅgala* 'forest', *sthala* 'land' and *kāntāra* 'deep forest', used as initial constituents of a compound. This will account for examples such as: *vāripathikaḥ*, *jaṅgalapathikaḥ*, *sthalapathikaḥ* and *kāntārapathikaḥ*.

5.1.78 कालात्

kālāt
/*kālāt* 5/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18)
yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ kālād ity evaṃ veditavyam
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs as specified after a syntactically related nominal stem which denotes *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to following rules.

1. This is an *adhikāra* extending prior to 5.1.96 *vyuṣṭādibhyo'ṇ*. A question is raised against formulating this rule, especially when *kāla* is also carried to

the following rule. Why was the next rule not formulated as *kālena nirvṛttam*. This could have saved one rule. A separate formulation was made so that *kāla* could be interpreted, by way of meaning (*arthadvāreṇa*), as *kālavācin* 'that which denotes time' and not as *kāla*, the word-form (*svarūpa*).

5.1.79 **तेन निर्वृत्तम्**

tena nirvṛttam
/*tena* 3/1 *nirvṛttam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tena*' *ity tṛtīyāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt* '*nirvṛttam*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of '... brought about, or accomplished, by means of that', after syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *kāla* 'time' and ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

ahnā nirvṛttam āhnikam 'that which is accomplished by a day's time'
ārddhamāsikam 'that which is accomplished by a fortnight'
sāṃvatsarikaḥ 'that which is accomplished by a year'

1. Note that *tṛtīyā* in *tena* denotes *karaṇa* 'means'. The word *nirvṛtta* 'accomplished, brought about' is not desired as denoting past (*bhūta*). It inheres a causal sense (*antarbhāvitaṇyartha*), thereby meaning: 'that which is caused to be accomplished by means of spending a given span of time'.

2. Note that *ṭi*-deletion restricted to contexts of affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* (6.4.145 *ahnas ṭakhor eva*) after *ahan*, is blocked by 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* in examples such as *āhnikam*.

5.1.80 **तमधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी**

tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī
/*tam* 2/1 *adhīṣṭaḥ* 1/1 *bhṛtaḥ* 1/1 *bhūtaḥ* 1/1 *bhāvī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1; *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tam*' *ity dvitīyāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt* '*adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto vā bhāvī*' *ity etasminn arthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs as specified after a nominal stem which denotes 'time', to denote the sense of *adhīṣṭaḥ* 'commissioned with due respect', *bhṛtaḥ* 'hired on wages', *bhūtaḥ* 'transacted with elapsed time' and *bhāvī* 'transacted with time to come', when the stem ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

māsam adhīṣṭo = māsikao'dhyāpakaḥ 'a teacher who, with respect, was invited to stay (and teach) for a month'
māsaṃ bhṛto = māsikaḥ karmakaraḥ 'a servant who was hired to work, or who has already finished working, for a month'
māsaṃ bhūto vyādhiḥ = māsikaḥ 'an affliction which started a month ago'
māsaṃ bhāvī utsavo = māsikaḥ 'a festivity which is to last for a month'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *adhīṣṭa* and *bhṛta* as *satkṛtya vyāpāritaḥ* 'commissioned with respect to do something' and *vetanena krītaḥ* 'bought by salaried wages'. A question is raised as to how actions such as *adhyeṣaṇa* 'commissioning' and *bharaṇa* 'providing for' could be spoken of as pervading long stretches of time? After all, they seem to be actions performed momentarily. It is stated that pervasion of an action over a period beyond its actual time is metaphorical (*aupacārika*), similar to *caureṇa grāmo dagdhaḥ* 'the village was burned down by a thief', where what burns down the village is not the thief but the fire brought by him. Incidentally, *dvitīyā* after *māsa*, in examples such as *māsaṃ bhūtaḥ*, is introduced by 2.3.5 *kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge.*

5.1.81 **मासाद्वयसि यत्खञौ**

māsād vayasi yatkhañau
/*māsāt* 5/1 *vayasi* 7/1 *yatkhañau* (*itar. dv.*) 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78, *tam, bhūtaḥ* #80)
māsaśabdād vayasy abhidheye yatkhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *khaÑ* occur to denote *bhūta* after syntactically related nominal stem *māsa* 'month', ending in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies *vayas* 'age'.

EXAMPLES:

māsaṃ bhūto = māsyaḥ 'one who is one month old'
māsīnaḥ 'id.'

1. This affixal provision of *yaT* and *kha* is an exception to *ṭhaÑ*. Note that *bhūtaḥ* alone is associated here with *vayas* 'age'. For usages with semantic implications of *bhāvī*, etc., are found (*anabhidhānat*).

The *Ñ* of *khaÑ* is intended for accent (*svara*) and *vṛddhi*. To say that *Ñ* is intended for *vṛddhi* is not acceptable. That is, why wish for *vṛddhi* in *māsa* when it is already there. It is true that *māsa* already has *vṛddhi*. But one must still consider *vṛddhi* as desired, even in cases where it is already available. *Nyāsa* cites *māsīnābhāryaḥ* as an example where, in the absense of accepting *Ñ* as a condition for *vṛddhi*, negation (*pratiṣedha*) of masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*) of 6.3.39 *vṛddhinimittasya* . . . could not be availed.

5.1.82 द्विगोर्यप्

dvigor yap
/*dvigoḥ* 5/1 *yap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78, *bhūtaḥ* #80, *māsād vayasi* #81)
māsāntād dvigor yap pratyayo bhavati vayasy abhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *yaP* occurs, to denote the sense of *bhūta*, after syntactically related nominal stem *māsa* occurring as final of a compound termed *dvigu*, provided the derivate signifies *vayas*.

EXAMPLES:

dvau māsau bhūtaḥ = *dvimāsyaḥ* 'he who is two months old'
trimāsyaḥ 'he who is three months old'

1. Note that *yaP* is *anudātta* on account of its *P* as an *it* (*pivād anudāttaḥ*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Rule 6.2.29 *igantakāla*. . . allows retention of original accent (*pūrvapada-prakṛtisvara*) against provisions of 6.2.12 *dvigau pramāṇe* and 6.1.158 *anudāttam* . . .

5.1.83 षण्मासाण्ण्यच्च

ṣaṇmāsāṇ ṇyac ca
/*ṣaṇmāsāt* 5/1 *ṇyat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78, *bhūtaḥ* #80, *vayasi* #81)
ṣaṇmāsaśabdād vayasy abhidheye ṇyat pratyayo bhavati yap ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṆyaT*, and *yaP* as well, occurs to denote the sense of *bhūtaḥ* after syntactically related nominal stem *ṣaṇmāsa* 'six months' when the derivate signifies *vayas*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣāṇmāsyaḥ 'one who is six months old'
ṣaṇmāsyaḥ 'id.'
ṣāṇmāsikaḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* informs that a form such as *ṣāṇmāsikaḥ*, derived with the general (*autsargika*) affix *ṭhaÑ*, is also desired (*autsargikaḥ ṭhañ apīṣyate*). The *ca* of this rule (*sa ca cakāreṇa samuccetavyaḥ*) attracts it to the context of this rule.

5.1.84 अवयसि ठंश्च

avayasi ṭhaṃś ca
/*avayasi* 7/1 = *na vayaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ṭhan* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78, *bhūtaḥ* #80, *ṣaṇmāsāṇ ṇyat* #83)

ṣaṇmāsaśabdād avayasy abhidheye ṭhan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN*, and *ṆyaT* as well, occurs to denote the sense of *bhūtaḥ* after syntactically related nominal stem *ṣaṇmāsa* when it ends in *dvitīyā*, provided the derivate signifies something other than *vayas*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṇmāsiko rogaḥ (*ṭhaN*) 'a disease which afflicted for six months'
ṣāṇmāsyaḥ (*ṇyaT*) 'id.'
ṣaṇmāsyaḥ (*yaP*) 'id.'

1. The *ca* is used here to bring *ṆyaT* from the preceding rule (*vt.*: *avayasi ṭhaṃś ca ity anantarasyānukarṣaḥ*). If *ca* is used for bringing *ṆyaT* then what brings *yaP*? Affix *yaP* is carried here at the strength of being marked with *svarita* (*svaritatvāt*). How do we know this? We know this from *vyākhyāna* 'interpretations of the learned'.

5.1.85 समायाः खः

samāyāḥ khaḥ
/*samāyāḥ* 5/1 *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80)
samāśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād adhīṣṭādiṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *samā* 'year', when ending in *dvitīyā*, provided derivates denote the sense of *adhīṣṭaḥ* 'commissioned with due respect', *bhṛtaḥ* 'hired on salaried wages', *bhūtaḥ* '(existing with) elapsed time' and *bhāvī* '(to exist) with time to come'.

EXAMPLES:

samādhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā samīnaḥ '... was commissioned with due respect to teach for a year; ... was hired on salaried wages for a year; ... has been there for a year, or ... will be there for a year'

1. Note that some also carry the *anuvṛtti* of *tena nirvṛttam* throughout this section (*Kāś.*: *kecit tu 'tena nirvṛttam' ity sarvatrānuvartayanti; samayā nirvṛttaḥ samīnaḥ*). Thus, *samīnaḥ* could be interpreted as: *samayā nirvṛttaḥ* 'accomplished by a year'. Of course, the base will then end in *tṛtīyā*. Incidentally, *samā* is generally used in plural.

5.1.86 द्विगोर्वा

dvigor vā
/*dvigoḥ* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *samāyāḥ khaḥ* #85)

samāśabdāntād dvigor nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣu pañcasu vā khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs only optionally after *samā*, used as final of a compound termed *dvigu*, when *samā* ends in *dvitīyā* and derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ, bhṛtaḥ, bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī*.

EXAMPLES:

dvisamīnaḥ '... was commissioned with due respect to teach for two years; ... was hired on salaried wages for ...; ... has been there for two years ...; ... will be there for two years; ... has been accomplished in two years'
dvaisamikaḥ 'id.'
trisamīnaḥ '... was commissioned with due respect to teach for three years; ... was hired on salaried wages for three years; ... has been there for three years; ... will be there for three years; ... has been accomplished in three years'
traisamikaḥ 'id.'

1. The obligatory (*nitya*) provision of *kha* of the preceding rule is here made optional. How come an affix specified to occur after *samā* is allowed to occur after a *dvigu* compound ending in *samā*? Recall that *tadantavidhi* interpretation for stems which begin with *saṃkhyā* 'number' is permitted within the domain of *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāgvateṣ ṭhañ*). That is, if no deletion by *LUK* has taken effect (*aluki*). Thus we get examples such as: *dvisamīnaḥ*, a derivate of *kha* optionally with *dvaisaimikaḥ*, a derivate of *ṭhaÑ*. These same derivates can also be interpreted in the sense of *tena nirvṛttam* in which case the affix will be introduced after a *dvigu* stem ending in *tṛtīyā*.

5.1.87 रात्र्यहःसंवत्सराच्च

rātryahaḥsaṃvatsarāc ca
/*rātryahaḥsaṃvatsarāt* 5/1 = *rātriś ca ahaś ca saṃvatsaraś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *khaḥ* #85, *dvigor vā* #86)
'*rātriḥ ahaḥ, saṃvatsara*' *ity evam antād dvigor nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣu vā khaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kha* also occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *rātri* 'night', *ahaḥ* 'day' and *saṃvatsara* 'year', used as final constituent of a compound termed *dvigu*, when the same ends in *dvitīyā* and derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ, bhṛtaḥ, bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī*.

EXAMPLES:

dvirātrīṇaḥ '... was commissioned with due respect to teach for two

nights; . . . was hired on salaried wages for two nights; . . . has been there for two nights; . . . will be there for two nights, and . . . has been accomplished in two nights'
dvairātrikaḥ 'id.'
dvyahīnaḥ '. . . was commissioned with due respect to teach for two days; . . . was hired on salaried wages for two days; . . . has been there for two days . . .; . . . will be there for two days; . . . has been accomplished in two days'
dvaiyahnikaḥ 'id.'
dvisaṃvatsarīṇaḥ '. . . was commissioned with due respect to teach for two years; . . . was hired on salaried wages for two years . . .; . . . has been there for two years . . .; . . . will be there for two years; . . . has been accomplished in two years'
dvisāṃvatsarikaḥ 'id.'

1. Derivates of *ṭhaÑ* are again made optional to those of *kha*. Here again, to denote the sense of *tena nirvṛttam* would require affixes to be introduced after bases ending in *tṛtīyā*. Examples of *ṭhaÑ* involve initial *vṛddhi*. However, *dvyaham* + *ṭhaÑ* and *tryahan* + *ṭhaÑ* are augmented with *aiC* of 7.3.3 *na vyābhyām*. . . . We then derive *dvaiyahnika* and *traiyahnika* with the deletion of *a* by 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ*. Note, however, that deletion of *an*, for example in *ahan* of *dvyahīnaḥ* is accomplished by 6.4. 145 *ahnaṣ ṭakhor eva*. The *vṛddhi* of the second constituent in *dvisāṃvatsarikaḥ* is accomplished by 7.3.1 *saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃvatsarasaṃkhyasya*.

5.1.88 वर्षाल्लुक् च

varṣāl luk caM
/ *varṣāt* 5/1 *luk* 1/1 *ca* /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *khaḥ* #85, *dvigor vā* #86)
varṣāntād dvigor nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣu vā khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, and *LUK* as well, occurs optionally after *varṣa*, used as final constituent of a syntactically related compound termed *dvigu*, when the same ends in *dvitīyā* and derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam*, *adhīṣṭaḥ*, *bhṛtaḥ*, *bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī*.

EXAMPLES:

dvivarṣīṇo vyādhiḥ 'a disease which afflicted for two years, etc.'
dvivārṣikaḥ 'id.'
dvivarṣaḥ 'id.'
trivarṣīṇo vyādhiḥ 'a disease which afflicted for three years, etc.'
trivārṣikaḥ 'id.'
trivarṣaḥ 'id.'

1. Here again, an affix introduced to denote the sense of *nirvṛttam* will be introduced after a base ending in *tṛtīyā*. Since *kha* and *ṭhaÑ* are given optionally with their deletion of *LUK*, we will get three forms: one each with *kha* and *ṭhaÑ* and one with deletion of *kha* and *ṭhaÑ* both.

2. Note that all derivates, except for those denoting *bhāvī*, receive *vṛddhi* of their following constituents (*uttarapada*) by rule 7.3.16 *varṣasyābhaviṣyati*. A derivate with the denotation of *bhāvī* will not receive this *vṛddhi* because of the negation of *abhaviṣyati*.

5.1.89 **चित्तवति नित्यम्**

cittavati nityam
/*cittavati* 7/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *dvigor*... #86, *varṣāt* #88)
cittavati pratyayārthe' bhidheye varṣaśabtāntād dvigor nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣutpannasya pratyayasya nityaṃ lug bhavati
A *taddhita* affix which occurs to denote the sense of *nirvṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ, bhṛtaḥ, bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī* after syntactically related nominal stem *varṣa*, used as final constituent of a compound termed *dvigu* ending in *dvitīyā*, is obligatorily (*nityam*) deleted by *LUK* when derivates signify a sentient being (*cittavat*).

EXAMPLES:

dvivarṣo dārakaḥ 'a son who is two years old, etc.'

1. The condition of *cittavati* is imposed to block obligatory deletion elsewhere (*anyatra*). Thus, consider *dvivarṣīṇo vyādhiḥ* 'an affliction of two years', where obligatory deletion of *kha* is not applied because *vyādhi* is *acittavat* 'non-sentient'.

5.1.90 **षष्टिकाः षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते**

ṣaṣṭikāḥ ṣaṣṭirātreṇa pacyante
/*ṣaṣṭikāḥ* 1/3 *ṣaṣṭirātreṇa* 3/1 *pacyante* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ṣaṣṭirātraśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt kan pratyayo nipātyate 'pacyante' ity etasminn arthe rātriśabdasya ca lopaḥ
A *taddhita* affix occurs after *ṣaṣṭirātra* to derive *ṣaṣṭika*, via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies 'ripens in sixty nights'.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṣṭirātreṇa pacyante = *ṣaṣṭikāḥ* 'a kind of rice which is ready to harvest in sixty nights'

1. The word *ṣaṣṭika* 'a particular kind of rice' is derived by *nipātana* from *ṣaṣṭirātra* + *Ṭā* + *kaN* with deletion of *rātra*. Note that the plural form, i.e., *ṣaṣṭikāḥ*, should not be treated as a primary provision (*tantra*). That is, singular and dual could also be used.

5.1.91 **वत्सरान्ताच्छश्छन्दसि**

vatsarāntāc chaś chandasi
/ *vatsarāntāt* 5/1 = *vatsara ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *chaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80)
vatsarāntāt prātipadikān nivṛttādiṣv artheṣu chandasi viṣaye chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs, in Vedic, after syntactically related nominal stem *vatsara* 'year', used in *dvitīyā* as final constituent of a compound, provided derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam*, *adhīṣṭaḥ*, *bhṛtaḥ*, *bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī*.

EXAMPLES:

idvatsarīyaḥ '. . . accomplished by two of the five years, etc.'
idāvatsarīyaḥ ' . . . id.'

1. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) explains *idvatsara* as a period of two consecutive (*yuge*) years within a given span of five years (*pañcavarṣe yuge dvayor varṣayoḥ saṃjñe*).

5.1.92 **संपरिपूर्वात् ख च**

sampariपūrvāt kha ca
/ *sampariपūrvāt* 5/1 = *saṃ ca pariś ca sampari*; *sampari pūrvo yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kha* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī* #80, *vatsarāntā chaś chandasi* #91)
sampariपūrvād vatsarāntāt prātipadikāc chandasi viṣaye nirvṛttādiṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārāc chaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *kha*, and *cha* as well, occurs in Vedic after syntactically related nominal stem *vatsara*, used in *dvitīyā* as final constituent of a compound beginning with *sam* and *pari*, provided derivates denote the sense of *nirvṛttam*, *adhīṣṭaḥ*, *bhṛtaḥ*, *bhūtaḥ* and *bhāvī*.

EXAMPLES:

samvatsarīṇaḥ 'that which was accomplished by a year, etc.'
samvatsarīyaḥ 'id.'
parivatsarīṇaḥ 'that which was accomplished by one whole year, etc.'
parivatsarīyaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *ca* in this rule is used for additional application of *cha.*

5.1.93 तेन परिजय्यलभ्यकार्यसुकरम्

tena parijayyalabhyakāryasukaram
/ *tena* 3/1 *parijayya-labhya-kārya-sukaram* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt* '*parijayya, labhya, kārya, sukara*' *ity eteṣv artheṣu ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *kāla* and ends in *tṛtīyā*, when derivates denote the sense of *parijayya* 'that which is to be won', *labhya* 'that which is to be obtained', *kārya* 'that which is to be done' and *sukara* 'that which is easy to do'.

EXAMPLES:

māsena parijayyaḥ = *māsiko vyādhiḥ* 'an affliction which could be cured in a month'
sāmvatsarikaḥ 'an affliction which could be cured in a year'
māsena labhyo = *māsikaḥ paṭaḥ* 'dress which could be purchased within a month'
māsena sukaro = *māsikaḥ prāsādaḥ* 'a palace which is easy to build in a month'

1. Note that the denotata of *nivṛttam, adhīṣṭaḥ*, etc., is no longer valid. Furthermore, *parijayya*, etc., are derivates of *kṛtya* denoting *śakya* 'is possible to' (3.1.97 *aco yat*; 6.1.81 *kṣayyajayyau śakyārthe*).

5.1.94 तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम्

tad asya brahmacaryam
/ *tat* 2/1 *asya* 6/1 *brahmacaryam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tad*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikāt* '*asya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati brahmacaryaṃ ced gamyate*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, after a syntactically related nominal stem which has the signification of *kāla* 'time' and ends in *dvitīyā*, provided derivates signify *brahmacarya* 'celebacy'.

EXAMPLES:

māsaṃ brahmacaryam asya = *māsiko brahmacārī*/
māso asya brahmacaryasya = *māsikaṃ brahmacaryam* 'a celibate whose vow

of celibacy lasted for a month/a vow of celibacy which lasted for a month'

sāmvatsarikaḥ 'a celebate whose vow of celibacy lasted for a year'

1. Note that *tat* is interpreted here as specifying a nominal stem either in *prathamā* 'nominative', or in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'. *Kāśikā* offers paraphrases of this rule in view of both. Thus, a paraphrase under nominative interpretation reads: *tad iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati, yat tad asyeti nirdiṣṭaṃ brahmacaryaṃ cet tad bhavati.* Affix *ṭhaÑ*, under this interpretation, will be introduced after a base ending in *prathamā*, provided that which is specified by *tad asya* is 'celibacy (*brahmacarya*)'. A paraphrase with accusative (*dvitīyā*) interpretation reads as: *tad iti dvitīyāsamarthād asya iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati brahmacaryaṃ ced gamyate.* This interpretation will have to accept *atyantasaṃyoga* 'continuous connection' (2.3.5 *kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge*) as the denotatum of *dvitīyā.* Consequently, that which is pervaded by *kāla* 'time', i.e., 'celibacy', becomes associated with *asya* 'his (own)', i.e., 'of the celibate'. The meaning of the affix in this interpretation is the celibate (*brahmacārin*). If one accepts a nominative specification then derivates such as *māsika* will be interpreted as qualifier to *brahmacarya.* Thus, *māso' sya brahmacaryasya = māsikaṃ brahmacaryam* 'a vow of celibacy with one month as its duration'. If, on the other hand, one accepts *tat* as specifying accusative, then *māsika* has to be interpreted as a qualifier to *brahmacārin*, the celibate whose celibacy has one month as its duration'. Both interpretations are accepted as correct (*Kāś.*: *pūrvatra brahmacārī pratyayārthaḥ uttaratra brahmacaryam eva. ubhayam api pramāṇam ubhayathā sūtrapraṇayanāt*).

2. A *vārttika* recommends *ṭhaÑ* also after *mahānāmnī*, etc., to denote the sense of *tad asya brahmacaryam*, when the bases end in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. Thus, *mahānāmnikaḥ* 'one whose vow is to recite the *Sāmaveda* up to the extent of Mahānāmnī hymns', etc. A corollary to this is also offered as *tac carati ca*, whereby a 'vow' (*vrata*) associated with the Mahānāmnī hymns can also be called *māhānāmnikaḥ.*

Yet another *vārttika* recommends *Ṅya* after *caturmāsa* in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ yajñaḥ* 'a sacrifice performed in there'. Thus, *cāturmāsikaḥ* 'sacrificial activities performed during four months'. Yet another *vārttika* introduces affix *aṆ* in the sense of *tatra bhavaḥ* when *caturmāsa* ends in *saptamī* 'locative' and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus, *cāturmāsī* 'a full-moon night which comes after four months have elapsed; the full-moon night of the month of Āṣāḍha'.

5.1.95 तस्य च दक्षिणा यज्ञाख्येभ्यः

tasya ca dakṣiṇā yajñākhyebhyaḥ

/*tasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *dakṣiṇā* 1/1 *yajñākhyebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*yajñam ācakṣate* = *yajñākhyāḥ* (*upapada-tatpuruṣa*), *tebhyaḥ*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *kālāt* #78)
'*tasya*' *ity ṣāṣṭhīsamarthebhyo yajñākhyebhyaḥ* '*dakṣiṇā*' *ity etasminn arthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote *dakṣiṇā* 'a gift made to the priest at a ritual', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and names a sacrifice (*yajña*).

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭomasya dakṣiṇā = *āgniṣṭomikī* 'ritual gifts made to a priest at the sacrifice named Agniṣṭoma'
rājasūyikī 'ritual gifts made to a priest at the sacrifice named Rājasūya'

1. Note that *kālāt* is also carried. However, the word *yajñākhyebhyaḥ* 'after those which name a ritual sacrifice' facilitates the introduction of affix *ṭhaÑ*, even after bases such as *agniṣṭoma* which do not denote time (*kāla*). Why carry *kālāt* when there is no use for it? There may be examples of rituals such as *ekāha* '. . . ritual sacrifice of the first day (after death)' and *dvādaśāha* '. . . ritual sacrifice of the twelfth day (after death)' where bases may denote *yajña* and *kāla* both (*Kāś.*: *ākhyāgrahaṇam akālād api yajñavācino yathā syād iti; itarathā hi kālādhikārād ekāhadvādaśāhaprabhṛtaya eva yajñā gṛhyeran*). Incidentally, *tadantavidhi* (see notes under 5.1.86 *dvigor vā*) interpretation is still valid.

5.1.96 तत्र च दीयते कार्यं भववत्

tatra ca dīyate kāryaṃ bhavavat
/ *tatra* ϕ *ca* ϕ *dīyate* (verbal *pada*) *kāryam* 1/1 *bhavavat* ϕ = *bhava iva*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kālāt* #78)
'*tatra*' *iti saptamīsamarthāt kālavācinaḥ prātipadikād dīyate, kāryam, ity etayor arthayor bhavavat pratyayo bhavati*
A *taddhita* affix occurs, in the manner similar to *bhava*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies time (*kāla*) and ends in locative (*saptamī*), provided derivates signify *dīyate* '. . . is offered' and *kāryam* 'is to be done or made'.

EXAMPLES:

māse bhavam = *māsikam* 'that which happens, or it to be performed, once a month'
sāmvatsarikam 'that which happens, or is to be performed, once a year'
āgniṣṭomikaṃ bhaktam 'that which is offered at the sacrifice named Agniṣṭoma'
rājasūyikam 'that which is offered at the sacrifice named Rājasūya'

1. What is the meaning of *bhavavat*? This rule extends provisions of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* to denote the sense of *tatra dīyate* and *tatra kāryam*. Note that this extension is specified by *vatI* of *bhavavat* (5.1.115 *tena tulyaṃ*...). This, in turn, requires that all affixes specified to occur after specific bases in the domain of *tatra bhavaḥ* be introduced with same specifications to denote *tatra dīyate* and *tatra kāryam*. It has been stated under 4.2.34 *kālebhyo bhavavat* that a specification with *vatI* is made to extend operations in their entirety (*sarvasādṛśyārtha*). But this will cause problems. For example, *tadantavidhi* is not permitted in the context of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*. Consequently, rule 5.1.96 *tatra ca dīyate*... will not permit *tadantavidhi*. It is to remove such difficulties that *bhavavat* of this rule is interpreted as extending the introduction of affixes (*pratyayamātrasyātideśaḥ*) only.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* interprets this rule as complementary to the earlier rule. Patañjali suggests three *yogavibhāga* 'split interpretations' of these two rules as follows: (*i*) *tasya dakṣiṇā yajñākhyebhyaḥ*, (*ii*) *tatra ca dīyate* and (*iii*) *kāryaṃ bhavavat kālāt*. Accordingly, bases with the signification of *yajña* receive affixes to denote *dakṣiṇā* and *dāna* (*dīyate*). Bases with the denotatum of time (*kāla*) receive affixes to denote *dāna* and *bhava*. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

The *anuvṛtti* of *kālāt* is henceforth suspended. Jinendrabuddhi claims that since *kālāt* is brought via *ca*, it is not carried any further (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *cakāraḥ kālād ity anukarṣaṇārthaḥ; tena cānukṛṣṭatvād uttaratra nānuvartate*).

General affixal provisions will be made hereafter (*Kāśikā*: *kālā'dhikārasya pūrṇo'vadhiḥ; ataḥ param sāmānyena pratyayavidhānam*), especially since the domain of *kālāt* has ended.

5.1.97 **व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण्**

vyuṣṭādibhyo'ṇ

/*vyuṣṭādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *vyuṣṭa ādir yeṣāṃ te, tebhyaḥ; aṇ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra dīyate*... *kāryam* #96)

'*tatra*' *iti saptamīsamarthebhyo vyuṣṭādibhyo dīyate, kāryam ity etayor aṇ pratyayo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vyuṣṭa* 'dawn', when the same ends in *saptamī* and derivates denote the sense of *dīyate* and *kāryam*.

EXAMPLES:

vyuṣṭe dīyate kāryaṃ vā = *vaiyuṣṭam* 'that which is given, or is performed, at dawn'

naityam 'that which is given, or performed, everyday'

1. A *vārttika* recommends introducing *aṆ* also after *agnipada* and *pīlumūla*

to derive *āgnipadam* 'that which is 'offered', or is 'performed', on a barren land' and *pailumūlam* 'that which is 'offered', or is 'performed', at the root of a Pīlu tree'. An additional proposal is made to expand the listing of *vyuṣṭādi* to also include these stems. Our derivate *vaiyuṣṭam* will be denied initial *vṛddhi* in view of augment *aiC* of 7.3.3 *na yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyām*. . . .

5.1.98 तेन च यथाकथाचहस्ताभ्यां णयतौ

tena ca yathākathācahastābhyāṃ ṇayatau
/*tena* 3/1 *ca* ϕ *yathākathācahastābhyām* 5/2 = *yathākathāca ca hasaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ṇayatau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra dīyate*. . . *kāryam* #96)
'*tena*' *iti tṛtīyāsamarthābhyāṃ yathākathāca-hastaśabdābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ ṇayatau pratyayau bhavataḥ*
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *yaT* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *yathākathāca* 'somehow or the other' and *hasta* 'hand', respectively, when the stems end in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' and their derivates signify *dīyate* and *kāryam*.

EXAMPLES:

yathākathāca dīyate kāryam vā = *yāthākathācam* 'that which is 'given', or is 'done', with no respect'
hastena dīyate kāryaṃ vā = *hastyam* 'that which is offered with, or is made by, hands'

1. Note that *yathākathāca* is an indeclinable used here in the sense of disrespect (*anādara*). Furthermore, *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in order of enumeration' applies in case of bases and affixes. It, however, does not apply in case of *dīyate* and *kāryam*. How do we know this? From interpretations of the learned (*vyākhyānāt*).

5.1.99 सम्पादिनि

sampādini
/*sampādini* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *tena* #98)
tṛtīyāsamarthāt sampādiny abhidheye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' when derivates signify the sense of *sampādi* '. . . certainly made beautiful. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

karṇaveṣṭakābhyāṃ sampādi mukhaṃ = *kārṇaveṣṭikaṃ mukham* 'a face enhanced in beauty by earrings'

vastrayugeṇa sampādi śarīram = vāstrayugikaṃ śarīram 'an appearance enhanced by a couple of dresses'

1. Note that *sampādi* is used in the sense of 'that which has *sampatti*', where *sampatti* is glossed as 'enhancement in quality (*guṇotkarṣa*)'.

5.1.100 **कर्मवेषाद्यत्**

karmaveṣād yat
/*karmaveṣāt* 5/1 = *karma ca veṣaś ca* (*sam. dv.*) = *karmaveṣam, tasmāt; yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tena* #98, *sampādini* #99)
'*karman, veṣa*' *śabdābhyāṃ tṛtīyāsamarthābhyāṃ yat pratyayo bhavati* '*sampādini*' *ity etasmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *karman* 'action, exercise' and *veṣa* 'costume' when ending in *tṛtīyā*, providing derivates signify the sense of *sampādi*.

EXAMPLES:

karmaṇā sampadyate = *karmaṇyaṃ śarīram* 'a body which indeed enhances in beauty by exercise'
veṣeṇa sampadyate = *veṣyo naṭaḥ* 'a performer who indeed enhances his appearance by costumes'

5.1.101 **तस्मै प्रभवति सन्तापादिभ्यः**

tasmai prabhavati santāpādibhyaḥ
/*tasmai* 4/1 *prabhavati* (verbal *pada*) *santāpādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *santāpa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18)
'*tasmai*' *iti caturthīsamarthebhyaḥ* '*santāpādibhyaḥ prabhavati*' *ity asmin viṣaye ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *santāpa* 'anguish' and which ends in *caturthī* 'dative', provided derivates signify '. . . is capable of that'.

EXAMPLES

santāpāya prabhavati = *sāntāpikaḥ* 'that which is capable of bringing about anguish'
sānnāhikaḥ 'that (son of a Kṣatriya) who is capable of wearing an armor'

1. Note that *caturthī* 'dative' is intended here as denoting the sense of *alam* 'capable' (2.3.16 *namaḥsvasti* . . .).

5.1.102 योगाद्यच्च

yogād yac ca
/yogāt 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18, *tasmai prabhavati* #100)
yogaśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati cakārāt ṭhañ 'tasmai prabhavati' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT*, and *ṭhaÑ* as well, occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *yuga* 'union, unison' which ends in *caturthī*, provided derivates signify '. . . is capable of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

yogāya prabhavati = *yogyaḥ* 'one who is capable of bringing about perfect unison'
yaugikaḥ 'id.'

5.1.103 कर्मण उकञ्

karmaṇa ukañ
/karmaṇaḥ 5/1 *ukañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasmai prabhavati* #100)
karmanśabdād ukañ pratyayo bhavati 'tasmai prabhavati' ity etasminn arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ukaÑ* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *karman* when ending in *caturthī*, provided derivates signify '. . . is capable of that. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

karmaṇe prabhavati = *kārmuko dhanuḥ* 'that which is capable of accomplishing the action; a bow'

1. *Kāśikā* claims that the use of *kārmukaḥ* is limited to the signification of *dhanuṣ* 'bow', obviously for lack of usages otherwise (*dhanuṣo' nyatra na bhavati anabhidhānāt*). Some claim that this specification of usage is not found in other manuscripts of the *vṛtti*.

5.1.104 समयस्तदस्य प्राप्तम्

samayas tad asya prāptam
/samayaḥ 1/1 *tat* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *prāptam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṭhañ* #18)
samayaśabdāt tad iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham prāptaṃ ced bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', after the syntactically related nominal stem *samaya* 'time' which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative' and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prāptam* '... has approached'.

EXAMPLES:

samayaḥ prāpto'sya = *sāmayikaṃ kāryam* 'an action whose time has approached'

5.1.105 ऋतोरण्

ṛtor aṇ
/*ṛtoḥ* 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya prāptam* #104)
ṛtuśabdāt tad iti prathamāsamarthāt 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe 'ṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prāptam' iti etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after the syntactically related nominal stem *ṛtu* 'season' which ends in nominative and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prāptam*.

EXAMPLES:

ṛtuḥ prāpto'sya = *ārttavaṃ puṣpam* 'a flower whose blossoming season has approached'

1. A *vārttika* recommends this affixal provision, of *tad asya*, also for *upavastṛ* 'one who fasts' and *prāśitṛ* 'one who eats', to derive *aupavastram* 'fast' and *prāśitram* 'share of ritual oblation'.

5.1.106 छन्दसि घस्

chandasi ghas
/*chandasi* 7/1 *ghas* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya prāptam* #105, *ṛtoḥ* #105)
ṛtuśabdāc chandasi viṣaye ghas pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prāptam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ghaS* occurs in Vedic to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after syntactically related nominal stem *ṛtu* 'season', when the same ends in *prathamā* and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prāptam*.

EXAMPLES:

ayaṃ te yonirṛtviyaḥ 'this appropriate season has arrived for ...'

1. Note that *S* as an *it* in *ghaS* facilitates assignment of the term *pada* by

1.4.16 *siti ca.* Consequently, in the absence of assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), *guṇa* of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*, with subsequent *ay*, will be blocked.

5.1.107 कालाद्यत्

kālād yat
/*kālāt* 5/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya prāptam* #105)
kālaśabdād yat pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prāptam' ity asmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after syntactically related nominal stem *kāla* 'time', when the same ends in *prathamā* and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prāptam*.

EXAMPLES:

kālaḥ prāpto' sya = *kālyas tāpaḥ* 'hot weather whose time has approached'
kālyam 'cold weather whose time has approached'

5.1.108 प्रकृष्टे ठञ्

prakṛṣṭe ṭhañ
/*prakṛṣṭe* 7/1 *ṭhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *kālāt* #107)
prakarṣe vartamānāt kālāt prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after syntactically related nominal stem *kāla* ending in *prathamā*, provided *kāla* is used with qualification of *prakarṣa* 'protraction'

EXAMPLES:

prakṛṣṭo dīrghaḥ kālo' sya = *kālikam ṛṇam* 'a long-standing debt'
kālikaṃ vairam 'a long-standing enmity'

1. Why is *ṭhaÑ* used explicitly when it can be availed via *anuvṛtti* from 5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*? It is used to remove (*vispaṣṭārtham*) any confusion (*bhrāntiḥ*) regarding introduction of *yaT* which is most immediately (*anantaratvāt*) available.

5.1.109 प्रयोजनम्

prayojanam
/*prayojanam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *ṭhañ* #108)

tad iti prathamāsamarthād 'asya' iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham prayojanam ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaN*, occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and occurs in syntactic coordination with *prayojana* 'purpose'.

EXAMPLES:

aindramadhikam = *indramaha prayojanam asya* 'that (a festival) which has 'honoring Indra' as its purpose'
gāṅgāmahikam 'that (a festival) which has 'honoring Gaṅgā' as its purpose'

1. Note that *prayojana* 'goal, purpose' is understood here as 'cause' (*hetu*) and 'result' (*phala*) both. Thus, *indramaha* could constitute both the *hetu* as well as *phala* of the festival.

5.1.110 विशाखाषाढादण् मन्थदण्डयोः

viśākhāṣāḍhād aṇ manthadaṇḍayoḥ
/ *viśākhāṣāḍhāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *aṇ* 1/1 *manthadaṇḍayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *prayojanam* #109)
viśākhāṣāḍhaśabdābhyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prayojanam' ity etasmin viṣaye yathāsaṃkhyam manthadaṇḍayor abhidheyayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs to denote the sense of *tad asya prayojanam* 'that is its purpose' after syntactically related nominal stems *viśākhā* 'name of a constellation' and *āṣāḍhā* 'name of a constellation', when ending in *prathamā*, provided derivates signify *mantha* 'churner' and *daṇḍa* 'shaft', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

vaiśākho manthaḥ = *viśākhā prayojanam asya* 'a churning stick'
āṣāḍho daṇḍaḥ 'ascetic's shaft'

1. Note that *vaiśākha* and *āṣāḍha* are traditionally used in the sense of 'second' and 'fourth' lunar months. How would they relate derivationally to *mantha* and *daṇḍa* is an open-ended question. The word *mantha* is interpreted in the sense of 'churning stick', occasionally also in the sense of 'butter-milk'. Sṛṣṭidhara, a commentator of *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottama, claims that *āṣāḍha* means *daṇḍa* because *āṣāḍhā* is the constellation when ascetics accept the symbolic shaft.

2. A *vārttika* also recommends this affixal provision for *cūḍā* 'hair' and *śraddhā* 'reverence', etc., to derive *cauḍam* and *śrāddham*, respectively.

5.1.111 अनुप्रवचनादिभ्यश्छः

anupravacanādibhyaś chaḥ

/ anupravacanādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *anupravacana ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *chaḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105 *prayojanam* #109)

anupravacanādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prayojanam' ity etasmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs to denote the sense of *tad asya prajoyanam* after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *anupravacana* 'repetition of a recital', when the same ends in *prathamā.*

EXAMPLES:

anupravacanīyam = *anupravacanaṃ prayojanam asya* 'that (a collection of hymns) which has *anupravacana* 'subsequent exposition' as reason for its inclusion'; 'ritual offering of food to fire, upon completion of a Vedic study'

utthāpanīyam 'that which has *utthāpana* 'causing to rise' as its goal'

1. Affix *cha* is an exception to *ṭhaÑ.* The words *anupravacana* and *utthāpana* refer to rituals.

A *vārttika* proposal is made for *cha* also after a nominal stem which ends in *ana,* a replacement of *yu* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*) introduced after verbal roots *viś* 'to enter', *pūr* 'to fill', *pat* 'to fall' and *ruh* 'to grow', provided the stem is also used with a preceding constituent (*sapūrvapadāt*). Thus, *gṛhapraveśanīyam* 'that (a ritual) which has 'entering a new house' as its reason'; *prapāpūraṇīyam* 'that (fetching water from a water-well) which has filling up the *prapā* 'place where drinking water is offered' as its purpose'; *aśvaprapatanīyam* 'that (a trip (through difficult terrains) which causes travelers to fall off horses'; and *prāsādārohaṇīyaṃ* 'that by means of which one climbs on top of the palace'.

Another *vārttika* recommends affix *yaT* after *svarga* 'heaven' and *āyuṣya* 'longevity', etc., to derive *svargyam* 'a sacrifice with heaven as its goal', *āyuṣyam,* etc. A similar proposal requires affixal deletion by *LUK* after *puṇyāhavācana* 'blessing, praising', etc. This will yield examples such as *puṇyāhavācanam* and *svastivācanam,* etc.

5.1.112 समापनात्सपूर्वपदात्

samāpanāt sapūrvapadāt

/ samāpanāt 5/1 *sapūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *vidyamānaṃ pūrvapadaṃ yasya sa* (*bv.*), *tasmāt/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *prayojanam* #109)

samāpanaśabdāt sapūrvapadād vidyamānapūrvapadāc chaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asya prayojanam' ity asmin viṣaye

The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs, to denote the sense of *tad asya prayojanam*, after syntactically related nominal stem *samāpana* 'completion, accomplishment' when it ends in nominative and is used in combination after an initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

chandaḥsamāpanīyam = *chandas samāpanaṃ prayojanam asya* 'that which has successful completion of the study of Veda as its goal'
vyākaraṇasamāpanīyam 'that which has successful completion of the study of grammar as its purpose'

1. A specification by means of *sapūrvapadāt* is unnecessary since *tadantavidhi* will account for that. It is stated so that this affixal provision does not apply to *samāpana* used with a preceding *bahuC*. The use of *padāt* in *sapūrvapadāt* rules out *bahuC* which is an affix (*pratyaya*).

5.1.113 ऐकागारिकट् चौरे

aikāgārikaṭ caure
/ *aikāgārikaṭ* 1/1 *caure* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *prayojanam* #109)
'*aikāgārikaṭ*' *iti nipātyate caure' bhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *ikaṬ* occurs in deriving *aikāgārika*, via *nipātana*, when *caura* 'thief' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aikāgārikaḥ 'one who has reaching an unattended house as his goal; a thief'

1. Why do we have to derive *aikāgārika*, via *nipātana*, when affix *ṭhaÑ* introduced with the signification of *prayojana* can account for it (5.1.109 *prayojanam*). Commentators state that it is to restrict the signification of *aikāgārika* to a *caura* that recourse is taken to *nipātana*. For, a derivate of *ṭhaÑ* could have also meant a *bhikṣu*, parallel to *ekāgāraṃ prayojanam asya bhikṣoḥ* 'an ascetic who approches a single house for alms as his purpose'. Incidentally, *eka* in *aikāgārikaḥ* is used here in the sense of *asahāya* 'unattended'.

5.1.114 आकालिकडाद्यन्तवचने

ākālikaḍ ādyantavacane
/ *ākālikaṭ* 1/1 *ādyantavacane* 7/1 = *ādiś ca antaś ca ādyantau, tayor vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with internal *dv.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tad asya* #105, *prayojanam* #109)

ākālikaṭ' iti nipātyate ādyantavacane
The *taddhita* affix *ikaṬ* occurs in deriving *ākālika*, via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies *ādyanta* 'beginning and end'.

EXAMPLES:

ākālikaḥ stanayitnuḥ = *samānakālāv asya* 'that which begins and ends at the same time; cloud'
ākālikī vidyut 'lightning'

1. The word *ākālika* is explained as *samānakālav ādyantau yasya* 'that whose time of beginning and end is the same'. It is generally used in the sense of *vidyut* 'lightning', paraphrased as: *janmanā tulyakālavināśā* 'that which has its time of destruction similar to that of its birth'. Some also interpret *samānakāla* 'same time' to include references also to a given time on different days. That is, if something comes into existence at noon today and meets its end at noon tomorrow, it will still come within the denotation of *samānakālika*. This will rule out 'lightning' because of an obvious lack of any gap between its 'onset' and 'disappearance'.

2. A *vārttika* provides for *ṭhaN*, in addition to *ṭhaÑ*, after *ākāla* to account for *ākālikā*, a derivate with *ṬāP*. These derivates both mean the same thing and carry identical accents.

5.1.115 तेन तुल्यं क्रिया चेद्वतिः

tena tulyaṃ kriyā ced vatiḥ
/*tena* 3/1 *tulyam* 1/1 *kriyā* 1/1 *cet* ϕ *vatiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76/
tena iti tṛtīyāsamarthāt tulyam ity etasminn arthe vatiḥ pratyayo bhavati yat tulyaṃ kriyā cet sā bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vatI* occurs to denote the sense of *tulya* 'same, equal' after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', provided what is *tulya* is also *kriyā* 'action'.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇena tulyaṃ vartate = *brāhmaṇavat* 'one whose actions are similar to that of a Brāhmaṇa's'
rājavat 'one whose actions are similar to that of a king's'

1. Note that *tulya* is here characterized as lacking *atyantabheda* 'extreme difference'. Consequently, *kriyā* can be said to be *tulya* only with *kriyā*. That is, the question of *tulyatā* does not arise between *guṇa* 'quality' and *jāti* 'class' on the hand, and *kriyā* on the other. It is for this reason that *brāhmaṇena tulyam brāhmaṇavat kṣatriyaḥ*, in the context of our present rule, must be interpreted as: 'a kṣatriya whose actions are similar to those of a brāhmaṇa's'. Besides, *brāhmaṇavat*, like all bases ending in *vatI* (5.1.116 *tatra tasyeva*), is

an indeclinable. Our present rule will not allow *vatI* if *tulya* has *guṇa* 'quality' and *dravya* 'thing' as its scope. Thus, *putreṇa tulyaḥ sthūlaḥ* 'a father as fat as his son', or *putreṇa tulyo gomān* 'a father as rich in cows as his son' serve as counter-examples, parallel to *tulya* with *kriyā* as its scope.

5.1.116 तत्र तस्येव

tatra tasyeva
/*tatra* ϕ *tasya* 6/1 *iva* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *vatiḥ* #115)
'*tatra*' *iti saptamīsamarthāt* '*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāc ca ivārthe vatiḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *vatI* occurs, to denote the sense of *iva* 'like', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī* 'locative' or in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

mathurāyām iva mathurāvat srughne prākāraḥ 'a wall, similar to one around the city of Mathurā, surrounds the city of Srughna'
devadattasyeva devadattavad yajñadattasya gāvaḥ 'the cows of Yajñadatta are similar to those of Devadatta's'

1. This rule is formulated to account for examples where something other than *kriyā* 'action' forms the scope of similarity (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *akriyārthaś cāyam ārambhaḥ*). Our earlier rule introduces *vatI* after bases ending in *tṛtīyā*. This rule introduces it after bases ending in *saptamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī*. That is, *vatI* is here introduced in the sense of *iva* with no similarity of action involved. It is for this reason that *kriyā* had to be stated in the earlier rule. It is for this reason also that *tulyam* could not be carried here.

5.1.117 तदर्हम्

tad arham
/*tat* 2/1 *arham* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *vatiḥ, kriyā* #115)
'*tat*' *iti dvitīyāsamarthāt* '*arham*' *ity etasminn arthe vatiḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *vatI* occurs, to denote the sense of *arham* 'deserving', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'.

EXAMPLES:

rājānam arhati rājavat pālanam 'this king deserves to protect his subjects the way a king does'

brāhmaṇavat 'this Brāhmaṇa deserves . . . the way a brāhmaṇa does'

1. Note that *arha* is derived with affix *aC* introduced in the sense of agent (*kartṛ*). One would therefore expect *ṣaṣṭhī*, i.e., *tasya*, as opposed to *dvitīyā*, i.e., *tat*, to denote *karman* 'object'. A *dvitīyā* is here provided via *nipātana*. But accusative makes sense only when paraphrased with a form ending in *tiṄ*. Thus, *rājānaṃ arhati* will be the paraphrase. But this can create problems in examples parallel to *rājānam arhati chatram* 'the umbrella deserves a king' where the similarity between *chatra* and *rājā* is not mediated by any action. It is for this reason that *kriyā* is carried, via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap', from 5.1.115 *tena tulyam*. . . . Consequently, *rājavat pālanam* does not mean that 'someone else deserves to be raised as a king'. It instead means that 'a king deserves to protect his subjects as a king does'. There is a basic difference between the provisions of 5.1.115 *tena tulyam* . . . and this rule. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains that derivates of this rule could not be derived by 5.1.115 *tena tulyam* . . ., not just because one needs *tṛtīyā* there, and *saptamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī* here. But also because 5.1.115 *tena tulyam* . . . involves an action to be performed by someone other than one who should have performed it. Thus, *brāhmaṇavad adhīte kṣatriyaḥ* 'a Kṣatriya is studying like a Brāhmaṇa'. Affix *vatI*, in our present rule, is introduced under the condition of an action deserved by the agent of *vatI* which, in turn, is associated with that which ends in *dvitīyā* (see *Mbh.* ad this rule for further details).

5.1.118 उपसर्गाच्छन्दसि धात्वर्थे

> *upasargāc chandasi dhātvarthe*
> /*upasargāt* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *dhātvarthe* 7/1 = *dhātor arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *vatiḥ* #115)
> *upasargāt sasādhane dhātvarthe vartamānāt svārthe vatiḥ pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye*
> The *taddhita* affix *vatI* occurs, in Vedic, after a preverb (*upasarga*) to denote root-sense (*dhātvartha*).

EXAMPLES:

> *udvataḥ* 'upward moving'
> *nivataḥ* 'downward moving'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* illustrates *udvat* and *nivat* as *udgatāni* and *nigatāni*, where *ud* and *ni* are used with the signification of *gam* 'to go'. It is argued that *artha* in *dhātvarthe* is not necessary if *dhātvartha* 'root-sense' alone was intended to be the denotatum. The word *dhātau*, in locative, should be sufficient. Commentators explain that *arthe* in *dhātvarthe* is used so that the denotatum could be understood as: *sādhanaviśiṣṭe dhātvarthe* 'in the sense of

a root qualified with *sādhana* 'means'.' *Kāśikā* uses *sasādhane* as a qualifier to *dhātvarthe* where *sādhana* means a *kāraka* 'participant'. Thus, *udvataḥ* and *nivataḥ* denote the sense of *gam* qualified with its agent: 'upward moving, downward moving'. Note that a preverb (*upasarga*) can denote root-sense only when 'action' (*kriyā*) is used as subservient to 'means' (*sādhana*; *kriyā guṇabhūtā sādhanaṃ pradhānabhūtam*).

How come *udvataḥ* and *nivataḥ* are used in masculine with retention of their nominative endings? That is, why is *sU* not deleted after a base ending in *vatI*? After all, bases ending in *vatI* are indeclinables. These words are used as masculine in Vedic. Besides, assignment of the term *avyaya* is non-obligatory (*anitya*).

5.1.119 तस्य भावस्त्वतलौ

tasya bhāvas tvatalau

/*tasya* 6/1 *bhāvaḥ* 1/1 *tvatalau* 1/1 (*iatr. dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76)

'*tasya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād* '*bhāvaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe tvatalau pratyayau bhavataḥ*

The *taddhita* affixes *tva* and *taL* occur to denote *bhāva* 'characteristic state' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvasya bhāvaḥ = *aśvatvam* 'horseness, characteristic state of being a horse'

aśvatā 'id.'

gotvam 'cowness'

gotā 'id.'

1. The word *bhāva* is explained in the *Mahābhāṣya* as *guṇa* 'characteristic quality' on account of which a word is able to denote a thing (*dravya*). It thus refers to distinguishing (*bhedakaḥ*) qualities, such as *jāti* 'class', etc., which constitute the basis for signified-signifier (*vācya-vācaka*) relationship between a word and what it denotes. This is what is also explained as the basis for using a word (*pravṛttinimitta*) to denote a given thing (*dravya*). There are several types of *pravṛttinimittas* depending on the nature of words. For example, *jāti* 'class', such as 'horseness' (*aśvatva*), forms the basis for usage of words denoting *jāti*. Bases with the denotatum of 'whiteness' (*śuklatva*) and 'cooking' (*pācakatva*) can be classed as words denoting 'quality' (*guṇa*) and 'action' (*kriyā*). Some also require relationships between action and participants as bases for use of words denoting action. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *tataḥ punaḥ śabdānāṃ pravṛttinimittam anekaprakāram; jātiśabdānāṃ jātiḥ-aśvatvam iti, guṇaśabdānāṃ guṇaḥ-śuklatvam iti, kriyāśabdānāṃ kriyā-pācakatvam iti* . . .).

5.1.120 आ च त्वात्

ā ca tvāt
/*ā* ϕ *ca* ϕ *tvāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tvatalau* #119)
The *taddhita* affixes *tva* and *taL* also occur, henceforth as specified, up to *tva* (of 5.1.136 *brahmaṇas tvaḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

prathimā/ pārthavam/ pṛthutvam/ pṛthutā ('wideness, expanse')
mradimā/ mārdavam/ mṛdutvam/ mṛdutā ('tenderness')
striyāḥ bhāvaḥ = *straiṇam, strītvam, strītā* 'femininity, femaleness'
puṃso bhāvaḥ = *puṃstvam, puṃstā, pauṃsnam* 'masculinity, manliness'

1. What is the purpose of formulating this rule when affixes *tva* and *taL* could be carried from the preceding rule? This separate formulation is made so that a general (*autsargika*) provision of *tva* and *taL* could also be made part of the scope of related exceptions. Thus, consider 5.1.122 *pṛthvādibhya imanij vā* which introduces *imanIC*, optionally, after specified bases ending in *ṣaṣṭhī*. Affix *imanIC* will be introduced, optionally, to *tva* and *taL*. It is also intended for introducing these affixes to denote the sense of 'action' (*karman*). *Kāśikā* states that *ca* in this rule is used for inclusion with *tva* and *taL*, also of *naÑ* and *snaÑ* (5.1.124 *guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ* . . .). Thus, we get *straiṇam* (*naÑ*) / *strītva* (*tva*) / *strītā* (*taL*), etc. Obviously, introduction of these affixes does not involve blocking.

2. A derivate, for example *prathimā*, derives from *pṛthu* + *iman*(*IC*→ϕ) where 6.4.154 *turiṣṭhaemeyas* . . . causes *ṭi*-deletion. The *ṛ* of *pṛth*(*u*→ϕ) + *iman* is then replaced with *r* of 6.4.161 *ra ṛto halāder*. . . . Given *prathiman* + *sU*, the penultimate *a* will be replaced with *ā* of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*. Deletion of *sU* and *n* will finally yield *prathimā*. Affix *aṆ* will be introduced by 5.1.130 *igantāc ca laghupūrvāt* if *imanIC* is not introudced. This will yield *pārthava* with initial *vṛddhi*, *guṇa* of *u* and replacement in *av*. A derivate of *naÑ* and *snaÑ* will similarly entail initial *vṛddhi*. Thus we get *straiṇam* and *pauṃsnam*, where affixal *n* in *straiṇam* goes through a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

5.1.121 न नञ्पूर्वात्तत्पुरुषादचतुरसंगतलवणवटयुधकतरसलसेभ्यः

na nañpūrvāt tatpuruṣād acaturasaṃgatalavaṇavaṭayudhakatarasalasebhyaḥ
/*na* ϕ *nañpūrvāt* 5/1 = *nañ pūrvo yasmin sa* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *tatpuruṣāt* 5/1/ *acaturasaṃgatalavaṇavaṭayudhakatarasalasebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *caturaś ca saṃgataś ca* . . . (*itar. dv.*); *na catura* . . . = *acatura* . . . (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*) /

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119)
ita uttare ye bhāvapratyayās te nañpūrvāt tatpuruṣān na bhavanti caturādīn varjayitvā
A *taddhita* affix which denotes *bhāva* does not occur after a *tatpuruṣa* nominal which has *naÑ* as its first constituent but is not *acatura, asaṃgata, alavaṇa, avaṭa, ayudha, akata, arasa* and *alasa.*

EXAMPLES:

apatitvaṃ/ apatitā 'characteristic quality of not being a master'
apaṭutvam/ apaṭutā 'characteristic quality of not being skilled'
aramaṇīyatvam/ aramaṇīyatā 'characteristic quality of not being enchanting'

1. The condition of *na nañpūrvāt* is necessary so that *tyaK* could be introduced after *bṛhaspati,* a *tatpuruṣa* compound not used with *naÑ.* The condition of *tatpuruṣāt* is necessary so that an example such as *āpaṭavam* 'characteristic quality of being unskilled' could be derived with *aṆ* (5.1.131 *igantāc ca* . . .) introduced after *apaṭu,* a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *nāsya paṭavaḥ santi.* Finally, this negation does not apply to *acatura,* etc., so that derivates such as *ācaturyam,* etc., could be covered. That is, affixes *tva* and *taL* alone will be introduced after a *nañ-tatpuruṣa.* Thus we get *apatitvam* and *apatitā* against the *yaK* of 5.1.128 *patyantapurohitādibhyo yak.* Affix *aṆ* of 5.1.131 *igantāc ca* . . . is similarly blocked in favor of *tva* and *taL* in *apaṭutvam* and *apaṭutā.* Affix *vuÑ* of 5.1.132 *yopadhād gurūpottamād vuñ* goes through similar blocking against *tva* and *taL* of *aramaṇīyatvam* and *aramaṇīyatā.*

5.1.122 पृथ्वादिभ्य इमनिज्वा

pṛthvādibhya imanij vā
/*pṛthvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *imanic* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119)
'*pṛthu*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya imanic pratyayo bhavati vā* '*tasya bhāvaḥ*' *ity etasminn arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *imanIC* occurs, optionally, to denote *bhāva* after a nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *pṛthu* 'broad, wide' and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

pṛthutvam/ pṛthutā 'wideness, expanse'
mṛdutvam/ mṛdutā 'tenderness'

1. Note that *vā* is not used here for making this affixal operation optional to sentential strings. For, that option is already available from 4.1.82 *samar-*

thānāṃ prathamād vā. It is, instead, used to introduce *imanIC* as a variant of affixes *aṆ*, etc. Thus, affix *aṆ* is available to *pṛthu*, *mṛdu*, etc., of *pṛthvādi* group, from 5.1.131 *igantāc ca laghupūrvāt*. Certain *pṛthvādi* bases, namely *khaṇḍa*, *caṇḍa*, etc., denote *guṇa* 'quality'. They thus qualify for affix *ṢyaÑ* of 5.1.124 *guṇavacanādibhyaḥ*. . . . Stems such as *bāla* and *vatsa*, etc., which denote *vaya* 'age, stage in life', qualify for affix *aÑ* of 5.1.129 *prāṇibhṛjjāti*. . . . Affix *imanIC* is here introduced against all these affixes. The use of *vā* makes them optional to *imanIC*. Additionally, affixes *tva* and *taL* will also be introduced, as has been explained in connection with the use of *ca* in 5.1.120 *ā ca tvāt*. Finally, recall that *prathimā*, *mradimā*, etc., will go through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.154 *turiṣṭha* . . .) and *r*-replacement (6.4.161 *r ṛto halāder*. . .).

5.1.123 वर्णदृढादिभ्यः ष्यञ् च

varṇadṛḍhādibhyaḥ ṣyañ ca
/ *varṇadṛḍhādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *varṇa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *varṇaś ca dṛḍhādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ṣyañ* 1/1 *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *imanic* #122)
varṇaviśeṣavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo dṛḍhādibhyaś ca ṣyañ pratyayo bhavati cakārād imanic ca •
The *taddhita* affix *ṢyaÑ*, and *imanIC* as well, occurs to denote *bhāva* after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies colour (*varṇa*), or is listed in the group headed by *dṛḍha* 'firm', when the stem ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

śuklasya bhāvaḥ = *śauklyam/ śukimā/ śuklatvam/ śuklatā* 'whiteness'
kārṣṇyam/ kṛṣṇimā/ kṛṣṇatvam/ kṛṣṇatā 'blackness'
dārḍhyam/ dṛḍhimā/ dṛḍhatvam/ dṛḍhatā 'firmness'
aucitī 'fairness, propriety'
yathākāmī 'desirability'

1. Note that *varṇa* is not used here in the sense of *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya*, etc. It is, instead, used as a quality (*guṇa*) denoting 'color'. We know this also from its associated listing (*sāhacaryāt*) with *dṛḍha* 'firm' which also denotes quality. If they denote quality then rule 5.1.124 *guṇavacanādibhyaḥ* . . . could account for their derivates. Why do we have to have this rule? This rule is formulated more for inclusion of *imanIC*. Thus, we will get four forms: two with *tva* and *taL*; one each with *ṢyaÑ* and *imanIC*. Incidentally, *Ṣ* as an *it* is used for feminine in *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*). An example such as *dradhimā* will also involve *r*-replacement before *imanIC*.

2. Note that *dṛḍhādi* includes many commonly used quality words. It also has two *gaṇasūtras* whereby relevant affixes can also be introduced after *yāta*,

lābha, mati, manas and *śārada,* used in combination after *vi* (*veryātalābhamatimanaḥśāradānām*). Thus we get: *vijātatvam/ viyātatā/ viyātimā/ vaiyātyam,* etc. An additional provision is made for these affixes also after *mati* and *manas,* used in combination after *sam.* This will offer *sammatitvam/ sammatitā/ sammatimā/ sāmmatyam,* etc.

5.1.124 **गुणवचनब्राह्मणादिभ्यः कर्मणि च**

guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādibhyaḥ karmaṇi ca
/*guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādihyaḥ* 5/3 = *brāhmaṇa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *guṇavacanāś ca brāhmaṇādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with internal *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; karmaṇi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123)
guṇavacanebhyo brāhmaṇādibhyaś ca tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ karmaṇy abhidheye ṣyañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢyaÑ* occurs tu denote *karman* 'action' and *bhāva* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī,* and either signifies a quality (*guṇavacana*) or is listed in the group headed by *brāhmaṇa.*

EXAMPLES:

jaḍasya bhāvaḥ karma vā = *jāḍyam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of something inert; inertia'
jaḍatvam/ jaḍatā 'id.'
brāhmaṇyam 'characteristic quality, or duty, of a Brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇatvam/ brāhmaṇatā 'id.'

1. The word *ca* is used to attract *bhāva.* Incidentally, *karman* here denotes 'action'.

It is stated that *brāhmaṇādi* is an *ākṛtigaṇa* 'open-ended group'. The word *ādi* denotes *prakāra* 'and the like'. This facilitates inclusion, in *brāhmaṇādi,* of stems other than those already listed in *brāhmaṇādi.*

2. There are two *gaṇasūtras* whereby appropriate affixes are introduced after *sarvaveda,* etc., to denote base-meanings (*svārtha; sarvavedādibhyaḥ svārthe*). Yet another *gaṇasūtra* provides for two-place *vṛddhi* in *cāturvaidyaḥ,* a derivate of *caturveda* 'one who studies four Vedas'.

3. A *vārttika* notes that *ṢyaÑ* denotes *svārtha* 'base-meaning' in derivates such as *cāturvarṇyam, cāturāśramyam, trailokyam, sainyam* and *sāmīpyam,* etc.

5.1.125 **स्तेनाद्यन्नलोपश्च**

stenād yan nalopaś ca
/*stenāt* 5/1 *yat* 1/1 *nalopaḥ* 1/1 = *nasya lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
stenaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād bhāvakarmaṇor yat pratyayo bhavati naśabdasya lopaś ca bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after syntactically related nominal stem *stena* 'thief', with concurrent deletion of its *na*, when the stem ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

stenasya bhāvaḥ karma vā = *steyam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of a thief'

1. Some recommend rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*) so that this rule can yield two readings: *stenāt* (*ṣyañ*) and (*yan*)-*nalopaś ca*. The first rule gives *stainyam* with *ṢyaN*. The second will produce *steyam*, a derivate of *yaT*. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* does not mention *stainyam*. May be it became common in usage much later.

5.1.126 सख्युर्यः

sakhyur yaḥ
/*sakhyuḥ* 5/1 *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
sakhiśabdād yaḥ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇor arthayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ya* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after syntactically related nominal stem *sakhi* 'friend, companion', when the same ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

sakhyur bhāvaḥ karma vā = *sakhyam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of a friend; friendliness, friendship'

1. This affixal provision is also desired after *dūta* 'messenger' and *vaṇik* 'trader' to account for *dūtyam* and *vaṇijyam*. How would one derive *vāṇijyam* with initial *vṛddhi*? By reading *vaṇik* in the *brāhmaṇādi* group and introducing *ṢyaÑ*.

5.1.127 कपिज्ञात्योर्ढक्

kapijñatyor ḍhak
/*kapijñātyoḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
'*kapi-jñāti*' *śabdābhyāṃ ḍhak pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇor arthayoḥ*

The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after syntactically related nominal stems *kapi* 'monkey, ape' and *jñāti* 'kin' when the stems end in *ṣaṣṭhī.*

EXAMPLES:

kaper bhāvaḥ karma vā = kāpeyam 'monkeyness; characteristic action of monkey'
jñāteyam 'state of being, or acting, of a kin'

1. Note that, throughout this section, assignment of equivalency of two meanings of *bhāva* and *karman* is not desired in accord with order of enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam*. . .; *Kāś.*: *yathāsaṃkhyam arthayoḥ sarvatraivātra prakaraṇe neṣyate*). Confusion about *yathāsaṃkhya* may arise because bases, i.e., *kapi* and *jñāti,* and affixal meanings, i.e., *bhāva* and *karman,* both are equal in number. A similar confusion about possibility of *yathāsaṃkhya* may also arise in 5.1.128 *patyanta*. . . and 5.1.130 *hāyanānta*. . .

5.1.128 पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक्

patyantapurohitādibhyo yak
/*patyantapurohitādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *patiḥ śabdo' nte yasya* (*bv.*); *purohita ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *patyantaś ca purohitādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *yak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
The *taddhita* affix *yaK* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which either ends in *pati,* or is listed in the group headed by *purohita,* when the stems end in *ṣaṣṭhī.*

EXAMPLES:

senāpateḥ bhāvaḥ karma vā = saināpatyam 'characteristic quality, or duty, of the commander of an army'
paurohityam 'characteristic quality, or duty, of a priest'
rājyam 'governance'

1. A *gaṇasūtra* allows for *yaK* after *rājan* when the same is not a final constituent of a compound (*rājā' se*). Affix *ṢyaÑ* will be introduced when it is final of a compound. For, *rājan* could then be read in the *brāhmaṇādi* class of nominals.

5.1.129 प्राणभृज्जातिवयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽञ्

prāṇabhṛjjātivayovacanodgātrādibhyo' ñ
/*prāṇabhṛjjātivayovacanodgātrādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *prāṇabhṛtāṃ jātiḥ = prāṇabhṛjjātiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *vayaso vacanam = vayovacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *udgātṛ*

śabda ādir yeṣāṃ ta udgātrādayaḥ (*bv.*); *prāṇabhṛjjātiś ca vayovacanaṃ ca udgātrādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *añ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)

prāṇabhṛjjātivācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vayovacanebhya udgātrādibhyaś cāñ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇor arthayoḥ

The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, and either has the signification of a class of animate beings (*prāṇibhṛt*) or signifies age (*vayas*), or else, is listed in the group headed by *udgātṛ* 'reciter priest of *Sāmaveda*'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvasya bhāvaḥ karma vā = *āśvam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a horse'

kaiśoram 'characteristic quality, or action, of being an adolescent'

audgātram 'characteristic quality, or action, of being an *udgātṛ*.

1. A *gaṇasūtra* includes *subhaga*, of the Mantra literature, as part of *udgātrādi*.This will yield *saubhagam* against *saubhāgyam*, a derivate of *ṢyaÑ*, if *subhaga* is treated as part of *brāhmaṇādi*.

5.1.130 हायनान्तयुवादिभ्योऽण्

hāyanāntayuvādibhyo'ṇ

/ *hāyanāntayuvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *hāyano'nte yasya* (*bv.*); *yuvan ādir yeṣāṃ te yuvādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *hāyanāntaś ca yuvādayaś ca* = *hāyanāntayuvādayaḥ* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aṇ* 1/1 (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)

hāyanāntebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo yuvādibhyaś cāṇ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇa arthayoḥ

The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *hāyana* 'year' or *yuvan* 'young' and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

dvihāyanasya bhāvaḥ karma vā dvaihāyanam 'characteristic quality, or action, of a child who is two years old'

yauvanam 'characteristic quality, or state, of being young'

1. A *vārttika* recommends deletion of *ya* of *śrotriya* 'one who recites Veda' in deriving *śrautram*. This deletion, in turn, facilitates deletion of *iya* occurring at the end of an *aṅga* turned *bha*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) accepts the deletion of *iya* gotten via *gha*.

2. There are provisions of *aṆ* made by *gaṇasūtras* to occur after *puruṣa* and *hṛdaya* when they do not occur as constituents of a compound.

5.1.131 इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात्

igantāc ca laghupūrvāt
/*igantāt* 5/1 = *ik ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ *laghupūrvāt* 5/1 = *laghuḥ pūrvam yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124 *aṇ* #130)
igantāc ca laghupūrvād aṇ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in a vowel denoted by *iK*, used after a preceding vowel termed *laghu*, provided the stem ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

śucer bhāvaḥ karma vā = *śaucam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of (ritual) purity'
muner bhāvaḥ karma vā = *maunam* 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a sage; quietness'

1. Note that *laghupūrva* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *laghuḥ pūrvaḥ avayavaḥ asya* 'that whose preceding element is a short vowel'. It therefore becomes a qualifier to the nominal stem. Because of proximity (*sannidhāna*) with *iK*, vowels denoted by *laghu* are interpreted as those occurring before them. This yields the desired interpretation: affix *aṆ* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in an *iK* preceded by a vowel termed *laghu*. Others interpret *iganta* as a *karmadhāraya* parallel to *ik cāsau antaś ca* 'that which is *iK*, and is also a final'. They then qualify it with *laghupūrvaḥ*, thereby to yield the interpretation: that which is a final *iK* with a *laghu* as its *pūrva*. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation will then apply to yield the interpretation: *aṆ* occurs after a nominal stem which has an *iK*, with a preceding *laghu*, as its final. A specification by *anta* of *igantāt*, in this interpretation, then becomes superfluous (*atiricyate*).

2. A specification by *iganta* blocks the introduction of *aṆ* after *ghaṭa* and *paṭa* which do not end in an *iK*. They, therefore, qualify for *tva* and *taL* to yield *ghaṭatva*, etc. Similar consequences are witnessed in case of *kaṇḍū* and *pāṇḍu* which end in an *iK* but which do not qualify as *laghupūrva*.

A question is raised about deriving *kāvyam* 'poetry'. A derivate of *aṆ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* and *karman* should indeed be *kāvyam*. It is stated that *kāvyam* can be derived with *ṢyaÑ* by treating *kavi* as part of the *brāhmaṇādi* group of nominals.

5.1.132 योपधाद्गुरूपोत्तमाद् वुञ्

yopadhād gurupottamād vuñ
/*yopadhāt* 5/1 = *yakāra upadhā yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *gurupottamāt* 5/1 = *gurur upottamaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *vuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
yakāropadhād gurupottamād vuñ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and contains *y* in its *upadhā* preceded by a vowel termed *guru*.

EXAMPLES:

rāmaṇīyakam 'characteristic quality, or state, of being beautiful'
vāsanīyakam 'characteristic quality, or state, of being well-dressed'

1. The twin-conditions of *yopadhāt* and *gurupottamāt* are necessary to rule out this affixal provision after stems such as *vimāna* and *kṣatriya*, respectively, where *vimāna* does not have *y* in its *upadhā* and *kṣatriya* has a short *i* as its *upottama*.

This affixal provision is also desired, though optionally, after *sahāya* to derive *sāhāyakam* and *sāhāyyam*.

5.1.133 द्वन्द्वमनोज्ञादिभ्यश्च

dvandvamanojñādibhyaś ca
/ *dvandvamanojñādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *manojña ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *dvandvaś ca manojñādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4 1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
dvandvasaṃjñakebhyo manojñādibhyaś ca vuñ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a nominal stem termed *dvandva*, or after a stem listed in the group headed by *manojña* 'lovely', when the stems end in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

gopālapaśupālānāṃ bhāvaḥ karma vā = *gaupālapaśupālikā* 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a cowherd, or being one who tends cattles'
śaiṣyopādhyāyikā 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a taught and a teacher'
mānojñakam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being lovely'
kālyāṇakam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being lovely (auspicious)'

1. Note that derivates of *vuÑ* introduced after a *dvandva* compound are

used in feminine. This provision of *uvÑ* is made against affixes *tva* and *taL* made available after *dvandva* compounds. Affix *vuÑ* is introduced after *manojñādi* stems as an exception to *ṢyaÑ* based on stems such as *dhūrta* and *cora* which denote quality. The word *yuvan* receives *vuÑ* against *aṆ* (5.1.129 *prāṇibhṛj*...). The remaining stems could have qualified for *tva* and *taL*.

5.1.134 गोत्रचरणाच्छ्लाघात्याकारतदवेतेषु

gotracaraṇāc chlāghātyākāratadaveteṣu
/*gotracaraṇāt* 5/1 (*itar. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ślāghātyākāratadaveteṣu* 7/3 = *ślāghā ca atyākāraś ca tadavetaś ca* (*itar. bv.*), *teṣu*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124, *vuñ* #133)
gotravācinaś caraṇavācinaś ca prātipadikād vuñ pratyayo bhavati pratyekaṃ bhāvakarmaṇor arthayoḥ ślāghādiṣu viṣayabhūteṣu
The *taddhita* affix *vuÑ* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a *gotra* 'grandsons, and descendants thereafter' and *caraṇa* 'Vedic recension', provided derivates signify *ślāghā* 'praise', *atyākāra* 'insult' and *tadaveta* 'knower of that....'

EXAMPLES:

gārgikayā ślāghate '... is praising himself for being a *gotra*-descendant of Garga'
gārgikayātyākurute '... insults others because he is a *gotra*-descendant of Garga'
kāṭhikayā ślāghate '... praises himself for being a reciter of the Kaṭha recension'
gārgikām avetaḥ '... knows characteristic qualities of, or has attained the status of, being a *gotra*-descendant of Garga'

1. Note that *ślāghā*, etc., could not be accepted as affixal meanings. They could not even be accepted as qualifiers to affixal meanings. These conditions are imposed so that *vuÑ* could not be introduced where *bhāva* and *karman* alone are to be denoted. Thus, *gārgyatvam* and *kaṭhatvam*, both derivates of *tva*, are given as counter-examples.

5.1.135 होत्राभ्यश्छः

hotrābhyaś chaḥ
/*hotrābhyaḥ* 5/3 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124)
ṛtvigviśeṣavācibhyaś chaḥ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after a syn-

tactically related nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and signifies *hotrā* 'a particular priest at a sacrifical ritual'.

EXAMPLES:

acchāvākasya bhāvaḥ karma vā = ācchāvākīyam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being an Acchāvāka ritualist'
maitrāvaruṇīyam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a Mitrāvaruṇa ritualist'

1. Note that derivates such as *ācchāvākīyam* denote activities of particular priests. The plural, in the wording of this rule, is used for blocking a word-form interpretation of the base (*svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*). That is, a singular may have caused introduction of *cha* after the base *hotrā* itself.

5.1.136 ब्रह्मणस्त्वः

brahmaṇas tvaḥ
/*brahmaṇaḥ* 5/1 *tvaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #76, *tasya bhāvas tvatalau* #119, *ṣyañ* #123, *karmaṇi* #124, *hotrābhyaḥ* #135)
brahmanśabdād dhotrāvācinas tvaḥ pratyayo bhavati bhāvakarmaṇoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *tva*, instead, occurs to denote *bhāva* and *karman* after syntactically related nominal stem *brahman* when it ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and signifies *hotrā*.

EXAMPLES:

brahmaṇo bhāvaḥ karma vā = brahmatvam 'characteristic quality, or action, of being a Brahman at a ritual sacrifice'

1. This affixal provision is made as an exception to *cha*. Note, however, that *tva* is not used here simply to counter *cha*. For, that could have been accomplished by formulating this rule simply as *brahmaṇo na*. A separate, and specific provision of *tva* is made to exclude a derivate such as *brahmatā*, in addition to *brahmatvam*, which would have otherwise obtained if *brahman* did not denote *hotrā*. The word *brahman*, when denoting a *brāhmaṇa*, would receive *tva* and *taL*, thereby deriving two forms: *brahmatvam* and *brahmatā*. A derivate such as *brahmatā* is not desired under the provisions of this rule.

PĀDA TWO

5.2.1 धान्यानां भवने क्षेत्रे खञ्

dhānyānāṃ bhavane kṣetre khañ
/*dhānyānām* 6/3 *bhavane* 7/1 *kṣetre* 7/1 *khañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

dhānyaviśeṣavācibhyaḥ ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyo bhavane' bhidheye khañ pratyayo bhavati tac cet bhavanaṃ kṣetraṃ bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote the locus of *bhavanam* 'coming into existence' after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies a particular *dhānya* 'grain' and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *kṣetra* 'field' forms the locus of action denoted by *bhavanam.*

EXAMPLES:

mudgānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetram = *maudgīnam* 'field where Mung beans are grown'
kaulatthīnam 'a field where *kulattha* (wild lentil) is grown'
kaudravīṇam 'a field where *kudrava* (wild rice) is grown'

1. Here again the plural in *dhānyānām* is used to rule out its 'word-form' interpretation (*svarūpavidhinirāsārtham*). That is, affix *khaÑ* can be introduced after a base denoting *dhānya,* and not after the form of the word *dhānya* itself. Additionally, its genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is used for indicating the nominal ending which qualifies a given base to be syntactically related (*samartha*).

Verbal root *bhū* in *bhavanam* denotes *utpatti* 'to come into existence; be born', and not 'existence' (*sattā*) itself. thus, *bhavanam* is a derivate of *LyuṬ* denoting *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. The use of *kṣetra* makes it clear that *bhavanam* does not, for example, mean 'house'. consequently, a derivate of *khaÑ* parallel to *mudgānāṃ bhavanaṃ kusūlam* 'place where Mung beans are stored' will be ruled out because *bhavamam* does not denote *kṣetra,* a locus for growing Mung beans. Similar exclusion will also apply to derivates parallel to *tṛṇānāṃ bhavanam kṣetram* where *kṣetra* serves as locus of *tṛṇa* 'grass, straw', and not of *dhānya* 'grains'.

5.2.2 व्रीहिशाल्योर्ढक्

vrīhiśālyor ḍhak
/*vrīhiśālyoḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ḍhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhānyānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetre* #1)
'*virhi-śāli*' *śabdābhyāṃ ḍhak pratyayo bhavati bhavane kṣetre' bhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* occurs to denote the locus of *bhavanam* after syntactically related nominal stems *vrīhi* 'a variety of rice' and *śāli* 'id.' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *kṣetra* forms as locus of *bhavanam.*

EXAMPLES:

vrīhīṇāṃ bhavanmaṃ kṣetraṃ = *vraiheyam* 'a field where rice is grown'
śāleyam 'id.'

1. This is an exception to *khaÑ*. Note that *śāli* and *vrīhi* are nearly synonymous.

5.2.3 यवयवकषष्टिकाद्यत्

yavayavakaṣaṣṭikād yat
/*yavayavakaṣaṣṭikāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*),. *tasmāt*; *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhānyānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetre* #1)
yavādibhyaḥ śabdebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati bhavane kṣetre' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the locus of *bhavanam* after syntactically related nominal stems *yava* 'barley', *yavaka* 'id.' and *ṣaṣṭika* 'a variey of rice ready for harvest in sixty days' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *kṣetra* forms the locus of *bhavanam.*

EXAMPLES:

yavyam 'a field where barley is grown'
yavakyam 'id.'
ṣaṣṭikyam 'a field where the *ṣaṣṭika* rice is grown'

5.2.4 विभाषा तिलमाषोमाभङ्गाणुभ्यः

vibhāṣā tilamāṣomābhaṅgāṇubhyaḥ
/*vibhāṣa* 1/1 *tilamāṣomābhaṅgāṇubhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhānyānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetre* #1, *yat* #3)
'*tila, māṣa, umā, bhaṅgā, aṇu*' *ity etebhyo vibhāṣā yat pratyayo bhavati bhavane kṣetre' bhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs, only optionally, to denote the locus of *bhavanam* after syntactically related nominal stems *tila* 'sesame', *māṣa* 'a variety of Mung beans', *umā* 'flax, linseed-plant', *bhaṅgā* 'hemp, Jute-plant' and *aṇu* 'wild yellow rice' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *kṣetra* forms the locus of *bhavanam.*

EXAMPLES:

tilānāṃ bhavanaṃ kṣetraṃ = *tilyam* 'a field where Sesame is grown'
tailīnam 'id.'
māṣyam 'a field where Māṣa is grown'
māṣīṇam 'id.'
umyam 'a field where flax is grown'
aumīnam 'id.'
bhaṅgyam 'a field where Jute-plants are grown'
bhāṅgīnam 'id.'
aṇavyam 'a field where yellow wild rice is grown'
āṇavīnam 'id.'

1. Note that this option of *yaT* is made against *khaÑ*.

5.2.5 सर्वचर्मणः कृतः खखञौ

sarvacarmaṇaḥ kṛtaḥ khakhañau
/*sarvacarmaṇaḥ* 5/1 *kṛtaḥ* 1/1 *khakhañau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
sarvacarmanśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'kṛtaḥ' ity etasminn arthe khakhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *kha* and *khaÑ* occur to denote the sense of *kṛtaḥ* 'done, made' after syntactically related nominal stem *sarvacarman* 'all leather' when it ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

sarvaś carmaṇā kṛtaḥ = *sarvacarmīṇaḥ* 'that which has been made entirely with leather'
sārvacarmīṇaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *sarva* of *sarvacarman* is not a qualifier of *carman*. Instead, it is relatable to *kṛtaḥ*, the sense of the affix (*pratyayārtha*). The compound *sarvacarman*, consequently, lacks syntactico-semantic competence (*sāmarthya*) necessary for its formation. How is this compound-formation justified? It can be justified on the basis of *nipātana* of our present rule itself.

5.2.6 यथामुखसम्मुखस्य दर्शनः खः

yathāmukhasammukhasya darśanaḥ khaḥ
/*yathāmukhasammukhasya* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*); *darśanaḥ* 1/1 *khaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
yathāmukhaśabdāt sammukhaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād darśanaḥ ity etasminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote *darśana* 'that in which one views the appearance' after syntactically related nominal stems *yathāmukha* 'exactly as the face is' and *sammukha* 'entire face' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

yathāmukhīnaḥ 'that (mirror) in which a face appears exactly as it is'
sammukhīnaḥ 'that (mirror) in which a full face can be seen'

1. Our example *yathāmukham* is an *avyayībhāva* compound parallel to *mukhasya sadṛśam* 'similar to the face'. Recall that 2.1.7 *yathā'sādṛśye* allows the formation of such *avyayībhāva* compounds only when *asādṛśya* 'something other than similarity' is denoted. How is *yathāmukham* derived? By *nipātana* at the strength of this very rule.

5.2.7 तत्सर्वादेः पथ्यङ्गकर्मपत्त्रपात्रं व्याप्नोति

tat sarvādeḥ pathyaṅgakarmapattrapātraṃ vyāpnoti
/ *tat* 2/1 *sarvādeḥ* 5/1 = *sarva ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *pathyaṅgakarmapattrapātram* 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *vyāpnoti* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6)
sarvādeḥ prātipadikāt 'pathin, aṅga, karman, pattra, pātra' ity evam antād dvitīyāsamarthāt 'vyāpnoti' ity asminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote *vyāpnoti* 'pervades, covers' after syntactically related nominal stems *pathin* 'path', *aṅga* 'limb', *karman* 'action', *patra* 'means of transportation' and *pātra* 'vessel' when they occur in combination after *sarva* and end in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

sarvapathīno rathaḥ 'a chariot so big that if covers the entire road'
sarvāṅgīṇas tāpaḥ 'that (heat, fever) which torments the entire body'
sarvakarmīṇaḥ puruṣaḥ 'a man who can do everything'
sarvapattriṇaḥ sārathiḥ 'a charioteer who can steer all means of transportation'
sarvapātrīṇa odanaḥ 'the rice which, when cooked, fills up the entire pot'

1. Note that *sarvapathin* is a *karmadhāraya* compound paraphrased as *sarvaś cāsau panthāḥ*. Rule 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . . subsequently introduces *a* to yield *sarvapathin* + *a* which, in turn, goes through *ṭi*-deletion. Affix *kha* is then introduced after *sarvapatha* to yield *sarvapath*(*a* →ϕ) + *kha* = *sarvapath* + (*kh* →*īn*) *a* = *sarvapathīna* through *bha-saṃjñā*, *a-lopa* and replacement of *kh* by *in*. Other examples additionally involve replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

5.2.8 आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति

āprapadaṃ prāpnoti
/ *āprapadam* ϕ *prāpnoti* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
āprapadaśabdāt tad iti dvitīyāsamarthāt 'prāpnoti' ity asminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *prāpnoti* '. . . reaches' after syntactically related nominal stem *āprapada* 'to the fore-end of a foot' ending in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

āprapadaṃ prāpnoti = *āprapadīnaḥ paṭaḥ* 'a piece of cloth long enough to reach the fore-end of the feet'

1. Note that *āprapadīnaḥ* denotes the measure of a 'dress' or 'a piece of cloth' (*paṭaḥ*) used for covering the body. It can be used as a qualifier to *paṭaḥ* even when *paṭaḥ* is not used as a cover (*śarīreṇāsambaddhasyāpi paṭasya pramāṇam ākhyāyate*).

5.2.9 **अनुपदसर्वान्नायानयं बद्धाभक्षयतिनेयेषु**

anupadasarvānnāyānayaṃ baddhābhakṣayatineyeṣu
/ *anupadasarvānnāyānayam* 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *baddhābhakṣayatineyeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
anupadādibhyaḥ śabdebhyas tad iti dvitīyāsamarthebhyo yathāsaṃkhyam 'baddhā', 'bhakṣayati', 'neya' ity eteṣv artheṣu khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *anupada* 'length of a foot', *sarvānna* 'all grains', *ayānaya* 'move toward right and left', when ending in *dvitīyā*, provided derivates denote the sense of *baddhā* 'bound', *bhakṣayati* 'consumes' and *neya* 'to be led', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

anupadaṃ baddhā upānat = *anupadīnā* 'shoes which are equal in measure to the feet'
sarvānnāni bhakṣayati = *sarvānnīno bhikṣuḥ* 'an ascetic who eats all grains received in alms'
ayānayaṃ neyaḥ = *ayānayīnaḥ śāraḥ* 'moving pieces toward right and left at a chequered game'

1. The word *anupada* is an *avyayībhāva* compound where *anu* signifies *āyāma* 'length and width, expanse', or *sādṛśya* 'similarity'. The word *ayānaya* is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* compound parallel to *ayaś cāsāv anayaś ca* where *aya* means 'move toward right' and *anaya* means 'move toward left'. Note, however, that there is more to the meaning of *ayānaya* than the directional moves mentioned. Firstly, these moves are meant to be strategic in nature. They are made starting from a preassigned area of the game-board (*phalaka*). They are made in view of moves an opponent makes. Thus, a move towards right made by one gambler may mean a move made toward left for another. Finally, *ayānaya* is a place on the head of the board which opposing pieces do not reach. A piece which occupies such a place is called *ayānayīna* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *tatrābhimukhayoḥ krīḍatoḥ kitavayor yad evaikaṃ prati pradakṣiṇaṃ gamanaṃ tad evetaraṃ prati prasavyam ity ayaś cāsāv anayaś ca ayānaya iti karmadhārayaḥ*).

5.2.10 **परोवरपरम्परपुत्रपौत्रमनुभवति**

parovaraparamparaputrapautram anubhavati

/parovaraparamparaputrapautram 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *anubhavati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *pratipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
'*parovara, parampara, putrapautra*' *ity etebhyas tad iti dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*anubhavati*' *ity asminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *anubhavati* 'experiences' after syntactically related nominal stems *parovara* 'prior-subsequent; higher-lower', *parampara* 'prior and those before them' and *putrapautra* 'son-grandson' when they end in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

parāṃś ca avarāṃś ca anubhavati = *parovarīṇaḥ* 'one who have witnessed the remote past, and also one thereafter'
parāṃś ca paratarāṃś ca anubhavati = *paramparīṇaḥ* 'one who has witnessed the earlier people, and also people before them'
putrapautrān anubhavati = *putrapautrīṇaḥ* 'one who experiences sons and grandsons'

1. Note that *a* of *para* in *parovara* is replaced with *o* in the context of this affix, via *nipātana*. A single-replacement similar to *o* in place of *o+a* of *paro+avara* is accomplished by 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*. Our stem *parampara* is used to denote the combined meaning of *para* 'distant' and *paratara* 'comparatively more distant'. One may accept *paramparīṇa* as a derivate of *kha* introduced after *paraparatara* where *parampara* has replaced *paraparatara*. Given *parampara* + (*kh*→*īn*) *a* = *parampara* + *īna*, one can derive *paramparīṇa* by deleting the *bha*-final *a* (*allopa*) of *parampara*, and by replacing *n* by *ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

5.2.11 अवारपारात्यन्तानुकामं गामी

avārapārātyantānukāmaṃ gāmī
| avārapārātyantānukāmam 2/1 (*sam. dv.*); *gāmī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
'*avārapāra, atyanta, anukāma*' *ity etebhyo dvitīyāsamarthebhyaḥ* '*gāmī*' *ity etasminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *gāmin* 'goer' after syntactically related nominal stems *avārapāra* 'from this to the other side', *atyanta* 'excessive, intense' and *anukāma* 'as wished' when they end in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

avārapāraṃ gacchati = *avārapārīṇaḥ* 'superbly accomplished; one who

goes from one side to the other'
atyantaṃ gāmī = *atyantīnaḥ* 'one who goes over and over again'
anukāmaṃ gacchati = *anukāmīnaḥ* 'one who goes as far as he wishes'

1. Note that *gāmin* is derived parallel to *gamiṣyati* 'one who will go' by introducing affix *ṆinI* of 3.3.3 *bhaviṣyati gamyādayaḥ*. A *dvitīyā* 'accusative' after *avārapāra*, etc., is introduced because *ṣaṣṭhī* is blocked by 3.2.70 *akenor bhaviṣyad*. . . .

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made so that *kha* could be introduced also after individual constituents of *avārapāra* (*vigrahītāc ca*), i.e., *avāra* and *pāra*, to yield *avārīṇa* and *pārīṇa*, respectively. An additional *vārttika* approves introduction of *kha* also when constituents of *avārapāra* are combined in reverse (*viparītāc ca*). This will account for *pārāvārīṇaḥ*.

5.2.12 समांसमां विजायते

samāṃsamāṃ vijāyate
/*samāṃsamām* 2/1 *vijāyate* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
dvitīyāsamarthāt samāṃsamāṃśabdād vijāyate'rthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *vijāyate* 'gives birth to' after syntactically related nominal stem *samāṃsamā* 'every year' when it ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

samāṃsamīnā gauḥ 'a cow which bears a calf every year'
samāṃsamīnā vaḍavā 'a mare which bears a foal every year'

1. This affix is introduced after a combined base of two *samā* = *samām* + *samām*, each ending in a accusative. The doubling is intended to denote *vīpsā* 'pervasion of a thing by property or action (8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*)'. The *dvitīyā* in *samāṃsamām* is introduced to denote *atyantasaṃyoga* of 2.3.5 *kālādhvanor*. . . . Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* to *samām* + *samām* + (*kh*→*īn*) *a*) = *samāṃsamāmīna*. A *vārttika* (*pūrvapade supo' lug vaktavyaḥ*) saves the first *ām* from deletion by *LUK*. The second, of course, is deleted by 2.4.71 *supodhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. The final derivate *samāṃsamīnā* is derived with *ṬāP*. Some derive *samāṃsamā*, parallel to *samāyām samāyām vijāyate*, where *samāyām* is in *saptamī* 'locative'. This would require deletion of *y*, with non-deletion of *ām* in the first *samāyām*, and deletion of *yām* in the second.

5.2.13 अद्यश्वीनावष्टब्धे

adyaśvīnāvaṣṭabdhe

/*adyaśvīna* (deleted 1/1) *avaṣṭabdhe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7, *vijāyate* #12)
'*adyaśvīnaḥ*' *iti nipātyate avaṣṭabdhe vijane*
A *taddhita* derivate, namely *adyaśvīna,* is derived via *nipātana* from *adyaśvas* 'today-tomorrow', when the sense of *vijāyate* is qualified with *avaṣṭabdha* 'imminent (time)'.

EXAMPLES:

adya vā śvo vā vijāyate = adyaśvīnā gau 'a cow which is ready to give birth to a calf today or tomorrow'
adyaśvīnā vaḍavā 'a mare which is to give birth to a foal today or tomorrow'

1. Some do not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *vijāyate* in this rule. They derive *adyaśvīnaḥ,* via *nipātana,* in the sense of *avaṣṭabdha* 'imminent'. They can thus account for expressions such as *adyaśvīnaṃ maraṇam* 'imminent death' and *adyaśvīno viyogaḥ* 'imminent separation'.

2. The word *adyaśvīna* is specified here without any nominal ending so that a given derivate could not be restricted to usage in particular gender. Thus, a nominative singular masculine specification such as *adyaśvīnaḥ* could have run the danger of ruling out usages such as *adyaśvīnam,* a neuter, or *adyaśvīnā,* a feminine. Our base *adyaśvīna* is derived from *adyaśvas* + *kha* where *adyaśvas* 'today or tomorrow' is a compound formed in the sense of *vā* 'or'. Derivationally, affix *kha* yields *īna* and *as* of *adyaśvas* goes through deletion of *ṭi.*

5.2.14 आगवीनः

āgavīnaḥ
/*āgavīnaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7)
gor āṅpūrvād ā tasya goḥ pratidānāt kāriṇi khaḥ pratyayo nipātyate
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after *go,* used in conjunction with *āṄ,* to derive *āgavīna* 'worker' via *nipātana.*

EXAMPLES:

āgavīnaḥ karmakaraḥ 'a worker'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *āgavīnaḥ* as a worker who is hired on wages to take care of cows till the time they are returned (*pratyarpaṇa*) back to the owners. The time of 'return' then specifies the duration for which that person is hired (*yo gavā bhṛtaḥ karoti ā tasya goḥ pratyarpaṇāt*). The word *go* 'cow' is then used in the sense of *gopratyarpaṇa* 'return to cows'. This derivation of *āgavīnaḥ* is accomplished via *nipātana.*

5.2.15 अनुग्वलंगामी

anugv alaṅgāmī
/*anugu* ϕ *alaṅgāmī* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #7, *tat* #7)
anuguśabdād alaṅgāmī ity asminn arthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *alaṅgāmī* 'one who goes (or is able to go) far enough' after syntactically related nominal stem *anugu* 'one who follows (tends) the cows' when ending in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

anuguparyāptaṃ gacchati = *anugavīno gopālakaḥ* 'a cowherd who follows the cows far enough'

1. Note that *anugu* is an *avyayībhāva* compound where *anu* denotes *paścāt* 'after'. The short *u*, as a replacement for *o*, is in consonance with 1.2.48 *gostriyor*. . . . The derivate itself is derived with *guṇa* of *u*, followed by replacement in *av* and (*kh*→*īn*) *a*)).

5.2.16 अध्वनो यत्खौ

adhvano yatkhau
/*adhvanaḥ* 5/1 *yatkhau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7, *alaṅgāmī* #15)
adhvanśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'alaṅgāmī' ity etasminn arthe yatkhau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *yaT* and *kha* occurs to denote the sense of *alaṅgāmī* after syntactically related nominal stem *adhvan* 'road, path' when the same ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

adhvānaṃ alaṅgāmī = *adhvanīnaḥ* 'one who frequents the road'
adhvanyaḥ 'id.'

1. Why was the rule not formulated simply as *adhvano yac ca*, where *ca* could have attracted *kha* from the earlier rule. A formulation with *yaT* and *kha* both is needed so that these affixes both could be carried to the subsequent rule at the strength of *ca*. For, if *kha* is carried here by *ca*, it could not be carried any further (*cānukṛṣṭaṃ nottaratra*). Note that *adhvanīna* and *adhvanya* escape *ṭi*-deletion of *an* in consonance with 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ* and 6.4.169 *ātmādhvānau khe*, respectively.

5.2.17 अभ्यमित्राच्छ च

abhyamitrāc cha ca

/abhyamitrāt 5/1 *cha* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khaḥ* #6, *tat* #7, *alaṅgāmī* #15)
abhyamitraśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād 'alaṅgāmī' ity etasminn arthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha*, in addition to *yaT* and *kha*, also occurs to denote the sense of *alaṅgāmī* after syntactically related nominal stem *abhyamitra* 'face to face with an enemy' when it ends in *dvitīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

abhyamitram alaṅgāmī 'one who goes far enough to face (challenge) his enemy'
abhyamitryaḥ 'id.'
abhyamitrīṇaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *abhyamitram* is an *avyayībhāva* compound where *abhi* denotes *ābhimukhya* 'facing' (2.1.14 *lakṣaṇenābhipraty ābhimukhye*).

5.2.18 गोष्ठात्खञ्भूतपूर्वे

goṣṭhāt khañ bhūtapūrve
/goṣṭhāt 5/1 *khañ* 1/1 *bhūtapūrve* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
goṣṭhaśabdād bhūtapūrvopādhikāt svārthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote *svārtha* 'nominal stem notion' after *goṣṭha* 'a place where cows are kept', provided it is qualified with *bhūtapūrva* 'that which was in the past'.

EXAMPLES:

goṣṭho bhūtapūrvaḥ = *gauṣṭhīno deśaḥ* 'a place which once was a cowshed'

1. Note that *bhūtapūrva* is used here as a qualifier to *goṣṭha* so that this affixal provision could be blocked parallel to, for example, *goṣṭho vartate* 'there is a shelter for cows here'.

5.2.19 अश्वस्यैकाहगमः

aśvasyaikāhagamaḥ
/aśvasya 6/1 *ekāhagamaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)
aśvaśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthād 'ekāhagamaḥ' ity etad arthe khañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *ekāhagamaḥ* 'that

(a distance) which can be covered in a day' after syntactically related nominal stem *aśva* 'horse', when the same ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvasyaikāhagamo' dhvā = *āśvīnaḥ* 'a road (distance) which can be covered by a horse in a day'

1. Note that *ekāhagama* is explained as a compound parallel to *ekāhena gamyate* 'that which is traveled in a day', in consonance with 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam.* The first constituent *ekāha* is a *karmadhāraya* parallel to *ekaṃ ca tad ahaś ca* 'that which is one and is also a day'. The second constituent, *gamaḥ*, is a derivate of *aP* introduced to denote *karman* 'object', via *nipātana*, against *ghaÑ* of 3.3.20 *parimāṇākhyāyām*. . . . The *tṛtīyā* in *ekāhena*, according to *Nyāsa*, denotes *karaṇa*. Some consider the *tṛtīyā* of *ekāhena* as denoting *apavarga* 'accomplishment' (2.3.6 *apavarge tṛtīyā*). Not accepting *tṛtīyā* as denoting *karaṇa* would amount to accepting *ekāhagama* as a compound formed in view of 2.1.4 *saha supā.*

5.2.20 शालीनकौपीने अधृष्टाकार्ययोः

śālīnakaupīne adhṛṣṭākāryayoḥ
/ *śālīnakaupīne* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *adhṛṣṭākāryayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)
'*śālīna-kaupīna*' *śabdau nipātyete yathāsaṃkhyam adhṛṣṭe akārye cābhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs in deriving *śālīna* and *kaupīna*, via *nipātana*, when *adhṛṣṭa* 'dull, stupid' and *akārya* 'improper action; sin', respectively, are signified.

EXAMPLES:

śālīnaḥ = *śālāpraveśanam arhati* 'dull, stupid; one who deserves to sit inside at home'
kaupīnaḥ 'sinner'; 'one who deserves to be thrown into a water-well'

1. Note that *yathāsaṃkhya* (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .) is followed so that *śālīna* and *kaupīna* could be derived with the denotatum of *adhṛṣṭa* and *akārya*, respectively. The word *śālīna* is used in the sense of *jaḍa* 'dull, stupid'. That is, he who is characterized as *śālīna* deserves to sit inside home since he does not know how to behave outside. The word *kaupīna* is used in the sense of *puruṣaliṅga* 'male organ of copulation', mainly because it serves as *sādhana* 'instrument' for accruing sins by engaging in illicit sex. It is also used for a piece of cloth meant to cover the male organ.

5.2.21 व्रातेन जीवति

vrātena jīvati

/vrātena 3/1 *jīvati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)
vrātaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāj jīvaty ity etasminn arthe khañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of *jīvati* 'exists, subsists on' after syntactically related nominal stem *vrāta* 'group of workers' when the same ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

vrātena jīvati = *vrātīnaḥ* 'one who earns his living as a laborer'

1. The word *vrāta* is generally used in the sense of *saṃgha* 'group'. The *Mahābhāṣya,* however, explains it as *nānājātīya aniyatavṛttaya utsedhajīvinaḥ saṃghāḥ* 'a group of people of diverse castes who do not have any definite occupation, and who rely on physical labor (*utsedha*) for their subsistence'. The word *vrāta* is also used in the sense of what such workers do. Note that *vrātīna* cannot be used to characterize a person who does not belong to a group but who earns his living by doing what members of that group do (*Kāś.*: *yastu anyas tadīyena jīvati tatra neṣyate*).

5.2.22 साप्तपदीनं सख्यम्

sāptapadīnaṃ sakhyam
/sāptapadīnam 1/1 *sakhyam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)
sāptapadīnam iti nipātyate sakhye'bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs, via *nipātana,* in deriving *sāptapadīna* when *sakhyam* 'companionship' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

sakhyaṃ janāḥ sāptapadīnam āhuḥ 'walking together seven steps is what people call friendship'

1. The word *sāptapadīnam* is used in the sense of *sakhyam* 'companionship', parallel to *saptabhiḥ padair avāpyate* 'that which is accomplished by means of seven steps'. It is also used in the sense of a 'companion' (*sakhā*) and *mitra* 'friend' by extension.

5.2.23 हैयङ्गवीनं संज्ञायाम्

haiyaṅgavīnaṃ saṃjñāyām
/haiyaṅgavīnam 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *khañ* #18)

haiyaṅgavīnam iti nipātyate saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *khaÑ* occurs, via *nipātana*, in deriving *haiyaṅgavīna* when *saṃjñā* 'a name' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

haiyaṅgavīnam 'that which results from yesterday's milk; clarified butter'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains *haiyaṅgavīna* as a 'product of yesterday's milk' (*hyo godohasya vikāraḥ*). Our stem *hyogodoha* is replaced with *hiyaṅgu*, again by *nipātana*. The condition of *saṃjñā* makes sense because *haiyaṅgavīna* is not used in the sense of any 'product' made from 'yesterday's milk'. It is used in the sense of 'clarified butter' (*ghṛta*). Incidentally, this provision of *khaÑ* constitutes an exception to *aṆ* of 4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ*.

5.2.24 **तस्य पाकमूले पील्वादिकर्णादिभ्यः कुणब्जाहचौ**

tasya pākamūle pīlvādikarṇādibhyaḥ kuṇabjāhacau
/*tasya* 6/1 *pākamūle* 7/1 = *pākaṃ ca mūlaṃ ca* (*saṃ dv.*), *tasmin*; *pīlvādikarṇādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *pīlvādibhyaḥ karṇādibhyaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *kuṇabjāhacau* 1/2 = *kuṇap ca jāhac ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tasya iti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthebhyaḥ pīlvādibhyaḥ karṇādibhyaś ca yathāsaṃkhyaṃ pākamūlayor arthayoḥ kuṇab jāhac ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *kuṇaP* and *jāhaC* occur to denote *pāka* 'ripening' and *mūla* 'root' after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *pīlu* 'a fruit' and *karṇa* 'ear', respectively, when the stems end in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

pīlūnāṃ pākaḥ = *pīlukuṇaḥ* 'ripening of Pīlu fruits'
karṇasya mūlaṃ = *karṇajāham* 'ear-root; ear-lobe'

1. Note that *yathāsaṃkhya* (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .) requires that affix *kuṇaP* be introduced after stems of the *pīlvādi* group to denote the sense of 'ripening'. Affix *jāhaC* should similarly be introduced after stems of the *karṇādi* group to denote the sense of *mūla* 'root'. This word is used here in the sense of *upakrama* 'beginning, commencement'.
2. Affixes *kuṇaP* and *jāhaC* are introduced here as exceptions to *aṆ* of 4.3.120 *tasyedam*. Why is *j* of *jāhaC* not assigned the term *it* by 1.3.7 *cuṭū*? It would not serve any purpose (*prayojanābhāvāt*).

5.2.25 **पक्षात्तिः**

pakṣāt tiḥ

/pakṣāt 5/1 *tiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tasya mūle* #24)
tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt pakṣaśabdād mūle' bhidheye tiḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ti* occurs to denote the sense of *mūla* after syntactically related nominal stem *pakṣa* 'fortnight' when the same ends in *ṣaṣṭhī.*

EXAMPLES:

pakṣasya mūlam = *pakṣatiḥ* 'beginning of a fortnight; roots of bird's wings?

1. Note that *mūla* alone is carried here. The *Mahābhāṣya* cites a *paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi in support: *ekayoganirdiṣṭānām apy ekadeśo' nuvartate* 'items specified by a single rule may also be carried in part'. Of course, when marked with *svarita.*

5.2.26 तेन वित्तश्चुञ्चुप्चणपौ

tena vittaś cuñcupcaṇapau
/tena 3/1 *vittaḥ* 1/1 *cuñcupcaṇapau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tena iti tṛtīyāsamarthād 'vitta' ity etasminn arthe 'cuñcup-caṇap' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *cuñcuP* and *caṇaP* occur to denote the sense of *vitta* 'known, renown' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīya* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

vidyayā vittaḥ = *vidyācuñcuḥ* 'one who is renowned for reasons of his knowledge'
vidyācaṇaḥ 'id.'

1. How come the initial *C* of *cuñcuP* and *caṇaP* is not termed an *it*? *Kāśikā* states that assignment of *it* in case of initial *c* is treated as *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. This is indicated by split formulation of 1.3.6 *ṣaḥ pratyayasya* and 1.3.7 *cuṭū.* The *Mahābhāṣya* considers the affixes as beginning with deleted *y* (*luptanirdiṣṭo yakāraḥ*). The question of applying 1.3.7 *cuṭū* thus does not arise.

5.2.27 विनञ्भ्यां नानाञौ नसह

vinañbhyāṃ nānāñau nasaha
/vinañbhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *nānāñau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *nasaha* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

'vi-nañ' ity etābhyām yathāsaṃkhyam 'nā-nāñ' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *nā* and *naÑ* occur, respectively, after *vi* and *naÑ*, used with the signification of *nasaha* 'without'.

EXAMPLES:

vinā 'without'
nānā 'id.'

1. Note that *nasaha* 'not (being) together' is used as a qualifier to the base (*prakṛtiviśeṣaṇa*). Consequently, this affixal provision is made only when bases denote the sense of *nasaha*. These affixes, since no affixal meaning is specified, denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Our example *nānā* is derived from *na* + *nāÑ* through initial *vṛddhi*.

5.2.28 वेः शालच्छङ्कटचौ

veḥ śālacchaṅkaṭacau
/*veḥ* 5/1 *śālacchaṅkaṭacau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
viśabdāt śālac-śaṅkaṭac ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *śālaC* and *śaṅkaṭaC* occur after *vi* to denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

EXAMPLES:

viśāle śṛṅge 'two huge horns'
viśaṅkaṭe śṛṅge 'id.'

1. Note that an *upasarga*, when used along with a verbal form denoting an action (*kriyā*), serves as a verbal modifier (*kriyāviśeṣaṇa*). It denotes a 'participant' (*sādhana*) modified with an inhered 'action' when used alone (*sasādhanakriyāvācinaḥ*). This being the case, and especially since no affixal meaning is specified, derivates of this rule will thus denote *svārtha* (*anirdiṣṭa-pratyayārthatvāt svārthe vṛttiḥ*).

2. The words *viśāla* and *viśaṅkaṭa* are used to denote *śṛṅga* 'horn'. They can also denote 'cow' (*go*), on account of its association with horns. Thus, we can also get: *viśālo gauḥ* 'a huge bull'.

Kāśikā accepts these derivates as qualifiers and advises that they should be derived with efforts. It is difficult to establish individual bases and affixal meanings (*paramārthatas tu guṇaśabdā ete yathākathaṃcid vyutpādyante, nātra prakṛtipratyayārthayor abhiniveśaḥ*).

5.2.29 संप्रोदश्च कटच्

samprodaś ca kaṭac

/*samprodaḥ* 5/2 = *sam ca praś ca ud ca* (*sam. dv.*); *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ *kaṭac* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *veḥ* #28)
'*sam-pra-ud*' *ity etebhyaḥ kaṭac pratyayo bhavati cakārād veś ca*
The *taddhita* affix *kaṭaC* also occurs after *sam*, *pra*, *ud* and *vi* when derivates denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

EXAMPLES:

saṅkaṭaḥ 'a situation of distress'
utkaṭaḥ 'ferocious, fierce'
prakaṭaḥ 'manifest, evident'
vikaṭaḥ 'dreadful, immense'

1. Note that the preverbs denote 'a participant qualified with an inhered action (*sādhanaviśiṣṭakriyāvācin*)'. Exact meanings of derivates should be determined on the basis of established usage.
2. The following *vārttika* proposals account for additional derivates:

(*i*) Affix *kaṭaC* occurs after *alābū* 'tender squash', *tila* 'sesame', *umā* 'flax' and *bhaṅgā* 'hemp' to derive *alābūkaṭam*, *tilakaṭam*, *umākaṭam* and *bhaṅgākaṭam* to denote the sense of their *raja* 'powder, dust'. The first three are exceptions to *aÑ* (4.3.139 *or añ*; 4.3.140 *anudāttādeś ca*). The fourth is an exception to *aÑ* (*Phiṭsūtra* 27 *tṛṇadhānyā-nām* . . .).

(*ii*) Affix *goṣṭhaC* is also used after stems signifying animals (*paśu*) when derivates denote 'place' (*sthāna*). This gives us derivates such as *gogoṣṭham* 'shelter for cows', etc. Incidentally, this *vārttika* also provides for derivates to be marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

(*iii*) Affixes *kaṭaC* and *paṭaC* are introduced when derivates denote *saṃghāta* 'group' and *vistāra* 'expanse', respectively. Thus, *avikaṭam* 'group of sheep' and *avipaṭam* 'spread of sheep'. Incidentally, masculine in these examples is against the *Mahābhāṣya*.

(*iv*) Affix *goyugaC* is introduced to denote the sense of *dvitva* 'doubling, pair' in derivates such as *gogoyugam* 'pair of cows', *aśvagoyugam* 'pair of horses', etc.

(*v*) Affix *ṣaḍgavaC* is introduced when a derivate denotes the sense of six relative to its base. Thus, *hastiṣaḍgavam* 'a group of six elephants' and *aśvaṣaḍgavam* 'a group of six horses'.

(*vi*) A derivate denoting *taila* 'oil' is derived with *tailaC*. Thus, *tilatailam* 'sesame oil', *eraṇḍatailam* 'castor oil', etc. Incidentally, this *vārttika* is not available in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

(*vii*) Affixes *śākaṭa* and *śākina* should be introduced when derivates denote 'locus of producton'. Thus, *ikṣuśākaṭam* 'a field where sugarcane is produced' and *ikṣuśākinam* 'id.', etc.

5.2.30 अवात्कुटारच्च

avāt kuṭārac ca
/*avāt* 5/1 *kuṭārac* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
avaśabdāt kuṭārac pratyayo bhavati cakārāt kaṭac
The *taddhita* affix *kuṭāraC*, and *kaṭaC* as well, occurs after *ava* to denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

EXAMPLES:

avakuṭāram 'low-land; not so famous'
avakaṭam 'id.'

1. These affixes are introduced to denote the sense of *avācīna* 'low'. Haradatta (*Padamañjarī* ad *Kāś.*) glosses *avācīna* as *aprasiddha* 'non-famous'.

5.2.31 नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीटञ्नाटज्भ्रटचः

nate nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyāṃ ṭīṭaññāṭajbhraṭacaḥ
/*nate* 7/1 *nāsikāyāḥ* 6/1 *saṃjñāyam* 7/1 *ṭīṭaññāṭajbhraṭacaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *avāt* #30)
nāsikāyāḥ sambandhini nate' bhidheye ṭīṭac, nāṭac, bhraṭac pratyayā bhavanti saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭīṭaC*, *nāṭaC* and *bhraṭaC* occur after *ava* when derivates denote the sense of *nata* 'curvature' relative to nose (*nāsikāyāḥ*) as a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

nāsikāyā natam = *avaṭīṭam* 'curvature of nose'
avanāṭam 'id.'
avabhraṭam 'id.'
avaṭīṭaḥ puruṣaḥ 'a man with curvature of nose'
avanāṭaḥ puruṣaḥ 'id.'
avabhraṭaḥ puruṣaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *nata* is a derivate of *nam* 'to bend' with affix *Kta* denoting *bhāva* (3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*). How could a derivate with denotatum of action of *namana* 'bending' also denote 'nose' or 'a person with that kind of a nose'? It is possible because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with 'nose' and 'person'.

5.2.32 नेर्बिडज्बिरीसचौ

ner biḍajbirīsacau

/neḥ 1/1 *biḍajbiriṣacau* 1/2/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *nate nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyām* #31)
niśabdān nāsikāyā nate' bhidheye biḍac biriṣac ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *biḍaC* and *biriṣaC* occur after *ni* when derivates denote the sense of *nata* relative to *nāsikā*, as a name.

EXAMPLES:

nibiḍam 'downcast nose'
nibiriṣam 'id.'
nibiḍaḥ 'a man with downcast nose'
nibiriṣaḥ 'id.'

1. How can we explain usages such as *nibiḍāḥ keśāḥ* 'downcast hair' and *nibiḍaṃ vastram* 'downcast clothes'? One has to accept them as metaphorical usages (*upamānād bhaviṣyati*).

5.2.33 इनच्पिटच्चिकचि च

inacpiṭac cikaci ca
/inacpiṭac 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *cikaci* (deleted 1/1; *sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *nate nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyām* #31, *neḥ* #32)
niśabdān nāsikāyā nate' bhidheye 'inac-piṭac' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *inaC* and *piṭaC* occur after *ni*, with an additional provision that *ni* be replaced with *cika* and *ci*, respectively, when derivates denote the sense of *nata* relative to *nāsikā*, as a name.

EXAMPLES:

cikinaḥ 'downcast nose'
cipiṭaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *cika* and *ci* are given as replacements in the context of *inaC* and *ipiṭaC*, respectively.
2. A *vārttika* also introduces affix *ka*, with *cika* as a replacement for *ni*, to derive *cikkaḥ* denoting the same meaning. Further proposals have been made for affix *la* to occur after *klinna* with replacements in *cil* and *pil* to derive *cillaḥ* 'watery eyes' and *pillaḥ* 'id.'. But these derivates are limited to the signification of *cakṣu* 'eyes'. Yet another *vārttika* adds another replacement in *cul* to derive *cullaḥ*.
3. Note that derivates of rules 5.2.29 *sampradoś ca kaṭac* through 5.2.33 *inacpiṭac*. . . are to be accepted as derived in the sense established by usage. It is very difficult to ascertain their exact derivational process, especially details of meaning.

5.2.34 उपाधिभ्यां त्यकन्नासन्नारूढयोः

upādhibhyāṃ tyakann āsannārūḍhayoḥ
/ *upādhibhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *tyakan* 1/1 *āsannārūḍhayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃjñāyām* #31)
'*upa, adhi*' *ity etābhyāṃ yathāsaṃkhyam āsannārūḍhayor vartamānābhyāṃ svārthe tyakan pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *tyakan* occurs after *upa* and *adhi* when they denote the sense of *āsanna* 'proximate' and *ārūḍha* 'elevated', respectively, as a name.

EXAMPLES:

parvatasya āsannam = *upatyakā* 'proximate to a mountain; low land; valley'
paravatasyā' rūḍham = *adhityakā* 'high-land; plateau'

1. Note that *saṃjñāyām* is carried. Consequently, derivates must be limited to specific meanings in relation to a mountain. A replacement in *i* (*itva*; 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt* . . .) is also blocked for the same reason. The derivates both are examples of *ṬāP*.

5.2.35 कर्मणि घटोऽठच्

karmaṇi ghaṭo' ṭhac
/ *karmaṇi* 7/1 *ghaṭaḥ* 1/1 *aṭhac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
karmaśabdāt saptamīsamarthād ghaṭaḥ ity etasminn arthe' ṭhac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṭhaC* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *karman* 'action' when it ends in *saptamī* 'locative', provided derivates denote the sense of *ghaṭaḥ* 'striving there'.

EXAMPLES:

karmaṇi ghaṭate karmaṭhaḥ puruṣaḥ 'one who actively strives; one who actively pursues his goals'

1. Note that *karman* must be interpreted as denoting its form (*svarūpa*). It cannot be interpreted as *karman* 'object' since that is impossible (*asambhavāt*). For, *ghaṭ* 'to strive' is intransitive. Incidentally, *ghaṭa* of *ghaṭaḥ* is a derivate of affix *aC* introduced after verbal root *ghaṭ* in the sense of *ghaṭate* '. . . strives'.

The *a*, at the beginning of *aṭhaC*, is intended for blocking *ika* as a replacement for *ṭha* (7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*).

5.2.36 तदस्य संजातं तारकादिभ्यः इतच्

tad asya saṃjātaṃ tārakādibhyaḥ itac
/tat 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *saṃjātam* 1/1 *tārakādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *itac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tad iti prathamāsamarthebhyas tārakādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ 'asya' ity ṣaṣṭhyarthe itac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *itaC* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *tārakā* 'star', when the stem ends in *prathamā* 'nominative and is qualified with *saṃjāta* 'manifested'.

EXAMPLES:

tārakāḥ saṃjātā asya nabhasaḥ = *tārakitaṃ nabhaḥ* 'a sky studded with stars'
puṣpito vṛkṣaḥ 'a tree blossoming with flowers'

1. A question is raised as to why *bubhukṣā* 'hunger' and *pipāsā* 'thirst' are also listed in the *tārakādi* group when derivates such as *bubhukṣita* and *pipāsita* can be derived by introducing *Kta* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*). True, but such derivates have the signification of *bhūta* 'past'. Besides, they will be limited to denote root-sense (*bhāva*) and *karman* 'object' only (3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*). It is to enable these derivates to denote *vartamāna* 'current time' and *kartṛ*, in examples such as *bubhukṣito devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is hungry' and *pipāsito devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is thirsty', that *bubhukṣā* and *pipāsā* are included in the *tārakādi* group. Note that this group is treated as open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*). Examples such as *tārakita* and *puṣpita* involve *bha-saṃjñā* and deletion of *ā/a*, respectively.

5.2.37 प्रमाणे द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रचः

pramāṇe dvayasajdaghnañmātracaḥ
/pramāṇe 7/1 *dvayasajdaghnañmātracaḥ* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
tad iti prathamāsamarthād 'asya' ity ṣaṣṭhyarthe 'dvayasac, daghnac, mātrac' ity ete pratyayā bhavanti yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ pramāṇaṃ cet tad bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *dvayasaC*, *daghnaC* and *mātraC* occur to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and has the signification of *pramāṇa* 'measure'.

EXAMPLES:

uruḥ pramāṇam asya = *urudvayasam udakam* 'thigh-deep water'
urudaghnam 'id.'

urumātram 'id.'
jānudvayasam 'knee-deep water'
jānudaghnam 'id.'
jānumātram 'id.'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* considers affixes *dvyasaC* and *daghnaC* to be introduced when the derivate denotes *ūrdhvamāna* 'that by means of which something is measured while standing' (*prathamaś ca dvitīyaś ca ūrdhvamāne matau mama*). The last, i.e., *mātraC*, is thus meant for denoting 'measure' in general.

2. Note that *pramāṇa* is a qualifier to the meaning of the base (*prakṛti*). It cannot be accepted as a qualifier to affixal meaning (*pratyayārtha*). For, an example such as *urudvayasam* would then be interpreted as *udakaṃ prameyam asya urvoḥ* 'thighs which measure water'.

3. A *vārttika* proposes *LUK*-deletion of *mātraC* after bases which denote *pramāṇa*. Thus, *śamaḥ*, parallel to *śamaḥ pramāṇam asya* 'that which has arms-length as its measure', and *vitastiḥ*, parallel to *vitastiḥ pramāṇam asya* 'that which has Vitasti (width of a fully spread hand measured beginning with thumb to the tip of the little finger) as its measure'; *pramāṇe lo vaktavyaḥ*).

Yet another *vārttika* informs that *mātraC* is obligatorily deleted by *LUK* after a *dvigu* compound (*dvigor nityam*). Thus, *dviśamaḥ*, *dvivitastiḥ*, etc.

A third *vārttika* requires affix *ḌaṬ* when *stoma* 'a ritual sacrifice' is denoted. Thus, *pañcadaśaḥ stomaḥ* 'a Stoma sacrifice lasting for fifteen days, or having fifteen hymns of praises' (*ḍaṭ stome vaktavyaḥ*). Affix *ḌinI*, in view of a *vārttika*, occurs after nominals which denote *saṃkhyā* 'number' and end in *śan* and *śat*. Thus, *pañcadaśino' rdhamāsāḥ* 'fortnights with fifteen days as their measure'; *triṃśino māsāḥ* 'months with thirty days as their measure' (*śanśator ḍinir vaktavyaḥ*). Affix *ḌinI* is also introduced after *viṃśati* to derive *viṃśinaḥ*, as in *viṃśino' ṅgirasaḥ* 'the descendants of Aṅgiras are twenty' (*viṃśateś ceti vaktavyam*).

Yet another *vārttika* approves introduction of *mātraC* after stems used as *pramāṇa* 'measure', *parimāṇa* 'measure of weight' and *saṃkhyā* 'number', provided *saṃśaya* 'doubt' is denoted. Thus, *śamamātram* 'that which may or may not have its measure equal to one Śama (arms-length)', *prasthamātram* 'that which may or may not weigh equal to one Prastha' and *daśamātrā gāvaḥ* 'cows which may or may not be ten'.

Finally, a *vārttika* also approves affixes *dvayasaC* and *mātraC* to occur after stems ending in affix *vatUP*, provided derivates denote the sense of their bases (*svārtha*). Thus consider *tāvaddvayasam* 'that much' and *tāvanmātram* 'id.'.

A *Ślokavārttika* summarizes these *vārttika* proposals as follows:

pramāṇaṃ pratyayārtho na tadvad yasyeti vartanāt,
prathamaś ca dvitīyaś ca ūrdhvamāne mataui mama/

pramāṇe lo dvigor nityaṃ ḍaṭ stome śacśanor ḍiniḥ,
pramāṇaparimāṇābhyāṃ saṃkhyāyāś cāpi saṃśaye//

5.2.38 पुरुषहस्तिभ्यामण् च

puruṣahastibhyām aṇ ca
/*puruṣahastibhyām* 5/2 = *puruṣaś ca hastī ca, tābhyām; aṇ* 1/1 *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36, *pramāṇe* #37)
puruṣahastibhyāṃ prathamāsamarthābhyāṃ pramāṇopādhikābhyām asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe'ṇ pratyayo bhavati cakārād dvayasajādayaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ*, and *dvayasaC*, *daghnaC* and *mātraC* as well, occur to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after syntactically related nominal stem *puruṣa* 'man' and *hastin* 'elephant', when these end in *prathamā* and have the signification of *pramāṇa* 'measure'.

EXAMPLES:

puruṣaḥ pramāṇam asya = *pauruṣam udakam* 'water as deep as a man's height'
puruṣadvayasam 'id.'
puruṣadaghnam 'id.'
puruṣamātram 'id.'
hastī pramāṇam asya hāstinam udakam 'water as deep as the height of an elephant'
hastidvayasam 'id.'
hastidaghnam 'id.'
hastimātram 'id.'
dvihastinī parikhā 'a moat equal in depth to the height of two elephants'
dvipuruṣī parikhā 'a moat equal in depth to the height of two men'

1. Recall that these affixes will be deleted obligatorily after a compound termed *dvigu* (*Kāś.*: *dvigor nityaṃ luk*). Feminine affix *ṄīP* will be optionally introduced in *dvipuruṣī* by 4.1.24 *puruṣāt pramāṇe'nyatarasyām.* The *ṄīP* in *dvihastinī*, etc., will be introduced by 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp.*

5.2.39 यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप्

yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe vatup
/*yattadetebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *yad ca tad ca etad ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; parimāṇe* 7/1 *vatup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
'*yat-tad-etebhyaḥ*' *prathamāsamarthebhyaḥ parimāṇopādhikebhyaḥ* '*asya*' *iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe vatup pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *vatUP* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after syn-

tactically related nominal stems *yad* 'that which', *tad* 'that' and *etad* 'this', when these end in *prathamā* and are in syntactic coordination with *parimāṇa* 'all inclusive measure'.

EXAMPLES:

yat parimāṇam asya = *yāvān* 'that which has its measure as . . .; as large as . . ., etc.'
tāvān 'that which has 'that' as its measure; as large as that . . ., etc.'
etāvān 'that of which 'this' is the measure; as large as this . . ., etc.'

1. Why is *parimāṇa* explicitly stated here when *pramāṇa* is available from *anuvṛtti.* So that *parimāṇu* 'all inclusive measure; volume' could be interpreted differently from *pramāṇa* 'measure of expanse'. Note that *yad* + *vat, tad* + *vad, etad* + *vat* will yield *yāvat, tāvat* and *etāvat* through *ā* as a replacement for their final *d* based upon their status as *sarvanāman* (8.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnaḥ*). Rule 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will then order a single long *ā* as a replacement. The *a* of *yāvat* + *sU,* etc., will then be replaced with *ā* of 6.4.14 *atvasantasya*. . . Rule 7.1.70 *ugidacām*. . . will then introduce augment *nUM* after *vā.* Refer to the appendix of *tāvatkṛtvaḥ* and *citavān* under rules 1.1.22 *bahugaṇavatuḍati* . . . and 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* for additional details.

2. A *vārttika* recommends that *vatUP,* introduced after *yuṣamd* 'you' and *asmad* 'I', denotes *sādṛśya* 'similarity' in Vedic (*vatupprakaraṇe yuṣmadasmadbhyāṃ chandasi sādṛśya upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *tvāvataḥ* 'like you' and *māvataḥ* 'like me', etc.

5.2.40 **किमिदम्भ्यां वो घः**

kimidambhyāṃ vo ghaḥ
/*kimidambhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; vaḥ* 6/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36, *parimāṇe vatup* #39)
kimidambhyām uttarasya vatupo vakārasya ghakārādeśo bhavati
A *gh* comes in place of *v* of *vatUP* which occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī,* after syntactically related nominal stems *kim* 'what' and *idam* 'this', when the stem ends in *prathamā* and is in syntactic coordination with *parimāṇa.*

EXAMPLES:

kiyān 'how large, etc.'
iyān 'this large'

1. Note that this rule replaces the *v* of *vatUP* with *gh* after *kim* and *idam.* But since *vatUP* is introduced only after *yad, tad* and *etad,* the question of its replacement after *kim* and *idam* does not arise. This makes the provision of this replacement vacuous (*vyartha*). Commentators claim that providing for

a replacement in *gh*, for *v* of *vatUP*, itself serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*) that *vatUP* is introduced after *kim* and *idam*. One can accept that our present rule provides for both the affix as well as its partial replacement. Or else, one should resort to *yogavibhāga* whereby there will be two readings: *kimidaṃbhyām vatup* and *vo ghaḥ*. The first split-interpretation will introduce *vatUP*. The second will then accomplish the replacement in *gh* (*Kāś.*: *athavā yogavibhāgena vatupaṃ vidhāya paścād vo gho vidhīyate*).

2. It is interesting to note that *kiyān* and *iyān* have their bases as *kiyat* and *iyat*, respectively. Given the strings *kim* + (*v*→*gh*) *at*(*UP*→ϕ) = *kim* + *ghat* and *idam* + (*v*→*gh*)*at*(*UP*→ϕ) = *idam* + *ghat*, rule 6.3.90 *idaṃkimor īśkī* applies to replace *kim* with *kī* and *idam* with *iŚ*. This gives us: (*kim*→*kī*) + *ghat* and (*idam*→*ī*(*Ś*→ϕ)) = *kī* + *ghat* and *ī* + *ghat*, respectively. The *gh* of these strings is replaced with *iy* to produce: *kī* + *iyat* and *ī* + *iyat*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* then deletes the final *ī* of *kī* and *ī*, termed *bha* (6.4.129 *basya*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*), to produce: *k*(*ī*→ϕ) + *iyat* = *kiyat* and (*ī*→ϕ) + *iyat* = *iyat*. Notice how the original bases *kim* and *idam* have totally disappeared. The second derivate has only the affix left. Refer to examples under the preceding rule for further details on deriving *kiyān* and *iyān*.

5.2.41 किमः संख्यापरिमाणे डति च

kimaḥ saṃkhyāparimāṇe ḍati ca

/ *kimaḥ saṃkhyāparimāṇe* 7/1 = *saṃkhyāyāḥ parimāṇam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ḍati* (1/1 deleted); *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36, *parimāṇe vatup* #39)

saṃkhyāparimāṇe vartamānāt kimaḥ prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe ḍatiḥ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *Ḍati*, in addition to *vatUP* with concurrent replacement of its *v* by *gh*, occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after syntactically related nominal stem *kim* 'what', when it ends in *prathamā* and distinguishes a numerical measure (*saṃkhyāparimāṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

kā saṃkhyā parimāṇam eṣām brāhmaṇānām = *kati brāhmaṇāḥ* 'what number is the measure of these brāhmaṇas'

kiyanto brāhmaṇāḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *kim* is used here to question a 'numerical quantity' (*saṃkhyāparimāṇa*). It serves as a distinguisher (*paricchedaka*) of some numerical measure (*parimāṇa*) only when what is questioned by it is a number. Thus we get: *kati brāhmaṇānām* where *kim* questions the quantity of Brāhmaṇas. A question is raised against using the word *parimāṇa* 'measure, quantity' along with *saṃkhyā*. Since *saṃkhyā* 'number' itself serves as a distinguisher of quantity,

parimāṇa appears to be useless. Commentators state that it is not always the case. A number, with *kim*, can also be used for denoting 'contempt' (*kṣepa*). Thus, *eṣāṃ daśānānāṃ kā iyaṃ saṃkhyā* 'what good is this number of these ten'. The use of *parimāṇa* ensures that affixal provisions of this rule do not apply where *kim* is used in the sense of contempt. Or else, where a number is not denoting a quantity distinguished.

2. Note that a form ending in *Ḍati* is termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.25 *ḍati ca*). Consequently, *Jas* 'nominative plural' and *Śas* 'accusative plural' occurring after an item termed *ṣaṭ* are deleted by *LUK* (7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk*). Incidentally, *kati* is obligatorily plural (*nityabahuvacanānta*). Deriving *kati* from *kim* + *Ḍati* requires *ṭi*-deletion of *im*. Refer to the derivation of *katikṛtvaḥ* under 1.1.22 *bahugaṇavatuḍati* . . . in the appendix of vol. II for additional details.

5.2.42 संख्याया अवयवे तयप्

saṃkhyāyā avayave tayap
/*saṃkhyāyāḥ* 5/1 *avayave* 7/1 *tayap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
saṃkhyāyā avayave vartamānāyā asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe tayap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tayaP* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and denotes a number as *avayava* 'part of a whole'.

EXAMPLES:

pañca avayavā asya = *pañcatayam* 'that (a whole) which has five parts'
catuṣṭayam 'that (a whole) which has four parts'
catuṣṭayī 'that (feminine, a whole) which has four parts'

1. Note that derivates of this rule will denote *avayavin* 'whole' whose parts the base denotes. An *avayava* could be understood only in relation to its *avayavin* (*Kāś.*: *avayavā avayavinaḥ sambandhina iti sāmarthyād avayavo pratyayārtho vijñāyate*). Thus, *avayava* is accepted as the affixal meaning.

2. Deriving *catuṣṭaya* from *catur* + *taya*, parallel to *catvāraḥ avayavā asya*, requires *r* to be replaced with *visarga* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*). The *visarga* is then replaced with *s* of 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*. This *s* is then replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.101 *hrasvāttādau*. . . . The *t* of *taya* then goes through *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .) is introduced after *catuṣṭaya* to derive *catuṣṭayī*.

5.2.43 द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायज्वा

dvitribhyāṃ tayasya ayaj vā
/*dvitribhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *tayasya* 6/1 *ayac* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)

pūrveṇa vihitasya tayasya dvitribhyām parasya vā' yaj ādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tayaP* which denotes the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* and occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three', ending in *prathamā* with the signification of an *avayava*, is optionally replaced with *ayaC*.

EXAMPLES:

dvāv avayavāv asya = dvayam 'that which has two parts'
dvitayam 'id.'
trayam 'that which has three parts'
tritayam 'id.'

1. Note that *taya*, of *tayasya* in genitive, specifies an item to be replaced (*sthānin*). Consequently, *ayaC* is interpreted as its replacement, and not the affix itself (*Kāś.*: *tayagrahaṇaṃ sthāninirdeśārtham; anyathā pratyayāntaram ayaj vijñāyeta*). What happens if *ayaC* is not accepted as a replacement? Rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* ... will then not be able to introduce *ṄīP* in *trayī* 'triplet' under the condition of *tayaP*. But if *ayaC* is accepted as a replacement of *tayaP* then *ṄīP* can be introduced by treating *ayaC* as *tayaP* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*). Furthermore, if *ayaC* is not accepted as a replacement of *tayaP*, assignment of the term *sarvanāman* (1.1.33 *prathamacaramataya* . . .), and operations relative to it as well, will be blocked. For example, *dvaye* and *dvayāḥ* are optional forms of *dvaya* in nominative plural. This option will not be available in the absence of the term *sarvanāman*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* does not consider *ayaC* as a replacement of *tayaP*. It instead accepts it as an affix. The problem of introducing *ṄīP* is resolved there by interpreting *mātraC* of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . . as an abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) denoting affixes introduced beginning with *mātra* through *ayaC*. See the *Mahābhāṣya* under 1.1.56 *sthānivadādeśo' nalvidhau* for further details. Incidentally, Haradatta (*PM*) and Bhaṭṭoji (*SK*) do not accept *ayaC* as a replacement. This status of *ayaC* also has consequences for the following rule.

5.2.44 उभादुदात्तो नित्यम्

ubhād udātto nityam
/*ubhāt* 5/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
ubhaśabdāt parasya tayapo nityam ayaj ādeśo bhavati sa codāttaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *tayaP* which denotes the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* and occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *ubha*, ending in *prathamā* with signification of number as an *avayava*, is obligatorily (*nityam*) replaced with *ayaC* marked *udātta* 'high-pitch'.

EXAMPLES:

ubhayo maṇiḥ = ubhau pītalohitāv avayavayu yasya 'a gem with two facets of yellow and red'
ubhaye devamanuṣyāḥ 'gods as well as humans'

1. Note that *ayaC* is marked with *C* as an *it*. Consequently, its derivates would have been marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; 6.1.163 *citaḥ*). Why do we have to state *udātta* here? So that its derivates are marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*).

2. Note that *ubha* cannot be termed *saṃkhyā* in view of 1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā*. It can be accepted as *saṃkhyā* only on the basis of its usage as *saṃkhyā*. This creates problems in introducing *tayaP* and then replacing it with *ayaC*. If *ubha* is not accepted as *saṃkhyā* then the preceding rule should be split (*yogavibhāga*) to yield two readings: *saṃkhyāyāḥ tayap* and *avayave tayap*. The second split rule will then introduce *tayaP* after *ubha*. Our present rule will replace it with *ayaC* obligatorily.

5.2.45 **तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति दशान्ताड्डः**

tad asminn adhikam iti daśāntād ḍaḥ
/*tat* 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *adhikam* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *daśāntāt* 5/1 *ḍaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tad iti prathamāsamarthād asminn iti saptamyarthe daśāntāt prātipadikād ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham adhikaṃ ced bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ḍa* occurs to denote the sense of *saptamī* 'locative', after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative' and has *daśan* 'ten' as its final constituent, provided the denotatum of this stem is desired to be stated in excess (*adhikam*).

EXAMPLES:

ekādaśa adhikā asmin śate = ekādaśaṃ śatam 'that which is one hundred plus eleven more; one hundred eleven'
ekādaśaṃ sahasram 'one thousand eleven'

1. The specification of *daśānta* will block affixal provisions of this rule parallel to *daśa adhikā asmin śate* 'that which is one hundred plus ten more' where *daśa* cannot be treated as ending in *daśa* 'ten'. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains that this *Ḍa* is desired only when the meaning of the base is similar in class (*jāti*) to the meaning of the affix (*pratyayārthena ca samānajātīye prakṛtyarthe sati pratyaya iṣyate*). Thus, *Ḍa* will not be allowed parallel to *ekādaśa māṣā adhikā asmin kārṣāpaṇaśate* 'eleven Māṣa are more in this one hundred Kārṣāpaṇa' where Māṣa and Kārṣāpaṇa are coins of two different kinds. This affixal provision, according to an *iṣṭi* of the *Mahābhāṣya*, is limited to con-

texts where excess, in relation to *śata* 'hundred' and *sahasra* 'thousand' is desired to be expressed (*śatasahasrayoś cesyate*). For, one does not get *Ḍa* parallel to *ekādaśādhikā asyāṃ triṃśati* 'there are eleven more in this thirty'. The following verse sums it up:

adhike samānajātāv iṣṭaṃ śatasahasrayoḥ/
yasya saṃkhyā tadādhikye ḍaḥ kartavyo mato mama//

2. Note that *ekādaśan* will go through *ṭi*-deletion because *Ḍa* is marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*).

5.2.46 शदन्तविंशतेश्च

śadantaviṃśateś ca
/*śadantaviṃśateḥ* 5/1 = *śata śabdo'nte yasya* (*bv.*); *śadantaś ca viṃśatiś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asminn adhikam ḍaḥ* #45)
śadantāt prātipadikāt viṃśateś ca ḍaḥ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asminn adhikam' ity etasmin viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *Ḍa* also occurs to denote the sense of *saptamī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā*, and either has *śata* as its final constituent or is constituted by *viṃśati*, provided the denotatum of this stem is desired to be stated in excess.

EXAMPLES:

triṃṣad adhikā asmin śate = *triṃśaṃ śatam* 'a hundred in which thirty is in excess; one hundred thirty'
viṃśaṃ śatam 'one hundred twenty'

1. What is the purpose of stating *anta* in *śad-anta*? Rule 5.1.59 *paṅktiviṃśati*... derives *triṃśat* 'thirty', etc., with affix *śat*, via *nipātana*. The sense of 'that which ends in *śat*' is thus available in view of *paribhāṣā* (24): *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt tadādes tadantasya ca grahaṇam* 'a specification made by an affix refers to that which begins with that affix, and also that which ends in that'. The word *anta* is used even when its sense is already available. This express use of *anta* is made to capture some additional meaning (*adhikārtham*). What is that additional meaning? The *paribhāṣā* does not apply at all. This way, *śadanta* refers to a form which ends in *śat*. One does not bother about what this *śadanta* begins with.

The word *saṃkhyā* should also be carried here from 5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā avayave tayap* to yield the interpretation: 'after that which denotes a number and ends in *śat* (*saṃkhyāvācinaḥ śadantāt*)'. Consequently, *ekatriṃśat* 'thirty-one', etc., which denote a number different from *triṃśat*, etc., receive *Ḍa*. Stems such as *gotriṃśat* 'thirty cows' will not be included because they do not

denote a number exclusively. They also denote cows.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for introducing *Ḍa* also after a number that ends in *viṃśati* 'twenty'. For, *paribhāṣā* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena* . . ., will not allow *viṃśati* to be also interpreted as 'that which ends in *viṃśati*'. Consequently, *ekaviṃśaṃ śatam* could not be derived parallel to *ekaviṃśatiḥ adhikā asmin śate* 'a hundred in which twenty-one is in excess'.

3. Here again we find *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.142 *ti viṃśater ḍiti*) in *viṃśam*, etc.

5.2.47 **संख्याया गुणस्य निमाने मयट्**

saṃkhyāyā guṇasya nimāne mayaṭ
/*saṃkhyāyāḥ* 5/1 *guṇasya* 6/1 *nimāne* 7/1 *mayaṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asya* #36)
tad iti prathamāsamarthāt saṃkhyāvācinaḥ prātipadikād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham guṇasya nimāne cet tad vartate

The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and signifies number as the proportionate value of a purchase.

EXAMPLES:

yavānāṃ dvau bhāgau nimānam asyodaśvid bhāgasya = *dvimayam udaśvid yavānam* 'this much butter-milk has twice as much barley as its purchase price'

caturmayam 'one part of this has four times as much of something as its purchase price'

1. The words *guṇa* and *nimāna* are used in the sense of 'part, portion (*bhāga*)' and 'price, value' (*mūlya*). Note that a 'price' by means of which a 'portion' is determined cannot be different from the 'portion'. Thus, two parts of barley becomes the price paid for one part of butter-milk in *dvimayam udaśvid yavānām*. The singular in *guṇasya* is intentional. Thus, this affix cannot be introduced parallel to *dvau bhāgau yavānāṃ traya udaśvitaḥ* 'two parts of barley is the price of three parts of butter-milk'. The meaning of the derivate must be more than the meaning of the base. That is, the affix is to be introduced after a base which denotes a higher number (*vt.*: *bhūyasaś ca vācikāyāḥ saṃkhyāyāḥ pratyaya iṣyate*). This affix can also not be introduced when that which is purchased (*nimeya*) is equal to the price (*nimāna*: *PM* ad *Kāś.*: *nimānanimeyayoḥ sāmyaviṣaye na bhavati*). Finally, a *vārttika* also approves this affix after a base which denotes *nimeya* 'that which is purchased'. Thus, we get *dvimayā yavā udaśvitaḥ*, parallel to *udaśvito dvau bhāgau nimeyam asya yavabhāgasya* 'this portion of barley by which two portions of butter-milk can be purchased'.

5.2.48 तस्य पूरणे डट्

tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ
/*tasya* 6/1 *pūraṇe* 7/1 *ḍaṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47)
tasyeti ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt saṃkhyāvācinaḥ prātipadikāt 'puraṇe' ity asminn arthe ḍaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* occurs to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* 'that by which something is brought to completion, ordinal number' after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies number and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

EXAMPLES:

ekādaśānāṃ pūraṇaḥ = ekādaśaḥ 'the numeral one which, when added to ten, brings eleven to completion; eleventh'
trayodaśaḥ 'thirteenth'

1. The word *saṃkhyā* is used in the two senses of 'number' (*saṃkhyā* and 'that which is numbered' (*saṃkhyāna*). Eleven cannot be completed unless the 'eleventh' which is added to 'ten' is there. Thus, 'eleventh' brings the enumeration of 'eleven' to completion. Affix *ḌaṬ* is introduced to denote a number by adding which another number is formed. One cannot introduce *ḌaṬ* parallel to *pañcānām uṣṭrikāṇāṃ pūraṇo ghaṭaḥ* 'a jar by means of whose water five Uṣṭrikās (small leather bag; clay pot) can be filled up' (*Udyota* ad *Mbh.*: *carmavikāraḥ pātraviśeṣo mṛṇmayo vā yad ghaṭamitenodakena pañca tāḥ pūryante*). Here the 'jar' is a means of 'filling up (completion)' but is not a number. The 'fiveness' of the Uṣṭrikās is also not brought to completion by the jar. It is already there.

5.2.49 नान्तादसंख्यादेर्मट्

nāntād asaṃkhyāder maṭ
/*nāntāt* 5/1 = *nakāro' ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *saṃkhyā ādir yasya* = *saṃkhyādiḥ* (*bv.*), *na saṃkhyādiḥ* = *asaṃkhyādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *maṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #5.2.48)
nakārāntāt saṃkhyāvācinaḥ prātipadikād asaṃkhyādeḥ parasya ḍaṭo maḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *mAṬ* is introduced to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* when used with the signification of *pūraṇa*, after a syntactically related *n*-final (*nānta*) nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* and does not have a number as its initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

pañcamaḥ 'that which completes five; fifth'
saptamaḥ 'that which completes seven; seventh'

1. Note that an augment is introduced to a form which is specified with genitive. Affix *ḌaṬ* is here specified with a nominative (*prathamā*). However, this nominative, for purposes of introducing the augment, is interpreted as genitive. Such a transposition (*vipariṇām*) of nominal ending (*vibhakti*) is facilitated here by ablative (*pañcamī*) of *nāntāt* (1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*).

This augment cannot be introduced when the base begins with a number (*asaṃkhyādeḥ*). Thus, *maṬ* cannot be introduced in *ekādaśaḥ* 'eleventh', a derivate denoting the sense of *ekādaśānāṃ pūraṇaḥ*. The condition of *nānta* 'that which ends in *n*' rules out *maṬ* in case of *viṃśaḥ*, a derivate denoting the sense of *viṃśateḥ pūraṇaḥ*.

5.2.50 **थट् च छन्दसि**

thaṭ ca chandasi
/*thaṭ* 1/1 *ca* ф *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #5.2.48, *nāntād asaṃkhyāder maṭ* #49)
nāntād asaṃkhyādeḥ parasya ḍaṭaś chandasi viṣaye ṭhaḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *thAṬ*, and *mAṬ* as well, is introduced in Vedic to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ*, occurring to denote the sense of *pūraṇa*, after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *n* as its final, denotes a number, ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, but does not have a number word as its initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

pañcathaḥ 'fifth'
pañcamaḥ 'id.'
saptathaḥ 'seventh'
saptamaḥ 'id.'

1. Deriving *pañcatha/pañcama* and *saptatha/saptama* from *pañcan* + *thAṬ* + *ḌaṬ* / *pañcan* + *maṬ* + *ḌaṬ*, etc., involves deletion of *n*.

5.2.51 **षट्कतिकतिपयचतुरां थुक्**

ṣaṭkatikatipayacaturāṃ thuk
/ *ṣaṭkatikatipayacaturām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *thuk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48)
'*ṣaṭ, kati, katipaya, catur*' *ity eteṣāṃ ḍaṭi paratas thug āgamo bhavati*

Augment *thUK* is introduced to *ṣaṭ* 'six', *kati* 'how many', *katipaya* 'several' and *catur* 'four', when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī* and the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* denoting the sense of *pūraṇa* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṇṇāṃ pūraṇaḥ = *ṣaṣṭhaḥ* 'completion of six; sixth'
katithaḥ 'completion of a set of many'
katipayathaḥ 'completion of a set of several'
caturthaḥ 'fourth'

1. The nominative of *ḌaṬ* is here changed into locative (*saptamī*) to yield the interpretation: 'when *ḌaṬ* follows'. The word *katipaya* cannot be accepted as a number (*saṃkhyā*). For, it neither qualifies for assignment of the term *saṃkhyā* (1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā*), not it is used as a number in usage (*loka*). Augment *thUK* is to be introduced to *katipaya* when *ḌaṬ* follows, and *ḌaṬ* cannot follow *katipaya* because it is not a *saṃkhyā*. Consequently, this provision of *thUK* is seemingly vacuous (*vyartha*). The very fact that *thUK* will become vacuous indicates that *ḌaṬ* follows *katipaya*. Our present rule not only introduces *thUK*, it also provides for a following *ḌaṬ*. Of course, *thUK* will be introduced at the end of *ṣaṣ*, etc., since it is marked with *K* (1.1.45 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). Deriving *ṣaṣṭha* from *ṣaṣ* + *th* + *a* will require *ṣṭutva*.

2. A *vārttika* provides for affixes *cha* and *yaT* after *catur* with an additional provision for deletion of its *ca* (*caturaś chayatāv ādyakṣaralopaś ca*). This gives us *turīyaḥ* 'fourth' and *turyaḥ* 'id.'.

5.2.52 बहुपूगगणसंघस्य तिथुक्

bahupūgagaṇasaṃghasya tithuk
/ *bahupūgagaṇasaṃghasya* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *tithuk* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48)
'*bahu, pūga, gaṇa, saṃgha*' *ity eteṣāṃ ḍaṭi paratas tithug āgamo bhavati*
Augment *tithUK* is introduced to *bahu* 'many', *pūga* 'heap', *gaṇa* 'group, series' and *saṃgha* 'collection, group' when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī* and the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* denoting the sense of *pūraṇa* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bahūnāṃ pūraṇo = *bahutithaḥ* 'completion of many; the last of many'
pūgatithaḥ 'completion of a Pūga (heap); the last of a Pūga'
gaṇatithaḥ 'completion of a *gaṇa* (group); the last of a *gaṇa*'
saṃghatithaḥ 'completion of a *saṃgha* (collection); the last of a *saṃgha*'

1. Note that *pūga, gaṇa* and *saṃgha* all denote a group. Rule 1.1.23 *bahugaṇa*. . . assigns the term *saṃkhyā* to *bahu* and *gaṇa*. The remaining two, i.e., *pūga* and *saṃgha*, could not be called *saṃkhyā*. Here again affix *ḌaṬ* is allowed to occur after them at the strength of augment *tithUK*.

5.2.53 वतोरिथुक्

vator ithuk
/*vatoḥ* 6/1 *ithuk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48)
vator ḍati parata ithug āgamo bhavati
Augment *ithUK* is introduced to a nominal stem which has *vatU* as its final element and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, when the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* denoting the sense of *pūraṇa* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yāvatā pūraṇo = *yāvatithaḥ* 'the last of the many which . . .'
tāvatithaḥ 'the last of that many which . . .'
etāvatithaḥ 'the last of these many which . . .'

1. These derivates can be derived similar to examples in 5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe* . . .

5.2.54 द्वेस्तीयः

dves tīyaḥ
/*dveḥ* 5/1 *tīyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe* #48)
dviśabdāt tīyaḥ pratyayo bhavati '*tasya pūraṇe*' *ity asmin viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *tīya* occurs to denote the sense of *pūraṇa*, after the syntactically related nominal stem *dvi* 'two', when it ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

dyayoḥ pūraṇo = *dvitīyaḥ* 'a second which completes two'

1. This is an exception to *ḌaṬ*.

5.2.55 त्रेः सम्प्रसारणं च

treḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca
/*treḥ* 5/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48, *tīyaḥ* #54)
triśabdāt tīyaḥ pratyayo bhavati '*tasya pūraṇe*' *ity etad viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *tīya* occurs to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* after the syntactically related nominal stem *tri* 'three', with an additional provision of its *samprasāraṇa*, when *tri* ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*.

EXAMPLES:

trayāṇāṃ pūraṇas = *tṛtīyaḥ* 'a third which completes three'

1. This again is an exception to *ḌaṬ*. Deriving *tṛtīya* from *tri* + *tīya* requires *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.44 *igyaṇaḥ*. . .) of *r* followed by a single substitute in place of *ṛ* + *i* similar to the preceding (*pūrvarūpa*; 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*).

5.2.56 **विंशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम्**

viṃśatyādibhyas tamaḍ anyatarasyām
/ *viṃśatyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *viṃśatir ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *tamaṭ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48)
viṃśatyādibhyaḥ parasya ḍaṭas tamaḍ āgamo bhavaty anyatarasyām
Augment *tamaṬ* is optionally introduced to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* which occurs to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* after syntactically related nominal stems *viṃśati* 'twenty', etc., when they end in *ṣaṣṭhī*.
viṃśateḥ pūraṇo = *viṃśatitamaḥ* 'the twentieth which completes a set of twenty'
viṃśaḥ 'id.'
ekaviṃśatitamaḥ 'the twenty-first which completes a set of twenty-one'
ekaviṃśaḥ 'id.'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that *viṃśatyādi* does not refer to items specified by 5.1.59 *paṅktiviṃśati*. . . . It refers, instead, to words which are accepted as number in usage (*viṃśatyādayo laukikāḥ saṃkhyāśabdā gṛhyante na paṅktyādīsūtrasanniviṣṭāḥ*). Accepting *viṃśatyādi* as referring to stems specified by 5.1.59 *paṅktiviṃśati*. . . would create problems. For example, *tamaṬ* could then not be introduced to *ekaviṃśati* in deriving *ekaviṃśatitama*. One cannot resort to *tadantavidhi* for interpreting *viṃśati* also as 'that which ends in *viṃśati*. For, *tadantavidhi* will be blocked by *paribhāṣā* (32) *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena tadantavidhir nāsti*. Additionally, one cannot even resort to *vyapadeśivadbhāva* which, in turn, will be blocked by *paribhāṣa* (33) *vyapadeśivadbhāvo'prātipadikena*. The *Mahābhāṣya* and *SK* do not accept this view. They accept *viṃṣatyādi* as referring to stems of 5.1.59 *paṅktiviṃśati*. . . . They claim that the *paryudāsa* interpretation of *naÑ* in *asaṃkhyādeḥ* of 5.2.58 *ṣaṣṭyādeś ca*. . . would become vacuous if *tadantavidhi* is not accepted. For, *ṣaṣṭyādi* '*ṣaṣṭi*, etc.' do not include any *saṃkhyā* as their initial constituent. What then is the need for stating *asaṃkhyādeḥ* 'not after that which has *saṃkhyā* as its initial'? The *Mahābhāṣya* and *SK* thus do not accept *saṃkhyā* as denoting items accepted as numbers in usage. Refer to the *Mbh.*, *SK*, and *PM* ad *Kāś.* for further details.

2. Note that *viṃśatitama* is derived from *viṃśati* + *ḌaṬ*→*viṃśati* + *tama* + *a* where 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* yields *viṃśati* + *tam*(*a*+*a*→*a*) = *viṃśatitama*. A derivate such as *viṃśa* of *viṃśati* + *a* will go through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.142 *ti viṃśater*. . .) if the option of *tamaṬ* is not availed.

5.2.57 **नित्यं शतादिमासार्धमाससंवत्सराच्च**

nityaṃ śatādimāsārdhamāsasaṃvatsarāc ca
/ *nityam* 1/1 *śatādimāsārdhamāsasaṃvatsarāt* 5/1 = *śatam ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.*); *śatādayaś ca māsaś ca ardhamāsaś ca saṃvatsaraś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ* #48, *tamaṭ* #56)
śatādibhyo māsārdhamāsasaṃvatsaraśabdebhyaś ca parasya ḍaṭo nityaṃ tamaḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *tamaṬ* is obligatorily introduced to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* when occurring to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* after syntactically related nominal stems which end in *ṣaṣṭhī*, begin with *śata*, or are constituted by *māsa* 'month', *ardhamāsa* 'fortnight' and *saṃvatsara* 'year'.

EXAMPLES:

śatasya pūraṇaḥ = *śatatamaḥ* 'the hundredth which completes one hundred'
māsasya pūraṇo = *māsatamo divasaḥ* 'the thirtieth day which completes one full month'
ardhamāsatamaḥ 'the fifteenth day which completes one fortnight'
saṃvatsaratamaḥ 'the last day which completes one full year'

1. Here again *ḌaṬ* is provided after *māsa*, *ardhamāsa* and *saṃvatsara* at the strength of the augment. For, these are not number words. Why are *śatādi* includes in this rule when *tamaṬ* is available to them from the next rule? Our next rule negates this augment when a number word begins with a number (*asaṃkhyādeḥ*). The *śatādi* stems are included here so that *tamaṬ* could also introduced when they begin with a number (*Kāś.*: . . . *śatādigrahaṇaṃ saṃkhyādyartham*). Thus we get: *ekaśatatamaḥ* 'one hundredth', *dviśatatamaḥ* 'two hundred', etc.

5.2.58 **षष्ट्यादेश्चासंख्यादेः**

ṣaṣṭyādeś cāsaṃkhyādeḥ
/*ṣaṣṭyādeḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *asaṃkhyādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃkhyā ādir yasya sa saṃkhyādiḥ*; *na saṃkhyādiḥ* = *asaṃkhyādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*)
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #47, *tasya pūraṇe* #48, *tamaṭ* #56, *nityam* #57)
ṣaṣṭyādeḥ saṃkhyāśabdād asaṃkhyādeḥ parasya ḍaṭo nityaṃ tamaḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *tamaṬ* is also obligatorily introduced to the *taddhita* affix *ḌaṬ* when occurring to denote the sense of *pūraṇa* after a syntactically related nominal stem which is listed in the group headed by *ṣaṣṭi*, signi-

fies a number and ends in *prathamā*, but does not have *saṃkhyā* 'number word' as its initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṣṭitamaḥ 'the last which completes a set of sixty'
saptatitamaḥ 'the last which completes a set of seventy'

1. Note that *ṣaṣṭyādi* does not include numbers referred to by *śatādi*. For they receive *tamaṬ* from the preceding rule. The negation of *asaṃkhyādeḥ* negates the obligatory *tamaṬ* in relation to stems which begin with a number. It does not negate the obligatory provision of *tamaṬ* made by 5.2.56 *viṃśatyādibhyas* . . . (*PM* ad *Kāś*.: *na hy ayaṃ vikalpasyāpi pratiṣedhah*).

5.2.59 मतौ छः सूक्तसाम्नोः

matau chaḥ sūktasāmnoḥ
/matau 7/1 *chaḥ* 1/1 *sūktasāmnoḥ* 7/2 = *sūktaṃ ca sāma ca sūktasāmnī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prātipadikāt matvarthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati sūkte sāmani cābhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a nominal stem to denote the sense of affix *matUP*, when the derivate signifies a *sūkta* 'hymn' or *sāman* 'hymn of the *Sāmaveda*'.

EXAMPLES:

acchāvākaśabdo' sminn iti = acchāvākīyaṃ sūktam 'a hymn which contains the word *accāvāka*'
asyavāmīyam 'a hymn which contains the word *asyavāma*'
yajñāyajñīyaṃ sāma 'a hymn of the *Sāmaveda* which contains the word *yajñāyajñā*'

1. Note that *matau* 'in the sense of *matUP*' brings rule 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asmin* . . . close to the context of this rule. Consequently, the stem after which *cha* is to be introduced should end in *prathamā* as specified by *tad*. Similarly, *asti* is to accepted as a qualifier to the meaning of the base (*prakṛtyartha*). The meaning of the affix will be accepted as specified by *asmin*.

2. A question is raised against introducing *cha* after *asyavāma*, etc., to derive *asyavāmīyam*, etc., where the base is a combination of two *padas*. How could *asya*, a *pada* ending in genitive, followed by *vāmaḥ*, another *pada* ending in nominative, be termed a nominal stem (*prātipadika*)? Even if it could be termed a nominal stem, the genitive of *asya* will have to be deleted (2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*). It is explained that *asyavāma*, etc., represent *anukaraṇa* 'imitation'. They have to be treated as referring to their form at best (*svarūpamātra-pradhānāḥ*). They do not refer to anything else. The geni-

tive of *asya* is thus not a nominal ending but is part of the imitation. Affix *cha* will thus be introduced after specified forms on the basis of their status as *anukaraṇa*.

5.2.60 अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक्

adhyāyānuvākayor luk
/*adhyāyānuvākayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *matau chaḥ* #59)
matvartha utpannasya chasya lug bhavati adhyayanānuvākayor abhidheyayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *cha* which occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem to denote the sense of *matUP* is deleted by *LUK* when derivates signify *adhyāya* 'chapter' and *anuvāka* 'set of special Vedic hymns'.

EXAMPLES:

gardabhāṇḍaśabdo' sminn asti = *gardabhāṇḍo' dhyāyaḥ* 'an *adhyāya*, or *anuvāka*, named *gardabhāṇḍa*, for reason that it contains the word *gardabhāṇḍa*'
gardabhāṇḍīyaḥ 'id.'
dīrghajīvitaḥ 'an *adhyāya* , or *anuvāka*, named dīrghajīvita, for reasons that it contains the word *dīrghajīvita*'
dīrghajīvitīyaḥ 'id.'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* considers this deletion as optional (*vikalpena ca lug ayam iṣyate*). Consequently, there will be optional derivates such as *gardabhāṇḍīyaḥ* and *dīrghajīvitīyaḥ* if the deletion of *cha* is not applied. How do we know that this rule is optional? *Nyāsa* (ad *Kāś.*) explains that its *ca* is used in the sense of 'option'. This, in turn, attracts *anyatarasyām* from rule 5.2.56 *viṃśatyādibhyas*. . . . But carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* will also make the provisions of earlier rule(s) optional, *Nyāsa* states that this *anuvṛtti* is of the nature of *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' (*maṇḍūkaplutinyāyenānuvṛttir bhaviṣyatīty adoṣaḥ*).

2. A question is also raised against this deletion. We know that a deletion applies only when some positive provision is already made. Since a positive provision for affix *cha* has been made only after *adhyāya* and *sāman*, and not after *adhyāya* and *anuvāka*, this rule, as well as its provision of deletion by *LUK*, becomes vacuous (*vyartha*). Commentators explain that Pāṇini's provision for deletion of *cha* after *adhyāya* and *anuvāka* itself attests to the introduction of *cha* after them. For, how could you ask for non-appearance (*adarśana*) of a thing when that thing does not exist (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *na hy asatasya lug utpadyate*).

5.2.61 विमुक्तादिभ्योऽण्

vimuktādibhyo' ṇ

/vimuktādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *vimukta ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; aṇ* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *matau chaḥ* #59, *adhyāyānuvākayoḥ* #60)
vimuktādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo' ṇ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe adhyāyānuvākayor abhidheyayoḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vimukta* when derivates signify an *adhyāya* and *anuvāka*.

EXAMPLES:

vimuktaśabdo' sminn asti = *vaimukto' dhyāyo' nuvāko vā* 'an *adhyāya*, or *anuvāka*, named *vaimukta* for reasons that it contains the word *vimukta*'
daivāsuraḥ 'an *adhyāya*, or *anuvāka*, named *daivāsura*, for reasons that it contains the word *devāsura*'

1. Deriving *vaimukta* from *vimukta* + *aṆ* requires *bha-saṃjñā*, *a-lopa* and *vṛddhi*.

5.2.62 गोषदादिभ्यो वुन्

goṣadādibhyo vun
/goṣadādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *goṣada ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; vun* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *matau chaḥ* #59, *adhyāyānuvākayoḥ* #60)
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *goṣada* when derivates signify an *adhyāya* and *anuvāka*.

EXAMPLES:

goṣadaśabdo' sminn asti = *goṣadako' dhyāyo' nuvāko vā* 'an *adhyāya*, or *anuvāka*, named *goṣadakaḥ* for reasons that it contains the word *goṣada*'
iṣetvakaḥ 'an *adhyāya*, or *anuvāka*, named *iṣetvakaḥ* because it contains the word *iṣetva*'

5.2.63 तत्र कुशलः पथः

tatra kuśalaḥ pathaḥ
/tatra ϕ *kuśalaḥ* 1/1 *pathaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *vun* #62/)
tatreti saptamīsamarthāt pathinśabdāt 'kuśalaḥ' ity asminn arthe vun pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs to denote the sense of *kuśalaḥ* 'skilled' after syntactically related nominal stem *pathin* 'path', when ending in *saptamī* 'locative'.

EXAMPLES:

pathi kuśalaḥ = *pathakaḥ* 'one who is skilled in roads; a skilled traveler'

1. Note that *pathin* +*vuN* will yield *pathaka*, through *ṭi*-deletion of *an*, and *aka* as a replacement for *vu* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*).

5.2.64 आकर्षादिभ्यः कन्

ākarṣādibhyaḥ kan
/*ākarṣādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ākarṣa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra kuśalaḥ* #63)
ākarṣādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'kuśalaḥ' ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *kuśalaḥ* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *ākarṣa* 'touchstone', when it ends in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

ākarṣe kuśalaḥ = *ākarṣakaḥ* 'one who is skilled in testing gold; skilled gambler'
tsarukaḥ 'one who is skilled in swords'

1. Some read *ākarṣa* as *ākaṣa*, a derivate of *gha* with denotatum of a name in masculine (3.3.118 *puṃsi saṃjñāyām* . . .). Of course, *ākarṣa* is a derivate of *ghaÑ*. The *Amarakośa* also glosses *ākarṣa* as *dyūta* 'gambling' and *akṣa* 'dice'.

5.2.65 धनहिरण्यात्कामे

dhanahiraṇyāt kāme
/*dhanahiraṇyāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kāme* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra kuśalaḥ* #63, *kan* #64/
dhanahiraṇyaśabdābhyāṃ tatreti saptamīsamarthābhyām 'kāme' ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *kāma* 'desire, greed' after syntactically related nominal stems *dhana* 'wealth' and *hiraṇya* 'gold', when they end in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

dhane kāmaḥ = *dhanako devadattasya* 'Devadatta's desire for amassing wealth'
hiraṇyako devadattasya 'Devadatta's desire of obtaining gold'

1. Note that derivates of this rule denote desire (*kāma*). They cannot

denote *kāmayitā* 'he who desires', because no such usage exists (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *kāmayitā tu na gṛhyate; anabhidhānāt*).

5.2.66 स्वाङ्गेभ्यः प्रसिते

svāṅgebhyaḥ prasite
/*svāṅgebhyaḥ* 5/3 *prasite* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #63, *kan* #64/
svāṅgavācibhyaḥ śabdebhyas tatreti saptamīsamarthebhyaḥ 'prasite' ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *prasita* 'to be preoccupied, overly involved with' after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *saptamī*, and has the signification of *svāṅga* 'one's own limb'.

EXAMPLES:

keśeṣu prasitaḥ = *keśakaḥ* 'one who is preoccupied with (cleaning, combing and decorating) his hair'
keśanakhakaḥ 'one who is preoccupied with his hair and nails'

1. Note that *svāṅgebhyaḥ* is used in plural (*bahuvacana*) so that this affix could also be introduced after a base which denotes a group of limbs.

5.2.67 उदराट्ठगाद्यूने

udarāṭ ṭhag ādyūne
/*udarāt* 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1 *ādyūne* 7/1 = *ādir eva ūnam asya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tatra* #63, *kan* #64, *prasite* #66/
udaraśabdāt saptamīsamarthāt 'prasite' ity etasminn arthe (*ādyūne vācye*) *ṭhak pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs to denote the sense of *prasita* after syntactically related nominal stem *udara*, when the same ends in *saptamī* and the derivate signifies *ādyūna* 'one who is always hungry'; voracious'.

EXAMPLES:

udare prasitaḥ = *audarikaḥ ādyūnaḥ* 'one who is always hungry; obsessed with eating'

1. The word *anudarika* is explained as *ādyūna* 'always hungry', provided one has no desire left for winning over his hunger (*vijisīṣāvivarjitaḥ*). Elsewhere, we will get *udarakaḥ*, a derivate of *kaN* denoting someone preoccupied with (cleansing, rubbing, etc.) his belly (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *udaraparimārjanādau prasita ucyate*).

5.2.68 **सस्येन परिजातः**

sasyena parijātaḥ
/sasyena 3/1 *parijātaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
sasyaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthāt 'parijātaḥ' ity asminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *parijātaḥ* 'born with abundance' after syntactically related nominal stem *sasya* 'merit, quality' when the same ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

sasyakaḥ = sādhuḥ 'an ascetic born with merits in abundance'
sasyako maṇiḥ 'flawless jewel'

1. Note that *sasya* is here used in the sense of *guṇa* 'quality'. It does not mean *dhānya* 'grain'.

5.2.69 **अंशं हारी**

aṃśaṃ hārī
/aṃśaṃ 2/1 *hārī* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64/
aṃśaśabdād dvitīyāsamarthād hārī ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *hārī* 'one who takes away; inherits' after syntactically related nominal stem *aṃśa* 'share, inheritance', when it ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'.

EXAMPLES:

aṃśaṃ hārī = aṃśako dāyādaḥ 'next to kin who necessarily receive their share; legal heir'
aṃśakaḥ putraḥ 'son who inherits'

5.2.70 **तन्त्रादचिरापहृते**

tantrād acirāpahṛte
/tantrāt 5/1 *acirāpahṛte* 7/1 = *na ciraḥ aciraḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *aciraḥ kālaḥ apahṛtasya* (*tat.* with int. *nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *acirāpahṛta* 'just brought about; just removed' after syntactically related nominal stem *tantra* 'loom', when it ends in *pañcamī* 'ablative'.

EXAMPLES:

tantrakaḥ = *paṭaḥ* 'a piece of cloth freshly removed from the loom'
tantrakaḥ = *prāvāraḥ* 'a freshly woven upper garment'

1. Note that *tantra* is understood as ending in *pañcamī*, especially in view of its connection with *apahṛta* 'removed'. Of course, *pañcamī* is introduced by 2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*, read with 1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye' pādānam*.

5.2.71 **ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके संज्ञायाम्**

brāhmaṇakoṣṇike saṃjñāyām
/*brāhmaṇakoṣṇike* 7/1 (*itar. dv.*); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
brāhmaṇaka, uṣṇika ity etau śabdau kanpratyayāntau nipātyete saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to derive *brāhmaṇaka* and *uṣṇika*, via *nipātana*, when derivates are to denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇako deśaḥ 'a place named Brāhmaṇaka'
uṣṇikā yavāgūḥ 'barley gruel'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *brāhmaṇaka* as a place where resident Brāhmaṇas earn their living by means of weapons (*yatrāyudhajīvino brāhmaṇāḥ santi*). The word *uṣṇikā* is explained as a barley gruel which contains more water and less grains (*alpānnāyavāgūḥ*).

5.2.72 **शीतोष्णाभ्यां कारिणि**

śītoṣṇābhyāṃ kāriṇi
/*śītoṣṇābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *kāriṇi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
śītoṣṇaśabdābhyāṃ kāriṇy abhidheye kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after syntactically related nominal stems *śīta* 'cold' and *uṣṇa* 'hot', when they end in *dvitīyā* 'accusative' and derivates signify *kārī* 'one who surely does, so makes'.

EXAMPLES:

śītaṃ karoti = *śītakaḥ* 'one who functions slowly, and with lack of competence'
uṣṇaṃ karoti = *uṣṇakaḥ* 'one who functions fast, and with skill'

1. Note that *śīta* and *uṣṇa* are not used here in their primary sense of

'cold' and 'hot' (*sparśaviśeṣa*). They are used here, instead, in their secondary (*gauṇa*) sense of *māndya* 'slowness' and *śaighrya* 'fastness' as qualifiers to an action (*kriyāviśeṣaṇa*). Thus, one who does things quickly and efficiently is called *uṣṇakaḥ* 'efficient', or *śīghrakārī*.

5.2.73 अधिकम्

adhikam
/adhikam 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs in deriving *adhikam* 'more than . . .', via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

adhiko droṇaḥ khāryām 'a Droṇa is more in measure than a Khārī'
adhikā khārī droṇena 'id.'

1. Commentators explain that *adhika* is derived by introducing *kaN* after *adhyārūḍha* where *ārūḍha* is deleted by *nipātana*. The word *adhyārūḍha* itself could be derived with affix *Kta* denoting *kartṛ* 'agent', or *karman* 'object' (3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmaka* . . .). Thus we get two paraphrases: *adhyārūḍho droṇaḥ khārīm* and *adhyārūḍhā khārī droṇena* where *Kta* of sentence one denotes *kartṛ*. The *karman* is therefore denoted by *dvitīyā* 'accusative' of *khārīm*. The second sentence has *droṇa* denoting *kartṛ* with its *tṛtīyā*. Consequently, *kta* denotes *karman*. The *prathamā* in *droṇa* of the first sentence, and in *khārī* of the second, thus denotes nominal stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*). These two sentences are similar to frequently used sentences such as: *ārūḍho vṛkṣaṃ bhavān* 'you have climbed up the tree, sir!' and *ārūḍho vṛkṣaṃ bhavatā* 'the tree has been climbed up by you, sir!'.

5.2.74 अनुकाभिकाभीकः कमिता

anukābhikābhīkaḥ kamitā
/anukābhikābhīkaḥ 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *kamitā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
'*anuka, abhika, abhīka*' *ity ete śabdāḥ kanpratyayāntā nipātyante* '*kamitā*' *ity etasminn arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to derive *anuka, abhika* and *abhīka*, via *nipātana*, when derivates signify *kamitā* 'one who is desirous of. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

anukāmayate = *anukaḥ* 'one who loves . . .'

abhikāmayate = *abhikaḥ* 'one who lusts for . . .'
abhīkaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that lengthening of *i* is optionally allowed in case of *abhika*. Thus, we also get *abhīka*.

5.2.75 **पार्श्वेनान्विच्छति**

pārśvenānvicchati
/*pārśvena* 3/1 *anvicchati* (verbal *pada*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
pārśvaśabdāt tṛtīyāsamarthād 'anvicchati' ity etasminn arthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of *anvicchati* '. . . desires to obtain' after syntactically related nominal stem *pārśva* 'dishonest means', when the same ends in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'.

EXAMPLES:

pārśvena arthān anvicchati = *pārśvakaḥ* 'one who obtains what he wishes by dishonest means'
kausṛtikaḥ 'one who obtains what he wishes by fraudulent means'

1. Note that *pārśva* is explained as *anṛjur upāyaḥ* 'crooked means'. A *pārśvika* is thus a person who wants to get things by employing crooked means. Similar meaning is involved in *kautsṛtikaḥ*.

5.2.76 **अयःशूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां ठक्ठञौ**

ayaḥśūladaṇḍājinābhyāṃ ṭhakṭhañau
/*ayaḥśūladaṇḍājinābhyām* 3/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṭhakṭhañau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anvicchati* #75)
ayaḥśūla-daṇḍājinābhyām tṛtīyāsamarathābhyām 'anvicchati' ity etasminn arthe ṭhak-ṭhañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* occur after syntactically related nominal stems *ayaḥśūla* 'iron-dart; a sharp pointed tool of steel' and *daṇḍājina* 'shaft and antelope hide', respectively, to denote the sense of *anvicchati*, when the stems end in *tṛtīyā*.

EXAMPLES:

ayaḥśūlenānvicchaty = *āyaḥśūlikaḥ* 'he who obtains what he wants by means of a sharp pointed weapon of steel; a bandit'
daṇḍājinenānvicchati = *dāṇḍājinikaḥ* 'he who obtains his wish by using the shaft and antelope hide as his means; a crook in the garb of an ascetic'

1. Note that *ayaḥśūla* denotes a weapon which bandits use to threaten and hit while robbing. A person can be called *āyaḥśūlika* if he employs similar cruel means to get what he wants. The *daṇḍa* 'shaft' and *ajina* 'antelope hide' are symbols of ascetics. A person who is not an ascetic but poses as one by wearing *ajina*, and carrying a *daṇḍa*, to get something he wants will be called *daṇḍājinika*. Incidentally, derivates of *ṭhaK* and *ṭhaÑ* are similar in form but difference in accent.

5.2.77 तावतिथं ग्रहणमिति लुग्वा

tāvatitham grahaṇam iti lug vā
/ *tāvatitham* 1/1/ *grahaṇam* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *luk* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64/
pūraṇapratyayāntāt prātipadikād grahaṇopādhikāt svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in an affix denoting the sense of *pūraṇa*, and serves as a means (*karaṇa*) of *grahaṇa*, with the optional provision that the affix which denotes the sense of *pūraṇa* be deleted by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyena rūpeṇa grantham gṛhṇāti = *dvikam grahaṇam* 'internalizing a text after second reading'
dvitīyakam 'id.'
catuṣkam 'internalizing a text after fourth reading'
caturthakam 'id.'

1. Note that *tāvatitha*, a form ending in *ḌaṬ* (5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ*) with augment *ithUK* (5.2.53 *vator ithuk*), specifies the base after which affix *kaN* is to be introduced. This is a general specification (*sāmānya-nirdeśa*) for bases ending in an affix denoting the sense of *pūraṇa*. The word *grahaṇa* is explained as: *gṛhyate'nena iti* 'that by means of which something is understood'. It thus becomes a qualifier to the base (*prakṛti*).

2. Note that optional deletion of an affix, for example *ḌaṬ*, also includes deletion of augments, i.e., *ithUK* and *maT*. For, the affix and augments are both introduced concurrently (*sanniyogaśiṣṭa*). Incidentally, introduction of *kaN* does not become optional because of *vā*. For, that is already available from 4.1.82 *samarthānām*. . . . Derivates of this rule denote the sense of the base (*svārtha*).

3. A *vārttika* also introduces affix *kaN* after a base ending in *tṛtīyā* to denote the agent of *grahaṇa* with obligatory deletion of the *pūraṇa* affix. Thus, *ṣaṭko devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta internalizes a text after six readings'.

5.2.78 स एषां ग्रामणीः

sa eṣāṃ grāmaṇīḥ
/saḥ 1/1 *eṣām* 6/3 *grāmaṇīḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
sa iti prathamāsamarthād eṣām iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe kan pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ grāmaṇī cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of genitive (*asya*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative' provided its denotatum is *grāmaṇī* 'village-leader; chief'.

EXAMPLES:

devadatto grāmaṇīr eṣāṃ = devadattakāḥ 'Devadattakas are villagers whose leader is Devadatta'
yajñadatto grāmaṇīr eṣām = yajñadattakāḥ 'Yajñadattakas are the villagers whose leader is Yajñadatta'

1. The condition of *grāmaṇī* is imposed to that *kan* could not be introduced parallel to *devadattaḥ śatrur eṣām* 'Devadatta is the enemy of these villagers'.

5.2.79 शृंखलमस्य बन्धनं करभे

śṛṅkhalam asya bandhanaṃ karabhe
/śṛṅkhalam 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *bandhanaṃ* 1/1 *karabhe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
śṛṅkhalaśabdāt prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe kan pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamarthaṃ bandhanaṃ ced bhavati, yad asyeti nirdiṣṭaṃ karabhaś cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of genitive (*asya*) after the syntactically related nominal stem *śṛṅkhala* 'shackle' which ends in nominative (*prathamā*), provided the denotatum of nominative serves as *bandhana* 'fetter' and the antecedent of genitive is a *karabha* 'young elephant'.

EXAMPLES:

śṛṅkhalam bandhanaṃ asya karabhasya = śṛṅkhalakam 'the young elephant whose fetter is a shackle'

5.2.80 उत्क उन्मनाः

utka unmanāḥ
/utkaḥ 1/1 *unmanāḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
utkaḥ iti nipātyate unmanāś cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs in deriving *utka*, via *nipātana*, provided the derivate signifies *unmanāḥ* 'one whose mind is unsettling'.

EXAMPLES:

utko devadattaḥ 'Devadatta is unsettling, anxious, homesick, etc.'

1. The word *unmanāḥ* is used in the sense of 'anxious, disturbed, unsettling and homesick', etc.

5.2.81 **कालप्रयोजनाद्रोगे**

kālaprayojanād roge
/*kālaprayojanāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *roge* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
kālāt prayojanāc ca yathāyogaṃ samarthavibhaktiyuktād roge' bhidheye kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which signifies *kāla* 'time' or *prayojana* 'cause, result' and ends in an appropriate nominal ending, provided derivates denote *roga* 'affliction, disease'.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīye' hni bhavaḥ = *dvitīyako jvaraḥ* 'a fever which afflicts on every other day'
caturthakaḥ 'a fever which afflicts on every fourth day'
viṣapuṣpair janitaḥ = *viṣapuṣpako jvaraḥ* 'a fever caused by (eating) poisonous flowers'
uṣṇaṃ kāryam asya = *uṣṇako jvaraḥ* 'a fever which results in intense heat'

1. Note that *prayojana* is explained as *kāraṇa* 'cause' and *phala* 'result'. The first interpretation is based on accepting *prayojana* as *karaṇa* 'instrument'. The second accepts it as *karman* 'object'. They both can be accepted as *prayojaka* 'instigators'. It is argued that if *prayojana* can also be accepted as *kāraṇa* then *kāla* should not be stated in the rule. For, in an example such as *dvitīye' hni bhavo dvitīyako jvaraḥ, kāla*, i.e., 'second day', could also be accepted as *kāraṇa*. After all, the fever does not afflict on other days. It is true. But *kāla* is stated separately so that this affixal provision could be made possible also where *kāla* is simply accepted as denoting *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'.

2. Commentators explain that a nominal stem denoting *kāla* is used with *saptamī* 'locative' denoting *adhikaraṇa*. A stem which denotes *kāraṇa* is used

with *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'. Finally, a stem which denotes *phala* is used with *prathamā* 'nominative'. This determination of nominal endings after stems is made in view of derivate meanings (*artha*).

How do we get all these details from the wording of this rule? These are not explicitly stated in the rule (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na hy etat sarvaṃ sūtrākṣarair upāttam*). Some say that *saṃjñāyām* is brought to the context of this rule. It is like the way lions glance back while running (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *siṃhāvalokitanyāyena, yathā siṃhā dhāvantaḥ pṛṣṭhato' valokayante*). Consequently, we get additional condition of: *pratyayāntaś cet saṃjñā bhavati* 'provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjña*)'. That is, this affix will not be introduced where derivates do not denote a name. The preceding interpretational details all apply where derivates denote a name.

A proposal for *yogavibhāga* of the next rule is also made to explain things here. The two split rules will be: *tad asminn annaṃ prāye* and *saṃjñāyām*. This way, *saṃjñāyām* will become a residual rule (*śeṣa*) for this as well as the first split rule. Their derivates will thus be restricted to the context of *saṃjñā* 'name'.

5.2.82 तदस्मिन्नन्नं प्राये संज्ञायाम्

tad asminn annaṃ prāye saṃjñāyām
/*tat* 1/1 *asmin* 7/1 *annam* 1/1 *prāye* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #64)
tad iti prathamāsamarthād asminn iti saptamyarthe kan pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham annaṃ cet prāyaviṣayaṃ tad bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs to denote the sense of locative (*asmin*) after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided its denotatum names an *anna* 'item of food' in abundance.

EXAMPLES:

guḍāpūpāḥ prāyeṇa annam asyāṃ paurṇamāsyāṃ = *guḍapūpikā* 'a full-moon night when cakes with jaggery are prepared in abundance'
tilāpūpika paurṇamāsī 'a full-moon night when cakes with sesame are prepared in abundance'

1. Note that *prāyaḥ* is explained as *bāhulayam* 'abundance'. The word *saṃjñā* qualifies the stem which ends in the affix (*Kāś.*: *saṃjñāgrahaṇaṃ tadantopādhiḥ*). Deriving *guḍāpūpikā* from *guḍāpūpa* + *kaN* will require *itva* of 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*. . . to yield *guḍāpūpika*. The feminine affix *ṬāP* can then be added to derive *guḍāpūpikā*.

A *vārttika* recommends affix *inI* after *vaṭaka* 'deep-fried balls of ground lentils' to derive *vaṭakinī paurṇamāsī*.

5.2.83 कुल्माषादञ्

kulmāṣād añ

/*kulmāṣāt* 5/1 *añ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asminn annaṃ prāye saṃjñāyām* #82)

kulmāṣaśabdād añ pratyayo bhavati 'tad asminn annaṃ prāye saṃjñāyām' ity etasminn arthe

The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs, to denote the sense of locative (*asmin*), after syntactically related nominal stem *kulmāṣa* 'wild lentils' when it ends in *prathamā*, provided its denotatum names an *anna* in abundance.

EXAMPLES:

kulmāṣāḥ prāyeṇa annam asyāṃ paurṇamāsyāṃ = *kaulmāṣī paurṇamāsī* 'a full-moon night when food with Kulmāṣa is prepared in abundance'

1. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) glosses *kulmāṣas* as *mudga* 'Mung beans'. The *ṄīP* in *kaulmāṣī* is introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

5.2.84 श्रोत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते

śrotriyaṃś chando'dhīte

/*śrotriyan* 1/1 *chandaḥ* 2/1 *adhīte* (verbal *pada*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

śrotriyan iti nipātyate chando' dhīte ity etasminn arthe

A nominal stem, namely *śrotriyaN*, is derived via *nipātana*, when it signifies *chando' dhīte* 'he who studies the Veda'.

EXAMPLES:

śrotriyo brāhmaṇaḥ 'a Brāhmaṇa who studies the Vedas'

1. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* explains *śrotriya* as a derivate of *ghaN* introduced optionally after *chandas* in the sense of *tad adhīte* 'studies that' (*chandaso vā śrotrabhāvaḥ*). This option requires replacing *chandas* with *śrotra*. Not accepting this option would amount to accepting *śrotriya* as derived by itself. Of course, with the specified denotatum (. . . *vākyārthe padavacanam*). Incidentally, the *Dharmaśāstras* explain *śrotriya* as a brāhmaṇa who has studied at least one branch of the Vedas (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ekāṃ śākhām adhītya śrotriyo bhavati*). The *n* of *śrotriyan* is used for accent.

5.2.85 श्राद्धमनेन भुक्तमिनिठनौ

śrāddham anena bhuktam iniṭhanau

/*śrāddham* 2/1 *anena* 3/1 *bhuktam* 1/1 *iniṭhanau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
śrāddhaśabdād bhuktopādhikād anenety etasminn arthe iniṭhanau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* occur to denote the sense of *anena* 'by this one' after syntactically related nominal stem *śrāddha* 'ritual offering of food to deceased ancestors' when it ends in *prathamā* used in syntactic coordination with *bhuktam* '. . . eaten'.

EXAMPLES:

śrāddhaṃ bhuktam anena = *śrāddhī* 'one who has eaten at the *śrāddha* ritual'
śrāddhikaḥ 'id.'

1. This affixal provision is made after a base (*prakṛti*) constituted by *śrāddha*. The word *bhuktam* is used as a qualifier to the base. The sense of affixes is specified by *anena* 'by this one'. But how could one eat *śrāddha* which denotes an action (*karman*). Actually, *śrāddha* here denotes things serving as means (*tatsādhane dravyaḥ*) of accomplishing the action. It is impossible to eat *śrāddha* as such (*mukhyaśrāddhasya bhojanāsambhavāt*).
2. The *Mahābhāṣya* further specifies that this affixal provision is made in the context of 'concurrent time' (*samānakāla*). Thus, a person who eats at the *śrāddha* today, and hence is called a *śrāddhika*, cannot be called a *śrāddhika* tomorrow (*adya bhukte śrāddhe śvaḥ śrāddhika iti prayogo mā bhūt*).

5.2.86 पूर्वादिनिः

pūrvād iniḥ
/*pūrvāt* 5/1 *iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anena* #85)
pūrvād anena ity asminn arthe iniḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *anena* 'by this one' after syntactically related nominal stem *pūrva* 'previously, earlier', when the same ends in *prathamā* 'nominative'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvaṃ gatam anena pītaṃ bhuktaṃ vā = *pūrvī* 'one who went, drank, or ate, earlier'
pūrviṇau 'a nominative dual of *pūrvin*'
pūrviṇaḥ 'nominative plural of *pūrvin*'

1. Note that *anena* specifies an agent (*kartṛ*). Since the derivational meaning of agency is possible only when an action is on hand, derivates must be construed with an action. Thus, *pūrvam gatam* '. . . gone previously', etc.

5.2.87 **सपूर्वाच्च**

sapūrvāt ca
/sapūrvāt 5/1 = *vidyamānaṃ pūrvaṃ yasmāt* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anena* #85, *iniḥ* #86)
sapūrvāt prātipadikāt pūrvaśabdāntād anenety asminn arthe iniḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* also occurs to denote the sense of *anena* after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *pūrva* as its prior constituent and ends in *prathamā* 'nominative'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvaṃ kṛtam anena = *kṛtapūrvī kaṭam* 'he by who a mat was previously made'
bhuktapūrvī odanam 'he by who rice was eaten earlier'

1. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this and the preceding *sūtra* jointly as: *pūrvād iniḥ sapūrvāt.* A separate formulation is made to indicate that *tadantavidhi* is not applicable here. That is, *pūrvāt* cannot include references to both 'that which is *pūrva*' and 'that which ends in *pūrva*'.

5.2.88 **इष्टादिभ्यश्च**

iṣṭādibhyaś ca
/iṣṭādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *iṣṭa ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anena* #85, *iniḥ* #86)
iṣṭādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo' nenety asminn arthe iniḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *anena* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* and is listed in the group headed by *iṣṭa* 'a ritual offering already made'.

EXAMPLES:

iṣṭam anena = *iṣṭī yajñe* 'one who has performed sacrifices'
pūrttī śrāddhe 'one who has generously given (alms and gifts) at the *śrāddha*'

1. The locative of *yajñe* and *śrāddhe* here denotes *karman* 'object' at the strength of the statement: *ktasyenviṣayasya karmaṇi upasaṃkhyānam.* Rule 2.3.65 *kartṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* would have otherwise required *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'.

5.2.89 **छन्दसि परिपन्थिपरिपरिणौ पर्यवस्थातरि**

chandasi paripanthipariparinau paryavasthātari
/chandasi 7/1 *paripanthipariparinau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *paryavasthātari* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *iniḥ* #86)
paripanthin, pariparin ity etau śabdau chandasi viṣaye nipātyete parya-vasthātari vācye
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs, in Vedic, in deriving *paripanthin* and *pariparin*, via *nipātana*, when derivates denote *paryavasthātā* 'a strong adversary'.

EXAMPLES:

mā tvā paripanthino vidan 'may strong adversaries not get you'
mā tvā paripariṇo vidan 'id.'

5.2.90 अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा

anupady anveṣṭā
/*anupadī* 1/1 *anveṣṭā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *iniḥ* #86)
anupadī iti nipātyate' nveṣṭā cet sa bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs in deriving *anupadin*, via *nipātana*, when *anveṣṭā* 'one who goes after: follower' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

anupadī gavām 'one who follows cows; a cowherd'
anupadī uṣṭrāṇām 'one who follows camels'

1. Note that *anupada* is an *avyayībhāva* compound paraphrased as: *padasya paścāt* 'following in the footsteps' (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti* . . .).

5.2.91 साक्षाद् द्रष्टरि संज्ञायाम्

sākṣād draṣṭari saṃjñāyām
/*sākṣāt* ϕ *draṣṭari* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *iniḥ* #86)
sākṣāt śabdād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati draṣṭari vācye saṃjñāyām
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *ṣākṣāt* 'in person; directly' when the derivate signifies a name.

EXAMPLES:

sākṣād draṣṭā = *sākṣī* 'one who has seen with his own eyes; eye-witness'
sākṣiṇau 'nominative dual of *sākṣin*'
sākṣiṇaḥ 'a nominal plural of *sākṣin*'

1. One finds three categories of *sākṣād draṣṭā* 'eye-witness' in relation to,

for example, an action of giving (*dāna*); *dātā* 'one who gives', *grahītā* 'one who receives' and *upadraṣṭā* 'one who witnesses'. The word *saṃjñāyām* is used here to restrict the meaning of the derivate to that of an *upadraṣṭā*. (*Kāś.*: *saṃjñāgrahaṇam abhidheyaniyamārtham . . . saṃjñāgrahaṇād upadraṣṭaivocyate na dātā na grahītā vā*).

2. Note that *āt* of *sākṣāt* is deleted in view of a *vārttika* (ad 4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap; avyayānāṃ bhamātre ṭilopaḥ*).

5.2.92 **क्षेत्रियच् परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः**

kṣetriyac parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ
kṣetriyac 1/1 *parakṣetre* 7/1 *cikitsyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
kṣetriyaj iti nipātyate 'parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ' ity etasmin vākyārthe
A *taddhita* affix occurs to derive *kṣetriyac*, via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies *parakṣetre cikitsyaḥ* 'that which is curable only when the afflicted person gets another body (life).'

EXAMPLES:

kṣetriyaṃ kuṣṭham 'leprosy is a disease which can be cured only in another life'

1. The word *parakṣetra* 'other body' had been explained as *janmāntaraśarīram* 'the body of the next birth'. The word *kṣetriyaḥ* thus means a disease (*vyādhi*) curable only when one is reborn (*tatra cikitsyaḥ*). That is, it is incurable (*asādhya*), or else unbeatable (*apratyākhyeya*).

Kāśikā offers additional meaning of *kṣetriya: viṣa* 'poison', which cures when transmitted to another body; *tṛṇa* 'weeds', which deserve to be rooted out; and *paradārika* 'a womanizer', who must be restrained.

5.2.93 **इन्द्रियमिन्द्रलिङ्गमिन्द्रदृष्टमिन्द्रसृष्टमिन्द्रजुष्टमिन्द्रदत्तमिति वा**

indriyamindraliṅgamindradṛṣṭamindrasṛṣṭamindrajuṣṭamindradattam iti vā
/*indriyam-indraliṅgam-indradṛṣṭam-indrasṛṣṭam-indrajuṣṭam-indradattam* 1/1 (*tat.*); *iti* ϕ *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
indraśabdāt ṣaṣṭhīsamarthāt 'liṅgam' ity etasminn arthe ghac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ghaC* occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *indra* 'soul, self', to optionally derive *indriyam* 'sensory organs', via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies *indraliṅgam*, *indradṛṣṭam*, *indrasṛṣṭam*, *indrajuṣṭam* and *indradattam*.

EXAMPLES:

indrasya liṅgam = *indriyam* 'that by which *ātman* 'Self, Soul' is inferred;

eyes, etc.'
indreṇa ātmanā dṛṣṭam = *indradṛṣṭam* 'that which has been seen by the Self'
indreṇa ātmanā sṛṣṭam = *indrasṛṣṭam* 'that which has been created by the Self'
indreṇa ātmanā juṣṭam = *indrajuṣṭam* 'that which has been nourished by the Self'
indreṇa ātmanā datta = *indradattam* 'that which has been offered by the Self'

1. The word *indriya* in popular usage means 'sensory organs'. Consequently, *iti* is used in the sense of *prakāra* 'mode, manner', thereby making allowance for other modes of derivations (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *evaṃ prakārāntareṇāpivyutpattiḥ*). The word *vā* 'option' is construed with *indraliṅgam*, etc., individually. This shows independency of these optional meanings (*PM*: . . . *teṣāṃsvātantryaṃ darśayati*). That is, other meaning options are also possible.

5.2.94 तदस्यास्त्यस्मिन्निति मतुप्

tad asyāsty asminn iti matup
/*tat* 1/1 *asya* 6/1 *asti* ϕ *iti* ϕ *matup* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
tad iti prathamāsamarthād asyeti ṣaṣṭhyarthe asminn iti saptamyarthe vā matup pratyayo bhavati yat tat prathamāsamartham asti cet tad bhavati
A *taddhita* affix, namely *matUP*, occurs to denote the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (*asya*), or of *saptamī* 'locative' (*asmin*), after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative', provided it is qualified with the denotatum of *asti* 'existence'.

EXAMPLES:

gāvo' sya santi = *gomān devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta, who is rich in cows'
vṛkṣā asmin santi = *vṛkṣavān parvataḥ* 'a mountain with trees'

1. The following *ślokavārttika* enumerates the general sense of affixes *matUp*, etc., of course, qualified with the sense of *asti* 'existence':

bhūma-nindā-praśaṃsāsu nityayoge' tiśāyane/
saṃsarge' sti vivakṣāyāṃ bhavanti matubādayaḥ//

Affix *matUP*, etc., occurs with the denotatum of *bhūman* 'abundance', *nindā* 'censure', *praśaṃsā* 'praise', *nityayoga* 'constant connection', *atiśāyana* 'super excellence', and *saṃsarga* 'contact, association'.
The examples are: *gomān* 'rich in cows', *kuṣṭhī* 'leper', *kukudāvartaḥ* 'hunchback', *rūpavatī* 'beautiful women', *kṣīrī* 'rich in milk', *udariṇī* 'a woman with fat belly', *daṇḍī* 'an ascetic who carries a shaft'.

2. The word *asti* is an indeclinable particle meaning *sattā* 'existence'. The antecedents of *asya* and *asmin* are interpreted as *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and *saptamī* 'locative', respectively. That is, *asya* means 'of this person; its' and *asmin* means 'in this, in it'. Commentators explain that *iti* is used for expressing *vivakṣā* 'speaker's intent to speak about something as something specific'. That is, derivates of *matUP* must carry a denotatum approved by usage. Consider affix *valaC* introduced after *rajas* by 5.2.112 *rajaḥkṛṣyā*... to derive *rajasvalā* 'a woman in her menstrual period'. One cannot introduce *valaC* after *tajas* to derive *rajasvalaḥ* 'dusty village' because usage does not approve it. Or else, the speaker does not wish to speak about the village as *rajasvalaḥ*. Thus, *iti* restricts the scope of derivates (*viṣayaniyamārthaḥ*).

3. A *vārttika* requires deletion of *LUK* after stems denoting quality (*vt.*: *guṇavacanebhyo matupo lug vaktavyaḥ*) to account for *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* 'white cloth', etc.

4. Note that an affix denoting the sense of *matUP* cannot be introduced after a stem which ends in another such affix identical in form (*samānarūpa*). This restriction, of course, does not apply to an affix which is dissimilar (*virūpa*) in form. Consider *daṇḍimatī śālā* 'house of shaft-carrying ascetics' where *daṇḍimatī* has *matUP* introduced after *daṇḍin* which, in turn, ends in *inI*. Incidentally, *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v* when the stem either ends in *m* or *a*, or contains *m* or *a* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*; 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca mator vo'yavādibhyaḥ*).

5.2.95 रसादिभ्यश्च

> *rasādibhyaś ca*
> */rasādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ca* φ/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti matup* #94)
> *rasādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo matup pratyayo bhavati 'tad asyāsty asmin' ity etasmin viṣaye*
> The *taddhita* affix *matUP* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems which are listed in the group headed by *rasa* 'juice' and end in nominative, provided they are qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

> *rasavān* 'that which has juice; juicy'
> *rūpavān* 'he who is beautiful'

1. Why do we have to state this rule when *matUP* is already available from the preceding rule? A separate rule is formulated so that other affixes denoting the sense of *matUP* could not be introduced. Thus, *matUP* alone should be introduced here. If it is true then how do we get affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* in

deriving *rūpiṇī kanyā* 'beautiful girl' and *rūpiko dārakaḥ* 'handsome husband'? The statement that *matUP* alone should be introduced is simply a generalization (*prāyika*).

5.2.96 प्राणिस्थादातोलजन्यतरस्याम्

prāṇisthād āto laj anyatarasyām
/prāṇisthāt 5/1 *ātaḥ* 5/1 *lac* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti matup* #94)
prāṇisthavācinaḥ śabdād akārāntāl lac pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām matvarthe

The *taddhita* affix *LaC* occurs, optionally, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *ā*, is used with nominative, and signifies something located in a sentient being, provided the denotatum of the stem is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

cuḍālaḥ cūḍāvān vā 'one who has a *cūḍā* (lock of hair on the crown of head)'
karṇikālaḥ karṇikāvān vā 'he who has beautiful ears'

1. Note that *prāṇisthāt* 'located in a sentient being' qualifies the sense of the base which, in turn, is required to end in *ā*. The first condition blocks *LaC* in case of *śikhāvān pradīpaḥ* 'lamp with crested flame' because *pradīpa* 'lamp' is not sentient. The second blocks *LaC* in case of *hastavān* 'with hands' because *hasta* does not end in *ā*.

1. A *vārttika* proposal is made to restrict derivates of *LaC* after bases denoting 'limbs of sentient beings' (*prāṇyaṅgāt*). This way, *LaC* will be blocked, parallel to *cikīrṣāvān* 'one who is desirous of doing' where *cikīrṣā* ends in *ā* but does not denote a limb (*prāṇyaṅga*). The *Mahābhāṣya* finds this proposal unnecessary because *LaC* does not denote the sense of *matUP* in these cases anyway (*anabhidhānāt*).

2. Affix *LaC* is already marked with *L* as an *it*. Rule 6.1.193 *liti* will thus provide for final *udātta* accent for a base which ended in *LaC*. The final *C* as an *iT*, in *LaC*, should not be used to accomplish the same in view of 6.1.163 *citaḥ*. Commentators explain that *C* is used for blocking optional *svarita* of 8.2.6 *svarito vā'nudātte padādau* in examples such as *cūḍālo'si*.

5.2.97 सिध्मादिभ्यश्च

sidhmādibhyaś ca
/sidhmādibhyaḥ 5/3 *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *laj anyatarasyām* #96)
sidhmādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo lac pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *LaC* also occurs to optionally denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative and is listed in the group headed by *sidhma* 'leper', provided the denotatum of the stem is qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

sidhmalaḥ sidhmavān vā 'leprous'
gaḍulaḥ gaḍumān vā 'hunchback'

1. Note that the *sidhmādi* group also contains stems which end in *a.* They may also qualify for affixal provisions of *inI* and *ṭhaN* of 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau.* It is mainly for this reason that *anyatarasyām* is interpreted here as used for bringing *matUP* as an option to *LaC.* That is, this affixal provision is not made optional to other affixal provisions which may become applicable once this option of *LaC* is not accepted (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *anyatarasyāṃ grahaṇena matup samuccīyate, na yathāprāptam abhyanujñāyate*). How do we know it? Consider rule 5.2.109 *keśād vo' nyatarasyām* where *anyatarasyām* is explicitly stated. Commentators explain that if *anyatarasyām* of rule 5.2.109 *keśād vo' nyatarasyām* was intended to make the provision of affix *va* optional to *matUP* only, *anyatarasyām* carried from this rule via *anuvṛtti* should have been enough. An additional explicit mention of *anyatarasyām* in that rule is intended for offering single option of *matUP* against *va,* the affix on hand. Derivates of 5.2.109 *keśād vo' nyatarasyām* will have *matUP* as an option to *va* due to *anyatarasyām* of this rule. They will have additional option of *inI* and *ṭhaN* against *va* in view of *anyatarasyām* explicitly stated there. The function of this *anyatarasyām* is simply to offer the option of *matUP* against an affix on hand. That this *anyatarasyām* brings the option of *matUP* only is also attested by the listing of *picchādi* group of nominals (5.2.100 *lopādipāmādipicchādibhyaḥ śanelaccaḥ*) separately from those of the *tundādi* (5.2.117 *tundādibhya ilac ca*) group. They should not have been specified in two different rules if *ilaC* was intended to be introduced optionally to *matUP* only. Refer to *PM* ad *Kāś.* for further details.

5.2.98 वत्सांसाभ्यां कामबले

vatsāṃsābhyām kāmabale
/*vatsāṃsābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *kāmabale* 7/1 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *laj* #96)
vatsāṃsaśabdābhyām lac pratyayo bhavati yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'kāmavati balavati' cārthe

The *taddhita* affix *LaC* occurs, to optionally denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *vatsa* 'calf' and *aṃsa* 'shoulder' when they end in nominative, provided their denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti* and the derivates signify *kāma* 'desire' and *bala* 'strength', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

vatsalaḥ 'he who has affection; father'
aṃsalaḥ 'one who has strength'

1. Note that *kāmabale* specifies derivate meanings. Consequently, *LaC* is to be introduced only when these meanings are denoted. Since such a denotation of meaning is not possible when *matUP* is introduced, *LaC* becomes obligatory (*nitya*). Incidentally, *kāmabale* also restricts *vatsa* and *aṃsa* from having any signification of their own meanings via the meanings of their corresponding derivates. Of course, affix *matUP* will be introduced when derivate meanings include base-meanings.

Thus, consider *vatsavatī gauḥ* 'cow with a calf' and *aṃsavān durbalaḥ* 'a weak person with broad shoulders'.

5.2.99 **फेनादिलच्च**

phenād ilac ca
/phenāt 5/1 *ilac* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti matup* #94, *laj anyatarasyām* #96)
phenaśabdād ilac pratyayo bhavati matvarthe cakārāl lac ca
The *taddhita* affixes *ilaC* and *LaC* occur, to optionally denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *phena* 'foam', ending in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

phenilaḥ 'that which has, or in which there is, foam'
plenalaḥ 'id.'
phenavān 'id.'

1. Here again *anyatarasyām* brings *matUP* alone as an option. The *ca* is used in the rule to attract *LaC*.

5.2.100 **लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः**

lomādipāmādipicchādibhyaḥ śanelacaḥ
/lomādipāmādipicchādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *loman ādir yeṣāṃ te, pāman ādir yeṣāṃ te, piccham ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *lomādayaś ca pāmādayaś ca picchādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *śanelacaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*), *te/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti matup* #94)
lomādibhyaḥ pāmādibhyaḥ picchādibhyaś ca tribhyo gaṇebhyo yathāsaṃkhyam 'śa, na, ilac' ity ete pratyayā bhavanti matvarthe matup ca
The *taddhita* affixes *śa, na* and *ilaC* occur to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *loman* 'hair', *pāman* 'a disease' and *piccha* 'tail feather', respectively, provided these ended in nominative and their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

lomaśaḥ 'one who is full of hair'
lomavān 'id.'
pāmanaḥ 'one who is afflicted with Pāman, skin-diease'
pāmavān 'id.'
picchilaḥ 'one which has feathers on its tail'
picchavān 'id.'
urasilaḥ 'broad-shouldered'
urasvān 'id.'

1. Note that *aṅganā* and *lakṣmaṇa,* both derivates of *pāmādi* nominals, are derived with affix *na* where *aṅganā* is restricted to the denotatum of *kalyāṇa* 'auspicious, beautiful'. The base of the second derivate, *lakṣmī* 'wealth, prosperity', gets its final *ī* replaced with *a.*

5.2.101 प्रज्ञाश्रद्धार्चाभ्यो णः

prajñāśraddhārcābhyo ṇaḥ
/*prajñāśraddhārcābhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
'prajñā, śraddhā, arcā, vṛtti' ity etebhyo ṇaḥ pratyayo bhavati matub arthe
The *taddhita* affix *Ṇa* occurs, to optionally denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *prajñā* 'intellect; deeper understanding', *śraddhā* 'respect, faith' and *arcā* 'worship', when these end in nominative and their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

prājñaḥ 'one who has very deep understanding of . . .'
prajñāvān 'id.'
śrāddhaḥ 'one who has faith in, or respect for . . .'
śraddhāvān 'id.'
ārcaḥ 'one who worships . . .'

arcāvān 'id.'
vārttaḥ 'one who has some source of livelihood'
vṛttimān 'id.'

1. Note that this *sūtra* is simply formulated as: *prajñāśraddhārcābhyo ṇaḥ*. The authors of *Kāśikā* have also included *vṛtti* which, in turn, is a *vārttika* proposal.

2. Why do we have to read *prajñā* here when its derivate *prājña*, with essentially the same meaning, could be derived by introducing affix *aṆ* (5.4.38 *prajñādibhyaś ca*) to denote base-meaning (*svārtha*) after *prajña*, a derivate of *Ka* (3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*) introduced after verbal root *jñā* used with the preverb *pra*. This inclusion is made so that feminine affix *ṬāP* could be introduced after *prājña* to derive *prājñā*. The feminine form of *prājña*, when accepted as a derivate of *aṆ*, will be derived as *prājñī* with affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .).

5.2.102 तपः सहस्राभ्यां विनीनी

tapaḥ sahasrābhyām vinīnī
/*tapaḥsahasrābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *vinīnī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
'*tapaḥ-sahasra*' *śabdābhyām* '*vini-ini*' *ity etau pratyayau bhavato matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affixes *vinI* and *inI* occur, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *tapas* 'penance' and *sahasra* 'a thousand', respectively, when they end in nominative and their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

tapo' syāsmin vidyate = *tapasvī* 'an ascetic who has earned merits through penance, or who has merits'
sahasrī 'one who owns, or has on him, a thousand . . .'

1. The *i* at the end of *vinI* and *inI* is used to indicate that they do not end in *n*. For, in its absence, *n* could have been deleted by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*, read with 1.3.3 *halantyam*.

2. Note that *vinI* and *inI* are introduced after *tapas* and *sahasra*, respectively, in view of 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam*. . . . This assignment of equivalency in view of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*) is, however, not desired here relative of affixal meanings.

Why do we have to make a provision again (*punarvidhāna*) for *vinI* and *inI* when they are already made available after *tapas* and *sahasra*, respectively, by 5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhāsrajo viniḥ* and 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. So that these affixes could not be blocked by affix *aṆ* of the next rule. Affix *aṆ* will

then be introduced in addition to *vinI* and *inI*. Affix *ṭhaN*, however, will be blocked by *aṆ* from occurring after *sahasra*. Why was this rule then not formulated as: *tapaḥsahasrābhyāṃ vinīnyaṇaḥ* to also include 5.2.103 *aṇ ca*? A separate formulation was made because only *aṆ* is carried in subsequent rules. Besides, *vinI* and *inI* are specified without *aṆ* to allow their *yathāsaṃkhya* relative to *tapas* and *sahasra*.

5.2.103 अण् च

aṇ ca
/*aṇ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *vinīnī* #102)
tapaḥsahasrābhyām aṇ ca pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *tapas* and *sahasra* when they end in nominative, provided their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

tāpasaḥ 'an ascetic'
sāhasraḥ 'one who has a thousand . . .'

1. A separate formulation of this rule is needed so that *aṆ* alone could be carried subsequently (*yogavibhāga uttarārthaḥ*). Also refer to notes under the preceding rule.

2. A *vārttika* proposal for *aṆ* is also made after stems headed by *jyotsnā* 'moonlight'. Thus, we get *jyautsnaḥ* in the sense of *jyotsnā vidyate'smin* 'that (fortnight) in which the moon shines', *tāmisraḥ* 'dark fortnight', etc.

5.2.104 सिकताशर्कराभ्यां च

sikatāśarkarābhyām ca
/*sikatāśarkarābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *aṇ* #103)
sikatāśarkarābhyām aṇ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems *sikatā* 'sand' and *śarkarā* 'gravel, sugar' when these end in nominative and their denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

saikato ghaṭaḥ 'a pitcher with sand in it; a pitcher made with the clay which had sand in it'

śārkaraṃ madhu 'honey with sweetness of sugar'

1. Note that derivates of this rule do not denote a place (*deśa*; *Kāś.*: *adeśe ihodāharaṇam*). Our next rule accounts for them instead.

5.2.105 देशे लुबिलचौ च

deśe lubilacau ca

/*deśe* 7/1 *lubilacau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *aṇ* #103, *sikatāśarkarābhyām* #104)

sikatāśarkarābhyāṃ deśe' bhidheye 'lub-ilacau' bhavataḥ cakārād aṇ ca matup ca

The *taddhita* affix *ilaC*, and concurrent deletion by *LUP* as well, occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *sikatā* and *śarkarā* when they end in nominative, provided their derivates denote a place (*deśa*).

EXAMPLES:

sikatā asmin vidyate = *sikatā deśaḥ* 'a place which has, or where there is, sand'
sikatilaḥ 'id.'
saikataḥ 'id.'
sikatāvān 'id.'
śarkarā deśaḥ 'a place full of gravels'
śarkarilaḥ 'id.'
śārkaraḥ 'id.'
śarkarāvān 'id.'

1. Note that affixes *aṆ* and *matUP* also become applicable at the strength of *ca*. A specification by *LUP* requires affixal deletion (*pratyayalopa*). But what affix should go through this deletion? Any, since no particular affix is mentioned. Derivates with affixal deletion will then be similar to their bases: *sikatā* and *śarkarā*. They will, however, retain their original number and gender in view of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane.*

5.2.106 दन्त उन्नत उरच्

danta unnata urac

/*dantaḥ* 1/1 *unnataḥ* 1/1 *urac* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)

dantaśabdād unnatopādhikād urac pratyayo bhavati matvarthe

The *taddhita* affix *uraC* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *danta* 'tooth', when it ends in nominative and is qualified with *unnata* 'prominent, raised'.

EXAMPLES:

dantā unnatā asya santi = danturaḥ 'one who has protruding teeth'

1. Note that *danta*, when not qualified with *unnata*, will receive *matUP* to produce *dantavān* 'one who has teeth'.

5.2.107 ऊषसुषिमुष्कमधो रः

ūṣasuṣimuṣkamadho raḥ
/*ūṣasuṣimuṣkamadhoḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *raḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
'*ūṣa, suṣi, muṣka, madhu*' *ity etebhyo raḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affix *ra* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *ūṣa* 'rich in sodium', *suṣi* 'hole', *muṣka* 'testicle' and *madhu* 'sweet', when these end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

ūṣaraṃ kṣetram 'a field rich in sodium; barren land'
suṣiraṃ kāṣṭham 'wood with holes in it'
muṣkaraḥ paśuḥ 'animals with big testicles'
madhuro guḍaḥ 'sweet jaggery'

1. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for *ra* after *kha* 'big', *mukha* 'mouth' and *kuñja* 'jaw, tusk' to derive *khara* 'donkey', *mukhara* 'talkative' and *kuñjara* 'elephant'. A similar provision is also made for *ra* after *naga* 'mountain', *pāṃśu* 'dust' and *pāṇḍu* 'pale, white' to derive *nagara* 'city', *pāṃśura* 'dusty' and *pāṇḍura* 'white, pale'.

5.2.108 द्युद्रुभ्यां मः

dyudrubhyām maḥ
/*dyudrubhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *maḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
dyudruśabdābhyām maḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *ma* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *dyu* and *dru*, when these end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

dyumaḥ 'sun'
drumaḥ 'tree'

1. A paraphrase parallel to the sense of *matUP* cannot be offered because these words are conventionally fixed in their meanings (*rūḍhiṣu ca punar matub na vikalpyate*).

5.2.109 केशाद्वोऽन्यतरस्याम्

keśād vo' nyatarasyām
/*keśāt* 5/1 *vaḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96)
keśaśabdād vaḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe' nyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *va* occurs optionally to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *keśa* 'hair' when the same ends in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

praśastāḥ keśāḥ yasya = *keśavaḥ* 'he who has beautiful hair; Kṛṣṇa; hairy;'
keśī 'id.'
keśikaḥ 'id.'
keśavān 'id.'

1. The word *anyatarasyām* is already carried here from rule 5.2.96 *prāṇisthādāto laj anyatarasyām*. Why then restate *anyatarasyām*? There is a need to provide for two sets of options. The first *anyatarasyām* would allow an option between *va* and *matUP* (see my notes under 5.2.97 *sidhmādibhyaś ca* for additional details). The second *anyatarasyām* would allow an option between *va* and *inI* and *ṭhaN* (5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*). This last because *keśa* ends in *a*. Obviously, this rule offers four types of derivates.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* finds *va* also after other bases (*vaprakaraṇe anyebhyo'pi dṛśyate*). Thus, *maṇivaḥ* 'snake', *hiraṇyavaḥ* 'treasure; elephant', etc.

5.2.110 गाण्ड्यजगात्संज्ञायाम्

gāṇḍyajagāt saṃjñāyām
/*gāṇḍyajagāt* 5/1 = *gāṇḍī ca ajagaś ca* = *gāṇḍyajagam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *vaḥ* #109)
The *taddhita* affix *va* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *gāṇḍī* 'knot' and *ajaga* 'Viṣṇu' when ending in nominative, provided derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

gāṇḍīvam 'name of Arjuna's bow'
ajagavam 'name of Śiva's bow'

1. Note that *matUP* cannot be introduced here optionally to *va* because derivates denote a name. The first base *gāṇḍī* is also found as ending in short *i*.

5.2.111 काण्डाण्डादीरन्नीरचौ

kāṇḍāṇḍād īrannīracau
/*kāṇḍāṇḍāt* 5/1 = *kāṇḍaś ca aṇḍaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *īran-īracau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
'*kāṇḍa, aṇḍa*' *ity etābhyām yathāsaṃkhyam īran-īracau pratyayau bhavato matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affixes *īraN* and *īraC* occur to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *kāṇḍa* 'arrow' and *aṇḍa* 'eggs', respectively, when they end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

kāṇḍīraḥ 'that which has arrows in it; quiver'
aṇḍīraḥ 'that which has eggs'

5.2.112 रजःकृष्यासुतिपरिषदो वलच्

rajaḥkṛṣyāsutipariṣado valac
/*rajaḥkṛṣyāsutipariṣadaḥ* 5/3 (*sam. dv.*); *valac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
rajaḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo valac pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *valaC* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *rajas* 'menstrual discharge; impurity', *kṛṣi* 'farming', *āsuti* 'pressing out; extraction' and *pariṣat* 'court, assembly', when they end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

rajasvalā 'a woman in her period of menstruation'
kṛṣīvalaḥ 'a farmer; householder'
āsutīvalaḥ śauṇḍikaḥ 'a brewer; one who sells alcohol'
pariṣadvalo rājā 'he who has a court; king'

1. Note that *iti* of 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup* will restrict the scope of derivates. Consequently, one cannot introduce *valaC* after *rajas* to denote *rajo' smin grāme vidyate* 'this village has a lot of dust'. Incidentally, *pariṣat* and *parṣat* are both correct. That is, *parṣadvalaḥ* is also accepted as a derivate. The long replacement for *i* of *kṛṣi* and *āsuti* are in accord with 6.3.118 *vale.*

2. Affix *valaC* is also seen after other stems (*anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate*). Thus consider: *bhrātṛvalaḥ* 'one who has a brother', *putravalaḥ* 'one who has a son' and *utsāhavalaḥ* 'one who has enthusiasm'.

5.2.113 दन्तशिखात्संज्ञायाम्

dantaśikhāt saṃjñāyām
/*dantaśikhāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*) *saṃjñāyām* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *valac* #112)
danta, śikhā-śabdābhyām valac pratyayo bhavati matvarthe saṃjñāyām
The *taddhita* affix *valaC* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *danta* 'tooth' and *śikhā* 'lock of hair on the crown of head; peacock's tail' when they end in nominative, provided derivates signify a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

dantāvalaḥ 'army; an elephant (with big tusks)'
śikhāvalaṃ nagaram 'a city named Śikhāvala'
śikhāvalā sthūṇā 'ritual post'

1. Why can we not derive *śikhāvala* with *valaC* of 4.2.92 *śikhāyā valac*? That affix does not denote the sense of *matUP*. This reintroduction (*punarvidhāna*) of *valaC* is intended for derivates which denote a place. That is why the example: *śikhāvalaṃ nagaram*. Incidentally, the denotatum of *saṃjñā* is responsible for lengthening of *a* of *danta* in *dantāvala* (6.3.116 *vale*).

5.2.114 ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राशृङ्गिणोर्जस्विन्नूर्जस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसाः

jyotsnātamisrāśṛṅgiṇorjasvinnūrjasvalagominmalinamalīmasāḥ
/*jyotsnātamisrāśṛṅgiṇorjasvinnūrjasvalagominmalinamalīmasāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *valac* #112)
jyotsnādayaḥ śabdā nipātyante matvarthe saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
Forms such as *jyotsnā, tamisrā, śṛṅgiṇa, ūrjasvin, ūrjasvala, gomin, malina* and *malīmasa* are derived, via *nipātana*, to denote the sense of *matUP* as a name.

EXAMPLES:

jyotsnā 'moonlight'
tamisrā 'dark night'
śṛṅgiṇaḥ 'that which has horns'
ūrjasvī 'he who has strength'
ūrjasvalaḥ 'id.'
gomī 'one who owns cows'
malinaḥ 'dirty, soiled'
malīmasaḥ 'id.'

1. Affix *na* is introduced via *nipātana* after *jyotiṣ*, with an additional provision, again via *nipātana*, of deletion of *i* to derive *jyotsnā* ending in the feminine affix *ṬāP*. Similar provision of affix *ra* is made after *tamsas* with replacement of its penultimate *a* with *i*. The derivate *tamisrā* also ends in *ṬāP*. Note, however, that feminine is not treated as binding. One may also find examples such as *tamisraṃ nabhaḥ* 'dark sky', a neuter (*napuṃsaka*). Affix *inaC* is introduced after *śṛṅga* to derive *śṛṅgiṇa*. A feminine derivate will be *śṛṅgiṇī* 'cow'. Affixes *vinI* and *valaC* are introduced after *ūrjas* to derive *ūrjasvī* and *ūrjasvala*. *Kāśikā* states that *ūrjas* also receives augment *asUK* via *nipātana* (*ūrjo'sugāgamo nipātyate*). This does not make any sense since *ūrjas* already ends in *as*. Affix *minI* is introduced after *go*, via *nipātana*, to derive *gomin*. Affixes *inaC* and *īmanaC* are similarly introduced after *mala*.

5.2.115 अत इनिठनौ

ata iniṭhanau
/*ataḥ* 1/1 *iniṭhanau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96)
akārāntāt prātipadikād ini-ṭhanau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* occur optionally, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal stem which has *a* as its final and ends in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍam asyāstīti = *daṇḍī* 'one who carries a shaft; a shaft carrying ascetic'
daṇḍikaḥ 'id.'
daṇḍavān 'id.'
chattrī 'one who carries an umbrella'
chattrikaḥ 'id.'
chatravān 'id.'

1. Note that *matUP* is also available on account of *anyatarasyām*. The condition of *aT* rules out this affixal provision after bases not ending in *a*. A derivate of *matUP*, namely *śraddhāvān*, is cited as a counter-example.

A *Ślokavārttika* also rules out affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* after a nominal which either contains a single vowel (*ekāc*), or is a derivate of *kṛt*, or else, denotes *jāti* 'class'. These affixes are also not introduced when the denotatum is *saptamī* 'locative'. We find derivates of *matUP* alone in these instances. Thus, *svavān* 'rich', *kārakavān* 'full of doers', *vyāghravān* 'full of tigers'. A derivate such as *daṇḍavatī*, parallel to *daṇḍāḥ santi asyāṃ śālāyām* 'a house in which there are many shafts', must have *matUP* because of the sense of *saptamī*.

Note, however, that *iti* of 5.2.94 *asyāsty asminn iti matup* is used for restricting the scope of the derivate. Consequently, there are derivates which do not comply with the preceding restrictions. Thus, we also get *kāryī* (*kārya* + *inI*), *kāryikaḥ* (*kārya* + *ṭhaN*) and *taṇḍulī* (*taṇḍula* + *inI*), *taṇḍulikaḥ* (*taṇḍula* + *ṭhaN*), etc. These last two examples involve *jāti*.

5.2.116 व्रीह्यादिभ्यश्च

vrīhyādibhyaś ca
/*vrīhyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96, *iniṭhanau* #115)
vrīhyādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya iniṭhanau pratyayau bhavataḥ matvarthe
The *taddhita* affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* occur optionally, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *vrīhi* 'wild rice', when the stems end in nominative and their denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti*.

EXAMPLES:

vrīhī 'one who has rice; that which contains rice'
vrīhikaḥ 'id.'
vrihimān 'id.'

1. There are two *vārttika* proposals which further restrict the introduction of *inI* and *ṭhaN* after stems of the *brīhyādi* group. Thus, *inI* alone is introduced after *śikhā*, *mālā* and *saṃjñā*. Affix *ikaN*, instead, is introduced after *yavakhada*, *kumārī* and *nau*. Incidentally, earlier grammarians used *ikaN* for Pāṇini's *ṭhaN*.

2. Note that *vrīhi* is also included in the *tundādi* group of the following rule. These affixes also become valid there at the strength of *ca* 'and'. Why should *vrīhi* be included in the *vrīhyādi* group when it can avail all affixal provisions at the strength of its inclusion in the *tundādi* group? The inclusion of *vrīhi* in *tundādi* group thus indicates that stems synonymous with *vrīhi* could also avail these affixal provisions. Consequently, we will also get: *śālilaḥ* (*ilaC*), *śālī* (*inI*), *śālikaḥ* (*ṭhaN*) and *śālimān* (*matUP*), parallel to *vrīhilaḥ*, *vrīhī*, *vrīhikaḥ* and *vrīhimān*.

5.2.117 तुन्दादिभ्य इलच्च

tundādibhya ilac ca
/*tundādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *ilac* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96, *iniṭhanau* #115)
The *taddhita* affix *ilaC* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of

locative, after syntactically related nominal stems listed in the group headed by *tunda* 'navel, potbelly', when the stems end in nominative and their denotata are qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

tundilaḥ 'one who has a potbelly'
tundī 'id.'
tundikaḥ 'id.'
tundavān 'id.'
udarilaḥ/udarī/udarikaḥ/udaravān 'id.'

1. The word *ca* is used for bringing *inI* and *ṭhaN.* Affix *matUP* is brought via *anyatarasyām* of 5.2.96 *prāṇisathād āto. . . .*

5.2.118 एकगोपूर्वाट्ठञ् नित्यम्

ekagopūrvāt ṭhañ nityam
/ekagopūrvāt 5/1 = *ekaś ca gauś ca* = *ekagāvau; tau pūrvau yasya* = *ekagopūrvaḥ, tasmāt* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *ṭhaÑ* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
ekapūrvād gopūrvāc ca prātipadikān nityaṃ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs, obligatorily, to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after a syntactically related nominal stem which begins with *eka* 'one' and *go* 'cow', and ends in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

aikaśatikaḥ 'one who has a hundred . . .'
aikasahasrikaḥ 'one who has a thousand . . .'
gauśatikaḥ 'one who owns a hundred cows'
gausahasrikaḥ 'one who owns a thousand cows'

1. The word *nitya* is used to block the introduction of *matUP. Kāśikā* states that *ilaC* should be introduced only after specified bases when they end in *a* (*ata ity eva*). This will rule out the introduction of *ilaC* after *ekaviṃśati*, etc. How would one derive *aikagavikaḥ* where the stem, namely *ekago,* does not end in *a.* One can still derive *aikagavikaḥ* with *ilaC* if it is introduced after *aikagava,* resulting from *ekago* after the addition of the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* (5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki*). Stems such as *gauśakaṭikaḥ* could also be derived provided *śakaṭa,* a synonym of *śakaṭī,* is used after *go.* This condition of *aT* 'ending in *a*' is also important for 5.2.128 *dvandvopatāpagarhyāt.*

5.2.119 शतसहस्रान्ताच्च निष्कात्

śatasahasrāntāc ca niṣkāt

/śatasahasrāntāt 5/1 = *śatañ ca sahasrañ ca* = *śatasahasre; te ante yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ϕ *niṣkāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *ṭhañ* #118)
śatāntāt sahasrāntāc ca prātipadikāṭ ṭhañ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe, tau cec chatasahasraśabdau niṣkāt parau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaÑ* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *śata* 'hundred' and *sahasra* 'thousand' when they occur after *niṣka* 'a gold coin', and end in nominative, provided their denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

niṣkaśatam asyāsti = *naiṣkaśatikaḥ* 'one who has a hundred Niṣka'
naiṣkasahasrikaḥ 'one who possesses a thousand Niṣka'

1. Affix *ṭhaÑ* cannot be introduced after *suvarṇaniṣkaśata* because of lack of usage (*anabhidhānāt*).

5.2.120 रूपादाहतप्रशंसयोर्यप्

rūpād āhatapraśaṃsayor yap
/rūpāt 5/1 *āhatapraśaṃsayoḥ* 7/2 *yap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94)
āhatapraśaṃsāviśiṣṭārthe vartamānād rūpaśabdād yap pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *yaP* occurs to denote the sense of genitive, or of locative, after syntactically related nominal stem *rūpa* 'shape, form' when its signification is qualified with *āhata* 'stamped, punched', or *praśaṃsā* 'praise', and it ends in nominative, provided its denotatum is qualified with the denotatum of *asti.*

EXAMPLES:

āhataṃ rūpam asya = *rūpyo dīnāraḥ* 'a stamped coin; Dīnāra'
praśastaṃ rūpam asyāsti = *rūpyaḥ puruṣaḥ* 'he who has beautiful features'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *āhata* as 'a form which appears on coins such as Dīnāra, etc., by stamping, etc., with Nighātikā, a steel tool' (*nighātikātāḍanādinā dīnārādiṣu rūpaṃ yad utpadyate tad āhatam ity ucyate*). The twin conditions of *āhatapraśaṃsayoḥ* is necessary for blocking *yaP* against *matUP* in examples such as *rūpavān* 'beautiful'. A *vārttika* attests that *yaP* is also found occurring after other stems (*anyebhyo'pi dṛśyate*). Consider *himyāḥ parvatāḥ* 'mountains with snow' and *guṇyāḥ brāhmaṇāḥ* 'brāhmaṇas with qualities'.

5.2.121 अस्मायामेधास्रजो विनिः

asmāyāmedhāsrajo viniḥ
/asmāyāmedhāsrajaḥ 5/1 = *as ca māyā ca medhā ca srak ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; viniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin iti* #94, *anyatarasyām* #96)
asantāt prātipadikāt 'māyā, medhā, sraj' ity etebhyaś ca viniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *vinI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which either ends in *as*, or is constituted by *māyā* 'illusion', *medhā* 'intellect' and *sraj* 'garland'.

EXAMPLES:

yaśasvī 'one who has acquired fame; renowned'
tapasvī 'one who has earned merit through penance'
māyāvī 'one who creates illusion; sorcerer'
medhāvī 'one who has intelligence'
sragvī 'one who possesses garlands'

1. Note that *matUP* can also be introduced as an option to *vinI*. Bases which end in *as* are given as part of a general specification (*sāmānyanirdeśa*). Three particular bases, i.e., *māyā, medhā,* and *sraj,* are specified as particulars (*viśeṣa*).

5.2.122 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/bahulam 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
chandasi viṣaye bahulaṃ viniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *vinI* occurs, variously (*bahulam*), to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

agne tejasvin 'O Agni!, you who possess brilliance'

1. Note that *bahulam* 'variously' also indicates non-application (*apravṛtti*). Consequently, we do not find *vinI* in *sūryo varcasvān* 'sun with brilliance'.

A series of *vārttika* proposals have been made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to account for numerous derivates, again at the strength of *bahulam.* For example, *vinI* occurs also after *aṣṭrā* 'goad', *mekhalā* 'girdle', *dvaya* 'twofold', *ubhaya* 'both', *rujā* 'affliction' and *hṛdaya* 'heart' to derive *aṣṭrāvī, mekhalāvī, dvayāvī,*

ubhayāvī, rujāvī and *hṛdayāvī*. A derivate such as *marmāvī* is derived with *vinI* introduced after *marman* with lengthening of its second *a*. Derivates such as *āmayāvī* are approved for both Vedic and Classical languages (*sarvatra*).

Affix *ārakaN* is proposed for deriving *śṛṅgāraka* 'beautifier' and *vṛndāraka* 'excellent' from *śṛṅgāra* 'beautification' and *vṛnda* 'multitude', respectively. Affix *inaC* is similarly proposed to derive *phalina* 'fruit-free' and *barhiṇa* 'peacock' from *phala* 'fruit' and *barha* 'feathered tail'. An optional proposal for *āluC* is made to derive *hṛdayālu* 'generous' from *hṛdaya* 'heart', where, because of *anyatarasyām*, *inI*, *ṭhaN* and *matUP* could also be introduced. Thus we also get: *hṛdayī, hṛdayika* and *hṛdayavān*. Affix *āluC* also occurs after *śīta* 'cold', *uṣṇa* 'heat, hot' and *tṛpra* 'grief' to derive *śītālu, uṣṇālu* and *tṛprālu* to denote the sense of *na sahate* 'cannot endure'. The same meaning is denoted by *himelu* where affix *elu* is proposed after *hima* 'snow, frost'. But also consider *balūla* 'one who cannot endure power' where affix *ūlaC*, instead, is introduced after *bala* 'strength'. This same affix is also recommended after *vāta* 'wind' to derive *vātūla* with dual denotation of *na sahate* and *samūha* 'group'. The words *parvata* and *maruta* are stated as derived with affix *taN* introduced after *parva* and *maru*. Affix *inI* derives *arthī* 'needy' only when lack of money (*arthābhāva*) is denoted. Elsewhere, *matUP* will be introduced to derive *arthavān* 'rich', instead.

These diverse applications are all made possible at the strength of *bahulam*.

5.2.123 ऊर्णाया युस्

ūrṇāyā yus

/*ūrṇāyaḥ* 5/1 *yus* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)

ūrṇāśabdād yus pratyayo bhavati matvarthe

The *taddhita* affix *yuS* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *ūrṇā* 'wool'.

EXAMPLES:

ūrṇā'sya vidyate = *ūrṇāyuḥ* 'that which possesses wool; wooly'

1. The *S* of *yuS* is intended for facilitating the assignment of the term *pada* (1.4.16 *siti ca*). Some also include here the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*. That is, they consider the scope of this rule as also including Vedic.

5.2.124 वाचो ग्मिनिः

vāco gminiḥ/

/*vācaḥ* 5/1 *gminiḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)

vācśabdāt gminiḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *gminI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *vāc* 'speech', when the same ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

vāggmī 'eloquent speaker'
vāggminau 'nom. dual of *vāggmin*'
vāggminaḥ 'nom. plural of *vāggmin*'

5.2.125 **आलजाटचौ बहुभाषिणि**

ālajāṭacau bahubhāṣiṇi
/*ālaj-āṭacau* 1/2 *bahubhāṣiṇi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *vācaḥ* #124)
vācśabdāt prathamāsamarthād 'ālac, āṭac' ity etau pratyayau bhavato matvarthe bahubhāṣiṇy abhidheye
The *taddhita* affixes *ālaC* and *āṭaC* occur to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *vāc* when it ends in nominative, provided the derivate signifies *bahubhāṣin* 'one who talks too much'.

EXAMPLES:

vācālaḥ 'one who talks too much'
vācāṭaḥ 'id.'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* restricts these derivates in the sense of *kutsā* 'censure'. Elsewhere, derivates of the preceding rule will be used.

5.2.126 **स्वामिन्नैश्वर्ये**

svāminn aiśvarye
/*svāmin* 1/1 *aiśvarye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
svaśabdād aiśvarye gamyamāne matvarthe āmin pratyayo nipātyate
The *taddhita* affix *āmin* occurs, via *nipātana*, to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *sva* 'one's own', provided the derivate signifies *aiśvarya* 'grandeur, affluence'.

EXAMPLES:

svam asyāstīti = *svāmī* 'one who is affluent'
svāminau 'nominative dual of *svāmin*'
svāminaḥ 'nominative plural of *svāmin*'

1. The condition of *aiśvarya* blocks the introduction of *āmin* after *sva* when its derivate denotes something else. Thus, *matUP* alone derives: *svavān* 'one who has relatives'.

5.2.127 अर्शआदिभ्योऽच्

arśaādibhyo' c
/arśaādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *arśas ādi yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
arśas ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo' c pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *arśas* 'hemorrhoids' when the same ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

arśāṃsi asya vidyante = *arśasaḥ* 'one who suffers from hermorrhoids'
urasaḥ 'one who has a broad chest'

1. The *arśa-ādi* is considered as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*). Consequently, other stems could also receive affix *aC*, provided derivates denote the sense of *asyāsti* 'one whose it is'. The 'it' of 'whose it is', of course, refers to the denotatum of the stem (*Kāś.*: *yatrābhinnarūpeṇa śabdena tadvato'-bhidhānaṃ tat sarvam iha draṣṭavyam*). A couple of *gaṇasūtras* recommend *aC* after stems denoting *svāṅga* 'one's limb' and *varṇa* 'color'. Derivates of *svāṅga* will denote *hīna* 'lacking'. Thus, *khañjaḥ* 'one whose leg is amputated'. Words such as *śuklaḥ* 'that which is white' and *kṛṣṇaḥ* 'that which is black' are examples of stems with the signification of *varṇa*.

5.2.128 द्वन्द्वोपतापगर्ह्यात्प्राणिस्थादिनिः

dvandvopatāpagarhyāt prāṇisthād iniḥ
/dvandvopatāpagarhyāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *prāṇisthāt* 5/1 *iniḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
dvandvaḥ = *samāsaḥ*, *upatāpaḥ* = *rogaḥ*, *garhyam* = *nindyam*, *tadviṣayebhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ prāṇisthārthavācibhyaḥ iniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which is either a compound termed *dvandva*, or is a stem with the signification of *upatāpa* 'disease', or *garhya* 'deserving of censor', when the stems end in nominative and their denotata has *prāṇin* 'sentient being' as locus.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭakavalayinī 'she who wears gold bracelets and armlets'

śaṅkhanūpuriṇī 'she who wears conch-shells and anklets'
kuṣṭhī 'one who is leprous'
kilāsī 'id.'
kakudāvartin 'a bull with affiicted hump'
kākatāluki 'one who has a crow's palate; a person with enlarged neck glands (contemptible)'

1. Note that *prāṇiṣṭhāt* means '. . . located in a sentient being'. The affix, however, is not desired (*neṣyate*) after stems denoting a limb (*prāṇyaṅga*). Thus, *hastapādavatī* 'a woman with hands and feet' is derived with *matUP*. Affix *matUP* is also introduced after stems such as *puṣpaphalavān vṛkṣaḥ* 'tree with flowers and fruits' where *vṛkṣa* is not considered as *prāṇin* 'sentient'.

2. *Kāśikā* states that *ata* of 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau* should be carried here so that *inI* could not be introduced after *citralalāṭikā*, a *dvandva* compound ending in *ā*.

5.2.129 **वातातिसाराभ्यां कुक्च**

vātātisārābhyām kuk ca
/*vātātisārābhyām* 5/2 *kuk* 1/1 *ca* φ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
vātātisāraśabdābhyām iniḥ pratyayo bhavati tatsanniyogena ca tayoḥ kug āgamo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *vāta* 'rheumatism; inflammation of the joints' and *atisāra* 'diarrhea', with the additional provision of augment *kUK*, when these stems end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

vātakī 'one who is afflicted with rheumatism'
atisārakī 'one who is afflicated with diarrhea'

1. These derivates could be accounted for by the preceding rule since *vāta* and *atisāra* denote afflictions (*upatāpa*). A separate formulation is needed so that augment *kUK* could be introduced in conjunction with *inI*. The *Mahābhāṣya* also approves *inI* after *piśāca* 'goblin, fiend' for deriving *piśācakin* 'Kubera, the lord of goblins or fiends' (*piśācāc ceti ca vaktavyam*). Note, however, that derivates of this rule generally denote someone with affliction (*roge cāyam iṣyate*). That is why *vātavatī* 'windy' is derived with *matUP*.

5.2.130 **वयसि पूरणात्**

vayasi pūraṇāt
/*vayasi* 7/1 *pūraṇāt* 5/1

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
pūraṇapratyayāntāt prātipadikād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe vayasi dyotye
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which terminates in a *pūraṇa* suffix and is used with nominative, provided derivates denote *vayas* 'age'.

EXAMPLES:

pañcamo māso'syāsti saṃvatsaro vā = *pañcamī uṣṭraḥ* 'a camel whose five months, or years, have elapsed; five months old or five years old'
navamī 'nine months, or nine years, old camel'

1. Note that stems ending in a *pūraṇa* affix necessarily in *a*. Consequently, affix *inI* is already available to them from 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. Why restate it? This restatement (*punarvidhāna*) is made so that *ṭhaN* is blocked and *inI* alone is introduced (*Kāś.*: *siddhe sati niyamārthaṃ vacanam. inir eva bhavati, ṭhan na bhavati*). The condition of *vayas* is required so that, elsewhere, *matUP* alone could be used. Thus, we get *matUP* in *pañcamavān* of *pañcamavān grāmarāgaḥ* 'a village with excessive noise'.

5.2.131 सुखादिभ्यश्च

sukhādibhyaś ca
/*sukhādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *sukham ādi yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
'*sukha*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ iniḥ pratyayo niyamyate matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *sukha* 'comfort, happiness', when the stem ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

sukhī 'one who is happy'
duḥkhī 'one who is sad'

1. The word *mālā* is also read in the *sukhādi* group. Recall that the *vrīhyādi* group (5.2.116 *vrīhyādibhyaś ca*) also includes *mālā*. Inclusion of *mālā* is made here so that *inI* alone could be used when the derivate denotes *kṣepa* 'censure, contempt'. Affix *inI* thus blocks *matUP*. Why is *inI* not intended here for blocking *ṭhaN*? A *vārttika* under 5.2.116 *vrīhyādibhyaś ca* has already proposed this blocking.

5.2.132 धर्मशीलवर्णान्ताच्च

dharmaśīlavarṇāntāc ca

/dharmaśīlavarṇāntāt 5/1 = *dharmaś ca śīlañ ca varṇaś ca* = *dharmaśīlavarṇāḥ; te ante yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
dharmādyantāt prātipadikād iniḥ pratyayo niyamyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem used in construction with *dharma* 'duty, law', *śīla* 'characteristic habit' and *varṇa* 'caste' as its final constituent, when the stem ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇānāṃ dharmo brāhmaṇadharmaḥ; so'syāstīti = *brāhmaṇadharmī* 'he who follows the duties required of a brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇaśīlī 'one whose characteristic habits are same as that of a brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇavarṇī 'one who is a brāhmaṇa by caste'

1. Note that *inI* is here offered to block affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* which both become available from 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau.* That is, this rule is restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. Consequently, *inI* alone is to be used after specified stems.

5.2.133 **हस्ताज्जातौ**

hastāj jātau
/hastāt 5/1 *jātau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
hastaśabdāt iniḥ pratyayo niyamyate matvarthe samudāyena cej jātir abhidhīyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *hasta* 'hand' when the same ends in nominative, provided the derivate signifies *jāti* 'class, species'.

EXAMPLES:

hasto'syāstīti = *hastī* 'one which has a hand (trunk); elephant'
hastinau 'nominative dual of *hastin*'
hastinaḥ 'nominative plural of *hastin*'

1. Note that the derivate must denote *jāti* by itself. Commentators offer a counter-example in *hastavān*, a derivate of *matUP*, as in *hastavān puruṣaḥ* 'a man with hands', where *hastavān* denotes *jāti* only due to its association with *puruṣaḥ* 'man'.

5.2.134 **वर्णाद् ब्रह्मचारिणि**

varṇād brahmacāriṇi

/varṇāt 5/1 *brahmacāriṇi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
varṇaśabdād iniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe samudāyena ced brahmacārī bhaṇyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stem *varṇa* when ending in nominative, provided the derivate signifies a *brahmacārin* 'an initiate in pursuit of knowledge'.

EXAMPLES:

varṇī 'one who has been initiated to study'
varṇinau 'nominative dual of *varṇin*'
varṇinaḥ 'nominative plural of *varṇin*'

1. The word *brahmacārin* is explained as 'an initiate who practices a certain code of conduct while studying' (*Kāś.*: . . . *vidyāgrahaṇārtham upanīto brahma carati*). A *brahmacārin* could thus be a brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya or vaiśya. We will get *varṇavān*, a derivate of *matUP*, outside this meaning of *brahmacārin*.

5.2.135 पुष्करादिभ्यो देशे

puṣkarādibhyo deśe
/puṣkarādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *puṣkaram ādi yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *deśe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
'puṣkara' ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya iniḥ pratyayo bhavati samudāyena ced deśo' bhidhīyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *puṣkara* 'lotus' when the stem ends in nominative, provided the derivate denotes *deśa* 'place'.

EXAMPLES:

puṣkaraṃ padmaṃ vā asya asti = *puṣkariṇī* 'a small pond with lotuses'
padminī 'id.'

1. The condition of *deśe* is used for restricting the meaning of derivates. That is, *matUP* is to be used outside the denotatum of *deśa*. Thus, we get: *puṣkaravān hastī* 'elephant', where *puṣkara* means *karihastāgra* 'front end of elephant's trunk'.

2. Several *vārttika* proposals are made to account for diverse derivates. Thus, *inI* is approved after *bala* 'strength', used in construction after *bāhu* 'arm' and *uru* 'chest'. This will give *bāhubalī* 'brave; one who has strong arms' and *urubalī* 'brave; one who has strong chest'. Stems beginning with *sarva*

are also allowed to have derivates with *inI*. Consider: *sarvadhanī* 'rich in every respect', etc. Affix *inI* is also introduced after *artha* when not used in the sense of *sannihita* 'poximate, within easy reach'. Thus we get *arthī* 'desirous of obtaining; needy' as opposed to *arthavān* 'wealthy', a derivate of *matUP*. Affix *inI* is also introduced after a compound stem which contains *artha* as its final constituent (*tadantāc ceti*). This gives us: *dhānyārthī* 'one who needs grains', *hiraṇyārthī* 'one who desires for gold', etc.

5.2.136 बलादिभ्यो मतुबन्यतरस्याम्

balādibhyo matub anyatarasyām
/*balādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *matup* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
balādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo matup pratyayo bhavati anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *matUP* occurs optionally to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem listed in the group headed by *bala* 'strength' when the same ends in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

balavān 'one who has strength; powerful'
balī 'id.'
utsāhī 'one who has enthusiasm, or drive'

1. This optional provision of *matUP* is made here optionally to *inI*. Recall that affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN* are already available to *balādi* group of nominals from 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. The *anyatarasyām* of 5.2.96 *prāṇisthād āto*. . . would have easily provided for *matUP* in addition. Why then use *anyatarasyām* here? This rule uses *anyatarasyām* to cancel *ṭhaN*, and provide for *matUP*, optionally with *inI*.

5.2.137 संज्ञायां मन्माभ्याम्

saṃjñāyāṃ manmābhyām
/*saṃjñāyāṃ* 7/1 *manmābhyām* 5/2 = *man ca maś ca* = *manmau*, *tābhyām*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94, *iniḥ* #128)
mannantāt prātipadikān maśabdāntāc ca iniḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthe samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *inI* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem which contains *man*, or *ma*, as its final and ends in nominative, provided derivates signify a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

prathiminī 'that which possesses an expanse; the earth'

dāminī 'that which has a streak; lightning'
hominī 'a female sacrificer'
sominī 'a female who performs the Soma sacrifice'

1. Affix *matUP* will be introduced where derivates do not denote a name. Thus, *homavān* 'one who has ritual oblations' and *somavān* 'one who has Soma'.

5.2.138 **कंशंभ्यां बभयुस्तितुतयसः**

kaṃśaṃbhyām babhayustitutayasaḥ
/kaṃśaṃbhyām 5/2 = *kaṃ ca śaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ba-bha-yus-ti-tuta-yas-aḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
'*kam-śam*' *iti makārāntāv udakasukhayor vācakau*; *tābhyām* '*ba, bha, yus, ti, tu, ta, yas*' *ity ete sapta pratyayā bhavanti matvarthe*
The *taddhita* affixes *ba, bha, yus, ti, tu, ta* and *yas* occur to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *kam* 'water' and *śam* 'happiness', when they end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

kambaḥ 'one who has water'
kambhaḥ 'id.'
kaṃyuḥ 'id.'
kantiḥ 'id.'
kantuḥ 'id.'
kantaḥ 'id.'
kaṃyaḥ 'id.'
śambaḥ 'one who has happiness'
śambhaḥ 'id.'
śaṃyuḥ 'id.'
śantiḥ 'id.'
śantuḥ 'id.'
śantaḥ 'id.'
śaṃyaḥ 'id.'

1. The *S* in *yuS* and *yaS* intended for assignment of the term *pada* (1.4.16 *siti ca*). Consequently, *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* 'replacement homogeneous with what follows' of rules 8.3.83 *mo' nusvāraḥ* and 8.4.59 *vā padāntasya* is accomplished. Other derivates do not pose any problems relative to these applications.

5.2.139 **तुन्दिबलिवटेर्भः**

tundibalivaṭer bhaḥ

/ tuṇḍa-bali-vaṭeḥ 5/1 (*sam. dv.*) *bhaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
'tuṇḍi, bali, vaṭi' ity etebhyo bhaḥ pratyayo bhavati matvarthé
The *taddhita* affix *bha* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *tuṇḍi* 'pot-belly, enlarged navel', *bali* 'wrinkles' and *vaṭi* 'sweet-balls', when these end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

tuṇḍibhaḥ 'one who has a pot-belly'
balibhaḥ 'one who has wrinkles'
vaṭibhaḥ 'one who has sweet-balls'

1. Note that *bali* is also included in the *pāmādi* group of nominals. Consequently, *balinaḥ*, a derivate of *na*, is additional (5.2.100 *lomādipāmādi* . . .).

5.2.140 अहंशुभमोर्युस्

ahaṃśubhamor yus
/ ahaṃ-śubhamoḥ 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *yus* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tad asyāsty asmin* #94)
'aham' ity śabdāntaram ahaṅkāre vartate, 'śubham' ity avyayaṃ śubhaparyāyaḥ, tābhyām yus pratyayo bhavati matvarthe
The *taddhita* affix *yuS* occurs to denote the sense of *matUP* after syntactically related nominal stems *aham* 'ego' and *śubham* 'auspicious' when they end in nominative.

EXAMPLES:

ahaṃyuḥ 'egotist'
śubhaṃyuḥ 'auspicious'

1. Affix *yuS*, at the strength of *S* as an *it*, facilitates the assignment of the term *pada*. Consequently, operations relative to *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* become possible.

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) informs that those who do not read *chandasi*, via *anuvṛtti*, in rule 5.2.123 *ūrṇāyā us*, should also read *ūrṇā* here (*PM*: *'ūrṇāyā yus' ity atra ye 'chandasi' iti nānuvartayanti teṣām atraivorṇāgrahaṇaṃ karttavayam*).

PĀDA THREE

5.3.1 प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः

prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ
/ prāk ϕ *diśaḥ* 5/1 *vibhaktiḥ* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *vā* #4.1.82)

diksaṃśabdanāt prāg yān ita ūrdhvam abukramisyāmo vibhaktisaṃjñās te veditavyāḥ

The *taddhita* affixes which, from here on prior to *diśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamā*. . . (5.3.27), occur optionally after a nominal stem, are termed *vibhakti*.

EXAMPLES:

See under subsequent rules.

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *samarthānām* and *prathamāt* from 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* is no longer valid. For, semantico-syntactic conditions which enable a base to become *samartha* no longer obtain. The question of carrying *prathamāt* 'after the first' does not arise since what are specified hereafter are single bases. The *vā* 'optionally', of course, is to be carried since derivates of affixes *tasIL*, etc., are used optionally. Thus, *kutaḥ* 'from where', *kutra* 'where', both derivates of *tasIL*, are used optionally with *kasmāt* and *kasmin*. A question is raised against dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *samarthānām* and *prathamāt* but, at the same time, carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *vā*. For, specifications made jointly in a rule cannot be carried, or be dropped, in part. They have to be either carried, or be dropped, only jointly (*Paribhāṣā* (18): *ekayoganirdiṣṭānāṃ saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha vā nivṛttiḥ*). Commentators explain that, in certain cases, even a partial *anuvṛtti* could be allowed (*Paribhāṣā* (19): *ekayoganirdiṣṭānāṃ kvacid ekadeśo'py anuvarttate*). In such cases, the form which is to be carried is marked with *svarita*. This clears the way for *vā* alone to be carried.

2. This rule also assigns the term *vibhakti* to affixes introduced hereafter. We know that affixes denoted by the abbreviatory terms *sUP* and *tiÑ* are termed *vibhakti* (1.4.104 *vibhaktiś ca*). The express purpose of assigning this term also to affixes introduced in this domain is to facilitate some operational provisions. Consider rule 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* whereby *a* replaces the final sound-segment of *tyad* 'that', etc., provided an affix termed *vibhakti* followed. This is what commentators call an instance of *tyadādividhi* 'operations relative to *tyad*, etc.' Derivates such as *tataḥ* and *yataḥ*, derived from *ta*(*d*→*a*) + *tasIL* and *ya*(*d*→*a*) + *tasIL* also illustrate this. The term *vibhakti*, in addition to facilitating *tyadādividhi*, is also instrumental in saving the final *s* and *m* of affixes from being termed *it* (1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ*). Thus, the final *m* of *dānīm* (5.3.18 *dānīṃ ca*) is saved from *it*-deletion.

The term *vibhakti* is also instrumental in determining accent. Consider the derivation of *itaḥ* 'hereafter', from *idam* + *tasIL* = (*idam*→*i*(*Ś*→ϕ) + *tas* (*IL*→ϕ) = *i* + *tas*→*itas*), where *idam* is replaced with *iŚ* of 5.3.3 *idamo iś*. Given *i* + *tas*, where *tasIL* is marked with *L* as an *it*, rule 6.1.93 *liti* will apply to mark

i as *udātta.* But because affix *tasIL* is termed *vibhakti,* rule 6.1.171 *ūḍidam-padād*... assigns *udātta* accent for *tas.*

5.3.2 किंसर्वनामबहुभ्योऽद्व्यादिभ्यः

kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ
/*kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *advyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *dviḥ ādir yeṣām* = *dvyādiḥ; na dvyādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
kimaḥ sarvanāmno bahuśabdāc ca prāg diśaḥ pratyayā veditavyāḥ
The *taddhita* affixes, introduced hereafter prior to *vibhakti,* also occur optionally after a nominal stem which, either consists of *kim* 'who, what, which', or of items termed *sarvanāman* 'pronoun' with the exclusion of its subgroup headed by *dvi* 'two', etc., or else, consists of *bahu* 'many'.

EXAMPLES:

See under subsequent rules.

1. Note that *kim* is also included within items termed *sarvanāman.* But since it is enumerated after *dvi,* and hence, is covered by the negation of *advyādibhyaḥ,* its separate mention becomes necessary. Incidentally, because of its association with stems termed *sarvanāman, bahu* is also interpreted here as a *saṃkhyā.* That is, *bahu* refers to the *bahu* of 1.1.23 *bahugaṇavatuḍati saṃkhyā* (cf. *Mahābhāṣya* (*vt*): *bahugrahaṇe saṃkhyāgrahaṇam*). Consequently, affixes *tasIL* (5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil*) and *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*) cannot be introduced after *bahu,* parallel to *bahoḥ sūpāt* '... from too much soup' and *bahau sūpe* '... in too much soup' where *bahu* is not a *saṃkhyā.* It denotes abundance instead (*vaipulya*). The condition of *advyādibhyaḥ* blocks introduction of affixes *tasIL* and *traL* after ablative and locative forms of *dvi,* i.e., *dvābhyām* and *dvayoḥ,* respectively.

5.3.3 इदम इश्

idama iś
/*idamaḥ* 6/1 *iś* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
idama 'iś' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati prāgdiśīyeṣu pratyayeṣu parataḥ
The form *iŚ* comes in place of nominal stem *idam* 'this' when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

iha 'here'

1. Note that *Ś* as an *it* (in *iŚ*) is intended for facilitating total replacement (*sarvādeśa*, 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). Thus, (*idam*→*i*(*S*→ϕ)) + *ha* = *iha*, where affix *ha* is introduced after *idam* by 5.3.11 *idamo haḥ*.

5.3.4 एतेतौ रथोः

etetau rathoḥ
/*etetau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *rathoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
rephathakārādau prāgdiśīye pratyaye parata idama etetāv ādeśau bhavataḥ
The word forms *eta* and *it* occur, in place of *idam*, when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* which begins with *rA* and *th* follows.

EXAMPLES:

etarhi 'now, at this time'
ittham 'in this manner, this way'

1. Note that *eta* and *it* constitute exceptions to replacement in *iŚ*. The *a* in *rA* is for ease of articulation (*Kāś.*: *repho'kāra uccāraṇārthaḥ*). Thus we get: (*idam*→*eta*) + *rhiL*)) = *etarhi*, and (*idam*→*it*) + *tham*(*U*→ϕ) = *ittham*, where affixes *rhiL* and *thamU* have been introduced by 5.3.16 *idamo rhil* and 5.3.24 *idamas thamuḥ*, respectively.

5.3.5 एतदोऽन्

etado'n
/*etadaḥ* 6/1 *an* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
etadaḥ prāgdiśīye parato'ś ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word form *an* comes in place of *etad* 'this' when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ataḥ 'therefore'
atra 'here'
etarhi 'at this time'
ittham 'thus'

1. *Kāśikā* reads *aŚ*, and not *an*, as a replacement. I have accepted *an* in consonance with the *Mahābhāṣya*. A split-interpretation of this rule read with the preceding is proposed, again by the *Mahābhāṣya*. This will yield two interpretations:

(*i*) *etado etetau rathoḥ* '*eta* and *it* come in place of *etad* when an affix

termed *vibhakti* which begins with *rA* and *th* follows'; and

(*ii*) *etado'n* '*an* comes in place of *etad* when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* follows.'

That is, *an* will replace *etad* when an affix other than one which begins with *rA* and *th* follows.

2. Note that two readings of *aŚ* and *aṇ* do not create any problem. The first, at the strength of its *Ś* as an *it*, replaces *etad* in toto. The second loses its *n* subsequently through the application of 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.*

5.3.6 सर्वस्य सोऽन्यतरस्यां दि

sarvasya so'nyatarasyāṃ di

/*sarvasya* 6/1 *saḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *di* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)

sarvasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati prāgdiśīye dakārādau pratyaye parato' nyatarasyām

The word form *sa* comes in place of *sarva,* optionally, when a *taddhita* affix termed *vibhakti* which begins with *d* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sarvadā 'always'
sadā 'id.'

1. This replacement in *sa* is restricted to the context of affixes of this domain. Elsewhere, for example in *sarvadā brāhmaṇī.* 'a brāhmaṇa woman who gives away everything', *sarva* cannot be replaced with *sa.* This *sarvadā* is a derivate of *Ka* (3.2.3 *āto'nupasarge kaḥ*), used in feminine, with *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭaP*).

2. Note that *di* is a form of *d* used in *saptamī* 'locative'. Consequently, in view of *paribhāṣā* (34): *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe* 'a specification made with a single sound-segment used as a qualifier in locative, refers to that which begins with it', we get the interpretation: 'when an affix termed *vibhakti* which begins with *d* follows'.

5.3.7 पञ्चम्यास्तसिल्

pañcamyās tasil

/*pañcamyāḥ* 5/1 *tasil* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2)

pañcamyantebhyaḥ kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyas tasil pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *tasIL,* termed *vibhakti,* occurs optionally after a nominal stem, when these stems end in *pañcamī* 'the fifth triplet of *sUP*'.

EXAMPLES:

kutaḥ 'from where, whence'
yataḥ 'that from where, whence (relative)'
tataḥ 'from there, thereafter'
bahutaḥ 'from many sides; in many ways'

1. The word-forms *pañcamyāḥ* and *saptamyāḥ* of these rules could be interpreted as ending in *pañcamī* 'ablative' and *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' both. A *pañcamī* interpretation, however, is desired (*iṣṭa*). A *ṣaṣṭhī* interpretation will introduce *tasIL* and *traL* as replacements which, in turn, will create problems. Since these affixes are specified without any express mention of their denotatum, they will be treated as denoting their stem-notion (*prātipadikārtha*).

2. Note that replacements offered by 5.3.2 *kiṃsarvanāma* . . ., etc., will apply before 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* to derived forms. This will facilitate the application of 2.4.71 *supodhātuprātipadikayoḥ* whereby their nominal endings will be deleted. They will then be termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable' in view of 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*. This will subsequently cause deletion of *sU* introduced after them.

Refer also to my notes under 5.3.2 *kiṃsarvanāma*. . . .

5.3.8 तसेश्च

taseś ca
/ *taseḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo'dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *tasil* #7)
taseḥ kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ parasya tasil ādeśo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasIL*, termed *vibhakti*, also comes in place of *tasI* introduced after a nominal stem which, either consists of *kim* or of stems termed *sarvanāman*, though with the exclusion of the subgroup headed by *dvi*, or else, consists of *bahu*.

EXAMPLES:

kuta āgataḥ '. . . arrived from where'
yataḥ 'from the place which . . .'
tataḥ 'from that place'
bahuta āgataḥ '. . . arrived from all sides'

1. Notes that affix *tasI* is also introduced after stems which end in *pañcamī*. Rule 5.4.44 *pratiyoge pañcamyāś tāsiḥ* introduces *tāsI* when the stems cooccurs with *prati*. Rule 5.4.45 *apādāne*. . . introduces it optionally after a stem which ends in *pañcamī*, denoting *apādāna* (1.4.24 *dhruvam apāye*. . .). Our present rule replaces *tasI* when it occurs after bases specified.

2. Derivates of *tasIL* and *tasI* do not differ in form. However, replacing *tasI* by *tasIL* is functional. It facilitates operations relative to (*i*) the assignment of the term *vibhakti*; and (*ii*) accentuation based upon *L* as an *it* (6.1.87 *liti ca*).

5.3.9 पर्यभिभ्यां च

paryabhibhyām ca
/*paryabhibhyām* 5/2 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *tasil* #7)
'*pari, abhi*' *ity etābhyām tasil pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *tasIL*, termed *vibhakti*, also occurs after nominal stems *pari* and *abhi*.

EXAMPLES:

paritaḥ 'from all sides'
abhitaḥ 'from both sides'

1. *Kāśikā* emphasizes that *tasIL* is desired only when *pari* and *abhi* are used with the sense of *sarva* 'all' and *ubhaya* 'both', respectively.

5.3.10 सप्तम्यास्त्रल्

saptamyās tral
/*saptamyāḥ* 1/1 *tral* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2)
kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ saptamyantebhyas tral pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *traL*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after a nominal stem which, either consists of *kim* or of stems termed *sarvanāman*, though with the exclusion of the subgroup headed by *dvi*, or else, after *bahu*, when the stems end in *saptamī* 'locative'.

EXAMPLES:

kutra 'where'
yatra 'the place where'
tatra 'there'
bahutra 'in many places'

5.3.11 इदमो हः

idamo haḥ
/*idamaḥ* 5/1 *haḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, ... *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *saptamyāḥ* #10)

idamaḥ saptamyantādd haḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ha*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *idam* when it ends in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

iha 'here'

1. Note that *ha* is introduced as an exception to *traL* of the preceding rule.

5.3.12 **किमोऽत्**

kimo't
/*kimaḥ* 5/1 *at* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *saptamyāḥ* #10)
kimaḥ saptamyantād at pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aT*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *kim* 'what, which, who', when it ends in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

kva 'where'

1. This again is an exception to *traL*. Some even bring *vā* from the following rule, and still derive *kutra* 'where' optionally with *kva*. We can derive *kva* from *kim* + *a* where *kim* is replaced with *kva* of 7.2.105 *kvāti*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will delete the final *a* of *kva* before *a*. The *sU* after *kva* + *sU* will be deleted (2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*) consequent upon assisgnment of the term *avyaya* (1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*).

2. Why is *T* of *aT* termed an *it* when 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ* negates it? This negation is *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. We know it from the non-obligatory nature of this negation from 5.3.24 *idamas thamuḥ*, where *U* is used to save *m* from being termed an *it*. But no such effort is made to save the *m* of *dānīm* of 5.3.18 *dānīṃ ca*.

5.3.13 **वा ह च च्छन्दसि**

vā ha ca chandasi
/*va* ϕ *ha* (deleted 1/1) *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kimaḥ* #12)
kimaḥ saptamyantād vā haḥ pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ha*, termed *vibhakti*, optionally occurs in Vedic, after nominal stem *kim* when it ends in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

> *kva* 'where'
> *kuha* 'id.'
> *kutra* 'id.'

5.3.14 इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते

itarābhyo'pi dṛśyante
/ *itarābhyaḥ* 5/3 *api* ϕ *dṛśyante* (verbal *pada*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1)
itarābhyo vibhaktibhyas tasilādayo dṛśyante
The *taddhita* affixes termed *vibhakti* are also seen after nominal stems which end in other endings.

EXAMPLES:

> *tato bhavān dīrghāyur āyuṣmān devānāṃpriya* . . . you sir! long-living, with long life, dear to gods.
> *taṃ bhavantam = tato bhavantam/ tatra bhavantam* . . .
> *tena bhavatā = tato bhavatā/ tatra bhavatā* . . .
> *tasmai bhavate = tato bhavate/ tatra bhavate* . . .
> *tasmād bhavataḥ = tato bhavataḥ/ tatra bhavataḥ* . . .
> *tasya bhavataḥ = tato bhavataḥ/ tatra bhavataḥ* . . .
> *tasmin bhavati = tato bhavati/ tatra bhavati* . . .

1. Note that *itarābhyaḥ* is stated relative to *pañcamī* and *saptamī*. Our verbal form *dṛśyante* indicates a commonly available operational option (*Kāś.*: *dṛśigrahaṇaṃ prāyikavidhyartham*). It is therefore interpreted as 'seen', usually in conjunction with *bhavat*, etc. (*bhavadādi*), where *bhavat*, etc., are explained as *bhavat*, *dīrghāyu*, *āyuṣmat* and *devānāṃpriya*. That an affix can be introduced after any form of these stems is shown by examples of *bhavat*. One can similarly illustrate *tato dīrghāyuḥ/ tatra dīrghāyuḥ*, etc.

5.3.15 सर्वैकान्यकिंयत्तदः काले दा

sarvaikānyakiṃyattadaḥ kāle dā
/ *sarvaikānyakiṃyattadaḥ* 5/1 = *sarvaś ca ekaś ca anyaś ca kim ca yac ca tac ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kāle* 7/1 *dā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, . . . *prātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10)
sarvādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo dā pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *dā*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs to denote the sense of *kāla* 'time' after nominal stems *sarva* 'all', *eka* 'one', *anya* 'another', *kim* 'what, which, who', *yad* 'that which (relative), and *tad* 'that', when they end in *saptamī*.

EXAMPLES:

> *sarvasmin kāle* = *sarvadā* 'always, at all times'
> *ekasmin kāle* = *ekadā* 'once, at one time'
> *anyasmin kāle* = *anyadā* 'at some other time'
> *kasmin kāle* = *kadā* 'when, at what time'
> *yasmin kāle* = *yadā* 'at the time which'
> *tasmin kāle* = *tadā* 'at that time, then'

1. Note that *itarābhyaḥ* is not carried. This rule requires the *anuvṛtti* of *saptamī*, instead. The condition of *kāle* restricts derivates to signify 'time'. For, elsewhere, we find *sarvatra*, a derivate of *traL*, as in *sarvatra deśe* 'everywhere in the country'.

5.3.16 इदमो र्हिल्

> *idamo rhil*
> /*idamaḥ* 5/1 *rhil* 1/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15)
> *idamaḥ saptamyantāt kāle vartamānād rhil pratyayo bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *rhiL*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *idam* 'this' when it ends in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

> *asmin kāle* = *etarhi* 'at this time'

1. Note that *rhiL* is an exception to *ha* of 5.3.11 *idamo haḥ*. The *L* as an *it* in the affix is used for accent (*svarārthaḥ*; 6.1.193 *liti*).

5.3.17 अधुना

> *adhunā*
> /*adhunā* ϕ/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15, *idamaḥ* #16)
> *adhunā iti nipātyate*
> The *taddhita* affix *dhunā*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs, via *nipātana*, after nominal stem *idam* when it ends in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla*.

EXAMPLES:

> *asmin kāle* = *adhunā* 'at this time; now'

1. Note that *idam* receives *dhunā*, and is replaced with *aŚ*, both via *nipātana*. The *Mahābhāṣya* accepts *adhunā* itselt as an affix where *aŚ* replaces *idam*,

and subsequently gets deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The derivate is then marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*), via *nipātana*.

5.3.18 दानीं च

dānīṃ ca
/*dānīm* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15, *idamaḥ* #16)
idamaḥ saptamyantāt kāle vartamānād dānīm pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *dānīm*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *idam* when it ends in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

asmin kāle = *idānīm* 'at this time; now'

5.3.19 तदो दा च

tado dā ca
/*tadaḥ* 5/1 *dā* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15, *dānīm* #18)
tadaḥ saptamyantāt vartamānād dā pratyayo bhavati cakārād dānīṃ ca
The *taddhita* affix *dā*, termed *vibhakti*, and *dānīm* as well, occurs after nominal stem *tad* 'that' when it ends in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

tasmin kāle = *tadā*/ *tadānīm* 'at that time, then'

1. Note that introducing *dā* after *tad* when it has already been made available by 5.3.15 *sarvaikānya*... does not make any sense (*anarthakam*). The *ca* is used for bringing *dānīm*.

5.3.20 तयोर्दार्हिलौ च च्छन्दसि

tayor dārhilau ca cchandasi
/*tayoḥ* 6/2 *dārhilau* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15)
tayor idamaḥ tadaś ca yathāsaṃkhyaṃ dā-rhilau pratyayau bhavataś chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *dā* and *rhiL*, termed *vibhakti*, occur, in Vedic, after the two nominal stems *idam* and *tad*, respectively, in addition to *dānīm*, when the stems end in *saptamī* with the signification of *kāla*.

EXAMPLES:

asmin kāle = *idā* 'at this time, now'
tasmin kāle = *tarhi* 'at that time, then'
idānīm 'now'
tadānīm 'then'

1. Note that *ca* is again used for bringing *dānīm*, optionally with *dā* and *rhiL*.

5.3.21 अनद्यतने र्हिलन्यतरस्याम्

anadyatane rhil anyatarasyām
/*anadyatane* 7/1 *rhil* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15)
kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ saptamyantebhyo' nadyatane kālaviśeṣe vartamānebhyo rhil pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *rhiL* optionally occurs after syntactically related nominal stem *kim*, and after stems termed *sarvanāman* with the exclusion of the subgroup headed by *dvi*, and after *bahu* as well, when these stems end in *saptamī*, provided derivates signify a particular time (*kāla*) characterized as *anadyatana* 'not pertaining to the current'.

EXAMPLES:

karhi 'when?'
kadā 'id.'
yarhi 'at the time when'
yadā 'id.'
tarhi 'then'
tadā 'id.'

1. Note that *chandasi* is not carried since it is a general provision (*sāmānyena vidhānam*). This optional provision of *rhiL* is made against *tasIL*, etc.

5.3.22 सद्यः परुत्परार्यैषमः परेद्यव्यद्यपूर्वेद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युरुभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्युः

sadyaḥ parutparāryaiṣamaḥ paredyavyadyapūrvedyuranyedyuranyataredyuritaredyuraparedyuradharedyurubhayedyuruttaredyuḥ
/*sadyaḥ-parut-parāry-aiṣamaḥ-paredyavi-adya-pūrvedyur-anyedyur-anyataredyur-itaredyur-aparedyur-adharedyur-ubhayedyur-uttaredyuḥ* (all indeclinables)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *saptamyāḥ* #10, *kāle* #15)
sadyaḥprabhṛtayaḥ śabdā nipātyante
Diverse *taddhita* affixes, termed *vibhakti*, occur after variety of nominal

stems to derive *sadyaḥ, parut, parāri, paredyavi, adya, pūrvedyuḥ, anyedyuḥ, anyataredyuḥ, itaredyuḥ, aparedyuḥ, adharedyuḥ, ubhayedyuḥ,* and *uttaredyuḥ,* via *nipātana,* when the stems end in *saptamī* and derivates signify *kāla.*

EXAMPLES:

samāne' hani = sadyaḥ 'same day, today'
pūrvasmin saṃvatsare = parut 'last year'
pūrvatare saṃvatsare = parāri 'year before last'
asmin saṃvatsare = aiṣamaḥ 'this year'
parasminn ahani = paredyavi 'next day, tomorrow'
asminn ahany = adya 'today'
pūrvasminn ahani = pūrvedyuḥ 'on the day that preceded; yesterday'
anyasminn ahani = anyedyuḥ 'on the other day'
anyatarasminn ahani = anyataredyuḥ 'on the next day'
itarasminn ahani = itaredyuḥ 'on the other day'
aparasminn ahani = aparedyuḥ 'id.'
adharasminn ahani = adharedyuḥ 'id.'
ubhayor ahnoḥ = ubhayedyuḥ 'on both days'
uttarasminn ahani = uttaredyuḥ 'next day'

1. Note that *prakṛti* 'base', *pratyaya* 'affix', *ādeśa* 'replacement' and *kālaviśeṣa* 'particular time', all is gotten via *nipātana.* The *Mahābhāṣya* explains *nipātana* of individual derivates as follows:

(*i*) *sadyaḥ* derives in the sense of *samāne ahani* 'same day' from *samāna* + *dyaḥ* where *samāna* is replaced with *sa;*
(*ii*) *parut* and *parāri* derive from *pūrva* + *ut* and *pūrvatara* + *ārī* where *para* replaces both the bases, provided *saṃvatsara* 'year' is denoted;
(*iii*) *aiṣamaḥ* derives from *idam* + *samas* where *idam* is replaced with *iŚ,* provided *saṃvatsara* is denoted.
(*iv*) *paredyavi* derives from *para* + *edyavi* when *ahan* 'day' is denoted;
(*v*) *adya* derives from *idam* + *dya* where *aŚ* replaces *idam,* provided *ahan* is denoted;
(*vi*) affix *edyus* is introduce after *pūrva, anya, anyatara, itara, apara, adhara, ubhaya* and *uttara* to derive *pūrvedyuḥ, anyedyuḥ, anyataredyuḥ, itaredyuḥ, aparedyuḥ, adharedyuḥ, ubhayedyuḥ,* and *uttaredyuḥ,* also when *ahan* is denoted; and
(*vii*) *ubhayadyuḥ* derives from *ubhaya* + *dyus* when *ahan* is denoted.

5.3.23 **प्रकारवचने थाल्**

prakāravacane thāl
/*prakāravacane* 7/1 *thāl* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyo' dvyādibhyaḥ* #2) *prakāravṛttibhyaḥ kiṃsarvanāmabahubhyaḥ svārthe thāl pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *thāL*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *kim*, or after stems termed *sarvanāman* with the exclusion of the subgroup headed by *dvi*, or after *bahu*, when the stems are used with the denotation of *prakāra* 'kind, manner, mode'.

EXAMPLES:

tena prakāreṇa = *tathā* 'in that manner'
yena prakāreṇa = *yathā* 'in the manner which'
sarvathā 'in every way'
bahuthā 'in many ways'

1. Note that *saptamī* and *kāle* are both dropped from *anuvṛtti*. The word *prakāra* is used in the sense of 'a particular which distinguishes its general counterpart' (*sāmānyasya bhedako viśeṣaḥ*). Thus, *brāhmaṇa* is *sāmānya* 'general' which can be distinguished by *devadatta*, etc., its particulars (*viśeṣa*). A derivate of *thāL* is thus used in the sense of a particular (*viśeṣa*) used as a qualifier to the general, a qualified. Affix *jātīyaR* is similar but it is used with the sense of a qualified (5.3.69 *prakāravacane jātīyar*). Affix *thāL* simply denotes *prakāra* 'kind, type'.

5.3.24 इदमस्थमुः

idamas thamuḥ
/*idamaḥ* 5/1 *thamuḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *prakāravacane* #23)
idam-śabdāt prakāravacane thamuḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *thamU*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs after nominal stem *idam* when the derivate signifies *prakāra*.

EXAMPLES:

anena prakāreṇa = *ittham* 'in this manner; thus'

1. This constitutes as an exception to *thāL*. The *U* in *thamU* is used for saving *m* from deletion via assignment of the term *it*. This *U* also indicates that 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ* is *anitya* 'non-obligatory' in nature. Note that *idam* is replaced with *it* of 5.3.4 *etetau rathau*.

5.3.25 किमश्च

kimaś ca
/*kimaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ɸ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *prakāravacane* #23, *thamuḥ* #24)
kiṃśabdāt prakāravacane thamuḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *thamU*, termed *vibhakti*, also occurs after nominal stem *kim* when the derivate signifies *prakāra*.

EXAMPLES:

kena prakāreṇa = *katham* 'in what manner; how'

1. A separate formulation of this rule is made so that *kim* alone could be carried to the next rule. Our base *kim* is replaced with *ka* of 7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ*.

5.3.26 **था हेतौ च च्छन्दसि**

thā hetau ca cchandasi
/ *thā* 1/1 *hetau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* #1, *prakāravacane* #23, *kimaḥ* #24)
kiṃśabdādd hetau vartamānāt thā pratyayo bhavati cakārāt prakāravacane chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *thā*, termed *vibhakti*, occurs in Vedic after nominal stem *kin* when *hetu* 'cause, reason' or *prakāra* 'kind, type' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kathā grāmaṃ na pṛcchasi 'For what reason are you not asking about the village?'
kathā devā āsan purāvidaḥ 'what kind of brāhmaṇas were those who knew about the ancient times?'

1. This concludes the section of *taddhita* affixes termed *vibhakti*.

5.3.27 **दिक्शब्देभ्यः सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः**

dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ
/ *dikśabdebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *diśāṃ śabdāḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyaḥ* 5.3 (*itar. dv.*); *digdeśakāleṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *astātiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
digśabdebhyo digdeśakāleṣu vartamānebhyo saptamīpañcamīprathamāntebhyo' stātiḥ pratyayo bhavati svārthe
The *taddhita* affix *astātI* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *saptamī*, *pañcamī* and *prathamā*, when *diś* 'direction', *deśa* 'location' and *kāla* 'time' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvasyām/ pūrvasyāḥ/ pūrvā vā diśā = *purastād vasati* 'he lives in the east'
purastād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from the east'

purastād ramaṇīyam 'it was beautiful earlier'
adhastād vasati 'he lives down below (in the south)'
adhastād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from down below'
adhastād ramaṇīyam 'subsequently beautiful'

1. Note that *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in accord with enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .)' is not desired. Derivates will denote their base-meaning (*svārtha*) since no particular meaning is specified. A derivate such as *purastāt* can denote all three meanings, and could be derived by introducing *astātI* after *pūrva*, etc., ending in any one of three nominal endings.

2. Note that the affix could be introduced only after a base which primarily denotes 'direction'. Thus, *aindrī* '. . . pertaining to Indra' will be ruled out even though it also used in the sense of 'direction'. The conditions of *saptamī*, *pañcamī* and *prathamā* will rule out *pūrvam* of *pūrvam grāmaṃ gataḥ* 'he went to the earlier village' because it is used with *dvitīyā* 'accusative'. The meaning conditions of *diś*, *deśa* and *kāla* will rule out introduction of *astātI* after *pūrva* + *Ṅī*, of *pūrvasmin gurau vasati* 'he studies with an eastern teacher', because *pūrvasmin* denotes 'teacher' by way of being a qualifier.

The *I* in *astātI* is used to save *t* from deletion (*LOPA*). Deriving *purastāt* and *adhastāt*, etc., from *pūrva* + *Ṅī* and *adhara* + *Ṅī* will require *pur* and *adh*, respectively, as replacements for *pūrva* and *adhara* (5.3.40 *astāti ca*).

5.3.28 दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतसुच्

dakṣiṇottarābhyām atasuc
/*dakṣiṇottarābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *atasuc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
dakṣiṇottarābhyām digdeśakāleṣu vartamānābhyāṃ saptamīpañcamīprathamāntābhyāṃ svārthe tasuc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *atasUC* occurs after nominal stems *dakṣiṇa* 'south' and *uttara* 'north', when they end in *saptamī*, *pañcamī* and *prathamā*, provided *diś*, *deśa* and *kāla* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇasyāṃ diśī vasati = *dakṣiṇato vasati* 'he lives in the south'
dakṣiṇata āgataḥ 'he has come from the south'
dakṣiṇato ramaṇīyam 'the south is beautiful'
uttarato vasati 'he lives in the north . . .'
uttarata āgataḥ 'he has come from the north'
uttaraṃ ramaṇīyam 'subsequently beautiful'

1. Note that the meaning of *kāla* is impossible to associate with *dakṣiṇa*. It

can only be associated with *diś* and *deśa*. The *a* of *atasUC* distinguishes it from *tasIL* in references such as *tasartha* and *atasartha* (2.3.30 *ṣaṣṭhy atasartha-pratyayena*). For, in its absence, a reference with *tasartha* would also include reference to the sense of *tasIL*. Deriving these forms will require *bha-saṃjñā* and deletion of *ā* in *dakṣiṇā, uttarā*, etc.

5.3.29 **विभाषा परावराभ्याम्**

vibhāṣā parāvarābhyām
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *parāvarābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
parāvaraśabdābhyām vibhāṣā[1] *tasuc pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe*
The *taddhita* affix *atasUC* occurs, optionally, after nominal stems *para* 'that which is on the other side' and *avara* 'that which is on this side', when they end in *saptamī, pañcamī* and *prathamā*, provided *diś, deśa*, and *kāla* is denoted.

Examples:

parasmin diśi vasati = *parastād vasati* 'he lives in the other direction'
parataḥ vasati 'id.'
parastād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from the other side'
parata āgataḥ 'id.'
parastād ramaṇīyam 'beautiful on a different occasion'
parato ramaṇīyam 'id.'
avarastād vasati 'he lives on this side'
avarato vasati 'id.'
avarastād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from this side'
avarata āgataḥ 'id.'
avarasmād ramaṇīyam 'it is beautiful at this time'
avarato ramaṇīyam 'id.'

1. Note that affix *atasUC* will be introduced optionally with *astātI* on account of *vibhāṣā*.

5.3.30 **अञ्चेर्लुक्**

añcer luk
/ *añceḥ* 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
añcatyantebhyaḥ dikśabdebhya uttarasyāstātipratyayasya luk bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *astātI* is deleted by *LUK* when it occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *diś* and contains *añcU* as its final constituent.

EXAMPLES:

prācyām diśi vasati = *prāg vasati* 'he lives in the east'
prāg āgataḥ 'he has come from the east'
prāg ramaṇīyam 'previously beautiful'
pratyag vasati 'he lives in the west'
pratyag āgataḥ 'he came from a western place'
pratyag ramaṇīyam 'subsequently beautiful'

1. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

5.3.31 उपर्युपरिष्टात्

uparyupariṣṭāt
/ *uparyupariṣṭāt* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
'*upari, upariṣṭāt*' *ity etau śabdau nipātyete astāter arthe*
The *taddhita* derivates *upari* and *upariṣṭāt* are *upariṣṭāt* are derived, via *nipātana,* to denote the sense of *astātI.*

EXAMPLES:

upari 'upper side, place, or time'
upariṣṭāt 'id.'

1. Note that *uparis* is derived from *ūrdhva* + *riL* where *ūrdhva* is replaced with *upa.* Our second example also involves *ūrdhva*→*upa* = *upa* as its base but the affix is *riṣṭātIL.* Of course, the sense of all three nominal endings is also valid.

5.3.32 पश्चात्

paścāt
/ *paścāt* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
'*paścāt*' *ity ayam śabdo nipātyate*' *stāter arthe*
A *taddhita* derivate, namely *paścāt,* is derived via *nipātana,* to denote the sense of *astātI.*

EXAMPLES:

paścād diśi vasati '. . . lives in the west'

paścād āgataḥ '. . . has come from a western place'
paścād ramaṇīyaḥ 'subsequently beautiful'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains that *paścāt* is derived with affix *ātI* introduced after *apara*, subsequently replaced with *paśca*. A *vārttika* also approves *atI* after *apara* when used with a preceding constituent denoting *diś* 'direction'. Consider *dakṣiṇapaścāt* and *uttarapaścāt* where *apara* is again replaced with *paśca*. This replacement in *paśco* for *apara* is also applicable where *apara* is part of a base where a directional word precedes and *ardha* follows it (*vt.*: *ardhottarapadasya dikpūrvapadasya paścabhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). But this replacement is also valid where *apara* is followed by *ardha* but no directional word precedes it (*vt.*: *vināpi pūrvapadena paścabhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). An example is: *paścārdhaḥ*.

5.3.33 पश्च पश्चा च च्छन्दसि

paśca paścā ca cchandasi
/*paśca* 1/1 *paścā* 1/1 *ca* φ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
'*paśca-paścā*' *śabdau nipātyete chandasi viṣaye astāter arthe*
A *taddhita* affix occurs, in Vedic via *nipātana*, to derive *paśca* and *paścā*, and *paścāt* as well, in the sense of *astātI*.

EXAMPLES:

paro vyāpto jāyate = *paśca* 'west, western place, subsequent time'
paścā 'id.'
paścāt 'id .'

1. Note that *apara* is replaced again with *paśca*, and affixes *a* and *ā* are introduced to derive *paśca* and *paścā*, respectively.

5.3.34 उत्तराधरदक्षिणादाति

uttarādharadakṣiṇād ātiḥ
/*uttarādharadakṣiṇāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ātiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
uttarādharadakṣiṇaśabdebhyaḥ ātiḥ pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe
The *taddhita* affix *ātI* occurs after nominal stems *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakṣiṇa*, when they end in *saptamī*, *pañcamī*, and *prathamā*, provided *diś*, *deśa* and *kāla* are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

uttarasyām diśi vasati = *uttarād vasati* 'he lives in the north'
uttarād āgataḥ 'he has come from the north'
uttarād ramaṇīyam 'it is beautiful hereafter'
adharād vasati 'he lives down below'
adharād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from a place down below'
adharād ramaṇīyaḥ 'it was beautiful earlier'
dakṣiṇād vasati 'he lives in the south'
dakṣiṇād āgataḥ 'he has arrived from a place in the south'

5.3.35 एनबन्यतरस्यामदूरेऽपञ्चम्याः

enab anyatarasyām adūre'pañcamyāḥ
/*enap* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *adūre* 7/1 *apañcamyāḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *uttarādharadakṣiṇāt* #34)
The *taddhita* affix *enaP* occurs optionally after nominal stems *uttara*, *adhara* and *dakṣiṇa* with the signification of *diś*, when they end in *saptamī* and *prathamā*, though not in *pañcamī*, provided derivates signify *diś*, *deśa* and *kāla* as 'non-distant' (*adūra*).

EXAMPLES:

uttareṇa vasati 'he lives nearby in the north'
uttarād vasati 'id.'
uttarato vasati 'id.'
adhareṇa vasati 'he lives nearby down below'
adharād vasati 'id.'
adhastād vasati 'id.'
dakṣiṇena vasati 'he lives nearby in the south'
dakṣiṇād vasati 'id.'
dakṣiṇato vasati 'id.'

1. Affix *enaP* is introduced optionally with *ātI* and *atasUC*, in case of *uttara* and *dakṣiṇa*. It is introduced after *adhara*, optionally with *ātI* and *astātI*, where 5.3.40 *astāti ca* replaces *adhara* with *adh*. This replacement itself serves as an indicator that *astātI* is introduced after *adhara*.

Note that the condition of *adūra* 'not far' must be met. What should we accept here as referent of 'non-distant'? Obviously, it has to be *dig*, *deśa* or *kāla*. Similar exclusion is made for *enaI*, to occur after a stem in *pañcamī* 'ablative'. Thus, **uttareṇa āgataḥ* cannot be used optionally with *uttarād āgataḥ*.

Some do not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *uttara*, *dakṣiṇa* and *adhara*. They simply introduced *enaP* after a base which denotes *diś*. This can account for: *pūrveṇa*

grāmam 'not far from the village in the east', *apareṇa grāmam* 'not far from the village in the west'.

5.3.36 दक्षिणादाच्

dakṣiṇād āc
/*dakṣiṇāt* 5/1 *āc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *pañcamyāḥ* #35)
dakṣiṇaśabdād āc pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe
The *taddhita* affix *āC* occurs, to denote the sense of *astātI,* after nominal stem *dakṣiṇa* when the same ends in *saptamī* and *prathamā,* though not in *pañcamī.*

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇā vasati 'he lives in the south'
ḍakṣiṇa ramaṇīyam 'the south is beautiful'

1. The *C* in *āC* is intended for qualification (*viśeṣaṇārtham*) as in 2.3.39 *añcūttarapadājāhiyukte. . . .*

5.3.37 आहि च दूरे

āhi ca dūre
/*āhi* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *dūre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *apañcamyāḥ* #35)
dakṣiṇaśabdād āhiḥ pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe cakārād āc
The *taddhita* affix *āhi,* and *āC* as well, occur to denote the sense of *astātI* after nominal stem *dakṣiṇa,* when it ends in *saptamī* and *prathamā,* though not in *pañcamī,* and derivates signify *diś, deśa* and *kāla* as distant (*dūra*).

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇādhi vasati 'he lives far in the south'
dakṣiṇā vasati 'id.'
dakṣiṇāhi ramaṇīyam 'the far south is beautiful'
dakṣiṇā ramaṇīyam 'id.'

1. Affix *atasUC* will be introduced if the condition of *dūre* 'distant' is not met. The same will be introduced after a base ending in *pañcamī* 'ablative'. Thus, *dakṣiṇato vasati* and *dakṣiṇata āgataḥ,* respectively.

5.3.38 उत्तराच्च

uttarāc ca
/*uttarāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *apañcamyāḥ* #35, *dūre* #37)
uttaraśabdād āj-āhī pratyayau bhavataḥ astāter arthe dūre ced avadhimān avadher bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *āC* and *āhī* occur to denote the sense of *astātI* also after nominal stem *uttara* when it ends in *saptamī* and *prathamā*, though not in *pañcamī*, provided derivates signify *diś*, *deśa* and *kāla* as 'distant'.

EXAMPLES:

uttarā vasati 'he lives far in the north'
uttarāhi vasati 'id.'
uttarā ramaṇīyam 'the far north is beautiful'
uttarāhi ramaṇīyam 'id.'

5.3.39 पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरधवश्चैषाम्

pūrvādharāvarāṇām asi puradhavaś ca eṣām
/*pūrvādharāvarāṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *asi* (1/1 deleted) *puradhvaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ *eṣām* 6/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27)
pūrvādharāvarāṇām asiḥ pratyayo bhavati astāter arthe
The *taddhita* affix *asI* occurs to denote the sense of *astātI* after nominal stems *pūrva*, *adhara* and *avara*, when they end in *saptamī*, *pañcamī* and *prathamā*, with an additional provision that the stems be replaced with *pur*, *adh* and *av*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

puro vasati 'he lives in the east'
pura āgataḥ 'he has come from the east'
puro ramaṇīyam 'the east is beautiful'
adho vasati 'he lives down below'
adha āgataḥ 'he has arrived from down below'
adho ramaṇīyam 'the place down below is beautiful'
avo vasati 'he lives on the lower side'
ava āgataḥ 'he has come from the lower side'
avo ramaṇīyam 'the lower side is beautiful'

1. Note that the condition of *apañcamyāḥ* is removed. That is, this affixal

provision will be made after specified bases ending in all three nominal endings. The word *asi* is specified here without any nominal ending (*avibhaktika-nirdeśa*).

5.3.40 अस्ताति च

astāti ca
/*astāti* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *pūrvādharāvarāṇāṃ puradhavaḥ* #39)
astāti pratyaye parataḥ pūrvādīnāṃ yathāsaṃkhyaṃ purādaya ādeśā bhavanti
Nominal stems *pūrva, adhara* and *avara* are replaced with *pur, adh* and *av*, respectively, when the *taddhita* affix *astātI* follows.

EXAMPLES:

purastād vasati
adhastād vasati

1. This replacement provision also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for *astātI* introduced after bases specified. For, in its absence, the replacement will not make any sense. Furthermore, it also indicates that *astātI* is not blocked by *asI*.

5.3.41 विभाषाऽवरस्य

vibhāṣā' varasya
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1/ *avarasya* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dikśabdebhyaḥ saptamīpañcamīprathamābhyo digdeśakāleṣv astātiḥ* #27, *pūrvādharāvarāṇāṃ puradhavaḥ* #39)
avarasyāstātau parato vibhāṣā 'av' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The nominal stem *avara* is replaced with *av*, only optionally, when the *taddhita* affix termed *astātI* follows.

EXAMPLES:

avastād vasati 'he lives in the west'
avarastād vasati 'id.'
avastād āgataḥ 'he has come from a place in the west'
avarastād āgataḥ 'id.'
avastād ramaṇīyam 'the west is beautiful'
avarastād ramaṇīyam 'id.'

5.3.42 संख्याया विधार्थे धा

saṃkhyāyā vidhārthe dhā

/*saṃkhyāyaḥ* 5/1 *vidhārthe* 7/1 *dhā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
saṃkhyāvācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo vidhārthe vartamānebhyo dhā pratyayo bhavati svārthe.
The *taddhita* affix *dhā* occurs after a nominal stem which consists of a *saṃkhyā* 'number', used with the denotatum of *vidhā* 'mode, manner, kind'.

EXAMPLES:

ekadhā bhuṅkte 'he eats in particular manner'
dvidhā gacchati 'he goes in two different ways'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that the scope *vidhā* is restricted here to *kriyā* 'action'. That is, *vidhā* denotes a mode of action. Thus, *ekadhā* of *ekadhā bhuṅkte* denotes a fixed manner in which someone eats.

5.3.43 **अधिकरणविचाले च**

adhikaraṇavicāle ca
/*adhikaraṇavicāle* 7/1 = *adhikaraṇasya vicālaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #42)
adhikaraṇavicāle gamyamāne saṃkhyāyaḥ svārthe dhā pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *dhā* also occurs after a nominal stem which consists of *saṃkhyā* 'number', when *adhikaraṇa-vicāla* 'distribution of substances into numbers' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ekaṃ rāśiṃ pañcadhā kuru 'divide this single heap into five parts'
anekam ekadhā kuru 'make these five parts into one'

1. The word *adhikaraṇa* of *adhikaraṇa-vicāla* is interpreted here as *dravya* 'substance' because it serves as locus for 'class' (*jāti*), etc. The word *vicāla* is explained as 'turning something into what it otherwise was not'. Since *vicāla* is here used in association with *saṃkhyā* 'number', *adhikaraṇa-vicāla* is explained as 'turning something into a number in which it was previously not'. That is, turning one into many, or many into one (*Kāś.*: *adhikaraṇam = dravyam, tasya vicālaḥ = saṃkhyāntarāpādānam ekasyānekīkaraṇaṃ, anekasya vā ekīkaraṇam*).

5.3.44 **एकाद्धो ध्यमुञन्यतरस्याम्**

ekād dho dhyamuñ anyatarasyām
/*ekāt* 5/1 *dhaḥ* 1/1 *dhyamuñ* 1/1 *anaytarasyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ekaśabdāt parasya dhāpratyayasya dhyamuñ ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
A substitute in *dhyamUÑ* comes optionally in place of the *taddhita* affix *dhā* occurring after *eka* 'one'.

EXAMPLES:

ekadhā rāśiṃ kuru 'make one heap'
aikadhyaṃ rāśiṃ kuru 'id.'
ekadhā bhuṅkte 'he eats in a fixed manner'
ekadhyaṃ bhuṅkte 'id.

1. Note that the two earlier rules introduces affix *dhā* in the sense of *vidhā* 'mode of action' and *adhikaraṇa-vicāla* 'change in quantity of substances', respectively. Why do we have to state *dhā* explicitly when the context could easily provide it? This explicit mention of *dhā* is made so that *dhā* of *vidhā* could also be replaced with *dhyamUÑ*. Recall that without this explicit mention of *dhā*, only the most immediate *dhā* (*avyavahita*), i.e., that of *adhikaraṇa-vicāla*, could be replaced. The last two examples illustrate the *dhā* of *vidhā* 'mode of action'. Incidentally, a derivate of *dhyamUÑ* would entail initial *vṛddhi* because of its *Ñ* as an *it*.

5.3.45 द्वित्र्योश्च धमुञ्

dvitryoś ca dhamuñ
/ *dvitryoḥ* 5/2 *ca* ϕ *dhamuñ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhaḥ* #44)
dvitroḥ sambandhino dhāpratyayasya vidhārthe' dhikaraṇavicāle ca vihitasya dhamuñ ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
A substitute in *dhamuÑ* also comes, optionally, in place of the *taddhita* affix *dhā* which denotes *vidhā* and *adhikaraṇa-vicāla*, and occurs after nominal stems *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three'.

EXAMPLES:

dvidhā/ dvaidham 'in two ways; into two'
tridhā/ traidham 'in three ways; into three'

1. A *vārttika* also approves affix *Ḍa* after a stem which ends in *dhamUÑ*. The sense of *Ḍa* is given as *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Thus: *dvaidh*(*am*→ϕ) + (*Ḍ*→ϕ) *a*)) = *dvaidha* and *traidh*(*am*→ϕ) + (*Ḍ*→ϕ) *a*)) = *traidha*, where *ṭi*-deletion of *am* has taken effect. Incidentally, a form ending in *dhamUÑ* is accepted as an indeclinable because it cannot entail any denotation of gender and number. These derivates of *Ḍa* will not be accepted as indeclinables (*avyaya*), since they entail denotation of gender and number (*PM* ad *Kāś.*:

dhamuñantasyāliṅgasaṃkhyatve'pi tadantāt svārtha vihitasyāpy asya svabhāvāl liṅgasaṃkhyāyogaḥ, tenāvyayatvaṃ na bhavati). Questions about the status of derivates is raised because affixes are introduced after indeclinable bases to denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Usage alone is responsible for their non-treatment as indeclinables.

5.3.46 एधाच्च

edhāc ca
/*edhāc* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *dhaḥ* #44, *dvitryoḥ* #45)
dvitryoḥ sambandhino dhāpratyayasya edhāj ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
A substitute in *edhāC* comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *dhā*, when it denotes *vidhā* and *adhikaraṇa-vicāla*, and occurs after nominal stems *dvi* and *tri*.

EXAMPLES:

dvedhā/ *dvaidham*/ *dvidhā* 'in two ways; into two'
tredhā/ *traidham*/ *tridhā* 'in three ways; into three'

1. Note that *edhāC* is offered as a substitute optionally with *dhyamUÑ* and *dhamUÑ*.

5.3.47 याप्ये पाशप्

yāpye pāśap
/*yāpye* 7/1 *pāśap* 1/1/.
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
yāpye vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe pāśap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *pāśaP* occurs after a nominal stem which denotes *yapya* 'contemptible'.

EXAMPLES:

kutsito vaiyākaraṇaḥ = *vaiyākaraṇapāśaḥ* 'a grammarian deserving of contempt'
yājñikapāśaḥ 'a ritualist deserving of contempt'

1. The word *yāpya* could be explained in two ways: *yāpitā asmād guṇāḥ* 'one from whom qualities are removed' and *yāpayitavyaḥ* 'that which is to be removed'.The first interpretation is accepted because derivates ending in *pāśaP* denote 'contempt'. Such a meaning is possible only when lack of quality results into actions deserving of contempt. Consider *vaiyākaraṇapāśaḥ* 'a grammarian deserving of contempt'. What is the reason for this contempt?

Is it the lack of knowledge of grammar? May be, may be not. A grammarian may be respected for his knowledge of grammar but, for his conduct elsewhere, he may as well deserve to be censured. Affix *pāśaP* is therefore introduced after a base relative to the meaning of which a person becomes deserving of contempt. Thus, *pāśaP* cannot be introduced after *vaiyākaraṇa* if contempt does not relate to *vyākaraṇa*, i.e., lack of its knowledge, or proper study, etc.

5.3.48 **पूरणाद्भागे तीयादन्**

pūraṇād bhāge tīyād an
/pūraṇāt 5/1 *bhāge* 7/1 *tīyāt* 5/1 *an* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
pūraṇapratyayo yas tīyaḥ tadantād prātipadikād bhāge vartamānāt svārthe'n pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aN* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix, particularly *tīya*, and is used with the signification of *bhāga* 'fraction, part'.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyo bhāgaḥ = *dvitīyaḥ* 'second part'
tṛtīyaḥ 'third part'

1. Why do we have so state *pūraṇa* when *tīya* is nothing but a *pūraṇa* affix? Stating *tīya* alone could serve the purpose. An explicit mention of *pūraṇa* is made for *anuvṛtti* in the next rule. Affix *aN*, in the absence of any specifically assigned denotatum, denotes *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

5.3.49 **प्रागेकादशभ्योऽच्छन्दसि**

prāg ekādaśabhyo' cchandasi
/prāk ϕ *ekādaśabhyaḥ* 5/3 *acchandasi* 7/1 = *na chandasi* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *pūraṇād bhāge an* #48)
prāg ekādaśabhyaḥ saṃkhyāśabdebhyaḥ pūraṇapratyayāntebhyo bhāge vartamānebhyaḥ svārthe an pratyayo bhavati acchandasi
The *taddhita* affix *aN* occurs, outside the domain of Vedic, after a nominal stem which ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix and denotes a number lower than *ekādaśa* 'eleven', as *bhāga* 'fraction, part'.

EXAMPLES:

pañcamaḥ 'one-fifth'
saptamaḥ 'one-seventh'

1. Note that *ekādaśaḥ* 'eleventh' and *dvādaśaḥ* 'twelfth' do not involve *aN*

because of the condition of *prāg ekādaśabhyaḥ* 'after those which precede eleven'. The condition of *acchandasi* 'in non-Vedic' restricts *aN* to usage of classical Sanskrit. Note that there is no formal difference between the derivates of *pūraṇa* and *aN* suffixes. However, derivates of *aN* differ in accent. They are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning in view of *N* as an *it* in *aN* (6.1.97 *ñnityādir nityam*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for affix *īkaK* to occur, optionally, after a nominal stem which ends in affix *tīya*. Thus, we get: *dvaitīyakaḥ* and *traitīyakaḥ*, optionally with *dvitīyaḥ* and *tṛtīyaḥ*. But another *vārttika* proposal blocks *īkaK* after a stem which ends in *tīya* and is used as a qualifier relative to *vidyā* 'knowledge'. Thus, we will get *dvitīyā vidyā* and *tṛtīyā vidyā*.

5.3.50 **षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां ञ च**

ṣaṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām ña ca
/ *ṣaṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ña* ϕ *ca* ϕ
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *bhāge* #48, *acchandasi* #49)
ṣāṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām bhāge' bhidheye' cchandasi viṣaye ñaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ña*, and *aN* as well, occurs, outside the domain of Vedic, after nominal stems *ṣaṣṭha* 'sixth' and *aṣṭama* 'eighth', when they are used with the signification of *bhāga* 'fraction, part'.

EXAMPLES:

ṣāṣṭhaḥ/ *ṣaṣṭhaḥ* 'the sixth part'
āṣṭamaḥ/ *aṣṭamaḥ* 'the eighth part'

1. Note that affixes *Ña* and *aN* cannot be introduced after *ṣaṣṭha* and *aṣṭama*, respectively, in view of *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in accord with enumeration' (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*). For, *aN* is already made available after both of them by the preceding rule. These affixes both can be introduced after two specified bases. Incidentally, *aN* would not allow initial *vṛddhi* of derivate.

5.3.51 **मानपश्वङ्गयोः कन्लुकौ च**

mānapaśvaṅgayoḥ kanlukau ca
/ *mānapaśvaṅgayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *kanlukau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *bhāge* #48, *ṣaṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām* #50)
ṣāṣṭhāṣṭamābhyām yathāsaṃkhyaṃ kanlukau ca bhavato mānapaśvaṅgayor abhidheyayoḥ cakārād yathāprāptaṃ ca
The *taddhita* affix *kaN*, and *LUK* as well, occur after nominal stems *ṣaṣṭha* and *aṣṭama*, respectively, when corresponding derivates denote

māna 'measure' and *paśvaṅga* 'limbs of an animal' as *abhāga* 'fraction, part'.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṣṭhako bhāgaḥ 'the sixth part which serves as a measure'
aṣṭamo bhāgaḥ 'the eighth part of an animal'
ṣāṣṭhah/ ṣaṣṭhaḥ 'one-sixth which serves as a measure'
āṣṭamaḥ/ aṣṭamaḥ 'one-eighth of an animal'

1. This rule also provides for affixal deletion by means of *LUK*. Affix *kaN* cannot be deleted because it is expressly introduced after *ṣaṣṭha*. Stating it just for deletion does not make any sense. What then forms the focus of deletion? Note that this rule makes two operational provisions after two bases, both signifying *bhāga*. However, the two provisions are further constrained by conditions of *māna* 'measure' and *paśvaṅga* 'animal's limb'. Thus, *kaN* is to be introduced after *ṣaṣṭha* when *māna* is denoted as *bhāga*. Affixal deletion, by *LUK*, applies after *aṣṭama*, when *paśvaṅga* is denoted as *bhāga*. Since a deletion is valid only when a positive provision is made, and also since this rule does not make any positive provision after *aṣṭama*, affixes *Ña* and *aN* of the earlier rule will form the focus of deletion after *aṣṭamaḥ*. Thus, *ṣaṣtha* will have a derivate in *ṣaṣṭhakaḥ* with *kaN*. Derivates of *aṣṭama* will undergo deletion of *Ña* and *aN*. This will yield two derivates with an identical form: *aṣṭamaḥ*. Of course, they will differ in accent.

Notice that this rule also uses *ca* 'and'. Consequently, affixes *Ña* and *aN* also become valid after the two bases. Thus, *ṣaṣṭha* will have *ṣaṣṭhaḥ* and *ṣāṣṭhaḥ*, additionally with *ṣaṣṭhakaḥ*. We will also get *aṣṭamaḥ* and *āṣṭamaḥ* if no deletion of *aN* and *aÑ* has taken effect. This renders deletion by *LUK* as an optional provision. True. If deletion by *LUK* becomes optional then it is not be stated. For, introduction of an affix, or lack of it, is already made optional by *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*. *LUK* is stated to indicate that *Ña* and *aN* of our earlier rule are obligatory (*nitya*).

5.3.52 एकादाकिनिच् चासहाये

ekād ākinic cāsahāye
/*ekāt* 5/1 *ākinic* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *asahāye* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kanlukau* #51)
ekaśabdād asahāyavācinaḥ svārthe ākinic pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ākinIC*, and *kaN* and *LUK* as well, occur after nominal stem *eka* 'one' when it signifies *asahāya* 'alone, without a companion'.

EXAMPLES:

ekākī 'alone, without a companion'

ekakaḥ 'id.'
ekaḥ 'id.'

1. Affixes *ākinIC* and *kaN* will be introduced optionally with their deletion by *LUK*. Thus, *ekākī*, *ekakaḥ* and *ekaḥ*, where the last may illustrate deletion of both.

2. The word *asahāya* is used to cancel *saṃkhyāvacana* 'denotation of number' from the context of this rule. For, if *eka* denotes 'number' then *ekākin* cannot be used in the dual and plural as *ekākinau* 'these two lonely ones' and *ekākinaḥ* 'these many lonely ones'.

5.3.53 भूतपूर्वे चरट्

bhūtapūrve caraṭ
/*bhūtapūrve* 7/1 *caraṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
bhūtapūrvatvaviśiṣṭe'rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe caraṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *caraṬ* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *bhūtapūrva* 'that which existed in the past'.

EXAMPLES:

āḍhyo bhūtapūrvaḥ = *āḍhyacaraḥ* 'one who was prosperous in the past (but is not now)'
sukumāracaraḥ 'one who was tender in the past'

1. The word *bhūtapūrva* denotes *atikrāntakāla* 'elapsed time' and qualifies the sense of the base. Thus, *caraṬ* should be introduced after a base the denotatum of which is qualified with *bhūtapūrva*. The *Ṭ* in *caraṬ* is used as an *it* to facilitate *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*.... Consider *āḍhyacarī* 'she who was rich in the past'.

5.3.54 षष्ठ्या रूप्य च

ṣaṣṭhyā rūpya ca
/*ṣaṣṭhyā* 3/1 *rūpya* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *bhūtapūrve caraṭ* #53)
ṣaṭhyantāt prātipadikād rūpyaḥ pratyayo bhavati cakārāc caraṭ ca
The *taddhita* affix *rūpya*, and *caraṬ* as well, occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', provided the derivate denotes *bhūtapūrva*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattasya bhūtapūrvo gauḥ = *devadattarūpyaḥ* 'a cow which Devadatta owned in the past'

devadattacaraḥ 'id.'

1. The word *bhūtapūrva* now modifies the sense of the affix (*pratyayārtha*), since the affix is being introduced after a nominal used in genitive.

5.3.55 **अतिशायने तमबिष्ठनौ**

atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau
/ *atiśāyane* 7/1 *tamab-iṣṭhanau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
atiśāyanaviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe tambiṣṭhanau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *tamaP* and *iṣṭhaN* occur after a nominal stem which signifies *atiśāyana* 'extreme excellence'.

EXAMPLES:

atiśayena āḍhyaḥ = *āḍhyatamaḥ* 'one who is the richest among rich'
darśanīyatamaḥ 'one who is best looking'
atiśayena paṭuḥ = *paṭsiṣṭhaḥ* 'one who is most able'
laghiṣṭhaḥ 'one who is lightest; youngest'
gariṣṭhaḥ 'one who is heaviest; oldest'

1. Note that a base which ends in an affix denoting *ātiśāyana* 'extreme excellence' can further take another affix if comparatively more excellence is to be denoted. Thus, *śreṣṭha* is derived with (*praśasya*→*śra*) + *iṣṭhaN*)) where *praśasya* is replaced with *śra* of 5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*. Affix *tamaP* can now be introduced after *śreṣṭha* to derive *śreṣṭhatama*, as in *yudhiṣṭhiraḥ śreṣṭhatamaḥ kurūṇām*. 'Yuddhiṣṭhira is best among the great Kurus'.
2. Note that *paṭu* and *laghu* will go through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*) before *iṣṭhaN*. A replacement in *gar* will be accomplished for *guru* by 6.4.157 *priyasthira*. . . . Thus, (*guru*→*gar*) + *iṣṭha* = *gariṣṭha*.

5.3.56 **तिङश्च**

tiṅaś ca
/ *tiṅaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *atiśāyene tamap* #55)
tiṅantāc ca atiśāyane dyotye tamap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tamaP* also occurs after a verbal form which ends in a *tiṄ*, provided *atiśāyana* 'excellence, superiority' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

anyam eṣām atiśayena pacati = *pacatitamām* 'this one, among all of them, cooks excessively'

jalpatitamām 'one who is extremely talkative'

1. Note that affixal provision of this domain were available only after nominal stems (4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*). This rule introduces *tamaP* also after a form ending in *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .). Example of *iṣṭhaN* are not offered since *iṣṭhaN* is introduced only after nominal stems which denote quality (5.3.58 *ajādī guṇavacanād eva*). Incidentally, 5.4.11 *kimettiṅavyaya* . . . introduces *ām* after a verbal form ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP*, occurring after a form ending in *tiṄ*. Thus, *pacati* + *tama*(*P*→ϕ) + *ām* = *pacati* + *tama* + *ām* = *pacatitamām*.

5.3.57 **द्विवचनविभज्योपपदे तरबीयसुनौ**

dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau
/*dvivacanavibhajyopapade* 7/1 *dvayor vacanaṃ dvivacanam; vibhaktuṃ yogyaṃ vibhajyam; dvivacanaṃ ca vibhajyaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*); *dvivacanavibhajyam, tac ca tad upapadam ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmin; tarabīyasunau* 1/2/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *atiśāyene* #55, *tiṅaś ca* #56)
dvyarthe vibhajye copapade prātipadikāt tiṅantāc cātiśāyane tarabīyasunau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *taraP* and *īyasUN* occur after a nominal stem, and after a verbal form ending in *tiṄ* as well, when these cooccur with a *pada* which signifies two (*dvyartha*), or distinguishes one from another (*vibhajya*), provided derivates signify *atiśāyana* 'excellence, superiority'.

EXAMPLES:

dvāv imāv āḍhyau, ayam anayor atiśayenāḍhyaḥ = *āḍhyataraḥ* 'these two are rich; this one is richer among the two'
jalpatitarām 'one who is more talkative than the other'
ayam anayor atiśayena paṭuḥ = *paṭīyān* 'this one is smarter than the other'
māthurāḥ pāṭaliputrakebhya āḍhyatarāḥ 'the people of Mathurā are richer than the people of Pāṭaliputra'

1. Note that *dvivacana* is used here in its non-technical sense of 'that (a *pada*) which has the signification of two'. It is not used in the technical sense of dual number.

This rule specifies two bases, two affixes and two cooccurring *padas*. This may lead one to introduce affix *taraP* after a nominal stem, and *tamaP* after a form ending in *tiṄ*, under the conditions of *dvivacana* and *vibhajya*, respectively. This assignment of equivalents in accord with enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .) is, however, not desired (*neṣyate*). Both affixes can be introduced after either one of these bases.

2. The nominative singular form of *paṭīyas* + *sU*, a derivate of *paṭu* + *īyas*(*UN*) through *ṭi*-deletion of *u*, can be derived by introducing *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ sarvanāma*...) and replacing the penultimate short *a* with *ā* (6.4.10 *sānmahataḥ*...). The final *s* of *paṭīyāns* will be deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*. The nominal ending *sU* will be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*....

5.3.58 अजादी गुणवचनादेव

ajādī guṇavacanād eva
/ *ajādī* 1/2 *guṇavacanāt* 5/1 *eva* ϕ
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
iṣṭhann-īyasunāv pratayau guṇavacanād eva bhavato nānyasmāt
The two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, occur only after that nominal stem which denotes quality (*guṇavacana*).

EXAMPLES:

paṭīyān/ *laghīyān* 'more skilled/younger'
paṭiṣṭhaḥ/ *laghiṣṭhaḥ* 'most skilled/youngest'

1. Recall that a general provision for affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* was made earlier. This rule now restricts that provision to take effect only after a nominal stem which denotes quality (*guṇavacanād eva*). That is, *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* cannot be introduced after a base which denotes something other than quality. The use of *eva* signals a restrictive provision. Given the wording of this rule, one may arrive at two different restrictive interpretations:

(*i*) *guṇavacanād eva ajādī* 'affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* occur only after a nominal stem which denotes quality'; and
(*ii*) *ajādī eva guṇavacanād* 'affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* alone occur after a nominal stem which denotes quality.

The second interpretation makes a restriction about the base (*prakṛtiniyama*). That is, if the base denotes quality then it must be restricted to receive affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* only. This will rule out introduction of any other affix after a stem which denotes quality. The first interpretation make a restriction about affixes (*pratyayaniyama*). That is, if the affixes are *ajādī* then they must occur after a stem which denotes quality. This restriction cannot block affixes, which do not begin with a vowel, from occurring after stems used with the signification of quality. The first interpretation is accepted here. The word *eva* is thus used here to clearly determine the scope of these affixes (*Kāś.*: *evakāra iṣṭato' vadhāraṇārthaḥ*).

5.3.59 तुश्छन्दसि

tuś chandasi
/ *tuḥ* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58)
trantāc chandasi viṣaye ajādī pratyayau bhavataḥ
The two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, occur in Vedic, after nominal stems which end in affixes *tṛN* and *tṛC*.

EXAMPLES:

āsutiṃ kariṣṭhaḥ 'he who is most efficient in pressing out Soma'
dohīyasī dhenuḥ 'a cow which gives the most milk'

1. Note that *tuḥ*, ablative singular of *tṛ*, is used for making a general references to affixes *tṛC* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) *and tṛN* (3.2.135 *tṛn*). Our earlier rule restricts these affixes to occur only after bases denoting quality. This rule, though in Vedic, allows them after other bases. Recall that *tṛC* and *tṛN* denote agent (*kartṛ*). Given *kartṛ* + *iṣṭha*(*N*→ϕ), rule 6.4.154 *tur iṣṭhemeyas suḥ* deletes *tṛ* to produce *kariṣṭha*. This same deletion also applies to *tṛN* of *duh* + *tṛN* + *ṄīP* = *dogdhṛ* where, given *dogdhrī* + *īyas*(*UN*→ϕ) = *doh* + (*tṛ*→ϕ) *īyas*, *ṄīP* is removed in favor of *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation', caused by a *vārttika* ad 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv* . . . (*vt*: *bhasyāḍhe taddhite*). Incidentally, *dogh* of *dogdhṛ* is restored to *doh* because it cause (*nimitta*), i.e., *tṛN*, is removed. Our derivate *dohīyas* can now receive *ṄīP* to produce *dohīyasī*.

5.3.60 प्रशस्यस्य श्रः

praśasyasya śraḥ
/*praśasyasya* 6/1 *śraḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58)
praśasyaśabdasya '*śra*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati ajādyoḥ pratyayayoḥ parataḥ*
A substitute in *śra* occurs in place of *praśasya* 'praiseworthy' when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow.

EXAMPLES:

sarve ime praśasyāḥ ayam eṣām atiśayena praśasyaḥ = *śreṣṭhaḥ* 'these all are praiseworthy; this one is the most praiseworthy'
ubhāv imau praśasyau, ayam anayor atiśayena praśasyaḥ = *śreyān* 'these two are both praiseworthy; this one is the most praiseworthy among the two'

1. Note that, for proper interpretation of this rule, the nominative dual of *ajādī* is interpreted as locative (*saptamī*) dual (*dvivacana*). How could these affixes be introduced after *praśasya* which does not denote a quality. They will be introduced after *praśasya* at the strength of this provision of *śra* as a replacement (*ādeśavidhānasāmarthyāt*). For otherwise, this replacement provision (*ādeśavidhāna*) will become vacuous. Similar explanation is also valid

in subsequent rules *Kāś.*: *evam uttareṣv api yogeṣu vijñeyam*). Incidentally, given *śra* + *iṣṭha*, and *śra* + *īyas*, application of 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ* and 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* would have wiped out *śra*. This is blocked by 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then orders a single *guṇa* substitute for *a* + *i* and *a* + *ī*.

5.3.61 ज्य च

jya ca
/*jya* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ф/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58, *praśasya* #60)
praśasyaśabdasya 'jya' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati ajādyoḥ pratyayoḥ parataḥ
A substitute in *jya* also comes in place of *praśasya* when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

sarve ime praśasyāḥ; ayam atiśayena praśasyaḥ = *jyeṣṭhaḥ* 'these are all praiseworthy, but this one is the most'
ubhāv imau praśasyau; ayam anayor atiśayena praśasyaḥ = *jyāyān* 'these two are both praiseworthy; this among these two is the most'

1. Note that, given (*praśasya*→*jya* + *īyas*), the *i* of *īyas* is replaced with *ā* of 6.4.160 *jyād ād īyasaḥ*. That is, *jya* + (*i*→*ā*)*yas* = *jyayas*. A derivate, such as *jyeṣṭha*, is derived from (*praśasya*→*jya*) + *iṣṭha*)), in a manner similar to *śreṣṭha* (5.3.60 *praśasya*...). Follow relevant rule-application similar to *paṭīyān* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajopapade*...) for deriving *jyāyān* from *jyāyas* + *sU*.

5.3.62 वृद्धस्य च

vṛddhasya ca
/*vṛddhasya* 6/1 *ca* ф/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58, *jya* #61)
vṛddhaśabdasya ca 'jya' ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty ajādyoḥ pratyayoḥ parataḥ
A substitute in *jya* also comes in place of *vṛddha* when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow.

EXAMPLES:

sarve ime vṛddhāḥ; ayam eṣām atiśayena vṛddhaḥ = *jyeṣṭhaḥ* 'these are all elders, but this one is the eldest of them all'
ubhāv imau vṛddhau; ayam anayor atiśayena vṛddhaḥ = *jyāyān* 'these two are both elders, but this one is elder than the other'

1. Note that rule 6.4.157 *priyasthirasphira*... also offers *varṣa* as a replacement for *vṛddha*. That is, *varṣa* may also replace *vṛddha*, optionally with *jya*.

This will give two additional forms: *varṣiṣṭhaḥ* and *varṣīyān*, parallel to *jyeṣṭhaḥ* and *jyāyān*.

5.3.63 अन्तिकबाढयोर्नेदसाधौ

antikabāḍhayor nedasādhau
/*antikabāḍhayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *nedasādhau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58)
antika-bāḍhayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'neda, sādha' ity etāv ādeśau bhavato'jādyoḥ parataḥ
A substitute in *neda* and *sādha* comes in place of *antika* 'proximate' and *bāḍha* 'good', respectively, when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow them.

EXAMPLES:

sarvāṇīmāny antikāni idam eṣām atiśayenāntikam = *nediṣṭham* 'these are all very close by, this is the nearest of them all'
ubhe ime antike; idam anayor atiśayena nedīyaḥ 'these two both are close by, but this is the nearest of the two'
sarva ime bāḍham adhīyate; ayam eṣām atiśayena bāḍham adhīte = *sādhiṣṭhaḥ* 'they all are studying well, but this one is the best student'
ubhāv imau bāḍham adhīyāte; anayor atiśayena bāḍham adhīte = *sādhīyaḥ* 'these two are both studying well, but this one is a better student'

1. Note that *yathāsaṃkhya* will not apply relative to the two affixes which both serve as conditioning factors (*Kāś.*: *nimittabhūtayor yathāsaṃkhyam atra neṣyate*). Deriving *nediṣṭha*, etc., from *neda* + *iṣṭha*, etc., involves *bhasaṃjñā* and *a*-deletion.

5.3.64 युवाल्पयोः कनन्यतरस्याम्

yuvālpayoḥ kan anyatarasyām
/*yuvālpayoḥ* 6/2 *kan* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādī* #58)
yuvālpaśabdayoḥ kan ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām ajādyoḥ parataḥ
A substitute in *kan* optionally comes in place of *yuvan* 'youth, young' and *alpa* 'small, little' when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow.

EXAMPLES:

sarva ime yuvānaḥ, ayam eṣām atiśayena yuvā = *kaniṣṭhaḥ* 'they are all young; but this one is the youngest of them all'
yaviṣṭhaḥ 'id.'

dvāv imau yuvānau, ayam anayor atiśayena yuvā = kanīyān 'these two are both young; but this one is younger'
yavīyān 'id.'
sarve ime' lpāḥ, ayam eṣām atiśayenālpaḥ = kaniṣṭhaḥ 'these all are small; but this one is the smallest of them all'
alpiṣṭhaḥ 'id.'
ubhāv imāv alpau, ayam anayor atiśayenālpaḥ = kanīyān 'these two both are small; but this one is smaller'
alpiyān 'id.'

1. Note that *van* of *yuvan* is deleted before *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*. Additionally, *u* of *yu* is replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *o* (6.4.156 *sthūladūrayuva* . . . . Rule 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* then applies on *y(u→o̲) van→ϕ)) + iṣṭha))) = y(o→av) iṣṭha))* to produce *yaviṣṭha.*

5.3.65 विन्मतोर्लुक्

vinmator luk
/*vinmatoḥ* 6/2 *luk* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ajādi* #58)
vino matupaś ca lug bhavati ajādyoḥ pratyayoḥ parataḥ
LUK comes in place of the *taddhita* affixes *vinI* and *matUP* when the two vowel-initial *taddhita* affixes, namely *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*, follow.

EXAMPLES:

sarve ime sragviṇaḥ, ayam eṣām atiśayena sragvī = srajiṣṭhaḥ 'they are all wearing garlands but this one is wearing the most'
ubhāv imau sragviṇau ayam anayor atiśayena sragvī = srajīyān 'these two both are wearing garlands, but this one is wearing the most'
sarve ime tvagvantaḥ, ayam eṣām atiśayena tvagvī = tvaciṣṭhaḥ 'they all have beautiful skin, but this one has the most beautiful'
ubhāv imau tvagvantau ayam anayor atiśayena tvagvān = tvacīyān 'they both have beautiful skin, but this one has comparatively more beautiful'

1. This rule itself serves an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for the introduction of affixes *iṣṭha* and *īyasUN* after bases ending in affixes *vinI* and *matUP* (*Kāś.*: *idam eva vacanaṃ jñāpakam ajādisadbhāvasya*). Incidentally, *vinI* is introduced by 5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhāsrajo viniḥ.* Note that deletion of *vinI* will leave the base after which *vinI* was introduced. Thus, we will get *sraj + iṣṭha = srajiṣṭha* from *sragvin + iṣṭhaN.* One can similarly derive *tvaciṣṭha.* These forms will be spared *ṭi*-deletion because of 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc.*

5.3.66 प्रशंसायां रूपप्

praśaṃsāyāṃ rūpap

/praśaṃsāyām 7/1 *rūpap* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56, *ajādi* #58)
praśaṃsāviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe rūpap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *rūpaP* occurs after a nominal stem, and verbal form ending in *tiṄ*, provided their signification is qualified with *praśaṃsā* 'praise'.

EXAMPLES:

praśasto vaiyākaraṇah = *vaiyākaraṇarūpaḥ* 'an excellent grammarian'
yājñikarūpaḥ 'an excellent ritualist'
pacatirūpam 'excellent in cooking'
pacatorūpam 'the two who are excellent in cooking'

1. Note that affix *rūpaP*, because of no particular meaning specification, denotes *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Affixes which denote *svārtha* denote some special meaning of their bases (*Kāś.*: *svārthikāś ca pratyayāḥ prakṛtyarthaviśeṣasya dyotakā bhavanti*). The word *praśaṃsā* serves here as a qualifier to the base. It denotes distinction relative to the meaning of the base. Consider for illustration: *vṛṣalarūpo' yaṃ yaḥ palāṇḍunā surāṃ pibati* 'this, the one who is drinking liquor while taking a bite of onion, must be some special Vṛṣala (lowly untouchable)'.

Forms such as *pacatirūpam* and *pacatorūpam* are neuter in consonance with usage. That they are not used in dual or plural is based upon singular nature of action.

5.3.67 ईषदसमाप्तौ कल्पब्देश्यदेशीयरः

īṣadasamāptau kalpabdeśyadeśīyaraḥ
/īṣadasamāptau 7/1 = *na samāptiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *īṣac cāsāv asamāptiś ca* = *īṣadasamāptiḥ* (*karm. tat.* with int. *nañ. tat.*); *tasyām*; *kalpab-deśyadeśīyaraḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
The *taddhita* affixes *kalpaB*, *deśya* and *deśīyaR* occur after a nominal stem, or a verbal form ending in *tiṄ*, provided their denotatum is qualified with *īṣadasamāpti* 'a little short of completion'.

EXAMPLES:

īṣadasamāptaḥ paṭuḥ = *paṭukalpaḥ* 'one who is just about skilled'
paṭudeśyaḥ 'id.'
paṭudeśīyaḥ 'id.'
pacatikaplam '. . . cooks just about perfect'
pacatideśyaḥ 'id.'
pacatideśīyaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *īṣadasamāpti* is used as a qualifier to the meaning of the stem (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇam*). These affixes are also introduced after forms ending in *tiṄ*.

5.3.68 **विभाषा सुपो बहुच् पुरस्तात्तु**

vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt tu
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *supaḥ* 5/1 *bahuc* 1/1 *purastāt* ϕ *tu* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *īṣadasamāptau* #67)
īṣadasamāptiviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt subantād vibhāṣā bahuc pratyayo bhavati sa tu purastād eva bhavati na tu parataḥ
The *taddhita* affix *bahuC* optionally occurs before (*purastāt*), and not after, a nominal stem which ends in a *sUP* and has its meaning qualified with *īṣadasamāpti*.

EXAMPLES:

īṣadasamāptaḥ paṭuḥ = *bahupaṭuḥ* 'one who is a little less skilled'
paṭukalpaḥ 'id.'
paṭudeśyaḥ 'id.'
paṭudeśīyaḥ 'id.'
bahulekhaḥ 'a little less perfect writing'
lekhakalpaḥ 'id.'
lekhadeśyaḥ 'id.'
lekhadeśīyaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *sUP* is used here to block the introduction of *bahuC* before verbal forms (*tiṅanta*).

5.3.69 **प्रकारवचने जातीयर्**

prakāravacane jātīyar
/*prakāravacane* 7/1 *jātīyar* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prakāraviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe jātīyar pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *jātīyaR* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in a *sUP* and whose signification is qualified with *prakāra* 'mode, manner, kind'.

EXAMPLES:

paṭuprakāraḥ = *paṭujātīyaḥ* 'like someone skilled'
mṛdujātīyaḥ 'like someone, or something, tender'
darśanīyajātīyaḥ 'like someone, or something, beautiful'

1. Note that *jātīyaR* denotes *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. That is, it denotes something qualified with *prakāra* 'mode, manner, kind'. It is in this sense that *jātīyaR* differs from *thāL* which, in turn, simply denotes *prakāra*. See my notes under 5.3.23 *prakāravacane thāl* for additional details.

5.3.70 प्रागिवात्कः

prāg ivāt kaḥ
/*prāk* ϕ *ivāt* 5/1 *kaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *supaḥ* #68)
'*ive pratikṛtau' iti vakṣyati; prāg estamād ivasaṃśabdanād yānita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ kapratyayas teṣv adhikṛto veditavyaḥ*
A *taddhita* affix, namely *ka*, occurs henceforth, prior to *ive pratikṛtau* (5.3.96), after a nominal stem.

EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. Note that *tiṅaḥ* is carried here, though for use in subsequent rules. That is, *ka* is not desired here to be introduced after a form ending in *tiṄ* (*Kāś.*: *tiṅantād ayaṃ pratyayo neṣyate. akaj iṣyate*). The *anuvṛtti* of *tiṄ* is to be canceled in this rule on account of the use of *sUP*.

5.3.71 अव्ययसर्वनाम्नामकच् प्राक् टेः

avyayasarvanāmnāṃ akac prāk ṭeḥ
/ *avyayasarvanāmnām* 6/3 = *avyayāni ca sarvanāmāni ca* = *avyayasarvanāmāni* (*itar. dv.*) *teṣām*; *akac* 1/1 *prāk* ϕ *ṭeḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56, *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt* #70)
avyayānāṃ sarvanāmnāṃ ca prāgivīyeṣv artheṣu akac pratyayo bhavati sa ca prāk ṭeḥ na parataḥ
The *taddhita* affix *akAC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of a nominal stem termed *avyaya* and *sarvanāman*, or prior to the *ṭi* of that which ends in a *tiṄ*, to denote the sense of affixes introduced henceforth prior to *iva*.

EXAMPLES:

uccakaiḥ 'in a loud voice'
nīcakaiḥ 'in a low voice'
sarvake 'they all'
viśvake 'id.'
yuṣmakābhiḥ 'by you all'
asmakābhiḥ 'by us all'

tvayakā 'by you'
mayakā 'by me'
pacataki '. . . cooks'
jalpataki '. . . talks (too much)'

1. Note that *sUP* and *tiṄ* are both carried. That is, *akAC* is technically to be introduced prior to the *ṭi* of a form of an *avyaya* and *sarvanāman* ending in *sUP*, or prior to the *ṭi* of a verbal form ending in *tiṄ*. This rules out the introduction of *akAC* prior to the *ṭi* of a nominal stem, or of a verbal root. Commentators note that this will create problems. For, we find that, in deriving *yuṣmakābhiḥ, asmakābhiḥ, yuṣmakāsu, asmakāsu, yuvakayoḥ* and *āvakayoḥ*, *akAC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* of nominal stems *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. A *sUP*, in these cases, is introduced subsequently. In examples such as *tvayakā, mayakā, tvayaki* and *mayaki*, *akAC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* of forms ending in a *sUP*. It is stated that whether *akAC* is to be introduced prior to the *ṭi* of a nominal stem, or prior to the *ṭi* of a form ending in a *sUP*, should be decided on the basis of what *abhidhāna* 'denotation of meaning by forms of words' require. A *vārttika* under 5.3.73 *ajñāte* proposes the introduction of *akAC* prior to the *ṭi* of a *sarvanāman* when a nominal ending beginning with *o, s* and *bh* follows. Elsewhere, it should be introduced prior to the *ṭi* of a form ending in a *sUP* (*vt.*: *okāra-sakāra-bhakārādau supi sarvanāmnaṣ ṭeḥ prāg akac, anyatra to subantasya ṭeḥ prāg akac*). The *Mahābhāṣya*, however, accepts this *vārttika* only in the context of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Elsewhere, in the context of other pronominals, *akAC* will be introduced prior to the *ṭi* of a form ending in *sUP*. Thus, *sarvakeṇa, imakena*, etc.

2. A *vārttika* proposes the introduction of affix *kāM̐* after *tūṣṇīm* 'quiet' where, because it is marked with *M* as an *it*, *kāM* is introduced after *ī* of *tūṣṇīm* (1.1.47 *mid aco'ntyāt paraḥ*). Thus, *tūṣṇīkāṃ tiṣṭhati* '. . . stays quiet'. Yet another *vārttika* requires the introduction of affix *ka* after *tūṣṇīm*, with deletion of *m*, when *śīla* follows. Thus, *tūṣṇī* + *ka* + (*m*→ϕ) + *śīla* = *tūṣṇīkaśīla* 'one who is quiet by nature'.

3. Note that *tiṅaḥ* is also valid. Thus we get: *pacataki* and *jalpataki*, where *akAC* is introduced prior to *i* of *pacati* and *jalpati*. The provision of *akAC* is an exception to *ka* (*Kāś.*: *kasyāpavādaḥ*).

5.3.72 कस्य च दः

kasya ca daḥ
/*kasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *daḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71)
kakārāntasya prātipadikasyākacsanniyogena dakārādeśo bhavati

The final *k* of an *avyaya* which cooccurs with *akAC* is replaced with *d*.

EXAMPLES:

dhik = *dhakit* 'what a shame!'
hiruk = *hirakut* 'except for. . .; distance; out of sight'
pṛthakat 'set aside, separated'

1. Note that *sarvanāman* is also carried. However, the question of replacement the final *k* of a *sarvanāman* with *d* does not arise since no *sarvanāman* ends in *k*. Consequently, the replacement applies only to an indeclinable. We thus derive *dhakit* by introducing *akAC* prior to the *ṭi* of the indeclinable *dhik*, thereby getting *dh+ak+ik* = *dhaki(k→d)* = *dhakid*. The *d* will then go through *cartva* (8.4.55 *khari ca*; 8.4.56 *vā' vasāne*). Other examples are similarly derived.

5.3.73 अज्ञाते

ajñāte
/ *ajñāte* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56, *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71)
ajñātatvopādhike' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *ka* and *akAC* occur after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and *tiṄ* when what it denotes is qualified with *ajñāta* 'not known'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvakaḥ 'a horse whose ownership is not known; whose horse is this?; a stray horse; a bad horse'
gardabhakaḥ 'a donkey whose ownership is not known; whose donkey is this?; a stray donkey; a bad donkey'
uccakaiḥ 'in an unknown loud voice; loudly'
nīcakaiḥ 'in an unknown low voice; softly'
pacataki '. . . cooks but no one knows how good; cooks'
jalpataki '. . . talks too much but no one knows what; talks too much'

1. Derivate meanings, especially relative to the condition of *ajñāta*, should be determined in accord with usage.

5.3.74 कुत्सिते

kutsite
/ *kutsite* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56 *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71)

kutsitatvopādhike' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt svārthe yathāvidhitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes *ka* and *akAC* occur after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and *tiṄ* when what it denotes is qualified with *kutsita* 'contemptible'.

EXAMPLES:

kutsito' śvaḥ = aśvakaḥ 'a bad horse'
uṣṭrakaḥ 'a bad camel'
nīcakaiḥ ' low voice deserving of contempt'
sarvake 'they are all contemptible'
pacataki '. . . cooks bad'
jalpataki '. . . talks too much but makes no sense'

1. Here again, *kutsita* 'deserving of contempt' is used as a qualifier to the denotatum of the base (*prakṛtyarthaviśeṣaṇam*).

5.3.75 संज्ञायां कन्

saṃjñāyām kan
/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56 *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71, *kutsite* #74)
kutsitatvopādhike' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikāt kan pratyayo bhavati pratyayāntena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem whose denotatum is qualified with *kutsita* 'to be censured', provided the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

śūdrakaḥ 'a lowly untouchable deserving of contempt'
dhārakaḥ 'he who is deserving of contempt because of acting against'
dharma 'duty'
pūrṇakaḥ 'a bad tree'

1. Note that *kaN* blocks *ka* because of the condition of *saṃjñā* 'name'. That is, *ka* cannot be introduced since its derivate cannot denote a name. Incidentally, examples of forms ending in a *tiṄ* are not offered for the same reason. It is also stated that *ka*, as opposed to *kaN*, is introduced because of accentual difference (*svarabheda*).

5.3.76 अनुकम्पायाम्

anukampāyām
/ *anukampāyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56 *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71)

anukampāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ subantāt tiṅantāc ca yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affixes *ka* and *akAC* occur after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and *tiṄ*, provided *anukampā* 'compassion' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

putrakaḥ 'a son who has received affection; youngest son'
durbalakaḥ 'a weak person who has received support'
bubhukṣitakaḥ 'a hungry who has received food'
svapitaki 'at last he is sleeping'
jalpitaki 'at last he is talking'
śvasitaki 'at last he is breathing'

1. The word *anukampā* is explained as 'a favor done to someone out of compassion' (*kāruṇyenābhyupapattiḥ parasya*).

5.3.77 नीतौ च तद्युक्तात्

nītau ca tadyuktāt

/*nītau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *tadyuktāt* 5/2 = *tayā* (*anukampayā*) *yuktaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmāt*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56 *supaḥ* #68, *prāg ivāt kaḥ* #70, *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* #71, *anukampāyām* #76)

nītau ca gamyamānāyāṃ tadyuktād yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affixes *ka* and *akAC* occur after a nominal stem, or after a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and *tiṄ*, provided their denotatum is associated with 'compassion' (*anukampā*) and derivates denote *nīti* 'prudent conduct'.

EXAMPLES:

hanta te dhānakāḥ 'here! you can have this roasted barley'
hanta te tilakāḥ 'here! you can have this sesame'
ehaki 'here! come here (son!)'
addhaki 'here! have this food (son!)'

1. This rule allows affixes after bases whose meanings are associated with 'compassion (*anukampā*). The derivates must also denote some prudent action for example *dāna* 'giving'. Thus, *dhāna* 'roasted barley' receives *ka* because it is associated with compassion in the context of giving (*dāna*). That is, 'compassion' and 'giving' are mediated by 'roasted barley'. Our earlier rule introduces affixes after bases which denote objects of compassion. That

is, 'compassion' is directly relatable there to 'one toward whom compassion is directed'. This rule offers *ka* after 'that which is relatable to compassion indirectly' (*Kāś.*: *pūrveṇa pratyāsannānukampāsambandhād anukampyamānād eva pratyayo vihitaḥ; samprati vyavahitād api yathā syād iti vacanam*).

5.3.78 बह्वचो मनुष्यनाम्नष्ठज्वा

bahvaco manuṣyanāmnaṣ ṭhaj vā
/*bahvacaḥ* 5/1 *manuṣyanāmnaḥ* 5/1 *ṭhac* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77)
bahvacaḥ prātipadikān manuṣyanāmadheyād vā ṭhac pratyayo bhavati anukampāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ nītau ca
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which consists of many vowels (*bahvacaḥ*) and denotes a human name (*nāmnaḥ*), provided derivates signify *anukampā* 'compassion', or a prudent action (*nīti*) related with that (*tadyukta*).

EXAMPLES:

devikaḥ 'Devadatta who has received compassion'
devadattakaḥ 'id.'
yajñikaḥ 'Yajñadatta who has received compassion'
yajñadattakaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that condition of *bahvacaḥ* must be met so that *ṭhaC* could be blocked from occurring after *datta* and *gupta* which consist of two vowels only. Consequently, *dattakaḥ* and *guptakaḥ* will be derived with *ka*. The condition of *manuṣyanāma* is also important so that *ṭhaC* could be blocked after *madrabāhu* and *bhadrabāhu* which are names of places. Incidentally, *kaN* will be introduced when option of *ṭhaC* is not accepted. Examples enumerated henceforth prior to 5.3.83 *ṭhājādāv ūrdhvam* . . . will also, where applicable, go through deletion of part of their bases beyond the second vowel. Thus, *devilaḥ* is derived from *devadatta* + *ṭhaK* where *ṭhaK* yields *ika* and *datta* of *devadatta* gets deleted. That is, *deva*(*datta*→ϕ) + (*ṭha*→*ika*) = *dev*(*a*→ϕ) + *ika* = *devika*, through *bha-saṃjñā* and *a-lopa*. A derivate of *kaN*, however, will not go through part-deletion of its base.

5.3.79 घनिलचौ च

ghanilacau ca
/*ghan-ilacau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77, *bahvaco manuṣyanāmnaṣ ṭhaj vā* #78)
bahvaco manuṣyanāmno 'ghan-ilac' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ cakārād

yathāprātaṃ ca
The *taddhita* affixes *ghaN* and *ilaC*, and optionally *ṭhaC* and *kaN* as well, occur after a nominal stem which consists of many vowels (*bahvacaḥ*) and denotes a human name (*nāmnaḥ*), provided derivates signify *anukampā*, or a prudent conduct (*nīti*) related with that (*tadyukta*).

EXAMPLES:

deviyaḥ 'Devadatta who has received compassion'
devilaḥ 'id.'
devikaḥ 'id.'
devadattakaḥ 'id.'
yajñiyaḥ/ yajñilaḥ/ yajñikaḥ/ yajñadattakaḥ 'Yajñadatta who has received compassion'

1. Particle *ca* is used for bringing *ṭhaC* introduced optionally with *kaN*. That is, there will be four derivates one each for *ghaN*, *ilaC*, *kaN* and *ṭhaC*. Derivates of *kaN* will again not go through part-deletion of their bases.

2. Rule 5.3.83 *ṭhājādāv ūrdhvaṃ dvitīyād acaḥ* deletes a base beyond its second vowel when affix *ṭhaC*, or an affix beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*), follows. However, a *vārttika* makes such deletions optional when the affix does not begin with a vowel (*vt.*: *anajādau ca vibhāṣā*). Thus, *devikaḥ*, *devadattakaḥ*, *devakaḥ*, etc.

5.3.80 प्राचामुपादेरडज्वुचौ च

prācām upāder aḍajvucau ca
/*prācām* 6/3 *upādeḥ* 5/1 = *upa ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *aḍaj-vucau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77, *bahvaco manuṣyanāmnaṣ ṭhaj vā* #78, *ghanilacau ca* #79)
The *taddhita* affixes *aḍaC* and *vuC*, and *kaN*, *ghaN*, *ilaC*, and *ṭhaC* as well, occur optionally in the opinion of Eastern grammarians after a nominal stem which begins with *upa*, consists of many vowels (*bahvacaḥ*), and names a human (*nāmnaḥ*), provided derivates signify *anukampā* or a prudent conduct (*nīti*) related with that (*tadyukta*).

EXAMPLES:

upendradatto' nukampitaḥ = *upaḍaḥ* 'Upendradatta who has received compassion'
upakaḥ 'id.'
upiyaḥ/ upilaḥ/ upikaḥ/ upendradattakaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that since *vā* is carried, *prācām* does not denote option. It denotes 'respect' (*pūjā*), instead. Part-deletion of *upendradatta* will reduce the base

to *upa*. Here again, *upendradattakaḥ* is a derivate of *kaN* with no part-deletion of its base.

5.3.81 जातिनाम्नः कन्

jātināmnaḥ kan
/*jātināmnaḥ* 5/1 = *jāter nāma* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77, *manuṣyanāmnaḥ* #78)
jātiśabdo yo manuṣyanāmadheyo 'vyāghra, siṃha' ity evamādiḥ tasmād anukampāyāṃ nītau ca kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *jāti* 'class of species' as human name (*nāmnaḥ*), provided derivates denote *anukampā*, or a prudent conduct (*nīti*), related with that (*tadyukta*).

Examples:

vyāghrakaḥ '(someone named) Vyāghra who has received compassion'
siṃhakaḥ 'Siṃha who has received compassion'

1. Note that *bahvacaḥ* is not carried because this rule makes a general provision. That is, this affixal provision applies whether, or not, the base consists of many vowels (*bahvac*). Other affixes may also be introduced if usages approve. Thus, *vyāghrilaḥ*, *siṃhilaḥ*, etc. The word *nāmnaḥ* is used so that affixes are not introduced after the word-form *jāti* (*svarūpanivṛtyartham*; 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ* . . .).

5.3.82 अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च

ajināntasyottarapadalopaś ca
/*ajināntasya* 6/1 = *ajinaśabdo' nte yasya* (*bv.*); *tasya*; *uttarapadalopaḥ* 1/1 = *uttarapadasya lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anukampāyām* #76, *nītau ca tadyuktāt* #77, *manuṣyanāmnaḥ* #78, *kan* #81)
ajinaśabdāntāt prātipadikān manuṣyanāmno' nukampāyāṃ kan pratyayo bhavati tasya cottarapadalopaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem which names a human (*nāmnaḥ*) and is used in combination before *ajina* 'hide', concurrently goes through deletion by *LOPA*, provided the derivate denotes *anukampā*, or a prudent conduct (*nīti*), related with that (*tadyukta*).

Examples:

vyāghrājino nāma kaścin manuṣyaḥ, so' nukampitaḥ = vyāghrakaḥ 'Vyāghrājina who received compassion'
siṃhājinaḥ 'Siṃhājina who received compassion'

1. The word *LOPA* is used so that the following consitutent, i.e., *ajina*, could be deleted in toto.

5.3.83 ठाजादावूर्ध्वं द्वितीयादचः

ṭhājādāv ūrdhvaṃ dvitīyād acaḥ
/ *ṭhājādau* 7/1 = *ac ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *ṭhaś ca ajādiś ca* = *ṭhājādiḥ* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmin*; *ūrdhvam* 1/1 *dvitīyāt* 5/1 *acaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *lopaḥ* #82)
asmin prakaraṇe yaṣ ṭho'jādiś ca pratyayas tasmin parataḥ prakṛter dvitīyād aca ūrdhvaṃ yac chabdarūpaṃ tasya lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of that which is in excess of the second vowel (*dvitīyād acaḥ*) of a base when the *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC*, or an affix beginning with a vowel (*ajādau*), follows.

EXAMPLES:

anukampito devadattaḥ = *devikaḥ* 'Devadatta who has received compassion'
deviyaḥ 'id.'
devilaḥ 'id.'
anukampita upendradattaḥ = *upaḍaḥ* 'Upendradatta who has received compassion'
upakaḥ 'id.'
upiyaḥ/ upilaḥ/ upikaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *ūrdhvam* is used to facilitate total deletion (*Kāś.*: *ūrdhvagrahaṇaṃ sarvalopārtham*). Why was the *sūtra* not formulated simply as *ajādāv ūrdhvaṃ dvitīyād acaḥ*? Why do we have to have *ṭha* when it becomes *ajādi* by way of its replacement in *ika* (7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*)? A *vārttika* explains that *ṭha* is needed so that deletion by *LOPA* could also apply where *ṭha* is replaced with *ka*, and hence, the condition of *ajādi* is not satisfied. Consider *vāyudatta* + *ṭhaC* where *ṭha* is replaced with *ka* because it occurs after *u* (7.3.51 *isuktāntāt kaḥ*) subsequent to the deletion of *datta*. We cannot derive *vāyukaḥ*, from *vāyu*(*datta*→ϕ) + (*ṭha*→*ka*), if *ṭha* is not used in this rule to facilitate the deletion of *datta*. Thus, *ṭha* is used here so that *ka* can replace *ṭha* occurring after *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ* (*vt.*: *ṭhagrahaṇam uko dvitīyatve kavidhānārtham*).

The following are some additional *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*i*) A base in excess of its fourth vowel should also be deleted (*caturthād aca ūrdhvasya lopo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *bṛhaspati*(*datta*→ϕ) + *ka* = *bṛhaspatikaḥ*, *bṛhaspatiyaḥ*, *bṛhaspatilaḥ*.

(*ii*) An optional deletion should apply even when an affix not beginning with a vowel follows (*anajādau vibhāṣā lopo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *devadattakaḥ*, *devakaḥ*.

(*iii*) The prior constituent of a base may also be deleted when *ṭha*, or an affix beginning with a vowel or consonant, follows (*lopaḥ pūrvapadasya ca ṭhājādāv anajādau ca vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *dattikaḥ, dattilaḥ, dattiyaḥ* and *dattakaḥ*.

(*iv*) An optional deletion of a prior, or subsequent, constituent should also be stated even when no affix follows (*vinā'pi pratyayena pūrvottarapadayor vibhāṣā lopo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *devadattaḥ, dattaḥ devaḥ*.

(*v*) A replacement in *la* should also be stated for *ila* when it occurs after *u* (*uvarṇāl la ilasya ca*). Thus, *bhānudatto bhānulaḥ* and *vasudatto vasulaḥ*.

A *kārikā* verse of earlier grammarians is cited by the *Mahābhāṣya* in relation to these proposals:

caturthād anajādau ca lopaḥ pūrvapadasya ca/
apratyaye tathaiveṣṭa uvarṇāl la ilasya ca//

(*vi*) In contexts where deletion is to take effect after the second vowel, and such a vowel happens to be a *sandhyakṣara*, i.e., *e, ai, o, au*, deletion applies to the part which begins with that vowel (*dvitīyād aco lope sandhyakṣaradvitīyatve tadāder lopavacanam*). Thus, *lah*(*oḍha*→ϕ) + *ṭha* = *lahikaḥ* and *kahikaḥ*.

(*vii*) The second constituent is to be deleted when the first constituent consists of a single syllable (*ekākṣarapūrvapadānāṃ uttarapadalopo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *vāgāśīḥ* + *ṭhaC* = *vācikaḥ*.

5.3.84 शेवलसुपरिविशालवरुणार्यमादीनां तृतीयात्

śevalasuparivisālavaruṇāryamādīnāṃ tṛtīyāt
/*śevalasuparivisālavaruṇāryamādīnām* 6/3 = *śevalaś ca supariś ca viśālaś ca varuṇaś ca aryamā ca* = *śevalasuparivisālavaruṇāryamāḥ* (*dv.*); *ete ādayo yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*), *teṣām; tṛtīyāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *lopaḥ* #82, *ṭhājādāv ūrdhvam acaḥ* #83)
śevalādīnāṃ manuṣyanāmnāṃ ṭhājādau pratyaye parataḥ tṛtīyād aca ūrdhvasya lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of that which is beyond the third vowel (*tṛtīyād acaḥ*) of a base when the base beings with human names such as *śevala, supari, viśāla, varuṇa* and *aryamā*, and when the *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC*, or an affix beginning with a vowel (*ajādau*), follows.

EXAMPLES:

anukampitaḥ śevaladattaḥ = *śevalikaḥ/ śevaliyaḥ/ śevalilaḥ* 'Śevaladatta has received compassion'
suparikaḥ/ supariyaḥ/ suparilaḥ 'Suparidatta has received compassion'

viśālikaḥ/ viśāliyaḥ/ viśālilaḥ 'Viśāladatta has received compassion'
varuṇikaḥ/ varuṇiyaḥ/ varuṇilaḥ 'Varuṇadatta has received compassion'
aryamikaḥ/ aryamiyaḥ/ aryamilaḥ 'Aryamādatta has received compassion'

1. This deletion is an exception to one proposed by the preceding rule. A *vārttika* recommends that deletion of forms beyond the third vowel of *śevala*, etc., should be accomplished prior to *sandhi* (*vt.*: *śevalādīnāṃ tṛtīyād aco lopaḥ sa cākṛtasandhīnām iti vaktavyam*). Consider *śevalendradattaḥ* and *suparyāśīrdattaḥ* where *indradatta* and *āśīrdatta* are deleted. Wrong forms, i.e., **śevalayikaḥ* and **suparyikaḥ*, would result if deletion applied after *sandhi*. For, *e* and *ā* would then constitute third vowels.

5.3.85 अल्पे

alpe
/ alpe 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tiṅaḥ* #56)
alpatvaviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikād yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs as ruled after a nominal stem, or after a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*, provided their signification is qualified with *alpa* 'a little'.

EXAMPLES:

alpaṃ tailam = tailakam 'a little oil'
ghṛtakam 'a little ghee, clarified butter'
pacataki 'he does only a little bit of cooking'
jalpataki 'he does only a little bit of talking'

5.3.86 ह्रस्वे

hrasve
/ hrasve 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
hrasvatvaviśiṣṭe' rthe vartamānāt prātipadikād yathāvihitaṃ pratyayo bhavati
A *taddhita* affix occurs, as ruled, after a nominal stem whose signification is qualified with *hrasva* 'short'.

EXAMPLES:

hrasvo vṛkṣaḥ = vṛkṣakaḥ 'a short tree'
stambhakaḥ 'a small pillar'

1. The word *hrasva* is explained as opposite of *dīrgha* 'long, large'. Note that our earlier rule uses *alpa* in the sense of 'decrease in measure (*parimāṇāpacaye*)'. Glossing *hrasva* as opposite of *dīrgha* helps maintain a distinction

between *alpa* and *hrasva* which is desired. For, one can find inclusion of both *hrasvatva* and *alpatva* in the context, for example, of *vaṃśa* 'bamboo'. Yet a distinction is maintained between *hrasvatva* and *alpatva* in contexts of liquids (*drava*) such as *ghṛta* 'clarified butter', etc. That is, no one says: *hrasvaṃ ghṛtam/ hrasvaṃ tailam.* Similarly, a large piece of cloth (*paṭaḥ*), when made short, is always referred to as *hrasvaḥ paṭaḥ.* Nobody calls it *alpaḥ paṭaḥ.*

5.3.87 संज्ञायां कन्

saṃjñāyām kan
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *hrasve* #86)
hrasvahetukā yā saṃjñā tasyāṃ gamyamānāyām kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem when a name (*saṃjñā*) with *hrasva* 'shortness' as its cause is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vaṃśakaḥ 'small bamboo tree'
veṇukaḥ 'small bamboo used for making flutes'

1. This is an exception to the earlier rule. Note that *vaṃsakaḥ* and *veṇukaḥ* denote small bamboo trees used for making special things.

5.3.88 कुटीशमीशुण्डाभ्यो रः

kuṭīśamīśuṇḍābhyo raḥ
/*kuṭīśamīśuṇḍābhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *raḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *hrasve* #86)
kuṭī-śamī-śuṇḍābhyo hrasvārthe dyotye raḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ra* occurs after nominal stems *kuṭī* 'hut', *śamī* 'a small tree' and *śuṇḍā* 'elephant's trunk' when derivates denote the sense of *hrasva.*

EXAMPLES:

kuṭīraḥ 'small hut'
śamīraḥ 'a short *śamī* tree'
śuṇḍāraḥ 'short trunk of an elephant'

1. Note that *ra* constitutes an exception to *ka* (5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*) where derivates denote the meaning of their bases (*svārtha*). However, they do not follow the gender of their bases. For, gender is determined by usage (*lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*).

5.3.89 कुत्वा डुपच्

kutvā ḍupac

/*kutvāḥ* 5/1 *ḍupac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *hrasve* #86)
kutūśabdādd hrasvatve dyotye ḍupac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌupaC* occurs after nominal stem *kutū* 'an oil-container made of hide' when the derivate signifies *hrasva.*

EXAMPLES:

kutupam 'a small oil-container made of (camel's) hide'

1. This again is an exception to *ka.* The *ū* of *kutū* is deleted because of affixal *Ḍ.*

5.3.90 कासूगोणीभ्यां ष्टरच्

kāsūgoṇībhyām ṣṭarac
/*kāsūgoṇībhyām* 5/2 *ṣṭarac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *hrasve* #86)
kāsū-goṇīśabdābhyām hrasvatve dyotye ṣṭarac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭaraC* occurs after nominal stems *kāsū* 'spear' and *goṇī* 'sack', when derivates denote *hrasva* 'short'.

EXAMPLES:

kāsūtarī 'small spear-like weapon named *śakti*'
goṇītarī 'small sack'

1. The *Ṣ* is *ṢṭaraC* is used for *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.15 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca.* The retroflex *ṭ* will be replaced with its dental counterpart after *Ṣ* is removed via *it*-deletion.

5.3.91 वत्सोक्षाश्वर्षभेभ्यश्च तनुत्वे

vatsokṣāśvarṣabhebhyaś ca tanutve
/*vatsokṣāśvarṣabhebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ф *tanutve* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ṣṭarac* #90)
'*vatsa, ukṣan, aśva, ṛṣabha*' *ity etebhyas tanutve dyotye ṣṭarac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṢṭaraC* occurs after nominal stems *vatsa* 'calf', *ukṣan* 'young bull', *aśva* 'horse' and *ṛṣabha* 'bull', when derivates signify *tanutva* 'waning, or progression, of quality'.

EXAMPLES:

vatsataraḥ 'a calf who has turned into a young bull'
ukṣataraḥ 'a young bull who has turned into a full grown bull'
aśvataraḥ 'a mule who lacks (or has lost) the quality of being a horse (*aśvatva*), because it is a sterile hybrid of an ass and a mare'

ṛṣabhataraḥ 'a bull who can no longer carry a load'

1. Note that *tanutva* can be interpreted as 'waning' or 'progression' of 'quality' (*guṇa*). Affix *ṢtaraC* is introduced to denote 'waning, or progression', of an existing quality which, in turn, conditions a given word to denote what it does. Thus, 'quality' (*guṇa*) becomes a 'qualifier' (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the 'thing' (*dravya*) which a given word denotes. 'Waning or progression' of this 'quality', thus becomes a necessary condition for introducing the affix.

Consider *vatsa* 'calf' which denotes *go* 'bull' in a particular stage of its life (*vayoviśeṣa*). It is this 'quality' of 'being in a particular stage of life' that enables *vatsa* to denote a 'calf'. What will characterize the 'waning or progression' of this 'quality' of 'being a calf'? Reaching the second stage of its life (*Kāś.*: *dvitīyavayasaḥ prāptiḥ*). The 'waning or progression' of this quality of reaching 'the second stage' could be called 'progressing toward the third stage', etc. The three stages of a bull's life can be characterized by words such as *vatsa, ukṣan* and *anaḍvān*. What characterizes 'waning' in a bull who has reached the third stage of his life is *mandaśaktitā* 'waning of strength'. What characterizes 'waning' in a mule? The fact that an ass has fathered him (*gardabhapitṛkatā*).

5.3.92 **किंयत्तदो निर्धारणे द्वयोरेकस्य डतरच्**

kiṃyattado nirdhāraṇe dvayor ekasya ḍatarac
/*kiṃ-yat-taḍaḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *nirddhāraṇe* 7/1 *dvayoḥ* 7/2 *ekasya* 6/1 *ḍatarac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*kim-yat-tat*' *ity etebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo dvayor ekasya nirdhāraṇe ḍatarac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ḌataraC* occurs after nominal stems *kim* 'which, what, who', *yad* 'that which (relative)' and *tad* 'that', when derivates signify singling out one (*nirdhāraṇe*) from among two (*ekasya dvayoḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

kataro bhavatoḥ kaṭhaḥ 'who is the Kaṭha among you two'
kataro bhavatoḥ kārakaḥ 'who is the doer among you two'
kataro bhavator devadattaḥ 'who is Devadatta among you two'
kataro bhavatoḥ paṭuḥ 'who is more skilled among you two'
yataro bhavato paṭus tatara āgacchatu yataro bhavatoḥ paṭuḥ . . . 'the one who is skilled among you two . . ., let the one who is better skilled among you two come'

1. This affix is introduced after a base which denotes what is being singled out (*nirdhāryamāṇavācibhyaḥ*). Derivates of this rule denote meanings of their bases (*svārtha*). The word *nirdhāraṇa* is used in the sense of 'singling

out one from among a group based upon 'class', 'action', 'quality', or 'name' (*Kāś.*: *jātyā kriyayā guṇena saṃjñayā vā samudāyād ekasya pṛthakkaraṇam nirdhāraṇam*). A 'group' (*samudāya*), for purposes of this rule, is limited to have only two members (*dvayor ekasya*).

Note that derivates of *ḌataraC* are optional in view of *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānām prathamād vā.* That is, *kataro bhavator devadattaḥ* can be used optionally with *ko bhavator devadattaḥ*... where *vā* provides for lack of affixal usage in the second sentence.

The *saptamī* 'locative' in *nirdhāraṇe* specifies *viṣaya* 'domain'.

5.3.93 वा बहूनां जातिपरिप्रश्ने डतमच्

> *vā bahūnām jātiparipraśne ḍatamac*
>
> /*vā* ɸ *bahūnām* 6/3 *jātiparipraśne* 7/1 = *jāteḥ paritaḥ praśnaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ḍatamac* 1/1
>
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kiyattado nirdhāraṇe ekasya* #92)
>
> *bahūnām madhye ekasya nirdhāraṇe gamyamāne jātiparipraśnaviṣayebhyaḥ kimādibhyo vā ḍatamac pratyayo bhavati*
>
> The *taddhita* affix *ḌatamaC* occurs, optionally, after nominal stems *kim*, *yad* and *tad* when used within the scope of an inquiry and *jāti* 'class', provided derivates denote singling out one from among many (*bahūnām ekasya nirdhāraṇe*).

EXAMPLES:

> *katamo bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ* 'who among you is a Kaṭha'
>
> *yatamo bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ tatama āgacchatu* 'let him, the one who is a Kaṭha among you, come'
>
> *yako bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ sako āgacchatu* 'id.'

1. This optional *ḌatamaC* is introduced against *ḌataraC.* Recall that *ḌatamaC* is used for singling out one from among two. Our present provision for *ḌatamaC* is made for singling out one from among many. Since *kim*, *yad* and *tad* are *sarvanāman*, we will also get *akAC* after them (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām*...). The *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*, i.e., *mahāvibhāṣā* 'great option', will facilitate yet another option. That is, the option of not introducing any one of these affixes. Thus, *yo bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ sa āgacchatu* 'let him, the one who is a Kaṭha among you, come forward' parallel to *yatamo bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ tatama āgacchatu* and *yako bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ saka āgacchatu.*

2. The word *jātiparipraśna*, a *samāhāra-dvandva* compoud paraphrased as: *jātiś ca paripraśnaś ca* 'class and inquiry', restricts the denotata of *kim*, *yad* and *tad* to *jāti* 'class'. Note, however, that *paripraśna* could be associated only with *kim*, because *yad* and *tad* are non-interrogative. The word *jāti* relates to all three.

Some, in this context, also accept affix *Ḍatara* after *kim*. Thus, *kataro bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ kataro bhavatāṃ kālāpaḥ* 'who, of you two, is a Kaṭha, and who is a Kālāpa?'. This, of course, could be justified in view of 2.1.63 *katarakatamau jātiparipraśne.*

Deriving *katara* and *yatara* entails *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). A string with *kim* + *ak*(*AC*→ϕ) = *k*+*ak*+*im* = *kakim* will be replaced with *ka* (7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ*). This is made possible in view of a statement of the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ*). Thus, *ko bhavatāṃ kaṭhaḥ* could also qualify as a derivate of *akAC*. Forms such as *yakaḥ* and *sakaḥ* will be derived from *yad* and *tad* where (*tad* + *ak* = *t*+*ak*+*ad*) + *sU* will yield *takad* + *sU*. Follow the derivational pattern of *saḥ* (cf. appendix of vol. II, under 1.1.51 *alo'ntyasya*) for deriving *sakaḥ* and *yakaḥ* from *takad* + *sU* and *yakad* + *sU*.

5.3.94 **एकाच्च प्राचाम्**

ekāc ca prācām
/*ekāt* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *prācām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, . . . *nirdhāraṇe ekasya* #92, *vā bahūnāṃ ḍatamac* #93)
ekaśabdāt prācām ācāryāṇāṃ matena ḍatarac, ḍatamac ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *ḌataraC* and *ḌatamaC* occur, in the opinion of Eastern grammarians, after nominal stem *eka*, when singling out one from among two, or many, is denoted, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

ekataro bhavator devadattaḥ 'one of you is Devadatta'
ekatamo bhavatāṃ Devadattaḥ 'one of you (all) is Devadatta'

1. Note that *vā* is still carried. Consequently, mention of *prācām* must be interpreted here as indicating respect (*pūjā*). The *anuvṛtti* of *jātiparipraśne* is not required. The *ca* is used for bringing *ḌataraC*.

5.3.95 **अवक्षेपणे कन्**

avakṣepaṇe kan
/*avakṣepaṇe* 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
avakṣepaṇe vartamānāt prātipadikāt kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem whose denotatum signifies censure (*avakṣepaṇa*).

EXAMPLES:

vyākaraṇakena nāma tvaṃ garvitaḥ 'you are arrogant because you know

some grammar'
yājñikyakena nāma tvaṃ garvitaḥ 'you are arrogant because you know some rituals'

1. The word *avakṣepaṇa* is explained as that by means of which someone is censured (*avakṣipyate yena tad*). Affix *kaN* is introduced after a nominal stem which is used with this denotatum. Note that the denotatum of a nominal stem after which affix *kaN* is to be introduced is employed as a means of making someone else contemptible. One would indeed introduce *kaN* of 5.3.74 *kutsite* if what is denoted as contemptible is the sense of the nominal stem itself. Incidentally, in an example such as *vyākaraṇakena nāma tvaṃ garvitaḥ*, 'grammar' is not censured. It is here brought as a means to censure a grammarian.

5.3.96 **इवे प्रतिकृतौ**

ive pratikṛtau
/*ive* 7/1 *pratikṛtau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95)
ivārthe yat prātipadikaṃ vartate tasmān kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem used in the sense of *iva* 'like', when derivate denotes *pratikṛti* 'imitation, image'.

EXAMPLES:

aśva ivāyam aśvapratikṛtiḥ = aśvakaḥ 'this (replica) sure looks like a horse'
gardabhakaḥ 'this (replica) sure looks like a donkey'

1. The word *pratikṛti* is explained as a *praticchanda* 'image, copy, replica, model', made with straw, wood, or hide, etc. (*tṛṇacarmakāṣṭhādinirmitam*). This *kaN* cannot be introduced when the sense of *iva* 'similarity' alone is denoted. It is to be introduced when the sense of *iva* is further qualified with 'likeness'.

5.3.97 **संज्ञायां च**

saṃjñāyāṃ ca
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95, *ive* #96)
ivārthe gamyamāne kan pratyayo bhavati samudāyena cet saṃjñā gamyate
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* also occurs after a nominal stem which signifies the sense of *iva*, provided derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

aśvasadṛśasya saṃjñā = aśvakaḥ 'name of that which reminds of a horse'

uṣṭrakaḥ 'name of that which reminds of a camel'

1. Derivates of this rule denote names given to objects, not because they really are what their names denote, but because they share certain similarities with what the name denotes. Thus, an object named *aśva* 'horse' may not be an *aśva* but could be called as such because of its likeness with an *aśva*. This rule provides for derivates which do not involve a copy, replica or model (*aprakṛtyartha ārambhaḥ*).

5.3.98 लुम्मनुष्ये

lum manuṣye
/ *lup* 1/1 *manuṣye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95, *ive* #96, *saṃjñāyām* #97)
saṃjñāyām vihitasya kano manuṣyo' bhidheye lub bhavati
LUP comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *kaN* which occurs after a nominal stem, used with the signification of *iva*, provided the derivate signifies a human name.

EXAMPLES:

cañceva manuṣyaḥ = *cañcvā* 'a man named Cañcvā because of his likeness with a scarecrow (straw-man)'
dāsī 'a woman named Dāsī because of her likeness with a maid-servant'

1. The condition of *manuṣye* is imposed to exclude examples such as *aśvakaḥ* 'a non-human with likeness of a horse' and *gardhabhakaḥ* 'a non-human with likeness of a donkey', etc., of the earlier rule.

5.3.99 जीविकार्थे चापण्ये

jīvikārthe cāpaṇye
/ *jīvikārthe* 7/1 = *jīvikāyai idam* (*tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ *apaṇye* 7/1 = *na paṇyam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95, *pratikṛtau* #96, *saṃjñāyām* #97, *lub manuṣye* #98)
jīvikārthaṃ yad apaṇyaṃ tasminn abhidheye kano lub bhavati
LUP comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *kaN* which occurs after a nominal stem used in the sense of *iva*, provided the derivate denotes a human image intended for earning a living, though not through its sale.

EXAMPLES:

vāsudevaḥ 'idol of Kṛṣṇa used for earning a living'
viṣṇuḥ 'idol of Viṣṇu . . .'

1. The condition of *manuṣye* and *apaṇye* will block deletion of *kaN* after

hastika of *hastikān vikrīṇīte* 'sells mode of elephants'. This affixal deletion is intended where human images are displayed for earning a living.

5.3.100 देवपथादिभ्यश्च

devapathādibhyaś ca
/*devapathādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *devapatha ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #95, *ive pratikṛtau* #96, *lup* #98)
ive pratikṛtau saṃjñāyāṃ ca vihitasya kano devapathādibhya uttarasya lub bhavati
LUP also comes in place of the *taddhita* affix *kan*, which occurs after nominal stems listed in the group headed by *devapatha* 'heaven, path of gods' and used with the signification of *iva*, provided derivates denote a model (*pratikṛti*).

EXAMPLES:

devapattaḥ 'a replica of roads gods traverse'
haṃsapathaḥ 'a replica of paths swans fly'

1. Note that *devapatha*, etc., form an open-ended set (*ākṛtigaṇa*). The word *ādi* in *devapathādi* '*devapatha*, and the like', denotes *prakāra* 'kind'. The following verse summarizes this deletion of *kaN* in relation to the *devapathādi* group:

arcāsu pūjanārthāsu citrakarmadhvajeṣu ca/
ive pratikṛtau lopaḥ kano devapathādiṣu//
'*kaN* is deleted by *LOPA* after bases such as *devapatha*, and its likes, when derivates denote idols intended for worship in temples, paintings and on flags'

5.3.101 वस्तेर्ढञ्

vaster ḍhañ
/*vasteḥ* 5/1 *ḍhañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
vastiśabdād ivārthe dyotye ḍhañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍhaÑ* occurs after *vasti* 'lower abdomen', when sense of *iva* is denoted.
vastir iva = *vāsteyaḥ* 'similar in shape to lower abdomen; leather bag'
vāsteyī 'id. (feminine)'

1. Affixes, hereafter, will be introduced in the general sense of *iva*, irrespective of whether or not the signification of *pratikṛti* 'copy, model' is involved.

5.3.102 शिलाया ढः

śilāyā ḍhaḥ
/*śilāyāḥ* 5/1 *ḍhaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
śilāśabdād ivārthe ḍhaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḍha* occurs after *śilā* 'rock', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śileva = *śileyaṃ dadhi* 'rock-solid (yogurt)'

1. Some also derive *śaileyam* with *ḍhaÑ*. For this, they resort to a split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule with the preceding. Thus, *śilāyā ḍhañ* (*śaileyam*), and *śilāyā ḍhaḥ* (*śileyam*) will be two split-interpretations.

5.3.103 शाखादिभ्यो यत्

śākhādibhyo yat
/*śākhādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
'*śākhā*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyo yat pratyayo bhavati ivārthe*
The *tadhita* affix *yaT* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śākhā* 'branch', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śākheva = *śākhyaḥ* 'similar to branch of a tree'
mukhyaḥ 'like a face; principal'

1. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* accepts this affix as *ya*.

5.3.104 द्रव्यं च भव्ये

dravyaṃ ca bhavye
/*dravyam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *bhavye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
dravyaśabdo nipātyate bhavye' bhidheye
A *taddhita* affix occurs to derive *dravya*, via *nipātana*, when *bhavya* 'locus of suitable attributes' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dravyo'yaṃ rājaputraḥ 'this prince possesses qualities required of him'
dravyo'yaṃ māṇavakaḥ 'this boy possesses qualities required of him'

1. The word *bhavya* is explained as *ātmavān* 'self-contained'. That is, serving as locus of desired attributes of its denotatum (*abhipretānām arthānāṃ mātrabhūtaḥ*).

5.3.105 कुशाग्राच्छः

kuśāgrāc chaḥ
/*kuśāgrāt* 5/1 *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
kuśāgraśabdād ivārthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after nominal stem *kuśāgra* 'tip of the Kuśa grass' when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kuśāgram iva sūkṣmatvāt = *kuśāgrīyā buddhiḥ* 'intelligence as sharp as tip of the Kuśa grass'
kuśāgrīyaṃ vastram 'an extremely thin piece of cloth'

1. Note that *kuśāgra* serves as a standard of comparison because of its extreme sharpness.

5.3.106 समासाच्च तद्विषयात्

samāsāc ca tadviṣayāt
/*samāsāt* 5/1 *ca* ɸ *tadviṣayāt* 5/1 = *sa viṣayo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmā*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96 *chaḥ* #105)
ivārthaviṣayāt samāsād aparasminn ivārthe eva chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* also occurs after a nominal stem termed *samāsa* 'compound' when derivates denote a sense of *iva*, not different from one which formed the basis of compound-formation.

EXAMPLES:

kākatālīyaṃ devadattasya hananaṃ coraiḥ 'killing of Devadatta by thieves is not different from coincidental killing of a crow flying directly under a falling palm tree'
ajākṛpāṇīyaṃ hananam 'a killing, not different from the coincidental killing of a goat coming under a falling sword'
andhakavartīyam 'a coincidental gain, not different from that of a blind person who spread out his hands and grabbed a bird'

1. Note that *kākatālīya*, etc., are compounds formed in the sense of *iva* 'like'. Affix *cha* is introduced when the sense of *iva* happens to be similar to one which formed the basis of compound-formation. Obviously, there are

two sets of senses of *iva* involved. Thus, *kākatāla* is a compound formed with the denotatum of 'similar to the arrival of a crow, and concurrent with the fall of a tree'. The second set of the sense of *iva* refers to similarities between 'arrival of the crow and Devadatta on the one hand' and 'fall of the palm tree, and arrival of thieves, on the other' (*kākāgamanasadṛśaṃ devadattāgamanam; tālapatanasadṛśaṃ corāgamanam*). The first is part of the compound, and the second is the denotatum of *cha*. Affix *cha*, for example, cannot be introduced after *śastrīśyāmā* of *śastrīśyāmā devadattā* 'daughter of Devadatta (who is as) black as a knife' because only one sense of *iva* is involved. Note that these compounds are formed on the basis of this provision itself. There is no other rule allowing the formation of such compounds.

5.3.107 शर्करादिभ्योऽण्

śarkarādibhyo' ṇ
/*śarkarādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
'*śarkarā*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya ivarthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *śarkarā* 'sugar, gravel', when the sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śarkareva = *śārkaram* 'sweet as sugar; gravel-like'
kāpālikam 'like a *kāpālika*, a Tāntrika, who uses human-skull as his pot for eating and drinking'

5.3.108 अङ्गुल्यादिभ्यष्ठक्

aṅgulyādibhyaṣ ṭhak
/*aṅgulyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*bv.*) *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
aṅgulyādibhya ivārthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *aṅguli* 'finger', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgulīva = *āṅgulikaḥ* 'finger-like'
bhārujikaḥ 'like a jackal'

5.3.109 एकशालायाष्ठजन्यतरस्याम्

ekaśālāyāṣ ṭhaj anyatarasyām
/*ekaśālāyāyām* 5/1 *ṭhac* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
ekaśālāśabdād ivārthe' anyatarasyāṃ ṭhac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaC* occurs optionally after nominal stem *ekaśālā* 'single hall', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ekaśāleva = *ekaśālikaḥ* 'a hall-like small home'
aikaśālikaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that *anyatarasyām* is used to make *ṭhaC* optional to *ṭhaK* of the preceding rule. Derivates of *ṭhaC* and *ṭhaK* differ in initial *vṛddhi* and accent.

5.3.110 कर्कलोहितादीकक्

karkalohitād īkak
/*karkalohitāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *īkak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
karkalohitaśabdābhyām ivārthe īkak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *īkaK* occurs after nominal stems *karka* 'white horse' and *lohita* 'red', when sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

karkaḥ śuklo' śvaḥ, tena sadṛśaḥ = *kārkīkaḥ* 'like a white horse'
lauhitīkaḥ sphaṭikaḥ 'like red crystal'

1. Note that crystal is not red, though, because of being translucent, it may appear as if red when placed on something red (*Kāś.*: *svayam alohito' py upāśrayavaśāt tathā pratīyate*).

5.3.111 प्रत्नपूर्वविश्वेमात्थाल् छन्दसि

pratnapūrvaviśvemāt thāl chandasi
/*pratnapūrvaviśvemāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *thāl* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ive* #96)
'*pratna, pūrva, viśva, ima*' *ity etebhya ivārthe thāl pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *thāL* occurs, in Vedic, after nominal stems *pratna* 'ancient', *pūrva* 'prior', *viśva* 'all' and *ima* 'this', when the sense of *iva* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pratnathā 'as if ancient'
pūrvathā 'as before'

viśvathā 'like all'
imathā 'like this'

5.3.112 पूगाञ्ञ्योऽग्रामणीपूर्वात्

pūgāñ ñyo' grāmaṇīpūrvāt
/*pūgāt* 5/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1 *agrāmaṇīpūrvāt* 5/1 = *grāmaṇīḥ pūrvo' vayavo yasya* (*bv.*) = *grāmaṇīpūrvaḥ*; *na grāmaṇīpūrvaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
pūgavācinaḥ prātipadikād agrāmaṇīpūrvāt svārthe ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *pūga* 'group of people' and does not have *grāmaṇī* '(village) leader' as its initial constituent.

EXAMPLES:

lauhadhvajyaḥ 'a group of people led by Lohadhvaja'
śaibyaḥ 'a group of people led by Śibi'
lohadhvajāḥ 'groups of people led by Lohadhvaja'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *pūga* as a group composed of people, of diverse castes and indefinite source of livelihood, who seek wealth and pursue pleasures (*nānājātīyā aniyatavṛttayo' rthakāmapradhānaḥ saṃghāḥ*). These groups are named after their respective leaders. The condition of *agrāmaṇīpūrvāt* blocks *Ñya*, in favor of *kaN*, parallel to *devadatto grāmaṇīr eṣāṃ te* = *ime devadattakāḥ* 'these are Devadattakas, the ones whose leader is Devadatta'.

Note that *Ñya* is also termed *tadrāja* (5.3.119 *ñyādayas tadrājāḥ*). This causes deletion of *Ñya* in plural (2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu* . . .). A deletion of *Ñya* will also block *vṛddhi* (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*).

5.3.113 व्रातच्फञोरस्त्रियाम्

vrātacphañor astriyām
/*vrātac-phañoḥ* 6/2 = *vrātaś ca cphañ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *astriyām* 7/1 = *na strī* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ñyaḥ* #112)
vrātavācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaś ca svārthe ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *vrāta* 'a group of people of different caste, and indefinite profession, who earn their living by hunting', or ends in affix *CphaÑ*, provided the derivate is not feminine.

EXAMPLES

kāpotapākāḥ 'a group of people who earn their living by hunting doves'

kauñjāyanāḥ 'a group of descendants of Kuñja'

1. Commentators describe *vrāta* as a group of people who earn their living by *utsedha* 'hunting' (*Kāś.*: *utsedhajīvinaḥ saṃghā vrātāḥ*). Bases such as *kapotapākī* '... who cooks doves' cannot qualify for this affix because of the condition of *astriyām* 'not when feminine'. Refer to the derivation of *kauñjāyanyaḥ* in the appendix (vol. II) of rule 1.3.7 *cuṭū*.

5.3.114 आयुधजीविसङ्घाञ्ञ्यड्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात्

āyudhajīvisaṃghāñ ñyaḍ vāhīkeṣv abrāhmaṇarājanyāt
/ *āyudhajīvisaṃghāt* 5/1 = *āyudhajīvināṃ saṃghaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *ñyaṭ* 1/1 *vāhīkeṣu* 7/3 *abrāhmaṇarājanyāt* 5/1 = *brāhmaṇaś ca rājanyaś ca* = *brāhmaṇarājanyam*; *na brāhmaṇarājanyam* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
vāhīkeṣu ya āyudhajīvināṃ saṃghaḥ tadvācinaḥ prātipadikād brāhmaṇarājanyavarjitāt svārthe ñyaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ÑyaṬ* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies a group of people who, in the country of Vāhīkas, earn their living by means of their weapons (*āyudha*), but are not *brāhmaṇas* or *rājanyas* 'warriors'.

EXAMPLES:

kauṇḍībṛsyaḥ 'a group whose leader is Kauṇḍībṛsa'
kṣaudrakyaḥ 'a group whose leader is Kṣudraka'

1. Note that *vāhīkeṣu* can be interpreted either as 'among the people of Vāhīkas', or 'in the country of Vāhīka'. The *saptamī* 'locative' will denote *nirdhāraṇa* 'singing out one from among many' when the first meaning is accepted. The locative, in view of the second meaning, will be accepted as denoting locus (*ādhāra*).

The conditions of *āyudhajīvisaṃgha* would block *ÑyaṬ* after *malla* 'wrestler' and *samrāṭ* 'emperor', where the first denotes a group which does not earn its living by weapons, and the second denotes a single individual. The condition of *abrāhmaṇarājanyāt* blocks *ÑyaṬ* in *gopālakā brāhmaṇāḥ* 'brāhmaṇas who raise cows' and *śālaṅkāyanā rājanyāḥ* 'a group of Rājanyas named Śālaṅkāyanas'.

2. Note that the negation of *astriyām* is not carried. For, marking *ÑyaṬ* with *Ṭ* as an *it* would become vacuous. That is, *astriyām* is carried then derivates of *ÑyaṬ*, which end in feminine affix *ṄīP*, at the strength of *Ṭ* as an *it* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...), will be dropped. We do find examples such as *kauṇḍībṛsī* and *kṣaudrakī* in feminine. Incidentally, the *y* of these feminine derivates is deleted by 6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya*.

5.3.115 वृकाट्टेण्यण्

vṛkāṭ ṭeṇyaṇ
/*vṛkāt* 5/1 *ṭeṇyaṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *āyudhajīvisaṃghāt* #114)
vṛkaśabdād āyudhajīvinaḥ svārthe ṭeṇyaṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬeṇyaṆ* occurs after nominal stem *vṛka,* used with the signification of a group of people who earn their living by means of their weapons.

EXAMPLES:

vārkeṇyaḥ 'a group of people led by Vṛka'
vṛkāḥ 'groups of people led by Vṛka'

1. Note that derivates denote *svārtha* 'base meaning'. The *Ṭ* as an *it* is given for feminine affix *ṄīP.* The *Ṇ* is for *vṛddhi.* Affixal-deletion in plural restores the original base. Thus, *vṛkāḥ.*

5.3.116 दामन्यादित्रिगर्तषष्ठाच्छः

dāmanyāditrigartaṣaṣṭhāc chaḥ
/*dāmanyāditrigartaṣaṣṭhāt* 5/1 = *dāmany ādir yeṣām te* (*bv.*); *trigartaḥ ṣaṣṭhaḥ yeṣām* (*bv.*); *dāmanyādayaś ca trigartaṣaṣṭhāś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt; chaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *āyudhajīvisaṃghāt* #114)
dāmanyādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyas trigartaṣaṣṭhebhyaś cāyudhajīvisaṃghavācibhyaḥ svārthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a nominal stem listed either in a group headed by *dāmanī,* or in a group whose sixth member is *trigarta,* when these stems signify a group of people earning their living by means of their weapons.

EXAMPLES:

dāmanīyaḥ 'a group of people led by Dāmanī'
kauṇḍoparathāḥ 'a group of people led by Kauṇḍīparatha'
jānakīyaḥ 'a group of people led by Jānaki'

1. Note that the six bases known as *trigartaṣaṣṭha* are: *kauṇḍoparatha, dāṇḍaki, kauṣṭaki, jālamāni, brāhmagupta* and *jānaki.* The sixth, i.e., itself means *trigarta.* The *SK* reads it as *jālaki.*

5.3.117 पार्श्वादियौधेयादिभ्यामणञौ

pārśvādiyaudheyādibhyām aṇañau

/pārśvādiyaudheyādibhyām 5/2 = *parśu ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *yaudheya ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *paraśvādayaś ca yaudheyādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tābhyām; aṇañau* 1/2 = *aṇ ca añ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tau/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *āyudhajīvisaṃghāt* #114)
pārśvādibhyo yaudheyādibhyaś ca prātipadikebhya āyudhajīvisaṃghavācibhyaḥ svārthe' ṇañau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *aṆ* and *aÑ* occur, respectively, after nominal stems listed in the groups headed by *parśu* and *yaudheya*, provided they are used with the signification of a group of people earning living by means of their weapons.

EXAMPLES:

pārśavaḥ 'a group of people led by Parśu'
yaudheyaḥ 'a group of people led by Yaudheya'

5.3.118 अभिजिद्विदभृच्छालावच्छिखावच्छमीवदूर्णावच्छ्रुमदणो यञ्

abhijidvidabhṛcchālāvacchikhāvacchamīvadūrṇāvacchrumadaṇo yañ
/ abhijid-vidabhṛc-chālāvac-chikhāvac-chamīvad-ūrṇāvac-chrumadaṇaḥ 5/1 = *abhijic ca vidabhṛc ca śālāvac ca śikhāvac ca śamīvac ca ūrṇāvac ca śrumac ca = abhijidvidabhṛc... chrumataḥ, teṣām = abhijidvidabhṛc... chrumatām; eṣām sambandhī aṇ = abhijidvidabhṛc ... chrumato' ṇ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*); *yañ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
abhijidādibhyo' ṇantebhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ svārthe yañ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *aṆ* and is listed in the group headed by *abhijit*.

EXAMPLES:

ābhijityaḥ 'a male descendant of Abhijit'
vaidabhṛtyaḥ 'a male descendant of Vidabhṛt'
śālāvatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Śalāvat'
śaikhāvatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Śikhāvat'
śāmīvatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Śamīvat'
aurṇāvatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Ūrṇāvat'
śraumatyaḥ 'a male descendant of Śrumat'

1. Note that derivates of this rule will denote *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. Affix *yaÑ* of all these bases in plural will be deleted at the strength of assignment of the term *tadrāja*. Incidentally, *aṆ* of this rule refers to the *aṆ* introduced with the denotatum of a *gotra*. Thus, *ābhijita* is blocked from receiving *yaÑ* because its *aṆ* denotes 'time of conjunction with a constellation' (4.2.3 *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ*) and 'oblation' (*sthālipāka*; 4.2.24 *sā' sya devatā*).

5.3.119 ञ्यादयस्तद्राजाः

ñyādayas tadrājāḥ
/ *ñyādayaḥ* 5/3 = *ñya ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*, *tadrājāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*pūgāñyo' grāmaṇīpūrvāt*' *ity ataḥ prabhṛti ye pratyayās te tadrājasaṃjñā bhavanti*
The *taddhita* affixes introduced up to here beginning with *Ñya* (of 5.3.112 *pūgāññyo' grāmaṇīpūrvāt*) are termed *tadrāja*.

EXAMPLES:

Refer, especially, to a plural example under relevant rules.

1. The preceding affixes which have been enumerated beginning with *Ñya* are assigned the term *tadrāja*. This brings rule 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu* . . . close to the context of these affixes, whereby they are deleted by *LUK* when occurring after a non-feminine base used in plural. Refer to examples under 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu*. . . .

PĀDA FOUR

5.4.1 पादशतस्य संख्यादेर्वीप्सायां वुन्लोपश्च

pādaśatasya saṃkhyāder vīpsāyāṃ vun lopaś ca
/ *pādaśatasya* 6/1 = *pādaś ca śataṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*); *saṃkhyādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃkhyā ādir yasya sa saṃkhyādiḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *vīpsāyām* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
pādaśatāntasya saṃkhyādeḥ prātipadikasya vīpsāyāṃ dyotyāyāṃ vun pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *pāda* 'a quarter' and *śata* 'a hundred', and begins with a number (*samkhyādeḥ*), with an additional provision that the final sound segment (1.1.51 *alo'-ntyasya*) of *pāda* and *śata* be replaced with *LOPA*, when derivates denotes *vīpsā* 'repetition, pervasion'.

EXAMPLES:

dvau dvau pādau dadāti = *dvipadikāṃ dadāti* 'he is giving away quarters in sets of two each'
dve dve śate dadāti = *dviśatikāṃ dadāti* 'he is giving away hundreds in sets of two each'

1. Note that *pādaśatasya* is construed with both *vuN* and *LOPA*. Accordingly, *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' of *pādaśatasya* is interpreted as *pañcamī* 'ablative' for

purposes of introducing *vuN*. The genitive is given for facilitating replacement of the final sound segment of *LOPA* (1.1.51 *alo'ntyasya*). But this deletion of the final sound segment could also be accomplished by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Why then state the deletion here? So that *pād* could be replaced with *pad* in view of 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat*. The deletion by *LOPA* of 6.4.130 *yasyeti ca* is conditioned (*naimittika*) by a *taddhita* affix, or a feminine in *ī*. The deletion in our present rule is not conditioned (*anaimittika*) by anything. A deletion by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will restore *sthānivadbhāva* by treating a substitute like what it replaced (1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*). The deletion of this rule, because it is not conditioned by a right context, will impair *sthānivadbhāva*, and in the process, allow *pād* to be replaced with *pad*.

2. The condition of *pādaśatasya* is needed to block this affixal provision parallel to *dvau dvau māṣau dadāti* '... gives Māṣas in sets of two each' where *pāda* and *śata* are missing. This affixal provision will also be blocked parallel to *padau pādau dadāti* where *pāda* does not have a *saṃkhyā* at the beginning. Finally, *dvau pādau dadāti* will also not qualify because *vīpsā* 'repetition' is not involved. A *vārttika*, however, claims that specifying the base as *pādaśata* does not make sense. For, affix *vuN* is also seen elsewhere (*pādaśatagrahaṇam anarthakam anyatrāpi darśanāt*). Thus, *dvimodakikāṃ dadāti* 'gives away little sweet-balls in sets of two each', *trimodakikāṃ dadāti* 'gives away little sweet-balls in sets of three each', etc.

3. Note that *dvi* + *au pāda* + *au* are combined in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*.... Our present rule introduces *vuN* after the compound *dvi* + *pāda* and deletes the final *a* of *pāda* in consonance with 1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*. Rule 6.4.130 *pādaḥ pat* will then replace *pād* with *pad* to produce *dvipad* + *vu* where *vu* will subsequently yield *aka* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). Affix *ṬāP* can then be added after *dvipadaka* to yield *dvipada* + *ā* where the final *a* of *pada* will be further replaced with *i* of 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*... This will produce *dvipadikā* + *am* → *dvipadikām*. We can similarly derive *dviśatikām*.

5.4.2 दण्डव्यवसर्गयोश्च

daṇḍavyavasargayoś ca
/ *daṇḍavyavasargayoḥ* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *pādaśatasya saṃkhyāder vun* #1)
daṇḍavyavasargayor gamyamānayoḥ pādaśatāntasya prātipadikasya saṃkhyāder vun pratyayo bhavati antalopaś ca
The *taddhita* affix *vuN* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *pāda* and *śata* and begins with a number, with the additional provision of *LOPA* in place of the final sound-segment of *pāda* and *śata*, provided derivates signify *daṇḍa* 'punishment' and *vyavasarga* 'giving'.

EXAMPLES:

dvau pādau daṇḍitaḥ = *dvipadikāṃ daṇḍitaḥ* 'he was fined two quarters of . . .'
dvau pādau vyavasṛjati = *dvipadikāṃ vyavasṛjati* 'he is making a gift of two quarters of . . .'

1. This rule is formulated for allowing *vuN* outside of the denotatum of *vīpsā*. The word *daṇḍa* is interpreted here as *damana* 'punishment'. It cannot be interpreted as a 'stick', a means (*karaṇa*) of punishing, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with action of giving (*vyavasarga*).

5.4.3 स्थूलादिभ्यः प्रकारवचने कन्

sthūlādibhyaḥ prakāravacane kan
/ *sthūlādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *sthūla ādir yeṣām* (*bv*), *tebhyaḥ*; *prakāravacane* 7/1 *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
sthūlādibhyaḥ prakāravacane dyotye kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *sthūla* 'huge', when drivates signify *prakāra* 'manner, kind'.

EXAMPLES:

sthūlaprakāraḥ = *sthūlakaḥ* 'powerful, like someone huge'
aṇukaḥ 'tiny, as a grain of Aṇu (kind of rice)'

1. Affix *kaN* here constitutes an exception to *jātīyaR*. Recall that *jātīyaR* denotes *prakāra* 'kind, manner, likeness'. There are two meanings of *prakāra*: (*i*) *sādṛśya* 'similarity, likeness' and (*ii*) *bheda* 'distinction'. Affix *kaN*, similar to *jātīyaR*, denotes something distinguished by likeness (*prakāraviśiṣṭa*). It does not denote likeness in general (*prakārasāmānya*). Refer also to notes under 5.3.23 *prakāravacane thāl* and 5.3.69 *prakāravacane jātīyar*.

2. A *vārttika* recommends introduction of this *kaN* also after *cañcat* 'moving' and *bṛhat* 'large, big'. This can give: *cañcatprakāraḥ* 'as if moving' and *bṛhatprakāraḥ* 'as if big'. Some read these bases as *cañca* and *bṛha*, in view of derivates such as *cañcakaḥ* and *bṛhakaḥ*.

3. Some of the bases of the *sthūlādi* group are stated to have special meanings. Thus, *kṛṣṇa* 'black', *yava* 'barley', *gomūtra* 'cow's urine', *surā* 'liquor', *jīrṇa* 'old, worn out' are to be used when these bases are used with *tila* 'sesame', *brīhi* 'rice', *ācchādana* 'covering', *ahi* 'snake' and *śāli* 'rice' as their qualifiers, respectively. This will give derivates such as: *kṛṣṇakāḥ tilāḥ* 'black sesame', *yavakā brīhayaḥ* 'barley-like rice', *gomūtrakam* 'a covering similar in color to cow's urine', *surakaḥ* 'a snake similar in color to liquor' and *jīrṇakāḥ* 'as if worn out', respectively. Additionally, *pādya*, *kāla* and *avadāta* are also

used in the sense of *surā* 'liquor'. The words *patra* 'leaf' and *mūla* 'root' can be used either as a compound base, namely *patramūla* to derive *patramūlakam*, or individually to derive *patrakam* or *mūlakam*.

5.4.4 अनत्यन्तगतौ क्तात्

anatyantagatau ktāt
/ *anatyanatagatau* 7/1 *ktāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #3)
anatyanatagatau gamyamānāyām ktāntāt kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in affix *Kta* when derivates signify *anatyantagati* 'discontinuous connection of action with participant'.

EXAMPLES:

bhinnakaḥ 'partly split'
chinnakaḥ 'partly cut'

1. The word *atyantagatiḥ* is explained as 'total connection'. Its absence, in turn, can be called *anatyantagatiḥ* (*Kāś.*: *atyantagatiḥ* = *aśeṣasambandhaḥ*, *tadabhāvo' natyantagatiḥ*). Haradatta explains *aśeṣasambandha* as 'pervasion of a participant by action denoted by a base ending in *Kta*, (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ktaprakṛtivācyayā kriyayā sādhanasya vyāptiḥ*). A not so total pervasion is thus called *anatyantagati*. Thus, *bhinna* and *chinna* are bases which end in *Kta*, and denote total connection of the action of 'splitting' (*bheda*) and 'cutting' (*cheda*) with the object. Affix *kaN* can be introduced only when a not so total connection is denoted by their derivates *bhinnakaḥ* and *chinnakaḥ*.

5.4.5 न सामिवचने

na sāmivacane
/ *na* ɸ *sāmivacane* 7/1 = *sāmy ucyate yena* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #3, *ktāntāt* #4)
sāmivacane upapade ktāntāt kan pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* does not occur after a nominal stem which ends in *Kta* used in conjunction with a *pada* signifying *sāmi* 'half'.

EXAMPLES:

sāmikṛtam 'half-done'
ardhakṛtam 'id.'
sāmibhuktam 'half-eaten'
nemabhuktam 'id.'

1. The word *vacana* is used in this rule so that *sāmi* can also include references to its synonyms such as *ardha* and *nema*, etc. (*vacanagrahaṇam paryāyārtham*).

A question is raised in the *Mahābhāṣya* against stating this negation. Affix *kaN* cannot be introduced after *sāmikṛta*, etc., because the sense of *anatyantagati* is already denoted by the base. Why state the negation of *kaN* when its positive provision itself is questionable? Patañjali states that this negative provision is made, not as much to negate *anatyartagati*, but to negate introduction of *kaN* for denoting *svārtha* 'base-meaning'. But what rule makes a positive provision for introducing *kaN* with the denotatum of *svārtha*? One can assume that this rule, since it makes a negative provision, must also have a corresponding positive provision. This is how *abhinnatarakam* 'of not a different kind' and *bahutarakam* 'of various kinds' can be explained. The *Mahābhāṣya* refutes this rule. How would the *Mahābhāṣya* account for *kaN* in *bahutarakam*? This *kaN* can be introduced by 5.4.29 *yāvādibhyaḥ kan*, or else, by the *iṣṭi*: *tamabādyantāt svārthe kan vaktavyaḥ* affix *kaN* is desired after bases ending in *tamaP*, etc., to denote the sense of *svārtha* 'base-meaning'.

5.4.6 बृहत्या आच्छादने

bṛhatyā ācchādane
/ *bṛhatyā* 3/1 *ācchādane* 7/1 /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #3)
bṛhatīśabdād ācchādane vartamānāt svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after *bṛhatī* 'large, extensive' when the derivate signifies *ācchādana* 'covering'.

EXAMPLES:

bṛhatikā 'large piece of cloth used by women to cover their head; wrap around'

1. Affix *kaN* cannot be introduced after *bṛhatī* when used in the sense of a meter: One can derive *bṛhatikā* from (*bṛhatī* + *kaN*) + *ṬāP* where long *ī* of *bṛhatī* is replaced with its short counterpart (7.5.13 *ke'ṇaḥ*).

5.4.7 अषडक्षाशितङ्ग्वलंकर्मालम्पुरुषाध्युत्तरपदात्खः

aṣaḍakṣāśitaṅgvalaṅkarmālampuruṣādhyuttarapadāt khaḥ
/ *aṣaḍakṣāśitaṅgvalaṅkarmālampuruṣādhyuttarapadāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *khaḥ* 1/1 /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*aṣaḍakṣa, āśitaṅgu, alaṃkarma, alaṃpuruṣa*' *ity etebhyo uttarapadāc ca svārthe khaḥ pratyayo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs after nominal stems *aṣaḍakṣa* 'that which does not have six eyes', *āśitaṅgu* '(a forest) where cows grazed', *alaṃkarman* 'fit for an action' and *alampuruṣa* 'fit for a person', or after stems used in combination with *adhi* as their final constituent.

EXAMPLES:

aṣaḍakṣīṇo mantraḥ 'a secret deliberation between two persons, not shared by any third'
āśitā gāvo' sminn aranye = *āśitaṅgavīnam araṇyam* 'a forest where cows grazed'
alaṃkarmaṇe = *alaṃkarmīṇaḥ* 'a person who is capable of performing a given action'
alampuruṣāya = *alampuruṣīṇaḥ* 'a man who is sufficient to handle any other'
rājādhīnaḥ 'under the control of a king'

1. Note that *aṣaḍakṣa* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as *avidyamānāni ṣaḍakṣīṇi yasmin* 'that in which there are no six eyes' where affix *ṢaC* is introduced after *aṣaḍakṣi* by 5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ*. . . . Our derivate *aṣaḍakṣīṇaḥ* refers to some 'secret deliberation between two people'. Involvement of two people makes the secret witnessed by 'four' eyes. The involvement of a third person would make it witnessed by six eyes. Haradatta claims that *akṣi*, especially in view of the meaning of derivates, is used in the sense of ears (*śrotrendriye vartate*).

Affix *kha* is introduced after *āśitagu*, again a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as: *āśitāḥ gāvaḥ asmin* 'that (a forest) where cows were fed'. Note that augment *mUM* is introduced to *āśita* via *nipātana*. Thus, *āśita* + *mUM* + *go* + *kha* = *āśitam* + *go* + *īna* = *āśitam* + *go*(*o*→*av*) *īna* = *āśitamgavīna*. Application of *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* rules (8.4.58 *anusvārasya*. . .) will produce *āśitaṅgavīna*. The next two examples, i.e., *alaṃkarma* and *alampuruṣa*, are compounds formed in view of the (*vt*): *paryādayo glānādyarthe caturthyā* (ad 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv* . . .).

The *tatpuruṣa* compounds which contain *adhi* as a final constituent are listed in the *śauṇḍādi* group of nominals. Thus, we get *rājādhīna* from *rājan* + *Ṅi* + *adhi* + *sU* = *rājan* + *i* + *adhi* which yields *rājādhi* after deletion of *sUP* and *n*, subsequent to compound formation. Of course, *rāja* + *adhi* produces *rājādhi* through *savarṇadīrgha* 'homogeneous long vowel replacement'.

Note that affix *kha* of *rājādhīna* is obligatory (*nitya*), especially when we find it made optional by the next rule. There are also other affixes which denote *svārtha*, and are *nitya*. Thus, we get *tamaP*, etc., prior to *kaN* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamab*. . .); *Ñya*, etc., before *vuN*; *ām*, etc., before *mayaṬ*; *kaN* and *cha* of 5.4.6 *bṛhaty acchādane* and 5.4.9 *jātyantāc*. . . . Finally, affixes of 5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ* are also obligatory.

5.4.8 विभाषाञ्चेरदिक्स्त्रियाम्

vibhāṣāñcer adikstriyām
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *añceḥ* 5/1 *adikstriyāṃ* 7/1 = *dik cāsau strī ca* = *dikstrī* (*karm. tat.*); *na dikstrī* = *adikstrī* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kha* #7)
añcatyantāt prātipadikād adikstriyāṃ vartamānāt svārthe vibhāṣā khaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kha* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which ends in *añc*, provided it is not a feminine signifying *diś* 'direction'.

EXAMPLES:

prāk 'prior, old'
prācīnam 'id.'
arvāk 'modern, new'
arvācīnam 'id.'

1. The condition of *adikstriyām* will block this affixal provision in cases of *prācī dik* 'east' and *pratīcī dik* 'west'. The qualifying condition of *dik* allows *kha* in *prācīnā* 'old' of *prācīnā brāhmaṇī* 'old brāhmaṇa woman'. The condition of *strī* allows for *prācīnam* of *prācīnaṃ dig ramaṇīyam* 'the east is beautiful'. Note that *prācīnam* denotes *dik* but is not feminine. It is derived from *prācī* + *sU* + *astātI*, where *astātI* is introduced after *prācī* ending in *sU*. Affix *astātI*, and *NīP* of *prācī* as well, is deleted in view of 5.3.30 *añcer luk* and 1.2.49 *luk taddhita luki*, respectively. Our derivate *prācīna* then derives from *prāc* + (*kha→īna*), where 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ* terms it an indeclinable. It then becomes a neuter (*napuṃsaka*) since *kha* denotes base-meaning (*svārtha*).

5.4.9 जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि

jātyantāc cha bandhuni
/*jātyantāt* 5/1 *cha* (used without 1/1) *bandhuni* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
jātyantāt prātipadikād bandhuni vartamānāt svārthe chaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *jāti* 'class, caste' and signifies *bandhu* 'clansman, kin'.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇajātīyaḥ 'he by whom, for reasons of being a *brāhmaṇa*, his class (*brāhamaṇatva* 'brāhmaṇaness') is expressed; a person of the *brāhmaṇa* caste'
kṣatriyajātīyaḥ 'a person of the *kṣatriya* caste'

1. Note that *bandhu* is explained as 'he by whom, on account of being a *brāhmaṇa*, his class, i.e., *brāhmaṇatva*, is expressed'. The word *bandhu* is neuter (*napuṃsaka*), derived in the sense of locus paraphrased as *badhyate' smin* 'that within which one is constrained'. The word *brāhmaṇajātīyaḥ* means 'a thing, i.e., lump of flesh (*piṇḍa*), which forms the locus of the class known as brāhmaṇaness (*brāhmaṇatvajātyādhāro dravyātmakaḥ piṇḍa iti*). It is this meaning of 'thing' (*dravya*), i.e., *bandhu*, that blocks the introduction of affix *kha* after *brāhmaṇajāti* of *brāhmanajātiḥ śobhanā* 'brāhamaṇaness (to be a brāhamaṇa) is beautiful'.

5.4.10 स्थानान्ताद्विभाषा सस्थानेनेति चेत्

sthānāntād vibhāṣā sasthāneneti cet
/sthānāntāt 5/1 = *sthānaśabdo' nte yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *sasthānena* 3/1 = *samānaṃ sthānaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tena*; *iti* ϕ *cet* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *cha* #9)
sthānāntāt prātipadikād vibhāṣā chaḥ pratyayo bhavati sasthānena cet sthānāntam arthavad bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *cha* occurs optionally after a nominal stem used in combination with *sthāna* 'place' as its final constituent, providing the stem is synonymous with *sasthāna* 'one whose place is equal to. . . .'

EXAMPLES:

pitrā tulyaḥ = *pitṛsthānīyaḥ* 'one whose place is same as that of the father's'
pitṛsthānaḥ 'id.'
mātṛsthānīyaḥ 'one whose place is same as that of the mother's'
mātṛsthānaḥ 'id.'
rājasthānīyaḥ 'one whose place is same as that of the King's'
rājasthānaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *sasthāna* is explained as *tulyasthāna* 'equal in status'. The word *iti* in the rule is used for indicating *vivakṣā* 'speaker's intent'. That is, *sasthāna* is desired here as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *samānaṃ sthānam asya* 'one whose place is equal to. . . .' It is not intended as *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *samānaṃ ca tat sthānam* 'that which is equal and is also a place.' The word *iti*, read with *sasthānena*, means *arthavad* 'meaningful': *yadi sthānāntaṃ śabdarūpaṃ tulyarūpeṇa arthena arthavān bhavati* 'if the form which ends in *sthāna* becomes meaningful by the sense of *tulya* 'equal'.'

2. Why do we have to have *vibhāṣā* stated explicitly when the same can be brought via *anuvṛtti* from 5.4.8 *vibhāṣāñcer*. . . ? An explicit use of *vibhāṣā* is made to indicate that a provision made in between two optional provisions is considered as obligatory (*nitya*; *Kāś.*: *dvayor vibhāṣayor madhye nityavidhaya*

iti pūrvatra nityavidhayaḥ). Rule 5.4.9 *jātyantāc chaḥ* is obligatory. If this preceding was not an obligatory provision then *vibhāṣā* could have been carried.

5.4.11 **किमेत्तिङव्ययघादाम्वद्रव्यप्रकर्षे**

kimettiṅavyayaghād āmv adravyaprakarṣe
/ *kimettiṅavyayaghāt* 5/1 = *kiṃ ca ec ca tiṅ ca avyayaṃ ca* = *kimettiṅavyayāni*; *tebhyo vihito yo ghaḥ* = *kimettiṅavyayaghaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*); *āmu* (1/1 deleted) *adravyaprakarṣe* = *dravyasya prakarṣaḥ* = *dravyaprakarṣaḥ*; *na dravyaprakarṣaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
kima ekārāntāt tiṅantād avyayebhyaś ca yo vihito ghaḥ tadantāt prātipadikād adravyaprakarṣe āmu pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *āmU* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in a *gha*, introduced either after *kim* 'which, what, who', or after a form which ends in *e* and *tiṄ*, or else, after that which is an *avyaya* 'indeclinable', provided derivates signify something other than *dravyaprakarṣa* 'excellence of a thing'.

EXAMPLES:

kiṃtarām 'what more than this'
kiṃtamām 'what more than these'
pūrvāhṇetarām 'right in the morning'
pūrvāhṇetamām 'absolutely in the morning'
pacatitarām 'he cooks relatively well'
pacatitamām 'he cooks the best'
uccaistarām 'relatively louder'
uccaistamām 'the loudest'

1. Recall that affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* are assigned the term *gha* (1.1.12 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*). Affix *āmU* is thus to be introduced after a form which ends in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP*.

2. Note that *prakarṣa* 'eminence, excellence' denoted by *taraP* and *tamaP* is possible only in relation to *kriyā* 'action' and *guṇa* 'quality'. Why then we have the negation of *adravyaprakarṣe* 'when eminence of something other than *dravya* is denoted?' Why negate *dravyaprakarṣa* when it is not possible to start with? *Kāśikā* states that the affix, indeed, denotes eminence of action and quality. The negation applies to contexts where 'eminence' of 'action' or 'quality' is transferred to a substance (*dravya*; *prakarṣo yadā dravye upacaryate tadā'yaṃ pratiṣedhaḥ*). Observe now *uccaistaraḥ parvataḥ* 'a higher mountain' and *uccaistamaḥ parvataḥ* 'the highest mountain' where 'eminence' in quality of 'highness' is transferred to the mountain. Affix *āmU* cannot be introduced here.

5.4.12 अमु च च्छन्दसि

amu cac chandasi
/*amu* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kimettiṅavyayaghād adravyaprakarṣe* #11)
kimettiṅavyayaghād adravyaprakarṣe amu pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *amU*, and *āmU* as well, occurs in Vedic, after a nominal stem which ends in affix *gha*, introduced either after *kim* 'which, what, who', or after a form which ends in *e* and *tiṄ*, or else, after that which is an *avyaya* 'indeclinable', provided derivates do not signify *dravyaprakarṣa* 'excellence of a thing'.

EXAMPLES:

prataram . . . '. . . relatively well'
pratarām . . . '. . . better . . .'

1. Note that forms which end in *am* and *ām* are both included in the *svarādi* group. Consequently, they are termed *avyaya* (1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*). The *sU* introduced after these derivates is also deleted (2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*. The *U* as an *it* (*ud-it*) in *amU* and *āmU* is needed so that these could be excluded from the reference of 6.3.68 *ica ekāco' m pratyayavac ca*. A wrong form would result if *striyammanyaḥ* loses its *i* to 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. No such deletion will take place if 6.3.68 *ica ekāc*. . . does not include references to *āmU* and *amU* (*PM* ad *Kāś*.: *atrāpy ud-it-karaṇaṃ* '*ica ekāco' ampratyayavac ca*' *ity atrāsyāpi grahaṇaṃ mā blūd iti* . . . *iha striyammanyaḥ, yasyeti lopaḥ prāpnoti*).

5.4.13 अनुगादिनष्ठक्

anugādinaṣ ṭhak
/*anugādinaḥ* 5/1 *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
anugādinśabdāt svārthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *anugādin* 'one who repeats other's words'.

EXAMPLES:

anugādikaḥ 'one who speaks afterwards; one who repeats other's words'

1. Note that *anugādin* can be accepted as a derivate of *ṆinI* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo* . . .), via *nipātana*, at the strength of this specification itself. Since no derivate meaning is specified, *anugādikaḥ* must denote base-meaning (*svārtha*). But this affixal provision also has consequences for *anugādin*. It cannot be used by itself in the sense of 'one who repeats some-

one's words'. Affix *ṭhaK* is obligatory (*nitya*). This rule specifies *anugādin*, simply to indicate the form of the base after which affix *ṭhaK* is to be introduced (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *prakṛtisvarūpapradarśanaparaṃ caitat. na tv ayaṃ kevalaḥ prayogārhaḥ; ṭhako nityatvāt*). Incidentally, *anugādin* + (*ṭha→ika*) will go through *ṭi*-deletion of *in* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*).

5.4.14 णचः स्त्रियामञ्

ṇacaḥ striyām añ
/*ṇacaḥ* 5/1 *striyām* 7/1 *añ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ṇajantāt svārthe' ñ pratyayo bhavati striyāṃ viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *aÑ* occurs after a form which ends in a *kṛt* affix, namely *ṆaC*, provided feminine is signified.

EXAMPLES:

vyāvakrośī vartate '... mutual challenges continue'
vyāvahāsī vartate '... mutual laughter continues'

1. Note that affix *ṆaC* is introduced to derive feminine forms with the denotatum of *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocal action' (3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām*). Why do we have to include the condition of *striyām* 'when feminine is denoted?' That is, *striyām* should not be stated since derivates denoting *svārtha* 'base-meaning' also denote number and gender of their bases. Commentators add that this is not always true. For, gender, in particular, is based on usage (*lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*). Consider *guḍakalpā* and *tailakalpā* of *guḍakalpā drākṣā* 'slightly sweet grapes' and *tailakalpā prasannā* 'slightly oily liquor' (5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau...*) where *guḍakalpa* and *tailakalpa* should be put in neuter because of their bases. But they are used in feminine because of *drākṣā* and *surā*. The *Mahābhāṣya* rightly claims that 'affixes denoting the sense of their bases do transgress the original number and gender of their bases' (*Mbh.*: *svārthikāḥ pratyayāḥ prakṛtito liṅgavacanāny ativartante' pīti*).

2. Refer to the derivation of *vyāvakrośī* under 3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre...* (appendix of vol. III). One can similarly derive *vyāvahāsī*.

5.4.15 अणिनुणः

aṇ inuṇaḥ
/*aṇ* 1/1 *inuṇaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
inuṇantāt svārthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after a form which ends in affix *inUṆ*.

EXAMPLES:

sāṃrāviṇaṃ vartate 'a big uproar continues'
sāṃkūṭinaṃ vartate 'fire continues all around'

1. Recall that affix *inUṆ* is introduced by 3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāve inuṇ*. Here again *aṆ* is to be introduced in the sense of base meaning (*svārtha*). Refer to the appendix of vol. III under 3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāva* . . . for derivational details.

5.4.16 विसारिणो मत्स्ये

visāriṇo matsye
/ *visāriṇaḥ* 5/1 *matsye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *aṇ* #15)
visārinśabdāt svārthe' ṇ pratyayo bhavati matsye' bhidheye
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stem *visārin* 'that which slips away' when the derivate is to denote *matsya* 'fish'.

EXAMPLES:

vaisāriṇo matsyaḥ 'that which slips away; a fish'

1. Note that *visārin* is also a derivate of *ṆinI* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .). *Kāśikā*'s counter-example in *visārī devadattaḥ* suggests that *visārī*, unlike *anugādī*, can be used to denote the sense of its base. Since *vaisāriṇaḥ* denotes a *matsya* 'fish', *visārin* must denote its base meaning, i.e., *matsyaḥ*.

5.4.17 संख्यायाः क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच्

saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc
/ *saṃkhyāyāḥ* 5/1 *kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* 7/1 = *abhitaḥ vartanam* = *abhyāvṛttiḥ* (*gatitatpuruṣa*); *kriyāyā abhyāvṛttiḥ* = *kriyābhyāvṛttiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *kriyābhyāvṛtteḥ gaṇanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *kṛtvasuc* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
saṃkhyāśabdebhyaḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane vartamānebhyaḥ svārthe kṛtvasuc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kṛtvasUC* occurs after a nominal stem which is termed *saṃkhyā* 'number' and is used in the sense of counting (*gaṇana*) repetition (*abhyāvṛtti*) of an action (*kriyā*).

EXAMPLES:

pañcavārān bhuṅkte = *pañcakṛtvo bhuṅkte* 'he eats five times'
saptakṛtvaḥ 'he eats seven times'

1. Note that *abhyāvṛtti* is glossed as *paunaḥpunya* 'over and over again'. It

cannot be understood as *āvṛtti* 'repetition', because *āvṛtti* does not include the first instance of an action. *Kāśikā* explains *kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇa* as 'counting instances of an identical action sharing an identical agent'. Thus, *pañcakṛtvaḥ bhuṅkte* 'he eats five times' parallel to *paycavārān bhuṅkte.* A paraphrase such as *bhūrīn vārān bhuṅkte* cannot qualify for a parallel derivate since *bhūri* 'numerous' is not a number (*saṃkhyā*). Why do we have to state *kriyā* in *kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* when *abhyāvṛtti* always relates to *kriyā.* Why state the obvious? The word *kriyā* is needed for *anuvṛtti* in subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). For, in 5.4.19 *ekasya sakṛc ca, eka* qualifies *kriyā.* It does not, however, qualify *abhyāvṛtti,* since that will be impossible (*asambhavāt*). The word *abhyāvṛtti* is used so that this affix could not be introduced where concurrent instances of an action are to be counted. Thus, *pañcapākāḥ* 'five cookings' and *daśapākāḥ* 'ten cookings' denote 'five' and 'ten' numbers of a concurrent single action characterized as *pāka.* These numbers here denote only what is counted (*saṃkhyeya*). They do not denote 'what is counted' and 'the number of times a counting is done (*saṃkhyāna*)', both at the same time. The word *gaṇana* is therefore used here to ensure these derivational meanings. In the absence of *gaṇana,* this affix could be introduced only after the base which denotes what is to be counted. Incidentally, *abhyāvṛtti* also has a single action as its focus but the number of times it is accomplished must be non-current. Besides, the action of *kriyābhyāvṛtti* must be of the nature of *sādhya* 'that which is to be accomplished', and not *siddha* 'that which is already accomplished'. The first is what is meant by *kriyā.* The second, i.e., *siddha,* is what is generally known as *bhāva* 'root-sense'. Words such as *pāka* are derivates of *ghaÑ* denoting *bhāva.* This affix cannot be introduced in association with *pāka,* etc., which denote an action as *siddha.* This same is true of the following rules also.

5.4.18 द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच्

dvitricaturbhyaḥ suc

/ *dvitricaturbhyaḥ* 5/3 *suc* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* #17)

'*dvi-tri-catur*' *ity etebhyaḥ saṃkhyāśabdebhyaḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane vartamānebhyaḥ suc pratyayo bhavati*

The *taddhita* affix *sUC* occurs after nominal stems *dvi* 'two', *tri* 'three' and *catur* 'four', termed *saṃkhyā,* when they are used in the sense of counting repetition of an action.

EXAMPLES:

dvir bhuṅkte 'he eats twice'

trir bhuṅkte 'he eats three times'

catur bhuṅkte 'he eats four times'

1. This provision of *sUC* is an exception to *kṛtvasUC*. The *C* as an *it*, in *sUC*, is for final *udātta* accent (6.1.163 *citaḥ*). We get *dviḥ* and *triḥ* through *rutva-visarga* of *s* of *sUC*.

5.4.19 **एकस्य सकृच्च**

ekasya sakṛc ca
/ *ekasya* 6/1 *sakṛt* ф *ca* ф/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* #17, *suc* #18)
ekaśabdasya 'sakṛd' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati suc ca pratyayaḥ kriyāgaṇane
The *taddhita* affix *sUC* occurs after *eka*, with an additional provision of *sakṛt* to come in its place, when action (*kriyā*) is counted.

EXAMPLES:

ekavāraṃ bhuṅkte = *sakṛd bhuṅkte* 'he eats only once'
ekavāram adhīte = *sakṛd adhīte* 'he studies once'

1. Note that the sense of *abhyāvṛtti* is not possible here. Affix *sUC* again forms an exception to *kṛtvasUC*. The *s* of *sUC* in (*eka*→*sakṛt*) + *s* = *sakṛts* is deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*.

5.4.20 **विभाषा बहोर्धाऽविप्रकृष्टकाले**

vibhāṣā bahor dhā aviprakṛṣṭakāle
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *bahoḥ* 5/1 *dhā* 1/1 *aviprakṛṣṭakāle* 7/1 = *na viprakṛṣṭaḥ* = *aviprakṛṣṭaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *aviprakṛṣṭaḥ kālo yasya* (*bv.* with int. *nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane* #17)
bahuśabdāt kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane vartamānāt vibhāṣā dhā pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *dhā* occurs after nominal stem *bahu*, termed *saṃkhyā*, when it is used in the sense of counting repetition of an action over a non-distant span of time.

EXAMPLES:

bahudhā divasasya bhuṅkte 'he eats many times during a day'
bahukṛtvo divasasya bhuṅkte 'id.'

1. The word *aviprakṛṣṭa* is explained as *āsanna* 'proximate, non-distant'. It is used as a qualifier to *kriyābhyāvṛtti*. Consequently, *bahukṛtvaḥ* of *bahukṛtvo māsasya bhuṅkte* 'he eats many times during a month' does not qualify for *dhā*. Incidentally, *divasa* is used in *ṣaṣṭhī* in view of 2.3.64 *kṛtvo'rthaprayoge*. . . .

5.4.21 **तत्प्रकृतवचने मयट्**

tat prakṛtavacane mayaṭ

/ *tat* 1/1 *prakṛtavacane* 7/1 = *prācuryeṇa kṛtam* = *prakṛtam* (*gatitatpuruṣa*); *prakṛtasya vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *mayaṭ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prathamāsamarthāt prakṛtopādhike' rthe vartamānāt svārthe mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative' and signifies *prakṛta* 'that which happens to be in abundance'.

EXAMPLES:

annaṃ prakṛtam asminn = *annamayo yajñaḥ* 'a ritual sacrifice with food in abundance'
apūpamayaṃ parva 'a festival with cakes in abundance'

1. Note that *vacana* of *prakṛtavacanam* can be derived with affix *LyuṬ* denoting *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. This will give two interpretations of *prakṛtavacane*: 'speaking of something in abundance (*prakṛtasyavacanam, tasmin*)' and 'speaking of a place where something is in abundance (*prakṛtam ucyate' smin*)'. The first interpretation accepts *prakṛtavacanam* as a qualifier to the sense of the base: *prakṛtasya vacane vartamānāt prathamāsamarthāt prātipadikāt* 'after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in nominative with the signification of abundance.' The second interpretation makes *prakṛtavacanam* as a meaning condition: *tad iti prathamāsamarthāt prakṛtavacane' bhidheye mayaṭ pratyayo bhavati* 'affix *mayaṬ* occurs after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in nominative, when derivates denote 'abundance in there'.' These interpretations are both correct (*dvayam api pramāṇam*).

5.4.22 समूहवच्च बहुषु

samūhavac ca bahuṣu
/ *samūhavat* ϕ *ca* ϕ *bahuṣu* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tat prakṛtavacane* #21)
bahuṣu prakṛteṣūcyamāneṣu samūhavat pratyayā bhavanti cakārān mayaṭ ca
A *taddhita* affix similar to those which signify *samūha* 'group, multitude', and *mayaṬ* as well, occurs after a nominal stem which ends in nominative and signifies abundance of many.

EXAMPLES:

maudakikam '. . . where sweet-balls are offered in abundance'
modakamayam 'id.'
śāṣkulikam '. . . where deep-fried beads are offered in abundance'
śaṣkulīmayaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *bahuṣu* serves as a qualifier to the base-meaning, or as a meaning condition, depending on what interpretation of the rule is accepted. Note that earlier derivates denote base meanings (*svārtha*), and are treated as singular neuter. But derivates denoting *svārtha* also transgress original number-gender of their bases. The first interpretation of this rule will offer examples: *śāṣkulikam* and *śaṣkulīmayam* where derivates are neuter singular, as one would expect. The second interpretation will switch the examples as: *śāṣkulikaḥ* and *śaṣkulīmayaḥ*, masculine singular, in consonance with *yajña*, a locus of abundance in masculine.

2. A word such as *maudakikam* is derived optionally to *modakamayam* in the sense of *modakāḥ prakṛtāḥ = prācuryeṇa prastutāḥ*. The base of our first examples, i.e., *maudakika*, is a derivate of *ṭhaK* (4.2.47 *acittahastidhenoṣ ṭhak*). Incidentally, *modaka* is masculine, though *maudakikam* and *modakamayam* are used in neuter. It is not unusual for affixes with the denotata of their base-meaning to transgress the gender of their bases (*Kāś.*: *ativartante'pi svārthikāḥ prakṛtito liṅgavacanāni*).

5.4.23 अनन्तावसथेतिहभेषजाञ्ञ्यः

anantāvasathetihabheṣajāñ ñyaḥ
/ *anantāvasathetihabheṣajāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
anantādibhyaḥ svārthe ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after nominal stems *ananta* 'endless', *āvasatha* 'dwelling', *iti ha* 'thus it was; history' and *bheṣaja* 'medicine'.

EXAMPLES:

ananta eva = ānantyam 'endless'
āvasatha eva = āvasathyam 'place of residence'
iti ha = aitihyam 'history'
bheṣajam eva = bhaiṣajyam 'medicine'

1. Note that *Ñya* becomes optional in view of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*. Deriving *aitihya* from *iti ha*, which are both particles, and not *prātipadikas*, is in consonance with the traditional usage (*Kāś.*: . . .*upadeśa pāramparye vartate*). Incidentally, *Ñ* as an *it* is intended for initial *vṛddhi*.

5.4.24 देवतान्तात् तादर्थ्ये यत्

devatāntāt tādarthye yat
/ *devatāntāt* 5/1 (*bv.*), *tādarthye* 7/1 *yat* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)

devatāśabdāntāt prātipadikāc caturthīsamarthāt tādarthye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the sense of *tādarthya* 'intended for that' after a nominal stem which has *devatā* 'divinity, god' as its final constituent and ends in *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal endings'.

EXAMPLES:

agnidevatāyai idam = agnidevatyam 'this is intended for the fire-god, Agni'
pitṛdevatyam 'this is intended for our ancestors'
vāyudevatyam 'this is intended for the god of Wind'

1. Note that *yaT* is introduced after a base which ends in *caturthī* 'dative', as is known from *tādarthya* (2.1.86 *caturthī tadarthārthabali*...). The word *tādarthya* is a derivate of *ṢyaÑ* (5.1.123 *varṇadṛḍhādibhyaḥ ṣyañ ca*). The word *tad* in *tādarthye* specifies the denotatum of a base (*Kāś.*: *tad iti prakṛtyartho nirdiśyate*). Bases such as *agnidevatā* are *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds, paraphrased as *agniś cāsau devatā ca* 'he who is Agni, and is also a divinity'. Derivations mostly involve *bha-saṃjñā* and *ā-lopa.*

5.4.25 पादार्घाभ्यां च

pādārghābhyām ca
/*pādārghābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tādarthye yat* #24)
pādārghaśabdābhyām caturthīsamarthābhyām tādarthye' bhidheye yat pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *yaT* occurs to denote the sense of *tādarthya* after nominal stems *pāda* 'foot' and *argha* 'precious offering', when they end in *caturthī.*

EXAMPLES:

pādārtham udakam = pādyam '... water for cleansing feet'
arghyam 'fragrant water for divinity'

1. The word *ca* is used for attracting something not accounted for (*anukta-samuccayārthaś cakāraḥ*). Consider *chandasyaḥ* 'intended for a particular meter' which is also derived with *yaT* introduced after *chandas* 'meter'. This affixal provision also applies elsewhere, as is reflected in usage (*Kāś.*: *yathādarśanam anyatrāpi pratyayo bhavati*). Refer to *Kāśika* and other commentaries for additional derivates. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers some *vārttikas* for making additional provisions:

(*i*) affix *āvatU* is introduced after *sama* to derive *samāvat,* as in *samāvad vasati* '... lives together' (*vt.*: *samaśabdād āvatupratyayo vaktavyaḥ*);
(*ii*) affixes *tnaP*, *tanaP* and *kha* are introduced after *nava,* which is also

concurrently replaced with *nū*, to derive: *nūtnam* 'new, contemporary, modern', *nūtanam* and *navīnam* (*vt.*: *navasya nū ādeśaḥ tnaptanapkhāś ca pratyayāḥ*);

(*iii*) affix *na* is introduced after *pra*, in addition to *tnaP*, *tanaP* and *kha*, to derive *praṇam* 'old, ancient', *pratnam*, *pratanam* and *prīṇam*, respectively, when *pra* is used with the signification of *purāṇa* 'old, ancient' (*vt.*: *naś ca purāṇe prāt*);

(*iv*) affix *dheya* is introduced after *bhāga* 'share, fate', *rūpa* 'form, beauty' and *nāma* 'name', to derive *bhāgadheyaḥ*, *rūpadheyaḥ* and *nāmadheyaḥ* with the signification of base meanings (*svārtha*; *vt.*: *bhāgarūpanāmabhyo dheyaḥ pratyayo vaktavyaḥ*);

(*v*) *dheya* is to be introduced after *mitra* 'sun, friend', in Vedic, to derive *mitradheya* as in *mitradheye yatasva* 'strive in friendship' (*vt.*: *mitrāc chandasī*);

(*vi*) affix *aÑ* is introduced after *āgnīdhra* and *sādhāraṇa* to derive *āgnīdhram* 'place of sacrifical fire' and *sādhāraṇam* 'common, ordinary', in addition to optional feminine forms in *ṄīP* (*āgnīdhrī*/ *āgnīdhrā*; *sādhāraṇī*/ *sādhāraṇā*; *vt.*: *āgnīdhrasādhāraṇād añ*); and

(*vii*) affix *aÑ* occurs, in Vedic, after *ayavasa* and *marut* to derive *āyavasa* and *māruta* (*vt.*: *ayavasamarudbhyām chandasy añ vaktavyaḥ*).

5.4.26 अतिथेर्ञ्यः

atither ñyaḥ
/*atitheḥ* 5/1 *ñyaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *tādarthye* #24)
atithiśabdāc caturthīsamarthāt tādarthye' bhidheye ñyaḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *Ñya* occurs after nominal stem *atithi* 'guest', used in *caturthī* 'dative', when sense of *tādarthya* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

atithaye idam = *ātithyam* 'this is intended for a guest; hospitality'

5.4.27 देवात्तल्

devāt tal
/*devāt* 5/1 *tal* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
devaśabdāt svārthe tal pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *taL* occurs after nominal stem *deva* 'divinity, divine'.

EXAMPLES:

deva eva = *devatā* 'divinity, divine, god'

1. Note that *tādarthye* does not carry, and since no specification of affixal meanings is given, *devatā* denotes the meaning of its base (*svārtha*). Incidentally, *devatā* is obligatorily feminine (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*).

5.4.28 अवेः कः

aveḥ kaḥ
/*aveḥ* 5/1 *kaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
The *taddhita* affix *ka* occurs after nominal stem *avi* 'sheep'.

EXAMPLES:

avir eva = avikaḥ 'sheep'

1. Here again the affix denotes *svārtha* 'base meaning'.

5.4.29 यावादिभ्यः कन्

yāvādibhyaḥ kan
/*yāvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *yāva ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *kan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
'*yāva*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *yāva* 'barley'.

EXAMPLES:

yāva eva = yāvikaḥ 'barley'
maṇikaḥ 'a gem; jewel'

1. Here again the derivates denote *svārtha*. Note, however, that a few *gaṇasūtras* illustrate special denotata after specific bases. Thus, *uṣṇaka* and *śītaka* denote 'hot' and 'cold' seasons; *aṇuka* and *putraka* denote 'skilled' and 'artificial, unnatural', of course, when *kaN* is introduced after *aṇu* and *putra*, etc.

5.4.30 लोहितान्मणौ

lohitān maṇau
/*lohitāt* 5/1 *maṇau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29)
lohitaśabdān maṇau vartamānāt svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after nominal stem *lohita* 'red', provided it is used as a qualifier to *maṇi* 'gem; jewel'.

EXAMPLES:

lohito maṇiḥ = *lohitakaḥ* 'a gem; jewel'

1. Elsewhere, we will get *lohitaḥ* 'red, blood'.

5.4.31 वर्णे चानित्ये

varṇe cānitye
/*varṇe* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *anitye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29, *lohita* #5.4.30)
anitye varṇe vartamānāl lohitaśabdāt svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after nominal stem *lohita* when it is used in the sense of 'impermanent color' (*anitye varṇe*).

EXAMPLES:

lohitakaḥ kopena 'reddened by anger'
lohitakaḥ pīḍanena 'reddened by torture'

1. The condition of *anitya* 'impermanent, transient' is important in view of *lohito gauḥ* 'red cow' and *lohitaṃ rudhiram* 'blood', where *kaN* cannot be allowed since their 'redness' is permanent. If 'redness' of Devadatta's face disappears when anger (*krodha*), its cause (*nimitta*), disappears, 'redness' is impermanent (*anitya*). Thus, 'redness' is impermanent if it disappears while its locus still exists (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *saty evāśraye yal lauhityam apagacchati tad anityam*). That is, 'permanence of color' is understood as 'that which stays the same from beginning to the end of its locus' existence (*Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*: . . . *āśrayadravyasya utpattiprabhṛti-nāśaparyantaṃ yo varṇo vartate, sa varṇo nityaḥ* . . .).

Two optional forms, i.e., *lohinikā* and *lohitikā*, are desired in feminine, for example in, *lohinikā kopena* 'she is red in anger' and *lohitikā kopena* 'ibidem'. Given the word *lohita*, two rules become applicable: 4.1.39 *varṇānudāttāt*. . . and 5.4.31 *varṇe cānitye*. The first introduces *ṄīP* after a nominal stem which has *t* in its *upadhā* 'penultimate position'. Additionally, *t* is concurrently replaced with *n* (*natva*). The second introduces *kaN*. Since *kaN* denotes *svārtha* 'base meaning', and is subsequent in order in addition to being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*), it becomes *nitya*. Consequently, it should block the application of 4.1.39 *varṇānudāttāt*. Given *lohita* + *kaN* = *lohitaka*, rule 4.1.39 *varṇānudāttāt*. . . cannot apply subsequent to the application of 5.4.31 *varṇe cānitye*. For, the condition of *t* in penultimate position (*topadha*) will be impaired by *k* (*kopadha*) of *kaN*. Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* will then introduce *ṬāP*, followed by the application of rule 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt kātpūrvasyāta*. . . . This will produce *lohitaka* + *ṬāP*→*lohit*(*a*→*i*)*ka* + *ṬāP* = *lohitikā*. But *lohinikā* is also desired. It is for this reason that a *vārttika* (*vt.*: *lohitāl liṅgabādhanaṃ*

vā) makes this blocking of *ṄīP*, by *kaN* after *lohita*, as optional (*vā*). That is, if the option of blocking *ṄīP* is not accepted then *ṄīP*, with concurrent replacement of *t* by *n*, will yield *lohinikā*.

5.4.32 रक्ते

rakte
/*rakte* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29, *lohita* #5.4.30)
lākṣādinā rakte yo lohitaśabdaḥ tasmāt kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after nominal stem *lohita* when it signifies 'colored by . . .' (*rakte*).

EXAMPLES:

lohitikā śāṭī 'a Saree dyed in red'
lohinikā 'id.'

1. This rule is formulated so that *kaN* can be introduced after a base which denotes 'redness' (*lauhitya*) brought about via contact with another substance (*dravyāntarasamparkeṇa lauhityam*). Furthermore, this 'redness' also happens to be *nitya*, similar to one which stays the same in its locus from beginning to the end of its existence. Obviously, the preceding rule cannot allow *kaN* after a base of this signification. Thus, *lohita* can receive *kaN* if 'redness' is permanent, and is brought about via contact of *paṭa* 'dress, cloth' with *lākṣā* 'lac, red dye'. The optional blocking of *ṄīP* is also allowed here. Thus, *lohitikā* and *lohinikā* will be two forms in feminine.

5.4.33 कालाच्च

kālāc ca
/*kālāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29, *lohita* #5.4.30, *varṇe cānitye* #31, *rakte* #32)
kālaśabdād anitye vartamānād rakte ca kan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after nominal stem *kāla* when it is used in the sense of 'impermanent color' (*varṇe cānitye*) or 'colored by . . .' (*rakte*).

EXAMPLES:

kālakaṃ mukham vailakṣyeṇa 'a face temporarily turned black with shame'
kālakaḥ paṭaḥ 'a piece of cloth dyed in black'

1. Note that *varṇe cā'nitye* and *rakte* are both carried.

5.4.34 **विनयादिभ्यष्ठक्**

vinayādibhyaș ṭhak
/ *vinayādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *vinaya ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ṭhak* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kan* #29)
'*vinaya*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ svārthe kan pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *kaN* occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *vinaya* 'humility'.

EXAMPLES:

vinaya eva = *vainayikaḥ* 'humility'
sāmayikaḥ 'contemporary'
aupāyikaḥ 'that which is rightfully obtained'
aupayikaḥ 'id.'
ākasmikaḥ 'sudden, accidental'

1. Affix *kaN* denotes *svārtha* since no specific meaning is assigned. The shortening of *ā* in *upāya* + *ṭhaK* is made optional by a *gaṇasūtra* (*upāyād hrasvatvaṃ ca*). This will give two forms: *aupāyikaḥ* and *aupayikaḥ*. Of course, after *ṭhaK* yields *ika* and *u* is replaced with *au*, its *vṛddhi* counterpart.

5.4.35 **वाचो व्याहृतार्थायाम्**

vāco vyāhṛtārthāyām
/ *vācaḥ* 5/1 *vyāhṛtārthāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
prakāśito' rtho yasyās tasyāṃ vāci vartamānād vāc-śabdāt svārthe ṭhak pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* occurs after nominal stem *vāc* 'speech', used with the signification of *vyāhṛta* 'verbal message'.

EXAMPLES:

vācikaṃ kathayati 'speaks out the message'
vācikaṃ śraddhe 'I trust the message'

1. The word *vyāhṛtārtha* is explained as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *prakāśito' arthaḥ yasyāḥ* 'an utterance with its message made manifest'. That is, *vyāhṛta* refers to a verbal message conveyed (*ukta*). Note that *ṭhaK* cannot be introduced parallel to *madhurā vāg devadattasya* 'Devadatta's voice is sweet' because the condition of *vyāhṛta* is not met.

5.4.36 **तद्युक्तात्कर्मणोऽण्**

tadyuktāt karmaṇo' ṇ

/tadyuktāt = tathā yuktaḥ (trt. tat.), tasmāt; karmaṇaḥ 5/1 *aṇ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *vyāhṛtārthāyām* #35)
vyāhṛtārthayā vācā yat karma yuktaṃ tadabhidhāyinaḥ karmaśabdāt svārthe'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stem *karman* 'action', used in association with a message conveyed (*vyāhṛta*).

EXAMPLES:

karmaiva kārmaṇam 'action responsive to a verbal message conveyed'

1. The word *kārmaṇam* is explained as *vācikaṃ śrutvā tathaiva yat karma kriyate* 'an action which is performed in accord with a verbal message conveyed'. This is what is indicated by the phrase *tadyuktāt* 'after that (*karman*) which is used in association with that (*vyāhṛtaḥ*)'. The word *karman* here refers to its form used with the signification of 'action'. It does not mean an 'object'.

A *vārttika* proposal for *aṆ*, in Vedic, is also made after *kulāla* 'pot-maker', *varuḍa* 'lowly untouchable', *niṣāda* 'hunter', *karmāra* 'blacksmith', *caṇḍāla* 'lowly untouchable', *mitra* 'sun, friend' and *amitra* 'enemy' (*aṇprakaraṇe kulāla-varuḍa-niṣāda-karmāra-caṇḍāla-mitra-amitrebhyaś chandasi*). Note that derivates, such as *kaulālaḥ*, etc., will all involve initial *vṛddhi* and will denote *svārtha* 'base meaning'.

5.4.37 **ओषधेरजातौ**

oṣadher ajātau
/oṣadheḥ 5/1 *ajātau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *aṇ* #36)
oṣadhiśabdād ajātau vartamānāt svārthe'ṇ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* occurs after nominal stem *oṣadhi* 'herb, medicine', used in the sense of something other than *jāti* 'class'.

EXAMPLES:

auṣadhaṃ pibati 'he drinks medicine'
auṣadhaṃ dadāti 'he gives medicine'

1. Note that negation of *jāti* 'class' restricts *oṣadhi* to the signification of *dravya* 'thing'. The word *oṣadhi* is commonly used for herbal medicine.

5.4.38 **प्रज्ञादिभ्यश्च**

prajñādibhyaś ca
/prajñādibhyaḥ 5/3 (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *aṇ* #36)
'*prajña*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaḥ svārthe'ṇ bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* also occurs after a nominal stem listed in the group headed by *prajña* 'wise'.

EXAMPLES:

prajña eva = *prājñaḥ* 'one who knows; wise'
prājñī 'a female who knows'

1. A question is raised as to why *prajña* is stated here when a derivate such as *prājña* is already available with optional introduction of *aṆ* after *prajñā* 'wisdom' (5.2.101 *prajñāśraddhārcābhyo'ṇ*). After all, *prājñaḥ* 'one who knows well (*prajānāti*)', as a derivate of this *aṆ*, is not different in meaning from *prājñaḥ* 'one who possesses special knowledge (*yasya prajñā asti*)', a derivate of *aṆ* denoting the sense of *matUP*. Commentators state that affix *aṆ* after *prajña* is given so that differences of forms in feminine could be accounted for. Thus, a feminine derivate of *aṆ* with the denotation of *matUP* will be *prājñā*. A derivate of this *aṆ*, in feminine, will be: *prājñī*.

2. Note that derivates of this rule not only denote *svārtha* 'base meaning' but are also used optionally with their bases. Thus, *prajñaḥ* and *prājñaḥ* could both be used optionally.

5.4.39 मृदस्तिकन्

mṛdas tikan
/ *mṛdaḥ* 5/1 *tikan* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
mṛc-chabdāt svārthe tikan pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tikaN* occurs after nominal stem *mṛd* 'soil, clay, dirt'.

EXAMPLES:

mṛd eva = *mṛttikā* 'soil, clay'

1. Here again, *mṛd* can be used optionally with *mṛttikā*. Why is the affix not stated simply as *takaN*. For, given *mṛd* + *takaN* = *mṛt* + *taka*, feminine affix *ṬāP* can be introduced to derive *mṛttikā*. The *i* will be introduced here by 7.3.44 *pratyayasthātkātpūrvāt*. . . It is stated that *takaN* will create problems in examples where deletion of *ṬāP* applies. Thus, *pañcamṛttika* 'that which was purchased with five kinds of soils' is derived from *pañcamṛd* + *ṬāP* + *ṭhaK* + *tikaN*. Given the deletion of *ṭhaK* by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva* . . ., rule 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki* will apply to delete *ṬāP*. If one now introduces *takaN* then *i* cannot be availed due mainly to *LUK*-deletion of *ṬāP*. This affix is specified as *tikaN* so that *i* could be heard in corresponding derivates. Introducing *i* by some other rule will also be prolix (*gaurava*).

Here again bases and derivates can be used optionally.

5.4.40 सस्नौ प्रशंसायाम्

sasnau praśaṃsāyām
/*sasnau* 1/2 *praśaṃsāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *mṛdaḥ* #38)
praśaṃsopādhike'rthe vartamānād mṛc-chabdāt 'sa, sna' ity etau pratyayau bhavataḥ
The *taddhita* affixes *sa* and *sna* occur after nominal stem *mṛd*, provided it is used with the qualified meaning of *praśaṃsā* 'praise'.

EXAMPLES:

praśastā mṛd = *mṛtsā* 'beautiful soil'
mṛtsnā 'id.'

1. Note that *praśaṃsā* is used as a qualifier to the sense of *mṛd* 'soil, clay'. This affixal provision of *sa* and *sna* constitutes an exception to *rūpaP* (5.3.66 *praśaṃṣāyām rūpap*). This provision is also obligatory (*nitya*). For, *mṛd* by itself cannot denote its sense qualified with 'praise' (*praśaṃsā*). Besides, use of *anyatarasyām* in 5.4.42 *bahvalpārthāc*... already makes this provision obligatory.

5.4.41 वृकज्येष्ठाभ्यां तिल्तातिलौ च च्छन्दसि

vṛkajyeṣṭhābhyām tiltātilau cac chandasi
/*vṛkajyeṣṭābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *tiltātilau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ɸ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *praśaṃsāyām* #40)
vṛkajyeṣṭhābhyām praśaṃsopādhike'rthe vartamānābhyām yathāsaṃkhyam tiltātilau pratyayau bhavataś chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affixes *tiL* and *tātiL* occur in Vedic, after nominal stems *vṛka* 'wolf' and *jyeṣṭha* 'superior, older', respectively, when they are used with the qualified meaning of *praśaṃsā*.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkatiḥ 'full moon, great wolf, a generous provider'
jyeṣṭhatātiḥ 'excellent'

1. Thus provision of *tiL* and *tātiL*, in Vedic, constitutes an exception to *rūpaP*, corresponding to *sa*, *snā* and *tikaN* in the Classical language. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) suggests that rules 5.4.38 *mṛdas tikan* through 5.4.41 *vṛkajyeṣṭhābhyām*... should have been placed right after 5.3.66 *praśaṃsāyāṃ rūpap*. Pāṇini chose to place them here, instead.

5.4.42 बह्वल्पार्थाच्छस्कारकादन्यतरस्याम्

bahvalpārthāc chas kārakād anyatarasyām
/ *bahvalpārthāt* 5/1 = *bahu ca alpaś ca* = *bahvalpau; bahvalpāv arthāv yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt; śas* 1/1 *kārakāt* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
bahvarthād alpārthāc ca kārakābhidhāyinaḥ śabdāc śas pratyayo bhavati anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *śas* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which signifies the sense (*artha*) of *bahu* 'many, much' and *alpa* 'little' as a *kāraka* 'participant (1.4.23 *kārake*)'.

EXAMPLES:

bahūni dadāti = *bahuśo dadāti* 'he gives too much, too many'
alpaṃ dadāti = *alpaśo dadāti* 'he gives very little'
bhūriśo dadāti '. . .gives plenty'

1. Note that examples of *bahu, alpa* and *bhūri* all denote *karman* 'object'. This does not mean that they cannot denote *karaṇa* 'instrument' and *sampradāna* 'dative', etc. We can also get *bahubhir dadāti* '. . . gives along with many things', *bahubhyo dadāti* '. . . gives to many', etc. The word *artha* is used in this rule so that affix *śas* could also be introduced after synonyms of *bahu* and *alpa.* Thus, *bhūriśo dadāti* and *stokaśo dadāti,* etc. The condition of *kārakāt* rules out *śas* parallel to *bahūnāṃ svāmī* 'master of many', *alpānāṃ svāmī* 'master of a few', etc. The genitive of *bahu,* or *alpa,* does not denote and *kāraka.* The *Mahābhāṣya* states that this affixal provision is desired after *bahu* and *alpa* in the context of *maṅgala* 'auspicious' and *amaṅgala* 'inauspicious', respectively (*vt.*: *bahvarthān maṅgala-amaṅgala-vacanam*). Thus *śas* cannot be introduced relative to *bahūni dadāti aniṣṭesu* '. . . gives generously on inauspicious occasions' and *alpaṃ dadāti ābhyudayikeṣu* '. . . gives very little on auspicious occasions'.

5.4.43 संख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम्

saṃkhyaikavacanāc ca vīpsāyām
/ *saṃkhyaikavacanāt* 5/1 = *ucyate iti vacanam; ekasya vacanam* = *ekavacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *saṃkhyā ca ekavacanaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; ca* ɸ *vīpsāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *śas anyatarasyām* #42)
saṃkhyāvācibhyaḥ prātipadikebhya ekavacanāc ca vīpsāyāṃ dyotyāyāṃ śas pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *śas* occurs, optionally, after a nominal stem which

constitutes a number (*saṃkhyā*), or signifies something used in the sense of one (*ekavacana*), provided derivates denote *vīpsā* 'repetition'.

EXAMPLES:

dvau dvau modakau dadāti = *dviśaḥ* 'he gives sweetballs in sets of two each'
kārṣāpaṇaṃ kārṣāpaṇaṃ dadāti = *kārṣāpaṇaśo dadāti* 'he gives Kārṣāpaṇas in sets of one each'

1. Note that this optional *śas* is offered against the obligatory provision of doubling of 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*. The word *ekavacana* is explained as 'that by which the sense of one is denoted' (*eko'rtha ucyate yena*). This enables *kārṣāpaṇa*, etc., which denote a 'measure' (*parimāṇa*), to denote the sense of one in integration (*vṛtti*). The word *vṛtti* means operations relative to the formation of *samāsa* 'compound', *kṛt* 'primary derivatives' and *taddhita* 'secondary derivatives'. Why can we not interpret *ekavacana* as used in the technical sense of 'singular number'? Because that will also allow this affixal provision in case of *sarvebhyo brāhmaṇebhyo ghaṭam ghaṭam dadāti* '. . . gives to all the brāhmaṇas a pitcher full of something', where a single pitcher in a single set is given. The word *ghaṭa* 'pitcher' denotes *jāti* 'class', and hence, the possibility of giving 'two' or 'many' pitchers cannot be ruled out. Now consider *māṣadātā* 'he who gives gold equal in measure to a Māṣa'. The word *māṣa* literally means 'a particular grain of beans', though here it means a 'measure' (*parimāṇa*). The possibility of stating measure in dual and plural cannot be ruled out but what is given will still be a single thing, i.e., gold. This indicates that *ekavacana* is here interpreted in its literal sense (*anvartha*). Words such as *ghaṭadātā* could be interpreted as *ghaṭānāṃ dātā* where *ghaṭa* can be interpreted as plural. This cannot be true of *māṣadātā* because what is given is not 'one', 'two', 'many' grains. Consequently, words such as *māṣa*, which denote a 'measure', become restricted to the denotatum of the sense of one in integration.

The condition of *vīpsā* rules out *śas* in instances parallel to *dvau dadāti* '. . . gives two', or *kārṣāpaṇam dadāti* '. . . gives a Kārṣāpaṇa'. Obviously, *vīpsā* 'repetition' is lacking. The condition of *kārakāt* is also valid. This rules out *śas* relative to *dvayor dvayoḥ svāmī* 'master of these two sets of two each' and *kārṣāpaṇasya kārṣāpaṇasya svāmī* 'master of each Kārṣāpaṇa', where genitive does not denote a *kāraka* 'participant'.

5.4.44 **प्रतियोगे पञ्चम्यास्तसिः**

pratiyoge pañcamyaś tasiḥ
/*pratiyoge* 7/1 *pañcamyāḥ* 5/1 *tasiḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42)

pratinā karmapravacanīyena yoge yā pañcamī vihitā tadantāt tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs optionally a nominal stem which ends in *pañcamī*, introduced under the cooccurrence condition of *prati*.

EXAMPLES:

pradyumno vāsudevataḥ prati 'Pradyumna is the representative of Vāsudeva'
pradyumno vāsudevāt prati 'id.'
abhimanyur arjunataḥ prati 'Abhimanyu is the representative of Arjuna'
abhimanyur arjunāt prati 'id.'

1. Note that *vā* (of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*) is also valid. Consequently, one can also get *vāsudevāt prati* and *arjunāt prati*, parallel to *vāsudevataḥ prati* and *arjunataḥ prati*. The *pañcamī* 'ablative' is conditioned by *prati*, a *karmapravacanīya* (cf. 1.4.91 *pratiḥ pratinidhipratidānayoḥ*; 2.3.11 *pratinidhi-pratidāne ca yasmāt*). Derivates of *tasI* are termed indeclinable (*avyaya*; 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*).

A *vārttika* recommends *tasI* also after nominal stems of the *ādyādi* group. Thus, we will get *āditaḥ* 'at the beginning', *madhyataḥ* 'in the middle', *pṛṣṭhataḥ* 'in the back', *pārśvataḥ* 'on sides', etc. The *ādyādi* is treated as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇaś cāyam*).

5.4.45 अपादाने चाहीयरुहोः

apādāne cāhīyaruhoḥ
/*apādāne* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *ahīyaruhoḥ* 6/2 (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ*/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44)
apādāne yā pañcamī tasyāḥ pañcamyā vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati tac ced apādānaṃ hīyaruhoḥ sambandhi na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs also after a nominal stem which ends in a *pañcamī* introduced with the signification of *apādāna* 'ablative', provided it is not related to *hīya* 'to be separated; abandoned' and *ruh* 'to climb'.

EXAMPLES:

grāmata āgacchati 'he is coming from the village'
grāmād āgacchati 'id.'
corato bibheti 'he is scared of thieves'
corād bibheti 'id.'

1. A derivate of *tasI* is used optionally with its counterpart ending in ablative (*pañcamī*). This is made possible because of *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*.

The condition of *ahīyaruhoḥ* 'relative to that which is other than *hīya* and *ruh*', ruled out *tasI* parallel to *sārthād hīyate* 'moves away from the caravan' and *parvatād avarohati* 'climbs down the mountain'. Incidentally, *hīya* is a form of verbal root *OhāK* 'to abandon', ending in *ya* with the denotation of *karman* 'object'. Why was the specification not made as *hāruhoḥ*, using verbal root *hā* itself. A specification with *hā* could refer to two roots: *OhāK* and *OhāṄ* 'to go, move', where the second is a 'middle' (*ātmanepada*) on account of *Ṅ* as an *it*. Their present indicative active forms are: *jahāti* and *jihīte*, respectively. There is also a difference in their passive forms *hīyate* and *hāyate*. A specification with *hīya* could refer only to *OhāK*, or to a root which may have *jahāti* as its present indicative active form.

5.4.46 **अतिग्रहाव्यथनक्षेपेष्वकर्तरि तृतीयायाः**

atigrahāvyathanakṣepeṣv akartari tṛtīyāyāḥ
/ *atigrahāvyathanakṣepeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *akartari* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *tṛtīyāyāḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44)
atigrahādiviṣaye yā tṛtīyā tadantād vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati sā cet kartari na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* with the denotational scope of *atigraha* 'recognizing someone on the basis of his having transgressed others', *avyathana* 'not shaking' and *kṣepa* 'censure', provided this *tṛtīyā* is introduced to denote non-agent (*akartṛ*).

EXAMPLES:

cāritreṇātigṛhyate '. . . is accepted on the basis of having transgressed others in character'
cāritrato' tigṛhyate 'id.'
vṛttena na vyathate 'strict demands of conduct do not deter him'
vṛttato na vyathate 'id.'
vṛttena kṣiptaḥ 'he is censured on account of his conduct'
vṛttataḥ kṣiptaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that a *tṛtīyā*, when not denoting *kartṛ* 'agent', can be interpreted as denoting *hetu* 'instigator, cause' (1.1.54 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*) and *karaṇa* 'instrument'. The condition of *akartari* is imposed to block *tasI* parallel to *devadattena kṣiptaḥ* 'hurled by Devadatta'. Incidentally, *ati* of *atigraha* is used in the sense of *atikramaṇa* 'going beyond, transgression'.

5.4.47 **हीयमानपापयोगाच्च**

hīyamānapāpayogāc ca

/*hīyamānapāpayogāt* 5/1 = *hīyamānaś ca pāpaṃ ca* = *hīyamānapāpe*; *tābhyām yogo yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44, *akartari tṛtīyāyāḥ* #46)
hīyamānena pāpena ca yogo yasya tadvācinaḥ śabdāt parā yā tṛtīyā vibhaktir akartari tadantād vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which ends in *tṛtīyā* and is used in conjunction with *hīyamāna* 'to be devoid of; lacking' and *pāpa* 'sinful, wicked', provided the *tṛtīyā* introduced to denote non-agent (*akartṛ*).

EXAMPLES:

vṛttena hīyate 'lacking good moral conduct'
vṛttato hīyate 'id.'
vṛttena pāpaḥ 'wicked, or sinful, by conduct'
vṛttato pāpaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that the preceding rule provides for *tasI* when *kṣepa* 'censure' is denoted. Since association with *hīyamāna* and *pāpa* will naturally denote *kṣepa*, this rule should not be stated. Its derivates can be easily accounted for by the preceding rule. Commentators say that this *tasI* is to be introduced when *kṣepa* is not intended as the denotatum. That is, when only a statement of fact is made (*Kāś.*: *kṣepasya cāvivakṣāyāṃ tatvākhyāyām idam udāharaṇam*).

5.4.48 षष्ठ्या व्याश्रये

ṣaṣṭhyā vyāśraye
/*ṣaṣṭhyā* 3/1 *vyāśraye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44)
vyāśraye gamyamāne ṣaṣṭhyantād vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' when *vyāśraya* 'supporting different (opposing) sides' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

devā arjunato' bhavan 'gods sided with Arjuna'
devā arjunasya pakṣe abhavan 'id.'
ādityāḥ karṇato' bhavan 'sun-gods took sides with Karṇa'
ādityāḥ karṇasya pakṣe abhavan 'id.'

1. The word *vyāśraya* is explained as *nānāpakṣa-samāśraya* 'supporting different sides'. The *Mahābhāṣya* illustrates it with *kecit kaṃsabhaktā kecid vāsudeva-bhaktāḥ* 'some are supporters of Kaṃsa, and some are supporters of Vāsudeva'. *Kāśikā* cites *vṛkṣasya śākhā* 'branch of a tree' as a counter-example for *vyāśraya*.

5.4.49 रोगाच्चापनयने

rogāc cāpanayane
/ *rogāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *apanayane* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *anyatarasyām* #42, *pañcamyās tasiḥ* #44, *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ* #48)
rogavācinaḥ śabdād yā ṣaṣṭhī vibhaktiḥ tadantād vā tasiḥ pratyayo bhavati apanayane gamyamāne
The *taddhita* affix *tasI* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *roga* 'affliction', and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, provided *apanayana* 'cure, removal' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

pravāhikātaḥ kuru 'cure me of diarrhea (cholera)!'
kāsataḥ kuru 'cure me of coughing!'
chardikātaḥ kuru 'cure me of vomiting'

1. The word *apanayana* 'removal' in the context of *roga* 'affliction, disease' should be understood as *pratīkāra* 'cure'.

5.4.50 कृभ्वस्तियोगे सम्पद्यकर्तरि च्विः

kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ
/ *kṛbhvastiyoge* 7/1 = *kṛ ca bhū ca asti ca* = *kṛbhvastayaḥ*; *kṛbhvastibhir yogaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmin*; *sampadyakartari* 7/1 = *sampadyateḥ kartā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *cviḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
sampadyakartari prātipadikād abhūtatadbhāve gamyamāne kṛbhvastibhir dhātubhir yoge cviḥ pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *CvI* occurs after a nominal stem which serves as *kartṛ* 'agent' of an action denoted by *sampad* 'to become; to reach the state of' and is used in conjunction with verbal roots *kṛ* 'to do, make', *bhū* 'to be, become' and *as* 'to be'.

EXAMPLES:

aśuklaḥ śuklaḥ sampadyate, taṃ karoti = *śuklī karoti* 'that which was not white becomes white; someone makes something white which it previously was not'
ghaṭī bhavati mṛdam 'the clay becomes a pot which it previously was not
ghaṭī karoti mṛdam 'makes clay into a jar'
ghaṭī syāt 'may it become a jar'

1. Note that *sampadyakartari* is a qualifier to *prātipadikāt*, jointly paraphrased as: *sampadyasya kartā, tasmin vartamānāt prātipadikāt* 'after a nominal stem

which is used in the sense of the agent of what it is to become'. A *vārttika* (*cvividhāv abhūtatadbhāvagrahaṇam*) proposes *abhūtatadbhāva* as the condition for introducing *CvI*. The *Mahābhāṣya* explains *abhūtatadbhāva* as 'modification (*vikāra*) of a material cause (*kāraṇa*) into something which it previously was not'. The word *kāraṇa* 'material cause' is used here in the sense of *upādāna-kāraṇa*, a cause such as *mṛtpiṇḍa* 'lump of clay' which stays in its corresponding effect, i.e., *ghaṭa* 'jar'. Finally, *vikāra* 'modification' is explained as: *kāraṇasyaivottaram avasthāntaram* 'subsequent state of the material cause itself'. Incidentally, *Kāśikā* reads *abhūtatadbhāve* as part of this rule to accommodate this *vārttika* proposal.

This affixal provision is made under the cooccurrence condition of *kṛ* 'to do, make', *bhū* 'to be, become' and *asti* 'state of being'. The condition of *abhūtatadbhāva* focuses on *bhāva* which, in turn, could be explained as *janma* 'coming into existence' and *sattā* 'state of being'. This sense of *bhāva* can be easily related to *bhū* and *as*. How could it make sense in conjunction with *kṛ* 'to do, make'? For, what is done, or made, is not *sattā* 'state'. Actually, *bhāva* is to be interpreted here in a sense which could be in consonance with all the three verbs. That sense is *janma* 'coming into existence'. This is what is indicated by the use of *kṛ* with *bhū* and *as*.

The condition of *abhūtatadbhāva* is important so that *CvI* could not be introduced parallel to *śuklaṃ karoti* '. . . makes white', where the *prakṛti* 'material cause', is not given. The same is true of the condition of *kṛ-bhv-astiyoga* whereby *CvI*. In the context of *śuklo jāyate* 'white comes into existence', is blocked. For, the cooccurring verb is *jan* 'to be born'. A question is raised as to why the condition of *sampadyakartari* is stated. This condition can be easily understood by *abhūtatadbhāva*. The condition must be stated to block *CvI* where some other *kāraka* 'participant' is involved. Thus, *adevagṛhe devagṛhe sampadyate* 'that which was not in the temple comes into existence in the temple' where 'temple' serves as 'locus' (*adhikaraṇa*). That is, this transformation relates to the locus of a thing located (*satvādhikaraṇasya*). It does not relate to a *kartṛ* 'agent'. Incidentally, *sampadyakartṛ* is a compound, formed in consonance with its usage in this rule (*sautraḥ*).

2. Note that *śuklī* of *śuklī* (*karoti/ bhavati/ syāt*) is derived from *śukla* + *CvI* where (*i*) *CvI* is introduced after *śukla*, the agent (*kartṛ*) of *sampadyate*, and (*ii*) it is used in conjunction with *kṛ/ bhū/ as*. The final *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *śukla*, is then replaced with *i* before *CvI* (7.4.32 *asya cvau*). Affix *CvI*, i.e., *v*, is subsequently deleted by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*. The *sU* introduced after *śuklī* will be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ* since 1.1.37 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ* assigns the term *avyaya* to *śuklī*.

5.4.51 अरुर्मनश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहोरजसां लोपश्च

arurmanaścakṣuścetorahorajasāṃ lopaś ca

/ arur-manaś-cakṣuś-ceto-raho-rajasām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; lopaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ* #50)

aruḥprabhṛtīnām antasya lopo bhavati cviś ca pratyayaḥ

The *taddhita* affix *CvI*, with an additional provision of *LOPA* in place of the final *s*, occurs after nominal stems *arus* 'wound', *manas* 'mind', *cakṣus* 'eye', *cetas* 'cognizance', *rahas* 'secrecy' and *rajas* 'passion', when they serve as *kartṛ* 'agent' of the action denoted by *sam-pad* 'to become; to reach the state of' and are used in conjunction with verbal roots *kṛ* 'to do, make', *bhū* 'to be, become' and *as* 'to be'.

EXAMPLES:

anaruḥ aruḥ sampadyate, taṃ karoti = *arū karoti* 'one who did not have any wounds has wounds; someone inflicts a wound on someone who previously was not wounded'
arū bhavati 'id.'
arū syāt 'may there be a wound which previously was not'
unmanī karoti '. . . makes someone sad which he previously was not'
unmanī bhavati 'becomes sad which he was previously not'
unmanī syāt 'may he become sad which he previously was not'
uccakṣū karoti '. . . makes him awake which he previously was not'
uccakṣū bhavati '. . . wakes up which he previously was not'
uccakṣū syāt 'let him be awake which he previously was not'
vicetī karoti '. . . makes him cognizant which he previously was not'
vicetī bhavati 'becomes congnizant of something which he previously was not'
vicetī syāt 'let him be cognizant which he previously was not'
vihahī karoti '. . . makes him secluded which he previously was not'
virahī bhavati '. . . becomes secluded which he previously was not'
virahī syāt 'let him be secluded which he previously was not'
virajī karoti '. . . makes one free of dust (or passions) which one previously was not'
virajī bhavati 'becomes free of dust (or passions) which he previously was not'
virajī syāt 'let him become free of dust (or passions) which he previously was not'

1. Note that deletion by *LOPA* applies to the final *s* of all six bases. Since *CvI* is here introduced under conditions stated in the earlier rule, *CvI* is already available. This rule is, therefore, formulated just for *s*-deletion (*Kāś.*: *lopamātrārtham ārambhaḥ*). The short *u* of *aru* and *cakṣu* is replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.26 *cvau ca*, subsequent to *s*-deletion. The short *a* of other bases goes through a replacement in *ī* (*ītva*; 7.4.32 *asya cvau*).

5.4.52 विभाषा साति कार्त्स्न्ये

vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *sāti* 1/1 *kārtsnye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ* #50)
kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartariviṣaye vibhāsā sātiḥ pratyayo bhavati kārtsnye gamyamāne
The *taddhita* affix *sātI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which serves as *kartṛ* 'agent' of the action denoted by *sam-pad* 'to become; to reach the state of', and is used in conjunction with verbal roots *kṛ* 'to do, make', *bhū* 'to be, become' and *as* 'to be', provided *kārtsnya* 'entirety' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

agnisād bhavati śastram 'the weapon is totally ablaze'
agnī bhavati śastram 'the weapon is all fire'
udakasād bhavati lavaṇam 'the salt is completely diluted in water'
udakī bhavati lavaṇam 'the salt has become water'

1. Note that *vibhāṣā* is used for offering *CvI* as an option. The option of using regular phrases against these affixal provisions is made available by the great option (*mahāvibhāṣā*), i.e., *vā* of 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ*. . . . Incidentally, *vibhāṣā* is used here with a deleted nominative. It is not a particle. It is a derivate of verbal root *bhāṣ*, used with the preverb *vi*, where affix *aC* of 3.1.103 *guroś ca halaḥ* is used with the intended denotation of *vibhāṣyate* 'that which is made optional' (*PM* ad *Kāś.*). Some (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*) still consider it as a particle used for bringing *CvI*. Why did Pāṇini then not use *ca* 'and'? For reasons of offering stylistic variation (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *cakāra eva kasmān nohyaḥ? vaicitryāt sūtrakṛteḥ*).

2. The condition of *kārtsnya* 'entirety' blocks this affixal provision in sentences such as *ekadeśena paṭaḥ śuklībhavati* 'part of the cloth becomes white', where 'whiteness' is not total (*kṛtsna*).

5.4.53 अभिविधौ सम्पदा च

abhividhau sampadā ca
/*abhividhau* 7/1 *sampadā* 3/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge cviḥ* #50, *vibhāsā sāti* #52)
abhividhau gamyamāne cviviṣaye sātiḥ pratyayo bhavati sampadāyoge cakārāt kṛbhvastiyoge ca
The *taddhita* affix *sātI* occurs optionally after a nominal stem which is used in conjunction with *sam-pad* 'to become; to reach the state of',

and with *kṛ*, *bhū*, and *as* as well, provided *abhividhi* 'pervasion (of a whole by its part)' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

asyāṃ senāyāṃ utpātena sarvaṃ śastram agnisāt sampadyate 'every weapon, in this army, is ablaze on account of the flare up'
agnī bhavati śastram 'id.'
varṣāsu sarvaṃ lavaṇam udakasāt sampadyate 'all the salt, during rainy season, becomes water'
udakī bhavati lavaṇam 'id.'

1. Note that *sātI* is offered as an option against *CvI*, under the cooccurrence condition of *sampad*. Affix *CvI* will be used instead, when the nominal stem cooccurs with *kṛ*, *bhū* and *as*. That is, *CvI* cannot be introduced under the cooccurrence condition of *sampad*. What is the difference between *kārtsnya* and *abhividhi*? Modification of a *prakṛti* 'material cause' in its entirety is called *kārtsnya*. Thus, when salt totally dissolves in water, its modification is total. The salt has lost its identity, and is identified as water. We talk about *abhividhi* where modification of a whole is caused by its parts. Thus, if rain causes salt to dissolve, and this dissolution still leaves the identity of salt intact, this modification is not total. Part of salt may have dissolved but one can still identify the whole as salt. This is what is known as *abhividhi*. Bhaṭṭoji (*SK*) explains *kārtsnya* as a modification where, for example, a thing is turned into a non-thing by severing all of its parts (*ekasyāḥ vyakteḥ sarvāvayavāvacchedenānyathābhāvaḥ kārtsnyam*). A modification of the type of *abhividhi* will involve many things, though with only some of their parts severed (*bahūnāṃ vyaktīnāṃ kiṃcid avayavāvacchedenānyathātvaṃ tv abhividhiḥ*).

5.4.54 तदधीनवचने

tadadhīnavacane
/*tadadhīnavacane* 7/1 = *tasyādhīnam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *tadadhīnasya vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge cviḥ* #50, *sāti* #52)
svāmiviśeṣavācinaḥ prātipadikād īśitavye'bhidheye sātiḥ pratyayo bhavati kṛbhvastibhiḥ sampadā ca yoge
The *taddhita* affix *sātI* occurs after a nominal stem which is used in conjunction with *sam-pad*, or with *kṛ*, *bhū* and *as*, provided derivates denote 'his supremacy' (*tadadhīnam*).

EXAMPLES:

rājādhīnaṃ karoti = *rājasāt karoti* 'makes something subservient to the king'
rājasād bhavati '... becomes subservient to the king'

rājasāt syāt 'let it be under the control of the king'
rājasāt sampadyate '. . . goes under the control of the king'

1. Note that the condition of *abhūtatadbhāva* is no longer valid. We now have a different semantic condition (*arthāntaropādānāt*). The word *tadadhīna* is explained as *tasya āyattam* 'subservient to him', where *tad* refers to one who is the lord (*svāmī*). But *tad* here also denotes *īśitavya* 'superior'. Thus, *svāmī* is the meaning of the stem and *īśitavya* is the meaning of the affix. The context of these general denotata of *tadadhīna* is changed into particulars in view of *tadadhīnavacana* 'denotation of his lordship'. Thus, the nominal stem after which affix *sātI* is introduced denotes *svāmī* 'lord'.

5.4.55 देये त्रा च

deye trā ca
/*deye* 7/1 *trā* 1/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge cviḥ* #50, *sāti* #52, *tadadhīnevacane* #54)
tadadhīne deye trā pratyayo bhavati cakārāt sātiś ca kṛbhvastibhiḥ sampadā ca yoge
The *taddhita* affix *trā*, and *sātI* as well, occurs after a nominal stem which is used in conjunction with *sam-pad*, or with *kṛ*, *bhū* and *as*, provided 'his supremacy (*īśitavya*) over a thing offered him' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇādhīnaṃ deyaṃ karoti = *brāhmaṇasāt karoti* 'he is making what is given as subservient to the brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇatrā bhavati 'what is given him comes under the control of the brāhmaṇa'
brāhmaṇatrā sampadyate 'id.'

1. Here again, the base after which affix *trā* is introduced denotes *svāmī* 'lord'. Note that *deya* 'that which is to be given' is used here as a qualifier to *tadadhīnavacane*. Affix *trā* is used where what is given is made subservient to whom it is given (*Kāś.*: *yadā teṣāṃ samarpaṇena tadadhīnaṃ kriyate*). This rule is formulated to allow *trā* in addition to *sātI*.

5.4.56 देवमनुष्यपुरुषपुरुमर्त्येभ्यो द्वितीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम्

devamanuṣyapuruṣapurumartyebhyo dvitīyāsaptamyor bahulam
/*deva-manuṣya-puruṣa-puru-martyebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *dvitīyā-saptamyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *bahulam* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *trā* #55)
devādibhayaḥ prātipadikebhyo dvitīyāsaptamyantebhyaḥ trā pratyayo bhavati

bahulam

The *taddhita* affix *trā* occurs, variously, after nominal stems *deva* 'divine, god', *manuṣya* 'human, man', *puruṣa* 'person, man', *puru* 'heaven, world of immortals' and *martya* 'mortal, the world of mortals', when they end in *dvitīyā* 'second triplet of nominal endings' and *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal endings'.

devān/ deveṣu gacchati = devatrā gacchati '... approaches gods'
manuṣyān/ manuṣyeṣu vasati = manuṣyatrā vasati '... lives among humans'
puruṣān/ puruṣeṣu gacchati = puruṣatrā gacchati '... approaches men'
purūn/ puruṣu vasati = purutrā vasati '... lives among immortals'
martyān/ martyeṣu vasati = martyatrā vasati '... lives among mortals'

1. Note that *bahulam* is used to indicate that *trā* also occurs after other bases. Thus, *bahutrā jīvito manaḥ* has *trā* introduced after *bahu* 'many'. It is rather impossible to establish *kṛbhvastiyoga* in these examples.

5.4.57 अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् द्व्यजवरार्धादनितौ डाच्

avyaktānukaraṇād dvyajavarārddhād anitau ḍāc
/ *avyaktānukaraṇāt* 5/1 = *na vyaktam* = *avyaktam* (*nañ. tat.*); *avyaktasya anukaraṇam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *dvyajavarārddhāt* 5/1 = *dvayor acoḥ samāhāraḥ* = *dvyac* (*sam. dv.*); *dvyac avarārdhaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *anitau* 7/1 = *na itiḥ* = *anitiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ḍāc* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *kṛbhvastiyoge* #50)
avyaktānukaraṇāt dvyajavarārddhād anitiparāt prātipadikāḍ ḍāc pratyayo bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after a form which is used in conjunction with *kṛ*, *bhū*, *as*, and is obtained by copying a stretch of non-distinct noise the first half of which contains at least two vowels (*dvyajavarārdha*), provided the same is not followed by *iti* (*anitau*).

EXAMPLES:

paṭapaṭā karoti '... makes the *paṭat paṭat* noise'
paṭapaṭā syāt '... let there be *paṭat paṭat* noise'
damadamā bhavati '... there is the *damat damat* noise'
damadamā syāt 'let there be *damat damat* noise'

1. The word *avyakta* is used as a qualifer to *dhvani* 'noise' where sound segments such as *a*, etc., are collectively not distinct or meaningful (*Kāś.*: *yatra dhvanāv ākārādayo varṇā viśeṣarūpeṇa na vyajyante*). An imitation of that same stretch of noise is called *avyaktānukaraṇa*. The word *dvyayaj-avarārdham* is explained as a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as *dvyaj avarārdham yasya* 'that which, when reduced in half, has a form consisting of at least two vowels'. The word *avara* is used in the sense of *apakarṣa* 'reduction, downgrad-

ing, minimum'. The cooccurrence condition of *kṛbhvasti* facilitates the introduction of *ḌāC*. A *vārttika* proposal is made for 'doubling of the base' when affix *ḌāC* finds its scope (*ḍāci vivakṣite dve bahulam*). This *vārttika* interprets the *saptamī* 'locative' of *ḍāci* as *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain'. This will facilitate 'doubling' prior to the introduction of *ḌāC*. A *parasaptamī* interpretation will require *ḌāC* to be introduced first. Thus, in deriving *paṭapaṭā*, we begin with *paṭat*. Affix *ḌāC* is then introduced after *paṭatpaṭat*, a doubled up base. One can now identify *paṭat* as the first half of the noise which also contains two vowels (*dvyajavarārdha*).

The condition of *avyaktānukaraṇa* blocks this affixal provision in *dṛṣat karoti* where *dṛṣat* 'pebble, rock' is distinct noise. The condition of *dvyajāvarārdhāt* rules out *śrat karoti* where *śrat*, a non-distinct noise, has but a single vowel. The condition of *avara* facilitates introduction of *ḌāC* in *kharaṭakharaṭākaroti* where *kharaṭat* contains more than the minimum of two vowels required. Finally, *paṭiti* will be ruled out because of the condition of *aniti* 'when *iti* does not follow'.

The *C* as an *it* in *ḌāC* is used to block the *svarita* of 8.2.6 *svarito vā' nudātte padādau*. Some also read *dvyajavarārdhāt* as *dvyajyavarārdhyāt* where *ya* of *avarārdhya* is treated as the *svārthika* affix *ya*, introduced for use in this rule via *nipātana*.

2. Refer to the derivation *paṭapaṭā* (of *paṭapaṭāyati*) under the appendix (vol. II) of rule 1.3.90 *vākyaṣaḥ*. Affix *ḌāC* will be introduced after *paṭat paṭat* where a *vārttika* under this rule, i.e., *nityaṃ āmreḍite ḍāc iti vaktavyam*, causes *pararūpa* 'a form similar to that which follows'. This replaces *t* of the first *paṭat* and *pa* of the second *paṭa* termed *āmreḍita* (8.1.2 *tasya paramām-reḍitam*) with *p* to yield *paṭa* (*t* + *p*→*pa*) *ṭat* = *paṭapaṭat* + *ā*. Deletion of *ṭi*, i.e., *at*, for reasons of *ḌāC* being marked with *Ḍ* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*) will finally yield *paṭapaṭ*(*at*→ϕ) + *ā* = *paṭapaṭā*. A deletion of *sU* after *paṭapaṭā* will finally derive *paṭapaṭā*. Our next example *damadamā* can be similarly derived from *damat* + *damat*.

5.4.58 कृञो द्वितीयतृतीयशम्बबीजात्कृषौ

kṛño dvitīyatṛtīyaśambabījāt kṛṣau
/*kṛñaḥ* 5/1 *dvitīyatṛtīyaśambabījāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *kṛṣau* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57)
dvitīyatṛtīyādibhyaḥ śabdebhyaḥ kṛṣāv abhidheyāyāṃ ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge nānyatra
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stems *dvitīya* 'second, other', *tṛtīya* 'third', *śamba* 'opposite direction' and *bīja* 'seed', when used in conjunction with *kṛÑ* 'to make', provided derivates denote *kṛṣi* 'ploughing'.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyā karoti kṣetram 'he is ploughing the field a second time'
tṛtīya karoti kṣetram 'he is ploughing the field a third time'
śambā karoti kṣetram 'he is now ploughing the field in reverse direction'
bījā karoti kṣetram 'he is sowing seeds while ploughing'

1. Note that this affixal provision is made in the context of *kṛṣi* 'ploughing'. The cooccurrence condition of *kṛÑ* is restated to cancel the cooccurrence conditions of *bhū* and *as.* Commentators explain *śambākaroti* as *anulomakṛṣṭaṃ kṣetraṃ punaḥ pratilomaṃ kṛṣati* 'having ploughed the field in one direction he now ploughs in the opposite direction'. They explain *bījākaroti* as *saha bījena vilekhanaṃ karoti* 'he ploughs while sowing seeds'. Deriving *dvitīyā* from *dvitīya* + *ḌāC* with *bhasaṃjñā* and deletion of *a* (*a-lopa*) is straightforward.

5.4.59 **संख्यायाश्च गुणान्तायाः**

saṃkhyāyāś ca guṇāntāyāḥ
/*saṃkhyāyāḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *guṇāntāyāḥ* 5/1/ = *guṇaśabdo'nte samīpe yasyāḥ* (*bv.*), *tasyāḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ kṛṣau* #58)
saṃkhyāvācinaḥ śabdasya guṇaśabdo'nte = samīpe yatra sambhavati sā saṃkhyā guṇāntety ucyate; tādṛśāt prātipadikāt kṛṣāv abhidheyāyāṃ ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after a nominal stem which signifies *saṃkhyā* 'number' and ends in *guṇa* 'times', provided it cooccurs with *kṛÑ* and derivates denote *kṛṣi* 'ploughing'.

EXAMPLES:

dviguṇaṃ vilekhanaṃ karoti kṣetrasya = *dviguṇā karoti kṣetram* '. . . plows the field twice'
triguṇākaroti kṣetram '. . . plows the field thrice'

1. Note that *ḌāC* will be blocked in contexts such as *dviguṇāṃ karoti rajjum* 'makes the rope twice as strong' because the condition of *kṛṣi* cannot be met.

5.4.60 **समयाच्च यापनायाम्**

samayāc ca yāpanāyām
/*samayāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *yāpanāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
samayaśabdād yāpanāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *samaya* 'occasion for

doing something worth doing', used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided *yāpanā* 'procrastination, waste of time' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

samayā karoti '. . . procrastinates when time for doing something approaches'
samayaṃ yāpayati 'he is killing time'
kālakṣepaṃ karoti 'he is wasting time'

1. Note that *samaya* is used in the sense of *karmasyāvasaraprāptiḥ* 'to have an occasion for action'. A transgression (*atikramaṇa*) of that occasion is called *yāpanā*.

5.4.61 सपत्रनिष्पत्रादतिव्यथने

sapattraniṣpattrād ativyathane
/*sapattra-niṣpattrāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ativyathane* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
sapattra-niṣpattraśabdābhyāṃ ativyathane ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge sati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *sapattra* and *niṣpattra*, used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided derivates denote *ativyathana* 'intense pain'.

EXAMPLES:

sapattrā karoti mṛgaṃ vyādhaḥ 'he shoots an arrow, with feathers on its top, so deep into the deer that feathers disappear in its body'
niṣpattrā karoti mṛgaṃ vyādhaḥ 'he shoots an arrow, with feathers on its top, with such force that it pierces through the body of the deer with feathers still there on top of the arrow'

1. Note that the condition of *ativyathana* will block this affixal provision relative to sentences such as: *sapatraṃ vṛkṣaṃ karoti jalasecakaḥ* 'his watering makes trees full of leaves' and *niṣpatraṃ karoti vṛkṣatalaṃ bhūmiśodhakaḥ* 'the grounds-keeper makes the area under trees leafless'.

5.4.62 निष्कुलान्निष्कोषणे

niṣkulān niṣkoṣaṇe
/*niṣkulāt* 5/1 *niṣkoṣaṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
niṣkulaśabdān niṣkoṣaṇe vartamānāt kṛño ḍāc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after *niṣkula*, when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided derivates denote *niṣkoṣaṇa* 'causing internal body organs to come out'.

EXAMPLES:

niṣkulā karoti paśūn 'he kills animals in such a manner that their internal organs come out'

1. Note that *niṣkoṣaṇa* is explained as: *antaravayavānāṃ bahir niṣkāsanam* 'causing internal organs to come out'. This condition is important to block *ḌāC* in cases such as *niṣkulān karoti śatrūn* 'makes his enemies devoid of companions'. The word *kula* is used in this sentence with the signification of *bandhu* 'companion, friend'.

5.4.63 सुखप्रियादानुलोम्ये

sukhapriyād ānulomye
/*sukha-priyāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ānulomye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
sukha-priyaśabdābhyām ānulomye vartamānābhyām kṛño yoge ḍāc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stems *sukha* 'happiness, pleasure' and *priya* 'dear' when they are used in conjunction with *kṛÑ* and signify *ānulomya* 'amiability'.

EXAMPLES:

sukhā karoti 'he does something pleasing'
priyā karoti 'he does something dear'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *ānulomya* as *anukūlatā* 'amiability'. That is, *ārādhyacittānuvartana* 'doing things in consonance with the wish of someone deserving of respect'.

5.4.64 दुःखात्प्रातिलोम्ये

duḥkhāt prātilomye
/*duḥkhāt* 5/1 *prātilomye* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
duḥkhaśabdāt prātipadikāt prātilomye gamyamāne ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *duḥkha* 'misery, distress', when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ* and signifies *prātilomya* 'non-amiability'.

EXAMPLES:

duḥkhā karoti bhṛtyaḥ 'the servant does unpleasant things'

1. The word *prātilomya* is used in the sense of 'doing, or not doing, things which may cause pain' (*cittasya pīḍanam duḥkhaṃ vā*). But *prātilomya* cannot be accepted in *duḥkhaṃ karoti kadannam* 'bad food causes pain'. For, *kadanna* 'bad food' always causes *duḥkha* 'pain'. It is a general consequence.

5.4.65 शूलात्पाके

śūlāt pāke
/*śūlāt* 5/1 *pāke* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
śūlaśabdāt pākaviṣaye ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *śūla* 'spit' when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided *pāka* 'cooking' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

śule pacati = *śūlā karoti māṃsam* 'he is cooking meat on spikes'

1. Note that *śūlaṃ karoti kadannam* 'bad food causes pain' cannot qualify for *ḌāC* because 'cooking' (*pāka*) on spikes is not involved.

5.4.66 सत्यादशपथे

satyād aśapathe
/*satyāt* 5/1 *aśapathe* 5/1 = *na śapathaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
satyaśabdād aśapathe ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *satya* 'truth' when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ*, provided *śapatha* 'oath, pledge' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

satyā karoti vaṇig bhāṇḍam 'the trader makes my intent of buying the jar a reality'

1. The word *satya* is used as an antonym of *anṛta* 'non-truth'. It may also be found elsewhere denoting the sense of *śapatha* 'oath, pledge'. Thus, *satyena śāpayed vipram* 'let a brāhmaṇa be asked to swear by truth'. The condition of *aśapatham* is imposed so that *satyaṃ karoti brahmaṇaḥ* 'the Brāhmaṇa swears. . . .'

5.4.67 मद्रात्परिवापणे

madrāt parivāpaṇe

/*madrāt* 5/1 *parivāpaṇe* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *ḍāC* #57, *kṛñaḥ* #58)
madraśabdāt parivāpaṇe ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛño yoge
The *taddhita* affix *ḌāC* occurs after nominal stem *madra* 'auspicious, beautiful' when it is used in conjunction with *kṛÑ* and *parivāpaṇa* 'shaving of head' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

maṅgalaṃ muṇḍanaṃ karoti nāpitaḥ = *madrā karoti* 'the barber is doing an auspicious shaving of head'

1. A *vārttika* also recommends affix *ḌāC* after *bhadra* 'beautiful' to account for *bhadrākaroti nāpitaḥ* 'the barber shaves beautiful'. Note that *madraṃ karoti* 'makes it auspicious' will not qualify for this affix because *muṇḍana* 'shaving' is not denoted.

5.4.68 समासान्ताः

samāsāntāḥ
/*samāsāntāḥ* 1/3/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76)
ā pādaparisamāpter ye pratyayā vihitās te samāsasyāntāvayavā ekadeśā bhavanti = *tad grahaṇena gṛhyanta iti veditavyam*
The *taddhita* affixes introduced, henceforth, occur as final (*anta*) of a nominal stem termed compound (*samāsa*).

EXAMPLES:

Refer to examples under following rules.

1. The *samāsānta* affixes are introduced with reference to specific compound constituency. Thus, 5.4.91 *rājāhaḥsakhibhyaṣ ṭac* introduces *ṬaC* as final of a compound which ends in *rājan* 'king', *ahan* 'day' and *sakhi* 'companion, friend'. The word *anta* in *samāsāntāḥ* denotes *avayava* 'part'. A *samāsānta* affixes can become part of a compound when it is introduced prior to compound formation. That is, the term *samāsa* 'compound' is assigned to a form which also includes the *samāsānta* affix. This is possible only when a *samāsānta* affix is introduced after the final constituent of a compound first. The final constituent ending in a *samāsānta* affix can then be combined with the preceding constituent. The authors of the *Kāśikā* clearly state this under rule 7.4.14 *na kapi*. But this goes against *Kāśikā*'s statement under 5.4.72 *patho vibhāṣā*, whereby a *sāmāsānta* affix is blocked from occurring after a particular *tatpuruṣa* compound. *Kāśikā*'s paraphrase of this rule assumes that *samāsānta* affixes are introduced after compounds are formed.

For how these seemingly conflicting statements are reconciled to still favor the formation of a compound subsequent to the introduction of *samāsānta* affixes, refer to discussions under rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt.*

2. Let us discuss the derivation of *uparājam* 'near the king' where *uparājan* is an *avyayībhāva* compound derived parallel to *upa* + *sU rājan* + *Ṅas* (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . .). The *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* is then introduced by 5.4.108 *anaś ca.* Rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* will then delete *an* under the assignment of the term *bha.* The affixal *a* will now be considered as part of the compound base *uparāja* which, in turn, will receive *sU* to yield *uparājim.* Note that if *a* is not considered as part of *uparāja, sU* cannot be replaced with *am.* For, *sU* must qualify as occurring after an *avyayībhāva* compound ending in *a* (2.4.83 *nāvyayībhāvād* . . .). Rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* then orders *pūrvarūpa* 'a form similar to that which precedes'. That is, *uparāja(a* + *a→a) m*)) = *uparājam.*

5.4.69 न पूजनात्

na pūjanāt
/*na* ϕ *pūjanāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
yān śabdān upādāya samāsāntā vidhīyante yadā te pūjanavacanāt pare bhavanti tadā samāsānto na bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes specified as *samāsānta* do not occur after that which is used in combination after a constituent denoting *pūjana* 'respect, admiration'.

EXAMPLES:

surājā 'good king'
atirājā 'great king; one who has excelled others'
atigauḥ 'excellent cow'

1. Note that this rule cannot be interpreted as: *pūjanavacanāt samāsānto na bhavati* 'a *samāsānta* affix does not occur after that which denotes *pūjana* 'respect, admiration'. Since a provision for these affixes is made with reference to enumeration of specific bases, their negation must also be similarly stated. Besides, there is no final constituent of a compound specific to which a *samāsanta* afffix is stated, and which also denotes the sense of 'respect, admiration'. The negation, unless interpreted otherwise, will thus not make any sense (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *tatra ca pūjanārthasya kasyacid abhāvād abhāve pratiṣedhānupapatteḥ*). Incidentally, this negation mainly applies to compounds specified by 5.4.91 *rājāhaḥsakhibhyaṣ ṭac* and 5.4.92 *gor ataddhitaluki.*

2. A *vārttika* further restricts the scope of this negation to only those compounds where *su* and *ati* are combined with the sense of *pūjana* (*vt.*:

pūjāyāṃ su-ati-grahaṇaṃ kartavyam). Thus, it cannot apply to *paramarājaḥ* 'excellent king' and *paramagavaḥ* 'excellent cow'.

An additional *vārttika* restricts the scope of this negation to include only those rules which are enumerated prior to 5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ* (*vt.*: *prāg bahuvrīhigrahaṇaṃ kartavyam*). Thus, compounds such as *susakthaḥ/ atisakthaḥ* 'he whose thighs are beautiful' and *svakṣaḥ/ atyakṣaḥ* 'he whose eyes are beautiful' do not come under the scope of this negation. The *samāsānta* affix *ṢaC* of 5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau* . . . cannot be negated.

5.4.70 किमः क्षेपे

kimaḥ kṣepe
/*kimaḥ* 5/1 *kṣepe* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *na* #69)
kṣepe yaḥ kiṃśabdas tataḥ parasya samāsānto na bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes specified as *samāsānta* do not occur after that which is used in combination after *kim* 'what, which, who' signifying *kṣepa* 'censure'.

EXAMPLES:

kiṃrāja yo na rakṣati 'you call him a king who does not protect!'
kiṃsakhā yo' bhidruhyati 'you call him a friend who is jealous!'
kiṃgaur yo na vahati 'you call it a bull which cannot carry any loads'

1. The compounds after which this rule negates a *samāsānta* affix are formed under the provision of 2.1.64 *kiṃ kṣepe*. The condition of *kṣepa* is important since *kim* can also be used with other meanings. Thus, a *samāsānta* affix cannot be negated in *kiṃrājaḥ* 'whose king?' and *kiṃsakhaḥ* 'whose friend?', etc.

2. Why do we have to explicitly state *kṣepe* when *kimaḥ* itself can restrict this negation to compounds formed by 2.1.64 *kiṃ kṣepe* in view of *Paribhāṣā* (114): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam*. But this *paribhāṣā* cannot find its scope here since this rule does not make its specification by means of *kim*. It makes its specification by means of *kimaḥ*. Thus, *kṣepe* must be stated. Others still believe that this *paribhāṣā* is valid. For, the specification of this rule is made for compounds with *kim* as a constituent. Some claim that *kṣepe* is stated so that this negation could also be extended to *bahuvrīhi* compounds, for example, *kiṃdhuram* of *kiṃdhuraṃ śakaṭam* 'a cart with a bad axle' and *nirdhuram* 'a cart with no axle' (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*). This view should be ignored because it goes against the *Mahābhāṣya*. The word *kṣepe* can be accepted as used for clarity (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: . . . *tad bhāṣyavirodhād upekṣyam. tasmād viṣpaṣṭārthaṃ kṣepagrahaṇam*).

5.4.71 नञस्तत्पुरुषात्

nañas tatpuruṣāt
/*nañaḥ* 5/1 *tatpuruṣāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *na* #69)
nañaḥ pare vakṣyamāṇā ye rājādayas tadantāt tatpuruṣāt samāsānto na bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes specified as *samāsānta* do not occur after that which is used in combination after *naÑ* 'not' in a compound termed *tatpuruṣa.*

EXAMPLES:

arājā 'non-king; a bad king'
asakhā 'non-friend; a bad friend'
agauḥ 'bad cow'

1. Note that *naÑ* must be the constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound. Elsewhere, as in *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *anṛcaḥ* and *adhuram,* of *anṛco māṇavakaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa boy (who has not studied the hymns)' and *adhuraṃ śakaṭam* 'a cart with no axle', this negation does not apply. Consequently, affix *a* is introduced by 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām ānakṣe.*

5.4.72 पथो विभाषा

patho vibhāṣā
/*pathaḥ* 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *na* #69, *nañas tatpuruṣāt* #72)
nañaḥ paro yaḥ pathin-śabdas tadantāt tatpuruṣāt samāsānto vibhāṣā na bhavati
The *taddhita* affixes specified as *samāsānta* do not occur, optionally, after *pathin* 'path, road', used in combination after *naÑ* in a compound termed *tatpuruṣa.*

EXAMPLES:

apatham 'a path not fit to be followed'
apanthāḥ 'id.'

1. The obligatory (*nitya*) negation of the preceding rule is now made optional in the context of *pathin.* Affix *a* of 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . . will be introduced to derive *apatham,* a neuter (2.4.30 *apathaṃ napuṃsakam*) when optional negation is not accepted. Non-introduction of the *samāsānta* affix will derive *apanthāḥ.*

5.4.73 बहुव्रीहौ संख्येये डजबहुगणात्

bahuvrīhau saṃkhyeye ḍaj abahugaṇāt

/ bahuvrīhau 7/1 *saṃkhyeye* 7/1 *ḍac* 1/1 *abahugaṇāt* 5/1 = *bahuś ca gaṇaś ca = bahugaṇam; na bahugaṇam* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
saṃkhyeye yo bahuvrīhir vartate tasmād bahugaṇāntād ḍac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ḌaC* occurs as final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which is formed with the signification of *saṃkhyeye* 'that which is to be counted' and contains a final constituent other than *bahu* 'much, many' and *gaṇa* 'group'.

EXAMPLES:

upadaśāḥ 'close to ten'
upaviṃśāḥ 'close to twenty'
adhikadaśāḥ 'more than ten'

1. This rule refers to *bahuvrīhi* compounds formed by 2.2.25 *saṃkhyāvyayāsanna*. . . . The condition of *saṃkhyeye* blocks *ḌaC* after *citraguḥ* and *śabalaguḥ* 'he who owns brindled cows'. The condition of *abahugaṇāt* blocks *ḌaC* in *upabahavaḥ* and *upagaṇāḥ*. Incidentally, *upagaṇāḥ* will still be a derivate whether *ḌaC* is introduced or not. A derivate of *ḌaC* is marked *udātta* at the end in view of *C* as an *it* (6.1.163 *citaḥ*).
2. A *vārttika* proposes that the scope of this rule should also include a *tatpuruṣa* compound with *saṃkhyā* 'number' as its final constituent. This will account for examples such as *nistriṃśa*, etc., of *nistriṃśāni varṣāṇi devadattasya* 'Devadatta whose thirty years have elapsed'.

5.4.74 ऋक्पूरब्धूःपथामानक्षे

ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām ānakṣe
/ ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām 6/3 = *ṛk ca pur ca ap ca dhur ca panthāś ca = ṛkpūrabdhūḥpanthānaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; ānakṣe* 7/1 = *a* (1/1 deleted) *anakṣe* 7/1 = *na akṣaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
'*ṛk, pur, ap, dhur, pathin*' *ity evam antānāṃ samāsānām akāraḥ pratyayo bhavati samāsānto'kṣe na*
The *taddhita* affix *a* occurs after *ṛk* 'Vedic hymn', *pur* 'city', *ap* 'water', *dhūḥ* 'axle' and *pathin* 'path', used in combination as final constituent of a nominal stem termed *samāsa* 'compound', provided *dhūḥ* is not related to *akṣa* 'axle'.

EXAMPLES:

anṛcaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa boy who has not studied the hymns'
bahvṛcaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who has studied the hymns'

lalāṭapuram 'the city of Lalāṭapura'
dvīpam 'that which has water on two sides; island'
mahādhuraḥ 'a huge axle'
jalapathaḥ 'water-way'

1. Note that *bahuvrīhau* is not carried. That is, this provision of *a* is made after compounds in general. Of course, with reference to *ṛk*, etc. The negation of *anakṣe* can be related only with *dhur* 'carriage pole, axle-pin'. Thus, affix *a* cannot be introduced after *dhur* relatable to *akṣa* 'axle'. Consequently, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *akṣadhūḥ* paraphrased as *akṣasya dhūḥ* will not qualify for *a*.

The words *anṛcaḥ* and *bahvṛcaḥ* are used in the sense of *māṇavaka* 'a brāhmaṇa boy (with no knowledge of *ṛk*)' and *brāhmaṇa* 'Brāhmaṇa (a branch of Ṛk (*caraṇākhyā*))', respectively. It is for this reason that *anṛkkam* and *bahvṛkkam*, which denote *sāman* 'Sāmaveda' and *sūkta* 'collection of hymns', do not qualify for *a*.

5.4.75 **अच्प्रत्यन्ववपूर्वात्सामलोम्नः**

ac pratyanvavapūrvāt sāmalomnaḥ
/*ac* 1/1 *pratyanvavapūrvāt* 5/1 = *pratiś ca anuś ca avaś ca* = *prtyanvavam pūrvaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *sāmalomnaḥ* 5/1 = *sāma ca loma ca* = *sāmaloma* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
'*prati, anu, ava*' *ity evaṃpūrvāt sāmāntāl lomāntāc ca samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a compound nominal stem which ends in *sāman* 'conciliation' and *loman* 'hair', used in combination after *prati*, *anu* and *ava*.

EXAMPLES:

pratisāmam 'non-conciliatory, rudely'
anusāmam 'conciliatory, nicely'
avasāmam 'not very nicely'
pratilomam 'opposite, unnatural'
anulomam 'in accord with nature'
avalomam 'id.'

1. Note that *pratisāmam* and *anusāmam* can be interpreted as *prādi* (*pratigataṃ sāma*), *bahuvrīhi* (*pratigataṃ sāma asya*) and *avyayībhāva* compounds whatever makes sense (*yathāsambhavaṃ veditavyāḥ*). The *an*, of *sāman* and *loman*, is deleted by 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*. A *ślokavārttika* also recalls *aC* after *bhūmi* 'land, soil', used in combination after *kṛṣṇa* 'black', *udak* 'water' and *pāṇḍu* 'pale white'. Affix *aC* also occurs after *godāvarī* 'name of a river' and

nadī 'river', when used in combination after a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number':

> *kṛṣṇodakpāṇḍupūrvāyā bhūmer ac pratyayaḥ smṛtaḥ/*
> *godāvaryāś ca nadyāś ca saṃkhyāyā uttare yadi//*

This will account for derivates such as *kṛṣṇabhūmaḥ* 'a place where soil is black', *pāṇḍubhūmaḥ* 'a place where soil is pale-white', *udagbhūmaḥ* 'a place with water', *pañcanadam* 'five-rivers' and *pañcagodāvaram* 'five tributaries of Godāvarī'.

A desideratum (*iṣṭi*) also calls for *aC* after *bhūmi* used in combination after *saṃkhyā* 'number'. Thus, *dvibhūmaḥ prāsādaḥ* 'a palace with two floors', etc. Affix *aC* is also seen elsewhere, as in *padmanābhaḥ* 'one whose navel is shaped like lotus', etc. It is further observed that separate statements are not needed to account for these derivates. They can be accounted for by creating a rule such as *acaḥ*, via *yogavibhāga* 'split interpretation'.

5.4.76 अक्ष्णोऽदर्शनात्

> *akṣṇo' darśanāt*
> /*akṣṇaḥ* 5/1 *adarśanāt* 5/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
> *darśanād anyatra yo' kṣiśabdas tadantād ac pratyayo bhavati*
> The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a compound nominal stem which contains *akṣi* 'eye' as its final constituent, provided *akṣi* denotes something other than *darśana* 'seeing' (*adarśanāt*).

EXAMPLES:

> *puṣkarākṣam* 'lotus-eyes'
> *lavaṇākṣam* 'beautiful eyes'

1. Note that the condition of *adarśanāt* is stated so that examples such as *brahmākṣi* 'eyes of a brāhmaṇa' could be blocked from receiving *aC*. The 'eyes' are here intended for 'seeing'. The word *akṣi* in this rule is used in the sense of *akṣisadṛśa* 'eye-like'. These compounds are formed in view of 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*. . . . How would one explain *kabarākṣam* 'mouth cover for horses' and *gavākṣam* 'small window'. The word *darśana* of *adarśanāt*, in these cases, should be accepted as a synonym of *cakṣu* 'eye', meaning *prāṇyaṅga* 'limb of a sentient being'. The negation will thus still hold.

5.4.77 अचतुरविचतुरसुचतुरस्त्रीपुंसधेन्वनडुहर्क्सामवाङ्-
मनसाक्षिभ्रुवदारगवोर्वष्ठीवपदष्ठीवनक्तंदिवरात्रिंदिवाहर्दिवसरजस-
निश्श्रेयसपुरुषायुषायुषद्व्यायुषत्र्यायुषर्ग्यजुषजातोक्षमहोक्षवृद्धोक्षोपशुनगोष्ठश्वाः

> *acaturavicaturasucaturastrīpuṃsadhenvananaḍuharksāmavāṅmanasākṣi-*

bhruvadāragavorvaṣṭhīvapadaṣṭhīvanaktandivarātrindivāhardivasara-jasaniśśreyasapuruṣāyuṣadvyāyuṣatryāyuṣargyajuṣajātokṣamahokṣavṛddhok-ṣopaśunagoṣṭhaśvāḥ
/ *acatura-vicatura* . . . *goṣṭhaśvāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs, via *nipātana*, in deriving the following compounds:
acatura, vicatura, sucatura, strīpuṃsa, dhenvanaḍuha, ṛksāma, vāṅmanasa, akṣibhruva, dāragava, ūrvaṣṭhīva, padaṣṭhīva, naktandiva, rātrindiva, ahardiva, sarajasa, niśśreyasa, puruṣāyuṣa, dvyāyuṣa, tryāyuṣa, ṛgyajuṣa, jātokṣa, mahokṣa, vṛddhokṣa, upaśuna, and *goṣṭhaśva.*

EXAMPLES:

avidyamānāni vā catvāri yasya saḥ = *acaturaḥ* 'he who does not have four . . .'
vigatāni catvāri yasya = *vicaturaḥ* 'one who has lost four . . .'
śobhanāni catvāri yasya = *sucaturaḥ* 'one who has four beautiful . . .'
strīpuṃsau 'female and male'
dhenvanaḍuhau 'cow and bull'
ṛksāme 'the Ṛk and the Sāman hymns'
vāṅmanase 'speech and mind'
akṣibhruvam 'eye and eye-brow'
dāragavam 'wife and cows'
ūrvaṣṭhīvam 'thighs and knees'
naktandivam 'night and day'
rātrindivam 'id.'
ahardivam 'nights and days'
sarajasam 'not even sparing the dirt; in toto'
niśśreyasam 'absolutely auspicious'
puruṣāyuṣam 'human life-span'
dvyāyuṣam 'twice the life-span of a human'
ṛgyajuṣam 'the Ṛk and the Yajuṣ hymns'
jātokṣaḥ 'young bull'
mahokṣah 'large bull'
vṛddhokṣah 'old bull'
upaśunam 'near the dog'
goṣṭhaśvaḥ 'a dog in the barn who, for no reason, barks at passers-by; a man who himself does nothing but always finds fault with others'

1. The first three compounds are *bahuvrīhi*, where *a, vi*, and *su* denote *avidyamāna* 'non-existent', *vigata* 'gone' and *śobhana* 'beautiful'. The next eleven compounds are all *dvandva*. The *dvandva* compound *strīpuṃs*, after having received *aC*, yields the dual form *strīpuṃsau*. Affix *aC* cannot be in-

troduced after *strīpumān*, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *striyāḥ pumān* 'woman's man'. The pattern of *strīpuṃsau* is also followed by *dhenvanaḍuhau*. The *an* of *ṛcsāman*, parallel to *ṛc ca sāman ca*, is deleted and *c* is replaced with *k* (*kutva*). The compound is then used as neuter: *ṛksāme*. Given *akṣi ca bhruvau ca*, we get *akṣibhrū* which, after *aC*, yields *akṣibhru*. A replacement in *uvaṄ* followed by *ekavadbhāva* 'as if denoting one' of 2.4.2 *dvandvaś ca prāṇitūryasenāṅgānām* yields *akṣibhruvam*. Our example *dāragavam* is derived with *aC* introduced after *dārago*, where *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' applies in addition to *uvaṄ* and *ekavadbhāva*. The *at* of *ur*(*ū*→*v*) + *aṣṭhīvat* = *urvaṣṭhīvat* + *aC* is deleted, via *nipātana*, prior to *ekavadbhāva*. This same also applies to *padaṣṭhīvam*, where *pad* replaces *pāda* of *pāda* + *aṣṭhīvat* + *aC*, prior to *ekavadbhāva*, again via *nipātana*. Our next compound *naktandivam* is allowed in the sense of *saptamī* 'locus', via *nipātana*. The *m* of *naktam* is not deleted (*aluk*), again via *nipātana*. This same is also true of *rātrindivam*. The *dvandva* compound of *ahardivam*, where constituents are both synonyms, is allowed via *nipātana*, in the sense of *vīpsā* 'total pervasion'. The *n* of *ahan* is replaced with *r* by 8.2.69 *ro'supi*.

Note that *sarajasam* is not a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *saha rajasā*, where *saha* denotes 'accompaniment'. It is *avyayībhāva* compound where *saha* denotes *sākalya* 'entirety'. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *niḥśreyasam* is also ruled out. The compound is a *tatpuruṣa* in the sense of *niścitaṃ śreyaḥ*. Affix *aC* is introduced in *puruṣāyuṣam* when it is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, and not a *dvandva*. For, the form will then be *puruṣāyuṣī*. But *dvyāyuṣam* and *tryāyuṣam* are *dvandva* compounds formed in the sense of *samāhāra*. A genitive interpretation of these compounds will not qualify for *aC*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *ṛgyajuṣam* is similarly ruled out in favor of a *dvandva*. Compounds such as *jātokṣaḥ*, *mahokṣaḥ* and *vṛddhokṣaḥ* are interpreted as *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds, paraphrased as *jātaś cāsau ukṣāḥ*, etc. They are not here interpreted as *bahuvrīhis*. A *ṭi*-deletion, before *aC*, is responsible for these forms to end in *a*. This deletion of *ṭi*, however, is blocked in *upaśunam*, an *avyayībhāva* formed in the sense of proximity, where *u* in *śu* is gotten via *samprasāraṇa*. Our last compound *goṣṭhaśvaḥ* is a locative *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *goṣṭhe ṣvā*. The *ṭi*-deletion of *an*, in *goṣṭhaśvan*, before *aC* also applies here.

A *vārttika* also desires *aC* after *catura*, used in combination after *tri* and *upa*. We thus get *tricaturaḥ* and *upacaturaḥ*, parallel to *trayo vā catvāro vā* and *caturṇāṃ samīpe ye santi*, respectively. These compounds would have qualified for *ḌaC* with *ṭi*-deletion. Consequently, undesired forms such as **upacaturāḥ*, parallel to *upadaśāḥ* (5.4.72 *bahuvrīhau* . . .) would have resulted.

5.4.78 ब्रह्महस्तिभ्यां वर्चसः

brahmahastibhyām varcasaḥ

/*brahma-hastibhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *varvasaḥ* 5/1

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
brahmahastibhyām paro yo varcaḥ śabdaḥ tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *varcas* 'glow' used in combination after *brahman* and *hastin*.

EXAMPLES:

brahmavarcasam 'the glow (power) which a brāhmaṇa attains through penance'
hastivarcas 'the strength of an elephant'

1. Note that *brahmavarcas* and *hastivarcas* are genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. They end in *a* because of *aC*. Their neuter is in consonance with 2.4.26 *paravalliṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*. The *Mahābhāṣya* also desires *palyavarcasam* 'strength of meat-eaters' and *rājavarcasam* 'king's power' to be derived with *aC*.

5.4.79 **अवसमन्धेभ्यस्तमसः**

avasamandhebhyas tamasaḥ
/ *avasamandhebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *avaś ca sam ca andhaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *tamasaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
'*ava, sam, andha*' *ity etebhyo yaḥ paras tamaḥśabdas tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *tamas* 'darkness' used in combination after *ava, sam* and *andha*.

EXAMPLES:

avatamasam 'little dark'
santamasam 'very dark'
andhatamasam 'blinding dark'

1. The first two compounds are *prādisamāsas* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*). The third is a *karmadhāraya* formed parallel to *andhaṃ ca tamaś ca*, where *andha* is derived with *aC* in the sense of *andhayati* 'makes blind', by accepting *pacādi* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi-pacādibhyo* . . .) as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

5.4.80 **श्वसो वसीयः श्रेयसः**

śvaso vasīyaḥśreyasaḥ
/ *śvasaḥ* 5/1 *vasīyaḥśreyasaḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)

śvasaḥ parau yau vasīyas-śreyaḥśabdau tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *vasīyas* and *śreya* used in combination after *śvas* 'tomorrow'.

EXAMPLES:

śvovasīyasam '(may your) future (be absolutely) beneficial'
śvaḥśreyasam 'id.'

1. Note that *vasīyas* and *śreyas* are derivates of *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacana-vibhajyopapade* . . .) where *śreyas*, additionally, involves *śra* a replacement for *praśasya* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*). *Kāśikā* explains that *śvas*, in *śvovasīyam*, is used in the sense of *praśaṃsā* 'praise' of its following constituent *vasu* 'wealth; lauded'. *Nyāsa*, therefore, questions *śvas* as used with the meaning of 'tomorrow'. These examples are all synonymous, since *vasu* is used in the sense of *praśasta* 'lauded, excellent'. They simply denote benediction (*āśīḥ*). The compounds are formed in view of 2.2.71 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca.*

5.4.81 **अन्ववतप्ताद्रहसः**

anvavataptāt rahasaḥ
/ *anvavataptāt* 5/1 = *anuś ca avaś ca taptaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *rahasaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
'*anu-ava-tapta*' *ity etebhyaḥ paro yo rahaśśabdas tadantāt samāsad ac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *rahas* 'seclusion, light' used in combination after *anu, ava* and *tapta.*

EXAMPLES:

anurahasam 'having arrived at a dark (secluded) place'
avarahasam '. . . somewhat dark (secluded) place'
taptarahasam '. . . absolutely dark (secluded) place'

1. The first two examples can be interpreted either as *prādir* or *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *anugatam* (*rahasā*/ *rahaḥ*); *avahīnam* (*rahasā*/ *rahaḥ*); or (*anugatam*/ *avahīnam*) *rahaḥ asmin*, respectively. The *prādi* compounds are formed in view of 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*. The third compound is a *karmadhāraya*, parallel to *taptaṃ ca tad rahaḥ ca* where *tapta* means *atyanta* 'excessive, absolute'. This will be formed in view of 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyena*. . . . Incidentally, *rahas* is used in the sense of *prakāśa* 'light'.

5.4.82 **प्रतेरुरसः सप्तमीस्थात्**

prater urasaḥ saptamīsthāt

/*prateḥ* 5/1 *urasaḥ* 5/1 *saptamīsthāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
prateḥ paro ya uraḥśabdas tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati sa ced uraḥśabdaḥ saptamīstho bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *uras* 'chest', used in combination after *prati*, provided *uras* denotes locus (*saptamī*).

EXAMPLES:

pratyurasam 'against the chest'

1. Note that *pratyurasam* is an *avyayībhāva* compound formed in view of 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa*. . . . Affix *ac* cannot be introduced after *pratyuraḥ*, parallel to *pratigatam uraḥ*, a *prādisamāsa* with no denotatum of locus.

5.4.83 **अनुगवमायामे**

anugavam āyāme
/*anugavam* 1/1 *āyāme* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
'*anugavam*' *ity acpratyayāntaṃ nipātyate āyāmo' bhidheye*
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs in deriving *anugavam*, via *nipātana*, provided the derivate denotes *āyāma* 'length, expanse'.

EXAMPLES:

anugavaṃ yānam 'a cart (equal in length to bulls who draw it)'

1. Note that *anugava* is an *avyayībhāva* compound formed in view of 2.1.16 *yasya cāyāmaḥ* where *o* of *go* is replaced with short (*hrasva*) *u*. An application of *guṇa* (6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ*) and *av*-replacement for *o* will yield *anugava*.

The word *āyāma* is used in the sense of *matUP*, meaning *āyāmavat* 'possessing the length of'. A non-*matUp* interpretation of *āyāma* will impair syntactic coordination between *anugava* and *yāna* 'cart' of *anugavaṃ yānam*. The condition of *āyāma* will block *aC*, for example, after *anugu*, an *avyayībhāva* compound formed in the sense of *paścāt*, parallel to *gavāṃ paścāt*.

5.4.84 **द्विस्तावा त्रिस्तावा वेदिः**

dvistāvā tristāvā vediḥ
/*dvistāvā* 1/1 *tristavā* 1/1 *vediḥ* 1/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
'*dvistāvā, tristāvā*' *iti nipātyate vediś ced abhidheyā bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs in deriving *dvistāvā* and *tristāvā*, via *nipātana*, when derivates denote *vedi* 'receptacle for ritual fire'.

EXAMPLES:

dvistāvā vediḥ 'a receptacle for ritual fire which is twice in size to one required'
tristāvā vediḥ 'a receptacle for ritual fire which is three times bigger in size to one required'

1. Note that *nipātana* accounts for compound-formation, introduction of affix *aC*, and *ṭi*-deletion as well. Thus, *dviḥ tāvat + a = dviḥ tāv(at→ϕ) + a = dvi(ḥ→s) + tāva + a = dvistāvā* where *dviḥ* ends in *sUC* (5.4.18 *dvitricaturbhyaḥ su*)

Obviously, these derivates are allowed in the context of ritually unattested receptacles. The condition of *vediḥ* will not only block *aC*, but will also block the formation of compounds in examples such as *dvistāvatī/ tristāvatī rajjuḥ* 'twice/three times stronger rope'.

5.4.85 उपसर्गादध्वनः

upasargād adhvanaḥ
/*upasargāt* 5/1 *adhvanaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* 75)
upasargāt paro yo' adhvanśabdas tadantāt samāsād ac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after *adhvan* 'path, road' used in combination after an *upasarga* 'preverb'.

EXAMPLES:

pragato' dhvānam = prādhvo rathaḥ 'a chariot standing ready on road to be traversed; a chariot which has already traversed the road!'
prādhvaṃ śakaṭam 'a cart standing ready on road to be traversed; a cart which has already traversed the road'
niṣkrāntam adhvanaḥ = niradhvo rathaḥ 'a cart which has gone off the road'

1. Note that *aC* cannot be introduced after *paramādhvā* 'excellent road' and *uttamādhvā* 'id.' which are *karmadhāraya* compounds with no *upasarga* as initial constituent. The compounds are formed at the strength of express statements (*Mbh.* ad 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv* . . .; *prādayo gatādyarthe prathamayā*; *nirādayo gatādyarthe prathamayā*).

5.4.86 तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेः संख्याव्ययादेः

tatpuruṣasyāṅguleḥ saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ
/*tatpuruṣasya* 6/1 *aṅguleḥ* 5/1 *saṃkhyayādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃkhyā ca avyayaṃ ca*; *saṃkhyāvyayam ādi yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75)
aṅguliśabdāntasya tatpuruṣasya saṃkhyāder avyayādeś cāc pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *aṅguli* 'finger', used in combination after a *saṃkhyā* 'number' or *avyaya* 'indeclinable'.

EXAMPLES:

dve aṅgulī pramāṇam asya = *dvyaṅgulam* 'that which has its measure equal to the width of two (index and middle) fingers joined together'
tryaṅgulam 'that which has its measure equal to the width of three fingers'
nirgato aṅgulibhyaḥ = *niraṅgulam* 'that which has fallen off the fingers'
atyaṅgulam 'that which is too big for fingers'

1. Note that *dvyaṅgulam* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . ., parallel to *dve aṅgulī pramāṇam asya* 'that whose measure is two finger-widths'. Affix *mātraC* of 5.3.37 *pramāṇe dvyayasaj* . . . is deleted by a *vārttika* (*pramāṇe lodvigor nityam*; 6.2.12 *dvigau pramāṇe*). Our next examples, i.e., *niraṅgulam* and *atyaṅgulam*, are *prādisamāsa* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*), formed with the denotation of 'going beyond, excelling, etc. (*vt.*: *nirādayaḥ krāntādyarthe pañcamyā*; 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv* . . .).

This provision of *aC* will be blocked in *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *pañcāṅguliḥ puruṣaḥ* = *pañca aṅgulyaḥ yasya* 'a man who has but five fingers' and *atyaṅguliḥ puruṣaḥ* = *atigatāḥ aṅgulyaḥ yasya* 'a man who has but no fingers'. Incidentally, the *anuvṛtti* of *tatpuruṣasya* is valid through 5.4.106 *dvandvāc cudaṣahāntāt samāhāre*).

5.4.87 अहस्सर्वैकदेशसंख्यातपुण्याच्च रात्रेः

ahassarvaikadeśasaṃkhyātapuṇyāc ca rātreḥ
/ *ahas-sarvaikadeśa-saṃkhyāta-puṇyāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ *rātreḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75, *tatpuruṣasya saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ* #86)
aharādibhyaḥ paro yo rātriśabdas tadantasya tatpuruṣasyāc pratyayo bhavati cakārāt saṃkhyāder avyayādeś ca
The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *rātri* 'night', used in combination after *ahar* 'day', *sarva* 'all', *ekadeśa* 'part of a whole', *saṃkhyāta* 'counted, numbered' and *puṇya* 'merit, auspicious', in addition to *saṃkhyā* 'number' and *avyaya* 'indeclinable'.

EXAMPLES:

ahorātraḥ 'day and night'
sarvarātraḥ 'all night'

pūrvarātraḥ 'in an earlier part of night'
apararātraḥ 'in a latter part of night'
saṃkhyātarātraḥ 'a night which has been counted'
puṇyarātraḥ 'an auspicious night'
dvirātraḥ 'a set of two nights'
atirātraḥ 'one who has gone through nights'

1. Note that *ahar* is used with *rātreḥ* to indicate a *dvandva* compound in *ahorātraḥ* 'day and night' (*Mbh.*: *ahar grahaṇaṃ dvandvārtham*). A *tatpuruṣa*, i.e., *karmadhāraya*, interpretation is impossible, especially since it cannot denote the principal meaning (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *na tu tatpuruṣārtham; mukhyārtha-vṛttayos tatpuruṣāsambhavāt*). Thus, a *dvandva* interpretation is desired. The use of the word *rātra*, ending in a *samāsānta* affix, in the wording of rule 2.4.28 *hemantaśiśirāv ahorātre*. . ., serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*; *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *atra ca jñāpakam-'hemantaśiśirāv ahorātre ca cchandasi' iti dvandve samāsāntasya rātriśabdasya nipātanam*). The masculine of the classical usage *ahorātraḥ* is valid in view of 2.4.29 *rātrāhnāhāḥ puṃsi*.

2. The compound *ahorātra* derives parallel to *ahaś ca rātriś ca*, where the *n* of *ahanrātri* goes through a replacement in *r* (*vt.*: *ahno ruvidhau* . . . ad 8.2.68 *ahan*). This *r* will be further replaced with *u* (6.1.114 *haśi ca*). An application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will finally produce *aha*($n \rightarrow r \rightarrow u$) + *rātri* = *ah*($a+u \rightarrow o$) = *rātri* = *ahorātri*. Affix *aC* will now be introduced after *ahorātri*, where *i* of *rātri* gets deleted before *a*. Rule 2.4.29 *rātrāhnāhāḥ puṃsi* will then approve its usage in masculine. The compound *sarvarātra* is formed by 2.1.49 *pūrvakālaikasarva* . . ., parallel to *sarvāś ca tā rātrayaḥ*. The rest of the operations offer nothing new. Our compounds *pūrvarātra* and *apararātra* are formed by 2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottaram*. . . . The *saṃkhyāta* compound, i.e., *saṃkhyātarātraḥ* is formed by 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyena*. . . . Examples such as *dvirātraḥ* and *trirātraḥ* are *samāhāra-dvigu* compounds formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . The examples of *avyaya*, i.e., *atirātra* and *nīrātra*, are *prādi* compounds parallel to *atikrāntaḥ rātrim* and *nirgataḥ rātryāḥ*. Note that the *r* of *nir* + *rātra* will be deleted by 8.3.13 *ro ri*. The short *i* of *ni* will then be replaced with *ī* of 6.3.111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya*. . . . Also refer to the derivation of *dvirātraḥ* and *trirātraḥ*, in the appendix of vol. III, under rule 2.4.29 *rātrāhnāhāḥ puṃsi*.

5.4.88 अह्नोऽह्न एतेभ्यः

ahno' hn etebhyaḥ
/*ahnaḥ* 6/1 *ahnaḥ* 1/1 *etebhyaḥ* 5/3
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ac* #75, *tatpuruṣasya saṃkhyāvyayādeḥ* #86)
'*rājāhaḥsakhibhyaṣ ṭac' ity vakṣyati tasmin parabhūte ahann ity etasya* '*ahna' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati etebhya uttarasya*

The form *ahan* is replaced with *ahna*, when it is used in combination in a *tatpuruṣa* compound after *sarva*, *ekadeśa*, *saṃkhyāta* and a constitutent which denotes *saṃkhyā*, or is termed an *avyaya* 'indeclinable', provided *ṭaC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dvayor ahnor bhavaḥ = *dvyahnaḥ* 'that which will take two days to complete'
tryahnaḥ 'that which will take three days to complete'
ahar atikrāntaḥ = *atyahnaḥ* 'more than a day'
sarvāhṇaḥ 'whole day'
pūrvāhṇaḥ 'first part of a day'
saṃkhyātāhnaḥ 'a day which have been counted'

1. Note that the pronominal *etebhyaḥ* 'after these' refers to the preceding constituents of a *tatpuruṣa* compound specified by *saṃkhyāvyayādedh* of rule 5.4.86 *tatpuruṣasyāṅguleḥ*. . . . These will, of course, be accepted as preceding constituents. However, *ahaḥ* cannot be accepted as such since it is impossible to get *ahaḥ*, used in combination after *ahaḥ*. Recall that *puṇya* is also read in the wording of rule 5.4.87 *ahaḥsarvaikadeśa*. . . . A negation relative to *puṇya* will be stated in 5.4.90 *uttamaikābhyāṃ ca*.

Commentators explain that this negation applies when affix *ṬaC* of 5.4.91 *rājāhassakhibhyaṣ ṭac* follows. The *Mahābhāṣya* would prefer the wording of this *sūtra* as *ahna etebhyaḥ*. This rephrased rule will also carry the *anuvṛtti* of *aC*. Consequently, affix *aC* will be introduced, as an exception to *ṬaC*, after *ahna* of a *tatpuruṣa* compound as specified. How do we get *ahna* from *ahan*? It is stated that 6.4.134 *allopo anaḥ* will delete *a* of *an* in *ahan* to yield. . . . *ah*($a \rightarrow \phi$) *n* + *a*($C \rightarrow \phi$) = *ahna*. The *ṭi*-deletion of *an* of *ahan* will, of course, be blocked by 6.4.145 *ahnaṣ ṭakhor eva*. Deriving the derivates of this rule with *aC* will not create any problem, since derivates ending in *rātri* and *ahan* do not go for feminine affixes. That is, affixal provision of *aC* and *ṬaC* is not consequential for them. Changing the wording of this rule will not require replacement. It will also not assume *ṭaC* the affix since *aC* will be easily available through *anuvṛtti*.

The compounds *dvyahnaḥ* and *tryahnaḥ* are formed parallel to *dvayoḥ ahnoḥ bhavaḥ* and *triṣu ahassu bhavaḥ* in consonance with 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . The *taddhita* affix *aṆ*, denoting the sense of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*, is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*. Our present rule introduces *ahna* as a replacement for *ahan* and 5.4.91 *rājāhassakhibhyaṣ ṭac* introduces *ṬaC*. One can derive *dvi* + *ahna* + *a* = *dvyahna* and *tri* + *ahna* + *a* = *tryahna*, through applications of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* and 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. One can similarly derive other examples. The derivation of *pūrvāhṇa*, etc., will require a replacement in *ṇ* for the *n* of *ahna* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.7 *ahno'adantāt*). The compounds, of course, will be formed in view of 2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottara*. . . .

5.4.89 न संख्यादेः समाहारे

na saṃkhyādeḥ samāhāre
/*na* ϕ *saṃkhyādeḥ* 5/1 *samāhāre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ahno' hnaḥ* #88)
saṃkhyādes tatpuruṣasya samāhāre vartamānasyāhaḥśabdasyāhnādeśo na bhavati
The *ahan* of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which begins with a *saṃkhyā* is not replaced with *ahna* when the compound is formed with the signification of *samāhāra* 'collection, grouping'.

EXAMPLES:

dvyahaḥ 'two days'
tryahaḥ 'three days'

1. The replacement provision of the preceding rule is negated (*pratiṣidhyate*). Thus, we get *dvyahaḥ* and *tryahaḥ* as opposed to *dvyahnaḥ* and *tryahnaḥ*, where the examples of this rule go through *ṭi*-deletion. The replacement in *ahna* is, of course, blocked. The condition of *samāhāre* is imposed to block this negation from applying in examples such as *dvyahnaḥ* and *tryahnaḥ* where affix *aÑ* is introduced to denote *tatra bhavaḥ* (4.3.53). The compounds are formed in view of *taddhitārtha* of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Affix *aÑ* is subsequently deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye.*

5.4.90 उत्तमैकाभ्यां च

uttamaikābhyām ca
/*uttamaikābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ahno' hnaḥ* #88)
uttamaikaśabdābhyām ca parasyāhna ity ayam ādeśo na bhavati
The *ahan* of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which occurs in combination after *uttama* 'the last, i.e., *puṇya* and *eka* 'one', is also not replaced with *ahna.*

EXAMPLES:

puṇyam ahaḥ = *puṇyāhaḥ* 'an auspicious day'
ekāhaḥ 'one day'

1. The word *uttama,* used with the signification of 'last', here refers to *puṇya* of 4.1.87 *ahassarvaikadeśasaṃkhyātapuṇyāc ca.* Why did Pāṇini not use *puṇya* itself. He used *uttama,* instead, for variety (*vaicitryārtha*). Some accept *uttama* as denoting *upottama* 'penultimate'. This way, the negation also applies in the context of *saṃkhyāta.* Thus, it also covers *saṃkhyātāhaḥ.*

5.4.91 राजाहस्सखिभ्यष्टच्

rājāhas sakhibhyaṣ ṭac
/*rājāhaḥ* 5/3 = *rājā ca ahaś ca sakhā ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ṭac* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86)
'*rājan, ahan, sakhi*' *ity evamantāt prātipadikāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *rājan* 'king', *ahan* 'day' and *sakhi* 'companion' used in combination as final constituents of a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

mahārājaḥ 'a great king'
madrarājaḥ 'the king of Madra'
rājasakhaḥ 'king's friend'
brāhmaṇasakhaḥ 'friend of a brāhmaṇa'

1. How come we do not get *ṬaC* after *madrāṇāṃ rājñī* = *madrarājñī* 'queen of the Madras'. For, a specification by *rājā* may also include a reference to *rājñī* in view of *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam.* Notice that the nominal stem in *rājāhassakhibhyaḥ* is an *itaretaradvandva* paraphrased as: *rājā ca ahaś ca sakhā ca.* A *vārttika,* ad 2.2.34 *alpāc taram* (*vt.*: *laghvakṣaraṃ pūrvam*), would have required *rājan* to be placed as last, preceded by *ahaḥ* after *sakhi.* But Pāṇini, with an intent to realize a more economical form, especially via *savarṇadīrgha* 'homogeneous long vowel replacement' of *a* of *rājan* and *a* of *ahan,* chose to place *rājan* first. This single long vowel replacement then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*). This rule refers to only that form of *rājan* whose *a* goes through *savarṇadīrgha.* Any reference to *rājñī* is thus ruled out.

The *C* as *it* in *ṬaC* is required for *udātta* accent at the end (*antodātta*). For otherwise, the affixal accent, because of the *samāsānta* affix forming part of the compound, could be blocked by the original accent of the indeclinable (*avyayapūrvaprakṛtisvara*), similarly to *pradhuraḥ* and *vidhuraḥ* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *ṭacaś citkaraṇam antodāttārtham; anyathā pratyayasya samāsaikadeśatvād vidhuraḥ, pradhura ityādāv iva pratyayasvaro' vyayapūrvaprakṛtisvareṇa bādhyeta*).

5.4.92 गोरतद्धितलुकि

gor ataddhitaluki
/*goḥ* 5/1 *ataddhitaluki* 7/1 = *taddhitasya luk* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na taddhitaluk* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
gośabdāntāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati sa cet tatpuruṣas taddhitalugviṣayo na bhavati

The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *go* 'cow', used in combination as final constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided it does not come within the scope of deletion by *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

paramagavaḥ 'a great bull'
uttamagavaḥ 'excellent bull'
pañcagavam 'a group of five cows'
daśagavam 'a group of ten cows'

1. Our first two examples constitute *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds paraphrased as: *paramaś cāsau gauḥ* and *uttamaś cāsau gauḥ*, respectively. The *o* of *go* is replaced with *av* (6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*), before *a* of *ṬaC*, to yield *paramagava* and *uttamagava*. The last two are examples of *samāhāradvandva*, formed in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottapada*. . . .

The condition of *ataddhitaluki* blocks *ṬaC* in *pañcaguḥ* 'purchased for five cows' and *daśaguḥ* 'purchased for ten cows', where the *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* is introduced in view of 5.1.37 *tena krītam*. This affix is subsequently deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva*. . . .

The word *taddhita*, in *ataddhitaluki*, is used so that *ṬaC* cannot be blocked in the context of *sUP*-deletion. Consider *rājagavam icchati* = *rājagavīyati*, where *rājagava* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *rājñaḥ gauḥ*. Affix *KyaC* of 3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac* is then introduced after *rājagava* + *am*, and the resultant form *rājagava* + *am* + *ya* is termed a *dhātu* (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). The negation of *ataddhitaluki* does not apply here since what is deleted is a *sUP*.

Finally, *LUK* is used in *ataddhitaluki* to block this negation within the right context of a *taddhita* affix. Thus, *pañcagavarūpyam* and *daśagavarūpyam* (4.3.81 *hetumanuṣyebhyo* . . .), etc., will not come under the scope of this negation since the *taddhita* affix *rūpya* does not go through deletion.

5.4.93 **अग्राख्यायामुरसः**

agrākhyāyām urasaḥ
/ *agrākhyāyām* 7/1 = *agrasya ākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām*; *urasaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
uraḥśabdāntāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati sa ced uraḥśabdo' grākhyāyāṃ bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *uras* 'chest' used in combination as final of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided *uras* is used with the signification of *agra* 'principal, best'.

EXAMPLES:

aśvānām uraḥ = *aśvorasam* 'best of horses'

rathorasam 'best of chariots'

1. Note that *devadattoraḥ* 'Devadatta's chest', parallel to *devadattasya uraḥ*, cannot qualify for *ṬaC* since *uras* is not used here with the denotation of *agra*. The locative in *agrākhyāyām* is used in the sense of *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This is how the ablative of *urasaḥ* can form syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with it. *Kāśikā* indicates this syntactic coordination by using *ced uraḥśabdo' grākhyāyāṃ bhavati*.

5.4.94 अनोऽस्मायस्सरसां जातिसंज्ञयोः

ano' smāyassarasāṃ jātisaṃjñayoḥ
/ *ano' smāyassarasām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *jātisaṃjñayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
'*anas, aśman, ayas, saras' ity evamantāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati jātau saṃjñāyāṃ ca viṣaye*
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *anas* 'chariot, cart', *aśman* 'rock, stone', *ayas* 'iron' and *saras* 'pond', used in combination as final constituents of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided derivates share the scope of *āti* 'class' and *saṃjñā* 'name'.

EXAMPLES:

upānasam 'space in chariot'
mahānasam 'a big chariot; kitchen'
amṛtāśmaḥ 'precious stone'
piṇḍāśmaḥ 'rock-ball'
kālāyasamaḥ 'iron'
lohitāyasam 'copper'
maṇḍūkasarasam 'a pond full of frogs'
jalasarasam 'water-reservoir'

1. The preceding examples illustrate *jāti* and *saṃjñā* as denotatum in each set, respectively. The condition of *jātisaṃjñayoḥ* blocks *ṬaC* in *karmadhāraya* compounds such as *sadanaḥ* 'good chariot', *sadaśmāḥ* 'good rock' and *satsaraḥ* 'good pond', since they do not denote *jāti* or *saṃjñā*.

2. Our first example *upānasam* denotes *jāti* and is a *prādi-samāsa* (2.2.19 *kugatiprādayaḥ*) derived from *upa* + *su anas* + *sU* = *upānas* + *ṬaC* + *sU* = *upānasam*. The next *mahānasam*, a *karmadhāraya* parallel to *mahac ca tad anaḥ*, will be formed with 2.1.60 *sanmahat*. . . . The next two, i.e., *amṛtāśma* and *piṇḍāśma*, are formed in view of 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa* . . . with *saṃjñā* 'name' as their denotatum. The last two, *maṇḍūkasarasam* and *jalasarasam*, are examples of genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Incidentally, recall that a derivate of *ṬaC* involves *ṭi*-deletion.

5.4.95 ग्रामकौटाभ्यां च तक्ष्णः

grāmakauṭābhyām ca takṣṇaḥ
/*grāmakauṭābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ca* φ *takṣṇaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
grāmakauṭābhyāṃ paro yas takṣanśabdas tadantāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *takṣan*, used in a *tatpuruṣa* compound after *grāma* 'village' and *kauṭa* 'carpenter'.

EXAMPLES:

grāmatakṣaḥ 'a village carpenter; one of many'
kauṭatakṣaḥ 'a carpenter (who works at home) in his hut; independent carpenter'

1. A compound such as *rājatakṣa* 'king's carpenter' will be blocked from receiving *ṬaC* since *takṣan* is not combined with *grāma* or *kauṭa*. Derivates of this rule will go through *ṭi*-deletion of *an* (6.4.144 *nas taddhite*).

5.4.96 अतेः शुनः

ateḥ śunaḥ
/*ateḥ* 5/1 *śunaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
atiśabdāt paro yaḥ śvanśabdaḥ tadantāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *śvan* 'dog', used in a *tatpuruṣa* compound after *ati*.

EXAMPLES:

atikrāntaḥ śvānam = *atiśvo varāhaḥ* 'a hog which can run faster than a dog'
atiśvaḥ sevakaḥ 'a servant who serves his master better than his dog'
atiśvī sevā 'extremely bad service'

1. The examples are all *prādisamāsa* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*). Affix *ṬaC* as usual involves *ṭi*-deletion. The last example is a derivate of *ṄīP* as per 4.1.5 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . .

5.4.97 उपमानादप्राणिषु

upamānād aprāṇiṣu
/*upamānāt* 5/1 *aprāṇiṣu* 7/3 (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣu*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *śunaḥ* #96)

upamānavācī yaḥ śvanśabdo'prāṇiṣu vartate tadantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *śvan* 'dog', provided the same serves as an *upamāna* 'object of comparison' with the signification of something other than a *prāṇin* 'sentient being' (*aprāṇiṣu*) and is used as final constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

ākarṣaḥ śvā iva = *ākarṣaśvaḥ* 'a magnet with its shape like a dog'
phalakaśvaḥ 'dog-shaped dice'

1. The example compounds are formed in view of 2.1.55 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*. Compounds such as *aśvā* 'non-dog; lump of clay' *vānaraśva* 'dog-like monkey' cannot receive *ṬaC* since *śvan* does not serve as an *upamāna* in the first, and *vānara* in the second is sentient (*prāṇin*).

5.4.98 उत्तरमृगपूर्वाच्च सक्थ्नः

uttaramṛgapūrvāc ca sakthnaḥ
/ *uttaramṛgapūrvāt* 5/1 (*sad dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ *sakthnaḥ* 5/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *upamānāt* #97)
'*uttara-mṛga-pūrva' ity etebhyaḥ paro yaḥ sakthiśabdaś cakārād upamānaṃ ca tadantāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *sakthi* 'thigh', or a stem serving as an *upamāna*, as its final constituent used in combination after *uttara* 'left, upper', *mṛga* 'animal, deer' and *pūrva* 'right, anterior'.

EXAMPLES:

uttarasaktham 'upper (or left) thigh'
mṛgasaktham 'thigh of an animal (or of a deer)'
pūrvasaktham 'lower (or right) thigh'
phalakasaktham 'flat thigh'

1. A compound such as *uttarasaktham* can be formed in view of 2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottaram*. . . . It can also be interpreted as a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* formed in view of 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa*. . . . This same is also true of *pūrvasaktham*. The second example, *mṛgasaktham*, is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. The deletion of *i* before *ṬaC* of *uttarasakthi* is accomplished by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The last, *phalakasaktham*, is an example which involves an *upamāna*, and is thus formed in view of 2.1.55 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*. . . .

5.4.99 नावो द्विगोः

nāvo dvigoḥ

nāvo 5/1 *dvigoḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
nauśabdāntād dvigoṣ ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntam
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *nau* 'boat', used as final constituent of a compound termed *dvigu*.

EXAMPLES:

dvināvam 'two boats'
trināvam 'three boats'
dvināvadhanaḥ 'he who has two boats as his wealth'
pañcanāvapriyaḥ 'he to whom five boats are dear'
dvināvarūpyam 'arrived by means of two boats'
dvināvamayam 'id.'

1. The first two compounds illustrate *samāhāra-dvigu*, formed in view of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . ., parallel to *dve nāvau samāhṛte*. The last two are *bahuvrīhi* compounds with internal *samāhāra-dvigu* of the first two constituents. Our last two examples involve introduction of affixes *rūpya* (4.3.81 *hetumanuṣyebhyo* . . .) and *mayaṬ* (4.3.82 *mayaṭ ca*) after similar *dvigu* compounds, to yield *bahuvrīhi* compounds parallel to *dvābhyāṃ naubhyām āgatam* 'arrived by two boats'.

The condition of *dvigu* blocks *ṬaC* in *rājanauḥ* 'king's boat', a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Note that the condition of *ataddhitaluki* is also valid here. Consequently, *ṬaC* cannot be introduced after *pañcanau* and *daśanau*, where affix *ṭhaK* is introduced with the denotation of 5.1.37 *tena krītam*. This *ṭhaK* is subsequently deleted by *LUK* in view of 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvad-vigor*. . . .

5.4.100 अर्द्धाच्च

arddhāc ca
/*arddhāt* 5/1 *ca* ɸ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *nāvaḥ* #99)
arddhaśabdāt paro yo nauśabdas tadantāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* also occurs after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *nau* as its final constituent, used in combination after *arddha* 'half.'

EXAMPLES:

arddhanāvam 'half of a boat'

1. The compound *arddhanāva*, parallel to *arddhaṃ nāvaḥ*, is formed in view of 2.2.2 *arddhaṃ napuṃsakam*. This compound does not follow the gen-

der of its following constituent since 'gender' is based on usage (*lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*).

5.4.101 खार्याः प्राचाम्

khāryāḥ prācām
/*khāryāḥ* 5/1 *prācām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *dvigoḥ* #99, *arddhāt ca* #100)
khārīśabdāntād dvigor arddhāc ca paro yaḥ khārīśabdas tadantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati prācām ācāryāṇāṃ matena
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC*, according to Eastern grammarians, occurs after a *dvigu* compound which contains *khārī* as its final constituent, or after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *khārī* as its final constituent used in combination after *arddha*.

EXAMPLES:

dvikhāram 'a measure of weight equal to two Khārīs'
dvikhāri 'id.'
arddhakhāram 'a measure of weight equal to one-half of a Khārī'
arddhakhārī 'id.'

1. The first two are examples of *dvigu* where *dvikhārī*, in the absence of *ṬaC* goes through shortening of its final *ī* to yield *dvikhāri* in view of 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake*. . . . The opinion of *ṬaC* will produce *dvikhāram*, where *ī* will be shortened by 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake* . . . with reference to 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*. The short *i* will be subsequently deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Our last two examples are genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds paraphrased as *arddhaṃ khāryāḥ* 'half of a Khārī'. The first, i.e., *arddhakhāram*, will be derived as neuter with *ṬaC*. The compound will be formed in view of 2.2.2 *arddhaṃ napuṃsakam*. A derivate without *ṬaC*, i.e., *arddhakhārī*, will be accepted as feminine in view of 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*. The shortening of *ī* of *khārī* cannot be accomplished since *khārī* will not be an *upasarjana*, especially in view of the *vt.*: *ekavibhaktāv aṣaṣṭhyantavacanam* (cf. 2.2.2 *arddhaṃ napuṃsakam*). Some still accept *arddhakhāri* as a neuter ending in short *i*.

5.4.102 द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जलेः

dvitribhyām añjaleḥ
/*dvitribhyām* 5/2 *añjaleḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *prācām* #101)

dvitribhyāṃ paro yo' ñjaliśabdaḥ tadantāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs optionally after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *añjali* 'a cup formed with palms and fingers of both hands' as its final constituent used in combination after *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three'.

EXAMPLES:

dvāv añjalī samāhṛtau = *dvyañjalam* 'a measure of two *añjalis*'
añjali 'cup formed by joining two palms together'
tryañjalam 'a measure of three *añjalis*'

1. Note that *ṬaC* can be introduced only when the derivate is a *samāhāra-dvigu* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .). It cannot be introduced after *dvyañjali*, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, paraphrased as *dvayor añjaliḥ*. Derivates of *dvigu* with *ṬaC* will be neuter (2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). The *i* of *añjali* will then be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. A non-*ṬaC* derivate will not involve deletion of *i*. The condition of *ataddhitaluki* is also valid here. That is, *ataddhi-taluki* is brought here, via *anuvṛtti* commonly known as *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'. Thus, *ṬaC* cannot be introduced in *dvyañjaliḥ*, derived, parallel to *dvābhyām añjalibhyāṃ krītaḥ*, in view of 5.1.37 *tena krītam*. For, it involves deletion of affix *ṭhaK*.

5.4.103 अनसन्तान्नपुंसकाच्छन्दसि

anasantān napuṃsakāc chandasi
/*anasantāt* 5/1= *an ca as ca*; *anasāv ante yasya* = *anasantaḥ* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
annantād, asantāc ca napuṃsakaliṃgāt tatpuruṣāt ṭac pratyayo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, in Vedic, after stems which end in *an* and *as*, and occur as final of a *tatpuruṣa* compound in neuter (*napuṃsaka*).

EXAMPLES:

hasticarme juhoti 'he is offering ritual oblations on elephant-hide'
ṛṣabhacarme abhiṣiñcati 'he is sprinkling on bull's hide'
devacchandasāni '. . .Vedic meter(s)'
mánuṣyacchandasāni '. . . meter(s)'

1. Note that *hasticarman*, etc., are genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where *ṬaC* conditions *ṭi*-deletion. A *vārttika* recommends that *ṬaC* be made optional in view of *devacchandaḥ*, *brahmasāma*, etc.

5.4.104 ब्रह्मणो जानपदाख्यायाम्

brahmaṇo jānapadākhyāyām

/*brahmaṇaḥ* 5/1 *jānapadākhyāyām* 7/1 = *jānapadasya ākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91)
brahman-śabdāntāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsena ced brahmaṇo jānapadatvam ākhyāyate
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after *brahman*, used in combination as final constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided derivates denote 'someone born, or something found' in a locality so named (*jānapada*)'.

EXAMPLES:

surāṣṭrabrahmaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who is a resident of Surāṣṭra'
avantibrahmaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who is a resident of Avanti'

1. The word *jānapadaḥ* denotes 'that which is found in a *janapada*' (*janapadeṣu bhavaḥ*; 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*). This requires that *ṬaC* be introduced after a *tatpuruṣa* compound which contains *brahman*, used in combination after a constituent denoting *janapada*. Both of these compounds are locative *tatpuruṣa* formed in view of *saptamī*, a split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of 2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*.

2. Commentators explain that *brahman* is used as a qualifier to the compound. But *brahman* is also intended as a qualifier to *jānapadaḥ*? How is this made possible by the single use of *brahman*? This single use of *brahman* is read twice in view of the context of this *sūtra*.

Affix *ṬaC* cannot be introduced after *devabrahman* of *devabrahmā nāradaḥ* where *deva* is not the name of a *janapada*. Incidentally, *devabrahman* can be interpreted as a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), or *karmadhāraya, tatpuruṣa* compound.

5.4.105 कुमहद्भ्यामन्यतरस्याम्

kumahadbhyām anyatarasyām
/*kumahadbhyām* 5/2 = *kuś ca mahān ca* = *kumahāntau* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *tatpuruṣasya* #86, *ṭac* #91, *brahmaṇaḥ* #104)
kumahadbhyām paro yo brahmā tadantāt tatpuruṣāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs optionally after *brahman*, the final constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound used after *ku* and *mahat*.

EXAMPLES:

kutsito brahmā = *kubrahmaḥ* 'a bad brāhmaṇa'
kubrahmā 'id.'
mahābrāhmaṇaḥ 'a great brāhmaṇa'

mahābrahmā 'id.'

1. The first two are examples of *prādisamāsa* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*). The *karmadhāraya* of the next two examples is formed in view of 2.1.61 *sanmahat-para.* . . . Examples with *ṬaC* involve *ṭi*-deletion. The *t* of *mahat* is replaced with *āT* (*ātva*; 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ* . . .).

5.4.106 द्वन्द्वाच्चुदषहान्तात्समाहारे

dvandvāc cudaṣahāntāt samāhāre
/*dvandvāt* 5/1 *cudaṣahāntāt* 5/1 = *cuś ca daś ca ṣaś ca haś ca*; *cudaṣaham ante yasya* = *cudaṣahāntam* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *samāhāre* 7/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91)
dvandvāc cavargāntād dakārāntāt, ṣakārāntāt, hakārāntāc ca ṭac pratyayo bhavati sa ced dvandvaḥ samāhāre vartate
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after a *dvandva* compound which ends in *cU* (sounds of the *c*-series; *cavarga*), or in *d*, *ṣ*, or *h*, provided the compound is formed with the signification of *samāhāra* 'collection, group'.

EXAMPLES:

vāk ca tvak ca = *vāktvacam* 'speech and skin (sense of touch)'
śrīsrajam 'prosperity and garland'
iḍūrjam 'libation and energy'
vāgūrjam 'speech and energy'
samiddṛṣadam 'ritual firewood and pebble'
sampadvipadam 'prosperity and distress'
vāgvipruṣam 'speaking and drops falling from the mouth'
chattropānaham 'umbrella and shoes'
dhenugoduham 'cow and he who milks them'

1. Note that the condition of *dvandvāt* is stated to block any consideration of *tatpuruṣa.* Thus, affix *Ṭac* will be blocked from occurring after the *tatpuruṣa* compound *pañcavāk* 'five speeches', a *dvigu* formed with the signification of *samāhāra.* The condition of *cudaṣahāntāt* blocks *ṬaC* after *vāksamidh* 'speech and ritual firewood'. Finally, the condition of *samāhāra* will block this affix after the *itaretaradvandva* compound *prāvṛṭśaradau* 'rainy season and autumn'.

5.4.107 अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः

avyayībhāve śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ
/*avyayībhāve* 7/1 *śaratprabhṛtibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *śaratprabhṛtir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91)
'*śarad*' *ity evamādibhyaḥ prātipadikebhyaṣ ṭac pratyayo bhavaty avyayībhāve*
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs after nominal stems listed in the group headed by *śarad* 'autumn', etc., when they occur as final constituents of an *avyayībhāva* compound.

EXAMPLES:

śaradaḥ samīpam = *upaśaradam* 'close to autumn'
pratiśaradam 'moving toward autumn'

1. Note that *avyayībhāve* carries till it gets canceled by *bahuvrīhau* of rule 5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ*. . . . Why are stems which end in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) *jhaY* (cf. *Śs.* 8-12) included in the *śaradādi* group when *ṬaC* is made available to them by 5.4.11 *jhayaḥ*? The *ṬaC* of 5.4.11 *jhayaḥ* is optional. The affixal provision of *ṬaC*, after stems which end in *jhaY* and are included in the *śaradādi* group, is obligatory (*nitya*). Incidentally, stems ending in *jh* and *y* are missing from the *śaradādi* group. For, it is impossible to get an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in *jh* and *y*.
2. The first compound is an *avyayībhāva* formed with the signification of *sāmīpya* (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . .). The second *pratiśaradam* is formed in view of 2.1.13 *lakṣaṇenābhi* . . . with the signification of *ābhimukhya* 'facing. . . .'

5.4.108 अनश्च

anaś ca
/ *anaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107)
annantād avyayībhāvāṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* also occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *an*, and constitutes the final constituent of an *avyayībhāva* compound.

EXAMPLES:

uparājam 'near the king'
pratirājam 'facing the king'
adhyātman 'within the Self'

1. The *avyayībhāva* compounds of this rule are also formed by rules similar to examples of the preceding rule. The first and third denote *sāmīpya* and *vibhakti*, respectively (2.1.6 *avayyaṃ vibhaktisamīpa*. . . . The third is formed by 3.1.13 *lakṣaṇena* . . . with the signification of *ābhimukhya*. Rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* will approve *ṭi*-deletion.

5.4.109 नपुंसकादन्यतरस्याम्

napuṃsakād anyatarasyām
/ *napuṃsakāt* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107, *an* #108)
annantaṃ yan napuṃsakaṃ tadantād avyayībhāvād anyatarasyāṃ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, optionally, after a neuter nominal stem which ends in *an* and constitutes the final constituent of an *avyayībhāva* compound.

EXAMPLES:

praticarmam 'toward the hide'
praticarma 'id.'
upacarmam 'near the hide'
upacarma 'id.'

1. Note that the obligatory (*nitya*) provision of the preceding rule is here made optional. Recall that accepting the option of *ṬaC* will involve *ṭi*-deletion.

5.4.110 नदीपौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीभ्यः

nadī paurṇamāsyāgrahāyaṇībhyaḥ
/ *nadī-paurṇamāsy-āgrahāyaṇībhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107, *anyatarasyām* #109)
'*nadī, paurṇamāsī, āgrahāyaṇī*' *ity evamantād avyayībhāvād anyatarasyāṃ ṭac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, optionally, after an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in *nadī, paurṇamāsī* and *āgrahāyaṇī.*

EXAMPLES:

nadyāḥ samīpam = *upanadam* 'near the river'
upanadi 'id.'
upapaurṇamāsam 'close to the full-moon night'
upapaurṇamāsi 'id.'
upāgrahāyaṇam 'near the full-moon day of the month of Agrahāyaṇa'
upāgrahāyaṇi 'id.'

1. Note that the final *ī* of these compounds is deleted before *ṬaC* by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca.* It is replaced with its short counterpart in view of 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake. . . .* That is, when the option of *ṬaC* is not accepted.

5.4.111 झयः

jhayaḥ
/*jhayaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107, *anyatarasyām* #109)
jhayantād avyayībhāvād anyatarasyāṃ ṭac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* occurs, optionally, after an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaY* (*Śs.* 8-12).

EXAMPLES:

upasamidham 'near the ritual firewood'
upasamit 'id.'
upadṛṣadam 'near the stone'
upadṛṣat 'id.'

1. Note that *jhaY* is a *pratyāhāra* 'abbreviatory term'. It denotes sound enumerated as items on the list by *Śivasūtras* (8-12): *jhabhaÑ-kapaY.* Also refer to my notes under 5.4.107 *avyayībhāve*. . . .

2. Our first example *upasamidham* can be derived from (*upasamidh* + *ṬaC*) + *sU* = (*upasamidh* + *a*) + (*sU*→*am*)) = *upasamidha* + *am* = *upasamidh* (*a* + *a*→*a*) *m* = *upasamidham.* A derivate with no *ṬaC* will be derived as *upasamit* where *sU* will be deleted. The final *dh* will be replaced with *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*) via *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.3.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte*).

5.4.112 गिरेश्च सेनकस्य

gireś ca senakasya
/*gireḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *senakasya* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *ṭac* #91, *avyayībhāve* #107, *anyatarasyām* #109)
giriśabdāntād avyayībhāvaṭ ṭac pratyayo bhavati senakācāryasya matena
The *taddhita* affix *ṬaC* also occurs optionally, in the opinion of Senaka, after an *avyayībhāva* compound which ends in *giri* 'mountain'.

EXAMPLES:

antargiram 'inside a mountain'
antargiri 'id.'
upagiram 'near a mountain'
upagiri 'id.'

1. Note that *senakasya* is used for denoting respect (*pūjā*). Affix *ṬaC* is here made optionally by carrying *anyatarasyām.* These *avyayībhāva* compounds are formed in the sense of *vibhakti.* Other derivational details remain similar to those of the last rule.

5.4.113 बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः स्वाङ्गात्षच्

bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ svāṅgāt ṣac
/ *bahuvrīhau* 7/1 *sakthyakṣṇoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *svāṅgāt* 5/1 *ṣac* 1/1/ (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68)
svāṅgavācī yaḥ sakthiśabdo' kṣiśabdaś ca tadantāt bahuvrīheḥ ṣac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *ṢaC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *sakthi* 'thigh', or in *akṣi* 'eye', used with the signification of 'one's own limb' (*svāṅga*).

EXAMPLES:

dīrghaṃ sakthi yasya = *dīrghasakthaḥ* 'one whose thighs are long'
viśālākṣaḥ 'one whose eyes are large'

1. Note that *bahuvrīhau* is specified in locative (*saptamī*). It should have been used either in *pañcamī* 'ablative', or in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', similar to *tatpuruṣasya* of 5.4.86 *tatpuruṣasyāṅguleḥ*. The word *sakthyakṣṇoḥ* can be interpreted as a genitive, or locative, dual. How could a modifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) qualify a modified (*viśeṣya*) which differs with it in *vibhakti* 'nominal ending' and *vacana* 'number'? The word *svāṅgāt* is used in ablative (*pañcamī*). It cannot qualify *sakthyakṣṇoḥ* since syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) is impaired. *Kāśikā* calls this usage of nominal endings as *duḥśliṣṭa* 'incorporated with flawed relata'. One must then switch these ending in view of desired meanings (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*).

The condition of *bahuvrīhi* is needed to block *ṬaC* after *karmadhāraya* compounds such as *paramasakthi* 'beautiful thighs' and *paramākṣi* 'beautiful eyes'. The constituency of example compounds is limited to *sakthi* and *akṣi*, so that *ṬaC* could be blocked after *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *dīrghajānuḥ* 'one who has long thighs' and *subāhuḥ* 'one who has beautiful arms'. Finally, *skthi* and *akṣi* must denote *svāṅga*. Such a denotation is intended for blocking *ṬaC* after *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *dīrghasakthi* of *dīrghasakthi śakaṭam* 'a cart with long shaft' and *sthūlākṣi* of *sthūlākṣir ikṣuḥ* 'sugar-cane with large eye-like protuberances'.

2. Why do we have to have *ṢaC* in the context of *ṬaC*? Affix *ṢaC* is specified so that its derivates in feminine could be distinguished from those of *ṬaC* with regard to accent (*svara*). Derivates of *ṢaC* will take affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*. Derivates of *ṬaC*, on the other hand, will take *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . A derivate of *ṄīP* is marked *anudātta* at the end. However, a derivate of *ṢaC* is marked *udātta* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). But a derivate of *ṬaC* in feminine could still be *udātta* if one accepts that *C* of *ṬaC* is intended for final *udātta* (6.1.163 *citaḥ*, read with 6.1.161 *anudāttasya ca* . . .). This is untenable since rule 6.2.198 *sakthaṃ cākrāntāt* will intervene with

optional *udātta*. That is, if the optional *udātta* of 6.2.198 *sakthaṃ cakrāntāt* is not accepted, 6.1.161 *anudāttasya ca* . . . cannot apply. Consequently, such derivates of *ṄīP* will still be marked *anudātta* at the end. It is to accomplish *udātta* that *ṢaC* is introduced against *ṬaC*.

5.4.114 अङ्गुलेर्दारुणि

aṅguler dāruṇi
/ *aṅguleḥ* 5/1 *dāruṇi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau ṣac* #113)
aṅguliśabdāntād bahuvrīheḥ ṣac pratyayo bhavati samāsānto dāruṇi samāsārthe
The *taddhita* affix *ṢaC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *aṅguli* 'finger', provided the derivate denotes *dāru* 'wood'.

EXAMPLES:

dvyaṅgulaṃ dāru 'a piece of wood with two finger-like prongs'
pañcāṅgulaṃ dāru 'a piece of wood with five finger-like prongs'

1. Note that *dvyaṅgulam* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as *dve aṅgulī yasya* 'that which has two fingers'. The word *aṅguli* is used here in the secondary (*gauṇa*) sense of *aṅgulisadṛśāvayava* 'finger-like part'. Why can *aṅguli* not be interpreted in its primary sense of 'finger' by interpreting the compound as *dve aṅgulī pramāṇam asya dāruṇaḥ* 'a piece of wood whose measure is equal to the joint width of two fingers'. Since a compound with this paraphrase will denote the sense of 'fingers' and 'wood' as *ekārtha* 'sense of one', the compound must be formed as a *tatpuruṣa* in consonance with *taddhitārtha* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .). This will then require the introduction of affix *aC* (5.4.86 *tatpuruṣa-syāṅguleḥ*). This rule will introduce *ṢaC* only where the sense of *aṅguli* is denoted as secondary. Incidentally, the condition of *dāruṇi* is needed to block *ṢaC* where the denotatum is something other than *dāru*. Thus, consider *pañcāṅgulir hastaḥ* 'a hand with five-fingers'.

5.4.115 द्वित्रिभ्यां ष मूर्ध्नः

dvitribhyām ṣa mūrdhnaḥ
/ *dvitribhyām* 5/2 *ṣa* (1/1 deleted) *mūrdhnaḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
dvitribhyāṃ paro yo mūrdhanśabdas tadantād bahuvrīheḥ ṣaḥ pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *Ṣa* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *mūrdhan* 'head', used in combination after *dvi* and *tri*.

EXAMPLES:

dvimūrdhaḥ 'two-headed'
trimūrdhaḥ 'three-headed'

1. Why do we have to introduce *Ṣa* when we already have *ṢaC*? Affix *Ṣa* is introduced so that optional *udātta* of 6.2.197 *dvitribhyām pāddan* . . . could be availed. A derivate of *ṢaC* will be marked *anudātta* at the end obligatorily (*nitya*). Refer to *Nyāsa* and *PM* ad *Kāś.* for additional details. These derivates both also involve *ṭi*-deletion.

5.4.116 अप्पूरणीप्रमाण्योः

ap pūraṇīpramāṇyoḥ
/*ap* 1/1 *pūraṇīpramāṇyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1 *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
pūraṇyantāt pramāṇyantāc ca bahuvrīher ap pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *aP* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which either ends in a constituent terminating in a *pūraṇa* 'ordinal' suffix signifying feminine, or ends in *pramāṇī.*

EXAMPLES:

kalyāṇī pañcamī āsāṃ rātrīṇāṃ tāḥ = *kalyāṇīpañcamā rātrayaḥ* 'the nights of which the fifth is auspicious'
strīpramāṇī eṣāṃ = *strīpramāṇāḥ kuṭumbinaḥ* 'a clan whose authority is a woman'

1. A *vārttika* recommends that *aP* should be introduced after a *bahuvrīhi* compound only when the stem ending in *pūraṇī*, a form denoting an ordinal number in feminine, is principal (*pradhāna*; *vt.*: *api pradhānapūraṇīgrahaṇaṃ kartavyam*). Where does *pūraṇī* become *pradhāna*? Where the signification of *pūraṇī* enters back into the denotatum of a *bahuvrīhi*. This *pūraṇī* should be accepted even where masculine transformation is negated (*puṃvadbhāva*; 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvad* . . .). Thus, consider *kalyāṇapañcamīkaḥ* of *kalyāṇī pañcamī asmin pakṣe* 'a fortnight of which the fifth (night) is auspicious' where *pañcamī* is not 'principal' because it cannot enter back into the meaning of *kalyāṇīpañcamīkaḥ* as *rātrayaḥ* does in *kalyāṇīpañcamā rātrayaḥ*. Affix *aC* cannot be introduced here.

Another *vārttika* recommends *aP* also after *netṛ* used in combination after a constituent denoting *nakṣatra* 'constellation' (*vt.*: *netur nakṣatre upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *mṛgo netā āsāṃ rātrīṇām* = *mṛganetrā rātrayaḥ* 'nights with moon in conjunction with the constellation Mṛgaiśiras'. Affix *aP* is recommended also, for Vedic, when *netṛ* simply occurs as a final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* (*vt.*: *chandasi ca netur upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus we get: *bṛhaspatinetrā devāḥ* 'Gods who have Bṛhaspati as their leader'.

A third *vārttika* (*māsād bhṛtipratyayapūrvapadāṭ ṭhajvidhiḥ*) recommends *ṭhaC* after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *māsa* 'month', provided *māsa* is used in combination after a stem containing an affix with the signification of *bhṛti* 'wages'. Thus, *pañcakamāsikaḥ* = *pañcako māso' sya* 'a worker who receives five per month' where *pañcaka* is derived with *kaN*, parallel to *pañca asya māsasya bhṛtayaḥ* 'five are this month's wages' (5.1.56 *so' syāṃśavasnabhṛtayaḥ*.

2. Incidentally, *aP* is marked with *P* as an *it* so that final *udātta* accent in a *bahuvrīhi* could be blocked (cf. 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*). For, in its absence, 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* . . . would require the final *pada* of the compound to be marked *udātta*.

Deriving *kalyāṇīpañcama* from *kalyāṇīpañcamī* + *a* will involve *bha-saṃjñā* and deletion of *ī*. Affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) will then be added to derive *kalyāṇīpañcama* + *ṬāP* = *kalyāṇīpañcam*(*a*→ϕ) + *ā* = *kalyāṇīpañcamā*. The derivation of *strīpramāṇa* offers nothing new.

5.4.117 अन्तर्बहिर्भ्यां च लोम्नः

antarbahirbhyāṃ ca lomnaḥ
/*antar-bahirbhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ca* ϕ *lomnaḥ* 5/1
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *ap* #116)
'*antar, bahis' ity etābhyāṃ paro yo lomanśabdaḥ tadantād bahuvrīher ap' pratyayo bhavati*
The *taddhita* affix *aP* also occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *loman* 'hair', used in combination after *antar* 'inside' or *bahis* 'outside'.

EXAMPLES:

antarlomaḥ 'a covering with fur on its inside'
bahirlomaḥ paṭaḥ 'a covering with fur on its outside'

1. Note that, subsequent upon compound-formation, *antarloman* + *a*(*P*→ϕ) = *antarloman*(*n*→ϕ) + *a* and *bahi*(*s*→*r*) *loman* + *a* = *bahirloma*(*n*→ϕ) = *a* will both involve *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.144 *nas taddhite*). Incidentally, if *aP* was not marked with *P* as an *it*, rule 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* would have demanded final *udātta* accent in the second constituent.

5.4.118 अच् नासिकायाः संज्ञायां नसं चास्थूलात्

ac nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyāṃ nasaṃ cāsthūlāt
/*ac* 1/1 *nāsikāyāḥ* 6/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *nasam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *asthūlāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau ṣac* #113)
nāsikāntād bahuvrīher ac pratyayo bhavati nāsikāśabdasya nasam ādeśam āpadyate

The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *nāsikā*, with an additional provision of *nasa* to concurrently replace *nāsikā*, provided *nāsika* is not used in combination after *sthūla* 'huge', and derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

drur iva nāsikā'sya = *druṇasaḥ* 'one who has a tree-like high nose'
vādhrīṇasaḥ 'one who has a nose like Vādhrī (small leather container)'
gonasaḥ 'one who has a cow-like (flat) nose'

1. Note that *asthūlāt* 'other than huge' is a qualifier to *nāsikā* 'nose'. The word *saṃjñāyām* 'when the denotation is a name' qualifies resultant derivates. Thus, *tuṅganāsikā* (*tuṅgā nāsikā asya*) 'high-nosed' will not qualify for *aC*, and the concurrent replacement as well, since it is not a name. A compound such as *sthūlanāsikaḥ* 'huge-nosed' will be similarly excluded since *nāsikā* is used after *sthūla*.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* also desires *nas* as a replacement for *nāsikā* when it is used in combination after *khura* 'hoof' and *khara* 'donkey, mule'. Thus, we get *khuraṇaḥ* 'one who has a hoof-like nose' and *kharaṇāḥ* 'one who has a donkey-like nose'. The lengthening of the penultimate *a*, subsequent to *ṇatva* 'replacement of *n* with *ṇ*', is in consonance with 6.4.14 *atvasantasya*. . . . Note that the introduction of affix *aC* is desired only optionally. This will yield optional forms such as *khuraṇasaḥ* and *kharaṇasaḥ*. Incidentally, the *ṇatva* of *vādhrīṇasaḥ* is accomplished by 8.4.3 *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām agaḥ*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* also desires *nas* as a replacement for *nāsikā*, in Vedic, when *nāsikā* is used in combination after *śiti* 'black, white', *ahi* 'snake' and *arcā* 'worship'. Incidentally, given *arcānas*, the long of *ā* of *arcā* is replaced with short in view of 6.3.63 *ṇyāpoḥ saṃjñāchandasor bahulam*.

5.4.119 उपसर्गाच्च

upasargāc ca
/*upasargāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *añ nāsikāyāḥ nasaṃ cāsthūlāt* #118)
upasargāt paro yo nāsikāśabdas tadantād bahuvrīher ac pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *aC* also occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *nāsikā* used in combination after a preverb (*upasarga*), with an additional provision that *nas* come in place of *nāsikā* concurrently.

EXAMPLES:

unnatā nāsikā'sya = *unnasaḥ* 'he who has a high nose'
praṇasaḥ 'one who has a beautiful nose'

1. Note that *n* of *nas* is replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) in view of 8.4.28 *upasargād bahulam.* Our present rule is formulated in view of derivates which do not denote *saṃjñā* 'name' (*Kāś.*: *asaṃjñārthaṃ vacanam*). Incidentally, *upasarga* here refers to particles (*nipāta*) such as *pra*, etc. It cannot be interpreted as meaning a 'preverb', since *nāsikā* does not denote an action (*kriyā*).

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* recommends *gra* as a replacement for *nāsikā* used in combination after *vi.* Of course, *aC* is also introduced. Thus, *vigraḥ* = *vigatā nāsikā asya* 'one whose nose is gone'.

5.4.120 **सुप्रातसुश्वसुदिवशारिकुक्षचतुरश्रैणीपदाजपदप्रोष्ठपदाः**

> *suprātasuśvasudivaśārikukṣacaturaśraiṇīpadājapadaproṣṭhapadāḥ*
> / *suprāta-suśva-sudiva-śārikukṣa-caturaśra-eṇīpada-ajapada-proṣṭhapadāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *ac* #118)
> *suprātādayo bahuvrīhisamāsāḥ acpratyayāntā nipātyante*
> The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs, via *nipātana,* as part of *bahuvrīhi* compounds: *suprāta, suśva, sudiva, śārikukṣa, caturaśra, eṇīpada, ajapada,* and *proṣṭhapada.*

EXAMPLES:

> *suprātaḥ* 'one whose morning is beautiful'
> *suśvaḥ* 'one whose tomorrow is beautiful'
> *sudivaḥ* 'one whose day is beautiful'
> *śārikukṣaḥ* 'one whose belly is similar to that of a Mynah bird'
> *caturaśraḥ* 'that which has four corners'
> *eṇīpadaḥ* 'one whose feet are like that of a doe'
> *ajapadaḥ* 'one whose feet are like that of a goat'
> *proṣṭhapadaḥ* 'one whose feet are like that of a cow'

1. Note that *nipātana* provides for *ṭi*-deletion in most of these examples. It provides for deletion of *i* in *caturaśri* + *aC.* The *pād* of the last three examples is replaced with *pad,* also via *nipātana,* prior to *ṭi*-deletion of *a.*

5.4.121 **नञ्दुःसुभ्यो हलिसक्थ्योरन्यतरस्याम्**

> *nañduḥsubhyo halisakthyor anyatarasyām*
> / *nañ-duḥ-su-bhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *hali-sakthyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
> (*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *ac* #118)
> '*nañ, dus, su*' *ity etebhyaḥ parau yau halisakthiśabdau tadantād bahuvrīher anyatarasyām ac pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ*

The *taddhita* affix *aC* occurs, optionally, after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *hali* 'big plow' and *sakthi* 'thigh', used in combination after *naÑ*, *dus*, and *su*.

EXAMPLES:

avidyamānā halir asya = *ahalaḥ* 'one who does not have a big plow'
ahaliḥ 'id.'
durhalaḥ 'one whose big plow is not good'
durhaliḥ 'id.'
suhalaḥ 'one whose big plow is good'
suhaliḥ 'id.'
avidyamānaṃ sakthy asya = *asakthaḥ* 'one whose thighs are extremely slender'
susakthiḥ 'id.'
dussakthaḥ 'one who has bad thighs'
dussakthiḥ 'id.'
susakthaḥ 'one whose thighs are beautiful'
susakthiḥ 'id.'

1. Note that the option of *aC* leads to the deletion of short *i* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). Consequently, derivates end in *a*. Why did Pāṇini not use *hala*? This could have produced forms ending in *a* without *aC*. There is a difference of meaning involved. The word *hali* means a 'big plow' (*mahad halaḥ*). Thus, *ahalaḥ/ ahaliḥ* mean 'one who does not have a big plow'. Besides, *C* as an *it* facilitates accent (6.1.163 *citaḥ*).

2. Some read *halisakthyoḥ* as *haliśaktyoḥ* where, according to Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*), *śakti* means *asthi* 'bone'.

5.4.122 नित्यमसिच् प्रजामेधयोः

nityam asic prajāmedhayoḥ
/ *nityam* 1/1 *asic* 1/1 *prajā-medhayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *nañduḥsubhyaḥ* #121)
'*nañ, dus, su*' *ity etebhyaḥ parau yau prajā-medhāśabdau tadantād bahuvrīher nityam asic pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ*
The *taddhita* affix *asIC* occurs obligatorily (*nityam*) after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *prajā* 'progeny' and *medhā* 'intellect', used in combination after *naÑ*, *dus* and *su*.

EXAMPLES:

avidyamānā prajā'sya = *aprajāḥ* 'one who does not have any offspring'
duṣprajāḥ 'one whose offsprings are bad'
suprajāḥ 'one whose offsprings are good'
avidyamānā medhā'sya = *amedhāḥ* 'one who lacks intelligence'

durmedhāḥ 'one whose intellect is bad'
sumedhāḥ 'one whose intellect is good'

1. The word *nitya* is used to cancel *anyatarasyām* of the earlier rule. But this could have been easily accomplished by not marking *anyatarasyām* with *svarita*. The word *nitya* is used to indicate that *asIC* also finds its scope where *prajā* and *medhā* are used in combination after other forms. Thus, consider *alpamedhasaḥ* of the following verse:

śrotriyasyeva te rājan mandakasyālpamedhasaḥ/
anuvākahatā buddhir naiṣā tatvārthadarśinī//
'O king! your intellet cannot comprehend the true meaning because it, like the intelligence of a foolish slow-wit Śrotriya, has been destroyed by cramming'

This view of *Kāśikā*, however, is against the *Mahābhāṣya*.

The *C* as an *it* in *asIC* is intended for final *udātta* (6.1.163 *citaḥ*) in *duṣprajāḥ* and *durmedhāḥ*. The final *udātta* in other examples is already available from 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*. Deriving *aprajā* from *aprajā* + *as* will involve the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* to produce *apraj*(*ā*→ϕ) + *as*(*IC*→ϕ) = *aprajas*. An application of 6.4.14 *atvasantasya cādhātoḥ* will replace the last short *a* of *aprajas* + *sU* with its long counterpart to produce *apraj*(*a*→*ā*) *s* + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *aprajās* + *s*. Deletion of *sU* followed by an application of *rutva-visarga* will subsequently derive *aprajāḥ*. Other examples can be similarly derived.

5.4.123 बहुप्रजाश्छन्दसि

bahuprajāś chandasi
/*bahuprajāḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
'*bahuprajāḥ*' *iti chandasi nipātyate*
The *taddhita* affix *asIC* occurs, in Vedic, as part of *bahuprajā* via *nipātana*.

Examples:

bahuprajā nirṛtimāviveśa (*ṛk* 1/164/32) '... by way of births of my own, or my offsprings, I have come many times to this earth so full of miseries'

1. The Classical Sanskrit form is *bahuprajaḥ* 'one who has many offsprings'.

5.4.124 धर्मादनिच् केवलात्

dharmād anic kevalāt
/*dharmāt* 5/1 *anic* 1/1 *kevalāt* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)

kevalād yo dharmaśabdas tadantād bahuvrīher anic pratyayo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The *taddhita* affix *anIC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *dharma* 'duty', used in combination after a single constituent (*kevalāt*).

EXAMPLES:

kalyāṇo dharmo'sya = kalyāṇadharmā 'he whose duty is gratifying'

1. Note that *kevalāt* is used as a qualifier to a *bahuvrīhi* constituent used in combination before *dharma*. That is, *kevalāt* expects *pūrvapadāt* to yield the meaning: *kevalāt pūrvapadāt* 'after a single preceding constituent'. This condition is imposed so that affix *anIC* could be blocked after a *bahuvrīhi* compound with three constituents (*tripada-bahuvrīhi*). Thus, consider *paramasvadharmaḥ* 'he for whom his own *dharma* is best' where *anIC* cannot be introduced.

2. *Kāśikā* clearly states that *dharma* must occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound after a single *pada* 'form ending in *sUP*'. Affix *anIC* cannot be introduced if the *pada* which occurs before *dharma* results by combining two or more *padas* (*Kāś.*: *kevalāt padādyo dharmaśabdaḥ, na padasamudāyāt*). Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita subscribes to a somewhat different view. He accepts that *kevalāt* can also refer to a single *pada* which results out of combining two or more *pada* into a *karmadhāraya* compound. Thus, one can also have *paramasvadharmaḥ* where *parama* and *sva* are first combined in a *karmadhāraya* compound, i.e., *paramasva*, paraphrased as *paramaś cāsau svaś ca*. The *bahuvrīhi* compound is then formed with *paramasva* and *dharma*. This same is also true of examples such as *nivṛttidharmā*, *anucchittidharmā* and *sandigdhasādhyadharmā*, etc.

5.4.125 जम्भा सुहरिततृणसोमेभ्यः

jambhā suharitatṛṇasomebhyaḥ
/*jambhā* 1/1 *su-harita-tṛṇa-somebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *anic* #124)
bahuvrīhau samāse svādibhyaḥ param 'jambhā' iti kṛtasamāsāntam uttarapadaṃ nipātyate
The *taddhita* affix *anIC* occurs as part of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, via *nipātana*, for deriving *jambhā*, used in combination after *su*, *harita*, *tṛṇa* and *soma*.

EXAMPLES:

sujambhā 'one whose teeth are good'
haritajambhā 'one whose teeth are green (dirty)'
tṛṇajambhā 'one whose teeth are like straw (very thin)'

somajambhā 'one whose teeth are like moon (very white)'

1. The word *jambhā* also means 'food' (*abhyavahārya*). It is given here as the last constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, fully derived via *nipātana*. The condition of *suharitatṛṇasomebhyaḥ* will block *anIC* in *patitajambhaḥ* 'one who eats what he should not'. This derivate will involve shortening of final *ā*, instead.

5.4.126 दक्षिणेर्मा लुब्धयोगे

dakṣiṇermā lubdhayoge
/*dakṣiṇermā* 1/1 *lubdhayoge* = *lubdhena yogaḥ* (*tr. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *anic* #124)
'*dakṣiṇermā*' *ity kṛtasamāsānto nipātyate bahuvrīhau samāse lubdhayoge*
The *taddhita* affix *anIC* occurs in a *bahuvrīhi* compound namely, *daksiṇermā* via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies a connection with *lubdha* 'hunter'.

EXAMPLES:

dakṣiṇam īrmam asya = *dakṣiṇermā mṛgaḥ* 'a deer with wounds (inflicted by a hunter) on its right side'

1. Affix *anIC* cannot be introduced after *dakṣiṇerma* of *dakṣiṇermam śakaṭam* 'a cart with a right-hand shaft' since the condition of *lubdha* 'hunter' is not met.

5.4.127 इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे

ic karmavyatihāre
/*ic* 1/1 *karmavyatihāre* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
karmavyatihāre yo bahuvrīhis tasmād ic pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *iC* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocal action'.

EXAMPLES:

keśeṣu keśeṣu gṛhītvā idaṃ yuddhaṃ pravṛttam = *keśākeśi* 'this fight ensued with one pulling the others hair'
kacākaci 'id.'
musalaiś ca musalaiś ca prahṛtya idaṃ yuddhaṃ pravṛttam = *musalāmusali* 'this fight ensued with one attacking the other with a club'

1. The *bahuvrīhi* of this rule is intended as one specified by 2.2.27 *tatra tenedam iti sarūpe*. The affix is included within the reference of 2.1.17 *tiṣṭhadgu*

prabhṛtīni ca. That is, forms which end in *iC* are termed *avyaya* 'indeclinable'. Consequently, nominal endings introduced after them are deleted (2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*).

2. Note that *keśa* + *keśa* + *i*(*C*→ϕ) and *kaca* + *kaca* + *i*(*C*→ϕ) involve lengthening of the final *a* of the first *keśa* and *kaca* (6.3.135 *anyeṣāmapi dṛśyate*). Assignment of the term *bha* and deletion of final *a* of *keśākeś*(*a*→ϕ) + *i* and *kacākac*(*a*→ϕ) + *i* produces *keśākeśi* and *kacākaci.*

5.4.128 द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यश्च

dvidaṇḍyādibhyaś ca
/ *dvidaṇḍyādibhyaḥ* 4/3 = *dvidaṇḍi ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *ic* #127)
dvidaṇḍyādayaḥ śabdā icpratyayāntāḥ sādhavo bhavanti
The *taddhita* affix *iC* occurs, via *nipātana,* for deriving *bahuvrīhi* compounds listed in the group headed by *dvidaṇḍi.*

EXAMPLES:

dvidaṇḍi praharati '. . . attacks with two sticks'
dvimusali praharati '. . . attacks with two clubs'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that *dvidaṇḍyādibhyaḥ* ends in *caturthī* 'dative' denoting the sense of *tādarthya* 'for the purpose of. . . .' It is not an ablative (*pañcamī*). The derivates of this rule are restricted to denote special meanings since they are given as fully derived via *nipātana.* Thus, *dvidaṇḍi* = *dvau daṇḍau asmin praharaṇe* 'a fight in which two sticks are used to attack', as in *dvidaṇḍi praharati* 'he is fighting with two sticks'. Obviously, *dvidaṇḍi* cannot be correct if used in place of *dvidaṇḍā* of *dvidaṇḍā śālā* 'a hall with two shafts'.

Note that this happens to be a section dealing with *bahuvrīhi* compounds. But there are also some *tatpuruṣa* compounds within the *dvidaṇḍyādi* group where *iC* is desired. Thus, we have *nikucyakarṇi* and *prohyapādi,* as in *nikucyakarṇi dhāvati* 'runs having ears squeezed in' and *prohyapādi hastinaṃ vāhayati* 'drives the elephant by prodding with his feet'. These compounds are both formed in view of 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca.*

5.4.129 प्रसंभ्यां जानुनोर्ज्ञुः

prasaṃbhyāṃ jānunor jñyuḥ
/ *pra-sam-bhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *jānunoḥ* 6/2 *jñyuḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
'*pra-sam*' *ity etābhyām uttarasya jānuśabdasya jñur ādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau*

The form *jñu* comes in place of *jānu* which occurs at the end of a *bahuvrīhi* compound used in combination after *pra* and *sam.*

EXAMPLES:

prakṛṣṭe jānuny asya = *prajñuḥ* 'one whose knees are shapely'
saṃhate jānuny asya = *saṃjñuḥ* 'one whose knees are unshapely'

1. Note that *jñu* could not be accepted as an affix. It is a replacement for *jānu*, as indicated by *jānunoḥ* in genitive dual. This specification would have been made by *jānunaḥ*, an ablative singular, if *jñu* was intended as an affix.

5.4.130 ऊर्ध्वाद्विभाषा

ūrdhvād vibhāṣā
/ *ūrdhvāt* 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *jānunoḥ* #129)
ūrdhvaśabdād uttarasya jānuśabdasya vibhāṣā jñur ādeśo bhavati
The form *jñu* comes in place of *jānu*, optionally, when the latter is used at the end of a *bahuvrīhi* compound after *ūrdhva.*

EXAMPLES:

ūrdhve jānuny asya = *ūrdhvajānuḥ* 'one whose knees are raised'
ūrdhvajñyuḥ 'id.'

5.4.131 ऊधसोऽनङ्

ūdhaso' naṅ
/ *ūdhasaḥ* 5/1 *anaṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
ūdhaḥśabdāntasya bahuvrīher anaṅādeśo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
The form *anaṄ* comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *ūdhas.*

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍam iva ūdho' syāḥ = *kuṇḍodhnī* 'a cow with a full udder'
ghaṭodhnī 'a cow with udder like a pitcher'

1. Note that *anAṄ* is a replacement (*ādeśa*). For, if it was an affix, marking it with *Ṅ* as an *it* would not serve any purpose. The purpose of marking *anAṄ* with *Ṅ* is to enable it to replace the final *s* of *ūdhas* (1.1.53 *ṅic ca*). A *vārttika* requires that *anaṄ* should be stated as a replacement for *ūdhas* in the context of feminine. That is, *anAṄ* should not be allowed to replace *ūdhas* in masculine. Refer to the appendix of 4.1.25 *bahuvrīher*... for derivational details of *kuṇḍodhnī.*

5.4.132 धनुषश्च

dhanuṣaś ca

/*dhanuṣaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *anaṅ* #131)

dhanuḥśabdāntasya bahuvrīher anaṅ ādeśo bhavati

The form *anAṄ* also comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *dhanuṣ* 'bow'.

EXAMPLES:

śārṅgam dhanur asya = *śārṅgadhanvā* 'one who carries a bow made of horn'

gāṇḍīvadhanvā 'one who carries the Gāṇḍīva as his bow'

puṣpadhanvā 'one who carries a bow of flowers'

1. Note that 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies after *anAṄ* is introduced. The short *a* before *n* is replaced with long (*ā*) in view of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau.* The *s* of *sU* is deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . The *n* will, of course, be deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ*. . . . Thus, *śārṅgadhanu* + *an*→*śārṅgadhanvan* + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *śārṅgadhanv*(*a*→*ā*)*n* + *s* = *śārṅgadhanvān* + (*s*→ϕ) → *śārṅgadhanvā*(*n*→ϕ) = *śārṅgadhanvā.*

5.4.133 वा संज्ञायाम्

vā saṃjñāyām

/*vā* ϕ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *anaṅ* #131, *dhanuṣaḥ* #132)

dhanuḥśabdāntād bahuvrīher anaṅ ādeśo vā bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye

The form *anaṄ* comes in place, only optionally, of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *dhanuṣ*, provided the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

śatadhanuḥ 'a name; one who has one hundred bows'

śatadhanvā 'id.'

dṛḍhadhanuḥ 'a name; one whose bow is very strong'

dṛḍhadhanvā 'id.'

1. This replacement of *anAṄ* is made optional in the context of *saṃjñā* 'name'. It is interesting to note that *Kāśikā*'s examples of the preceding rule are all *saṃjñā.* In fact, examples of this rule are relatively less known as names.

5.4.134 जायाया निङ्

jāyāyā niṅ

/jāyāyāḥ 6/1 *niṅ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
jāyāśabdāntasya bahuvrīher niṅ ādeśo bhavati
The form *niṄ* comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *jāyā* 'wife'.

EXAMPLES:

yuvatir jāyā yasya = *yuvajāniḥ* 'he whose wife is young'
vṛddhajāniḥ 'he (an old man) whose wife is old'

1. Note that *niṄ* replaces the final *ā* of *jāyā*. The *y* is deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor*. . . . The *n* is also deleted (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ* . . .) subsequent to *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' of 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvad*. . . .

5.4.135 गन्धस्येदुत्पूतिसुसुरभिभ्यः

gandhasyed utpūtisusurabhibhyaḥ
/gandhasya 6/1 *it* 1/1 *ut-pūti-su-surabhi-bhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
'*ut, pūti, su, surabhi*' *ity etebhyaḥ parasya gandhaśabdasya ikārādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse*
The form *iT* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *gandha* 'fragrance', used in combination after *ud, pūti, su* and *surabhi.*

EXAMPLES:

udgato gandho'sya = *udgandhiḥ* 'that whose fragrance is on the rise'
pūtigandhiḥ 'one whose smell is bad'
sugandhiḥ 'that which smells good'
surabhigandhiḥ 'one whose frangrance is sweet smelling'

1. The *T* in *iT* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). Here again *iT*, as a *samāsānta*, replaces the final *a* of *gandha* (1.1.51 *alo'ntyasya*).

Note that *gandha* can denote both a *dravya* 'thing', i.e., 'fragrance', as well as *guṇa* 'quality', i.e., 'fragrant'. This replacement is allowed where *gandha* means *guṇa*. Thus, the replacement will not apply in case of *udgandhaḥ āpaṇikaḥ*, paraphrased as *śobhano gandho'sya* 'the trader whose fragrances are good' (cf. *vt.*: *gandhasyetve tadekāntagrahaṇam*).

5.4.136 अल्पाख्यायाम्

alpākhyāyām
/alpākhyāyām 7/1 = *alpasya ākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām/*

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *gandhasya it* #135)
alpākhyāyāṃ yo gandhaśabdas tasyekārādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse
The form *iT* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *gandha* with the denotation of *alpa* 'little'.

EXAMPLES:

alpam asmin bhojane ghṛtam = ghṛtagandhi 'a dish which only has the smell (very little amount) of ghee (clarified butter)'
kṣīragandhi 'a dish which has very little milk'

5.4.137 उपमानाच्च

upamānāc ca
/*upamānāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *gandhasya it* #135)
upamānā paro yo gandhaśabdas tasyekārādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse
The form *iT* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *gandha*, used in combination after a constituent denoting an object of comparison (*upamāna*).

EXAMPLES:

padmasyeva gandho'sya = padmagandhiḥ 'one who smells like lotus'
karīṣagandhiḥ 'one who smells like dried cow-dung'

5.4.138 पादस्य लोपोऽहस्त्यादिभ्यः

pādasya lopo' hastyādibhyaḥ
/*pādasya* 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *ahastyādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *hastī ādir yeṣām; na hastyādayaḥ = ahastyādayaḥ* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *upamānāt* #137)
upamānādd hastyādivarjitāt parasya pādaśabdasya lopo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse
LOPA comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *pāda* 'foot', used in combination after a constituent signifying an object of comparison, provided the same is not listed in the group headed by *hastī* 'elephant'.

EXAMPLES:

vyāghrasyeva pādāv asya = vyāghrapāt 'one whose feet are similar to a tiger's'

siṃhapāt 'one whose feet are similar to a lion's'

1. Note that *LOPA* itself is here offered as *samāsānta.* The final *a* of *pāda* will thus be deleted.

5.4.139 **कुम्भपदीषु च**

kumbhapadīṣu ca
/kumbhapadīṣu 7/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *upamānāt* #137)
kumbhapadīprabhṛtayaḥ kṛtapādalopāḥ samudāyā eva paṭhyante, tatraivaṃ sūtraṃ jñeyam
LOPA also comes in place of the final sound segment of *bahuvrīhi* compounds listed in the group headed by *kumbhapadī.*

EXAMPLES:

kumbhapadī 'she whose feet are round as a pitcher'
śatapadī 'that (a lily) which has one hundred feet (petals)'

1. Note that this *samāsānta* deletion of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi,* for example *kumbhapada,* is limited to compounds destined to be used in feminine with *ṄīP.* It is in view of this scope of feminine that locative in *kumbhapadīṣu* is interpreted as locative of domain (*viṣaya-saptamī*). Besides, deletion in compounds with preceding constituents denoting *upamāna* 'object of comparison' and *saṃkhyā* 'number' is already made available by rules 5.4.137 *upamānāc ca* and 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya,* respectively. This rule is formulated with *ṄīP* as its scope. This provision is also obligatory. Consequently, *anyatarasyām* of 4.1.8 *pādo' nyatarasyām* will not be applicable to it.

5.4.140 **संख्यासुपूर्वस्य**

saṃkhyāsupūrvasya
/saṃkhyā-su-pūrvasya 6/1 = *saṃkhyā ca sus ca* = *saṃkhyāsū; tau pūrvau yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasya/*
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *pādasya* #138)
saṃkhyāpūrvasya supūrvasya ca bahuvrīheḥ pādaśabdāntasya lopo bhavati samāsāntaḥ
LOPA occurs in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *pāda,* used in combination after a constituent which denotes *saṃkhyā* 'number', or is constituted by *su.*

EXAMPLES:

dvau pādāv asya = *dvipāt* 'that which has two feet'

tripāt 'that which has three feet'
śobhanau pādāv asya = supāt 'he whose feet are beautiful'

1. These examples will also involve *cartva* (8.4.55 *khari ca,* 8.4.56 *vā' vasāne*), in addition to *LOPA*.

5.4.141 **वयसि दन्तस्य दतृ**

vayasi dantasya datṛ
/vayasi 7/1 *dantasya* 6/1 *datṛ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya* #140)
saṃkhyāpūrvasya supūrvasya ca bahuvrīher yo dantaśabdas tadantasya 'datṛ' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati samāsānto vayasi gamyamāne
The form *datṚ* comes in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound used in combination after a constituent, either used with the denotatum of *saṃkhyā*, or constituted by *su*, provided derivates denote age (*vayas*).

EXAMPLES:

dvidan 'a child with only two teeth'
caturdan 'a child with four teeth'
śobhanā dantā asya samastā jātāḥ = sudan kumāraḥ 'a boy whose teeth have all come out beautifully'

1. The *Ṛ* as an *it* in *datṚ* is intended for operations specific to items marked with *uK*, i.e., *u, ṛ, ḷ*, as an *it* (*Kāś.*: *ṛkāra ugitkāryārthaḥ*). More particularly, it facilitates *nUM* of 7.1.10 *ugid acāṃ sarvanāmasthāne.* Thus, *dvi*(*danta*→*dat*) = *dvida* + (*n* (*UM*→ϕ) *t*)) = *dvidant* + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *dvidan*(*t*→ϕ) + *s* = *dvidan* + *s*. The final *t* of *dvidant* will go through deletion by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ.* The *s* will also go through deletion by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo.* . . . Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

2. Note that *datṚ* replaces *danta,* in toto, since *datṚ* consists of more than one sound segment (*anekāl;* 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*).

5.4.142 **छन्दसि च**

chandasi ca
/chandasi 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *dantasya datṛ* #141)
chandasi ca dantaśabdasya 'datṛ' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati samāsānto bahuvrīhau samāse
The form *datṚ* comes, also in Vedic, in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

EXAMPLES:

patradatam ālabheta 'one should obtain (a sacrificial animal) with no teeth on its jaws'
ubhayadata ālabhate '. . . gets an animal with teeth on both of its jaws'

1. Note that the twin conditions of constituency and derivate meanings are not pertinent in the Vedic.

5.4.143 **स्त्रियां संज्ञायाम्**

striyāṃ saṃjñāyām
/*striyām* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *dantasya datṛ* #141)
striyām anyapadārthe saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye dantaśabdasya datṛ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The form *datṚ* comes in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound provided derivates signify a name in feminine.

EXAMPLES:

ayodatī 'a female name; she who has iron-like teeth'
phāladatī 'a female name; she who has teeth sharp as blades of a plow'

1. Note that *samadantī* 'a female with even teeth' and *snigdhadantī* 'a female with shining teeth' cannot qualify for this *samāsānta* replacement since these are not names. They serve as general qualifiers. The *ṄīP* of *ayodatī*, etc., is introduced in view of 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca.* Derivates such as *samadantī* are derived with *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.55 *nāsikodarouṣṭha. . . .*

5.4.144 **विभाषा श्यावारोकाभ्याम्**

vibhāṣā śyāvārokābhyām
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *śyāvārokābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *dantasya datṛ* #141)
'*śyāva, aroka*' *ity etābhyāṃ parasya dantaśabdasya datṛ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati vibhāṣā samāsānto bahuvrīhau*
The form *datṚ* comes optionally in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, used in combination after *śyāva* 'dark' and *aroka* 'non-bright'.

EXAMPLES:

śyāvadan 'he whose teeth are dark'
śyāvadantaḥ 'id.'

arokadan 'he whose teeth are not bright'
arokadantaḥ 'id.'

1. Note that this optional replacement is still limited to the denotatum of *saṃjñā* 'name'. Elsewhere, as in *śyāvadantaḥ* and *arokadantaḥ*, no replacement in *datṚ* will be allowed. A replacement in *datṚ*, as usual, conditions the introduction of *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ* . . .).

5.4.145 अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहेभ्यश्च

agrāntaśuddhaśubhravṛṣavarāhebhyaś ca
/ *agrānta-śuddha-śubhra-vṛṣa-varāhebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *agraśabdaḥ ante yasya; agrāntaś ca śuddhaś ca śubhraś ca vṛṣaś ca varāhaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *dantasya datṛ* #141, *vibhāṣā* #144)
The form *datṚ* comes optionally in place of the final *danta* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, used in combination after a constituent ending in *agra* 'front', or after *śuddha* 'clean', *śubhra* 'white', *vṛṣa* 'bull' and *varāha* 'boar'.

EXAMPLES:

kuḍmalāgradan 'he whose teeth are (pointed) like the tip of a bud'
kuḍmalāgradantaḥ 'id.'
śuddhadan 'he whose teeth are clean'
śuddhadantaḥ 'id.'
śubhradan 'he whose teeth are white'
śubhradantaḥ 'id.'
vṛṣadan 'he whose teeth are like those of a bull'
vṛṣadantaḥ 'id.'
varāhadan 'one whose teeth are like those of a boar'
varāhadantaḥ 'id.'

1. The *ca* in this rule is used for facilitating replacement in other examples (*Kāś.*: *anuktasamuccayārthaś cakāraḥ*). Thus, we get *ahidan/ ahidantaḥ* 'one who has snake-like teeth' and *mūṣikadan/ mūṣikadantaḥ* 'one who has rat-like teeth'.

5.4.146 ककुदस्यावस्थायां लोपः

kakudasyāvasthāyāṃ lopaḥ
/ *kakudasya* 6/1 *avasthāyām* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)

kakudaśabdāntasya bahuvrīher lopo bhavati samāsānto' vasthāyāṃ gamyamānāyām
LOPA comes in place of the final sound segment of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *kakuda* 'hump', provided the derivate denotes *avasthā*.

EXAMPLES:

asañjātaṃ kakudam asya = *asañjātakakut* 'a bull with no fully developed hump; a young bull'
pūrṇakakut 'a bull with fully developed hump; a middle-aged bull'
unnatakakut 'a bull with raised hump; an aging bull'

1. This *samāsānta* provision makes deletion of the final *a* in *kākuda* as optional. The condition of *avasthā* blocks *śvetakakudaḥ* 'white-humped' from availing this provision.

5.4.147 त्रिककुत्पर्वते

trikakut parvate
/ *trikakut* 1/1 *parvate* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *lopaḥ* #146)
trikakudi bahuvrīhau kakudaśabdasya lopaḥ samāsānto nipātyate parvate' bhidheye
LOPA comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound in deriving *trikakut*, via *nipātana*, when the derivate signifies *parvata* 'mountain'.

EXAMPLES:

trīṇi kakudāny asya trikakut parvataḥ 'a mountain with three peaks'

1. *Kāśikā* explains that *trikakut* is the name of a particular mountain with three peaks. This example then has the implication: *na ca sarvas triśikharaḥ parvatas trikakut. kiṃ tarhi? saṃjñaiṣā parvataviśeṣasya* 'not every mountain with three peaks is Trikakut. What then? It is the name of a particular mountain'. This derivate is then restricted with the scope of *saṃjñā* 'name'. Elsewhere, the derivate will be *trikakudaḥ*.

5.4.148 उद्विभ्यां काकुदस्य

udvibhyāṃ kākudasya
/ *ud-vi-bhyām* 5/2 (*itar. bv.*); *kākudasya* 6/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *lopaḥ* #146)
'*ud, vi*' *ity etābhyāṃ parasya kākudaśabdasya lopo bhavati bahuvrīhau samāse*
LOPA comes in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *kākuda* 'palate', used in combination after *ud* and *vi*.

EXAMPLES:

udgataṃ kākudam asya = utkākut 'he whose palate is prominent'
vikākut 'he whose palate is not formed well; cleft palate'

5.4.149 **पूर्णाद्विभाषा**

pūrṇād vibhāṣā
/*pūrṇāt* 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *lopaḥ* #146, *kākudasya* #148)
pūrṇāt parasya kākudaśabdasya vibhāṣā lopo bhavati bahuvrīhau samāse
LOPA comes optionally in place of the final of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *kākuda*, used in combination after *pūrṇa* 'full'.

EXAMPLES:

pūrṇaṃ kākudam asya = pūrṇakākut 'he who has a fully developed palate'
pūrṇakākudaḥ 'id.'

1. The deletion of the final *a* of *kākuda* is here made optional.

5.4.150 **सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः**

suhṛddurhṛdau mitrāmitrayoḥ
/*suhṛd-durhṛd-au* 1/2 (*itar. bv.*); *mitrāmitrayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. bv.*)/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
'*suhṛt, durhṛt*' *ity nipātyate yathāsaṃkhyaṃ mitrāmitrayor abhidheyayoḥ*
The forms *suhṛt* and *durhṛt* are derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is that of a 'friend' and 'non-friend', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

śobhanaṃ hṛdayam asya = suhṛt = mitram 'he whose heart is beautiful; a friend'
duṣṭaṃ hṛdayam asya = durhṛt = amitram 'he whose heart is wicked; a non-friend'

1. The condition of *mitrāmitra* blocks the replacement in examples such as *suhṛdayaḥ kāruṇikaḥ* 'a compassionate person with good heart' and *durhṛdayaś coraḥ* 'a thief with bad heart'.

5.4.151 **उरःप्रभृतिभ्यः कप्**

uraḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ kap
/*uraḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *uraḥprabhṛti yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*; *kap* 1/1/

(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113)
uraḥprabhṛtyantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in stems listed in the group headed by *uras* 'chest, breast'.

EXAMPLES:

vyūḍham uro'sya = *vyūḍhoraskaḥ* 'one whose chest is strong'
priyasarpiṣkaḥ 'he who likes ghee'
avamuktopānatkaḥ 'one who has taken off his shoes'

1. Note that the group headed by *uras* also contains *pumān* 'man', *anaḍvān* 'bull', *payaḥ* 'milk', *nauḥ* 'boat' and *lakṣmīḥ* 'wealth', all ending in nominative singular. How come their listing in the group is not made with their stem forms? That is, why are they listed in the group as ending in nominative singular? So that the provision of this rule applies to them only when they are used in nominative singular. Elsewhere, in dual and plural, *kaP* will be made optional by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*. Thus, we will get *dvipumān/ dvipuṃskaḥ* and *bahupumān/ bahupuṃskaḥ*. This *kaP*, in view of a *gaṇasūtra*, is obligatory when *naÑ* combines with *artha* to denote 'that which does not have any meaning'. Thus we get *anarthakaḥ*.

2. Note that *vyūḍha* + *vras* + *ka* yields *vyūḍhoraska* through the application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. The *ṣ* of *priyasarpiṣka* is accomplished by the application of 8.3.39 *iṇaḥ ṣaḥ*. The last *avamuktopānatka* derives from *avamukta* + *upānah* + *ka* where given *avamuktopānah* through the application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, the *h* of *upānah* is replaced with *dh* (8.2.34 *naho dhaḥ*). An application of *jaśtva* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte*) followed by *cartva* (8.4.55 *kri ca*) will produce *avamuktopāna*(*h*→*dh*→*d*→*t*) + *ka* = *avamuktopānatka*.

5.4.152 इनः स्त्रियाम

inaḥ striyām
/*inaḥ* 5/1 *striyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151)
innantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo bhavati striyām viṣaye
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *in* when the derivate signifies feminine.

EXAMPLES:

bahavo daṇḍino'syāṃ śālāyām = *bahudaṇḍikā śālā* 'a hall in which there are many shaft-carrying renunciates'
bahusvāmikā nagarī 'a city with many rulers'
bahuvāgmikā sabhā 'a gathering with many eloquent speakers'

1. Note that, in the absence of *striyām*, 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā* will make *kaP* optional. Thus, *bahudaṇḍī/ bahudaṇḍikaḥ* (*rājā*) 'a king with many stick-carrying guards'. Derivats of this rule involve *in* of 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*, where *bahudaṇḍin* + *ka*, etc., go through deletion of *n*. Affix *ṬāP* is then introduced to derive *bahudaṇḍikā*, etc.

5.4.153 नद्यृतश्च

nadyṛtaś ca
/ *nadyṛtaḥ* 5/1 = *nadī ca ṛt ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151)
nadyantād bahuvrīher ṛkārāntāc ca kap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* occurs after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in a constituent termed *nadī*, or else, ends in *ṛ*.

EXAMPLES:

bahvyaḥ kumāryo' smin deśe = *bahukumāriko deśaḥ* 'a place which abounds in girls'
bahukartṛkaḥ 'that which has many makers'

1. The *T* of *ṛT* is for facilitating articulation (*Kāś.*: *takāraḥ mukhasukhoccāraṇārthaḥ*). It is not intended for *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.60 *taparas tatkālasya*). Note that *Kāśikā* interprets *nadyṛtaḥ* as a *dvandva* compound with *tadantavidhi*. That is, *nadyantād ṛkārāntāc ca*. The word *anta* of *nadyanta* is used to refer to the following constituent of the *bahuvrīhi* compound. Finally, *nadī* refers to constituents termed *nadī* (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*). The first derivate *bahukumārīka* derives by combining (*bahvī* + *Jas* + *kumārī* + *Jas*) + *kaP*) = *bahukumārīka*, where *bahvī* gets replaced with its masculine counterpart *bahu* (*puṃvadbhāva*; 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣit* . . .).

5.4.154 शेषाद्विभाषा

śeṣād vibhāṣā
/ *śeṣāt* 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151)
yasmād bahuvrīheḥ samāsānto na vihitaḥ tasmād vibhāṣā kap pratyayo bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* occurs optionally after the remaining *bahuvrīhi* compounds for which no *samāsānta* provision is yet made.

EXAMPLES:

bahvyaḥ khaṭvā asmin = *bahukhaṭvakaḥ* '(a hall) in which there are many cots'
bahukhaṭvākaḥ 'id.'

bahukhaṭvaḥ 'id.'
bahumālakaḥ '(a place) which abounds in flowers (garlands)'
bahumālākaḥ 'id.'
bahumālaḥ 'id.'

1. The word *śeṣa* of *śeṣāt* refers to *bahuvrīhi* compounds for which no *samāsānta* provisions are made. Such compounds will receive optional *kaP*. Recall that 1.2.48 *gortriyor upasarjanasya* provides for shortening of the final vowel of a feminine constituent termed *upasarjana*. This shortening, however, is made optional in case of *ā* of feminine affix *āP* when *kaP* follows (7.4.15 *āpo'nyatarasyām*). We will thus get three forms: one with *kaP* and shortening, one with *kaP* but with no shortening, and one without *kaP*, though with shortening. Thus, *bahukhaṭvakaḥ/ bahukhaṭvākaḥ/ bahukhaṭvaḥ*, etc. How come *anṛkkam* and *bahvṛkkam* of *anṛkkaṃ sāma* and *bahvṛkkaṃ sūktam* receive *kaP* when 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ*... has already made a general provision for affix *a*? They should thus not be treated as *śeṣa*. But this is not true (*naitad asti*). Rule 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ*... makes its provision with specific meaning conditions of *māṇavaka* 'boy' and *caraṇākhyā* 'branch of Ṛk'. Derivates with meanings of *sāman* and *sūkta* must still be treated as *śeṣa*. Derivates such as *priyapathaḥ* and *priyadhuraḥ* cannot be accepted as *śeṣa* since 5.4.74 has already made a provision for *a*.

5.4.155 न संज्ञायाम्

na saṃjñāyām
/*na* ɸ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151)
saṃjyāyāṃ viṣaye bahuvrīhau samāse kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

viśvadevaḥ 'a name; one whose gods are all gods'
viśvayaśāḥ 'a name; one who has all the fame'

1. This negative provision is made against the positive provision of *śeṣa* of the preceding rule. Obviously, both derivates are names. Deriving *viśvayaśāḥ* from *viśvayaśas* + *sU* would require lengthening of the final *a* of *viśvayaśas* (6.4.14 *atvasantasya*...) and deletion of *s* of *sU* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*...). Thus, *viśvayaś*(*a*→*ā*)*s* = *viśvayaśās* + *s* = *viśvayaśās* + (*s*→ɸ) = *viśvayaśā*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *viśvayaśaḥ*.

5.4.156 ईयसश्च

īyasaś ca

/*īyasaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)
īyasantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* also does not occur after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in affix *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajyopapade tarabīyasunau*).

EXAMPLES:

bahavaḥ śreyāṃso' sya = *bahuśreyān* 'one who has many superior qualities'
bahuśreyasī '. . . has many beautiful women'

1. Our first example illustrates the negation of the provision of 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā.* The second example illustrates the negation of the provision of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca.* This second example is also denied shortening of 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya,* especially in view of the *vārttika: īyaso bahu vrīher neti vācyam.* Refer to examples under 5.3.57 *dvivacana* . . . for derivational details.

5.4.157 वन्दिते भ्रातुः

vandite bhrātuḥ
/*vandite* 7/1 *bhrātuḥ* 5/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)
vandite' rthe yo bhrātṛśabdo vartate tadantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *bhrātṛ* 'brother', qualified with the sense of *vandita* 'praised, respected'.
śobhano bhrātā asya = *subhrātā* 'one whose brother is handsome'

1. The word *vandita* is used in the sense of *stutaḥ* 'praised' or *pūjitaḥ* 'respected'. This rule negates the provision of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca.* Incidentally, verbal root *vadI* of *vanditaḥ* is not interpreted as meaning 'salutation' (*abhivādana*). Consequently, we will indeed get *kaP* in *vanditabhrātṛkaḥ* 'one whose brother is saluted'. The condition of *vanditaḥ* facilitates *kaP* in counter-examples such as *mūrkhabhrātṛkaḥ* 'one whose brother is an idiot' and *duṣṭabhrātṛkaḥ* 'one whose brother is a rogue'.

2. Note that the final *ṛ* of *subhrātṛ* + *s*(*U*→ϕ) will be replaced with *anAṄ* (7.1.94 *ṛduśanas* . . .) to yield *subhrātan* + *s*. The penultimate *a* of the *aṅga*, i.e., *subhrātan,* will then be replaced with long (6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*). The *s* at the end of the string will then be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . Rule 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ* . . . will then delete the *n*. Thus, *subhrāt* (*a*→*ā*) *n* + *s* = *subhrātān* + (*s*→ϕ) = *subhrātā*(*n*→ϕ) = *subhrātā*.

5.4.158 ऋतश्छन्दसि

ṛtaś chandasi
/*ṛtaḥ* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)
ṛvarṇāntād bahuvrīheś chandasi viṣaye kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur, in Vedic, after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *ṛ* (*ṛT*).

EXAMPLES:

hatā mātā asya = *hatamātā* 'he whose mother was killed'
hatapitā 'one whose father was killed'
hatasvasā 'he whose sister was killed'
suhotā 'one whose *hotṛ*, ritual priest, is good'

1. All these bases end in *ṛ*. The negation of *kaP* is obviously made against the provision of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*. Refer to the derivation of *subhrātā* for derivational details.

5.4.159 नाडीतन्त्र्योः स्वाङ्गे

nāḍītantryoḥ svāṅge
/*nāḍītantryoḥ* 6/2 = *nāḍī ca tantrī ca* (*itar. dv.*); *svāṅge* 7/1/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)
svāṅge yau nāḍī-tantrī-śabdau tadantād bahuvrīheḥ kap pratyayo na bhavati
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *nāḍī* 'artery' and *tantrī* 'vein', providing they are parts of one's own body (*svāṅge*).

EXAMPLES:

bahvyo nāḍyo'sya = *bahunāḍiḥ kāyaḥ* 'a body with many more arteries'
bahutantrīr grīvā 'a neck with many more veins'

1. The word *tantrī* is used here in the sense of *dhamanī* 'vein'. The first example goes through shortening of 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*. The second does not go through shortening because *tantrī* ends in feminine (cf. *kṛtaḥ striyāḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*).

5.4.160 निष्प्रवाणिश्च

niṣpravāṇiś ca
/*niṣpravāṇiḥ* 1/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyayaḥ* #3.1.1, *paraś ca* #3.1.2, *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* #4.1.1, *taddhitāḥ* #4.1.76, *samāsāntāḥ* #68, *bahuvrīhau* #113, *kap* #151, *na* #155)

niṣpravāṇir iti nipātyate
The *taddhita* affix *kaP* does not occur, via *nipātana*, after the *bahuvrīhi* compound *niṣpravāṇi.*

EXAMPLES:

nirgatā pravāṇy asya = niṣpravāṇiḥ paṭaḥ 'a (freshly woven) piece of cloth (whose loom is removed)'
niṣpravāṇiḥ kambalaḥ 'a just about ready blanket'

1. This negation relates to the positive provision of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*, made specifically for *nadī.* A replacement in short *i* for long of *pravāṇī* is accomplished by 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya.* The *ṣ* of *niṣpravāṇiḥ* is a replacement of *ḥ* of *niḥ* (8.3.41 *ṛdudupadhasya cāpratyayasya*).

Appendix

Derivational History of Examples

This volume basically deals with three types of derivates: (*i*) nominals which end in affixes termed *vibhakti* (4.1.2 *svaujasmaut*. . . .); (*ii*) nominals which end in feminine (4.1.3 *striyām*) affixes marked with *Ṅī* (*ṄīP*, *ṄīṢ*, *ṄīN*) and *āP* (*ṬāP*, *ḌāP*, *CāP*); and (*iii*) nominals which derive with affixes introduced within the domain of 4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*.

Rule 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt* heads the domain of rules contained within *adhyāyas* four and five of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. As such, an input qualifying for entry to this domain must be:

(*iv*) a nominal stem (*prātipadika*; 1.4.45 *arthavad adhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam*), or

(*v*) an item ending in feminine affixes marked with *Ṅī* and *āP* (*ṅyāp*), or else,

(*vi*) a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*), i.e., that which ends in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory terms *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmaṭ* . . .) and *tiṄ*, though *sUP* alone for the context of this rule (1.4.14 *sup-tiṅantaṃ padam*; 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*).

An output of this domain could be three-fold:

(*vii*) a form termed *pada* 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) which ends in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP* (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ* . . . (*i*) above); or,

(*viii*) a form ending in feminine affixes of (*ii*) above; or else,

(*ix*) a form which ends in a *taddhita* affix, and is termed nominal stem (1.4.46 *kṛt-taddhita-samāsāś ca*).

Comparing (*iv-vi*) with (*vii-ix*) reveals that outputs of this domain can also re-enter it as inputs. Note, however, that only one of these outputs, i.e., (*vii*) above, provided it forms a syntactico-semantic relationship (*sāmarthya*) with another such item, can re-enter this domain optionally. Outputs (*viii-ix*) must re-enter this domain obligatorily. This obligatory re-entry, however, must opt for yielding an output listed under (*vii*). Given this, one can conclude that the terminal output of this domain must be of the type of (*vii*), i.e., a *pada*. In summary, an input of this domain must be a nominal stem. This input can then opt for yielding an output of types (*vii-ix*). Selecting (*vii*) may produce a *pada* which, depending on its syntactico-semantic relationship with another such output, may optionally qualify for re-entry to this domain. Selecting (*viii-ix*) makes the re-entry obligatory, though this time, output type (*vii*) must be the terminal form.

Our first three volumes have discusses hundreds of derivational types of

(*vii*). The appendix, unless otherwise required, will focus mainly on derivates of types (*viii-ix*).

4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*...

4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭchaṣṭābhyām*...

Note that paradigmatic forms of *kumārī* 'girl', a feminine parallel to the masculine *kumāra* 'boy', are given as examples under rule 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*.... The base *kumārī* is derived by introducing affix *ṄīP* (4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*) after *kumāra*, its masculine counterpart, to denote feminine. Rules 1.3.1 *halantyam*, 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* will accomplish *it*-deletion of *P* and *Ṅ* (of *ṄīP*) to produce *kumāra* + (*Ṅ*→ϕ) *ī* (*p*→ϕ) = *kumāra* + *ī*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, read with 1.4.13 *yasmāt*..., and 1.4.18 *yaci bham*, will then delete the final short *a* of *kumār*(*a*→ϕ) + *ī* to produce *kumārī*.

(1) *kumārī* (nom. sing.)
(2) *kumāryau* (nom.-accus. dual)
(3) *kumāryaḥ* (nom. plural)
(4) *kumārīm* (accus. sing.)
(5) *kumārīḥ* (accus. plural)
(6) *kumāryā* (inst. sing.)
(7) *kumārībhyām* (inst.-dat.-abl. dual)
(8) *kumārībhiḥ* (inst. plural)
(9) *kumāryai* (dat. sing.)
(10) *kumārībhyaḥ* (dat.-abl. plural)
(11) *kumāryaḥ* (abl.-gen. sing.)
(12) *kumāryoḥ* (gen.-loc. dual)
(13) *kumārīṇām* (gen. plural)
(14) *kumāryām* (loc. sing.)
(15) *kumārīṣu* (loc. plural)

Given *kumārī* + *sU*, where 4.1.2 *svaujas*... introduces the nominative singular ending *s*(*U*→ϕ), rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*..., read with 1.2.47 *apṛkta*..., will delete *s* to produce *kumārī*. This, in turn, will be assigned the term *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) via 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*. Refer to *kumārī*, and several other examples (707-10, p. 501) in the appendix of volume II for additional details. The nominative and accusative dual forms, i.e., (2) *kumāryau*, are derived from *kumārī* + *au* and *kumārī* + *au*(*Ṭ*→ϕ), respectively, where the final *ī* of *kumārī* is replaced with *y* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*). This same *y* replacement applies also in case of (3) *kumāryaḥ* where, given *kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + (*J*→ϕ) *as* = *kumāryas*, *rutva-visarga* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*; 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*) yields *kumārya*(*s*→*r*(*U*→ϕ)→*ḥ*) = *kumāryaḥ*.

The accusative singular and plural forms, i.e., (4) *kumārīm* and (5) *kumārīḥ*, are derived from: *kumārī* + *am* and *kumārī* + *Śas*, respectively. Rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* orders *ī* as a single substitute in place of the sequence *ī* + *a* of *kumārī* + *am* to produce: (4) *kumārīm*. Rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*

orders a similar single substitute for a similar vocalic sequence in *kumārī* + (*Ś*→ϕ) *as* to produce *kumārī* + *s*. Our final form (5) *kumārīḥ* derives from *kumārī* + *s* through *s-visarga*. Deriving (6) *kumāryā*, (7) *kumārībhyām* and (8) *kumārībhiḥ* from *kumārī* + *Ṭā*, *kumārī* + *bhyām* and *kumārī* + *bhis* requires replacing *ī* with *y* (of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* in *kumāryā*) and *rutva-visarga* (in *kumārībhiḥ*).

The dative singular form (9) *kumāryai* derives from *kumārī* + (*Ṅ*→ϕ) *e* where rule 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ* introduces augment *ā*(*Ṭ*→ϕ) to produce (*kumārī* + *ā* + *e*), under the condition of the assignment of the term *nadī* to *kumārī* (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*). Rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* then orders *ai* as a single replacement for *ā* + *e*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* is, of course, responsible for turning *kumārī* + (*ā* + *e*→*ai*) into *kumār*(*ī* →*y*) + *ai* = *kumāryai*. Example (10) *kumārībhyaḥ* is derived from *kumārī* + *bhyas* via *rutva-visarga*. The ablative and genitive forms (11) *kumāryāḥ* is derived from *kumārī* + *ṄasI* and *kumārī* + *Ṅas* = *kumārī* + *as*, respectively, with augment *āṬ* (7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ*). Given *kumārī* + *ā* + *as*, 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will apply to produce *kumārī* + (*ā* + *a*→*ā*) *s* = *kumārī* + *ās*. This, in turn, through the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, and *rutva-visarga*, will produce

kumār(*ī*→*y*) + *ā*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *kumāryāḥ*.

The genitive-locative dual (12) *kumāryoḥ* is derived from *kumārī* + *os* through *ī*→*y* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) and *rutva-visarga*. The genitive plural (13) *kumārīṇām* is derived from *kumārī* + *ām* where 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* introduces augment *nUṬ*, thereby producing *kumārī* + *n*(*UṬ*→ϕ) + *ām* = *kumārīnām*. The final derivate *kumārīṇām* is gotten via *n*→*ṇ* of 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ samānapade*. Our locative singular form (14) *kumāryām* derives from *kumārī* + *Ṅī* where *Ṅi* is replaced with *ām* of 7.3.116 *ṅer āp*. . . . Thus, *kumārī* + (*Ṅi*→*ām*) = *kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + *ām* = *kumāryām*. Deriving (15) *kumārīṣu* from *kumārī* + *su*(*P*→ϕ) entails replacing the regular *s* with its retroflex counterpart (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayoḥ*). The preceding derivations show how the assignment of the term *nadī* to *kumārī* plays an important role in deriving its paradigmatic forms. Forms of (16) *gaurī* and (17) *śārṅgaravī* also follow the pattern of *kumārī*.

Our next three examples illustrate derivates of feminine affixes *ṬāP*, *ḌāP* and *CāP*. Thus, (18) *khaṭvā* ends in *ṬāP* and derivates from *khaṭvā* + *s*(*U*→ϕ), where deletion of *s* is accomplished similarly to (1) *kumārī*. The nominative dual form (19) *khaṭve* derives from *khaṭvā* + *au* where *au* is replaced with (*Ś*→ϕ) *ī* in view of 7.1.18 *auṅaḥ āpaḥ*. We get *khaṭve* from *khaṭvā* + *ī* via a single *guṇa*-replacement for the sequence *ā* + *ī* (6.1.87 *ād guṇah*). The nominative plural form (20) *khaṭvāḥ* derives from *khaṭvā* + (*J*→ϕ) *as*, where rule 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ* applies to yield *khaṭv*(*ā* + *a*→*ā*) *s* = *khaṭvās*, via *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*, a single replacement for a vocalic sequence homogeneous with the preceding sound. The application of *rutva-visarga* will finally produce *khaṭvāḥ*. This *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* of (20) will also apply in case of

(21) *khaṭvām* and (22) *khaṭvāḥ*, the accusative singular and plural forms of *khaṭvā*, deriving from the strings *khaṭv(ā + a) m* and *khaṭvā* + (*Ś*→ϕ) *a*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*).

Examples (23) *bahurājā* and (24) *kārīṣagandhyā* illustrate affixes *ḌāP* and *CāP* respectively. Affix *ḌāP* is introduced after the *bahuvrīhi* compound *bahurājan*, parallel to *bahavo rājānaḥ yasyām nagaryām* 'a city with many kings'. This introduction of *ḌāP* is made by 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām* against the negation of *ṄīP* by 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*. Forms of (23) *bahurājā* and (24) *kārīṣagandhyā* both follow the paradigmatic patterns of (18) *khaṭvā*. Our example (24) *kārīṣagandhyā* derives from *kārīṣagandhya* + *CāP* paraphrased as *karīṣasya gandha iva gandho yasyāḥ* 'she who smells like dried cowdung'. Technically though the paraphrase should be: *karīṣam gandho yasyāḥ* 'she whose smell is that of a dried cowdung'. Given *karīṣa* + *Ṅas gandha* + *sU iva* + *sU*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound will be formed in view of the *vārttika*: *saptamyupamānapūrvapadasyottarapadalopaś ca* (cf. *Mbh.* under 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*). This, consequent upon the deletion of the final constituent (*uttarapadalopa*), i.e., *iva* + *sU*, as the *vārttika* requires, will produce: *karīṣa* + *sU gandha* + *sU*. Application of *sUP*-deletion will then produce: *karīṣagandha*. Rule 5.4.137 *upamānāc ca* will then introduce a *samāsānta* affix (5.4.68 *samāsāntaḥ*) as a replacement for the final *a* (*antādeśa*; 1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*) of *gandha* of *karīṣagandha*. We will now have *karīṣagandhi*, a nominal stem, after which *Ṅas* is introduced to make it syntactically related (*samartha*). The *taddhita* affix *aṆ* can now be introduced to produce *karīṣagandhi* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* parallel to the meaning of *karīṣagandher apatyam* 'offspring of Karīṣagandhi'. Rule 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* will as usual delete *Ṅas*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will then delete the final *i* of *karīṣagandh*(*i*→ϕ) + *a*. A replacement in *vṛddhi* for the first *a* of *k*(*a*→*ā*) *rīṣagandhi* + *a* = *kārīṣagandh* + *a* is accomplished in view of 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ*. We thus get *kārīṣagandha* which ends in *aṆ* and is also recognized as *upottama* based upon its next to the last *a* termed *guru* before the conjunct *ndh* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*). Rule 4.1.87 *aṇiñor anārṣayor*... can now introduce *ṢyaṄ* in place of affix *aṆ* to produce: *kārīṣagandh*(*a* = (*Ṣ*→ϕ)*ya* (*Ṅ*→ϕ) = *kārīṣagandhya*. The feminine affix *CāP* can now be introduced after *kārīṣagandhya* to produce *kārīṣagandhyā* in consonance with rule 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*. Incidentally, *savarṇadīrgha* of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* finally produces *kārīṣagandhyā* from *kārīṣagandhya* + (*C*→ϕ) *ā*(*P*→ϕ) = *kārīṣagandhya* + *ā*. An introduction of *sU*, and its subsequent deletion, will offer a fully derived word still as *kārīṣagandhyā*.

These preceding offer examples of feminine forms ending in *sUP*. Forms of *dṛṣad* are offered to illustrate the introduction of *sUP* after a nominal stem. Operations relative to the selection and deletion of a *sUP*, deletion of an element termed *it*, or replacement of a *s* by *ḥ* via *r* (*rutva-visarga*), will apply to derive various paradigmatic forms of *dṛṣad*. Thus: (25) *dṛṣad* 'nom. singular', (26) *dṛṣadau* 'nom. dual' and (27) *dṛṣadaḥ* 'nom.-acc. plural, or ablative-genitive singular', where the first involves deletion of *sUP* (6.1.68

halṅyādi . . .) and the last an application of *rutva-visarga* on nominal endings *Jas, Śas, Ṅasl* and *Ṅas*, of course, subsequent upon deletion of *J, Ś, Ṅ* and *I* as elements termed *it.* Consider additional forms such as (28) *dṛṣadbhiḥ* 'instrumental plural', (29) *dṛṣadbhyaḥ* 'dative-ablative plural' and (30) *dṛṣadoḥ* 'genitive-locative dual' where *rutva-visarga* must also apply. Deriving dual forms with *bhyām,* i.e., (31) *dṛṣadbhyām,* should not present any problem. The locative plural form (32) *dṛṣatsu* involves *t* as a replacement for *d* of *dṛṣad* before *s* of *suP* (8.4.54 *kari ca*).

4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*

4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*

4.1.6 *vano ra ca*

Examples (32) *ajā,* (33) *eḍakā,* (34) *caṭakā* and (35) *aśvā* derive with *ṬāP* introduced after *aja, eḍaka, caṭaka,* and *aśva* via application of *savarṇadīrgha* of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ.*

Examples (36) *kartrī,* (37) *hartrī,* (38) *daṇḍinī* and (39) *chatriṇī* are derivates of *ṄīP*→*ī.* This first two involve a replacement in *r* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) for the final *ṛ* of *kartṛ* + *ī* and *hartṛ* + *ī.* Refer to derivations (7) *taritā* and (177) *karttā* in the appendix of vol. II for details of deriving *kartṛ* and *hartṛ.* Our next two examples derive from *daṇḍin* + *ī* and *chatrin* + *ī* where the *n* of *chatrin* is replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ samānapade*). The word (40) *daṇḍin* itself derives from *daṇḍa* + *inI* where affix *inI* is introduced after a nominal stem ending in *a,* namely *daṇḍa,* as an alternate derivate of affix *ṭhaN,* namely (41) *daṇḍika,* both denoting the sense of *matUP* (5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*). Thus, *daṇḍin* and *daṇḍika* both denote the sense of *daṇḍo' syāstīti* 'one who has a shaft'. Incidentally, the final *a* of *daṇḍa* will be deleted by 6.4.140 *yasyeti ca* before affixes *inI* and *ṭhaN.* Of course, the *ṭha* of *ṭhaN* will be replaced with *ika* of 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ.* Example (39) *chatriṇī* follows the same pattern. It also entails replacing *n* of *chatrin* + *ī* with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ samānapade.*

These feminine derivates all can also be accepted as their nominative singular counterparts. That is, after placement and subsequent deletion of *sU* similar to (1) *kumārī* and (18) *khaṭvā.*

4.1.7 *ugitaś ca*

(42) *bhavatī*	(43) *atibhavatī*
(44) *pacantī*	(45) *yajantī*
(46) *dhīvarī*	(47) *pīvarī*
(48) *śarvarī*	(49) *paralokadṛśvarī*
(50) *sahayudhvā*	

Our examples (42) *bhavatī* is derived by introducing affix *ṄīṢ* after *bhavatŪ,* a pronominal, in turn, derived with the *Uṇādi* affix *ḌavatUP* (*Uṇ.* 1/63 *bhāter ḍvatup*) introduced after verbal root *bhā.* Given the string *bhā* + *avat,* rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* (cf. *vt.*: *ḍitkaraṇasāmarthyād abhasyāpi ter lopaḥ*) deletes the *ā* of

bhā. Affix *ṄīP* is then introduced after *bhavat* to denote feminine, at the strength of *U* as an *it* (1.3.2 *upadeśe'janunāsika it*). The *sU* introduced after *bhavatī* will as usual be delted by 6.1.66 *halṅyābbhyo*.... Example (43) *atibhavatī* derives from *atibhavatī* + *sU* where *atibhavat* is an indeclinable compound parallel to *ati* + *sU bhavat* + *sU*. Refer to (436) *atikhaṭvaḥ* and (437) *atimālaḥ* (appendix of vol. II) for further details regarding formation of these compounds.

Example (44) *pacantī* derives from *pacat* + *ṄīP* + *sU*, where *pacat* is a derivate of affix *ŚatṚ* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv*...) introduced after verbal root *pac*. Refer to (489) *pacantam* in the appendix of vol. III for derivational details of *pacant*. Deriving *pacantī* from *pacant* + *ṄīP* + *sU* via *it* and *sU*-deletions does not offer anything new. This same is also true of (45) *yajantī*, a derivate of *yajant* + *ṄīP* + *sU*.

Examples (46) *dhīvarī* derives from *dhīvan* + *ṄīP* + *sU* where the *n* of *dhīvan* is replaced with *r* of this rule. Affix *ṄīP* is, of course, also available from 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo*.... Examples (47) *pīvarī* and (48) *śarvarī* follow the same derivational pattern. Incidentally, *dhīvan* is a derivate of *KvanIP* introduced after verbal root *dhā* where rule 6.4.66 *ghumasthāgā* ... causes a long *ī* to replace the final *ā* of *dhā*, thereby producing *dh*($\bar{a} \rightarrow \bar{\imath}$) + ($K \rightarrow \phi$) *van* = *dhīvan*. One can similarly derive *pīvan* and *dṛśvan* where affixes *KvanIP* and *vanIP* are introduced by rules 3.2.94 *dṛśeḥ kvanip* and 3.2.75 *anyebhyo'pi dṛśyante*, respectively. Example (49) *paralokadṛśvarī* derives from *paralokadṛśvan* + *ṄīP* + *sU*. Refer to (532) *paralokadṛśvā* in the appendix of vol. III for deriving *paralokadṛśvan*.

A *vārttika* under this rule disallows *ṄīP* and *r*-replacement when *van* occurs after a verbal root ending in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *hŚ* (cf. *Śs*. 5-10). Thus, (50) *sahayudhvā* of *sahayudhvā brāhmaṇī* will have its *ṄīP* and *r* blocked.

4.1.8 *pādo' nyatarasyām*

4.1.9 *ṭāb ṛci*

(51) *dvipāt*	(52) *dvipadī*
(53) *tripāt*	(54) *tripadī*
(55) *catuṣpād*	(56) *catuṣpadī*
(57) *dvipadā*	(58) *tripadā*
(59) *catuṣpadā*	

These examples involve nominal stems which all end in *pāda*. We get two derivates since affix *ṄīP* is introduced optionally (*anyatarasyām*). The word *dvipāda*, for example in (51) *dvipāt* and (52) *dvipadī*, is a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with *dvi* + *au pāda* + *au* (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) parallel to *dvau pādau asya*. Rule 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya* causes the deletion of the final *a* of *dvipāda* after compound-formation and *sUP*-deletion. Our present rule optionally introduces affix *ṄīP* after *dvipād*. Rule 6.4.130 *pādaḥ*

pat, read with 6.4.129 *bhasya* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*), now requires that *pād* of *dvipād* + *ī* be replaced with *pad.* This produces *dvi* (*pād*→*pad*) + *ī* = (52) *dvipadī.* Example (51) *dvipād* does not receive *ṄīP.* A lack of *ṄīP* also blocks the replacement of *pād* by *pad.* The final *a* of *pāda* is here again deleted by 5.4.140 *saṃkhyā supūrvasya.* A *sU* introduced after *dvipād* is deleted as usual by 6.1.66 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . The final *d* of *dvipād* is optionally replaced with *t* by 8.4.55 *vā' vasāne* read with 8.4.54 *kari ca.* Derivational details of (53) *tripād* and (54) *tripadī* are not any different.

Examples (55) *catuṣpād* and (56) *catuṣpadī* are also very similar to the preceding derivates. They, however, involve *visarga* and *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) as replacements. Given *caturpāda,* the *r* is replaced with *visarga* by 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ.* This *visarga* will then be replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.41 *idudupadhasya*. . . . We will thus get *catuṣpād.* Deriving (56) *catuṣpadī* with *ṄīP, visarga* and *ṣatva* should not pose any problem.

Examples (57) *dvipadā,* (58) *tripadā* and (59) *catuṣpadā* are derivates of *ṬāP* conditioned by the denotation of *ṛci* (4.1.9 *ṭāb ṛci*). These obviously are exceptions to *ṄīP.* Affix *ṬāP* is introduced in each case after deleting the final *a* of . . . *pada* by 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya.* These forms can also be treated as their nominative singular counterparts after introducing and deleting the nominal ending *sU.*

4.1.10 *na ṣaṭsvasrā* . . .

4.1.11 *manaḥ*

4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ*

	pañca		*sapta*
(60)	*svasā*	(61)	*duhitā*
(62)	*nanāndā*	(63)	*yātā*
(64)	*catasraḥ*	(65)	*dāmā*
(66)	*dāmānau*	(67)	*dāmānaḥ*
(68)	*sīmā*	(69)	*sīmānau*
(70)	*sīmānaḥ*	(71)	*atihimā*
(72)	*atihimānau*	(73)	*atihimānaḥ*
(74)	*suparvā*	(75)	*suparvāṇau*
(76)	*suparvāṇaḥ*	(77)	*sucarmā*
(78)	*sucarmāṇau*	(79)	*sucarmāṇaḥ*

Refer to the appendix of vol. II (under 1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ;* (86) *pañca,* (87) *sapta*) for derivational details of *pañca* and *sapta.*

The nominal base in example (60) *svasā* ends in *ṛ,* and hence, qualifies for *ṄīP* of rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp.* Our present rule negates this *ṄīP.* Note that *svasṛ* of *svasṛ* + *sU* receives *anAṄ* as a replacement for its final *ṛ* from rule 7.1.94 *ṛduśanas* . . ., read with 1.1.52 *ṅic ca.* We thus get *svas*(*ṛ*→*an*(*AṄ*→ϕ) + *s*(*U*→ϕ)) = *svasan* + *s.* rule 6.4.11 *aptṛntṛcsvasṛ* . . . then replaces the penultimate *a* with its long counterpart to produce *svas*(*a*→*ā*) *n* + *s.* The *s* of the

nominal ending is deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . Finally, the *n* of *svasān* + (*s*→ϕ) is deleted by rule 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya* to produce *svasā*(*n*→ϕ) = *svasā*. Examples (61) *duhitā*, (62) *nanāndā* and (63) *yātā* derive similarly from *duhitṛ* + *sU*, *nanāndṛ* + *su* and *yātṛ* + *sU*, respectively. Example (64) *catasraḥ* is slightly complex since, given *catur* + (*J*→ϕ) *as*, rule 7.2.99 first requires *catur* to be replaced with *catasṛ*. This, in turn, qualifies *catasṛ* to receive *ṄīP* of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo* . . . which our present rule negates. Rule 7.2.100 *aci ca ṛtaḥ* then applies on *catasṛ* + *as* to produce *catasr* + *as* by replacing the *ṛ* with *r*. Finally, the *s* of *as* goes through *rutva-visarga* whereby we get *catasṛ* + *a* (*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *catasraḥ*.

Example (65) *dāmā* is a nominative singular derived from *dāman* + *sU* where *dāman* is a derivate of affix *manIN* introduced after verbal root *dā* by 3.2.71 *āto manin* . . . Refer to (503) *sudāmā* (appendix of vol. III) for additional details concerning long *ā* as a replacement for short (*ātva*), and deletion of *n* (*nalopa*). The dual and plural forms derive from *dāman* + *au* and *dāman* + *Jas* where deletion of *n* does not take place. Example ((66) *dāmānau* involves *ātva* but (67) *dāmānaḥ* involves *rutva-visarga* in addition. Examples (68) *suparvā* through (79) *sucarmāṇah* follow the same derivational patterns. The dual and plural forms of *suparvan* and *sucarman*, namely *suparvāṇaḥ/ suparvāṇah*; *sucarmāṇau/ suparvāṇaḥ* also involve *ṇ* as a replacement for their *n* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . .). The last six examples, namely (74) *suparvā*, etc., are also compound termed *bahuvrīhi* ending in *an*, where deletion of *an*, a *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*), does not take place. An optional affix for *bahuvrīhi* compounds with *ṭi*-deletion will be offered by the next rule.

4.3.13 *dāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām*

(80) *pāmā*	(81) *pāme*
(82) *pāmāḥ*	(83) *sīmā*
(84) *sīme*	(85) *sīmāḥ*
(86) *bahurājā*	(87) *bahurāje*
(88) *bahurājāḥ*	(89) *bahudhīvarī*
(90) *bahudhīvā*	(91) *bahupīvarī*
(92) *bahupīvā*	

We have already explained derivational details of (68) *sīmā* / (69) *sīmānau*/ (70) *sīmānaḥ* which all end in *man* (4.1.11 *manaḥ*). We have also illustrated (74) *suparvā* / (75) *suparvāṇau* / (76) *suparvāṇaḥ* which are *bahuvrīhi* compounds ending in *an*. Our present rule offers examples of both the nominal stems which end in *man* and *bahuvrīhi* compounds which end in *an*. A form such as (83) *sīmā* does not here derive from *sīman* + *sU*. It instead derives from *sīman* + *ḌāP* + *sU* where, because of *Ḍ* as an *it* (*Ḍit*), *ḌāP* conditions *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). Thus, *sīman* + *ḌāP* = *sīm* (*an*→ϕ) + *ā* = *sīmā*→*sīmā* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *sīmā*. Its dual form *sīme* derives from *sīman* + *ā* + *au* where, after deletion of *an*, *au* is replaced with *Śī* of 7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*

then offers a single *guṇa* are replacement for the sequence *au* + *ī*. This yields *sīm* (*au*+*ī*→*e*) = *sīme*. Derivin (85) *sīmāḥ* from *sīm*(*an*→ϕ)+(*Ḍ*) *ā*(*P*) = *sīmā* + (*J*) *as* = *sīma* + *as*, via *savarṇadīrgha* and *rutva-visarga*, should not be difficult.

The *bahuvrīhi* compounds (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) *bahurājan*, *bahudhīvarī* and *bahupīvarī* are formed parallel to *bahavo rājānaḥ yasyāṃ sā*, *bahavo dhīvānaḥ yasyāṃ sā* and *bahavo pīvānaḥ yasyāṃ sā*, respectively. An optional *ḌāP*, for example in case of *bahurājan*, will yield the string *bahurājan* + *ā*. Its nominative singular, dual and plural forms can be derived similarly to (83) *sīmā*, etc.

Examples (89) *bahudhīvarī*/(90) *bahudhīvā* and (91) *bahupīvarī*/ (92) *bahupīvā* illustrate the function of *anyatarasyām*, especially in relation to a *bahuvrīhi* ending in *van*. Thus, such a *bahuvrīhi* compound will also get an optional replacement in *r* (4.1.7 *vano ra ca*). Example (89) *bahudhīvarī* will thus derive from *bahudhīvan* + *ṄīP* = *sU* where the final *n* of *bahudhīvan* will be replaced with *r* to produce *bahudhīvarī* subsequent, of course, to *sU*-deletion. An optional *ḌāP* will require deletion of *an* to produce *bahudhīv*(*an*→ϕ) + (*Ḍ*) *ā*(*P*) + (*sU*→ϕ) = *bahudhīvā*. Example (91-92) follow similar derivational patterns.

4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañdvayasaj* . . .

(93)	*kurucarī*	(94)	*madracarī*
(95)	*sauparṇeyī*	(96)	*vainateyī*
(97)	*kumbhakārī*	(98)	*nagarakārī*
(99)	*autsī*	(100)	*audapānī*
(101)	*ūrudvayasī*	(102)	*ūrudaghnī*
(103)	*ūrumātrī*	(104)	*jānudvayasī*
(105)	*jānudaghnī*	(106)	*jānumātrī*
(107)	*pañcatayī*	(108)	*daśatayī*
(109)	*ākṣikī*	(110)	*śālākikī*
(111)	*lāvaṇikī*	(112)	*yādṛśī*
(113)	*tādṛśī*	(114)	*āḍhyaṃkaraṇī*
(115)	*subhagaṃkaraṇī*		

Examples (93) *kurucarī* and *madracarī* derive from (*kurucara* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) and (*madracara* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) where *kurucara* and *madracara* are *tatpuruṣa* compounds (2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*) formed, parallel to *kuru* + *suP* + *cara* and *madra* + *suP* + *cara*. Our second constituent *cara* is derived by introducing the *kṛt* affix *Ṭa* after verbal root *car*, under the cooccurrence condition of *kuru* + *suP* and *madra* + *suP*, respectively (3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*). Affix *ṄīP* is introduced after *kurucara* and *madracara* under the specification of *Ṭ* as an *it* (*ṭit*) of this rule. The *a* of *kurucara* and *madracara* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* under the assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*). Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . . will delete *sU* introduced after *kurucarī* and *madracarī*.

Example (95) *sauparṇeyī* and (96) *vainateyi* derive from (*sauparṇeya* + *ṄīP*)

+ *sU*)) and (*vainateya* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) where *sauparṇeya* and *vainateya* are derivates of the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* parallel to *suparṇāyā apatayaṃ strī* 'female offspring of Suparṇī and *vinatāyā apatyaṃ strī* 'female offspring of Vinatā'. Thus the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* is introduced after a syntactically related feminine base *suparṇī* + *Ṅas* (4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*; 4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak*) under the meaning condition of *apatya* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*). We will thus get (*suparṇī* + (*Ṅas*→ϕ) + (*ḍh*→*ey*)) *a* = *suparṇī* + *eya* after *sUP*-deletion (2.4.71 *supo dhātu* . . .) and *ey* as a replacement for the *ḍh* of affix *ḍha* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ* . . .). The initial vowel *u* of *suparṇī*, as *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis* . . .; 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*) before the *taddhita* affix (7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām* . . .) *ḍhaK* marked with *K* as an *it* (7.2.118 *kiti ca*), must go through a replacement in *vṛddhi*. Thus, *s*(*u*→*au*)*parṇī* + *eya* = *sauparṇī* + *eya*. The *ī* of *sauparṇī* + *eya* will also be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*, subsequent to the assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*). Affix *ṄīP* can now be introduced after *sauparṇeya* under the condition of *ḍha* of rule 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will again apply to delete the final *a* of *sauparṇey*(*a*→ϕ)+ (*Ṅ*)*ī*(*P*) = *sauparṇeyī*. The *sU* introduced after *sauparṇeyī* will also be deleted. Example (96) *vainateyī* follows the same derivational pattern.

Examples (97) *kumbhakārī* and (98) *nagarakārī* derive from (*kumbhakāra* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) and (*nagarakāra* + *ṄīP*)+ *sU*)) through the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* and 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . The first deletes the final *ī* of *kumbhakārī* and *nagarakārī*. The second, of course, is used to delete *sU*. Refer to (97) *kumbhakāraḥ* in the appendix of vol. III, for deriving *kumbhakāra* parallel to (*kumbha* + *am* + *kṛ* + *aṆ*) + *sU*)), where *kāra* is combined with *kumbha* + *ām* to produce an *upapada-tatpuruṣa* compound. Similar derivational details are also involved in deriving *nagarakāra* of (98) *nagarakārī*. The *ṄīP* of these two derivates is introduced under the conditions of *aṆ*

Examples (99) *autsī* and (100) *audapānī* involve affix *ṄīP* introduced after *autsa* and *audapāna* under the specification of *añ*. That is, they derive from (*utsa* + *Ṅi* + *aÑ*) + *ṄīP*)) + *sU*))) and (*udapāna* + *Ṅī* + *aÑ*) + *ṄīP*)) + *sU*))) through deletion of *Ṅī*, *a* (of *utsa* before *aÑ*, and *autsa* before *ṄīP*) and *sU*. The *vṛddhi* of *u* is, of course, conditioned by *Ñ* as an *it* of affix *aÑ* (7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām*. . . . Affix *aÑ* is introduced after *utsa* + *Ṅī* and *udapāna* + *Ṅi* by 6.1.86 *utsādibhyo'ñ*, as an alternate of *aṆ* of 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ*. Commentators generally interpret *aÑ* of these derivates as denoting the sense of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*. This explains why the locative singular ending *Ṅi*, and not the genitive *Ṅas*, is introduced to make the two bases syntactically related (*samartha*). Refer to Bhimsen Shastri (VI:1989, p. 15) for details of how introducing *aÑ* to denote an *apatya* will block *ṄīP* in favor of *ṄīN* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravād* . . .) which, in turn, blocks *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.63 *jāter astrīviṣayad*. . . . Recall that *utsa* and *udapāna* denote *jāti*, especially in view of Patañjali's explanation of *gotraṃ ca caraṇaiḥ saha* (cf. *Mbh.* ad 6.1.63 *jāter* . . .).

Examples (101) *ūrudvayasī*, (102) *ūrudaghnī* and (103) *ūrumātrī* are derived from (*ūrudvyasa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)), (*ūrudaghna* + *ṄīP* + *sU*)) and (*ūrumātra* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)), respectively. The three bases i.e., *ūrudvayasa*, *ūrudaghna* and *ūrumātra*, which receive affix *ṄīP* of this rule, denote *pramāṇa* 'measure', and end in the *taddhita* affixes *dvayasaC*, *daghnaC* and *mātraC*, respectively (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvayasajdaghnañmātracaḥ*). Deriving *ūrudvayasī*, etc., from (*ūrudvayasa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*, through the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* and 6.1.68 *halṇyābbhyo*... to accomplish deletion of *a* and *sU* is easy. Examples (104) *jānudvayasī*, (105) *jānudaghnī* and (106) *jānumātrī* also follow the same derivational pattern.

Examples (107) *pañcatayī* and (108) *daśatayī* illustrate bases which receive *ṄīP* on account of their *tayaP*. Thus, *pañcatayī* derives from (*pañcan* + *Jas* + *tayaP*) + *ṄīP*)) + *su*))), where *tayaP* is introduced to denote *avayava* 'part of a whole' of 5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā avayave tayap*. This same is also true of (108) *daśatayī*. Their *n* is deleted in view of 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Deletion of *Jas*, and the final *a* of *pañcataya* and *daśataya* before *ṄīP* will again be accomplished by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *sU* of course will be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*....

Examples (109) *ākṣikī* is derived from (*ākṣika* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)), where *ākṣika* is a *taddhita* derivate paraphrased as *aksair divyati* '... plays by means of dice'. Thus, affix *ṭhaK* is introduced by 4.4.2 *tena divyati*... after the syntactically related nominal stem *akṣa* + *bhis*. We will get *akṣa* + *ṭha* after the deletion of *bhis* (2.4.71 *supo dhatu*...). The *ṭh* of *ṭhaK* will be replaced with *ik* of 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ* to yield *akṣa* + *ika*. This, in turn, will produce *ākṣika* after the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* and 7.2.118 *kiti ca*. Thus *akṣ*(*a*→ϕ) + *ika* = (*a*→ϕ *ā*) *kṣ* + *ika* = *ākṣika*. Our present rule can then introduce *ṄīP* to derive *ākṣikī* which, with introduction of *sU*, will produce *ākṣikī*. Note that the *a* of *ākṣika* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *sU* of *ākṣikī* + *sU* will be subsequently deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*.... Example (110) *śālākikī* derives from (*śalākā* + *bhis*) + *ṄīP*)) + *sU*))) and follows the same derivational pattern.

Let us now consider (111) *lāvaṇikī* which derives from (*lavaṇa* + *sU* + *ṭhaÑ*) + *ṄīP*)) + *sU*))) where affix *ṭhaÑ* is introduced after *lavaṇa* + *sU* by rule 4.4.52 *lavaṇāṭ ṭhañ* read with 4.4.51 *tad asya paṇyam*. Deriving *lāvaṇikī* through *ika* placement for *ṭha*, deletion of the final *a* of *lavaṇa* and initial *vṛddhi* by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām*... offers nothing new. This same is also true of deletions of *sU*.

Examples (112) *yādṛśī* and (113) *tādṛśī* derive from (*tādṛśa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU* and (*yādṛśa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU* and illustrate instances where bases ending in affix *kaÑ* receive *ṄīP*. Refer to examples (473) *tādṛśaḥ* and (475) *yādṛśaḥ* in the appendix of vol. III for derivational details of *tādṛśa* and *yādṛśa*. Examples of *KvaraP* can also be found there under (668) *itvarī* and (674) *naśvarī*. Examples (457) *āḍhyaṃkaraṇam* and (458) *subhagaṃkaraṇam*, again in the appendix of vol. III, illustrate bases which end in affix *KHyuN* and receive *ṄīP* to

denote feminine. Deriving (114) *āḍhyaṃkaraṇī* and (115) *subhagaṃkaraṇī* from (*āḍhyaṃkaraṇa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) and (*subhagaṃkaraṇa* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) should pose no problem.

4.1.16 *yañaś ca*

4.1.17 *prācāṃ ṣphas* . . .

(116) *gārgī* / (117) *vātsī*
(118) *gārgyāyaṇī* / *vātsyāyanī*

Example (116) *gārgī* illustrates how a derivate of *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*) derived by introducing this *taddhita* affix after *garga* + *Ṅas* to denote a *gotra* descendant (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*; 4.1.162 *apatyaṃ pautraprabhṛti* . . .) receives *ṄīP*. Refer to (761) *gārgyaḥ* and (762) *vātsyaḥ* in the appendix of vol. II for deriving *gārgya* and *vātsya*. Rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will first delete the *a* of *gārgya* + *ṄīP*. Rule 6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya* will then delete the *y* of *gārgy* + *ṄīP* to produce *gārgī*. Deriving *gārgī* from *gārgī* + *sU* should pose no problem. Example (117) *vātsī* follows this same pattern.

Examples (118) *gārgyāyaṇaḥ* and (119) *vātsayāyanaḥ* illustrate how the *taddhita* affix *Ṣpha* facilitates subsequent introduction of affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*. Thus, *gārgya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha* will go through three operations: *it*-deletion of *Ṣ* (1.3.6 *ṣaḥ pratyayasya*), *āyam* as a replacement for its *ph* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ* . . .), and deletion of the final *a* of *gārgya* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). Thus, *gārgya* + (*Ṣ*→ϕ) (*ph*→*āyan*) *a* = *gārgy*(*a*→ϕ) + *āyan* + *a* = *gārgyāyana*. Rule 2.4.71 *supodhātu* . . . will then delete *Ṅas*, based upon the assignment of the term *prātipadika* to *gārgyāyana* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*). The way is now clear for introducing affix *ṄīṢ* of 4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*. This will produce: *gārgyāyan*(*a*→ϕ) + (*Ṅ*) *ī*(*Ṣ*) through *it*-deletion and the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *n* of *gārgyāyanī* + *sU* will be replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . .). Deletion of *sU* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .) will finally accomplish *gārgyāyaṇī*. Example (119) does not require *ṇatva*.

4.1.18 *sarvatra lohitādikatantebhyaḥ*

(120) *lauhityāyanī*
(121) *śāṃsityāyanī*
(122) *bābhravyāyanī*
(123) *śākalyāyanī*
(124) *śākalāḥ*

Examples (120) through (123) derive from (*lauhitya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha*) + *sU*)), (*śāṃsitya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha*) + *sU*)), (*bābhravya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha*) + *sU*)), and (*śākalya* + *Ṅas* + *Ṣpha*) + *sU*)), respectively. The bases of all these derivates end in *yaÑ* of 4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*, etc. Thus, given *lohita* + *Ṅas* + *yañ*, we will get *lauhitya* through *it*-deletion, deletion of *sUP* and *a* (2.4.71 *supodhatu* . . .; 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). The initial *vṛddhi* in *lohita* will be accomplished by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām*. . . . Example (121) *śāṃsityāyanī* follows the same pattern.

Deriving *bābhravya* from *babhru* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ*, where *yaÑ* is introduced by 4.1.106 *madhubabhrvor*. . ., involves application of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* and 6.1.76 *vānto yi pratyaye*. The first rule orders *o* as a replacement for *u* of *babhru*. The second then replaces the *o* of *babhro* with *av*. Thus: *babhr*(*u*→*o*→*av*) + *ya* = *babhravya*, which, through *vṛddhi* of 7.2.117 *teddhiteṣv cām* . . ., will produce *b*(*a*→*ā*) *bhravya*. Note that deriving (122) *bābhravyāyaṇī* from *bābhravya* + (*ph*→*āyan*) + *ṄīṢ*) + *sU*)) also involves *ṇatva*. Thus we get: *bābhravyāya*(*n*→*ṇ*) *ī* + (*sU*→ϕ)) = *bābhravyāyaṇi*.

Example (123) *śākalyāyanī* offers nothing new. Note, however, that since *śakala* is listed within the *lohitādi* group before *kaṇva*, though after *kata*, it qualifies for both *Ṣpha* and *aṆ*. The derivate in *aṆ*, i.e., (124) *śākalāḥ*, derives from *ś*(*a*→*ā*) *kala* + (*Ṅas*→ϕ) + *aṆ*(→ϕ)) = *śākala* + *Jas*))) with the signification of *śākalyasyeme chātrāḥ* 'students of Śākalya'. Affix *aṆ* is introduced here by 4.2.111 *kaṇvādibhyo gotre*.

4.1.22 *aparimāṇabistācitakambalyebhyo na taddhitaluki*

(125) *pañcāśvā* / (126) *daśāśvā*
(127) *dvivarṣā* / (128) *trivarṣā*
(129) *dvibistā* / (130) *dvyācitā*
(131) *dvikambalyā*

These preceding are all derivates of *ṬāP* introduced as an exception to *ṄīP* of the preceding rule. Of course, after a nominal stem termed *dvigu*. Thus, *pañcan* + *bhis aśva* + *bhis* combine to produce (125) *pañcāśva* through deletion of *bhis* (*sUP*-deletion; 2.4.71 *supo dhātu*. . .) and *n* (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ* . . .). This *dvigu* compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . . in anticipation of the *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK* of 5.1.37 *tena krītam*. This *ṭhaK* is, however, deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvād*. We now have a nominal stem (1.2.46 *krittaddhitasamāsāś ca*) where *LUK*-deletion of a *taddhita* affix after a compound termed *dvigu* has taken effect. Rule 4.1.21 *dvigoḥ* then offers *ṄīP* which our present rule blocks under the qualification of *aparimāṇa* 'non-measure'. Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* then offers *ṬāP* to facilitate the derivation of *pañcāśvā* from (*pañcāśvā* + *ṬāP*) + *sU*)) through *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) and deletion of *sU* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .). One can similarly derive (126) *daśāśvā*.

(127) *dvivarṣā* and (128) *trivarṣā* are offered as examples where a *dvigu* compound with the signification of *kāla* meets the specification of *aparimāṇa*. Here again, affix *ṭhaK* is introduced by 5.1.80 *tamadhīṣṭo bhṛto* . . . after the *dvigu* compound *dvivarṣa*, paraphrased as *dve varṣe bhūte* parallel to *dvi* + *au varṣa* + *au*. This affix is deleted by 5.1.89 *cittavati nityam*. This deletion will now block *ṄīP* in favor of *ṬāP* to derive (127) *dvivarṣā* and (128) *trivarṣā*.

Examples (129) *dvibistā* and (130) *tribistā* are derived with *ṬāP* after *ṄīP* is negated. Thus, (*dvi* + *au bistā* + *au*) + *ṭhaK*)), with deletions of *sUP* and *ṭhaK*, will produce *dvibistā*. Affix *ṭhaK* is introduced by 5.1.52 *sambhavatyavaha-*

rati. . . . It is deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardha.* . . . Deriving *dvibistā* from (*dvibistā* + *ṬāP*) + *sU* through *savarṇadīrgha* and deletion of *sU* offers nothing new. One can similarly derive (130) *tribistā* parallel to (*tri* + *Śas bistā* + *Śas*) + *ṭhaK*→(*tribistā* + *ṬāP*) + *sU* = *tribistā.*

Example (130) *dvyācita* is similarly derive from *dvi* + *au ācita* + *au* with the paraphrase *dvau ācitau pacati.* This derivate involves *ṭhaÑ* which is introduced by 5.1.54 *dvisaṃgoṣṭhaś ca* but is deleted as usual by 5.1.28 *adhyardha.* . . . Deriving *dvyācitā* from (*dv*(*i*→*y*) *ācita*)) + *ṬāP*)) + (*sU*→))) = *dvyācitā* does not offer anything new.

Example (131) *dvikambalyā,* parallel to *dvi* + *bhyām kambalya* + *bhyām* derives with *ṭhaK,* similar to (125) *pañcāśvā,* with the denotatum of *dvābhyāṃ kambalyābhyāṃ krītā.*

4.1.23 *kāṇḍāntāt kṣetre*

4.1.24 *puruṣāt pramāṇe' nyatarasyām*

(132) *dvikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ*
(133) *trikāṇḍā kṣetrabhaktiḥ*
(134) *dvipuruṣā parikhā*
(135) *tripuruṣā parikhā*
(136) *dvipuruṣī parikhā*
(137) *tripuruṣī parikhā*

Rule 4.1.23 *kāṇḍāntāt kṣetre* negates *ṄīP* after a *dvigu* compound which ends in *kāṇḍa,* provided the derivate denotes *kṣetra* 'field'. Examples (132) *dvikāṇḍā* is a derivate of *ḌāP* with the *dvigu* compound *dvikāṇḍā* where the derivate is paraphrased as *dve kāṇḍe pramāṇam asyāḥ kṣetrabhakteḥ.* Note that the *taddhita* affixes *dvayasaC, daghnaC* and *mātraC* will be introduced by 5.2.37 *pramāṇe.* . . . These will be deleted by a *vt* (*ad:* 5.2.37) *pramāṇe lo vaktavyaḥ.* Rule 4.1.3 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* can now introduce *ṬāP* to derive intended examples similar to the examples of the preceding rule. Example (133) *trikāṇḍā* does not offer anything new. Examples (134) *dvipuruṣā* is a derivate of *ṬāP* introduced after *dvipuruṣa,* a *dvigu* compound paraphrased as *dvau puruṣau pramāṇam asyāḥ parikhāyāḥ.* The *taddhita* affix *ṭhaK,* introduced by 5.1.57 *tad asya parimāṇam,* is then deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvadvigor.* . . . One can similarly derive (136) *dvipuruṣī* if one prefers *ṄīP* over the option of *ḌāP.* Same set of rules derive (135) *tripuruṣā* and (137) *tripuruṣī.*

4.1.25 *bahuvrīher ūdhaso ṅīṣ*

4.1.26 *saṃkhyyāvyayāder ṅīp*

(138) *ghaṭodhnī*
(139) *kuṇḍodhnī*
(140) *dvyūdhnī*
(141) *nirūdhnī*

This rule favors *ṄīṢ* over *ṄīP,* though the derivates of both differ only in

accent (*svara*). A *bahuvrīhi* compound such as *ghaṭodhnī* is formed with *ghaṭa* + *sU ūdhas* + *sU* by 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe* in the sense of *ghaṭa iva ūdho' syāḥ*. An application of 2.4.71 *supodhātu*... deletes the two nominal endings in view of the assignment of the term *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhita*...). Rule 6.1.97 *āto guṇe* then applies on *ghaṭa* + *ūdhas* to replace the sequence *a* + *u* with a single *guṇa* vowel *o*, a substitute homogeneous with the *u* which follow (*parasavarṇa*). The result, i.e., *ghaṭ*(*a* + *u*→*o*) *dhas* = *ghaṭodhas*, receives *an*(*AṄ*) of rule 5.4.131 *ūdhaso' naṅ* in place of its final *s* (1.1.52 *ṅic ca*). This produces (*ghaṭodha*(*s*→*an*(*AṄ*→ϕ)) = *ghaṭodhan*.

Our present rule introduces affix (*Ṅ*) *ī*(*Ṣ*) = *ī* not simply as an exception to the *ṄīP* of 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* but also to the *ṬāP* of 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām*. The *a* of *ghaṭodhan* + *ī* is deleted by 6.4.134 *al lopo' naḥ* under the assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*; 6.4.129 *bhasya*). Thus: *ghaṭodh*(*a*→ϕ) *n* + *ī* = *ghaṭodhnī* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *ghatodhnī*. Note that a derivate of *ṄīṢ* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudattaś ca*). A derivate of *ṄīP* is marked *anudātta* in view of 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*. Example (139) *kuṇḍodhnī* follows the same pattern.

Examples (140) *dvyūdhnī* derives from (*dvi* + *au ūdhas* + *au*) + *ṄīP*)) + *sU*))) where *dvi* is a number word. Derivational details offer nothing new except with regard to accent. The *Phiṭsūtra* 1: *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ* marks *dvi* as *udātta* at the end. Rule 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* then applies to produce *dvi* + *dhn* where, except for *dvi*, the rest is marked *anudātta* via *nighāta*. The string which we get after the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* plus (*Ṅ*) *ī*(*P*) is subject to the application of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor yaṇaḥ*..., whereby *yū* is marked *svarita* to produce: *dvyūdhnī*. Recall that the *a* of *ūdhan* will be deleted, and *ī* will be marked *anudātta* in view of (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). One can similarly derive (141) *nirūdhnī* parallel to *nirgatam ūdho yasyāḥ* where *nir* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). Note that accentual differences between derivates of *ṄīṢ* and *ṄīP* amount to a difference of *udātta* and *anudātta*, respectively.

4.1.27 *dāmahāyanāntāc ca*

This rule negates *ṄīP* after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which begins with a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number' and ends in *dāma* and *hāyana*. Recall that affix *ṄīP* which is negated by 4.1.12 *ano bahuvrīheḥ* is offered as an option to *ḌāP* of 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām*.... Since this rule offers an optional *ṄīP* which is already available from 4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām*, this provision must be accepted as obligatory (*nitya*). Deriving (142) *dvidāmnī*, (143) *tridāmni* and (144) *dvihāyani* from (*dvi* + *au dāman* + *au*) + *ṄīP*, etc., parallel to *dve dāmanī yasyāḥ*, etc., involves deletion of *an* of *bha* by 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ*.

4.1.28 *ana upadhālopino' nyatarasyām*

This rule allows *ṄīP*, optionally with *ḌāP*, for a *bahuvrīhi* compound which ends in *an* and goes through the deletion of its *upadhā*. Consider (145)

bahurājñī, paraphrased as *bahavo rājāno yasyām*. Thus, *bahu* + *Jas rājan* + *Jas* will combine to produce *bahurājan* which, after receiving *ṄīP*, will produce *bahurāj*(*a*→ϕ) *n* + *ī* = *bahurājn* + *ī* with the application of 6.4.148 *yaci bham*. Rule 8.4.40 *sto ścunā ścuḥ* will then apply to produce *bahurāj*(*n*→*ñ*) + *ī* = *bahurājñī* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *bahurājñī*. The dual (146) *bahurājñau* and plural (147) *bahurājñaḥ* derive from *bahurājñ*(*ī*→*y*) = *au*(*T*) = *bahurājñyau* and *bahurājñ*(*ī*→*y*) + (*J*) *a*(*s*→*ḥ*) = *bahurājñyaḥ*, through applications of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* and 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*.

Not accepting the option of *ṄīP* will lead to derivate in *ḌāP* (4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām*. . .), for which see (23) *bahurājā*. The nominative dual (148) *bahurāje* and plural (149) *bahurājāḥ* will be derived similarly to (84/85) *sīme*/*sīmāḥ* where deletion of *an* by 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*, read with 6.4.149 *bhasya*, must be accomplished.

A non-acceptance of this option of *ḌāP* will lead to the negation of *ṄīP*, *ḌāP*, and *ṭi*-deletion. This will produce (150) *bahurājā*, (151) *bahurājānau* and (152) *bahurājānaḥ*, similar to (68/69/70) *sīmā*/*sīmānau*/*sīmānaḥ*.

4.1.29 *nityaṃ saṃjñāchandasoḥ*

4.1.30 *kevalamāmakabhāgadheyapāpāparasamānāryakṛta* . . .

This rule makes the optional *ṄīP* of the preceding rule as obligatory (*nitya*). This obligatory provision is restricted to the context of *saṃjñā* 'name' in the Classical language. The *ṄīP*, however, is made obligatory for Vedic in all contexts. Thus we get (153) *atirājñī* from *atirājan* + *ṄīP* and (154) *surājñi* from *surājan* + *ṄīP*, similar to (145) *baburājñī*, etc. Vedic usages can be illustrated by (155) *pañcadāmnī* and (156) *sámānamūrdhanī*. They can be derived from (*pañcadāman* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)), and (*samānamūrdhan*+*ṄīP*) + *sU*)), where *pañcadāman* and *samānamūrdhan* are *bahuvrīhi* compounds paraphrased as: *pañca dāmāni yasyāḥ sā* and *samānaṃ mūrdhā yasyāḥ*.

Derivates of 4.1.29 are restricted to the context of *saṃjñā*, insofar as Classical usages ae concerned. They are specified for Vedic with no restriction. We will get derivates of *ṬāP*, in the Classical usage, outside of the context of *saṃjñā*. Thus, (157) *kevalī* and (158) *kevalā* (with *ṬāP*) will be two Classical forms, as opposed to one, namely *kevalī*, in the Vedic.

Examples (159) *māmakī* derives from (*māmaka* + *ṄīP*) + *sU* where (160) *māmaka* 'this is mine' itself is a derivate of affix *aṆ*, introduced optionally in view of 4.3.1 *yuṣmadasmador*. . ., after *asmad* to signify *mamāyam* 'this is mine'. Note that *asmad* is replaced with *mamaka* (4.3.3 *tavakamamakāv* . . .) which, after initial *vṛddhi* by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām*. . ., produces: (*asmad*→*mamaka*) + *a*(→ϕ)) = *māmaka* + *a*. The final *a* of *māmaka* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* to produce *māmak*(*a*→ϕ) + *a* = *māmaka* with *vṛddhi*. Deriving (161) *māmakā* from *māmaka* + *ṬāP* requires *i* as a replacement for *a* to produce: *mām*(*a*→*i*) *ka* + *ṬāP*. This replacement is offered by *māmakanarakayor upasaṃkhyānam*, a *vārttika* ad 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*. . . .

4.1.34 *vibhāṣa sapūrvasya*

4.1.35 *nityaṃ sapatnyādiṣu*

Note that this rule offers *n* as an optional replacement for the final sound segment of a non-*upasarjana* nominal stem, namely *pati*, when it is used in combination after another constituent. Thus, we get (162) *vṛddhapatnī* and (163) *vṛddhapatiḥ* from *vṛddhapat(i→n)* + *ṄīP* = *vṛddhapatnī* + *sU→vṛddhapatnī* and *vṛddhapati* + *sU* = *vṛddhapatiḥ*, paraphrased as: *vṛddhaḥ patiḥ yasyāḥ*. One can similarly derive (164) *sthūlapatnī* and (165) *sthūlapatiḥ*.

Rule 4.1.35 *nityaṃ sapatnyādisu* derives (166) *sapatnī* and (167) *ekapatnī* with an obligatory *n* (as well as *ṄīP*), parallel to *samānaḥ patir yasyāḥ* and *ekaḥ patir yasyāḥ*, respectively. This provision is offered relative to a select list of stems headed by *sapatnī*. A specification by means of *sapatnyādiṣu* is made to indicate that *samāna* is reduced to *sa*. Thus, *samāna* + *sU pati* + *sU* = *sa(māna→ɸ) pati* = *sapati*, etc.

4.1.36 *pūtakrator ai ca*

4.1.37 *vṛṣākapyagnikusitakusīdānām udāttaḥ*

4.1.38 *manor au vā*

Example (168) *pūtakratāyī* derives from *pūtakratu* +*ṄīP* = *pūtakrat(u→ai)* +*ī* = *pūtakratai* + *ī*. Rule 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* then applies to produce *pūtakrat(ai→āy)* = *i* = *pūtakratāyī* + (*sU→ɸ*) = *pūtakratāyī*. Incidentally, *pūtakratuḥ* is derived as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *pūtaḥ kratuḥ yena*.

Examples (169) *vṛṣākapāyī*, (170) *agnāyī*, (171) *kusitāyī* and (172) *kusīdāyī* derive with *ṄīP* introduced after *vṛṣākapi*, *agni*, *kusita* and *kusīda* with an *ai* marked *udātta* as a replacement for their final sound segments. The word *vṛṣākapi* is *udātta* in the middle since *a* of *ṣa* is marked *udātta* by the *Phiṭsūtra: laghāv ante dvayoś ca* .... 6.1.158 *anudāttam padaṃ ekavarjam* will turn the rest of the vowels into marked *anudātta*. This, however, will not apply to replacement in *ai* which our present *sūtra* marks *udātta*. The words *agni*, etc., are marked *udātta* at the end in view of the *Phiṭsūtra: phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*. The *udātta* for the replacement in *ai* could be gotten via *sthānivadbhāva*. Replacing *ai* with *āy* by 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ* is the only non-accentual operational step in deriving these forms. All other operations are routine.

Rule 4.1.38 *manorau vā* offers three derivates: (173) *manāyī*, (174) *manāvī* and (175) *mánuḥ*, where *manu* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Uṇādi*: 1/10). These three derivates are gotten via options of *ai*, *au*, and a lack there of. Thus: *ma(u→ai→āy)+i=manāyī*, *man(u→au→āv)+ī=manāvī*, and *manu*. Our last example must also be denied *ṄīP* since associated options (*sanniyogaśiṣṭa*) of replacements in *ai* and *au* are both denied.

4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttopadhāt topadhāto naḥ*

4.1.40 *anyato ṅīṣ*

This rule introduces *ṄīP* as an option to *ṬāP* for stems which denote 'color (*varṇa*)' and contain *t* in their *upadhā*, penultimate position. This *t*, in turn, is simultaneously replaced with *n*, of course, when the option of *ṄīP* is

accepted. Thus, we get (176) *etā*, (177) *enī*; (178) *śyetā* (179) *śyenī*; and (180) *haritā*, (181) *hariṇī*. Deriving *e(t→n) a + ṄīP = en(a→) + i =enī+sU = enī* or *eta* + (*Ṭ*) *ā*(*P*) = *et*(*a+a→ā*) = *etā + sU = eta*, etc., is not very difficult.

Examples: (182) *sāraṅgī* and (183) *kalmāṣī* are derivates of *ṄīṢ* covered by rule 4.1.40 *anyato ṅīṣ*. The specification of *anyataḥ* refers to stems which do not contain *t* in their *upadhā*. It has been noted that derivates of *ṄīP* and *ṄīṢ* differ only in their accents. Thus, *sāraṅgī* and *kalmāṣī*.

4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*

Examples *narttakī*, *rajakī* and *gaurī* have been derived in the appendix of vol. II as (477), (478) and (708) respectively. Refer to example (118) and (119) in this volume for derivational details of *gārgyāyaṇī* and *vātsyāyanī*. Follow the derivational patterns of *gaurī* for deriving (184) *matsī* from (*matsa* + *ṄīṢ*) +*sU*.

4.1.42 *jānapadakuṇḍagoṇasthalabhājana* . . .

This rule offers *ṄīṢ* after eleven bases with reference to eleven corresponding meanings. Example (185) *jānpādī* is a derivate of *ṄīṢ* introduced after *jānapada*, a base derived with affix *aÑ* introduced after *janapada* (4.1.86 *utsādibhyo' ñ*). Affix *ṄīṢ* must be introduced here when the derivate is denoting *vṛtti* 'livelihood'. An interpretation outside of the meaning of *vṛtti* will demand affix *ṄīP* of 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Note that as a derivate of *ṄīP*, *jānapadī* will be obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). This obligatory *udātta* is accomplished in view of 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*. Thus, *jānápadī*. A derivate of *ṄīṢ* will be marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*), on account of retaining its affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*) of *udātta* at the beginning: *jānapadī*.

Examples: (186) *kuṇḍī*, (187) *goṇī*, (188) *sthalī*, (189) *bhājī*, (190) *nāgī*, (191) *kālī*, (192) *nīlī*, (193) *kuśī*, (194) *kāmukī* and (195) *kabarī* are derived with *ṄīṢ* with the signification of *amatra*, etc. Elsewhere, we will find derivates of *ṬāP* such as *kuṇḍā*, *guṇā*, *sthalā*, *bhājā*, *nāgā*, *kālā*, *nīlā*, *kuśā*, *kāmukā*, and *kabarā*, respectively. Incidentally, the word *nāga* can be used as denoting either a quality (*guṇavacana*), or *jāti* 'class'. Affix *ṄīṢ* is introduced when *sthaulya* 'fatness' is denoted. That is, *ṄīṢ* cannot be employed if the derivate denotes a quality other than *sthaulya*, or it denotes *jāti*. A similar restriction is imposed on *kāmukā* which must be used with a particular denotatum. A denotatum of *maithunecchā* will favor *ṄīṢ*. A desire for something else will favor *ṬāP*. Note that *kāmuka* is derived with affix *ukaÑ* (3.2.154 *laṣapatapada* . . .) with the signification of *kartṛ*. It cannot be used in the sense of *icchā* 'desire' in general. Incidentally, *maithunecchā* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound of *vyadhikaraṇa* 'non-appositional' type paraphrased as: *maithune icchā yasyāḥ*. Affix *ṬāP* of meanings outside of *amatra*, etc., will be introduced by rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*.

4.1.51 *ktād alpākhyāyām*

Example (196) *abhraviliptī* derives from *abhravilipta* + *ṄīṢ* where the

derivate must have the signification of *alpa* 'little' and *abhra* must denote *karaṇa*. Thus, *abhra* + *Ṭā* combines with *vilipta*, a derivate of *Kta* (3.2.102 *niṣṭhā*), to produce (*abhravilipta* + *ṄīṢ*) *sU*→*abhraviliptī*. Similar derivational pattern is followed for deriving (197) *sūpaviliptī*.

4.1.52 *bahuvrīheś cāntodāttaḥ*

Examples (198) *śaṅkhabhinnī* and (199) *urubhinnī* are derived from (*śaṅkha* + *sU bhinna*) *Ṅīṣ*)) + *sU* and (*uru* + *au bhinna*) *ṄīṢ*)) + *sU*, paraphrased as *śaṅkhaḥ bhinnaḥ yasyāḥ sā* and *urū bhinnau yasyāḥ sā*, respectively. Incidentally, *bhinnaḥ* is derived as example (28) in the appendix of vol. I. The final *udātta* accent is accomplished in view of 6.1.170 *jātikālasukhādibhyo*. . . . Example (200) *galakotkṛttī* and (201) *keśalūnī* derive from (*galaka* + *sU utkṛta*) + *ṄīṢ*)) + *sU* and (*keśa* + *Jas lūna*) + *ṄīṢ*)) + *sU*, paraphrased as *galakam utkṛtam asyāḥ* and *keśāḥ lūnāḥ yasyāḥ*, respectively. Incidentally, *Nyāsa* offers the paraphrase *keśān lunāti* which goes against the requirement of *bahuvrīhi*.

4.1.53 *asvāṅgapūrvapadād vā*

Example (202) *śārṅgajagdhī* derives from (*śārṅga* + *sU jagdha*) *ṄīṢ*)) + *sU*, parallel to *śārṅgaṃ jagdhaṃ yayā* 'she by whom ginger-root was eaten'. Note that (203) *jagdha* is a derivate of *Kta* introduced after verbal root *ad* where *ad* gets replaced with *jagdh* of 2.4.36 *ado jagdhir lyapti*. . . . The *t* of *jagdh* + *ta* is replaced with *dh* of 8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho*. . . . The *dh* of *jagdh* is then deleted by 8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe* to produce: *jag*(*dh*→φ) + *dha* = *jagdha*. The *bahuvrīhi* compound *śārṅgajagdha* is formed by 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*, and is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.170 *jātikālasukhādibhyo*. . . . This same derivational pattern also applies to (204) *palāṇḍubhakṣitī*, paraphrased as: *palāṇḍuḥ bhakṣitaḥ yayā sā*. Incidentally, *bhakṣita* is derived with *Kta* introduced after *bhakṣ* + *ṆiC* of rule (3.1.25 *satyāpa* . . . *curādibhyo ṇic*). An example such as (205) *surāpītī* derives from *surā* + *sU pīta* + *sU*, paraphrased as *surā pītā yayā*, where *pīta* is a derivate of *pā* + *Kta*. The *ā* of *pā* is replaced with *ī* (*ītva*) to produce *p*(*ā*→*ī*) + *ta* = *pīta* (6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpā* . . .). Examples (206) *śārṅgajagdhā*, (207) *palāṇḍubhakṣitā* and (208) *surāpītā* will be derived with *ṬāP*, respectively, if the option of *ṄīṢ* is not accepted.

4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanād asaṃyogopadhāt*

Examples (209) *candramukhī* and (210) *candramukhā* involve *ṄīṢ* and *ṬāP* as optional. These example both contain *candramukha*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound fromed with *candra* + *sU mukha* + *sU* (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*) as their base. Given *atikeśa* + *ṄīṢ* the final *a* of *atikeśa* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. This, after placement of *sUP*, and subsequent deletion, will yield (*atikeś*(*a*→φ) + *ī*) + (*sU*→φ) = *atikeśī*. One will end with *atikeśā*, a derivate with *ṬāP*, if the option of *ṄīṢ* is not accepted. This derivate will involve *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) to produce *atikeśa* + (*Ṭ*) *ā*(*P*) = *atikeśā*. One can introduce *sU* and apply its deletion to derive *candramukhā*.

Examples (211) *atikeśī* and (212) *atikeśā* are also optional. The base, i.e., *atikeśa*, is a *prādi-tatpuruṣa* formed with *keśa* + *Śas* + *ati*, in view of the *vārttika*:

atyādayaḥ krāntādyarthe dvitīyayā (1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv aupamye*). Note that *atikeśa* has a final constituent which denotes *svāṅga*, and also does not have any conjunct in its *upadhā*. Note further that *ati* is an *upasarjana*, especially in view of 1.2.44 *ekavibhakti cāpūrvanikpāte*. Deriving these examples with *ṄīṢ* and *ṬāP* offers nothing new. A question is raised as to why *atikeśa* has to receive a feminine affix. That is, why should we not accepted it as a masculine in accord with rule 2.4.26 *paraval liṅgaṃ dvandvatatpuruṣayoḥ*. A *vārttika* (ad 2.4.26 *paraval*. . .; *dviguprāptāpannālam* . . .) blocks the assignment of gender in consonance with a constituent which follows (*paravalliṅgatā*) in favor of gender in accord with the qualified (*viśeṣya*).

4.1.55 *nāsikodarauṣṭhajaṅghādantakarṇaśṛṅgāc ca*

Examples (213) *tuṅganāsikī* and (214) *tuṅganāsikā*, again involve options of *ṄīṢ* and *ṬāP*. The compound is analyzed as: *tuṅgā nāsikā yasyāḥ*. The final *ā* of the resultant string *tuṅgānāsikā* is replaced with its short counterpart because *nāsikā* is termed an *upasarjana* (1.2.48 *hrasvo napuṃsake*. . .). Additionally, *tuṅgā* also goes through masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*; 6.3.34 *striyāḥ* . . .). Deriving *tuṅganāsikī* and *tuṅganāsikā* from (*tuṅganāsika* + *ṄīṢ*) + *sU* and (*tuṅganāsika* + *ṬāP*) + *sU* does not offer anything new. One can similarly derive (215) *tilodarī* and (216) *tilodarā*. These two sets of examples constitute exceptions to rule 4.1.56 *na kroḍādibahvacaḥ* whereby the optional *ṄīṢ* of this rule is negated. The nagation is of course conditioned by the qualification of *bahvac*. Incidentally, rule 4.1.55 *nāsikodarauṣṭha* . . . is accepted as a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) which blocks an immediately subsequent operation (*anantara*). Note that the remaining examples all involve a *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' in their *upadhā*.

Examples (217) *bimboṣṭhī* and (218) *bimboṣṭhā* are derived paraphrased as *bimbam iva oṣṭhau yasyāḥ*. An optional *pararūpa*, single replacement homogeneous with what follows, yields *bimb*(*a*+*o*→*o*) *ṣṭha* (cf. *vt.*: *otvoṣṭhayoḥ samāse vā* ad 1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*). Those who do not accept this optional *pararūpa* can apply 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* for a single *vṛddhi* replacement. This will yield (219) *bimbauṣṭhī* and (220) *bimbauṣṭhā*. Examples (221) *dīrghajaṅghī* and (222) *dīrghajaṅghā* are derived paraphrased as: *dīrghe jaṅghe yasyāḥ sā*. The base *dīrghajaṅgha* is derived similar to *tuṅganāsika* of (213) *tuṅganāsikā*.

4.1.56 *na kroḍādibahvacaḥ*

Example (223) *kalyāṇakroḍā* is a derivate of *ṬāP*, paraphrased as *kalyāṇī kroḍā yasyāḥ sā*, where *ṄīṢ* is negated on account of *kroḍā*, itself a feminine. The compound involves shortening of the final *ā* of *kroḍā* because it is assigned the term *upasarjana*. A masculine transformation of *kalyāṇī* will also be accomplished similar to example (213) *tuṅganāsikī*. Example (224) *kalyāṇakhurā* can be similarly derived. Note that *jaghana* of (225) *pṛthujaghanā* and *lalāṭa* of (226) *mahālalāṭā* denote a limb but contain many vowels (*bahvac*). This, in turn, forms a basis for negating *ṄīṢ* in favor of *ṬāP*.

4.1.57 *sahanañvidyamānapūrvāc ca*

Examples (227) *sakeśā* and (228) *sanāsikā* are paraphrased as *saha keśair vartate* and *saha nāsikayā vartate*, respectively. Rule 2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge* allows the formation of compounds *sakeśa* and *sanāsikā*. Based upon the assignment of the term *upasarjana* to the constituency of these compounds, *saha* is replaced with *sa* in view of rule 6.3.80 *vopasarjanasya*. Examples (229) *akeśā*, (230) *anāsikā*, and (231) *vidyamānakeśā* and (232) *vidyamānanāsikā* are offered as examples for initial constituency of *naÑ* 'not' and *vidyamāna* 'existent'. The first two compounds, i.e. *akeśa* and *anāsikā*, are formed with reference to the *vārttika: naño'styarthānāṃ bahuvrīhir vā cottarapadalopaś ca vaktavyaḥ*; cf. 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*. This *vt.* is also responsible for deleting *vidyamāna*. Refer to examples (79) *abrāhmaṇaḥ* and (80) *anaśvaḥ* (vol. III, appendix) for applications yielding *a* and *an* relative to *naÑ*.

4.1.61 *vāhaḥ*

Examples (233) *dityauhī* and (234) *praṣṭhauhī* are derivates of *ṄīṢ* introduced after *dityavāh* and *praṣṭhavāh*. Thus, affix *Ṇvl* is introduced after verbal root *vah* (3.2.64 *vahaś ca*) under the cooccurrence condition of an object, namely *ditya* + *am*. We will get *dityavah* as a result of *sUP*, *it* and affixal deletions. The *v* of *Ṇvl* will of course will be deleted by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*. Rule 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*, read with 1.1.61 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*, will cause *vṛddhi* to produce *dityav(a→ā)h* = *dityavāh*. This, in turn, will be assigned the term *prātipadika* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*), and will receive affix (*Ṅ*)*i*(*Ṣ*). Rule 6.4.132 *vāh ūṭh*, read with 1.4.18 *yaci bham* and 6.4.129 *bhasya*, will then apply to replace the *v* of *vāh* with *ū*(*ṬH*) to produce: *ditya*(*v*→*u*(*ṬH*→φ)*h*)) + *ī* = *dityaūh* + *ī*. An application of rule 6.1.89 *etyedhatyūṭhsu* replaces the sequence of *a* and *ū* with a single *vṛddhi* vowel *au*. This gives us *dity*(*a*+*ū*→*au*)*h* + *ī* = *dityauhī*. Deriving *dityauhī* from *dityauhī* + *sU* does not offer anything new. Similar derivational steps are involved in deriving (234) *praṣṭhauhī* from (*praṣṭha* + *am* + *Ṇvl* + *ṄīṢ*) + *sU*.

4.1.62 *sakhyaśiśvīti bhāṣayām*

Examples (235) *sakhī* and (236) *aśiśvī* are derivate of *ṄīṢ* introduced after *sakhi* 'friend' and *aśiśu* 'childless'. Deriving *sakhī* from (*sakhi* + *ṄīṢ*) + *sU*, through deletion of the base-final short *i* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*), and subsequently introduced *sU*, is straightforward. A *bahuvrīhi* compound such as *aśiśvī* is paraphrased as *avidyamānaḥ śiśuḥ yasyāḥ*. The base *aśiśu* can be derived similar to *akeśa* of (239) *akeśā*. Deriving *aśiśvī* from *aśiś*(*u*→*v*) + *ī* = *aśiśvī* + (*sU*→φ) = *aśiśvī*, through *yaṇ* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) and deletion of *sU*, offers nothing new.

4.1.76 *taddhitāḥ*

This domain of affixes termed *taddhita* extends through the end of the fifth *adhyāya*. Rule 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā* requires these affixes to be introduced optionally after a syntactically related (*samartha*) *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*). This interpretive rule is given by way of an *adhikāra* and

governs operational provisions prior to 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*. Note that operational provisions relative to these affixes is treated as part of *padavidhi* similar to formation of compounds (*samāsa*). Many of the *taddhita* derivates are also treated as exceptions to compounds. However, a compound formation does not completely block its *taddhita* counterpart. Thus, *aupagavaḥ* 'a descendant of Upagu' is formed optionally with *upagor apatyam pumān* 'male offspring of Upagu'. These preceding strings both can also be used optionally with *upagvapatayam*, a *ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* compound. Such an interpretation is gotten by carrying *anyatarasyām* of rule 4.1.81 *daivayajñiśaucivṛkṣa*. . . .

Rule 4.1.83 *prāg dīvyato'ṇ* introduces *aṆ* as a general (*autsargika*) affix to which specific exceptions are also enumerated. A series of subsections within this large *prāgdīvyatīya* section is characterized with specific affixal denotatum as follows: *tasyāpatyam* (4.1.92), *tena raktaṃ rāgāt* (4.2.1), *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* (4.2.3), *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ* (4.2.16), *sā'smin paurṇamāsīti saṃjñāyām* (4.2.21), *sā'sya devatā* (4.2.24), *tasya samūhaḥ* (4.2.37), *viṣayo deśe* (4.2.52), *tad adhīte tad veda* (4.2.59), *tad asminn astīti deśe tannāmni* (4.2.67), *tena nirvṛttam* (4.2.68), *tasya nivāsaḥ* (4.2.69), *adūrabhavaś ca* (4.2.70), *tatra jātaḥ* (4.3.25), *tatra bhavaḥ* (4.3.53), *tasya vyākhyāna*... (4.3.66), *tata āgataḥ* (4.3.74), *so'sya nivāsaḥ* (4.3.89), *abhijanaś ca* (4.3.90), *tena proktam* (4.3.101), *kṛte granthe* (4.3.116), *tasyedam* (4.3.120) and *tasya vikāraḥ* (4.3.134). It has already been explained how variable references such as *tad, tena, tasya, tatra,* etc., specify syntactically related *padas* in terms of their nominal endings.

Rules 4.2.67 *tad astīti deśe tannāmni*, 4.2.68 *tena nirvṛttam*, 4.2.69 *tasya nivāsaḥ* and 4.2.70 *adūrabhavaś ca* outline affixal provisions dealing with four specific denotata (*cāturarthika*). Yet another subdomain, aptly called *śaiṣika* (4.2.92 *śeṣe*), covers rules enumerated prior to 4.3.132 *tasya vikāraḥ*. This is a residual domain insofar as affixal denotatum is concerned. That is, it covers meaning previously not covered by rules such as 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam* through 4.2.70 *adūrobhavaś ca*. The fourth *pāda* of *adhyāya* four basically deals with two major affixal provisions of *ṭhaK* (4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak* and *yaT* (4.4.75 *prāg hitād yat*). Some major subsections of rules in the fifth *adhyāya* introduce affixes known as *vibhakti* (5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*), *tadrāja* (5.3.119 *ñādayas tadrājāḥ*) and *samāsānta* (5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*). The *taddhita* domain has a very complex networking of subdomains mostly because of various denotata expressed by its affixal provisions. This summary is presented simply for illustration. Further details will be offered with specific derivates.

I have already discussed the derivational history of many *taddhita* derivates elsewhere. Specific operational details of additional derivates will be offered here, as well as in explanatory notes under individual rules, when necessary. In the meantime, here are a few general operations dealing with *taddhita* derivates:

(1) Bases after which *taddhita* affixes are introduced are largely syntactically related *pada* (*samartha-pada*), or nominal stems (*prātipadika*). A syntac-

tically related base is mostly determined on the basis of variable references contained within rules specifying their denotational scopes, i.e., 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*, etc., read with 4.1.82 *samarthānāṃ prathamād vā*. Bhaṭṭoji (*SK* on 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) notes that affixes are to be introduced after bases which have already accomplished *sandhi* (*kṛtasandhikārya*). For, initial *vṛddhi* blocks the final and penultimate *vṛddhi* (cf.: *ādivṛddhir antyopadhāvṛddhī bādhate*). A non-application of *sandhi* would yield a wrong form such as **sāvutthiti* as opposed to *sautthiti*. That is, if affix *iÑ* is introduced after *suutthita* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* = *s*(*u*→*au*) *utthita*→*s*(*au*→*āvutthit*(*a*→ϕ)) + *i* = *sāvutthiti*, without accomplishing *s*(*u*+*u*=*ū*) *tthita* = *sūtthita* to start with.

(2) A *taddhita* derivate is assigned the term nominal stem (1.2.46 *kṛttadhitasamāsāś ca*).

(3) Nominal endings (*sUP*) contained within such derivates is then deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*.

(4) *vṛddhi*.

7.2.116 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* (*vṛddhiḥ* #114, *aco'ñṇiti*)

'the initial among vowels of an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis tadādi pratyaye'ṅgam*) is replaced with its *vṛddhi* (1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*) counterpart (1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*) when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* as an *it* follows'

7.2.118 *kiti ca*

'the initial among vowels of an *aṅga* is replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart also when a *taddhita* affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows'

(5) *guṇa*

6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* (*aṅgasya* #1, *bhasya* #129, *taddhite* #133)

'the final *u* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) is replaced with its *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) counterpart when a *taddhita* affix follows'

(6) Deletion of *ī* and *a* at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*

6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* (*aṅgasya* #1, *bhasya* #129, *taddhite* #133, *lopaḥ* #147)

'the final *i* and *a* (1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*) of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by *LOPA*, when a *taddhita* affix, and *ī* of a feminine affix as well, follows'

(7) Deletion of *ṭi* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* ending in *n*

6.4.144 *nas taddhite* (*aṅgasya* #1, *bhasya* #129, *lopaḥ* #134, *ṭeḥ* #143)

'the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*) of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *n* is deleted by *LOPA*'

(8) Replacement in *āyan*, etc.

7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṃ pratyayādīnām* (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)

'the initial *ph*, *ḍh*, *ek*, *ch* and *gh* of an *aṅga* is replaced with *āyan*, *ey*, *īn*, *īy* and *iy* respectively'.

Commentators advise that these replacements must be accomplished right when corresponding affixes are introduced'.

Deriving a *taddhita*-derivate generally involves operations already outlined.

I shall, for economy, refer to them as *bha-saṃjñā* 'assignment of the term *bha*', *ī-lopa* 'deletion of *ī* by *LOPA*', *a-lopa* 'deletion of *a* by *LOPA*', *ṭi*-deletion, *vṛddhi, guṇa,* replacements in *āyan,* etc. Scroes of other examples have been derived under individual rules.

4.1.81 *daivayajñiśaucivṛkṣisātyamugri . . .*

Examples (237) *daivayajñī,* (238) *śaucivṛkṣī,* (239) *sātyamugrī* and (240) *kāṇṭheviddhī* are all derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) introduced after *devayajña* + *Ṅas, śucivṛkṣa* + *Ṅas, satyamugra* + *Ṅas* and *kaṇṭheviddha* + *Ṅas.* Incidentally, *devayajña, śucivṛkṣa, satyamugra* and *kaṇṭheviddha* are all *bahuvrīhi* compounds, paraphrased as *devā yajñā asya, śuciḥ vṛkṣaḥ asya, satyam ugram asya* and *kaṇṭhe viddham asya.* Note that preposing (*pūrvanipāta*) of *satya,* a qualified (*viśeṣya*), as well as introduction of augment *mUM,* is accomplished via *nipātana.* The non-deletion of locative (*saptamī*) in *kaṇṭheviddha* is in line with 6.1.12 *amūrddhamastakāt.* Deletion of *Ṅas* (2.4.71 *supodhātu . . .*) and the final *a* of the bases before affix *iÑ* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) with initial *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti*) produces *daivayajñi, śaucivṛkṣi, sātyamugri* and *kāṇṭheviddhi,* respectively. Affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.65 *ito manuṣyajāteḥ*) can now be introduced to derive *daivayajñī, śaucivṛkṣī, sātyamugrī* and *kāṇṭheviddhi,* through *bha*-deletion of the base-final *i.* We will get (241) *daivayajñyā,* (242) *śaucivṛksyā,* (243) *sātyamugryā* and (244) *kāṇṭheviddhyā* if the option of *ṢyaṄ* of this rule is accepted. Thus, *daivayajñi* + *ṢyaṄ* + *CāP, śaucivṛkṣi* + *ṢyaṄ* + *CāP, sātyamugri* + *ṢyaṄ* + *CāP* and *kāṇṭheviddhi* + *ṢyaṄ* + *CāP* will yield *daivayajñā, śaucivṛkṣyā, sātyamugryā* and *kāṇṭheviddhyā,* respectively. Of course, through *bha*-deletion and *savarṇadīrgha.* Affix *CāP* will be introduced in accord with 4.1.74 *yañaś cāp.*

4.1.89 *gotre' lug aci*

Example (245) *gārgīyāḥ* derives from *gārgya* + *ām* + *cha* where rule 4.2.113 *vṛddhāc chaḥ* introduces affix *cha.* Recall that *gārgya* itself derives from *garga* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* where *yaÑ* is introduced with the denotatum of a *gotra*-descendant. How come the string for deriving *gārgīyāḥ* is given as *gārgya* + *ām* in plural? For, rule 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca* requires deletion of *yaÑ* in plural. In fact, an affix with the denotatum of *gotra* is deleted when plurality (*bahutva*) is denoted. Thus, the base should still be *garga.* It is explained that *yaÑ* will be saved from this deletion by rule 4.1.89 *gotre' lug aci.* For, an affix, i.e., (*ch*→*īy*) *a,* beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*) with follow. This blocked deletion will retain the affix as well as initial *vṛddhi* and will enable *gārgya* + *ām* to receive *cha.* This will give us *gārgya* + (*ch*→*īy*) *a* = *gārgy*(*a*→ϕ) + *īya* = *gārgy* + *īya,* through *īy*-replacement (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnī . . .*) and *bha*-deletion of *a.* The *y* of *gārgy* + *īya* will be deleted by 6.4.151 *āpatyasya ca taddhite . . .* to produce *gārg*(*y*→ϕ) + *īya* = *gārgīya.* A nominative plural form, i.e., *gārgīyaḥ,* can be derived from *gargīya* + (*J*) *as* via *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* (6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*) and *rutva-visarga* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*; 8.3.15 *kharavasnayor . . .*). Thus, *gārgīya* + *as* = *grgīy*(*a*+*a*→*ā*) *s* = *grgīya*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*)) = *gārgīyāḥ.* Example (246) *vātsīyāḥ*

follows the same pattern.

Similar derivational pattern is also followed by (247) *ātreyīyāḥ* where *atri* + *Ṅas* + *ḍhaK* (4.1.121 *itaś cāniñaḥ*) produces *ātreya* through *bha*-deletion of *i* and *ey* replacement of *ḍh*. Note that *ātreya* is derived with no deletion of *ḍhaK*. A derivate with deletion in plural (2.4.65 *atribhṛgukutsa* . . .) will be *atrayaḥ*, parallel to the singular and dual nominative *ātreyaḥ* and *ātreyau* where deletion has taken effect. A string, such as *atri* + *ām* + *ḍhaK*, will produce *ātryeya* where our present rule will not allow the deletion of *ḍhaK* because a vowel-initial affix is anticipated. Thus, *ātreya* + (*ch*→*īy*) *a* = *ātrey*(*a*→φ) + *īy*) *a*) = *ātreyīya* + *Jas* = *ātreyīyāḥ*.

One can similarly begin to derive *khārapāyaṇīyāḥ*, from *kharap* + *ām* + *phaK*, where *phaK* will be introduced by 4.1.99 *naḍādibhyo phak*. Rule 2.4.63 *yaskādibhyo gotre* will require the deletion of *phaK*, but will be blocked by the negation of our present rule in anticipation of (*ch*→*īy*) *a*.

4.1.90 *yūni luk*

The derivation of (248) *phāṇṭāhṛtiḥ* begins with *phāṇṭāhṛta* + *Ṅas* + *apatya* + *sU*, where *phāṇṭāhṛta* + *Ṅas* receives affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) and produces *phāṇṭāhṛti* through initial *vṛddhi* and *bha*-deletion. Why initial-*vṛddhi* when the base already has a *vṛddhi* vowel initially? Well, when it rains it rains all over—on wet and dry places both. Rules apply the same way (*parjanyaval lakṣaṇāni bhavanti*). Yet another base, i.e., *phāṇṭāhṛta*, is produced with the denotation of *yuvāpatya* by introducing affix *aṆ* (4.1.150 *phāṇṭāhṛtimimatābhyāṃ ṇaphiñau*) after *phāṇṭāhṛti* + *Ṅas* where the derivate denotes *yuvāpatya* 'young descendant'. But this *aṆ* may also be deleted in anticipation of the vowel-initial affix *aṆ* of 4.2.112 *iñaś ca*. The base will again be *phāṇṭāhṛti*. This *phāṇṭāhṛti* with *aṆ* will produce *phāṇṭāhṛta* through *bha*-deletion.

Derivates such as (249) *bhāgavittāḥ* and (250) *kāpiñjalādāḥ* follow similar patterns. Their derivation starts with the introduction of affix *iÑ*. Thus, *bhāgavitta* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* and *kapiñjalāda* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* will produce *bhāgavitti* and *kāpiñjalādi* with the denotatum of a *gotra* descendant. One will get *bhāgavittika* and *kāpiñjalādya* with the introduction of affixes *ṭhaK* (4.1.148 *vṛddhāṭ ṭhak* . . .) and *Ṇya* (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo ṇyaḥ*), respectively, where the derivates will denote *yuvāpatya*. Rule 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ* will replace *ṭha* with *ika*. Anticipating the introduction of *aṆ* by 4.2.112 *iñaś ca* will cause deletion of *ṭhaK* and *ya*. This will change the two bases back to *bhāgavitti* and *kāpiñjalādi*. The new derivates of *aṆ* will be: *bhāgavitta* and *kāpiñjalāda*. Derivation of (251) *taikāyanīyāḥ* will begin with the introduction of *phiÑ* after *tika* + *Ṅas*, whereby we will get *taikāyani*. One will now derive *taikāyanīya* with the introduction of affix *cha* (4.1.149 *pheś cha ca*), denoting *taikāyaner yuvāpatyam* 'young descendant (*yuvāpatya*) of Tailāyani'. If one further anticipates *cha*, a vowel-initial affix, to denote, for example, *taikāyanīyasya chātrāḥ* 'students of Taikāyanīya', the earlier *cha* will be deleted. The base will now become *taikāyani*. The second *cha* will now produce *taikāyanīya* which, with *Jas*, will yield

taikāyanīyāḥ.

4.1.91 *phakphiñor anyatarasyām*

The derivation of (252) *yāskāyanīyāḥ* begins with *yaska* + *Ṅas* + *apatya* + *sU*. Affix *aṆ* is here introduced by 4.1.112 *śivādibhyo'ṇ*. We will thus get *yāska* through *bha*-deletion and initial *vṛddhi*. Affix *phiÑ* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*) will then be introduced after *yāska* + *Ṅas* to produce *yāsk*(*a*→φ) + (*ph*→*āyan*) *i*= *yāskāyani* through *bha*-deletion and *āyan* as a replacement for *ph*. But if this process is intervened in anticipation of the vowel-initial affix (*ch*→*īy*) *a*, rule 4.1.91 *phakphiño' nyatarasyām* will delete *phiÑ*. Our string *yāska* + *Ṅas* + (*ch*→*īy*) *a* will produce *yāskīya* similar to one in (245) *gārgīyāḥ*. We will get *yāskāyanīyāḥ* optionally with (253) *yāskīyāḥ* if the optional deletion of *phiÑ* is not accepted. Note that affix *phiÑ* denotes *yuvāpatya* 'young descendant'. A young descendant of *gārgya* will similarly be derived as *gārgīya*, where affix *phaK* (4.1.101 *yañiyoś ca*) will be deleted in anticipation of (*ch*→*īy*) *a* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*). A non-deletion of (*ph*→*āyan*) *aK* will produce (254) *gārgyāyaṇa* where *n* will be replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). An anticipated *cha* will then produce *gārgyāyaṇīya* of (255) *gārgyāyaṇīyāḥ*. Similar pattern is also followed by (256) *vātsyāyanīyāḥ*.

4.1.98 *gotre kuñjādibhyaś cophañ*

Kāśikā lists (257) *kauñjāyanyaḥ*, (258) *kauñjāyanyau*, (259) *kauñjāyanāḥ*, the nominative singular, dual and plural forms, respectively, of *kauñjāyanya* as examples. It is not difficult to derive *kauñjāyana* from *kuñja* + (*C*→φ) *pha*(*Ñ*→φ) = *k*(*u*→*au*) *ñj*(*a*→φ) + *pha* = *kauñj* + (*ph*→*āyan*) *a* = *kauñjāyana* through *bha*-deletion, initial *vṛddhi* and *āyan* replacement for *ph*. Rule 5.3.113 *vrātacphañor astriyām* then introduces affix *Ñya* with the significaiton of the base (*svārtha*). Application of *bha*-deletion on *kauñjāyan*(*a*→φ) + *ya* will produce *kauñjāyanya*. Deriving *kauñjāyanyaḥ* and *kauñjāyanyau* from *kauñjāyanya* + *sU* and *kauñjāyanya* + *au* offers nothing new. Deriving *kauñjāyanāḥ* form *kauñjāyanya* + *Jas* will require deletion of *Ñya* by 2.4.62 *tadrājasya bahuṣu* . . . at the strength of the term *tadrāja* (5.3.199 *ñyādayas tadrājāḥ*). We thus get: *kauñjāyan*(*ya*→φ) + (*J*→φ) *as* = *kauñjāyanyāḥ*, similar to (445) *pañcālāḥ* (appendix of vol. II).

4.3.1 *yuṣmadasmador*. . ./ 4.3.2 *tasminn aṇi ca yuṣmākāsmākau*

(260) *yauṣmākīṇaḥ* / (261) *yuṣmadīyaḥ* / (262) *yauṣmākaḥ*

(263) *āsmākīnaḥ* / (264) *asmadīyaḥ* / (265) *āsmākaḥ*

Note that each set illustrates derivates of *khaÑ*, *cha* and *aṆ*, respectively. Affixes *kha* and *cha* yield *īna* and *īya*, through *īn* and *īy* replacements for *kh* and *ch*, respectively (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ* . . .). Rule 4.3.2 *tasminn aṇi ca yuṣmākāsmākau* requires *yuṣmad* and *asmad* to be replaced with *yuṣmāka* and *asmāka*, respectively, before affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ*. Derivates of *cha* are not allowed this replacement. Affix *aṆ* is introduced under the provision of *anyatarasyām*. The *ṇ* as a replacement for *n* can be gotten by applying 8.4.1 *raṣābhyān no ṇaḥ samānapade*.

4.3.3 *tavakamamakāv ekavacane*

(266) *tāvakīnāḥ* / (267) *māmakīnāḥ*
(268) *tāvakāḥ* / (269) *māmakāḥ*

These derivates illustrate *tavaka* and *mamaka* as replacements for *yuṣmad* and *asmad* before affixes *khaÑ* and *aṆ*. All examples involve initial *vṛddhi*. Replacement in *īn* for *kh* is applicable to derivates of *khaÑ*. Thus, (*yuṣmad*→ *tavaka*) + *kha* = *t*(*a*→*ā*) *vaka* + (*kh*→*īn*) *a* = *tāvakīna* + (*J*) *as*→*tāvakīnāḥ*, etc.

5.3.30 *añcer luk*

(270) *prāg*

Note that the derivation of *prāg* begins with *pra* + *añcU*, where affix *KvIN* is introduced by 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk*... after verbal root *añc* (3.1.91 *dhātoḥ*), used with the preverb *pra*. The *ñ* of *añc* then goes through deletion by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal*.... Our string, *pra*+*ac* + (*KvIN*→*v*) = *pra*+*ac* + *v*, goes through deletion of *v* by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* (cf. 1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*). Affix *ṄīP* is then introduced after *pra*+*ac* with reference to a *vārttika* ad 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca* (cf. *añcateś copasaṃkhyānam*). Given *pra*+*ac* + (*Ṅ*→ϕ) *ī* (*P*→ϕ) = *pra*+*ac* + *ī*, rule 6.4.138 *acaḥ* will apply to delete the *a* of *ac* with reference to the assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*). The *a* of *pra*+(*a*→ϕ) *c* + *ī* = *pra*+*c* + *ī* will now be replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.136 *cau*, yielding *pr*(*a*→*ā*) *c* + *ī* = *prācī*.

One can now introduce affix *Ṅī* after *prācī* to further introduce *astātI*. It is this *astātI* which goes through deletion of rule 5.3.30 *añcer luk*. But this deletion has its consequences. It is because of this deletion that *ṄīP* also gets deleted by 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki*. This removal of *ṄīP* also causes removal of what it conditioned. That is, the deletion of *a* of *ac*, and the long replacement for short *a* of *pra* as well. This gives us *pra*+*ac* = *prāc*, through *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*).

We can now introduce *sU* after *prāc* which will be subsequently deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*. For, *prāc* is an *avyaya* in view of 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ*. Note, however, that *prāc* will still be a *pada*. This will enable rule 8.2.62 *kvin pratyayasya kuḥ* to apply *kutva*. We will thus get *prā*(*c*→*k*) = *prāk*. This resultant *k* can then be replaced by *g* through *jaśtva* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo'nte*).

5.4.68 *samāsāntāḥ*

(271) *dvipurī* / (272) *tripurī*
(273) *kośaniṣadinī*
(274) *vidhuraḥ* / (275) *pradhuraḥ*
(276) *uccairdhuraḥ*

Note that (271) *dvipurī* has *dvipur* as its base. It is a *dvandva* compound of the *samāhāra* type formed, under the provisions of 2.1.51 *taddhitārthot-*

tarapada..., parallel to *dvi* + *au pur* + *au*. The compound base *dvipur* receives the *samāsānta* affix *a* of 5.4.74 *ṛkpūr*.... Our string *dvipur+a* will still be treated as *dvigu* because *a* will become part of it. This enables it to receive the faminine affix *ṄīP* (4.2.21 *dvigoḥ*). The *a* of *dvipura*, as usual, will go through deletion. This will give us *dvipurī* + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *dvipurī* + *s*. The *s* itself will be deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*... to produce *dvipurī*. Example (272) *tripurī* follows similar derivational paths.

The next (273) *kośaniṣadinī* also contains a *dvandva*, i.e., *kośaniṣad*, derived from *kośa* + *sU niṣat* + *sU*, with the signification of *ca*. The *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* will then be introduced to yield *kośaniṣada*. Rule 5.2.128 *dvandvopatāp*... will then introduce affix *inI*. We will then derive *kośaniṣada* + *in* = *kośaniṣad*(*a*→ϕ) + *in* = *kośaniṣadin*. Rule 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṇīp* will then introduce *ṄīP* to produce *kośaniṣadinī*. It can be transformed into a *pada* by introducing, and subsequently deleting, *sU*.

Examples (274) *vidhuraḥ* and (275) *pradhuraḥ* contain *bahuvrīhi* compounds *vidhura* and *pradhura*, parallel to *vi* + *sU dhur* + *sU* and *pra* + *sU dhur* + *sU*, respectively. The compound bases *vidhura* and *pradhura* receive the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūr*...).

Rule 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā*... requires the prior constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound to retain its original accent. Thus, *iv*, since it is a *nipāta*, is marked *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra*: 79). The remaining compound is marked *anudātta* in view of 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam*.... We then get *ekaśruti* 'monotone' in view of 8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*. This gives us: *vidhúraḥ*. This same also applies to *pradhúraḥ*. The *samāsānta* affix is also consequential for accent, especially since it is treated as part of the compound. If not, the affix could have been marked *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The affixal accent would have been accepted for *vidhuraḥ* on account of its being *satiśiṣṭa* 'taught subsequently'. Deriving (276) *uccairdhuraḥ* involves introducing the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ*...). The result is still a *bahuvrīhi*, and hence, the original accent of the initial constituent is retained. The compound is marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

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The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume V

English Translation of Adhyāya Six with Sanskrit Text, Transliteration, Word-Boundary, Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes, Derivational History of Examples, and Indices

Rama Nath Sharma

This volume of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* contains English translation of *adhyāya* six. It includes Sanskrit text of individual *sūtras* with their transliteration, word-boundaries, indication of inflectional endings and formation of compounds. Each *sūtra* is also furnished with *anuvṛtti, vṛtti,* examples, detailed explanatory notes and complete derivational history of examples cited by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.

Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of individual *sūtras*, especially in view of their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement. An attempt has been made to sort out and explain pertinent issues, as raised and discussed by major commentaries. The appendix contains major derivations, in addition to nearly five hundred derivations discussed in the text under individual *sūtras*.

This volume is the fifth of a planned six-volume study. The sixth, and the last volume, of this series will cover the *sūtras* of *adhyāyas* seven and eight.

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Rama Nath Sharma is Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA. He received his Ph.D. (1971) in General Linguistics from the University of Rochester where he also taught Linguistics for five years. His research interest includes grammatical theory in general, and Pāṇini and the Indian grammatical tradition, in particular.

THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

VOL. V

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *ADHYĀYA* SIX WITH SANSKRIT TEXT, TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY, ANUVṚTTI, VṚTTI, EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES, AND INDICES

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त्रिपाठिवर्याय मुदान्विताय
रामप्रसादाय सुसज्जनाय।
समर्प्य ग्रन्थं गुरवेऽहिताय
मोदं समाप्नोति ममाद्य चेतः॥

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Preface

This present is the fifth of a planned six-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyayī* of Pāṇini. It also constitutes the fourth of the five translated volumes of the *sūtrapāṭha* of Pāṇini, with Sanskrit text, transliteration, word-boundary, *anuvṛtti*, *vṛtti*, English translation, examples, explanatory notes, derivations and appendices. This volume contains the English translation of *adhyāya* six of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The sixth and final volume of this series will soon be published with the English translation of *adhyāyas* seven and eight.

I have, as usual, relied very heavily on commentarial sources for sorting out issues relative to rule-formulation, interpretation, application and order. Three *prakriyā* texts, the *Rūpāvatāraḥ* of Dharmakīrti, the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita have served as primary sources for derivational details. I have benefited most from the *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the *Vyākaraṇa-candrodaya* of Charudeva Shastri, the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, with the commentaries Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi and Padamañjarī of Haradatta (with Hindi translation of Jayashankar Lal Tripathi), the *Aṣṭādhyāyī-bhāṣya* of Prajñā Devī, the Hindi translation of the *Laghukaumudī* of Varadaraja made by Bhimsen Shastri and the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the Tattvabodhinī of Jñānendra Saraswatī and the Bālamanoramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita. I have mostly followed the *Kaśikāvṛtti* with the Nyāsa and Padamañjarī for explanatory notes. Nyāsa, Padamañjarī and *Siddhāntakaumudī* have proved extremely valuable in clarifying issues relative to rule interaction and conflict resolution. Here again, under individual rules, I have taken detours to accomodate remarks of cultural importance.

I have presented some general derivational processes at the beginning of the appendix so that repetition can be minimized. I have still offered major derivational details to illustrate issues, mostly in the text but also in the appendix. Frequent references to derivational details of earlier volumes have proved very helpful. I have, at places, found accentual rule-interaction somewhat puzzling. My reader must remain on guard in deciding issues pertaining to accentuation.

I fully realize the extremely complex nature of the form and content of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. I am also aware of my own limitations due to which I may have made many mistakes. I realize that there are many typographical errors in the earlier volumes. I have tried not to repeat them in this volume. As I get closer to the completion of my last volume I feel much confident in presenting the complexity of issues based on explanatory details of commentaries. It also reinforces my belief that *Kāśikā*, with the Nyāsa and Padamañjarī, is the best source for fully understanding intricacies of the

Aṣṭādhyāyī. I have already started preparing a more detailed version of volume one and do intend to edit volumes two and three. I shall greatly appreciate my reader's comments in this regard.

I must express my deep sense of indebtedness to authors of works I have regularly consulted. My brother Narendra and Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi, both of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University at Varanasi, have always been generous to me in giving of their time. I dedicate this volume in memory of Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi who recently passed away. I had the honor of studying the entire *Kāśikāvṛtti* with its commentaries Nyāsa and Padamañjarī with him. I have, as usual, greatly benefited from the writings of Professor George Cardona.

The University of Hawaii, especially through its Research Council and Research Relations, has been very generous in supporting my research endeavors with grants. The American Institute of Indian Studies still remains the major funding agency to support this entire project. I must express my special thanks to Chris Bopp without whose programming skills I could never find my way out of the software jungle. These volumes owe a great deal to him. These volumes owe the most to my wife Kamala who has always protected me from many of my duties as a householder. I could not do this project without her support. Finally, I must thank Mr. Devendra Jain, Director of Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, my publishers, in dealing with this often not-so-very organized Pandit.

RAMA NATH SHARMA

Honolulu, Hawaii (USA)
16 March 2001

Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
Ait	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
bv	*bahuvrīhi*
cat tat	*caturthī-tatpuruṣa*
DP	*Dhātupāṭha*
dat	dative
du	dual
dv	*dvandva*
dvi tat	*dvitīyā-tatpuruṣa*
itar dv	*itaretara-dvandva*
fem	feminine
GP	*Gaṇapāṭha*
gen	genitive
inst	instrumental
int	internal
KS	*Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*
Kāś	*Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana Jayāditya with Padamañjarī (PM) of Haradatta and the Nyāsa of Jinendrabuddhi
loc	locative
LS	*Laghuśabdenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
Mbh	*Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali with the Pradīpa of Kaiyaṭa and the Udyota of Nāgeśa
masc	masculine
nañ tat	*nañ-tatpuruṣa*
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
PM	*Padamañjarī* of Haradatta as *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana Jayāditya
PŚ	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
Pai	*Paippalāda Saṃhitā*
pbh	*paribhāṣā*
pañc	*pañcamī*
pl	plural
RV	*Ṛgveda*
SK	*Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the Bālamanoramā of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the Tattvabodhinī of Jñānendra Sarasvatī
SP	*Sūtrapāṭha*
sam	*samāhāra*

sg	singular
Śs	*Śivasūtra*
Śat	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
ṣaṣ	*ṣaṣṭhī*
Tai	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*
tat	*tatpuruṣa*
tr/tṛt	*tṛtīyā*
VP	*Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari with the commentary Ambākartrī of Paṇḍita Raghunātha Śarmā
vt	*vārttika*
Vāj	*Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*
voc	vocative

Adhyāya Six

Pāda One

6.1.1 एकाचो द्वे प्रथमस्य

ekāco dve prathamasya
/*ekācaḥ* 6/1 = *ekaḥ ac yasya (bv.), tasya;*
dve 1/2 *prathamasya* 6/1/
ekācaḥ prathamasya iti dve vaktavyaḥ
That which is formed with the first vowel of an item is iterated to become two.

EXAMPLES:

jajāgāra '. . . remained awake'
papāca '. . . cooked'
iyāya '. . . returned'
āra '. . . departed'

1. This is an *adhikāra*. Consequently, one must read it in all subsequent rules prior to 6.1.13 *ṣyaṅ samprasāraṇam*. . . . The true status of this rule must be determined since it also orders an operation (*vidhi*). Is this an *adhikāra*, merely to be carried to, and intended for, other rules (*parārtha*)? Is this an operational rule, especially since it specifies both an operand (*kāryin*; *prathamasya ekācaḥ*) as well as an operation (*kārya*; *dve*)? For, in this sense, it can be treated as intended for itself (*svārtha*). Since this rule must be carried to facilitate iteration in subsequent rules, it can also be accepted as intended for other rules (*parārtha*). An exclusive *svārtha* 'intended for itself' interpretation will create problems. For, in that case, this rule alone will be control iteration of all formal units. This, in turn, will make rules such as 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*. . . vacuous (*vyartha*). A restrictive (*niyama*) interpretation of 6.1.8, i.e., *liṭi dhātor eva* . . . 'iteration of a *dhātu* only when *LIṬ* follows', can save it from being vacuous. But a restrictive interpretation cannot be favored over a non-restrictive operational interpretation because of the *paribhāṣā* (84): *vidhiniyamasambhave vidhir eva jyāyān* 'operational interpretation alone is to be preferred where restrictive and operational interpretations both become possible'. For reasons of connection with subsequent rules (*uttarottara-sambandha*), this rule is to be accepted as an *adhikāra*, different in nature from general operational rules.

2. Note that *ekācaḥ* of this rule, when read with 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*. . ., is interpreted as a qualifier to *dhātoḥ*. A question is raised whether *ekācaḥ* should be treated as a coreferential (*samānādhikaraṇa*), or else as a non-coreferential

(*vyadhikaraṇa*), qualifier to *dhātoḥ*. If it is accepted as a coreferential qualifier, iteration will then be permitted only in connection with monosyllabic roots such as *paṭh* and *pac*, etc. For, *dhātoḥ*, when qualified with *ekācaḥ*, will yield the interpretation: 'of a root which consists of a single vowel'. Iteration, with this interpretation, will be blocked in connection with *jāgṛ* 'to wake up' and *daridrā* 'to be poor', etc., which consist of more than a single vowel. It is to remove such difficulties that the genitive in *dhātoḥ* is interpreted as denoting the part (*avayava*) of a whole (*avayavin*). That is, *ekācaḥ* will be interpreted as a unit constituted by a single vowel which, in turn, forms part of a root. Of course, *ekācaḥ* will be further modified by *prathamasya*. This will yield the interpretation as follows: 'a unit constituted by the first vowel which is also a part of the root'. This will clear the way for iteration in *jāgṛ*, etc. To conclude, genitive of *dhātoḥ* is interpreted as denoting a part-whole relationship (*avayavāvayavabhāva*). Additionally, *ekācaḥ* is not accepted as a coreferential qualifier.

The compound in *ekācaḥ* cannot be interpreted as a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* with the analyzed form: *ekaś cāsau ac ca* 'that (a root) which is also constituted by a single vowel'. For, it will then allow iteration only in the context of roots such as *iK* 'to remember', and *iṄ* 'to study', etc. Iteration in contexts where the root is not constituted by anything but a single vowel will be blocked. That is, *pac*, etc., cannot avail iteration to yield *papāca*, etc. It is to remove this difficulty that *ekāc* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound with the analyzed form: *eka ac yasmin* 'that in which there is only one vowel'. Application of rules such as 7.4.70 *halādi śeṣaḥ* and 7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ* also attest to this. For, retention of a unit constituted by the first vowel, and deletion of the others, is possible only when a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation is accepted. A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will block application of 7..4.70 *halādi śeṣaḥ*.

The *bahuvrīhi* of *ekāc* is further interpreted as a *tadguṇa-saṃvijñāna*. Consider the following sentences:

(*i*) *citravāsasaṁ ānaya*
'bring one who wears colorful clothes'

(*ii*) *citragum ānaya*
'bring one who owns brindled cows'

The first is a type of *tadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* where its constituent *citra* of *citravāsas* is paraphrased with the verb. That is, when the person is brought, colorful (clothes) are also brought. The second sentence is a type of *atadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi* where *citra* of *citra*(*gu*) is not construed with the verb. That is, when the person is brought the cows are not brought along. The word *ekāc*, when interpreted as an *atadguṇa-saṃvijñāna-bahuvrīhi*, will not permit *aC* to be paraphrased with the verb. It will then refer to something not qualified with a single vowel. This interpretation, however, is not desired. A *tadguṇasaṃvijñāna* interpretation is favored because it will

permit *aC* of *ekāC* to be paraphrased with the verb. *Kāśikā*, therefore, states that *sāckasyaiva dvirvacanaṃ bhavati* 'iteration applies only to that which consists of an *aC*'. The part-whole relationship of the genitive in *dhātoḥ* further strengthens this interpretation (*Kāś.*: *abhyantaraś ca samudāye' vayavo bhavatīti sāckasyaiva dvirvacanaṃ bhavati*).

3. A question is raised as to why the focus of iteration with the qualification of *ekāc*, for example in *pac*, cannot be accepted as *pa*, or *ac*, as opposed to *pac*. If there were more vowels then, in view of the qualification of *prathamasya*, determining a formal unit constituted by the first among vowels will be a lot easier. A root such as *pac*, for reasons of containing a single vowel, poses a problem in determining the object of iteration. In the absence of any clear solution the entire unit *pac* undergoes iteration. Iteration of *pa*, *a*, or *ac*, will yield undesired results. Besides, *pa*, *a*, or *ac*, as separate units constituted by a single vowel will not produce the cognition of the whole, i.e., verbal root *pac*. For, cognition will take place one at a time. That is, *pac* will be cognized as *ekāc* on one occasion, and *a*, and *pa*, on the other. Even if cognition is accomplished simultaneously (*yugapat*), it will not be possible to accomplish iteration simultaneously. It is in view of this that *Kāśikā* states: *sakṛc chāstrapravṛtyā sāvayavaḥ samudāyo' nugṛhyate* 'a whole with its parts alone is (to be) accepted (as focus of iteration) since the rule which allows iteration applies only once'.

A question is raised as to why iteration of more than one unit constituted by the single vowel of a larger whole cannot be accomplished in turn (*paryāya*). That is, why can *pac*, *pa*, *ac* and *a* cannot go through iteration in turn, as may be desired in view of the usage. This application of iteration in turn is not free of trouble. Consider the derivation of *nenekti*, *neniktaḥ* and *nenijati*, the third singular, dual and plural present indicative active forms of *ṇij* 'to nourish', derived from: *ṇij* + *Śap* + *ti*, *ṇij* + *Śap* + *tas* and *ṇij* + *Śap* + *jhi*, respectively. The focus of iteration in case of *ṇij* should be correctly accepted as *ṇij*. If (*ṇ*→*n*) *i*, as against *ṇij*, is accepted as focus of iteration, deriving the first two forms will not pose any problem. We will thus get: (*ṇ*→*n*) *ij* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *nij* + *ŚaP* + *ti*(*P*→φ) = *nij* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + *ti*→(*ni* + *nij*) + φ + *ti* = *ninijti*→*n*(*i*→*e*) *n*(*i*→*e*) *jti*→*nene*(*j*→*k*) *ti* = *nenekti*. Similar rules can be applied in deriving *neniktaḥ*. But the derivation of *nenijati* will run into problems, especially in view of the assignment of the term *abhyasta* (6.5.1 *ubhe abhyastam*). Given *ninij* + *jhi*, rule 6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam* will assign the term *abhyasta* to *nini*. But this term is desired to be assigned to *ninij*. For, 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt* will be blocked from introducing *at* as a replacement for *jh* which, in turn, occurs after *nini*, an *abhyasta*. Everything will be in order if *ninij* is termed *abhyasta*. Thus, (*ṇ*→*n*) *ij* + (*LAṬ*→*jhi*))→*nij* + *jhi*→*nij* + (*ŚaP*) + *jhi*→*nij* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + *jhi*→*nij* + *nij* + *jhi*→*ni*(*j*→φ) + *nij* + *jhi* = *ninij* + (*jh*→*at*) *i* = *ninij* + *at* + *i* = *n*(*i*→*e*) *nij* + *at* + *i* = *nenijati*. Note that, in addition to deletion of *Śap* by *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*), and iteration (6.1.10 *ślau*; 6.1.1

ekāco dve prathamasya) with assignment of the terms *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) and *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*), we also apply 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* and 7.4.75 *nijāṃ trayāṇāṃ guṇaślau*. Thus, *nij* + *nij*→*ni*(*j*=ϕ) + *nij* = *ninij* and *ninij*→*n* (*i*→*e*) *nij* = *nenij*.

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.2 अजादेर्द्वितीयस्य

ajāder dvitīyasya
/ *ajādeḥ* 6/1 = *aj ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*;
dvitīyasya 6/1/
(*ekācaḥ dve* #1)
ac ādir yasya dhātoḥ tadavayavasya dvitīyasyaikāco dve bhavataḥ
That which is constituted by the second vowel of a root beginning with a vowel is iterated to become two.

EXAMPLES:

aṭiṭiṣati '. . . wishes to constantly wander about'
aśiśiṣati '. . . wishes to eat'
aririṣati 'wishes to go'

1. This rule offers iteration of a formal unit which may be constituted by the second vowel (*dvitīyasya*) of a verbal root beginning with a vowel (*ajādeḥ*). Our preceding rule offers iteration of a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of a verbal root. This rule is thus treated as an exception to the first, and hence, blocks its application. A question is raised against such blocking. That is, the question of blocking arises only when there is a possibility (*sambhava*) of application of both the rules (*ubhayaprasaṅga*). But how is it possible for these two rules to apply at the same time. These rules offer different objects of application. An argument in favor of application in turn (*paryāya*) cannot be made since *anabhyāsasya* of 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya* will negate it.

2. Consider *aṭiṭiṣati* '. . . wishes to constantly wander about', where verbal root *aṭiṭiṣa* derives from *aṭ* + *saN*, via augment *iṬ*, replacement of *s* of *saN* with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*) and iteration of *ṭiṣ* of *aṭ* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*s*→*ṣ*) *a*(*N*)) = *aṭiṣa*, to produce *aṭiṭiṣa* subsequent to the application 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. This same is also true of *aśiśiṣati* '. . . wishes to eat', where iteration of 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ* is similarly regulated by provisions of this rule.

Note that deriving *aririṣati* still may pose some problem. For example, *ariṣa* of verbal root *aririṣa*, yet another derivate of *saN*, derives from *ṛ* + *saN*, where *ṛ* is replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *a* followed immediately with *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). We then derive *ar* + *iṬ* + *sa* = *ariṣa*, where rule 7.2.74 *smipūṅrañjaśām sani* orders augment *iṬ* to yield *ariṣa*. Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci* will create a problem in connection with focus of iteration. That

is, it will not allow *ṛ* to be replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *ar*, and hence, *ṛ* alone will be included as part of the focus of iteration.

It is argued that rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* applies only when a vowel (*aC*) is to serve as a condition (*nimitta*) for iteration (*dvitva*). What forms the condition of iteration here is *saN*, and not the *ṛ*, or its replacement in *ar*. Rule 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ* orders this iteration with reference to a unit ending in *saN*. One may also argue here in favor of treating augment *iṬ* as part of condition of iteration. But this cannot be done because *saN*, and not the augment, is the condition for iteration. To this one can argue that, since *iṬ* is an augment (*āgama*), and hence, it is part of *saN*, *iT* can also be treated as a condition for iteration. For, What forms as part of *saN* can also be accepted as *saN*. But *i* will also be a part of *iṣ*, the operand (*kāryin*). A *kāryin*, while going through the application of a rule (*kārya*), cannot be treated as a condition for an operation ordered by that rule (*Kāś.*: *na ca kāryī nimittatvenāśrīyate;* also see *paribhāṣā* (11): *kāryam anubhavan hi kāryī na nimittatvenāśrīyate*). This is why the negation of *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*, as per 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*, does not apply on *śayitā*. For, *śīṄ* cannot be treated as *nimitta* for its own *guṇa*.

It is explained that a *nimitta* must follow, and as such, it should serve as a condition for an operation to take place on what precedes. Close to this context of iteration (*dvirvacana*), its *nimitta* must constitute a right condition (*PM*: *yatra parato dvirvacanam ucyate tad eva tasya nimittam iti bhāvaḥ*). Augment *iṬ* here does not follow. It is included within the operand (*kāryī*), instead.

3. Note that *Kāśikā* accepts *ajādeḥ* as a *bahuvrīhi* compound ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive'. It thus serves as a qualifier to *dhātoḥ* and yields the interpretation: *ajāder dhātor avayavasya dvitīyasyaikāco dve bhavataḥ* 'iteration in place of a unit formed by the second vowel of a root beginning with a vowel'. *Kāśikā* mentions that some also interpret *ajādeḥ* as a *karmadhāraya* compound (*ac cāsau ādiś ca*) used here with the *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This, as has also been discussed by the *Mahābhāṣya*, yields the interpretation: *ajāder uttarasya ekāco dve bhavataḥ* 'two in place of a unit constituted by a vowel occurring after an initial vowel'. The *pañcamī of ajādeḥ*, when interpreted in view of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*, will automatically make the second vocalic unit as focus of iteration. This will then render *dvitīyasya* useless. Or else, *dvitīyasya* can then be accepted as used for clarity (*Kāś.*: *teṣāṃ 'dvitīyasya' iti vispaṣṭārthaṃ draṣṭavyam*).

6.1.3 न न्द्राः संयोगादयः

na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ
/ *na* ϕ *ndrāḥ* 1/3 = *naś ca daś ca raś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *saṃyogādayaḥ* 1/3 = *saṃyogasya ādayaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) /
(*ekācaḥ dve* #1 *dvitīyasya* #2)

nakāra-dakāra-rephā dvitīyaikāco' vayavabhūtāḥ saṃyogādayo na dvir ucyante
The initial *n*, *d* and *r* of a consonant cluster which occurs as part of a syllable formed with the second vowel of a vowel-initial root is not iterated to become two.

EXAMPLES:

undidiṣati '. . . wishes to make (it) wet'
aḍḍiḍiṣati '. . . wishes to press charges'
arcicisati '. . . wishes to worship'

1. This rule does not permit iteration of a unit which is formed with the second vowel of a root, and also contains a conjunct beginning with *n*, *d*, or *r*. Thus, *undidiṣati* '. . . wishes to make (it) wet' is derived from (*undi* + *sa*) + *LAṬ*, where *n* occurs as part of the conjunct *nd*, occurring as initial of *ndi*, a unit formed with the second vowel *i* of verbal root *undi*. This rule, for purposes of iteration, will not permit *n* as part of a unit constituted by *i* of *undi*. Consequently, we will get: *undi* + *di* + *sa*, where *di* alone is accepted as constituting the focus of iteration. Note that *d* cannot be excluded from becoming a part of the unit which forms the focus of iteration. For, *d* does not occur after an *aC* and is also not the initial of a conjunct. Note also that this rule is not formulated for blocking iteration. It only blocks, for purposes of iteration, the initial *n*, *d*, or *r*, of a conjunct from becoming part of a unit constituted by the second vowel. The twin conditions of *saṃyogādi* 'initial of a conjunct' and *ajādi* 'that which begins with a vowel' are both important. Consequently, this negation will not be applicable in deriving *prāṇiṇiṣati*, where *n* of *pra* + *an* + *iṬ* + *saN*→*prāṇiṣa* does not occur at the beginning of a conjunct. Though it does occur after a vowel. What goes through iteration is *ṇiṣ*, a form constituted by the second vowel *i*, where *n* is also replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. Some also bring *ajādeḥ* from the previous rule and interpret it as a *karmadhāraya* (*ac cāsau ādiś ca*) compound ending in *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This blocks the *n* of *indri* from being included within the unit *dri*, formed by the second vowel *i*. For, in view of a *pañcamī* interpretation, *n* will be occurring immediately after *i*, here characterized as *ajādi*. The iteration of *d* which occurs after *n* cannot be blocked since it does not occur immediately after *i*. Incidentally, *indidrīyiṣati* '. . . wishes to wish for Indra' derives from *indidrīyiṣa* + *LAṬ*. Verbal root *indidrīyiṣa* itself derives from *indrīya* + *saN*, where *indrīya* is paraphrased as *indram icchati*, parallel to (*indra* + *am*) + *KyaC*. Deriving *indidrīyiṣa*, from *indrīya* + *saN*, involves introducing augment *iṬ*, deleting *a* of *indrīya* (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*) and iteration of *drī* of *indrīyiṣa*. The *n* of the root cannot be accepted as part of *ndrī*, a unit formed by *ī*, the second vowel of *indrīyiṣa*. For, *n* happens to occur immediately after *i*, a unit beginning with a vowel. Since *d* of *drī* is intervened by *n*, *drī* is treated as a unit fit for iteration. See the appendix for additional derivational details.

Note that a *karmadhāraya* interpretation of *ajādeḥ* is favored over a *bahuvrīhi* so that a desired form such as *indidrīyiṣati* can be derived. The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses these interpretations both. *Kāśikā* seems to be favoring the *bahuvrīhi* interpretation. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (*SK*: *ādibhūtād acaḥ parasya dve na staḥ*) prefers the *karmadhāraya* interpretation.

3. A series of *vārttikas* offer additional negations (*pratiṣedha*) relative to iteration:

(*i*) Iteration of a *b* occurring at the beginning of a conjunct must also be negated (*bakārasyāpy ayaṃ pratiṣedho vktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get *ubjijiṣati*. This negation applies only when the root is specified as *ubj*, with *b* in its *upadhā*. It does not apply when the root is specified as *udj*, with *d* in its *upadhā*. But then its *d* must be replaced with *b* to derive forms such as *ubjitā* and *ubjitum* (cf.: *bakārasya pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ. yadā bakāropadha ubjir upadiśyate tadāyaṃ pratiṣedhaḥ. dakāropadhopadeśe tu na vaktavyaḥ. batvaṃ tu tadā dakārasya vidhātavyam*).

(*ii*) Iteration of a *r* which is followed by *y* should not be stated (*yakāraparasya rephasya pratiṣedho na bhavatīti vaktavyam*). Thus, we get *arāryate* where iteration finds its scope in *arya*, derived from *ṛ* + *yaṄ* (cf. *atyartiśūrṇotīnām upasaṃkhyānam*) through *guṇa* (7.4.30 *yaṅi ca*). Note that *r* occurs at the beginning of a conjunct (*ry*) which, in turn, occurs after *a* (*ajādi*). A negation of iteration which obtains here is blocked at the strength of this *vārttika*. Incidentally, the source of this *vārttika* is doubtful.

(*iii*) Iteration of the third of *īrṣya* should also be stated (*īrṣyates tṛtīyasya dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). But a question remains: iteration of the third of what? Some say of the third consonant (*vyañjanasya*). This would then yield an example such as: *īrṣyiyiṣati*. But others state that iteration affects a unit formed with the third vowel (*tṛtīyasyaikācaḥ*). This would then yield *īrṣyiṣiṣati*, etc.

(*iv*) A *vārttika* recommends iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel when verbal roots listed in the *kaṇvādi* group are involved (*kaṇvādīnāṃ tṛtīyasyaikāco dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). This will give us *kaṇḍūyiyiṣati* and *asūyiyiṣati*.

(*v*) Yet another *vārttika* allows iteration of a unit formed with the third vowel of a denominative, only optionally (*vā nāmadhātūnāṃ tṛtīyasyaikāco dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). This will offer us: *aśvīyiṣati* and *aśiśvīyiṣati*.

(*vi*) Yet others claim that iteration applies as desired in connection with denominatives (*yatheṣṭam nāmadhātuṣv iti vaktavyam*). Thus observe: *puputrīyiṣati*, *putitrīyiṣati*, *putrīyiyiṣati*, *puputitrīyiyiṣati* (*doubtful) and *putrīyiṣiṣati*.

6.1.4 पूर्वोऽभ्यासः

pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ
/*pūrvaḥ* 1/1 *abhyāsaḥ* 1/1/
(*dve* #1)
asmin prakaraṇe ye dve vihite tayor yaḥ pūrvo' vayavaḥ so' bhyāsasaṃjño bhavati
The first of the two elements gotten via iteration is termed *abhyāsa*.

EXAMPLES:

papāca 'he cooked'
pipakṣati '. . . wishes to cook'?
pāpacyate '. . . cooks over and over again'?
juhoti '. . . offers ritual sacrifice'
apīpacat '. . . had something cooked'

1. The word *abhyāsa* is commonly used in the sense of *āvṛtti* 'repetition'. As such, the first of the two units in iteration cannot be assigned the term *abhyāsa*. For, in this section of iteration, the term *abhyāsa* can apply only to the subsequent second (*parasya*). It is to make this term also applicable to the first of the two units in iteration that the word *pūrva* is specified (*Nyāsa*: *abhyāsaśabdo'yam āvṛttivacano loke prasiddha eva. sa cāvṛttiḥ prathamasya nāstīty abhyāsapradeśeṣu parasyagrahaṇe prāpte pūrvasya grahaṇaṃ yathā syād ity evam arthaṃ tasyābhyāsasaṃjñā vidhīyate*). This word is here used in the sense of *avayava* 'part of a whole' as we find in expressions such as *pūrvaṃ kāyasya paśoḥ* 'the front part of the body of an animal'. But we always refer to parts with reference to a whole which contains them. Since no specification of this whole is made in this rule we must carry the *anuvṛtti* of *dve*. But a whole with reference to which *pūrva* can specify a part must be given in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) with the denotatum of *avayavin* 'whole'. That is, as a *ṣaṣṭhi* marking the relationship understood by the genitive in *vṛkṣasya*, as in *vṛkṣasya śākhā* 'branch of a tree'. The nominative of *dve* cannot mark such a relationship.

Commentators state that the nominative of *dve* will be transformed into genitive for availing this desired meaning (*Nyāsa*: *arthād vibhaktivipariṇāmo bhavati*). That is, the genitive of *dvayoḥ* will enable us to interpret the rule as: *dvayor yaḥ pūrvas tasyābhyāsasaṃjñā vidhīyate* 'the term *abhyāsa* is applied to that which is first of the two'. If this is how we apply the term *abhyāsa* to the first of the two then this term can also apply in the domain of 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*. Commentators state that this can be blocked in view of close contextual proximity (*pratyāsatti*). That is, this term will be applicable only to that first which forms part of the two units brought about by applying an operational rule from this section dealing with iteration (*Kāś.*: *tatra pratyāsatter asminprakaraṇe ye dve vihite tayor yaḥ pūrvo' vayavaḥ so' bhyāsasaṃjño bhavati*). Inci-

dentally, the maxim (*nyāya*) of *vyāpti* 'pervasion' will focus on instances of iteration. The maxim of *pratyāsatti* will limit the scope of operation on hand.

Is it necessary to state that *pūrva* denotes *avayava* here? Yes, because *pūrva* can also denote *vyavasthā* 'definite arrangement or position (east)'.

2. The scope and function of assigning the term *abhyāsa* can best be illustrated by provisions of rules such as 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*, 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*, 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni*. . ., 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*, 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*, etc. Thus, 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* allows an *abhyāsa* to retain only that unit which is formed with its initial consonant. Consequently, in *pac* of *pac* + *pac*, where the first *pac* is termed an *abhyāsa*, only *pa* is retained. Rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* orders that a velar stop and its corresponding nasal, as well as the *h* of an *abhyāsa*, be replaced with its palatal counterpart. Rule 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ* orders a long vowel as a replacement for the short of an *abhyāsa*, other than one marked with *K* as an *it*. Rule 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni*. . ., under special circumstances, extends operations similar to a *saN* affix to the *abhyāsa* of an item termed *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis*. . .; 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*). Our next rule orders a long vowel replacement for the *laghu* 'light' vowel of an *abhyāsa* in situations similar to that of the preceding rule. A replacement denoted by the abbreviatory term *caR*, and *jaŚ* as well, is ordered by 8.4.54 *abyāse car ca* for sounds denoted by *jhaL*, and contained within an *abhyāsa*.

6.1.5 उभे अभ्यस्तम्

ubhe abhyastam
/*ubhe* 1/2 *abhyastam* 1/1/
(*dve* #1)
ye dve vihite te ubhe api samudite abhyastasaṃjñe bhavataḥ
The two thus obtained via iteration are together termed *abhyasta*.

EXAMPLES:

dadati 'third plural active *LAṬ* of *dā* (to give)'
dadat 'nominative singular of *dā* ending in *ŚatṚ*'
dadhatu 'third plural active *LOṬ* of *dhā* (to place, hold)'

1. Jinendrabuddhi states that *ubhe* is specified so that the nominatum (*saṃjñin*) of the term *abhyasta* could be clearly specified (*Nyāsa ad Kāś.*: *iha ubhegrahaṇaṃ saṃjñinirdeśārthaṃ kriyate*). Haradatta strongly objects to this interpretation. He states that bringing *dve*, via *anuvṛtti*, itself specifies the nominatum (*PM*: . . . *na tu saṃjñānirdeśārtham. dve ity asyānuvṛtyaiva saṃjñinirdeśasya siddhatvād ity arthaḥ*). But a question still remains. Why make a specification by *ubhe* when its purpose can be served by carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *dve*? A specification by *ubhe* becomes necessary since, in its absence, the term *abhyasta* will be assigned to the two constituents of iteration individually. Although a term applying to the two constituents singly, may still be

treated as applying to them also as a group, such a practice is not desired. That is, this term assignment can not be likened to a situation where the action of bringing two people individually in response to *dvāv ānīyetām* 'let the two be brought' may also be interpreted as bringing them both at once. The word *ubhe* is used in this rule so that *abhyasta* could not be assigned to constituents of iteration individually. This term is assigned, instead, to the two constituents both at once. This is what a specification by *ubhe* accomplishes (*Nyāsa: yad ubhegrahaṇaṃ na kriyeta tadā pratyekam abhyastasaṃjñā pravartate. pratyekam api hi tayoḥ pravartamānāsau pravṛttaiva bhavati tathā hi dvāv ānīyetām ity ukte pratyekam apy ānayanena tāv ānītau bhavataḥ. tasmāt samudāye saṃjñāyāḥ pravṛttir yathā syād ekaikasya mā bhūd ity evam artham ubhe grahaṇam*).

6.1.6 जक्षित्यादयः षट्

jakṣa ityādayaḥ ṣaṭ
/*jakṣa* (1/1 deleted) *ityādayaḥ* = *ity ādiḥ yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ṣaṭ* 1/1/ (*abhyastam* #5)
jakṣa ity ayaṃ dhātur ity ādayaś ca ṣaṭ dhātavo' bhyastasaṃjñā bhavanti. seyaṃ saptānāṃ dhātūnām abhyastasaṃjñā vidhīyate
Verbal root *jakṣA* 'to eat, laugh', and an additional six roots enumerated thereafter, are also termed *abhyasta*.

EXAMPLES:

jakṣati 'they eat'
jāgrati 'they are awake'
daridrati 'they are poor'
cakāsati 'they glow'
śāsati 'they instruct'
(These examples are all third personal plural derivates of present indicative active)

1. The expression *jakṣityādayaḥ* '*jakṣA* and roots enumerated thereafter' refers to seven verbs, namely *jakṣA* 'to eat, laugh', *jāgṛ* 'loss of sleep, to remain awake', *daridrā* 'state of things going bad, be poor,' *cakāsṚ* 'to glow', *śāsṚ* 'to instruct', *dīdhīṄ* 'to glow' and *vevīṄ* 'to move'. Assigning the term *abhyasta* serves diverse purposes. For example, an item termed *abhyasta* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.189 *abhyastānām ādiḥ*). It also ends up losing its *ā* when followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* (6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*). It can also prove instrumental in blocking augment *nUM* (7.1.78 *nābhyastāc chatuḥ*). More directly, it is to enable the assignment of the term *abhyasta* that these roots are explicitly cited. This rule thus facilitates the application of rule 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt*. Refer to derivational details under examples of relevant rules.

Our preceding rule assigns the term *abhyasta* to both elements of an iterated string. This rule assigns the term to specific roots which have not gone through iteration. Refer to the appendix for additional derivational details.

6.1.7 तुजादीनां दीर्घोऽभ्यासस्य

tujādīnām dīrgho' bhyāsasya
/ *tujādīnām* 6/3 = *tuja ādir yeṣām* (*bv*);
dīrghaḥ 1/1 *abhyāsasya* 6/1/
tujādīnām abhyāsasya dīrghaḥ sādhur bhavati
A long (*dīrgha*) comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of *tujA* and other roots of its kind.

EXAMPLES:

tūtújānaḥ 'quick, eager'
'nominative singular of *tuj* + (*LIṬ*→*KānaC*) = *tūtujāna*)'
māmahā̱naḥ
'nominative singular of *maha* + (*LIṬ*→*KānaC*) = *māmahāna*'
a̱na̱ḍvān dā́dhāra
dā́dhāra 'third singular of *dhṛ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)'
sva̱dhām mī́māya̱
'third singular of *mi* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*NaL*) = *mīmāya*'
. . . *tū́tāva* 'third singular of *tu* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)'
tutoja . . . 'a form of classical usage'

1. The word *ādi* is here used in the sense of *prakāra* 'kind'. That is, a *vyavasthā* 'fixed' meaning of *ādi* will refer to roots which are found in *sūtras* and in different groups of verbal listings. It is, therefore, desired that *ādi* be interpreted as meaning *prakāra* 'kind, like'. Consequently, *tujādi* will here refer to roots of the kind of *tuj* where its *abhyāsa* is not subjected to lengthening (*dīrgha*) by any specific rule application (*na vihitaḥ*) but is seen in usage (*dṛśyate*). Such seen-in-usage lengthening is accepted as correct (*sādhu*). Thus, consider *tūtujānaḥ* which derives from *tuj* + *LIṬ*→ (*tutuj* + (*LIṬ*→ *KānaC*)) = *tutuj* + *āna* where no rule replaces the *u* of the first *tu* with its long counterpart. Our present rule considers this replacement valid based upon usage. It does not order the replacement. Incidentally, one must also infer *LIṬ* from the *abhyāsa* specification of this rule. For, that is where iteration and assignment of the term *abhyāsa* is possible. Incidentally, a long vowel in the Vedic forms of these roots in seen only when some particular affix follows (*Kāś*.: *dīrghaś caiṣām chandasi pratyayaviśeṣe eva dṛśyate, tato'nyatra na bhavati*). Refer to the appendix for full derivational details.

Nyāsa indicates that this rule is unnecessary. That is, all examples are Vedic and hence, 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam* can account for its provision. A

vyatyaya, other than that of a *sUP,* can thus be accepted as an expatiation (*prapañca*) of 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam.*

6.1.8 लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य

liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya
/*liṭi* 7/1 *dhātoḥ* 6/1 *anabhyāsasya* (*nañ tat.*) 6/1/
(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2)
liṭi parato anābhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve bhavataḥ
That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

papāca 'third singular active *LIṬ* of *pac*'
papāṭha 'third singular active *LIṬ* of *paṭh*'
prorṇunāva 'third singular active *LIṬ* of *pra-ūrṇu* (to cover)'

1. This rule offers iteration of a unit of root constituted by its first vowel, or its second if the root begins with a vowel and, of course, when affix *LIṬ* follows. This iteration is allowed only when the unit constituted by the first or second vowel of a root has not gone through iteration previously. Consider *papāca* which derives from *pac* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*) = *pac* + (*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *pac* + *a*→*pac* + *pac* + *a*→*pa*(*c*→ϕ) + *pac* + *a*→*pa* + *p*(*a*→*ā*) *c* + *a* = *papāca,* where *LIṬ* is replaced with *ṆaL,* via *tiP,* and iteration with the assignment of the term *abhyāsa* to first *pac* yields *papac,* through *halādiśeṣa* 'retention of a unit of *abhyāsa* constituted by its intitial consonant'. A replacement in *vṛddhi* for the penultimate vowel of *papac* + *a* finally yields *papāca.* This same also is followed in deriving *papāṭha.* Deriving *prorṇunāva* from *pra* + *ūrṇu* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*) = *pra* + *ūrṇu* + (*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *pra* + *urnu* + *nu* + *a* involves iteration of the second syllable of the root, i.e., *nu* (6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasa*). The *ṇu* of *urṇu* is here treated as *nu* (cf. *vācya ūrṇor ṇuvadbhāvaḥ*). This *ṇuvadbhāva* blocks introduction of affix *ām* (3.1.36 *ijādeś ca*...). Note that iteration cannot apply to *u* since the root begins with a vowel. It cannot apply to *r* since 6.1.3 *ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ* will block it. The *u* + *a* sequence of *pra* + *ūrnu* is replaced with a single *guṇa* vowel *o* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*), yielding *pror* + *nu* + *a.* We will arrive at the string *pror* + *nu* + *nu* + *a* after iteration, where the *u* of the second *nu* will be replaced with *āv* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) via its *vṛddhi* counterpart *au* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*). Incidentally, a form such as **prorṇuvāñcakāra* cannot be derived here because affix *ām* (3.1.37 *ijādeś ca gurumato' nṛcchaḥ*) is negated in this context of *ūrṇu* (cf. *vt. ūrṇoteś ca pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*).

Why can we not apply 7.2.115 *aco'ñṇiti* to replace the *u* of *nu* of *pror* + *nu* before *ṆaL*? Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* will block this vocalic replacement.

Thus, a replacement in *vṛddhi* will apply to the *u* of the second *nu* of *pror* + *nu* + *nu*. Now the question. How could this *vṛddhi* apply on the second *nu* when it is not an *aṅga* ending in a vowel? This *nu* comes from iteration and hence is not the *nu* after which *ṆaL* was introduced (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis*...). Commentators accept *dvirvacana* as *dviprayoga* 'repetition'. It is not accepted as *sthāne dvirvacana* 'two utterances in place of one'. That is, the same *nu* after which *ṆaL* was introduced is repeated.

Yet another question. Why *vṛddhi*? Why not *guṇa* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*? An application of *vṛddhi* will be favored since *ṆaL* is marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*. This will block *guṇa* on the basis of *śighropasthitikāntaraṅgatva* 'immediately available internal conditioning' and *alpāpekṣatva* 'minimum dependency'. This same conflict will appear in *papāca* and *papāṭha* where *vṛddhi* will obtain from 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* will again block *ajādeśa* 'vocalic replacement', i.e., *vṛddhi*. This kind of interaction between 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* and 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ* will appear everywhere in connection with derivates of *LIṬ*.

2. Why do we have to state 'when *LIṬ* follows'? So that given *kṛ* + *LUṬ* and *hṛ* + *LUṬ*, from which one derives *kartā* and *hartā*, we do not end up applying iteration. Why is iteration restricted to apply only to a root (*dhātoḥ*)? Consider *somam indrāya sunvire* where *sunvire* is a derivate of verbal root *ṣuÑ* 'to press out juice' used with *LIṬ*. The final form of *sunvire* is derived with augment *Śnu*. Iteration is blocked here since a root such as *ṣu*, when used with *Śnu*, is not accepted as a root (*dhātu*). Iteration will here be blocked because of interruption (*vyavadhāna*) caused by the augment (*vikaraṇa*). One may also invoke *chandasi bahulam* 'variously in the Vedic' (see *Nyāsa*) to block this iteration. The restriction that only a root not gone through iteration should go through iteration before *LIṬ* is also important. For, *nonū* + *LIṬ* where *nonū* derives from *n*(*u*→*o*) + *n*(*n*→*ū*) + (*yaṄ*→*LUK*) with affixal denotatum of repeated action (*paunaḥpunya*), will not qualify. Incidentally, *yaṄ* is deleted by 2.4.74 *guṇo yaṅ luki*. Our final derivate *nonāva* also entails *tiP*→*ṆaL* where, given *nonū* + *a*, *ū* is replaced with *āv* via its *vṛddhi* counterpart *au*. Recall that iteration has already been accomplished in deriving *nonū*. Since the root has already gone through assignment of the term *abhyāsa*, iteration again cannot be allowed in *nonū* + *LIṬ*.

3. The following *kārikā* verse has consequences for derivates of this rule:

> *nakārajāv anusvārapañcamau jhali dhātuṣu/*
> *sakārajaḥ śakāraś ca rasāṭ ṭavargaḥ tavargajaḥ//*
> '*anusvāra* and nasals which occur in a root before a sound denoted by *jhaL* are understood as having their origin in *n*.
> A palatal *ś* before *c* is to be understood as having its origin in a dental *s*. A retroflex stop of the *ṭ*-series which occurs after *r* and *ṣ* should be accepted as having its origin in the stop of the dental *t*-series.'

Note that the iteration of *nu* of *ūrṇu*, especially after its impaired association with *r* results in *ṇ* replaced with *n*, can be accomplished with the help of this *kārikā*. One thus does not have to resort to a statement such as *vācya ūrṇor ṇuvadbhāvaḥ*.

4. A *vārttika* proposal under this rule makes iteration optional in case of the Vedic usage (*dvirvacanaprakaraṇe chandasi veti vaktavyam*). Thus, we get examples such as *jāgāra/jajāgāra*; *dāti/dadāti*; *dātu/dadātu*, etc.

6.1.9 सन्यङोः

sanyaṅoḥ
/*sanyaṅoḥ* 6/2/
(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2 *dhātor anabhyāsasya* #8)
sanantasya yaṅantasya cānabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve bhavataḥ
That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided the root ends in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

pipakṣati 'third singular active present of *pac* + *saN* = *pipakṣa*'
pipatiṣati 'third singular active present of *pat* + *saN*
aririṣati 'third singular active present of *ṛ* + *saN* = *aririṣa*'
undidiṣati 'third singular active present of *undī* + *saN* = *undidiṣa*'
pāpacyate 'third singular present middle of *pac* + *yaṄ* = *pāpacya*'
aṭāṭyate 'third singular present middle of *aṭ* + *yaN* = *aṭāṭya*'
yāyajyate 'third singular present middle of *yaj* + *yaṄ* = *yāyajya*'
arāryate 'third singular present middle of *ṝ* + *yaṄ* = *arārya*'
proṛṇonūyate 'third singular present middle of *proṛṇonūya*'
lolūyiṣate 'third singular present middle of *lūÑ* + *yaṄ* = *lolūya*'

1. This rule orders iteration again of a non-*abhyāsa* unit constituted by the first or second vowel of a verbal root, provided the same ends in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*. Our earlier rules orders iteration for a root which occurs before *LIṬ* and has not gone through iteration. The word *sanyaṅoḥ* is genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) dual (*dvivacana*). The *anuvṛtti* of *dhātor anābhyāsasya* is still valid. Consequently, the non-*abhyāsa* unit which is here required to go through iteration must be part (*avayava*) of a root which has not gone through iteration. Additionally, the root must also end in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*. Needless to say that units formed by the first or second vowel of a root will form the focus of iteration.

2. Note that *sanyaṅoḥ* is interpreted as ending in genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), and not in the locative (*saptamī*). This, in consonance with *pratyayagrahaṇe*

tadantagrahaṇam (*Paribh.* 24) yields the interpretation '... the root which ends in affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*'. A locative interpretation will yield the following meaning: '... the root when affixes *saN* and *yaṄ* follow'. Clearly then the locative interpretation will permit iteration, for example, in *aṭ* + *sa*(*N*→ϕ) = *aṭ* + *sa*. The result will be a wrong string: **aṭ* + *aṭ* + *sa*. Our correct string should be *aṭi* + *aṭ* + *sa* which results from iteration of a unit formed with the second vowel of the root. For, verbal root *aṭ* begins with a vowel. This second vowel of the root is gotten from introduction of augment *iṬ* (*iḍāgama*). We thus get *aṭ* + *saN*→*aṭ* + *i* + *sa*→*aṭi* + *ṭi* + *sa*. If one accepts the locative interpretation then the base, i.e., *aṭ*, will form the focus of iteration under the condition of following suffixes, i.e., *saN* and *yaṄ*. Consequently, augment *iṬ*, because it will then be intervened by affix *saN*, cannot be part of iteration (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *saptamīpakṣe tu sanyaṅoḥ parataḥ pūrvasya dhātor dvirvacanaṃ bhavaty ity ayam arthaḥ syāt, tataś ca sanbhaktasyeṭo dvirvacanaṃ na syāt*...). Iteration will be blocked here since augment *iṬ*, the second vowel before *saN*, will no longer be available. The *i* of *iṬ* will become a part of *saN*, the affix which follows. Besides, a locative interpretation will create problems in cases where affixal deletion, for example deletion of *yaṄ*, has taken effect. Iteration in such instances will then apply to an *aṅga* before the affix which has gone through deletion. One cannot here invoke *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'characteristic affixal operations take place even when the affix is deleted (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*)' since 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block it. Invoking *pratyayalakṣaṇa* in case of a genitive interpretation to introduce *iṬ* to a base which has lost its *yaṄ* does not create any problem. For, that base, through *pratyayalakṣaṇa*, will still have *yaṄ* as its final part. Refer to the *Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK* for further details.

3. Note that iteration involves two formal possibilities as foci: (*a*) a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of the base, or (*b*) a formal unit constituted by the second vowel of the base. This context of iteration also involves two affixes *saN* and *yaṄ*. Shall we then establish some kind of *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalency in accord with enumeration of equal number of elements in two sets (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeaḥ samānām*)?'. Should we say that a formal unit constituted by the first vowel of the base is iterated when affix *saN* is involved; and a formal unit constituted by the second vowel is iterated when affix *yaṄ* is involved? Since such an interpretation will yield many wrong derivations, especially in examples where affix *yaṄ* is involved, the idea of *yathāsaṃkhya* must be abandoned. For, accepting *yathāsaṃkhya* will block introduction of augment *nīK* to *vañcU*, etc. (7.4.84 *nīgvañcusraṃsudhvaṃsubhraṃsu*...) when a deleted *yaṄ* follows (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *yadi hy atra yathāsaṃkhyam abhipretaṃ syāt tadā 'nīgvañcu' ityādinā 'vañcuprabhṛtīnām abhyāsasya yaṅluko nīgāgamavidhānaṃ nopapadyate*).

Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

6.1.10 श्लौ

ślau
/*ślau* 7/1/
(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2 *dhātor anabhyāsasya* #8)
ślau paratao' nabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve bhavataḥ
That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided *ŚLU* follows the root.

EXAMPLES:

juhoti 'third singular active present of *hu* (to call)'
bibheti 'third singular active present of *ÑIbhī* (to fear)'
jihreti 'third singular active present of *hrīÑ* (to be shy)'

1. This rule allows iteration of a unit formed with the first or second vowel of a root when *ŚLU* follows. Recall that roots such as *hu* 'to call', *ÑIbhī* 'to fear' and *hrīN* 'to blush' are classed in the *juhotyādi* group. As such, *ŚLU* comes in place of *ŚaP* which follows these roots (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*). But how can *ŚLU* form a right condition for iteration when it has gone through non-appearance (*adarśana*). How could *ŚaP* which has gone through non-appearance (*adarśana*) be still made to reappear and follow? It is possible via *upacāra* 'assumed application' which will enable a replacement (*ādeśa*), in our present context *ŚLU*, to be acceptable as the item it replaced (*sthānin*), i.e., *ŚaP*. *ŚLU* can thus form the right condition of iteration by way of *ŚAP* it replaced (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *sthāninaḥ paratvāt tasyāpi taddvāreṇa paurvāparyam aupacārikaṃ gṛhītvaiva yuktam uktam ity adoṣaḥ*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

6.1.11 चङि

caṅi
/*caṅi* 7/1/
(*ekāco dve prathamasya* #1 *ajāder dvitīyasya* #2 *dhātor anabhyāsasya* #8)
caṅi parato'nabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya prathamasyaikāco dvitīyasya vā yathāyogaṃ dve bhavataḥ
That part of a root which is formed with its first vowel, or is formed with its second if the root begins with a vowel, is iterated to become two if not already iterated, provided *CaṄ* follows the root.

EXAMPLES:

apīpacat 'third singular active *LUṄ* of *pāci*'
apīpaṭhat 'third singular active *LUṄ* of *pāṭhi*'
āṭiṭat 'third singular active *LUṄ* of *āṭi*'

āśiśat '. . . of *āśi*'
ārdidat '. . . of *ārdi*'

1. This rule orders iteration when *CaṄ* follows. Consider the derivation of *apīpacat*, a derivate of *LUṄ* introduced after verbal root *pac* used with *ṆiC*. Thus we get: *pac* + *ṆiC* = *pāc* + *i* = *pāci* where affix *ṆiC* is introduced after vebal root *pac* by 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*. The long replacement (*dīrgha*) for the short *a* of *pac* is accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Affix *LUṄ* can now be introduced after a newly derived verbal root *pāci* (3.1.23 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). A subsequent introduction of augment *aṬ* will yield *aṬ* + *pāc* + *i* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *pāc* + *i* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *pāc* + *i* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *pāc* + *i* + (*CLI*→*CaṄ*) + *LUṄ* = *a* + *pāc* + *i* + *a* + *LUṄ*, where *CLI* is introduced after *pāci* (3.1.43 *cli luṅi*) when *LUṄ* follows. This *CLI* is then replaced with *CaṄ* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridrumbhyaḥ kartari caṅ*) under the right condition of *LUṄ* with the denotatum of *kartṛ* 'agent'. Iteration now becomes applicable under the provision of this rule. However, deletion of the causal affix *i* (*ṆiC*; *ṇilopa*) is also available under the provision of rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. Both these operations are obligatory (*nitya*). The deletion of *ṆiC* will apply even when iteration does not apply. Iteration itself will apply even when deletion of *ṆiC* does not apply. We find a conflict of equal strength between these two operations, especially since their obligatory nature is established based upon *kṛtākṛtaprasaṅga*, a context where two operations come into conflict such that performing or not performing one against the other does not alter their obligatory status.

Deletion of *ṆiC*, since it is to be accomplished by a rule subsequent in order (*para*), will take precedence. Thus we get: *a* + *pāc* + (*i*→ϕ) + *a* + *LUṄ*. What follows now is shortening of the penultimate vowel (*upadhāhrasva*; 7.4.1 *ṇau caṇi upadhāyāḥ hrasvaḥ*) *ā* in *pāc*, yielding *a* + *p*(*ā*→*a*) *c* + ϕ + *a* + *LUṄ*. An application of our present rule for iteration and a subsequent application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will produce: *a* + *pac* + *pac* + ϕ +*a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *pa*(*c*→ϕ) + *pac* + ϕ + *a* + *LUṄ*. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.* reminds that *upadhāhrasva* and *dvirvacana* are both obligatorily available again, based upon the same notion of *kṛtākṛtaprasaṅga*. Here again the decision is made on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent order of a rule in conflict'. Rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* will replace the *a* of *pa* with *i* (*itva*). The short *i* will then be replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*. We thus get: *a* + *p*(*a*→*i*) + *pac* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *p*(*i*→*ī*) + *pac* + *a* + *LUṄ*.

2. *Kāśikā* recommends that operations on *pac*, etc., when ending in *ṆiC*, and subsequent to when *CLI* is replaced with *CaṄ*, should be performed in the order of (*i*) *ṇilopa* 'deletion of *ṆiC*, (*ii*) *upadhāhrasva* 'shortening of the penultimate vowel' and (*iii*) *dvirvacana* 'iteration' ('*pacādīnāṃ ṇyantānāṃ caṅkṛte ṇilopa upadhāhrasvatvaṃ dvirvacanam' ity eṣāṃ kāryāṇāṃ pravṛttikramaḥ*). Such a recommendation is made in view of the application of rule 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni caṅpare' naglope*, whereby *sanvadbhāva* 'operation simi-

lar to when *saN* follows' applies. This extensional application will be available to an *abhyāsa*, in our present case *pa* of *a* + *pa* + *pac* + ϕ + *a* + *LUṄ*, provided *ṆiC*, followed by *CaṄ*, follows, and deletion of a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* has not occurred in the *aṅga*. The *abhyāsa* unit is also constrained by this extensional operation. That is, it should be followed by a light (*laghu*) vowel. The *a* of *pa* in *a* + *pa* + *pac* + *a* + *LUṄ* is the required light vowel which follows *pa*. Rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* thus orders *a* replaced with *i* which, in turn, is replaced with *ī* by 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*. Now the question? A treatment as if *saN* followed (*sanvadbhāva*) allows operations such as *itva* and *dīrgha* (*a*→*i*→*ī*). The *itva* is made with the understanding that *a* of *pa* is *laghu* 'light'. But why, through *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*), this *a* cannot be treated as the long *ā* which it replaced. It has been established under the provisions of rule. 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau* that such a *sthānivadbhāva* is permitted only relative to an operand which occurs before a non-replacement (*anādiṣṭa*) vowel (*Kāś.*: *yo hy anādiṣṭād acaḥ pūrvas tasya vidhiṃ prati sthānivadbhāvo bhavati*). If *a* of *pa* is considered as if it was *ā* which it replaced then *sanvadbhāva* will be blocked. That is, the *pa* of *a* + *pa* + *pac* + *a* + *LUṄ* cannot yield *pī* through *itva* and *dīrgha*. A *dvirvacana* 'iteration' performed before *upadhāhrasva* will allow *sthānivadbhāva* and will thus block *sanvadbhāva* which facilitates operations such as *itva* and *dīrgha*. One must follow this order of application to facilitate *sanvadbhāva*. That is, iteration follows penultimate shortening (*upadhāhrasva*). Similar problems will be encountered in deriving *āṭitat* if this particular operational order is not followed. Refer to the appendix for derivational details of examples.

6.1.12 दाश्वान्साह्वान्मीढ्वांश्च

dāśvān sāhvān mīḍhvāṃś ca
/*dāsvān* 1/1/ *sāhvān* 1/1/ *mīḍhvān* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
dāśvān, sāhvān, mīḍhvān ity ete śabdāś chandasi bhāṣāyāṃ cāviśeṣeṇa nipātyante
Forms such as *dāśvān, sāhvān* and *mīḍhvān* are derived via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

dāśvān 'generous'
sāhvān balāhakaḥ 'victorious cloud'
mīḍhvas tokāya 'generous for offsprings'

1. Forms such as *dāśvān, sāhvān* and *mīḍhvān* are all derived in the Vedic, as well as in the Classical usage, via *nipātana*. Our first example *dāśvān* is derived by introducing affix *LIṬ* after verbal root *dāśṚ* 'to give'. Affix *LIṬ* is here replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*) Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*. . . is blocked from accomplishing iteration by *nipātana*. This same *nipātana* is

also responsible for blocking introduction of augment *iṬ* (7.2.67 *vasvekājād*...). Additional operations follow the pattern of *citavān*. Deriving *sāhvān* also involves *KvasU*, followed by lack of iteration and *iṬ*, again via *nipātana*. In addition, *parasmaipada*, as against the required *ātmanepada* after *ṣah* 'to endure, be angry' and lengthening of the penultimate *a* of the root, are both accomplished via *nipātana*. Deriving *mīḍhvān* from *mih* + *KvasU* involves similar lack of operations via *nipātana*. The lengthening of the short *i* of the root, and the *ḍh*-replacement for *h* is also accomplished via *nipātana*.

2. Following *vārttika* proposals have also been made under this rule:

(*i*) Verbal roots *kṛÑ*, etc., go through iteration when affix *Ka* follows. We thus get *cakram* and *ciklidam* where affix *Ka* is introduced with the significations of *ghañ* (cf. (*vt.*): *ghañarthe kavidhānam*)). A sequence *kṛ* + *a* yields *kar* + *kṛ* + *a*, through iteration and the application of 7.4.66 *ur at*. An application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will then produced *ka* + *kṛ* + *a*. The *k* of *ka* is replaced with *c* by 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*. An application of *yaṆ* on *ṛ* will produce *cak*(*ṛ*→*r*) + *a* = *cakra*. Note that a replacement in *yaṆ* cannot be accomplished before iteration. For, 1.1.59 *dvirvacane'ci* will block it. A derivate of *klid*, i.e., *ciklida*, is similarly derived;

(*ii*) Verbal roots *carI*, *calI*, *patI* and *vadI* go through iteration before affix *aC*. The *abhyāsa* of these verbal roots also gets augment *āK*. The application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* is then blocked since introducing augment *āK* and applying 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* removes the difference between the replacement and augment. Affix *aC* is introduced with the denotatum of *kartṛ* of 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*.... A string such as *car* + *a* will yield *car* + *ā* + *car* + *a* = *carācara*, through iteration and introduction of augment *ā* to the *abhyāsa*. Note that specifying the augment with long *ā* blocks shortening and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. This same applies to other examples such as *calācalaḥ*, *patāpataḥ* and *vadāvadaḥ*;

(*iii*) These preceding derivates are also made optional through yet another *vārttika* proposal. That is, an absence of iteration, etc., will produce *caraḥ* 'goer', *calaḥ*, *pataḥ* and *vadaḥ* (*veti vaktavyam*);

(*iv*) A *vārttika* proposal is also made to derive *ghanāghanaḥ* with the introduction of affix *aC* after verbal root *han* 'to kill'. This *vārttika* especially provides for a *gh*-replacement for *h* of the *abhyāsa*. The following *h* is replaced with *gh* by 7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca*. Thus, *han* + *han* + *a*→*han* + *ā*(*K*) + *han* + *a*→(*h*→*gh*) *an* + *ā* + *han* + *a*→*ghan* + *ā* + (*h*→*gh*) *an* + *a* = *ghanāghana*, through iteration and introduction of augment *āK*;

(*v*) A derivate of causal verbal root *pāṭi* is derived as *pāṭūpaṭaḥ* by introducing affix *aC*. Deletion of *Ṇi* and iteration, followed by augment *ūK* introduced to the *abhyāsa* and a subsequent lengthening, will

produce the desired derivate. Thus, *paṭ* + *ū* + *paṭ* + *a*→*pāṭ* + *ū* + *paṭ* +*a* = *pāṭūpaṭa* (*vt. pāṭer ṇiluk cok ca dīrghaś cābhyāsasya*).

6.1.13 ष्यङः सम्प्रसारणं पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे

ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ putrapatyos tatpuruṣe
/*ṣyaṅaḥ* 6/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1 *putrapatyoḥ* = *putraś ca patiś ca* = *putrapatī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *tatpuruṣe* 7/1/
'*putra, pati*'*ity etayor uttarapadayos tatpuruṣe samāse ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
ṢyaṄ goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *putra* and *pati* follow in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

kārīṣagandhīputraḥ
'son of Kārīṣagandhyā, a woman who smells like dried cowdung'
kārīṣagandhīpatiḥ 'husband of Kārīṣagandhyā . . .'
kaumudagandhīputraḥ
'son of a woman who smells like water-lily'
kaumudagandhīpatiḥ 'husband of a woman . . .'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *samprasāraṇam* carries over through 6.1.44 *vibhāṣa pareḥ*.

2. This rule orders *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam* 'a sound denoted by *iK* comes in place of a corresponding sound denoted by *yaṆ*') for *SyaṄ* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with *putra* and *pati* as following (final) constitutents. Let us consider *kārīṣagandhīputraḥ* which is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *kārīṣagandhyāyāḥ putraḥ*. The first constituent of this compound, i.e., *kārīṣagandhyā*, is a derivate of the feminine affix *CāP* (4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*) introduced after *kārīṣagandhya*, ending in *ṢyaṄ*, itself a replacement for the *aṆ* introduced after *karīṣagandhi* + *Ṅas*. The word *karīṣagandhi* derives from *karīṣa* + *sU gandha* + *sU*, parallel to *karīṣasya iva gandhaḥ asya*, a *bahuvrīhi* where rule 5.4.137 *upamānāc ca*, read with 5.4.135 *gandhasyed*. . ., orders *i* to replace the final *a* of *karīṣagandha*. Affix *aṆ* is then introduced after *karīṣagandhi* + *Ṅas* to be further replaced with *ṢyaṄ*. The *i* of *karīṣagandhi* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*) before the *a* of *aṆ*. It is *kārīṣagandhya* which then receives affix *CāP* (4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāP*). The *a* of *ya* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*; 1.4.18 *yaci bham*) before the feminine affix *CāP*. The son of this *kārīṣagandhyā* will then be characterized with the genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound *kārīṣagandhīputraḥ* where, given the compound *kārīṣagandhyāputra*, *samprasāraṇa* applies. The result obtained through this process then goes through a replacement in *i* (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) of *i* + *ā* of *kārīṣagandh*(*y*→*i*)*ā*)). . . . An application of 6.3.139 *samprasāraṇasya* will then replace the short *i* of *kārīṣagandhiputra* with a long

ī to yield: *kārīṣagandhīputra.* Similar rules apply in deriving *kārīṣagandhīpatiḥ* 'husband of a woman who smells like dried cowdung', *kaumudagandhīputraḥ* 'son of a woman who smells like a lily' and *kaumudagandhīpatiḥ* 'husband of a woman who smells like a lily'.

3. Note that the word *samprasāraṇa* can refer to sounds (*varṇa*) denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* which, in turn, occur as substitutes for sounds of a parallel set denoted by *yaṆ.* The word *samprasāraṇa* can also refer to this very process (*vidhi*) of replacing a sound denoted by *yaṆ* with a sound denoted by *iK.* This rule uses the word *samprasāraṇa* in the sense of *vidhi.* By the way, *samprasāraṇa* is an *anvarthasaṃjñā* 'a term interpreted in its etymological sense'.

4. The word *ṢyaṄ* is here interpreted as an affix via *sthānivadbhāva* 'substitute treated as the item it replaced' introduced under the denotatum condition of 4.1.3 *striyām* 'when feminine is to be denoted'. This delimitation of scope is also responsible for blocking *tadādiniyama* 'a constraint pertaining to that which begins with that' in a feminine derivate other than one termed an *upasarjana* 'secondary'. Thus, *kārīṣagandhi* is a non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) constituent of the compound after which *ṢyaṄ* is introduced. The application of *samprasāraṇa* thus cannot be blocked. It can also not be blocked in examples such as *paramakārīṣagandhīputraḥ* and *paramakārīṣagandhīpatiḥ* where *kārīṣagandhyā* does not occur at the beginning. That is, the *samprasāraṇa* cannot be blocked based upon the *tadādiniyama* of the *paribhāṣā* (27) *na strīpratyaye cānupasarjane* (*yasmāt sa vihitas tadādeḥ*) 'not also when a non-secondary affix with its scope as feminine (beginning with that after which the affix is introduced)'. That is, this *samprasāraṇa* cannot be limited to only those instances where a non-secondary constituent such as *kārīṣagandhi* after which affix *ṢyaṄ* is introduced occurs as the initial constituent of the compound. It is the non-applicability of *tādādiniyama* that *samprasāraṇa* is permitted in examples such as *paramakārīṣagandhīputraḥ* and *paramakārīṣagandhīpatiḥ* which obviously do not begin with *kārīṣagandhi.* Incidentally, a constituent ending in *ṢyaṄ* here does not become secondary in meaning after forming a compound with *parama.*

Now consider an example such as *atikārīṣagandhyaputraḥ* 'the son of one who has excelled Kārīṣagandhyā' where a constituent ending in *ṢyaṄ* is secondary (*upasarjana*). The *samprasāraṇa* must be blocked here. An additional example parallel to the preceding will be *atikārīṣagandhyapatiḥ.*

5. The condition of *ṣyaṅaḥ* is imposed so that *samprasāraṇa* applies only to the *y* of *ṢyaṄ.* Thus, it will not apply to the *y* of *ibhyāputraḥ* 'son of a woman who deserves an elephant' and *kṣatriyāputraḥ* 'son of a kṣatriya woman' where it is introduced by rules 5.1.66 *daṇḍādibhyo yat* and 4.1.138 *kṣatrād ghaḥ,* respectively. Recall that a replacement is only introduced in place of that for which it is specified (*paribhāṣā* (13): *nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*).

A similar condition of *putrapatyoḥ* is imposed so that this *samprasāraṇa* is

also blocked in examples such as *kārīṣagandhyākulam* 'the clan of a woman who smells like dried cowdung' and *kaumudagandhyākulam* 'the clan of a woman who smells like a lily'. Note that *putra* and *pati* must occur as following constituents combined after the constituent ending in *ṢyaṄ*, and not when they combine as initial, or final, constituent of the compound. Thus, the *samprasāraṇa* will again be blocked in examples such as *kārīṣagandhyāputrakulam* 'the family of the son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung' and *kārīṣagandhyāputraparamaḥ* 'the excellent son of the woman who smells like dried cowdung'.

Finally, this *samprasāraṇa* is constrained also with the condition of *tatpuruṣe*. For, a *bahuvrīhi* such as *kārīṣagandhyāpatiḥ*, parallel to *kārīṣagandhyā patir asya grāmasya* 'the village of which Kārīṣagandhyā is the leader' will not come under the scope of this rule.

6.1.14 **बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ**

bandhuni bahuvrīhau
/*bandhuni* 7/1 *bahuvrīhau* 7/1/
(*ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇam* #13)
bandhuśabda uttarapade bahuvrīhau samāse ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
ṢyaṄ, in a compound termed *bahuvrīhi*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *bandhu* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kārīṣagandhībandhuḥ 'friend of the woman who smells like dried cowdung'
kaumudagandhībandhuḥ 'friend of the woman who smells like a lily'

1. This rule allows *samprasāraṇa* also when *bandhu*, preceded by the constituent ending in *ṢyaṄ*, is combined as a final constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound. Thus, we get examples such as *kārīṣagandhībandhuḥ*. The compound must be a *bahuvrīhi* so that a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *kārīṣagandhyābandhuḥ* 'a friend of she who smells like dried cowdung' can be excluded from the scope of this rule. Our constituent *kārīṣagandhyā* is here an *upasarjana* 'secondary'. Recall that *samprasāraṇa* is applicable to non-secondary (*anupasarjana*) constituents. Examples such as *paramakārīṣagandhyābandhudhanaḥ* and *kārīṣagandhyāparamabandhuḥ* will also be blocked from availing *samprasāraṇa* for reason that, in the first example, *bandhu* alone is not used as final. Instead, we have *bandhudhanaḥ*. The second example has *bandhu* occurring after *kārīṣagandhyā* intervend by *parama*.

2. Note that *bandhu* is a masculine here specified as neuter. Such a specification is made in view of form (*śabdasvarūpa*), as against meaning (*artha*). Commentators state that a neuter specification is intended so that *bandhu* could denote its form only. A specification in view of meaning, with *bandhu*

used as masculine, would have allowed *samprasāraṇa* also to apply when a synonym of *bandhu* followed.

3. A *vārttika* proposal favors an optional *samprasāraṇa* also when *mātaC*, *mātṛka* and *mātṛ* occur in a *bahuvrīhi* compound following a constituent ending in *ṢyaṄ*. Consider *karīṣagandhyāmātā* and *kārīṣagandhīmātā* as optional examples parallel to *kārīṣagandhyā mātā asya* 'he whose mother is one who smells as dried cowdung'. A similar set of two optional forms each for *mātaC* and *mātṛka* are: *kārīṣagandhyāmātaḥ/ kārīṣagandhīmātaḥ*; *kārīṣagandhyāmātṛkaḥ/ kārīṣagandhīmātṛkaḥ*. Remember that *mātṛ* and *mātṛka* are specified here as separate options. Consequently, affix *KaP* of 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca* is also made optional. An optional *mātaC* also mandates final *udātta* accent of 6.1.163 *citaḥ*, as against the retention of original accent of initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*).

6.1.15 **वचिस्वपियजादीनां किति**

vacisvapiyajādīnām kiti
/vaci-svapi-yajādīnām 6/3 = *yaja ādir yesāṃ te* = *yajādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *vaciś ca svapiś ca yajādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *kiti* 7/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13)
vaci-svapi-yajādīnāṃ kiti pratyaye parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal roots *vac* 'to speak', *ÑIsvap* 'to sleep', and also roots headed by *yaj*, go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uktaḥ 'spoken, said'
uktavān 'said'
suptaḥ 'fallen asleep'
suptavān 'slept'
iṣṭaḥ 'performed sacrifice'
iṣṭavān 'ibidem'
uptaḥ 'sown'
uptavān 'ibidem'
ūḍhaḥ 'carried, brought'
ūḍhavān 'ibidem'
uṣitaḥ 'dwelt'
uṣitavān 'ibidem'
utaḥ 'woven'
utavān 'ibidem'
saṃvītaḥ 'properly covered'
saṃvītavān 'ibidem'
āhūtaḥ 'called'
āhūtavān 'ibidem'
uditaḥ 'uttered'

uditavān 'ibidem'
śūnaḥ 'enlarged, grown'
śūnavān 'ibidem'
*Examples are all derivates of *Kta* and *KtavatU.*

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *Ṣyaṅaḥ* is dropped. The word *samprasāraṇam* still carries over.

2. The specification made by *ādi* is here associated only with *yaj*, and not also individually with *vacI* and *svapI*. How do we know this? From the order of enumeration of roots in the *gaṇa* in general, and the enumeration of *svapI* after *vacI*, in particular. There was no need for specifying *svapI* after *vacI* if a reference was intended to be made to *svapI* as one of the roots included in the set headed by *vacI*. For *svapI* is listed in the *adādi* group after *vacI*, intervened by four roots. A reference with *ādi* associated with *vacI* could thus have also accounted for *svapI*. The *ādi* associated with *yaj* includes references to the last nine roots of the *bhvādigaṇa* 'listings enumerated beginning with *bhū*'.

Verbal root *vac* here refers to both (*i*) the *adādi* root *vac* 'to speak' and (*ii*) the replacement in *vac* of *brūÑ* (2.4.53 *bruvo vaciḥ*). A specification relative to an affixal provision made with reference to specific form of a verbal root (*dhātu*) conditions operations relative only to that particular affix (*Kāś.*: *dhātoḥ svarūpagrahaṇe tatpratyaye kāryam vijñāyate*). The existence of this *paribhāṣā* is inferred from the derivation of *bhrauṇahatyam* where the *n* of verbal root *han* is to be replaced with *t*. But since such a replacement is allowed *han* when an affix with *Ṣ* and *Ṇ* as an *it* follows (7.3.32 *hanas*...), this *taddhita* derivate cannot avail this provision. It must then receive this *t*-replacement via *nipātana* (6.4.174 *dāṇḍināyanahāstināyana*...). This *nipātana* then indicates that an operation specified with a particular form of a verbal root obtains only when a specified affix follows. Thus, we do not find *samprasāraṇa* applicable to derivates such as *vācyati* 'wishes to speak' and *vācikaḥ* 'relating to speech' where the first is a derivate of *KyaC* and the second of *ṭhaK* introduced after *vāc*, a derivate of *KvIP*. The first will be treated as a root by 3.1.23 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*. The *vāc* of the second example may also be treated as a root at the strength of Patañjali's desideratum that items ending in a *KvIP* do not abandon their status as a root. The first is denied *samprasāraṇa* because *KyaC* is introduced after an item ending in a *sUP* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*). The second is denied *samprasāraṇa* expressly by an *Uṇādi* affix (II.57). Besides, *ṭhaK* is introduced in the domain of 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*.

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.16 ग्रहिज्यावयिव्यधिवष्टिविचतिवृश्चतिपृच्छतिभृज्जतीनां ङिति च

grahijyāvayivyadhivaṣṭivicativṛścatipṛcchatibhṛjjatīnāṃ ṅiti ca

/*grahi-jyā-vayi-vyadhi-vaṣṭi-vicati-vṛścati-pṛcchati-bhṛjjatīnām* (*itar. dv.*)
6/3 *ṅiti* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *kiti* #15)
'*graha upādāne, jyā vayohānau, veño vayiḥ, vyadha tāḍane, vaśa kāntau, vyaca vyājīkaraṇe, ovraścū chedane, praccha jñīpsāyām, bhrasja pāke' ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ ṅiti pratyaye parataś cakārāt kiti ca samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
Verbal roots *grahA* 'to grab, seize', *jyā* 'to decay, grow old', *vay* (a replacement of *veÑ* 'to weave'; 2.4.41 *veño vayiḥ*), *vyadhA* 'to pierce, hurt', *vaśA* 'to shine', *vyacA* 'to deceive', *OvraścŪ* 'to cut', *pracchA* 'to ask, enquire' and *bhrasjA* 'to cook' also go through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gṛhītaḥ 'seized'
gṛhitavān 'he seized'
gṛhṇāti 'he seizes . . .'
jarīgṛhyate '. . . is seized again and again'
jīnaḥ 'decayed, grown old'
jīnavān 'he grew old'
jināti 'he grows old'
jetīyate 'grows older'
ūyatuḥ 'they (two) wove . . .'
ūyuḥ 'they (all) wove'
viddhaḥ '. . . pierced'
viddhavān 'he pierced'
vidhyati 'he pierces'
vevidhyate 'pierces again and again'
uśitaḥ '. . . desired; dazzled'
uśitavān 'he desired; glowed'
uṣṭaḥ 'desired'
uśanti 'they desire'
vicitaḥ '. . . deceived'
vicitavān 'he deceived'
vicati '. . . creates an illusion'
vevicyate '. . . deceives again and again'
udvicitā 'he who will deceive'
udvicitum 'for deceiving'
udvicitavyam 'to be deceived'
vṛknaḥ 'cut'
vṛknavān 'he cut'
vṛścati 'he cuts'
varīvṛścyate 'he cuts over and over again'
pṛṣṭaḥ 'asked'

pṛṣṭavān 'he asked (a question)'
pṛcchati 'he inquires'
parīpṛcchyate 'he asks over and over again'
bhṛṣṭaḥ 'cooked'
bhṛṣṭavān 'he cooked . . .'
bhṛjjati 'he cooks'
barībhṛjjyate 'he cooks over and over again'

1. The *ca* at the end of this rule is used to attract *kiti* from the preceding rule.

2. What is *vayI*? It is interpreted as a replacement of *veÑ* gotten from rule 2.4.41 *veño vayiḥ*. It cannot be interpreted as *vay* 'to go' since that is an active (*parasmaipada*) verb. The *vay* of this rule is interpreted as the middle (*ātmanepada*), i.e., *veÑ*. Of course, via its replacement (*ādeśadvāreṇa*) due basically to its association (*sāhacarya*) here with *grahA*.

Why do we not have any examples of *vay* occurring before an affix marked with *Ṅ*? Because rule 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit* extends *Kit* 'as if marked with *K*' status to a replacement of *LIṬ*.

3. Questions have also been raised against listing *vayI* in this rule. It is argued that *vayI*, since it is already covered by the *yajādi* '*yaj*, etc.' group of the preceding rule, can easily avail *samprasāraṇa*. Offering *samprasāraṇa* again through this listing does not make any sense. The fact that this rule lists *vayI* as a replacement and our earlier rule includes the root itself in the *yajādi* group should not create any problem. For, a replacement (*ādeśa*) will, through the process of *sthānivadbhāva*, be treated as the item (*sthānī*) it replaced. That is, *vayI* of this rule can be treated as *veÑ* of the *yajādi* listing. This way one does not need to provide *samprasāraṇa* which is already available.

Commentators state that this separate listing is made so that *samprasāraṇa* in *vayI* is not blocked by 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*. It is argued that *sthānivadbhāva* will operate in connection with a negative provision (*niṣedha*) in a manner similar to one made in connection with a positive (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *yathā sthānivadbhāvād vidhiḥ prāpyate tathā pratiṣedho'pi prāpnoti*). Thus, rules 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnāṃ kiti* and 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . . will both invoke *sthānivadbhāva* in connection with the *samprasāraṇa* of *vayI*. That is, if *sthānivadbhāva* is offered as the basis for rejecting inclusion of *vayI* in rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*. . . . A separate listing of *vayI* is made here so that it can be saved from the negation of 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*. The process of *sthānivadbhāva* is thus not accepted. Besides, Pāṇini's listing of *vayI*, as against *veÑ* particularly in this rule in contradistinction with the negation of 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*, must serve some special purpose. That purpose must be accepted as blocking of negation via cancellation of *sthānivadbhāva*. It is further stated that situations of conflict between *vidhi* and *pratiṣedha* favor *vidhi* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *vidhipratiṣedhayor virodhād ekatra vidhir eva bhaviṣyati na pratiṣedha iti*). Consequently, we get two sets of third personal singular/dual/plural forms in perfect (*LIṬ*) of *vayI*: *uvāya*/*ūyatuḥ*/

ūyuḥ; and *vavau/ vavatuḥ/ vavuḥ*.

Now consider rule 6.1.38 *liṭi vayo yaḥ* whereby a negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* is made for *vayI*. Note that a negative provision does not make any sense unless a positive provision already exists. This, in turn, becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for the positive provision of *samporasāraṇa* of *vayI*. It should also be noted that the negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* 6.1.38, made with the specification of *vayI*, does not include any reference to *veÑ*. A separate negation is provided by 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*. *Kāśikā* thus rightly remarks: '*liṭi vayo yaḥ*' *iti yakārasya samprasāraṇapratiṣedhād vayer vidhau grahaṇaṃ pratiṣedhe cāgrahaṇam anumāsyate* 'it is assumed on the basis of the negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* of *y* in 6.1.38 *liṭi vayo yaḥ* that *vayI* is included in *vidhi* and excluded from *pratiṣedha*'.

4. Note that derivates of *vyac*, for example *udvicitā/ udvicitum/ udvicitavyam*, all involve *samprasāraṇa* when an affix other than one marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* follows. This operational provision is facilitated by a *vārttika* proposal (under 1.2.1 *gāṅkluṭādibhyo*. . .) whereby *vyac* is treated similar to the *kuṭādi* group of roots before an affix other than one marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*.

5. Let us briefly consider the derivation of *vṛknaḥ* and *vṛknavān* from *vraśc* + (*K*→ϕ) *ta* and *vraśc* + (*K*→ϕ) *tavat*(*U*→ϕ), respectively. These strings will both go through *samprasāraṇa* (*v*(*r*→*ṛ*) *aśc*. . .), *pūrvarūpa* (*v*(*ṛ*+ *a*→*ṛ*) *śc*. . .) and *kutva* (*vṛś*(*c*→*k*). . .). Why is *c* of *vraśc* replaced with *k* against the provision of *ṣ* made by rule 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛja*. . .? Commentators argue that a replacement in *ṣ* is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhAL* (*Śs.* 8-14; *jh, bh, gh, ḍh,* etc.). The *niṣṭhā* affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU*, in *vṛknaḥ* and *vṛknavān*, can no longer be accepted as beginning with a *jhAL* since the same gets replaced with *n* of 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto*. . . . Consequently, *c* of *vraśc* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*. Rule 8.2.42 *radābhyām*. . . cannot be treated as *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of the application of 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasja*. . . because of a *vārttika* proposal (*vt*.: *niṣṭhādeśaḥ ṣatvasvarapratyayavidhīḍvidhiṣu siddho vaktavyaḥ* 'a replacement of *niṣṭhā* should be declared effective (*siddha*) in operations relative to: *ṣ*-replacement (*ṣatva*), accent (*svara*), affix (*pratyayavidhi*) and augment *iṬ* (*iḍvidhi*)'. Since this *vārttika* proposal renders *n*-replacement (*natva*) of a *niṣṭhā* affix as *siddha* in view of a *ṣ*-replacement (*ṣatva*), the *ś* of *vraśc* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*. A replacement in *k* for *c* of *vraśc* cannot be blocked since *n*-replacement (*natva*) of 8.2.42 *radābhyām*. . .cannot be accepted as *siddha* in view of the same.

6. Why would *r* of *praśna* not go through *samprasāraṇa*? Because Pāṇini himself uses *praśna* as the correct form (cf. 3.2.117 *praśne cāsannakāle*). Refer to the appendix for additional derivational details.

6.1.17 लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम्

liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām
/ *liṭi* 7/1 *abhyāsasya* 6/1 *ubhayeṣām* 6/3/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13)
ubhayeṣāṃ vacyādīnāṃ grhyādīnāṃ ca liṭi parato'bhyāsasya samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
The *abhyāsa* of verbal roots enumerated beginning with both *vacI* 'to speak' (6.1.15) and *grahI* 'to hold, seize' (6.1.16) goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uvāca 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vac*'
uvacitha 'second person singular . . .'
suṣvāpa 'third person singular *LIṬ* of *svap* 'to sleep''
suṣvapitha 'second person singular . . .'
iyāja 'third singular active *LIṬ* of *yaj*'
iyajitha 'second person singular . . .'
uvāpa 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vap* 'to sow''
uvapitha 'second person singular . . .'
jagrāha 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of
grah 'to hold, seize''
jagrahitha 'second person singular . . .'
jijyau 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *jyā* 'to grow old''
jijyitha 'second person singular . . .'
uvāyu 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *veÑ* to weave'
uvayitha 'second person singular . . .'
vivyādha 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vyadh* 'to pierce' used with the preverb *vi*'
vivyadhitha 'second person singular . . .'
uvāśa 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vaś* 'to desire''
uvaśitha 'second person singular . . .'
vivyāca 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vyac* 'to deceive''
vivyacitha 'second person singular . . .'
vavraśca 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *vraśc* 'to cut''
vavraścitha 'second person singular . . .'
ūcatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ* of *vac* 'to speak''
ūcuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
vivyādha

1. Note that 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . . allows *samprasāraṇa* within the right context of an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. The *Kit*-status to a replacement of *LIṬ* is extended by 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*. Given this, why state our present rule when the *samprasāraṇa* required by it can be accomplished by 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*. . . . It is argued that rule 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit* extends *Kit*-status to only those replacements of *LIṬ* which are not marked with *P* (*apit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). This rule is then needed to allow *samprasāraṇa* in contexts where a replacement of *LIṬ* may be marked with *P*.

Consider, for example, affixes *ṆaL* and *thaL* which replace *tiP* and *siP*, the third and second person singular replacements of *LIṬ*. Affixes *ṆaL* and *thaL* are extended *pit*-status via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treatment of a replacement (*ādeśa*) as if it was the item (*sthānin*) it replaced'. Our present rule facilitates *samprasāraṇa* even when a non-*Kit*, in the present context a *pit*, follows. Thus we get *uvāca* and *uvacitha* from *vac* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *vac* + *a* and *vac* + (*LIṬ*→*siP* →*thaL*) = *vac* + *tha*, respectively, through *dvirvacana* 'iteration' and *samprasāraṇa*.

2. It is argued that forms of *grah*, *pracch* and *bhrasj* can be derived even without this rule. That is, we can get *grah* + (*Ṇ*) *a*(*L*) = *grah* + *a*→*grah* + *grah* + *a*→*gra* + *grah* + *a*→*ga* + *grah* + *a*, through iteration and operations specific to 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Our string *ga* + *grah* + *a* will eventually produce *jagrāha* through the *j* replacement of *g* and *vṛddhi* of *a* in *grah*. This same form can also be derived through iteration (*grah* + *grah* + *a*); *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa* (*g*(*r*→*ṛ*) *ah* + *grah* + *a*→*g*(*ṛ* + *a*→*ṛ*) *h* + *grah* + *a*; *uradatva* (7.4.66 *ur at* #1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*) *g*(*ṛ*→*ar*) *h* + *a* + *grah* + *a* and *halādiśeṣaḥ* (*ga*(*rh*→ϕ)) + *grah* + *a* = *gagraha*. Similar derivational cases can be made for derivates for *praccha* and *bhrasj*, with or without the application of *samprasāraṇa* of this rule. One avails *samprasāraṇa* without iteration (*dvirvacana*) with regard to an affix not marked with *K* as an *it* (*Kāś.*: *akidartham ced anabhyāsasya samprasāraṇaṃ vidhīyate*). In case of an affix marked with *K*, *samprasāraṇa* will be availed prior to iteration on account of being subsequent (*paratvāt*). Iteration can then follow in view of *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 40): *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham* 'a previously set aside rule applies when its operational context reappears'. Incidentally, the *Tattvabodhinī* reminds that rules apply like clouds which rain indiscriminately (*parjanyaval lakṣaṇaṃ pravartate*). That is, our present rule still applies in the context of cited verbs even if one can do without.

3. The case of *vraśc* is special. If one believes that this rule is not needed for *vraśc* then *vavraśca* can be derived through iteration and *halādiśeṣa*. That is, *vraśc* + *vraśc* + *a*→*vra* + *vraśc* + *a*→*va* + *vraśc* + *a* = *vavraśca*. This is basically the view of the *Kāśikā*. Patañjali feels that this rule is still needed for *vavraśca*. If one accepts this then *samprasāraṇa* must precede iteration. We will thus get *vraśc* + *a*→*vṛaśc* + *a*→*vṛśc* + *a*. If iteration precedes *samprasāraṇa* then, given *va* + *vraśc* + *a*, our present rule will demand the *samprasāraṇa* of initial *v*, thereby producing an undesired form (*v*→*u*) *a* + *vraśc* + *a*→(*u* + *a*→*u*) + *vraśc* + *a*→**uvraśca*. If *samprasāraṇa* precedes iteration then we get *vṛ* + *vraśc* + *a*. The *ṛ* will then be replaced with *ar* and the *r* will be dropped under the provisions of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. Thus, *v*(*ṛ*→*ar*→*va*(*r*→ϕ)) + *vraśc* + *a* = *vavraśca*. The initial *v* of *vavraśca* can then be saved from going through *samprasāraṇa* under the protection of *sthānivadbhāva*. That is, the *a* after *v* of *va* will then be treated as if it was *ṛ*. Rule 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam* will block this *samprasāraṇa*, especially when another *samprasāraṇa* followed.

4. Since Pāṇini uses *ubhayeṣām* explicitly even when reference to the two groups of *vacyādi* and *grahyādi* roots can be easily made by the context, this explicit mention of *ubhayeṣām* must serve some special purpose. It is to make clear that *samprasāraṇa* and operations relative to it must take precedence over, for example operations relative to 7.4.60 *halādiśeṣa*, that Pāṇini explicitly uses *ubhayeṣām*. Consider the derivation of *vivyādha* from *vyadh* + *vyadh* + (*Ṇ*) *a*(*L*) = *v*(*y*→*ia*) *dh* + *vyadh* + *a*→*vidh* + *vyadh* + *a*→*vi*(*dh*→ϕ) + *vyadh* + *a*→*vi* + *vy*(*a*→*ā*) *dh* + *a* = *vivyādha*. If, at the stage of *vyadh* + *vyadh* + *a*, we apply 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* as against *samprasāraṇa*, the result will be *va* + *vyadh* + *a*. A *samprasāraṇa* followed by penultimate *vṛddhi* will then yield a wrong form (*vi*→*u*) + *vy*(*a*→*ā*) *dh* + *a* = **uvyādha*. That is why *samprasāraṇa* applies on *vyadh* + *vyadh* + *a* to yield *vi* + *vyadh* + *a* on which 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* applies. An explicit mention of *ubhayeṣām* warns that a conflict in the application of *samprasāraṇa* and *halādiśeṣa* should not be decided on the basis of *paratva*. This may also be the reason why the tradition also recognizes *samprasāraṇaṃ tadāśrayaṃ ca kāryaṃ balavat* '*samprasāraṇa* and operations related to that are treated as stronger'.

Incidentally, a reference to two groups of roots without any explicit mention of *ubhayeṣām* is not facilitated by the governing contexts (*adhikāra*) mediated by *anuvṛtti* 'recurrence'. Instead, it is facilitated by the governing context mediated by *apekṣā* 'expectancy'.

6.1.18 स्वापेश्चङि

svāpeś caṅi
/*svāpeḥ* 6/1 *caṅi* 7/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13)
svāper iti svaper ṇyantasya grahaṇam, tasya caṅi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *svāpi* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when *caṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

asūṣupat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *svap* 'to sleep' used with causal *ṆIC*'
asuṣupan 'third person plural active . . .'

1. This rule specifies verbal root *svap* in its causal form (*ṇijanta*). We know it from *caṅi*, a right context which is not possible to obtain without the root ending in *ṆiC* (*Nyāsa*: *na hy aṇyantāc caṅ sambhavati*). Note also that one cannot here interpret *svāpi* as specifying non-causal verbal root *āpLṚ* 'to pervade' used with *su*. For, *caṅi* again will be impossible to justify. *Kāśikā* states that *svāpi*, in deriving *asūṣupat*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* prior to iteration (*dvirvacana*), possibly based upon *paratva* and surely on the basis of *samprasāraṇaṃ tadāśrayaṃ ca balavat* (*PŚ*: 129). A *guṇa*-replacement of the

short penultimate vowel (*laghūpadhaguṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) and shortening (*hrasva*) of its result (7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ*) follow. Iteration (*dvirvacana*) then applies followed by a long replacement for the light vowel (7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. Why was it necessary to state *caṅi*? So that *samprasāraṇa* can be blocked in examples such as *svāpyate* and *svāpitaḥ* where both are derivates of *ṆiC*. The first is a third person singular present passive and the second a derivate of *Kta*. Needless to say, these examples cannot involve *CaṄ*. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the *sūtras* as *svāpeś ca* with *ṅiti* carried via *anuvṛtti*? Such a formulation would confuse about whether the *anuvṛtti* of *ṅiti* was still valid? Answering it in the affirmative will raise the question whether the *anuvṛtti* of *kiti* was dropped. Besides, *ṅiti* would have offered a much wider right context. It is for clarity then that Pāṇini used *caṅi*.

Consider the derivation of *asūṣupat* 'third singular active causal past imperfect of *svap*'. Thus, *svap* + *ṆiC* (3.1.27 *hetumati ca*) = *sv(a→ā)p* + *i* + *LUṄ* (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*; 3.1.23 *sanādyantā*. . .; 3.2.110 *luṅ*) = *svāp* + *i* + *CLI* + *LUṄ* (3.1.43 *cli luṅi*) = *svāp* + *i* + (*CLI*→*CaṄ*) + *LUṄ* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridusrubhyaḥ kartari caṅ*) = *svāp* + *i* + (*C*) *a*(*Ṅ*) + *LUṄ* = *svāp* + *i* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a*(*Ṭ*) + *svāp* + *i* + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ*)→*a* + *svāp* + *i* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *svāp* + (*i*→ϕ) + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*) = *a* + *svāp* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *sv*(*ā*→*a*)*p* + *a* + *LUṄ* (7.4.1 *caṅy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ*) = *a* + *svap* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *s*(*v*→*u*) *ap* + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.1.18 *svāspeś caṅi*) = *a* + *suap* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *s*(*u* + *a*→*u*)*p* + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*)→*a* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ* →*a* + *sup* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*) = *a* + *su* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) = *a* + *su* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ*→*a* + *s*(*u*→*ū*) + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ* (7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*) = *a* + *sū* + *sup* + *a* + *LUṄ*.

A replacement of *LUṄ* with *tiP* yields *a* + *sū* + *sup* + *a* + *t*. Rule 7.2.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* applies to yield *a* + *sū* + *s*(*u*→*o*)*p* + *a* + *t*. Rule 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ hrasvaḥ* would then apply to yield *a* + *sū* + *s*(*o*→*u*)*p* + *a* + *t*. An application of *ṣatva* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*) will now yield: *a* + *su* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *up* + *a* + *t* = *asūṣupat*.

6.1.19 स्वपिस्यमिव्येञां यङि

svapisyamivyeñāṃ yaṅi

/ *svapisyamiveñām* (*itar. dv.*) 6/3 *yaṅi* 7/1/

(*samprasāraṇam* #13)

'*ñiṣvap śaye, svamu svana dhvana śabde, veña saṃvaraṇe*' *ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ yaṅi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*

Verbal roots *ÑIṣvap* 'to sleep', *syamU* 'to shout' and *vyeÑ* 'to cover' go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *soṣupyate* 'third person singular middle present derivate of *svap* 'to sleep' ending in *yaṄ*'
> *sesimyate* 'third person singular . . . of *syam* 'to cry' ending in *yaṄ*'
> *vevīyate* 'third person singular . . . of *vyeN* 'to wrap' ending in *yaṄ*'

1. Note that a right context of *yaṅi* is imposed so that *samprasāraṇa* could be blocked from applying elsewhere. Consider, for example *svapnak,* a derivate of affix *najIṄ* introducted after verbal root *svap* (3.2.172 *svapitṛṣor najiṅ*).

2. Note that *v* and *y* of verbal root *vyeÑ* can both form the focus of *samprasāraṇa.* But since Pāṇini blocks *samprasāraṇa* when *samprasāraṇa* forms the right condition (6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*), we learn that a *samprasāraṇa* which is subsequent should be accomplished first. The first *samprasāraṇa* then gets automatically blocked. The *samprasāraṇa* of *y,* thus accomplished in *veyÑ,* blocks the *samprasāraṇa* of *v.* Besides, the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* should also precede because of *pratyāsatti* 'proximity' with the condition (*nimitta*), i.e., *yaṄ.* The *e* of the root is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe'śiti*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

6.1.20 न वशः

> *na vaśaḥ*
> /*na* ϕ *vaśaḥ* 6/1/
> (*samprasāraṇam* #13 *yaṅi* #19)
> *vaśer dhātor yaṅi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati*
> Verbal root *vaśA* 'to desire' does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *vāvaśyate* 'third person singular middle present of *vaś* 'to desire' ending in *yaṄ*'
> *vāvaśyete* 'third person dual . . .'
> *vāvaśyante* 'third person plural . . .'

1. Our present rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* of verbal root *vaśA* when *yaṄ* followed. Recall that *vaś* can avail *samprasāraṇa* of 6.1.6 *grahijyāvayi. . . .* Derivates of this root will thus go through iteration. Thus, *vaś* + *ya*(*Ṅ*)→*vaś* + *vaś* + *ya*→*va* + *vaś* + *ya*→*v*(*a*→*ā*) + *vaś* + *ya.* The long vowel replacement for the short of *va* is accomplished after iteration and *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) by 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ.* Deriving the present active third personal singular dual and plural forms of verbal root *vaś* used with affix *yaṄ,* i.e., *vāvaśyate, vāvaśyete* and *vāvaśyante,* from *vāvaśya* + *LAṬ* with subse-

quent replacements for *LAṬ* and relevant operations, should pose no problem.

2. That this negation of *samprasāraṇa* is available only when *yaṄ* follows is important. For, the *samprasāraṇa* offered by 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*... applies elsewhere. Consider *uṣṭaḥ* and *uśanti* which derive from *vaś* + *Kta* and *vaś* + (*LAṬ*→*jhi*). Verbal root *vaś* goes through *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) here because affix *yaṄ* does not follow. Note that *uṣṭaḥ* is derived similar to *pṛṣṭaḥ* from (*uś* + *ta*) + *sU*)) where *uś* is gotten through *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa*. Our third plural present indicative active from *uśanti* also involves *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa*. Additionally, it involves deletion of *ŚaP* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*...) and replacement of *jh* by *ant* (7.1.3 *jho'ntaḥ*). Thus, *vaś* + *LAṬ*→*vaś* + (*LAṬ*→*jhi*)→*vaś* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*→*vaś* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *jhi* →(*v*→*u*) *aś* + *jhi*→*v*(*ua*→*u*) *ś* + *jhi*→*uś* + (*jh*→*ant*) *i* = *uś* + *anti*→*uśanti*.

6.1.21 चायः की

> *cāyaḥ kī*
> *cāyaḥ* 6/1 *kī* (1/1 deleted)
> (*yaṅi* #19)
> '*cāyṛ pūjāniśāmanayoḥ*' *ity etasya dhātor yaṅiparataḥ* '*kī*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
> Verbal root *cāyṚ* 'to honor' is replaced with *kī* when affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *cekīyate* 'third person singular present middle of *cāyṚ* 'to honor' ending in *yaṄ*'
> *cekīyete* 'third person dual...'
> *cekīyante* 'third person plural...'
> *cekītaḥ* 'third person dual active of *cāyṚ* with deletion of *yaṄ*'

1. Deriving *cikīyate*/ *cekīyete*/ *cekīyante* from (*cāyṚ*→*ki* + *ya*(*Ṅ*))+ (*LAṬ*), through iteration (*kī* + *kī* + *ya*), *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* (*k*(*ī*→*e*)) + *ki* + *ya* and *cutva* (*k*→*c*) *e* + *kī* + *ya* should not pose any difficulty. Affix *LAṬ* is as usual replaced with third personal *ātmanepada* suffixes. Look for additional details in the appendix.

2. Why specify *kī* with the long *ī* when a short *i* could easily be replaced with its long counterpart via application of 7.4.25 *akṛtasārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ*. A specification with long *ī* is made because *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* would make this long replacement impossible. Consider *cekī* + *tas*→*cekītaḥ*.

6.1.22 स्फायः स्फी निष्ठायाम्

> *sphāyaḥ sphī niṣṭhāyām*
> / *sphāyaḥ* 6/1 *sphī* (deleted 1/1) *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1/
> (*samprasāraṇam* #13)

'sphāyī opyāyī vṛddhau' ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ parataḥ 'sphī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

Verbal root *sphāyĪ* 'to swell' is replaced with *sphī* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sphītaḥ 'swollen (*Kta*)'
sphītavān 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'

1. The condition of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktavatū niṣṭhā*) is required so that a string such as *sphāy* + *KtiN* (3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*) could be blocked from availing this replacement. That is, *sphī* comes as a replacement only when the context is that of *niṣṭhā*. A derivate of *sphāy* + *KtiN* will thus be *sphātī* as in *sphātī bhavati* 'that which swelled which previously it was not'. Note that 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* will delete *y* of *sphāy* + *ti*. The long replacement for the short final *i* of *sphāti* is gotten under the right context of *CvI* (7.4.26 *cvau ca*). This *CvI* is, of course, introduced by 5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve*. . ., in coordination with *bhū* thereby yielding *sphātī bhavati*. The affixal *v* is deleted by 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*.

2. The *anuvṛtti* of *niṣṭhā* is valid prior to 6.1.29 *liṅyaṅoś ca*. Commentators warn that *sphī* is not marked with *svarita*. Consequently, the *anuvṛtti* of *sphī* is suspended.

6.1.23 स्त्यः प्रपूर्वस्य

styaḥ prapūrvasya
/ *styaḥ* 6/1 *prapūrvasya* 6/1 = *pra pūrvo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22)
'styā' ity etasya prapūrvasya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
The *styā* of verbal root *styai* 'to sound, crowd', used with the preverb *pra*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prastītaḥ 'assembled, gathered (*Kta*)'
prastītavān 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'
prastīmaḥ 'ibidem (*Kta*)'
prastīmavān 'ibidem (*KtavatU*)'
prasaṃstītaḥ 'ibidem (*pra-sam-styai* + *Kta*)'
prasaṃstītavān 'ibidem (*pra-sam-styai* + *KtavatU*)

1. *Kāśikā* states that *styaḥ* includes references to verbal roots *styai* and *ṣṭyai* both. For, they both yield the form *styā*. They both have their *ai* replaced with *ā* of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe aśiti*. The *ṣ* of *ṣṭyai* is replaced with *s* of 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ*. The *ṭ* which will then follow *s* have to be replaced with a corresponding dental *t*. This is how one gets the form *styā*. A form such as

prastīta is derived from *pra* + *sty*(*ai*→*ā*) + (*K*) *ta*→*pra* + *st*(*y*→*i*) *ā* + *ta* = *prast*(*i* +*a*→*i*) + *ta* = *prast*(*i*→*ī*) + *ta*. A long replacement for the short *i* is gotten from the application of 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Similar steps have to be followed for deriving *prastītavān*, nominative singular of *prastītavat*. The *t* of these *niṣṭhā* suffixes is optionally replaced with *m* when occurring after *styai* used with the preverb *pra* (8.2.55 *prastyo' nyatarasyām*).

2. Why do we have to used *prapūrvasya* when a formulation such as *prastyaḥ* could account for what it does. The expression *prapūrvasya* is used so that *samprasāraṇa* and *t*→*m*-replacement can also be availed in examples such as *prasaṃstītaḥ* and *prasaṃstītavān*. The word *prapūrvasya* will then have to be interpreted as genitive signifying *avayava* 'part of a whole'. The compound *prapūrvaḥ* itself will be interpreted as a *vyadhikaraṇa-bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *pra pūrvo yasya* 'that (a root or preverb + root) whose initial is *pra*'. Given *prasaṃstītaḥ*, etc., *prapūrvasya* will refer to *samstyai* used with *pra* as its initial.

6.1.24 द्रवमूर्तिस्पर्शयोः श्यः

dravamūrttisparśayoḥ śyaḥ
/ *drava-mūrtti-sparśayoḥ* 7/2 = *dravasya mūrttiḥ kāṭhinyam* = *dravamūrttiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *dravamūrttiś ca sparśaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*), *tayoḥ*; *śyaḥ* 6/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22)
'*dravakāṭhinye sparśe vartamānasya* '*śyaiṅ gatau*' *ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyām parataḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati*
Verbal root *ŚyaiṄ*, when used in the sense of *dravamūrtti* 'solidification of liquid' and *sparśa* 'touch', goes through *samprasāraṇa* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śīnaṃ ghṛtam 'solidified clear butter'
śīnā vasā 'solidified animal fat'
śīnaṃ medaḥ 'solidified fat'
śītaṃ vartate 'it (the touch) is cold'
śīto vāyuḥ 'wind with a touch of cold'
śītam udakam 'water with a touch of cold'

1. Note that *dravamūrtti* is glossed by *Kāśikā* as *dravakāṭhinya* 'solidification of liquid'. The same is further explained by *Nyāsa* as *dravāvasthāyā uttaro' vasthāviśeṣaḥ kāṭhinyākhyaḥ* 'a subsequent state of liquid characterized as solidified'.

The word *sparśa* 'touch, contact' has been glossed as a quality accompanied with form, etc. (*rūpādisahacarito guṇaḥ*). A question is now raised concerning coreferentiality between a modifier (*guṇa*) such as *vāyu* characterised as *sparśa* and the modified such as *vāyu* 'wind', a *drvavya* 'thing'. It is ex-

plained that certain modifiers, for example *śukla* 'white' of *paṭasya śuklaḥ* 'whiteness of the cloth', based upon their inseparable relationship with corresponding modifieds, for example *śuklaḥ* of *śuklaḥ paṭaḥ* 'the white cloth', at times can be accepted as co-referential. A modifier such as *śīta* can thus be construed in both the senses of *guṇa* 'quality' and *guṇin* 'locus of quality'.

2. Note that derivates of *niṣṭhā* with no signification of *sparśa* 'touch' will have their *t* replaced with *n* (8.2.47 *śyo'sparśe*). We will thus get *śīnaṃ ghṛtam*, etc. This also explains why the *t* of *śīto vāyuḥ* cannot be replaced with *n*. The *ai* of *śyai* goes through *ā*-replacement (*ātva*), *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvarūpa* and *ī*-replacement similar to *styai* of the preceding rule.

3. What is the consequence of not meeting the twin conditions of *dravamūrtti* and *sparśa*? Lack of *samprasāraṇa*, and *n*-replacement of *t* of the affix termed *niṣṭhā* (*niṣṭhānatva*). Consider, for example, *saṃśyāno vṛścikaḥ* 'a rolled up scorpion'.

6.1.25 प्रतेश्च

prateś ca
/*prateḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22 *śyaḥ* #24)
prater uttarasya śyāyater niṣṭhāyāṃ parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *ŚyaiN*, when used after the preverb *prati*, also goes through *samprasāraṇa* when a suffix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pratiśīnaḥ 'that which has melted; liquid'
pratiśīnavān 'that which has a tendency to melt'

1. This rule is formulated to also allow *samprasāraṇa* outside the meaning conditions of *dravamūrtti* and *sparśa*. Verbal root *śyaiN* is to be used here with the preverb *prati*. Derivational steps are followed similar to examples of the preceding rule. The *n*-replacement of *t* is accomplished by 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder āto dhātor*. . . .

6.1.26 विभाषाऽभ्यवपूर्वस्य

vibhāṣā' bhyavapūrvasya
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *abhy-ava-pūrvasya* 6/1 = *abhiś ca avaś ca abhyavau* (*dv*); *abhyavau pūrvau yasya* (*bv.* with internal *dv.*)/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *niṣṭhāyām* #22 *śyaḥ* 24)
'*abhi, ava' ity evam pūrvasya śyāyater niṣṭhāyāṃ vibhāṣā samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
Verbal root *ŚyaiN*, when used after the preverbs *abhi* and *ava*, goes through *samprasāraṇa* only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

> *abhiśīnaṃ ghṛtam* 'melted clarified butter'
> *abhiśyānam* 'ibidem'
> *avaśīnaṃ medaḥ* 'melted animal fat'
> *avaśyānaṃ ghṛtam* 'ibidem'
> *abhiśīto vāyuḥ* 'cold wind'
> *abhiśyānaḥ vāyuḥ* 'ibidem'
> *avaśītam udakam* 'cold water'
> *avaśyānam udakam* 'ibidem'

1. Note that this option of *vibhāṣā* is *ubhayatra*. That is, it is now available (*prāpta*) to the context of *abhi* and *ava* which it previously was not (*aprāpta*). The *samprasāraṇa* in the context of *dravamūrtti* and *psarśa*, which was not made available (*aprāpta*) by rule 6.1.24 *dravamūrttisparśayoḥ*... to the context of *abhi* and *ava*, is now made optionally available. Consequently, we get two sets of forms: one with *samprasāraṇa* and the other without. A set with application of *samprasāraṇa* lacks *n*-replacement for the *t* of *niṣṭhā*. For, the derivate does not retain any sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ* (cf. 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder*...). A set of derivates with no application of *samprasāraṇa* will remain *yaṇvān* 'possessing a sound denoted by *yaṆ*'. Consequently, *n*-replacement for *t* of *niṣṭhā* will apply. Derivates of *ŚyaiṄ* will also have their *t* replaced with *n* when derivates denote non-touch (*asparśa*).

6.1.27 श्रृतं पाके

> *śṛtaṃ pāke*
> /*śṛtam* 1/1 *pāke* 7/1/
> (*niṣṭhāyām* #22 *vibhāṣā* #26)
> '*śrā pāke*' *ity etasya dhātor ṇyantasyāṇyantasya ca pāke' bhidheye ktapratyaye parataḥ śṛbhāvo nipātyate*
> Verbal root *śrā* is optionally replaced with *śṛ*, via *nipātana*, when it is used with the signification of *pāka* 'cooking', and affix *Kta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *śṛtaṃ kṣīram* 'cooked milk'
> *śṛtaṃ haviḥ* 'cooked ritual oblation of food'

1. Commentators explain that *śṛtam* here refers to verbal root *śrā*, when used with or without the causal suffix *ṆiC*. This option is explained as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'a fixed option made available in special contexts'. That is, a replacement in *śṛ* is obligatory (*nitya*) in the context of deriving *śṛtam*, only when *pāka* 'softening' is denoted. Elsewhere, it is not available. The word *pāka* is here used to clearly specify the context of this *nipātana*, i.e., *kṣīra* 'oblation of rice-pudding' and *havi* 'oblation'. A replacement of *śrā*

with *śṛ*, for example, in *śrāṇā yavāgūḥ* 'barley gruel is cooked' and *śrapitā yavāgūḥ* 'barley gruel was caused to be cooked', cannot be permitted. Incidentally, *śrāṇā* is a derivate of *Kta* where *t* is replaced with *ṇ* via *n* (8.2.43 *saṃyogāder āto*...). Feminine affix *ṬāP* is then introduced to *śrāṇa* to derive *śrāṇā*. Our next example *śrapitā* is also a derivate of *Kta* ending in *ṬāP*, though *śrā* is here used with *ṆiC*. Augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *artīhrīvlī*...) with a subsequent application of *hrasva* 'shortening' produces: *śrā* + *p*(*UK*) + (*Ṇ*)*i*(*C*) + (*K*)*ta*→*śr*(*ā*→*a*) + *p* + (*Ṇ*)*i*(*C*) + (*K*)*ta*. Note that a *sūtra* of the *dhātupāṭha*, i.e., *ghaṭādayo mitaḥ*, recognizes *śrā* as marked with *M* as an *it*. This, in turn, enables application of shortening (6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*). Affix *ṆiC* is deleted by 6.4.52 *niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi* after augment *iṬ* is introduced. Thus, *śra* + *p* + (*Ṇ*)*i*(*C*)→ϕ)) + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*K*)*ta*→*śra* + *p* + *i* + *ta* = *śrapita*. Affix *ṬāP* can now be introduced to derive *śrapitā*.

2. It is stated that the *śṛ*-replacement is also not allowed when a *bāhya* 'indirect' *prayojaka* 'instigator' is involved. Thus, consider *śrapitaṃ kṣīram devadattena yajñadattena* 'Devadatta had Yajñadatta cook the oblation of rice-pudding' where *yajñadatta* is the indirect instigator. Verbal root *śrā* is explained as intransitive (*akarmaka*), used here in the sense of *pac* with its object having agent as its locus (*karmakartṛviṣayaka*). Thus, consider *śṛtaṃ kṣīraṃ svayam eva* 'the oblation cooked by itself' and *śṛtaṃ kṣīraṃ devadattena* 'Devadatta had the oblation cooked'. The word *pāka* is used in this *sūtra* so that *nipātana* could be restricted to the context of 'oblation'.

6.1.28 प्यायः पी

pyāyaḥ pī
/*pyāyaḥ* 1/1 *pī* (1/1 deleted)/
(*niṣṭhāyām* #22 *vibhāṣā* #26)
'*opyāyī vṛddhau*' *ity asya dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ vibhāṣā* '*pī*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
Verbal root *Opyāyī* 'to swell' is optionally replaced with *pī* when a suffix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pīnaṃ mukham 'a swollen face; a wide face'
pīnau bāhū 'strong arms'
pīnam uraḥ 'strong chest'

1. This provision of replacement can also be labeled as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. That is, it is obligatorily available when verbal root *Opyāyī* is not used with a preverb. It is, of course, blocked when the root is used with a preverb. Thus, no replacement is available in *āpyānaś candramāḥ* 'a full moon' where *pyā* is used with the preverb *ā*. Incidentally, *n*-replacement for the *t* of *niṣṭhā* is accomplished by 8.2.45 *oditaś ca*.

2. Commentators add, however, that *pyā* is replaced with *pī* when it is used with the preverb *āṄ*, and when derivates denote *andhu* 'water-well' and *ūdhas* 'udder'. Yet another instance of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. Thus, *āpīno' ndhuḥ* 'a water-well full to the brim' and *āpīnam ūdhaḥ* 'an udder full of milk'.

6.1.29 **लिड्यङोश्च**

> *liḍyaṅoś ca*
> / *liḍ-yaṅoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ф/
> (*pyāyaḥ pī* #28)
> *liṭi yaṅi caparataḥ 'pyāyaḥ pī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
> Verbal root *Opyāyī* is replaced with *pī* when affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

> *āpipye* 'third singular middle perfect (*LIṬ*) of *Opyāyī* (to fill)'
> *āpipyire* 'third plural . . .'
> *āpepīyate* 'third singular middle present of *āpepīya*'
> *āpepīyete* 'second dual present of . . .'
> *āpepīyante* 'third plural present . . .'

1. Note that *vibhāṣa* is not carried over, especially since *vibhāṣā* is explicitly stated in the following rule. Particle *ca* is used for bringing *pyāyaḥ pī* to facilitate the replacement in *pī*. Thus, this rule allows a replacement in *pī* when affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ* follow. Consider *āpipye* and *āpipyire*, the third singular and plural middle forms of *LIṬ* which derive from *ā*(*Ṅ*) + (*pyā*→*pī*) + (*LIṬ*→*ta* →*eŚ*) and *ā*(*Ṅ*) + *pyā* + (*LIṬ*→*jha*→*ireC*), respectively. A replacement in *eŚ* and *ireC* for third person middle singular and plural affixes *ta* and *jha* is gotten from 4.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor*. . . . A replacement in *pī* is accomplished prior to iteration since the rule which allows this replacement happens to be subsequent (*para*) in order. Iteration then applies because its applicational context presents itself again (*PŚ*: 40) *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham*. We thus get *ā* + (*pyā*→*pī*) + (*LIṬ*→*ta*→*eŚ*)).

Note that a conflict of application between *pī*-replacement and iteration is not of the type one finds between a general (*sāmānya*) rule and its related exception (*apavāda*). Actually, the *pī*-replacement, if not applied prior to iteration, will render this rule without any scope of application (*niravakāśa*). To put iteration temporarily on hold is the best (*utkṛṣṭa*) way of saving this rule from becoming vacuous.

An application of iteration produces *ā* + *pī* + *pī* + *e*. The long *ī* of the *abhyāsa* is replaced with its short counterpart to produce: *āp*(*ī*→*i*) + *pī* + *e*. The following long *ī* is replaced with *y* (*yaṆ*) to yield *āpipye*. This *yaṆ*-replacement is accomplished by 6.4.82 *er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya*. The plural *āpipyire* follows similar pattern. The third personal singular, dual and plural present indicative middle (*LAṬ*) derivates with *yaṄ* also involve *pī*-replace-

ment and iteration. A *guṇa* of their *abhyāsa* is accomplished by 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*. Follow derivational patterns of many *yaṄ*-derivates already explained.

6.1.30 विभाषा श्वेः

vibhāṣā śveḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *śveḥ* 7/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *liḍyaṅoḥ* #29)
liṭi yaṅi ca śvayater dhātor vibhāṣā samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *ṬUOśvi* 'to swell' optionally goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affixes *LIṬ* and *yaṄ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

śuśāva 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *śvi* 'to swell''
śiśvāya 'ibidem'
śuśuvatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
śiśviyatuḥ 'ibidem'
śośūyate 'third person singular middle derivate of *LAṬ* of *śvi* ending in *yaṄ*'
śeśvīyate 'ibidem'

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *samprasāraṇa, LIṬ* and *yaṄ*. Of course, the application of *samprasāraṇa* is optional. The option (*vibhāṣa*) itself is interpreted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. Verbal root *śvi* has *samprasāraṇa* available (*prāpta*) to it obligatorily (*nitya*) before a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* (*kit*; 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . .). That is, the *samprasāraṇa* is not available (*aprāpta*) to it before an affix not marked with *K* (*akit*). The *samprasāraṇa* before *yaṄ* has not yet been made available. Our present rule makes it optionally available.

The word *vibhāṣa* has been defined by 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* as denoting the sense of *na vā* 'or not'. This *na vā* is construed with a rule of *ubahayatra-vibhāṣā* in part. Thus, *na* 'not' first negates the option which may be made available (*prāpta*) elsewhere (*anyatra*). The *vā* then makes that negative provision optional. The *na*, in the context of our present rule, will first negate provisions made by 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām*. . . . The *vā* will then make it available optionally in case of verbal root *śvi*. In case of the option of *samprasāraṇa*, which is not made available (*aprāpta*) elsewhere, *na* of *na vā* cannot be construed with the rule. For, negation can apply only when a positive provision is already made. Consequently, *vā* alone will provide for optional *samprasāraṇa*.

Refer to the appendix of 1.1.44 *na veti vibhāṣā* (II:379-82) for derivational details.

6.1.31 णौ च संश्चङोः

ṇau ca saṃścaṅoḥ
/*ṇau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *saṃścaṅoḥ* 7/2 = *saṃś ca caṅ ca, tayoḥ* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*samprasāraṇam* #13 *vibhāṣā śveḥ* #30)
sanpare caṅpare ca ṇau parataḥ śvayater dhātor vibhāṣa samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *ṬUOśvi* 'to swell' goes through *samprasāraṇa* provided when *ṆiC*, followed by affixes *saN* and *CaṄ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

śuśāvayiṣati 'third person singular causal *saN* derivate in *LAṬ* of *śvi*'
śiśvāyayiṣati 'ibidem'
aśūśavat 'third person singular causal derivate of *śvi* in *LUṄ*'
aśiśvayat 'ibidem'

1. Note that the *parasaptamī* 'locative of right context' in *ṇau* and *saṃścaṅoḥ* denote different loci (*bhinnādhikaraṇa*). It is used in *ṇau* with reference to *śvi*. It is used in *saṃścaṅoḥ* with reference to *ṇau*. Consequently, this rule must be interpreted with two-step qualifiers to *ṬUOśvi* as follows:

(*i*) *saṅścaṅoḥ parato yo'ṇiḥ* 'the *ṆiC* which occurs when *saN* and *CaṄ* follow';
(*ii*) *tasmin ṇau parato yaḥ śvayatiḥ* 'the *śvi* which occurs when *ṆiC*, particularly of the kind of (*i*) follows'.

Thus, the interpretation: *sanpare caṅpare ca ṇau parataḥ* 'when *ṆiC*, followed by *saN* and *CaṄ*, follows'.

2. Commentators remind here again that *samprasāraṇa*, or an operation related to *samprasāraṇa*, is treated as comparatively more powerful (*balavattara*; *samprasāraṇam samprasāraṇāśrayaṃ ca balīyo bhavati*). Consequently, *samprasāraṇa* is able to block *vṛddhi*, etc., which happens to be internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). Of course, *vṛddhi* and replacement in *āv*, as in *śuśāvayiṣati*, apply subsequent to *samprasāraṇa*.

Rule 7.4.80 *oḥ puyaṇjy apare* provides that 'an *i* comes in place of the final sound of an *abhyāsa* when affix *saN* follows, provided the *abhyāsa* ends in *u* and occurs before a labial (*pU*), a semivowel (*yaṆ*) or *j*, followed by *a*'. This, in turn, becomes an indicator that a substitution caused by *ṆiC*, for purposes of iteration (*dvirvacana*), is treated as what it replaced, irrespective of whether or not it conditions iteration. Let us consider a somewhat controlled derivation of *śiśvāyayiṣati* where verbal root *śu* is used with the causal *ṆiC* before affix *saN*. A *vṛddhi* of *i* followed by its replacement by *āy* will yield: *śv*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *i* + *i* + (*Ṭ*→ϕ) + *sa* = *śvāyi* + *i* (*s*→*ṣ*) *a* = *śvāyi* + *i* + *ṣa*. An iteration on *śvāyi* where *śvi* is not treated as a root via *sthānivadbhāva* will produce wrong results: **śā* + *śvāyi* + *i* + *ṣa*. But bringing *śvi* via *sthānivadbhāva* for

purposes of iteration will offer the correct form *ś(v→φ)i* + *śvāyi* + *i* + *ṣa*→ *śiśvāy(i→e→ay)* + *i* + *ṣa* = *śiśvāyayiṣa*. Given *śvi* + *i* + *sa*, an application of *samprasāraṇa* will similarly produce *ś(v→u)i* + *sa*→*ś* (*u*→*i*→*u*) + *i* + *sa*→ *ś(u→au→āv)* + *i* + *sa* = *śāv* + *i* + *i* + *ṣa*, where iteration, if applies with reference to *śāv* + *i* will produce wrong results: **śā* + *śāv* + *i* + *i* + *ṣa*. The correct form should be *śu* + *śāv* + *i* + *ṣa* which will finally, through *śu* retrieved via *sthānivadbhāva*, augment *iṬ*, and *i*→*e*→*ay* replacements of *ṆiC*, will produce *śuśāvayiṣa* of *śuśāvayiṣati*.

Let us return to our reference to rule 7.4.80 *oḥ puyaṇjy apare* which becomes an indicator for applying iteration via *sthānivadbhāva* when *ṆiC* follows. It also means that *samprasāraṇa* blocks iteration initially. For, in its absence, the question of *śāvi* forming the focus of iteration via *sthānivadbhāva* does not arise. It also makes known that internally conditioned *vṛddhi*, etc., are also blocked by *samprasāraṇa*. Consequently, *vṛddhi* and replacement in *āv* (*āv-ādeśa*) also apply subsequent to the application of *samprasāraṇa* (*Kāś.*: . . . *kṛte tu samprasāraṇe vṛddhir āvādeśaś ca. tataḥ 'oḥ puyaṇjy apare* (7.4.80)' *ity etad vacanaṃ jñāpakam-ṇau kṛtasthānivadbhāvasya itis sthānivadbhāvāt śuśabdo dvirucyate*). Derivates of *CaṆ* have to be handled accordingly. Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

6.1.32 ह्वः सम्प्रसारणम्

hvaḥ samprasāraṇam
/*hvaḥ* 1/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/
(*ṇau ca saṃścaṅoḥ* #31)
sanpare caṅpare ca ṇau parato hvaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *hveÑ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *ṆiC*, followed by affix *saN* or *CaṆ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

juhāvayiṣati 'he wishes to challenge'
juhāvayiṣataḥ 'those two whish to . . .'
juhāvayiṣanti 'those all wish to . . .'
ajūhavat 'he challenged'
ajuhavatām 'they two challenged . . .'
ajūhavan 'they all challenged'

1. What is the purpose of explicitly stating *samprasāraṇam* when we already have the same available through *anuvṛtti*. Pāṇini uses *samprasāraṇa* so that he can drop the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* which happens to be associated with the earlier *samprasāraṇa*. This *samprasāraṇa* is used to drop the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* and hence is not optional. Look for derivational details in the appendix.

2. Once again, since *samprasāraṇa* and operations related to it enjoy greater strength, *vṛddhi*, etc., are again initially put on hold in favor of

samprasāraṇa. This is also the reason why augment *yUK* (7.3.37 *śācchāsāh-vāvyāvepāṃ yuk*) is also blocked in favor of *samprasāraṇa.*

3. Why can we not have a single formulation of this rule as *hvaḥ samprasāraṇam abhyastasya.* This way we do not need a separate 6.1.33 *abhyastasya ca.* A split formulation is made to indicate that *samprasāraṇa* is accomplished only when an affix conditioning *abhyāsa* intervenes. One can not accomplish *samprasāraṇa* when an affix which did not condition *abhyāsa* intervenes (*Kāś.*: *'hvaḥ samprasāraṇam abhyastasya' ity ekayogen siddhe pṛthag yogakaraṇam anabhyastanimittapratyayena vyavadhāne samprasāraṇābhāvajñāpanārtham*). It is for this reason that *samprasāraṇa* is not accomplished in examples such as *hvāyakīyati* parallel to *hvāyakam icchati* '. . .wishes for . . .'. This same is also true of a corresponding derivate of *saN,* i.e., *jihvāyakīyiṣati.*

6.1.33 **अभ्यस्तस्य च**

> *abhyastasya ca*
> / *abhyastasya* 6/1/ *ca* ϕ/
> (*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #32)
> *abhyastasya kāraṇasya hvayateḥ prāg eva dvirvacanāt samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
> The *hveÑ* which constitutes the source of an *abhyasta* also goes through *samprasāraṇa.*

EXAMPLES:

> *juhāva* 'he called out'
> *juhūyate* 'he makes repeated challenges'
> *juhūṣati* 'wishes to challenge?'

1. The *ca* of this rule is used to attract *hvaḥ* from the preceding rule. If *hvaḥ* is not attracted by *ca* then *samprasāraṇa* will apply to what is termed an *abhyasta.* That means it will apply to both the *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *prathamo' bhyāsaḥ*) and *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*).

Note that *abhyastasya* and *hvaḥ* both end in the genitive. But this dual genitive cannot establish a coreferential relationship (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) between *abhyastasya* and *hvaḥ.* That is, we cannot interpret the strings *abhyastasya hvaḥ* as 'the *hva* which is (also) termed *abhyasta*'. For, this will then require iteration whereby the term *abhyasta* can be assigned. But *samprasāraṇa* cannot be applied now since 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam* will not permit it. It is in view of this difficulty that the relationship between *abhyastasya* and *hvaḥ* is accepted as *vyadhikaraṇa,* i.e., that which involves different loci. The phrase is then interpreted as: *abhyastasya tu hveñ* 'the *hveñ* of *abhyasta*'. *Kāśikā* interprets it as that *hveÑ* which is the *kāraṇa* 'basis, source' for the assignment of the term *abhyasta.* The *Mahābhāṣya* simply calls it the base (*prakṛti*; *abhyastasya prakṛter iti*) which forms as the source for assignment of the term *abhyasta.* This makes it possible for *samprasāraṇa* to

take place prior to *dvitva.* Thus, in contexts where assignment of the term *abhyasta* is possible after iteration, *samprasāraṇa* is accomplished prior to iteration. Consider *juhāva, juhūyate* and *juhūṣati,* derivates of *LIṬ, yaṄ* and *saN,* respectively, for illustration. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.34 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/bahulaṃ 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*hvaḥ samprasāraṇam* #32)
chandasi viṣaye hvayater dhātor bahulaṃ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
Verbal root *hveÑ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* in the Vedic, variously.

EXAMPLES:

indrāgnī huve 'I invoke the presence of Indra and Agni'
devīṃ sarasvatīṃ huve 'I invoke the presence of Sarasvatī, the divine'
hvayāmi marutaḥ śivān 'I invoke the presence of benevolent winds'

1. It is because of this provision of *bāhulaka* 'variously' that we get *samprasāraṇa* and *uvAṄ* in an example such as *huve* 'first person singular present indicative middle' of *hu* 'to call'. But one can also find an example such as *hvayāmi,* the first person singular present indicative active of *hu,* where *samprasāraṇa* is not accomplished. Refer to the appendix for full derivational details.

6.1.35 चायः की

cāyaḥ kī
/cāyaḥ 6/1 *kī* (deleted 1/1)/
(*bahulaṃ chandasi* #33)
cāyater dhātoś chandasi viṣaye bahulaṃ 'kī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Verbal root *cāyṚ* 'to honor' is variously replaced with *kī* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

viyantā nyanyaṃ cikyur na nicikyur anyam
'they did not worship any other'
agnir jyotir nicāyam

1. Here again a replacement in *kī,* or its absence, is accounted for by *nipātana.* Thus, *ni-cikī* + (*LIṬ*→*jhi*→*us*) = *nicikyus,* but *ni-cāy* + (*Ktvā*→*Lyap*) = *nicāya.*

6.1.36 अपस्पृधेथामानृचुरानृहुश्चिच्युषेतित्याजश्राताः श्रितमाशीराशीर्ताः

apaspṛdhethām-ānṛcur-ānṛhuś-cicyuṣe-tityāja-śrātāḥ śritam-āśīrāśīrttāḥ

/*apaspṛdhethām* (a form in *tiṄ*); *ānṛcuḥ* (a form in *tiṄ*); *ānṛhuḥ* (a form in *tiṄ*); *cicyuṣe* (a form in *tiṄ*); *tityāja* (a form in *tiṄ*); *śrātāḥ* 1/3 *śritam* 1/1 *āśīḥ* 1/1 *āśīrttaḥ* 1/1/
(*samprasāraṇam* #32 *chandasi* #34)
'*apaspṛdhethām*'*ity ete śabdāḥ chandasi viṣaye nipātyante*
The following are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic:
apaspṛdhethām, ānṛcuḥ, anṛhuḥ, cicyuṣe, tityāja, śrātāḥ, śritam, āśīḥ, and *āśīrttaḥ.*

EXAMPLES:

apaspṛdhethām 'second person dual middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *apa-spardh* 'to compete''
ānṛcuḥ 'this person plural active *LIṬ* of *ān-arc* 'to worship, respect''
ānṛhuḥ 'third person . . . of *ān-arh* 'to respect''
cicyuṣe
tityāja 'third person singular active *LIṬ* of *tyaj* 'abandon'
śrātāḥ '*Kta*-derivate of *śrīÑ* 'to cook''
śritam 'ibidem'
āśīḥ '(*āṄ-śrī* + *Kta* + *KviP*) + *Kta*'
āśīrttaḥ '(*āṄ*-(*śrā*→*śīr*) + *Kta*'

1. Refer to the appendix for derivational details, especially as they relate to *nipātana.*

6.1.37 न सम्प्रसारणे सम्प्रसारणम्

na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam
/*na* ϕ *samprasāraṇe* 7/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/
samprasāraṇe parataḥ pūrvasya yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ* is not replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* when *samprasāraṇa* follows *yaṆ.*

EXAMPLES:

viddhaḥ 'pierced'
vicitaḥ 'deceived'
samvītaḥ 'properly covered; (*sam-vyeÑ*) + *Kta*)) + *sU*'

1. This rule negates *samprasāraṇa* when *samprasāraṇa* follows. Why do we need such a rule? So that *samprasāraṇa* can be blocked from applying to instances of sounds denoted by *yaṆ.* Consider the derivation of *viddhaḥ* from *vyadh* + (*K*) *ta.* Should one apply *samprasāraṇa* to *v* and *y* both? Our present rule makes it clear that *samprasāraṇa* should apply only to *y.* How do we know that *samprasāraṇa* cannot apply to *v*? We know it from this negative provision of *samprasāraṇa* conditioned by the right context of *samprasāraṇa.*

Obviously, a right context of negation of *samprasāraṇa* cannot be gotten if *samprasāraṇa* did not apply to a *yaṆ* that occurred subsequent to another *yaṆ*.

One cannot invoke the *alo' ntya-paribhāṣā* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) to restrict application of *samprasāraṇa* to the final *yaṆ* of a given form. For, that will render the *samprasāraṇa* provision of 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*... vacuous. One can also not invoke the *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 104): *anantyavikāre' ntyasadeśasya*, thereby restricting the application of *samprasāraṇa* to a *yaṆ* which is next to the final sound segment of a given form.

The formation of rule 6.1.28 *pyāyaḥ pī* also indicates that not every *yaṆ* should be replaced with *samprasāraṇa*. For, if all occurrences of sounds denoted by *yaṆ* could be replaced with *samprasāraṇa* in a form then specification of *pī* as a replacement for *pyāy* was unnecessary. For, *pīna* of *pīnam mukham* could have then been derived without *pī* as a replacement. Thus, given *pyāy* + (*K*) *ta*, *samprasāraṇa*, if applied to both *y*-elements, could yield: *p*(*y*→*i*) *ā*(*y*→*i*) → *p*(*iā*→*i*) + *i* + *ta* through *pūrvarūpa*. An application of 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*, followed by that of 6.4.2 *halaḥ*, could produce: *p*(*i* + *i*→*ī*) + *ta*→*p*(*i*→*ī*) + *ta* = *pīta*. The *t* could be then replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oditaś ca*) to yield *pī* + (*t*→*n*) *a* = *pīna*. Why can *samprasāraṇa*, in this derivation of *pīna*, not apply only to the final *y* of *pyāy*? This, of course, will be in consonance with 1.1.52 *alo'ntyasya*. This application of *samprasāraṇa* on the final *y* is possible if the genitive, in *pyāyaḥ* of *pyāyaḥ pī*, is interpreted as denoting 'in place of' (*sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī*; 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). But this genitive when interpreted as denoting 'part of a whole' (*avayava-ṣaṣṭhī*) cannot block *samprasāraṇa* from applying to both *y*-elements of *pyāyaḥ*. For purposes of *samprasāraṇa*, it will yield the interpretation: 'the *y* forming a part of *pyāy*'. This again indicates that *samprasāraṇa* does not apply to all sounds denoted by *yaṆ*. It applies only to a subsequent *yaṆ* and not to any preceding. This application of *samprasāraṇa* only applicable to a subsequent *yaṆ* is not possible to be known from *vidhyaty adhanuṣā*, etc. For, *vidhyati* can be derived also by applying *samprasāraṇa* in turn (*paryāya*). This rule is then needed (*PM* ad *Kāś*.: ... *na sarvasya yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam bhavati; tatra kuta etat-parasyaiva bhavati na pūrvasyeti; na ca vidhyatītyādinirdeśāt parasyaiveti śakyam avagantum. paryāyeṇa pravṛttāv api tadutpatteḥ. tasmād ārabhyam evaitat*).

Some still argue that there is nothing in the specification of of *samprasāraṇa* which can stop it from not applying indescriminately to both the preceding and following elements of *yaṆ*. It will then become very difficult to comprehend this negation. How could you stop someone from eating when he is already eating (*yo hi bhuktavantaṃ brūyād mā bhuṅkthā iti kiṃ tena kṛtaṃ syāt*). It is to remove this difficulty that the locative in *samprasāraṇe* is interpreted as denoting *nimitta* 'cause'. Note, however, that *samprasāraṇa* itself is not accepted as the *nimitta*. Instead, it is the *iK* which is to be brought about (*tadbhāvī*), via *samprasāraṇa*, that becomes the *nimitta* for this negation.

2. Why is *samprasāraṇa* used here explicitly when the same can be gotten via *anuvṛtti*. Commentators explain that, in the absence of explicitly using *samprasāraṇam*, *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā* 'an operation, or its negation, applies only to the most proximate' will apply. Consider the derivation of *yūnaḥ*, from *yuvan* + (*Ś*) *as* = *yuvan* + *as*, where 6.1.133 *śvayuvamaghonām ataddhite* requires *samprasāraṇa* to yield *yu*(*v*→*u*) *an* + *as* = *yu*(*ua*→*u*) *an* + *as* = *yuun* + *as*→*y*(*u* + *u*→*ū*) *na* + *as* = *yūna* + *as* through *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvarūpa* and *dīrgha* (6.4.2 *halaḥ*). The argument that *y* of *yūna* must also go through *samprasāraṇa* because it is most proximate to *v*, via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad*. . .), is not acceptable. The long *ū* cannot be accepted as the two vowels it replaced, especially since an operation is to be performed on what precedes (*pūrvavidhau kartavye*, 1.1.58 *na padānta-dvirvacana* . . .). The notion of proximity via *sthānivadbhāva* is thus not valid. To still insist that examples such as *yūnaḥ* can be derived via *nipātana* and hence, *samprasāraṇa* in this rule should not be used, is also not acceptable. For, *nipātana* cannot be manipulated to block a general provision.

An explicit mention of *samprasāraṇa*, as against its acceptance via *anuvṛtti*, makes it understood that *samprasāraṇa* on a preceding *yaṆ* sound is negated even when the following *yaṆ* sound does not occur contiguously after it.

3. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers two *vārttika*-proposals under this rule:

(*i*) An application of *samprasāraṇa*, in addition to deletion of the initial sound of what follows, is recommended for *tri* when followed by *ṛc*. Thus *t*(*r*→*ṛ*) *i* + *ṛc* = *t*(*ṛi*→*ṛ*) + *ṛc* = *tṛ* + (*ṛ*→φ) *c* = *tṛc*. A derivate such as *tṛca* of *tṛcaṃ sūktam* is derived by introducing the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥpathām ānakṣe*). This proposal of *samprasāraṇa* and *lopa* is made only for the Vedic. The classical language will still have *tr*(*i*→*y*) + *ṛca* = *tryṛca*, derived via *yaN* with no *samprasāraṇa* and *lopa*, parallel to *tisraḥ ṛcaḥ yasmin* 'that in which there are three hymns'.

(*ii*) A *samprasāraṇa* on *rayi* before *matUP* applies variously in the Vedic. Thus, *ra*(*y*→*i*) *i* + *mat*→*ra*(*i* + *i* = *i*) + *mat* = *ra* + *i* + *mat* = *ra* + (*i*→*e*) + *mat*→*r*(*a* +*e*→*e*) + (*m*→*v*) *at* = *re* + *vat*. But we also get *rayimān* which does not involve *samprasāraṇa*.

6.1.38 लिटि वयो यः

liṭi vayo yaḥ
/ *liṭi* 7/1 *vayaḥ* 1/1/ *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*na samprasāraṇam* #37)
liṭi parato vayo yakārasya samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati
The *y* of *vay* is not replaced with *samprasāraṇa* when *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uvāya 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *veÑ* 'to weave''
ūyatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
ūyuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. Note that *uvāya* derives from (*veÑ*→*vay*) + *LIṬ* = (*vay* + *vay*) + *LIṬ* = *va*(*y*→ϕ) + *vay* + *LIṬ*→(*v*→*u*)*a* + *vay* + *LIṬ*→(*u* + *a*→*u*) + *vay* + *LIṬ*→*u* + *v*(*a*→*ā*)*y* + *LIṬ*→*uvāy* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*a*) = *uvāya*. There are two rules which offer *samprasāraṇa* relative to *veÑ*→*vay*: 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*. . . and 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*. The first offers *samprasāraṇa* to the root while the second offers it optionally to the *abhyāsa*. The *samprasāraṇa* of *v* can be blocked in favor of the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* by the preceding rule. Our present rule will block the *samprasāraṇa* of *y*. This, however, does not mean that *samprasāraṇa* will not apply. Once *y* is blocked from going through *samprasāraṇa*, *v* will become available to it. That is, *vay* contains two elements denoted by *yaṆ*. Rule 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe*. . . negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *v*. Our present rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *y*. Given this, the *samprasāraṇa* of a verbal root is accomplished by rule 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*. . . . The *samprasāraṇa* of the *abhyāsa* is accomplished by 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*.

2. Why state *LIṬ* when a replacement of *veÑ*, in *vay*, is possible only in *LIṬ*? The *anuvṛtti* of *LIṬ* from 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* can accomplish its function. Commentators claim that *LIṬ* is used for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Thus, *liṭi*, when read with *veñaḥ* of 6.1.40 *veñaḥ*, will optionally block the *samprasāraṇa* of verbal root *veÑ* when *LIṬ* follows. The negation of *veñaḥ* coulds still apply when *LIṬ* follows. This, in turn, seems to be the purpose of using *liṭi* in this rule explicitly.

6.1.39 वश्चास्यान्यतरस्यां किति

vaś cāsyānyatarasyām kiti
/*vaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *asya* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *kiti* 7/1/
(*liṭi vayo yaḥ* #38)
asya vayo yakārasya kiti liṭi parato vakārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
The *y* of *vay* is optionally replaced with *v* when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uvatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate'
ūvuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
ūyatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
ūyuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This optional replacement is applicable only before a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K*. It can, thus, not be availed by *uvāya* and *uvayitha* which are derivates of *tiP* and *siP*. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

2. The word *asya* refers to the *y* (of *vay*) whose *samprasāraṇa* is negated. This interpretation also facilitates blocking of *samprasāraṇa* of a *v*. Patañjali thinks that the *sūtra* should have been simply formulated as *anyatarasyāṃ kiti veñaḥ*. That is, without *vaścāsya*. For, the intended derivates can all be accounted for without using *vaścāsya*. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.40 वेञः

veñaḥ
/*veñaḥ* 6/1/
(*na samprasāraṇam* #37 *liṭi* #38)
'*veñ tantusantāne*' *ity asya dhātor liṭi parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati*
Verbal root *veÑ* 'to weave' does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vavau 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *veÑ* (to weave)'
vavatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
vavuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule negates the *samprasāraṇa* made available by 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyaj* . . . before an affix marked with *K*. It also negates the *samprasāraṇa* made available by 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* in connection with *ṆaL* and *thaL*, replacements of *tiP* and *siP*, marked with *P*, respectively.

6.1.41 ल्यपि च

lyapi ca
/*lyapi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*na samprasāraṇam* #36 *veñaḥ* #40)
lyapi ca parato vyeñaḥ samprasāraṇaṃ na bhavati
Verbal root *veÑ* does not go through *samprasāraṇa* also when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pravāya
upavāya

1. This rule negates the provision of *samprasāraṇa* available to *veÑ* from 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām*. . . . A separate formulation of this rule is made so that *lyapi* alone could be carried over subsequently. A joint formulation with the preceding rule would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of *veÑ* in the succeeding rule.

6.1.42 ज्यश्च

jyaś ca
/*jyaḥ* 6/1 *ca* 1/1/
(*na samprasāraṇam* #37 *lyapi* #41)
'*jyā vayohānau*' *ity asya dhātor lyapi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati*
Verbal root *jyā* 'to grow old' also does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LayP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prajyāya
upajyāya

1. This negation of *samprasāraṇa* is made against the positive provision of 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*.... Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule as: *lyapi vyo jyaś ca*. This way he did not have to formulate three rules with additional use of two *ca*. First of all, *lyapi* cannot be brought here because it separately negates the *samprasāraṇa* of *veÑ*. Bringing *lyapi* here would also necessitate bringing *veÑ* which is not desired. Secondly, an optional *samprasāraṇa* allowed for *vyeÑ* is not allowed for *jyā*. Thus, all these separate formulations are intended for subsequent rules.

6.1.43 व्यश्च

vyaś ca
/*vyaḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*na samprasāraṇam* #37 *lyapi* #41)
'*vyeñ saṃvaraṇe*' *ity etasya dhātor lyapi parataḥ samprasāraṇam na bhavati*
Verbal root *vyeÑ* 'to cover' also does not go through *samprasāraṇa* when affix *LyaP* follows.

1. A separate formulation of this rule is intended for blocking the *anuvṛtti* of *jyaḥ* in subsequent rules.

pravyāya
upavyāya

6.1.44 विभाषा परेः

vibhāṣā pareḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *pareḥ* 5/1/
(*na samprasāraṇam* #37 *lyapi* #41 *vyaḥ* #43)
parer uttarasya '*vyeñ*' *ity etasya dhātor lyapi parato vibhāṣā samprasāraṇam na bhavati*
Verbal root *vyeÑ* used with the preverb *pari* does not go through *samprasāraṇa*, optionally, when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

parivīya yūpam 'having wrapped around'
parivyāya 'ibidem'

1. Given *pari* + *vye* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*) = *pari* + *vy*(*e*→*ā*; *ātva*; 6.1.45 *ād eca upadeś*. .) + *ya* = *pari* + *v*(*y*→*i*) *ā* + *ya* = *pari* + *v*(*i* + *ā*→*i*); *pūrvarūpa*) = *pari* + *v*(*i*→*ī* (*dīrgha*; 6.4.2 *halaḥ*), we get *parivīya*. We will get *parivyāya* when the option of applying *samprasāraṇa* is not accepted. Note also that when the option of *samprasāraṇa* is availed, *tUK* of 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* becomes applicable after *pūrvarūpa*. But this *tUK* is blocked in favor of application of 6.4.2 *halaḥ* since it is subsequent in order (*para*; 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*).

6.1.45 आदेच उपदेशेऽशिति

ād eca upadeśe' śiti
/ *āt* 1/1 *ecaḥ* 6/1 *upadeśe* 7/1 *aśiti* 7/1 = *sa cāsau it ca* = *śit* (*karmadhāraya*); *na śit* = *aśit*, *tasmin* (*nañ tat.* with int. *karm.*) /
(*dhātoḥ* #8)
ejanto yo dhātur upadeśe tasyākārādeśo bhavati śiti tu pratyaye na bhavati
A verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, ends in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC*, is replaced with *ā*, but not when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

glātā '*tṛC*-derivate of *glai* 'to be weary''
glātum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
glātavyam '*tavya*-derivate . . .'
niśātā '*tṛC*-derivate of *ni-śo* 'to cut''
niśātum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
niśātavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate . . .'

1. Note that *dhātoḥ* must be brought close to the context of this rule as a predicate (*vidheya*). If *dhātoḥ* is not brought via *anuvṛtti*, then, in the absence of a predicate, *tadantavidhi* interpretation of *eC*, as a substituendum for *ā*, will not be possible to comprehend. We will then interpret the rule as: '*ā* comes in place of an *eC* in *upadeśa*'. Of course, with *dhātoḥ* in place via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' from 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*. . ., we get the interpretation: '*ā* comes as a substitute in place of an *eC*-final root in *upadeśa*'. Rule 1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya* will then order *ā* as a replacement in place of *eC*.

2. Why is this substitution applicable to *eC* only. So that it does not apply in deriving *karttā* and *harttā* where the roots end in *ṛ*. A condition of *upadeśa* is imposed so that *cetā* and *stotā*, where *e* and *o* are replacements of the original *i* and *u*, could be kept out of the scope of this rule.

What is the purpose of *aśiti* 'when an affix not marked with *Ś* follows'? So that *ā* can be blocked, for example in *glai* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) and *mlai* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*), where *ŚaP* follows. Recall that *glāyati* and *mlāyati* derive by replacing *ai* with *āy*.

3. It is stated that this replacement is not allowed when an affix not marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows (*aśiti*). How does this replacement apply in *jagle* and *mamle*. The word *śit* of *aśiti* is not interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *škāra id yasya* 'that whose *it* is a *Ś*'. It is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* paraphrased as: *śa eva it* '(when) *Ś* itself is an *it*'. A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will make this specification refer to the sound *Ś* (*varṇa-grahaṇa*). Once *varṇa-grahaṇa* is accepted, *aśiti* will negate an operation with reference to *Ś* as an *it* at the beginning of affixal right context (*paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 34): *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe*). Thus, the negation of *aśiti* applies only when the affix begins with *Ś* as an *it* (*tadāditva*; *śidādau pratyaye pratiṣedhaḥ*). Deriving *jagle* and *mamle* from *glai* + *LIṬ* and *mlai* + *LIṬ* where *LIṬ* is replaced with *eŚ*, via the *ātmanepada* affix *ta*, now becomes easier. For, the negation of *aśiti* cannot apply since *eŚ*, does not begin with *Ś*. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation cannot block this negation from applying since *eŚ* will still be marked with *Ś* as an it.

4. What is the nature of negation (*pratiṣedha*) in *aśiti*? Is it *paryudāsa* or *prasajya*? A *paryudāsa* interpretation will yield the interpretation of *tadbhinna tatsadṛśa* 'that which is not that but is similar to that'. That is, *śitaḥ anyaḥ* = *aśit*; *tasmin aśiti* 'that which is other than (but similar to) one marked with *Ś* as an *it*; when that follows'. This *paryudāsa* interpretation will then be limited only to contexts where an affix followed. It will be difficult to derive *suglaḥ* and *sumnaḥ* without the *ā*-replacement of *ai* of these roots since there will be no *Ka* affix to follow. For, affix *Ka* (3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*) cannot be introduced where the roots ended in *ā*. We will be caught in a situation where one will be dependent upon the other (*itaretarāśrya*). A *prasajya* interpretation will negate *śit* only. The *ā*-replacement will take place even without the introduction of *Ka* (*Kāś.*: *aśitīti prasajyapratiṣedho' yam tenaitad ātvam anaimittikaṃ prāg eva pratyayotpatter bhavatīti*). This is how *suglānaḥ* and *sumlānaḥ* with *yuC* (3.3.128 *āto yuc*) can also be derived.

To sum up, *aśiti* will be interpreted as *itsaṃjñakaśakārādau pratyaye na bhavati* 'does not apply when an affix with *Ś* as an *it* at its beginning follows'. Recall that this interpretation will also take recourse to *varṇagrahaṇa* and *tadāditva* as explained earlier.

4. The *anuvṛtti* of *āt* is valid up to 6.1.57 *nityaṃ smayateḥ*.

6.1.46 न व्यो लिटि

na vyo liṭi
/ *na* ϕ *vyaḥ* 6/1 *liṭi* 7/1/
(*ādeca upadeśe* #45)

'vyeñ'ity etasya dhātor liṭi parata ākārādeśo na bhavati
Verbal root *veÑ* does not go through a replacement in *ā* when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

saṃvivyāya 'having securely covered'
saṃvivyayitha 'you have wrapped it well'

1. Note that rule 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* orders the *samprasāraṇa* replacement for *y* of the *abhyāsa* (6.1.14 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). That is, we get *sam + vye + vye + ṆaL→sam + v(y→i) e + vye + a→sam + v(i + e→i) + vye + a* after *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*) and *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). The *e* of *vye* is replaced with *ai*, its *vṛddhi* counterpart (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*), under the condition of *ṆaL*. This *ai* is then replaced with *āy* before *a*. The dual and plural forms corresponding to *saṃvivyāya* will be *saṃvivyatuḥ* and *saṃvivyuḥ*, derivates of *atus* and *us*, respectively. These both will go through reiteration of the form resulting after *samprasāraṇa*. A replacement in *yaṆ* will be subsequently required by 7.4.82 *er anekācaḥ*. Augment *iṬ* in *saṃvivyayitha* is introduced by 7.2.66 *iḍ atty-artti-vyayatīnām*.

2. Can *na* be construed with *liṭi* to give the meaning of *aliṭi* 'when something other than a *LIṬ* follows'. No, because this will be against desired derivational goals. Besides, such a negation can apply only to a restrictive (*nityama*) provision such as: *liṭi vyaḥ* '*ā* comes as a replacement only when *LIṬ* follows'.

3. *Kāśikā*, for reasons that this rule does not offer anything new to dual and plural forms, offers only singular as examples. That is, given *ve + atus→ ve + ve + atus*, there would not be any difference in form whether iteration applies with or without *ātva*. This no difference in form will result because both the *dhātu* as well as the *abhyāsa* will go through iteration.

Why not apply *samprasāraṇa* before *dvitva*? This still would not make any difference in forms, especially under the condition of *kiti*. Of course, we will get a difference in form with *ṆaL*. *Kāśikā* does not offer additional examples because there will not be any difference of forms in the context of *ajādi* 'vowel-initial' affixes *atus*, *us*, etc.

6.1.47 स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्घञि

sphuratisphulatyor ghañi
/*sphurati-sphulatyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ghañi* 7/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45)
'sphur-sphul calane' ity etayor dhātvor ecaḥ sthāne ghañi parata ākārādeśo bhavati
The *eC* of verbal roots *sphur* 'to throb' and *sphul* 'ibidem' is replaced with *ā* when affix *GHaÑ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bisphāraḥ '*GHaÑ*-derivate of *vi-sphur* 'to tremble''
bisphālaḥ '. . . of *sphul* 'to throb''
biṣphāraḥ 'ibidem'
biṣphālaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *sphur* and *sphul* do not have any *eC* in *upadeśa.* The word *upadeśa* is thus not carried here. Elsewhere in subsequent rules, *upadeśa* will be carried if cited roots qualify for the condition of *eC.* Commentators state that *ā,* since there is no *eC* in *upadeśa,* comes as a replacement for the *o* (an *eC*) of these roots which, in turn, is gotten after application of *guṇa* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*). An optional *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) results from the application of 8.3.76 *sphuratisphulatyor.* . . . Incidentally, the examples are all derivates of *GHaÑ* introduced by 3.3.121 *halaś ca* with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense', *karaṇa* 'instrument' or *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'.

6.1.48 क्रीङ्जीनां णौ

krīṅjīnāṃ ṇau
/ *krīṅjīnām* 6/3 = *krī ca iṅ ca jiś ca* = *krīṅjayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ṇau* 7/1/ (*ādecaḥ* #45)
'*ḍukrīñ dravyavinimaye*', '*iṅ adhyayane*', '*ji jaye*' *ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnām ecaḥ sthāne ṇau parata ākārādeśo bhavati*
An *ā* comes as a replacement for the *eC* of verbal roots *krī* 'to barter', *iṄ* 'to study' and *ji* 'to win' when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

krāpayati '. . . has someone barter something'
adhyāpayati '. . .teaches; . . .has someone study'
jāpayati '. . . has someone win'

1. This rule offers *ā* as a replacement for the *eC* of verbal roots *ḌUkrīÑ* 'to buy, barter', *iṄ* 'to study' and *ji* 'to win' provided when *ṆiC* follows. This rule begins replacements with no condition of *upadeśa* (*PM*: *anupadeśārtha ārambhaḥ*). Note that forms such as *krāpayati, adhyāpayati* and *jāpayati* can be derived from verbal roots *krap* 'to find fault, move', *jap* 'to speak out' and *āpḶ* 'to pervade'. This rule uses three specific verbal roots to exclude other roots and corresponding forms, in addition to excluding the non-*ṆiC* forms of the three cited roots. Why can we not interpret *ḌUkrīÑ* and *iṄ* as *kṛÑ* 'to do' and *īṄ* 'to go'? To interpret *ḌUkrīÑ* as *kṛÑ* is not possible because of the requirement of *eC. Kāśikā* reads *ecaḥ sthāne* in the *vṛtti.* Verbal root *īṄ* can also be ruled out since, verbal root *ji,* a root ending in a short vowel, is used in association (*sāhacarya*). An *iṄ* with a short *i* is to be preferred. Why can we not interpret *iṄ* as *īṄ* with a long vowel on the basis of its associated use

with *ḌUkrīÑ*, also ending in a long vowel. An *iṄ* with short *i* can be acceptable on the basis of *vipratiṣedha*? Besides, it is listed in the same group (*ekagaṇīya*). Or else, interpretation of the learned remains our only recourse (*vyākhyānam eva śaram*). Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.49 **सिध्यतेरपारलौकिके**

> *sidhyater apāralaukike*
> */sidhyateḥ* 6/1 *apāralaukike* (*nañ. tatp.*) 7/1/
> (*ādecaḥ* #45 *ṇau* #48)
> '*ṣidhu hiṃsāsaṃrādhyoḥ*' *ity asya dhātor apāralaukike*' *rthe vartamānasyaicaḥ sthāne ṇau parata ākārādeśo bhavati*
> An *ā* comes in place of the *eC* of verbal root *ṢidhU* when it is used in the sense of something *apāralaukika* 'not pertaining to an accomplishment relative to the world beyond', and affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *annaṃ sādhayati* 'he has the food cooked'
> *grāmaṃ sādhayati* 'he has village built'

1. The condition of *apāralaukike* is imposed to that *ṣidhU* of examples such as *tapas tāpasaṃ sedhayati* 'penance has the ascetic become established' does not come under the scope of this rule. Verbal root *ṣidhU* is used here in the sense of 'accomplishing some special knowledge (*jñānaviśeṣa*)'. The *tapas* 'penance' is serving as the instigator for the ascetic. Incidentally, the *paraloka* of *apāralaukike* generally means 'another birth' (*janmāntara*), although it could also mean heaven and hell (*svarga*; *naraka*).

How come *ātva* is not negated in this example: *annaṃ sādhayati brāhmaṇebhyo dāsyāmi* 'he cooks food (thinking) that he will give it to the brāhmaṇas'. Why 'giving to the brāhmaṇas' which, in turn, would result in some *pāralaukika* gain, could not block *ātva*. Commentators explain that *sidh* is here used in the sense of *niṣpatti* 'bringing about the cooking' where *anna* is its *prayojana* 'purpose, cause'. A gift of *anna* to the brāhmaṇas certainly entails benefits in the world beyond. However, the condition of *apāralaukikatva* must be relatable directly to the action. Since 'cooking' here cannot accomplish anything *pāralaukika*, *ātva* cannot be blocked.

2. Note that *sidhyateḥ* has *ṣidhU* referenced with *ŚyaN*. This has been done in view of blocking any reference to *ṣidh* 'to move' of the *bhvādi*.

6.1.50 **मीनातिमिनोतिदीङां ल्यपि च**

> *mīnātiminotidīṅāṃ lyapi ca*
> */mīnāti-minoti-dīṅām* (*itar. dv.*) 6/3; *lyapi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
> (*ādeca upadeśe* #45)

'mīṅ kṣaye',.'ḍumiñ prakṣepaṇe', 'dīṅ kṣaye'ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ lyapi viṣaye cakārād ecaś ca viṣaye upadeśa eva prāk pratyayotpatter alo' ntyasya sthāne ākārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of *mī* 'to injure', *miÑ* 'to scatter' and *dīṄ* 'to decay, perish' is replaced with *ā* when *LyaP* and *eC* find their scope.

EXAMPLES:

*The examples are all derivates of *tṛC/ tumUN/ tavyaT/ LyaP*
pramātā
pramātum
pramātavyam
pramāya
nimātā
nimātum
nimātavyam
nimāya
upadātā
upadātum
upadātavyam
upadāya

1. Note that the root-final *i* is replaced with *ā* right at the outset provided affix *LyaP*, or a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC*, finds its scope subsequently in the derivation. Thus, these roots do not receive affixes marked by their terminal *i*. Instead, they receive affixes marked by *ātva* since *ātva* is applied to them in *upadeśa* (*Kāś.*: *upadeśa evātvavidhānād ivarṇānta-lakṣaṇaḥ pratyayo na bhavati, ākārāntalakṣaṇaś ca bhavati*). Thus, *upadāyaḥ* 'giving away' and *udapānam* 'drinking of water' have their *dī* replaced with *dā* in *upadeśa*. Consequently, these derivates involve affixs *GHaÑ* (3.3.18 *bhāve*; *upa* + *dā* + *GHaÑ*) and *yuC* (3.3.128 *āto yuc*; *upa* + *dā* + *yuC*). That is, the roots are not allowed affixes *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*) and *KHaL* (3.3.126 *īṣadduḥsuṣu* . . .).

The *ā*, in *upadeśa*, comes as a replacement for the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). This *āT*-replacement is also accomplished in anticipation of a subsequent *eC*, for example one which will appear through *guṇa* before affixes *tṛC* and *tumUN*. These affixes can thus be viewed as having the scope of *eC*. Recall that *eC* will not find its scope in the context of affixes marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. For, replacement in *vṛddhi* and *guṇa* will be negated.

6.1.51 विभाषा लीयतेः

vibhāṣā līyateḥ
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *līyateḥ* 6/1/
(*ādeca upadeśe* #45 *lyapi* #50)

līyater dhātor lyapi ca ecaś ca viṣaye upadeśa eva alo' ntyasya sthāne vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of verbal root *lī* 'to embrace, stick' is optionally replaced with *ā* in *upadeśa* when *LyaP* is to follow or *eC* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

vilātā
vilātum
vilāya
vilātavyam
viletā
viletum
viletavyam
vilīya
*Derivates of *lī* with *tṛC/ tumUN/ tavyaT/ LyaP*

1. A reference here with *lī* is made to both the *divādi* and *kryādi* verbal roots *līṄ* and *lī*, respectively. The word *eC* and *ādeca upadeṣe* are also understood here. The *ātva* will here again take place before *LyaP*, or in anticipation of an *eC*. That is, *lī* will yield the form *le* through *guṇa*. This *e* will be replaced with *ā* in anticipation. Refer to the appendix for further details.

2. A *vārttika* proposal negates *ātva* of verbal roots *mī*, *mi* and *lī* before affixes *KHaL* (3.3.126 *īṣadduḥsuṣu*...) and *aC* 3.3.56 (*er ac*; 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*...). Thus we will get *īṣatpramayaḥ*, *īṣannimayaḥ* and *īṣadvilayaḥ*, etc. Note that negation of *ātva* amounts to *guṇa* in *e* and its subsequent replacement with *ay*.

3. Note that the option (*vibhāṣā*) is here interpreted as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. It is thus to be understood as involving specific situations. Verbal root *lī*, when used with *ṆiC*, goes through *ātva* obligatorily, provided the signification is *pralambhana* 'decieving' and *śālīnīkaraṇa* 'showing respect'. That is, *ātva* applies obligatorily only when *pralambhana* and *śālīnīkaraṇa* are denoted. Elsewhere, it just does not apply. This is what the fixed option (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*) means. Incidentally, the negation of *ātva* in connection with *lī* can be gotten via *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*. The *vārttika* proposal should then be understood in connection with other verbs.

6.1.52 खिदेश्छन्दसि

khideś chandasi
/*khideḥ* 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51)
'*khid dainye*' *ity asya dhātor ecaḥ sthāne chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ākāra ādeśo bhavati*

An *ā* optionally comes in place of the final *eC* of verbal root *khid* 'to be glum' when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

cittaṃ cikhāda 'made sad'
cittaṃ cikheda 'ibidem'

1. In the classical language we find: *cittaṃ khedayati*. The *e* resulting from *guṇa* of *i* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) is replaced with *ā* in deriving *cikhāda*.

It is argued that this *sūtra* should not be formulated. For, *cikhāda* and *cikheda* can be derived from *khād* 'to eat' and *khid* 'to be sad'. Denotational differences in roots should create no difficulty since roots denote various meanings (*anekārtha*) anyway. *Nyāsa* observes that if *khād* and *khid* were to be synonymous, it will be impossible to formulate this rule.

6.1.53 अपगुरो णमुलि

apaguro ṇamuli
/ *apaguraḥ* 6/1 *ṇamuli* 7/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51)
'*gurī udyamane*' *ity asya dhātor apapūrvasya ṇamuli parata ecaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā ākāra ādeśo bhavati*
An *ā* optionally comes in place of the final *eC* of *gurī* 'to strive, exert' used with the preverb *apa*, when affix *ṆamUL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

apagāramapagāram 'brandishing their swords they fight'
apagoramapagoram 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional *ātva* when *ṆamUL* follows verbal root *gurī* used with the preverb *apa*. We will get *apa* + *gur* + (*Ṇ*→ϕ) *am* (*UL*→ϕ) = *apa* + *gur* + *am*→*apa* + *g*(*u*→*o*) *r* + *am*→*apa* + *g*(*o*→*ā*) *r* + *am* = *apagāram* through *guṇa* and *ātva*. This same can be doubled up to produce *apagāramapagāram* with the signification of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'repetition, over and over again' (3.4.22 *ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul*; also *vt.*: *ābhīkṣṇye dve bhavataḥ* (*ad* 8.1.12 *prakāre guṇavacanasya*). A non-application of *ātva* will produce *apagoramapagoram*, through *guṇa* and repeat occurrence of the derivate in *ābhīkṣṇya*. Yet another set of *ṆamUL* derivates can be gotten without *ābhīkṣṇya* by introducing the affix by 3.4.53 *dvitīyāyāṃ ca*. We can thus get *apagāram* and *apagoram* as in *asyapagāraṃ yudhyante* 'they are fighting with raised swords' and *asyapagoraṃ yudhyante*. These derivates require *ṆamUL* to be introduced after verbal root *gur*, used with the preverb *apa*, under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* ending in *dvitīyā* (accusative).

6.1.54 चिस्फुरोर्णौ

cisphuror ṇau
/*cisphuroḥ* 6/2 = *ciś ca sphur ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ṇau* 7/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51)
'*ciñ, sphur' ity etayor dhātvor ṇau parata ecaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati*
An *ā* optionally comes in place of the *eC* of verbal roots *ciÑ* 'to heap' and *sphur* 'to quiver, throb' when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

cāpayati 'he has someone heap something'
cāyayati 'ibidem'
sphārayati 'makes someone quiver'
sphorayati 'ibidem'

1. Note that these roots could not be covered under the provision of rule 6.1.48 *krīṅjīnāṃ ṇau,* because that provision is obligatory. Of course, this *ātva* is optional.

2. An option of *ātva* will produce *cāpayati* where augment *pUK* will be introduced by 7.3.36 *arttihrīvlīrī....* Thus, *ci* + *ṆiC*→*c*(*i*→*ai*)→*cai* + *pUK* + *i*→*c*(*ai*→*ā*) + *p* + *i,* where 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* replaces the *i* of *ci* with its *vṛddhi* counterpart. An introduction of *LAṬ*→*tiP* and *ŚaP,* with *guṇa* of the *i* of *cāpi* subsequently replaced with *ay* will produce *cāpayati.* Note that *pUK* will be introduced prior to *ātva* on the basis of being subsequent, as well as internally conditioned (*paratvādantaraṅgatvāc ca*).

A non-option of *ātva* will produce *c*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *i* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)→ *cayayati,* with no *pUK* and *ātva.* Why can we not replace the *i* of *ci* with *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*), as against *vṛddhi.* The application of *vṛddhi* will be treated as 'internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*), based upon *pūrvopasthiti* 'prior placement', of *ci* + *ṆiC.* One can similarly derive *sphārayati,* with *ātva,* and *sphorayati* with a *guṇa* replacement for the short penultimate vowel denoted by *iK* (*laghūpadha-guṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*).

6.1.55 प्रजने वीयतेः

prajane vīyateḥ
/*prajane* 7/1 *vīyateḥ* 6/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #44 *ṇau* #54)
'*vī gatiprajanakāntyasanakhādaneṣu' ity asya dhātoḥ prajane vartamānasya ṇau parato vibhāṣā ākārādeśo bhavati*
An *ā* optionally comes in place of the final *eC* of verbal root *vī* 'to conceive, be pregnant' when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

purovāto gāḥ pravāpayati 'easterly winds have cow's become pregnant'
purovāto gāḥ pravāyayati 'ibidem'

1. Note that *vī*, an *adādi* root, is used with meanings such as 'to go', 'to conceive', 'to eat' and 'to desire'. The provisions of this rule are limited to *vī* when meaning 'to conceive'. Here again *ātva* is followed by augment *pUK*. A non-option of *ātva* will require *vṛddhi* as explained earlier in connection with *cāyayati*. Thus, we get *pravāpayati* and *pravāyayati*. The word *prajana* is explained as *janmana upakramo garbhagrahaṇam* 'onset of the process of bringing someone into existence; conceiving'.

6.1.56 **बिभेतेर्हेतुभये**

bibheter hetubhaye
/bibheteḥ 6/1 *hetubhaye* 7/1 = *hetor bhayam* = *hetubhayam* (*pañc. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *vibhāṣā* #51 *ṇau* 54)
hetubhaye vartamānasya 'ñibhī bhaye' ity asya dhātor ṇau parato nityam ākārādeśo bhavati
An *ā* optionally comes in place of the *eC* of verbal root *ÑibhĪ* 'to be afraid', when action denoted by the root has *hetu* as source of fear, and when *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

muṇḍo bhāpayate 'he, the one with shaven head, causes fear'
muṇḍo bhīṣayate 'ibidem'

1. The word *hetu* is here used in the sense of *prayojaka* 'instigator' of the *svatantrakartṛ* 'independent agent' (1.4.56 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*). The word *hetubhaye* is thus used to specify that an *ātva* is accomplished when the source of fear (*bhaya-hetu*) is *hetu*, i.e., the instigator of the independent agent, itself. That is, the boy of our example, i.e., *svatantra-kartṛ* 'independent agent', must have *muṇḍa* 'the man with shaven head', i.e., *hetu* 'instigator', as source of fear (*bhaya*). This optional *ātva* is not allowed elsewhere. Here again *ātva* will involve *pUK*. Thus, we get *bhāpayate* and *bhīṣayate* with *ātmanepada* 'middle' (1.3.68 *bhīsmyor hetubhaye*). Verbal root *bhī* receives augment *ṣUK* (7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk*). This augment is not available with the option of *ātva* since 7.3.40 *bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk* specifies the root as *bhī*. That is, one can get *ṣUK* only when *ī* is heard in *bhī*.

Why *bhayahetuḥ*? Observe, *kuñcikayā enaṃ bhāyayati devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta frightens him with the broom'. The source of fear here is the broom, a *karaṇa* 'instrument'. That is, it is not Devadatta.

6.1.57 **नित्यं स्मयतेः**

nityaṃ smayateḥ
/nityam 1/1 *smayateḥ* 6/1/
(*ādecaḥ* #45 *hetubhaye* #56)

'smiṅ īṣadd hasane' ity asya dhātor hetubhaye' rthe ṇau parato nityam ākārādeśo bhavati

An *ā* comes obligatorily in place of *eC* of verbal root *smiṄ* 'to smile', when action denoted by the root entails *hetu* as source of fear, and when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

muṇḍo vismāpayate 'he whose head is shaven makes (him) frightened'
jaṭilo vismāpayate 'he whose hair is matted makes (him) frightened'

1. Here again we find the same meaning of *hetu.* The word *nityam* cancels the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā.* That is, *ātva* is now obligatory. Verbal root *ṢmiṄ* is used in the sense of *īṣaddhasana* 'smile'. The association of *smi* with *bhī* enables us to also infer *hetusmaye* 'when source of fear is a smiling instigator of an independent agent' as a condition, parallel to *hetubhaye.*

Deriving *vismāpayate* with *ātva, pUK* and *ātmanepada* offers nothing new.

6.1.58 सृजिदृशोर्झल्यमकिति

sṛjidṛśor jhaly am akiti
/*sṛji-dṛśoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *jhaly* 7/1 *am* 1/1 *akiti* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
'sṛja visarge', 'dṛśir prekṣaṇe' ity etayor dhātvor jhalādāv akit pratyaye parato' am āgamo bhavati

Augment *aM* is introduced to verbal roots *sṛj* 'to release, project' and *dṛśIR* 'to look' when an affix which begins with a *jhaL* (*Śs* 7–14), but is not marked with *K* as an *it,* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sraṣṭā '*tṛC*-derivate of *sraj*'
sraṣṭum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
sraṣṭavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate . . .'
draṣṭā '*tṛC*-derivate of *dṛś*'
draṣṭum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
draṣṭavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate . . .'
asrākṣīt 'third singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *sṛj*'
adrākṣīt 'third singular . . .of *dṛś*'

1. Augment *aM* is here introduced as an exception to the *guṇa* substitute of 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca.* This specific provision (*viśeṣa*) blocks the general provision (*sāmānyavidhāna*) of *guṇa* in a manner similar to the specific provision (*viśeṣavidhāna*) of *takra* 'buttermilk' to Kauṇḍinya, a particular brāhmaṇa, blocking the general provision of yogurt (*dadhi*) given to all brāhmaṇas (*dadhi brāhmaṇebhyo dīyatām takraṃ kauṇḍinyāya*).

2. *Kāśikā* states that *vṛddhi,* in aorist examples such as *asrākṣīt* and *adrākṣīt,* is accomplished by rule 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* after augment *aM* is

introduced. That is, it is blocked initially (*pūrvaṃ tu bādhyate*). This blocking is similar to the blocking of *laghūpadhaguṇa* by *aM*. Note, however, that once *aM* is introduced, the condition for applying *laghūpadhaguṇa* is removed (*nimittasya vihatatvāt*). Consequently, *laghūpadhaguṇa* is blocked forever. This, however, does not happen in case of *vṛddhi*. It applies after *aM* is introduced since condition for its application still remains (*punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt*). It is also stated that *aM* blocks *vṛddhi* because of its obligatory (*nitya*) nature. Additional derivational details can be found in the appendix.

6.1.59 अनुदात्तस्य चर्दुपधस्यान्यतरस्याम्

anudāttasya ca ṛdupadhasyānyatarasyām
/*anudāttasya* 6/1 *ca* ф *ṛdupadhasya* 6/1 = *ṛkāra upadhā yasya sa* (*bv.*), *tasmin; anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*upadeśe* #45 *jhaly am akiti* #58)
upadeśe anudāttasya dhātor ṛkāropadhasya jhalādāv akiti pratyaye parato' nyatarasyām am āgamo bhavati
Augment *aM* is optionally introduced to a verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, is *anudātta*, and which also contains *ṛT* in its *upadhā*, provided an affix beginning with *jhL*, but not marked with *K* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

traptā 'third person singular *LUṬ*-derivate of *tṛp* with no *aM* and no *iṬ*'
tarpitā '. . . with *iṬ* and *aM*'
tarptā '. . . with *aM* but no *iṬ*'
draptā 'third person singular active *LUṬ*-derivate of *dṛp* with no *aM* and no *iṬ*'
darpitā '. . .with *aM* and *iṬ*'
darptā '. . .with *aM* but no *iṬ*'

1. Note that verbal roots *tṛp* 'to be satisfied, pleased' and *dṛp* 'to glow, kindle, release' are both marked with *anudātta* and also have *ṛ* in their *upadhā* 'penultimate position'. Recall that *aM* is more like an exception to *laghūpadhaguṇa* 'a short penultimate replacement in *guṇa*'. But since this rule makes *aM* optional, roots covered by this rule will go through *laghūpadhaguṇa* if the option of *aM* is not availed. Verbal roots *tṛp* and *dṛp* will also receive augment *iṬ* optionally (7..2.45 *radhādibhyaś ca*). Thus, we will get *traptā* and *draptā* (with *aM*, but no *guṇa* and no *iṬ*); *tarptā* and *darptā* (with *guṇa*); *tarpitā* and *darpitā* (with *guṇa* and *iṬ*).

2. A condition of *anudāttasya* is necessary so that a root such as *bṛhŪ* 'to strive, raise', because of its *udātta* in *upadeśa*, can be kept out of the scope of this rule. That is why 7.2.44 *svaratisūti*. . . applies on the basis of *U* as an *it* (*udit*). Note that there are only eight roots (*dah-dih-duh-ṇah-nih-ruh-lih-vah*) which end in *h* and are marked with *anudātta*. Verbal root *bṛh* is not one of

them. Consequently, it receives augment *iṬ* optionally (7.2.44 *svaratisūti*...).

6.1.60 शीर्षंश्छन्दसि

śīrṣaṃś chandasi
/*śīrṣan* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
'*śīrṣan*' *iti śabdāntaraṃ śiraḥśabdena samānārthaṃ chandasi viṣaye nipātyate*
The word *śīrṣan* 'head' is derived in the Vedic via *nipātana.*

EXAMPLES:

śīrṣṇā hi tatra somaṃ krītaṃ haranti 'they carry the soma bought there on their head'

1. Note that *śīrṣan* is derived separately, via *nipātana.* It is not a replacement of *śiras,* via *nipātana.* For, *śiras* is also used in the Vedic. Our examples *śīrṣṇā* and *śīrṣṇaḥ* are instrumental and genitive forms, respectively. The *a* of *śīrṣan* gets deleted by 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ.*

6.1.61 ये च तद्धिते

ye ca taddhite
/*ye* 1/3 *ca* ϕ *taddhite* 7/1/
(*śīrṣan* #60)
yakārādau taddhite parataḥ '*śiraḥ*' *śabdasya* '*śīrṣan*' *ādeśo bhavati*
The word *śīrṣan* comes in place of *śiras* when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śīrṣaṇyaḥ 'principal'

1. Note that this rule accepts *śīrṣan* as a replacement for *śiras.* Rule 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca* introduces affix *yaT* within the general provision of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ,* parallel to *śirasi bhavaḥ* 'principal;... born, or found, on head'.

A *vārttika* recommends *śīrṣan* as an optional replacement in the context of *keśa* 'hair' (*vt. vā keśeṣu*). Thus we get: *śīrṣaṇyāḥ keśāḥ* and *śirasyāḥ keśāḥ* 'hair on head'.

6.1.62 अचि शीर्षः

aci śīrṣaḥ
/*aci* 7/1 *śīrṣaḥ* 1/1/
(*śīrṣan* #6 *taddhite* #61)
ajādau taddhite śirasaḥ śīrṣaśabda ādeśo bhavati
The word *śīrṣa* comes in place of *śiras* when a *taddhita* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

sthaulaśīrṣam 'pertaining to one whose head is big'
hāstiśīrṣyā 'a female descendant of Hastiśīrṣa'

1. Deriving *hāstiśīrṣi* 'male descendant of Hastiśīrṣa' from *hastiśīrṣa* + *Ṅas* + *iÑ* (4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*) does not offer any difficulty. A replacement in *śīrṣa* followed by initial *vṛddhi*, assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*; 6.4.129 *bhasya*) and deletion of *a* will yield *hasti*(*śiras*→*śīrṣa*) + *Ṅas* + *iÑ*→ *hastiśīrṣa* + *i*→*h*(*a*→*ā*) *stiśīrṣa* + *i*→*hāstiśīrṣ*(*a*→ϕ) + *i* = *hāstiśīrṣi*. Our next derivate *sthaulaśīrṣa* is similarly derived from *sthūlaśiras* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, where *aṆ* is introduced under the meaning condition of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* = *sthūlaśirasaḥ idam* = *sthaulaśīrṣam* 'this belongs to one who has a big head'.

Deriving *hāstiśīrṣyā* to denote a female descendant of *hāstiśīrṣi* would require *ṢyaṄ* to replace *iÑ* (4.1.78 *aṇiñor anārṣayoḥ*). But we run into problem here. Our replacement *śīrṣa* may be accepted as *śiras*, the form it replaced, through *sthānivadbhāva*. This may occasion an application of 6.1.61 *ye ca taddhite*, whereby *śīrṣan* may come as a replacement for *śīrṣa*. The condition of a following *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* can be met by way of *sthānivadbhāva*. Of course, with the understanding that *ṢyaṄ* is a replacement for the *taddhita* affix *iÑ*. This will produce a wrong derivate *hāsti*(*śīrṣa* →*śīrṣan*) + (*Ṣ*)*ya*(*Ṅ*) = *hāstiśīrṣan* + *ya* + (*C*) *ā*(*P*) = *hāstiśīrṣan* + *ya* + *ā* = *hāstiśīrṣan* + *y*(*a*→ϕ) + *ā* = *hāstiśīrṣa*(*n*→*ṇ*) + *y* + *ā* = **hāstiśīrṣaṇyā*. Incidentally, *CāP* will be introduced by 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*. How could one block this undesired result. One ought to make some special effort. The *Mahābhāṣya* suggests that *ṢyaṄ* should not be accepted as a replacement (*ādeśa*) of *iÑ*. It should instead be accepted as a *taddhita* affix (*pratyaya*) introduced after the base ending in *iÑ* (*iñanta*). One can then delete the *i* of *iÑ* by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Accepting the affixal status (*pratyayapakṣa*) of *SyaṄ*, as against one of replacement (*ādeśapakṣa*), blocks undesired results. That is, this deletion (*lopa*) will be treated as *i*, via *sthānivadbhāva*, when one has to perform an operation on what precedes (*pūrvavidhau kartavye*; 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*). Thus, *śīrṣan* cannot replace *śīrṣa* because the condition of an immediately following *taddhita* affix beginning with *y* cannot be met. The *i* of *iÑ*, brought via *sthānivadbhāva*, will intervene (*Kāś*.: . . . *kartavyo'tra yatnaḥ. aṇiñantād vā paraḥ pratyayaḥ ṣyaṅāśrayitavyaḥ, tatra yasyetilopasya sthānivadbhāvād vyavadhānam*).

2. A question is also raised in connection with the derivation of *sthaulaśīrṣam*. Why do we have to accept *śīrṣa* as a replacement when *śīrṣan* of the preceding rule could already account for the derivate. A replacement ending in *a*, as against *an*, is desired since the derivate will be ending in *a*. A replacement ending in *an* (*śīrṣan*) will cause the derivate to end in *an*. For, *an* must then be retained under the dictates of rule 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

6.1.63 पद्दन्नोमास्हृन्निशसन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्छकन्नुदन्नासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु

paddannomāshṛnniśasanyūṣandoṣanyakañchakannudannāsañ chaspra-bhṛtiṣu
/*pad-dan-nas-mās-hṛt-niś-asan-yūṣan-doṣan-yakan-śakan-udan-āsan* (each with deleted 1/1) *śasprabhṛtiṣu* 7/3 = *śas prabhṛtiḥ yeṣām te* (*bv.*), *teṣu*/ (*chandasi* #60)
'*pāda, danta, nāsikā, māsa, hṛdaya, niśā, asṛj, yūṣa, doṣa, yakṛt, śakṛt, udak, āsana*' *ity eteṣāṃ śabdānāṃ sthāne śasprabhṛtipratyayeṣu parataḥ* '*pad, dat, nas, mās, hṛt, niś, asan, yūṣan, doṣan, yakan, śakan, udan, āsan-ity ete ādeśā yathāsaṃkhyaṃ bhavanti*
Forms such as *pad, dat, nas, mās, hṛt, niś, asan, yūṣan, doṣan, yakan, śakan, udan,* and *āsan* come as replacements, in the Vedic, for *pāda, danta, nāsikā, māsa, hṛdaya, niśā, asṛj, yūṣa, doṣa, yakṛt, śakṛt, udaka,* and *āsana,* respectively, when affixes *Śas,* and the like, follow.

EXAMPLES:

nipadaś caturo jahi
padā varttaya goduham
yā dato dhāváte tasyai śyāvadan
sūkarastvākhanannasā
māsi tvā paśyāmi cakṣuṣā
hṛdā pūtaṃ manásā jātavedo
amāvāsyāyāṃ niśi yajeta
āsikto' snā' varohati
yā pātrāṇi yūṣṇa āsecánāni
yatte doṣṇó daurbhāgyam
yakno' vadyati
śakno' vadyati
udno divyasyá no dehi
āsani kiṃ labhe madhūni

1. Some here carry the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi.* Others do not wish to qualify these replacements. Consequently, these become valid for both the Vedic as well as classical (*bhāṣa*) usages. Yet others carry the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* from 6.1.59 and consider these replacements optional. After all, we do get *pad,* etc., in classical usages:

vyāyāmakṣuṇṇagātrasya padbhyām udvartitasya ca
vyādhayo nopasarpanti vainateyam ivoragāḥ
'he who has become strong-limbed with exercise, and also one who receives foot-massage, diseases do not approach him as snakes do not approach Garuḍa.'

2. This rule offers thirteen replacements for an equal number of corre-

sponding substituenda when a nominal ending enumerated beginning after *Śas*, and the like (*śasprabhṛtiṣu*), follow. That is, a replacement enumerated here will not apply in examples such as *pādau te pratipīḍyau* '. . . your feet are to be massaged one by the other' and *nāsike te kṛśe* 'your nostrils are smaller'. An interpretation of *prabhṛti*, of *śasprabhṛtiṣu*, as *prakāra* 'kind' allows such replacements to also occur before other affixes. Thus, we get *doṣa* replaced with *dūṣan* before *au*, as in *kakuddoṣaṇī yācate mahādevaḥ* and *śalādoṣaṇī yācate mahādevaḥ*. Some say that *kakud doṣaṇī* and *śalā* contain forms where *doṣa* is replaced with *doṣan* before *au*. The *au*, after the replacement, is replaced with *Śī* (7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*). Others say no. These contain *doṣaṇī*, a form ending in *ṄīP* (4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*).

Kāśikā accepts *āsan* as the replacement for *āsana*. Bhaṭṭoji accepts *āsya* as the correct substituendum and declares *Kāśikā*'s reading as carelessness (*prāmādika*; *SK* 228: *paddanomās*. . . (6.1.63): *yat tu āsanaśabdasya āsannādeśa iti kāśikāyām uktaṃ tat prāmādikam*). The *Tattvabodhinī* glosses *āsya* as *mukha* 'mouth'.

3. The following *vārttika* proposals must also be noted in connection with these replacements:

(*i*) *māṃsa*, *pṛtanā* and *sānu* should also be replaced with *māṃs*, *pṛt* and *snu* (*vt*: *māṃsapṛtanāsānūnām*. . .). We thus get *māspacanyāḥ*, *pṛtsu* and *adhisnuṣu* for *māṃsapacanyāḥ*, *pṛtanāsu* and *adhisānuṣu*, respectively.

(*ii*) *nas* should replace *nāsikā*, when occurring followed by *yaT* (5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*), *tasIL* (5.4.45 *apādāne cāhīyaruhoḥ*) and *kṣudra*, to account for *nasyam*, *nastaḥ* and *naḥkṣudraḥ*, respectively.

(*iii*) A replacement in *nas* is not allowed when *nāsikā* occurs before *yaT* used with the signification of *varṇa* 'sound' and *nagara* 'city'. Thus, *nāsikyo varṇaḥ* 'a nasal sound' and *nāsikyaṃ nagaram* 'a city named Nāsikya'.

Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.64 धात्वादेः षः सः

dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ

/*dhātvādeḥ* 6/1 = *dhātor ādiḥ* = *dhātvādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasya*; *ṣaḥ* 6/1 *saḥ* 1/1/

(*upadeśe* #45)

dhātor ādeḥ ṣakārasya sthāne sakārādeśo bhavati

The initial *ṣ* of a verbal root in *upadeśa* is replaced with *s*.

EXAMPLES:

sahate 'third singular present indicative middle of *ṣah* 'to endure'
siñcati 'third singular present indicative active of *ṣic* 'to water'

1. A rule to replace root-initial *ṣ* with *s* will no longer be needed if such roots were listed with initial *s* to start with. But not formulating this rule would create problems elsewhere. Consider rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* which, additionally to requiring an affixal replacement, also requires a root-initial *s* to be replaced with *ṣ*, provided this *s* happened to be a replacement of *ṣ* in *upadeśa*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* must specify exactly what root-initial *s* should be replaced with *ṣ*. That is, if rule 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ* is not formulated to do so with brevity (*lāghava*). For, to specify such roots in the context of rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* will certainly be prolix (*gaurava*). A specification such as the following must be read with the provision of 8.3.59:

> A root-initial *s* when it occurs before a vowel (*aC*), or a dental sound, is replaced with *ṣ*, provided this *s* was an original *ṣ* in *upadeśa*, of course, occurring before an *aC* or a dental sound.

Verbal roots *smiN̄* 'to smile', *svidI* 'to perspire', *svadI* 'to taste, relish', *svañjI* 'to embrace' and *svapI* 'to recline, sleep', where there is no following *aC* or dental sound, are also viewed as covered by the *s*-replacement of the original *ṣ*, and further replacement with *ṣ*. This *ṣ*→*s*→*ṣ*-replacement, however, should not be allowed in connection with roots such as *sṛpl* 'to crawl', *sṛjI* 'to create', *stṛN̄* 'to cover', *styai* 'to gather in a heap', *sek* 'to move' and *sṛ* 'to go' which are followed by an *aC*, or a dental sound.

Obviously, formulating 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ* is more economical than adding a lengthy specification to rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* with regard to what *s* of a root can be replaced with *ṣ*.

2. The condition that *ṣ* must occur initially as part of a root is needed so that nominals such as *ṣoḍaśa*, *ṣaḍika* and *ṣaṇḍa* could be blocked from availing the replacement in *s*. Roots which may have medial *ṣ* can similarly be blocked from receiving this replacement because of the requirement of initial *ṣ*. Thus, *karṣati*, *kṛṣati* cannot avail it.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to disallow *ṣ*→*s*-replacement in contexts where a denominative in general, or verbal roots *ṣṭhivU* and *ṣvaṣka* in particular, are involved. We can get two forms of *ṣṭhivU*, i.e., *teṣṭhīṣyate* and *ṭeṣṭhīṣyate*, derived via doubling. The *s* of a root with *ṭh* (*sṭhivU*) is replaced with *ṣ*. The *ṣ* of a root with *th* (*ṣthivU*) will cause retroflection (*ṣṭutva*). For denominative exceptions, consider *ṣoḍīyate* and *ṣaṇḍīyate*.

6.1.65 णो नः

ṇo naḥ
/*ṇaḥ* 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1/
(*upadeśe* #45 *dhātvādeḥ* #64)
dhātor āder ṇakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati
The initial *ṇ* of a verbal root in *upadeśa* is replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

nayati 'third person singular present indicative active of *ṇī* 'to lead''
namati 'third singular present indicative active of *ṇam* 'to bow down, bend''

1. Note that provisions of this rule are very similar to those offered by the preceding rule. Roots covered by this rule are marked with *Ṇ* in *upadeśa* for reasons similar to those marked with *Ṣ* in *upadeśa*. The condition of *dhātvādeḥ* is still valid so that a root such as *aṇ* could be kept outside the scope of this rule. Here again the denominatives are treated as exceptions. Rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi*. . ., though with some qualifications, allows *n*→*ṇ*-replacement for roots covered by this rule. This citation of roots with *ṇ* in *upadeśa* applies to all roots beginning with *n*, except for *nṛtĪ* 'to dance', *nandI* 'to be joyous, prosperous', *nardI* 'to sound', *nakkA* 'to destruct', *nāṭI* 'to drip, ooze' and *nāthṛ/nādhṛ* 'to beg, bless, prosper'.

6.1.66 लोपो व्योर्वलि

lopo vyor vali
/ *lopaḥ* 1/1 *vyoḥ* 6/2 *valiḥ* 1/1/
dhātor adhātoś ca vakāra-yakārayor vali parato lopo bhavati
A *y* and *v* is replaced with *LOPA* when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL* (*Śs*. 5–14) follows.

EXAMPLES:

didivān 'form of *div* + *LIṬ*→*KvasU*; 'he has sported''
didivāṃsau 'they (two) have sported'
didivāṃsaḥ 'they (all) have sported'
ūtam '*Kta*-derivate of *ūyĪ* 'to weave''
knūtam '*Kta*-derivate of *knūyĪ* 'to be wet, noisy''
gaudheraḥ 'lizard'
paceran 'third person plural benedictive *LIṄ*-derivate of *pac* 'to cook''
yajeran '. . .of *yaj* 'to perform sacrifice''
jīradānuḥ '*jīv* + *radānuK*; he who lives'
āsremāṇam 'derivate of *manIN*; he who moves; that which becomes dry'

1. Note that the deletion provision of this rule is applicable to both root (*dhātu*) and non-root (*adhātu*) forms. The *anuvṛtti* of *dhātoḥ*, carried from 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*. . ., got suspended in view of specification by *dhātu* of 6.1.8 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ* (*Kāś*.: *dhātor iti prakṛtaṃ yat tad dhātvāder iti punar dhātugrahaṇān nivṛttam. tena dhātor adhātoś ca vakārayakārayor vali parato lopo bhavati*). Refer to the appendix (II:418-20) under 1.1.60 *adarśanaṃ lopaḥ* for derivational details of some examples:

2. It is stated that *kāryin* 'operand, object of operation' should be speci-

fied in a rule prior to its related *kārya* 'operation'. Our present rule states operation (*lopaḥ*) first followed by the operand (*vyor vali*). Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule as *vyor vali lopaḥ*. This way one would also make half a mora less articulatory effort in reading this rule. The *o* of *lopa* equals two moras as opposed to the *aḥ* of *lopaḥ* which equals only one and one-half. Why did he use *lopaḥ* first? Did he have any special prupose in mind? Perhaps he used *lopaḥ* to indicate that this deletion takes precedence over other operations is conflict (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *vidhyantarāt pūrvam evāyaṃ lopo bhavati*).

Consider, for example, the derivation of *kaṇḍūḥ* and *lolūḥ* from (*kaṇḍūya* + (*K*)*v*(*IP*)) + *sU*))) and (*lolūya* + (*K*)*v*(*IP*) + *sU*))), where subsequent to deletion of final *a* of *kaṇḍūya* and *lolūya*, rules 6.1.65 *lopo vyor vali* and 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* both become applicable. The first rule requires deletion of *y*, of *kaṇḍūy* and *lolūy*, as against the second which demands deletion of *v* of (*K*)*v*(*IP*). The deletion of *y*, as indicated by means of prior placement of *lopaḥ* in this rule, takes precedence over the deletion of *v*. This deletion of *y* is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) as against deletion of *v* which comes externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*).

What if one finds a conflict in the application of rule 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* and 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*? Here again the internally conditioned deletion of *v* (*kviblopa*) will take precedence over the deletion of *y*. What if one applies 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* prior to the deletion of *v*, based upon interpretation of *saptamī* 'locative' of *ārdhadhātuke* (carried in 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*) as *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain'? But this will still not remove conflict of application between deletion of *v* (*kviblopa*) and *y* (*valilopa*). For deletion of *v*, because of being *para* 'subsequent' and *nitya* 'obligatory', will apply first. But this deletion of *v* will remove the condition under which the deletion of *y* could apply. That is, there will not be any *v* to follow. This deleted *v* cannot be brought back, via *sthānivadbhāva*, since deletion of *y* is an operation with *aL* 'sound segment' as its focus (*alāśrayavidhi*; 1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana* . . .). The deletion of *y* thus will become impossible to accomplish. It is in view of this, as the preplacement of *lopaḥ* in this rule suggests, that *valilopa*, i.e., deletion of *y*, takes precedence over deletion of *v*, i.e., *apṛktalopa*.

3. Why can the *v* of *vraścakaḥ* and *vraścanaḥ* not be deleted before *r*, a sound included within the signification of *vali*. Commentators state that this *v* cannot be deleted since it is part of initial citation of the root in the *DP* (*aupadeśika*). For, a deletion, if accomplished, will render the initial citation as vacuous (*vyartha*). The argument that since this *v* can still be heard elsewhere, i.e., in *vṛścati* and *vavraśca*, and hence, the initial citation of *v* will not become vacuous, is not acceptable. For, *samprasāraṇa* in *vṛścati* is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*), based upon its dependency on an affix (*Śa*) marked with *Ṅ* (*ṅit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). Similarly, *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) in *vavraśca* is externally conditioned because of its dependency on *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). The deletion of *v*, because of its dependency on a

sound segment (*varṇāśrayatvāt*), is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). The *v* thus should be considered *aupadeśika* and hence not be deleted.

4. Jinendrabuddhi believes that preplacement of *lopaḥ* in this rule is simply done in view of *lāghava* 'economy'. He strongly objects to accepting the reversal of order of operand (*kāryin*) and operation (*kārya*) as an indicator for preplacement of *lopaḥ* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś.*: *anyas tu pūrvaṃ kāryinirdeśo yuktaḥ paścāt kāryanirdeśa iti pūrvaṃ vyor grahaṇe kartavye kimarthaṃ lopagrahaṇaṃ kriyata iti pūrvapakṣaṃ varṇayati sa cāyuktaḥ*).

Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.67 वेरपृक्तस्य

ver apṛktasya
/*veḥ* 6/1 *apṛktasya* 6/1/
(*lopaḥ* #66)
apṛktasya veḥ lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of a *vi* termed *apṛkta.*

EXAMPLES:

brahmahā 'killer of a brāhmaṇa'
bhrūṇahā 'killer of a fetus'
ghṛtaspṛk 'one who sips ghee'
tailaspṛk 'one who sips oil'
arddhabhāk 'one whose share is one-half'
pādabhāk 'one whose share is one-fourth'
turīyabhāk 'ibidem'

1. Rule 1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ* assigns the term *apṛkta* to an affix constituted by a single *aL*. The *vi* of *veḥ* is used to make a general reference to all affixes which share a *vi* and which, after deletion of their *it* elements, are reduced to the form of a single *aL*. Thus, we get affixes *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahmabhrūṇavṛtreṣu kvip*), *KvIN* (3.2.58 *spṛśo' nudake kvin*), *ṆvI* (3.2.62 *bhajo ṇviḥ*), *vIṬ* (3.2.67 *janasanakhanakrama* . . .) and *vIC* (3.2.73 *vijupe chandasi*), all with a common *vi*. Refer to the appendix (II:446–48) under 1.2.41 *apṛkta* . . . for derivational details of most examples.

Note that these affixes are introduced after verbal roots (*dhātoḥ*) and, when termed *apṛkta*, are deleted in toto. Their derivates are then termed nominal stems (*prātipadika*) by rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*, under the provision of 1.1.52 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam.*

6.1.68 हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल्

halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt sutisyapṛktaṃ hal
/*halṅyābbhyaḥ* 5/3 = *hal ca ṅī ca āp ca* = *halṅyāp* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*;

dīrghāt 5/1 *sutisi* 1/1 = *suś ca tiś ca siś ca* = *sutisi* (*sam. dv.*) *apṛktam* 1/1 *hal* 1/1/
(*lopaḥ* #66)
halantād ṅyantād ābantāc ca dīrghāt paraṃ 'su, ti, si' ity etad apṛktaṃ hal lupyate
A *sU, ti* and *si*, termed *apṛkta*, when occurring after an item which ends in a *haL*, or in a long *ī* and *ā* of the feminine affixes *Ṅī* and *āP*, is deleted by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

rājā 'nominative singular of *rājan* 'king''
takṣā '. . . of *takṣan* 'carpenter''
ukhāsrat 'nominative singular of *ūkhāsrans*'
parṇadhvat 'nominative singular of *parṇadhvans*'
kumārī 'girl'
gaurī 'fair'
śārṅgaravī 'Śiva's consort'
khaṭvā 'cot'
bahurājā 'a city with many kings'
kārīṣagandhyā 'a name; she who smells like a dried cow-dung'
abibhar bhavān 'you supported, sir'
ajāgar bhavān 'you remained awake'
abhino' tra 'derivate of *bhid* (*LAṄ*→*siP*)'
acchino' tra 'derivate of *chid* (*LAṄ*→*siP*)'

1. The word *lopaḥ* here is explained as *lupyate asau lopaḥ* 'that which is deleted', a passive interpretation made via object serving as means (*karmasādhana*) of accomplishing deletion. This, of course, following the popular interpretation of *lopaḥ*. A technical interpretation will require *lopa* to refer to *adarśana* 'non-appearance', the process as a means (*bhāvasādhana*). If the word *lopa* is interpreted in its technical meaning of *adarśana* then its syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) and, consequently, its coreferentiality with *hal* will be impaired. The technical term *LOPA* means *adarśana* 'non-appearance'. How could a consonant (*hal*) be called *adarśana* 'non-appearance'. One cannot, looking at the nominative of *hal*, interpret the *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *halṅyābbhyaḥ* (1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*) as *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (1.1.49) *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). One cannot even subject the nominative of *hal* to be transformed into genitive to thereby establish a connection with *lopaḥ*. Such a transposition of inflectional endings (*vibhaktivipariṇāma*) is improper.

A qualifier-qualified relationship (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣyabhāva*) between *lopaḥ* and *hal* can be established when *lopaḥ* is interpreted as denoting *karman* 'object'. The word *sutisy apṛktam* also becomes a qualifier to the same *hal*. The word *dīrghāt* is also interpreted as a qualifier to *ṅyābbhyaḥ*. How do we know that

dīrghāt is a qualifier to *ṅyābbhyaḥ*? By interpreting it as a qualifier based upon two requirements of *sambhava* 'possibility' and *vyabhicāra* 'deviation'. A form which ends in *Ṅī* and *āP* may meet the *sambhava* 'possibility' requirement of ending in a *dīrgha* 'long vowel'. A deviation from this 'possible' termination in a long vowel is also witnessed when the long vowel of these affixes is shortened via, for example, *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation'. The word *dīrgha* cannot be treated as a qualifier to *hal* for the obvious reason of impossibility (*asambhava*).

2. Note that *ti* and *si*, for lack of their introduction after items ending in *Ṅī* and *āP*, are not related to *ṅyābbhyaḥ*. The question of deleting *ti* and *si* will thus arise when they occur after a base ending in a consonant (*hal*). The nominative singular *sU* will be construed with nominal stems ending in a consonant. It will also be construed with bases ending in feminine affixes *Ṅī* and *āP*. Thus, we get *rājan* + *sU*, (*ukhāsrans* + *KvIP*) + *sU*)), (*parṇadhvans* + *KvIP*) + *sU*)) and *kumārī* + *sU*, (*khaṭvā* + *ṬāP*) + *sU*)), (*kārīṣagandhya* + *āP*) + *sU*)), etc.

3. Why do we need this rule to delete *sU* after a base which ends in a consonant? Why can we not delete it by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*? That is, with the understanding that *a* of *rājan* will be replaced with long *ā* of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau* and the *n* will be deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. But this derivation of *rājā* will run into problems in connection with deletion of *n*. Rule 8.2.23 is subsequent (*para*) in the *tripādī* 'the last three quarter chapters' and hence, as per 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, deletion of *s* will be suspended in view of deletion of *n*. We will still end up with a wrong form **rājān*. The question of deleting *n* will not arise here since *n* will then not be occurring at the end of a nominal stem termed *pada*. Similar problems will be encountered in deriving *ukhāsrat* and *parṇadhvat* from (*ukhāsrans* + *KvIP*) + *sU*)) and (*parṇadhvans* + *KvIP*) + *sU*)) where *n* of *srans* and *dhvans* will be deleted by 6.4.27 *aniditāṃ hal*... to yield *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas*. Given the strings *ukhāsras* + *sU* and *parṇadhvas* + *sU*, rule 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* will delete the *s* of *sU*, thereby producing *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas*. Now consider 8.2.72 *ksusransudhaṃsvanaḍuhāṃ daḥ* which will replace the final *s* of *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas* with *d*. But since this replacement must take place at the end of a *pada*, and also since 8.2.72 *ksusransu*... is subsequent to 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*, rule 8.2.72 will be treated as suspended (*asiddha*) in view of deletion of *s*. The strings will still be considered as *ukhāsras* and *parṇadhvas*. That is, the final *s* cannot be replaced with *d*.

Let us now consider *abhinaḥ* 'second person singular past imperfect active' of *bhid* 'to split' as in *abhino' tra*, where *utva* of 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād aplute* will be blocked. That is, given *bhid* + (*LUṄ*→*siP*)→*bhid* + *ŚnaM* + *si*→*bhinad* + *si*→*a*(*Ṭ*) +*bhinad* + *s*(*i*→ϕ) = *abhinad* + *s*→*abhina* (*d*→*r*; 8.2.75 *daś ca*) + *s* = *abhinar* + *s*, 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* cannot apply to delete the

final *s*. For, *r* could then not be changed to *u* to finally derive *abhino' tra*. The deletion of *s* will be accepted as suspended (*asiddha*). An example such as *abibharbhavān* would not even involve *s*-deletion after *r* since 8.2.24 *rāt sasya* will restrict the deletion to apply only to *s* used after *r*. The following verse summarizes the preceding:

> *saṃyogāntasya lope hi nalopādir na siddhyati/*
> *rāttu te naiva lopaḥ syād halas tasmād vidhīyate//*

Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

6.1.69 एङ्ह्रस्वात्सम्बुद्धेः

eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ
/*eṅhrasvāt* 5/1 = *eṅ ca hrasvaś ca* = *eṅhrasvam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *sambuddheḥ* 6/1/
(*lopaḥ* #66 *hal* #68)
eṅantāt prātipadikād hrasvāntāc ca paro hal lupyate sa cet sambuddher bhavati
A consonant (*haL*) which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a vowel, either denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ*, or else, termed *hrasva* 'short', is replaced with *LOPA*, provided the consonant happens to be that of *sambuddhi*.

EXAMPLES:

he agne 'O Agni'
he vāyo 'O Vāyu'
he devadatta 'O Devadatta'
he nadi 'O *nadī*'
he vadhu 'O *vadhū*'

1. Note that *sambuddhi* refers to the nominative singular ending *sU* when used with the denotatum of *sambodhana* 'address' (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*, read with 2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*).

This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of both *lopaḥ* and *hal*. The word *apṛkta* is explicitly used in the preceding *sūtra* to indicate that the *anuvṛtti* of *apṛkta* is canceled. For, there is no point in explicitly stating *apṛkta* when 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* already has it.

The word *hal* must be carried. For, in its absence, *eṅhrasvāt* will then qualify *sambuddhi* to yield the following interpretation:

> *eṅantād hrasvāntāc ca parasyāḥ sambuddher lopaḥ* 'a *sambuddhi* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a vowel denoted by *eṄ*, or ending in a *hrasva*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.'

This interpretation, however, will make deriving *he kuṇḍa* impossible. For, given *kuṇḍa* + *s*(*U*), deletion by this rule and replacement of *sU* by *am* (*ambhāva*; 7.1.24 *ato' m*) both become applicable. If 7.1.24 blockes deletion

at the strength of being subsequent (*paratva*) then the *a* of *am*, in view of 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*, also qualifies for deletion. The deletion of *a* of *am*, in the absence of *hal* in this rule, will obtain on account of its occurrence after the short *a* of *kuṇḍa*. An undesired form, i.e., **kuṇḍa* + (*a*→ϕ) *m* = *kuṇḍa* + *m*→*kuṇḍ*(*a*→*ā*) + *m* = **kuṇḍām* will then result with the application of 7.3.102 *supi ca*. To sum up: *hal* must be carried to this rule.

If one carries *hal*, and still qualifies *sambuddhi* with *eṅhrasvāt*, then *sambudhi* will qualify *hal* to yield the following interpretation:

> *eṅantād hrasvāntāc ca parā yā sambuddhiḥ tasyāḥ hal lupyate* 'the *haL* of a *sambuddhi* which follows a nominal stem ending in *eN*, or one ending in a short vowel, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.'

This interpretation will create difficulties similar to *kuṇḍa* + *s*(*U*) where, after the deletion of *a* in *kuṇḍa* + *s*, *s* cannot be deleted due mainly to the preceding base not ending in a vowel. It is for this reason that *hal* alone is to be qualified by *eṅantāt hrasvāntāt* and *sambuddheḥ*. The nominal inferred via *sambuddhi* will then be interpreted as 'ending in a vowel either denoted by *eṄ*, or termed short', in consonance with *tadantavidhi* 'treating a specification made with *x* as also ending in *x*'. The *hal* qualified by *sambuddheḥ* will be interpreted as part of *sambuddhi* because of its genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) denoting *avayava* 'part of a whole'.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *he agne* 'O! Agni' and *he vāyo* 'O! Vāyu' as examples for bases ending in *eṄ*. Thus, we get *agn*(*i*→*e*) + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *agne* + *s* and *vāy*(*u*→*o*) + *s*(*U*→ϕ) = *vāyo* + *s* after *it*-deletion and *guṇa* by 7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*. This rule then deletes *s*. The deletion of *s* prior to *guṇa* is not accomplished since *guṇa* is considered stronger than deletion (*LOPA*). *Kāśikā* thus states: *eṅgrahaṇaṃ kriyate sambuddhiguṇabalīyastvāt* '*eṅ* is used to indicate that *guṇa* before *sambuddhi* is stronger (than deletion)'. Examples for deletion after bases ending in a short vowel are: *he devadatta* and *he nadi*, *he vadhu* and *he kuṇḍa*. The deletion after *nadi* and *vadhu* of *he nadi* and *he vadhu* is accomplished after shortening of *ī* and *ū* of *nadī* and *vadhū* by 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ*. *Kāśikā* also states that deletion in *he kuṇḍa* applies only to the *m* of *am* gotten by first replacing *sU* with *am* by 7.1.24 *ato' m* and then replacing the sequence *a* + *a* with *a* via *pūrvarūpa* 'a form similar to the preceding' of 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* (*Kāś*.: *kuṇḍaśabdād* '*ato' m*' *ity am*, '*ami pūrvaḥ*' *iti pūrvatve kṛte halmātrasya makārasya lopaḥ*). Why this dual application of 7.1.24 *ato' m* and 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* when we can easily delete *s* occurring after *kuṇḍa*, a base ending in *hrasva*. The newly derived *kuṇḍa* where its final *a* is a *pūrvarūpa* of *a* + *a* may not even be viewed as ending in *a*. For, this rule requires the base to end in a short vowel. What ends in a short vowel in this newly derived *kuṇḍa* is *kuṇḍ* and not *kuṇḍa*, the base ending in a short *a*. For, the single *a*-replacement becomes final to what precedes (*pūrvaṃ praty antavadbhāvāt*), and not to the base. I omit further details of this argument because of its

complexity. Suffice it to say that getting *pūrvarūpa* and then deleting *m* is an excercise in vain. One should accomplish deletion without replacement in *am.* Our last example, *he katarat,* involves *at,* i.e., *adḌ,* as a replacement for *sU.* The final *a* of *katara* is deleted by 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* because the affixal replacement is marked with *Ḍ.* The *t* of *at* in *katar* + *at* cannot be deleted since the base does not end in a short vowel. That is, it ends in a consonant. The deletion of *sambuddhi* is thus blocked.

3. Note that this rule offers deletion of the *sU* of *sambuddhi.* But 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca* also replaces the *ṭi* of the sentence with a *PLUTA.* That is, when the *ṭi* of *he rāma!* is replaced with *pluta,* we will not find *rāma* terminating in a *hrasva* 'short'. This will block the deletion of *sU.* Recall that this situation will arise only when one relies upon the doctrine of *vākyasaṃskārapakṣa.* For, it is here alone that the required 'termination in short' (*hrasvāntatā*) is impaired. Commentators offer examples which, in turn, show their acceptance of the *padasaṃskārapakṣa.*

6.1.70 शेः छन्दसि बहुलम्

śeś chandasi bahulam
/*śeḥ* 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*lopaḥ* #66)
'*śi*'*ity etasya bahulaṃ chandasi viṣaye lopo bhavati*
LOPA, in the Vedic, comes variously in place of *Śi.*
yā kṣetrā 'the fields which . . .'
ya vanā 'the forests which . . .'
yāni kṣetrāṇi '. . .'
yāni vanāni '. . .'

1. Note that *śeḥ* refers to the *Śi*-replacement of *Jas* ordered by rule 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ,* under the condition of a neuter base (*napuṃsaka*). A deletion of *Śi* by this rule will still facilitate introduction of *nUM* (7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhal acaḥ*). Thus, *yad* + (*Jas*→*Śi*)) = *yad* + *i*→*yad* + (*i*→ϕ)→*yad* + *n*(*UM*→ϕ)) = *yad* + *n* = *ya*(*d*→*a*) + *n,* where *d* is replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*). Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* reduces the sequence *a* + *a* to *a* to yield *y*(*a* + *a*→*a*) + *n* = *yan.* The short *a* is then lengthened (6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*) and the *n* gets deleted (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*). A non-deletion of *Śi,* under the provision of *bahulam,* will yield *yāni* where deletion of *n* will be blocked. Similar derivational consequences are involved in deriving *kṣetrā*/*kṣetrāṇi* and *vanā*/*vanāni.*

2. Haradatta (*PM*) claims that *yā* can be derived as follows, particularly by replacing *i* of *ya* + *i* with *Ḍā*:

yad + (*Jas*→(*Ś*) *i*; 7.1.20 *jaś śasoḥ śi*; *yad* + *i*→
yad + (*y*(*a*→*a*); 7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*; *ya* + *a* + *i*→

y(*a* + *i*→*i*) 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*; *ya* + *i*→*ya* + (*i*→(*D*) *ā*;
7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk*. . .; = *ya* + *ā*→*y*(*a* + *ā* →*ā*) = *yā*;
6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*

Haradatta indicates how other derivates can be also accounted for. This rule thus should not be formulated for Vedic (*PM* ad *Kāś*.: *ayaṃ yogo śakyo' vaktum*).

6.1.71 ह्रस्वस्य पिति कृति तुक्

hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk
/*hrasvasya* 6/1 *piti* 7/1 *kṛti* 7/1 *tuk* 1/1/
piti kṛti parato hrasvāntasya dhātoḥ tug āgamo bhavati
Augment *tUK* is introduced to a verbal root ending in a short vowel (*hrasva*) when an affix, either marked with *P* as an *it* or temed a *kṛt*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

agnicit 'he who heaped the ritual fire'
somasut 'he who pressed out soma'
prakṛtya 'after having made'
prahṛtya 'after having taken away'
upastutya 'after having praised'

1. Note that *dhātoḥ* is inferred here at the strength of the *kṛt* affix marked with *P*. Read with *hrasva*, it yields the interpretation: *hrasvāntasya dhātoḥ* '. . . a verbal root ending in a short vowel'. This, of course, is accomplished via *tadantavidhi*. Augment *tUK*, because it is marked with *K* as an *it*, is introduced at the end of the verbal root (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*).

Kāśikā offers counter-examples *ālūya* and *grāmaṇīḥ* where *tUK* cannot be introduced because verbal roots *lū* and *nī* end in a long vowel. Examples such as *kṛtam* and *hṛtam* are offered to show that *tUK* cannot be introduced where a *kṛt* affix, namely *Kta*, marked with *K* follows. Similarly, *paṭutaraḥ* and *paṭutamaḥ* are given to show that *tUK* cannot be introduced when affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* follow. For, they are marked with *P* but are not *kṛt*. They are *taddhita* affixes.

Note that *tUK* cannot be introduced in *grāmaṇi brāhmaṇakulam* where the long *ī* of *grāmaṇī* is replaced with a short (1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake*. . .). For, this shortening is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) due mainly to its dependency on sound segments (*varṇāśrayatvāt*) and hence it is suspended (*asiddha*). Consequently, *tUK* cannot be introduced because *i* of *grāmaṇi* will still be viewed as its long counterpart. This is how the *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 51) *asiddham bahiraṅgam antaraṅge* intervenes to block *tUK*.

6.1.72 संहितायाम्

saṃhitāyām
/ *saṃhitāyām* 7/1/
adhikāro' yam 'anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam' iti yāvat. prāg etasmāt sūtrād ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmaḥ saṃhitāyām ity evaṃ tad veditavyam
When *saṃhitā* 'close proximity between sounds' obtains . . .

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This domain of *saṃhitā* is valid up to 6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ padaṃ ekavarjam.*
2. The locative (*saptamī*) in *saṃhitāyām* denotes *viṣaya* 'domain'. Consequently, an operation (*kārya*) cannot be performed unless the operand (*kāryin*) and attendant conditions (*nimitta*) both fall within the scope of *saṃhitā* (*PM*: *kāryi-nimittayoḥ saṃhitāyāṃ viṣayabhūtāyāṃ vakṣyamāṇaṃ kāryaṃ bhavati*). Consider *dadhy atra* 'there is yoghurt here' and *madhv atra* 'there is honey here' where 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies to yield *dadh*(*i*→*y*) + *atra* = *dadhy atra* and *madh* (*u*→*v*) + *atra* = *madhv atra.* Rule 1.4.109 *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā* defines *saṃhitā* as 'closest proximity between sounds'. The *i* and *u* of *dadhi* and *madhu* must share close proximity with *a* of *atra.* For, in its absence, we will end up with *dadhi atra* and *madhu atra* with no application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci.* A pause between two sounds which exceeds the duration (*kāla*) of half of mora (*ardha-mātrā*) impairs *saṃhitā.*

6.1.73 छे च

che ca
/ *che* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*hrasvasya tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72)
chakāre parataḥ saṃhitāyāṃ viṣaye hrasvasya tug āgamo bhavati
Augment *tuk* is also introduced to a short vowel when *ch* follows in *saṃhitā.*

EXAMPLES:

icchati '. . . desires'
gacchati ' . . . goes'

1. Note that *che* specifies the condition (*nimitta*) in consonance with which *tUK* is introduced. The locative singular form *che* has *cha* as its base. It is logical then to assume that *cha,* a form ending in *a,* forms the condition of introducing augment *tUK.* Commentators state that only *ch,* a form constituted by a single consonant, forms the condition. Why did Pāṇini specify it with *a.* For ease of articulation (*chakāre akāra uccāraṇārthaḥ*). This is in consonance with specifications found in 3.2.162 *vidibhidicchideḥ* and 7.4.41 *śācchor anyatarasyām.*

If Pāṇini intended a specification with *ch* he should have used *ch* in the locative, i.e., *chādau*. This being the case, (*PŚ* 34): *yasmin vidhau tadādāv*... would have yielded the interpretation, *chādau* 'that which has *ch* at its beginning'. That is, many words with *ch* at their beginning could then have been included. This would have been prolix (*gaurava*), especially with reference to cognition (*jñāna*).

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś.*) explains two kinds of *adhikāras*: (*i*) *arthādhikāra* 'domain relative to meaning' and (*ii*) *śabdādhikāra* 'domain relative to form'. The first focuses on the meaning of a specifying form, as opposed to the second which focuses on form. The word *hrasva*, for operational purposes specific to 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti*..., was interpreted as 'that which ended in a short vowel'. This was a meaning interpretation made possible via *tadantavidhi*. This rule resorts to a formal interpretation of *hrasva*. That is, for purposes of introducing augment (*āgama*) *tUK*, a short vowel (*hrasva*) will be treated as the *āgamī* 'that which receives an augment' (*hrasva evātrāgamī na tv adantaḥ*). Incidentally, this *Kāśikā* statement should end with *na tadantaḥ* 'not ending in that' as opposed to *na tv adantaḥ* 'and not ending in *aT*'. The question of a base ending in *a* does not arise here.

If *tUK* were to be introduced to a form ending in a short vowel then *tUK*, on account of being introduced to an *abhyāsa*, will become part of the *abhyāsa*. It will then be dropped by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. If a single short vowel is treated as the items receiving *tUK*, then *tUK* does not become part of the *abhyāsa* (*abhyāsāvayava*). How come a short vowel receiving *tUK* is not considered as part of the *abhyāsa*? *Kāśikā* states that part of a part does not become part of a whole (*nāvayavāyavaḥ samudāyāvayavo bhavati*). This is why *tUK* in *cicchidatuḥ* (←*chi* + *tUK* + *chid* + *atus*) and *cicchiduḥ* (←*chi* + *tUK* + *chid* + *us*) is not treated as part of *abhyāsa*. *Kāśikā* rightly remarks that *nāvayavāvayavaḥ samudāyāvayavo bhavati* 'part of a part cannot be accepted as part of a (larger) whole'.

But part of a part may, elsewhere, also be treated as part of a whole. Consider *sāṅgulir devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta has fingers' where 'finger', a part of Devadatta's hand, is treated as part of Devadatta. I omit further details of this argumentation for fear of expatiation.

6.1.74 आङ्माङोश्च

āṅmāṅoś ca

/ *āṅmāṅoḥ* 6/1 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/

(*tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72 *che* #73)

āṅo ṅita īṣadādiṣu caturṣv artheṣu vartamānasya māṅaś ca pratiṣedhavacanasya chakāre paratas tug āgamo bhavati

Augment *tUK* is also introduced to *āṄ* and *māṄ* when *ch* follows in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

ācchāyā 'slight shade'
ācchādayati 'covers . . .'
ācchāyāyāḥ '. . . slight shade'
ācchāyam 'up to the shade'
mācchaitsīt 'third singular *LUṄ*-derivate of *chid* used with *mā* 'not''
mācchidat 'third singular *LAṄ*-derivate of *chid* used with *mā*'

1. Note that *āṄ* and *māṄ* with *Ṅ* as an *it* are specified for availing particular meanings. The first *āṄ*, a particle (*nipāta*), is used with four meanings of *īṣat* 'slight, a little', *kriyāyoga* 'in construction with that which denotes action', *maryādā* 'exclusive limit' and *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit'. An *āṄ* which denotes *maryādā* and *abhividhi* is assigned the term *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.89 *āṅ maryādāvacane*). This leads to selection of *pañcamī* 'ablative' after the nominal in construction with *āṄ* (2.3.10 *apñcamy apāṅparibhiḥ*). The result with *tUK* is *ācchāyāyāḥ*. The *mā* of *māṄ* is, of course, a negative particle (*nipāta*). An optional indeclinable compound (*avyayībhāva*; 2.1.13 *āṅ maryādābhividhyoḥ*) *ācchāyā*, paraphrased as *īṣac chāyā* 'slight shade' and interpretable as both *maryādā* 'exclusive limit' and *abhividhi* 'inclusive limit', derives from *āṄ* + *sU chāyā* + *ṄasI*. The *t* of *tUK* introduced to *ā* is replaced with *c* (8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*).

2. What is the purpose of qualifying *ā* and *mā* with *Ṅ*? Consider *āchāyā/ācchāyā*; and *pramāchandaḥ/pramācchandaḥ*, where this rule cannot apply because *ā* is not a *karmapravacanīya*. Similarly, *pramā* has verbal root *mā* 'measure' used with the preverb *pra*. That is, *pramā* is used with *chandas*. The optional *tUK* in these examples is accomplished by 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*.

3. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.75 दीर्घात्

dīrghāt
/*dīrghāt* 5/1/
(*tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72 *che* #73)
dīrghāt paro yaś chakāras tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dīrghasya tug āgamo bhavati
Augment *tUK* is introduced to that long vowel (*dīrgha*) which occurs before *ch*, provided when *ch* follows it in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

hrīcchati 'third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *hrīcch* 'to be bashful, ashamed''
mlecchati 'third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *mlecch* 'to mutter, speak indistinctly''
apacācchāyate 'continually breaks; derivate of *yaṄ* in third singular middle *LAṬ* of *apa-chā*'
vicācchāyate '. . . of *vi-chā*'

1. *Kāśikā* offers a long paraphrase of this *sūtra* as follows:

(*i*) *dīrghāt paro yaś chakāras* 'the *ch* which occurs after a long vowel'
(*ii*) *tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dīrghasya* 'that long vowel which occurs before that (*ch*)'
(*iii*) *tug āgamo bhavati* '*tUK* is introduced as an augment'

The locative (*saptamī*) of *che*, in association with the *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *dīrghāt*, and an anticipated *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' for the specification of an *āgamī* 'that to which an augment is introduced', may be interpreted as genitive. It is a general practice in the tradition to transform a locative (*saptamī*) into genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) if the locative occurs after an ablative (*pañcamī*; cf. (*PŚ*: 71) *ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyān*). Consequently, *tUK*, in view of 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*, may be introduced to *ch*. This of course will be wrong. *Kāśikā*'s rather long paraphrase is intended to clear up any possible confusion. It is also intended to make clear that an augment becomes part of what it is introduced to. If it is introduced to a long vowel, it becomes part of the long vowel. That is, it does not become part of what the long vowel is part of (cf. *avayavāvayavaḥ samudāyāvayavo na bhavati*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.76 पदान्ताद्वा

padāntād vā
/*padāntāt* 5/1 = *padasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *vā* ϕ/
(*tuk* #71 *saṃhitāyām* #72 *che* #73 *dīrghāt* #75)
padāntād dīrghāt paro yaś chakāras tasmin pūrvasya tasyaiva dīrghasya pūrveṇa nityaṃ prāpto vā tug āgamo bhavati
Augment *tUK* is optionally introduced to a *pada*-final long vowel when *ch* follows it in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

kuṭīcchāyā 'shade of a hut'
kuṭīchāyā
kuvalīcchāyā 'shade of a particular tree'
kuvalīchāyā

1. An optional *tUK* is offered against the obligatory provision of the preceding rule. This provision of *tUK* is not made relative to *padavidhi* 'process of integrating fully inflected words' (2.1.1 *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*). It can be best described as *padāntavidhi* 'a process relative to the end of a *pada*'. The preceding rule introduces *tUK* before *ch*, obligatorily, to a non-*pada*-final long vowel. Our present rule makes that provision optional in case of a *pada*-final long vowel followed by *ch*. Thus observe: *tiṣṭhatu kumārīc chatraṃ hara*

devadattasya 'let the girl wait; carry the umbrella of Devadatta'. We can also get *kumārī chatram*, optionally.

Note that *tUK*, if introduced, will go through *ścutva* (*t*→*c*; 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). Observe *kuṭīcchāya* and *kuṭīchāyā*, where the second example lacks *tUK*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for *viśvajana*, etc., to also receive an optional *tUK* in the Vedic (*vt.*: *viśvajanādīnāṃ chandasi vā* . . .). Thus, *viśvajanac chatram*/ *viśvajanachatram*. *Nyāsa* remarks that 6.1.73 *che ca* would have offered obligatory *tUK* in the absence of this statement. But since all operations are optional in the Vedic (*sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi vikalpyante*), we can still get this optional *tUK*. This statement is then intended for clarity.

6.1.77 **इको यणचि**

> *iko yaṇ aci*
> /*ikaḥ* 6/1 *yaṇ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72)
> *aci parata iko yaṇ ādeśo bhavati*
> A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* is replaced by corresponding sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

> *dadhyatra* 'there is yoghurt here'
> *madhvatra* 'there is honey here'
> *kartrartham* 'for he who is doing'
> *hartrartham* 'for one who carries'
> *lākṛtiḥ* 'one who (which) has the shape of *ḷ*; Kṛṣṇa while playing his flute'

1. Note that *iK* and *yaṆ* denote four sounds each: *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ* and *y*, *v*, *r*, *l*, respectively. Since the number of elements in these sets is equal (*samāna*), their equivalency must be assigned in consonance with order of their enumeration (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .).

2. The locative (*saptamī*) in *aci* is interpreted as *parasaptamī* 'that which specifies what follows'. When interpreted in accord with the specification of 1.1.65 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*, we conclude that sounds denoted by *iK* are replaced with corresponding sounds denoted by *yaṆ* when sounds denoted by *aC* immediately (*avyavahita*) follow. That is, an operation specified by that which ends in the locative obtains on that which immediately precedes.

Pāṇini also formulates 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* whereby a single homogeneous long vowel is ordered as a replacement for a sequence of two contiguous homogeneous vowels denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK*, i.e.,

a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* has a wider right context denoted by *aC* which includes the denotata of *aK*. The *aK* of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* also includes the denotata of *iK*. Now the question: what if an *iK* is followed by another homogeneous *iK* in *saṃhitā*? Rules 6.1.77 and 6.1.101 will both find their scope of application. Can one replace the prior *iK* with a corresponding *yaṆ*? Can one replace the sequence of two homogeneous vowels denoted by *iK* with a single long homogeneous vowel? The provision of a single long homogeneous vowel replacement for a sequence of preceding and succeeding homogeneous vowels will become vacuous (*vyartha*) if 6.1.101 is not applied against 6.1.77. Thus, the use of *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ dīrghaḥ* 'a single long vowel in place of the sequence of a preceding and following vowel' and *savarṇe* 'when a homogeneous vowel follows in extreme proximity . . .' makes it possible for 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* to carve out its domain of application without interfering with the scope of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*.

This notion of extreme proximity is read in view of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*. A question may be raised here: why bring 1.1.66 *tasminn iti* . . . when *saṃhitāyām* itself can account for proximity. After all, two sounds in *saṃhitā* are not supposed to be separated (*vyavahita*) by a duration exceeding half a mora (*ardhamātrā*). It is argued that 1.1.66 *tasminn iti* . . . is brought into play to ensure contiguity (*avyavadhāna*). Consider *sudhi* + *upāsyaḥ* where the duration of *dh* before *i* equals half a mora. If contiguity was not considered, the *i* of *dhi* may cause the *u* of *su* to be replaced with its counterpart in *yaṆ*. Thus, the notion of contiguity brought into play on the basis of 1.1.66 *tasminn iti* . . . alone can block this *yaṆ* of *u*.

2. The word *aci* carries through 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *yaṆ* against *savarṇadīrgha* 'homogeneous long vowel', in contexts where a vowel denoted by *iK* and occurring after a *pluta* is followed by a homogeneous vowel denoted by *iK*. Thus, *bho3 i indram* = *bho3* (*i*→*y*) *indram* = *bho3 yindram*.

6.1.78 एचोऽयवायावः

eco' yavāyāvaḥ

/*ecaḥ* 6/1 *ayavāyāvaḥ* 1/3 = *ay ca av ca āy ca āv ca* = *ayavāyāvaḥ* (*itar. dv.*)/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77)

ecaḥ sthāne' ci parataḥ '*ay, av, āy, āv*' *ity ete ādeśā yathāsaṃkhyam bhavanti*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC* is replaced by *ay, av, āy, āv*', respectively, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* follows in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

cayanam 'heaping'
lavanam 'cutting'

kayete 'who are these'
yayete 'these people who . . .'
vāyāv avaruṇaddhi 'blocked the two winds'

1. Here again, order of enumeration will determine the equivalency of equal number of items specified in two sets (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . .). The other conditions of *saṃhitāyām* and *aci* remain the same. Can one apply 1.3.3 *halantyam* and 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* to delete the final consonants of *cay*, etc.? No. This *sandhi* provision will then become vacuous (*vyartha*).

6.1.79 वान्तो यि प्रत्यये

vānto yi pratyaye
/ *vāntaḥ* 1/1 = *vakāro' nte yasya* (*bv.*); *yi* 7/1 *pratyaye* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ecaḥ* #78)
yo' yam ecaḥ sthāne vāntādeśaḥ, okārasya av, aukārasya av, sa yakārādau pratyaye parato bhavati
A *v*-final replacement comes (in place of an *o* and *au*) when a *y*-initial affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

bābhravyaḥ 'descendant of Babhru'
māṇḍavyaḥ 'descendant of Maṇḍu'
śaṅkavyaṃ dāru '. . . wood beneficial for spike'
picavyaḥ kārpāsaḥ 'beneficial for cotton tree'
nāvyo hradaḥ 'a lake which can be crossed over by boat'

1. This rule covers two replacements ending in *v*, i.e., *av* and *āv*. Their corresponding substituenda will then be *o* and *au* (*vt.*: *odauś ceti ca vaktavyam*).

2. The locative in *yi*, when read in view of 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*, will yield the interpretation: 'when that, an affix, which ends in *y* follows'. But this *tadantavidhi* 'an operation relative to that which may end in what specifies it' interpretation will be blocked in favor of a *tadādividhi* 'an operation relative to that which begins with what specifies it'. How do we know that *tadādividhi* should block *tadantavidhi*? We know it from the *vārttika* (cf. 1.1.72 *yena vidhis tadantasya*): *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe*. It specifies that *tadādividhi* is favored where a single *aL* 'sound segment' specifies the right context of an operation. Our *y* in *yi* is a single sound.

3. The rule is formulated so that a replacement in *av* and *āv* could be accomplished where a condition different from the *aci* of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* may be involved.

4. Note that the three conditions of *vānta*, *yi* and *pratayaye* must be met. Consider *rai* + *am* which will involve a replacement in *āy*, as against *āv*. Thus, we get *rāyam* as in *rāyam icchati* 'wishes for wealth'. A replacement for *o* and

au in *av* and *āv* cannot be allowed in *go* + *bhyām* and *nau* + *bhyām* either. For, the affixes here do not begin with *y*. Such replacements are also not allowed for *o* and *au* in *go* + *yānam* and *nau* + *yānam* because what follows with an initial *y* is not an affix.

5. Note that a *vārttika* proposal allowing *av* as a replacement for *o* of *go* in the Vedic is allowed before *yūti*. Thus, we get *gavyūtiḥ* 'a herd of cows and bulls', as against *goyūtiḥ* in the classical language. A proposal for replacing *o* with *av* before *yūti* is made for classical usage, only when what is signified is a measure of road (*adhvaparimāṇe ca*). Thus, we get *g*(*o*→*av*) + *yūti* = *gavyūti* 'a distance of nearly four miles (*krośayugam*)'.

6.1.80 **धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव**

dhātos tannimittasyaiva

/ *dhātoḥ* 6/1 *tannimittasya* 6/1 = *tad nimittaṃ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *eva* ϕ/ (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ecaḥ* #78 *vānto yi pratyaye* #79)

dhātor ya ec tannimitto yakārādipratyayanimittas tasya yakārādau pratyaye parato vāntādeśo bhavati

A sound denoted by *eC* which is part of a verbal root (*dhātu*) conditioning an affix beginning with *y* is replaced with a substitute terminating in *v*, provided the affix beginning with *y* follows in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

lavyam 'ready to be cut'
pavyam 'ready to be cleansed'
avaśyalāvyam 'should indeed be cut'
avaśyapāvyam 'should indeed be cleansed'

1. The word *tannimitta* is explained as *sa* (*yādipratyayaḥ*) *nimittaṃ yasya* (*ecaḥ*) 'that (the *y*-initial affix) which constitutes the condition of that, i.e., *o* and *au* of *eC*'. The elements whose *nimitta* is specified by the *bahuvrīhi* compound *tannimitta* are thus recognized as *o* and *au* of a *dhātu* 'verbal root'. We know it from the genitive of *dhātoḥ* which, in turn, is used with the signification of *avayava* 'part of a whole'. An affix beginning with *y* is thus recognized as a condition. This helps us understand the rule as follows: 'a replacement ending in *v* comes in place of the *o* and *au* of a *dhātu*, provided these both are conditioned by an affix which begins with *y* (*yādi*) and follows in *saṃhitā*'. Consider *lū* + *yaT*→*l*(*ū*→*o*) + *yaT*→*l*(*o*→*av*) + *yaT* = *lavya* + *sU*→*lavyam*, a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*). We can similarly get *pavyam*. Our next two examples, i.e., *avaśyalāvyam* and *avaśyapāvyam*, are compounds termed *upapada*. They derive by introducing affix *ṆyaT* (3.1.125 *or āvaśyake*) after verbal roots *lū* and *pū* under the condition of *avaśyam*, a conjoined *pada*. Thus, *avaśya* + *am* + *lū* + *ṆyaT*→*avaśya* + *l*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *ṆyaT*→*avaśya* + *l*(*av*→*āv*) + (*Ṇ*)*yaT* = (*avaśya* + *lāvya*) + *sU* = *avaśyalāvyam*. We similarly get

avaśyapāvyam. Note that the compound is formed in consonance with 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca.* The *m* of *avaśyam* gets deleted in accord with the statement *lumped avaśyamaḥ kṛtye*(?). Rule 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* accomplishes the *vṛddhi* of *ū* which is subsequently replaced with *āv.* Recall here that *ṆyaT* conditions *vṛddhi* and under its condition we further get the *au* replaced with *āv.* The *au* for which we get *āv* is thus *tannimittaka.*

2. The condition of *tannimitta* is important so that a replacement ending in *v* is blocked when an affix beginning with *y* follows, but does not condition *o* and *au.* Consider for example the controlled derivation of *upoyate* from *upa* + *veÑ* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*) where affix *yaK* is further introduced under the condition of the following *ta,* a *sārvadhātuka.* Our string *upa* + *ve* + *ya* + *ta* yields *upa* + *vo* + *ya* + *ta* through *samprasāraṇa* and *ātva* and a replacement for *a* + *u* in *o.* The *o* of *upo* cannot be replaced with *av* to finally derive, for example a wrong form **upavyate,* under the condition of the following *y*-initial affix *yaK.* For *yaK* did not constitute the condition for bringing about *o* as a replacement for *a* + *u.* A form such as **āvyata,* with a replacement in *āv* parallel to *āuyata* from *āṬ* + *veÑ* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*), can also not be accomplished before *yaK* for similar reasons. The *taddhita* derivates *lauyamāniḥ* 'descendant of Lūyamāna' and *pauyamāniḥ* 'descendant of Pūyamāna' can also not have their *au* replaced with *āv* since affix *yaÑ* occurring after *lū* and *pū* of *lūyamāna* and *pūyamāna* does not condition the *vṛddhi*-replacement *au* for *ū.* This *vṛddhi* is conditioned by affix *iÑ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam;* 4.1.95 *ata iñ*), introduced after *lūyamāna* + *Ṅas* and *pūyamāna* + *Ṇas* by 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ.* Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

2. The word *eva* is used here to serve a restrictive purpose (*niyamārtha*). That is, it is used to restrict *av* and *āv* as replacements for *o* and *au* of a verbal root only when a *y*-initial affix conditions *o* and *au.* Thus, these replacements will apply in the context of a *dhātu* only when a *y*-initial affix conditions *o* and *au.*

Recall that the tradition generally believes in *yato evakāraḥ tato' nyatra niyamaḥ* 'a restrictive provision focuses on something other than the item after which *eva* is used'. This rule uses *eva* after *tannimittasya.* Consequently, the restrictive provision will focus on *dhātoḥ.* Notice that *dhātoḥ* and *tannimittasya* are both in the genitive. These are both qualifiers (*viśeṣaṇa*). The *eva* after *tannimittasya* will focus on *dhātu,* and hence, the restriction will apply to the *eC* of a *dhātu.* The notion of *tannimittakatva* will be brought as a qualifier. Thus, consider *oyate* which derives from *ā* + *veÑ* + *yaK* + *ta.* Recall that *yaK* is introduced with the denotatum of *karman.* Verbal root *veÑ* goes through *samprasāraṇa* and subsequent *pūrvarūpa* of (*v*→*u*)*e*→*v*(*u* + *e*→*u*). The initial *ā* of the string alongwith resultant *u* then gets replaced with a single *guṇa,* i.e., *o* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*). Note that *o* qualifies for *dhātoḥ* 'of a verbal root' but does not qualify for *tannimimittakatva.* This restrictive provision will thus not apply. This restrictive provision will also not be available to

bābhravya where *eC* (*babhr*(*u*→*o*) is conditioned by a *y*-initial affix but it belongs to a nominal stem. That is, it does not satisfy the condition of *dhātoḥ*.

6.1.81 क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे

kṣayyajayyau śakyārthe
/ *kṣayya-jayyau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *śakyārthe* 7/1 = *śakyaś cāsau arthaḥ* (*karm.*), *tasmin*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhatoḥ* #80)
'*kṣi, ji*' *ity etayor dhātvor yati pratyaye parataḥ śakyārthe gamyamāne ekārasyāyādeśo nipātyate*
The *e* of verbal roots *kṣi* 'to decay' and *ji* 'to win' is replaced with *āy*, via *nipātana*, when the root is followed by affix *yaT* and derivates denote the sense of *śakya* 'possible'.

EXAMPLES:

śakyaḥ kṣettum = *kṣayyaḥ* 'that which is possible to decay'
śakyo jetum = *jayyaḥ* 'that which is possible to win'

1. Note that *kṣayya* and *jayya* are derivates of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*), used with the signification of *śakyārtha* 'possibility'. This rule offers *ay* as a replacement for *e*, via *nipātana*. The *e*, in turn, is a *guṇa* replacement for *i* of *kṣi* and *ji*. *Kāśikā* offers *kṣeyaṃ pāpam* 'sin to be destroyed' and *jeyo vṛṣalaḥ* 'a lowly Śūdra who is to be tamed' as counter-examples where, because the denotata of derivates is 'necessity' as opposed to 'possibility', *e* cannot be replaced with *ay*.

6.1.82 क्रय्यस्तदर्थे

krayyas tadarthe
/ *krayyaḥ* 1/1 *tadarthe* 7/1 = *tasya arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhātoḥ* #80)
krīṇāter dhātos tadarthe krayārthaṃ yat tasminn abhidheye yati pratyaye parato' yādeśo nipātyate
Verbal root *krī* 'to barter' receives a substitute in *ay* when an affix beginning with *y*, particularly *yaT*, follows and the derivate denotes something on sale.

EXAMPLES:

krayyo gauḥ 'an ox on sale'
krayyaḥ kambalaḥ 'a blanket on sale'

1. Note that *krayya* is a derivate of *yaT* introduced after verbal root *ḌUkrīÑ* 'purchase, barter'. The derivate meaning here is: *tadarthe* 'in the sense of that, i.e., verbal root'. Commentators explain that the meaning of the base

(*prakṛti*) is principal (*pradhāna*) here. The word *krayya* is explained as *krayārtham yaḥ prasāritaḥ* 'that which is put out for sale'. Consider now a counter-example: *kreyo no dhānyam na cāsti krayyam* 'this grain we wish to purchase is not for sale'. Here again, the *e* resulting out of *guṇa* is replaced with *ay*.

6.1.83 भय्यप्रवय्ये च च्छन्दसि

bhayyapravayye ca cchandasi
/*bayya-pravayye* 7/1 (*itar. dv.*) ca ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *yi pratyaye* #79 *dhātoḥ* #80)
bibheter dhātor prapūrvasya ca 'vi' ity etasya yati pratyaye paratas chandasi viṣaye' yādeśo bhavati
Forms such as *bhayya* and *pravayya* are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

bhayyaṃ kila āsīt 'that was indeed frightening'
vatsatarī pravayyā 'a young cow ready for impregnation'

1. Note that *bhayyaḥ* is derived with *yaT* signifying *apādāna* (3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo* . . .). The word *pravayyā* is derived, via *nipātana*, only in the feminine. One can derive it from: *pra* + (*aj*→*vī*) + *yaT* or *pra* + *vī* + *yaT*, where, in the first string, *aj* gets replaced with *vī* (2.4.56 *ajer vy aghañapoḥ*). Verbal root *vī* in the second string is used with the signification of *gati* 'movement' and *prajanana* 'giving birth', etc. The *yaT* is, of course, introduced by 3.1.97 *aco yat*.

6.1.84 एकः पूर्वपरयोः

ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ
/*ekaḥ* 1/1 *pūrvaparayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72)
adhikāro' yam 'khyāt parasya' iti prāg etasmāt
sūtrād ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmas tatra pūrvasya parasya dvayor api sthāne ekādeśo bhavatīty etad veditavyam
One comes in place of both the preceding as well as the following when *saṃhitā* obtains.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvendraḥ 'best among cots'
mālendraḥ 'best among garlands'

1. This is an *adhikāra* valid through rules enumerated prior to 6.1.112 *khyāt parasya*.

The word *pūrvaparayoḥ* specifies a sequence of two contiguous elements as *sthānī* 'items to be replaced', simultaneously (*yugapat*). There may be confusion as to what should be replaced, for example, under the provision of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. That is, if *pūrvaparayoḥ* is not specified. It is stated that the locative (*saptamī*) of *aci*, occurring after the ablative (*pañcamī*) of *āt*, will be transformed into *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' similar to 8.3.29 *ḍaḥ si dhuṭ* where locative *si* is transformed into genitive and receives augment *dhUṬ*. This way, 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will have *aci* transformed into *acaḥ*, a genitive, and there will not be any confusion as to what should be replaced. But this will only make clear that an *aC* occurring after *āT* will be replaced with *guṇa*. It will not make clear that the *guṇa* vowel will come in place of the preceding *ā* and the vowel which follows. The word *pūrvaparayoḥ* must then be stated to facilitate a replacement in place of two contiguous vowels.

This single replacement must also come in place of two contiguous vowels simultaneously (*yugapat*). Some argue that *ekaḥ*, especially in view of 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*, should account for a single replacement for two contiguous vowels simaultaneously. Hence, we do not need *pūrvaparayoḥ*. If this is acceptable then *pūrvaparayoḥ* must be viewed as used for ease of comprehension (*sukhapratipatyartham*). But since proper understanding of this rule without *pūrvaparayoḥ*, though with the help of 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*, is possible only via a locative occurring after an ablative transformed into genitive, use of *pūrvaparayoḥ* is still economical. Doing without *pūrvaparayoḥ* is prolix (*gaurava*).

2. This rule includes *ekaḥ* so that two separate replacements for the preceding and following contiguous sound segments can be blocked. For one may expect two replacements corresponding to two items to be replaced. Such an expectation can be justified in view of rule 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto naḥ* . . ., whereby the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix, when occurring after *r* and *d*, is replaced with *n*. Additionally, the preceding *d* is also replaced with *n*. The *Mahābhāṣya* finds the use of *ekaḥ* as unnecessary.

6.1.85 अन्तादिवच्च

antādivac ca
/ *antādivat* ϕ = *antaś ca ādiś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyāṃ tulyam*; *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)
'*ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ*' *iti yo' yam ekādeśo vidhīyate sa pūrvasyāntavad bhavati parasyādivad bhavati*

A replacement in place of the preceding and following sound segments in *saṃhitā* is treated as final (*anta*) of what precedes and initial (*ādi*) of what follows.

EXAMPLES:

brahmabandhūḥ 'a contemptible brāhmaṇa'

vṛkṣau 'nominative/accusative dual of *vṛkṣa* 'tree''

1. A replacement coming in place of two contiguous sound segments is treated as final of what precedes and the initial of what follows. The words *anta* and *ādi* denote *avayava* 'part'. It is only natural that we understand them in view of their *avayavin*, the whole (*samudāya*) with reference to which they are parts. What is this *avayavin*, especially in this context of a single replacement in place of a preceding and a following sound? There are three possibilities.

(*i*) This extension applies to the preceding (*pūrva*) and following (*para*) sound segments for which *ekaḥ* specifies a single replacement.

(*ii*) This extension applies to entities which, prior to a single replacement, preceded the prior sound segment and followed the subsequent sound segment, with the understanding that prior and subsequent segments will be simultaneously replaced with a single sound segment.

(*iii*) This extension applies to a form which contained the prior sound segment as its final, and to another form which contained the subsequent sound segment as its initial.

The first interpretation is not acceptable because prior and subsequent sound segments would be removed by a single replacement. How could one talk about *antādī* when prior and subsequent segments themselves are missing. The second interpretation is also problematic. Consider *vṛkṣa* + *au*, where *a* + *au* are replaced by a single replacement in *a*. This *a* is a single replacement in place of a non-*sUP* (*asup*) and a *sUP*. It cannot, because of there being nothing to follow the *sUP*, become the initial of what follows. It is in view of this that the third interpretation is accepted. This interpretation is also not trouble free. Consider, for example, *brahmabandhūḥ*, derived from *brahmabandhu* + *ū*→*brahmabandhū* + *sU*, where a single long replacement comes in place of the final *u* of a nominal stem and the *ū* of the feminine affix *ūṄ*. For, the prior *u* is removed. The final *dh* of *brahmabandh* cannot be treated as the substituenda (*sthānī*) of the replaced *u* since it was not the *sthānī* to start with (*anārambhāt*). This same is also applicable to the following items to be replaced. This extension will therefore apply to forms which preceded and followed the two sounds as their final and initial. A single replacement will be treated as final of the form which precedes it, the same way the sound it replaced was its final. This single replacement will also be considered as initial of what follows it, the way the item it replaced was its initial. Consider *brahmabandhūḥ* which derives from (*brahmabandhū* + *sU*). The final *ū* of *brahmabandhū* is a single replacement in *ū* for the final *u* of *brahmabandhu* and the initial *ū* of affix *ūṄ*. Now, a *sU* is introduced after a

nominal stem, or a form that ends in the feminine affixes characterized with *Ṅī* and *āP*. Since *brahmabandhū* is not a nominal stem, and also since *ūṄ* is not one of the feminine affixes covered by *Ṅī* and *āP*, *sū* cannot be introduced by 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . . How can one then derive *brahmanabandhūḥ* from *brahmabandhu* + *sU*? This rule makes it possible for *ū*, a replacement of *u* + *ū*, as final of *brahmabandhu*, the nominal stem. A *sU* can now be introduced to derive *brahmabandhūḥ*.

2. Note that this *antavadbhāva* 'treatment as final of the preceding and initial of the following' is not desired where an operation is to be performed relative to a sound segment. Consider *khaṭvābhiḥ* ←*khaṭvā* + *bhis*, where *bhis* cannot be replaced with *ais* (7.1.9 *ato bhis ais*). For, the *ā* of *khaṭvā*, gotten from homogeneous long replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*) of *a* + *ā* of *kohaṭva* + *ā*, cannot be treated as final of *khaṭva*, a form ending in *aT*. The instrumental plural of *khaṭvā* will thus be *khaṭvābhiḥ*. Now consider third singular perfect of *hveÑ*→*hvā* (4.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*. . .), i.e., *juhāva*, where given *juhu* + *ṆaL*, 7.1.34 *āt au ṇalaḥ* cannot be applied. For, *hvā* goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.33 *abhyastasya ca*) and produces *hu* with *pūrvarūpa*. This *u* happens to be a single replacement for the vocalic sequence *u* + *ā*←*h*(*v*→*u*) *ā*. Note that *ṆaL* cannot be replaced with *au*, understanding that *hu* ended in *ā* based on *u* being a single replacement for *u* + *ā*. A *vṛddhi* replacement gotten from 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* is not considered as initial of what followed, in applying 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*. Consider *asyai* + *aśvaḥ* where *asyai* derives from *idam* + (*Ṅ*)*e* = *idam* + *e* with augment *syāṬ* (7.3.114 *sarvanāmnaḥ syāḍ*. . .) and deletion of *id* (7.2.113 *hali lopaḥ*). This gives us *am* + *syā* + *e* which yields *a* + *syā* + *e*, where *m* of (*id*→ϕ) *am* + *syā* + *e* gets replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*). The *a* + (*m*→*a*) = *a* + *a* is then replaced with a single *a* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*) to offer *a* + *syā* + *e* = *asyā* + *e*. Rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* will now apply to produce *asy*(*ā* + *e*→*ai*) = *asyai*. We cannot now apply 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* on *asyai* + *aśvaḥ* to produce a single replacement similar to the preceding *e* for *ai* + *a* of *asyai* and *aśvaḥ*, respectively. For, *ai* cannot be viewed as *e*.

Some argue that 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau* itself can account for what this rule provides. Hence this rule is unnecessary. Others argue back that extensional provision of this rule is *ānumānika* 'presumed', because it is based upon part of a replacement (*avayatva*). It is not a direct (*pratyakṣa*) replacement as may be required by the word *ādeśa* of 1.1.56 *sthānivad*. . . . It is for this 'presumed' status of the replacement that we need this extension rule. I omit details of these two positions for fear of expatiation.

6.1.86 षत्वतुकोरसिद्धः

ṣatvatukor asiddhaḥ

/*ṣatva-tukoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *asiddhaḥ* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)

ṣatve tuki ca kartavye ekādeśo' siddho bhavati

A single replacement in place of the preceding and the following sound segments in *saṃhitā* is treated as if suspended (*asiddha*) when operations relative to a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and augment *tUK* are to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

ko' sicat 'who watered . . .'
ko'sya 'who is this person's . . .'
yo'sya 'he who is of this person's . . .'
ko'smai 'who is this person to whom . . .'
yo'smai 'he to whom . . .'
adhītya 'having studied . . .'
pretya 'having returned . . .'

1. This rule suspends a single replacement (*ekādeśa*) of two contiguous sound segments when a replacement in *ṣ*, or introduction of augment *tUK*, is to be accomplished. That is, a replacement is treated as not having taken effect (*asiddha*) when these two operations (*ṣatva* and *tUK*) are to be performed. To sum up: this suspension negates operations characteristically conditioned by a single replacement (*kṛtaikādeśa-nimittaka-pratiṣedha*). It favors application of a characteristic operation conditioned by a substituendum (*sthāni-lakṣaṇa-kārya*).

What is the purpose of this provision of *asiddhatva*? Is it needed for creating 'absence' (*abhāva*) of a single replacement? Or else, it is needed for indicating inability of replacement to perform what it is supposed to perform. For, what is *siddha* can be treated as *asiddha* if it does not do what it is supposed to do. That is, it is similar to a son (*putra*) who can be treated as a non-son (*aputra*) if he does not perform the duties of a son (*putrakāryakaraṇe' sāmarthyāt*). A replacement can similarly be trated as a non-replacement. If this 'statement of suspension' (*asiddhavacana*) tries to realize the absence of a single replacement, then *adhītya* cannot be derived with augment *tUK*. Why? Because the short *i* will already be removed by the replacement? A short vowel cannot be brought about if it has been removed by a single replacement. Killing the killer of Devadatta cannot bring Devadatta back to life' (*na hi devadattasya hantari hate punar devadattasya prādurbhāvo bhavatīty* . . .). The 'absence' interpretation of *asiddhatva* thus has to be abandoned.

This *asiddhatva* must then be interpreted as 'incapability of affecting an operation (*kāryāsāmarthya*)'. One considers a *sthānī* as not having been displaced when its corresponding *ādeśa* is treated as *asiddha* 'not having taken affect'. Let us consider *kaḥ asicat*, where *kim* of *kim* + *s*(*U*) is replaced with *r*(*U*) of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*. The *r* is then changed to *u* (6.1.113 *ato ror* . . .). Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will then apply on *kau* + *asicat* to offer a single *guṇa* replacement for *au* + *a*. Rule 6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* will then require a single replacement for the *pada*-final *eṄ*, i.e., *e*, *o*, and the *a*, of *asicat*, thereby

yielding *k(o+ a→o) sicat* = *ko' sicat*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* cannot apply to replace the *s* of *asicat* with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*), because our present rule will make *o* suspended. That is, *s* of *sicat* will be occurring after *a* of *asicat*, a sound not covered by the abbreviatory term *iṆ*. One can also cite *ko' sya, yo' sya, ko' smai* and *yo' smai* as additional examples, where *ṣatva* is negated based upon *asiddhatva* of a single replacement.

Kāśikā offers *adhītya* and *pretya* as examples where *tUK* is allowed based upon *asiddatva*. Given (*adhi+ i+* (*Ktvā→LyaP*)) and (*pra+ i+* (*Ktvā→LyaP*)), the two *i* vowels are replaced with a single long *ī* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). The *a* + *i* sequence of *pr*(*a* + *i*) + *ya* is replaced with a single *guṇa* vowel *e*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* cannot introduce *tUK* if single replacements are not treated as *asiddha* 'suspended'. For, replacement vowels are not short (*hrasva*). If replacement vowels both are treated as *asiddha*, augment *tUK* can be introduced to verbal root *i* 'to go'.

2. A question against the formulation of this rule is also raised with reference to *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 51) *asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge*. That is, a single replacement will be treated as *bahiraṅga* 'externally conditioned' since it applies with reference to two words. The application of *ṣatva* and *tUK* will be considered as *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' because they apply relative to a single word. What is the need for this rule when the *bahiraṅga* provision of a single replacement will automatically become suspended (*asiddha*). Commentators inform that this rule serves a restrictive purpose with regard to this interpretive rule (*paribhāṣā*). It indicates that the *bahiraṅga-paribhāṣa* does not apply where contiguous vocalic sequences of a *bahiraṅga* or *antaraṅga* operation are involved. Consequently, in *akṣadyūḥ*, a replacement in *yaṆ* is treated as *siddha* 'accomplished' on account of the *asiddhatva* of externally conditioned *ūṬH* (6.4.132 *vāha ūṭh*). This same also becomes a *jñāpaka* 'indicator' for existence of another *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 52) *nājānantaryaṃ bahis*. . . .

3. A *vārttika* recommends that *asiddhatva* in connection with *samprasāraṇa*, locative singular ending *Ṅi*, and the first singular *ātmanepada* ending *iṬ*, should be disallowed. Given *śaka* + *Śas* + *hu* + *KvIP*, we get *śakahū*, through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapi*. . .; *h*(*v→u*)*e*), *ātva* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*. . .; (*hu*(*e→ā*), *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*; *h* (*u* + *ā→u* = *hu*) and *dīrgha* (6.4.2 *halaḥ*; *h*(*u→ū* = *hū*). The application of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. . .for replacing the locative plural affixal *s* in *śakahū* + *su* to produce *śakahūṣu* is facilitated by this *vārttika* proposal. That is, the single replacement is treated as *asiddha* because the ending is not locative singular. But consider *vṛkṣe chatram* where the *e* is considered as *siddha* because *Ṅe* is locative singular. This can then allow optional *tUK* of 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*. We thus get *vṛkṣec chatram* and *vṛkṣe chatram*. The first singular *ātmanepada* form *apace* illustrates how *e* of *aṬ* + *pac* + (*ŚaP* + (*LUṄ→iṬ*)) = *apac* + (*a* + *i→e*) = *apace* can also be treated as *siddha*. Consequently, given *apace chatram*, we will get optional *tUK*. Thus, *apace chatram* and *apace chatram*.

6.1.87 आद्गुणः

ād guṇaḥ
/*āt* 5/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)
avarṇāt paro yo'c, aci ca pūrvo yo' varṇaḥ, tayoḥ pūrvaparayor avarṇācoḥ sthāne eko guṇādeśo bhavati
A single replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of both, a vowel (*aC*) which follows *a* and the *a* which precedes that vowel, in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvendraḥ = khaṭvā + indraḥ
mālendraḥ = mālā + indraḥ
tavehate = tava + īhate
khaṭvehate = khaṭvā + īhate
tavodakam = tava + udakam
khaṭvodakam = khaṭvā + udakam
tavarśyaḥ = tava + ṛśyaḥ
khaṭvarśyaḥ = khaṭvā + ṛśyaḥ
tavalkāraḥ = tava + ḷkāraḥ
khaṭvalkāraḥ = khaṭvā + ḷkāraḥ

1. Of course, the *a* here also refers to its homogeneous (*savarṇa*; 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya* . . .) counterparts. Note that a sequence of *a* followed by *a* gets a single *ā* replacement of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. A sequence of *a* followed by *e, o, ai* or *au* is similarly subject to a single replacement in *vṛddhi* (6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*). This rule allows a single replacement for a sequence of *a* followed by *i, u, ṛ* or *ḷ*. Rule 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ* defines *guṇa* as *aT*, *e* and *o*. Given *tava + idam* and *khaṭvā + indraḥ*, we get *tav* (*a + i→e*) *dam = tavedam* and *khaṭv* (*ā + i*) *ndram = khaṭvendram*. A single replacement in *e* is chosen, based upon its similarity of place of articulation (*sthāna*) with *a + i*, throat (*kaṇṭha*) and palate (*tālu*). A *guṇa*-replacement in *a*, of *ḷ*, is required to be followed by *l*, similar to a replacement of *ṛ* which is required to be followed by *r* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*; *Kāśikā*: *ḷkārasya sthāne yo' ṇ tasya laparatvam iṣyate*). For, a specification of *ḷ* is considered as included within the specification of *ṛ*.

6.1.88 वृद्धिरेचि

vṛddhir eci
/*vṛddhiḥ* 1/1 *eci* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* 87)
avarṇāt paro ya ec eci ca pūrvo yo'varṇaḥ tayoḥ pūrvaparayor avarṇaicoḥ sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement in *vṛddhi* comes in place of both, a sound de-

noted by the abbreviatory term *eC* (*e, o ai, au*) which follows *a* and the *a* which precedes *eC*, in *saṃhitā*.

EXAMPLES:

brahmaiḍakā = *brahma* + *eḍakā*
khaṭvaiḍakā = *khaṭvā* + *eḍakā*
brahmaitikāyanaḥ = *brahma* + *aitikāyanaḥ*
khaṭvaitikāyanaḥ = *khaṭvā* + *aitikāyanaḥ*
brahmaudanaḥ = *brahma* = *odanaḥ*
khaṭvaudanaḥ = *khaṭvā* + *odanaḥ*
brahmaupagavaḥ + *brahma* + *aupagavaḥ*
khaṭvaupagavaḥ = *khaṭvā* + *aupagavaḥ*

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding (*ādguṇasyāpavādaḥ*). A sequence of sounds with *a*, followed by *e, o, ai* or *au*, is replaced with a corresponding single *vṛddhi* vowel. Here again, similarity of place of articulation helps select corresponding replacements. Recall that *taparakaraṇa* in 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* is not intended for blocking *ā* from also denoting its homogeneous counterparts. For, *ā* is not included within *aṆ* (1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*). Instead, it is used for constraining *aiC*. Consequently, a replacement is limited in duration. That is, we always get replacements in *dīrgha* (*ā/ai/au*) and not in *pluta*. Incidentally, a replacement in *ā* may also be followed with *r* (6.1.91 *upasargād ṛti dhātau*).

6.1.89 एत्येधत्यूठ्सु

etyedhatyūṭhsu
/*etyedhatyūṭhsu* 7/3 = *etiś ca edhatiś ca ūṭh ca* = *etyedhatyūṭhaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* 87 *vṛddhir eci* #88)
avarṇāt paro ya iṇ gatau ity etasya ec, edha vṛddhau ūṭh ity etayoś ca yo'c, eteṣu ca pūrvo yo' varṇas tayoḥ pūrvaparayor varṇācoḥ sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati

A single replacement in *vṛddhi* comes in place of both, the *a* which precedes a sound denoted by *eC* and the *eC* which follows this *a*, provided *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

upaiti = *upa* + *eti*
upaiṣi = *upa* + *eṣi*
upaimi = *upa* + *emi*
upaidhate = *upa* + *edhate*
praidhate = *pra* + *edhate*
praṣṭhauhaḥ = *praṣṭha* + *ūhaḥ*

praṣṭhauhā = praṣṭha + ūhā
praṣṭhauhe = praṣṭha + ūhā + Ṅe

1. Note that *vṛddhiḥ*, *eci* and *āt* are all carried over. The word *eci* can only qualify *eti*. A qualifier must be capable of being removed, or else, be deviating (*vyabhicāra*). Such a deviation is not possible (*sambhava*) in connection with *edhA* since it is always found as beginning with *eC*. There is no sense in saving an *edhA* which begins with *eC*. This qualification of *eC*, in case of *ūṬH*, is impossible (*asambhava*). The *i* of *iṆ* may, or may not, yield an *e*. This *e* can then be specified by *eci*. A *tadādividhi* interpretation (*paribhāṣā* (34): *yasmin vidhau tadādāv algrahaṇe*) will yield the following meaning: . . . when *a* occurs followed either by the *eC* of *iṆ*, or by the *aC* of *edh* or *ūṭh*.

Thus, consider *upa* + *eti→upaiti*, *upa* + *edhate→upaidhate* and *praṣṭha* + *ūhā→praṣṭhauhā*. This rule is an exception to 6.1.94 *eṅi pararūpam*, whereby a sequence of prefixal *a*, or *ā*, followed by the root-initial *e*, or *o*, is replaced with a single form similar to the following. It can, however, not be accepted as an exception to 6.1.95 *omāṅoś ca* which also orders *pararūpa*, under fairly similar conditions. For, this rule is a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) and hence, *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān* (*PŚ*: 60) 'prior exceptions block most immediate provisions and not any subsequent'.

Now consider *praṣṭhauhaḥ*, where affix *ṆvI* is introduced after *vah*, used in conjunction with *praṣṭha*. We thus get *praṣṭha* + *vah* + (*ṆvI*→ ϕ), where affix *ṆvI* gets deleted after *vṛddhi*, yielding *praṣṭha* + (*v*(*a*→*āh*) + (*ṆvI*→ϕ)) = *praṣṭhavāh*. Rule 6.4.132 *vāh ūṭh* orders *samprasāraṇa* and related operations on a string, for example, *prauṣṭhavāh* + (*Ṅ*) *as*, yielding *praṣṭha* (*v*→*ū*(*ṬH*) *āh*)) + *as*→*praṣṭha* (*ū* + *ā*→*ū*) *h* + *as* = *praṣṭha* + *ūh* + *as*. Of course, we get a single long *ū* to replace the sequence *ū* + *ā*, through application of 6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*. Our present rule can now order the sequence *a* + *ū* to be replaced with a single *vṛddhi* substitute. We will thus get *praṣṭh* (*a* + *ū*→*au*) *h* + *as* = *praṣṭhauhas*. Deriving *praṣṭhauhaḥ* with *rutvavisarga* of *s* at the end of *praṣṭhauhas* is easy. We will similarly get *praṣṭhauhā* and *paṣṭhauhe* with nominal endings *Ṭā* and *Ṅe*, respectively.

2. This rule is an exception to *guṇa*, in the context of *ūṭh*, and of *pararūpa*, a replacement similar to the following (6.1.94 *eṅi pararūpam*), in the context of *e* of *eti* and *edhati*.

Why do we have to qualify *iṆ* as *ej*(*ādi*) '*eC*-initial' for accomplishing *vṛddhi*? Consider *upetaḥ*, derived with a single *e*-replacement for *a* + *i*, of *upa* + *itaḥ*, where *itaḥ* could be a derivate of *i* ending in *Kta* or *tas* (*LAṬ*→*tas*), third dual active. Our present rule could have ordered a single *vṛddhi*-replacement, instead. The result would have been a wrong form: *up*(*a* + *i*→*ai*) *ta* = **upaita*. This is why a qualified *iṆ* is required.

This same is also true of a qualified *edhA* in *pr*(*a* + *i*→*e*) *dhidhat*→*predidhat*, a *LUṄ*-derivate of causal *edhA*, used, for example in *mā bhavān predidhat* 'please

sir do not cause it to grow'. Our present rule cannot order *vṛddhi* to yield a wrong form **praididhat,* because *edhA* does not begin here with *e.* The negation of *mā* is used to indicate that augment *āṬ* is blocked here (6.4.74 *na māṅyoge*).

3. The following are some *vārttika* proposals:

(*i*) A single *vṛddhi* vowel comes as a substitute when *akṣa* follows *ūhinī.* Thus, *akṣauhiṇī.*

(*ii*) Also when *sva* is followed by *īra, īriṇa* and *īriṇī.* Thus, *svairam/ svairiṇī*, etc.

(*iii*) A *vṛddhi* is also a single substitute when *pra* is followed by *ūḍha, ūḍhi, eṣa* and *eṣya.* Thus, *prauhaḥ, prauḍhaḥ, prauḍhiḥ, praiṣaḥ, praiṣyaḥ.*

(*iv*) A *vṛddhi* is also a single substitute when an *a*-final word is followed by *ṛta.* Thus, *sukhena* + *ṛtaḥ* = *sukhenārttaḥ,* as against *sukhena* + *itaḥ* + *sukhenetaḥ.*

(*v*) A single *vṛddhi* substitute is also deisred when *ṛṇa* follows *pra, vatsatara, kambala* and *vasana.* Thus, *pra* + *ṛṇam*→*prārṇam, vatsatara* + *ṛṇam* = *vatsatarārṇam,* etc.

(*vi*) Also when *ṛṇa* and *daśa* are followed by *ṛṇa.* Thus, *ṛṇārṇam* and *daśārṇam.*

6.1.90 आटश्च

āṭaś ca

/*āṭaḥ* 5/1/ *ca* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *vṛddhiḥ* #88)

āṭaḥ paro yo' c aci ca pūrvo ya āṭ, tayoḥ pūrvaparayor āḍacoḥ sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati

A single *vṛddhi* vowel comes in place of both, a vowel which follows *āṬ* and the *āṬ* which precedes that vowel, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

Examples:

aikṣiṣṭa 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *īkṣ* 'to see''
aikṣata 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derive of *īkṣ* 'to see''
aikṣiṣyata 'third person singular middle *LṚṄ*-derivate of *īkṣ*'
aubhīt 'third singular active *LUṄ* derivate of *ubh* 'to fill''
ārdhnot 'third singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *ṛdh* 'to grow''
aubjīt 'third singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *ubj* 'to press down, subdue''

1. Note that *eci* is no longer carired. The *āṬ* of *āṭaḥ* refers here to augment *āṬ,* introduced by 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām.* A single *vṛddhi* substitute replaces the *ā,* of *āṬ,* and a vowel which may follow *āṬ.* Consider *aikṣiṣṭa, aikṣata* and *aikṣiṣyata,* forms of verbal root *īkṣ* 'to see' in *LUṄ, LAṄ* and *LṚṄ,* respec-

tively, where augment *āṬ* is introduced by 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*. We get the initial *ai* of these forms as a single replacement of *ā* of *āṬ* and the *ī* of *īkṣ*. Refer to many derivates of *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* under the appendix of volumes II-III for additional details. A similar *vṛddhi* replacement of *ā* + *u* is found in *aubhīt* and *aubjīt*. A *vṛddhi* replacement in *ār* is found in *ārdhnot*, a *LUṄ* derivate of *ṛdhU* 'to go'. All these examples would have gotten a replacement in *guṇa* if we did not have this rule.

2. The *ca* is not intended for attracting *vṛddhi* to this rule. It is for something additional (*adhikavidhānārtham*). It is used for blocking a single replacement similar to what follows (cf. 6.1.95 *omāṅoś ca* and 6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt*). We get *ausrīyat, aukārīyat* and *auḍhīyat*.

6.1.91 उपसर्गादृति धातौ

upasargād ṛti dhātau
/*upasargāt* 5/1 *ṛti* 7/1 *dhātau* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *vṛddhiḥ* #88)
avarṇāntād upasargād ṛkārādau parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati
A single *vṛddhi* replacement comes in place of both, an *a* at the end of a preverb and a *ṛ* at the beginning of a verbal root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

upārcchati = *upa* + *ṛcchati*
prārcchati = *pra* + *ṛcchati*
upārdhnoti = *upa* + *ṛdhnoti*

1. This rule allows a single *vṛddhi*-replacement for the final *a* of a preverb and initial *ṛ* of a verbal root. This is an exception to 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*.

2. What is the purpose of stating *upasargāt* 'after a preverb'? Consider *khaṭvā* + *ṛcchati*→*khaṭvarcchati* and *mālā* + *ṛcchati*→*mālarcchati*, where we find *guṇa* with a following *r* (*rapara*) since there is no preverb. Now consider *prarcchakaḥ* of *prarcchako deśaḥ*, paraphrased as *pragatā ṛcchakā asmād deśāt* 'a place from where bears have departed'. There is no *vṛddhi* here. For, an *upasarga* is viewed as an *upasarga* in relation to a verb with which it is used. The *pra* of *prarcchakaḥ* is related to *gam* of *gata* and not to *ṛch*. The *ṛ* of *ṛcchaka* cannot facilitate *vṛddhi*.

The condition of a root beginning with *ṛ* is also necessary. Consider *upa* + *itaḥ*→*upetaḥ* where, because of a lack of *ṛ*, we do not get *vṛddhi*. The *taparakaraṇa* in *ṛti* is used to block *vṛddhi* in examples such as *upa* + *ṝkārīyati*→*uparkārīyati*. A *ṛ* qualified with *taparakaraṇa* in short (*hrasva*). The *ṝ* or *ṝkārīyati* is long (*dīrgha*).

3. Why is the word *dhātau* stated explicitly when it can be easily under-

stood in view of *upasargāt.* It is argued that *dhātau* is explicitly used so that an optional *prakṛtibhāva* 'the state of originally was; non-*sandhi*' of 6.1.128 *ṛtyakaḥ* could be blocked. That is, the *prakṛtibhāva* of *Śākalya* will be blocked in the context of *ṛ* of a *dhātu.*

6.1.92 **वा सुप्यापिशलेः**

vā supy āpiśaleḥ
/*vā* ϕ *supi* 7/1 *āpiśaleḥ* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *vṛddhiḥ* #88 *upasargād ṛti dhatau* #91)
subantāvayave dhātāv ṛkārādau parato' varṇāntād upasargāt pūrvaparayor āpiśaler ācāryasya matena vā vṛddhir ekādeśo bhavati
A single *vṛddhi* replacement, in the opinion of Āpiśali, optionally comes in place of both, the final *a* of a preverb and the initial *ṛ* of a verbal root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

uparṣabhīyati = *upa* + *ṛṣabhīyati*
upārṣabhīyati = *upa* + *ṛṣabhīyati*
upalkārīyati = *upa* + *ḷkārīyati*
upālkārīyati = *upa* + *ḷkārīyati*

1. The word *āpiśali,* especially in view of *vā,* is used to denote respect (*pūjārtham*). For, it cannot denote option which *vā* already does.

2. Since a *dhātu* cannot be *subanta* 'that which ends in a *sUP*', the word *subanta* is interpreted as *dhātvāvayava* 'part of a verbal root'. Thus, we get the meaning *subantāvayave dhātau* '. . . when a *subanta* contained within a *dhātu* follows . . .'. We get *ṛṣabha iva ācarati* = *ṛṣabhīyati* and *upa* + *ṛṣabhīyati*→ *uparṣabhīyati* (*guṇa*) and *upārṣabhīyati* (*vṛddhi*). Similar interpretations apply to other examples.

3. A homogeneous relationship (*sāvarṇya*) between *ṛ* and *ḷ* is again invoked here. That is, a reference with *ṛ* also includes a reference to *ḷ*. A replacement of *ḷ*, similar to one of *ṛ* followed by *r* (*rapara*), is also followed by *l* (*lapara*) in accord with the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 1.1.50 *sthāne' taratamaḥ*).

6.1.93 **औतोऽम्शसोः**

auto' m śasoḥ
/*ā* (deleted 1/1) *otaḥ* 5/1 *amśasoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)
oto' mi śasi ca parataḥ pūrvaparayor ākāra ādeśo bhavati
A single *ā* comes in place of both, the *o* which *am* and *Śas* follow and the *a* of *am* and *Śas* which follow *o*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

gāṃ paśya 'see the cow'
gāḥ paśya 'see cows'
dyāṃ paśya 'look towards heaven'
dyāḥ paśya '. . . heavens'

1. This rule allows a sequence of *o*, plus the *a* of *am* and *Śas*, to be replaced with *ā*. The *am*, because of its associated usage (*sāhacaryāt*) with *Śas* 'accusative plural', and also because of the *anuvṛtti* of *supi*, is interpreted as accusative singular. Consider *acino* + *am* and *asuno* + *am*, where, in deriving *acinavam* and *asunavam* 'first person singular past imperfect active' (*LAṄ*) forms of *ciÑ* 'heap' and *suÑ* 'to press out juice', we get *am* as a replacement of *miP* 'first person singular active' (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām* . . .). We do not get a single replacement in *ā* because *am* is not the accusative singular nominal ending. Our proper examples will be *gāṃ paśya* and *gāḥ paśya*, from *go* + *am* and *go* + *Śas*, respectively.

Now consider the pronominal *dyo* which also ends in *o*. An affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*) which may occur after it is desired to be marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* (7.1.90 *goto ṇit*). This *Ṇit* status would cause *vṛddhi*. Our present rule blocks this anticipated *vṛddhi* in favor of a replacement in *ā*. How come the *vṛddhi* of 7.1.90 *goto ṇit* does not block this *ātva* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*)? This rule will be left without any scope (*niravakāśa*) of application if *ātva* is blocked by *vṛddhi*.

6.1.94 एङि पररूपम्

eṅi pararūpam
/*eṅi* 7/1 *pararūpam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *upasargād dhātau* #91)
avarṇāntād upasargād eṅādau dhātau pūrvaparayoḥ pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement, similar to the second of a vocalic sequence, comes in place of both the final *a* of a preverb and the initial *eṄ* (*e*, *o*) of a verb root, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

upelayati = *upa* + *elayati*
prelayati = *pra* + *elayati*
upoṣati = *upa* + *oṣati*
prokhati = *pra* + *okhati*

1. Note that *āt* and *upasargād ṛti dhātau* are carried over. This rule orders a replacement similar to the following of a vocalic sequence. It thus consti-

tutes an exception to 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*. Consider *elayati*, of *upelayati* and *prelayati*, where *il* 'to inspire' of the *curādi* group is used with causal *ṆiC* in the present (*LAṬ*). Thus, *il* + *ṆiC*→*eli*; *eli* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)→*eli* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*→ *el*(*i*→*e*→*ay*) + *a* + *ti* = *elayati*. A single replacement in *o* can be seen in *up*(*a*+*o*→*o*) *ṣati* = *upoṣati* and *up*(*a* +*o* →*o*) *khati* = *upokhati*.

2. Some also carry *vā supy āpiśaleḥ*, via *anuvṛtti*. A single sentence interpretation (*ekavākyatā*), with *vā supy āpiśaleḥ* brought via *anuvṛtti*, will block a single substitute outside the context of *supi*. This, of course, is not desired (*iṣṭa*). A split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) is therefore recommended. The first split rule will offer a single substitute obligatorily where the root is not a denominative. The second will make a single substitute optional where a denominative is involved. The first split rule will obviously not include the *subdhātau* interpretation facilitated by the *anuvṛtti*. One must remember here that getting these two interpretations via *yogavibhāga* is not easy. Interpretation of the learned alone is our recourse (*vyākhyānam eva śraṇam*).

3. Haradatta states that *pararūpa* in this rule is used for subsequent rule (*uttarārtha*). For this rule, *eṅi* itself is enough. The use of the word *rūpa* does not make sense (*cintya*). Consider 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* where *pūrvaparayoḥ pūrvaḥ* itself accounts for a single substitute similar to what precedes in a sequence. That is, with no use of *rūpa* (*PM* ad *Kāś*.: *sūtre pararūpagrahaṇam uttarārtham. iha tv eṅīty eva siddham-eṅi parata ekādeśo bhavatīti. rūpagrahaṇaṃ cintyaprayojanam, tathā ca 'ami pūrvaḥ' ity atra rūpagrahaṇam na kṛtam*).

4. Following *vārttika* proposals are made in the *Mahābhāṣya* in connection with *pararūpa*:

(*i*) A *pararūpa*, as against *savarṇadīrgha*, is desired in *śaka* + *andhuḥ* = *skandhuḥ*, etc.

(*ii*) A similar application is to be followed in deriving *sīmantaḥ* from (*sīma* (*n*→ϕ) + *anta*)) = *sīmanta* + *sU*, when the signification is 'hair'.

(*iii*) A following *eva* also goes through *pararūpa* when the sense is not *niyama* 'restrictive provision'. Thus, *iha* + *eva*→*iheva* 'here', as against *ihaiva bhava* 'be here (and not any place else)'.

(*iv*) An optional *pararūpa* is ordered in compounds when *otu* and *oṣṭha* follow. Thus, *sthūlotuḥ*/ *sthūlautuḥ* 'a fat cat' and *bimboṣṭhī*/ *bimbauṣṭhī* 'a female with her lips as red as Bimba fruits'.

(*v*) A *pararūpa* should also be stated when *eman*, etc., follow in the Vedic. Thus, *apāṃ tvā* + *eman*→*apāṃ tveman* and *apāṃ* + *tvā* + *odman*→*apāṃ tvodman*.

6.1.95 ओमाङोश्च

omāṅoś ca

/*omāṅoḥ* 7/2 = *om ca āṅ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* # 72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *pararūpam* #94)

avarṇāntād omi āṅi ca parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, the *a* which precedes and the *o* of *om* or the *ā* of *āṄ* which follow, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

kom ity avocat 'said, '*kā* + *om* = *kom*''
yom ity avocat 'said, '*yā* + *om* = *yom*''
oḍhā = *ā* + *ūḍhā*
adyoḍhā = *adya* + *oḍhā*
kadoḍhā = *kadā* + *oḍhā*
tadoḍhā = *tadā* + *oḍhā*

1. This rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *āt*. Thus, a sequence of *a* followed by *o* of *om* and *ā* of the preverb *āṄ* is replaced with a single vowel similar to what follows (*pararūpa*). Consider *k*(*ā*→*o*→*o*) *m*)) = *kom ity avocat* 'who said Om' and (*ā* + *ū*→*o*) *ḍhā*)) = *oḍhā*; *ady*(*a* + *o*→*o*) *ḍhā*)) = *adyoḍhā*, etc., which are exceptions to 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*. Now consider *adya* + *arśyāt* = *adyarśyāt*, an exception to 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. A specification with *āṄ* is needed so that *pararūpa* is not blocked by *savarṇadīrgha*.

6.1.96 उस्यपदान्तात्

usy apadāntāt

/*usi* 7/1 *apadāntāt* 5/1 = *padasya antaḥ*; *na padāntaḥ* (*nañ*. with int. *ṣaṣ*. *tat*.), *tasmāt*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *āt* #87 *pararūpam* #94)

avarṇād apadāntād usi pūrvaparayor ādguṇāpavādaḥ pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati

A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, a non-*pada* final *a* which precedes and the following *u* of *us* which follows, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

bhindyuḥ = *bhindyā* + *us*
chindyuḥ = *chindyā* + *us*
aduḥ = *adā* + *us*
ayuḥ = *ayā* + *us*

1. Note that *us* refers here to the *Jus*-replacement of *jhi* 'third plural active ending' (3.4.108 *jher jus*; 3.4.110 *ātaḥ*, etc.). This *pararūpa* is an exception to *guṇa* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*).

2. The word *apadāntāt* qualifies *āt*. Thus, this replacement will be avail-

able when *a* will not be the final sound of a *pada*. Consider, *kā* + *usrā* and *kā* + *uṣitā* where *us* occurs after an *ā* which is occurring at the end of a *pada*. We thus get *guṇa*, in *kosrā* and *koṣitā*, instead. The use of *apadāntāt* does not make much sense, especially when one considers *us*. What is this *us*? If it is an affixal replacement of *jhi* (3.4.108 *jher jus*), then it must be occurring at the end of a non-*pada*. Thus, the negation of *apadāntāt* does not make much sense. If *us* is something else, for example the syllable *us*, then a counter-example such as *koṣitā* makes sense. May be *apadāntāt* is used for subsequent rules.

6.1.97 **अतो गुणे**

> *ato guṇe*
> /*ataḥ* 5/1 *guṇe* 7/1/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pararūpam* #94 *apadāntāt* #96)
> *akārād apadāntād guṇe parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*
> A single replacement similar to the second of a vocalic sequence comes in place of both, a non-*pada* final *a* which precedes and a *guṇa* vowel which follows the *a*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

> *pacanti* 'third person plural *LAṬ*-derivate of *pac* 'to cook''
> *yajanti* '. . . *yaj* 'to sacrifice''
> *pace* 'first singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *pac*'
> *yaje* '. . . of *yaj*'

1. The first two examples, i.e., *pac* + *a* + *anti*→*pacanti* and *yaj* + *a* + *anti* = *yajanti*, illustrate that this rule is an exception to *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). The next two, i.e., *pac* + *a* + *e* = *pace* and *yaj* + *a* + *e*→*yaje*, illustrate that it is also an exception to *vṛddhi* (6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*).

2. A question is raised against treating this rule as an exception to *savarṇadīrgha*. For, this exception rule (*apavāda*) falls in between (*madhye*) 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* and 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. That is, an exception placed in between must block a prior provision and not any subsequent ((*PŚ* 61): *madhye' pavādāḥ pūrvān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). This rule should be treated as an exception to *vṛddhi* alone. Commentators explain that an explicit mention of *guṇe* in this rule enables it to also become an exception to 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. For, if *guṇa* was not mentioned for blocking 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*, this rule should then have been formulated simply as *ato' padāntāt*. A single substitute in *e* for the vocalic sequence of *a* + *e* could then have been accomplished by bringing *eṅi*, via *anuvṛtti*. The next rule could have been then formed as *jusi ca* to account for instances of *Jus* with the *anuvṛtti* of *apadāntāt*. This then would have covered everything. Note

that formulations such as these would also be economical. But Pāṇini, with explicit use of *guṇe*, chose otherwise.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita invokes *purastāpavādanyāya* in connection with this rule. He thinks that a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*), for example this rule, should block only an immediately following (*anantara*) provision, i.e., 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. It can then, in view of *purastāpavāda*, not be an exception to 6.1.101 *prathamayoḥ* . . . (SK: *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān iti nyāyena* '*akaḥ savarṇa*' *ity asyaivāpavādo na tu* '*prathamayoḥ* . . .' *ity asyāpi*).

3. Why do we require a non-*pada*-final (*apadānta*) short *a*? So that *pararūpa* does not apply in *yānti*, etc., where *ā* of *yā* + *anti*, is long. The condition of a following *guṇa* is necessary so that *pararūpa* can be blocked in examples such as *apaca* + *i*→*apace*. The word *apace* derives via a single *guṇa* replacement of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*.

Why is a *guṇa* vowel required to occur after a non-*pada*-final *a*? So that this *pararūpa* could be blocked in favor of *savarṇadīrgha*. Consider *daṇḍa* + *agram*→*daṇḍāgram*, where the *a* of *daṇḍa* is treated as occurring at the end of a *pada*, via *pratyayalakṣaṇa* (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*).

6.1.98 **अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ**

> *avyaktānukaraṇasyāta itau*
> / *avyaktānukaraṇasya* 6/1 = *na vyaktaḥ* = *avyaktaḥ*; *avyaktasya anukaraṇam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasya*/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pararūpam* #94)
> *avyaktānukaraṇasya yo' c chabdas tasmād itau pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pararūpam ekādeśo bhavati*
> A single replacement similar to the second of a sequence comes in place of both, the *at* of an inaudible imitation (echo; *avyaktānukaraṇa*) which precedes and the *i* of *iti* which follows, provided *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

> *paṭat iti* = *paṭiti*
> *ghaṭat iti* = *ghaṭiti*
> *jhaṭat iti* = *jhaṭiti*

1. The word *avyakta* of *avyaktānukaraṇa* is explained as *aparisphuṭ* 'not clearly articulated'. Of course, that barely articulated form will become articulated when imitated. For example, *paṭat* was articulated as an imitation of a barely audible *paṭat*. This *at* when followed by *iti* will, with the following *i*, be replaced with *i* to yield *paṭ*(*at* + *i*→*i*) *ti* = *paṭiti*. We similarly get *jhaṭ*(*at* + *i*) *ti* = *jhaṭiti*.

Why do we have the condition of *avyaktānukaraṇāt*? Consider *jagat* + *iti* =

jagad iti, where *at* + *i* cannot be replaced with *i* because *jagat* is not an inarticulate expression. Why after *at*? Consider *maraṭ* + *iti*→*maraḍ iti* where *i* occurs after *aṭ*. Similar purpose is served by the following *iti*. Consider *paṭat* + *atra* where the absence of *iti* disallows this replacement.

A *vārttika* proposes that an *avyaktānukaraṇa* which consists of more than one vowel alone should be allowed for purposes of this rule. Thus, *srat* + *iti* should not be allowed to yield *sriti*. Why do we not allow *pararūpa* in *ghaṭad iti* of *ghaṭad iti gambhīram ambudair naditam* '*ghaṭad* was thus a deep sound made by clouds?' Because this *anukaraṇa* does not have *at*. It has *ad*, instead.

6.1.99 नाम्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा

nāmreḍitasyāntasya tu vā
/ *na* ϕ *āmreḍitasya* 6/1 *antyasya* 6/1 *tu* ϕ *vā* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pararūpam* #94 *avyaktānukaraṇasyāta itau* #98)
avyaktānukaraṇasyāmreḍitasya yo' c chabda itau tasya pararūpaṃ na bhavati
A single replacement similar to the second of a sequence does not come in place of both, the preceding *at* of an inaudible imitation termed *āmreḍita* and the *i* of *iti* which follows, provided *saṃhitā* finds its scope. The final *t* of the *āmreḍita,* instead, goes through optional single replacement similar to what follows in the sequence.

EXAMPLES:

paṭatpaṭad iti = *paṭatpaṭa* (*a* + *i*→*i*) *ti* =
paṭatpaṭ (*a* + *i*→*e*) *ti* = *paṭatpaṭeti karoti*
paṭatpaṭad iti karoti

1. This rule first negates the provision of the preceding rule in the context of an *āmreḍita,* the following *pada* of a repeated sequence (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreḍitam;* 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*). It then allows an optional single replacement for the final *t* with *iti.* Thus, we get *paṭat iti*→*paṭat* + *paṭa*(*t* + *i*→*i*) *ti* = *paṭatpaṭa* + *ti*→*paṭatpaṭ* (*a* + *i*→*e*) *ti* = *paṭatpaṭeti paṭatpaṭa* (*t*→*d*) + *iti* + *paṭatpaṭaditi.* Note that iteration is allowed by 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ.* We will get the first derivate through the application of *pararūpa* and 6.1.87 *ādguṇaḥ.* We will get *paṭatpaṭad iti,* through *jaśtva* (*t*→*d;* 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaś' nte*), if the option of *pararūpa* is not availed.

2. Note, however, that an imitation of a combination of words, for example *patatpaṭat,* cannot be allowed this option. Such combinations will be covered by the preceding rule to yield *paṭatpaṭa iti*→*paṭatpaṭeti.*

3. Note that what the *Kāśikāvṛtti* lists as rule 6.1.100 *nityam āmreḍite ḍāci* is a *vārttika* (*PM* ad *Kāś.*: *vārttikam evedam. vṛttikṛtā sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitam*). This *vārttika* offers obligatory (*nitya*) *pararūpa* for the *t* of an echo such as *paṭat,* when an *āmreḍita* followed by *ḌāC* follows. Thus, given *paṭat* + *paṭat* + (*Ḍ*) *ā*(*C*)

= *paṭat* + *paṭat* + *ā* we get *paṭa*(*t* + *p*→*p*) *aṭat* + *ā*. This, through the application of *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*) of the final *at*, produces *paṭapaṭ* (*at*→ϕ) + *ā* = *paṭapaṭā* as in *paṭapaṭā karoti*. '. . . sounds *paṭatpaṭat*'. An additional example is: *damadamā karoti*. It is important to remember that deletion of *ṭi* should follow iteration. That is, iteration is accomplished in anticipation of *ḌāC*, and *ṭi*-deletion follows after *pararūpa*. The locative of *ḍāci*, in the *vārttika* proposal, is consequently interpreted as denoting *viṣaya* 'domain'. Incidentally, *ḌāC* cannot be allowed if the echo word is followed by *iti*.

Recall that 5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād dvyajavarārdhād anitau ḍāc* introduces *ḌāC* where, in consonance with *ḍāci vivakṣite dve bahulam*, we also get doubling.

6.1.100 अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः

akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ
/*akaḥ* 6/1 *savarṇe* 7/1 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84)
akaḥ savarṇe' ci parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne dīrgha ekādeśo bhavati
A single vowel comes as a replacement in place of both, a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* and a vowel homogeneous (*savarṇa*) with it that follows, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍāgram = *daṇḍa* + *agram*
dadhīndraḥ = *dadhi* + *indraḥ*
madhūdake = *madhu* + *udake*
hotṝśyaḥ = *hotṛ* + *ṛṣyaḥ*

1. This rule provides for a single long replacement for both, a preceding vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* (*a*/*i*/*u*/*ṛ*/*ḷ*) and the homogeneous (*savarṇa*) vowel which follows. The condition of *akaḥ* is required so that, given *agni* + (*Ṅ*) *e*→*agn*(*i*→*e*) + *e* = *agne* + *e*, through *it*-deletion and application of 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* (read with 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*), we get *agn*(*e*→*ay*) + *e* = *agnaye*, through the application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. That is, a single long replacement cannot take place here because *e* falls outside the denotata of *aK*. A sequence of two words, for example *dadhi* + *atra*, will yield *dadh*(*i*→*y*) + *atra* = *dadhyatra* through application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* since *i* of *dadhi* is not homogeneous with the *a* of *atra*. This shows why we need the condition of *savarṇe*. The condition of *aci* is imposed so that the application of this rule could be blocked in examples such as *kumārī* + *śete* where 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* is brought to block homogeneous relationship between a vowel and a consonant.

2. Some claim that 1.1.10 *nājjhalau* can still not be able to block homogeneous relationship between *ī* and *ś*. For, rule 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya*

cāpratyayaḥ, read with 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam,* allows a sound denoted by *aṆ,* i.e., *a/ i/ u/ ṛ/ ḷ/ e/ o/ ai/ au/ h/ y/ v/ r/ l* to denote sounds homogeneous with them. The homogeneity (*sāvarṇya*) between *ī* and *ś* thus cannot be impaired. It is argued that a *vākya,* here a rule, cannot apply within its specified scope unless the scope is fully cognized. The scope of application of 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya* . . . still remains to be cognized at the time when 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam* is cognized. Consequently, 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* cannot block the provision of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau.* Besides, the *ac* of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau,* for reason of its cognitive association with the inventory of sounds (*varṇasamāmnāya; Śivasūtras* 1–14), will denote only nine vowels, *a/ i/ u/ ṛ/ ḷ/ e/ o/ ai/ au,* as listed. Rule 1.1.69 *aṇuditsavarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ* will then have to apply, leaving aside the scope of application of 1.1.9 *nājjhalau.* Furthermore, note that *sāvarṇya* is specified with *aC.* Consequently, *aci* is read (via *anuvṛtti*) in the wording of this rule. For, in its absence, a long replacement will find its scope in *kumārī śete* where *ī* and *ś* can be accepted as homogeneous.

This rule is an exception to 6.1.84 *ād guṇaḥ,* insofar as *a* is concerned. Elsewhere, it is an exception to 6.1.74 *iko yaṇ aci.*

2. A *vārttika* proposal allows a replacement in long *ṝ* optionally with *ṛṛ,* a special sound, when a short *ṛ* is followed by its homogeneous counterpart (*savarṇadīrghatve ṛti ṛṛ vā vacanam*). Thus, *hotṛ* + *ṛkāraḥ*→*hotṝkāraḥ* and *hotṛṛkāraḥ.*

A similar *vārttika* proposal also allows for optional *ḷṛ* when *ḷ* follows. Thus we get *hotṛ* + *ḷkāraḥ*→*hotḷḷkāraḥ.* A long replacement is not possible because *ḹ* does not exist.

Incidentally, what is provided by these *vārttika* proposals consists of the duration of two moras (*mātrā*) each. There are two *r* and *l* sounds in the middle with 1/2 *mātrā* each. The vowels on each side carry 1/2 mora each. Refer to the *SK* (*'ṛti ṛṛ vā', 'ḷ ḷḷ vā'ity ubhayatrāpi vidheyaṃ varṇadvayaṃ dvimātram. ādyasya madhye dvau rephau, tayor ekā mātrā. abhito' jbhakter aparā. dvitīyasya tu madhye dvau lakārau śeṣaṃ prāgvat*) for additional details. Such usages are very rare.

6.1.101 प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः

prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ
/*prathamayoḥ* 7/2 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* 1/1 = *pūrvasya savarṇaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *akaḥ dīrghaḥ* #100)
prathamāyāṃ dvitīyāyāṃ ca vibhaktāv aci akaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvasavarṇadīrgha ādeśo bhavati
A single long vowel, homogeneous with what precedes, comes in place of both—a vowel denoted by *aK* and an *aC* of *prathamā* 'first triplet, nominative' and *dvitīyā* 'second triplet, accusative' that follows this *aK,* when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

agnī
vāyū
vṛkṣāḥ
vṛkṣān

1. The word *prathamayoḥ* is interpreted as a compound parallel to *prathamā ca prathamā ca = prathame*, where only one *prathamā* is retained (*ekaśeṣa*). The first *prathamā*, of course, refers to the first triplet of nominal endings *sU, au, Jas*. The next *prathamā* is interpreted as referring to first among remaining triplets of nominal endings. Thus, *prathame* of *prathamayoḥ* refers to *prathamā* and *dvitīyā* nominal endings: *sU, au, Jas* and *am, auṬ, Śas*, respectively. The dual in *prathamayoḥ* also brings *dvitīyā* within the denotatum of *prathamā*, by association (*sāhacarya*). Or else, as Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) suggests, *supi* of 6.1.92 *vā supy āpiśaleḥ* should be carried to make *prathame* to refer to *sU, au, Jas* and *am, auṬ, Śas*, the first two triplets of *sUP*.

2. Why does 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* not apply to cause a single substitute similar in form to the following *a* of *Jas* and *Śas* in *vṛkṣāḥ* and *vṛkṣān*, the nominative and accusative plural forms of *vṛkṣa* 'tree'. Commentators explain that a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*), such as the *pararūpa* of 6.1.96 *ato guṇe*, can only block the most immediate provision such as the *savarṇadīrgha* of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* and not any subsequent, for example, the *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* of this rule (*PŚ*: 60) *purastāpavādā anantarān vidhīn bādhante nottarān*). Our present rule will block the application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* on the basis of *niravakāśatva* 'no scope of application'.

The word *pūrva* is used in this rule to block a replacement similar to what follows (*parasavarṇa*), in an example such as *agni* + *au*. The condition of *aci* 'when *aC* follows' is required to exclude *vṛkṣa* + *sU*→*vṛkṣaḥ* and *plakṣa* + *sU*→*plakṣaḥ*, where *s* of *sU* is not a vowel. The condition of *akaḥ* 'after a sound denoted by *aK*' is also required so that given *nau* + *au*, where *au* of *nau* is not included within the denotatum of *aK*, a single replacement is blocked. We thus get *n*(*au*→*āv*) + *au*→*nāvau* through 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. The word *dīrghaḥ* is required so that a corresponding *pluta* 'extra-long' vowel homogeneous with what precedes can be blocked from coming as a single substitute.

6.1.102 तस्माच्छसो: न: पुंसि

tasmāc chaso naḥ puṃsi
/ *tasmāt* 5/1 *śasaḥ* 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1 *puṃsi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* #101)
tasmāt pūrvasavarṇadīrghād uttarasya śaso' vayavasya sakārasya puṃsi nakārādeśo bhavati

The *s* of *Śas* which occurs after a long vowel replacement homogeneous with what precedes is replaced with *n* in the masculine.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣān 'accusative plural of *vṛkṣa* 'tree''
agnīn '... *agni* 'fire''
vāyūn '... *vāyu* 'wind''
kartṝn '... *kartṛ* 'doer''
ṣaṇḍakān '... *ṣaṇḍaka* 'eunuch''
sthūrakān '... *sthūraka* 'man''

1. Note that *tad* of *tasmāt*, a variable, refers to the single replacement accomplished by our preceding rule. For, that alone could be the most proximate antecedent available. The genitive in *śasoḥ* is interpreted as denoting *avayava* 'part of a whole'. That is, *n* comes in place of a part of *Śas*. Actually, the *n* will come in place of the *s* of *Śas* because the *a* of *Śas*, as in *vṛkṣa* + (*Ś*) *as* →*vṛkṣ*(*a* + *a*→*ā*) *s* = *vṛkṣās*, would have already been replaced as part of a single long replacement in *ā*. We will thus get *vṛkṣā*(*s*→*n*) = *vṛkṣān*. Words such as *vṛkṣān*, *agnīn*, *vāyūn*, *kartṝn*, *hartṝn*, *ṣaṇḍakān*, and *paṇḍhakān* offer additional examples, all with their denotatum qualified with masculine (*puṃsi*). The condition of *tasmāt* is required so that *n*-replacement does not apply in an example such as *etān carato gāḥ paśya* 'look at these grazing bulls'. In the absence of stating *tasmāt*, we will get a replacement in *n* (*natva*) in masculine, whenever, in the context of *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ*, a replacement in *ā* (6.1.93 *auto'ṃśasoḥ*) is to be accomplished. We will not get *natva* if *tasmāt* is read in relation to *pravasavarṇadīrgha* 'a long replacement homogeneous with what precedes'.

The word *puṃsi* is interpreted here in two ways: (*i*) a replacement in *n* is allowed only when multiplicity (*bahutva*) of males (*puruṣa*) is denoted; a replacement in *n* is allowed when multiplicity is denoted by *Śas*, introduced after a base in masculine? There are problems in both views. The first will not allow a replacement in *n* in *bhrukuṃsān* where *bhrukuṃsa* denotes a male dancer dressed like a woman. For, *Śas* then will not be denoting plurality of men. Worse yet, the first view will also allow a replacement in *cañcāḥ* 'scarecrow' where *cañcā* is a derivate of *kaN* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*), subsequently deleted by 5.3.98 *lum manuṣye*. A deletion by *LUP* will occasion the application of 1.2.51 *lupi yuktavad vyaktivacane*. We can still not get rid of feminine eventhough the denotatum is masculine.

The second view is not free of problems either. Consider *sthūrakān* parallel to *sthūrāyāḥ apatyāni bahūni* where *sthūrā* is feminine ending in *ṬāP*. Affix *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*) of *sthūrā* + *Ṅas* + *yaÑ* gets deleted by 2.4.64 *yañanoś ca*. Affix *ṬāP* is also deleted subsequently by 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki*. The word *sthūra* is still feminine. Hence, no replacement in *n*. The same

problem is faced by *ararakān*. It is to resolve such problems that *puṃsi* is interpreted as denoting 'when the sense of *pum* 'male' (*pumartha*) is denoted'. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers the following *ślokavārttika*:

natvaṃ puṃsāṃ bahutve cet puṃśabdād iṣyate striyām/
napuṃsake tathaiveṣṭaṃ strīśabdāc ca prasajyate//
puṃśabdād iti ced iṣṭaṃ sthūrāpatye na sidhyati/
kuṇḍinyā arakāyāḥ puṃsprādhānyāt prasidhyati//
puṃsprādhānye ta eva syur ye doṣāḥ pūrvacoditāḥ/
tasmād arthe bhaven natvaṃ vadhrikādiṣu yuktavat//

2. The condition of *Śas* is required to block *n*-replacement, for example, in *vṛkṣa* + *Jas*→*vṛkṣāḥ*. The denotatum of *puṃsi* similarly blocks *n*-replacement in *kumārī*, *dhenūḥ* and *bahvīḥ*.

6.1.103 नादिचि

nād ici
/*na* ϕ *āt* 5/1 *ici* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *dīrghaḥ* #100 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* #101)
avarṇād ici pūrvasavarṇadīrgho na bhavati
A long vowel replacement homogeneous with what precedes does not come in place of an *a* (short or long) and a following sound denoted by *iC*, when *saṃhitā* finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣau 'nominative/accusative dual of *vṛkṣa*'
plakṣau '... of *plakṣa*'
khaṭve '... of *khaṭvā*'
kuṇḍe '... of *kuṇḍā*'

1. This rule negates a single long replacement similar to the preceding, when what precedes is an *a* or *ā*. Consider *vṛkṣa* + *au*→*vṛkṣau* where, because of this negation, we get a single *vṛddhi* replacement (6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*). Now consider *khaṭvā* + *au*→*khaṭve* where 7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ* applies to yield *khaṭvā* + (*au*→(*Ś*)*ī*)) = *khaṭvā* + *ī*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then offers a single *guṇa* replacement to produce *khaṭv*(*ā* + *ī*→*e*) = *khaṭve*. This same applies to *kuṇḍe* where *Śī* is introduced by 7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*. These illustrate how negating a *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* results into application of a single *guṇa* replacement.

2. The condition of *āt* 'after an *a* or *ā*' is required so that a single long replacement can be blocked in examples such as *agni* + *au*→*agnī*, where *au* occurs after *i*. The condition of *ici* 'when a sound denoted by *iC* follows' is required so that *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* cannot be blocked in examples such as *vṛkṣa* + *Jas*→*vṛkṣāḥ*.

6.1.104 दीर्घाज्जसि च

dīrghāj jasi ca
/*dīrghāt* 5/1 *jasi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *dīrghaḥ* #100 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* #101 *na ici* #103)
dīrghāj jasi ici ca parataḥ pūrvasavarṇadīrgho na bhavati
A single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding also does not come in place of both, the long vowel which precedes and the vowel of *Jas* or *iC* which follow, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

kumāryau 'nominative dual of *kumārī* 'girl''
kumāryaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
brahmabandhvau 'nominative dual of *brahmabandhū*'
brahmabandhvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule negates *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* 'a long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a vocalic sequence', also when a long vowel, other than *ā* (6.1.103 *nād ici*), is followed by *iC* and *Jas* 'nominative plural'. Consider *kumārī* + *au*→*kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + *au* = *kumāryau* and *kumārī* + (*J*) *as*→*kumār* (*ī*→*y*) + *as* = *kumāryas*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *kumāryaḥ*, where 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* applies in the absence of *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*. Similar derivational provisions are also applicable to *brahmabandhū* + *au*→*brahmabandhvau* and *brahmabandhū* + *Jas*→*brahmabandhvaḥ*.

2. The *anuvṛtti* of *āt* is suspended so that the negation can apply after any long vowel. The long *ā* of *āT* will be included within the reference of *dīrghāt*. The *ca* is then used to attract *ici*. The word *dīrghāt* is used so that the *guṇa* application of rules 7.3.109 *jasi ca* and 7.3.110 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ* can be saved from over application (*atiprasaṅga*). The condition of *Jas* is required so that this negation does not apply to *kumārīḥ paśya* and *vadhūḥ paśya*, which both are instances of *Śas* 'accusative dual'.

6.1.105 वा छन्दसि

vā chandasi
/*vā* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *dīrghaḥ* #100 *pūrvasavarṇaḥ* #101 *na ici* #103 *dīrghāj jasi ca* #104)
dīrghāc chandasi viṣaye jasi ca ici ca parato vā pūrvasavaṇadīrgho na bhavati
A single long vowel homogeneous with the preceding does not, in the Vedic, optionally come in place of both, the long vowel which precedes and the *Jas* or *iC* which follow, when *saṃhitā* its finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

mārutīḥ = *māruti* + *Śas* 'accusative plural of *mārutī*'
mārutyaḥ 'optional *Śas*-derivate'
piṇḍīḥ = *piṇḍī* + *Śas* 'accusative plural of *piṇḍī*'
piṇḍyaḥ 'optional *śas*-derivate'
vārāhī 'modification of *varāha* = *vārāhī* + *au*
vārāhyau 'optional derivate with *au*'
upānahī 'shoe; *upānahī*
upānahyau 'derivate with *au*'

1. This Vedic option of *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* is offered in favor of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Our earlier rule offers negation of *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha*, obligatorily (*nitya*).

6.1.106 अमि पूर्वः

ami pūrvaḥ
/*ami* 7/1 *pūrvaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *akaḥ* #100)
ami parato'kaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* which precedes and the *a* of *am*, when *am* follows and *saṃhitā* finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣam
plakṣam
agnim
vāyum

1. Why do we have to state *pūrvaḥ* in this rule when it is already available via *anuvṛtti*. Carrying *pūrvaḥ* from the preceding rule will also mean carrying *savarṇaḥ*. This can create problems in determining the quality of a replacement. Consider *kumārī* + *am*→*kumārīm*, where the *sthānīs* 'item(s) to be replaced', i.e., *ī* + *a*, together carry the duration of three *mātrās* 'moras'. Since a replacement must be most similar to what it replaces (1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*), the *ī* which replaces *ī* + *a* must also carry the duration of three *mātrās*. The correct replacement is an *ī* carrying only two *mātrās*. The use of the word *pūrva* restricts the exact nature of the replacement. How? The word *pūrva*, without any association with *savaraṇa*, simply means '(identical with) what precedes' and not 'homogeneous with what precedes'. Consequently, our present rule only allows a replacement which is identical in quality with the preceding sound denoted by *ak* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *yathājātīyakaḥ pūrvas tathājātīyaka eva yathā syād ity evam artham pūrvagrahaṇam*).

Why is *dīrghāt* not carried to this rule? Because *pūrvaḥ* introduces something new (*ārambhasāmarthyāt*) which may be incompatible with it.

2. Some also carry the *anuvṛtti* of 6.1.106 *vā chandasi*, whereby optional application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* can account for *śamīm/ śamyam* and *gaurīm/ gauryam* in *śamīṃ paśya/ śaṃyaṃ paśya* and *gaurīṃ paśya/ gauryaṃ paśya*. This, however, is done with split-interpretation (*vākyabheda*) of *vā chandasi*. For, a single sentence interpretation (*ekavākyatā*) of this rule with the inclusion, especially of *vā* with *chandasi*, will create problems in the classical usage where a replacement identical with the preceding (*pūrvaḥ*) alone is desired.

3. It is stated that *dīrghāt* should also be carried here (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*: *dīrgha iti cehānuvarttate, anyathā hīdaṃ vacanam anarthakaṃ syāt*). Perhaps we must correct *cehānuvarttate* 'is also carried here' to read as: *nehānuvarttate* 'is not carried here'. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) rightly states that *dīrghāt iti nānuvarttate* . . . '*dīrghāt* is not carried . . .'.

6.1.107 सम्प्रसारणाच्च

samprasāraṇāc ca
/ samprasāraṇāt 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvaḥ* #106)
samprasāraṇād aci parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, the preceding *samprasāraṇa* vowel and the vowel which follows, when *saṃhitā* finds scope.

EXAMPLES:

iṣṭam '(*yaj* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
uptam '(*vap* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
gṛhītam '(*grah* + *Kta*) + *sU*'

1. This rule offers a single replacement identical with the preceding in place of a *samprasāraṇa* vowel which precedes and a vowel which follows it. Thus, we get (*y*→*i*) *aj* + *ta*→*iaj* + *ta*→(*ia*→*i*) *j* + *ta* = *ij* + *ta*→*i*(*j*→*ṣ*) + *ta*→*iṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) *a* = *iṣṭa*; (*v*→*u*) *ap* + *ta*→(*ua*→*u*) *p* + *ta* = *up* + *ta* and *grah* + *iṬ* + *ta*→*g*(*r*→*ṛ*) *ah* + *i* + *ta*→*g*(*ṛa*→*ṛ*) *h* + *i* + *ta*→*gṛh* + (*i*→*ī*) + *ta* = *gṛhīta*, etc. Note that the *i* of *gṛh* + *i* + *ta* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. The *j* of *ij* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.2.36 *vaścabhrasjsṛj*. . . . The *t* of *iṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) = *iṣṭa* goes through *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

2. How come we do not get a single replacement identical with the preceding in *śakahvau* 'those two who are challenging the Śaka' and *śakahvartham* 'for one who challenges the Śaka' at the stage when the strings are *śakahū* + *au* and *śakahū* + *artham*? We find that *ū* and *au* of *śakahvau* and *ū* and *a* of *śakahvartham* are not part of the same base that contains the *samprasāraṇa* vowel. Consider the derivation of *śakahū*, from *śakahvā* + *KvIP*, where the *v*

of *śakahvā* goes through *samprasāraṇa*. The resultant, i.e., *śakah(v→u) ā* = *śakahuā*, gets its *uā* replaced with a long *ū* to yield *śakahū*. The *ū* of *śakahū* will be considered as *pūrvasavarṇa* in view of 6.1.85 *antādivac ca*. This single replacement is possible because *uā* are part of the same base which contains the *samprasāraṇa* vowel. A single replacement cannot apply to *ū* + *au*, of *śakahū* + *a* and *u*, since these two vowels both are not internal (*antaraṅga*). A non-application of this rule, for accomplishing a single replacement, cannot make it vacuous since this rule has already applied, and thus has established its scope of application (in deriving *śakahū*, etc.). As a consequence, *śakahvau* and *śakahvartham* involve the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, instead.

6.1.108 एङः पदान्तादति

eṅaḥ padāntād ati
/*eṅaḥ* 5/1 *padāntāt* 5/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*, *tasmāt*) *ati* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvaḥ* #106)
eṅaḥ yaḥ padāntas tasmād ati parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarupam ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by *eṄ* and the *aT* which follows *eṄ*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

agne' tra 'O Agni, here'
vāyo' tra 'O Vāyu, here'

1. This rule forms an exception to 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Thus, given *agne* + *atra* and *vāyo* + *atra*, where *e* and *o* of *agne* and *vāyo* are *guṇa* replacements (7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*) for *i* and *u* of *agni* and *vāyu*, we do not get *e* and *o* replaced with *ay* and *av*, respectively.

Since the single replacement of this rule obtains only after a vowel denoted by *eṄ*, *dadhi* + *atra* and *madhu* + *atra*, remain excluded from the scope of this rule. We get *dadhy atra* and *madhv atra*, instead. The condition of *padāntāt* as a qualification of *eṄ* blocks a single replacement in *ce* + *ana* and *lo* + *ana*, where *e* and *o* are again *guṇa* replacements of *i* and *ū* of *ci* and *lū*. The results are: *c(i→e→ay)* + *ana* = *cayana* and *l(ū→o→av)* + *ana* = *lavana*. The condition of a following short *a* is required so that this replacement does not apply in *bhāno* + *iti* and *vāyo* + *iti* which must produce *bhān(o→av) iti* = *bhānav iti* and *vāy(o→av)* + *iti* = *vāyav* + *iti*, through application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. Note that the application of 6.1.78 can still not be blocked in deriving *vāy(u→o→av) āyāhi→vāyav āyāhi* and *bhān(u→o→av)) āyāhi* = *bhānav āyāhi*, since what follows the *o* of *bhāno* and *vāyo* is the long *ā* of *āyāhi*. That is, it is not an *aT*, the vowel quality specified with the following *t*

(*taparakaraṇa*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). This also shows why *taparakaraṇa* is also needed.

6.1.109 ङसिङसोश्च

> *ṅasiṅasoś ca*
> / *ṅasi-ṅasoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvaḥ* #106 *eṅaḥ ati* #108)
> *eṅ uttarayor ṅasiṅasor ati parataḥ pūrvaparayoḥ sthāne pūrvarūpam ekādeśo bhavati*
> A single replacement similar to the preceding comes in place of both, a vowel denoted by *eṄ* and the *aT* of *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* which follows *eṄ*, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

> *agner āgacchati*
> *agneḥ svam*
> *vāyor āgacchati*
> *vāyoḥ svam*

1. This rule allows single replacements under the right condition of *a* of the nominal endings *ṄasI* 'ablative singular' and *Ṅas* 'genitive singular'. Consider *agni* + (*Ṅ*) *asI*→*agni* + *as* and *vāyu* + *as*, where a *guṇa* application of 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* produces *agn*(*i*→*e*) + *as* = *agne* + *as* and *vāy*(*u*→*o*) + *as* = *vāyo* + *as*. A single replacement of this rule produces *agn*(*e* +*a*→*e*)*s* and *vāy*(*o*+*a*→*o*)*s* = *vāyos*. The *s* can then go through *rutva* or *rutva-visarga* to produced *agner* or *agneḥ* of *agner āgacchati* or *agneḥ svam*. This same also applies to *vāyos* of *vāyor āgacchati* and *vāyoḥ svam*.

The word *padāntāt* is not carried here because of impossibility (*asambhava*). That is, this single replacement is allowed only where *eṄ* does not occur at the end of a *pada*.

2. Note that since *eṄ* denotes two vowels and *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* denote an equal number of nominal endings, rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām* cannot be invoked. That is, this single replacement cannot be limited only to instances where *e* constitutes the left condition for *ṄasI*, and *o* forms the left condition for *Ṅas*. For, this replacement is conditioned by the single right condition of *aT*, of course, of *ṄasI* and *Ṅas*. But *aT* is not the same. It belongs to two different endings. One can argue here that *yathāsaṃkhya* can still not be invoked. For, the compound listing of *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* in *ṅasiṅasoḥ* becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*). It indicates that *yathāsaṃkhya* should not be invoked since Pāṇini does not formulate the rule as: *ṅasṅaseś ca* as he does elsewhere following provisions of 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*. This reversal of order of *Ṅas* and *ṄasI* then must serve the special purpose of impairing *yathāsaṃkhya*.

Actually, *Ṅasī* and *Ṅas* do not go through provisions of this rule. It is, instead, their relatum (*sambandhī*) which does. Notice that *Ṅasī* and *Ṅas* are two and are also part of the predicate. Accepting two predicates (*vidheya*) will offer an opportunity for *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assigning equivalency in the order of enumeration' to apply. Besides, *ca* will then not allow only one to be carried.

6.1.110 ऋत उत्

ṛta ut
/*ṛtaḥ* 5/1 *ut* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ekaḥ pūrvaparayoḥ* #84 *pūrvaḥ* #106 *ati* #108 *ṅasiṅasoḥ* #109)
ṛkārāntād uttarayor ṅasiṅasor ati parataḥ pūrvaparayor ukāra ekādeśo bhavati
A single replacement in *uT* comes in place of both a *ṛT* and the *aT* of *Ṅasī* and *ṇas* which follows *ṛT*, provided when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

hotur āgacchati
hotuḥ svam

1. Note that a replacement specified for two in the genitive (*pūrvaparayoḥ*; *ṛtaḥ* and *ṅasiṅasoḥ*) receives attributes of either one of them (*Kāś*: *dvayoḥ ṣaṣṭhīnirdiṣṭayoḥ sthāne yaḥ sa labhate' nyataravyapadeśam*). It is for this reason that *u*, followed by *r* as an attribute of *ṛ* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*), comes as a replacement. Thus, *hot*(*ṛ* + *a*→*ur*) *s*, as in *hotur āgacchati*, where the final *s* of *hoturs* is deleted (8.2.24 *rāt sasya*). The *r* can still be replaced with *visarga* when occurring either before a pause or a sound denoted by *khaR* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*). Thus we can get *hotuḥ* and *hotuḥ svam*, respectively.

The *taparakaraṇa* in *ṛT* and *uT* is intended for limiting the denotatum of *ṛ* and *u* to its short duration. Long *ṝ* and *ū* are thus excluded.

6.1.111 ख्यत्यात्परस्य

khyatyāt parasya
/*khyatyāt* 5/1 = *khyaś ca tyaś ca* = *khyatyam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *parasya* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ati* #108 *ṅasiṅasoḥ* #109 *ut* #110)
khyatyāt parasya ṅasiṅasor at ukārādeśo bhavati
An *uT* comes in place of the *aT* of *Ṅasī* and *Ṅas* when *aT* occurs after *khya* and *tya* and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

sakhyur āgacchati

sakhyuḥ svam
patyur āgacchati
patyuḥ svam

1. Note that, with *khyatyāt*, this rule specifies *khi/khī* and *ti/tī*, both short and long, having their *i* and *ī* replaced with *y* to produce *khy* and *ty* (*kṛta-yaṇādeśa*). A specification with *i/ī* replaced with *y* enables reference to both *khi* and *ti* along with their corresponding long forms *khī* and *tī*. We thus get *sakhyur āgacchati* and *sakhyuḥ svam* where *sakhyuḥ* can be derived from *sakhi* + (*Ṅ*) *asI* or *sakhi* + (*Ṅ*) *as*, through *sakhi* + (*a*→*u*) *s*→*sakh*(*i*→*y*) + *us*→ *sakhyu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *sakhyuḥ*. This same applies to *patyur āgacchati* and *patyuḥ svam* where *patyuḥ* can be derived from *pati* + *ṄasI* or *pati* + *Ṅas*.

Now consider the derivation of *sakhīḥ* and *sakhyuḥ* where the bases are derivates of the denominative verb *sakhīya*. Thus, *sakhaḥ* is derived as a *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *khena saha varttate* (2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*). The *saha*, an *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent', is then replaced with *sa* of 6.3.82 *vopasarjanasya*. One now derives *sakhīya*, parallel to *sakham icchati*, with the introduction of *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*). The *a* of *sakha* then goes through a long replacement in *ī* (*ītva*; 7.4.33 *kyaci ca*). An introduction, and subsequent deletion, of *KvIP* after *sakhīya* with further deletion of *a*, through *pratyayalopa*, and of *y* through 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*, produces *sakhī*. Recall here that wherever 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* and 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* both obtain, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* should apply first. For, once 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya* applies, 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali* cannot. The nominative singular of this *sakhī* will then be *sakhīḥ*, through *rutva-visarga* of *s*(*U*). We can now get *sakhyuḥ*, a form of *sakhī* with *ṄasI* or *Ṅas*. This will be similar to forms of *sakhi*. Now consider *lūnyur āgacchati* 'the one who wishes to chop comes' and *lūnyuḥ svam* which follow similar patterns. Note, however, that given *lūnī* + (*Ṅ*) *asI* and *lūnī* + (*Ṅ*) *as*, the *n*-replacement of the *t* of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), brought about by 8.2.44 *ivādibhyaḥ*, will, in accord with 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, still be *t* in view of this rule. That is, this rule still sees *lūtī* + *Ṅas*, as against *lūnī* + *Ṅas*.

2. For reasons that *khi* and *khī* are specified here with their modified forms (*vikṛtanirdeśa*) *khy* and *ty*, this rule cannot allow a replacement in *u* in *sakher āgacchati* and *senāpater āgacchati*. Recall that the word *sakhi*, and not any word ending in *sakhi* (*Paribh*: *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena* . . . (*PŚ*: 32)), is excluded from the assignment of the term *ghi*. Consequently, one can derive *atisakhiḥ*, parallel to *atikrāntaḥ sakhā yena saḥ* 'he by who a friend is excelled', with the help of assignment of the term *ghi*. The *guṇa* replacement of *i* of *atisakhi* + *ṄasI* and *atisakhi* + (*Ṅ*) *as* can thus not go through a replacement in *y*. Instead, it will be replaced with *ay*. This also blocks *u*-replacement for *a* of this rule. This again explains why specifications such as *khy* and *ty* are made with *i/ī* replaced with *y*.

6.1.112 अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते

ato ror aplutād aplute
/*ataḥ* 5/1 *roḥ* 6/1 *aplutāt* 5/1 (*nañ. tat.*) *aplute* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ati* 108 *ut* #110)
akārād aplutād uttarasya roḥ rephasya ukārānubandhaviśiṣṭasya akāre' plute parata ukārādeśo bhavati
An *uT* comes in place of a *rU* (*roḥ*) which occurs after a non-*pluta* vowel, provided a non-*pluta* vowel follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣo' tra
plakṣo' tra

1. This *uT*-replacement for *rU* is offered against *y* of 8.3.17 *bhobhago' pūrvasya yo'śi.* Thus, consider *vṛkṣas* + *atra* and *plakṣas* + *atra,* where the final *s* of *vṛkṣas* and *plakṣas* has its source in the nominative ending *sU.* This *s* is replaced with *rU* by rule 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ.* A replacement in *u* for *rU* then produces *vṛkṣa* (*rU*→*u*) + *atra*→*vṛkṣa* + *u* + *atra* and *plakṣa* (*rU*→*u*) + *atra*→*plakṣa* + *u* + *atra.* A *guṇa* application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* followed by a single *o*-replacement for (*o* + *a*)→*o* (6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*) produces *vṛkṣa*(*u*→*o*) + *atra* = *vṛkṣ*(*o* + *a*→*o*) *tra* = *vṛkṣo' tra.* This same applies also to *plakṣo' tra.*

Note that *u*-replacement of this rule is specified with reference to *rU*-replacement of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ.* Rule 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* makes 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* suspended (*asiddha*) in view of the application of this rule. That is, this rule cannot see the *rU* with reference to which a replacement in *u* is to be accomplished. Commentators explain that 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* cannot be invoked here. For, if *rU* is considered suspended, *u*-replacement of this rule will become vacuous (*vyartha*). Since this *u*-replacement is specified with *roḥ,* and also since there is no other *r* qualified with *U* as an *it* (*Nyāsa: kasyacid ukārānubandhaviśiṣṭasya ror asambhavāt*), 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* cannot be invoked to render 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* suspended in view of our present rule. Besides, the *sthānī* is here specified in the subject category with *rU.* The *u*-replacement is part of the predicate. How could a replacement be allowed without correct identification of the *sthānī.* The *rU*-specification of replacement in 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will become vacuous. If *r,* as against *rU,* is considered as the *sthānī,* we will also get *u* as a replacement for *r* in *bhrātar gaccha* (6.1.114 *haśi ca*).

Considering *rU* against *r* as *sthānī* will create problems in assigning the term *it* (to *U* of *rU*) and subsequently deletion impacted by it. Consider the controlled derivation of *rāmaḥ* from *rāma* + *sU*→*rāma* + *rU.* Note that the *pada*-final (*padānta*) condition of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* will get transferred to

rU. The *r* of *rU* has now to be replaced with the *visarjanīya* of 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*. The *r* of *rU* cannot be accepted as occurring at the *avasāna* 'cessation', unless, of course, *U* is deleted via the assignment of the term *it* (*itsaṃjnālopa*). If *rutva* is considered *asiddha*, we cannot get the deletion of *U* termed *it*. The *visarjanīya* cannot be accomplished unless the *pada* status of 1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam* is not available to what ends in *r* (*rephānta*). The argument that *padatva* of what ends in *r* can be accepted simply on the basis of *vidhāna-sāmarthya* 'at the strength of Pāṇini's own desired specification', is not acceptable. For, *vidhāna-sāmarthya* is not in the danger of becoming vacuous. It has served its purpose (*caritārtha*) in examples such as *punar*. Rejecting *asiddhatva* is the only choice. One must remember, however, that the question of *itsaṃjñā-lopa* does not arise in replacing *rU* with *u*. The question arises only in the context of a replacement in *visarjanīya*. For, 6.1.112 *ato ror*... and 6.1.114 *haśi ca* both have *rU* specified via *roḥ*.

2. The condition of *aT* (in *ataḥ*, with *taparakaraṇa*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) is intended for blocking an *uT*-replacement in examples such as *agnir atra* and *vṛkṣā*(*r*→*ḥ*) *atra* where *rU* is preceded by *i* and *ā*. The condition of an *r*, qualified with *U* as an *it*, is required so that this replacement does not apply to *r* of *prātar atra* and *svar* + *atra*. For, the *r* of *prātar* and *svar* is not derived. It is part of the bases, instead.

Now consider *vṛkṣar iha* where *u*-replacement cannot be accomplished because what follows is *i* of *iha*. This shows why the *anuvṛtti* of *ati* from 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* is needed. This condition will also block *u*-replacement in *vṛkṣar* + *āśritaḥ* where what follows is a long *ā*.

The twin qualifications of *aplutād* 'after a vowel other than an extra-long (*pluta*)' and *aplute* 'before a vowel other than a *pluta*', for vowels which precede and follow *rU*, are required to block this replacement in examples such as *suśrotā3 atra nvasi* and *tiṣṭhatu paya ā3śvin* where *ā3* is a *pluta*. The argument that *ā3* will still be seen by our present rule as *a*, especially since it is ruled by rules 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca* and 8.2.86 *guror anṛto' nantyasyāpy*..., and hence, *u*-replacement cannot be blocked, is not acceptable. An explicit mention of *pluta* in *aplutād* and *aplute* will block invoking suspension by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*. If *pluta* is considered as suspended, this rule can apply where the context has a preceding *aT*. Why can we not block *asiddhatva* 'suspension' of *pluta* with the help of *taparakaraṇa*? The *taparakaraṇa* cannot block suspension of *pluta* since it has lost its strength after setting aside the long vowel (*dīrgha*).

6.1.113 हशि च

haśi ca
/*haśi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ut* #110 *ataḥ ro* #112)
haśi ca parato't uttarasya ror ukārādeśo bhavati
A *rU* which occurs after *a* is replaced with *u*, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *haŚ* (*Śs* 5–10) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

puruṣo yāti
puruṣo hasati
puruṣo dadāti

1. This rule provides for a replacement in *u* when *rU* occurs preceded by *aT* and followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *haŚ* (*Śs*. 5–10). Consider *puruṣa* + (*s*(*U*)→*rU*→*u*)) = *puruṣ*(*u*→*o*) in *puruṣo yāti*. Similarly, *puruṣo hasati* and *puruṣo dadāti*.

2. Note that *aplutāt* is still carried. This can then block the *u*-replacement in examples such as *suśrotā3 dehi*. The *ca* in this rule is used to attract the *anuvṛtti* of *ati*. This will also facilitate *ati* alone to be carried in subsequent rules. The *anuvṛtti* of *haśi* will be suspended. Besides, *haśi*, when carried, will not make any sense.

Incidentally, a rule is generally formulated with subject (*uddeśya*), predicate (*vidheya*) and conditions (*nimitta*), if any. Any one of this lacking in a rule must be supplied via *anuvṛtti*. Notice that this rule simply offers the condition (*nimitta*).

6.1.114 प्रकृत्यान्तःपादमव्यपरे

prakṛtyā' ntaḥpādam avyapare
/*prakṛtyā* 3/1 *antaḥpādam* ϕ = *madhye pādasya* (*avyayībhāva*), *tasmin*; *avypare* 7/1 = *na avyapare* (*nañ-tat.*); *av ca ya ca* = *avyau* (*dv. tasmin*) /
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108)
pādamadhyastha eṇ ati pare prakṛtyā bhavati na tu vakārayakārapare' ti
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eÑ* remains as is when the same occurs before *aT* in the middle of the quarter of a *ṛk* 'Vedic hymn', and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

te agre aśvámāyuñjan
te áśmiñjavamádadhuḥ
upaprayantó adhvaram
śiró apaśyam
sujāte aśvásūnṛte
adhváryó adríbhiḥ sutam

1. This rule makes the provision of *prakṛtibhāva* 'retention of that which

it was; absence of *sandhi* in the middle of a *Ṛk*-verse when a sound denoted by *eṄ* occurs followed by *aT*. Thus, consider *sujāte aśvasūnṛte* where *e* of *sujāte* is not subjected through *sandhi*, but is retained as is.

2. The word *prakṛtyā* denotes absence of any *sandhi* operation. The *pādam* of *antaḥpādam* denotes a quarter of a verse. The word *antaḥ*, an indeclinable, combines with *pādam* to form an *avyayībhāva* compound (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . .) with the denotatum of *vibhakti*. It here means 'in the middle' (*madhye*). The locative introduced after the compound base *antaḥpāda* cannot be deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*. It is replaced with *am* of 2.4.84 *tṛtīyāsaptamyor bahulam*, instead. Note that the *nimitta* 'that which conditions', i.e., *aT*, as well as the *kāryin* 'that which goes through an operation', i.e., *eṄ*, both must fall within the quarter of a *Ṛk*-verse (*Kāś*: *tau cen nimittakāryiṇāv antaḥpādam = ṛkpādamadhye bhavataḥ*). This enables blocking of *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.109 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*) and *ay*-replacement (6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*) in example such as *te agre* . . . and *te asmin* . . ., etc. Incidentally, *eṅaḥ*, which ends in *pañcamī* 'ablative', is here changed into *prathamā* 'nominative' to facilitate proper interpretation of this rule. A question is also raised about carrying a distant *eṅaḥ* (6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*), as against carrying the proximate *ror* (6.1.112 *ato ror* . . .). Haradatta states that interpretation of the learned alone is our recourse here (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *atra ca vyākhyānam eva śaraṇam*).

3. *Kāśikā* states that *pāda* here should be interpreted as *ṛkpāda* 'quarter of a *Ṛk*-verse', and not any quarter of a verse (*ślokapāda*). Actually, the examples covered by this rule are all Vedic. It is for this reason that some recommend carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* from 6.1.105 *vā chandasi*, via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'. This *anuvṛtti* will continue up to 6.1.121 *sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ* whereby *prakṛtibhāva*, at the strength of *sarvatra* 'everywhere', will apply in both Vedic as well as classical usages. For, the non-restrictive provision of *sarvatra* can make much sense in view of the restrictive provision of *chandasi*. Some still insist that *sarvatra* itself is enough to indicate the application of *prakṛtibhāva* in the Vedic and classical usage.

4. Some also read this *sūtra* without *avyapare*. This should not be accepted since the following rule cannot account for derivates focused. Others still read this *sūtra* as *nāntaḥpādam avyapare* whereby it becomes a negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *sandhi*.

6.1.115 अव्यादवद्यादवक्रमुरव्रतायमवन्त्ववस्युषु च

avyādavadyādavakramuravratāyamavantvavasyuṣu' ca
/ *avyāt-avadyāt-avakramuḥ-avrata-ayam-avantu-avasyuṣu* 7/3 *ca* ɸ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyāḥ antaḥpādam* #114)
'*avyāt, avadyāt, avakramuḥ, avrata, ayam, avantu, avasyu' ity eteṣu yakāravakārapare'py atiparato' ntaḥpādam eṅ prakṛtyā bhavati*

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ* which occurs in the middle of the quarter of a verse also remains as is when the *a* of *avyāt, avadyāt, avakramuḥ, avrata, ayam, avantu,* and *avasyu* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

agniḥ práthamo vasúbhirno avyāt
mitramaho avadyāt
mā śivāso avákramuḥ
te no avratāḥ
śatadhāro ayaṃ maṇiḥ 'this gem has hundred facets'
te nó avantu pitaraḥ
kuśikāsó avasyaváḥ

1. This rule generally constitutes an exception to 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* and 6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ.*

6.1.116 यजुष्युरः

yajuṣy uraḥ
/*yajuṣi* 7/1 *uraḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114)
uraḥśabda eṅanto yajuṣi viṣaye'ti prakṛtyā bhavati
The form *uraḥ* when ending in *eṄ* in the usage of the *Yajurveda* remains as is when *a* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

uro antarikṣam

1. Note that *uro* ends in *eṄ* through the application of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* and 6.1.112 *ato ror.* . . . Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then requires a single replacement in *guṇa* to yield *ura(s→rU)→ura(r→u)→ur(a + u→o) = uro.* This *guṇa,* however, can be accomplished by 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca* if *uro* is to be interpreted as a singular address form (*sambuddhi*). Some therefore also read the *sūtra* as *yajuṣy uro.*

This *prakṛtibhāva* cannot be limited to the context of *antaḥpādam.* For, there are no verse-quarters in the *Yajurveda* (*SK: yājuṣi pādānām abhāvaḥ*). It will thus apply everywhere.

6.1.117 आपोजुषाणोवृष्णोवर्षिष्ठेऽम्बेऽम्बालेऽम्बिकेपूर्वे

āpojuṣāṇovṛṣṇovarṣiṣṭhe' mbe' mbāle' mbikepūrve
/*āpo-juṣāṇo-vṛṣṇo-varṣiṣṭhe-ambe-ambāle* (used without endings); *ambikepūrve* 1/2 = *ambike śabdāt pūrve* (*pañc. tat.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116)

'āpo-juṣāṇo-vṛṣṇo-varṣiṣṭhe'ity ete śabdā 'ambe ambāle' ity etau ca yāv ambikeśabdāt pūrvau yajuṣi paṭhitau te ati parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavanti
The words *āpo, juṣāṇo, vṛṣṇo, varṣiṣṭhe,* and *ambe* and *ambāle* as well, remain as are when used before *ambike* in the usage of the *Yajurveda,* provided *a* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

āpó asmān mātaráḥ śundhayantu
juṣāṇo apturājyásya
vṛṣṇó aṃśubhyām gabhástipūtaḥ
varṣiṣṭhe adhi nāke
ambe ambālyambike

1. Haradatta states that the first word, i.e., *āpaḥ,* ends in *Jas* 'nominative plural' (obligatorily plural); the second, i.e., *juṣāṇo,* in *sU* 'nominative singular'; the third, i.e., *vṛṣṇo,* in *Śas* 'accusative plural'; and the fourth, i.e., *varṣiṣṭhe,* in *Ṅi* 'locative singular'. The rest are forms of *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ; PM* ad *Kāś*: *tatra prathamaṃ jasantam; dvitīyaṃ svantam; tṛtīyaṃ śasantam; caturthaṃ ṅyantam; itare sambuddhyante*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa*) accepts *vṛṣṇo* as a singular ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (*ṣaṣṭhyekavacanāntam*).

6.1.118 अङ्ग इत्यादौ च

aṅga ityādau ca
/*aṅge* 7/1 *ityādau* 7/1 = *iti* = *aṅgaḥ; tasyādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin; ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116)
aṅgaśabde ya eṅ tadādau cākāre yaḥ pūrvaḥ sa yajuṣi viṣaye' ti prakṛtyā bhavati
The *eṄ* of an *aṅga* before *a,* and the *eṄ* of any other form before the initial *a* of an *aṅga,* remain as are, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope in the usage of the *Yajurveda.*

EXAMPLES:

aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge aṅge adīdhyat
aindraḥ prāṇo aṅge aṅge nidīdhyat
aindraḥ prāṇo aṅgo aṅgo aśocisam

1. Note that the word *iti* is used here to bring yet another reading of *aṅge* in this rule (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *itikaraṇenānantarokto' ṅgaśabdaḥ pratyavamṛśyate*). The meaning of *ityādau* is inferred as *tadādau* where *tad,* a variable, refers to *aṅga* as its antecedent. The *ca* is used in the sense of *samuccaya* 'conjoining two or more things together'. Thus, *ca,* when read with *ityādau* with the preceding *aṅge,* offers two interpretations to this rule:

(*i*) the *eṄ* of *aṅge,* when followed by *a,* goes through *prakṛtibhāva* and

(*ii*) an *eṄ*, also when followed by the initial *a* of *aṅge*, goes through *prakṛtibhāva*.

Thus, given *prāṇo aṅge aṅge aśociṣam*, we get *prakṛtibhāva* in *aṅge aśociṣam* where *eṄ* is part of *aṅge*. We also get *prakṛtibhāva* in *prāṇo aṅge* where *eṄ* is not a part of *aṅge*. That is, it is not necessary that *eṄ* must be part of *aṅge*. Conversely, it is also not necessary that the following *a* must also be the initial *a* of *aṅge*.

6.1.119 अनुदात्ते च कुधपरे

anudātte ca kudhapare
/*anudātte* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *kudhapare* 7/1 = *kuś ca dhaś ca* = *kudhau* (*dv.*); *kudhau parau yasmāt* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmin*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116)
anudātte cāti kavargadhakārapare parato yajuṣi viṣaye eṅ prakṛtyā bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ* remains as is in the usage of the *Yajurveda*, when an *a* marked with *anudātta* occurs before *kU*, i.e., *k, kh, g, gh,* and *ṅ*, or *dh*, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

Examples:

ayaṃ so' gniḥ 'this is that same *agni*'
ayaṃ so' dhvaraḥ 'that is that same sacrifice'

1. This rule offers *prakṛtibhāva*, in the usage of *Yajurveda*, where *eṄ* occurs before an *anudātta a* followed by *kU* and *dha*. Incidentally, the *a* at the end of *dha*, in *kudhapare*, is used for ease of articulation. Thus we get *prakṛtibhāva* in *so agniḥ* and *so adhvaraḥ* where *a* of *agni* and *adhvara* is followed by *g* and *dh*, respectively. This *a* is also *anudātta*. The word *agni* is derived with affix *ni* and, hence, is marked by its affixal *udātta* at the end (*Uṇādisūtra* 499: *agner nalopaś ca*). Its *a* then automatically becomes *anudātta* (6.1.157 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . .). The *a* of *adhvara* is also *anudātta* because *adhvara*, as a nominal stem (*prātipadika*), is marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; *Uṇādi* 1: *phiṣa antodāttaḥ*). The *g* of *agni* and *dh* of *adhvara* make their *a* meet the condition of *kudhapara*.

2. The condition of *anudātta* is required so that *prakṛtibhāva* can be blocked in examples such as *adho'gre* where *a* of *agre* is *udātta* (*Uṇādisūtra* 196: *ṛjendrāgravajra* . . .). The condition of *kudhapare* is required so that *prakṛtibhāva* can be blocked where an *anudātta a* is followed by any other sound. Thus, consider *so' yam agniḥ sahasriyaḥ* where *prakṛtibhāva* is not allowed in *so' yam* because *a* is followed by *y*. One can say that *so ayam* should receive *prakṛtibhāva* similar to *śatadhāro ayam maṇiḥ*, in consonance with 6.1.115 *avyādavadyāt*. . . . This, however, is not possible since 6.1.114 applies under the condition of *antaḥpādam*. The examples do not come from a *pāda* of the *Yajurveda*.

6.1.120 अवपथासि च

avapathāsi ca
/avapathāsi 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114 *yajuṣi* #116 *anudātte* #119)
'*avapathāḥ' śabde' nudātte' kārādau parato yajuṣi viṣaya eṅ prakṛtyā bhavati*
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eṄ*, remains as is in the usage of the *Yajurveda*, when *avapathāḥ*, with its initial *a* marked with *anudātta*, follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

strī rudrebhyo avapathāḥ

1. The *ca* is used to attract *anudātte*. The word *avapathāḥ*, of *strī rudrebhyo avapathāḥ*, is a derivate of *LAṄ* 'imperfect' where *LAṄ* gets replaced with the *ātmanepada* second person singular ending *thās* (4.1.77 *lasya*; 4.1.78 *tiptasjhi*. . .). Its *a*, occurring after *rudrebhyo*, remains *anudātta* in consonance with 8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*.

The condition of *anudātte* is required so that, elsewhere, this *prakṛtibhāva* can be blocked. *Kāśikā* offers *yad rudrebhyo' vapathāḥ* as a counter-example where *prakṛtibhāva*, in *rudrebhyo' vapathāḥ*, is blocked because *avapathāḥ* is used in combination with a particle (*nipāta*), namely *yad*. Rule 8.1.30 *nipātairyadyadi* . . . blocks the *anudātta* status of *a* of *avapathāḥ*.

6.1.121 सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः

sarvatra vibhāṣā goḥ
/sarvatra ϕ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *goḥ* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* #108 *prakṛtyā* #114)
sarvatra, chandasi bhāṣāyāṃ ca, ati parato gor eṅ prakṛtyā bhavati vibhāṣā
The *pada*-final *eṄ*, of *go*, optionally remains as is everywhere (*sarvatra*), when *a* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

go'gram
go agram
apaśavo vā anye goaśvebhyaḥ goaśvān

1. Note that *sarvatra* 'everywhere' indicates that this optional *prakṛtibhāva* is valid in both the Vedic as well as classical (*bhāṣā*) usages.

6.1.122 अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य

avaṅ sphoṭāyanasya
/avaṅ 1/1 *sphoṭāyanasya* 6/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *padāntāt* #108 *vibhāṣā goḥ* #121)
aci parato goḥ sphoṭāyanasya ācāryasya matenāvaṅ ādeśo bhavati
The *o* of a *pada*-final *go* is optionally replaced with *avaṄ*, in the opinion of Sphoṭāyana, when *aC* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

gavāgram 'ahead of cattles'
go' gram
gavājinam 'cow-hide'
go' jinam
gavodanam 'cow and rice'
gavaudanam
gavoṣṭram 'cow and camel'
gavauṣṭram

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *ati* is suspended, especially because when carried, it will block *avaṄ* in examples such as *go* + *odanam* = *gavaudanam*, etc. The *anuvṛtti* of *aci*, via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap', is required. How come *Kāśikā* (ad 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) remarks that *aci*, as a governing word (*adhikāra*), should be carried only up to 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) explains that *Kāśikā*'s statement is made in view of uninterrupted *anuvṛtti* of *aci* (*nirantarānuvṛtyabhiprāyaṃ tad ity adoṣaḥ*). He, however, also adds that, in all such instances, *vyākhyāna* 'explanation of the learned' alone is our resourse.

2. The word *sphoṭāyana* is used here for expressing respect (*pūjā*). For, *vibhāṣā* itself can account for option. We will thus get *go agram* (*prakṛtibhāva* with no *avaṄ*), *go' gram* (with *pūrvarūpa*) and *gavāgram* (with *avaṄ* and *savarṇadīrgha*). We similarly get *go odanam, gavaudanam; go ajinam* and *gavājinam*, etc.

3. This replacement in *avaṄ* is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*), via *nipātana*. But it is desired only in *bahuvrīhi* compounds such as *gavāgram*, paraphrased as *gāvo agram asya* 'he in front of whom are cows'. Elsewhere, for example in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, this accent is blocked and the compound is marked *udātta* at the end (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* for additional details).

6.1.123 इन्द्रे च

indre ca
/*indre* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *goḥ* #121 *avaṅ* #122)
indraśabdasthe' ci parato gor nityam avaṅādeśo bhavati
The final *o* of *go* is replaced with *avaṄ* when the *aC* of *indra* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

gavendraḥ 'best among cows; lord of cattle'
gavendrayajñasvaraḥ

1. This rule offers obligatory *avaṄ* when *go* occurs followed by the *aC* of *indra*. Thus, *g(o→ava + indraḥ = gav(a + i→e) ndraḥ = gavendraḥ* and *gavendrayajñasvaraḥ*.

2. *Kāśikā* also reads *nityam* as part of this rule. But this is not needed. For, *avaṄ* is made optional by the preceding rule. This express formulation then must make *avaṄ* obligatory. Those who follow the *Kāśikāvṛtti* state that *nityam* is used for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule. The *Mahābhāṣya, Padamañjarī* and *Siddhāntakaumudī* read *nityam* as part of the following rule. I also accept this position and read *nityam* as part of the following rule.

6.1.124 प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम्

plutapragṛhyā aci nityam
/*plutapragṛhyāḥ* 1/3 = *plutāś ca pragṛhyāś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *aci* 7/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *prakṛtyā* #114)
plutāś ca pragṛhyāś cāci prakṛtyā bhavanti nityam
Those which are termed *pluta* and *pragṛhya* remain as are, obligatorily (*nityam*), when a vowel (*aci*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

devadattā3 atra nvasi 'Devadatta, live here'
yajñadattā3 idamānaya 'Yajñadatta, bring this'
agnī iti 'nominative/accusative dual of Agni'
vāyū iti 'nominative/accusative dual of Vāyu'
khaṭve iti 'nominative/accusative dual of *khaṭvā* 'cot''
māle iti 'nominative/accusative dual of *mālā* 'garland''

1. *Kāśikā* reads *nityam* in the wording of the preceding *sūtra* and carries it to this rule via *anuvṛtti*. This, in turn, is contrary to what the *Mahābhāṣya, SK* and *PM* maintain.

2. Rule 1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam* and 1.1.27 *ūkālo'j jhrasvadīrghaplutaḥ* define *pragṛhya* and *pluta*, respectively. We thus get *prakṛtibhāva* in *agnī iti, vāyū iti* and *khaṭve iti*, where *ī, ū* and *e* are *pragṛhya*. Consider *devadattā3 atra nvasi* and *yajñadattā3 idam ānaya* as examples of *prakṛtibhāva* where *ā3* is a *pluta*, in consonance with 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*. Note that rule 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*, which assigns the *pluta*-status to *a*, is contained within the *tripādī* 'first seven and one quarters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*'. Consequently, 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, if invoked, will make it suspended in view of the application of this rule. But since Pāṇini explicitly offers *pluta* as locus (*āśraya*) of *prakṛtibhāva*

and also since suspension (*asiddhatva*) caused by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* will remove this locus, *pluta*-status of *ā3*, remains intact. For, specification of *prakṛtibhāva* via *kāryin*, i.e., *ā3*, as locus will then become meaningless (*anarthaka*; *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *asmād eva prakṛtibhāve kartavye siddhaḥ plutaḥ, anyathā tasya kāryitvenāśrayaṇam anarthakam syāt*).

2. Note that *aci* is explicitly stated, as against being brought via *anuvṛtti*. This is done to focus on the vowel which may otherwise condition *sandhi*. Consider *jānū asya* where *a* of *asya* conditions *prakṛtibhāva*. Now consider (*jānu* + *uÑ*→*jānū*) *asya*, where *a* does not condition long replacement. A *prakṛtibhāva* in *jānu u* is thus not possible. The *uÑ* in *jānu u*(*Ñ*) *asya* is a particle (*nipāta*). The vowel which serves as a condition for single replacement with its preceding *u* does not occur after a *pragṛhya*. The vowel which follows *uÑ* also does not serve as a condition for single replacement. It is for this reason that, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*, a single replacement applies (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *uñ nipātaḥ, tasya pūrveṇa sahaikādeśasya yan nimittaṃ na sa pragṛhyād uttaraḥ, yaś ca tataḥ paro na sa ekādeśasya nimittam iti prakṛtibhāvābhāvād ekādeśo bhavaty eva*). In fact we can also get *jān*(*u* + *u*→*ū*→*v*) *asya*, as in *jānv asya rujati*, not from 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* but from 8.3.33 *maya uño vo vā*. The *aci*, stated again in this rule, facilitates this. For, in the absence of a restated *aci*, this rule would be interpreted as *pragṛhyo'ci parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati* 'a *pragṛhya* when followed by a vowel remains as is'. This, in turn, would offer *prakṛtibhāva* also to the single replacement obtained by replacing *u* with its preceding *u*. A restatement of *aci* blocks this *prakṛtibhāva*. For, the single replacement in *ū* will be interpreted as containing initial *pragṛhya* (*ādivadbhāva*). An application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* can also be blocked because of this *prakṛtibhāva* (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *punar ajgrahaṇe tu na bhavati, tatraikādeśe kṛte tasyādivadbhāvāt pragṛhyagrahaṇenagrahaṇāt 'iko yaṇ aci' iti yaṇādeśaḥ prakṛtibhāvān na bhavati 'mañ uño vo vā' iti pakṣe vakāraḥ*).

The use of *nityam*, of course, not only retains *prakṛtibhāva* but also blocks shortening of 6.1.126 *iko asavarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaś ca*. It is thus used for *prakṛtibhāva*, in addition to blocking any other operation (*kāryāntara*).

6.1.125 आङोऽनुनासिकश्छन्दसि

āṅo' nunāsikaś chandasi
/*āṅaḥ* 6/1 *anunāsikaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *prakṛtyā* #144)
āṅo'ci parataḥ saṃhitāyāṃ chandasi viṣaye' nunāsikādeśo bhavati sa ca prakṛtyā bhavati
An *āN* is replaced with an *anunāsika*, in the Vedic, when *aC* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope, with an additional provision that the *anunāsika* remain as is.

EXAMPLES:

> *a̱bhra ā̃ a̱paḥ*
> *gábhī̱ra ā̃ ugráputre̱ jighā̃ṃsataḥ*

1. This rule offers nasalization of *ā* of *āṄ*, of course, when a vowel follows. Furthermore, the resultant *ā̃* also goes through *prakṛtibhāva*. Some also read this *sūtra* with *bahulam* 'variously'. Consequently, *ā* does not become nasalized, for example, in *indro bāhubhyām* (*ā* + *atarat*→*ātarat*). Note that the *ā* becomes nasalized only when *ā* is used without any meaning (*anarthaka*). Thus, we get *abhra ā̃ apaḥ*. An *ā*, used as a prefix (*upasarga*) with a root (*dhātu*), does not become nasalized, and go through *prakṛtibhāva*, because it then carries meaning (*sārthaka*) as a modifier to the action (*kriyāviśeṣaṇatvāt*). Consequently, we get a long replacement in (*ā* + *atarat*)→*ātarat*. It can still remain an *ā*, as in *ā atarat*, if one accepts the reading of *bahulam*.

6.1.126 इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च

> *iko'savarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaś ca*
> /*ikaḥ* 6/1 *asavarṇe* 7/1 = *na savarṇaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *śākalyasya* 6/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *aci* #77 *prakṛtyā* 114)
> *iko'savarṇe' ci parataḥ śākalyasyācāryasya matena prakṛtyā bhavanti hrasvaś ca tasyekaḥ sthāne bhavati*
> A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* remains as is, in the opinion of Śākalya, when *saṃhitā* obtains and a non-homogeneous vowel follows; additionally, this *iK* is replaced with a *hrasva* 'short'.

EXAMPLES:

> *dadhi atra*
> *dadhy atra*
> *madhu atra*
> *madhv atra*
> *kumāri atra*
> *kumāry atra*
> *kiśori atra*
> *kiśory atra*

1. Note that an *iK*, when followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (*asavarṇa*), will automatically facilitate the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Our present rule, for the very reason that it is formulated (*ārambhasāmarthyāt*), could then provide for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* optionally, against the provision of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Mention of Śākalya is then made for showing respect (*pūjārtham*).

2. The *ca* in this rule should not be used for carrying *prakṛtyā*. For, provi-

sion of *hrasva* itself can make *prakṛtibhāva* available. But *hrasva*, without *ca*, can provide for *prakṛtibhāva* only when *iK* denotes a long (*dīrgha*) vowel. The *prakṛtibhāva* is also required where *iK* may be a short (*hrasva*). But *hrasva* of this rule will not make any sense in the context where *iK* may denote a *hrasva*. It can serve no purpose there (*prayojanābhāvāt*). Why do we need a *hrasva* to be replaced with a *hrasva*? So that vocalic *sandhi* can be blocked. Thus we can get *dadhi* + *atra*→*dadhi atra* and *dadhy atra*. The idea that a *hrasva* is replaced with *hrasva*, through short replacement of this rule at the strength of *ca*, is no vacuous rule application. For, rules are like clouds (*parjanyavat*) which rain indescriminately over both land and water. They are *kṛtakārī* 'effecting results' because their justification lies in bringing about results. They are not like fire (*dahanavat*) whose justification lies in undoing what was brought about (*akṛtakārī*).

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to negate this *prakṛtibhāva* where a form marked with *S* as an *it* (*sit*) follows, or where an obligatory compound (*nityasamāsa*) finds its scope. Thus, we get *ṛtviyaḥ*, parallel to *ṛtu* + *ghaS*, paraphrased as *ṛtu prāptaḥ asya* 'that whose season has approached'. Recall that *gh* of *ghaS* will be replaced with *iy* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ*. . .) and the negation of *prakṛtibhāva* will occasion the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. That is, *ṛtu* + (*gh*→*iy*) *a*(*S*)→*ṛt*(*u*→*v*) + *iya* = *ṛtviya* + *s*(*U*)→*ṛtviyaḥ*. Rule 1.4.16 *siti ca* will here assign the term *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*). Or else, 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* will offer application of *guṇa*. We also get obligatory compounds such as (*vi* + *ākaraṇa*) + *sU*)) → *vyākaraṇam* and (*kumārī* + *artha*) + *sU*)) → *kumāryartham*. It is in view of this *vārttika* that examples under this rule are all *vākyas* 'non-compounds'.

Note that the locative in *sin-nityasamāsayoḥ* receives split interpretation (*ekam api dvidhā bhidyate*). It is intrepreted as denoting the right condition of what follows (*parasaptamī*) in the context of *sit*. It is interpreted as a locative denoting scope (*viṣayasaptamī*) in the context of *nityasamāsa* 'obligatory compound'.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal requires *prakṛtibhāva*, without any replacement in *hrasva* in the Vedic examples such as *īṣā akṣaḥ*, *kā īmare* and *pathā agaman*.

6.1.127 ऋत्यकः

ṛty akaḥ
/*ṛti* 7/1 *akaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *prakṛtyā* #114 *śākalyasya hrasvaś ca* #126)
ṛkāre parataḥ śākalyasyācāryasya matenākaḥ prakṛtyā bhavanti, hrasvaś ca tasyākaḥ sthāne bhavati
A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* remains as is in the opinion of Sākalya, when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and *ṛ* follows; additionally, this *aK* is replaced with a *hrasva* 'short'.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭva ṛśyaḥ
māla ṛśyaḥ
kumāri ṛśyaḥ
hotṛ ṛśyaḥ

1. Why is this *sūtra* formulated when the preceding itself can account for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva*. The preceding *sūtra* can accomplish *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* when an *iK* may be followed by a non-homogeneous vowel (*asavarṇa*). This *sūtra* is needed for contexts where a vowel other than one denoted by *iK* (*anik*, i.e., *aK*) may precede. It is also needed for contexts where a homogeneous (*savarṇa*) vowel may follow. Elsewhere, the preceding *sūtra* itself can account for *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva*. Thus, consider *khaṭvā* + *ṛśyaḥ*→*khaṭva ṛśyaḥ* and *hotṛ* + *ṛśyaḥ*→*hotṛ ṛśyaḥ*, where *ṛ* of *hotṛ* is short.

2. Why do we need *ṛti*? So that *prakṛtibhāva* and *hrasva* is blocked in *khaṭv*(*ā* + *i*→*e*) *ndraḥ*→*khaṭvendraḥ*. The condition of *akaḥ* blocks *prakṛtibhāva* in *vṛkṣ*(*au*→*āv*) + *ṛśyaḥ* = *vṛkṣāv ṛśyaḥ*.

6.1.128 अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते

aplutavad upasthite
/ *aplutavat* ϕ = *na plutavat* (*nañ. tat.*); *upasthite* 7/1/
upasthitaṃ nāmānārṣa itikaraṇaḥ samudāyād avacchidya padaṃ yena svarūpe' vasthāpyate tasmin parataḥ pluto' plutavad bhavati
A *pluta* is treated as if non-*pluta* when a non-Vedic (*anārṣa*) *iti* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

suślokā3 iti = *suśloketi*
sumaṅgalā3 iti = *sumaṅgaleti*

1. The word *ārṣa* is explained as a *taddhita* derivate of *ṛṣi* 'Veda' signifying *tatra bhavaḥ* 'born or found there in'. The negative *anārṣa* may generally refer to something other than what is found in the Vedas. However, *iti*, with the qualification of *upasthite*, defines its context to *itikaraṇa* 'attaching *iti*'. Technically, *upasthita* refers to the process of splitting individual *padas* of a sentence and marking them with *iti* (*Kāś*: *upasthitaṃ nāmānārṣa itikaraṇaḥ*). Thus, *suślokā3 iti*. This is what then is viewed as *anārṣa*. The *ā3* of *suślokā3* is *pluta* (8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*). This *pluta*, in view of our present rule, becomes a non-*pluta* and, hence, blocks the *prakṛtibhāva* provision of 6.1.120 *pluta-pragṛhyā aci nityam*. We then get *suślokā3* + *iti*→*suśloketi* and *sumaṅgalā* + *iti*→*sumaṅgaleti*. These examples both involve *guṇa*-replacement, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*.

2. Why is this specification of *pluta* made with *vat*? In the absence of *vat*,

the specification would have been made as *pluto' plutaḥ*. This, in turn, could negate only the *pluta*. That is, in a situation where *prakṛtibhāva* obtains conditioned by *pluta* and *pragṛhya* both, negation applies to one conditioned by *pluta*. A *prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragṛhya* cannot be negated. Consequently, *pluta* will be heard in *prakṛtibhāva* conditioned by *pragṛhya* (*Kāś*: *apluta ity ucyamāne pluta eva pratiṣidhyeta . . . pragṛhyāśraye prakṛtibhāve plutasya śravaṇam na syāt*). Examples are: *agnī3 iti, vāyū3 iti*. The *prakṛtibhāva*, consequent upon assignment of the term *pragṛhya* by 1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanam pragṛhyam*, applies to *agnī3 iti* and *vāyū3 iti*. The *pluta*, of course, is retained in consonance with 8.2.86 *guror anṛto' nantyasyāpy ekaikasya prācām*.

6.1.129 ई3 चाक्रवर्मणस्य

ī3 cākravarmaṇasya
/*ī3* (1/1 deleted) *cākravarmaṇasya* 6/1/
(*aci* #77 *aplutavat* #128)
ī3 kārḥ pluto' ci paratas cākravarmaṇasyācāryasya matenāplutavad bhavati
An *ī* termed *pluta* is treated as if a non-*pluta*, in the opinion of Cākravarmaṇa, when a vowel (*aC*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

astu hītyabravīt = *astu hī3 ity abravīt*
cinu hīdam = *cinuhī3 idam*

1. Mention of Cākravarmaṇa is made for indicating option (*vikalpa*). It is intended for suspending the *anuvṛtti* of the Vedic *iti* (*tadupasthite nivṛtyartham*) already available (*prāpta*). It is also used for facilitating this option when a non-Vedic *iti* follows (*aprāpta*). Thus, the use of Cākravarmaṇa is intended for *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*. Consider *astu hīty abrūtām* 'those two indeed said '*astu*', where *astu* is the third singular imperative of *as* 'to be' and *hi* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). Rule 8.2.93 *vibhāṣā pṛṣṭaprativacane heḥ* assigns *pluta* to *hi* and, since the specification is desired to have been made with *vat* (*aplutavadbhāva*), *prakṛtibhāva* is blocked in favor of lengthening (*dīrgha*). Thus we get *astu hīty*. . . . An option of *prakṛtibhāva* will yield *astu hī3 ity abrūtām* with no *sandhi*. *Kāśikā* states that *aplutavadbhāva* 'treatment of a *pluta* as if a non-*pluta*' is also desired in the contexts of vowels other than an *ī*. We thus get *vaśā3 iyam* and *vaśeyam*, where *guṇa*, in the absence of *prakṛtibhāva*, applies through *aplutavadbhāva*.

6.1.130 दिव उत्

diva ut
/*divaḥ* 6/1 *ut* 1/1/
(*padāntāt*→*padasya* #108)
divaḥ padasya ukārādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of a *pada*, namely *div*, is replaced with *uT*.

EXAMPLES:

dyukāmaḥ 'he whose desire is in heaven'
dyumān
vimaladyu dinam 'bright day'
dyubhyām
dyubhiḥ

1. The rule allows a replacement in *uT* for the final *v* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *div* when the same is *prātipadika* turned into a *pada*. Note that *div* is not a verbal root. For, its specification is here made without its *it*-element *Ū*. The condition of *div* being a *pada* is reconstructed based upon the *anuvṛtti* of *pada* from 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*. How come *pada* of *padāntāt* alone is carried? Why not the full word *padāntāt*? A compound sometimes can also be carried in part (*ekadeśa*). The condition of *pada* is needed so that the *v* of *diva*, as in *divau* and *divaḥ*, can be blocked from availing a replacement in *u*.

Now consider some examples: *dyukāmaḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *divi kāmo yasya* 'he who wishes for heaven' and *dyumān*, paraphrased as *dyauḥ asti yasya* 'he who possesses heaven'. The *bahuvrīhi* compound-base *div* + *kāma*, after deletion of internal inflectional endings, has its *v* replaced with *u*. This yields *di(v→u)* + *kāma* = *diu* + *kāma* which, after application of *yaN*, yields *d(ī→y) u* + *kāma* = *dyu* + *kāma* = *dyukāma*. Incidentally, *dyumān* is the nominative singular of *dyumat*, a derivate of *div* + *mat(UP)* = *di(v→u)* + *mat→d(i→y) u* + *mat* = *dyumat*.

2. Note that *div*, when treated as a verbal root, may cause the application of 6.4.19 *chvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike*. Thus, given *akṣadyūbhyām*, where *akṣadyū* is a derivate of *KvIP* introduced after *div* used in combination with the cooccurring *pada akṣa* + *bhis*, we get *ūṬH* for *v*. An application of *yaN*, on *i* of *div* before *ūṬH*, can then yield *akṣadyū* of *akṣadyūbhyām*. The *T* in *ūT* is also explained as intended for canceling *ūṬH* (*Kāś*: *taparakaraṇam ūṭho nivṛtyartham*). Since a sound brought about by application of a rule (*bhāvyamāna*) refers to sounds homogeneous with it, a *v*, when subjected through *samprasāraṇa*, will refer to a short *u* equal in duration of half a mora (see *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*). Why then use *taparakaraṇa* with short *u*? It is for this reason that *taparakaraṇa* is intended more for canceling *ūṬH*.

6.1.131 **एतत्तदोः सुलोपोऽकोर्नञ्समासे हलि**

etattadoḥ sulopo'kor anañsamāse hali
/*etattadoḥ* 6/2/ = *etac ca tac ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *sulopaḥ* 1/1 = *sor lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *akoḥ* 6/2 = *na vidyate 'k' yayoḥ* (*bv.*); *anañsamāse* 7/1 = *nañaḥ samāsaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na nañsamāsaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *hali* 7/1/ (*saṃhitāyām* #72)

etattadau yāv akakārau nañsamāse na vartete tayor yaḥ suśabdaḥ tadarthena sambaddhaḥ tasya saṃhitāyāṃ viṣaye hali parato lopo bhavati
A nominal ending, namely *sU*, when used after *etad* and *tad* not containing *k* and not being used as part of a negative compound (*nañ-samāsa*), is deleted, provided a consonant (*hali*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

eṣa dadāti 'this one gives'
sa dadāti 'he gives'
eṣa bhuṅkte 'this one eats'
sa bhuṅkte 'he eats'

1. Let us consider *eṣa dadāti* 'this one gives?' where *eṣa* is derived from *etad* + *sU*. The final *d* of *etad* is replaced with *a* by 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* then orders *pararūpa*, a single replacement similar to what follows. We thus get: *eta*(*d*→*a*) + *s*(*U*)→*et*(*a* + *a*→*a*) + *s*(*U*). The preceding *t* of *etat* is then replaced with *s* (7.2.106 *tadoḥ sāv anantyayoḥ*) to yield *e*(*t*→*s*) *a* + *s*(*U*). This *s* is then replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. We thus get *e*(*s*→*ṣ*) *a* + *s*(*U*) = *eṣa* + *s*(*U*). Our final derivate *eṣa* is gotten after deletion of *sU*.

This rule focuses on *etad* and *tad* only. That is why we do not get deletion of *sU*, in *yo dadāti*, where *yad* forms the base. The condition of *sU* is also important. This then does not allow deletion in *etat* + *au*→*etadau* where the ending is *au*. The negation of *akoḥ* 'of those with no *k*' excludes forms of *etat* and *tat* which may be derived with *akaC*. Thus, one may derive a form such as *eṣakaḥ* and *sakaḥ*, where *akaC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*; 5.3.71 *avayayasarvanāmnām akc prāk ṭeḥ*) of *eta* + *s*(*U*) and *ta* + *s*(*U*). Our forms *eta* and *ta*, of course, derive from *etad* and *tad* with the application of *d*→*a* (*atva*) and *a* + *a*→*a* (*pararūpa*), as already explained in connection with *eṣa*. The resultant forms with *akaC*, i.e., *etaka* + *s*(*U*) and *taka* + *s*(*U*), cannot go through deletion of *sU*. They will yield *eṣakaḥ* and *sakaḥ*, where *s* of *esakaḥ* goes through a replacement in *ṣ*. The negation of *akoḥ* is necessary because, in its absence, a specification by means of *etad* and *tad* could also include references to their forms with *akaC*. Such a reference is possible in view of the *Paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 90): *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena gṛhyate* 'a specification made in grammar by a form also refers to its corresponding forms which may have inserts within'. That is, *etad* and *tad* can also refer to their forms qualified with *akaC*.

The negation of *anañsamāse* 'when not in combination with a negative particle' is important for blocking deletion of *sU* in *aneṣo dadāti* and *aso dadāti*, where *aneṣaḥ* and *asaḥ* are paraphrased as *na eṣaḥ* and *na saḥ*. The *n* in *na eṣaḥ* is deleted by 6.3.73 *na lopo*. . . . Augment *nUṬ* of 6.3.74 *tasmān*

nuḍ... is then introduced to derive (*n*→ϕ) *a*(*Ñ*) + *s*(*U*) + (*etad*→*eṣa*) + *sU*→*a* + *n*(*UṬ*) + *s*(*U*) + *eṣa* + *s*(*U*) = *an* + (*sU*→ϕ) + *eṣa* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *aneṣa* + *sU*→*aneṣaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *asaḥ*. Note that *naÑ* is related to *etad* and *tad* because a negative compound has its following constituent as principal (*uttarapadapradhāna*).

The condition of *hali* 'when a consonant follows' blocks deletion of *sU*, in examples such as *eṣaḥ* + *atra* → *eṣo' tra* and *saḥ* + *atra* → *so' tra*, where what follows is a vowel.

6.1.132 स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

syaś chandasi bahulam
/*syaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sulopaḥ hali* #131)
'*sya' iti etasya cchandasi hali parato bahulaṃ sor lopo bhavati*
A *sU* which occurs after *sya*, in the Vedic, is variously deleted when a consonant (*hal*) follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

uta sya vājī kṣipaṇiṃ túraṇyati grīvāyāṃ baddhó api kakṣa āsaní
eṣa sya té pavata indra somáḥ

1. Note that deletion of *sU* here refers to one which occurs after (*t*→*s*)*ya* = *sya* of *tyad*. That is, (*tya*(*d*→*a*)→*ty*(*a* + *a*→*a*)→(*t*→*s*)*ya* = *sya*))); *sya* + *sU*. A provision of *bahulam* also makes this deletion non-applicable, elsewhere. Thus, we get *yatra syo nipatet*.

The word *syaḥ* is an imitation (*anukaraṇa*) of the nominative, used with the denotatum of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (*ṣaṣṭhyarthe prathamā*).

6.1.133 सोऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम्

so' ci lope cet pādapūraṇam
/*soḥ* 6/1 *aci* 7/1 *lope* 7/1 *cet* ϕ *pādapūraṇam* 1/1 = *pādasya pūraṇam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sulopaḥ* #131)
'*saḥ'ity etasyāci parataḥ sulopo bhavati lope sati cet pādaḥ pūryate*
The *sU* of *saḥ* is deleted when a vowel (*aci*) follows, provided this deletion facilitates completion of the quarter of a verse (*pādapūrṇam*).

EXAMPLES:

sedu rājā kṣayati carṣaṇīnām
sauṣádhīranúrudhyase

1. This rule allows deletion of *sU* with the express purpose of completing a verse quarter. Thus, given *sa* + *sU* + *idu* and *sa* + *sU* + *oṣadhi*, we get

sa + (*sU*→ϕ) + *idu*→*s*(*a* + *i*→*e*) *du* = *sedu* and *sa* + (*sU*→ϕ) + *oṣadhi*→*s*(*a* + *o*→*au*) *ṣadhi* = *sauṣadhi*, after *sU*-deletion and single *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* replacements.

2. *Kāśikā* states that some also desire *pāda* to refer to quarter of a verse. That is, in addition to referring to the quarter of a Ṛgvedic hymn (*ṛkpāda*) in view of *chandasi*:

> *saiṣa dāśarathī rāmaḥ/ saiṣa rājā yudhiṣṭhiraḥ/*
> *saiṣa karṇo mahātyāgī/ saiṣa bhīmo mahābalaḥ/ /*

6.1.134 सुट्कात्पूर्वः

> *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ*
> /*suṭ* 1/1 *kāt* 5/1 *pūrvaḥ* 1/1/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72)
> *adhikāro' yam. ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmas tatra 'suṭ' iti 'kāt pūrvaḥ' iti caitad adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam*
> Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k*.

EXAMPLES:

> *saṃskarttā* 'he who beautifies, etc.'
> *saṃskartum* 'for beautifying'
> *saṃskartavyam* 'that which is to be . . .'

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule', valid up to 6.1.157 *pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca*. The *Ṭ* in *sUṬ* is an *it*. Its *U* is intended for ease of articulation. Since this rule provides for *sUṬ* to be introduced before *k*, 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* is not invoked for its placement. A question is raised against marking *sUṬ* with *Ṭ* as an *it*, especially since 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau* is not to be invoked in connection with its placement. It is stated (Bhīmasen Śāstrī, II: 562) that *Ṭ* as an *it* is here intended for distinguishing *sUṬ* from *su* (of 8.2.70 *parinivibhyaḥ sevasitasaya* . . .). Or else, a specification made with *su*, without *Ṭ*, may have confused *su*(*Ṭ*) with verbal root *su*. This, in turn, would have yielded undesired interpretations.

Illustrations will be offered under individual rules.

2. Pāṇini specifies *kāt pūrvaḥ* to indicate that *sUṬ* does not become part of what contains *k* (*Kāś*: *kātpūrvagrahaṇaṃ suṭo' bhaktajñāpanārtham*). Augment *sUṬ*, because of being marked with *Ṭ*, could have been introduced as an initial element anyway (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). Consider the controlled derivation of *saṃkṛṣīṣṭa*, third person singular middle form of *LIṄ*, from *sam* + *kṛ* + (*LIṄ*→*ta*)→*sam* + *kṛ* + *ta*, where, after *sīyUṬ*, we get *sam* + *kṛ* + *sīy* + *ta*. Augment *sUṬ* is now introduced before *ta* in view of 3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ*. The *y* of *sīy*, in *sam* + *s*(*UṬ*) + *kṛ* + *sīy* + *s*(*UṬ*) + *ta*, is then deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. Note that *sUṬ* before *kṛ* is accomplished by our present rule. If this *sUṬ*

is treated as part of *kṛ* then *skṛ* will become *saṃyogādi* 'that which has a conjunct in its initial position'. Rule 7.2.43 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ* will then require a *guṇa* replacement for *ṛ*. This will yield a wrong form. It is to block such applications that *sUṬ*, at the strength of its specification by *kāt pūrvaḥ*, is not treated as part of what contains *k* (*kakāravān*). A *guṇa* and *iṬ* conditioned by *saṃyogādi* (cf. 7.2.43 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ*) will be blocked if *sUṬ* is treated part of the conjunct (*saṃyoga*). A *sUṬ*, if treated as part of the conjunct, would also not allow *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' (cf. 8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*). The word *saṃskṛṣīṣṭa* goes through *anusvāra* of *m* and *ṣ*-replacement for both of its *s* sounds.

Now consider *saṃskriyate*, a third singular present passive, derived from *sam* + *kṛ* + (*LAṬ*→*te*)→*sam* + *kṛ* + *yaK* + *te* where *yaK* is introduced by 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*. The *ṛ* of *kṛ* is replaced with *ri* (7.4.28 *rig śayagliṅkṣu*) and augment *sUṬ* is introduced to yield *sam* + *sUṬ* + *k*(*ṛ*→*ri*) + *ya* + *te* = *saṃskriyate*. This intervening *s*, if treated as part of *kri*, would have also blocked *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' of 8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*. Incidentally, in matters of accentuation, an insert consonant is treated as if not present (*avidyamānavat*).

How is a *guṇa* conditioned by initial conjunct (*saṃyogādi*) accomplished in *sañcaskaratuḥ* and *sañcaskaruḥ* if *sUṬ* is not treated as part of that which contains *k*. Actually, *sUṬ* becomes part of *sañcaskṛ*, an *aṅga*, after iteration (*PŚ* (90): *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena gṛhyate*). The *guṇa* then applies to derive *sañcask*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *atuḥ* = *sañcaskaratuḥ*. But 7.4.10 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogāder*. . ., even when *sUṬ* is treated as part of *kṛ*, cannot allow *guṇa* since *skṛ* with initial conjunct is not a *dhātu* 'verbal root'. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *guṇa* of 7.4.10 also where penultimate conjunct is involved (*saṃyogopadha*; *saṃyogopadhagrahaṇaṃ ca* '*ṛtaś ca saṃyogāder guṇaḥ*' *ity atra vaktavyam*).

3. Two *vārttika* proposals of this rule have been jointly listed by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* as a separate *sūtra*:

(*i*) *aḍvyavāya upasaṃkhyānam* '*sUṬ* is introduced before *k* also in contexts where *aṬ* intervenes' and

(*ii*) *abhyāsavyavāye' pi ca* '*sUṬ* is introduced before *k*, also where *abhyāsa* 'doubling' intervenes'.

The necessity of these proposals is explained relative to introduction of *sUṬ* on the one hand and that of *aṬ* and *abhyāsa* 'doubling' on the other. It is argued that an operation, i.e., *sUṬ*, is more powerful because it is internal (*antaraṅga*) to the preverb (*upasarga*) and the root (*dhātu*). This operation is to be performed before any external (*bahiraṅga*) operation, i.e., *aṬ* and *abhyāsa* conditioned by the affix. But since *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* and it does not become part of the form which contains *k*, *Ṭ* and *abhyāsa*, when applied, will follow *s*. This, in turn, is not desired (*iṣṭa*). It is to remove this difficulty that these express proposals are made. One has to apply *aṬ* and

abhyāsa first and then, even with them intervening, *sUṬ* is introduced before *k*. This will offer all desired results (*sarvam iṣṭaṃ siddhyati*).

Provisions of the first proposal are illustrated with *samaskarot* and *samaskārṣīt*, third person singular active imperfect (*LaṄ*) and immediate (*LUṄ*) past forms of verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *sam*. Notice how *sUṬ*, i.e., *s* after *a*, is introduced before *k*, even when *aṬ*, i.e., *a* before *s*, intervenes. We also get *sañcaskāra* and *paricaskāra*, where *ca* results out of *abhyāsa*. Augment *sUṬ* is again introduced before *k*, even when *abhyāsa* intervenes. See the appendix for full derivational details.

6.1.135 **सम्पर्युपेभ्यः करोतौ भूषणे**

> *samparyupebhyaḥ karotau bhūṣaṇe*
> / *saṃ-pari-upebhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *karotau* 7/1 *bhūṣaṇe* 7/1/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134)
> '*sam, pari, upa*' *ity etebhyo bhūṣaṇārthe karotau parataḥ suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati*
> Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* when verbal root *kṛ* 'to do, make', used with the preverbs *sam*, *pari* and *upa*, occurs with the signification of *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'.

EXAMPLES:

saṃskartā
saṃskartum
saṃskartavyam
pariṣkartā
pariṣkartum
pariṣkartavyam
upaskartā
upaskartum
upaskartavyam

1. This rule allows for introduction of *sUṬ* before *k* when verbal root *kṛ* is used with the preverbs *sam*, *pari* and *upa*, provided when the signification is *bhūṣaṇa* 'ornamentation'. Consider *saṃskartā* which is a derivate of *tṛC* introduced after *kṛ* used with *sam*. Refer to the derivation of *kartā* (II:388) in the appendix. Given *sam* + *s*(*UṬ*) + *kartā*, the *m* of *sam* is replaced with *rŪ* (8.3.5 *samaḥ suṭi*). We now have *sa*(*m*→*r*(*Ũ*) + *s* + *kartā* = *sar* + *s* + *kartā*. The *a* of *sar* is optionally nasalized by 8.3.2 *atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā*. Now we have *sãr* + *s* + *kartā* and *sar* + *s* + *kartā*. Rule 8.3.4 *anunāsikāt paro'nusvāraḥ* introduces *anusvāra* after *a* before *rU*, provided *a* is non-nasalized. This application changes *sar* + *s* + *kartā* into *saṃ* + *ṛ* + *s* + *kartā*. Rule 8.3.18 *karavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* can then apply on both strings to yield: *sã*(*r*→*ḥ*) + *s* + *kartā* = *sãḥ* + *s* + *kartā* and *saṃ* + (*r*→*ḥ*) + *s* + *kartā* = *saṃḥ* + *s* + *kartā*. A *vārttika* under 8.3.36 *vā śari*, i.e., *saṃpuṃkānāṃ so vaktavyaḥ*, requires the *ḥ* to be

replaced with *s*. We thus get *sā(ḥ→s) + s + kartā = sās + s + kartā* and *saṃ(ḥ→s) + s + kartā = saṃs + s + kartā*. Forms with single *s* are also used, especially when the option of *rU* which leads to an additional *s*, via *ḥ*, is accepted.

A statement of the *Mahābhāṣya*, namely *samo vā lopam eke*, also deletes *m* of *sam*, thereby yielding a single *s* derivate. Similar rules apply in deriving *saṃskartum* and *saṃskartavyam*, the derivates of *tumUN* and *tavyaT*, respectively. Derivates such as *pariṣkartā, pariṣkartum* and *pariṣkartavyam* involve replacement of *s* by *ṣ* (8.3.70 *suṭstusvañjām*). Deriving *upaskartā, upaskartum* and *upaskartavyam* does not offer anything new.

2. The condition of *bhūṣaṇe* is necessary so that examples such as *upakaroti* '. . . does a favor' are blocked from receiving *sUṬ*. Some, however, claim that examples such as *saṃskṛtam annam* 'cooked food' requires *sUṬ*, even when the signification is other than *bhūṣaṇa*. Others claim that *saṃskāra* of *anna* can still be viewed as *bhūṣaṇa*.

3. Some do not read *upa* as part of this rule. For them the *sūtra* is simply: *saṃparibhyāṃ karotau bhūṣaṇe.*

6.1.136 समवाये च

samavāye ca
/*samavāye* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *samparyupebhyaḥ karotau* #135)
samavāyaḥ = samudāyaḥ, tasmiṃś cārthe karotau samparyupebhyaḥ kāt pūrvaḥ suḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* when verbal root *kṛ*, used in conjunction with the preverbs *sam, pari* and *upa*, follows with the signification of *samavāya* 'mass, aggregation, collection' and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

tatra naḥ saṃskṛtam
tatra naḥ pariṣkṛtam
tatra naḥ upaskṛtam

1. Why was a single *sūtra* with the form of *saṃparyupābhyāṃ karotau bhūṣaṇasamavāyayoḥ* not formulated?

6.1.137 उपात्प्रतियत्नवैकृतवाक्याध्याहारेषु

upāt pratiyatnavaikṛtavākyādhyāhāreṣu
/*upāt* 5/1 *pratiyatna-vaikṛta-vākyādhyāhāreṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *karotau* #135)
'*pratiyatna, vaikṛta, vākyādhyāhāra*' *ity eteṣv artheṣu gamyamāneṣu karotau dhātau parata upāt suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati*

Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used after the preverb *upa*, when *pratiyatna* 'change or enhancement in an existing quality', *vaikṛta* 'modification' and *vākyādhyāhāra* 'paraphrase; supplying words to a sentence to explain understood meanings' are signified and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

edho dakasyopaskurute 'wood brings new quality to the water'
kāṇḍaguṇasyopaskurute 'ibidem'
upaskṛtaṃ bhuṅkte 'eats in a bad manner'
upaskṛtaṃ gacchati 'walks in a bad manner'
upaskṛtaṃ jalpati 'speaks in a bad manner'
upaskṛtam adhīte 'studies in a bad manner'

1. Why was the rule not formulated as *saṃparibhyāṃ karotau bhūṣaṇa-samavāyayoḥ upāt pratiyatnavākyādhyāhāreṣu ca*? Answers Haradatta, go ask the maker of the *sūtras* (*PM*: *sūtrakāraṃ pṛccha*).

A separate formulation of *sūtras* 6.1.135, 6.1.136 and 6.1.137 was perhaps necessitated because of diverse signification of derivates. Additionally, the *anuvṛtti* of *upāt* alone is carried to the next rule. Formulating a rule with all the preverbs may have created confusion about the *anuvṛtti* of *upāt* subsequently. If they all carried here they all had to be carried subsequently.

2. The word *pratiyatna* is explained as *samīhā* 'necessary effort' for enhancing an existing quality, or maintaining one already enhanced. (*Kāś*: *sato guṇāntarādhānam ādhikyāya vṛddhasya vā tadavasthāya samīhā*). The word *vaikṛta* simply means *vikṛta* 'brought into a state of modification'. The word *vākyādhyāhāra* is explained as express mention of words whose meanings otherwise must remain understood (*Kāś*: *gamyamānārthasya vākyasya svarūpeṇopādānaṃ vākyasyādhyāhāraḥ*).

6.1.138 किरतौ लवने

kiratau lavane
/*kiratau* 7/1 *lavane* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *upāt* #137)
upād uttarasmin kiratau dhātau lavanaviṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṛ*, used after the preverb *upa*, when the signification is *lavana* 'cutting' and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

upaskāraṃ madrakā lunanti 'the people of Madra cut having spread it around'
upaskāraṃ kāśmīraka lunanti 'the people of Kashmīra cut having spread it around'

1. Note that only *upāt* is carried here. This rule provides for *sUṬ* before *k* when *kṝ* 'scatter, spread about' is used with the preverb *upa* and the signification is *lavana* 'cutting, chopping'. Affix *ṆamUL*, in *upaskāram*, is introduced in consonance with *bahulam* of 3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam.*

2. A *vārttika* proposal also requires the introduction of *sUṬ* when *kṝ*, used with the preverb *upa*, occurs with *ṆvuL* (3.1.10 *tumunṇvulau kriyāyām . . .*).

6.1.139 **हिंसायां प्रतेश्च**

hiṃsāyāṃ prateś ca
/ *hiṃsāyām* 7/1 *prateḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *upāt* #137 *kiratau* #138)
upāt prateś cottarasmin kiratau viṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati hiṃsāyāṃ viṣaye
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* in the context of verbal root *kṝ*, used after *upa* and *prati*, when the signification is *hiṃsā* 'harm' and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

upaskīrṇa haṃ te vṛṣala bhūyāt 'may your cutting O! Vṛṣala, lead to violence'
pratiskīrṇa haṃ te vṛṣala bhūyāt 'ibidem'

1. Our examples, *upaskīrṇa* and *pratiskīrṇa*, are derived from *upa* + *s* + *kṝ* + *ta* and *prati* + *s* + *kṝ* + *ta*, via application of *i*-replacement (*itva*; 7.1.100 *ṝta id dhātoḥ*), with a following *r* (*raparatva*; 1.50 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*), change of *t* to *n* (*natva*; 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto . . .*), lengthening (*dīrgha*; 8.2.77 *hali ca*) and replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ . . .*). Thus, *upa* + *s* + *k*(*ṝ*→*ir*) + *ta*→*upaskir* + (*t*→*n*) *a*→*upask*(*i*→*ī*) *r* + *na*→*upaskīr* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *upaskīrṇa.*

2. Why do we have the condition of *hiṃsā*? So that examples such as *pratikīrṇam* can be kept out of the scope of *sUṬ*.

6.1.140 **अपाच्चतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने**

apāccatuṣpācchakuniṣv ālekhane
/ *apāt* 5/1 *catuṣpāc-chakuniṣu* 7/3 = *catuṣpādaś ca śakunayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *ālekhane* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* #134 *kiratau* #138)
apād uttarasmin kiratau catuṣpācchakuniṣu yad ālekhanaṃ tasmin viṣaye suṭ kāt pūrvo bhavati
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *k* of verbal root *kṝ*, when the same is used after preverb *apa* and the signification is 'scratching, scraping' (*ālekhana*) relatable to a quadruped (*catuṣpād*), or a bird (*śakunayaḥ*), and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

> *apaskirate vṛṣabho hṛṣṭaḥ* 'happy, the bull is digging up dirt'
> *apaskirate kukkuṭaḥ bhakṣyārthi* 'hungry, the rooster is digging up dirt'
> *apaskirate śve āśrayārthī* 'seeking a shelter, the dog dusts off the place'

1. Notice that the above examples are all in *ātmanepada* 'middle'. A *vārttika* proposal requires such *ātmanepada* usages when the signification is *harṣa* 'joy', *jīvikā* 'livelihood' and *kulāya* 'making a shelter' (*harṣajīvikākulāyakaraṇeṣv iti vaktavyam*). Elsewhere, one should use active endings (*parasmaipada*).

6.1.141 कुस्तुम्बुरूणि जातिः

> *kustumburūṇi jātiḥ*
> / *kustumburūṇi* 1/3 *jātiḥ* 1/1/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
> '*kustumburūṇi*' *iti suṭ nipātyate jātiś ced bhavati*
> Augment *sUṬ* is introduced before *t* in deriving *kustumburu*, when *jāti* 'class' is signified and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

> *kustumburūṇi* 'a kind of vegetation; food plant'

1. This introduction of *sUṬ* before *t* is made via *nipātana*. The specification of *kustumburu* in *napuṃsaka* 'neuter' *bahuvacana* 'plural' is not intended to be as such (*avivakṣita*). One can also find usages other than neuter plural.
2. The condition of *jāti* is necessary to rule out examples such as *kustumburūṇi*, etc., where *tumburu* denotes a squash (*tindukī*) of bad quality. The signification of the compound base is *nindā* 'censure'.

6.1.142 अपरस्पराः क्रियासातत्ये

> *aparasparāḥ kriyāsātatye*
> / *aparasparāḥ* 1/3 *kriyāsātatye* 7/1 = *kriyāyāḥ sātatyam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
> '*aparasparā*' *iti suṭ nipātyate kriyāsātatye gamyamāne*
> Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *aparasparāḥ*, via *nipātana*, when *kriyāsātatya* 'uninterrupted action' is denoted and when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

> *aparasparāḥ sārthāḥ gacchanti* 'Caravans move continuously'

1. The word *kriyāsātatya* is explained as an action with no interruption (*satatam avicchedena*). This is what is meant by *sātatyaprabandha* 'constant

occurrence' of *gamana* 'movement'. Elsewhere, we will get an example such as *aparaparāḥ sārthāḥ gacchanti,* where the action takes place only once.

2. Note that *sātatya* is used with the signification of *satata* 'permanence, continued'. It is formed with *sam* in combination before *tata.* Additionally, there is an optional deletion of *m.* Thus, *satatam* and *santatam.* Consider the following verse from the *Mahābhāṣya.*

> *lumped avaśyamaḥ kṛtye tuṅkāmamanasor api/*
> *samo vā hitatatayor māṃsasya paci yuḍghañoḥ//*
> 'the *m* of *avaśyam* goes through deletion; the *m* of *tumUN* is deleted when *kāma* and *manas* follow; the *m* of *sam* goes through optional deletion when *hita* and *tata* combine to follow; the final *a* of *māṃsa* also goes through optional deletion when verbal root *pac,* qualified with *yuṬ* (*LyuṬ*) or *GHaÑ,* follows.'

The following examples illustrate the intent of this verse:

> *avaśyaṃ kāryam = avaśyakāryam; kartuṃ kāmaḥ asya saḥ = kartukāmaḥ; hartuṃ kāmaḥ asya saḥ = hartukāmaḥ; sahitam, saṃhitam, satatam, santatam; māṃspacanam, māṃsapacanam; māṃspākaḥ, māṃsapākaḥ.*

6.1.143 गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु

> *goṣpadaṃ sevitāsevitapramāṇeṣu*
> */goṣpadam* 1/1 *sevitāsevitapramāṇeṣu* 7/3 = *sevitaṃ ca asevitaṃ ca pramāṇaṃ ca = sevitāsevitapramāṇāni* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu/*
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
> *goṣpadam iti suṭ nipātyate tasya ca ṣatvaṃ sevite' sevite pramāṇe ca viṣaye*
> Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *goṣpada,* via *nipātana,* with an additional provision of replacement of *s* with *ṣ,* when *goṣpada, sevita, asevita* and *pramāṇa* are signified.

EXAMPLES:

> *goṣpado deśaḥ*
> 'a place where cows graze'
> *agoṣpadāny araṇyāni*
> '(large) forests where cows do not graze'

1. Augment *sUṬ* and *ṣ*-replacement for its *s* (*ṣatva*) is provided in the context of *sevita* 'frequented', *asevita* 'not frequented' and *pramāṇa* 'measure'. The condition of *asevita* is cited so that *agoṣpada* can also be accounted for. Why does one have to cite *asevita* when negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *sevita* itself can account for it? But such a negation can only account for contexts where *sevita* is possible. What of contexts where *sevita* is impossible. That is, negating *sevita* can account for a place which is possible to frequent but for

some reason it is not. The *asevita* of our rule refers to situations where possibility of frequenting is simply out of question (*asambhava*). Thus, *agoṣpadāni araṇyāni* 'large forests which cows do not frequent'. Examples such as *goṣpadapūraṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'it rained to the extent that only cow's footprints could fill up', etc., denote a measure (*pramāṇa*). Thus, *goṣpada* is not here used in the sense of a cow's footprint. Elsewhere, we will get *goḥ padam* = *gopadam* 'cow's foot'.

6.1.144 आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम्

> *āspadaṃ pratiṣṭhāyām*
> / *āspadam* 1/1 *pratiṣṭhāyām*7/1/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
> *ātmayāpanāya sthānam* = *pratiṣṭhā, tasyām āspadam iti sūṭ nipātyate*
> Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *āspada* 'place', via *nipātana*, when *pratiṣṭhā* 'place for earning a living' is denoted and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

> *āspadam anena labdham* 'he has found a place where he can earn his living'

1. Note that *āspadam* is derived as a neuter derivate of affix *GHa*. Thus, *ā* + *sUṬ* + *pad* + *GHa* = *āspada* + *sU*→*aspadam*. The word *pratiṣṭhā* is explained as *ātmayāpanāya sthānam* 'a place for sustenance'. Elsewhere, we will get *āpadāt* = *āpada* + *sU*→*āpadam*, an indeclinable compound, with the meaning of ablative (*pañcamī*) involving no *sUṬ*.

6.1.145 आश्चर्यमनित्ये

> *āścaryam anitye*
> / *āścaryam* 1/1 *anitye* 7/1 = *na nityam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
> *anitye' rtha āścaryam iti suṭ nipātyate*
> Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *āścarya*, via *nipātana*, when *anitya* 'surprising, unusual, impermanent' is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

> *āścaryaṃ yadi sa bhuñjīta* 'it will be a surprise if he ate?'
> *āścaryaṃ yadi so' dhīyīta* 'it will be a wonder if he studied?'

1. The word *anitya* refers to something unusual and extraordinary (*adbhutatvam*). Thus, we get *ā*(*Ṅ*) + *car* + *ya*(*T*)→*ā* + *s*(*uṬ*) + *car* + *ya*→*ā* + (*s*→*ś*) + *car* + *ya* = *āścarya*. Augment *sUṬ* is, of course, provided via *nipātana*. Affix

yaT, though, is offered by a *vārttika* proposal (*caner āni cāgurau*). We will get *ācaryaṃ karma śobhanam* 'one should pursue some noble deed' outside the meaning scope of *anitye.*

6.1.146 वर्चस्केऽवस्करः

varcaske' vaskaraḥ
/varcaske 7/1 *avaskaraḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'*avaskara' iti nipātyate varcaske' abhidheye*
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *avaskara*, via *nipātana*, when *varcaska* 'throw away food; useless' is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

avakīryata ity avaskaraḥ

1. The word *avaskara* denotes *annamalam* 'food not fit for eating'. It can also denote a place where such food is thrown away. It can be derived with affix *aP* (3.3.57 *ṝdor ap*) introduced after verbal root *kṝ*, used with the preverb *ava*. The *sUṬ*, of course, is introduced via *nipātana*. Affix *aP* thus has the signification of *karman* 'object'.

6.1.147 अपस्करो रथाङ्गम्

apaskaro rathāṅgam
/apaskaraḥ 1/1 *rathāṅgam* 1/1 = *rathasya aṅgam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'*apaskara' iti nipātyate rathāṅgaṃ ced bhavati*
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *apaskara*, via *nipātana*, when *rathāṅga* 'part of a chariot' is denoted, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

apaskaraḥ 'part of a chariot'

1. The word *apaskaraḥ* is derived similarly to *avaskaraḥ*. Elsewhere, we get *apakaraḥ* with the signification of *brahmacāriṇaḥ striyāṃ retaḥ sekaḥ* 'a celebate's sprinkling of semen into a woman'.

6.1.148 विष्किरः शकुनौ वा

viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā
/viṣkiraḥ 1/1 *śakunau* 7/1 *vā* ϕ/
saṃhitāyām #72 *suṭ* #134/
'*viṣkira' iti vā suṭ nipātyate śakunāv abhidheye*

Augment *sUṬ* is optionally introduced in deriving *viṣkira,* via *nipātana,* when *śakuni* 'bird' is denoted and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

viṣkiraḥ 'bird'
vikiraḥ 'ibidem'

1. *Kāśikā* reads the *sūtra* as *viṣkiraḥ śakunir vikiro vā.* It is argued that *vā* alone could have accounted for optional *vikiraḥ.* The *Mahābhāṣya* reads the *sūtra* as *viṣkiraḥ śakunau vā. Kāśikā* still uses it to show that this optional derivation is available only in the context of *śakuni* 'bird', and not anywhere else. The two derivates can be derived with optional *sUṬ* and introduction of affix *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñāprīkiraḥ kaḥ*) after verbal root *kṝ* used with the preverb *vi.* Of course, *ṝ* will be replaced with *ir,* as shown earlier in connection with *upaskīrṇam,* etc. The word *vikira* must also here mean *śakuni* 'bird'.

6.1.149 ह्रस्वाच्चन्द्रोत्तरपदे मन्त्रे

hrasvāc candrottarapade mantre
/hrasvāt 5/1 *candrottarapade* 7/1 = *candraś cāsau uttarapadaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmin; mantre* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *sUṬ* #134)
candraśabda uttarapade hrasvāt paraḥ suḍ āgamo bhavati mantraviṣaye
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced after a short vowel in the *mantra* usage when *candra* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

suścandro yuṣmān

1. *Kāśikā* offers *sūryācandramasāv iva* as a counter-example where *sUṬ* cannot be introduced because *sūryā* ends in a long vowel. A classical usage such as *sucandrā paurṇamāsī* 'a night with beautiful full moon' can also not qualify for *sUṬ* either. That is, it cannot qualify for its status as a *mantra.* An example such as *candram asi* can also be out because *asi,* eventhough it follows, does not qualify as a following constituent. Thus, *uttarapade* refers to constituency in a compound.

6.1.150 प्रतिष्कशश्च कशेः

pratiṣkaśaś ca kaśeḥ
/pratiṣkaśaḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ *kaśeḥ* 5/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'kaśaḥ gatiśāsanayoḥ' ity etasya dhātoḥ pratipūrvasya pacādyaci kṛte suṭ nipātyate tasyaiva ṣatvam

The word *pratiṣkaśa* is additionally derived by introducing augment *sUṬ* before *k* of verbal root *kaś,* used with the preverb *prati,* with an additional provision that *s* of *sUṬ* be replaced with *ṣ.*

EXAMPLES:

grāmam adya pravekṣyāmi
'I shall enter the village today'
bhava me tvaṃ pratiṣkaśaḥ 'you be my companion'

1. The word *pratiṣkaśaḥ* is a derivate of *aC* derived from *prati* + *kaś*+ *aC* → *prati* + *sUṬ* + *kaś*+ *aC.* Affix *aC* is introduced in consonance with 3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo*. . . . The word itself is explained as *vārtāpuruṣa* 'someone to converse with', *sahāya* 'companion' and *puroyāyī* 'he who goes before'.

2. The condition of a verbal root such as *kaś* 'to move, govern' is needed to block *sUṬ* in an example such as *pratikaśo' śvaḥ* = *pratigataḥ kaśām* 'a horse who cannot be controlled with a whip' where *prati,* as a preverb, is related to *gam* 'to go' and *kaśā* 'whip' is not a verbal root.

6.1.151 **प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी**

praskaṇvahariścandrāv ṛṣī
/praskaṇvahariścandrau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ṛṣī* 1/2/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'praskaṇva, hariścandra' ity suṭ nipātyate ṛṣī ced abhidheyau bhavataḥ
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced in deriving *praskaṇva* and *hariścandra,* when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and the denotata are sages (*ṛṣī*).

EXAMPLES:

praskaṇvaḥ ṛṣiḥ 'a sage named Praskaṇva; (he from whom sins have departed)'
hariścandraḥ ṛṣiḥ 'a sage named Hariścandra; (he for whom moon is like Hari)'

1. Why mention *hariścandra* here when the same can be derived with 6.1.149 *hrasvāc candrottarapade mantre*? This example refers to usage outside the *Mantra* literature. Lack of *sUṬ,* in *prakaṇvo māṇavakaḥ* and *haricandro māṇavakaḥ,* indicates that *māṇavaka* 'boy, celebate' is not a *ṛṣi* 'sage'.

6.1.152 **मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयोः**

maskaramaskariṇau veṇuparivrājakayoḥ
/ maskara-maskariṇau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)
veṇu-parivrājakayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)

'maskara, maskarin' ity etau yathāsaṃkhyaṃ veṇu parivrājake ca nipātyete
The words *maskara* and *maskarin* are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUṬ* when the signification is *veṇu* 'bamboo' and *parivrājaka* 'wandering ascetic', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

maskaro veṇuḥ 'maskara is a kind of Bamboo'
maskarī parivrājakaḥ 'maskarin is a wandering ascetic'

1. The words *maskara* and *maskarin* are derived with *sUṬ* when the signification is *veṇu* 'bamboo, flute' and *parivrājaka* 'wandering ascetic'. Elsewhere, we get *makaraḥ* 'crocodile, shark' and *makarī* 'ocean', a derivate of *inI* paraphrased as *makarāḥ santi asmin* 'that in which there are crocodiles'.
2. Some derive *maskara* by introducing affix *aC* after verbal root *kṛ*, used with the preverb *māṄ*. The derivate is then paraphrased as *mā kriyate = yena pratiṣidhyate* 'a bamboo stick by means of which someone is disciplined not to do something'. Of course, *aC* and *sUṬ* are introduced via *nipātana*. The word *maskarī* 'a wandering ascetic' is derived with affix *inI*, signifying *tācchīlya* 'he whose nature it is to . . .'. A *maskarī* preaches people to desist from worldly affairs and seek inner peace (*mā kuruta karmāṇi śāntir vaḥ śreyasī*). Both these examples will involve *sUṬ* and shortening of *mā*.

6.1.153 कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे

kāstīrājastunde nagare
/*kāstīrājastunde* 7/1 (*itar. dv.*); *nagare* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
'kāstīra, ajastunda' ity etau śabdau nipātyete nagare' bhidheye
The words *kāstīra* and *ajastunda* are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUṬ* when *saṃhitā* finds its scope and derivates signify a city (*nagara*).

EXAMPLES:

kāstīraṃ nāma nagaram 'a city named Kāstīra'
ajastundaṃ nāma nagaram 'a city named Ajastunda'

1. The non-*sUṬ* derivates *kātīra* and *ajatunda* are derived from *kā* + *tīra* and *aja* + *tunda*, parallel to *īṣat tīram* 'small shoreline' and *ajasya iva tundam asya* 'one whose belly is similar to that of a goat'. The derivates of *sUṬ* must, of course, name cities.

6.1.154 पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च संज्ञायाम्

pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca saṃjñāyām
/*pāraskaraprabhṛtīni* 1/3 = *pāraskara prabhṛtir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tāni*; *ca* ϕ

saṃjñāyām 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #72 *suṭ* #134)
pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca śabdarūpāṇi nipātyante saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The word *pāraskara*, and its likes, are derived via *nipātana* with the introduction of augment *sUṬ*, when derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*) and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

pāraskaro deśaḥ 'Pāraskara is a place'
kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ 'Kāraskara is a tree'
rathaspā nadī 'Rathaspā is a river'
kiṣkuḥ pramāṇam 'Kiṣku is name of a measure'
kiṣkindhā guhā 'Kiṣkindhā is a cave'

1. Note that *Kāśikā* lists *kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* as a separate *sūtra*. Our present *sūtra*, which accounts for an open ended listing of nominals with express condition of *saṃjñāyām* 'when a name is denoted', is much more economical. In fact, the *Mahābhāṣya* lists *kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* as an example under this rule. It is for this reason that I have not listed *kāraskaro vṛkṣaḥ* as a separate rule.

2. These words should be accepted as derived. Efforts, however, are still made to explain their derivation. Thus, *pāraskara* is derived parallel to *pāraṃ karoti* 'goes across', an *upapada-samāsa* 'a compound formed with a conjoined word'. Thus, *pāra* + *am* + *kṛ* + *Ṭa* yields *pārakara* with deletion of *am* and *guṇa* of *kṛ* with a following *r*. Augment *sUṬ* gives the final derivate as *pāraskara* signifying a place. Incidentally, affix *Ṭa* is introduced by 3.2.20 *kṛño hetutācchīlya....* A similar application of rules can also derive *kāraskaraḥ*. The word *rathaspā*, again a compound similar to the preceding examples, is explained as a *nadī* 'river', paraphrased as *rathaṃ pāti* '... protects chariots'. It may be treated as a derivate of *Ka* (3.2.3 *āto'nupasarge*...) where 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* deletes the *ā* of *pā*. Thus, *rathap*($ā \rightarrow \phi$) + (*K*) *a* = *ratha* + *s*(*UṬ*) + *p* + *a* = *rathaspa*. Feminine affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*) is then introduced to derive *rathaspā*. Haradatta accepts the derivate as *rathṣpā*, parallel to *rathaṃ pāti*, where *s* of *sUṬ* goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*), via *nipātana*. Other examples can be similarly explained.

2. A proposal is also made to derive *taskara* and *bṛhaspati* with *sUṬ*, provided the derivate signifies *cora* 'thief' and *devatā* 'divinity'. Given *tat* + *kara* and *bṛhat* + *pati*, the final *t* in the first constituent of both examples is deleted, again via *nipātana*.

6.1.155 अनुदात्तं पदमेकवर्जम्

anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam
/ *anudāttam* 1/1 *padam* 1/1 *ekavarjam* 1/1 = *ekaṃ varjayitvā* (*upa. tat.*) /

yatrānyaḥ svara udāttaḥ svarito vā vidhīyate, tatrānudāttaṃ padaṃ ekaṃ varjayitvā bhavatīty etad upasthitaṃ draṣṭavyam
A *pada* bears the *anudātta* accent with the exception of one syllable specified as follows.

EXAMPLES:

See under rules to follow.

1. This rule assigns blanket *anudātta* with the exception of one specifically marked otherwise. Thus, 6.1.60 *dhātoḥ* requires that the final of a verbal root be marked *udātta*. A verbal form such as *gopāyati* will thus be marked *anudātta* everywhere except for its final *udātta*.

2. Note that specific assignment of accent on components of a given word may be more than one. This creates a difficulty. Which one of the many be made an exception to blanket *anudātta*? The guiding principle must be *satiśiṣṭasvaro balīyaḥ* 'an accent which is expressly specified against what already exists is treated as comparatively more powerful'. Thus most subsequently taught accent should be accepted as an exception to blanket *anudātta*.

It is stated that the accent of a *vikaraṇa*, for example *Śnā*, is accepted as more powerful than the accent of a verbal root (*dhātu*). That is, when it comes to accepting one accent and the choice has to be made between a root-accent and the accent of a *vikaraṇa*, the accent of a *vikaraṇa* is to be excluded. The accent of an affix, such as *tas*, is treated as more powerful than the accent of a *vikaraṇa*. Thus, the accent of an affix must be selected as an exception when it comes to a choice between the accents of a *vikaraṇa* and an affix. Finally, the accent of *ām* is treated as more powerful that of an affix. Thus, *lunāti*, *lunītaḥ* and *lunītastarām*. What is made an exception to blanket *anudātta*, in the last example, is the final *udātta* of *ām*. The rest of the *pada* is marked *anudātta*. The provision of this *sūtra* thus enables one to get rid of individual accents, for examples, of an augment (*āgama*), *vikaraṇa* 'base-modifying suffix', *prakṛti* 'base' and *pratyaya* 'affix'. Thus, the *Mahābhāṣya*:

āgamasya vikārasya prakṛteḥ pratyayasya ca/
pṛthaksvaranivṛtyarthaṃ ekavarjaṃ padasvaraḥ//

Consider the derivation of *catvāraḥ* from *catur* + *Jas*, where augment *ām*, because of being marked with *M* as an *it*, is inserted before the final *r*. Augment *ām* is *udātta* by 7.1.98 *caturanaḍuhor ām udāttaḥ*. The accent of *ām* thus blocks the accent of *catur*. Consequently, *udātta* of *ām* is treated as an exception. The accent of *anAṄ*, marked *udātta* by 7.1.75 *asthidadhi*. . ., similarly blocks the initial *udātta* accent of *dadhi* in deriving *dadhani*. Consider *gopāyati* again, where the derived root *gopāya* is marked *udātta* at the end blocking the initial *udātta* accent of suffix *āya*. It is the accent of the derived base

which is treated as more powerful. But consider also *kartavyam* where the initial *udātta* accent of affix *tavyaT* blocks the final *udātta* accent of the root *kṛ*. Thus we get: *kartavyam.*

Note that, in addition to most immediately specified accent (*satiśiṣṭa*), relative strength of accents is also determined on the basis of notions such as *para* 'subsequent in order', *nitya* 'obligatory', *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' and *apavāda* 'exception'. Thus, in *gopāyati*, accent of affix *āya*, an initial *udātta*, is an exception to the accent of verbal root *gup*, a final *udātta*. It blockes the accent of *gup* but is then blocked by the accent of the newly derived base *gopāya*, again a final *udātta*.

6.1.156 कर्षात्वतो घञोऽन्त उदात्तः

karṣātvato ghaño' nta udāttaḥ
/*karṣātvataḥ* 6/1 = *ād asyāstīty ātvān*; *karṣaś ca ātvāṃś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *ghañaḥ* 6/1 *antaḥ* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
karṣater dhātor ākāravataś ca ghañantasyānta udātto bhavati
An *udātta* is assigned to the final of verbal root *kṛṣ* 'to draw', and also to that which ends in affix *GHaÑ* and contains an *ā*.

EXAMPLES:

karṣaḥ
pākaḥ
tyāgaḥ
rāgaḥ
dāyaḥ
dhāyaḥ

1. A specification (*nirdeśa*) of *kṛṣ* with its modified (*vikṛta*) *guṇa*-form *karṣa* is made so that the *tudādi* root *kṛṣ* can be excluded from the scope of this rule. That is, the final *udātta* accent applies to *karṣa*, ending in *GHaÑ*, provided it is the derivate of the *bhvādi* root *kṛṣ*. The *tudādi* derivate of *GHaÑ*, i.e., *karṣa*, will, of course, be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*). Thus, we get *karṣaḥ.*

The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to the initial *udātta* accent of 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam.* Recall that *GHaÑ* is marked with *Ñ* as an *it*. Examples of derivates of *GHaÑ* with *ā* are: *pākaḥ*, *rāgaḥ* and *dāyaḥ*, where *ā* comes from *vṛddhi*. The *y* of *dāyaḥ* comes from *yUK* of 7.3.33 *āto yuk.* . . .

6.1.157 उञ्छादीनां च

uñchādīnāṃ ca
/*uñchādīnām* 6/3 = *uñcha ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
'*uñcha'ity evam ādīnāṃ anta udātto bhavati*
The final of the list headed by *uñcha* is also marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

uñchaḥ
mlecchaḥ
japaḥ
vyadhaḥ

1. Note that *uñchaḥ* 'grain picked from fields after harvest', *mlecchaḥ* 'corrupt', *jañjaḥ* 'warrior' and *jalpaḥ* 'gossip' are all derivates of *GHaÑ* qualified for *ñnitsvara* 'accent based on *Ñ* and *N* as an *it*'. This rule assigns final *udātta.* Others, i.e., *japaḥ* and *vyadhaḥ*, are derivates of *aP* (3.3.61 *vyadhajapor anupasarge*). They should have qualified for initial *udātta* of *dhātoḥ* (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*).

2. A final *udātta* is also recommended for *garaḥ*, a derivate of *aP*, provided the signification is *dūṣya* 'corruptible'. Elsewhere, *gara* means poison and is marked initial *udātta.*

Derivates of *GHaÑ* (3.3.121 *halaś ca*), particularly *veda* 'that by means of which one knows', *vega* 'that by means of which one goes', *veṣṭa* 'that by means of which something is enclosed' and *bandha* 'that by means of which one ties', are similarly marked *udātta* at the end. This, of course, is done only when the derivates denote *karaṇa* 'instrument'. They are again marked initial *udātta* when the denotatum is *bhāva* 'action'.

Yet another proposal is made for *stu, yu* and *dru* to be marked *udātta* at the end in the Vedic (*stuyudruvaś chandasi*). For, *pariṣṭut, saṃyut* and *paridrut* derive with *KvIP* and augment *tUK*, where *KvIP* goes through total deletion. A similar proposal is also made for *vartaḥ*, used in the sense of *stotra* 'praise' (*sāmaveda: vartaniḥ stotre*).

The word *daraḥ* when signifying *śvabhra* 'hole, chasm' is also marked *udātta* at the end. Elsewhere, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Incidentally, *śvabhra* is used with varying significations. It is not clear what signification conditions this proposal. Similar accentual proposal is made also for *sāmbaḥ* 'along with *Ambā*' and *tāpaḥ*, provided the signification is *bhāvagarhā* 'censure of denoted action'. This restriction of *bhāvagarhā*, however, is not required in case of *uttamaḥ* and *śaśvattamaḥ* which are also marked *udātta* at the end.

A proposal is also made for derivates of *GHaÑ*, such as *bhakṣa, mantha, bhoga* and *deha* which do not contain *ā*, to be marked *udātta* at the end.

6.1.158 अनुदात्तस्य च यत्रोदात्तलोपः

anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopaḥ

/*anudāttasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *yatra* ϕ *udāttalopaḥ* 1/1 = *udāttasya lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156)
yasmin anudātte parata udātto lupyate tasyānudāttasyādir udātto bhavati
An *anudātta* is also marked *udātta* when it conditions the deletion (*LOPA*) of a preceding *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

kumārī
pathaḥ
kumudvān

1. Consider *kumārī* which is a derivate of the feminine affix *ṄīP*. The word *kumāra* is marked *udātta* at the end by *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ* (*Phiṭsūtra*: 1). Affix *ṄīP*, which is marked *anudātta*, follows it. Since deletion of the *udātta a* of *kumāra* is caused by the following *anudātta* of *ṄīP* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*), our present *sūtra* allows *ī* to be marked *udātta*. The *sUP* in *pathaḥ*, *pathāḥ* and *pathe* are all marked *udātta* at the end. But since the nominal endings condition *ṭi*-deletion of *in* of *pathin*, they are marked *udātta*. All the three words are thus marked *udātta* at the end. This same applies to *mat* of *ḌmatUP* in *kumudvān*, *naḍvān* and *vetasvān* where *kumuda*, etc., are all marked *udātta* at the end. Of course, *mat*, because of being marked with *P* as an *it*, is *anudātta*. Recall that the final *a* of *kumuda*, etc., is deleted under the condition of *mat* marked with *Ḍ*. Consequently, the *ā* of *vā* in *kumudvān*, etc., is marked *udātta*.

2. Why is *anudāttasya* used as a qualifier? Consider *prāsaṅga* + *yáT* = *prāsaṅgyaḥ*, paraphrased as *prāsaṅgaṃ vahati* (4.4.76 *tad vahati*...). Now, *prāsaṅga* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ*...). Its final *a* is deleted before *yáT* marked with *svarita* (6.1.183? *tāsyanudātten*...). How come this *svarita* does not become *udātta* after having caused deletion of the *udātta* which precedes? But this reasoning is not valid? For, at the time when *yaT* is marked *svarita*, the remainder of the word becomes *anudātta* in view of the general accentual provision of 6.1.155 *anudāttaḥ padam*.... But still there is no deleltion of an *anudātta* here. The word *anudātta* is here used to indicate that an initial *anudātta* becomes *udātta*.

This *sūtra*, in the absence of *anudāttasya*, could have been formulated as *yatrodāttalopaś ca*. This, with *antaḥ*, could then have yielded the meaning: *yatra* (*yasmin pratyaye parataḥ*) *udātto* (*lupyate*) *tasyānta udātto* (*bhavati*) 'the final of that, following which an *udātta* is deleted, is marked *udātta*'. This could create difficulty in examples such as *mā hi dhukṣātām* and *mā hi dhukṣāthām*. That is, the final of *ātām* and *āthām* could then be marked *udātta* which is not desired. Recall that the *a* of *Ksa* (of *duh* + *sa* + *ātām* and *duh* + *sa* + *āthām*) is deleted conditioned by the following *ā* (of *ātām* and *āthām*). The use of *anudāttasya* then becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for marking initial *a* as *anudātta*. Additional support for this view comes from the use of *hi* and

mā in these examples. Note that *mā* blocks the introduction of *aṬ* (6.4.74 *na māṅyoge*). For, *āṬ* would have made the *pada* marked initial *udātta*. This, in trun, would have caused the deletion of an *ā* marked *anudātta*. Similarly, *dhukṣātām* would have received blanket *anudātta* of 8.1.28 *tiṅatiṅaḥ*. That is, if *hi* was not given as part of examples (8.1.34 *hi ca*).

3. Why is the word *yatra* used here? Consider *bhārgavaḥ*, *bhārgavau* and *bhṛgaváḥ*, where the *aṆ* (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhakarvṛṣṇi* . . .) of *bhṛgavaḥ* is deleted prior to the introduction of nominative plural *Jas*. Affix *Jas* is not the cause (*nimitta*) of this deletion. It simply offers its scope (*viṣaya*). Consequently, *Jas* is not marked *udātta*. This would have not been possible without the use of *yatra*.

The use of *udātta* (in *udāttalopaḥ*) is made so that in examples such as *vaidī́* and *aurvī*, the affixal *ī* (*ṄīN*; 4.1.73 *śārṅaravādyaño* . . .) conditioning the deletion of *a* of *vaida*, could not be marked *udātta*. For, the *anudātta ī* does not cause the deletion of an *udātta a*. Isn't *a* an *udātta* in *vaida*? No. Because, as a derivate of *aÑ* (4.1.104 *vidādibhyo* . . .), it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.196? *ñnityādir nityam*) and consequently, 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . . marks its remainder as *anudātta*. Thus, *ī* of *ṄīN*, in *vaidī*, causes the deletion of an *anudātta*.

6.1.159 धातोः

dhātoḥ
/dhātoḥ 6/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
dhātor anta udātto bhavati
The final of a verbal root is marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

pacáti
ūrṇóti
gopāyáti
yātí

1. Note that *antaḥ* is carried here. The *a* of *pac*, since it is a monosyllabic root, is marked *udātta*. Affixes *ŚaP* and *tiP* of *pacati* are both *anudātta* because they are marked with *P* as an *it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *a* is, subsequently, marked with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttānudādanudāttasya svaritaḥ*) to yield *pacáti*. A derived root such as *gopāya* is also marked *udātta* at the end. This *a* will again becomes *svarita* to yield *gopāyáti*. The *yā* of *yāti* is *udātta*, where the *ŚaP* gets deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . .).

6.1.160 चितः

citaḥ

/*citaḥ* 1/1 = *cakāra ita yasya* (*bv.*)/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
cito' nta udātto bhavati
A form ending in what is marked with *C* as an *it* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

bhaṅguram
bhāsuram
meduram
kuṇḍināḥ
bahupaṭavaḥ
uccakaiḥ

1. The first three examples are derivates of *GHuraC* (3.2.161 *bhañjabhāsamido ghurac*), an affix with *C* as an *it*. The next example, i.e., *kuṇḍināḥ*, has a replacement in *kuḍinaC*, again marked with *C* as an it.

It is stated that this provision of final *udātta* is intended for the entire form. That is, it is not intended just for the form which may be marked with *C* as an *it*. Thus, *bahupaṭavaḥ* is derived with *bahuC* marked with *C*, but it is preposed (5.3.68 *vibhāṣā supo bahuc purastāt*). The final *udātta* conditioned by *C* as an *it* thus applies to the form *bahupaṭavaḥ*. Similar accent applies to *uccakaiḥ*, a derivate of *akaC*, where the affix is introduced before the *ṭi* of the base (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* for express purpose of marking derivates of *bahuC* and *akaC* with final *udātta* (*saprkṛter bahvakajartham*). Patañjali does not see any need for this *vārttika*. He thinks that the *sūtra* itself can account for it. For, *citaḥ* of the *sūtra* refers to 'a form which has *C* as an *it*'.

6.1.161 तद्धितस्य

taddhitasya
/*taddhitasya* 6/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156 *citaḥ* #160)
citaḥ taddhitasyānta udātto bhavati
A *taddhita* affix marked with *C* as an *it* is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

kauñjāyanāḥ

1. Why is this rule stated when the preceding itself can account for its function? This rule is needed so that derivates such as *kauñjāyanaḥ*, *kauñjāyanau* and *kauñjāyanāḥ* could still be marked with final *udātta*. Notice

that affix *CphaÑ* → *āyana* has two *it*-elements, i.e., *C* and *Ñ*. Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* requires that whatever derives with an affix marked with *Ñ* and *N* as an it be marked obligatorily with *udātta* at the beginning.

Rule 6.1.160 *citaḥ* would require a final *udātta* for forms ending in an affix marked with *C* as an *it*. Our examples, since they end in an affix marked with *C* and *Ñ*, will qualify for both accents. Our present rule is required to resolve such conflicts. Besides, if *Ñ* as an *it* were to regulate this accent, *C* as an *it* will become vacuous. For, *Ñ* as an *it* has two functions: *vṛddhi* and accent. The *C* serves only one purpose of regulating accent.

6.1.162 कितः

kitaḥ
/kitaḥ 1/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156 *taddhitasya* #161)
taddhitasya kito' nta udātto bhavati
A *taddhita* affix marked with *K* as an *it* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

nāḍāyanaḥ
cārāyaṇaḥ
akṣikaḥ
śālākikaḥ

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Recall that an affix, such as *phaK* (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*) and *ṭhaK* (4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*...) of our examples, is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Forms ending in these affixes could then have been marked *udātta* at the beginning of the affix. And not at the end of derivates of these affixes which is desired. Thus, an *udātta* in *kauñjāyana* would have obtained at the *ā* and not at the final *a*.

6.1.163 तिसृभ्यो जसः

tisṛbhyo jasaḥ
/tisṛbhyaḥ 5/1 *jasaḥ* 6/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
tisṛbhya uttarasya jaso' nta udātto bhavati
The final of *Jas* which occurs after *tisṛ* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

tisras tiṣṭhanti

1. The word *tisṛ* refers to the replacement of *tri* obtained in feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo striyām*...). The word *tri* is marked *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra*

1: *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*). Its replacement *tisṛ* will also be marked *udātta* at the end. A *yaṆ* replacement for *ṛ* yields *tisr* + *Jas*, where *r* is a replacement for *ṛ*, an *udātta*. The *a* of *Jas*, an *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*), will thus qualify for a *svarita* of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayoḥ*. . . . Our present rule offers *udātta* as an exception to that.

Note that *tisṛ* is always used in the plural. The accent of *JaS* after *tisṛ* remains unaccounted for. The accusative plural *Śas* will be marked *udātta* in view of 6.1.172 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*. Rule 6.1.177 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyo haladiḥ* will account for other endings. This rule provides for *Jas*. It is argued that *Jas* need not be used in the rule. That is, the *sūtra* should have been formulated simply as *tisṛbhyaḥ*. Since *Jas* alone is relevant for accentual specification, the rule would have automatically covered it. But specification by *Jas* is needed so that proper accent can be obtained where *tisṛ* can be used with singular and dual endings. But *tisṛ* is only used in the plural. Not when it occurs as a non-principal constituent in *atitisrau* and *atitisraḥ*. The provision of this rule will not apply to such instances. A non-use of *Jas* could account for accent where *tisṛ* alone is used before *Jas*. A lack of specification by *Jas* will create conflicts in cases where *tisṛ* occurs combined as a secondary constituent.

6.1.164 चतुरः शसि

caturaḥ śasi
/*caturaḥ* 6/1 *śasi* 7/1/
(*anta udāttaḥ* #156)
caturaḥ śasi parato'nta udātto bhavati
The final of *catur* is marked *udātta* at the end when *Śas* follows.

EXAMPLES:

caturáḥ paśya

1. The word *catur* is a derviate of *urAN* (*Uṇādi* 5.59 *cater uran*) and hence, is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). This rule assigns final *udātta* as an exception.

Note that this rule does not apply to *catasṛ*, a replacement of *catur*, used before *Śas* in feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo striyām* . . .). The accent of *catur* would have applied to *catasṛ* by way of *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as if it was the item replaced'.

A proposal is then made for initial *udātta*, instead.

6.1.165 सावेकाचस्तृतीयादिर्विभक्तिः

sāv ekācas tṛtīyādir vibhaktiḥ
/*sau* 7/2 *ekācaḥ* 1/1 = *eko'c yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *tṛtīyādiḥ* 1/1 = *tṛtīyā ādir yasyāḥ* (*bv.*) *vibhaktiḥ* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156)
sau ya ekāc tasmāt parā tṛtīyādir vibhaktir udāttā bhavati
Nominal endings, enumerated beginning with *tṛtīyā* through *saptamī*, are optionally marked with *udātta* when they occur after a form which remains monosyllabic before *su* of locative plural.

EXAMPLES:

vācā
vāgbhyām
vāgbhiḥ
vāgbhyaḥ
yātā
yādbhyām
yādbhiḥ

1. This rule assigns *udātta* accent for specified endings under the condition of their occurrence after a form which remains monosyllabic in locative plural. Thus, the instrumental and dative singular endings *Ṭā* and *Ṅe* which occur after *rājan* to yield *rājñá* and *rājñé* will not qualify for this accentual provision. For, the locative plural form of *rājan*, i.e., *rājásu*, does not have a monosyllabic (*ekāc*) form before *su*. The locative plural of *vāk* is *vākṣu*, where we find a monosyllabic form. Consequently, we get *vācā*, *vāgbhyām* and *vāgbhiḥ*, etc.

The condition of *ekāC* will itself block accentual provision of this rule from applying to specified endings occurring after non-monosyllabic nominal stems such as *giri* and *hari* as in *giriṇā* and *hariṇā*. The condition of *tṛtīyādi* 'instrumental, etc.' blocks this provision fi om applying to *prathamā* and *dvitīyā* as in *vācaú* and *vācāḥ*. Finally, the specification of *ekāc* in *saptamībahuvacana* 'locative plural' blocks this provision from applying to *tvayā* and *tvayi* which are monosyllabic but are instrumental and locative singular, respectively.

6.1.166 अन्तोदात्तादुत्तरपदादन्यतरस्यामनित्यसमासे

antodāttād uttarapadād anyatarasyām anityasamāse
/*antodāttāt* 5/1 *uttarapadāt* 5/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *anityasamāse* 7/1 = *nityaḥ samāsaḥ; na nityasamāsaḥ* (*nañ. tatp.* with int. *karm.*), *tasmin*/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ekācas tṛtīyādir vibhaktiḥ* #165)
anityasamāse yad uttarapadam antodāttam ekāc ca tasmāt parā tṛtīyādir vibhaktir anyatarasyām udāttā bhavati
Nominal endings enumerated beginning with *tṛtīyā* through *saptamī* are optionally marked *udātta* when they occur after a monosyllabic final constituent of a non-obligatory compound (*nityasamāsa*) marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

paramavācā
paramavācé
paramatvacā
paramatvacé

1. This rule makes accentual provision for specified endings occurring after the following monosyllabic constituent of a compound other than one formed obligatorily. Thus, we get *paramavācā* where instrumental singular *Ṭā* is optionally marked *udātta*. The compound, here formed with *parama*, is a *karmadhāraya*. It is also non-obligatory (*anitya*). Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* will assign the final *udātta* accent in case this option is not accepted. The word *nityam* of *anityam* refers to compounds which are formed within the domain of *nityam*, for example under the provision of rules 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*, etc. The word *nitya* is thus used technically. It does not refer to compounds which may be formed by rules outside the domain governed by *nityam*, but which lack a corresponding paraphrase with their constituents (*asvapada-vigraha*). Consider *agnicitā* and *somasutā*, both instrumental singular forms of *agnicit* and *somasut*, where the compound is allowed by a rule of the domain of *nitya* (*nityādhikāre*). The word *cit* is here *udātta* because of the retention of the original accent of the following *pada* (6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*). The option of this present rule will not apply here. But now consider *avācā brāhmaṇena* and *suvācā brāhmaṇena* which are *bahuvrīhi* compounds formed outside the domain of *nitya* and which do not yield a parallel paraphrase. These compounds get the final *udātta* of 6.2.172 *bahuvrīhau nañsubhyām*. The paraphrase in these compounds is made, not with *naÑ* and *su* but with *avidyamānā* and *śobhanā*. Our present rule will thus apply here to offer optional *udātta* to the nominal endings.

A condition of *antodāttāt* is necessary so that final *udātta* of this rule can be blocked in *avācā*, *suvācā* and *sutvācā* which are *tatpuruṣa* compounds ending in *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental'. The final constituent of these compounds is not final *udātta*. Rule 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . retains the original accent of the initial constituent (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*).

The word *uttarapada* is used so that it can be qualified with *ekāc* to yield the interpretation: 'a following constituent which consisted of a single *aC*'. The rule with this interpretation would have applied to *śunaḥ urk* = *śvorjā* but would not have applied to *paramavāc*, since the compound consists of more than one *aC*. That is, *ekāc* would have become a qualifier to the compound (*samāsaviśeṣaṇa*).

6.1.167 अञ्चेश्छन्दस्यसर्वनामस्थानम्

añceś chandasy asarvanāmasthānam

/*añceḥ* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *asarvanāmasthānam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165)
añceḥ parā asarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati chandasi viṣaye
A nominal ending other than *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked with *udātta,* in the Vedic, when the same occurs after *añcU.*

EXAMPLES:

indró dadhīco asthibhíḥ

1. Consider *dadhīcaḥ* where *dadhīc* is used with *Ṅas* 'genitive singular'. Our nominal stem *dadhīc* is derived with affix *KviP* introduced after *añc* used with the cooccurring condition of *dadhi* + *am* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk*...). We get *dadhīc* after the deletion of *ñ* (6.4.138 *acaḥ*) and lengthening of *i* (6.3.137 *cau*).

Why use *asarvanāmasthānam* when *tṛtīyā,* etc., could itself account for it. But *tṛtīyā,* etc., cannot account for *Śas* 'accusative plural' which is not included within the *sarvanāmasthāna.* It is thus to account for *Śas* that *asarvanāmasthāna* is used as a qualifier. Thus, *Śas* of *pratīcaḥ* in *pratīco bāhūn* also gets *udātta.*

6.1.168 **ऊडिदंपदाद्यप्पुम्रैद्युभ्यः**

ūḍidampadādyappumraidyubhyaḥ
/*ūḍidampadādyappumraidyubhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ūṭh ca idañ ca padādayaś ca ap ca puṃ ca rai ca dyauś ca* = *ūḍi* . . . *divaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *antodāttāt* #166 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167)
'*ūṭh, idam, padādi, ap, pum, rai, div' ity etebhyo'*
sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati
A nominal ending other than *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked *udātta* when it occurs after stems ending in *ūṭh,* and *idam;* nominals enumerated beginning with *pada,* etc., and *ap, pum, rai,* and *div.*

EXAMPLES:

prasṭhauhaḥ
prasṭhauhā
ābhyām
ebhiḥ
nipadaścatúro jahi
yā dato dhāváte
apaḥ paśya
adbhiḥ
puṃsaḥ
rāyaḥ paśya
divaḥ paśya

1. Note that *padādi pada*, etc., refers to replacements enumerated beginning with *pada* through *niś* of rule 6.1.61 *padannomāsa*. . . . The *anuvṛtti* of *antodāttāt* blocks *udātta* of a nominal ending where an *anudātta* obtains with reference to *anvādeśa* 'reference to antecedent' (2.4.73 *idamo' nvādeśe*. . . . That is, this rule will not apply when *idam* is not marked *udātta* at the end. Refer to the appendix under 1.1.21 *ādyantavad ekasmin* for derivational details of *ābhyām*. Incidentally, the *a*, of *aŚ* in *ebhiḥ*, is replaced with *e* of 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to restrict the provision of this rule to instances of *ūṬH* only when *ūṬH* is penultimate of the base. Thus, consider *akṣadyuvā* which derives from *akṣadyū* + *Ṭā* where *ūṬH* is final. Our present rule will not apply here.

Note that the accentual provision of this rule will apply to a nominal endings occurring after *padādi* when they are replacements as explained. The *Mahābhāṣya* does not say anything about it. Commentators interpret this specification of *padādi* as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. This is done by carrying *anyatarasyām* from 6.1.166 *antodāttād*. . . . The *padādi*-replacements all are *ekāC* and hence create conflicts of accentuation with 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas*. . . .

6.1.169 अष्टनो दीर्घात्

aṣṭano dīrghāt
/aṣṭanaḥ 5/1 *dīrghāt* 5/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167)
aṣṭano dīrghāntād asarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā bhavati
A nominal ending which is not *sarvanāmasthāna* is marked *udātta* when it occurs after *aṣṭan* 'eight' ending in a long vowel.

EXAMPLES:

aṣṭāḥ
aṣṭābhyaḥ
aṣṭāsu

1. Note that *aṣṭan* is enumerated in the *ghṛtādi* group of nominals. It is marked *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra*: 21). The final (1.1.51 *alo'nyasya*) *n* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with *ā* (*ātva*) by 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*. We thus get two sets of forms of *aṣṭan*, i.e., *aṣṭa* and *aṣṭā*. The provisions of this rule apply to an ending which occurs after *aṣṭā*. The *anuvṛtti* of *anudāttāt* is not applicable here since *aṣṭā* will already be *anudātta* at the end.

2. The use of the word *dīrghāt* has several implications. Firstly, it indicates that the *ā*-replacement of *n* of *aṣṭan* is optional. For, a specification by *dīrghāt* will be useless if there was no form of *aṣṭan* ending in a short *a*. Secondly, it also indicates that the form of *aṣṭan* replaced with *ā* is termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24

ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ). For, if this *jñāpaka* 'indication' is not accepted, this accentual provision (conditioned by *ā*) will be blocked by the subsequent provision of 6.1.176 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyo halādiḥ*, read with 6.1.177 *jhaly upottamam*, on the basis of *paratva*. Of course, in contexts where *ā*-replacement does not apply.

6.1.170 शतुरनुमो नद्यजादी

śaturanumo nadyajādī
/*śatuḥ* 5/1 *anumaḥ* 5/1 = *nāsti numaḥ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *nadyajādī* 1/2 = *ac ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *nadī ca ajādiś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *antodāttāt* #166 *asarvanāmasthānam* #169)
anumaḥ yaḥ śatṛpratyayas tadantād antodāttāt parā nadī ajādir vibhaktir asarvanāmasthānam udāttā bhavati
That which is termed a *nadī*, and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked *udātta* when they occur after a form which, marked *anudātta* at the end, terminates in affix *ŚatṚ* with no introduction of augment *nUM*.

EXAMPLES:

tudatī
nudatī
lunatī
punatī
tudatā
nudatā
lunatā
punatā

1. Note that *antodāttāt* is carried here. The word *nadī* is used with its technical sense in consonance with 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*. The *ī* of a *nadī* is marked *udātta* when an optional augment *nUM* is not introduced by 7.1.80 *ācchīnadyor num*. Our present rule does not apply where the option of *nUM* is accepted. Thus, we get *tudántī* and *nudántī*.

Now consider *tudatī*, derived from *tud* + *Śa* + (*LAṬ*→*ŚatṚ*) = (*tud* + *a* + *at*) *ṄīP*)), where *ṄīP* is *anudātta* because of its *P* as an *it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *ŚatṚ* replacement of *LAṬ*, a *sārvadhātuka*, becomes *anudātta* in view of 6.1.183 *tasyānudāttenṅidupadeśāl*. . . . This *anudātta*, along with the *udātta* of *tud*, is jointly replaced with *udātta* by 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ*. The *ī* of *nadī* can then be marked with *udātta*, since it will be occurring after an *udātta*. But 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* will make the result, i.e., *udātta* of *tudat* + *ī*, suspended (*aiddha*). That is, now *ī* will not be occurring after an *udātta*. Consequently, it cannot be marked *udātta* by our present rule. The specification of *anum* in this *sūtra*, along with the split interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of *n* in 8.2.3 *na mune*, becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) that an accentual single re-

placement (*ekādeśa*) does not become *asiddha*. Thus we get: *tudatī* and *nudatī*. Incidentally, *lunatā* and *punatā* are derivates with *Śnā* where the *ā* of (*lu* + *nā* + *at*) + *Ṭā*)) and (*pu* + *nā* + *at*) + *Ṭā*)) is deleted (6.4.112 *śnābhyos tayor ātaḥ*). Incidentally, the long *ū* of verbal roots *lūÑ* and *pūÑ* are replaced with short by 7.3.80 *pvādīnāṃ hrasvaḥ*.

2. The condition of *nadyajādī* excludes the application of this rule to *tudadbhyām* and *nudadbhyām* where the ending starts with a consonant. The condition of *antodāttāt* is also necessary to exclude examples such as *dadātī* and *dadhātaḥ* where 6.1.186 *abhyastānām ādiḥ* requires an initial *udātta*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is also made here to bring *bṛhatī/bṛhatā* and *mahatī/mahatā* within the scope of this rule.

6.1.171 उदात्तयणो हल्पूर्वात्

udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt

/*udāttayaṇaḥ* 5/1 = *udāttasya yaṇ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *halpūrvāt* 5/1 = *hal pūrvo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #167 *nadyajādī* #170)

udāttasthāne yo yaṇ halpūrvas tasmāt parā nadī ajādir yā' sarvanāmasthānavibhaktir udāttā sā bhavati

That which is termed a *nadī*, and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are marked *udātta* when they occur after a *yaṆ* (*y*, *v*, *r*, *l*) which replaces an *udātta* occurring after a *haL* (consonant).

EXAMPLES:

kartrī
hartrī
pralavitrī
kartrā
hartrā
pralavitrā

1. Note that examples of this rule are all derivates of *tṛC*. The bases are thus all marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). A *yaṆ*-replacement in *r*, which replaces the *udātta ṛ*, occurs after the consonant *t*. This occasions the *udātta* accent for *ī* and the endings. This rule blocks the *svarita* of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor yaṇaḥ svarito' nudāttasya*.

2. The condition of *udātta* is necessary so that *kartrī/kartrā* and *hartrī/hartrā* can be excluded. These derivates end in *tṛN* and are, hence, *udātta* at the beginning. The condition of *hal* is required to exclude examples where *yaṆ* does not occur after a consonant. Thus, consider *bahutitavā* which derives from *bahutita*(*u*→*v*) + *Ṭā*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to include bases which end in *n*. Thus, we get *vākyapatnīyam* where 4.1.36 *vibhāṣā sapūrvasya* introduces *n* as a final

replacement of *patnī* and *ṄīP* is introduced by 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. Since *pati* is marked *udātta* at the end, and this *udātta* retains after the replacement, *ṄīP* becomes *udātta.*

6.1.172 नोङ्धात्वोः

noṅdhātvoḥ
/*na* ф *ūṅdhātvoḥ* 6/2 = *ūṅ ca dhātuś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *asarvanāmasthānam* #169 *nadyajādī* #170 *udātta yaṇo halpūrvāt* #171)
That which is termed a *nadī,* and a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending beginning with a vowel as well, are not marked *udātta,* provided they occur after *ūṄ,* or a *yaṆ*-replacement of a verbal root which replaces an *udātta* and after a *haL* (consonant).

EXAMPLES:

brahmabandhvā
brahmabandhve
vīrabandhvā́
vīrabandhvé
sakṛlvā́
sakṛlvé
khalapvé

1. This *sūtra* negates what the preceding *sūtra* provides. Note that the qualification of *nadī* does not apply here. A *nadī* is not found occurring after *ūṄ* and a *dhātu.* Now consider our two examples, *brahmabandhvā* and *brahmabandhve,* where a *bahuvrīhi* is formed parallel to *brahmā bandhur asyāḥ,* and *ūṄ,* an *udātta* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaḥ*) by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*), is introduced after the compound. The short *u* of *brahmabandhu,* along with the long of *ūṄ* (4.1.66 *ūṅ utaḥ*), is then replaced with a single long *ū.* This single long replacement (*ekādeśa*) is marked *udātta* by 8.1.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ.* The long *ū* is further replaced with its *yaṆ* counterpart *v,* under the following condition of nominal endings *Ṭā* 'instrument singular' and *Ṅe* 'dative singular'. These nominal endings, because of the negation of this *sūtra,* cannot be marked *udātta* as the earlier rule provides. They must be marked *svarita* by 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayoḥ.* . . . The rest can be marked *anudātta* in view of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam.* . . .

This negation also applies after the *yaṆ* of a verbal root. Thus, *sakṛlvā́, sakṛlvé* and *khalapvé,* where *sakṛllū* and *khalapū* are *uapapada-samāsa,* parallel to *sakṛl lunāti* and *khalaṃ punāti.* Verbal roots *lū* and *pū* occur here before affix *KvIP.* This affix is a *kṛt,* and consequently, 6.4.83 *oḥ supi* orders *yaṆ* as a replacement of *ū,* an *anudātta* (*Kāś: kvibantasya kvibuttara-padaprakṛtisvareṇāntodāttasya* '*oḥ supi*' *iti yaṇādeśaḥ*).

6.1.173 ह्रस्वनुड्भ्यां मतुप्

hrasvanuḍbhyāṃ matup
/*hrasvanuḍbhyām* 5/2 = *hrasvaś ca nuṭ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *matup* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *antodāttāt* #166)
hrasvāntād antodāttān nuṭaś ca paro matub udātto bhavati
Affix *matUP* is marked *udātta* when it occurs either after a form which ends in a *hrasva* 'short' vowel marked *udātta*, or after augment *nUṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

agnimān
vāyumān
kartṛmān
hartṛmān
akṣaṇvatā
śīrṣavatā

1. The bases of our derivates *agnimān, vāyumān, kartṛmān* and *hartṛmān* all end in a short vowels. The first two are marked *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The next two end in affix *tṛC* and hence are accented in view of 6.1.160 *citaḥ*. Affix *matUP* is introduced after *akṣan* by 5.2.94 *tad asyāstīti*. . . . Now consider *akṣaṇvatā* and *śīrṣavatā* where 7.1.76 *chandasy api dṛśyate* introduces *anAṄ* to yield *akṣ*(*i*→*an*(*AṄ*) + *mat*(*UP*) = *akṣan* + *mat*. Augment *nUṬ* is then introduced by 8.2.16 *ano nuṭ*. The *n* is, of course, deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ*. . . . The final forms are derived with the introduction of instrumental singular *Ṭā* with subsequent replacement of *m*→*v* and of *n*→*ṇ*. The second example involves a replacement in *śīrṣan* (6.1.60 *śīrṣan chandasi*). Affix *matUP* is here marked *udātta*.

2. A *paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi (*svaravidhau vyañjanam avidyamānavat*) which makes a consonant as if non-existent with reference to accentual operations does not apply here. For, this specification by *nUṬ* would become useless. Thus, consider, for an exception, *marutvān*.

A *vārttika* proposal also requires *matUP* to be marked *udātta* when it occurs after *re*. Thus, *ārevān*. Yet another proposal negates this *udātta* when *matUP* occurs after *tri*, for example, in (*tri* + *mat* + *ṄīP*) + *sU*)) = *trivatīḥ*.

6.1.174 नामन्यतरस्याम्

nāmāny anyatarasyām
/*nāmāni* 1/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *antodāttāt* #166 *hrasvaḥ matup* #173)
matupi yo hrasvas tadantād antodāttād anyatarasyāṃ nām udātto bhavati
An optional *udātta* is assigned to *nām* when it follows *matUP*, used after that which terminates in a short vowel and is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

agnīnām
agnīnâm
vāyūnām
vāyūnâm
kartṛṇām
kartṛṇâm

1. Note that the bases of these genitive plurals all end in a corresponding short vowel when *matUP* is introduced. Note that *hrasva* is qualified here with *matUP* to yield the meaning: '. . . ending in a *hrasva* occurring before *matUP*'. This way, *udātta* can be obtained with reference to current (*sāmpratika*) *hrasva* and *bhūtapūrva* 'one which was short previously', as well. Thus, we get *tisṛṇām* and *catasṛṇām* as examples.

The condition of *nUṬ* is needed so that this rule does not apply to *dhenvām* and *śakaṭyām* where we have *ām* (7.3.116 *ṅer ām* . . .), but no *nUṬ*. The final *udātta* of 6.1.171 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt* thus applies. The condition of *hrasvāt* keeps examples such as *kumārīṇām*, where *kumārī* ends in a long vowel, out of the scope of this rule. Finally, *nām* cannot be marked *udātta* also when it does not occur after a base marked *udātta* at the end. Consider *vasûnām* and *trapûṇām* where *vasu* and *trapu* are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

6.1.175 ङ्याश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

ṅyāś chandasi bahulam
/*ṅyāḥ* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *nām* #174)
ṅyantāc chandasi viṣaye nām udātto bhavati bahulam
A *nām* used after that which ends in *ṄyāP*, in the Vedic, is variously marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

devasenānāmabhibhañjatīnām
bahvīnām pitā
nadīnām pāre
yayántīmām marutáḥ

1. Note that *bhañjatī* and *bahvī* are derivates of *ṄīP*. This provision of *udātta* may, as indicated by *bahulam* 'variously', not be found in other examples. Thus, consider *nadīnām*, of *nadīnāṃ pāre*, and *jayantīnām*, of *jayántīnāṃ marutáḥ*, where *nām* is marked *anudātta* because of being a *vibhakti* 'nominal ending'.

6.1.176 षट्त्रिचतुर्भ्यो हलादिः

ṣaṭtricaturbhyo halādiḥ

/*ṣaṭtricaturbhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ṣaṭ ca trayaś ca catvāraś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *halādiḥ* 1/1 = *hal ādir yasya* (*bv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165)
ṣaṭsaṃjñakebhyaḥ, 'tri, catur'ity etābhyāṃ ca parā halādir vibhaktir udāttā bhavati
A nominal ending which begins with a consonant is marked with *udātta* when it occurs either after an item termed *ṣaṭ*, or after *tri* and *catur*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaḍbhiḥ
ṣaḍbhyaḥ
ṣaṇṇām
pañcānām
tribhiḥ
trayāṇām
caturbhyaḥ
caturṇām

1. Note that *antodāttāt* is not carried here. Stems such as *ṣaṣ*, *pañcan* and *saptan* are termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*). The condition of *halādi* is needed to exclude examples such as *catasraḥ* where *Śas* 'accusative plural' begins with a vowel (*ajādi*).

6.1.177 झल्युपोत्तमम्

jhaly upottamam
/*jhali* 7/1 *upottamam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyaḥ* #176)
ṣaṭtricaturbhyo yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadante pade upottamam udāttaṃ bhavati
The *upottama* 'penultimate; next to the last' of a *pada* is marked with *udātta* when it ends in a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced either after a stem termed *ṣaṭ*, or after *tri* and *catur*.

EXAMPLES:

pañcabhís tapas tapati
saptabhíḥ parān jayati
tisṛbhíś ca vaháse triṃśatā
caturbhiḥ

1. This rule assigns *udātta* to the next to the last (*upottama*; also cf. *upadhā*; 1.1.64 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*) of a *pada*, derived with a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced after *ṣaṭ*, *tri* and *catur*. Consider *pañcabhiḥ*, *saptabhiḥ*, *tisṛbhiḥ* and *caturbhiḥ* where the next to the last *a*, *ṛ* and *u* are marked *udātta*. Note that *upottama* is explained as next to the last (*uttama*)

vowel of a word consisting of at least three syllables (*Kāś*: *triprabhṛtīnām antyam uttamam; tasya samīpam upottamam;* also see notes under 4.1.78 *aṇiñor* . . .).

2. Derivates such as *pañcānām* and *spatānām* are offered as counter-examples where *ām* is a nominal ending beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*). Derivates such as *ṣaḍbhiḥ* and *ṣaḍbhyaḥ* are also treated as exception since they do not meet the condition of *upottama*. These words contain only two vowels.

6.1.178 विभाषा भाषायाम्

vibhāṣā bhāṣāyām

/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *bhāṣāyām* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* +165 *ṣaṭtricaturbhyaḥ* #176)

ṣaṭtricaturbhyo yā jhalādir vibhaktis tadante pade upottamam udāttaṃ bhavati vibhāṣā bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye

The next to the last (*upottama*) vowel of a *pada* which, in the Classical language, ends in a consonant-initial nominal ending introduced after an item termed *ṣaṭ*, or after *tri* and *catur*, is marked *udātta*, only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

pañcabhíḥ
pañcabhiḥ
saptabhíḥ
saptabhiḥ
tisṛbhíḥ
tisṛbhiḥ
caturbhíḥ
caturbhiḥ

1. This rule offers an optional *udātta* in the *bhāṣā* 'classical language'. Thus, the *udātta* of the *upottama* becomes optional to the *udātta* of the nominal ending.

6.1.179 न गोश्वन्साववर्णराडङ्क्रुङ्कृद्भ्यः

na gośvansāvavarṇarāḍaṅkruṅkṛdbhyaḥ

/*na* φ *go-śvan-sāvavarṇa-rāḍ-aṅ-kruṅ-kṛdbhyaḥ* 5/1 = *sau avarṇam* = *sāvavarṇam* (*sapt. tat.*); *gauś ca śvā ca sāvavarṇaś ca rāṭ ca aṅ ca kruṅ ca kṛt ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/

'*go, śvan, sāvavarṇaḥ, rāḍ, aṅ, kruṅ, kṛd' ity etebhyo yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati*

Provisions made by the preceding rules do not apply to *go* 'cow', *śvan* 'dog', *sāvavarṇa* 'a form which ends in *a* when used with the nominative singular *sU*', *rāṭ* 'a *KvIP*-derivate of *rājṛ*', *aṅ* 'a *KvIN*-derivate of *añcU*', *kruṅ* 'a *KvIN*-derivate of *kruN*' and *kṛt* 'a *KvIP*-derivate of *kṛ*' 'to do' and *kṛtĪ* 'to cut'.

EXAMPLES:

gavā́
gavé
gobhyā́m
sugunā́
sugavé
sugubhyā́m
śunā́
śuné
śvabhyā́m
paramaśunā́
paramaśuné
paramaśvabhyā́m
yebhyáḥ
tebhyáḥ
kebhyáḥ
rājā́
paramarājaḥ
prācā
prāce
prāgbhyām
kruñcā́
paramakruñcā́
kṛtā́
paramakṛtā́

1. Note that this rule makes negative provisions against some positives already made. Thus, consider *gavā́*, etc., where this rule negates the *udātta* of nominal endings made available by 6.1.165 *sāva ekācas*. . . . The *udātta* of the nominal stem *go* will be retained here. A similar negation applies to *sugunā́* etc., where *anudātta* is optionally available to nominal endings by 6.1.166 *antodāttād uttarapadād*. . . . The final *udātta* of the following *pada* (6.2.171 *nañsubhyām*) is thus retained. The *udātta* is similarly negated in *śunā́* and *paramaśunā́*, etc. Provisions of 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas* . . . and 6.1.166 *antodāttāt* . . . (in combination with *parama*) are again negated. Our examples, *yebhyaḥ*, *tebhyaḥ* and *kebhyaḥ*, are derivates of *bhyas* introduced after *yad*, *tad* and *kim*. The word *rāṭ* is a derivate of *KvIP* introduced after *rājṚ* 'glow'. But *aṅ* is a derivate of *KvIN* introduced after *añcU*. This nasalized reference to *añcU* is intended for restricting this negation to only where no deletion of *n* occurs. Recall that 6.4.30 *nāñceḥ pūjāyām* blocks such deletion when *añc* is used with the denotatum of praise (*pūjā*). A similar specification for accentual negation is also made by *kruṅ*, again a derivate of *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk* . . .). A reference with *kṛt*, a derivate of *KvIP*, is made to include

both *kṛ* or *kṛtI* 'to cut'. A derivate of *kṛ* will, of course, involve introduction of *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikṛti tuk*). Similar explanations apply to other compound bases.

6.1.180 **दिवो झल्**

> *divo jhal*
> */divaḥ* 5/1 *jhal* 1/1/
> (*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *na* #179)
> *divaḥ parā jhalādir vibhaktir nodāttā bhavati*
> A nominal ending which begins with a *jhaL* (*Śs.* 8–14) and occurs after *div* 'heaven' is not marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

> *dyubhyā̂m*
> *dyubhíḥ*

1. This rule negates the *udātta,* of 6.1.160 *sāv ekācas . . . and* 6.1.163 *ūḍidampa . . .*, in favor of the initial *udātta* of the nominal stem. The condition of *jhalādi* is imposed to exclude *divā*, etc., where the ending begins with a vowel (*ajādi*).

6.1.181 **नृ चान्यतरस्याम्**

> *nṛ cānyatarasyām*
> */nṛ* (5/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
> (*udāttaḥ* #156 *vibhaktiḥ* #165 *na* #179 *jhal* #180)
> '*nṛ*' *ity etasmāt parā jhalādir vibhaktir anyatarasyāṃ nodāttā bhavati*
> A nominal ending which begins with a *jhAL* (*Śś.* 8–14) and occurs after *nṛ* 'man' is optionally not marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

> *nṛbhíḥ* 'instrumental plural of *nṛ*'
> *nṛbhyā̂m* 'dative-ablative dual . . .'
> *nṛbhyaḥ* 'dative-ablative plural . . .'
> *nṛṣu* 'locative plural . . .'

1. This negation applies optionally to the nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The *udātta* of 6.1.165 *sāv ekācas . . .* will apply if this negative option is not accepted.

6.1.182 **तित्स्वरितम्**

> *tit svaritam*
> */tit* 1/1 = *takāra it yasya* (*bv.*); *svaritam* 1/1/
> *tit svaritaṃ bhavati*

That which is marked with *T* as an *it* is marked with *savrita.*

EXAMPLES:

c̲ik̲īrṣyám
j̲ih̲īrṣyám
k̲āryám
k̲āryám
h̲āryám

1. This rule is an exception to the more general initial *udātta* of an affix (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Thus, *c̲ik̲īrṣyám* and *j̲ih̲īrṣyám* are derivates of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*) introduced after the derived roots *cikīrṣa* and *jihīrṣa.* Recall that the *a* of . . . *ṣa* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ.* Affix *yaT,* because of its *t* as an *it,* is marked *svarita.* Consequently, 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . . marks the remainder as *anudātta.* Our next two derivates of *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*) follow similar rules.

6.1.183 तास्यनुदात्तेन्ङिददुपदेशाल्लसार्वधातुकमनुदात्तमहन्विङोः

tāsyanudāttenṅidadupadeśāl lasārvadhātukam anudāttam ahnviṅoḥ /tāsyanudāttenṅidadupadeśāt 5/1 = *anudātta ita yasya sa* = *anudāttet* (*bv.*); *ṅakāra it yasya sa* = *ṅit* (*bv.*); *at cāsau upadeśaś ca* = *adupadeśaḥ* (*karma*); *tāsiś ca anudāttec ca ṅic ca adupadeśaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt; lasārvadhātukam* 1/1 = *lasya sārvadhātukam* = *lasārvadhātukam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *anudāttam* 1/1 *ahnviṅoḥ* 6/2 *hnuś ca iṅ ca* = *hnviṅau* (*itar. dv.*); *na hnviṅau* (*nañ. tat.*), *tayoḥ/*
tāser anudātteto ṅito' kārāntopadeśāc ca śabdāt paraṃ lasārvadhātukam anudāttaṃ ca bhavati '*hnuṅ, iṅ*' *ity etābhyāṃ paraṃ varjayitvā*
A *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* is also marked with *anudātta* when it occurs after the following with the exception of *hnuṄ* and *iṄ*: that which ends in *tāsI*; a verbal root marked with an *anudātta* as *it*; a verbal root which is marked with *Ṅ* as *it*; that which is given as ending in *a* in *upadeśa.*

EXAMPLES:

karttā
karttārau
karttāraḥ
āsté
vasté
sūté
śeté
t̲udatáḥ

nudatáḥ
pacátaḥ
paṭhátaḥ

1. This again is an exception to the general provision of affixal *udātta* at the beginning. Consider *kartā*, from *kṛ* + *LUṬ*, where third person singular, dual and plural replacements of *LUṬ* are replaced with *Ḍā*, *rau* and *ras* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya ḍāraurasaḥ*). We thus get the *ātmanepada* form: *kṛ* + (*ta*→(*Ḍ*) *ā* = *kṛ* + *ā*→*kṛ* + *tās* + *ā*, where 3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ* introduces *tās*. The *ās* of *tās* goes through *ṭi*-deletion and the *guṇa* of *ṛ*, with its following *r*, produces *k*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *t*(*ās*→ϕ) + *ā* = *kartā*. Similar rules apply in deriving *kartārau* and *kartāraḥ* where third personal dual and plural active endings *tas* and *jhi* will be replaced with *rau* and *ras*, respectively.

Note that these derivates involve a fairly complex interaction of accentual rules. Thus, *kartā* involves interaction of the accent of *dhātu*, *tās* and *ā*. Let us understand this in view of the derivation of *kartārau* and *kartāraḥ* where *kṛ* is marked *udātta* (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). Affixes *tas* and *jhi* will also bring their affixal *udātta*. This same will apply to augment *tās*. Both *rau* and *ras* are also marked *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādy udātta ca*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). How come the existing accent of *tās* could not block the *udātta* of *rau* and *ras*? Because *sati śiṣṭo' pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātuka-svaraṃ na bādhate* 'the accent of a *vikaraṇa*, eventhough existent, does not block the accent of a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*'. The *udātta* of *rau* and *ras* is then marked *anudātta* by our present rule.

2. Verbal root *āsĀ* 'to sit, stay' and *vasĀ* 'to cover' are marked with *anudātta* as their *it*, and hence, allow *ātmanepada* 'middle' endings. The *te*, in *āste* and *vaste*, because of being a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*, is marked *anudātta*. Because of the accent of root (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*), this *anudātta* is finally replaced with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*). Thus we get *āsté* and *vasté*. Derivates of verbal roots *ṣūṄ* and *śīṄ*, i.e., *sūté* and *śeté*, illustrate the specification by *Ṅit*. Now consider *tudatáḥ* and *nudatáḥ*, examples of a verbal root ending in *a* in *upadeśa* (*adupadeśa*). These roots will be marked *udātta* in view of 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*. Affix *tas* will then be marked *udātta* by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Augment *Śa*, which is then introduced, also ends in *a* in *upadeśa*. Our present *sūtra* will mark *tas* as *anudātta* in view of *Śa* ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. The *tas* finally becomes a *svarita*. This same applies to the derivation of *pacatáḥ* and *paṭhatáḥ* where *ŚaP* is still considered ending in *a* in *upadeśa*. For, *anubandhas*, here *Ś* and *P*, are not treated as part of *ŚaP*, in *upadeśa*.

The last two examples, i.e., *pacamānaḥ* and *yajamānaḥ*, involve *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv*...) and augment *mUK* (7.2.82 *āne muk*). A question is raised as to whether *mUK* is to be introduced to the root which still stays *adupadeśa* with *ŚaP*, or it should be accepted as introduced to the *aṅga*

which ends in *a*? In the first case, the *adupadeśa* status of the root will remain intact. For, an *āgama* becomes part of what it is introduced to (*Paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*:12): *yadāgamā guṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*). This can clear the way for *anudātta* of the *sārvadhātuka* replacement. If one accepts the second position, then *mUK* will intervene between *adupadeśa* and suffix *tas*. The *anudātta* of *tas* can then not be accomplished. Commentators state that *tas* can still be marked *anudātta* even with this second option. They state that *mUK* will be treated as externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) in view of accentuation of *tas*, an operation conditioned internally (*antaraṅga*). That is, in matters of accentuation (*svaravidhi*), augment *mUM* (*mugāgama*) will be treated as external (*bahiraṅga*). But do not forget the accent of *ŚānaC* which will avail the accent in view of its *C* as an *it*. This accent will be blocked by subsequent accent of the *sārvadhātuka* affix *tas*.

3. The condition of *tās*, etc. is required so that affixes such as *tas* and *jhi*, for example in *cinutaḥ* and *cinvanti*, can be excluded. But the *Śnu* in these examples is treated as marked with *Ṅ* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*)? Only when an operation on what precedes, and not on what follows, is to be performed (*pūrvasya kāryaṃ prati ṅid bhavati na tu parasya*). That is, it can be considered a *Ṅit* for blocking *guṇa* of *i* of *ci*. It cannot be considered a *Ṅit* for accent on what follows. One may even accept the *Ṅit* of this *sūtra* as referring to a *Ṅit* in *upadeśa*, and not to an extensional (*ātideśika*) *Ṅit*.

The condition of *adupadeśa* similarly excludes examples such as *h̲ataḥ* and *h̲athaḥ* where *tas* and *thas* occur after *han*, a root ending in *n* in *upadeśa*. The condition of *lasārvadhātukam* is necessary so that *p̲ac̲am̲ān̲āḥ*, etc., do not come within the scope of this rule. Affix *CānaŚ* (3.2.129 *tācchīlyavayovacana*...) is here introduced directly. It is not a replacement of *LA*. The condition of *sārvadhātukam* similarly excludes *ś̲iśye*, *s̲iśyāté* and *ś̲iśy̲iré*, where replacements of *LIṬ*, i.e., *eŚ*, *āte* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor*...), are not *sārvadhātuka*. Finally, *hn̲ute* and *yad ádh̲īte* are used to illustrate the exclusion of *hnviṅoḥ*. Particle *yat* is here used to indicate the retention of the root accent (8.1.30 *nipātair yadyadi*...).

6.1.184 आदिः सिचोऽन्यतरस्याम्

ādiḥ sico' nyatarasyām
/*ādiḥ* 1/1 *sicaḥ* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156)
sijantasya anyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial (*ādi*) of that which ends in *sIC* is optionally marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

mā hi kārṣṭām
mā hi k̲arṣṭām

mā hi lāviṣṭām
mā hi lāviṣṭâm

1. This optional *udātta* applies to a form which ends in augment *sIC*. Thus, we get *mā hi kārṣṭâm* and *mā hi kārṣṭām*, where the first is *udātta*, initially, as per this rule. The second is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaśca*). But consider *mā hi lāviṣṭâm* and *mā hi lāviṣṭâm*, where the first is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The second, however, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*). The *anudātta* of *sIC*, because it is marked with *C* as an *it* (*citkaraṇa*), is blocked. The *i* of augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*), since it becomes part of that which ends in a *sIC*, is marked *udātta* in view of *C* as an *it* of *sIC*. *A* preceding *hi* in these examples illustrates that the *anudātta* of 8.1.34 *hi ca* is negated.

2. A *vārttika* proposes that, in matters of initial *udātta* of a form ending in *sIC*, an affix marked with *P* as an *it* and not used with *iṬ* should be optionally marked *udātta*. Thus consider *mā hi kārṣam* and *mā hi kārṣâm* where *miP* is an affix marked with *P* as an *it*. It is also marked *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau supitau*). We would get only one form in the absence of the *vārttika* proposal. That is, with *udātta* initially in view of 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*. This restricted proposal in the context of non-*iṬ* allows another form with *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*).

6.1.185 स्वपादिहिंसामच्यनिटि

svapādihiṃsām acy aniṭi
/*svapādihiṃsām* 6/1 = *svap ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *svapādayaś ca hiṃś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *aci* 7/1 *aniṭi* 7/1 (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #183 *ādiḥ anyatarasyām* #184)
svapādīnāṃ hiṃseś cājādāv aniṭi lasārvadhātuke parato' nyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *svap*, etc., and of *hiṃs* as well, is optionally marked *udātta* when a replacement of *LA* which begins with an *aC* and does not permit augment *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

svapánti
svapantí
śvasantí
śvasantí
híṃsanti
hiṃsantí

1. This rule offers optional *udātta* at the beginning of specified roots. Of course, when a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* which begins with an *aC* and is not used with *iṬ* follows. Incidentally, *lasārvadhātukam*, a form ending

in the nominative (*prathamā*), is here changed into locative (*saptamī*) in relation to *aci* and *aniṭi*. Thus, we get two examples where, in one, we get initial *udātta*.We get middle *udātta* in the other, due to affixal accent. These examples are all third plural active where *jh* of *jhi* is replaced with *ant* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*). This, in turn, makes the affix vowel-initial (*ajādi*).

This initial *udātta* option is not available, for example in *svapyāt* and *hiṃsyāt*, on the one hand, and in *svasitaḥ* and *svapitaḥ*, on the other. The first two examples do not have an ending beginning with a vowel. The next two are used with augment *iṬ*.

This provision is desired (*iṣṭa*) only when a vowel initial affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* follows (*ṅity ajādāv ayaṃ vidhir iṣyate*). Thus, *svapāni* and *hinasāni*. The *sārvadhātuka* replacement of the first person active are treated as marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*; 3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca*). Rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* will not allow a *pit* affix to be accepted as *ṅit*.

6.1.186 **अभ्यस्तानामादिः**

abhyastānām ādiḥ
/abhyastānām 6/3 *ādiḥ* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #183 *acy aniṭi* #185)
abhyastānām ajādāv aniṭi lasārvadhātuke parata ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of an *abhyasta* is marked with *udātta* when a replacement of *LA* which begins with an *aC* and does not permit augment *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dadáti
dadáu
dadháti
dadháu
jakṣáti
jakṣátu
jāgráti
jāgrátu

1. The word *ādi*, though available via *anuvṛtti* from the previous rule, is expressly used to make this rule obligatory (*nitya*). The term *abhyasta* is assigned to a form which results out of doubling (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*). Thus, *dadáti* and *dadháti* are forms of *LAṬ* where *dā* and *dhā* go through doubling. Their *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*). Refer to derivational details of *jakṣátuḥ* (II:412–13) where the term *abhyasta* is assigned by 6.1.6 *jakṣityādayaḥ ṣaṭ*.

6.1.187 **अनुदात्ते च**

anudātte ca

/anudātte 7/1 = *avidyamānam udāttam asmin* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #183 *abhyastānām ādiḥ* #186)
avidyamānodātte ca lasārvadhātuke parato' bhyastānām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of an *abhyasta* is also marked with *udātta* when a replacement of *LA* with no *anudātta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dadâti
jahâti
dadhâti
jihîte
mimîte

1. This rule is formulated to account for instances where a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA* does not begin with a vowel. The locative *anudātte* is not interpreted here technically (*śāstrīya*) as: 'when an *anudātta* follows'. It is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound parallel to *avidyamānaḥ udāttaḥ yasmin tasmin* 'that within which there is no *anudātta*'. This will enable the rule to apply where a vowel is either deleted, or is replaced with *yaṆ*. Consider *dadhāti* and *dadhāty atra* where the final *i* in the first example is deleted (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) to yield *dadhāt*. The second example involves a replacement in *yaṆ* before *atra*. Recall that *tiP* is *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). A technical interpretation of *anudātta* will block *udātta* of this rule where the *anudātta i* gets deleted, or is replaced with *yaṆ*. For, there would not be any *anudātta* to follow. In cases of replacements in *yaṆ*, the initial *udātta* of this rule still applies. The replacement, since it is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*), becomes suspended (*asiddha*). Refer to the appendix (III:761) for derivational details of *dadāti* and *dadhāti*.

6.1.188 सर्वस्य सुपि

sarvasya supi
/sarvasya 6/1 *supi* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #186)
sarvaśabdasya supi parata ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *sarva* is marked *udātta* when *sUP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sarváḥ
sarváu
sarvé

1. This initial *udātta* is offered here against a final *udātta* (*Uṇādi*: 1.153: *sarvanīdhṛdhariṣv* . . .). This makes *sarva* an *anudātta* at the beginning. Con-

sequently, *sārvaḥ*, a derivate of *aÑ* (4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ*), is marked with *anudātta* at the beginning. The condition of *supi* 'when *sUP* follows' blocks this accentual provision in *s̲arvatáraḥ* and *s̲arvatámaḥ* where *sarva* is followed by *taraP* and *tamaP*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to avail this accentual provision, for example in *sarvástomaḥ*, even when a nominal ending is deleted (*Mahābhāṣya* ad 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). That is, the deleted nominal ending is still considered as *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*), via *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'operation characteristic of an affix obtains even when the affix gets deleted' (1.1.62 *pratyayalope*. . .). This deletion of nominal ending in *sarvastomaḥ* results on account of compound formation.

Yet another proposal is made to interpret *sarva* of this rule as one not qualified with *akaC* (*anacka*). That is, this accentual proposal does not apply to *sarva* when used with affix *akaC*. Recall that *sarva* may also refer to *sarvaka* because *akaC* is here contained within *sarva* (cf. (*Paribhāṣā* (90): *tanmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena gṛhyate*).

6.1.189 **भीह्रीभृहुमदधनजनदरिद्राजागरां प्रत्ययात्पूर्वं पिति**

> *bhīhrībhṛhumadadhanajanadaridrājāgarāṃ pratyayāt pūrvaṃ piti*
> */bhī-hrī-bhṛ-hu-mada-dhana-jana-daridrā-jāgarām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *pratyayāt* 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *piti* 7/1 = *pakāra it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
> (*udāttaḥ* #156 *lasārvadhātukam* #185 *abhyastānām* #183)
> '*bhī, hrī, bhṛ, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā, jāgṛ*' *ity eteṣām abhyastānām lasārvadhātuke piti pratyayāt pūrvam udāttaṃ bhavati*
> That part of an *abhyasta*, particularly of *bhī, hrī, hu, mada, jana, dhana, daridrā*, and *jāgṛ* which precedes an affix, is marked *udātta* when a *sārvadhātuka*-replacement marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

b̲ibhetí
j̲ihretí
b̲ibhartí
j̲uhotí
m̲amattú naḥ parijmā
j̲ajan̲adindrám
d̲adhan̲at
d̲aridrātí
j̲āgarttí

1. Note that 6.1.187 *anudātte ca* offers initial *udātta* to a form termed *abhyasta*. This rule offers *udātta* to a part of *abhyasta* which precedes the affix. Refer to the appendix for derivational details.

6.1.190 ल्विति

liti
/*liti* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *pratyayāt pūrvam* #189)
lakāretsaṃjñake pratyayāt pūrvam udāttaṃ bhavati
That which precedes is marked *udātta* when an affix marked with *L* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣakáḥ
jihīrṣakáḥ
bhaurikividham
bhaulikividham
aiṣukāribháktam

1. Note that the *ī* before *aka* is marked *udātta* in *cikīrṣakaḥ* and *jihīrṣakaḥ*. That is, after 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* deletes the final *a* of *cikīrṣa* and *jihīrṣa*. Refer to the appendix (II:406–7) for full derivational details. Affixes *vidhaL* and *bhaktaL* which are introduced after *bhauliki* and *aiṣukāri* are also marked with *L* (4.2.54 *bhaurikyādyaiṣukāryādibhyo vidhalbhaktalau*).

6.1.191 आदिर्णमुल्यन्यतरस्याम्

ādir ṇamuly anyatarasyām
/*ādiḥ* 1/1 *ṇamuli* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156)
ṇamuli parato' nyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
An initial is optionally marked *udātta* when affix *ṆamUL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

lolūyaṃlolūyam
lolūyáṃlolūyam

1. This rule provides for optional *udātta* at the beginning of a root which occurs before *ṆamUL*. Why state this rule when the earlier rule can account for its provision. This rule is stated for roots which are not monosyllabic (*ekāc*). Consider *lolūya* which is a root derived with *yaṄ* with the signification of *kriyāsamabhihāra* 'intense action'. Given *lolūya* + *ṆamUL* = *lolūya* + *am*, where 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* deletes the final *a* before the *ārdhadhātuka* suffix *ṆamUL*, we get *lolūyam*. This derivate then becomes optionally *udātta* at the beginning. This option will be made against the *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; . . . *ya* . . .) of the preceding rule. Another set of two forms are gotten from doubling of *lolūyam* when the signification is *ābhīkṣṇya* 'over and over again' (*vt.*: *ābhīkṣṇe dve bhavataḥ*; ad 8.1.12 *prakāre guṇavacanasya*).

The second *lolūyam* of *lolūyaṃlolūyam* will then be termed *āmreḍita* (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreḍitam*). Consequently, it will also become *anudātta* (8.1.3 *anudāttaṃ ca*).

6.1.192 **अचः कर्तृयकि**

acaḥ kartṛyaki
/acaḥ 6/1 *kartṛyaki* 7/1 = *karttari vihito yak* (*sapt. tat.*); *tasmin/*
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *upadeśāt* #183 *ādiḥ anyatarasyām* #191)
ajantā ye upadeśe dhātavas teṣāṃ kartṛyaki anyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
A vowel-final (*ajanta*) root in *upadeśa* is optionally marked *udātta* at the beginning when affix *yaK* with the signification of *kartṛ* 'agent' follows.

EXAMPLES:

lūyáte kedāraḥ svayam eva
lūyaté kedāraḥ svayam eva
stīryate kedāraḥ svayam eva
stīryaté kedāraḥ svayam eva

1. Recall that 3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak* introduces *yaK* after a verbal root when *bhāva* 'action; root-sense' or *karman* 'object' is denoted. This rule covers instances of *yaK* where an object (*karman*) is treated as if it was *kartṛ*. Such a treatment of *karman* is made possible via *vyapadeśivadbhāva* 'treatment of a secondary as principal' of 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ*. We thus get *lūyate* where this rule offers optional *udātta* at the beginning. In the absence of this initial *udātta*, 6.1.183 *tāsyānudāttet*... will assign *anudātta* to *te*. Rule 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca* will then assign affixal *udātta* to *yaK*.

6.1.193 **थलि च सेटीडन्तो वा**

thali ca seṭīḍ anto vā
/thali 7/1 *ca* ϕ *seṭi* 1/1 (*bv.*); *iṭ* 1/1 *antaḥ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ anyatarasyām* #191)
seṭi thali iṭ vā udātto bhavati anto vā ādir vā anyatarasyām
An *iT*, when used before a following *thaL*, is optionally marked *udātta*; additionally, the final and initial are also optionally marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

lulavithá
luláviṭhá
lulavítha

1. Note that this rule does not use *ca* in its right place. It should be paraphrased to attract *ādiḥ*, thereby yielding two paraphrases: (*i*) *thali seṭi iḍ vā udātto bhavati* '*iṭ* is optionally marked *udātta* when *thaL*, conjoined with

iṬ, follows'; (*ii*) *anto vā ādir vā anyatarasyām udātto bhavati* 'an initial or final is optionally marked *udātta*'. Notice that *vā* is used here even when *anyatarasyām* is carried. Commentators explain that this rule offers *udātta* as a single operation (*kārya*). It, however, has three *kāryin* 'operands': *iṭ*, *ādi* and *anta*. The expressly used *vā* is intended for denoting option of operands. The *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* offers operational option of *udātta*. Thus, we get three forms marked with *udātta*, as specified with *iṭ*, *ādi* and *anta*. A fourth form with *udātta* on what precedes the affix can be gotten at the strength of *thaL*, an affix marked with *L* as its *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). This will be an operational option (*kāryavikalpa*). Consider *lulavitha* which derives from *lū* + (*LIṬ*→*siP*→*thaL*))→*lū* + *thaL*, where *LIṬ* gets replaced with *thaL*, via second person singular active ending *siP* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatususthala*...). Reduplication (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor*...), followed by *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*) and shortening of *ū* of the first *lū* produces: *lū* + *lū* + *tha*(*L*)→*lū* + *lū* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *tha*(*L*)→*l*(*ū*→*u*) + *lū* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *tha*(*L*). An application of *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*), followed by *av* (6.1.78 *eco'yavāyāvaḥ*), then yields: *lu* + *l*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *tha*(*L*) = *lu* + *lav* + *i* + *tha* = *lulavitha*. This rule will mark the *iṬ* of this derivate *udātta*. The initial and final of this derivate will also be marked *udātta*. Of course, these three options will be availed in turn (*paryāya*). Finally, because *thaL* is marked with *L* as an *it*, 6.1.190 *liti* will offer *udātta* on what precedes the affix. Thus we get four alternate forms: *lulávitha*, *lulavítha*, *lulavithá* and *lulavitha*.

6.1.194 **ञ्नित्यादिर्नित्यम्**

> *ñnityādir nityam*
> /*ñniti* 7/1 = *ñaś ca naś ca* = *ñnau* (*dv.*); *ñnāv itāv asya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmin*; *ādiḥ* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1/
> (*udāttaḥ* #156)
> *ñiti niti ca nityam ādir udātto bhavati*
> The initial of a form is marked *udātta* when that which has *Ñ* or *N* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *gārgyáḥ*
> *vātsyáḥ*
> *vāsúdevakaḥ*
> *arjúnakaḥ*

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The first two examples are derivates of *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*), marked with *Ñ* as an *it*. The next two are examples of *vuN* (4.3.98 *vāsudevārjunābhyāṃ vun*), marked with *N* as an *it*.

2. Note that 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* cannot be invoked for

this application. That is, one cannot avail this accentual provision where affixal deletion applies. Consider *gargāḥ* and *vidāḥ* where 2.4.64 *yañañoś ca* offers deletion of affixes *yaÑ* and *aÑ*. The examples will thus be marked as *gargāḥ* and *vidāḥ*, without consideration of this rule.

6.1.195 **आमन्त्रितस्य च**

āmantritasya ca
/āmantritasya 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
āmantritasyādir udātto bhavati
The initial of that which is termed an *āmantrita* is also marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

devádattaḥ
devádattau
devádattāḥ

1. Note that the term *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritam*) is assigned to the nominative used with the signification of *sambodhana* 'address form'. This rule blocks the provision of rule 6.2.148 *kārakād dattaśrutayor*... in *devádatta*, *devádattau* and *devádattāḥ*.

6.1.196 **पथिमथोः सर्वनामस्थाने**

pathimathoḥ sarvanāmasthāne
/pathimathoḥ 6/2 = *panthāś ca manthāś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *sarvanāmasthāne* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
pathimathoḥ sarvanāmasthāne parata ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *pathin* and *mathin* is marked *udātta* when an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarva*...) follows.

EXAMPLES:

pánthāḥ
pánthānau
pánthānaḥ
mánthāḥ
mánthāḥ
mánthānau
mánthānaḥ

1. Note that *pathin* (*Uṇādi* 4.11) and *mathin* (*Uṇādi* 4.112) are derivates of *inI*. They are marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent. They are here offered *udātta* at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of *pánthāḥ* (II:398–99). Similar rules apply in deriving *mánthāḥ*.

2. The condition of *sarvanāmasthāne* blocks this *udātta* at the beginning, for example, in *pathaḥ paśya* where a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* accusative plural ending *Śas* follows. The word is marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopaḥ*). Here again 1.1.62 *pratyayalope*... cannot be invoked. Note, however, that *pathi* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, such as *pathipriyaḥ*, is marked *udātta* at the end on account of the original accent of its preceding constituent (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*).

6.1.197 अन्तश्च तवै युगपत्

> *antaś ca tavai yugapat*
> /*antaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ф *tavai* (1/1 deleted) *yugapat* ф/
> (*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
> *tavaipratyayāntasya śabdasyāntaś cādiś ca yugapad udāttau bhavataḥ*
> The initial, and final as well, of that which ends in affix *tavai* is simultaneously (*yugapat*) marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

> *karttavai*
> *harttavai*

1. This constitutes an exception to affixal accent of *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Affix *tavai* is introduced by 3.4.14 *kṛtyārthe tavai*....

2. The word *yugapad* is used for allowing *udātta* to the initial and final of *tavai,* simultaneoulsy. Recall that *ekavarjam* of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ ekavarjam* goes contrary to an application, in turn (*paryāya*).

6.1.198 क्षयो निवासे

> *kṣayo nivāse*
> /*kṣayaḥ* 1/1 *nivāse* 7/1
> (*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
> *kṣayaśabdo nivāse' bhidheye ādyudātto bhavati*
> The word *kṣaya* is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *nivāsa* 'residence' is the signification.

EXAMPLES:

> *kṣayé jāgṛhi prapaśyan*

1. Note that *kṣaya,* paraphrased as *kṣiyanti nivasanti yasmin* 'that in which they live, decay', is a derivate of affix *GHa* (3.3.118 *puṃsi saṃjñāyām*...), introduced after verbal root *kṣi* 'decay'. This initial *udātta* is offered against final affixal *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). This accent will not be available to *kṣayaḥ* of *kṣayo dasyūnāṃ vartate* 'there is destruction of bandits' where the signification is something other than *nivāsa.*

6.1.199 जयः करणम्

jayaḥ karaṇam
/*jayaḥ* 1/1 *karaṇam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
jayaśabdaḥ karaṇavācī ādyudātto bhavati
The word *jaya* signifying *karaṇa* 'means' is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

jayó' śvaḥ 'a horse by means of which one wins'

1. The word *jaya* is again a derivate of *GHa*. Here again, this initial *udātta* blocks the final affixal accent of the derivate. That *jayaḥ* denotes *karaṇa* 'instrument' is explained by the paraphrase: *jayanti tena* 'by (means of) that they win'. The *jayaḥ* of *jayo varttate brāhmaṇānām* 'brāhmaṇas are victorious' does not qualify for this accenual provision. For, this *jaya* derives with affix *aC* (3.3.53 *er ac*) with the signification of root-sense (*bhāva*).

6.1.200 वृषादीनां च

vṛṣādīnāṃ ca
/*vṛṣādīnām* 6/3 = *vṛṣa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*; *ca* ф/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
vṛṣādīnāṃ śabdānām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of items enumerated in the list headed by *vṛṣa* is also marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

vṛṣáḥ
janáḥ
jvaráḥ

1. Note that *vṛṣaḥ* is a derivate of *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñā* . . .) introduced after *vṛṣ* 'to water, rain'. The other two examples are derivates of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .) introduced after *janĪ* 'to be born' and *jvarI* 'to be afflicted'. The accentual provision of this rule is made against affixal *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

2. Note that the *vṛṣādi* is treated as an *ākṛtigaṇa* 'open-ended'. That is, any nominal for which no initial *udātta* has been expressly provided can be covered by this rule.

6.1.201 संज्ञायामुपमानम्

saṃjñāyām upamānam
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *upamānam* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
upamānaśabdaḥ saṃjñāyām udātto bhavati
A standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is marked *udātta* when the signification is a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

cañcā́
vardhrikā
kharā́kuṭī
dāsī́

1. Note that *cañcā* 'a doll, straw figure', derived with a deleted *kaN* (5.3.96 *ive pratikṛtau*; 5.3.98 *lum manuṣye*), can denote a name by way of serving as an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. Here again, 1.1.62 *pratyayalope*... cannot be invoked for purposes of accentuation.

6.1.202 निष्ठा च द्व्यजनात्

niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt
/*niṣṭhā* 1/1 *ca* φ *dvyac* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tat*; *anāt* 5/1 = *na āt* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *saṃjñāyām* #201)
niṣṭhāntaṃ ca dvyac saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
That which contains two vowels, and ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning, provided the signification is a name (*saṃjñā*) and what is to be marked *anudātta* is not an *ā*.

EXAMPLES:

dattáḥ
guptáḥ
buddháḥ

1. This again is an exception to affixal accent (*pratyaya-svara*). Refer to the appendix (III:775–77) for derivational details of *dattaḥ*. Similar rules derive *buddhaḥ*, from *budh* + *Kta*. Recall that affixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* are termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*).

2. This accentual provision cannot apply to *deva* and *bhīma*, two derivates of non-*niṣṭhā* suffixes *aC* and *maK*, respectively. It does not apply to *cintita* and *rakṣita*, because these both consist of more than two vowels. Derivates of *niṣṭhā*, for example, *trāta* and *āpta* are also excluded since they have *ā* at the beginning. Finally, *kṛta* and *hṛta* must also be excluded because they do not denote a name.

6.1.203 शुष्कधृष्टौ

śuṣkadhṛṣṭau

/śuṣka-dhṛṣṭau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'*śuṣka, dhṛṣṭa*' *ity etāv ādyudāttau bhavataḥ*
The words *śuṣka* and *dhṛṣṭa* are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

śuṣkáḥ 'dried'
dhṛṣṭáḥ 'daring'

1. Note that *śuṣka* and *dhṛṣṭa* are derivates of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta*, where *Kta* of the first example is replaced with *ka* (8.2.51 *śuṣaḥ kaḥ*). Our next example involves *ṭ* as a replacement for *t* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). These examples could be covered by the previous rule. This initial *udātta* is then offered to cover usages outside the scope of *saṃjñā* 'name' (*Kāś*: *asajñārthaḥ ārambhaḥ*).

6.1.204 **आशितः कर्ता**

āśitaḥ karttā
/āśitaḥ 1/1 *karttā* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
āśitaśabdaḥ kartṛvācī ādyudātto bhavati
The word *āśita*, when used with the signification of *kartṛ* 'agent', is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

āśito devadattaḥ 'Devadatta has eaten'

1. Note that *āśita* is a derivate of *Kta* (3.4.70 *tayor eva* . . .) introduced after verbal root *aś* used with the preverb *āṄ*. The affixal denotatum is here interpreted as *kartṛ*. It is stated that *aś* is a transitive root, but it becomes intransitive (*akarmaka*) when the object (*karman*) remains unexpressed. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmaka* . . .) accepts that *Kta* is here introduced in the sense of *kartṛ*, via *nipātana*. The accentual provision of this rule blocks the provision of 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ* . . .

Two counter-examples, i.e., *āśitam annam* and *āśitaṃ devadattena* illustrate how their *Kta* denotes *karman* and *bhāva*, respectively. Obviously, *āśita* here cannot qualify for this accent.

6.1.205 **रिक्ते विभाषा**

rikte vibhāṣā
/rikte 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
riktaśabde vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *rikta* is marked *udātta*, only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

riktáḥ 'emptied'
ṛiktaḥ

1. Note that *rikta,* a derivate of *ricIR* + *Kta* where the signification is a name (*saṃjñā*), can qualify for obligatory *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.102 *niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*). This rule makes that provision optional. That is, when the signification is something other than a name. A final *udātta* (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ* . . .) will apply if optional provision of this rule is not accepted.

6.1.206 जुष्टार्पिते च च्छन्दसि

juṣṭārpite cac chandasi
/*juṣṭārpite* 7/1 = *juṣṭaś ca arpitaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'*juṣṭa, arpita'ity ete śabdarūpe chandasi viṣaye vibhāṣā ādyudātte bhavataḥ*
The initial of *juṣṭa* and *arpita* is optionally marked *udātta* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

juṣṭáḥ
ju̱ṣṭaḥ
arpítaḥ
a̱rpi̱táḥ

1. This optional provision of initial *udātta* only applies to the Vedic usage. Elsewhere, in the classical (*bhāṣā*) usage, we will get *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

Our first example derives with affix *Kta,* introduced after *juṣĪ* 'to enjoy' with an additional application of *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). The second example also derives with *Kta,* introduced after *ṛ* 'to go' with causal *ṆiC.* Further application of augment *pUK* (3.2.184 *arttihrīlūdhū* . . .), and an application of *guṇa,* derive *arpita.* The accentual provision of this rule is again made against affixal accent.

2. The *chandasi* provision of this rule restricts usages to the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas with the exception of the Mantras.

6.1.207 नित्यं मन्त्रे

nityaṃ mantre
/*nityam* 1/1 *mantre* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *juṣṭārpite* #206)
'*juṣṭa, arpita' ity ete śabdarūpe mantraviṣaye nityam ādyudatte bhavataḥ*
The words *justta* and *arpita,* in the *Mantra* usage, are obligatorily marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

juṣṭám devānām
arpitáṃ pitṛṇām

1. Note that *mantra* is used for the *saṃhitā* sections of the Vedas, especially the *Ṛgveda* and the *Yajurveda.* Some here do not accept the *anuvṛtti* of *juṣṭa.* For, *juṣṭa* is also found *udātta* at the end in the *Mantra* usage. Thus, they want optional *udātta* for *juṣṭa* there.

2. Why state *nityam* when the very formulation of *mantre* as a separate rule can accomplish this obligatory provision. The word *nityam* is then intended for clarity. Or else, for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *ārambhasāmarthyād eva nityatve siddhe nityagrahaṇaṃ vispaṣṭārtham, uttarārthañ ca*).

6.1.208 युष्मदस्मदोर्ङसि

yuṣmadasmador ṅasi
/*yuṣmad-asmadoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ṅasi* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'*yuṣmad-asmad' ity etayoḥ śabdayoḥ ṅasi parata ādir udātto bhavati*
The initial of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is marked with *udātta* when *Ṅas* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tavá svam
mamá svam

1. Note that *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are derivates of affix *madIK* (*Uṇādi* I:119). They are also marked *udātta* at the end, via affixal accent. Given *yuṣmad* + *Ṅas* and *asmad* + *Ṅas*, rule 7.1.27 *yuṣmadasmadbhyāṃ ṅaso' ś* replaced *Ṅas* with *aŚ*. Rule 7.2.96 *tava mamau ṅasi* also replaces *yuṣm* and *asm* of the bases with *tava* and *mama*, respectively. Thus, *yuṣmad* + ((*Ṅ*) *as*→*a*(*Ś*)) = *yuṣmad* + *a*→(*yuṣm*→*tava*) *ad* + *a* = *tava* + (*ad*→ϕ) + *a* = *tava* + *a*. Rule 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* causes the deletion of *ad.* We get the final derivate with a single replacement: *tav*(*a* + *a*→*a*) = *tava* (*pararūpa*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). Similar rules also apply in deriving *asmad.*

This accentual provision goes against the final *udātta* provision of 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ.*

6.1.209 ङयि च

ṅayi ca
/*ṅayi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #208)

'ṅe'ity etasmiṃś ca parato yuṣmadasmador ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is also marked *udātta* when *Ṅi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tubhyám
mahyám

1. A separate formulation of this and the preceding rule is intended for resolving doubts of *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalents in accord with equal number of enumerated items'. That is, (*i*) *yuṣmad* is marked *udātta* when *Ṅas* follows; and (*ii*) *asmad* is marked *udātta* when *Ṅe* follows. A separate formulation can account for *udātta* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* before *Ṅas* and *Ṅe* both.

Note that *Ṅe* 'dative singular' after these two bases is replaced with *am* (7.1.28 *ṇeḥ prathamayor am*). These bases are also replaced with *tubhya* and *mahya* (7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau ṅayi*), respectively. Other rule applications are similar to *tava* and *mama*. Note that these bases are both *udātta* at the end. The affix is *udātta* at the beginning. A single replacement (*ekādeśa*) similar to the following (*pararūpa*), i.e., *a*-replacement in *tubhy* (*a* + *a*→*a*) *m* = *tubhyam*, should thus be also marked with *udātta*. This rule blocks it.

6.1.210 यतोऽनावः

yato' nāvaḥ
/yataḥ 6/1 *anāvaḥ* 1/1 = *na nau* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt/*
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādih* #193 *dvyac* #202)
yatpratyayāntasya dvyac ādir udātto bhavati na cen nau śabdāt paro bhavati
That which contains two vowels and ends in affix *yaT* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *yaT* does not occur after *nau* 'boat'.

EXAMPLES:

ceyám
jeyám
kaṇṭhyám
oṣṭhyám

1. Note that *dvyac* is understood here from 6.1.202 *niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*. This rule offers *udātta* as an exception to the *svarita* of 6.1.182 *tit svaritam*. This provision of initial *udātta* must be blocked in case of *nāvyám*, where affix *yaT* is introduced after *nau* (3.1.97 *aco yat*). Refer to the appendix (III:364–65) for derivational details of *ceyam* and *jeyam*. The last two examples are also derivates of *yaT*, introduced by 5.1.6 *śarīrāvayavād yat*.

Note that a derivate of *yaT* which consists of more than two vowels is not allowed this accent. Thus, *c̱ik̲īrṣyám* and *l̲a̲ḻāṭyám* which must be marked with *svarita* (6.1.182 *tit svaritam*) at the end.

6.1.211 ईडवन्दवृशंसदुहां ण्यतः

īḍavandavṛśaṃsaduhāṃ ṇyataḥ
/īḍa-vanda-vṛ-śaṃsa-duhām 6/1 (*itar. dv.*); *ṇyataḥ* 6/1
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'īḍa, vanda, vṛ, śaṃs, duh' ity eteṣāṃ yo ṇyat tadantasyādir udātto bhavati
The initial of that which ends in *ṆyaT*, introduced after verbal roots *īḍa* 'praise', *vanda* 'respect', *vṛṄ* 'honor', *śaṃs* 'praise' and *duh* 'to fulfill', is marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

īḍyám
vandyám
vāryám
śasyám
dohyā́ denuḥ

1. Here again we find an exception to 6.1.183 *tit svaritam.* Note that affix *ṆyaT* could not be included within the reference of *yaT* of the earlier rule. For, it consists of two *it*-elements, *Ṇ* and *T.* Affix *ṆyaT* is introduced after specified verbal roots when the signification is *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' (3.1.24 *ṛhalor ṇyat*).

6.1.212 विभाषा वेण्विन्धानयोः

vibhāṣā veṇvindhānayoḥ
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *veṇv-indhānayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
'veṇu-indhāna' ity etayor vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *veṇu* and *indhāna* is optionally marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

veṇúḥ
v̲eṇuḥ
indhānaḥ
i̲ndhā̲naḥ
i̲ndhānáḥ

1. Note that *veṇu* is a derivate of *Uṇādi* affix *nu* (3.38: *ajivṛrībhyo nit*). Consequently, it is subject to an obligatory *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Our present rule offers an optional *udātta* at the end. Note, however, that *veṇu* is obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning when a name (*saṃjñā* 6.1.201 *saṃjñāyām upamānam*) is denoted.

The word *indhāna* can be derived with affixes *CānaŚ* (3.2.129 *tācchīlya-vayo* . . .) and *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv* . . .), both introduced after

ÑindhĪ 'to kindle'. A derivate of *CānaŚ*, because of its *C* as an *it* (6.1.160 *citaḥ*), will be marked *udātta* at the end. This same will also apply to a derivate of *ŚānaC*. A derivate of *ŚānaC* will require this affix to replace *LAṬ*. This will further require introduction of *ŚnaM*, followed by deletion of its *n* (6.4.23 *śnān nalopaḥ*). Thus, *indh* + (*LAṬ*→(*Ś*) *āna*(*C*)) = *indha* + *āna*→*indha* + (*Ś*) *na*(*M*) + *āna*→*indh* + (*n*→ϕ) *a* + *āna*. The *a* before *āna* is also subsequently deleted (6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ*), to finally produce *indhāna*. There are several accentual interactions involved here. Firstly, we will get the final *udātta* of *ŚānaC* due mainly to *C* as an *it*. This accent of a *sārvadhātuka*-replacement of *LA* cannot be blocked by the affixal accent of initial *udātta* of *ŚnaM*, a *vikaraṇa* (cf. *satiśiṣṭo'pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaraṃ na bādhate*). But since *ŚnaM* has *a* is *upadeśa* (6.1.183 *tāsyanudātten*...), *ŚānaC* will then be marked *anudātta*. The *ŚnaM* itself will be marked with affixal *udātta* at the beginning. But recall that *a* of *ŚnaM* gets deleted before *āna*. This will occasion *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; 6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yatro*...).

6.1.213 त्यागरागहासकुहश्वठक्रथानाम्

> *tyāgarāgahāsakuhaśvaṭhakrathānām*
> /*tyāga-rāga-hāsa-kuha-śvaṭha-krathānām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
> (*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191)
> '*tyāga, rāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha, kratha' ity eteṣāṃ vibhāṣā ādir udātto bhavati*
> The initial of *tyāga, hāsa, kuha, śvaṭha,* and *kratha* is optionally marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

> *tyāgáḥ*
> *tyaāgaḥ*
> *rāgáḥ*
> *rāgaḥ*
> *hāsáḥ*
> *hāsaḥ*
> *kuháḥ*
> *kuhaḥ*
> *śvaṭháḥ*
> *śvaṭhaḥ*
> *kratháḥ*
> *krathaḥ*

1. Note that *tyāgaḥ*, etc., are derivates of *GHaÑ*. They are subject to final *udātta* because of *Ñ* as an *it* (6.1.156 *karṣātvato*...). This rule offers *udātta* at the beginning as an option. The remaining examples are all derivates of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi*...). They thus get optional final *udātta* against the initial *udātta* option of this rule.

6.1.214 उपोत्तमं रिति

upottamaṃ riti
/upottamam 1/1 *riti* 7/1 = *repha it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin/*
(*udāttaḥ* #156)
ridantasyopottamam udāttaṃ bhavati
The penultimate of that which ends in an affix with *R* as an *it* is marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

karaṇīyám
haraṇīyám
paṭujātīyáḥ
mṛdujātīyáḥ

1. This rule offers *udātta* to an *upottama* 'next to the last (vowel) of a word with three or more vowels', where the derivate entails an affixal *R* as an *it.* Thus, *karaṇīyám* and *paṭujātīyáḥ* where *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*) and *jātīyaR* (5.3.96 *prakāravacane jātīyar*) are both marked with *R* as an *it.* This again is an exception to affixal accent of final *udātta.*

6.1.215 चङ्यन्यतरस्याम्

caṅy anyatarasyām
/caṅi 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *ādiḥ* #191 *upottamam* #214)
caṅante' nyatarasyām udāttaṃ bhavati
The next to the last of that which consists of at least three syllables and ends in *CaṄ* is marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

mā hi cikaratām
mā hi cikarátām

1. Refer to derivational details of *acīkarat* (II:507–9). Similar rules apply in deriving *cīkaratām* of *mā hi cīkaratām.* The *tas* of *cīkaratām* is replaced with *tām* (3.4.101 *tasthathamipām* . . .). Augment *aṬ* is here blocked because of concurrent *māṄ* (6.4.74 *na māṅyoge*). The *anudātta* of *cīkaratām* (8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*) will also be blocked because of *hi* (8.1.34 *hi ca*) after which a *pada* ending in *tiṄ* occurs (8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*). The *anudātta*, however, will apply to *tām*, a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LA*, because it occurs after *a* (6.1.183 *tāsyanudātten* . . .). Our present rule offers *udātta* to the *a* of *ka* of *cīkara.* The *a* of *ra* will be marked *udātta* by affixal accent if the option of this rule is not accepted.

This accentual provision is not available to *mā hi dadhat.* For, *dadhat* con-

sists of only two vowels and thus the condition of *upottamam* cannot be met here.

6.1.216 मतोः पूर्वमात्संज्ञायां स्त्रियाम्

matoḥ pūrvam āt saṃjñāyāṃ striyām
/matoḥ 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *āt* 5/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *striyām* 7/1/ (*udāttaḥ* #156)
matoḥ pūrva ākāra udātto bhavati tac cen matvantaṃ strīliṅge saṃjñā bhavati
An *ā* before *matUP* is marked with *udātta* when the derivate signifies a name in the feminine.

EXAMPLES:

udumbarāvátī 'name of a city'
puṣkarāvátī 'name of a city'
śarāvátī 'name of a city'

1. Recall that *matUP* of these derivates is introduced by 4.4.84 *nadyāṃ matup*. The *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v* (8.2.11 *saṃjñāyām*). The long *ā* which precedes *matUP* has its source in the application of 6.3.119 *matau bahvaco*.... The long of *śarāvatī*, however, is caused by 6.1.120 *śarādīnāṃ ca*. These derivates of *ṄīP* are all marked *anudātta* at the end. For, *ṄīP* is an affix marked with *P* as an *it* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Our present rule offers *udātta* to the *ā* which precedes *matUP*.

2. Counter-examples, such as *ikṣumatī* and *drumavatī*, illustrate how the absence of a long *ā* before *matUP* makes this rule inapplicable. A counter-example for *saṃjñāyām* is offered in *khaṭvāvatī* 'a place with many cots'. A counter-example for *striyām* is offered as *śarāvān*. Finally, *gavādinī* is offered as a counter-example for the condition of *matoḥ*.

6.1.217 अन्तोऽवत्याः

anto' vatyāḥ
/antaḥ 1/1 *avatyāḥ* 6/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *saṃjñāyām* #218)
avatīśabdāntasya saṃjñāyām anta udātto bhavati
The final of that which ends in *avatī* is marked *udātta* when the signification is a name.

EXAMPLES:

ajiravatī 'name of a place'
khadiravatī 'name of a place'
haṃsavatī 'name of a place'
kāraṇḍavatī 'name of a place'

1. A word-form ending in *avatī* is here offered *udātta* at the end. This accentual provision is made against the final *anudātta* of the feminine affix *ṄīP* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Here again we get the *m* of *matUP* replaced with *v* (8.2.11 *saṃjñāyām*). A long replacement for the short *a* before *matUP* is again accomplished by 6.3.120 *śarādīnāṃ ca.*

6.1.218 ईवत्याः

īvatyāḥ
/*īvatyāḥ* 5/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *saṃjñāyām* #218 *antaḥ* #219)
īvatiśabdāntasyānta udātto bhavati striyāṃ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The final of that which ends in *īvatī* is marked with *udātta* when the signification is a name.

EXAMPLES:

ahīvatī 'name of a place'
kṛṣīvatī 'name of a place'
munīvatī 'name of a place'

1. The *v* of these examples is a replacement of *m* of *matUP.* The long *ā* has its source in the application of 6.3.120 *śarādīnāṃ ca.* Our present rule offers *udātta* against affixal *anudātta* of *ṄīP.*

6.1.219 चौ

cau
/*cau* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *antaḥ* #217)
cau parataḥ pūrvasyānta udātto bhavati
That which occurs in construction before *cu* is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

dadhīcáḥ
dadhīcā́
dadhīcé
madhūcáḥ
madhūcā́
madhūcé

1. Note that *cau*, a locative singular form of *cu*, refers to verbal root *añcU* with its *it*-elements deleted. A specification with *cu* is made after deleting the nasal of *añcU.* Consider *dadhīc* where affix *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛg*. . .) is introduced after *añcU* to form an *upapada-samāsa* 'conjoined compound',

under the cooccurrence condition of *dadhi* + *am*. Recall that affix *KvIN* goes through total deletion. Given *dadhi* + (*am*→ɸ) + *añc*, where deletion of *am* is due to compound formation, 6.4.24 *aniditām hal*. . . deletes *ñ* of *añc*. The *a* of *dadhi* + *ac* is also deleted (6.4.138 *acaḥ*). The preceding *i* is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.138 *cau*). Thus, *dadhīcáḥ*, an accusative plural with *Śas*. Note that *a* of *añcU* is *udātta* by 6.2.130 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . The nominal ending *Śas* was *anudātta* to start with (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Rule 6.1.158 *anudāttasya* . . . then offered *udātta* to *Śas*, because it occurred after a deleted *udātta*, i.e., *a*. Our present rule made the proposal of *udātta* to *ī* which precedes. Other examples follow similar derivational details.

6.1.220 समासस्य

samāsasya
/ *samāsasya* 6/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #156 *antaḥ* #219)
samāsasyānta udātto bhavati
The final constituent of a compound is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

rājapuruṣaḥ 'king's man'
brāhmaṇakambalaḥ 'brāhmaṇa's blanket'
kanyāsvanaḥ 'girl-noise'
paṭahaśabdaḥ 'noise of the Paṭaha (war) drum'
nadīghoṣaḥ 'river-noise'
rājapṛṣat 'royal-seal'
brāhmaṇasamit 'assembly of brāhmaṇas'

1. This rule assigns final *udātta* accent to a compound. Recall that a compound is formed by integrating two or more syntactically related nominals (2.1.4 *saha supā*). Constituents of a compound bring their own individual accents. Our present rule assigns a single final *udātta* accent to the compound as a whole. Thus, the final of *brāhmaṇasamit* will be marked *udātta*. Since vowels alone have the characteristic ability to carry accents we get *i* of *brāhmaṇasamit* to be marked *udātta*. More explanations, especially in relation to accentual interaction, will be offered under rules of the next quarter (*pāda*). For, rules of the second quarter of *adhyāya* six form an exception to this rule.

PĀDA TWO

6.2.1. बहुव्रीहौ प्रकृत्या पूर्वपदम्

bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam
/ *bahubrīhau* 7/1 *prakṛtyā* 3/1 *pūrvapadam* 1/1/

bahuvrīhau samāse pūrvapadasya yaḥ svaraḥ sa prakṛtyā bhavati
The accent of an initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound remains as it originally was.

EXAMPLES:

kārṣṇóttarāsaṅgāḥ 'men who cover themselves with the hide of a black deer'
yúvalajaḥ 'that (a city) which has its entry point marked by a ritual post'
brahmacāripáriskandaḥ 'a place where a celibate is the protector'
snātákaputraḥ 'he whose son is a scholar'
adhyāpákaputraḥ 'he whose son is a teacher'
śrotríyaputraḥ 'he whose son is a presiding ritualist'
manuṣyánāthaḥ 'he whose lord is a man'

1. This rule marks the beginning of exceptions to provisions of the last *sūtra* of the preceding quarter. Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* requires the final constituent of a compound to be marked *udātta* at the end. Rule 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* demands that all vowels, except for one, be marked *anudātta* in a compound. Thus, in view of the preceding, a compound will be marked *udātta* at the end. The remaining syllables of a compound will then have to be marked *anudātta*. It is here that our present rule intervenes. It offers the initial constituent of a compound to retain its original accent. That is, it does not have to conform to provisions of rule 2.1.220 *samāsasya*, read also in view of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam....* The original accent referred to here by *prakṛtyā* must then be an *udātta* or *svarita*. For, it cannot be one offered by the blanket *anudātta* of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam....*

2. Consider *kārṣṇottarāsāṅgaḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi* compound, where its initial constituent *kārṣṇa* is a derivate of *aÑ*, introduced after *kṛṣṇa* + *Ṅas* (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo'ñ*) with the signification of *vikāra* 'modification, product'. Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* assigns initial *udātta* to *kārṣṇa*, obligatorily, at the strength of *Ñ* as an *it* in *aÑ*. Our present rule requires that this initial *udātta* accent be retained in the compound. A similar retention of initial *udātta* is witnessed in *yūpavalajaḥ* 'a city where a ritual post marks its entry point', parallel to *yūpaḥ valajaḥ yasya*. The word *yūpa* is a derivate of affix *pa*, introduced after *yu* 'join, unite, mix' (*Uṇādi* III:27: *kusuyubhyaś ca*). The lengthening of *u* is gotten from *Uṇādi* III:25: *stuvo dīrghaś ca*. Affix *pa* is treated as marked with *N* as an *it* (*Uṇādi* III:26: *suśṛbhyāṃ nic ca*).

A *bahuvrīhi* such as *brahmacāripariskandaḥ*, parallel to *brahmacārī pariskandaḥ yasya yasmin vā* 'he of whose (or a place where) a celibate is the protector'. The word *brahmacārin* is a derivate of affix *ṆinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*), used with the signification of an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. This

derivate of *kṛt* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*). The word *snātaka*, in *snātakaputraḥ* 'he whose son is a scholar', is a derivate of *kaN* and is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The *adhyāpaka* 'teacher', of *adhyāpakaputraḥ* 'he whose son is a teacher', is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*) because it is a derivate of *ṆvuL* marked with *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). The *śrotriya*, of *śrotriyaputraḥ* 'he whose son is presiding retualist', is a derivate of *ghaN*, via *nipātana*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *ghaN* (5.2.84 *śrotriyaś chando' adhīte*). The *manuṣya*, of *manuṣyanāthaḥ* 'he of whose lord is a man', is a derivate of *yaT* (4.1.161 *manor jātāv . . .*) with an additional provision of *ṣUK*. Rule 6.1.182 *tit svaritam* assigns *svarita* to the affix. Consequently, *manuṣya* carries a *svarita* at the end.

It has been stated that *udātta* and *svarita* are understood here. Consequently, this rule will not apply where the initial constituent of the compound is all *anudātta* (*sarvānudātta*). An example is *sa̱ma̱bhā̱gaḥ* 'a thing with equal parts' where *sama* is marked *anudātta* on both syllables. The compound will thus be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.2.2 तत्पुरुषे तुल्यार्थतृतीयासप्तम्युपमानाव्ययद्वितीयाकृत्याः

tatpuruṣe tulyārthatṛtīyāsaptamyupamānāvyayadvitīyākṛtyāḥ
/ *tatpuruṣe* 7/1 *tulyārtha-tṛtīyā-saptamy-upamāna-avyaya-dvitīyā-kṛtyāḥ* 1/3 = *tulyo' rtho yasya* (*bv.*); *tulyārthaṃ ca tṛtīyā ca saptamī ca upamānaṃ ca avyayaṃ ca dvitīyā ca kṛtyāś as* (*itar. dv.*) /
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
tatpuruṣe samāse tulyārthaṃ tṛtīyāntaṃ saptamyantam upamānavāci avyayaṃ dvitīyāntaṃ kṛtyāntaṃ ca yat pūrvapadaṃ tat prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, either denotes the sense of *tulya* 'equal, similar' or ends in *tṛtīyā* and *saptamī* or is an indeclinable denoting an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison' or ends in *dvitīyā*, or else, ends in a *kṛtya* suffix, retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

tulyáśvetaḥ 'equally white'
tul̲yálohitaḥ 'equally red'
sa̱dṛkchvétaḥ 'similar white'
sa̱dṛglóhitaḥ 'similar red'
sa̱dṛśáśvetaḥ 'similar white'
sa̱dṛśálohitaḥ 'similar red'
śa̱ṅku̱lākhándaḥ 'split by an axe'
ki̱rikáṇaḥ 'made one-eyed by a boar'
a̱kṣaśaúṇḍaḥ 'skilled at the game of dice'
pānáśauṇḍaḥ 'addicted to drinking'

śastrīśyāmā 'black as a little knife'
kumúdaśyenī 'lily-white'
haṃsagádgadā 'swan-like sweet-speaking woman'
dūrvākāṇḍáśyāma 'black as a blade of grass'
śarakāṇḍágaurī 'fair as a piece of reed'
abrâhmaṇaḥ 'non-brāhmaṇa'
kubrâhmaṇaḥ 'bad brāhmaṇa'
muhūrttasúkham 'momentary pleasure'
sarvarātrakályāṇī 'entire night as auspicious'
bhojyóṣṇam 'warm food'
bhojyálavaṇam 'salty food'

1. The first six examples are compounds termed *karmadhāraya* (2.1.68 *kṛtyatulyākhyā ajātyā*). The initial constituent of the first two, i.e., *tulya,* is a derivate of *yaT.* It is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*). The *sadṛk* of *sadṛkchvetaḥ* ends in *KvIN* (*vt.*: *samānānyayoś ceti*. . .; ad 3.2.60 *tyadādiṣu* . . .), and, hence, is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . .). Affix *KvIN,* as usual, goes through total deletion. This preceding *vārttika* proposal also derives *sadṛśa* of *sadṛśaśvetaḥ* with affix *KaÑ.* The *sa* as a replacement for *samāna* comes from 6.3.89 *dṛgdṛśa-vatuṣu* . . . *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . The word *sadṛśa,* a derivate of *kaÑ* introduced after *dṛś,* is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhya*).

The word *śaṅkulā* derives with affix *Ka* used with the signification of *GHaÑ* (*vt.*: *ghañarthe kavidhānam;* ad 3.3.58 *grahavidṛniścigamaś ca*). The instrumental compound (*tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa*) is formed by 2.1.29 *tṛtīyā-tatkṛtārthena*. . . . Thus, *śaṅkulā* is marked with affixal *udātta* at the end. The word *kiri* of *kirikāṇaḥ* is a derivate of *i* (*Uṇādi* 4.143 *kṛgṛśṛ*. . .) which is treated as marked with *K.* It is also marked *udātta* at the end.

The *akṣa* of *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* is a derivate of *sa* (*Uṇādi* 3.45 *arśer devane*). The *ṣ* as a replacement for *ś* of verbal root *aś,* and *k* for the resultant *ṣ* as well, are gotten from the applications of 8.2.36 *varścabhrasjasṛ*. . . and 8.2.41 *kaḥ si.* The *ṣ* as a replacement for affixal *s,* is gotten from 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ.* Here again, *akṣa* is marked with affixal *udātta* at the end. The *pāna* of *pānaśauṇḍaḥ* has verbal root *pā* marked with *udātta.* For, it ends in *LyuṬ,* an affix marked with *L* as an *it* (6.1.184 *liti*). The compound in these examples is formed by 2.1.39 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ.*

Compounds such as *śastrīśyāmā, kumudaśyenī, haṃsagadgadā* and *dūrvākāṇḍaśyāmā* are all formed by 2.1.55 *upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ.* The word *śastrī* ends is *ÑīṢ.* It is marked *udātta* at the end. The word *kumuda* is a derivate of *Ka,* paraphrased as *kau modate* 'blossoms on earth' (*vt.*: *kaprakaraṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṃkhyānam;* ad 3.1.5 *tundaśokayaoḥ*. . .). This again is marked *udātta* at the end. The *haṃsa* of *haṃsagadgadā* is a derivate of *sa* (*Uṇādi* III:62: *vṛtṛvadivaci*. . . . Here again, we get final *udātta* by affixal accent. The next compound constituents, i.e., *dūrvākāṇḍa* and *śarakāṇḍa,*

are both genitive *tatpuruṣa*. The *ā* of their *kāṇḍa* is marked *udātta* by 6.2.134 *ṣaṭ ca kāṇḍādīni*.

The negative *tatpuruṣa* comppunds (2.2.6 *nañ*), i.e., *abrāhmaṇaḥ*, etc., illustrate accentual provisions for indeclinables (*avyaya*). They are all marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 79: *nipātā ādyudāttaḥ*). The accusative (*dvitīyā*) *tatpuruṣa* of *muhūrtasukham*, where *muhūrta* is marked *udātta* at the end (6.3.107 *pṛṣodarādīni*...), is formed by 2.1.28 *atyantasaṃyoge ca*. The *sarvarātra* of *sarvarātrakalyāṇī* ends in affix *ṬaC* (5.4.87 *ahaḥ sarvaikadeśa*...). It is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent.

The last two examples, *bhojyoṣṇàm* and *bhojyalavaṇam*, contain *bhojya*, a derivate of *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*). It is marked *svarita* at the end by 6.1.182 *tit svaritam*.

These derivates are all exceptions to 6.1.120 *samāsasya*. Since our rule restores original accent of initial constituents, derivational details of only those constituents is offered. Refer to compound section of rules (vol. III) for further details.

6.2.3 वर्णो वर्णेष्वनेते

varṇo varṇeṣv anete
/*varṇaḥ* 1/1 *varṇeṣu* 7/3 *anete* 7/1 = *na etaḥ* = *anetaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
varṇavāci pūrvapadaṃ varṇavāciṣv evottarapadeṣu etaśabdavarjiteṣu paratas tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, signifies *varṇa* 'color' and combines with a following constituent signifying *varṇa*, though not constituted by *eta*, retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣṇasāraṅgaḥ 'variegated black'
lohitásāraṅgaḥ 'variegated red'
kṛṣṇakálmāṣaḥ 'spotted black'
lohitakálmāṣaḥ 'spotted red'

1. Note that *kṛṣṇa* is a derivate of affix *naK* (*Uṇādi* III:4: *kṛṣer varṇe*). Thus, it is marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *lohita* of *lohitasāraṅgaḥ* is a derivate of affix *taN* (*Uṇādi* III:94: *ruhe raś ca lo vā*). Rule 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam* will thus mark it *udātta* at the beginning. All these examples involve an initial constituent denoting 'color' (*varṇa*). Elsewhere, in *paramakṛṣṇaḥ* 'absolutely black' and *kṛṣṇatilāḥ* 'black sesame', this rule does not apply. For, *parama* is not a word denoting 'color' in the first, and *kṛṣṇa*, with the signification of 'color' in the second, is not a following constituent. Finally, *kṛṣṇaitaḥ* 'variegated black' is also excluded since *etaḥ* 'variegated', a word denoting color, follows.

6.2.4 गाधलवणयोः प्रमाणे

gādhalavaṇayoḥ pramāṇe
/ *gādha-lavaṇayoḥ* 7/2 *pramāṇe* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
pramāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse 'gādha, lavaṇa' ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *gādha* and *lavaṇa* combine to follow and the signification is *pramāṇa* 'standard of measure'.

EXAMPLES:

śambágādham udakam 'as deep as iron-head length of a pestle'
aritrágādham udakam 'as deep as the length of an ore'
golávaṇam 'as much salt as can be given to a cow'
aśválavaṇam 'as much salt as can be given to a horse'

1. Note that *śamba* 'iron-head of a pestle' is a derivate of affix *baN* (*Uṇādi* IV:94: *śamer ban*) and hence, because of its *N* as an *it*, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The next example has *aritra* 'an ore', a derivate of *itra* (3.2.184 *arttilūdhū* . . .), as its initial constituent. It is marked *udātta* in the middle by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The *go* of *golavaṇam* is a derivate of *Ḍo* (*Uṇādi* II:62: *gamer ḍoḥ*). This again is *udātta* by affixal accent. The *aśva* of *aśvalavaṇam* is a derivate of affix *KvaN* (*Uṇādi* I:151: *aśupruṣilaṭi*. . .). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning in view of 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*. The original accent of all preceding constituents is retained.

6.2.5 दायाद्यं दायादे

dāyādyaṃ dāyāde
/ *dāyādyam* 1/1 *dāyāde* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
tatpuruṣe samāse dāyādaśabda uttarapade dāyādyavāci pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *dāyādya* 'inheritance' retains its original accent when *dāyāda* 'inheritor' follows.

EXAMPLES:

vidyādáyādaḥ 'he who inherits knowledge'
dhanadáyādaḥ 'he who inherits wealth'

1. Note that *vidyā* 'knowledge' is a derivate of *KyaP* (3.3.99 *saṃjñāyāṃ samajanı*. . .), marked *udātta* at the end. Since it ends in *ṬāP*, it should be marked *anudātta* at the end (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). This, however, is

not accepted. The final *ā* of *vidyā* remains *udātta* because it is a single replacement involving an *udātta.* The word *dhana* 'wealth' is a derivate of *Kyu* (*Uṇādi* II:81: *kṛpṛvṛji*. . .), introduced after *dhāÑ.* The ā of *dhāÑ* is deleted (6.4.68 *āto lopa*. . .) and its *yu* is replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). Incidentally, the word *dāyāda* is explained as *dātavyo dāyaḥ* = *bhāgaḥ, dāyam ādatte dāyādaḥ* 'one who receives a share of inheritance'.

The genitive of the example compounds has been questioned. If one accepts it as introduced in consonance with rule 2.3.39 *svāmīśvarādhipati*. . ., the formation of these compounds will be blocked. For, a genitive introduced by enumerating individual bases (*pratipadavidhāna*) cannot be combined in a compound (cf. *vt.* ad 2.2.9 *yājakādibhiś ca: pratipadavidhāna ca ṣaṣṭhī na samasyate*). It must then be accepted as a case of residual genitive (*śeṣalakṣaṇā*) of 2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe.* That is, the genitive of these compounds will no longer be a genitive characterized with enumeration of individual bases (*pratipadavidhāna*). But why is the genitive offered in relation to *dāyāda*, etc., in 2.3.39 *svāmīśvarādhipati*. . .?. Note that 2.3.39 offers genitive along with an optional locative (*saptamī*). If genitive was not specified in 2.3.39, then its locative, because of being a special provision, would have blocked the genitive of 2.3.50, as far as *dāyāda*, etc., were concerned. The genitive of 2.3.39 can still be accepted as residual genitive. This way, the compounds can be interpreted as genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and locative (*saptamī*) *tatpuruṣa*, both.

6.2.6 प्रतिबन्धिचिरकृच्छ्रयोः

pratibandhi cirakṛcchrayoḥ
/*pratibandhi* 1/1 *cirakṛcchrayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
tatpuruṣe samāse cirakṛcchrayor uttarapadayoḥ pratibandhivācipūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which signifies *pratibandhi* 'obstacle' retains its original accent when *cira* 'long, protracted' and *kṛcchra* 'difficult' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gamánaciram 'delayed departure'
gamánakṛcchram 'difficult departure'
vyāharáṇaciram 'delayed response'
vyāharáṇakṛcchram 'difficult response'

1. This rule allows the initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound to retain its original accent provided it is used with the denotatum of *pratibandhi* 'obstacle'. Thus, *gamana* 'going' and *vyāharaṇa* 'talking', both derivates of *LyuṬ*→*ana* marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.190 *liti*), retain their original accent. These *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds can be formed by 2.1.72

mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca. Their initial constituents, i.e., *gamana* and *vyāharaṇa,* are viewed here as obstacles to realization of desired results.

6.2.7 पदेऽपदेशे

padé padeśe
/pade 7/1 *apadeśe* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
apadeśe vācini tatpuruṣe samāse padaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *pada* 'place, excuse' combines to follow and *apadeśa* 'pretext' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

mūtrápadena prasthitaḥ '... left on the pretext of urinating'
uccārapadena prasthitaḥ '... left on the pretext of defecating'

1. Note that *mūtra* is a derivate of *ṢtraN* (*tra*; *Uṇādi* IV:163: *sivimucyo* ...). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of its *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The word *uccāra* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* and is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ* ...). Incidentally, *apadeśa* and *uccāra* are explained as *vyāja* 'pretext' and *purīṣakriyā* 'defecating', respectively. That is why, *viṣṇoḥ padam* = *viṣṇupadam* 'place of Viṣṇu' does not qualify for this accentual provision.

6.2.8 निवाते वातत्राणे

nivāte vātatrāṇe
/nivāte 7/1 *vātatrāṇe* 7/1 = *vātāt trāṇam* (*pañc. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
nivātaśabde uttarapade vātatrāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *nivāta* combines to follow and *vātatrāṇa* 'protection from wind' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

kuṭīnivātam 'hut alone as a shelter from winds'
śamīnivātam 'Śamī tree alone as a shelter from winds'
kuḍyánivātam 'wall alone as a shelter from winds'

1. Note that *nivāta* denotes 'absence of wind' (*vātābhāva*). It can be interpreted as an indeclinable (*avyayībhāva*) compound formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃvibhakti*.... One can also form a *bahuvrīhi,* paraphrased as *niruddhaḥ*

vātaḥ asmin 'that in which the wind is blocked out'. A constituent such as *kuṭī* which may serve as a cause for blocking winds can be combined with *nivāta*, a coreferential (*samānādhikaraṇa*) *pada*. The words *kuṭī* and *śamī* both end in *ṄīṢ* and have been enumerated in the list headed by *gaura*, i.e., *gaurādi* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*). These are all marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *kuḍya* 'wall' ends in affix *ḍyaK*, or *ḍyakI* (*Uṇādi* VIII:20: *kavater ḍyakic ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end. Some even consider it as a derivate of *yaT*, marked *udātta* at the beginning (*ādyudātta*; 6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*).

Note that *nivāta* must denote *vātatrāṇa* 'wind-protection'. For, elsewhere, in *rājanivāte vasati* 'stays near the king' and *sukhaṃ mātṛnivātam* 'happiness where the mother is', this accentual provision will be blocked. The word *nivāta* is used here in the sense of 'proximity, side'.

6.2.9 शारदेऽनार्तवे

śārade' nārtave

/ *śārade* 7/1 *anārtave* 7/1 = *ṛtau bhavam* = *ārtavam*; *na ārtavam* (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)

anārtavavācini śāradaśabde uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati

The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *śārada* 'autumnal' signifying something not pertaining to a season (*anārtava*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

rajjúśāradam udakam 'rope-fetched fresh water'

dṛṣatśāradāḥ saktavaḥ 'freshly stone-ground *saktu* (parched gram-flour)'

1. Note that *ārtavam*, of the negative *anārtave*, is explained as that which is found in its season (*ṛtau bhavam*). The word *śārada* is here used in the sense of *pratyagra* 'new, fresh'. Elsewhere, it can mean autumnal. The word *rajju* is a derivate of affix *u* (*Uṇādi* I:15: *sṛjer asum ca*), introduced after verbal root *sṛj* 'to ceate'. Augment *asUM* is also introduced here before the root-final consonant. Thus, *sṛ* + *asUM* + *j* + *u*→*sṛ* + *as* + *j* + *u*. The root-initial *s* of the string also goes through deletion, and *ṛ* goes through a replacement in *yaṆ*. Thus, (*s*→ϕ) *ṛ* + *as* + *j* + *u*→(*ṛ*→*r*) + *as* + *j* + *u*. Rule 8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi* then replaces *s* with *d*, which, by application of 8.4.50 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*, becomes *j*. Thus, *r* + *a*(*s*→*d*→*j*) + *j* + *u* = *rajju*. This word is marked *udātta* at the beginning since *u* is qualified as *nit* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The word *dṛṣad* 'pebble, rock' is a derivate of *adIK* (*Uṇādi* I:131: *dṛṇāteḥ ṣug hrasvaś ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end. Verbal root *dṝ* 'to tear, rip' goes through shortening of its *ṝ*, subsequently to which augment *ṣUK* is added.

The final *d* of *dṛṣad* is replaced with *t* (8.4.54 *khari ca*). These compounds are both obligatory (*nitya*). A paraphrase with their individual constituents (*svapadavigraha*) is thus not possible.

6.2.10 अध्वर्युकषाययोर्जातौ

adhvaryukaṣāyayor jātau
/ *adhvaryu-kaṣāyayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *jātau* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*adhvaryu, kaṣāya*' *ity etayor jātivācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *adhvaryu* and *kaṣāya* combine to follow and *jāti* 'class' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

prācyâdhvaryuḥ 'a priest from the east'
kaṭhâdhvaryuḥ 'a priest who is a Kaṭha'
kalâpâdhvaryuḥ 'a priest who is a Kalāpa'

1. Note that compounds such as *prācyādhvaryuḥ*, etc., are formed with coreferential constituents where their denotational scope (*viṣaya*) is also fixed (*niyata*) as *jāti* 'class'. The word *prācya* is a derivate of *yaT* (4.2.100 *dyuprāgapāgu* . . .), and hence, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*).

Note that *kaṭha* is accepted as a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .), introduced after verbal root *kaṭhA* 'to live with difficulty'. Affix *ṆinI*, with the signification of *kaṭhena proktam* (3.4.101 *tena proktam*), is then introduced after a syntactically related *kaṭha* (3.4.104 *kalāpivaiśampā* . . .). This affix is subsequently deleted by 3.4.107 *kaṭhacarakāl luk*. The word *kalāpa* is derived with affix *aṆ* (4.3.108 *kalāpino' ṇ*). These derivates of *ṆinI* and *aṆ* are both marked *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*). Refer to my notes under 4.3.107 *kaṭhacarakāl luk* and 4.3.108 *kalāpino' ṇ* for additional details.

6.2.11 सदृशप्रतिरूपयोः सादृश्ये

sadṛśapratirūpayoḥ sādṛśye
/ *sadṛśa-prtirūpayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *sādṛśye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*sadṛśa, pratirūpa*' *ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ sādṛśyavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *sadṛśa* 'same, similar' and *pratirūpa* 'identical' combine to follow and *sādṛśya* 'similarity' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

> *pitṛsádṛśaḥ* 'like (his) father'
> *mātṛsádṛśaḥ* 'like (his) mother'

1. Note that *mātṛ* and *pitṛ*, both derivates of *tṛC* (*Uṇādi* II:95: *naptṛneṣṭṛtvaṣṭṛ*...), are marked *udātta* at the end via *nipātana*. Their compounds with *sadṛśa* and *pratirūpa* are formed when the constituents end in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental', respectively.

Why mention *sadṛśa* in this rule when an instrumental *tatpuruṣa* compound formed under 2.1.30 *pūrvasadṛśa*... with *mātṛ* and *pitṛ* in the instrumental (2.3.72 *tulyārthair*...) can be accounted for by 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*.... Recall that 2.3.72 *tulyārthair*... introduces instrumental, optionally, with the genitive. The word *sadṛśa* is used here to indicate that our present rule applies only when the compound is a genitive *tatpuruṣa*. That is, even when no deletion of genitive (6.3.21 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ ākrośe*) takes place. It is important so that non-deletion of genitive, as in *dāsyāḥsadṛśaḥ*, could further avail accentual provision of 6.1.171 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*.

Since as instrumental *tatpuruṣa* is expressly formed by 2.1.30 *tulyārthair*..., and also since there is no rule that allows a parallel genitive *tatpuruṣa*, a *ṣaṣṭhī* interpretation characterized with *sadṛśa* does not make sense. Nevertheless, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* is needed, as is indicated by non-deletion of genitive in compounds such as *dāsyāḥsadṛśaḥ* 'maid-like'. If a constituent ending in the genitive is accepted to form a compound with *sadṛśa*, *sadṛśa* should not be used in a rule which allows formation of instrumental *tatpuruṣa* (2.130 *pūrvasadṛśa*...). That may be needed where a genitive *tatpuruṣa* could not be formed with *sadṛśa*. Consider *vidyayā* (*hetunā*) *sadṛśaḥ* = *vidyāsadṛśaḥ* 'similar for reasons of scholarship' as an example.

6.2.12 द्विगौ प्रमाणे

> *dvigau pramāṇe*
> / *dvigau* 7/1 *pramāṇe* 7/1 /
> (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
> *dvigāv uttarapade pramāṇavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
> The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu* retains its original accent when the signification is *pramāṇa* 'standard of measure'.

EXAMPLES:

> *prācyásaptaśamaḥ* 'seven year old easterner'
> *gāndhārisaptaśamaḥ* 'seven year old Gandharan'

1. Note that *saptaśama*, a compound termed *dvigu* (2.1.51 *saṃkhyāpūrvo*

dviguḥ), is combined after *prācya* which, in turn, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.10 *adhvaryukaṣāya*...). Incidentally, affix *mātraC* has been deleted after *saptaśama* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvayasajdaghnac*...; *vt.*: *pramāṇe lo vaktavyam; dvigor nityam*). The word *gāndhāri*, because of its enumeration in the *kardamādi* class, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, or at the middle (*Phiṭsūtra* 111:10).

Compounds such as *bṛ̲hiprạsthaḥ* and *pa̲ra̲ma̲sa̲pta̲śa̲maḥ* cannot qualify for this accentual provision since the first is not a *dvigu* and the second does not denote *pramāṇa*.

6.2.13 गन्तव्यपण्यं वाणिजे

gantavyapaṇyaṃ vāṇije
/ *gantavya-paṇyam* 1/1 (*itar. dv.*); *vāṇije* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
vāṇijaśabda uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse gantavyavāci paṇyavāci ca pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *gantavya* 'road, destination' and *paṇya* 'that which is bartered' retains its original accent when *vāṇija* 'trading' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

ma̲dravâṇijaḥ 'a trader on way to Madra'
kā̲śmīrávāṇijaḥ 'a trader on way to Kāśmīra'
govâṇijaḥ 'cow-trader'
aśvavâṇijaḥ 'horse-trader'

1. The initial constituent of these example compounds retain their original accent. Thus, *madra* ends in affix *raK* (*Uṇādi* II:13: *sphāyitañci*...) and is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The word *kāśmīra* is marked *udātta* at the middle (6.3.109 *pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam*). Refer to notes under 6.2.4 *gādhalavaṇayoḥ pramāṇe* for deriving *go* and *aśva*. They are marked *udātta* at the end and at the beginning, respectively.

6.2.14 मात्रोपज्ञोपक्रमच्छाये नपुंसके

mātropajñopakramacchāye napuṃsake
/ *mātropajñopakramacchāye* 7/1 (*sam. dv.*); *napuṃsake* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*mātrā, upajñā, upakrama, chāyā*' *eteṣūttarapadeṣu napuṃsakavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a neuter *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original constituent when *mātrā* 'measure', *upajñā* 'ingenuity', *upakrama* 'initiative' and *chāyā* 'shade' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

bhikṣāmātraṃ na dadāti yācitaḥ 'when asked, he does not even give an appropriate measure of alms'
samudramātraṃ na saro' sti kiṃcana 'there is no pond equal to the size of an ocean'
pāṇinopájñam akālakaṃ vyākaraṇam 'a grammar with no notion of *kāla* 'time' is Pāṇini's ingenuity''
vyāḍyúpajñaṃ duṣkaraṇam 'Vyāḍi's ingenuity is hard to match'
āḍhyópakramaṃ prāsādaḥ 'a mansion begun by Āḍhya; . . . begun by someone rich'
darśanīyópakramam 'a beautiful start'
iṣúcchāyam 'shadow of a mass of arrows'
dhanúśchāyam 'shadow of a bow'

1. The word *mātrā* is used here in the sense of *pramāṇa* 'measure', relative to the integration (*vṛtti*) of nominals in a compound. Our compound *bhikṣāpramāṇam* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as: *bhikṣāyās tulyapramāṇam* 'a measure equal to the measure of alms (desired)'. Recall that *bhikṣā* is derived with affix *a* introduced after *bhikṣ* (3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ*). It is marked *udātta* at the end (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Rule 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp* introduces *ṬāP*, subsequently. The word *samudra* is also marked *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* I:2: *pāṭalāpāla* . . .).

The next four examples of *upajñā* and *upakrama* are genitive *tatpuruṣa* (2.4.24 *upajñopakramam* . . .) compounds. The word *pāṇina* (*Kāśikā* does not use Pāṇina here) is a derivate of *aṆ* signifying *paṇinaḥ apatyam* 'male offspring of Paṇin'. It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

The word *āḍhya* is a derivate of affix *Ka*, introduced after *dhyā* with the preverb *ā*. The initial *dh* of the root is replaced with *ḍh*, due mainly to its membership in the *pṛṣodarādi* group (6.3.109 *pṛṣodarādīni* . . .) of nominals. The *ā* of *dhyā* goes through deletion. The derivate itself is marked *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañ* . . .). The word *darśanīya* 'worth seeing', a derivate of *anīyaR*, is marked *udātta* at *nī* (6.1.214 *upottamaṃ riti*). The final of *sukumāra* 'tender' is similarly marked *udātta* (6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*).

Examples with *chāyā* as a constituent are also interpreted as genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Affix *u* (*Uṇādi* I:13), in *iṣ* + *u* → *iṣu*, is treated as marked with *N* as its *it* (*Uṇādi* I:9: *dhānye nit*). We thus get its initial vowel marked with *udātta* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The initial of *dhanuṣ* 'bow' is also marked with *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* II:3: *nabviṣayasyānisantasya*). Note that the neuter of these last two examples is in consonance with 2.4.22 *chāyā bāhulye.* Recall that this accentual provision will be blocked in *kuḍyacchaāyā* 'hut's shade'. For, the compound is not a neuter.

6.2.15 सुखप्रिययोर्हिते

sukhapriyayor hite
/sukha-priyayoḥ 7/2 *hite* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*sukha, priya*' *ity etayor uttarapadayor hitavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent when *sukha* 'comfort' and *priya* 'dear' combine to follow and the signification is *hita* 'beneficial; source of pleasure'.

EXAMPLES:

gamánasukham 'going will be a pleasure'
vacánasukham 'talking will be a pleasure'
gamánapriyam 'going will be dear'
vacánapriyam 'speaking will be dear'

1. These examples all entail *karmadhāraya* (1.2.42 *tatpuruṣaḥ*...). Their initial constituents are derivates of *LyuṬ* and hence, are marked *udātta* before the affix (6.1.190 *liti*).

Note that this accentual provision will be blocked outside the meaning of *hita* 'benefic'. Consider *paramasukham* 'best comfort' and *paramapriyam* 'most dear' where *sukha* 'comfort' and *priya* 'dear' do not denote *hita*. They are used here with the denotatum of 'excellence' (*utkṛṣṭa*). The word *sukha* and *priya* of this rule are used with the signification of 'beneficial (to happiness, etc.)', where 'happiness, etc., are seen as *bhāvin* 'that which will happen in the future'.

6.2.16 प्रीतौ च

prītau ca
/prītau 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2 *sukhapriyayoḥ* #15)
prītau gamyamānāyāṃ '*sukha, priya*' *ity etayor uttarapadayos tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retains its original accent, also when *sukha* and *priya* combine as followng constituents and *prīti* 'pleasure' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇasúkhaṃ pāyasam 'a brāhmaṇa finds extreme pleasure in eating rice-pudding'
chātrapriyo' nadhyāyaḥ 'a student finds extreme pleasure in non-study days'

kanyāpriyo mṛdaṅgaḥ 'a girl finds pleasure in playing the Mṛdaṅga drum'

1. Note that the signification of *sukha* and *priya* necessarily includes some sense of *prīti* 'affection'. Why should we then state *prītau* 'when affection is denoted'? It is used here to denote its excellence (*atiśaya*). The words *brāhmaṇa* and *chātra* are *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. They are derivates of *aṆ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) and *Ṇa* (4.4.62 *chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ*), respectively. The last, *kanyā* 'girl', is marked *svarita* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* 76 *tilyaśikya* . . .).

6.2.17 स्वं स्वामिनि

svaṃ svāmini
/*svaṃ* 1/1 *svāmini* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
svāminśabda uttarapade tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of *sva* 'one's own' retains its original accent when *svāmin* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gosvāmī 'cow-owner'
aśvásvāmī 'horse-owner'
dhanásvāmī 'owner of wealth'

1. Refer to derivational details of *go* 'cow', *aśva* 'horse' and *dhana* 'wealth' which have already been discussed (6.2.4 *gādhalavaṇayoḥ* . . .; 6.2.5 *dāyādyaṃ* . . .). The initial *udātta* of *aśva* and *dhana*, and the final *udātta* of *go* as well, is retained. This accentual provision will be blocked where *sva* 'one's own' is not denoted. Consider *p̱a̱ra̱ma̱sv̱ā̱mī*, where *parama* denotes *svāmin* by way of being a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*).

6.2.18 पत्यावैश्वर्ये

patyāv aiśvarye
/*patyau* 7/1 *aiśvarye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācini tatpuruṣe pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya* 'affluence' retains its original accent when *pati* 'lord, husband' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gṛhapátiḥ 'householder'
senápatiḥ 'commander'

narápatiḥ 'king'
dhānyápatiḥ 'master of wealth'

1. The *senā* 'army' of *senāpatiḥ* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound, paraphrased as *saha inena vartate* 'that which exists with might'. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*). The word *nara* 'man' is a derivate of affix *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*), introduced after *nṝ*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of the root-accent (*dhātu-svara*; 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). The affix, of course, is marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The word *dhānya*, a derivate of *ṆyaT*, is marked with *svarita* (6.1.182 *titsvaritam*) at the end.

6.2.19 न भूवाक्चिद्दिधिषु

na bhūvākciddidhiṣu
/*na* φ *bhū-vāk-cid-didhiṣu* 7/3 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2) *patyāv aiśvarye* #18)
patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācini tatpuruṣe samāse 'bhū, vāk, cit, didhiṣū' ity etāni pūrvapadāni prakṛtisvarāṇi na bhavanti
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya* 'affluence' does not retain its original accent when *pati* 'husband, lord' combines to follow *bhū* 'earth', *vāk* 'speech', *cit* 'mind, consciousness' and *didhiṣū* 'a woman who remarried'.

EXAMPLES:

bhūpatiḥ 'lord of the land'
vākpatiḥ 'master of speech'
citpatiḥ 'master of mind'
didhiṣūpatiḥ 'husband of a widowed woman'

1. This is an exception to the preceding rule. The preceding rule itself is an exception to 6.1.220 *samāsasya*. Thus, a negation of retention will reinstate final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*. The examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The initial constituents of the first three compounds, i.e., *bhū, vāk, cit*, are derivates of *KvIP* (3.2.179 *bhuvaḥ saṃjñāntarayoḥ*; 3.2.117 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate*; *vt.*: *kvibvacipracchi* . . .), respectively. The initial constituent of the last compound, i.e., *didhiṣū*, is derived with *Kū* (*Uṇādi* I:176: *andūdṛmbhūjambū* . . .), via *nipātana*, and is marked *anudātta*. The compound is, of course, marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.2.20 वा भुवनम्

vā bhuvanam
/*vā* φ *bhuvanam* 1/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2 *patyāv aiśvarye* #18)

patiśabda uttarapade aiśvaryavācini tatpuruṣe samāse bhuvanaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ vā prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent, namely *bhuvana*, of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *aiśvarya*, optionally retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

bhuvanapatiḥ 'lord of the universe'
bhuvánapatiḥ

1. The word *bhuvana* 'universe' is a derivate of *KyuN* (*Uṇādi* II:80: *bhūsūdhūbhrasji*. . .). Thus, *bhū* + (*yu*→*ana*) = *bh*(*u*→*v*) + *ana* = *bhuvana*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *Kyun*. This retention of the original accent of *bhuvana* is here made optional to the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

6.2.21 आशङ्काबाधनेदीयस्सु सम्भावने

āśaṅkābādhanedīyassu saṃbhāvane
/ *āśaṅka-ābādha-nedīyassu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *saṃbhāvane* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*āśaṅka, ābādha, nedīyas*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu sambhāvanavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaram bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *sambhāvana* 'assumption, supposition' retains its original accent when *āśaṅka* 'fear, apprehension', *ābādha* 'impediment' *nedīyas* 'proximate' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gamánāśaṅkam 'apprehension about going'
vacánāśaṅkam 'apprehension about speaking'
gamánābādham 'possible departure'
vacánābādham 'possible speaking'
gamánanedīyaḥ 'imminent departure'
vyāharáṇanedīyaḥ 'imminent speaking'

1. Note that *āśaṅka* and *ābādha* are derivates of *GHaÑ*, introduced after *śaṅk* and *bādh* conjoined with the preverb *āṄ*. They both are marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Their compounds with *gamana* and *vacana* are formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa*. . . . Since *gamana* and *vacana* are derivates of *LyuṬ*, their accent will be determined in view of 6.1.190 *liti*.

Commentators explain *nedīyaḥ* as *atiśayena antikaḥ* 'extremely closeby', where *antika* is replaced with *ned* before *īyasUN* (5.3.63 *antikabāḍhayor*. . .).

6.2.22 पूर्वे भूतपूर्वे

pūrve bhūtapūrve
/pūrve 7/1 *bhūtapūrve* 7/1 = *pūrvaṃ bhūtaḥ, tasmin/*
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
pūrvaśabde uttarapade bhūtapūrvavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *bhūtapūrva* 'former; that which existed before' retains its original accent when *pūrva* 'prior, earlier' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

āḍhyapū́rvaḥ 'formerly rich'
darśaṇīyápū́rvaḥ 'formerly handsome'
sukumārapū́rvaḥ 'formerly tender'

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.14 *mātropajñopakrama*... where *āḍhya* 'rich', *sukumāra* 'tender' and *darśanīya* 'worth seeing' are discussed. The example compounds can be formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa*.... Or else, one can resort to 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca*. These compounds are formed with the sense of *bhūtapūrva* 'that which existed before'. The word *pūrva*, insofar as integration (*vṛtti*) is concerned, is used in the sense of *bhūtapūrva* 'existed before'.

Why do we have to state the condition of *bhūtapūrve* 'when existed before'? Consider *paramapūrvaḥ* 'that which is best and is also prior' and *uttamapūrvaḥ* 'ibidem' where the compounds are paraphrased as *paramaś cāsau pūrvaś ca* and *uttamaś cāsau pūrvaś ca*, respectively. They are not formed with paraphrases such as *paramo bhūtapūrvaḥ* 'formerly excellent' and *uttamo bhūtapūrvaḥ* 'formerly best' (*Kāś: atra paramaś cāsau pūrvaś ca iti samāso na tu paramo bhūtapūrvaḥ iti*).

6.2.23 सविधसनीडसमर्यादसवेशसदेशेषु सामीप्ये

savidhasanīḍasamaryādasaveśasadeśeṣu sāmīpye
/savidha-sanīḍa-samaryāda-saveśa-sadeśeṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *sāmīpye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
'*savidha, sanīḍa, samaryāda, saveśa, sadeśa' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu sāmīpyavācini tatpuruṣe samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed with the signification of *sāmīpya* 'proximity' retains its original accent when *savidha, sanīḍa, samaryāda, saveśa* and *sadeśa* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

madrasávidham 'close to the country of the Madras'
kāśmīrásavidham 'close to Kāśmīra'

madrasánīḍam 'in the vicinity of...'
kāśmīrásanīḍam 'in the vicinity of...'
madrasámaryādam 'close to ...'
kāśmīrásamaryādam 'close to ...'
madrasáveśam 'close to ...'
kāśmīrásaveśam 'close to ...'
madrasádeśam 'in the vicinity of...'
kāśmīrásadeśam 'in the vicinity of...'

1. Note that *savidha*, etc., are neuters and denote *sāmīpya* 'proximity'. One should not here interpret *vidhi*, *nīḍa* and *veśa*, etc., as used in the instrumental governed by *saha* 'with, accompaniment' (2.2.23 *tena saheti*...). The accent of initial constituents of these compounds has been discussed under 6.1.13 *gantavyapaṇyaṃ*.... Their original accent is thus retained.

6.2.24 विस्पष्टादीनि गुणवचनेषु

vispaṣṭādīni guṇavacaneṣu
/*vispaṣṭādīni* 1/3 = *vispaṣṭa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tāni*; *guṇavacaneṣu* 7/3 = *guṇān uktavantaḥ* (*upa. tat.*), *teṣu*/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *tatpuruṣe* #2)
vispaṣṭādīni pūrvapadāni guṇavacaneṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvarāṇi bhavanti
The initial constituents, namely *vispaṣṭa* 'apparent', etc., of a *tatpuruṣa* compound retain their original accent when a constituent with the denotation of *guṇa* 'quality' (*guṇavacana*) combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

vispáṣṭakaṭukam 'evidently sour'
vicítrakaṭukam 'variously sour'
vyáktakaṭukam 'clearly sour'
vispáṣṭalavaṇam 'evidently salty'
vicítralavaṇam 'distinctly salty'
vyáktalavaṇam 'clearly salty'

1. Note that *vispaṣṭa* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, where its *vi* is also termed *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*; 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*). Rule 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe*... also offers initial *udātta* to *vicitra*, where *vi* itself is marked *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*). The word *vyakta* 'clear, manifest' ends in the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* which, in turn, is introduced after *añjŪ* used with the preverb *vi*. It is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.49 *gatiranantaraḥ*). The *a* of *vya*, in *vyakta*, is *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor*...). For, given *vi* + *ak* + *ta*, we get *vi* and *ak* marked with an *udātta* and *anudātta* respectively. That is, before a replacement in *yaṆ* for *i* of *vi* is accomplished. The *a* of *vya*, an *anudātta*, which now occurs after *y*, a replacement for *i* of *vi*, is to be replaced with a *svarita*.

Compounds such as *viṣpaṣṭakaṭukam*, etc., are formed under the condition of 2.1.4 *saha supā*, parallel to *viṣpaṣṭaṃ kaṭukam*. These compounds should not be formed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa*. . . . For, a *karmadhāraya* will require syntactic coordination between *vispaṣṭa* and *kaṭuka*, where *vispaṣṭa* 'evidently, obviously' is a qualifier to *kaṭukatva* 'acidity'. This qualifier here constitutes the basis for usage (*pravṛttinimitta*) of *kaṭuka*. The word *kaṭuka*, in turn, denotes a 'thing' (*dravya*) so qualified. Syntactic coordination is thus impaired. As a result, we cannot form a *karmadhāraya*.

Among the other words which are cited here, *sampanna* 'rich, prosperous' is marked with *udātta* at the end by 6.2.144 *thāthaghaṅktāj*. . . . The words *paṭu* 'clever' and *paṇḍita* 'wise' are marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The word *kuśala* is a derivate of the *kṛt* affix *Ka*. Consequently, it is marked with *udātta* at the end by 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*. Similar accentual provisions are made available for other words.

Note that, because of the condition of *vispaṣṭādīni*, *p̲a̲r̲a̲m̲a̲l̲a̲v̲a̲ṇam* 'excellent salt' and *u̲tta̲m̲a̲l̲a̲v̲a̲ṇam* 'best salt' fall outside the scope of this accentual provision. One must also exclude *v̲i̲ṣp̲a̲ṣṭ̲a̲br̲ā̲hm̲a̲ṇaḥ* 'clearly a brāhmaṇa by caste' since *vispaṣṭa* here denotes a class (*jāti*) of *brāhmaṇas*. It does not denote quality (*guṇavacana*).

6.2.25 **श्रज्यावमकन्पापवत्सु भावे कर्मधारये**

śrajyāvamakanpāpavatsu bhāve karmadhāraye
/ *śra-jya-avam-kan-pāpavatsu* 7/3 = *sraś ca jyaś ca avamaś ca pāpavāṃś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *bhāve* 7/1 *karmadhāraye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*śra, jya, avam, kan*' *ity eteṣu pāpaśabdavati cottarapade karmadhāraye samāse bhāvavāci pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a compound termed *karmadhāraya* retains its original accent when it signifies *bhāva* 'root-sense, state' and *śra, jya, avam, kan*, and a constituent containing *pāpa*, combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gamánaśreṣṭham 'auspicious departure'
gamánaśreyaḥ 'ibidem'
vacánajyeṣṭham 'auspicious talk'
vacánajyāyaḥ 'ibidem'
gamánāvamam 'final departure'
vacánāvamam 'final words'
gamánakaniṣṭham 'short departure'
gamánakanīyaḥ 'shorter departure'
gamánapāpiṣṭhaḥ 'a rather wicked departure'
gamánapāpīyaḥ 'most wicked departure'

1. Recall that *gamana* and *vacana* which are used here as initial constituents are derivates of *LyuṬ*. They are marked *udātta* at the beginning, mainly because of *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *liti*).

2. Note that *śra, jya* and *kan* specify compound constituents which follow. They are primarily replacements. Thus, *śra* and *jya* are replacements of *praśasya* when vowel-initial affixes *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN* follow (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*; 5.3.61 *jay ca*). Rule 5.3.64 *yuvālpayoḥ kan anyatarasyām* introduces *kan* as an optional replacement after *yuvan* and *alpa*. A specification with these replacements obviously refers to forms which contain them. The following constituents, as examples of *pāpavat*, etc., are given as *pāpiṣṭha* and *pāpīya*. Their *matUP* is deleted (5.3.65 *vinmator luk*) before *iṣṭhaN* and *īyasUN*.

3. Since this accentual provision applies only when we find *śra*, etc., as replacements, *gamanaśobhanam* 'nice going' will be treated as a counter-example. The denotatum of *gamana* must also be *bhāva* 'root-sense'. It is for this reason that *gamanaśreyaḥ* 'going is good fortune', a *karmadhāraya* paraphrased as *gamanaṃ ca tat śreyaś ca* is a counter-example. The word *gamana* is here interpreted as denoting 'means' (*karaṇa*): *gamyate anena* 'that by means of which one goes'. This counter-example can also be interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, as against the *karmadhāraya*. Thus, *gamanasya śreyaḥ* = *gamanaśreyaḥ* 'the best of going'.

6.2.26 कुमारश्च

kumāraś ca
/*kumāraḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *karmadhāraye* #25)
kumāraśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ karmadhāraye samāse prakṛtisvaram bhavati
An initial constituent, namely *kumāra*, of a compound termed *karmadhāraya* retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

kumāraśrámaṇā 'young female ascetic'
kumārakúlaṭā 'young female mendicant'
kumāratā́pasī 'young female ascetic'

1. Note that *kumāra*, when paraphrased with *śramaṇā* 'ascetic' and *tāpasī* 'ascetic', is construed as *kumārī* 'girl', its feminine counterpart. That is, *kumāra* is gotten via masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*) of *kumārī* (*Paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam*). The word *kumāra* is a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .) introduced after verbal root *kumār* 'to play, sport'. Since affix *aC* is marked with *C* as an *it*, its derivate, here *kumāra*, is supposed to be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*).

6.2.27 आदिः प्रत्येनसि

ādiḥ pratyenasi
/ *ādiḥ* 1/1 *pratyenasi* 7/1 = *pratigatam enaḥ yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *karmadhāraye* #25 *kumāraḥ* #26)
pratyenasi uttarapade karmadhāraye kumārasyādir udātto bhavati
The initial constituent of a *karmadhāraya* compound, namely *kumāra*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *pratyenas* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kumārapratyenāḥ 'an innocent prince'

1. Note that this section of rules deal with retention of original accents. A constituent such as *kumāra* is allowed to retain its final *udātta* in the earlier rule. Our present rule does not make any explicit provision of *udātta* at the beginning (*ādiḥ*). Its provision can at best be interpreted as retention of original accent of *kumāra* at its beginning. That is, *ādiḥ* has to be interpreted as *kumārasya ādiḥ* 'the initial of *kumāra*'. Since the original accent of *kumāra* is *udātta* at the end, it will be retained. However, this retention, as is specified by *ādiḥ*, must take place at the beginning. Thus, the final *udātta* of *kumāra* is hereby restored to its initial position. The word *udāttaḥ* thus must be inferred here. For, otherwise, this *sūtra* would not make any sense. That is, this rule offers retention of original accent of an initial compound constituent, namely *kumāra*. This is based on interpreting *ādiḥ* as *kumārasya ādiḥ* 'the initial of *kumāra*...'. We must supply *udāttaḥ* to complete the sense: *udāttaḥ bhavati* 'becomes *udātta*'. What was *udātta* at the end thus becomes *udātta* at the beginning. The word *ādi* 'beginning' is used here to replace what, in the earlier context, was *anta* 'end'.

6.2.28 पूगेष्वन्यतरस्याम्

pūgeṣv anyatarasyām
/ *pūgeṣu* 7/3 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *karmadhāraye* #25 *kumāraḥ* #26 *ādiḥ* #27)
pūgavāciny uttarapade karmadhāraye samāse kumārasyānyatarasyām ādir udātto bhavati
The initial of *kumāra*, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya*, is optionally marked with *udātta* when a constituent denoting *pūga* 'group' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kumāracātakāḥ 'a group of youths whose leader is Cātaka'
kumāracātakāḥ 'ibidem'

kúmāralohadhvajāḥ 'a group of youths whose leader is Lohadhvaja'
kumāralóhadhvajāḥ 'ibidem'
kumārabalāhakāḥ 'a group of youths whose leader is Balāhaka'
kumārabálāhakāḥ 'ibidem'

1. Refer to notes under 5.3.112 *pūgāñ*... for an explanation of *pūga*. An optional *udātta* at the beginning is offered against the option of *udātta* at the end. This, of course, is in accord with the *pratipadokta* 'nominals specified via individual enumeration' rule of interpretation (*Paribhāṣā* 114: *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasya*...). Recall that *kumāra* is being assigned accent by way of specific enumeration (*pratipadokta*). Outside of this *pratipadokta* consideration, a compound such as *kumāracātaka* can be either marked *udātta* at the end (of its initial constituent *kumāra*), or at the end of the compound (6.1.220 *samāsasya*) itself. Note that *cātaka*, etc., are derivates of affix *Nya* (5.3.112 *pūgāñ*...) where *LUK* causes affixal deletion (2.4.62 *tadrajasya bahuṣu*...).

6.2.29 इगन्तकालकपालभगालशरावेषु द्विगौ

igantakālakapālabhagālaśarāveṣu dvigau
/ *iganta-kāla-kapāla-bhagāla-śarāveṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*; *igantaḥ* = *ig ante yasya* (*bv.*)); *dvigau* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*iganta uttarapade kālavācini kapāla bhagāla śarāva' ity eteṣu dvigau samāse pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu* retains its original accent when a constituent which either ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*, or denotes *kāla* 'time', or else, is constituted by *kapāla* 'bowl', *bhagāla* 'skull' and *śarāva* 'tray, (clay) cups', follows.

EXAMPLES:

pañcáratniḥ 'a measure of five cubits (7.05 feet)'
daśáratniḥ 'a measure of ten cubits (15 feet)'
pañcámāsyaḥ 'five months old'
daśámāsyaḥ 'ten months old'
pañcákapālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in five bowls'
daśákapālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls'
pañcábhagālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in five skulls'
daśábhagālaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten bowls'
pañcáśarāvaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in five cups'
daśáśarāvaḥ 'a ritual oblation prepared in ten cups'

1. Note that *pañcan* 'five' and *daśan* 'ten' are marked *udātta* at the be-

ginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 28: *nraḥ saṃkhyāyāḥ*). Refer to derivational details of *pañcakapālaḥ* (appendix, 2.1.50 *taddhitārtho*. . .). Similar rules apply in deriving *pañcaśarāvaḥ* and *pañcabhagālaḥ*. Their *dvigu* is formed under the condition of *taddhitārtha* (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapda*. . .). Their *aṆ* (4.2.17 *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ*) is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*.

Examples of *iganta* 'that which ends in an *iK*' involve *aratni* 'a measure of eighteen inches' as a following constituent. We thus get the *dvigu* compound: *pañcāratniḥ*, parallel to *pañcāratnayaḥ pramāṇam asya*. Affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasac*. . .) of these compounds has been deleted by a *vārttika* (ad 5.2.12 *dvigau pramāṇe*; *pramāṇe lo dvigor nityam*). Examples of *kāla* 'time', i.e., *pañcamāsyaḥ* and *daśamāsyaḥ*, involve deletion of *yaP* (5.1.81 *dvigor yap*). Finally, derivates with *varṣa* involve deletion of affix *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.88 *varṣāl luk*).

2. The condition of *iganta* is necessary so that *pañcāśvaḥ* 'purchased for five horses' and *daśāśvaḥ* 'purchased for ten horses', etc., can be excluded. It is observed that this condition of *iganta* is still met in compounds where *iK* goes through modification by *guṇa* and *yaṆ*. Thus, *pañcāratnayaḥ/daśāratnayaḥ* and *pañcāratnayaḥ* and *daśāratnayaḥ*. The first two involve *yaṆ* and the next two *guṇa*. Since these modifications take place with reference to nominal endings, they are externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*). The assignment of accent is comparatively internal (*antaraṅga*). That is, externally conditioned modifications become suspended (*asiddha*) and the concerned bases remain *iganta* (*Kāś*: *pañcāratnyo daśāratnya iti pañcāratnayo daśāratnaya iti ca yaṇguṇayor bahiraṅgalakṣaṇayor asiddhatvāt sthānivadbhāvād vā dvigusvara igantalakṣaṇaḥ pravartate*). One can even take recourse to *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating *x* as what it replaced' for getting these bases to end in *iK*.

6.2.30 बह्वन्यतरस्याम्

bahv anyatarasyām
/*bahu* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *igantakālakapālabhagāla-śarāveṣu dvigau* #29)
bahuśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ igantādiṣūttarapadeṣu dvigau samāse' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial compound constituent, namely *bahu* 'many', of a *tatpuruṣa* termed *dvigu*, retains its original accent optionally, when a constituent which ends in *iK*, or denotes *kāla* 'time', or else, is constituted by *kapāla*, *bhagāla* and *śarāva*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

bahvāratniḥ 'that of which many aratnis are a measure'
bahvaratniḥ 'ibidem'

bahúmāsyaḥ 'he who is many months old'
bahumāsyaḥ 'ibidem'
bahukápālaḥ 'that which is prepared in many bowls'
bahukapālaḥ 'ibidem'
bahubhágālaḥ 'that which is prepared in many skulls'
bahubhagālaḥ 'ibidem'
bahuśárāvaḥ 'that which is prepared in many cups'
bahuśarāvaḥ 'ibidem'

1. An initial constituent, namely *bahu*, retains its original accent only optionally. Recall that *bahu* ends in *Ku* (*Uṇādi*: I:29: *laṃghibahyor*. . .) and is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). This accent, a *svarita* in view of 8.4.65 *udāttasvaritayor*. . ., will be retained by *hva* after *u* of *bahu* gets replaced with *v*. Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* will assign final *udātta* if an option to retain *svarita* is not accepted.

6.2.31 **दिष्टिवितस्त्योश्च**

diṣṭivitastyoś ca
/*diṣṭi-vitastyoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ф/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvigau* #29 *anyatarasyām* #30)
'*diṣṭi, vitasti' ity etayor uttarapadayor dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *dvigu*, optionally, retains its original accent when *diṣṭi* and *vitasti* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

pañcádiṣṭiḥ 'a length equal to five *diṣṭis*'
pañcadiṣṭiḥ
pañcávitastiḥ 'a length equal to five *vitastis*'
pañcavitastiḥ

1. Note that *diṣṭi* 'a measure of length' and *vitasti* 'a measure of length' denote *pramāṇa* 'measure'. Their compounds also involve deletion of *mātraC* (see *vt* ad 5.2.12). Here again, we get the option of retention against final *udātta* (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.2.32 **सप्तमी सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धेष्वकालात्**

saptamī siddhaśuṣkapakvabandheṣv akālāt
/*saptamī* 1/1 *siddha-śuṣka-pakva-bandheṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *akālāt* 5/1 (*na kālāt* (*nañ. tat.*))/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*siddha, śuṣka, pakva, bandha' ity etayor uttarapadayor dvigau samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a compound which signifies something other than *kāla* 'time' and ends in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet', retains its original accent when *siddha* 'accomplished', *śuṣka* 'dried', *pakva* 'cooked, ripe' and *bandha* 'yoked, tied' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sāṅkāśyasíddhaḥ 'made in Sāṅkāśya'
sāṅkāśyásiddhaḥ
ūkaśúṣkaḥ 'sun-dried'
nidhanáśuṣkaḥ 'dried in the eighth lunar month'
kumbhīpákvaḥ 'cooked in a clay pot'
kalaśīpákvaḥ 'cooked in a pitcher'
cakrabándhaḥ 'tied with a wheel'
cārákabandhaḥ 'caught in a wrestling move named cāraka'

1. Note that *sāṅkāśya* and *kāmpilya* are derivates of *Ṇya* (4.2.79 *vuñ-chaṇkaṭha* . . .). They are marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). A *phiṭsūtra* (65) considers *sāṅkāśya* and *kāmpilya* optionally *udātta* in the middle. This too can be accepted as optionally retained. The word *ūka* is derived with *kaK* (*Uṇādi* III:40: *sṛbhūśuṣi* . . .) introduced, variously (*bahulam*), after verbal root *av* 'to protect, assist'. The root, when replaced with *ūṬH* (6.4.20 *jvaratvarasriviavi* . . ., will produce (*av*→*ūṬH*) + *ka*(*K*) = *ūka*. This too is *udātta* by affixal accent. The word *nidhana* is a derivate of *Kyu* (*Uṇādi* II:81: *kṛpṛvṛji* . . .), introduced after *dhāÑ*, where *ā* of *dhā* gets deleted (6.4.64 *āto lopa* . . .). The *yu*, of course, will get replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). The word itself is marked *udātta* in the middle by affixal accent. Derivates such as *kumbhī* and *kalaśī*, because they end in *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*), are marked *udātta* at the end. The word *bhrāṣṭra*, being a derivate of *ṢṭraN* (*Uṇādi* IV:160: *bhrasjigami* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The word *cakra* is treated as marked *udātta* at the end. But, *cāraka*, as a derivate of *ṆvuL*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.190 *liti*).

2. Why is this provision not applicable to *pūrvāhṇasiddhaḥ* 'made in the morning' and *aparāhṇasiddhaḥ* 'made in the afternoon'? Because their initial constituent denotes 'time' (*kāla*). Note that these are locative *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The retention of their original accent, per 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . ., is, however, blocked by the final *udātta* of 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ*. . . . This rule blocks the final *udātta* of 6.2.144 and restores the accentual provision of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

6.2.33 परिप्रत्युपापा वर्ज्यमानाहोरात्रावयवेषु

paripratyupāpā varjyamānāhorātrāvayaveṣu
/*paripratyupāpāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *varjyamānāhorātrāvayaveṣu* 7/3 = *ahaś*

ca rātriś ca = ahorātrau; ahorātrayor avayavāḥ (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*) / (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*pari, prati, upa, apa*' *ity ete pūrvapadabhūtā varjyamānavācini aharavayavavācini rātryavayavavācini cottarapade prakṛtisvarā bhavanti*
The initial compound constituents, namely *pari, prati, upa* and *apa*, retain their original accent when a constituent with the signification of *varjyamāna* 'that which is to be excluded', *aharavayava* 'part of day', or *rātryavayava* 'part of night', combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

parítrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained around (but not in) Trigartta'
parísauvīram . . . 'it rained around (but not in) Sauvīra'
pratípūrvāhṇam 'each forenoon'
pratyáparāhṇam 'each afternoon'
pratípūrvarātram 'around the first quarter of every night'
pratyápararātram 'around the last quarter of every night'
upápūrvāhṇam 'close to forenoon'
upápūrvarātram 'around the first quarter of the night'
apátrigarttaṃ vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained away from Trigarta'
apásauvīram 'it rained away from Sauvīra'

1. Note that *pari, prati, upa* and *apa* are marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 80–81: *nipātāḥ ādyudāttāḥ; upasargāś cābhivarjam*). Additionally, *apa* and *pari* are termed *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.87 *apaparī varjane*. The indeclinable compounds are formed by 2.1.11 *vibhāṣā' paparibahirañcavaḥ*. A following constituent with the signification of *varjyamāna* 'that which is to be excluded' is combined only with *apa* and *pari* as its initial constituents. For, these are the only two which are termed *karmapravacanīya* when *varjana* is the signification. Recall that *prati* and *upa* combine in an indeclinable compound in consonance with 2.1.13 *lakṣaṇenābhipraty ābhimukhye* and 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . ., respectively.
2. Note that retention of original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* (6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe* . . .) and *bahuvrīhi* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā* . . .) compound is already recommended. This rule offers retention of original accent in an *avyayībhāva* compound.

6.2.34 राजन्यबहुवचनद्वन्द्वेऽन्धकवृष्णिषु

rājanyabahuvacanadvandve' ndhakavṛṣṇiṣu
/ *rājanya-bahuvacana-dvandve* 7/1 = *rājanyāni ca etāni bahuvacanāni* (*karm.*); *rājanyabahuvacanānāṃ dvandvaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *karm.*); *andhaka-vṛṣṇiṣu* 7/3 = *andhakāś ca vṛṣṇayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/ *rājanyavācināṃ bahuvacanāntānām yo dvandvo' ndhakavṛṣṇiṣu varttate tatra pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound, namely one which ends in plural with the signification of *rājanya* 'kṣatriya', retains its original accent when the compound is formed with the denotatum of *andhaka* and *vṛṣṇi.*

EXAMPLES:

śvāphalkacaitrakāḥ 'many kṣatriya descendants of Śvaphalka and Caitraka in the lineage of Andhaka'
caitrakakródhakāḥ 'many kṣatriya descendants of Caitraka and Rodhaka in the lineage of Andhaka'
śinívāsudevāḥ 'many kṣatriya descendants of Śini and Vasudeva in the lineage of Vṛṣṇi'

1. Note that *śvāphalka* and *caitraka,* as derivates of *aṆ* (4.1.144 *ṛṣyandhaka* . . .), are marked *udātta* at the end. The next *śini,* a derivate of *ni* (*Uṇādi* IV:51: *vahiśriśruyu* . . .), requires the long *ī* of *śīṄ* 'to recline' to be replaced with *i* (*hrasva*). The derivate, in turn, is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* in *ni.*

2. Note that this accentual provision is not applicable to *saṃkarṣaṇa-vāsudevau* where the compound denotes dual based on the singular denotatum of its constituents. It can also not be made available to *vṛṣṇikumārāḥ* where the compound is a genitive *tatpuruṣa.* Similarly, we must exclude *kurupañcālāḥ* where compound constituency does not denote the lineage of Andhaka and Vṛṣṇi.

6.2.35 संख्या

saṃkhyā
/*saṃkhyā* 1/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvandve* #34)
dvandvasamāse saṃkhyāvāci pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaram bhavati
The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which denotes *saṃkhyā* 'number' retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

ekādaśa 'eleven'
dvādáśa 'twelve'
trayodáśa 'thirteen'
trayodáśa 'ibidem'

1. Note that *eka* is a derivate of *kaN* (*Uṇādi* III:43: *iṇbhīkāpāśalya* . . .). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning, mainly because of its affixal *N* as an *it.* The word *dvi* is marked *udātta* at the end in view of nominal stem accent (*prātipadikasvara*). The *trayas* replacement of *tri* is marked *udātta* at the

end, via *nipātana* (6.3.47 *tres trayaḥ*). A replacement in long *ā* (*ātva*) for the short in *ekādaśa* and *dvādaśa* is accomplished by 6.3.46 *ānmahataḥ*... and 6.3.47 *dvyaṣṭanaḥ saṃkhyāyām*, respectively.

6.2.36 **आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी**

> *ācāryopasarjanaś cāntevāsī*
> / *ācāryopasarjanaḥ* 1/1 = *ācārya upasarjanam apradhānaṃ yasmin* (*bv.*); (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvandve* #34)
> *ācāryopasarjanāntevāsināṃ yo dvandvas tatra pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
> The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound retains its original accent when constituents signify *antevāsin* 'student' and *ācārya* 'preceptor, teacher' is used as a qualifier.

EXAMPLES:

> *āpiśalapāṇinīyāḥ* 'students of Āpiśali and Pāṇini'
> *pāṇinīyáraudhīyāḥ* 'students of Pāṇini and Roḍhi'

1.This rule allows retention of original accent of those initial constituents which may have *antevāsin* 'student' or *ācārya* as an *upasarjana* 'secondary (qualifier)'. Note that *āpiśala-pāṇinīyāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *āpiśalāś ca pāṇinīyāś ca*, where *āpiśala* and *pāṇinīya* could be derivates with the signification of *tasyāpatyam* 'male offspring' (with *aṆ*; *iÑ* after *āpiśali*), *tena proktam* 'enunciated by him' (4.3.101; *aṆ*; *iÑ* after *āpiśali* cf. 4.2.111 *iñaś ca*) and 4.2.59 *tad adhīte tad veda* 'those who study or know' (4.2.59). The *aṆ* of 4.3.101 *tena proktam* is deleted by 4.2.64 *proktāl luk*. The *aṆ*-derivate of *āpiśali*, i.e., *āpiśala*, is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *pāṇinīya*, a derivate of *cha*, is *udātta* in the middle. Its final *anudātta* becomes *svarita* when the rest of it becomes *anudātta*. This same is also true of *rauḍhīya*.

6.2.37 **कार्तकौजपादयश्च**

> *kārtakaujapādayaś ca*
> / *kārtakaujapādayaḥ* 1/3 = *kārtakaujapa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
> (*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *dvandve* #34)
> *kārtakaujapādayo ye dvandvās teṣu pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
> The initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound formed with *kārta* and *kaujapa* also retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

> *kārtakaújapau* 'male descendants of Kṛta and Kujapa'

sāvárṇimāṇḍūkeyau 'male descendants of Savarṇa and Maṇḍūka'
avantyáśmakāḥ 'many descendants of Avanti and Aśmaka'
pailaśyāparṇeyāḥ 'young male descendant of Paila, and young male descendant of Śyāparṇī'

1. Note that *kārtakaujapa* is a *dvandva* compound formed with *kārta* and *kaujapa,* where *kārta* and *kaujapa* are derivates of *aÑ* (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhaka*...), paraphrased as *kṛtasyāpatyam* 'male offspring of Kṛta' and *kujapasyāpatyam* 'male offspring of Kujapa'. The initial constituent *kārta* is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). Incidentally, *ca* in the *sūtra* is used for carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *dvandve.*

The initial constituent of *sāvarṇimāṇḍūkeyau* is a derivate of *iÑ* (4.1.94 *ata iñ*). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). It is marked *svarita* at the end (8.4.66 *udāttādanudāttasya svaritaḥ*), after its remainder has become *anudātta* (6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam*...). Incidentally, *māṇḍūkeya* is a derivate of *ḍhaK* (4.1.119 *ḍhak ca maṇḍūkāt*). Affix *ÑyaÑ* (4.1.171 *vṛddhetkosalājādāññyañ*) is introduced after *avanti* + *Ṅas* to derive *avantayaḥ,* parallel to *avanter apatyāni bahūni.* This affix is deleted by 2.4.62 *tadrājasya*.... Affix *aÑ* (4.2.69 *tasya nivāsaḥ*) is then introduced after *avanti* + *ām,* parallel to *avantīnāṃ nivāso janapadaḥ* 'a principality (*janapada*) which is the residence of Avantis'. This affix is also deleted, though by 4.2.81 *janapade lup.* This same also applies to the derivation of *aśmakāḥ* which combines as the following constituent with *avantayaḥ.* Consequently, a final *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 21: *ghṛtādīnāṃ ca*) is assigned to *avanti.* The *ya* which results subsequent to *y*-replacement of *i* (of *avanti*) then becomes *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor*...).

Note that *pailaśyāparṇeyāḥ* is a *dvandva* compound with its constituents denoting *yuvan* 'young descendant'. Thus, a son of *pīlā* will be *paila* (4.1.118 *pīlāyā vā*). His young son will also be called *paila,* since affix *phiÑ* (4.1.156 *aṇo dvyacaḥ*) will be deleted (2.4.59 *pailādibhyaś ca*). The word *śyāparṇī* is a derivate of *ṄīṢ* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...) introduced after *śyāparṇa,* itself a derivate of *aÑ* (4.1.104 *anṛṣyānantarye bidādibhyo' ñ*), parallel to *śyaparṇasyāpatyam* 'male offspring of Śyāparṇa'. A young descendant of *śyāparṇī* will be *śyāparṇeya,* a derivate of *ḍhaK* (4.1.120 *strībhyo ḍhak;* 7.1.2 *āyaneyī*...). A *dvandva* compound with *śyāparṇeya* as a following constituent will have *paila,* under the provision of this rule, marked with affixal *udātta* at the end.

6.2.38 **महान् ब्रीह्यपराह्णगृष्टीष्वासजाबालभारभारतहैलिहिलरौरवप्रवृद्धेषु**

mahān brīhyaparāhṇagṛṣṭīṣvāsajābālabhārabhāratahailihilaraurava-pravṛddheṣu
/*mahān* 1/1 *brīhy-aparāhṇa-gṛṣṭīṣvāsa-jābāla-bhāra-bhārata-haili-hilaraurava-pravṛddheṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)

'*mahān*' *ity etat pūrvapadaṃ vrīhi, aparāhṇa, gṛṣṭi, iṣvāsa, jābāla, bhāra, bhārata, hailihila, raurava, prabuddha*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*

An initial compound constituent, namely *mahān* 'great', retains its original accent when *vrīhi* 'rice', *aparāhṇa* 'afternoon', *gṛṣṭi* 'cow', *iṣvāsa* 'bow, archer', *jābāla* 'name of a sage', *bhāra* 'burden, load', *bhārata* 'Mahābhārata', *hailihila* 'sportsman', *raurava* 'hell' and *pravṛddha* 'very old' combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

mahāvrīhiḥ 'long-grain rice'
mahāpárāhṇaḥ 'late afternoon'
mahāgṛ́ṣṭiḥ 'a pregnant cow'
maheṣvā́saḥ 'great archer'
mahājā́bālaḥ 'elder Jābāla'
mahābhā́raḥ 'heavy load'
mahābhā́rataḥ 'the great epic'
mahāhaílihilaḥ 'a great sportsman'
mahāraúravaḥ 'most dreaded hell'
mahāprávṛddhaḥ 'excessively old'

1. Note that *mahat* is marked *udātta* at the end (*Uṇādi* II:84: *vartamāne pṛṣadbṛhan* . . .), via *nipātana*. It combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound under provisions of 2.1.61 *sanmahat*. . . . That is, this accentual provision applies only to compounds formed with specific bases enumerated (*pratipadokta*) by rule 2.1.61. Elsewhere, in *mahadvrīhiḥ*, a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *mahato vrīhiḥ*, this rule will not apply. The compound will be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

2. Why is *mahāpravṛddha* listed here when the compound, based upon *pravṛddha* being a derivate of *Kta*, can be covered by 6.2.46 *karmadhāraye' niṣṭhā*. Rule 6.2.46 *karmadhāraye' niṣṭhā* also covers compound-formation of similar bases which are enumerated in the list headed by *śreṇī* 'guild'. Our present rule cites *pravṛddha* so that retention of the original accent of a compound with *pravṛddha* could be secured.

6.2.39 क्षुल्लकश्च वैश्वदेवे

kṣullakaś ca vaiśvadeve
/*kṣullakaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *vaiśvadeve* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *mahān* #39)
'*kṣullaka*' *ity etat pūrvapadaṃ mahāṃś ca vaiśvadeva uttarapade prakṛtisvaram bhavati*

The initial constituents, namely *kṣullaka* 'insignificant' and *mahān*

'great, big', of a compound retain their original accent when *vaiśvadeva* 'an oblation to all gods' combines as the following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

kṣullakavaiśvadevam 'a small ritual pot for all gods'
mahāvaiśvadevam 'a big ritual pot for all gods'

1. Note that *kṣullaka* is a derivate of *Ka* (5.3.86 *hrasve*) with the signification of *hrasva* 'small, insignificant, short'. It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The accent of *mahat* is already discussed. These two derivates both are names of ritual pots, sacrifices, or luminaries.

6.2.40 उष्ट्रः सादिवाम्योः

uṣṭraḥ sādivāmyoḥ
/*uṣṭraḥ* 1/1 *sādivāmyoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
uṣṭraśabdaḥ pūrvapadam sādivāmyor uttarapadayoḥ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *uṣṭra* 'camel', retains its original accent when *sādi* 'rider' and *vāmi* 'rider' combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

uṣṭrásādi 'camel rider'
uṣṭrávāmi 'rider of a female camel'

1. Recall that *uṣṭra*, as a derivate of *ṣṭraN* introduced after *uṣ* 'be hot' (*Uṇādi* IV:125: *uṣikhanibhyām* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Note also that the two neuter derivates of *iÑ*, introduced after *sad* and *vam* (*Uṇādi* IV:125), i.e., *sādi* and *vāmi*, can be combined with *uṣṭra* to either form a genitive *tatpuruṣa*, or a *karmadhāraya*, compound. The words *sādi* and *vāmi* are used as general references to also include *sādī* and *vāmī*, both derivates of *ṆinI*.

6.4.41 गौः सादसादिसारथिषु

gauḥ sādasādisārathiṣu
/*gauḥ* 1/1 *sāda-sārathiṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
gośabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ 'sāda, sādi, sārathi' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *go* 'cow', retains its original accent when *sāda, sādi* and *sārathi* combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

gosâdaḥ 'one who drives the cows'
gosâdiḥ 'one who rides a bull'
gosârathiḥ 'one who drives a cart pulled by bulls'

1. Recall that *go* (6.2.17 *svaṃ svāmini*) is *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*).

2. Note that *sāda* could be interpreted as a derivate of *GHaÑ* introduced after *sad*. It can also be interpreted as a derivate of *aṆ* introduced after causal *sādi*, under the cooccurrence condition of *go* as object (*karman*). Affix *ṆinI* is then introduced after the derivate of *aṆ* to derive *gosādin*. The compound constituents *sada* and *sādin* constitute exceptions to accents assigned to derivates of *kṛt*. But a compound with *sārathi* constitutes an exception to accentual provisions of 6.1.219 *samāsasya*.

6.2.42 **कुरुगार्हपतरिक्तगर्वसूतजरत्यश्लीलदृढरूपपारेवडवातैतिलकद्रूःपण्यकम्बलो दासीभाराणां च**

kurugārhapatariktagarvasūtajaratyaślīladṛḍharūpā pārevaḍavātaitilakadrūḥ paṇyakambalo dāsībhārāṇāṃ ca
/*kurugārhapata* (1/1 deleted) *riktaguru* (1/1 deleted) *asūtajaratī* 1/1 *aślīladṛḍharūpā* 1/1 *pārevaḍavā* 1/1 *taitilakadrūḥ* 1/1 *paṇyakambalaḥ* 1/1 *dāsībhārāṇām* 6/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*kurugārhapata, riktaguru, asūtajaratī, aślīladṛḍharūpā, pārevaḍavā, taitilakadrū, paṇyakambala*' *ity ete samāsās teṣāṃ dāsībhārādīnāṃ ca pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
The initial constituents of compounds such as *kurugārhapata, riktaguru, asūtajaratī, aślīladṛḍharūpā, pārevaḍavā, taitilakadrū, paṇyakambala,* and also constituents of compounds headed by *dāsībhāra* 'maid's load', retain their original accent.

EXAMPLES:

kuṟugârhapatam 'headship of the clan of the Kurus'
riktáguruḥ 'an unworthy teacher'
ṟiktagúruḥ
asûtajaratī 'a woman too old to bear a child'
aślîladṛḍharūpā 'an ugly woman with strong body'
pāṟeváḍavā 'a mare on the other side of the river'
taiṯiḻakádrūḥ 'the soma vessel of the descendants of Titilin'
paṇyákambalaḥ 'a blanket on sale'
dāṟsībhârah 'maid's load'
deṟvahûtiḥ 'invocation to gods'

1. Note that *kuru*, as a derivate of *Ku* (*Uṇādi* (24): *kṛgror uc ca*) is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The word *rikta* is marked *udātta* at the beginning, or at the end, optionally (6.1.205 *rikte vibhāṣā*). The *naÑ* of *asūta* and *aślīla* will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* (80): *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*), as against what 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*... provides for. The compound-formation of *pārebaḍavā*, with no deletion (*aluk*) of its nominal endings, is accomplished via *nipātana*. The word *pāra* is a nominal of the *ghṛtādi* class (*Phiṭsūtra* 21: *ghṛtādīnāṃ ca*). It is thus marked *udātta* at the end.

A final *udātta* is also assigned to *taitilaḥ* 'son of Titilin', a derivate of *aṆ* (4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) with the signification of *apatya* 'offspring'. The *paṇya* of *paṇyakambalaḥ*, as a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.101 *avadyapaṇya*...), is assigned *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*). The word *dāsa* is derived with affix *Ṭa* introduced after *dans* (*Uṇādi* V:10: *daṃseṣṭaṭanau na ā ca*), where the root-nasal also gets replaced with *ā*. This derivate is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. Affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...) is then introduced to derive *dāsī*. Note that the *dāsībhārādi* nominals constitute a class of *tatpuruṣa* compounds whose first constituents are not covered for retention of original accent elsewhere (*Kāś*: *yasya tatpuruṣasya pūrvaprakṛtisvaratvam iṣyate, na ca vihitam, sa sarvo dāsībhārādiṣu draṣṭavyaḥ*). A constituent such as *deva*, of *devahūtiḥ*, etc., is, as a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*...), marked *udātta* at the end.

6.2.43 चतुर्थी तदर्थे

caturthī tadarthe
/ *caturthī* 1/1 *tadarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai idam* (*cat. tat.*), *tasmin*;
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
caturthyantaṃ pūrvapadaṃ tadarthe uttarapade
tadabhidheyārthaṃ yat tadvāciny uttarapade prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal ending' retains its original accent when a constituent with the signification of *tadartha* 'intended for that' follows.

EXAMPLES:

yūpádāruḥ 'wood intended for ritual post'
kuṇḍalahiráṇyam 'gold intended for ear-rings'

1. Refer to my discussion of *yūpa* under 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*.... The word *kuṇḍala* 'ear-ring' is variously (*bahulam*) derived as a derivate of *KalaC*, marked with *C* as an *it* (*Uṇādi* I:106: *vṛṣādibhyaś cit*). It is marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). The word *ratha*, as a derivate of *KthaN* (*Uṇādi* II:2: *hanikuṣinī*...), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

The word *vallī*, a feminine ending in *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*), is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

Commentators offer *kuberabaliḥ* 'ritual oblation offered to Kubera' as a counter-example to indicate that *caturthī* of these compounds must be interpreted within the context of *prakṛti-vikṛtibhāva* 'material modification'. That is, this accentual retention is desired only where modification of a material cause is involved (*Kāś*: *prakṛtivikārabhāve svaro' yam iṣyate*).

6.2.44 अर्थे

arthe
/*arthe* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *caturthī* #43)
arthaśabda uttarapade caturthyantaṃ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī* retains its original accent when *artha* 'purpose' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

mātrártham 'intended for mother'
pitrártham 'intended for father'
devatârtham 'intended for gods'
atíthyartham 'intended for guests'

1. Refer to my discussion of *mātṛ* 'mother' and *pitṛ* 'father' under 6.2.11 *sadṛśapratirūpayoḥ sādṛśye*. The *tra*, resulting from *r*-replacement of *ṛ* of *mātṛ* and *pitṛ*, becomes *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor*...). The *udātta* in the middle of *devatā*, a derivate of *taL* with the feminine affix *ṬāP* (5.4.27 *devāt tal*), has its source in the final *udātta* characterized with *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). The word *atithi*, as a derivate of *ithiN* (*Uṇādi* IV:2: *ṛtanyañji*...) with *N* as an *it*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

2. How is this accentual provision, especially as it relates to the use of *tadarthe* and *arthe*, different from the provision of the preceding rule? The preceding rule will apply only where *prakṛtivikṛtibhāva* 'modification of a material cause' is involved.

6.2.45 क्ते च

kte ca
/*kte* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *caturthī* #43)
ktānte cottarapade caturthyantaṃ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound which ends in *caturthī*, also retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gohítam 'beneficial to cows'
aśváhitam 'beneficial to horses'
manuṣyáhitam 'beneficial to humans'
gorákṣitam 'reserve for cows'
tāpasarákṣitam 'reserved for ascetics'

1. Refer to notes of 6.2.13 *gantavya...* for details of *aśva* and *go.* Refer to notes under 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau...* for details of *manuṣya* 'human'. The *tāpasa* 'ascetic' of the last example is a derivate of *aṆ* (5.2.103 *aṇ ca*). It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

6.2.46 कर्मधारयेऽनिष्ठा

karmadhāraye' niṣṭhā
/*karmadhāraye* 7/1 *aniṣṭhā* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)
karmadhāraye samāse ktānta uttarapade' niṣṭhāntaṃ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent which ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā* in a *karmadhāraya* compound retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śreṇikṛtāḥ 'those which were previously not arranged in a row are now so arranged'
ūkakṛ́tāḥ 'those which were not spread about are so done now'
pūgakṛ́tāḥ 'those which were previously not arranged in a group are now so arranged'
nidhanakṛ́tāḥ 'made poor which they were previously not'

1. Note that *śreṇi,* as a derivate of *Ni* (*Uṇādi* IV:51: *vahiśriśruyudru...*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Refer to my discussion of *ūka* and *nidhana* under notes of 6.2.32 *saptamī śuṣkapakva....* A final *udātta* is applicable to *pūga.*

6.2.47 अहीने द्वितीया

ahīne dvitīyā
/*ahīne* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) *dvitīyā* 1/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)
ahīnavācini samāse ktānta uttarapade dvitīyāntam pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaram bhavati
The initial constituent which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative' retains its

original accent when the compound is formed with the signification of *ahīna* 'non-separable, unabandoned' and a constituent ending in affix *Kta* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭaśritaḥ 'fallen into grief'
triśakalapatitaḥ 'that which has three pieces'
grāmágataḥ 'gone to the village'

1. Note that *kaṣṭa*, a derivate of *Kta* where *iṬ* is blocked by 7.2.22 *kṛcchragahanayoḥ kasaḥ*, is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *tri* of *triśakala*, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as: *trīṇi śakalāni santy asya* 'that of which there are three parts', is marked *udātta* by nominal stem accent. A derivate such as *grāma* 'village', derived with *maN* (*Uṇādi* I:143: *graser ā ca*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). All these compounds denote a meaning where initial constituents are semantically non-separable (*ahīna*) from their following counterparts.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block the provision of this rule where a participial constituent begins with a preverb. Thus, consider *sukhaprāptaḥ* 'he who has reached comfort' and *sukhāpannaḥ* 'he who has attained comfort'. The compound itself is here marked *udātta* at the end.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.143 *antaḥ* and 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ. . . .*

6.2.48 तृतीया कर्मणि

tṛtīyā karmaṇi
/ *tṛtīyā* 1/1 *karmaṇi* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45)
karmavācini ktānta uttarapade tṛtīyāntaṃ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati

The initial constituent of a compound which signifies *karman* 'object' and ends in *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending' retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

ahihátaḥ 'bitten by a snake'
vajrahátaḥ 'killed by the Vajra'
mahārājahátaḥ 'killed by the king'

1. Note that *ahi* 'snake' is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. It is a derivate of *iÑ*, introduced after *han* used with the preverb *āÑ* (*Uṇādi* IV:138: *āṅi śrihinibhyāṃ hrasvaś ca*). The *ā* of *āhan* is replaced with its short counterpart *a* and *an* is assigned the term *ṭi*. This, in turn, gets deleted by the same rule. The word *vajra*, as a derivate of *raK* (*Uṇādi* II:28: *ṛjendrā-*

gravajra . . .) via *nipātana*, is also marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. This final *udātta* accent is also applicable to *mahārāja* 'great king', a derivate with *ṬaC* (5.4.91 *rājāhaḥsakhibhyām* . . .). The word *nakha* 'nail', a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *nāsti kham asya* 'that which does not have life', is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.171 *nañsubhyām*. The word *dātra* 'sickle' is a derivate of *ṢṭraN* (3.2.182 *dāmnīśasa* . . .). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

6.2.49 गतिरनन्तरः

gatir anantaraḥ
/*gatiḥ* 1/1 *anantaraḥ* 1/1 = *avidyamānam antaraṃ yasya* (*bv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *kte* #45 *karmaṇi* #48)
karmavācini ktānta uttarapade gatir anantaraḥ pūrvapadaṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
This initial constituent of a compound termed *gati* retains its original accent when a constituent which ends in *Kta* and signifies *karman* 'object' immediately follows.

EXAMPLES:

prakṛ́taḥ 'made'
prahṛ́taḥ 'thrown'

1. This rule allows an initial *gati* constituent to retain its original accent if it occurs immediately followed by *Kta* denoting *karman*. Thus *pra*, termed *gati* (1.4.49 *gatiś ca*), is marked with *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *upasargāś cābhivarjam*).

Note that a *gati*, when occurring interrupted by something else, does not qualify for this accentual provision. Thus, consider *abhy-ud-dhṛtaḥ* and *sam-ud-dhṛtaḥ*, where *abhi* and *sam* do not occur immediately before *dhṛtaḥ*.

Commentators explain that this rule covers examples where *Kta* denotes *karman* 'object'. Thus, *prakṛta* of *prakṛtaḥ kaṭaṃ devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta made a mat' does not qualify. The *Kta* here denotes agent. Note that the *paribhāṣā* (29): *kṛdgrahaṇe gatikārakapūrvasyāpi grahaṇam* 'a specification made by an item ending in a *kṛt* also includes reference to that which begins with a *gati* and *kāraka*' does not apply here. Consequently, an example such as *dūrād āgataḥ* 'arrived from a distant place' where *dūrāt* 'from far' denotes *apādāna* cannot be covered here.

This rule is an exception to 6.2.144 *thāthaghañ*. . . .

6.2.50 तादौ च निति कृत्यतौ

tādau ca niti kṛty atau
/*tādau* 7/1 = *takāra ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ *niti* 7/1 = *nakāra it*

yasya (*bv.*); *kṛti* 7/1 *atau* 7/1 = *na tu* (*nañ. tat.*) *tasmin*/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *gatir anantaraḥ* #49)
takārādau ca tuśabdavarjite niti kṛti parato gatir anantaraḥ prakṛtisvaram bhavati
The initial constituent, termed *gati*, of a compound retains its original accent when a constituent which begins with *t*, with the exception of *t* of *tu*, and ends in a *kṛt* affix marked with *N* as its *it*, immediately follows in combination.

EXAMPLES:

prakártā 'producer, maker'
prakártum 'to begin to make'
pakṛ́tiḥ 'produced, brought about'

1. Note that *pra* retains its *udātta* before derivates of *tṛN*, *tumUN* and *KtiN*, as these cited examples illustrate. These affixes are all marked with *N* and begin with *t*. Consequently, their derivates are marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

This accentual provision will not be applicable to *prajalpāka* 'he who talks excessively' since the affix, i.e., *ṢākaN*, does not begin with *t*. It can also not apply to *prakartā* 'doer' where the affix is *tṛC*. Finally, a derivate such as *āgantuḥ* 'desirous to come' is also out because of exclusion specified by *tu* in the rule.

6.2.51 तवै चान्तश्च युगपत्

tavai cāntaś ca yugapat
/*tavai* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ *antaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *yugapat* 1/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *gatir anantaraḥ* #49)
tavaipratyayasyānta udātto bhavati gatiś ca anantaraḥ prakṛtisvara iti etad ubhayam yugapad bhavati
The final constituent of that which ends in affix *tavai* is marked *udātta*, with the additional provision that an immediately preceding *gati* simultaneously retain its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

anvétavai 'to follow'
paristaritai 'to enclose; strewn around'
paripātavai 'to procure from all sides'

1. This rule offers two *udātta* accents simultaneously (*yugapat*). Thus, consider *anvétavai* where *tavai* is marked *udātta*, and the preceding *anu* is also marked *udātta* by way of retaining its original accent (also see 6.1.155 *anudāttam padam* . . .). All preverbs, except for *abhi*, are marked *udātta* at

the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *upasargāś cābhivarjam*). Thus, *abhicaritavai* cannot be marked *udātta* at the beginning. It is marked *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent, instead.

6.2.52 **अनिगन्तोऽञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये**

aniganto' ñcatau vapratyaye
/*anigantaḥ* 1/1 = *ig ante yasya* (*bv.*); *na igantaḥ*
(*nañ. tat.*); *añcatau* 7/1 *vapratyaye* 7/1 = *vakāra pratyayo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *gatiḥ* #49)
aniganto gatiḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavaty añcatau vapratyaye parataḥ
A *gati*, which does not end in *iK*, retains its original accent when verbal root *añcU*, followed by affix *va*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

prā́ṅ 'eastward; nominative singular of *prāñc*'
prā́ñcaú 'nominative dual . . .'
prā́ñcáḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
prā́ṅ 'nominative singular . . .'
prā́ñcau 'nominative dual . . .'
prā́ñcaḥ 'nominative dual . . .'
parā́ṅ 'turned away; nom. sing. of *parāñc*'
parā́ñcau 'nominative dual . . .'
parā́ñcaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. Note that *pra* and *parā* are termed *gati*, and obviously, do not end in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term (*pratyāhāra*) *iK* (*Śs.* 1–2). The examples are all derivates of *KvIN*, introduced after verbal root *añcU*. This is how *añc*(*U*), when occurring immediately before (*K*)*v*(*IN*), can be accepted as ending in *v*. Refer to derivational details of *prāṅ* (vol. III:738) under the appendix of 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk*. . . . Other examples can be similarly derived. Retention of original accent means initial *udātta* in these examples. Examples which involve single replacement may optionally have *svarita* by 8.2.6 *svarito vā' nudātte*. This optional application of *svarita* may not be available to *parāṅ*, etc., because *parā* is *udātta* at the beginning. That is *ā*, which goes through single replacement, is not *udātta*.

2. Note that examples with *prati*, i.e., *pratyaṅ*, *pratyañcau* and *pratyañcaḥ*, will constitute counter-examples since *prati* ends in a sound denoted by *iK*.

3. A proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to let the accentual provision of this rule, as characterized with the qualification of non-*iK* (*aniganta*), block the accentual provision characterized with *cu* (6.1.219 *cau*), on the basis of *paratva*. Commentators explain that 6.1.219 *cau* has its independent scope where there is no *gati*. Thus, we get *dadhīcaḥ* and *dadhīcā*. An

accentual provision conditioned by a form not ending in an *iK* (*aniganta*) has its independent scope where *añc* does not lose its *a* and *ñ* to deletion. Thus, we get *parāṅ* and *parāñcau.* But consider *parācaḥ* and *parācā* where both of these rules become simultaneously applicable. The *Mahābhāṣya* here invokes 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* and allows the accentual provision of the subsequent rule to win.

6.2.53 न्यधी च

nyadhī ca
/ *nyadhī* 1/2 = *niś ca adhiś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *añcatau vapratyaye* #52)
'*nī, adhi*' *ity etau cāñcatau vapratyaye parataḥ prakṛtisvaro bhavataḥ*
ni and *adhi* also retain their original accent when verbal root *añcU* ending in affix *va* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nyáṅ 'directed downwards; nom. sing. of *nyañc*'
nyáñcau 'nom. dual . . .'
nyáñcaḥ 'nom. plural . . .'
adhyáṅ 'directed inwards; nom. sing. of *adhy-añc*'
adhyáñcau 'nom. dual . . .'
adhyáñcaḥ 'nom. plural . . .'

1. Note that *ni* and *adhi* are here allowed retention because they, obviously, are exceptions to the preceding rule. Here again, *ni* is marked *udātta.* The *ya,* of *nyaṅ, nyañcau* and *nyañcaḥ,* becomes *svarita* as usual (8.2.6 *udāttasvaritayor*. . .). The *a* of *adhi* is also *udātta.* Rule 6.1.219 *cau* was applicable to *adhyañcaḥ, adhīcaḥ* and *adhīcā.* Our present rule is an exception to that.

6.2.54 ईषदन्यतरस्याम्

īṣad anyatarasyām
/ *īṣat* ϕ *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1)
'*īṣat*' *ity etat pūrvapadam anyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati*
An initial constituent, namely *īṣat* 'a little', optionally retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

īṣatkáḍāraḥ 'somewhat tawny'
īṣatkaḍāraḥ
īṣatpiṅgalaḥ 'somewhat yellowish-brown'
īṣatpiṅgalaḥ

1. Note that *īṣat* is marked with *udātta* at the end by nominal stem accent. This optional retention allows compounds to be marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*). These compounds are all formed by way of specific enumeration of bases (*pratipadokta*; 2.2.7 *īṣad akṛtā*). That is why, this accentual provision cannot apply to a derivate such as *īṣadbhedá* 'slightly cracked'. For, accentual provision of compounds with a following constituent in a *kṛt* affix (*kṛduttarapada*; 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*) will block it. Some do not accept specific enumeration of bases (*pratipadokta*) as basis for resolving possible conflicts between these accentual provisions. They accept conflict and invoke 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, whereby a subsequent accentual provision wins.

6.2.55 **हिरण्यपरिमाणे धने**

hiraṇyaparimāṇe dhane
/ *hiraṇyaparimāṇe* 7/1 = *hiraṇyaṃ ca tat parimāṇaṃ ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmin*; *dhane* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
hiraṇyaparimāṇavāci pūrvapadaṃ dhanaśabda uttarapade' nyatarasyām prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent which signifies a measure (*parimāṇa*) of 'gold' (*hiraṇya*) retains its original accent when *dhana* combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

dvisuvarṇadhanam 'wealth consisting of two measures of gold'
dvisuvarṇadhanam

1. Not that *dvisuvarṇa* is a *dvigu* compound (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottara*...), where a subsequently introduced *taddhita* affix, i.e., *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*), gets deleted (5.1.28 *adhyardha*...). This *dvigu* is assigned *udātta* at the end (2.1.220 *samāsasya*). When *dhana* is combined to form a *karmadhāraya*, paraphrased as *dvisuvarṇam eva dhanam* 'wealth consisting of only two measures (sixteen ounces) of gold', then the final *a* of *dvisuvarṇa* is allowed to retain its original accent. A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of *dvisuvarṇadhana*, paraphrased as *dvisuvarṇaṃ dhanam asya* 'he whose wealth is two sixteen ounce coins', will also have the initial obligatory *udātta* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*) made optional. For, this rule is subsequent (*para*). Thus, *dvisúvarṇadhanaḥ* and *dvisuvarṇadhanaḥ*.

6.2.56 **प्रथमोऽचिरोपसम्पत्तौ**

prathamo' ciropasampattau
/*prathamaḥ* 1/1 *aciropasampattau* 7/1 = *na cirāt* (*nañ. tat.*); *acirā upasampattiḥ* (*karm.*), *tasmin*/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
prathamaśabdaḥ pūrvapadam aciropasampattau gamyamānāyām anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial constituent, namely *prathama*, retains its original accent, optionally, when a relatively recent (*acira*) connection is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

prathamavaíyākaraṇaḥ 'a novice student of grammar'
prathamavaiyākaraṇaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *prathama* is a derivate of *amaC* (*Uṇādi* V:68: *prather amac*), marked with *C* as an *it*. It is thus marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). The compound itself will be marked *udātta* at the end. That is, if the option of *prathama* is not accepted.
2. Note that this optional *udātta* is consequential for meaning. The compound would get final *udātta*, obligatorily (*nitya*), if the meaning is outside the scope of *aciropasampatti*. Thus, consider *prathamavaiyākaraṇaḥ* 'the first, or best, among grammarians'. Commentators explain *aciropasampatti* as *aciropaśleṣaḥ*, *abhinavatvam* 'relatively recent contact, newness'.

6.2.57 **कतरकतमौ कर्मधारये**

katarakatamau karmadhāraye
/*katarakatamau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *karmadhāraye* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
kataraśabdaḥ katamaśabdaś ca pūrvapadaṃ karmadhāraye samāse' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituents, namely *katara* and *katama*, optionally retain their original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya*.

EXAMPLES:

katarakáṭhaḥ 'who among you two is a follower of the Kaṭha school'
katarakaṭhaḥ
katamakáṭhaḥ 'who among you is a follower of the Kaṭha school'
katamakaṭhaḥ

1. An optional *udātta* is also offered here to initial constituents of *karmadhāraya* with *katara* and *katama*. Note that *katara* and *katama* end in affixes *ḌataraC* and *ḌatamaC* (5.4.92 *kiṃyattado* . . .; 5.4.93 *vā bahūnāṃ* . . .), respectively. They are both thus marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). The compound gets marked *udātta* at the end, if this option is not accepted.
2. Why use *karmadhāraye* when its purpose can be served automatically

by the compound-formation rule (2.1.63 *katarakatamau jātiparipraśne*), where *katara* and *katama* are specifically enumerated (*pratipadokta*)? An explicit use of *karmadhāraye* is intended for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule.

6.2.58 आर्यो ब्राह्मणकुमारयोः

āryo brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ
/*āryaḥ* 1/1 *brāhmaṇa-kumārayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *karmadhāraye* #57)
āryaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ brāhmaṇakumāraśabdayor uttarapadayoḥ karmadhāraye samāse' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaram bhavanti
An initial constituent, namely *ārya*, optionally retains its original accent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed *karmadhāraya*, when it combines with *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

ā̱ryábrāhmaṇaḥ 'a noble brāhmaṇa'
ā̱rya̱brā̱hma̱ṇaḥ
ā̱ryákumāraḥ 'a noble youth or prince'
ā̱rya̱ku̱mā̱raḥ

1. Note that *ārya*, as a derivate of *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*), is marked with *svarita* at the end (6.1.182 *tit svaritam*). Not accepting this option will again lead to a final *udātta* of the compound.

2. Note that *pa̱ra̱ma̱brā̱hma̱ṇaḥ* and *pa̱ra̱ma̱ku̱mā̱raḥ* cannot qualify for this option because they do not have *ārya* as their initial constituent. Similar exclusion will also be applicable to compounds such as *ā̱rya̱kṣa̱tri̱yaḥ* and *ā̱rya̱brā̱hma̱ṇaḥ*, where the first one lacks *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* as following constituents, and the second is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound.

6.2.59 राजा च

rājā ca
/*rājā* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *karmadhāraye* #57 *brāhmaṇakumārayoḥ* #58)
rājā ca pūrvapadaṃ brāhmaṇakumārayor uttarapadayoḥ karmadhāraye samāse' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* 'king', also optionally retains its original accent when *brāhmaṇa* and *kumāra* combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

rā̂jabrāhmaṇaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa king'

rājabrāhmaṇaḥ
rājákumāraḥ 'a prince who is king'
rājakumāraḥ

1. Why was *rājā* not combined with *ārya* in the earlier rule? A separate mention is made for its *anuvṛtti* in the next rule. Besides, making it part of the earlier rule may have caused assignment of equivalency in order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*; 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*).

Incidentally, *rājan* is a derivate of *KanIN* (*Uṇādi* I: 56 *yuvṛṣta* . . .). Consequently, it is marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The option of this rule will not apply if *rājabrāhmaṇaḥ* is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa*.

6.2.60 षष्ठी प्रत्येनसि

ṣaṣṭhī pratyenasi
/*ṣaṣṭhī* 1/1 *pratyenasi* 7/1 = *pratigatam enaḥ yasya* = *pratyenāḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *rājā* #59)
ṣaṣṭhyanto rājaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ pratyenasy uttarapade' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', optionally retains its original accent when *pratyenas* combines as following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

rājápratyenāḥ 'kings' emissary'
rājapratyenāḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that there will be four examples: two, where genitive is deleted and the option of this rule is accepted; two, where, because of the signification of anger (6.3.21 *ṣaṣṭhyā' krośe*), genitive is not deleted. This option will be blocked if the compound is interpreted as a *karmadhāraya* signifying *rājā cāsau pratyenā ca* 'the king who is also his own emissary'.

6.2.61 क्ते नित्यार्थे

kte nityārthe
/*kte* 7/1 *nityārthe* 7/1 = *nityaḥ artho yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
ktānta uttarapade nityārthe samāse pūrvapadam anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *nitya* 'always', optionally, retains its original accent when a constituent ending in *Kta* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nityáprahasitaḥ 'always laughing'
nityaprahasitaḥ
satatapráhasitaḥ 'ibidem'
satataprahasitaḥ

1. The word *nitya* is used with *arthe*, so that an initial constituent synonymous with *nitya* can also be included. This explains why *satata* can also retain its original accent here. Of course, when it combines as an initial with a following derivate of *Kta*. The word *nitya* is a derivate of *tyaP* (cf. *vt.* ad 4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap*). Its *ya* is *anudātta* by affixal accent (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). But its *ni* is marked with *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *upasargā* . . .). This accent then will be retained. The word *satata* can be interpreted as a derivate signifying *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object'. It will be marked with *udātta* at the end (6.2.144 *thāthaghañkta* . . .) when the signification is *bhāva*. It will be marked *udātta* at the beginning when the signification is *karman* (6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*). These accusative *tatpuruṣa* compounds are formed by 2.1.27 *kālāḥ*. The compounds, optionally, may also be marked with *udātta* at the end.

6.2.62 ग्रामः शिल्पिनि

grāmaḥ śilpini
/*grāmaḥ* 1/1 *śilpini* 7/1/
(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* #1 *anyatarasyām* #54)
grāmaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ śilpavāciny uttarapade' nyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *grāma* 'village', optionally retains its original accent when a constituent with the signification of *śilpin* 'artisan' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

grāmánāpitaḥ 'village barber'
grāmanāpitaḥ 'ibidem'
grāmákulālaḥ 'village potter'
grāmakulālaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Refer to notes under 6.2.47 *ahīne dvitīyā* for accentual details of *grāma*. These examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. They may also be marked with *udātta* at the end, optionally.

6.2.63 राजा च प्रशंसायाम्

rāja ca praśaṃsāyām
/*rājā* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *praśaṃsāyām* 7/1/

(*prakṛtyā pūrvapadam* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* #54 *śilpini* #62)
rājaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ śilpavāciny uttarapade praśaṃsāyāṃ gamyamānāyām anyatarasyāṃ prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *rājan* 'king', retains its original accent optionally when *śilpin* combines as a following constituent and *praśaṃsā* 'praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

rājánāpitaḥ 'royal barber'
rājanāpitaḥ 'ibidem'
rājákulālaḥ 'royal potter'
rājakulālaḥ 'ibidem'

1. A compound such as *rājanāpitaḥ* can be interpreted both as a *karmadhāraya* and genitive *tatpuruṣa*. A *karmadhāraya* interpretation will involve a figurative transfer of royal qualities to the barber. This is how the compound will denote 'praise.' A genitive will similarly denote 'praise' by attributing qualities of a royal barber to the barber. Refer to notes under 6.2.59 *rājā ca* for accentual details of *rājan*. The compounds are both given here as *karmadhāraya*.

Note that a simple statement of fact, as in *rājanāpitaḥ* 'king's barber', will not qualify the compound for this accentual provision. It must also be limited to *śilpini* 'when an artisan . . .'. Thus, an example such as *rājahastī* 'king's elephant' will again be excluded.

6.2.64 आदिरुदात्तः

ādir udāttaḥ
/*ādiḥ* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1)
ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmas tatra pūrvapadasyādir udātto bhavatīty evaṃ veditavyam
The initial constituent of a compound, from here onwards, will be marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

Look under rules which follow.

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid prior to rule 6.2.143 *antaḥ*, insofar as *ādiḥ* is concerned. It carries prior to 6.2.137 *prakṛtyā bhagālam*, in connection with the assignment of the *udātta* accent. Examples covered by this rule will have their initial constituents marked with *udātta* at the beginning. Consider rule 6.2.25 *saptamīhāriṇau dharmye' haraṇe*, whereby an initial compound constituent which ends in the locative and signifies *hārin* 'he who accepts a share' is marked *udātta* at the beginning. That is, when a constituent with

the signification of something other than *dharmya* 'that which is given as part of established practice' combines to follow. Look under individual rules for further details.

6.2.65 सप्तमीहारिणौ धर्म्येऽहरणे

saptamīhāriṇau dharmye' haraṇe

/ *saptamīhāriṇau* 1/2 = *saptamī ca hārī ca* (*itar. dv.*); *dharmye* 7/1 *aharaṇe* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*) /

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)

saptamyantaṃ hārivāci ca pūrvapadaṃ dharmyavācini haraṇaśabdād anyasminn uttarapade ādyudāttaṃ bhavati

An initial compound constituent, namely one which ends in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal endings' or one which is constituted by *hārin*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided a constituent other than *haraṇa* combines to follow with the signification of *dharmya* 'a proper gift'.

EXAMPLES:

stūpéśāṇaḥ 'a gold coin traditionally offered to a king in commemorating the building of a Stūpa'

mukúṭekārṣāpaṇam 'a Kārṣāpaṇa (gold coin) traditionally offered to a king at his coronation'

halédvipadikā 'a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with two plows'

halétripadikā 'a tax levied on a piece of land farmed with three plows'

yājñikāśvaḥ 'ritualist's (gift of a) horse'

vaiyākaraṇahastī 'grammarian's (gift of an) elephant'

1. Note that *dharmya* and *hārin* are not interpreted here as referring to their forms (*svarūpa*). They are used here with reference to their meanings, instead. Thus, *dharmya*, a derivate of *yaT* (4.4.92 *dharmyapathyartha*...), is to be interpreted as *ācāraniyataṃ deyam* 'that (a fixed amount) which ought to be given someone following some standard familial and social practice'. A person who accepts what is given him as *dharmya* is called *hārin* = *deyaḥ yaḥ svīkaroti* 'he who accepts what is given him'.

Note that all locative *tatpuruṣa* compounds involve non-deletion (*aluk*; 6.3.10 *kārināmni ca prācāṃ halādau*) of the locative (*saptamī*). They are formed by rule 2.1.44 *saṃjñāyām*. Examples of *hārin* are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Both compound types constitute exceptions to 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. Remember that the conditions of *dharmya* and *hārin* must be satisfied. Thus, consider the two counter-examples: *stambe̱ra̱maḥ* 'an elephant' and *ka̱rma̱ka̱ra̱va̱rddhi̱takaḥ*, where the following constituent of these compounds denotes something different. Thus, *ramaḥ* means 'sportful' and *varddhitakaḥ*

means 'a thick conical pile of cooked rice given as part of wages to labourers'. The restriction of something other than *haraṇa* which, in turn, may constitute the following constituent is also important. Thus consider *vāḍavaharaṇam* 'rich food offered to a studhorse, particularly after impregnation of (*bījaniṣeka*) a mare'. The initial constituent, i.e., *vāḍava* 'mare's own; horse', here denotes *hārin*, but the following constituent is *haraṇa*. This compound is also out. The specification of *aharaṇe* has yet another implication. That is, this rule, except where *haraṇa* is a following constituent, will allow retention of original eccent of an initial constituent used with the signification of *hārin*. Since *haraṇa* is a derivate formed with *kṛt*, its exclusion also specifies derivates ending in a *kṛt*. That is, a derivate of *kṛt* with the exception of *haraṇa*. . . . This rule then becomes an exception to 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*. Consider *vāḍavahāryam*, where *vāḍava* retains its original accent of initial *udātta*.

6.2.66 **युक्ते च**

yukte ca
/*yukte* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
yuktavācini ca samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *yukta* 'yoked, engaged' is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

gobállavaḥ 'one whose duty is to tend cows'
gomáṇindaḥ 'ibidem'
aśvabállavaḥ 'one whose duty is to care of horses'
aśvámaṇindaḥ 'ibidem'

1. The word *yukta* is explained as *samāhita* 'engrossed', or *kartavye tatparaḥ* 'diligent; persuing what is one's duty'. These compounds all are formed with a following constituent which denotes: 'those who take care of cows and horses as part of their duty'.

6.2.67 **विभाषा अध्यक्षे**

vibhāṣā' dhyakṣe
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *adhyakṣe* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
adhyakṣaśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound is optionally marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *adhyakṣa* 'chief' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

gavâdhyakṣaḥ 'chief among those who take care of cows'
gavādhyakṣaḥ 'ibidem'
aśvâdhyakṣaḥ 'chief among those who take care of horses'
aśvādhyakṣaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This optional initial *udātta* is offered against the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

6.2.68 **पापं च शिल्पिनि**

pāpam ca śilpini
/*pāpam* 1/1 *ca* ɸ *śilpini* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
pāpaśabdaḥ śilpavāciny uttarapade vibhāṣā' dyudātto bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *pāpa* 'despicable', is optionally marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *śilpin* combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

pāpánāpitaḥ 'a bad barber'
pāpanāpitaḥ 'ibidem'
pāpákulālaḥ 'a bad potter'
pāpakulālaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *pāpa* is interpreted as referring to its form (*svarūpa*) and *śilpini* is interpreted as referring to its meaning. Here again we find an optional *udātta* at the end of a compound. A syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) between constituents leads towards compound formation by 2.1.54 *pāpāṇake kutsitaiḥ*. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, parallel to *pāpasya nāpitaḥ* = *pāpanāpitaḥ*, cannot qualify for this accentual provision.

6.2.69 **गोत्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु**

gotrāntevāsimāṇavabrāhmaṇeṣu
/*gotra-antevāsi-māṇava-brāhmaṇeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *kṣepe* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
gotravāciny antevāsiny cottarapade māṇavabrāhmaṇayoś ca kṣepavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *kṣepa* 'censure' is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided the constituent which follows signifies a *gotra* 'descendant, grandson on,' an *antevāsin* 'pupil, student', or else, is constituted by *brāhmaṇa* and *māṇava* 'young initiate, boy'.

EXAMPLES:

jaṅghāvātsyaḥ 'a non-Vātsya claiming to be a Vātsya'
bhāryāsauśrutaḥ 'a henpecked son of Suśruta'
vaśābrāhmakṛteyaḥ 'a barren woman . . .'
odánapāṇinīyāḥ 'students who study Pāṇini's grammar so that they can get rice to eat'
bhikṣāmāṇavaḥ 'a young initiate who becomes a celibate boasting, 'I can survive on alms''
dāsībrāhmaṇaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who longs for his maid'
bhayábrāhmaṇaḥ 'one who, for fear (of beating), claims to be a brāhmaṇa'

1. Note that *gotra* 'offspring' and *antevāsin* 'student' are used with reference to their popular meanings (*artha*). The other two, i.e., *māṇava* and *brāhmaṇa*, are used with reference to their form (*svarūpa*). The word *gotra*, since it is used outside the domain of the technical term *gotra*, here refers to its popular meaning of an offspring. Unless a particular specification is made otherwise, all these compounds will be formed by 2.1.4 *saha supā*.

6.2.70 अङ्गानि मैरेये

aṅgāni maireye
/*aṅgāni* 1/3 *maireye* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
maireyaśabda uttarapade tadaṅgavācīny pūrvapadāny ādyudāttāni bhavanti
An initial compound constituent which signifies an *aṅga* 'major ingredient, source' is marked with *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent signifying *maireya* 'liquor' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

guḍamaireyaḥ 'liquor, distilled from molasses'
madhumaireyaḥ 'liquor, distilled from honey'

1. Note that the compound derivate must denote *maireya* 'liquor' and the sense of its initial constituent must serve as the major ingredient for distilling liquor. Consider the following counter-examples: *paramamaireyaḥ* and *phalāsavaḥ* 'fruit-juice', where *parama* 'best' does not denote an ingredient and *āsava* 'juice' does not denote liquor.

6.2.71 भक्ताख्यास्तदर्थेषु

bhaktākhyās tadartheṣu
/*bhaktākhyāḥ* 1/3 *tadartheṣu* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)

bhaktam annam tadākhyāḥ tadvācinaḥ śabdāḥ tadartheṣūttarapadeṣu ādyudāttā bhavanti
The initial constituent of a compound which names *bhakta* 'grain, food' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent signifying something intended for the food thus named (*tadartha*) combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

bhikṣâkaṃsaḥ 'a pot intended for begging food'
śrāṇâkaṃsaḥ 'a pot intended for making barley-gruel'

1. Note that *bhakta* is used here with the signification of *anna* 'food'. The word *ākhyā* 'naming', in *bhaktākhyā,* is used so that synonyms of *bhakta* could also be included as constituents.

6.2.72 **गोबिडालसिंहसैन्धवेषूपमाने**

gobiḍālasiṃhasaindhaveṣūpamāne
/*go-biḍāla-siṃha-saindhaveṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*); *upamāne* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
gavādiṣūpamānavāciṣūttarapadeṣu pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent with the signification of *go* 'cow', *biḍāla* 'cat' and *siṃha* 'lion' combines to follow as a standard of comparison (*upamāna*).

EXAMPLES:

dhānyágavaḥ 'grain arranged in the shape of a cow'
hiráṇyagavaḥ 'gold similar in shape to a cows limb'
bhikṣâbiḍālaḥ '(very little) alms arranged in the shape of a cat'
tṛṇásiṃhaḥ 'grass arranged in the shape of a lion'
kāṣṭhásiṃhaḥ 'wood shaped like a lion'
saktúsaindhavaḥ 'Saktu (barley meal) arranged in the shape of a horse'
pānásaindhavaḥ 'a drinking vessel shaped like a horse'

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ,* especially with paraphrases such as *hiraṇyaṃ gaur iva* 'gold (shaped) like a cow', etc. The *vyāghrādi* group of nominals (2.1.56 *upamitam . . .*) is also considered open-ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*). The idea of an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison' must follow established usage.

6.2.73 **अके जीविकार्थे**

ake jīvikārthe
/*ake* 7/1 *jīvikārthe* 7/1 = *jīvikāyā arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/

(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
akapratyayānta uttarapade jīvikārthavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *jīvikā* 'livelihood' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *aka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dantálekhakaḥ 'painter of teeth'
nakhálekhakaḥ 'manicurist; painter of nails'
ramáṇīyakārakaḥ 'beautician'

1. These compound are formed by 2.2.17 *nityaṃ krīḍājīvikayoḥ*.

6.2.74 प्राचां क्रीडायाम्

prācāṃ krīḍāyām
/*prācām* 6/3 *krīḍāyām* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *ake* #73)
prāg deśavarttinā yā krīḍā tadvācini samāse' kapratyayānta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of a sport of the people in the east in marked *udātta* at the beginning, when a constituent ending in affix *aka* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

uddâlakapuṣpabhañjikā 'a sport in which the *uddālaka* flowers were crushed'
vīráṇapūṣpapracāyikā 'a sport in which the *vīraṇa* flowers were crushed'
śālábhañjikā 'a doll, puppet'
tālábhañjikā

1. Refer to my notes under 2.2.17 *nityam* . . . for additional details.

6.2.75 अणि नियुक्ते

aṇi niyukte
/*aṇi* 7/1 *niyukte* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
aṇanta uttarapade niyuktavācini samāse pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *niyukta* 'commissioned' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *aṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

chattrádhāraḥ 'bearer of the parasol'

tūṇīradhārah 'bearer of the quiver'
kamáṇḍalugrāhaḥ 'bearer of the *kamaṇḍalu* (water-pot)'
bhṛṅgáradhāraḥ 'bearer of *bhṛṅgāra* (gold-pitcher)'

1. Note that the compound must denote the meaning of *niyukta* 'commissioned to perform specific duty'. Consider *śaralāvaḥ* 'reed-cutter' where agency (*kartṛtva*) alone is denoted. That is, the compound does not indicate whether the person who is currently engaged in the action of cutting reeds is commissioned to do that.

6.2.76 शिल्पिनि चाकृञः

śilpini cākṛñaḥ
/*śilpini* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *akṛñaḥ* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *aṇi* #75)
śilpivācini samāse' ṇanta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati, sa ced aṇ kṛño na bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *śilpin* 'artisan' is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning, provided a constituent ending in *aṆ* with the exception of one introduced after *kṛÑ* 'to do' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

tantúvāyaḥ 'a weaver'
tunnávāyaḥ 'a tailor'
vāḷávāyaḥ 'a hair-dresser'

1. Refer to derivational details of *tantuvāyaḥ* under 3.2.2 *hvāvāmaś ca*. Note that the derivate must denote an artisan (*śilpin*). This is why *kāṇḍalāvaḥ* 'reed-cutter' becomes an exception to this rule. The condition of *akṛñaḥ* ensures that examples like *kumbhakāraḥ* 'potter' and *ayaskāraḥ* 'blacksmith' do not come under the scope of this rule. For, they have their *aṆ* introduced after *kṛÑ*.

6.2.77 संज्ञायां च

saṃjñāyāṃ ca
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *aṇi* 75 *akṛñaḥ* #76)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye' ṇanta uttarapade' kṛñaḥ pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the derivational scope of a name (*saṃjñā*) is also marked with *udātta*, provided a constituent ending in *aṆ* with the exception of one introduced after *kṛÑ* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

tantúvāyo nāma kīṭaḥ '*tantuvāya* is a worm which builds a cocoon; silk-worm'
vālávāyo nāma parvataḥ '*vālavāya* is a mountain'

1. Note that the condition of *akṛñaḥ* is still valid. Thus, *rathakāro nāma brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a *brāhmaṇa* named *rathakāra* (chariot-maker)' will serve as a counter-example.

6.2.78 गोतन्तियवं पाले

gotantiyavaṃ pāle
/*gotantiyavam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *pāle* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
'*go, tanti, yava*' *ity etāni pūrvapadāni pālaśabda uttarapade ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
The initial constituents, namely *go* 'cow', *tanti* 'cord, string' and *yava* 'barley', are marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *pāla* combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

gopālaḥ 'one who takes care of cows'
tantípālaḥ 'one who guards calves (tied to posts with ropes); a king'
yavápālaḥ 'one who guards the barley field'

1. Note that *gorakṣaḥ* 'protector of cows' falls outside the scope of this rule, simply because *pāla* 'guard' is not the final constituent.

6.2.79 णिनि

ṇini
/*ṇini* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
ṇinanta uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent ending in affix *ṆinI* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

puṣpáhārī 'he who brings flowers over and over again'
phaláhārī 'he who brings fruits over and over again'
parṇáhārī 'he who brings leaves over and over again'

1. Note that *ṆinI* (3.2.80 *vrate*) is used in the derivate examples with the signification of *vrata* 'a ritual vow'. This signification is especially desired in the context of verbal root *hṛÑ* 'to carry, fetch'. Elsewhere, we can also get the meaning of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'doing something over and over again'.

6.2.80 उपमानं शब्दार्थप्रकृतावेव

upamānaṃ śabdārthaprakṛtāv eva
/*upamānam* 1/1 *śabdārthaprakṛtau* 7/1 = *śabdo' rthaḥ yasyāḥ sā* (*bv*); *śabdārthā prakṛtir yasya* (*bv.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmin*; *eva* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *ṇini* #79)
upamānavāci pūrvapadam śabdārthaprakṛtāv eva ṇinanta uttarapada ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent which denotes a standard of comparison (*upamāna*) is marked with *udātta* when a constituent ending in *ṆinI*, and carrying the base-meaning of *śabda* 'noise', combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

uṣṭrákrośī 'he who makes a noise like a camel'
dhvāṅkṣárāvī 'he who caws like a crow'
kharánādī 'he who brays like a donkey'

1. Note that the final compound constituent must signify *śabda* 'noise'. That is why I translate, 'carrying the base-meaning of *śabda*'. Consider *vañcī* and *prekṣī* of *vṛkavañcī* 'cunning as a wolf' and *vṛkaprekṣī* 'observing like a wolf' which must be excluded from the scope of this rule since *vañcA* 'to deceive' and *prekṣA* 'to observe' do not denote *śabda*. Additionally, this meaning of *śabda* should be considered independently of preverbs (*Kāś*: *prakṛtir eva yatropasarganirapekṣā śabdārthā bhavati tatraiva syāt*. . .). Thus, *gardabhoccārī* 'he who makes noises like a donkey' and *kokilābhivyāhārī* 'he who makes noises like a cuckoo' must also be excluded since the meaning of *śabda* 'noise' is here complemented by the preverbs.

2. The word *eva* 'only' is used for exact specification of the scope of this rule by way of *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'. Note that this initial *udātta* could have been made available by the preceding rule to compounds with their initial constituents denoting an *upamāna*, or something other than an *upamāna*, anyway. This use of *eva* is then restrictive in case of initial constituents used with the signification of *upamāna*. That is, an initial *udātta* under the condition of *śabdārthaprakṛtau* will be available only when *upamāna* is the initial constituent. *Nyāsa* correctly observes that if *upamāna* was not specified here, the scope of application of the preceding rule, as against this current, could not be known. A specification with *upamāna* makes the scope of the preceding rule general (*sāmānya*). This rule then specifies the particular scope relative to the preceding general, by way of *upamāna* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *yady upamānagrahaṇaṃ na kriyeta tadā pūrvasya yogasyāsya ca viṣayavibhāgo na jñāyeta*).

6.2.81 युक्तारोह्यादयश्च

yuktārohyādayaś ca

/*yuktārohyādayaḥ* 1/3 *yuktārohī ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *ṇini* #79)
yuktārohyādayaḥ samāsaḥ ādyudāttā bhavanti
The initial constituents of compounds such as *yuktārohī* 'a well equipped rider', etc., are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

yuktárohī 'supervisor of horses'
āgátayodhī 'one who fights a newly arrived'
kṣīráhotā 'sacrificer of rice-pudding'
bhā́ginībharttā 'sister's husband'

1. Note that nominals included within the list headed by *yuktārohin* are all derivates of affix *ṆiN*. Consequently, they simply illustrate the provision of 6.2.79 *ṇini*. Some claim that since Pāṇini offers this rule even though its purpose can be served by 6.2.79 *ṇini*, this rule must be accepted as restrictive. It offers restrictions applicable to both the preceding as well following constituents of example compounds. Thus, this rule applies only when the compounds are formed with *yukta*, etc., as initial constituents, and *ārohin*, etc., as final (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *teṣām iha pāṭhasya prayojanāntaraṃ darśayati. pūrvottarapadayor niyamo' rtho yeṣāṃ te tathoktāḥ. yatra yuktādīny eva pūrvapadāny ārohyādīny eva uttarapadāni tatraive yathā syād iti*). Thus, we cannot find the provision of this rule applicable to *dhvāṅkṣārohī*, etc. These compounds get *udātta* at the end, instead.

The first two derivates of this rule end in *ṆinI*. The next two compounds are both genitive *tatpuruṣa*, formed on the basis of constituency in the *yājakādi* group (2.2.9 *yājakādibhiś ca*) of nominals.

6.2.82 दीर्घकाशतुषभ्राष्ट्रवटं जे

dīrghakāśatuṣabhrāṣṭravaṭaṃ je
/*dirgha-kāśa-tuṣa-bhrāṣṭra-vaṭam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *je* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
'*dīrghāntaṃ pūrvapadam, kāśa, tuṣa, bhrāṣṭra, vaṭa*' *ity etāni ca je uttarapade ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
An initial compound constituent which ends in a long vowel, or one which is constituted by *kāśa* 'reed', *tuṣa* 'chaff', *bhrāṣṭra* 'roasting place, oven' and *vaṭa* 'banyan', is marked with *udātta* at the beginning when *ja* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kuṭījaḥ 'born in a hut'
śamījaḥ 'found in a Śamī tree'
kāśájaḥ 'found in grass'

tuṣájaḥ 'found in bran'
bhrāṣṭrájaḥ 'found in a roasting place'
vaṭájaḥ 'found in a banyan tree'

1. Note that *ja* is derived by introducing affix *Ḍa* after verbal root *jan* (3.2.97 *saptamyāṃ janer ḍaḥ*). This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt.*

6.2.83 अन्त्यात्पूर्वं बह्वचः

antyāt pūrvaṃ bahvacaḥ
/*antyāt* 5/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *bahvacaḥ* 1/1
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *je* #82)
je uttarapade bahvacaḥ pūrvapadasyāntyāt pūrvam udāttaṃ bhavati
The next to the last vowel of an initial compound constituent consisting of many vowels (*bahvac*) is marked *udātta* when *ja* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

upasarájaḥ 'born from first impregnation'
mandurájaḥ 'born or found in a stable'
āmalakíjaḥ 'found in the Āmalakī fruit'
vaḍavájaḥ 'stud-horse; . . . found in groups of mares'

1. Note that *a* of *ra* will be marked *udātta,* since it happens to be next to the last among vowels of the polysyllabic derivate *upasarajaḥ.* The condition of *bahvacaḥ* will block initial *udātta* in examples such as *dagdhajāni tṛṇāni* 'grass growing at a place which was burned' where the initial constituent, i.e., *dagdha,* consists of two vowels only. This again is an exception to 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt. . . .*

6.2.84 ग्रामे ऽनिवसन्तः

grāme' nivasantaḥ
/*gāme* 7/1 *anivasantaḥ* 1/3 = *na nivasantaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
grāmaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it does not signify a resident and when *grāma* combines with it as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

mallágrāmaḥ 'group of wrestlers'
vaṇíggrāmaḥ 'group of traders'
devágrāmaḥ 'a village with divine lordship'

1. Note that *grāma* 'village' is here used with the signification of *samūha* 'group'. The condition of *anivasat* 'non-living' is also important. Consider *dākṣigrāmaḥ* 'a village where descendants of Dakṣa, etc., live' and *māhakigrāmaḥ* 'a village where Māhaki, etc., live' as counter-examples.

6.2.85 घोषादिषु च

ghoṣādiṣu ca
/*ghoṣādiṣu* 7/2 = *ghoṣa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣu*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
ghoṣādiṣu cottarapadeṣu pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning when a constituent enumerated in the list headed by *ghoṣa* 'a settlement of herdsmen' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

dākṣighoṣaḥ
'a settlement where descendants of Dakṣa live'
dākṣikaṭaḥ 'a crematorium of the descendants of Dakṣa'
dākṣihradaḥ 'a pond of the descendants of Dakṣa'

1. The examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Note that the *ghoṣādi* group also includes words which, when used as initial constituents, may qualify for initial *udātta* even against the condition of *anivasat* (cf. 6.2.84 *grāme' nivasantaḥ*). Some, therefore, do not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *anivasat* in this rule.

6.2.86 छात्र्यादयः शालायाम्

chātryādayaḥ śālāyām
/*chātryādayaḥ* 1/3 = *chātriḥ ādir yeṣām*; *śālāyām* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
śālāyām uttarapade chātryādaya ādyudāttā bhavanti
An initial compound constituent enumerated in the list headed by *chātrin* 'student' is marked *udātta* when *śālā* 'hall' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

chātriśālā 'home of Chātri'
pailiśāla 'home of Paili'
bhāṇḍiśālā 'home of Bhāṇḍi'

1. Note that all the *chatrādi* nominals denote an *apatya* 'offspring' and end in *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). The first and third compounds can also be interpreted as a 'barber's shop'. The second also has a slightly different form:

peliśālā. Our second example also has a slightly different form and meaning: *peliśāla* 'stable'.

6.2.87 प्रस्थेऽवृद्धमकर्क्यादीनाम्

prasthe' vṛddham akarkyādīnām
/*prasthe* 7/1 *avṛddham* 1/1 (*na vṛddham* (*nañ*.)); *akarkyādīnām* 6/3 = *karkī ādir yeṣām te karkyādayaḥ; na karkyādayaḥ* (*nañ*. with int. *bv*), *teṣām*/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
prasthaśabda uttarapade karkyādivarjitam avṛddhaṃ pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound with the exception of one enumerated in the list headed by *karkin* 'born in the zodiacal sign Cancer', or one which is termed *vṛddha*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *prastha* 'plain, level country' combines with it as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

indráprasthaḥ 'the city of Indraprastha'
kuṇḍáprasthaḥ 'a place named Kuṇḍaprastha'
hradáprasthaḥ 'a place named Hradaprastha'

1. Note that *vṛddha* refers to constituents termed *vṛddha* by 1.1.72 *vṛddhir yasyācām ādis tad vṛddham*. How come these exceptions are specified with the nominative and genitive, two different nominal endings. This just illustrates a variation in the Pāṇinian style.

6.2.88 मालादीनां च

mālādīnāṃ ca
/*mālādīnām* 6/3 = *māla ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv*.); *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *prasthe* #87)
prastha uttarapade mālādīnām ādir udātto bhavati
An initial compound constituent enumerated in the list headed by *mālā* 'garland' is also marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

mālấprasthaḥ 'name of a place'
śālấprasthaḥ 'name of a place'

1. Note that the preceding rule does not allow a compound with its initial constituent termed *vṛddha* to be marked *udātta* at the beginning. Our present rule allows it. For, the *mālādi* group consists of nominals termed *vṛddha*.

6.2.89 अमहन्नवं नगरेऽनुदीचाम्

amahannavaṃ nagare' nudīcām
/*amahannavam* 1/1 = *mahat ca navam ca* = *mahannavam* (*sam. dv.*); *na mahannavam* (*nañ. tat.*); *nagare* 7/1 *anudīcām* 6/3 = *na udañcaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣām*/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64)
nagaraśabda uttarapade mahannavaśabdavarjitaṃ pūrvapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, with the exception of one constituted by *mahat* 'big' and *nava* 'new', is marked *udātta* at the beginning, provided *nagara* 'city' combines as a following constituent and the signification excludes a city of the northerners.

EXAMPLES:

súhmanagaram 'name of a city'
paṇḍránagaram 'name of city'

1. Why specify *mahat* and *nava* as part of exclusion? Consider *mahānagaram* 'a big city' and *navanagaram* 'a new city' where we find *udātta* at the end. The exclusion of *anudīcām* is similarly important.

6.2.90 अर्मे चावर्णं द्व्यच् त्र्यच्

arme cāvarṇaṃ dvyac tryac
/*arme* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *avarṇam* 1/1 *dvyac* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *tryac* 1/1 = *trayo' co yasmin* (*bv.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *ādir udāttaḥ* #64 *amahannavam* #89)
armaśabda uttarapade dvyac tryac pūrvapadam avaraṇāntam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
The initial compound constituent which, with the exception of *mahat* and *nava*, ends in *a* and contains two or three vowels is marked *udātta* at the beginning when *arma* 'ruins' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

dattârmam 'name of a locality'
guptârmam 'name of a locality'
kujjúṭārmam 'name of a locality'
vāyásārmam 'name of a locality'

1. Note that the example derivates must end in *a*. Consider *bṛhadarmam* where *bṛhat* 'non-big' does not end in *a*. The conditions of *dvyac* 'that which consists of two vowels' and *tryac* 'that which consists of three vowels' will exclude examples such as *kapiñjalārmam*, etc. Finally, *mahārmam* and *navārmam* will also be excluded since *mahat* and *nava* are initial compound constituents.

6.2.91 न भूताधिकसञ्जीवमद्राश्मकज्जलम्

na bhūtādhikasañjīvamadrāśmakajjalam
/*na* ф *bhūta-adhika-sañjīva-madra-aśma-kajjalam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *adir udāttaḥ* #64 *arme* #89)
'*bhūta, adhika, sañjīva, madra-aśman, kajjala*' *ity etāni pūrvapadāni armaśabda uttarapade nādyudāttāni bhavanti*
The initial compound constituents, namely *bhūta* 'past', *adhika* 'more', *sañjīva* 'living together', *madra* 'name of a locality', *aśman* 'rock' and *kajjala* 'collyrium', are not marked *udātta* at the beginning when *arma* 'ruins' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

bhūtārmam 'name of locality'
adhikārmam 'name of a locality'
sañjīvārmam 'name of a locality'
madrārmam 'name of a locality'
aśmārmam 'name of a locality'
madrāśmārmam 'name of a locality'
kajjalārmam 'name of a locality

1. Note that a specification with *madrāśma* is here made so that *madra* and *aśman*, individually, and *madrāśma* as a combined base, can qualify for this accentual provision (*Kāś*: *madrāśmagrahaṇaṃ saṃghātavigṛhītārtham*). Thus, we get *aśmārmam*, *madrāmam* and *madrāśmārmam*. Most of these constituents could have qualified for initial *udātta*, based on their specifications with *dvyac* 'consisting of two vowels' and *tryac* 'consisting of three vowels'. This rule negates such provisions of the preceding rule. That is, the final *udātta* accent of the compound will prevail. All derivates name a locality and are formed as genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds.

2. A proposal for initial *udātta* is also made in the Vedic usage of *divodāsa*. . . . Thus, consider *divódāsāya gāyata* and *vaddhryaśvāyá dāśuṣé*.

6.2.92 अन्तः

antaḥ
/*antaḥ* 1/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64)
'*antaḥ*' *ity adhikṛtam*; *ita uttaraṃ yad vakṣyāmas tatra pūrvapadasyānta udātto bhavatīty evaṃ veditavyam*
An initial compound constituent, from here onwards, is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

sarvaśvétaḥ 'all white'
sarvakṛṣṇáḥ 'all black'

1. This is an *adhikāra,* valid prior to rule 6.2.110 *noṣṭhopasarga.* . . . It offers *udātta* at the end of an initial compound constituent.

6.2.93 सर्वं गुणकार्त्स्न्ये

sarvaṃ guṇakārtsnye
/*sarvam* 1/1 *guṇa-kārtsnye* 7/1 = *guṇasya kārtsnyam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
sarvaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ guṇakārtsnye vartamānam antodāttaṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent, namely *sarva* 'all', when used with the signification of entirety of quality, is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

sarvaśvétaḥ 'all white'
sarvakṛṣṇáḥ 'all black'
sarvamáhān 'all great'

1. The condition of *guṇakārtsnya* 'entirety of quality' must be met. Thus, we do not get final *udātta* in *sarvasauvarṇaḥ* 'a thing all gold' and *sarvaśvetaḥ* 'a thing all white', parallel to *sarveṣāṃ śvetaḥ* 'whitest of all', where *sarva* in the first two examples denotes entirety of a thing (*dravya*). The last example denotes quality, though not in its entirety. A statement of entirety cannot be accepted as one made with reference to a group within larger groups. It must be made relative to the entirety of groups.

6.2.94 संज्ञायां गिरिनिकाययोः

saṃjñāyāṃ girinikāyayoḥ
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *giri-nikāyayoḥ* 7/2 = *giriś ca nikāyaś ca* (*itar. dv.*) *tayoḥ*/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye 'giri, nikāya' ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the end when *giri* 'mountain' and *nikāya* 'multitude, house' combine to follow and derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

añjanāgiriḥ 'name of a mountain'
bhañjanāgiriḥ 'ibidem'
śāpiṇḍinikāyaḥ 'the clan of Śāpiṇḍis'
mauṇḍinikāyaḥ 'the clan of Mauṇḍis'

1. Note that *paramagiriḥ* 'highest mountain' and *brāhmaṇanikāyaḥ* 'clan of brāhmaṇas', both counter-examples to the condition of *saṃjñāyām,* are marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsasya*). Our first two examples are

both genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where the final *a* of *añjana* and *bhañjana* has gone through lengthening (6.3.115 *vanagiryoḥ saṃjñāyām*). The initial constituents of the last two examples are derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*).

6.2.95 कुमार्यां वयसि

kumāryāṃ vayasi
/*kumāryām* 7/1 *vayasi* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
kumāryām uttarapade vayasi gamyamāne pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
An initial compound constituent is marked *udātta* at the end when *kumārī* combines as a following constituent and *vayas* 'age' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vṛddhakúmārī 'an old virgin woman'
jaratkúmārī 'ibidem'

1. Note that *kumārī* 'girl' is used in two senses of *prathamaṃ vayaḥ* 'initial stage of life' and *puṃsāṃ sahāsamprayogaḥ* 'no sexual contact with a male'. A syntactic coordination of *kumārī*, with *vṛddha* 'old' and *jaratī* 'decaying' signifying the final stage of life, is impaired. That is, if *kumārī* is used with the signification of the initial stage of life. There is no impairment of syntactic coordination if *kumārī* is used with the signification of a virgin.

2. The compound formation of *vṛddhakumārī* is in consonance with 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*. The second example compound is formed in accord with 2.1.48 *pūrvakālaikasarvajarat*. . . . The masculine transformation of *vṛddhā*→*vṛddha* and *jaratī*→*jarat* is accomplished by 6.3.40 *puṃvat karmadhāraya*. . . . The *ṄīP* of *kumārī* is introduced by 4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*.

6.2.96 उदकेऽकेवले

udake' kevale
/*udake* 7/1 *akevale* 7/1 (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
akevalam = miśram tadvācini samāse udakaśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *akevala* 'not by itself; mixed, combined' is marked *udātta* at the end when *udaka* 'water' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

guḍodákam 'water mixed with jaggery'
tilodákam 'water with sesame seeds
(offered as libation to ancestors)'

1. Note that this final *udātta* of an initial constituent may, in case of *o* as a single replacement for *a* and *u*, also qualify for an optional replacement with *svarita* (8.2.6 *svarito vā' nudātte padādau*). Thus, we get *guḍódakam* and *tilódakam*, both *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compounds, formed in view of a *vārttika* (*samānādhikaraṇādhikāre śākapārthivādīnām siddhaye uttarapadalopasyopasaṃkhyānam* (ad 2.1.60 *ktena nañviśiṣṭena* . . .)). The condition of *akevale*, if not satisfied, will produce *śītodakam* 'cold water' and *uṣṇodakam* 'hot water'.

6.2.97 द्विगौ क्रतौ

dvigau kratau
/*dvigau* 7/1 *kratau* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
dvigāv uttarapade kratuvācini samāse pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice' is marked *udātta* at the end when a constituent termed *dvigu* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gargatrirātraḥ 'the *trirātra* sacrifice of the Gargas'
carakatrirātraḥ 'the *trirātra* sacrifice of the Carakas'

1. Note that *trirātra* is a *dvigu* compound formed with *aC* (5.4.87 *ahaḥsarvaikadeśa* . . .) introduced after *trirātri*, parallel to *tisṛṇāṃ rātrīṇāṃ samāhāraḥ* 'a grouping of three nights'. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound such as *gargatrirātraḥ*, parallel to *gargāṇāṃ trirātraḥ*, thus has its initial constituent *garga* marked with *udātta* at the end.

A compound such as *atirātraḥ*, an *avyayībhāva* 'indeclinable' compound not meeting the condition of *dvigau* 'when combined in a *dvigu* compound', is marked with *udātta* at the end. The final *udātta* of an initial constituent, for example *bilva*, will be blocked in *bilvasaptarātraḥ* 'a group of seven nights when *bilva* 'a wild fruit' is offered as oblation to Agni'. This compound meets the condition of *dvigau* but *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice' is not its signification.

6.2.98 सभायां नपुंसके

sabhāyāṃ napuṃsake
/*sabhāyām* 7/1 *napuṃsake* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
sabhāśabda uttarapade napuṃsakaliṅge samāse pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound used in the neuter is marked with *udātta* at the end when *sabhā* 'assembly' combines as its following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

gopālasábham 'a gathering of cowherds'
paśupālasábham 'an assembly of those who tend cows'
strīsábham 'an assembly of women'
dāsīsábham 'an assembly of maids'

1. Note that *napuṃsake* here refers to usage in the neuter, as is clear from the enumeration of individual nominal bases (*pratipadokta*). Thus, consider the neuter of *gopālasabham* which has been specified by 2.4.24 *aśāla ca*. The *ramaṇīyasabham* 'beautiful gathering', of *ramaṇīyasabhaṃ brāhmaṇakulam* 'the beautiful gathering of the clan of brāhmaṇas', cannot qualify because the neuter of *sabhā* is accomplished by way of its qualification of *kulam* 'clan'. It is not enumerated by a rule as an individual nominal stem. Compounds with *sabhā* as their final constituent are accepted as neuter when *rājā* 'king' and *manuṣya* 'humans' do not combine as their initial constituents (2.4.23 *sabhā rāja*...). Thus, *rājasabhā* 'royal assembly' and *manuṣyasabhā* 'assembly of humans' will be excluded because of their non-neuter usage.

6.2.99 पुरे प्राचाम्

pure prācām
/*pure* 7/1 *prācām* 6/3/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
puraśabda uttarapade prācāṃ deśe pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent of a compound formed with the signification of an eastern place is marked *udātta* at the end when *pura* 'locality' combines as its following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

lalāṭapúram 'name of an eastern locality'
kāñcīpúram 'name of an eastern locality'
śivadattapúram 'name of an eastern locality'

6.2.100 अरिष्टगौडपूर्वे च

ariṣṭagauḍapūrve ca
/*ariṣṭa-gauḍa-pūrve* 7/1 = *ariṣṭam ca gauḍaś ca* = *ariṣṭagauḍau; tau pūrvau yasmin* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *pure* #99)
'*ariṣṭa, gauḍa*' *ity evam pūrve samāse puraśabda uttarapade pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*
The initial constituent of a compound formed with *ariṣṭa* and *gauḍa* at its beginning is marked *udātta* at the end when *pura* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

> *ariṣṭapúram* 'name of a locality'
> *gauḍapúram* 'name of a locality'
> *ariṣṭaśritapúram* 'name of a locality'
> *gauḍabhṛtyapúram* 'name of a locality'

1. The word *pūrve* is used so that *ariṣṭa* and *gauḍa*, even when combined with an intervening constituent before their final compound constituent, could be covered by this rule. Thus, consider *ariṣṭaśritapúram* and *gauḍabhṛtyapúram.* These example compounds were excluded from the scope of the preceding rule since they do not denote places in the east. This rule offers an exception.

6.2.101 न हास्तिनफलकमार्देयाः

> *na hāstinaphalakamārdeyāḥ*
> */na ϕ hāstina-phalaka-mārdeyāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
> (*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *pure* #99)
> '*hāstina, phalaka, mārdeya*' *ity etāni pūrvapadāni puraśabda uttarapade nāntodāttāni bhavanti*
> The initial constituents of a compound, namely *hāstina, phalaka* and *mārdeya,* are not marked with *udātta* at the end when *pura* combines as a following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

> *hāstinapuram* 'name of a locality'
> *phalakapuram* 'name of a locality'
> *mārdeyapuram* 'name of a locality'

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.99 *pure prācām.* Since all these rules form an exception to the final *udātta* of a compound (6.1.220 *samāsasya*), a negation will only restore the said final *udātta.* Incidentally, affix *ḍhaK* is introduced after *mārdeya* by 4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca.* A genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound is then formed with *pura.*

6.2.102 कुसूलकूपकुम्भशालं बिले

> *kusūlakūpakumbhaśālaṃ bile*
> */kusūla-kūpa-kumbha-śālam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *bile* 7/1/
> (*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #1 *antaḥ* #92)
> '*kusūla, kūpa, kumbha, śālā*' *ity etāni pūrvapadāni bilaśabde uttarapade' ntodāttāni bhavanti*
> The initial compound constituents, namely *kusūla, kūpa, kumbha* and *śālā,* are marked *udātta* at the end when *bila* 'hole' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

kusūlabilam 'top of a granary'
kūpabilam 'top of a well'
kumbhabilam 'mouth of a jar'
śālābilam 'entry to a hall'

1. These are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Note that the condition of *kusūla*, etc., must be met. For, a compound such as *sarpabilam* 'snake-pit' will serve as a counter-example. The condition of *bile* must also be met. For, a compound such as *kusūlasvāmī* 'owner of a granary' will then also serve as a counter-example.

6.2.103 दिक्शब्दा ग्रामजनपदाख्यानचानराटेषु

dikśabdā grāmajanapadākhyānacānarāṭeṣu
/ *dikśabdāḥ* 1/3 = *diśi dṛṣṭāḥ śabdāḥ* (*sapt. tat.* with deletion of middle *pada*); *grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-cānarāṭeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
dikśabdāḥ pūrvapadāni antodāttāni bhavanti grāma-janapada-ākhyāna-vāciṣūttarapadeṣu cānarāṭ śabde ca
An initial compound constituent having the signification of a directional name (*diś*) is marked with *udātta* at the end, when a word which is either used with the signification of a *grāma* 'village', *janapada* 'principality' and *ākhyāna* 'story, episode', or is constituted by *cānarāṭ* 'name of a locality', combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

purveṣukāmaśamī 'the eastern village of Iṣukāmaśamī'
apareṣukāmaśamī 'the lower or little village of Iṣukāmaśamī'
pūrvakṛṣṇamṛttikā 'the eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā'
aparakṛṣṇamṛttikā 'the lower eastern village of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā'
pūrvapāñcālāḥ 'the principally of the Pañcāla warriors'
aparapāñcālāḥ 'ibidem'
pūrvayāyātam 'a narrative with Yayāti as its focus'
aparayāyātam 'ibidem'
pūrvacānarāṭam 'name of a place'
aparacānarāṭam 'ibidem'

1. Note that, except for *cānarāṭa* which is specified here as referring to its form, all other specifications are denotational in nature. Compounds, such as *pūrveṣukāmaśamī*, etc., are formed by 2.1.49 *diksaṃkhye*. . . . Refer to their derivational details in the appendix. The signification of the word *cānarāṭa* is doubtful. The word *śabda* is used with *diś* so that directional words, such as *pūrva*, etc., which may also denote *kāla* 'time', can be covered.

6.2.104 आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासिनि

ācāryopasarjanaś cāntevāsini
/ *ācāryopasarjanaḥ* 1/1 = *ācārya upasarjanaṃ yasya antevāsinaḥ* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ *antevāsini* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *dikśabdāḥ* #103)
ācāryopasarjanāntevāsivāciny uttarapade dikśabdā antodāttā bhavanti
An initial compound constituent with the signification of a directional name is marked with *udātta* at the end when a word denoting a pupil derived from a secondary (*upasarjana*) word signifying a preceptor combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvapāṇinīyāḥ 'earlier students of Pāṇini'
aparapāṇinīyāḥ 'subsequent students of Pāṇini'
pūrvakāśakṛtsnāḥ 'earlier students of Kāśakṛtsna'
aparakāśakṛtsnāḥ 'subsequent students of Kāśakṛtsna'

1. Note that *pūrvapāṇinīyāḥ* is derived parallel to *pūrve ca te pāṇinīyāś ca* 'those who are former and are students of Pāṇini'. The word *pāṇinīya* refers to a student (*antevāsin*), a principal (*pradhāna*), qualified with a corresponding non-principal (*upasarjana*), i.e., *pāṇini*, the teacher (*ācārya*). All these compounds are formed by 2.1.57 *pūrvāpara*. . . .

6.2.105 उत्तरपदवृद्धौ सर्वं च

uttarapadavṛddhau sarvaṃ ca
/ *uttara-pada-vṛddhau* 7/1 = *uttarapadasya adhikṛtya yā vṛddhir vihitā* = *uttarapadavṛddhiḥ* (*bv.*), *tasyām*; *sarvam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *dikśabdāḥ* #103)
'*uttarapadasya*' *ity evam adhikṛtya yā vihitā vṛddhis tadvaty uttarapade sarvaśabdo dikśabdaś cāntodāttā bhavanti*
An initial compound constituent, namely *sarva* and also that which denotes a directional name, is marked with *udātta* at the end, provided a constituent with a *vṛddhi*-replacement under the scope of *uttarapade* (7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*) combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sarvapāñcālakaḥ 'found all over the country of the Pañcālas'
pūrvapāñcālakaḥ 'found in the eastern country of the Pañcālas'
uttarapāñcālakaḥ 'found in the northern country of the Pañcālas'

1. Note that *uttarapadavṛddhi* is here interpreted as 'a replacement in *vṛddhi* accomplished within the domain of 7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*'. The rules of this domain accomplish *vṛddhi* of a vowel which occurs as initial in the

following constituent of a compound, provided an affix marked with *Ñ, Ṇ* and *K* follows. How do we know that *uttarapada* here refers to an *adhikāra* 'domain of rules'? By knowing that *uttarapada* is marked with *svarita* (1.3.11 *svaritenādhikāraḥ*). This yields the interpretation: 'a *vṛddhi* which is accomplished with reference to rules of the domain of *uttarapadasya*'. Besides, what was the purpose of qualifying *vṛddhau* with *uttarapada* when *vṛddhau* itself would have served the purpose.

Note that affix *vuÑ* of the example derivates, which subsequently yields *aka*, is introduced by 4.2.125 *avṛddhād api*. . . . The *vṛddhi* in *pāñcālaka* is accomplished by 7.3.12 *susarvārdhā*. . . . Elsewhere, it is accomplished by 7.3.13 *diśo' madrāṇām*. A compound such as *sarvapāñcālaka* is formed by 2.1.57 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa bahulam*. Other example compounds are formed by rule 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapade*. . . .

If the word *uttarapada* was not used, this *sūtra* would have simply read: *vṛddhau sarvaṃ ca*. This would have qualified the application of this rule also to *sarvabhāsaḥ* 'that which illuminates everything' and *sarvakārakaḥ* 'he who does everything'. Recall that *bhāsa* and *kāraka* are words with initial *vṛddhi*, though this *vṛddhi* has not been accomplished by any rule of the domain of 7.3.10 *uttarapadasya*.

6.2.106 बहुव्रीहौ विश्वं संज्ञायाम्

bahuvrīhau viśvaṃ saṃjñāyām
/ bahuvrīhau 7/1 *viśvam* 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92)
bahuvrīhau samāse viśvaśabdaḥ pūrvapadaṃ saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye' ntodāttaṃ bhavati
An initial constituent, namely *viśva* 'all', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the end when the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

viśvadévaḥ 'all divinities'
viśvayáśāḥ 'he who is universally splendorous'
viśvamáhān 'he who is universally great'

1. Note that *viśva* 'all', as a derivate of affix *KvaN*, is introduced after *viś* 'to enter, pervade' and is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. This is accomplished in view of an accentual provision made with *N* as an *it* (*nitsvara*). Rule 6.2.1 *bahuivrīhau prakṛtyā* . . . would have allowed retention of this initial *udātta* had it not been for the present rule. Thus, *viśva* as an initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound used with the signification of a name, is marked with *udātta* at the end. The examples cited here are all names. A *karmadhāraya* compound such as *viśvadevaḥ*, parallel to *viśve ca te devāḥ* 'all gods', is marked *udātta* at the end.

1. Commentators state that this rule finds its independent scope of application in *viśvadévaḥ* and *viśvayaśáḥ*. Rule 6.2.165 *saṃjñāyāṃ mitrājinayoḥ* finds its independent scope of application by marking the following constituent of *kulamitraḥ* 'friendly to the clan' / *kulājinaḥ* 'deer-skin of the clan?' as *udātta* at the end. But now observe examples such as *viśvāmitraḥ* 'friendly to all' and *viśvājinaḥ* where both rules become applicable. It is rule 6.2.165 *saṃjñāyāṃ mitrājinayoḥ* which, based on 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, wins this conflict of equal strength (*vipratiṣedha*).

2. This domain of *bahuvrīhau* gets canceled by *avyayībhāve* of 6.2.121 *kūlatīratūla*. . . .

6.2.107 उदराश्वेषुषु

udarāśveṣuṣu
/ *udarāśveṣuṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau saṃjñāyām* #106)
'*udara, aśva, iṣu*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu bahuvrīhau samāse saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*

The initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is marked with *udātta* at the end when *udara* 'belly', *aśva* 'horse' and *iṣu* 'arrow, archer' combine as following constituents and the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

vṛkodáraḥ 'he whose belly is wolf-like; Bhīma'
dāmodáraḥ 'he on whose belly there are lines; Kṛṣṇa'
haryaśváḥ 'he whose horses are of gold color; Indra'
yauvanāśváḥ 'he who is youthful as his horse'
suvarṇapūṃkheṣúḥ 'that, an arrow, the feathers on whose tail-end are golden (beautiful) in color'
maheṣúḥ 'he whose arrows are great'

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā*. . . . Note that *vṛka* 'wolf' is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭ* II:7: *prāṇināṃ ca* . . .). The word *dāma* 'rope' is a derivate of *manin* (*Uṇādi* IV:145), and hence, *udātta* at the beginning. The *hari* of *haryaśva*, a derivate of *in* (*Uṇādi* IV:118), is also marked *udātta* at the beginning. The word *yauvana* 'youth' is considered as underived (*avyutpanna*), and is marked *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭ* II:19). If accepted as derived with affix *aN*, it will be marked *udātta* at the end. This accent can then be retained in view of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . Note that *suvarṇapuṃkheṣu* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound with two internal *bahuvrīhi* compounds, i.e., *suvarṇaḥ* and *suvarṇapuṃkhaḥ*. The first compound, parallel to *śobhano varṇo yeṣām* 'those whose color is beautiful', is marked *udātta* at the end by 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*. The second, paraphrased as *suvarṇāḥ puṃkhā*

yeṣām 'those whose feathers have beautiful colors', is marked with *udātta* on the *a* of *varṇa* 'color' in *suvarṇa* (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Our final derivate *suvarṇapuṃkheṣu,* the third compound, is marked with *udātta* on *kha.* Note that *ya,* in *haryaśvaḥ,* is marked with *svarita* in view of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayo*. . . .

2. Why is *mahat* 'great', of *maheṣuḥ,* included as an example under this *sūtra* when it can already avail *udātta* at the end by 6.2.38 *mahānvrīhya*. . . . Rule 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . . can then allow retention. Well, *mahat* is then used here for some other purpose. That is, this rule alone, because of being an exception to 6.2.1, must allow the final *udātta* of *mahat.*

6.2.108 क्षेपे

kṣepe
/*kṣepe* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau saṃjñāyām* #106 *udarāśveṣu* #107)
kṣepe gamyamāne udarādiṣūttarapadeṣu bahuvrīhau samāse saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of a name is marked *udātta* when *udara, aśva* and *iṣu* combine as following constituents, and *kṣepa* 'contempt' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍódaraḥ 'he who has a pit-belly'
ghaṭṭódaraḥ 'he who has a pot-belly'
kaṭukāśvaḥ 'he whose horse has a wild temper'
spanditāśváḥ 'he whose horse is slow'
anighāteṣúḥ 'he whose arrow cannot pierce its target'
calācaleṣúḥ 'an archer whose hands are not steady'

1. Here again we find this rule as an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . The word *ghaṭa* 'pitcher', because of being a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .), is marked with *udātta* at the end. It can easily retain this accent in view of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . It has been made part of an example here because this *sūtra* alone must assign the final *udātta* in this context. The word *kaṭuka* 'sour', a derivate of *kaN* (5.3.75 *saṃjñāyāṃ kan*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. But *spandita* 'vibrating', a derivate of *Kta,* is marked *udātta* at the end in view of affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). The word *anighāta,* an *avyayībhāva* paraphrased as *na nighātaḥ* 'absence of piercing' where *nighāta* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* (3.3.121 *hala ca*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. The word *calācala* is also marked *udātta* at then end.

2. Commentators also find a conflict of the nature of *tulyabalavirodha* 'opposition of equal strength' between rules 6.2.108 *kṣepe* and 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām.* Thus, an independent scope of application of 6.2.108 *kṣepe* can be

found in examples such as *kuṇḍodaraḥ* and *ghaṭodaraḥ*. An independent scope of 6.1.172 *nañsubhyām* can be similarly found in examples such as *ayaśāḥ* and *suyaśāḥ*. These two rules apply equally in examples such as *anudaraḥ* and *sūdaraḥ*. Rule 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* blocks 6.2.108 *kṣepe* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*).

3. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* presents this *sūtra* jointly with the preceding. This should not give one the impression that these constitute a single *sūtra*. A joint reading is made to indicate the *anuvṛtti* of *udarāśveṣu* in *kṣepe*. For, the *bhāṣya* does not explain this *sūtra* by resorting to split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*).

6.2.109 नदी बन्धुनि

nadī bandhuni
/ *nadī* 1/1 *bandhuni* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau* #106)
bahuvrīhau samāse bandhuny uttarapade nadyantaṃ pūrvapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The initial constituent in a *bahuvrīhi*, namely one ending in an item termed *nadī*, is marked *udātta* at the end when *bandhu* 'friend, clansman' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

gā̱rgībándhuḥ 'he whose friend is Gārgī'
vā̱tsībándhuḥ 'he whose friend is Vātsī'

1. Note that *gārgī* 'female' descendant of Garga' and *vātsī* 'female descendant of Vatsa' are derivates of affix *ṄīP*, introduced after derivates of *yaÑ*, i.e., *gārgya* and *vātsya*. They are termed *nadī* by 1.4.4 *yūstryākhyau nadī* and are marked *udātta* at the beginning because of their affixal *Ṅ* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*).

2. A specification with neuter, in *bandhuni*, is made so that *bandhu* is interpreted as denoting its form only. That is, no synonym of *bandhu* could be used in the application of this rule.

6.2.110 निष्ठोपसर्गपूर्वमन्यतरस्याम्

niṣṭhopasargapūrvam anyatarasyām
/ *niṣṭhā* 1/1 *upasargapūrvam* 1/1 = *upasargaḥ pūrvo yasya pūrvapadasya* (*bv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*pūrvapadam* #1 *udāttaḥ* #64 *antaḥ* #92 *bahuvrīhau* #106)
bahuvrīhau samāse niṣṭhāntam upasargapūrvaṃ pūrvapadam anyatarasyām antodāttaṃ bhavati
An initial *bahuvrīhi* constituent, which terminates in an affix termed

niṣṭhā and contains a preverb (*upasarga*) at its beginning, is optionally marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

pradhautamúkhaḥ 'he who has washed his face'
prakṣālitapâdaḥ 'he who has washed his feet'

1. This rule allows optional *udātta* at the end of an initial *bahuvrīhi* constituent which begins with a preverb and ends in an affix termed *niṣṭhā*. This *udātta* is made optional against retention of the original accent of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . .

2. Note that *mukha* 'face, mouth', when used with the signification of one's own limb (*svāṅgam*), gets optional *udātta* at the end (6.2.167 *mukhaṃ svāṅgam*). The optional provision of our present rule is made against the provision of that rule. If *mukha* does not signify *svāṅga*, this option will apply against the retention proposal of original accent by 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*. We will thus get three accents: *pradhautamūkhaḥ*/*pradhautamukhaḥ* *pradhaútamukhaḥ*.

Note that the condition of both *niṣṭhā* and *upasarga* must be met. Thus, this rule will not apply to *prasecakamukhaḥ* 'face of a sprinkler' and *śuṣkamukhaḥ* 'dry face', where the first does not have a *niṣṭhā* suffix at the end of its initial constituent and the second does not have a preverb at the beginning of its initial constituent.

6.2.111 उत्तरपदादिः

uttarapadādiḥ
/*uttarapadādiḥ* 1/1 = *uttarapadasya ādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #63)
'*uttarapadādiḥ*' *ity etad adhikṛtam, yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāma uttarapadasyādir udātto bhavati*
The final constituent of a compound, from here onwards, is to be marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

śuklakarṇáḥ 'white-eared'
kṛṣṇakarṇáḥ 'an animal branded with mark of a sickle on its ear(s)'

1. This rule introduces *uttarapadādiḥ* as a heading (*adhikāra*), valid through the end of this quarter. Note, however, that *ādir udāttaḥ* 'initial is marked *udātta*' is valid prior to 6.2.127 *prakṛtyā bhagālam* only. The word *uttarapada* 'following constituent *pada*', in this grammar, generally refers to the final constituent of a compound.

Now observe *śuklakarṇaḥ* 'he whose ears are white' and *kṛṣṇakarṇaḥ* 'he whose ears are black' where *karṇa* occurs combined after *śukla* 'white' and

kṛṣṇa 'black', both used with the signification of color. Consequently, *karṇa* 'ear', as a subsequent constituent (*uttarapada*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.2.112 *karṇo varṇalakṣaṇāt*).

6.2.112 **कर्णो वर्णलक्षणात्**

karṇo varṇalakṣaṇāt
/*karṇaḥ* 1/1 *varṇa-lakṣaṇāt* 5/1 = *varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
bahuvrīhau samāse varṇavācino lakṣaṇavācinaś ca karṇaśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
A following constituent in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, namely *karṇa*, is marked with *udātta* at the beginning when it combines to follow a constituent signifying *varṇa* 'color' and *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark'.

EXAMPLES:

śuklakarṇáḥ 'white-eared'
kṛṣṇakarṇáḥ 'black-eared'
dātrākarṇáḥ 'an animal branded with the mark of a sickle on its ear(s)'
śaṅkūkarṇáḥ 'an animal branded with the mark of a dagger on its ear(s)'

1. The word *varṇa* here signifies 'color'. The word *lakṣaṇa* refers to *paśūnāṃ vibhāgajñāpanārtham dātraśaṅkupratirūpakaṃ karṇādiṣu cihnam* 'mark of a sickle or dagger made on ears, etc., of animals for proper classification and identification'. It is this meaning of *lakṣaṇa* which blocks the application of this rule on *sthūlakarṇaḥ* 'he who has large ears'. For, *sthūla*, though it serves as a characteristic mark of reference, it is not a particular (*viśiṣṭa*) mark intended for classifying or identifying an animal. Examples such as *śvetapādaḥ* 'one whose feet are white' and *kūṭaśṛṅgaḥ* 'one whose horns are knotty' are also excluded. The first has a constituent denoting *varṇa* but does not have *karṇa* as its following constituent. The second example has *kūṭa* as *lakṣaṇa* but also lacks *karṇa*. An example such as *śobhanakárṇaḥ* is also out since *śobhana* 'beautiful' is a general characteristic. All these excluded examples will be allowed to retain the original accent of their initial constituents.

Incidentally, specific denotata of *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark' is gotten here on the basis of *vyākhyāna* 'interpretation of the learned'.

6.2.113 **संज्ञौपम्ययोश्च**

saṃjñaupamyayoś ca
/*saṃjñaupamyayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *karṇaḥ* #112)

saṃjñāyām aupamye ca yo bahuvrīhir vartate tatra karṇa śabda uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
A following constituent, namely *karṇa*, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *saṃjñā* 'name' and *aupamya* 'comparison' is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

kuñcikarṇáḥ 'a name; he whose ears resemble a fist'
maṇikarṇáḥ 'a name; he whose ears resemble a pearl'
gokarṇáḥ 'one whose ears resemble cow's ears'
kharakarṇáḥ 'one whose ears resemble a donkey's'

1. Here again, retention of original accent of the preceding constituent was intended (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). This rule offers *udātta* to the initial syllable of the following constituent. The remaining syllables are marked with *anudātta* (6.2.158 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . .), with the understanding that an *anudātta* occurring after an *udātta* will be replaced with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*).

6.2.114 कण्ठपृष्ठग्रीवाजङ्घं च

kaṇṭhapṛṣṭhagrīvājaṅghaṃ ca
/*kaṇṭha-pṛṣṭha-grīvā-jaṅgham* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *saṃjñaupamyayoḥ* #113)
'*kaṇṭha, pṛṣṭha, grīvā, jaṅghā*' *ity etāni uttarapadāni bahuvrīhau samāse saṃjñaupamyayor ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
A following *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *kaṇṭha* 'throat', *pṛṣṭha* 'back', *grīvā* 'neck' and *jaṅghā* 'thigh', is also marked *udātta* at the beginning when the compound is formed with the signification of *saṃjñā* 'name' and *aupamya* 'comparison'.

EXAMPLES:

śitikaṇṭháḥ 'name of Śiva'
nīlakaṇṭháḥ 'ibidem; he who has blue on his throat'
uṣṭrakaṇṭháḥ 'one whose throat resembles the throat of a camel'
kāṇḍapṛṣṭháḥ 'a name'
gopṛṣṭháh 'one whose back resembles a cow's back'
sugrīváḥ 'a name; one whose neck is beautiful'
daśagrīváḥ 'Rāvaṇa; he who has ten necks'
aśvagrīváḥ 'one whose neck resembles a horse's neck'
nārījaṅgháḥ 'a name; a man whose thighs are similar to a woman's thighs'
aśvajaṅgháḥ 'one whose thighs resemble a horse's thighs'

1. Here again, the initial constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is blocked from retaining its original accent.

6.2.115 शृङ्गमवस्थायां च

śṛṅgam avasthāyāṃ ca
/*śṛṅgam* 1/1 *avasthāyām* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *saṃjñaupamyayoḥ* #113)
śṛṅgaśabda uttarapadam avasthāyāṃ saṃjñaupamyayoś ca bahuvrīhau ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
A following constituent, namely *śṛṅga* 'horn', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the beginning when the derivate denotes *avasthā* 'age', *saṃjñā* 'name' and *aupamya* 'comparison'.

EXAMPLES:

udgataśṛṅgáḥ 'an animal whose horns have just jutted out'
dvyaṅgulaśṛṅgáḥ 'an animal whose horns are two-finger-width long'
ṛṣyaśṛṅgáḥ 'a sage named Ṛṣyaśṛṅga'
gośṛṅgáḥ 'cow-like horns'
meṣaśṛṅgáḥ 'ram-like horns'

1. Note that *śṛṅga* is also used here as a mark to indicate the age of an animal (*avasthā*). It is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. The remainder of the compound is marked *anudātta* with the understanding that an *anudātta* becomes *svarita* after an *udātta*.

2. Examples such as *udgataśṛṅgáḥ* 'that whose horns have come out' and *dvyaṅgulaśṛṅgáḥ* 'that whose horns are two finger-width long' indicate the age of an animal. The first example goes through deletion of the *samāsānta* affix *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasaj*. . .; *vt. pramāṇe lo* . . .).

6.2.116 नञो जरमरमित्रमृताः

nañ o jaramaramitramṛtāḥ
/*nañaḥ* 5/1 *jara-mara-mitra-mṛtāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
nañ uttare jaramaramitramṛtā bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttā bhavanti
A constituent, namely *jara* 'aging', *mara* 'dying', *mitra* 'friend' or *mṛta* 'dead' which combines to follow *naÑ* 'not' in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

ajaráḥ 'not aging'
amaráḥ 'immortal'
amitráḥ 'non-friendly'
amṛtáḥ 'non-dying; immortal; ambrosia'

6.2.117 सोर्मनसी अलोमोषसी

sor manasī alomoṣasī
/*soḥ* 1/1 *manasī* 1/2 = *man ca aś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *alomoṣasī* 1/2 = *loma ca uṣaś ca* = *lomoṣasī*; *na lomoṣasī* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
sor uttaram anantam asantaṃ ca bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavati lomoṣasī varjayitvā
A constituent of the *bahuvrīhi* compound which combines after *su* and terminates in *man* (*manIN*; 3.2.74 *ātmanaḥ manin*...) and *as* (*Uṇādi* affix *asUN*), with the exception of *loman* 'hair' and *uṣas* 'glow, dawn', is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

sukarmā 'virtuous; one who performs good deeds'
sudharmā 'righteous'
suyaśāḥ 'renowned'
suprathímā 'great expanse'
susrotāḥ 'with beautiful flow of water'

1. Note that *loman* and *uṣas* which end in *man* and *as*, respectively, are made exceptions. This rule is an exception to 6.2.171 *nañsubhyām* which, in turn, assigns *udātta* at the end of a constituent used in combination after *naÑ* and *su*. A *paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi (*PŚ* 17: *aninasmangrahaṇān arthavatā' narthakena*) allows *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as also that which ends in *x*', even where *an*, *in*, *as* and *man* do not carry any meaning of their own (*anarthaka*). That is, *an* and *as* of this rule will also include *an* and *as* with no meaning of their own. This is intended so that *tadantavidhi* with reference to *man* and *as* can be accomplished in *srotas* and *prathiman*, etc., where *man* and *as* do not carry any meaning of their own.

The initial of all following constituents is marked *udātta*. The remaining syllables of the compound are marked *anudātta*. However, note that an *anudātta* which occurs after an *udātta* is replaced with *svarita*.

Derivates which do not meet conditions of *su* and *man* will retain the original accent of their initial constituents (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*). This same is also true of derivates with following constituents such as *loman* and *usas*. Thus, consider *kṛtakarmā* 'he who has finished his work'/*surājā* 'good king' and *sulomā* 'he who has good body-hair' and *sūṣā* 'mother'.

2. What happens when a constituent ending in *an* and *as*, for example *karman* and *srotas*, occur before *KaP*. Such derivates are covered by 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvāt* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*). But rules in conflict (*vipratiṣedha*) must have their independent scope of application elsewhere. It is explained that 6.2.117 *sormanasī*... finds its independent scope of application in examples such as *sukarmā* 'he who has earned mer-

its' and *suvayāḥ* 'he who is at a good stage of his life'. Rule 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvāt* finds its independent scope in examples such as *ayavakaḥ* 'place without barley' and *suyavakaḥ* 'place with good barley'. These two rules both find their simultaneous application in *sukarmakáḥ* and *susrotaskáḥ*. Rule 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvāt* blocks the application of 6.2.117 *sormanasī*... because of being subsequent in order of enumeration.

6.2.118 **क्रत्वादयश्च**

kratvādayaś ca
/*kratvādayaḥ* 1/3 = *kratur ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *soḥ* #117)
kratvādayaḥ sor uttare bahuvrīhau samāse ādyudāttā bhavanti
A constituent enumerated in the list headed by *kratu* 'ritual sacrifice' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound after *su* as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

sukratúḥ 'intelligent; name of Agni'
sudṛśīkáḥ 'handsome; he who has beautiful eyes'

1. This also is an exception to 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām.*

6.2.119 **आद्युदात्तं द्व्यचश्छन्दसि**

ādyudāttaṃ dvyacaś chandasi
/*ādyudāttam* 1/1 *dvyacaḥ* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *chandasi* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *soḥ* #117)
yad ādyudāttaṃ dvyac uttarapadaṃ bahuvrīhau samāse sor uttaraṃ tad ādyudāttam eva bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which is marked *udātta* at the beginning, contains two vowels (*dvyac*) and combines after *su*, retains its *udātta* at the beginning provided the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

svaśvâstvā surathâ marjayema

1. Note that *aśva* and *ratha* of *svaśva* 'he who owns beautiful horses' and *suratha* 'he who owns beautiful chariots' are derivates of *uṇādi* affixes *KvaN* (*Uṇ.* I:151) and *KthaN* (*Uṇ.* II:2), respectively. They are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning, because of affixal *N* as an *it* (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). This rule allows retention of the initial *udātta*. That is, it is again an exception to 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām.*

A counter-example is *subāhuḥ* 'he who has beautiful arms' is offered to the condition of *ādyudātta*. Note that *bāhu* 'arm' derives with affix *Ku*, and

hence, is marked *udātta* at the end in consonance with affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). Now consider *hiraṇya* of *suhiraṇyaḥ* 'beautiful gold' as a counter-example to the condition of *dvyacaḥ* 'consisting of two vowels'. Obviously, *hiraṇya* contains three vowels.

6.2.120 वीरवीर्यौ च

vīravīryau ca
/*vīravīryau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *bahuvrīhau* #106 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *soḥ* #117 *chandasi* #119)
'*vīra, vīrya*' *ity etau ca śabdau sor uttarau bahuvrīhau samāse chandasi viṣaye ādyudāttau bhavataḥ*
The constituents *vīra* 'heroic' and *vīrya* 'valor' are also marked with *udātta* at the beginning when they combine after *su* in a *bahuvrīhi* compound and the scope of the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

suvīréṇa 'by one who has great valor'
suvīryásya 'of one who has great prowess'

1. Note that *vīrya*, in the Vedic, is marked with *svarita* at the end, following the specification of *Phiṭsūtra* (77): *bilvabhakṣyavīryāṇi*...). As a derivate of *yaT* (3.1.97 *aco yat*) in the classical language, it will be marked *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*). Recall that *vīrya*, as a derivate of *yaT* in the Vedic, would qualify for initial *udātta* of 6.2.119 *ādyudāttaṃ dvyacaś chandasi*. Thus, there was no point in including *vīrya* in this rule. This inclusion then indicates that *vīrya* is marked *svarita* at the end. Our present rule is, again, an exception to 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām*.

6.2.121 कूलतीरतूलमूलशालाक्षसममव्ययीभावे

kūlatīratūlamūlaśālākṣasamam avyayībhāve
/*kūla-tīra-tūla-mūla-śālā-akṣa-samam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *avyayībhāve* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
'*kūla, tīra, tūla, mūla, śālā, akṣa, sama*' *ity etāni uttarapadāni avyayībhāvasamāsa ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
A constituent, namely *kūla* 'river-bank', *tīra* 'ibidem', *tūla* 'shoots of reeds or grass; cotton', *mūla* 'root', *śālā* 'hall', *akṣa* 'axle, dice' or *sama* 'equal', which combines as final in an *avyayībhāva* compound is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

Examples:

parikūlám 'around the bank'
upakūlám 'near the bank'
paritīrám 'around the bank'

upatīrám 'near the bank'
paritūlám 'around the grass'
upatūlám 'near the grass'
parimūlám 'around the root'
upamūlám 'near the root'
pariśālám 'around the hall'
upaśālám 'near the hall'
paryákṣam 'around the axle'
upākṣám 'near the axle'
suṣamám 'well leveled; evenly'
viṣamám 'not so well leveled; unevenly'
niḥṣamám 'unreasonably'
duḥṣamám 'wickedly'

1. Note that *suṣama, viṣama* and *niḥṣama* are listed as part of the *tiṣṭhadgu* group of nominals. Their compounds are thus formed by 2.1.17 *tiṣṭhadguprabhṛtīni ca.* The *s* of *sama* is replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.88 *suvinirdurbhyaḥ....* The *avyayībhāva* compounds with *upa* are formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa....* Since *pari* is termed *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.87 *apaparī varjane,* the *avyayībhāva* compounds with *pari* will be formed by 2.1.12 *apaparibahir....* The *pañcamī* 'fifth triplet, ablative', as conditioned by *karmapravacanīya,* will be introduced after *kūla,* etc., by 2.3.10 *pañcamy apāṅparibhiḥ.* Compounds with *upa* and *pari* are formed in the sense of *sāmīpya* 'proximity' and *varjana* 'exclusion', respectively. These compounds are marked *udātta* at the beginning.

2. The condition of *avyayībhāve* is imposed so that *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* compounds can be excluded. Thus, a *bahuvrīhi,* for example *paramakūlam* '... whose bank is best', parallel to *paramaṃ kūlam asya,* will retain the original accent of its preceding constituent (6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau...*). A *karmadhārayatatpuruṣa,* for example *paramakūlam* 'best bank', will be excluded because this is the domain of *bahuvrīhi* compounds. This necessitates inclusion of *avyayībhāve* in the rule.

3. It is stated that the initial *udātta* of *kūla,* etc., after *pari,* etc., is accomplished via *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength' (*Kāś: paryādibhyaḥ kūlādīnām ādyudāttatvaṃ vipratiṣedhena*). That is, we witness a conflict of equal strength between 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā...* and the present rule. Rule 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā...* finds its independent scope in *avyayībhāva* compounds where *kūla,* etc., for example in *paritrigarttam* 'around the country of Trigartta', are not combined. The independent scope of the initial *udātta* of *kūla,* etc., can be established where *pari,* etc., for example in *avakūlam* 'around the bank'/*atikūlam* 'beyond the bank', are not combined. Since these rules both find their simultaneous application, for example in *apakūlam* 'below the bank' and *parikūlam* 'around the bank', 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* must rule in favor of application of our present rule.

4. This rule constitutes an exception to the accentuation rules of compounds (*samāsasvarāpavādaḥ*). Rules prior to 6.3.133 *nācāryarāja* . . . are similar in nature.

6.2.122 **कंसमन्थशूर्पपाय्यकाण्डं द्विगौ**

kaṃsamanthaśūrpapāyyakāṇḍam dvigau
/ *kaṃṣa-mantha-śūrpa-pāyya-kāṇḍam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *dvigau* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
'*kaṃṣa, mantha, śūrpa-pāyya-kāṇḍa*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni dvigau samāsa ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
A constituent, namely *kaṃsa* 'name of a measure, vase', *mantha* 'churning stick', *śūrpa* 'winnowing basket', *pāyya* 'name of a measure' and *kāṇḍa* 'measuring stick, piece', is marked *udātta* at the beginning when the same combines as final in a compound termed *dvigu*.

EXAMPLES:

dvikaṃsáḥ 'purchased with two Kaṃsas'
dvimantháḥ 'purchased with two churning sticks'
dviśūrpáḥ 'purchased with two winnowing baskets filled with grains'
dvipāyyáḥ 'two measures of a drink'
dvikāṇḍáḥ 'two measures of a stick'

1. Note that *dvikaṃsaḥ, dvimanthaḥ* and *dviśūrpaḥ* are formed in anticipation of the sense of a *taddhita* (*taddhitārtha*; 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .), where affixes *ṬIṭhaN* (2.1.25 *kaṃsāt ṭiṭhan*), *ṭhaK* (5.1.19 *ārhād agopuccha* . . .) and *aÑ* (5.1.26 *śūrpād añ* . . .), respectively, are introduced to denote the sense of *krīta* 'purchased with'. These affixes, however, are deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva*. . . . A similar deletion of *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*) and *mātraC* (5.2.37 *pramāṇe dvyasaj* . . .; *vt. pramāṇe lo dvigor nityam*), denoting *parimāṇa* and *pramāṇa* 'measure', is also found in deriving *dvipāyya* and *dvikāṇḍa*, respectively.

That this provision of initial *udātta* is limited to *dvigu* compounds is illustrated by *paramakaṃsaḥ* 'best kaṃsa' and *uttamakaṃsaḥ* 'ibidem', which are both *karmadhāraya*.

6.2.123 **तत्पुरुषे शालायां नपुंसके**

tatpuruṣe śālāyām napuṃsake
/ *tatpuruṣe* 7/1 *śālāyām* 7/1 *napuṃsake* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111)
śālāśabdānte tatpuruṣe samāse napuṃsakaliṅgam uttarapadam ādyudāttam bhavati
A following constituent, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, is marked *udātta* at

the beginning when the compound ends in *śālā* 'hall' and is termed neuter.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇaśālám 'a hall of brāhmaṇas'
kṣatriyaśālám 'a hall of kṣatriyas'

1. Note that genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds can optionally be used as *napuṃsaka* 'neuter' (2.4.25 *vibhāṣā senāsuracchāyāśālāniśānām*). A compound such as *dṛḍhaśālam brāhmaṇakulam* 'a strong house of the brāhmaṇas' cannot avail this accentual provision because it is a *bahuvrīhi*, parallel to *dṛḍhā śālā yasya tat* 'a clan whose hall is solidly built'. A compound such as *brāhmaṇasenam* 'army of brāhmaṇas' constitutes a counter-example to the condition of *śālā*.

6.2.124 कन्था च

kanthā ca
/*kanthā* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe napuṃsake* #123)
tatpuruṣe samāse napuṃsakaliṅge kanthāśabda uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
A following constituent is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning when a *tatpuruṣa* compound termed neuter ends in *kanthā* 'city, patched garment'.

EXAMPLES:

sauśimikanthám 'name of a city'
āhvakanthám 'ibidem'
cappakanthám 'ibidem'

1. These genitive compounds are used in the neuter in view of 2.4.20 *saṃjñāyāṃ kanthośīnareṣu*. This accentual provision will be blocked in case of *dākṣikanthā* 'a city named after Dākṣi', which is not used as neuter.

6.2.125 आदिश्चिहणादीनाम्

ādiś cihaṇādīnām
/*ādiḥ* 1/1 *cihaṇādīnām* 6/3 = *cihaṇa ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *tatpuruṣe napuṃsake* #123 *kanthā* #124)
kanthānte tatpuruṣe samāse napuṃsakaliṅge cihaṇādīnām ādir udātto bhavati
Constituents enumerated in the group headed by *cihaṇa* are marked with *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound ending in *kanthā* used in the neuter.

EXAMPLES:

> *cihāṇakantham* 'name of a place'
> *maḍārakantham* 'ibidem'

1. Why is *ādi* used again in this rule when the same is available from the *anuvṛtti*? This *ādi* is used to indicate initial *udātta* of the initial constituent (*pūrvapada*; *PM* ad *Kāś*: *pūrvapadānāṃ cihaṇādīnām ādyudāttatvam iṣyate, atas tadarthaṃ punar ādigrahaṇaṃ kṛtam*).

6.2.126 चेलखेटकटुककाण्डं गर्हायाम्

> *celakheṭakaṭukakāṇḍaṃ garhāyām*
> / *cela-kheṭa-kaṭuka-kāṇḍam* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*); *garhāyām* 7/1/
> (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
> '*cela, kheṭa, kaṭuka, kāṇḍa*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni tatpuruṣe samāse garhāyāṃ gamyamānāyām ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
> The following constituents in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, namely *cela* 'cloth', *kheṭa* 'straw', *kaṭuka* 'bitter, stale' and *kāṇḍa* 'arrow', are marked *udātta* at the beginning when *garhā* 'contempt' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

> *putracelám* 'an unworthy son'
> *bhāryācelám* 'a bad wife'
> *upānatkheṭám* 'cheap shoe'
> *nagarakheṭám* 'an inhospitable city'
> *dadhikaṭúkam* 'stale yoghurt'
> *udaśvitkáṭukam* 'bitter buttermilk'
> *bhūtakāṇḍám* 'an offspring who is source of pain'
> *prajakāṇḍám* 'ibidem'

1. Note that censure is denoted via similarity (*sādṛśya*) between *cela* and *putra*, etc. The compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ sāmānyāprayoge*. That is, *vyāghrādi* has to be accepted as an open-ended group with *cela*, etc., as members. The compounds can thus be paraphrased as: *putraḥ celam iva*, etc. The following constituent in all these compounds is marked *udātta* at the beginning. That is, the compounds are not marked *udātta* at the end.

Note that *paramacelam* 'best cloth', a *karmadhāraya* compound with the denotatum of *praśaṃsā* 'praise', will be marked *udātta* at the end. It can be thus accepted as a counter-example to the condition of *garhā* 'censure'.

6.2.127 चीरमुपमानम्

> *cīram upamānam*
> / *cīram* 1/1 *upamānam* 1/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
cīram uttarapadam upamānavāci tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavati
A following constituent, namely *cīra* 'a particular piece of clothing', used in a *tatpuruṣa* compound with the signification of a standard of comparison (*upamāna*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

vastracīrám 'tattered cloth'
paṭacīrám 'rag-like cloth'
kambalacīrám 'tattered blanket'

1. Here again the compounds are formed by 2.1.56 *upamitaṃ vyāghrādibhiḥ*. A comparison between *vastra*, a general (*sāmānya*), and *cira*, a particular (*viśeṣa*), is made possible because of *bheda* 'difference'. The condition of *upamāna* is important so that *paramacīram*, a *karmadhāraya*, can be excluded from availing this accentual provision. Of course, *cīra* of example compounds will be marked *udātta* at the beginning.

6.2.128 पललसूपशाकं मिश्रे

palalasūpaśākaṃ miśre
/*palala-sūpa-śākam* 11/1 (*sam. dv.*); *miśre* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
'*palala, sūpa, śaka*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni miśravācini tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
The following constituents, namely *palala* 'meat', *sūpa* 'soup' and *śāka* 'leafy vegetable' are marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound denoting *miśra* 'mixture'

EXAMPLES:

guḍapalálam 'meat cooked with jaggery'
ghṛtapalalám 'meat cooked with ghee'
ghṛtasūpáḥ 'soup cooked with ghee'
mūlakasūpáḥ 'soup cooked with radish'
ghṛtaśākám 'leafy vegetable cooked with ghee'
mudgaśākám 'leafy vegetable cooked with Mung beans'

1. The example compounds are all formed by 2.1.35 *bhakṣyeṇa miśrīkaraṇam*. Here again the following constituents are marked *udātta* at the beginning. A *karmadhāraya* compound, for example *paramapalalam* 'best meat', which does not denote mixing will be excluded from availing the accentual provision of this rule. It will thus be marked *udātta* at the end.

6.2.129 कूलसूदस्थलकर्षाः संज्ञायाम्

kūlasūdasthalakarṣāḥ saṃjñāyām

/*kūla-sūda-sthala-karṣāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
'*kūla, sūda, sthala, karṣa*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni tatpuruṣe samāse saṃjñāyāṃ vṣaye ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
The following constituents, namely *kūla* 'bank', *sūda* 'cook', *sthala* 'dry land', and *karṣa* 'drag, pull' in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, are marked *udātta* at the beginning when *saṃjñā* 'name' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

dākṣikūlám 'name of a village'
māhikikūlám 'ibidem'
devasūdám 'ibidem'
bhājīsudám 'ibidem'
dāṇḍāyanasthalī 'ibidem'
māhikisthalī 'ibidem'
dākṣikarsáḥ 'ibidem'

1. Why is *sthalī* offered as a following constituent when the rule already specifies *sthala*? The word *sthala* can also refer to *sthalī*, its feminine counterpart, in consonance with the *paribhāṣā* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* 'a specification made by a nominal stem also includes reference to its counterparts in particular genders'. Feminine affix *ṄīṢ* in introduced after *sthala* by 4.1.42 *jānapadakuṇḍa*. . . .

6.2.130 अकर्मधारये राज्यम्

akarmadhāraye rājyam
/*akarmadhāraye* 7/1 = *na karmadhārayaḥ* (*nañ.*); *rājyam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
karmadhārayavarjite tatpuruṣe samāse '*rājyam*' *ity etad uttarapadam ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*
The word *rājya*, when combined as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound other than *karmadhāraya*, is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇarājyám 'kingdom of brāhmaṇas'
kṣatriyarājyám 'kingdom of kṣatriyas'

1. The word *rājya* 'kingdom' is a derivate of *ṢyaÑ* (5.1.124 *guṇavacana* . . .). Consequently, it remains marked with *udātta* in a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. That is, the compound is not marked *udātta* at the end. But consider a *karmadhāraya* compound, namely *paramarājyam* 'best kingdom', which must remain marked with *udātta* at the end.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* states (*celerājyādisvarād avyayasvaro bhavati pūrva-vipratiṣedhena*) that *kucélam* and *kurājyam* retain their indeclinable accent (*avyayasvara*; 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe turlyārtha* . . .), via *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'application of a prior (*pūrva*) rule in conflict (*vipratiṣedha*) with a subsequent (*para*)'. Thus *ku*, as against *cela* and *rājya* of this section, receives *udātta* at the beginning.

6.2.131 **वर्ग्यादयश्च**

> *vargyādayaś ca*
> /*vargyādayaḥ* 1/3 = *vargya ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*); *ca*)/
> (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *akarmadhāraye* #130)
> '*vargya*' *ity evam ādiny uttarapadāny akarmadhāraye tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti*
> The words *vargya*, etc., are marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound other than *karmadhāraya*.

EXAMPLES:

> *vāsudevavargyáḥ* 'on Vāsudeva's side'
> *vāsudevapakṣyáḥ* 'ibidem'
> *arjunavargyáḥ* 'on Arjuna's side'
> *arjunapakṣyáḥ* 'ibidem'

1. Note that there is no listing of nominals known as *vargyādi*. Consequently, *vargyādi* refers to four nominals, i.e., *varga* 'partisan', *pūga* 'heaped, gathered', *gaṇa* 'group' and *pakṣa* 'side' of the *digādi* 'direction (*diś*), etc.' nominals derived with affix *yaT* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*). Recall that a derivate of *yaT* is marked with *svarita* at the end (*svaritānta*; 6.1.182 *titsvaritam*). It is marked *udātta* at the beginning in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

6.2.132 **पुत्रः पुम्भ्यः**

> *putraḥ puṃbhyaḥ*
> /*putraḥ* 1/1 *puṃbhyaḥ* 5/3
> (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
> *putrásabdaḥ puṃśabdebhya uttaras tatpuruṣe ādyudātto bhavati*
> The word *putra* is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent denoting masculine.

EXAMPLES:

> *kaunatiputráḥ* 'son of Kaunaṭi'
> *dāmākaputráḥ* 'son of Dāmaka'
> *māhiṣakaputráḥ* 'son of Māhiṣaka'

6.2.133 नाचार्यराजर्त्विक्संयुक्तज्ञात्याख्येभ्यः

nācāryarājartviksaṃyuktajñātyākhyebhyaḥ
/ *na* ϕ *ācārya-rājā-ṛtvik-saṃyukta-jñāty-ākhyebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ācāryaś ca rājā ca ṛtvik ca saṃyuktaś ca jñātiś ca* (*dv.*); *etāḥ ākhyāḥ yeṣām* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*) / (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *putraḥ* #132)
ācāryādyākhyebhyaḥ paraḥ putraśabdo nādyudātto bhavati
The word *putra* is not marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow constituents with the signification of *ācārya* 'teacher', *rājā* 'lord', *ṛtvij* 'presiding ritualist', *saṃyukta* 'relative on wife's side' and *jñāti* 'relatives on parent's side'.

EXAMPLES:

ācāryaputraḥ 'son of a teacher'
upādhyāyaputraḥ 'ibidem'
rājaputraḥ 'king's son'
īśvaraputraḥ 'ibidem'
nandaputraḥ 'son of Nanda'
ṛtvikputraḥ 'son of a priest'
yājakaputraḥ 'son of a ritualist'
bhrātuṣputraḥ 'brother's son'
saṃyuktaputraḥ 'a son of wife's side of the family'
śyālaputraḥ 'wife's brother's son'
jñātiputraḥ 'a son of the clan'

1. A specification with *ākhyā* also includes references to nominals which may be synonymous with those listed in the rule. It also includes references to particulars (*viśeṣa*) within the general (*sāmānya*) categories of specified nominals. Of course, they also represent themselves based on their specification by form (*svarūpa*). Thus, consider *rājaputraḥ* 'prince', *īśvaraputraḥ* 'son of the king' and *nandaputraḥ* 'son of Nanda', which are examples representing their form (*svarūpa*), synonym (*paryāya*) and particular (*viśeṣa*).

2. A negation (*pratiṣedha*) of initial *udātta* of *putraḥ* 'son' clears the way for compounds to be marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.220 *samāsaya*). The non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' in *hotuḥputraḥ* 'son of the priest' and *bhrātuṣputraḥ* 'brother's son' is accomplished by 6.3.21 *ṛto vidyāyoni*. . . . A replacement in *ṣ*, for the *s* of *bhrātuṣputraḥ*, is in consonance with the inclusion of *bhrātṛ* 'brother' in the *kaskādi* group of nominals (8.3.48 *kaskādiṣu ca*).

6.2.134 चूर्णादीन्यप्राणिषष्ठ्याः

cūrṇādīny aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyāḥ
/ *cūrṇādīni* 1/3 = *cūrṇa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyāḥ* 5/1 = *na prāṇī* = *aprāṇī* (*nañ. tat.*); *aprāṇinaḥ ṣaṣṭhī* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyāḥ*/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
cūrṇādīny uttarapadāny aprāṇivācinaḥ ṣaṣṭhyantāt parāṇi tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttāni bhavanti
The word *cūrṇa*, etc., when combined in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) with the signification of a non-living (*aprāṇin*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning.

EXAMPLES:

mudgacūrṇam 'Mung-bean flour'
masūracūrṇám 'lentil flour'

1. The condition of *aprāṇin* 'non-sentient' will exclude examples such as *matsyacūrṇam* 'fish powder', because *matsya* is *prāṇin* 'sentient'. An example such as *paramacūrṇam* 'best powder', where *parama* 'best' ends in the nominative, will also be excluded.
2. A different reading of this *sūtra* is found in the form of *cūrṇādīny aprāṇyupagrahāt* where *upagraha*, following the usage of earlier grammarians, is interpreted as 'that which ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*)'.

6.2.135 **षट् च काण्डादीनि**

ṣaṭ ca kāṇḍādīni
/*ṣaṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *kāṇḍādīni* 1/3 = *kāṇḍa ādir yeṣām, tāni*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyāḥ* #134)
ṣaṭ pūrvoktāni kāṇḍādīny uttarapadāni aprāṇiṣaṣṭhyā ādyudāttāni bhavanti
The six words enumerated in the list headed by *kāṇḍa* are also marked *udātta* at the beginning when they combine in a *tatpuruṣa* compound to follow a constituent ending in *ṣaṣṭhī*, with the signification of a non-living (*aprāṇin*).

EXAMPLES:

darbhakāṇḍám 'stalk of Kuśa grass'
śarakāṇḍám 'stalk of reed'
darbhacīrám 'rag made of Kūśa grass'
kuśacīrám 'ibidem'
tilapalálam 'meat with sesame seeds'
mūlakaśākám 'radish-leaf vegetable'
nadīkūlám 'river-bank'
samudrakūlám 'ocean-shore'

1. The word *ṣaṭ* here refers to nominals specified in four rules beginning with 6.2.126 *celakheṭa* . . . (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *celakheṭakaṭukakāṇḍam ityādiṣu caturṣu yogeṣu sanniviṣṭāni ṣaṭ gṛhyante*). Why offer their initial *udātta* here when it is already available from those rules? So that initial *udātta* can also be availed in contexts not covered by those rules. This rule, however, will exclude ini-

tial *udātta* in constituents occurring after a genitive in relation to *prāṇin* 'living beings'. Thus, this accentual provision will not be constrained by conditions of *garhāyām* 'censure' (6.2.126), *upamānam* 'comparison', *miśre* 'mixing' and *saṃjñāyām* 'name'.

2. These compounds are all genitive *tatpuruṣa*. *Kāśikā* offers *rājasūdaḥ* 'king's cook' and *devadattakāṇḍaḥ* 'Devadatta's arrow' as counter-examples, where *sūda* falls outside the list of specified *ṣaṭ* 'six' and *devadatta* is a *prāṇin* 'living being'. These counter-example compounds will be thus marked *udātta* at the end.

3. A question is raised about the nominal ending used after *tila* in deriving *tilapalalam* 'meat cooked with sesame seeds'. Should one consider it as a *tatpuruṣa* with its middle constituent deleted (*madhyamapadalopa*). That is, should we derive it parallel to *tilasahitaṃ palalam* 'meat mixed with sesamum'. Should we then accept *tila* as ending in the instrumental?

6.2.136 कुण्डं वनम्

kuṇḍaṃ vanam
/*kuṇḍam* 1/1 *vanam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadādiḥ* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
'*kuṇḍam*' *ity etad uttarapadaṃ vanavāci tatpuruṣe samāse ādyudāttaṃ bhavati*
The word *kuṇḍa* 'bowl' is marked *udātta* at the beginning when it combines as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, formed with the signification of *vana* 'forest'.

EXAMPLES:

d̲arbh̲akuṇḍám 'forest of Kuśa grass'
ś̲ar̲akuṇḍám 'forest of reeds'

1. The word *kuṇḍa* is here used in the sense of *vana* 'forest', due mainly to its similarity (*sādṛśya*) in serving as locus for *darbha*, etc. A compound such as *mṛtkuṇḍam* 'earthen bowl' will be excluded because *kuṇḍa* here does not denote *vana*. The compound will be marked with *udātta* at the end.

6.2.137 प्रकृत्या भगालम्

prakṛtyā bhagālam
/*prakṛtyā* 3/1 *bhagālam* 1/1/
(*uttarapadam* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123)
bhagālavācy uttarapadaṃ tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The word *bhagāla* 'bowl, skull' retains its original accent when it combines as a following constituent in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

k̲umbhī̲bhag̲ālám 'half of a small earthen pitcher used as a bowl'

ku̱mbhī̱ka̱pālám 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows compound constituents with the signification of *bhagāla* to retain their original accent. Of course, when they occur as following constituents in a *tatpuruṣa* compound. Recall that *bhagāla* and *kapāla* 'bowl, skull' are marked *udātta* in the middle, in consonance with the *Phiṭsūtra* (42: *laghāv ante*...).

2. That *bhagāla* also refers to its synonyms is only known from *vyākhyāna* 'interpretation of the learned'.

3. Note that *prakṛtyā* 'as it originally was' is carried through rule 6.2.143 *antaḥ*.

6.2.138 शितेर्नित्याबह्वज्बहुव्रीहावभसत्

śiter nityābahvaj bahuvrīhāv abhasat
/*śiteḥ* 5/1 *nityābahvac* 1/1 = *bahavo aco yasmin* (*bv.*); *na bahvac* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*); *nityam abahvac* (*dv. tat.*); *bahuvrīhau* 7/1 *abhasat* 1/1 = *na bhasat* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*uttarapadam* #111 *prakṛtyā* #137)
śiter uttarapadaṃ nityaṃ yad abahvaj bhasac chabdavarjitaṃ bahuvrīhau samāse tat prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
A constituent which combines in a *bahuvrīhi* compound to follow *śiti* 'white' and which, with the exception of *bhasad* 'genitals', does not necessarily consist of more than two vowels, retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

śi̱ti̱pādáḥ 'white-footed'
śi̱tyaṃsáḥ 'white-shouldered'
śi̱tyoṣṭháḥ 'white-lipped'

1. Note that *pāda* is marked *udātta* at the beginning because of its membership in the *vṛṣādi* group of nominals (6.1.203 *vṛṣādīnāṃ ca*). The *Uṇādi* derivates *aṃsa* and *oṣṭha* are obligatorily marked *udātta* at the beginning, because affixes *saN* (*Uṇādi* V:21: *ameḥ san*) and *thaN* (*Uṇādi* II:4: *uṣikuṣigatibhyas than*), respectively, are marked with *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The example compounds, because of their *bahuvrīhi* formation, qualify for retention of original accent of their initial constituents. Our present rule offers retention of original accent of their following constituents.

Kāśikā offers *darśanīyapādaḥ* 'beautiful feet' as counter-example to condition of *śiteḥ*, where, since *pāda* does not occur after *śiti*, and *darśanīya*, a derivate of *anīyaR*, is marked *udātta* in the middle (*madhyodātta*; 6.1.214 *upottamaṃ riti*).

2. Note that a form of *bhasad* with more than two vowels is never used. This is why *śitibhasat* 'white genitals' is made an exception. The condition of

nityam will exclude *śitikakut* 'white hump' from availing this accentual provision since *kakuda* is not always used as consisting of more than two vowels. For, when used with the signification of *avasthā* (5.4.146 *kakudasyābvasthāyāṃ lopaḥ*), its final *a* is deleted. Thus, consider *śitikakudaḥ* 'white-hump' which does not go through deletion of its final *a*. Now consider *lalāṭa* 'forehead' of *śitilalāṭaḥ* 'white-forehead' which is obligatorily used as *bahvac* 'consisting of more than two vowels'.

Finally, this accentual provision is applicable only to a compound termed *bahuvrīhi*. That is, this rule is an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*. Thus, *śiteḥ pādaḥ* = *śitipādaḥ* 'the white one's foot', a *tatpuruṣa*, will constitute a counter-example.

6.2.139 **गतिकारकोपपदात् कृत्**

gatikārakopapadāt kṛt
/gati-kāraka-upapadāt 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *kṛt* 1/1/
(*uttarapadam* #111 *tatpuruṣe* #123 *prakṛtyā* #137)
gateḥ kārakād upapadāc ca kṛdantam uttarapadaṃ tatpuruṣe samāse prakṛtisvaraṃ bhavati
The constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound which ends in an affix termed *kṛt* and combines to follow a constituent termed *gati*, *kāraka* and *upapada*, retains its original accent.

EXAMPLES:

prakārákaḥ 'he who does things well'
prakaráṇam 'explanation, topic'
prahārákaḥ 'attacker'
praharáṇam 'stick, weapon'
idhmapravaścanaḥ 'that by means of which one cuts; axe'
palāśaśātánaḥ 'that by means of which a *palāśa* tree is cut'
śmaśrukalpánaḥ 'grooming of a beard'
īṣatkaráḥ 'slightly beneficial'
duṣkaráḥ 'hard to do'
sukaráḥ 'easy to do'

1. Note that *tatpuruṣe*, and not *bahuvrīhau*, is carried over here. All example compounds have a following constituent marked with *L* as an *it*. That is, their syllable which precedes the affix is marked *udātta* (6.1.190 *liti*). Thus, *prakārakaḥ* and *prahārakaḥ* are derivates of *ṆvuL* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*) combined with *pra* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*), a *gati* (1.4.60 *gatiś ca*). Affix *LyuṬ* (3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*), under the signification condition of a *kāraka* termed *karaṇa* 'instrument', is introduced in deriving *pravaścana* 'chopping' and *śātana* 'cutting', where a *pada* with the signification of a *kāraka*, i.e., *karman* 'object', follows. The *ṣaṣṭhī*, which is introduced after *idhma* 'firewood'

and *palāśa* 'a tree' to denote *karman*, is combined in consonance with a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.2.8 *ṣaṣṭhī: kṛdyogā ca ṣaṣṭhī saamasyate* 'a genitive used in connection with that which ends in a *kṛt* is combined'). Refer to derivational details of these compounds under the appendices and notes of rules 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ* and 3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca.* Finally, consider *īṣatkaraḥ, duṣkaraḥ* and *sukaraḥ* where *īṣad* 'a little, slight', *duḥ* 'bad' and *su* 'good' constitute cooccurring *padas* (*upapada*). Affix *KHaL*, with the signification of *kṛcchra* 'difficult', etc. (3.4.70 *tayor eva kṛtyaktakhalarthāḥ*), is here introduced (3.3.126 *īṣadduḥsuṣu* . . .) to derive *kara.* These compounds are formed by 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ.*

These examples all constitute an exception to the final *udātta* of 6.1.220 *samāsasya.*

2. A question is raised against explicitly using the word *kṛt* in this rule. For, *pra*, etc., are termed *gati* and *upasarga* only when they are used in construction with a word denoting action (*kriyā; yat kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas taṃ praty eva gatyupasargasaṃjñā bhavanti*). A constituent with the denotatum of a *kāraka* is also directly related to an action. There are two types of suffixes, i.e., *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) and *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .), which are introduced after a root. The compounds are formed with constituents which end in a *kṛt* affix. It is for this reason that *kṛt* need not be stated in this rule. Commentators explain that *kṛt* is used in the rule for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Some, however, do not agree with this position. They argue that *kṛt* is used here for blocking *gati* accent from applying to compounds such as *prapacatideśyaḥ*. Refer to *PM* ad *Kāśikā* for further details.

6.2.140 उभे वनस्पत्यादिषु युगपत्

ubhe vanaspatyādiṣu yugapat

/ *ubhe* 1/2 *vanaspatyādiṣu* 7/3 = *vanaspatir ādir yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *teṣām; yugapat* 1/1/

(*prakṛtyā* #137)

vanaspatyādiṣu samāseṣu ubhe pūrvottarapade yugapat prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ

The two constituents of compounds enumerated in the list headed by *vanaspati* 'vegetation', both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

EXAMPLES:

vanaspatíḥ 'lord of forests; vegetation'
bṛháspatíḥ 'a divinity; teacher of gods'
śacīpatíḥ 'Indra'
narāśaṃsáḥ 'name of a king'
śunaḥśépáḥ 'name of a sage'

1. This rule allows retention of original accent of both compound constituents, simultaneously. This simultaneous *udātta* was not available to

example compounds because of 6.1.152 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . . Note that *vana* is marked *udātta* at the beginning in consonance with *Phiṭsūtra* 26: *nabviṣayā*. . . . The word *pati* 'lord' master', as a derivate of *Ḍati* (*Uṇādi* IV:57: *pāter ḍatiḥ*), is also marked *udātta* at the beginning by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The *ā*, of *pā* in *pati*, goes through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). Augment *sUṬ*, of 6.1.151 *pāraskaraprabhṛtīni ca*, is then introduced to derive *vanaspati* 'vegetation'. This *sUṬ*, however, is introduced by a *vārttika* (ad 6.1.154; *tad bṛhatoḥ karapatyoḥ* . . .) which also deletes the *t* of *bṛhat*. It is stated that *bṛhat* is marked *udātta* at the end, via *nipātana*, in consonance with *Uṇādi* II:84: *vartamāne pṛṣatbṛhan*. . . . Some, however, consider this *nipātana* accent to be initial *udātta*. Similar differences of opinion is also witnessed in case of *śacī* 'Indra's wife', considered as marked *udātta* at the beginning, only by way of ending in *ṄīN* through its membership in the *śārṅgaravādi* group of nominals (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravādyaño ṅīn*). It will receive final *udātta* as a derivate of *ṄīṢ*.

6.2.141 देवताद्वन्द्वे च

devatādvandve ca
/ *devatādvandve* 7/1 = *devatānāṃ dvandvaḥ*
(*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ/
(*prakṛtyā* #137 *ubhe ugapat* #140)
devatāvācināṃ yo dvandvas tatra yugapad ubhe pūrvottarapade prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ
The two constituents of a *dvandva* compound formed with the signification of *devatā* 'divinity', both, retain their original accent simultaneously.

EXAMPLES:

indrā̱somaú 'Indra and Soma'
indrā̱varúṇau 'Indra and Varuṇa'
indrā̱bṛha̱spatī́ 'Indra and Bṛhaspati'

1. Note that augment *ānAṄ* is introduced in these compounds by 6.3.24 *devatādvandve ca*. The words *indra*, *soma* and *varuṇa* are derivates of *raN* (*Uṇādi* II:28: *ṛjendrāgra* . . .), *maN* (*Uṇādi* I:140: *arttistusu* . . .) and *unaN* (*Uṇādi* III:53: *kṛvṛdāribhya* . . .), respectively. They are marked *udātta* at the beginning because of their *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Recall that *bṛhaspati* already has two of its vowels marked with *udātta*. The compound *indrābṛhaspatī* will, with one *udātta* of *indra*, carry three *udāttas*.

6.2.142 नोत्तरपदेऽनुदात्तादावपृथिवीरुद्रपूषमन्थिषु

nottarapade' nudāttādāv apṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthiṣu
/ *na* ϕ *uttarapade* 7/1 *anudāttādau* 7/1 = *anudātta ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*;

apṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthiṣu 7/3 *pṛthivī ca rudraś ca pūṣā ca manthī ca* = *pṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthinaḥ; na pṛthivī*... (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *teṣu/* (*prakṛtyā* #137 *ubhe yugapat* #140 *devatādvandve* #141)
uttarapade' nudāttādau pṛthivīrudrapūṣamanthivarjite devatādvandve nobhe ugapat prakṛtisvare bhavataḥ
The two constituents of a *dvandva* compound formed with the signification of *devatā* 'divinity', both, do not retain their original accent when one of the constituents marked *udātta* at the beginning with the exception of *pṛthivī, rudra, pūṣan,* and *manthin,* follows.

EXAMPLES:

indrāgnī 'Indra and Agni'
indravāyū 'Indra and Vāyu'

1. Here again we find *ānAṄ* introduced as an augment (6.3.24 *devatādvandve ca*). Note that *agni* and *vāyu* are derivates of *ni* (*Uṇādi* I:20: *aṅger nir nalopaś ca*) and *uṆ* (*Uṇādi* I:86: *kṛvāpājimi*..., respectively. They are both marked *udātta* at the end by way of affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*). That is, they are marked *anudātta* at the beginning. The compounds, because of negation of our present rule, cannot retain the original accent of their constituents, simultaneously. Rule 6.1.220 *samāsasya* thus allows retention of the final *udātta.*

The *pṛthivyādi* nominals which are here made exceptions to this negation all carry an *udātta* at the end. Because of being exceptions, they will retain the original accent of their two constituents, simultaneously.

2. A question is raised against explicitly using *uttarapade* in this rule. That is, why use *uttarapade* when the locative (*saptamī*) of *anudāttādau* itself can provide the desired context of application. It is stated that this rule is a negation (*pratiṣedha*). The context of this negation, especially as it relates to its application (*vidhi*), cannot be understood clearly if *uttarapade* is not included in the wording of this rule. That is, in the absence of *uttarapade, anudāttādau* will modify *devatādvandve.* This rule will then be interpreted as meaning: the provision of this rule does not apply in a *devatādvandva* compound marked with *udātta* at the beginning (*anudāttādau dvandve svaro' yaṃ na bhavati*). This interpretation will then negate retention of constituent accents in *candrasūryau* 'moon and sun'. For, *candra* is marked *anudātta* at the beginning because of its *udātta* at the end. The locative *anudāttādau* is used here as a qualifier to *dvandve* in this interpretation. If, however, *uttarapade* is used, *anudāttādau* will become a qualifier to *uttarapade.* Consequently, this negation will apply only when a following constituent marked with *anudātta* at the beginning follows.

The preceding discussion shows how, in a *devatādvandva* compound, negation (*pratiṣedha*) and application (*vidhi*) both may obtain. In the absence

of a clear indication as to where negation applies and where it does not, their application will become optional (*vikalpa*). Note that *dvandva*, and not *uttarapada*, is specified in this section with *saptamī*. This being the case, *anudāttādau* in *saptamī* will qualify *dvandva*. It will qualify *uttarapade*, instead, when *uttarapade* is used in the rule. Consequently, negation will apply only when a following constituent with initial *anudātta* is involved. Elsewhere, we will get application (*viddhi*). Thus, the use of *uttarapade* clearly specifies scopes of negation and application.

6.2.143 अन्तः

antaḥ
/*antaḥ* 1/1
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111)
yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatra samāsasyottarapadasyānta udātto bhavatīty evaṃ tad veditavyam
A constituent which follows in a compound is, here onwards, marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to following rules for relevant examples:

1. Note that 6.1.220 *samāsasya* offers *udātta* at the end of a compound. Rules governed by *antaḥ* of this rule will, again, offer final *udātta* as an exception to various other rules.

6.2.144 थाथघञ्क्ताजबित्रकाणाम्

thāthaghañktājabitrakāṇām
/*tha-atha-ghañ-kta-aj-ab-itra-kāṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *gatikārakopapadāt* #139 *antaḥ* #143)
'*tha, atha, ghañ, kta, ac, ap, itra, ka*' *ity evam antānām uttarapadānām gatikārakopapadāt pareṣām anta udātto bhavati*
A constituent which ends in *tha, atha, ghaÑ, Kta, ac, ap, itra* and *ka*, and combines in a compound to follow a constituent termed *gati, kāraka* and *upapada*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

sunīthaḥ 'he who guides well'
avabhṛthaḥ 'ritual bathing'
āvasathaḥ 'dwelling'
upavasathaḥ 'day of fasting'
prabhedaḥ 'a subdivision'
kāṣṭhabhedaḥ 'splitting of wood'

dūrādāgataḥ 'arrived from afar'
ātapaśuṣkaḥ 'sun-dried'
prakṣayaḥ 'excellent place'
prajayaḥ 'excellent means of conquest?'
pralayaḥ 'fragment, split'
prasavaḥ 'begetting'
pralavitram 'sickle'
prasavitram 'begetting, generating'
govṛṣaḥ 'bull'
kharīvṛṣaḥ 'impetuous bull'
pravṛṣaḥ 'excellent bull'
prahṛṣaḥ 'happy'

1. Note that *nītha* and *bhṛtha,* of *sunīthaḥ* and *avabhṛthaḥ,* are derivates of affix *KthaN* (*Uṇādi* II:2: *hanikuṣinīra* . . . *Uṇādi* II:3: *ave bhṛñaḥ*). They are both marked with *udātta* at the beginning because of *N* as an *it* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). Rule 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt* would thus have allowed retention of the original accent of *nītha* and *bhṛtha.* Our present rule offers final *udātta,* instead. This same also applies to derivates of *atha* (*Uṇādi* III:116: *upasarge vaseḥ*), i.e., *āvasathaḥ/upavasathaḥ,* and *GHaÑ,* i.e., *kāṣṭhabhedaḥ/rajjubhedaḥ.*

The *pañcamī* of *dūrādāgataḥ* goes through non-deletion (6.3.2 *pañcamyāḥ* . . .) after 2.1.39 *stokāntikadūrārtha* . . . allows compound-formation. Recall that *āgata* is a derivate of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). The two derivates of *Kta* in both compounds are marked *udātta* at the end. Their initial *udātta,* made available by 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ* and 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . ., is thus not retained. The *ta* of *Kta,* however, is replaced with *ka* in *ātapaśuṣka* (8.2.51 *śuṣaḥ kaḥ*). If one accepts *ātapaśuṣka* as formed with 2.1.41 *siddhaśuṣkapakvabandhaiś ca,* rule 6.2.32 *saptamī siddhaśuṣka* . . . would require retention of original accent of the first constituent.

The words *kṣaya* and *jaya* are derivates of *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*). They are marked *udātta* at the beginning by 6.1.198 *kṣayo nivāse* and 6.1.199 *jayaḥ karaṇam,* read subsequently to 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt.* . . . Our present rule offers final *udātta* as an exception. This exception against 6.2.139 also applies to *prasavaḥ, pralavaḥ* and *pralavitram.* Affixes *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*) and *itra* (3.2.184 *arttilūdhūsū* . . .) are introduced in deriving *prasavaḥ/pralavaḥ* and *pralavitram,* respectively. Now consider *govṛṣaḥ* and *kharīvṛṣaḥ* where affix *Ka* is introduced after *vṛṣ* in consonance with the *vārttika* (ad 3.2.5 *tundaśoka* . . .; *kaprakaraṇe mūlavibhujādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*). The *Ka* of *vṛṣa* in *pravṛṣaḥ* and *prahṛṣaḥ* is introduced by 3.1.135 *igupadhajñā.* . . . The initial *udātta* in *vṛṣa,* etc., is available from 6.1.200 *vṛṣādīnām ca.* Our present rule offers final *udātta* as an exception to retention of original accent of 6.1.139 *gatikārakopapadāt.* . . .

6.2.145 सूपमानात् क्तः

sūpamānāt ktaḥ
/*sūpamānāt* 5/1 = *suś ca upamānaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *ktaḥ* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
'*su*' *ity etasmād upamānāc ca paraṃ ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*
A following compound constituent which ends in *Kta* is marked with *udātta* at the end, when the same combines to follow *su*, or a word denoting standard of comparison (*upamāna*).

EXAMPLES:

sukṛtam 'well done'
subhuktam 'good food'
supītam 'good drink'
vṛkāvaluptam 'disappearing like a wolf'
śaśaplutam 'leaping like a rabbit'
siṃhavinirdditam 'roaring like a lion'

1. The following constituents of example compounds are all marked *udātta* at the end. This rule is an exception to the retention of original accent of 6.2.49 *ghatiranantaraḥ*, in examples with *su*. It is an exception to that of 6.4.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*, in examples of *upamāna*. These compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*.

Kāśikā offers *sustutaṃ bhavatā* 'you sir! praised well' as a counter-example to the condition of *gatikārakopapadāt*. Recall that *su* can be termed a *karmapravacanīya* by 1.4.94 *suḥ pūjāyām*. Our compound *sustutam* will have the indeclinable accent (*avyayasvara*), i.e., initial *udātta*, retained.

6.2.146 संज्ञायामनाचितादीनाम्

saṃjñāyām anācitādīnām
/*saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *anācitādīnām* 6/3 = *ācita ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*; *na ācitādayaḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *gatikārakopapadāt* #139 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye gatikārakopapadāt ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati ācitādīn varjayitvā
A compound constituent which ends in *Kta*, but is not enumerated in the list headed *ācita*, is marked *udātta* at the end when it combines to follow a *gati*, *kāraka*, and *upapada* 'conjoined *pada*', and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

sambhūtam rāmāyaṇam 'a Rāmāyaṇa named Sambhūta'

upahūtaḥ śākalyaḥ 'Śākalya, who was invited'
parijagdhaḥ kauṇḍinyaḥ 'Kauṇḍinya, who was fed well'
dhanuṣkhātā nadī 'name of a river'
kuddālakhātā nagarī 'name of a city'

1. These compounds are all marked *udātta* at the end. The *Kta* of *sambhūtaḥ*, etc., denotes *karman*. Consequently, they were subject to application of 6.2.49 *gatir anantaraḥ*. This rule constitutes an exception to that. Compounds such as *dhanuṣkhātā*, etc., where *khan* has gone through a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*; 6.4.42 *janasanakhanām* . . .), are formed by 2.1.31 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. They thus had 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi* available to them. The final *udātta* of our present rule is also an exception to that.

2. A *gaṇasūtra* (*saṃhitā' gavi*) blocks *saṃhitā* from being marked with *udātta* at the end if the derivate names something other than *go* 'cow'.

6.2.147 प्रवृद्धादीनां च

pravṛddhādīnāṃ ca
/*pravṛddhādīnām* 6/3 = *pravṛddha ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145)
pravṛddhādīnāṃ ca ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
That which ends in *Kta* and combines as a following constituent in compounds enumerated in the list headed by *pravṛddha* is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

pravṛddhaṃ yānam 'an old carriage'
prayuktā saktavaḥ 'used up Saktu'
avahito bhogeṣu 'engrossed in pursuing pleasures'

1. This rule is formulated for final *udātta* outside the denotatum of *saṃjñā* 'name'. Note, however, that *yānam*, etc., are not used in these examples to restrict this provision in their context alone. They just illustrate general usages. For, *pravṛddha*, etc., receive final *udātta* also when used outside the context of *yāna*, etc.

A proposal is also made to accept *pravṛddhādi* as an open-ended (*ākṛti*) group (*gaṇa*). The *ca* thus can be accepted as used for attracting examples not covered (*anuktasamuccayārtha*). Consider *punarutsyūtam* 'freshly woven' and *punarniṣkṛtaḥ* 'rebuild' of *punarutsyūtaṃ vāsaṃ deyam* and *punarniṣkṛto rathaḥ*, where final *udātta* is availed.

6.2.148 कारकाद् दत्तश्रुतयोरेवाशिषि

kārakād dattaśrutayor evāśiṣi
/*kārakāt* 5/1 *dattaśrutayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *eva* ϕ *āśiṣi* 7/1/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *saṃjñā* #146)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye āśiṣi gamyamānāyāṃ kārakād uttarayor dattaśrutayor eva ktāntayor anta udātto bhavati
The two constituents, namely *datta* and *śruta*, which end in *Kta* and occur after a constituent with the signification of *kāraka*, alone, are marked with *udātta* at the end when name and benediction are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

devā enaṃ deyāsur devadattaḥ 'Devadatta, who was given by gods as a blessing'
viṣṇur enaṃ śrūyād viṣṇuśrutaḥ 'Viṣṇuśruta, who was given by Viṣṇu after hearing prayers'

1. This rule allows final *udātta* for *datta* and *śruta* when they are used in combination after a constituent with the denotatum of a *kāraka*. Additionally, derivates must denote benediction (*āśiṣi*) within the context of a *saṃjñā* 'name'. Recall that derivates which ended in *Kta* and denoted a name were all, with the exception of those with *ācita*, etc., qualified to receive final *udātta* (6.2.145 *saṃjñāyām* . . .). This rule makes a restrictive proposal. That is, if used after a *kāraka*, *datta* and *śruta* alone receive final *udātta*. The original accent will be retained outside the context of *datta* and *śruta*. Thus, consider *devapālitaḥ* 'protected by god' where application of 6.2.145 *saṃjñānām* . . . is blocked in favor of 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*. The word *kārakāt* is used in the rule because, in its absence, the restriction would have also applied after *gati*. For, this is the domain of *gatikārakopapadāt*. With *kārakāt* in place, the final *udātta* of 6.2.145 *saṃjñāyām* . . . applies after *gati* in *sambhūtaḥ*.

The word *eva* is used to restrict final *udātta*, only when *datta* and *śruta* are used in combination after that which denotes a *kāraka*. Elsewhere, 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi* will apply to retain the base accent of the preceding *pada* (*pūrvapada-prakṛtisvara*).

6.2.149 इत्थम्भूतेन कृतमिति च

itthambhūtena kṛtam iti ca
/*itthambhūtena* 3/1 = *imaṃ prakāram āpannaḥ*; *kṛtam* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *kārakāt* #148)
'*itthaṃbhūtena kṛtam*' *ity etasminn arthe yaḥ samāso vartate tatra ktāntam uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*
A constituent which ends in *Kta* and is combined after that which denotes a *kāraka* in a compound formed with the signification of 'made or done by one thus characterized' is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

> *suptapralapitam* 'babbling of a person while asleep'
> *unmattapralapitam* 'babbling of a crazy person'
> *pramattagītam* 'singing of a drunk or crazy person'

1. Refer to my notes under 1.4.90 *lakṣaṇetthambhūtākhyāna* . . . for an explanation of *itthambhūta*. This rule constitutes an exception to 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi.*

2. The word *kṛtam* is used here in the general sense of *karoti* 'makes'. It is thus not used in the sense of 'bringing about something which was previously not' (*nābhūtaprādurbhāva*). This is how *pralapita*, etc., become *kṛta* with the denotation of *karman* 'object'. A final *udātta* is already available to them from 6.2.144 *thāthādi* . . ., when their *Kta* is used with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense'.

6.2.150 अनो भावकर्मवचनः

ano bhāvakarmavacanaḥ
/ *anaḥ* 1/1 *bhāvakarmavacanaḥ* 1/1 = *bhāvaś ca karma ca* = *bhāvakarmaṇī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayor vacanaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*) /
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *ktaḥ* #145 *kārakāt* #148)
anapratyayāntam uttarapadaṃ bhāvavacanaṃ karmavacanaṃ ca kārakāt param antodāttaṃ bhavati
A constituent which ends in affix *ana*, signifies *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object', and combines in a compound after a word denoting a *kāraka*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

> *odanabhojanaṃ sukham* 'it is a pleasure to eat rice'
> *payaḥpānaṃ sukham* 'it is a pleasure to drink milk'
> *rājabhojanāḥ śālayaḥ* 'rice fit for a king's meal'
> *rājācchadanāni vāsāṃsi* 'clothes fit for a king'

1. This rule is an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . The words *bhojana* 'food' and *pāna* 'drink' are derivates of *LyuṬ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* (3.3.116 *karmaṇi ca yena* . . .). The *yu* of *LyuṬ* is subsequently replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). The compounds, i.e., *odanabhojana* 'eating of rice' and *payaḥpāna* 'drinking of milk', are formed by 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*. Compounds such as *rājabhojana* and *rajācchādana* are genitive *tatpuruṣa*, where *LyuṬ* denoted *karman*.

2. This denotation of *bhāva* and *karman* by *LyuṬ* shows two interpretations of rule 3.3.116 *karmaṇi ca yena* . . .

> (*i*) *karmaṇi upapade bhāve lyuḍ bhavati* '*LyuṬ* is introduced after a verbal root when a *pada* with the denotatum of *karman* cooccurs'.

(*ii*) *karmaṇy abhidheye lyuḍ bhavati* 'affix *LyuṬ* occurs after a verbal root when *karman* 'object' is denoted'.

3. *Kāśikā* offers *hastahāryāmudaśvit* 'buttermilk prepared with hands' as a counter-example to the condition of *ana*. A counter-example to *bhāva-karman* 'root-sense object' is offered in *dantadhāvánam* 'that by means of which teeth are cleaned' where *LyuṬ* in *dhāvana* 'cleansing' denotes *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Of course, the condition of *kārakāt* is also valid. Thus, consider *nidarśánam* 'illustrating' and *avalekhánam* 'scraping' where *ana* occurs after *gati*. All these counter-examples retain their original accents.

6.2.151 **मन्क्तिन्व्याख्यानशयनासनस्थानयाजकादिक्रीताः**

manktinvyākhyānaśayanāsanasthānayājakādikrītāḥ
/ *manktin-vyākhyāna-śayanāsana-sthāna-yājakādi-krītāḥ* 1/3 = *yājaka ādir yeṣām te* = *yājakādayaḥ; manktin . . .krītāḥ* (*itar. dv.*) /
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *kārakāt* #148)
'*mannantam, ktinnantam, vyākhyāna, śayana, āsana, sthāna*' *ity etāni, yājakādayaḥ, kṛtaśabdaś cottarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati*
The final syllable of the last constituent of a compound which ends in *man* and *KtiN*, or is constituted by *vyākhyāna* 'exposition', *śayana* 'reclining', *āsana* 'seat', *sthāna* 'place', or else, is listed in the group headed by *yājaka* 'sacrificer', or is constituted by *krīta* 'purchased', is marked *udātta* at the end when the same combines after a constituent with the signification of a *kāraka*.

EXAMPLES:

rathavartma 'road for chariots'
śakaṭavartma 'road for carts'
pāṇinikṛtiḥ 'creation of Pāṇini'
āpiśalikṛtiḥ 'creation of Āpiśali'
ṛgayaṇavyākhyānam 'a commentary of Ṛgayana'
chandovyākhyānam 'a commentary on Chandas'
rājaśayanam 'king's bed'
brāhmaṇaśayanam 'a brāhmaṇa's bed'
rājāsanam 'a king's seat'
brāhmaṇāsanam 'a brāhmaṇa's seat'
gosthānam 'cow-pen'
aśvasthānam 'stable'
brāhmaṇayājakaḥ 'a priest of brāhmaṇas'
kṣatriyayājakaḥ 'a priest of kṣatriyas'
gokrītaḥ 'purchased with a cow'
aśvakrītaḥ 'purchased with a horse'

1. These examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. Their accentual

provision constitutes an exception to 6.2.138 *gatikārakopapadāt*. . . . Compounds with *krita* constitute exception to 6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*. Note that *vyākhyāna, śayana, āsana* and *sthāna* are all derivates of *LyuṬ*. The first, i.e., *vyākhyāna*, is a derivate of *LyuṬ* with the denotatum of *karaṇa* 'instrument'. The rest have *LyuṬ* with the signification of *adhikaraṇa* 'locus' (3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*). Recall that derivates of *LyuṬ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' are already covered by 6.2.150 *ano bhāvakarmavacanaḥ*. Affix *ṆvuL* in *yājaka* and *pūjaka* 'worshiper' denotes *kartṛ* 'agent'. A *yājakādi* reference is here made to stems listed for genitive compounds under 2.2.9 *yājakādibhiś ca*.

2. The condition of *kārakāt* is still valid. Thus, *prakṛtiḥ* 'nature, base' and *prakṛtiḥ* 'attack', because of *pra* termed *gati*, will be covered by 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

6.2.152 सप्तम्याः पुण्यम्

saptamyāḥ puṇyam
/*saptamyāḥ* 5/1 *puṇyam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
saptamyantāt paraṃ puṇyam ity etad uttarapadam antodāttaṃ bhavati
A last compound constituent, namely *puṇya* 'merit', is marked *udātta* at the end when it combines after a constituent ending in *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of nominal ending'.

EXAMPLES:

adhyayanapuṇyam 'merits in studying'
vedapuṇyam 'merits in the study of the Vedas'

1. This is an exception to retention provision of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . A split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*) facilitates the compound formation. A compound with *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet; instrumental' (2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe* . . .; by split interpretation of *tṛtīyā*), i.e., *vedena puṇyam* = *vedapuṇyam* 'merit accrued from studying the Veda', will require *puṇya*, a derivate of *kṛt*, to be marked with initial *udātta*.

6.2.153 ऊनार्थकलहं तृतीयायाः

ūnārthakalahaṃ tṛtīyāyāḥ
/*ūnārtha-kalaham* 1/1 = *ūno' rtho yasya* (*bv.*); *ūnārthaś ca kalahaś ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *tṛtīyāyāḥ* 5/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
ūnārthāny uttarapadāni kalahaśabdaś ca tṛtīyāntāt parāṇy antodāttāni bhavanti
A final compound constituent which signifies the sense of affix *ūna* 'less than . . .', or is constituted by *kalaha* 'quarrel', is marked *udātta* at

the end when this same combines after a *pada* ending in *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet of nominal ending'.

EXAMPLES:

māṣonam 'less than a Māṣa'
kārṣāpaṇonam 'less than a Kārṣāpaṇa'
māṣavikalam 'less than a Māṣa'
kārṣāpaṇavikalam 'less than a Kārṣāpaṇa'
asikalahaḥ 'fight with swords'
vākkalahaḥ 'quarrel'

1. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśasamonārtha*. . . . Here again we find an exception to retention proposal of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . Some believe that *artha* specifies the word-form (*svarūpa*). They can, thus, account for *dhānyena arthaḥ* = *dhānyārthaḥ* 'prosperity by grains'. Note that *ūna*, a specification made via meaning (*arthanirdeśa*), can itself account for forms synonymous with it. Consequently, formation of a *tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa* with specifically enumerated bases (*pratipadokta*) becomes obvious. Why use *tṛtīyāyāḥ* when specified compounds are formed with *tṛtīyā*, anyway? The rule uses *tṛtīyāyāḥ* for clarity (*viśpaṣṭārtham*).

6.2.154 मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसन्धौ

miśraṃ cānupasargam asandhau
/*miśram* 1/1 *ca*ϕ *anupasargam* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*); *asandhau* 7/1 = *na sandhau* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *tṛtīyāyāḥ* #153)
'*miśra*' *ity etad uttarapadam anupasargaṃ tṛtīyāntāt param antodāttaṃ bhavaty asandhau gamyamāne*
A final compound constituent, namely *miśra* not used with a preverb, is marked with *udātta* at the end, when it combines to follow a constituent ending in *tṛtīyā*, provided something other than *sandhi* 'verbal agreement, treaty' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

guḍamiśrāḥ 'mixed with jaggery'
tilamiśrāḥ 'mixed with sesame'
sarpirmiśrāḥ 'mixed with ghee'

1. This rule again is an exception to 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . The example compounds are formed by 3.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśasamonārtha*. . . .
2. The condition of *miśra* is imposed so that compounds such as *guḍadhānāḥ* 'parched rice mixed with jaggery' can be excluded. The condition of *anupasarga* 'not used with a preverb' similarly excludes *guḍasammiśrāḥ*

'properly mixed with jaggery', etc. Note that a specification of *miśra* qualified with *anupasarga* also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*). It indicates that, elsewhere, a specification made by *miśra* includes reference to its use with a preverb. The *miśra* of 2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśasmonārtha . . . miśraślakṣṇaiḥ*, thus enables formation of compounds with *miśra* used with a preverb. We have already cited *guḍasammiśrāḥ* where this rule will not find its scope of application.

Now consider *asandhau* 'not in agreement' where *sandhi*, characterized as *aikya* 'unity', is explained as *paṇabandhaḥ* 'verbal agreement'. Thus, *yadi me bhavān idaṃ kuryāt tato' ham api bhavata idaṃ kariṣyāmi* 'if you will do this for me, then I will also do this for you'. An example, of *asandhi* is offered as *brāhmaṇamiśraḥ rājā* 'a king mixing with brāhmaṇas'. This 'mixing' is here explained as 'proximity' (*pratyāsatti*), a 'mixing' where individual identities are distinct. An example such as *guḍamiśrāḥ dhānāḥ* makes it difficult to perceive individual identities.

6.2.155 नञो गुणप्रतिषेधे सम्पाद्यर्हहितालमर्थास्तद्धिताः

> *naño guṇapratiṣedhe sampādyarhahitālamarthās taddhitāḥ*
> / *nañaḥ* 1/1 *guṇapratiṣedhe* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *sampādy-arha-hita-alam-arthāḥ* 1/3 = *sampādi . . . alam ity etāny arthāni yeṣām* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *taddhitāḥ* 1/3/
> (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
> '*sampādi, arha, hita, alam*' *ity evam arthā ye taddhitās tadantāny uttarapadāni naño guṇapratiṣdhe vartamānāt parāṇy antodāttāni bhavanti*
> The last syllable of final compound constituent which ends in a *taddhita* affix with the signification of *sampādi* 'properly bringing about', *arha* 'deserving', *hita* 'beneficial' and *alam* 'enough, capable', and occurs after a *naÑ* 'not' constituent negating quality (*guṇapratiṣedha*) is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

> *akārṇaveṣṭakikam mukham* 'a face not needing any ear-ornament'
> *acchaidikaḥ* 'that which does not deserve cutting'
> *avatsīyaḥ* 'that which is not beneficial to calves'
> *asāntāpikaḥ* 'he who is not capable of hurting anyone'

1. The *naÑ* of *akārṇaveṣṭikam* negates the quality of *kārṇaveṣṭikatva* 'ear-adornment'. Affix *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.18 *prāg vateṣ ṭhañ*) is here introduced after *karṇaveṣṭa* under provisions of 5.1.99 *sampādini*. This dereivate goes through (*ṭha*→*ika*), initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of *a* in consonance with the term *bha* (*bhasaṃjñā*). A negative *tatpuruṣa* compound is formed subsequently. Other compounds involve *taddhita* affixes *ṭhaK* (*acchaidikiḥ*; 5.1.64 *chedādibhyo nityam*), *cha* (5.1.1 *prāk krītāc chaḥ*) and *ṭhaÑ* (5.1.101 *tasmai prabhavati . . .*),

introduced with the signification of *sampādi, arha, hita* and *alam*, respectively. The *naÑ* of example compounds thus negates these qualities. Consequently, their following constituents are marked with *udātta* at the end. The accentual provision of this rule constitutes an exception to that of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

2. A condition of *naÑ* is imposed so that *vigārdabharathikaḥ* 'a charioteer who does not deserve a chariot pulled by donkeys' can be excluded. Now consider *agārdabharathikaḥ* 'a charioteer other than one who deserves a chariot pulled by donkeys'. It is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *guṇapratiṣedha* 'negation of quality'. What is negated here is not the quality but the person thus qualified (*guṇin*). This compound will retain the indeclinable accent of its initial constituent. A counter-example to conditions of *sampādi, arha, hita* and *alam* is offered in *apāṇinīyaḥ* 'one who does not study what Pāṇini taught', paraphrased as *pāṇinīyam adhīte = pāṇinīyaḥ; na pāṇinīyaḥ = apāṇinīyaḥ*. Obviously, none of these meanings are involved in *apāṇinīyam*. Finally, the derivate must entail a *taddhita* affix. Consider *avoḍhā*, paraphrased as *na kanyām voḍhum arhati* 'one who is not deserving of marrying the girl', as a counter-example. The *voḍhā* of *avoḍhā* is a derivate of the *kṛt* affix *tṛC*.

6.2.156 ययतोश्चातदर्थे

yayatoś cātadarthe

yayatoḥ 6/2 = *yaś ca yat ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ *atadarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai idam = tadartham* (*cat. tat.*); *na tadartham* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ guṇapratiṣedhe taddhitāḥ* #155)

'ya, yat' ity etau taddhitāv atadarthe vartete tadantasyottarapadasya nañо guṇapratiṣedhaviṣayād anta udātto bhavati

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a constituent negating quality (*guṇapratiṣedhe*), and ends in the *taddhita* affixes *ya* (5.4.24 *devatāntāt*. . .) and *yaT* (5.4.25 *pādārghābhyām ca*) introduced with the signification of something other than *tadartha* 'intended for that', is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

apāśyā 'not belonging to a group of snares'
atṛṇyā 'not belonging to heaps of grass'
adantyam 'non-dental'
akarṇyam 'not found in ears'

1. This again is an exception to 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . The example compounds still negate quality (*guṇa*). Affixes *ya* (4.2.48 *pāśādibhyo yaḥ*; in the first two examples) and *yaT* (4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca*; the next two) are used with the signification of *tadartha* 'intended for that'. It is for this reason

that a compound, such as *apādyam*, paraphrased as *na pādārtham udakam* 'water not intended for wiping feet', will be excluded. Its *yaT* is used with the signification of *tadartha* (5.4.25 *pādārghābhyāṃ ca*).

The conditions of *taddhita* and *guṇapratiṣedha* will exclude examples such as *adeyam* 'not fit for giving' and *dantyād anyat* = *adantyam* 'something other than teeth'. The *yaT* of *deyam* is a *kṛt* affix (3.1.97 *aco yat*). The negation in *adantyam* relates again to 'something thus qualified' (*guṇin*).

2. It is stated that *ya* here refers to an affix with no *it* (*niranubandhaka*). A specification with *yaT* is made for an affix with only one *it* (*ekānubandhaka*). It is for this reason that *avāmadevyam* '*sāman* hymn revealed to Vāmadeva', where *vāmadevyam* is a derivate of *Ḍa* and *ḌyaT* (4.2.9 *vākmadevāḍyaḍyau*), will be excluded.

6.2.157 **अच्कावशक्तौ**

> *ackāv aśaktau*
> /*ackau* 1/2 = *ac ca kaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *aśaktau* 1/2 = *na śaktiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām*/
> (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156)
> '*ac, ka*' *ity evam antam aśaktau gamyamānāyām uttarapadaṃ nañaḥ param antodāttaṃ bhavati*
> The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative (*naÑ*), and ends in affixes *aC* and *ka*, is marked *udātta* at the end, provided the derivate denotes incapability (*aśakti*).

EXAMPLES:

> *apacaḥ* 'he who cannot cook'
> *ajayaḥ* 'he who cannot win'
> *avikṣipaḥ* 'he who cannot throw'
> *avilikhaḥ* 'he who cannot write'

1. These first two example compounds involve derivates with *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyo*. . .). The next two involve derivates of *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñā* . . .). These examples again are exceptions to accentual provisions of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

2. Note that *apácaḥ* of *apacaḥ dīkṣitaḥ* 'an initiate who is someone other than a cook' and *apacaḥ parivrājakaḥ* 'a wandering ascetic who is someone other than a cook' will be excluded because 'incapability' (*aśakti*) is not denoted.

6.2.158 **आक्रोशे च**

> *ākrośe ca*
> /*ākrośe* 7/1 *ca* ф/

(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156 *ackau* #157)
ākrośe ca gamyamāne naña uttaram ackāntam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines to follow a negative (*naÑ*) and ends in affixes *aC* and *ka* is also marked *udātta* when the derivate denotes anger (*ākrośa*).

EXAMPLES:

apaco' yaṃ jālmaḥ 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not cook'
apaṭho' yaṃ jālmaḥ 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not recite'
avikṣipaḥ 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not throw'
avilikhaḥ 'shame on this person who is capable of but does not write'

6.2.159 संज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām
saṃjñāyām 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156 *ākrośe* #185)
ākrośe gamyamāne nañaḥ param uttarapadaṃ saṃjñāyāṃ vartamānam antodāttaṃ bhavati
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after *naÑ* and signifies a name (*saṃjña*) is marked *udātta* when the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger'.

EXAMPLES:

adevadattaḥ 'he is no Devadatta!'
ayajñadattaḥ 'he is no Yajñadatta!'
aviṣṇumitraḥ 'he is no Viṣṇumitra!'

1. Note that anger is denoted against some unbecoming behavior of persons so named. That is, how could a person be called *devadatta* 'gods gave him' when his conduct is unbecoming of a person born as a result of blessings of gods'.

6.2.160 कृत्योकेष्णुच्चार्वादयश्च

kṛtyokeṣṇuccārvādayaś ca
/ *kṛtyokeṣṇuccārvādayaḥ* 1/3 = *cāru ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *kṛtyaś ca ukaś ca iṣṇuc ca cārvādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156)
'*kṛtya, uka, iṣṇuc*' *ity evam antāś cārvādayaś ca naña uttare' ntodāttā bhavanti*
The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative word (*naÑ*), and ends either in affixes *kṛtya* (3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*),

ukaÑ (3.2.154 *laṣapatapadasthā* . . .) and *iṣṇuC* (3.2.136 *alaṃkṛññirākṛñ-prajanotpaca* . . .), or is constituted by items enumerated in the list headed by *cāru* 'beautiful', is marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

akartavyam 'not to be done'
akaraṇīyam 'ibidem'
anāgāmukam 'that which is not about to come'
anapalāṣukam '. . . is free of desires'
analaṅkariṣṇuḥ 'one whose nature is not to decorate'
anirākariṣṇuḥ 'one whose nature is not to repudiate'
anāḍhyambhaviṣṇuḥ 'one whose nature is not to become rich'
acāruḥ 'that which is not beautiful'
asādhuḥ 'one who is not good'

1. Affixes *tavya* and *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*) are introduced within the domain of 3.1.95 *kṛtyāḥ*. Affixes *iṣṇuC* and *ukaÑ* have been introduced by rules 3.2.136 *alaṃkṛññirākṛña* . . . and 3.2.154 *laṣapatapada* . . ., respectively. Note that *iṣṇuC* also includes a reference to *KHiṣṇuC* (3.2.57 *kartari bhuvaḥ* . . .), as we find in *anāḍhyambhaviṣṇuḥ.*

2. The following *gaṇasūtras* also offer final *udātta* as follows.

(*i*) *vartamāna* 'current', *vardhamāna* 'growing', *tvaramāṇa* 'hurrying', *dhriyamāṇa* 'steady, steadfast', *rocamāna* 'pleasing' and *śobhamāna* 'beautiful' should be accepted as marked *udātta* at the end when the denotatum is a name (*saṃjñāyām*).

(*ii*) *vikāra* 'modification, product' and *sadṛśa* 'similar', whether used in combination or not, are also marked *udātta* at the end. Thus, *avikāraḥ*/ *asadṛśaḥ*; *avikārasadṛśaḥ.*

(*iii*) *rājā* 'king' and *ahan* 'day' are marked *udātta* at the end in the Vedic. Thus, *arājā* 'non-king' and *anahaḥ* 'non-day'. The initial *udātta* of the indeclinable will, of course, apply to examples of the classical language (*bhāṣā*).

6.2.161 विभाषा तृन्नन्नतीक्ष्णशुचिषु

vibhāṣā tṛnnannatīkṣṇaśuciṣu
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *tṛnn-anna-tīkṣṇa-śuciṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *nañaḥ* #156)
'*tṛnnanta, anna, tīkṣṇa, śuci*' *ity eteṣu naña uttareṣu vibhāṣā*' *nta udātto bhavati*

The last syllable of a final compound constituent which combines after a negative constituent, and ends in affix *tṛN*, *anna* 'food', *tīkṣṇa* 'sharp', and *śuci* 'pure', is optionally marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

> *akarttā* 'one whose nature it is to not do'
> *akárttā* 'ibidem'
> *anannam* 'inedible'
> *anánnam* 'ibidem'
> *atīkṣṇam* 'not sharp'
> *atī́kṣṇam* 'ibidem'
> *aśuciḥ* 'impure'
> *aśúciḥ* 'ibidem'

1. The *tṛN* of *karttā*, in *akartā*, is introduced by 3.2.135 *tṛn* with the signification of *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature'. The optional provision of this rule is made against the initial *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*) of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . .

6.2.162 बहुव्रीहाविदमेतत्तद्भ्यः प्रथमपूरणयोः क्रियागणने

> *bahuvrīhāv idametattadbhyaḥ prathamapūraṇayoḥ kriyāgaṇane*
> / *bahuvrīhau* 7/1 *idam-etat-tadbhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *prathamapūraṇayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *kriyāgaṇane* 7/1 = *kriyāyāḥ gaṇanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/ (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
> *bahuvrīhau samāse 'idam, etad, tad' ity etebhya uttarasya prathamaśabdasya pūraṇapratyayāntasya ca kriyāgaṇane vartamānasya anta udātto bhavati*
> The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound, namely *prathama* 'first', or one ending in a *pūraṇa* suffix, is marked *udātta* at the end, when the same combines after *idam* 'this', *etad* 'this one' and *tad* 'that' and the derivate signifies *kriyāgaṇana* 'counting number of times of action'.

EXAMPLES:

> *idamprathamaḥ gamanaṃ bhojanaṃ vā* 'this is his first (meal, or trip)'
> *idandvitīyāḥ* 'this is his second . . .'
> *etatprathamaḥ* 'this is his first . . .'
> *etaddvitīyaḥ* 'this is his second . . .'
> *tatprathamaḥ* 'that is his first . . .'
> *taddvitīyaḥ* 'that is his second . . .'

1. The word *prathama* is specified here by its form (*svarūpa*). The word *pūraṇa* refers to forms ending in the *pūraṇa* suffixes introduced by 5.2.54 *dvestīyaḥ* and 5.2.55 *treḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca*. This rule is an exception to the retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*. Actually, since the *anuvṛtti* of *bahuvrīhau* is valid prior to 6.2.178 *vanaṃ samāse*, all accentual provisions made in this section can be treated as exceptions to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā pūrvapadam*.
2. The conditions of *prathama*, and of forms ending in *pūraṇa*, are im-

posed so that forms such as *tadbahuḥ* 'those many are his' which do not have *prathama* or *pūraṇa* could retain their original accent. Such compounds will retain the *udātta* of their initial constituent.

The condition of *kriyāgaṇana* will similarly exclude examples such as *idaṃprathamaḥ*, paraphrased as *ayaṃ prathamaḥ yeṣāṃ te* 'those among whom this one is the first'. Here, what we find is the counting of a thing (*dravya*), and not action (*kriyā*). Note that *prathamaḥ* can also be used in the sense of *pradhānaḥ* 'principal, best': *idaṃprathamaḥ pradhānaḥ yeṣām* 'this one who is the best among . . .'. This then is a counter-example since *prathamaḥ* does not denote a number (*saṃkhyā*).

6.2.163 संख्यायाः स्तनः

saṃkhyāyāḥ stanaḥ
/*saṃkhyāyāḥ* 6/1 *stanaḥ* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
saṃkhyāyāḥ paraḥ stanaśabdo bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodātto bhavati
The last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *stana* 'breast', is marked with *udātta* when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*).

EXAMPLES:

dvistanā 'possessing two breasts, or udders'
tristanā 'possessing three udders'
catuḥstanā 'possessing four udders'

1. Note that *darśanīyastanā* 'she whose breasts are beautiful' and *dviśirā* 'possessing two heads' are offered as counter-examples to conditions of *stana* and *saṃkhyā*, respectively.

6.2.164 विभाषा छन्दसि

vibhāṣā chandasi
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *saṃkhyāyāḥ stanaḥ* #163)
chandasi viṣaye bahuvrīhau samāse saṃkhyāyāḥ paraḥ stanaśabdo vibhāṣā' ntodātto bhavati
The last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent, namely *stana* 'breast', is marked with *udātta* in the Vedic only optionally, when it combines to follow a constituent denoting number (*saṃkhyā*).

EXAMPLES:

dvistanāṃ karoti vāmadevaḥ 'Vāmadeva makes them possess two udders'

catúḥstanāṃ karoti paśūnāṃ dohâya 'makes cattle to possess four udders for milking'

6.2.165 संज्ञायां मित्राजिनयोः

saṃjñāyāṃ mitrājinayoḥ
/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *mitrājinayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye bahuvrīhau samāse 'mitra, ajina' ity etayor uttarapadayor anta udātto bhavati
The last syllable of the final constituents *mitra* 'friend' and *ajina* 'deer-skin', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, are marked *udātta* when the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

devamitraḥ 'a name'
brahmamitraḥ 'ibidem'
vṛkājinaḥ 'ibidem'
kṛṣṇājinaḥ 'ibidem'

1. A *vārttika* (*ṛṣipratiṣedho mitre*) blocks this accentual provision in a *bahuvrīhi* compound where *mitra* 'friend' follows and the derivate signifies a sage (*ṛṣi*).

6.2.166 व्यवायिनो ऽन्तरम्

vyavāyino' ntaram
/ *vyavāyinaḥ* 5/3 *antaram* 1/1
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
vyavadhātṛvācinaḥ paramantaram uttarapadaṃ bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodātto bhavati
The final syllable of *antara* 'intervening', when combining in a *bahuvrīhi* compound to follow a constituent denoting *vyavāya* 'intervention, obstacle', is marked *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

vastrāntaraḥ 'that which is intervened by clothing'
paṭāntaraḥ 'ibidem'

1. Consider *ātmāntaraḥ* = *ātmā svabhāvo' ntaraḥ yasyāsau saḥ* 'he whose nature is different' as a counter-example where *antara* 'different' does not mean *vyavāya* 'intervention'.

6.2.167 मुखं स्वाङ्गम्

mukhaṃ svāṅgam

/*mukham* 1/1 *svāṅgam* 1/1/
/(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
mukham uttarapadaṃ svāṅgavāci bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodāttaṃ bhavati
The last syllable of a final constituent, namely *mukha* 'face', when combined in a *bahuvrīhi* compound signifying *svāṅga* 'one's own limb', is marked *udātta.*

EXAMPLES:

gauramukhaḥ 'one whose face is fair'
bhadramukhaḥ 'one whose face is auspicious'

1. Refer to my notes under 5.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanāt* for *svāṅga.* This accentual provision will not apply to *dīrghamukhā* of *dīrghamukhā śālā* 'house with a large door' because *mukha* does not denote *svāṅga.*

6.2.168 नाव्ययदिक्शब्दगोमहत्स्थूलमुष्टिपृथुवत्सेभ्यः

nāvyayadikśabdagomahatsthūlamuṣṭipṛthuvatsebhyaḥ
/*na* ϕ *avyaya-dikśabda-go-mahat-sthūla-muṣṭi-pṛthu-vatsebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *avyaya . . . vatsaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *mukham svāṅgam* #167)
'*avyaya, dikśabda, go, mahat, sthūla, muṣṭi, pṛthu, vatsa' ity etebhyaḥ param mukhaṃ svāṅgavāci bahuvrīhau samāse nāntodāttaṃ bhavati*
The last syllable of *mukha* 'face', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *svāṅga* 'one's own limb', is marked *udātta* when *mukha* combines after *avyaya* 'indeclinable', *dikśabda* 'directional names', *go* 'cow', *mahat* 'great', *sthūla* 'huge', *muṣṭi* 'fist' and *pṛthu* 'fat, chubby'.

EXAMPLES:

uccairmúkhaḥ 'he whose face is high'
nīccairmúkhaḥ 'he whose face is low'
prāṅmúkhaḥ 'he who is facing east'
pratyaṅmúkhaḥ 'he who is facing west'
gomúkhaḥ 'he whose face is like that of a cow'
mahāmúkhaḥ 'he whose face is big'
sthūlamúkhaḥ 'he whose face is thick'
muṣṭimúkhaḥ 'he whose face resemble a fist'
pṛthumúkhaḥ 'he whose face is wide'
vātsamúkhaḥ 'he whose face is like that of a calf'

1. This negation is made against positive provision of the preceding rule. Consequently, 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā . . .* allows initial constituents to retain their original accent. Recall that *uccaiḥ* and *nīcaiḥ* are listed in the *svarādi*

(1.1.37 *svarādi nipātam avyayam*) group and are marked *udātta* at the end. Refer to derivational details of *prāñ* under the appendix of 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk*. . . . Refer also to 6.2.52 *anigantoñcato* . . ., whereby *pra* is offered retention of its original accent. Rule 6.2.38 *gatikārakopapadhāt* . . . offers *kṛt*-accent to *pratyañ*. Refer to notes under 6.2.4 *gādhalavaṇayoḥ* . . . and 6.2.38 *mahān brīhyaparāhṇa* . . . for derivational details of examples with *go* and *mahat*, respectively. The word *sthūla* is a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nanddigrahipacādy* . . .). It is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). The word *muṣṭi* 'fist', derived with *KtiC* introduced after *muṣ* 'to steal', is also marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.163? *citaḥ*). Similar final *udātta* is also found in *pṛthu* and *vatsa*, derived with affixes *Ku* (*Uṇādi* I:28: *prathimradi* . . .) and *sa* (*Uṇādi* III:62: *vṛtṛvacivasi* . . .), respectively.

6.2.169 निष्ठोपमानादन्यतरस्याम्

niṣṭhopamānād anyatarasyām
/*niṣṭhopamānāt* 5/1 = *niṣṭhā ca upamānaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *mukhaṃ svāṅgam* #167)
niṣṭhāntād upamānavācinaś ca mukhaṃ svāṅgam uttarapadam bahuvrīhau samāse' nyatarasyām udātto bhavati
The last syllable of *mukha* 'face', in a *bahuvrīhi* compound formed with the signification of *svāṅga*, is optionally marked with *udātta* when it combines after a constituent ending in a *niṣṭhā* suffix, or denoting an *upamāna* 'standard of comparison'.

EXAMPLES:

prakṣālitamukhaḥ 'he who has washed his face'
prakṣālitamúkhaḥ 'ibidem'
prakṣâlitamukhaḥ 'ibidem'
siṃhamukhaḥ 'he whose face is like that of a lion's'
siṃhamúkhaḥ 'ibidem'
vyāghramukhaḥ 'he whose face is like that of a tiger's'
vyāghramúkhaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that we find three accentual provisions for *prakṣālitamukham*. Our present rule offers the option of final *udātta*. We will get an *udātta* at the end of the preceding constituent by 6.2.110 *niṣṭhopasarga* . . . if this option is not accepted. But since 6.2.110 *niṣṭhopasarga* . . . is also made optional to 6.2.49 *gatiranantaraḥ* we will get the original accent of initial constituents retained.

The word *siṃha* is a derivate of *aC*, introduced after *hiṃs* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .). The *h* and *s* of *hiṃs* are switched in view of 6.3.107 *pṛṣodarādīni*. . . . The word *vyāghra* is a derivate of *Ka*, introduced after *ghrā*

'to smell' used with the preverb *vi* (3.1.136 *ātaś copasarge*). These words both are marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

6.2.170 जातिकालसुखादिभ्यो ऽनाच्छादनात् क्तो ऽकृतमितप्रतिपन्नाः

jātikālasukhādibhyo' nācchādanāt kto' kṛtamitapratipannāḥ
/jāti-kāla-sukhādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *sukha ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *jātiś ca kālaś ca sukhādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.* with int. *bv.*); *an-ācchādanāt* 5/1 = *na ācchādanam* (*nañ.*), *tasmāt*; *ktaḥ* 1/1 *a-kṛta-mita-pratipannāḥ* 1/3 = *kṛtaś ca mitaś ca pratipannaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *na kṛtamitapratipannāḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
jātivācina ācchādanavarjitāt kālavācinaḥ sukhādibhyaś ca paraṃ ktāntaṃ kṛtamitapratipannān varjayitvā bahuvrīhau samāse' ntodāttaṃ bhavati
The last syllable in the final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi*, namely one which ends in *Kta* but is not *kṛta* 'done', *mita* 'measured' and *pratipanna* 'promised', is marked with *udātta* when it combines after a constituent denoting *jāti* 'class', though not used with the signification of *ācchādana* 'covering' and *kāla* 'time', or, enumerated in the list headed by *sukha* 'comfort, pleasure'.

EXAMPLES:

sāṅgajagdhaḥ 'he who has eaten onions'
palāṇḍubhakṣitaḥ 'ibidem'
māsajātaḥ 'born a month ago'
saṃvatsarajātaḥ 'born a year ago'
sukhajātaḥ 'he whose happiness has appeared'
duḥkhajātaḥ 'he whose misery has appeared'

1. Note that *sukhādi* refers to the listing of nominals under 3.1.18 *sukhādibhyaḥ*.... This rule is again an exception to 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*.... A *bahuvrīhi* compound with *kṛta, mita* and *pratipanna* as its final constituent will avail accentual provisions of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*.... Thus, consider *kúṇḍakṛtaḥ* 'he by who a *kuṇḍa* is made', *kuṇḍamitaḥ* 'he by who a *kúṇḍa* was measured' and *kúṇḍapratipannaḥ* 'he by who a *kuṇḍa* was promised'. Recall that a *niṣṭhā* constituent is placed first in a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.36 *niṣṭhā*). This rule serves as a *jñāpaka* for their postplacement (*paranipāta*).

6.2.171 वा जाते

vā jāte
/vā ϕ *jāte* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *jātikālasukhādibhyaḥ* #170)
jātaśabda uttarapade vā' nta udātto havati bahuvrīhau samāse jātikālasukhādibhyaḥ

The final syllable of a following constituent, namely *jāta* 'born' in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, is optionally marked with *udātta* when *jāta* combines after a constituent denoting *jāti* 'class', though not used with the signification of *ācchādana* and *kāla*, or, enumerated in the list headed by *sukha*.

EXAMPLES:

dantajātaḥ 'he whose teeth have appeared'
dantajātaḥ 'ibidem'
stanajātaḥ 'a man whose breasts have appeared?'
stanajātaḥ 'ibidem'
māsajātaḥ 'one month old'
māsajātaḥ 'ibidem'
saṃvatsarajātaḥ 'one year old'
saṃvatsarajātaḥ 'ibidem'
sukhajātaḥ 'he whose happiness has appeared'
sukhajātaḥ 'ibidem'
duḥkhajātaḥ 'he whose misery has appeared'
duḥkhajātaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This option is offered in favor of retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . The word *danta*, as a derivate of *dam* 'to crush down' with *taN* (*Uṇādi* III:86: *hasimṛgriṇvāmi* . . .), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Similar accent is available to *stana* 'breat' as a derivate of *ghaÑ*, where *a* of verbal root *stana* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. Both *danta* and *stana* receive their accent from 6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*. The word *māsa* 'month', as a derivate of *GHaÑ*, is also marked *udātta* at the beginning. But *saṃvatsara* 'year', a derivate of *saraN* (*Uṇādi* III:72: *sampūrvāc cit*), is marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). The words *sukha* and *duḥkha* are derivates of *Ḍa* (3.2.101 *anyeṣv ap* . . .), introduced after *khan* used with *su* and *dus*. They are thus marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. They also go through *ṭi*-deletion of *an* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*).

6.2.172 नञ्सुभ्याम्

nañsubhyām
/ *nañsubhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
nañsubhyāṃ param uttaraṃ bahuvrīhau samāse 'ntodāttaṃ bhavati
The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which combines after *naÑ* and *su* is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

ayavo deśaḥ 'a place where barley is not produced'

avrīhiḥ 'a place where rice is not produced'
amāṣaḥ 'a place where Mung beans are not produced'
suyavaḥ 'a place where good barley is produced'
suvrīhiḥ 'a place where good rice is produced'

1. Note that the final *udātta* applies to *samāsa* 'compound', even when *uttarapada* 'final constituent *pada*' and *samāsa* are both specified in this rule. This is what is desired (*samāsasyaitadantodāttam iṣyate*). This is how *anṛcaḥ* 'without *ṛk*' and *bahvṛcaḥ* 'with many *ṛk*', which end in the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ*...), will be marked *udātta* at the end. The *samāsānta* affix has to be accepted as part of the compound. That a reference with *samāsa* also includes its *samāsānta* affix, and also that this accentual provision is made with reference to *samāsa*, is made clear by the next rule. That is, there was no need to formulate 6.2.173 *kapi pūrvam* if this rule had to apply only with reference to *uttarapade*. An example such as *sukumāriko deśaḥ* 'a place with beautiful girls' could have been accounted for by this rule. Affix *KaP* could have been thus excluded. Obviously, there was no need to specify *kapi pūrvam*. It also establishes that a *samāsānta* affix is considered part of *samāsa*, and not *uttarapada* (*samāsāntāḥ samāsasyaivāvayavā nottarapadasya*).

6.2.173 **कपि पूर्वम्**

kapi pūrvam
kapi 1/1 *pūrvam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *nañsubhyām* #172)
nañsubhyāṃ kapi parataḥ pūrvam antodāttaṃ bhavati
A syllable which precedes the *samāsānta* affix *kaP* of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is marked with *udātta* when its final constituent combines after *naÑ* and *su*, and affix *kaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

akumārikó deśaḥ 'a place where there are no virgins'
avṛṣalīkáḥ 'a place with no bad vṛṣalas (*śūdras*)'
abrahmabandhūkáḥ 'a place with no unworthy brāhmaṇas'
sukumārikaḥ 'a place with virgins in abundance'
suvṛṣalīkáḥ 'a place with good vṛṣalas'
subrahmabandhūkáḥ 'a place where good brāhmaṇas live'

1. Affix *KaP* is introduced by 5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*. This final *udātta* was available to *KaP* from the preceding rule. That is, by accepting *KaP* as final of the compound. Our present rule offers final *udātta* to the vowel which precedes *KaP*.

6.2.174 हृस्वान्तेऽन्त्यात् पूर्वम्

hrasvānte' ntyāt pūrvam
/ *hrasvānte* 7/1 = *hrasvo' ntaḥ yasya* (*bv.*); *antyāt* 5/1 *pūvam* 1/1
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *nañsubhyām* #172 *kapi* #173)
hrasvo' anto yasya tad idam hrasvāntam uttarapadam samāso vā, tatrāntyāt pūrvam udāttaṃ bhavati kapi parato nañsubhyāṃ paraṃ bahuvrīhau samāse
The next to the last syllable of a final *bahuvrīhi* constituent which ends in a short vowel (*hrasva*), and combines after *naÑ* and *su*, is marked *udātta* when *kaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ayaváko deśaḥ 'a place where barley is not produced'
avrīhíkaḥ 'a place where rice is not produced'
amāṣákaḥ 'a place where Mung beans are not produced'
suyavákaḥ 'a place where good barley is produced'
suvrīhíkaḥ 'a place where good rice is produced'
sumāṣákaḥ 'a place where good Mung beans are produced'

1. Our preceding rule offers *udātta* to the final vowel of the final compound constituent under the condition of the *samāsānta* affix *KaP*. This rule offers *udātta* to next to the last vowel of a following constituent. Again, when the *samāsānta* affix *KaP* followed and the final compound constituent ended in a short (*hrasva*) vowel. Affix *KaP* in *ayavakaḥ*, etc., is optionally introduced by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*.

6.2.175 बहोर्नञ्वदुत्तरपदभूम्नि

bahor nañvad uttarapadabhūmni
/ *bahoḥ* 5/1 *nañvat* ϕ *uttarapadabhūmni* 7/1 = *uttarapadasya bhūmā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
uttarapadārthabahutve yo bahuśabdo varttate tasmān nañ iva svaro bhavati
The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is accented like *naÑ* when it occurs after *bahu* 'many' used with the signification of its own multiplicity (*bahutva*).

EXAMPLES:

bahuyavo deśaḥ 'a place rich in barley'
bahuvrīhiḥ 'a place rich in rice'
bahutilaḥ 'a place rich in sesame'
bahukumārīkáḥ (*deśaḥ*) 'a place with beautiful girls in abundance'
bahuyaváko deśaḥ 'a place with barley in abundance'

bahuvrīhikaḥ 'a place with rice in abundance'
bahujaráḥ 'a place full of old people'
bahumaráḥ 'a place full of dying people'

1. The accentual provision of 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām,* under special meaning conditions, is here extended also after *bahu.* An absence of multiplicity of meaning, as in *bahuṣu manaḥ asya saḥ ayam* = *bahumánā* 'he whose mind is into many things', cannot avail this extensional provision. The compound will retain the original accent of its initial constituent.

6.2.176 न गुणादयोऽवयवाः

na guṇādayo' vayavāḥ
/ *na* ϕ *guṇaādayaḥ* 1/3 = *guṇa ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *avayavāḥ* 1/3
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162 *bahoḥ* #175)
guṇādayo' vayavavācino bahor uttare bahuvrīhau nāntodāttā bhavanti
The final constituents which, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, combine after *bahu,* and are enumerated in the list headed by *guṇa,* are not marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

bahugúṇā rajjuḥ 'a rope with many strands'
bahvákṣaraṃ padam 'a polysyllabic word'
bahusūktaḥ 'a text with many hymns'
bahvádhyāyaḥ 'a text with many chapters'

1. This rule blocks the extensional provision of the preceding rule under specified membership of a following constituent. Note that *bahu,* as a derivate of *Ku* (*Uṇādi* I.29 *laṅghibaṃhyor*. . .), is marked *udātta* at the end by affixal accent. The *anudātta a* of *akṣaram* 'imperishable', occurring after the *v* replacement of *u,* will be marked *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor*. . .).

The condition of *avayava* 'part of a whole', relative to the meaning of a following constituent, is important. Thus, *bahuguṇo brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa with many qualities' will serve as a counter-example since *guṇa* here denotes 'quality', and not any 'part (of a whole)'. This compound will avail the accentual provision of the earlier rule.

2. Note that *guṇādi* '*guṇa,* etc.' is not a listing of *gaṇa,* per se. It is accepted as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*).

6.2.177 उपसर्गात् स्वाङ्गं ध्रुवमपर्शुः

upasargāt svāṅgaṃ dhruvam aparśuḥ
/ *upasargāt* 5/1 *svāṅgam* 1/1 *dhruvam* 1/1 *aparśuḥ* 1/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *bahuvrīhau* #162)
upasargāt svāṅgaṃ dhruvaṃ parśur varjita antodāttaṃ bhavati

The final constituent of a *bahuvrīhi* compound which signifies *svāṅga* 'one's limb' qualified with *dhruva* 'remaining in the same form', but is not constituted by *parśuḥ* 'ribs' though occurs in combination after a preverb (*upasarga*), is marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

prapṛṣṭhaḥ 'a man with a protuberant back'
prodaraḥ 'a man with a pot-belly'
pralalāṭaḥ 'a man with a high forehead'

1. The word *dhruva* is explained as *ekarūpam* 'that which stays in a fixed form'. *Kāśikā* offers *udbāhuḥ* (*krośati*) 'curse with his hands raised' as a counter-example to *dhruva*. Obviously, since hands are raised when cursing. Note that *parśu* 'ribs' is made an exception becase it denotes *svāṅga*. Thus *utparśuḥ* and *viparśuḥ* will avail the retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . Finally, a compound such as *darśanīyalalāṭaḥ* 'he whose forehead is beautiful' will also form a counter-example since *lalāṭa* does not occur after a preverb (*upasarga*).

2. The word *upasargāt* 'after a preverb' is carried through 6.2.195 *sor avakṣepaṇe*.

6.2.178 वनं समासे

/*vanaṃ samāse*
/*vanam*1/1 *samāse* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
samāsamātre 'vanam' ity etad uttarapadam upasargāt param antodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely *vana* 'forest' which combines after a preverb (*upasarga*), is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

pravaṇe 'in a beautiful forest; at a sloping place'
nirvaṇe 'in the clearing of a forest; at a level place'

1. The words *pravaṇa* and *nirvaṇa*, in a ritual context, refer to a ground which is 'low on one side' and 'level on the other', respectively. The compounds can be interpreted as *bahuvrīhi* and *tatpuruṣa* both. Thus, *prakṛṣṭaṃ vanam asya* 'he whose forest is beautiful' and *prakṛṣṭaṃ vanam* 'beautiful forest'. The *n* of *vana* is replaced with *ṇ*, of 8.4.5 *pranirantaḥ śare*. . . . The word *samāsa* is used here to impair the restrictive condition of *bahuvrīhau*. The accentual provision then applies to compounds in general.

6.2.179 अन्तः

antaḥ

/antaḥ 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *vanam* #178)
antaś śabdād uttaraṃ vanam antodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely *vana*, which combines after *antar* 'within' is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

antarvaṇo deśaḥ 'a place with a forest within'

1. This rule is formulated for examples where *vana* may not be used after an *upasarga* 'preverb' (*anupasargārtha ārambhaḥ*). Our compound example is a *bahuvrīhi*. The *n* of *vana* is again replaced with *ṇ*, as explained under the preceding rule. Recall that *antar* is an indeclinable (*avyaya*), listed as part of the *svarādi* group of nominals (1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*).

6.2.180 **अन्तश्च**

antaś ca
/antaḥ 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
antaś śabdaś cottarapadam upasargād atodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely *antaḥ* 'end' which occurs in combination after a preverb (*upasarga*), is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

prāntaḥ 'edge, extremity'
paryantaḥ 'extremity, circumference'

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi* (*prakṛṣṭam antaḥ*) and *bahuvrīhi* (*prakṛṣṭam antaḥ yasya*), both. The word *anta* is thus marked *udātta* at the end.

6.2.181 **न निविभ्याम्**

na nivibhyām
/na ϕ *nivibhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *antaḥ* #180)
A final compound constituent, namely *antaḥ* 'end' which occurs in combination after the preverbs *ni* and *vi*, is not marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

nyántaḥ 'proximity'
vyántaḥ 'separated, distant'

1. This negation applies against the positive provision of final *udātta* of our preceding rule. That is, *anta* combines after the two preverbs (*upasargāt*): *ni* and *vi*. These preverbs are both marked with *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 80: *upasargāś*...). The negation of this rule will make 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau prakṛtyā*... apply. Recall, however, that a replacement in *y* (*yaṇādeśa*) for *i* of *ni* and *vi* will cause the following *a* to be marked with *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor*...). A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of compounds will still accomplish the same accentuation. The retention proposal will then be in consonance with 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*....

6.2.182 **परेरभितोभावि मण्डलम्**

parer abhitobhāvi maṇḍalam
/*pareḥ* 5/1 *abhitobhāvi* 1/1 = *abhito bhavanam asyāsti* (a derivate of *inI* denoting the sense of *matUP*) *maṇḍalam*1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
parer uttaram abhitobhāvavācinaṃ maṇḍalaṃ cāntodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *pari* and which either denotes the sense of *abhitobhāvin* 'that which, by nature, is found on both sides', or is constituted by *maṇḍala* 'circle', is not marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

parikūlam 'found on both sides of a river'
paritīram 'ibidem'
parimaṇḍalam 'all around...'

1. The word *abhitobhāvin*, specified as neuter (*napuṃsaka*), is explained as 'that which is naturally found on both sides'. Thus, *kūla* '(river) bank' and *tīra* 'edge'. A separate specification of *maṇḍala* 'circle' is made since it cannot qualify as having the signification of two sides only. A *tatpuruṣa* or *bahuvrīhi* interpretation of these compounds will yield accentuation similar to one explained under the previous rule. An *avyayībhāva* interpretation will make this final *udātta* provision go against the retention proposal of 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā varjyamānā*....

6.2.183 **प्रादस्वाङ्गं संज्ञायाम्**

prād asvāṅgaṃ saṃjñāyām
/*prāt* 5/1 *asvāṅgam* 1/1 = *na svāṅgam* (*nañ*.); *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
prād uttarapadam asvāṅgavāci saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye' ntodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent which does not denote *svāṅga* and combines after the preverb *pra* is marked with *udātta* at the end, provided the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

prakoṣṭham 'enclosure, courtyard'
pragṛham 'a beautiful house'
pravāram 'space in front of an entrance'

1. Note that *prahastam* 'hand-print', *prapadam* 'foot-print' and *prapīṭham* 'pretuberant back' are offered as counter-examples to condition of *asvāṅga* 'not one's own limb' and *asaṃjñā* 'non-name', respectively.

6.2.184 **निरुदकादीनि च**

nirudakādīni ca
/*nirudakādīni* 1/3 = *nirudakam ādi yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143)
nirudakādīni ca śabdarūpāṇy antodāttāni bhavanti
The final compound constituents enumerated in the list headed by *nirudaka* 'arid; without water' are also marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

nirudakam 'a place with no water'
nirmakṣikam 'a place with no flies'
nirmaśakam 'a place with no mosquitoes'
niṣkālakaḥ 'timeless'

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi-tatpuruṣa*, or *bahuvrīhi*, both. A *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as *nirgatam udakam asmāt* 'that from which water has disappeared', will be marked *udātta* at the end, against provisions of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . . A *prādi-tatpuruṣa* interpretation, paraphrased as *nirgatam udakam* 'flowed-out water' or *nirgatam udakāt* 'gone out from water' will receive this accentual provision against 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha*. . . . An *avyayībhāva* interpretation is not intended. For, an *avyayībhāva* compound can avail final *udātta* by 6.1.220 *samāsasya*.

2. Note that *nirudakādi* is also accepted as an open-ended listing (*ākṛtigaṇa*). This will facilitate final *udātta* for a compound formed with *hasta* 'hand', *pāda* 'foot', *keśa* 'hair' and *karṣa* 'pull', used in combination after *pari*.

6.2.185 **अभेर्मुखम्**

abher mukham
/*abheḥ* 5/1 *mukham* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
abher uttaraṃ mukham antodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely *mukha* 'face' which combines after the preverb *abhi*, is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

abhimukhaḥ 'facing'

1. This rule is formulated for non-*bahuvrīhi* compounds. Even within a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, it is formulated for compounds where conditions of *dhruva* 'fixed' and *svāṅga* 'one's own limb' are not met (6.2.177 *upasargāt svāṅgaṃ dhruvam aparśuḥ*). Thus, consider *abhimukhā śālā* 'a house in front', where *mukha* does not denote *svāṅga* 'one's limb'. This rule thus assigns final *udātta*. The examples can be interpreted both as *prādi* and *avyayībhāva*, paraphrased as *abhigataṃ mukham* 'beautiful face' and *abhigataṃ mukham asya* 'he whose face is beautiful', respectively. Here again the example cannot be interpreted as an *avyayībhāva*.

6.2.186 अपाच्च

apāc ca
/*apāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *mukham* #185)
apāc cottaraṃ mukham antodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent, namely *mukha* which combines after the preverb *apa*, is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

apamukhaḥ 'he who has a bad face'
apamukham 'bad face'

1. These examples can be interpreted three ways: *bahuvrīhi* = *apagataṃ mukham asmāt* '. . . he whose face is crooked', *prādi* = *apagataṃ mukham* 'crooked face' and *avyayībhāva* = *apa mukhāt* 'excluding the face' (2.1.11 *apaparibahir*. . .). An *avyayībhāva* compound will receive final *udātta* against retention proposal of 6.2.33 *paripratyupāpā*. . . .
2. A *yogavibhāga* 'split formulation' of this rule is intended for the *anuvṛtti* of *apa* in the following rule.

6.2.187 स्फिगपूतवीणाञ्जोऽध्वकुक्षिसीरनामनाम च

sphigapūtavīṇāñjo' dhvakukṣisīranāmanāma ca
/*sphiga-pūta-vīṇā-añjas-adhvan-kukṣisīranāmanāma* 1/1 = *sīrasya nāma* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *sphiga . . . nāma* (*saṃ dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *apāt* #186)
'*sphiga, pūta, vīṇā, añjas, adhvan, kukṣi*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni sīranāmāni ca nāmaśabdaś ca apād uttarāṇy antodāttāni bhavanti*
The final compound constituents, namely *sphiga* 'hip, buttock', *pūta*

'ibidem', *vīṇā* 'Indian lute', *añjas* 'unguent', *adhvan* 'road', *kukṣi* 'stomach, lap' and *nāma* 'name', or those which may have names of plows as their denotatum, are marked with *udātta* at the end when they occur in combination after the preverb *apa.*

EXAMPLES:

apasphigam 'malformed buttocks'
apapūtam 'ibidem'
apavīṇam 'without a Vīṇā; bad Vīṇā'
apāñjaḥ 'dishonest'
apādhvā 'bad road'
apakukṣiḥ 'bad belly'
apasīraḥ 'bad plough'
apahalam 'ibidem'
apanāma 'someone with a bad reputation; bad name'

1. These compounds can be interpreted as *prādi, bahuvrīhi* and *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa.* A *bahuvrīhi* interpretation, i.e., with *sphiga, pūta* and *kukṣi,* must be made outside the context of 6.2.177 *uapasargāt svāṅgam. . . .* The final *udātta* provision of this rule applies only when the *samāsānta* affix *aC,* for example in *apādhvā* 'badpath', is not introduced by 5.4.85 *upasargād adhvanaḥ.* A compound with a *samāsānta* affix marked with *C* as an *it* could have received the final *udātta* of 6.1.160 *citaḥ,* anyway. This also indicates that *samāsānta* affixes are non-obligatory (*anitya*), i.e., optional. If they were obligatory, *adhvan* 'road' would not have been listed here.

6.2.188 अधेरुपरिस्थम्

adher uparistham
/ *adheḥ* 5/1 *uparistham* 1/1 = *upari tiṣṭhatīti*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
adher uttaram uparisthavāci antodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *adhi* and denotes the sense of *uparistha* 'sitting on top' is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

adhidantaḥ 'a tooth on top of another'
adhikarṇaḥ 'an ear on top of another'
adhikeśaḥ 'a hair with its root shared by another'

1. The word *uparisthaḥ* is explained as 'one sitting on top of another'. Thus, *adhyārūḍho dantaḥ* 'a tooth on top of another', a *prādi* compound (*vt: prādayo gatādyarthe prathamayā* ad 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadād . . .*). This compound

can also be interpreted as a *vyadhikaraṇa* 'appositional' *bahuvrīhi* with *ārūḍhaḥ* 'sitting on', with its following constituent (*uttarapada*) gone through deletion (*lopa*).

A counter-example to the condition of *upariṣṭhaḥ* is offered in *adhikaráṇam* 'substratum, locus'.

6.2.189 **अनोरप्रधानकनीयसी**

anor apradhānakanīyasī
/*anoḥ* 5/1 *apradhāna-kanīyasī* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
anor uttaram apradhānavāci kanīyaś cāntodāttaṃ bhavati
A final compound constituent which occurs in combination after the preverb *anu* is marked with *udātta* at the end, when the same denotes the sense of *apradhāna* 'non-principal', or is constituted by *kanīyas* 'younger'.

EXAMPLES:

anujyeṣṭhaḥ 'one who follows the eldest'
anumadhyamaḥ 'one who follows the middle one'
anukanīyān 'a young who follows his elders'

1. Note that, as indicated by paraphrases of these compounds, *jyeṣṭha* 'eldest' and *madhyama* 'middle, intermediate' are non-principal (*apradhāna*). Thus, *anugataḥ jyeṣṭham* = *anujyeṣṭhaḥ* 'one who followed the eldest' and *anugataḥ madhyamam* = *anumadhyamaḥ* 'one who followed the middle one'. A separate specification of *kanīyas* is needed because it is principal. Thus, *anugataḥ kanīyān* 'the young followed the elders'. There was no need for a separate specification of *kanīyas* if it was intended to be non-principal. For, the *apradhāna* 'non-principal' specification of this rule could account for it. Thus, *anugataḥ kanīyāṃsam* = *anukanīyān* 'one who followed the young ones'. A counter-example for the condition of *apradhāna* will have *anujyéṣṭhaḥ*, paraphrased as *anugataḥ jyeṣṭhaḥ* 'the eldest followed the younger one'. The *udātta* of *anu*, an indeclinable, will be retained here.

6.2.190 **पुरुषश्चान्वादिष्टः**

puruṣaścānvādiṣṭaḥ
/*puruṣaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ɸ *anvādiṣṭaḥ* 1/1 = *paścād ādiṣṭaḥ*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *anoḥ* #189)
A final compound constituent, namely *puruṣa* 'man', which occurs in combination after *anu* with the signification of *anvādiṣṭa* 'secondary mention' is also marked with *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

anvādiṣṭaḥ puruṣaḥ = *anupuruṣaḥ* 'one who was asked subsequently . . .; a man who was asked to do something after something (or someone) else'

1. The word *anvādiṣṭa* is explained as *apradhānaśiṣṭa* 'not specified as principal' and *kathitānukathita* 'specified subsequently to something else'. Thus, consider *bhikṣām aṭa gāñ cānaya* 'go beg for alms, also fetch the cow'. Note that 'begging for alms' is here accepted as 'principal'. Fetching the cow is secondary. A counter-example to the condition of *anvādiṣṭa* will be *anugataḥ jyeṣṭhaḥ* = *anújyeṣṭhaḥ* 'one who follows . . .'. The indeclinable will retain its original accent.

6.2.191 अतेरकृत्पदे

ater akṛtpade
/*ateḥ* 5/1 *akṛtpade* 1/2 = *na kṛt* (*nañ*); *akṛt ca padam ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmin*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
ateḥ param akṛdantam padaśabdaś cāntodāttaḥ bhavati
A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *ati*, does not end in a *kṛt* affix (*akṛte*), or else, is constituted by *pada* 'foot', is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

atyaṅkuśo nāgaḥ 'an elephant gone beyond the control of the hook'
atikaśo' śvaḥ 'a horse gone beyond the control of the whip'

1. These compounds are formed by a *vārttika* (*nirādayo krāntādyarthe* . . .; ad 1.4.79 *jīvikopaniṣadāv* . . .). A counter-example to the condition of *akṛte* is offered as *atikārakaḥ* 'one who does things beautifully'. A *vārttika* proposes that this final *udātta* should apply after *ati* when deletion of a root is involved. Thus, *atikrāntaḥ kārakāt* = *atikrāntaḥ* 'one who has gone beyond a doer'. This statement is necessary so that *śobhanaḥ gārgyaḥ* = *átigārgyaḥ* 'handsome Gārgya' can be excluded from availing the accentual provision of this rule.

6.2.192 नेरनिधाने

ner anidhāne
/*neḥ* 5/1 *anidhāne* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
neḥ param uttaram antodāttam bhavaty anidhāne
A final compound constituent which combines after the preverb *ni* is marked with *udātta* at the end, when the derivate signifies something other than *nidhāna* 'not making manifest'.

EXAMPLES:

> *nimūlam* 'uprooted; down to the roots'
> *nyakṣam* 'down to the axle; lowly'
> *nitṛṇam* 'down to the blade of grass'

1. Note that *ni* is a *prādi* (1.4.58 *prādayaḥ*). It denotes an action qualified with means (*sādhanaviśiṣṭakriyā*). Actually, in integration (*vṛtti*), this is the nature of *prādis* in general (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *prādayo hi svabhāvenaiva vṛttiviṣaye sasādhanāṃ kriyām āhuḥ*).

The word *nidhāna* is here used in the sense of *aprakāśatā* 'non-manifestness'. The condition of *anidhāne* can thus be interpreted as 'manifest'. The example compound *nimūlam* would thus literally mean 'down to the root'. A counter-example with a 'non-manifest' meaning will be *nidaṇḍaḥ* 'with no (use of) stick (force)'.

These compounds can be interpreted as both *prādi-tatpuruṣa* and *bahuvrīhi*. Thus, *nimūlam* = *nigataṃ mūlam* 'down to the root' and *nimūlam* = *nigataṃ mūlam asya tat* 'that of whose root is out; uprooted'. As usual, it cannot be interpreted as an *avyayībhāva*. For, it would then have final *udātta* already available to it (6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.2.193 प्रतेरंश्वादयस्तत्पुरुषे

> *prater aṃśvādayas tatpuruṣe*
> /*prateḥ* 5/1 *aṃśvādayaḥ* 1/3 = *aṃśur ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *tatpuruṣe* 7/1/
> (*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177)
> *prater aṃśvādayas tatpuruṣe samāse' ntodāttā bhavanti*
> The final compound constituents which are enumerated in the list headed by *aṃśu* 'ray', and combine after the preverb *prati*, are marked *udātta* in a *tatpuruṣa* compound.

EXAMPLES:

> *pratyaṃśuḥ* 'refracted ray'
> *pratijanaḥ* 'an adversary'
> *pratirājā* 'king of an enemy'

1. Here again, in examples such as *pratirājā*, this accent is made available in the absence of the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC*. Refer to my notes under 6.2.172 *nañsubhyām* for additional details. The condition of *tatpuruṣe* is imposed so that a *bahuvrīhi*, for example *pratigatā aṃśavo' sya* = *pratyaṃśur ayam uṣṭraḥ* 'this camel (is one who) has lost his speed (energy)', could not avail this accentual provision.

6.2.194 उपाद् द्व्यजजिनमगौरादयः

> *upād dvyajajinam agaurādayaḥ*

/*upāt* 5/1 *dvyajajinam* 1/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*); *dvyac ca ajinaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.* with int. *dv.*); *agaurādayaḥ* 1/3 = *gaura ādir yeṣam* (*bv.*); *na gaurādayaḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*)/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)
upād uttaraṃ dvyajajinaṃ ca cāntodāttaṃ bhavati
A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after the preverb *upa* and either contains two vowels though is not one enumerated in the list headed by *gaura* 'fair', or is constituted by *ajina* 'antelope-skin', is marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

upadevaḥ 'a little god'
upasomaḥ 'one who has Soma'
upendraḥ 'younger to Indra; Viṣṇu'
upājinam 'near the antelope skin'

1. Note that the *gaurādi* nominals are excluded because they all consist of two vowels (*dvyac*). The example compounds are formed by 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ.*

6.2.195 सोरवक्षेपणे

sor avakṣepaṇe
/*soḥ* 5/1 *avakṣepaṇe* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)
suśabdāt param uttarapadaṃ tatpuruṣe samāse' ntodāttaṃ bhavati avakṣepaṇe gamyamāne
A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, combines after *su* is marked *udātta* at the end when the derivate denotes *avakṣepaṇa* 'to look down upon, contempt'.

EXAMPLES:

iha khalv idānīṃ susthaṇḍile susphigābhyāṃ
supratyavasitaḥ 'now, here in this beautiful place, he indeed, is back with his fattened buttocks'

1. Note that *su*, of *supratyavasitaḥ,* is here used with the sense of *pūjā* 'praise'. But the sentence does indicate *avakṣepaṇa* 'contempt'. Examples countering the conditions of *su* and *avakṣepaṇa* are offered, respectively, as *kubrāhmaṇaḥ* 'a bad brāhmaṇa' and *sutṛṇeṣu* 'in beautiful grass'. These compounds will retain the accent of their indeclinable constituents. Incidentally, the compound with *su* denoting *pūjā* is formed in consonance with a statement (*svatī pūjāyām* ad 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*).

6.2.196 विभाषोत्पुच्छे

vibhāṣotpucche
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *utpucche* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *upasargāt* #177 *tatpuruṣe* #193)
utpucchaśabde tatpuruṣe vibhāṣā' nta udānto bhavati
A final constituent which, in a *tatpuruṣa* compound, is constituted by *utpuccha* 'raised-tail', is optionally marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

utpucchaḥ 'gone beyond the tail'
utpúcchaḥ 'with raised tail'

1. Note that *utpucchaḥ* is interpreted in two ways: *utpucchaḥ* = *utkrāntaḥ pucchāt* 'gone beyond the tail' and *puccham udasyati* 'raises (its tail)', where in this latter, affix *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*) is introduced. The first interpretation will make the accentual provision of 6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . . available. Our present rule offers final *udātta* against what was not made available (*aprāpta*). If the second interpretation, where *aC* is introduced after a root ending in *ṆiṄ* (3.1.20 *pucchabhāṇḍa* . . .), is accepted, an obligatory final *udātta* will be available (from 6.2.143 *thāthaghañ* . . .). This rule will then make its offer of final *udātta* against what is available (*prāpta*). This rule, since it makes an optional provision against what was not made available (*aprāpta*), and what was made available (*prāpta*), is interpreted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā*.

6.2.197 द्वित्रिभ्यां पाद्दन्मूर्धसु बहुव्रीहौ

dvi-tribhyāṃ pāddanmūrdhasu bahuvrīhau
/*dvitribhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*); *pāddanmūrdhasu* 7/3 = *pād ca dat ca mūrdhā ca* = *pāddanmūrdhānaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *bahuvrīhau* 7/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *vibhāṣā* #196)
'*dvi, tri*' *ity etābhyām uttareṣu* '*pād, dat, mūrdhan*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu yo bahuvrīhis tatra vibhāṣā anta udātto bhavati*
The last syllable of a *bahuvrīhi* compound is optionally marked with *udātta*, when *pād* 'foot', *dat* 'tooth' and *mūrdhan* 'head' combine to follow *dvi* 'two' and *tri* 'three'.

EXAMPLES:

dvipāt 'biped'
dvipất 'ibidem'
tripāt 'three-footed'
tripất 'ibidem'

dvidan 'possessing two teeth'
dvidán 'ibidem'
tridan 'possessing three teeth'
tridán 'ibidem'
dvimūrdhā 'two-headed'
trimúrdhā 'three-headed'

1. This rule specifies *pād* with deletion of its compound final *a* (5.4.138 *pādasya lopo*. . .). A similar specification is made with *dat* in 5.4.141 *vayasi*. . . . Since *mūrdhan* is specified here with no deletion of terminal element of the compound (*akṛtasamāsāntalopa*), it will refer to both kinds of forms. Thus, *dvimūrdhā* where there is no *samāsānta* affix, and *dvimūrdhaḥ*, where the *samāsānta* affix *Ṣa* has been introduced (5.4.115 *dvitribhyām*. . .). These examples will get the final *udātta* of this rule. The retention proposal of 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . will be offered as another option. The words *dvi* and *tri* are marked with *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* 1: *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*).
2. *Kāśikā* offers *kalyāṇámūrdhā* and *dvihástam* as counter-examples to conditions of *dvitribhyām* and *pāddan* . . ., etc., respectively.

6.2.198 सक्थं चाक्रान्तात्

saktham cākrāntāt
/*saktham* 1/1 *ca* ɸ *akrāntāt* 5/1 = *kraśabdo' nto yasya* (*bv.*); *na krāntaḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasmāt*/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *antaḥ* #143 *vibhāṣā* #196 *bahuvrīhau* #197)
saktham iti kṛtasamāsāntaḥ sakthiśabdo' tra gṛhyate, so' krāntāt paro vibhāṣā' ntodātto bhavati
The final constituent, namely *saktha*, which, in a *bahuvrīhi* compound, combines to follow a constituent not having *kra* at its end is also optionally marked *udātta* at the end.

EXAMPLES:

gaurasakthaḥ 'having white thighs'
gaurasákthaḥ 'ibidem'
ślakṣṇasakthaḥ 'having smooth thighs'
ślakṣṇasákthaḥ 'ibidem'

1. The word *saktha* is here specified with its *samāsānta* affix *ṢaC* (5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau*. . .). Consequently, example compounds are interpreted as used with a *samāsānta* affix. The word *ślakṣṇa*, as a derivate of *ksna* (*Uṇādi* III:19: *śliṣer*. . .), is marked *udātta* at the end. This option of final *udātta* is again made against 6.2.1 *bahuvrīhau*. . . .
2. A counter-example with *kra* will be *cakrasakthaḥ* 'bow-legged'.

6.2.199 परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम्

parādiś chandasi bahulam
/*parādiḥ* 1/1 = *parasya ādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *chandasi* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*udāttaḥ* #64 *uttarapadasya* #111 *saktham* #198)
chandasi viṣaye parādir udātto bhavati bahulam
The initial syllable of a following constituent, namely *saktha*, etc., is variously marked *udātta* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

añjisakthám ālabheta 'one should offer an animal with anointed thighs'
ṛjubāhúḥ 'straight-armed'
vākpatiḥ 'master of speech'

1. The word *para* 'subsequent' here refers to *saktha* of the preceding rule. A specification by *bahulam* 'variously' also enables this rule to apply elsewhere. Thus, *ṛjubāhuḥ* 'straight-armed', where *saktha* is not used. This provision is offered with reference to a *bahuvrīhi* compound. But *bahulam* will allow it elsewhere also. Thus, consider *vākpatiḥ*. A *ślokavārttika* explains that *bāhulaka* makes this accentual proposal available to *parādi* 'initial of a constituent which follows', *parānta* 'final element of a constituent which follows', *pūrvānta* 'the end of the initial constituent' and *pūrvādi* 'the initial of the initial constituent':

parādiś ca parāntaś ca pūrvāntaś cāpi dṛśyate/
pūrvādayaś ca dṛśyante vyatyayo bahulaṃ tataḥ//

Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details.

PĀDA THREE

6.3.1 अलुगुत्तरपदे

alug uttarapade
/*aluk* 1/1 = *na luk* (*nañ.*); *uttarapade* 7/1/
alug iti ca uttarapade iti ca etad adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam
aluk 'non-deletion of nominal endings by means of *LUK*' and *uttarapade* 'when a constituent word follows in combination' should both be carried over.

EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. Note that *aluk* 'non-deletion by *LUK*' and *uttarapade* 'before a following (final) constituent' are both accepted as *adhikāra* 'governing headings'. That is, they both must be carried over to subsequent rules, via *anuvṛtti*. It is

stated that *aluk* carries over prior to rule 6.2.25 *ānaṅ ṛto dvandve* which introduces *ānAṄ*. The *anuvṛtti* of *uttarapade* is valid through the end of this quarter.

Consider now the next rule: *pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyaḥ* 'a *pañcamī* which occurs after *stoka* 'a little', etc., does not go through deletion by *LUK*, provided a constituent used in combination follows'. The condition of a following constituent limits the scope of this non-deletion to compound bases only. Additionally, the endings in focus for non-deletion must occur after stems specified as initial constituents of such compounds. Recall that, generally, a constituent termed *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent' is placed first in a compound (2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*). This term is assigned to a compound constituent specified with the *prathamā* 'nominative' in a rule of compound formation (1.2.43 *prathamānirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam*). Finally, we also find that 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* deletes a nominal ending (*sUP*) contained within a *dhātu* 'verbal root' and *prātipadika* 'nominal stem'. Rule 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca* assigns the term *prātipadika* to bases termed compounds. Our present rule is thus: (*a*) an exception to 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayopḥ*; (*b*) it is limited to compound bases, mostly because it blocks deletion of a nominal ending occurring after an initial compound constituent; (*c*) since the nominal edings which come under the scope of this non-deletion are specified to compound constituents as specified by rules of compound formation, this non-deletion cannot apply to a nominal ending found elsewhere; and (*d*) this non-deletion cannot apply if the initial compound constituent is not used with a following (final) constituent (*uttarapade*). The word *uttarapade*, in this grammar, is generally used in the sense of a final compound constituent.

Let us now consider *stokānmuktaḥ* 'barley freed', an example where deletion by *LUK* of *pañcamī* 'ablative' after *stoka*, is blokced. This *pañcamī* is introduced by rules 2.3.33 *karaṇe ca stokālpa*... and 2.3.35 *dūrāntikā*.... A compound formation of *stoka* + *ṄasI* with *mukta* 'freed', a derivate of *Kta*, follows specifications of rule 2.1.39 *stokāntikadūrārtha*.... Note that *stokāntika*... is here specified with the *prathamā* 'nominative'. This qualifies *stoka*, etc., to be termed an *upasarjana* 'secondary' and be placed first in the compound. Rule 6.3.2 *pañcamyāḥ*... can now block rule 2.4.71 *supodhātu*... which requires *LUK*-deletion of *ṄasI* of *stoka* + *ṄasI* + *mukta*. Thus, we get the compound base as *stokā* (*t*→*n*) *mukta*.

Since this non-deletion applies to endings occurring after particular constituents enumerated by rules allowing compound-formation, a specification made with a generalized ablative (*pañcamī*; *sāmānya-lakṣaṇā*) should not come under the scope of this rule. We may run into problems if this view is not accepted. For, we may then get non-deletion in *stokād apetaḥ*, as against the desired form *stokāpetaḥ* 'barely missing'. The *pañcamī* of rule 2.1.39 *stokāntika*.. refers to the *pañcamī* specific to bases enumerated under 2.3.33 *karaṇe ca stokālpa*.... Any other *pañcamī* must then be disregarded. This will

also be in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 114): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam* 'forms specified by enumeration under a given rule are preferred over those derived via application of others'.

Finally, this non-deletion must also meet the condition of *uttarapade*. Thus, given *nistokaḥ*, parallel to *niṣkrāntaḥ stokāt*, the *pañcamī* after *stoka* must go through deletion. Obviously, *stokāt* is not used here in combination before any other constituent. But this deletion will go against the *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 114) just cited. For, the *pañcamī* of *stokāt*, deleted in the formation of *nistokaḥ*, is not a *pañcamī* introduced specifically with reference to an enumerated base. It is here characterized as one introduced by a general rule. Well, the *paribhāṣā* should then not be accepted here. This strengthens the case for accepting *uttarapade* as a condition, even for this section dealing with non-deletion (*aluk*). This, however, not denying that *uttarapade* is needed more, elsewhere, than here in this section of non-deletion.

6.3.2 **पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्यः**

pañcamyāḥ stokādibhyaḥ
/*pañcamyāḥ* 6/1 *stokādibhyaḥ* 1/3 = *stoka ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*)/
(*alug uttarapade* #1)
stokāntikadūrārthakṛcchrāṇi stokādīni tebhyaḥ parasyāḥ pañcamyā uttarapade alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to the fifth triplet of nominal endings (*pañcamyāḥ*) which occur after *stoka*, etc., when a constituent in combination follows.

EXAMPLES:

stokānmuktaḥ 'hardly freed'
alpānmuktaḥ 'ibidem'
antikādāgataḥ 'arrived from a nearby place'
abhyāśādāgataḥ 'ibidem'
durādāgataḥ 'arrived from a far out place'
viprakṛṣṭādāgataḥ 'ibidem'
kṛcchrānmuktaḥ 'freed with difficulty'

1. Blocking the deletion of a nominal ending contained within a compound base termed *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' still allows combining two compound constituents together. This facilitates the compound to be used as a single *pada* (*aikapadya*) and to carry a single accent (*aikasvarya*). Refer also to my notes under the preceding rule.

2. Note that a compound formation with ablative dual, or plural, after *stoka*, etc., is not found in usage (*anabhidhānāt*). Thus, the *pañcamī* which goes through non-deletion of this rule has to be singular (*ekavacana*). A *pañcamī* with the denotata of dual and plural will not only block compound

formation (*aikapadaya*) but will also block accentuation (*aikasvarya*). Consequently, we will get *stokābhyāṃ muktaḥ* and *stokebhyaḥ muktaḥ*, two separate words with separate accentual provisions.

3. A *vārttika* proposal in made for non-deletion in *brāhmaṇācchaṃsī*, paraphrased as *brāhmaṇāni śaṃsati* '. . . recites a brāhmaṇa text'. Why should we accept this negative provision of non-deletion when no positive provision for such a deletion of *pañcamī* is made. That is, there is no rule which introduces this *pañcamī* in the sense of *dvitīyā* 'accusative'. This *vārttika* proposal will then have to accomplish both the introduction as well as non-deletion of *pañcamī*.

6.3.3 ओजःसहोऽम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयायाः

ojaḥsahombhastamasas tṛtīyāyāḥ
/ *ojaḥsaha-ambhas-tamasaḥ* 1/1 = *ojaś ca sahaś ca ambhaś ca tamaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *tṛtīyāḥ* 6/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1)
'*ojas, sahas, ambhas, tamas*' *ity etebhya uttarasya tṛtīyāyā alug bhavaty uttarapade*
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet; instrumental' which occurs after *ojas* 'vigor', *sahas* 'strength', *ambhas* 'water, strength, success' and *tamas* 'strength, darkness', provided when a constituent in combination follows.

EXAMPLES:

ojasākṛtam 'performed with vigor'
sahasākṛtam 'performed all of a sudden'
ambhasākṛtam 'performed with success, splendorous'
tamasākṛtam 'done with power'

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam*. How come this non-deletion does not apply to *tamas* of *satatanaiśatamovṛtām* '. . . constantly covered with night-like darkness'. Because we have the condition of *uttarapade* which, in turn, anticipates *tamas* as an initial constituent. Obviously, *tamas* is not an initial constituent of this example. A non-deletion desired after a constituent preceded by another should be made with qualifications. This indeed makes possible, for a form to be interpreted also as one ending in that (*tadantavidhi*). Consider thus, *iṣṭakacitam* and *pakveṣṭakacitam*, where *iṣṭaka* 'brick' can be interpreted as referring to both *iṣṭaka* and *pakveṣṭaka* 'fired brick'. In some cases, though, an operation specified in relation to what follows is performed on what constitutes the initial. It is not performed on what precedes or on what may end in that. A case in point is 6.3.23 *ānaṅ ṛto dvandve*. Given the specification as *hotṛpotṛneṣṭodgātāraḥ*, *neṣṭṛ*, or for that matter *potṛneṣṭṛ*, cannot be accepted as

initial for what follows. The operation must then be performed with reference to what follows *hotṛ* alone (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *yatra tadantavidhir iṣyate tatropāttenākṣiptaṃ pūrvapadaṃ viśeṣyate tena tasya tadantasya ca bhavati-iṣṭakacitam, pakveṣṭakacitam iti. kvacit tu yad-evopāttaṃ tasyaivottarapade' nantare tatkāryaṃ bhavati, na tūpāttasya tadantasya vā pūrvapadatvam apekṣyate, yathā 'ānaṅ ṛto dvandve'. 'hotṛpotṛneṣṭodgātāraḥ' iti, atra neṣṭṛśabdaś ca na pūrvapadam, nāpi tadantaṃ pūrvapadam, kiṃ tarhi? hotṛśabdaḥ, na tasyottarapadam anantaram*).

2. A couple of *vārttika* proposals have also been made for non-deletion of *tṛtīyā* in *añjasākṛtam* 'performed well'; and *puṃsānujaḥ* 'born after a male; younger brother' and *jānuṣāndhaḥ* 'blind from birth'.

6.3.4 मनसः संज्ञायाम्

manasaḥ saṃjñāyām
/*manasaḥ* 5/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *tṛtīyāyāḥ* #3)
manasa uttarasyās tṛtīyāyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *tṛtīyā* which occurs after *manas* 'mind' when a constituent in combination follows, and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

manasādattā 'a female name'
manasāguptā 'a female name'
manasāsaṃgatā 'a female name'

1. *Kāśikā* offers *manodattā* 'mentally given' and *manoguptā* 'thought-preserved' as counter-examples where derivates do not denote a name (*saṃjñā*). These non-names must go through deletion of their instrumental (*tṛtīyā*).

6.3.5 आज्ञायिनि च

ājñāyini ca
/*ājñāyini* 7/1/ *ca* ϕ/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *tṛtīyāyāḥ* #3 *manasaḥ* #4)
ājñāyiny uttarapade manasa uttarasyās tṛtīyāyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* also applies to a *tṛtīyā* which occurs after *manas*, provided *ājñāyin* 'knower' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

manasājñāyī 'he whose nature is to know things intuitively'

1. This rule is intended for derivates which do not signify a name (*asaṃjñārtham*). Note that *ājñāyin*, of which *ājñāyī* is the nominative singular, is a

derivate of *ṆinI* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau*...) augmented with *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk*...). It is paraphrased as: *ājñātuṃ śīlam asya* 'he whose nature it is to know properly'.

6.3.6 आत्मनश्च

> *ātmanaś ca*
> */ātmanaḥ* 5/1 *ca* 1/1/
> (*alug uttarapade* #1 *tṛtīyāyāḥ* #3)
> *ātmana uttarasya tṛtīyāyā uttarapade lug bhavati*
> Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *tṛtīyā* which also occurs after *ātman* 'self, soul', provided a constituent in combination follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *ātmanāpañcamaḥ* 'fifth including one's own self'
> *ātmanāṣaṣṭhaḥ* 'sixth including one's own self'

1. Note that *ātmanaś ca pūraṇe* is read by the *Mahābhāṣya* as a *vārttika* (see *PM* ad *Kāś*: *vārttikam evedaṃ sūtrarūpeṇa paṭhitam*). The *SK* accepts *ātmanaś ca* as a *sūtra*, especially since its *anuvṛtti* is needed in 6.3.7 *vaiyākaraṇākhyāyāṃ caturthyāḥ*. But this could hardly justify accepting *ātmanaś ca* as a *sūtra*. For, the *SK*, though it needs the *anuvṛtti* of *kāmye* (*vt*: *roreva kāmye nānyasyeti niyamārthaṃ vaktavyam*; ad 8.3.38 *so' padādau*), does not accept it as a *sūtra*. The *Kāśikāvṛtti* reads the *sūtra* as: *ātmanaś ca pūraṇe*, following perhaps the traditional belief that the *vārttikakāra* 'author of the *vārttikas*' also deserves status as the *sūtrakāra*. Note that the *SK* reads *pūraṇa* as a *vārttika*. I have excluded *pūraṇe* from the reading of this rule. Since a non-deletion of *tṛtīyā* after *ātman* is available only when a constituent with the signification of a *pūraṇa* suffix follows, accepting the *sūtra* as *ātmanaś ca* alone makes sense.

Haradatta observes that *pūraṇa* is interpreted as referring to forms ending in the suffix *pūraṇa*. That is, it should not be interpreted as the word-form *pūraṇa* (*svarūpa*). He also points out that *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as also ending in *x*', as will be indicated under 6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛllekha*..., is not to be permitted in the section governed by *uttarapade*. This will create problems in accomplishing non-deletion of *tṛtīyā* in *ātmanāpañcamaḥ* 'fifth including one's self'. For, it is impossible to find affix *pūraṇa* used after *ātman*. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation in case of *ātman* must then be accepted as an exception. This all is an expatiation of proposals made via *vārttikas*.

How are the example compounds, i.e., *ātmanāpañcamaḥ* and *ātmanāṣaṣṭhaḥ*, formed? It is stated that *tṛtīyā* after *ātman* is introduced by a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.3.18 *kartṛ-karaṇayos tṛtīyā*; *tṛtīyāvidhāne prakṛtyādibhya upasaṃkhyānam*). A split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of *tṛtīyā* of 2.1.30 *tṛtīyā tatkṛtārthena guṇavacanena* then allows the formation of these compounds. One can even accept *tṛtīyā* ruled with the signification of *karaṇa* (2.3.18

kartṛkaraṇayos . . .). But then this *karaṇa*, a *kāraka*, must be determined in relation to verbal root *kṛ* 'to do, make', parallel to the paraphrase: *ātmanā kṛtaḥ pañcamaḥ* 'fifth made by one's own self'.

Deriving *pañcama* 'fifth' and *ṣaṣṭha* 'sixth' requires introducing affix *DaṬ* (5.2.48 *tasya pūraṇe ḍaṭ*) after *pañcan* 'five' and *ṣaṣ* 'six'. Augment *mAṬ* (5.2.48 *nāntād . . .*) and *thUK* (5.2.51 *ṣaṭkatikatipaya . . .*), respectively, are then introduced to derive *pañcan* + *mAṬ* + *DaṬ* = *pañcan* + *ma* and *ṣaṣ* + *DaṬ* = *ṣaṣ* + *th* + *a*. The first example goes through deletion of *n*. The second requires replacing *th* with *ṭh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.2.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

Why do we not get non-deletion in deriving *ātmacaturthaḥ* of *janārdanas tv ātmacaturtha eva* 'Janārdana, indeed, is the fourth himself'. The compound is a *bahuvrīhi*, and not an instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) *tatpuruṣa*.

6.3.7 वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः

vaiyākaraṇākhyāyāṃ caturthyāḥ
/*vaiyākaraṇākhyāyām* 7/1 = *vaiyākaraṇānām ākhyā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām*; *caturthyāḥ* 6/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ātmanaḥ* #6)
yayā saṃjñayā vaiyākaraṇā eva vyavaharanti tasyām ātmana uttarasyāś caturthyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *caturthī* 'fourth triplet of nominal endings; dative' which occurs after *ātman*, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name assigned by grammarians.

EXAMPLES:

ātmanepadam 'the second set of nine replacements of *LA* plus suffixes containing *āna*'
ātmanepadabhāṣā 'a term used by earlier grammarians for Pāṇini's *ātmanepadam*'

1. Note that *ātmanaḥ* is carried from the preceding rule. The *caturthī* which goes through non-deletion denotes *tadartha* 'intended for that' and is introduced by a *vārttika* (*tādarthye caturthī vācyā*; ad 1.4.44 *parikrayaṇe sampradānam anyatarasyām*). The compounds are formed by *caturthī*, a split interpretation of 2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha. . . .*

6.3.8 परस्य च

parasya ca
/*parasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *vaiyākaraṇasyākhyāyāṃ caturthyāḥ* #7)
parasya ca yā caturthī tasyā vaiyākaraṇasyākhyāyām alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, also to a *caturthī* which occurs

in combination after *para* 'another, subsequent', provided a constituent in combination follows and the derivate signifies a name assigned by grammarians.

EXAMPLES:

parasmaipadam 'replacements of *LA*, with the exception of those termed *ātmanepadam*'
parasmaipadabhāṣā 'ibidem; an earlier term for 'voice' in grammar'

1. Why is this rule stated? The intended non-deletion can still be accomplished by the earlier rule. No. The word *ātmanaḥ* is carried there. Well, we can drop *ātmanaḥ*. But it may cause non-deletion in *taddhitāḥ*, parallel to *tebhyo hitāḥ*, which is not desired. Consequently, *parasya ca* must be stated.

It is argued that *vaiyākaraṇākhyā* can be derived parallel to *vaiyākaraṇe bhavā* = *vaiyākaraṇī* 'that which is found in grammar', a feminine derivate with *aṆ* (4.3.73 *aṇ ṛgayanādibhyaḥ*). A *karmadhāraya* can then be formed, parallel to *vaiyākaraṇī cāsāv ākhyā ca* 'that which is found in grammar and is also a name'. A masculine transformation of *vaiyākaraṇī* (6.3.42 *puṃvat karma dhāraya*) can then derive *vaiyākaraṇ(ī→a)* + *ākhyā→vaiyākaraṇākhyā*. Since this derivation will exclude *ātmanebhāṣaḥ* and *parasmaibhāṣaḥ*, terms which are not used in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, *vaiyākaraṇa* must be derived parallel to *vyākaraṇam adhīyate vidanti vā* 'those who study or know grammar'. Incidentally, *ātmanebhāṣaḥ* and *parasmaibhāṣaḥ*, are termes used by earlier grammarians.

2. A compound such as *ātmanepadam* is derived with *caturthī* signifying *tādarthya* 'intended for that', parallel to *ātmanārthaṃ padam* 'word for one's own self'. The compound is formed with split interpretation of *caturthī*. Why can 2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha*. . ., itself, not allow the compound formation? Compounds formed with this rule are desired where modification of a material cause (*prakṛti-vikāra*) is involved.

6.3.9 हलदन्तात् सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम्

haladantāt saptamyāḥ saṃjñāyām
/*haladantāt* 5/1 = *hal ca at ca* (*sam. dv.*); *halad ante yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*; *saptamyāḥ* 6/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1
(*alug uttarapade* #1)
halantād adantāc cottarasyāḥ saptamyāḥ saṃjñāyām alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* 'seventh triplet of a nominal ending' which occurs after a nominal ending in a consonant (*hal*), or in *a*, when a constituent in combination follows and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

yudhiṣṭhiraḥ 'the eldest of the Pāṇḍava brothers'

tvacisāraḥ 'bamboo'
araṇyetilakāḥ 'wild sesame'
araṇyemāṣakāḥ 'wild Mung beans'

1. This rule allows non-deletion of *saptamī* after a constituent base which ends in a consonant (*halantāt*), or in *a* (*aT*). Of course, the compound is formed with the signification of a name (2.1.34 *saṃjñāyām*). Note that *yudh* and *tvac* in *yudhiṣṭhira* and *tvacisāra* both end in a consonant. A *saptamī* before *sthira* and *sāra* is thus retained. But what about *gaviṣṭhiraḥ*, where *go* does not end in a consonant, or in *a*? This should pose no problem. For, given *go* + (*Ṅ*) *i* + *sthira* + *sU*, one will replace the *o* of *go* by *av* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*), prior to non-deletion. But this will go against *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 53: *antaraṅgān api vidhīn bahiraṅgo lug bādhate*) which facilitates blocking of internally conditioned operations(*antaraṅga*) by externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) deletion (*LUK*). Note that accepting this *paribhāṣā* will also cause non-deletion in *nadyāṃ kukkuṭikā* = *nadīkukkuṭikā* 'hen in river' and *bhūmyāṃ pāśāḥ* = *bhūmipāśāḥ* 'snare on ground', where one can get *nadī* 'river' and *bhūmi* 'ground' to end in *y*, through *yaṇādeśa* 'replacement in *yaṆ*' (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*). Incidentally, these two constitute counter-examples for the twin conditions of *halantāt* 'after that which ends in a consonant' and *adantāt* 'after that which ends in *a*'.

2. Replacement in *ṣ* and *ṭh*, for *s* and *th* of *sthiraḥ*, for example in *gaviṣṭhiraḥ* and *yudhiṣṭhiraḥ*, is accomplished by 8.3.96 *gaviyudhibhyāṃ sthiraḥ*.

3. Note that *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* 'skilled in the game of dice' is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *saṃjñā*. A *vārttika* proposal (*hṛddyudbhyām ṅeḥ*) is also made for non-deletion of *Ṅi* after *hṛd* 'heart' and *div* 'day, heaven' in *hṛdispṛk* 'heart-touching' and *divispṛk* 'ghee-touching'.

4. Why do we need *saṃjñāyām* 'when name is denoted' when *ākhyāyām* 'naming . . .' is already made available from the preceding rule? It is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

6.3.10 कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ

kāranāmni ca prācāṃ halādau
/*kāranāmni* 7/1 = *kārasya nāma* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ф *prācām* 6/3 *halādau* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *haladantāt saptamyāḥ* #9)
prācāṃ deśe yat kāranāma tatra halādāv uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in a consonant, or in *a*, when a constituent beginning with a consonant follows in combination and the derivate denotes the name of a tax imposed on eastern people.

EXAMPLES:

> *kūpeśāṇam* 'a tax levied in the east'
> *dṛṣadimāṣakaḥ* 'ibidem'
> *haledvipadikā* 'ibidem'
> *haletripadikā* 'ibidem'

1. The word *kāranāma* is explained as *vaṇigbhiḥ kṛṣakaiḥ paśupālaiś ca rājñe deyo bhāgaḥ rakṣānibandhanaḥ* 'a tax paid to the king by traders, farmers and cattle ranchers in return for gauranteed protection'. The word *kāra* 'tax' is a derivate of *aṆ* (5.4.38 *prañādibhyaś ca*), used with the signification of the base (*svārthika*), namely *kara* 'tax' (*karam eva kāraḥ*).

2. Why is this *sūtra* formulated when its derivates can avail *aluk* 'non-deletion by *LUK*' within the scope of the earlier rule? A separate formulation is needed for restrictive purposes (*niyamārtham*). Thus, derivates of this rule will be limited to three conditions: (*a*) non-deletion applies only when the derivate names a tax (*kāranāmni*); (*b*) it has to be limited to usage in the east (*prācām*); and (*c*) it must apply before a constituent beginning with a consonant (*halādau*).

Kāśikā offers *abhyarhitapaśuḥ* 'an animal offered to the presiding priest as a gift'; *yūthapaśuḥ* 'a group of twelve cattles' and *avikaṭoraṇaḥ* 'a group of rams (*uraṇa*)', respectively. The conditions of *halantāt* 'after that which ends in a consonant' and *adantāt* 'after that which ends in *a*' are also valid. Thus, we get *nadyāṃ dohanī* = *nadīdohanī* 'a tax levied on milk transported across a river'.

6.3.11 मध्याद् गुरौ

> *madhyād gurau*
> / *madhyāt* 5/1 *gurau* 7/1/
> (*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)
> *madhyād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā gurāv uttarapade lug bhavati*
> Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* which occurs after *madhya* 'middle' followed by *guru* 'teacher, heavy' in combination.

EXAMPLES:

> *madhyeguruḥ* 'heavy in the middle'

1. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for non-deletion after *anta* 'end' in *anteguruḥ* 'heavy at the end'.

6.3.12 अमूर्धमस्तकात् स्वाङ्गादकामे

> *amūrdhamastakāt svāṅgād akāme*
> / *amūrdha-mastakāt* 5/1 = *mūrdhā ca mastakaṃ ca* (*sam. dv.*); *na mūrdha-*

mastakam (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *svāṅgāt* 5/1 *akāme* 7/1 = *na kāmaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *haladantāt saptamyāḥ* #9)
mūrdha-mastaka-varjitāt svāṅgād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā akāma uttarapade' lug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* occurring after a nominal which ends in a consonant or in *a*, and signifies *svāṅga* 'one's limb' with the exclusion of *mūrdhan* 'head' and *mastaka* 'forehead', when a constituent other than one constituted by *kāma* 'desire' follows.

EXAMPLES:

kaṇṭhekālaḥ 'he on whose throat there is black'
urasilomā 'he on whose chest there is hair'
udaremaṇiḥ 'he on whose belly there are lines forming the shape of a jewel; belly-lump'

1. The word *svāṅga* is here used in its technical sense characterized as *adravādi* 'non-liquid, etc.' The *bahuvrīhi* of our examples is called *vyadhikaraṇa* 'non-appositional'. Normally, one would expect them to be a *bahuvrīhi* with its constituents in syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). These compounds are formed with reference to a *vārttika* proposal (ad 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadarthe*; *saptamy upamānapūrvapada* . . .).

Kāśikā offeres *akṣeṣu śauṇḍaḥ* = *akṣaśauṇḍaḥ* 'skilled in the game of dice' as a counter-example to *svāṅgāt*. Compounds such as *mūrddhaśikhaḥ* and *mastakaśikhaḥ* are offered as counter-examples to the enumerated exclusion of *mūrdhan* and *mastaka*. Finally, *mukhe kāmaḥ yasya* = *mukhakāmaḥ* 'face-loving' is offered to illustrate the exclusion specified by *akāme* 'when non-desire'. The condition of *halantāt* and *adantāt* are still valid. Thus, we get *aṅgulitrāṇaḥ* 'that which protects fingers; thimble' and *jaṅghāvaliḥ* 'he on whose thighs there is a fold' as counter-examples.

6.3.13 बन्धे च विभाषा

bandhe ca vibhāṣā
/*bandhe* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *vibhāṣā* 1/1
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *haladantāt saptamyāḥ* #9)
bandhaśabda uttarapade halantād uttarasyāḥ saptamyā vibhāṣā' lug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, optionally, to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after a nominal ending in a consonant, or in *a*, provided *bandha* 'tie, knot' combines as a following constituent.

EXAMPLES:

hastebandhaḥ 'he on whose hands there is a chain; handcuffed'

hastabandhaḥ 'ibidem'
cakrebandhaḥ 'caught in a circular formation'
cakrabandhaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *svāṅgāt* is no longer carried. The provisions of this rule thus become generalized (*sāmānyenāyam vidhiḥ*). The word *bandha* is here accepted as a derivate of *GHaÑ* with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense'. Recall that non-deletion of *saptamī* in a *bahuvrīhi* compound is offered obligatorily by the preceding rule. But 6.3.19 *neṅsiddhabadhnātiṣu ca* negates it in case of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, whether the initial constituent denotes *svāṅga*, or otherwise. The *bahuvrīhi* non-deletion, in case of *svāṅga*, is thus already made available (*prāpta*). A non-deletion in *tatpuruṣa* is blocked (*aprāpta*). The option (*vibhāṣā*) of our present rule, since it offers both these options, can be aptly called *ubhayatra* or *prāptāprāpta* 'made available and not made available'.

Recall that the twin conditions of *halantāt* and *adantāt* are still valid. Thus, consider *guptibandhaḥ* 'confinement in a secured place; incarceration' and *kārikābandhaḥ* 'bondage (rebirth) caused by unpaid interest' as counter-examples.

6.3.14 तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम्

tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam
/ *tatpuruṣe* 7/1 *kṛti* 7/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)
tatpuruṣe samāse kṛdanta uttarapade saptamyā bahulam alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, variously (*bahulam*), to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after the constituent of a *tatpuruṣa* compound, provided a constituent ending in a *kṛt* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

stamberamaḥ 'one who plays with the pile of grass; an elephant'
karṇejapaḥ 'he who whispers in the ear; fault-finder'
kurucaraḥ 'he who wanders in the country of the Kurus'
madracaraḥ 'he who wanders in the country of the Madras'

1. This rule offers non-deletion via *bāhulaka* 'variously'. Thus, observe *stamberamaḥ* and *karṇejapaḥ* where an *upapada* compound termed *tatpuruṣa* (2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*) is formed with non-deletion of *saptamī*. Affix *aC* is introduced after verbal roots *ram* 'to sport' and *jap* 'to mutter' chant' by 3.2.13 *stambakarṇa*. . . . Affix *Ṭa* (3.2.16 *careṣ ṭaḥ*) is similarly introduced in deriving *kurucaraḥ* and *madracaraḥ*. It is at the strength of *bahulam* that deletion and non-deletion can both be found. Thus, observe: *sarasijam* and *sarojam* 'lotus'. Now consider *brāhmaṇācchansin* 'assistant priest' where non-

deletion applies to a *pañcamī*, and not to a *saptamī*. Finally, consider *apsu bhavaḥ* = *apsavyaḥ* 'found in water', where non-deletion is accomplished before a *taddhita*-derivate, as against a derivate of *kṛt*. These examples illustrate how, as is the nature of specification by *bahulam*, non-deletion applies (*pravṛtti*), does not apply (*apravṛtti*), applies only optionally (*vibhāṣā*), or applies differently (*anyad eva*).

2. The word *kṛti* specifies a right condition constituted by derivate of a *kṛt* affix. It does not refer to a *kṛt* affix by itself. For, it is impossible to find a *kṛt* affix used in combination after a nominal ending in the locative (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *atrāpi kṛdantasya grahaṇam na kṛnmātrasya, tatra parataḥ saptamyā asambhavāt*).

6.3.15 **प्रावृट्शरत्कालदिवां जे**

prāvṛṭśaratkāladivām je
/*prāvṛṭ-śarat-kāla-divām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *je* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)
'*prāvṛṭ, śarat, kāla, diva*' *ity eteṣām ja uttarapade saptamyā alug bhavati*
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after *prāvṛṭ* 'rainy season', *śarat* 'autumn', *kāla* 'time' and *div* 'day, heaven', provided *ja* follows in combination.

EXAMPLES:

prāvṛṣijaḥ 'born in the rainy season'
śaradijaḥ 'born in autumn'
kālejaḥ 'born at an appropriate time'
divijaḥ 'born in heaven'

1. This again is an expatiation (*prapañca*) of the *bāhulaka* provision of the preceding rule. Note that *prāvṛṣ* and *śarad* are specified separately; *kāla* 'time' is interpreted as referring to its word-form (*svarūpa*) only. These examples are all *upapada* compounds where affix *Ḍa* is introduced after *jan*. Thus, we get *prāvṛṣ* + *Ṅi* + *jan* + *Ḍa*, where *an* of *jan* goes through *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco'ntyādi ṭi*; 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). Incidenally, *prāvṛṣ* is specified here with the application of *jaśtva* (*prāvṛ*(*ṣ*→*ḍ*); 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*) and *cartva* (*prāvṛ*(*ḍ*→*ṭ*); 8.4.55 *khari ca*; 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*).

6.3.16 **विभाषावर्षक्षरशरवरात्**

vibhāṣā varṣakṣaraśaravarāt
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *varṣakṣaraśaravarāt* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9 *je* #15)
'*varṣa, kṣara, śara, vara*' *ity etebhya uttarasyāḥ saptamyā ja uttarapade vibhāṣa alug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *saptamī* which occurs in combination after *varṣa* 'rainy season', *kṣara* 'cloud', *śara* 'reed, arrow' and *vara* 'enclosure', provided *ja* follows in combination.

EXAMPLES:

varṣejaḥ 'born in the rainy season'
varṣajaḥ 'ibidem'
kṣarejaḥ 'cloud-born'
kṣarajaḥ 'ibidem'
śarejaḥ 'born in (a bed of) reeds'
śarajaḥ 'ibidem'
varejaḥ 'born in an enclosure'
varajaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Here again we find *upapada* compounds with optional non-deletion of *saptamī*.

6.3.17 घकालतनेषु कालनाम्नः

ghakālataneṣu kālanāmnaḥ
/ghakālataneṣu 7/3 *kālanāmnaḥ* 5/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9 *vibhāṣā* #16)
ghasaṃjñake pratyaye tanapratyaye ca parataḥ kālanāmna uttarasyāḥ saptamyā vibhāṣā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *saptamī* which occurs after a nominal used with the signification of a temporal name, provided a constituent ending in an affix termed *gha*, or one constituted by the word *kāla*, or else, one ending in affix *tana*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvāhṇetare 'a little later in the morning'
pūrvāhṇatare 'ibidem'
pūrvāhṇetame 'extremely late in the morning'
pūrvāhṇatame 'ibidem'
pūrvāhṇekāle 'in the morning'
pūrvāhṇakāle 'ibidem'
pūrvāhṇetane 'ibidem'
pūrvāhṇatane 'ibidem'

1. The word *gha* refers here to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*). The word *kāla* is interpreted as referring to its form (*svarūpagrahaṇa*). Of course, *kālanāmnaḥ* specifies bases signifying *kāla* 'time'. The word *tana*

refers to affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* (4.3.23 *sāyañciram . . . tuṭ ca*), augmented with *tUṬ* and replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*).

Note that *pūrvāhṇa* is a *tatpuruṣa* compound formed by 2.2.1 *pūrvāparā . . .*, where 5.4.91 *rājāhaḥ . . .* introduces affix *ṬaC* and 5.4.88 *ahno' hna etebhyaḥ* replaces *ahan* with *ahna*. Rule 8.4.7 *ahno' dantāt* finally replaces the *n* of *ahna* with *ṇ*. Affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* are then introduced with the signification of comparative excellence (*ātiśāyana*). A specification of *taraP* and *tamaP*, which denotes meanings of their bases (*svārtha*), is made to indicate the locative meaning of bases. The locative specification of *kāla* is made to show syntactic coordination. Finally, the locative specification of *tana* is made because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with *gha* and *kāla*.

Kāśikā offers *śuklatare* 'the two comparatively whiter' and *śklatame* 'the two comparatively whitest' as counter-examples to show how *saptamī* cannot go through non-deletion. That is, *śukla* does not denote *kāla* 'time'. The deletion is thus obligatory (*nitya*). The conditions of *halantāt* and *adantāt* are still valid. Thus, we get deletion after *rātri* 'night' in *rātritarāyām* 'comparatively late in the night'. Recall that *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as that which ends in *x*', as will be indicated by 6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛllekha . . .*, is not desired in this section of *uttarapade*.

6.3.18 शयवासवासिष्वकालात्

śayavāsavāsiṣv akālāt

/ *śayavāsavāsiṣu* 7/3 = *śayaś ca vāsaś ca vāsī ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *akālāt* 5/1 (*nañ.*)/

(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9 *vibhāṣā* #16)

'*śaya, vāsa, vāsin*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣv akālavācina uttarasyāḥ saptamyā vibhāṣā*' *lug bhavati*

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *saptamī* used with the signification of something other than *kāla* 'time', when *śaya* 'reclining', *vāsa* 'dwelling' and *vāsin* 'inhabitant' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kheśayaḥ 'reclining in the sky; floating in the air'
khaśayaḥ 'ibidem'
grāmevāsaḥ 'living in the village'
grāmavāsaḥ 'ibidem'
grāmevāsī 'resident of a village'
grāmavāsī 'ibidem'

1. Note that affix *aC* (3.2.15 *adhikaraṇe śeteḥ*) is introduced in deriving *kheśaya*. Examples with *vāsa* and *vāsin* entail introduction of affixes *GHaÑ* and *ṆinI* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau ṇinis . . .*), respectively. *Kāśikā* offers *pūrvāhṇaśayaḥ*

'reclining in the morning' as a counter-example to condition of *akālāt.* Similar counter-example in *bhūmiśayaḥ* is offered to conditions of *halantāt* and *adantāt.*

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for non-deletion of *saptamī* when *yoni* 'birth', or affixes *yaT* and *matUP,* follow *ap* 'water'. Thus, we get *apsuyoniḥ, apsavyaḥ* (4.3.54 *digādibhyo yat*), *apsumantau.* These compounds will be formed by split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*).

6.3.19 नेन्सिद्धबध्नातिषु च

nensiddhabadhnātiṣu ca

/ *na* ϕ *in-siddha-badhnātiṣu* 7/3 = *in ca siddhaś ca badhnātiś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/

(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #9)

innanta uttarapade siddhaśabde badhnātau ca parataḥ saptamyā alug na bhavati

Non-deletion by means of *LUK* does not apply to a *saptamī* when a constituent ending in affix *in* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau* . . ., etc.), or one constituted by *siddha* 'made, established', or else, a derivate of *bandh* 'tie', combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sthaṇḍilaśāyī 'he who sleeps on bare grounds'
sthaṇḍilavarttī 'ibidem'
sāṅkāśyasiddhaḥ 'made in Sāṅkāśya'
kāmpilyasiddhaḥ 'made in Kāmpilya'
cakrabaddhaḥ 'tied to a wheel'

1. This rule negates non-deletion of *saptamī* under the condition of specific right contexts. Thus, we get *sthaṇḍilavartin* 'he who has taken a vow to sleep on bare grounds', an *upapada* compound with *ṆinI* (3.2.80 *vrate,* 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*). This rule negates what is made available by 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam.*

It has already been indicated that, in this section of *uttarapade,* a *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as that which ends in *x*' interpretation is not desired. Why are we then accepting this interpretation with reference to *in*? It is stated that there are two types of *in* affixes: *kṛt* and *taddhita.* The first occurs only after a verbal root. The question of its occurrence after a nominal ending in *saptamī* thus does not arise. We do not find any *in* after *saptamī* in the *taddhita* derivates, either. Accepting a *tadantavidhi* interpretation is thus appropriate (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *nanu cottarapadādhikāre pratyayagrahaṇe tadantavidhir neṣyata iti jñāpitam etat. saptamyā parasyenpratyayasyāsambhavāt* . . . *tasmād innatam eva gṛhyata iti yuktam etat*).

The compoud formation of *sāṅkāśyasiddhaḥ* and *kāmpilyasiddhaḥ* is ac-

complished by 2.1.41 *siddhaśuṣka-pakvabandhaiś ca.* The word *baddha,* in *cakrabaddhaḥ,* is a derivate of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), where *n* of *bandh* is deleted (6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal*. . .). The compound is formed with the split interpretation of *saptamī* (2.1.40 *saptamī śauṇḍaiḥ*). How come the compound cannot be accepted as formed with *bandhaḥ*? Because that will be a derivate of *GHaÑ* where 6.3.13 *bandhe ca vibhāṣā* offers optional non-deletion.

6.3.20 स्थे च भाषायाम्

sthe ca bhāṣāyām
/*sthe* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *bhāṣāyām* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *saptamyāḥ* #16 *na* ϕ)
sthe cottarapade bhāṣāyāṃ saptamyā alug na bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* does not apply to a *saptamī* when *stha,* in the classical language, occurs in combination to follow.

EXAMPLES:

samasthaḥ 'standing on even grounds; happy'
viṣamasthaḥ 'standing on uneven grounds; unhappy'
kūṭasthaḥ 'standing still'
parvatasthaḥ 'standing on top of a mountain'

1. This again is a negation of non-deletion offered by 6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe*. . . . Rule 3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ* introduces affix *Ka* in deriving *samasthaḥ, viṣamasthaḥ, kūṭastheḥ* and *parvatasthaḥ*. The *ā* of *sthā* is deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa*. . . .
2. The condition of *bhāṣāyām* will rule out negation of non-deletion in the Vedic, for example, *ākhare tiṣṭhati* = *ākhareṣṭhaḥ* 'stays in a hole'. The *s* of *sthā* will be replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.106 *pūrvapadāt.*

6.3.21 षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे

ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe
/*ṣaṣṭhyāḥ* 6/1 *ākrośe* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1)
ākrośe gamyamāne uttarapade parataḥ ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *ṣaṣṭhī* when a constituent in combination follows, and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger, insult'.

EXAMPLES:

caurasyakulam 'some family of a thief!'
vṛṣalasyakulam 'some family of a Vṛṣala!'

1. Note that *ṣaṣṭhī* in these examples denotes *ākrośa* 'anger', and not *sambandha* 'relation'. A compound such as *brāhmaṇakulam* 'brāhmaṇa-clan',

where *sambandha* is denoted, will go through deletion of its *ṣaṣṭhī*.

Some *vārttika* proposals for non-deletion have also been made under this rule:

(*i*) Non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* should also be stated where *yukti*, *daṇḍa* and *hara* are used in combination after *vāk*, *dik* and *paśyat*, respectively (*ṣaṣṭhīprakaraṇe vāgdikpaśyadbhyo yuktidaṇḍahareṣu yathāsaṃkhyam alug vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get *vācoyuktiḥ* 'art of speaking', *diśodaṇḍaḥ* 'formation of stars in the shape of a stick' and *paśyatoharaḥ* 'he who robs right in front of your eyes; a thief; goldsmith'.

(*ii*) Non-deletion by *LUK* should also be stated in *āmuṣyāyaṇa* 'an illustrious descendant', *āmuṣyaputrikā* 'sense of (duty) of an illustrious son' and *āmuṣyakulikā* 'sense of (duty) of an illustrious clan' (*āmuṣyāyaṇāmuṣyaputrikāmuṣyakuliketi ca vaktavyaḥ*).

(*iii*) A non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* in *devānāmpriyaḥ* 'slow-wit' should also be stated (*devānāmpriya ity atra ca ṣaṣṭhyā alug vaktavyaḥ*).

(*iv*) Non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* should also be stated where *śepa* 'penis, testicles', *puccha* 'tail' and *lāṅgūla* 'tail' are used in combination after *śvan* 'dog' and the derivate denotes a name (*śepapucchalāṅgūleṣu śunaḥ saṃjñāyāṃ ṣaṣṭhyā alug vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *śunaḥśepaḥ*, *śunaḥpucchaḥ* and *śunolāṅgūlaḥ*, all *bahuvrīhi* compounds with the denotatum of proper names.

(*v*) Non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* should be stated when *dāsa* 'slave' follows *diva* in combination (*divaś ca dāse ṣaṣṭhyā alug vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *divodāsāya gāyati* 'sings for Divodāsa, the illustrious king of Kāśī'.

6.3.22 पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम्

putre' nyatarasyām
/*putre* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ṣaṣṭhyā ākrośe* #21)
putraśabda uttarapade ākrośe gamyamāne' nyatarasyāṃ ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *ṣaṣṭhī* when *putra* combines as a following constituent and derivates denote *ākrośa* 'anger'.

EXAMPLES:

dāsyāḥ putraḥ 'son of a maid (*bastard*)'
dāsīputraḥ 'maid's son'
vṛṣalyāḥ putraḥ 'son of a śūdra woman'
vṛṣalīputraḥ 'ibidem'

1. *Kāśikā* offers *brāhmaṇīputraḥ* 'son of a brāhmaṇa woman' as a counter-example to non-deletion, where *ākrośa* is not denoted. The example is thus a general statement (*sāmānyakathana*).

6.3.23 ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यः

ṛto vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ
/*ṛtaḥ* 5/1 *vidyā-yoni-sambandhebhyaḥ* 5/3 = *vidyā ca yoniś ca* = *vidyāyonī* (*itar. dv.*), *vidyāyonikṛtaḥ sambandhaḥ yeṣām, tebhyaḥ* (*bv.*)/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ* #21)
ṛkārāntebhyo vidyāsambandhavācibhyo yonisambandhavācibhyaś cottarasyāḥ ṣaṣṭhyā alug bhavati
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies to a *ṣaṣṭhī* which occurs after a nominal stem ending in *ṛ* and signifying a relationship established by means of *vidyā* 'knowledge, study' and *yoni* 'birth', provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

hoturantevāsī 'student of a priest (*hotṛ*)'
hotuḥputraḥ 'son of a priest'
pituranteväsī 'father's student'
pituḥputraḥ 'son of (his) father'

1. Note that non-deletion cannot be blocked in examples such as *ācārya-putraḥ* 'teacher's son' and *mātulaputraḥ* 'maternal uncle's son' because *ācārya* 'teacher' and *mātula* 'mother's brother' do not end in *ṛ*. Non-deletion will similarly be blocked in *hotṛdhanam* 'wealth of the *hotṛ*', *pitṛdhanam* 'father's wealth', *hotṛgṛham* 'home of the *hotṛ*' and *pitṛgṛham* 'father's house', where *hotṛ* and *pitṛ* end in *ṛ* but *dhana* 'wealth' and *gṛha* 'home' are not relatable via *vidyā* 'knowledge' and *yoni* 'birth'.

2. Note that the *pañcamī* 'ablative' specification of *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* could only establish the intended relationship of initial constituents. A specification by *saptamī* should have been made if such a relationship was intended for the following constituents. But that would have excluded such a relationship of initial constituents. It is, therefore, concluded that both constituents must be relatable via *vidyāyonisambandha*. It is for this reason that sometimes we also find examples where constituents relatable via *vidyā* and *yoni* are juxtaposed. Thus, observe *hotuḥputraḥ* 'priest's son' and *pituranteväsī* 'father's student' (see *PM* ad *Kāśikā*).

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*) thinks that a rather long formulation of this *sūtra*, especially with the inclusion of *sambandha*, carries special meaning. That is, Pāṇini intended non-deletion only where the following constituent denoted *vidyāyonisambandha* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *tad etasmān mahataḥ sūtraprabandhād vidyāyonisambandhavāciny uttarapade ācāryasyāyam alug abhīṣṭa iti lakṣyata iti*).

6.3.24 विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः

vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ

/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *svasṛpatyoḥ* 7/2 = *svasā ca patiś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*alug uttarapade* #1 *ṣaṣṭhyā* #21 *ṛto vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* #23)
'*svasṛ, pati*' *ity etayor uttarayor ṛkārāntebhyo vidyāyonisambandhavācibhyo vibhāṣā alug bhavati*
Non-deletion by means of *LUK* applies, only optionally, to a *ṣaṣṭhī* which occurs in combination after a nominal ending in *ṛ* and denoting a relationship established by means of *vidyā* and *yoni*, provided *svasṛ* 'sister' and *pati* 'husband' combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

mātuḥṣvasā 'mother's sister'
mātṛṣvasā 'ibidem'
pituḥṣvasā 'father's sister'
pitṛṣvasā 'ibidem'
duhituḥpatiḥ 'daughter's husband.
duhitṛpatiḥ 'ibidem'
nanānduḥpatiḥ 'husband's sister's husband'
nanāndṛpatiḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *s* of *svasṛ* is obligatorily replaced with *ṣ* when deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* is applied (8.3.84 *mātṛpitṛbhyāṃ svasā*). Such a replacement becomes optional when non-deletion of *ṣaṣṭhī* applies (3.3.85 *māturpitṛbhyām anyatarasyām*).

6.3.25 **आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे**

ānaṅ ṛto dvandve
/*ānaṅ* 1/1 *ṛtaḥ* 6/1 *dvandve* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ* #22)
ṛkārāntānāṃ vidyāyonisambandhavācināṃ yo dvandvas tatrottarapade pūrvapadasyānaṅ ādeśo bhavati
Augment *ānAṄ* is introduced to the initial constituent of a *dvandva* compound which is formed with constituents ending in *ṛ* and signifying a relationship established by means of *vidyā* and *yoni*.

EXAMPLES:

hotāpotārau '*hotṛ* and *potṛ*, the two ritual priests'
neṣṭodgātārau 'priest and reciter priest'
mātāpitarau 'parents'
yātānanāndarau 'husband's brothers's wife and husband's sister'

1. Note that *ānAṄ* is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. Consequently, it is introduced in place of the final sound segment of a compound constituent which precedes (1.1.53 *ṅic ca*). Since *n* of *ān* in *ānAṄ* does not serve any purpose, and thus invariably gets deleted by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*, why was

ānAṄ not specified simply as *āṄ* or *ā*? So that its *n* could block the following *r* which is required to follow a replacement of *ṛ* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.53 *ṅic ca* for derivational details of *hotāpotārau* and *mātāpitarau*.

2. The condition of *ṛT* blocks *ānAṄ* in *pitṛpitāmahau* 'father and grandfather' where *pitāmaha* does not end in *ṛ*. How come *ānAṄ* is allowed in *pitāputrau* and *mātāputrau*? The word *putra* is here carried from 6.3.21 *putre' nyatarasyām*. But if *putra* is carried over here, it should also be carried over in 6.2.23 *vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ*. This would occasion an optional derivate, i.e., *bhrātuṣputraḥ*, even when *ākrośa* is not denoted (6.3.22 *putre' nyatarasyām*). Well, *putre* will be carried over only here, via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'. It will not be carried over to 6.2.23 *vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ*. But there is still a problem. Augment *ānAṄ* is to be introduced when the constituents end in *ṛ*. Obviously, *putra* of *mātāputrau* and *pitāputrau* does not end in *ṛ*. Well, a *dvandva* compound qualified with *ṛT* is different from one where *putra* will constitute the following constituent. I omit discussion of additional arguments offered by commentators relative to *ṛtaḥ* as a qualifier to *kāryin* 'operand'. I also omit any discussion of *saptamī* in *putre*. Refer to *Nyāsa* and *PM* ad *Kāśikā* for details.

6.3.26 देवताद्वन्द्वे च

> *devatādvandve ca*
> */devatā-dvandve 7/1 = devatānāṃ dvandvaḥ*
> *(ṣaṣ. tat.), tasmin; ca* ϕ/
> *devatāvācināṃ yo dvandvas tatrottarapade pūrvapadasyānaṅ ādeśo bhavati*
> Augment *ānAṄ* is introduced to the preceding constituent of a *dvandva* compound when the same is used in combination before a following constituent, provided the compound constituency denotes a divinity (*devatā*).

EXAMPLES:

> *indrāvaruṇau* 'Indra and Varuṇa'
> *indrāsomau* 'Indra and Soma'
> *indrābṛhaspatī* 'Indra and Bṛhaspati'

1. Why is *dvandva* used again in this rule when it is already available from *anuvṛtti*? So that *ānAṄ* could be restricted to only those compounds where constituent combinations are most famous (*prasiddhasāhacaryārtham*), both in the classical usage as well as in the Vedic. Usages of the Vedic generally relate to compounds where divinities denoted by individual constituents are jointly referred to as recipients of ritual oblation (*sahavāpanirdiṣṭāḥ*). Thus, we cannot get *ānAṄ* in examples such as *brahmaprajāpatī* 'Brahman-Prajāpati' and *śivavaiśravaṇau* 'Śiva-Vaiśravaṇa'.

2. A *vārttika* proposal blocks introduction of *ānAṄ* to *vāyu,* irrespective of whether it is combined as an initial or following constituent (*ubhayatra vāyoḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, we get *agnivāyū* 'Agni and Vāyu' and *vāyvagnī* 'Vāyu and Agni'.

6.3.27 ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः

īdagneḥ somavaruṇayoḥ
/*īt* 1/1 *agneḥ* 6/1 *soma-varuṇayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26)
'*soma, varuṇa*' *ity etayor devatādvandve*' *gner īkārādeśo bhavati*
A long *ī* comes in place of the final of *agni* when the same occurs in a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents signifying divinity, provided *soma* and *varuṇa* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

agnīṣomau 'Agni and Soma'
agnīvaruṇau 'Agni and Varuṇa'

1. Here again, *ī* comes in place of *i* of *agni.* The *s* of *soma* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.3.82 *agneḥ stutstomasomāḥ.*

6.3.28 इद् वृद्धौ

id vṛddhau
/*it* 1/1 *vṛddhau* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26 *agneḥ* #27)
kṛtavṛddhāv uttarapade devatādvandve' *gner ikāra ādeśo bhavati*
A short *i* comes as a replacement for the final of *agni* when, in a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, a constituent containing a replacement in *vṛddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āgnivāruṇīm '. . . a ritual oblation whose deities are Agni and Varuṇa'
āgnimārutam 'a ritual sacrifice whose deities are Agni and Marut'

1. This rule offers *iT* to block *ānAṄ* and *īT.* Our derivates *āgnivāruṇī* and *āgnimāruta* are derived by introducing *aṆ* (4.2.23 *sā*' *sya devatā*), parallel to *agnīvaruṇau devate asya* 'those whose divinities are Agni and Varuṇa' and *agnīmarutau devate asya* 'those whose divinites are Agni and Marut'. The first example constitutes an exception to the *īT* of 6.3.27 *īd agneḥ. . . .* The second is an exception to *ānAṄ* of 6.3.26 *devatādvandve ca.* The *vṛddhi* of both constituents is accomplished by 7.3.26 *devatādvandve ca.* The *ṄīP* of these examples is introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ. . . .*

2. The condition of *vṛddhi* in the following constituent blocks *iT* in exam-

ples such as *āgnendraḥ*, where 7.3.24 *nendrasya parasya* negates it. A *Mahābhāṣya* proposal negates *iT* when *viṣṇu* constitutes the following constituent (*id vṛddhau viṣṇoḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, there is no *iT* for the *ā* of *āgnāvaiṣṇavam.*

6.3.29 **दिवो द्यावा**

> *divo dyāvā*
> /*divaḥ* 6/1 *dyāvā* 1/1/
> (*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26)
> '*div*' *ity etasya* '*dyāvā*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati devatādvandve uttarapade*
> The form *dyāvā* comes as a replacement for *div* 'day, heaven' in a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

> *dyāvākṣāme* 'heaven and earth'
> *dyāvābhūmī* 'ibidem'

1. Note that *dyāvā* replaces *div* in toto (1.1.54 *anekālśit sarvasya*).

6.3.30 **दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम्**

> *divasaś ca pṛthivyām*
> /*divasaḥ*1/1 *ca* ϕ *pṛthivyām* 7/1/
> (*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26 *divo dyāvā* #29)
> *pṛthivyām uttarapade devatādvandve divaḥ* '*divas*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati cakārād* '*dyāvā*' *ca*
> The form *divasA*, and *dyāvā* as well, come as replacements for *div* of a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided *pṛthivī* 'earth' is used in combination to follow.

EXAMPLES:

> *divaspṛthivyau* 'heaven and earth'
> *dyāvāpṛthivyau* 'ibidem'

1. Note that the actual replacement is *divas*. However, it has been specified in the rule as *divasa*. It is done to indicate that *s* of *divas* does not go through any modification (*vikāra*). That is, no *s*→*r*→*ḥ*, etc. (*rutvādīni*). How would one explain *dyāvā* which replaces *div* in the non-*dvandva* context of *dyāvā cid asmai pṛthivī namete*? This usage is Vedic, and hence, efforts must be made to explain it (*Kāś*: *kartavyo' tra yatnaḥ*). One can accept it as a rare exception seen in the Vedic (*dṛṣṭānuvidhiś ca chandasi*), or else, one may take recourse to the *bāhulaka* provision of *chandasi bahulam* 'usages occur variously in the Vedic'.

6.3.31 उषासोषसः

uṣāsoṣasaḥ
/ *uṣāsā* 1/1 *uṣasaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *devatādvandve* #26)
uṣasaḥ 'uṣāsā' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati devatādvandve uttarapade
The form *uṣāsā* comes as a replacement for *uṣas* 'dawn', in a compound formed with constituents denoting divinity, provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

uṣāsāsūryam 'dawn and sun'
uṣāsānaktā 'dawn and night'

1. This rule offers *uṣāsā* as an exception fo *ānAṄ* of 6.3.25 *devatādvandve ca.* This same is also true of examples of next two rules.

6.3.32 मातरपितरावुदीचाम्

mātarapitarāv udīcām
/ *mātarapitarau* 1/2 *udīcām* 6/3/
'mātarapitarau' ity udīcām ācāryāṇāṃ matenāraṅādeśo bhavati
The word *mātarapitarau,* in the opinion of eastern grammarians (*udīcām*), is derived (with *ārAṄ*) via *nipātana.*

EXAMPLES:

mātarapitarau 'mother and father'

1. This rule derives *mātarapitarau,* via *nipātana.* That is, the final *ṛ* (1.152 *ṅic ca*) of *mātṛ* 'mother' is replaced with *arAṄ.* In the opinion of others, we will get *mātāpitarau* with *ānAṄ.*

6.3.33 पितरामातरा च च्छन्दसि

pitarāmātarā ca cchandasi
/*pitarāmātarā* 1/2 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
'pitarāmātarā' iti chandasi nipātyate
The word *pitarāmātarā* is also derived, via *nipātana,* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

pitarāmātarā 'mother and father'

1. This *nipātana* employs *arāṄ* replacing the final *ṛ* of *pitṛ* 'father'. The *au* 'nominative dual' after *mātṛ* is replaced with *ā* (7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk*). The *ṛ* of *mātṛ* then goes through a replacement in *guṇa* (7.3.110 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ*).

6.3.34 स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु

striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ samānādhikaraṇe striyām apūraṇī-priyādiṣu

/ *striyāḥ* 6/1 *puṃvad* ɸ *bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* (6/1 deleted); = *na ūṅ* = *anūṅ* (*nañ.*); *bhāṣitaḥ pumān yasminn arthe sa* = *bhāṣitapuṃskaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *bhāṣitapuṃskād anūṅ yasmin strīśabde sa bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ strīśabdaḥ* (*bv.*); *samānādhikaraṇe* 7/1 *striyām* 7/1 *apūraṇīpriyādiṣu* 7/3 = *pūraṇī ca priyādayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *na pūraṇīpriyādayaḥ* (*nañ.*) /

(*uttarapade* #1)

bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅaḥ strīśabdasya puṃśabdasyeva rūpaṃ bhavati samānādhikaraṇe uttarapade strīliṅge pūraṇīpriyādivarjite

The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares an identical base for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix *ūṄ*, treated as that of its masculine, provided a nominal not ending in a *pūraṇa* suffix, and not belonging to the list headed by *priyā*, follows in syntactic coordination with the signification of feminine.

EXAMPLES:

darśanīyabhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is beautiful'
ślakṣṇacūḍaḥ 'he whose hairdo is beautiful'
dīrghajaṅghaḥ 'he whose thighs are strong'

1. The characteristic denotatum of a form is spoken of as the conditioning cause for its usage (*pravṛttinimitta*). Thus, 'worth seeing, beautiful' can be accepted as the conditioning cause for usage of *darśanīya* 'beautiful'. The word *bhāṣitapuṃska* is explained as 'a form whose denotatum conditions the denotation of its corresponding masculine'. Thus, *darśanīyā* can be accepted as *bhāṣitapuṃska*, because it denotes its masculine counterpart with the same sense which conditions its own usage. The cause for usage of both is the same. For reasons of identical denotatum (*āyāma*) conditioning their usage, such forms are accepted as having identical bases (*samānākṛti*). The word *bhāṣitapuṃska* thus refers to a form which shares the same denotatum in both masculine and feminine. The word *darśanīyā* is accepted as *bhāsitapuṃska* since it denotes its masculine counterpart *darśanīya* with the same characteristic meaning as its own.

The word *strī* of *striyāḥ* can be interpreted with three meanings:

(*i*) *strī* denotes affixes (*ṬāP*, etc.) used with the denotatum of feminine (*strīpratyaya*);
(*ii*) *strī* denotes a thing qualified with the sense (*artha*) of a female (*strītvaviśiṣṭadravya*);
(*iii*) *strī* denotes a form (*śabda*) with the denotatum of feminine.

Accepting the first interpretation, i.e., *pratyayapakṣa* 'affixal interpretation of *strī*', will result in deletion of feminine affixes. That is, the form after which the feminine affix was introduced will be retained. But accepting this interpretation will create problems. Thus, consider *paṭubhāryaḥ*, paraphrased as *paṭvī bhāryā' sya* 'he whose wife is clever'. Rule 1.1.58 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau* will offer *sthānivadbhāva*, once the feminine affix is removed from *paṭvī*. The result will be an undesired *v* coming as a replacement in *yaṆ* for *u* of *paṭu*, especially when *ī* of the affix is restored through *sthānivadbhāva*. Similarly, in deriving *gargavṛndārikā*, the second interpretation will make the qualified word with the meaning of a female to go through operations similar to a word qualified with the sense of masculine. The third view, since it would change the feminine form to that of its masculine, is accepted.

6.3.35 तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुचः

tasilādiṣv ākṛtvasucaḥ
/ *tasilādiṣu* 7/3 = *tasil ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *ā* ɸ *kṛtvasucaḥ* 5/1/
(*striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33)
'*pañcamyās tasil*' *ity ataḥ prabhṛti* '*saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc*' *iti prāg etasmād ye pratyayās teṣu bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅstriyāḥ puṃvad bhavati*
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix *ūṄ*, treated as that of its masculine counterpart, provided affixes enumerated beginning with *tasIL* through *kṛtvasUC* follow.

EXAMPLES:

tasyāḥ śālāyāḥ = *tataḥ* 'from that (house)'
tasyām . . . = *tatra* 'in that (house)'
yasyāḥ . . . = *yataḥ* 'from (the house) which'
yasyām . . . = *yatra* 'in (the house) which'

1. Note that our earlier rule had the condition of *uttarapade*. This rule is formulated for conexts where *uttarapade* is not required. The *tasilādi* affixes have been enumerated by rules 5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil* through 5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyā kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc*. Since these are enumerated within the domain of 5.3.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ* they are termed *vibhakti*.

2. Note that *tyad* and *yad*, which are used in *sā* and *yā*, are used with the same meaning also in their masculine counterparts *saḥ* and *yaḥ*. It is for this reason that they can be accepted as *bhāṣitapuṃska*. A masculine transformation on *tad* + *ṬāP* + *ṄasI* + *tra* and *tad* + *ṬāP* + *Ṅi* + *tra*, will, subsequent to deletion of *ṬāP* and *Ṅi*, yield *tad* + *tas* and *tad* + *tra*. Rule 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* will replace *d* of *tad* with *a*. Thus, *ta*(*d*→*a*) + *tra* = *ta* + *a* + *tra* and *ya*(*d*→*a*) + *tra* = *ya* + *a* + *tra*. An application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will yield *t*(*a* + *a*→*a*) + *tra* = *tatra* and *y*(*a* + *a*→*a*) + *tra* = *yatra*. Similar rules apply in deriving *tad* + *tas* =

tatas and *yad* + *tas* = *yatas* which, after *rutva-visarga* produce *tataḥ* and *yataḥ*, respectively. Refer to derivational details of *tatra* and other relevant derivates under the appendix of rules 1.1.37 *svarādinipātam avyayam*, 2.4.71 *supodhātu-prātipadikayoḥ* and 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*.

3. The *tasilādi* listing includes ceratin affixes before which *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' is not desired (*neṣyate*). There are certain affixes which are not contained within the *tasilādi* group, but before which *puṃvad-bhāva* is desired (*iṣyate*). It is, therefore, recommended that these affixes be clearly specified. *Kāśikā* enumerates them: *tra* (5.3.10 *tratasau*) and *tas* (5.3.57 *pañcamyās tasil*); *taraP* (5.3.57 *dvivacana* . . .) and *tamaP* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane* . . .); *caraṬ* (5.3.53 *bhūtapūrve caraṭ*) and *jātīyaR* (5.3.69 *prakāravacane* . . .); *kalpaP*, *deśya* and *deśīyaR* (5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau* . . .); *rūpyaP* (5.3.66 *praśaṃsāyāṃ rūpap*) and *pāśaP* (5.3.47 *yāpye pāśap*); *thamU* (5.3.24 *idamas* . . .) and *thāL* (5.3.23 *prakāravacane thāl*); *dā* and *rhiL* (5.3.15 *sarvaikānya*–5.3.16 *idamo rhil*); *tiL* and *tātiL* (5.4.41 *vṛkajyeṣṭhābhyām* . . .).

4. The *Mahābhāṣya* proposes some additional *puṃvadbhāva* proposals as follows:

(*i*) A statement should be made about *puṃvadbhāva* of nominals used with the signification of *bahu* 'many, much' and *alpa* 'little, less' when *Śas* 'accusative plural' follows (*śasi bahvālpārthasya puṃvad-bhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *bahuśo dehi* and *alpaśo dehi*.

(*ii*) A statement of *puṃvadbhāva* should be made when a nominal used with the signification of quality (*guṇavacana*) is used before affixes *tva* and *traL*. Thus, *paṭvyā bhāvaḥ* = *paṭutvam* and *paṭutā* 'cleverness'.

(*iii*) A statement of *puṃvadbhāva* should be made for that which is termed *bha* when a *taddhita* affix other than *ḍha* follows (*bhasyāḍhe taddhite puṃvadbhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *hastinīnāṃ samūhaḥ* = *hāstikam* 'group of (female) elephants'. How can one derive *āgneyaḥ*, paraphrased as *āgnāyo devatā' sya* 'that whose divinity is *āgnāya*'. That is, when *puṃvadbhāva* is blocked before *ḍha*? The form should be *āgnāyeyaḥ* if *ḍha* is introduced after *āgnāyī*. Efforts must be made to derive it with *puṃvadbhāva* (*kartavyo' tra yatnaḥ*). It is stated that this provision of *puṃvadbhāva* should be restricted where the signification is not an *apatya* 'offspring'. This masculine transformation will then restore *agni*, and there will not be any problem in deriving *āgneyaḥ*.

(*iv*) This *puṃvadbhāva* must also be stated before affixes *ṭhaK* and *chaS*. Thus, consider *bhavatyāḥ chātrāḥ* = *bhāvatkāḥ* and *bhavadīyāḥ* 'your students'.

6.3.36 **क्यङ्मानिनोश्च**

kyaṅmāninoś ca

/kyaṅ-māninoḥ 7/2 = kyaṅ ca mānin ca (itar. dv.), tayoḥ; ca ϕ/
(uttarapade #1 striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ #33)
kyaṅi parato mānini ca striyā bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ puṃvad bhavati
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is, when not ending in affix *ūṄ*, treated as that of its masculine, provided a word ending in affix *KyaṄ* and *mānin* follows.

EXAMPLES:

etāyate 'acts like a hind'
śyetāyate 'acts like a hawk'
darśanīyamānī ayam asyāḥ 'this (husband) of hers considers himself handsome'
darśanīyamāninīyam asyāḥ 'she considers herself beautiful'

1. The words *enī* and *śyenī* are derivates of *ṄīP* introduced after *eta* and *śyeta*, with an additional provision of *n* replacing their *t* (4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttāt*...). Forms such as *etāyate* and *śyetāyate*, paraphrased as *enī iva ācarati* and *śyenī iva ācarati*, respectively, are derived with the introduction of affix *KyaṄ* after *enī* + *sU* and *śyenī* + *sU*. An application of *puṃvadbhāva* on *enī* + *sU* + (*K*)*ya*(*Ṅ*) and *śyenī* + *sU* + (*k*)*ya*(*Ṅ*), subsequent to the removal of *ṄīP* and deletion of *sU*, will produce *eta* + *ya* and *śyeta* + *ya*. A removal of *ṄīP* will also result in the removal of *n* which replaced *t* of *eta* and *śyeta* of *enī* and *śyenī*. For, *ṄīP* and (*n*→*t*) were introduced concurrently (*sanniyogaśiṣṭa*). Recall that 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātu*... will here cause *a* before *ya* to be replaced with *ā*. Thus, *etāya* and *śyetāya* will be roots after which *LAṬ* can be introduced to subsequently derive *etāyate* and *śyetāyate*.

Similar steps are involved in deriving *darśanīyamānī* and *darśanīyamāninī* from (*darśanīya* + *ṄīP*) + *am* + (*man* + *ṆinI*)) = *darśanīyā* + *mānin* and (*darśanīyā* + *am*) + (*man* + *ṆinI*) + *ṄīP*))) = *darśanīyā* + *māninī*, respectively. Our final derivates, subsequent to the application of *puṃvadbhāva*, will be: *darśanīyamānī* and *darśanīyamāninī*, respectively.

2. Note that *mānin* is used here to cover derivates lacking syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). That is, when the object of *dṛś* and the agent of *manin* are not the same. For, in situations where they are both in syntactic coordination, *puṃvadbhāva* can be accomplished by 6.3.34 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṃskād*.... Consider *darśanīyamāninī* which is paraphrased as *darśanīyām ātmānaṃ manyate devadattā iyam* 'this daughter of Devadatta considers herself beautiful'. Now consider the example where synatactic coordination between the object of *dṛś* and agent of *man* is lacking: *darśanīyām imāṃ yajñadattāṃ manyate devadattā* 'Devadatta's daughter considers this daughter of Yajñadatta beautiful'.

6.3.37 न कोपधायाः

/na kopadhāyāḥ
/na ϕ *kopadhāyāḥ* 6/1 = *kakāra upadhā yasyāḥ sā (bv.), tasyāḥ/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33)
kopadhāyāḥ striyāḥ puṃvadbhāvo na bhavati
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and contains *k* in its *upadhā* 'penultimate position', is, when not ending in affix *ūṄ*, not treated as that of its masculine.

EXAMPLES:

pācikābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is a cook'
kārikābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is a doer'
madrikābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is from Madra'
vṛjikābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is from Vṛji'
madrikāyate 'acts like one from Madra'
vṛjikāyate 'acts like one from Vṛji'
madrikāmāninī 'considers herself from Madra'
vṛjikāmāninī 'considers herself from Vṛji'

1. This rule blocks *puṃvadbhāva* in examples where a feminine contains *k* in its penultimate position (*kakāropadha*). This negative provision is made against positive provision of the earlier rule. Thus, consider *pācikā* and *kārikā* which are both derivates of *ṆvuL* terminating in the feminine affix *ṬāP*. Their *iṬ* has been introduced by 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*. . . . These derivates are both *bhāṣitapuṃska*. Consequently, *puṃvadbhāva* is available to them from 6.3.34 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṃskād*. . . . This rule negates it. Examples such as *madrikābhāryaḥ* and *vṛjikābhāryaḥ* also had *puṃvadbhāva* of *madrikā* and *vṛjikā* available to them from 6.3.35 *tasilādi*. . . . Recall that the bases after which the feminine affix is introduced to derive *madrikā* and *vṛjikā* are derivates of *kaN* (4.2.131 *madravṛjyoḥ* . . .). Derivates of *KyaṄ*, for example *madrikāyate* and *vṛjikāyate*, had *puṃvadbhāva* available from 6.3.36 *kyaṅmāninoś ca*. Our present rule negates it here.

2. This negation of *puṃvadbhāva*, specified with *kakāropadha* 'having *k* in its penultimate position', should negate *vu*, i.e., *aka*, when related to a *taddhita*. Thus, *puṃvadbhāva* should apply to *pākā* 'young female', a derivate of *ṬāP* introduced after *pāka* ending in *kaN*. An example is: *pākabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is young'.

6.3.38 संज्ञापूरण्योश्च

saṃjñāpūraṇyoś ca
/saṃjñāpūraṇyoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād anūṅ* #33 *na* #37)

saṃjñāyāḥ pūraṇyāś ca striyāḥ puṃvadbhāvo na bhavati
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, and is either a name (*saṃjñā*) or ends in a *pūraṇa* suffix, is not treated as that of its masculine.

EXAMPLES:

dattābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is Dattā'
guptābhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is Guptā'
dattāpāśā 'Dattā who deserves censure'
guptāpāśā 'Guptā who deserves censure'
dattāyate 'someone who acts as if she was Dattā'
guptāyate 'someone who acts as if she was Guptā'
dattāmāninī 'she who considers herself Dattā'
guptāmāninī 'she who considers herself Guptā'
pañcamībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is the fifth'
daśamībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is the tenth'
pañcamīpāśa 'the fifth who deserves censure'
daśamīpāśā 'the tenth who deserves censure'
pañcamīyate 'she acts as if she was the fifth'
daśamīyate 'she acts as if she was the tenth'
pañcamīmāninī 'she considers herself the fifth'
daśamīmāninī 'she considers herself the tenth'

1. This rule negates *puṃvadbhāva* of female names and forms which end in a *pūraṇa* suffix. Note that *dāna* 'giving' and *gopana* 'preserving' condition the usage of both *datta/dattā* and *gupta/guptā*, respectively. Consequently, *dattā* and *guptā*, both derivates of *ṬāP*, are accepted as *bhāṣitapuṃska*. Incidentally, *datta* and *gupta*, their masculine counterparts, end in *Kta* introduced after *dā* and *gup* (3.3.174 *kticktau ca saṃjñāyām*). The sense of *pañcamatva* 'fifthness' and *daśamatva* 'tenthness' can constitute the condition for usage of *pañcama/pañcamī* and *daśama/daśamī*. That is, *pañcamī* 'fifth' and *daśamī* 'tenth' are also *bhāṣitapuṃska*.

Why list derivates of *KyaṄ* as examples when they do not differ in form? That is, whether *puṃvadbhāva* applies or not. These examples are offered to specify the scope of negation.

6.3.39 वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे

vṛddhinimittasya ca taddhitasyāraktavikāre
/*vṛddhinimittasya* 6/1 = *vṛddher nimittaṃ yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *ca* ϕ/ *taddhitasya* 6/1 *araktavikāre* = *raktaṃ ca vikāraś ca* = *raktavikāram* (*dv.*); *na raktavikāram* (*nañ.*), *tasmin*/
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33 *na* #37)

vṛddhinimittas taddhitaḥ yadi rakte' rthe vikāre ca na vihitaḥ, tadantasya strīśabdasya na puṃvad bhavati
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine and ends in a *taddhita* affix conditioning *vṛddhi*, is not treated as that of its masculine, provided this *taddhita* affix was introduced with the signification of something other than *rakta* 'colored by means of . . . (4.2.1 *tena raktam* . . .)' and *vikāra* 'a modification of . . . (4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ*)'.

EXAMPLES:

sraughnībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is from Srughna'
māthurībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is from Mathurā'
sraughnīpāśā 'the one from Srughna deserves censure'
sraughnīyate 'acts as one from Srughna'
māthurīyate 'acts as one from Mathurā'
sraughnīmāninī 'she who considers herself as one from Srughna'
māthurīmāninī 'she who considers herself as one from Mathurā'

1. Note that the *taddhita* affixes which are accepted as conditioning *vṛddhi* are marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* (7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti*) and *K* as an *it* (7.2.118 *kiti ca*). Our example constituents, i.e., *sraughnī* and *māthurī*, are derivates of *aṆ* (4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*), used in the feminine with affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .). This *aṆ* is obviously not introduced with the signification of *rakta* and *vikāra*. The negation of *puṃvadbhāva* thus becomes applicable.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *madhyamabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife was born as a middle child' as a counter-example to the condition of *vṛddhinimitta* 'cause of *vṛddhi*'. Recall that *madhyama* is a *taddhita* derivate with affix *ma* (4.3.8 *madhyān maḥ*). But this affix does not have any *Ñ*, *Ṇ* or *K* which may cause *vṛddhi*. The negation of *puṃvadbhāva* is thus blocked. Now consider *kāṇḍalāvabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife chops wood' which is offered as a counter-example to the condition of *taddhita*. Since *kāṇḍalāvā*, a derivate of *aṆ* (3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*) used in the feminine, has an affix other than a *taddhita*, *puṃvadbhāva* still cannot be blocked. Finally, counter-examples relative to the condition of *araktavikāre* 'when not denoting *rakta* and *vikāra*', are offered as: *kāṣāya-bṛhatikaḥ* 'he who wears a robe colored with a red dye' and *lauheṣaḥ* 'he whose cart-rails are made of iron'. The feminine affixes in *kāṣāyī* and *lauhī* are introduced after *taddhita* derivates conditioned with the signification of *rakta* and *vikāra*. Here again *puṃvadbhāva* cannot be negated.

3. Note that *vṛddhinimitta*, a qualifier to *taddhita*, is interpreted here as a *bahuvrīhi*, paraphrased as: *vṛddher nimittaṃ yasmin* 'that in which there is the cause of *vṛddhi*'. A *tatpuruṣa* interpretation will block *puṃvadbhāva* of *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* in *tāvadbhāryaḥ* and *yāvadbhāryaḥ*. The *ā* of *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* is termed *vṛddhi*, but it is not conditioned here by a *taddhita* affix containing *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K*. The *ā* in *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* is introduced to *tad* + *vatUP* and *yad* +

vatUP by rule 6.3.91 *ā sarvanāmnaḥ.* The *ṄīP* in *tāvatī* and *yāvatī* is introduced by 4.1.6 *ugitaś ca.*

6.3.40 स्वाङ्गाच्चेत:

svāṅgāc cetaḥ
/*svāṅgāt* 5/1 *ca* ф *ītaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33 *na* #37)
svāṅgād uttaro ya īkāras tadantāyāḥ striyā na puṃvad bhavati amānini parataḥ
The form of a nominal which, ending in *ī* used after a constituent signifying one's own limb (*svāṅga*), denotes feminine and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is not treated as that of its masculine when a constituent other than *mānin* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dīrghakeśībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife has long hairs'
ślakṣṇakeśībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife has shiny hairs'
dīrghakeśīpāśā 'she, the one with long hairs, deserves to be censured'
ślakṣṇakeśīpāśa 'she, the one with shiny hairs, deserves to be censured'
dīrghakeśīyate 'she acts like someone with long hairs'
ślakṣṇakeśīyate 'she acts like someone with shiny hairs'

1. This rule negates *puṃvadbhāva* of feminine derivates used with the signification of *svāṅga* 'one's own limb'. The feminine affix *ṄīṢ* of *dīrghakeśī* 'she who has long hairs' is introduced by 4.1.54 *svāṅgāc copasarjanād.* . . .

2. A counter-example to the condition of *svāṅga* is offered as *paṭvībhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife is clever' where *paṭu* 'clever' denotes quality (*guṇa*). The condition of *īT* is imposed so that *akeśā bhāryā yasya* = *akeśabhāryaḥ* 'he whose wife does not have any hair', where *akeśā*, ending in *ā* of *ṬāP*, can avail *puṃvadbhāva.* Affix *ṄīṢ*, in this derivate, is blocked by 4.1.57 *sahanañvidyamāna.* . . .

3. A *vārttika* proposal allows this negation when *māninī* does not follow. *Kāśikā* reads *amānini* at the end as part of this *sūtra.* Thus, *kaṭhī* of *kaṭhamāninī* 'she who considers herself a Kaṭha' goes through *puṃvadbhāva.*

6.3.41 जातेश्च

jāteś ca
/*jāteḥ* 5/1 *ca* ф/
(*uttarapade* #1 *striyāḥ puṃvad bhāṣitapuṃskād anūṅ* #33 *na* #37)
jāteś ca striyā na puṃvad bhavati amānini parataḥ
The form of a nominal which denotes *jāti* 'class' in the feminine, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is not

treated as that of its masculine when a constituent other than *mānin* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭhībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is a Kaṭha'
bahvṛcībhāryaḥ 'he whose wife is a Bahvṛca'
kaṭhīpāśā 'this Kaṭha woman deserves censure'
bahvṛcīpāśā 'this Bahvṛca woman deserves censure'
kaṭhīyate 'acts like a Kaṭha woman'
bahvṛcīyate 'acts like a Bahvṛca woman'

1. Recall that affix *ṄīṢ* is introduced in *kaṭhī* and *bahvṛcī* by 4.1.63 *jāter astrīviṣayā*. . . . The condition of *amānini* still applies.
2. A proposal not to negate *puṃvadbhāva* specified by enumeration (*aupasaṃkhyānika*) is also made. This mainly concerns *puṃvadbhāva* proposal of a *vārttika*, ad 5.3.35 *tasilādiṣu* . . . (cf. *bhasyāḍhe taddhite*).

6.3.42 **पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु**

puṃvat karmadhārayajātīyadeśīyeṣu
/puṃvat ϕ *karmadhāraya-jātīya-deśīyeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
uttarapade #1 *striyāḥ bhāṣitapuṃskādanūṅ* #33)
karmadhāraye samāse 'jātīya, deśīya' ity etayoś ca pratyayor bhāṣitapuṃskād anūṅ striyāḥ puṃvad bhavati
The form of a nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix *ūṄ* and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is treated as that of the masculine when this same combines in a *karmadhāraya* compound, and affixes *jātīyaR* and *deśīyaR* follow.

EXAMPLES:

pācakavṛndārikā 'a female cook'
pācakajātīyā 'like a cook'
pācakadeśīyā 'almost a cook'
dattavṛndārikā 'a cook named Dattā'
dattajātīyā 'like Dattā'
dattadeśīyā 'almost like Dattā'
pañcamavṛndārikā 'the fifth cook'
pañcamajātīyā 'like the fifth cook'
pañcamadeśīyā 'almost like the fifth cook'
sraughnabhāryā 'a wife born in Srughna'
sraughnajātīyā 'a wife like someone born in Srughna'
sraughnadeśīyā 'almost like one born in Srughna'
ślakṣṇamukhavṛndārikā 'a cook with a shining face'
ślakṣṇamukhajātīyā 'like one with a shining face'

ślakṣṇamukhadeśīyā 'almost like someone with a shining face'
kaṭhavṛndārikā 'a Kaṭhī who is a cook'
kaṭhajātīyā 'like a Kaṭhī'
kaṭhadeśīyā 'almost like a Kaṭhī'

1. This rule is formulated so that *puṃvadbhāva* can apply where it has been denied. Thus, consider the following:

(*a*) *pācakavṛndārikā* and *pācakajātīyā*, where the negation of 6.1.37 *na kopadhāyāḥ* does not apply;

(*b*) *dattavṛndārikā* and *pañcamavṛndārikā*, where the negation of 6.3.38 *saṃjñāpūraṇayoś ca* does not apply;

(*c*) *sraughnajātīyā* and *sraughnadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.39 *vṛddhinimittasya ca* . . . does not apply;

(*d*) *ślakṣṇamukhavṛndārikā*, *ślakṣṇamukhajātīyā* and *ślakṣṇamukhadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.40 *svāṅgāc cetaḥ* does not apply;

(*e*) *kaṭhavṛndārikā*, *kaṭhajātīyā* and *kaṭhadeśīyā*, where the negation of 6.3.41 *jāteś ca* does not apply.

Note, however, that this rule is not formulated so that *puṃvadbhāva* can apply, even where the two conditions of *bhāṣitapuṃskāt* and *anūṅ* are not satisfied. Thus, *khaṭvābhāryaḥ* and *brahmabandhūvṛndārikā*, where *khaṭvā*, of the first compound, is obligatorily feminine, and *brahmabandhū*, of the second, ends in *ūṄ*.

2. Rules 5..3.69 *prakāravacane jātīyar* and 5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau* introduce affixes *jātīyaR* and *deśīyaR*, respectively.

3. There are some additional proposals made in the *Mahābhāṣya*:

(*i*) *kukkuṭī* 'hen', etc., avail *puṃvadbhāva* when *aṇḍa* 'egg', etc., are used in combination after them. Thus, *kukkutyā aṇḍam* = *kukkutyāṇḍam* 'hen's-egg' and *mṛgyāḥ padam* = *mṛgapadam* 'foot of a female deer'. It has also been suggested that such a provision is not to be made. For, since the initial constituents of these compounds denote their class in general, and not the female within that class, *puṃvadbhāva* is not needed.

(*ii*) Shortening (*hrasva*), as against *puṃvadbhāva*, should be applied where an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*, or an affix termed *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*), follows. Thus, *kālīmmanyā*/*hariṇimmanyā* (3.2.83 *ātmamāne khaś ca*) and *paṭvitarā*/*paṭvitamā*.

6.3.43 घरूपकल्पचेलड्ब्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ङ्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः

gharūpakalpaceladbruvagotramatahateṣu ṅyo' nekāco hrasvaḥ
/ *gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaṭ-bruva-gotra-mata-hateṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *ṅyaḥ* 6/1 *anekācaḥ* 1/1 = *anekaḥ ac yasmin* (*bv.*); *na anekāc* (*nañ.*); *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/
'*gha-rūpa-kalpa-celaṭ-bruva-gotra-mata-hata*' *ity eteṣu parato bhāṣitapuṃskāt paro yo ṅīpratyayas tadantasyānekāco hrasvo bhavati*

A *Ṅī* at the end of a polysyllabic (*anekāc*) nominal which denotes feminine, does not end in affix *ūṄ*, and shares identical bases for usage with a corresponding masculine, is replaced with its short counterpart when *gha, rūpa, kalpa, celaṬ, bruva, gotra, mata,* and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmaṇitarā 'a better brāhmaṇa woman'
brahmaṇitamā 'the best brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇirūpā 'an excellent brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇikalpā 'kind of a brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇicelī 'not quite a brāhmaṇa woman'
brāhmaṇibruvā 'a brāhmaṇa woman by name only'
brāhmaṇigotrā 'a brāhmaṇa woman by *gotra* only'
brāhmaṇimatā 'a brāhmaṇa woman deserving of censure'
brāhmaṇihatā 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers shortening (*hrasva*) against *puṃvadbhāva.* The word *gha* here refers to forms ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.21 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*). Similar references are made by affixes *rūpaP* (5.3.66 *praśaṃsāyām* . . .) and *kalpaP* (5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau* . . .). A reference with *celaṬ, bruva, gotra, mata* and *hata* is made to words used with the signification of *kutsā* 'censure'. These are not affixes.

The first two, i.e., *cela* and *bruva,* are derivates of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .). A specification of *cela,* with *Ṭ* as an *it,* is made so that *ṄīP* could be introduced by 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*. . . . Note that *brū* 'to speak' gets *aC* and no replacement in *vac,* via *nipātana.* A compound formation with *cela,* etc., is allowed by 2.1.52 *kutsitāni kutsanaiḥ.* A compound with *mata* and *hata* is allowed by 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyeṇa*. . . .

The word *brāhmaṇī* is a derivate of *ṄīṢ.* The shortening of this rule applies to its final *ī.* This shortening, however, still maintains the condition of *bhāṣitapuṃska.* Thus, no shortening is allowed in *āmalakītarā* and *kuvalītarā,* where *āmalakī* and *kuvalī* are obligatorily feminine.

6.3.44 नद्याः शेषस्याऽन्यतरस्याम्

nadyāḥ śeṣasyānyatarasyām
/*nadyāḥ* 5/1 *śeṣasya* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *gharūpacelaḍbruvagotramatahateṣu hrasvaḥ* #43)
nadyāḥ śeṣasya ghādiṣu parataḥ hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of remaining nominals, namely those which are termed *nadī,* is replaced with its corresponding short only optionally, when *gha, rūpa, kalpa, celaṬ, bruva, gotra, mata,* and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

brahmabandhutarā 'a better brahmabandhū'

brahmabandhūtarā 'ibidem'
brahmabandhutamā 'the best brahmabandhū'
brahmabandhūtamā 'ibidem'
vīrabandhutarā 'a better vīrabandhū'
vīrabandhūtarā 'ibidem'
stritarā 'better woman'
strītarā 'ibidem'
stritamā 'best woman'
strītamā 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional shortening to *nadī* words, not covered by the preceding rule. That is, *nadī* words which do not end in *Ṅī*, and also those which end in *Ṅī* but are constituted by a single vowel (*ekāc*). Recall that 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī* assigns the term *nadī* to feminine forms ending in *ī* and *ū*.
2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to negate this shortening when a *nadī* word happens to be a derivate of affix *kṛt* (*vt*: *kṛnnadyāḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, consider *lakṣmītarā* and *tantrītarā*, where *lakṣmī* and *tantrī* are derivates of *kṛt* (III:158–9: *avitṝs*. . ./ *lakṣmer muṭ ca*).

6.3.45 उगितश्च

ugitaś ca
/ *ugitaḥ* 5/1 = *uk it yasya* = *ugit* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *gharūpakalpaceladbruvagotramatahateṣu hrasvaḥ* #43 *anyatartasyām nadyāḥ* #44)
ugitaś ca parasyā nadyā ghādiṣu anyatarasyāṃ hrasvo bhavati
The final sound segment of a nominal termed *nadī* when occurring in combination after a form with *uK*, i.e., *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ*, as an *it*, is also replaced with its short counterpart, provided *gha*, *rūpa*, *kalpa*, *celaṬ*, *bruva*, *gotra*, *mata*, and *hata* follow.

EXAMPLES:

śreyasītarā 'comparatively more superior'
śreyasitarā 'ibidem'
śreyastarā 'ibidem'
viduṣītarā 'comparatively more learned'
viduṣitarā 'ibidem'
vidvattarā 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows optional shortening in case of a *nadī* word derived with a *taddhita* affix marked with *U* and *Ṛ* as an *it*. Of course, the right context of *gha*, etc., is still valid. Thus, *śreyasītarā*, *śreyasitarā*. Recall that *śreyasī* is derived with *ṄīP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*) introduced after *śreyas*. The word *śreyas* itself is a derivate of *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacana*. . .), where *praśasya* 'excellent', of *praśasya* + *īyasUN*, is replaced with *śra* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*).

Note that *viduṣītarā* is a derivate of *taraP* introduced after *viduṣī* 'learned female'. Affix *ṄīP* is introduced here after *vidvas* 'knowledgeable' which, in turn, is a derivate of *ŚatṚ* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv* . . .) replacing *LAṬ*. A further replacement in *vas* for *ŚatṚ* is then ordered by 7.1.36 *videḥ śatur vasuḥ*. Deriving *vidūṣī* from *vidvas* + *ṄīP* involves *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* (6.4.131 *vasoḥ* . . .), followed by a single replacement similar to the preceding (*pūrvarūpa*) *u* of the sequence *u* + *a*.

Note that *Kāśikā* also desires *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' as an alternate to shortening. Bhaṭṭoji (ad *SK*) states that 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣu* . . . could itself account for masculine transformation. Besides, it cannot be blocked in the absence of shortening. This renders forms with long vowels, i.e., *śreyasītarā*, a suspect.

6.3.46 **आन्महत: समानाधिकरणजातीययो:**

> *ān mahataḥ samānādhikaraṇajātīyayoḥ*
> / *āt* 5/1 *mahataḥ* 5/1 *samānādhikaraṇa-jātīyayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/ (*uttarapade* #1)
> *samānādhikaraṇa uttarapade jātīye ca pratyaye parato mahata ākārādeśo bhavati*
> The final *t* of *mahat* 'great' is replaced with *ā* when a syntactically coreferential *pada*, or affix *jātīyaR*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *mahādevaḥ* 'the great god; Śiva'
> *mahābrāhmaṇaḥ* 'a great brāhmaṇa'
> *mahābāhuḥ* 'he whose arms are long'
> *mahābalaḥ* 'he who has great strength'
> *mahājātīyaḥ* 'moderately large'

1. This rule introduces *āT* (*ā*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) as a replacement for the final *t* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *mahat* when the same is followed, either by a *pada* in syntactic coordination or by *jātīyaR*. Thus we get *mahādevaḥ* and *mahājātīyaḥ*, etc. But consider *mahāputraḥ*, paraphrased as *mahataḥ putraḥ* 'son of a great man', where this replacement does not apply. For, *mahat* is used in the genitive with *putraḥ* in the nominative. Obviously, they are not in syntactic coordination.

A specification by *samānādhikaraṇaḥ* is made so that *mahat* could not be limited to refer to the enumeration of 2.1.51 *sanmahat*. . . . This interpretation is in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (114): *lakṣaṇapratipaddoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam* 'a specification made by specific enumeration alone is accepted when the same comes into conflict with one made by a generalized specification of a given rule'. This would limit the application of this rule to *tatpuruṣa* compounds only. But since its application is also desired in case of

bahuvrīhi compounds, for example *mahābāhu, samānādhikaraṇaḥ* 'coreferential' must be stated in this rule. Why is this replacement in *ā* not applied to *mahat* of *mahaccandramāḥ* 'big moon', paraphrased as *amahān mahān sampanno mahadbhūtaś candramāḥ* 'a previously not so big moon has become big'. Because the meaning of *mahat* here is secondary (*gauṇa*; *Kāś*: *gauṇatvān mahadarthasya na bhavaty ātvam*).

2. The *t* in *āt* of this rule is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). It could not be accepted as used for indicating *ā*, via *taparakaraṇa* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). For, *ā* alone could accomplish that.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also allow *ā*, and *puṃvadbhāva* as well, where *ghāsa* 'grass, food', *kara* 'hand' and *viśiṣṭa* 'distinguished' occur as following constituents, and a meaning with no syntactic coordination is involved. Thus, *mahatyā ghāsaḥ* = *mahāghāsaḥ, mahākaraḥ* and *mahāviśiṣṭaḥ.*

A second *vārttika* proposal is made for *ā* with reference to *aṣṭan* 'eight' when the same combines with *kapāla* 'bowl' as a following constituent, and the derivate denotes *haviṣ* 'ritual oblation of food'. Thus, consider *aṣṭasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtam* = *aṣṭākapālam* of *aṣṭākapāle caruṃ nirvapet* 'should offer ritual oblation of *caru* in *aṣṭākapāla*'. We will get *aṣṭakapālam* in contexts outside the meaning of *haviṣ*.

An additional proposal for *ā* is made, again with reference to *aṣṭan* 'eight', when *go* follows and the derivate denotes the sense of *yukta* 'equipped, associated'. Thus, *aṣṭāgavena śakaṭena* 'by a cart pulled by eight bulls'. But consider *aṣṭagavaṃ brāhmaṇasya* 'eight cows of the brāhmaṇa', where no meaning of *yukta* is present.

6.3.47 द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः

dvyaṣṭanaḥ saṃkhyāyām abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ
/ *dvy-aṣṭanaḥ* 6/1 = *dvau ca aṣṭa ca* = *dvyaṣṭa* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *saṃkhyāyām* 7/1 *abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ* 7/2 = *bahuvrīhiś ca aśītiś ca* = *bahuvrīhy-aśītī* (*nañ*); *na bahuvrīhyaśītī* (*nañ.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*uttarapade* #1 *āt* #46)
'*dvi, aṣṭan*' *ity etayor ākārādeśo bhavati saṃkhyāyām uttarapade abrahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*
The final sound segment (*aL*) of *dvi* and *aṣṭan* is replaced with *ā* when a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number', with the exception of *aśīti* 'eighty', combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi.*

EXAMPLES:

dvādaśa 'twelve'
dvāviṃśatiḥ 'twenty-two'
dvātriṃśat 'twenty-three'
aṣṭādaśa 'eighteen'

aṣṭāviṃśatiḥ 'twenty-eight'
aṣṭātriṃśat 'eighty-three'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *ā* to *dvi* and *aṣṭan,* when a number word other than *aśīti* combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi.* Thus, consider *dvāviṃśati* and *aṣṭāviṃśati.*

2. This replacement will be blocked in *dvaimāturaḥ* 'son of two mothers' and *aṣṭamāturaḥ* 'son of eight mothers' where a constituent denoting number does not combine to follow. This replacement will also be blocked in *tridaśāḥ,* paraphrased as *tṛtīyā yauvanākhyā daśā sadā yeṣām* 'those whose third state of life named 'youth' is eternal'. Incidentally, it is a *bahuvrīhi* compound (2.2.25 *saṃkhyayā' vyayā* . . .) where the *samāsānta* affix *ḌaC* is introduced (5.4.73 *bahuvrīhau* . . .) to follow. A replacement in *ā* will also be blocked in *dvyaśīti* 'eighty-two' because *aśīti* combines to follow *dvi.*

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to restrict this replacement in *ā* only to contexts where the following constituent denotes a number lower than a hundred (*prāk śatāt*). Thus *dviśatam* 'two hundred' and *dvisahasram* 'two thousand' will be counter-examples.

6.3.48 त्रेस्त्रयः

trestrayaḥ
/*treḥ* 6/1 *trayaḥ* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saṃkhyāyām abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ* #47)
'*tri*' *ity etasya śabdasya trayas ādeśo bhavati saṃkhyāyām uttarapade' bahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ*
The final sound segment of *tri* is replaced with *trayas* when a constituent denoting *saṃkhyā* 'number' with the exception of *aśīti* combines to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi.*

EXAMPLES:

trayodaśa 'thirteen'
trayoviṃśatiḥ 'twenty-three'
trayastriṃśat 'thirty-three'

1. This rule offers *trayas* as a replacement of *tri* when *tri* combines in a non-*bahuvrīhi* compound with a following constituent other than *aśīti.* Thus, consider *trayodaśa, trayoviṃśati* and *trayastriṃśat.*

Note that the restriction of a number lower than a hundred still applies. In addition, we still have conditions of *abahuvrīhau* and *aśīti.* This replacement will thus be blocked in *tridaśāḥ/ tryaśītiḥ,* and *triśatam/ trisahasram,* etc.

6.3.49 विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम्

vibhāṣā catvāriṃśatprabhṛtau sarveṣām

/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *catvāriṃśatprabhṛtau* 7/1 = *catvāriṃśat prabhṛti yasyāḥ* (*bv.*), *tasyām*; *sarveṣām* 6/3/
(*uttarapade* #1 *abahuvrīhyaśītyoḥ* #47)
Replacements stated in place of all, i.e., *dvi*, *aṣṭan* and *tri*, apply, only optionally, when a constituent denoting number, namely *catvāriṃśat*, etc., with the exclusion of *aśīti*, combine to follow and the compound is not a *bahuvrīhi*.

EXAMPLES:

dvicatvāriṃśat 'forty-two'
dvācatvāriṃśat 'ibidem'
tripañcāśat 'fifty-three'
trayaḥpañcāśat 'ibidem'
aṣṭapañcāśat 'fifty-eight'
aṣṭāpañcāśat 'ibidem'

1. Replacements offered under the preceding two rules are here made optional. That is, when *dvi*, *tri* and *aṣṭan* combine in a non-*bahuvrīhi* compound with a following number word which denotes forty and above and is not *aśīti*. Additionally, the restriction of a number word denoting less than a hundred still applies. Thus, we get *dvicatvāriṃśat*/ *dvācatvāriṃśat*, etc. Compounds such as *dviśatam*, *dvisahasram*, etc., will be excluded because of their *śata* 'hundred'.

6.3.50 हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदण्लासेषु

hṛdayasya hṛllekhyayadaṇlāseṣu
/*hṛdayasya* 6/1 *hṛt* 1/1 *lekha-yad-aṇ-lāseṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*uttarapade* #1)
hṛdayasya 'hṛt' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati 'lekha, yat, aṇ, lāsa' ity eteṣu parataḥ
The word *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt* 'heart' when *lekha* 'line', *yat*, *aṆ* and *lāsa* 'jumping' follow.

EXAMPLES:

hṛllekhaḥ = *hṛdayaṃ likhati* 'heart-writing'
hṛdyam = *hṛdayasya priyam* 'dear to heart'
hārddam = *hṛdayasyedam* 'pertaining to one's heart'
hṛllāsaḥ = *hṛdayasya lāsaḥ* 'heart's joy'

1. This rule offers *hṛt* as a replacement for *hṛdaya* when *lekha*, *yaT* and *aṆ* follow. Note that *yaT* and *aṆ* are affixes, and this specification does not involve interpretation via *tadantavidhi*. That is, they are here understood as introduced after *hṛdaya*. This is in consonance with *paribhāṣā* (26): *uttarapadādhikāre tadantagrahaṇe tadantāgrahaṇasya* 'a specification made by an affix in the domain of *uttarapade* does not involve interpretation via *tadantavidhi*'.

The word *lekha* is here understood as derived with *aṆ*. That is, it is not interpreted here as derived with *GHaÑ*. A *GHaÑ* interpretation of *lekha* will thus not permit this replacement. Thus, *hṛdayasya lekhaḥ* = *hṛdayalekhaḥ*.

6.3.51 **वा शोकष्यञ्रोगेषु**

vā śokaṣyañrogeṣu
/*vā* ɸ *śoka-ṣyañ-rogeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*uttarapade* #1 *hṛdayasya hṛt* #50)
'*śoka, ṣyañ, roga*' *ity eteṣu parato hṛdayasya vā* '*hṛt*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, only optionally, when *śoka* 'grief, sadness', *ṢyaÑ* and *roga* 'disease' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

hṛcchokaḥ 'heart's grief'
hṛdayaśokaḥ 'ibidem'
sauhārdyam 'good-heartedness; friendship'
sauhṛdayyam 'ibidem'
hṛdrogaḥ 'heart disease'
hṛdayarogaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule renders a replacement by *hṛt* optional when *hṛdaya* is followed by *śoka*, *ṢyaÑ* and *roga*. The *ṢyaÑ* of this specification is here interpreted as affix *ṢyaÑ*. Recall that this affix is introduced after *hṛdaya*, based on its listing in the *brāhmaṇādi* group of nominals (5.1.124 *guṇavacana-brāhmaṇādi* . . .). Thus, we get *hṛcchokaḥ*/ *hṛdayaśokaḥ* and *sauhārdyam*/ *suhṛdayyam* 'good heartedness', etc.

2. A replacement in *vṛddhi* (7.3.19 *hṛdbhagasindhvante* . . .) is accomplished for both constituents, i.e., *su* and *hṛt*, when *hṛdaya* is replaced with *hṛt*, as in *suhṛdaya* + (*Ṣ*)*ya*(*Ñ*). If *hṛdaya* is not replaced with *hṛt*, we will get initial *vṛddhi* of 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām* . . ., where the final *a* of *hṛdaya* will be deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. The *t* of *hṛt* in *hṛcchoka* is replaced with *c* (8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). A similar replacement of *ś* of *śoka* with *ch* is accomplished by 8.4.62 *śaś cho'ṭi*.

3. Why do we have to sate this replacement of *hṛdaya* with *hṛt* when they are recognized as two separate bases. That is, these two separate bases can account for desired forms independently. An optional provision thus made for *hṛt* to replace *hṛdaya* is nothing but expatiation (*prapañca*; *Kāś*: *hṛdayaśabdena samānārtho hṛtśabdaḥ prakṛtyantaram asti tenaiva siddhe vikalpa-vidhānaṃ prapañcārtham*).

6.3.52 **पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु**

pādasya padājyātigopahateṣu

/pādasya 6/1 *pada-ājy-āti-ga-upahateṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade*)
pādasya 'pada' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati 'āji, āti, ga, upahata' ity eteṣūttara-padeṣu
The word *pāda* is replaced by *pada* 'foot' when *āji* 'he who goes', *āti* 'he who comes', *ga* and *upahata* 'struck by' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

padājiḥ = *pādābhyām ajati* 'goes by foot'
padātiḥ = *pādābhyām aṭati* 'foot-goer; infantryman'
padagaḥ = *pādābhyāṃ gacchati* 'ibidem'
padopahataḥ = *pādenopahataḥ* 'kicked by foot'

1. This rule replaces *pāda* with *pada* when *āji, āti, ga* and *upahata* combine to follow. Note that *āji* and *āti* are derivates of the *Uṇādi* affix *iN*, introduced after *aj* and *at*. A replacement in *vī*, required for *aj* (22.4.56 *ajer vyaghañapoḥ*), is blocked because of *iN*. Thus we get *padājiḥ*, etc.

2. Note that this replacement in *pada* also has accentual consequences. The word *pāda*, as a member of the *vṛṣādi* group of nominals (6.1.202 *vṛṣādīnāṃ ca*), is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Its replacement in *pada* is offered *udātta* at the end (6.1.168 *ūḍidampadā* . . .). Consequently, in a compound such as *padopahataḥ*, *pada* retains its final *udātta* (6.2.48 *tṛtīyā karmaṇi*). That is, the compound is *udātta* at the beginning. The other derivates, i.e., *padātiḥ, padājiḥ* and *padgaḥ*, are marked *udātta* at the end, via *kṛt* accent.

3. Incidentally, a replacement in *pada* is here offered as ending in *a*. A replacement ending in *d* is offered by the next rule.

6.3.53 पद्यत्यतदर्थे

pad yaty atadarthe
/pad 1/1 *yati* 7/1 *atadarthe* 7/1 = *tasmai idam* = *tadartham; na tadartham* (*nañ.* with int. *cat tat.*), *tasmin*/
yatpratyaye parataḥ pādasya pad ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *pāda* is replaced with *pad* when affix *yaT*, used with the signification of something other than *tadartha* 'intended or beneficial for that', follows.

EXAMPLES:

padyāḥ = *śarkarāḥ, pādau vidhyanti* 'gravel which hurts feet'
padyāḥ = *kaṇṭakāḥ* 'thorns which pierce feet'

1. This rule offers *pad* as a replacement for *pāda* when it is used before affix *yaT*, signifying something other than *tadartha* 'intended for that'. Recall that rule 5.4.25 *pādārghyāṃ ca* introduces affix *yaT* after *pāda* under the

meaning condition of *tādarthya*. This rule cannot allow this replacement in that context. We will still get *pādyartham udakam* 'ritual water for wiping feet'. This rule will allow *pad* as a replacement when, for example, *yaT* is introduced by 4.4.83 *vidhyaty adhanuṣā*. We can then get *padyāḥ*, paraphrased as *pādau vidhyanty* = *padyāḥ kaṇṭakāḥ* 'thorns which pierce feet'.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also allow this replacement where *ika* combines to follow with the signification of *carati* 'goes, moves'. Thus, *pādābhyāṃ carati* = *padikaḥ*. This *ika* is a replacement of affix *ṢthaN* (4.4.10 *parpādibhyaṣ ṣṭhan*). Incidentally, *pāda* in this proposal denotes 'foot', and not a measure (*pramāṇa*). That is, *dvipādyam*, etc., of 5.1.34 *paṇapādamāṣa* . . . will not qualify for this replacement.

6.3.54 हिमकाषिहतिषु

himakāṣihatiṣu ca
/ *hima-kāṣi-hatiṣu* 7/3 = *himaṃ ca kāṣī ca hatiś ca* = *himakāṣihatayaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tāsu*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)
'*hima, kāṣin, hati*' *ity eteṣu pādaśabdasya* '*pad*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *pāda* is also replaced with *pad*, when *hima* 'snow', *kāṣin* 'rubbing' and *hati* 'stroking' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

paddhimam 'foot-cold'
patkāṣiṇaḥ 'pedestrian'
paddhatiḥ 'sidewalk, dirtroad'

1. This rule allows *pad* as a replacement for *pāda*, also when *hima*, *kāṣin* and *hati* combine to follow. Note also that *paddhima* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound, where *h* of *hima* gets replaced with *dh* (8.4.61 *jhayo ho' nyatarasyām*). Affix *ṆinI* (3.2.78 *supy ajātau* . . .) is introduced in deriving *patkāṣin*, where *d* of *pad* gets replaced with *t* (8.4.55 *khari ca*).

6.3.55 ऋचः शे

ṛcaḥ śe
/ *ṛcaḥ* 6/1 *śe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)
ṛksambandhinaḥ pādaśabdasya śe parataḥ '*pad*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *pāda*, when used in relation to *ṛk* 'hymn', is replaced with *pad*, provided *śe* (affix *śas*; 5.4.43 *saṃkhyaikavacanāt* . . .) follows.

EXAMPLES:

paccho gāyatrīṃ śaṃsati 'praises Gāyatrī by its quarters'

1. This rule allows *pāda* to be replaced with *pad* when affix *śas* follows, and the derivate relates to the signification of a hymn. Affix *śas* (5.4.43 *saṃkhyaikavacanāc ca*) is introduced in *pacchaḥ* with the signification of *vīpsā* 'pervasion, repetition'. Thus, (*pāda→pad*) + *śas→pad* + *śas*, where *d* gets replaced with *c* (*ścutva*; 8.4.10 *stoś ścunā ścuḥ*). The *ś* of *śas* is also replaced with *ch* of 8.4.62 *śaś cho' ṭi*.

This replacement will not be allowed in case of *pādaśaḥ*, of *pādaśaḥ kārṣāpaṇaṃ dadāti* 'gives a quarter of Kārṣāpaṇa each', because the derivate meaning does not relate to a hymn.

6.3.56 वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु

vā ghoṣamiśraśabdeṣu
/*vā* ϕ *ghoṣa-miśra-śabdeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pādasya* #52 *pad* #53)
'*ghoṣa, miśra, śabda*' *ity eteṣū cottareṣu pādasya* '*pad*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *pāda* is optionally replaced with *pad* when *ghoṣa* 'noise', *miśra* 'mixed' and *śabda* 'noise, word' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

padghoṣaḥ 'foot-noise'
pādaghoṣaḥ 'ibidem'
panmiśraḥ 'foot-mixed'
pādamiśraḥ 'ibidem'
pacchabdaḥ 'foot-noise'
pādaśabdaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the replacement optional when *pāda* combines with *ghoṣa, miśra* and *śabda* to follow. A *vārttika* proposal is additionally made to allow this replacement when *niṣka* 'gold coin' combines to follow. Thus, *panniṣkaḥ* 'one quarter of a gold coin, named *niṣka*' and *pādaniṣkaḥ*.

2. Note that *pāda* of these examples combines with *ghoṣa* and *śabda* to form a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. A compound with *miśra* in interpreted as instrumental *tatpuruṣa* (2.1.31 *pūrvasadṛśa*...). Incidentally, the *d* of *padmiśraḥ*, is replaced with *n* (8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike*...). For phonological changes in deriving *pacchabda* from *padśabda*, follow rules similar to *pacchaḥ* of the preceding rule.

6.3.57 उदकस्योदः संज्ञायाम्

udakasyodaḥ saṃjñāyām
/*udakasya* 6/1 *udaḥ* 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1)
udakaśabdasya saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye '*uda*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

The word *udaka* 'water' is replaced with *uda* when a constituent follows, and the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

udamegho nāma yasya audameghiḥ putraḥ 'Audameghi is the son of (he whose name is) Udamegha'
udavāho nāma yasya audavāhiḥ putraḥ
'Audavāhi is the son of (he whose name is) Udavāha'

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when the same combines with a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus, consider *audameghiḥ* and *audavāhiḥ* where *udamegha* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. It can even be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa* where the middle constituent is deleted and the compound is paraphrased as *udakapūro meghaḥ*. The base, i.e., *udavāha*, of our next example, i.e., *audavāhiḥ*, is a derivate of 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*. This replacement in *uda* will be blocked in *udakagiriḥ* 'a mountain with water'. Obviously, this example does not denote a name.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for *uda* to replace *udaka* when it is used as a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, *lohitodaḥ* 'red-water', *kṣīrodaḥ* 'milk-water' and *nīlodaḥ* 'blue-water'.

6.3.58 पेषंवासवाहनधिषु च

peṣaṃvāsavāhanadhiṣu ca
/*peṣaṃ-vāsa-vāhana-dhiṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *ca*/
(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasyodaḥ* #56)
'*peṣam, vāsa, vāhana, dhi*' *ity eteṣu cottarapadeṣu udakasya* '*uda*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *udaka* is replaced with *uda* when *peṣam* 'grinding', *vāsa* 'living', *vāhana* 'carrier' and *dhi* 'receptacle' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

udapeṣaṃ pinaṣṭi '. . . grinds something into a paste by adding water'
udavāsaḥ = *udakasya vāsaḥ* 'residing in water; reservoir'
udavāhanaḥ = *udakasya vāhanaḥ* 'water-carrier'
udadhiḥ = *udakaṃ dhīyate' smin* 'that which holds water; ocean'

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when *peṣa* 'paste', *vāsa* 'residence' and *dhi* 'that in which something is placed' follow in combination.

6.3.59 एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम्

ekahalādau pūrayitavye' nyatarasyām

/ekahalādau 7/1 = *eko hal ādir yasya* (*bv.* with three constituents (*tri-pada*)), *tasmin; pūrayitavye* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasyodaḥ* #57)
ekahalādau pūrayitavyavāciny anyatarasyām udakasya 'uda' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *udaka* is optionally replaced with *uda* when a constituent which contains a single consonant (*hal*) at its beginning and signifies the sense of *pūrayitavya* 'that which is to be filled up' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

udakumbhaḥ 'pitcher of water'
udakakumbhaḥ 'ibidem'
udapātram 'water vessel'
udakapātram 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *udaka* to be replaced with *uda* when it combines with a following constituent beginning with a single consonant and denoting the sense of *pūrayitavya* 'that which is to be filled up'. This replacement will not be available to *udakasthalam* 'water-place' and *udakaparvataḥ* 'water-mountain', where the first has *sthala* beginning with two consonants and the second does not denote something to be filled up.

6.3.60 **मन्थौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु**

manthaudanasaktubinduvajrabhārahāravīvadhagāheṣu
/mantha-odana-saktu-bindu-vajra-bhāra-hāra-vīvadha-gāheṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *eteṣu/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *udakasyodaḥ* #57 *anyatarasyām* #59)
'mantha, odana, saktu, bindu, vajra, bhāra, hāra, vīvadha, gāha' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣūdakasya 'uda' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *udaka* is optionally replaced by *uda* when *mantha* 'mixed beverage', *odana* 'rice', *saktu* 'barley (roasted and powdered) meal', *bindu* 'drop', *vajra* 'water-jar', *bhāra* 'load', *hāra* 'carrier', *vīvadha* 'carrying pole, yoke' and *gāha* 'plunger' follow in combination.

EXAMPLES:

udamanthaḥ = *udakena manthaḥ* 'churned by means of water'
udakamanthaḥ 'ibidem'
udaudanaḥ = *udakenaudanaḥ* 'rice with water'
udakaudanaḥ 'ibidem'
udasaktuḥ = *udakena saktuḥ* 'saktu with water'
udakasaktuḥ 'ibidem'
udabinduḥ = *udakasya binduḥ* 'water drop'

udakabinduḥ 'ibidem'
udavajraḥ = *udakasya vajraḥ* 'water-jar; 'water with force like Vajra'
udakavajraḥ 'ibidem'
udabhāraḥ = *udakaṃ bibharttiḥ* 'water-carrier'
udakabhāraḥ 'ibidem'
udavīvadhaḥ = *udakasya vīvadhaḥ* 'load of water'
udakavīvadhaḥ 'ibidem'
udagāhaḥ = *udakaṃ gāhate* 'he who measures the depth of water; 'diver'
udakagāhaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *uda* as an optional replacement for *udaka* when *mantha*, etc., combine to follow. This, *udakena manthaḥ* = *udamanthaḥ*, etc.

6.3.61 इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य

iko hrasvo' ṅyoḥ gālavasya
/*ikaḥ* 6/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *aṅyoḥ* 6/1 *gālavasya* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *anyatarasyām* #58)
igantasyāṅyantasyottarapade hrasvo bhavati gālavasyācāryasya matenānyatarasyām
The final of a nominal which ends in *iK*, with the exception of *Ṅī*, in the opinion of Gālava, is optionally replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

grāmaṇiputraḥ 'son of a village leader'
grāmaṇīputraḥ 'ibidem'
brahmabandhuputraḥ 'son of a bad brāhmaṇa'; 'son of a brāhmaṇa woman, but by name . . .'
brahmabandhūputraḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the final *iK* vowel of an initial constituent, provided the *iK* vowel is not the *ī* of a feminine affix marked with *Ṅ* (*Ṅī*). This, of course, is Gālava's opinion. Others may have their own options. Is this rule optional? Yes, but not because of *gālavasya*. Notice that *anyatarasyām* is also carried. Why then use *gālavasya*? Commentators explain that *gālavasya* is used for denoting respect (*pūjārtham*; *Kāś: gālavagrahaṇaṃ pūjārtham*). The option, however, is interpreted as *vyavasthitavibhāṣa* 'fixed option'.

2. The condition of an *iK* is imposed so that non-*iK* vowels, for example in *khaṭvārūḍha* and *mālāpāda*, do not qualify for this replacement. The condition of *aṅyoḥ* is imposed to similarly exclude *gārgīputra* and *vātsīputra*, where *gārgī* and *vātsī* are feminine forms ending in *Ṅī*. Since this is a fixed option, examples such as *kārīṣagandhīpati* will be excluded. Such examples will come under the purview of 6.3.139 *samprasāraṇasya*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal blocks this replacement in *avyayībhāva* compounds, and also where constituents may qualify for replacements in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*. Thus, consider *śrīkulam* and *bhrūkulam; kāṇḍībhūtam* and *vṛṣalībhūtam.*

Yet another *vārttika* proposal restores the short replacement for the long *ū* of *bhrū* in *bhrukukṃsaḥ* and *bhrukuṭiḥ*. A different proposal (*apara āha*) would have *ū* of *bhrū* replaced with *a*, instead. Thus, *bhraṇkusaḥ* and *bhrakuṭi.*

6.3.62 एक तद्धिते च

eka taddhite ca
/*eka* (deleted 6/1) *taddhite* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)
ekaśabdasya taddhite uttarapade ca hrasvo bhavati
The final *ā* of *eka* is replaced with its short counterpart when a *taddhita* affix, or a constituent in combination, follows.

EXAMPLES:

aikarūpyam = *ekasyā āgatam* 'having arrived from one; descendants of the same woman'
ekamayam 'consisting of one'
ekatvam = *ekasyā bhāvaḥ* 'unity; sense of oneness'
ekakṣīram = *ekasyāḥ kṣīram* 'milk of one and same cow'
ekadugdham 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the *ā* of *ekā* when a *taddhita* affix, or a constituent in combination, follows. Notice that *eka* is used here without any nominal ending (*avibhaktiko nirdeśaḥ*). This short replacement must apply to the long *ā* of *ekā*. For, to state that the short final *a* of *eka* be replaced with its short counterpart will not make any sense. Thus, what is specified with *eka* is the feminine *ekā* (*liṅgaviśiṣṭasya*). Could the proposal mean shortening of *e* of *eka*? No. For, the short replacement is here ordered for a final long. Note also that shortening of the final *ā* of *ekā*, used as a qualifier (*guṇavacana*), is already available through masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*; *vt. tvatalor guṇavacanasya,* (ad 6.3.35 *tasilādiṣ* . . .)). This rule therefore allows shortening outside the scope of a qualifier meaning.

6.3.63 ङ्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम्

ṅyāpoḥ saṃjñāchandasor bahulam
/*ṅyāpoḥ* 6/2 = *ṅī ca āp ca* = *ṅyāpau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; saṃjñāchandasoḥ* 7/2 = *saṃjñā ca chandaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; bahulam* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)
ṅyantasyābantasya ca saṃjñāchandasor bahulam hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of a nominal which ends in *Ṅī* and *āP* is variously

(*bahulam*), in the context of a name or Vedic usage, replaced with its short counterpart when a constituent follows.

EXAMPLES:

revatiputraḥ 'son of Revatī'
rohiṇiputraḥ 'son of Rohiṇī'
nāndīkaraḥ 'speaker of a prologue (in a stage play)'
nāndīghoṣaḥ 'announcement of a prologue
nāndīviśālaḥ 'a divinity'
kumārīdā 'bestower of a daughter'
urvīdā 'bestower of the earth'
phālgunīpaurṇamāsī 'full-moon night of the month of Phālguna'
jagatīcchandaḥ 'a meter named *jagatī*'
śilaprastham 'name of a place'
śilavaham 'ibidem'
lomakāgṛham 'name of a place'
lomakāṣaṇḍam 'ibidem'
ajakṣīreṇa juhoti 'offers oblations with goat's milk'
ūrṇāsūtreṇa kavayo vayanti 'weavers weave with threads of wool'

1. This rule allows shortening of the final of a form ending in feminine affixes *Ṅī* and *āP*, variously (*bahulam*). Of course, when the derivate denotes a name and the usage is Vedic. Thus, the *ī* of *revatī* and *rohiṇī*, etc., are shortened. But consider *nāndī* of *nāndīkaraḥ*, etc., where, because of *bāhulaka*, this shortening does not apply. This same applies to *kumārī* and *urvī*, as against *phālgunī* and *jagatī*. Now consider *śilā*, as an example of a constituent ending in *āP*, where shortening applies. But then the same does not apply in case of *lomakā*. Examples with *ajā* and *ūrṇā* are: *ajakṣīreṇa juhoti* and *ūrṇāsūtreṇa kavayo vayanti*. The first goes through shortening but the second does not.

6.3.64 त्वे च

tve ca
/*tve* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*hrasvaḥ* #61 *ṅyāpoḥ bahulam* #63)
tvapratyaye parato ṅyāpor bahulaṃ hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of a nominal which ends in *Ṅī* and *āP* is, variously, replaced with its short counterpart when affix *tva* (5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas* . . .) follows.

EXAMPLES:

ajatvam = *ajāyā bhāvaḥ* 'sense of being a she-goat'
ajātvam 'ibidem'

rohiṇitvam = *rohiṇyā bhāvaḥ* 'sense of being Rohiṇī'
rohiṇītvam 'ibidem'

1. This rule extends the *bāhulaka* proposal of the earlier rule to constituents where *tva* (5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas*. . .) follows. Note that examples with the denotata of names are impossible to find.

6.3.65 **इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु**

iṣṭakeṣīkāmālānāṃ citatūlabhāriṣu
/ *iṣṭakeṣīkāmālānām* = *iṣṭakā ca iṣīkā ca mālā ca* (*itar. dv.*); *cita-tūla-bhāriṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)
iṣṭakeṣīkāmālānāṃ 'cita, tūla bhārin' ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu yathāsaṃkhyaṃ hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of *iṣṭakā, iṣīkā* and *mālā* are replaced with a corresponding short when *cita, tūla,* and *bhāra* combine to follow, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

iṣṭakacitam 'heap of ritual bricks'
iṣīkatūlam 'bundle of reeds'
mālabhāriṇī kanyā 'a girl who wears garlands'

1. This rule allows shortening where *iṣṭakā, iṣikā* and *mālā* occur in combination before *cita, tūla* and *bhārin,* respectively. Compounds ending in *iṣṭakā, iṣikā* and *mālā* also qualify for this replacement, provided *cita, tūla* and *bhārin* also combine to follow. Obviously, this interpretation takes recourse to *tadantavidhi,* interpreting *iṣṭakā, iṣikā* and *mālā* as also what may end in them. Thus, we get *pakveṣṭakacitam* 'heap of fired bricks', *muñjeṣīkatūlam* 'bundle of Muñja reeds' and *utpalamālabhāriṇī kanyā* 'a girl who wears lotus garlands'.

6.3.66 **खित्यनव्ययस्य**

khity anavyayasya
/ *khiti* 7/1 = *kha it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin; anavyayasya* 6/1 = *na avyayasya* (*nañ.*) /
(*uttarapade* #1 *hrasvaḥ* #61)
khidante uttarapade navyayasya hrasvo bhavati
The final vowel of a word, with the exception of an indeclinable (*avyaya*), is replaced with its corresponding short when a constituent marked with *KH* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kālimmanyā 'she who considers herself Kālī (*dark*)'
hariṇimmanyā 'she who considers herself a deer'

1. This rule allows shortening of the final vowel of a non-indeclinable (*anavyayasya*) when what follows in combination also ends in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. Thus, consider *kālimmanyā* and *hariṇīmmanyā*, where *kālīm* and *hariṇīm* are non-indeclinables and *manya* is a derivate of *KHaS* (3.2.83 *ātmamāne khaś ca*). Refer to notes and appendix of 3.2.83 for relevant details. The condition of *anavyayasya* is imposed so that shortening does not apply to *doṣā* and *divā* of *doṣāmanyam ahaḥ* 'a night-like day' and *divāmmanyā rātriḥ* 'a day-like night'. For, *doṣā* and *divā* are both indeclinables.

2. Note that *khiti* is here interpreted via *tadantavidhi*. That is, it refers to a form which follows a non-indeclinable in combination, and also ends in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. That is, *khiti* cannot be interpreted as referring to an affix alone, as one may expect in view of the *paribhāṣā* (26): *uttarapadādhikāre*. . . . The negation of *anavyayasya* would not be necessary if an *avyaya* ended in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. Such affixs are introduced after a *dhātu* 'verbal root'.

3. Note that augment *mUM*, for example one introduced by the following rule, will not block this shortening. For, it will be useless to provide for shortening when the same can be blocked by *mUM* (*Kāś*: *mumā hrasvo na bādhyate; anyathā hi hrasvaśāsanam anarthakaṃ syāt*).

6.3.67 **अरुर्द्विषदजन्तस्य मुम्**

arurdviṣadajantasya mum
/ *arurdviṣad-ajantasya* 6/1 = *ac ante yasya* = *ajantaḥ* (*bv.*); *aruś ca dviṣac ca ajantaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya; mum* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *khity anavyayasya* #65)
'*arus, dviṣat*' *ity etayor ajantānāṃ ca khidanta uttarapade mum āgamo bhavati anavyayasya*
Augment *mUM* is introduced to *arus*, *dviṣat* and a non-indeclinable word ending in a vowel (*aC*) when a constituent with *KH* as its *it* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

aruntudaḥ 'that which hurts the wound'
dviṣantapaḥ 'he who makes his enemy suffer'
kālimmanyā 'she who considers herself dark'

1. This rule introduces augment *mUM* to non-indeclinable stems constituted by *arus* and *dviṣat*, or to stems which may end in a vowel. Of course, when a constituent ending in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it* combines to follow. Consider *aruntudaḥ* and *dviṣantapaḥ* where the final *s* and *t* of *arus* and *dviṣat* get deleted by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*. Other derivational details can be found under the appendix of 3.2.39 *dviṣatparayos tāpeḥ*.

2. A compound such as *vidvanmanyā* 'she who considers herself schol-

arly' will not be allowed *mUM* because this rule does not include *vidvat* in its specification. Similar exclusion will apply to *doṣāmanyam* and *divāmmanyā*.

3. The word *anta* is included so that *mUM* is introduced subsequent to the shortening of bases ending in a vowel (*Kāś*: *kṛtājantakāryapratipatyartham*).

6.3.68 इच एकाचोऽम्प्रत्ययवच्च

ica ekāco' m pratyayavac ca
/*icaḥ* 6/1 *ekācaḥ* 6/1 = *eko' c yasmin sa ekāc* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *am* 1/1 *pratyayavat* ϕ *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *khiti* #66)
ijantasya ekācaḥ khidante uttarapade' m āgamo bhavati, ampratyayavac ca dvitīyaikavacanavac ca sa bhavati
Augment *am* is introduced to a monosyllabic word which ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iC* (*Śs.* 1–4), with the additional provision that *am* be treated as if an affix, provided a constituent marked with *KH* as an *it* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

gāmmanyaḥ 'thinking about one's self as cow
strīmmanyaḥ 'thinking about one's self as a woman'
striyammanyaḥ 'ibidem'
narammanyaḥ 'thinking about one's self as a man'
śriyammanyaḥ 'thinking about one's self as a brāhmaṇa'

1. This rule introduces augment *am* to a monosyllabic constituent which ends in a vowel denoted by *iC*, provided a constituent ending in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it* follows. Note that *am* is additionally treated as if it was affix *am* 'accusative singular'. This extensional provision requires *am* to be read twice in interpreting this rule (*dvir āvartate*).

Interpreting augment *am* as if it was the accusative singular affix *am* will facilitate operations such as: (*a*) *ātva*, as in *gām*, where the final *o* of *go* and the following *a* of *am* are both replaced with a single *ā*; (*b*) *pūrvasavarṇa-ekādeśa* 'single replacement homogeneous with the preceding', as in *strī* + *am*→*strīm* (6.1.103 *ami pūrvaḥ*), of *strīmmanyaḥ*; (*c*) *guṇādeśa*: a replacement in *guṇa* for *ṛ*, as in *nṛ* + *am*→*naram*, of *narammanyaḥ* (7.3.113 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ*); and (*d*) *iyaṅuvaṅ* 'replacement in *iyAN* and *uvAṄ*', as in *śr*(*i*→*iy*) + *am* = *śriyam* and *bhr*(*ū*→*uv*) + *am* = *bhruvam* (6.4.81 *abhyāsasyāsavarṇe*), of *śriyammanyaḥ* and *bhruvammanyaḥ*. The *am*, however, goes through deletion by *LUK* when it follows *śrī*, used as a neuter (7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt*). Thus, *śriyamanyam*, paraphrased as *śriyam ātmānam manyate brāhmaṇakulam* 'this clan of the brāhmaṇas considers itself to be rich'. This, however, is Patañjali's view. Others may still accept *śriyammanyam*.

6.3.69 **वाचंयमपुरन्दरौ च**

vācaṃyamapurandarau ca
/*vacaṃyama-purandarau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*mum* #67)
'*vācaṃyama, purandara*' *ity etau nipātyete*
The words *vācaṃyama* and *purandara* are derived with the introduction of augment *mUM*, via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

vācaṃyama āste 'stays with a vow of not speaking'
purandaraḥ 'destroyer of cities'

1. This rule offers *am*, and shortening as well, in deriving *vācaṃyama* and *purandara* via *nipātana*. Note that *KHaC* is introduced after *yam* under the cooccurrence condition of *vāc* as an object (3.2.40 *āci yamo vrate*). Thus, *vācaṃyama āste*. An *uapada* compound is similarly formed with *dāra* under the cooccurrence condition of *pur* 'city', ending in the accusative (3.2.42 *pūḥ sarvayor dārisahoḥ*.

6.3.70 **कारेसत्यागदस्य**

kāre satyāgadasya
/*kāre* 7/1 *satyāgadasya* 6/1 = *satyaṃ ca agadaś ca* = *satyāgadam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*/
(*uttarapade* #1 *mum* #67)
kāraśabda uttarapade '*satya, agada*' *ity etayor mum āgamo bhavati*
Augment *mUM* is introduced to *satya* 'truth' and *agada* 'non-affliction' when *kāra* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

satyaṅkāraḥ = *satyaṃ karoti*; *satyasya kāraḥ vā* 'he who proves something to be true'
agadaṅkāraḥ 'he who makes someone free of afflictions'

1. This rule introduces *mUM* to *satya* and *agada* when *kāra* combines to follow. The following summarizes several *vārttika* proposals made under this rule:

(1) *asti, dhenu, loka* receive *mUM* when *kāra, bhāvya* and *pṛṇa* combine to follow them, respectively. Thus, *astuṃkāraḥ* 'he who says, 'so be it'; *dhenumbhavyā* 'a cow soon to be milk-giving'; *lokampṛṇā* 'pleasant to people'.

(2) *mUM* is also introduced to *bhakṣa* when *kāra* combines to follow, in the Vedic. Thus, *bhakṣaṃkāraḥ*.

(3) *mUM* is also introduced to *anabhyāśa* when *itya* combines to follow. Thus, *anabhyāśamityaḥ* 'he who goes without eating?'.

(4) *mUM* is also introduced to *bhrāṣṭra* and *agni* before *indha*. Thus, *bhrāṣṭramindhaḥ* 'firewood for roasting' and *agnimindhaḥ* 'firewood'.

(5) *mUM* is also introduced to *gila*, provided what precedes is not *gila* itself. Thus, *timiṅgilaḥ* 'firefly'; but not **gilaṅgilaḥ*. The *mUM* could, however, be introduced before *gilagila*. Thus, *timiṅgilagilaḥ*.

(6) *mUM* is also introduced to *uṣṇa* and *bhadra* when occurring before *karaṇa*. Thus, *uṣṇaṅkaraṇam* 'warming' and *bhadraṅkaraṇam* 'making something look good'.

(7) A replacement in *putraṬ* is optionally recommended for *duhitṛ* when occurring after *sūta, ugra, rāja, bhoja* and *meru*. Thus, *sūtaputrī* and *sūtaduhitā*, etc. The *Ṭ* as an *it* in *putraṬ* is intended for the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...).

6.3.71 श्येनतिलस्य पाते ञे

śyenatilasya pāte ñe

/*śyena-tilasya* 6/1 = *śyenaś ca tilaś ca= śyenatilam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *pāte* 7/1 *ñe* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *mum* #67)

'*śyena, tila*' *ity etayoḥ pātaśabda uttarapade ñapratyaye pare mum āgamo bhavati*

Augment *mUM* is introduced to *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta*, followed by affix *Ña*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

śyainampātā mṛgayā = *śyenapāto' syāṃ krīḍāyām* 'a sport (hunting) in which falcons hunt'

tailampātā 'a sport where a sesamum seeds are thrown'

1. This rule introduces *mUM* after the final vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*) of *śyena* and *tila* when *pāta* combines as following constituent and affix *Ña* follows. Thus we get *śyainampātā* and *tailampātā*.

This augment cannot be introduced to *śyena* of *śyenapāta* where *pāta* is a derivate of affix *GHaÑ*. Refer to notes under rule 4.2.58 *ghañaḥ sāsyāṃ kriyeti* for further details.

6.3.72 रात्रेः कृति विभाषा

rātreḥ kṛti vibhāṣā

/*rātreḥ* 6/1 *kṛti* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/

(*uttarapade* #1 *mum* #67)

rātreḥ kṛdante uttarapade vibhāṣā mum āgamo bhavati

Augment *mUM* is optionally introduced to *rātri* when a constituent ending in a *kṛt* affix combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

rātriñcaraḥ 'night-wanderer'
rātricaraḥ 'ibidem'
rātrimaṭaḥ 'ibidem'
rātryaṭaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This option (*vibhāṣā*) is interpreted as *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* since it has not been made available earlier. Thus, we get *rātriñcaraḥ*, an *upapada* compound with *Ṭa* (3.2.15 *careṣ ṭaḥ*), i.e., *rātri* + *am* + *car* + *Ṭa*. We similarly get *rātrimaṭa* with *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*...), i.e., *rātri* + *am* + *aṭ* + *aC*.

Recall that 6.3.67 *arurdviṣad*... offers *mUM* before a constituent ending in an affix marked with *KH* as an *it*. This will offer a single form *rātriṃmanyaḥ*, since the provision is obligaroy (*nitya*). Our present rule applies when a *kṛt* affix not marked with *KH* as an *it* follows.

6.3.73 नलोपो नञः

nalopo nañaḥ
/ *nalopaḥ* 1/1 = *nakārasya lopaḥ* (*ṣāṣ. tat.*); *nañaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1)
naño nakārasya lopo bhavaty uttarapade
The *n* of *naÑ* is deleted by *LOPA* when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

avṛṣalaḥ 'someone other than a Vṛṣala'
asurāpaḥ 'someone other than one who drinks liquor'
asomapaḥ 'someone other than one who drinks Soma'

1. This rule allows deletion of *n*, of *naÑ* 'not', when the same combines with a following constituent.

A *vārttika* proposal is also made to delete *n* when the following constituent ends in a *tiṄ*, and the derivate denotes contempt (*avakṣepa*). Thus, *akaroṣi tvam jālm*! 'hey, you, how come you are not doing this'.

6.3.74 तस्मान्नुडचि

tasmān nuḍ aci
/ *tasmāt* 5/1 *nuṭ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1
(*uttarapade* #1 *nañaḥ* #73)
tasmāl luptanakārān nañaḥ nuḍ āgamo bhavati ajādāv uttarapade
Augment *nUṬ* is introduced after that *naÑ* which goes through deletion of its *n*, provided a *pada* beginning with a vowel follows in combination.

EXAMPLES:

anajaḥ 'non-goat'
anaśvaḥ 'non-horse'

1. This rule introduces *nUṬ* after a *naÑ* which has lost its *n* to deletion and which combines with a following constituent beginning with a vowel. Since *nUṬ* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, one may be tempted to introduce *nUṬ* before the *a* of *naÑ* (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). But why delete *n*, and subsequently restore the same with *nUṬ*? It is, therefore, claimed that *tasmāt* facilitates introduction of *nUṬ* at the beginning of a constituent which occurs after *naÑ*.

6.3.75 नभ्राण्नपान्नवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या

nabhrāṇnapānnavedānāsatyānamucinakulanakhanapuṃsakanakṣatranakranākeṣu prakṛtyā
/ *nabhrāṭ-napāt-navedāḥ-nāsatyāḥ-namuci-nakula-nakha-napuṃsaka-nakṣatra-nakra-nākeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *prakṛtyā* 3/1/
(*nañaḥ* #73)
'*nabhrāṭ, napāt, navedāḥ, nāsatyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, napuṃsaka, nakṣatra, nakra, nāka*' *ity eteṣu nañ prakṛtyā bhavati*
The *naÑ* in *nabhrāṭ, napāt, navedāḥ, nāsatyāḥ, namuci, nakula, nakha, napuṃsaka, nakṣatra, nakra* and *nāka* remains as is.

EXAMPLES:

nabhrāṭ = *na bhrājata iti* 'cloud'
napāt = *na pātīti* 'nephew'
navedāḥ = *na vettīti* 'ignorant'
nāsatyāḥ = *satsu sādhavaḥ satyāḥ, na satyāḥ* =
asatyāḥ = *na asatyāḥ* 'twins; the Aśvins'
namuciḥ = *na muñcatīti* 'demon'
nakulaḥ = *nāsya kulam asti* 'mongoose'
nakham = *nāsya khamastiti* 'nail'
napuṃsakam = *na strī na pumān* 'neuter'
nakṣatram = *na kṣarate kṣīyata iti* 'asterism, constellation'
nakraḥ = *na krāmatīti* 'that which does not walk; alligator'
nākam = *nāsmin akam asti* 'heaven; that in which there is no absence of happiness'

1. These derivates constitute an exception to the two preceding rules, via *nipātana*. That is, the *n* of their *naÑ* does not go through deletion.

6.3.76 एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक्

ekādiś caikasya căduk

/*ekādiḥ* 1/1 = *eka ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *ca* ɸ *ekasya* 6/1 *ca* ɸ *āduk* 1/1 (*uttarapade* #1 *nañaḥ* #73 *prakṛtyā* #75)
ekādiś ca nañ prakṛtyā bhavati ekaśabdasya cādug āgamo bhavati
The *naÑ* with *eka* at its beginning also remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow; additionally, augment *āduK* is introduced to *eka*.

EXAMPLES:

ekānnaviṃśatiḥ = *ekena na viṃśatiḥ* 'nineteen'
ekānnatriṃśat 'twenty-nine'

1. This rule retains *naÑ* when the same combines with a preceding *eka*. Additionally, *eka* receives augment *ādUK*. Thus, *eka* + *Ṭā* + *naviṃśati* + *sU* = *eka* + *ād* + *naviṃśati* = *ekādnaviṃśati*, where a compound between *naÑ* and *viṃśati* is formed first. Note that *eka* and *naviṃśati* combine to form a *tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa* under the split-interpretaion (*yogavibhāga*) of 2.2.21 *tṛtīyā*. . . .

Note that *ādUK* is introduced at the end of *eka* which precedes. This way, an optional replacement in *n* (*anunāsika*) can be accomplished for *d*, when occurring at the end of a *pada* (8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike* . . .). This end of the *pada* status will be impaired if *ādUK* is introduced at the beginning of the following constituent. Consequently, an optional *n*-replacement for *d* which may occur at the end of a *pada* cannot be accomplished. This is how we can also get *ekādnaviṃśati* and *ekādnatriṃśat*.

6.3.77 नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम्

nago' prāṇiṣv anyatarasyām
/*nagaḥ* 1/1 *aprāṇiṣu* 7/3 = *na prāṇinaḥ* (*nañ.*), *teṣu*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/ (*uttarapade* #1 *nañaḥ* #73 *prakṛtyā* #75)
nañ prakṛtyā bhavaty anyatarasyām aprāṇiṣu vartamāno yo nagaśabdas tatra nañ prakṛtyā vikalpena bhavati
The *naÑ* in *naga*, used with the signification of *aprāṇin* 'non-sentient', optionally remains as is, when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

nagāḥ (*vṛkṣāḥ* / *parvatāḥ*) 'trees; mountains'
agā vṛkṣāḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *ga* of *naga* is a derivate of the *Uṇādi* affix *Ḍa* (235: *gamer ḍaḥ*), where *am* of *gam* goes through *ṭi*-deletion. This optional retention of *naÑ* is not available to *agaḥ*, of *ago vṛṣalaḥ śītena* 'a vṛṣala (lowly untouchable) who cannot move because of cold', since the derivate denotes a *prāṇin* 'living being'. That is, *n* of *naÑ* cannot be retained.

6.3.78 सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम्

sahasya saḥ saṃjñāyām
/*sahasya* 6/1 *saḥ* 1/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1)
sahaśabdasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The word *saha* is replaced with *sa* when it combines with a following constituent and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

sāśvattham 'a forest with Aśvattha trees'
sapalāśam 'a forest with Palāśa trees'
saśiṃśapam 'a forest with Śiṃśapa trees'

1. This rule offers *sa* as a replacement for *saha* combining with a following constituent and the derivate signiying a name. Thus, *saha aśvatthena* = *sāśvattham*, etc., where a *bahuvrīhi* compound is formed by 2.2.28 *tena saheti tulyayoge*. This replacement will be blocked in *sahayudhvā* and *sahakṛtvā* where an *upapada* compound is formed with affix *KvaNIP* (3.2.96 *sahe ca*) and derivates do not denote a name.

2. This replacement is also consequential for accent. The word *saha* is marked *udātta* at the beginning. Its *ha* then becomes *anudātta*. A substitute, here *sa*, which replaces *saha*, must then be marked with an accent somewhere in between the *udātta* and *anudātta*. The *sa* is therefore marked with *svarita*. But this could be true only where the compound is a *bahuvrīhi*. Elsewhere, for example, in the *avyayībhāva* compounds *seṣṭi* and *sapaśu*, this accent will be blocked by *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; 6.1.220 *samāsasya*).

6.3.79 ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च

granthāntādhike ca
/*granthāntādhike* 7/1 = *granthasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *granthāntaś ca adhikañ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya saḥ* #78)
granthānte, adhike ca vartamānasya sahaśabdasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *saha*, when used with the signification of 'end of a treatise (*granthānta*)' and 'more than . . .' (*adhika*), is replaced with *sa*, provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sakalaṃ jyautiṣam adhīte 'studies the entire Jyautiṣa'
sasaṃgrahaṃ vyākaraṇam adhīyate 'grammar is studied along with the Saṃgraha'
sadroṇā khārī 'a khārī in excess of a droṇa'
samāṣaḥ kārṣāpaṇaḥ 'a kārṣāpaṇa in excess of a māṣa'

1. This rule replaces *saha* with *sa* when it denotes the sense of *anta* 'end' and *adhika* 'more than, in excess of'. Note that this replacement is restricted to *avyayībhāva* compounds formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa*. . . . It is for this reason that, elsewhere, this replacement is allowed by 6.3.81 *avyayībhāve cākāle*. That is, where *saha* is combined with a following constituent used with the signification of something other than *kāla* 'time'.

6.3.80 **द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये**

dvitīye cā nupākhye
/dvitīye 7/1 *ca* ϕ *anupākhye* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya saḥ* #78)
anumeye dvitīye uttarapade parataḥ sahasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *saha* is also replaced with *sa* when a constituent with the denotatum of an indirectly perceived non-principal entity combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sāgniḥ kapotaḥ 'a pigeon whose presence is indicative of fire'
sapiśācā vātyā 'a hurricane indicative of the presence of goblins'
sarākṣasīkā śālā 'a house indicative of the presence of demons'

1. The word *dvitīya* is explained as *dvayoḥ sahayuktayor apradhānaḥ* 'the non-principal among two entities associated with *saha*'. Thus, *agni* is non-principal in *sāgniḥ kapotaḥ* = *agninā saha yuktaḥ kapotaḥ* 'pigeon in association with fire'. The word *anupākhya* is explained as *upākhyād anyaḥ* = *anumeyaḥ* 'something not directly perceived; assumed'. Fire is non-principal here since its presence can always be assumed via presence of a pigeon. Conversely, *kapota* is principal since its presence cannot necessarily by assumed via presence of fire.

6.3.81 **अव्ययीभावे चाकाले**

avyayībhāve cākāle
/avyayībhāve 7/1 *ca* ϕ *akāle* 7/1 = *na kālaḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasmin/*
(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya saḥ* #78)
avyayībhāve ca samāse kālavāciny uttarapade sahasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *saha* is replaced with *sa*, also in a compound termed *avyayībhāva* which ends in a following constituent with the signification of something other than *kāla* 'time'.

EXAMPLES:

sacakraṃ (*dhehi*) '. . . with the wheel'
sadhuraṃ (*prāja*) '. . . with the axle'

1. This rule allows *saha* to be replaced with *sa* when *saha* combines in an *avyayībhāva* compound with a following constituent denoting something other than *kāla* 'time'. The condition of *akāle* is needed so that a compound such as *sahapūrvāhṇam* does not qualify for this replacement. Obviously, since *pūrvāhṇa* 'first half of a day' denotes time. Incidentally, *sadhuram* and *sacakram* are both *avyayībhāva* compounds formed by 2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhaktisamīpa* . . ., where *sadhuram* also involves the *samāsānta* affix *ṬaC* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . .).

6.3.82 वोपसर्जनस्य

vopasarjanasya
/ *va* ф *upasarjanasya* 6/1/
(*sahasya saḥ* #78)
yasya sarve' vayavā upasarjanībhūtāḥ sa sarvopasarjano bahuvrīhiḥ; tadavayavasya sahaśabdasya vā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The *saha* of a compound formed with all constituents termed *upasarjana* is replaced with *sa*, only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

saputraḥ 'with (his) son'
sahaputraḥ 'ibidem'
sacchātraḥ 'with (his) student'
sahachātraḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *saha* to be optionally replaced with *sa* when contained within a compound formed with all constituents termed *upasarjana* (1.2.45 *prathamānirdiṣṭa* . . .). This option, as one understands from 2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*, is only available to *bahuvrīhi* compounds.

2. Note that *upasarjana* is not used here as a qualifier to *saha*. It is, instead, used as a qualifier to all compound constituents. Thus, the interpretation: 'where all compound constituents are termed *upasarjana*'. The word *upasarjana*, denoting the property of a part of the compound, is thus manipulated to refer to the property of its whole (*Nyāsa*: *avayavadharmeṇa samudāyadharmasya tathā nirdeśāt*).

The *saha* of *sahayudhvā* and *sahakṛtvā* cannot be replaced with *sa* since these *tatpuruṣa* compounds have *saha* alone as an *upasarjana*. This replacement can also not be allowed in *sahakṛtvapriyaḥ* and *priyasahakṛtvā* where *saha* is part of the *bahuvrīhi*. But the constituent which immediately follows *saha* is not directly relatable to the *bahuvrīhi* in reference. The first example has an intervening *kṛtvā*. The second has *sahakṛtvā* as the following constituent.

6.3.83 प्रकृत्याशिषि

prakṛtyāśiṣi

/*prakṛtyā* 3/1 *āśiṣi* 7/1/
(*sahasya* #78)
prakṛtyā sahaśabdo bhavati āśiṣi viṣaye
The word *saha* remains as is when a constituent combines to follow and *āśīs* 'benediction' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

svasti devadattāya sahaputrāya sahacchātrāya
sahāmātyāya 'blessings to Devadatta, along with his son; . . . student; . . . his minister'

1. *Kāśikā* reads this *sūtra* as: *prakṛtyāśiṣy agovatsahaleṣu*, where *agovatsahaleṣu* 'when a constituent other than *go* 'cow', *vatsa* 'calf' and *hala* 'plough' follows' is an addition made in view of a *vārttika* proposal. The *gavādi* '*go*, etc.' of this *vārttika* proposal is illustrated by Patañjali with *svasti bhavate sagave savatsāya sahalāya* 'blessings to you wih your cow, calf and plough'. The option of the preceding rule will still offer *sahagave*, etc. I have decided not to include *agovatsahaleṣu* as part of the reading of this *sūtra*.

6.3.84 समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्धप्रभृत्युदर्केषु

samānasya chandasi amūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkeṣu
/*samānasya* 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *amūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkeṣu* 7/3 = *mūrdhā ca prabhṛtiś ca udarkaś ca* = *mūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkāḥ* (*itar. dv.*); *na mūrdhaprabhṛtyudarkāḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78)
samānasya '*sa*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye* '*mūrddhan, prabhṛti, udarka*' *ity etāny uttarapadāni varjayitvā*
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa*, in the Vedic, when a constituent other than *mūrdhan*, *prabhṛti* and *udarka* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

anubhrātā̱ sa̱gárbhyaḥ 'younger brother'
anusakhā̱ sayū́thaḥ 'a companion who follows'
yo na̱ḥ sanútyaḥ 'he who is an outsider for us'

1. This rule allows *samāna*, in the Vedic, to be replaced with *sa*, provided the following constituent is not *mūrdhan*, *prabhṛti* and *udarka*. Consider *sagarbhyaḥ*, a derivate of affix *yaN* (4.4.114 *sagarbhasayūtha*. .), introduced after *sagarbha* + *Ṅi*. Thus, *samānaḥ garbhaḥ* = *sagarbhaḥ*, *tatra bhavaḥ* = *sagarbhyaḥ* 'same womb, born there = born in the same womb'. These example compounds are all formed by 2.1.58 *pūrvāparaprathama*. . . . This *sa* replacement is negated for *samānamūrddhā*, *samānaprabhṛtayaḥ* and *samānodarkāḥ*. But how would one derive *samānaḥ pakṣo' sya* = *sapakṣaḥ* 'he who is on the

same side', *samāno dharmo' sya = sādharmyam* '. . . whose *dharma* is the same' and *samānā jātir asya* 'he whose class is the same'. A split-interpretation of this *sūtra* as *samānasya* accomplishes the derivation. The *samāna* of example compounds is replaced with *sa* after formation of a *bahuvrīhi.*

6.3.85 **ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु**

jyotirjanapadarātrinābhināmagotrarūpasthānavarṇavayovacanabandhuṣu
/ jyotir-janapada-rātri-nābhi-nāman-gotra-rūpa-sthāna-varṇa-vayas-vacana-bandhuṣu 7/3/
(*uttarapade* 31 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)
'*jyotis, janapada, rātri, nābhi, nāman, gotra, rūpa, sthāna, varṇa, vayas, vacana, bandhu*' *ity eteṣūttarapadeṣu samānasya* '*sa*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *jyotis, janapada, rātri, nābhi, nāman, gotra, rūpa, sthāna, varṇa, vayas, vacana,* and *bandhu* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sajyotiḥ 'having the same glow'
sajanapadaḥ 'belonging to the same principality'
sarātriḥ 'similar night'
sanābhiḥ 'having the same center (navel)'
sanāmā 'having the same name'
sagotraḥ 'having the same *gotra*'
sarūpaḥ 'having the same appearance'
sasthānaḥ 'residing at the same place'
savarṇaḥ 'having the same color (sub-class)'
savayāḥ 'being of the same age'
savacanaḥ 'having similar speech'
sabandhuḥ 'having same clansman'

1. These examples are mostly interpreted as *bahuvrīhi* compounds. Thus, *samānā jyotir asya* 'that whose glow is the same', etc. Note, however, that a *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of these compounds cannot be ruled out. Thus, *samānaṃ jyotiḥ = sajyotiḥ* 'same glow', etc.

6.3.86 **चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि**

caraṇe brahmacāriṇi
/ caraṇe 7/1 *brahmacāriṇi* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)
caraṇe gamyamāne brahmacāriṇy uttarapade samānasya sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *brahmacārin* combines as a following constituent, and *caraṇa* is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

sabramhacārī 'a fellow student with similar vows of studying the same branch of the Veda'

1. The word *brahma* here means *veda.* The word *caraṇa* is used in the sense of a Vedic branch. The word *brahmacārin* 'pursuer of the Brahman', in the context of *caraṇa,* thus refers to a person who has taken the vow of pursuing the study of a Vedic branch. A fellow student with similar vow of study is called *sabrahmacārin.* Note that *caraṇa* is a relative term. It can refer to the four principal branches of the Vedas. It can also refer to sub-branches within these four principal branches.

6.3.87 तीर्थे ये

tīrthe ye
/ *tīrthe* 7/1 *ye* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)
tīrthaśabde uttarapade yatpratyayānte samānasya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *tīrtha,* terminating in *yaT,* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

satīrthyaḥ 'he who studies at the same teacher's place'

1. This rule allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *tīrtha* combines as a following constituent ending *ya.* Note that *samānatīrtha* is a *karmadhāraya* ending in the *taddhita* affix *yaT* (4.4.107 *samānatīrthe vāsī*). The word *tīrtha* is used here in the sense of a teacher's place.

6.3.88 विभाषोदरे

vibhāṣodare
/ *vibhāṣa* 1/1 *udare* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)
udaraśabda uttarapade yatpratyayānte samānasaya vibhāṣā sa ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* only optionally when *udara,* terminating in affix *yaT,* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sodaryaḥ 'brother
samānodaryaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule optionally allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *udara*

'belly, womb', ending in *yaT*, combines to follow. Thus, *samānodaryaḥ* and *sodaryaḥ*, where *samānodara* and *sodara* receive affixes *yaT* and *ya*, respectively (4.4.108 *samānodare śayita* . . .; 4.4.109 *sodarād yaḥ*).

6.3.89 दृग्दृशवतुषु

dṛgdṛśavatuṣu
/ *dṛg-dṛśa-vatuṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*uttarapade* #1 *saḥ* #78 *samānasya* #84)
'*dṛk, dṛśa, vatu*' *ity eteṣu parataḥ samānasya* '*sa*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *samāna* is replaced with *sa* when *dṛk, dṛśa* and *vatU* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sadṛk 'similar to . . .'
sadṛśaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *samāna* to be replaced with *sa* when *dṛk, dṛśa* and *vatU* combine to follow. Recall that affixes *kaÑ* and *KvIN* are introduced after verbal root *dṛśIR* when *tyad*, etc., occur in conjunction (3.2.60 *dṛśādiṣu* . . .). A *vārttika* proposal is made under that rule to also allow these affixes when *samāna* and *anya* are used in conjunction with *dṛśIR* (*samānānyayoś ceti vaktavyam*). This gives us *sadṛk* and *sadṛśa*. A *vārttika* proposal is additionally made there to allow affix *ksa* after *dṛśIR* to derive *dṛkṣa*. This with *samāna* will yield *sadṛkṣa*.

How come no examples for *vatU* are offered here? It is specified here for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule (*Kāś*: *vatugrahaṇam uttarārtham*). Note that affix *vatUP* is introduced only after *yad, tad* and *etad*, when the signification is *parimāṇa* 'measure' (5.2.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe*). Obviously, examples of *vatU* with *samāna* are impossible (*asambhavāt*) to find.

6.3.90 इदं किमोरीश्की

idaṅkimorīśkī
/ *idaṅkimoḥ* 6/2 = *idaṃ ca kiṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *īśkī* (deleted 1/1) /
(*uttarapade* #1 *dṛgdṛśvatuṣu* #89)
'*idam, kim*' *ity etayor īś, kī, ity etau yathāsaṃkhyam ādeśau bhavato dṛgdṛśvatuṣu*
The word *idam* and *kim* are replaced, respectively, with *īś* and *kī*, when *dṛk, dṛśa*, and *vatU* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

īdṛk 'like this'
īdṛśaḥ 'ibidem'

iyān 'this large'
kīdṛk 'like what'
kīdṛśaḥ 'ibidem'
kiyān 'how large'

1. This rule offers *īŚ* and *kī* as replacement for *idam* and *kim*, respectively, when *dṛk, dṛśa* and *vatU* follow. Refer to notes under 5.3.39 *yattadetebhyaḥ parimāṇe* and 5.3.40 *kimidaṃbhyām* . . . for deriving *iyān* and *kiyān*. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to allow these replacements when *dṛkṣa* follows in combination after *kim* and *idam*. Thus, we also get *īdṛkṣaḥ* and *kīdṛkṣaḥ*.

6.3.91 **आ सर्वनाम्नः**

ā sarvanāmnaḥ
/*ā* (1/1 deleted) *sarvanāmnaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dṛg-dṛś-vatuṣu* #89)
sarvanāmna ākārādeśo bhavati dṛgdṛśvatuṣu
The final sound segment of a pronominal (*sarvanāman*) is replaced with *ā* when *dṛk, dṛśa* and *vatU* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

tādṛk 'like that'
tādṛśaḥ 'ibidem'
tāvān 'that much, that large'
yādṛk 'like that which . . .'
yādṛśaḥ 'ibidem'
yāvān 'as much as . . .'

1. This rule offers *ā* as a replacement for the final sound (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of a pronominal (*sarvanāma*; 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*) when *dṛk, dṛśa* and *vatU* follow in combination. Here again we find a *vārttika* proposal (*dṛkṣe ceti ca vaktavyam*) to include *dṛkṣa* as a following constituent. Thus, we get *tādṛkṣaḥ* and *yādṛkṣaḥ*.

6.3.92 **विष्वग्देवयोश्च टेरद्र्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये**

viṣvagdevayoś ca ṭeradryañcatau vapratyaye
/*viṣvag-devayoḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ɸ *ṭeḥ* 6/1 *adri* (1/1 deleted) *añcatau* 7/1 *vapratyaye* 7/1 = *vaḥ pratyayo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*uttarapade* 7/1 *sarvanāmnaḥ* #91)
'*viṣvak, deva*' *ity etayoḥ sarvanāmnaś ca ṭeḥ* '*adri*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati añcatau vapratyayānta uttarapade*
The form *adri* comes in place of the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of *viṣvak, deva*, and a *sarvanāman* as well, when verbal root *añcU*, terminating in affix *vA*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

> *viṣvadryaṅ* = *viṣvag añcati* 'all-pervading'
> *devadryaṅ* 'turned towards divine'
> *tadryaṅ* 'turned towards that'
> *yadryaṅ* 'turned towards the thing which . . .'

1. This rule offers *adri* as a replacement for the *ṭi* part (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of *viṣvak* and *deva*, and of pronominals as well, when a constituent with *añc* ending in *vA* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛksrag*. . .) follows. Thus, *viṣv*(*a*→*adri*) + *aṅ* = *viṣvadr*(*i*→*y*) + *aṅ* = *viṣvadryaṅ* and *dev*(*a*→*adri*) + *aṅ* = *devadr* (*i*→*y*) + *aṅ* = *devadryaṅg*, through application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Refer to the appendix of rule 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛksrag*. . . for deriving *aṅ* from *añc* + *KvIN*. Similar rules apply in deriving *tadryaṅ* and *yadryaṅ*, derivates with pronominal *tad* and *yaḍ*.

A *vārttika* proposal is made to mark *adri* and *sadhri* with a final *udātta*, via *nipātana*. This will block the *kṛt* accent of 6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*. Consequently, after the *i* is replaced with *y* (*yaṇādeśa*), the following constituent will receive *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor*. . .).

Kāśikā offers *aśvam añcati* = *aśvācī* 'moves the horse', *viṣvagyuk* and *viṣvagañcanam* as counter-examples where *adri* cannot be used as a replacement. The first example does not have *viṣvak* and *deva*; the second lacks *añc*; and the third does not have affix *v*. That is, *añcana* is a derivate of *LyuṬ*.

Why state *vapratyaye* when *añcatau* itself could have served the purpose. This specification with *vapratyaye* is made to indicate that, elsewhere, a specification made by a verbal root alone could be interpreted as referring to the entire form, beginning with the verbal root ending in the affix (*Nyāsa*: *anyatra dhātugrahaṇe dhātvādeḥ prakṛtipratyayasamudāyasya pratipattiḥ*). This *tadādividhi* 'beginning with that . . .' interpretation will facilitate a *s*-replacement for *ḥ* (*visarga*; 8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkamikaṃsa*. . .) also in *ayaḥ* + *kṛtam*→*ayaskṛtam* and *ayaskāraḥ*. Otherwise, *s* could replace *ḥ* only where *kṛ* alone was used as the following constituent, for example, in *ayaskṛt*. Incidentally, the final *t* (*tUK*) will be treated as part of *kṛ*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal states that, in the Vedic, especially in the feminine, *adri* is found variously (*bahulam*). Consider *viśvācī* and *ghṛtācī* where it is not found, and *kadrīcī* where it is found.

6.3.93 समः समि

> *samaḥ sami*
> /*samaḥ* 6/1 *sami* (1/1 deleted)/
> (*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau vapratyaye* #92)
> '*sam*' *ity etasya* '*sami*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati añcatau vapratyayānte uttarapade*
> The form *sami* comes in place of *sam* when verbal root *añcU*, terminating in affix *vA*, combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

samyak 'nominative singular; turned together in one direction;
samyañcau 'nominative dual'
samyañcaḥ 'nominative plural'

1. This rule offers *sami* as a replacement for *sam* when verbal root *añc* terminating in *vA* follows. Thus, consider *samyaṅ/ samyañcau/ samyañcaḥ.*

6.3.94 **तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे**

tirasas tiry alope
/ *tirasaḥ* 6/1 *tiri* 7/1 *alope* 7/1 (*nañ. tat., tasmin*) /
(*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau va pratyaye* #92)
'*tiras*' *ity etasya* '*tiri*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty añcatau vapratyayānte uttarapade*
The form *tiras* is replaced with *tiri* when verbal root *añcU* terminates in affix *vA* and combines to follow without going through any deletion.

EXAMPLES:

tiryaṅ 'nominative singular; crooked, slanted, oblique'
tiryañcau 'nominative dual'
tiryañcaḥ 'nominative plural'

1. This rule allows *tiras* to be replaced with *tiri* when *añc,* ending in *vA,* follows, provided the *a* of *añc* has not gone through deletion. Recall that the *a* of *añc* gets deleted by 6.4.138 *acaḥ,* as in *tiraścā* and *tiraśce.* Note that *alope* is not desired to be interpreted as: *asya lopaḥ, tasmin* 'when deletion of *a* has occurred'.

6.3.95 **सहस्य सध्रिः**

sahasya sadhriḥ
/ *sahasya* 6/1 *sadhriḥ* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *añcatau vapratyaye* #92)
'*saha*' *ity asya* '*sadhri*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty añcatau vapratyayānte uttarapade*
The word *saha* is replaced with *sadhri* when a constituent with *añcU* terminating in affix *va* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sadhryaṅ 'nominative singular of *sadhryañc* 'turned in the same direction'
sadhryañcaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sadhrīcaḥ 'accusative dual . . .'
sadhrīcā 'instrumental singular'

1. Note that the *a* of *añc* is deleted (6.4.138 *acaḥ*) in *sadhrīcaḥ* and *sadhrīcā*, the accusative dual and instrumental singular forms, and the short *i* is replaced with long (6.4.138 *cau*). Also recall that the *ñ* of *añc* will be deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*. . . .

6.3.96 सध मादस्थयोश्छन्दसि

sadha mādasthayoś chandasi
/*sadha* (1/1 deleted) *māda-stha-yoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *chandasi* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *sahasya* #95)
chandasi viṣaye 'māda, stha' ity etayor upapadayoḥ sahasya 'sadha' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *saha* is replaced with *sadha* when, in the Vedic, *māda* and *stha* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

sa̱dha̱mādó dyu̱mninī̱rāpáḥ
sadhasthā

1. Note that *sadhamāda* is paraphrased as *mādena saha* where *māda*, as a derivate of *GHaÑ*, combines to follow *saha*. A similar interpretation applies to *sadhastha* where *sthā* ends in affix *ka* (3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*).

6.3.97 द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत्

dvyantarupasargebhyo' pa īt
dvy-antar-upasargebhyaḥ 5/3 (*itar. dv.*) *apaḥ* 6/1 *īt* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #10)
'dvi, antar' ity etābhyām upasargāc cottarasya āb ity etasya īkārādeśo bhavati
The initial (1.1.53 *ādeḥ parasya*) sound segment of *ap* is replaced with *īT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when *ap* occurs in combination after *dvi*, *antar* and a preverb (*upasarga*).

EXAMPLES:

dvīpam 'island'
antarīpam 'a portion of land stretching out into the sea'
samīpam 'near, proximate'

1. This rule offers *īT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) as a replacement for *ap* 'water'. Note that *īT* replaces the *a* of *ap* in accord with 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.54 for derivational details. Incidentally, the *samāsānta* affix *a* (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . .) is introduced in deriving *dvīpam*. *Kāśikā* offers *saṃgatā āpaḥ asmin* = *saṃgam*, *vigatā āpaḥ asmin* = *vīpam* and *nigatāḥ āpaḥ asmin* = *nīpam* as examples where an *upasarga* is in combination. Incidentally, the last should have been *nirgtā āpaḥ* = *nirīpam*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal blocks this replacement in *samā āpaḥ asmin; samāpaṃ nāma devayajanam = samāpaḥ* 'a sacrifice'. Some say that this replacement in long *ī* should not apply when *ap* is used with a prefix ending in *a*. Thus, *pra* + *ap* + *a* = *prāpa*. The word *upasarga* here refers to *pra*, etc., in general. The technical sense of *upasarga* will require *kriyāyoga* 'association with a verbal root signifying an action' (1.1.59 *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*). Obviously, *ap* is not a verbal root.

6.3.98 **ऊदनोर्देशे**

ūdanor deśe
/*ūt* 1/1 *anoḥ* 6/1 *deśe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *apaḥ* #97)
anor uttarasya ap ūkārādeśo bhavati deśābhidhāne
The initial (1.1.53 *ādeḥ parasya*) sound segment of *ap* is replaced with *ūT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when *ap* occurs in combination after *anu* and the derivate denotes *deśa* 'place'.

EXAMPLES:

anūpo deśaḥ = *anugatā āpo' smin* 'a place named Anūpa'

1. This rule offers *ūT*, as a replacement for the *a* of *ap*, when the derivate signifies a *deśa* 'place'. We will get *anvīpam* 'a place close to water' when the derivate does not signify a place.

6.3.99 **अषष्ठ्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु**

aṣaṣṭhyatṛtīyāsthasyānyasya dug āśīrāśāsthāsthitotsukotīkārakarāgacchesu
/ *aṣaṣṭhy-atṛtīyā-sthasya* 6/1 = *na ṣaṣṭhī* = *aṣaṣṭhī*; *na tṛtīyā* = *atṛtīyā* (*nañ.*); *aṣaṣṭhī ca atṛtīyā ca* = *aṣaṣṭhyatṛtīye* (*itar. dv.*); *tayoḥ tiṣṭhati* = *aṣaṣṭhyatṛtīyāsthaḥ, tasya; anyasya* 6/1 *duk* 1/1 *āśīr-āśā-āsthā-āsthita-utsuka-ūti-kāraka-rāga-cchesu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*uttarapade* #1)
aṣaṣṭhīsthasya atṛtīyāsthasya cānyaśabdasya dug āgamo bhavati 'āśis, āśā, āsthā, āsthita, utsuka, ūti, kāraka, rāga, cha' ity eteṣu parataḥ
Augment *dUK* is introduced to *anya*, when not used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā*, provided *āśis* 'benediction', *āśā* 'hope', *āsthā* 'faith, regard', *āsthita* 'preoccupied', *utsuka* 'eager', *ūti* 'help, assistance', *kāraka* 'doer, agent', *rāga* 'attachment, passion', and affix *cha*, combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

anyadāśīḥ = *anyā āśīḥ* 'a different benediction'
anyadāśā = *anyā āśā* 'a different hope'
anyadāsthā = *anyā āsthā* 'a different consideration'
anyadāsthitaḥ = *anya āsthitaḥ* 'differently preoccupied'

anyadutsukaḥ = *anya utsukaḥ* 'eager for something else'
anyadūtiḥ = *anyā ūtiḥ* 'a different help'
anyatkārakaḥ = *anyaḥ kārakaḥ* 'a different agent'
anyadrāgaḥ = *anyo rāgaḥ* 'a different passion'
anyadīyaḥ = *anyasmin bhavaḥ* 'belonging to another'

1. This rule offers *dUK* as an augment to *anya*, when *anya* is not used with genitive and instrumental. Additionally, *anya* must combine before *āśīḥ*, etc., its following constituents. Thus, we get *anyadāśīḥ*, etc. Note that affix *cha* is introduced to derive *anyasmin bhavaḥ* = *anyadīyaḥ* from *anya* + *Ṅi* + *cha* (4.2.138 *gahādibhyaś ca*; 7.1.2 *āyaneyī*...).

Kāśikā offers *anyasya āśīḥ* = *anyāśīḥ* and *anyena āsthitaḥ* = *anyāsthitaḥ* as counter-examples to the condition of *aṣaṣṭhy-atṛtīyāsthasya* 'when not ending in the genitive and instrumental'. We do not get augment *dUK*. We get a similar long vowel replacement.

How do we get *anyasya kārakam* = *anyatkārakam* and *anyasya idam* = *anyadīyam*, where *anya* is used with genitive? This negation of genitive and instrumental is non-obligatory (*anitya*). How do we know this? The use of negatives in *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā* both serve as a mark (*jñāpaka*). For, Pāṇini would have simply stated *aṣaṣṭhītṛtīyāsthasya*. A verse summarizes this introduction of *dUK* as follows:

> *dugāgamo' viśeṣeṇa vaktavyaḥ kārakacchayoḥ/*
> *ṣaṣṭhītṛtīyayor neṣṭa āśīrādiṣu saptasu//*
> 'augment *dUK* is to be generally stated before *kāraka* and *cha*; it is not desired before the other seven items listed beginning with *āśīḥ*, especially when *anya* is used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā*'

6.3.100 अर्थे विभाषा

arthe vibhāṣā
/*arthe* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *aṣaṣṭhyatṛtīyāsthasya anyasya duk* #99)
arthaśabde uttarapade anyasya vibhāṣa dug āgamo bhavati
Augment *dUK* is optionally introduced to *anya*, when not used with *ṣaṣṭhī* and *tṛtīyā*, provided *artha* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

anyadarthaḥ 'for some other purpose'
anyārthaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes *dUK* optional when *anya*, not used in the genitive and instrumental, is followed by *artha* in combination. Thus, *anyadarthaḥ* and *anyārthaḥ*. These compound are formed with the signification of *anyasmai idam* 'intended for someone else' (2.1.36 *caturthī tadarthārtha*...).

6.3.101 कोः कत् तत्पुरुषेऽचि

koḥ kat tatpuruṣe' ci
/koḥ 6/1 *kat* 1/1 *tatpuruse* 7/1 *aci* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1)
'ku' ity etasya 'kad' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati tatpuruṣe samāse' jādāv uttarapade
ku is replaced with *kat* when, in a compound termed *tatpuruṣa*, a constituent beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*) combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kadajaḥ 'bad goat'
kadaśvaḥ 'bad horse'
kaduṣṭraḥ 'bad camel'
kadannam 'bad food'

1. Consider *ku* + *sU* + *aja* + *sU*→*kat* + *aja*, a *prādi* compound (2.2.18 *kugati prādayaḥ*) where *t* of *kat* is replaced with *d* through *jaśtva* (8.3.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). Other examples are similarly derived.

2. Note that a non-*tatpuruṣa* compound, for example, a *bahuvrīhi* such as *kūṣṭraḥ* 'he whose camel is bad' (as in *kūṣṭro rājā*), will not qualify for this replacement. A similar exclusion will be made for *kubrāhmaṇaḥ* and *kupuruṣaḥ*, where *brāhmaṇa* and *puruṣa* begin with a consonant.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow this replacement when *tri* combines after *ku*. Thus, *kutsitāḥ trayaḥ* = *kattrayaḥ* 'three bad ones'.

6.3.102 रथवदयोश्च

rathavadayoś ca
/ratha-vadayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ kad* #101)
'ratha, vada' ity etayoś cottarapadayoḥ koḥ 'kad' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *ku* is replaced with *kad* when *ratha* and *vada* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kadrathaḥ 'a bad chariot'
kadvadaḥ 'a bad speaker'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kat* when *ratha* and *vada* combine to follow. Thus, *kadrathaḥ* and *kadvadaḥ*. This, and rules which follow, are formulated so that *kad* replaces *ku* even when a constituent not beginning with a vowel (*anajādi*) follows.

6.3.103 तृणे च जातौ

tṛṇe ca jātau

/*tṛṇe* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *jātau* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ kad* #101)
tṛṇaśabda uttarapade jātāv abhidheyāyāṃ koḥ kad ādeśo bhavati
The word *ku* is replaced with *kat* also when *tṛṇa* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes *jāti* 'class'

EXAMPLES:

kattṛṇā nāma jātiḥ 'any class of bad vegetation'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kad* when *tṛṇa* combines to follow and the derivate denotes *jāti* 'class'. Thus, *kattṛṇā* 'bad grass; leek'. This replacement will not be available to *kutṛṇāni* 'bad grass', where the derivate denotes *nindā* 'reporoach'.

6.3.104 का पथ्यक्षयोः

kā pathyakṣayoḥ
/*kā* (1/1 deleted) *pathya-kṣayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *kioḥ* #101)
'*pathin, akṣa*' *ity etayor uttarapadayoḥ koḥ* '*kā*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *ku* is replaced with *kā* when *pathin* 'path' and *akṣa* 'eye' combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kāpathaḥ = *kutsitaḥ panthāḥ* 'a bad road'
kākṣaḥ = *kutsite akṣiṇy asya* 'he whose eyes are bad (evil)'

1. This rule offers *kā* as a replacement for *ku* when *pathin* and *akṣa* combine to follow. Thus, *kutsitaḥ panthāḥ* = *kāpathaḥ* 'bad road' and *kutsite akṣiṇī yasya* = *kākṣaḥ* 'he whose eyes are bad', where *kā* replaces *ku* of (*ku*→*kā*) + *pathin* and 5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . . introduces the *samāsānta* affix *a*. We thus get *kāpath*(*in*) + *a* = *kāpatha*, through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.144 *nas taddhite*). The *bahuvrīhi* compound *kākṣa* is derived with the *samāsānta* affix *ṢaC* (5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau* . . .). Note that *kākṣaḥ* can also be interpreted as a *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *kutsito' kṣaḥ* = *kākṣaḥ* 'bad axle'.

6.3.105 ईषदर्थे च

īṣadarthe ca
/*īṣadarthe* 7/1 = *īṣadaḥ arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #104)
īṣadarthe vartamānasya koḥ '*ka*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The word *ku*, when used with the signification of *īṣad* 'slight', is replaced with *kā*, provided a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kāmadhuram 'slightly sweet'
kālavaṇam 'slightly salted'
kāmlam 'slightly sour'
koṣṇam 'slightly warm'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be replaced with *kā* when the same is used with the signification of *īṣat* 'a little'. Thus, *īṣan madhuram* = *kāmadhuram* 'a little sweet' and *īṣad āmlam* = *kāmlam* and *īṣal lavaṇam* = *kālavaṇam* 'a little salt'. Note that *īṣad āmlam* = *kāmlam* and *īṣad uṣṇam* = *koṣam*, where *āmlam* and *uṣṇam* begin with a vowel (*ajādi*), get *kā* from this rule on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order'. They should have received *kat*, instead, because *āmla* and *uṣṇa* begin with a vowel (6.3.101 *koḥ kat tatpuruṣe' ci*).

6.3.106 विभाषा पुरुषे

vibhāṣā puruṣe
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *puruṣe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #104)
puruṣaśabda uttarapade vibhāṣā koḥ 'kā' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kā* when *puruṣa* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kāpuruṣaḥ 'a coward; contemptible person'
kupuruṣaḥ 'ibidem; a bad person'

1. Commentators remind that this option is to be understood as *aprāpta-vibhāṣā*, an option which was not available. Why can this option not be accepted as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā* 'an option which is, and also is not, available'. It is available when the sense is *īṣadartha*. It is not available elsewhere. It is stated that the provision made under the condition of *īṣadarthe* is obligatory (*nitya*). Consequently, *kā* is obligatorily selected as a replacement on the basis of *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins'.

6.3.107 कवञ्चोष्णे

kavañ coṣṇe
/*kavam* 1/1 *ca* ɸ *uṣṇe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #104 *vibhāṣā* #106)
uṣṇaśabda uttarapade koḥ kavam ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kā ca vibhāṣa
The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kavaṄ* when *uṣṇa* 'hot' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kavoṣṇam 'slightly warm'
koṣṇam 'ibidem'
kaduṣṇam 'not warm enough'

1. This rule allows *ku* to be optionally replaced with *kavaN* when *uṣṇa* follows in combination. Thus, we get (*ku*→*kava*) + *uṣṇam* = *kavoṣṇam*. The *ca* in this rule is used to attract *kā*. Thus, we also get (*ku*→*kā*) + *uṣṇam*→*koṣṇam*. Note that *vibhāṣā* is also carried. That is, we get a third form where *ku* gets replaced with *kat*. Thus, (*ku*→*ka*(*t*→*d*)) + *uṣṇam* = *kaduṣṇam*.

6.3.108 पथि च च्छन्दसि

pathi cac ‹ handasi
/*pathi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *koḥ* #101 *kā* #103 *vibhāṣa* #106 *kavam* #107)
pathiśabda uttarapade chandasi viṣaye koḥ '*kava, kā*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavato vibhāṣā*
The word *ku* is optionally replaced with *kavaṄ*, in the Vedic, when *pathin* 'path' combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kavapathaḥ 'a bad road'
kāpathaḥ 'ibidem'
kupathaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule applies to Vedic when *pathin* combines to follow *ku*. Thus, we get (*ku*→*kava*) + *pathin* = *kavapath*(*in*→ϕ) + *a* = *kavapatha*, through the *samāsānta* affix (5.4.74 *ṛkpūrabdhūḥ* . . .) and *ṭi*-deletion. Another form will be *kāpatha* with a replacement in *kā*. If no option is accepted, we will get *kupatha* with no replacement.

6.3.109 पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम्

pṛṣodarādīni yathopadiṣṭam
/*pṛṣodarādīni* 1/3 = *pṛṣodara ādiḥ yeṣām tāni* (*bv.*); *yathopadiṣṭam* = *yāni yāni upadiṣṭāni* = (*avyayībhāva*)/
pṛṣodarādīni śabdarūpāṇi (*yeṣu lopāgamavarṇavikārāḥ śāstreṇa na vihitāḥ, dṛśyante ca, tāni*) *yathopadiṣṭāni bhavanti*
Words such as *pṛṣodara*, etc., are accepted as derived.

EXAMPLES:

pṛṣodaram = *pṛṣad udaram yasya* 'he whose belly is spotted'
pṛṣodvānam = *pṛṣad udvānaṃ yasya* 'he whose vomit is . . .'
balāhakaḥ = *vārivāhakaḥ* 'he who carries water; cloud'

jīmūtaḥ = jīvanasya mūtaḥ 'container for water'
śmaśānam = śavānāṃ śayanam 'reclining of corpses; crematorium'
ulūkhalam = ūrdhvaṃ kham asya 'that which opens upward; a mortar'
piśācaḥ 'goblin'
mayūraḥ 'peacock; that which cries on ground'

1. Note that *yathopadiṣṭa* is here used in the sense of *śiṣṭoccārita* 'as used by the learned'. This rule is needed to account for *pṛṣodara*, etc., with no need to explain what rules apply to accomplish *LOPA* 'deletion', *āgama* 'augment', *varṇavikāra* 'sound modification', etc. Consider *pṛṣad udaram yasya = pṛṣodaraḥ* and *pṛṣad udvānam yasya = pṛṣodvānam*, where the final *t* of *pṛṣat* gets deleted. A replacement in *ba* for *vāri*, and in *l* for *v* of *vāhaka*, produces (*vāri*→*ba*) + (*v*→*l*) *āhakaḥ* = *ba* + *lāhakaḥ* = *balāhakaḥ*. We can similarly accept *śavānāṃ śayanam* = *śmaśānam*, where *śava* and *śayana* are, respectively, replaced with *śma* and *śāna*, to produce *śmaśāna*. The word *ulūkhala* is similarly derived by replacing *ūrdhva* with *ulū* and *kha* with *khala* to produce *ulūkhala*, paraphrased as *ūrdhvaṃ kham yasya*. A replacement in *pi* and *śāca* is ordered to derive *piśāca* from *piśita* and *āśa*. Thus, *piśitā āśā yasya* = *piśācaḥ* 'he whose hopes are shattered'. Or else, *piśitam ācāmati* 'he who sips on powdered food'. The word *mayūra* is derived parallel to *mahyāṃ rauti*, where affix *aC* (3.1.62 *acaḥ*) is introduced after *ru* used in construction with *mahī* + *Ṅi*. We get *mayūra* by replacing *mahī* with *mayū* and delting the *u* of *ru*. Thus (*mahī*→*mayū*) + *r*(*u*→ϕ) = *aC* = *mayūra*. Similar details can also be offered for deriving *aśvattha* and *kapittha*, etc.

2. A series of *vārttika* proposals are also offered to derive *uttaratāram* and *dakṣiṇatāram*, optionally, to *uttaratīram* and *dakṣiṇatīram*. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details.

6.3.110 **संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याह्नस्याहन्नन्यतरस्यां ङौ**

saṃkhyāvisāyapūrvasyāhnasyāhan anyatarasyām ṅau
/ *saṃkhyā-vi-sāya-pūrvasya* 6/1 = *saṃkhyā ca viś ca sāyaś ca* = *saṃkhyāvisāyam* (*sam. dv.*); *saṃkhyāvisāyaṃ pūrvaṃ yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *ahnasya* 6/1 *ahan* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *ṅau* 7/1/
'*saṃkhyā, vi, sāya*' *ity evam pūrvasya ahnaśabdasya* '*ahan*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyāṃ ṅau parataḥ*
The word *ahna*, when used in combination after *saṃkhyā*, *vi* and *sāya*, is optionally replaced with *ahan* when *Ṅi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dvyahnaḥ = *dvayor ahnor bhavaḥ* 'born of two days'
dvyahni 'locative singular . . .'
dvyahani 'ibidem'
dvyahne 'ibidem'

vyahnaḥ 'he whose day has elapsed'
vyahni 'locative singular . . .'
vyahani 'ibidem'
vyahne 'ibidem'
sāyāhnaḥ 'end of the day; evening'
sāyāhni 'locative singular'
sāyāhani 'ibidem'
sāyāhne 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *ahna*, when used before the locative singular *Ṅi*, to be optionally replaced with *ahan*, provided *saṃkhyā* 'number word', *vi*, and *sāya* are used in combination to precede. Thus, *dvayor ahnor bhavaḥ* = *dvi* + *ahan* + *Ṅi* + *ṭhaÑ* = *dvi* + *ahna* + (*Ṅi*→ϕ) + (*ṭhaÑ*→ϕ) = *dvi* + *ahna*, where the compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Affix *ṭhaÑ* is introduced by 4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*, and is subsequently deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*. Our present rule then introduces *ahan* as a replacement for *ahna*, thereby producing *dvi* + (*ahna*→*ahan*) = *dv*(*i*→*y*) + *ahan* = *dvyahan*. We will get *dvyahna* if the option of replacing *ahna* with *ahan* is not accepted. An introduction of *Ṅi* after *dvahna* will again involve the replacement of *ahna* with *ahan* in deriving *dvyahni* and *dvyahani*, where the *a* of *an* of *ahan* will be optionally deleted by 6.4.134 *vibhāṣā ṅiśyoḥ*. A compound with *sāya* is formed at the strength of the formulation of this rule.

6.3.111 ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः

ḍhralope pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ
/ *ḍhralope* 7/1 = *ḍhakāraś ca rephaś ca* = *ḍhrau* (*itar. dv.*); *tayor lopo yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *pūrvasya* 6/1 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *aṇaḥ* 1/1/
ḍhralope pūrvasyāṇo dīrgho bhavati
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṆ*, when occurring before that which causes the deletion of *ḍh* and *r*, is replaced with its long counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

upagūḍham 'concealed, embraced'
mūḍhaḥ 'idiot, infatuated'
nīraktaḥ 'with no blood'
anīrathaḥ 'fire-chariot'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for a short sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṆ*, provided a deleted *ḍh* and *r*, and what caused this deletion, follows. Consider the derivation of *līḍha*, a derivate of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* introduced after *lih* 'to lick, taste', where 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ* replaces the *h* of *lih* with *ḍh*. Rules 8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho* . . . and 8.4.40 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* then

apply on *liḍh* + *ta* to yield *liḍh* + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*) *a* = *liḍh* + *ḍha*. Rule 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ* then causes deletion of *ḍh* of *liḍh* + *ḍha*, whereby we get *li*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍha* = *liḍha*. Our present rule then applies on *liḍha* to replace its short *i* with its long counterpart *ī*. We thus get *l*(*i*→*ī*) + *ḍha* = *līḍha*. Similar application of rules are witnessed in deriving *mīḍham*, *upagūḍham* and *nīraktam*. The *r* of *nir* + *raktam*, subsequent to compound formation by 2.2.18 *kugati*. . ., goes through deletion of 8.3.14 *ro ri*. Similar rules also apply in deriving *agnir* + *rathaḥ* = *agnīrathaḥ* and *indūrathaḥ*.

2. The word *ḍhralope* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* with internal *dvandva*, paraphrased as *ḍhakāraś ca rephaś ca* = *ḍhrau* '*ḍh* and *r*'; *ḍhryor lopo yasmin* = *ḍhralopaḥ* 'that which conditions deletion of *ḍh* and *r*'; *tasmin* 'when that follows'. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of *ḍhralope* will yield the following meaning: 'when deletion of *ḍh* and *r* follows'. This will make it impossible for the rule to apply, since *LOPA* means non-appearance (*adarśana*) and hence, there will be nothing there to follow. Why can we not revive the deleted *ḍh* and *r* by means of *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a *LOPA* as what it replaced'? This will create problems in deriving *karaṇīya*, where, after an assumed deletion of *r*, the *a* of *ka* will be subject to lengthening. It is to resolve such problems that *ḍhralopa* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi*.

6.3.112 **सहिवहोरोदवर्णस्य**

sahivahor od avarṇasya
/*sahivahoḥ* 6/2 = *sahiś ca vahaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ot* 1/1 *avarṇasya* 6/1 = *aś cāsau varṇaś ca* (*karmadhāraya*), *tasya* /
(*ḍhralope* #111)
'*sahi, vahi*' *ity etayor avarṇasyaukāra ādeśo bhavati ḍhralope*
The *a* of verbal roots *sahI* and *vahI* is replaced with *oT* (1.1.70 *taparas* . . .) when deletion of *ḍh* and *r*, by means of *LOPA*, occurs.

EXAMPLES:

soḍhā 'he who endures'
soḍhum 'to endure'
soḍhavyam 'that which is to be endured'
voḍhā 'he who carries'
voḍhum 'to carry'
voḍhavyam 'that which is to be carried'

1. This rule offers *o* as a replacement for the *a* of *sah* and *vah*, when that which caused deletion of *ḍh* and *r* follows. Thus, we get (*sah* + *Kta*) + *ṬāP* = *soḍha* + *ā* = *soḍhā*, etc. Note that *soḍha* of *soḍhā* is similar in derivation to *līḍha*, where we do not get a replacement in *o*.

2. Note that the *a* which here gets replaced with *o* is specified with the qualification of *varṇa* 'sound'. Consequently, *a* represents all sounds homo-

geneous with it. That is, it also represents its long counterpart *ā*. Why can we not get this reference to *ā* by simply using *a*, without the specification of *varṇa*? That is, in consonance with 1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya*. . . . This would have served the purpose, had it not been for the specification of *o* with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*). This *t* would then have also been interpreted with *a* in consonance with *tād api taparaḥ* 'also what occurs after *t*', a second interpretation of *taparaḥ* (see 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*). That is, *a* would then have been restricted to refer to itself only. This would have blocked the *o*-replacement of *ā* of *vāh* in *udavoḍhām*, deriving from *ud* + *a* + *v*(*a*→*ā*→*o*) + (*h*→*ḍh*)) + *LUṄ*))). The *vṛddhi*-replacement of *a* in *vah* is accomplished by 7.2.3 *vadavraja*. . . .

6.3.113 साढ्यै साढ्वा साढेति निगमे

sāḍhyai sāḍhvā sāḍheti nigame
/*sāḍhyai* ϕ *sāḍhvā* ϕ *sāḍhā* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *nigame* 7/1/
'*sāḍhyai, sāḍhvā, sāḍhā*' *iti nigame nipātyante*
The words *sāḍhyai, sāḍhvā* and *sāḍhā* are derived in the Vedic via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

sāḍhyai 'having prevailed, or conquered'
sāḍhvā 'ibidem'
sāḍhā 'overcome, prevailed'

1. This rule offers *sāḍhyai* and *sāḍhvā* as derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic. That is, a replacement in *dhyai* for *Ktvā*, and a lack of replacement in *o* for *a* of *saha* can both be accomplished, via *nipātana*. The word *sāḍhvā* retains *Ktvā* and does not avail *o*-replacement. Finally, *sāḍhvā*, a derivate of *tṛN* (3.2.135 *tṛn*), again involves no replacement in *o*. The long *ā* in all these examples can be accomplished by 6.3.110 *ḍhralope pūrvasya*. . . .

6.3.114 संहितायाम्

saṃhitāyām/
saṃhitāyām 7/1/
'*saṃhitāyām*' *ity ayam adhikāraḥ; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ* '*saṃhitāyām*' *ity evaṃ tad veditavyam*
When *saṃhitā* finds its scope . . .

1. This is an *adhikāra*, valid through the end of this quarter. Note that an *adhikāra* carries (*anuvartate*), and thus, facilitates the application of rules contained within its domain. The word *saṃhitā* is explained as 'close proximity between sounds' (1.4.109 *paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*). Refer to examples under rules which follow.

2. Note that operations specific to the condition of *uttarapade* are performed by different rules. The condition of *uttarapade* is specifically offered in the context of compounds. Operations referred to by *saṃhitā* can thus be performed obligatorily. That is, in consonance with the general understanding that *saṃhitaikapade nityā* '*saṃhitā* is obligatory within a single *pada*'. Why do we then have *saṃhitāyām* as an *adhikāra*? Since the condition of *uttarapade* is limited to the context of a compound, this rule becomes necessary to account for contexts outside the condition of *uttarapade*. Thus, consider rule 6.3.134 *dvyaco' tas tiṅaḥ* which offers a long replacement for the final sound of a form ending in *tiN*. Since a form which ends in a *tiN* affix does not combine in a compound with any following constituent, *uttarapade* cannot facilitate this replacement.

6.3.115 **कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रुवस्वस्तिकस्य**

karṇe lakṣaṇasyāviṣṭāṣṭapañcamaṇibhinnacchinnacchidrasruvasvastikasya / *karṇe* 7/1 *lakṣaṇasya* 6/1 *āviṣṭa-aṣṭan-pañcan-maṇi-bhinna-chinna-chidra-sruva-svastikasya* 6/1 (*na viṣṭa-pañcan . . . svastikasya* (*nañ*. with int. *dv.*) / (*pūrvasya dīrghaḥ aṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)

karṇaśabde uttarapade lakṣaṇavācino dīrgho bhavati '*viṣṭa, aṣṭan, pañcan, maṇi, bhinna, chinna, chidra, sruva, svastika*' *ity etān varjayitvā*

A final short vowel denoted by *aṆ* of a nominal which denotes *lakṣaṇa* 'characteristic mark', and is other than *viṣṭa, aṣṭan, pañcan, maṇi, bhinna, chinna, chidra, sruva,* and *svastika,* is replaced with its long counterpart when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

dātrākarṇaḥ 'branded with mark of a sickle on the ear'
dviguṇākarṇaḥ 'branded with two marks on the ear'
triguṇākarṇaḥ 'branded with three marks on the ear'
dvyaṅgulākarṇaḥ 'branded with a mark equal in measure to two fingers on the ear'
aṅgulākarṇaḥ 'branded on the ear with mark of a finger'

1. This rule offers a long replacement for the final short vowel of a constituent which is used in combination with a following (*uttarapade*), namely *karṇa* 'ear', used with the signification of *lakṣaṇa* 'mark'. Additionally, this preceding constituent must be one other than *viṣṭa*, etc.

2. Note that *lakṣaṇa* is explained (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*: *lakṣyate' nena svāmiviśeṣasya sambandhaḥ*) as 'that by means of which a particular relationship (here, ownership) is marked to be known'. Thus, *dātrākarṇaḥ* '. . . one on whose ear there is mark of a sickle'. Other example compounds, mostly *bahuvrīhis*, can be similarly understood.

6.3.116 नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु क्वौ

nahivṛtivṛṣivyadhirucisahitaniṣu kvau
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
'*nahi, vṛti, vṛṣi, vyadhi, ruci, sahi, tani*' *ity eteṣu kvipratyayānteṣūttarapadeṣu pūrvapadasya dīrgho bhavati saṃhitāyām viṣaye*
A final short vowel denoted by *aṆ* of a nominal is replaced with its long counterpart when *nahi, vṛti, vṛṣi, vyadhi, ruci, sahi, tani,* all ending in *KvIP,* combine as following constituents.

EXAMPLES:

upānat 'shoe, sandal'
nīvṛt 'an inhabited place'
prāvṛṭ 'rainy season'
hṛdayāvit 'heart-piercing
nīruk 'tasteless, insipid'
ṛtīṣaṭ 'conquering enemies'
parītat 'encircling'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *aṆ* at the end of what precedes, when verbal roots *nahI, vṛtI, vṛṣI, vyadhI, rucI, sahI,* and *tanI,* used with affix *KvIP,* follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope. Thus, consider *upānat* 'shoe' where affix *KvIP* is introduced after *nah* by a *vārttika* (*sampadādibhyaḥ kvip;* ad 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*). The root-final *h* is then replaced with *t* (*cartva;* 8.4.55 *khari ca*), via *dh* (8.2.34 *naho dhaḥ*) and *d* (*jaśtva;* 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). Our present rule will then replace the short *a* of *upa,* in *upanat,* with its long counterpart yielding *upānat.*

2. Other derivates involve similar operations. Thus, *parīṇat* where, given *pari + nah + KvIP,* the *n* of *nah* is replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi* . . .). Affix *KvIP* is introduced by 3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate.* This same *KvIP* is also introduced in deriving *nīvṛt.* Replacements in *jaŚ* (*d; jaśtva*) and *caR* (*ṭ; cartva*) are also seen in *prāvṛṭ.* The *samprasāraṇa* of *vyadh* in *marmāvit* is accomplished by 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayivyadha.* . . . The *c* in *nīruk* goes through *kutva* of 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ.* The *s* of *sah* in *ṛtiṃ sahate* = *ṛtīṣaṭ* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.109 *saheḥ pṛtanartābhyāṃ ca*), via *yoga-vibhāga* 'split-interpretation' of *saheḥ.* The final *h* of *sah* . . ., as usual, goes through *jaśtva* and *cartva.* The *t* of *tan,* in *paritanoti* = *parītat,* is deleted at the strength of a *vārttika* (*gamanādīnām iti vaktavyam;* ad 6.4.40 *gamaḥ kvau*). Augment *tUK* is then introduced subsequently (6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*).

6.3.117 वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलकादीनाम्

vanigiryoḥ saṃjñāyāṃ koṭarakiṃśulakādīnām
/ *vana-giryoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *koṭara-kiṃśulaka-ādīnām* 6/3

= *koṭaraś ca kiṃśulakaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *koṭara-kiṃśulakau ādī yeṣām* (*bv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
'*vana, giri*' *ity etayor uttarapadayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ koṭarādīnāṃ kiṃśulakādīnāṃ ca dīrgho bhavti saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye*
The final sound segment of nominals listed in the group headed by *koṭara* and *kiṃśulaka* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vana* and *giri*, respectively, combine to follow them in *saṃhitā* and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

koṭarāvaṇam 'name of a forest'
miśrakāvaṇam 'ibidem'
sidhrakāvaṇam 'ibidem'
sārikāvaṇam 'ibidem'
kiṃśulakāgiriḥ 'name of a mountain'
añjalāgiriḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final vowels of nominals enumerated in the list headed by *koṭara* and *kiṃśula*, when *vana* and *giri*, respectively, follow to combine. Additionally, the derivates must denote a name (*saṃjñā*). Thus, *koṭarāvaṇam* 'name of a forest' and *miśrakāvaṇam* 'ibidem'; and *kiṃśulakāgiriḥ* and *añjalāgiriḥ*. Note that, in accord with 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*, we will get long replacement in nominals of the *koṭara* group only when *vana* combines to follow. Similarly, we will get a similar long replacement in nominals of the *kiṃśulaka* group when *giri* combines to follow. It is for this reason that *asipatravanam* and *kṛṣṇagiriḥ* are treated as counter-examples.

2. All example compounds are genitive *tatpuruṣa*. The *n* of *vana* is replaced with *ṇ* by 8.4.4 *vanaṃ puragāmiśrakā*. . . .

6.3.118 वले

vale
/*vale* 7/1/
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇ* #111, *saṃhitāyām* #114 *saṃjñāyām* #117)
vale parataḥ pūrvasya dīrgho bhavati
The final *aṆ* of a constituent is replaced with its long counterpart when *vala* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

āsutīvalaḥ 'distiller, brewer'
kṛṣīvalaḥ 'farmer'
dantāvalaḥ 'elephant'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for *aṆ*, also when *vala* follows and

derivates denote a name. Note that *vala* does not here refer to a nominal stem (*prātipadika*). Instead, and especially in view of association (*sāhacarya*) of *matUP* in the following rule, it here refers to affix *valaC* (5.2.112 *rajaḥkṛṣyāsut* . . .). Thus, *āsut*(*i*→*ī*) *valaḥ* = *āsutīvalaḥ*, etc.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block this lengthening in case of *utsāha*, *bhrātṛ* and *pitṛ*. Thus, we should still get *utsāhavalaḥ*, as against *utsāhāvalaḥ*, etc.

6.3.119 मतौ बह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम्

matau bahvaco' najirādīnām
/ *matau* 7/1 *bahvacaḥ* 6/1 = *bahvaco yasmin sa* (*bv.*); *anajirādīnām* 6/3 = *ajir ādir yeṣām* = *ajirādayaḥ*, *na ajirādayaḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*), *teṣām*) /
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *saṃjñāyām* #117)
matau parato bahvaco' jirādivarjitasya dīrgho bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
The final *aN* of a polysyllabic nominal other than one listed in the group headed by *ajira* is replaced with its long counterpart when *matUP* follows and *saṃhitā* finds its scope, provided, of course, the derivate also denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

udumbarāvatī 'name of a river'
maśakāvatī 'name of a place'
vīraṇāvatī 'ibidem'
puṣkarāvatī 'ibidem'
amarāvatī 'ibidem'
brīhimatī 'name of a river'
valayavatī 'ibidem'

1. The final vowel of a nominal which consists of many vowels, but is not *ajira*, etc., is replaced with its long counterpart, when affix *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, consider *udumbar*(*a*→*ā*) *vatī*, etc. Incidentally, affix *matUP* is introduced by 4.2.85 *nadyāṃ matup*. A replacement in *v* for *m* of *matUP* is accomplished by 8.2.11 *saṃjñāyām*.

Kāśikā offers *brīhimatī* 'rich in rice', *ajiravatī* 'she who has a mole . . .' and *valayavatī* (*matUP*; 5.2.94 *tad asyāstīti* . . .) as counter-examples for conditions of *bahvac*, *anajirādi* and *saṃjñāyām*, respectively.

6.3.120 शरादीनां च

śarādīnāṃ ca
/ *śarādīnāṃ* 6/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111, *saṃhitāyām* #114 *saṃjñāyām* #116 *matau* #119)
śarādīnāṃ ca matau dīrgho bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye

The final *aṆ* of nominals listed in the group headed by *śara* 'arrow' is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

śarāvatī 'name of a river'
vaṃśāvatī 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final of nominals listed in the *śarādi* group, provided *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes a name. Here again the *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v*, as also in case of *brīhimatī*. It, however, cannot be permitted in cases where nominals of the *yavādi* group are involved (8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś*. . .).

6.3.121 इको वहेऽपीलोः

iko vahe' pīloḥ
/*ikaḥ* 6/1 *vahe* 7/1 *apīloḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
igantasya pūrvapadasya pīluvarjitasya vaha uttarapade dīrgho bhavati
The final *iK* of a nominal other than *pīlu* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vaha* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

ṛṣīvaham 'name of a place'
kapīvaham 'ibidem'
munīvaham 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows shortening of the final *iK* of a preceding constituent when the same is not *pīlu*, but is combined before *vaha*. Our examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where *vaha* is a derivate of affix *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādibhyaḥ*. . .). *Kāśikā* offers *piṇḍavaham* and *pīluvaham* as counter-examples to conditions of *ikaḥ* and *pīloḥ*, respectively. These derivates both denote names. Incidentally, *Nyāsa* lists the examples in the masculine nominative singular.

2. A *vārttika* (*vt. apīlvādīnām iti vaktavyam*) proposal is made to read the exclusion as: *apīlvādīnām* 'except for *pīlu*, etc.' This extended exclusion can also block lengthening in additional derivate, for example, *dāruvaham*, etc.

6.3.122 उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम्

upasargasya ghañy amanuṣye bahulam
/*upasargasya* 6/1 *ghañi* 7/1 *amanuṣye* 7/1 = (*nañ*.); *bahulam* 1/1
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
upasargasya ghañante uttarapade' manuṣye' bhidheye bahulaṃ dīrgho bhavati

The final of a preverb (*upasarga*) is variously replaced with its long counterpart when affix *ghaÑ* follows, and the derivate does not denote *manuṣya* 'human'.

EXAMPLES:

vīkledaḥ 'getting wet'
vīmārgaḥ 'a broom'
apāmārgaḥ 'a plant'

1. This rule variously allows a long replacement for the short of an *upasarga* when the same combines with a derivate of *GHaÑ*. Thus, *nīkledaḥ*, *vīmārgaḥ* and *apāmārgaḥ*, where *GHaÑ* has been introduced after *klid* and *mṛj* by 3.3.121 *halaś ca*. The initial *vṛddhi*, and the *g*-replacement for *j* of *mṛj*, is accomplished by 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ* and 7.3.52 *cajo ku*. . . . This replacement will be blocked when the derivate denotes a human (*manuṣya*). Thus, consider *niṣādo manuṣyaḥ* '*niṣāda* is a human'. Incidentally, since it is impossible to find affix *GHaÑ* introduced after a preverb, *GHaÑ* of *ghañi* is interpreted as 'that which ends in *GHaÑ*'.

2. The following are some additional proposals made under this rule:
   (*i*) An *upasarga* should receive a final long replacement also when *sāda* and *kāra* combine to follow, and the derivate denotes *kṛtrima* 'non-natural, artificial'. Thus, *prāsādaḥ* 'palace' and *prākāraḥ* 'enclosure', etc.
   (*ii*) Another proposal seeks optional lengthening when *veśa*, etc., combine to follow. Thus, *prativeśaḥ/pratīveśaḥ* 'neighborhood' and *pratirodhaḥ/pratīrodhaḥ* 'obstacle'.

6.3.123 इकः काशे

ikaḥ kāśe
/*ikaḥ* 6/1 *kāśe* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *upasargasya* #122)
igantasyopasargasya kāśaśabda uttarapade dīrgho bhavati
The final *iK* of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when *kāśa* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

nīkāśaḥ 'look, appearance'
vīkāśaḥ 'progression'
anūkāśaḥ 'reflection of light'

1. This rule allows a long replacement when an *upasarga* ending in an *iK* combines with a following *kāśa*. Note that *kāśa* is not a derivate of *GHaÑ*. It is a derivate of *aC*, instead (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy* . . .). The condition of *iK* is imposed so that *pra* could not receive a long *ā* in *prakāśaḥ* 'light'.

6.3.124 दस्ति

das ti
/*daḥ* 6/1 *ti* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *upasargasya* #122 *ikaḥ* #123)
'*dā*' *ity etasya yas takārādir ādeśas tasmin parata igantasyopasargasya dīrgho bhavati*
The final *iK* of a preverb is replaced with its long counterpart when a replacement of *dā* beginning with *t* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nīttam 'made as a gift'
vīttam 'that which has passed'
parīttam 'given away'

1. This rule allows an *upasarga* which ends in an *iK* to receive a long vowel replacement when a *t*-initial replacement of *dā* follows. Thus, consider *ni-dā* + *Kta* = *nītta,* where the final *ā* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *dā* is replaced with *t* (7.4.77 *aca upasargāt taḥ*). Rule 8.4.54 *khari ca* then replaces the *d* of *ni* + *d* + *t* + *ta* with *t*. Rule 8.4.64 *jharo jhari savarṇe* then deletes the preceding *t*. This produces *ni* + (*d*→*t*) + (*t*→ϕ) + *ta*. Our present rule then offers a long *ī* for the short of *ni*. This same happens in case of *vīttam* and *parīttam*.

2. Note that the condition of *daḥ* is imposed so that *vi* and *ni* could be blocked from receiving lengthening, due mainly to an absence of *dā*. The condition of *ti* will similarly block lengthening in *sudattam* where *dā* is replaced with *dad* (8.4.60 *do dad ghoḥ*).

3. Note that the genitive of *daḥ* is here interpreted as signifying *sthāny-ādeśa-sambandha* 'substituendum substitute-relationship'. A question is raised as to how this long replacement for the final short of an *upasarga* can be accomplished. That is, when there will not be any *t*-initial replacement of *dā* to follow an *upasarga*. Recall that the *t*-initial replacement *dā* by 7.4.77 *aca upasargāt taḥ* will replace its final *ā*. That is, *d* of *ni* + *d* + *t* + *Kta*, will then intervene, and *ni* will not be directly followed by *t*-initial replacement. This long replacement cannot be accomplished even when the *d* is replaced with *t* by 8.4.54 *khari ca*. For, this *t*-replacement will become *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of the application of long replacement. Commentators explain that Pāṇini's specification by *ti* itself indicates that *asiddhatva* of *cartva* (of 8.4.54 *khari ca*) cannot be accepted as valid.

6.3.125 अष्टनः संज्ञायाम्

aṣṭanaḥ saṃjñāyām
/*aṣṭanaḥ* 6/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/

(*uttarapade* 31 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
'*aṣṭan*' *ity asyottarapade saṃjñāyāṃ dīrgho bhavati*
The final *aṆ* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow and the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

aṣṭāvakraḥ 'he whose eight limbs are crooked; a name'
aṣṭābandhuraḥ 'ibidem'
aṣṭāpadam 'he who has eight feet'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *aṣṭan* when a constituent follows and the derivate denotes a name. Thus *aṣṭāvakraḥ* 'he whose eight limbs are crooked', etc. Note that 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ*... accomplishes *n*-deletion of *aṣṭan*.

6.3.126 छन्दसि च

chandasi ca
/*chandasi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *aṣṭanaḥ* #125)
chandasi viṣaye' ṣṭan uttarapade dīrgho bhavati
The final *aṆ* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with its long counterpart, also in the Vedic, when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

āgneyámaṣṭā́kapālaṃ nírvapet cárum '... offer oblations in eight vessels...'
aṣṭāhiraṇyā dakṣiṇā 'a ritual gift of eight gold coins?'
aṣṭāpadī devatā sumatī 'a verse of eight quarters...'

1. Note that *aṣṭasu kapāleṣu saṃskṛtam* = *aṣṭākapālam* is a derivate of *aṆ*, introduced by 4.2.16 *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ*. This affix, however, is deleted by 4.1.88 *dvigor lug anapatye*. The final *a* of *pāda*, of *aṣṭau pādāḥ asyāḥ* = *aṣṭapadī*, is deleted by 5.4.138 *pādasya lopo*.... An optional affix *ṄīP* is then introduced by 4.1.8 *pādo' nyatarasyām*. A compound such as *aṣṭau hiraṇyāni parimāṇam asyāḥ* = *aṣṭahiraṇyā* 'that whose measure is eight gold coins' is formed in the sense of a *taddhita* affix (*taddhitārtha*; 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*...). The *taddhita* affix introduced by 5.1.57 *tad asya parimāṇam* is deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva*....
2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also allow lengthening when *gava* combines to follow. Thus, *aṣṭāgavaṃ śakaṭam* 'a cart pulled by eight bullocks'.

6.3.127 चितेः कपि

citeḥ kapi
/*citeḥ* 6/1 *kapi* 7/1/

(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
citiśabdasya kapi parato dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of *citi* is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *kaP* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

ekacitīkaḥ 'that which has one layer of bricks'
dvicitīkaḥ 'that which has two layers of bricks'
tricitīkaḥ 'that which has three layers of bricks'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *citi* when *kaP* follows. Thus, *ekā citir asya* = *ekacitīkaḥ*. Note that *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' is accomplished by 6.3.34 *striyāḥ puṃvadbhāṣita*. . . . Affix *kaP* is introduced by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*.

6.3.128 विश्वस्य वसुराटोः

viśvasya vasurāṭoḥ
/*viśvasya* 6/1 *vasurāṭoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
viśvaśabdasya 'vasu, rāṭ' ity etayor uttarapadayor dīrgha ādeśo bhavati
The final vowel of *viśva* is replaced with its long counterpart when *vasu* and *rāṭ* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

viśvāvasuḥ 'one of the names of Viṣṇu'
viśvārāṭ 'lord of the universe'

1. This rule allows *viśva* to receive lengthening when *vasu* and *rāṭ* combine to follow. Thus, consider *viśvārāṭ* where affix *KvIP* is introduced after *rājR̥* by 3.2.61 *satsūdviṣa*. . . . Note that a specification with *rāṭ* is made to ensure lengthening only where we find the form *rāṭ* (*yatrāsyaitad rūpam tatraiva*). Recall that such a form is available where the term *pada* can be assigned. We find no lengthening in *viśvarājau* and *viśvarājaḥ* because of negation of *asarvanāmasthāne* in 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*.

6.3.129 नरे संज्ञायाम्

nare saṃjñāyām
/*nare* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #144 *viśvasya* #129)
naraśabda uttarapade saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye viśvasya dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of *viśva* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nara* combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

viśvānaro nāma yasya vaiśvānariḥ putraḥ
'Vaiśvānari (Agni) is the son of he whose name is Viśvānara'

1. This rule allows lengthening of the final *a* of *viśva* when *nara* is combined to follow *viśva* and the derivate denotes a name. Thus, *viśvānaro nāma yasya, tasya putraḥ* = *vaiśvānariḥ* 'a son of Viśvānara'. This lengthening will be blocked, for example, in *viśve narā yasya sa* = *viśvanaraḥ* 'he whose all these men are'.

6.3.130 मित्रे चर्षौ

mitre carṣau
/*mitre* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *ṛṣau* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *viśvasya* #129)
mitre cottarapade ṛṣāv abhidheye viśvasya dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of *viśva* is also replaced with its long counterpart when *mitra* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes a sage (*ṛṣi*).

EXAMPLES:

viśvāmitro nāma ṛṣiḥ 'a sage named Viśvāmitra'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *viśva* when *mitra* combines to follow, and the derivate denotes a sage (*ṛṣi*). Thus, *viśvāmitraḥ* 'name of a sage'. This provision will be blocked where a sage is not denoted. Thus, *viśvamitro' yaṃ māṇavakaḥ* 'this boy is a friend of all'.

6.3.131 मन्त्रे सोमाश्वेन्द्रियविश्वदेव्यस्य मतौ

mantre somāśvendriyaviśvadevyasya matau
/*mantre* 7/1 *soma-aśva-indriya-viśvadevyasya* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*); *matau* 7/1/
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
mantraviṣaye 'soma, aśva, indriya, viśvadevya' ity eteṣāṃ matup pratyaye parato dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of *soma, aśva, indriya* and *viśvadevya* is, in the *mantra* usage, replaced with its long counterpart when affix *matUP* follows.

EXAMPLES:.

so̱mā̱va̱tī 'possessing soma'
aśvāvatī 'possessing horses'
indriyāvatī 'powerful'
viśvadévyāvatī 'dear to all gods'

1. This rule allows lengthening in *soma, aśva, indriya* and *viśvadevya*, when *matUP* follows and the usage belongs to the *mantra* literature of the Vedic. The examples are all derivates of the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*).

6.3.132 ओषधेश्च विभक्तावप्रथमायाम्

oṣadheś ca vibhaktāv aprathamāyām
/oṣadheḥ 6/1 *ca* ϕ *vibhaktau* 7/1 *aprathamāyām* 7/1 = *na prathamāyām* (*nañ.*)/
(*pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *mantre* #131)
oṣadhiśabdasya vibhaktāv aprathamāyāṃ parato dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of *oṣadhi* is also, in the *mantra* literature, replaced with its long counterpart when a nominal terminating in an ending other than *prathamā* 'first triplet (nominative)' follows.

EXAMPLES:

oṣadhībhir apīpatat
namáḥ pṛthivyai nama oṣádhībhyaḥ 'obeisance to earth and vegetations'

1. This rule allows lengthening to *oṣadhi*, again in the *mantra* literature, when a nominal ending other than the nominative (*prathamā*) follows. Thus, *namaḥ oṣadhībhyaḥ* '(our) salutation to vegetations'. A counter example to the condition of *prathamā* will be *sthireyam astv oṣadhiḥ* 'let this vegetation be here forever'.

6.3.133 ऋचि तुनुघमक्षुतङ्कुत्रोरुष्याणाम्

ṛci tunughamakṣutaṅkutrorusyāṇām
/ṛci 7/1 *tu-nu-gha-makṣu-taṅ-kutra-urusyāṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
ṛci viṣaye 'tu, nu, gha, makṣu, taṅ, kutra, urusya' ity eteṣām dīrgho bhavati
The final *aṆ* of *tu, nu, gha, makṣu, taṅ, ku, tra* and *urusya* is replaced with its long counterpart when the usage is a Vedic hymn, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

ā tū ná indra vṛtrahan 'come to us O, Indra, killer of Vṛtra'
nū karaṇe
uta vā ghā syālāt
makṣū gómantamīmahe
bharátā jātavedasam 'make Agni happy'
kūmanaḥ 'wicked-minded'
atrā gauḥ
urusyā ṇó' gneḥ 'protect us O, Agni'

1. This rule allows lengthening of *tu*, etc., in the context of *ṛcā* 'Vedic hymn'. Note that *taṄ* '*ta* with *Ṅ* as an *it*' refers to the active (*parasmaipada*) replacement of second personal plural *tha* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ tāṃtaṃtāmaḥ*). Recall that a replacement of *LOṬ* is treated as a replacement

of *LAṄ*, marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, by extension (*atideśa*; 3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat*). The *tra* of *atrā* has its source in affix *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*). A replacement in *aN*, for *etad* of *etad* + *traL*, is accomplished by 5.3.5 *etado' n*. The word *uruṣyā*, paraphrased as *ātmana urum icchati*, is a derivate of *uru* + *am* + *KyaC*, where augment *sUK* (*vt* ad 7.1.51 *aśvakṣravṛṣa . . .*: *sarvaprātipadikebhyo lālasāyāṃ sug vaktavyaḥ*) is introduced to produce *uru* + *sUK* + *KyaC*→*urusya*. Given *urusya* + (*LOṬ*→*hi*) = *urusya* + (*hi*→ϕ), where *hi* gets deleted by 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* and *s* of *urusya* gets replaced with *ṣ*, our present rule orders lengthening.

Why can we not interpret the specification by *gha*, of this rule, as referring to affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*). A form ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* which, in turn, may involve this lengthening is impossible (*asambhava*) to find, especially in this context of *ṛcā*.

6.3.134 इकः सुञि

ikaḥ suñi
/*ikaḥ* 6/1 *suñi* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *ṛci* #132)
igantasya suñi parato ṛci viṣaye dīrgho bhavati
The final vowel of a word which ends in *iK* is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, *suÑ* follows, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

abhī ṣu ṇaḥ sákhīnām
ūrdhva ū ṣu ṇá ūtaye

1. This rule allows an *iK* which occurs before *suÑ* to be replaced with its long counterpart, provided the context is *ṛcā*. Note that *suṬ* is a particle, where its *s* is replaced with *ṣ*. The *n* of the pronominal *naḥ* is replaced with *ṇ* by 8.4.26 *naś ca dhātustho. . . .*

6.3.135 द्व्यचोऽतस्तिङः

dvyaco' tas tiṅaḥ
dvyacaḥ 6/1 = *dvau acau yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasya; ataḥ* 6/1 *tiṅaḥ* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114 *ṛci* #132)
dvyacas tiṅantasyāta ṛgviṣaye dīrgho bhavati
The *a* of a *tiṄ* affix composed of two vowels is replaced with its long counterpart when, in a Vedic hymn, *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

vidmā hi tvā gopátiṃ śūra gonām 'O, brave Indra, we know you as the master of many cows'
vidmā śarasyá pitarám

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *a* of a *tiṄ* affix composed of two vowels. Of course, when the context is *ṛcā*. Thus, consider *vidmā*, a form of *LOṬ* ending in *mas* 'first person plural active verbal ending'. *Kāśikā* offers *bharata* and *vakṣi* as counter-examples to conditions of *dvyacaḥ* and *ataḥ*, respectively.

6.3.136 **निपातस्य च**

nipātasya ca
/ *nipātasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #144 *ṛci* #133)
nipātasya ca ṛgviṣaye dīrgha ādeśo bhavati
The final *aṆ* of a particle, in a Vedic hymn, is also replaced with its long counterpart when *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

evā té
acchā́ te

1. A particle is also subjected to lengthening in a context of *ṛcā*. Thus, *evā* and *acchā* which are *nipātas* because of their membership in the *cādi* group (1.4.57 *cādayo' sattve*).

6.3.137 **अन्येषामपि दृश्यते**

anyeṣām api dṛśyate
/ *anyeṣām* 6/3 *api* ϕ *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*) /
(*uttarapade* #1 *dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
anyeṣām api dīrgho dṛśyate
A final *aṆ* is also seen replaced with its long counterpart, elsewhere.

EXAMPLES:

keśākeśi 'a fight where one pulls the hair of another'
kacākaci 'ibidem'
jalāṣāt 'he who endures rain'
nārakaḥ pūruṣaḥ 'a sinful man'

1. This rule covers examples not enumerated thus far. Consider what the *Kāśikā* says: *yasya dīrghatvaṃ na vihitaṃ dṛśyate ca prayoge tad anena kartavyam* 'that for which lengthening is not offered but is seen in the usage should be accomplished by this rule'. Thus, *keśākeśi* and *kacākaci*, etc., where the compounds are formed by 2.2.27 *tatra tenedam* . . ., and the *samāsānta* affix is introduced by 5.4.127 *ic karma*. . . .

2. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to allow lengthening in *śvan* when *danta, daṃṣṭrā, karṇa, kunda, varāha, puccha* and *pada* follow.

6.3.138 चौ

cau
/*cau* 7/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
cau parataḥ pūrvapadasya dīrgho bhavati
The final *aṆ* of a preceding word is replaced with its long counterpart when *cU* combines to follow, and *saṃhitā* finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

dadhīcaḥ (*paśya*) 'nominative plural of *dadhīc*'
dadhīce 'dative singular . . .'
madhūcaḥ (*paśya*) 'nominative plural of *madhūc*'
madhūce . . . 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule allows lenghtening when *cu* follows a sound denoted by *aṆ*. The word *cu* here refers to verbal root *añc* with its deleted nasal. Consider *dadhīca* where *añc* receives affix *KvIN* (3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk* . . .) and its nasal is deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal*. . . . The *a* of *ac* + *KvIN* is deleted by 6.4.138 *acaḥ*. The word *dadhīcaḥ* is thus a derivate of *dadhi* + *c* + *Śas*, with long *ī* replacing the short of *dadhi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *madhūcaḥ*. Affix *KvIN*, as usual, gets deleted.

Note that a replacement denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaṆ* (*yaṇādeśa*; 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*) is applicable here on the basis of being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). This, however, does not apply at the strength of this express provision of long-vowel replacement (*dīrghādeśa*; *Kāś*: *antaraṅgo' pi hi yaṇādeśo dīrghavidhānasāmarthyān na pravarttate*).

6.3.139 सम्प्रसारणस्य

samprasāraṇasya
/*samprasāraṇasya* 6/1/
(*uttarapade* #1 *pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #111 *saṃhitāyām* #114)
samprasāraṇāntasya pūrvapadasyottarapade dīrgho bhavati
The final of a word which has gone through *samprasāraṇa* is replaced with its long counterpart when a constituent combines to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kārīṣagandhīputraḥ 'son of a female who smelled like dried cow-dung'
kārīṣagandhīpatiḥ 'husband of . . .'
kaumudagandhīputraḥ 'son of a female who smelled like lily'
kaumudagandhīpatiḥ 'husband of . . .'

1. Note that *uttarapade* is still carried. This rule offers a long replacement for the short final *aṆ* of a preceding constituent ending in a vowel termed

samprasāraṇa. Of course, when a constituent in combination follows. Thus, we get *kāriṣagandhīputraḥ* and *kāriṣagandhīpatiḥ*, where the final *samprasāraṇa* vowel *i* of *kāriṣagandhi* is replaced with its long counterpart before *putra* and *pati*. Recall that this *samprasāraṇa* vowel, in fact, is the *samāsānta* affix *i* (5.4.137 *upamānāc ca*). Refer to the appendix of 6.1.13 *ṣyaṅaḥ samprasāraṇam* for derivational details of these examples.

2. A question is raised as to why 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo*... cannot be applied on *kāriṣagandhi* of *kāriṣagandhiputraḥ*? Recall that this rule, in the opinion of Gālava, offers a short replacement for the final *i*. Our present rule will require a replacement in long. *Nyāsa* suggests that the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* will be carried to 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo*... from 6.3.59 *ekahalādau*.... This will then turn 6.3.61 *iko hrasvo*... into a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. Consequently, *kāriṣagandhi* will escape its application. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) finds *vipratiṣedha* in the application of rules 6.1.61 and 6.3.139. He claims that an independent scope of application of 6.3.61 can be seen in *grāmaṇiputraḥ*. A similar independent scope of 6.3.139 can be found in contexts where shortening of 6.3.61 cannot apply. Thus, given that *dīrgha* 'lengthening' finds its scope even when *hrasva* does not find its scope, *dīrgha* of this rule blocks the application of *hrasva* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe*...). Why can *hrasva* not apply after the application of *dīrgha* in consonance with *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñāna*, a renewed context of application? This cannot be done since that which goes through *vipratiṣedha* once, and hence is blocked, remains blocked forever (*PŚ* 41: *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitaṃ tad bādhitam eva*).

PĀDA FOUR

6.4.1 अंगस्य

aṅgasya 6/1/
adhikāro' yam ā saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteḥ; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmo' ṅgasyety evaṃ tad veditavyam
Of that which is termed an *aṅga*....

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. It is carried over to all rules contained within its domain, valid through the end of the seventh chapter (*saptamādhyāya*).

2. Some claim that this *adhikāra* of *aṅgasya* is valid prior to rules introducing modification to *abhyāsa* (7.4.58 *atra lopo' bhāsasya*). This way, one need not specify *luk* in the wording of rule 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*. Why? Rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyaylakṣaṇam* can account for its purpose. If such an *adhikāra*

of *aṅgasya* is accepted as valid, even in the section dealing with modifications introduced to an *abhyāsa*, 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block operations relative to an *aṅga*. Of course, based on deletions accomplished via *LUK*, *ŚLU* and *LUP*. The *LUK* of 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* is stated so that *guṇa* is applied against the negation of 1.1.62 *na lumatāṅgasya*.

The author of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* finds problems in accepting this limited governing scope of *aṅgasya*. The author of the *vṛtti* considers *vraśc* + *LIṬ*→*vavraśca* where, given *va* + *vraśc* + *LIṬ*, 6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām* would apply to replace *r* with its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *ṛ*. This *samprasāraṇa* will become applicable again to *v* after the application of 7.4.66 *ur at* and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. The negation of this *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*) which is desired can then not apply. For, the *a* which results from the application of 7.4.66 *ur at* will not be a *samprasāraṇa* vowel. One cannot invoke *sthānivadbhāva* here because the *samprasāraṇa* condition of *paranimitta* 'following condition' can then not be satisfied (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *vṛttikāras tu manyate-yadi prāg abhyāsavikārebhyoṅgādhikāraḥ vavraś ceti vṛścater liṭi* '*liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*' *iti rephasys samprasāraṇe uradatva halādiśeṣe ca kṛte vakārasyāpi samprasāraṇaṃ prāpnoti, tasya* '*na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam*' *iti pratiṣedha iṣyate, sa na prāpnoti*; *uradatvasyāsamprasāraṇatvāt. na ca tasya sthānivatvam, aparanimittatvāt*). It is to facilitate the derivation of *vavraśca* (and not of **vraśca*) that *aṅgasya* is treated as valid up to the end of the seventh chapter (*adhyāya*).

If one accepts the extent of the domain of *aṅgasya* valid through the end of the seventh chapter, the result of 7.4.66 *ur at* will constitute the following condition. For, an *aṅga* will then expect its own affixal right condition (*PM*: *ā saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteḥ punar aṅgādhikāre saty uradatvaṃ paranimittakaṃ bhavati, aṅgena svanimittasya pratyayasyāpekṣepāt*). The idea that one need not specify *luk* in 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* is not acceptable. For, the applicational domain of that negation (cf. 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*) is not limited only to operations of the domain of *aṅgasya*. It is true that this negation applies to an *aṅga* which has gone through deletion of its affix via *LUK*. But it is also true that operations relative to an *aṅga*, such as this one, will apply whether they are limited to the domain of *aṅga* or not. (*PM*: *lumatā lupte pratyaye vastuto yad aṅgaṃ tasya prāptaṃ yat kāryam āṅgam anāṅgaṃ vā tasya sarvasya pratiṣedhaḥ*). It is therefore wise to accept the scope of *aṅgasya* valid through the end of the seventh chapter.

3. I shall now offer some illustrations where *aṅgasya* plays a role in proper interpretation and application of rules contained within its domain. For example, Pāṇini says 6..4.2 *halaḥ* which, when read with 6.4.1. *aṅgasya*, yields the following interpretation:

> 'a long replacement is introduced to the *aṅga*-final *samprasāraṇa* vowel which is denoted by *aṆ* and occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*'

Consider *hve(Ñ)* + *(K) ta→hūtaḥ*, where *v* goes through a replacement in *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . .; 1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*) and the resultant vocalic sequence is replaced with a single vowel homogeneous with the preceding (*pūrvasavarṇa*; 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). Thus, *h(v→u) e(Ñ)* + *(K) ta→h(u* + *e→u)* + *ta→h(u→ū)* + *ta→hūta* + *sU→hūtaḥ*. A long replacement for the short *u* is subsequently accomplished by 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Similar applications of *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvarūpa* and long replacement (*dīrgha*) produce (*jyā* + *Kta*) + *sU)→jīnaḥ* where 8.2.44 *lvādibhyaḥ* replaces the *t* of the *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) suffix with *n*.

Why do we need this specification by *aṅgasya* 'of (part) of an *aṅga*'? Consider (*nir-veÑ* + *Kta*)→(*nir-(v→u)* + *e* + *ta*)→(*nir-(u* + *e→u)* + *ta→niruta* + *sU* = *nirutam* and (*dur-u* + *ta*) + *sU→durutam*, where there is no long replacement since *nir* and *dur* are preverbs. They are not part of the *aṅga*, i.e., *veÑ* and *i*. The *samprasāraṇa* vowel also does not occur after a consonant which is part of the *aṅga*.

Now consider 6.4.3 *nāmi* which facilitates a long replacement for the final short of an *aṅga* when *nām* follows (*Kāś*: *nāmi dīrghaḥ*). Thus, *agni* + *ām→agn(i→ī)* + *ām→agnī* + *nUṬ* + *ām→agnīnām*, when augment *nUṬ* is introduced by 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*.

Why do we have the condition of *aṅgasya*? Consider *kriminā* + *am* and *pāmanā* + *am* where *kriminā* and *pāmanā* are derivates of *krimiṇa* + *ṬāP* and *pāmana* + *ṬāP*. Note that *krimiṇa* and *pāmana* are derivates of affix *na* (5.2.100 *lopādipāmādo* . . .) which, in turn, is introduced after *krimi* + *Jas* and *pāman* + *Jas* with the signification of *krimayaḥ santy asyām* 'that in which there are worms' and *pāmānaḥ santy asyām* 'that which itches'. Since this is the domain of *aṅgasya* we do not get a long replacement for the final short of *krimi* and *pāma* before *nām*. For *pāmana* and *krimiṇa* are derivates of *na*. The forms *pāma* and *krimi* cannot be assigned the term *aṅga* before *nām*. The *nām* of *krimiṇām* and *pāmanām* is gotten by combining *nā* and *am*. If there was no specification of the domain of *aṅga*, a long replacement could apply to the short final of *krimi* and *pāma* before *nām*. That is, long replacement can apply before any *nām*.

Now consider 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* whereby *bhis* 'instrumental plural', which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a* (*aT*), is replaced with *ais*. Consider *brāhmaṇabhissā* and *odanabhissiṭā* where *aT* is not the final of an *aṅga* and *bhis* of *bhissā* and *bhissiṭā* is not an affix with reference to which the term *aṅga* could be assigned. Both *brāhmaṇa* and *odana* cannot be termed an *aṅga* before *bhissā* and *bhissiṭā*. The preceding two examples focus on *bhis* as part of a compound. Now consider *he brāhmaṇa bhissā tatva vartate* where *bhis* is part of a nominal stem, i.e., *bhissā* which, in turn, is not a compound constituent. We also find that *bhis* occurs after *brāhmaṇa* which ends in *a*. But *brāhmaṇa* is not an *aṅga*. For, *bhis* is not an affix here. Incidentally, *bhissā*

means 'rice' and *bhissiṭā* means 'burned'. Haradatta (*PM*) cites the form as *bhissadā* and glosses it as *dadhi* 'yogurt'.

4. One cannot here argue that *aṅgasya* is not needed. A long replacement which may becomes applicable can be blocked by invoking the *paribhāṣā* (15): *arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya* 'a specification applicable to something meaningful does not allow inclusion of something non-meaningful'. That is, this *paribhāṣā* will not permit a non-meaningful *bhis* to condition lengthening in *brāhmaṇabhissā* and *odanabhissiṭā*. Why do we need *aṅgasya*? Commentators emphasize that the domain of *aṅgasya* is specified for purposes of other operations. It also controls long replacements, etc., of 6.4.3 *nāmi* (*Kāś*: *aṅgādhikāraḥ kṛto' nyārthaḥ, nāmi dīrghatvād api vyavasthāpayatīti tadartham arthavadgrahaṇaparibhāṣā nāśrayitavyā bhavati*). We must need *aṅgasya*.

The genitive of *aṅgasya* denotes 'relations is general' (*sambandha-sāmānya*). It is interpreted in particular senses of *sthāna* 'in place of' and *avayava* 'part of a whole', as context of rules may demand (*Kāś*: *aṅgasyeti sambandhasāmānye eṣā ṣaṣṭhī yathāyogaṃ viśeṣv avatiṣṭhate*). Thus, the genitive of *hanteḥ* (6.4.36 *hanter jaḥ*) is interpreted as *sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of'. The same in 6.4.89 *ūd upadhāyāḥ* . . . is interpreted as denoting 'part of a whole' (*avayava-ṣaṣṭhī*). The genitive of *yuvoḥ* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*) is similarly interpreted as denoting a relationship characterized as 'condition-conditioned' (*nimitta-nimitti*).

Commentarors also offer another proposal. They state that the stem notion (*prātipadikārtha*) of *aṅga*, with no meaning of genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), is carried to all rules. This stem notion keeps adjusting with the denotation of 'ablative' (*pañcamī*) or genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), as may be desired by the context of individual rules. This facilitates proper interpretation of rules with desired meanings.

5. Commentators outline the following rules whose operational provisions must meet the condition of *aṅgasya* as a domain heading:

(*i*) 6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ sani*, whereby an *aṅga* which ends in *a*, or is constituted by *han* and *gam*, receives a long replacement before a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL*. Consider (*vi* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*))→*vivīṣati*, where iteration (*dvitva*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa* are accomplished after the long replacement of this rule. Such a long replacement cannot be availed by *dadhi sanoti* where *i* of *dadhi* is not a part of the *aṅga*. That is, *san* of *sanoti* is not an affix.

(*ii*) 6.4.68 *vā' nyasya saṃyogādeḥ*, whereby an *aṅga* which is not termed *ghu* but begins with a conjunct and ends in an *ā*, receives an optional replacement in *e* when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṄ* marked with *K* or *Ṅ* follows. Consider *gleyāt* or *glāyāt* where *ai* of *glai* is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe* . . .). The *e* (*etva*) of this rule produces *gl*(*ā*→*e*)*yāt*→*gleyāt*. This replacement is not pos-

sible in deriving *nirvāyāt* where *r* of *nir* is not a part of the *aṅga*. That is, the root is not conjunct-initial.

(*iii*) 7.1.35 *tuhyos tātaṅ . . .*, whereby *tu* and *hi* are replaced, optionally, with *tātAṄ* when the denotatum is benediction (*āśiṣi*). We thus get *jīvatād bhavān/jīvatu bhavān* 'may you live long'; *jīvatāt tvam/jīva tvam*. This replacement in *tātAṄ* cannot apply on *jīva tu tvam* because *jīva* is not an *aṅga* with reference to *tu*, an indeclinable particle.

(*iv*) 6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvāṃ . . .*, whereby the final *i* and *u* of some specified *aṅga* is, respectively, replaced with *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* before a vowel initial affix. Thus, we get *niyau/ niyaḥ* and *luvau/ luvaḥ*, where these bases are derived with *KvIP*, and *ī* and *ū* of *nī* and *lū* are replaced with *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, respectively.

(*v*) 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*, whereby augment *nUṬ* is introduced to *ām* which, in turn, occurs after an *aṅga* ending, either in a short vowel or in a *nadī* word, or else, in a feminine affix with *āP*. Thus we get *agnīnām, kumārīṇām* and *mālānām*. We cannot get *nUṬ* in *kumārī ām ity āha* 'the girl said "*ām*" (yes)', because *kumārī* cannot be indentified as an *aṅga* before *ām*, a non-affixal indeclinable.

(*vi*) 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*, whereby a vowel denoted by *aṆ* is replaced with its short counterpart before affix *ka*. We thus get (*kumār*(*ī*→*i*) + *ka*) + *ṬāP*→*kumārikā* + *sU*→*kumārikā*. We cannot get this replacement in *kumārī kasmai spṛhayati* 'who does the girl love' and *kumāryaḥ kaṃ sukham* 'what happiness does this girl have', where *ka*, of *kasmai* and *kam*, is not an affix before which *kumārī* can be termed an *aṅga*. Besides, both *kumārī* and *kumāryāḥ* are already fully derived words.

(*vii*) 7.4.48 *apo bhi*, whereby the *aṅga*-final *p* of *ap* is replaced with *t* when an affix beginning with *bh* follows. Thus, we get *a*(*p*→*t*→*d*) + *bhi*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *adbhiḥ* and *adbhyaḥ*. Now consider the counter-example, i.e., (*a*(*p*→*b*) + *bhār*ḥ))→*abbhāraḥ*, where this replacement cannot apply since *ap* is not an *aṅga*.

6.4.2 हलः

halaḥ
/*halaḥ* 5/1/
(*dīrgho' ṇaḥ* #6.3.111 *samprasāraṇasya* #6.3.139 *aṅgasya* #1)
aṅgāvayavādd halo yad uttaraṃ samprasāraṇam tadantasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati

The final sound of an *aṅga*, which terminates in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel denoted by *aṆ* and occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*, is replaced with its long counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

> *hūtaḥ* 'called, summoned'
> *jīnaḥ* 'subdued, conquered'
> *saṃvītaḥ* 'properly covered'

1. This rule offers a long replacement to an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel occurring after a consonant contained within it.

This rule can be interpreted in three ways as follows:

(*i*) *hala uttarasya samprasāraṇāntasya aṅgasya dīrgho bhavati* 'a long replacement applies to the final sound of an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and occurs after a consonant';

(*ii*) *aṅgāvayavādd hala uttarasya samprasāraṇasya dīrgho bhavati* 'long replacement applies to a *samprasāraṇa* vowel which occurs after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*';

(*iii*) *aṅgāvayavādd halo yad uttaraṃ samprasāraṇaṃ tadantasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati* 'a long replacement applies to an *aṅga* which ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel occurring after a consonant contained within the *aṅga*'

The *Kāśikāvṛtti* accepts the third interpretation.

If the first interpretation is accepted, long replacement will apply to the *u* of (*nir-ve*(*Ñ*) + (*K*) *ta*)) + *sU*→*nirutam* and (*dur-veÑ* + (*K*) *ta*)) + *sU*→*durutam.* Note that the *u* of *nir-u* + *tam* is a *samprasāraṇa* replacement of *ve,* via (*v*→*u*) *e*→*ue*→*u,* a single replacement of the vocalic sequence *u* + *e,* similar to the first of the sequence (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). Of course, the *aṅga* occurs after a consonant, namely *r,* the final of the preverb *nir.* The *r* of *dur* similarly precedes the *aṅga,* i.e., *u,* in *durutam.* Recall that *u* itself is a vowel termed *samprasāraṇa.* The lengthening of *u* and *i,* in *nirutam* and *durutam,* is, however, not desired (*aniṣṭa*). Accepting the first interpretation will yield wrong forms **nirūtam* and **durūtam.* For, we find an *aṅga* which, here, ends in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and occurs after a consonant. Notice that, in this interpretation, the consonant is not considered part of the *aṅga.*

Accepting the second interpretation will also yield undesired results, especially in deriving *viddhaḥ* and *vicitaḥ.* This interpretation will provide lengthening in *viddhaḥ/vicitaḥ* and yield undesired forms: *vīddhaḥ* and **vīcitaḥ.* Incidentally, we get *viddhaḥ* and *vicitaḥ* from (*vyadh* + *Kta*) + *sU*)) and (*vyac* + *Kta*) + *sU*)), where 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayivyadhivaṣṭivicati* . . . requires *samprasāraṇa* of *y.* The *v* of *vyadh* and *vyac* is saved from going through *samprasāraṇa* as a result of the negation of 6.1.36 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam.* Notice also that we have the *samprasāraṇa* vowel *i* occurring after a consonant (*v*) contained within the *aṅga.* It is to remove problems relative to the acceptance of the first two interpretations that *Kāśikā* accepts the third interpretation. But this interpretation cannot be gotten with just one use of the word

aṅga. For, a single *aṅgasya* can either qualify *hal*, or be used for specifying operational locus (*kārya-pratipatti*). A single use of *aṅgasya* can be accepted only as a qualifier to *halaḥ*. We also need another *aṅgasya* so that its genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) can be interpreted as denoting *sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of' and can serve as a qualified (*viśeṣya*) to *samprasāraṇam*. We can then get the sense of 'an *aṅga* ending in a *samprasāraṇa*', via applying *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting a specification as also that which ends in that' to the qualifier *samprasāraṇa*. The first *aṅgasya* will be treated as a qualifier to *halaḥ* where its genitive will be interpreted as denoting a relationship characterized as 'part of a whole' (*avayavāvayavi-sambandha*). If, on the other hand, *aṅgasya* is not used as a qualifier to *halaḥ*, a long replacement cannot be made available to an *aṅga* which may end in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel and be followed by a consonant. *Kāśikā*, therefore, uses the word *aṅga* twice, by way of repetition (*āvṛtti*) of *aṅgasya* already made available. Thus, we get two phrases in the *vṛtti*: *aṅgāvayavādd halaḥ* and *tadantasyāṅgasya dīrghaḥ*. How can a single *aṅgasya* be used twice? Like a single pot used for feeding many not eating concurrently (*yathaikaṃ bhājanam asahabhujām anekeṣāṃ bhujikriyāyām*). Thus,

> *āvarttamānaṃ vastv ekaṃ apy anekasya śeṣatām/*
> *bhajate bhājanaṃ yadvan nṛṇām asahabhojane//*
> 'as a single thing serves as a remainder, like a pot, when used in turn for many not eating concurrently'

Consider the following *ślokavārttika* which summarizes many of the interpretational problems discussed:

> *nanv ekam aṅgagrahaṇaṃ prakṛtaṃ tadd halo yadi/*
> *viśeṣaṇaṃ syāt kāryitvam aṅgasyeha na labhyate//*
> *tataś ca viddham ity ādāv api dīrghaḥ prasajyate/*
> *atha nirdiśyate kāryī nāhalaḥ syād viśeṣaṇam//*
> *tato nirutam ity ādāv api dīrghatvam āpatet/*
> *sakṛc chrutasya caikasya yujyate nobhayārthatā//*
> 'if *aṅgasya*, as given, is interpreted as a qualifer to *halaḥ*, we cannot have *aṅgasya* to specify operational locus. This, in turn, will cause lengthening in *viddham*, etc. If, on the other hand, *aṅgasya* is used to specify operational locus, it cannot be used to qualify *halaḥ*. This will occasion lengthening in *nirutam*, etc. For, a single utterance (here, *aṅgasya*) cannot be associated with dual meanings'

In summary, *aṅgasya* is to be read again via repetition: once for making it a qualifier to *halaḥ* and once again for specifying the operational locus (*Kāś*: *aṅgagrahaṇam āvartayitavyam: halviśeṣaṇārtham, aṅgakāryapratipatyarthaṃ ca*).

Note that *aṇaḥ* (6.3.111), *dīrghaḥ* (6.3.111) and *samprasāraṇasya* (6.3.139) are all carried over. But how could *aṇaḥ* be carried here when its *anuvṛtti* is already canceled by the incompatible *ik* of 6.3.123 *ikaḥ kāśe*. No problem.

Carry *iK* as a qualifier to *aṆ*, thereby yielding the meaning: an *aṇ* which is denoted by an *iK* (*a ig iti*). But qualifying *aṆ* with *iK* will create problems in applying rule 6.3.138 *cau*, where *aṆ* alone is desired to be carried. Consequently, lengthening cannot be accomplished in *avācā* and *svarācā*. In that case, just carry *aṆ* from 6.3.138 *cau*. Or else, bring *iK* by *maḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap' process of *anuvṛtti*. Incidentally, *aṆ* is required because lengthening can apply only to a vowel denoted by *aṆ*

6.4.3 नामि

nāmi
/*nāmi* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1)
nāmi parato' ṅgasya dīrgho bhavati
The final short vowel of an *aṅga* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

agnīnām 'genitive plural of *agni*'
vāyūnām 'genitive plural of *vāyu*'
kartṝṇām 'genitive plural of *kartṛ*'

1. Note that *nām* of *nāmi* is interpreted as the genitive plural nominal ending *ām*, used with augment *nUṬ* (*sanuṭka*; *Kāś*: '*nām*' *ity etat ṣaṣṭhībahuvacanam āgatanuṭkaṃ gṛhyate*). This rule thus allows lengthening of an *aṅga* when *nām* follows. The *aṆ* of 6.3.111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya dīrgho' ṇ* is not carried here. That is, lengthening can also apply to *ṛ*.

2. A specification with *nUṬ* is made so that (*i*) *ām* is interpreted as *nām* and (*ii*) introduction of augment *nUṬ* is accomplished before a replacement in long. For, 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* will introduce *nUṬ* under the condition of *hrasva* 'short', etc. Consider *agni* + *ām*, where, unless *ām* is specified as *nām*, long replacement of this rule will become applicable simultaneously with the introduction of *nUṬ*. Note that *nUṬ* is subsequent in order (*paraḥ*), but *dīrgha* 'long replacement' is obligatory (*nitya*). That is, it will apply whether *nUṬ* applies or not. Once the long replacement has taken effect, *nUṬ* cannot be introduced. For, the condition of *nUṬ*, i.e., *hrasva*, will be removed by a replacement in long (*dīrgha*). Why can we not introduce *nUṬ* accepting *bhūtapūrvagati* 'existence of a short (*hrasva*) vowel prior to the application of a long (*dīrgha*)'. If *nUṬ* does not apply after a long replacement has applied, specifying *nUṬ* with *hrasvasya* in rule 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* will becomes vacuous (*vyartha*). That is, it will not have any scope of application (*niravakāśa*). It is, therefore, suggested that *nUṬ* be introduced even after the application of *dīrgha* 'long'. How? By accepting

bhūtapūrvagati 'existence of *hrasva* prior to the application of *dīrgha*'. This way, *nUṬ* can be accomplished without making its provision vacuous.

But this method of applying *nUṬ* is not valid. The provision of *nUṬ* cannot become vacuous because its application is seen, for example, in *tisṛṇām*, etc., where *dīrgha* 'long' is not available. It is thus clear that applying *nUṬ* simply because its provision will otherwise become vacuous is not acceptable. Also recall that 6.4.7 *nopadhāyāḥ* negates a long replacement to the penultimate sound of an *aṅga* when the *aṅga* ends in *n* (*nānta*). That is, *nUṬ* must be introduced before a long replacement is accomplished. For, in the absence of *nUṬ*, there will be a long replacement in *carman* + *ām*→ **carmāṇām*. A long replacement before *ām*, used with *nUṬ* (*sanuṭka*; *nām*), will not allow a long replacement in *carman* + *ām* = *carmaṇām*. It is, therefore, recommended that *nUṬ* be introduced first:

nāmidīrgha āmi cet syāt kṛte dīrghe na nuḍ bhavet/
vacanād yatra tan nāsti nopadhāyāś ca carmaṇām//
'if the long replacement provision of *nāmi* is accomplished when *ām* follows, *nUṬ* cannot be introduced after the long replacement. It is not proper to argue that *nUṬ* can be introduced at the strength of Pāṇini's own statement (*ārambha-sāmarthya*). For, *nUṬ* is not in any danger of becoming vacuous. This provision is also made there by the lengthening of *nopadhāyāś ca*'

6.4.4 न तिसृचतसृ

na tisṛcatasṛ
/*na* ф *tisṛ-catasṛ* (6/2 deleted cf. 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk* . . .; *itar. dv.*)/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3)
'*tisṛ, catasṛ*' *ity etayor nāmi dīrgho na bhavati*
The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*, is not replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tisṛṇām 'genitive plural of *tisṛ*'
catasṛṇām 'genitive plural of *catasṛ*'

1. This rule disallows a long replacement when *nām* follows *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*. Note that *tri* and *catur* are replaced with *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* in the feminine (7.2.99 *tricaturo* . . .). Thus, we get (*tri*→*tisṛ*) + *nām* = *tisṛṇām*. A long replacement for *ṛ*, made available by the preceding rule, is negated here.

2. This rule is accepted as a *jñāpaka* 'indicator' for negating the long replacement of 6.4.2 *nāmi*. That is, given *tisṛ* + *ām*, *nUṬ* and *r* as a replacement for *ṛ* (7.2.100 *aci ra ṛtaḥ*), both become applicable simultaneously. If a replacement in *r*, based on 7.2.100 *aci ra ṛtaḥ* being subsequent in order, is accomplished first, *tisṛ* + *ām* will not qualify to receive *nUṬ*. Consequently,

the question of a replacement in long does not arise. Why make a negative provision when a positive provision does not exist. But since Pāṇini still offers this negation, it must have some purpose. The purpose is to indicate that *nUṬ* is introduced first. That is, based on its status as a prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to replacement in *r* (*repha*). Rule 6.4.2 *nāmi* can introduce a long replacement once augment *nUṬ* is introduced. Our present rule, however, negates this provision of replacement in long. It is for this reason that we state: *numciratṛjvadbhāvebhyo nuḍ bhavati pūrvavipratiṣedhena* '. . . *nUṬ* is accomplished by conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins'.

6.4.5 छन्दस्युभयथा

chandasy ubhayathā
/*chandasi* 7/1 *ubhyathā* 1/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *tisṛ-catasṛ* #5)
chandasi viṣaye 'tisṛ-catasṛ' ity etayor nāmi parata ubhayathā dṛśyate
The short final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*, is both replaced, or not replaced, with its long counterpart in the Vedic when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tisṝṇāṃ madhyadine '. . . mid-day'
tisṝṇāṃ madhyadine 'ibidem'
catasṝṇāṃ madhyadine '. . . mid-day'
catasṝṇāṃ madhyadine 'ibidem'

1. This rule states that both, a long replacement (*dīrgha*), or its absence (*dīrghābhāva*), is witnessed in the Vedic usage. Thus, *tisṛṇām* and *tisṝṇām*; *catasṛṇām* and *catasṝṇām*.

6.4.6 नृ च

nṛ ca
/*nṛ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *chandasy ubhayathā* #5)
'*nṛ*' *ity etasya nāmi pare ubhayathā bhavati*
The short final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *nṛ*, is both replaced, or not replaced, with its long counterpart in the Vedic when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tvaṃ nṝṇāṃ nṛpate 'O you, the king of men'
tvam nṝṇāṃ nṛpate 'ibidem'

1. This provision of a long replacement, or its optional absence, is made in the Vedic where *nṛ* occurs followed by *nām*. Some do not carry here the

anuvṛtti of *chandasi* from the preceding rule. Consequently, this dual provision also becomes applicable to the classical usage (*bhāṣāyām*).

6.4.7 **नोपधायाः**

nopadhāyāḥ
/*na* ϕ *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3)
nāntasyāṅgasyopadhyāyā nāmi parato dīrgho bhavati
The penultimate short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with its long counterpart when *nām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pañcānām 'genitive plural of *pañcan* (five)'
saptānām '. . . *saptan* (seven)'
navānām '. . . *navan* (nine)'
daśānām '. .. *daśan* (ten)'

1. Note that provisions made prior to this rule deal with an *aṅga* which ends in a vowel (*ajanta*). This rule begins making provisions relative to an *aṅga* which does not end in a vowel (*anajanta*). A specification with *naḥ*, in the genitive, is made to indicate the nasal sound (*varṇa*) *n*. The interpretation of this specification of *naḥ* as *nāntasya* 'that which ends in -*n*' is based, as usual, on *tadantavidhi* 'treating that by means of which a specification is made as referring also that which ends in that'. A mention of *upadhā* is made so that long replacement could not apply to an initial vowel (*ādyacaḥ*).

This rule thus allows a long replacement for the *upadhā* 'penultimate' of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* and is followed by *nām*. Thus, *pañcan* + *nām*→ *pañc*(*a*→*ā*) *n* + *nām*→*pañcā*(*n*→ϕ) + *nām*, where 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya* causes *n*-deletion in *pañcān*. Other examples involve similar rule applications.

Consider *caturṇām*, as a counter-example to the condition of *naḥ*, where we find *nUṬ*, though *catur* does not end in *n*. A long replacement must, in this context, occur before *nām*. That is why, *carman* + *ām*→*carmaṇām*, cannot get the *a* of *carman* replaced with *ā*. Refer also to my notes under 6.4.2 *nāmi* for further details.

6.4.8 **सर्वनामस्थाने चासम्बुद्धौ**

sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau
/*sarvanāmasthāne* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *asambuddhau* 7/1 = *na sambuddhau* (*nañ.*)/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7)
sarvanāmasthāne ca parato' sambuddhau nopadhāyā dīrgho bhavati
The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with

its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

rājā 'nominative singular of *rājan* (king)'
rājānau '. . . dual . . .'
rājānaḥ '. . . plural . . .'
rājānam 'accusative singular of . . .'
rājānau '. . . dual of . . .'
sāmāni tiṣṭhanti 'the impartial ones are sitting'
sāmāni paśya 'look at the impartial ones'

1. This rule allows a long replacement to the penultimate short of an *aṅga* which ends in *n*, provided a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows. Recall that 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam* and 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya* assign the term *sarvanāmasthāna* to a set of nominal endings. Thus, *rājā/ rājānau/ rājānaḥ*; *rājānam/ rājānau*. Additionally, *sāmāni tiṣṭhanti* and *sāmāni paśya* where *Jas* and *Śas*, which occur after *sāman*, are replaced with *Śi* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*).

2. Note that *ca* is used here to attract *nopadhāyāḥ* (*Kāś*: *cakāraḥ nopadhāyā ity anukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). But this should not be accepted, since *nopadhāyāḥ* carries beyond this rule. Besides, what is attracted by means of *ca* cannot be carried subsequently (*cānukṛṣṭaṃ nottaratrābhisambadhyate*). In that case, consider *ca* as used for clarity (*asandehārtham*). Besides, absence of *ca* may lead to doubts whether the intended right context is that of *sambuddhi* or non-*sambuddhi*. But this could hardly be the problem. Pāṇini should have then formulated the rule as *asambuddhau sarvanāmasthāne*. It is therefore suggested that *ca* could have been used for stylistic variation (*vaicitryārtham*).

3. Because of the negation of *sarvanāmasthāna*, we cannot get a long replacement in *sāmani*, a locative (*saptamī*) singular. Similar negation applies to *he rājan!* and *he takṣan!*, both vocative (*sambuddhi*) singular forms.

6.4.9 वा षपूर्वस्य निगमे

vā ṣapūrvasya nigame
/ *vā* ϕ *ṣapūrvasya* 6/1 = *ṣaḥ pūrvo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *nigame* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau* #8)
ṣapūrvasyāco nopadhāyā nigamaviṣaye sarvanāmasthāne parato' sambuddhau vā dīrgho bhavati
The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n*, in the Vedic, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when it occurs after *ṣ*, and a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sá tákṣāṇaṃ tíṣṭhantamabravīt
sa takṣaṇam . . .
ṛbhukṣāṇamindram
ṛbhukṣaṇamindram

1. This rule makes yet another optional proposal for a replacement in long in the vedic (*nigama*). That is, the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in *n* is replaced with its long counterpart when the same occurs after *ṣ*. Of course, when the *aṅga* is followed by a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. Thus, consider the optional accusative singular forms of *takṣan*: *takṣāṇam* and *takṣaṇam*.

Note that the base is *takṣin*, a derivate of *inI* (5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*) introduced after *takṣan*. The *a* of *takṣa* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*) and *i* of *inI* is replaced with *a* (7.4.86 *ito' t sarvanāmasthāne*). We can now derive *takṣānam* from *takṣan* + *am* with the application of optional long replacement. Of course, the *n* will be also replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). We will get *takṣaṇam* if this optional long replacement is not accomplished. This same applies to *ṛbhukṣāṇam* and *ṛbhukṣaṇam*.

6.4.10 सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य

sānta mahataḥ saṃyogasya
/*sānta* (6/1 deleted) *mahataḥ* 6/1 *saṃyogasya* 6/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *nāmi* #3 *nopadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau* #8)
sakārāntasya saṃyogasya yo nakāraḥ mahataś ca tasyopadhāyā dīrgho bhavati sarvanāmasthāne parato' sambuddhau
The next to the last vowel of a *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' ending in *s*, or the penultimate vowel of *n* of *mahat*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śreyān 'masculine nominative singular of *śreyas* (meritorious)'
śreyāṃsau '. . . dual . . .'
śreyāṃsaḥ '. . . plural . . .'
mahān 'nominative singular of *mahat* (great)'
mahāntau '. . . dual . . .'
mahāntaḥ '. . . plural . . .'
śreyāṃsi 'neuter nominative plural of *śreyas*'
yaśāṃsi '. . . of *yaśas* (fame)'
payāṃsi '. . . of *payas* (milk)'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for a penultimate short vowel which

occurs as part of a conjunct ending in *-s*, or as part of *mahat* close to its *n*, provided a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

Note that the *a* of *sa* in *sānta* is used for articulation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*). The word *sānta*, used with a deleted genitive (*luptaṣaṣṭhīka*), is interpreted as: *saḥ anto yasya* 'that whose final is *-s*'. That is, it is used as a qualifier to *saṃyogasya*. The *n* (*nakāra*) is then qualified by *saṃyoga*, in turn, qualified with *sānta*. The word *mahat* is also used as a qualifier to *-n*. The word *sarvanāmasthāne* which is carried from the *anuvṛtti* is then used as an immediately preceding (*avyavahita-pūrva*) qualifier to *sānta*, *saṃyoga* and *mahat*. This is how *Kāśikā* phrases its *vṛtti* as: *sakārāntasya saṃyogasya nakāraḥ mahataś ca* 'the *n* of a conjunct ending in *-s*, and that of *mahat* as well . . .'. Note that *Kāśikā* uses *tasya* of *tasyopadhāyāḥ* to relate *n* to *upadhā*. What is this relationship? This question arises since *upadhā* is defined as 'that which occurs next to the last sound segment of a given form' (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*). All genitive usages in the wording of this rule are relational (*sambandha-sāmānya*). The genitive of *upadhāyāḥ* denotes *sāmīpya* 'proximity'. There is no way (*gatya-bhāvāt*) one can get this meaning of *upadhā* within the context of an *aṅga* ending in a conjunct with *s* at the end. Since an *a* which occurs prior to the *n* of a conjunct ending in *-s* is spoken of as the *upadhā* of *n*, this relationship can be characterized as that of *sāmīpya* 'proximity'. That is, an *upadhā* which is proximate to *-n*. Of course, a broader genitive denoting *tadavayatva* 'part of that' in relation to the genitive of *aṅgasya* will always be there.

Refer to derivational details of *payāṃsi* and *yaśāṃsi* under the appendix of 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*. Recall that *śreyān*, *śreyāṃsau* and *śreyāṃsaḥ* are nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *śreyas*, a derivate of *praśasya*, where *praśasya* is replaced with *śra* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*) before affix *īyasUN* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajoyopapade*). Augment *nUM* is further introduced to *śreyas* + *sU*, etc. A deletion of *ṭi* (6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*) is blocked because of 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc*. The *-s* of the nominative singular gets deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . Given *śreyans* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *śreyans*, the final *-s* will be deleted (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*), and the *a* before *n* will be replaced with its long counterpart. We will thus get *śrey*(*a*→*ā*) *n*(*s*→ϕ)) = *śreyān*. Similar rules apply in deriving other forms of *śreyas*. Note, however, that *mahat* is treated as *ugit* 'marked with a sound denoted by *uK* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām* . . .), and *mahān*, etc., are derived by treating it as ending in affix *ŚatṚ* (cf. *vt*: *vartamāne pṛṣan* . . ., ad 7.3.109 *jasi ca*).

6.4.11 **अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तृणाम्**

aptṛntṛcsvasṛnaptṛneṣṭṛtvaṣṭṛkṣatṛhotṛpotṛpraśāstṝṇām
/ *ap-tṛn-tṛc-svasṛ-naptṛ-neṣṭṛ-tvaṣṭṛ-kṣatṛ-potṛ-praśāstṝṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *sarvanāmasthāne asambuddhau* #8)

The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *ap* 'water', or of an *aṅga* which ends in affixes *tṛN* and *tṛC*, or else, an *aṅga* which is constituted by *svasṛ* 'sister', *naptṛ* 'grand (daughter's) son', *neṣṭṛ* 'priest', *tvaṣṭṛ* 'artisan', *kṣatṛ* 'charioteer', *hotṛ* 'the priest who reads invocation, *potṛ* 'priest performing ritual purification' and *praśāstṛ* 'one who presides', is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix other than one termed *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āpaḥ 'water'
kartārau kaṭān 'those two whose nature it is to make mats'
kartārau kaṭasya '(the two) mat-makers'
svasā/svasārau/svasāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *svasṛ* 'sister''
naptā/ naptārau/ naptāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *naptṛ* 'daughter's son''
neṣṭā/ neṣṭārau/ neṣṭāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *neṣṭṛ* 'one of the chief officiating priests at the Soma sacrifice''
tvaṣṭā/ tvaṣṭārau/ tvaṣṭāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *tvaṣṭṛ* 'fashioner of the universe''
kṣattrā/ kṣattrārau/ kṣattrāraḥ 'nominative singular' dual and plural of *kṣattṛ* 'door-keeper, charioteer''
hotā/ hotārau/ hotāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *hotṛ* 'presiding priest''
potā/potārau/potāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *potṛ* 'purifying priest''
praśāstā/praśāstārau/praśāstāraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *praśāstṛ* 'administrative priest''

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short *upadhā* 'penultimate sound' of an *aṅga* constituted by (*i*) *ap*, (*ii*) a form which ends in affixes *tṛN* and *tṛC*, (*iii*) *svasṛ*, (*iv*) *naptṛ*, (*v*) *neṣṭṛ*, (*vi*) *tvaṣṭṛ*, (*vii*) *kṣattṛ*, (*viii*) *hotṛ*, (*ix*) *potṛ*, and (*x*) *praśāstṛ*. Of course, when a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

Why are *naptṛ*, etc., specified here when they can easily be covered by the specification of forms ending in *tṛC* and *tṛN*? It is stated that their separate specification is made so that a long replacement could be accomplished by accepting them as derived without any reference to affixes and subsequent operations. If, however, one accepts them as derived with reference to bases, affixes and operations relative to *tṛC* and *tṛN*, a separate specification is made for restricting long replacement only with reference to these cited forms. That is, nominals such as *pitṛ* and *mātṛ* which are not separately specified cannot avail this long replacement. We will thus get *pitarau/pitaraḥ*; and *mātarau/ mātaraḥ*, with no long replacement in the *upadhā*.

Here again, this long replacement is negated by the condition of *asambuddhau*. That is, we do not get it in *he svasaḥ* 'O sister' and *he kartaḥ* 'O doer', etc. Refer to derivational details of examples with *tṛC* under rule 1.1.2 *ād guṇaḥ*. Derivates of *tṛN* share identical forms with those of *tṛC*. They, however, differ in accent.

6.4.12 इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णां शौ

inhanpūṣāryamṇāṃ śau
/ *in-han-pūṣan-aryamṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *śau* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7)
'*in-han-pūṣan-aryaman*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ śau parataḥ upadhāyā dīrgho bhavati*
The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *in*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *Śi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bahudaṇḍīni 'a place where there are many shaft-bearing ascetics'
bahucchatrīṇi 'a place where there are many umbrella-bearing students'
bahuvṛtrahāṇi 'a place where there are many killers of brāhmaṇas'
bahubhrūṇahāṇi 'a place where there are many killers of fetuses'
bahupūṣāṇi 'many who offer nourishment'
bahvaryamāṇi 'many who offer hospitality'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the *upadhā* of an *aṅga* which ends in *iN*, *han*, *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, provided *Śi* follows. Note that *iN* is an affix and it cannot constitute an *aṅga* by itself. It is therefore interpreted via *tadantavidhi*, i.e., an *aṅga* ending in *iN*. This is also in consonance with the *paribhāṣā* (17): *aninasmangrahaṇāny arthavatā cānarthakena ca tadantavidhiṃ prayojayanti*. There are other forms which can also not constitute an *aṅga* before *Śi*. Thus, *han* which is a derivate of *KvIP*. Since this *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahmabhrūṇa* . . .) gets introduced under the condition of an *upapada* 'conjoined *pada*', namely *brahman*, etc., we cannot find *han* alone to constitute an *aṅga*. The last two, i.e., *pūṣan* and *aryaman*, are both masculine. They themselves cannot constitute an *aṅga* before *Śi* since it is a replacement of *Jas* and *Śas* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*) introduced after a neuter (*napuṃsaka*) base. One needs to interpret them via *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as that which ends in *x*'. The examples are all *bahuvrīhi* compounds formed with *bahu*. Refer to *kuṇḍāni*, under 1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*, for derivational details. Rule 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ* . . . will replace the *n* of *han* with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). This *ṇatva* 'replacing *n* with *ṇ*', in *bahuvṛtrahāṇi* compound is, however, accomplished by 8.4.12 *ekāj uttarapade*. . . .

2. Note that a long-vowel replacement could also be accomplished be-

fore a following *Śi* by 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau.* But since Pāṇini still formulates this rule, we understand that it serves a restrictive purpose (*niyamārtha*). That is, it restricts this long replacement of *iN*, etc., only when *Śi* follows. Thus, we do not get this replacement in derivates such as *chattriṇau, vṛtrahaṇau, pūṣaṇau* and *aryamaṇau*, etc. A proposal for split-interpretation of this rule is also made in the *Mahābhāṣya* as follows:

(*i*) *inhanpūṣāryamṇām* and (*ii*) *śau.*

The first split-rule will have the *anuvṛtti* of *sarvanāmasthāne* and will, thus, restrict long replacement only before affixes termed *sarvanāmasthāna.* The second split rule will only include *inhanpūṣāryamṇām*, and thus, will restrict the desired replacement only before *Śi.* This way, and especially in view of the second split-rule, the locative singular of *bhrūṇahani* cannot get a long replacement, thereby to yield **bhrūṇah*(*a*→*ā*) *ni.*

6.4.13 सौ च

sau ca
/*sau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *asambuddhau* #8 *inhanpūṣāryamṇām* #12)
sāv asambuddhau parata inhanpūṣāryamṇām upadhāyā dīrgho bhavati
The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *in, han, pūṣan* and *aryaman*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *sU*, not termed *sambuddhi*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

daṇḍī 'nominative singular of *daṇḍin*'
vṛtrahā 'nominative singular of *vṛtrahan*'
pūṣā 'nominative singular of *pūṣan*'
aryamā 'nominative singular of *aryaman*'

1. The *upadhā* of *iN, han, pūṣan* and *aryaman* gets replaced with its long counterpart also when a non-*sambuddhi* ending, namely *sU*, follows. Note that the restrictive nature of the preceding rule will not permit a long replacement before *sU.* The *ca* is here used for attracting *inaḥpūṣāryamṇām.* Thus, consider *daṇḍī*, etc. This long replacement will be blocked in case of *he daṇḍin*, where the nominal ending is termed *sambuddhi.*

6.4.14 अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातोः

atvasantasya cādhātoḥ
/*atv-as-antasya* 6/1 = *atuś ca aś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *atvasau ante yasya sa* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasya; ca* ϕ *adhātoḥ* 6/1 = *na dhātuḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasya*/

(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *asambuddhau* #8 *sau* #13)
'*atu, as*' *ity evam antasya adhātor upadhāyāḥ sāv asambuddhau parato dīrgho bhavati*
The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *atU* and *as* but is not a verbal root, is replaced with its long counterpart when the non-*sambuddhi* ending *sU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bhavān 'nominative singular of *bhavat* (you)'
kṛtavān 'made'
gomān 'rich in cows'
yavamān 'rich in barley'
supayāḥ 'possessing good milk'
suyaśāḥ 'having good fame'
suśrotāḥ 'good listener; he who has good ears'

1. This rule allows a long replacement also for the *upadhā* of a non-*dhātu* form which ends in *atU* and *as*, provided a *sU* which is not a *sambuddhi* follows. Thus, consider *bhavān, gomān, supayāḥ* and *suyaśāḥ*, etc.

Note that *atU* refers to forms ending in affixes *ḌavatUP*, *KtavatU* and *matUP*, etc. A specification with *as* is made to refer to forms which end in *as*, i.e., *supayas* and *suyaśas*, etc., where it is not necessary for *as* to be also meaningful (*Kāś*: *anarthako' pi asaśabdo gṛhyate*; also the *Paribhāṣā* of Vyāḍi: *aninasmaṅgrahaṇān arthavatā cānarthakena ca tadantavidhiṃ prayojayanti*). The word *anta*, in this rule, is used so that a reference with *atvas* can also refer to forms which may end in a part of *atvas*, i.e., *at* and *as*. If such an interpretation is not accepted, we cannot include forms ending in affix *matUP*.

We derive *bhavān* from *bhavat* + *sU*, where *bhavat* ends in affix *ḌavatUP* (*Uṇādi* I:63: *bhāter ḍavatup*). Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* for derivational details of forms derived with *KtavatU*. Examples such as *gomān* and *yavamān* derive from (*go* + *matUP*) + *sU* and (*yava* + *matUP*) + *sU* where penultimate lengthening (*upadhā-dīrgha*) and introduction of *nUM* at the strength of *UK* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām* . . .) are important operations. Now consider *supayas* + *sU*→*supayāḥ*, *suyaśas* + *sU*→*suyaśāḥ* and *suśrotas* + *sU*→*suśrotāḥ* which illustrate derivates of affix *asUN*.

2. A proposal is also made here to apply long replacement prior to the introduction of augment *nUM* (*Kāś*: *atra kṛte dīrghe numāgamaḥ karttavyaḥ*). For, if the rule which introduces *nUM* is applied first on the basis of its status as subsequent (*para*) and obligatory (*nitya*), the necessary condition for long replacement, i.e., *upadhā*, will be removed (*Kāś*: *yadi hi paratvān nityatvāc ca num syāt, dīrghasya nimittaṃ tūpadhā vihanyeta*). Thus, given (*kṛ* + *Ktavat*) + *sU*, we get *kṛtavān* where long replacement of the second *a* of *tavat* is accomplished before *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ* . . .) is introduced. A decision to apply

nUM prior to the long replacement will produce *kṛtavant* where long replacement cannot be accomplished, due mainly to *n* which now constitutes the *upadhā*.

3. The negative condition of *adhātoḥ* is imposed so that *piṇḍaṃ grasate* = *piṇḍagraḥ*, etc., could be blocked from receiving a long replacement. The condition of *asambuddhau* is still valid. Thus, we do not get a long replacement in *he goman* and *he supayaḥ*, etc.

6.4.15 अनुनासिकस्य क्विञ्झलोः क्ङिति

> *anunāsikasya kvijjhaloḥ kṅiti*
> / *anunāsikasya* 6/1 *kvi-jhaloḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kṅiti* 7/1 = *kaś ca ṅaś ca; kṅau itau yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*) /
> (*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7)
> *anunāsikāntasya aṅgasya upadhāyā dīrgho bhavati kvipratyaye parato jhalādau ca kṅiti*
> The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in a nasal (*anunāsika*), is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *KvI*, or an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL* 'non-nasal consonant' (*Śs.* 8–14) and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *praśān* 'tranquil'
> *pratān* 'languid'
> *śāntaḥ* 'calm, quiet'
> *śāntavān* 'ibidem'
> *saṃśāntaḥ* 'extremely tranquil'
> *tantāntaḥ* 'extremely languid'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the penultimate (*upadhā*) short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in affix *KvI*, or in an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. A reference with *KvI* is here made to affixes *KvIN* and *KvIP* which go through total (*sarvāpahārī*) deletion (*lopa*). Also note in this connection that *kṅiti* is here relatable only to *jhalādau*. It cannot be relatable to affix *KvIP*. For, a qualifier-qualified relationship obtains only when removability of a qualifier is possible (*sambhava-vyabhicāra*). Thus, one can find an affix which may begin with a *jhaL* sound and which may also be marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. The *K* as an *it* in *KvI* is absolutely not separable. The question of whether or not *Ṅ* is separable does not arise.

2. Note that *praśān* and *pratān* are derived from *praśān* + *sU* and *pratān* + *sU*, where affix *KvIP* (3.2.76 *kvip ca*) is introduced after verbal roots *śamU* and *tamU*, used with the preverb *pra*. Their final *m* is changed to *n* (8.2.64 *mo no dhātoḥ*) after deletion of *KvIP* and the long replacement of the *upadhā*.

Deriving *śāntaḥ* and *śāntavān*, from *śam* + *Kta* and *śam* + *KtavatU* where both involve affixes termed *niṣṭhā*, is no problem. The word *śānti* is a derivate of affix *KtiN*, introduced after *śam*. Refer to derivational details of *pāpaṭhīti* under the appendix of 2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca*. Examples such as *śaṃśāntaḥ* and *tantāntaḥ* derive from (*śam* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*→*śaṃśam* + (*LAṬ*→*tas*) and (*tam* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*→*taṃtam* + (*LAṬ*→*tas*), where affix *yaṄ* goes through deletion (*yaṅluk*) and affix *LAṬ* is replaced with *tas*. The *anusvāra* results from the *nUK* of 7.4.85 *nugato' nunāsikasya*. A long replacement of their *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) syllable is not accomplished, mainly due to the introduction of *nUK*. The long replacement of this rule applies before *tas*, a replacement of *LAṬ*.

3. The condition of *anunāsikasya* 'of a nasal' is imposed so that *odanapāk* 'cooking of rice', *pakvaḥ* 'cooked, ripe', and *pakvavān* 'cooked' could be excluded from receiving a long replacement for the *upadhā* of their roots. Obviously, *pac* does not end in a nasal, though the condition of *kvijjhaloḥ* is satisfied. Now consider examples which must be excluded because of not meeting this condition. Thus, *gamyate* and *ramyate*, where the roots ends in a nasal but the affixes do not satisfy the condition of *kvijjhaloḥ*. The condition of *kṅiti* is similarly not satisfied by the *tṛC*-derivates *gantā* and *rantā*. That is why they cannot be allowed long replacement for the short of the *upadhā* of *gam* 'to go' and *ram* 'to sport'.

6.4.16 अज्झनगमां सनि

> *ajjhanagamāṃ sani*
> / *ajjhanagamām* 6/3 = *ac ca hanaś ca gam ca* = *ajj-han-gamaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *sani* 7/1/
> (*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *jhali* #15)
> *ajantānām aṅgānāṃ hanigamyoś ca sani jhalādau pare dīrgho bhavati*
> The final sound of an *aṅga* which ends in *aC* 'vowel', or one which is constituted by *han* 'to kill' and *gam*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhaL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *cicīṣati* 'desires to heap'
> *tuṣṭūṣati* 'desires to pray'
> *cikīrṣati* 'desires to make'
> *jihīrṣati* 'desires to carry'
> *jighāṃsati* 'desires to kill'
> *adhijigāṃsate* 'desires to go'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in a vowel, or one which is constituted by *han* and *gam*, provided a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhAL* (*Śs.* 8–14) follows.

The *gam* in this rule refers to the replacement of verbal root *iṄ* 'to study' (2.4.48 *iṅaś ca*). This is in consonance with a *vārttika* proposal made under this rule (*vt*: *gamer iṅādeśasyeti vaktavyam*). Refer to derivational details of *tuṣṭūṣati*, etc., under the appendix of 1.2.9 *iko jhal*. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers *saṃjigaṃsate* 'he wishes to go with', a *saN*-derivate of *samgam*, as a counter-example with no long replacement. We get *samajigāṃsat* in the Vedic where *iṄ* does not get replaced with *gam* but a long replacement is accomplished in view of 6.3.137 *anyeṣām api dṛśyate*. A proposal is also made to formulate this rule simply as *hanagamāṃ sani* 'long replacement of the final sound of an *aṅga* when *saN* follows'. An *aṅga* which ends in a consonant will not come under this lengthening proposal since we talk about long replacements only in the context of a vowel. It will apply to *gam* on the basis of its status as a replacement of *iṄ*, ending in a vowel. This proposed formulation will rule out any need for the word *acaḥ* in the wording of this rule. It will also rule out any need for the *vārttika* just mentioned.

Derivational details of *adhijigāṃsate*, where *gam* is a replacement of *iṄ*, can be found under the appendix of 2.4.48 *iṅaś ca*. Deriving *jighāṃsati* from *han* should pose no problem. Note, however, that the *h* occurring after the *abhyāsa* is replaced with *gh* (7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca*).

6.4.17 तनोतेर्विभाषा

tanoter vibhāṣā
/*tanoteḥ* 6/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *jhali* #15 *sani* #16)
tanoter aṅgasya sani jhalādau vibhāṣā dīrgho bhavati
The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tanU*, is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when a *saN* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *jhaL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

titāṃsati 'desires to extend'
titaṃsati 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows an optional long replacement to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *tan* when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhAL* follows. Follow derivational details of *saN*-derivates already discussed. Note, however, that an optional *iṬ* augment is also made available to *tan* (*vt*: ad 7.2.49 *sanvantardha* . . .). There is no long replacement when the option of augment *iṬ* is accepted. For, there will not be a following affix beginning with *jhaL*. The derivate with this option of augment *iṬ* will be *titaniṣati*. We will thus get three forms: *titāṃsati* and *titaṃsati*, with optional long replacement, and *titaniṣati*, with optional augment *iṬ* and no long replacement.

6.4.18 क्रमश्च क्त्वि

kramaś ca ktvi
/*kramaḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *ktvi* 7/1/
(*dīrghaḥ* #6.3.111 *aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #7 *jhali* #15 *sani* #16 *vibhāṣā* #17)
krama upadhayā vibhāṣā dīrgho bhavati ktvā pratyaye jhalādau parataḥ
The next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kramU* 'stride', is optionally replaced with its long counterpart when affix *Ktvā*, with a sound denoted by *jhaL* at the beginning, follows.

EXAMPLES:

krantvā 'after having stridden'
krāntvā 'ibidem'
kramitvā 'ibidem'
prakramya 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows an optional long replacement for the penultimate *a* of *kram* when the same occurs as an *aṅga* before affix *Ktvā* beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*. Thus, we get *krantvā* and *krāntvā*.

Why do we have to still retain *jhalādi* as a qualifier to *Ktvā*? So that no long replacement could be allowed when *Ktvā* receives augment *iṬ* (7.2.56 *udito vā*). That is, with *iṬ* as an augment, it will become vowel-initial (*ajādi*). We will thus get *kramitvā*, and no **krāmitvā*.

Now consider *prakramya* and *upakramya* where *Ktvā* is replaced with *LyaP*. It is stated that *LyaP*, even though externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*), is applied first blocking an internally conditioned operation (*antaraṅga*) such as this long replacement. Once *LyaP* blocks this internally conditioned long replacement, *Ktvā* no longer remains *jhalādi* 'beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*'. It now begins with *y* of *LyaP*, a sound not included within *jhaL*. How do we know that an externally conditioned *LyaP* blocks the internally conditioned long replacement? It has been indicated by *Paribhāṣā* (55), ad 2.4.36 *ado jagdhir*. . .: *antaraṅgān vidhīn bahiraṅgo lyab bādhate* 'a replacement in *LyaP*, even though externally conditioned, blocks internally conditioned operations.

6.4.19 छ्वोः शूडनुनासिके

chvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike ca
/*chvoḥ* 6/2 = *cchaś ca vaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *śūṭh* 1/1 = *śaś ca ūṭh ca* (*sam. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kvijhaloḥ kṅiti* #15)
'*cch, va*' *ity etayoḥ sthāne yathāsaṃkhyam* '*ś, ūṭh*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavato' nunāsikādau pratyaye parata kvau jhalādau ca kṅiti*

The *ch* and *v* of an *aṅga* are replaced with *ś* and *ūṬH*, respectively, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or one beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

praśnaḥ 'query, question iterrogation'
viśnaḥ 'ibidem'
syonaḥ 'auspicious, pleasant'
śabdaprāṭ 'he who asks about words'
goviṭ 'procuring cows'
akṣadyūḥ 'gambling with dice'
hiraṇyaṣṭhyūḥ
pṛṣṭaḥ
pṛṣṭavān
dyūtaḥ
dyūtavān
dyūtvā

1. This rule allows *cch* (*tUK* + *ch*) and *v* of an *aṅga* to be replaced with *ś* and *ūṬH*, resectively, when what follows is (*i*) an affix beginning with a nasal; (*ii*) an affix constituted by *KvI* (*KvIP*, etc.), or (*iii*) an affix which begins with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*. Thus, we get *pracch* + *naṄ*→*pra*(*cch*→*ś*) + *na*(*Ṅ*) = *praśna*, where *cch* includes augment *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*). Affix *naṄ* is, of course, introduced by 3.3.90 *yaja-yācayata*. . . . We similarly derive *viśna* from *vicch naṄ*→*vi*(*cch*→*Ś*) *na* = *viśna*.

We also get *siv* + *na*→*si*(*v*→*ūṬH*) + *na*→*si*(*v*→*ū*) + *na* = *s*(*i*→*y*) + *ū* + *ona*→*sy* + (*ū*→*o*) + *na* = *syona* + *sU* = *syonaḥ*, with the *Uṇādi* affix *na* (III.9). Note that augment *ūṬH* (6.4.132 *vāha ūṭh*) is here introduced prior to the *guṇa* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukā*. . . . We will get a wrong form **s*(*i*→*e*)*v* + *na*→*se*(*v*→*ū*) + *na* = **seūna* if *guṇa* is applied before *ūṬH*. We can apply *sandhi* of *s*(*i*→*y*) before *ū* because this replacement in *yaṆ* (*yaṇādeśa*) will be treated as internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) against the *guṇa*, an externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) operation. Recall here that an operation relative to an *aṅga* (*āṅga*) is more powerful than another which has *varṇa* 'sound-segments' as its focus (*PŚ* (56): *varṇād āṅgaṃ balīyo bhavati*). But this *paribhāṣā* cannot be invoked here since its applicational conditions are different. For example, *yaṆ* is conditioned by *ūṬH*; *guṇa* is conditioned by suffixes termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Augment *ūṬH* is thus internally conditioned, as against *guṇa* which is externally conditioned. A replacement in *yaṆ* is then accomplished first since it depends on *varṇa* 'sound' as its condition.

The word *śabdaṃ pṛcchati* = *śabdaprāṭ* derives from *śabda* + *am* + *pracch* + (*KvIP*→ϕ), where *samprasāraṇa* is blocked and *a* of *pracch* goes through a long replacement (*vt*: *kvibvacipracchyāyatastu* . . .; cf. 3.2.178 *anyebhyo' pi*

dṛśyate). Our present rule then applies to produce *śabdapr(a→ā) cch→ śabdaprā(cch→ś)* = *śabdaprāś*. This *ś* is then replaced with *ṣ* of 8.2.36 *vraśca-bhrasj*. . . . We finally get *śabdaprā(ṣ→ḍ→ṭ)* = *śabdaprāṭ*, through *ṣ→ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*) and *ḍ→ṭ* (*cartva*; 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*).

6.4.20 **ज्वरत्वरस्रिव्यविमवामुपधायाश्च**

jvaratvarasrivyavimavām upadhāyāś ca
/jvar-tvar-srivy-avi-mavām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kvijhaloḥ kṅiti* #15 *cchvoḥ anunāsike śūṭh* #19)
'jvara, tvara, srivi, ava, mava' ity eṣām aṅgānāṃ vakārasya upadhāyāś ca sthāne 'ūṭh' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati kvau parato' nunāsike jhalādau ca kṅiti
The *v* and next to the last vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *jvarA* 'to be feverish', *tvarA* 'to hasten', *srivI* 'to become dry', *avI* 'to help, protect' and *mavA* 'to move, go', is replaced with *ūṬH* when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or else, one beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

jūḥ/jūrau/jūraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *jūr* 'fever''
jūrttiḥ 'fever'
tūḥ/tūrau/tūraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *tūr* 'hasteful''
tūrttiḥ 'haste'
srūḥ/sruvau/sruvaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *srū* 'dryness''
srūtaḥ 'dry'
ūḥ/uvau/uvaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *ū* 'protector''
ūtiḥ 'protection'
mūḥ/muvau/muvaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *mū* 'mover''
mūtaḥ '. . . has moved'

1. This rule offers *ūṬH* as a replacement for *v*, and the penultimate vowel as well, of an *aṅga*, namely *jvara, tvara, srivi, ava* and *mava*, when an affix beginning with a nasal, or one constituted by *KvI*, or beginning with a *jhaL* marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. Thus, we get *jvar* + *KvIP→j* (*va→ūṬH*) + *KvIP→jū* + (*KvIP→ϕ*)*→jū* + *sU→jūḥ, jūrau* and *jūraḥ*. We similarly get *tūḥ, tūrau* and *tūraḥ*. Derivates of *srivI, avI* and *mavA* will have their *iv* and *av* replaced with *ū*. Note that *srivI* also has a different reading as *śrivI*.

6.4.21 **राल्लोपः**

rāl lopaḥ

/*rāt* 5/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kvijhaloḥ kṅiti* #15 *cchvoḥ anunāsike śūṭh* #19)
rephād uttarayayoś chvor lopo bhavati kvau parato jhalādau kṅiti ca parataḥ
A *cch* and *v* which occurs after *r* in an *aṅga* is replaced with *LOPA* when affix *KvI*, or an affix beginning with a *jhaL*, and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

mūḥ/ murau/ muraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *mur* 'swoon''
mūrttaḥ 'formed, manifest'
hūḥ/ hurau/ huraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *hur* 'crooked''
hūrṇaḥ 'deceived'
hūrttiḥ 'deception'
tūḥ/ turau/ turaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *tur* 'harm''
tūrṇaḥ '. . . has harmed'
tūrttiḥ 'harm'
dhūḥ/ dhurau/ dhuraḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural of *dhur* 'yoke''
dhūrṇaḥ '. . . has yoked'
dhūrttiḥ 'yoke'

1. This rule offers deletion via *LOPA* of *cch* and *v* when *KvI* and other specified affixes follow. Thus, *mur*(*ch*→ϕ) + (*K*) *v*(*iP*)→*mur* + (*v*→ϕ)→ *m*(*ū*→*uTH*) *r* = *mūr* 'swoon'. We similarly get *hūr* from *hurchā*. Deletion applies only to *ch* since we do not get augment *tUK* here (*Kāś*: *rāllope satukkasya chasyābhāvāt kevalo gṛhyate*). Deletion of *v* is witnessed in *tur* and *dhur* from *truvī* and *dhurvī*.

6.4.22 असिद्धवदत्राभात्

asiddhavad atrābhāt
/*asiddhavat* ϕ = *na siddhaḥ*; *asiddhena tulyaṃ vartate* = *asiddhavat*; *atra* ϕ *ābhāt* 5/1/
asiddhavad ity ayam adhikāro yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāma ā adhyāya-parisamāptes tad asiddhavad ity evaṃ veditavyam
Operations with identical conditions are, from here to the extent of the domain of 6.1.129 *bhasya*, treated as if suspended (*asiddhavat*).

EXAMPLES:

edhi 'second singular imperative active of *as*'
śādhi 'second singular imperative of *śās* 'instruct''
āgahi 'second singular imperative of *ā-gam*'
jahi 'second singular imperative of *han* 'to kill''

1. The use of *vatUP* in *asiddhavat* clearly marks this rule as extensional (*ātideśika*) in nature. It renders the status of something accomplished (*siddha*) as if it was not (*asiddha*). The domain of this rule extends to the end of the seventh book (*adhyāya*; *ā saptamādhyāyaparisamāpteḥ*).

The phrase *ā bhāt* 'up to *bha*' (6.4.29 *bhasya*) is used to specify the context (*viṣaya*) of this extensional suspension (*ātideśika-asiddhatva*). Note that the word *atra* 'here' is generally used in the sense of *asmin* 'in here'. This general meaning will then refer to operations (*kārya*) stated within this domain of *bha* (*ābhīya*). But since accepting an accomplished operations as if not accomplished does not make any sense, a relatively more finer specification is needed. The word *atra* restricts the scope of such operations to rules contained within the domain ending with the last rule of 6.4.129 *bhasya* (*ābhīya*). But we still need some clarification. What operations within this domain of rules will be treated as *asiddha*? It is explained that an operation of this domain will be treated as *asiddha* if another operation of this domain is to be performed and if both operations share the same condition of application (*samāna-nimitta*; *Kāś*: *atreti samānāśrayapratipatyartham*).

Consider the derivation of *śādhi* 'second person singular imperative active' of *śās* 'to instruct' for illustration. We get *śās* + (*LOṬ*→*siP*)→*śās* + *ŚaP* + *siP*→*śās* + (*ŚaP*→ɸ) + *si*(*P*→ɸ)→*śās* + (*si*→*hi*) = *śās* + *hi*, where *hi* replaces *si* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*), itself a replacement of *LOṬ*, and *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti*. . .). A replacement in *śā* is then ordered for *śās* before *hi* (6.4.35 *śā hau*) to produce *śā* + *hi*. It is at this stage that 6.4.101 *hujhalyo her dhiḥ* becomes applicable. But there is a problem. This replacement in *dhi* must come in place of *hi* when *hi* occurs after a sound denoted by *jhaL*. Recall that *śā*, by way of replacing *śās*, has removed *jhaL*, i.e., *s*, which occurred before *hi*. Since these replacements, i.e., *śā* and *dhi*, both are accomplished by rules contained within this domain, a *śā*-replacement can be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *dhi*. That is, our string will still be *śās* + *hi*, as far the application of 6.4.101 *hu jhalyo her dhiḥ* is concerned. Thus, we get (*śā*←*śās* + (*hi*→*dhi*)) = *śā* + *dhi* = *śādhi*. A similar situation is also involved in deriving *edhi* from (*as* + *LOṬ*→*siP*)→*as* + *si*, where *a* of *as* is deleted by 6.4.111 *śnasor allopaḥ* and *sa* + *hi* gets its *s* replaced with *e* (6.4.119 *dhvasor eddhāv*. . .) to produce *e* + *hi*. Rule 6.4.101 *hujalyo her dhiḥ* now applies to replace *hi* with *dhi*, with the understanding that *e* (*etva*) as a replacement is *asiddha*. Thus we get (*e*←*s* + (*hi*→*dhi*)) = *edhi*.

Now consider the derivation of *āgahi* and *jahi*, both second person singular imperative active forms of *ā-gam* and *han*, where *si* has replaced *LOṬ*, and *ŚaP* has again been deleted. Additionally, the *m* of *gam* has been deleted (6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa*. . .), and *han* has been replaced with *ja* (6.4.36 *hanter jaḥ*). Rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* then becomes applicable to *āga* + *hi* and *ja* + *hi* to delete *hi*. Note that this deletion is required after an *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt*

pratyayavidhi. . .) which ends in *a*. This rule application will produce undesired (*aniṣṭa*) forms: **āga* and *ja*. The desired forms, i.e., *āgahi* and *jahi*, could be derived only if deletion of *m* (after *ga*) and replacement in *ja* (of *han*) is treated as *asiddha*. This *asiddhatva* will make the *aṅga* end in a consonant. That is, *hi* could then not be deleted. This is how we can get the desired forms *āgahi* and *jahi*.

The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses the purpose of establishing this *asiddha* section as follows:

(*i*) to facilitate application of a rule characterized as general (*utsarga-lakṣaṇa-bhāvārtham*) and
(*ii*) to negate the application of a rule characterized with a replacement (*ādeśalakṣaṇa-pratiṣedhārtham*).

The word *utsarga* in the first purpose refers to a general rule in relation to a particular which displaces it. By inference, this *utsarga*, in the present context, refers to a substituendum (*sthānī*) which is replaced by its corresponding replacement (*ādeśa*). An illustration of the first can be found in the derivation of *śādhi* and *edhi* where a replacement in *dhi* after *jhaL* is facilitated. The second is illustrated by derivational details of *āgahi* and *jahi* where deletion by *LUK* is negated on the basis of *asiddhatva*.

2. Note that *ā*(*Ṅ*) of *ā bhāt* 'up to *bha*' is used in the sense of *maryādā* 'exclusive and inclusive (*abhividhi*) limits'. That is why, *ā bhāt* can receive two interpretations: (*i*) 'up to and excluding rules of the domain of *bha*' and (*ii*) 'up to and including rules of the domain of *bha*'. The first interpretation will make *asiddhatva* applicable only where rules listed prior to the domain of *bha* are involved. The second interpretation will make *asiddhatva* applicable to rules listed through the end of the domain of *bha* (6.4.129 *bhasya*). The second interpretation is accepted here.

It is clear that *ā bhāt* is used here to exactly identify the scope and extent of rules governed by the extensional provision of *asiddhavat*. If *asiddhavat*, as an *adhikāra*, was left without any clear specification of its scope, it could have also covered rules such as 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*. If *asiddhavat* was given as an *adhikāra* without any clear indication of what *atra* means, it would create problems. Thus, 6.4.23 *śnān nalopaḥ* will then be interpreted as: *śnād uttarasya nakārasya lopo bhavati sa ca asiddhavad bhavati* 'a *n* which occurs after *śnā* goes through deletion. It is, additionally, treated as if not accomplished'. The word *atra*, in this interpretation, will refer to rules contained within the reach of *asiddhavat* as an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. But since the extent of the domain of *asiddhavat* will then not be clear, this interpretation of *atra* will not be acceptable. We will thus get another interpretation. That, because of proximity of context, could only be recognized as *n*-deletion (*na-lopa*). Thus, *atra* will give the full meaning of rule 6.4.23 as: 'a *n* which occurs after *śnā* goes through deletion; and that deletion is treated as *asiddha* when

deletion of *n* is to be accomplished'. This interpretation will limit *asiddhatva* to contexts of identical operations. The fact is otherwise. That is, *asiddhatva* could apply also to contexts where two different operations are involved. However, they must both share similar conditions (*nimitta*). A clear specification of domain thus becomes desired also for correct interpretation of *atra*.

This specification of domain is needed so that, given *abhāji* 'he broke' and *rāgaḥ* 'affection, coloring', *asiddhavat* does not apply to contexts of penultimate (*upadhā*) *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Thus, *bhañj* 'to break' and *rañj* 'to color' which go through deletion of their nasal by 6.4.33 *bhañjeś ca ciṇi* and 6.4.26 *rañjeś ca*, respectively, do not get their deleted nasal treated as *asiddha* in the context of application of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. For, 7.2.116 is not contained within this section generally known as *ābhīya*.

3. Why is *atra* 'here' used in this rule So that *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* could not be treated as *asiddha* when deletion of *ā* (*āl-lopa*), replacement in *yaṆ* (*yaṇādeśa*) and replacement in *unAṄ* is to be accomplished. For, *ā-lopa*, etc., are accomplished when *vas* follows, and a form ending in *vas* goes through *samprasāraṇa* before a nominal endign (*vibhakti*). Thus, the conditions of these two operations both are identical. Consider the derivation of *papuṣaḥ*, *cicyuṣaḥ* and *luluvuṣaḥ*, as in *papuṣaḥ paśya*, etc., where we get *papā* + *us*, *cici* + *us* and *lulu* + *us*, after *LIṬ* is replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*) and *vas* goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.4.77 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam*). Since the condition of *samprasāraṇa* is different from those of the deletion of *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*) in *papā*, *yaṆ*-replacement for the final *i* (6.4.82 *er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya*) of *cici*, and *uvaṄ*-replacement for *u* (6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām*) of *lulu*, *samprasāraṇa* cannot be treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing them.

Recall that an externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) operation is treated as *asiddha* when an internally conditioned operation is to be accomplished (*PŚ* (51)). But since the validity of this *paribhāṣā* is established based upon application of rule 6.4.132 *vāh ūṭh*, it also becomes part of this *ābhīya* section. That is, the question of a conflict between an externally conditioned operation and one conditioned internally does not arise since *asiddhatva* can still cover it. That is, *samprasāraṇa*, etc., whose *asiddhatva* we are talking about, will not allow any conflict between *antaraṅga* and *bahiraṅga*. Rule 6.3.131 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam* is also *ābhīya*. Hence, there is no conflict after the same becomes *asiddha*.

4. A *vārttika* proposal is made here to consider *vUK* and *yUT* as *asiddha* when *uvAṄ* and *yaṆ* are to be accomplished as replacements. Consider *babhūva*/ *babhūvatuḥ* and *babhūvuḥ*, where *vUK* is introduced (6.4.88 *bhuvo yug*. . .). This *vUK* is treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing a replacement in *uvAṄ*. That is, a replacement in *uvAṄ* is not accomplished. Refer to derivational details of *babhūva* (II:429–30) under the appendix of rule 1.2.6

indhibhavatibhyāṃ ca. Now consider *upadidīye/ upadidīyire*, where we get *upadidī* + *e*(*Ś*) in the third singular middle from *upadi*(*Ṅ*) + (*LIṬ*→*ta*→*e*(*Ś*)). Rule 6.4.63 *dīṅo yuḍ aci kṅiti* now offers augment *yUṬ* to derive *upadidīye*. This *yUṬ* is treated as *siddha* with reference to the application of 6.4.82 *er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya*. This is what the *vārttika* offers. More generally, an *ābhīya* like this remains *siddha* in applying another *ābhīya*.

6.4.23 श्नान्नलोपः

> *śnān nalopaḥ*
> /*śnāt* 5/1 *nalopaḥ* = *na*(*kāra*)*sya lopaḥ* (*ṣāṣ tat.*) /
> *śnād iti śnam ayam utsṛṣṭam akāro gṛhyate, tata uttarasya nakārasya lopo bhavati*
> A *n* which occurs after *Śna* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

> *anakti* IIIrd sing. pres. indicative active of *añjŪ* 'to show, protect, move, anoint'
> *bhanakti* '. . . of *bhañj* 'to split, break''
> *hinasti* '. . . of *hisI* 'to kill, strike, harm''

1. Note that *śnāt* here specifies *ŚnaM* with no *M* (*Kāś*: *śnād iti*: *śnam ayam utsṛṣṭamakāro gṛhyate*). This rule offers deletion of *n* which may occur after *Śna*(*M*). We interpret *Śna* as *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*) since no other interpretation is possible. Refer to *viruṇaddhi* and *bhinatti* under the appendices of 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ* and 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*, respectively, for derivational details of our current examples. Recall that augment *nUM* is introduced to *hisI* to derive *hins* (7.1.58 *idito num* . . .). Deriving *anakti*, *bhanakti* and *hinasti* from *a* + (*Ś*) *na*(*M*) + *nja* + *ti*, *bha* + *na* + *nj* + *ti* and *hi* + *na* + *nUM* + *s* + *ti* involves deletion of *n* occurring after *ŚnaM*. Note that *ŚnaM* is marked with *M* as an *it*. Consequently, it is introduced after the last vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*) of the verb root.

2. Why is *Śna* specified here with an accompanying *Ś*? Consider *yajñānām* and *yatnānām*, which derive from *yajña* + *n*(*UṬ*) + *ām* and *yatna* + *n*(*UṬ*) + *ām*. Augment *n*(*UṬ*) is here introduced before the genitive plural nominal ending *ām*. Rule 7.3.102 *supi ca*, based on being *para* 'subsequent', orders a long replacement for the final *a* of *yajña* and *yatna* to produce *yajñānām* and *yatnānām*. If *Śna* was specified as *na*, instead, the long *ā* of *yajñā* and *yatnā* could still be treated as its short counterpart via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced'. This would then allow deletion of *n* by this rule. Recall that *yajña* and *yatna* are derivates of affix *naṄ* (3.3.90 *yajayācayata* . . .), introduced after verbal roots *yaj* and *yat*.

A question is raised as to why this deletion cannot apply in cases of *viśnānām* 'genitive plural' of *viśna* 'splendor' and *praśnānām* 'genitive plural' of *praśna*

'question', where *n* is found directly after *śna*. It is stated that *śna* of *viśna* and *praśna* is a *śna* derived with application of rules (*lākṣaṇika*). The *Śna* of this rule is a specifically enumerated element (*pratipadokta*). That is why, *Śna* alone should be accepted. It is also in consonance with the *Paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*: 114): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahṇam* 'a specifically enumerated form should be accepted against one which is derived by a rule application'. A summary of this discussion is presented by the following *ślokavārttika*:

nān nasyāyaṃ vidheyo nanu lubaniditāṃ
nanditā cāpi siddhyed
hiṃser na prāptir evam kṅiti sati tathā
nandamāno na siddhyet//
kṅin nāc cec cātha yatnād bahuvacanavidhau
duṣyati sthānivatvād
viśnānāṃ lakṣaṇoktapratipadavacanāt
siddha evety adoṣaḥ//

6.4.24 अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति

aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ kṅiti
/*aniditām* 6/3 = *ikāra it yasya* (*bv.*)) = *iditaḥ*; *na iditaḥ* = *aniditaḥ* (*nañ.*), *teṣām*; *halaḥ* 6/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *kṅiti* 6/1 = *kṅau itau yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23)
aniditām aṅgānāṃ halantānām upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ.
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga* which ends in a consonant and does not contain *i* as an *it* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

srastaḥ
dhvastaḥ
srasyate
dhvasyate
sanīsrasyate
danīdhvasyate

1. This rule allows deletion of a *n* which is penultimate in an *aṅga* and occurs before an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. Of course, when the *aṅga* ends in a consonant and is not marked with *I* as an *it* (*anidit*). We thus get *srastaḥ* and *dhvastaḥ* from (*sransU* + *Kta*) + *sU* and (*dhvansU* + *Kta*) + *sU*, where the *aṅga* ends in *s* and is marked with *U* as an *it*. The penultimate *n* of these forms goes through deletion. Now consider *srasyate* and *dhvasyate* where

we introduce *yaK* to the same *aṅga* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) under the condition of *sārvadhātuke*. The signification condition of this *yaK* must be *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object'. Refer to derivational details of *pāpacyate*, etc., under the appendix of 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*.... Similar rules apply in deriving *sanīsrasyate* and *danīdhvasyate*, both with roots derived with *yaṄ* denoting *paunaḥpunya* 'over and over again'. Note that augment *nīK* is here introduced to the *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhāsaḥ*) by 7.4.84 *nīgvañcusransudhvansu*....

2. Why should we have the condition of *aniditām*? So that *nandyate* and *nānandyate* could not avail this deletion of a penultimate *n*. Recall that the root here is *ṬUṇadI* 'to be prosperous, happy' and it is because of its *I* as an *it* that we get *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). There is no deletion of *n* since the root has *I* as an *it*. Deriving *nānandyate* from *na* + *nand* + *yaṄ* + *te* involves long replacement for the short of the *abhyāsa* (7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*).

The condition of *halanta* 'ending in a consonant' is imposed so that *n*-deletion could not be accomplished in *nīyate* and *nenīyate* where the root is *ṇīÑ* 'to lead'. Note that *nenīyate* is also a derivate of *yaṄ* where a *guṇa*-replacement (7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*) of the *abhyāsa* yields *ne* at the beginning.

Why is this deletion intended for the penultimate *n*? Consider *nahyate* and *nānahyate* where *ṇah* 'to tie' does not have any penultimate *n*. Consequently, there is no deletion. The condition of *kṅiti* similarly blocks this deletion in *sransitā* and *dhvansitā*, both derivates of *tṛC* with augment *iṬ*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *n* of *laghI* and *kapI* where 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* introduces *nUM*. This deletion is made available under the condition of *upatāpa* 'affliction' and *śarīravikāra* 'body-product' (*vt*: *laṅgikampyor upatāpaśarīravikārayor upasaṃkhyānaṃ kartavyam*). Since these roots are both marked with *I* as an *it*, *n*-deletion was not available. Consider *vigalitaḥ* and *vikapitaḥ* as examples. Note that *upatāpa* here does not refer to *roga* 'disease'. For, *śarīravikāra* then would not make any sense. It here means *kṛcchraprāptiḥ* 'obtaining with difficulty'. Elsewhere, derivates will be *viliṅgitaḥ* 'afflicted' and *vikampitaḥ* 'shaken', with no deletion.

Another *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *n* of *rañjI* 'to color' when *Ṇi* follows and the derivate denotes *mṛgaramaṇa* 'sporting of deer'. Thus, *rajayati mṛgān* 'he who has the deer sport'. Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made for *n*-deletion when affix *GHinUṆ* (3.2.142 *sampṛcānurudhā*...) follows *rañjI*. Thus, *rāgin* from *rañjI* + *GHinUṆ*, where *n*-deletion, penultimate *vṛddhi* and *kutva* (*j*→*g*) apply. It can also be derived via *nipātana*. An additional *vārttika* proposal accounts for deriving *rajaka* from *rañjI* + (*ṢvuN*→*aka*), *rajana* from *rañjI* + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*) and *rajas* from *rañjI* + *asUN*, through deletion of *n*.

6.4.25 **दंशसञ्जस्वञ्जां शपि**

daṃśasañjasvañjāṃ śapi

/ *daṃśa-sañja-svañjām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *śapi* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24)
'*daṃśa, sañja, ṣvañja*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ śapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati*
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *daṃśa, sañja,* and *ṣvañja*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *ŚaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

daśati
sajati
pariṣvajate

1. This rule allows deletion of *n* of a penultimate *aṅga*, namely *daṃśA*, *sañjA* and *svañjA*, when *ŚaP* follows. Thus, *daśati, sajati* and *pariṣvajate*. The *s* of *svañj* is replaced with *ṣ* by 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti*. . . .

6.4.26 रञ्जेश्च

rañjeś ca
/*rañjeḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *śapi* #25)
rañjeś ca śapi parata upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI* 'to color', is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *ŚaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

rajati 'third singular present active of *rañjI*'
rajataḥ 'third dual . . .'
rajanti 'third plural . . .'

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI*, when *ŚaP* follows. Thus, we get '*rajati, rajataḥ* and *rajanti*'. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding? So that *rañjeḥ* alone could be carried to subsequent rules (*Kāś*: *pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*). A joint formulation would have also required the following rule to carry the *anuvṛtti* of *daṃś* and *svañj*.

6.4.27 घञि च भावकरणयोः

ghañi ca bhāvakaraṇayoḥ
/*ghañi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *bhāva-karaṇayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *rañjeḥ* #26)
bhāvakaraṇavācinī ghañi parato rañjer upadhāyā nakārasya lopo bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *rañjI*, is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *GHaÑ* with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karaṇa* 'most instrumental means' follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *āścaryo rāgaḥ* 'wonderful color'
> *vicitro rāgaḥ* 'strange color'
> *rajyate' neneti rāgaḥ* 'that by means of which something is colored'

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *n* of *rañj* also when affix *GHaÑ* follows with the denotatum of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karaṇa* 'means; instrument'. Thus, *rāgaḥ* 'coloring' and *rāgaḥ* 'that by means of which one colors', respectively. Now consider *raṅgaḥ* 'that in which they color' where no deletion of *n* can be allowed. For, the derivate here denotes *adhikaraṇa* (3.3.121 *halaś ca*). The *j* of *rañj* is replaced with *g* through *kutva* (7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku*...).

6.4.28 स्यदो जवे

> *syado jave*
> /*syadaḥ* 5/1 *jave* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *ghañi* #27)
> *jave' bhidheye* '*syadaḥ*' *iti ghañi nipātyate*
> The word *syada* is derived, via *nipātana,* when affix *GHaÑ* follows and the signification is *java* 'speed'.

EXAMPLES:

> *gosyadaḥ* 'charge of a bull'
> *aśvasyadaḥ* 'horse-speed'

1. This rule takes recourse to *nipātana* for deriving *syada* with affix *GHaÑ.* Of course, under the meaning condition of 'speed'. It is via *nipātana* that *vṛddhi* is blocked and the penultimate *n* is deleted. Thus, *syanda* + *GHaÑ* = *syanda,* as in *gosyandaḥ* and *aśvasyandaḥ.* Note that a *vṛddhi* characterized with *iK* (*iglakṣaṇā;* 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*) can be negated by 1.1.4 *na dhātu-lopa*..., mostly because of deletion of *n.* The *vṛddhi* which is blocked here is related to *upadhā* (*upadhālakṣaṇā;* 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*). Thus, *nipātana* must be used for blocking *vṛddhi.*

6.4.29 अवोदैधोद्मप्रश्रथहिमश्रथाः

> *avodaidhodmapraśrathahimaśrathāḥ*
> /*avoda-edha-odma-praśratha-himaśrathāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *ghañi* #27)
> '*avoda, edha, odma, praśratha, himaśratha*' *ity ete nipātyante*
> The word *avoda, edha, odma, praśratha* and *himaśratha* are derived, via *nipātana,* when affix *GHaÑ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

avodaḥ 'soaking'
edhaḥ 'glowing'
odmaḥ 'flowing'
praśrathaḥ 'abandoning, rejoicing'
himaśrathaḥ 'melting of snow'

1. This rule derives *avoda, edha, odma, praśratha* and *himaśratha,* again via *nipātana.* Here again *GHaÑ* forms the right context of derivation. Consider *ava* + *und* + *GHaÑ*→*ava* + *u*(*n*→ϕ) *da* + *a*→*av*(*a* + *u*→*o*) *d* + *a* = *avoda,* through *n*-deletion and *guṇa* of *undI* 'to wet, be damp'. This *guṇa* cannot be negated by 1.1.4 *na dhātulopa* . . . because it comes in place of the *a* of *ava* and the *u* of the verb. This same is also applicable to *edha,* a derivate of *indhI* 'to kindle, glow'. Yet another derivate of *undI* is *odma,* derived with the *Uṇādi* affix *maN,* through *guṇa.* Derivates of *śranth* 'to release, let go', i.e., *praśratha* and *himaśratha,* also involve *n*-deletion. Their *vṛddhi* is again blocked via *nipātana.*

6.4.30 **नाञ्चेः पूजायाम्**

nāñceḥ pūjāyām
/ *na* ϕ *añceḥ* 6/1 *pūjāyām* 7/1
(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24)
añceḥ pūjāyām arthe nakārasya lopo na bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga,* namely *añcI,* is not deleted by means of *LOPA* when the derivate denotes *pūjā* 'respect'.

EXAMPLES:

añcitā asya guravaḥ 'revered (by him is) his teacher'
añcitam iva śiro vahati 'he is respectful; he carries his head in reverence'

1. This rule blocks deletion of *n* when derivates denote *pūjā* 'praise, respect'. Consider *añcita* 'respected', of *añcitā asya guravaḥ,* from *añc* + *Kta* (3.2.188 *matibuddhi* . . .) with augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *añceḥ pūjāyām*). This negation of *n*-deletion goes against the positive provision of 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ.*

Kāśikā orders *udaktam* 'drawn, taken out', of *udaktam udakaṃ kūpāt* 'water fetched from the water-well' as a counter-example. Deletion of *n* applies here since *pūjā* 'respect' is not the derivational meaning. The *iṬ* in *udakta* is here negated by 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā.*

6.4.31 **क्त्वि स्कन्दिस्यन्दोः**

ktvi skandisyandoḥ
/ *ktvi* 7/1 *skandi-syandoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *na* #30)
ktvā pratyaye parataḥ 'skanda, syanda' ity etayor nakāralopo na bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *skanda* 'to leap' and *syanda* 'to move (with speed)', is not deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *Ktvā* follows

EXAMPLES:

skantvā 'having leaped over . . .'
syantvā 'having moved over . . .'
syanditvā 'ibidem'

1. Note that this negation of *n*-deletion of *skand* and *syand* is made against positive provisions of 6.4.24 *aniditām hala*. . . . Since *syandŪ* is marked with *Ū* as an *it*, we also get optional *iṬ* (7.2.44 *svaratisūti* . . .). That is, we will get *syanditvā*, optionally with *syantvā*. Recall that *syanditvā* will automatically avail non-deletion of *n* at the strength of negation of *KiT*-status of *Ktvā* (1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*). A specification with *ktvi* demands that *Ktvā* follows *syand* immediately. An optional introduction of augment *iṬ* after *syandU* will impair this condition. That is why, the negation of *n*-deletion in case of *syanditvā* is accomplished based on non-*Kit* status of 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*. This rule does not do anything in saving *n* from deletion, especially when *iṬ* is introduced. Besides, the positive provision of *n*-deletion (cf. 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala* . . .) applies only when an affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows. Verbal root *skandI* does not have any *iṬ* made available. It also does not have its *n* deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala* . . ., especially because it is marked with *I* as an *it*. Our present rule thus saves *n* of *skandI* from deletion, as it does in case of the non-*iṬ* option of *syandU*. The *d* of *skand* will go through a replacement in *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.54 *khari ca*). One of the two resultant *t* sounds will be deleted by 8.4.64 *jharo jhari savarṇe*. Thus, *skand* + *Ktvā*→*skan*(*d*→*t*) + *tvā*→*skan*(*t*→ϕ) + *tvā* = *skantvā*. This same applies to *syantvā*.

6.4.32 जान्तनशां विभाषा

jāntanaśāṃ vibhāṣā
/*jāntanaśām* 6/3 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *na* #30 *ktvi* #31)
jāntānām aṅgānāṃ naśeś ca ktvāpratyaye parato vibhāṣa nakāralopo na bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *j*, and also the *n* of *ṇaś* 'to perish', is optionally not deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *Ktvā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

raṅktvā 'having colored'

raktvā 'ibidem'
bhaṅktvā 'having split, broken'
bhaktvā 'ibidem'
naṣṭvā 'having destroyed'
naṃṣṭvā 'ibidem'
naśitvā 'ibidem'

1. This rule negates deletion of *n*, optionally, when an *aṅga* ends in *n*, or else, is constituted by *naś*. Consider *raṅktvā* and *raktvā*; *bhaṅktvā* and *bhaktvā*, the two sets of forms of *rañj* 'to color' and *bhañj* 'to break, shatter'. Note that *j*→*g* and *g*→*k* are accomplished by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* and 8.4.54 *khari ca*, respectively. The nasal of *rañj* + *tvā*, when not deleted, is replaced with *ṅ* (8.4.54 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarah*), via *ṃ* (*anusvāra*; 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya*...). This optional deletion of *n* will yield two forms of *ṇaś* 'to disappear, be destroyed': *naṣṭvā* and *naṃṣṭvā*. A third form, i.e., *naśitvā*, will be gotten with optional *iṬ*. Recall that the *n* which optionally goes through deletion here is the *n* of *nUM* (7.1.60 *naśjer naśor jhali*). The *ś* then goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasj*...). The *t* of *Ktvā* must then go through a replacement in *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.4 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

2. Note that a specification made with a sound automatically invokes *tadantavidhi* 'a specification made with *x* also refers to that which ends in *x*'. That is, *j* alone should be enough to get the meaning of *jānta* 'that which ends in *j*'. Why use *anta*? Commentators explain that *anta* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

6.4.33 भञ्जेश्च चिणि

bhañjeś ca ciṇi
/ *bhañjeḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *ciṇi* 7/1/
(*aṅjasya* #1 *nalopaḥ* #23 *upadhāyāḥ* #24 *vibhāṣā* #32)
bhañjeś ca ciṇi parato vibhāṣā nakāralopo bhavati
The penultimate *n* of an *aṅga*, namely *bhañjI*, is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *CiṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

abhāji 'it was broken (into pieces)'
abhañji 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion of *n* of *bhañjI* when *CiṆ* (3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*) follows. Recall that *CiṆ* is an affix not marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*. Consequently, it could not condition *n*-deletion. This deletion can thus be characterized as an option which is not made available (*aprāpta*). Refer to derivational details of examples under 3.4.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. The penultimate *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* will apply in deriving *abhāji*.

A non-deletion of *n* will block this *vṛddhi* to produce *abhañji*. Incidentally, the third singular middle verbal ending *ta* will be deleted by 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*. Refer to *akāri* (III:724–25) under the appendix of 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* for derivational details.

6.4.34 शास इदङ्हलोः

śāsa id aṅhaloḥ
śāsaḥ 6/1 *it* 1/1 *aṅ-haloḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #24)
śāsa upadhāyā ikāra ādeśo bhavati aṅi parato halādau ca kṅiti
The penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *śās*, is replaced with *i* when *aṄ*, or an affix which begins with a consonant (*haL*) and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

anvaśiṣat 'third singular active *LUṄ* form of *śās* 'instruct' used with the preverb *anu*''
anvaśiṣatām 'third dual . . .'
anvaśiṣan 'third plural'
śiṣṭaḥ 'derivate of *Kta*; instructed; taught'
śiṣṭavān 'derivate of *KtavatU*; ibidem'
āvāṃ śiṣvaḥ 'first dual active *LAṬ* form of *śās*'
vayaṃ śiṣmaḥ 'first plural . . .'

1. This rule allows he *upadhā* of an *aṅga* constituted by *śās* to be replaced with *i* when either *aṄ*, or a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. Consider *anvaśiṣat*, a third singular active derivate of *LUṄ* introduced after verbal root *śās* used with the preverb *anu*. At the stage when the string is: *anu* + (*aṬ* + *śās* + *CLi* + *ti*), *aṄ* comes as a replacement of *CLI* (3.1.56 *sarttiśāstyartibhyaś ca*). The *s* of *śis*, after the penultimate *ā* is replaced with *i*, is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnāṃ ca*). Refer to derivational details of *aśiṣat*, under the appendix of 3.1.56 *sartiśaṣtyartibhyaś ca*, for deriving *anvaśiṣat*, etc., where *śās* is used with the preverb *anu*. Derivational details of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), i.e., *śiṣṭaḥ* and *śiṣṭavān*, can be found under *mṛṣṭaḥ* and *mṛṣṭavān* (appendix, vol. II under 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*). Note that *śiṣvaḥ* and *śiṣmaḥ* are derivates of *śās* + (*LAṬ*→*vas*) 'first person dual active present' and *śās* + (*LAṬ*→*mas*) 'first plural active present', which both begin with a consonant. Additionally, 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* accepts them as marked with *ṅ* as an *it*. All these examples involve a replacement in *i* for the penultimate (*upadhā*) sound of *śās*. Their *s* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnāṃ ca*) after *ā* is replaced with *i* (*itva*).

2. Note that *śās* is here intended as referring to *śāsU*, used with the signification of *anuśiṣṭi* 'instruction, command'. This is the root that allows *CLI* to

be replaced with *aṄ* (3.1.56 *sartiśāstyarttibhyaś ca*). A specification with *śās* thus does not refer here to *śāsU* 'to wish'. Consider *āśāste* and *āśāsyamānaḥ* where *ā* is not replaced with *ī*, even when a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as *it* follows. *Nyāsa* states that a single root *śās* is here interpreted as one which is used with the preverb *anu* and allows active (*parasmaipada*) endings. This is in consonance with its association with *sṛ* (*sarti*) and *ṛ* (*arti*) of 3.1.56 *sartiśāstyartibhyaś ca*, further qualified with the introduction of *aṄ* for *CLI*. Verbal root *śās*, when used with the preverb *āṄ*, denotes *icchā* 'desire' and allows only middle (*ātmanepada*) endings.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made, however, to allow a replacement in *i* for the *ā* of *śāsU* 'to wish' when affix *KvIP* follows. Thus, consider *āśīḥ*, *āśiṣau* and *āśiṣaḥ*, the nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *āśiṣ*. These examples can also be derived via *nipātana* (8.2.104 *kṣiyāśīḥpraiṣeṣu tiṅākāṅkṣam*). That is, if *itva* is not accomplished under the *vārttika* proposal.

6.4.35 शा हौ

śā hau
/*śā* 1/1 *hau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *śāsaḥ* #34)
śāso hau parataḥ 'śā' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
An *aṅga*, namely *śās*, is replaced with *śā* when affix *hi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

anuśādhi 'please instruct'
praśādhi 'please instruct well'

1. This rule does not carry the *anuvṛtti* of *upadhāyāḥ* 'in place of the penultimate' and *kṅiti* 'when an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'. The genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) of *śāsaḥ* is thus interpreted as meaning 'in place of' (*sthāne*). Dropping the *anuvṛtti* of *kṅiti* facilitates *i*-replacement, even when 3.4.84 *vā chandasi* extends, to *hi*, the status of being marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*). The word *śādhi* is also seen as marked with *udātta* at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of *śādhi*, here used with *anu* and *pra*, under notes of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrā' bhāt*.

6.4.36 हन्तेर्जः

hanter jaḥ
/*hanteḥ* 6/1 *jaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *hau* #35)
hanter dhātor 'ja' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati hau parataḥ
An *aṅga*, namely verbal root *han*, is replaced with *ja* when affix *hi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jahi śatrūn 'kill enemies'

1. This rule allows *han* to be replaced with *ja* when the same occurs before *hi*. Thus, *han* + (*LOṬ*→*siP*→*hi*)→(*han*→*ja*) + *hi*→*jahi*. Thus, we get *jahi śatrūn* 'kill enemies'. Refer to derivational details of *jahi* under notes of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrā' bhāt.*

6.4.37 **अनुदात्तोपदेशवनतितनोत्यादीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलि क्ङिति**

anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopo jhali kṅiti
/ ***anudāttopadeśa-vanati-tanoty-ādīnām*** 6/3 = ***anudāttaś ca te upadeśāś ca*** = ***anudāttopadeśāḥ*** (***karmadhāraya***); ***tanotir ādir yeṣām*** (***bv.***); ***anudāttopadeśāś ca vanatiś ca tanotyādayaś ca*** (***itar. dv.***), ***teṣāṃ***; ***anunāsika*** (6/1 deleted); ***lopaḥ*** 1/1 ***jhali*** 7/1 ***kṅiti*** 7/1/
anudāttopadeśānām aṅgānāṃ vanates tanotyādīnāṃ cānunāsikalopo bhavati kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ
The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely that which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or one which ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* 'to like' and *tanU* 'to extend', etc., is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix beginning with a *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yatvā 'having stopped, waited on'
yataḥ 'stopped'
yatavān 'ibidem'
yatiḥ 'stopping'
ratvā 'having sported'
rataḥ 'sported'
ratavān 'ibidem'
ratiḥ 'sporting'
vatiḥ 'liking'
tataḥ 'extended'
tatavān 'ibidem'
kṣataḥ 'wounded, wound'
kṣatavān 'wounded'

1. This rule specifies contexts under which the nasal of an *aṅga* will be subject to deletion via *LOPA*. Thus, we get *ya*(*m*(*U*) + *Ktvā*→*ya*(*m*→ϕ) + (*K*) *tvā* = *yatvā*. We similarly get (*yamU* + (*K*) *ta*)) + *sU* = *yataḥ*, (*yamU* + (*K*) *tavat*(*U*)) + *sU* = *yatvān* and *yam*(*U*) + (*K*) *ti*(*N*)) + *sU* = *yatiḥ*. This deletion also facilitates similar forms of verbal roots *vanU* and *tanU*. Thus, *van*(*A*) + (*K*) *ti*(*N*) = *vati* + *sU* = *vatiḥ*. A form of *vanU* with affix *KtiC* does not go through deletion of its nasal because of negation of 6.4.39 *na ktici dīrghasya*.

Elsewhere, since we get augment *iṬ* before affixes beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, this deletion does not apply. Forms of *tanU* are: *tan*(*U*) + *Kta*→*tata* + *sU* = *tataḥ* and *tatavān* with *KtavatU*. Verbal root *kṣaṇU* will similarly get *kṣataḥ*, and *kṣatavān*. We will similarly get *ṛtaḥ*; *ṛtavān* and *ghṛtaḥ*; *ghṛtavān* from verbal roots *ṛṇU* 'to go, move' and *ghṛṇU* 'to glow', respectively. Verbal root *vanA* will yield *vataḥ* and *vatavān*. Note, however, that *n* of *san* will be offered a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*). Verbal roots *yam*, *ram*, *nam*, *gam*; and *han* and *man* are considered *anudāttopadeśa*. Their *m* and *n* is thus subject to deletion.

Now some examples of roots where a *jhaL*-initial affix marked with *Ṅ* follows. Consider *tanU* + *LUṄ*, where *LUṄ* gets replaced with third and second personal middle endings to yield: *aṬ* + *tan* + *ta* and *aṬ* + *tan* + *thās*. Note here that *ta* and *thās* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*...) are marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* on account of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*). Thus, we get *atataḥ* and *atathāḥ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *anudāttopadeśa*, etc.? Consider *śāntaḥ*, *śāntavān*; *tāntaḥ*, *tāntavān*; and *dāntaḥ*, *dāntavān* where we do not get this deletion. Note that only four roots which end in *m*, i.e., *yam*, *ram*, *nam* and *gam*, are considered *anudāttopadeśa*.

Why do we have the deletion of a nasal (*anunāsika*)? Consider *pakvaḥ* 'cooked, ripe' and *pakvavān* 'ibidem' where we do not have any nasal. Why do we have the condition of an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*? Consider *gam* + *yaK* + *te* = *gamyate* '... is gone to' and *ram* + *yaK* + *te* = *ramyate* '... sports' where, in the absence of a *jhaL*-initial suffix we do not get the deletion of *m*.

Why the condition of *kṅiti* '... marked with *K* and *Ṅ*'? Consider (*yam* + *tṛC*) + *sU* = *yantā* where *tṛC* is not marked with *K* or *Ṅ*. Consequently, we do not get the deletion of *m*. We similarly get non-deletion of *m* in *yantavyam*, a derivate of *yam* with *tavyaT*.

Why do we have the condition of a nasal in *upadeśa*? So that deletion of the nasal of *yam*, *ram*, *nam*, *gam*, *han* and *man* could be accomplished. So that this deletion does not apply in case of *śamU* 'to be tranquil' of *śāntaḥ* and *śāntavān* where *śamU* is not marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*. Incidentally, the penultimate lengthening in (*śamU* + *Kta*) + *sU*→*śāntaḥ* is accomplished by 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijjhaloḥ*. Rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* blocks *iṬ* which was optionally made available (7.2.56 *udito vā*) against 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*.

6.4.38 वा ल्यपि

vā lyapi
/*vā* ϕ *lyapi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopaḥ* #37)

lyapi parato' nudāttopadeśa vanatitanotyādīnām anunāsikalopo vā bhavati
The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely one which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or one which ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* 'to like' and *tanU* 'to extend', etc., is deleted by means of *LOPA*, only optionally, when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prayatya 'absolutive form of *pra-yam*'
prayamya 'ibidem'
praratya 'absolute form of *pra-ram*'
praramya 'ibidem'
praṇatya 'absolutive form of *pra-nam*'
praṇamya 'ibidem'
āgatya 'absolutive form of *ā-gam*'
āgamya 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the earlier provision optional when affix *LyaP* follows. Note that this option is fixed (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*). That is, an *aṅga* which ends in *m* goes through its deletion optionally (*Kāś*: *makārāntānāṃ vikalpo bhavati*). All others, i.e., those which end in *n*, go through deletion of their nasals obligatorily (*nitya*; *Kāś*: *anyatra nityam eva lopaḥ*). Thus *pra-yam* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*) = *prayamya* and *pra-yam* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*)→*pra-ya*(*m*→ϕ) + *ya*→*pra-ya* + *tUK* + *ya* = *prayatya* 'after having restrained'. We similarly get *pra-*(*n*→*ṇ*) *mya* = *praṇamya*, *praṇatya*; *ā*(*Ṅ*)-*gamya* = *āgamya*, *āgatya*; *āhanya*, *āhatya*, etc., where, after the deletion of *m* or *n*, augment *tUK* is introduced to the short vowel. Consequently, we get two forms: one with the nasal and the other with nasal-deletion and *tUK*. Refer to *prakṛtya* and *prahṛtya* (appendix II:394) for additional derivational details.

6.4.39 न क्तिचि दीर्घश्च

na ktici dīrghaś ca
/*na* ϕ *ktici* 7/1 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *anudāttopadeśavanatitanotyādīnām anunāsika lopaḥ* #37)
ktici parato' nudāttopadeśādīnām anunāsikalopo dīrghaś ca na bhavati
The nasal of an *aṅga* which is marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, or ends in a nasal, or else, is constituted by *vanA* and *tanU*, etc., is optionally not deleted by means of *LOPA*, nor is a short vowel of the *aṅga* replaced with its long counterpart, when affix *KtiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yantiḥ 'restraint'
vantiḥ 'liking'
tantiḥ 'extension'

1. This rule does not allow nasal-deletion and lengthening to an *aṅga* included within the specification of the earlier rule. That is, when affix *KtiC* (3.3.174 *kticktau ca saṃjñāyām*) follows it. Consider *yantiḥ*, *vantiḥ* and *tantiḥ* where *m* and *n* of *yam*, *van* and *tan* are not deleted before *KtiC*. We also do not get a long replacement for their short *a*. The *m* and *n*, of course, go through a replacement homogeneous with what follows (8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*). The negation of a long replacement by this rule is aimed against the positive provision of rule 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijjhaloḥ kṅiti*).

6.4.40 गमः क्वौ

gamaḥ kvau
/gamaḥ 6/1 *kvau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *anunāsikalopaḥ* #37)
gamaḥ kvau partato' nunāsikalopo bhavati
The nasal of an *aṅga*, namely *gam*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *KvI* follows.

EXAMPLES:

aṅgagat 'those who go to the country of the Aṅgas'
kaliṅgagat 'those who go to the country of the Kaliṅgas'
adhvagato harayaḥ 'the horses are gone on road'

1. A nasal also gets deleted when the *aṅga* is followed by affix *KvI*. This rule begins deletion where the following affix does not begin with a sound denoted by *jhaL* (*ajhalādyartha ārambhaḥ*). Thus, *aṅgagat* = *aṅgān gacchanti* and *kaliṅgagat* = *kaliṅgān gacchanti* and *adhvagato harayaḥ*. Notice that we also get augment *tUK* in these examples.

A *vārttika* proposal is made to also include verbal roots *gam*, etc., to facilitate deletion of their nasal (*vt: gamādīnām iti vaktavyam* 'nasal-deletion of *gam*, etc., should also be stated'). This will acccount for *sam-yam* + *KvIP* = *saṃyat* and *pariyam* + *KvIP* = *parītat*, with *tUK*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made for nasal-deletion of *gam*, etc., plus a replacement in *ū* for their *a* (*vt: ū ca gamādīnām iti vaktavyam*). Thus, we will get *agregūḥ* = *agre gacchanti* 'leader; he who goes ahead of everyone', etc.

6.4.41 विड्वनोरनुनासिकस्यात्

viḍvanor anunāsikasyāt
/viḍvanoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *anunāsikasya* 6/1 *āt* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #10)
viṭi-vani ca pratyaye parato' nunāsikāntasyāṅgasyākāra ādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in a nasal (*anunāsika*) is replaced with *ā* when affixes *vIṬ* and *van* follow.

EXAMPLES:

abjāḥ 'born in water'; *gojāḥ* 'born among cows'
ṛtajāḥ 'born with excellent values'
ádrijāḥ 'mountain-born'
kūpakhāḥ 'those who dig water-wells'
agregā unnetṛṇām 'leader'
goṣā indro nṛṣā asītyatra 'bestower of cows . . .'
vijāvā 'born'
agrejāvā 'born earlier'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *ā* for the nasal of an *aṅga* which ends in a nasal and is followed by affixes *vIṬ* and *van*. Refer to relevant derivational details under the appendix of rule 3.2.67 *janasanakhana* . . . (II:739–40). Thus we get *apsu jāyate* = *abjāḥ*; *goṣu jāyate* = *gojāḥ*, *ṛteṣu jāyate* = *ṛtatāḥ* and *adriṣu jāyate* = *adrijāḥ*, etc., where affix *vIṬ* goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārī-lopa*) and the *n* of *jan* is replaced with *ā*. The example derivates are syntactically coordinated compounds (*upapada-samāsa*). Other examples follow similar patterns where this rule replaces *n* or *m* with *ā*. Thus, we get *kūpaṃ khanati* = *kūpakhā* and *agre gacchati* = *agragā*, etc. The *s* of verbal root *san* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.108 *sanoter anaḥ*) after this rule replaces its *n* with *ā* before affix *vIṬ*. Thus, we get *goṣu sāyate* = *goṣā* and *nṛṣu sāyate* = *nṛṣā* of *goṣā indro nṛṣā asi*. Derivates such as *vijāvā* and *agregāvā* derive parallel to *vijāyate* and *agre gacchati* with affix *vanIP* (3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyante*). Thus, *vi-ja(n→ā) + van→vijāvan + sU→vijāvā*.

2. Why was the word *anunāsika* used explicitly in this rule when the same could have been carried via *anuvṛtti*? So that the *anuvṛtti* of *anudāttopadeśa*, etc., could be blocked from applying to this rule. Note that *anunāsika* is associated with *anudāttopadeśa*, etc., in the earlier rule. Carrying one would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of others. This rule thus offers a replacement in *ā* only to an *anunāsika*.

Why was the replacement not given as *aT*? We could have gotten desired forms with the application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Thus, *vi-jan + van→vija(n→ā) + van→vij(a + ā→ā) + van* = *vijāvan*. One should not worry that an application of 6.1.97 *guṇe* will block the derivation of desired forms. One cannot argue here that Pāṇini should have offered deletion of *anunāsika* to avoid conflicts between the two applications of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. For, this would have created problems with the derivation of *ghu(ṇ→ā) + van(IP)* = *ghu + ā + van→ghvāvan*, as in *ghvāvā*. Consequently, provision of a long replacement (*dīrgha-vidhāna*) alone is proper (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *hrasve hi sati 'ghuṇa ghūraṇe' ity asmād vanipi vihite ghvāvā iti na siddhyet. tato dīrghasyaiva vidhānaṃ yuktam*).

6.4.42 जनसनखनां सञ्झलोः

janasanakhanāṃ sañjhaloḥ
/jana-sana-khanām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *sañ-jhaloḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *jhali kṅiti* #37 *āt* #41)
'jana, sana, khana' ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ sani jhalādau kṅiti jhalādau ca pratyaye parata ākāra ādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *janA* 'to be born', *sanA* 'to gain, bestow', and *khanA* 'to dig', is replaced with *ā* when a *saN* affix beginning with *jhaL*, or an affix beginning with *jhaL* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

jātaḥ 'born'
jātavān 'ibidem'
jātiḥ 'birth'
siṣāsati 'he wishes to gain, or bestow'
sātaḥ 'gained, bestowed'
sātavān 'ibidem'
sātiḥ 'gaining, bestowing'
khātaḥ 'dug'
khātavān 'ibidem'
khātiḥ 'digging'

1. This rule offers a long replacement to the final nasal of an *aṅga*, namely *jan*, *san* and *khan*, when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*, namely *saN*, or any other additionally marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. Thus, we get *jan* + *Kta*→*ja*(*n*→*ā*) + *ta* = *jāta* + *sU* = *jātaḥ*, (*jan* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *jātavān* and (*jan* + *KtiN*) + *sU* = *jātiḥ*. Now consider *siṣāsati*, a third person singular present (*LAṬ*) indicative active form of the derived root *siṣāsa*, where affix *saN* is introduced after verbal root *ṣaṇU*→*san*. Note that *san* + *saN*→*sasan* + *saN* will produce *sisan* + *saN* after doubling (*dvitva*; 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). We will get *sisa*(*n*→*ā*) + *saN*→*sis*(*a* + *ā*→*ā*) + *saN*→*si*(*s*→*ṣ*) *ā* + *sa* = *siṣāsa* + *LAṬ* = *siṣāsati*, through *n*→*ā*, *s*→*ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and operations relative to *LAṬ*→*tiP*.

2. What will happen if *jhaL* is not brought here to qualify affix *saN*. This replacement in *ā* could be blocked from applying to desiderative derivates, for example, of *jan*, *san* and *khan*, *jijaniṣati*, *sisaniṣati* and *cikhaniṣati*, where 7.2.49 *sanīvantardhabhrasja*... offers an optional introduction of augment *iṬ*. These forms do not avail this replacement in *ā* because, subsequent to the introduction of *iṬ*, the condition of a following *jhaL*-initial affix (*jhalādi-pratyaya*) cannot be met. Thus, *sisan* + *iṬ* + *saN*→*sisanisa* + *LAṬ*→*sisaniṣati*.

3. Note that affix *saN* is used here only on account of verbal root *san*. For, this verb alone could get an optional augment *iṬ*. One can get a *jhaL*-initial

affix, i.e., *saN*, after verbal root *san* only when the option of *iṬ* is not accepted. This, in turn, will facilitate the *aṅga*-final *n* with *ā*. Why can we not delete the *n* of verbal root *san* before affix *saN* by the application of 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa*. . . ? A conflict of equal strength (*vipratiṣedha*) arises since enumeration of *tanoti*, etc., by 6.4.37 also includes verbal root *san*. That is why, operations relative to *tan*, paricularly of rules such as 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhyaḥ uḥ* and 2.4.79 *tanādibhyas tathāsoḥ*, apply to *san*. In fact, this establishes the independent scope of verbal root *san*. Here, in case of replacement in *ā*, we get both *n*-deletion and *ātva* applicable. We get *ā* on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent order of enumeration'.

Since *pūrva* 'prior' and *para* 'subsequent' rules both are *asiddha* 'suspended' in this section of *ābhīya*, one cannot invoke *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength' here. But Pāṇini anticipates *vipratiṣedha* also in this section of *ābhīya* rules. It is to indicate this that he includes *hali* in the wording of rule 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṃ hali*. This enables the replacement in *ī* (*ītva*) to apply only when a consonant-initial (*halādi*) affix follows. That is, it does not apply in *godaḥ* 'cow-giver' and *kambaladaḥ* 'blanket-giver' where a vowel-initial affix, namely *Ka*, follows. If Pāṇini had not anticipated *vipratiṣedha* as operative in this section of *ābhīya*, he did not have to include *hali* in the wording of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā*. . . . For, *ā*-deletion of 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* would then have been blocked by *ī*-replacement (*ītva*) of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā* . . . on the basis of *paratva*. This is why *godaḥ* and *kambaladaḥ* go through deletion of *ā* (of *dā*), as per 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*.

6.4.43 ये विभाषा

ye vibhāṣā
/*ye* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #37 *āt* #41 *janasanakhanām* #42)
yakārādau kṅiti pratyaye parato janasanakhanām ākāra ādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *jan*, *san*, and *khan*, is optionally replaced with *ā* when an affix beginning with *y* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jāyate/janyate '. . . comes into existence; optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *jan* with *yaK* denoting *bhāva*'
jājāyate/jañjanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *jaN* ending in affix *yaṄ*'
sāyate/sanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *saN* with *yaK* denoting *bhāva* or *karman*'
sāsāyate/saṃsanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *san* ending in affix *yaṄ*'
khāyate/khanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *khan* with *yaK* denoting *karman*'
cākhāyate/caṅkhanyate 'optional *LAṬ*-derivates of *khan* with affix *yaṄ*'

1. This rule makes an optional replacement in *ā* for the final nasal of *jan*, *san* and *khan* when a *y*-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows. Consider (*jan* + *yaK* + (*LAṬ*→*te*)) with optional forms: *janyate* (with no replacement in *ā*) and *jāyate*. We similarly get *jājāyate* and *jañjanyate*, from (*jan* + *yaṄ*) + (*LAṬ*→*ta*→*te*)), where, in *jājāyate*, we get a replacement in *ā* (*jaja*(*n*→*ā*). Doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*, especially lengthening of the *abhyāsa* (*j*(*a*→*ā*)*jā* . . .; 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*), finally produce *jājāyate*. When the option of *ā* is not accepted, the *abhyāsa* is introduced with augment *nUM* (7.4.85 *nugato' nunāsikasya*). Thus, *ja* + *nUM* + *jan* = *janjan*. An application of *anusvāra*, followed by *parasavarṇa* 'replacement homogeneous with what follows', will produce: *ja*(*n*→*ṃ*→*ñ*)*jan* = *jañjan* + *ya* + *te* = *jañjanyate*. We will similarly get *sāyate* and *sanyate*, with *yaK* and *LAṬ*→*te*, where *LAṬ* may denote *bhāva* 'root-sence' or *karman* 'object'. The long replacement of the *abhyāsa* will again be accomplished by 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*. This same also applies to *sāsāyate* which is an optional derivate of *san* + *yaṄ*, used with *LAṬ*→*ta*→*te*. We will get *saṃsanyate*, with *nUM* and *anusvāra*, when the option of replacing *n* with *ā* is not accepted. Derivates such as *khāyate*/*khanyate*; *cākhāyate*/*caṅkhanyate* follow similar derivational patterns where *ā*-replacement, homogeneous long replacement (*savarṇa-dīrgha*); doubling, operations relative to *abhyāsa*, long vowel replacement for the short of an *abhyāsa*, *nUM* and *parasavarṇa* apply as may be the case. Note here that *jā* replaces *jan*, obligatorily, when *ŚyaN* is introduced (1.3.57 *jñājanor jā*).

6.4.44 तनोतेर्यकि

> *tanoter yaki*
> /*tanoteḥ* 6/1 *yaki* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *āt* #41 *vibhāṣā* #43)
> *tanoter yaki parato vibhāṣa ākārādeśo bhavati*
> The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *tan* 'to extend', is replaced with *ā* when affix *yaK* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *tāyate* '*LAṬ*-derivate of *tan* with *yaK* denoting object'
> *tanyate* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *ā* to replace the final *n* of *tan* when *yaK* follows. Thus, we get *tāyate* and *tanyate*. A derivate with *yaṄ*, as against *yaK*, will thus not involve this replacement in *ā*. We will, therefore, get: *tantanyate*.

6.4.45 सनः क्तिचि लोपश्चान्यतरस्याम्

> *sanaḥ ktici lopaś cānyatarasyām*
> /*sanaḥ* 6/1 *ktici* 7/1 *lopaḥ* #1 *ca* ϕ *anyatarasyām* 7/1
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *āt* #41)

sanoter aṅgasya ktici pratyaye parata ākāra ādeśo bhavati lopaś cānyatarasyām
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *san* 'to gain, donate' is replaced with *ā*, or is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA*, when affix *KtiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sātiḥ 'gain'
santiḥ 'ibidem'
satiḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers an optional *ā*, against an optional deletion of *n* of *san*, when affix *KtiC* follows. Thus, since both *ā* and deletion are optional, we get three forms: *sātiḥ* (with *ā*), *satiḥ* (with *n*-deletion) and *santiḥ* (with no *ā* and *n*-deletion).

2. Since we have an express mention of *KtiC* in this rule, one may be confused about the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā*. For, *vibhāṣā* is used under the condition of an affix which began with *y*. This rule introduces a new condition of *ktici*. So that there is no confusion about the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā*, especially because of the use of *KtiC*, this rule uses *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' (*Kāś*: *anyatarasyāṃ grahaṇaṃ vispaṣṭārtham*).

6.4.46 आर्धधातुके

ārdhadhātuke
/ *ārdhadhātuke* 7/1/
'*ārdhadhātuke*' *ity adhikāraḥ*; '*na lyapi*' *iti prāg etasmād yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ* '*ārdhadhātuke*' *ity evaṃ tad veditavyam*
When an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) follows . . .

EXAMPLES:

cikīrṣitā 'he who wishes to do (with affix *tṛC*)'
bebhiditā 'he who wishes to repeatedly break (*yaṄ* + *tṛC*)'
kāraṇā 'instigation; (*kāri* + (*yuC*→*ana*) + *ṬāP*))'
hāraṇā 'to have carried away; (*hāri* + (*yuC*→*ana*) + *ṬāP*))'
yānti 'they go'
dīyate '. . . is given'
sneyāt 'third singular active *LIṄ*-derivate of *snā* 'to bathe''
kāriṣīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LIṄ*-derivate of *kṛÑ*'
hāriṣīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LIṄ*-derivate of *hṛÑ*'

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. The word *ārdhadhātuke* is thus to be read with all rules enumerated prior to 6.4.69 *na lyapi*. Consider the following rules:

(*i*) 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* 'the final *a* of an *aṅga* goes through deletion by *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows'

We thus get (*cikīrṣa* + *tṛC*) + *sU* = *cikīrṣitā* and (*jihīrṣa* + *tṛC*) + *sU* = *jihīrṣitā*, where verbal root *cikīrṣa* is derived with *saN* (appendix, II:435). The *a* of *cikīrṣa* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* under the express condition of *ārdhadhātuke*. Note that, given *bh*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *ŚaP* + *ti* = *bhava* + *ti*, we cannot delete the final *a* of *bhava* because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhātuka* affix. It is termed *sārvadhātuka*, instead.

This counter-example to the condition of *ārdhadhātuke* is, however, questioned. It is argued that we do not need this counter-example to show how deletion of *ŚaP* is not accomplished. We already have 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* as an indicator that, elsewhere, deletion of *ŚaP* is not accomplished. But 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* is not intended to do this. It is formulated to negate operations characteristic of affixes when those affixes get deleted (*Kāś*: *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapo lugvacanaṃ pratyayalopalakṣaṇapratiṣedhārthaṃ syād ity etan na jñāpakaṃ śapo lopābhāvasya*).

(*ii*) 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ* 'the *ya* which occurs after a consonant goes through deletion, via *LOPA*, when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows'

Consider *bebhiditā*, *bebhiditum* and *bebhiditavyam* where the root derives as *bhid* + *yaṄ*→*bebhidya*, through doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. We subsequently derive *bebhidya* + *tṛC* = *bebhiditṛ*, *bebhidya* + *tumUN*→*bebhiditum* and *bebhidya* + *tavyaT*→*bebhiditavya*, with augment *iṬ* and deletion of *ya*. Note that *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT* are all termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). Now consider *bebhidya* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*→*te*)→*bebhidya* + *ŚaP* + *te* = *bebhidyate*, where, since *te* is not an *ārdhadhātuka*, we do not get *ya*-deletion.

Note that 6.4.47 *yasya halaḥ* applies to delete *ya*, a sequence of *y* and *a*. Some argue here that *halaḥ* of 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ* is specified with *pañcamī* 'ablative'. Consequently, 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya* facilitates only the deletion of *y*. The *a* of *ya* is then deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*.

(*iii*) 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* '*Ṇi* goes through deletion via *LOPA*, when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix with no augment *iṬ* as its initial follows'

Consider *kāri* + (*yu*(*C*)→*ana*)→*kār*(*i*→ɸ) + *a*(*n*→*ṇ*)*a* = *kāraṇa* + *ṬāP* = *kāraṇā* and (*hāri* + *yuC*) + *ṬāP* = *hāraṇā* where deletion of the causal suffix *ṆiC* is accomplished under the condition of the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *yuC* (3.3.107 *ṇyāsaśrantho yuc*). Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *kāri* + *ŚaP* + (*LA*→*tiP*)) = *kārayati* and *hārayati*, where deletion of *ṆiC* must be blocked because *tiP* is not an *ārdhadhātuka* affix.

(*iv*) 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* 'an *aṅga*-final *ā* goes through deletion via *LOPA* when an *iṬ* or a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'

Consider *yayatuḥ* and *yayuḥ*, the third personal dual and plural perfect (*LIṬ*) forms of *yā* and *vā*, which derive from *ya* + *yā* + *atus* and *va* + *vā* + *atus* through doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Note that *ā* of *yayā* and *vavā* goes through deletion via *LOPA* before the *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *atus* and *us* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ*...). This *ā*-deletion cannot be accomplished in *yā* + (*ŚaP*→*LUK*) + (*jhi*→*anti*) = *yānti* and *vānti* because *ti* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*).

(*v*) 6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṃ hali* 'a replacement in *ī* (*ītva*) applies to an *aṅga* which is either termed a *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*), or is constituted by *mā*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *jahāti* and *sā*, provided a consonant-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'

Consider *d*(*ā*→*ī*) + *yaK* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*→*te*)) = *dīyate* and *dhīyate* where *yaK* is an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*. Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *adātām* and *adhātām*, third personal active immediate past (*LUṄ*) dual forms of *dā* and *dhā*, where, given *aṬ* + *dā* + (*sIC*→ϕ) + (*LUṄ*→*tas*→*tām*) and *aṬ* + *dhā* + (*sIC*→ϕ) + *LUṄ*→*tas*→*tām*), we do not get *ī* since, after the deletion of *sIC* (2.4.77 *gātisthāghupābhūbhyaḥ sicaḥ*...), what follows the *aṅga* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka*.

(*vi*) 6.4.68 *vā' nyasya saṃyogādeḥ* 'a non-*ghu* verbal root which begins with a conjunct and ends in *ā* receives a replacement in *e* (*etva*), optionally, when a *LIṄ*-replacement termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows'

Consider *snā* + *yāsUṬ* + (*LIṄ*→*ti*)→*sn*(*ā*→*e*) + *yās* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) = *sne* + *yā*(*s*→ϕ) + *t* = *sneyāt* where augment *yāsUṬ* is treated as part of the affix (*PŚ* 12): *yadāgamā guṇībhūtās tadgrahaṇena gṛhyante*). The term *ārdhadhātuka*, in this case, is assigned by 3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi*. We thus get *sneyāt* and *snāyāt* where *s* of *yāsUṬ* gets deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca*. One can also consider *snāyāt* as a counter-example where, since it is not a benedictive (*āśīḥ*) form of *LIṄ*, the affix cannot be termed *ārdhadhātuka*. This replacement in *e* thus does not apply in case of a non-benedictive derivate of *LIṄ*.

(*vii*) 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭtāsiṣu bhāvakarmaṇor upadeśe*... 'operations similar to *CiṆ* (*ciṇvadbhāva*), an *iṬ* in addition, apply optionally to an *aṅga* which, in *upadeśa*, ends in a vowel, or else, is constituted by *han*, *grah* and *dṛś*, provided affixes *sya*, *sIC*, *sīyUṬ* and *tās* follow with the scope of *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object'

Consider *kṛ* + (*LIṄ*→*ta*) and *hṛ* + (*LIṄ*→*ta*) which produce *kṛ* + *sīyUṬ* + *sUṬ* + *iṬ* + *ta*→*kāriṣīṣṭa* and *hṛ* + *sīyUṬ* + *sUṬ* + *iṬ* + *ta*)→*hāriṣīṣṭa* with the application of *ciṇvadbhāva*. These forms in-

volve *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* with a following *r* (*rapara*), deletion of *y* (*yalopa*), replacements in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*). Now consider *kriyet* and *hriyet*, the two benedictive forms of *kṛ* and *hṛ*, where, in the absence of a following *ārdhadhātuka* affix, *ciṇvadbhāva* cannot be applied. An application of *ciṇvadbhāva*, based upon the *aṅga* ending in a vowel on account of *yaK*, would end in *ā* through *vṛddhi*. Given *kriyā* + *īy* + *ta*, *guṇa* and *yUK* would both become applicable. Augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*), since operations relative to an *aṅga* are more powerful, would have blocked *guṇa*. This would have yielded a wrong form. Thus, the condition of *ārdhadhātuke* becomes necessary.

A *ślokavārttika* of the *Mahābhāṣya* enumerates seven purposes served by the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*: (*i*) *a-lopa* 'deletion of *a*', (*ii*) *ya-lopa* 'deletion of *ya*', (*iii*) *ṇi-lopa* 'deletion of *Ṇi*', (*iv*) *ā-lopa* 'deletion of *ā*', (*v*) *itva* 'replacement in *ī*', (*vi*) *etva* 'replacement in *e*' and (*vii*) *ciṇvadbhāva*, when *sīyUṬ* follows':

āto lopo yalopaś ca ṇilopaś ca prayojanam/
āllopa ītvam evaṃ ca ciṇvadbhāvaś ca sīyuṭi//

6.4.47 **भ्रस्जो रोपधयो रमन्यतरस्याम्**

bhrasjo ropadhayo ram anyatarasyām
/bhrasjaḥ 6/1 *ropadhayoḥ* 6/2 = *rephaś ca upadhā ca* = *ropadhe* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ram* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
bhrasjo rephasyopadhāyāś ca ram anyatarasyām bhavati
Augment *rAM* is optionally introduced in place of the sequence of *r*, plus next to the last sound segment of an *aṅga* namely *bhrasj* 'to roast', when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

braṣṭā 'nominative singular of *bhrasj* + *tṛC*'
bharṣṭā 'ibidem'
bhraṣṭum '. . . for roasting; (*bhrasj* + *tumUN*)'
bharṣṭum 'ibidem'
bhraṣṭavyam 'ought to roast; *bhrasj* + *tavyaT*'
bharṣṭavyam 'ibidem'

1. This rule introduces augment *rAM* after the last vowel (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*) of *bh~ sj*, in place of its *r* (*repha*) and penultimate *s* (*upadhā*). Note that *rAM*, since it is marked with *M* as an *it* (*mit*), is to be introduced after the *a* of *bhrasj*. But this will create problems since the *r* of *bhrasj* will still be there. There are two operaions involved here: (*i*) deletion of *repha* (*r*) and deletion of *upadhā* (*s*); and (*ii*) introduction of *rAM*. These two opera-

tions can both not be applied concurrently. It is therefore recommended that deletion of *r* and *s* be applied first. Introduction of *rAM* then follows. Thus, *bh(r) a(s) j* + *tṛC*→*bha(rAM) j* + *tṛC*→*bharṣṭā*, through applications of *ṣatva* (*j*→*ṣ*; 8.2.36 *vraś ca bhrasj*. . .) and *ṣṭutva* (*t*→*ṭ*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). We will get *bhraṣṭā* if the option of *rAM* is not accepted. The *s* of *bhrasj* will then be deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyoḥ*. Operations such as *ṣatva* and *ṣṭutva* will still apply. They will also apply in deriving the *tavyaT* forms *bharṣṭavyam* (with *rAM*) and *bhraṣṭavyam*. The *s* of (*bhrasj* + (*LYUṬ*→*ana*))→*bhrasj* + *ana* will be replaced with *d* (8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). This *d* will be further replaced with *j* through *ścutva* (8.4.41 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). Thus, (*bhra*(*s*→*d*→*j*)*j* + *ana*) + *sU*→*bhrajjanam*. A form with *rAM* will be *bharjjanam*.

2. Note that the condition of *upadeśe* is still valid. Thus, we do not get *rAM* in deriving *barībhṛjyate*, third singular middle intensive (*yaN̄*) of *bhrasj*, where 7.4.90 *rīg ṛdupadhasya ca* introduces augment *rīK*.

6.4.48 **अतो लोपः**

> *ato lopaḥ*
> /*ataḥ* 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46)
> *akārāntasya ārdhadhātuke lopo bhavati*
> The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in *a* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *cikīrṣitā* '. . . wishes to do; *tṛC*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*'
> *cikīrṣitum* '*tumUN*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*'
> *cikīrṣitavyam* '*tavyaT*-derivate of *cikīrṣa*'
> *dhinutaḥ* 'third dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dhivI* 'to please''
> *kṛṇutaḥ* 'third dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *kṛvI* 'to harm, to do''

1.This rule offers deletion of the final *a* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of an *aṅga* which ends in *a*. Refer to derivational details of *cikīrṣitā*, etc., under 6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke*. The third personal dual present (*LAṬ*) indicative active forms of *dhivI* and *kṛvI*, i.e., *dhinutaḥ* and *kṛṇutaḥ*, involve the introduction of augment *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). Affix *u*, with concurrent replacement of *v* with *a*, is introduced in consonance with 3.1.8 *dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca*. Thus, *dhiv* + (*LAṬ*→*tas*) *dhi* + *nUM* + *u* + (*v*→*a*) + *tas*→*dhin* + *u* + *a* + *tas* and *kṛṇ* + *u* + *a* + *tas*. This *a* is, however, deleted by our present rule. An application of *s*→*rU*→*ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*) finally produces *dhinutaḥ* and *kṛṇutaḥ*. Refer to the appendix (III:726) for derivational details of the singular forms *dhinoti* and *kṛṇoti*. Since they can be derived with *guṇa* of *u* and single replacement in *o* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*; *dhin* + (*u*→*o*) + *a* + *ti*→*dhin* + (*o* + *a*→*o*) + *ti*), this rule does not offer them as examples.

2. Why deletion of *a*? Consider *cetā* and *stotā* (appendix, II: 328–29) where, since there is no *a*, this deletion does not apply. Why this deletion applies only to a short *a*(*aT*; *taparakaraṇa*)? Consider *yātā* and *vātā* where the long *ā* does not go through deletion. Why the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *vṛkṣatvam* and *vṛkṣatā* where no deletion of short *a* can be accomplished. For, the *aṅga* is followed by affixes which fall outside the scope of *ārdhadhātuke*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to apply *a*-deletion prior to the application of *vṛddhi* and long-replacement (*dīrgha*). Consider *cikīrṣa* + (*ṆvuL*→*aka*) where deletion of *a* and *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) both become applicable. Deletion of *a* blocks *vṛddhi* on the basis of *pūrva-vipratiṣedha* 'conflict between rules of equal strength where the rule which precedes in order wins'. Once this deletion applies condition of the application of *vṛddhi* is removed. This same happens in case of *jihīrṣakaḥ* (appendix, II: 406–7). A similar conflict between this deletion of *a* and long replacement is witnessed in deriving *cikīrṣa* + *yaK* + (*ta*→*te*)→*cikīrṣyate* and *jihīrṣa* + *yaK* + *te* = *jihīrṣyate*. The long replacement of 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ* is blocked by deletion of *a*. Here again the condition of *dīrgha* is removed by deletion of *a*.

6.4.49 यस्य हलः

yasya halaḥ
/*yasya* 6/1 *halaḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopaḥ* #48)
hala uttarasya yaśabdasyārdhadhātuke lopo bhavati
A *ya* which occurs after a consonant in an *aṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bebhiditā 'nominative singular of *bhid* 'to split' ending in affix *tṛC*'
bebhiditum 'derivate of *bhid* ending in *tumUN*'
bebhiditavyam 'derivate of *bhid* + *tavyaT*'

1. This rule offers deletion of *ya* (cf. *yasya*) when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows. Of course, when *ya* occurs after a consonant. Refer to my notes under 6.4.46 *ārdhadhātuke* for illustrations. Note, however, that a sequence of *y* followed by *a* becomes the focus of this deletion. This rule does not accomplish deletion of a final *a* in consonance with 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. Rule 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* is already to do that. I have already indicated that some do not accept deletion of *ya*. They would rather delete *y* with this rule in consonance with the ablative (*pañcamī*; 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*) of *halaḥ*. They will of course resort to deletion of *a* by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*.

2. Why is this specification made with the sequence *ya*? Consider *īrṣy* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*→*īrṣyitā* and *mavy* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*→*mavyitā* where, because of *ya* alone, this rule does not apply. Why the condition of *halaḥ* 'occurring after a conso-

nant'? Consider *lolūya* + *iṬ* + *tṛC* and *popūya* + *iṬ* + *tṛC* where *lolūya* and *popūya* are roots derived with *yaṄ*. This rule cannot apply here to delete *ya* because *ya* does not occur after a consonant. Consequently, *a*-deletion alone applies.

6.4.50 क्यस्य विभाषा

> *kyasya vibhāṣā*
> */kyasya vibhāṣā* 1/1/
> (*ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopaḥ* #48 *halaḥ* #49)
> *kyasya hala uttarasya vibhāṣā lopo bhavati ārdhadhātuke*
> A *Kya* which occurs after a consonant in an *aṅga* is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *samidhitā* '*tṛC*-derivate of *sam-idh* + *KyaṄ*'
> *samidhyitā* 'ibidem'
> *dṛṣaditā* '*tṛC*-derivate of *dṛṣad* + *KyaṄ*'
> *dṛsadyitā* 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion to *ya* of *Kya*. All other conditions remain the same. Note that *Kya* here refers to affixes *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*) and *KyaṄ* (3.1.11 *karttuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca*) both. Consider *samidh* + *KyaC* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*→*samidh* + (*ya*→ϕ) + *iṬ* + *tṛC* = *samidhitṛ* + *sU*→*samidhitā*. We similarly get *dṛṣad* + *ya* + *iṬ* + *KyaṄ* + *tṛC*→*dṛṣaditṛ* + *sU* = *dṛṣaditā*. Forms with no optional deletion of *ya* will be: *samidhyitā* and *dṛṣadyitā*. This rule is necessary so that both forms could be accounted for. Our previous rule offers deletion obligatorily (*nitya*).

6.4.51 णेरनिटि

> */ṇer aniṭi*
> */ṇeḥ* 6/1 *aniṭi* 7/1 = *na iṭ yasya* = *aniṭ* (*bv.*), *tamsin*/
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *lopaḥ* #48)
> *aniḍādāv ārdhadhātuke ṇer lopo bhavati*
> Affix *Ṇi* of an *aṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, not conjoined with *iṬ* at its beginning, follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *atatakṣat* 'third singular active causal *LUṄ* of *takṣ*'
> *ararakṣat* 'third singular active causal *LUṄ* of *rakṣ*'
> *āṭiṭat* 'third singular causal active *LUṄ* of *aṭ*'
> *āśiśat* 'third singular active causal *LUṄ* of *aś*'
> *kāraṇā* 'derivate of (*kṛ* + *ṆiC* + *yuC*) + *ṬāP*'
> *hāraṇā* 'derivate of (*hṛ* + *ṆiC* + *yuC*) + *ṬāP*

kārakaḥ 'doer'
hārakaḥ 'he who carries'
kāryate 'that which is fetched'
hāryate 'that which is carried'
jñīpsati 'wishes to know'

1. This rule offers deletion of *ṆiC* as an exception to *iyAṄ, yaṆ, guṇa, vṛddhi* and *dīrgha* 'long replacement' (*Kāś: iyaṅyaṅguṇavṛddhidīrghāṇām apavādaḥ*). Since their application will render this deletion of *Ṇi* without any scope of application (*anavakāśa*), it is accepted as an exception (*apavāda*) to them (*PM* ad *Kāś: iyaṅādibhiḥ sarvasya viṣayasyāvaṣṭabdhatvād anavakāśo' yaṃ vijñāyate*).

Consider *ata* + *takṣ* + *i* + *a* + *ti* = *atatakṣat* 'he planed the wood' and *ara* + *rakṣ* + *i* + *a* + *ti* = *ararakṣat* 'he protected', where *iyAṄ* and deletion both become applicable to *i* of *ṆiC*. This deletion blocks *iyAṄ*, by way of being an exception. It also blocks the application of *yaṆ* (6.4.82 *er anekāco*...) in *āṭi* + *ṭi* + *ati* = *āṭiṭat* and *āśi* + *śi* + *a* + *ti* = *āśiśat*. An applicable of *guṇa* is blocked in favor of this deletion, also when *kāraṇā* and *hāraṇā* are derived from (*kāri* + *yuC*→*ana*) + *ṬāP* and (*hāri* + (*yuC*→*ana*) + *ṬāP*, respectively. Derivates such as *kāraka*←*kāri* + *ṆvuL* and *hāraka*←*hāri* + *ṆvuL* illustrate how *vṛddhi* is blocked by deletion. A blocking of *dīrgha* 'long replacement' (7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor*...) by deletion is illustrated by *kāri* + *ya* + *ta*→*kāryate* and *hāri* + *yaK* + *ta*→*hāryate*. A long replacement (6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ*...) is again blocked by deletion in deriving *jñīpsati*.

Refer to derivational details of these examples in the appendix. Note also that (*kāri* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*) *sU*→*kārayitā* 'he who will have it done' (*hāri* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*) *sU*→*hārayitā* 'he who wil have it carried' do not involve deletion of *ṆiC*. They must go through *guṇa* and *ay* of *i* since *iṬ* precedes *tṛC*.

6.4.52 निष्ठायां सेटि

niṣṭhāyām seṭi
/ *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1 *seṭi* 7/1 = *iṭā saha* = *seṭ* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lopaḥ* #48 *ṇeḥ* #51)
niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi parato ṇer lopo bhavati
Affix *Ṇi* of an *aṅga* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* conjoined with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kāritam 'that which was arranged to be done'
hāritam 'that which was arranged to be carried'
gaṇitam 'that which was counted'
lakṣitam 'that which was marked'

1. This rule allows deletion of *Ṇi* when a *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktvaktavatU niṣṭhā*)

suffix augmented with *iṬ* follows. Thus, we get *kāri* + *iṬ* + *Kta*→*kārita* and *hāri* + *iṬ* + *Kta*→*hārita*, *gaṇi* + *Kta*→*gaṇita* and *lakṣi* + *Kta*→*lakṣita*.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *saṃjñapitaḥ paśuḥ* as a counter-example for the condition of *seṭi*. That is, *saṃjñapita* does not go through deletion of *ṆiC* since its *Kta* is not augmented with *iṬ*. Actually, an *iṬ* is optionally introduced after *jñap* (7.2.49 *sanīvantardhabhrasj*. . .). But this optional *iṬ* is negated before a *niṣṭhā* suffix (7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*). If *iṬ* is negated based on the followig *niṣṭhā* then why can *aniṭi* of the earlier rule not accomplish *Ṇi*-deletion? This is not possible since our present rule expressely mentions *niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi*. If this deletion could be made possible by the earlier rule then why state this rule. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* refutes this *sūtra*. I choose not to discuss this any further.

Questions have also been raised against adding the word *seṭi* to this rule. Many consider it unnecessary. Some state that *seṭi* is added to determine operational timing (*kālāvadhāraṇa*). That is, deletion of *Ṇi* must follow introduction of *iṬ*.

6.4.53 जनिता मन्त्रे

janitā mantre
/*janitā* 1/1 *mantre* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #48 *lopaḥ* #48 *ṇeḥ* #51)
janiteti mantraviṣaye iḍādau ṇilopo nipātyate
The word *janitā*, in the *mantra*, is derived with deletion of *Ṇi* via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

yo naḥ pitā jánitā 'he who is our father the progenitor'

1. This rule derives *janitā*, via *nipātana*, when the usages is *mantra*. Thus, given (*jan* + *ṆiC*) = (*jān* + *i* + *iṬ* + *tṛ*) + *sU*, we get *janitā* in the *mantra* and *janayitā* in the classical usage. Recall that 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* allows *Ṇi*-deletion only when an *ārdhadhātuka* not augmented with *iṬ* follows. This *nipātana* allows deletion even when an *ārdhadhātuka* augmented by *iṬ* follows. The *vṛddhi* vowel *ā* of *jāni* goes through shortening on the basis of *mit* (*Dhātupāṭha*: *janījṛṣknasurañjo' mantāś ca*). The shortening is accomplished on the basis of its listing in the *mitādi* (*mit*) group (6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*).

6.4.54 शमिता यज्ञे

śamitā yajñe
/*śamitā* 1/1 *yajñe* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lopaḥ* #48 *ṇeḥ* #51)
yajñakarmaṇi śamiteti iḍādau tṛci ṇilopo nipātyate
The word *śamitā*, in ritual sacrifices (*yajñakarmaṇi*), is derived with deletion of *Ṇi* via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

śṛtaṃ haviḥ = *śamitaḥ* 'vocative singular of *śam* + *ṆiC* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*'

1. This rule offers *śamitā*, again via *nipātana*, when the context is sacrificial offering (*yajñakarma*). Our example *śamitaḥ* is an address (*sambuddhi*) form in the singular. Thus, (*śam* + *ṆiC* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*) *sU* produces *śamitaḥ*. The *sU* is deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . The *ṛ* of *tṛC* goes through *guṇa* (*ṛto* . . .) and its resultant *r* goes through replacement in *visarga*. This all is accomplished after deletion of *ṆiC*.

6.4.55 अयामन्तात्वाय्येत्न्विष्णुषु

ayāmantālvāyyetnviṣṇuṣu
/ *ay* 1/1 *ām-anta-ālv-āyya-itnu-iṣṇuṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ṇeḥ* #51)
'*ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu, iṣṇu*' *ity eteṣu parato ṇer ay ādeśo bhavati*
The *Ṇi* of an *aṅga* is replaced with *ay* when *ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu* and *iṣṇu* combine to follow.

EXAMPLES:

kārayāñcakāra '. . . had it made'
hārayāñcakāra '. . . had it carried'
maṇḍayantaḥ 'ornamentation'
spṛhayāluḥ 'desirous, compassionate'
gṛhayāluḥ 'householder'
spṛhayāyyaḥ 'desirous'
gṛhayāyyaḥ 'householder'
stanayitnuḥ 'thunder'
poṣayiṣṇavaḥ 'desirous of nourishing'
pārayiṣṇavaḥ 'desirous of going across'

1. This rule is an exception to *Ṇi*-deletion of 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. It allows *ay* to replace *Ṇi* when *ām, anta, ālu, āyya, itnu* and *iṣṇu* follow. Refer to derivational details of examples in the appendix (III: 717–18).

2. Why was this rule not formulated as *na*, to simply negate the deletion of *Ṇi*? This provision of non-deletion would have eventually resulted into a replacement in *ay*, via *guṇa* of *Ṇi*. This would also have proved more economical. Commentators note that a replacement in *ay* is intended more for subsequent rules (*Kāś*: '*na*' *iti vaktavye ayādeśavacanam uttarārtham*).

6.4.56 ल्यपि लघुपूर्वात्

lyapi laghupūrvāt
/ *lyapi* 7/1 *laghupūrvāt* 5/1 = *laghuḥ pūrvo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ṇeḥ* #51 *ay* #55)

lyapi parato laghupūrvād varṇād uttarasya ṇer ay ādeśo bhavati
A *Ṇi*, when occurring after a sound segment preceded by a vowel termed *laghu* 'short', is replaced with *ay*, provided an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*, namely *LyaP*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

praṇamayya 'having caused to bow down'
pratamayya 'having caused to fall down'
pradamayya 'having caused to restrain'
praśamayya 'having caused to quest down'
sandamayya (*gataḥ*) 'having constrained he went'

1. This rule allows *ay* to replace *Ṇi*, when *LyaP* follows *Ṇi*, and what precedes *Ṇi* is preceded by a vowel termed *laghu*. Thus, Consider *pra* + *nam* + *ṆiC* + *LyaP*→*praṇamayya*, etc., where a *laghu* vowel, i.e., *a*, precedes *m* occurring before *ṆiC*. The *LyaP*, of course, is a replacement of *Ktvā*, used after a verbal root signifying prior action (*pūrvakāla*; 7.1.37 *samāse' nañpūrve*...). Recall that *praśāmi*→*praśami*, etc., entail shortening of 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*. Note also that *prabebhidayya*, etc., are derivates of *LyaP* introduced after a *ṆiC*-derivate of *bhid*, etc., ending in *yaṄ*, used with the preverb *pra*. Thus, *pra* + *bhid* + *yaṄ*→*pra* + *bhi* + *bhid* + *yaṄ*→*pra* + *bi* + *bhid* + *yaṄ*→(*pra* + *be* + *bhid* + *yaṄ*) + *ṆiC*. The *ya* of *yaṄ*, however, gets deleted by 6.4.49 *yasya halaḥ*. This same also applies to other examples. The *curādi* verbal root *gaṇa* is enumerated as ending in *a*. This *a* goes through deletion as a result of being an *it*. The *vṛddhi* in *pragaṇayya* is blocked via *sthānivadbhāva*.

2. Note that shortening (*hrasva*) of *praṇāmi*, etc., is accomplished by 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*. This rule accomplishes a replacement in *ay*. These two operations both are contained within the domain of 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*. Why can we not accept *hrasva*, which enables *m* to be preceded by the *laghu* vowel *a*, as *asiddha*? Commentators state that such operations, i.e., *hrasva* 'shortening', *yalopa* 'deletion of *ya*', *āllopa* 'deletion of *ā*' cannot be accepted as *asiddha* since they do not share similar operational loci (*samānāśraya*) with, for example, this replacement in *ay*. That is, *hrasva*, etc., are conditioned by *Ṇi* and *ay* in place of *Ṇi* is conditioned by *LyaP*. Thus, shortening, etc., do not become a *asiddha* 'suspended'.

3. The condition of *laghupūrvāt* is imposed so that we do get *ay* as a replacement of *Ṇi* of *prapātya gataḥ*. Notice that *t* of *prapāti* is not preceded by a *laghu* vowel.

6.4.57 **विभाषाऽऽपः**

vibhāṣā" paḥ
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *āpaḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ṇeḥ* #51 *ay* #55 *lyapi* #56)

āpa uttarasya ṇer lyapi parato vibhāṣā' yādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ay* comes optionally in place of affix *Ṇi* when *Ṇi* occurs after *āp* and affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prāpayya gataḥ 'having caused to obtain he went'
prāpya gataḥ 'having obtained he went'

1. This rule offers optional *ay* as a replacement for *Ṇi*, when *Ṇi* occurs after *āp* and is followed by *LyaP*. Note that *āp* refers here to *āpḶ* 'to attain' (*cur-ādi*) and *āpḶ* 'to pervade' (*sv-ādi*), both.

6.4.58 **युप्लुवोर्दीर्घश्छन्दसि**

yupluvor dīrghaś chandasi
/*yu-pluvoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lyapi* #56)
'*yu, plu*' *ity etayor lyapi parataś chandasi viṣaye dīrgho bhavati*
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *yū* 'to mix' and *plu* 'to float', is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dāntyánupū̱rvaṃ vi̱yūyá
yatrā yo dakṣiṇā pariplūya

1. Note that this rule covers Vedic derivates. Elsewhere, we will get *saṃyutya* and *āplutya* with no long replacements. Note that augment *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti*...) will be introduced in the absence of this long replacement.

6.4.59 **क्षियः**

kṣiyaḥ
/*kṣiyaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lyapi* #56 *dīrghaḥ* #58)
kṣiyaś ca dīrgho bhavati lyapi parataḥ
The final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi*, is replaced with its long counterpart when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prakṣīya

1. This rule does not carry ths *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi*.

6.4.60 **निष्ठायामण्यदर्थे**

niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe

/niṣṭhāyām 7/1 *aṇyadarthe* 7/1 = *ṇyato' rthaḥ* = *ṇyadarthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na ṇyadarthaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #58 *kṣiyaḥ* #59)
ṇyataḥ kṛtyasyārtho = *bhāvakarmaṇī, tābhyām anyatra yā niṣṭhā tasyāṃ kṣiyo dīrgho bhavati*
The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi* 'to decay', is replaced with its long counterpart when a *niṣṭhā* suffix denoting something other than the sense of *ṆyaT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣīṇaḥ 'decayed, having resided'
prakṣīṇaḥ 'ibidem'
parikṣīṇaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers a long replacement for the short *i* of *kṣi* when a *niṣṭhā* suffix with the signification of something other than *ṆyaT* follows. Recall that *ṆyaT* is an affix termed *kṛtya*, used with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object' (3.4.70 *tayor eva* . . .). Obviously, this replacement in long applies when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows with the signification of *kartṛ* 'agent' and *adhikaraṇa* 'locus'. Thus, *prakṣīṇa* and *parikṣīṇa* where *Kta* is introduced after the intransitive (*akarmaka*; 3.4.72 *gatyarthākarmaka* . . .) verbal root *kṣi*, used with the preverb *pari*. This *Kta* denotes an agent. Recall that this long replacement also causes the application of 8.2.46 *kṣiyo dīrghāt* whereby the *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *n*. This *n* is subsequently replaced with *ṇ*.

6.4.61 वाऽऽक्रोशदैन्ययोः

vā" krośadainyayoḥ
/vā ākrośa-danyayoḥ 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *dīrghaḥ* #58 *kṣiyaḥ* #59 *niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe* #60)
ākrośe gamyamāne dainye ca kṣiyo niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe vā dīrgho bhavati
The final short vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *kṣi*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a *niṣṭhā* affix denoting the sense of something other than *ṆyaT* follows and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger, reproach' and *dainya* 'pity'.

EXAMPLES:

kṣitāyuḥ edhi 'may you have a very short life-span'
kṣīṇāyuḥ 'ibidem'
kṣitakaḥ 'emaciated'
kṣīṇakaḥ 'ibidem'
kṣito' yaṃ tapasvī 'this ascetic is emaciated'
kṣīṇo' yaṃ tapasvī 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the long replacement optional when a *niṣṭhā* suffix not used with the signification of *ṆyaT* follows, and derivates denote *ākrośa* 'anger' and *dainya* 'pity'. The *Kta* or *kṣi* + *Kta* is used with the denotatum of *kartṛ* 'agent'. Notice how this long replacement, when blocked, also blocks *n*-replacement of *t*. The question of a subsequent replacement of *n* with *ṇ* does not arise.

This optional replacement is not available to ***kṣitam*** of ***kṣitam asya sarvam*** 'whatever is his is wasted', or ***kṣitam asya tapasvinaḥ*** 'this ascetic's (all) is wasted', because *Kta* of *kṣita* is used with the signification of ***karman*** 'object'.

6.4.62 स्यसिच्सीयुट्तासिषु भावकर्मणोरुपदेशेऽज्झनग्रहदृशां वा चिण्वदिट् च

syasicsīyuṭtāsiṣu bhāvakarmaṇorupadeśe' jjhanagrahadṛśām vā ciṇvad iṭ ca / *sya-sic-sīyuṭ-tāsiṣu* 7/1 (*itar. dv.*); ***bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*** 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); ***upadeśe*** 7/1 *ajj-hana-graha-dṛśām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), ***teṣām***; *vā* ϕ *ciṇvat* ϕ *iṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/ (*aṅgasya* #1)

'***sya, sic, sīyuṭ, tāsi***' ***ity eteṣu bhāvakarmaviṣayeṣu parata upadeṣe' jantānām aṅgānām*** '***han, grah, dṛś***' ***ity eteṣāṃ ca ciṇvat kāryaṃ bhavati***

An *aṅga*, namely ***han*** 'to kill', ***grah*** 'to sieze, hold' and *dṛś* 'to see', and also that which ends in a vowel in ***upadeśa*** 'initial citation', is optionally treated like an *aṅga* occurring before affix *CiṆ*, when *sya, sIC, sīyUṬ* and *tāsi*, with the signification of ***bhāva*** 'root-sense' or ***karman*** 'object' with a concurrenlty introduced augment *iṬ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

cāyiṣyate 'third singular middle *LṚṬ* form of *ciÑ* 'to heap''
ceṣyate 'ibidem'
acāyiṣyata 'third singular middle *LṚṄ*...'
aceṣyata 'ibidem'
ghāniṣyate 'third singular middle *LṚṬ* form of ***han*** 'to kill''
haniṣyate 'ibidem'
aghāniṣyata '... *LṚṄ*...'
ahaniṣyata 'ibidem'
grāhiṣyate '... *LṚṬ* form of ***grah*** 'to seize, hold''
grahīṣyate 'ibidem'
agrāhiṣyata '... *LṚṄ* form of ***grah***'
agrahīṣyata 'ibidem'
darśiṣyate 'third singular middle *LṚṬ* form of *dṛś* 'to see''
drakṣyate 'ibidem'
adarśiṣyata '... *LṚṄ* form of *dṛś*'
adrakṣyata 'ibidem'
avāyiṣātām 'third dual middle *LUṄ* form of *ci* 'to heap''
aceṣātām 'ibidem'
adāyiṣātām '... *LUṄ* form of *dā* 'to give''

adiṣātām 'ibidem'
aśāmiṣātām '. . . *LUṄ* form of causal *śami* 'be tired, quiet''
aśamiṣātām 'ibidem'
aśamayiṣātām 'ibidem'
aghāniṣātām '. . . *LUṄ* form of *han* 'to kill''
avadhiṣātām 'ibidem'
ahasātām 'ibidem'
agrāhiṣātām '. . . *LUṄ* form of *grah* 'to seize, hold''
agrahīṣātām 'ibidem'
adarśiṣātām '. . . *LUṄ* form of *dṛś* 'to see''
adṛkṣātām 'ibidem'
cāyiṣīṣṭa 'third singular middle benedictive *LIṄ* form of *ci* 'to heap''
ceṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
dāyiṣīṣṭa '. . . benedictive of *dā* 'to give''
dāsīṣṭa 'ibidem'
śāmisīṣṭa '. . . of *śami*'
śamiṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
śamayiṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
ghāniṣīṣṭa 'of *han*'
vadhiṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
grāhiṣīṣṭa '. . . of *grah*'
grahīsīṣṭa 'ibidem'
darśiṣīṣṭa '. . . of *dṛś*''
dṛkṣīṣṭa 'ibidem'
cāyitā 'third singular *LUṬ* form of *ci*'
cetā 'ibidem'
dāyitā '. . . of *dā* 'to give''
dātā 'ibidem'
śāmitā '. . . of causal *śami*'
śamitā 'ibidem'
śamayitā 'ibidem'
ghānitā '. . . of *han*'
hantā 'ibidem'
grahitā '. . . of *grah*'
grahītā 'ibidem'
darśitā '. . . of *dṛś*'
darṣṭā 'ibidem'
draṣṭā 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers operations similar to *CiṆ*, optionally, along with the introduction of augment *iṬ*, to verbal roots which end in a vowel in *upadeśa*, or to roots *han*, *grah* and *dṛś*, provided *sya*, *sIC*, *sīyUṬ* and *tās* follow with the signification of *bhāva* and *karman*. Most of the cited examples are derivates of *LṚṬ* and *LṚṄ* where augment *aṬ* is introduced with derivates of *LṚṄ*.

Additionally, there is no replacement in *e* (*etva*) for *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*). These and derivates of *LIN* and *LUN* follow operational provisions made for *sIC*, etc., with *ciṇvadbhāva* where applicable. Derivates of *LUṬ* should present no difficulty.

Note that *ciṇvat* ends in *vatUP*. Consequently, provisions of this rule are extensional (*atidiṣṭa*). There are two ways in which *ciṇvat* can be interpreted to facilitate operations:

(*i*) operations which *CiṆ* conditions and (*ii*) operations which may or may not be conditioned by *CiṆ*, but which generally obtain when *CiṆ* follows.

Commentators state that this second interpretation is generally accepted. Refer to my notes under rule 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā tulyakriyaḥ* for further details. Note that, in addition to operations listed there, *ciṇvadbhāva* always brings augment *iṬ*. This *iṬ*, because of being contained within the section known as *ābhīya*, becomes suspended (*asiddha*).

This rule anticipates *ciṇvadbhāva* 'operations similar to when *CiṆ* follows'. That is, operations relative to an *aṅga* (*aṅga-kārya*) should be performed before *sya*, *sIC*, *sīyUṬ* and *tāsI*, in a manner similar to when *CiṆ* follows. There are basically four operations which are performed before *sya*, *sIC*, etc., under this extensional provision of *ciṇvadbhāva*:

(*i*) A *vṛddhi* conditioned by affixes marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* (*ṇin-nimittaka*; 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* and 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*);
(*ii*) Introduction of augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*) to roots which end in *ā*;
(*iii*) Replacement in *gh* for the *h* of verbal root *han* (7.3.54 *ho hanter ñṇinneṣu*) as conditioned by *Ṇ* as an *it* in *CiṆ*;
(*iv*) An optional long replacement for the short penultimate of an *aṅga* marked with *M* as an *it* (*mit*; 6.4.93 *ciṇ ṇamulo dīrgho' nyatarasyām*).

The *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes *ciṇvadbhāva* as follows:

ciṇvad vṛddhir yuk ca hanteś ca ghatvaṃ
dīrghaś cokto yo mitāṃ vā ciṇīti/
iṭ cā' siddhas tena me lupyate ṇir
nityaś cāyaṃ valnimitto vighātī//

'*ciṇvadbhāva* is stated to offer operations similar to *vṛddhi*, augment *yUK*, *gh*-replacement (for *h* of *han*) and optional replacement for those which are marked with *M*; since an *iṬ* which is concurrently introduced with *ciṇvadbhāva* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*), rule 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* applies to delete *ṆiC*. The *iṬ* of *ciṇvadbhāva* is considered obligatory (*nitya*); the *iṬ* which is conditioned by an affix beginning with a sound denoted by *vaL* (*valādi-lakṣaṇa*) is considered non-obligatory (*anitya*)'

Note that an operation is called *nitya* if it obtains irrespective of whether or not a competing operation obtains (*kṛtākṛta-prasaṅga*). Introduction of *iṬ*, via *ciṇvadbhāva*, is considered obligatory (*nitya*). Introduction of *iṬ* characterized with a following affix beginning with consonants denoted by *vaL* is considered *anitya*. There are two things which must be remembered in connection with *ciṇvadbhāva* and the obligatory-non-obligatory nature of augment *iṬ*. Firstly, this provision of *ciṇvadbhāva* and introduction of augment *iṬ* is generally accepted as *sanniyogaśiṣṭa* 'concurrently introduced'. That is, if one is removed the other must also be removed (*sanniyogaśiṣṭānām saha vā pravṛttiḥ saha vā nivṛttiḥ*). Secondly, rule 6.4.62 *syasicsyuṭ*... is optional. It is within this stipulation that *iṬ* of *ciṇvadbhāva* is considered obligatory against the non-obligatory *iṬ* characterized with an affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *vaL*. The *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 6.4.62: *yāvān iṇ nāma sa sarva ārdhadhātukasyaiva bhavati*) clearly specifies the locus of two operations in *ciṇvadbhāva*. That is, *ciṇvadbhāva* is to apply on what is termed an *aṅga*; augment *iṬ* is introduced to *sya-sic-sīyuṭ*, etc. Now consider an illustration. We get two forms, *bhāvitā* and *bhavitā*, which both derive from *bhū* + (*LUṬ*→*ta*). We get *bhāvitā* via optional *ciṇvadbhāva* which yields *bhū* + *iṬ* + *tās* + *ta* = *bh*(*ū*→*au*) + *itās* + *ta*. Obviously, we have the concurrent introduction of *iṬ* to *tās* and *vṛddhi* of the final vowel of *bhū*, the *aṅga*. The *au* and *ta* are then replaced with *āv* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) and *Ḍā* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya*...), respectively. We thus get *bh*(*ū*→*au*→*āv*) + *itās* + (*Ḍā*) = *bhāv* + *itās* + *ā*. An application of *ṭi*-deletion finally yields *bhāv* + *itā*(*sā*→ϕ) = *bhāvitā*. If the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is not accepted we will get *bhavitā*. Augment *iṬ* is then introduced by 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. Of course, an application of *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āy*, relative to *ciṇvadbhāva*, cannot be availed here.

Now consider *bhāvitā* and *bhāvayitā*, the two causal derivates of *bhū* + *ṆiC*→*bhāvi*. Given *bhāvi* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*), we can get the introduction of *iṬ* + *tās*. That is, with the understanding that *bhāvi* ends in a vowel (*ajanta*), i.e., which is *aupadeśika* 'given as part of first citation (*upadeśa*)'. The word *upadeśa* is here interpreted as 'that which ends in (a vowel) in *upadeśa*'. The straightforward interpretation of 'a root which ends in a vowel in *upadeśa*' will create problems. The causal vowel *i* of affix *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) in *bhāvi* is what is accepted as *aupadeśika* here. Our form *bhāvitā* receives *iṬ*, via *ciṇvadbhāva*. This *iṬ* is considered *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. These two operations both are contained in the *ābhīya* section with similar operational locus. Hence, deletion of *Ṇi* by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* is accomplished. This gives us (*bhāvi*→ϕ) + *tas* + *ta*. We finally get *bhāvitā* with replacement in *Ḍā* and *Ṭi*-deletion. In the absence of not accepting *ciṇvadbhāva* we will bring *iṬ* from 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. This *iṬ* cannot be accepted as *asiddha* since it is not contained within the *ābhīya* section. We thus do not get the deletion of *ṆiC*. We will thus get the application of *guṇa*

(7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha . . .*) and replacement in *ay* on: *bhāv(i→e→ay)* + *iṬ* + *tās* + *ta→bhāvay* + *itā(s* + *ta→φ)* = *bhāvayitā*. Refer to further derivational details in the appendix.

6.4.63 **दीङो युडचि क्ङिति**

dīṅo yuḍ aci kṅiti
/*dīṅaḥ* 5/1 *yuṬ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1 *kṅiti* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46)
dīṅo yuḍ āgamo bhavati ajādau kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ
Augment *yUṬ* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *dīṅ*, when a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

upadidīye 'third singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate'
upadidīyāte 'third dual middle . . .'
upadidīyire 'third plural middle . . .'

1. Note that *yUṬ*, an augment marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, should be introduced at the beginning of *dīṄ* (cf. 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). But such an introduction is possible only when *dīṅaḥ* is interpreted as ending in the genitive (1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*). It is to facilitate the introduction of *yUṬ* to the following affix beginning with a vowel that *dīṅaḥ* is here interpreted as ending in the ablative (*pañcamī*; 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*). A genitive interpretation is blocked in favor of the ablative (*ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyaḥ* (*pari*: 71)). Thus, consider the third personal middle forms of *LIṬ* introduced after *dī* used with the preverb *upa*. Recall that the *ta*, *ātām* and *jha* which replace *LIṬ* are further replaced with *eŚ*, *āte* and *ireC*, respectively. We get *upadidīye*, *upadidīyāte* and *upadidīyire* through iteration (*abhyāsa*/ *dvitva*), shortening (*hrasva*) and *yUṬ* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor . . .*), introduced before *eŚ*, etc.

Note that augment *yUṬ*, and a replacement in *yaṆ* of 6.4.82 *er anekācaḥ*, are both contained within this *ābhīya* domain of rules. Commentators state that this *yUṬ* cannot be treated as suspended (*asiddha*) when considering the application of *yaṆ*. For, that will produce wrong forms such as **upadidyire*, etc. Besides, this express provision of *yUṬ* will then become meaningless (*vyartha*). Thus, *yUṬ* cannot be treated as if suspended (*asiddhavat*) when 6.4.82 *er anekācaḥ . . .* applies to cause a replacement in *yaṆ* (*Kāś*: '*dīṅaḥ*' *iti pañcamīnirdeśād ajāder yuḍ āgamo bhavati. vidhānasāmarthyac ca* '*er anekācaḥ . . .*' *iti yaṇādeśe kartavye tasyāsiddhatvaṃ na bhavati*). That is, this application of *yaṆ* is blocked.

6.4.64 **आतो लोप इटि च**

āto lopa iṭi ca

/*ātaḥ* 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *iṭi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *aci kṅiti* #63)
iḍyajādāv ārdhadhātuke kṅiti cākārāntasyāṅgasya lopo bhavati
The final vowel of an *aṅga* ending in *ā* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with augment *iṬ*, or one which begins with a vowel and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

papitha 'second person singular active *LIṬ* of *pā* 'to drink''
papatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ* of *pā*'
papuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
tasthita 'second person singualr active *LIṬ* of *sthā* 'to stand''
tasthatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
tasthuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
godaḥ 'giver of cow'
kambaladaḥ 'giver of blanket'
pradā 'gift, giving generously'
pradhā 'oblations, placing with great care'

1. This rule allows deletion of the final *ā* of an *aṅga* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix either augmented with *iṬ*, or beginning with a vowel and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. A specification with *iṬ* is made separately to also allow this deletion before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix not marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. Now consider the second person active singular *LIṬ* forms of *pā* and *sthā*. Recall that *siP* is further replaced here with *thaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ* . . .). We get *papā* + *i* + *tha* and *tasthā* + *i* + *tha*, after iteration, operations relative to *abhyāsa* and introduction of agument *iṬ* (7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*). The *ā*-deletion of this rule thus produces *papitha* and *tasthita*. Refer to derivational details of *papatuḥ* and *papuḥ* in the appendix of 1.1.59 *dvir vacane' ci*. Rule 3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ* introduces affix *Ka* in deriving *goda* and *kambalada*. Affix *aṄ* is similarly introduced by 3.3.106 *ātaś copasarge* in deriving *pradā* and *pradhā*. These are both derivates of *ṬāP*, introduced after deletion of *ā*.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *yānti* 'they go' and *vātni* '. . . move' as counter-examples to the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*. Recall that *ti* is an affix termed *sārvadhātuka*. Similar counter-examples are offered in *vyatyare* and *vyatyale*, the first person singular derivates of *LAṄ* signifying reciprocal action (*karmavyatihāra*). Since there is no *ārdhadhātuka* affix to follow, the *ā* (of *rā* and *lā*) and *i* (of affix *i*) receive a single replacement in *guṇa*. This *ā*-deletion can also not be possible in *glāyate* and *dāsīya* where the condition of *ajādi* 'vowel-initial' cannot be met.

6.4.65 ईद्यति

īd yati

/*īt* 1/1 *yati* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ātaḥ* #64)
īkāra ādeśo bhavati ākārāntasyāṅgasya
The final *ā* of an *aṅga* is replaced with *ī* when affix *yaT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

deyam '... to be given'
dheyam '... to be placed'
heyam '... to be discarded'
steyam 'theft; stealing'

1. This rule offers *īT* as a replacement for the *aṅga*-final *ā* when affix *yaT* follows. Note that *deyam*, etc., are derivates of *yaT*. Refer to derivational details of *geyam* in the appendix (III: 729) of 3.1.97 *aco yat*.

6.4.66 घुमास्थागापाजहातिसां हलि

ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṃ hali
/*ghu-mā-sthā-gā-pā-jahāti-sām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *hali* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *kṅiti* #63 *īt* #65)
ghu-saṃjñakānām aṅgānāṃ 'mā, sthā, gā, pā, jahāti, sā' ity eteṣāṃ halādau kṅiti pratyaye parata īkārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely one which is termed *ghu*, or one which is constituted by *mā* 'to measure', *sthā* 'to stand', *gā*(*gai*) 'to sing', *pā* 'to drink', *hā* 'to abandon' and *sā* (*so*) 'to destroy', is replaced with *ī*, when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant, and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

dīyate 'third singular passive *LAṬ* of *dā* 'to give' with affix *yaK* denoting *karman* 'object''
dedīyate '... with verbal root *dā* ending in *yaṄ*'
dhīyate 'third singular passive *LAṬ* of *dhā* 'to place''
dedhīyate '... with verbal root *dhā* ending in *yaṄ*'
mīyate 'it is measured (with *yaK* denoting object)'
memīyate '... with verbal root *mā* ending in *yaṄ*'
sthīyate 'third singular *LAṬ* of *sthā* with *yaK*'
teṣthīyate '... with verbal root *sthā* ending in *yaṄ*'
gīyate 'third singular *LAṬ* with *yaK* denoting object'
jegīyate '... with verbal root *gā* ending in *yaṄ*'
adhyagīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *adhi-i* 'to study diligently''
adhyagīṣātām 'third dual middle *LUṄ*...'
adhyagīṣata 'third plural middle ...'

pīyate 'third singular middle *LAṬ* of *pā* 'to drink' where *yaK* denotes object''
pepīyate '. . . with verbal root *pā* ending in *yaK*'
hīyate '. . . verbal root *hā* with *yaK*; '. . . is abandoned''
jehīyate '. . . with verbal root *hā* ending in *yaṄ*'
avasīyate '. . . is destroyed; *ava-so* + (*LAṬ*→*te*) with *yaK*'
avasesīyate '. . . with verbal root *so* ending in *yaṄ*'

1. This rule allows *ī* as a replacement for an *aṅga*-final *ā*, provided the *aṅga* is either termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*), or is constituted by *mā* (*meṄ*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* (of *jahāti*)) and *sā*. Additionally, the following suffix must begin with a consonant and must be marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*. Thus, consider *dīyate* and *dhīyate* where *ta* replaces *LAṬ* with the denotatum of *karman*, and *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) is introduced. Verbal roots *dā* and *dhā* are termed *ghu* and their *ā* is replaced with *ī*, under the condition of *yaK*. Note that *yaK* is marked with *K* and begins with a consonant (*halādi*). The consonant initial affix in *dedīyate* is *yaṄ* (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco* . . .). Thus, *dā* + *yaK*→*dī* + *yaK*, etc. Refer to full derivational details of similar forms under the appendix of 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving *mīyate*, *memīyate*, *pīyate*, *pepīyate*, etc. Derivational details of *adhyagīṣṭa*, etc., can be found under the appendix of 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo*. . . . Operations relative to *dvitva* 'iteration' and *abhyāsa*, particularly retention of *khaR* (7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ*) in *teṣṭhīya* and replacement with *jaŚ* in *gigīya*→*jegīya*, should pose no problem. Refer to many example derivates under 1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi*. . ., etc., and also rules dealing with *dvitva* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve* . . .) and *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). Note that verbal root *ṣo* gets its *ṣ* replaced with *s* (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ* . . .). It further receives *ā* as a replacement for *o* (6.1.45 *ādeca* . . .).

Note that *mā* refers to three verbal roots: *mā*, *meṄ* and *māṄ*. A similar reference with *gā* is made to *gāṄ*, *gai* and *gā*. Verbal roots *pā* 'to drink' and *Ohāk* 'to abandon' alone are referred to by *pā* and *hā*.

2. *Kāśikā* illustrates the conditions of *hali* and *kṅiti* with *dadatuḥ*/*daduḥ* and *dātā*/*dhātā*, respectively. Affixes *atus* and *us* do not allow *ā* of *dā* to be replaced with *ī* since they begin with a vowel. Affix *tṛC* of *dātā* and *dhātā* is marked with *C*, as against the required *K* and *Ṅ*.

Note that *hali* of this rule also serves as an indicator (*jñāpaka*). That is, its use indicates that *vipratiṣedha* applies in this section of *ābhīya* rules. Thus, this rule finds its independent scope in deriving *dīyate* and *dhīyate* with *ī* as a replacement. Rule 6.4.64 *āto lopa* . . . finds its scope in *yayau* and *yayuḥ* to delete *ā* of *yā*. These two rules both find their scope in *dadatuḥ* and *daduḥ*. If *hali* was not used here, *ī*-replacement could have blokced *ā*-deletion on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .). One can argue here that the question of *vipratiṣedha* arises only when both rules are not *asiddha*. Both these rules, because of their inclusion in this section, are *asiddha*. Thus, the ques-

tion of *vipratiṣedha* does not arise. But since Pāṇini uses *hali* with the express purpose of only allowing *ī* before a consonant-initial affix, *hali* has been used to block deletion on the basis of *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength'. That is, *vipratiṣedha* obtains in this section of *ābhīya* rules. For, if one does not accept *vipratiṣedha*, *ītva* will not find its scope. That is, a specification with *hali* to block *vipratiṣedha* will not be needed.

6.4.67 एर्लिङि

er liṅi
/*eh* 6/1 *liṅi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *kṅiti* #63 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām* #66)
ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām aṅgānāṃ liṅi parata ekārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely one which is termed *ghu*, or one which is constituted by *mā*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* and *sā*, is replaced with *e*, when a *LIṄ* affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

deyāt 'third singular active *LIṄ* (benedictive) derivate of *dā* 'to give''
meyāt '. . . of *māṄ* 'to measure''
dheyāt '. . . of *dhā* 'to place''
stheyāt '. . . of *sthā* 'to stand''
geyāt '. . . of *gai* 'to sing''
peyāt '. . . of *pā* 'to drink''
avaseyāt '. . . of *so* used with *ava*'
dāsīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LIṄ* (benedictive) derivate of *dā* 'to give''
dhāsīṣṭa 'third singular middle *LIṄ* (benedictive) derivate of *dhā* 'to place''

1. This rule allows a replacement in *e* for the final *ā* of *ghu* and *mā*, etc., when an *ārdhadhātuka* replacement of *LIṄ* marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it* follows. Recall that 3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi* assigns the term *ārdhadhātuka* to a *tiṄ* which replaces *LIṄ*. Rule 3.4.104 *kid āśiṣi* extends *kit*-status to augment *yāsUṬ* which, in turn, is introduced to an active (*parasmaipada*) replacement of *LIṄ*. Example derivates are all given for verbal roots which are active (*parasmaipada*). Examples for a following affix marked with *Ṅ* are impossible (*asambhava*) to find.

6.4.68 वाऽन्यस्य संयोगादेः

vā' nyasya saṃyogādeḥ
/*vā* ϕ *anyasya* 6/1 *saṃyogādeḥ* 6/1 = *saṃyogasya ādir yaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasya*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ārdhadhātuke* #46 *ātaḥ* #64 *er liṅi* #67)
ghvādibhyo' nyasya saṃyogāder ākārāntasya vā ekārādeśo bhavati liṅi parataḥ
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which is not specified here with *ghu*, etc., and which begins with a conjunct and ends in *ā*, is optionally replaced with *e* when a *LIṄ* affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gleyāt 'third singular active *LIṄ* (benedictive) derivate of *glai* 'to be glum''
glāyāt 'ibidem'
mleyāt 'third singular active benedictive (*LIṄ*) derivate of *mlai* 'to fade away, be sad''
mlāyāt 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *e* as an optional replacement for roots which begin with a conjunct (*saṃyogādi*) and end in *ā*, but which are not covered by the specification of *ghu*, etc. The condition of a *LIṄ*-replacement termed *ārdhadhātuka* is still valid. The condition of *kṅiti* is also valid. Thus, we get *gleyāt/glāyāt*; *mleyāt/mlāyāt*, etc. Recall that *ai* of *glai* and *mlai* is replaced with *ā* (6.145 *ādeca upadeśe*...). The exclusion of *ghu*, etc., is made in view of the obligatory (*nitya*) application of the preceding rule.

6.4.69 न ल्यपि

na lyapi
/*na* ϕ *lyapi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām* #66)
lyapi pratyaye parato ghumāsthāgāpājahātisāṃ yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
That which is stated for an *aṅga* termed *ghu*, or one constituted by *mā*, *sthā*, *gā*, *pā*, *hā* and *sā*, does not become operative when *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pradāya 'after having given'
pradhāya 'after having placed'
pramāya 'after having measured'
prasthāya 'after having started'
pragāya 'after having praised'
prapāya 'after having drunk'
prahāya 'after having abandoned'
avasāya 'after having destroyed'

1. The *ī*-replacement of 6.4.66 *ghumāsthā*... is here negated when *LyaP* follows. The question of negating a replacement in *e* does not arise since

that requires *LIṄ*. Recall that *LyaP* is a replacement of *Ktvā* (7.1.37 *samāse' nañ*. . .), treated as marked with *K* via *sthānivadbhāva*.

6.4.70 मयतेरिदन्यतरस्याम्

mayater id anyatarasyām
/*matayeḥ* 6/1 *it* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *lyapi* #69)
mayater aṅgasya ikārādeśo bhavati lyapi parato' nyatarasyām
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *meṄ*, is replaced optionally with *i* when affix *LyaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

apamitya 'having exchanged after . . .'
apamāya 'ibidem'

1. Note that *mayateḥ* here specifies verbal root *meṄ* 'to exchange, barter' as an *aṅga*. This rule offers *i* as an optional replacement for the *ā* of *m*(*e*→*ā* = *mā*). Of course, when *LyaP* follows. The *Ktvā* which subsequently gets replaced by *LyaP* is introduced in example derivates by 3.4.19 *udīcāṃ māṅo*. . . . A replacement in *i* also brings augment *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikṛiti* . . .). Thus, *apamitya* and *apamāya*.

6.4.71 लुङ्लङ्लृङ्क्ष्वडुदात्तः

luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ
/*luṅ-laṅ-lṛṅkṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *aṭ* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1)
(*aṅgasya* #1)
'*luṅ, laṅ, lṛṅ' ity eteṣu parato' ṅgasyāḍ āgamo bhavati udāttaś ca sa bhavati*
Augment *aṬ*, concurrently marked *udātta*, is introduced to an *aṅga* when affixes *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

akārṣīt 'he made'
ahārṣīt 'he carried, fetched'
akarot 'he did'
aharat 'he carried, fetched'
akariṣyat 'he had done'
ahariṣyat 'he had carried, fetched'

1. This rule introduces the *udātta* augment *aṬ* to an *aṅga* when *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow. Refer to derivational details of *akārṣīt* and *ahārṣīt* under the appendix of rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*. Derivational details of *akariṣyat* and *ahariṣyat* can be found under 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis* . . . (II: 511). Refer to the appendix of 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ* for derivational details of

akarot. This same also applies to *aharat* where *ŚaP* is introduced before *tiP* as *vikaraṇa.*

6.4.72 आडजादीनाम्

āḍ ajādīnām
/ *āṭ* 1/1 *ajādīnām* 6/3 = *ac ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣu udāttaḥ* #71)
āḍ āgamo bhavaty ajādīnāṃ luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣu parataḥ; udāttaś ca sa bhavati
Augment *āṬ*, with concurrent marking of *udātta*, is introduced to an *aṅga* which begins with a vowel (*aC*) when affixes *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

aikṣiṣṭa 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *īkṣ* 'to see, perceive''
aihiṣṭa '. . . of *īh* 'to desire, strive''
aubjīt'
aumbhīt
aikṣata 'third singular middle *LAṄ* form of *īkṣ*'
aihata '. . . of *īh*'
aubjata 'third singular active *LAṄ* form of *ubj* 'to subdue, be straight''
aumbhata '. . . of *umbh* 'to confine, fill''
aikṣiṣyata 'third singular middle *LṚN* form of *īkṣ*'
aīhiṣyata '. . . of *īh*'
aubjiṣyata '. . . *ubj*'
aumbhiṣyata '. . . of *umbh*'

1. This rule introduces an *udātta* augment *āṬ* to an *aṅga* which begins with a vowel. The right condition of *LUṄ*, etc., is still valid. Refer to my notes under 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* for derivational details of many of these examples.

Note that *aijyata*, *aupyata* and *auhyata* are derivates of *LAṄ* introduced after *yaj*, *vap* and *vah.* Given *yaj* + (*LAṄ*→*ta*), etc., we get *yaj* + *yaK* + *ta*, etc., with the introduction of *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*). Recall that augment *āṬ* is accepted an *anitya* 'non-obligatory' as compared with *lādeśa* 'replacements of *LA*', *vikaraṇa* and *samprasāraṇa.* Thus, *ta* replaces *LAṄ* before *āṬ* on the basis of being internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). The *vikaraṇa*, i.e., *yaK*, is obligatory (*nitya*; *Paribh.*(44): *śabdāntarasya prāpnuvan vidhir anityo bhavati*). Consequently, it applies before *āṬ*. That is, *āṬ* is introduced to an *aṅga* qualified with the introduction of *vikaraṇa.* This renders *āṬ* as non-obligatory. A conflict is also witnessed between the application of *samprasāraṇa* and introduction of *āṬ*. Since *samprasāraṇa* is *nitya*, as compared with the introduction of *āṬ*, *samprasāraṇa* applies first. This is how (*yaj* + *ya* + *ta*, etc., produce *ij* + *ya* + *ta*, etc., which, after the introduction of *āṬ*, produce *aijyata*, etc., through *vṛddhi* (6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*). Refer to the appendix for further derivational details.

6.4.73 छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते

chandasy api dṛśyate
/ *chandasi* 7/1 *api* ϕ *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*) /
(*aṅgasya* #1 *udāttaḥ* #71 *āṭ* #72)
chandasi viṣaye āḍ āgamo dṛśyate
Augment *āṬ*, concurrently marked with *udātta*, is also seen in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

surucó vena ávaḥ
ānak 'third singular active *LUṄ* form of *ṇaś* 'to perish''
āyunak 'third singular active *LUṄ* of *yuj* 'to yoke''

1. This rule informs that *āṬ* is also found elsewhere in the Vedic usage. That is, *āṬ* is also seen in contexts where an *aṅga* does not begin with a vowel (*Kāś*: *anajādīnām api dṛśyate*).

Note that *āvaḥ* is a derivate of *LUṄ*→*tiP*, where *ī* of *vṛ* goes through *guṇa* and *CLI*, before *LUṄ*, is deleted (2.4.80 *mantre*. . .). Augment *āṬ* is then introduced to produce *āvar* + *ti* which, after the deletion of *ti* and *r*→*ḥ*, yields *āvaḥ*. Deriving *ānak*, from (*ṇ*→*n*) *aś* + *LUṄ*→*naś* + *CLI* + *ti*→*āṬ* + *naś* + *ti*, will involve *kutva* (8.2.63 *naśer vā*). Thus, *āna*(*ś*→*k*) = *ānak*. Similar rules apply in deriving *āyunak* from *yuj* + *LUṄ*. Recall, however, that the *vikaraṇa* is *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*). The *j* of *yuj* goes through *kutva* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) followed by *cartva* (8.4.56 *vā' vasāne*).

6.4.74 न माङ्योगे

na māṅyoge
/ *na* ϕ *māṅ-yoge* 7/1 = *māṅo yogaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ* #71 *āṭ* #72)
māṅyoge luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣu yad uktam tan na bhavati
Augments *aṬ* and *āṬ* which are stated when affixes *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow an *aṅga* do not become operative in connection with *māṄ* 'not'.

EXAMPLES:

mā bhavān kārṣīt 'do not do (it)'
mā bhavān hārṣīt 'do not fetch (it)'
mā sma karot 'he did not do'
mā sma harat 'he did not carry'
mā bhavān īhiṣṭa 'do not try'
mā bhavān īkṣīṣṭa 'do not see'
mā sma bhavān īhata 'you did not strive'
mā sma bhavān īkṣata 'you did not understand'

1. This rule does not allow augments *aṬ* and *āṬ* when *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* follow and the root is used in conjunction with *māṄ*. Thus, *mā bhavān kārṣīt* and *mā bhavān hārṣīt*, where 3.3.175 *māṅi luṅ* introduces *LUṄ*. Affix *LUṄ* is similarly introduced after *kṛ* and *hṛ* in *mā sma karot* and *mā sma harat*. Other examples of *LUṄ* and *LAṄ* are *īhiṣṭa/ ikṣiṣṭa*; and *īhata/ īkṣata*, respectively. These derivates all follow patterns of *LUṄ* and *LAṄ*, except for introduction of *aṬ*

6.4.75 **बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्योगेऽपि**

bahulaṃ chandasy amāṅyoge' pi
/ *bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1 *amāṅ-yoge* = *na māṅyoge* (*nañ.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*); *api* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ* #71 *āṭ* #72 *na māṅyoge* #74)
chandasi viṣaye māṅyoge' pi bahulam aḍāṭau bhavataḥ
Augments *aṬ* and *āṬ* are introduced variously in the Vedic even when there is, or is not, any connection with *māṄ*.

EXAMPLES:

janiṣṭhaā ugráḥ 'has been born . . .'
kāmámūnayīḥ '. . . has decreased'
mā vaḥ kṣetre parabījānyavāpsuḥ mā bhitthāḥ
. . . *bījāny avāpsuḥ* '. . . procured'
mā āvaḥ

1. Note that *amāṅyoge' api* makes the *bāhulaka* provision rather wide. That is, in the Vedic, we find *aṬ* and *āṬ* variously when *māṄ* is used in conjunction. They are also, variously, not found when *māṄ* does not occur in conjunction. Consider *janiṣṭhāḥ* where *māṄ* does not occur but no augment is introduced. Thus, *jan* + *iṬ* + *sIC* + (*LUṄ*→*thās*) = *janiṣṭhāḥ*, through *s*→*ṣ* (*ṣatva*), *t*→*ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*) and *s*→*r*→*ḥ*. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.51 *nonayati* . . . for derivational details of *ūnayīḥ* and *ardayīt*. Note that *abhitthāḥ* receives *aṬ* even when it is used in conjunction with *māṄ*. It goes through deletion of *sIC* by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. Follow the derivational pattern of *kārṣuḥ* (under 3.1.51 *nonayati* . . .) for deriving *avāpsuḥ*.

6.4.76 **इरयो रे**

irayo re
/ *irayaḥ* 6/2 *re* (1/1 deleted) /
(*bahulaṃ chandasi* #75)
'*ire*' *ity etasya chandasi viṣaye bahulaṃ* '*re*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The form *ire*, in the Vedic, is variously replaced with *re*.

EXAMPLES:

garbhám prathamam dádhra āpah
yāś' sya paridadhre
paridadrśre

1. This rule allows *re* to replace *ire* in the Vedic variously. Note that *ire* refers to *ireC*, itself a replacement of *jha* (3.4.81 *litas thayayor*. . .). Thus, consider *paridadhre*, from *paridhā* + (*LIṬ*→*jha*)→*paridhā* + (*jha*→*ireC*) = *paridhā* + *ire*, where deletion *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*) is accomplished eventhough *re* replaces *ire*. This is done in view of *re* being *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*).

2. A question is raised against *irayoḥ* in dual. Why did Pāṇini not use *ire* in singular? Commentators state that *re* may become *ire* when *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*) is introduced. It is to ensure that *re* alone replaces *jha*→*ire* and *iṬ* + *re* that *ire* is specified in the dual. Consider *cakrire* 'they have made' as an example of *iṬ* + *re*.

6.4.77 अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ

aci śnudhātubhruvāṃ yvor iyaṅuvaṅau
/*aci* 7/1 *śnu -dhātu-bhruvām* 6/3 = *śnuś ca dhātuś ca bhrūś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *yvoḥ* 6/2 = *iś ca uś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *iyaṅ-uvaṅau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*)/ (*aṅgasya* #1)
śnupratyayāntasya aṅgasya dhātor ivarṇovarṇāntasya '*bhrū*' *ity etasya can* '*iyaṅ, uvaṅ*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavato*' *jādau pratyaye parataḥ*
The final *i* and *u* of an *aṅga* which ends in affix *Śnu*, or is constituted by a root ending in *i* and *u*, or else, is constituted by *bhrū*, is replaced with *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, respectively, when an affix beginning with a vowel (*aC*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

āpnuvanti 'they obtain'
rādhnuvanti 'they accomplish'
śaknuvanti 'they are able to do'
cikṣiyatuḥ 'those (two) wasted away'
cikṣiyuḥ 'they wasted away'
luluvatuḥ 'those (two) have cut'
luluvuḥ 'they have cut'
niyau 'nominative dual *KvIP* derivate of *nī* 'to lead''
niyaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
luvau 'nominative dual *KvIP* derivate of *lū* 'to cut''
luvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
bhruvau 'nominative singular *KvIP* derivate of *bhrū*'
bhruvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule introduces *iyAṄ* and *unAṄ*, respectively, as replacements for the final *i* and *u* (1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya*) of (*i*) an *aṅga* which may end in *Śnu*, (*ii*) a root which may end in *i* and *u*, and (*iii*) verbal root *bhrū*, when a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *yvoḥ* could be construed only as an adjective to roots ending in *i* and *u*. For, it cannot refer to *śnu* and *bhrū* as they end in *u*.

Consider *āp* + *Śnu* + (*LAṬ→jh→ant*) *i* = *āpnuvanti*, where a replacement in *iyaṆ* for *u* is blocked in favor of *unAṄ*. This same also happens in *rādhnuvanti* and *śaknuvanti*. Refer to the appendix for full derivational details of examples.

6.4.78 अभ्यासस्यासवर्णे

> *abhyāsasyāsavarṇe*
> / *abhyāsasya* 6/1 *asavarṇe* 7/1 (*nañ.*) /
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *aci yvor iyaṅuvaṇau* #77)
> *abhyāsasyevarṇovarṇāntasyāsavarṇe' ci parata* '*iyaṅ uvaṅ*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*
> The fianl sound segment of an *abhyāsa* which, in an *aṅga*, ends in *i* and *u*, is replaced with *iyaṄ* and *uvaṄ* when a non-homogeneous (*asavarṇa*) vowel (*aC*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *iyeṣa* 'he has desired'
> *uvoṣa* 'he has burnt'
> *iyartti* 'he goes'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* for the final *i* and *u* of an *abhyāsa* when a non-homogeneous vowel follows. Consider *iyeṣa* and *uvoṣa* which derives from *iṣ* + (*LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL*) and *uṣ* + (*LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL*). Given *iṣ* + *a* and *uṣ* + *a*, we get *eṣ* + *a* and *oṣ a* through *guṇa* of the short penultimate vowel (6.2.88 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*). Operations related to iteration (*dvitva*) are then performed by accepting *e* and *o* of *eṣ* and *oṣ* as if they were *i* and *u*, via *sthānivadbhāva*. This produces *i* + *eṣ* and *u* + *oṣ* which, after a replacement in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, yield (*i→iyAṄ*) + *eṣ* + *a* and (*u→uvAṄ*) + *oṣ* + *a*. Thus, *iy* + *eṣ* + *a* = *iyeṣa* and *uv* + *oṣ* + *a* = *uvoṣa*. Now consider *iyartti* which is a third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *ṛ* 'to go'. Given *ṛ* + *ŚaP* + *tiP→ṛ* + *ŚLU* + *ti* where *ŚaP* goes through deletion by *ŚLU*, we get *ṛ* + *ṛ* + *ti*, via iteration (*dvitva*). The *ṛ* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced by *a*, with a following *r* (7.4.65 *ur at*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). The *r* which follows *a*, however, is deleted by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. The *a* of *i* + *ṛ* + *ti* is then replaced with *i* (7.4.77 *arttipipartyoś ca*) to yield: (*i→a*) + *ar* + *ti*. This rule then replaces *i* with *iyAṄ* to produce (*i→iy*) + *ar* + *ti* = *iyarti*.

Note that this replacement in *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* cannot be accomplished if the *abhyāsa* is followed by a vowel homogeneous with it. Thus, consider *īṣatuḥ*/

īṣuḥ and *ūṣatuḥ*/*ūṣuḥ*, both derivates of *atus* and *us*. The *i* and *u* of *i* + *iṣ* + *atus* and *u* + *uṣ* + *atus*, etc., cannot be replaced with *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* because *i* and *u* of the *abhyāsa* are followed by homogeneous *i* and *u*. *Kāśikā* offers *iyāja* and *uvāpa* as counter-examples to show that *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, in the context of this rule, can only replace an *abhyāsa* when what follows also begins with a vowel.

6.4.79 **स्त्रियाः**

striyāḥ
/*striyāḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci iyaṅ* #77)
'*strī*' *ity etasyājādau pratyaye parata iyaṅādeśo bhavati*
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *strī*, is replaced with *iyaṄ* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

strī 'nominative singular of *strī* 'woman'
striyau 'nominative dual . . .'
striyaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *iyAṄ* as a replacement for the final *ī* of *strī* when a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *strīṇām* does not involve a replacement in *iyaṄ*. It, instead, requires introduction of augment *nUṬ* (7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*), which, for reasons of being subsequent (*para*) in order (*paratvāt*), blocks (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .) *iyaṄ* (*Kāś*: '*strīṇām*' *ity atra paratvān nuḍ āgamaḥ*). This being the case, we do not get a vowel-initial affix to follow.

2. How come this rule was not formulated along with the following? A separate formulation of this rule is intended to block the *anuvṛtti* of *dhāturbhruvoḥ* in the following rule (*Kāś*: *pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*).

6.4.80 **वाम्शसोः**

vā amśasoḥ
/*vā* ϕ *am-śasoḥ* 7/2 = *am ca śas ca* = *amśasau* (*itar. dv.*) *tayoḥ*/
ami śasi parataḥ striyā vā iyaṅādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *strī*, is replaced with *iyaṄ*, only optionally, when affixes *am* and *Śas* follow.

EXAMPLES:

strīm paśya 'accusative singular of *strī*'
striyam paśya 'ibidem'
strīḥ paśya 'accusative plural . . .'
striyaḥ paśya 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ*, only optionally, when affixes *am* and *Śas* follow. This option is available against a single replacement of *ī* + *a* similar to *ī*, when *am* follows (6.1.103 *ami pūrvaḥ*). It is made against the *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* 'long replacement homogeneous with what precedes in a sequence' when *Śas* follows. Thus, we get two forms: *striyam/strīm* and *striyaḥ/strīḥ.*

6.4.81 इणो यण्

iṇo yaṇ
/*iṇaḥ* 6/1 *yaṇ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77)
iṇo' ṅgasya yaṇādeśo bhavati aci parataḥ
The final vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṆ* 'to go' is replaced with *yaṆ* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

yanti 'they go'
yantu 'they may go'
āyan 'they went'

1. Note that this rule is an exception to replacement in *iyaṄ*. Thus, an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṆ* 'to go' gets its *i* replaced with *yaṆ*, when a vowel follows (*aci*). Recall that an exception read in between operations only blocks preceding operations, and not any subsequent. This replacement in *yaṆ* will thus block *iyaṄ*, but cannot block *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* which follow. Commentators cite *yanti*←(*i* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)) and *yantu*←(*i* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + (*LAṬ*→*antu*)) as examples where *yaṆ* finds its independent scope. They cite *cayanam* 'heaping' and *cāyakaḥ* 'he who heaps' as examples for independent scope of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. They state that *ayanam* 'return' and *āyakaḥ* 'he who returns' may entail *yaṆ* and *guṇa-vṛddhi* both. They state that *yaṆ* is blocked here by *guṇa* ((*i*→*e*) + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*)) = *ayana* and *vṛddhi* (*i* + *ṆvuL* = *āyaka*) on the basis of *paratva*. Incidentally, *āyan* derives from *āṬ* + *i* + (*LAṄ*→(*jh*→*ant*) *i*)) where *jh* is replaced with *ant* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*) with subsequent deletion of the final of the conjunct (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*). Augment *āṬ* is introduced by 6.4.72 *āṭ ajādīnām* on the basis of the vowel-initial root as well as *asiddhatva* 'suspension'.

6.4.82 एरनेकाचो ऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य

er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya
/*eḥ* 6/1 *anekācaḥ* 6/1 = *na ekaḥ* = *anekaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*); *aneko' c yasmin sa* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *avidyamānaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci dhātoḥ* #77 *yaṇ* #81)

dhātor avayavaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmād ivarṇān na bhavaty asāv asaṃyogapūrvaḥ, tadantasyāṅgasyānekāco' ci parato yaṇādeśo bhavati
An *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in an *i*, where *i* is not preceded by a conjunct (*saṃyoga*) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with *yaṆ*, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

ninyatuḥ 'those two led'
ninyuḥ 'they led'
unnyau 'nominative dual of *unnī* 'leader''
unnyaḥ 'nominal plural . . .'
grāmaṇyau 'nominative singular of *grāmaṇī* 'village leader''
grāmaṇyaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *yaṆ* as a replacement for the final *i* of an *aṅga* which ends in *i*, provided *aC* follows, and *i* is not preceded by a conjunct contained within the *dhātu*. Note that *dhātoḥ* is carried here to qualify *saṃyoga* 'conjunct'. This is how we get the meaning: 'an *i* before which there does not occur a conjunct as part of a verbal root' (*dhātor avayavaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmād ivarṇāt*). A specification with *eḥ* is made here so that it could be qualified with *asaṃyogapūrvasya*. For, *asaṃyogapūrvasya* is not intended as a qualifier for *i*.

It is argued that if *eḥ* was not stated in this rule, *yaṆ* could replace *i* and *u* in general. This would then not require the formulation of 6.4.83 *oḥ supi*, whereby a final *u* is replaced with *yaṆ* before *sUP*. Rule 6.4.83 then becomes restrictive, requiring *yaṆ* only where *sUP* follows. This restrictive provision does not permit *yaṆ* where a *tiṄ* follows. This is why *luluvatuḥ*, etc., get a replacement in *uvAṄ*, as against *yaṆ*.

2. Why do we have to state *anekāc*? So that *yaṆ* could be blocked in favor of *iyAṄ* in the nominative dual and plural forms of *nī*, i.e., *niyau* and *niyaḥ*. For, this derivate of *KvIP* consists of a single vowel (*ekāc*). Now consider *yavakriyau* and *yavakriyaḥ*, the nominative dual and plural forms of *yavakrī*, again a derivate of *KvIP*. The *ī* of *yavakrī* must be replaced with *iyAṄ* because it is preceded by a conjunct contained within a *dhātu*. Now consider *unnyau* and *unnyaḥ* where the conjunct, i.e., *nn*, occurs before *ī* in *unnī*. This conjunct is not any part of the *dhātu* 'verbal root'. Consequently, *ī* is replaced with *yaṆ*. This is how *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' must be qualified with *dhātu*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block *yaṆ* in case of an *aṅga* which ends in *i*, provided *i* is not preceded by anything other than a *gati* and *kāraka*. Consider *paramaniyau* and *paramaniyaḥ*, where *nī*, a derivate of *KvIP*, combines with *parama*. Since *parama* is neither a *gati* nor a *kāraka*, *yaṆ* must be blocked in favor of *iyAṄ*.

6.4.83 ओः सुपि

oḥ supi
/ *oḥ* 6/1 *supi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya* #82)
dhātvavayavaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasmād uvarṇān na tadantasyāṅgasyānekāco' jādau supi parato yaṇādeśo bhavati
An *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in *u*, not preceded by a conjunct (*saṃyoga*) contained within a verbal root, is replaced with *yaṆ* when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

khalapvau 'nominative dual of *khalapū* 'those who clean the threshing floor''
khalapvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
śatasvau 'nominative dual of *śatasū* 'he who produces a hundred . . .''
śatasvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sakṛllvau 'nominative dual of *sakṛllū* 'he who cuts only once''
sakṛllvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *yaṆ*-replacement for *u* before a vowel-initial *sUP*. That is, when an *aṅga* consists of more than one vowel and ends in *u*, and this *u* is not preceded by a conjunct contained within a *dhātu*. Thus, consider *khalapvau* and *khalapvaḥ*, the nominative dual and plural forms of *khalapū*, where a derivate of *KvIP* combines to form a compound paraphrased as *khalaṃ punāti*. This same is also true of other examples. They all get their *ū* replaced with *yaṆ*. Incidentally, the *t* of *sakṛt* is replaced with *l* before *lū* (8.4.60 *tor li*). Recall that this replacement in *yaṆ* can be possible only when a *sUP* follows. Thus, *luluvatuḥ* and *luluvuḥ* will get a replacement in *uvAṄ* because *atus* and *us* are not denoted by *sUP*. This *uvAṄ* again blocks *yaṆ* in *luvau* and *luvaḥ* because the *aṅga*, i.e., *lū*, is monosyllabic (*ekāc*). We also get *uvAṄ* in *kaṭapruvau* 'nominative dual of *kaṭaprū* 'he who makes a mat while going' and *kaṭapruvaḥ* 'nominative plural . . .' where *pr*, a conjunct (*saṃyoga*), not only precedes *u* but is also a part of verbal root *pru*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal similar to the preceding rule is also made here to block *yaṆ* where something other than a *gati* and *kāraka* precedes. Thus, consider *paramaluvau* and *paramaluvaḥ*.

6.4.84 वर्षाभ्वश्च

varṣābhvaś ca
/ *varṣābhvaḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *supi* #83)
'*varṣābhū*' *ity etasyājādau supi parato yaṇādeśo bhavati*

The final *u* of *varṣābhū* 'born in the rainy season', termed an *aṅga*, is replaced with its *yaṆ* counterpart when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

varṣābhvau 'nominative dual of *varṣābhū*'
varṣābhvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule is formulted so that a replacement in *yaṆ*, negated by 6.4.85 *na bhūsudhiyoḥ*, can be made available. Thus, *varṣābhū* gets its *ū* replaced with *v* when a vowel-initial affix follows.

2. A *vārttika* proposal also allows *yaṆ* when *bhū* occurs in combination preceded by *punar* and *kārā*. Thus, we get *punarbhvau*/*punarbhvaḥ* 'nominative dual and plural' of *punarbhū* 'nail'; *kārābhvau*/*kārābhvaḥ* 'nominative dual and plural' of *kārābhū* 'born in jail'.

6.4.85 न भूसुधियोः

na bhūsudhiyoḥ
/ *na* ϕ *bhū-sudhiyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *supi* #83)
'*bhū, sudhī*' *ity etayor yaṇādeśo na bhavati*
The final vowels of an *aṅga*, namely *bhū* and *sudhī*, are not replaced with their *yaṆ* counterpart when a *sUP* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

pratibhuvau 'nominative dual of *pratibhū* 'guarantor''
pratibhuvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
sudhiyau 'nominative dual of *sudhī* 'intellectuals''
sudhiyaḥ 'many intellectuals . . .'

1. Note that *bhū* of this rule is interpreted not only as *bhū* but also as: 'that which ends in *bhū*' (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *bhūgrahaṇena tadantasya grahaṇam, na kevalasya*).

6.4.86 छन्दस्युभयथा

chandasy ubhayathā
/ *chandasi* 7/1 *ubhayathā* ϕ /
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhūsudhiyoḥ* #85)
chandasi viṣaye '*bhū, suddhi*' *ity etayor ubhayathā dṛśyate*
An *aṅga* constituted by *bhū* and *sudhī*, in the Vedic, is seen with forms of both kinds.

EXAMPLES:

> *vánesu citram vibhvám viśe*
> *viśe vibhuvám*
> *sudhyo havyamagne*
> *sudhiyo havyamagne*

1. This rule states that *yaṆ*, and *iyAṄ/ uvAṄ*, both, are found in the Vedic usage. Thus, *vibhvam/ vibhuvam*; *sudhyaḥ/ sudhiyaḥ*

6.4.87 हुश्नुवोः सार्वधातुके

> *huśnuvoḥ sārvadhātuke*
> */ hu-śnuvoḥ* 6/2 *sārvadhātuke* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *yaṇ* #81 *anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya* #82)
> '*hu*' *ity etasyāṅgasya śnupratyayāntasyānekāco' saṃyogapūrvasyājādau sārvadhātuke parato yaṇādeśo bhavati*
> The *u* of an *aṅga*, particularly *hu* 'to call, perform sacrifice', or of an *aṅga* which consits of more than one vowel and does not begin with a conjunct, though ends in *Śnu*, is replaced with *yaṆ* when a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *juhvati* 'they offer oblations'
> *juhvatu* 'let them offer oblations'
> *juhvat* 'nominative singular of *juhvat* ending in *ŚatṚ*'
> *sunvanti* 'they press-out'
> *sunvantu* 'let them press-out'
> *asunvan* 'they pressed out'

1. This rule allows *yaṆ* to the *u* of *hu*, and an *aṅga* which consists of more than one vowel and ends in *Śnu*, provided a *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a vowel follows, and the *u* is not preced by a conjunct. As usual, this *yaṆ* is an exception to the *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* replacements. Note that *asaṃyogapūrvaḥ* is interpreted as a qualifier to *u*. The word *anekācaḥ* is similarly interpreted as a qualifier to *aṅgasya*. Refer to derivational details of *juhoti* (under 1.1.61 *pratyayasya*...) and *juhvat* (under 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ*...) in the appendix. A replacement in *at* for *jhi* is offered by 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt*. Deriving *sunvanti*, etc., with *Śnu* should present no problem.

2. The condition of *hu* and *Śnu* blockes *yaṆ* in favor of *unAṄ* in *yoyuvati* and *roruvati*. These are both derivates of verbal roots *yu* 'to mix' and *ru* 'to cry', respectively, with deletion of *yaṄ*, via *LUK*. The conditions of *sārvadhātuke* and *asaṃyogapravasya* are also valid. Thus, *juhuvatuḥ* and *juhuvuḥ* illustrate how *uvAṄ* is favored against *yaṆ* because of the third person dual and plural *ārdhadhātuka* affixes *atus* and *us*. Examples such as *āpnuvanti* 'they obtain'

and *rādhnuvanti* 'they accomplish' illustrate how, because of *asaṃyogapūrvasya*, *yaṆ* is again blocked in favor of *uvAṄ*.

6.4.88 भुवो वुग्लुङ्लिटोः

bhuvo vugluṅliṭoḥ
/*bhuvaḥ* 6/1 *vuk* 1/1 *luṅliṭoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77)
bhuvo vug āgamo bhavati luṅi liṭi cājādau parataḥ
Augment *vUK* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *bhū*, when a *LUṄ* and *LIṬ* affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

abhūvan 'third person plural active *LUṄ* of *bhū*'
abhūvam 'first person singular active *LUṄ* of *bhū*'
babhūva 'third person singular *LIṬ* of *bhū* 'to be''
babhūvatuḥ 'third person dual . . .'
babhūvuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule introduces augment *vUK* to *bhū* when a replacement of *LUṄ* and *LIṬ* which begins with a vowel follows. Thus, consider *abhūvan* and *abhvam*, the third and first person singular derivates of *LUṄ*. The last three examples are third singular, dual and plural derivates of *LIṬ* with *ṆaL*, *atus* and *us* as replacement (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). Refer to many examples of *LUṄ* and *LIṬ* in the appendix and notes for derivational details.

6.4.89 ऊदुपधाया गोहः

ūdupadhāyā gohaḥ
/*ūt* 1/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *gohaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77)
goho' ṅgasya upadhāyā ūkārādeśo bhavati ajādau pratyaye parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *goh*, is replaced with *ūT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

nigūhayati '. . . hides, preserves'
nigūhakaḥ 'he who preserves, hides'
sādhu nigūhī 'ibidem'
nigūhaṃnigūham 'hiding over and over again'
nigūho varttate '. . . hiding goes on'

1. This rule allows *ū* to replace the penultimate (*upadhā*) *o* of an *aṅga* constituted by *goh*, provided a vowel-initial affix follows. Note that *goh* is real-

ized via *guṇa* of *u* in *guh* when *ṆiC* follows. The *ṆiC* is then deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. The *o* of *goh* is then replaced by *ū* of our present rule. Thus, *nigūhayati* and *nigūhakaḥ*, etc. Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

2. Note that the condition of *upadhāyāḥ* is imposed so that *ū* does not replace the final sound (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). A specification with *goh*, a modified form of *guh*, is made to restrict the scope of application of this rule (*Kāś*: *vikṛtagrahaṇaṃ viṣayārtham*). That is, a replacement in *ū* is blocked where *goh* is not found. Thus, *nijuguhatuḥ* and *nijuguhuḥ*.

Some claim that this modified form of *goh* is specified to block *ay* as a replacement of *Ṇi*, for example, in *nigūh* + *Ṇi*. They think that this *ū* replacement will become *asiddha* in view of the *ay* of 6.4.56 *lyapi laghupūrvāt*. But this view is not correct. These replacements do not share identical condition of application. Negating *ay* of *Ṇi* could hardly be accepted as the purpose of specifying *guh* with *goh*.

6.4.90 दोषो णौ

doṣo ṇau
/*doṣaḥ* 6/1 *ṇau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyā ūt* #89)
doṣa upadhāyā ūkāra ādeśo bhavati ṇau parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *duṣ*, is replaced with *ū* when affix *Ṇi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dūṣayati 'he contaminates, corrupts'
dūṣayataḥ 'those two contaminate'
dūṣayanti 'they (all) contaminate'

1. This rule allows *ū* to replace the *o* of *doṣ* when *ṆiC* follows. A specification with the modified form of *duṣ*, i.e., *doṣ*, is made to maintain contextual similarity with the preceding rule (*prakramābheda*).

6.4.91 वा चित्तविरागे

vā cittavirāge
/*vā* ϕ *citta-virāge* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyā ūt* #89 *doṣo ṇau* #90)
cittavikārārthe doṣa upadhāyā vā ūkārādeśo bhavati ṇau parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *duṣ* used with the signification of *cittavirāga* 'distraction, indifference (of mind)', is optionally replaced with *ū* when affix *Ṇi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

cittaṃ doṣayati '... agitates mind'

cittaṃ dūṣayati 'ibidem'
prajñāṃ dūṣayati '. . . corrupts intelligence'
prajñāṃ doṣayati 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers an optional replacement in *ū* when the derivate denotes *cittavirāga* 'distraction, indifference (of mind)'. Thus, *doṣayati cittam* and *dūṣayati cittam.* This replacement will be obligatory, as against optional, in *sādhnaṃ dūṣayati* 'fouls up the means'. It will be blocked in *cittasya doṣaḥ* where *doṣa* is a derivate of *GHaÑ.*

6.4.92 **मितां ह्रस्वः**

mitāṃ hrasvaḥ
mitām 6/3 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyā* #89 *ṇau* #90)
mito dhātavaḥ 'ghaṭādayo mitaḥ' ity evam ādayo ye pratipāditāḥ teṣām upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati ṇau parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga,* namely one specified with *m* as an *it* (*mit*), is replaced with its short counterpart when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ghaṭayati '. . . brings about'
vyathayati '. . . causes pain'
janayati '. . . brings into existence'
rajayati '. . . sports (colors)'
śamayati '. . . quiets down, afflicts'
jñapayati '. . . informs'

1. This rule offers *hrasva* 'short' as a replacement for the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by roots called *mit* 'those which have *M* as their *it*'. This replacement is valid before affix *ṆiC.* Recall that roots of the *bhvādi* class, enumerated beginning with *ghaṭ* and ending with *pha,* are termed *mitādi.* This rule offers replacement for the *vṛddhi* vowel accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ.*

6.4.93 **चिण्णमुलोर्दीर्घोऽन्यतरस्याम्**

ciṇṇamulo dīrgho' nyatarasyām
/*ciṇ-ṇamuloḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *ṇau* #90 *mitām* #92)
ciṇpare ṇamulpare ca ṇau parato mitām aṅgānām upadhāyā dīrgho bhavaty anyatarasyām
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga,* namely one specified as *mit,* is replaced with its long counterpart when affixes *cIṆ* and *ṆamUL,* preceded by *Ṇi,* follow.

EXAMPLES:

aśami 'first person singular *LUṄ*-derivate of causal'
śāmi 'to quiet down, cause affliction'
aśāmi 'ibidem'
atami 'first person singular *LUṄ* derivate of causal'
tāmi 'to cause desire'
atāmi 'ibidem'
śamaṃśamam '*ṆamUL* form; . . . over and over again'
śāmaṃśāmam 'ibidem'
tamantamam '*ṆamUL* form; . . . over and over again'
tāmantāmam 'ibidem'

1. Note that *aśami*/ *aśāmi* and *atami*/ *atāmi* are derivates of *LUṄ* introduced after causal verbal roots *śāmi* and *tāmi*. Given *aṬ* + *śāmi* + (*CLI*→*CiṆ*) + (*LUṄ*→*ta*), where *CiṆ* is introduced by 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* as a replacement of *CLI*, we get the deletion of *Ṇi* (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*). The *ta* is then deleted (6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*) after this rule introduces its optional long replacement. The remaining examples illustrate optional replacement in derivates of *ṆamUL*, introduced with the signification of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'over and over again'. Recall that 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ* requires repeating a form such as *śamam* in toto. Thus, *śamaṃśamam*, etc.

2. Why was this specification made with the optional replacement in long? Why can we not offer the optional replacement in long for the short which is already available? This way, if the option of *hrasva* is not accepted then the *vṛddhi*-replacement before *Ṇi* could be retained as long. But this cannot be done. Consider *śam* + *ṆiC* which yields *śāmi* after *vṛddhi*-replacement, *Ṇi*-deletion and shortening. If *ṆiC* is introduced again, we cannot get *aśami*. For, given *aśāmi*, we cannot get optional shortening because of the earlier *ṆiC* appearing again in place of deletion, via *sthānivadbhāva*. If, however, a long is offered as opiton, *Ṇi*-deletion does not become *sthānivat* in accomplishing vocalic replacements (*ajādeśa*; 1.1.58 *na padānta* . . .). This same is also applicable to deletions (of *a* (of *yaṄ* and *ṆiC*) in deriving *aśaṃśami* and *aśaṃśāmi*. An optional replacement for *vṛddhi* is not possible here. For, the deleted *Ṇi* will reappear via *sthānivadbhāva*. A *ṆiC*, when occurring after a verbal root ending in *yaṄ*, will block *vṛddhi*. For, the deleted *a* of *yaṄ* will reappear via *sthānivadhbāva*. Consequently, there will not be any penultimate *a* to go through *vṛddhi*. Thus, an optional provision of long is justified.

6.4.94 खचि ह्रस्वः

khaci hrasvaḥ
/*khaci* 7/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *ṇau* #90)
khacpare ṇau parato hrasvo bhavaty aṅgasyopadhāyāḥ

The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* is replaced with its short counterpart when affix *Ṇi*, occurring before *KHaC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

dviṣantapaḥ 'he who torments his enemy'
parantapaḥ 'he who torments others'
purandaraḥ 'he who destroys cities'

1. Refer to derivational details of these examples under (appendix, III:735–36) rules 3.2.39 *dviṣat parayos tāpe* and 3.2.41 *pūḥsarvayor*. . . .

6.4.95 ह्लादो निष्ठायाम्

hlādo niṣṭhāyām
/ *hlādaḥ* 5/1 *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *hrasvaḥ* #94)
hlādo' ṅgasyopadhāyā hrasvo bhavati niṣṭhāyām parataḥ
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *hlād*, is replaced with its short counterpart when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prahlannaḥ '. . . has rejoiced'
prahlannavān 'ibidem'

1. Note that 8.4.42 *radābhyāṃ* . . . replaces the *t* of *niṣṭhā*, and the preceding *d* as well, with *n*. This rule allows shortening and 7.2.14 *śvīdito niṣṭhāyām* blocks introduction of *iṬ*. Thus, *prahlannaḥ* and *prahlannavān*.

Why do we state the condition of *niṣṭhāyām* 'when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows'? Consider *prahlādayati* '. . . causes to rejoice' where, because *LAṬ* follows, we do not get a short vowel replacement.

2. A proposal is here made for split-formulation (*yoga-vibhāga*) of *hlādaḥ*. This is done so that a short replacement can be accomplished when affix *KtiN* follows. Thus, we get *prahlattiḥ*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*) claims that this proposal is not found in the *Mahābhāṣya*.

6.4.96 छादेर्घेऽद्व्युपसर्गस्य

chāder ghe' dvyupasargasya
/ *chādeḥ* 6/1 *ghe* 7/1 *a-dvy-upasargasya* 6/1 = *dvau upasargau yasya* (*bv.*); *na dvyupasargaḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *hrasvaḥ* #94)
chāder aṅgasyādvyupasargasya ghapratyaye parata upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *chādi* when not used after two preverbs, is replaced with its short counterpart, provided affix *GHa* follows.

EXAMPLES:

uraśchadaḥ 'that which covers the chest; armor'
pracchadaḥ 'that which properly covers'
dantacchadaḥ 'that which covers teeth; lips'

1. This rule allows a short replacement to the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* which is constituted by *chādi* and is not used with two preverbs at the beginning. Of course, when affix *GHa* follows. Look for derivational details under rule 3.3.118 *puṃsi saṃjñāyām*. . . .

Note that this rule will become vacuous if deletion of *Ṇi* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad*. . .), or else, is treated as *sthānivat* (1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*). The penultimate short which this rule provides will then become impossible. It is to save this rule from becoming vacuous that *asiddhatva* 'suspension' and *sthānivadbhāva* 'treatment of substitute as what it replaced' of *ṆiC* is not accepted here.

6.4.97 इस्मन्त्रन्क्विषु च

ismantrankviṣu ca
/*is-man-tran-kviṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *hrasvaḥ* #94 *dhādeḥ* #96)
'*is, man, tran, kvi*' *ity eteṣu parataś chāder upadhāyā hrasvo bhavati*
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *chādi*, is replaced with its short counterpart when affixes *is, man, tran* and *KvI* follow.

EXAMPLES:

chadiḥ 'cover'
chadma 'cover; roof'
chattram 'umbrella'
dhāmacchat 'that (a roof) which covers a house'
upacchat 'a cover in general'

1. Note that *is* (II:108: *arciśuci*. . .), *manIN* (IV:145: *sarvadhātubhyo manin*) and *traN* (IV:159: *sarvadhātubhyaṣ ṣṭran*), of *chadi, chadma* and *chatra*, are all *Uṇādi* affixes. Rule 3.2.76 *kvip ca* introduces *KvIP*. Deletion of *ṆiC*, as usual, is accomplished by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*.

6.4.98 गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः क्ङित्यनङि

gamahanajanakhanaghasāṃ lopaḥ kṅity anaṅi
/*gama-hana-jana-khana-ghasām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *lopaḥ* 1/1/ *kṅiti* 7/1/ *anaṅi* 7/1 = *na aṅ* (*nañ.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89)
'*gama, hana, jana, khana, ghasa*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām upadhāyā lopo bhavaty ajādau pratyaye kṅity anaṅi parataḥ*

The penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *gamA* 'to go', *hanA* 'to kill', *janA* 'to be born', *khanA* 'to dig' and *ghasA* 'to eat', is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a non-*aṄ* affix beginning with a vowel and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jagmatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *gam* 'to go''
jagmuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
jaghnatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *han* 'to kill''
jaghnuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
jajñe 'he came into existence (*LIṬ*; *ātmanepada*)'
jajñāte 'those (two) came into existence'
jajñire 'they (all) came into existence'
cakhnatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *khan* 'to dig''
cakhnuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
jakṣatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ad* 'to eat, consume''
jakṣuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
akṣánnamīmadanta pi̱táraḥ

1. This rule offers deletion of an *upadhā* 'penultimate sound' when *gam*, *han*, *jan*, *khan* and *ghas* constitute an *aṅga*, provided the affix which follows does not begin with a vowel, is not *aṄ* and is marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. Refer to derivational details of *jakṣatuḥ*, *jakṣuḥ*, *jaghnatuḥ*, *jaghnuḥ* and *akṣan* under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . . Examples of *jan* are middle (*ātmanepada*) derivates of *LIṬ* where *ta* and *jha* are replaced with *eŚ* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor* . . .). Refer to many derivates of *LIṬ* already derived in the appendix (II:412–13).

6.4.99 तनिपत्योश्छन्दसि

tanipatyoś chandasi
/ *tani-patyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *lopaḥ kṅiti* #98)
'*tani, pati*' *ity etayoś chandasi viṣaye upadhāyā lopo bhavati ajādau kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ*
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *tanI* and *patI* in the Vedic, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a vowel-initial affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vitátnire ka̱vaya̱ḥ 'the weavers weaved'
śákunā̱ iva paptima '. . . fell like a bird'

1. Note that *vitatnire* derives from *vitan* + (*LIṬ*→*jha*→*ireC*), where we get *vitatan* + *ire* after iteration. We get *vitat*(*a*→ϕ) *nire* = *vitatnire* after deletion of

upadhā by this rule. This deletion is also found in deriving *paptima*, from *pat* + (*LIṬ*→*mas*), after iteraton. The condition of a following vowel-initial affix is met via introducing augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasya* . . .).

6.4.100 घसिभसोर्हलि च

ghasibhasor hali ca
/*ghasi-bhasoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *hali* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *aci* #77 *upadhāyāḥ* #89 *lopaḥ kṅiti* #98 *chandasi* #99)
'*ghasi, bhas*' *ity etayoś chandasi upadhāyā lopo bhavati halādāv ajādau ca kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ*
The penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *ghasI* and *bhas*, is deleted, in the Vedic, by means of *LOPA* when an affix beginning with a vowel or consonant, and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

sagdhiś ca me sapītiś ca me
babdhāṃ te harī dhānāḥ

1. Refer to derivational details of *sagdiḥ* 'eating together' and *babdhām* 'third person dual active imperative of *bhas* 'to eat' in the appendix (II:410–12) of rule 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . . Note that penultimate deletion (*upadhālopa*) is subsequent (*para*) and obligatory (*nitya*) in comparison with iteration (*dvirvacana*). But, because of the usage being Vedic (*chāndasatvāt*), it is accomplished subsequent to the application of iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa*.

Kāśikā offers *bapsati* as an example for the condition of *ajādi* 'when a vowle-initial affix follows'. Thus, *bhas* + (*LAṬ*→(*jh*→*at*(*i*))→*bhas* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + *ati*→*babhas* + *ati*. We finally get *babh*(*a*→ϕ) *s* + *ati*→*ba*(*bh*→*p*) *s* + *ati* = *bapsati*, through penultimate deletion and *cartva* (8.4.54 *khari ca*). A derivate with singular *tiP* will be *babhasti*. For, penultimate deletion will be blocked because of *P* as an *it* in *tiP*. That is, it cannot be accepted as marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*.

6.4.101 हुझल्भ्यो हेर्धिः

hujhalbhyo her dhiḥ
/*hujhalbhyoḥ* 5/2 = *huś ca jhalaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *heḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *hali* #100)
'*hu*' *ity etasmāt jhalantebhyaś cottarasya halāder heḥ sthāne dhir ādeśo bhavati*
A consonant-initial *hi*, which occurs after *hu*, or after a form ending in a sound denoted by *jhaL* (cf. *Śs*: 8–14), is replaced with *dhi*.

EXAMPLES:

juhudhi 'second person singular active *LOṬ*-derivate of *hu* 'to call out''

bhindhi 'second person singular middle *LOṬ*-derivate of *bhid* 'to split''
chindhi 'second person singular middle *LOṬ*-derivate of *chid* 'to cut''

1. This rule allows a consonant-initial *hi* which either occurs after *hu*, or after a form which ends in a sound denoted by *jhaL*, to be replaced with *dhi*. Recall that *hi* is offered as a replacement of *siP* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*) in the imperative (*LOṬ*). It is also treated as 'not marked with *P* as an *it* (*apit*). Derivational details of *juhudhi* can be found in the appendix (3.3.166 *adhīṣṭe ca*). Deriving *bhindhi* and *chindhi*, from *bhid* + (*siP*→*hi*) and *chid* + (*siP*→*hi*), requires introduction of *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*). This rule replaces *hi* with *dhi* and 6.4.111 *śnasor allopaḥ* deletes the *a* of *ŚnaM*.

2. Recall that *hi* is allowed to be replaced with *dhi* after forms which end in a sound denoted by *jhaL*. That is why, *tām* is not replaced with *dhi* in *juhutām*. This replacement in *dhi* is also conditioned with *halādi* 'that which begins with a consonant'. Notice that *hi* begins with a consonant. Why did Pāṇini have to restate this condition? Obviously to block this replacement where *hi*, because of the introduction of *iṬ*, may not remain consonant-initial. This is what happens in *rudihi* and *svapihi*, where *iṬ* (*rudādibhyaḥ sārvadhātuke*...) is introduced. The augment is treated as part of *hi* (*Pari* (12): *yad āgamā*...).

It is stated that an optional *tātAṄ* (7.1.35 *tuhyos tātaṅ*) blocks *dhi*, as a replacement for *hi*, on the basis of *paratva*. Thus, we get *juhutāt* and *bhintāt*, the two derivates of *hu* and *bhid*. Furthermore, *dhi*, which has gone through blocking under *vipratiṣedha* once, will remain blocked forever (*Paribh* (*PŚ*: 41): *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva*). That is, application of *dhi*, once blocked, was not possible (*asambhavāt*). But then consider *bhindhaki* and *chindhaki* where *akAC* (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac*...) was blocked on the basis of *paratva*. It was, however, introduced subsequently in consonance with: (*Paribh* (40): *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham*).

6.4.102 श्रुशृणुपॄकृवृभ्यश्छन्दसि

śruśṛṇupṝkṛvṛbhyaś chandasi
/ *śru-sṛṇu-pṝ-kṛ-vṛbhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *her dhiḥ* #101)
'*śru, śṛṇu, pṝ, kṛ, vṛ*' *ity etebhya uttarasya her dhir ādeśo bhavati chandasi visaye*
A *hi* which occurs after *śru, śṛṇu, pṝ, kṛ*, and *vṛ* is replaced with *dhi* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

śrudhī havámindra 'listen to the invocation, O Indra'
śṛṇudhī giráḥ 'listen carefully to the speech'
pūrddhi 'fulfill'

uruṇáskṛdhi 'make . . . wide'
apā̂vṛdhi 'uncover'

1. This rule replaces *hi* with *dhi*, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after *śru*, *śṛṇu*, *pṝ*, *kṛ* and *vṛ*. Note that, except for *śṛṇudhi*, all other examples receive *ŚaP*, via *bāhulaka* (3.21.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*). This *ŚaP* is subsequently deleted by *LUK* (2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). The *i* of *śṛṇudhi* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.137 *anyeṣām api dṛśyate*. Thus, *śru* + (*LOṬ*→*hi*→*dhi*) = *śru* + *dh*(*i*→*ī*) = *śrudhī*. Remember that *Śnu* is not introduced here because of *bāhulaka*. We, however, do find *Śnu* in *śṛṇudhī*. Note that *pūrddhi* is optional to *pūrdhi*, both deriving from *pṝ* + (*LOṬ*→*siP*→*hi*→*dhi*). Rule 7.1.102 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya* replaces *ṝ* with *u*, followed by *r*. This *u* is replaced with its long counterpart by 8.2.77 *hali ca*. The *dh* of *pūrdhi* goes through optional iteration (8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve*) and subsequent replacement in *d* (*dh*→*d*; *jaśtva*). Thus, *pūr*(*dh*→*d*) + *dhi* = *pūrddhi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *skṛdhi* and *apāvṛdhi*.

6.4.103 अङितश्च

aṅitaś ca
/*aṅitaḥ* 6/1 = *ṅ it yasya* (*bv.*); *na ṅit* (*nañ.*), *tasya*; *ca* ϕ/
(*her dhiḥ* #101 *chandasi* #102)
aṅitaś ca her dhir ādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
A *hi* which is not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* is also replaced with *dhi* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

sómaṃ rārandhi
asmabhyaṃ taddháryaśva prayándhi
yuyodhyasmajjúhurāṇaménaḥ

1. A *hi*, when not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, is replaced with *dhi* in the Vedic. Recall that 3.4.88 *vā chandasi* assigns the optional non-*pit* status to *hi*. That is, if the non-*pit* option is not accepted then 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* will treat it as marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. Thus, if *Ṅit* status of *hi* is not accepted, this rule will apply on the basis of *Ṅit* status of *hi*. Consider *rārandhi*, the second person *LOṬ*-derivate of *ramU* 'to sport, please' where *parasmaipada* is used on the basis of *vyatyaya* 'transposition'. Rule 2.4.76 *bahulaṃ chandasi* is responsible for *ŚLU*-deletion of *ŚaP*. The *abhyāsa* also goes through lengthening after iteration (6.1.7 *tujādīnāṃ dīrgho' bhyāsasya*). The *m* of *ramU* is not deleted because *hi* is not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* (*Ṅit*; 6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśa* . . .). The *ŚaP* which occurs after *yam* 'to strive' goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). The *ŚaP* after *yudh* 'to fight' goes through deletion by *ŚLU*. This causes iteration and optional *pit* and non-*Ṅit* status of *hi*. An application of *guṇa* yields *yuyodhi*.

6.4.104 चिणो लुक्

ciṇo luk
/*ciṇaḥ* 5/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1)
ciṇa uttarasya pratyayasya lug bhavati
An affix which occurs after *CiṆ* is deleted by means of *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

akāri '. . . made'
ahāri '. . . fetched'
alāvi '. . . cut'
apāci '. . . cooked'

1. Note that *LUK* is used as a term for *adarśana* 'non-appearance' of an affix (1.1.61 *pratyayasya* . . .). That is, this rule offers deletion of an affix which occurs after *CiṆ*. Refer to derivational details of *akāri* under the appendix of rule 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *ahāri*, etc. This rule deletes *ta* which occurs after *CiṆ* in *kṛ* + (*LUṄ*→*ta*)→*aṬ* + *kṛ* + (*CLI*→*CiṆ*) + *ta*→*aṬ* + *kār* + *CiṆ* + (*ta*→ϕ) = *akāri*. But consider *akāri* + *tarām* = *akāritarām*, where *ta*-deletion becomes *asiddha* in view of deletion of *tarām*. This is done by interpreting 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk* differently in view of contextual requirements. Yet another suggestion is made to bring *kṅiti* from *anuvṛtti* and changing *ciṇaḥ*, the ablative, into genitive. This makes it possible for deletion of affixes which are marked with *k* and *Ṅ* as *it*. It saves *taraP* and *tamaP* from deletion since they are marked with *P* as an *it*.

6.4.105 अतो हेः

ato heḥ
/*ataḥ* 5/1 *heḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *luk* #104)
akārāntād aṅgād uttarasya her lug bhavati
A *hi* which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a* is deleted by means of *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

paca 'cook!'
paṭha 'study!'
gaccha 'go!'
dhāva 'run!'

1. This rule offers deletion of *hi* which may occur after an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Note that the genitive of *aṅgasya* is here changed into ablative (*pañcamī*) for facilitating proper interpretation of this rule.

2. *Kāśikā* offers *yuhi* '. . . mix' and *ruhi* '. . . grow' as counter-examples to the condition of an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Obviously, the *aṅga* here ends in *u*. Thus, deletion of *si→hi*, after *yu* and *ru*, is blocked. The specification of *a* with *t* (*aT*; *taparakaraṇa*) is also significant. Thus, given *lunā* + *hi* and *punā* + *hi*, we do not get deletion. The *aṅga* here ends in a long *ā*. Recall that the final derivates are *lunīhi* and *punhi* where, given *lunā* + *hi* and *punā* + *hi*, 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ* replaces the long *ā* of *lunā* with *ī*. This *ī* is treated as *asiddha* in view of deletion of this rule. That is, the *aṅga* is still considered as ending in long *ā*, and not a short.

6.4.106 **उतश्च प्रत्ययादसंयोगपूर्वात्**

utaś ca pratyayād asaṃyogapūrvāt
/ *utaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ф *pratyayāt* 5/1 *asaṃyogapūrvāt* 5/1 = *avidyamānaḥ saṃyogaḥ pūrvo yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *luk* #104 *heḥ* #105)
ukāro yo' asaṃyogapūrvas tadantāt pratyayād uttarasya her lug bhavati
A *hi*, when occurring after an affix which (*i*) occurs at the end of an *aṅga* and (*ii*) terminates in an *u* not used after a conjunct, is also deleted by means of *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

cinu 'heap!'
sunu 'listen!'
kuru 'do!'

1. This rule deletes a *hi* which occurs after an *aṅga*, provided the *aṅga* terminates in an affix ending in *u*, and there is no conjunct occurring before *u*. Thus, consider *cinu* and *sunu* where, given *ci* + (*LOṬ→si→hi*) and *su* + (*LOṬ→si→hi*), *Śnu* is introduced as a *vikaraṇa* (3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*). The *vikaraṇa* in case of *kṛ* of *kuru* is *u* (3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhya* . . .). Our present rule deletes *hi*. We thus get *cinu* and *sunu*. Recall that *kṛ* + *u* + *hi* goes through *guṇa* to produce *k*(*ṛ→ar*) + *u* + *hi*. The *a* of *ar*, in addition to deletion of *hi*, is replaced with *u* (6.4.110 *at ut sārvadhātuke*).

Kāśikā offers *rādhnuhi* and *prāpnuhi* as counter-examples where deletion of *hi* is blocked because *u* occurs after a conjunct. Consider *lunīhi* 'cut!' and *punīhi* 'cleanse!' as counter-examples where deletion of *hi* is blocked because *hi* occurs after *ā*. Similar counter-examples are *ruhi* and *yuhi* where *hi* occurs after *u* which is part of the base and not of an affix.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to make this deletion optional in the Vedic. That is, this deletion of *hi* applies sometimes. But on occasions it also does not. Thus, consider *ātanuhi* 'extend (it) properly', *dhinuhi* 'please!' and *kṛṇuhi* 'do!' where this deletion does not apply.

6.4.107 लोपश्चान्यतरस्यां म्वोः

lopaś cānyatarasyāṃ mvoḥ
/*lopaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *mvoḥ* 7/2 = *maś ca vaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *utaḥ pratyayād asaṃyogapūrvāt* #106/
yo' yam ukāro' saṃyogapūrvaḥ tadantasya pratyayasyānyatarasyāṃ lopo bhavati vakāramakārādau pratyaye parataḥ
An affix which ends in *u* and does not occur after a conjunct is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA*, provided an affix beginning with *m* or *v* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sunvaḥ 'first person dual active *LOṬ* of *sUÑ* 'to press out''
sunuvaḥ 'ibidem'
sunmaḥ 'first person plural . . .'
sunumaḥ 'ibidem'
tanvaḥ 'first person dual *LOṬ* of *tanU* 'to extend''
tanuvaḥ 'ibidem'
tanmah 'first person plural . . .'
tanumaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Notice how all derivates end in *vaḥ* and *maḥ* in consonance with the affixal condition of *mvoḥ*. Note also that *asaṃyogapūrva* is here interpreted as an adjective to *u*, and not to the affix which may end in *u*. The *vikaraṇa* in these examples is *Śnu*. This deletion applies only to an *u* which belongs to an affix. Thus, there is no deletion in *yuvaḥ* and *yumaḥ* where *u* is part of verbal roots. Now consider *śaknuvaḥ* and *śaknumaḥ* where these derivates end in *vas* and *mas* but their *u* occurs after a conjunct. This *u* can also not be deleted.

2. Why is *LOPA* used here explicitly? Why could *LUK* not be brought via *anuvṛtti*? So that the final *u* of an affix alone could be deleted. If *LOPA* was not used, deletion would have applied to an affix terminating in *u*.

6.4.108 नित्यं करोतेः

nityaṃ karoteḥ
/*nityam* ϕ *karoteḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *utaḥ pratyayāt* #106 *lopaḥ mvoḥ* #107)
karoter uttarasya ukārapratyayasya vakāramakārādau pratyaye parato nityaṃ lopo bhavati
Affix *u* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *kṛ*, is obligatorily deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix beginning with *m* or *v* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kurvaḥ 'first person dual active *LOṬ*-derivate of *kṛ* 'to do''
kurmaḥ 'first person plural . . .'

1. An affix in *u* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ* is obligatorily deleted by *LOPA*, provided an affix beginning with *v* or *m* follows. Thus, *k(ṛ→ar) + u + mas→kar + (u→ϕ) + mas→k(a→u) r + mas = kurma (s→r→ḥ)*. This same is also applicable to *kurvaḥ*. Recall that 3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhyaḥ . . .* introduces *u* as the *vikaraṇa*. The *a* of the *guṇa*, i.e., *ar*, is replaced with *u* (6.4.110 *at ut sārvadhātuke*).

6.4.109 ये च

ye ca
/*ye* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* # 1 *utaḥ pratyayāt* # 106 *lopaḥ* # 107 *nityaṃ karoteḥ* # 108)
yakārādau ca pratyaye parataḥ karoter uttarasyokārapratyayasya nityaṃ lopo bhavati
Affix *u* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *kṛ*, is obligatorily deleted by means of *LOPA* also when an affix beginning with *y* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kuryāt 'third person singular active *LIṄ*-derivate of *kṛ*'
kuryātām 'third person dual . . .'
kruyuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule obligatorily deletes an affix in *u* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛ*. Of course, when the *aṅga* is followed by an affix beginning with *y*. Refer to derivational details of *kuryāt*, *kuryātām* and *kuryuḥ* (III:784), under 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipade. . . .* The affix which conditions deletion of *u* is *yāsUṬ*.

6.4.110 अत उत्सार्वधातुके

ata ut sārvadhātuke
/*ataḥ* 6/1 *ut* 1/1 *sārvadhātuke* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *utaḥ pratyayāt* #106 *lopaḥ* #107 *karoteḥ* #108)
ukārapratyayāntasya karoter akārasya sthāne ukāra ādeśo bhavati sārvadhātuke kṅiti parataḥ
The *a* of an *aṅga* which is constituted by *kṛ*, and ends in an affix ending in *u*, is replaced with *uT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kurutaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *kṛ*'

kurvanti 'third person plural . . .'

1. Refer to the appendix of 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* for derivational details of *kurutaḥ* and *kurvanti*. This rule introduces *u* as a replacement for the *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *kṛ*, when the same ends in *u*, provided a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* follows. Thus, *k(ṛ→ar)* + *u* + *tas→k(u→ar)* + *u* + *tas→k(a→u)* *r* + *u* + *tas* = *kuruta(s→r→ḥ)* = *kurutaḥ*.

1. Why do we have to use *sārvadhātuke*? So that this replacement can take palce even under the condition of a previously existing *sārvadhātuka*. Thus, consider *kuru* which I derive under 6.4.106 *utaś ca*. . . . Recall that *hi*, a *sārvadhātuka*, is deleted after *kar* + *u*. The *utva* of this rule, because of the express mention of *sārvadhātuke*, can now take place under the condition of the removed *hi*. Recall also that a *hi*-replacement of *si* is also considered as not marked with *P* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*). This enables *hi* to be accepted as marked with *K* and *Ṅ*. It is still argued that the *utva* can be accomplished even without the express mention of *sārvadhātuke*? How? The deletion of *hi* will be considered as *asiddha* (*PM*: *asiddho hi, tasyāsiddhatvād utvaṃ bhaviṣyati*). Thus, *hi* being there, *utva* cannot be blocked. In that case, an express mention of *sārvadhātuke* can be accepted as made for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

Why is *u* specified here with a following *t* (*taparakaraṇa*)? So that the penultimate *guṇa* (*laghūpadhaguṇa*; 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . .) of *u* can be blocked. A replacement specified with a following *t* cannot allow any further replacement.

Finally the condition of marked with *K* and *Ṅ* is still valid. Consider *karoti*, *karoṣi* and *karomi* where *tiP*, *siP* and *miP* are marked with *P* as an *it*. This *utva* does not apply there since the condition of *kṅiti* is not satisfied.

6.4.111 श्नसोरल्लोपः

śnasor allopaḥ
/*śnasoḥ* 6/2 = *śnaś ca aś ca* = *śnasau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *allopaḥ* = *ato lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110)
śnasyāsteś cākārasya lopo bhavati sārvadhātuke kṅiti parataḥ
The *a* of *ŚnaM*, and that of verbal root *as* as well, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

rundhaḥ 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *rudh* 'to obstruct''
rundhanti 'third person plural . . .'
bhintaḥ 'third person singular active *LOṬ*-derivate of *bhid* 'to split''
bhindanti 'third person plural . . .'
santi 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *as* 'to be''

1. This rule allows deletion of *a* of *ŚnaM* and *as*. Consider *rudhIR* +

(*LAṬ→tas*)→*ru* + *ŚnaM* + *dh* + *tas*, where *ŚnaM* is introduced after *u* of *rudh* (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*). Refer to *ruṇaddhi* (appendix, 3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ* . . .) for further derivational details. Our present rule deletes the *a* of *ŚnaM*. The *n* then goes through replacements in *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *mo' nusvāraḥ*) and back to *n* again via *parasavarṇa* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya* . . .). This *n* cannot be replaced with *ṇ* because of *asiddhatva* (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*). Examples such as *bhintaḥ* and *bhindanti* follow similar rules. Refer to derivational details of *staḥ* under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . . Deriving *santi* from: *as* + (*LAṬ→jhi→anti*) should then become easier.

Note that this deletion is also available before an affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*. It does not apply in *bhinatti* and *asti* since *tiP* is marked with *P* as an *it*.

2. How do we get the specification of *śnasoḥ*. It should be *śna* + *asoḥ* = *śnāsoḥ*. The *a* of *śna* goes through *pararūpa* because of the listing of *śakandhvādi* (cf. *vt* ad 6.1.94 *eṅi pararūpam*).

6.4.112 श्नाभ्यस्तयोरातः

śnābhyastayor ātaḥ
/*śnā-abhyastayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ātaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *lopaḥ* #107 *sārvadhātuke* #110)
'*śnā*' *ity etasyābhyastānāṃ cāṅgānām ākārasya lopo bhavati sārvadhātuke kṅiti parataḥ*
The *ā* of an *aṅga* which ends in *Śnā*, or of one which is termed *abhyasta*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

lunate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *lūÑ* 'to cut''
lunatām 'third person dual middle *LOṬ*-derivate of *lūÑ*'
alunata 'third person plural middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *lūÑ*'
mimate 'third singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *māṄ* 'to measure''
mimatām 'third person dual middle *LOṬ*-derivate of *māṄ*'
amimata 'third person plural middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *māṄ*'
sañjihate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *OhāṄ* 'to go' used with the preverb *sam*'
sañjihatām 'third person dual middle *LOṬ*-derivate . . .'
samajihata 'third person plural middle *LAṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. Note that our next rule proposes a replacement in *ī* under the condition of a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ*. By inference, we have to accept this rule's provision under the condition of a similar *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*).

Refer to derivational details of *vyatilunate* (appendix, II:468); 1.3.14

kartari. . .) for deriving *lunate*. The *e* of the derivate of *LOṬ* gets *ām* (3.4.90 *ām etaḥ*). Thus we get *lunatām*. The third plural middle form *alunata* is derived with *LAṄ* and introduction of augment *aṬ*. We find *mimate, mimatām,* and *amimata* as examples for items termed *abhyasta*. Recall that *māṄ* 'to measure' is a root of the *juhotyādi* class. A *ŚaP* introduced after it goes through deletion by *ŚLU*. This starts the process of iteration (*ditva*; 6.1.10 *ślau*). The *ā* of *abhyāsa* goes through shortening and its *a* is replaced with *i* (7.4.76 *bhṛñām it*). The *ā* of *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*) goes through deletion of this rule. The rest of operational steps are similar to many *ātmanepada* derivates of *LAṬ, LOṬ* and *LAṄ*. Derivational details of *sañjihate, sañjihatām* and *samajihata* are not very different. These are examples of verbal root *OhāṄ*, used with the preverb *sam*. The *m* of *sam* goes through *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* 'homogeneous with the following'.

2. Recall that this deletion is limited to derivates with *Śnā* and *abhyasta*. That is why we do not get it in *yānti* and *vānti*. This deletion is also available only when an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* follows. That is why this deletion is blocked before *tiP* in *alunāt, ajahāt*. A *mit* and *ṅit* status is not allowable in the context of *tiP*.

3. Why was this specification made with *ā* used with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*? That is, a specification with *a* should have accounted for it. A specification with *āt* is made for clarity (*spaṣṭārtham*).

6.4.113 ई हल्यघोः

ī haly aghoḥ

/*ī* (1/1 deleted) *hali* 7/1 *aghoḥ* 6/1 = *na ghuḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasya*/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ* #122)

śnāntānām aṅgānām abhyastānāṃ ca ghuvarjitānām āta īkārādeśo bhavati halādau sārvadhātuke kṅiti parataḥ

The final *ā* of an *aṅga* which ends in *Śnā*, or else, is termed an *abhyasta* but is not termed *ghu*, is replaced with *ī* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

lunītaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *lūÑ*'
punītaḥ 'third person dual . . . of *pūÑ* 'to cleanse''
lunīthaḥ 'second person dual active *LAṬ* of *lūÑ*'
punīthaḥ '. . . of *pūÑ*'
punīte 'third person singular middle *LAṬ* of *pūÑ*'
mimīte '. . . of *māṄ*'
mimīṣe 'second person singular . . .'
mimīdhve 'second person plural . . .'
sañjihīte 'third person singualr middle *LAṬ* of *OhāṄ* used with the

preverb *sam*'
sañjihīse 'second person singular . . .'
sañjihīdhve 'second person plural . . .'

1. Refer to derivational details of *parikrīṇīte* (appendix, 1.3.18 *parivyavebhyaḥ* . . .) for deriving *lunīte* and *punīte* from *lū* + *LAṬ* and *pū* + *LAṬ*. Deriving *lunītaḥ* and *lunīthaḥ* with active (*parasmaipada*) *sārvadhātuka* affixes *tas* 'third dual' and *thas* 'second dual' should not present any difficulty. Recall that these affixes are termed *Ṅit* by 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. Derivates such as *mimīte, mimṣe*, etc., will involve iteration as usual. Derivates of *OhāṄ*, used with *sam*, are not very difficult to derive.

2. A condition of *halādi* 'beginning with a consonant' is imposed so that this replacement in *ī* is blocked in deriving *lunanti* and *punanti* where *jhi* is replaced with *anti*. The condition of *aghoḥ* is needed to block this *ī* in deriving *dattaḥ* and *dhattaḥ*. Recall that *dā* and *dhā*, with the exception of *dāP*, are termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*). The condition of *kṅiti* is again valid. Thus, we do not get this replacement in *lunāti* and *jahāti* where *tiP* is marked with *P* as an *it*.

6.4.114 इद् दरिद्रस्य

id daridrasya
/*it* 1/1 *daridrasya* 6/1
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *ātaḥ* #112 *hali* #113)
daridrāter halādau sārvadhātuke kṅiti parata ikārādeśo bhavati
The final *ā* of *daridrā* is replaced with *i* when a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

daridritaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *daridrā* 'to be poor''
daridrithaḥ 'second person dual . . .'
daridrivaḥ 'first person dual . . .'
daridrimaḥ 'first person plural . . .'

1. This rule offers *i* as a replacement for the *ā* of *daridrā*. Of course, when a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* follows. We get *daridritaḥ, daridrithaḥ, daridrivaḥ* and *daridrimaḥ*, where *daridrā* occurs before *LAṬ* replaced with the active endings *tas, thas, vas* and *mas*. Note that *daridrā* is a root of the *adādi* class. A *ŚaP* which occurs after it is thus deleted (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . .).

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving *daridrati* and *daridrāti* because of the twin conditions of *halādi* and *kṅiti*, respectively.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for deletion of *ā* of *daridrā* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows (*vt. daridrāter ārdhadhātuke lopo vaktavyaḥ*). Additionally, it is stated that *ā*-deletion remains valid in affixal operations (*vt.*

siddhaś ca pratyayavidhau bhavatīti vaktavyam). Thus, *daridrātīti* = *daridraḥ* 'poor'.

The following verse of the *Mahābhāṣya* summarizes:

na daridrāyake lopo daridrāṇe ca neṣyate/
didaridrāsatīty eke didaridraṣatīti vā//
'there is no deletion in *daridrāyakaḥ*; no deletion is also desired in *daridrāṇaḥ*; some accept optional deletion in *didaridrāsati* and *didaridriṣati*'

6.4.115 भियोऽन्यतरस्याम्

bhiyo' nyatarasyām
/ *bhiyaḥ* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *hali* #113 *it* #114)
'*bhī' ity etasyāṅgasyāntarasyām ikārādeśo bhavati halādau kṅiti sārvadhātuke parataḥ*
The final *ī* of an *aṅga*, namely *bhī*, is optionally replaced with *i* when an affix beginning with a consonant, and marked with *K* or *Ṅ* an an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

bibhitaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *Ñibhī* 'to fear'
bibhītaḥ 'ibidem'
bibhithaḥ 'second person dual . . .'
bibhīthaḥ 'ibidem'
bibhivaḥ 'first person dual . . .'
bibhīvaḥ 'ibidem'
bibhimaḥ 'first person plural . . .'
bibhīmaḥ 'ibidem'

1. The *i*-replacement of the preceding rule is made optional (*anyatarasyām*) in case of verbal root *bhī*. Thus, we get two forms. Note that example derivates all involve iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. This replacement in short *i* comes in place of the final *ī* of *bī* + *bhī*. The first *ī* goes through shortening.

2. This replacement is blocked in deriving *bibhyati* where *jh* of *jhi* is replaced with *at*. That is, a consonant-initial affix does not follow. The final *ī* is thus replacement with *yaṆ*. A lack of meeting the condition of *kṅiti* again blocks this replacement in *bibheti*. This example goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. The condition of *sārvadhātuke* similarly does not allow this replacement in *bhīyate*. Affix *yaK* is obviously an *ārdhadhātuka*.

6.4.116 जहातेश्च

jahāteś ca
/*jahāteḥ* 6/1 *ca* ф/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #110 *hali* #113 *it* #114 *anyatarasyām* #115)
jahāteś ca ikārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyāṃ halādau kṅiti sārvadhātuke parataḥ
The final *ā* of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK* 'to abandon', is also optionally replaced with *i*, when an affix which begins with a consonant and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jahitaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *OhāK*'
jahītaḥ 'ibidem'
jahithaḥ 'second person dual . . .'
jahīthaḥ 'ibidem'

1. A separate formulation of this rule is intended so that, in subsequent rules, only *jahāteḥ* could be carried (*pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*).

2. Refer to derivational details of *juhoti* (appendix, 1.1.61 *pratyayasya* . . .) for operations relative to iteration and *abhyāsa*. Recall that 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ* offers *ī* as an obligatory (*nitya*) replacement for the final *ā* of *abhyāsa*. That *ī* becomes applicable if this optional *i* is not accepted. This replacement option is again not available where a non-*sārvadhātuka* affix follows. Thus, we get *hīyate* and *jehīyate* where affixes *yaK* and *yaṄ* are termed *ārdhadhātuka*.

6.4.117 आ च हौ

ā ca hau
/*ā ca* ф *hau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *it* #114 *anyatarasyām* #115 *jahāteḥ* #116)
jahāter ākāraś cāntādeśo bhavati ikāraś cānyatarasyāṃ hau parataḥ
The final *ā* of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK*, is optionally replaced with *ā*, in addition to an optional *i*, when affix *hi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jahāhi 'second person singular active *LOṬ*-derivate of *OhāK* 'to abandon''
jahihi 'ibidem'
jahīhi 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *ā* as an optional replacement for an *aṅga* in *hā*. The optional *i* of the preceding rule is also applicable. The *ca* is used here to attract *anyatarasyām* and *i* both (*Nyāsa*: *cakāra ittvānyatarasyāṃgrahaṇayor*

anukarṣaṇārthaḥ). Since these two options are both made against *ī* of 6.4.113 *haly aghoḥ*, we will end up with three forms: *jahāhi*, *jahihi* and *jahīhi*. Operations relative to deletion by *ŚLU* (of *ŚaP*) and iteration all obtain as usual.

6.4.118 लोपो यि

lopo yi
/*lopaḥ* 1/1 *yi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *sārvadhātuke* #100 *jahāteḥ* #116)
lopo bhavati jahāter yakārādau kṅiti sārvadhātuke parataḥ
The final *ā* of an *aṅga*, namely *OhāK*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which begins with *y* and is marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jahyāt 'third person singular active *LIṄ*-derivate of *OhāK*'
jahyātām 'third person dual . . .'
jahyuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule offers deletion of *ā* when *hā* is followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ*. Additionally, this *sārvadhātuka* affix must begin with *y* (*yakārādi*). Incidentally, the deletion applies to a final *ā* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Refer to many *LIṄ*-derivates in the appendix where operational steps common to these examples, i.e., *ŚaP*, *ŚLU*-deletion, doubling, introduction of *yāsUṬ*, and *tām* and *us*, have been explained.

6.4.119 घ्वसोरेद्धावभ्यासलोपश्च

ghvasor edd hāv abhyāsalopaś ca
/*ghvasoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *et* 1/1 *hau* 7/1 *abhyāsa-lopaḥ* 1/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98)
ghusaṃjñakānām aṅgānām asteś ca ekārādeśo bhavati hau parato' bhyāsalopaś ca
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *ghu*, or of an *aṅga* constituted by *as*, is replaced with *e* when affix *hi* follows, with an additional provision that the *abhyāsa* be deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

dehi 'second person singular active *LOṬ*-derivate of *dā* 'to give''
dhehi '. . . of *dhā* 'to place''
edhi '. . . of *as* 'to be''

1. This rule offers *e* as a replacement for an *aṅga* constituted by roots termed *ghu*, and *as* as well. Additionally, these *aṅga* also go through deletion

of their *abhyāsa*. Refer to the appendix (II: 352–54) of 1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp* for general derivational direction for imperative forms of *dā* 'to give' (*dehi*), *dhā* 'to place' (*dhehi*) and *as* 'to be' (*edhi*). Rule 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt* shows derivational details of *edhi*.

2. Commentators explain that this *lopa* is here intended as marked with *Ś* (*Kāś*: *śid ayaṃ lopaḥ*). Consequently, deletion applies to an *abhyāsa*, in toto (1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). This provision now becomes an exception to deletion of the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*).

6.4.120 अत एकहल्मध्येऽनादेशादेर्लिटि

ata ekahalmadhye' nādeśāder liṭi
/ *ataḥ* 6/1 *ekahalmadhye* 7/1 = *ekaś ca ekaś ca* = *ekau*; *ekaś ca tau halau ca* = *ekahalau* (*karmadhāraya*); *ekahalor madhyaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *anādeśādeḥ* 6/1 = *avidyamāna ādeśa ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *liṭi* 7/1/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *eta abhyāsalopaś ca* #119)
liṭi parata ādeśa ādir yasyāṅgasya nāsti tasya ekahalmadhye asahāyayor halor madhye yo' kāras tasya ekārādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṅiti parataḥ
An *a* which occurs in between two single consonants of an *aṅga* whose initial sound has not gone through a replacement is replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

reṇatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *raṇ* 'to be happy''
reṇuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
yematuḥ 'third dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *yamA* 'to be indifferent''
yemuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
pecatuḥ 'third dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *pac*'
pecuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
dematuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *damU* 'to control, suppress''
demuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule replaces the *a* of an *aṅga* with *e*, provided this *a* occurs in between two consonants. Additionally, the *abhyāsa* of this *aṅga* is also deleted. These two operations apply to an *aṅga* which does not go through deletion of its initial sound, and which occurs followed by a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. Thus, consider *raṇ* + *atus* where *atus* is a replacement of *LIṬ*, via *tiP* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatusus* . . .). This string produces *ra* + *raṇ* + *atus* after iteration (*dvitva*) and *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60). Our present rule replaces the *a* of *ra* with *e* and deletes *ra*. We thus get *reṇatu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ* = *reṇatuḥ*).

Notice how the *aṅga*, i.e., *ra* + *raṇ*, meets the condition of *anādeśādi* 'that

of which there is no replacement at the beginning'. The *a* of *ra* meets the condition of *ekahalmadhya* because the two *r* sounds in between which it occurs are not conjuncts. Similar derivational details apply in deriving *reṇuḥ* from *ra* + *raṇ* + (*LIṬ*→*tas*→*us*). Other examples follow similar derivational applications.

The word *eka* is not used here in the sense of a number (*saṃkhyā*). It is, instead, used here in the sense of *asahāya* 'without an accompanying consonant, non-conjunct'. This interpretation of *eka* is valid in view of the specification of *madhya* 'in between'. Obviously, 'in between' is a relative notion and, hence, is impossible to make sense in the context of *eka* interpreted as a number. Commentators explain that this *eka* is derived from *ekaś ca ekaś ca*, a *dvandva* paraphrase, where only one *eka* is retained (*ekaśeṣa*).

2. Note that *e* comes as a replacement for *a*. Thus, we get *didivatuḥ* and *didivuḥ* from *div* + *LIṬ*, where *e* and deletion of *abhyāsa* do not apply. Obviously, because there is no *a*. Since this *a* is specified with *taparakaraṇa* 'marking with *T*', our present rule does not apply on the string yielded by *rās* + *LIṬ*→*rarāse*/ *rarāsāte*/ *rarāsire*. That is, the replacement and deletion of this rule applies only when the *aṅga* has a short *a*, occurring in between two single consonants.

Why is the specification made with *ekahalmadhya* 'in between two non-conjunct consonants'. So that this rule does not apply on derivates of *tsar* 'to hide, move', i.e., *tatsaratuḥ* and *tatsaruḥ*. A condition of *anādeśa* blocks the application of this rule on *cakaṇatuḥ* and *cakaṇuḥ*, etc., where the initial *k* of *kaṇ* goes through a replacement in *c*.

3. Note that the negation of *anādeśādeḥ* is also construed with *liṭi*. That is, *liṭi* of this rule is read twice via repetition (*āvṛtti*). One *liṭi* is thus read with *anādeśādeḥ* and the other with *kṅiti*, constrained by the condition of a following *LIṬ*. Thus, replacements which may block the application of this rule must result under the condition of a following *LIṬ*. Consider *nematuḥ*/ *nemuḥ*; and *sehe*/ *sehāte*. These sets of examples involve a replacement of *ṇ* and *ṣ* with *n* and *s*, respectively. These consonants, *ṇ* and *ṣ*, are replaced with *s* and *n* when occurring as initial of a verbal root (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ*. . .; 6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ*). Obviously, they are replaced prior to the introduction of *LIṬ* and are thus not conditioned (*animittika*) by *LIṬ*. The negation of *anādeśādeḥ* does not apply to these examples.

Commentators explain that there are two types of replacements: (*a*) where a replacement causes formal difference (*bheda*) and (*b*) where no such difference (*abheda*) results. Our present rule applies only where the first kind of replacement is involved. Consider 6.4.126 *na śaṣadadivādiguṇānām* which negates *etva* 'replacement in *e*' and *abhyāsalopa* 'deletion of *abhyāsa*' in *viśaśasatuḥ* and *viśaśasuḥ*, etc. Now consider 8.1.54 *abhyāse car ca* which replaces sounds denoted by *caR* and *jaŚ*, in an *abhyāsa*, with corresponding *caR* and *jaŚ*. This results in non-difference of forms such as *śas* and *dad*. If the

negation of *anādeśādiḥ* does not make a difference in replacements depending on formal difference or a lack of it, *śas* and *dad* will become *ādeśādi*. This rule itself will be able to block *etva* and *abhyāsalopa*. What is the need of formulating 6.4.126 *na śaṣadadivādi*. . .? This, in turn, indicates that our present rule considers a replacement resulting in formal difference.

Finally, the condition of *kiti* is also valid. Consider *ahaṃ papaca* and *ahaṃ papaṭha* where *ṆaL*, of *pac* + (*LIṬ*→*miP*→*ṆaL*) and *paṭh* + (*LIṬ*→*miP*→*ṆaL*), cannot be considered as *kṅit* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). That is, it will still be accepted as marked with *P* as an *it*, via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced'. A replacement in *e*, with concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*, is blocked.

4. There are four *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*i*) A replacement in *e* (*etva*) and deletion of *abhyāsa* should also be stated for *dambhi*, i.e., in *debhatuḥ* and *debhuḥ*. This *vārttika* is necessitated because deletion of *m* in *dambh* becomes *asiddha*, thereby impairing the condition of *ekahalmadhya*.

(*ii*) A replacement in *e* should also be stated for *naś* and *man* when followed by a non-*LIṬ*. Thus, we get *aneśam* and *menakā*, derivates of *LUṄ* and *vuK*, respectively.

(*iii*) A replacement in *e* should be stated for *am* and *pac* in the Vedic when a non-*LIṬ* affix follows. Consider (*vi-am* + (*CānaŚ*) + *sU*→*vyemānam*, where augment *mUK* is not introduced. Examples of *pac* in *LIṬ*: *pac* + *a* + *sīyUṬ* + (*LIṄ*→*jha*→*ran*)) = *peciran*.

(*iv*) An *etva* must also be stated for *yaj* and *vac*, in the Vedic. Thus, we get (*āy*(*a*→*e*)*j*(*a* + *i*→*e*)) = *āyeje* and *āvepe*, both derivates of *LAṄ*, where augment *āṬ* is introduced by 6.4.73 *chandasy api dṛśyate*. Note that this *āṬ* is introduced to *anajādi* 'that which does not begin with a vowel'.

6.4.121 **थलि च सेटि**

thali ca seṭi

/*thali* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *seṭi* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ekahalmadhye' nādeśāder liṭi* #120)

thali ca seṭi parato' nādeśāder aṅgasya ekahalmadhyagatasyātaḥ sthāne ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca

An *a* which occurs in between two single consonants of an *aṅga* whose initial sound has not gone through a replacement is also replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when affix *thaL* used with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pecitha 'second person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *pac* 'to cook''

śekitha 'second person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *śak* 'to be able to''

1. Note that *thaL* is not an affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. This rule is thus formulated for allowing *etva*, and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*, in contexts outside of *kṅiti*. Consider *pecitha* and *śekitha* (appendix (III:787), 3.4.115 *liṭ ca*) where *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* apply before *LIṬ*. A condition of *seṭi* is imposed so that, in case of the non-*iṬ* option of 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*, we can get *papaktha* with no *etva* and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa*.

It is stated that *thaL* need not be stated in this rule. For, this rule is needed for contexts not covered by *kṅiti*. The condition of *seṭi*, outside the context of *kṅiti*, can only be met by *thaL*. Why then make an explicit mention of *thaL*? It is made for clarity (*Kāś*: *thalgrahaṇaṃ vispaṣṭārtham*).

The conditions of *at*, *ekahalmadhya* and *anādeśādi* are also valid. Thus, consider *didevitha* where *i* is not replaced with *i*. The deletion of the *abhyāsa* also does not apply. Now consider *tatakṣitha* where replacement does not apply because the vowel does not happen to be used in between two single consonants. Finally, consider *cakaṇitha* and *babhaṇitha* where we do have the replacement at the beginning. Consequently, we do not get a replacement in *e*. We also do not get deletion of the *abhyāsa*.

6.4.122 तृफलभजत्रपश्च

tṝphalabhajatrapaś ca
/ *tṝ-phala-bhaja-trap-aḥ* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)
'*tṝ, phala, bhaja, trapa*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām ata ekārādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṅiti paratas thali ca seṭi*
The final *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *tṝ* 'to float', *phal* 'to be fruitful', *bhaj* 'to serve', and *trap* 'to be ashamed, be shameful', is also replaced with *e*, with an additional provision of deletion of *abhyāsa*, when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

teratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *tṝ*'
teruḥ 'third person plural . . .'
teritha 'second person singular . . .'
phelatuḥ 'third person dual . . . of *phal*'
pheluḥ 'third person plural . . .'
phelitha 'second person singular . . .'
bhejatuḥ 'third person dual . . . of *bhaj*'
bhejuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
bhejitha 'second person singular . . .'

trepe 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *trap*'
trepāte 'third person dual . . .'
trepire 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa*, where a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ*, or a *thaL* with *iṬ*, follows. Note that *ṝ* of *tṝ* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*, i.e., *ar* (7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṛtām*). We thus get (*ta*→ϕ) + *t*(*a*→*e*) *r* + *atus* = *teratu*(*s*→*ḥ*) = *teratuḥ*. This *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is negated by 6.4.126 *na śasadada*. . . . Our present rule makes it available. Examples such as *phelatuḥ/pheluḥ/phelitha*; and *bhelatuḥ/bhehuḥ/bhelitha* involve doubling and a replacement in *p* and *b* for initial *ph* and *bh*. This, in turn, could have blocked *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa*, in accord with the negation of *anādeśādi*. Our present rule makes these operations both possible. A similar explanation can be offered for *etva* and deletion in *trepe/trepāte* and *trepire* where *tr* impairs the condition of *ekahalmadhya*. This rule again facilitates *etva* and deletion.

2. A *vārttika* proposal recommends that *etva* and deletion should also be stated for *śranth*, i.e., in *śrethatuḥ* and *śrethuḥ*.

6.4.123 राधो हिंसायाम्

rādho hiṃsāyām
/*rādhaḥ* 6/1 *hiṃsāyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)
rādho hiṃsāyām arthe varṇasya ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṅiti paratas thali ca seṭi
The *a* of an *aṅga*, i.e., *rādh*, signifying *hiṃsā* 'wishing harm to' is replaced with *e* with the additional provision of deletion of its *abhyāsa* when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

aparedhatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *rādh* used with the preverb *ap*'
aparedhuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
aparedhitha 'second person singular . . .'

1. This rule allows *etva*, and deletion of *abhyāsa* as well, when *rādh* is used with the signification of *hiṃsā* 'harm'. All other conditions remain similar to those of the preceding rule. Thus, consider *aparedhatuḥ/aparedhuḥ* and *aparedhitha*. This *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is not available to *rarādhatuḥ/ rarādhuḥ* and *rarādhitha*, mainly because this *rādh* is not used with the signification of *hiṃsā*.

2. Note that *ataḥ* is still carried. It thus requires *e* as a replacement in place of the short *a*. What we find in *rādh* is a long. Commentators state that *ataḥ* is indeed carried. It, however, is interpreted as denoting *a* in general. That is, it also includes *ā*. Some suggest that, because of the specification of *rādh*, we must carry *ātaḥ* from 6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*. Others say that this is not necessary. Since a specification for *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* is made with express mention of *rādh*, there is no problem in replacing *ā* with *e*. Since the vowel which is to be replaced must meet the condition of *ekahalmadhya* and also since it is not possible to find any vowel other than *ā* here, *etva* applies to *ā*.

6.4.124 **वा जॄभ्रमुत्रसाम्**

vā jṝbhramutrasām
/ vā ϕ jṝ-bhramu-trasām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)
'jṝ, bhramu, trasa' ity eteṣām aṅgānām ataḥ sthāne vā ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṅiti paratas thali ca seṭi
The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *jṝ* 'to decay, be old', *bhramU* 'to ramble, err' and *trasA* 'to tremble', is optionally replaced with *e*, with the additional provision of deletion of their *abhyāsa* when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jeratuḥ/ jajaratuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *jṝ*'
jeruḥ/ jajaruḥ 'third person plural . . .'
jeritha/ jararitha 'second person singular . . .'
bhrematuḥ/ babhramatuḥ 'third person dual . . . of *bhram*'
bhremuḥ/ babhramuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
bhremitha/ babhramitha 'second person singular . . .'
tresatuḥ/ tatrasatuḥ 'third person dual . . . of *tras*'
tresuḥ/ tatrasuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
tresitha/ tatrasitha 'second person singular . . .'

1. This is an optional rule. It offers *etva* and concurrent deletion of *abhyāsa* to an *aṅga* relative to verbal roots *jṝ*, *bhramU* and *tras*. All other conditions, namely *ataḥ*, *liṭi*, *thali ca seṭi* and *kṅiti*, also remain in force. Thus, consider *jajaratuḥ*, etc., where *ṝ* goes through *guṇa* (7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṝtām*) and yields *a* followed by *r*. Consequently, *etva* and deletion, both get blocked in view of negation of 6.4.126 *na śasadavādiguṇānām*. Our present rule allows it in case of *a* of *jar*. Derivates of verbal root *bhramU* involve a replacement at the beginning and do not meet the condition of *ekahalmadhya*. Derivates of verbal root *tras* also do not meet the condition of *ekahalmadhya*. Our present

rule makes it possible for *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* to apply. Since this rule is optional, we also get examples with no *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa*.

6.4.125 **फणां च सप्तानाम्**

phaṇāṃ ca saptānām
/*phaṇām* 6/3 *ca* φ *saptānām* 6/3/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121 *vā* #124)
phaṇādīnāṃ saptānāṃ dhātūnām avarṇasya sthāne vā ekāra ādeśo bhavati abhyāsalopaś ca liṭi kṅiti paratas thali ca seṭi
The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely one constituted by one of the seven verbal roots beginning with *phaṇA* 'to move, go', is also optionally replaced with *e*, with the additional provision of deletion of their *abhyāsa*, when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

pheṇatuḥ/paphaṇatuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *phaṇ*'
pheṇuḥ/paphaṇuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
pheṇitha/paphaṇitha 'second person singular . . .'
rejatuḥ/rarājatuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *rāj* 'shine''
rejuḥ/rarājuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
rejitha/rarājitha 'second person singular . . .'
bhreje/babhrāje 'third person singular middle optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *bhrāj* 'to shine''
bhrejāte/babhrājāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
bhrejire/babhrājire 'third person plural middle . . .'
bhreśe/babhrāśe 'third person singualr middle optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *bhrāś* 'to shine''
bhreśāte/babhrāśāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
bhreśire/babhrāśire 'third person plural middle . . .'
bhleśe/babhlāśe 'third person singular middle optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *bhlāś* 'to shine''
bhleśāte/babhlāśāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
bhleśire/babhlāśire 'third person plural middle . . .'
syematuḥ/sasyamatuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *syam* 'to sound''
syemuḥ/sasyamuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
syemitha/sasyamitha 'second person singular . . .'
svenatuḥ/sasvanatuḥ 'third person dual active optional *LIṬ*-derivates of *svan* 'to sound''

svenuḥ/ sasvanuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
svenitha/ sasvanitha 'second person singular . . .'

1. Note that a specification with the genitive plural of *phaṇām* is made to indicate the meaning of *ādi* 'a set of verbs beginning with *phaṇ*'. We get the meaning of 'seven roots beginning with *phaṇ*' when *phaṇām saptānām* is read together. Recall that *pha* is listed as a root in the *bhvādi* class. This listing *phaṇ, rājR, ṬUbhrājR, ṬUbhāŚR, ṬUbhlāŚR, syamU* and *svanA*.

An *aṅga* constituted by these verbal roots may not qualify for *etva* and deletion, mainly because of not meeting the conditions of *anādeśādiḥ, eahalmadhya* and *ataḥ*. This rule expressly provides for *etva* and concurrent deletion against such requirements, optionally. Thus, *pheṇatuḥ/ pheṇuḥ/ pheṇitha* and *paphaṇatuḥ, paphaṇuḥ* and *paphaṇitha*, etc.

2. Derivational details of these examples are not hard to comprehend. That is, if one applies doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Refer to many derivations already discussed.

6.4.126 न शसददवादिगुणानाम्

na śasadadavādiguṇānām
/ na ϕ śasa-dada-vādi-guṇānām 6/3 *vakāra ādir yasya sa vādiḥ* (*bv.*); *śasaś ca dadaś ca vādiś ca guṇaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām/*
(*aṅgasya* #1 *kṅiti* #98 *ed abhyāsalopaś ca* #119 *ataḥ liṭi* #120 *thali ca seṭi* #121)
'*śasa, dada*' *ity etayor vakārādīnāṃ ca dhātūnāṃ guṇa ity evam abhinirvṛttasya ca yo*' *akāras tasya sthāne ekārādeśo na bhavati*
The *a* of an *aṅga*, namely *śas, dad, vādi* 'that which has *v* as its initial', and that which has a *guṇa*-replacement in *a*, is not replaced with *e*, with the additional provision of non-deletion to their *abhyāsa*, when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*, or else, affix *thaL* used with *iṬ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

viśaśasatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *śas* 'to cut' used with the preverb *vi*'
viśaśasuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
viśaśasitha 'second person singular active . . .'
dadate 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *dā* 'to give''
dadadāte 'third person dual middle . . .'
dadadire 'third person plural middle . . .'
vavamatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *vamA* 'to vomit''
vavamuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'

vavamitha 'second person singular active . . .'
viśaśaratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *śṝ* 'to harm' used with the preverb *vi*''
viśaśaruḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
viśaśaritha 'second person singular active . . .'
lulavitha 'second person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *lū* 'to cut''

1. This is a negation (*pratiṣedha*) rule. It blocks *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa* in contexts where an *aṅga* involves *śasU* 'to harm', *dadA* 'to give', or a verbal root beginning with *v*, or else, an *aṅga* where a replacement in *guṇa* has applied. Consider *viśaśasatuḥ*, etc., where *śas* is used with *vi* before *LIṬ*. This rule negates *etva* for *a* of *viśaśas* + *atus*. This same is also true in case of *dadade*, where *ta* of *dad* + (*LIṬ*→*ta*) is replaced with *eŚ* (3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor*. . .). Other examples of *dadA* are similarly derived with doubling and related operations. This rule blocks *etva* and deletion of *abhyāsa*. An example where the *aṅga* invovles *vam*, a verbal root beginning with *v*, is: *vavamatuḥ*. Derivates such as *viśaśaratuḥ* and *lulavitha* illustrate instances where *etva* gets a *guṇa*-replacement in *a* as its focus. Thus, *viśṝ* + (*LIṬ*→*tas*→*atus*), where *ṝ* yields *ar* through application of *guṇa* (7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṛtām*). The *lū* of *lū* + (*LIṬ*→ *siP*→*tha*) also goes through *guṇa*, though followed by a replacement in *av* before *iṬ*. Commentators point out that the *a* which forms the focus of *etva* must result out of an application of expressly mentioned *guṇa*. Thus, we get *a* of *ṝ*→*ar* and *ū*→*o*→*av* as the focus.

6.4.127 अर्वणस्त्रसावनञः

arvaṇas tṛ asāv anañaḥ
/*arvaṇaḥ* 6/1 *tṛ* (1/1 deleted) *asau* 1/2 (*nañ*.); *anañaḥ* 5/1 (*nañ*.)/ (*aṅgasya* #1)
'*arvan*' *ity etasya aṅgasya* '*tṛ*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati suś cet tataḥ paro na bhavati sa ca nañ uttaro na bhavati*
The final sound segment of *arvan* is replaced with *tṚ*, provided *arvan* is not combined after *naÑ* and *sU* does not follow.

EXAMPLES:

arvantau 'nominative dual of *arvan* 'courser''
arvantaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
arvantam 'accusative singular . . .'
arvantau 'accusative dual . . .'
arvataḥ 'accusative plural . . .'
arvatī 'nominative singular (feminine with *ṄīP*)'
ārvatam 'a derivate of *aÑ* denoting *apatya* 'offspring''

1. This rule allows *tṚ* as a replacement for an *aṅga* constituted by *arvan*, provided it does not occur after *naÑ* and is also not followed by *sU*. This replacement in *tṚ* comes in place of the final *n* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *arvan*. Thus, *arva(n→tṚ) + au*. Recall that augment *nUM* is introduced here as a result of *Ṛ* as an *it* (7.1.70 *ugid acām*...), before an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*). Thus, *arva* + (*n→tṚ*) + *au→arva* + *nUM* + *t* + *au* = *arvantau*. Other forms, i.e., *arvantaḥ*; *arvantam*, *arvantau*, *arvataḥ*, follow similar rules. Affix *ṄīP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*) is introduced in deriving feminine forms, also as a result of *Ṛ* as an *it*. Thus, we get *arvatī*. Our last example, i.e., *ārvata*, is derived from *arvat*, through initial *vṛddhi*, with affix *aÑ* (4.1.104 *anṛṣyā' nantarye*...) denoting *apatya* 'offspring'.

2. Note that *sU* of *asau* 'when *sU* does not follow' is here interpreted as the nominative singular. It cannot be accepted as the locative plural (*PM*: ... *prathamaikavacanasya cātra grahaṇam, na saptamībahuvacanasya*). This condition of *asau* blocks *tṚ*, and yields *arvā*, through penultimate *vṛddhi*, *sU*-deletion and deletion of *n*. Thus, *arv(a→ā) n* + *sU→arvān* + (*sU→ϕ*)→ *arvā(n→ϕ)* = *arvā*. The restriction of *anañaḥ* 'not used after *naÑ*' also blocks *tṚ*. We thus get *anarvāṇau* and *anarvāṇaḥ*, where *anarvan* is interpreted as *na arvā* 'non-*arvan*'.

6.4.128 मघवा बहुलम्

maghavā bahulam
/*maghavā* 1/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *tṛ* #127)
'*maghavan*' *ity etasyāṅgasya bahulam* '*tṛ*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *maghavan*, is variously replaced with *tṚ*.

EXAMPLES:

maghavān 'nominative singular of *maghavan* 'Indra''
maghavantau 'nominative dual...'
maghavantaḥ 'nominative plural...'
maghavantam 'accusative singular...'
maghavantau 'accusative dual...'
maghavataḥ 'accusative plural...'

1. Note that *maghavān* is derived from *maghavan* + *sU*, where *n* gets replaced with *tṚ* to yield *maghavat* (*Ṛ→ϕ*) = *maghavat* + *sU*. Augment *nUM* is now introduced (7.1.70 *ugidacām*...) to derive *maghavant* + *sU*. We can now derive *maghavan* by deleting *sU* (6.1.66 *halṅābbhyo*...) and the conjunct final *t* (*saṃyogānta*; 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*). Our final form *maghavān* is derived by replacing the penultimate *a* by its *vṛddhi* counterpart (6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cā' sambuddhau*). Remember that the conjunct-final dele-

tion of *t* is not treated as *asiddha* in accomplishing this penultimate *vṛddhi*. It is to accomplish this, and also non-deletion of *n*, that *bahulam* 'variously' is used in this rule.

The use of *bahulam* also suggests that *tR̥* does not have to be accepted as a replacement. We thus get forms such as *maghavā*, etc., parallel to *rājā* (appendix, 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*): *maghavā/ maghavānau/ maghavānaḥ*, in the nominative, and *maghavānam/ maghavānau/ maghonaḥ*, in the accusative. Our accusative plural form involves *samprasāraṇa* (6.4.133 *śvayuvamaghonām* . . .), thereby yielding: *magha*(*v*→*u*) + *an* + (*Ś*) *as* = *magha* + *uan* + *as*. The *u* and *a* of *uan* is then replaced with *u* (6.1.104 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). We thus get *magha* + *u* + *n* + *as*. Rule 6.1.84 *ād guaḥ* then replaces the *a* + *u* sequence of *magha* + *u* with a single *guṇa* vowel *o*. We thus get *magh*(*a* + *u*→*o*) *n* + *as*→*maghon* + *a*(*s*→*ḥ*) = *maghonaḥ*. Recall that augment *nUM* is not introduced when a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* ending follows. Derivational details of *maghavat* and *māghavatam* are similar to those of *arvatī* and *ārvatam* of the previous rule. Deriving *maghonī* from *maghavan* + *ṄīP* will again involve *samprasāraṇa*, etc. Deriving *māghavanam* from *maghavan* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, with initial *vṛddhi*, should pose no problem.

6.4.129 भस्य

> *bhasya*
> / *bhasya* 6/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #1)
> '*bhasya*' *ity ayam adhikāra ā adhyāyaparisamāpteḥ*
> Of the *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) of an *aṅga* . . .

EXAMPLES:

> *dvipadaḥ* (*paśya*) 'accusative plural of *dvipād* 'biped''
> *dvipadā* (*kṛtam*) 'instrumental singular . . .'

1. This is a governing (*adhikāra*) rule. One should consider *bhasya* present in whatever is stated till the end of this quarter (*āpādaparisamāpteḥ*). Thus, the following rule offers *pat* as a replacement for *pād*. The word *bhasya*, when read with the following rule, yields this interpretation: '*pād*, which occurs as final of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is replaced with *pat*'.

Recall that 1.4.18 *yaci bham* assigns the term *bha* to a string which occurs before a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affix beginning with *y*, or a vowel. An affix before which the term *bha* is assigned must also be one enumerated within the list headed by *sU* (*svādi*). This covers affixes enumerated by rules 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . through 5.4.151 *uraḥ prabhṛtibhyaḥ kap*. Thus, a *non-sarvanāmasthāna* affix which is listed as part of *svādi* and which begins either with a *y*, or a vowel, conditions the assignment of the term *bha*. A string which does not occur before an affix specified for *bha* is termed *pada*. Whether or

not a string is assigned the term *pada* and *bha* also depends on whether or not an affix is assigned the term *sarvanāmasthāna*. A *Śi* replacement of nominative and accusative plural endings *Jas* and *Śas* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*) is termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*). Affixes *su, au, Jas, am* and *auṬ* (*sUṬ*) are also termed *sarvanāmasthāna* when they occur after a non-neuter nominal stem (1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*). A non-neuter string which occurs before a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix is neither termed a *pada*, nor a *bha*. A neuter which occurs before *su* is termed *pada*. It is termed *bha* when occurring before *au* and *am*. Since a *Jas* and *Śas* is replaced with *Śi* which, in turn, is termed *sarvanāmasthāna*, we do not get *pada* or *bha* before them. The term *bha* is also assigned before affixes *Śas, Ṭā, Ṅe, ṄasI, Ṅas, os* and *Ṅi*, obviously because they begin with a vowel. A string before the genitive plural *ām* can also be termed *bha*, provided it has not receive augment *nUṬ*. Note that *nUṬ* impairs the vowel-initial status of *ām* which, in turn, occasions the assignment of the term *pada*. Similar reasoning applies in assigning the terms *pada* and *bha*, outside the domain of nominal endings.

6.4.130 पादः पत्

pādaḥ pat
/pādaḥ 6/1 *pat* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
'pādaḥ' iti pādaśabdo luptākāro gṛhyate, tadantasyāṅgasya bhasya 'pat' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The final *pād* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is replaced with *pat*.

EXAMPLES:

dvipadaḥ (*paśya*) 'accusative plural . . .'
dvipadā 'instrumental singular . . .'
dvipade 'dative singular of *dvipād*'
dvipadikāṃ (*dadāti*) 'gives two quarters each'
vaiyāghrapadyaḥ 'offspring of Vyāghrapād'

1. The base in *pādaḥ* is specified with its final *a* deleted (*luptākāra*). Since such a deletion takes place only in a compound, *pādaḥ* is interpreted as referring to 'that which ends in *pād* (*tadantasya*)'. Note that *pat* will come in place of *pād*, since a replacement is introduced in place of that which is specified (*nirdiśyamānasyādeśā bhavanti*). That is, *pat* will not replace the final *d* of *pād*. Nor will it replace the *aṅga* which ends in *pād*.

Note that *dvipat*, of *dvipadaḥ paśya*, is a *bahuvrīhi* (2.2.24 *anekam anyapadārthe*), where 5.4.140 *saṃkhyāsupūrvasya* deletes the final *a* of *pāda*. Our present rule replaces this *pād* with *pat*. The word *dvipadikā*, parallel to *dvau dvau pādau*, is derived with affix *vuN* (5.4.1 *pādaśatasya* . . .) introduced after *dvipāda*. A deletion of the final *a*, and subsequent replacement of *pād*

with *pāt*, produces *dvipat* + *vuN*. Rule 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau* then replaces *vu* with *aka*. An introduction of *ṬāP*, followed by *i* as a replacement for *a* of *aka*, produces *dvipad*(*a*→*i*) *ikā*. A replacement of *pād*, in *pat*, is also seen in *vaiyāghryapadyaḥ*, derived parallel to *vyāghrasyeva pādāv asya*, *tasyāpatyam* 'a son of he whose feet are similar to that of a tiger's', with affix *yaÑ* introduced after the *bahuvrīhi* compound *vyāghrapāda* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*). The *a* of *pāda* is deleted by 5.4.138 *pādasya lopo*. . . . The *ā* of *vyāghra* gets replaced with *aiC* in accord with 7.3.3 *na yvābhyām*. . . .

6.4.131 वसोः सम्प्रसारणम्

vasoḥ samprasāraṇam
/*vasoḥ* 6/1 *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
vasvantasya bhasya samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *vasu* goes through *samprasāraṇa*.

EXAMPLES:

viduṣaḥ 'accusative singular of *vidvas* 'scholar''
viduṣā 'instrumental singular . . .'
viduṣe 'dative singular . . .'
pecuṣaḥ 'accusative singular of *pecvas* 'he who has cooked''
pcuṣā 'instrumental singular . . .'
pecuṣe 'dative singular . . .'
papuṣaḥ 'nominative singular of *pecvas*'

1. Note that *viduṣaḥ* is derived from *vidvas* + *Śas*, where *vidvas* itself derives with *ŚatṚ* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv* . . .), introduced after *vid* as a replacement of *LAṬ*. A replacement in *vasU* is then introduced for *ŚatṚ* as per 7.1.36 *videḥ śaturvasuḥ*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* on *vidvas* + (*Ś*) *as*, followed by the *pūrvarūpa* of resultant *u* + *a*, produces *vid*(*v*→*u*) + *as* + (*Ś*) *as*→*vid* (*u*+*a*→*u*) *s* + (*Ś*) *as* = *vidus* + *as*. Our final form *viduṣaḥ* results from the application of *s*→*ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ*) and *s*→*r*→*ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*). Our next examples are derivates of *LIṬ*, introduced after *pac*, where *LIṬ* gets replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*). An application of doubling and related operations then produces *pac* + (*LIṬ*→*KvasU*)→*papac* + *vas*. Rule 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhya* . . . then orders *e* and deletion of *abhyāsa*, thereby yielding *pecvas*. We get *pecvas* + *Śas*→*pecuṣaḥ*, through *samprasāraṇa*, *ṣatva* and *rutva-visarga*. The singular instrumental and dative forms, i.e., *pecuṣā* and *pecuṣe*, are similarly derived by introducing *Ṭā* and *Ṅe* after *pacvas*. Deriving *yayuṣaḥ*, from *yā* + (*LIṬ*→*KvasU*) + (*Ś*) *as*, yields *yayā* + *us* + *as*, through application of doubling, *samprasāraṇa* and related operations. The *ā* of *yayā* + *us* + *as*, under the condition of *KvasU* marked with *K* as *it*, is deleted (6.4.64

āto lopa iṭi ca). Recall that *samprasāraṇa* impairs the condition of *valādi*, and hence, *iṬ* is not introduced (7.2.67 *vasvekājād*...).

2. Why is the *samprasāraṇa* of *vas* not treated as *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of deletion of *ā*? These two operations both have different conditions (*nimitta*; *Kāś*: *ākāralope karttavye vasusamprasāraṇasya vyāśrayatvād asiddhatvaṃ na bhavati*). Note that a specification with *vasU* is also desired to include a reference to *KvasU* (*Kāś*: *vasugrahaṇe kvasor api grahaṇam iṣyate*).

6.4.132 **वाह ऊठ्**

vāha ūṭh
vāha 6/1/ *ūṭh* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *samprasāraṇam* #131)
'*vāhaḥ*' *ity evam antasya bhasya* '*ūṭh*' *ity etat samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
A form termed *samprasāraṇa*, namely *ūṬH*, comes in place of the final *vāh* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*.

EXAMPLES:

prasthauhaḥ 'accusative plural of *prasthavāh* 'a calf under training''
prasthauhā 'instrumental singular ...'
prasthauhe 'dative singular ...'
dityauhaḥ 'accusative plural of *dityavāḥ* '... who carries a demon''
dityauhā 'instrumental singular ...'
dityauhe 'dative singular ...'

1. Note that *vāhaḥ* specifies a derivate of *vah* used with affix *ṆvI* (3.2.64 *vahaś ca*). The assingment of the term *samprasāraṇa* to *ūṬH* facilitates its introduction in place of *v*, a sound denoted by *yaṆ* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ*...). That is, *ūṬH* does not replace the final sound (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Refer to derivational details under notes of 6.1.86 *etyedhatyūṭhsu*. Our example *dityavāh* follows derivational patterns similar to *prasthavāh*.

2. Why do we have to introduce the *samprasāraṇa* as *ūṬH*? Why can we simply not introduce the *samprasāraṇa* vowel *u*? This general *u* can then be replaced with *o* (*guṇa*; 7.2.88 *puganta*...), under the condition of *ṆvI* revived via 1.1.62 *pratyayalope*.... This can easily offer us desired results after the *vṛddki* of *o*. But specifying a general *samprasāraṇa* will render *ūṬH* vacuous (*vyartha*). This, in turn, indicates that the *antaraṅga* 'internally conditioned' rule of interpretation is valid here. That is, a *guṇa*-replacement conditioned by *ṆvI* is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*), as opposed to assignment of the term *bha* which is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) by vowel-initial affixes. This will render the *samprasāraṇa* as *asiddha* in replacing *u* with *o*. The question of any *vṛddhi* or *guṇa* will thus not arise. It is for this reason that *ūṬH*, and subsequent *vṛddhi* by 6.1.89 *etyedhaty*..., is necessary.

6.4.133 श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते

śvayuvamaghonām ataddhite
/*śva-yuva-maghonām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ataddhite* 7/1 (*nañ.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *samprasāraṇam* #131)
'*śvan, yuvan, maghavan*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām ataddhite pratyaye parataḥ samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *śvan* 'dog', *yuvan* 'young', and *maghavan* 'Indra', goes through *samprasāraṇa* when a non-*taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

śunaḥ 'accusative plural of *śvan* 'dog''
śunā 'instrumental singular . . .'
śune 'dative singular . . .'
yūnaḥ 'accusative plural of *yuvan* 'young''
yūnā 'instrumental singular . . .'
yūne 'dative singular . . .'
maghonaḥ 'accusative plural of *maghavan* 'Indra''
maghonā 'instrumental singular . . .'
maghone 'dative singular . . .'

1. Derive *śunaḥ* from *śvan* + *Śas* with *samprasāraṇa*, *pūrvarūpa* of *a* and *rutva-visarga*. The instrumental and dative singular forms, i.e., *śunā* and *śune*, offer nothing new. Deriving *yūnaḥ*, from *yuvan* + *Śas*, involves *savarṇadīrgha*, in addition to *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa*. Thus, *yu*(*v*→*u*) *an* + (*Ś*)*as*→*yu*(*u* + *a*→*u*) *n* + *as*→*y*(*u* + *u*→*ū*) *n* + *as* = *yūna*(*s*→*ḥ*) = *yūnaḥ*. Refer to derivational details of *maghonaḥ* under notes of 6.4.128 *maghavā bahulam*.

Why do we have the condition of a non-*taddhita* affix? Consider *śauvam* of *śauvaṃ māṃsam* 'dog's meat'. This derivate of *aÑ* (4.3.154 *prāṇirajatādibhyo* . . .) produces *śauvan*, where *au* is introduced as an augment (7.3.4 *dvārādīnāṃ ca*). Rule 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* then requires *ṭi*-deletion of *an* of *śau* + *v*(*an*→ϕ) + *a* = *śauva*. This *ṭi*-deletion, however, is blocked by 6.4.167 *an* in deriving *yauvana* with *aṆ* (5.1.130 *hāyanānta* . . .). Thus, *y*(*u*→*au*) *van* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ* = *yauvana* 'youth'.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* notes that *samprasāraṇa* of *śvā*, etc., is desired only when the derivates denote feminine, or end in *n*. Thus, consider *yuvatīḥ paśya* where *yuvan* is used with affix *ti* with the signification of feminine. Examples with no denotation of feminine are: *maghavataḥ*, *maghavatā* and *maghavate*.

6.4.134 अल्लोपोऽनः

allopo' naḥ
/*allopaḥ* 1/1 = *ato lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *anaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)

'an' ity evam antasya bhasya akāralopo bhavati
The *aT* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

rājñaḥ 'accusative plural of *rājan* 'king''
rājñā 'instrumental singular . . .'
rājñe 'dative singular . . .'
takṣṇaḥ 'accusative plural of *takṣan* 'carpenter''
takṣṇā 'instrumental singular . . .'
takṣṇe 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule deletes *a* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an*. Thus, *rājñaḥ* from *rājan* + (*Ś*) *as* where deletion of *a* applies. Rule 8.4.39 *stoś cunā ścuḥ* now applies on *raj*(*a*→φ) *n* + *as* = *rāj* + *n* + *as* to yield *rāj* + (*n*→*ñ*) + *as* = *rājñas*. Similar deletion of *a* also applies on *takṣan* + (*Ś*) *as* to yield *takṣṇaḥ*, through *n*→*ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

2. Note that this deletion applies only to an *an* which retains its *n* at the end. Thus, this *a*-deletion cannot apply in deriving *rājñaḥ idam* = *rājakyam* 'regal', where *n* gets replaced with *k* (4.2.140 *rājñaḥ ka ca*).

6.4.135 षपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि

ṣapūrvahandhṛtarājñām aṇi
/ *ṣapūrva-han-dhṛtarājñām* 6/3 = *ṣakāraḥ pūrvo yasmāt* (*bv.*); *ṣapūrvaś ca han ca dhṛtarājā ca* = *ṣapūrvahandhṛtarājānaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *aṇi* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/
ṣakārapūrvo yo' n hano dhṛtarājñaś ca tasyākāralopo bhavati aṇi parataḥ
The *a* of *an* occurring after *ṣ* at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, and the *a* of *an* of *han* and *dhṛtarājan* as well, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affix *aṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

aukṣṇaḥ 'offspring of Ukṣaṇ'
tākṣṇaḥ 'offspring of Takṣan'
bhrauṇaghnaḥ 'he who killed a fetus'
dhārttarājñaḥ 'offspring of Dhṛtarājan'

1. Note that the 'as is' (*prakṛtibhāva*) provision of 6.4.167 *an* would block the provision of *a*-deletion of our preceding rule. This rule is then formulated to facilitate it. Thus, consider *ukṣan* + *aṆ*→*aukṣṇa* and *takṣan* + *aṆ*→*tākṣṇa*, where *ṣ* occurs before *an*. Note that the base which is used in deriving *bhrauṇaghna* with *aṆ* (3.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*) is *bhrūṇahan*, a compound termed *upapada* paraphrased as *bhrūṇam hatavān* 'killed a fetus'. Affix *KvIP* (3.2.87 *brahmabhrṇa* . . .) which occurs after *bhrūṇahan* is deleted as usual.

Our final form *bhrauṇaghna* is derived with initial *vṛddhi*, *a*-deletion and *h→gh* (*kutva*; 7.4.54 *ho hanter...*). Deriving *dhārtarājña*, from *dhṛtarājan* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*, involves *n→ñ* (*ścutva*; 8.4.39 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). That is, in addition to initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of *a*.

2. This *a*-deletion is constrained by conditions of *ṣapūrva*, etc., so that, elsewhere, *an* could be retained (6.4.67 *an*). That is, deletion of *a* or *ṭi*, i.e., *an*, is blocked. Thus, we get *sāmanaḥ* and *vāmanaḥ* with no deletion of *a*. That this deletion applies to specified *bha* only when *aṆ* follows is also important. Consider *tākṣaṇyaḥ* where this deletion is not allowed because *Ṇya* (4.1.151 *kurvādibhyo yaḥ*) follows. A retention of *an* in this case is in consonance with 6.4.168 *ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ*.

6.4.136 **विभाषा ङिश्योः**

vibhāṣā ṅiśyoḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *ṅi-śyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *allopo' naḥ* #134)
ṅau parataḥ śīśabde ca ano vibhāṣā akāralopo bhavati
The *a* of *an* which occurs at the end of an *aṅga* is optionally deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *Ṅi* and *Śī* follow.

EXAMPLES:

rājñi 'locative singular of *rājan* 'king''
rājani 'ibidem'
sāmni 'locative singular of *sāman* 'chant''
sāmani 'ibidem'
sāmnī 'nominative/accusative neuter dual of *sāman*'
sāmanī 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional deletion of *a*, provided *Ṅi* and *Śī* follow. Recall that *Śī* here refers to a replacement of *Jas* (7.1.17 *jasaś śī*) and *auṄ* (*au* and *auṬ*; 7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ*). Thus, we get *rājan* + *Ṅi* = *rājñi*, with *a*-deletion and *n→ñ* (*ścutva*). We will get *rājani* if the optional deletion of *a* is not applied. Similar deletion is seen in deriving *sāman* + *Ṅi* = *sāmni*, or else, *sāmani*. Now consider *sāmnī* and *sāmanī*, where the nominative accusative dual endings *au* and *auṬ*, when occurring after a neuter, are replaced with *Śī* (7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*).

6.4.137 **न संयोगाद्वमन्तात्**

na saṃyogād vamantāt
/*na* ϕ *saṃyogāt* 5/1 *vamantāt* 5/1 = *vaś ca maś ca* = *vamau* (*itar. dv.*); *vamāv ante yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *allopo' naḥ* #134)
vakāramakārāntāt saṃyogād uttarasyāno' kārasya lopo na bhavati

The *a* of *an* which occurs at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha* after a conjunct ending in *v* or *m* is not deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

parvaṇā 'instrumental singular of *parvan* 'junction, section''
parvaṇe 'dative singular . . .'
atharvaṇā 'instrumental singular of *atharvan* 'fire-priest''
atharvaṇe 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule is a negation (*pratiṣedha*). It blocks *a*-deletion when *an* occurs after a conjunct formed with *v* or *m* as its final. Thus, we get *parvan* + *Ṭā*→*parvaṇā*, with *a*-deletion and *n*→*ṇ* (*ṇatva*). An example where *m* forms the final of a conjunct is *carmaṇā* 'instrumental singular' of *carman* 'skin, hide'.

2. The condition of *saṃyogāt* 'after a conjunct consonant' is imposed so that *a*-deletion cannot be blocked in *pratidivan* + *Ṭā*→*pratidiv*(*a*→ϕ) *n* + *Ṭā* = *pratidīvnā* 'instrumental singular' of *pratidivan* 'sun'. Incidentally, the penultimate *i* of *pratidivn* + *ā* is replaced with *ī* (8.2.77 *hali ca*). That the conjunct must end in *v* or *m* is also important. Thus, consider *takṣṇā* and *takṣṇe* where, because of an absence of *v* and *m*, deletion of *a* cannot be blocked.

3. The word *antāt* is used for clarity (*viṣpaṣṭārtham*). For, *v* and *m* are used as qualifiers to *saṃyoga*, and consequently, the sense of *antāt* could have been available via *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as that which ends in *x*'. That is, a specification with *vamaḥ* should have been enough.

6.4.138 अचः

acaḥ
/*acaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *allopaḥ* #134)
'*acaḥ*' *ity ayam añcatir luptanakāro gṛhyate, tadantasya bhasya akārasya lopo bhavati*
The *a* of *ac* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

dadhīcaḥ 'accusative plural of *dadhīc* 'he who loves yogurt''
dadhīcā 'instrumental singular . . .'
dadhīce 'dative singular . . .'
madhūcaḥ 'accusative plural of *madhūc* 'he who loves honey''.
madhūcā 'instrumental singular . . .'
madhūce 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule allows *a*-deletion to a *bha* which ends in *ac*. Commentators explain that this *ac* refers to verbal root *añc*. Our rule has specified *añc* with deleted *ñ*. Why can this *ac* not be interpreted as referring to vowels? It will

not make sense. For, the context is *a*-deletion, and *a* is part of the listing denoted by *aC*. Why can we not interpret *ac* as denoting vowels and make it a qualifier to *aṅga*. This way, we can accomplish deletion of an *a* which occurs at the end of an *aṅga* ending in a vowel. The deletion offered by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* will then not make any sense.

Refer to preceding rules, and also rule 6.3.137 *cau*, for derivational details.

6.4.139 उद ईत्

uda īt
/udaḥ 5/1 *īt* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *acaḥ* #138)
uda uttarasya ac īkārādeśo bhavati
The *a* of *ac* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which occurs after the preverb *ud* is replaced with *ī*.

EXAMPLES:

udīcaḥ 'accusative plural of *udīc* 'north-bound''
udīcā 'instrumental singular . . .'
udīce 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule replaces the *a* of *ac* with *ī*, provided *ac* occurs after the preverb *ud*. Consider *udīc* + (*Ś*)*as* = *udīcaḥ*, where *ud* is a preverb and *udīc* is an *upapada* compound with *KvIN* introduced after *añc*. The *ī*-replacement for the *a* of *ac*, in *ud* + *ac* + *as*, thus blocks *a*-deletion. Incidentally, *ī* comes in place of the *a* of *ac* in consonance with 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*.

6.4.140 आतो धातोः

āto dhātoḥ
/ātaḥ 6/1 *dhātoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134)
ākārāntasya dhātor bhasya lopo bhavati
The final *ā* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in a verbal root ending in *ā* is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

kīlālapaḥ 'accusative plural of *kīlālapā* 'protector of honey''
kīlālapā 'instrumental singular . . .'
kīlālape 'dative singular . . .'
śubhaṃyaḥ 'accusative plural of *śubhaṃyā* 'auspiciously inclined''
śubhaṃyā 'instrumental singular . . .'
śubhaṃye 'dative singular . . .'

1. This rule allows deletion of an *ā* which occurs as final (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of a verbal root. Note that *kīlālapā* and *śubhaṃyā* are *upapada* compounds with affix *vIC* (3.2.74 *āto manin* . . .). Affix *vIC* is, as usual, deleted. Thus, *kīlālap(ā→ϕ)* + *as* = *kīlālapaḥ*, *klālap(ā→ϕ)* + (*Ṭ*) *ā* = *kīlālapā* and *kīlālap(ā→ϕ)* + (*Ṅ*) *e* = *kīlālape*, etc.

3. It is because of the twin condition of *ātaḥ* and *dhātoḥ* that *niyā* 'instrumental singular of *nī* 'lead(er)' and *niye* 'dative singular'; and *khatvāḥ* 'accusastive plural' of *khaṭvā* 'cot' and *mālāḥ* 'accusative plural' of *mālā* 'garland' cannot avail this *ā*-deletion. The first set of two derivates contains verbal root *nī*. The second contains non-root bases.

4. Commentators explain that a split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule, i.e., *ātaḥ*, enables *ā*-deletion also where a root is not used. This is how *ā*-deletion of *ktvā* and *śnā*, in the wording of rules 7.1.37 *ktvo lyap* and 3.1.83 *halaḥ śnaḥ* . . ., can be justified.

6.4.141 मन्त्रेष्वाङ्यादेरात्मनः

mantreṣv āṅy āder ātmanaḥ
/*mantreṣu* 7/1 *āṅi* 7/1 *ādeḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134)
mantreṣv āṅi parata ātmana āder lopo bhavati
The initial *ā* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ātman*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* in the usage of the *mantra* when *āṄ*, i.e., *Ṭā*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

ātmanā 'instrumental singular of *ātman* 'self, soul''

1. Note that *āṄ* is used for *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular' by earlier grammarians (*pūrvācāryaiḥ*). Thus, *āṄ* does not refer here to a preverb (*upasarga*).

2. The *ādi*, of *ādeḥ* 'of initial', is used for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Recall that *ātaḥ* is carried, and hence, *ā*-deletion could only apply to initial *ā* of *ātman*.

3. The condition of *mantreṣv āṅy* does not permit *ā*-deletion in *ātmanā* of the classical usage. It blocks *ā*-deletion also in *ātmanaḥ* of the *mantra*, where *ātman* occurs before the genitive singular ending *Ṅas*. This, however, does not rule out usage such as *tmanaḥ*, etc., found before non-*Ṭā* endings in the *Ṛgveda*. Thus, consider *tmani* where *ā*-deletion of *ātman* is seen before *Ṅi* 'locative singular'.

6.4.142 ति विंशतेर्डिति

ti viṃśater ḍiti
/*ti* (6/1 deleted) *viṃśateḥ* 6/1 *ḍiti* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134)

bhasya viṃśates tiśabdasya ḍiti pratyaye parato lopo bhavati
The *ti* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely of *viṃśati*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

viṃśakaḥ = *viṃśatyā krītaḥ* 'purchased for a twenty . . .'
viśaṃ śatam 'one hundred twenty'
ekaviṃśaḥ 'twenty-one'

1. This rule offers *ti*-deletion to a *bha* constituted by *viṃśati*, provided an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows. Thus, we get *viṃśa*(*ti*→ϕ) + *ḌvuN*→*viṃśa* + (*ḌvuN*→*aka*) = *viṃśa* + *aka*. An application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* produces *viṃś*(*a* + *a*→*a*)*ka*, paraphrased as *viṃśatyā krītaḥ* 'purchased for a twenty'. Similar applications are also involved in deriving *viṃśa* from *viṃśati* + *ḌaṬ* (5.2.48 *tasya prae ḍaṭ*).

The condition of a following affix marked with *Ḍ* is imposed so that *ti*-deletion does not apply where an affix is marked otherwise. Consider *viṃśati* + *Ṭā* = *viṃśatyā* 'instrumental singular of *viṃśati*' where *Ṭā* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*.

6.4.143 टेः

ṭeḥ
ṭeḥ 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *ḍiti* #142)
ṭisaṃjñakasya ḍiti pratyaye parato lopo bhavati
The *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kumudvān 'that (a place) which abounds in lilies'
naḍvān 'that (a place) which abounds in reeds'
vetasvān 'that which abounds in rattan'
upasarajaḥ 'born near a pond'
mandurajaḥ 'born in a stable'
triṃśakaḥ = *triṃśatā krītaḥ* 'purchased for a thirty'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) to a *bha* when an affix marked with *Ḍ* as an *it* follows. Consider *kumudvān*, *naḍvān* and *vetasvān*, where affix *ḌmatUP* (4.2.87 *kumudanaḍavetasebhyo ḍmatUP*) follows *kumuda*, *naḍa* and *vetasa*. The *m* of *kumud*(*a*→ϕ) + *mat* and *naḍ* (*a*→ϕ) + *mat* is replaced with *v* after *ṭi*-deletion. The *m* of *vetas*(*a*→ϕ) + *mat* is replaced with *v* by 5.4.111 *jhayaḥ*. Refer to derivational details of *upasarajaḥ* and *mandurajaḥ* under the appendix of rule 1.3.7 *cuṭū*. Similar *ṭi*-deletion applies in deriving

triṃśaka from *triṃś*(*at*→ϕ) + (*ḌvuN*→*aka*) = *triṃśaka*. Note that, at the strength of affixal *Ḍ* as an *it*, even a non-*bha* can go through deletion of its *ṭi* (*Kāś*: *anubandhakaraṇa-sāmarthyāt ṭilopo bhavati*).

6.4.144 नस्तद्धिते

nas taddhite
/*naḥ* 6/1 *taddhite* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *ṭeḥ* #143)
nakārāntasya bhasya ṭer lopo bhavati taddhite parataḥ
The *ṭi* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *n* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

āgniśarmiḥ 'offspring of Agniśarman'
auḍilomiḥ 'offspring of Uḍuloman'

1. The *ṭi* of a *bha* which ends in *n* is also deleted when a *taddhita* affix follows. Thus, consider (*a*→*ā*)*gniśarm*(*an*→ϕ) + *iÑ* = *āgniśarmi* 'son of Agniśarman' and (*u*→*au*)*ḍulom* (*an*→ϕ) + *iÑ*= *auḍulomni* 'son of Uḍuloman', where *iÑ* is introduced with the signification of *apatya* 'offsrping' (4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*).

2. The condition of *nānta* 'ending in *n*' is imposed so that *ṭi*-deletion does not apply elsehwere. Consider *satvataḥ apatyam* = *sātvataḥ* where a *taddhita* affix, i.e., *aṆ*, follows. But *satvat* does not end in *n*. The condition of *taddhite* similarly blocks *ṭi*-deletion, elsewhere. Thus, consider *śarmaṇā* and *śarmaṇe* where the following affixes, i.e., *Ṭā* and *Ṅe*, are non-*taddhita*.

3. A series of *vārttika* proposals have also been made under this rule:

(*i*) The following should also be listed in the context of *ṭi*-deletion of a *bha*: *sabrahmacārin*, *pīṭhasarpin*, *kalāpin*, *kuthumin*, *taitalin*, *lāṅgalin*, *śilālin*, *śikhaṇḍin*, *sūkarasadman*, and *suparvan*.
Note that rule 6.4.164 *inaṇy anapatye* allows retention of *an* to bases which end in *in*. Such a retention to bases which end in *an* is allowed by 6.4.167 *an*.

(*ii*) A derivate denoting modification (*vikāra*) of *aśman* 'rock' should also go through *ṭi*-deletion. Thus, *āśmaḥ*, as against *āśmanaḥ*.

(*iii*) A derivate of *carman* 'hide', when denoting *kośa* 'sheath', should also go through *ṭi*-deletion. Thus, *cārmaḥ kośaḥ*.

(*iv*) Deletion of *ṭi* is also recommended for a derivate of *śvan* 'dog' when *saṃkoca* 'contraction' is denoted. Thus, *śauvaḥ*, as against *śauvanam*.

(*v*) Indeclinables, when *sāyamprātika*, etc., are to be derived, should also go through *ṭi*-deletion.

Thus, *sāyamprātaḥ bhavaḥ* = *sāyamprātikaḥ* 'that which occurs at dusk and dawn'.

6.4.145 अह्नष्टखोरेव

ahnoṣ ṭakhor eva
/*ahnaḥ* 6/1 *ṭakhoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; eva* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *ṭeḥ* #143 *taddhite* 144)
'*ahan*' *ity etasya ṭakhor eva paraṣ ṭilopo bhavati*
The *ṭi* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ahan* 'day', is deleted by means of *LOPA* only when the *taddhita* affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* follow.

EXAMPLES:

dvyaḥ = *dve ahanī samāhṛte* 'a period of two days'
tryahaḥ 'a period of three days'
dvyahīnaḥ = *dve ahanī adhiṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā* 'he who was hired for two days, etc.'
tryahīnaḥ 'he who was . . . for three days'
ahīnaḥ = *ahnāṃ samūhaḥ kratuḥ*

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion of *ahan* only when affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* follow. The nature of this rule is restrictive (*niyamārtha*). That is, if *ṭi*-deletion of *ahan* occurs, it must occur before the two specified affixes only. Refer to derivational details of *dvyahaḥ* and *tryahaḥ* under the appendix of 2.1.24 *dviguś ca*. Deriving *dvyahīna* with affix *kha* (5.1.87 *rātryahaḥ*. . .) with a replacement in *īna* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ*. . .) and *ṭi*-deletion of *bha* is easy. Deriving *ahīna* from *ahan* + *kha* should not present any difficulty.

2. It is stated that *eva* is used here for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, when a new proposal is offered against an already existing one, it becomes restrictive. Thus, *eva* does not have to be stated. The *ṭi*-deletion of *ahan* is already made available. This new proposal restricts it to the right context of affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* only. Commentators warn that an opposite restrictive interpretation of this rule should not be resorted to avail the meaning: '*ṭi*-deletion applies to *ahan* only, when affixes *Ṭa* and *kha* follow'. For, *ṭi*-deletion to other bases are also available when *Ṭa* and *kha* follow. Rule 6.4.169 *ātmādhvānau khe* will also become vacuous if it offers retention of *an* of *ātman* 'self, soul' and *adhvan* 'road'. What is the purpose of offering retention when *ahan* alone would go through deletion of its *ṭi*.

6.4.146 ओर्गुणः

or guṇaḥ
/*oḥ* 6/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144)
uvarṇāntasya bhasya guṇo bhavati taddhite parataḥ

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is replaced with its *guṇa* (1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*) counterpart when a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

bābhravyaḥ 'descendant of Babhru'
māṇḍavyaḥ 'descendant of Maṇḍu'
śaṅkavyaṃ dāru 'wood fit for making a ritual peg'
picavyaḥ kārpāsaḥ 'beneficial for cotton'
kamaṇḍalavyā mṛttikā 'lump of clay fit for making a kamaṇḍalu'
paraśavyam ayaḥ 'iron fit for making an axe'
aupagavaḥ 'descendant of Upagu'
kāpaṭavaḥ 'descendant of Kapatu'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *guṇa* to the final *u* of a *bha*. Of course, when a *taddhita* affix follows. Thus, we get *bābhravya* and *māṇḍavya* from *babhru* + *yaÑ* (4.1.106 *madhubabhrvor*. . .) and *maṇḍu* + *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*), respectively. A replacement in *av* for the resultant *guṇa* vowel *o* is offered by 6.1.79 *vānto yi pratyaye*. Other examples follow similar derivational steps, in addition to initial *vṛddhi*. Thus, *śaṅkavya, picavya, kamaṇḍalavya* and *śaṅkavya* are derivates of *yaT* (5.1.2 *ugavādibhyo yat*). Refer to derivational details of *aupagavaḥ* and *kāpaṭavaḥ* under the appendix of rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*.

2. Why use the technical term (*saṃjñā*) *guṇa* in this rule? Why not simply formulate the rule as *or ot* '*o* comes in place of *u*'? The use of the technical term (*saṃjñā*) *guṇa* indicates that 'an operation specified with a technical term is non-obligatory' (*anitya*; *Kāś*: *saṃjñāpūrvako vidhir anityaḥ*; cf. *PŚ* (94)). One derives *svāyambhuvaḥ* to indicate this. We derive *svayambhū*, parallel to *svayaṃ bhavati* 'he who comes about by himself' with affix *KvIP*. Affix *aṆ* is then introduced with the denotatum of 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'this is his', i.e., *svayambhuvaḥ idam*, where *uvAṄ*, and no *guṇa*, comes as a replacement for *ū*.

6.4.147 ढे लोपोऽकद्र्वाः

ḍhe lopo' kadrvāḥ
/*ḍhe* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *akadrvāḥ* 6/1 (*nañ*.)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144 *oḥ* #146)
ḍhe parata uvarṇāntasya bhasyākadrvā lopo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *u* is, with the exception of *kadrū*, deleted by means of *LOPA* when the *taddhita* affix *ḍha* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kāmaṇḍaleyaḥ 'offspring of Kamaṇḍalu'

śaitabāheyaḥ 'offspring of Śitabāhu'
jāmbeyaḥ 'offspring of Jambu'
mādrabāheyaḥ 'offspring of Madrabāhu'

1. This rule offers deletion of a *bha* which ends in *u*, provided affix *ḍha* follows. Note that *kadrū* is made an exception to this deletion. Thus, *kadr(ū→o→av)* + (*ḍhaK→eya*)) = *kādraveya* does not go through deletion. Deriving *kāmaṇḍaleya, jāmbeya, mādrabāheya* and *śaitibāheya* from *kamaṇḍalu* + *ḍhaÑ, jambu* + *ḍhaÑ, madrabāhu* + *ḍhaÑ* and *śitibāhu* + *ḍhaÑ*, with initial *vṛddhi* and *ḍha→eya*, is straightforward.

6.4.148 यस्येति च

yasyeti ca
/*yasya* 6/1 = *iś ca aś ca* = *yam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *īti* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #134 *taddhite* #147)
ivarṇāntasyāvarṇāntasya ca bhasya īkāre pare taddhite ca lopo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *i* and *a* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

dākṣī 'female descendant of Dakṣa'
plākṣī 'female descendant of Plakṣa'
sakhī 'female friend, companion'
dauleyaḥ 'descendant of Duli'
āttreyaḥ 'descendant of Atri'
kumārī 'girl'
śārṅgaravī 'Śiva's consort'
dākṣiḥ 'male descendant of Dakṣa'
plākṣiḥ 'male descendant of Plakṣa'

1. This rule allows deletion of the final *i* and *a* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, provided *ī*, or a *taddhita* affix, follows. Note that the *ya* of *yasya* could not refer to *ya*. For, our next rule uses *ya* explicitly. If this rule had *ya*, our next rule could have carried the same, via *anuvṛtti*. The *ya←i* + *a* of this rule refers to *i* and *y*. Since a specification made by means of a sound segment generally involves *tadantavidhi*, *Kāśikā* states '. . . of that which ends in *i* and *u* (*īvarṇāntasyovarṇāntasya ca*)'.

Note that *dākṣī, plākṣī* and *sakhī* illustrate instances where *i* of *dākṣi, plākṣi* and *sakhi* occur before *ī* of *ṄīṢ* (4.1.65 *ito manuṣyajāteḥ*; 4.1.52 *sakhy*. . .). Needless to say that *dākṣi* and *plākṣi* are *taddhita*-derivates with affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*) signifying an offspring (*apatya*). Commentators warn that deriving these forms with *savarṇadīrgha*, as against *i*-deletion, will create problems. For example, we will encounter negation of assignment of the term *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*), and *guṇa*, in *atisakhaḥ*, parallel to *atisakhīm atikramya*.

Affix *ḍhaK* (4.1.122 *itaś cāniñaḥ*) is used in deriving *duli* + *ḍhaK*→*dauleya*, *vali* + *ḍhaK*→*vāleya* and *atri* + *ḍhaK*→*ātryeya*. The examples all go through deletion of *i* before the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK*. Refer to derivational details of *kumārī*, *gaurī* and *śārṅgaravī* under the appendix (IV: 764–67) of 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . . . These illustrate the deletion of *a* before *ī*. Derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*), such as *dākṣi*, *plākṣi*, *cauḍi*, *bālāki* and *saumitri*, illustrate instances where *a* is deleted before a *taddhita* affix. Incidentally, the *iÑ* of *bālāki* and *saumitri* is introduced by 4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal negates deletion of *i* and *a* where *auṄ* gets replaced with *Śī* (7.1.18 *auṅa āpaḥ*; 7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*). Thus, this proposal negates deletion of *a* before *Śī* of *kāṇḍa* + (*au*→*Śī*) and *kuḍya* + (*au*→*Śī*). We derive *kāṇḍe* and *kuḍye* with *a*→*ī*→*e*, instead. We similarly get *saurye* from *saurya* + (*au*→*Śī*). The deletion of *a*, at the end of *saurya* before *ī*, would also have occasioned deletion of *y* (6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyāgastya* . . .). Refer to the appendix (IV: 763–90) for derivational insights on feminine and *taddhita* derivates.

How come *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* are not introduced in deriving *vātsapreya* and *laikhābhreya* from *vatsaprī* + *ḍha* and *lekhābhrū* + *ḍha*, respectively? Deletion of *a* blocks *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order' (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .).

6.4.149 सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः

sūryatiṣyāgastyamatsyānāṃ ya upadhāyāḥ
/ *sūrya-tiṣya-agastya-matsyānām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *yaḥ* 1/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1/ (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #147 *īti* #148)
'*sūrya, tiṣya, agastya, matsya*' *ity eteṣāṃ yakārasya upadhāyā bhasya lopo bhavati īti paratas taddhite ca*
The penultimate *y* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *sūrya*, *tiṣya*, *agastya* and *matsya*, is also deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

saurī balākā = *sūreyeṇaikadik* 'unidirectional with sun, a crane going in the direction of sun'
taiṣamahaḥ 'a day when moon may be in the constellation Tiṣya'
taiṣī rātriḥ 'a night when moon may be . . .'
āgastī = *agastyasyāpatyam strī*
āgastī 'a female descendant of Agastya'
matsī 'fish'

1. This rule allows deletion of the penultimate *y* of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, provided *ī* or a *taddhita* affix follows, and the *y* is part of *sūrya*, *tiṣya* and *āgastya*. Note that this deletion of *y* will follow after the deletion of *a* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). The word *upadhā* is specified here to facilitate deletion of *y*. For,

y could not be found before *ī*, or before a *taddhita*, when *a*-deletion is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*). This condition of *upadhā* blocks deletion in *matsya* + *caraṬ* + *ṄīP* = *matsyacarī*, a derivate of affix *caraṬ* with the denotation of *bhūtapūrva* 'formerly'.

2. It is stated that *yaḥ* of this rule is intended for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). A series of proposals are then made under this rule to exactly specify the scope of this deletion:

(*i*) A deletion of *y* of *matsya* must apply when *Ṅī* 'feminine affix' follows. Thus, we get deletion in *matsya* + *ṄīP*→*matsī*, but not in *matsyasya māṃsam* = *mātsyam* 'fish-meat'.
(*ii*) The *y* of *sūrya* and *āgastya* gets deleted only when *cha* and *Ṅī* follow. Thus, we get deletion in *sūrya* + *aṆ* => *saurya* + *ṄīP*→*saurī* and *āgastya* + *ṄīP*→*āgastī*, but not in *sauryam* and *āgastyaḥ*.
(*iii*) The *y* of *tiṣya* and *puṣya* goes through deletion when *aṆ* follows and a constellation is denoted. Thus, we get deletion in *tiṣyeṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* = *taiṣaḥ* and *pauṣaḥ*. Incidentally, *tiṣya* and *puṣya* are synonyms.
(*iv*) The *t* and *k* of *antika* is deleted before affix *tasI*. Thus, *antitaḥ* 'from nearby' of *antito na dūrāt*.
(*v*) The *tika* and *ka* of *antika* is deleted before *tamaP*. Thus, *atiśayena antikaḥ* = *antamaḥ* and *antitamaḥ*.
(*vi*) This deletion of *ka* applies variously (*bahulam*). That is, deletion of *y* is also seen. Thus, we get *antike sīdati* = *antiṣad*.
(*vii*) This deletion of *ka* is also seen after *ya*. Thus, *antike bhavaḥ* = *antiyaḥ*.

Refer to the appendix for derivational details of many of these examples.

6.4.150 हलस्तद्धितस्य

halas taddhitasya
/ *halaḥ* 5/1 *taddhitasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *īti* #149 *ya upadhāyāḥ* #149)
hala uttarasya taddhitayakārasya upadhāyā īti parato lopo bhavati
A penultimate *y* which occurs after a consonant, as part of a *taddhita* affix of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* when *ī* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gārgī 'female descendant of Garga'
vātsī 'female descendant of Vatsa'

1. Refer to derivational details of *gārgī* and *vātsī* under the appendix of rule 4.1.16 *yañaś ca*. Note that the *a* at the end of *gārgya* and *vātsya* is deleted. This deleted *a* is treated as *asiddha* (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*) in

applying *y*-deletion. This is how *y* qualifies for its status as penultimate (*upadhā*).

2. This deletion of *y* does not apply in (*kārikā* + (*ḍhaK*→*eya*)) + *ṄīP* = *kārikeya* + *ī*, since *y* does not occur after a consonant. It also does not apply in *vaidyasya patnī* = *vaidya* + *ṄīP* = *vaidyī*, since *y* is not part of a *taddhita* affix.

3. Why is *taddhita* specified in this rule when it could have been gotten via *anuvṛtti* from 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*? This *anuvṛtti* is suspended. Our next rule should not have used *taddhite* again if the *anuvṛtti* was valid (*PM*: *uttarasūtre punas taddhitagrahaṇāt*).

6.4.151 आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति

āpatyasya ca taddhite' nāti
/*āpatyasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *taddhite* 7/1 *anāti* 7/1 = *na āt* (*nañ.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147 *yaḥ* #148 *halaḥ* #150)
apatyayakārasya hala uttarasya taddhite anakārādau yalopo bhavati
A *y* which occurs after a consonant and is part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *apatya* 'off-spring' of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*, when a *taddhita* affix not beginning with *ā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gārgakam = *gargāṇāṃ samūhaḥ* 'a gathering of the descendants of Garga'
vātsakam 'a gathering of the descendants of Vatsa'

1. This rule deletes a *y* which occurs after a consonant as part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *apatya*, provided a *taddhita* affix not beginning with *ā* follows. Consider *gārgakam* and *vātsakam* which derive from *gārgya* + (*vuÑ*→*aka*) and *vātsya* + (*vuÑ*→*aka*). Affix *vuÑ* is here introduced with the signification of *samūha* 'group' (4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭrīr*. . .). The *yaÑ* of *gārgya* and *vātsya* denotes an *apatya*, where *y* also occurs after *g*, a consonant. Here again, this rule deletes *y*, subsequent to deletion of its following *a*.

2. This deletion cannot apply on *kāmpilya* + *vuÑ* = *kāmpilyaka* and *sāṅkāśya* + *vuÑ* = *sāṇkāśyaka*, where *kāmpilya* and *sāṅkāśya* are derivates of *Ṇya* (4.2.80 *vuñchaṇkaṭha* . . .), a *taddhita* affix not used with the signification of *apatya*. Incidentally, affix *vuÑ* (4.2.121 *dhanvayopadhād* . . .) here denotes the sense of *tatra jātaḥ* 'born there'. Now consider *gārgyāyaṇa* and *vātsyāyana*, where *y*-deletion cannot apply since the following affix begins with *ā* (*āyana*←*phaK*; 2.4.64 *yañayoś ca*). That this deletion cannot apply where *y* does not occur after a consonant is illustrated by *kārikeyasyāpatyam* = (*kārikeya* + *iÑ*) + *sU*→*kārikeyiḥ*.

3. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) presents a detailed discussion on why *taddhite* is explicitly stated in this rule. He states that *taddhita* is specified here to facilitate deletion of *y* in (*soma* + *ṬyaṆ*) + *ṄīP* (6.4.150 *halas taddhitasya*), even when an *apatya* is not denoted. Recall that *ÑyaṆ* does not denote an

apatya. If *taddhita* is carried via *anuvṛtti* from the preceding rule, items associated with that *anuvṛtti* will also be carried. If both of these rule were associated, *y*-deletion could be accomplished by the preceding rules. Formulating this rule when the preceding could account for its function will turn it into a restrictive provision (*niyama*). It will thus read: 'the *y* of a *taddhita* denoting an *apatya* alone is deleted when a *taddhita*, not beginning with *ā*, or an *ī*, follow' (*āpatyasyaivānākārādau taddhite īti ca*). This interpretation will block *y*-deletion in *saumī iṣṭiḥ*. An explicit specification with *taddhita* of this rule cancels the *anuvṛtti* of *taddhita* of the earlier rule. Thus, deletion could now apply to *y*, irrespective of whether or not it is part of a *taddhita* affix denoting an *apatya* (*taddhitagrahaṇe tu sati tena pūrvayoge taddhitagrahaṇasya nivṛttir ākhyātety āpatyānāpatyayor dvayor api pūrveṇa īti lopo vidhīyata iti saumī iṣṭir ity atrāpi yalopaḥ siddhyaty atas taddhitagrahaṇam*).

6.4.152 क्यच्व्योश्च

kyacvyoś ca
/*kya-cvyoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya*#1 *bhasya*#129 *lopaḥ*#147 *yaḥ*#148 *halaḥ*#150 *āpatyasya*#151)
'*kya, cvi*' *ity etayoś ca parata āpatyayakārasya hala uttarasya lopo bhavati*
A *y* which occurs after a consonant and is part of a *taddhita* affix signifying an *apatya* 'offspring' of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *Kya* and *CvI* follow.

EXAMPLES:

vātsīyati '. . . wishes a *vātsya* for his son'
gārgīyati '. . . wishes a *gārgya* for his son'
gārgāyate 'he acts as if he was a Gārgya'
vātsāyate 'he acts as if he was a Vātsya'
vātsībhūtaḥ 'he who was not a Vātsya became one'
gārgībhūtaḥ 'he who was not a Gārgya became one'

1. This rule is formulated to facilitate *y*-deletion when a non-*taddhita* affix follows (*PM*: *ataddhitārtho' yam ārambhaḥ*). A specification with *Kya* includes references to *KyaC* and *KyaṄ* both. Refer to derivational details under the appendix of 3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ* . . . and 3.1.11 *kartuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca.* Note here that *vātsyīyati* and *gārgyīyati* are derivates of *LAṬ*, where *LAṬ* is introduced after derivates of *KyaC*, i.e., *gārgīya* and *vātsyīya.* Thus, *gārgya* + *KyaC* and *vātsya* + *KyaC* yield *gārg*(*y*→ϕ) *a* + *ya* and *vāts*(*y*→ϕ) *a* + *ya*. The *a* which follows *y* is then replaced with *ī* (7.4.33 *kyaci ca*). The *a* of derivates of *KyaṄ*, i.e., *vātsāyate* and *gārgāyate*, is similarly replaced with *ā* (7.4.25 *akṛtasārvadhātukayoḥ*). A similar *a* of *gārgībhūtaḥ* and *vātsībhūtaḥ* is replaced with *ī* (7.4.22 *asya cvau*) after deletion of *y*. Note that these are both examples of *CvI*, introduced by 5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve*. . ., prior to affix *Kta*.

2. This deletion applies to *y* of an affix which denotes an *apatya* 'offspring'. Thus, *sāṅkāśyate* and *sāṅkāśyabhūtaḥ* do not go through deletion of their *y*. The condition of *halaḥ* is also applicable. We thus do not get this deletion in *kārikeyīyati* and *kārikeyībhūtaḥ*.

6.4.153 बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक्

bilvakādibhyaś chasya luk
/ *bilvakādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *bilvaka ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *chasya* 6/1 *luk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *taddhite* #144)
bilvakādibhya uttarasya chasya bhasya taddhite parato lug bhavati
The *cha* which, of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, occurs after *bilvaka*, etc., is deleted by means of *LUK* when a *taddhita* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

bilvakīyāḥ = *bilvā yasyāṃ santi*; *tasyāṃ bhavaḥ* = *bailvakāḥ* '. . . found in a Bilva grove'
veṇukīyāḥ = *vaiṇukāḥ* '. . . found in a bamboo forest'
vetrakīyāḥ = *vaitrakāḥ* 'found in a cane forest'
tṛṇakīyāḥ = *tārṇakāḥ* 'found in straw'

1. Note that the *bilvakādi* nominals are read as part of the *naḍādi* group. Rule 4.2.91 *naḍādīnāṃ kuk ca* introduces augment *kUK* to these nominals. This rule specifies *bilva* with *bilvaka*, obviously with augment *kUK*. It deletes a *cha* which occurs after the nominal thus specified. Thus, (*bilva* + *kUK* + (*cha*→*īya*)) + *ṬāP* = *bilvakīyā*; *bilvakīyā* + *aṆ* = *bailvakīyaḥ*, paraphrased as *bilvāḥ yasyāṃ santi* = *bilvakīyā*; *tasyāṃ bhavāḥ* = *bailvakāḥ*. Other examples are similarly derived. Affix *aṆ* which forms the condition of deletion of *cha* is introduced by 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*.

2. Recall that *cha* is introduced concurrently with augment *kUK*. This deletion of *cha* is specified with express mention of *chasya* so that *kUK* can be saved from deletion. It becomes necessary since *sanniyogaśiṣṭānāṃ anyatarāpāye ubhayor apy apāyaḥ* 'removal of one means removal of both if two elements were introduced concurrently'. The word *LUK* is used so that this deletion applies to the affix, and not just to *y*.

3. A *gaṇasūtra* informs that *kruñcā* also goes through shortening of its final *ā* when *kruñcakīyāḥ* and *krauñcakāḥ* are derived.

6.4.154 तुरिष्ठेमेयस्सु

tur iṣṭhemeyassu
/ *tuḥ* 6/1 *iṣṭha-imā-īyassu* 7/3 = *iṣṭhaś ca imā ca īyāṃś ca* = *iṣṭhemeyāṃsaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147)
'*iṣṭhan, imanic, īyasun*' *ity eteṣu parataḥ tṛśabdasya lopo bhavati*

The *tṛ* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

āsutiṃ kariṣṭhaḥ 'most active among those pressing out'
vijayiṣṭhaḥ 'most winning'
vahiṣṭhaḥ 'most carrying'
dohīyasī dhenuḥ 'most milk-giving cow'

1. Note that *tṛ* specifies both *tṛN* and *tṛC*. This rule is formed separately from the following to accomplish total deletion of *tṛ*. A deletion of final *ṛ* could have thus been accomplished by the following rule. The *anuvṛtti* of *LUK* is not valid here. For, 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* would then have blocked *guṇa* of *ji* in *vijayiṣṭhaḥ*, etc. It is for this reason that this deletion is accomplished by *LOPA*. Why is *imanIC* stated in this rule when this affix (cf. 5.1.122 *pṛthvādibhyaḥ* . . .; 5.1.123 *varṇadṛḍhādibhyḥ ṣyañ ca*) is not found after *tṛ*? This specification is made here for use in subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Refer to derivational details of *kariṣṭhaḥ* and *dohīyas* under notes of 5.3.59 *tuś chandasi*.

Note that *h*→*ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*) becomes suspended in applying deletion of *tṛ*. Thus, *tṛ*-deletion applies first. Consequently, *ḍhatva* does not apply. For, the conditions under which *ḍhatva* applies are removed. We thus get *vah* + *iṣṭhaN* = *vahiṣṭha*. A similar suspension of *gh* (*ghatva*) is also found in deriving *dohīyas* from (*dogdhṛ* + *IyasUN*) + *ṄīP*. Deriving *vijayiṣṭha* from *vijitṛ* + *iṣṭhaN* involves *guṇa* and *ay*-replacements.

6.4.155 टेः

ṭeḥ
/*ṭeḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
bhasya ṭer lopo bhavati iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ
The *ṭi* part of an *aṅga* termed *bha* is deleted by means of *LOPA* when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

paṭiṣṭhaḥ 'most clever'
paṭimā 'cleverness'
paṭīyān 'clever'
laghiṣṭhaḥ 'shortest, smallest'
laghimā 'shortness, smallness'
laghīyān 'shortest, smallest'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of a *bha* which occurs

before *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN*. Refer to derivational details under notes of 5.3.58 *ajādi guṇavacanād eva*. Derivates of *īyasUN* will involve augment *nUM* and operations similar to *citavān* (cf. appendix, under 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*).

2. It is proposed that a nominal stem (*prātipadika*), when followed by *Ṇi*, goes through operations similar to when the same is followed by *iṣṭha* (*vt*: *ṇāv iṣṭhavat prātipadikasya*). Commentators enumerate following operations as part of *iṣṭhavadbhāva*:

(*i*) *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation', as is stated before the *tasilādi* affixes (6.3.35 *tasilādiṣv ākṛtvasucaḥ*) which also include *iṣṭhaN*.

Consider *enim ācaṣṭe* = *etayati*, where *ṆiC* is introduced by a statement of the *Mahābhāṣya*, i.e., *tat karoti tadācaṣṭe* (ad 7.4.97 *ī ca gaṇaḥ*). Thus, *etad* + *ṄīP* (4.1.39 *varṇād anudāttāt*. . .) produces *enī*, through *ṭi*-deletion and a replacement of *t* with *n*. One can now derive *etayati*, paraphrased as *enīṁ karoti enīm ācaṣṭe*, form (*enī* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where, as a result of removal of *ṄīP* (*puṃvadbhāva*) and *sUP*-deletion, we get *e*($n \rightarrow t$) + *i* = *eti* + *LAṬ*. Recall here that the *t* of *etad* was replaced with *n* concurrently with the introduction of *ṄīP*. A removal of *ṄīP* will thus also cause removal of *n* as a replacement of *t*. It should be remembered here that *puṃvadbhāva* also applies before *ṆiC*, as it does before *iṣṭhaN*. Similar derivational details can also be offered for *śyetayati* and *haritayati*, parallel to *śyenīṁ karoti śyenīm ācaṣṭe* = *śyetayati* and *hariṇīṁ karoti hariṇīm ācaṣṭe* = *haritayati*.

(*ii*) *rabhāva* 'change of *ṛ* to *r*', as is stated by 6.4.161 *ra ṛto halāder laghoḥ*.

Consider (*pṛthu* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*→*prathayati*, (*mṛdu* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* = *mradayati*, etc., where *ṛ* is replaced with *r* and *ṭi*-deletion, *guṇa* and *ay*-replacements produce desired derivates.

(*iii*) *ṭi*-deletion, as is stated by 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*.

Consider *paṭayati* and *laghayati* from (*paṭu* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* and (*laghu* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, parallel to (*paṭum*/ *laghum*) *ācaṣṭe*, through *ṭi*-deletion, *guṇa* and replacements of *e* with *ay* (*ayādeśa*).

(*iv*) *yaṇādilopa* 'deletion of that which occurs subsequent to a preceding sound denoted by *yaṆ*', as is stated by 6.4.156 *sthūladūra* . . ., whereby an *iK* which precedes *yaṆ* also goes through a replacement in *guṇa*.

Consider *sthūlam ācaṣṭe* = *sthavayati* from (*sthūla* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *la* is deleted and its preceding *ū* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. Thus, *sth*($u \rightarrow o$) ($la \rightarrow \phi$) + *i* = *sth*($o \rightarrow av$) + *i*) + *LAṬ* = *sthavayati*, again with *guṇa* of *i* and *ay* of the resultant *e*.

(*v*) *vinmatublopa* 'deletion of *vinI* and *matUP*', as is stated by 5.3.63 *vinmator luk*.

Consider *sragviṇam ācaṣṭe* = *srajayati* from (*sragvin* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LIṬ*, where *sragvin* is derived with *vinI* (5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhā*...). A similar derivate with deletion of *matUP* will be: *vasumantam ācaṣṭe* = *vasayati* from (*vasumat* + *am*) + *LIṬ*, where deletion of *matUP* and *ṭi*-deletion apply.

(*vi*) *kan* as a replacement of *yuvan* and *alpa*, as is stated by 5.3.64 *yuvālpayoḥ*. . . .

Consider *yuvānam ācaṣṭe* = *kanayati*, from (*yuvan* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *yuvan* gets optionally replaced with *kan*. Recall that our next rule will produce *yavayati*, through *yaṇādilopa*, *guṇa* and *av*-replacement.

3. Yet another proposal desires *iṣṭhavadbhāva* for replacements in *pra*, etc., as is stated by 6.4.157 *priyasthira*. . . .

Consider *priyam ācaṣṭe* = *prāpayati*, from (*priya* + *am* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*, where *pra* replaces *priya* and augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *artihrīvlī*...) is introduced subsequently. Thus, (*priya*→*pra*) + *ṆiC*→*pr*(*a*→*ā*) + *pUK* + *ṆiC*; *prāpi* + *LAṬ* = *prāpayati*.

6.4.156 **स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुणः**

sthūladūrayuvahrasvakṣiprakṣudrāṇām yaṇādiparam pūrvasya ca guṇaḥ / *sthūla-dūra-yuva-hrasva-kṣipra-kṣudrāṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *yaṇādiparam* 1/1 *yaṇ ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *yaṇādi ca adaś ca parañ ca* (*karmadhāraya*); *pūrvasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *lopaḥ* #147 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
'*sthūla, dūra, yuva, hrasva, kṣipra, kṣudra*' *ity eteṣāṃ yaṇādiparaṃ lupyate iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ, pūrvasya ca guṇo bhavati*
The *yaṆ*-initial part at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *sthūla*, *dūra*, *yuva*, *hrasva*, *kṣipra*, and *kṣudra*, is deleted by means of *LOPA* with an additional provision that the preceding vowel be replaced with *guṇa*, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

sthaviṣṭhaḥ 'fatest of all'
sthavīyān 'ibidem'
daviṣṭhah 'farthest'
davīyān 'ibidem'
yaviṣṭhaḥ 'youngest, smallest'
yavīyān 'ibidem'
hrasiṣṭhaḥ 'smallest'
hrasīyān 'ibidem'
hrasimā 'smallness'

kṣepiṣṭhaḥ 'fastest'
kṣepīyān 'ibidem'
kṣepimā 'fastness'
kṣodiṣṭhaḥ 'smallest'
kṣodīyān 'ibidem'
ksodimā 'smallness'

1. This rule allows deletion of a *yaṆ*-initial part at the end of an *aṅga* termed *bha*, with the additional provision that the *iK* vowel which precedes *yaṆ* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. These operations both take place when a *bha*, namely *sthūla* 'huge, fat', *dūra* 'far', *yuva* 'young', *hrasva* 'short', *kṣipra* 'fast' and *kṣudra* 'little', is followed by affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *īyasUN* and *imanIC*. Thus we get deletion of *la/ra* followed by *guṇa* of their preceding vowels. Consider *sthūla* + *iṣṭhaN*→*sth*(*ū*→*o*) + (*la*→ϕ) + *iṣṭhaN*)) = *sth*(*o*→*av*) + *iṣṭhaN* = *sthaviṣṭha*, etc. Similar applications are seen in deriving *daviṣṭha*, *yaviṣṭha*, etc. Examples of *īyasUN* are *sthavīyas* + *sU*→*sthavīyān*, *davīyān*, etc., where *nUM* is introduced before *sU*.

Note that examples of *imanIC* are offered only for *hrasva*, *kṣipra* and *kṣudra* because 5.1.121 *pṛthvādibhyaḥ*... introduces *imanIC* under the condition of a listing under the *pṛthvādi* group of nominals. Others fall outside this listing, and hence, do not qualify for this affix. The condition of a following *yaṇādi* is imposed so that a preceding *yaṇādi* such as *ya* and *ra* of *yava* and *hrasva* could be saved from deletion. That is, the *va* of *yava* and *hrasva* alone gets deleted. There is no concurrent *guṇa*-replacement in derivates of *yava* and *hrasva* since there is no *iK* before *va*. The word *pūrva* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, subsequent to deletion of *yaṇādi*, *guṇa* could only apply to what precedes.

6.4.157 **प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवरबंहिगर्वर्षित्रप्द्राघिवृन्दाः**

priyasthirasphirorubahulaguruvṛddhatṛpradīrghavṛndārakāṇāṃ prasthasphavarbaṃhigarvarṣitrapdrāghivṛndāḥ
/*priya-sthira-sphira-uru-bahula-guru-vṛddha-tṛpra-dīrgha-vṛndārakāṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *pra-stha-spha-var-baṃhi-gar-varṣi-trap-drāghi-vṛndāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
'*priya, sthira, sphira, uru, bahula, guru, vṛddha, tṛpra, dīrgha, vṛndāraka*' *ity eteṣāṃ* '*pra, stha, spha, var, baṃhi, gar, varṣi, trap, drāghi, vṛnda*' *ity ete yathāsaṃkhyam ādeśā bhavanti iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ*
An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *priya, sthira, sphira, uru, bahula, guru, vṛddha, tṛpra, dīrgha* and *vṛndāraka* is replaced with *pra, stha, spha, var, baṃhi, gar, varṣi, trap, drāghi,* and *vṛnda*, respectively, when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

preṣṭhaḥ/ premā/ preyān 'dearest'
stheṣṭhaḥ/ stheyān 'most stable'
spheṣṭhaḥ/ spheyān 'more than any'
variṣṭhaḥ/ varimā/ varīyān 'best of all'
baṃhiṣṭhaḥ/ baṃhimā/ baṃhīyān 'more than any'
gariṣṭhaḥ/ garimā/ garīyān 'biggest'
variṣiṣṭhaḥ/ varṣīyān 'oldest'
trapiṣṭhaḥ/ trapīyān 'fastest'
drāghiṣṭhaḥ/ drāghīyān 'fastest among all'
drāghimā 'fastness'
vṛndiṣṭhaḥ/ vṛndīyān 'the biggest herd'

1. This rule offers *pra*, etc., as replacements for *priya*, etc. Their order of enumeration determines assignment of equivalents (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam . . .*). Thus, *priya→pra, sthira→stha, sphira→spha*, etc. Examples of *imanIC* are found only after *priya, uru, guru, bahula*, and *dīrgha*, for reasons, that *imanIC* is not introduced after bases not listed in the *pṛthvādi* group (5.1.121 *pṛthvādibhyaḥ . . .*) of nominals. The *i* of *baṃhi* gets deleted by 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*. This application of 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ* is not valid in deriving *preṣṭha*, since 6.4.163 *prakṛtyaikāc* approves retention of the original in case of a monosyllabic *bha*. That is why we get the application of 6.1.84 *ād guṇaḥ* to yield *pr(a + i→e) ṣṭha = preṣṭha*.

6.4.158 बहोर्लोपो भू च बहोः

bahor lopo bhū ca bahoḥ
/*bahoḥ* 5/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *bhū* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ϕ *bahoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
bahor uttareṣām iṣṭhemeyasāṃ lopo bhavati tasya ca bahoḥ sthane 'bhū' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affixes *iṣṭhaN, imanIC* and *īyasUN*, when occurring after an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *bahu*, are deleted by means of *LOPA*, with an additional provision that *bahu* be also replaced with *bhū*.

EXAMPLES:

bhūyān 'most'
bhūmā 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers deletion of *iṣṭhaN, imaniC* and *īyasUN*, when they occur after *bahu*. Additionally, *bahu* gets replaced with *bhū*. Note that *bahu* is specified twice in this rule. The first specification is interpreted as made with ablative (*pañcamī*). Consequently, deletion applies only to the initial sound segment of affixes (1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*). The second specification with *bahu*

is interpreted as made with *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' to specify what gets replaced (*sthānī*). A replacement in place of affixes may, otherwise, have applied. That is, if this second specification was not made. Since *bhū* consists of more than one sound segment, it will replace *bahu* in toto (1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya*).

6.4.159 **इष्ठस्य यिट् च**

> *iṣṭhasya yiṭ ca*
> /*iṣṭhasya* 6/1 *yiṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #1 *bahoḥ bhū ca bahoḥ* #158)
> *bahor uttarasya iṣṭhasya yiḍ āgamo bhavati bahoś ca bhūr ādeśo bhavati*
> Affix *iṣṭhaN*, when occurring after an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *bahu*, is also introduced with augment *yiṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

> *bhūyiṣṭhaḥ* 'most'

1. This rule introduces augment *yIṬ* to *iṣṭha* when the same occurs after *bahu*. Additionally, *bahu* is replaced with *bhū*. Thus we get (*bahu*→*bhū*) + *yIṬ* + *iṣṭha* = *bhūyiṣṭha*. The *I* of *yIṬ* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtham*). Augment *yIṬ* is here introduced as an exception to deletion (*Kāś*: *lopāpavādo yiḍāgamaḥ*). Deletion cannot apply since *yIṬ* intervenes between *jya* and *īyasUN*.

6.4.160 **ज्यादादीयसः**

> *jyād ād īyasaḥ*
> /*jyāt* 5/1 *āt* 1/1 *īyasaḥ* 6/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
> *jyād uttarasya īyasa ākāra ādeśo bhavati*
> A long *ā* comes in place of the initial sound segment of *īyasUN* when it follows an *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *jya*.

EXAMPLES:

> *jyāyān* 'biggest of them all'

1. The *ī* of *īyas* is replaced with *ā* when the affix occurs after *jya*. Thus, we get *praśasya* + *īyasUN*→(*praśasya*→*jya*) + *īyasUN*→*jya* + (*ī*→*ā*) *yas*(*UN*) = *jya* + *āyas* = *jyāyas*. Deriving *jyāyān* from *jyāyas* + *sU* with *nUM*, etc., is not difficult.

Note that *ī* would have been deleted if the *anuvṛtti* of *LOPA* was valid here. The *yas* after *jya* would have then caused lengthening of its final *a*. We could have then gotten the form *jyāyān*. Commentators state that this operational procedure is canceled in view of the *paribhāṣā* (93): *aṅgavṛtte punar vṛttāv avidhiḥ* 'an operation applied in this *aṅga* section cancels another equally applicable operation of this section'. Incidentally, *jya* is introduced as a replacement of *praśasya* by 5.3.61 *jya ca*.

6.4.161 **र ऋतो हलादेर्लघोः**

ra ṛto halāder laghoḥ
/*raḥ* 1/1 *ṛtaḥ* 6/1 *halādeḥ* 6/1 = *hal ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *laghoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
raśabda ādeśo bhavati ṛkārasya halāder laghor iṣṭhemeyassu parataḥ
A *ṛ* which forms a light (*laghu*) syllable with a preceding consonant in an *aṅga* termed *bha* is replaced with *ra* when affixes *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

prathiṣṭhaḥ/prathimā/prathīyān 'widest of them all'
mradiṣṭhaḥ/ mradimā/ mradīyān 'softest of them all'

1. This rule introduces *ra* as a replacement for a *laghu* 'short' (1.4.110 *hrasvaṃ laghu*) *ṛ* of a *bha*, where *ṛ* occurs after a consonant, and *iṣṭhaN*, *imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow *bha*. Thus we get *p*(*ṛ*→*ra*) *thu* + *iṣṭhaN*→*prath*(*u*→ϕ) = *prathiṣṭha*, through *ṭi*-deletion. Similar rules apply in deriving *mradiṣṭha*. Examples of *imanIC* and *īyasUN* can be similarly derived as *prathiman*, *prathīyas*; and *mradiman*, *mradīyas*. Refer to further derivational details in notes of 5.1.120 *ā ca tvāt*.

2. Why is *ra* allowed only for *ṛ*. So that this replacement does not apply in *paṭiṣṭhaḥ*, *paṭimā* and *paṭīyān*. Why do we have the condition of *halādi* 'consonant-initial'? So that we do not get replacements in *ṛjuṣṭhaḥ*, *ṛjimā* and *ṛjīyān*, where *ṛju* 'straight, upright' does not begin with a consonant. Why do we have this condition of *laghoḥ*? So that *ra* does not replace a short *ṛ* used before a conjunct. Thus, we cannot get this replacement in *kṛṣṇiṣṭhaḥ* 'balckest', *kṛṣṇīyān* and *kṛṣṇimā*, etc., where *ṛ* will be termed *guru* (1.4.111 *saṃyoge guru*) before the conjunct *ṣṇ*.

3. A proposal is made to enumerate the derivates of this rule as follows:

pṛthuṃ mṛduṃ bhṛśaṃ caiva kṛśaṃ ca dṛḍham eva ca/
paripūrvaṃ vṛḍhaṃ caiva ṣaḍ etān ravidhau smaret//
'*pṛthu* 'wide', *mṛdu* 'soft', *bhṛśa* 'plenty', *kṛśa* 'thin' and *dṛḍha* 'solid', plus *vṛḍha* 'covered, enclosed' when used with the preverb *pari*, these six should be remembered in this operational context of *ra*'

It is for this reason that we do not get *ra*-replacement in *kṛtayati* 'calls, done', *mātayati* 'calls, mother' and *bhrātayati* 'calls, brother'.

6.4.162 **विभाषर्जोश्छन्दसि**

vihāṣarjoś chandasi
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *ṛjoḥ* 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154 *ra ṛtaḥ* #161)

'ṛju' ity etasya ṛtaḥ sthāne vibhāṣā repha ādeśo bhavati iṣṭhemeyassuparataś chandasi viṣaye
A replacement in *r* optionally comes in place of the *ṛ* of an *aṅga* termed *bha,* namely *ṛju* 'straight, upright' in the Vedic, when affixes *iṣṭhaN, imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

rajiṣṭhamanu neṣi pánthām
tvamṛjiṣṭhaḥ

1. This rule allows *ra* as a replacement for the *ṛ* of *ṛju,* in the Vedic, optionally, when *iṣṭhaN, imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow. Thus, we get (*ṛ*→*ra*)*j*(*u*→ϕ) + *iṣṭhaN* = *rajiṣṭha.* This optional *ra,* if not accepted, will yield *ṛjiṣṭha.* Examples for other affixes are not available.

6.4.163 प्रकृत्यैकाच्

prakṛtyaikāc
/*prakṛtyā* 3/1 *ekāc* 1/1 = *eko' c yasmin* (*bv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *iṣṭhemeyassu* #154)
ekāj yad bhasaṃjñakaṃ tadiṣṭhemeyessu parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which contains one vowel (*ekāc*) remains as is when affixes *iṣṭhaN, imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow.

EXAMPLES:

srajiṣṭhaḥ 'possessing most garlands'
srajīyān 'ibidem'
srajayati 'third singular causal active present of *sraji*'
sruciṣṭhaḥ 'possessing most ritual ladles'
srucīyān 'ibidem'
srucayati 'third singular causal active present of *sruci*'

1. This rule allows a monosyllabic *bha* to retain its original form when affixes *iṣṭhaN, imanIC* and *īyasUN* follow. That is, *ṭi*-deletion does not apply. Thus, consider *srajiṣṭhaḥ, srajīyān* and *srajayati,* where *sraj* is retained against *ṭi*-deletion. Note in this connection that *ṭi*-deletion becomes applicable twice. Thus, we first get *sraj* + *vinI* (5.2.121 *asmāyāmedhā* . . .) where *vinI* gets deleted (5.3.65 *vinmator luk*). We do not get any *ṭi*-deletion. This deletion is again blocked here in *sraj* + (*iṣṭhaN*/*īyasUN*). The first *ṭi*-deletion can be blocked by *LUK*-deletion of *vinI.* This retention of the original *bha* is thus needed to block the second *ṭi*-deletion. A similar *ṭi*-deletion in favor of retention of original form is also blocked in derivates of *matUP.* Thus, *srug asti yasya* = *srugvat*; *srug*(*vat*→ϕ) + *iṣṭha* = *sruciṣṭha.* Similar applications are found in deriving *srucīyān* with *īyasUN* and *srajayati* and *srucayati* with *ṆiC,* through *iṣṭhavadbhāva* 'operations similar to when *iṣṭha* follows'.

2. The condition of *ekāc* is imposed so that *vasiṣṭhaḥ* 'most wealthy' and *vasīyān* could be blocked from retaining their original form *vasu* 'wealth', a non-monosyllabic.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *rājanya* 'kṣatriya, royalty', *manuṣya* 'human' and *yuvan* 'young' to retain their original form when *aka* follows. Thus, *rājanya* + (*vuÑ→aka*) = *rājanyaka* 'group of kings' and *manuṣya* + (*vuÑ→aka*) = *mānuṣyaka* 'group of men', where *vuÑ* is introduced with the signification of *samūha* 'group' (4.2.39 *gotrokṣoṣṭror*. . .). The *ya* of these derivates is saved from deletion (6.4.151 *āpatyasya ca taddhite' nāti*) by this rule. The *ṭi*-deletion of *yuvan*, available from 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*, is blocked in deriving *yauvanikā* with *vuÑ* (5.1.133 *dvandvamanojñādibhyaś ca*)

6.4.164 **इनण्यनपत्ये**

in aṇy anapatye
/*in* 1/1 *aṇi* 7/1 *anapatye* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163)
innantam anapatyārthe' ṇi parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in* remains as is when affix *aṆ* follows with the denotatum of something other than an *apatya* 'offspring'.

EXAMPLES:

sāṃkūṭinam 'burning all around'
sāṃrāviṇam 'noisy all around'
sāṃmārjinam 'cleansing all around'
srāgviṇam 'belonging to one who possesses garlands'

1. Refer to derivational details of *sāṅkūṭinam* and *sāmrāviṇam* (cf. appendix of 3.3.44 *abhividhau bhāva inuṇ*). A derivate of *mṛj*, i.e., *sāṃmārjinam*, is similarly derived. This rule allows a *bha* which ends in *in* to retain its original form, provided affix *aṆ* follows with no denotation of *apatya* 'offspring'. The *aṆ* of the first three examples denotes *bhāva*. The *aṆ* of *sragviṇa idam* = *srāgviṇam* denotes the sense of 'that is his' (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). This rule goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite.*

2. This retention of the original (*prakṛtibhāva*) is not available to *daṇḍinām samūhaḥ* = *dāṇḍam* 'a group of shaft-carrying ascetics', where affix *aÑ* (4.2.44 *anudāttāder añ*) follows. It is also not available to *medhāvinaḥ apatyam* = *maidhāvaḥ* 'son of an intelligent person', because *aṆ* follows *medhāvin* with the signification of *apatya.*

6.4.165 **गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च**

gāthividathikeśigaṇipaṇinaś ca
/*gāthi-vidathi-keśi-gaṇi-paṇinaḥ* 1/3 = *gāthī ca vidathī ca keśī ca gaṇī ca paṇī ca* (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *in aṇi* #164)
'gāthin, vidathin, keśin, gaṇin, paṇin' ity ete cāṇi prakṛtyā bhavanti
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in*, namely *gāthin, vidathin, keśin, gaṇin* and *paṇin*, remains as is when affix *aṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gāthinaḥ = *gāthino' patyam* 'descendant of Gāthin'
vaidathinaḥ 'descendant of Vidathin'
kaiśinaḥ 'descendant of Keśin'
gāṇinaḥ 'descendant of Gaṇin'
pāṇinaḥ 'descendant of Paṇin'

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* 'retention of the original' even when affix *aṆ* with the denotation of *apatya* follows. These derivates all include *inI* of 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. This *prakṛtibhāva* was available to them from the previous rule. This rule allows it before *aṆ* signifying an *apatya*. *Nyāsa* states that this rule is formulated for derivates denoting *apatya* (*Nyāsa*: *apatyārtho' yam ārambhaḥ*). The *aṆ* of these derivates is introduced by 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. This rule again goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

6.4.166 संयोगादिश्च

saṃyogādiś ca
/*saṃyogādiḥ* 1/1 = *saṃyoga ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *ca* ф/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #1 *prakṛtyā* #163 *in aṇi* #164)
saṃyogādiś ca in aṇi prakṛtyā bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *in* and begins with a conjunct (*saṃyoga*), also remains as is when affix *aṆ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śāṅkhinaḥ = *śaṅkhino' patyam* 'descendant of Śaṅkhin'
mādriṇaḥ 'descendant of Madrin'
vājriṇaḥ 'descendant of Varjin'

1. This provision of *prakṛtibhāva*, once again, is made before *aṆ*, used with the signification of *apatya*. This provision also goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

6.4.167 अन्

an
/*an* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *aṇi* #164)
annantam aṇi prakṛtyā bhavati apatye cānapatye ca
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* remains as is, when affix *aṆ*,

irrespective of whether used with the signification of an *apatya*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

sāmanaḥ 'relating to a sāman hymn'
vaimanaḥ 'relating to Viman'
sautvanaḥ 'descendant of Sutvan'
jaitvanaḥ 'descendant of Jitvan'

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* of a *bha* which ends in *an*, irrespective of whether *aṆ* denotes an *apatya*. Thus, *sāmanaḥ* and *vaimanaḥ* have their *aṆ* with the signification of 'that is his' (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). The *aṆ* of *sautvanaḥ* denotes an *apatya*. Incidentally, *sutvan* is derived with affix *ṄvanIP* (3.2.103 *suyajo . . .*), introduced after *ṣuÑ*. Augment *tUK* is also introduced subsequently. Similar applications are followed in deriving *jitvan* of *jaitvanaḥ* from *ji* + *KvanIP* (3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyante*). This rule again goes against *ṭi*-deletion of 6.4.144 *nas taddhite*.

6.4.168 **ये चाभावकर्मणोः**

ye cābhāvakarmaṇoḥ
/*ye* 7/1 *ca* ф *abhāvakarmaṇoḥ* = *bhāvaś ca karma ca* = *bhāvakarmaṇī*, *na bhāvakarmaṇī* (*nañ*. with int. *dv*.), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *an* #167)
yakārādau ca taddhite' bhāvakarmaṇor arthayor an prakṛtyā bhavati
An *aṅga* termed *bha* which ends in *an* also remains as is when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y*, and denoting something other than *bhāva* and *karman*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

sāmanyaḥ = *sāmasu sādhuḥ* 'skilled in the sāman hymns'
vemanyaḥ 'skilled in distinguishing'

1. This rule allows *prakṛtibhāva* to a *bha* which ends in *an* and occurs before a *taddhita* affix beginning with *y*, provided the same does not denote *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object'. The examples both involve *yaT* with the signification of 'skilled in that' (4.4.98 *tatra sādhuḥ*). A similar *yaT*, for reasons of denoting *bhāva* and *karman* (5.1.128 *patyantāt . . .*), blocks *prakṛtibhāva* in *rājan* + *yaT* = *rājyam* 'rule, kingdom', paraphrased as *rājñaḥ bhāvaḥ karma vā*. We thus get *ṭi*-deletion as a result.

6.4.169 **आत्माध्वानौ खे**

ātmādhvānau khe
/*ātmādhvānau* 1/2 = *ātmā ca adhvā ca* (*itar*. *dv*.); *khe* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #1 *prakṛtyā* #163)
'*ātman, adhvan*' *ity etau khe parataḥ prakṛtyā bhavataḥ*
An *aṅga* termed *bha*, namely *ātmā* 'self' and *adhvā* 'road', remains as is when affix *kha* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ātmanīnaḥ = *ātmane hitaḥ* 'beneficial for one's self'
adhvanīnaḥ = *adhvānam alaṃgāmī* 'traveler'

1. This rule again offers *prakṛtibhāva* against *ṭi*-deletion. The *bha* bases are *ātman* and *adhvan* when occurring before affix *kha*. Thus, *ātmanīnaḥ* and *adhvanīnaḥ*, where *kha→īna* is introduced by 5.1.9 *ātmanviśva* . . . and 5.2.16 *adhvano yatkhau*, respectively.

2. A condition of *khe* is imposed so that *pratyātmam* and *prādhvam* could not avail *prakṛtibhāva*. These derivates involve *ṬaC* (5.4.108 *anaś ca*) and *aC* (5.4.85 *upasargād adhvanaḥ*), respectively. These examples both go through *ṭi*-deletion.

6.4.170 न मपूर्वोऽपत्येऽवर्मणः

na mapūrvo' patye' varmaṇaḥ
/*na* ϕ *mapūrvaḥ* 1/1 = *makāraḥ pūrvo yasya* (*bv.*); *apatye* 7/1 *avarmaṇaḥ* 1/1 *na varmā* = *avarmā* (*nañ.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *prakṛtyā* #163 *aṇi* #164 *an* #167)
mapūrvo' n avarmaṇo' ṇi parato' patye' rthe na prakṛtyā bhavati
The final *an* of an *aṅga* termed *bha* which occurs after *m*, but is not that of *varman*, remains as is when affix *aṆ*, used with the signification of *apatya* 'offspring' follows.

EXAMPLES:

sauṣāmaḥ = *suṣāmṇo' patyam* 'descendant of Suṣāman'
cāndrasāmaḥ 'descendant of Candrasāman'

1. This rule is a negation (*pratiṣedha*). It does not allow *prakṛtibhāva* to a *bha* which ends in *an* preceded with *m*, provided it is not *varman*, and is followed by *aṆ* signifying an *apatya*. Thus, *suṣāmnaḥ apatyam* = *sauṣāmaḥ* and *candrasāmnaḥ apatyam* = *cāndrasāmaḥ*. The *an* of *suṣāman* and *candrasāman* thus goes through *ṭi*-deletion.

2. Note that *prakṛtibhāva* can not be blocked in *sutvanaḥ apatyam* = *sautvanaḥ* since *m* does not occur before *an* of *sutvan*. A similar *prakṛtibhāva* can also not be blocked in deriving *carmaṇā parivṛtaḥ rathaḥ* = *cārmaṇaḥ*, since *aṆ* does not denote an *apatya*. An exclusion of *varman* is made to allow *prakṛtibhāva*, against *ṭi*-deletion, in *cakravarmaṇaḥ apatyam* = *cākravarmaṇaḥ* 'son of Cakravarman'.

3. A proposal is made to make this negation optional in case of *hitanāman*. Thus, *hitanāmnaḥ apatyam* = *haitanāmaḥ* 'descendant of Hitanāman', with *ṭi*-deletion and *haitanāmanaḥ* with no *ṭi*-deletion.

6.4.171 ब्राह्मोऽजातौ

brāhmo' jātau
/*brāhmaḥ* 1/1 *ajātau* 7/1 = *na jātiḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasyām*/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129 *apatye* #170)
'*brāhmaḥ*' *ity etad apatyādhikāre' pi sāmarthyād apatyād anyatrāṇi ṭer lopārthaṃ nipātyate*
The word *brāhma* is derived, though not with the signification of *jāti* 'class', via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

brāhmo garbhaḥ 'the golden embryo'
brāhmam astram 'weapon of the Brahman'
brāhmaṃ haviḥ 'oblation to Brahman'

1. This *sūtra* is read as two, via split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*). Thus, (*i*) *brāhmaḥ*: '*ṭi*-deletion, against *prakṛtibhāva*, applies in deriving *brāhma*, when *aṆ* with no signification of *apatya* follows. We get examples such as *brāhmaḥ garbhaḥ*, *brāhmam astram* and *brāhmaṃ haviḥ*, where *aṆ* is introduced by 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'this is his' and 4.2.24 *sā' sya devatā* '. . . is the divinity of'. The second split-interpretation is (*ii*) *ajātau* '*ṭi*-deletion does not apply on *brahman* when an offspring as a class is denoted'. Note that *ajātau* is interpreted as a negation of the *prasajya* type. That is, *naÑ* is construed with the verb: *jātau na bhavati* 'does not apply when class is denoted'. Thus, we get *brahmaṇo' patyam* = *brāhmaṇaḥ*. The *Bālamanoramā* (ad *SK*) reads this *sūtra* as *brāhmo jātau*, where it carries the *anuvṛtti* of *naÑ*. the *Mahābhāṣya* and *SK* retain *a* (*naÑ*) as part of the rule, but interpret it as the negation of *prasajya* type.

6.4.172 कार्मस्ताच्छील्ये

kārmas tācchīlye
/*kārmaḥ* 1/1 *tācchīlye* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
'*kārmaḥ*' *iti tācchīlye ṭilopo nipātyate*
The word *kārma* is derived via *nipātana* when the singification is *tacchīlya* 'characteristic habit of . . .'.

EXAMPLES:

kārmaḥ = *karmaśīlaḥ* 'diligent worker'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion of *an* in deriving *kārma* from *karman* + *Ṇa*,

where *Ṇa* is introduced by 4.4.62 *chatrādibhyo ṇaḥ* with the signification of *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature'.

2. What is the need for this rule when 6.4.144 *nas taddhite* can itself accomplish *ṭi*-deletion. This rule is formulated for indicating (*jñāpaka*) that 'operations similar to *aṆ* also apply when *Ṇa* follows with the signification of *tācchīlya*'. This is how affix *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ* . . .) could be introduced in deriving *caurī* and *tāpas*. A condition of *tācchīlya* is necessary so that *ṭi*-deletion could not take place in *karmaṇa idam* = *kārmaṇaḥ* 'something relating to one who works diligently', where *aṆ* denotes *sambandha* 'relation'.

6.4.173 **औक्षमनपत्ये**

aukṣam anapatye
/*aukṣam* 1/1 *anapatye* 7/1 (*nañ.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *bhasya* #129)
'*aukṣam*' *ity anapatye*' *ṇi ṭilopo nipātyate*
The word *aukṣam* 'beneficial for a bull' is derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is something other than *apatya* 'offspring'.

EXAMPLES:

aukṣam padam 'footprint of a bull'

1. This rule allows *ṭi*-deletion in *aukṣam*, derived from (*ukṣan* + *aṆ*) + *sU* where *aṆ* does not denote an *apatya* 'descendant'. This *aṆ* is introduced by 4.3.120 *tasyedam* 'this is his'. Note that this *ṭi*-deletion will be blocked where *aṆ* denotes an *apatya*. Thus, *ukṣṇaḥ apatyam* = *aukṣṇaḥ* 'a descendant of Ukṣan', where *a* is deleted, instead, by 6.4.135 *ṣapūrvahan*. . . .

6.4.174 **दाण्डिनायनहास्तिनायनाथर्वणिकजैह्माशिनेयवासिनायनिभ्रौणहत्यधैवत्यसारवैक्ष्वाक-मैत्रेयहिरण्मयानि**

dāṇḍināyanahāstināyanātharvaṇikajaihmāśineyavāsināyanibhrauṇahatyadhaivatyasāravaikṣvākamaitreyahiraṇmayāni
/*dāṇḍināyana-hāstināyana-ātharvaṇika-jaihmāśineya-vāsināyani-bhrauṇahatya-dhaivatya-sārava-aikṣvāka-maitreya-hiraṇmayāni* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)
'*dāṇḍināyana, hāstināyana, ātharvaṇika, jaihmāśineya, vāsināyani, bhrauṇahatya, dhaivatya, sārava, aikṣvāka, maitreya, hiraṇmaya*' *ity etāni nipātyante*
The words *dāṇḍināyana, hāstināyana, ātharvaṇika, jaihmāśineya, vāsināyani, bhrauṇahatya, dhaivatya, sārava, aikṣvāka, maitreya,* and *hiraṇmaya* are derived via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

dāṇḍināyanaḥ 'descendant of Daṇḍin'
hāstināyanaḥ 'descendant of Hastin'

ātharvaṇikaḥ 'he who studies *atharvan*'
jaihmāśineyaḥ 'descendant of Jihmāśin'
vāsināyaniḥ 'a descendant of Vāsin'
bhrauṇahatyaḥ 'killing of a fetus'
dhaivatyaḥ 'intelligence'
sāravam 'water of river Sarayū'
aikṣvākaḥ 'descendant of Ikṣvāku; born in the country of the Ikṣvākus'
maitreyaḥ 'descendant of Mitrayu'
hiraṇmayaḥ 'golden; gold ornament'

1. This rule derives *dāḍināyana*, etc., via *nipātana*. Thus, *daṇḍin* and *hastin* are read in the *naḍādi* class of nominals (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*), whereby affix *phaK* is introduced. This rule blocks *ṭi*-deletion of *naḍin* before *phaK*→*āyana*. Some claim that *phaK* is also introduced via *nipātana*. Thus, *dāṇḍināyana* 'an offspring of Daṇḍin' and *hāstināyana* 'an offspring of Hastin'. The next nominal, i.e., *atharvan*, is read in the *vasantādi* class (4.2.63 *vasantādibhyaḥ ṭhak*) where *ṭi*-deletion of *atharvan* is blocked before *ṭhaK*→*ika*. Thus, *atharvāṇam adhīte* = *ātharvaṇikaḥ*. The next *jihmāśin* is read in the *śubhrādi* class (4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca*), where affix *ḍhaK* is introduced. The *ṭi*-deletion of *jihmāśin* is blocked, again before *ḍhaK*→*eya*. Thus, *jihmāśino' patyam* = *jaihmāśineyaḥ*. Affix *phiÑ* gets similarly introduced after *vāsin*, where *ṭi*-deletion is also blocked before (*ph*→*āyan*) *i*. Thus, we get *vāsināyaniḥ*. The next two bases, i.e., *bhrūṇahan* and *dhīvan*, get *t* as a replacement for their final *n*, again via *nipātana*. But the affix is *ṢyaÑ* (5.1.123 *varadṛḍhādibhyaḥ ṣyañ*). Thus, *bhrauṇaha*(*n*→*t*) + *ṢyaÑ*→*bhrauahatya*, similarly, *dhaivatya*. Now consider *sarayvāṃ bhavam* = *sārvam* where, given *sarayū* + *aṆ* (4.3.35 *tatra bhavaḥ*), we get *yū* replaced with *va*, again via *nipātana*. We similarly get *ikṣvākuṣu janapadeṣu bhavaḥ* = *aikṣvākaḥ*, where given *ikṣvāku* + *aṆ* (4.1.166 *janapada-śabdād* . . .), *ū* is deleted via *nipātana*. The *yu* of *mitrayu* + *ḍhaÑ* (4.1.136 *gṛṣṭyādibhyaś ca*) is also deleted, via *nipātana*, against the *iy*-replacement of 7.3.2 *kekayamitrayu* . . .). Thus, we get *mitra*(*yu*→ϕ) + (*ḍha*→*eya*)→ *m*(*i*→*ai*) *tr*(*a*→ϕ) + *eya* = *maitreya*. Finally, *ya* of *hiraṇya* is also deleted, via *nipātana*, before *mayaṬ* to produce *hiraṇmaya*.

6.4.175 **ऋत्व्यवास्त्व्यवास्त्वमाध्वीहिरण्ययानि च्छन्दसि**

ṛtvyavāstvyavāstvamādhvīhiraṇyayāni cchandasi
/ *ṛtvya-vāstvya-vāstva-mādhvī-hiraṇyayāni* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *chandasi* 7/1/
'*ṛtvya, vāstvya, vāstva, mādhvī, hiraṇya*' *ity etāni nipātyante chandasi viṣaye*
The words *ṛtvya, vāstvya, vāstva, mādhvī* and *hiraṇyaya* are derived via *nipātana* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

ṛtvyam 'found in seasons'

vāstvyam 'found in things'
vāstvaḥ 'ibidem'
mādhvīḥ '. . . honey . . .'
hiraṇyayam 'gold ornament'

1. This rule derives *ṛtvya, vāstvya, mādhvī* and *hiraṇyaya,* in the Vedic, via *nipātana.* Given *ṛtu* + *yaT* (4.4.110 *bhave chandasi*) and *vastu* + *aṆ,* the *u* is replaced with *v,* via *nipātana.* A replacement in *yaṆ* is also allowed in deriving *mādhvī* from (*madhu* + *aṆ*) + *ṄīP.* The *ma* of *mayaṬ* is also, via *nipātana,* deleted after *hiraṇyaya.* Thus, *hiraṇya* + (*ma*→ϕ) *yaṬ* = *hiraṇyaya.*

Appendix

Derivational History of Examples

6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*
6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*
6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ*
6.1.5 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*
6.1.6 *ubhe abhyastam*

(1) *jajāgāra*
(2) *iyāya*
(3) *āra*

This set of rules prepares necessary background for iteration (*dvitva*). The first rule offers iteration to the first (*prathamasya*) syllable of a monosyllabic (*ekāc*) root. The second offers iteration to the second (*dvitīyasya*) syllable of a root which begins with a vowel (*ajādi*). The third rule offers exception to iteration in the context of roots containing consonant clusters with *n, d,* and *r* at the beginning. The fourth rule assigns the term *abhyāsa* to the first element of an iterated string. The last set of this rule assigns the term *abhyasta* to both elements of an iterared string. Obviously, these term assignments are intended to facilitate operations relative to the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta* (hereafter *abhyāsa-kārya*).

Consider (1) *jajāgāra* 'third singular active perfect' of *jāgṛ* where *LIṬ* is replaced with *tiP*. This *tiP* is further replaced with *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām*...). The *jāg* of *jāgṛ* + *a* then goes through iteration (*dvitva*; 6.1.9 *ekāco dve*...). We thus get *jāg* + *jāgṛ* + *a*, where the first *jāg* is termed *abhyāsa* and *jāgjāg* is together termed *abhyasta*. Rule 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* states that an *abhyāsa* is allowed to retain only that unit which is formed with its first consonant. We thus get *jā*(*g*→ϕ) + *jāgṛ* + *a*. A further application of 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ* replaces the long *ā* of the *abhyāsa* with short (*hrasva*). This gives us: *j*(*ā*→*a*) + *jāgṛ* + *a* = *jajāgṛ* + *a*. Rule 7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti* now applies to replace the *ṛ* of *jajāgṛ* with *ār*, its *vṛddhi*-counterpart. We thus get *jajāg*(*ṛ*→*ār*) + *a* = *jajāgāra*. We similarly derive *pac* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)→*papāca* (III:781), *iṆ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)→*iyāya* and *ṛ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *āra*. Note here that *pac* of *pac* + *a* will itself (as against its *pa*) go through iteration at the strength of *vyapadeśivadbhāva* (*Paribh.*(31): *vyapadeśivad ekasmin*). One resorts to *vyapadeśivadbhāva* because *pac, i* and *ṛ* are *ekāc* by themselves. That is, they are not part of a whole where 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathasya* applies. It is to accept the part-whole relationship even in one, or else, to treat one with no part as principal that *vyapadeśivadbhāva* is invoked here. The *vṛddhi* of the second *a* of *pa*(*c*→ϕ) + *p*(*a*→*ā*) *c* + *a* = *papāca* will be accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Note that *iyāya* follows similar derivational details. We get *iṆ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)→*i* + *a* where the *i* goes through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti*)

and subsequent replacement in *āy* (*ayādeśa*; 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*). We thus get (*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *a* = *āya*. We now apply iteration where we end up getting *i* as the *abhyāsa* of *i* + *āy* + *a*, basically through 'formal extension of *i* (*rūpātideśa*)' with reference to 1.1.58 *dvirvacane' ci*. The *i* of the *abhyāsa* then receives *iyAṄ* (6.4.78 *abhyāsasyāsavarṇe*) as a replacement especially in view of 1.1.52 *ṅic ca*. We thus get (*i*→*iyAṄ*) + *āy* + *a*→(2) *iyāya*. Our last example derives from *ṛ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) where we get (*ṛ*→*ār*) + *a* through *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco ñṇiti*). The extensional provision of form in cosnonance with 1.1.52 *dvirvacane' aci* also applies here in iteration. The result is: *ṛ* + *ār* + *a*. An application of 7.4.66 *ur at* produces (*ṛ*→*ar*) + *ār* + *a* which, through the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, yields *a*(*r*→ϕ) + *ār* + *a* = *a* + *āra*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*). The final derivate is produced by the application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Thus (*ā* + *ā*→*ā*) *ra*→(3) *āra*. Derivates of this rule illustate three operations relative to *abhyāsakārya*, namely *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.66), *hrasva* (7.4.59) and replacement of *ṛ* in *at* (7.4.66) and *dīrgha* (7.4.70).

6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ*

(4) *undidiṣati*	(6) *arcicisati*
(5) *aḍḍidiṣati*	

This rule negates iteration of the initial of a consonant cluster occurring as part of the second vocalic unit of a vowel-initial root. Examples such as (4) *undidiṣati*, (5) *aḍḍiḍiṣati* and (6) *arcicisati* involve roots derived with affix *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ* . . .). Affix *LAṬ*, subsequently replaced with *tiP*, is then introduced after verbal roots *arciṣa* 'to wish to respect', *undiṣa* 'to wish to be wet' and *aḍḍiṣa*. The *r*, *n* and *d* of the clusters cannot get iterated. This negation facilitates iteration of *ciṣ*, *diṣ*, and *ḍiṣ* only. The desired derivates are produced through application of 7.4.60 *halādiśeṣaḥ*

6.1.6 *jakṣa ityādayaḥ ṣaṭ*

(7) *jakṣati*	(11) *śāsati*
(8) *jāgrati*	(12) *dīdhyate*
(9) *daridrati*	(13) *vevyāte*
(10) *cakāśati*	(14) *dīdhyat*

Example (7) *jakṣati* derives from *jakṣ* + *ŚaP* + *jhi* where *ŚaP* gets deleted (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*). Rule 6.1.6 identifies *jakṣa* as *abhyasta*, whereby 7.1.4 *ad abhyastāt* replaces *jh* of *jhi* with *at*. We thus get *jakṣ* + (*jh*→*at*) *i* = *jakṣati*. We similarly get *jāgṛ* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*→*jāgṛ* + *ati*, where *ṛ* of *jāgṛ* goes through a replacement in *yaṆ*. We thus get *jāg*(*ṛ*→*r*) + *ati* = (8) *jāgrati*. Deriving (9) *daridrati*, from *daridrā* + *ŚaP* + *jhi*→*ati*, involves the application of 6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*. This rule deletes the *ā* of *daridrā*. We thus get *daridr* (*ā*→ϕ) + *ati* = *daridrati*. We similarly get (10) *cakāsati* from *cakāsṛ* + *ŚaP* + (*jhi*→*ati*)

and (11) *śāsati* from *śās* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*. Now consider (12) *dīdhyate* which derives from *dīdhī* + *ŚaP* + *jha*→*dīdhī* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + (*jh*→*at*) *a*)) = *dīdhī* + *ata*, where *ŚaP* goes through deletion and the third plural middle ending *jha* gets replaced with *at*. An application of *yaṆ* (6.4.82 *er anekāco* . . .), followed by *etva* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām* . . .), produces *dīdhyat*(*a*→*e*) = *dīdhyate*.

Recall that 7.1.5 *ātmanepadeṣv anataḥ* replaces *jh* with *at*. This replacement is not dependent upon the process of iteration, and subsequent assignments of the terms *abhyāsa* and *abhyasta*. We, however, need the term *abhyasta* for accent. The initial *ī* of *dīdhī*, an *abhyasta*, is marked with *udātta* in view of the application of 6.1.186 *abhyastānām ādiḥ*. We get *dīdhyáte* through interaction of rules 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* and 8.4.66 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*. Of course, also with reference to 1.2.39 *svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttaḥ*. We see that assignment of the term *abhyasta* has accentual consequences. This same also applies to (13) *vevyáte*.

Now consider (14) *dīdhyat* which is a derivate of *dīdhīṄ* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*ŚatṚ*)→*dīdhī* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *at*. Note that *ŚatṚ* could not be introduced after *dīdhīṄ* since it is an *ātmanepada* verbal root. It should accept *ŚānaC*, especially in view of 1.4.100 *taṅānāv ātmanepadam*. This introduction of *ŚatṚ* is then to be accepted as the expatiation (*prapañca*) of 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*. Note that augment *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidcām sarvanāma* . . .) cannot be introduced to *dīdhyat* + *sU*, especially since 7.1.78 *nābhyastāc chatuḥ* will negate it. This blocking is also one of the consequences of assigning the term *abhyasta*.

6.1.7 *tujādīnāṃ dīrgho' bhyāsasya*
6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya*

(15) *tūtujānaḥ*	(18) *mīmāya*
(16) *māmahānaḥ*	(19) *tūtāva*
(17) *dādhānaḥ*	(20) *dādhāra*

We derive (15) *tūtujānaḥ* and *māmahānaḥ* from *tuj* + (*LIṬ*→*KānaC*)→*tūtujāna* + *sU* and *mah* + (*LIṬ*→*KānaC*)→*māmahāna* + *sU*. Note that *KānaC* optionally replaces *LIṬ* (3.2.106 *liṭ kānaj vā*) when the denotation is past and the usage is Vedic. Iteration of *tuj* (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor* . . .) is facilitated via *sthānivadbhāva* by treating *KānaC* as if it was *LIṬ*. An application of *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.66) followed by a long replacement for the short of the *abhyāsa* by this rule produces *tūtujāna*. Similar rules apply in deriving (16) *māmahānaḥ*. Deriving (17) *dādhānaḥ* from *dhā* + *dhā* + (*LIṬ*→*KānaC*)→*dādhāna* + *sU*, involves iteration followed by *d* as a replacement for *dh* of the *abhyāsa* (8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*). Now consider (18) *mīmāya*, a *LIṬ*-derivate of *ḌUmiÑ*, where *tiP* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .) is replaced with *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). This yields *mi* + (*Ṇ*) *a*(*L*) which, through applications of *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*) and replacement in *āy* (*ayādeśa*; 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) produces *m*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *a* = *māy* + *a*. We now apply iteration with reference to 1.1.58

dvirvacane' ci whereby we get *mi* as the *abhyāsa*. That is, we get *mi* + *māy* + *a* where *mi* comes by as *abhyāsa* by way of extension of the form (*rūpātideśa*) of verbal root *mi*. Our present rule will now apply to yield *m*(*i*→*ī*) + *māy* + *a* = *mīmāya*, through a long replacement (*dīrgha*). Note that a replacement in *ā* for *i* of *mi* (6.1.49 *mīnātinotidūnām*...) is not accomplished. Such exceptions are not hard to find in the Vedic. Similar rules also apply in deriving (19) *tūtāva* from *tu* + *ṆaL*→*tū* + *tau* + *a* and (20) *dādhāra* from *dhṛÑ* + *ṆaL*.

6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ*
6.1.10 *ślau*
6.1.22 *caṅi*

(21) *pipakṣati*	(27) *arāryate*
(22) *pipatiṣati*	(28) *prorṇonūyate*
(23) *aririṣati*	(29) *āśiśat*
(24) *pāpacyate*	(30) *ārdidat*
(25) *yāyajyate*	(31) *apīpacat*
(26) *aṭāṭyate*	(32) *apīpaṭhat*

Deriving (21) *pipakṣati* from (*pac* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* requires iteration, *halādiśeṣa*, *i*-replacement of the *a* of *pa* (*abhyāsa*) and no introduction of *iṬ*. Recall that *pac* is a root which does not allow augment *iṬ* (*aniṭ*). We get a derived verbal root with the form of *pipakṣa* where *c* of *pac* is replaced with *k* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The *s* of *saN* goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) as has been shown in many examples. We similarly derive (22) *pipatiṣati* and (23) *aririṣati* from (*pat* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* and (*ṛ* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* where the derived roots are *patiṣa* and *ariṣa*. Both these roots receive augment *iṬ*. The *ṛ* of *ariṣa* also goes through *guṇa* followed by *r*. Their affixal *s* is also replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*). Operations relative to iteration and *abhyāsa* finally produce desired derivates.

Note that (24) *pāpacyate* derives from *pāpacya* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*) where *LAṬ* is replaced with the third singular *ātmanepada* affix *ta*. Verbal root *pāpacya* (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*) is derived from *pac* + *yaṄ* where what is iterated in view of our present rule is *pac*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*). Of course, this applies subsequent to the application of *halādiśeṣa*. Thus, *pa*(*c*→ϕ)*pac* + *ya*→*p*(*a*→*ā*)*pac* + *ya*→*pāpacya* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*)→*pāpacya* + (*Ś*)*a*(*P*) + *ta*→*pāpacya* + *a* + *t*(*a*→*e*) = *pāpacy* (*a* + *a*→*a*) + *te* = *pāpacyate*. The last two steps illustrate *etva* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e*) and *pararūpa* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*), respectively. Similar steps apply in deriving (25) *yāyajyate*.

Deriving (26) *aṭāṭyate* with (*aṭ* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ* requires the help of a *vārttika* to introduce *yaṄ* (*vt*: *sūtrimūtryaṭyartya*...; ad 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*...). Iteration applies here with reference to the second syllable formed with *ṭya* of *aṭ* + *ya*(*Ṅ*). Here again we find the application of *halādiḥ śeṣaḥ* (7.4.60; *aṭ*(*y*→ϕ) *a* + *ṭya*)) and *dīrgho' kitaḥ* (7.4.83; *aṭ*(*a*→*ā*) + *ṭya* = *aṭāṭya*)). Deriving *aṭāṭyate*

from *aṭāṭya* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*) follows patterns similar to (24) *pāpacyate*.

Note that (27) *arāryate* also derives with a root ending in *yaṄ*, via the same *vārttika* proposal. The *ṛ* of the root goes through *guṇa* of 7.4.30 *yaṅi ca*. Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . . could not apply since 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* blocks it on account of *Ṅ* of *yaṄ* as an *it*. Iteration applies to *ar* + *ya* but with an exception made again by a *vārttika* (ad 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ* . . .; *vt*: *yakāraparasya rephasya pratiṣedho na bhavati*). We thus get *a* + *rya* + *rya*. An application of *halādiśeṣa* and *dīrgho' kitaḥ* (7.4.83) then produces: *ar*(*y*→ϕ) *a* + *rya*→*ar*(*a*→*ā*) + *rya* = *arārya*. Deriving *arāryate* from *arārya* + *ŚaP* + *ta* is easy.

Now consider (28) *prorṇonūyate* where affix *yaṄ* is also introduced after verbal root *pra-ūrṇuÑ* under the same *vārttika* proposal. We find that the focus of iteration is *nu*. The *r* of *ūrṇu* must here be excluded because of 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ*. . . . The *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *nu*, followed by *dīrgha* of the second *nū* is then accomplished by rules 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ* and 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ*, respectively. We thus get: *pra-ūrṇu* + *ya*(*Ṅ*)→*pra-ūr* + *nu* + *nu* + *ya*→*pra-ūr* + *n*(*u*→*o*) + *nu* + *ya*→*pra-ūr* + *no* + *n*(*u*→*ū*) + *ya* = *prornonūya*. Follow derivational steps of earlier examples for deriving *prorṇonūyate* from *prorṇonūya* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*). Note, however, that the *n* of *promo* is replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . .).

Note that (29) *āśiśat* and (30) *ārdidat* follow derivational patterns of *āṭiṭat*, in the appendix of rule 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci* (II:416–17). The *r* of *ārd* in *ārdidat* will be excluded from iteration on account of 6.1.3 *nandrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ*. The next two derivates are causative. Thus, (31) *apīpacat* and (32) *apīpaṭhat* derive from (*pac* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ* and (*paṭh* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*, respectively. We first get *pāci* from *pac* + *ṆiC* through applications of 3.1.26 *hetumati ca* and 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. Thus, *pac* + (*Ṇ*) *i*(*C*)→*p*(*ā*) *c* + *i* = *pāci*. Applications of rules such as 3.2.110 *luṅ*, 3.1.43 *cli luṅi* and 3.1.48 *ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ* . . . produce *pāci* + *LUṄ*→*pāci* + *CLI* + *LUṄ*→*pāci* + (*CLI*→*CaṄ*) + *LUṄ*→*pāci* + (*C*) *a*(*Ṅ*) + *LUṄ*. A replacement in *ti*(*P*) for *LUṄ*, followed by *i*-deletion (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) and introduction of augment *aṬ* (6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅ* . . .), yields *pāci* + *a* + (*LUṄ*→*ti*(*P*)→*pāci* + *a* + *t*(*i*→ϕ)→*a*(*Ṭ*) + *pāci* + *a* + *t*. Deletion of *ṆiC* (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*)) and shortening of the penultimate (*upadhā-hrasva*; 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅi* . . .) then follow. We thus get *a* + *pāc*(*i*→ϕ) + *a* + *t*→*a* + *p*(*ā*→*a*) *c* + *a* + *t* = *a* + *pac* + *a* + *t*. Rule 6.1.11 *caṅi* then applies for iteration to yield *a* + *pac* + *pac* + *a* + *t*. An application of *halādiśeṣa* then produces: *a* + *pa* + *pac* + *a* + *t*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* then goes through a replacement in *i* (7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*) under the provision of *sanvadbhāva* 'treatment as if affix *saN* followed'. The short vowel *i* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.94 *dīrgho lāghoḥ*). We thus get *a* + *p*(*a*→*i*) + *pac* + *a* + *t*→*a* + *p*(*i*→*ī*) + *pac* + *a* + *t*→*apīpacat*. Similar rules apply in deriving (32) *apīpaṭhat*.

6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām* . . .

(33) *uktaḥ* (34) *uktavān*

(35) *suptaḥ*
(36) *suptavān*
(37) *iṣṭaḥ*
(38) *iṣṭavān*
(39) *uptaḥ*
(40) *uptavān*
(41) *ūḍhaḥ*
(42) *ūḍhavān*
(43) *uṣitaḥ*
(44) *uṣitavān*
(45) *śūnaḥ*
(46) *śūnavān*

This section of rules deals with *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*), a replacement in *yaṆ* (*y/v/r/l*) for vowles denoted by *iK* (*i/u/ṛ/ḷ*). The term *samprasāraṇa* refers to both: (*i*) the process whereby a sound denoted by *yaṆ* is replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by *iK* and (*ii*) vowels which are denoted by *iK* and which replace a corresponding sound denoted by *yaṆ*. An application of replacement in a *samprasāraṇa* vowel also, where applicable, leads to a single replacement of a vocalic sequence similar to what precedes (*pūrvarūpa*). The second vowel of the sequence must be occurring after the *samprasāraṇa* vowel (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*).

The examples are all derivates of the (*niṣṭhā*) suffixes *Kta* and *KtavatU* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). Consider *vac* + (*K*) *ta*→(*v*→*u*) *ac* + *ta*→(*u* + *a*→*u*) *c* + *ta*→*u*(*c*→*k*) + *ta* = *ukta* + *sU*→(34) *uktaḥ*, where *v* of *vac* is replaced with its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *u*. Rule 6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca* replaces the vocalic sequence *u* + *a* with *u*, similar in form to the preceding vowel termed *samprasāraṇa*. Rule 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* then replaces the *c* with *k* (*kutva*). This same also applies to *vac* + *KtavatU*→*uk* + *tavat* = *uktavat* + *sU* = (35) *uktavān*. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* for additional derivational details (II: 336–37), especially for applications on derivates with *tavat*. Deriving *ūḍhaḥ* from (*vah* + *Kta*) + *sU*, requires *h* to be replaced with *ḍh* (8.2.31 *hoḍhaḥ*) subsequent to *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa*. Rule 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*... then replaces the *t* of *ta* with *dh*. This *dh* then goes through a replacement in *ḍh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Rule 8.3.15 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ* then requires the preceding *ḍh* to be deleted. The short *u* which precedes is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.109 *ḍhralop pūrvasya*...). We thus get: (*v*→*u*) *a* + *h* + (*K*) *ta*→(*u* + *a*→*u*) + *h* + *ta*→*u*(*h*→*ḍh*) + *ta*→*uḍh* + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*) *a*→*u*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍh* + *a*→(*u*→*ū*) + *ḍh* + *a*→*ūḍha* + *sU*→(40) *ūḍhaḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *vah* + *KtavatU*→*ūḍh* + (*K*) *tavat*(*U*)) + *sU* = (42) *ūḍhavān*. Examples (42) and (43) (*vas* + *Kta*) + *sU*→*uṣitaḥ* and (*vas* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *uṣitavān*, require a *ṣ* to replace *s* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.60 *śāsivasi*...). Our last two examples, i.e., (45) (*śvan* + *Kta*) + *sU*→*śūnaḥ* and (46) (*śvan* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*→*śūnavān*, require that the *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix be replaced with *n* (*niṣṭhā-natva*; 8.2.45 *odiś ca*).

6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*...

(47) *gṛhītaḥ*
(48) *gṛhītavān*
(49) *gṛhṇāti*
(50) *jaṅgṛhyate*

(51) *jīnaḥ*
(52) *jināti*
(53) *jejīyate*
(54) *ūyatuḥ*
(55) *ūyuḥ*
(56) *viddhaḥ*
(57) *vṛknaḥ*
(58) *vṛknavān*
(59) *varīvṛścyate*
(60) *parīpṛcchyate*
(61) *bhṛjjati*
(62) *barībhṛjjyate*

Examples (47) *gṛhītaḥ* derives from (*grah* + *iṬ* + *Kta*) + *sU* where *iṬ* is replaced with its long counterpart (7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ*). This same also applies to (48) *gṛhītavān*. Our example (49) *gṛhṇāti* is a derivate of *grah* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* is replaced with *tiP*. An introduction of *Śnā* (3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*) and its subsequent treatment as marked with *Ṅ* (*ṅit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*) produces *grah* + *nā* + *ti*. An application of *samprasāraṇa, pūrvarūpa* and *ṇatva* (8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ*. . .) then produces *g*(*r*→*ṛ*) *ah* + *nā* + *ti*→*g*(*ṛ* + *a*→*ṛ*) *h* + *nā* + *ti*→*gṛh* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *ā* + *ti* = *gṛhṇāti*. Refer to (25) *pāpacyate* (under 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ*) for derivational details of (50) *jarīgṛhyate*. This derivate requires introduction of augment *rīK* (7.4.90 *rīg ṛdupadhasya ca*) to the *abhyāsa*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* then follows under the condition of affix *yaṄ*. We thus get *g*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *grah* + *iṬ* + *ŚaP* + *ta*, through an additional application of 7.4.66 *ur at*. The *g* of *ga* is then replaced with *j* with the application of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*.

Note that (51) *jīnaḥ*, (52) *jināti* and (53) *jejīyate* all are derivates of verbal root *jyā*. The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *ta* is replaced with *n* (8.2.44 *lvādibhyaḥ*) in *jyā* + *Kta*. Of course, subsequent to the *samprasāraṇa* of *jyā*. The *i* of *ji* + *na* of *jīnaḥ* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. Our next examples, *jināti* and *jejīyate*, are derivates of *LAṬ* where the second carries a derived root with affix *yaṄ*. The first derives with the introduction of *Śnā*. Derivational histories of (54) *yūyatuḥ* and (55) *ūyuḥ* are discussed in the appendix (III: 698). Our next example (56) (*vyadh* + *Kta*) + *sU*→*viddhaḥ* illustrates that *v* of the root does not go through *samprasāraṇa* because *y*, another *samprasāraṇa*, follows (6.1.36 *na samprasāraṇe*. . .). Thus, we get the *samprasāraṇa* of *y* followed by replacing *t* of *Kta* with *dh* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*. . .). The *dh* of the root is then replaced with *d* (8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). Thus, *v*(*y*→*i*) *dh* + *Kta*→*vidh* + (*t*→*dh*) *a*→*vi*(*dh*→*d*) + *dha* = *viddha* + *sU*→*viddhaḥ*. The next two derivates of *niṣṭhā* illustrate *samprasāraṇa* on *vraśc* of (57) (*vraśc* + *Kta*) + *sU*) and (58) (*vṛśc* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* where *samprasāraṇa* yields *vṛśc* + *ta*. The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* is replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oidtaś ca*). The *s* of the conjunct at the end is deleted (8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyog*. . .) and *c* is replaced with *k* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The *n* of *na* of *vṛk* + *na* is then replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). Recall here that the *ś* of *vṛśc* is technically *s* which, before *c*, gets replaced with *ś* (8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Its deletion by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyog*. . . is accomplished with the understanding that it is *s*.

Derivational details of (59) *varīvṛścyate* are similar to many derivates of

yaṄ already discussed. Note that augment *riK* is here introduced to the *abhyāsa* (7.4.90 *rīgṛdupadhasya ca*). Since there being no *ṛ* in the *upadhā* 'penultimate position', a *vārttika* proposal is made (ad 7.4.90: *vt*: *rīgṛtvata iti vaktavyam*). Similar rules apply in deriving (60) *parīpṛcchyate*. Recall that augment *tUK* is here introduced by 6.1.71 *che ca*. Examples (61) *bhṛjjati* and (62) *barībhṛjjyate* involve similar operational steps. Note, however, that *s* of *bhrasja* is replaced with *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). This *d* is then replaced with *j* (*ścutva*; 8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Thus, *bhra*(*s*→*d*→*j*) *j* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*→*bh*(*ra*→*ṛ*) *jj* + *a* + *ti* = *bhṛjjati*.

6.1.36 *apaspṛdhethām* . . .

(63) *apaspṛdhethām*
(64) *ānṛcuḥ*
(65) *ānṛhuḥ*
(66) *cicyuṣe*
(67) *tityāja*
(68) *śrātā*
(69) *śritam*
(70) *āśīr*
(71) *āśīrtta*

These, still again, are derivates where both *bāhulaka* and *nipātana* are invoked. Our first example, i.e., (64) *apaspṛdhethām*, derives from *spardh* + *LAṄ*, where *LAṄ* is replaced with the second person dual middle ending *āthām*. Iteration, *samprasāraṇa* of *r* and deletion of *a* is all accomplished via *nipātana*. Our next two examples, i.e., (65) *ānṛcuḥ* and (66) *ānṛhuḥ*, are derivates of *LIṬ* introduced after verbal roots *archA*. These are third personal active plural forms where *LIṬ* is subsequently replaced with *us*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* and deletion of *ā* is accomplished via *nipātana*. Iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa* then follow. Note that lengthening of *a* and augment *nUṬ* are accomplished by 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ* and 7.4.71 *tasmān nuḍ* . . ., respectively.

Examples (66) *cicyuṣe* and (67) *tityāja* derive from *cyu* + (*LIṬ*→*thās*→*se*) and *tyaj* + (*LIṬ*→*ṆaL*), where iteration, *samprasāraṇa* of *y* (in the *abhyāsa*) are major applications. The first also involves a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*). The second invovles a *vṛddhi* replacement similar to the preceding *a* of the vocalic sequence. Note also that augment *iṬ* in *cicyuṣe* is also blocked by *nipātana*. Example (68) *śrātā* derives from *śrīÑ* + *Kta* where *śrā* is introduced as a replacement via *nipātana*. Example (69) *śritam* replaces long *ī* of *śrī* by its short counterpart, again via *nipātana*. The last two examples, i.e., (70) *āśīr* and (71) *āśīrtta*, both have *śrīÑ* with the preverb *āṄ*. They both get *śrī* replaced with *śīr*. The first is a derivate of *KvIP* before which *śīr* replaces *śrī*. The second is a derivate of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* where *t* of *Kta* is saved from being replaced with *n*, again via *nipātana*.

6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*

(72) *didivān*
(73) *didivāṃsau*

(74) *didivāṃsaḥ*
(75) *gaudheraḥ*
(76) *paceran*
(77) *jīradānuḥ*
(78) *āsremāṇam*

Note that (72) *didivān*, (73) *didivāṃsau* and (74) *didivāṃsaḥ* are nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *didivas*, a derivate of *KvasU* introduced after *div*. Follow derivational patterns of *papivān* and *jakṣivān* under the appendix of 3.2.107 *kvasuś ca* (III: 745). Refer to the appendix (II: 418–20) under 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci* for derivational details of (75) *gaudheraḥ*, (76) *paceran*, (77) *jīradānuḥ* and (78) *āsremāṇam*.

6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt*...

(79) *abibhar*
(80) *ajāgar*
(81) *abhinar*
(82) *abhino' tra*

Example (79) derives from *bhṛÑ* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṄ*→*tiP*), where *ŚaP* goes through deletion (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ*...), *bhṛ* goes through iteration (6.1.10 *ślau*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. This yields: *bhṛ* + *bhṛ* + *t*. The *i* of *tiP* is, of course, deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. An application of 7.4.66 *ur at* is followed by 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* to produce *bh*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *bhṛ* + *t*→*bha*(*r*→ϕ) + *bhṛ* + *t*. Rule 7.4.76 *bhṛñām it* then introduces *i* to replace *a* of the *abhyāsa*. This gives us *bhi* + *bhṛ* + *t* where *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha*...) of *ṛ* and introduction of *aṬ* produces *a*(*Ṭ*) + *bhi* + *bh*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *t*. Rule 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca* then applies to replace the *bh* of *bhi* with *b*. Thus, *a* + (*bh*→*b*)*i* + *bhar* + *t*. Our present rule then deletes *t* and we get (79) *abibhar*. Example (80) *ajāgar* follows similar applications except for iteration. For, this root belongs to the *adādi* class. The *guṇa* of *jāgṛ* is accomplished by 7.3.85 *jāgro' viciṇ*.... The last example, i.e., (81) *abhinar*, derives from *aṬ* + *bhid* + *ŚnaM* + (*LAṄ*→*siP*). Our present rule deletes the *s* of *siP*. The final *d* of *a* + *bh*(*ŚnaM*)*d* + (*s*→ϕ) is then replaced with *rU* (8.2.75 *daś ca*). The *r* is further replaced with *u* (6.1.112 *ato ror*...), followed by its *guṇa* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*) before *atra* of (82) *abhino' tra*. The *a* of *abhino atra* will then be subjected to the *pūrvarūpa* of 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*.

6.1.75 *dīrghāt*

(83) *apacācchāyate*
(84) *vicācchāyate*

The examples are two derivates of *cho* 'to cut, pierce' in *LAṬ* where the roots *cāchāya* and *vichāya* end in *yaṄ* and are used with the prevers *apa* and *vi*, respectively. Recall that, given *cho* + *yaṄ* (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco*...), the root-final *o* is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*...). Iteration (*dvitva*) and shortening (7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*) of the *abhyāsa* then produce *ch*(*ā*→*a*) + *chā* + *ya*. The *ch* of the *abhyāsa* then goes through a replacement in *c* (*cartva*;

8.4.55 *khari ca*). We thus get *cachāya*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* is then replaced with long of 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*. We derive *cāchāya* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*)→*apa* + *cācchāyate* = (83) *apacācchāyate*, with introduction of *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*) before *ch*. Similar rules apply in deriving (84) *vicācchāyate*.

6.4.55 *ayāmantālvāyyetnviṣṇuṣu*

(85) *gaṇḍayantaḥ*	(89) *spṛhayāyyaḥ*
(86) *maṇḍayantaḥ*	(90) *gṛhayāyyaḥ*
(87) *spṛhayāluḥ*	(91) *stanayitnuḥ*
(88) *gṛhayāluḥ*	(92) *poṣayiṣṇavaḥ*

Refer to derivational details of *kārayāñcakāra* and *hārayāñcakāra* under the appendix of rule 3.1.40 *kṛñcānuprayujyate liṭi* (III: 717–18). Our first two examples, i.e., (85) *gaṇḍayantaḥ* and (86) *maṇḍayantaḥ*, are derived from (*gaḍI* + *ṆiC*) + *jhaC* and (*maḍI* + *ṆiC*) + *jhaC* where the *Uṇādi* affix *jhaC* (3.18: *tṛbhūvahibhas*. . .) is replaced with *anta* (7.1.3 *jho' ntaḥ*). Note that the root is marked with *I* as an *it* (*idit*). Consequently, augment *nUM* is introduced by 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*. An application of non-deletion of *ṆiC*, followed by a replacement in *ay* of this rule, produces *ga*(*nUM*) *ḍ* + (*Ṇ*) *i*(*C*) + (*jha*→*ata*)→*ga*(*n*→*ṇ*) *ḍ* + (*i*→*ay*) + *ata* = *gaṇḍayata* + *sU*→(84) *gaṇḍayataḥ* and *maḍI*+ *ṆiC*+*jhaC*→*ma*(*n*→*ṇ*) *ḍayata*= *maṇḍayata*+ *sU*→(86) *maṇḍayataḥ*.

Deriving (87) *spṛhayāluḥ* and (88) *gṛhayāluḥ* from (*spṛhi* + *āluC*)+ *sU*→*spṛhayāluḥ*, and (*gṛhi* + *āluC*) + *sU*→*gṛhayāluḥ*, also involves non-deletion of *ṆiC* and a replacement in *ay*. Note here that *spṛha* and *gṛha* are accepted as roots of the *cur-ādi* class ending in *a* (*ad-anta*). This *a*, at the end of *spṛha* and *gṛha* before *ṆiC*, is subsequently deleted (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*). Affix *āluC* is introduced by 3.2.158 *spṛhigṛhipati*. . . with the signification of *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature'. Examples (89) *spṛhayāyyaḥ* and (90) *gṛhayāyyaḥ* are similarly derived with the introduction of affix *āyya* after *spṛhi* and *gṛhi* (*Uṇādi* 3.93: *tanudakṣispṛhi*. . .). Affix *ṆiC* is saved from deletion and *ay* again comes as a replacement. Example (91) *stanayitnuḥ* is derived from (*stana* + *ṆiC*) + *itnu*→*stan*(*a*→ϕ) + (*i*→*ay*) + *itnu* = *stanayitnu* + *sU*→*stanayitnuḥ*. Here again we find *a*-deletion and replacement in *ay*. Refer to derivational details of *pārayiṣṇavaḥ* under the appendix (III: 754) of 3.2.137 *ṇeś chandasi*. Example (92) *poṣayiṣṇavaḥ* follows applications similar to *pārayiṣṇavaḥ*.

6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭṭāsiṣu* . . .

(93) *cāyiṣyate*	(99) *adāyiṣyata*
(94) *ceṣyate*	(100) *adāsyata*
(95) *acāyiṣyata*	(101) *śāmiṣyate*
(96) *aceṣyata*	(102) *śamiṣyate*
(97) *dāyiṣyate*	(103) *śamayiṣyate*
(98) *dāsyate*	(104) *aśāmiṣyata*

(105) *aśamiṣyata*
(106) *aśamayiṣyata*
(107) *ghāniṣyate*
(108) *haniṣyate*
(109) *aghāniṣyata*
(110) *ahaniṣyata*
(111) *grāhiṣyate*
(112) *grahīṣyate*
(113) *agrāhiṣyata*
(114) *agrahīṣyata*
(115) *darśiṣyate*
(116) *drakṣyate*
(117) *adarśiṣyata*
(118) *adrakṣyata*
(119) *acāyiṣātām*
(120) *aceṣātām*
(121) *adāyiṣātām*
(122) *adiṣātām*
(123) *aśāmiṣātām*
(124) *aśamiṣātām*
(125) *aśamayiṣātām*
(126) *aghāniṣātām*
(127) *avadhiṣātām*
(128) *ahasātām*
(129) *agrāhiṣātām*
(130) *agrahīṣātām*
(131) *adarśiṣātām*
(132) *adṛkṣātām*
(133) *śāmiṣīṣṭa*
(134) *śamiṣīṣṭa*
(135) *śamayiṣīṣṭa*
(136) *cāyitā*
(137) *cetā*

Refer to derivational details of *kariṣyati* (I: 511–12) and *kāriṣyate* (III: 728) under the appendices of rules 1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis*. . . and 3.1.87 *karmavat karmaṇā*. . ., respectively. Derivate (93) *cāyiṣyate* differs from *kariṣyati* in the sense that its *LṚṬ*→*ta* denotes *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object'. A middle suffix, as against an active, is introduced with the signification of *bhāva* and *karman* of 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. Of course, *kāriṣyate* is a derivate of *ṆiC* 'causative'. Thus, *ci* + (*LṚṬ*→*ta*)→*c*(*i*→*ai*) + *iṬ* + *sya* + *ta*→*c*(*ai*→*āy*) + *i* + *sya* + *t*(*a*→*e*) = *cāyiṣyate*, where we get the application of *ciṇvadbhāva*, *iṬ*, *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āy*. We will not get *iṬ* if the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is not accepted. Thus, *ci* + *sya* + *t*(*a*→*e*)→*c*(*i*→*e*) + *sya* + *te* = (94) *ceṣyate*, with *guṇa* and replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*). Derivates of *LṚṄ*, (95) *ci* + (*LṚ*→*ta*) = *acāyiṣyata* and (96) *aceṣyata*, can be similarly derived, with augment *aṬ* and no replacement in *e* (*etva*) of *ṭi*. Forms such as (97) *dāyiṣyate*, (98) *dāsyate* and (99) *adāyiṣyata*, (100) *adāsyata* are sets of optional middle derivates of *LṚṬ* and *LṚṄ*, respectively, introduced after *dā*. Note that, in addition to *sya*, we also get augment *yUK* (7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ*) when the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is accepted. Thus, *dāyiṣyate*/*adāyiṣyata* and *dāsyate*/*adāsyata* in each set. Now consider (101) *śami* + (*LṚṬ*→*ta*) = *śāmiṣyate* and (102) *śamiṣyate* where verbal root *śami* ends in *ṆiC*. This affix is deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi* before the optional application of *ciṇvadbhāva* is accepted. It is also because of *ciṇvadbhāva* that 6.4.93 *ciṇṇamulo' nyatarasyām* offers an optional long replacement for the short (6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*) penultimate vowel of the *aṅga*. We thus get form one (101) *śāmiṣyate*. No optional long replacement will give us form two (102) *śamiṣyate*. No optional *ciṇvadbhāva* will bring augment *iṬ* of 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*, and will produce (103) *śamayiṣyate* with *guṇa* and *ay* of *i*. One can similarly derive the three

derivates of *LṚṄ*: (104) *aśāmiṣyata*, (105) *aśamiṣyata* and (106) *aśamayiṣyata*.

Now consider (107) *ghāniṣyate*, (108) *haniṣyate*, and (109) *aghāniṣyata*, (110) *ahaniṣyata*, the two derivational sets of *han* with *sya* in (*LṚṬ*→*ta*) and (*LṚṄ*→*ta*), respectively. Derivates of *LṚṬ*, when opting for *ciṇvadbhāva*, will go through a replacement in *gh* for *h* of *han* (7.3.54 *ho hanter*. . .). Additionally, we also get a replacement in *vṛddhi*, due mainly to *Ṇ* as an *it* of *ciṆ* (*ciṇvadbhāva*). Derivates of *LṬ* will, additionally, have augment *aṬ*. Thus, *aghāniṣyata* and *ahaniṣyata*. Now consider (111) *grāhiṣyate* and (112) *grahīṣyate* where we get optional *ciṇvadbhāva*, augment *iṬ* and penultimate *vṛddhi* similar to preceding examples. A replacement in *ṣ* for *s* of *sya* produces *grāhiṣyate*. But we also get *grahīṣyate* where *iṬ*, in the absence of the option of *ciṇvadbhāva*, is introduced by 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. An absence of *ciṇvadbhāva* and *upadhā-vṛddhi* is here compensated by long replacement for the short of *i* of *iṬ* (7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ*). Corresponding forms of *LṚṄ*, i.e., (113) *agrahīṣyata* and (114) *agrahīṣyata*, offer nothing new. Examples (115) *darśiṣyate*, (116) *drakṣyate*; and (117) *adarśiṣyata*, (118) *adrakṣyata* illustrate examples of *LṚṬ* and *LṚṄ* with *sya*, respectively. Option of *ciṇvadbhāva* and *iṬ* offers *guṇa*, followed by *r* (*rapara*). Thus we will get *d*(*ṛ*→*ar*) *ś* + *iṬ* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *ya* + *t*(*a*→*e*) = *darśiṣyate*. No option of *ciṇvadbhāva* will produce *drakṣyate* with augment *aM* (6.1.58 *sṛjidṛśor jhaly am akiti*). The *ś* of *dṛś* will then be replaced with *r* (*yaṆ*). Its *ś* will similarly be replaced with *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛja*. . .). Rule 8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si* then replaces the *ṣ* with *k*. Finally, 8.3.57 *iṇkoḥ* replaces the *s* of *sya* with *ṣ* to produce: *dṛ* + *a*(*M*) *ś* + *sya* + *te*→*d*(*ṛ*→*r*) + *a*(*ś*→*ṣ*→*k*) + *sya* + *te*→*drak* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *ya* + *te* = *drakṣyate*. Forms of *LṚṄ*, (117) *adarśiṣyata* and (118) *adrakṣyata*, will, of course, derive with augment *aṬ*.

Examples (119) *acāyiṣātām* and (120) *aceṣātām* illustrate optional examples of third dual middle (*ātām*; 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*. . .) of (*LUṄ*→*ātām*) where *CLI* is replaced with *sIC* and augment *aṬ* is introduced. Thus we get *aṬ* + *ci*(*Ñ*) + (*CLI*→*sIC*) + (*LUṄ*→*ātām*)→*aci* + *s* + *ātām*, where the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* introduces augment *iṬ* and *i* of *ci* is replaced with *āy* via its *vṛddhi* replacement in *ai*. Thus, *ac*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *s* + *ātām* = *acāy* + *i* + (*s*→*ṣ*) + *ātām* = *acāyiṣātām*. We will get *aceṣātām* with a replacement in *guṇa* if the option of *ciṇvadbhāva* is not accepted. We will similarly get derivates of *dā* such as (121) *adāyiṣātām* and (122) *adiṣātām*. The first is derived from *dā* + (*LUṄ*→*ātām*)→*aṬ* + *dā* + *sIC* + *ātām*→*a* + *dā* + *iṬ* + *yUK* + *s* + *ātām*. We will get the *ā* of *dā* replaced with *i* (1.2.27 *sthāghvor ic ca*). The *guṇa* of *i* will be negated because of *K* as an *it* status of *sIC*. We will thus get *adiṣātām*.

Examples (123) *aśāmiṣātām*, (124) *aśamiṣātām* (125) *aśamayiṣātām* are derivates of *LUṄ*, introduced after verbal root *śami* ending in *ṆiC*. An optional *ciṇvadbhāva*, optional penultimate lengthening and deletion of *ṆiC* will produce *aśāmiṣātām* and *aśamiṣātām*. No *ciṇvadbhāva* will bring *iṬ* of 7.3.37 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*, *guṇa* and replacement in *ay*, thereby pro-

ducing *aśamayiṣātām*. These forms are similar to (104) *aśāmiṣyata*, (105) *aśamiṣyata* and (106) *aśamayiṣyata*. We will similarly get examples of *han* such as (126) *aghāniṣātām*, (127) *avadhiṣātām* and (128) *ahasātām* where the first will go through *kutva*, etc., similar to (109) *aghāniṣyata*. The second and third forms will have optional replacement of *han* with *vadha*. We will thus get *avadhiṣātām* and *ahasātām*. Note that *ahasātām* will have deletion of *n* (6.4.37 *anudāttopadeśavanati*. . .) because of the *kit* status of *sIC* (1.2.14 *hanaḥ sic*).

Our *LUṄ* derivates of *grah*, i.e., (129) *agrāhiṣātām* and (130) *agrahīṣātām*, will opt for *ciṇvadbhāva* and *vṛddhi* of the penultimate vowel. Example (129) *agrahīṣātām* will have the long *ī*-replacement of 7.2.37 *graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ*. Refer to earlier forms of these verbal roots for particular operations with or without the option of *ciṇvadbhāva*. Examples (133) *śāmiṣīṣṭa*, (134) *śamiṣīṣṭa* and (135) *śamayiṣīṣṭa* illustrate derivates of *sīyUṬ* (cf. II: 436–37). The last two examples, i.e., (136) *cāyitā* and (137) *cetā* are derivates of *tās*.

6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*

(138) *aikṣiṣṭa*
(139) *aihiṣṭa*
(140) *aubjīt*
(141) *aumbhīt*
(142) *aikṣata*
(143) *aihata*
(144) *aubjat*
(145) *aumbhat*
(146) *aikṣiṣyata*
(147) *aihiṣyata*
(148) *aubjiṣyat*
(149) *aumbhiṣyat*
(150) *aijyata*
(151) *aupyata*
(152) *auhyata*

An *aṅga* which begins with a vowel and occurs before *LUṄ*, *LAṄ* and *LṚṄ* receives augment *āṬ* at the beginning. Thus, *īkṣ* + (*LUṄ*→*ta*)→*īkṣ* + *iṬ* + *sIC* + *ta*→*āṬ* + *īkṣ* + *i* + *s* + *ta*→(*ā* + *ī*→*ai*) *kṣ* + *i* (*s*→*ṣ*) + (*t*→*ṭ*) *a* = (138) *aikṣiṣṭa*. Rule 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* will offer a single replacement in *vṛddhi* for *ā* and *ī*, thereby yielding: (*ā* + *ī*→*ai*) *kṣ* + *i* + *s* + *ta*. Refer to *kṛṣīṣṭa* (II: 339–40) for additional details. Example (139) *aihiṣṭa* is derived from *īh* + (*LUṄ*→*ta*) with similar applications. Our active (*parasmaipada*) derivates *ubj* + (*LUṄ*→*t*(*i*→ϕ) = (140) *aubjīt* and *umbh* + (*LUṄ*→*t*(*i*→ϕ)) = (141) *aumbhīt* will receive *īṬ* (7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte*) in addition to *āṬ*. Their *sIC* will then be deleted by 8.2.28 *iṭ īṭi*. A *savarṇa-dīrgha* application on (*ā* + *u*→*au*) *bj* + *i* + (*sIC*→ϕ)+ *i* + *t*→*aubj*(*i* + *ī*→*ī*) + *t* and (*ā* + *u*→*au*) *mbh* + *i* + (*sIC*→ϕ) + *ī* + *t*→*aumbh* (*i* + *ī*→*ī*) + *t* will finally produce *aubjīt* and *aumbhīt*. Examples of *LAṄ*, i.e., (142) *aikṣata* and (143) *aihata*, derive from *īkṣ* + (*LAṄ*→*ta*)→*āṬ* + *īkṣ* + *ŚaP* + *ta* and *īh* + (*LAṄ*→*ta*) = *āṬ* + *īh* + *ŚaP* + *ta*. The *ā* of *āṬ* and *ī* of roots will yield a single replacement in *vṛddhi* (6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*). This same also applies to active derivates (144) *aubjat* and (145) *aumbhat*, where *i* of *ti* gets deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*.

The middle derivates of *LṚṄ*, i.e., (146) *aikṣiṣyata*, (147) *aihiṣyata*, will receive *āṬ* and a single replacement in *vṛddhi*. They will also receive the usual *sya* and *iṬ*. Their active counterparts, i.e., (148) *aubjiṣyat* and (149) *aumbhiṣyat* are not any different. They will, of course, have the application of 3.4.100 *itaś ca*.

Our last three examples, i.e., (150) *aijyata*, (151) *aupayta* and (152) *auhyata*, are third person singular middle derivates of *LAṄ* introduced after *yaj*, *vap* and *vah*. *Kāśikā* offers operational steps as follows: *ta* as a replacement of *LAṄ* (*lādeśa*), *yaK*, *samprasāraṇa* and *āṬ*. Refer to my notes under this rule concerning obligatory and non-obligatory (*nityānitya*) aspects of rule applications.

6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvāṃ yvoriyaṅuvaṅau*

(153)	*āpnuvanti*	(160)	*niyau*
(154)	*rādhnuvanti*	(161)	*niyaḥ*
(155)	*śaknuvanti*	(162)	*luvau*
(156)	*cikṣiyatuḥ*	(163)	*luvaḥ*
(157)	*cikṣiyuḥ*	(164)	*bhruvau*
(158)	*luluvatuḥ*	(165)	*bhruvaḥ*
(159)	*luluvuḥ*		

This rule introduces *iyAṄ* and *uvAṄ* as replacements for the final *i* and *u* of an *aṅga* which ends in *śnu* (3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*), or of a *dhātu*, or else, the *ū* of *bhrū*. Of course, when a vowel-initial affix, follows. The first three examples derive from *āp* + (*LAṬ* + *jhi*)→*āp* + (*Ś*) *nu* + (*jh*→*ant*) *i*→*āp* + *n*(*u*→*uvAṄ*) + *anti* = (152) *āpnuvanti*. Similar applications are witnessed in (154) *rādhnuvanti* from *rādh* + *Śnu* + *jhi* and (155) *śaknuvanti* from *śak* + *Śnu* + *jhi*.

Recall that *atus* and *us* are third person dual and plural active replacements of *LIṬ* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ* . . .). Examples (156) *cikṣiyatuḥ* and (157) *cikṣiyuḥ* thus derive from *kṣi* + (*LIṬ*→*atus*) and *kṣi* + (*LIṬ*→*us*), where *i* of *cikṣi* + *atus* and *cikṣi* + *us* are replaced with *uvAṄ* after iteration and related operations. Thus, *cikṣ*(*i*→*iyAṄ*) + *atus*→*cikṣiyatu*(*s*→*ḥ*) and *cikṣ*(*i*→*iyAṄ*) + *us*→*cikṣiy* + *u*(*s*→*ḥ*) = *cikṣiyuḥ*. Examples (158) *luluvatuḥ* and (159) *luluvuḥ* illustrate a replacement in *uvAṄ* for *u* of *lulu*. Our next four derivates of *nī* and *lū* end in affix *KvIP* (3.2.61 *satsūdviṣa* . . .; 3.2.76 *kvip ca*). Note here that *KvIP* goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārilopa*) and an item which ends in a *KvIP* does not abandon its status as a *dhātu* (cf. *kvibantā dhātutvaṃ na jahati*). Thus, *n*(*ī*→*iyAṄ*) + *au*→(160) *niyau* and *n*(*ī*→*iyAṄ*) + *Ja*(*s*→*ḥ*)→(161) *niyaḥ*. We similarly get (162) *luvau* and (163) *luvaḥ* with a replacement in *uvAṄ*. This rule makes a special mention of *bhrū* because it is a nominal stem. We thus get *bhr*(*ū*→*uvAṄ* + *au*) = (164) *bhruvau* and *bhr*(*ū*→*uvAṄ* + (*J*) *as*→(165) *bhruvaḥ*.

6.4.149 *sūryatiṣyamatsyānāṃ ya upadhāyāḥ*

(166) *saurī balākā*
(167) *taiṣam ahaḥ*
(168) *taiṣī rātriḥ*
(169) *āgastī*
(170) *āgastīyaḥ*
(171) *matsī*

This rule offers deletion of the penultimate *y* of a *bha*, namely *sūrya, tiṣya, agastya* and *matsya*, provided *ī* or a *taddhita* follows. We derive (166) *saurī* from *saurya* + *ṄīP*, where *saurya* derives from *sūrya* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*→*s*(*ū*→*au*) *rya* + *a*→*saury*(*a*→ϕ) + *a* = *saurya* with initial *vṛddhi* and deletion of *a* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). Note here that yet another deletion of *a* is accomplished when deriving *saurī* from *saury*(*a*→ϕ) + *ṄīP*→*saury* + *ī*. The *y* of *saury* is then deleted by our present rule. This deletion of *y* is accomplished by treating deletion of *a* as *asiddha* 'suspended' (6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*). For, if *a*-deletion is not treated as *asiddha*, *y*-deletion cannot apply. That is, *y* will then be final, and not penultimate. The first deletion of *a* cannot be treated as *asiddha* because it is conditioned by affix *aṆ*. The deletion of *y* is conditioned by *ī* of the feminine affix. Deletion of the second *a*, and the penultimate deletion of *y*, both have similar locus (*samānāśraya*). This *a* is treated as *asiddha*. Deriving (167) *taiṣam* from *taiṣa* + *sU* and (168) *taiṣī* from *taiṣī* + *sU* is easy. Note, however, that *taiṣa* derives from *tiṣya* + *aṆ* with initial *vṛddhi*. We also find deletion of *a* and *y* of *taiṣya* before *aṆ*. Another *a*-deletion is accomplished when affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...) follows *taiṣa*. We similarly derive (169) *āgastī* from (*agastya* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*) + *ṄīP*, with the signification 'a female offspring of Agastya, a sage' (4.1.114 *ṛṣyandhakavṛṣṇi*...). Here again, we find *a* and *y* deletions before affix *aṆ*. We derive (170) *āgastīyaḥ* by further introducing affix *cha*, again with *a* and *y* deletions. The word (171) *matsī* ends in a *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*) introduced after *matsya*. This derivate also involves *a*-deletion which, in turn, facilitates *y*-deletion via *asiddhatva*.

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The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini

Volume VI

English Translation of Adhyāyas Seven and Eight with Sanskrit Text, Transliteration, Word-Boundary, Anuvṛtti, Vṛtti, Explanatory Notes, Derivational History of Examples, and Indices

Rama Nath Sharma

This volume of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* contains English translation of *adhyāyas* seven and eight. It includes Sanskrit text of individual *sūtras* with their transliteration, word-boundaries, indication of inflectional endings and formation of compounds. Each *sūtra* is also furnished with *anuvṛtti, vṛtti,* examples, detailed explanatory notes and complete derivational history of examples, cited by the *Kāśikāvṛtti.*

Explanatory notes are presented to facilitate proper understanding of individual *sūtras*, especially in view of their formulation, interpretation, application and relative placement in the grammar.

An attempt has been made to sort out and explain pertinent issues, as raised and discussed by major commentaries particularly the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. Derivational details of examples, unlike earlier volumes, are furnished under explanatory notes of individual rules. This completes the author's six-volume study on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.*

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Rama Nath Sharma was born (1939) at Chhata, Ballia (India), as the eldest son of Pandit Raghunath Sharma, the author of the commentary *Ambākartrī* on the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari. He is currently Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawaii, USA. After receiving M.A. in Hindi literature (Allahabad, 1959) and Linguistics (Agra, 1962), he taught Linguistics and Hindi literature at the University of Allahabad (1962-66). He received his Ph.D. (1971) in General Linguistics from the University of Rochester where he also taught Linguistics for five years (1970-75). His research interest includes Linguistic theory in general, and Pāṇini and the Indian grammatical tradition, in particular.

THE AṢṬĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI

VOL. VI

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF *ADHYĀYAS* SEVEN AND EIGHT WITH SANSKRIT TEXT, TRANSLITERATION, WORD-BOUNDARY, *ANUVṚTTI*, *VṚTTI*, EXPLANATORY NOTES, DERIVATIONAL HISTORY OF EXAMPLES, AND INDICES

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For my wife
Kamala
without whose support
I could not complete this study

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Preface

I planned this project on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* in August of 1978. My initial plan was to produce a five-volume study of which the first was to be a theoretical treatment of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as a grammatical device. Since subsequent volumes grew in size, and also since volume two could only cover the first *adhyāya,* I had to plan a sixth volume covering the rules of the seventh and eighth *adhyāyas.*

Many of my ideas on formulation, interpretation, order and application of rules of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* found their better shape during discussions at the Summer Institute of Linguistics (1978), in Honolulu, where I was teaching a course on Pāṇini. The first volume was written during 1982-83, mostly at Varanasi, where I was on sabbatical leave. Since this volume was basically a presentation of my ideas on aspects of rule-formulation, order and application, and also since I wanted to avoid repetition, it was a relatively shorter volume.

Volume II was big, but could only cover the first *adhyāya,* mostly because of a very detailed appendix on derivational history of examples cited by the *Kāśikāvṛtti* under individual rules. This volume pretty much set the trend for all subsequent volumes. Volume III covered *adhyāyas* two and three, where derivational history of examples had to be given comparatively larger space. Volume IV is perhaps the largest because of the sheer number of rules of *adhyāyas* four and five. Derivations and explanatory notes, however, demanded relatively less space. The fifth volume had to be published independently, due mostly to the nature of its content and size. Volume VI, of course, had to cover the remaining two *adhyāyas,* seven and eight. I had intended to publish the *tripādī* (the last three quarters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*) as a separate volume which, obviously, was not possible.

I have always followed traditional interpretations in sorting out issues concerning formulation, interpretation, order and application of rules. In doing that, I have not taken anything for granted. While the *Kāśikāvṛtti* has been my main source for organizing explanatory notes, its commentaries, the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi and the *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta, have been my primary sources for raising issues and resolving conflicts of interpretations. I have consulted the *Mahābhāṣya* for *vārttikas,* and also to understand clearly Haradatta's statements on the *Kāśikāvṛtti.* I have relied heavily on the *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrtti, the *Prakriyā-kaumudī* of Rāmacandra, and last but not the least, the *Siddhānta-kaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, for derivational details. While my mind has always remained open to interpretations of the learned (*śiṣṭa*), especially Nāgeśa, Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita of the new school of grammar (*navya-vyākaraṇa*), my heart always remained in favor

of the old school in general, and the *Kāśikāvṛtti* with the *Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī*, in particular. Patañjali, of course, remained my final authority on all aspects of discussions:

> *kṛte' tha patañjalinā guruṇā tīrthadarśinā /*
> *sarveṣāṃ nyāyabījānāṃ bhāṣya eva nibandhane //*
>
> (*VP* II:477)

The task of preparing these volumes has been very challenging, especially when it came to fully understanding the intricacies of this grammar, and more so when it came to writing in the English language. I have tried my best to present my translations, notes, and derivations, in a non-technical way focusing primarily on ease of understanding of my readers both Sanskritists and linguists. Works of George Cardona, Brahmadatta Jijñāsu / Prajñā Devī, S.M. Katre, Harshanath Mishra, Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, Charudeva Shastri, Bhimasena Shastri and Jayashankar Lal Tripathi have proved to be of great help. A few summers ago I studied the *aṅgādhikāra* and *tripādī* with commentaries, in detail, with Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi. I was fortunate to have his permission to record all sessions. These recordings have proved extremely valuable for my explanatory notes on rules of the *aṅgādhikāra* and *tripādī*. Commentators rejoice in expatiation (*prapañca*), albeit out of compassion for knowers but only of part-truths (*siddhāntaika-deśin*). But this resort to expatiation also shows their great acumen in diving into a much deeper realm of grammatical speculation and argumentation. I am guilty of following in their foot-steps, albeit with shaky feet, in my notes under rules 7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ*, 7.1.35 *tuhyos tātaṅ*. . ., 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*, 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* and 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*. I hope this will give my reader some ideas about the depth of grammatical thinking in ancient India. For, my effort in expatiation is certainly not guided by any compassion for slow-wit (*manda-dhī*).

Many traditional insights of the Vārāṇasī school on organization and function of rules of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, especially those pertaining to some major interpretive conventions and rules, for example, 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*, 3.1.94 *vā' sarūpo' striyām*, 4.1.1 *ṅyāpprātipadikāt*, 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*, and 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, deserve separate treatments. I am grateful to my father Pandit Raghunath Sharma, and my guru Pandit Ramaprasad Tripathi, for teaching me about the richness of this tradition. I have also benefited from reading *adhyāya* three with Śrīnārāyaṇa Miśra of the Banaras Hindu University. I owe an enormous debt to these scholars. I am grateful to Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra, Dr. G.C. Pande and Dr. Namvār Singh for their continued support and encouragement. As I have already indicated in the preface of my earlier volumes, this project has been very difficult and time-consuming. It has taken nearly twenty-five years of diligent work. I may have made many erros in interpretation and presentation. I

plan to edit these volumes so that their second edition could be made free of typos, and any possible errors. The second reprint edition of the first volume is already published with some additions.

My younger brother Narendra Nath Pandeya of the Sampurnananda Sanskrit University, Varanasi, must get credit, not only for reading and explaining things to me, but also for keeping my western analytical mind in check, grounded in the tradition. I commend him for his patience with the eldest brother. My son Alok has virtually grown up with this project. He deserves my sincere appreciation, and love, for his patience and understanding.

The American Institute of Indian Studies, and the University of Hawaii's Research Council and Research Relations, have been regular supporters of this project with grants and logistical assistance. They deserve my thanks. My former Hindi-Sanskrit students, Stanley Schab, Julie Trott, Abigail Brown, and Christopher Bopp, have worked on this project at different stages. They deserve more than mere thanks. Christopher Bopp has the credit of seeing the last four volumes through press. His competence in things computer has been a blessing for me. I shall, forever, remain indebted to Chris Bopp for his diligent assistance. I must thank Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, particularly Mr. Devendra Jain, for their patience and dedication in bringing this series to light. What a relief?

I dedicate this volume to my wife Kamala without whose love and support I would not have been able to bring this project to a successful completion.

> *gahanataragranthārthān*
> *vīkṣya maṅkṣu saṃkṣipatām /*
> *skhalitam api sambhaven nas*
> *tatra vibhudhā vimatsarāḥ śaraṇam //*

Prakriyāsarvasvam (I:79) of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa

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1 November 2002

Abbreviations

abl	ablative
acc	accusative
Ait	*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*
bv	*bahuvrīhi*
cat tat	*caturthī-tatpuruṣa*
DP	*Dhātupāṭha*
dat	dative
du	dual
dv	*dvandva*
dvi tat	*dvitīyā-tatpuruṣa*
itar dv	*itaretara-dvandva*
fem	feminine
GP	*Gaṇapāṭha*
gen	genitive
inst	instrumental
int	internal
KS	*Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā*
Kāś	*Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana Jayāditya with *Padamañjarī (PM)* of Haradatta and the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi
loc	locative
LS	*Laghuśabdenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
Mbh	*Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* of Patañjali with the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and the *Udyota* of Nāgeśa
masc	masculine
nañ tat	*nañ-tatpuruṣa*
neut	neuter
nom	nominative
PM	*Padamañjarī* of Haradatta as *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana Jayāditya
PŚ	*Paribhāṣenduśekhara* of Nāgeśa
Pai	*Paippalāda Saṃhitā*
pbh	*paribhāṣā*
pañc	*pañcamī*
pl	plural
RV	*Ṛgveda*
SK	*Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita with the *Bālamanoramā* of Vāsudeva Dīkṣita, and the *Tattvabodhinī* of Jñānendra Sarasvatī
SP	*Sūtrapāṭha*
sam	*samāhāra*

sg	singular
Śs	*Śivasūtra*
Śat	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
ṣaṣ	*ṣaṣṭhī*
Tai	*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*
tat	*tatpuruṣa*
tr/tṛt	*tṛtīyā*
VP	*Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari with the commentary *Ambākartrī* of Pandit Raghunath Sharma
vt	*vārttika*
Vāj	*Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*
voc	vocative

Adhyāya Seven

Pāda One

7.1.1 युवोरनाकौ

yuvor anākau
/*yuvoḥ* 6/1 = *yuś ca vuś ca* = *yuvu* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya; anākau* 1/2 = *anaś ca akaś ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
'*yu, vu*' *ity etayor utsṛṣṭaviśeṣaṇayor anunāsikayaṇoḥ pratyayayor grahaṇam, tayoḥ sthāne yathāsaṃkhyam* '*ana, aka*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*
Affixes *yu* and *vu*, in relation to an *aṅga*, are replaced with *ana* and *aka*, respectively.

Examples:

nandanaḥ 'he who brings joy; a son'
ramaṇaḥ 'delightful, playful'
sāyantanaḥ 'pertaining to an evening'
cirantanaḥ 'eternal'
kārakaḥ 'he who does'
hārakaḥ 'he who carries'
vāsudevakaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Vāsudeva'
arjunakaḥ 'he whose object of devotion is Arjuna'

1. Consider *nandanaḥ* and *ramaṇaḥ*, both derivates of affix *Lyu* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*...), which, in turn, is introduced after *ṬUnadI* 'to be joyous' and *ramU* 'to sport' with the signification of *kartṛ* 'agent'. Our next two examples, i.e., *sāyantanaḥ* and *cirantanaḥ*, are derivates of affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL* (4.3.23 *sāyaṃciraṃ*... *tuṭ ca*), respectively, where, in addition to affixes *Ṭyu* and *ṬyuL*, we also find a concurrent introduction of augment *tUṬ*. The *yu* of these affixes, all, is hereby replaced with *ana*. Refer to derivational details of *kārakaḥ* and *hārakaḥ* (II:450) where *vu* (of affix *ṆvuL*) is replaced with *aka*. Examples such as *vāsudevakaḥ* and *arjunakaḥ* are derivates of *vuN* (4.3.98 *vāsudevārjunābhyāṃ vun*).

Note that *yu* and *vu*, for brevity of application (*lāghavārtham śāstrasya*), are here interpreted as affixes relative to an item termed *aṅga* (1.4.13 *yasmāt pratyayavidhis*...). For, in its absence, *ana* and *aka* could widely replace any *yu* and *vu*. This specification of *yu* and *vu*, made without any qualifying *it*-elements, is accepted as made with *anunāsika* 'nasalization'. Thus, *yu* of the non-nasalized *yuS* (5.2.123 *ūrṇāyaḥ yus*), introduced after *ūrṇā* (in *ūrṇāyuḥ*) with the signification of *matUP* (*ūrṇā asya asti*; 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty*...), cannot be replaced with *ana*.

The *Uṇādi* affixes *yuK* and *tyuK* can similalrly not be replaced with *ana*, when occurring after *bhujI* 'to consume' and *mṛN* 'to die', as in *bhujyuḥ* 'food' and *mṛtyuḥ* 'death'.

How do we know that these specifications are made with nasalization. It is known by the tradition. This is how the *pāṇinīyas* know what is taught by Pāṇini with nasalization (*pratijñānunāsikyāḥ pāṇinīyāḥ*).

2. Questions have been raised against *yuvoḥ*, the genitive dual of *yuvū* with *os*. For, as a *dvandva* compound of the type *samāhāra*, the form should have been *yuvanaḥ*, a singular neuter with *nUM* (7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*). If interpreted as a *dvandva* compound of the *itaretarayoga* kind, the dual form, with *yaṆ* before *os*, should have been *yuvvoḥ*. How do we get *yuvoḥ*? It is stated that *yuvoḥ* is a dual of the *itaretarayoga* type where augment *nUM* can be accepted as *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. Thus, given *yuvū* + *Ṅas*, we will get *yuvoḥ*, through *guṇa* (*yuv*(*u*→*o*) + *as*; 7.3.11 *gher ṅiti*), *pūrvarūpa* (*yuv*(*o* + *a*) *s* = *yuvos*; 6.1.110 *ṅasiṅasoś ca*) and *rutva-visarga* (*yuvo*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*)).

A specification with *yuvoḥ*, with a *dvandva* compound of the *samāhāra* type, can still be accepted as correct. The problem of masculine (*puṃstvam*), as against neuter (*napuṃsakatvam*), can then be resolved by accepting the usage (*loka*) as standard (*pramāṇa*). For, determination of gender is based upon usage (*lokāśrayatvāl liṅgasya*). Thus, *yuvoḥ* follows the derivational pattern of *bhānoḥ*/ *śambhoḥ*, etc. If one still insists on accepting the *itaretarayoga* analysis, one has to resort to *chandovat sūtrāṇi bhavanti* '*sūtras* are similar to the Vedic hymns.' The *bahulam* 'variously' provision of the Vedic (*chandasi*) can thus account for a lack, or deletion, of an additional *v* in *yuvoḥ*. The following *ślokavārttika* summarizes this view as follows:

> *yuvoś ced dvitvanirdeśo dvitve yaṇ tu prasajyate/*
> *atha ced ekavadbhāvaḥ kathaṃ puṃvad bhaved ayam//*
> *dvitve naigamiko lopa ekatve num anityatā/*
> *aśiṣyatvādd hi liṅgasya puṃstvaṃ veha samāśritam//*
> 'if *yu* and *vu* are specified together in the dual, with a subsequent introduction of the genitive dual ending *-os*, we will get an application of *yaṆ* of *u* of *vū* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*). If one accepts that *yu* and *vu* are combined together in a *dvandva* compound with the state of denoting one (*ekavadbhāva*), we should get the form *yuvoḥ*, similar to *bhānoḥ* and *śambhoḥ*. But since consideration of the denotation of one would obligatorily require introduction, and subsequent non-deletion, of augment *nUM*, the form should be *yuvunaḥ*, a neuter (*napuṃsaka*). Why are we getting the form *yuvoḥ* similar to masculine *śambhoḥ*? A masculine form is adhered to with the understanding that, since gender is dependent upon usage (*lokāśraya*), gender should not be taught.'

Accepitng a *dvandva*-form such as *yuvoḥ* with no *nUM*, and signification of one (genitive singular), would be tantamount to refuting the formulation

of rule 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam.* If the form is to be accepted as *yuvoḥ,* and thereby 2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam* is saved from becoming vacuous, we have to block introduction of *nUM* on the basis of accepting its augmentation as *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. But what would one do to its teaching of gender? Can we say that it does not teach gender because gender should not be taught? But if this rule does not teach gender, we will not get neuter in many instances of *samāhāra-dvandva.* May be we should accept *yuvoḥ* as a Vedic anamoly (*chāndasatvāt*). I refrain from discussing it any further since that, in view of Haradatta, the author of *Padamañjarī,* will be an exercise in *vanya-gaja-śauca* 'cleansing of a wild elephant'.

7.1.2 आयनेयीनीयियः फढखछघां प्रत्ययादीनाम्

āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ phaḍhakhachaghāṃ pratyayādīnām
/ *āyan-ey-īn-īy-iyaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *pha-ḍha-kha-cha-ghām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
'*āyan, ey, īn, īy, iy*' *ity ete ādeśā bhavanti yathāsaṃkhyaṃ* '*pha, ḍha, kha, cha, gha*' *ity eteṣāṃ pratyayādīnām*
A *phA, ḍhA, khA, chA* and *ghA* which, relative to an *aṅga,* occurs at the beginning of an affix is replaced with *āyan, ey, īn, īy* and *iy,* respectively.

EXAMPLES:

nāḍāyanaḥ 'grandson of Naḍa'
cārāyaṇaḥ 'grandson of Cara'
sauparṇeyaḥ 'son of Suparṇā'
vainateyaḥ 'son of Vinatā'
āḍhyakulīnaḥ 'born in a rich family'
śrotriyakulīnaḥ 'born in the family of śrotriyas'
gārgīyaḥ 'student of Garga'
vātsīyaḥ 'student of Vatsa'
kṣattriyaḥ 'a kṣatriya'

1. The *a* in *pha, ḍha,* etc., is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). That is, these replacements are intended in place of consonants *ph, ḍh,* etc. (*phakārāder halmātrasya*). The following is a select list of specified affixes:

(*a*) Affixes with initial *ph*: *CphaÑ* (4.1.98 *gotre kuñjādibhyaś ca*), *phaK* (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*), *phaÑ* (4.1.110 *aśvādibhyaḥ phañ*), *phiÑ* (4.1.159 *tikādibhyaḥ phiñ*), *phiÑ* (4.1.160 *prācām avṛddhāt*. . .), *Ṣpha* (4.1.17 *prācāṃ ṣphas* . . .), and *ṢphaK* (4.2.99 *kāpiśyāḥ ṣphak*);
(*b*) affixes with initial *ḍh*: *ḍhaK* (4.1.119 *ḍhak ca maṇḍūkāt*), *ḍhaKAÑ* (4.1.140 *apūrvapadād* . . .), *ḍhaÑ* (4.1.135 *catuṣpādbhyo ḍhañ*), *ḍhinUK* (4.3.109 *chagalino ḍhinuk*), and *ḍhraK* (4.1.129 *godhāyā ḍhrak*);

(*c*) affixes with initial *kh*: *kha* (4.1.139 *kulāt khaḥ*), *khaÑ* (4.1.142 *mahākulād añkhañau*);

(*d*) affixes with initial *ch*: *cha* (4.1.143 *svasuś chaḥ*), *chaṆ* (4.1.132 *pitṛṣvasuś chaṇ*), *chaS* (4.2.115 *bhavataṣ ṭhakchasau*);

(*e*) affixes with initial *gh*: *gha* (4.1.138 *kṣatrād ghaḥ*), *ghaC* (4.4.117 *ghacchau ca*), *ghaN* (4.2.26 *śukrād ghan*) and *ghaS* (5.1.106 *chandasi ghas*).

Derivational details of many forms similar to these examples have already been discussed in the appendices of volumes (II) and (IV).

2. The condition of *pratyayādi* is necessary so that root-initial *ph, ḍh, kh, ch* and *gh* in *phakkati, ḍhaukate, khanati, chinatti,* and *ghūrṇate* could not be replaced with corresponding *āyan,* etc. A specification with *ādi* excludes replacement of *gh* with *iy* in *urudaghnaḥ,* where affix *daghnaÑ* contains *gh* in the middle.

This replacement does not apply to an affix introduced after a verbal root. For, if it was intended, 3.1.29 *ṛter īyaṅ* would have been formulated as *ṛteś chaṅ,* where initial *ch* could have then been replaced with *īy* of this rule. The formulation of 3.1.29 as *ṛter īyaṅ* then becomes a *jñāpaka* 'indicator'. A replacement of this rule does not apply to *kh* and *ḍh* of *śaṅkhaḥ* and *ṣaṇḍhaḥ* where affixes *kha* and *ḍha* are introduced after verbal roots *śam* and *ṣaṇ*. This is possible at the strength of rule 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam.*

The *gh* and *kh* of affixes *KHaŚ* (3.2.28 *ejeḥ khaś*) and *GHaÑ* (3.3.16 *padarujaviśaspṛśo ghañ*) cannot be replaced with *īn* and *īy,* either. They are elements termed *it* (1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite*) and thus cannot be replaced with *īn* and *īy.*

Note that 1.3.3 *halantyam* should be blocked from assigning the term *it* to the final *n* of *āyan* and *in.* This is indicated by *N* as an *it* in *phiN* (4.1.160 *prācām avṛddhāt*...). The *N* as an *it* in *phiN* facilitates initial *udātta* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). If the *n* of *āyan* and *in* was also considered as an *it,* marking *phiN* with *N* as an *it* will become useless. For, *n* of *āyan* and *in* could have accounted for the desired accent.

3. A proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to replace *ph* , etc. with *āyan,* etc., at the time when affixes are introduced (*āyannādayaḥ pratyayopadeśakāla eva bhavanti*). This way, the *udātta* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*) at the beginning of affixes remains intact. The *C* as an *it* in an affix also becomes meaningful. Thus, consider 4.4.117 *ghacchau ca* where *ghaC,* an affix marked with *C* as an *it,* conditions final *udātta* (6.1.161? *citaḥ*).

It is stated that *āyan,* etc., do not replace affixes which occur after a verbal root. This is indicated by not formulating 3.1.29 *ṛter īyaṅ* as *ṛteś chaṅ.* A formulation with *chaṄ,* with subsequent replacement of *ch* with *īyaṄ,* would have served the purpose. Thus, we do not get replacements for *kh* (*Uṇ.* I:99: *śameḥ khaḥ*) and *ḍh* (*Uṇ.* I:102: *śamer ḍhaḥ*) in *śam* + *kha* = *śaṃkha* and *śam* + *ḍha* = *śaṇḍha,* vide 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam.* Now consider affixes *KHaŚ* (3.2.28

ejeḥ khaś) and *GHaÑ* (3.3.16 *padarujaviśaspṛśo ghañ*), where *KH* and *GH* are not replaced with *īn* and *īy*. For, they are treated as *it* elements (1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite*). A substitute replaces *kh* and *gh* in a *taddhita* affix when assignment of the term *it* does not find its scope (*anavakāśa*). What about the final *n* of *āyan*? This cannot be considered as an *it*. It is indicated by the final *n* of *phiN* (4.1.160 *prācām avṛddhāt*...). That is, the *ph* of *phiN* is replaced with *āyan* and the affix-final *N* is treated as an *it* to block the *udātta* of 6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*. There is no purpose served by using the final *n* as an *it* in *āyan*. Conversely, the *N* of *phiN* becomes vacuous if the final *n* of *āyan* is treated as an *it* (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*: *tad etat phino nitkaraṇam itsaṃjñābhāvasya jñāpakam eva. yogāpekṣaṃ cedaṃ jñāpakam—anena yogena vihitasyādeśasya yo nakāras tasyetsaṃjñā na bhavatīti. teneno' pi nakārasyetsaṃjñā' bhāvo bhavati siddaḥ*).

7.1.3 झोऽन्तः

jho' ntaḥ
/*jhaḥ* 6/1 *antaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *pratyayasya* #2)
pratyayāvayavasya jhasya 'anta' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A *jh* which is contained within an affix, relative to an *aṅga*, is replaced with *antA*.

EXAMPLES:

kurvanti 'they are doing...'
sunvanti 'they are pressing out (soma)'
cinvanti 'they are heaping up (the ritual fire)'
śayāntai '... should recline'
veśantaḥ 'a small pond'
jarantaḥ 'very old'

1. Note that *ādiḥ* is not carried. The final *a* of *anta* is given for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). Consider *kurvanti* which derives from *kṛ* + (*LAṬ*→*jhi*) where *jhi* replaces *LAṬ* (4.1.78 *tiptasjhi*...) and *u* is introduced after *kṛ* (3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhyo uḥ*). Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhdhākukayoḥ* (read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*), then introduces *ar* as a *guṇa* replacement for *ṛ* of *kṛ* + *u* + *jhi*. The *a* of *k*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *u* + *jhi* = *kar* + *u* + *jhi* is then replaced with *u* (6.4.110 *at ut sārvadhātuke*) to produce *k*(*a*→*u*)*r* + *u* + *jhi*. We finally get *kurvanti* through *yaṆ* of *u* and *ant* as a replacement for *jh*. Thus, *kur* + (*u*→*v*) + (*jh*→*ant*)*i*)) = *kurvanti*. Refer to derivational details (II:340) relevant for deriving *cinvanti* and *sunvanti*. Our example *śayāntai*, derived with Vedic *LEṬ* introduced after *śīN*, follows the pattern of *gṛhyāntai* (III:900). The last two examples derive with the *Uṇādi* affix *jhaC* where *jh* is replaced with *ant*. The root-vowels *ṝ* and *i* also go through *guṇa* replacements *ar* and *e*.

2. Note that this replacement in *ant* is available only to *jh* of an affix (*Kāś.: 'pratyayasya' ity eva*). Thus, the *jh* of *ujjh* 'to abandon, leave', in *ujjhitā, ujjhitum* and *ujjhitavyam,* does not get replaced with *ant.* It should be remembered here that a replacement in *ant* does not remove the initial *udātta* status of an affix (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). For, this is how *C* as an *it* in *jhaC* becomes meaningful. That is, *C* is used as an *it* where initial *udātta* is to be blocked in favor of a final *udātta* (6.1.163 *citaḥ*).

7.1.4 अदभ्यस्तात्

ad abhyastāt
/*at* 1/1 *abhyastāt* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *pratyayasya* #2 *jhaḥ* #3)
abhyastād aṅgād uttarasya jhakārasya 'at' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The *jhA* part of an affix which occurs after an *aṅga* termed *abhyasta* is replaced with *aT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*).

EXAMPLES:

dadati 'third person singular present active of *dā*'
dadatu 'second person singular imperative of *dā*'
dadhati 'third person singular active of *dhā*'
dadhatu 'second person singular imperative of *dhā*'
jakṣati 'third person singular present active of *jakṣ*'
jakṣatu 'second person singular imperative of *jakṣ*'
jāgrati 'third person singular present active of *jāgṛ*'
jāgratu 'second person singular imperative of *jāgṛ*'

1. This rule replaces *jh* with *aT* when *jh* is part of an affix and occurs after an *aṅga* termed *abhyasta.* Refer to derivational details of *dadati* and *dadhati* (6.1.5 *jakṣityādayaḥ* . . .), where *dadā* + *jhi* and *dadhā* + *jhi* are produced, via reduplication (6.1.10 *ślau*), after deletion of *ŚaP* by *ŚLU.* Our present rule replaces *jh* with *aT* and *ā* of *dadā* and *dadhā* gets deleted by 6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ.* Thus, *dad*(*ā*→ϕ) + (*jh*→*at*) *i* = *dadati*; *dadh*(*ā*→ϕ) + (*jh*→*at*) *i* = *dadhati.* Recall that the final *i* of a replacement of *LOṬ* is replaced with *u* (3.4.86 *eruḥ*). This gives us *dadatu* and *dadhatu,* etc.

This replacement in *aT* blocks *ant* of the earlier rule. Note, however, that this replacement cannot block a replacement in *Jus* (3.4.110 *jher jus*; 3.4.111 *sijabhyasta* . . .). Thus, consider *adaduḥ* and *adadhuḥ,* etc.

Here, too, a replacement, when accomplished at the outset, brings *udātta* at the beginning of the affix. This provision, however, is more relatable to derivates of subsequent rules. Derivates of this rule will get initial *udātta* in consonance with 6.1.189 *abhyastānām ādiḥ.*

7.1.5 आत्मनेपदेष्वनतः

ātmanepadeṣv anataḥ

/*ātmanepadeṣu* 7/3 *anataḥ* 5/1 = *na at* = *anat* (*nañ.*), *tasmāt*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *jhaḥ* #2 *pratyayasya* #3 *at* #4)
ātmanepadeṣu yo jhakāras tasyānakārāntād aṅgād uttarasya 'at' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A *jh* which, as part of an affix termed *ātmanepada*, follows an *aṅga* not ending in *na*, is replaced with *aT*.

EXAMPLES:

cinvate 'third person plural present (*LAṬ*) of *ciÑ*'
cinvatām 'third person plural imperative (*LOṬ*) . . .'
acinvata 'third person plural imperfect (*LAṄ*) middlle of *ciÑ*'
punate 'third person plural present (*LAṬ*) middle of *pūÑ*'
lunate 'third person plural present (*LAṬ*) middle of *lūÑ*'
lunatām 'third person plural imperative (*LOṬ*) of *lūÑ*'
alunata '. . . of Aorist (*LUṄ*) . . .'

1. This rule does not apply after an *abhyasta*, or when an *aṅga* terminates in *a*. Consider *cinvate* which derives from *ci* + *LAṬ* where *LAṬ* gets replaced with the third person plural *ātmanepada* suffix *jha*, and *ŚnU* is introduced as a *vikaraṇa* (3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*). We derive *ci* + *nu* + (*jh*→*at*) *a* → *cin* + *u* + *at*(*a*→*e*) = *cin* + (*u*→*v*) + *ate* = *cinvate*, through *aT*-replacement of *jh* followed by *etva* (3.4.79 *ṭit āmanepadānāṃ ter eḥ*) and *yaṆ*. This replacement in *jh* occurs after an *aṅga* which here ends in *u*. A replacement in *e* (*etva*) in *cinvatām* is blocked in favor of *ām* (3.4.90 *ām etaḥ*). Thus, *ci* + (*LOṬ*→*jha*) → *ci* + (*jh*→*at*) *a* → *ci* + *nu* + *ata* → *ci* + *nu* + *at* (*a*→*ām*) → *ci* + (*n*(*u*→*v*) + *atām*)) = *cinvatām*. Similar rules apply in deriving derivates of *LAṄ*, such as *acinvata*, etc., where *etva* does not apply since *LAṄ* is not marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*.

Refer to derivational details of *vyatilunate* (II:467-68) for deriving *lunate*.

2. The condition of *ātmanepadeṣu* blocks this replacement where a *parasmaipada* replacement may be involved. Thus, *cinvanti*, etc., will be treated as counter-examples. The condition of an *aṅga* ending in something other than an *a* is also required. Thus, consider *cyavante* and *plavante* which are third plural *LAṬ* forms of *cyu* and *plu*. Given *cyu* + *ŚaP* + *jha* and *plu* + *ŚaP* + *jha*, the *u* of *cyu* and *plu* goes through *guṇa* and its subsequent replacement in *av*. This yields *cy*(*u*→*o*→*av*) + *a* + *jha*. This *jh*, for reason of occurring after an *aṅga* terminating in *a*, cannot be replaced with *aT*. It must then be replaced with *ant*. There is no way other than replacing *jh* with *ant* here. For, *ŚaP* is obligatory (*nitya*). Thus, *cyava* + (*jh*→*ant*) *a* → *cyav*(*a* + *a*→*a*) *nta* → *cyavant*(*a*→*e*) = *cyavante*. Similar rules apply in deriving *plavante*. A derivate such as *śayāntai* must also be excluded from a replacement in *at*. For, *jh* here occurs after *śayā*, an *aṅga* intervened by *āṬ*.

7.1.6 शीङो रुट्

śīṅo ruṭ

/*śīṅaḥ* 5/1 *ruṭ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *jhaḥ* #3 *at* #4)
śīṅo' ṅgād uttarasya jhādeśasyāto ruḍāgamo bhavati
An *aT* which comes in place of a *jha* contained within an affix following an *aṅga*, namely *śīN*, is introduced with augment *rUṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

śerate 'third person plural present (*LOṬ*) middle of *śīṄ*'
śeratām 'third person plural imperative (*LOṬ*) middle . . .'
aśerata 'third person plural middle imperfect (*LAṄ*) . . .'

1. This rule introduces *rUṬ* to the *at*-replacement of *jh* which occurs after *śīṄ*. Consider *śī* + (*LAṬ*→*jha*) → *śī* + (*jh*→*at*) *a* → *śī* + *at*(*a*→*e*) → *śī* + *rUṬ* + *ate* → *ś*(*ī*→*e*) + *r* + *ate* = *śerate*, where *guṇa* is accomplished by 7.4.12 *śīṅaḥ sārvadhātuke guṇaḥ*. A derivate of *LOṬ* will have its *e* replaced with *ām* to yield *śeratām*. A derivate of *LAṄ*, i.e., *aśerata*, will not permit this *e* (*etva*). Note that *rUṬ* is introduced as initial of a form which follows the root. Why can it not be introduced to *jha*? A replacement in *at* for *jh* will be blocked if *rUṬ* was introduced to *jha*. For, *rUṬ* will then intervene. This is why *rUṬ* is introduced after replacing *jh* with *at*.

Why is verbal root *śīṄ* specified here with *Ṅ* as an *it*? So that *rUṬ* can be introduced only when there is no following *yaṄ*. Consider *vyatiśeśyate* which derives from (*vi* + *ati* + *śīṄ* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*)). Affix *yaṄ* is here deleted, but reduplication and replacement in *at*, followed by *etva*, are accomplished. Augment *rUṬ* is not introduced. Note that *Ṅ* as an *it* in *śīṄ* is specified so that *rUṬ* could not be introduced where deletion of *yaṄ* applies (*a-yaṅ-lugartham*).

7.1.7 वेत्तेर्विभाषा

vetter vibhāṣā
/*vetteḥ* 5/1 *vibhāṣa* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *jhaḥ* #3 *at* #4 *ruṭ* #6)
vetter aṅgād uttarasya jhādeśasyāto vibhāṣā ruḍ āgamo bhavati
The *at* which comes in place of a *jha* contained within an affix occurring after an *aṅga*, namely *vid* 'to know', is optionally introduced with augment *rUṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

saṃvidrate
saṃvidate
saṃvidratām
saṃvidatām
samavidrata
samavidata

1. This rule introduces *rUṬ* to an *at*-replacement of *jha* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *vid*. Given *sam-vid* + (*LAṬ*→*jha*→*at*) *a* → *sam-vid* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *ata*, where *ŚaP* gets deleted because *vid* is an *adādi* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyo* . . .) root, we get *sam-vid* +*r*(*UṬ*) + *ata*. This option of *rUṬ* is technically known as *aprāptavibhāṣā* 'an option not made available'. The final form *samvidrate* is derived with a replacement in *e* (*etva*). Thus, *samvidrat*(*a*→*e*) = *samvidrate*. The *ātmanepada* of this derivate is introduced in view of a *vārttika* (*saṃyogamāsdiṣu* . . .; ad 1.3.29 *samogamyṛcchibhyām* . . .). We will get *samvidate* when the option of *rUṬ* is not availed. Recall that *e* is replaced with *ām* in derivates of *LOṬ* (3.4.90 *ām etaḥ*). Thus, *samvidratām*/ *samvidatām*. Derivates of *LAṄ* are not allowed replacement in *e* (*etva*). Thus, *samavidrata* and *samavidata*.

2. A specification of *vid*, in *vetti*, is here made with deleted *ŚaP* to indicate that this optional *rUṬ* is not available to *vid* 'to contemplate', a root of the *rudhādi* group, in its forms such as third personal present middle *vintte* / *vindāte* / *vindate*.

7.1.8 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/*bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *jhaḥ* #3 *at* #4 *ruṭ* #6)
chandasi viṣaye bahulaṃ ruḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *rUṬ* is variously introduced to an *aT* which replaces a *jh* contained within an affix occurring after an *aṅga*.

EXAMPLES:

devā aduhra 'gods extracted milk . . .'
adṛśrannasya ketavaḥ 'saw its . . . his banner'

1. This *rUṬ* is observed as occurring variously in the Vedic. That is, sometimes it does, at others it does not. Thus, *devā aduhra* where *aduhra* is derived frm *aṬ* + *duh* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + (*jh*→*at*) *a*)) = *a* + *duh* + *at* + *a*. Augment *rUṬ* is then introduced and *t* of *at* goes through deletion (7.1.41 *lopas ta ātmanepadeṣu*). This yields *a* + *duh* + *r*(*UṬ*) + *a* (*t*→ϕ) + *a* = *aduhra* + *a*. We finally get the application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, whereby the *a*+*a* sequence is replaced with a single *a* similar to the following (*pararūpa*) to yield *aduhra*.

One may also find *rUṬ*, elsewhere (*anyatra*), also because of *bahulam* 'variously'. Thus, (*aṬ*) + *dṛś* + *rUṬ* + *a* + *am* → *adṛśram*, the first person singular *LUṄ*-derivate of *dṛś*, where *CLI* is replaced with *aṄ* (3.1.57 *irito vā*). The *a*+*a* sequence, of course, goes through *pararūpa* 'a single replacement similar to the following of a vocalic sequence' of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*.

7.1.9 अतो भिस् ऐस्

ato bhis ais
/*ataḥ* 5/1 *bhisaḥ* 6/1 *ais* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
akārāntād aṅgād uttarasya bhisa ais ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ais* comes in place of *bhis* which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a*.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaiḥ 'instrumental plural of *vṛkṣa*'
plakṣaiḥ 'instrumental plural of *plakṣa*'
atijarasaiḥ 'instrumental plural of *atijaras* (extremely old)'

1. This rule offers *ais* as a replacement for *bhis* 'instrumental plural', provided *bhis* occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Consider *vṛkṣa* + (*bhis*→*ais*) = *vṛkṣa* + *ais* → *vṛkṣ*(*a*+*ai*→*ai*)*s* → *vṛkṣai*(*s*→*rU*→*ḥ*)) = *vṛkṣaiḥ*, where 6.1.85 *vṛddhir eci* offers a single *vṛddhi* replacement. The final derivate is gotten via *rutva-visarga*.

The last example, i.e., *atijarasaiḥ*, has a compound base *atijara* used before *bhis*. The compound base, paraphrased as: *jarām atikrāntaḥ*, is formed in consonance with a *vārttika* (ad 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ; krāntādyarthe dvitīyayā*). The shortening of *jarā* to *jara* is accomplished by 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*. The replacement of *ais* for *bhis* is here accomplished by treating *jara* as ending in *a*. But a problem is encountered here. Rule 7.2.101 *jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām* orders *jaras* as an optional replacement for *jarā*. It is argued that *jara* which causes replacement of *bhis* with *ais* cannot be accepted as cause for modification of *jara*. This is argued in view of *sannipātavidhi* 'an operation conditioned by close contextual relation between two things'. Thus, *jara* cannot be replaced with *jaras*. Even if one invokes *Paribhāṣā* (38): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* 'that which is modified in one part can still be treated as what it was' and accepts *jara* as *jarā*. It is stated that *Paribhāṣā* (86): *sannipātalakṣaṇo vidhir animitto tadvighātasya* 'an operation characterized with *sannipāta* (close relationship between two) cannot become a cause for relational impairment' is not universally accepted (*anitya*). This has been indicated by *kaṣṭāya* of 3.1.14 *kaṣṭāya kramaṇe*. The *ya*-replacement (7.1.33 *ṅer yaḥ*) in *kaṣṭa* + *Ṅe* is conditioned by *Ṅi* when following an *aṅga* ending in *a*, i.e., *kaṣṭa*. This *ya* again cannot become a condition for the *ā*-replacement of *a* of *kaṣṭa* to yield *kaṣṭāya*. But it does. Consequently, *Paribhāṣā* (86) is non-obligatory (*anitya*) A replacement in *jaras* for *jara* is thus possible.

Yet another doubt is raised here. Given *vṛkṣa* + *bhis*, our present rule requires *ais* as a replacement for *bhis*. Rule 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* requires *e* as a replacement for *a*. Why can we not apply *e* first on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe*...) and then apply *ais* under the condition of *e* treated as

the former *a*, via *sthānivadbhāva*? There should be no problem invoking *paratva* since both *e* and *ais* have their independent scope of application elsewhere. That is, *ais* can be accomplished by treating *e* as *a* and *etva* has its independent scope in *vṛkṣebhyaḥ*, etc. If one invokes *paratva* and applies *etva* then offering a replacement in *ais* will become useless. For, there will not be any *a* which *bhis* will follow. If one accepts *e* as if it was *a*, then offering a replacement in *e* will become useless. For, *ais* will then become obligatory (*nitya*) in view of *kṛtākṛtaprasaṅga* 'a context where an operation obtains whether some other is performed'. Replacement in *ais* will obtain, whether or not replacement in *e* (*etva*) is accomplished. Thus, the *Mahābhāṣya* favors blocking *e*-replacement (*etva*) with *ais*:

> *etvaṃ bhisi paratvāc ced ata ais kva bhaviṣyati/*
> *kṛtepy etve bhautapaūrvyād ais tu nityas tathā sati//*
> If it is stated that *-e* should replace the final *-a* of an *aṅga* before a nominal ending beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*, i.e., here the *bh* of *bhis*, on the basis of subsequent order of enumeration (*paratva*; 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*), where will *-ais* find its scope of application. If one replaces *-bhis* with *-ais*, even after replacing *a* with *e*, based especially on *kṛtākṛta-prasaṅga*, and the belief that *e* is not any different from what it previously was, i.e., *a* (*bhautapaurvyāt*), replacing *-bhis* with *-ais* becomes obligatory (*nitya*). Rule 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* will now obligatorily block 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* because of it's status as *nitya* (based upon *kṛtākṛta-prasaṅga*), and since a *nitya* rule is considered more powerful than a rule which is *para* 'subsequent in order of enumeration'. Now that *-ais* has become obligatory, *-etva* (replacement in *e*) will become non-obligatory, and hence 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* will obligatorily block 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* in the context of its application.

7.1.10 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi
/*bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ato bhis ais* #9)
chandasi viṣaye bahulam aisādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ais* comes in place of *bhis*, variously, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

nadyaiḥ 'by all rivers'
devebhiḥ sarvebhiḥ proktam '(it was) spoken by all gods'

1. Note that *ais* replaces *bhis* when *bhis* occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a*. But consider *nadyaiḥ* where *bhis* is replaced with *ais* when the *aṅga* ends in *ī*. Now consider *devebhiḥ* where the *aṅga* ends in *a* but *bhis* is not replaced with

ais. We get a replacement in *e* (*etva*), instead. All these violations, in the Vedic, are accounted for by *bahulam* 'variously'.

7.1.11 नेदमदसोरकोः

nedamadasor akoḥ
/ *na* ϕ *idam-adasoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *akoḥ* 6/2 = *avidyamānaḥ kakāro yayos tau* = *akau* (*bv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *bhis ais* #9)
'*idam, adas*' *ity etayor akakārayor bhisa ais na bhavati*
A replacement in *ais* does not come in place of *bhis* when it has to occur after *idam* 'this' and *adas* 'that', with no *k* contained in them.

EXAMPLES:

ebhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *idam*'
amībhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *adas*'

1. Refer to derivational details of (64) *ābhyām* (II:354-55). Derive *a* + *bhis*, from *idam* + *bhis*, following steps (9a-d) of (64) *ābhyām*. The *a* of *a* + *bhis* then goes through a replacement in *e* (*etva*; 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*). Refer to derivational details of (52) *amī* (II:348-49) for deriving *amībhiḥ* from *adas* + *bhis*.

This replacement is not permitted when *idam* and *adas* contain a *k*, for example in deriving the instrumental plural forms *imakaiḥ* and *amukaiḥ*. These forms result when *akAC* is introduced prior to their *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) by rule 5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk ṭeḥ*. This specification by negative *akoḥ* itself indicates that 'that which is introduced as an insert to *x* can also be included within the reference of *x*' (*PŚ* (90) : *tanmmadhyapatitas tadgrahaṇena gṛhyate*).

7.1.12 टाङसिङसामिनात्स्याः

ṭāṅasiṅasām inātsyāḥ
/ *ṭā-ṅasi-ṅas-ām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *in-āt-syāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ataḥ* #9)
akārāntād aṅgād uttareṣāṃ ṭāṅasiṅasām '*in, āt, sya*' *ity ete ādeśā bhavanti yathāsaṃkhyam*
Affixes *Ṭā*, *ṄasI* and *Ṅas*, when occurring after an *aṅga* which ends in *a*, are replaced with *in*, *āt* and *sya*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣeṇa 'instrumental singular of *vṛkṣa*'
plakṣeṇa 'instrumental singular of *plakṣa*'
vṛkṣāt 'ablative singular of *vṛkṣa*'
plakṣāt 'ablative singular of *plakṣa*'

vṛkṣasya 'genitive singular of *vṛkṣa*'
plakṣasya 'genitive singular of *plakṣa*'

1. Note that the instrumental singular nominal ending *Ṭā* of *vṛkṣa* + *Ṭā* and *plakṣa* + *Ṭā* is replaced with *in*. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* requires a single *guṇa* replacement similar to *i* of *vṛkṣ(a+i→e) na* = *vṛkṣena* and *plakṣ(a+i→e) na* = *plakṣena*. Their *n* is then replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . .). Derivation of *vṛkṣāt* and *plakṣāt* involves application of *savarṇadīrgha* 'homogeneous long' after ablative singular *Ṅasī* is replaced with *āt* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). Derivates with a replacement in *sya* for the genitive singular *Ṅas* do not offer anything new. Here again these replacements are valid only when the *aṅga* ends in *a*. Thus, *sakhyā* and *patyā* which derive from *sakhi* + *Ṭā* and *pati* + *Ṭā* serve as counter-examples.

7.1.13 ङेर्यः

ṅer yaḥ
/ *ṅeḥ* 6/1 *yaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ataḥ* #9)
akārāntād aṅgād uttarasya '*ṅe*' *ity etasya* '*ya*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
Affix *Ṅe*, when occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *ya*, is replaced with *ya*.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣāya 'dative singular of *vṛkṣa*'
plakṣāya 'dative singular of *plakṣa*'

1. Refer to my notes under 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* on the non-obligatory (*anitya*) nature of *Paribhāṣā* (86). Thus, lengthening (7.3.102 *supi ca*) of *a* in *vṛkṣa* + *ya* applies to yield *vṛkṣ(a→ā)* + *ya* = *vṛkṣāya*. The condition of an *aṅga* ending in *a* blocks these replacements in the dative singular forms *sakhye* and *patye*, derived from *sakhi* + *Ṅe* and *pati* + *Ṅe*.

7.1.14 सर्वनाम्नः स्मै

sarvanāmnaḥ smai
/ *sarvanāmnaḥ* 5/1 *smai* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ataḥ* #9 *ṅeḥ* #13)
akārāntāt sarvanāmna uttarasya ṅeḥ smai ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix *Ṅe*, when occurring after a pronominal ending in *a*, is replaced with *smai*.

EXAMPLES:

sarvasmai 'dative singular of *sarva*'
viśvasmai 'dative singular of *viśva*'

yasmai 'dative singular of *yad*'
kasmai 'dative singular of *kim*'
tasmai 'dative singular of *tad*'

1. This rule offers *smai* as a replacement for the dative singular nominal ending *Ṅe* when the same occurs after a pronominal (*sarvanāma*) ending in *a*. Thus, the *Ṅe* after *bhavat*, where *bhavat* ends in *t*, cannot be replaced with *smai* in deriving *bhavate*. A pronominal enumerated within the *tyadādi* group ends in *a*, by way of getting its final consonant replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*). Note that *bhavat* is not a *tyadādi*. Except for *sarva* and *viśva* 'all', all other example-bases here belong to the *tyadādi* group. This rule is an exception to 7.1.13 *ṅer yaḥ*.

2. A problem is raised in connection with the derivation of *atra* + *idam* + *Ṅe* → *atrāsmai*, where, in the *vākyasaṃskāra-pakṣa*, *aŚ* is introduced as a replacement for *idam* (2.4.32 *idamo' nvādeśe*. . .) in *anvādeśa* 'bringing something again which was already brought earlier', before *smai* is introduced as a replacement for *Ṅe*. Given *atra* + (*idam*→*a*(*Ś*)) + (*Ṅ*)*e* = *atra* + *a* + *e*, rule 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* becomes applicable by blocking *smai* even when it is subsequent (*para*). This blocking is based on the obligatory (*nityatvāt*) nature of a single homogeneous replacement denoted by *aK*. The result of this application will be *atrā* + *e*. A replacement in *smai* will be blocked because *atrā* will then end in *ā*. But since the replacement of *e* with *smai* is internal (*antaraṅga*), it will be accomplished first. The *savarṇadīrgha* is external (*bahiraṅga*) because of having two words as its locus. Thus, *ida*(*m*→*a*) + *Ṅe* = *ida* + *a*(*Ś*) + *Ṅe*→ *ida* + *a* + (*Ṅe*→*smai*) = *ida* + *a* + *smai*. Recall that *idam* is a word of the *tyadādi* group of pronominals. That is why its *m* is replaced with *a*. A single replacement in *a* for *a*+*a* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*) then produces (*a*+*a*→*a*) + *smai* = *asmai*. A long replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*) application can now apply to yield *atra* + *asmai* → *atrāsmai*.

7.1.15 ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ

ṅasiṅyoḥ smātsminau
/*ṅasi-ṅyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *smāt-sminau* 1/2/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ataḥ* #9 *sarvanāmnaḥ* #14)
'*ṅasi, ṅi*' *ity etayor akārāntāt sarvanāmna uttarayoḥ* '*smāt, smin*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*

Affixes *ṄasI* and *Ṅi*, when occurring after a pronominal ending in *a*, are replaced with *smāt* and *smin*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

sarvasmāt 'ablative singular of *sarva*'
viśvasmāt 'ablative singular of *viśva*'

yasmāt 'ablative singular of *yad*'
kasmāt 'ablative singular of *kim*'
sarvasmin 'locative singular of *sarva*'
viśvasmin 'locative singular of *viśva*'
yasmin 'locative singular of *yad*'
kasmin 'locative singular of *kim*'

1. Note that *sarva* and *viśva* already end in *a*. The *a* at the end of other bases is gotten from 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*. Here again *bhavataḥ* 'genitive singular' and *bhavati* 'locative singular', because *bhavat* is not a pronominal of the *tyadādi* group, do not qualify for this replacement. This replacement will, of course, be allowed only after a pronominal (*sarvanāman*). Thus, we cannot get this in *vṛkṣāt* and *vṛkṣe*.

Note that *ṄasI* and *Ṅi*, in this order, will be replaced with *smāt* and *smin*, in view of 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*. The final *t* and *n* of *smāt* and *smin* could not be termed an *it* by 1.3.3 *halantyam* because 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ* will block it.

7.1.16 पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा

pūrvādibhyo navabhyo vā
/pūrvādibhyaḥ 5/3 = *pūrva ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; navabhyaḥ* 5/3 *vā* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ataḥ* #9 *ṅasiṅyoḥ smātsminau* #15)
pūrvādibhyo navabhyaḥ sarvanāmna uttarayor ṅasiṅyoḥ '*smāt, smin*' *ity etāv ādeśau vā bhavataḥ*
Affixes *ṄasI* and *Ṅi* are optionally replaced with *smāt* and *smin*, in this order, when they occur after nine pronominals enumerated in the list beginning with *pūrva* (*pūrvādi*).

EXAMPLES:

pūrvasmāt 'ablative singular of *pūrva*'
pūrvāt 'ibidem'
pūrvasmin 'locative singular of *pūrva*'
pūrve 'ibidem'
parasmāt 'ablative singular of *para*'
parāt 'ibidem'
parasmin 'locative singular of *para*'
pare 'ibidem'
avarasmāt 'ablative singular of *avara*'
avarāt 'ibidem'
avarasmin 'locative singular of *avara*'
avare 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes *smāt* and *smin* optional in case of nine bases enumerated beginning with *pūrva*. Thus, we get *pūrvasmāt* / *pūrvāt* and *pūrvasmin* / *pūrve*, etc. But we must uniquely get *tyasmāt* and *tyasmin* because *tyad* falls outside the *pūrvādi* listing of nine.

Note that *sarva*, etc., are *sarvanāman* (1.1.26 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*). The ablative and locative nominal endings *ṄasI* and *Ṅi*, when occurring after a base termed *sarvanāman*, are to be obligatorily replaced with *smāt* and *smin*, in this order. Our present rule makes this replacement optional in case of nine pronominals listed beginning with *pūrva*. That is, after *pūrva* 'first, prior', *para* 'subsequent, other', *avara* 'less, lower', *dakṣiṇa* 'right', *uttara* 'next, ahead', *apara* 'other', *adhara* 'lower', *sva* 'one's own' and *antara* 'outer . . .'. These nine pronominals are specified under rules 1.1.33 *pūrvaparā' varadakṣiṇottarā* . . ., 1.1.34 *svam ajñātidhanākhyāyām* and 1.1.35 *antaraṃ bahiryogo*. . . .

7.1.17 जसः शी

jasaḥ śī
/ *aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śī* (1/1 deleted) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ataḥ* #9 *sarvanāmnaḥ* #1)
akārāntāt sarvanāmna uttarasya jasaḥ '*śī*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
Affix *Jas*, when occurring after a pronominal ending in *a*, is replaced with *Śī*.

EXAMPLES:

sarve 'nominative plural of *sarva*'
viśve 'nominative plural of *viśva*'
ye 'nominative plural of the relative pronoun *yad*'
ke 'nominative plural of the interrogative *kim*'
te 'nominative plural of *tad*'

1. Why did Pāṇini not specify the replacement with a short *i*, as in *Śi*? The long replacement is ordered, instead, for the benefit of subsequent rule (*dīrghoccāraṇam uttarārtham*). Thus, consider *trapuṇī* and *jatunī* of 7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*, which, for reasons of this long *ī*, will end in *ī*. Note here that a single *guṇa*-replacement, for example in *sarva* + (*Jas* → *Śī*) → *sarv*(*a*+*ī*→*e*) = *sarve*, can be accomplished, irrespective of whether *i* of *Śī* (7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī*) is short or long. It is stated that *Ś* of *Śī* is intended for total replacement (*sarvādeśa*; 1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya*). This, however, is debatable. Recall in this connection that *Śī* could not be assigned the term *pratyaya* before it replaces *Jas*. For, *Śī* is not enumerated within the domain of 3.1.1 *pratyayaḥ*. It can receive the term *pratyaya* only via *sthānivadbhāva*. That is, on account of being a replacement of affix *Jas*. Assignment of the term *pratyaya* facilitates assignment of the term *it* to *Ś* by 1.3.8 *laśakv ataddhite*. This, in turn,

facilitates deletion of *Ś* by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. A total replacement of *Jas* by *Śī* is not accomplished because of *Ś* as an *it*. It is, instead, accomplished on the basis of *anekāltva* 'consisting of more than one sound segment'.

7.1.18 औङ आपः

auṅa āpaḥ
/*auṅaḥ* 6/1 *āpaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śī* #17)
ābantād uttarasyauṅaḥ 'śī' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affixes *au* and *auṬ*, when occurring after an *aṅga* ending in the feminine affixes marked with *āP*, are replaced with *Śī*.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭve tiṣṭhataḥ 'there are two cots here'
khaṭve paśya 'look at these two cots'
bahurāje 'a city with many kings'
kārīṣagandhye 'for Kārīṣagandhyā'

1. Note that these examples all involve application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*, whereby a single *guṇa* replacement similar to *ī* is received. Thus, *khaṭvā* + *au* → *khaṭvā* + (*au* →*Śī*) → *khaṭv*(*ā*+*ī* →*e*) → *khaṭve*, etc.

2. The *auṄ* of this rule is interpreted as referring to the nominative and accusative dual endings *au* and *auṬ*. Questions have been raised against formulating this abbreviatory term with *Ṅ*, i.e., *au* + *Ṅ* = *auṄ*, to refer to *au* and *auṬ*. Where do we get this from?. The following *kārikā*-verses of the *Mahābhāṣya* discuss it in detail:

aukāro' yaṃ śīvidhau ṅidgṛhīto
ṅic cāsmākaṃ nāsti ko' yaṃ prakāraḥ /
'this *au*, in this process relative to replacement in *Śī*, has been accepted as marked with *Ṅ*; but since there is no *au* marked with *Ṅ*, elsehwere, in this grammar, what kind of a bad abbreviatory term it is'

sāmānyārthaḥ tasya cāsañjane' smin
ṅitkāryaṃ te śyāṃ prasaktaṃ sa doṣaḥ //1//
'if it is stated that *Ṅ* is made an *it* for making a general reference to both *au* and *auṬ*, then operations relative to that which is marked with *Ṅ* must also be performed relative to *Śī*'

ṅitve vidyād varṇanirdeśamātraṃ
varṇe yat syāt tac ca vidyāt tadādau /
'a specification, in context where *Ṅ* is used as an *it*, should be understood as making a reference only to sound segments; and that which is specified with a sound segment should be understood as referring to that which begins with that sound segment'

varṇaś cāyaṃ tena ṅitve' py adoṣo
nirdeśo' yaṃ pūrvasūtreṇa vā syāt //2 //
'there is no problem here since this is a sound, and not an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*'; or else, this could be accepted as the specification of earlier teachers'

Some claim that *Ṅ* in *auṄ* is not an *it*. The term *auṄ* is simply is used by earlier grammarians to refer to both *au* and *auṬ* with *Ṅ* as an *it*. *Nyāsa* indicates that their reading of the *sūtra* was *āvauṭāvauṅ*. Bhaṭṭoji (*SK*) states that *auṅ ity aukāravibhakteḥ saṃjñā* '*auṄ* is a name assigned to the nominative and accusative dual endings *au* and *auṬ*'.

Note that *au* of this rule, in operations relative to replacement in *Śī*, has been accepted as marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. But since we do not find *au*, marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* as an abbreviatory term in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the use and formulation of this abbreviatory term is bad. One can argue here that *Ṅ* is made an *it* in the abbreviatory term *auṄ* to represent both *au* and *auṬ* which could, otherwise, only represent *au*, in view of a possible formulation of this rule as *auṬ āpaḥ*. For, a specification made with no *anubandha* does not make any reference to that which is specified with one *anubandha* (*Pś* (82): *niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya grahaṇam*). It can be stated here that *auṬ* is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it* to facilitate the formation of abbreviatory term *sUṬ*, thereby to facilitate representation with *sUṬ* of *sU/au/Jas/am/auṬ*. But this will make *Ṭ* as an *iṬ* to all five elements represented by *sUṬ*. That means *Ṅ* as an *it* in *auṄ* should not be used. This view, however, is not acceptable. For, there should not be any conflict in accepting an *anubandha* intended for making an abbreviatory term as the *anubandha* of a group of elements on the one hand, and retaining the *anubandha* of a particular item within a group on the other. The *Ṭ* as an *it* can be accepted as an *it* for *auṬ* as this same can also be accepted as the *anubandha* of elements in the group. The *anubandha* of an affix cannot be considered improper simply becauase it can not serve any purpose. In fact, its purpose is to have the accusative dual *auṬ* marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*. It becomes clear that by accepting the *anubandha* of a part (*Ṭ* of *sUṬ* in *auṬ*) as affixal *anubandha*, and also by accepting *Ṅ* as an *it* in *auṄ* of 7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ*, *au* of the accusative dual cannot be represented. There are two reasons behind it:

(*i*) an *anubandha* cannot be manipulated to represent a corresponding item used without an *anubandha* (*Pś* (83): *tad anubandhakagrahaṇe nātadanubandhakasya grahaṇam*);

(*ii*) an item referenced with one *anubandha* cannot be manipulated to represent corresponding items used with two *anubandhas* (*Pś*: *ekānubandhakagrahaṇe nātadanubandhakasya grahaṇam*).

That is, accusative dual, because of *Ṅ* of 7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ*, will now carry two *anubandhas*, *Ṅ* and *Ṭ*. The *Ṅ* of *auṄ* will have to be carried over to *auṬ*

since *Ṅ* is to be used for gerealized reference. Thus, *au* and *auṬ* will both be considered marked with *Ṅ* as their *it*. If this *auṄ* goes through a replacement in *Śī*, operations which obtain under the following condition of *auṄ*, for example the introduction of augment *yāṬ*, will apply (7.3.113 *yād āpaḥ*; cf. . . . *tasya āsañjane' smin sa doṣaḥ*). The word *ṅitkāryam* is here interpreted as *ṅiti kāryam* 'an operation when that which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'.

It is stated that *ṅit* can be inrterpreted in two ways: *ṅa it yasya* 'that whose *it* is a *Ṅ*', a *bahuvrīhi* used as a qualifier to an affix having *Ṅ* as an *it*; and *ṅakāraś cāsau ic ca* 'that which is a *Ṅ* and is also an *it*'. Operationally, a *bahuvrīhi* will give us the meaning of 'when *au*, whose *Ṅ* is an *it*, follows'. This will create problems. That is why, a suggestion is made to accept *Ṅit* as a *bahuvrīhi* but simply as a specification of the sound *auṄ*. It should not be considered making a reference to an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. One can now invoke *tadādividhi* '*Ṅ* which occurs at the beginning' to yield the interpretation:

> 'an operation which is specified with a sound to follow applies under the right condition of that which begins with that sound'

Since *Ṅ* is not used at the beginning of *auṄ*, its replacement in *Śī* cannot condition introduction of *yāṬ*.

Now some solutions based on the fourth line of the *kārikā* verses:

(*a*) The *auṄ* of *auṅ āpaḥ* only references the sound *au*. That is, *Śī* should replace *au*. Since *auṅ āpaḥ* is contained within the domain of *aṅga*, one must make a reference to the following affix. The *au* will be interpreted as a qualifier to the affix occurring after the *aṅga* ending *āP*. One will now invoke *tadanta-vidhi* 'treating *x* as also that which ends in *x*' to yield the meaning: an affix which ends in *au* (*vyapadeśivadbhāva* will be invoked to treat *au* as ending in *au*) and occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *āP*. The *Ṅ* will then not be considered an *it* but a sound used for ease of articulation. This tretment will not be any different from *d* of 3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*. But there is a problem: application of *niranubandhaka* . . . (see above (*i*)) convention can still not be blocked.

(*b*) It is stated that *auṄ* refers to the rule formulation *āvauṭāvauṅ*, a rule of earlier scholars. This formulation represented both *au* and *auṄ*. The *auṄ* of *auṅ āpaḥ* thus represents both *au* and *auṬ*. The *Ṅ* will not cause any operation dependent upon that which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. The *anubandhas* of earlier scholars will not be treated here as functional. Thus, if there is no problem in accepting *Ṅ* as an *it*, how could there be any problem in not accepting it as an *it*.

SUMMARY:

If one accepts *Ṅ* as an *it*, operations relative to that which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* will obtain. These operations would not obtain if one accepts the

specification with *auṄ* as simply referring to the sound *au*, and *Ṅ* used for ease of articulation, and not to an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. A formulation of this rule as *auṬ āpaḥ*, where *Ṭ* can be considered used for ease of articulation, will enable references to both *au* and *auṬ* with *auṬ*. Consequently, *Ṅ* should not be used as an *it* in *auṄ*. But this view is not appropriate.

4. A specification with *āpaḥ* includes references to bases ending in the feminine affixes *ṬāP*, *CāP* and *ḌāP*. Thus, we get *khaṭvā* (*ṬāP*; 4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*), *bahurājā* (*ḌāP*; 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām anyatarasyām*) and *kāṅṣagandhyā* (*CāP*; 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*).

7.1.19 नपुंसकाच्च

napuṃsakāc ca
/*napuṃsakāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śī* #17 *auṅaḥ* #18)
napuṃsakād uttarasya auṅaḥ '*śī*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
Affixes *au* and *auṬ*, when occurring after an *aṅga* termed neuter, are replaced with *Śī*.

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍe tiṣṭhataḥ 'two bowls are there'
kuṇḍe paśya 'see (these) two bowls'

1. Note that *ī* of *Śī*, for example in *kuṇḍa* + (*au*→*Śī*), qualifies for its status as *svādi* 'nominal ending enumerated beginning with *sU*'. It can, however, not be assigned the term *sarvanāmasthāna* since *kuṇḍa* 'bowl' is neuter. The word *kuṇḍa*, however, qualifies for assignment of the term *bha* since *ī* is an ending beginning with a vowel (*ajādi*).

The *a* of *kuṇḍa* + *ī* qualifies for deletion by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. A *vārttika* (*vt: śyāṃ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*) blocks this deletion in favor of a single *guṇa*-replacement (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*), instead. The *i* and *u* before *trapu*, *dadhi* and *madhu*, in *trapuṇī*, *dadhinī* and *madhunī*, is similarly saved from deletion before *Śī*. Augment *nUM* in *dadhinī* and *madhunī* is introduced by 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*.

7.1.20 जश्शसोः शिः

jaśśasoḥ śiḥ
/*jaś-śasoḥ* 6/2 *śiḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *napuṃsakāt* #19)
napuṃsakād aṅgād uttarayor jaśśasoḥ '*śiḥ*' *ity aym ādeśo bhavati*
Affixes *Jas* and *Śas*, when occurring after an *aṅga* used with the signification of neuter, are replaced with *Śi*.

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍāni paśya 'see these bowls'
kuṇḍāni tiṣṭhanti 'there are (these) bowls'
kuṇḍāni paśya 'see these bowls'
dadhīni 'nominative-accusative plural of *dadhi*'
madhūni 'nominative-accusative plural of *madhu*'
trapūṇi 'nominative-accusative plural of *trapu* (bashful, lead)'
jatūni 'nominative-accusative plural of *jatu* (red dye, lac)'

1. Note that *Śas*, because of its associated listing (*sāhacarya*) with the nominative plural ending *Jas*, can here refer only to the accusative plural nominal ending. It cannot refer, for example, to the *taddhita* affix *Śas* (5.4.43 *saṃkhyaikavacanāc*...). Thus, no *Śi* for *Śas* in *kuṇḍaṃ kuṇḍaṃ = kuṇḍaśaḥ dadāti* 'gives bowls after bowls full of food'; *vanaṃ vanaṃ = vanaśaḥ praviśanti* '... enter each and every forest'. The *nUM*, in examples of *Jas*, is introduced by 7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhaly acaḥ*. It is introduced by 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*, elsewhere. The lengthening of the penultimate vowel (*upadhādīrgha*) is accomplished, in these examples, by 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*.

2. Note that Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*), based on listing of this rule by earlier grammarians (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* 7.1.50 *jaseḥ iti pūrvācāryanirdeśaḥ. pūrvācāryā hi jasir ity evaṃ vihitavantaḥ*), accepts the wording of this rule as: *jasiśasoḥ śiḥ*. He explains that *i* at the end in *jasi* is used for ease of articulation (*Nyāsa: jasīty atrekāra uccāraṇārthaḥ*).

7.1.21 अष्टाभ्य औश्

aṣṭābhya auś
/*aṣṭābhyaḥ* 6/3 *auś* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *jaśśasoḥ* #20)
kṛtākārād aṣṭan śabdād uttarayor jaśśasoḥ 'auś' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affixes *Jas* and *Śas*, when occurring after an *aṅga* namely *aṣṭā* with its final replaced with *ā* (*ātva*), are replaced with *auŚ*.

EXAMPLES:

aṣṭau tiṣṭhanti 'these eight are staying'
aṣṭau paśya 'look at those eight'
paramāṣṭau 'the best eight'
uttamāṣṭau 'the best eight'

1. This rule allows *auŚ* as a replacement for *Jas* and *Śas* which, in turn, occur after *aṣṭā*, a form of *aṣṭan* with its final *n* replaced with *ā* by 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*. Thus, *aṣṭan* + *au* → *aṣṭa*(*n*→*ā*) + *au* → *aṣṭ*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) + *au*; *aṣṭā* + (*Jas*→*au*(*Ś*) → *aṣṭā* + *auŚ*, through a single homogeneous long vowel re-

placement (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). Rule 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* finally produces *aṣṭ(ā+au→au)* = *aṣṭau*, through a single *vṛddhi*-replacement in *au*.

2. Note that 7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau* offers a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) when a nominal ending beginning with a consonant (*halādi*) follows *aṣṭan*. The nominal endings (*J*) *as* and (*Ś*) *as* both begin with a vowel (*ajādi*). How is this replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) possible here? Pāṇini's specification of *aṣṭābhyaḥ*, as against *aṣṭabhyaḥ*, itself, will become an indicator (*jñāpaka*), and will account for this replacement in *ā* (*ātva*). For, he would have specified the rule more economically as *aṣṭabhya auś* if he did not intend this application of replacement in *ā* (*ātva*). That is, if he, otherwise, intended this replacement in *auŚ*, after *aṣṭan*.

This rule is an exception to 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk* whereby we get *aṣṭa paśya* 'look at the eight . . .'. This replacement in *auŚ* is thus an exception to that *LUK*-deletion. For, this rule is formulated against the obligatory application of 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk*. It will become useless if *LUK*-deletion applied everywhere. This rule is also optional because 6.1.169 *aṣṭano dīrghāt* requires a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* nominal ending to be marked with *udātta* when occurring after *aṣṭan*. If this replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) was obligatory then *dīrghāt* in 6.1.169 *aṣṭano dīrghāt* would have become unnecessary. As a consequence, *udātta* must be made available when replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) applies.

This rule is formulated irrespective of *LUK*-deletion application, and / or non-application, of rule 2.4.72 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. That is, it does not apply where *aṣṭan* is part of a compound. Consider *aṣṭaputraḥ* 'he who has eight sons' and *aṣṭabhāryaḥ* 'he who has eight wives' where deletion applies.

This specification with *aṣṭā* also includes a reference to bases which may end in *aṣṭā*. Thus, we get *paramāṣṭau* and *uttamāṣṭau* 'eight best'. Since replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) is optional, we also get *priyāṣṭānaḥ*, a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as *priyā aṣṭau yeṣām* 'those to whom eight are dear', with no *auŚ*.

7.1.22 षड्भ्यो लुक्

ṣaḍbhyo luk
/*ṣaḍbhyaḥ* 5/3 *luk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *jaśśasoḥ* #20)
ṣaṭsaṃjñakebhyaḥ uttarayor jaśśasor lug bhavati
Affixes *Jas* and *Śas*, when occurring after an *aṅga* termed *ṣaṭ*, are deleted by means of *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṭ tiṣṭhanti 'six are standing'
ṣaṭ paśya 'see those six'
pañca 'five'
sapta 'seven'
nava 'nine'
daśa 'ten'

1. The term *ṣaṭ* is assigned by 1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*. Refer to the appendix (II:359) for derivational details. Here again, *tadantavidhi*, i.e., reference to forms which may end in *ṣaṭ*, is desired, especially since constituents referred to by *ṣaṭ* are principal (*pradhāna*). Thus, we get *LUK*-deletion in *paramaṣaṭ* and *uttamaṣaṭ*. However, this deletion does not apply when a constituent referred to by *ṣaṭ* occurs as an *upasarjana* 'secondary' (2.2.30 *upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*). Thus, we do not find this *LUK*-deletion in *priyaṣaṣaḥ* 'he to whom those six are dear' and *priyapañcānaḥ* 'he to whom those five are dear', the *bahuvrīhi* compounds denote someone outside their constituency (*anyapadārtha*) as principal.

7.1.23 स्वमोर्नपुंसकात्

svamor napuṃsakāt
/*svamoḥ* 6/2 = *suś ca am ca* (*itar. dv.; tayoḥ*); *napuṃsakāt* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *luk* #22)
'*su, am' ity etayor napuṃsakād uttarayor lug bhavati*
Affixes *sU* and *am*, when occurring after an *aṅga* used with the signification of neuter (*napuṃsaka*), are deleted by means of *LUK*.

EXAMPLES:

dadhi tiṣṭhati 'there is yoghurt'
dadhi paśya 'see yoghurt'
madhu tiṣṭhati 'there is honey'
madhu paśya 'see honey'
trapu 'lead; bashful'
jatu 'red-dye'

1. This rule offers deletion of *sU* and *am* after an *aṅga* used with the signification of neuter. What about *tad brāhmaṇakulam* 'that clan of the brāhmaṇas' where *LUK* of this rule should have caused deletion of *sU* after *tad* 'that'. Rule 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* is thus blocked form replacing the final *d* of *tad* with *a*. Why can 7.2.102 not block *LUK*-deletion on the basis of *paratva*? *LUK*-deletion will still block that in anticipation of a possible conflict (*pūrvavipratiṣedha*). Or else, this deletion by *LUK* is obligatory (*nitya*). But this is unacceptable. If it was a *nitya* 'obligatory' rule then it could not be blocked by 7.1.24 *ato' m*. This rule is still *nitya* because *yasya ca lakṣaṇāntareṇa nimittaṃ vihanyate na tad anityam* (*Paribh:* 49) 'that whose condition of application is removed by some other rule is still not considered non-obligatory (*anitya*)'. Thus, in a conflict between *LUK*-deletion and replacement in *a* of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*, 7.1.24 *ato' m*, a third rule, removes the condition of *LUK*-deletion. This makes *LUK*-deletion obligatory, and hence, more powerful. The application of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* is, therefore, blocked in the absence of a following nominal ending. One cannot, here, invoke 1.1.63

pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam and thereby try to apply 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*. For, 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will not permit it.

7.1.24 अतोऽम्

ato' m
/*ataḥ* 5/1 *am* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *svamor napuṃsakāt* #23)
akārāntān napuṃsakād uttarayoḥ svamoḥ 'am' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affixes *sU* and *am*, when occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *a* and used with the signification of neuter, is replaced with *am*.

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍam (*tiṣṭhati*)
kuṇḍam (*paśya*)
vanam
pīṭham

1. This rule offers *am* as a replacement for the nominal endings *sU* and *am* when they occur after a neuter base ending in *a*. Thus *kuṇḍa* + (*sU*→*am*) = *kuṇḍa* + *am*, where *a*+*a* will get a single replacement similar to the preceding (*pūrvarūpa*; 6.1.106 *ami pūrvaḥ*).

2. Why did this rule not specify the replacement simply as *m*? Rule 7.3.102 *supi ca* could then have occasioned lengthening (*dīrgha*) before a nominal ending (*sUP*) beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaÑ* (*Kāśikā: makāraḥ kasmān na kriyate. dīrghatvaṃ* (7.3.102 *supi ca*) *prāpnoti*). If Pāṇini had intended to formulate this rule as *ataḥ m*, then, following the economy (*lāghava*) of formulation, he would have simply formulated the rule as *mataḥ*. But he still formulated the rule as *ato' m*. This rule is an exception to the preceding rule which occasions *LUK*-deletion.

7.1.25 अद्ड्डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः

adḍ ḍatarādibhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ
/*adḍ* 1/1 *ḍatarādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *ḍatara ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ; pañcabhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *svamoḥ* #23)
ḍatarādibhyaḥ parayoḥ svamor 'adḍ' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affixes *sU* and *am*, when occurring after the first five *aṅgas* ending in affixes specified beginning with *ḌataraC* (5.3.92 *kiṃyattador nirdhāraṇe dvayor ekasya ḍatarac*), are replaced with *adḌ*.

EXAMPLES:

katarat tiṣṭhati 'which one of the two . . .'
katarat paśya 'which of the two . . .'

katamat tiṣṭhati 'which of the many . . .'
katamat paśya 'which of the many . . .'
itarat 'the other'
anyatarat 'any, either'
anyat 'the other'

1. Note that the five bases specified here are enumerated in the *sarvādi* '*sarva*, etc.' group (*gaṇa*) of pronominals (*sarvanāman*; 1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*) as: *Ḍatara, Ḍatama, anya, anyatara,* and *itara.* The first two are affixes which, when interpreted in view of *tadantavidhi* 'process of interpreting *x* as also denoting that which ends in *x*', gives us bases which end in affixes *ḌataraC* and *ḌatamaC.* The remaining three bases are *anya, anyatara* and *itara.* Consider *katarat* where *katara* derives from *kim* + *ḌatarC* with the signification of singling out one from among two (5.3.92 *kiṃyattador nirdhāraṇe dvayor ekasya ḍatarac*). Rule 6.4.143 *ṭeḥ* (*vt.*: *ḍid abhasyāpi ṭer lopaḥ*) causes deletion of *ṭi* of *kim.* Thus, *k*(*im*→ϕ) + (*Ḍ*) *atara*(*C*) = *k* + *atara* → *katara.* One can also derive *katama* with affix (*Ḍ*) *atama* (5.3.93 *vā bahūnāṃ jātiparipraśne ḍatamac*) used with the signification of singling out one from among many.

Now consider *katara* + *sU* and *katam* + *sU* where *sU* gets replaced with *ad*(*Ḍ*). This *ḍit*-status of *ad*(*Ḍ*) will again cause *ṭi*-deletion. Thus, *katar*(*a*→ϕ) + *ad* = *katar* + *ad* and *katam*(*a*→ϕ) + *ad* = *katam* + *ad.* The final *d* of these derivates will be optionally replaced with *t* (8.4.55 *vāvasāne*).

2. Why is *adḌ* marked with *Ḍ* as an *it*? So that *ṭi*-deletion in *katarat paśya* can be accomplished. For, in its absence, we will get *katara* + *at* which, by *pūrvasavarṇadīrgha* 'single long vowel replacement similar to what precedes' will produce an undesired form **katarāt* (6.1.101 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*). In summary, *sU* and *am* are replaced with *adḌ*, and *ṭi*-deletion then applies.

3. It is claimed that *katarat* of *katarat paśya* can still be derived with the application of 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* by accepting the nominal ending *am* to follow *katara*, via *sthānivadbhāva* 'accepting *x* as *y* which it replaced' (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*). Why could the replacement then not be simply given as *t*? So that deletion of *t* by 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ*, based on extension of *sambuddhi* via *sthānivadbhāva*, could be blocked in case of *he katarat.* It is further argued that this deletion can be saved if *apṛkta* (1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*) is carried to 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ* from 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt* . . . and *a* of *am* is replaced with *d* in consonance with 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya.* The *m*, of course, will then go through conjunct-final deletion (*saṃyogānta-lopa*) of 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ.* But since this deletion will be considered suspended (*asiddha*; 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*), we can no longer have the affixal sound termed *apṛkta.* As a consequence, deletion will be blocked. But accepting this will also block deletion of *am* in *he kāṇḍa.* For, we can also not get *apṛkta* here. It is for this reason that taking recourse to the *anuvṛtti* of *apṛkta* is not advised. But still, if the *anuvṛtti* of *apṛkta* is not

accepted, deletion will become applicable in *he katarat,* etc. It is for this reason that this replacement in *adḌ* is offered with *Ḍ* as an *it,* consequential to *ṭi*-deletion. Thus,

> *apṛktaś cedamo doṣo nivṛtte ḍatarādiṣu /*
> *aḍḍittvād ḍatarādīnāṃ na lopo nāpi dīrghatā//*

4. A question is raised as to why Pāṇini, given *aḍḍ ḍatarādibhyaḥ* . . ., did not apply 8.4.40 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ.* That is, why did he not formulate this rule with *aḍ* by replacing *d* before *ḍ* with *ḍ* and deleting the final *ḍ* with the application of 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ.* He chose *aḍḍ,* instead, to avoid any confusion as to whether the replacement was *aḍ* or *aḍḍ.*

7.1.26 **नेतराच्छन्दसि**

> *netarāc chandasi*
> /*na* ϕ *itarāt* 5/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *svamoḥ* #23 *aḍḍ* #25)
> *itaraśabdād uttarayoḥ svamoś chandasi viṣaye aḍḍ ādeśo na bhavati*
> A replacement in *adḌ* does not come in place of affixes *sU* and *am* when they occur after an *aṅga,* namely *itara* 'other', in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

> *mṛtámitaramitaramāṇḍámājāyata*
> *vārtraghnamitaram*

1. This negation of *adḌ* is made in favor of 7.1.24 *ato' m.* Thus, *itara* + *am* → *itar*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *m* = *itaram* 'the other of the two', through *pūrvarūpa* 'single replacement similar to the preceding of a vocalic sequence' (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). This replacement in *adḌ,* however, will apply in the classical language. Thus, *itarat kāṣṭham* 'the other of the two pieces of wood', etc.

2. Why did Pāṇini not formulate 7.1.26 *netarāc chandasi* simply as *itarāc chandasi* after the preceding 7.1.25 *ato' m?* This way, a negative provision with *na* 'not' would not be needed. A replacement in *am* would thus have become an exception to replacement in *adḌ.* Actually, *netarāc chandasi* is preferred to facilitate rule-splitting (*yogavibhāga*). This way, we get *na* 'not' as a separate split-rule (*Kāś: netarāc chandasi iti vacanaṃ yogavibhāgārtham*). This split-rule facilitates negation after *eka*(*tara*) everywhere (*PM: ekaśabdādd hi sarvatra pratiṣedha iṣyate, sa ca neti yogavibhāgāl labhyate. tasmād yogavibhāga iṣyate*).

3. Still, a *vārttika* proposal is made for negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *adḌ* after *ekatara* 'one of the two' in all (classical as well as Vedic) usage (*vt: ekatarādd hi sarvatra chandasi bhāṣāyāṃ pratiṣedha iṣyate*). Consider the following examples with *am: ekataraṃ tiṣṭhati* and *ekataraṃ paśya.*

7.1.27 युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसोऽश्

yuṣmadasmadbhyāṃ ṅaso' ś
/*yuṣmad-asmadbhyām* 5 / 2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṅasaḥ* 6/1 *aś* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
'*yuṣmad-asmad*' *ity etābhyām uttarasya ṅasaḥ* '*aś*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
Affix *Ṅas* is replaced with *aŚ* when the same occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* 'second personal pronominal base (you)' and *asmad* 'first personal pronominal base (I)'.

EXAMPLES:

tava svam 'your possession'
mama svam 'my possession'

1. Note that, given *yuṣmad* + (*Ṅas*→*aŚ*) = *yuṣmad* + *a* and *asmad* + (*Ṅas*→*aŚ*) = *asmad* + *a*, rule 7.2.96 *tavamamau ṅasi* will replace *yuṣm* and *asm* with *tava* and *mama*, thereby yielding *tava* + *ad* + *a* and *mama* + *ad* + *a*. The final *d* of *tava* + *ad* and *mama* + *ad* will then go through deletion of 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* to produce *tava* + *a*(*d*→ϕ) + *a* = *tava* + *a* + *a* and *mama* + *a* + *a*. Two applications of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* (*pararūpa* 'a single replacement similar to what follows in a sequence'), first on *tav*(*a*+*a*→*a*) and then on *tav*(*a* +*a*→*a*), will produce the final derivates: *tava* and *mama*. There are some who consider the deletion by 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* as *ṭi*-deletion in consonance with 1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*. If one prefers *ṭi*-deletion, instead, application of 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* will affect the deletion of *ad*. Since one *a* will be deleted through *ṭi*-deletion, there will be only one application of *pararūpa* by 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. This will be economical. However, one must find justification for applying *ṭi*-deletion, as against deletion of the final sound segment per 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*.

2. The *Ś* as an *it*, in *aŚ*, is intended for total replacement (*sarvādeśa*; 1.1.55 *anekāl śit sarvasya*), as against application of 1.1.53 *ādeḥ parasya*. If *a* alone was given as replacement, only *s* of *Ṅas* (of *Ṅas*) could be replaced in view of 1.1.53 *ādeḥ parasya*. This would yield *tava* + *a*(*d*→ϕ) + *a*(*s*→*a*) = *tava* + *a* + *a* + *a* . One can still derive *tava* from this string but one has to resort to application of *pararūpa* three times: *tav*(*a* + *a*→*a*) = *tav* (*a*+*a*→*a*) = *tav*(*a*+*a*→*a*) = *tava*. That is, if one does not accept *ṭi*-deletion of *ad* in case of the application of 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*. This process will be very prolix (*gaurava*). Replacing (*Ṅ*) *as* with *aŚ* marked with *Ś* as an *it* also involves a replacement of *a* with *a*. This *a*-replacement of *a* is not useless since this secondary representation of *a*-replacement blocks *y*-replacement of 7.2.29 *yo' ci*. Consequently, it is proper and economical to replace *Ṅas* in toto with *aŚ* marked with *Ś* as an *it*.

7.1.28 ङे प्रथमयोरम्

ṅe prathamayor am

/ ṅe ϕ prathamayoḥ 6/2 am 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 yuṣmadasmadbhyām #27)
'ṅe' ity etasya prathamayoś ca vibhaktyoḥ = prathamādvitīyayor yuṣmadasmadbhyām uttarayoḥ 'am' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The fourth (*caturthī*) singular triplet of nominal ending *Ṅe*, and individual triplets of the nominative (*prathamā*) and accusative (*dvitīyā*), i.e., *sU, au, Jas* and *am, auṬ, Śas*, are fully replaced with *am* when they occur after an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

EXAMPLES:

tubhyaṃ dīyate '. . . is given to you'
mahyaṃ dīyate '. . . is given to me'
tvam / yuvām / yūyam 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of the second personal pronominal *yuṣmad*'
aham / āvām / vayam 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of the first personal pronominal *asmad*'
tvām 'accusative singular form of *yuṣmad*'
mām 'accusative singular form of *asmad*'

1. This rule offers *am* as a total replacement for the fourth singular triplet of nominal ending *Ṅe*, and also for the first (nominative) and second (accusative) singular, dual, plural endings *sU / au / Jas* and *am / auṬ / Śas*. Of course, when these nominal endings occur after an *aṅga* constituted by *yuṣmad* 'second personal pronominal (you)' and *asmad* 'first personal pronominal (I)'. Note that the accusative plural ending *Śas* is to be excluded here. For, our next rule makes a separate proposal for *Śas* (7.1.29 *śasaḥ na*). These replacements, along with deletion of *d* by 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*, follow derivational patterns similar to *tava* and *mama* of the earlier rule. A replacement in *tubhya* and *mahya* for *yuṣm* and *asm* is offered by 7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau ṅayi*. Thus, *yuṣmad* + (*Ṅe*→*am*) = (*yuṣm*→*tubhya*) *ad* + *am* = *tubhya* + *a*(*d*=ϕ) + *am* = *tubhy*(*a*+*a*→*a*) + *am* = *tubhy*(*a* + *a*→*a*) *m* → *tubhyam*. Recall that 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* accomplishes *pararūpa*-replacement in *tubhy* (*a* + *a*→*a*) = *tubhya*. Rule 6.1.106 *ami pūrvaḥ* also accomplishes *pūrvarūpa* in *tubhy*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *m* = *tubhyam*. Similar applications are also involved in other derivates. A replacement in *tva* and *aha* in the nominative singular is accomplished by 7.2.94 *tvāhau sau*. The accusative dual *yuvām* and *āvām* involve *ā* as a replacement for the final *d* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* (7.2.88 *prathamāyāśca dvivacane bhāṣāyām*). A replacement in *yūya* and *vaya*, for *yuṣm* and *asm*, is specified by 7.3.93 *yūyavayau jasi* before *Jas*. Rule 7.2.97 *tvamāv ekavacane* requires *tva* and *ma* as replacement for *yuṣm* and *asm*, respectively, in singular before *am* of the accusative. A replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) for *d* is here accomplished by 7.2.87 *dvitīyāyāñ ca*.

2. Note that *Ṅe* is specified in this rule without the use of any nominal ending (*avibhaktiko' yaṃ nirdeśaḥ*). Our word *prathamayoḥ*, in the dual, refers to *prathamā* 'first (nominative)' and *dvitīyā* 'second (accusative)' triplets of

nominal endings. The *m* of *am* is not termed an *it* by 1.3.3 *halantyam.* For, 1.3.4 *na vibhaktau tusmāḥ* blocks the assignment of this term.

7.1.29 शसो न

śaso na
/*śasaḥ* 6/1 *na* (1/1 deleted)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yuṣmadasmadbhyām* #27)
yuṣmadasmadbhyām uttarasya śaso nakārādeśo bhavati
Affix *Śas* is replaced with *nA* when the same occurs after an *aṅga*, namely, *yuṣmad* and *asmad.*

EXAMPLES:

yuṣmān brāhmaṇān '. . . you brāhmaṇas'
asmān brāhmaṇān '. . . us brāhmaṇas'
yuṣmān kulāni '. . . you clansmen'
asmān kulāni '. . . us clansmen'

1. The *A* of *nA* is for used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*). The *a* of *Śas* is replaced with *n*, in view of 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*, of course, by blocking the replacement to come in place of the final sound segment in accord with 1.1.51 *alo' ntyasya.* This rule is an exception to the preceding rule which, in turn, makes a provision for *am.* Thus, *yuṣmad* + ((*Ś*) *a* →*n*) *s*)) = *yuṣmad* + *n* + *s*. The *d* of *yuṣmad* is then replaced with *ā* of 7.2.87 *dvitīyāyāṅ ca*, thereby yielding *yuṣma*(*d*→*ā*) + *n* + *s* = *yuṣma* + *ā* + *n* + *s*. Similarly, we get *asma* + *ā* + *n* + *s*. An application of 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* will produce *yuṣm*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) + *n* + *s* = *yuṣmā* + *n* + *s* and *asm*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) + *n* + *s* = *asmā* + *n* + *s*. A conjunct deletion of *s* at the end (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*) will finally produce *yuṣmān* (*s*→ϕ) = *yuṣmāṇ* and *asmān*(*s*→ϕ) = *asmān.* Recall that suspension (*asiddhatva*) of conjunct deletion cannot be manipulated to accomplish deletion of *n* by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.* In fact, a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*), for *n* in *yuṣmān*, which may become available from 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ* . . ., is also blocked by 8.4.36 *padāntasya.*

This rule is formulated for derivates in the neuter and feminine. For, the *n* of masculine derivates could be accomplished by 6.1.102 *tasmāc chaso naḥ puṃsi.* Or else, if one believes that a pronominal does not have a specific gender, this rule is formulated so that *n* could also be made available in the neuter and feminine.

7.1.30 भ्यसो भ्यम्

bhyaso bhyam
/*bhyasaḥ* 6/1 *bhyam* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yuṣmadasmadbhyām* #27)

yuṣmadasmadbhyām uttarasya bhyasaḥ 'bhyam' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix *bhyas* is replaced with *bhyam* when the same occurs after an *aṅga*, namely, *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

EXAMPLES:

yuṣmabhyaṃ dīyate '. . . is given to you all'
asmabhyaṃ dīyate ' . . . is given to us all'

1. Note that an interpretation of this rule may yield both *bhyam* and *abhyam* as replacements. That is, by accepting *bhyasaḥ bhyam* and *bhyasaḥ abhyam* as two readings. If one accepts *bhyam*, then a deletion of *d* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* has to be accomplished by 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*. Thus, *asmad* + (*bhyas* → *bhyam*) → *asma*(*d*→ϕ) + *bhyam* = *asmabhyam*. Note that this deletion of *d* will not be a *ṭi*-deletion. It will be accomplished to simply derive desired forms (*iṣṭa-sidhyartha*). Accepting *abhyam* will entail *ṭi*-deletion of *ad*, again by 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*. See my notes about *ṭi*-deletion of *ad* under rule 7.1.27 *yuṣmadas-madbhyāṃ ṅaso' ś*. Thus, *asmad* + (*bhyas*→*abhyam*) → *asm*(*ad*→ϕ) + *abhyam; asm* + *abhyam* = *asmabhyam*. Many prefer *abhyam* as the proper replacement. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

2. Why can we not accomplish *e*-replacement (*etva*) of 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* after *bhyam* replaces *bhyas* and 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* deletes *d*? This is not possible, especially in view of *paribhāṣā* (93) *aṅgavṛtte punarvṛttāv avidhiḥ*. That is, *aṅgakāryaṃ kṛte punar nāṅgakāryam* 'one should not perform another operation on an *aṅga* once one has already been performed'.

7.1.31 पञ्चम्या अत्

pañcamyā at
/*pañcamyāḥ* 6/1 *at* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yuṣmadasmadbhyām* #27 *bhyasaḥ* #30)
pañcamyā bhyaso yuṣmadasmadbhyām uttarasya 'at' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The *bhyas* of the fifth triplet of nominal endings (*pañcamī*) which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, is replaced with *at*.

EXAMPLES:

yuṣmad gacchanti 'they move away from you'
asmad gacchanti 'they move away from us'

1. This is an exception to *bhyam* which is made available by the earlier rule (*Nyāsa: pūrveṇa prāptasya bhyamo' pavādaḥ*). The derivates both involve *ṭi*-deletion, or deletion of *d* of *ad* (7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*), in addition to total replacement of *bhyas* with *at*. Thus, *yuṣmad* + *bhyas* → *yuṣmad* + (*bhyas*→*at*) = *yum*(*ad*→ϕ) + *at* = *yuṣmat*. Similarly, we get *asmat*. If one prefers final deletion of *d* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* before *at* by 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*, one may have to derive the desired forms *yuṣmat* and *asmat* by applying the *pararūpa* 'single

replacement similar to what follows in a sequence' provision of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. The example derivates are given with verbal form *gacchanti* to illustrate *apāya* 'movement away from' as one of the conditions under which the fifth triplet can be used to denote *apādāna* (2.3.28 *apādāne pañcamī*).

7.1.32 एकवचनस्य च

ekavacanasya ca
/*ekavacanasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yuṣmadasmadbhyām* #27 *pañcamyā at* #31)
pañcamyā ekavacanasya yuṣmadasmadbhyām uttarasya 'at' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The singular ending of the fifth triplet, i.e., *ṄasI*, when occurring after an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, is also replaced with *at*.

EXAMPLES:

tvad gacchanti 'they move away from you'
mad gacchanti 'they move away from me'

1. Note that *yuṣm* and *asm* are here replaced with *tva* and *ma* (7.2.97 *tvamāv ekavacane*). Rules 7.2.97 *śeṣe lopaḥ* and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* apply as usual to offer *ṭi*-deletion and *pararūpa*. Thus, (*yuṣm*→*tva*) *ad* + (*ṄasI*→*at*) → (*tv*(*ad*→ϕ) + *at* = *tvat*. We similarly get *asmad* + *at* → (*asm*→*ma*) *d* + *at* = *m*(*ad*→ϕ) + *at* = *mat*. Accepting deletion of final *d*, against *ṭi*-deletion, will again require application of *pararūpa* of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*.

7.1.33 साम आकम्

sāma ākam
/*sāmaḥ* 6/1 *ākam* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yuṣmadasmadbhyām* #27)
'sāma' iti ṣaṣṭhībahuvacanam āgatsuṭkaṃ gṛhyate; tasya yuṣmadasmadbhyām uttarasya 'ākam' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The word-form *sām*, when occurring after an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, is replaced with *ākam*.

EXAMPLES:

yuṣmākam 'yours'
asmākam 'ours'

1. Note that *sām* is here interpreted as the genitive plural ending *ām*, specified with augment *sUṬ* (*āgatasuṭka*). Augment *sUṬ* is brought here from 7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ*. This specification of *ām* with *sUṬ* is made to get rid of this *sUṬ* by way of replacement. It is also to indicate that *ākam* will not get *sUṬ* which, otherwise, may be available to *yuṣma* and *asma* after deletion

of *d* by 7.2.97 *śeṣe lopaḥ*. A specification with *sām* gets rid of *sUṬ* by way of its being part of *ām*. A replacement with long *ā* in *ākam* is given for blocking *pararūpa* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*).

The *ṭi*-deletion of 7.2.97 *śeṣe lopaḥ* again applies. Thus, *yuṣmad* + *sām* → *yuṣmad* + (*sām*→*ākam*) → *yuṣm*(*ad*→ϕ) + *ākam* = *yuṣmākam*. We similarly get *asmākam*. This rule thus does three things: (*i*) it introduces *ākam* as a replacement for *ām* by specifying it with *s* of *sUṬ*; (*ii*) it thus gets rid of *sUṬ*; (*iii*) if one follows the final-deletion view of 7.2.97 *śeṣe lopaḥ*, this rule, by way of including *sUṬ* as part of *sthānī* 'item to be replaced', also negates *sUṬ* which may, subsequently, become applicable (*Kāś: ādeśe kṛte hi śeṣelope yuṣmadasmador akārāntatvāt suṭ prāpnoti sa sthānyantarbhūtatvān nivartate*).

2. It is stated that *ākam* is specified with a long *ā* to facilitate homogeneous long vowel replacement (*savarṇa-dīrgha*; 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). But this replacement could be blocked simply at the strength of offering the replacement in *akam* with a short *a*. A specification with short *a* could block replacement in *e* (*etva*; 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*). But it could not block the application of *pararūpa* by 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. That is, homogeneous long vowel replacement could not be accomplished. It is to facilitate the application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* that *ākam* is specified with the long *ā* of *ākam*. If *ṭi*-deletion is accomplished by way of the application of 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*, the condition of introduction of augment *sUṬ* will be removed. For, there will not be any *a* at the end of the *aṅga*. This will then render the specification of *sākam* with augment *sUṬ* (*sasuṭka*) vacuous (*vyartha*).

7.1.34 आत् औ णलः

āt au ṇalaḥ
/*ātaḥ* 5/1 *au* (1/1 deleted) *ṇalaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
ākārād aṅgād uttarasya ṇal aukārādeśo bhavati
Affix *āL*, when occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *āT*, is replaced with *au*.

EXAMPLES:

papau 'third person active *LIṬ*-derivate of *pā* 'to drink''
tasthau 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *sthā* 'to stand''
jaglau 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *glai* 'to be weary, sad''
mamlau 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *mlai* 'to be weary, languid''

1. Note that *ṆaL* is a replacement of the third person singular active verbal ending *tip* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ ṇalatusus*...). Consider *papau* derived from *pā* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*) → *pā* + (*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *pā* + (*Ṇ*) *a*(*L*), where this rule replaces *ṆaL* with *au* to produce *pā* + *au*. A single replacement in *vṛddhi*

(6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*) then produces *p*(*ā*+*au*→*au*) = *pau*. Rule 6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor anabhyāsasya* is then applied for reduplication. It takes place via *rūpātideśa* 'extension of form (here of *pā* to *pau*)'. We thus get *pā* + *pau*. The *ā* of *pā* is then replaced with its short counterpart of 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. That is, *p*(*ā*→*a*) + *pau* = *papau*. Similar order of rules apply in deriving other examples. Note, however, that *tha* of the *abhyāsa*, alone, is retained in view of application of 7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ*. This *th*, eventually, goes through a replacement in *t* (*cartva*) of 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*, thereby yielding *tasthau*. Refer to the appendix (III:787) for derivational details of *jagle* and *mamle* which share rule applications similar to *jaglau* and *mamlau*.

2. Note that the order of application of rules is: *autva* 'replacement in *au*', *ekādeśa* 'single replacement', *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as if it was the item it replaced' and *dvirvacana* 'reduplication'. That is, if *ekādeśa* preceded replacement in *au*, then *au* could never find its scope of application. It is because of *niravakāśatva* 'no scope of application' that single replacement (*ekādeśa*) is accomplished first. Reduplication, with reference to *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating *x* as *y* which *x* replaced', must also be accomplished after *ekādeśa* (*Kāś: atrautvam ekādeśaḥ, sthānivadbhāvaḥ, dvirvacanam—ity anena krameṇa kāryāṇi kriyante; ekādeśād anavakāśatvād autvaṃ dvirvacanād api paratvād ekādeśa iti*). Reduplication in *papau* is accomplished after *ekādeśa* of 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*). A single replacement, therefore, is considered as *sthānī* 'the item it replaced', provided an operation on what precedes is to be performed (*Mbh: ekādeśaḥ pūrvavidhau kartavye sthānivad bhavatīti vaktavyam*).

7.1.35 तुह्योस्तातङ्ङाशिष्यन्यतरस्याम्

tuhyos tātaṅāśiṣy anyatarasyām
/ *tuhyoḥ* 6/2 *tātaṅ* 1/1 *āśiṣi* 7/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
Affixes *tu* and *hi*, when occurring after an *aṅga*, are optionally replaced with *tātAṄ*, provided benediction (*āśīḥ*) is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

jīvatād bhavān 'may you live for long'
jīvatāt tvam 'ibidem'
jīvatu bhavān 'ibidem'
jīva tvam 'ibidem'

1. This optional replacement in *tātAṄ* is intended for *tu* and *hi* when *āśīḥ* 'benediction, blessing' is denoted. Thus, *jīv* + *ŚaP* + (*LOṬ*→ *tu*) = *jīv* + *a* + (*tu*→*tāt*) = *jīv* + *a* + *tāt* = *jīvatāt*. We will get *jīvatu*, instead, if *tātAṄ* does not replace *tu*.

2. *Ṅ* as an *it* in *tātAṄ* is not intended for facilitating a replacement to

come in place of a final sound (1.1.53 *ṅic ca*). It is for this reason that *tātAṄ* replaces *tu* and *hi*, in toto.

What then is the purpose of specifying *tātAṄ* with *Ṅ* as an *it*? The purpose is to block *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, as in *brūtād bhavān* 'may you please speak'. Why is it that *anAṄ* (7.1.93 *anaṅ sau*), marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, similarly to *tātAṄ*, replaces the final sound only? For, *Ṅ* as an *it* in *tātAṄ* is expressly used as an *it* for replacement. That is why it replaces the final sound in view of 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*. It is not used there for blocking *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*. If it did not replace the final sound as a result of its *Ṅ* as an *it*, marking it with *Ṅ* as an *it* will become vacuous (*vyartha*). Augment *īṬ* (7.2.93 *bruva īṭ*) is also blocked here in addition to blocking of *guṇa*. For, *tātAṄ*, although a replacement of an affix marked with *P* as an *it*, can no longer be treated as marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*). It is a *ṅit* as marked, and it cannot be treated as marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*). A *Ṅ*, used as an *it* for purposes of replacement, must allow replacement in place of the final sound segment.

How come *tātAṄ*, by way of being a replacement for *hi*, cannot be deleted after *jīva* (6.4.105 *ato heḥ*)? Rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* deletes *hi*, and not *tātAṄ*. How do we know this? By the fact that an additional *hi* is also carried over to rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* from 6.4.101 *hu jhalbhyo her dhiḥ*. This enables deletion to apply to *hi* which is available in the form of *hi*.

Kāśikā quotes two verses in connection with the status of items marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*:

> *tātaṅi ṅitvaṃ saṃkramakṛt syād*
> *antyavidhiś cet tac ca tathā na /*
> *her adhikāre her adhikāre*
> *lopavidhau tu jñāpakam āha //1//*
>
> '*Ṅ* as an *it* in *tātAṄ* is intended for blocking *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*; it is not intended for replacing the final sound segment; the *heḥ* which he (Pāṇini) states in the context of deletion by 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* within the domain of *hi* (6.4.101 *hujhalbhyor her dhiḥ*) becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*); that *hi* which is given in the form of *hi*, alone, goes through deletion.'
>
> *tātaṅo ṅitvasāmarthyān nāyam antyavidhiḥ smṛtaḥ /*
> *na tadvad anaṅādīnāṃ tena te' ntyavikārajāḥ //2//*
>
> 'it is at the strength of *Ṅ* as an *it* in *tātAṄ* that it is not considered marking an operation applicable to replacement of the final consonant; since *anAṄ*, etc., do not have that kind of competence, they are considered replacements in place of final sound segments.'

The *Ṅ* as an *it* in *tātaṄ* is intended for blocking *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* (*saṅkramaṇa*). It should not be accepted for facilitating final replacement. For, if final replacement is accepted as the purpose, we will not find that

base directly followed by that which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. That is, for example, when *tātAṄ* replaces the *i* of *hi*. There will be *h* intervening between the base and *tātAṄ*. Given this, 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* cannot block *guṇa*. Consequently, in order for a *Ṅit* to fully realize its function, we will have to accept *tātaṄ* as a total replacement for *hi*.

The *Ṅ* of *tatAṄ* should not be accepted for facilitating a partial replacement of only a final sound segment. This will go against the stipulation of 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*. Besides, there are ways other than making *Ṅ* as an *it* for specifying replacement of a final sound segment. Consider, for example, the following line-up of rules:

> *eruḥ tuhyos tād āśiṣi* 'let the final sound of *tu* and *hi* be replaced with *tāt* when benediction . . .'

Thus, *tuhyos tāt*, when read with *eruḥ* (3.4.86), could yield the interpretation: 'let *tāt* be the replacement for final of *tu* and *hi* related with *eruḥ*'. Note that *eruḥ* cannot be associated with *hi* but it will facilitate replacement of *ti* with *tu*. The resultant *tu* will then go through a replacement with *tātAṄ*. We do not need *Ṅ* to facilitate the replacement of the final sound segment. The same can be accomplished in view of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. But why do we have *Ṅ* as an *it* in *tātAṄ*. Because we want to block *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. Recall that *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* are not possible unless there is a total replacement (*sarvādeśa*). For example, given an *aṅga* ending in *i*, we find an immediately preceding *aṅga* ending in *i* before *tāt* which, in turn, is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. If a replacement for the final sound of *hi* and *tu* is accomplished by *tātAṄ*, we will end up with *t* and *h* of *tu* and *hi* intervening between the *aṅga* and the replacement. A *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* could thus not be blocked. If one still insists on replacement of the final sound segment, one has to extend the status of *Ṅ* as an *it* to the totality of form whose final is replaced with *tātAṄ*, in view of *avayave kṛtaṃ liṅgaṃ samudāye upacaryate* 'a mark made on a part is transferred to the whole'. I do not discuss full ımplication of this transfer. Suffice it to say that such a transfer is favored to save *Ṅ* as an *it* from becoming vacuous.

A solution to this problem is offered by *her adhikāre*. . . . Note here that *heḥ* can be easily carried over to 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* from 6.4.101 *hu jhalyo her dhiḥ*. Yet we are getting the explicit mention of *heḥ* in 6.4.105 *ato heḥ*. This indicates that deletion by *LUK* applies to a *hi* which happens to be in the form of *hi*, and not to a *hi* which one gets through replacement, via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treatment of a replacement as what it replaced'. An indicatication (*jñāpaka*) of this nature can be gotten only when that which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* is gotten by total replacement. A *Ṅ* as an *it*, gotten via *sthānivadbhāva*, will render the explicit mention of *hi* without any opurpose. Why can we not state this *jñāpaka* by some other means? That is, let *hi* of the form *hi* go through *LUK*-deletion, and the *hi* which is modified by replace-

ment of its final not go through *LUK*-deletion. That is, why can we not manipulate this *jñāpaka* in view of replacement of the final sound? But how could we then account for *sarvādeśa* 'replacement in toto' indicated by *Ṅ* as an *it* (1.1.53 *ṅic ca*).

It is in view of this that a direct statement is being made: *tātaṅo ṅitvasāmarthyān nāyam antyavidhismṛtaḥ* 'based on the competency of *Ṅ* as an *it*, this should not be cosidered a replacement operation of the final sound segment'. This total replacement has further consequences for negation of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* in cases where replacement of the final sound segment is not accomplished. A *Ṅ* as an *it* which facilitates replacement of the final could not be capable of blocking *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. For, it is not capable of facilitating total replacement. A replacement in *anAṄ* which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* is capable of facilitating replacement of the final sound segment. But it is not capable of blocking *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. The *Ṅ* as an *it* in *tātAṄ* has an added purpose of blocking *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*. It cannot be considered having the purpose of facilitating replacement of the final sound segment. Thus, *tātAṄ* because of containing more sound segments will replace *hi* in toto.

7.1.36 विदेः शतुर्वसुः

videḥ śatur vasuḥ
/ *videḥ* 5/1 *śatuḥ* 6/1 *vasuḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
'*vid*' *jñāne ity etasmād dhātor uttarasya śatur vasur ādeśo bhavati*
Affix *ŚatṚ*, when occurring after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *vid* 'to know', is replaced with *vasU* (3.2.107).

EXAMPLES:

vidvān 'nominative singular of *vidvat* 'scholar''
vidvāṃsau 'nominative dual . . .'
vidvāṃsaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *vasU* to replace affix *ŚatṚ* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv* . . .) when this same occurs after *vid* 'to know'. Our example-derivate *vidvān* derives from *vidvas* + *sU*, where *vidvas* derives from *vid* + (*LAṬ*→*ŚatṚ* → *vid* + *at*)). An introduction of *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*) and its subsequent *LUK*-deletion by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyo śapaḥ* yields *vid* + *at*. Our present rule then introduces the form *vas*(*U*) as a replacement for (*Ś*) *at*(*Ṛ*). We thus get *vid* + *vas* = *vidvas*. Augment *nUM* is then introduced after *a* of *vidvas* + *sU* by rule 7.1.70 *ugidacām*. . . . The penultimate *a* of *vidvans* is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.10 *sāntamahataḥ* . . .) to produce *vidvāns* + *sU*. Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt* . . . then deletes *sU*. The final *s* of the conjunct subsequently goes through its deletion by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* to yield *vidvāns* + (*sU*→ϕ) → *vidvān*(*s*→ϕ) = *vidvān*. The dual and plural forms, i.e.,

vidvāṃsau and *vidvāṃsaḥ*, are derived by replacing the *n* of *nUM* with *ṃ* (*anusvāra*; 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya* . . .).

2. Some consider the *anuvṛtti* of *anyatarasyām* valid here, thereby recognizing the replacement in *vasU* as optional. If one does not accept the option of replacing (*Ś*) *at*(*Ṛ*) with *vasU*, one would derive the base as *vid* + *at* = *vidat*. The nominative singular, dual and plural forms will then be: *vidan* / *vidantau* / *vidantaḥ*. Those who accept this replacement in *vasU* as obligatory (*nitya*), must claim *vidan* / *vidantau* / *vidantaḥ* to be non-existent.

3. Why do we have to mark *vas* with *U* as an *it* (*ugit*) when its purpose can be served by treating *vas* as marked with *uK*, i.e., *ṛ*, via *sthānivadbhāva*, on the basis of the *ŚatṚ* it replaced. This would have equally facilitated operations such as introduction of *nUM*, etc. A replacement in *vasU*, as against *vas*, is given so that, in rules such as 6.4.131 *vasoḥ samprasāraṇam*, *vasU* could also include a reference to *KvasU*. But this reference may be blocked on the basis of *ekānubandha-paribhāṣā*: *ekānubandhakagrahaṇe na dvyanubandhakasya* 'a specification made by that which consists of a single *it*-element cannot refer to an element which consisted of two *it*-elements'. But accepting this application of *ekānubandha-paribhāṣā* will render the use of *U*, as an *it* in *vasU*, vacuous. For, *vas*, without *U*, will then be serving its purpose via *sthānivadbhāva*. This, in turn, becomes an indicator that the *ekānubandha-paribhāṣā* does not apply here.

7.1.37 समासेऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वो ल्यप्

samāse' nañpūrve ktvo lyap
/*samāse* 7/1 *anañpūrve* 7/1 = *na nañ* (*nañ*.); *anañ pūrvo' vayavo yasya* (*bv*.), *tasmin*; *ktvaḥ* 6/1 *lyap* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
samāse' nañpūrve '*ktvā*' *ity etasya* '*lyap*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
Affix *Ktvā*, when occurring after a compound (*samāsa*) termed *aṅga* having an indeclinable other than *naÑ* as its initial constituent, is replaced with *LyaP*.

EXAMPLES:

prakṛtya 'after having made or done well'
prahṛtya 'after having carried well'
pārśvataḥkṛtya 'after having placed something aside'
nānākṛtya 'after having made (something) many'
dvidhākṛtya 'after having split (something) into two'

1. Refer to the appendix (II:394) for derivational details of *prakṛtya* and *prahṛtya*. The *Ktvā*, after *kṛ* in *pārśvataḥkṛtya*, is introduced by 3.4.61 *svāṅge taspratyaye*. . . under the condition of a cooccurring nominal ending in *tasI* and denoting 'one's limb'. The *Ktvā* in *nānākṛtya* and *dvidhākṛtya* is intro-

duced by 3.4.62 *nādhārthapratyaye*. . . . The compounds are all formed by 2.2.22 *ktvā ca*.

Recall here that *Ktvā* is marked with *K* as an *it*. It is also assigned the terms *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) and *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). Finally, a form which ends in *Ktvā* is also assigned the term *avyaya* by 1.1.40 *ktvātosunkasunaḥ*. A *sUP* which is introduced after an indeclinable goes through deletion, via *LUK*, of 2.4.82 *avyayād āp supaḥ*. A *LyaP* never receives augment *iṬ*. *L* as an *it* in *LyaP* is used for initial *udātta* accent in view of 6.1.190 *liti*.

2. This replacement is not allowed where non-compounds are involved. Thus, consider *kṛtvā* and *hṛtvā*. The negation in *anaÑ* is here interpreted as *paryudāsa*, paraphrased as *nañoʼ nyad anañ* 'that which is other than a *naÑ*'. This *anaÑ*, interpreted as *paryudāsa*, will then refer to forms which are similar to, but are not, *naÑ* (*tadbhinnatatsadṛśa*). The non-*naÑ* forms similar to *naÑ*, in this context, are indeclinables (*avyaya*). That is why, *akṛtvā*, *ahṛtvā*, *paramakṛtvā* and *uttamakṛtvā* cannot qualify for this replacement.

How come *ktvā* of *snātvākālakaḥ* is not replaced with *LyaP*? Can this be attributed to *nipātana* of 2.4.72 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca*? No. The locative of *samāse* denotes *nirdhāraṇa* 'exact specification; singling out one from among many'. Thus, *Ktvā* must be used within a compound. The *Ktvā*, when interpreted via *tadantavidhi*, will also refer to a compound ending in *Ktvā*. Our example does not have *Ktvā* at the end. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

Why do we not get *hi* (7.4.42 *dadhāter hiḥ*) as a replacement for *dhā* in *pradhāya*, and *ī* (7.4.40 *dyatisyatimāsthāmitti kiti*) in place of *ā* of *sthā* in *prasthāya*? Even an externally conditioned *LyaP* blocks internally conditioned operations (*pbh.* (55): *antaraṅgān api vidhīn bahiraṅgo lyab bādhate*). This has been indicated by the following under rule 2.4.36 *ado jagdhir lyapti kiti*:

> *jagdhau siddheʼ ntaraṅgatvāt ti kitīti lyab ucyate /*
> *jñāpayaty antaraṅgāṇāṃ lyapā bhavati bādhanam //*
> 'an explicit mention of *LyaP*, even when its purpose can be accomplished by the internally conditioned replacement of *ad* with *jagdh* before a *t*-initial affix marked with *K* as an *it*, is to indicate that *LyaP* can block internally conditioned operations'

7.1.38 क्त्वापि छन्दसि

ktvāpi chandasi
/*ktvā* (1/1 deleted) *api* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *samāseʼ nañpūrve ktvo lyap* #37)
samāseʼ nañpūrve '*ktvā*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati apiśabdād lyab api bhavati chandasi viṣaye*
Affix *Ktvā*, when occurring in the Vedic after a compound termed *aṅga*

not used with *naÑ* as its initial constituent, is also replaced with *Ktvā*, in addition to being replaced with *LyaP*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛṣṇaṃ vāso yajamānaṃ paridhāpayitvā 'the sacrificer having covered himself with a black cloth'
pratyañcamarkaṃ pratyarpayitvā 'after having offered the oblation of water to the setting sun'
uddhṛtya juhoti 'after having taken out (raised) he offers ritual oblation'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *chandasi* is carried over to 7.1.50 *ājjaser asuk*.
2. Why was the *sūtra* not formulated simply as *vā chandasi*? So that all other qualifications of this rule-application could be made optional (*sarvopādhi vyabhicārārtham*). Thus, we get *arcya tān devān gataḥ* 'left after having worshiped those gods' where *LyaP* is found in a non-compound (*asamāsa*).

The use of *api* is made so that *LyaP* can also be made an option. Thus, consider *pratyarpayitvā* 'having made the offerings to . . .', as against *paridhāpayitvā* 'having made to cover', where the option of *LyaP* is not accepted even when we have the preverbs *prati* and *pari*. These examples, both, are derivates of *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*), used after *prati-ṛ* and *pari-dhā* with *Ktvā* and *pUK* (7.3.36 *arttihri* . . .). An application of *guṇa* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*), followed by *yaṆ*, produces *prati* + *arpi* → *prat*(*i*→*y*) *arpi* = *pratyarpi*, a derived root. We get *pari-dhāpi* without any *guṇa*. Further application of *guṇa*, *iṬ*, and *ay* as a replacement for *e*, produces *pratyarp*(*i*→*ey*) + *i* + *tvā* = *pratyarpayitvā* and *paridhāpayitvā*.

Now consider *uddhṛtya*, derived from *ud* + *hṛ* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*), where augment *tUK* is introduced by 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk*. The *h* of *hṛ* is replaced with *dh* by 8.4.62 *jhayo ho' nyatarasyām*.

7.1.39 सुपां सुलुक्पूर्वसवर्णाच्छेयाडाड्यायाजालः

supāṃ sulukpūrvasavarṇāccheyāḍāḍyāyājālaḥ
/ *supām* 6/1 *su-luk-pūrvasavarṇa-ā-āc-che-yā-ḍā-ḍyā-yāj-ālaḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/ (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)
chandasi viṣaye supāṃ sthāne '*su, luk, pūrvasavarṇa, ā, āt, śe, yā, ḍā, ḍyā, yāc, āl*' *ity ete ādeśā bhavanti*

Affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*, when occurring after an *aṅga* in the Vedic, are replaced with *sU, LUK, pūrvasavarṇa* 'single replacement homogeneous with the preceding', *ā, āt, śe, yā, Ḍā, Ḍyā, yāC* and *āL*.

EXAMPLES

anṛkṣarā ṛjavāḥ santu panthāḥ 'may the paths be thorn-less and trouble free'

ārdre carman 'on (blood)soaked hide'
dhīti '. . . through prayer'
ubhā devā . . . 'both divinities . . .'
na tād (*tān*) *brāhmaṇād* (*brāhmaṇān*) *nindāmi* 'I do not curse those brāhmaṇas'
na yaṣmé bājabandhavaḥ 'you do not have associates in battle'
asme indrābṛhaspatī 'O Indra and Bṛhaspati, you two for us two . . .'
uruyā 'from thighs . . .'
nābahā pṛthivyām 'in the navel (north) of the altar . . .'
auṣṭuyoccyāvayatāt sādhurā 'with goodness . . .'
vasantā yajeta 'should offer sacrifice in the spring'

1. This rule offers a series of replacements for nominal endings (*sUP*) in the Vedic.

(*a*) Refer to derivational details of *panthāḥ* (II:398-99) where *sU* is selected over *Jas* of the nominative plural.
A proposal is made to rephrase operational statements as follows:

(*i*) *supāṃ supo bhavanti* 'affixes denoted by *sUP* 'nominal endings' come in place of *sUP*'. Consider *dakṣiṇāyāḥ* where *Ṅas* 'genitive singular' replaces *Ṅi* 'locative singular', for example, of *dakṣiṇāyām*.

(*ii*) *tiṅāṃ tiṅo bhavanti* 'affixes denoted by *tiṄ* 'verbal endings' come in place of *tiṄ*'. Consider . . . *ye takṣati* 'those who carve out . . .', as opposed to *ye takṣanti*, where *tiP* 'third singular active' is selected over its plural counterpart *jhi*.

(*b*) Derivates of *carman*, *yad* 'that which' and *tad* 'that' illustrate how locative singular *Ṅi* goes through deletion by *LUK*. Thus, we find *lohite carman* 'on red hide', *yat sunvanti* 'that which they press out . . .' and *tat sunvanti* 'that they press out . . .', as against *lohite carmaṇi* 'on red skin', *yasmin sunvanti* 'in that which they press out' and *tasmin sunvanti* 'in that they press out'.

(*c*) A replacement for *Ṭā*, similar to what precedes (*pūrvarūpa*), is illustrated by *dhītī* 'thought, intellect, devotion, thirst' and *matī* 'ibidem'. Thus, *dhīti* + (*Ṭ*) *ā* = *dhīti* + (*ā→i*) → *dhīt*(*i+i→ī*; 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe* . . .) = *dhītī*.

(*d*) Consider *ubhā* + *au*, of *ubhā yantārā*, where *au* 'nominative dual' is replaced with *ā*. We get *ubhā* 'both' through application of 6.1.98 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*. Thus, *ubh*(*a+ā→ ā*) = *ubhā*.

(*e*) A replacment in *āt*, for *Śas* 'accusative dual' of *tad* + *Śas*/ *brāhmaṇa* + *Śas*, is illustrated by *tād brāhmaṇān*, as against *tān brāhmaṇān* 'those brāhmaṇas . . .'.

(*f*) Refer to derivational details of *yuṣme* and *asme* (II:350-52), as against *yuṣmāsu* and *asmāsu*, where *Śe* replaces *suP* 'locative plural'. A lack of replacement in *yūya* and *vaya*, for *yuṣm* and *asm*, is also a Vedic peculiarity.

(*g*) A replacement in *yāC*, for *Ṭā*, is illustrated by *uru* + (*Ṭ*) *ā* = *uru* + (*ā*→*yā*) = *uruyā* 'with greatness, by the great one' and *dhṛṣṇu* + (*ā*→ *yā*) = *dhṛṣṇuyā* 'with boldness, by the bold one'. The regular instrumental singular forms being *uruṇā* and *dhṛṣṇunā*.

(*h*) A *Ṅi* occurring after *nābhi* 'navel' is similarly replaced with *Ḍā* to yield *nābhi* + (*Ṅi*→*Ḍā*) = *nābhi* + *ā*. The *Ḍ* as an *it* in *Ḍā* causes *ṭi*-deletion to produce *nābhā*. A similar replacement in *Ḍyā* is found for *Ṭā* when occurring after *anuṣṭup*. This yields *anuṣṭyā* after *ṭi*-deletion. The form would otherwise be *anuṣṭubhā*.

(*i*) Now consider *sādhu* 'good; neuter nominative singular' where *sU* gets deleted. We find *sādhuyā* where *sU* gets replaced with *yāC*, instead. A similar replacement of *Ṅi* with *āL* produces *vasantā*, as against *vasante*.

2. A series of other proposals have also been made. Thus,

(*iii*) *iyā*, *ḌiyāC* and *ī* in *urviyā* 'from thighs' / *dārviyā* 'from wood', *sugātriyā* 'by one with a beautiful body' / *sukṣetriyā* 'by one with beautiful field' and *sarasī* 'pond', where the first set illustrates replacing *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular' after *uru* and *dāru* with *iyā*. The second set replaces *Ṭā* with *ḌiyāC* involving *ṭi*-deletion. The last *sarasī* has its *Ṅi* replaced with *ī*. Recall that regular forms would be: *uruṇā*/ *dāruṇā*, *sukṣetriṇā*/ *sugātriṇā* and *sarasi*.

(*iv*) Additional replacements for *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular' include *āN*, *ayāC* and *ayāR*. Thus, *bāhavā* against *bāhunā*, *svapnayā* against *svapnena*, and *nāvayā* against *nāvā*.

7.1.40 अमो मश्

amo maś
/*amaḥ* 6/1 *maś* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)
amaḥ chandasi viṣaye maś ādeśo bhavati
Affix *am*, when occurring after an *aṅga* in the Vedic, is replaced with *mAŚ*.

EXAMPLES:

vadhīṃ vṛtram 'I killed Vṛtra'
kramīṃ vṛkṣasya śākhām
'I climbed up the branch of a tree'

1. Note that *am* is not interpreted here as accusative singular *am*. It is a replacement of *miP* in consonance with 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām*. . . . The *A* of *mAŚ* is for ease of articulation. The *Ś* as an *it* is intended for allowing total replacement (*sarvādeśa*). If *Ś* was not attached as an *it*, rule 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya* would have applied to replace the final sound segment. What is the purpose of proposing *m* as a replacement of *m*? The purpose is to block the application of 8.2.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*.

Consider *vadhīm* which derives from *han* + *LUṄ*. Follow derivational steps of *alāvīt* (II:333-34) to arrive at *vadh* + *i* + *ī* + *am*. Remember, however, that, given *han* + (*LUṄ*→*miP*), *am* replaces *miP*. Additionally, verbal root *han* is replaced with *vadha* (2.4.42 *luṅi ca*) and augment *aṬ* is blocked at the strength of *bahulam* 'variously' (6.4.75 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). A replacement for *am* in *mAŚ* can then produce *vadh* + *i* + *ī* + (*am*→*m*(*AŚ*) = *vadh* + *i* + *ī* + *m* = *vadhīm*. Similar steps can be followed to derive *kramīm*, a derivate of *kram* + *LUṄ*, where augment *iṬ* is introduced by 7.2.36 *snukramor*. . . .

7.1.41 लोपस्त आत्मनेपदेषु

lopas ta ātmanepadeṣu
/ *lopaḥ* 1/1 *taḥ* 6/1 *ātmanepadeṣu* 7/3/
(*chandasi* #38)
ātmanepadeṣu yas takāras tasya chandasi viṣaye lopo bhavati
The *t* of an affix termed *ātmanepada*, when occurring after an *aṅga* in the Vedic, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

devā aduhra 'gods extracted the milk'
duhrāmaśvibhyāṃ payó aghnyeyam
'may the two extract milk for the Aśvins'
dakṣiṇataḥ śaye 'reclines on the right side'

1. Refer to derivational details of *aduhra* under notes of 7.1.8 *bahulaṃ chandasi*. Derive *duh* + *te* from *duh* + *ŚaP* + *LOṬ* where *LOṬ* gets replaced with the third person singular middle (*ātmanepada*) ending *ta*. The *e*-replacement (*etva*) of *ta* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ* . . .) and deletion of *ŚaP* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*), as usual, follow. Our present rule deletes *t* of *duh* + *te* to produce *duh* + *e*. An application of 3.4.90 *ām etaḥ* then yields *duh* + (*e*→*ām*) = *duh* + *ām* = *duhām*, as against *dugdhām*. One can similarly derive *śī* + *e* from *śīṄ* + *ŚaP* + *te*, where *te* is a replacement of *LAṬ*. An application of *guṇa* (*ś*(*ī*→*e*) + *e*); 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*), followed by *e*→*ay* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*), will finally produce *ś*(*e*→*ay*) + *e* = *śaye*, first person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *śīṄ* 'to recline', as against *śete*.

The condition of *ātmanepadeṣu* is imposed so that *t*, for example of *duhanti*, a *parasmaipada* 'active' could not go through deletion.

7.1.42 ध्वमो ध्वात्

dhvamo dhvāt
/dhvamaḥ 6/1 *dhvāt* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)
chandasi viṣaye dhvamo dhvād ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
Affix *dhvam*, when occurring after an *aṅga* in the Vedic, is replaced with *dhvāt*.

EXAMPLES:

antárevóṣmâṇam vārayadhvāt 'breathing (or life, of an animal) be stopped inside (the mouth)'

1. Derive *vārayadhvāt* from *vāri* + (*LOṬ*→*dhvam*) = *vāri* + *ŚaP* + *dhvam*, where *vāri* is causal (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) form of *vṛÑ* or *vṝÑ* 'to cover', with *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* before *ṆiC*. Affix *dhvam* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*...) is the second plural middle replacement of *LOṬ*. Our present rule replaces this *dhvam* with *dhvāt*. An application of *guṇa*, followed by *ay*, as in *śaye* of the previous rule, will finally produce *vār*(*i*→*e*→*ay*) + *a* + *dhvāt* = *vārayadhvāt*. Note that the regular derivate would, of course, be *vārayadhvam*.

7.1.43 यजध्वैनमिति च

yajadhvainam iti ca
/yajadhvainam 1/1 *iti* ϕ *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)
'yajadhvam' ity etasya 'enam' ity etasmin parato makāralopo nipātyate (*vakārasya ca yakāraś*) *chandasi viṣaye*
The word *yajadhvainam* is derived, via *nipātana*, from *yajadhvam* + *enam* when the scope of the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

yajádhvainam priyamedhāḥ 'O Priyamedhā, offer the sacrifice to Indra'

1. This rule derives *yajadhvainam*, from *yajadhvam* used with a following *enam*, by deletion of *m* via *nipātana*. A deletion of *m*, followed by a single *vṛddhi* replacement in *au*, for *a+e*, finally produces *yajadhvainam*. This, of course, goes against the expected derivate *yajadhvam enam*.

2. The author of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* accepts the reading of the derivate as *yajadhva*(*m*→ϕ) + *enam* → *yajadh*(*v*→*y*) *a* + *enam* → *yajadhy*(*a+e*→*ai*) *nam* → *yajadhyainam*, where *v* of *dhvam* is also considered replaced with *y*. That is, they also replace *v* of *dhvam* with *y*, in addition to deletion of its final *m*. The *SK* calls it all carelessness (*prāmādikī*) and accepts *yajadhvainam* as the example derivate (*SK: vakārasya yakāro nipātyate iti vṛttikāroktiḥ prāmādikī*). Haradatta (*PM*) also accepts the derivate as *yajadhvainam*. He clearly states that deletion of *m*, alone, is accomplished via *nipātana* (*PM: bahvṛcās tu vakāram*

evādhīyate, tatra malopamātraṃ nipātyate). I have enclosed the debatable portion of the *vṛtti* in parenthesis. For, I have accepted *yajadhvainam* as the desired derivate.

7.1.44 तस्य तात्

tasya tāt

/ *tasya* 6/1 *tāt* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)

taśabdasya loṇmadhyamapuruṣabahuvacanasya sthāne 'tāt' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

Affix *ta*, i.e., the second personal plural replacement of *LOṬ*, when occurring after an *aṅga* in the Vedic is replaced with *tāt*.

EXAMPLES:

. . . *kṛṇutāt* 'make . . .'

. . . *sáṃsṛjatāt* '. . . create . . .'

. . . *khanatāt* '. . . dig . . .'

. . . *gamayatāt* '. . . have someone go . . .'

1. This rule offers *tāt* as a replacement for *ta* which, in turn, is a second person active replacement of *tha* of *LOṬ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthastha* . . .; 3.4.101 *tasthastha* . . .) introduced after verbal root *kṛvI* 'to do, harm'. Rule 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* introduces augment *nUM* based on *I* as an *it*. Thus, *kṛ* + (*nUM*) *v* + (*LOṬ*→*tha*→*ta*→*tāt*) = *kṛ* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *v* + *tāt*. Rule 3.1.80 *dhinvikṛṇvor a ca* then introduces the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *u* after *kṛṇv*, where root-final *v* is also replaced with *a*, simultaneously. This will give *kṛṇ* + (*v*→*a*) + *u* + *tāt* = *kṛṇ* + *a* + *u* + *tāt*. This *a* will be subsequently deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. We can thus get *kṛṇutāt*, as against *kṛṇuta*. Follow similar rules to derive *saṃsṛjatāt*, as against *saṃsṛjata*, where 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ* introduces *Śa*. Deriving *gamayatāt*, as against *gamayata*, will involve *ṆiC* after *gam* followed by *ŚaP*, *guṇa*, and *e*→*ay*. Deriving *gamayatāt* from *gamay* + *a* + *tāt* is easy.

7.1.45 तप्तनप्तनथनाश्च

taptanaptanathanāś ca

/ *tap-tanap-tan-thanāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38 *tasya* #44)

chandasi viṣaye tasya sthāne 'tap, tanap, tana, than' ity ete ādeśā bhavanti

Affix *ta*, when occurring after an *aṅga* in the Vedic, is also replaced with *taP*, *tanaP*, *tana* and *than*.

EXAMPLES:

. . . *śṛṇota grāvāṇaḥ* 'stones, used for pressing out soma, listen'

. . . *sunotá* 'press out!'

. . . *dádhātana* '. . . place . . .'
jújuṣṭana '. . . rejoice'
. . . *iṣṭhaná* '. . . wish . . .'

1. This rule offers *taP*, *tanaP*, *tana* and *thana* as replacements, in the Vedic, for the second plural *ta*-replacement of *LOṬ* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām*. . . . Consider *śṛṇota* where, in addition to *śṛ* as a replacement for *śru* 'to hear', *Śnu* is introduced (3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*). Since *taP* is marked with *P* as an *it*, it cannot be treated as *Ṅit* (3.4.85 *loṭo laṅvat*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). Consequently, *guṇa* of *u* cannot be blocked. Similar applications are also involved in *sunota*, a derivate of *ṣu* 'to press out'. Reduplication in *dadhātana*, a derivate of *dhā* 'to place', is accomplished by (6.1.10 *ślau*; 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ*). Given *dhā* + *dhā* + (*Śap*→*ŚLU*) + (*LOṬ*→*ta*→*tana*(*P*)) = *dhā* + *dhā* + *tana*, the *ā* of the first *dhā* will be replaced with its short counterpart (7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*) and its *dh* will be replaced with *d* (6.4.8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*). Thus, *dh*(*ā*→*a*) + *dhā* + *tana* → (*dh*→*d*) *a* + *dhā* + *tana* = *dadhātana*. The *Śa* (3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*) after *juṣ* 'to be pleased, enjoy', in *jujuṣṭana*, is deleted by 2.4.76 *bahulaṃ chandasi*. Reduplication, i.e., (*ju*(*ṣ*→ϕ) + *juṣ* + (*ta*→*tana*), is again accomplished by 6.1.10 *ślau*. Rule 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* then accomplishes a replacement in *ṭ* for *t* (*ṣṭutva*), thereby yielding *jujuṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) *ana* = *jujuṣṭana*, as against *juṣata*. Similar rules apply in deriving *iṣṭhana*, a derivate of *iṣ* 'to wish' with *thana*, as against *icchata*.

Note that introduction of *P* as an *it* in *taP* and *tanaP* (*pitkaraṇa*) is made for negating the status marking it with *Ṅ* as an *it* (*aṅitkaraṇa*; *Kāś: pitkaraṇam aṅitvārtham*). Consequently, there is no negation of *guṇa*.

7.1.46 इदन्तो मसि

idanto masi
/*idantaḥ* 1/1 *id anto' vayavo yasya* (*bv.*); *masi* (1/1 deleted)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)
chandasi viṣaye mas ity ayaṃ śabda ikārānto bhavati
The word *mas*, in the Vedic, is considered ending in *i*.

EXAMPLES:

dīpayāmasi 'we have it lighted'
bhañjayāmasi 'we have it shattered'
vāsayāmasi 'we have someone dwell'

1. Note that *mas* 'first person plural active verbal ending' is offered *i* as its augment at the end. A reference with *mas* includes forms ending in *mas*. Thus, *dīpi* + (*LAṬ*→*mas*), where *dīpi* is a causal counterpart of *dip* 'to glow, shine'. Thus, *dīpi* + *mas* = *dīpi*+ *ŚaP* + *mas* → *dīp*(*i*→*e*→*ay*) + *mas* = *dīpay* + *mas*+*i* = *dīpaya* + *masi*. It is clear that *mas* is here augmented with *i* at the end.

The final *a* of *dīpaya* is replaced with its long counterpart by 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *uddīpayāmasi*, where *dīpi* is used with the preverb *ud*. Similar rules apply in deriving *bhañjayāmasi* and *vāsayāmasi* from *bhañji* + (*LOṬ→mas*) and *vāsi* + (*LOṬ→mas*). These forms are given against the regular *dīpayāmaḥ*, *bhañjayāmaḥ* and *vāsayāmaḥ*.

7.1.47 क्त्वो यक्

ktvo yak
/*ktvaḥ* 6/1 *yak* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)
'*ktvā*' *ity etasya yag āgamo bhavati*
Augment *yaK* is introduced to affix *Ktvā*, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after an *aṅga*.

EXAMPLES:

dattvāya (*savitā dhiyaḥ*) 'after having given . . .'

1. This rule offers *yaK*, an augment marked with *K*, to the final of *Ktvā* (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*), in the Vedic. Thus, (*dā→dad*) + *Ktvā* (7.4.46 *dā dad ghoḥ*)); *dad* + (*tvā* + *yaK*) → (*da*(*d→t*) + *tvā* + *ya*(*K*) = *dattvāya*.

2. Why was this rule not formulated after 7.1.38 *ktvāpi chandasi*? That rule also includes the *anuvṛtti* of *samāse*. Consequently, *yaK* could have applied only to compounds with *Ktvā*.

7.1.48 इष्ट्वीनमिति च

iṣṭvīnam iti ca
/*iṣṭvīnam* 1/1 *iti* ϕ *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)
'*iṣṭvīnam*' *ity ayaṃ śabdo nipātyate chandasi viṣaye*
The word *iṣṭvīnam*, in the Vedic, is derived via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

iṣṭvīnam devān 'after having offered the sacrifice to gods'

1. Note that *iṣṭvā* is a derivate of *Ktvā* introduced after *iṣ* 'to wish'. The *t* of *tvā* goes through a replacement in *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Our present rule offers *iṣṭavīnam*, via *nipātana*, by introducing *īnam* as a replacement for the final *ā* of *iṣṭvā*. Recall, however, that a *nipātana* provision need not be explained in terms of bases, affixes and operations. Derivates of *nipātana* are treated as fully derived, without any consideration of rule applications.

2. It is stated that *ca* can also account for other desired derivates. Thus, we get *pītvīnam* 'after having drunk'.

7.1.49 स्नात्व्यादयश्च

snātvyādayaś ca
/snātvyādayaḥ 1/3 = *snātvī ādir yeṣām (bv.), te; ca* ϕ/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)
'snātvī' ity evam ādayaḥ śabdā nipātyante chandasi viṣaye
The word *snātvī*, and its likes, are derived via *nipātana* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

snā̠tvī (mā́lādiva) 'having bathed . . .'
pī̠tvī (somásya vāvṛdhe) 'having drunk . . .'

1. This rule accounts for *snātvī*, and others like it. The use of *ādi* 'et cetera' is here made in the sense of *prakāra* 'kind, like'. This derivation of *snātvī*, by means of *nipātana*, entails *ī* as a replacement for final *ā* of *Ktvā*. Of course, the classical forms will be *snātvā* and *pītvā*.

7.1.50 आज्जसेरसुक्

āj jaser asuk
/āt 5/1 *jaseḥ* 6/1 *asuk* 1/1/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 *chandasi* #38)
avarṇād aṅgād uttarasya jaser asug āgamo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
Augment *asUK* is introduced to *Jas* 'nominative plural' when the same occurs in the Vedic after an *aṅga* ending in *a* (*aT*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*).

EXAMPLES:

brāhmáṇāsa̠ḥ (pítaraḥ somyā́saḥ) 'the brāhmaṇas . . .'
ye pūrvā́so̠ ya upárāsaḥ 'those who preceded and those who followed'

1. Consider *brāhmaṇa* + (*J*) *as* + *as*(*UK*), where augment *asUK* is introduced at the end because of its status as *kit* 'that which has *K* as an *it*'. Thus, *brāhmaṇa* + *as* + *as* → *brāhmaṇ*(*a*+ *a*→*ā*) *s* + *as* → *brāhmaṇās* + *a*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*)) = *brāhmaṇās* + *aḥ* = *brāhmaṇāsaḥ*. Note that a long replacement for the vocalic sequence *a*+*a* results with the application of 6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*. The *visarga*, of course, is accomplished, via *rutva-visarga* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*; 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor*. . .). Augment *asUK*, in *pūrvāsaḥ* and *uparāsaḥ*, is introduced prior to replacement of *Jas* by *Śī* (7.1.17 *jasaḥ śī*). For, this introduction of *asUK* is subsequent in order of application (*paratvāt*). Note that *Śī* cannot be introduced, subsequently, on the basis of appearance of its context after the introduction of *asUK* (*Paribhāṣā* (40): *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt siddham*). For, *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitaṃ tad bādhitam eva* (*Paribhāṣā* (41)) 'that which goes once through blocking of a conflict of equal strength, remains blocked forever'.

2. Since operations in the Vedic usage frequently follow provisions of *bāhulaka* 'various ways', derivates may also be found without augment *asUK*. After all, (*paribhāṣā* 36) : *sarve vidhayaś chandasi vikalpyante* 'all operations in the Vedic are considered optional'.

Pāṇini usually makes his specification of the nominative plural with *Jas*. Earlier grammarians must have used *jasi*, as Pāṇini himself uses here in *jaseḥ* of this rule.

7.1.51 अश्वक्षीरवृषलवणानामात्मप्रीतौ क्यचि

aśvakṣīravṛṣalavaṇānām ātmaprītau kyaci
/ *aśva-kṣīra-vṛṣa-lavaṇānām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *ātmaprītau* 7/1 = *ātmanaḥ prītiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām; kyaci* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *asuk* #50)
'*aśva, kṣīra, vṛṣa, lavaṇa*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām ātmaprītiviṣaye kyaci parato asug āgamo bhavati*

Augment *asUK* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *aśva* 'horse', *kṣīra* 'milk', *vṛṣa* 'bull' and *lavaṇa* 'salt', when affix *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*) follows and *ātmaprīti* 'agent's own pleasure' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aśvasyati vaḍavā 'the mare longs for a stallion'
kṣīrasyati māṇavakaḥ 'the boy desires milk'
vṛṣasyati gauḥ 'the cow longs for a bull'
lavaṇasyaty uṣṭraḥ 'the camel longs for salt'

1. These derivates of *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*) all involve assignment of the term *dhātu* 'verbal root' (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*) and *pararūpa* 'single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence' (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). Refer to derivational details of derivates of *KyaC* under notes and appendix of relevant rules (3.1.8 *supa ātnmanaḥ* . . . ; 3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*).

2. Note that the condition of *ātmaprīti* 'agent's own pleasure' is important. For, elsewhere, we cannot get *asUK*. Thus, consider *aśvīyati* and *kṣīrīyati*, etc., where *KyaC* (3.1.10 *upamānād ācāre*) is introduced with the signification of *ācāra* 'conduct, treatment'.

Proposals are also made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to restrict usages with *aśva* 'horse' and *vṛṣa* 'bull' to the context of *maithunecchā* 'desire for sex' (*vt: aśvavṛṣayor maithunecchāyām iti vaktavyam*). The context of *kṣīra* 'milk' and *lavaṇa* 'salt' is restricted to *lālasā* 'longing; intense desire'. Some say that augment *asUK* should be introduced after all stems when *lālasā* is signified (*vt: sarvaprātipadikebhyo lālasāyām asug vaktavyaḥ*). Others simply recommend *sUK* as the augment (*apara āha: sug vaktavyaḥ*). This way, they can account for *dadhyasyati* 'desires for curd' and *madhvasyati* 'desires for honey'.

7.1.52 आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट्

āmi sarvanāmnaḥ suṭ
/*āmi* 7/1 *sarvanāmnaḥ* 5/1 *suṭ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *āt* #50)
avarṇāt sarvanāmna uttarasyāmaḥ suḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *sUṬ* is introduced to affix *ām* when the same occurs after a *sarvanāman* 'pronominal' termed *aṅga* ending in *a*.

EXAMPLES:

sarveṣām 'genitive plural of *sarva* (all)'
viśveṣām '. . . of *viśva* . . .'
yeṣām '. . . of *yad* 'he who''
teṣām '. . . of *tad* 'that''
yāsām '. . . of *yad* (feminine)'
tāsām '. . . of *tad* (feminine)'
bhavatām '. . . of *bhavat* (you)'

1. Refer to derivational details of *sarveṣām* and *viśveṣām* in the appendix (II:362). Deriving *yeṣām* and *teṣām* from *yad* + *ām* and *tad* + *ām* involves application of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* and *pararūpa* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). This gives us *ya(d→a)* + *ām* → *ya(a+a→a) d* + *ām* and *ta* + *ām* → *ta* + *ām*. Introduction of *sUṬ*, replacement in *e* (*etva*) and *ṣatva* 'replacement in *ṣ*' are similar to *sarveṣām*. The feminine forms, i.e., *yad* + *ṬāP* and *tad* + *ṬāP*, will similarly yield *ya* + *ā* and *ta* + *ā*. The final forms *yāsām* and *tāsām* could result after *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) and introduction of *sUṬ* to *ām*. This *sUṬ* is offered against *nUṬ* made available after bases ending in a short vowel (7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*).

2. Note that *ām* of *āmi* is here interpreted as the genitive plural (*ṣaṣṭhī-bahuvacana*). It cannot be interpreted as *ām* introduced by 7.3.116 *ṅer ām*. . . . For, that *ām*, because of being subsequent in order, would require augments *āṬ* (7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ*), *yāṬ* (7.3.113 *yāḍ āpaḥ*) and *syāṬ* (7.3.114 *sarvanāmnaḥ syāṭ hrasvaś ca*). The *ām* of 5.4.11 *kimettiṅa* . . . and 3.1.35 *kāspratyayād* . . ., of course, does not relate to pronominal bases. Or else, they both are marked with *anubandhas* 'markers' (*sānubandhaka*). The *āmU* of 5.4.11 *kimettiṅa* . . . is marked with *U* as an *it*. The *āmA* of 3.1.35 *kāspratyayād* . . . is similarly marked with *A*. They thus are both out.

This specification of *ām* with the locative *āmi* is intended for subsequent rule(s). It is transformed into genitive in view of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*, because *sarvanāmnaḥ* is here specified with the ablative.

7.1.53 त्रेस्त्रयः

tres trayaḥ
/*treḥ* 6/1 *trayaḥ* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *āmi* #51)
'*tri*' *ity etasya āmi pare* '*traya*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
An *aṅga*, namely *tri*, is replaced with *traya* when *ām* follows.

EXAMPLES:

trayāṇām 'genitive plural of *tri* 'three''

1. Thus, consider *tri* + *ām* → (*tri*→*traya*) + *ām* = *traya* + *ām*, where *traya* replaces *tri*, in toto, because of being *anekāl* 'a replacement consisting of more than one sound segment' (1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). This will finally yield *trayāṇām* with introduction of augment *nUṬ* (7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*), lengthening (*dīrgha*; 6.4.3 *nāmi*) and replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . .).

2. Note that *trīṇām* is also desired in the Vedic usage. Thus, *trīṇām api samudrāṇām* ' . . . also of the three oceans'.

7.1.54 ह्रस्वनद्यापो नुट्

hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ
/ *hrasvanadyāpaḥ* 5/1 = *hrasvaś ca nadī ca āp ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *nuṭ* 1/1/
hrasvāntān nadyantād ābantāc cottarasyāmo nuḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUṬ* is introduced to affix *ām* when it occurs after an *aṅga* which ends in a short vowel (*hrasvānta*), or in a form which is termed *nadī* (*nadyanta*), or else, ends in the feminine affix *āP* (*ābanta*).

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣāṇām 'genitive plural of *vṛkṣa* 'tree''
agnīnām 'genitive plural of *agni* 'fire''
kumārīṇām 'genitive plural of *kumārī* 'girl''
gaurīṇām 'genitive plural of *gaurī* 'fair''
brahmabandhūnām 'genitive plural of *brahmabandhū* 'a brāhmaṇa woman whose brother is a true brāhmaṇa but she herself is not''
bahurājānām 'genitive plural of *bahurājā* (a city with many kings)'
kārīṣagandhyānām 'genitive plural of Kārīṣagandhyā'

1. Here again we find *dīrgha* 'lengthening' and *ṇatva* 'replacement in *ṇ*', etc. Note, however, that *dīrgha* of bases ending in *a* is accomplished by 7.3.102 *supi ca*. The others are accomplished by 6.4.3 *nāmi*. Bases such as *kumārī*, etc., are termed *nadī* in view of 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*. The feminine affix *Ḍāp* of *bahurājā* is introduced by 4.1.13 *ḍāb ubhābhyām*. . . . The feminine affix *CāP* in *kārīṣagandhyā* is introduced by 4.1.74 *yaṅaś cāp*.

7.1.55 षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च

ṣaṭcaturbhyaś ca

/ṣaṭcaturbhyaḥ 5/3 = *ṣaṭ ca catvāraś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ; ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *āmi* #50 *nuṭ* #54)
ṣaṭsaṃjñakebhyaś catuḥśabdāc cottarasyāmo nuḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUṬ* is introduced to affix *ām* when this same occurs after an *aṅga* termed *ṣaṭ* (1.1.23 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*), or after an *aṅga* constituted by *catur* 'four'.

EXAMPLES:

ṣaṇṇām 'genitive plural of *ṣaṣ* 'six''
catrurṇām 'genitive plural of *catur* 'four''
pañcānām 'genitive plural of *pañcan* 'five''
navānām 'genitive plural of *navan* 'nine''
saptānām 'genitive plural of *saptan* 'seven''
daśan 'genitive plural of *daśan* 'ten''

1. Note that the term *ṣaṭ* is assigned by 1.1.23 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*. Augment *nUṬ*, for example in *ṣaṣ* + *ām*, produces *ṣaṣ* + *n* + *ām*, which, after replacement of the final *ṣ* with *ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*), yields *ṣaṣ* + *n* + *ām* → *ṣa*(*ṣ*→*ḍ*) + *n* + *ām*. Rule 8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike* . . . then replaces *ḍ* with *ṇ* to yield *ṣa*(*ḍ*→*ṇ*) + *n* + *ām* = *ṣaṇ* + *nām*. An application of *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*) will then produce *ṣaṇ* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *ām* = *ṣaṇṇām* by replacing the *n* of *nām* with its retroflex counterpart *ṇ*. Deriving *pañcānām*, from *pañcan* + *n* + *ām* involves deletion of the final *n* of *pañcan* (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ* . . .). Introduction of augment *nUṬ* and replacement of a short vowel with its corresponding long (*dīrgha*), etc., are additionally applied.

2. Note that *catur*, a base ending in *r*, is not assigned the term *ṣaṭ*. Consequently, it is to be specified separately. This has been done to block deletion of the nominative and accusative plural nominal endings *Jas* and *Śas* by 7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk*. Since this specification of *ṣaṭcaturbhyaḥ* is made with *bahuvacana* 'plural', its reference must be construed as made to a principal (*pradhāna*) constituent denoted by the number (*saṃkhyā*). That is, the number should not be construed as denoting the secondary (*upasarjana*) constituent. Thus, consider *paramaṣaṇṇām* 'best among the six' and *priyaṣasām* 'those for whom those six are dear (*priyāḥ ṣaṭ yeṣāṃ te*)', where the first has *pañcan* as principal. The second, of course, has *ṣaṣ* 'six' as secondary. This explains why the second example lacks the term *ṣaṭ* and subsequent introduction of augment *nUṬ*.

7.1.56 श्रीग्रामण्योश्छन्दसि

śrīgrāmaṇyoś chandasi
/śrī-grāmaṇyoḥ (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *āmi* #50 *nuṭ* #54)
'*śrī, grāmaṇī*' *ity etayoś chandasi viṣaye āmo nūḍ āgamo bhavati*

Augment *nUṬ* is introduced to affix *ām*, in the Vedic, when the same occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *śrī* 'glory, lustre, wealth' and *grāmaṇī* 'village leader'.

EXAMPLES:

śrīṇāmúdāro dharuṇó rayīṇām
'Agni, the holder of beauty and wealth'
sūtagrāmaṇīnām 'of charioteers and village leaders'

1. Note that *śrī* is assigned the term *nadī*, optionally, by 1.4.5 *vā' mi*. This will block *nUṬ* where option of assigning the term *nadī* is not accepted. A particular mention of *śrī* in this rule makes *nUṬ* obligatory (*nitya*). The compound in *sūtagrāmaṇīnām* is interpreted as a *dvandva* of *itaretarayoga* type. That is *sūtāś ca grāmaṇyaś ca* = *sūtagrāmaṇyaḥ, teṣām*. The *itaretarayoga* compund will not offer a base ending in *hrasva* 'short'. Consequently, *nUṬ* could not be made available. Our present rule makes this provision of *nUṬ* possible where the *dvandva* compound ends in a long vowel. If the compound is interpreted as a *samāhāra* 'collection, grouping', paralllel to *sūtaś ca grāmaṇīś ca* = *ṣūtagrāmaṇi* 'charioteer and village leader', *nUṬ* could then be made available to *sūtagrāmaṇi* (ending in a short vowel) before the genitive plural ending *ām*. This, however, will involve deriving *sūtagrāmaṇi*, via *ekaśeṣa* 'retaining one base of many', from *sūtagrāmaṇi ca sūtagrāmaṇi ca sūtagrāmaṇi* = *sūtagrāmaṇi*, where, in view of *sarvo dvandvo vibhāṣayā ekavad bhavati* 'all *dvandva* compounds, optionally, are treated as denoting the sense of one'. That is, they are treated as neuter (*napuṃsaka*) singular (*ekavacana*). They can avail the introduction of augment *nUṬ* by 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ*. This rule thus does not become necessary. Incidentally, Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*) does not accept the compound to be an *itaretarayoga*. He accepts it to be a *karmadhāraya*.

7.1.57 गोः पादान्ते

goḥ pādānte
/*goḥ* 5/1 *pādānte* 7/1 = *pādasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *āmi* #50 *nuṭ* #54 *chandasi* #56)
'*go*' *ity etasmād ṛkpādānte vartamānād uttarasyāmo nuḍāgamo bhavati*
Augment *nUṬ* is introduced to affix *ām* when this same occurs after *go* 'cow' used at the end of the quarter of a hymn.

EXAMPLES:

vidmā hi tvā satpatíṃ śūragonām
'o brave Indra, we consider you the owner of many cows'

1. The word *pāda* is interpreted here as *ṛkpāda* 'quarter of a hymn'. Thus, *go* + *nUṬ* + *ām* = *gonām*, which we find at the end of the example hymn.

Why do we have the condition of *pādānte* 'at the end of the quarter of a hymn'? Consider *gavāṃ gotramudasṛjo yadaṅgiraḥ* where augment *nUṬ* is not introduced at the beginning of the quarter of a hymn. Recall that all operations, in the Vedic, become optional (*sarve vidhayaś chandasi vikalpyante*). This sometime results into non-introduction of augment *nUṬ* even at the end of the quarter of a hymn. Consider *hantāraṃ śatrūṇāṃ kṛdhi virājaṃ gopatiṃ gavām* 'killer of enemies, owner of many cows . . ., a distinguished king', where *nUṬ* is not attached even at the end of a *ṛk*.

7.1.58 इदितो नुम् धातोः

idito num dhātoḥ
/*iditaḥ* 6/1 = *id it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya; num* 1/1 *dhātoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
idito dhātor num āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUM* is introduced to a verbal root (*dhātu*) which is marked with a short *i* as an *it*.

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍitā '. . . burning; a derivate of *tṛC*'
kuṇḍitum 'to burn; a derivate of *tumUN*'
kuṇḍitavyam '. . . should burn; a derivate of *tavyaT*'
kuṇḍā '. . . burning; a derivate of *a*'

1. Why is *dhātoḥ* '. . . of a verbal root' used here against *aṅgasya* 'of an *aṅga*' which is supposed to be carried over? So that this augment could be introduced right at the outset when a verbal root marked with a short *i* as an *it* (*idit*) appears in the derivational process. No function other than this can be accomplished by making a specification by *dhātoḥ* 'of a verbal root', characterized with a short *i* as an *it*. Refer to derivational details of *kuṇḍā* and *huṇḍā* (II:509), where this augment is introduced after the last sound segment of the root (1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*) right at the beginning of the derivational process. Consequently, 1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru* assigns the term *guru* and 3.3.103 *guroś ca halaḥ* offers affix *a* to facilitate the derivation of a feminine derivate with subsequent *ṬāP*. If *nUM* is not introduced to *kuḍI* at the outset, we will not get the assignment of the term *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*) to *u* of *kuḍ*. This will then block affix *a* in favor of affix *KtiN* (3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*).

Refer also to 3.1.80 *dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca* where *dhinvi* 'to please, satisfy' and *kṛṇvi* 'to hurt, injure' are specified with *nUM* already accomplished (*numanuṣakta*). This same also applies to *nUM* of this rule. Incidentally, rule 3.1.80 *dhinvikṛṇvyor a ca* also introduces affix *a*.

7.1.59 शे मुचादीनाम्

śe mucādīnām

/*śe* 7/1 *mucādīnām* 6/3 = *muc ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58)
śe pratyaye parato mucādīnām num āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga* constituted by a root enumerated in the group headed by *mucL̥* 'to release' when affix *Śa* follows.

EXAMPLES:

muñcati 'third singular active present form of *muc*'
lumpati '. . . of *lup* 'to cut''
vindati '. . . of *vid* 'to gain''

1. Refer to derivational details of *muñcati* (II:384) where *Śa* is introduced after *muc* 'to set free, release' (3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*). Similar derivational patterns are also followed by other examples.

2. The *mucādi* 'group of verbal roots headed by *mucL*', etc. are a group of eight verbs enumerated at the end of the *tudādi* listing of the *Dhātupāṭha*. The class-marker for this group is *Śa* (3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*).

A *vārttika* proposal is also made to introduce *nUM* when *Śa* follows: *tṛphA*/*tṛmphA* 'to be satiated', *dṛphA*/*dṛmphA* 'to torture', *guphA*/*gumphA* 'to string', *ubhA*/*umbhA* 'to fill' and *śubhA*/*śumbhA* 'to glow' (*vt: śe tṛmphādīnām upasaṃkhyānaṃ kartavyam*). Note that deletion of roots with *m* (6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal*. . .) is compensated by *nUM*. This *n* of *nUM*, however, cannot be deleted. For, its introduction will then serve no purpose. Roots enumerated with no nasal sounds do not go through deletion, or get augment *nUM*. They also lack *guṇa* because their *sārvadhātuka* affixes, except for those marked with *P* as an *it* (*apit*; 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*), are treated as *Ṅit* 'marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*'. Thus, we get *tṛpati*, *dṛpati*, *guphati*, *ubhati*, and *śubhati*.

7.1.60 मस्जिनशोर्झलि

masjinaśor jhali
/*masji-naśoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *jhali* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58)
'*masji, naśi*' *ity etayor aṅgayor jhalādau pratyaye num āgamo bhavati*
Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *ṬUmasjI* 'to sink, immerse' and *naś* 'to disappear, be destroyed' when an affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* (non-nasal consonants; *Śs.* 7-14) follows.

EXAMPLES:

maṅktā 'he who immerses; derivate of *tṛC*'
maṅktum 'to immerse; derivate of *tumUN*'
maṅktavyam '. . . should immerse; derivate of *tavyaT*'
naṃṣṭā 'he who disappears; derivate of *tṛC*'

naṃṣṭum 'to disappear; derivate of *tumUN*'
naṃṣṭavyam 'should disappear; derivate of *tavyaT*'

1. Note that *nUM*, though it is marked with *M* as an *it*, is not introduced after the *a* of *masj* + *tṛC* (1.1.64 *mid aco' tyāt paraḥ*; 3.1.133 *ṇvul tṛcau*). It is attached (*vt.*: *masjer antyāt pūrvo num vācyaḥ*) before *j*, instead. Thus, we get *masj* + *tṛ* → *mas* + *nUM* + *j* + *tṛ* = *masnj* + *tṛ*. The *s* is then deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca*. The *j* of the string yields *k* through replacement applications of *g* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) and *k* (*cartva*; 8.4.54 *khari ca*). We thus get (*man*(*s*→ϕ) + (*j*→*g*→*k*)) + *tṛ* = *man* + *ktṛ*. An application of 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya* . . . and 8.4.57 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* yields *ma*(*n*→*ṃ*→*ṅ*) + *ktṛ* = *maṅktṛ*. Note here that augment *iṬ* is blocked by 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe*. . . . Follow derivational details of *taritṛ* + *sU* (II:328-29) for deriving *maṅktā* from *maṅktṛ* + *sU*. Deriving *maṅktā*, *maṅktum* and *maṅktavyam* offers nothing new.

Deriving *naṃṣṭā*, from (*naś* + *tṛ*) + *sU*, involves introduction of augment *nUM* only optionally. That is, *nUM* will be introduced where the option of *iṬ* (7.2.54 *radhādibhyaś ca*) is not availed. Thus, *na* + *n*(*UM*) + *ś* + *tṛ* → *na* (*n*→*ṃ*) + *ś*) + *tṛ* → *naṃś* + *tṛ*. An application of replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛja* . . .) and *t*→*ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*), on *naṃś* + *tṛ*, will produce: *naṃ* (*ś*→ *ṣ*) + *tṛ*)) → *naṃṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) *ṛ* = *naṃṣṭṛ*. Deriving *naṃṣṭā* from *naṃṣṭṛ* + *sU* should not pose any problem. We will get (*naś* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *tṛ*)) + *sU*))) = *naśitā*, when, because of the absence of a non-nasal consonant at the beginning of *itṛ*, *nUM* is blocked in favor of *iṬ*. Derivates of *tavyaT* and *tumUN* can be similarly derived.

2. Why should we accept the condition of a following affix beginning with *jhaL*? So that *majjanam* 'immersing' and *naśanam* 'perishing' could be excluded. These counter-examples both are derivates of *LyuṬ*, where 3.1.1 *yuvor anākau* replaces *yu* with *ana*. Note that, given *masj* + (*L*) *yu*(*Ṭ*), replacements in *ś* for *s* (*cutva*; 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*) and *j* for *ś* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*) both become applicable. However, *jaśtva* becomes suspended (*asiddha*) and *cutva* applies. The resultant *ś* later on goes through a replacement in *j* (*jaśtva*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*) applies *jaśtva*, thereby replacing *s* with *d*. He then applies *cutva*, thereby replacing *d* with *j*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) favors the first pattern of application.

3. Patañjali (*Mahābhāṣya* ad 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*) states that *nUM* is desired to be introduced before the last sound segment of *masj*, so that the inititial *s* of the sequence with *nUM*, i.e., *ns*, can be deleted. That is, we must get *mas* + *n*(*UM*) + *j* + (*K*) *ta* and *mas* + *n*(*UM*) + *j* + (*K*) *tavat*(*U*), for deriving *magna* and *magnavat*. If we, instead, got *ma* + *n*(*UM*) + *sj* + (*K*) *ta* and *ma* + *n*(*UM*) + *sj* + (*K*) *tavat*(*U*), 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor*. . . cannot delete *s*. For, *s* will then not be at the beginning of the conjunct (*saṃyogādi*). The *n* can also not be deleted since it will not be penultimate (*upadhā*) sound of the *aṅga* (6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal*. . .). This will yield wrong results. It is for this reason that *nUM* is not introduced after *j*, the final consonant of *masj*. It is, instead,

introduced before *j*, the final consonant. This will clear the way for appropriate rules to delete *s* and *n*. The *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *n* by 8.2.45 *oditaś ca*. The *j*, of *maj* + (*t*→*n*) *a* = *maj* + *na*, is then replaced with *g* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). An introduction of *sU*, after *magna* and *magnavat*, will eventually derive *magnaḥ* and *magnavān*.

7.1.61 रधिजभोरचि

radhijabhor aci
/*radhi-jabhoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; aci* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58)
'*radhi, jabhi*' *ity etayor ajādau pratyaye num āgamo bhavati*
Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *radhA* 'to harm, subdue' and *jabhA* 'to gape, yawn' when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

randhayati 'he has someone (cook or be subdued)'
randhakaḥ 'he who cooks'
sādhurandhī 'he who cooks well'
randhaṃrandham 'cooking over and over again'
jambhayati 'he yawns'
jambhakaḥ 'he who yawns'
sādhujambhī 'he who yawns well'
jambhaṃjambham 'yawning over and over again'

1. This *nUM* is allowed when a vowel-initial affix follows. Examples such as *randhayati* and *jambhayati* derive from (*radh* + (*ṆiC*)) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*))) = *randhi* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* and (*jabh* + (*ṆiC*)) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*))) = *jambhi* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*, where *nUM* is introduced to *radh*, i.e., *ra* + *n*(*UM*) + *dhi*, and *jabh*, i.e., *ja* + *n*(*UM*) + *bhi*, termed *aṅga* before the vowel-initial affix (*Ṇ*) *i*(*C*). A replacement in *guṇa* for *i* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*), followed by a replacement in *ay* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) finally produces *randhayati* and *jambhayati*. A derivate such as *randhaka* derives from (*ra* + *n*(*UM*) + *dh*) + (*Ṇ*) *vu*(*L*) → *randh* + (*vu*→*aka*) = *randhaka* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). Affix *ṆinI* is introduced after *radh* which, in turn, receives *nUM* under the cooccurrence condition of *sādhu* 'good, well' (3.2.78 *supy ajātau ṇini*...). We thus get the derivate *sādhurandhin*. Yet another derivate, i.e., *randhaṃrandham*, is derived with (*Ṇ*) *am*(*UL*) (3.4.22 *ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul ca*) introduced after *radh*. This gives us *radh* + (*Ṇ*) *am*(*UL*) = *radh* + *am*. Augment *nUm* is now introduced to derive *ra* + *n*(*UM*) + *dh* + *am* = *randham*. Note that *randham* goes through iteration (*vt: ābhīkṣṇye dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*, ad 8.1.12 *prakāre guṇavacanasya*) under the denotational condition of intense or repeated action. Thus, we get *randhaṃrandham*.

2. Why do we not get a *vṛddhi* replacement for the penultimate *a* (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*) of the *aṅga*, i.e., *radh* + *ṆiC*, etc.? This *vṛddhi*, though it is *para* 'subsequent', is blocked by *nUM*. For, *nUM* is obligatory (*nitya*). An obligatory provision is considered more powerful than a provision made by a subsequent (*para*) rule. Augment *nUM* becomes obligatory because its context must receive application, whether or not the application of penultimate *vṛddhi* is carried out (*kṛtākṛtaprasaṅgitvān nityam*). Once *nUM* is introduced, the *vṛddhi* condition of *a* in the *upadhā* 'penultimate position' is removed. Consequently, there is no application of *vṛddhi* by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*.

Kāśikā offers (*radh* + *tṛC*) + *sU* → *raddhā* and (*jabh* + *yaT*) + *sU* → *jabhyam* as counter-examples for the condition of *aci* 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows'. Note here that affixes *tṛC* and *yaT* do not begin with a vowel.

7.1.62 नेट्यलिटि रधेः

neṭy aliṭi radheḥ
/*na* ϕ *iṭi* 7/1 *aliṭi* 7/1 = *na liṭ* (*nañ.*), *tasmin; radheḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58)
iḍādāv aliṭi pratyaye pare radher num āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUM* is not introduced to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *radhA*, when a non-*LIṬ* affix beginning with *iṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

radhitā 'he who will cook'
radhitum 'to cook'
radhitavyam 'should cook'

1. Note that our earlier rule introduces *nUM* to *radh* in deriving *randhana* 'cooking' and *randhaka* 'cook' when a vowel-initial affix follows. This was possible there because affixes introduced after it began with a vowel. Our present rule blocks *nUM* where *radh* is followed by a non-*LIṬ* (*aliṭ*) affix which begins with a vowel, namely *iṬ* (*iḍādi*). This right context of negation of augment *nUM* is very specific. That is, *radh* must occur before a non-*LIṬ* affix and this affix must be made *ajādi* 'beginning with a vowel' by way of introduction of augment *iṬ*. Consider *rarandhiva* and *rarandhima*, the first person dual and plural active perfect derivates of *randh* where affix *LIṬ* is replaced with the first dual and plural endings *vas* and *mas*. Our present rule cannot block the introduction of *nUM* here. For, *radh* is followed by a replacement of *LIṬ*. Our earlier rule will thus introduce *nUM*. Iteration, and subsequent deletion relative to *abhyāsa*, will produce *rarandhiva* and *rarandhima*. Note also that *radh* will receive *iṬ* of 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛ*. . ., by way of being an exception to roots enumerated by that rule.

A question is raised as to why a replacement of *LIṬ* after *radh*, which does

not end in a conjunct to start with, cannot be accepted as marked with *K* as an *it* (1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*). For, this status as marked with *K* as an *it* will facilitate deletion of *nUM* by rule 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal upadhāyāḥ*. That is why, can we not treat *LIṬ* at the stage of *ra* + *nUM* + *dh* + *LIṬ* as marked with *K* as an *it* (*kit*; 1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*), thereby facilitating deletion of penultimate *n* (6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal*. . .). *Kāśikā* states that this *LIṬ* cannot be treated as marked with *K* as an *it* (*kit*) because it will be occurring after *randh*, a root ending in a conjunct (*saṃyoga*; *Kāś: numi kṛte saṃyogāntatvād* '*asaṃyogāl liṭ kit*' *iti kitvaṃ nāstīti nalopo na bhavati*). How do we get the root to end in a conjunct? The root is *radh* and it ends in *dh* and not *ndh*. It can end in *ndh* if one follows the recommendation of introducing augment *nUM* to it right at the outset (*upadeśa*) of derivation. The question of *n*-deletion thus does not arise.

What should be the form of *radh* when *LIṬ*, especially when it is replaced with *KvasU*, follows? The form should be: *redhivān*? Where do we get *KvasU* from? We get *KvasU* as a replacement of *LIṬ* under the provision of 3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*. Iteration and operations relative to *abhyāsa* are then performed. That is, rule 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhye*. . . offers *e* as a replacement for *a* of *radhr*(*a*→*e*) *dh* + (*K*) *vas*(*U*) = *radhredh* + *vas*. The *abhyāsa* also concurrently goes through deletion by this same rule to produce: (*radh*→ϕ) *redh* + *vas* = *redhi* + *vas*. We get *redh*(*iṬ*) + *va*(*nUM*) *s* = *redhivan*, through introduction of *iṬ*, *nUM* and deletion of *n* under the condition of *K* as an *it* (*kit*). The form should thus be *redhivas* + *sU* → *redhivān*.

Others claim that the form should be *raradhvān* where *iṬ* will not be introduced. For, the condition of *ekāc* 'single vowel' cannot be met after iteration. The non-introduction of *iṬ* will also block introduction of *nUM*. The form should thus be *raradhvān*.

Actually, *nUM*, in *redhivān*, is introduced after replacement in *e* (*etva*; *r*(*a*→*e*), deletion relative to *abhyāsa* (*abhyāsalopa*; *ra*(*dh*→ϕ) and introduction of augment *iṬ* (*iḍāgama*). A *nUM*, now introduced under the condition of a *LIṬ* affix beginning with *iṬ* (*iḍādi-liṭ*), is deleted under the condition of *radh* not ending in a conjunct (*saṃyoga*) in *upadeśa*. This derivational order facilitates replacement in *e* (*etva*) and deletion relative to *abhyāsa*. Others claim that *nUM* is introduced to start with, but *radh* of *randh* is still treated as not ending in a conjunct. This facilitates deletion of *n*. Once *iṬ* is introduced, *nUM* is introduced and goes through deletion again. The question of replacement in *e*, and deletion of the *abhyāsa*, thus does not arise.

Yet another question. Why can we not have a restrictive provision like *iṭi liṭi* 'augment *nUM* is introduced only when affix *LIṬ* follows an *iṭ*-initial affix, and not anywhere else'. But this kind of restrictive provision may also occasion an entirely opposite interpretation: '*nUM* should be introduced only when an *iṬ*-initial *LIṬ* follows, and not anywhere else'. This will block *nUM* in *rarandha* and allow it in *radhitā* because of an absence of *LIṬ*. Our

preceding rule then may allow *iṬ*, etc., to be introduced to a vowel-initial *LIṬ*, etc., which may follow. Consequently, the restrictive provision must read: '*nUM* is negated only when a vowel-initial affix other than *LIṬ* follows'.

7.1.63 रभेरशब्लिटोः

rabher aśab liṭoḥ
/*rabheḥ* 6/1 *aśab-liṭoḥ* 7/2/ = *śap ca liṭ ca* = *śabliṭau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; na śabliṭoḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *aci* #61)
rabher aṅgasya śabliḍvarjite jādau pratyaye parato num āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *rabhI* 'to undertake, initiate', when an affix other than *ŚaP* and *LIṬ*, beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

ārambhayati 'he has someone begin . . .'
ārambhakaḥ 'he who begins . . .'
sādhvārambhī 'he who begins well'
ārambhamārambham 'starting (something) over and over again'
ārambho vartate 'an undertaking is in progress'

1. This rule allows *nUM* for an *aṅga* which is followed by a vowel-initial affix other than *ŚaP* and (a replacement of) *LIṬ*. Examples of this rule derive similarly to examples of 7.1.61 *radhijabhor aci*. Rules of replacement in *n*→*ṃ*(*anusvāra*; 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*) and a sound homogeneous with what follows (*parasavarṇa*; *ṃ*→*m*; 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*) apply in addition.

Provisions of this rule will exclude *ārabhate* 'third singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *rabh*, used after the preverb *ā*' because *ārabh* will have a following *ŚaP*. Similar exclusion applies to the third singular middle perfect *ārebhe*, where *LIṬ* is replaced with *eŚ*, via *ta* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor*. . .). A derivate such as *ārabdhā* is also out since its affix, i.e., *tṛC*, a replacement of *LUṬ*, begins with a consonant.

7.1.64 लभेश्च

labheś ca
/*labheḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *aci* #61 *aśabliṭoḥ* #63)
labheś cājādau pratyaye śabliḍvarjite num āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUM* is also introduced to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *labh* 'to obtain, gain', when an affix other than *ŚaP* and *LIṬ*, beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *lambhayati* 'third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *labh* ending in causal *ṄiC*'
> *lambhakaḥ* 'a derivate of *ṆvuL*; he who obtains'
> *sādhulambhī* 'he who obtains well'
> *lambhaṃlambham* 'obtaining over and over again'
> *lambho vartate* 'process of obtaining goes on'

1. Here again we can cite exclusions such as *labhate* and *lebhe*, parallel to *ārabhate* and *ārebhe*, of the preceding rule. Derivational details stay similar to earlier rules.

Why was *labh* not included in the earlier rule? This rule is formulated separately so that *labh* alone could be carried over to subsequent rules. A single formulation in the form of *rabhilabhyor aśabliṭoḥ*, with *rabh* and *labh* both, would have necessitated the *anuvṛtti* of them both in subsequent rules. A separate formulation is made to exclude all subsequent operations to *rabh* (*Nyāsa: yadi 'rabhilabhyor aśabliṭoḥ' ity eko yogaḥ kriyate tato rabher ity anuvṛttir uttaratra syāt. ataś ca tasyāpy uttaratra kāryaṃ prasajyeta*).

7.1.65 आङो यि

> *āṅo yi*
> /*āṅaḥ* 5/1 *yi* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *labheḥ* #64)
> *āṅ uttarasya labher yakārādau pratyayaviṣaye num āgamo bhavati*
> Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *labh* used with the preverb *āṄ*, when an affix beginning with *y* finds its scope to follow.

EXAMPLES:

> *ālambhyā gauḥ* 'a cow to be obtained; touched'
> *ālambhyā vaḍavā* 'a mare to be obtained; touched'

1. Note that *saptamī* 'locative' in *yi* is not a *parasaptamī* 'a locative specifying what follows'. It is *viṣayasaptamī* 'locative of domain', instead. That is, *nUM* will be introduced with the understanding that an affix with required specification will find its scope, and hence, *nUM* will be introduced. This way, *nUM* will be introduced to *labh*, yielding *lambh* at the outset. We will thus get the subsequent application of *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*) and *parasavarṇa* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi . . .*). Once *nUM* is introduced, the root will no longer remain *ad-upadha* 'having *a* in its penultimate position'. Consequently, only affix *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*), and no *yaT* (3.1.98 *por ad upadhāt*), can be introduced. But why do we have to resort to this rather prolix (*gaurava*) blocking of *yaT* by *ṆyaT*, when the two affixal derivates do not differ in form? Commentators hasten to add that these two derivates

differ in accent. That is, the final compound constituent, as a derivate of *yaT*, is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (6.1.210 *yato' nāvaḥ*). A final constituent as a derivate of *ṆyaT*, especially in view of retention of its *kṛt* accent (*kṛduttarapadaprakṛtisvara*), is marked with *udātta* at the end. Finally, an *anudātta* which occurs after an *udātta* is changed into a *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ*).

Note that *labhya*, as a derivate of *yaT*, will be excluded because *labh* is not used in combination after the preverb *āṄ*. How can one then explain *agniṣṭoma ālabhyaḥ* 'the Agniṣṭoma sacrifice is to be performed' where *labh* is used after the preverb *āṄ*, and no *nUM* is heard. All operations, in the Vedic, can be considered optional (*sarve vidhayaś chandasi vikalpyante*). Or else, one can accept that *nUM* is introduced but its attendant introduction of *n* (*anuṣaṅga*) subsequently goes through deletion (6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala* . . .). Incidentally, Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) shows that *labhya* can be derived with *yaK*. But since there is no affix marked with *K* as an *it* which is introduced after *labh*, Haradatta's *yaK* becomes a suspect. *Nyāsa* clearly recognizes the affix as *yaT*. Accepting *yaK* as the affix also renders Haradatta's statement confusing: *etena yaklyapau vyākhyātau* 'affixes *yaK* and *Lyap* have been illustrated by this'. That Haradatta's *yaK* is clearly *yaT* becomes clear when he adds: *tena 'yi' ity sāmānyoktāv api ṇyad evodāhṛta iti bhāvaḥ* 'therefore, the sense is: eventhough the specification is made with a general *yi*, only *ṆyaT* is illustrated'.

7.1.66 उपात्प्रशंसायाम्

upāt praśaṃsāyām

/*upāt* 5/1 *praśaṃsāyām* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *labheḥ* #64 *yi* #65)

upād uttarasya labheḥ praśaṃsāyāṃ gamyamānāyāṃ yakārādau pratyaya-viṣaye num āgamo bhavati

Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *labh* used after the preverb *upa*, when an affix beginning with *y* finds its scope to follow and the derivate denotes *praśaṃsā* 'praise'.

EXAMPLES:

upalambhyā bhavatā vidyā 'knowledge is worth your efforts to obtain'

upalambhyāni dhanāni 'riches are worth obtaining'

1. Note that the condition of *praśaṃsā* 'praise' is important. Thus, *upalabhyam asmād vṛṣalāt kiṃcit* 'something should be gotten out from this untouchable' will form an exception. For, *nUM* is not introduced in the absence of praise. The meaning here is simply 'to obtain', with no indication of 'praise'. The example is a derivate of *yaT*, introduced on the basis of *labh* ending in *pU*, i.e., *bh*, and having an *a* in its penultimate position (3.1.98 *por ad upadhāt*).

A derivate of *ṆyaT*, as explained earlier, will eventually end up being marked with a *svarita* at the end. Here again, since the affix is introduced after augment *nUM*, applications of replacement in *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya . . .*) and a homogeneous sound similar to what follows (*parasavarṇa*; 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi . . .*), are then accomplished. That is, even before the affix is introduced.

7.1.67 उपसर्गात्खल्घञोः

upasargāt khalghañoḥ
/*upasargāt* 5/1 *khal-ghañoḥ* 7/2 = *khal ca ghañ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *labheḥ* #64 *yi* #65)
upasargād uttarasya labheḥ khalghañoḥ parato num āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *labh* used after a preverb (*upasarga*), when affixes *khaL* and *GHaÑ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

īṣatpralambhaḥ 'a little gain'
supralambhaḥ 'a big gain'
duṣpralambhaḥ 'a bad result'
pralambhaḥ 'gain, cheating'
vipralambhaḥ 'deceit'

1. This rule allows *nUM* when *labh*, used with a preverb (*upasarga*), is followed by affixes *KHaL* (3.3.126 *īṣadduḥsuṣu . . .*) and *GHaÑ*. Why should this rule be formulated when 7.1.64 *labheś ca* can already account for its scope? A formulation, made against another which already exists, is made for restrictive purposes (*siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*). Thus, *nUM* is to be introduced under the right context of *KHaL* and *GHaÑ*, only when *labh* is used in combination after a preverb (*upasargād eva nānyatra*). Consider *īṣallābhaḥ* 'easily available' and *lābhaḥ* 'gain', where *nUM* could not be introduced for a lack of *upasarga*, used in combination before *labh*.

7.1.68 न सुदुर्भ्यां केवलाभ्याम्

na sudurbhyāṃ kevalābhyām
/*na* ϕ *su-durbhyām* 5/2 = *suś ca dur ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; kevalābhyām* 5/2/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *labheḥ* #64 *upasargāt khalghañoḥ* #67)
'*su, dur*' *ity etābhyām kevalābhyām anyopasargarahitābhyām upasṛṣṭasya labheḥ khalghañoḥ parato num āgamo na bhavati*
Augment *nUM* is not introduced to verbal root *labh* when it occurs in combination after *su* and *dur* alone, and when affixes *khaL* and *GHaÑ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

sudurlabham 'extremely hard to obtain'
sulabham 'easily available'
durlabham 'difficult to obtain'
sulābhaḥ 'better gain'
durlābhaḥ 'bad gain'

1. Note that *kevala* refers to the occurrence of *su* and *dur* alone, individually, or jointly, as preverbs. Or else, it refers to the absence of forms similar in class to *su* and *dur* (*anyasya sajātīyasyābhāvaṁ*). It negates *nUM* when read with *na* 'not'. Thus, we get *sulabha* 'easily available', *durlabha* 'available with difficulty' and *sudurlabha* 'extremelty hard to obtain'. Some may wrongly assume that this restriction also applies to *atisulabham* 'beyond easy reach'. Actually, *ati* is here termed a *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.95 *atir atikramaṇe ca*). It cannot be termed an *upasarga*. For, class inclusion (*saṃjñāsamāveśa*) is not permitted (1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*). That is, this restriction applies to forms which are similar in class (*sajātīya*) to *su* and *dur*. But what if *ati* is an *upasarga*, and not a *karmapravacanīya*? Augment *nUM* cannot be blocked there. Thus, we will get *sulambham* with *nUṬ*, *anusvāra* (*n*→*ṃ*) and *parasavarṇa* (*ṃ*→*m*).

The nominal ending *byām*, in *kevalābhyām* 'after the two alone', is interpreted as instrumental dual (*tṛtīyādvivacana*). It cannot be interpreted as an ablative dual (*pañcamīdvivacana*). For, an ablative interpretation will block *nUM* in *supralambhaḥ* and *duṣpralambhaḥ*. An ablative interpretation would require the restriction to apply when *su* and *dur* directly preceded the verbal root. That is, with no intervening *pra*, as in *supralambhaḥ* and *duṣpralambhaḥ*. If this is what was tended then *kevalābhyām* was not needed. The *sūtra* uses *kevalābhyām* to indicate absence of any other preverb before or after *su* and *dur*.

7.1.69 विभाषा चिण्णमुलोः

vibhāṣā ciṇṇamuloḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *ciṇ-ṇamuloḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *labheḥ* #64)
'*ciṇ, ṇamul*' *ity etayor vibhāṣā labher num bhavati*
Augment *nUM* is introduced only optionally to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *labh*, when affixes *CiṆ* and *ṆamUL* follow.

EXAMPLES:

alābhi 'he obtained'
alambhi 'ibidem'
lābhaṃlābham 'gaining over and over again'
lambhaṃlambham 'ibidem'

1. This optional provision of *nUM* is interpreted as *vyavasthitavibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. That is, it applies optionally when the root is not used with a preverb (*anupasṛṣṭa*); it applies obligatorily (*nitya*) when the root is used with a preverb (*upasṛṣṭa*). Thus, we get *alābhi*, a derivate of *LUṄ* introduced after *labh* 'to gain', where *CLI* occurs before *LUṄ* (3.1.143 *cli luṅi*) and *LUṄ*, itself, is replaced with the third singular middle ending *ta*. Affix *CLI* also gets replaced with *CiṆ* (3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*). The *ta*-replacement of *LUṄ*, however, is deleted by 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*. The penultimate of *labh* goes through *vṛddhi*, if the option of *nUM* is not availed. This will produce *alābhi* with the introduction of augment *aṬ* (6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅkṣv aḍ udāttaḥ*). Availing *nUM* will require *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* 'homogeneous replacement similar to what follows', as usual. We will thus get *alambhi*, with no penultimate *vṛddhi*. Derivates of *ṆamUL*, with the signification of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'over and over again', i.e., *lābhaṃlābham* and *lambhaṃlambham*, will again have *nUM*, optionally. But consider *prālambhi* and *pralambhaṃpralambham*, where, since the root is used with the preverb *pra*, *nUM* becomes obligatory (*nitya*).

7.1.70 उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः

ugidacāṃ sarvanāmasthāne' dhātoḥ

/ *ugid-acām* 6/3 = *ug it yeṣāṃ te* = *ugitaḥ* (*bv.*); *ugitaś ca ac ca* = *ugidacaḥ* (*itar. dv.*); *sarvanāmasthāne* 7/1 *adhātoḥ* 6/1 = *na dhātuḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasya*/ (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58)

ugitām aṅgānāṃ dhātuvarjitānām añcateś ca sarvanāmasthāne parato num āgamo bhavati

Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga* which is not a verbal root but is marked with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *UK* (*u/ṛ/ḷ*) as an *it*, and also to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *añcU*, when an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bhavān/ bhavantau/ bhavantaḥ 'nominative singular, dual and plural polite of *bhavatU* (*bhā* + *ḌavatU*)'

śreyān / *śreyāṃsau*/ *śreyāṃsaḥ* 'nominative singular, dual and plural derivates of *praśasya* 'superior' with *īyasUN*'

pacan/ *pacantau*/ *pacantaḥ* 'nominative singular, dual and plural derivates of *pac* with *ŚatṚ*'

prāṅ/ *prāñcau* / *prāñcaḥ* 'nominative singular, dual and plural derivates of *añcU* with *KvIP*'

1. Why state *adhātoḥ* '*nUM* is introduced after that which is other than a verbal root . . .', especially when an inclusion of *añcU*, itself, could have excluded other roots? A specification by *adhātoḥ* is needed so that *nUM* could also be introduced to a form which was previously not a root but which

currently was (*Kāś: adhātubhūtapūrasya yathā syāt*). Thus, consider *gomān*, a derivate of verbal root *gomatya*, itself a root derived with affix *KyaC* introduced after *gomat* + *am* with the signification of *gomantaṃ icchati* = *gomatyati* 'wishes for himself to be rich in cows' (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*). Now, *gomān* 'rich in cows' derives with *nUM*, introduced to *gomatya* + *KvIP* = *gomān*, where *KvIP*, also dubbed as *apratyayaḥ* 'no affix' or *aśrāvī* 'an affix which is not heard', goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārilopa*). Introduction of *nUM* then produces *gomantya*. The final *a* of *gomantya* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. The *y* of *gomanty* is also deleted by 6.4.41 *kyasya vibhāṣā*. The *a* of *gomant* is then replaced with its long counterpart *ā* (6.4.14 *atvasantasya cādhātoḥ*) to yield *gom* (*a*→*ā*) *nt*. The final *t*, at the end of *nt*, a conjunct (*saṃyoga*), is dropped by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*.

2. Recall that *bhavatU* is a derivate of the *Uṇādi* (I:63: *bhāter ḍavatuḥ*) affix *ḌavatU*. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*, especially *citavān* (II:338), for further derivational details of *bhavān*. Deriving *śreyān*, from *praśasya* + *īyasUN*, involves replacing *praśasya* with *śra* (5.3.60 *praśasya śraḥ*). Refer to notes under 5.3.60 *praśasya śraḥ* (IV:630) for additional derivational details. Thus, (*praśasya*→*śra*) + *īyas*(*UN*) = *śra* + *īyas* = *śreyas*. Derivational details of *pacat* and its paradigmatic forms are offered in the appendix (III:751) of 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv*. . . . Derivational details of *prāṅ* are offered under the appendix (III:737-38) of 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk*. . . .

3. Note that a specification with *añcati* is here made for restrictive purposes. That is, if *nUM* is to be introduced to a *dhātu*, it must be none other than *añcU*. Consider *ukhāsrat* and *parṇadvat* under 3.2.76 *kvip ca* (III:741-42), where *srans* and *dvans* at the end of a nominal stem could not avail *nUM*.

7.1.71 युजेरसमासे

yujer asamāse
/*yujeḥ* 6/1 *asamāse* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *sarvanāmasthāne* #70)
yujer asamāse sarvanāmasthāne parato num āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *yujI* 'to join, yoke', when this same is not used in a compound (*samāsa*) and when an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yuṅ/*yuñjau*/*yujaḥ* 'nominative singular, dual and plural forms of *yuṅ*'

1. Note that *yuṅ* is a derivate of verbal root *yuj* with affix *KvIN* (cf. *vt: sampadādibhyaḥ kvip*; ad 3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*), where *KvIP* goes through total deletion. Augment *nUM* is introduced to *yuj* + *sU*, thereby yielding *yunj* + *sU*. Our final derivate *yuṅ* is derived through deletion of *sU* (6.1.68 *halṅyāb-*

bhyo. . .), deletion of conjunct final *j* (*saṃyogāntalopa*; 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*) and replacement of *n* with *ṅ* (*kutva*; 8.2.62 *kvin pratyayasya kuḥ*). Notice that *aśvayuk* 'he who yokes horses', *aśvayujau* and *aśvayujaḥ* cannot be allowed *nUM* because their base is a compound.

Incidentally, a specification of *yuj* with *i*, in *ujI* of *ujeḥ*, is intended for excluding any reference to verbal root *yuj* having the signification of *samādhi* 'state of deep meditation'. Thus, we do not get *nUM* in the accusative singular *yujam* of *yujam āpannāḥ ṛṣayaḥ* 'the sages have attained their state of deep meditation'.

7.1.72 नपुंसकस्य झलचः

napuṃsakasya jhalacaḥ

/ *napuṃsakasya* 6/1 *jhalacaḥ* 6/1 = *jhal ca ac ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *sarvanāmasthāne* #70)

napuṃsakasya jhalantasyājantasya ca sarvanāmasthāne parato num āgamo bhavati

Augment *nUM* is introduced to a neuter *aṅga* which ends either in a sound denoted by a non-nasal consonant (*jhaL*; *Śs*.8-14), or in a vowel, provided an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

EXAMPLES:

udaśvinti '(nominative (*Jas*)/accusative (*Śas*) plural of *udaśvit* 'butter-milk''
śakṛnti 'nominative/accusative plural of *śakṛt* 'excretion''
yaśāṃsi '. . . of *yaśas* 'fame''
payāṃsi '. . . of *payas* 'milk''
kuṇḍāni '. . . of *kuṇḍa* 'bowl''
vanāni '. . . of *vana* 'forest''
trapūṇi '. . . of *trapu* 'lead''
jatūni '. . . of *jatu* 'lacquer''

1. Refer to derivational details of *payāṃsi*, *trapūṇi* (I:384-85) and *kuṇḍāni* (II:377-78) in the appendix. Derivational patterns of these examples can also be followed to derive *yaśāṃsi*, *jatūni* and *vanāni*. Similar rule applications are also involved in deriving *udaśvinti* and *śakṛnti*, from *udaśvit* 'butter-milk' and *śakṛt* 'excretion, feces'. Recall that *anusvāra* (8.4.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*) and *parasavarṇa* 'replacement in a homogeneous sound similar to what follows' (8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*) applications, both, follow the introduction of *nUM*.

2. Recall that this rule introduces *nUM* when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix follows a neuter. A *Śi* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*) which comes in place of the nominative and accusative plural forms *Jas* and *Śas*, alone, gets the assignment of the term *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*). Rule 1.1.43 *suḍ*

anapuṃsakasya assigns the term *sarvanāmasthāna* to the nominative singular, dual, plural and accusative singular and dual endings *sU, au, Jas, am, auṬ* and *Śas*, only when they occur after a non-neuter. Thus, one should not expect *nUM* when singular and dual endings of nominative and accusative follow a neuter base.

3. A specification with *napuṃsakasya* is made in this rule to block *nUM* on the basis of neuter, for example, in *agnicit* + *sU* = *agnicid brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa who heaps ritual fire'.

A nominal which is marked with *UK* as an *it* and ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* receives its *nUM* by this rule, and not by 7.1.70 *ugid acām*. . . . For, this rule is subsequent in order of enumeration (*paratvāt*). This is how we get *nUM* in *śreyāṃsi/ yaśāṃsi/ bhūyāṃsi* 'nominative and accusative plurals of *yaśas* 'fame', etc.'; *kurvanti/ kṛṣanti brāhmaṇakulāni* '(these) clans of the brāhmaṇas farm'.

4. A *vārttika* proposal is made to negate *nUM* in *bahūrji* 'much energy'. Thus, we get *bahūrji brāhmaṇakulāni* '(these) clans of the brāhmaṇas are powerful'.

Some, however, desire *nUM* prior to the last sound segment of *bahūrji*. They, thus, get *bahūrñji brāhmaṇakulāni*.

7.1.73 इकोऽचि विभक्तौ

iko' ci vibhaktau
/*ikaḥ* 6/1 *aci* 7/1 *vibhaktau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *napuṃsakasya* #72)
igantasya napuṃsakasyāṅgasyājādau num āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUM* is attached to a neuter *aṅga* which ends in a sound denoted by *iK*, provided a vowel-initial affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

trapuṇī 'nominative dual of neuter *trapu*'
jatunī '. . . of *jatu*'
tumburuṇī '. . . of *tumburu*'
trapuṇe 'dative singular of *trapu*'
jatune '. . . of *jatu*'
tumburuṇe '. . . of *tumburu*'

1. Note that *trapuṇī, jatunī, tumburuṇī*; and *trapuṇe, jatune, tumburuṇe* are two sets of derivates with *au* 'nominative dual' and *Ṅe* 'dative singular', respectively. The nominal ending *au* is replaced with *Śī* (7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*). Forms of *trapu* and *tumburu* will also involve *ṇatva* (8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ num vyavāye' pi*).

What is the purpose of stating 'when ending in a vowel denoted by *iK*'? Perhaps it is intended for *anuvṛtti* in the following rule. Why could it not be

stated at the place where it is intended to be used? Why could it not be stated in the subsequent rule? Well, not including *iK* in this rule may occasion introduction of *nUM* in *trapu* + *bhyām*. But this could hardly be the purpose. This *n*, subsequent to assignment of the term *pada* by 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*, can be deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. What then is the problem? Actually, the real purpose of including this specification made with *iK* is to block *nUM* in *he trapo* 'O Trapu'. Even if *nUM* gets introduced here, it cannot be deleted by 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ*. . . . For, 8.2.8 *na ṅisambudhyoḥ* will block it.

One cannot argue that the question of introducing *nUM* does not arise since the inflectional ending (*vibhakti*) will be deleted by 7.1.23 *svamor nupuṃsakāt*. Rule 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block operations relative to deleted affix. Thus, this specification by *iK* does not serve any purpose. But it does serve a purpose. Pāṇini knew that 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block operations relative to a deleted affix. Thus, there was no point in making a specification with *iK*. Yet he did. It indicates that negation of 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* does not apply here. That is, a *guṇa* conditioned by *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*) still applies. Thus, we get *he trapo*.

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* cites the following *kārikā*-verses which summarize complexities of this rule-formulation:

iko' ci vyañjane mā bhūd astu lopaḥ svaraḥ katham

'*iko' ci* shows that *nUM* cannot be introduced when a consonant follows; how can one account for accent when the affix goes through deletion'

svaro vai śrūyamāṇo' pi lupte kiṃ na bhaviṣyati//

'why can an accent, when heard, cannot be accounted for even when the affix goes through deletion'

rāyātvaṃ tisṛbhāvaś ca vyavadhānān numā api

'we will get *ā*-replacement of *rai*, and also replacement of *tri* with *tisṛ* (*tisṛbhāva*), even when there is intervention by *nUM*'

nuḍ vācya uttarārthaṃ tu iha kiṃ citrapo iti//

'*nUṬ* should then be stated for subsequent application (why here); it is used here only for *citrapo*'

(2.1) Why is *aci* used in this rule?

If *aci* is not specified in the wording of rule 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*, augment *nUM* could be introduced even when an affix beginning with a consonant follows. That is, we will get augment *nUM* in *trapubhyām*/ *trapubhiḥ* where *bhyām* and *bhis* begin with a consonant. But there should not be any problem in introducing *nUM* when an affix beginning with a consonant followed. We can assign the term *pada* by 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*, the deletion of *nUM* could then be accomplished by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Since *nUM* will go through deletion, there will not be any formal difference. This,

however, is not acceptable. There will be problems in retaining the original accent of initial constituents in *pañcatrapubhyām* and *pañcatrapubhiḥ*.

Let us consider *pañcaptrapubhyām/pañcatrapubhiḥ* where *pañcatrapu* is derived as a compound by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapadasamāhāre ca*. Rule 2.1.52 *saṃkhyāpūrvo dviguḥ* assigns the term *dvigu*, and 5.1.19 *ārhād agopuccha* . . . introduces *ṭhaK*. This *ṭhaK* will be subsequently deleted by 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvadvigor lug asaṃjñāyām*. If we introduced *bhyām/bhis* after *pañcatrapu* with introduction (7.1.73), and subsequent deletion (8.2.7) of *nUM* before *bhyām/bhis* without any consideration of *aci*, *n*-deletion will become suspended (*asiddha*; 8.2.2 *nalopaḥ supsvara* . . .). That is, *n* will still be seen as part of *pañcatrapu*. Consequently, 6.2.29 *iganta-kapāla-bhagāla-śarāveṣu dvigau* will not be able to retain the original accent of initial constituent, i.e., *pañca*. Recall that, under the suspension provision of *n*-deletion, the final constituent, i.e., *trapu*, will no longer be ending in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*, as is requred by 6.2.28 *igantakapāla-bhagāla*. . . . In the absence of accentual retention of the first constituent, we will find application of a rule which assigns initial *udātta* accent to bases ending in *n* and *r*. But the problem is much more complex because we do not find initial *udātta* in usage. We still get the retention of the original accent. This begs a question: why can we not retain what is heard in usage, even after *n*-deletion and its suspension (*asiddhatva*). Why do we have to accept the impairment of the condition of a vowel denoted by *iK* at the end. It is stated that, in *pañcatrapuṇe* and *pañcatrapuṇaḥ*, augment *nUM* is considered part of the whole form. It could not be accepted as a reason for impairment of condition of a vowel denoted by *iK* at the end of the following constituent. This can clear the way for retention of original accent of initial constituent. We can also find yet another solution. It can be argued that retention operation of original accent is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). Consequently, it will be accomplished prior to introduction of nominal endings *bhyām/bhis*. This way, we can accomplish the retention of original accent of initial constituents in *pañcatrapubhyām* and *pañcatrapubhiḥ*.

(2.2) *rāyātvaṃ tisṛbhāvaś ca vyavadhānaṃ numā api*. . . .

Now consider *atirābhyām*, paraphrased as *rāyam atikrāntābhyāṃ kulābhyām* 'by the clans having excelled in wealth', where *atirai* is a compound formed with 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*, and given *atirai* + *bhyām*, the final *ai* of *atirai* goes through shortening of 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikāntasya*. If, given *atiri* + *bhyām*, one introduces *nUM* before the consonant initial affix *bhyām* and subjects *n* to subsequent deletion. This *n*-deletion will become suspended (*asiddha*). Consequently, replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) of 7.2.85 *rāyo hali* cannot be accomplished. For, *rai* and *bhyām* will then be intervened by *nUM*. Since this *nUM* has been introduced to *atiri*, it may also be considered part of *atiri* in accord with interpretive convention of *yadāgama* (*PŚ* (12): *yadāgamā*

guṇībhūtās tad grahaṇena gṛhyante). But this consideration will still create problem in getting *ā*-replacement of *ai* of *atirai*, before *bhyām*. For, *nUM* will become part of *rai* as its final, intervening between *rai* and *bhyām*.

An additional problem is discussed in connection with replacement of *tri* with *tisṛ* (*tisṛbhāvaś ca*). The *pañcamī* of *vyavadhānāt* 'because of intervention' indicates *lyab-lopa* 'deletion of *LyaP*' before *pañcamī* 'ablative' is introduced. This will yield an interpretive sentence as: *numvyavadhānam api prāpya rāya ātvaṃ tisṛbbhāvaś ca* 'even after reaching the intervention of *nUM*, *r*(*ai*) receives replacement in *ā*, and *tri* receives a replacement in *tisṛ*'. For, *rāyo hali* will include the interpretation: '. . . the nominal ending which is introduced after *rai* . . .'. The word *tricaturoḥ* will have a simialr interpretation '. . . the nominal ending which is introduced after *tri* . . .'. Replacement in *ā*, and *tisṛ*, will both be accomplished before such endings. Eventhough *nUM* will be introduced when the nominal ending will be introduced. Still, contiguity of elements will be accepted as that which emerges at the time of introductioon of the nominal ending. The word *api* indicates that replacement in *ā*, and in *tisṛ*, can also be accomplished by some other method. Consider *atribhyām* where introduction of *nUM*, and replacement in *ā*, will both become applicable concurrently. We will apply *ā*-replacement (*ātva*) on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order of rules'. We will similarly get *tisṛ* as a replacement for *tri*. For, that which goes through *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict among two rules of equal strength where a subsequent rule wins application', and is blocked, is blocked forever (*PŚ* (41): *sakṛd gatau vipratiṣedhe yad bādhitaṃ tad bādhitam eva*). Or else, even if *nUM* is introduced after replacements in *ā* and *tisṛ*, *n*-deletion will apply to remove it.

3. *Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī* both discuss the express purpose of using the word *aci* in the wording of this rule (7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*). *Nyāsa* states that *evem tarhi numnuṭo vipratiṣedhārtham ajgrahaṇaṃ kartavyam, nuṭi kṛte num na kriyate* 'this way, *aC* should be used to illustrate conflict of equal strength between *nUM* and *nUṬ*; *nUM* is not introduced after having introduced *nUṬ*'. Augment *nUṬ* is introduced by 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* which, in turn, has its independent scope of application in *agnīnām* and *vāyūnām*. One can similarly cite *trapuṇe* and *jatune* as independent scopes of *nUM* qualified with *iganta* 'that which has a vowel denoted by *iK* at the end'. These two rule-applications concurrently become applicable both to *trapūṇām* and *jatūnām* (neuter) where *nUṬ* is introduced on the basis of *pūrva-vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins application'. For, subsequent upon introduction of *nUṬ*, we will get a replacement in long vowel (*dīrgha*) 6.4.3 *nāmi*. This long replacement cannot be accomplished when *nUṬ* is introduced. For, *n* will occur at the end of the *aṅga*, and this same will be found when *nām* follows. That this situation of conflict (*vipratiṣedha*) arises in connection with the use of *aci* in 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau* is stated by Jinendrabuddhi (see *Nyāsa*) as follows:

'*nUM* cannot be availed after *nUṬ* is introduced. For, *trapu* will occur before *nām*, and not before the vowel-initial nominal ending *ām*. If we introduced *nUM*, the *aṅga* will then end in *n* (*nānta*). Consequently, *nuṬ* can not be introduced, especially since *ām* will not be occurring after an *aṅga* ending in a short vowel. This way, *nUM* and *nUṬ* both become equal in strength. The context of *vipratiṣedha* then becomes real. If *aC* is not used in rule 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*, and the rule is formulated simply as *iko vibhaktau*, then, after introduction of *nUṬ*, we will get the introduction of *nUM* under the condition of a following nominal ending beginning with a consonant. If *nUṬ* is not introduced, introduction of *nUM* can be accomplished under the condition of a following nominal ending beginning with a vowel. Augment *nUM*, in view of *kṛtākṛta-prasaṅga* of *nUṬ*, will become obligatory (*nitya*). Augment *nUṬ* will thus become non-universal (*anitya*).

We can still apply *nUṬ* if we took recouse to *pūrva-vipratiṣedha* 'conflict among rules where the preceding wins application'. This is what the author of the *vārttika* proposes. This, however, will render the use of *aci* without any purpose. Our rule 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau* becomes econominal without *aci*. One can still argue here in favor of keeping *aci* in the rule. For, even if one applies *nUṬ*, via *pūrva-vipratiṣedha*, one has to introduce *nUM*, in the absence of *aci*, before a nominal ending beginning with a consonant. Though there will be *n*-deletion via assignment of the term *pada*. The *n* will thus not be heard (*śruta*). But deletion of *n* could be treated as suspended (*asiddha*; 8.2.2 *nalopaḥ supsvara . . .*). Consequently, long-replacement of *nāmi* (6.4.3) will be blocked. But this should not deter us from accepting *aci* without any purpose. The long-replacement of *nāmi* (6.4.3) can be accomplished by applying 6.4.7 *nopadhāyāḥ*, as is done in examples such as *pañcānām*. If *aci* is not used, we cannot get long-replacement in *śuci* before *nām* of *śucīnām*. This should not pose any problem. For, *in* of 6.4.12 *inhanpūṣāryamṇām* considers *in* as part of an enumerated list of nominals (*pratipadokta*). The *in* of *śucin* is not so. The use of *aci* could still not serve any purpose.

Commentators generally agree that *aci* does not serve any purpose here. They hasten to add that *aci* is needed in subsequent rules. Now a question: why did he not use *aci* where it was needed? It is argued that *aci* is used in 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau* to facilitate the derivation of *he trapo*. Patañjali accepts both *he trapu* and *he trapo* as correct forms. Note that *trapu* is neuter. Consequently, a *sU* introduced after it will go through deletion by *LUK* of 7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt*. Rule 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will subsequently block application of 7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ* whereby a replacement in *o* for *u* of *trapu* cannot be realized. That is, *he trapu* alone will be the address form. If 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* is considered non-universal (*anitya*), we can still have *trapu* + *sU*. An application of 7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ* can then yield the desired form *he trapo*. But this can be made possible only at the strength of the use of *aci* in 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*. For, if *aci* is not used, we will get the

introduction of augment *nUM* in *trapu* + *sU*. If *aci* is used we will not get this *nUM* since *sU* begins with a consonant. If *aci* is not used, and *nUM* is introduced, we will get *trapun* + *sU*. Rule 7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ* cannot apply here to replace *u* with *o*. For, 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne* will assign the term *pada*, and *n* will go through deletion via *LOPA*. Since this *n*-deletion will become suspended (*asiddha*; 8.2.2 *nalopaḥ supsvara* . . .), we will not get an *aṅga* ending in a short vowel, here *u*. This clearly shows that *aci* is used here with the purpose of facilitating the derivation of *he trapo*.

It should be noted that the term *sarvanāmasthāna* is assigned only in the context of non-neuter masculine and feminine bases occurring before nominal endings denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUṬ* (1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*). The term *pada* is assigned only before non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affixes (1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*). The assignment of the term *pada* in case of *trapun* + *sU* should thus not be questioned. The phrase *nuḍ vācyaḥ* of the fourth quarter of the verse refutes the purpose of *aci* in deriving *he trapo*.

7.1.74 तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद् गालवस्य

tṛtīyādiṣu bhāṣitapuṃskaṃ puṃvad gālavasya
/ *tṛtīyādiṣu* 7/3 = *tṛtīyā ādir yāsāṃ tāḥ* (*bv.*); *bhāṣitapuṃskam* 1/1 = *bhāṣitaḥ pumān yena tat* (*bv.*); *puṃvat* ϕ *gālavasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *napuṃsakasya* #72 *iko' ci vibhaktau* #73)
tṛtīyādiṣu vibhaktiṣv ajādiṣu bhāṣitapuṃskaṃ igantaṃ napuṃsakaṃ gālavasya ācāryasya matena puṃvad bhavati

An *aṅga* termed neuter which ends in a sound denoted by *iK* and has a corresponding form with the denotation of masculine, is, in the opinion of Gālava, treated as if masculine when a vowel-initial nominal ending, particulalry one enumerated beginning with the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), follows.

EXAMPLES:

grāmaṇīr brāhmaṇaḥ 'this brāhmaṇa is the village leader'
grāmaṇi brāhmaṇakulam 'village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas'
grāmaṇye brāhmaṇakulena 'by the village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas'
grāmaṇinā brāhmaṇakulena 'ibidem'
grāmaṇye brāhmaṇakulāya 'to the village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas'
grāmaṇine brāhmaṇakulāya 'ibidem'
grāmaṇyo brāhmaṇakulāt 'from the village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas'
grāmaṇino brāhmaṇakulāt 'ibidem'
grāmaṇyo brāhmaṇakulasya 'of the village-leader clan of the brāhmaṇas'
grāmaṇino brāhmaṇakulasya '. . . genitive singular'
grāmaṇyor brāhmaṇakulayoḥ '. . . genitive dual'
grāmaṇinor brāhamaṇakulayoḥ 'ibidem'
grāmaṇyāṃ brāhmaṇakulānām 'genitive plural . . .'

grāmaṇīnāṃ brāhamaṇakulānām 'ibidem'
grāmaṇyāṃ brāhmaṇakule 'locative singular . . .'
grāmaṇini brāhmaṇakule 'ibidem'
śucinā brāhmaṇakulena 'by the pure clan of the brāhmaṇas'
śucaye brāhmaṇakulena 'to the pure . . .'
śuceḥ brāhmaṇakulena 'from the pure . . .'

1. This rule allows treating a neuter presuffixal base as masculine, when the base ends in an *iK* and there exists a regular masculine parallel to it, provided a vowel initial affix enumerated beginning with the instrumental singular *Ṭā* follows. This is true in the opinion of Gālava. This, however, will not be acceptable in the opinion of others. Note that this treatment of a neuter as if it was a masculine blocks two applications: (*a*) shortening (*hrasva*; 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya*) and (*b*) introduction of augment *nUM* (7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*), as these two applications are both blocked in case of a masculine. We will thus get two sets of forms: (*i*) where, because of treatment as masculine in the opinion of Gālava, *grāmaṇyā brāhmaṇakulena* cannot have *nUM*, shortening (*hrasva*) and its *yaṆ* resulting from 6.4.82 *eranekāco* . . .; (*ii*) where, given *grāmaṇinā brāhmaṇakulena*, and because of non-treatment of a neuter as masculine, *nUM* and shortening (*hrasva*) apply. Thus, consider *grāmaṇinā*, where instrumental singular *Ṭā* yields *nā*, through *nUM* and application of 7.3.119 *āṅo nā' striyām*. Similar consequences of *yaṆ*, in masculine, and *hrasva* with *nUM* in the neuter, can be seen before nominal endings *Ṅe*, *ṄasI*, *Ṅas*, *os*, *ām*, and *Ṅi*, etc.

Note that, since *śuci* 'pure' ends in a *hrasva*, its instrumental singular will be *śucinā*, both in the masculine and neuter. A treatment as masculine, for example in cases of *śucaye* and *śuceḥ*, requires application of *guṇa* (7.3.111 *gher ṅiti*), and replacement in *ay* where applicable.

7.1.75 **अस्थिदधिसक्थ्यक्ष्णामनङुदात्तः**

asthidadhisakthyakṣṇām anaṅ udāttaḥ
/ *asthi-dadhi-sakthy-akṣṇām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; anaṅ* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *napuṃsakasya* #72 *aci vibhaktau* #73 *tṛtīyādiṣu* #74)
'*asthi, dadhi, sakthi, akṣi*' *ity eteṣāṃ napuṃsakānāṃ tṛtīyādiṣv ajādiṣu vibhaktiṣu parato' naṅ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati sa codātto bhavati*
The final sound segment of a neuter *aṅga*, namely *asthi* 'bone', *dadhi* 'yogurt', *sakthi* 'thigh', and *akṣi* 'eye', is replaced with *anAṄ* marked with *udātta*, when a vowel-initial nominal ending enumerated beginning with *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet; instrumental' follows.

EXAMPLES:

asthnā 'instrumental singular of *asthi*'
asthne 'dative singular . . .'

dadhnā 'instrumental singular of *dadhi*'
dadhne 'dative singular . . .'
sakthnā 'instrumental singular of *sakthi*'
sakthne 'dative singular . . .'
akṣṇā 'instrumental singular of *akṣi*'
akṣṇe 'dative singular . . .'

1. Note that these derivates already had *nUM* (7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*) available to them. This rule offers *anAṄ*, instead. The words *asthi*, *dadhi*, *sakthi* and *akṣi* are all marked with *udātta* at the beginning (*Phiṭsūtra* 26: *nabviṣay*. . .). Their remainder, i.e., *i*, will then be marked with *anudātta* (6.1.155 *anudāttam* . . .). Augment *anAṄ*, by way of being a replacement of an *anudātta*, should have been marked with an *anudātta*. Our present rule marks it *udātta*, instead. Augment *anAṄ* will replace *i* of *asthi*, etc., in view of 1.1.52 *ṅic ca*. The penultimate *a* of *asthan*, in *asth* + (*i*→*an*(*AṄ*)) + (*Ṭ*)*ā* = *asthan* + *ā*, is deleted by 6.4.134 *al lopo' naḥ*. Since this deleted *a* was marked with *udātta*, our nominal ending *Ṭā* then became *udātta* (6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopaḥ*).

7.1.76 छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते

chandasy api dṛśyate
/*chandasi* 7/1 *api* ϕ *dṛśyate* (verbal *pada*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *napuṃsakasya* #72 *asthidadhisakthyakṣṇām anaṅ udāttaḥ* #75)
asthidadhisakthyakṣṇām anaṅ chandasy api dṛśyate
A replacement in *anAṄ* which comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed neuter, namely *asthi*, *dadhi*, *sakthi*, and *akṣi*, is also seen in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

índro dadhīco asthibhiḥ
bhadram páśyemākṣabhíḥ
asthanvantam yadánasthā bibhárti

1. This observation about *anAṄ*, in the Vedic, opens all kinds of possibilities. For example, *anAṄ* is stated in the preceding rule to obtain before a vowel-initial nominal ending. We find *anAṄ*, in the Vedic, also before a consonant-initial ending (*anajādi*; cf. instrumental plural, in *asthibhiḥ*, and *akṣabhiḥ*). It has been stated to occur before instrumental (*tṛtīyā*), etc. It can also violate this condition of *tṛtīyā* in the Vedic (cf. accusative plural *Śas*, in *asthāni*). Finally, *anAṄ* is stated to occur only before a nominal ending (*vibhakti*). We can find it, in the Vedic, also before affixes which are not termed *vibhakti* (cf. before affix *matUP*, in *akṣaṇvatā* and *asthanvantam*).

Affix *mat*, in (*akṣ*(*i*→*anAṄ*)) → (*akṣan* + *mat*) + (*Ṭ*) *ā* = *akṣan* + *mat* + *ā*, receives *nUṬ* (8.2.16 *ano nuṭ*) to produce *akṣan* + *n* + *mat* + *ā*. Affix *mat* now goes through a replacement in *v* (*vatva*) of 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyā*. . . . Thus, *akṣan* + *n* + (*m*→*v*) *at* + *ā*= *akṣan* + *n* + *vat* + *ā*. The *n* of *anAṄ* is deleted as shown before. The other *n* goes through a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). We then get *akṣa*(*n*→ɸ) + (*n*→*ṇ*) + *vat* + *ā* = *akṣaṇvatā*.

7.1.77 ई च द्विवचने

ī ca dvivacane
/*ī* (1/1 deleted) *ca* ɸ *dvivacane* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *napuṃsakasya* #72 *asthidadhisakthyakṣṇām udāttaḥ* #75 *chandasi* #76)
dvivacane parataś chandasi viṣaye' sthyādīnām īkārādeśo bhavati sa codāttaḥ
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *asthi* 'bone', *dadhi* 'yogurt', *sakthi* 'thigh', and *akṣi* 'eye', is, in the Vedic, is replaced with *ī* marked with *udātta*, when a nominal ending with the signification of dual (*dvivacana*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

akṣō te indra piṅgale kaper iva 'your eyes o! Indra, are brown like those of a monkey's'
akṣībhyāṃ te nāsikābhyām '. . . your eyes . . . your nostrils'

1. This rule offers *ī*, concurrently marked with *udātta*, as a replacement for the final short *i* of *asthi*, etc., provided a dual nominal ending follows. Thus, consider *akṣi* + *au*, where 7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca* replaces *au* with *Śī*. Given *akṣi* + (*au* →(*Ś*) *ī*)) = *akṣi* + *ī*, the short *i* will now be replaced with the *anudātta ī* of this rule. An application of a single long homogeneous vowel-replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*; 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) will finally derive *akṣ*(*i*→*ī*) + *ī* → *akṣ* (*ī* + *ī* → *ī*)) = *akṣī*. Note that 6.1.105 *dīrghāj jasi ca*, read with 6.1.106 *vā chandasi*, cannot block this long replacement since the usage is Vedic.

Commentators state that *nUM* is here blocked by *ī* on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order'. This *nUM*, once blocked in this conflict of equal strength (*sakṛdgatau vipratiṣedhe*), shall remain blocked forever (*yad bādhitam tad bādhitam eva*).

7.1.78 नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः

nābhyastāc chatuḥ
/*na* ɸ *abhyastāt* 5/1 *śatuḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58)
abhyastād aṅgād uttarasya śatur num na bhavati

Augment *nUM* is not introduced to affix *ŚatṚ* when it occurs after an *aṅga* termed *abhyasta.*

EXAMPLES:

dadat 'nominative singular of *dadat* (giving)'
dadatau 'nominative dual . . .'
datataḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
dadhat 'nominative singular of *dadhat* (placing)'
dadhatau 'nominative dual . . .'
dadhataḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
jakṣat 'nominative singular of *jakṣat* (eating)'
jakṣatau 'nominative dual . . .'
jakṣataḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
jāgrat 'nominative singular of *jāgrat* (waking, alert)'
jāgratau 'nominative dual . . .'
jāgrataḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. A sequence of two forms, i.e., one which goes through reduplication (*dvitva*) and the other which results from this process of reduplication, is termed *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*). Such sequences in *dadhat* and *jakṣat,* forms of *dhā* 'to place' and *jakṣ* 'to eat' with affix *ŚatṚ* are assigned the term *abhyasta* by 6.1.6 *jakṣityādayaḥ ṣaṭ.* Augment *nUM,* made available to these forms before nominative endings *sU, au* and *Jas,* is blocked here. How come what is negated here is not identified as the *ī* of the earlier rule? Is it not true that a negation applies to the most immediate positive provision? Yes, but where is that positive provision? A replacement in *ī* is not offered to forms ending in *ŚatṚ.* This replacement then cannot form a positive provision for negation. A negation applies to that for which a positive provision is made. No positive provision for *ī* is made for a form ending in affix *ŚatṚ.* Since a positive provision is made for augment *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugid acāṃ* . . .), it alone is to be considered the most immediately available provision for negation.

Incidentally, the *ā* of *dadā* + *at* and *dadhā* + *at,* etc., is deleted by 6.4.112 *śnābhyas tayor ātaḥ.* Our reduplicated (*abhyasta*) forms *dadā* and *dadhā* will result from applications of reduplication and subsequent shortening (7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*).

7.1.79 वा नपुंसकस्य

vā napuṃsakasya
/ *vā* ϕ *napuṃsakasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #58 *abhyastāc chatuḥ* #78)
abhyastād aṅgād uttaro yaḥ śatṛpratyayas tadantasya napuṃsakasya vā num āgamo bhavati

Augment *nUM* is introduced, optionally, to an *aṅga* termed neuter which is termed *abhyasta* and ends in affix *ŚatṚ*.

EXAMPLES:

dadati kulāni 'the giving clans'
dadanti kulāni 'ibidem'
dadhati kulāni 'the sustaining clans'
dadhanti kulāni 'ibidem'
jakṣati kulāni 'the consuming clans'
jakṣanti kulāni 'ibidem'
jāgrati kulāni 'the alert clans'
jāgranti kulāni 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes *nUM* optional in connection with a neuter *aṅga* which ends in *ŚatṚ*. Thus, consider *dadat* + *Jas*, where *dadat* is an *aṅga* termed neuter ending in *ŚatṚ*. We get the form *dadati* when *Jas* is replaced with (*Ś*) *i* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*). One can also get an optional derivate *dadanti*, if the option of introducing augment *nUM* is accepted. Thus, *dadat* + (*Ś*) *i* → *dada* + (*n*(*UM*) + *t* + *i* = *dadanti*. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

7.1.80 आच्छीनद्योर्नुम्

ācchīr nadyor num
/*āt* 5/1 *śī-nadyoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *num* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śatuḥ* #78 *vā* #79)
avarṇāntād aṅgād uttarasya śatur vā num āgamo bhavati śīnadyoḥ parataḥ
Augment *nUM* is optionally attached to affix *ŚatṚ* when it occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a*, provided *Śī*, or an item termed *nadī*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

tudatī kule 'the two grieving clans'
tudantī kule 'ibidem'
tudatī brāhmaṇī 'the grieving brāhmaṇa woman'
tudantī brāhmaṇī 'ibidem'
yātī kule 'the two prospering (?) clans'
yāntī kule 'ibidem'
yātī brāhmaṇī 'the prospering brāhmaṇa woman'
yāntī brāhmaṇī 'ibidem'
kariṣyatī kule 'the two clans which will do'
kariṣyantī kule 'ibidem'
kariṣyatī brāhmaṇī 'the brāhmaṇa woman who will do'
kariṣyantī brāhmaṇī 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes augment *nUM* optional, also for an *aṅga* which ends in *a* and which occurs before *Śī* and *nadī* (1.4.3 *yū stryākhyau nadī*). Obviously,

we will get two sets of forms: one with *nUM*, the other without *nUM*. Consider *tud* + *at* + (*Ś*) *ī* = *tudat* + *ī* = *tudatī*, where *ŚatṚ* occurs after *tud* to yield an *aṅga*, *tudat*. The nominative plural *Jas*, of *tudat* + *Jas*, is replaced with *Śī* (7.1.19 *napuṃsakāc ca*). An optional *nUM* will produce *tuda+n+t* + *ī* = *tudantī*. A feminine counterpart of *tudat* can be derived as *tudatī*, by introducing the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.4 *ugitaś ca*). We will get *tudat* + (*Ṅ*) *ī*(*P*) → *tudatī* + *Jas* → *tudatī* + (*Jas*→*Śī*) = *tudatī* + *ī* → *tudatī*. An optional *nUM*, where *nUM* goes through its replacement in *anusvāra* and subsequent homogeneous replacement similar to what follows (*parasavarṇa*), will give us *tudantī*. Note that the term *nadī* is assigned by 1.4.3 *yū stryākhyau nadī*. Similar rules apply in deriving most of the other examples.

Now consider *kariṣyantī* where *LṚT*, of *kṛ* + *LṚT*, gets replaced with *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*. These *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) affixes which both are marked with *Ś* as an *it* are further assigned the term *sat* (3.2.127 *tau sat*). This, as a direct consequence, also requires introduction of *sya* (3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*). Rule 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . . then requires a replacement in *guṇa*: *kṛ* + (*LṚT*→(*Ś*) *at*(*Ṛ*) = *kṛ* + *at* → *kṛ* + *sya* + *at* → *k*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *sya* + *at*. An introduction of *iṬ* (7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ sye*), followed by a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*), will produce *kar* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *sya* + *at* → *kari* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *ya* + *at* → *kariṣy*(*a+a*) *t* → *kariṣyat*. An intorduction of the feminine affix *ṄīP*, followed by an optional augment *nUM*, can then offer us *kariṣyantī* or *kariṣyatī*.

Recall that the final *a* of *kariṣya* and the initial *a* of *at*, go through a single replacement in *a* (*parasavarṇa*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*).

This rule requires that *nUM* be attached to a *ŚatṚ* which occurs after an *aṅga*. . . . The problem is, the *aṅga* no longer ends in *ŚatṚ* after a single replacement similar to the following (*parasavarṇa*) has taken effect. Thus, *nUM* could not be made available. But since part of *at*, i.e., *t*, is still there, we can still introduce *nUM*.

7.1.81 शप्श्यनोर्नित्यम्

śapśyanor nityam

/*śyap-śyanoḥ* 6/2 *nityam* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śatuḥ* #78 *śīnadyor num* #80)

'*śap, śyan*' *ity etayoḥ śatuḥ śīnadyoḥ parato nityaṃ num āgamo bhavati*

Augment *nUM* is introduced, obligatorily, to a *ŚatṚ* which is relatable to *ŚaP* and *ŚyaN*, provided *Śī* and an item termed *nadī* follow.

EXAMPLES:

pacantī kule

pacantī brāhmaṇī

dīvyantī kule

dīvyantī brāhmaṇī

sīvyantī kule
sīvyantī brāhmaṇī

1. Note that the use of *nityam* 'obligatorily' cancels *vā* 'optionally'. The word *śyapśyanoḥ* is interpreted as ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). This then gives the meaning: 'augment *nUM* is obligatorily introduced to a *Śat*, introduced relative to *ŚaP* and *ŚyaN*'. Deriving *pacantī* from *pac* + (*LAṬ*→*ŚatṚ*) → *pac* + *ŚaP* + *ŚatṚ* = *pac* + *a* + *at*, will again involve *parasavarṇa* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*), thereby yielding *pacat*. One can now derive *pacantī*, with *nUM*, from *pacat* + *NUM* + *au*, where *Śī* comes as a replacement for *au*. A *nadī* form will, of course, end in affix *ṄīP*.

2. Why do we have to state *nityam* 'obligatorily' in the rule when forming the rule itself (*ārambhasāmarthyāt*), against an already available optional *nUM*, will account for its obligatory nature. But there still will be a confusion about *vā* 'or' in subsequent rules. It is to cancel *vā* that a specification with *nityam* is made here.

7.1.82 सावनडुहः

sāv anaḍuhaḥ
/*sau* 7/1 *anaḍuhaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *num* #80)
sau parato' naḍuho' ṅgasya num āgamo bhavati
Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *anaḍuh* 'ox, bull', when affix *sU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

anaḍvān 'nominative singular of *anaḍuh*'
he anaḍvan! 'vocative singular . . .'

1. Note that *sU* here refers to the nominative and vocative (*sambodhana*) singular endings, both. Augment *nUM* is introduced after the final vowel of *anaḍuh* (1.1.46 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*) to derive *anaḍvān*. Thus, *anaḍuh* + *sU*→ *anaḍu* + *n*(*UM*) + *h* + *s* = *anaḍunh* + *s*. Augment *ām* (7.1.98 *catur anaḍuhor ām udāttaḥ*) is then introduced to yield *anaḍu* + *ā*(*M*) + *n* + *h* + *s*. Here again, *āM* is introduced after the final vowel of *anaḍuh*. The *s*, i.e., *sU*, and *h* of the string, go through deletion by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . . and 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*, respectively. This gives us: *anaḍu* + *ā* + (*h*→ϕ) *n* + (*s*→ϕ) = *anaḍu* + *ā* + *n*. An application of *yaṆ*, on *u* of *ananḍu*, will produce *anaḍ*(*u*→*v*) + *ā* + *n* = *anaḍvān*. The vocative singular form, however, will be *anaḍvan*, a derivate with *aM* (7.1.99 *am sambuddhau*), as against *āM*.

2. Some here perceive 'blocked-blocker' (*bādhyabādhaka*) relationship between *āM*/*aM* and *nUM*. They, therefore, introduce *āM*/*aM* first, thereby meeting the condition of *āT* carried from 7.1.80 *ācchīr nadyor num*. This way,

āM/aM cannot be blocked by *nUM* and, at the same time, *nUM* cannot be blocked by *āM/aM*. Others, however, do not see this 'blocked-blocker' relationship between them. They, instead, favor inclusion of *nUM* (*samāveśa*), in a manner similar to inclusion of lengthening (*dīrghatva*) and reduplication (*dvirvacana*) in *cicīṣati* '. . . wishes to heap . . .'.

7.1.83 दृक्स्ववस्स्वतवसां छन्दसि

dṛksvavassvatavasām chandasi
/ *dṛk-svavas-svatavasām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *chandasi* 7/1/
'*dṛk, svavas, svatavas*' *ity eteṣāṃ sau parato num āgamo bhavati chandasi viṣaye*

Augment *nUM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *dṛk*, *svavas* and *svatavas*, in the Vedic, when affix *sU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

īdṛṅ 'like this'
kīdṛṅ 'like what'
tādṛṅ 'like that'
yādṛṅ 'like one which . . .'
sadṛṅ 'similar . . .'
svavān 'wealthy'
svatávān pā̱yurágne̱

1. Note that *īdṛṅ* derives from *idam* + *dṛś* + *KvIN* (3.2.60 *tyadādiṣu dṛśo' nālocane*), where *idam* gets replaced with *īŚ* (6.3.89 *idaṅkimor īśkī*). Given *īdṛś* + (*KvIN*→ϕ)) + *sU*, augment *nUM* is introduced to produce *īdṛ* + *n* + *ś* + *sU*. An application of *halṅyādilopa* (*sU*→ϕ); (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhy* . . .) and final conjunct deletion (*saṃyogāntalopa*; 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*) will produce: *īdṛnś* + (*s*(*U*)→ϕ)) → *īdṛ*(*ś*→ϕ) + *n*. The *n* will then go through a replacement in *ṅ* (*kutva*; 8.2.62 *kvinpratyayasya kuḥ*). We thus get *īdṛ*(*n*→*ṇ*) = *īdṛṅ*. Deriving *kīdṛṅ* with *kim* will require replacing *kim* with *kī*.

Similar rules apply in deriving *tādṛṅ* and *yādṛṅ*, with *KvIN* or *KaÑ*, introduced after *dṛś* (3.2.60 *tyadādiṣu dṛśo' nālocane kañ ca*). The final *d* of *tad* and *yad* gets replaced with *ā* (6.3.90 *ā sarvanāmnaḥ*). The resultant *a*+*ā*, of *ta*(*d*→*ā*) + *dṛś* = *ta* + *ā* + *dṛś*, goes through a single replacement in homogeneous long (*savarṇadīrgha*; 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) vowel. Other rule applications are similar to *īdṛṅ*.

Deriving *svavān*, from *svava* + *nUM* + *s* + *sU*, would require *nUM* to be introduced after the last *a* of *svavas*. Here again, *halṅyādi* (deletion of *sU*) and *saṃyogānta* (final of a conjunct) deletions will apply to *svava* + *n* + *s* + (*sU* →ϕ) → *svavan*(*s*→ϕ) = *svavan*. The penultimate *a* will be subsequently replaced with *ā* (6.4.10 *sāntamahataḥ saṃyogasya*) to produce *svav*(*a*→*ā*)*n* = *svavān*. Similar derivational applications are followed in deriving *svatavān*.

Note that *svataṅvān pāyur ágne* is an example of the *padapāṭha* 'listing of individual *padas* with no *sandhi*'. A listing in accord with the *saṃhitāpāṭha* 'junctional recitation' with *sandhi* will require the *n* of *svatavān* to go through a replacement in *rU* and *visarga* (*rutva-visarga*) of (8.3.11 *svatavān pāyau*). The preceding *ā* will then also go through nasalization (*anunāsika*; 8.3.2 *atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya* . . .). We will thus get *svatavāṃḥ pāyur agne*. An occurrence with *anusvāra* is hard to find.

7.1.84 दिव औत्

div aut
/*divaḥ* 6/1 *aut* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sau* #82)
'*div*' *ity etasya sau parataḥ* '*aut*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *div* 'heaven', is replaced with *auT* when affix *sU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dyauḥ 'heaven'

1. Note that *div* 'heaven' is here interpreted as a nominal stem with no *it*-elements. Its specification does not make any reference to verbal root *divŪ* 'to sport'. Thus, a derivate with this verbal root, i.e., *akṣadyūḥ* 'he who plays with dice', will not be covered by this rule. Incidentally, *akṣadyū* is a compound formed under the cooccurrence condition of a conjoined word (*upapada*); i.e., *akṣa* + *bhis* + *div* + *KvIP*, where *KvIP* goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārilopa*) and augment *ūṬH* is subsequently introduced (6.4.19 *chvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike*).

Refer to derivational details of *dyauḥ* (II:398), under the appendix of 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*.

7.1.85 पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात्

pathimathyṛbhukṣām āt
/*pathi-mathi-ṛbhukṣām* 6/3 =*panthāś ca manthāś ca ṛbhukṣāś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; āt* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sau* #82)
'*pathin, mathin, ṛbhukṣin*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ sau parata ākāra ādeśo bhavati*
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *pathin, mathin*, and *ṛbhukṣin*, is replaced with *āT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) when affix *sU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

panthāḥ 'path'
manthāḥ 'churning stick'
ṛbhukṣāḥ 'Indra'

1. Refer to derivational details of *panthāḥ* in the appendix (II:398-99). Other derivates follow similar rule applications. Note, however, that 7.1.87 *tho nthaḥ* does not apply in deriving *ṛbhukṣāḥ.*

Note that *ā* replaces the *n* of *panthan.* This, however, does not make the replacement in *ā* nasalized. For, a sound which is denoted by *aṆ*, and is also brought about (*bhāvyamāna*) by application of a rule, does not include references to its homogeneous counterparts (*Paribh* 20: *bhāvyamānena savarṇānāṃ grahaṇaṃ na* (*bhavati*)). It is just the clear non-nasalized *ā* which is articulated.

7.1.86 इतोऽत् सर्वनामस्थाने

ito' at sarvanāmasthāne
/*itaḥ* 6/1 *at* 1/1 *sarvanāmasthāne* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *pathimathyṛbhukṣām* #85)
The *iT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) of an *aṅga*, namely of *pathin, mathin* and *ṛbhukṣin*, is replaced with *aT*, when a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*; 1.1.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

panthāḥ 'nominative singular of *pathin*'
panthānau 'nominative dual . . .'
panthānaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
manthāḥ 'nominative singular of *mathin*'
manthānau 'nominative dual . . .'
manthānaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
ṛbhukṣāḥ 'nominative singular of *ṛbhukṣin*'
ṛbhukṣāṇau 'nominative dual . . .'
ṛbhukṣāṇaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule offers *a* as a replacement for *i* of *pathin*, etc., so that we can get *pathin + au* → *path(i→a) + n + au* → *pa(th→nth) + a + n + au = panthan + au.* The *th* of *pathin* and *mathin* is replaced with *nth* by the following rule. A long replacement for the second *a* of *panthan* (6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne* . . .) will produce *panth(a→ā) n + au = panthānau.* Forms of *ṛbhukṣin* will additionally involve a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*).

Why is this specification made with *aT* when the *anuvṛtti* of *āt* could easily accomplish a reference to *a.* A specification with *aT* is made to capture the optional provision of short made by 6.4.9 *vā ṣapūrvasya nigame.* If *āT* alone was carried, *ṛbhukṣaṇam indram* could not have the short *a* heard. It will have the *ā*, instead. We can get the short *a*, optionally, replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.9 *vā pūrvasya nigame.*

7.1.87 **थोन्थः**

tho nthaḥ
/*thaḥ* 6/1 *nthaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *pathimathoḥ* #85 *sarvanāmasthāne* #86)
pathimathos thakārasya sthāne 'ntha' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati sarvanāmasthāne parataḥ
The *th* of an *aṅga*, namely *pathin* and *mathin*, is replaced with *nth* when a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

EXAMPLES:

panthāḥ/ panthānau/ panthānaḥ
panthānam/ panthānau
manthāḥ/ manthānau/ manthānaḥ
manthānam/ manthānau

1. Note that this rule does not apply to *ṛbhukṣin*. For, it does not have any *th* that could be replaced with *nth*.

Note also that what is to be replaced (*sthānī*), i.e., *th*, and what replaces (*ādeśa*), i.e., *nth*, are both specified here without any vowel (*anackau*). The *a* at the end of *nth* is for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*).

7.1.88 **भस्य टेर्लोपः**

bhasya ṭer lopaḥ
/*bhasya* 6/1 *ṭeḥ* 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *pathimathyṛbhukṣām* #85)
pathyādīnāṃ bhasaṃjñakānāṃ ṭer lopo bhavati
The *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of an *aṅga* termed *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*, etc.), namely *pathin*, *mathin* and *ṛbhukṣin*, is deleted by means of *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

pathaḥ 'ablative/genitive singular of *pathin*'
pathā 'instrumental singular . . .'
pathe 'dative singular . . .'
mathaḥ 'ablative/genitive singular of *mathin*'
mathā 'instrumental singular . . .'
mathe 'dative singular . . .'
ṛbhukṣaḥ 'ablative/genitive singular of *ṛbhukṣin*'
ṛbhukṣā 'instrumental singular . . .'
ṛbhukṣe 'dative singular . . .'

1. Note that *ṭi*-deletion of *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) applies before affixes beginning with a vowel. Since assignment of the term *bha* is made by 1.4.18 *yaci bham* with the *anuvṛtti* of *asarvanāmasthāne* 'when an affix other than a *sarvanāmasthāna* follows', *pathin*, etc., for purposes of *ṭi*-deletion, cannot be

termed *bha*. If they get the term *bha* assigned, *ṭi*-deletion cannot be accomplished when a *sarvanāmasthāna* followed. This is what commentators characterize as conflict (*virodha*) between items termed *bha* and *sarvanāmasthāna*, with no possible resolution (*anavasthānalakṣaṇa*). Consequently, *sarvanāmasthāne*, though carried for subsequent rules, is not associated here with *ṭi*-deletion (7.1.87 *bhasya ṭer lopaḥ*). This *ṭi*-deletion thus applies to *in*, for example, of *pathin* + (*Ṅ*) *as*, etc., when a non-*sarvanāmasthāna* affix follows. Thus, *path*(*in*→ϕ) + (*Ṅ*) *as* = *path* + *a*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *pathaḥ*, through *ṭi*-deletion and *s*→*r*→*ḥ* (*rutva-vasarga*).

7.1.89 पुंसोऽसुङ्

puṃso' suṅ
/*puṃsaḥ* 6/1 *asuṅ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sarvanāmasthāne* #86)
'*puṃs' ity etasya sarvanāmasthāne parato' suṅ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *puṃs* 'male', is replaced with *asUṄ* when a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pumān 'nominative singular of *puṃs*'
pumāṃsau 'nominative dual . . .'
pumāṃsaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule introduces augment *asUṄ* to an *aṅga*, namely *puṃs*, when a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix follows. Thus, *asUṄ* replaces the final *s* (1.1.52 *ṅic ca*) of *puṃs*, occurring, for example, before the nominative singular ending *sU*. We derive *pumān* from *puṃ*(*s*→*as*(*UṄ*) + *s*(*U*) = *pumas* + *s*, where applications of *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugid acām* . . .) and lengthening (*dīrgha*; 6.4.10 *sāntamahataḥ* . . .) produce: *puma* + *n*(*UM*) + *s* + *s* → *pum*(*a*→*ā*) *n* + *s* + *s* = *pumān* + *s* + *s*. Our final derivate *pumān* can be derived now with *halṅyādi* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . ; *pumān* + *s* + (*s*→ϕ)) and *saṃyogānta* (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ; pumān*(*s*→ϕ)) deletions. Other forms are similarly derived. Incidentally, the *U* as an *it* in *asUṄ* facilitates operations such as introduction of *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugidacāṃ* . . .).

2. Commentators advise that a compound such as *paramapumān* 'best man' should be marked with *udātta* at the end (6.2.220 *samāsasya*), prior to the introduction of a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. This is advised in view of *pumān* which is marked *udātta* at the beginning, obligatorily. Introducing a nominal ending, especially with subsequent *asUṄ*, will create problems of accentuation.

7.1.90 गोतो णित्

goto ṇit

/*gotaḥ* 5/1 *ṇit* 1/1 = *ṇakāra it yasya* (*bv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sarvanāmasthāne* #86)
gośabdāt paraṃ sarvanāmasthānaṃ ṇid bhavati
A nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *go* 'cow', is treated as if marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*.

EXAMPLES:

gauḥ 'nominative singular of *go*'
gāvau 'nominative dual . . .'
gāvaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. This rule extends the status of *ṇit* '*Ṇ* as an *it*' to a *sarvanāmasthāna* affix which follows *go*. This extensional (*atideśa*) provision facilitates *vṛddhi*. Thus, *go* + *s*(*U*) → *g*(*o*→*au*) + *s* → *gau* + (*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *gauḥ*. This same happens when the nominative and accusative plural endings follow *go*. Thus, *g*(*o*→*au*) + *as* → *g*(*au*→*āv*) + *as* → *gāva*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *gāvaḥ*, through an additional application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*. A single replacement in *ā*, i.e., *g*(*o* + *a*→*ā*) *m* = *gām*, will be required when *go* occurs before *am* 'accusative singular' (6.1.93 *auto' mśasoḥ*).

Incidentally, the locative (*saptamī*) singular of *sarvanāmasthāne*, because of its desired syntactic coordination with *ṇit*, is changed to the nominative.

2. Why is this specification of *go* made here with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*)? So that this rule does not apply in *citragu* 'he who owns brindled cows' and *śabalagu* 'ibidem', where *o* of *go* termed an *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent', goes through a replacement in *hrasva* 'shortening' (1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*). That is, *o* can be found there only through *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced'.

Why is this extension (*atideśa*) not applicable to vocative (*sambodhana*) forms *he citrago* and *he śabalagavaḥ*? This operation does not take place when another operation relative to an *aṅga* has taken effect (*pbh.* (93): *aṅgavṛtte punar vṛttāv avidhirniṣṭhitasya*). That is, status as *Ṇit* is blocked when *guṇa*, conditioned by *sambuddhi* 'vocative singular' and *Jas* 'nominative plural', has taken effect. This is how *vṛddhi*, caused by the status as *Ṇit*, is not applied. Or else, *gotaḥ* is interpreted as denoting relational (*sambandhalakṣaṇā*) genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). This, when read with *sarvanāmasthāne*, yields the interpretation: *Ṇit* status applies when a *sarvanāmasthāna* relative to *got* follows'. What can be interpreted as a *sarvanāmasthāna* relative to *got*? A *sarvanāmasthāna* which is used to denote meanings such as *ekatva* 'oneness' and *bahutva* 'manyness' of the denotatum of *go* 'cow'. The *sarvanāmasthāna* ending of *citragu*, etc., does not denote the meaning of *go*. It denotes the meaning of something else. That is, it denotes the meaning of the owner of brindled cows. A specification with *t* is made here for clarity (*spaṣṭanirdeśārtham*).

Some read this *sūtra* as *oto ṇit*. This way, *Ṇit* status can then be applicable also to *dyo*, etc., in deriving the nominative singular, dual and plural forms

of *dyu*, i.e., *dyauḥ*, *dyāvau* and *dyāvaḥ*. This, however, is not necessary since *taparakaraṇa* 'making a specification with a following *t*' in *got* itself can account for it. For, *taparakaraṇa* is employed generally with reference to a sound segment (*varṇanirdeśeṣv hi taparakaraṇam prasiddham*).

7.1.91 णलुत्तमो वा

ṇal uttamo vā
/*ṇal* 1/1 *uttamaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
uttamo ṇal vā ṇid bhavati
A *ṆaL* of *uttama* 'first person' is, only optionally, treated as marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*.

EXAMPLES:

ahaṃ cakāra 'I made'
ahaṃ cakara 'ibidem'
ahaṃ papāca 'I cooked'
ahaṃ papaca 'ibidem'

1. This status as *Ṇit* 'marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*' is hereby extended (*atidiśyate*) to affix *ṆaL*, a replacement of first personal active verbal ending *miP* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*. . .; 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām*. . .), only optionally (*vā*). Example derivates will have *vṛddhi* of 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti* and 7.2.116 *ala upadhāyāḥ* when this optional extension of *Ṇit* is accepted. In the absence of accepting this extensional status, we get an application of *guṇa* marked with assignment of the term *ārdhadhātuka* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*).

Notice that affix *ṆaL* is already marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*, at the outset (*upadeśa*). This is how *Ṇ* is assigned the term *it* and goes through deletion by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ*. This extensional proposal of *Ṇ* as an *it* is, obviously, not intended for assigning the term *it* and subsequent deletion of *Ṇ*. It is intended for facilitating operations, for example replacement in *vṛddhi*, relative to status as marked with *Ṇ*. The assignment of the term *it* to *Ṇ* (1.3.5 *ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ*) and its subsequent deletion by 1.3.9 *tasya lopaḥ* cannot be negated, or made optional, even by a hundred statements like this (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś: na tu ṇal upadeśāvasthāyāṃ siddhaṃ ṇitvaṃ tad vacanaśatenāpi śakyaṃ pratiṣeddhum iti bhāvaḥ*).

Refer to relevant derivational details under 6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*.

7.1.92 सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ

sakhyur asambuddhau
/*sakhyuḥ* 6/1 *asambuddhau* 7/1 = *na sambuddhiḥ* (*nañ.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sarvanāmasthāne* #86 *ṇit* #90)

asambuddhau yaḥ sakhiśabdaḥ tasmāt paraṃ sarvanāmasthānaṃ ṇid bhavati
A nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *sakhi* 'companion, friend', is treated as marked with *Ṇ* as an *it*, provided a nominal ending termed *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*) does not follow.

EXAMPLES:

sakhāyau 'nominative dual of *sakhi*'
sakhāyaḥ 'nominative plural . . .'

1. Here again the locative *sarvanāmasthāne* is interpreted as nominative *sarvanāmasthānam*, because of its desired syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇyāt*) with the nominative singular form of *ṇit*. The word *asambuddhau* is interpreted as *sambudher anyā' sambuddhiḥ, tasmin* 'when an ending, (similar to but) other than a *sambuddhi*, follows'. A *vṛddhi*, characterized with *Ṇ* as an *it* (*ṇit*), thus does not apply in *he sakhe* 'O, friend', where *sakhi* is followed by a *sambuddhi*. It, however, applies, for example, in *sakhāyau* and *sakhāyaḥ*, the nominative dual and plural forms. Thus, *sakh*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *au* = *sakhāyau* and *sakh*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) + *as* = *sakhāya*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *sakhāyaḥ*, through a replacement in *āy* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*).

7.1.93 अनङ् सौ

anaṅ sau
/*anaṇ* 1/1 *sau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sakhyur asambuddhau* #92)
sakhiśabdasya sau parato' naṅ ity ayam ādeśo bhavati sa cet suśabdaḥ sambuddhir na bhavati
The final vowel (1.1.52 *ṅic ca*) of an *aṅga*, namely *sakhi*, is replaced with *anAṄ* when a *sU*, other than that of *sambuddhi*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

sakhā 'nominative singular of *sakhi*'

1. This nominative singular of *sakhi* derives from *sakhi* + *sU*, where *anAṄ* comes in place of the final *i* of *sakhi* (1.1.52 *ṅic ca*) to yield *sakh*(*i* →*an*(*AṄ*) → *sakh* + *an* + *s*(*U*). An application of penultimate lengthening (*upadhādīrgha*; 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne* . . .), followed by *halṅyādi*-deletion of *s*(*U*) and *nalopa* (8.2.7 *na lopaḥ* . . .), produces *sakh* + (*a*→*ā*) *n* + *s*(*U*) → *sakh* + *ān* + (*s*(*U*)→ϕ) → *sakhā*(*n*→ϕ) = *sakhā*. This replacement in *anAṄ* will not apply in deriving *he sakhe* 'o companion' because of negation of *asambuddhau* 'when an affix other than *sambuddhi* follows'.

7.1.94 ऋदुशनस्पुरुदंसोऽनेहसां च

ṛduśanaspurudaṃso' nehasāṃ ca

/*ṛd-uśanas-purudaṃsas-anehasām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #1 *asambuddhau* #92 *anaṅ sau* #93)

ṛkārāntānām aṅgānām, 'uśanas, purudaṃsas, anehas' ity eteṣāṃ cāsambuddhau sau parato' naṅādeśo bhavati

The final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in *ṛT* (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*), or is constituted by *uśanas, purudaṃsas* and *anehas*, is replaced with *anAṄ* when a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending, namely *sU*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

karttā 'nominative singular of *kartṛ*'
harttā 'nominative singular of *hartṛ*'
mātā 'nominative singular of *mātṛ*'
pitā 'nominative singular of *pitṛ*'
bhrātā 'nominative singular of *bhrātṛ*'
uśanā 'a name; nominative singular of *uśanas*'
purudaṃsā 'a name; nominative singular of *purudaṃsas*'
anehā 'a name; nominative singular of *anehas*'

1. Note that *anAṄ* replaces the final *ṛ* (*ṛT*) of *pitṛ*, etc., before a non-*sambuddhi* nominal ending *sU*. An application of *upadhādīrgha* 'penultimate lengthening' and *nalopa* 'deletion of *n*', similar to earlier examples, will finally derive *pitā, bhrātā*, etc. Refer to derivational details of *karttā* and *harttā* (II:388) for additional information. Derivates of *uśanas, purudaṃsas* and *anehas* will also have their final *s* replaced with *anAṄ*. An application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* will produce *uśana* + (*s*→*an*(*AṄ*)) + *sU* → *uśan*(*a*+*a*→*a*) + *s*(*U*) = *uśanan* + *s*. This, after penultimate lengthening, *halṅyādi*-deletion of *sU* and *n*-deletion, will produce *uśan*(*a*→*ā*) *n* + *s* → *uśanān* + (*s*→ϕ) → *uśanā*(*n*→ϕ) = *uśanā*. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

2. Here again *anAṄ* cannot apply in the context of *sambuddhi* 'vocative singular'. Thus, we will get *he pitaḥ* 'o, father', etc., where *ṛ* will go through *guṇa* (7.3.110 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ*) followed by *r* (*raparaḥ*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). The *r* then goes through *visarga*, after deletion of the conjunct final *s* (*saṃyogāntalopa*; 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*).

3. A specification of *ṛ*, with *t* (*ṛt*; *taparakaraṇa*), is intended for avoiding confusion (*asandehārtham*). It is not intended for specifying *ṛ* of any constrained duration (*tatkāla*). For, given *ṛ*+ *uśanas* = *ruśanas*, there would be confusion, especially after the application of replacement in *yaN*.

4. A *vārttika* proposal makes an optional *anAṄ* desired, also when *sambuddhi* follows (*uśanasaḥ sambuddhāv api pakṣe' naṅ iṣyate*). Thus, we get an additional form *he uśanan* 'o Uśanas', optionally to *he uśanaḥ*. Yet another proposal also desires optional negation of *n*-deletion (*nalopa*; 8.2.8 *na ṅisambuddhyoḥ*). This will give us *he uśana*(*n*→ϕ) = *uśana*, after *n*-deletion. Consider the following:

sambodhane tūśanas trirūpaṃ
sāntaṃ tathā nāntam athāpy adantam/
mādhyandinir vaṣṭi guṇaṃ tv igante
napuṃsake vyāghrapadāṃ variṣṭaḥ//
'Mādhyandini desires three forms of *uśanas* in the vocative: (*i*) ending in *s* (*sānta*; with no *anAṄ*: *he uśanaḥ*); (*ii*) ending in *n* (*nānta*; with no *n*-deletion: *he uśanan*); (*iii*) ending in *a* (*adanta*; with *n*-deletion: *he uśana*); Vaiyāghrapadya, an older offspring of Vyāghrapād, desires *guṇa* in a neuter base ending in *iK* (*iganta*; *he trapo*)'

7.1.95 तृज्वत्क्रोष्टुः

tṛjvat kroṣṭuḥ
/*tṛjvat* ф *kroṣṭuḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sarvanāmasthāne* #86 *asambuddhau* #92)
kroṣṭuśabdas tunpratyayāntaḥ saṃjñāśabdaḥ sarvanāmasthāne' sambuddhau parataḥ tṛjvad bhavati
An *aṅga*, namely *kroṣṭu* 'jackal', is treated as if ending in affix *tṛC*, when a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna*, other than one termed *sambuddhi*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

kroṣṭā 'nominative singular of *kroṣṭu*'
kroṣṭārau 'nominative dual . . .'
kroṣṭāraḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
kroṣṭāram 'accusative singular . . .'
kroṣṭārau 'accusative dual . . .'

1. This rule offers an extension of form (*rūpātideśa*). That is, *kroṣṭu*, a derivate of *tuN* (*Uṇādi* I:69: *sitanimasigami* . . .), is here allowed to be treated as its counterpart ending in *tṛC*, i.e., *kroṣṭṛ*. For reasons of close contextual proximity with *tṛC*, a form of *kruś* 'to call out' which ends in *tṛC*, alone, will have the benefit of this extension (*atideśa*). Note that this rule does not extend the word-form *tṛC*, itself, to *kroṣṭu*. It refers to *kroṣṭṛ*, a form of *kroṣṭu* ending in affix *tṛC* (*pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādes tadantasya grahaṇam*).

Forms of *kroṣṭu* will here follow the derivational pattern of *kroṣṭṛ*. A derivate of *kruś* with *tṛC*, i.e., *kroṣṭṛ*, is marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.160 *citaḥ*). Derivates of *kroṣṭu*, in this context, will also be marked with *udātta* at the end.

Now consider the derivation of *kroṣṭā*, from *kroṣṭu* + *sU*, where *kroṣṭu* will be treated as *kroṣṭṛ*. This will occasion introduction of *anAṄ* of the earlier rule. The lengthening of the penultimate (*upadhādīrgha*) vowel will here be accomplished by 6.4.11 *aptṛntṛc*. . . . An application of *halṅyādi*-deletion of *s*(*U*) and *n*-deletion (*nalopa*), similar to earlier examples, will finally derive

kroṣṭā. The dual and plural forms, i.e., *kroṣṭārau* and *kroṣṭāraḥ*, will similarly involve *guṇa* of *ṛ* (7.3.110 *ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ*), and replacement in *vṛddhi* of the penultimate (*upadhā*) vowel (6.4.11 *aptṛn* . . .).

7.1.96 स्त्रियां च

striyāṃ ca
/ *striyām* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *tṛjvat kroṣṭuḥ* #95)
striyāṃ ca kroṣṭuśabdasya tṛjvad bhavati
An *aṅga*, namely *kroṣṭu*, is also treated as if ending in affix *tṛC*, when the denotation is feminine.

EXAMPLES:

kroṣṭrī 'instrumental singular of *kroṣṭrī*'
kroṣṭrībhyām 'instrumental dual . . .'
kroṣṭrībhiḥ 'instrumental plural . . .'

1. This rule is formulated so that *kroṣṭu* could be treated as *kroṣṭṛ*, in the feminine, also before endings other than those termed *sarvanāmasthāna*. Our preceding rule could have accounted for feminine derivates before *sarvanāmasthāna* endings, anyway. This rule makes extensional provisions before non-*sarvanāmasthāna* endings, in the feminine. Forms, such as *kroṣṭrī*, etc., are derived with *ṄīP* (4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo* . . .), introduced after extensional (*ātideśika*) *kroṣṭṛ* and subsequent replacement in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ*.

2. Some treat *kroṣṭu* as part of the *gaurādi* group of nominals. They, thereby, introduce *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*) after *kroṣṭṛ*. For, a *ṄīP*, because of being marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*), will create accentual problems. A *ṄīṢ* will retain the final *udātta* of *kroṣṭrī*.

But this view is also not free of problems. For example, consider *pañcakroṣṭrībhiḥ*, parallel to *pañcakroṣṭrībhiḥ* (*krītaiḥ*) *rathaiḥ* ' by a chariot purchased with five . . .', where the compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*. . . . Rule 5.1.19 *ārhād agopuccha* . . . introduces affix *ṬHaK* which goes through deletion by *LUK* of 4.1.28 *adhyardhapūrvād*. . . . We then get the application of 1.2.49 *luk taddhitaluki* whereby the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* also goes through deletion by *LUK*. We now have a problem. Deletion of the feminine affix removes condition of treatment as a form ending in *tṛC*. For, this treatment (*tṛjvadbhāva*) applies when the denotation is feminine. This is why one needs a counter-proposal.

Those who do not accept *kroṣṭu* listed as part of the *gaurādi* group consider *striyām* as a specification made in view of meaning. That is, they do not see any problem in *tṛjvadbhāva* so long as feminine is denoted. Whether or not the feminine affix gets deleted is none of their concern. Once *tṛjvadbhāva*

is extended we can get the introduction of affix *ṄīP*. We thus get *kroṣṭṛ* + *ṄīP* = *kroṣṭrī*, where the *udātta* vowel *ṛ* of *kroṣṭṛ* goes through a replacement in *yaṆ*. Our derivate *kroṣṭrī* is still marked with *udātta* at the end by 6.1.174 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*.

7.1.97 विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि

vibhāṣā tṛtīyādiṣv aci
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *tṛtīyādiṣu* 7/3 = *tṛtīyā ādir yāsāṃ tāḥ* (*bv.*), *tāsu; aci* 7/1/ (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *tṛjvat kroṣṭuḥ* #95)
tṛtīyādiṣu vibhaktiṣv ajādiṣu kroṣṭur vibhāṣā tṛjvad bhavati
An *aṅga*, namely *kroṣṭu*, is treated as if ending in affix *tṛC*, only optionally, when a vowel-initial nominal ending enumerated beginning with *tṛtīyā* 'third triplet; instrumental' follows.

EXAMPLES:

kroṣṭrā 'instrumental singular of *kroṣṭu*'
kroṣṭunā 'ibidem'
kroṣṭre 'dative singular . . .'
kroṣṭave 'ibidem'
kroṣṭuḥ 'ablative/genitive singular . . .'
kroṣṭoḥ 'ibidem'
kroṣṭari 'locative singular . . .'
kroṣṭau 'ibidem'
kroṣṭoḥ 'locative dual . . .'
kroṣṭvoḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional extensional (*ātideśika*) treatment of *kroṣṭu*, as if it was *kroṣṭṛ* (*tṛjvadbhāva*), when a vowel-initial nominal ending listed beginning with the instrumental (*tṛtīyā*) follows. We thus get *kroṣṭṛ* + (*Ṭ*) *ā* → *kroṣṭ*(*ṛ*→*r*) + *ā*, through a replacement in *yaṆ*. We will get *kroṣṭu* + (*Ṭ*) *ā* → *kroṣṭu* + (*ā*→*nā*) = *kroṣṭunā*, through *nā* as a replacement for *ā* (7.3.120 *āṅo nā' striyām*), provided the extensional option of treating *kroṣṭu* as *kroṣṭṛ* is not accepted. We will get *kroṣṭe* and *kroṣṭave* in the dative singular. The first form results from *kroṣṭṛ* + (*Ṅ*) *e* → *kroṣṭre*, through *yaṆ*. The second results from application of *guṇa* (7.3.111 *gher ṅiti*) and a subsequent replacement in *av* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*): *kroṣṭ*(*u*→*o*) + *e* = *kroṣṭ*(*o*→*av*) + *e* = *kroṣṭave*. The ablative-genitive singular forms *kroṣṭuḥ* and *kroṣṭoḥ* derive from *kroṣṭu* + *ṄasI* and *kroṣṭu* + *Ṅas*, respectively. Given *kroṣṭṛ* + *as*, where *kroṣṭu* is treated as *kroṣṭṛ*, *u*, with a following *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*), comes as a single replacement for *ṛ* + *a* (6.1.111 *ṛta uta*). The *s*, of *kroṣṭ*(*ṛ*+*a*→*ur*) + *s* = *kroṣṭur* + *s*, is deleted (8.2.24 *rāt sasya*). We thus get *kroṣṭur* + (*s*→ϕ) = *kroṣṭu*(*r*→*ḥ*) = *kroṣṭuḥ*. We get *kroṣṭoḥ* from *kroṣṭu* + *ṄasI*, where option of extensional *tṛC* is not accepted. The *u* will here go through *guṇa* and the *a* of *as*, in *kroṣṭ*(*u*→*o*) + *as*

= *kroṣṭo* + *as*, will go through a single replacement with *o* (*pūrvarūpa*; 6.1.110 *ṅasiṅasoś ca*). Thus, *kroṣṭ*(*o*+*a*→*o*) *s* = *kroṣṭo*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *kroṣṭoḥ*. This same will be a derivate with the genitive singular nominal ending *Ṅas*. The locative singular form *kroṣṭari* is derived from *kroṣṭṛ* + (*Ṅ*) *i*, through *guṇa* of *ṛ* with the following *r* (7.3.110 *ṛto ṅisarva* . . .). We get an optional *kroṣṭau*, where the final *u* of *kroṣṭu* is replaced with *a*, and *i* of *Ṅi* is replaced with *au*. Thus, *kroṣṭ*(*u* →*a*) + (*Ṅ*) (*i*→*au*) = *kroṣṭ*(*a* + *au* →*au*) = *kroṣṭau*. The locative dual *kroṣṭoḥ* can be similarly derived with an optional *kroṣṭvoḥ*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal recommends augments *nUM* and *nUṬ*, as against *tṛjvadbhāva* 'extensional *tṛC*', on the basis of *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins'. It is claimed that *tṛjvadbhāva* 'treatment as *tṛC*' has its independently established scope in masculine *kroṣṭre*. An independent scope of *nUM* and *nUṬ* can be established on the basis of *trapuṇe*/*jatune*; and *agnīnām*/*vāyūnām*. These applicational scopes can be found in *priyakroṣṭune vanāya* 'to the forest to whom jackals are dear', simultaneously. Hence, *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'blocking by a prior exception' is invoked in favor of *nUM* and *nUṬ*. Consider the *bahuvrīhi* compound *priyakroṣṭune*, in neuter dative singular, parallel to *priyāḥ kroṣṭāraḥ yasya tat, tasmai* 'that to whom jackals are dear, to him'. Given *priyakroṣṭu* + (*Ṅ*) *e*, we find *tṛjvadbhāva* and *nUM* (7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*), both applicable. We favor *nUM* as a prior exception to block *tṛjvadbhāva*. Thus, *priyakroṣṭu* + *n*(*UM*) + *e* = *priyakroṣṭune*. Similar argument can be offered for deriving *hatakroṣṭune* 'he by who jackals were killed, to him'. An example with introduction of augment *nUṬ* could be *kroṣṭūnām*, where *nUṬ* of 7.1.54 *hrasvanadyāpo nuṭ* comes into conflict with *tṛjvadbhāva*.

7.1.98 चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः

caturanaḍuhor ām udāttaḥ
/ *catur-anaḍuhoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ām* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sarvanāmasthāne* #86)
'*catur, anaḍuh*' *ity etayoḥ sarvanāmasthāna parata ām āgamo bhavati, sa codāttaḥ*

Augment *ām*, marked with *udātta*, is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *catur* 'four' and *anaḍuh* 'ox, bull', when a nominal ending termed *sarvanāmasthāna* follows.

EXAMPLES:

catvāriḥ 'nominative plural of *catur*'
anaḍvān 'nominative singular of *anaḍuh*'
anaḍvāhaú 'nominative dual . . .'
anaḍvāháḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
anaḍvāhám 'accusative singular . . '
anaḍvāhaú 'accusative dual . . .'

1. Refer to derivational details of *anaḍuh* under 7.1.82 *sāv anaḍuhaḥ*. Augment *ām*, because it is marked with *M* as an *it*, is introduced to (after) the final *u* of *catur*. Thus, *catu* + *ā*(*M*) + *r* + (*J*) *as* = *cat*(*u*→*v*) + *ā* + *r* + *as* = *catvāra* (*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *catvāraḥ*.

Incidentally, augments are treated as *anudātta* (*āgamā anudāttā bhavanti*).

2. Note that the *Mahābhāṣya* considers *tadantavidhi* 'treating a form as also ending in that by means of which it is specified'. Thus, augment *āM* can also be introduced in deriving *priyānaḍvān* 'he to whom the oxen are dear' and *priyacatvāraḥ* 'he to whom the four are dear', where *anaḍuh* and *catur* occur at the end of a form.

Yet another proposal renders the introduction of *āM* as optional, in case of *anaḍuh* used in the feminine. Thus, we get *anaḍvāhī* and *anaḍuhī*, both derivates of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* (4.1.41 *ṣidgaurādibhyaś ca*). Recall that introduction of the feminine affix *ṄīṢ* is facilitated by the listing of *anaḍuh* in the group of nominal stems headed by *gaura* (*gaurādi*).

7.1.99 अम् सम्बुद्धौ

am sambuddhau
/*am* 1/1 *sambuddhau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *caturanaḍuhoḥ* #98)
sambuddhau parataś caturanaḍuhor am āgamo bhavati
Augment *aM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *catur* and *anaḍuh*, when a nominal ending termed *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

he priyacatvaḥ 'o, you, to whom four are dear'
he priyānaḍvan 'o, you, to whom the ox is dear'

1. This rule introduces augment *aM* to *catur* and *anaḍuh* when they occur before a nominal ening termed *sambuddhi*. This then is an exception to the *āM* of the preceding rule.

7.1.100 ॠत इद्धातोः

ṝta id dhātoḥ
/*ṝtaḥ* 6/1 *it* 1/1 *dhātoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
ṝkārāntasya dhātor aṅgasya ikārādeśo bhavati
The final vowel of a verbal root termed *aṅga* which ends in *ṝT* 'long *ṝ*' is replaced with *i*.

EXAMPLES:

kirati '. . . scatters about'
girati '. . . swallows'

āstīrṇam 'strewn about'
viśīrṇam 'wasted'

1. Refer to derivational details of *kirati* and *girati*, under the appendix of 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ* (II:388). The two *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) derivates, i.e., *āstīrṇam* and *viśīrṇam*, can be similarly derived from *āstṝ* + (*K*) *ta* and *viśṝ* + (*K*) *ta*. The root-final *ṝ* is here replaced with *i*, followed by *r* (*rapara*), thereby yielding *āst*(*ṝ*→*ir*) + *ta* = *āstir* + *ta* and *viś*(*ṝ*→*ir*) + *ta* = *viśir* + *ta*. The *t* of (*K*) *ta* is then replaced with *n* (*natva*; 8.2.42 *radābhyām* . . .). A replacement in *ṇ* for *n* (8.4.1 *raṣābhyām* . . .), followed by lengthening (*dīrgha*) of *i* (8.2.77 *hali ca*), produces *āstir* + (*t*→*n*→*ṇ*) *a* → *āst*(*i*→*ī*) *r* + *ṇa* = *āstīrṇa*. Similar applications are also involved in deriving *viśīrṇa*. Note that the introduction of augment *iṬ* is blocked here by 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti*.

2. A condition of *dhātoḥ* is imposed so that we do not get *ir* in the context of *mātṝṇām* 'genitive plural of *mātṛ* (mother)' and *pitṝṇām* 'genitive plural of *pitṛ* (father)'.

3. Note that this specification with *ṝT*, as desired by the *Mahābhāṣya*, may also refer to a *ṝ* derived by some rule application. Thus, consider *kṛ* + *sa*(*N*) → *k*(*ṛ*→*ṝ*) + *sa*(*N*) = *kṝ* + *sa* of *cikīrṣati* ' . . . wishes to do or make', where root-final *ṛ* gets replaced with *ṝ*, through application of 6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ sani*.

7.1.101 **उपधायाश्च**

upadhāyāś ca
/*upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *ca* φ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṝta id dhātoḥ* #100)
upadhāyāś ca ṝkārasya ikārādeśo bhavati
The penultimate *ṝT* of a verbal root termed *aṅga* is also replaced with *iT*.

EXAMPLES:

kīrttayati ' . . . has someone praise . . .; third person singular causal present of *kīrti*'
kīrttayataḥ 'third person dual . . .'
kīrttayanti 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *i* (*itva*), also for the penultimate *ṝ* of a verbal root (*dhātu*) termed *aṅga*. Thus, we get *kṝt* + (*Ṇ*) *i*(*C*) = *k*(*ṝ*→*ir*) + *t* + *i* → *k*(*i*→*ī*) *r* + *t* + *i* = *kīrti*, where *i* of *kir* is replaced with its long counterpart (8.2.78 *upadhāyāṃ ca*). Our final derivates can be derived from *kīrti* + (*LAṬ* → *ti*(*P*)) → *kīrti* + *ti*, etc.

2. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule as *kṝtasya* or *kṝtaś ca*? He formulated the rule as *upadhāyāś ca* simply for variation in style.

7.1.102 उदोष्ठ्यपूर्वस्य

ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya
/*ut* 1/1 *oṣṭhyapūrvasya* 6/1 = *oṣṭhyaḥ pūrvo yasmāt sa* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṝtaḥ dhātoḥ* #100)
oṣṭhyaḥ pūrvo yasmād ṝkārāt tadantasya dhātor aṅgasya ukārādeśo bhavati
A *ṝ*(*T*) which occurs after a labial (*oṣṭhya*) sound at the end of a verbal root (*dhātu*) termed *aṅga* is replaced with *u*.

EXAMPLES:

pūrttāḥ piṇḍāḥ 'the rice-balls for oblation are made'
pupūrṣati '. . . wishes to nourish'
mumūrṣati '. . . wishes to die'
susvūrṣati '. . . wishes to speak'

1. This rule replaces the root-final *ṝ* of an *aṅga* with *u*. Thus, we get *pūrtta* from *pṝ* + (*K*) *ta*, where *ṝ* of *pṝ* 'to fill' is replaced with *ur*, *u* followed by *r* (1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). This *u* is subsequently replaced with *ū* (8.2.77 *hali ca*). Recall that a replacement in *n* (*natva*), for *t* of *Kta*, is blocked by 8.2.57 *na dhyākhyāpṝ*. . . . The *saN*-derivates of *pṝ* 'to fill' and *mṛṄ* 'to die', i.e., *pupūrṣati* 'wishes to fill up' and *mumūrṣati* 'wishes to die', can be derived by following the pattern of *cikīrṣati* (II:432). A long replacement for the corresponding short vowel *u* is again accomplished by 8.2.77 *hali ca*.

This replacement in *ur* is also allowed where *v*, a labio- dental, precedes *ṝ*. Thus, we get *vuvūrṣati* '. . . wishes to select', a derivate of *vṝ* + *sa*(*N*) with *LAṬ*. Note, however, that a *niṣṭhā*-derivate of *ṝ* 'to go' cannot be allowed *ur*. For, the *m* of *sam*, which precedes *ṝ* is not a part of the *aṅga*. Thus, we will get *samīrṇa* 'properly departed'.

2. A *Mahābhāṣya* proposal also invokes *vipratiṣedha* 'a rule conflict of equal strength where a subsequent rule wins' where *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* applications come into conflict with replacements in *i* and *u*. Thus, given *āN* + *stṝ* + (*L*)*yu*(*Ṭ*) → *āstṝ* + (*yu*→*ana*) = *āstaraṇa*, we apply *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātu-kārdhadhātukayoḥ*) against *ur*. A similar application of *vṛddhi* is made in *nigāraka*, a derivate of *ni-gṝ* + (*Ṇ*) *vu*(*L*). This *Mahābhāṣya* statement enables *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* (*paratvād guṇavṛddhī bhavataḥ*) to block replacements in *i* and *u* on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent order of enumeration'. But since these replacements in *i* and *u* are internally conditioned, and also since an internally conditioned application is considered more powerful, we find a *vārttikā* proposal in support of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* applications: *itvotvābhyāṃ guṇavṛddhī bhavato vipratiṣedhena* '*guṇa* and *vṛddhi* apply against replacements in *i* (*itva*) and *u* (*utva*) on the basis of *paratva*'.

7.1.103 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi

/bahulam 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1)
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṝtaḥ dhātoḥ* #100 *ut* #102)
chandasi viṣaye ṝkārāntasya dhātor aṅgasya bahulam ukārādeśo bhavati
The final *ṝ* of a verbal root termed *aṅga* is variously (*bahulam*) replaced with *uT* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

mitrāvaruṇau taturiḥ
dūre hyadhvā jaguriḥ
papritamam
vavritamam
papuriḥ

1. This provision of *bahulam* 'variously' also allows *ur* when, in the Vedic, *ṝ* is preceded by a labial or not. Refer to the appendix (III:757) for derivational details of *taturiḥ* and *jaguriḥ*. Derivates of *tamaP*, i.e., *papritama* and *vavritama*, illustrate how replacement in *ur* is not applied when *p* and *v* precede. It does, however, apply in a derivate such as *papuriḥ*.

Incidentally, *papritama* and *vavritama* are forms of *pṝ* and *vṝ* derived with affix *Ki* or *KiN* (3.2.171 *ādṛgamahana* . . .). Their *tamaP*, of course, is introduced to denote excellence (5.3.55 *atiśāyane tamabiṣṭhanau*). One must also remember here that a *bāhulaka* provision works in diverse ways: it sometimes applies, at others does not; at times it is optional; at others it is simply different altogether. Thus, the famous verse: *kavacid pravṛttiḥ kvacid apravṛttiḥ/ kvacid vibhāṣā kvacid anyad eva.*

PĀDA TWO

7.2.1 सिचि वृद्धिः परस्मैपदेषु

sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu
/sici 7/1 *vṛddhiḥ* 1/1 *parasmaipadeṣu* 7/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
parasmaipadapare sici parata igantasyāṅgasya vṛddhir bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* (*Śs.* 1-2) is replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart when *sIC*, followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

acaiṣīt '. . . heaped . . .'
anaiṣīt '. . . led'
alāvīt '. . . cut . . .'
apāvīt '. . . cleansed . . .'
akārṣīt '. . . made . . .'
ahārṣīt '. . . carried . . .'

1. This rule is formulated against the *guṇa* application of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*. It thus offers *vṛddhi*, instead, to the final *iK* (*i, u, ṛ, ḷ*; 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) sound of an *aṅga* when *sIC* (3.1.43 *cli luṅi*; 3.1.44 *cleḥ sic*), followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada* (1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*), follows. Note that *sici* 'when *sIC* follows' and *parasmaipadeṣu* 'when affixes termed *parasmaipada* 'active' follow' are both specified with the locative (*saptamī*). They thus form a right context (*parasaptamī*). The right context of *sici* is construed in relation to the *aṅga*. That is, 'when an *aṅga* is followed by *sIC*'. The right context of *parasmaipadeṣu* is construed in relation to *sIC*. That is, 'when *sIC* is followed by affixes termed *parasmaipada*'. A specification with *vṛddhi* brings *ikaḥ* (1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*) to this context. This, in turn, becomes a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to the *aṅga* on hand. An application of *tadantavidhi* 'treating a specification made with *x* as also denoting 'that which ends in *x*' is then invoked to yield the interpretation 'a *vṛddhi* comes in place of an *aṅga*-final vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* when *sIC*, followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada*, follows' (*igantasya aṅgasya sici parataḥ parasmaipadapare vṛddhir bhavati*). Refer to the appendix under rule 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī* (II:333) for derivational details of *acaiṣīt*, etc.

A problem is raised in connection with this *vṛddhi* in deriving examples such as *akārṣīt*. Thus, given *aṬ* + *kṛ* + *sIC* + *ī* + *t*, why can we not apply *guṇa* under the condition of *sIC* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddhadhātukayoḥ*)? After all, this *guṇa* is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) by *sIC*, as against replacement in *vṛddhi* which is internally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) by the *parasmaipada* 'active' affix *tiP* 'third personal singular'. But this rule will become vacuous (*vyartha*) if *guṇa* is applied. For, it will remove the *aṅga*-final *iK*, *i/u/ṛ/ḷ*, which, in turn, is required for application of this *vṛddhi*. That is, *guṇa* will replace the *ṛ* of *kṛ* with *ar*, and hence, the *aṅga* will no longer end in *iK*. It is therefore suggested that, at the strength of Pāṇini's formulation of this statement, externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) *vṛddhi* blocks even an internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) *guṇa* (*Kāś*: *antaraṅgam api guṇam eṣāṃ vṛddhir vacanād bādhate*).

In summary, the *vṛddhi* of this rule always comes into conflict with *guṇa*. Application of *guṇa*, since it expects *sIC*, will be accepted as internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). The *vṛddhi*, since it will expect both *sIC* and *parasmaipada*, will be considered externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*). Given this, an internally conditioned *guṇa* will always block the externally conditioned *vṛddhi*. This rule could then not find any scope of application.

It is clear that this externally conditioned *vṛddhi*, because of becoming vacuous if not applied, blocks the application of an internally conditioned *guṇa*. Can it also, on this same basis, block an internally conditioned replacement in *uvAṄ*? No. Consider *nyanuvīt* and *dhyanuvīt* which derive from *ni* + *aṬ* + (*nu*→*uvAṄ*) + *ī* + *tiP* and *ni* + *aṬ* + *dh*(*ū*→*uvAṄ*) + *ī* + *tiP*, where *uvAṄ* (6.4.77 *aciśnudhātubhruvām* . . .) replaces *u/ū*. A replacement in *guṇa*

and *vṛddhi* will both be negated here (1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*) since *ṇu* and *dhū* are listed in the *kuṭādi* class (1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādibhyo* . . .) of roots. Why can a *vṛddhi* not block its negation (*pratiṣedha*, and hence also block *uvAṄ*), as it blocks *guṇa*. It is argued that this blocking of *guṇa* by *vṛddhi* is stated against the sure application of *guṇa* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *guṇe hi nāprāpte vṛddhir ārabhyate, pratiṣedhe tu prāpte cāprāpte ca*). Its negation is stated irrespective of its availability (*prāpti*) or non-availablility (*aprāpti*) of application. This *vṛddhi*, therefore, cannot block its negation, and hence, the replacement in *uvAN*.

Note that *acyoṣṭa* and *aploṣṭa* are third singular past imperfect derivates of the middle (*ātmanepada*) verbs *cyuṄ* 'to drip' and *pluṄ* 'to float', respectively. They are offered here as counter-examples to the condition of *parasmaipadeṣu* 'when affixes termed *parasmaipada* follow'. Their *guṇa* cannot be blocked because affix *ta* 'third personal singular', an *ātmanepada*, follows.

7.2.2 अतो ल्रान्तस्य

ato lrāntasya

/*ataḥ* 6/1 *lrāntasya* 6/1 = *la ca raś ca* = *lram* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*)

rephalakārau yāv ato' ntau = *samīpau, tadantasyāṅgasya ata eva sthāne vṛddhir bhavati*

An *aT* which occurs in proximity of an *aṅga*-final *l* and *r* is replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart when *sIC*, followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

akṣārīt '. . . oozed or trickled . . .'
atsārīt '. . . moved (in disguise)'
ajvālīt '. . . burned . . .'
ahmlālīt '. . . moved . . .'

1. This rule allows *vṛddhi* to the *a* of an *aṅga* which ends in *l* or *r*, with *a* occurring in their proximity. Additionally, the *aṅga* must be followed by a *sIC* which, in turn, is followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada* (1.4.99 *laḥ parasmaipadam*). The word *anta* 'end' is here used in the sense of *samīpa* 'proximate' (*Kāś*: . . . *antau* = *samīpau* . . .). The preceding rule offers *vṛddhi* for a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*. This rule offers it in place of an *a*. Consider *kṣar* 'to flow, glide', *tsar* 'to creep, move stealthily' and *jval* 'to glow, burn' where *a* occurs in the proximity of *r* and *l*. This *a* is replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart in deriving *akṣārīt, atsārīt* and *ajvālīt* from *akṣar* + *īt, atsar* + *īt* and *ajval* + *īt*, respectively. Refer to *acaisīt* (II:333) and *abhaitsīt* (III:312) in the appendix for appropriate derivational details. This rule offers *vṛddhi*, obligatorily (*nitya*), against an optional provision made by 7.2.7 *ato halāder laghoḥ*.

2. That this *vṛddhi* applies only to an *a* is made clear by counter-examples such as *nyakhorīt* ← *ny-a-khur* + *īt* and *nyamīlīt* ← *ny-a-mīl* + *īt*, the third singular active imperfect forms of *khur* 'to scratch, cut' and *mīl* 'to wink, close eyes'. This *vṛddhi* is applicable only to an *aṅga* ending in *l* and *r*. Thus, it cannot apply in deriving *aṭīt*, of *mā bhavān aṭīt*, and *aśīt*, of *mā bhavān aśīt*, where verbal roots do not end in *l* and *r*. They also differ in their signification: the first is used with the signification of 'moving'; the second with the signification of 'eating'. These examples are both given with *māN̐* to block augment *āṬ* (6.4.74 *na māṅyoge*), and thereby, keep the identity of *aṭīt* and *aśīt*, intact. An introduction of *āṬ* would have yielded **āṭīt* and **āśīt* which, in turn, would have created confusion about the *vṛddhi* of *aṬ*. Finally, *anta* is used in this rule to focus on close proximity of *l* and *r* with *a*. Consider *avabhravīt* and *aśvalīt* where the final *r* and *l* sounds of the *aṅga* do not occur in close proximity of *a*. They are intervened by *bh* and *l*, repectively. Consequently, *vṛddhi* does not apply here. Verbal roots *vabhrA* and *śvallA* are here used in the senses of 'movement (*gati*)' and *āśugamana* 'moving fast', respectively.

7.2.3 **वदव्रजहलन्तस्याचः**

vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ
/ *vada-vraja-halantasya* 6/1 = *hal ante yasya* (*bv.*); *vadaś ca vrajaś ca halantaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *acaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* #1)
vadavrajor halantānāṃ cāṅgānām acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir bhavati sici parasmaipade parataḥ
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of the vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *vad*, *vraj*, and also an *aṅga* which ends in a consonant (*haL*), when *sIC* followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows.

Examples:

avādīt '. . . killed . . .'
avrājīt '. . . went away . . .'
apākṣīt '. . . cooked . . .'
abhaitsīt '. . . cracked open . . .'
acchaitsīt '. . . cut . . .'
arautsīt '. . . blocked . . .'

1. Why should we have a separate specification of *vad* 'to speak' and *vraj* 'to go' when they can both be covered by the specification of *halantānām* 'of those which end in a consonant'? For, an *aṅga* constituted by *vad* and *vraj* already ends in a consonant. A separate specification of *vad* and *vraj* is made to block the optional *vṛddhi*, made available by rule 7.2.7 *ato halāder laghoḥ*. Our present rule offers *vṛddhi*, obligatorily. Consider *avādīt*, *avrājīt*, and

apākṣīt, *abhaitsīt*, etc. Refer to the appendix (III:312) of 3.1.57 *irito vā* for appropriate derivational details, especially of *abhaitsīt* and *acchaitsīt*. Note that *apākṣīt* derives from *pac* + (*LUṄ*→*tiP*), where 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* causes a replacement in *k* for *c* (*kutva*).

2. Why was this rule formulated with *hal* 'consonant' of *halantasya*? A split-interpretation of this rule formulated without *haL* would have accounted for its derivates. The two split-rules will be: (*i*) *vadavrajyoḥ* 'the *a* of an *aṅga* constituted by *vad* and *vraj* goes through a replacement in *vṛddhi*. . .'; (*ii*) *acaḥ*, where *aṅga* is used as a qualifer to *aC* and the *aC* of an *aṅga* goes through a replacement in *vṛddhi*. . . . Commentators state that *haL* is used to indicate not just one *haL* but a sequence. Thus, consider *arāṅkṣīt* and *asāṅkṣīt* where *a* of *rañj* 'to color' and *ṣañj* 'to come in contact' is intervened by two consonants. It is because of the specification of *haL*, referring to a group (*samudāya*) of consonants, that this rule can still apply to offer a replacement in *vṛddhi*. The *anta* of *halanta* is used for clarity.

It is also argued that the *vṛddhi* should have been specified only for an *aṅga* which ended in a consonant. For, *vad* and *vraj* end in a consonant, and thus, would have easily availed the *vṛddhi*. Why state them explicitly? Note here that our next rule 7.2.4 *neṭi* negates this *vṛddhi* marked with final consonant (*halanta-lakṣaṇā*), especially when a *sIC* with initial *iT* follows. It is to save *vad* and *vraj* from that negation at the strength of this explicit statement (*vacana-sāmarthya*) that *vad* and *vraj* are separately specified. Their *vṛddhi* will thus become obligatory (*nitya*). We will thus get *avādīt* and *avrājīt*. If this explicit statement was not made, our next rule would have negated *vṛddhi*. Rule 7.2.7 *ato halāder laghoḥ* would then have applied to accomplish optional *vṛddhi*.

Why do we use the word *acaḥ* 'genitive singular of *aC* (vowel)' when *ikaḥ*, of 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*, could have easily presented itself for specifying the *sthānī* 'item to be replaced'? The *vṛddhi* of *abhaitsīt* and *arautsīt* could have thus been accomplished. However, we would have run into problems in accomplishing the *vṛddhi* in *apākṣīt*. Such problems will not be encountered if the specification is made with *acaḥ*.

A question is raised as to why, in deriving the third personal dual and second personal dual active aorist forms of *vah* 'to carry', used with the preverb *ud*, we do not get the *vṛddhi* of *o*, in *udavoḍhām* and *udavoḍham*. Note that *udavoḍhām* derives from *ud-vah* + (*LUṄ*→*tas* →*tām*) → *ud- vah* + *sIC* + *tām*, where *tas* is replaced with *tām* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām* . . .) and *a* of *vah* is replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart, characterized as marked with the final consonant (*halanta-lakṣaṇā*; 7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ*). A replacement of *h*, of *vah*, with *ḍh* (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*), and deletion of *sIC*, follow (8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*). The *t* of *tām* then goes through a replacement, first in *dh* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastathordho' dhaḥ*) and then in *ḍh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). The *ā* of *ud* + *a*(*T*) + *vā*(*h*→*ḍh*)) + *ḍhām* → *ud* + *a* + *vāḍh* + *ḍhām* is then replaced with *o*

(6.3.112 *sahivahor od avarṇasya*). Given *ud* + *a* + *v*(*ā*→*o*) *ḍh* + *ḍhām* → *uda* + *voḍh* + *ḍhām*, the first *ḍh* of the string goes through deletion (8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*) under the condition of the second *ḍh* which follows. We thus get *uda* + *vo*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍhām* → *udavoḍhām*.

Actually, the *o* of *vo* is conditioned by *ḍh* which, in turn, is produced by *h* of *vah*. This *ḍh* is then deleted, in addition to the *s* of *sIC*. Both *ḍh* and *s*(*IC*)-deletions become *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*. This is how we get *o* which is conditioned by *ḍh*. But a replacement in *vṛddhi* characterized as 'marked with a final consonant' (*halanta-lakṣaṇā*) has taken effect already. A *vṛddhi* which has applied once, cannot apply again (*Kāś*: *kṛte vṛddhir na bhavati, kṛtatvāt*). Incidentally, *udavoḍham* involves a replacement in *tam*, via *thas* of *LUṄ*. Note, however, that the *vṛddhi*, for example of *o*, would become applicable if it has not already applied. Thus, consider *soḍhāmitrasya apatyam* = *sauḍhāmitriḥ* 'Sauḍhāmitri, an offspring of Sauḍhāmitra', where 7.1.117 *taddhiteṣv acām* . . . accomplishes the *vṛddhi* replacement of *o*.

The derivational details of *udavoḍhām* and *udavoḍham* clearly indicate that a *lakṣaṇa* 'rule' applies only once in a *lakṣya* 'goal, derivate'. It is for this reason that a *vṛddhi* marked with *halanta* 'final consonant' is applied first. What follows it is the replacement in *o* (*otva*) conditioned by deletion of *ḍh* (*ḍhalopa*). Thus, we do not get the application of *vṛddhi* again.

7.2.4 नेटि

neṭi
/ *na* ϕ *iṭi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* #2 *halantānām* #3)
iḍādau sici halantasyāṅgasya vṛddhir na bhavati
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* does not come in place of the vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in a consonant when an *iṬ*-initial *sIC*, followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

adevīt '. . . sported . . .'
asevīt ' . . . sewed . . . '
akoṣīt ' . . . resolved . . . '
amoṣīt ' . . . stole . . . '

1. An *aṅga* which ends in a consonant does not go through *vṛddhi* when an *iṬ*-initial *sIC* follows. This rule negates what could be called an over-application (*ativyāpti*) of the preceding rule. The penultimate replacement in *guṇa* of 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* applies, instead, in deriving *asevīt*, *akoṣīt* and *amoṣīt*. Other derivational details, i.e., deletion of *i* of *tiP* (3.4.99 *itaś ca*), augment *aṬ* (3.4.98 *luṅlaṅlṛṅ* . . .), and introduction of *īṬ* (7.3.96

astisico' apṛkte), are similar to *alāvīt*, etc. Refer to the appendix under rule 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī* for full derivational details.

Note that a verbal root having gone through a *guṇa*-replacement in *e*, followed by a replacement in *av* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*), can produce a consonant-final *aṅga* before *sIC*. Why do we have to negate this *vṛddhi* when an internally conditioned *guṇa* will block it. Is this negation meant for situations where *vṛddhi* may obtain subsequently? No. It is because of this formulation (*ārambhasāmarthya*) that internal *guṇa* will be blocked by *vṛddhi* (7.2.3 *vadavraja* . . .). This rule will then negate *vṛddhi* which obtains against internal *guṇa*. A replacement application of the short penultimate *guṇa* (*laghūpadhaguṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) will then follow this negation.

7.2.5 ह्म्यन्तक्षणश्वसजागृणिश्व्येदिताम्

hmyantakṣaṇaśvasajāgṛṇiśvyeditām
/ *hmyanta-kṣaṇa-śvasa-jāgṛ-ṇi-śvi-editām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *hmyantaḥ* = *h ca m ca y ca* = *hmyaḥ*; *hmyo' nte yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *edit* = *ed it yasya* (*bv.*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* #1 *neṭi* #4)
hakārāntānāṃ makārāntānām yakārāntānām aṅgānāṃ '*kṣaṇa, śvasa, ṇi, śvi*' *ity eteṣām editāṃ ca iḍādau sici parasmaipade parato vṛddhir na bhavati*
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* does not come in place of the vowel of an *aṅga* which (*i*) ends in *h*, *m*, *y*; or (*ii*) is constituted by *kṣaṇA* 'to harm', *śvasA* 'to breathe' and *jāgṛ* 'to remain awake'; or (*iv*) ends in the causative affix *ṆiC*; or is constituted by *śvi* 'to move, grow', or else, is marked with *e* as an *it*, when an *iṬ*-initial *sIC*, followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

agrahīt '. . . seized . . .'
asyamīt '. . . made noise . . .'
avyayīt '. . . spend . . .'
avamīt '. . . threw up . . .'
akṣaṇīt '. . . harmed . . .'
aśvasīt '. . . breathed . . .'
ajāgarīt '. . . remained awake . . .'
aunayīt '. . . abandoned . . .'
ailayīt '. . . inspired . . .'
aśvayīt '. . . moved . . .'
rage/ aragīt '. . . laughed . . .'
kakhe / akakhīt '. . . laughed . . .'

1. Note that the genitive singular of *aṅgasya* is here transformed into plural because of the contextual requirement of *hmyanta-kṣaṇa-śvasa-jāgṛ-ṇi-*

śvi-editām. This rather long specification with *hyamanta-kṣaṇa . . . editām* is interpreted as an *itaretara-dvandva* compound with internal *bahuvrīhi*, itself containing an internal *itaretara-dvandva*. Thus, we first form a *dvandva* paraphrased as *h ca m ca y ca = hmyaḥ* '*h*, and *m*, and *y*'. We then form a *bahuvrīhi* with *anta* 'end', paraphrased as: *hmyo' nte yeṣāṃ te = hmyantāḥ* 'those at the end of which are *h*, *m* and *y*'. Now we form the final *itaretara-dvandva*, paraphrased as: *hmyantāś ca kṣaṇ ca śvas ca jāgṛ ca ṇiś ca śviś ca edic ca = hmyanta-kṣaṇa-śvasa-jāgṛ-ṇiśvyeditaḥ, teṣām*. Of course, *et-it* → *edit* 'that which has its *e* termed an *it*', itself, is a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

2. Note that *jāgṛ*, *śvi* and roots which end in *ṆiC* qualify for *vṛddhi* (7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ* . . .) which here gets negated (also cf. 7.2.4 *neṭi*). The rest of the roots are subject to optional *vṛddhi* of 7.2.7 *ato halāder laghoḥ*. This rule negates that optional *vṛddhi*. Here again an internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) *guṇa* should not apply. For, this *vṛddhi* could then not find its scope of application, ever, before *sIC*. If *guṇa* is applied first, *ṇi* and *śvi* need not be specified here. Since they will yield a form ending in *y* after *guṇa*, anyway, as a result of application of a subsequent replacement in *ay*. The *vṛddhi* can then be negated on the basis of the final *y*. Why then state them individually in this rule? This, in turn, indicates that an internally conditioned *guṇa* is not applied before *sIC*.

Why is *jāgṛ* stated here? For, 7.3.85 *jāgro' viciṇṇa* . . . specifies *guṇa* for its *ṛ*, as an exception to the *vṛddhi* of 7.2.115 *aco' ñiti*. An internally conditioned *guṇa* will block the *vṛddhi* of this rule, in a manner similar to the earlier *vṛddhi*. But this view is not correct. For, the *vṛddhi* which may obtain from 7.2.2 *ato lrāntasya*, subsequent upon application of *guṇa*, is also negated here. But don't you think that a provision of *guṇa* should itself be enough to indicate that any future *vṛddhi*, before *CiṆ* (3.1.60 *cleś ciṇ*) and *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ* . . .), will be negated? Is it not the case in *jāgarayati* '. . . remains awake', where *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* does not apply. Why then state *jāgṛ*? It is stated for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). This specification of *jāgṛ* anticipates a particular order of rule application. Thus, given *jāgṛ* + *iṬ* + *sIC* + *īt*, we find a replacement in *yaṆ* applicable to *ṛ*. This *yaṆ* is blocked by replacement in *guṇa* of 7.3.84 *sārvadhādhukārdhadhātukayoḥ* . . . , an exception. The *vṛddhi*-replacement of 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ* . . . blocks this *guṇa*. But the *guṇa* of 7.3.85 *jāgro' viciṇṇa* . . . succeeds in blocking this *vṛddhi*. It is after this that the *vṛddhi* of 7.2.3 *vadavraja* . . . becomes applicable. But it is negated by 7.3.4 *neṭi*. But 7.2.7 *ato halāder* . . . renders this negation of 7.3.4 *neṭi*, optional. The problem is: the obligatory *vṛddhi* of 7.4.2 *ato lrāntasya* could still apply. Rule 7.2.6 *ūrṇoter* . . . then offers the present negation. The following verse summarizes availability, blocking, negation, option and negation, of *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*, as they obtain:

guṇo vṛddhir guṇo vṛddhiḥ pratiṣedho vikalpanam/
punar vṛddhir niṣedho' to yaṇpūrvāḥ prāptayo nava//

'*guṇa, vṛddhi, guṇa, vṛddhi, viklpana* 'option', *vṛddhi* again, negation, and *guṇa* before replacement in *yaṆ*, these nine are applicational possibilities'.

2. Consider *agrahīt, ayasmīt, avamīt* and *avyayīt* which are *LUṄ*-derivates of *grah* 'to seize', *syam* 'to sound, cry' and *ṬUvam* 'to vomit'. This rule negates *vṛddhi* before a *sIC* affix beginning with *iṬ*, of course, when a *parasmaipada* affix follows. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dheṭśvyoḥ* for derivational details of *aśvayīt*. Deriving *aunayīt* and *ailayīt* from *ūnA* and *ilA*, both ending in *ṆiC*, should pose no problem. Derivates of *ragE* and *kakhE*, i.e., *aragīt* and *akakhīt*, get their replacements in *vṛddhi* negated on the basis of their *E* as an *it*.

7.2.6 ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा

ūrṇoter vibhāṣā
/*ūrṇoteḥ* 6/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* #1 *neṭi* #4)
ūrṇāter iḍādau sici parasmaipade parato vibhāṣā vṛddhir na bhavati
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* does not, optionally, come in place of the vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *ūrṇuÑ*, when an *iṬ*-initial *sIC* followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows.

EXAMPLES:

praurṇavīt '. . . covered properly . . .'
praurṇāvīt 'ibidem'
praurṇuvīt 'ibidem'

1. This rule negates *vṛddhi*, optionally, in case of an *aṅga* constituted by *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover'. The condition of an *iṬ*-initial *sIC*, followed by a *parasmaipada* affix, still remains valid. The obligatory *vṛddhi* of 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ* . . . is here negated, optionally. We will thus get *pra-ūrṇu* + *LUṄ* → *praurṇavīt*, through replacement in *guṇa*, and a subsequent replacement of *o* with *av*, when option of *vṛddhi* is not accepted. An option of *vṛddhi* will yield *praurṇāvīt*, through *vṛddhi* and a replacement in *au*→*āv*. But since 1.2.3 *vibhāṣorṇoḥ* offers an optional status of *Ṅit*, *vṛddhi* and *guṇa*-derivates will become optional to *uvAṄ*. Thus, we get *praurṇuvīt*. Incidentally, *a* of *pra*, and *ā* of *āṬ* (6.1.87 *āṭaś ca*), get replaced with a single replacement in the *vṛddhi* vowel *au* (6.1.85 *vṛddhir eci*).

7.2.7 अतो हलादेर्लघोः

ato halāder laghoḥ
/*ataḥ* 6/1 *halādeḥ* 6/1 = *hal ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *laghoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu* #1 *neṭi* #4 *vibhāṣa* #6)

halāder aṅgasya laghor akārasya iḍādau sici parasmaipade parato vibhāṣā vṛddhir na bhavati

A short *a* termed *laghu* 'light' (*hrasvaṃ laghu*) of an *aṅga* beginning with a consonant (*haL*) is optionally not replaced with a corresponding *vṛddhi* vowel when an *iṬ*-initial *sIC*, followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

akaṇīt '. . . moved . . .'
akāṇīt 'ibidem'
araṇīt '. . . fought . . .'
arāṇīt 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers an optional negation of *vṛddhi* to the light (1.4.10 *hrasvaṃlaghu*; short) *a* of a consonant-initial *aṅga*. This option is offered against obligatory negation of 7.2.4 *neṭi*. That this optional negation applies to an *a* is made clear by counter-examples such as *adevīt* and *asevīt* where *div* and *siv* have an *i*. The negation of *vṛddhi* thus stays intact. If *aT* was not stated in this rule, we would have carried *acaḥ*, via *anuvṛtti* (7.2.3 *vadavraja* . . .). For, in its absence, and thus in the absence of a clear specification of a substituendum of this *vṛddhi*, a short *iK* alone would have qualified for *vṛddhi* (1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*). A *vṛddhi* which is ordered without any specification of its substituendum (*sthānī*) is generally known as one characterized with *iK* (*iglakṣaṇā*). Recall, in this connection, that a *vṛddhi* which is characterized with *iK* (*iglakṣaṇā*), alone, comes within the scope of negation of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. For, *ikaḥ* is carried over there, via *anuvṛtti*. A *vṛddhi* characterized with *acaḥ*, and especially because of the specification of its substituendum (*sthānī*), would thus not come within the negative scope of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. This may not block optional *vṛddhi* provision of *ni-aṬ-kuṭ* + *LUṄ* → *nyakuṭīt* '. . . moved crookedly . . .' and *ni-aṬ-puṭ* + *LUṄ* → *nyapuṭīt* '. . . embraced . . .' (1.2.1 *gāṅkuṭādi* . . .). It is to remove these difficulties that *ataḥ* is specified in this rule.

The condition of *halādi* 'that which has a consonant at its beginning' facilitates obligatory negation of *vṛddhi*. The option of this rule is not available because *aṭ* 'to move' and *aś* 'to eat' are roots which begin with a vowel (*ajādi*). We thus get an obligatory negation in *LIṄ*-derivates of these roots in *mā bhavān aśīt* and *mā bhavān aṭīt*.

The condition of *laghu* is required so that this option is not available to *atakṣīt* '. . . planed . . .' and *arakṣīt* '. . . protected . . .' where *a* before *kṣ*, a conjunct, can no longer be termed *laghu*. It must be termed *guru* 'heavy' because it occurs before a conjunct (*saṃyoga*; 1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*).

Why is this option not made availavle to the *a* of *acakāsīt* '. . . glowed . . .'? Because the short *a* before *sIC* remains intervened, not just by the conso-

nant *k* but also by *ā*. Note that *iḍādau sici* 'when an *iṬ*-initial *sIC* follows' is not used here as a qualifier to the *aṅga*. It, instead, is used as a qualifier to *laghor ataḥ* 'of an *a* termed *laghu*'. Now consider the interpretive provision of *yena nāvyavadhānaṃ tena vyavahite' pi vacanaprāmāṇyāt*, whereby an intervention which does not result into non-intervention is allowed as intervention for operational purposes. An intervention of a consonant is acceptable at the strength of this statement. The intervention of a vowel is not acceptable. The *a* which occurs after *c* in *acakāsīt*, etc., does not go through a replacement in *vṛddhi* because intervention of *k*, a consonant, is acceptable but the intervention of *ā* before *sIC* is not. The optional negation of *vṛddhi* is thus not allowed. The negation thus becomes obligatory.

Why can we not accept the limit of such interventions to a single sound, and not to more than one. This will then block optional negation, for example in *aṬ* + *takṣ* + *LUṄ* → *atakṣīt*, etc., where more than one sound segments intervene. We thus do not need a specification with *laghoḥ*. If this is to be accepted then *laghoḥ* is used here for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

Finally, this rule applies only when *iṬ* is followed by *sIC*. Consider *aṬ* + *pac* + *sIC* + *ī* + *t* → *apākṣīt*, where *iṬ* does not occur before *sIC*. This optional negation will thus not be allowed here.

7.2.8 नेड् वशि कृति

neḍ vaśi kṛti
/*na* ϕ *iṭ* 1/1 *vaśi* 7/1 *kṛti* 7/1/
vaśādau kṛti pratyaye parata iḍ āgamo na bhavati
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced relative to an *aṅga* when a *kṛt* affix which begins with a sound denoted by *vaŚ* (*Śs.* 5-9) follows.

EXAMPLES:

īśvaraḥ 'lord, master'
dīpraḥ 'burning, glowing'
bhasma 'ash'

1. This rule negates introduction of augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*) to an *aṅga* when a *kṛt* affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaŚ* (*Śs.* 5-10) follows. This section of rules thus constitutes prior exception (*purastāpavāda*) to the section of rules dealing with introduction of *iṬ*. Consider *īśvara* where 3.2.175 *stheśabhāsa* . . . introduces the *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affix *varaC* after *īśA* 'to govern'. Derivates of *īśA*, i.e., *īśitā* and *īśitum*, are allowed *iṬ* before affixes *tṛC* and *tumuN*. This same is also applicable to *dīpitā* and *dīpitum*. But consider *dīpra* where 3.2.167 *namikampi* . . . introduces the *kṛt* affix *ra* after *dīp* 'to shine, glow'. Augment *iṬ* must be blocked here since *ra* begins with a sound denoted by *vaŚ*. We

will similarly get *bhasitā* and *bhasitum* from *bhas* + *tṛC* and *bhas* + *tumUN* with *iṬ*. However, *bhasma*, a derivate of *manIN* (3.2.75 *anyebhyo' pi* . . .) must be denied *iṬ*. A derivate of *naṄ* (3.3.90 *yajayāca* . . .), introduced with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' after *yāc* 'to beg', yields *yācñā* 'begging' in the feminine with *ṬāP*, with no *iṬ* but through a replacement in *ñ* for *n* (*cutva*; 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). This negation of *iṬ*, however, does not apply in deriving *yāc* + *iṬ* + *tṛC* → *yācitā* and *yāc* + *iṬ* + *tumUN* → *yācitum*.

2. *Kāśikā* states that *iṬ* is blocked before an affix beginning with *va*, *ra*, *ma* and *na*. It then adds that this statement should be interpreted as made with reference to illustrations on hand. This, in no way, should be accepted as an effort toward enumerating the totality of contexts where *iṬ* is blocked (*Kāś*: *varamanādau ity udāharaṇapradarśanārtham, na parigaṇanam*). For, there are other contexts where negation of *iṬ* is valid. Consider *daṇḍa*, a derivate of the *Uṇādi* (I:113: *ñamantāḍ ḍaḥ*) affix *ḍa*, introduced after *dam*. There is no *iṬ* here, though *ḍa* begins with a sound denoted by *vaŚ*. If one argues that this lack of *iṬ* can be accounted for by *bahulam* of 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*, then this statement of *Kāśikā* can be treated as an effort toward exactly defining the scope of *vaŚ* with possible examples.

There are hardly any *kṛt* affixes which begin with something other than *v*, *r*, *m*, and *n*. The *kṛt* affixes which begin with *vaŚ* are: *vanIP*, *KvanIP*, *ṄvanIP*; *varaC* and *KvaraC*; *KvasU*; *Kru*, *KlukAN*, *manIN*, *KmaraC*, *naṄ*, *naN*, *najIṄ*, and *Knu*.

Why do we need the condition of *kṛti*? So that we do not introduce an *iṬ* where a non-*kṛt* affix, for example a *tiṄ*, follows. Thus, consider *rudiva* and *rudima*, first personal active dual and plural perfect forms of *rud* 'to cry' where *iṬ* is introduced before *vas* and *mas* (7.2.76 *rudādibhyaḥ sārvadhātuke*). Some texts of *Kāśikā* mention *rurudiva* and *rurudima* as counter-examples to the condition of *kṛti*. This, according to Haradatta, is not correct (*PM*: *kvacid rurudiva, rurudimeti liṭi paṭhyante, tad ayuktam*). For, their *iṬ* is already valid in view of the enumeration beginning with *kṛ* (*krādiniyama*; 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛvṛ* . . .).

3. Recall that a negative provision is made in view of some positive provision already on hand (*prāptipūrvako niṣedhaḥ*). But this is not what we find here. Refer to notes under 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛ*. . . .

7.2.9 तितुत्रतथसिसुसरकसेषु च

titutratathasisusarakaseṣu ca

/ *ti-tu-tra-ta-tha-si-su-sara-ka-seṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *ca* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neḍ kṛti* #8)

'*ti, tu, tra, ta, tha, si, su, sara, ka, sa*' *ity eteṣu kṛtsu iḍ āgamo na bhavati*

Augment *iṬ* is also not introduced relative to an *aṅga* when *kṛt* affixes, namely *ti*, *tu*, *tra*, *ta*, *tha*, *si*, *su*, *sara*, *ka*, and *sa* follow.

EXAMPLES:

tantiḥ (*KtiC*) 'spread'
dīptiḥ (*KtiN*) 'glow'
saktuḥ (*tuN*; *Uṇ.* I:70 *sitanigami* . . .)
'parched gram-flour'
patram (*ṢtraN*; 3.3.182 *dāmnīśa* . . .) 'carriage'
tantram (*ṢtraN*; *Uṇ.* IV:158) 'principal'
hastaḥ (*ta*; *Uṇ.* III:80 *hasimṛgr* . . .) 'hand'
kuṣṭham (*tha*; *Uṇ.* II.2 *hanikuṣi* . . .) 'leprosy'
kukṣiḥ (*ksi*; *Uṇ.* III.155 *pluṣiśuṣi* . . .) 'belly, lap'
ikṣuḥ (*ksu*; *Uṇ.* III.157 *suk ca iṣeḥ*) 'sugar-cane'
akṣaram (*saraN*; *Uṇ.* III.70 *aśeḥ saran*)
'that which does not decay'
śalkaḥ (*kaN*; *Uṇ.* III.43 *iṇbhīkā* . . .) 'bark, chip'
vatsaḥ (*sa*; *Uṇ.* III.62 *vṛtṛ* . . .) 'calf'

1. This rule enumerates a set of ten *kṛt* affixes which cannot be covered by the *vaśādi* 'that which has a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaŚ* at the beginning' condition of the preceding rule, but which may cause negation of *iṬ*. This negation of *iṬ* is made against the positive provision of 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. Affix *ti* generally refers here to both *KtiC* (3.3.174 *kticktau ca saṃjñāyām*) and *KtiN* (3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*). It, mostly because of the specification of *kṛti*, excludes any reference to *tiP*, eventhough used with *P* as a single *it*-element. Thus, we get *tan* + *KtiC* = *tanti* and *dīp* + *KtiN* → *dīpti*. Note that most examples are derived with the *Uṇādi* affixes. A non-*kṛt* affix, for example *ti*, as in *roditi* and *svapiti*, cannot be denied *iṬ*.

A *vārttika* proposal extends *iṬ* to derivates of *grah* 'to seize', and its like, when *ti*, *tu* and *tri* follow. Thus, *nigṛhītiḥ* 'restraint, check', *upasnihitiḥ* 'watering, soaking', *nikucitiḥ* 'contraction', etc. This listing of the *grahādi* class refers to roots which allow *iṬ* before *KtiN*.

7.2.10 एकाच उपदेशेऽनुदात्तात्

ekāc upadeśe' nudāttāt
/*ekāc* 1/1 = *eko' c yasmin* (*bv.*); *upadeśe* 7/1 *anudāttāt* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭ* #8)
upadeśe ya ekāc dhātur anudāttaś ca tasmād iḍ āgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced to a verbal root termed *aṅga*, which, at the time of *upadeśa*, consists of one vowel (*ekāc*) and is marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

cetā 'he who will heap, gather'
stotā 'he who will praise'

taritā 'he who will go across'
lavitā 'he who will cut'
pavitā 'he who will cleanse'

1. It has been stated that *upadeśa* means *ādyoccāraṇa* 'initial citation'. To determine what roots are *ekāc* 'consisting of a single vowel; monosyllabic' is not difficult. However, it is hard to determine what roots are marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*.

2. Commentators have presented a detailed enumeration of roots which may be marked for introduction of augment *iṬ*. Consider the following *kārikā* verses:

aniṭsvarānto bhavatīti dṛśyatām
imāṃs tu seṭaḥ pravadanti tadvidaḥ/
'a root which ends in a vowel may generally be considered as non-*iṭ*; experts of *seṭ* and *aniṭ* roots, however, consider the following as used with *iṭ* (*seṭ*):

adantamṝdantamṛtāṃ ca vṛṅvṛñau
śviḍīṅivarṇeṣv atha śīṅśriñav api/
'(*i*) those which end in a short *a*;
(*ii*) those which end in a long *ṝ*;
(*iii*) *vṛṄ* and *vṛÑ* which end in a short *ṛ*;
(*iv*) those which end in *i*, for example, *śvi* 'to move, grow', *ḍīṄ* 'to fly', and also *ŚīṄ* 'to sleep' and *śriÑ* 'to serve';'

gaṇastham ūdantam utāṃ ca rusnuvau
kṣuvaṃ tathorṇotimatho yuṇukṣṇavaḥ/
iti svarānto nipuṇaṃ samuccitāḥ
tato halantān api sannibodhataḥ//
'(*v*) of roots listed in groups (*gaṇa*) *lūÑ* 'to cut' and *pūÑ* 'to cleanse, purify' are used with *i*, from among those terminating in a long *ū*;
(*vi*) those which end in a short *u* are: *ru* 'noise', *snu* 'flow', *kṣu* 'noise', *ūrṇuÑ* 'cover', *yu* 'mix', *ṇu* 'praise', *kṣu* 'sharpen'.'

The preceding roots which all end in vowels are enumerated here with care. Those which end in a consonant are to be comprehended hereafter:

śakis tu kānteṣv aniḍ eka iṣyate
ghasiś ca sānteṣu vasiḥ prasāraṇī/
rabhis tu bhānteṣv atha maithune yabhis
tatas tṛtīyo labhir eva netare//
'(*i*) only *śakI* 'strong', of those which end in *k*, is desired to be classed as non-*iṭ*;
(*ii*) of those which end in *s*, *ghasI* 'to eat' (an independent root; not a replacement of *ad* 'to consume') and *vas* 'to dwell' which goes through *samprasāraṇa*, are non-*iṭ*;

(*iii*) among those which end in *bh*, *rabhI*, *yabhI*, with the signification of *maithuna* 'sexual intercourse', and *labhI* 'to gain', these three, and not any other, are classed as non-*iṭ*;'

yamir yamanteṣv aniḍ eka iṣyate
ramiś ca yaś ca śyani paṭhyate maniḥ/
namiś caturtho, hanir eva pañcamo
gamiś ca ṣaṣṭhaḥ pratiṣedhavācinām//

'(*iv*) the *ācāryas* who desire negation of *iṭ* enumerate these six roots ending in sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaM* (*Śs*.7): (1) *yam*, *ram*, *man* 'to know', a *divādi* root used with *ŚyaN*, *nam* 'bend', *han* 'to kill' and *gam* 'to go';'

dihir duhir mehati rohatī vahir
nahis tu ṣaṣṭho dahatis tathā lihiḥ/
ime' niṭo' ṣṭāv iha muktasaṃśayā
gaṇeṣu hāntāḥ pravibhajya kīrtitāḥ//

'(*v*) *dih* 'to grow', *duh* 'to milk', *mih* 'to water, sprinkle', *ruh* 'to grow', *vah* 'to carry', *nah* 'to tie', *dah* 'to burn', and *lih* 'to lick', these eight which are listed in groups as ending in *ha*, are here, without any doubt, enumerated as non-*iṭ*.'

Why *muktasaṃśayā* 'without any doubt'? Because there is a set of four roots which creates doubts: *sahA* 'to endure' which is optionally stated to be used with *iṬ* before an affix beginning with *t* (7.2.48 *tīṣasaha* . . .); *muh* 'to be confused', *radhādi* root, which also gets optional *iṭ* (7.2.45 *radhādibhyaś ca*); *rih* and *lih*, nobody knows whether these two even exist:

diśiṃ dṛśiṃ daṃśimatho mṛśiṃ spṛśiṃ
riśiṃ ruśiṃ krośatim aṣṭamaṃ viśim/
liśaṃ ca śāntān aniṭaḥ purāṇagāḥ
paṭhanti pāṭheṣu daśaiva netarān//

'(*vi*) grammarians only consider these following ten roots which end in *ś* and are classed as non-*iṭ*: *diś* 'to direct', *dṛś* 'to see', *daś* 'to bite', *mṛś* 'to rub', *spṛś* 'to touch', *riś* and *ruś* 'to harm', *kruś* 'to call, cry', *viś* 'to enter', and *liś* 'to lessen';'

rudhiḥ sarādhir yudhibandhisādhayaḥ
krudhikṣudhī śudhyatibudhyatī vyadhiḥ/
ime tu dhāntā daśa ye' niṭo matās
tataḥ paraṃ sidhyatir eva netare//

'(*vii*) *rādh* 'to accomplish', along with *rudh* 'to obstruct', *yudh* 'to attack', *bandh* 'to bind', *sādh* 'to accomplish', *krudh* 'to be angry', *kṣudh* 'to be hungry', *śudh* 'to be clean', *budh* 'to know' and *vyadh* 'to pierce'—these ten, and none other than *sidh*, an eleventh, are roots which end in *dh* and are classed as non-*iṭ*;'

śiṣiṃ piṣiṃ śuṣyati puṣyati tviṣiṃ
viṣiṃ śliṣim tuṣyati duṣyati dviṣim/
imān daśaivopadiśanty aniḍvidhau
gaṇeṣu ṣāntān kṛṣikarṣatī tathā//

'(*viii*) *śiṣ* 'to distinguish', *piṣ* 'to grind', *śuṣ* 'to dry out', *puṣ* 'to nurture', *tviṣ* 'to glow', *viṣ* 'to sprinkle, to pervade (*viṣLṚ*)', *śliṣ* 'to embrace', *tuṣ* 'to be satisfied', *duṣ* 'to be contaminated', *dviṣ* 'to wish harm to', these ten, and two more, *kṛṣ* 'to draw' and *karṣ* 'to drag', are cited in the group-listings relative to non-*iṭ* operations';'

tapiṃ tipiṃ cāpim atho vapiṃ tvapiṃ
lipiṃ lapiṃ tṛpyati dṛpyati sṛpim/
svareṇa nīcena śapiṃ chupiṃ kṣipiṃ
pratīhi pāntān paṭhitāṃs trayodaśān//

'(*ix*) the following thirteen which all end in *p* have been enumerated as marked with *anudātta*: *tap* 'to be hot', *tip* 'to drip, distil', *āp* 'to pervade', *vap* 'to sow', *svap* 'to sleep', *lip* 'to anoint', *lup* 'to break, pierce', *tṛp* 'to please' (*tudādi*), *dṛp* 'to be happy' (*tudādi*), *sṛp* 'to crawl', *śap* 'to curse', *kṣup* 'to touch', and *kṣip* 'to hurl';'

adiṃ hadiṃ skandibhidicchidikṣudīn
śadiṃ sadiṃ svidyatipadyatī khidim/
tudiṃ nudiṃ vidyati vinta ity api
pratīhi dāntān daśa pañca cāniṭaḥ//

'(*x*) the following, ten plus five = fifteen, all end in *d* and have been enumerated as non-*iṭ*: *ad* 'to consume', *had* 'to excrete waste from bowels', *skand* 'to leap', *bhid* 'to split', *chid* 'to cut', *kṣud* 'to powder', *śad* 'to perish', *sad* 'to sink', *svid* 'to perspire', *pad* 'to go', *khid* 'to be sad', *tud* 'to strike', *nud* 'to inspire', *vid* 'to exist', and *vid* 'to think';'

paciṃ vaciṃ viciricirañjipṛcchatīn
nijiṃ sijiṃ mucibhajibhañjibhṛjjatīn/
tyajiṃ yajiṃ yujirujisañjimajjatīn
bhujiṃ svajiṃ sṛjimṛji viddhy aniṭsvarān//

'(*xi*) the following are to be understood as marked with non-*iṭ* accent: *pac* 'to cook', *vac* 'to speak', *vic* 'to separate', *ric* 'to empty', *rañj* 'to color', *pracch* 'to ask', *nij* 'to cleanse', *sic* 'to sprinkle', *muc* 'to release', *bhaj* 'to serve', *bhañj* 'to break', *bhṛjj* 'to cook', *tyaj* 'to abandon', *yaj* 'to sacrifice', *yuj* 'to join', *ruj* 'to break', *sañj* 'to adhere', *majj* 'to be immersed' and *bhuj* 'to consume', *svaj* 'to embrace', *sṛj* 'to create', and *mṛj* 'to wipe, clean'.'

7.2.11 श्र्युकः किति
śryukaḥ kiti

/śryukaḥ 6/1 = śriś ca uk ca (sam. dv.), tasya; kiti 7/1 = kakāra it yasya (bv.), tasmin/
(aṅgasya #6.4.1 neṭ #8)
'śri' ity etasya ugantānāṃ ca kiti pratyaye parata iḍ āgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced relative to an *aṅga*, namely *śri* 'to resort to, cling', and also to an *aṅga* which ends in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *uK* (*Śs*.1-2), when an affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śritvā 'absolutive *Ktvā*-derivate of *śri*'
śritaḥ 'a derivate of *Kta*'
śritavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'
yutvā 'absolutive *Ktvā*-derivate of *yu* 'to mix''
yutaḥ 'a derivate of *Kta*'
yutavān 'a derivate fo *KtavatU*'
lūtvā 'absolutive *Ktvā*-derivate of *lūÑ* 'to cut''
lūnaḥ 'a derivate of *Kta*'
lūnavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'
vṛtvā 'absolutive *Ktvā*-derivate of *vṛ* 'to choose''
vṛtaḥ 'a derivate of *Kta*'
vṛtavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'
tīrtvā 'absolutive *Ktvā*-derivate of *tṝ* 'to float''
tīrṇaḥ 'a derivate of *Kta*'
tīrṇavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'

1. Note that wherever, in this section, a root is specified with the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), it is to be interpreted as used in the sense of the ablative (*pañcamī*). This enables *iṬ* to be introduced to the affix on hand in consonance with 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*. A negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *iṬ* similarly applies to the affix.

This rule blocks *iṬ* when an affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows *śri* and other bases ending in a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *uK* (*Śs*. 1-2). We thus get *śritvā*, *śritaḥ* and *śritavān* which are derivates of *Ktvā*, *Kta* and *KtavatU*, respectively. Parallel examples for bases ending in *u* are offered as *yutvā*/ *yutaḥ*/ *yutavān*; *lūtvā*/ *lūnaḥ*/ *lūnavān*, etc. Refer to derivational details of *āstīrṇaḥ* (note under 7.1.100 *ṝta id dhātoḥ*) for applications relevant to *tīrṇaḥ*, etc.

That this negation is applicable to *śri*, and roots which end in *uK*, is made clear by allowing *iṬ* to *viditaḥ* of *vid* 'to know'. A similar allowance of *iṬ* is made to *śrayitā*, *śrayitum* and *śrayitavyam* where the condition of *kiti* 'when an affix marked with *K* as an *it*' is not satisfied. All three examples are forms of *śri* derived witrh the non-*kit* affixes *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT*, respectively.

2. Commentators also discuss whether *k* of *kiti* should be accepted as referring to both *g* and *k*. That is, *kiti* should be read as *k̇iti* where the first *k* is *g*, devoiced on account of the following *k*. This question is raised in view of deriving *bhūṣṇuḥ* from *bhū* + *Gsnu*. Or else, *bhū* + *Ksnu*. Refer to notes under 1.1.5 *k̇iti ca* and 4.2.139 *glājisthaś ca ksnuḥ*.

The *k* of *kiti* does not include a reference also to *g* as an *it*. Pāṇini's own formulation of this rule where *śryukaḥ* ends in a *visarga*, indicates it. If *kiti* was intended to be *giti*, the reading of this rule should preferably have been *śryuko giti*. I omit further discussion of this subject for fear of expatiation (*prapañca*). Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

3. Commentators also recommend that *upadeśe* should be carried over to this rule to resolve derivational difficulties faced with forms of roots ending in *r̄*. Consider *tīrṇaḥ* where we get *tir* from *tr̄* 'to be afloat' by replacing *r̄* with *i* followed by *r* (*rapara*). But since *tr̄* ends in *uK* in *upadeśa*, we get the negation of *iṬ*. Some state that it is not necessary since 7.2.41 *iṭ sani vā* can make an optional provision of *iṬ* which can then be negated in the context of *niṣṭhā* suffixes by rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. Why carry *upadeśe*? Why not treat the *ir*-replacement as *r̄*, via *sthānivadbhāva*, thereby meeting the requirement of *uK*. This is not possible because treating *r̄* as *ir*, via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*), will be considered part of *al-vidhi* 'operation relative to a sound segment'. Such a *sthānivadbhāva* will be allowed only when an operation not relative to a sound segment is to be performed.

It is resolved then that *upadeśe* should be carried to block *iṬ* in *tīrṇaḥ*. But this will block *iṬ* also in *jāgaritaḥ* and *jāgaritavān* where *jāgr̥* ends in *uK* in *upadeśa*. We must then carry the *anuvr̥tti* of *ekācaḥ* '. . . consisting of a single vowel' for blocking the negation of augment *iṬ* in *jāgaritaḥ* and *jāgaritavān* where *jāgr̥* consists of more than one vowel. But carrying *ekācaḥ* will not allow negation of *iṬ* in *prorṇutaḥ* / *prorṇutavān*. We must then state *nuvadbhāva* 'treatment as *nu*' of *ūrṇuÑ*. That is, we should split it into *ūr* + *nu*, and then treat it as *nu* by the extensional provision of *nuvadbhāva*. What will be the purpose of doing this? The purposes are: (*i*) to facilitate introduction of affix *yaṄ* after *nu*, a consonant-initial verbal root consisting of a single vowel (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco halāder*. . .); (*ii*) negation of introduction of *ām*, based on *ekāc* 'consisting of a single vowel' status of *nu* via *nuvadbhāva* (3.1.36 *ijādeś ca gurumato' nr̥cchaḥ*); and (*iii*) negation of augment *iṬ* introduced to affixes marked with *K* and *G* as an *it*, on the basis of *ekāc*-status of *ūrṇuÑ*, via *nuvadbhāva* (7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti*). Thus,

> *vācya ūrṇor ṇuvadbhāvo yaṅprasiddhiḥ prayojanam /*
> *āmaś ca pratiṣedhārtham ekācaś ceḍ upagrahāt //*
> '*ūrṇuÑ* should be stated to be *nu* for application of affix *yaṄ*; it is desired for negation of *ām*, and augment *iṬ*, via treating it as consisting of a single vowel (*ekāc*)'

4. Verbal root *ūrṇuÑ* should be stated to have the form *nu*, so that it could meet the requirement of *ekāc* 'single vowel' condition for introduction of affix *yaÑ*. This then is the purpose of accepting *nu* as the form of *urṇUÑ*. It will also enable us to negate application of *ām* in *LIṬ*. For, *nu* will not be a verb which begins with a vowel denoted by *iC* and contains a vowel termed *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*; 3.1.36 *ijādeś ca gurumato' nṛcchaḥ*).

A *vārttika* (ad 3.1.35 *kāspratyaye ām amantre*; *kāsy anekāc vaktavyaḥ*) cannot introduce *ām* since *nu* will not be consisting of more than a single vowel. Since *ūrṇuÑ* is read as *anudātta* in *upadeśa*, we will get the introduction of *iṬ* before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with a consonant denoted by *vaL* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*). Recall here that the *SK* (ad 8.2.46 *kṣiyo dīrghāt*) also mentions two other *vārttikas*: *ūrṇoter ām neti vaktavayḥ* '*ām* should not be stated in connection with *ūrṇoti*'; *ūrṇoter ṇuvadbhāvo vācyaḥ* 'a form of *nu* should be stated for *ūrṇoti*'. The result of the first proposal is anticipated by the second (see *Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*: *ūrṇoter ṇuvadbhāvo vācya iti vakṣyamāṇasya ām abhāvo' pi phalam iti bhāvaḥ*).

The phrase *ekācaś ceḍ upagrahāt* presents the last purpose of *ṇuvadbhāva* of ūrṇuÑ. When verbal root is accepted as *nu* it becomes *ekāC* ending in a vowel denoted by *uK*. Rule 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti* negates augment *iṬ* to an affix which is marked with *K* and *G* as an *it*, and follows verbal root *śīÑ* and other roots consisting of a single vowel. Rule 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe anudāttāt* negates introduction of augment *iṬ* after roots which are marked with *anudātta*. Rule 7.2.11 negates *iṬ* where roots are marked with *udātta*. Verbal root *ūrṇuÑ* is marked with *udātta*. It becomes *ekāC* with its form in *nu*. Augment *iṬ* which may become available to it from 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* is thus blocked. This is also a purpose served by accepting *nu* as the form of *ūrṇuÑ*. Augment *iṬ* can thus be negated in *prorṇutaḥ* and *prorṇutavān*, based on status of *nu* as *ekāc*.

7.2.12 सनि ग्रहगुहोश्च

sani grahaguhoś ca
/*sani* 7/1 *graha-guhoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭ* #8 *ukaḥ* #11)
'*graha, guha*' *ity etayor ugantānāṃ ca sani pratyaye parata iḍ āgamo na bhavati*

Augment *iṬ* is not introduced relative to an *aṅga*, namely *grahA* and *guhA*, and also to an *aṅga* which ends in a vowel denoted by *uK*, when affix *saN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jighṛkṣati '. . . wishes to seize . . .'
jughukṣati '. . . wishes to cover . . .'

rurūṣati '. . . wishes to cry . . .'
lulūḍati '. . . wishes to cut . . .'

1. This rule negates *iṬ* where *grah* 'to seize, hold', *guh* 'to cover', and roots which end in *uK*, are followed by affix *saN* (3.1.7 *dhātoḥ samānakartṛkād*. . .). Refer to derivational details of *jighṛkṣati*, also for deriving *jughukṣati*, under the appendix of 1.2.8 *rudavidamuṣa* . . . (II:431-2). Derivational details of *rurūṣati* and *lulūṣati* are similar to those of *cicīṣati*, under the appendix of 1.2.9 *iko jhal* (II:435).

2. Note that *śri* is not carried over, simply because an optional provision of *iṬ* is made by 7.2.49 *sanīvantardhabhrasj*. . . . Thus, *śri* gets two forms when *saN* follows: one with *iṬ* and the other without. This rule offers negation of *iṬ* to *guhŪ* 'to cover', against the optional provision of rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūti* . . . , based on *Ū* as an *it*. This rule negates *iṬ* of *grah* 'to seize' against an obligatory (*nitya*) provision.

7.2.13 कृसृभृवृस्तुद्रुस्रुश्रुवो लिटि

kṛsṛbhṛvṛstudrusruśruvo liṭi
/ *kṛ-sṛ-bhṛ-vṛ-stu-dru-sru-śruvoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *liṭi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭ* #8)
'*kṛ, sṛ, bhṛ, vṛ, stu, dru, sru, śru*' *ity eteṣāṃ liṭi pratyaya iḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced relative to an *aṅga*, namely *kṛ, sṛ, bhṛ, vṛ, stu, dru, sru*, and *śru*, when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

cakṛva 'first person dual *LIṬ*-derivate of *kṛ*'
cakṛma 'first person plural . . .'
sasṛva 'second person dual *LIṬ*-derivate of *sṛ*'
sasṛma 'first person plural . . .'
babhūva 'first person dual *LIṬ*-derivate of *bhū*'
babhūma 'first person plural . . .'
vavṛva 'first person dual *LIṬ*-derivate of *vṛ*'
vavṛma 'first person plural . . .'
vavṛvahe 'first person dual middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *vṛ*'
vavṛmahe 'first person plural middle . . .'
tuṣṭuva 'first person dual *LIṬ*-derivate of *stu*'
tuṣṭuma 'first person plural . . .'
dudruva 'first person dual *LIṬ*-derivate of *dru*'
dudruma 'first person plural . . .'
susruva 'first person dual *LIṬ*-derivate of *sru*'
susruma 'first person plural . . .'
śuśruva 'first person dual *LIṬ*-derivate of *śru*'
śuśruma 'first person plural . . .'

1. Since *kṛ*, *bhṛ* and *vṛ* are here specified without any elements termed *it* (*anubandha*), they will be able to refer to all of their counterparts similar in form, without any *it*. That is, *kṛ* will refer to both *kṛÑ* 'to harm' and *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to make, do'; *bhṛ* will refer to both *bhṛÑ* 'to provide' and *ḌUbhṛÑ* 'to sustain, nurture'; and *vṛ* will refer to both *vṛṄ* 'honor' and *vṛÑ* 'to choose'.

The first three roots are denied *iṬ* by 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe' nudāttāt*. The fourth, i.e., *vṛ*, is denied *iṬ* by 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti*. Why restate this negation? A provision made against one which already exists is made for restrictive purposes (*siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*). What is the restrictive purpose here (*niyama*)? This negation of *iṬ* before *LIṬ* must apply only when *LIṬ* occurs after these specified roots. That is, a negation of *iṬ* after roots other than those specified here will be canceled. Why can we not interpret this restrictive provision to mean: '*iṬ* is negated after these roots, only when *LIṬ* follows'? Bhīmasen Shastrī (II:161) notes that Pāṇini's own practice of using *kṛte* (4.3.116 *kṛte granthe*), *bhṛtaḥ* (5.1.79 *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto* . . .), *parivṛtaḥ* (4.2.10 *parivṛto rathaḥ*) indicates that such a restrictive provision cannot be accepted.

Now consider *bibhidiva / bibhidima* and *cicchidiva / cicchidima*, both derivates of first person dual and plural *LIṬ* of *bhid* 'to split' and *chid* 'to cut', where 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe* . . . negates *iṬ*. Since our present rule does not include *bhidIR* and *chidIR* which are both marked with *anudātta*, this rule cannot restrict them from receiving *iṬ*. The negation of 7.2.10 *ekāca* . . . will thus be canceled. Note that this negation of 7.2.10 is made on the basis of enumeration of bases (*prakṛtyāśraya*). The negation of 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti* is made on the basis of affixal operation (*pratyayāśraya*). This *niyama* will also apply on *vṛṄ* and *vṛÑ* which are denied *iṬ* by 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti*.

Yet another question: why should we accept *kṛ*, *sṛ*, *bhṛ* and *vṛ*, alone, included here for restrictive purposes. Why not also include *stu*, etc. After all, these are also *anudātta* and they also have the negation of *iṬ* in *LIṬ* of 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe*. . . . It is explained that roots beginning with *stu* are enumerated here for a special purpose. That is, they are included here for negation of optional *iṬ*, made available to *thaL* by 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*. Notice that *kṛ*, *sṛ*, *bhṛ* and *vṛ* do not have that optional *iṬ* made available. Verbal roots *stu*, etc., are enumerated here to block optional *iṬ* made available to *thaL* by 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*. They are also enumerated to block *iṬ* before *va / ma / se / dhve / vahi / mahiṄ*. Consider *tuṣṭuva / tuṣṭuma / tuṣṭuṣe / tuṣṭudhve/ tuṣṭuvahe / tuṣṭumahe* as examples. An inclusion of *stu* 'to praise', *dru* 'to run, move', *sru* 'to move' and *śru* 'to hear' is made here to obligatorily block *iṬ*, everywhere, when *LIṬ* follows them.

2. Note that we get *dhū* + *va* → *dhūva* and *dhū* + *ma* → *dhūma*, where *va* and *ma* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ* . . .) are replacements of *LIṬ*, via *vas* and *mas* (3.4.77 *tiptasjhi* . . .). These replacements are treated as marked with *K* as an *it* (1.2.5 *asaṃyogāl* . . .). This rule consequently negates *iṬ* here. Note, however, that 7.2.44 *svaratisūti* . . . makes an optional provision of *iṬ*. Can

this negation be blocked by this optional *iṬ*? Commentators note that *vipratiṣedha* cannot apply here. For, negation carries more weight. How do we know it? We know it from Pāṇini's practice of offering negation of *iṬ* first. It is generally understood that a negation makes sense only when a positive provision is already made. Pāṇini makes positive provisions of *iṬ* only after making its negative provision. This, in turn, indicates that negation of *iṬ* takes precedence over its positive provision (*SK*: *prati-ṣedhakāṇḍā-rambhasāmarthyāt*. . .). How do we then derive *dudhuviva* and *dudhuvima* where *iṬ* is introduced. This is accomplished by the restrictive provision of 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛ*. . . . How? A provision made in view of an existing negation becomes restrictive on the basis of its own formulation (*ārambhasāmarthyāt*). That is, roots which are listed under this rule are obligatorily denied *iṬ*. Others, which also include *dhū*, are thus allowed *iṬ*. Is *dhū* allowed an optional *iṬ* which was negated earlier. No. This *iṬ* will be obligatory.

3. The negation of this rule, and subsequent application of *iṬ* via its status as a restrictive provision (*niyama*), is traditionally referred to as *krādiniyama*. The purpose of this *niyama* is to negate *iṬ* where *kṛ*, etc., occur before *LIṬ*. Elsewhere, it allows introduction of *iṬ*. Now a question: Where exactly does this assignment of *iṬ* apply? It applies where *iṬ* is negated. But there are two ways this negation of *iṬ* is offered. One, where negative *na* is exactly stated with the rule. Two, where negation of *iṬ* is offered by way of an option. Does this rule offer *iṬ* in both instances where *iṬ* is negated with *na* and where it is negated as an option? Jñānendra Sarasvatī (*Tattvabodhinī* ad *SK*) states that this rule offers *iṬ* against a negation explicitly stated with *na* (*nañāpāditasyaivābhāvasya niyamaḥ*). A negation of *iṬ*, offered by way of an optional provision, is not affected by this rule. For, (*PŚ* 62): *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā* 'application or negation of an operational provision is valid only in most immediate contexts'. This application of *iṬ* will then be made in view of negation of 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe*. . . . The most immediate context of negation here relates to the *na* of 7.2.8 *neḍvaśi kṛti*. This rule cannot have any impact on the optional non-*iṬ* of 7.2.44 *svaratisūti*. . . . For, the *vā* 'option' is far removed from this restrictive (*niyama*) provision. Nāgeśa does not accept this position. He claims that the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 7.2.6 *upadeśe atvataḥ*) clearly indicates otherwise. This *niyama* applies on both instances where negation results out of *na* 'not', or *vā* 'option'. They, for example, accept *jugopitha* as the only correct form. They do not consider *jugoptha* as correct. I have followed Nāgeśa's interpretation since it is closer to the intent of the *Mahābhāṣya*.

7.2.14 श्वीदितो निष्ठायाम्

śvīdito niṣṭhāyām

/*śvīditaḥ* 6/1 = *īt it yasya* (*bv.*) *sa* = *īdit*; *śvic ca īdic ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭ* #8)
śvayater īdiś ca niṣṭhāyām iḍ āgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced relative to a verbal root termed *aṅga*, namely *ṬUOśvi* 'to move, grow', and a verbal root marked with *ī* as *it*, when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

śunaḥ 'a *Kta*-derivate of *ṬUOśvi*'
śūnavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'
lagnaḥ 'a *Kta*-derivate of *OlasjĪ* (to cling)'
lagnavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'
udvignaḥ 'a *Kta*-deriavte of *ud-vij* (to be agitated)'
udvignavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'
dīptaḥ 'a *Kta*-derivate of *dīpL* (to glow)'
dīptavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'

1. Refer to derivational details of *śūnaḥ* and *śunavān* under notes and appendix of 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām kiti*. Derivates of *OlasjĪ*, with *Kta* and *KtavatU*, get their *t* replaced with *n* by 8.2.45 *oditaś ca*. This *n* is treated as *asiddha* (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*) in view of application of 8.2.29 *coḥ kuḥ*, whereby *j* of the root is replaced with *g*. The *s* of the root is deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca*. Other derivates follow similar applications. Now consider *uḍḍīnaḥ* and *uḍḍīnavān*, both derivates of *ḍīṄ* with *Kta* and *KtavatU*. Note that *ḍīṄ* is listed under *svādi*, a class of roots with *O* as an *it* (*odit*). This listing indicates that *iṬ* is not allowed when a *niṣṭhā* affix follows such roots. What will happen if *iṬ* is introduced? It will block the *n*-replacement (*natva*) of *t*. For, *iṬ* will then intervene between the root and the *niṣṭhā* suffix. Thus, *ḍīṄ* should be treated as marked with *O* as an *it*, though it literally is not. Deriving *uḍḍīna* and *uḍḍīnavat*, from *ud* + *ḍī* + (*t* → *n*) *a* and *ud* + *ḍī* + (*t* → *n*) *avat*, involves replacing *d* of the prevarb with *ḍ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).
2. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *niṣṭhāyām* is valid up to 7.2.5 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*.

7.2.15 **यस्य विभाषा**

yasya vibhāṣā
/*yasya* 6/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #14)
yasya dhātor kvacid iḍ uktas tasya niṣṭhāyāṃ parata iḍ āgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced to a verbal root termed *aṅga* relative to which an optional *iṬ* has already been introduced, provided when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vidhūtaḥ 'a *Kta*-derivate of *vi-dhūÑ*'
vidhūtavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'
gūḍhaḥ '*Kta*-derivate of *guhŪ* (to cover)'
gūḍhavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'
vṛddhaḥ 'a *Kta*-derivate of *vṛdh* (to grow)'
vṛddhavān 'a derivate of *KtavatU*'

1. A root which is offered an optional *iṬ*, elsewhere, is hereby denied *iṬ* when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows. Thus, consider 7.2.44 *svaratisūti*. . ., whereby roots specified under this rule are allowed an optional *iṬ*. An optional *iṬ* is also allowed in case of roots which may be marked with *ū* as an *it*, provided the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Ktvā* follows. These optional *iṬ* augments are hereby denied. We thus get *vidhūta* and *vidhūtavat*, from *vi-dhūÑ* + *Kta* and *vi-dhūÑ* + *KtavatU*, with no *iṬ* before these *niṣṭhā* suffixes. Follow derivational details of *ūḍhaḥ* and *ūḍhavān* under notes and appendix of 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*. . ., for deriving *gūḍhaḥ* and *gūḍhavān*. Remember, however, that *guhŪ* 'to cover' does not go through the process of *samprasāraṇa* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*) as *vah* 'to carry' of *ūḍhaḥ* does. Similar applications are also followed in deriving *vṛddha* and *vṛddhavat*, from *vṛdh* + *Kta* and *vṛdh* + *KtvatU*, where *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix is replaced with *dh* (8.2.40 *jhaṣas tathor*. . .). The *dh* of the root is also then replaced with *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*).

2. Some state that *tani*, *pati* and *daridrā* must also be included within the specification of 7.2.49 *sanīvantardha*. . . . This, if accepted, will create problems in deriving *patita*. For, 7.2.49 will offer an optional *iṬ* which, in turn, will be denied by this present rule. It is stated that *patita* can then be derived by introducing *iṬ*, via *nipātana*, in accord with Pāṇini's own usage (2.1.24 *dvitīyā śritātītapatita*. . .).

7.2.16 आदितश्च

āditaś ca
/ *āditaḥ* 6/1 = *āt it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #14)
āditaś ca dhātor niṣṭhāyām iḍ āgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is also not introduced to a verbal root termed *aṅga*, which is marked with *āT* as an *it*, provided when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

minnaḥ 'fat'
minnavān 'grew fat'
kṣviṇṇaḥ 'soft sounding'
kṣviṇṇavān 'sounded soft'

svinnaḥ 'perspiring'
svinnavān 'perspired'
āśvastaḥ 'assured'
vāntaḥ 'vomited'

1. This rule blocks augment *iṬ* after a root which is marked with a long *ā* as an *it*, when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows. Thus, we get *minnaḥ, minnavān; kṣviṇṇaḥ, kṣviṇṇavān* and *svinnaḥ, svinnavān*, etc. Refer to derivational details of *minnaḥ*, etc., under the appendix of 1.3.5 *ādir ñiṭuḍavaḥ*. The *ca* of this rule is used to attract additional roots (*anuktasamuccayārthaḥ*). Thus, consider *āśvastaḥ* and *vāntaḥ*, where *śvas* 'to breathe' and *ṬUvam* 'to emit' are not marked with *ā* as an *it*, but still are denied *iṬ*.

2. It is argued that a single rule should be formulated with this and the following rule as: *āditaś ca vibhāṣā bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*. The *iṬ* which obtains under this *vibhāṣā*, with reference to denotation of something other than *bhāva* and *ādikarman*, i.e., *kartṛ*, etc., will then be negated by 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. It is thus not proper to formulate two separate rules. Commentators state that a separate rule is needed to indicate *yad upādher vibhāṣā tad upādher niṣedhaḥ* 'a negation must be stated with qualifications similar to which an option is stated'. For example, 7.2.86 *vibhāṣā gamahanavidaviśām* allows optional *iṬ* to *gam, han, vid* and *viś*. Verbal root *vid* of this rule, because of its association (*sāhacarya*) with the *tudādi* root *viś*, is interpreted as *tudādi*, used with the signification of *lābha* 'gain'. The negation of 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* must also be applied to *vid* thus qualified. It cannot, for example, apply to *vid* 'to know'. Thus, we get *viditaḥ* and *viditavān* with *iṬ*.

7.2.17 विभाषा भावादिकर्मणोः

vibhāṣā bhāvādikarmaṇoḥ
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *bhāvādikarmaṇoḥ* = *bhāvaś ca ādikarma ca bhāvādikarmaṇī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*;
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #14 *āditaḥ* #16)
bhāve ādikarmaṇi ca ādito dhātor vibhāṣā niṣṭhāyām iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ*, optionally, is not introduced to a verbal root termed an *aṅga*, marked with *ā* as an *it*, when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *ādikarman* 'on-set of, or incipient, action' follows.

EXAMPLES:

minnam anena
meditam anena
praminnaḥ
prameditaḥ

1. This rule negates *iṬ*, optionally, after a root marked with *āT* as an *it*, of course, when a *niṣṭhā* affix denoting *bhāva* and *ādikarman* follows. Thus, we get *minnam* = *minnam anena* and *meditam* = *meditam anena*; and *praminnaḥ* and *prameditaḥ*, where the first two examples denote *bhāva* (*Kta*; 3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*) and the next two *ādikarman* (*Kta*; 3.4.71 *ādikarmai* . . .). A negation of *mid* as marked with *K* (*kit*; 1.2.19 *niṣṭhā śīṅ* . . .) facilitates *guṇa* in *meditam*. The *pra* of the examples is used to explain the denotation of *ādikarman*. The *t* of the affix, and the *d* of the root as well, is replaced with *n* (*natva*; 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto* . . .). This is when optional negation of *iṬ* is not accepted. Accepting the option of introducing *iṬ* also blocks *guṇa*, conditioned by affixal *kit*-status.

2. Followers of Sunāga, i.e., Saunāgas, desire an optional *iṬ* after *śīṄ*, when a *niṣṭhā* affix with the denotation of *karman* follows. Thus, *śakitaḥ* (*ghaṭaḥ kartum*) and *śaktaḥ* (*ghaṭam kartum*) '. . . capable of making a jar'. The Saunāgas, however, do not accept *iṬ* when *bhāva* 'root-sense' is denoted. Thus, *śaktam* (*anena*). This *iṬ* is, however, valid in the context of *as* when *bhāva* is denoted. Thus, *asitam* (*anena*). But not when *ādikarman* is denoted. Thus, *astaḥ kāṇḍaḥ*.

Note here that *śak* is intransitive (*akarmaka*). However, it becomes transitive by way of serving as a qualifier to the denotatum of derivates of *tumUN*. Thus, *ayaṃ yogaḥ śakyo' vaktum* 'this rule is not possible to state' and *ayam arhtaḥ śakyate vaktum* 'this meaning is possible to state'. *Nyāsa* states that the Saunāga options can be accounted for if *vibhāṣā*, without carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *āditaś ca*, is formulated as a separate rule. The second split-rule, i.e., *bhāvādikarmaṇoḥ*, will carry the *anuvṛtti* of *āditaś ca*.

7.2.18 क्षुब्धस्वान्तध्वान्तलग्नम्लिष्टविरिब्धफाण्टबाढानि मन्थमनस्तमःसक्ताविस्पष्ट-स्वरानायासभृशेषु

kṣubdhasvāntadhvāntalagnamliṣṭaviribdhaphāṇṭabāḍhāni manthamanas-tamaḥsaktāvispaṣṭasvarānāyāsabhṛśeṣu

/*kṣubdha-svānta-dhvānta-lagna-mliṣṭa-viribdhi-phāṇṭa-bāḍhāni* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *mantha-manas-tamas-sakta- avispaṣṭa-svara-anāyāsa-bhṛśeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #14)

'*kṣubdha, svānta, dhvānta, lagna, mliṣṭa, viribdha, phāṇṭa, bāḍha*' *ity ete nipātyante yathāsaṃkhyaṃ mantha, manaḥ, tamaḥ, saktaḥ, avispaṣṭa, svara, anāyāsa, bhṛśa*' *ity eteṣv artheṣu*

The words *kṣubdha, svānta, dhvānta, lagna, mliṣṭa, viribdha, phāṇṭa, bāḍha* are derived, via *nipātana*, provided the signification is *mantha, manas, tamas, sakta, avispaṣṭa, svara, anāyāsa*, and *bhṛśa*, respectively.

EXAMPLES:

kṣubdho manthaḥ 'moving . . .; churning stick'

svāntaṃ manaḥ 'unattached mind'
dhvāntaṃ tamaḥ 'darkness'
lagnaṃ saktam 'attached'
mliṣṭam avispaṣṭam 'indistinct'
virabdhiḥ svaraḥ 'a note or tune'
phāṇṭam anāyāsaḥ 'easily extracted; medicinal potion'
bāḍham bhṛśam 'excessive'

1. This is a *nipātana* rule whereby *iṬ* is blocked in deriving *kṣubdha*, etc., when their corresponding denotation is *mantha*, etc. Thus, *kṣubdha* is derived without *iṬ* when the derivate denotes *mantha* 'moving . . .; churning stick'. The meaning of these derivates is not always easy to determine. For example, *phāṇṭa* may denote one of the five forms of medicinal potions prepared with water: *rasa* 'juice', *kalka* 'paste', *śṛta* 'extraction', *śta* 'cold-extraction' and *phāṇṭa* 'hot-extraction'.

7.2.19 धृषिशसी वैयात्ये

dhṛṣiśasī vaiyātye
/dhṛṣi-śasī 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *vaiyātye* 7/1 = *virūpaṃ yātaṃ yasya* = *viyātaḥ*; *viyātasya bhāvo vaiyātyaḥ, tasmin/*
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18)
vaiyātasya bhāvo vaiyātyam, tatra '*dhṛṣ, śas*' *ity etayor niṣṭhāyām iḍ āgamo na bhavati*

Augment *iṬ* is not introduced to an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *dhṛṣ* 'to dare' and *śas* 'to injure, harm', when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows and derivates denote *vaiyātya* 'impudence'.

EXAMPLES:

dhṛṣṭo' yam 'this one is daring'
viśasto' yam 'this one is arrogant'

1. It is argued that the negation of *iṬ* is already made available to *ÑIdhṛṣĀ* by 7.2.16 *āditaś ca*. Verbal root *śasU* is simialrly denied *iṬ* by 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. This negation by 7.2.15 is made against the option of 7.2.56 *udito vā*. Why do we state this negation here? This negation is restrictive in nature. It applies to *dhṛṣ* and *viś* only when derivates denote *vaiyātya* 'impudence'. Elsewhere, for example in *dhṛṣitaḥ* 'overpowered' and *viśasitaḥ* 'mutilated, modified', we do get the introduction of augment *iṬ*. Verbal root *dhṛṣ*, because of its staus as non-*kit*, goes through *guṇa* as usual. *Kāśikā* states that forms of *dhṛṣ* with the denotation of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *ādikarman* 'onset of an action' are impossible. Haradatta questions this claim (*PM*: *evaṃ cāsya āditve prayojanaṃ cintyam*).

7.2.20 दृढः स्थूलबलयोः

dṛḍhaḥ sthūlabalayoḥ
/dṛḍhaḥ 1/1 *sthūla-balayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ/*
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18)
'*dṛḍha*' *ity nipātyate, sthūle balavati cārthe*
The word *dṛḍha* is derived, via *nipātana*, when the derivate denotes *sthūla* 'stout, huge' and *bala* 'strong'.

EXAMPLES:

dṛḍhaḥ = *sthūlaḥ* 'huge, stout'
dṛḍhaḥ = *balavān* 'strong'

1. This, again, is a *nipātana* rule. Thus, *dṛḍha* is derived from *dṛṃh* + *Kta*, where deletion of *h*, and its preceding nasal, and replacement with *ḍh*, for *t* of *Kta* as well, is accomplished via *nipātana*. Note that this form can also be derived with *dṛh* as the verb. In this case, we do not have to delete the nasal, via *nipātana*.

Why can we not just replace *h* with *ḍh*, via *nipātana*, and then delete *ḍh* subsequently by 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*. This is not acceptable. For, this deletion of *ḍh* will become *asiddha* (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*) in view of application of *ra*, as a replacement (6.4.161 *ra ṛto* . . .) for *ṛ* in deriving *draḍhimā* and *draḍhīyān*. The *ra*-replacement will thus be blocked. A replacement in *ay*, for *Ṅi* of 6.4.54 *lyapi laghupūrvāt*, will be similarly blocked in deriving *paridṛḍhayya* (*gataḥ*). This will also make affix *ṢyaÑ* (4.1.78 *aṇiñor anārṣayor gurūpottamayoḥ*) applicable in deriving *paridṛḍhī*, parallel to *paridṛḍhasyāpatyaṃ kanyā* 'female offspring of Paridṛḍha'.

The condition of *sthūlabalayoḥ* is imposed so that, elsewhere, we can get forms with *iṬ*. Thus, *dṛṃhitam* and *dṛhitam*, depending on whether the root is read with a nasal.

7.2.21 प्रभौ परिवृढः

prabhau parivṛḍhaḥ
/prabhau 7/1 *parivṛḍhaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18)
'*parivṛḍhaḥ*' *iti nipātyate prabhuś ced bhavati*
The word *parivṛḍha* is derived, via *nipātana*, provided the derivate denotes *prabhu* 'lord, master'.

EXAMPLES:

parivṛḍhaḥ (*kuṭumbī*) 'head of the clan'
parivṛḍhayya (*gataḥ*) 'he left after owning'
pārivṛḍhī (*kanyā*) 'a girl received in marriage'

1. There are two roots involved: *bṛṃh* and *bṛhI* 'to grow'. This *nipātana* is

similar to that of *dṛḍhaḥ* of the previous rule. Deletion of *ḍh* and a conflict with 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* constitute the basis for *nipātana*.

Notice that *parivṛḍhayya* is formed with *LyaP*. Affix *ṆiC* is introduced after *vṛḍh*, subsequent to which affix *Ktvā* is introduced after *vraḍhi*. A compound is then formed with *pari*, subsequent to which *Ktvā* is replaced with *LyaP*. If *ṆiC* were to be introduced after *parivṛḍh*, we will find accentual problems in *parivṛḍhayati*. Rule 8.2.28 *tiṅṅatiṅaḥ* assigns *nighāta* to a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*, used in combination after one which does not. Introducing *ṆiC* after *parivṛḍh* necessarily accepts *pari* as part of the *tiṄ*-form *parivṛḍhayati*. For proper accent, we must have *pari* not included as part of *vṛḍhayati*, a *pada* ending in a *tiṄ*. This is the reason why *ṆiC* (and *Ktvā*) are introduced after *vṛṃhI* (*vṛhI*). Refer to derivational details in the appendix.

Derivates outside the meaning of *prabhu* 'lord' will be: *parivṛṃhitam* 'prosperous' and *parivṛhitam*, with *iṬ* and no deletion.

7.2.22 कृच्छ्रगहनयोः कषः

kṛcchragahanayoḥ kaṣaḥ

/*kṛcchra-gahanayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) *kaṣaḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18)

'*kṛcchra, gahana*' *ity etayor arthayoḥ kaṣer dhātor niṣṭhāyām iḍ āgamo na bhavati*

Augment *iṬ* is not introduced relative to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *kaṣ*, when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows, and the derivate signifies *kṛcchra* 'suffering, misery' and *gahana* 'deep'.

EXAMPLES:

kaṣṭo' gniḥ '(heaping the ritual) fire is painful'
kaṣṭo vyākaraṇam 'study of grammar is painful'
kaṣṭāni vanāni 'forests are painful . . .'
kaṣṭāḥ parvatāḥ 'mountains are painful . . .'

1. An *iṬ* is not introduced when a *niṣṭhā* affix follows verbal root *kaṣ*, and the derivate denotes *kṛcchra* 'difficult' and *gahana* 'deep, impenetrable'. A lack of proper understanding of *iḍāgamādivyavasthā* 'process of *iṬ*-augmentation, etc.' can turn into a nightmare for a student of grammar. Not knowing how to heap a ritual fire can also turn into pain for a student of ritual sacrifices (*PM*: *cīyamāno' gnir atra . . . cayanaprakārasya durjñānatvāt kaṣṭo bhavati. vyākaraṇasya kaṣṭatvam iḍāgamādivyavasthāyā durjñānatvāt*). It is the source of *kaṣṭa* which is denoted literally, or figuratively, as *kṛcchra* and *gahana*. We will get *iṬ* outside these two meanings. Thus, *kaṣitaṃ suvarṇam* 'tested (on the touchstone) gold'.

7.2.23 घुषिरविशब्दने

ghuṣir aviśabdane

/*ghuṣiḥ* 1/1 *aviśabdane* 7/1 = *na viśabdanam* (*nañ.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18)
ghuṣer dhātor aviśabdane' rthe niṣṭhāyām iḍ āgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced relative to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *ghuṣI*, when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows, and the derivate signifies *aviśabdana* 'non-expression with words'.

EXAMPLES:

ghuṣṭā rajjuḥ 'braided rope'
ghuṣṭau pādau 'crooked legs'

1. An absence of *viśabdana* is *aviśabdana*. The word *viśabdana* is explained as *svābhiprāyasya śabdenā' viṣkaraṇam* 'expressing one's intent with words'. Note that *bhvādi* and *curādi* roots both are here specified with *ghuṣi*. The *bhvādi* root denotes *śabda* 'noise'; the *curādi* denotes *aviśabdana* 'non-expression with words'. If the specification refers to *ghuṣ* of *curādi*, *ṆiC* will be introduced, anyway. This *ghuṣ* with *ṆiC* does not offer anything special with regard to augment *iṬ*. If *iṬ* is introduced then we will get *ghoṣita*, through deletion of *ṆiC* by 6.4.52 *niṣṭhāyāṃ seṭi*. If *iṬ* is not introduced, we could still get *ghoṣita*, through non-deletion of *ṆiC*. A non-*ṆiC ghuṣ*, for reasons of being *ekāc* 'monosyllabic', will not qualify for negation of *iṬ*. The *bhvādi* root *ghuṣ* does not require any negation by *aviśabdane*. For, its usage in the sense of *viśabdana* is not found. What would this negation by *aviśabdane* indicate? It indicates that the *ṆiC* of *ghuṣ*, signifying *viśabdana*, is non-obligatory (*anitya*). That is, *ṆiC* may also not be used after it. This is how accepting the *anitya* 'non-obligatory' status of *ṆiC*, after verbal root *ghuṣ* used with the meaning of *viśabdana*, that we get *jughuṣuḥ* 'they expressed their intent in words' in the perfect. If not, the form will be *ghoṣāyāñcakruḥ*, with an obligatory *iṬ*. All told, the *curādi* verbal root *ghuṣ* allows *iṬ* only optionally. Some still believe that *ṆiC* of all *curādi* roots is non-obligatory (*anitya*). They claim that verbal root *citI* 'to remember' is specified with *I* as an *it*. This, in turn, indicates that 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* will introduce *nUM*. Since this *nUM* will be retained, we will get forms such as *cintita*. If *ṆiC* was obligatory, then, because of no deletion of *n*, the specification should have been made as *cinta smṛtyām*. The following verse summarises it:

citi smṛtyām itīditvam atra jñāpakam asya hi
phalaṃ cintita ity ādau nalopo mā sma bhūd iti/
nitye ca ṇici saty atra nalopasyāprasaṅgataḥ
cinta smṛtyām ity eva ca paṭhitavyaṃ bhaved iti//

7.2.24 **अर्देः संनिविभ्यः**

ardeḥ saṃnivibhyaḥ
/*ardeḥ* 6/1 *saṃ-ni-vi-bhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*)/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18)
'*sam, ni, vi*' *ity etebhya uttarasyārder niṣṭhāyām iḍ āgamo na bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced relative to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *ardA* 'torment, afflict, kill' used after the preverbs *sam, ni* and *vi*, when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

samarṇaḥ 'capable, appropriate'
nyarṇaḥ 'agitated'
vyarṇaḥ 'useless, afflicted'

1. This rule negates *iṬ* when verbal root *ard* is used with the preverbs *sam, ni* and *vi*, and a *niṣṭhā* affix follows. Thus, consider *samarṇaḥ*, where *ard* is used with *sam* before *Kta*. The *t* of *Kta*, and its preceding *d* as well, is replaced with *n* (8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ* . . .). We get *sam + ar(d→n) + (t→n) a = sam + ar(n→ṇ) + na = sam + arṇ + na*, through *ṇ*-replacement of *n* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyām* . . .). The following *n* is also replaced with *ṇ* through application of 8.4.40 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. Finally, the preceding *ṇ* is deleted (8.4.63 *halo yamāṃ yami lopaḥ*) to produce *sam + ar(ṇ→ϕ) + (t→n→ṇ) a = samarṇa.*

The condition of *ardeḥ* is imposed so that *iṬ* could be introduced, for example, in *samedhitaḥ*. The condition of *sannivibhyaḥ* is needed so that in *arditaḥ*, because of *ard* not used after *sam, ni* and *vi*, *iṬ* could be allowed.

7.2.25 अभेश्चाविदूर्ये

abheś cāvidūrye
/ *abheḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *āvidūrye* 7/1 = *viśeṣeṇa dūram* = *vidūram*; *na vidūram* = *avidūram* (*nañ.*); *tasya bhāvaḥ* = *āvidūryam*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18)
abhiśabdād uttarasyārder āvidūrye' rthe niṣṭhāyām iḍ āgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced relative to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *ardA*, used after the preverb *abhi*, provided an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows, and the derivate signifies *āvidūrya* 'proximity'.

EXAMPLES:

abhyarṇā senā 'the army is in the vicinity'
abhyarṇā śarat 'autumn is around the corner'

1. This rule negates *iṬ* in contexts where *ard* is used with the preverb *abhi* and a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows. The word *āvidūrya* is explained as denoting the sense of *avidūra* 'not very far'. Note that *āvidūrya* is derived with affix *ŚyaÑ*. This affix denoting *bhāva* 'root-sense' is negated after a *tatpuruṣa* compound used in combination after *naÑ* (5.3.121 *na nañpūrvāt*. . .). How do we then get *āvidūrya*? This specification of *āvidūrye* itself indicates that *ṢyaÑ* is not negated by affixes specified by 5.3.121 *na nañpūrvāt*. . ., etc.

7.2.26 णेरध्ययने वृत्तम्

ṇer adhyayane vṛttam
/*ṇeḥ* 6/1 *adhyayane* 7/1 *vṛttam* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18)
ṇyantasya vṛtter niṣṭhāyām adhyayanārthe 'vṛttam' itīḍ abhāvo ṇiluk ca nipātyate
The word *vṛtta* is derived, via *nipātana*, relative to verbal root *vṛtI* terminating in *ṆiC*, used with the signification of *adhyayana* 'study'.

EXAMPLES:

vṛtto guṇo devadattena 'Devadatta has completed the study of *guṇa* (a study relative to *pada, krama* and *saṃhitā* recitations)'
vṛttaṃ pārāyaṇaṃ devadattena 'Devadatta has completed the study of *pārāyaṇa* (a set of texts)'

1. Note that *vṛt* is intransitive (*akarmaka*) which, when used with *ṆiC*, becomes transitive (*sakarmaka*). Affix *Kta*, with the denotatum of an object, is found after *vṛt*, as is attested by Pāṇini's own usage in rules 4.2.68 *tena nirvṛttam* and 5.1.79 *tena nirvṛttam*. That is, we can get *vṛttaḥ* of *vṛtto guṇo devadattena* from *vṛt*, anyway. This *nipātana* is thus not necessary to be stated. Some want to make sure that *varttitam*, a derivate of *vṛt* with *ṆiC* and *Kta*, is not used when the signification is *adhyayana* 'study'. For this, the *nipātana* must be stated to accomplish an absence of *iṬ* and *LUK*-deletion of *ṆiC*. This *LUK*-deletion, in turn, blocks applications relative to affixes (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). Others, however, also desire *varttitaḥ*, as in *varttito guṇo devadattena*, with the signification of *adhyayana*.

7.2.27 वा दान्तशान्तपूर्णदस्तस्पष्टच्छन्नज्ञप्ताः

vā dāntaśāntapūrṇadastaspaṣṭacchannajñaptāḥ
/*vā* ɸ *dānta-śānta-pūrṇa-dasta-spaṣṭa-cchanna-jñaptāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18 *ṇeḥ* #26)
'*dam, śam, pūri, das, spaś, chad, jñap*' *ity eteṣāṃ ṇyantānāṃ dhātūnāṃ vā aniṭatvaṃ nipātyate*
The words *dānta, śānta, pūrṇa, dasta, spaṣṭa, channa*, and *jñapta* are derived, optionally, via *nipātana*, from verbal roots *dam* 'to be tamed, be calm', *śam* 'to be calm, tranquil', *pūrI* 'to fill, be filled', *das* 'to throw, toss', *spaś* 'to touch', *chad* 'to cover', and *jñap* 'to know, inform' when ending in *ṆiC*.

EXAMPLES:

dāntaḥ / damitaḥ
śāntaḥ / śamitaḥ
pūrṇaḥ / pūritaḥ

dastaḥ / dāsitaḥ
spaṣṭaḥ / spāśitaḥ
channaḥ / chāditaḥ
jñaptaḥ / jñāpitaḥ

1. This again is a *nipātana* rule. Verbal roots *dam, śam, pūr, das, spaś, chad,* and *jñap* receive *iṬ* in their derivates with affix *Kta,* optionally. Given *śam* + *Kta* and *dam* + *Kta,* the *a* of *śam* and *dam* gets replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart (6.4.15 *anunāsikasya* . . .). That is, when deletion of *ṆiC* and negation of *iṬ* is accomplished, via *nipātana.* Recall that *śam* and *dam* are considered *mit* 'marked with *M* as an *it*' (*DP: janijṝṣksna* . . .). The penultimate *vṛddhi* which they receive from 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* is replaced with its short counterpart (6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*). Rule 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya* . . . then replaces the same with its long counterpart. The short replacement of 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ* is also seen in *śamitaḥ* and *damitaḥ.* The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta,* in deriving *pūr* + *Kta* → *pūrṇa,* is replaced with *ṇ* (8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ* . . .). The penultimate *vṛddhi* of *das* + *Kta* = *dasta, spaś* + *Kta* = *spaṣṭa* and *jñap* + *Kta* = *jñapta* goes through shortening, via *nipātana.* An inclusion of *jñap* is made here to facilitate optional *iṬ* (7.2.49 *sanīvantardha* . . .), which would have been obligatorily negated by 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā.*

7.2.28 रुष्यमत्वरसङ्घुषास्वनाम्

ruṣyamatvarasaṅghuṣāsvanām
/ *ruṣy-ama-tvara-saṅghuṣa-āsvanām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18 *vā* #27)
'*ruṣi, ama, tvara, saṅghuṣa, āsvana*' *ity eteṣāṃ niṣṭhāyāṃ vā iḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is, optionally, not introduced relative to an *aṅga,* namely *ruṣI* 'to be angry', *amA* 'to move, etc.', *tvarA* 'to hurry' and *ghuṣA* 'to make indistinct noise' used with the preverb *sam,* and *svanA* 'to sound' used with the preverb *ā,* when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ruṣṭaḥ
ruṣitaḥ
abhyāntaḥ
abhyamitaḥ
tūrṇaḥ
tvaritaḥ
saṅghuṣṭau
saṅghuṣitau (*pādau*)
āsvānto devadattaḥ
āsvanito devadattaḥ

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *vā* is valid. Thus, there is no optional *iṬ* after

rusI, amA, tvarA, saṅghuṣA and *āsvanA*, when a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows. Inclusion of *rusI* is made here to facilitae optional *iṬ* against the obligatorily negation of 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* which, in turn, goes against optional *iṬ* of 7.2.48 *tīṣasahalubharuṣariṣaḥ*. Deriving *abhyāmita*, from *abhi + am + Kta*, involves penultimate lengthening (*upadhādīrgha*; 8.3.4 *anunāsikasya* . . .), *yaṆ*, and *m*→*ṃ*→*n* (*anusvāra-parasavarṇa*, 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*; 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi* . . .). A derivate with *iṬ* will be *abhyamita*. Deriving *tvar + Kta* = *tūrṇa* involves a replacement in *ūṬH* for which refer to notes under 6.4.20 *jvaratvarasrivya*. . . . Recall that this optional *iṬ* for *tvar* is made available against the obligatory negation of 7.2.16 *āditaś ca*. Deriving *saṅghuṣṭa* and *saṅghuṣita* also involves optional *iṬ*. Additionally, appropriate applications of *ṣṭutva* (*t*→*ṭ*), *anusvāra* (*m*→*ṃ*) and *parasavarṇa* (*ṃ*→*ṅ*) are also needed. The *bhvādi* and *curādi* verbal roots both are included within the reference of *ghuṣIR*. Commentators explains that *ghuṣIR* of the *curādi* class, when not used with *sam*, falls within the scope of 7.2.23 *ghuṣir aviśabdane*. That is, when the signification is *aviśabdana* 'non-expression of intent with words'. This is how we get *ghuṣṭā rajjuḥ* and *ghuṣitau pādau*. This same *ghuṣIR* falls within the scope of our present rule when *sam* is used and the derivate denotes *viśabdana* 'expression of one's intent in words'. Thus, we get (*saṃghuṣitam*) / (*saṃghuṣṭam*) *vākyam āha*. Rule 7.2.23, and our present rule, both become applicable to *ghuṣIR* when it is used with *sam* and the derivate denotes *aviśabdana*. Our present rule blocks the earlier rule on the basis of *vipratiṣedha*. The penultimate *vṛddhi* is not applied in deriving *āṄ-svan + Kta* = *āsvanita*, when the option of *iṬ* is accepted. We get *āsvāntam* when this optional *iṬ* is not accepted. This optional *iṬ* blocks the *nipātana* of 7.2.18 *kṣubdhasvān-tadhvānta* . . . on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent order of enumeration'.

7.2.29 हृषेर्लोमसु

hṛṣer lomasu
/ *hṛṣeḥ* 6/1 *lomasu* 7/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18 *vā* #27)
lomasu vartamānasya hṛṣer niṣṭhāyāṃ vā iḍ āgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is, optionally, not introduced relative to an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *hṛṣA* 'to rejoice', when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows and the signification is *loman* 'hair'.

EXAMPLES:

hṛṣṭāni / *hṛṣitāni* (*lomāni*) 'excited pores'
hṛṣṭāḥ keśāḥ / *hṛṣitāḥ keśāḥ* 'excited hairs'

1. This rule does not, optionally, allow *iṬ* to *hṛṣU* 'to be pleased', when a *niṣṭhā* affix follows and when *loman* 'hair, pores' is characterized. Example derivates describe a joyous or unhappy state of mind, as reflected by the

state of hair and pores on body. There are two verbal roots which are both covered by this rule: *hṛṣU alīke* 'to be displeased, deceive' and *hṛṣ* 'to be happy'. The first verbal root is marked with *U* as an *it*. It is offered optional *iṬ*-status of 7.2.56 *udito vā*. However, this *iṬ*-status becomes unavailable (*aprāpta*) to this root when it is used before a *niṣṭhā* suffix. The second verb, i.e., *hṛṣA* 'to be happy' is, of course, a root used with *iṬ* (*seṭ*; *prāpta*). The option of *iṬ* which was not available to *hṛṣU* (*aprāpta*) is here made available (*prāpta*). The status of usage with *iṬ* which was available to *hṛṣA* (*prāpta*), is here made optional (*aprāpta*). The option of this rule is thus characterized as *ubhayatra-vibhāṣā* 'an option, not made available, and made available, both'.

The word *loman* here refers to 'hair' on 'head' (*mūrdhā*) as well as on 'body' (*aṅga*; *Kāś*: *lomāni mūrdhajāni aṅgajāni ca sāmānyena gṛhyante*). How can a root having the signification of action is here spoken of as having its application in a substance (*dravya*), i.e., *loman*? It is stated that such an application of action is possible by way of meaning (*arthadvāreṇa*). Recall that it is the meaning of *hṛṣ* which *loman* accomplishes. Thus, action becomes part of the scope of 'hair'.

2. What is the purpose of specifying *lomasu*? Consider *hṛṣṭo devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is unhappy' and *hṛṣito devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is happy' where the first sentence uses *hṛṣU* with the signification of 'displeasure'. The second sentence uses *hṛṣA* with the signification of 'pleasure'. Since these two sentences do not have a common semantic scope of actions relative to *loman* they cannot be allowed optional *iṬ* of this rule. They will each have separate forms: *hṛṣṭa* and *hṛṣita*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal denies *iṬ*, optionally, when derivates share the scope of *vismita* 'shocked, startled' and *pratighāta* 'counter-attack'. Consider *hṛṣṭo devadattaḥ* / *hṛṣito devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is shocked'. Now consider *hṛṣṭā dantāḥ*/*hṛṣitā dantāḥ* 'teeth broke'.

7.2.30 अपचितश्च

apacitaś ca
/ *apacitaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *neṭi* #8 *niṣṭhāyām* #18 *vā* #27)
'*apacitaḥ*' *iti vā nipātyate*
The word *apacita* is also derived, optionally, via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

apacito' nena guruḥ 'the teacher was seen by him'
apacāyito' nena guruḥ 'the teacher was respected by him'

1. The word *apacita* is optionally derived, via *nipātana*. We thus get *apacito gurur anena* 'the teacher was seen by him' and *apacāyito gurur anena* 'the teacher was respected by him'. Note that verbal root *cāyṚ* has two meanings:

pūjā 'worship, respect' and *niśāmana* 'seeing'. The *nipātana* of this rule applies to derivates with the meaning of *niśāmana*. Thus, we get *cāy*(*R*) + *Kta* → (*cāy*→*ci*) + *ta* = *cita*. Absence of *iṬ* and replacement of *cāy* with *ci* are accomplished via *nipātana*. We will get *apacāyita* with *iṬ* and no replacement of *cāy* with *ci* if optional *nipātana* is not accepted.

2. A *vārttika* proposal notes that *cāy* is obligatorily replaced with *ci*, via *nipātana*, when affix *KtiN* follows. Consider *cāy*→*ci* + (*K*) *ti*(*N*) = *citiḥ*, as in *apacitiḥ* 'praise, worship'.

7.2.31 ह्रु ह्वरेश्छन्दसि

hru hvareś chandasi
/ *hru* (1/1 deleted) *hvareḥ* 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *niṣṭhāyām* #18)
hvarater dhātor niṣṭhāyāṃ chandasi 'hru' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The form *hru* comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *hvṛ* 'be crooked', in the Vedic, when an affix termed *niṣṭhā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

hrutasya cāhrutasya ca 'of that which is crooked and that which is not'
ahrútamasi havirdhānam

1. Note that a specification of verbal root *hvṛ* 'be crooked' is here made with its modified *guṇa* form *hv*(*ṛ*→*ar*) = *hvar*. Note further that this monosyllabic verbal root is marked with *anudātta*. Consequently, it cannot avail augment *iṬ* (cf. 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe' nudāttāt*), anyway. This rule is then intended for purposes of replacement in *guṇa* only. Thus, (*hvar*→*hru*) + (*K*) *ta* → *hruta*, etc., with no *iṬ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *chandasi*? Consider the classical usage *hvṛtam*, where the root does not go through any replacement.

7.2.32 अपरिह्वृताश्च

aparihvṛtāś ca
/ *aparihvṛtāḥ* 1/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *niṣṭhāyām* #18 *chandasi* #31)
'*aparihvṛtāḥ*' *nipātyante chandasi viṣaye*
The word *apahvṛtā* is derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

apárihvṛtāḥ sanuyāma vājám

1. A specification with *aparihvṛtāḥ* indicates that this Vedic usage is always found in plural. What is accomplished here, via *nipātana*? An absence of replacement in *hru*, as could be expected from application of the preceding rule.

7.2.33 सोमे ह्वरितः

some hvaritaḥ
/*some* 7/1 *hvaritaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *niṣṭhāyām* #18 *chandasi* #31)
'*hvaritaḥ*' *iti hvarater niṣṭhāyām iḍāgamo guṇaś ca nipātyate chandasi viṣaye, somaś ced bhavati*
The word *hvarita* is derived in the Vedic, via *nipātana*, when the derivate is to denote *soma*.

EXAMPLES:

mā naḥ somo hvaritaḥ 'let our Soma not be stolen'

1. This rule derives *hvaritaḥ*, a *niṣṭhā* (1.1.28 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) derivate of *hvṛ* 'to be crooked', via *nipātana*, in the Vedic. Recourse is here taken to *nipātana* for *iṬ* and *guṇa*. Thus, *hvṛ* + *Kta* → *hvṛ* + *iṬ* + *Kta* → *hv*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *iṬ* + *Kta* → *hvarita*.

7.2.34 ग्रसितस्कभितस्तभितोत्तभितचत्तविकस्ताविशस्तृशंस्तृ-शास्तृतरुतृतरूतृवरुतृवरूतृवरूत्रीरुज्ज्वलितिक्षरितिक्षमितिवमित्यमितीति च

grasitaskabhitastabhitottabhitacattavikastā viśastṛśaṃstṛśāstṛtarutṛtarūtṛvarutṛvarūtṛvarūtrīrujjvalitikṣaritikṣamitivamityamitīti ca
/*grasitaḥ-skabhita-stabhita-uttabhita-catta-vikastāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *viśastṛ, śaṃstṛ, śāstṛ, tarutṛ, tarūtṛ, varutṛ, varūtṛ* (1/1 deleted in all seven); *varutrīḥ* (1/3), *ujjvaliti, kṣariti, vamiti, amiti* (1/1 also deleted in these four); *iti* ϕ *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *niṣṭhāyām* #18 *chandasi* #31)
The words *grasita* 'devoured', *skabhita* 'arrested', *stabhita* 'fixed, stupefied', *uttabhita* 'stopped', *catta* 'hidden', *vikasta* 'blown', *viśastṛ* 'dissector', *śaṃstṛ* 'a reciter of praise', *śāstṛ* 'instructor', *tarutṛ* 'he who goes across', *tarūtṛ*, *varutṛ* 'chooser, protector', *varūtṛ*, *varūtrīḥ*, *ujjvaliti* 'flares up', *kṣariti* 'tickles down, drips', *vamiti* 'vomits, emits', and *amiti* 'proceeds' are also derived, in the Vedic, via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

grasitáṃ vā́ etát sómasya
viṣkábhite ajaré
yena svástabhitam
satyenottábhitā bhūmiḥ
catā varṣeṇa vidyut
utānā́yā hṛdáyaṃ yád víkastam
ekastvaṣṭur aśvásyāviśastā
uta śaṃstā suvipraḥ

práśāstā
tarutāram rathānām
tarūtāram
varūtāram
várūtrīṣṭvā devīr viśvadevyāvatī
agnir ujjvaliti
stokaṃ kṣariti
stomaṃ kṣamiti
yaḥ somaṃ vamiti
abhyamiti varuṇaḥ
ravim abhyamīti varuṇaḥ

1. Note that *grasita, skabhita, stabhita, uttabhita* involve introduction of augment *iṬ*, via *nipātana*. Verbal roots *grasU* 'to eat', *skambhU* 'to obstruct' and *stambhU* 'to become stiff, stupefied' are marked with *U* as an *it* (*udit*; 7.2.56 *udito vā*). Consequently, rule 7.2.56 *udito vā* offers augment *iṬ*, optionally. This, however, gets negated by rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. Our present rule offers it again, via *nipātana*. The nasal of *skambhU* and *stambhU* is deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ kṅiti*. Now consider *uttabhita* where *s* of the root is changed similar to the preceding homogeneous *t*. Thus, *ut* + *sta*(*m*→ϕ) *bh* + *iṬ* + *Kta* → *uttabhita*. Recall that the classical language does not allow *iṬ*. Thus we get *grastam, viṣkabdham* and *stabdham*. The *t*→*dh* and *bh*→*b* (*jaśtva*) replacements in *viṣkabdha* is accomplished by 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathordho' dhaḥ* and 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*, respectively.

Now consider our next two examples, *catta* (*cat* 'to beg') and *vikasta* (*kas* 'to move'), where *cat* + *Kta* and *vi-kas* + *Kta* are not allowed *iṬ*, again via *nipātana*. The classical language has *catitā* and *vikastam* as parallel forms. Examples such as *vi-śas* + *tṛC* = *viśastṛ*, *śams* + *tṛ* = *śaṃstṛ* (*śaṃs* 'to praise') and *śās* + *tṛ* = *śāstṛ* (*śās* 'to instruct') also involve non-introduction of *iṬ*, via *nipātana*. The classical language has *viśasitā, śaṃsitā* and *praśāsitam* as parallel forms.

Examples such as *tarutṛ, tarūtṛ, varutṛ, varūtṛ,* and *varūtrīḥ* are forms of *tṝ* 'to float', *vṛṄ* and *vṝÑ* 'to choose, select' where augments *uṬ* and *ūṬ* are introduced via *nipātana*. Thus, we get *tarutāraṃ rathānām*, etc. The classical language has *taritāram* and *tarītāram* with optional lengthening of *i*. We similarly get *varutāram* and *varūtāram* with corresponding classical forms *varitāram* and *varītāram*. Note that *v*(*ṛ*→*ar*) *ūṬ* + *tṛC* = *varūtṛ* gets *ṄīP* of 4.1.5 *ṛnnebhyo ṅīp*. Or else, one can also accept *ṄīP*, via *nipātana*. Examples such as *ujjvaliti, kṣariti, kṣamiti, vamiti,* and *amiti* are present indicative active forms of *ud-jval* 'to be aflame', *kṣar* 'to move', *kṣam* 'to endure', *vam* 'to vomit' and *am* 'to move' where *a* of *ŚaP* is replaced by *i*, again via *nipātana*. The classical language has forms such as *ujjvalati, kṣarati, kṣamati, vamati,* and *amati*, respectively. The Vedic examples can also be derived by deleting *ŚaP* and introducing *iṬ*, via *nipātana*.

The word *iti*, at the end of this rule, is used to indicate how similar operations can also be performed in the Vedic, via *nipātana*. Consider *ravim abhyamīti varuṇaḥ* where a long *ī* replaces the *a* of *ŚaP*.

7.2.35 आर्धधातुकस्येड्वलादेः

ārdhadhātukasyed valādeḥ

/ *ārahadhātukasya* 6/1 *iṭ* 1/1 *valādeḥ* 6/1 = *val ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/ (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)

ārdhadhātukasya valāder iḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment *iṬ* is introduced to an affix which is termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārddhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) and which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL* (*Śs.* 5-14).

EXAMPLES:

lavitā 'he will cut'
lavitum 'to cut'
lavitavyam 'ought to be cut'
pavitā 'he will cleanse'
pavitum 'to cleanse'
pavitavyam 'ought to be cleansed'

1. Note that *chandasi* is no longer carried over. This rule introduces augment *iṬ* to an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) which begins with a sound denoted by *vaL* (*valādiḥ*; *Śs.* 5-14). Refer to *pavitaḥ*, etc., in the appendix (II:441-42) of rule 1.2.22 *pūṅaḥ ktvā ca*, for operations similar to deriving *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT* derivates of this rule.

2. Why does Pāṇini use *iṬ* in this rule when he could have easily carried it, via *anuvṛtti*, from rule 7.2.8 *neḍ vaśi kṛti*? Recall that 7.2.5 *neḍ vaśi kṛti* makes a negative provision in association with *iṬ*. Carrying *iṬ* from this earlier rule will also involve carrying the negation of *iṬ* (*Kāś*: *iḍ iti vartamāne punar iḍ grahaṇaṃ pratiṣedhanivṛtyartham*)? But since a negative provision makes sense only when a positive provision is already made, why can we still not anticipate this positive provision, via *anuvṛtti*? That this rule will be making a positive provision against the negative provision of *iṬ* is also clear from the qualification of *valādeḥ*. Since no provision of *iṬ* is made in the context of an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL*, this rule can be interpreted as making a provision for *iṬ*. This, however, cannot be accepted. The negative provision of 7.2.8 *neḍ vaśi kṛti* can itself indicate that a positive provision exists (cf. *PM* ad *Kāś*).

3. Why do we have the condition of *ārdhadhātukasya*? Consider *āste*, *śete* and *vaste* where augment *iṬ* cannot be introduced to *te*, an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*).

It is argued that no purpose can be served by making a specification in

this rule with the word *ārdhadhātuka.* For, 7.2.76 *rudādibhyaḥ sārvadhātuke* makes a restrictive (*niyama*) provision of *iṬ* only after verbal roots *rud,* etc., when a *sāravdhātuka* affix follows. That is, since *iṬ* will be introduced only when a *sārvadhātuka* affix follows verbal roots *rud,* etc., we will get *iṬ,* elsewhere, when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix follows. This arguement is well taken though this restrictive provision causes prolixity of understanding (*jñāna-gaurava*). A specification with *ārdhadhātuke* here saves us from this prolixity of understanding. Why can we not interpret this specification with *ārdha-dhātuka* to block introduction of *iṬ* to an *aṅga*? After all, this is the domain of *aṅgasya* and an *aṅga* can easily qualify for such introduction. This interpretation is not proper. If this introduction of *iṬ* was intended for an *aṅga,* negating the introduction of *iṬ* to an affix by 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe anudāttāt* would not make any sense? Why? Why offer a negation when a positive provision would not be there. A negation of *iṬ* by 1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ* and 1.2.10 *niṣṭhā śīṅsvidimidi* . . . would also not make any sense, either. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) further illustrates this point with other examples and rules. I omit this discussion for lack of interest.

What is the significance of using *valādeḥ*? Consider *lavyam, pavyam, lavanīyam* and *pavanīyam* where affix *yaT* does not begin with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL.* We, therefore, do not get augment *iṬ.*

Why do we have *iṬ* expressly mentioned here when the same can be carried over, via *anuvṛtti,* from rule 7.2.8 *neḍ vaśi kṛti*? That *iṬ* is connected with negation indicated by *na* 'not'. An *anuvṛtti* of that *iṬ* (of 7.2.8 *neḍ vaśi kṛti*) would also have occasioned the *anuvṛtti* of negation. The *iṬ* of our present rule makes a positive provision. But the question of negating *iṬ* by its *anuvṛtti* from 7.2.8 does not arise since no positive provision for *iṬ* is made. Well, this rule itself, if it had to make a negative provision, will also make a positive provision. The *iṬ* of this rule is then used to cancel a negative provision.

7.2.36 स्नुक्रमोरनात्मनेपदनिमित्ते

snukramor anātmanepadanimitte
/*snukramoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *anātmanepadanimitte* 7/1 = /*ātmanepadasya nimitte* (*ṣāṣ. tat.*); *nātmanepadasya nimitte* (*nañ.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* #35)
snukramor ārdhadhātukasya valāder iḍ āgamo bhavati, na cet snukramau ātmanepadasya nimittaṃ bhavataḥ
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL,* and is introduced relative to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *snu* 'to flow, drip' and *kramU* 'to move', provided *snu* and *kramU* do not condition the use of an affix termed *ātmanepada.*

EXAMPLES:

prasnavitā 'a *tṛC*-derivate of (*pra-snu* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*) = *prasnavitṛ* + *sU* = *prasnavitā*'
prasnavitum 'a *tumUN*-derivate of (*pra-snu* + *iṬ* + *tumUN* = *prasnavitum*)'
prasnavitavyam 'a derivate of (*pra-snu-iṬ* + *tavyaT*) = *prasnavitavya* + *sU* = *prasnavitavyam*'
prakramitā 'a derivate of (*pra-kram* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*) + *sU*'
prakramitum 'a derivate of *tumUN*. . .'
prakramitavyam 'a derivate of *tavyaT*. . .'

1. This rule is restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. That is, augment *iṬ* is introduced to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with a sound denoted by *vaL*, and is introduced relative only to an *aṅga* constituted by *snu* and *kram*. Additionally, *snu* and *kram* must not condition the use of affixes termed *ātmanepada*. Where do we find *snu* and *kram* which condition an affix termed *ātmanepada*? Where actions denoted by these roots are treated as forming the basis for introduction of affixes termed *ātmanepada*. For example, *ātmanepada* affixes are introduced after verbal roots *snu* and *kramU* relative to denotation of their *bhāva* 'root-sense', *karman* 'object', *kartṛkarman* 'agent as object' and *karma-vyatihāra* 'reciprocal action'. Rule 1.3.38 *vṛttisargatāyaneṣu kramaḥ* introduces *ātmanepada* in the context of *kram* when what is signified is *vṛtti* 'uninterrupted movement', *sarga* 'enthusiasm' and *tāyana* 'expansion, growth'.

This rule can also be treated as making a somewhat negative (*niṣedha*) provision. For, *snU* and *kramU* are included within the enumeration of roots with *anudātta* in *upadeśa* 'initial citation'. Consequently, *iṬ* is already made available to them. This rule then negates *iṬ* in contexts where the use of *ātmanepada* is conditioned. Thus, we get *prakramitā*, *prakramitum* and *prakramitavyam* where we get *iṬ*, *guṇa* and a replacement in *av*. Of course, when an affix termed *ātmanepada* is not conditioned.

2. Why when the use of *ātmanepada* affixes is not conditioned after these roots (*anātmanepadanimitte*)? The locative of *anātmanepade* with no *nimitte* could have then been interpreted as *parasaptamī* 'a locative which follows'. That is, augment *iṬ* could not be made available when an *ātmanepada* affix followed. This interpretation, since it will accept *ātmanepada* as a qualifier to *snu* and *kram*, would also require the *ātmanepada* affix to follow these roots immediately. This may allow the derivation of *prasnoṣīṣṭa* and *prakraṃsīṣṭa* but may not allow the derivation of *prasnoṣyate* and *prakraṃsyate*. For, *ātmanepada* affixes in these derivates are intervened by *sya*. If *ātmanepada* is accepted as a qualifier to *ārdhadhātuke* we can then account for *prasnoṣyate* and *prakraṃsyate*. However, we may not be able to derive *prasnoṣīṣṭa* and *prakraṃsīṣṭa*. For, augment *sīyUṬ* is part of *ātmanepada* and there will not be any *ārdhadhātuka* affix to follow. If one accepts both of these views, one will

have problems in deriving the desiderative form: *pracikraṃsiṣyate*. For, *ātmanepada* does not follow the *sārvadhātuka* affix immediately.

3. Why do we have to specify the word *nimitta* 'cause, condition'? So that negation could apply to that which begins with *sīyUṬ* (*sīyuḍādi*) and also that, i.e., *saN*, after which there occurs that (*sya*) followed by that (*ātmanepada*; *tatparaparaḥ*). Consider *prasnoṣīṣṭa* and *prakraṃsīṣṭa* as examples of *sīyuḍādi*. An example of *tatparaparaḥ* 'that, followed by that, followed by that' is offered in the form of *pracikraṃsiṣyate* where *saN*, followed by *sya*, is followed by *ātmanepada*. Refer to the earlier paragraph, especially relative to the interpretation of locative as *parasaptamī*, for understanding the negation in this view. For example, the *iṬ* of *saN* cannot be negated if locative of *ātmanepade* is interpreted as *parasaptamī* 'that which follows'. For, *sya* will be intervening. We can get this negation of *iṬ* if *nimitte* is used in relation to *snu* and *kramU*. For, we will then get *snu* and *kramU* as *nimmitta* of *ātmanepada* everywhere in examples such as *prasnoṣīṣṭa*, *prakaṃsīṣṭa*; *prasnoṣyate*, *prakraṃsyate*; *prasusnūṣiṣyate* and *pracikraṃsiṣyate* (*Kāś*: *sarvatraivātra snautiḥ kramiś cātmanepadasya nimittam*).

4. A *vārttika* proposal also desires negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *iṬ* when *kramU*, with the scope of *ātmanepada*, is not used with *ātmanepada*, and an affix termed *kṛt* with the denotation of agent (*kartṛ*) follows. Thus, we do not get *iṬ* in (*prakram* + *tṛC*) + *sU* → *prakrantā*; and (*upakram* + *tṛC*) + *sU* → *upakrantā*. Consider *prakramitavyam* and *upakramitavyam* where affix *tavyaT* is used with the signification of *bhāva* or *karman*. Since the denotation is not *kartṛ* 'agent', we do not get the negation of *iṬ*. Also consider *niṣkramitā* where negation cannot apply because the root has scope for active endings (*parasmaipada*) only.

Note further that a negation of *iṬ* can be accomplished after *snu* by rules 7.2.12 *śryukaḥ kiti* and 7.2.12 *sani grahaguhoś ca*, especially when *saN*, or an affix marked with *K* as an *it*, follows.

7.2.37 ग्रहोऽलिटि दीर्घः

graho' liṭi dīrghaḥ
/*grahaḥ* 5/1 *aliṭi* 7/1 = *na liṭ* (*nañ*.), *tasmin*; *dīrghaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* #35)
graha uttarasya iṭaḥ aliṭi dīrgho bhavati
An *iṬ* which occurs after verbal root *grah* 'to seize, hold' and is introduced to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with the abbreviatory symbol *vaL* (*Śs*. 5-14), though other than one replacing a *LIṬ*, is replaced with a long *ī*.

EXAMPLES:

grahītā 'he will seize'
grahītum 'for seizing'
grahītavyam '. . . ought to be seized'

1. This rule introduces long *ī* as a replacement for the short of *iṬ*, introduced to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix other than one replacing *LIṬ*. Thus, we get *grah* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *tṛ*(*C*) → *grah* + (*i*→*ī*) + *tṛ* = *grahītṛ*, etc. This rule allows a long replacement only for that *iṬ* which is specified here in this section. That is, it must be an *iṬ* which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *vaL*. It cannot replace an *iṬ* which is gotten under the provision of *ciṇvadbhāva* 'treatment similar to when *CiṆ* follows' (*Kāś*: *prakṛtasyeṭo dīrghatvam, idaṃ ciṇvad iṭo na bhavati*). See my notes under 6.4.62 *syasicsīyuṭ*. . . for additional details. Thus, the *iṬ* of *grāhitā* and *grāhiṣyate* cannot be replaced with its long counterpart, clearly because *iṬ* is not introduced, here, after *grah*. It is introduced after the causal root *grāhi*. It is to make clear that *iṬ* is introduced after *grah* that *Kāśikā* states: *graha uttarasya* 'in place of that which occurs after *grah*'. Incidentally, the *iṬ* which is carried over here, via *anuvṛtti*, is speicifed with the nominative in rule 7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. It is here transformed into genitive in view of the ablative of *grahaḥ*, with support from 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*.

The condition of *aliṭi* 'when a non-*LIṬ*. . .' is specified so that this long replacement does not apply to the first personal dual and plural forms of *LIṬ*, i.e., *jagṛhiva* and *jagṛhima*.

7.2.38 वॄतो वा

vṝto vā
/*vṝtaḥ* 5/1 = *vṛ ca ṝt ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *vā* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* #35 *aliṭi dīrghaḥ* #37)
'*vṛ*' *iti vṛṅvṛñoḥ sāmānyena grahaṇam*; *tasmād uttarasya, ṝkārāntebhyaś ceṭo vā dīrgho bhavati*

An *iṬ* which, when introduced to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with *vaL*, after verbal root *vṛ* (*VṛṄ* 'to choose'/*vṛÑ* 'to cover'), and also after roots which end in *ṝ* (long), is optionally replaced with its long counterpart (*ī*).

EXAMPLES:

varitā/ *varītā* '*tṛC*-derivates of *vṛ* 'to choose''
prāvaritā/ *prāvarītā* '*tṛC*-derivates of *vṝ* 'to cover used with the preverb *pra*''
taritā/ *tarītā* '*tṛC*-derivates of *tṝ* 'to float''
āstaritā/ *āstarītā* '*tṛC*-derivate of *ā-stṝ* 'to cover''

1. The *vṛ* of *vṛtaḥ* makes a general reference to both *vṛṄ* and *vṛÑ*, especially since this rule lacks any particular specification to the contrary (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *sāmānyenagrahaṇam iti viśeṣānupādānāt*). It also includes references to roots which end in *ṝ*. Thus, the *i* (of *iṬ*) which occurs after such roots is optionally replaced with its long counterpart.

2. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) considers five possible interpretations of *vṝtaḥ*, based on which this rule could have been formulated:

(*i*) *vṝtaḥ* refers to *vṝ* where the root signifies the action of *varaṇa* 'to choose'.
(*ii*) *vṝtaḥ* refers to (*i*) plus other roots ending in *ṝ*.
(*iii*) *vṝtaḥ* refers to (*i*) plus other roots ending in a short *ṛ*.
(*iv*) *vṝtaḥ* refers to *vṛÑ* and *vṝÑ* plus other roots ending in a short *ṛ*.
(*v*) *vṝtaḥ* refers to *vṛÑ* and *vṝÑ* plus other roots ending in a long *ṝ*.

If the first interpretation is accepted, this rule should have specified *vṝtaḥ* as *vraḥ* with a replacement in *yaÑ* similar to the specification of *graḥ* (8.2.20 *gro yaṅi*). Interpretation (*ii*) could not be accepted since a separate mention of *vṝ* will be useless. Roots which end in *ṝ* will account for it. The third interpretation is also faulty. For, a specification with *vṛtaḥ* (cf. 7.4.10 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ*) where *ṛ* is short, will become unnecessary. One can carry the *anuvṛtti* of short *ṛ* from this rule. Interpretation (*iv*) will also render the inclusion of *vṛ* as vacuous (*vyartha*). For, a specification with *ṛ* can easily account for it. It is in view of this process of elimination (*pāriśeṣyāt*) that the author of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* accepts the fifth interpretation: *vṛṅvṝñoḥ sāmānyena grahaṇam; tasmād uttarasya ṛkārāntebhyaś ca* '*vṛ* refers to both *vṛÑ* and *vṝÑ* in general; an *iṬ* which occurs after that (*vṛ*) and also after roots which end in *ṝ*...'.

2. Why do we have the condition of *vṝtaḥ*? Consider *kariṣyati* and *hariṣyati* which serve as counter-examples. The roots of these two examples end in a short *ṛ*. Their *iṬ* is also introduced by 7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ sye*. This rule requires a root to end in a long *ṝ*.

Why do we have the condition of *aliṭi* 'when a non-*LIṬ* follows'? Consider *vavaritha* and *teritha* where we do not get a replacement in long *ṝ* because the examples are both derivates of *LIṬ*. That is, the *i* of *iṬ* is not replaced with its long counterpart when *LIṬ* follows.

7.2.39 न लिङि

na liṅi
/*na* ϕ *liṅi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *dīrghaḥ* #37 *vṛtaḥ* #38)
vṝt uttarasya iṭo liṅi dīrgho na bhavati
An *iṬ* which occurs after verbal root *vṛ* (*vṛÑ*/ *vṝÑ*), and also after roots which end in *ṝ*, is not replaced with a long *ī* when *LIṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vivariṣīṣṭa 'third singular *LIṄ*-derivate of *vṛ* used with the preverb *vi*'
prāvariṣīṣṭa 'third singular *LIṄ*-derivate of *vṛ* used with the preverb *pra*'

āstariṣīṣṭa 'third singular *LIṄ*-derivate of *stṝ* used with the preverb *āṄ*'
vistariṣīṣṭa 'third singuar *LIṄ*-derivate of *stṝ* used with the preverb *vi*'

1. This rule extends the negation of a long replacement of *iṬ*, also to derivates of *LIṄ* introduced after *vṛÑ/vṛṄ*, and to roots which end in *ṝ*. Consider *vivariṣīṣṭa* and *prāvariṣīṣṭa*, etc., where *iṬ* is introduced by 7.2.42 *liṅsicor ātmanepadeṣu*. Refer to *saṃgaṃsīṣṭa* (II:438; under 1.2.13 *ā gamaḥ*) for derivational details. Derivates of this rule involve *iṬ* and *guṇa* of *vṛ*. Our present rule negates the provision of the preceding rule. Note that the *ātmanepada* suffix in *vistariṣīṣṭa* is introduced with the signification of *karman* 'object'.

7.2.40 सिचि च परस्मैपदेषु

sici ca parasmaipadeṣu
/*sici* 7/1 *ca* φ *parasmaipadeṣu* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *dīrghaḥ* #37 *vṛtaḥ* #38 *na* #39)
parasmaipadapare sici vṝta uttarasya ito dīrgho na bhavati
An *iṬ* which occurs after verbal root *vṛ* (*vṛṄ/vṛÑ*), and also after roots which end in *ṝ*, is not replaced with a long vowel, namely *ī*, when a *sIC* introduced relative to an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prāvāriṣṭām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate of *vṛ* used with the preverb *pra*'
prāvāriṣuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
atāriṣṭām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate of *tṛ* used with the preverb *āṄ*'
atāriṣuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
āstāriṣṭām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate of *stṝ* used with the perverb *āṄ*'
āstāriṣuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule negates a long replacement of *iṬ*, also when *sIC*, followed by an active (*parasmaipada*) ending, follows *vṛṄ/vṛÑ* and roots which end in *ṝ*. Thus, we get *prāvāriṣṭām*, a derivate of *LUṄ*, from *pra* + *aṬ* + *vṛ* + *iṬ* + *sIC* + (*tas*→*tām*), where *ṛ* of *vṛ* goes through *vṛddhi* (7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu*) and *tas* is replaced with *tām* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām* . . .). Refer to additional derivational details under the appendix of rules 3.4.77 *tiptasjhi* . . ., 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . . and 3.4.101 *tasthasthamipām* . . . etc. The *Jus* replacement for *jhi*, of *pra-vṛÑ* + (*LUṄ*→*jhi*→*jus*) → *pra-vṛ* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *s*(*IC*) + (*J*) *us* → *prāvāriṣuḥ*, is accomplished by 3.4.109 *sijabhyastavidibhyaś ca*. Note that verbal root *stṝ* is used with the preverb *āṄ* in *āstāriṣṭām* and *āstāriṣuḥ*. Forms of *tṝ* are derived with similar rule applications.

Why do we have the condition of *parasmaipadeṣu*? Consider *prāvariṣṭa* and

prāvarīṣṭa, where replacement in long *ī* becomes optional on account of the middle (*ātmanepada*; 7.2.42 *liṅsicor ātmanepadeṣu*) ending.

7.2.41 इट् सनि वा

iṭ sani vā
/*iṭ* 1/1 *sani* 7/1 *vā* φ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṝtaḥ* #38)
vṝtaḥ sano vā iḍāgamo bhavati
An *iṬ* is optionally introduced to affix *saN*, an *ārdhadhātuka*, which occurs after verbal root *vṛ* (*vṛṄ*/*vṛÑ*), and also after roots ending in *ṝ*.

EXAMPLES:

vuvūrṣate 'third singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *vṛ* ending in *saN*'
vivariṣate 'ibidem; with *iṬ*'
vivarīṣate 'ibidem; with *iṬ* replaced with *ī*'
prāvuvūrṣati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vṛ* ending in *saN* and used with the preverb *prā*'
prāvivariṣati 'ibidem; with *iṬ*'
prāvivarīṣati 'ibidem; with *iṬ* replaced with *ī*'
titīrṣati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *tṝ* ending in *saN*'
titariṣati 'ibidem; with *iṬ*'
titarīṣati 'ibidem; with *iṬ* replaced with *ī*'
ātistīrṣati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *stṝ* ending in *saN* and used with the preverb *ā*'
ātistariṣati 'ibidem; with *iṬ*'
ātistarīṣati 'ibidem; with *iṬ* replaced with *ī*'

1. This rule allows optional *iṬ* to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, namely *saN*, which occurs after *vṛ* (*vṛṄ*/*vṛÑ*), or after a root ending in *ṝ*. Consider *vuvūrṣate* (the active form *vuvūrṣati* is a suspect) where the root derives from *vṛÑ* + *saN*, and *saN* is treated as marked with *K* as an *it* (1.2.9 *iko jhal*). Rule 6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ sani* then replaces the *ṛ* with *ṝ*. This *ṝ*, however, is replaced with *u* (7.1.102 *udoṣṭhyapūrvasya*), followed by *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). Reduplication, and operations related with it, produce (*vuvūrṣa* + *LAṬ*) → *vuvūrṣate*. Refer to derivational details of *cikīrṣakaḥ* and *jihīrṣakaḥ*, under the appendix (II:407-8) of 1.1.58 *na padānta* . . . for some general applications. Recall that this introduction of *iṬ* was obligatorily denied by 7.2.12 *sani grahaguhoś ca*. Our present rule makes it optionally available. The *i*-replacement (*itva*) in *ātistīrṣati* is accomplished by 7.1.100 *ṝta iddhātoḥ*. The optional long replacement of *iṬ* is accomplished by 7.2.38 *vṝto vā*. Thus, we get three forms: *ātistīrṣati*, *ātistariṣati* and *ātistarīṣati*. Incidentally, Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) questions the active (*parasmaipada*) reading of *ātistīrṣati* (*ātistīrṣatīti parasmaipadapāṭho na yuktaḥ*).

Why do we not get the introduction of *iṬ* in *cikīrṣati* and *jihīrṣati*? Because *kṛ* and *hṛ* do not take *iṬ*. But they can qualify for *iṬ* after *ṛ* is replaced with long (6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ sani*). We can still not get *iṬ* since *ṝ* is not original (*aupadeśika*) with the root. It is gotten via application of a rule (*lākṣaṇika*).

7.2.42 **लिङ्सिचोरात्मनेपदेषु**

liṅsicor ātmanepadeṣu
/ *liṅsicoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ātmanepadeṣu* 7/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṝtaḥ* #38 *vā iṭ* #41)
vṝto liṅi sici ca ātmanepadapare vā iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced, optionally, to a *LIṄ* and *sIC* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *vṛ* (*vṛṄ*/ *vṛÑ*), and after roots which end in *ṝ*, provided *LIṄ*, or *sIC*, followed by an *ātmanepada* 'middle' affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

vṛṣīṣṭa
variṣīṣṭa
prāvṛṣīṣṭa
prāvariṣīṣṭa
āstariṣīṣṭa
āstīrṣīṣṭa
avṛta
avariṣṭa
avarīṣṭa
prāvṛta
prāvariṣṭa
prāvarīṣṭa
āstīrṣṭa
āstariṣṭa
āstarīṣṭa

1. This rule allows *iṬ*, optionally, when a replacement of *LIṄ*, or affix *sIC*, followed by an *ātmanepada* affix follows verbal roots *vṛṄ*, *vṛÑ*, or roots which end in a long *ṝ*. Thus, we get *vṛṣīṣṭa*/ *variṣīṣṭa*; *prāvṛṣīṣṭa*/ *prāvariṣīṣṭa*, etc. Refer to derivational details of examples under the appendix (II:436-37) of rules 1.2.11-1.2.12 *liṅsicāv* . . . and 1.2.12 *uś ca*. A derivate of *LIṄ* will not get a long replacement in view of 7.2.39 *na liṅi*. However, an optional *iṬ*, in the context of *sIC*, will get a replacement in long. Note that rule 8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt* deletes *sIC*, via *LUK*, when the option of *iṬ* is not accepted. An option of *iṬ*, when accepted, leads to optional long replacement (7.2.33 *vṝto vā*), subsequent to the application of *guṇa*, etc. Consider *āstīrṣṭa* and *āstīriṣṭa* where optional long replacement is applied with *iṬ*. Now consider *āstarīṣṭa* where the option of *iṬ* is not accepted.

2. Why do we have the condition of *ātmanepada*? Consider (*pra-vṛ* + (*LUṄ* →*tas*→*tām*)) = *prāvāriṣṭām* and (*pra-vṛ* + (*LUṄ*→*jhi*→*us*)) = *prāvāriṣuḥ*, where (cf. 7.2.40 *sici ca parasmaipadeṣu*) augment *iṬ* is introduced, obligatorily (*nityam*). Counter-examples of *LIṄ* are impossible to find (*asambhavāt*). Since affix *yāsUṬ* does not begin with *vaL* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*), the question of introducing *iṬ* does not arise. There is no question of an option when the provision itself is missing.

7.2.43 ऋतश्च संयोगादेः

ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ
/*ṛtaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *saṃyogādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃyoga ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vā iṭ* #41 *liṅsicor ātmanepadeṣu* #42)
ṛdantād dhātoḥ saṃyogāder uttarayor liṅsicor ātmanepadeṣu vā iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is also introduced, optionally, to a *LIṄ* and *sIC* which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely a verbal root ending in *ṛ* and beginning with a conjunct (*saṃyoga*), provided, of course, affixes *LIṄ* and *sIC* are related to the *ātmanepada* affix which follows.

EXAMPLES:

dhvṛṣīṣṭa/ *dhvariṣīṣṭa*
smṛṣīṣṭa/ *smariṣīṣṭa*
adhvṛṣātām/ *adhvariṣātām*
asmṛṣātām/ *asmariṣātām*

1. Follow derivational details of examples already discussed. Note, however, that verbal roots *dhvṛ* 'to be crooked' and *smṛ* 'to remember, think' are active (*parasmaipada*). Their derivates with middle endings are possible only when they are introduced with the denotata of *bhāva* 'action' and *karman* 'object' (1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*). As usual, there is no *guṇa* because of the *kit*-status of *sIC* (1.2.12 *uś ca*).

Why do we have the condition of *ṛdanta* 'ending in *ṛ*'? Consider *cyoṣīṣṭa* (*cyu*), *ploṣīṣṭa* (*plu*) and *acyoṣṭa* and *aploṣṭa* where, because the roots do not end in *ṛ*, augment *iṬ* is not introduced.

Why do we have the condition of *saṃyogādi* 'conjunct-initial'? Consider *kṛṣīṣṭa*, *hṛṣīṣṭa* and *akṛta*, *ahṛta*, where the roots can be used with active as well as middle endings. However, *iṬ* cannot be introduced since the roots do not begin with a conjunct.

Why do we have the condition of *ātmanepadeṣu*? Consider *adhvārṣīt*/ *asmārṣīt*, where we do not get augment *iṬ* when an active ending (*parasmaipada*) follows.

How come we get *iṬ* when *kṛ*, used with the preverb *sam*, becomes conjunct-initial as a result of addition of augment *sUṬ*. That is, given *sam* + *sUṬ* + *kṛ* +

Kta. This rule requires conjunct-initial status of roots in *upadeśa* 'initial citation'. Besides, *sUṬ* does not become part of the root (*abhāktatvāt*). Consequently, augment *iṬ* cannot be introduced (*Kāś*: *saṃskṛṣīṣṭa/samaskṛta ity atropadeśādhikārāt abhaktatvāc ca suḍ iḍāgamo na bhavati*).

7.2.44 स्वरतिसूतिसूयतिधूञूदितो वा

svaratisūtisūyatidhūñūdito vā

/*svarati-sūti-sūyati-dhūñ-uditaḥ* 5/1 = *ūd it yasya* = *ūdit* (*bv.*); *svaratiś ca sūtiś ca sūyatiś ca dhūñ ca udic ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* #35)

'*svarati, sūti, sūyati, dhūñ*' *ity etebhyaḥ ūdidbhyaś cottarasya valāder ārdhadhātukasya vā iḍ āgamo bhavati*

Augment *iṬ* is introduced to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *vaL* (*Śs*. 5-14), provided the same occurs after an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots: *svarati* (*svṛ* 'resound, heat, torture'), *sūti* (*ṣūÑ* 'give birth to'; *adādi*), *sūyati* (*ṣūÑ* 'give birth to'; *divādi*), *dhūÑ* 'to shake' (*svādi, kryādi* and *curādi*), and roots marked with *ū* as an *it*.

EXAMPLES:

svarttā/svaritā
prasotā/prasavitā
sotā/savitā
dhotā/dhavitā (forms of *dhūÑ*)
vigāḍhā/vigāhitā (forms of *gāhŪ* 'to churn')
goptā/gopitā (*guhŪ* 'to protect, preserve')

1. This rule allows *iṬ* after enumerated verbal roots, plus roots which may be marked with *ū* as an *it* (*ūd-it*). Note that *svṛ, ṣūÑ* and *sūÑ* are all *anudātta*. Consequently, they had negation of *iṬ* applicable to them. Verbal root *dhūÑ* is *udātta*. It thus has obligatory *iṬ* already made available. Remember here that this specification of *dhū* (with *Ñ* as an it; *sānubandhaka*) does not include any reference to *dhū* (used without any *it*; *niranubandhaka*). Thus, *svartā/svaritā*; *prasotā/prasavitā*; *sotā/savitā*; *dhotā/dhavitā* (two forms each with, and without, *iṬ*); *vigāḍhā/vigāhitā* and *goptā/gopitā*. Note that *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* is also carried to this rule. Most of the cited examples involve *guṇa* and, where applicable, a replacement in *av*. Of course, in addition to *iṬ*. Examples of *gāhŪ*, i.e., *vigāhā/vigāhitā*, involve *h*→*ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*), *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*), *t*→*dh* (*dhatva*), and deletion of *ḍh* (*ḍhalopa*; 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*). Thus, *vi-gāh* + (*LUṬ*→*ti*→*Ḍā*) → *vi-gāh* + *t* (*ās* →ϕ) + *ā* → *vi-gā* (*h*→*ḍh*) + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*) + *ā* → *vi-gā*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍh* + *ā* = *vigāḍhā*.

Recall here that as *tāsI* is introduced when *LUṬ* follows, we get *sya* when *LUṬ* and *LṚṬ* (3.1.33 *syatāsī* . . .) follow. The *sya* which may occur after *svṛ*

will avail *iṬ*, optionally. Rule 7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ sye* will block this optional provision of *iṬ*. However, 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti* will block this option by way of *pūrva-vipratiṣedha* 'resolution of conflict among two rules where the preceding wins'. This, of course, will happen under the condition of an affix treated as if marked with *K* as an *it*. We will thus get *svṛtvā*. *Kāśikā* also observes that *svṛ* will get *iṬ*, obligatorily, against the optional one of our present rule based on *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict among two rules of equal strength where the subsequent rule wins'. Thus, our present rule has its independent scope of application relative to two forms of *svṛ*: *svartā* and *svaritā*. Forms such as *kariṣyati* and *hariṣyati* justify the independent scope of 7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ sye*. But given *svṛ + sya + ti*, we find both rules applicable. Rule 7.2.70 *ṛddhanoḥ sye* will win the conflict in view of 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*. We will thus get *svariṣyati*. Some here claim that *param* of 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* means *iṣṭa* 'desired'.

Recall that *gupŪ* 'to hide, protect' is marked with *anudātta* as an it. Thus, it would allow *iṬ*, optionally, when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with *vaL* follows. Recall also that forms of *LUṬ* also involve *tās* (3.1.33 *syatāsī*. . .). This also involves introduction of *āya* (3.1.31 *āyādaya* . . .). Thus, we will get the *āya* forms of *gup* with *iṬ*, such as *gopāyitā* 'he will protect'. This *iṬ* will become optional in the absence of *āya*. Thus, *gopitā*, *gopitārau*, *gopitāraḥ*, with *iṬ* and no *āya*. We get *goptā*, *goptārau*, *goptāraḥ*, with no *āya* and no *iṬ*.

2. Why use *vā* again when the same can be carried, via *anuvṛtti*, from 7.2.41 *iṭ sani vā*. But since the *vā* of the earlier rule is associated with *LIṄ* and *sIC*, its *anuvṛtti* will also bring *LIṄ* and *sIC* to this rule. This, of course, is not desired. The *vā* of this rule is used to cancel the *anuvṛtti* of *LIṄ* and *sIC*.

Refer to notes under rule 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛvṛstu* . . . for details of restrictive provision generally referred to as *krādi-niyama*.

7.2.45 रधादिभ्यश्च

radhādibhyaś ca

/ *radhādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *radha ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *ca* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* #35 *vā* #44)

'*radha hiṃsāsaṃsidhyoḥ*' *ity evam ādibhyo*' *ṣṭābhya uttarasya valāder ārdhadhātukasya vā iḍ āgamo bhavati*

Augment *iṬ* is also introduced, optionally, to an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* when this same begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *vaL* (*Śs.* 5-14), and occurs after the set of verbal roots enumerated beginning with *radhA* 'to accomplish, harm'.

EXAMPLES:

raddhā/ *radhitā*

naṃṣṭā/ *naśitā*

mogdhā/ moḍhā/ mohitā
snegdhā/ sneḍhā/ snehitā

1. Eight roots which are enumerated beginning with *radhA* 'to harm, oppress, accomplish' are allowed to have *iT* introduced to their following *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with a sound denoted by *vaL* (*Śs.* 5-14). The enumerated roots are: *radhA*, *naś* 'to disappear', *tṛpA* 'to be pleased', *dṛpA* 'to be pleasant, be infatuated', *druhA* 'to wish harm to', *muhA* 'to be perplexed', *snuhA* 'to throw up, vomit', and *snihA* 'to be affectionate'. An optional *iT* offers two forms for each one of the listed verbs. Thus, *raddhā*, *radhitā*; and *naṃṣṭā*, *naśitā*, etc., all derivates of *tṛC*. Recall that augment *aM* is optionally introduced to roots which are marked with *anudātta* and contain *ṛ* in their *upadhā* 'penultimate position'. We thus get three forms (cf. 6.1.59 *anudāttasya ca*. . .) each for *tṛpA* and *dṛpA*, i.e., *traptā/ tarpitā/ tarptā* and *draptā/ darpitā/ darptā*. Verbal root *naśA* receives *nUM* (7.1.60 *masjinaśor jhali*) where *m* is also replaced with *anusvāra*. The *ś* of *naśA* also goes through *ṣṭutva* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛja* . . .). We thus get *naṃṣṭā* and *naśitā* (cf. 7.1.60 *masjinaśor jhali*).

We get three forms each of verbal roots *druhA*, *muhA*, *snuhA* and *snihA*: *drogdhā/ droḍhā/ drohitā*; *mogdhā/ moḍhā/ mohitā*; *snogdhā/ snoḍhā/ snohitā* and *snegdhā/ sneḍhā/ snehitā*. These roots, in the absence of optional *iT*, receive an optional replacement of their *h* with *gh* (8.2.33 *vā druhadruhamuha* . . .). The following *t* then goes through a replacement in *dha* (*dhatva*; 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathordho' dhaḥ*). The *gh*, for example of *dr(u→o)h* → *dro(h→gh)*, is further repaced with *g* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). Thus, we get *drogdhā*, *mogdhā*, *snogdhā* and *snegdhā*. We can similarly get *droḍhā*, *moḍhā*, etc., when optional replacement of *h* with *gh* (*ghatva*; 8.2.33 *vā druhamuha* . . .) is not accepted. We will then get *h* replaced with *ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*). An acceptance of optional *iT* will similarly produce *drohitā* and *mohitā*, etc. That is, *druhA*, *muhA*, *ṣnuhA* and *ṣnihA* produce three forms each.

2. Rule 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛvṛstudrusruśruvo liṭi* offers a restrictive provision: 'verbal roots *kṛ*, *sṛ*, *bhṛ*, *vṛ*, *stu*, *dru*, *sru*, and *śru*, alone, are not allowed to have *iT* introduced when *LIT* follows'. This is what generally is known as the *krādi-niyama* 'restrictive provision with reference to roots specified beginning with *kṛ*' (cf. notes under 7.2.13). Some state that roots of this rule could not be allowed *iT* in consonance with *krādi-niyama*. However, since this rule is subsequent in order (*para*), its optional *iT* must prevail. Others state that the *krādi-niyama* is a restrictive negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *iT*. Since a *niyama* 'restrictive provision' is more powerful (*balavattara*), this rule must offer *iT*, obligatorily. They will thus get *rarandhiva* and *rarandhima*. I omit further details of these views.

7.2.46 निर: कुष:

niraḥ kuṣaḥ

/*niraḥ* 5/1 *kuṣaḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ* #35 *vā* #44)
'*nir*' *ity evam pūrvāt kuṣa uttarasya valāder ārdhadhātukasya vā iḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is, optionally, introduced to an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* when the same begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *vaL* and occurs after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *kuṣ* 'to squeeze out' used with the preverb *nir*.

EXAMPLES:

niṣkoṣṭā/ *niṣkoṣitā*
niṣkoṣṭum/ *niṣkoṣitum*
niṣkoṣṭavyam/ *niṣkoṣitavyam*

1. This rule allows *iṬ* to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL* and is used after *kuṣ* 'to squeeze out, hurt', used after *nir*. Thus, we get *niṣkoṣṭā*, *niṣkoṣitā*, etc. Note here that the non-affixal *visarga* of *ni*(*r*→*ḥ*), in *niḥ* + *koṣṭā*, etc., is replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.41 *idupadhasya*...).

2. Why do we state the condition of *niraḥ* 'occurring after *nir*'? Consider *koṣitā*, *koṣitum* and *koṣitavyam* where, because of *kuṣ* not occurring after nir, we get *iṬ*, obligatorily. The *iṬ* where *kuṣ* occurs after *nir* is optional (7.2.46 *niraḥ kuṣaḥ*).

Why was this specification with the preverb not made as *nisaḥ*? So that one can identify a reference to this *nir*, a different preverb. It is this *nir* whose *r* is replaced with *l* in *nilayanam*, etc., by rule 8.2.19 *upasargasyāyatau*. The *r* of *nis* cannot be replaced with *l* since *r* will become *asiddha* 'suspended' (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*).

7.2.47 इण्निष्ठायाम्

iṇ niṣṭhāyām
/*iṭ* 1/1 *niṣṭhāyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *niraḥ kuṣaḥ* #46)
niraḥ kuṣo niṣṭhāyām iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to an affix termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.28 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *kuṣ* used with the preverb *nir*.

EXAMPLES:

niṣkuṣitaḥ
niṣkuṣitavān

1. Why use *iṬ* explicitly here when the same is available from *anuvṛtti*? So that this provision of *iṬ* could be made obligatorily. Thus, (*nir* + *kuṣ* + *iṬ* +

Kta) + *sU* → *ni*(*r*→*ḥ* →*ṣ*) *kuṣitaḥ* = *niṣkuṣitaḥ* and *niṣkuṣitavān*. In the absence of this explicit mention of *iṬ*, the provision of this rule could have become optional, in view of 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. It is thus intended to block application of 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* (*Kāś*: *iḍgrahaṇaṃ nityārtham. ārambho hi 'yasya vibhāṣā' ity asya bādhakaḥ; anyathā hi vikalpārtha eva syād. atraiva nityam iḍāgamaḥ, uttaratra vikalpa eveti*). The provisions of this rule alone are accepted as obligatory. Provisions of *iṬ* which follow are optional.

7.2.48 तीषसहलुभरुषरिषः

tīṣasahalubharuṣariṣaḥ
/ *ti* 7/1 *iṣa-saha-lubha-ruṣa-riṣaḥ* 5/1 = *iṣaś ca sahaś ca lubhaś ca ruṣaś ca riṭ ca iṣ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ* #35 *vā* #44)
takārādāv ārdhadhātuke '*iṣu, saha, lubha, ruṣa, risa*' *ity etebhyo vā iḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is introduced, only optionally, to an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* when the same begins with *t* and occurs after an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *iṣU* 'to desire', *ṣahA* 'to endure', *lubhA* 'to be greedy', *ruṣA* 'to harm' and *riṣA* 'to harm'.

EXAMPLES:

preṣitā/ *preṣitum*/ *preṣitavyam*
soḍhā/ *sahitā*
lobdhā/ *lobhitā*
roṣṭā/ *roṣitā*
reṣṭā/ *resitā*

1. This rule introduces augment *iṬ*, optionally, to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with a *t* and occurs after verbal roots *iṣU*, *ṣahA*, *lubhA*, *ruṣA* and *riṣA*. Thus, (*iṣ* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*) + *sU* → *eṣitā* and *eṣṭā*, with a replacement in *s*→*ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and *t*→*ṭ*(*ṣṭutva*). Commentators note that this optional *iṬ* is desired for *iṣU* 'to desire'. Augment *iṬ* is obligatorily introduced in the context of *iṣ* 'to move', as in *preṣitā* and *preṣitavyam*. The *kryādi* root *iṣA* 'to do something over and over again' also has a single form. This is the reason why *iṣ* of this rule is cited as *iṣU*. Verbal root *sahA* will have two forms: *soḍhā* and *sahitā* where *sah* + *tṛC*, with no *iṬ*, will have to go through replacements such as *h*→*dh*→*ḍh*. The *a* of *sa* will also be replaced with *o* (6.3.112 *sahivahor od*...). Similar rules apply in deriving (*lubh* + *tṛC*) + *sU* → *lobdhā* and *lobhitā*; *roṣṭā* and *roṣitā*; a *reṣṭā* and *reṣitā*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *t*-initial (*takārādi*)? Consider *eṣiṣyati* where augment *iṬ* is introduced, obligatorily. For, there is no *t*-initial (*takārādi*) affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* to follow.

7.2.49 सनीवन्तर्धभ्रस्जदम्भुश्रिस्वृयूर्णुभरज्ञपिसनाम्

sanīvantardhabhrasjadambhuśrisvṛyūrṇubharajñapisanām
/ sani 7/1 *ivantardhabhrasjadambhuśrisvṛyūrṇubharajñapisanāṃ* 6/3 = *iva ante yeṣāṃ te* = *ivantāḥ* (*bv.*); *ivantāś ca ṛdhaś ca bhrasjaś ca dambhuś ca śriś ca svā ca yuś ca ūrṇuś ca bharaś ca jñapiś ca saṃś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; sani* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vā* #44 *iṭ* #47)
ivantānāṃ dhātūnām '*ṛdhu, bhrasja, dambhu, śri, svṛ, yū, ūrṇu, bhara, jñapi, san*' *ity eteṣāṃ ca sani vā iḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is introduced, optionally, to affix *saN* when the same occurs after roots ending in *iva*, or after verbal roots *ṛdhU* 'to grow', *bhrasjA* 'to cook', *dambhU* 'to cheat', *śri* 'to serve', *svṚ* 'to be noisy, to heat, pain', *yu* 'to mix', *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover', *bhṛÑ* 'to bear, provide for', *jñapI* 'to inform', and *san* 'to give, gain'.

EXAMPLES:

didevisati/ dudyūṣati (forms of *div*)
sisevisati/ susyūṣati (forms of *siv*)
ardidhiṣati/ īrtsati (forms of *ṛdh*)
bibhrajjiṣati/ bibhrakṣati
bibharjjiṣati/ bibharkṣati (forms of *bhrasj*)
didambhiṣati/ dhipsati/ dhīpsati (forms of *dambhU*)
ucchiśrayiṣati/ ucchiśrīṣati (forms of *ut-śri*)
sisvariṣati/ susvūrṣati (forms of *svṛ*)
yiyavisati/ yuyūṣati (forms of *yu*)
prorṇunaviṣati/ prorṇunuvisati/ prorṇunūṣati (forms of *urṇU*)
bibhariṣati/ bubhūrṣati
(forms of the *bhvādi* root *bhṛÑ*)
jijñapayiṣati/ jñīpsati (forms of *jñapI*)
sisaniṣati/ siṣāsati (forms of *san*)

1. This rule offers optional *iṬ* to roots which end in *iv*, or to roots such as *ṛdhU, bhrasj, dambhU, śri, svṛ, yū, ūrṇU, bharA, jñapI,* and *san,* when affix *saN* follows. Verbal root *san* here refers to *ṣaṇ* 'to give' and *ṣaṇ* 'to divide, distribute' both. Thus, we get (*div* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* → *didiv*+ *iṬ* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *a* + *LAṬ*) → *didiviṣa* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *didiviṣati.* This, of course, when optional introduction of *iṬ* is accepted. We will get *div* + *saN*→ *di*(*v*→*ūṬH*) + *saN*→ *d*(*i*→*y*) + *ū*(*ṬH*) + *sa*(*N*) = *dyū* + *sa,* where, in the absence of optional *iṬ,* augment *ūṬH* (6.4.19 *cchvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike*) is introduced. Affix *saN,* for this purpose, is treated as if marked with *K* as an *it* (*kitvat,* 1.2.10 *halantāc ca*). A subsequent application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* produces *dyū* + *sa.* Operations such as doubling (6.1.9 *sany aṅoḥ*), retention of a unit formed with the first consonant (*halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*)), shortening (7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*) and *s*→*ṣ*

(*ṣatva*) produce *dyū* + *sa* → *dyū* + *dyū* + *sa* → *d*(*y*→ϕ) (*ū*→*u*) + *dyū* + *sa* → *du* + *dyū* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *a* = *dudyūṣa* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *dudyūṣa* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* = *dudyūṣati*. Forms of verbal root *siv*, i.e., *siseviṣati* and *susyūṣati*, follow similar derivational steps.

2. Some offer a modified reading of this rule as follows: . . . *bharajñapisanitanipatidaridrāṇām*. This then additionally accounts for forms of *tani* 'to stretch', *pati* 'to fall' and *daridrā* 'to be poor'. Thus, *titaniṣati*, *titaṃsati*, *titāṃsati*; *pipatiṣati*, *pitsati*; and *didaridriṣati*, *didaridrāsati*.

3. Why do we have the condition of *sani* 'when *saN* follows'? Consider *devitā* where *iṬ* is introduced obligatorily. Now consider *bhraṣṭā* where it is not available (*abhāva*). Of course, augment *iṬ* will be optional where *saN* follows and all other conditions are also met.

7.2.50 क्लिशः क्त्वानिष्ठयोः

kliśaḥ ktvāniṣṭhayoḥ
/*kliśaḥ* 5/1 *ktvāniṣṭhayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vā* #44 *iṭ* #47)
kliśaḥ ktvāniṣṭhayor vā iḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment *iṬ* is introduced, optionally, to affix *Ktvā*, and also to an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, when these affixes occur after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *kliśA* 'to torment'.

EXAMPLES:

kliṣṭvā/ *kliśitvā*
kliṣṭaḥ/ *kliṣṭavān*
kliśitaḥ/ *kliśitavān*

1. This rule introduces augment *iṬ*, optionally, after verbal root *kliś* when *Ktvā*, and an affix termed *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*), follows. Note that *kliś* here refers to both *kliś* 'torment' and *kliśŪ* 'refute, harass'. We will get *kliś* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*K*) *tvā*) = *kliśitvā*. The *guṇa* of *i* of *kliś* is blocked on the basis of *Ktvā* being treated as if marked with *K* (*kitvat*; 1.2.7 *mṛḍamṛdagudha* . . .). Not accepting optional *iṬ* will produce (*kli*(*ś*→*ṣ*) + (*t*→*ṭ*) *vā*)) = *kliṣṭvā*, with *ś*→*ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛja* . . .) and *t*→*ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Similar optional forms can also be derived with *iṬ* and affixes *Kta* and *KtvatU*. Thus, *kliśitaḥ*, *kliṣṭaḥ*; and *kliśitavān*, *kliṣṭavān*.

Why do we state *Ktvā* in the wording of this rule when 7.2.44 *svartisūtisūyati* . . . already offers optional *iṬ* in the context of *kliśŪ* before affix *Ktvā*? But this optional *iṬ* gets negated in *niṣṭhā* by 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. This rule is then necessary to offer optional *iṬ* there. We get obligatory *iṬ* in the contetxt of *kliś* 'to torment' before *Ktvā* and *niṣṭhā* both. The *Ktvā* of this rule turns that obligatory *iṬ* into optional (*Kāś*: *kliśa upatāpe ity asya tu ktvāyām niṣṭhāyāṃ ca nityam iḍāgamaḥ prāpnoti tadarthaṃ ktvāgrahaṇaṃ kriyate*).

7.2.51 पूङश्च

pūṅaḥ ca
/*pūṅaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vā* #44 *iṭ* #47 *ktvāniṣṭhayoḥ* #50)
pūṅaś ca ktvāniṣṭhayor vā iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced optionally to affix *Ktvā*, and to an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, also when these affixes occur after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *pūṄ* 'to cleanse'.

EXAMPLES:

pūtvā/ pavitvā/ somo' tipavitaḥ
pūtavān/ pavitavān

1. This rule offers optional *iṬ* after *pūṄ* when *Ktvā*, or an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, follows. This optional provision of *iṬ* is made against its obligatory negation by 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti*. Thus, *pūṄ* + *Ktvā* = *pūtvā*. Recall that 1.2.22 *pūṅaḥ ktvā ca* negates the *kit* '*K* as an *it*' status of *Ktvā*, *Kta* and *KtvatU*. That is why we get *guṇa*, and subsequent *av*, in *pūṄ* + *iṬ* + *Ktvā* → *p*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *iṬ* + *Ktvā* = *pavitvā*. We similarly get *pūtaḥ, pavitaḥ*; and *pūtavān, pavitavān*.

7.2.52 वसतिक्षुधोरिट्

vasatikṣudhor iṭ
/*vasati-kṣudhoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *iṭ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ktvāniṣṭhayoḥ* #50)
vasateḥ kṣudheś ca ktvāniṣṭhayor iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to affix *Ktvā*, and also to an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, when these affixes occur after an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *vas* 'to dwell, stay' and *kṣudh* 'be hungry'.

EXAMPLES:

uṣitvā/ uṣitaḥ/ uṣitavān
kṣudhitvā/ kṣudhitaḥ/ kṣudhitavān

1. This rule offers *iṬ* to *vasA* and *kṣudhA* when *Ktvā*, or an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, follows. These roots both are marked with *anudātta*. Consequently, they were thus obligatorily blocked from availing *iṬ*. Why use *iṬ* explicitly in this rule when the same could be brought, via *anuvṛtti*, from the earlier rule. Since *iṬ* of the earlier rule is associated with an optional provision, this rule must use *iṬ* to make the provision obligatory (*nitya*). We thus get *vas* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*K*) *tvā* → (*v*→*u*) *as*) + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*K*) *tvā* → (*ua* →*u*) *s* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*K*) *tvā* → *u*(*s*→*ṣ*) + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*K*) *tvā* = *uṣitvā*. Note that the *samprasāraṇa* in the root is accomplished by 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām*. . . . The *s* is replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) by 8.3.60 *śāsivasighasīnām*. . . . Deriving *kṣudhitvā, kṣudhitaḥ* and *kṣudhitavān* with

iṬ does not offer anything new. Recall, however, that 1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhādd halādeḥ saṃś ca*, optionally, negates *kit*-status of *Ktvā*. This optional negation then blocks *guṇa*.

2. Note that the root in *vasateḥ*, since it is here specified with *ŚaP*, refers to the *bhvādi* root *vas* 'to dwell'. That is, this *iṬ* is not relatable to *vasA* of any other class. Verbal root *vasA* 'to cover' should have *iṬ* available just on the basis of being marked with *udātta*. An explicit mention of *iṬ* in this rule is intended for making an obligatory provision. For, the *iṬ* of the earlier rule is intended for making an optional provision.

7.2.53 अञ्चेः पूजायाम्

añceḥ pūjāyām
/*añceḥ* 5/1 *pūjāyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ktvāniṣṭhayoḥ* #50 *iṭ* #52)
añceḥ pūjāyām arthe ktvāniṣṭhayor iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to affix *Ktvā*, and also to an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, when these occur after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *añcU*, provided *pūjā* 'respect' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

añcitvā jānu juhoti 'offers the sacrifice with bent knee'
añcitā asya guravaḥ 'respected is (are) his teacher'

1. This rule offers *iṬ* after verbal root *añcU* when *Ktvā*, or an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, follows. Note that *añcU* is marked with *U* as an it (*udit*). It thus receives optional *iṬ* from 7.3.56 *udito vā*. This rule offers *iṬ*, obligatorily. Verbal root *añcU* is denied augment *iṬ* when a *niṣṭhā* affix follows (7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*). Our present rule offers *iṬ*, again, obligatorily.

Why do we have the condition of *pūjāyām* 'when the derivate denotes praise'? Observe: (*ud-añc* + *Kta*) = *udakta* of *udaktam udakaṃ kūpāt* 'fetched water from the well', where *udakta* denotes the sense of *uddhṛta* 'drawn, taken out'. That is why we do not get augment *iṬ*.

7.2.54 लुभो विमोहने

lubho vimohane
/*lubhaḥ* 5/1 *vimohane* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ktvāniṣṭhayoḥ* #50 *iṭ* #52)
lubho vimohane' rthe vartamānāt ktvāniṣṭhayor iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to affix *Ktvā*, and also to an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, when these occur after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *lubh*, provided *vimohana* 'confusion, perplexity' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

lubhitvā/ lobhitvā 'having become perplexed'
vilubhitāḥ keśāḥ 'disordered hairs'

1. This rule offers augment *iṬ* to *lubh* when *Ktvā*, or an affix termed *niṣṭhā*, follows and the derivate denotes *vimohana*. The word *vimohana* is explained as the state of *ākulīkaraṇa* 'agitation, perplexity, disorder'. Thus, we get *lubhitvā* and *vilubhitaḥ*. An optional *kit*-status (1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād* . . .) may facilitate *guṇa* to yield *lobhitvā*.

2. Note that 7.2.48 *tīṣasahalubha* . . . offers optional *iṬ*. Rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* denies *iṬ* before affixes termed *niṣṭhā*. This rule blocks all those provisions in favor of an obligatory *iṬ*.

3. Why do we state the condition of *vimohane*? Consider *lubdho vṛṣalaḥ* 'this lowly *śūdra* is tormented by cold' where we do not get *iṬ* since the sense is not *vimohana*. What the derivate denotes is: '*śītena pīḍitaḥ* 'tormented by cold'. Now consider *lubdhvā*, *lubhitvā* and *lobhitā* where augment *iṬ* is optionally introduced in consonance with 7.2.48 *tīṣasahalubharuṣa*. . . . The third form goes through *guṇa* in consonance with optional *kit*-status of *Ktvā* (1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhād* . . .). What the derivate denotes here is *gārdhya* 'greed'.

7.2.55 जॄव्रश्च्योः क्त्वि

jṝvraścyoḥ ktviḥ
/*jṝ-vraścyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ktviḥ* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #52)
'*jṝ, vraści*' *ity etayoḥ ktvā pratyaye iḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is introduced after an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *jṝ* 'to decay, be old' and *vraścI* 'to cut', when affix *Ktvā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jaritvā/ jarītvā
vraścitvā

1. This rule offers *iṬ* after verbal roots *jṝ* and *OvraścŪ* when affix *Ktvā* follows. Thus, we get *jṝ* + *Ktvā* → *jṝ* + *iṬ* + *Ktvā* → (*jṝ*→*jar*) + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*K*) *tvā*)) → *jaritvā*, with application of replacement in *guṇa*. An optional long replacement for the short *i* of *jari* can be availed by 7.2.38 *vṝto vā*. This will give us *jarītvā*. One can similarly derive *vraścitvā* with *Ktvā* and *iṬ*. Note that, because of negation (*pratiṣedha*) of *kit*-status of *Ktvā* (1.2.18 *na ktvā seṭ*), *samprasāraṇa* of 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi* . . . will be blocked.

2. Note that *iṬ*, in the context of *jṝ*, is negated by 7.4.11 *ṛcchatyṝtām*… *śryukaḥ kiti*. Verbal root *vraścŪ* is marked with *Ū* as an *it*. Consequently, an optional *iṬ* is made available by 7.2.44 *svaratisūti*. . . . Our present rule blocks these provisions in favor of an obligatory *iṬ*.

3. Why is *Ktvā* used again explicitly? So that the *anuvṛtti* of *niṣṭhā* could be canceled. Or else, this obligatory *iṬ* is intended only when *Ktvā* follows.

7.2.56 उदितो वा

udito vā
/*uditaḥ* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #52 *ktvi* #55)
udito dhātoḥ ktvāpratyaye parato vā iḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is, optionally, introduced to affix *Ktvā* when it follows an *aṅga*, namely a verbal root marked with *u* as an *it*.

EXAMPLES:

śamitvā/ śāntvā '*Ktvā*-derivate of *śamU* 'to be tranquil''
tamitvā/ tāntvā '*Ktvā*-derivate of *tamU* 'to faint''
damitvā/ dāntvā '*Ktvā*-derivate of *damU* 'to tame, control''

1. This rule allows optional *iṬ* after verbal roots which are marked with *U* as an *it* (*udit*). Of course, when *Ktvā* follows them. Thus, *śamU* + *iṬ* + *Ktvā* → *śamitvā*. Rule 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvij* . . . will order a long replacement for the short penultimate vowel (*upadhādīrgha*) if the option of *iṬ* is not accepted. Thus, *ś*(*a*→*ā*)*m* + *tvā* → *śā*(*m*→*ṃ*→*n*) + *tvā* = *śāntvā*, with *m*→*ṃ* (*anusvāra*; 8.3.23 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*) and *ṃ*→*n* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*). We will similarly get *tamitvā*; *tāntvā* and *damitvā*; *dāntvā*.

7.2.57 सेऽसिचि कृतचृतच्छृदतृदनृतः

se' sici kṛtacṛtacchṛdatṛdanṛtaḥ
/*se* 7/1 *asici* 7/1 = *na sic* = *asic* (*nañ.*), *tasmin*; *kṛta-cṛta-chṛda-tṛda-nṛtaḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasya* #35 *iṭ* #52 *vā* #56)
sakārādāv asicyārdhadhātuke '*kṛta, cṛta, chṛda, tṛda, nṛta*' *ity etebhyo dhātubhyo vā iḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* which begins with *s*, though not with *sIC*, and occurs after an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *kṛtĪ* 'to cut', *cṛtĪ* 'inflict harm to', *UchṛdIR* 'glow . . .', *UtṛdIR* 'inflict harm, to offer' and *nṛtĪ* 'to dance'.

EXAMPLES:

kartsyati 'third person singular *LṚṬ*-derivate of *kṛt*'
akartsyat 'third person singular *LṚṄ*-derivate of *kṛt*'
cikṛtsati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *kṛt* ending in *saN*'
acartsyat 'third person singular *LṚṄ*-derivate of *cṛt*'
cicṛtsati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *cṛt* ending in *saN*'
acchartsyat 'third person singular *LṚṄ*-derivate of *chṛd*'

cichṛtsati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *chṛt* ending in *saN*'
tartsyati 'third person singular *LṚṬ*-derivate of *tṛd*'
atartsyat 'third person singular *LṚṄ*-derivate of *tṛd*'
titṛtsati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *tṛd* ending in *saN*'
nartsyati 'third person singular *LṚṬ*-derivate of *nṛt*'
anartsyat 'third person singular *LṚṄ*-derivate of *nṛt*'
ninṛtsati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *nṛt* ending in *saN*'

1. This rule offers an optional *iṬ* to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with *s*, though not with that of *sIC*, and follows verbal roots *kṛtA*, *cṛtA*, *chṛdA*, *tṛdA* and *nṛt*. These roots are all marked with *udātta* as their *it* (*udāttet*). This rule is formulated to offer *iṬ*, optionally. We will thus get *kar'syati*, *akartsyat* and *cikṛtsati*, etc., where augment *iṬ* is not introduced before *LṚṬ*, *LṚṄ* and *saN*. We will get *kartiṣyati*, *akartiṣyat* and *cikartiṣyati*, instead, when the option of *iṬ* is accepted. Refer to derivational details under the appendix (II:497-98) of 1.3.92 *vṛdbhyaḥ syasanoḥ*. Note that when the option of *iṬ* is accepted, *guṇa* is blocked at the strength of the non-*kit* status of *saN*.

2. Note that the *a* of *sa* in *se* of this rule is not intended as particularly important. It can be simply accepted as used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtham*). It is not intended to serve any other purpose (*avivakṣitatvāt*). This facilitątes optional *iṬ* also before *sya*. We know that *a* is not *tantra* 'principal' on the basis of the accompanying negation of *asici*. If the use of *a* is non-principal (*atantra*) then why did Pāṇini not formulate the wording of this rule with *s*(*i*→*y*) + *asici* = *syasici*? He did not use *syasici* for fear of confusion. Such a formulation could also be interpreted as: 'before *sya* and *sIC*'. Using *se* and *asici*, side by side in the locative, will clearly give the intended meaning of 'beginning with a *s* which is not of *sIC*'. Even then doubts may persist about whether it meant 'before a *sIC*', or 'something other than a *sIC*'. If it is said that 'also when *sIC* follows', this may be viewed as an useless specification. He should then have said only *si* (*Nyāsa*: *yadi hi sicy api syāt adupādānam anarthakaṃ syāt, sīty evaṃ brūyāt*). Refer to *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* under this rule for further details.

3. Why do we have the twin conditions of *se* and *asici*? Consider *kṛt* + (*LUṬ*→*tās*) → *k*(*ṛ*→*ar*)*t* + *iṬ* + *tās*) = *kartitā* where *iṬ*, because of no *s*-initial suffix, cannot be introduced optionally. It must be introduced, obligatorily. Now consider *akartīt* where, because of *sIC* before *LUṄ*, we also get an obligatory *iṬ*.

7.2.58 गमेरिड् परस्मैपदेषु

gamer iṭ parasmaipadeṣu
/*gameḥ* 5/1 *iṭ* 1/1 *parasmaipadeṣu* 7/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasya* #35 *se* #57)
gamer dhātor sakārāder ārdhadhātukasya parasmaipadeṣv iḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment *iṬ* is introduced to an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka*, which begins with *s* occurring after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *gamḶ* 'to go', provided an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gamiṣyati 'third person singular *LṚṬ*-derivate of *gam*'
agamiṣyat 'third person singular *LUṄ*-derivate of *gam*'
jigamiṣati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *gam* ending in *saN*'

1. This rule introduces augment *iṬ* to an *ārdhadhātuka* affix which begins with *s*, provided an affix termed *parasmaipada* occurs to follow verbal root *gam*. Note that *parasmaipadeṣu* is not strictly used for ensuring the occurrenee of affixes termed *parasmaipada*. It is, instead, used for negating the occurrence of affixes termed *ātmanepada*. This is how augment *iṬ* could be introduced to affix *saN* in *jigamiṣitum*, *jigamiṣā* and *jigamiṣitā*, where affixes termed *kṛt* follow. As against this, we do not get *iṬ* in deriving *gaṃsyate* where *te* is an affix termed *ātmanepada*. Augment *iṬ* could thus be desired anywhere outside the context of an *ātmanepada* affix. It can even be introduced in contexts where a *parasmaipada* affix has gone through deletion, via *LUK*. Thus, we get *sañjigamiṣitā*/ *adhijigamiṣatā vyākaraṇasya* 'intense desire to learn grammar'. These two examples both are derivates of *tṛC*. Of course, this introduction of *iṬ* is limited to affixes which begin with *s*.

Note that *gamḶ* 'to go' is treated as marked with *anudātta*. This condition of *se* is important. We do not get *iṬ* in *gantāsmi*/ *gantāsvaḥ*/ *gantāsmaḥ* where the following affixes begin with *m* and *v*. This rule facilitates *iṬ* with express mention of *iṬ* under the condition of an affix which begins with *s*. This provision of *iṬ* is thus obligatory.

Example derivates illustrate introduction of *iṬ* when (replacements of) *LṚṄ*, *LUṄ*, ard *saN* follow. The *gam*-replacement of *iṄ* gets a replacement in long by rule 6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ sani*. Refer to derivational details of *jigamiṣati* under the appendix (III:700) of 2.4.47 *sani ca*. Other derivates do not offer anything new.

Why after *gam* (*gameḥ*)? Consider *ceṣyati* where, since the root is not *gam*, we do not get *iṬ*.

7.2.59 न वृद्भ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः

na vṛdbhyaś caturbhyaḥ
/*na* ϕ *vṛdbhyaḥ* 5/3 *caturbhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasya* #35 *iṭ* #35 *se* #57)
vṛtādibhyaś caturbhya uttarasya sakārāder ārdhadhātukasya parasmaipadeṣu iḍ āgamo na bhavati

Augment *iṬ* is not introduced to an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* which begins with *s* occurring after an *aṅga*, namely the four verbal roots *vṛtU*

'to turn', *vṛdhŪ* 'to grow', *śṛdhŪ* 'to reproach' and *syandŪ* 'to drip, ooze, move', provided an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vartsyati 'third person singular *LṚṬ*-derivate of *vṛt*'
avartsyat 'third person singular *LṚṬ*-derivate of *vṛt*'
vivṛtsati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *vṛt* ending in *saN*'
vartsyati/ avartsyat/ vivṛtsyati '. . . derivates of *vṛdhŪ*'
śartsyati/ aśartsyat/ śiśṛtsati '. . . derivates of *śṛdhŪ*'
syantsyati/ asyantsyat/ sisyantsati '. . . derivates of *syandŪ*'

1. This rule blocks the introduction of *iṬ* to a *s*-initial *ārdhadhātuka* affix when an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows *vṛtU, vṛdhU, śṛdhU* and *syandŪ*. Refer to derivational details under the appendix (II:497-98) of 1.3.92 *vṛdbhyaḥ syasanoḥ*.

2. Note that the plural in *vṛdbhyaḥ* is used for indicating the meaning of *ādi* 'and its like, etc.' All these four roots are *udātta*. The first three roots have *iṬ* made available to them obligatorily. Verbal root *syandŪ* gets *iṬ*, optionally, since it is marked with *Ū* as an *it*. This rule offers negation to these obligatory and optional provisions of *iṬ*, both.

It is stated that *caturbhyaḥ* 'after the four' should not be stated in the wording of this rule (*Kāś*: *caturbhyaḥ iti na vaktavyam*). For, *vṛt* of *vṛdbhyaḥ*, is used for indicating the end of the listing of roots forming a class headed by *dyut*. It is further said that since *vṛt* means 'end, finish', and is read at the end of the class headed by *dyut*, it should indicate 'the end' of the class listing'. But there are four verbal roots also used after *vṛt*. It is stated that *vṛt* can still indicate the end of their listing. Does this mean we do not need *caturbhyaḥ*? Commentators say that it is still needed. They say that an optional *iṬ*, based upon the status of roots as marked with *ŪT* as an *it*, is internally conditioned. The word *caturbhyaḥ* is used so that the negation of this rule could also block this optional *iṬ*. That is, negation (*pratiṣedha*) becomes more powerful against the option. This is why *syandŪ* also does not get optional *iṬ*. This is what the word *caturbhyaḥ* is used for.

3. Recall that this negation applies only when an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows. This negation also applies before *kṛt* affixes, and also where *LUK*-deletion of a *parasmaipada* affix is accomplished (*Kāś*: *anyatra sarvatra pratiṣedhaḥ kṛty api hi parasmaipadaluki ca pratiṣedho bhavati*). This statement of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* is confusing. For, if the negation applies everywhere else, how could it not apply to *vivṛtsitā* with *iṬ*, and *vivṛtsa* (*tvam*) without *iṬ*? The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses the scope of this negation separately with reference to affixes termed *parasmaipada, ātmanepada*, i.e., *tiṄ*, and *kṛt*. *Kāśikā* combines these two sets of derivates and ends up creating confusion.

4. *Nyāsa* tries to answer the question: 'how do we get an *iṬ* specified with

parasmaipadeṣu, also when *kṛt*, or a *LUK*-deletion of *parasmaipada* follows'. Jinendrabuddhi accepts rule-splitting whereby we get two rules:

(*i*) *gamer iṬ* which, with the *anuvṛtti* of *se* from the preceding rule, yields the interpretation: *sakārādāv ārdhadhātuke iḍāgamo bhavati* 'augment *iṬ* is introduced when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with *s* follows'.

(*ii*) *parasmaipadeṣu* 'when *parasmaipada* follows'. This split-rule is intended for making a restrictive provision. If this restrictive provision is made without any particular qualification, then the earlier rule will become vacuous. It is therefore suggested that this restrictive provision be made with reference to an affix similar in class. That similar-in-class affix could only be a *tiṄ*. Thus, the restrictive provision will read: 'if augment *iṬ* is to be introduced within the scope of a *tiṄ*, it must be introduced only when a *parasmaipada*, and not an *ātmaenpada*, affix follows.' This enables *iṬ* to be introduced before a *kṛt* and *LUK*-deletion of *parasmaipada*, especially since this restrictive provision will not cover it.

Jinendrabuddhi further observes: 'as we get *iṬ* after *gam* when an affix beginning with *s* follows, that same way we will not get *iṬ* after verbal roots *vṛt*, etc. Consequently, as we get *iṬ* everywhere with the exception of where *ātmanepada* follows, that same way we get the negation of *iṬ* after verbal roots *vṛt*, etc.' (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *gameḥ sakārādau yena prakāreṇa iṭ tenaiva prakāreṇa vṛdādibhyo neḍ iti. tena yathā gamer ātmanepadavarjam anyatra sarvatraived bhavati, tathā vṛdādibhyo' pi pratiṣedha iti.*)

7.2.60 तासि च क्लृपः

tāsi ca kḷpaḥ

/*tāsi* (deleted 6/1) *ca* ϕ *kḷpaḥ* 5/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ārdhadhātukasya* #35 *se* #57 *iṭ* #35 *na* #59)

kṛpa uttarasya tāseḥ sakārādeś cārdhadhātukasya parasmaipadeṣu iḍ āgamo na bhavati

Augment *iṬ* is not introduced to *tās*, and to an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* which begins with *s*, when they occur after an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *kṛpŪ* 'to be capable, to adapt', and when an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śvaḥ kalptā '. . . will adapt tomorrow'
kalpsyati '. . . will adapt'
akalpsyat '. . . adapted'
ciklpsati '. . . wishes to adapt'

1. This rule negates introduction of augment *iṬ* also to *tās*, or an *ārdha-dhātuka* affix beginning with *s*, when an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows an *aṅga* constituted by *kṛpŪ* 'to be capable'. Thus, *kalptā*, *kalpsyati* and *ciklpsati*. Refer to the appendix (II:498-99) under 1.3.93 *luṭi ca klpaḥ* for derivational details. Note, however, that *klpŪ* is marked with *Ū* as an *it* and, hence, is qualified for an optional *iṬ*. This rule negates that optional provision. Refer also to notes under the preceding rule.

It is noted that *iṬ* is desired to be introduced, also, after a root when the same occurs in a *pada* before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix termed *ātmanepada*. Elsewhere, *iṬ* is negated. That is, it is negated in the context of a *kṛt* affix and an affix termed *parasmaipada*. Thus, we get *ciklpsitā* (with *tṛC*) and *ciklpsa tvam*, second person singular in *LOṬ* 'imperative'.

7.2.61 अचस्तास्वत्थल्यनिटो नित्यम्

acas tāsvat thaly aniṭo nityam
/acaḥ 5/1 *tāsvat* ϕ *thali* 7/1 *aniṭaḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *na* #59)
tāsau ye nityāniṭo dhātavo' jantāḥ tebhyas tāsāv iva thalīḍāgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is not introduced after roots which end in a vowel in *upadeśa*, and obligatorily remain non-*iṬ* before *thās*, when *thaL*, in a manner similar to *thās*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

pātā 'he will protect'
papātha 'he protected'
yātā 'he will go'
yayātha 'he went'
cetā 'he will heap'
cicetha 'he heaped . . .'
netā 'he will lead'
ninetha 'he led . . .'
hotā 'he will perform the sacrifice'
juhotha 'he performed the sacrifice'

1. This rule extends blocking of augment *iṬ* after roots which, in *upadeśa* 'initial citation', end in a vowel and obligatorily remain non-*iṬ* before *thās*, provided when *thaL* 'second person singular active replacement of *siP* in perfect (*LIṬ*; 3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ* . . .)' follows specified roots in a manner similar to *thās* 'second person singular middle replacement of *LA*' (3.4.78 *tiptasjhisipthas* . . .).

Note that *upadeśe* is carried over from here to the next rule as a qualifier to *acaḥ*. If *upadeśe* was not carried over, negation of *iṬ* in (*hṛ*→*har*) + *thaL* = *jahartha* could not be accomplished. For, a replacement in *guṇa*, i.e., *ar*, for

ṛ of *hṛ* would apply first on the basis of being obligatory (*nitya*) and subsequent (*para*). Given this, an introduction of augment *iṬ* in *har* + *tha*, made available under the restrictive provision of *krādiniyama* (cf. notes under 7.2.13), could not be stopped. For, the root will no longer end in a vowel. But reading *upadeśe* can save the situation, and this rule could apply. So long as we meet the condition of *upadeśe*. It does not make any difference whether the root now ended in a consonant. Haradatta rightly remarks:

> *upadeśagraho' py atra vakṣyamāṇo' pakṛṣyate/*
> *guṇe nitye kṛte' py eṣa ṛdante prāpnuyāt katham//*
> 'this presently stated *upadeśa* is also carried over here; how could this introduction of *iṬ* then apply to a root ending in *ṛ*'

The word *acaḥ* is a qualifier to *dhātoḥ* which must be supplied here from 7.2.59 *na vṛdbhyaś* . . . and interpreted via *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as ending in *x*'. For, *thaL* is possible only after a verbal root. We thus get the interpretation: *ajantād dhātoḥ* 'after a verbal root ending in a vowel in *upadeśa*'. Not carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *acaḥ* could also yield undesired forms. That is, correct forms of *bhid* 'to pierce' and *chid* 'to cut' with *thaL*, i.e., *bibheditha* / *ciccheditha*, could not be derived with augment *iṬ*. The *iṬ*, made available under the restrictive provision of *krādi-niyama*, could have been blocked.

The word *tāsvat* is a derivate of *vatI* introduced after a *pada* ending in *saptamī* 'locative'. We then get the meaning: *tāsau iva* = *tāsvat* 'simialr to *tās*'. That is, we do not get *iṬ* in *thaL* in a manner similar to *iṬ* in *tās*. This rule is a partial exception to the *iṬ* made available under the restrictive provision relative to *krādi* (see notes under 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛvṛstu* . . .).

Examples such as *yātā*, etc., are given to illustrate the obligatory non-*iṬ* status of specified roots. Refer to *kaṇitā* (II:343-44) and *goptā* (III:715) for derivational details of derivates of *LUṬ*. Refer to *pecitha* and *śekitha* (III:787) for derivational details of forms deriving with *thaL*, where *thaL* is a replacement of *siP* introduced to replace *LIṬ*.

Note that *aniṭ* is here specified for qualification by *nityam* 'obligatorily'. In the absence of *aniṭ*, *nityam* could only qualify negation (*pratiṣedha*). The word *aniṭ* is not used here for canceling the *iṬ*-status (*seṭ*). For, *tāsvat* is already used. Thus, '*iṬ* does not apply when *thaL* follows exactly as it does not when *tās* follows'. That is, if *iṬ* is optionally allowed when *tās* follows, it cannot be negated when *thaL* follows. Augment *iṬ* is obligatorily allowed, instead. Thus, consider *vidhotā*, *vidhavitā* and *vidudhavitha* (also see notes under 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛvṛ* . . .).

Why do we use the specification with *vatI* in *tāsvat*? So that that which applies (non-*iṬ*) to a form when *tās* follows could be negated when *thaL* follows. For, roots which are not specified to occur before *tās*, and are thus obligatorily non-*iṬ*, cannot be denied *iṬ* when *thaL* follows. A specification with *vatI* is made to indicate complete similarlity (*sarva-sādṛśya*). A specifica-

tion with locative (*saptamī*), i.e., *tāsau*, could not account for it. Consider *jaghasitha* and *uvayitha*, etc., where *ghas* and *vay* are replacements of *ad* and *veÑ*. This rule cannot apply here since these forms of *LUṬ* are not similar to forms when *tās* follows. Verbal roots *ad* 'to eat' and *veÑ* 'to weave' do not get replaced with *ghas* and *vay* in *LUṬ* where *tās* is introduced. The negative provision of this rule is thus not accepted there. That is, *iṬ* is introduced. Consider the following *kārikā* verse:

> *tāsvad ity ucyamāne tu vateḥ sādṛśyagocarāt*
> *yathābhūtasya tāsau neṭ tathābhūtasya thaly api//*
> *iṭā na bhāvyam ity eṣa doṣo naiva prasajyate*
> *iṭas tāsy asato dhātor niṣedhe vihite thali*
> *abhāvaḥ sadṛśo na syāt thali tāsy asato bhavet//*

7.2.62 उपदेशेऽत्वतः

> *upadeśe' tvataḥ*
> /*upadeśe* 7/1 *atvataḥ = akāro' sminn astīti = atvān, tasmāt*/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *na* #59 *tāsvat thaly aniṭo nityam* #61)
> *upadeśe yo dhātur akāravān tāsau nityāniṭ tasmāt tāsāv iva thalīḍāgamo na bhavati*
> Augment *iṬ* is not introduced after a root which ends in a vowel in *upadeśa*, and obligatorily remains non-*iṬ* before *thās*, when *thaL*, in a manner similar to *thās*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *paktā* 'he will cook'
> *papaktha* 'he cooked'
> *yaṣṭā* 'he will perform the sacrifice'
> *iyaṣṭha* 'he performed the sacrifice'
> *śaktā* 'he will go'
> *śaśaktha* 'he went'

1. This rule further extends the blocking of *iṬ* after roots which contain an *a* in *upadeśa*, all other conditions remain similar to the preceding rule. Consider *pac* + (*LUṬ*→*ti*) = *pac* + (*ti*→(*Ḍ*) *ā*)) = *pac* + *tās* + *ā* → *pac* + *t*(*ās*→ϕ) + *ā* = *pa*(*c*→*k*) + *t* + *ā* = *paktā*, where *tiP* is replaced with (*Ḍ*) *ā* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya* . . .), *tās* goes through *ṭi*-deletion of *ās* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*) and *c* of *pac* goes through a replacement in *k* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The *j* of verbal root *yaj* is similarly replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasj* . . .). We get *ya*(*j*→*ṣ*) + *t* + *ā* = *yaṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) + *ā* = *yaṣṭā*, through a replacement in *ṭ* for *t* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Deriving *iyaṣṭha*, from *yaj* + (*LIṬ*→*siP*→*thaL*), involves iteration (*dvitva*) and operations relative to the assignment of the term *abhyāsa*. We thus get *yaj* + *tha* → *ya* + *yaj* + *tha*. An application of *samprasāraṇa* and *pūrvarūpa* 'a single replacement similar to what precedes in a sequence' produces (*y*→*i*) *a*

+ yaj + tha → (*i+a*→*i*) *+ yaj + tha = i + yaj + tha*. The *j* of *yaj* is again replaced with *ṣ* followed by *ṣṭutva*, i.e., *i + ya*(*j*→*ṣ*) + (*th*→*ṭh*) *a = iyaṣṭha*. Note here that our present rule negates the introduction of augment *iṬ*. Refer to additional details of these derivations under the preceding rule.

2. Why do we have the condition of *atvataḥ* 'containing *a* in *upadeśa*'? Consider *kṛṣ* + (*LUṬ*→*ti*→*Ḍā*) = *k*(*ṛ*→*ar*) *ṣ* + *t*(*ās*→ϕ) + *ā* = *karṣ* (*t*→*ṭ*) *ā* = *karṣṭā* and *cakarṣitha* with iteration, *k*→*c* and *iṬ*, where an absence of *a* in *upadeśa* cannot negate *iṬ* before *thaL*. The *a* of *kṛṣ*→*karṣ* which is gotten through application of *guṇa* is not any part of *upadeśa*. Negation of *iṬ* in *thaL* will thus not apply. Similar non-negation of *iṬ* is witnessed in deriving *bibheditha* where *bhid* does not contain *a* in *upadeśa*. Why do we have the condition of *a* followed by *t* (*tapara*)? Consider *rādh* + *LUṬ*→*tiP*→*Ḍā* → *rāddhā*, and *rādhitha* where the root contains a long *ā*, instead. The *iṬ* in *rādhitha* can thus not be negated. It will apply obligatorily in view of the restrictive provision of *krādi* (7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛvṛ* . . .).

The condition of *tāsvat* 'non-*iṬ* in a manner similar to when *tās* follows' is also important. Consider *jighṛkṣati* and *jagrahitha* where *grah* is allowed *iṬ* before *tās* but is not allowed before *saN* (7.2.12 *sani grahguhoś ca*). This negation cannot apply before *thaL* since it is not similar to the provision of *iṬ* when *tās* follows. That is, *iṬ* is introduced. Finally, the condition of *aniṭo nityam* 'obligatorily non-*iṬ*' must also be satisfied. Thus, *iṬ* cannot be negated before *thaL* in *ānañjitha* where verbal root *añj* is marked with *ū* as an *it*. This allows optional *iṬ* to its forms before *tās*. Thus, we get *aṅktā* and *añjitā*. A negative provision of *iṬ* cannot be accepted before *thaL* since it is made against an optional, and not an obligatory, non-*iṬ*.

7.2.63 ऋतो भारद्वाजस्य

ṛto bhāradvājasya
/*ṛtaḥ* 5/1 *bhāradvājasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *na* #59 *tāsvat thaly aniṭo nityam* #61)
ṛkārāntād dhātor bhāradvājasyācāryasya matena tāsāv iva nityāniṭas thali iḍāgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṬ*, in the opinion of Bhāradvāja, is not introduced obligatorily to *thaL*, in a manner similar to *tās* after a verbal root termed an *aṅga* ending in *ṛ*, when *thaL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

smarttā 'he will remember'
sasmartha 'he remembered'
dhvarttā 'he will be crooked'
dadhvartha 'he was crooked'

1. Note that a negation of *iṬ* for roots which end in *ṛ* is already made

available by rule 7.2.61 *acas tāsvat*. . . . The non-*iṬ* provision of this rule then becomes restrictive. For, a provision made against one already made available is made for restrictive purposes (*siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*). That is, non-*iṬ* status of roots, in the opinion of Bhāradvāja, applies only to those roots which end in *ṛ* (*Kāś*: *ṛta eva bhāradvājasya nānyeṣām dhātūnām*). We thus get examples such as *yayitha, vavitha, pecitha* and *śekitha*. Roots which do not end in *ṛ* will, in the opinion of Bhāradvāja, receive *iṬ*. That is, this rule can then be treated as making an optional provision of *iṬ* against provisions of the preceding two rules (*Kāś*: *tad ayam arthāt pūrvayor yogayor vikalpaḥ*).

Recall that verbal roots *vṛṄ* and *vṛÑ* have been enumerated as *udātta* among roots which end in *ā*. We cannot find *thaL* after *vṛṄ* since this root occurs only before middle endings (*ātmanepada*). Verbal root *vṛÑ*, since it is allowed the negation of *iṬ* in the Vedic, via *nipātana*, can be accepted as allowing *iṬ* in the classical usage. This rule is thus not formulated for blocking augment *iṬ* of these two roots. This rule cannot be accepted as formulated for blocking augment *iṬ* of roots which end in *ṛ*. Such roots are *anudātta* and hence, they qualify as non-*iṬ*, obligatorily, before *tās*. Their *iṬ* can be negated by 7.2.61 *acas tāsvat*. . . . This rule could not have been formulated for them. It is true that these roots may become *anajanta* 'not ending in a vowel', especially when they yield forms with the application of *guṇa* followed by *r* (*rapara*). This, however, cannot take them out of the scope of the preceding rule. For, the condition of *ajanta* 'ending in *a*', requires *aC* in *upadeśa*. Thus, this rule is formulated for restrictive purposes, especially since its provision can be accounted for by existing rules.

2. Note that *T*, at the end of *ṛ* in *ṛtaḥ* (*taparakaraṇa*), is intended for excluding roots which may end in a long *ṝ*. This rule is thus saved from becoming an operational rule (*vidhi-sūtra*) for roots ending in long *ṝ*. That is, it is blocked from making operational proivisions for roots ending in long *ṝ*. Since no provision is made for such roots by any earlier rule, and also since this rule does not make any operational provision for them, this rule is restrictive, as against operational. This restrictive provision for roots ending in a short *ṛ* thus becomes more powerful (*PŚ*:109) *vidhiniyamsambhave vidhir eva jyāyān*).

3. The following *kārikā* verse summarizes provisions of rules 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛvṛstudrusruśruvo liṭi*, 7.2.61 *acastāsvatthaly aniṭo nityam*, 7.2.62 *upadeśe' tvataḥ* and 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*:

ajanto' kāravān yas tāsy aniṭ thali veḍeyam/
ṛdanta īdṛṅ nityāniṭ krādyanyo liṭi seḍ bhavet//

'a verbal root is allowed *iṬ*, optionally, before *thaL* if the root is obligatorily non-*iṬ* before *thās*, and it either (*i*) ends in an *aC* which is not a short *ṛ*, or (*ii*) it contains a short *a*; a root such as this which ends in a short *ṛ* and which remains obligatorily non-*iṬ* before *tās*, also remains non-*iṬ*, obligatorily, before *thaL*; roots other than those enumerated

as *krādi* (7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛ*...), obligatorily, remain *seṭ* 'with the provision of *iṬ*' before *LIṬ*'

Bhaṭṭoji offers a *kārikā* verse summarizing provisions of rules 7.2.61 *acas tāsvat*... through 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*, especially as they operate in view of the restrictive provision known as *krādi-niyama*:

> *ajanto' akāravān vā yas tāsy aniṭ thali veḍ ayam/*
> *ṛdanta īdṛṅ nityā' niṭ krād anyo liṭi seḍ bhavet//*
> 'augment *iṬ* is introduced, optionally, before *thaL* when the same occurs after a root which ends in a vowel, or contains a short *a*, and is obligatorily non-*iṬ* before *tās*; a similar root which ends in short *ṛ* is obligatorily non-*iṬ* before *thaL*'

Bhīmasena Śāstrī (II:167) offers a three-way summation:

(1) Augment *iṬ* will become optional in case of a root which remains non-*iṬ* obligatorily before *tās*, if this root ends in a vowel (other than *ṛ*) or contains a short *a*. For, 7.2.61 *acsa tāsvat*... and 7.2.63 *upadeśe*... negate *iṬ* after these roots when *thaL* follows. But Bhāradvāja accepts the introduction of *iṬ* after such roots (7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*). This then means an optional *iṬ* in *thaL*. Examples of roots ending in a vowel: *kṣi* 'to decay': *cikṣayitha / cikṣetha*.
Examples of roots with a short *a*, for example *pac* and *śak*, with optional *iṬ* in *thaL*: *pecitha / papaktha*; *śekitha / śaśaktha*.

(2) Augment *iṬ* can never be introduced before *thaL* after a root which remains non-*iṬ*, obligatorily, in *thaL*, but ends in a short *ṛ*. For, 7.2.61 *acas tāsvat*... and 7.2.62 *ṛto bhāradvājasya* both negate *iṬ* after such a root before *thaL*. Consider *jahartha*, a derivate of *hṛ* ending in *ṛ* with no *iṬ*.

(3) The restrictive provision of *krādi* (7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛvṛ*...) offers *iṬ* after all *anudātta* roots in *LIṬ*, with the exception of eight roots listed as *kṛ*, etc. Consider forms of *bhid* and *chid* as examples of roots which are *anudātta* but which are not listed in the eight roots beginning with *kṛ*: *bibheditha / bibhidiva / bibhidima*; *ciccheditha / cicchidiva cicchidima*. Note that roots not listed under the eight roots of 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛ*..., if qualified for application of preceding two provisions, will have optional *iṬ* in *thaL* of *LIṬ*. Of course, no *iṬ* after the enumerated eight roots when used elsewhere, in *LIṬ*.

7.2.64 **बभूथाततन्थजगृम्भववर्थेति निगमे**

babhūthātatanthajagṛmbhavavartheti nigame
/ *babhūtha-ātatantha-jagṛmbha-vavartha* (1/1 deleted after all constituent bases) *iti* ϕ *nigame* 7/1/

'babhūva, ātatantha, jagṛmbha, vavartha' ity etāni nipātyante nigamaviṣaye
Forms such as *babhūtha, ātatantha, jagṛmbha* and *vavartha* are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

tvaṃ hi hotā́ prathamo babhūthá 'you indeed were the first officiating priest . . .'
yenā̱ntarikṣamū̱rvā́ta̱tantha 'the power by means of which you expanded . . .'
ja̱gṛmbhā te̱ dakṣiṇamindra̱ hasta̱m 'O Indra! we grasped your right hand . . .'
vavartha tvaṃ hi jyotiṣā 'you indeed enveloped yourself with light . . .'

1. Here again the negation of *iṬ* is already made available under the restrictive provision of *krādi* (7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛvṛ . . .*). Stating it again turns this rule into a restrictive provision. That is, *iṬ* is negated here only in the context of the Vedic. Classical usage, of course, will not be affected (*Kāś*: *nigama eva, na bhāṣāyām iti*). Thus, we get *babhūtha, ātatantha, jagṛmbha* and *vavartha*, where *babhūtha* lacks *iṬ* which was made available by *krādi-niyama* (7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛ...*). Refer to *babhūva* (II:429) for relevant derivational details. We get *bhū* + (*LIṬ*→*siP*→*thaL*) = *babhūvitha*, with *iṬ* and augment *vUK* (II:430), in the classical usage. Now consider *ātatantha*, a second person singular *LIṬ*-derivate of *tanU* 'to expand' used with *āṄ*. We will get *ātenitha* with *iṬ* where deletion of the *abhyāsa* and replacement of *a* with *e* (*etva*) must be accomplished (6.4.121 *thali ca seṭi*). We get *grah* + (*LIṬ*→*mas*→*ma*) → *jigṛmbhā*, where *ma* replaces *mas* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .) and *samprasāraṇa* is accomplished by 6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*. . . . The *h* of *grah*, subsequent upon doubling (*dvitva*), is replaced with *bh* (*vt*: *hṛgrahor bhaś chandasi hasyeti vaktavyam*; ad 8.2.35 *hṛgrahorbhaś* . . .). The final *a* is then replaced with *ā* to produce *jigṛmbhā*. We get *jagṛhima* in the classical language. Recall that *iṬ* after *vṛÑ* 'to choose' in *vavartha* is already negated (7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛ* . . .). A repeat negation of *iṬ* is here made for restrictive purposes. That is, a negation of *iṬ* after *vṛÑ* with *thaL* is limited, only to the Vedic usage. Thus, we get *vavaritha* in the classical usage with *iṬ* and *guṇa*.

7.2.65 विभाषा सृजिदृशोः

vibhāṣā sṛjidṛśoḥ
/ *vibhāṣa* 1/1 *sṛji-dṛśoḥ* (*itar. dv.*) 6/2/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *na* #59 *thali* #61)
'sṛji, dṛśi' ity etayos thali vibhāṣā iḍāgamo na bhavati
Augment *iṭ* is, optionally, not introduced to *thaL* when it follows an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *sṛj* 'to create, project' and *dṛśIR* 'to see'.

EXAMPLES:

sasraṣṭha 'he created . . .'
sasarjitha 'ibidem'
dadraṣṭha 'he saw . . .'
dadarśitha 'ibidem'

1. Note that *iṬ*, in view of restrictive provision of *krādi-niyama* (7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛ*. . .), is, obligatorily, made available to these two roots. Our present rule renders that obligatory provision optional. Thus, *sṛj* + (*LIṬ*→*siP*→*thaL*) → *sasraṣṭha* and *dṛś* + (*LIṬ*→*siP*→*thaL*) → *dadraṣṭha* where, after operations relative to doubling (*dvitva*), the *j* of *sṛj* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraśca-bhrasj*. . .). Augment *aM* (6.1.57 *sṛdṛśor*. . .) is then introduced to derive *sasraṣṭha* with application of *yaṆ* and *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Similar applications are also seen in deriving *dadraṣṭha*. We will get *sasarjitha* and *dadarśitha*, with *iṬ* and *guṇa*, when the optional *iṬ* provision of this rule is accepted.

7.2.66 इडत्त्यर्तिव्ययतीनाम्

iḍ attyartivyayatīnām
/*iṭ* 1/1 *atty-arti-vyayatīnām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *thali* #61)
'*atti, arti, vyayati*' *ity eteṣāṃ thalīḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to *thaL* of an *aṅga* relative to verbal roots *ad* 'to consume', *ṛ* 'to go' and *vyeÑ* 'to cover'.

EXAMPLES:

āditha 'second person singular *ad*-derivate of *LIṬ*'
āritha 'second person singular *LIṬ*-derivate of *ṛ*'
saṃvivyayitha 'second person singular *LIṬ*-derivate of *veÑ*, used after *sam* and *vi*'

1. Note that *iṭ* is explicitly used here for clarity (*Kāś*: *atreḍ grahaṇaṃ vispaṣṭārtham*). Why could it not be accepted as making an optional provision (*vikalpa*)? For, that would have made the use of *arti* and *vyayati* as vacuous (*vyartha*). Their optional *iṬ* has already been made available by 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*. Is this explicit use of *iṭ*, then, made for negating *iṬ*? This could hardly be the purpose. Specification of *arti* in this rule will again become vacuous. For, this negation is already made available by 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya*. Since this rule could not make any optional, or negative, provision, its provision must be accepted as obligatory (*nitya*). An explicit use of *iṭ* makes it clearly known that the *anuvṛtti* of *na* (7.2.59 *na vṛdbhyaś* . . .) and *vibhāṣā* (7.2.65 *vibhāṣā sṛjidṛśoḥ*) is canceled.

2. This rule introduces *iṬ* to *thaL* of an *aṅga* constituted by *adA* 'to consume', *ṛ* 'to go' and *vyeÑ* 'to cover'. Thus, *ad* + (*LIṬ*→*siP*→*thaL*) = *āditha*, *ṛ* + (*LIṬ*→*siP*→*tha*) = *āritha* and *vyeÑ* + (*LIṬ*→*siP*→*thaL*) = *vyayitha*, where an

optionally available *iṬ* is made obligatory. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* (in *āditha* and *āritha*) is replaced with its long counterpart (*ātva*; 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*), subsequent upon doubling (*dvitva*). This *ā*, however, is negated in the context of *vyeÑ*. Refer to derivational details of *saṃvyayitha* under 6.1.45 *na vyo liṭi*. Recall that rule 7.2.63 *ṛto bhāradvājasya* allows optional *iṬ* in connection with *ad* (*atti*) and *vyeÑ* (*vyayati*). It also negates *iṬ* in connection with roots ending in *ṛ*. This rule is formulated for making the introduction of *iṬ* obligatory.

7.2.67 **वस्वेकाजाद्घसाम्**

> *vasv ekājādghasām*
> /*vasu* 1/1 (deleted) *ekājādghasām* 6/3 = *eko' c yasmin sa ekāc* (*bv.*), *ekāc ca āt ca ghaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #66)
> *kṛtadvirvacanānāṃ dhātūnām ekācām ākārāntānām ghaseś ca vasāv iḍāgamo bhavati*
> Augment *iṬ* is introduced to *vasU* when it occurs after a root which, after doubling, either consists of a single syllable, or ends in *ā*, or else, is constituted by *ghas* 'to eat'.

EXAMPLES:

> *ādivān* 'he ate'
> *āśivān* 'ibidem'
> *pecivān* 'he cooked'
> *śekivān* 'he left'

1. Note that roots which are specified here as consisting of a single syllable, or ending in *ā*, or else, constituted by *ghas*, must be understood as those which yield such forms after going through doubling and related operations (*Kāś*: *kṛtadvirvacanānāṃ dhātūnām ekācām akārāntānām*). A specification with *vasU* is here made to refer to *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*), a replacement of *LIṬ*. Thus, verbal roots *ad* and *aś* yield their monosyllabic forms *ād* and *āś* after going through doubling (*ad+ad*), *halādiśeṣa* 'retention of that which begins with initial consonant' (*a+ad*; 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*), replacement in *ā* (*ātva*; *a*→*ā*+*ad*; 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*) and 'replacement in homogeneous long' (*savarṇadīrgha*; (*ā*+*a*→*ā*) *d*; 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). Verbal root *aś* follows the same pattern. Verbal roots *pac* and *śak* go through deletion of their reduplicate (*abhyāsa*; 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhye*. . .) in deriving *pecivān* and *śekivān*. Their *a* is also replaced concurrently with *e* (*etva*). Refer to *jakṣivān* in the appendix of 3.2.107 *kvasuś ca* (III:745) for derivational details.

2. Note that this provision of *iṬ* must be restrictive (*niyamārtha*) since roots specified by this rule should have received *iṬ* from rule 7.2.13 *kṛsṛbhṛ*. . . . For, a provision made in view of one already made available is

accepted as restrictive. That is, augment *iṬ* is introduced to *vasU* only when it occurs after these specified roots, and not when it occurs after any other root (*Kāś: siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ, ekājādghasām eva vasāv iḍāgamo bhavati nānyeṣām*). It is for this reason that *iṬ* cannot be introduced in deriving *bibhidvān, cicchidvān, babhūvān* and *śiśrivān*. This restrictive provision of *iṬ* becomes applicable as a result of the *krādi-niyama*, or for an absence of any other negative provision (*pratiṣedhābhāva*).

Why do we need a specification with *āt* 'after that which ends in *ā*' when the *ekāc* condition of 'containing a single vowel' can already account for it? Roots which are specified here with *āt* also become monosyllabic, after doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable' are performed. A separate specification with *āt* is made for roots which do not consist of a single vowel (*ekāc*). Consider *yeyivān* where the root is *yayā* + (*LIṬ*→*KvasU*) before augment *iṬ* is introduced. Since such roots become monosyllabic only after their final *ā* is deleted and also since this deletion is accomplished only after *iṬ* is introduced, these roots cannot be covered by *ekāc*. That is, they will still be consisting of more than one vowel when *iṬ* will be introduced. A specification with *āt* is thus necessary.

But accepting this explanation of *āt* will make *iṬ* available to *vasU* after *daridrā* 'to be poor'. Recall that *daridrā* also receives *ām* (*vt*: *kāsy anekāc* . . . ad 3.1.35 *kāspratyayād ām amantre*). Rule 2.4.81 *āmaḥ* then causes deletion of *LIṬ*. How could one introduce *iṬ* to a replacement of *LIṬ*, i.e., *vasU*, when *LIṬ* is already deleted? Augment *iṬ* is thus not available to *daridrā*. It could not be made available in the context of *daridrā*, even when one does not introduce *ām*. For, the *ā* of *daridrā* will then be deleted, prior to the introduction of *KvasU*. This deletion will clearly remove the condition of *ādanta* 'ending in *āt*'. Augment *iṬ* will thus be blocked again.

Is it necessary to include a reference to *ghas*? Yes. For, in its absence, doubling of *ghas* will be blocked. Note that 6.4.100 *ghasibhasor hali ca* is subsequent in order to rules which accomplish doubling. If this rule applies first to delete the penultimate (*upadhā*) *a*, of *gh*(*a*→ϕ)*s* = **ghs*, on the basis of its subsequent order (*paratva*), doubling cannot be accomplished. The form will simply not have any vowel (*anacka*). A specification of *ghas* in this rule enables *iṬ* to block penultimate deletion (*upadhālopa*) on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order' (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .). Rule 6.4.98 *gamahanajanaghasām* . . . accomplishes penultimate deletion after *iṬ* is introduced. This deletion becomes *sthānivat* 'similar to what it replaced' (1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*) in view of application of doubling. This is how one derives *jakṣivān*. It is thus important that *ghas* be specified here separately.

7.2.68 विभाषा गमहनविदविशाम्

vibhāṣā gamahanavidaviśām

/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *gamahanavidaviśām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) /

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #66 *vasu* #67)
'*gama, hana, vida, viśa*' *ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ vasau vibhāṣā iḍāgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is optionally introduced to *vasU* when it occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *gam* 'to go', *han* 'to harm, kill', *vid* 'to gain, profit' and *viś* 'to enter'.

EXAMPLES:

jagmivān '. . . went'
jaganvān 'ibidem'
jaghnivān '. . . killed'
jaghanvān 'ibidem'
vividivān '. . . gained'
vividvān 'ibidem'
viviśivān '. . . entered'
viviśvān 'ibidem'

1. This rule introduces *iṬ* to *vasU* after verbal roots *gam, han, vid* and *viś*. Note that *vid* here refers to the *tudādi* root meaning *lābha* 'gain'. We know it from its associated (*sahacarita*) listing, here, with *viś* which is also a root of the *tudādi* class. Verbal root *vid*, which has the signification of *jñāna* 'knowledge', is also not specified here. For, it receives *iṬ* obligatorily (*nityam*), as is attested by its single form *vividvān*. Verbal root *vid* with the signification of *sattā* 'existence' and *vidA* 'to think' could not be included here either. For, they are middle verbs (*ātmanepadī*) where *KvasU* is not introduced.

2. Derivational details of *jagmivān* / *jaganvān* and *jaghnivān* / *jaghanvān* are similar to examples of the preceding rules. We get *gam* + *LIṬ* → *jagam* + *ivas* with *KvasU, iṬ*, doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Note that doubling is accomplished in view of 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*. Deletion of the penultimate *a* of *jagam* is accomplished by 6.4.98 *gamahana*. . . . An introduction of *nUM* then derives *jagmivān* (cf. III:745; under 3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*). The *m* of *gam*, in *jaganvān*, is replaced with *n* (8.2.65 *mvoś ca*). The *h* of *jaghnivān* will go through a replacement in *gh* (*kutva*; 7.3.55 *abhyāsāc ca*). Remaining examples follow similar derivational applications.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is also made for an optional introduction of *iṬ* in connection with *dṛś* 'to see'. Thus, we get *dadṛśivān* and *dadṛśvān*.

7.2.69 सनिंससनिवांसम्

sanimsasanivāṃsam
/ *sanimsasanivāṃsam* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #66 *vasu* #67)
sanoteḥ sanater vā dhātoḥ '*sanimsasanivāṃsam*' *iti nipātyate*
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to *vasU* when it occurs after *san*, used in conjunction after *sanim*, in deriving *sanimsasanivāṃsam*, via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

sanimsasanivāṃsam

1. This word is derived, via *nipātana*, only as an accusative singular. Since this form is only found in the Vedic, and also since the example in the classical language (*bhāṣā*) is *senivāṃsam*, commentators restrict this *nipātana* to the Vedic.

2. Note that *sanimsanivāṃsam* could be derived, either from the *bhvādi* root *ṣaṇA* or the *tudādi* root *ṣaṇU* 'to give', used in construction preceded by *sanim*. This derivate does not replace the *a* of *saN* with *e* (*etva*; 6.4.120 *ekahalmadhye* . . .). It also does not accept deletion of its *abhyāsa* before *vas*, used with *iṬ*. We get *senivāṃsam* in the classical usage with the application of replacement in *e* (*etva*), introduction of *iṬ* and deletion of *abhyāsa*.

7.2.70 ऋद्धनोः स्ये

ṛddhanoḥ sye
/*ṛddhanoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*) *sye* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35)
ṛkārāntānāṃ dhātūnāṃ hanteś ca sye iḍāgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to *sya* when occurring after an *aṅga* constituted, either by roots ending in *ṛT* or by verbal root *han*.

EXAMPLES:

kariṣyati 'he will do'
hariṣyati 'he will carry'
haniṣyati 'he will kill'

1. Note that *T* (*taparakaraṇa*) of *ṛT* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Recall that 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe* . . . will negate *iṬ* in connection with a root which ends in a short *ṛ*, or is constituted by *han*, since they contain a single vowel and are also marked with *anudātta*. Rule 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyati* . . ., especially in connection with *svṛ*, makes this negative provision optional. Our present rule, since it makes a provision against one which already exists, makes *iṬ* available, obligatorily. This obligatory provision is accepted against optional *iṬ* on the basis of *vipratiṣedha* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*). This preceding explanation, as Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*) claims, is made out of compassion for those who may be forgetful (*vismaraṇaśīla*).

2. Why specify *ṛ* with a following *t* (*taparakaraṇa*)? This specification is made for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). That is, it is made for excluding any reference to long *ṝ*. For, a root which ends in *ṝ* will avail *iṬ* on the basis of its *udātta*. A specification with *ṛt* will also make clear that *ṛ* refers to a sound. It does not, for example, refer to verbal root *ṛ* 'to go'.

7.2.71 **अञ्जेः सिचि**

añjeḥ sici
/*añjeḥ* 5/1 *sici* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35)
añjeḥ sici iḍāgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to a *sIC* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *añj* 'anoint'.

EXAMPLES:

āñjīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *añj*'
āñjiṣṭām 'third person dual active . . .'
āñjiṣuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'

1. Note that 7.2.44 *svaratisūti*. . . allows optional *iṬ* to *añjŪ* at the strength of its *Ū* as an *it* (*Kāś*: *ūditvād vibhāṣā bhavati*). This rule is then formulated for making that provision obligatory (*nitya*). But since this rule further conditions its provision with *sIC*, we will get *iṬ*, obligatorily, only in derivates of *LUṄ*. Elsewhere, because of no introduction of *sIC*, we will get an optional *iṬ*. Thus, we will get *aṅktā* and *añjitā*. Incidentally, our example derivates will receive their *āṬ* from 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*. Refer to the appendix of 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī* for derivational details of many *LUṄ*-derivates (II:333-34).

7.2.72 **स्तुसुधूञ्भ्यः परस्मैपदेषु**

stusudhūñbhyaḥ parasmaipadeṣu
/*stusudhūñbhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*); *parasmaipadeṣu* 7/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *sici* #71)
'*stu, su, dhūñ*' *ity etebhyaḥ sici parasmaipade parata iḍāgamo bhavati*.
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to *sIC* when it occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *stu* (*ṣṭuÑ*) 'to praise', *suÑ* (*ṣuÑ*) 'to press out' and *dhūÑ* 'to shake', provided an affix termed *parasmaipada* follows.

EXAMPLES:

astāvīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *stu*'
asāvīt 'third person singular active . . . of *suÑ*'
adhāvīt 'third person singular active . . . of *dhūÑ*'

1. Note that 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe* . . . will obligatorily negate *iṬ* in the context of verbal roots *ṣṭuÑ* and *ṣuÑ*. For, they are both marked with *anudātta* as an *it*. Verbal root *dhūÑ* qualifies for an optional *iṬ* in view of 7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyati*. . . . Our present rule makes its provision of *iṬ*, obligatory. It is thus an exception to both 7.2.10 and 7.2.44. Refer to *astāvīt* under the appendix (II:334) of 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī* for derivational details.
2. Why do we have the condition of *parasmaipadeṣu* 'when affixes termed

parasmaipada follow'? Consider *astoṣṭa, asoṣṭa* and *adhoṣṭa* which are third person singular middle (*ātmanepada*) derivates of *ṢṭuÑ, ṢuÑ* and *dhūÑ*, respectively. Since these roots are marked with *Ñ*, they can be derived with both the active and middle endings (*ubhayapadī*). We will not get *iṬ* in their derivates with the middle endings.

7.2.73 यमरमनमातां सक् च

yamaramanamātāṃ sak ca
/*yamaramanamātām* 6/3 (*yama ca rama ca nama ca āc ca = yamaramanamāt, teṣām; itar. dv.*); *sak* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *sici* #71 *parasmaipadeṣu* #72)
'*yama, rama, nama*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām, ākārāntānāṃ ca sagāgamo bhavati parasmaipade sici iḍāgamaś ca*
Augment *saK*, and *iṬ* as well, is introduced to an *aṅga* which is constituted by *yamA* 'to restrain', *ramU* 'to sport', *ṇamA* 'to bend, bow', and to a root ending in *ā*, when *sIC*, followed by an affix termed *parasmaipada*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

ayaṃsīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *yamA*'
ayaṃsiṣṭām 'third person dual . . .'
ayaṃsiṣuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
vyaraṃsīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *ramU*'
vyaraṃsiṣṭām 'third person dual . . .'
vyaraṃsiṣuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
anaṃsīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *ṇamA*'
anaṃsiṣṭām 'third person dual . . .'
anaṃsiṣuḥ 'third person plural . . .'
ayāsīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *yā* 'to reach''
ayāsiṣṭām 'third person dual . . .'
ayāsiṣuḥ 'third person plural . . .'

1. This rule introduces two augments, i.e. *saK* and *iṬ*, concurrently. Recall that these roots are all marked with *anudātta*. Consequently, their *iṬ* remains negated by 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe*. . . . Our rule not only allows *iṬ* but also makes a concurrent (*sanniyoga-śiṣṭa*) provision of augment *saK*. Since *saK* is marked with *K* as an *it*, and also since verbal roots *yamA*, etc., are specified here with *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', *saK* is introduced at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*) of *yamA*, etc. Augment *iṬ*, since it is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, will be introduced at the beginning of *sIC*.

Consider *yam* + (*LUṄ*→*tiP*) which, after the introduction of *aṬ* and *sIC*, produces *aṬ* + *yam* + *sIC* + *tiP*. Augment *īṬ* (7.3.93 *bruva īt*, etc.) must also be introduced to *tiP*, a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit*. . .) affix which begins with a

consonant and is marked with *P* as an *it*. This, with *saK*, *iṬ* and *īṬ*, will give us: (*aṬ* + (*yam* + *saK*) + (*iṬ* + *sIC*) + (*īṬ* + *tiP*)). The *s* of *sIC* will get deleted by 8.2.28 *iṭ īṭi*. Refer to *akārṣīt* (II:332) for full derivational details. Incidentally, active endings in *vyaraṃsīt* are introduced by 1.3.83 *vyāṅparibhyo*. . . .

Note that *yamA*, *ramU* and *ṇamA* also qualify for *vṛddhi* conditioned by their terminal consonant (*halanta-lakṣaṇā*; 7.2.3 *vadavraja* . . .). However, this *vṛddhi* is blocked by rule 7.2.4 *neṭi*.

The condition of *parasmaipadeṣu* 'when affixes termed *parasmaipada* follow' is still valid. Consider *āyaṃsta*, *āraṃsta* and *anaṃsta* which derive from (*āṄ-yamA* + (*LUṄ* →*ta*)), (*ā-ramU* + (*LUṄ*→*ta*)) and (*ā*-(*ṇ*→*n*) *amA*) + (*LUṄ*→*ta*)). The first string replaces *LUṄ* with a middle (*ātmanepada*) ending in view of 1.3.28 *āṅo yamahanaḥ*. The second string has *ramA*, a root marked with *anudātta* as its *it*. The third string must accept middle in view of the denotation of *karmakartṛ* 'object turned agent'. Recall, in this connection, that *CiṆ* is blocked here by 3.1.89 *na duhasnunamāṃ yakciṇau*. These strings must fall outside the scope of this rule on account of not meeting the condition of *parasmaipadeṣu*.

7.2.74 स्मिपूङ्रञ्ज्वशां सनि

smipūṅrañjvaśāṃ sani
/*smipūṅrañjvaśām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *sani* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35)
'*smiṅ*, *pūṅ*, *ṛ*, *añjŪ*, *aśŪ*' *ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ sanīḍāgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to affix *saN* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *smiṄ* 'to smile', *pūṄ* 'to purify, cleanse', *ṛ* 'to go, reach', *añjŪ* 'to anoint', and *aśŪ* 'to pervade'.

EXAMPLES:

sismayiṣate '. . . wishes to smile'
pipaviṣate '. . . wishes to cleanse'
aririṣati '. . . wishes to go'
añjijiṣati '. . . wishes to smear'
aśiśiṣate '. . . wishes to pervade'

1. Note that *Ṅ* as an *it* in *pūṄ* is used to rule out any reference to verbal root *pūÑ* 'to purify, cleanse'. This root gets a form such as *pupūṣati*. Verbal root *aśŪ* 'to pervade', a member of the *svādi* group, is referenced with *Ū* as an *it* (*ūdit*) to similarly block any reference to *aśA* 'to eat' of the *kryādi* group. This latter involves *iṬ*, obligatorily, on the basis of its *udātta* as an *it* (*Kāś*: *ṅakāragrahaṇaṃ pūṅo mā bhūt*. . . . *aśer ūdito grahaṇād aśnoter nityam iḍāgamo' sty eva*).

Recall that roots which are marked with *ū* as an *it* (*ūdit*) receive *iṬ*, optionally (7.2.44 *svaratisūtisūyati* . . .). Augment *iṬ* is negated in the context

of *smiṄ* by 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe.* . . . It is obligatorily negated in connection with other roots on the basis of a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *uK* as their *it* (*uganta*; 7.2.12 *saniguhoś ca*). Our present rule makes *iṬ* available after specified roots when *saN* follows.

2. Note that (*pū* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* will produce *pipaviṣate* where the *saN*-derivate, *pipavisa*, will be derived via doubling, i.e., *pū* + *pav* + *i* + *saN*. That is, in view of 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*, subsequent to replacement in *guṇa* and subsequent *o*→*av*. Thus, *pū* + *saN*→ *pū* + *iṬ* + *saN*→ *pū* + *p*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *saN*→ *pū* + *pav* + *i* + *saN*. The *ū* of the *abhyāsa* will be replaced with *i* (7.4.80 *oḥ puyaṇyajjyapare*). Doubling of *aririṣati*, i.e., *ṛ* + *saN*→ *ṛ* + *iṬ* + *saN*→ *ar* + *iṬ* + *saN*→ *a* + *ris* + *ris* + *a*→ (*ari* + *risa*) + *LAṬ*)), is accomplished by 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*. Doubling in *añjijiṣati* will exclude *n* (6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ*) and thus yield *ajis* + *jis* + *a*.

7.2.75 किरश्च पञ्चभ्यः

kiraśca pañcabhyaḥ
/*kiraḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *pañcabhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *sani* #74)
kirādibhyaḥ pañcabhyas sani iḍāgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to affix *saN* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by five verbal roots listed beginning with *kṝ* 'to scatter'.

EXAMPLES:

cikariṣati '. . . wishes to (*kṝ*+*saN*) scatter'
jigariṣati '. . . wishes to (*gṝ*+*saN*) swallow'
didariṣate '. . . wishes to (*dṛṄ*+*saN*) insult'
didhariṣate '. . . wishes to (*dhṛṄ* + *saN*) be inattentive'
pipracchisati '. . . wishes to (*pracch* + *saN*) ask'

1. A set of five roots of the *tudādi* group headed by *kṝ* forms the operational focus of this rule. Recall that verbal roots *dṛṄ* and *dhṛṄ*, because they end in *uK* (*uganta*), are denied *iṬ* when *saN* follows (7.2.12 *sani grahaguhoś ca*). Our present rule offers *iṬ* against that negation. Augment *iṬ* is negated in connection with remaining roots since they are marked with *anudātta*. Our present rule offers *iṬ* against that negation. Refer to *piprcchiṣati* (II:432) for derivational details. Other examples can be similarly derived.

2. Why do we have the limitation of *pañcabhyaḥ* 'after five verbal roots'? Consider *sisṛkṣati* where *iṬ* is not allowed because *sṛj* is not included within the set of five specified roots.

3. Note that 7.2.41 *iṭ sani vā* allows optional *iṬ* to *kṝ* and *gṝ*. An optional long replacement is also made available by 7.2.33 *vṝto vā*. A desideratum of the *Mahābhāṣya* finds this long replacement undesired (*asyeṭo dīrghatvaṃ necchanti*).

7.2.76 रुदादिभ्यः सार्वधातुके

rudādibhyaḥ sārvadhātuke
/*rudādibhyaḥ* 5/3 *sārvadhātuke* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *valādeḥ iṭ* #35 *sārvadhātuke* #76 *pañcabhyaḥ* #75)
rudādibhya uttarasya valādeḥ sārvadhātukasya iḍāgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to a *sārvadhātuka* affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL* (*Śs*.5-14; a consonant other than *y*) and occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by five verbal roots beginning with *rud* 'to cry'.

EXAMPLES:

roditi '. . . cries (*rud*)'
svapiti '. . . reclines, sleeps (*svap*)'
śvasiti '. . . breathes (*śvas*)'
prāṇiti '. . . idibem (*pra-an*)'
jakṣiti '. . . eats (*jakṣ*)'

1. Note that five verbal roots headed by *rud* are: *rud* 'to cry', *svap* 'to sleep', *śvas* 'to breathe', *an* 'to breathe' and *jakṣ* 'to eat'. Since *jāgṛ* 'to wake up, be awake' falls outside this set of five, we do not get *iṬ* in *jāgarti*. This is what the specification of *pañcabhyaḥ* 'after the five . . .' does. A condition of *sārvadhātuke* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) similarly rules out *iṬ* in contexts where an affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) may be involved. Consider *svaptā* 'who will sleep', a derivate of *svap* with *tās* (3.1.33 *syatāsī*. . .), an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). Finally, the condition of *valādeḥ* '. . . beginning with a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *vaL*' must also be met. Augment *iṬ* will be blocked in examples such as *rudanti* where, obviously, the affix which follows *rud* does not begin with a sound denoted by *vaL*.

7.2.77 ईशः से

īśaḥ se
/*īśaḥ* 5/1 *se* (deleted 6/1)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *sārvadhātuke* #76)
īśa uttarasya 'se' ity etasya sārvadhātukasya iḍāgamo bhavati
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to an affix termed *sārvadhātuka*, namely *se*, when the same occurs after *īś* 'to be master'.

EXAMPLES:

īśiṣe 'second person singular middle *LAṬ*-form of *īś*'
īśiṣva 'second person singular middle *LOṬ*-form . . .'

1. Note that the specification of *se* is made here by deleting the genitive

ending after it (*luptaṣaṣṭhyantanirdeśa*) by rule 7.1.36 *supāṃ suluk*. . . . Or else, this specification of *se* is made with no nominal ending (*avibhaktiko' yaṃ nirdeśaḥ*), at all.

The form *se* itself is a replacement for *thās*, per 3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*. Note also that *e* of *se*, when replaced with *va*, under the provision of 3.4.91 *savābhyāṃ vāmau*, yields *sva*. This can also be included within the reference of *se*, especially in view of the *paribhāṣā* (37): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavad bhavati* 'modification in a part does not make the modified any different from the original'. Consequently, *īśiṣva* also involves introduction of augment *iṬ*.

7.2.78 ईडजनोर्ध्वे च

īḍajanordhve ca
/*īḍajanoḥ* 6/2 *dhve* (deleted 6/1) *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iṭ* #35 *sārvadhātuke* #76 *se* #77)
'*īḍa, jana*' *ity etābhyām uttarasya* '*dhve*' *ity etasya* '*se*' *ity etasya ca sārvadhātukasya iḍāgamo bhavati*
Augment *iṬ* is introduced to *sārvadhātuka* affixes *dhve*, and *se*, when these occur after an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *īḍA* and *janA*.

EXAMPLES:

īḍidhve 'second person plural middle *LAṬ*-form of *īḍ*'
īḍidhvam 'second person plural middle *LOṬ*-form . . .'
īḍiṣe 'second person singular middle *LAṬ*-form . . .'
īḍiṣva 'second person singular middle *LOṬ*-form . . .'
janidhve 'second person plural middle *LAṬ*-form of *jan*'
janidhvam 'second person plural middle *LOṬ*-form . . .'
janiṣe 'second person singular middle *LAṬ*-form . . .'
janiṣva 'second person singular middle *LOṬ*-form . . .'

1. This rule introduces augment *iṬ* to *sārvadhātuka* affixes, namely *dhve* (*dhvam* with replacement in *e* (*etva*); 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .; 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ* . . .) and *se* (3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*), when these affixes occur after an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *īḍA* 'to praise' and *janA* 'to be born'. Note that *dhve* refers to the second plural middle ending *dhvam*, with its *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) replaced with *e* (*etva*; 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ* . . .). A similar specification is made to the second person singular middle ending *thās* with its replacement in *se* (3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*). Thus, *īḍA* + (*LOṬ*→*dhvam*) → *īḍ* + *dhv*(*am*→*e*) → *īḍ* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *dhve* → *īḍidhve*. We similarly get *janA* + (*LOṬ*→*thās*→*se*) → *jan* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *se* → *janiṣe*. The *s* of *se* is then replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*). Recall that 3.4.91 *savābhyāṃ vāmau* replaces an *e*-replacement relative to *LOṬ* with *va* and *am*, provided *e* occurs after *s* and *v*. Thus we get *īḍidhvam* and *īḍidhve*; *janidhvam* and *janiṣe*. Recall that these forms are treated as optional. For, *sarve vidhayaḥ chandasi vikalpyante* 'all operations in the Vedic are made optional'.

2. Note that *janA* is a root of the *div-ādi* class. Consequently, we get the introduction of *ŚyaN* (3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*) after verbal root *janA*. This *ŚyaN*, however, goes through deletion by *LUK* in the Vedic. The penultimate deletion (*upadhālopa*) of 6.4.98 *gamahanajanakhana* . . . is also blocked.

This rule, with its specification of *janA*, also refers to *janA* 'to be born', a root of the *juhotyādi* class. We thus get *vyatijañiṣe* / *vyatijaniṣva* and *vyatijanidhve* / *vyatijanidhvam*, its derivates with the signification of *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocal action' (1.3.14 *kartari karmavyatihāre*). Recall that the *juhotyādi* class of roots have *ŚLU* as their marker. This *ŚLU* is subsequently deleted (2.4.76 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). The root, however, is subjected through doubling (6.1.10 *ślau*) and operations relative to their *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*).

3. *Kāśikā* states that *iṬ* is also desired after *īś* when *dhve* follows. Thus, we get *īṣidhve* and *īśidhvam*. For this, some read this rule as: *īḍijanoḥ sdhve ca*. Since *s*-initial *se* thus becomes included within the rule, *ca* is interpreted as used for attracting *īś*. That is, *ca* is not relatable to *sdhve*. It, instead, is used for bringing *īś* from the preveious rule. Why did Pāṇini not employ brevity (*lāghava*) and read the *sūtra*, jointly, as: *īśīḍijanāṃ sedhvayoḥ*? This would have saved two usage of the nominal endings, and also of *ca*. Pāṇini's formulation of rule(s) is indeed wonderful (*vicitrā hi sūtrasya kṛtiḥ pāṇineḥ*).

4. Since this specification with *dhve* is made with *e* as a replacement for the *ṭi* of *dhvam*, a derivate of *LAṄ* with *dhvam* should not receive *iṬ*. But *dhvam* of *LOṬ* could still receive *iṬ*, based on the maxim: *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* 'that which is modified in one place is not any different from the original'.

7.2.79 लिङः सलोपोऽनन्त्यस्य

liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya
/ *liṅaḥ* 6/1 *salopaḥ* 1/1 *anantyasya* 6/1 (*na ante bhavaḥ* (*naÑ. tat.*), *tasya*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sārvadhātuke* #76)
sārvadhātuke yo liṅ tasya anantyasya sakārasya lopo bhavati
The non-final *s* of a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of affix *LIṄ* goes through deletion by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

kuryāt 'third person singular active (potential) *LIṄ*-form of *kṛ*'
kuryātām 'third person dual active . . .'
kuryuḥ 'third person plural active . . .'
kurvīta 'third person singular middle (potential) *LIṄ*-form of *kṛ*'
kurvīyātām 'third person dual middle . . .'
kurvīran 'third person plural middle . . .'

1. Note that *sārvadhātuke* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) is still carried over.

Thus, the non-final *s* of a replacement of *LIṄ*, when occurring before a *sārvadhātuka* affix, goes through deletion via *LOPA*. What is this non-initial *s* of *LIṄ*? A reference is here made to the *s* of *yāsUṬ*, *sUṬ* and *sīyUṬ* which, in turn, are introduced as augments to *LIṄ* before a *parasmaipada* 'active' verbal ending termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.102 *liṅaḥ sīyuṭ*-3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ*). It is stated that a *LIṄ*, when qualified with *sārvadhātuka*, refers only to injunctional (*vidhi*) *LIṄ*. The benedictive *LIṄ* is, of course, *ārdhadhātuka* in view of 3.4.116 *liṅ āśiṣi*.

Refer to derivational details of *kuryāt*, *kuryātām* and *kuryuḥ* under 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ*... (III:784). Similar deletion of *s* of *sīyUṬ* and *sUṬ* is witnessed in *kurvīta*, *kurvīyātām* and *kurvīran*. Consider *kuru* + *sīy*(*UṬ*) + *ta* → *kuru* + (*s*→ϕ) *īy* + *ta* → *kuru* + *ī*(*y*→ϕ) + *ta* → *kur*(*u*→*v*) + *ī* + *ta* = *kurvīta*, where *y*-deletion is accomplished by 6.1.64 *lopo vyor vali*. There is no *y*-deletion in *kuryātām*. Refer to *paceran* for deriving *kurvīran* (III:785).

2. Why do we state the condition of *anantyasya* 'of a non-final'? Consider *kuryuḥ* and *kuryāḥ* where the final *s* is replaced with *visarga*.

Why do we have the condition of *sārvadhātuke* 'when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* follows'? Consider *kriyāstām* and *kriyāsuḥ* where *s*-deletion cannot apply. For, a benedictive *LIṄ* becomes *ārdhadhātuka* under the provision of 3.4.116 *liṅ āśiṣi*. Similar non-deletion of *s* can also be found in *kṛṣīṣṭa*, *kṛṣīyāstām* and *kṛṣīran*.

7.2.80 अतो येयः

ato yeyaḥ
/*ataḥ* 5/1 *yā* (6/1 deleted) *iyaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sārvadhātuke* #76)
akārāntād aṅgād uttarasya 'yā' ity etasya sārvadhātukasya 'iy' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The *yā* of a *sārvadhātuka* affix is replaced with *iy* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a*.

EXAMPLES:

pacet 'third person singular active *LIṄ*-form of *pac*'
pacetām 'third person dual active ...'
paceyuḥ 'third person plural active ...'

1. This rule offers *iy* as a replacement for *yā* of a *sārvadhātuka* affix when the same occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a*. Consider *pac* + (*LIṄ*→*ti*(*P*)) → *pac* + (*Ś*) *a*(*P*) + *ti* → *pac* + *a* + *yās*(*UṬ*) + *ti* → *pac* + *a* + *yās* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) → *pac* + *a* + *yā*(*s*→ϕ) + *t* → *pac* + *a* + *yā* + *t* → *pac* + *a* + (*yā*→*iy*) + *t* → *pac*(*a*+*i*→*e*) *y* + *t* → *pace*(*y*→ϕ) + *t* = *pacet*. Note that *yāsUṬ* is introduced by 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipade*.... The *i* of *ti* goes through deletion of 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. The *s* of *yāsUṬ* gets deleted by 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo*..., and our present rule replaces

yā with *iy*. A single replacement in *guṇa*, similar to the following *i* of the sequence *a+i* of *pac* + *a* + *iy* + *ta*, is then offered by 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. We thus get *pac* + *ey* + *t*, where *y* gets deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. We similarly derive *pacetām* and *paceyuḥ*, where the third personal dual verbal ending, *tas* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .), and the plural, *jhi*, get replaced with *tām* and *Jus*, respectively (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ* . . .; 3.4.108 *jher jus*). Why do we not get a single replacement similar to the following (*pararūpa*) *i* of the vocalic sequence *a+i* in *pac* + (*a+i*) *y* + *us*? This single replacement is here blocked by 6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *ataḥ* 'after the *a*-final *aṅga*'? Consider *cinuyāt* and *sunuyāt*, where *yā* occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *u*. This *yā* cannot be replaced with *iy*.

Why is *a* specified with a following *t* (*taparakaraṇa*)? So that this replacement in *iy* does not apply in *yāyāt*, where *yā* occurs after the long *ā* of *yā*.

Recall that the condition of *sārvadhātuke* is still valid. That is why we do not get *iy* in *cikīrṣyāt*, a derivate of benedictive *LIṄ* where the root ends in *saN* and the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *yāsUṬ* follows.

3. Now consider the derivation of *cikīrṣ*(*a*→ϕ) + *yā*(*s*→ϕ) + *t* → *cikīrṣyāt*, where 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* deletes the *a* of *cikīrṣa* before the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *yās*. A replacement in *iy* for *yā* of this rule is also blocked because *yās* is not a *sārvadhātuka* affix. An objection is made against carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *sārvadhātuke*. Why bring *sārvadhātuke* when, after the deletion of *a* (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*) under the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*, the *aṅga* will not end in *a*. The applicational condition of this rule will then be removed. The *anuvṛtti* of *sārvadhātuke* is thus not necessary to block application of this rule. But this view will create problems with *pacet* and *yajet*, where 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi* may apply to replace the short *a* of *paca* with its long counterpart. A long counterpart will then not permit the application of this rule. Our present rule, hence, blocks the application of 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*. That is how we get *pacet* and *yajet*. If the word *sārvadhātuke* is not carried over to this rule, it will also block application of *a*-deletion (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*). Carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *sārvadhātuke* will not permit *iy* to replace *yā*. For, *yā* is an *ārdhadhātuka*.

4. It is further argued that 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi* also carries the *anuvṛtti* of *tiṅi* (7.3.88 *bhūsuvos tiṅi*). This would enable our present rule to only block the application of 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*. It cannot block the application of 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*. For, *iy* blocks *dīrgha* 'long vowel-replacement' by way of beocoming *niravakāśa* 'without any scope of application'. It is because of this *niravakāśatva* 'scopelessness' that *iy* blocks *dīrgha* by way of being an exception (*apavāda*). This *iy* cannot be accepted as an exception to *a*-deletion, because *iy* will apply whether *a*-deletion applied or not. This is supported by the maxim of (*PŚ*:58) *yena nāprāpte yo vidhir ārabhyate* . . . 'a rule whose scope of application removes the condition of application of another is blocked by the other'. Also, (*PŚ*:61) *madhye' pavādān pūrvān vidhīn bādhante*

nottarān 'exceptions read in between only block operations which precede, and not any others which follow'. Our present rule will thus block the application of 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ.* It cannot block the application of 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi.* Carrying over the *anuvṛtti* of *sārvadhātuke* will block the application of this rule in *cikīrṣyāt.* For, its *yā* is an *ārdhadhātuka.*

5. A question is raised as to how we get *yeyaḥ*? We have two interpretations:

(*i*) *yā* + *Ṅas* + *iya* + *sU* → *yā* + *iyaḥ,* where the genitive goes through *LUK*-deletion and *y*(*ā*+*i*→*e*)*ya* yields *yeya* + *sU* = *yeyaḥ,* through a single *guṇa*-replacement. This single replacement is then considered *ārṣa*: accomplished by the sage Pāṇini in this rule.

(*ii*) *yā* + *Ṅas* + *iya* + *sU,* where *ā* of *yā* (*ato dhātoḥ*) is deleted and *s* of *Ṅas* is replaced with *y,* via *rU* (8.3.17 *bhobhagoagho* . . .). We thus get *y*(*ā*→ϕ) + *a*(*s*→*rU*→*y*)) + *iyaḥ* = *y* + *ay* + *iyaḥ,* where *y* of *ay* goes through deletion of 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya.* Rule 6.1.97 *ād guṇaḥ* then applies on *ya* + *iyaḥ* to yield *y*(*ī*+*i*→*e*)*yaḥ* = *yeyaḥ,* through a single replacement in *guṇa.* Is this single replacement in *guṇa* accomplished by accepting *y*-deletion as suspended by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*? Since this specification is part of a rule, *y*-deletion is not considered *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of application of *guṇa* (*Nyāsa*: '*chandovat sūtrāṇi bhavanti*' *iti, tasmāt sautratvād asya nirdeśasyāsiddhatvam anāśritya* '*ād guṇaḥ*' *kṛtaḥ*).

6. Some read this rule as: *ato yāsiyaḥ.* They recognize *yās* as the substituendum (*sthānī*) replaced with *iy.* They also interpret *yās* + *Ṅas* + *iya* + *sU* = *yāsiya* as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound (*Kāś*: *kecid atra* '*ato yāsiyaḥ*' *iti sūtraṃ paṭhanti. teṣāṃ sakārāntaḥ sthānī, ṣaṣṭhī samāsaś ca*).

Varadarāja does not accept *yā* as the substituendum replaced by *iy.* He accepts *yās,* instead (*Laghukaumudī* (428: *ato yeyaḥ*: *ataḥ parasya sārvadhātukāvayavasya yāsa ity asya iy* . . .)). It is stated that (Bhīmasena Śāstrī, II:68) considering *yā* as the substituendum will create difficulties in deriving *bhava* + *yā* + *us* = *bhaveyuḥ.* Given . . . *yā* + *us,* rule 6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt* will apply to accomplish a single replacement in *u* for the vocalic sequence *ā*+*u.* This single replacement cannot be blocked in favor of a replacement in *iy* of this rule. Bhīmasena Śāstrī argues against invoking *vipratiṣedha* (4.1.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*). He recognizes that *iyādeśa* 'replacement in *iy*' has its independent scope of application in *bhavet,* etc. An independent scope of application of 6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt* is also established by *apuḥ* 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derive of *pā* (to drink)'. This application of *iyādeśa* (7.2.80 *ato yeyaḥ*) and *y*(*ā* +*u*)*s* →*us,* a single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence i.e., (*bhava* + *y*(*ā*+*u*→*us*); (*pararūpa*; 6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt*) is simultaneously applicable to *yā* + *us* of *bhava* + *yā* + *us.* This is a context where two rules of equal strength both become applicable simultaneously

(*yugapat*). Śāstrī argues that *pararūpa* is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) because it is only applicabe to the affix. Replacement in *iy*, since it is dependent upon an *aṅga* ending in *aT*, is externally (*antaraṅga*) conditioned. Since an internally conditioned operation takes precedence over an externally conditioned operation ((*PŚ*:51) *asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge*)), *iyādeśa* cannot be applied on the basis of *vipratiṣedha*. That is, *yās* must be accepted as the substituendum for replacement with *iy*, against *pararūpa*. Recall that *Kāśikā* mentions *yās* as a substituendum for *iy* with *kecit* 'in the opinion of some scholars'. Obviously, *Kāśikā* does not accept *yās* as the substituendum.

7.2.81 आतो ङितः

āto ṅitaḥ
/*ātaḥ* 6/1 *ṅitaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sārvadhātuke* #76 *ataḥ iyaḥ* #80)
ākārasya ṅidavayavasya akārāntād aṅgād uttarasya sārvadhātukasya 'iy' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
An *ā* which forms part of a *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, and occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a*, is replaced with *iy*.

EXAMPLES:

pacete 'third person dual middle *LAṬ* form of *pac*'
pacethe 'second person dual middle *LAṬ*-form of *pac*'
pacetām 'third person dual active imperative of *pac*'
pacethām 'second person dual active imperative of *pac*'
yajete 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-form of *yaj*'
yajethe 'second person singular middle *LAṬ*-form of *yaj*'
yajetām 'third person dual active imperative of *yaj*'
yajethām 'second person dual active imperative of *yaj*'

1. Note that the *aṅga* must end in *a* in view of the *anuvṛtti* of *ataḥ*, ending in the ablative (*pañcamī*). Since *ataḥ* is used here as a qualifier to *aṅga*, a qualifier-qualified relationship between *ataḥ*, ending in the ablative, and *aṅgasya*, availed, via *anuvṛtti*, ending in the genitive, is impaired. The genitive of *aṅgasya* is hence transformed into the ablative (*pañcamī*) to facilitate this qualifier-qualified relationship. This is how we get the meaning: 'after an *aṅga* ending in *a*'. We also get a qualifier-qualified relationship in *ātaḥ* and *ṅitaḥ*, both ending in the genitive. But this relationship is not co-referential (*samānādhikaraṇa*). It is, instead, interpreted as *vyadhikaraṇa*, denoting different loci. The genitive of *ātaḥ* is interpreted as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of' in connection with replacement (*ādeśa*) in *iy*. The genitive of *ṅitaḥ*, in connection with the genitive of *ātaḥ*, is interpreted as denoting *avayava* 'part of a whole'. The genitive of *ātaḥ ṅitaḥ* thus yileds the meaning: *ākārasya ṅidavayavasya* 'in place of an *ā* which is part of that (a *sārvadhātuka* affix)

which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*'. Thus, the *ā* which is to be replaced with *iy* must also be a part of the *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*.

Refer to derivational details of *pac* + *a* + *ātām* = *pacete* 'third person dual middle *LAṬ*-form of *pac*' and *pac* + *a* + *thās* = *pacethe* 'second persaon dual middle *LAṬ*-form of *pac*' under rule 1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanaṃ* . . . (II:346-47). Similar rules apply in deriving *yajete* and *yajethe*. Deriving *pacetām* 'third person dual active imperative of *pac*' and *pacethām* 'second person dual active imperative of *pac*' from *pac* + *a* + (*LOṬ*→*ātām*) → *pac* + *a* + (*ā*→*iy*) *tām* and *pac* + *a* + (*LOṬ*→*āthām*) → *pac* + *a* + (*ā*→*iy*) *thām* would, in addition to replacement in *iy* for *ā* of *ātām* and *āthām*, require two applications: 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e* and 3.4.90 *ām etaḥ*. This second rule will block application of the first and retain *ām*. Rule 6.1.97 *ād guṇaḥ* will apply on *pac* + (*a*+*i*→*e*) *y* + *tām* and *pac* + (*a*+*i*→*e*) *y* + *thām* to yield *pac* + *ey* + *tām* and *pac* + *ey* + *thām*. The *y* of *iy* will, of course, be deleted by *lopo vyor vali*. We will thus get *pacetām* and *pacethām*. Similar rules apply in deriving *yajetām* and *yajethām*.

Recall that *Ṅit* '*Ṅ* as an *it*' serves a condition for *sārvadhātuka* affixes used in these examples. Affixes such as *ātām* and *āthām* are not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. How do they meet the requirement of *Ṅ* as an *it*. Actually, they are offered extensional (*ātideśika*) status as marked with *Ṅ* by rule 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. That is, a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiśit sārvadhātukam*) affix not marked with *P* as an *it* (*apit*) is considered marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *ātaḥ* 'in place of an *ā*'? Consider the dual sets of third person plural active and middle forms of *pac* and *yaj*: *pacanti/ yajanti* and *pacante / yajante*, where the affix does not have an *ā*. The question of a replacement with *iy* thus does not arise.

Why do we have the condition of *ṅitaḥ* 'of a part of that which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*'? Consider the first person dual and plural present middle forms of *pac*: *pac* + *a* + (*LAṬ*→*vahi*) → *pac* + *a* + (*āṬ* + *vahi*) → *pacāvahai* and *pac* + *a* + (*LAṬ*→*mahi*(*Ṅ*)) → *pac* + *a* + (*āṬ* + *mahi*) → *pacāmahai*, where the suffix begins with *ā*, but is not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. Recall that augment *āṬ* is introduced by 3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca*, whereby it will concurrently be extended the status of 'marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*)'. The question of *iy*-replacement for *ā*, again, does not arise. Incidentally, *vahi* and *mahi* produce *vahe*, through *e*-replacement of *ṭi* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām ṭer e*). This *e* is futher replaced by *ai* of 3.4.93 *et ai*, thereby yielding *pac* + *a* + *āvah* (*i*→*e*→*ai*) = *paca* + *āvahai* and *pac* + *a* + *āmahai*. An application of homogeneous long vowel-replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*; 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) then produces: *pac* + (*a*+*ā*→*ā*) *vahai* = *pacāvahai* and *pacāmahai*.

The condition of *ātaḥ* 'after an *aṅga* ending in *ā*' is still valid. Consider *cinvāte* and *sunvāte*, where *cinu* and *sunu* end in *u*. The *ā* of *āte*, hence, cannot be here replaced with *iy*.

Why do we have this specification made with *t*? Consider *māṄ* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + (*LAṬ*→*ātām*) = *mimāte* and *māṄ* + (*ŚaP* →*ŚLU*) + *āthām*) =

mimāthe, the third and second person dual forms of *māṄ* 'to measure'. We get *m(ā→i)* + *mā* + *ātām* = *mi* + *mā* + *ātām* and *m(ā→i)* + *mā* + *āthām* = *mi* + *mā* + *āthām*, where *ā* of the *abhyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable' is replaced with *i* (7.4.76 *bhṛñām it*). The *ā* of the *abhyasta* 'both elements of ruduplicated form' then goes through deletion, via *LOPA* (6.4.112 *śnā' bhyastayor ātaḥ*) to produce: *mi* + *m(ā→ϕ)* + *ātām* and *mi* + *m(a→ϕ)* + *āthām*. The *e*-replacement of *ṭi*, i.e., *ām*, of *ātām* and *āthām* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e*), will finally produce *mimāt(ām→e)* = *mimāte* and *mimāth(ām→e)* = *mimāthe*.

7.2.82 आने मुक्

āne muk
/*āne* 7/1 *muk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ataḥ* #80)
ato parato' ṅgasyāto mug āgamo bhavati
Augment *mUK* is introduced to the *a* of an *aṅga* when affix *āna* follows.

Examples:

pacamānaḥ 'cooking'
yajamānaḥ 'performing a sacrifice'

1. Note that the two examples both derive with *LAṬ* replaced with *āna* (*ŚānaC*; 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv . . .*). The *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *ataḥ*, because of the *saptamī* 'locative' of *āne*, is transformed into *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' in view of 1.1.65 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe pūrvasya*. Augment *mUK* is thus introduced here to the *a*, i.e., here *ŚaP*, of the *aṅga* before *āna*. Refer to derivational details of *pacamāna* (III:751) under 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv. . . .*

2. Note that a *LA*-affix which is assigned the term *sārvadhātuka* is assigned *udātta*. Augment *mUK* is here introduced to the short *a* (*aT*) of the *aṅga*. That is, *mUK* is considered part of *a* to which it is introduced. Since it is not introduced to the final *a* of an *aṅga*, it is not considered a part of the *aṅga*. If it was considered a part of the *aṅga*, it would have intervened between *a* which is part of the *aṅga* and the *LA* affix which is termed *sārvadhātuka*. The *anudātta* of 6.1.186 *tāsy anudātten . . .* would have thus been blocked. Augment *mUK* cannot be considered intervening between *a* and the *LA* affix termed *sārvadhātuka*. Why? Because it becomes part of *a*. But this may create another problem.

Augment *mUK*, since it becomes part of *a*, may be referred to as *a*. It will thus not be an intervening element. This being the case, 7.2.81 *āto ṅitaḥ* may cause the *ā* of *ān* to be replaced with *iy*. This problem can be easily resolved. The *aṅga*, there, is specified as ending in *a*. Augment *mUK*, when considered as *a*, will add its half duration to the *a* and *a*+*mUK* = *a* will carry the duration of one and a half mora. Recall that the specification of *a* in 7.2.81 is made with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*). That *a* carries the duration of only one

mora. Since the *a* to which *mUK* is introduced carries the duration of more than one mora, replacement in *iy* will be blocked. If this is blocked then *anudātta* of a *LA* termed *sārvadhātuka* must also be blocked. No. The specification of *anudātta* is made with reference to *a* in *upadeśa* 'initial citation'. A difference in duration incurred after initial citation does not affect the accent. Note that *iy* is not a citation in *upadeśa*. Consequently, 7.2.81 *āto ṅitaḥ* does not apply. This is why, even after 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi* has applied to replace the *a* of *ŚaP* with *ā*, the *anudātta* accent of the *LA* termed *sārvadhātuka* in *pacāvaḥ* and *pacāmaḥ* is not blocked.

7.2.83 ईदासः

īd āsaḥ
/*īt* 1/1 *āsaḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *āne* #82)
āsa uttarasyānaśabdasya īkārādeśo bhavati
Affix *āna* which occurs after *ās* is replaced with *ī*.

EXAMPLES:

āsīno yajate 'sitting he performs the sacrifice'

1. Note that the *saptamī* 'locative' of *āne* which occurs after the *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *āsaḥ* will be transformed into *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' (*ṣaṣṭhī*), in view of the interpretive provision of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya* (*Kāś*: *atra pañcamyāḥ parasya ṣaṣṭhī kalpyate*). That is, an *ā* which is part of *āna* and occurs after that which ends in *a* is replaced with *ī* (*Kāś*: *atra pañcamyāḥ parasya ṣaṣṭhī kalpyate*). Refer to derivational details of *āsīnaḥ* in the appendix (II:391).

7.2.84 अष्टन् आ विभक्तौ

aṣṭan ā vibhaktau
/*aṣṭanaḥ* 6/1 *āḥ* 1/1 *vibhaktau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
aṣṭano vibhaktau parata ākārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *aṣṭan* 'eight', is replaced with *ā* when an affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

aṣṭabhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *aṣṭan*'
aṣṭabhyaḥ 'dative/ablative plural . . .'
aṣṭānām 'genitive plural . . .'
aṣṭāsu 'locative plural . . .'

1. Note that *n* of *aṣṭan* is replaced with *ā* in view of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. The substitute (*ādeśa*) is specified here in particular (*vyakti*), against one made in view of the class (*jāti*). If this specification was made in view of *jāti*, we will

get a nasalized *ā* as replacement. This would have been the choice in view of close similarity with the item to be replaced (*Kāś: 'ā' iti vyaktinirdeśo' yam. ākṛtinirdeśe tu nakārasthāne' nunāsikākāraḥ syāt*).

The formulation of 6.1.169 *aṣṭano dīrghāt* makes known (*jñāpayati*) that this replacement is optional. There was no need to specify *ā* at the end of *aṣṭan* with *dīrghāt*. That is, *ā* will always remain a *dīrgha* 'long'. The optionality of this replacement is also indicated by *aṣṭābhyaḥ* of 7.1.21 *aṣṭābhya auś* where *aṣṭa* is specified after replacing *a* with *ā* (*Kāś: kṛtātvasya nirdeśāt*). This is why we get *aṣṭābhyaḥ* and *aṣṭabhyaḥ*, both. Note that *tadantavidhi* 'a specification made with *x* also refers to that which ends in *x* is also desired (*iṣyate*). Thus, we also get *priyāṣṭānaḥ* and *priyāṣṭau*, as in *priyā aṣṭau yeṣām* = *priyāṣṭānaḥ* 'those to whom eight are dear'.

Consider *aṣṭa(n→ā)* + *bhis* → *aṣṭābhiḥ*, where *s* of *bhis* goes through a replacement in *rU→ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*). Deriving *aṣṭānām*, from *aṣṭa(n→ā)* + *nUṬ* + *ām*, involves introduction of augment *nUṬ* (7.1.55 *ṣaṭcaturbhyaś ca*).

7.2.85 रायो हलि

rāyaḥ hali
/*rāyaḥ* 6/1 *hali* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ā vibhaktau* #84)
rai iti etasya halādau vibhaktau parata ākārādeśo bhavati
The final sound of an *aṅga*, namely *rai* 'wealth', is replaced with *ā* when a consonant-initial affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

rābhyām 'instrumental dual of *rai*'
rābhiḥ 'instrumental plural . . .'

1. Consider *rai* + *bhyām* → *r(ai→ā) bhyām* = *rābhyām* and *r(ai→ā)* + *bhis* → *rābhis* → *rābhiḥ*, where *bhyām* and *bhis* begin with a consonant.

2. Why do we state the condition of *hali* 'consonant initial . . .'. Consider *rai* + *au* → *rāyaḥ*, where *ā* is blocked in favor of *āy* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*). We similarly get *rai* + *Jas* → *rāyas* → *rāyaḥ*. That is, the nominal endings here begin with a vowel.

Why do we have the condition of *vibhaktau* 'when a nominal ending . . .'? Consider *rai* + *tva* → *raitva* + *sU* → *raitvam* and *rai* + *taL* → *raitā*, where *tva* and *taL* (5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas tvatalau*) are not termed *vibhakti*.

3. Note that *vibhaktau* is carried through rules enumerated prior to 7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*.

7.2.86 युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशे

yuṣmadasmador anādeśe
/*yuṣmadasmadoḥ* 6/2 = *yuṣmac ca asmac ca* = *yuṣmadasmadī*, *tayoḥ* (*itar.*

dv.); *anādeśe* = *na ādeśaḥ, tasmin* (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *āḥ vibhaktau* #84)
yuṣmadasmad ity etayor anādeśe vibhaktau parata ākārādeśo bhavati
An *ā* comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, provided an affix termed *vibhakti* which has not gone through any replacement follows.

EXAMPLES:

yuṣmābhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *yuṣmad*'
asmābhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *asmad*'
yuṣmāsu 'locative plural of *yuṣmad*'
asmāsu 'locative plural of *asmad*'

1. This rule offers *ā* as a replacement for the final sound segment of *yuṣmad* 'second personal pronominal' and *asmad* 'first personal pronominal' when a nominal ending which has not gone through any replacement (*anādeśe*) follows. Thus, *yuṣma*(*d*→*ā*) + *bhis* → *yuṣm*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) + *bhis* → *yuṣmā* + *bhi*(*s*→*rU*→*ḥ*) → *yuṣmābhiḥ* and *asma*(*d*→*ā*) + *bhis* → *asm*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) + *bhis* → *asmābhiḥ*.

2. What is the purpose of stating *anādeśe* 'when not replaced'? Consider *yuṣmad* + (*bhyas* →*at*) → *yuṣmat* and *asmad* + (*bhyas*→*at*) → *asmat*, where this replacement cannot be applied. Notice that *bhyas* is here replaced with *at* (7.1.10 *pañcamyā at*). The *d* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*). Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* then applies to yield *yuṣm*(*a*+*a*→*a*)*t* = *yuṣmat* and *asmat*.

Note that this replacement, before a consonant-initial ending, can be easily blocked by the *anuvṛtti* of *hali* 'when a consonant follows'. This, therefore, cannot be the purpose of stating *anādeśe*. Commentators note that the purpose of stating *anādeśe* becomes clear in the application of rule 7.2.89 *yo' ci*. For, that rule requires a vowel-initial nominal ending which has not gone through any replacement. That purpose is stated here in this rule by using the word *anādeśe*.

7.2.87 द्वितीयायां च

dvitīyāyāṃ ca
/ *dvitīyāyām* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *āḥ vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #86)
dvitīyāyāṃ ca parato yuṣmadasmador ākārādeśo bhavati
An *ā* also comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, when a *vibhakti* termed *dvitīyā* 'second; accusative' follows.

EXAMPLES:

yuvām 'accusaive dual of *yuṣmad*'

āvām 'accusative dual of *asmad*'
yuṣmān 'accusative plural *yuṣmad*'
asmān 'accusative plural *asmad*'

1. Note that our earlier rule requires the following *vibhakti* to be one which did not go through any replacement (*anādeśe*). Our present rule is formulated to allow this replacement where a replacement of *dvitīyā* 'accusative' follows (*Kāś*: *ādeśārthaṃ vacanam*). Consider (*yuṣm*→*tva*) *ad* + *am* → *tva* + *a* + (*d*→*ā*) + *am*→ *tv*(*a*+*a*→*a*) + *ā* + *am*→ *tv*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) + *am*→ *tv*(*ā*+*a*→*ā*) *m* = *tvām*, where *yuṣm* is replaced with *tva* (7.2.97 *tvamāv ekavacane*) and *a*+*a* is replaced with *a*, via *pararūpa* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). The *d* is then replaced with *ā* of this rule. The *a*+*ā* sequence is then replaced with *ā* (6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe*. . .), whereby we get *tvā* + *am*. Rule 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* then applies to yield *tv*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) *m* = *tvām*. We similarly get (*asm*→*ma*) *ad* + *am*→ *m*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *d* + *am*→ *ma*(*d*→*ā*) + *am*→ *mā* + *am*→ *mām*.

Recall that 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor am* offers *am* as a replacement for *sU*, *au*, *Jas*, *am* and *auT* which, in case of the accusative, yields *yuṣmad* + (*au*→*am*) = *yuṣmad* + *am*. We similarly get *asmad* + *am*. Forms of *Jas* will similarly yield *yuṣmad* + *am* and *asmad* + *am*. A replacement in *yuva* and *āva* (7.2.92 *yuvāvau dvivacane*) for *yuṣm* and *asm*, followed by *ā*-replacement of *d*, will produce *yuva* + *a* + *ā* + *am* and *āva* + *a* + *ā* + *am*. These, with subsequent applications, will produce *yuvām* and *āvām*. We can also derive *yūyam* and *vayam* in the nominative plural from *yūya* + *ad* + *am* and *vaya* + *ad* + *am*, where *yuṣm* and *asm* get replaced with *yūya* and *vaya* (7.3.93 *yūyavayau jasi*), and *Jas* gets replaced with *am*.

This rule is thus formulated to allow *ā*-replacement when replaced nominal endings follow (*Kāś*: *ādeśārthaṃ vacanam*).

7.2.88 प्रथमायाश्च द्विवचने भाषायाम्

prathamāyāś ca dvivacane bhāṣāyām
/*prathamāyāḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *dvivacane* 7/1 *bhāṣāyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *āḥ vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #86)
prathamāyāś ca dvivacane parato bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye yuṣmadasmador ākārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, is also replaced with *ā* in the classical usage (*bhāṣāyām*), when a *vibhakti* termed *prathamā* 'nominative' follows with the signification of two (*dvivacana*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

yuvām 'nominative dual of *yuṣmad*'
āvām 'nominative dual of *asmad*'

1. Refer to derivational details under the preceding rule. What is the

purpose of stating *prathamāyāḥ* 'of a nominative'? Consider *yuvayoḥ* and *āvayoḥ* where this replacement in *ā* is not allowed before the genitive and locative dual nominal ending *os*.

Why do we have the condition of *dvivacane* 'when the sense of two is denoted'? Consider *tvam*, *yūyam* and *aham*, *vayam*, where this replacement is not allowed when the sense of one (*ekavacana*) and many (*bahuvacana*) 'plural' is denoted.

Why do we have the condition of *bhāṣāyām* 'in the classical usage'? Consider *yuvam*, as in *yuvaṃ vastrāṇi pīvasā vásāthe*, where we do not get this replacement since the usage is Vedic.

7.2.89 योऽचि

yo' ci
/*yaḥ* 1/1 *aci* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmador anādeśe* #86)
ajādāv vibhaktāv anādeśe yuṣmad asmador yakārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, is replaced with *y* when a vowel-initial (*ajādi*) affix termed *vibhakti*, with no replacement of its original, follows.

EXAMPLES:

tvayā 'instrumental singular of *yuṣmad*'
mayā 'instrumental singular of *asmad*'
tvayi 'locative singular of *yuṣmad*'
mayi 'locative singular of *asmad*'
yuvayoḥ 'genitive-locative dual of *yuṣmad*'
āvayoḥ 'genitive-locative dual of *asmad*'

1. This rule offers *y* as a replacement for *d* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Consider (*yuṣm*→*tva*) *ad* + (*T*) *ā* → *tva* + *a*(*d*→*y*) + *ā* = *tv*(*a*+*a*→*a*)*yā* = *tvayā* and (*asm*→*ma*) + *ad* + (*T*) *ā* → *ma* + *a*(*d*→*y*) + (*T*) *ā* = *m*(*a*+*a*→*ma*)*y* + *ā* = *mayā*. Deriving *yuvayoḥ* and *āvayoḥ* with *d*→*y* and further replacements in *yuva* and *āva*, for *yuṣm* and *asm* (7.2.92 *yuvāvau dvivacane*), does not pose any problem.

Note here that *d*, or *ad*, can both be replaced with *y*. Refer to my notes under 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor am*. Replacing *d* with *y* would require application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, etc. We can similarly get *tvayi* and *mayi*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *aci* 'when a vowel-initial . . .'? Consider *yuvābhyām* and *āvābhyām*, where this replacement is blocked since *bhyām* does not begin with a vowel.

If one carries over *hali*, via *anuvṛtti*, to 7.2.86 *yuṣmadasmador anādeśe*, *aci* of this rule is not needed. It then becomes used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

The condition of *anādeśe* 'when not replaced' is still carried over. That is

why we do not get this replacement in *tvad* and *mad* of *tvad gacchati* '. . . goes away from me' and *mad gacchati* '. . . goes away from me'. These are ablative singular forms where *Ṅasl* is replaced with *at* (7.1.10 *pañcamyā at*).

7.2.90 शेषे लोपः

śeṣe lopaḥ
/ *śeṣe* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *yuāṣmadasmadoḥ* #86)
śeṣe vibhaktau yuṣmadasmador lopo bhavati
LOPA applies to the final of an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, when an affix termed *vibhakti*, not enumerated thus far by the preceding, follows.

EXAMPLES:

tvam 'nominative singular of *yuṣmad*'
aham '. . . of *asmad*'
yūyam 'nominative plural of *yuṣmad*'
vayam '. . . of *asmad*'
tubhyam 'dative singular of *yuṣmad*'
mahyam 'dative singular of *asmad*'
yuṣmabhyam 'dative plural of *yuṣmad*'
asmabhyam '. . . of *asmad*'
tvat 'ablative singular of *yuṣmad*'
mat '. . . of *asmad*'
yuṣmat '. . . of *yuṣmad*'
asmat '. . . of *asmad*'
tava 'genitive singular of *yuṣmad*'
mama '. . . of *asmad*'
yuṣmākam 'genitive plural of *yuṣmad*'
asmākam '. . . of *asmad*'

1. This rule offers deletion of the final sound segment of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* when the nominal endings, not enumerated thus far, follow. The word *śeṣa* is used in the sense of *uktād anyaḥ* 'other than that which is already stated'. The nominal endings which remain to be stated are: singular and plural of nominative (*prathamā*: *sU/Jas*), dative (*caturthī*: *Ṅe/ bhyas*), ablative (*pañcamī*: *Ṅasl/ bhyas*) and genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*: *Ṅas/ ām*). The following verse summarizes it:

pañcamyāś ca caturthyāś ca ṣaṣṭhīprathamayor api/
yāny advivacanāny atra teṣu lopo vidhīyate//
'this provision of deletion by *LOPA* is made in the context of non-dual nominal endings of ablative (*pañcamī*), dative (*caturthī*), genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) and nominative (*prathamā*)'

Consider *tvam* and *aham* where *yuṣm* and *asm* get replaced with *tva* and *aha* (7.2.91 *tvāhau sau*). Rule 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor am* replaces *sU, au, Jas; am, auṬ* and *Ṅe* with *am*. Our present rule deletes *d*, or *ad*. Thus, (*yuṣm*→*tva*) *ad* + *sU* → *tva* + (*ad* →ϕ) + *sU* → *tva* + (*sU*→*am*) → *tva* + *am* → *tv*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *m* = *tvam*. We similarly get *aham* with *asm* replaced with *aha*. We get *yūyam* and *vayam*, in the plural, when *d*, or *ad*, is deleted after *yuṣm* and *asm* are replaced with *yūya* and *vaya* (7.2.93 *yūyavayau jasi*). We can also get *tubhyam* and *mahyam* where *Ṅe* is replaced with *am*. Rule 7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau ṅayi* offers *tubhya* and *mahya* as replacements for *yuṣm* and *asm*. We thus get *tubhyam* and *mahyam*. The dative and ablative plural forms will have their *bhyas* replaced with *bhyam* (7.1.30 *bhyaso bhyam*). This will give us *yuṣmabhyam* and *asmabhyam*. The deletion of *d* is accomplished only after replacement in *bhyam* is accomplished. We will get a replacement in *bhyam* if *ad* alone is deleted. It will be *abhyam* if *d* alone is deleted. The ablative singular and plural endings get replaced with *at* (7.1.10 *pañcamyā at*). Thus, we get *tvat, mat;* and *yuṣmat* and *asmat*. The genitive singular ending *Ṅas* is replaced with *aŚ* (7.1.27 *yuṣmadasmadbhyāṃ ṇaso' ś*). The deletion of *d* is accomplished after rule 7.2.96 *tavamamau ṅasi* replaces *yuṣm* and *asm* with *tava* and *mama*. The genitive plural forms are derived with the introduction of *sUṬ* followed by *ākam* (7.1.34 *sāma ākam*). We thus get *yuṣmākam* and *asmākam*.

2. Why do we have to make a specification with *śeṣe* 'when the remainder . . .'? It is used for clarity, especially since different replacements are offered in other contexts.

Why is affix *ṬāP* not introduced to denote feminine after this deletion has applied? Why do we have *tvaṃ brāhmaṇī* and *ahaṃ brāhmaṇī*? The feminine affix is not introduced because an operation marked with proximity cannot cause the destruction of the condition under which it applied ((*PŚ*:86) *sannipātalakṣaṇo vidhir animittaṃ tadvighātasya*). One can even accept the use of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* without any denotation of gender.

3. Some claim that *śeṣe* can also refer to the remainder of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* after they are replaced with *yuṣm* and *asm*. What is left is *ad*. It is claimed that this *ad* should form the focus of deletion. This view would require the application of *ṭi*-deletion on *ad*. If this deletion is applied after replacements of bases and endings have applied, deletion of *d*, or *ad*, will not create any difficulty. Deleting *d* may require rules such as 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*, 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* and 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* to apply. Deleting *ad* will require fewer rule applications.

7.2.91 मपर्यन्तस्य

maparyantasya

/ *maparyantasya* 6/1 = *maḥ paryanto yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1, *vibhaktau* #84)

'*maparyantasya*' *ity ayam adhikāraḥ. yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ*

'maparyantasya' ity evaṃ tad veditavyam
In place of that which extends up to (and including) *m*.

EXAMPLES:

yuvām 'nominative-accusative dual of *yuṣmad*'
āvām 'nominative-accusative dual of *asmad*'
tvayā 'instrumental singular of *yuṣmad*'
mayā 'instrumental singular of *asmad*'

1. Note that this is a governing rule (*adhikāra*). Whatever is stated hereafter prior to 7.2.79 *tricaturoḥ* . . . must include the reading of *maparyantasya* 'in place of that which extends up to (and including) *m*'. This reference to a formal unit extending up to *m* is construed as *yuṣm* and *asm* of *yuṣmad* 'second personal pronominal' and *asmad* 'first personal pronominal', respectively. Consider the following rule (7.1.92 *yuvāvau dvivacane*) whereby *yuva* and *ava* are offered as replacements. Our present rule, when read with the following, will specify *yuṣm* and *asm* as forms of an *aṅga* constituted by *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. These, in turn, will be replaced with *yuva* and *ava*, respectively. Carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *maparyantasya* helps specify items (*sthānī*) which go through the process of replacement (*ādeśa*). Thus, *yuṣmad* + (*au* → *am*) → (*yuṣm*→*yuva*) *ad* + *am* → *yuva* + *a*(*d*→*ā*) + *am* → *yuv*(*a*+*a*→*a*) + *ā* + *am* →*yuv*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) + *am* → *yuv* (*ā*+*a*→*ā*) *m* = *yuvām*, where *yuva* replaces *yuṣm* and *d* of *ad* is replaced with *ā* of 7.2.88 *prathamāyāś ca dvivacane bhāṣāyām*. The vocalic sequence of *a*+*a* in *yuv*(*a* + *a*) *ā* + *am* then goes through a *guṇa*-replacement similar to what follows (*pararūpa*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). The resultant vocalic sequence *a*+*ā* is replaced with a single long homogeneous vowel *ā* (*savarṇa-dīrgha*; 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). The next sequence *ā*+*a* goes through a replacement similar to the *ā* which precedes (*pūrvarūpa*; 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ*). Recall that the nominal ending *au* is replaced with *am* of 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor am*. Similar rules apply in deriving *āvām* from *asmad* + *au*.

The replacement in *ā* for accusative is accomplished by 7.2.87 *dvitīyāyāṃ ca*. The final *d* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is replaced with *y*, instead, when a vowel-initial non-replaced nominal ending follows.

2. Why do we have the condition of *maparyantasya*? So that a replacement could not be ordered for that which includes *akAC* (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnāṣm* . . .). Consider *yuvakām* and *āvakām* which end in a nominal ending (*sUP*) and are derivates of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* where *akAC* is introduced prior to the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*, i.e., *ad*) of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. In the absence of a specification with *maparyanta*, we may find *yuva* and *ava* coming as replacements in place of the entire pronominal stem augmented with *akAC*. We could thus not get the desired forms *yuvakām* and *āvakām*.

Now consider rule 7.2.97 *tvamāv ekavacane* whereby *yuṣm* and *asm* are replaced with *tva* and *ma*. We thus get (*yuṣm*→*tva*) *ad* + (*Ṭ*) *ā* → *yuṣmad* + *ā* and *asmad* + (*Ṭ*) *ā* → (*asma*→*ma*) + *ad* + *ā*, where *Ṭā* is the singular ending of

instrumental (*tṛtīyā*). Rule 7.2.97 *tvamāv ekavacane* then requires *yuṣm* and *asm* to be replaced with *tva* and *ma*. We now have *tva* + *ad* + *ā* and *ma* + *ad* + *ā*. Rule 7.2.89 *yo' ci* then applies to replace the final *d* with *y* before *ā*, a nominal ending which has not gone through any replacement (*anādeśe*). Given *tva* + *a*(*d*→*y*) + *ā* = *tva* + *ay* + *ā* and *ma* + *ay* + *ā*, 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* applies to replace the sequence *a*+*a* with a single *guṇa* vowel *a*, a replacement similar to what follows (*pararūpa*). We thus get *tv*(*a*+*a*→*a*)*y* + *ā* → *tvay* + *ā* = *tvayā* and *m*(*a*+*a*→*a*)*y* + *ā* → *may* + *ā* → *mayā*. If we do not limit the extent (*avadhi*) of items to be replaced with *tva* and *ma* with a specification made by *maparyantasya*, *yuṣmad* and *asmad* will then be replaced, in toto, with *tva* and *ma*. For, these replacements consist of more than one sound segment (1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). If replacements come in place of forms with *akAC*, the *a* of *tva* and *ma* will then be replaced with *y* of 7.2.89 *yo' ci*. These all will produce wrong forms. A specification with *maparyantasya* will yield desired results. If we replace *yuṣma* and *asma* with *tva* and *ma*, against the condition of *maparyantasya*, the *a* of *tva* + *ā* and *ma* + *ā* will then be replaced with *y* (7.2.89 *yo' ci*). We will now get wrong forms: (*yuṣm*→*tv*(*a*→*y*)) + *ā* = **tvyā* and *asm* →*m*(*a*→*y*) + *ā* = **myā*. We get correct derivational results if *maparyantasya* remains stated.

Why include *pari* in *maparyantasya* when *māntasya* (*ma* + *antasya*) alone could account for desired forms? A specification with *māntasya* would mean: 'in place of that which ends in *m*'. This may or may not include *m* as part of the specified form. Pāṇini included *pari* to state a relative limit (*avadhi*). That is, a form of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* which extends up to, and includes, '*m* which occurrs before *a*'. It is stated that *pari* in this rule is included for blocking over-application of this replacement (*prasakti-vāraṇa*). Consider *yuṣmi* and *asmi* which are causal roots, derived with a *vārttika* (*vt: tat karoti tad ācaṣṭe*; 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) parallel to (*yuṣmān*/ *asmān*) *ācaṣṭe* with *ṆiC*. The *ad* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* gets deleted in view of *ṇāv iṣṭhavat prātipadikasya* (cf. 6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*). This rule uses *pari* to indicate the extent of the form of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, so that a replacement could not apply to a form of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* ending in *m* (*mānta*). We get such a form before *ṆiC* of *yuṣm*(*ad*→ϕ) + *i* + *KvIP* and *asm*(*ad*→ϕ) + *i* + *KvIP*. Recall that *ṆiC*, for example in *yuṣmi* + *KvIP* and *asmi* + *KvIP*, also gets deleted. This deletion cannot be accepted as *sthānivat* 'similar to that which it replaced', in view of the statement: *kvau lupte na sthānivat* 'deletion of *KvI* is not considered *sthānivat*'. A replacement for (*yuṣm* + (*ṆiC*→ϕ) + (*KvIP*→ϕ)) = *yuṣm* and (*asm* + (*ṆiC*→ϕ) + (*KvIP*→ϕ)) = *asm*, which ends in *m*, cannot be ordered before a nominal ending (*vibhakti*). Pāṇini uses *pari*, in *maparyantasya*, to thus block any over application of replacement. The use of *pari* is intended to determine the extent with reference to which replacements could be made. That extent is marked with *m* (*Mbh: māntasyety eva siddhe asmin yat parigrahaṇaṃ kṛtam avadhidyotanārthaṃ tat mānte mā bhūt*).

7.2.92 युवावौ द्विवचने

yuvāvau dvivacane
/*yuvāvau* 1/2 =*yuvaś ca āvaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *dvivacane* 7/1 = *dvayoḥ vacane* (*ṣaṣ tat*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #86 *maparyantasya* #91)
dvivacane ye yuṣmadasmadī (*dvyayarthābhidhānaviṣaye*) *tayor maparyantasya sthāne 'yuva, āva' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*
LOPA applies to part of an *aṅga* extending up to *m*, namely that of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, when the pronominals occur with the signification of two.

EXAMPLES:

yūyam 'nominative plural of *yuṣmad*'
vayam 'nominative plural of *asmad*'

1. This rule offers replacements in *yuva* and *āva*, for *yuṣm* and *asm* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, when they are used (before a dual nominal ending) with the signification of two (*dvivacane*). Thus, *yuṣmad* + *au* → (*yuṣm*→*yuva*) *ad* + *au* = *yuva* + *ad* + *bhyām* and *āva* + *ad* + *bhyām*. Recall that *d* of *ad* is replaced with *ā* (7.2.86 *yuṣmadasmador anādeśe*). An application of *savarṇa-dīrgha* produces: *yuva* + *a* (*d*→ϕ) + *bhyām* → *yuv*(*a*+*a*→*ā*) + *bhyām* = *yuvābhyām* and *āva* + *a*(*d*→ϕ) + *bhyām* → *āv*(*a*+*a*→*ā*) + *bhyām* = *āvābhyām*. The *d* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* is replaced with *ā* before a vowel initial nominal ending which is not a replacement (7.2.89 *yo' ci*). Thus, we get (*yuṣm*→*yuva*) *a*(*d*→*y*) + *os*)) → *yuvayoḥ* and *āvayoḥ*.

Note that the use of *dvivacane* requires *yuṣmad* and *asmad* to be used with the signification of two. Consequently, they may be subject to replacements when used with the signification of two. Why was *dvivacane* 'when the signification is two' not used with the straight technical sense of dual number. The 'signification of two', instead of technical dual number, was used so that *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, even in a compound, could avail this replacement. Recall that *yuṣmad* and *asmad* can be used in compounds as constituents with the signification of two, but the resultant compound is not necessarily going to be used with the signification of two. Thus, *dvivacane* facilitates *yuṣmad* and *asmad* to be replaced with *yuṣm* and *asm* when they are used with the signification of two. Of course, when these replacements are not blocked by rules such as 7.2.94 *tvāhau sau*, etc. Consider the following compound derivates: *atikrāntaṃ yuvām* = *atiyuvām*, *atikrāntaṃ āvām* = *atyāvām*; *atikrāntān yuvān* = *atiyuvān* and *atikrāntān āvām* = *atyāvān*; *atikrāntena yuvām* = *atiyuvayā*, *atikrāntena āvām* = *atyāvayā*; *atikrāntair yuvām* = *atiyuvābhiḥ*, *atikrāntaiḥ āvām* = *atyāvābhiḥ*; *atikrāntebhyo yuvām* = *atiyuvabhyam*, *atikrāntebhyaḥ āvām* = *atyāvabhyam*; *atikrāntād yuvām* = *atiyuvat*, *atikrāntād āvām* = *atyāvat*; *atikrāntebhyo yuvām* = *atiyuvat*, *atikrāntebhyo āvām* = *atyāvat*; *atikrāntānām yuvām* = *atiyuvākam*.

atikrāntānām āvām = atyāvākam; atikrānte yuvām = atiyūvayi, atikrānte āvām = atyāvayi; and *atikrānteṣu yuvām = atiyuvāsu, atikrānteṣu āvām = atyāvāsu.*

These preceding allow replacements in *yuva* and *āva* before dual endings. But rules such as 7.2.93 *yūyavayau jasi,* 7.2.94 *tvāhau sau,* 7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau ṅayi* and 7.2.96 *tavamamau ṅasi* block these replacements in favor of *yūva, vaya; tva, aha; tubhya, mahya;* and *tava, mama.* Thus we get: *atikrāntaḥ yuvām = atitvam, atikrāntaḥ āvām = atyāham,* etc. This, as commentators explain, is accomplished in view of conflict among rules of equal strength (*vipratiṣedha*). That is, the rule which is subsequent in order (*para*) wins (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe . . .*). How is this conflict established? It is stated that *tva, aha,* etc., find their independent scope of application when *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used with the signification of 'many' (*bahvartha*). An independent scope of application of *yuva* and *āva* is clearly established when they are used with the signification of 'two' (*dvyarthe*). We get the application of both under the condition of *sau* (7.2.94 *tvāhau sau*) 'when *sU* follows'.

Recall that one may find *yuṣmad* and *asmad,* used with the signification of 'two', in a compound. However, the compound as a whole may be used with the signification of 'one' or 'many'. What if *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used with the signification of 'one' and 'many', but the compound is used with the signification of 'two'? A replacement in *yuva* and *āva* will then be blocked. Thus, *atikrāntau tvām = atitvām, atikrāntau mām = atimām;* and *atikrāntau yuṣmān = atiyuṣmān, atikrāntau asmān = atyasmān,* etc.

The following *kārikā* verses capture the complexity of these replacements:

> *samasyamāne dvyekatvavācinī yuṣmadasmadī*
> *samāsārtho' nyasaṃkhyaś cet sto yuvāvau tvamāv api//1//*
> 'when, in a compound-formation, *yuṣmad* and *asmad* denote a meaning qualified with two or one, but may be denoting a different number in the predicated compound, even then they are replaced with *yuva* and *āva* in the dual, and *tva* and *ma* in the singular'
>
> *sujasṅeṅassu parata ādeśāḥ syuḥ sadaiva te*
> *tvāhau yūyavayau tubhyamahyau tavamamāv api//2//*
> 'if, in a compound, *yuṣmad* and *asmad* occur before *sU, Jas, Ṅe* and *Ṅas, yuṣmad* is replaced with *tva, yūya, tubhya* and *tava,* respectively; *asmad* is replaced with *aha, vaya, mahya* and *mama,* respectively'
>
> *ete paratvād bādhante yuvāvau viṣaye svake*
> *tvamāv api prabādhante pūrvavipratiṣedhataḥ//3//*
> 'these replacements of *yuṣmad,* i.e., *tva/yūya/tubhya/tava,* and of *asmad,* i.e., *aha/vaya/mahya/mama,* being offered subsequently (*para*) in the context of nominal endings *sU, Jas, Ṅe* and *Ṅas,* block replacements is *yuva* and *āva;* additionally, they also block *tva* and *ma* on the basis of *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins'

dvyekasaṃkhyaḥ samāsārtho bahvyarthe yuṣmadasmadī
tayor advyekatārthatvān na yuvāvau tvamau na ca//4//
'when, after the formation of a compound, its sense is denoted by singular or dual, and *yuṣmad* and *asmad* as constituents of the compound are used with the denotation of 'many', replacements in *tva* and *yuva*, and *ma* and *āva*, are not accomplished'

7.2.93 यूयवयौ जसि

yūyavayau jasi
/*yūyavayau* 7/2 = *yūyaś ca vayaś ca* = *yūyavayau* (*itar. dv.*); *jasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #86 *maparyantasya* #91)
yuṣmadasmador maparyantasya jasi parato 'yūya, vaya' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ
yūya and *vaya* come in place of that part of the *aṅga* which extends up to *m* of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, provided the nominative plural ending *Jas* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yūyam 'nominative plural of *yuṣmad*'
vayam 'nominative plural of *asmad*'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *yūya* and *vaya* for that part of an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, which extends up to *m*, provided the nominative plural ending *Jas* follows. Thus, (*yuṣm* →*yūya*) *ad* + (*J*) *as* → *yūya* + *ad* + (*as*→*am*) → *yūya* + (*ad*→ϕ) + *am* =*yūy*(*a*+*a*→*a*)*m* → *yūyam*, where *ad*, in other's view *d* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*), goes through deletion (7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*; *ṭi*-deletion). One must apply 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* where *d* alone is deleted by 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ*. Thus: *yūya* + *a*(*d*→ϕ) + *am* → *yūy*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *m* = *yūyam*, through additional application of 6.1.106 *ami pūrvaḥ*. Note here that *Jas* is replaced with *am* of 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor am*. Deleting *ad* will not require application of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* under 7.2.90 *śeṣe lopaḥ* for further discussion.

Kāśikā states that, in the domain of 6.4.1 *aṅgasya*, we find operations applicable to both the *aṅga* as well as what follows it (*Kāś*: *aṅgādhikāre tasya ca taduttarapadasya ca*). That is, a specification with *yuṣmad* and *asmad* also includes references to what ends in them, or what they follow. Consider *paramayūyam/paramavayam* and *atiyūyam/ativayam*, where *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used as final compound constituents. These replacements obviously invoke *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting *x* as also that which ends in *x*', whereby *yuṣmad* and *asmad* could also be interpreted as referring to what ends in them. Of course, *maparyantasya* 'extending up to, and including, *m*' is still valid. Refer also to 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor am* for derivational details.

7.2.94 त्वाहौ सौ

tvāhau sau
/*tvāhau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *sau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #86 *maparyantasya* #91)
yuṣmadasmador maparyantasya sau pare '*tva, aha*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*
tva and *aha* come in place of a part of the *aṅga* extending up to *m*, namely of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, when the nominative singular (*prathamā*) ending *sU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tvam 'nominative singular of *yuṣmad*'
aham 'nominative singular of *asmad*'
paramatvam 'nominative singular of a compound with *yuṣmad* as its final constituent, introduced with *sU*'
paramāham 'nominative singular of a compound with *asmad* as its final constituent, introduced with *sU*'
atitvam 'nominative singular of a compound with *yuṣmad* as its final constituent, introduced with *sU*'
atyaham 'nominative singular of a compound with *asmad* as its final constituent, introduced with *sU*'

1. This rule is an exception to the subsequently stated rule 7.2.97 *tvamāv ekavacane*. A question is raised as to why *tva* was stated in this rule. Besides, a replacement in *tva* is already made available by 7.2.97 *tvamāv ekavacane*. Why not just offer here the replacement in *aha*. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule simply as: *ahaḥ sau* '*aha* comes as a replacement in place of *asmad* when *sU* follows'? Formulating this rule as *ahaḥ sau* will still include *yuṣmad* within its scope of replacement. That is, *aha* could still replace *yuṣm*. It is therefore impossible to formulate this rule as *ahaḥ sau*. Why then not formulate this rule as *asmado' haḥ sau* '*aha* comes as a replacement in place of *asmad* when *sU* follows'? This formulation will be prolix (*gaurava*). Consequently, this rule should be left the way it is formulated (*Nyāsa*: *atha tvagrahaṇaṃ kimartham, na* '*ahaḥ sau*' *ity evocyeta, tvādeśo hi* '*tvmāv ekavacane*' *ity evaṃ bhaviṣyati. aśakyam eva vaktum. asati tvagrahaṇe yuṣmado' py ahādeśasyāt. athavā atra* '*asmado' haḥ sau*' *ity evocyeta. evam api gauravaṃ syāt. tasmād yathānyāsam evāstu*).

2. This rule offers *tva* and *aha* as replacements for that part of the *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad* which extends up to, and includes *m*, provided when *sU* follows. Thus, we get *tvam* and *aham*. Acceptance of *tadantavidhi* (cf. 7.2.93) also allows these replacements in compounds such as *paramatvam* 'you (are) the best', *paramāham* 'I (am) the best' and *atitvam* 'you, who excelled' *atyaham* 'I, who excelled', where *yuṣmad* and *asmad* combine in a compound ending in *sU*. Recall that 7.2.97 *tvamāv ekavacane* offers *ma* as a

replacement for *asm*. This rule constitutes an exception to that, based on *pūrva-vipratiṣedha* 'conflict between two rules where the preceding in order of enumeration wins'. Note that *paramatvam* and *paramāham* are *tatpuruṣa* compounds which are termed *karmadhāraya*. Also refer to 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor am* for additional derivational details.

7.2.95 तुभ्यमह्यौ ङयि

tubhyamahyau ṅayi
/*tubhyamahyau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ṅayi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #89 *maparyantasya* #91)
yuṣmadasmador maparyantasya 'tava, mama' ity etāv ādeśau bhavato ṅayi parataḥ
tubhya and *mahya* come in place of *yuṣm* and *asm*, the part of an *aṅga*, namely of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* extending up to *m*, provided when the dative (*caturthī*) singular ending *Ṅe* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tubhyam 'dative singular of *yuṣmad*'
mahyam 'dative singular of *asmad*'
paramatubhyam 'dative singular of a compound with *yuṣmad* as its final constituent'
paramamahyam 'dative singular of a compound with *asmad* as its final constituent'
atitubhyam 'dative singular of a compound with *yuṣmad* as its final constituent'
atimahyam 'dative singular of a compound with *asmad* as its final constituent'

1. This rule offers *tubhya* and *mahya* as replacements for *yuṣm* and *asm* of an *aṅga* when the dative singular nominal ending *Ṅe* follows *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Thus, we get *tubhyam, mahyam; paramatubhyam, paramamahyam; atitubhyam, atimahyam*. Recall that *Ṅe* is here replaced with *am* (7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor am*). Operations specific to *ṭi*-deletion and *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as also that which ends in *x*' are similar to many preceding derivates. Also refer to 7.1.28 *ṅe prathamayor am* for additional details.

7.2.96 तवममौ ङसि

tavamamau ṅasi
/*tavamamau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *ṅasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #89 *maparyantasya* #91)
yuṣmadasmador maparyantasya 'tava, mama' ity etāv ādeśau bhavato ṅasi parataḥ

tava and *mama* come in place of *yuṣm* and *asma*, parts of an *aṅga* extending up to *aṅga*, namely of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, provided the genitive singular nominal ending *Ṅas* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tava 'genitive singular of *yuṣmad*'
mama 'genitive singular of *asmad*'
paramatava 'a compound with *yuṣmad* as its final constituent ending in the genitive'
paramamama 'a compound with *asmad* as its final constituent ending in the genitive'
atitava 'a compound with *yuṣmad* as its final constituent ending in the genitive'
atimama 'a compound with *asmad* as its final constituent ending in the genitive'

1. This rule offers *tava* and *mama* as replacements for *yuṣm* and *asm* when *Ṅas* 'genitive singular' follows *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Thus, we get *tava* and *mama*. Compound derivates will similarly be: *paramatava*, *paramamama*; *atitava* and *atimama*. Recall that *Ṅas* is here replaced with *aŚ* (7.1.27 *yuṣmadasmadbhyām* . . .). Operations such as *ṭi*-deletion and *pararūpa* 'single replacement similar to the second in a vocalic sequence' also apply here. Compound derivates are derived in view of *tadantavidhi*, as explained.

7.2.97 त्वमावेकवचने

tvamāv ekavacane
/*tvamau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ekavacane* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ tat*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #89 *maparyantasya* #91)
ekavacane ye yuṣmadasmadī ekārthābhidhānaviṣaye tayor maparyantasya sthāne '*tva, ma*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*
tva and *ma* come in place of part of an *aṅga* extending up to *m*, namely of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, when an affix termed *vibhakti* with the signification of one (*eka*) follows.

EXAMPLES:

tvām 'accusative singular of *yuṣmad*'
mām 'accusative singular of *asmad*'
tvayā 'instrumental singular of *yuṣmad*'
mayā 'instrumental singular of *asmad*'
tvat 'ablative singular of *yuṣmad*'
mat 'ablative singular of *asmad*'
tvayi 'locative singular of *yuṣmad*'
mayi 'locative singular of *asmad*'

1. This rule offers *tva* and *ma* as replacements for *yuṣm* and *asm* of an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, provided when *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used with the signification of 'one'. Recall that the *d* of *ad* in these derivates is replaced with *ā* (*ātva*; 7.2.87 *dvitīyāyāṃ ca*). The *y* of *tvayā* and *mayā* has its source in the application of 7.2.89 *yo' ci*. Note that *tva* and *ma* also replace *yuṣm* and *asm* in compounds where *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used with the signification of 'one' and the compound itself may be used with the signification of 'two' (*dvitva*) and 'many' (*bahutva*). Replacements such as *tva* and *aha* (7.2.94 *tvāhau sau*; 7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau ṅayi*; 7.2.96 *tavamamau ṅasi*), etc., are offered in view of conflicts where the preceding rule wins (*pūrvavipratiṣedha*). Thus, *atikrāntau tvām* = *atitvām* and *atikrāntau mām* = *atitimām*, as against *atitvam* and *atyaham*, etc. Refer to *Nyāsa* for full scope of derivational examples.

7.2.98 प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च

pratyayottarapadayoś ca
/*pratyayaottarapadayoḥ* 7/2 = *pratyayaś ca uttarapadaṃ ca* = *pratyayottarapade* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #89 *maparyantasya* #91 *tvamāvekavacane* #97)
pratyaye uttarapade ca parata ekavacane vartamānayor yuṣmadasmador maparyantasya '*tva, ma*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ*
tva and *ma* come in place, respectively, of that part of an *aṅga*, namely *yuṣmad* and *asmad* which extends up to their *m*, when an affix, or some other constituent, follows, and *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used with the signification of one.

EXAMPLES:

tvadīyaḥ 'this is yours'
madīyaḥ 'this is mine'
tvattaraḥ 'better than you'
mattaraḥ 'better than me'
tvadyati '. . . desires you'
madyati '. . . desires me'
tvadyate '. . . acts like you'
madyate '. . . acts like me'
tvatputraḥ 'your son'
matputraḥ 'my son'
tvannāthaḥ 'he whose master you are'
mannāthaḥ 'he whose master I am'
yuṣmadīyam 'your own'
asmadīyam 'my own'

yuṣmatputraḥ 'your son'
asmatputraḥ 'my son'

1. This rule offers *tva* and *ma* as replacements for *yuṣm* and *asm* when the *aṅga*, *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, are followed by an affix (*pratyaya*), or a compound constituent, provided *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used with the signification of 'one'. Consider *tava ayam* = *tvadīyaḥ* and *mama ayam* = *madīyaḥ*, where *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are considered *vṛddha* (1.1.74 *tyadādīni ca*) and affix *cha* (4.2.114 *vṛddhāc chaḥ*) is introduced. Thus, *yuṣmad* + *Ṅas* + *cha* → (*yuṣm* →*tva*) *ad* + *Ṅas* + (*cha* →*īya*) = *tv*(*a* + *a*→*a*) *d* + *Ṅas* + *īya* → *tvad* + (*Ṅas*→ϕ) + *īya* = *tvadīya*, through *yuṣm*→*tva*, *cha*→*īya* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ* . . .) and *a*+*a*→*a* (*pararūpa*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). Refer to *śālīyaḥ* ((II:326-27); 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*) for additional derivational details. One can similarly derive *madīyaḥ*.

Now consider *atiśayena tvam* = *tvattaraḥ* and *atiśayena aham* = *mattaraḥ* where *tva* + *ad* + *taraP* yields *tva* + *a*(*d*→*t*) + *taraP* = *tvattara*, through affix *taraP* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajyopapade*), *yuṣm*→*tva*, *pararūpa* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*) and *tva*(*d*→*t*) + *tara*(*P*) = *tvattara* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*) Affix *KyaṄ* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*) is introduced in deriving *tvām ātmana icchati* = *tvadyati* and *mām ātmana icchati* = *madyati*, where *yuṣmad* + *am* + *KyaṄ* and *asmad* + *am* + *KyaṄ* have *yuṣm* and *asm* replaced with *tva* and *mama*. Recall that affix *LAṬ*→*tiP* is introduced after *tv*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *d* + (*K*) *ya*(*Ṅ*) → *tvadya* to finally yield *tvadyati* and *madyati*. We similarly get *tvadyate* and *madyate*, parallel to *tvam iva ācarati* and *aham iva ācarati*, with the introduction of *KyaṄ* (3.1.11 *kartuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca*) and subsequent *LAṬ*→*te* (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅit ātmanepadam*).

Examples such as *tava putraḥ* = *tvatputraḥ*, *mama putraḥ* = *matputraḥ*, *tvaṃ nāthaḥ asya* = *tvannāthaḥ* and *ahaṃ nāthaḥ asya* = *mannāthaḥ* illustrate the specification of *uttarapade* 'when a following (final) compound constituent . . .'. These are *bahuvrīhi* compounds where *tva* and *ma* replace *yuṣm* and *asm* after deletion of *sUP* contained within individual compounds. Operations such as *d*→*t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*), *a*+*a*→*a* (*pararūpa*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*) and *d*→*n* (*parasavarṇa*; 8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike* . . .) apply where required.

2. Note that *ekavacane* 'when signification of one' still carries. Why? So that we do not get these replacements where *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used with the signification of 'many'. Thus, *yuṣmākam idam* = *yuṣmadīyam* 'this is yours (plural)', *asmākam idam* = *asmadīyam* 'this is ours'; and *yuṣmākaṃ putraḥ* = *yuṣmatputraḥ* 'your (plural) son', *asmākaṃ putraḥ* = *asmatputraḥ* 'our son'.

3. Note that these rules are placed within the domain (*adhikāra*) of *vibhaktau* (7.2.84 *aṣṭan ā vibhaktau*). Our present rule is formulated so that *yuṣm* and *asm* could be replaced , even when an affix other than *vibhakti*, or a constituent in combination, follows.

A question is raised as to why these replacements cannot be accomplished before *vibhakti* 'nominal ending'? After all, these examples do have nominal endings contained within their derivational strings. That is, why can we not replace *yuṣm* and *asm* before 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ* accomplishes

LUK-deletion of nominal endings contained within derivational strings. That is, at the time when the condition of *vibhaktau* 'when a nominal ending follows' could be satisfied. This, however, cannot be done. A *LUK*-deletion is considered externally conditioned because it is caused by assignment of terms such as *dhātu* 'verbal root' (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*) and *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*). Replacements of *yuṣm* and *asm* will be considered internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) because the base (*prakṛti*) must occur before a nominal ending (*vibhakti*). But since an externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) operation is also *nitya* 'obligatory', it should be blocked by the internally conditioned operation. Besides, an internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) operation is considered more powerful than one which is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*; *PŚ*:39: *pūrvaparanityāntaraṅgāpavādānām uttarottaro balīyaḥ*). A replacement of *yuṣm* and *asm* can still not be accomplished prior to *LUK*-deletion of *sUP*. This is one of the reasons why this rule is formulated. In summary, an internally conditioned operation may be blocked by an externally conditioned deletion by means of *LUK* (*Kāś*: *antaraṅgān api vidhīn bahiraṅgo' pi lug bādhate*). Replacement operations of this rule thus become an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for this. This is why *nUM*, etc., are blocked by *LUK*-deletion in examples such as *gomān priyaḥ asya* = *gomatpriyaḥ* 'he to whom rich-in-cows is dear'.

If this *jñāpaka* is accepted then replacements in *tava* and *aha* (7.2.94 *tvāhau sau*) will also not be accepted before a non-*vibhakti* affix and a following constituent (*pratyayottarapadayoś ca*). Thus, *tvaṃ pradhānaṃ eṣām* = *tvatpradhānaḥ* 'you are the head of these people' and *ahaṃ pradhānam eṣām* = *matpradhānaḥ* 'I am the head of these people' where we will get *tva* and *ma*. We will similarly get *yūya* and *vaya* in: *yūyaṃ putrā asya* = *yuṣmatputraḥ* and *vayaṃ putrā asya* = *matputraḥ*. Accepting this *jñāpaka* will not allow replacements of 7.2.95 *tubhyamahyau ṅayi* in *tubhyaṃ hitam* = *tvaddhitam* and *mahyaṃ hitam* = *maddhitam*. It will also not allow replacements of 7.2.96 *tavamamau ṅasi* in *tava putraḥ* = *tvatputraḥ* and *mama putraḥ* = *matputraḥ*.

Why do we have to accept this *jñāpaka* for blocking an internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) operation by an externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) *LUK*-deletion? Why can we not accept this *jñāpaka* to block replacements such as *tva*, *aha*, etc.? A *jñāpaka* should be accepted in view of desired goals. That which can account for comparatively larger goals should be accepted (*Kāś*: *jñāpakārthe hy etasmin bahutaram iṣṭam saṃgṛhyate*).

7.2.99 त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ

tricaturoḥ striyāṃ tisṛcatasṛ
/ *tricaturoḥ* 6/2 = *triś ca catur ca* = *tricaturau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *striyām* 7/1 *tisṛ-catasṛ* 1/1 (deleted) = *tisṛ ca catasṛ ca* (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84)

'tri, catur' ity etayoḥ striyāṃ vartamānayos 'tisṛ, catasṛ' ity etāv ādeśau bhavato vibhaktau parataḥ

tisṛ and *catasṛ* come in place of an *aṅga*, namely *tri* 'three' and *catur* 'four' used with the signification of feminine (*striyām*), when an affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tisraḥ 'three; (nominative/accusative) plural'
catasraḥ 'four; (nominative/accusative) plural'
tisṛbhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *tṛ* 'three''
catasṛbhiḥ '... of *catur* 'four''

1. This rule offers *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* as replacements for *tri* and *catur* when they are used with the signification of feminine. Thus, we get (*tisṛ* + (*J*) *as*/ (*Śas*) = *tisraḥ* where *ṛ* is repalced with *r* (7.2.100 *aci ra ṛtaḥ*). We similarly get *catur* + (*J*) *as*/ (*Ś*) *as* → *catasraḥ*. Strings with (*tri*→*tisṛ*) + *bhis* and (*catur*→*catasṛ*) + *bhis* will produce *tisṛbhiḥ* and *catasṛbhiḥ*, without replacing *ṛ* with *r*.

2. Why when used with the signification of *strī* 'feminine'? Consider *trayaḥ/ catvāraḥ* and *trīṇi/ catvāri* where bases used with the signification of masculine and neuter do not avail these replacements. Note that *striyām* 'when feminine ...' is used here as a modifier to *aṅgasya*, and not to *tri* and *catur*. Consequently, it is not necessary that the *aṅga* derived with *tri* and *catur* must also be used in the feminine. That is, these replacements should apply when *tri* and *catur* are used with the signification of feminine and the derived *aṅga* may be used with the signification of something other than feminine. Consider *priyā trisraḥ brāhmaṇyaḥ asya brāhmaṇasya saḥ* = *priyatisā brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa to whom three brāhmaṇa women are dear', where *tri* of *priyatisṛ* is used with the signification of feminine but the derived *aṅga*, i.e., *priyatisṛ*, is used with the signification of something other than a feminine. We similarly get *priyāḥ tisraḥ asya tat brāhmaṇakulam* = *priyatisṛ brāhmaṇakulam* 'a brāhmaṇa-clan to whom three (people; masculine) are dear'. Note further that the *samāsānta* 'end of compound' affix *kaP* (5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*) cannot be introduced in these examples because *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* are replacements externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) by *vibhakti*. What if the *aṅga* is feminine and *tri* and *catur* refer to something other than a masculine or neuter? These replacements will not be allowed. Consider *priyās trayo' syāḥ brāhmaṇyāḥ* 'the three (masculine) who are dear to this brāhmaṇī' and *priyāṇi trīṇi asyāḥ brāhmaṇyāḥ* 'the three (neuter) which are dear to this brāhmaṇī', where we will get *priyatriḥ*. We similarly get *priyacatvāḥ* 'a *brāhmaṇa* woman for whom four are dear'.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to allow *tri* to be replaced with *tisṛ* when affix *kaN* is introduced. Thus, *tisṛkā nāma grāmaḥ* 'a village named Tisṛkā'.

A similar proposal is made for *catasṛ* to be marked *udātta* at the beginning. Thus, *catasraḥ paśya*.

7.2.100 अचि र ऋतः

aci ra ṛtaḥ
/*aci* 7/1 *raḥ* 1/1 *ṛtaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *tisṛcatasṛ* #99)
'*tisṛ, catasṛ*' *ity etayor ṛtaḥ sthāne rephādeśo bhavaty ajādau vibhaktau parataḥ*
A *r* comes in place of *ṛ* of an *aṅga*, namely one constituted by *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*, when a vowel-initial (*ajādi*) affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tisras tiṣṭhanti 'these three are sitting'
tisraḥ paśya 'see these three'
catasras tiṣṭhanti 'these four are sitting'
catasraḥ paśya 'see these four'
priyatisra ānaya 'O you who are dear to three, bring!'
priyacatasra ānaya 'O you who are dear to four, bring!'
priyatisraḥ svam 'the property of one who is dear to three'
priyacatasraḥ svam 'property of one who is dear to four'
priyatisri nidhehi 'place your trust in one who is dear to three'
priyacatasṛ nidhehi 'place your trust in one who is dear to four'

1. This rule allows the *ṛ* of *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* to be replaced with *r* when a nominal ending beginning with a vowel follows. Why is this rule formulated when *r*, as a replacement for *ṛ*, can be gotten with the application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*? So that a single replacement similar to what precedes in a sequence of two vowels could be blocked before the accusative plural nominal ending *Śas* (6.1.101 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*). It is also formulated so that a replacement in *u* (*utva*; 6.1.110 *ṛta ut*) before the ablative and genitive singular nominal endings *ṄasI* and *Ṅas* could be blocked. Finally, this rule is also formulated so that a replacement in *guṇa* (7.3.110 *ṛto ṅi*) before the locative singular ending *Ṅi* and the nominative plural ending *Jas* could be blocked. Our present rule is thus an exception to all these rules. Note in this connection that 7.3.110 *ṛto ṅi* is placed subsequently (*para*) in order.

2. Note that *ṛtaḥ* of this rule refers to the *ṛ* of *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*. It does not refer to an *aṅga* ending in *ṛ*. For, in that case, *ṛ* would have been replaced with *r* to give the form of the rule as: *aciraḥ*. This new specification would then have enabled *r* to replace the final *ṛ* of *tisṛ* and *catasṛ*.

7.2.101 जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम्

jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām
/*jarāyāḥ* 6/1 *jaras* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *aci* #100)
'*jarā*' *ity etasya* '*jaras*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati anyatarasyām ajādau vibhaktau parataḥ*

jaras comes, optionally, in place of an *aṅga*, namely *jarā* 'old age', when a vowel-initial affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jarasā dantā śīryante
'tooth decay because of old age'
jarayā dantā śīryante 'ibidem'
jarase tvā paridadyuḥ 'they abandoned you to old age'
jarāyai tvā paridadyuḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *jaras* as an optional replacement for *jarā* when a *vibhakti* beginning with a vowel follows. Thus, (*jarā* → *jaras*) + *au* → *jarasau*. We will get *jarā* + (*au*→*Śī*) → *jarā* + *ī* (7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ*) when the option of replacing *jarā* with *jaras* is not accepted. This, with the application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*, gives us *jar*(*ā*+*ī*→*e*) = *jare*. We similarly get (*jarā*→*jaras*) + *Ṭā* → *jarasā* in the instrumental singular. Not accepting the option of *jaras* will yield *jar*(*ā*→*e*) + (*Ṭ*) *ā* = *jare* + *ā*, where 7.3.105 *āṅi cā' paḥ* offers a replacement in *e* (*etva*). An application of *e*→*ay* (*ayādeśa*; 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) will give us *jar*(*e*→*ay*) + *ā* → *jarayā*. The dative singular form *jarāyai* derives from *jarā* + *yā*(*Ṭ*) + (*Ṅ*) *e* → *jarā* + *yā* + *e*, with introduction of augment *yāṬ* (7.3.113 *yād āpaḥ*). We get *jarā* + *y*(*ā*+*e*→*ai*) = *jarāyai* through application of 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*. We will get *jarase* if optional replacement of *jaras* is accepted.

Now consider *atijarāṃsi brāhmaṇakulāni* and *atijarasaṃ brāhmaṇakulaṃ paśya* where *atijara* is a compound termed neuter (*napuṃsaka*). The accusative singular string *atijara* + *am* finds three rules applicable: 7.1.23 *svamor napūṃsakāt* '*sU* and *am* go through deletion, via *LUK*, after an *aṅga* used with the signification of neuter'; 7.1.24 *ato' m* '*sU* and *am* are replaced with *am* after an *aṅga* which ends in *a* and is used with the signification of neuter'; 7.2.101 *jarāyā jaras anyatarasyām*.

Rule 7.1.24 blocks 7.1.23 by way of being an exception (*apavāda*). Our present rule then replaces *jara* with *jaras*. Thus, we get *atijara* + (*sU*→*am*) = *atijara* + *am* → *ati*(*jara*→*jaras*) + *am* = *atijarasam*. We cannot apply *LUK*-deletion on *atijaras* + *am*, again, since 7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt* cannot be revived.

The *Mahābhāṣya* discusses *atijaram* and *atijaraiḥ* as the nominative singular and instrumental plural form of *atijara*, respectively, in the opinion of Gonardīya (Patañjali?). Others hold that these forms with replacement of *jara* with *jaras* cannot be accepted since *am*←*sU* and (*ais*←*bhis* (7.1.9 *ato bhis ais*)) were introduced after *atijara* under the condition of *atijara* ending in *a*. These same nominal endings cannot be allowed to condition the replacement of *jara* with *jaras* since it will destroy the *a* which conditioned them (*PŚ* (86): *sannipātalakṣaṇo vidhir animittaṃ tadvighātasya*). Others argue back that this *paribhāṣā* is *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. That is, *jara* can still be replaced with *jaras*. Now a question: how can one replace *jara* with *jaras* when the replacement rule specifies *jarā* to be replaced with *jaras*? For, a replacement

should come in place of that which is specifically given (*PŚ* (13): *nirdiśya-mānasyādeśā bhavanti*). The answer: a form which is modified in one place should still be accepted as its unmodified original (*PŚ* (38): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat*).

Let us now consider *atijarāṃsi* which derives from (*atijara* + (*Jas*/*Śas*)) where *Jas* and *Śas* are replaced with (*Ś*) *i* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*). Our present rule also introduces *jaras* as a replacement for *jara*. Rule 7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhaly acaḥ*, read with 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*, then introduces augment *nUM*. We thus get: *ati*(*jara*→*jaras*) + (*Jas*/*Śas*→(*Ś*) *i*)) → *atijara* + *nUM* + *s* + *i* = *atijarans* + *i*. The final short *a* is then replaced with its long counterpart: *atijar*(*a*→*ā*) *ns* + *i* = *atijarā*(*n*→*ṃ*) *s* + *i* = *atijarāṃsi*. Recall here that *jara* must be replaced with *jaras* before augment *nUM* is introduced. For, *nUM* will intervene between *atijara* and the nominal ending, if it is introduced prior to *jaras* replacing *jara*. Besides, 7.2.101 *jarāyāḥ jaras*... should apply first since it happens to be subsequent in the order of enumeration.

7.2.102 त्यदादीनामः

tyadādīnām aḥ
/ *tyadādīnām* 6/3 = *tyad ādir yeṣām* (*bv*), *teṣām*; *aḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84)
'*tyad*' *ity evamādinām akārādeśo bhavati vibhaktau parataḥ*
The final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by items enumerated in the list headed by *tyad* 'that' is replaced with *a* when an affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

syaḥ/ *tyau*/ *te* 'nominative singular/dual/plural of *tyad*'
saḥ/ *tau*/ *te* 'nominative singular/dual/plural of *tad*'
yaḥ/*yau*/ *ye* 'nominative singular/dual/plural of relative *yad* 'he who''
eṣaḥ/ *etau*/ *ete* 'nominative singular/dual/plural of *etad*'
ayam/ *imau*/ *ime* 'nominative singular/dual/plural of *idam*'
asau/ *amū*/ *amī* 'nominative singular/dual/plural of *adas*'
dvau/ *dvābhyām* 'nominative/instrumental dual of *dvi*'

1. Note that items enumerated in the list headed by *tyad* 'that' include *tyad*, *tad*, *yad*, *etad*, *idam*, *adas*, and *dvi*. That is, a replacement in *a* is desired only for items enumerated beginning with *tyad* and up to (and including) *dvi* (*Kāś*: *dviparyantānāṃ tyadādīnām atvam iṣyate*). Thus, *bhavān* 'nominative singular of *bhavat* 'you (polite)'' does not qualify for this replacement. This is a sub-list included within the general listing of pronominals (1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*).

2. A replacement in *a* must come in place of the final sound segment of these enumerated items termed an *aṅga* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Thus, *tyad* + *sU*

→ tya(d→a) + s → (t→s)ya + a + s → ty(a+a→a)s → tya + (s→r→ḥ) = tyaḥ, where d (7.2.102) and t are replaced with a and s (7.2.106 *tado saḥ*...), respectively. Rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* applies to replace the vocalic sequence a+a with a single a (*pararūpa*). Similar applications are also involved in deriving *tad* + *sU*→ *saḥ*. Refer to *sarve* (II:360) for derivational details of plural forms such as *tye*, etc. Deriving *eṣaḥ* from *etad* + *sU* involves several replacement operations subsequent to *eta(d→a)* + *sU* of this rule. First, the vocalic sequence *a+a* goes through a single *guṇa* (*pararūpa*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*) replacement. Rule 6.2.102 *tadoḥ saḥ*... then replaces the non-final *t* with *s*: *et(a+a→a)* + *s(U)* → *e(t→s)a* + *s* = *esa* + (*s*→*ḥ*) = *esa* + *ḥ*. Rule 8.3.55 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* finally produces *e(s→ṣ) a* = *eṣa*. The final *sU* of this string produces a *visarga*: *eṣa* + (*s*→*rU*→*ḥ*) = *eṣaḥ*. It may also be deleted (6.1.131 *etattadoḥ*...) to produce *eṣa* under certain conditions. Thus, we may get *eṣa karoti*.

Note here that items affected by this replacement are also termed *sarvanāman* 'pronominal' (1.1.27 *sarvādīni sarvanāmāni*). This, in turn, may have additional implications. This replacement will be blocked where *tyad*, etc., are used with the signification of a name (*saṃjñā*). It will also be blocked when *tyad*, etc., are used as secondary members of a compound. This replacement will apply where they are used as principal compound constituents. Finally, there are implications relative to rules contained within the domain of 5.4.1 *prāg diśo vibhaktiḥ*. Consider the introduction of affixes after items termed *sarvanāman* (5.1.2 *kiṃsarvanāma*...) for illustration.

7.2.103 किमः कः

kimaḥ kaḥ
/*kimaḥ* 6/1 *kaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84)
'*kim*' *ity etasya* '*ka*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati vibhaktau parataḥ*
ka comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *kim*, when an affix termed *vibhakti* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kaḥ 'nominative singular of *kim* (who)'
kau 'nominative dual'
ke 'nominative plural'

1. This rule offers *ka* as a replacement for an *aṅga*, namely *kim*, when a nominal ending follows. Note that, in view of 1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*, *ka* replaces *kim* in toto (*sarvādeśa*). Thus, (*kim*→*ka*) + *sU* = *kaḥ*. Refer also to *kaḥ* and *ke* (II:400-401) for derivational details. Why not formulate this rule as *kimo' t*, thereby replacing *m* with *a*, and *i* with *a*: *ki(m→a)* + *sU*→ *k(i→a) a* + *sU* = *k(a+a→a)* + *sU*→ *kaḥ*. Refer to notes under 5.3.1 *kimo' at* and 5.3.13 *vā ha ca cchandasi* for additional perspective.

7.2.104 कु तिहोः

ku tihoḥ
/*ku* 1/1 *tihoḥ* 7/2 = *tiś ca haś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *kimaḥ* #103)
takārādau hakārādau ca vibhaktau parataḥ 'kim' ity etasya 'ku' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
ku comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *kim*, when an affix termed *vibhakti*, beginning with *t* or *h*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

kutaḥ 'from whence'
kutra 'where'
kuha 'where'

1. This rule offers *ku* as a replacement for *kim* when a nominal ending which begins with *t*(*tI*) and *h* follows. Thus, (*kim* + *Ṅi* + *traL* → (*kim*→*ku*) + *Ṅi* + *tra*(*L*) = *ku* + (*Ṅi*→ϕ) + *tra* = *kutra*. Recall that *traL* is an affix termed *vibhakti* (5.3.1 *prāgdiśo vibhaktiḥ*) which is introduced after a string ending in *saptamī* 'locative' (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*). Rule 1.1.38 *taddhitaś cāsarvavibhaktiḥ* assigns the term *avyaya* 'indeclinable' to forms thus derived. Nominal endings contained within these forms are then deleted by 2.4.82 *avyayād āpsupaḥ*. Our next example *kutaḥ* derives from (*kim* →*ku*) + *ṄasI* + *tas*(*IL*) = *ku* (*ṄasI*→ϕ) *tas* → *kuta*(*s*→*rU*→*ḥ*) = *kutaḥ*. Affix *tasIL*, a *vibhakti*, is introduced by 5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil*. Our last example *kuha* derives from *kim* + *Ṅe* + *ha*, of 5.1.13 *vā ha cchandasi*, where *ha* is a *vibhakti*. Refer to the appendix (II:370-71) for additional derivational details.

7.2.105 क्वाति

kvāti
/*kva* 1/1 (deleted) *ati* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *kimaḥ* #103)
'ati' ity etasyāṃ vibhaktau parataḥ 'kim' ity etasya 'kva' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
kva comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *kim*, when an affix termed *vibhakti* constituted by *aT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kva gamiṣyasi 'when will you go'
kva bhokṣyase 'when will you eat'

1. This rule offers *kva* as a replacement for *kim* where *aT* follows. Consider *kim* + *Ṅe* + *a*(*T*) = *kva*. Refer to the appendix (II:446) for derivational details.

Why introduce a new substitute (*ādeśa*) when *ku* of the preceding rule

could account for *kva*, with an additional application of replacement in *yaṆ*? This replacement is added so that the *guṇa* application of 6.4.146 *or guṇaḥ* could be blocked. For, a *guṇa* application would have been accepted as more powerful than a replacement in *yaṆ*. Why not formulate the rule as *kimo ḍvat*, thereby accounting for *kva* after deletion of *u* on the basis of *Ḍ* as an *it* in *ḌvaT* (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). This formulation can account for *kva* from *kim* + *Ṅe* + *ḌvaT*. It cannot account for forms where *kim* may be used with affix *akAC* (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanām* . . .). An *akAC* form of *kim* with *ḌvaT* will produce an undesired form **kakva*, as a result of *ṭi*-deletion of *im*. This is another reason for offering *aT* as a replacement against *ku*.

7.2.106 तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः

tadoḥ saḥ sāvanantyayoḥ
/ *tadoḥ* 6/2 = *taś ca daś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *saḥ* 1/1 *sau* 7/1 *anantyayoḥ* 6/2 = *na antyau* (*nañ. tat.*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *tyadādīnām aḥ* #102)
tyadādīnāṃ takāradakārayor anantyayoḥ sakārādeśo bhavati sau parataḥ
s comes in place of the non-final *t* and *d* of an *aṅga* constituted by items enumerated in the list headed by *tyad* when an affix termed *vibhakti*, particularly *sU*, follows.

Examples:

syaḥ 'nominative singular 'that''
saḥ 'nominative singular 'he''
eṣaḥ 'nominative singular; this person'
asau 'nominative singular; that person'

1. This rule offers *s* as a replacement for a non-final (*anantya*) *t* and *d* of an *aṅga*, namely of *tyad*, etc., when the nominal ending *sU* follows. Refer to notes under 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* for derivational details.

2. Why do we state the condition of 'non-final' (*anantyayoḥ*)? Consider *he* (*tyad* + *sU*) = *he saḥ* where, if *anantyayoḥ* is not accepted as a condition, this rule will block the application of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .). We will then get $(t \to s)ya(d \to s) = s(y \to \phi)as = sas = he$ **sas*. Affix *ṬāP* cannot be introduced after **sas* since it will no longer end in a vowel (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*). It is to remove this difficulty that *anantyayoḥ* has been used in the wording of this rule.

Tattvabodhinī (ad *SK*) notes that the derived final *s* can be replaced with *a*, and with the application of *pararūpa* 'single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence', we can still get the desired form. We will have to resort to *punaḥ prasaṅgavijñāna* 'applying a rule when its context reappears'. That is, *anantyayoḥ* can be dropped from the wording of this rule. The *Tattvabodhinī* prefers changing the order of rules against accepting *anantyayoḥ* as part of the wording of this rule.

7.2.107 अदस औ सुलोपश्च

adasa au sulopaś ca
/ *adasaḥ* 6/1 *au* 1/1 *sulopaḥ* 1/1 = *sor lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ tat*); *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *sau* #106)
adasaḥ sau parataḥ sakārasya aukārādeśo bhavati
au comes in place of the *s* of an *aṅga*, namely *adas* 'that one', when an affix termed *vibhakti*, particulalry *sU*, follows; additionally, *sU* also gets deleted by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

asau 'that'

1. This rule offers *au* as a replacement for *adas* when *sU* follows. Additionally, *sU* goes through deletion by *LOPA*. This replacement comes in place of the final *s* of *adas* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Refer to notes under the preceding rule for illustration.

2. The following *vārttika* proposals have been made in the *Mahābhāṣya* under this rule:

(*i*) *au* is optionally negated in favor of introducing *u* in place of *a* which occurs after *s* of *adas*, provided when *adas* is used with *akAC*. Thus, *ad*(*akAC*+ *as*) + *sU* → *ad*(*a*→*u*) *kas* + *sU* → *adukas* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *a*(*d*→*s*) *ukas* → *asuka*(*s*→*rU*→*ḥ*) = *asukaḥ*. A non-negation of *au* will produce: *adakas* + *sU* → *adaka*(*s*→*u*) + *sU* → *adakau* + (*sU*→ϕ) → *a*(*d*→*s*) *akau* = *asakau* (*vt*: *autvapratiṣedhaḥ sākackād vā vaktavyaḥ sād utvaṃ ca*).

(*ii*) A replacement stated for *tyad*, etc., when used in combination with a following constituent, applies prior to combining them with *sandhi*. Thus, *paramāham*, *paramāyam* and *paramānena* (*vt*: *uttarapadabhūtānāṃ tyadādīnām akṛtasandhīnām ādeśā vaktavyāḥ*).

3. The following *kārikā* verses of the *Mahābhāṣya* sum up an interesting discussion:

adasaḥ sor bhaved autvaṃ kiṃ sulopo vidhīyate/
hrasvāl lupyeta sambuddhir na halaḥ prakṛtaṃ hi tat//
āpa etvaṃ bhavet tasmin na jhalīty anuvartanāt/
pratyayasthāc ca kād itvaṃ śībhāvaś ca prasajyate//

'*sU* after *adas* should be replaced with *au*. Why are we offering deletion of *sU* by *LOPA*? There will then be deletion of *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*) after a short vowel (*hrasvāt*). But how could that happen when *hal* is carried there? We will then get a replacement in *e* (*etva*) for *āp*. This will not happen since *jhali* is carried over. Rule 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt*. . . will cause a replacement in *i* (*itva*) for that which occurs before *k*. But we will still get *Śī* for *au* (7.1.18 *auṅ āpaḥ*)'

Note that we can get *asau* from *adas* + *sU*→ *ada*(*s*→*a*) + *sU*→ *ad*(*a*+*a*→*a*) + *sU*→ *a*(*d*→*s*) *a* + *au* → *as*(*a*+*au*→*au*) = *asau*, with *s*→*a*, *sU*→*au* and *pararūpa*. Why then offer deletion of *sU*? We will run into problem with *adas* + (*sU*→*au*) where *sU* is that of *sadbuddhi* 'address' (6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt*. . .). That is, we will get deletion of *sU* turned *au*. Thus, *au* should not replace *sU*. This, however, will not happen since *hal* is carried there. That is, *sU*→*au* cannot be deleted since it is no longer constituted by a consonant. But, given *asā* + (*sU*→*au*), where *asā* ends in the feminine affix *ṬāP*, rule 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca* will replace *ā* with *e* (*etva*) in *he khaṭve*. But this is not a problem. We get the *anuvṛtti* of *jhali* in 7.3.1 *sambuddhau ca*. Thus, this replacement in *e*, since it applies only before a *sambuddhi* which begins with a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*, will be blocked.

This solution still has problems. We will get *i* before *k*, for example, in *asakā* + *au*, where *akAC* is involved. If *au* is introduced as a replacement to the base we will not get *ṬāP*, and hence, a replacement in *i*. Thus, *sU* cannot be replaced with *au*. But strings such as *asā* + *au* will then have their *ā* go through a replacement in *Śī*. This will produce wrong forms. It is, therefore, advised to have *s* replaced with *au* with concurrent deletion of *sU*.

4. It is argued that this rule should be formulated simply as *adasa au*. We can carry over *sau* from 7.2.106 *tadoḥ saḥ sāv anantyayoḥ*. The locative of *sau* in 7.2.106 *tadoḥ*. . . will be transformed into genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). For, it has served its purpose in 7.2.106 *tadoḥ*. . ., and *adasaḥ* of 7.2.107 is specified in the ablative (*pañcamī*). The *sūtra* will then mean: 'let *au* replace *sU* which occurs after *adas*'. Thus, given *adas* + *sU*, we will get *au* in place of *sU*. The *s* will be replaced with *a* by 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*. We will finally get the form *asau* with the application of *pararūpa* 'single replacement similar to what follows', *vṛddhi*, and replacement of *d*→*s* (7.2.106 *tadoḥ saḥ* . . .).

But this view creates problems in derivates such as *he asau*, where *sU* occurs after a short vowel. Rule 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddhau* will thus apply to delete *sU*. This is what is stated as a fault by *hrasvāt lupyeta sambuddhiḥ* of the *kārikā* quoted above. We cannot get *au* when *sU* has gone through deletion. The address form can thus not be derived as *he' sau*. A solution to this problem is offered by: *na halaḥ prakṛtaṃ hi tat*. It is explained that 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddhau* deletes the consonant (*haL*) of *sambuddhi*. We do not find the consonantal *sambuddhi* here since *sU* has been replaced with *au*. Since *au* is a vowel, it cannot go through deletion. But for this interpretation of 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ*, one must read *halaḥ* in the wording of rule 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt*. . . . We do not need to read *halaḥ* in the wording of rule 6.1.69 since *halaḥ* of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt*. . . is already there. But *halaḥ* of 6.1.68 is specified in the nominative (*prathamā*) and we need it here in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). This should pose no problem. The ablative (*pañcamī*) of 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt*. . . will be transformed into genitive at the strength of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*. Thus, there is no problem in deriving *he asau*.

But there is another problem. We cannot derive *he asau* in the feminine, because similar to *he rame* in the feminine, we will get a replacement in *-e* by 7.3.106 *sambuddau ca*. That is, we will end up with the form *he *asayau*. Given *adas* + *sU*, and after the application of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*, *pararūpa*, and the feminine affix *ṬāP*, we will get *he adā* + *sU*. This *sU* will then get replaced with *au*, and the *ā* of *ṬāP* will be replaced with *e*. Of course, the *d* will be replaced with *s*. Given *he ase* + *au*, we should get *he *asayau* through *ay* replacement of *e*. A resolution to this problem is being offered in the verse: *na jhaly ity anuvartanāt*. It is stated that *jhali* will be carried over to 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca* from 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*. The meang will be: a replacement in *e* offered by 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca* applies when a *sambuddhi* beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* follows. Since *au* does not begin with a sound denoted by *jhaL*, replacement in *e* is blocked. The verse states: to state that a replacement in *e* by 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca* will become applicable is not appropriate. For, that carries the *anuvṛtti* of *jhali*.

Yet another fault is brought to notice by the *kārikā* phrase: *pratyayasthāc ca kād itvam*. It is stated that, given *adas* + *sU*, and a desire to express the sense of 'not known', etc., parallel to *asakau brāhmaṇī*, rule 5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac prāk* . . . will introduce *akAC* before the *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*). This will give us *adakas* + *sU*. A replacement in *a* of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*, *pararūpa* (*a*), and introduction of *ṬāP*, will now yield *adakā* + *sU*. A replacement in *i* must now be introduced for *a* before *k* of the affix. The result will be: *adikā* + *sU* which, through the application of 7.2.107 *adasa au sulopaś ca*, will yield **asikau*, and not the desired *asakau*. A similar problem can also be faced in deriving *asau brāhmaṇī* where we will get a *śī*-replacement by 7.1.18 *auṅa āpaḥ* for resolution of this problem.

7.2.108 इदमो मः

> *idamo maḥ*
> /*idamaḥ* 6/1 *maḥ* 1/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *sau* #106)
> *idamaḥ sau parato makāro antādeśo bhavati*
> *m* comes in place of the final *m* of an *aṅga*, namely of *idam* 'this', when an affix termed *vibhakti*, particularly *sU*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *iyam* 'this (feminine)'
> *ayam* 'this (masculine)'

1. A replacement in *m* for the final *m* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *idam* is recommended here so that *idam* can be saved from replacement in *a* (*atva*) of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* (*Kāś*: *idamo makārasya makāravacanaṃ tyadādyatva*

bādhanārtham). Recall that *id* of *idam* is replaced with *ay* in the masculine (7.2.11 *ido' ay puṃsi*). Thus, *idam* + *su* → (*id*→*ay*) *am* + *sU*→ *ayam* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *ayam*. We get *i*(*d*→*y*) *am* + *sU*→ *iyam* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *iyam*, in the feminine with *y* as a replacement for its *d* (7.2.110 *yaḥ sau*).

7.2.109 दश्च

daś ca
/*daḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *idamo maḥ* #108)
idamo dakārasya sthāne makārādeśo bhavati vibhaktau parataḥ
m also comes in place of *d* of an *aṅga*, namely of *idam*, when a nominal ending follows.

EXAMPLES:

imau/ *ime* 'nominative dual and plural of *idam*'
imam/ *imau*/ *imān* 'accusative singular/dual/ plural . . .'

1. What is the purpose of explicitly stating *sU* in the next rule when the same could be carried, via *anuvṛtti*, from this rule. Pāṇini does not want *sU* to be read in the wording of this present rule. He explicitly states it in the next rule because he needs it there. We have to read *vibhakti* 'nominal endings', in general, for purposes of this rule.

This rule offers *m* as a replacement for *d* of *idam* before a nominal ending. Thus, *ida*(*m*→*a*) + *au*→ *ida* + *a* + *au*→ *i*(*d*→*m*) *a* + *a*) + *au*→ *im*(*a*+*a*→*a*)+ *au*→ *im*(*a*+*au*→*au*) = *imau*. Applications such as *tyadādyatva* (*m*→*a*; 7.2.102 *tyadādīnāmaḥ*), *d*→*m* (7.2.109 *daś ca*), *pūrvarūpa* (*a*+*a*→*a*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*) and single replacement in *vṛddhi* (*a*+*au*→*au*; 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*) are easy to understand. Note, however, that *imān*, accusative plural, will get a replacement in *n* (*natva*; 6.1.102 *tasmāc chaso* . . .).

7.2.110 यः सौ

yaḥ sau
/*yaḥ* 6/1 *sau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *idamaḥ* #108 *daḥ* #109)
idamo dakārasya yakārādeśo bhavati sau parataḥ
y comes in place of *d* of an *aṅga*, namely of *idam*, when an affix termed *vibhakti*, namely *sU*, follows (and feminine is denoted).

EXAMPLES:

iyam 'this'

1. Note that this replacement applies only in the feminine. Why? Because our next rule specifies a replacement in the masculine (*puṃsi*). Why can

this replacement not be meant for neuter (*napuṃsaka*). That is impossible (*asambhava*), since *sU* gets deleted there in view of 7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt*. We cannot invoke 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* to still accomplish this replacement. Rule 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will block any such effort. Our example *iyam* gets *m* as a replacement for the final *m* of *idam*. This, as explained, is an exception to the *a* (*tyadātyatva*) of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*.

2. Some edition of *Kāśikā* reads the *vṛtti* as *idamo makārasya yakārādeśo bhavati*. . . . This is wrong. A replacement in *y* for *m* of *idam* will make it hard to derive *iyam*. I, therefore, follow Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita (cf. *SK*: *idamo dasya yaḥ syāt sau*) in presenting the *vṛtti* of this rule: *idamo dakārasya yakārādeśo bhavati*. S.C. Vasu also writes his *vṛtti* with *makārasya*, although his English translation is correct.

7.2.111 इदोऽय् पुंसि

ido' y puṃsi
/*idaḥ* 6/1 *ay* 1/1 *puṃsi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *idamaḥ* #108 *sau* #110)
idam idrūpasya puṃsi sau parataḥ '*ay*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
ay comes in place of *id* of an *aṅga*, namely of *idam*, when an affix termed *vibhakti*, namely *sU*, follows and the derivate signifies masculine (*puṃsi*).

EXAMPLES:

ayaṃ brāhmaṇaḥ 'this is a brāhmaṇa'

1. Why do we state *puṃsi* 'when masculine'. Note that *id* is not replaced with *ay* in the feminine. Consequently, we get *iyaṃ brāhmaṇī* 'this is a brāhmaṇa woman' where *d* of *idam* is replaced with *y* (7.2.110 *yaḥ sau*).

7.2.112 अनाप्यकः

anāpy akaḥ
/*an* 1/1 (deleted) *āpi* 7/1 *akaḥ* 6/1 = *na vidyate kakāro yasmin tat* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *idamaḥ* #108 *sau* #110 *idaḥ* #111)
idamo' kakārasya idrūpasya sthāne '*ana*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati āpi vibhaktau parataḥ*
ana comes in place of *id*, namely a *k*-less form of an *aṅga* constituted by *idam*, when an affix termed *vibhakti* denoted by the abbreviatory term *āP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

anena 'instrumental singular of *idam* 'this''
anayoḥ 'genitive and locative dual of *idam*'

1. Note that *āP* is accepted as an abbreviatory term denoting nominal endings *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular' through *suP* 'locative plural'. Our next rule offers deletion of *id* before a nominal ending beginning with a consonant (*halādi*). This rule then applies in contexts where a nominal ending begins with a vowel and is denoted by *āP*. It generally applies when nominal endings *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular' through *os* 'locative dual' follow. A negation with *akaḥ* '. . . other than *k*' is given so that this rule does not apply when *akAC* (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām* . . .) is used after *id* of *idam*. Consider *idam* + *Ṭā* → *anena*, where *id* is replaced with *ana* (7.2.112 *anāpy akaḥ*) and 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅasāmi* . . . replaces *Ṭā* with *in*. Thus, (*id*→*ana*) *a* + (*Ṭā*→*ina*)) = *ana* + *a* + *ina*. A single replacement in *a* for *a*+*a* is offered in consonance with 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. We can similarly get *ana* + *os*, where 7.3.104 *osi ca* replaces the final *a* of *ana* with *e*. A replacement in *ay* for the resultant *e*, followed by *rU*→*ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*), produces *anayoḥ*.

2. Note that we do not find *ana* as a replacement, for example in *imakena* and *imakayoḥ*, since their *idam* is introduced with *akAC*, and thus becomes a form with *k*.

7.2.113 हलि लोपः

hali lopaḥ
/*hali* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vibhaktau* #84 *idamaḥ* #108 *idaḥ* #111 *akaḥ* #112)
halādau vibhaktau parata idamo' akakārasya idrūpasya lopo bhavati
LOPA comes in place of the non-*k* form of an *aṅga*, namely *id* of *idam*, when an affix termed *vibhakti* beginning with a consonant follows.

EXAMPLES:

ābhyām 'instrumental, dative and ablative singular form of *idam* (this)'
ebhiḥ 'instrumental plural form of *idam*'
ebhyaḥ 'dative and ablative plural form of *idam*'
eṣām 'genitive plural form of *idam*'
eṣu 'locative plural form of *idam*'

1. Refer to derivational details of *ābhyām* (appendix, II:354-55). Forms with the instrumental plural ending *bhis*, and the dative-ablative nominal ending *bhyas*, after *m*→*a* and single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence (*pararūpa*), involve a replacement in *e* (*etva*; 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*). Thus, (*a*→*e*) + *bhis* = *ebhis* and (*a*→*e*) + *bhyas* = *ebhyas*. Recall that augment *sUṬ* (7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ* . . .) is introduced in deriving *eṣām*. The *s* of the derivate is then replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*).

2. Why can we not delete the final *d* of *id* in accord with 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*? Because this interpretive convention (*paribhāṣā*) does not apply where a speci-

fication (here *iṭ*) does not have any meaning (*Kāś*: '*nānarthake' lontyavidhiḥ' iti sarvasyāyam idrūpasya lopaḥ*). Consequently, *iṭ* is deleted in its entirety. An application of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya* can be made possible only when one carries the *anuvṛtti* of *an* from 7.2.112 *anāpya kaḥ*. That will then facilitate deletion of *n* of *an* which replaces *iṭ*. Refer to derivational details of *ābhyām* (II:354-55).

7.2.114 **मृजेर्वृद्धिः**

mṛjer vṛddhiḥ
/ *mṛjeḥ* 6/1 *vṛddhiḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *iko guṇavṛddhī* #1.1.3)
mṛjer aṅgasya iko vṛddhir bhavati
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*, of an *aṅga* constituted by *mṛjI* 'to wipe, cleanse'.

EXAMPLES:

mārṣṭā 'purifier'
mārṣṭum '... for wiping'
mārṣṭavyam '... ought to be wiped'

1. Note that *mṛjeḥ* specifies a verbal root (*dhātu*) in the genitive. Consequently, this rule will apply to a verbal root which constitutes an *aṅga* when an affix follows. Thus, *kaṃsaparimṛj* + *bhyām* will not involve this rule application. For, *bhyām* is an affix which is not introduced after a verbal root. Refer to derivationals details of *cetā* (II:329) for deriving a derivate with affix *tṛC*. Our examples are derivates of affixes *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT*. Thus, *mṛj* + *tṛ*(*C*) → *m*(*ṛ*→*ār*)*j* + *tṛ* → *mār*(*j*→*ṣ*) + *tṛ* → *mārṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*)*ṛ* = *mārṣṭṛ*, etc., with *vṛddhi* (*ṛ*→*ār*, 7.2.114), *j*→*ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛjamṛja* . . .) and *t*→*ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*). Other rule applications are similar to *cetā* where *ṛ* of *tṛC* receives *anAṄ* (7.1.93 *anaṅ sau*). Examples with *tumUN* and *tavyaT* do not offer anything new.

7.2.115 **अचो ञ्णिति**

aco' ñṇiti
/ *acaḥ* 6/1 *ñṇiti* 7/1 = *ñaś ca ṇaś ca* = *ñṇau* (*dv.*); *ñṇāv itau yasya* (*bv* with int. *dv*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #114)
ajantasyāṅgasya ñiti ṇiti ca vṛddhir bhavati
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of the vowel denoted by *iK* of an *aṅga* which ends in *aC*, when an affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ekas taṇḍulaniścāyaḥ 'one heap of rice'

dvau śūrpaniṣpāvau 'two winnowing basketful of rice'
kārah 'doer'
hārah 'carrier'
gauḥ/ gāvau/ gāvaḥ 'nominative singular/dual/plural of *go* (cow)'
sakhāyau/ sakhāyaḥ 'nominative dual and plural of *sakhi* 'companion''
jaitram 'victory'
yautram 'mixing'
cyautnaḥ 'moving'

1. Refer to derivational details of *niṣpāvau* (appendix, III:762). Similar rules apply in deriving *nicāyaḥ* from *nisci* + *GHaÑ*, where the *vṛddhi*-vowel *ai* is replaced with *āy*, and *s* of *nis* goes through a replacement in *ś* (*ścutva*; 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Deriving *kāra* and *hāra*, from *kṛ* + *GHaÑ* and *hṛ* + *GHaÑ*, with replacement in *vṛddhi* is easy. The *vṛddhi*-replacement of *g*(*o*→*au*), in *go* + *sU*, *go* + *au*, *go* + *Jas*; and *sakhi* + *au* and *sakhi* + *Jas*, is acccomplished via extensional operations (*atideśa-kārya*) applied in the context of *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.43 *śi sarvanāmasthānam*; 1.1.44 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*), similar to that which is marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* (*ṇidvadbhāva*; 7.1.90 *goto ṇit*; 7.1.92 *sakhyur asambuddhau*). Refer to derivational details of most examples under rules 7.1.90 and 7.1.92. Deriving *jaitra* and *yautra*, from *ji* + *ṢtraN* and *yu* + *ṢtraN*, via *ṇit*, through *bāhulaka* 'variously' and *vṛddhi* (3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*) is not difficult. Deriving *cyautna*, from *cyu* + *tnaṆ* (*Uṇādi*), follows the same pattern of derivation.

7.2.116 अत उपधायाः

ata upadhāyāḥ
/ *ataḥ* 6/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #114 *ñṇiti* #115)
aṅgopadhāyā akārasya sthāne ñiti ṇiti ca pratyaye vṛddhir bhavati
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of next to the last *a* (1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*) of an *aṅga* when an affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pākaḥ 'cooking'
tyāgaḥ 'renunciation'
yāgaḥ 'sacrifice'
pācayati 'he has someone cook'
pācakaḥ 'cook'
pāṭhayati 'he has someone recite; teaches'
pāṭhakaḥ 'reciter'

1. The first three examples are derivates of *GHaÑ*, introduced after *pac*, *tyaj* and *yaj*. Replacements in *k* and *g*, for *c* and *j*, respectively, are gotten

after the penultimate *vṛddhi* of 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku*. . . . The last four examples are derivates of *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*), where penultimate *vṛddhi* is also applied. The *ṆvuL* of *pācakaḥ* and *pāṭhakaḥ* yields *aka* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*).

2. The condition of *ataḥ* 'in place of *a*' is imposed so that *bhedayati* and *bhedakaḥ*, with no *a* in the penultimate position (*upadhā*), could be excluded from getting a replacement in *vṛddhi*. This *aT* must be penultimate (*upadhā*) so that *cakāsayati* 'illuminates' and *takṣakaḥ* 'carpenter' which, because of no *aT* in the *upadhā*, could be excluded from getting this *vṛddhi*. Recall that *a* of *takṣakaḥ* will be termed *guru* before the conjunct (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*).

7.2.117 तद्धितेष्वचामादेः

taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ
/*taddhiteṣu* 7/3 *acām* 6/3 *ādeḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #114 *aco ñṇiti* #115)
taddhite ñiti ṇiti ca pratyaye vṛddhir bhavati
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of initial among vowels of an *aṅga* when an affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyaḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Garga'
vātsyaḥ 'a *gotra*-descendant of Vatsa'
dākṣiḥ 'son of Dakṣa'
plākṣiḥ 'son of Plakṣa'
aupagavaḥ 'a descendant of Upagu'
kāpaṭavaḥ 'a descendant of Kapaṭu'

1. Note that *gārgya* and *vātsya* are derivates of the *taddhita* affix *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo* . . .). Our next two examples are derivates of *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). The last two examples are derivates of *aṆ* (cf. appendix, under 1.1.1 *vṛddhir* . . .).

2. Commentators explain that an initial *vṛddhi* blocks the application of penultimate (*upadhā*) and final *vṛddhi*. Consider *tvāṣṭraḥ* and *jāgataḥ* where their bases derive from *tvaṣṭṛ* + *aṆ* and *jagat* + *aṆ* with application of initial *vṛddhi*.

7.2.118 किति च

kiti ca
/*kiti* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #114 *acaḥ* #115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #117)
kiti ca taddhite parato' ṅgasyācām āder acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir bhavati
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of initial among vowels of an *aṅga*, also when a *taddhita* affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nāḍāyanaḥ 'a descendant of Naḍa'
cārāyaṇaḥ 'a descendant of Cara'
ākṣikaḥ 'he who plays with a dice; gambler'
śālākikaḥ 'he who plays with a *śalākā* '(ivory)stick'; gambler''

1. The first two examples are derivates of affix *phaK* (4.1.99 *naḍādibhyaḥ phak*). The last two are derivates of affix *ṭhaK* (4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak*; 4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*...). Note that *pha* and *ṭha* yield replacements in *āyana* and *ika* (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ*...; 7.3.50 *ṭhasyekaḥ*), respectively.

PĀDA THREE

7.3.1 देविकाशिंशपादित्यवाड्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात्

devikāśiṃśapādityavāḍdīrghasattraśreyasām āt
/ *devikā-śiṃśapā-dityavāṭ-dīrghasattra-śreyasām* 6/3 (*itar dv*); *āt* 1/1/ (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco' ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.116 *kiti* #7.2.117)
'*devikā, śiṃśapā, dityavāṭ, dīrghasattra, śreyas' ity eteṣām aṅgānām āder acaḥ sthāne vṛddhiprasaṅge ākāro bhavati ñiti ṇiti kiti taddhite parataḥ*
An *ā* comes in place of initial among vowels of an *aṅga*, namely *devikā, śiṃśapā, dityavāṭ, dīrghasattra* and *śreyas*, when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows, and the context is that of replacement in *vṛddhi*.

EXAMPLES:

dāvikam udakam 'water of river Devikā'
dāvikākūlāḥ śālayaḥ 'a variety of rice grown on the banks of river Devikā'
pūrvadāvikaḥ 'someone born at a village named Pūrvadevikā'
śāṃśapaścamasaḥ 'a ritual vessel made with Śiṃśapā leaves'
śāṃśapāsthalāḥ 'found at a place named Śiṃśapāsthala'
pūrvaśāṃśapaḥ 'someone born in Pūrvaśiṃśapā'
dātyauham 'this belongs to Dityavāṭ'
dārghasattram 'that which is found in the soma sacrifice of Dīrghasattra'
śrāyasam 'that which is found in the best'

1. Note that *aṅgasya* (6.4.1) is carried over. It thus shares a qualifier-qualified relationship (*viśeṣaṇa-viśeṣyabhāva*) with *devikā*, etc. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*) discusses four interpretational possibilities of this rule, depending upon:

(*i*) whether *devikā*, etc., are accepted as qualifiers to *aṅgasya*; or
(*ii*) *aṅgasya* is accepted as a qualifier to *devikā*, etc.; and
(*iii*) whether coreferentiality (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*); or

(*iv*) non-coreferentiality (*vaiyadhikaraṇya*), forms the basis of such a qualifier-qualified relationship.

If we accept *devikā*, etc., as qualifiers to *aṅga* based on coreferentiality, then, via *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting *x* as one which also ends in *x*', we get the following interpretation: the first among vowels of an *aṅga* which ends in *devikā*, etc., is replaced with *ā*. This interpretation will block *ā* from replacing the first vowel of *devikā*, etc., where they constitute an *aṅga* by themselves. For, *devikā*, etc., can then not be interpreted as ending in *devikā*, etc.

Treating *devikā*, etc., as principal, and thereby also accepting them as ending in themselves, via *vyapadeśivadbhāva* 'treating something secondary as principal', is not possible. For, *vyapadeśivadbhāva* is ruled out in case of nominal stems. If, however, such a negation of *vyapadeśivadbhāva* is restricted only to affixes introduced after nominal stems then replacement in *ā* could apply only to *devikā*, etc., when used alone. This replacement in *ā* could not apply to *devikā*, for example, of *dāvikākūlāḥ śālayaḥ*, paraphrased as *devikākūle bhavāḥ śālayaḥ* 'rice produced on the bank of the river Devikā'. This replacement will cause an over-application (*atiprasaṅga*) in *saudevikam*, paraphrased as *sudevikādau bhavaḥ* 'that which is produced in *sudevikā*, etc.' We will, thus, end up having the *u* of *su* replaced with *ā*. Haradatta finds problems with all these interpretations.

A non-coreferential paraphrase of this qualifier-qualified relationship will accept *ā* as a replacement for the initial vowel of an *aṅga* which may be part of *devikā*, etc. That is, this interpretation will accept *devikā*, etc., as a whole of which an *aṅga* will become a part. This interpretation will not permit *ā* to replace an initial vowel where *devikā*, etc., may constitute an *aṅga* by themselves. For, how could a whole by itself constitute its part(s). Recall that treatment of a part as its corresponding whole, via *vyapadeśivadbhāva* (*PŚ* 31: *vyapadeśivad ekasmin*), is ruled out in case of a nominal stem. If this negation is, however, limited to the context of affixes, then *ā*-replacement will be possible only where *devikā*, etc., constitute an *aṅga* by themselves. This interpretation will also encounter problems relative to *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as referring, also, to that which ends in *x*' and *vyapadeśivadbhāva* 'treating something secondary as principal'. There should be no problem where *devikā*, etc., are used alone, or where they constitute the initial constituent of an *aṅga*. This interpretation, however, will create problems by introducing *ā* as a replacement in *devikā*, etc., when the same are used as the following constituent of an *aṅga*. This *ā* will be desired in *prāggrāme* and *pūrvaśāṃśapaḥ*. It will be undesired in *sudevikā*, etc., where the context is not *grāma* 'village'. One may try to resolve this problem by carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *prācāṃ grāmanagarāṇām* (7.3.14) and by resorting to split-interpretation of the rule, via *yogavibhāga*, in two rules: (*i*) *prācāṃ grāmanagarāṇām uttarapadasyāder aco vṛddhir bhavati* 'a *vṛddhi* vowel comes in place of the initial vowel of the following (final) compound-constituent used with the denotation of an eastern

village, or city'; (*ii*) *ā* comes in place of initial among vowels of *devikā*, etc., when used as a following constituent. Haradatta does not accept it as the intent of the author of the *vṛtti*. For, the *vṛtti* should then have also stated the *anuvṛtti* of *uttarapadavṛddhau* (7.3.14). Haradatta concludes that what is carried over, i.e., *ā*, should be related primarily to *devikā*, etc. Thus, *ā* comes in place of the initial vowel of *devikā*, etc. That is, when the context is *vṛddhi* and *devikā*, etc., constitute an *aṅga*. Whether they constitute an *aṅga* as part of an initial, or following constituent, does not matter. The following verses summarize Haradatta's view:

> *kastarhi vṛttikārasya pakṣo' yam abhidhīyate*
> *paribhāṣeyam āntaryaparibhāṣā' pavādinī/*
> *devikāder acām āder yatra vṛddhiḥ prasajyate*
> *tatropatiṣṭhate tena sarvam iṣṭaṃ prasiddhyati//*
> 'how is *this* identified as the intent of the author of the *vṛtti*; this interpretive convention is offered as an exception to that which favors the interpretive convention of proximity; it applies where the *vṛddhi*-replacement of first among vowels of *devikā*, etc., becomes applicable; and, thus, all which is desired is accomplished by it'

Jinendrabuddhi also presents three interpretations for which refer to *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*. I accept the interpretation offered by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.

2. Note that *pūrvadevikā*, *pūrvaśiṃśapā*, etc., are names of villages in the east. A derivate of these with the signification of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* 'born, or found, there' will qualify for replacement in *vṛddhi* of 7.3.14 *prācāṃ grāmanagarāṇām*. This rule offers replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) as an exception. A derivate such as *śāṃśapaścamasaḥ* involves introduction of affix *aṆ* (4.3.139 *palāśādibhyo vā*; or 4.3.138 *anudāttādeś ca*). This rule offers *ā* against the *vṛddhi* of 7.2.117 *so taddhite*. . . . Similar explanations can be offered for other examples.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to ensure *i* as a replacement (*itva*) for initial among vowels of *vahīnara*. Thus, *vahīnara* + *iÑ* → *v*(*a*→*i*) *hīnara* + *iÑ* = *v*(*i*→*ai*) *hīnara* + *iÑ* = *vaihīnari* 'son of Vahīnara'.

7.3.2 केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः

kekayamitrayupralayānāṃ yāder iyaḥ
/*kekaya-mitrayu-pralayānām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *yādeḥ* 6/1 = *ya ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *iyaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣu* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118)
'*kekaya, mitrayu, pralaya*' *ity eteṣāṃ yakārādeḥ* '*iya*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ*
iy comes in place of the *y*-initial part of an *aṅga*, namely *kekaya*, *mitrayu* and *pralaya*, when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kaikayaḥ 'an offspring of Kekaya'
maitreyikayā ślāghate '. . . praises with the sentiment of a friend'
prāleyam udakam 'devastating floods'

1. This rule replaces *ya* and *yu* with *iy* of *kekaya*, *mitrayu* and *pralaya*. We thus get *kaikeya*, from *kekaya* + Ṅas + *aÑ* (4.1.166 *janapadaśabdād* . . .), with *vṛddhi*-replacement of the initial vowel: *k*(*e*→*ai*) *kaya* . . .); replacement in *iy*: *kaika*(*ya*→*iy*) *a*; replacement in *guṇa*: *kaik*(*a*+*i*→*e*) *ya*; *kaikeya* + *aÑ*; 6.1.94 *ād guṇaḥ*; and deletion of *a* (*kaikey*(*a* →ϕ) + *aÑ* = *kaikeya* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). Similar rules apply in deriving *maitreyikayā*, with the feminine affix *ṬāP* and related *i* (*itva*; 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt* . . .), parallel to *maitreyikayā ślāghate* '. . . praises with the sentiment of a friend'. We find affix *vuÑ*→*aka* (5.1.133 *gotracaraṇāc* . . .) introduced after *mitrayu*. Affix *aṆ* is similarly introduced after *prāleya*, with the signification of 4.3.74 *tata āgataḥ* 'arrived from there', to derive *prāleya*.

7.3.3 न य्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच्

na yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyāṃ pūrvau tu tābhyām aic
/ *na* ϕ *yvābhyām* 5/2 = *y ca vaś ca yvau* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *padāntābhyām* 5/2 = *padasya antau* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tābhyām*; *pūrvau* 1/2 *tu* ϕ *tābhyām* 5/2 *aic* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118)
yakāravakārābhyām uttarasya acām āder acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir na bhavati, tābhyāṃ tu yakāravakārābhyāṃ pūrvam aijāgamo bhavato ñiti ṇiti kiti ca taddhite parataḥ
A replacement in *vṛddhi* does not come in place of the first among vowels which occurs after *y* and *v* at the end of a *pada*; a vowel denoted by *aiC*, instead, is introduced before *y* and *v*, provided a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vaiyasanam = *vyasane bhavam* 'found in a vice'
vaiyākaraṇaḥ = *vyākaraṇam adhīte* 'a grammarian; he who studies grammar'
sauvaśvaḥ = *svaśvasyāpatyam* 'a son of Svaśva'

1. Note that *aiC* is an abbreviatory term which denotes *ai* and *au*, and is assigned equivalency in consonance with the order of enumeration of *y* and *v*. That is, *ai* must precede *y* and *au* must precede *v*. Thus, we get (*v*(*i*→*y*) + *asana* + *aṆ*)) → (*v* + *ai*) *y* + *asana* + *aṆ*)) = *vaiyasana*. Similar derivational applications are involved in deriving *v*(*i*→*y*) + *ākaraṇa* + *aṆ*)) → *v*(*ai*) *y* +

ākaraṇa + *aṆ*)) = *vaiyākaraṇa*, where *aṆ* is introduced with the signification of 4.2.58 *tad adhīte tad veda*. The *aṆ* (4.1.112 *śivādibhyo* . . .) of (*s*(*u*→*v*) + *aśva* + *aṆ*)) → *s*(*au*)*v* + (*aśva* + *aṆ*)) = *sauvaśva* denotes an *apatya* 'offspring', where *au* is inserted before replacement in *u*→*v*. Note that *vy* and *sv* which end in *y* and *v* after *i*→*y* and *u*→*v* replacements are considered *pada*.

2. The condition of a *pada*-final *y* and *v* is required so that *nṛ* + *artha* = *nr* + *artha* + *iÑ* = *nrārthi* is blocked from availing the *ai* and *au* inserts of this rule. What we find here is an *r* at the end of a *pada*. Consequently, initial *vṛddhi* applies.

Now consider *yāṣṭīkaḥ*, paraphrased as *yaṣṭiḥ praharaṇam asya* 'he whose weapon is a stick'. Affix *īkaK* (4.4.59 *śaktiyaṣṭyor īkak*) is introduced after *yaṣṭi* 'stick', where *y* occurs at the beginning of a *pada*. Thus, we get a replacement in *vṛddhi*, and not an insert in *ai*.

3. Note that the negative provision of this rule is made to exactly define the scope of inserts denoted by the abbreviatory term *aiC*. Thus, consider *dādhyaśviḥ* 'son of Dadhyaśva' and *mādhvaśviḥ* 'son of Madhvaśva', where *iÑ* is introduced after *dadhyaśva* + *Ṅas* and *madhvaśva* + *Ṅas*. There is no occasion here for *vṛddhi* before *y* and *v* of *dadhy* and *madhv*. Consequently, there is no negation of *vṛddhi* and introduction of *aiC*. This rule concurrently does two things: negation of *vṛddhi* and introduction of *aiC*. Since a negation makes sense only when a positive provision obtains, and also since negation of *vṛddhi* concurrently inserts *aiC*, there is no *vṛddhi* of *i* after *y* and *v* in *dādhyaśvi* and *mādhyaśvi*. There is also no insert in *aiC*.

4. Commentators indicate that this negation of *vṛddhi* is also desired for a following (final) compound constituent (*uttarapada*). Consider *pūrvatraiyalindaḥ* which derives from *pūrvatṛy* + *alinda* + *aṆ*. Rule 7.3.13 *diśo' madrāṇām* may now cause initial *vṛddhi* of *alinda*, a following constituent. But since the *a* of *alinda* occurs after *y*, this rule negates *vṛddhi*. Additionally, it inserts *ai* before *y*. Thus, *pūrvatr*(*i*→*y*) + *alinda* + *aṆ* → *pūrvatr*(*ai*)*y* + *alinda* = *pūrvatraiyalinda*.

Note, however, that this negation and *aiC* will be applicable to a following constituent only when the resultant *y* and *v* are relatable to the following constituent. This negation and *aiC* is thus not desired where *y* and *v* do not result relative to the following constituent. Consider *dvyāśītikaḥ* which derives with affix *ṭhaK* (5.1.80 *tam adhīṣṭo* . . .) introduced after *dv*(*i*→*y*) + *aśīti* = *dvy* + *aśīti* 'eighty-two'. The *vṛddhi* of *a* of *aśīti*, made available here by 7.3.15 *saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃvatsara* . . ., can thus not be negated. For, *y* comes as a replacement relatable to the initial constituent *dvi*. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya*, and *PM* ad *Kāśikā*, for a detailed discussion.

7.3.4 द्वारादीनां च

dvārādīnāṃ ca

/ *dvārādīnām* 6/3 = *dvāra ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *ca* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *na yvābhyām pūrvau tu tābhyām aic* #3)
'*dvāra*' *ity evamādīnām yvābhyām uttarapadasyācām āder acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir na bhavati, pūrvau tu tābhyām aijāgamau bhavataḥ*
A replacement in *vṛddhi* does not come in place of first among vowels which occurs after *y* and *v* of nominals enumerated in the list headed by *dvāra* 'door'; a vowel denoted by *aiC*, instead, is introduced before *y* and *v*, provided a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dauvārapālam = *dvārapālasyedam* 'this belongs to the gate-keeper'
sauvaraḥ = *svaram adhikṛtya kṛto granthaḥ* 'a treatise on accentuation'
vaiyalkaśaḥ = *vyalkaśe bhavaḥ* 'born at Vyalkaśa'
sauvastikaḥ = *svastīty āha* 'he said *svasti* 'blessings''

1. This rule begins introducing *aiC* before a non-*pada* final *y* and *v*. A *tadādividhi* 'treating a specification made with *x* as also referring to that which begins with *x*' interpretation is also valid here. That is, *aiC* is also introduced where *dvāra*, etc., are used as initial compound constituents. Consider *dvāra* + (*ṭha*(*K*)→*ika*) = *d+au+vārika* + *sU* = *dauvārikaḥ* and *dvārapāla* + *aṆ* → *d+au+vārapāla* + *sU* = *dauvārapālam*. The first derives from *dvāra* + *ṭhaK* where *ṭhaK* is used with the signification of 4.4.69 *tatra niyuktaḥ* 'appointed there', with assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) and deletion of *a*. The second is a derivate of *aṆ* introduced after *dvārapāla*, with the signification of *tasyedam* (4.3.120). Derivates such as *svara* + *aṆ*→ *sauvara* = *sauvara* + *sU* = *sauvaraḥ* and *vyalkaś* + *aṆ* →*vaiyalkaśa* = *vaiyalkaśa* + *sU* = *vaiyalkaśaḥ* involve affix *aṆ* with the signification of 4.3.116 *kṛte granthe* 'a treatise made . . .' and 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* 'born or found there', respectively. The *a* of *svara* goes through *ṭi*-deletion under assignment of the term *bha* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). An additional example is given as *sauvastikaḥ* derived with *ṭhaK*. The signification of *tatra bhavaḥ* is also invoved in deriving *svauvaḥ* with *aṆ*, paraphrased as *svar bhavaḥ*.

7.3.5 न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य

nyagrodhasya ca kevalasya
/ *nyagrodhasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *kevalasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *na yvābhyām pūrvau tu tābhyām aic* #3)
nyagrodhaśabdasya kevalasya yakārād uttarasyācām āder acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir na bhavati, tasmāc ca pūrvam aikāra āgamo bhavati
A replacement in *vṛddhi* does not come in place of first among vowels which occurs after *y* and *v* of an *aṅga* constituted by *nyagrodha* itself; a vowel denoted by *aiC*, instead, is introduced before *y* and *v*, provided a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

naiyagrodhaś camasaḥ = *nyagrodhasya vikāraḥ* 'a ladle made with wood from the *nyagrodh* tree'

1. This rule negates initial *vṛddhi* and introduces *ai* before *y* of *nyagrodha* when the same is used by itself. All other conditions remain unchanged. Thus, *nyagrodhasya vikāraḥ* = *naiyagrodhaḥ* (*camasaḥ*), a derivate of *aṆ* with the signification of 4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ* 'a product of that'. But this negation of *vṛddhi* and introduction of *ai* will not be available in deriving *nyagrodhamūlā* (*śālayaḥ*) 'rice growing near the root of the *nyagrohda* tree'. For, *nyagrodha* is not used by itself.

It is argued that this rule is not needed. For, introduction of *aiC* could be easily accomplished by the general rule: 7.3.3 *na yvābhyāṃ padāntābhyām*. True. But we must then derive it as: *ni* + *añc* + *KvIN* = *nyak* and *nyak* + *ruh* + *aC* = *nyagrodha*, where deriving *nyak* would involve a replacement in *k* for *c* after total deletion of affix *KvIN*. The *h* of *ruh* will be replaced with *dh* of 7.3.53 *nyaṅkvādīdāṃ ca*. The *k* of *nyak* will also go through a replacement in *g* (*jaśtva*), and there will be a replacement in *guṇa* for the penultimate *u* of *nyagr*(*u*→*o*) *dh* + *a* = *nyagrodha*. A provision made against one already made available is then to be interpreted as restrictive (*niyama*). What is the restriction. The word *nyagrodha* should not only be used by itself, but should also be considered underived (*avyutpanna*). We thus need this rule for insertion of *aiC*.

7.3.6 न कर्मव्यतिहारे

na karmavyatihāre
/*na* ф *karmavyatihāre* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
karmavyatihāre yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
That which was stated does not happen in the context of *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocal action'.

EXAMPLES:

vyāvakrośī vartate 'there is reciprocal action of shouting there'
vyāvalekhī vartate '. . . of scratching . . .'
vyāvavartī vartate '. . . of applying ointment . . .'
vyāvahāsī vartate '. . . of deriding . . .'

1. This rule blocks the negation of *vṛddhi* and introduction of *aiC* where derivates signify *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocal action'. Recall that affix *ṆaC* (3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre* . . .) is introduced with the signification of feminine. Rule 5.4.14 *ṇacaḥ striyām* then makes a provision of *aÑ* as an exception to *ṆaC* in the signification of feminine. This *aÑ* then conditions insertion of

aiC as an exception to *vṛddhi*. Refer to derivational details of examples under the appendix (III:763) of 3.3.43 *karmavyatihāre*. . . .

7.3.7 स्वागतादीनां च

svāgatādīnāṃ ca
/*svāgatādīnām* 6/3 = *svāgata ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *na* #6)
'*svāgata*' *ity evamādīnāṃ yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati*
That which was stated for an *aṅga* enumerated in the list headed by *svāgata* 'welcome' also does not apply here.

EXAMPLES:

svāgatikaḥ = *svāgatam ity āha* 'he who says, "you are welcome"'
svādhvarikaḥ = *svadhvareṇa carati* 'he who performs rituals beautifully'
svāṅgiḥ = *svaṅgasyāpatyam* 'a son of Svaṅga; one whose limbs are beautiful'
vyāḍiḥ = *vyaḍasyāpatyam* 'son of Vyaḍa'
vyāvahārikaḥ = *vyavahāreṇa carati* 'he who conducts himself beautifully'
svāpateyaḥ = *svapatau sādhuḥ* 'he who is good to his master'

1. A negation of *vṛddhi*, and introduction of *aiC* (7.3.3 *na yvāvhyāṃ* . . .), also does not apply to an *aṅga* enumerated in the list headed by *svāgata*. That is, they go through *vṛddhi*. Thus, we get *svāgata* + *ṭhaK* = *svāgatika* (4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak*; *vt. tad āheti* . . .), *su* + *adhvara* = *svadhvara* + *ṭhaK* = *svādhvarika* (4.4.8 *carati*); and *su* + *aṅga* = *svaṅga* + *iÑ* = *svāṅgi* 'son of Svaṅga' and *vi* + *aṅga* = *vyaṅga* + *iÑ* = *vyāṅgi* 'son of Vyaṅga; one who has deformed limbs' (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). We also get (*vi* + *ava* + *hāra*) + *ṭhaK* = *vyāvahārika*, where, since *karmavyatihāra* is not the signification, our previous rule does not apply. Our last example, *svāpateyaḥ*, is a derivate of *ḍhaÑ*→*eya* (4.4.104 *pathyatithi* . . .), where initial *vṛddhi* is accomplished against the negation of *aiC*. The *i* of *pati* goes through *bha*-deletion of *i*. This negation of *aiC* is made necessary since *sva* is enumerated in the *dvārādi* group of nominals (7.3.4 *dvārādīnāṃ ca*).

7.3.8 श्वादेरिञि

śvāder iñi
/*śvādeḥ* 6/1 = *śvā ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *iñi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *na* #6)
śvāder aṅgasya iñi parato yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
That which was stated also does not apply to an *aṅga* beginning with a constituent listed in the group headed by *śvan* 'dog', provided *iÑ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *śvabhāstriḥ* = *śvabhastrasyāpatyam* 'son of Śvabhastra'
> *śvādaṃṣṭriḥ* = *śvadaṃṣṭrasyāpatyam* 'son of Śvadaṃṣṭra'

1. Here again we find *vṛddhi* accomplished and *aiC* (7.3.3 *na yvābhyām*...) negated. Of course, when an *aṅga* beginning with *śvan*, etc., occurs before *iÑ*. Note that *śvan* is listed in the *dvārādi* (7.3.4 *dvārādīnāṃ ca*) group of nominals. It thus forms a sub-group. Recall also that *tadādividhi* 'interpreting *x* as also including reference to that which begins with *x*' applies in connection with nominals of the *dvārādi* group. Since nominals of the *śvādi* group are listed within the *dvārādi* group, *tadādividhi* will also apply to nominals of the *śvādi* group. This rule then becomes necessary to block *aiC* which, otherwise, would obtain here in connection with *tadādividhi*. It, i.e., negation of *aiC*, here, then becomes an indicator that *tadādividhi* applies in case of nominals of the *dvārādi* group (7.3.4 *dvārādīnāṃ ca*). For, this negation cannot make sense unless there was some positive provision already made.

2. A *vārttika* proposal requires this rule to apply when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *i* follows. Of course, when an *aṅga* beginning with *śvan* occurs before such affixes. Thus, *śvagaṇena carati* = (*śvagaṇa* + *ṭhaK*→*ika*) + *sU*)) = *śvāgaṇikaḥ* 'he who wanders about with a group of dogs' and *śvayūthena carati* = *śvāyūthikaḥ* 'ibidem'.

Yet another proposal is made to apply *vṛddhi* and negate *aiC* when an *aṅga* ends in *i* (*iÑ*) and a *taddhita* affix other than *iÑ* follows. Thus, *śvābhastrer idam* = (*śvābhastri* + *Ṅas* + *aṆ*) + *sU*)) = *śvābhastram* 'this belongs to Śvābhastri', where *aṆ* is introduced by 4.2.112 *iñaś ca*.

7.3.9 पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम्

> *padāntasyānyatarasyām*
> /*padāntasya* 6/1 = *padaśabda ante yasya tat* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *na* #6 *śvādeḥ* #8)
> *śvāder aṅgasya padaśabdāntasyānyatarasyāṃ yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati*
> That which was stated for an *aṅga* beginning with *śvan* also, optionally, does not apply to an *aṅga* which begins with *śvan*, etc., and ends in *pada* 'foot'.

EXAMPLES:

> *śvāpadam* = *śvāpadasya idam* 'this belongs to Śvāpada'
> *śauvāpadam* 'ibidem'

1. Note that *śvapada* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as *śuna iva padam asya* 'he whose foot is similar to a dog's foot'. Affix *aṆ* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*)

is then introduced to derive the two example derivates, i.e., with *vṛddhi* and optional *au*. The long *ā*-replacement of *śauv(a→ā)pada* is accomplished by a *vārttika* (ad 6.3.130 *mitre carṣau; vt: śuno danta . . .*). This optional provision then applies in connection with introduction of *aiC*.

7.3.10 उत्तरपदस्य

uttarapadasya

'/uttarapadasya 6/1 = *uttaram ca tat padam ca (karm tat), tasya/*

(aṅgasya #6.4.1)

'uttarapadasya' ity ayam adhikāraḥ, 'hanasto' ciṇṇaloḥ' iti prāg etasmāt yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ 'uttarapadasya' ity evaṃ tad veditavyam

That which follows (from here on prior to 7.3.32 *hanasto' ciṇṇaloḥ*) applies to the following constituent of an item termed *aṅga*.

EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. This is a governing rule (*adhikāra*) That is, *uttarapadasya* 'of a (final) constituent which follows' should be read in all rules enumerated prior to 7.3.32 *hanasto' ciṇṇaloḥ*. This *adhikāra* 'governing domain' is stated against the *vṛddhi* of first among vowels of an *aṅga* (*PM: aṅgasyācām āder aco vṛddhau prāptāyām idam ucyate*). What is the use of stating *uttarapadasya* when a specification with *pañcamī* 'ablative', as in 7.3.11 *avayavād ṛteḥ*, can facilitate this *vṛddhi* of the final compound constituent in accord with 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*? This *adhikāra* is stated to facilitate *vṛddhi* in contexts such as 7.3.10 *je proṣṭhapadānām*, where no specification is given in *pañcamī*. Even in contexts where a specification is offered in *pañcamī*, this *adhikāra* offers clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*) and facilitates application of *vṛddhi*. Consider 6.2.105 *uttarapadavṛddhau sarvaṃ ca*, whereby a *pada* constituted by *sarva* 'all' is marked with *udātta* at the end. This accentuation is conditioned by a following (final) constitutent with an application of *vṛddhi*. Such a condition will be difficult to comprehend if *uttarapadasya* was not given as an *adhikāra* for application of *vṛddhi*.

7.3.11 अवयवादृतोः

avayavād ṛtoḥ

lavayavāt 5/1 *ṛtoḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10)

avayavavācina uttarasya ṛtuvācina uttarasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ

A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of the following constituent of an *aṅga* which signifies *ṛtu* 'season' and is used

in combination after a constituent signifying *avayava* 'part of a whole', provided a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvavārṣikam 'that which happens in the first part of the rainy season'
pūrvahaimanam 'that which happens in the first part of the winter season'
aparavārṣikam 'that which happens in the second part of the rainy season'
aparahaimanam 'that which happens in the second part of the winter season'

1. This rule allows *vṛddhi* to first among vowels of the following constituent of an *aṅga*, used with the signification of *ṛtu*, where its preceding constituent denotes *avayava* 'part of a whole'. Of course, the *aṅga* must be followed by an affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* as an *it*. Thus, *pūrva* 'prior' combines with *varṣa* 'rain' to form an *ekadeśi-samāsa* 'a *tatpuruṣa* formed with constituents denoting part of a whole' (2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottaram*...). Affix *ṭhaK* is then introduced with the signification of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*. We thus get *pūrvavārṣikaḥ*, paraphrased as *pūrvaṃ varṣāṇām, tatra bhavaḥ* 'prior part of the rainy season, born in there', with *vṛddhi* of *a* of *varṣa*. Other derivates involve similar rule applications. Derivates with *hemanta* 'first two months of winter' receive *aṆ* (4.3.21 *hemantāc ca*; 4.3.22 *sarvatrāṇ talopaś ca*) with deletion of *ta*. The specification of *avayavāt* 'after that which denotes a part' indicates that *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as that which also ends in *x*' is acceptable here. That is, an affix can also be introduced after a nominal which ends in a constituent denoting 'season'. Recall that a specification made with a nominal stem (as in 4.3.21 *hemantāc ca*) does not permit *tadantavidhi* (*PŚ* (32): *grahaṇavatā prātipadikena*...). Why is this *tadantavidhi* not applicable in case of *pūrvāsu varṣāsu bhavaḥ* = *paurvavarṣikam* 'that which happened during earlier rains'? This *tadantavidhi* only applies when the preceding constituent denotes a part. Obviously, *pūrvā* of this derivate of *ṭhaÑ* (4.3.11 *kālāṭ ṭhañ*) does not denote any part of a whole. It denotes an entirely different whole, instead.

7.3.12 सुसर्वार्धाज्जनपदस्य

susarvārdhāj janapadasya
/*susarvārddhāt* 5/1 *suś ca sarvaś ca arddhañ ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *janapadasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10)
'*su, sarva, ardha*' *ity etebhya uttarasya janapadavācina uttarapadasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ*

A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an *aṅga* which signifies a *janapada* 'principality, district' and is used in combination after *su* 'good', *sarva* 'all' and *ardha* 'half', when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

supāñcālakaḥ 'born in the beautiful principality of Pañcāla'
sarvapāñcālakaḥ 'found everywhere in the Pañcāla'
ardhapāñcālakaḥ 'found in half of the Pañcāla'

1. Note that examples are all derivates of *vuÑ* (*Ñit*; 4.2.124 *avṛddhād api*...). These compounds are formed by 2.2.18 *kugati*... (*supāñcālakaḥ*), 2.1.48 *pūrvakālaika*... (*sarvapāñcālakaḥ*) and 2.2.2 *arddhaṃ napuṃsakam* (*arddhapāñcālakaḥ*). Our present rule introduces *vṛddhi* to a following constituent, as against the initial. The *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting *x* as also that which ends in *x*' interpretation is also facilitated by a *vārttika* (ad 7.3.12 *susarvārdhāj*...): *susarvārdhadikśabdebhyo*....

7.3.13 दिशोऽमद्राणाम्

diśo' madrāṇām
/*diśaḥ* 6/1 *amadrāṇām* 6/3 = *na madrāḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *janapadasya* #12)
digvācina uttarasya janapadavācino madravarjitasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an *aṅga* which signifies a *janapada* 'a principality other than the *madra*', and is used in combination after a constituent signifying *diś* 'direction', when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvapāñcālakaḥ 'born, or found, in a place located in the east, outside of the country of the Pañcālas'
aparapāñcālakaḥ 'born, or found, in a place located in the west, outside of the country of the Pañcālas'
dakṣiṇapāñcālakaḥ 'born, or found, in a place located in the south, outside the country of the Pañcālas'

1. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*.... Affix *vuÑ*, and initial *vṛddhi* of the following constituent, are both similar to examples of the preceding rule. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation is also gotten from the *vārttika* cited under the preceding rule.

2. The condition of *diśaḥ* 'after that which denotes a direction' is imposed

so that initial *vṛddhi* could be accomplished in *paurvapañcālakaḥ* 'born, or found, in the eastern part of the Pañcālas' and *āparapañcālakaḥ* 'born, or found, in the western part of the Pañcālas', where the compound is formed by 2.2.1 *pūrvāparādharottaram* . . . with the signification of *avayava* 'part of a whole'. Affix *vuÑ* is here introduced with the signification of *tatra bhavaḥ* 'born, or found, in there'. Similar explanation can be offered for the condition of *amadrāṇām* 'of the country of the Madras' relative to *paurvamadraḥ* and *āparamadraḥ*, both derivates of *aÑ* (4.2.108 *madrebhyo añ*).

7.3.14 प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम्

prācāṃ grāmanagarāṇām
/*prācām* 6/3 *grāmanagarāṇām* 6/3 = *grāmāś ca nagarāṇi ca* = *grāmanagarāṇi* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *janapadasya* #12 *diśaḥ* #13)
prācāṃ deśe grāmanagarāṇāṃ diśa uttareṣām acām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an *aṅga* which signifies a *grāma* 'village' and *nagara* 'town' of an eastern *janapada* 'a principality, district', and is used in combination after a constituent signifying *diś* 'direction', when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvaiṣukāmaśamaḥ = *pūrveṣu iṣukāmaśamyāṃ bhavaḥ* 'found in the east(ern; prior) part of Iṣukāmaśamī'
aparaiṣukāmaśamaḥ 'found in the western part . . .'
pūrvakārṣṇamṛttikaḥ 'found in the east(ern; prior) part of Kṛṣṇamṛttikā'
aparakārṣṇamṛttikaḥ 'found in the western part . . .'
pūrvapāṭaliputrakaḥ = *pūrvasmin pāṭaliputre bhavaḥ* 'found in the eastern part of Pāṭaliputra'
aparapāṭaliputrakaḥ 'found in the western part. . .'
pūrvakānyakubjaḥ 'found in the eastern part of Kānyakubja'
aparakānyakubjaḥ 'found in the western part . . .'

1. This rule allows *vṛddhi* of *i* of *iṣukāmaśamī*, the following constituent in the compound formed by 2.1.50 *diksaṃkhye saṃjñāyām*, parallel to *pūrvaś cāsau iṣukāmaśamī ca* 'that which is eastern and is also Iṣukāmaśamī'. This *vṛddhi* is accomplished when affix *Ña* (4.2.107 *dikpūrvapadād* . . .) is introduced to follow. Refer to derivational details of compound formation under the appendix of rule 2.1.5 *diksaṃkhye*. . . . The *vuÑ* of *pūrvapāṭaliputraka* is introduced by 4.2.122 *ropadhetoḥ*. . . . This provision of *vṛddhi* is made against initial *vṛddhi* of the first constituent.

2. It is argued that a separate mention of *grāma* and *nagara* is not needed. For, a *nagara* could also be treated as a cluster of villages. Commentators explain that *grāma* and *nagara* are used separately to clearly identify their inter-relationship. They inform that, in a compound, where the first constituent denotes direction (*diś*), the compound as a whole denotes a village. In the compound *pūrveṣukāmaśamī*, *iṣukāmaśamī*, cannot denote the village by itself. As against this, in a compound with the denotation of a city, a following constituent can denote the city (*nagara*) by itself. It is to make this clear that *grāma* and *nagara* are both used in this rule (*Kāś*: *grāmatvād eva nagarāṇām api grahaṇe siddhe bhedena yad ubhayor upādānaṃ tatsambandhipratipatyartham*).

3. It is stated that this *vṛddhi* must be accomplished before single replacement. That is, given *pūrva* + *iṣukāmaśamī* + *Ña*, the *i* of *iṣukāmaśamī* must be replaced with *ai*. A single replacement in *ai* for *a+ai* can then be accomplished. We know it from the negation of *vṛddhi* relative to both the initial and following constituents of a compound (7.3.22 *nendrasya parasya*). Consider *soma* + *indra* + *aṆ* = *suamendra*, where the final *a* of *indra* gets deleted. If a single *guṇa*-replacement in *e* for *a+i* of *som*(*a*+ *i*→*e*) *ndr* + *a* is accomplished, its following constituent will not have any vowel left. Consequently, negation of 7.3.22 *nendrasya parasya* will not make any sense. It is therefore suggested that *vṛddhi*, eventhough conditioned externally (*bahiraṅga*), should be performed first.

7.3.15 संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च

saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃvatsarasaṃkhyasya ca
/ *saṃkhyāyāḥ* 5/1 *saṃvatsarasaṃkhyasya* 6/1 = *saṃvatsaraś ca saṃkhyā ca* = *saṃvatsarasaṃkhyam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10)
saṃkhyāyā uttarapadasya saṃvatsaraśabdasya saṃkhyāyāś cācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ

A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an *aṅga* which is constituted by *saṃvatsara* 'year', or signifies a number (*saṃkhyā*), and is used in combination after a constituent signifying *saṃkhyā* 'number', when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dvisāṃvatsarikaḥ = *dvau saṃvatsarāv adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā* '. . .commissioned, hired, supported, etc., for two years'

dviṣāṣṭikaḥ = *dve ṣaṣṭī adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā* 'commissioned, hired, supported, etc., for one hundred twenty years (days?)'

dvisāptatikaḥ 'commissioned, hired, supported, etc., for one hundred forty years (days?)'

1. Note that *ika* of these examples has its origin in *ṭhaK* (5.1.80 *tam adhīṣṭo bhṛto* . . .), introduced after compounds formed with the signification of a *taddhita* affix (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada* . . .). A question is raised against introducing *ṭhaK*, an affix with the signification of time (*kāla*), after a word denoting number (*saṃkhyā*). The words *dviṣaṣṭi*, etc., do not denote time. They denote number, instead. How could one introduce an affix enumerated within the domain of time after a base which denotes number (*Nyāsa*: . . . *na dviṣaṣṭyādiḥ kālaśabdaḥ; kiṃ tarhi? saṃkhyāśabdaḥ; tatkatham kālādhikāravihitaṃ pratyayam utpādayati*). It is stated that these compounds do not denote number. They, instead, denote what is counted (*saṃkhyeya*; *varṣa* 'year', etc.).

2. Note that *saṃvatsara* 'year' is separately specified here to indicate that *parimāṇa* 'measure' of the next rule does not include reference to time as a measure (*kālaparimāṇa*). What is desired to be accomplished by stating that a specification made with *parimāṇa* 'measure' does not include any reference to *kālaparimāṇa* 'time as a measure'. This way, *dvaisamikaḥ* 'commissioned for two years' and *traisamikaḥ* 'commissioned for three years' do not get the initial *vṛddhi* of their following constituents. It also follows from this that *kāla* 'time' cannot be accepted as a measure in general (*sāmānyaparimāṇa*). Consequently, *dvivarṣā māṇavikā* 'a girl who is two years old', *trivarṣā māṇavikā* 'a girl who is three years old' do not come under the *paryudāsa* interpretation of negation of *aparimāṇa* 'non-measure' (4.1.22 *aparimāṇabistācita* . . .). That is, *varṣa*, etc., do not denote *parimāṇa* and the feminine affix *ṄīP* remains negated in deriving *dvivarṣā* 'two years old', etc.

7.3.16 वर्षस्याभविष्यति

varṣasyābhaviṣyati

/*varṣasya* 6/1 *abhaviṣyati* 7/1 = *na bhaviṣyat* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #15)

saṃkhyāyā uttarasya varṣaśabdasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ; sa cet taddhito bhaviṣyaty arthe na bhavati

A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of that following constituent of an *aṅga* which is constituted by *varṣa*, or signifies a number (*saṃkhyā*), and is used in combination after a constituent signifying *saṃkhyā* 'number', when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K*, but not used with the signification of *bhaviṣyat* 'future', follows.

EXAMPLES:

dvivārṣikaḥ = *dve varṣe adhīṣṭo bhṛto bhūto bhāvī vā*

trivārṣikaḥ

1. Note that derivates with the denotatum of *bhaviṣyat* 'future' will be *dvaivarṣikaḥ* and *traivarṣikaḥ*, with no *vṛddhi* of the initial vowel of *varṣa*. Thus, *yasya traivarṣikaṃ dhānyaṃ nihitaṃ bhṛtyavṛttaye, adhikaṃ vāpi vidyeta, sa somaṃ pātum arhati* 'he whose grains are enough, or more than enough, for supporting workers for three years, deserves to drink soma'. The negation of *abhaviṣyati* does not cover derivates with the sense of *adhīṣṭa* and *bhṛta* (5.1.80 *tam adhīṣṭo* . . .). For, sense of 'futurity' is not included there within the affixal meaning. Consider *dve varṣe adhīṣṭo bhṛto vā karma kariṣyati* = *dvivārṣiko manuṣyaḥ* 'a man who, when entrusted or supported for two years, will do the work'. The sense of future is here indicated by the sentence. The initial *vṛddhi* of the following constituent thus applies.

7.3.17 परिमाणान्तस्यासंज्ञाशाणयोः

parimāṇāntasyāsaṃjñāśāṇayoḥ
/*parimāṇāntasya* 6/1 = *parimāṇam ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *asaṃjñāśāṇayoḥ* 6/2 = *saṃjñā ca śāṇaṃ ca* = *saṃjñāśāṇe* (*dv.*); *na saṃjñāśāṇe* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tayoḥ*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *saṃkhyāyāḥ* #15)
parimāṇāntasyāṅgasya saṃkhyāyāḥ paraṃ yad uttarapadaṃ tasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ, saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye śāṇe cottarapade na bhavati
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of an *aṅga*-final constituent which denotes a measure (*parimāṇa*), but is not *śāṇa* 'a measure of weight for jewels', and which occurs in combination after a number word (*saṃkhyā*) constituting the initial constituent of the *aṅga*, provided a name (*saṃjñā*) is not denoted and an affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dvikauḍavikaḥ = *dvi kuḍavau prayojanam asya* 'that whose purpose is to measure something equal in weight to one half of a Prastha'
dvisauvarṇikam = *dvābhyāṃ suvarṇābhyāṃ krītam* 'purchased with two gold coins'
dvisuvarṇam 'ibidem'
dvinaiṣkikam = *dvābhyāṃ niṣkābhyāṃ krītam* 'purchased with two Niṣkas (gold-coins)'
dviniṣkam 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *vṛddhi* to the first vowel of the following constituent under specified conditions. Thus, we get *dvi* + *k*(*u*→*au*) *ḍava* + (*ṭhaÑ*→*ika*)) → (*dvikuḍav*(*a*→ϕ) + *ika*)) = *sU* = *dvikuḍavikaḥ*, etc., through *ṭhaÑ*, *vṛddhi*, *a*-deletion and *sU*. Affix *ṭhaÑ* is here used with the signification of (5.1.109)

prayojanam '... purpose, occasion, object'. Affix *ṭhaK* similarly occurs after *dvi* + *suvarṇa* and *dvi* + *niṣka* with the signification of 5.1.37 *tena krītam* 'purchased by that'. A *vārttika* (ad 5.1.29 *vibhāṣā kārṣāpaṇa* ...) offers deletion of *ṭhaK*, optionally, after *suvarṇa*, against obligatory deletion of 5.1.28 *adhyardhapūrva*.... Thus, we get *dvisuvarṇam* with no *vṛddhi* and no replacement in *ika*. An optional deletion of *ṭhaK* after *dviniṣka* is accomplished with similar results by 5.1.30 *dvitripūrva*....

2. The condition of *saṃjñā* is imposed so that *pāñcalohitikam* 'that whose measure is five Lohitī' and *pāñcakalāpikam* 'that whose measure is five Kalāpas' could be excluded from availing initial *vṛddhi* of their following constituents. These derivates denote a name. The condition of *śāṇa* similarly retains initial *vṛddhi* of the *aṅga*, against the provision of this rule. Thus, we get *dvaiśāṇam* and *traiśāṇam*. Some also wish to include *kulija* as part of negation specified by *asaṃjñāśāṇayoḥ*. They can thus account for *dvaikulijam* and *traikulijam*, where *kulija* is a measure of grains (*dhānya*).

7.3.18 जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम्

je proṣṭhapadānām

/*je* 7/1 *proṣṭhapadānām* 6/3/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10)

'je' iti jātārtho nirdiśyate. tatra yas taddhito vihitas tasmin ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ proṣṭhapadānām uttarasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati

A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of the final constituent of an *aṅga*, namely *proṣṭhapadā* 'name of a constellation', when a *taddhita* affix used with the signification of *jāta* 'born' marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

proṣṭhapādo māṇavakaḥ 'this boy was born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation *proṣṭhapadā*'

bhadrapādo māṇavakaḥ 'this boy was born when moon was in conjunction with the constellation *bhadrapadā*'

1. Note that *je* is used for referencing the sense of *jātaḥ* 'born'. That is, this *vṛddhi* is introduced to the following constituent of an *aṅga* when an affix with the signification of *jātaḥ* (4.3.25 *tatra jātaḥ*) follows. All other affixal conditions remain the same. Recall that *protṣṭhapada* is a *nakṣatra* 'constellation'. Affix *aṆ* is introduced after *proṣṭhapada* with the signification of 4.2.3 *nakṣatreṇa yuktaḥ kālaḥ* 'time in conjunction with a constellation' to derive *proṣṭhapada*, with affixal deletion accomplished by 4.2.4 *lub aviśeṣe*. Yet another *aṆ* is introduced by 4.3.16 *sandhivelādy* ... to denote the sense of *tatra jātaḥ* 'born there'. This affix, by this rule, will cause *vṛddhi* of *a* of *pada* of *proṣṭha*-

pada. We thus get *proṣṭhapāda*. The plural specification of *proṣṭhapadānām* is made to ensure that *vṛddhi*, and *aṆ* as well, also apply to synonyms of *proṣṭhapada*. Thus, we also get *bhadrapadāsu jātaḥ* = *bhadrapādaḥ*. Commentators offer *prauṣṭhapadaḥ* as a counter-example to the condition of *je*. We thus get initial *vṛddhi* of the *aṅga* constituted by *proṣṭhapada*, where the sense of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* 'found there' is denoted.

7.3.19 हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च

hṛdbhagasindhvante pūrvapadasya ca
/ *hṛd-bhaga-sindhv-ante* 7/1 = *hṛd ca bhagaṃ ca sindhuś ca* (*dv.*), *tad; hṛd-bhaga-sindhv ante yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10)
'*hṛd, bhaga, sindhu*' *ity evam ante*' *ṅge pūrvapadasyottarapadasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ*
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of initial as well as final constituents of an *aṅga* when it ends in *hṛd* 'heart', *sindhu* 'river, sea' and *bhaga* 'auspicious, prosperity', and a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sauhārdam = *suhṛdayasya idam* 'this belongs to one who is good-hearted (well-wisher; friend)'
sauhārdyam = *suhṛdasya bhāvaḥ* 'sense of being goodhearted; friendship'
saubhāgyam = *subhagasya bhāvaḥ* 'great luck'
daurbhāgyam 'misfortune'
saubhāgineyaḥ = *subhagāyā apatyam* 'son of Subhagā'
daurbhāgineyaḥ 'son of Durbhagā'
sāktusaindhavaḥ = *saktupradhānā sindhavaḥ* 'principalitiy of Sindhu where they mostly eat saktu'
pānasaindhavaḥ = *pānapradhānā sindhavaḥ* 'principality of Sindhu where people love to drink'

1. This rule, under special constituency relation, allows *vṛddhi* of both the preceding and following constituents of a compound termed *aṅga*. Recall that *hṛdaya*, for example in *hṛdaya* + *aṆ*, is replaced with *hṛd* (6.3.50 *hṛdayasya hṛllekha* . . .). We thus get *su*(*hṛdaya*→*hṛd*) + *aṆ* = *s*(*u*→*au*) *h*(*ṛ*→*ār*) *d* + *aṆ* = *sauhārda* + *sU* = *sauhārdam*. Affix *aṆ* of this example denotes *tasyedam* 4.3.120 'it is his'. Our next example, *sauhārdyam*, involves affix *ṢyaÑ* (5.3.123 *guṇa-vacana* . . .), where a replacement in *hṛd* for *hṛdaya* 'heart' of *sauhārdyam* is accomplished by 6.3.51 *vā śokaṣyañrogeṣu*. The next two examples are also derivates of *ŚyaÑ*. Deriving *saubhāgineya*, parallel to *subhagāyā apatyam* 'off-spring of Subhagā' involves affix *ḍhaK* (4.1.126 *kalyāṇyādīnām* . . .). Thus,

given *subhagā* + *ḍhaK*, we get *subhagā* + (*ḍha*→*eya*) (7.1.2 *āyaneyīnīyiyaḥ* . . .). The *ā* of *subhagā* is also replaced with *inAṄ* which, subsequent to applications of dual *vṛddhi*, produces *subhag*(*ā*→*inAṄ*) + *ḍhaK* → *s*(*u*→*au*) *bh*(*a*→*ā*) *gin*)) + (*ḍha*→*eya*))) = *saubhāgineya*. This same is also applicable to *durbhagā* + *ḍhaK* = *daurbhāgineya*.

2. Recall that *subhaga-durbhaga* are read in the *kalyāṇyādi* (4.1.126 *kalyāṇyādīnām* . . .) group of nominals. Rule 5.1.129 *prāṇabhṛj* . . . also cites *subhaga* in the *udgātrādi* group. Since all operations may be made optional in the Vedic, we do not get initial *vṛddhi* of *bhaga* in *mahate saubhagāya* 'to the great auspicious one'.

Now consider *sāktusaindhava* which derives from *saktusindhu* + *aṆ* (4.2.133 *kacchādibhyaś ca*). The *sindhu* of the *kacchādi* group of nominals is here allowed at the end through *tadantavidhi* 'accepting *sindhu* as referring also to that which ends in *sindhu*'. The compound *saktusindhu* is formed by a *vārttika*, ad 2.1.69 *varṇo varṇena*. That is, it is a compound of the type of *śākapārthiva* (*vt*: *śākapārthivādīnāṃ siddhaye uttarapadalopasyopasaṃkhyānam*; ad 2.1.54 *upamānāni sāmānyavacanaiḥ*), where a middle constituent gets deleted. What is deleted here in *saktusindhu* is *pradhāna* 'principal'.

7.3.20 अनुशतिकादीनां च

anuśatikādīnāṃ ca

/ *anuśatikādīnām* 6/3 = *anuśatika ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *ca* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *pūrvapadasya* #19)

'*anuśatika*' *ity evamādīnāṃ cāṅgānāṃ pūrvapadasya cottarapadasya cācām āder acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ*

A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of both initial as well as following constituents of an *aṅga*, particularly those enumerated in the list headed by *anuśatika*, when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ānuśātikam = *anuśatikasyedam* 'this belongs to Anuśatika'

ānuhauḍikaḥ = *anuhoḍena carati* 'this belongs to Anuhoḍa (he who wanders about with a girl)'

ānusāṃvaraṇam = *anusaṃvaraṇe dīyate* 'that which is given at the end . . .'

ānusāṃvatsarikaḥ = *anusaṃvatsare dīyate* 'that which is given in a year'

āṅgāravaiṇavaḥ = *aṅgāraveṇor apatyam pumān* 'son of Aṅgāraveṇu'

aihalaukikaḥ 'of this world'

pāralaukikaḥ 'of the world beyond'

sārvalaukikaḥ 'of all the worlds'

pārastraiṇeyaḥ 'a son from another woman (a woman of bad character)'

1. Note that *ānuśātika* is derived, paraphrased as *anuśatikasyedam*, with *aṆ* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*). The word *anuśatika*, where *śatika* derives with *ṭhaÑ*, signifying *krītaḥ* 'purchased with' (5.1.37 *tena krītam*), is paraphrased as *anugataḥ śatikaḥ* 'followed that which was purchased for a hundred'. Similar derivational details are offered for *hoḍena carati* = *hauḍikaḥ*; *anugataḥ hauḍena* = *ānuhauḍikaḥ*. We derive *anusaṃvareṇa dīyate* = *ānusāṃvaraṇam*, with *aṆ*, through extensional provision of *bhavavat* (5.1.96 *tatra ca dīyate kāryaṃ bhavavat*). The affixal provision of *ṭhaÑ*, in *ānusāṃvatsarikaḥ*, comes from 4.3.67 *bahvaco* . . ., again through the *bhavavat* 'similar to *bhavaḥ*' extension of 5.1.96 *tatra ca*. . . .

The *ṭhaÑ* of *aihalaukikaḥ* and *pāralaukikaḥ* is used with the signification of 5.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ* 'found there'. The *ṭhaÑ* of *sārvalaukikaḥ* has its origin in a *vārttika* proposal (ad 5.1.44 *lokasarvalokāṭ ṭhañ*). The word *pārastraiṇeya* is a derivate of *ṭhaK* with *inAṄ* (4.1.126 *kalyāṇyādīnām inaṅ ca*). A *gaṇasūtra* proposal also recommends this double *vṛddhi* to derive *rājapauruṣyam* when affix *ṢyaÑ* (5.1.124 *guṇavacana* . . .) follows. This condition of *ṢyaÑ* is necessary in view of *rājapuruṣāyaṇiḥ* 'son of a king's man', where *phiÑ* (4.1.157 *udīcāṃ vṛddhād* . . .) cannot condition double *vṛddhi*.

2. Note that *anuśatikādi* is desired as an open-ended group (*ākṛtigaṇa*) of nominals. Thus, we also get *abhigamam arhati* = *ābhigamikaḥ* 'deserves to understand; deserves to have sexual relation'; *ādhideve bhavam* = *ādhidaivikam* 'that which happens by fate; destiny'; *ādhibhūte bhavam* = *ādhibhautikam* 'that which is rooted in material; material causation'; and *catasra eva vidyāḥ* = *cāturvidyam* 'four kinds of knowledge'.

7.3.21 देवताद्वन्द्वे च

devatādvandve ca
/ *devatādvandve* 7/1 (*devatānāṃ dvandvaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *pūrvapadasya* #19)
devatādvandve ca pūrvapadasyottarapadasyācām āder acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ

A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of both the initial as well as final constituents of a *dvandva* compound termed an *aṅga* with its constituents denoting divinity (*dvatā*), when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āgnivāruṇīm 'a sacrifice whose divinities are Agni and Varuṇa'
āgnimārutam (*karma*) 'a sacrifice whose divinities are Agni and Marut'

1. Commentators restrict this rule to apply only where a *devatādvandva* 'a *dvandva* compound formed with constituents denoting divinity', either re-

lates to a hymn (*sūkta*) or to named recipients of an oblation (*haviṣya*). It is for this reason that we do not get dual *vṛddhi* in *skandaviśākhe devate yasya* = *skāndaviśākhaḥ* 'that of which the divinities are Skanda and Viśākha' and *brahmaprajāpatī devate asya* = *brāhmaprajāpatyam* 'that of which Brahman and Prajāpati are divinities', etc.

We get *agnīvaruṇau* where the final *i* of *agni* receives a replacement in *īT* (6.3.26 *īdagne somavaruṇayoḥ*). This rule applies dual *vṛddhi* when the compound base receives affix *aṆ* with the signification of 'that is its divinity' (4.2.24 *sāsya devatā*). The final of *agnī* is then replaced with *i* (6.3.28 *id vṛddhau*; or the introduction of *ī* is blocked by *i* of this rule) under the condition of this *vṛddhi* to yield *āgnivāraṇam*. Refer also to my note under 6.3.26 *īd agneḥ*. . . .

7.3.22 नेन्द्रस्य परस्य

nendrasya parasya
/*na* ϕ *indrasya* 6/1 *parasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *devatādvandve* #21)
indraśabdasya parasya yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
That which was said to apply does not apply to an *aṅga* constituted by a *dvandva* compound with constituents denoting divinity and *indra* as its final constituent.

EXAMPLES:

saumendraḥ 'Soma and Indra'
āgnendraḥ 'Agni and Indra'

1. This rule negates initial *vṛddhi* of *indra*, when this same occurs as a following constituent in a *devatādvandva* compound. Rule 7.2.117 *taddhiteṣv acām* . . . then offers initial *vṛddhi* to the *aṅga*. Thus, given *soma* + *indra* + *aṆ*, we derive *s*(*o*→*au*) *m*(*ā*+*i*→*e*) *ndr*(*a*→ϕ) + *aṆ* = *saumendra*, through initial *vṛddhi*, single *guṇa*-replacement and *bha*-deletion of *a* (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*).

2. A question is raised against offering this negation. That is, why state this negation when *i* of *indra*, having become part of a single replacement in *guṇa*, i.e., *e*, will not be available for this negation of *vṛddhi*. Commentators state that operations relative to preceding and following constituents, eventhough externally conditioned, are accomplished first. An internally conditioned operation, for example this single *guṇa*-replacement, is accomplished subsequently. This is what facilitates derivation of *pūrvaiṣukāmaśamaḥ*, etc. (7.3.114 *prācāṃ grāma* . . .). Thus, *soma* + *indra* + *aṆ* first receives *vṛddhi*. Our present rule is then needed to negate *vṛddhi* when *indra* happens to be the following constituent.

3. Why do we have the condition of *parasya* 'of a constituent which follows'?

So that this negation does not apply to *indra* which occurs as an initial constituent, for example, in *aindrāgnam* of *aindrāgnam ekādaśakapālaṃ caruṃ nirvapet* '... should offer oblation of *caru* in eleven bowls (to one whose) Indra and Agni are divinities'.

7.3.23 दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य

> *dīrghāc ca varuṇasya*
> / *dīrghāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *varuṇasya* 6/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *devatādvandve* #21)
> *dīrghād uttarasya varuṇasya yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati*
> That which was stated to apply does not apply also to *varuṇa*, used in combination after a long (*dīrghāt*) vowel, of an *aṅga*.

EXAMPLES:

> *aindrāvaruṇam* 'a ritual oblation whose divinities are Indra and Varuṇa'
> *maitrāvaruṇam* 'a ritual oblation whose divinities are Mitra and Varuṇa'

1. This rule does not permit *vṛddhi* of initial vowel of *varuṇa* when the same combines as a following constituent after a long (*dīrgha*) vowel. Consider *aindrāvaruṇam* and *agnāvaruṇam* where *ānAṄ* is introduced in place of the final sound of the initial compound constituent (6.3.26 *devatādvandve ca*). This long *ā* then facilitates *vṛddhi* of initial vowel of *varuṇa*, the following compound constituent.

Why do we have the specification of *varuṇa* used in combination after a long vowel? Consider *agnivāruṇīm* where 6.3.27 *īd agneḥ somavaruṇayoḥ* offers *ī* as a replacement for the final vowel of *agni*. But this *ī* is blocked by 6.3.28 *id vṛddhau*. Consequently, initial *vṛddhi* of *varuṇa* cannot be accomplished. Obviously, the *i* of *agni* after which *varuṇa* combines to follow is not long.

7.3.24 प्राचां नगरान्ते

> *prācāṃ nagarānte*
> / *prācām* 6/3 *nagarānte* 7/1 = *nagarasya ante* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *pūrvapadasya* #19)
> *prācāṃ deśe nagarānte' ṅge pūrvapadasyottarapadasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ*
> A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of both initial as well as final constituent of an *aṅga* which ends in *nagara*, relative to usage in eastern part of the country, provided when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sauhmanāgaraḥ = *suhmanagare bhavaḥ* 'a resident of the city of Suhmanagara'
pauṇḍranāgaraḥ 'a resident of the city of Puṇḍranagara'

1. This rule offers *vṛddhi* with reference to usage in the east. Why east? Consider *mādranagaraḥ* where this *vṛddhi* is blocked by initial *vṛddhi*. For, *madranagara* happened to be a northern city.

7.3.25 जङ्गलधेनुवलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम्

jaṅgaladhenuvalajāntasya vibhāṣitam uttaram
/*jaṅgaladhenuvalajāntasya* 6/1 = *jaṅgalaś ca dhenuś ca valajañ ca* (*dv.*), *tad ante yasya* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*), *tasya*; *vibhāṣitam* 1/1 *uttaram* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *pūrvapadasya* #19)
'*jaṅgala, dhenu, valaja*' *ity evamantasyāṅgasya pūrvapadasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati*
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of initial constituent of an *aṅga*, used in combination with a following *jaṅgala* 'forest', *dhenu* 'milk-giving cow' and *valaja* 'ornament', when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows; the first among vowels of the following compound constituent goes through *vṛddhi*, only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

kaurujāṅgalam = *kurujaṅgaleṣu bhavaḥ* 'born in Kurujāṅgala'
kaurujaṅgalam 'ibidem'
vaiśvadhainavam 'this belongs the universal cow'
vaiśvadhenavam 'ibidem'
sauvarṇajālajaḥ '. . . gold ornament'
sauvarṇajalajaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers dual *vṛddhi* but makes it optional in case of the following constituent. The word *uttaram* here refers to the following constituent. Thus, *kuruṣu jaṅgalam* = *kurujaṅgalam*; *kurujaṅgaleṣu bhavam* = (*kurujaṅgala* + *suP* + *aṆ*) + *sU* = *kaurujāṅgalam*; *kaurujaṅgalam*, etc.

7.3.26 अर्धात् परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा

ardhāt parimāṇasya pūrvasya tu vā
/*ardhāt* 5/1 *parimāṇasya* 6/1 *pūrvasya* 6/1 *tu* ϕ *vā* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10)
ardhaśabdāt parasya parimāṇavācina uttarapadasyācām āder acaḥ sthāne vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ

A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of the following constituent of an *aṅga*, used after *ardha* 'half' with the signification of *parimāṇa*, when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows; the first among vowels of the initial constituent goes through *vṛddhi*, only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

ardhadrauṇikam = *ardhadroṇena krītam* 'purchased with half a Droṇa'
ārdhadrauṇikam 'ibidem'
ardhakauḍavikam 'purchased with half a Prastha'
ārdhakauḍavikam 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the *vṛddhi* of an initial constituent optional. A specification with *pūrvasya* 'of that which precedes' is interpreted as referring to the initial compound constituent. The compound constituent which follows *ardha* is not allowed this option. Our example derivates receive *ṭhaÑ* of 5.1.136 *tena krītam*. These compounds are formed in consonance with 2.2.2 *ardhaṃ napuṃsakam*.

7.3.27 नातः परस्य

nātaḥ parasya
/ *na* ϕ *ataḥ* 5/1 *parasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *ardhāt parimāṇasya pūrvasya tu vā* #27)
ardhāt parasya parimāṇākārasya vṛddhir na bhavati pūrvasya tu vā bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* does not come in place of the first *a* of the following constituent of an *aṅga* which signifies *parimāṇa* and is used after *ardha*, when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows; the first *a* of the initial constituent is replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart, optionally.

EXAMPLES:

ardhaprasthikaḥ 'purchased with half a Prastha'
ārdhaprasthikaḥ 'ibidem'
ardhakaṃsikaḥ '. . . with half a Kaṃsa'
ārdhakaṃsikaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *vṛddhi* of an initial constituent but disallows the same to initial *a* of the following constituent. Of course, when a constituent denoting *parimāṇa* 'measure' combines to follow *ardha*. Derivational details of example compounds are similar to those cited under the preceding rule.

2. Why do we state the condition of *ataḥ* 'in place of *a*'? So that the initial

u of *kuḍava* is allowed *vṛddhi* in deriving *ardhakuḍavena krītaḥ* = *ardhakauḍavikaḥ* 'purchased with half a Prastha', etc. Why do we have to specify *a* with *T* (*tarakaraṇa*)? So that *ardhakhāryām bhavā* = *ardhakhārī* 'found in half a Khārī', because of the long *ā* of *khārī*, does not come within the scope of this rule. But this *ā* itself is a *vṛddhi*. Hence, negating *vṛddhi* by means of *taparakaraṇa* 'specifying *x* with a following *t*' is of no consequence to it. This negation by means of *taparakaṇa*, indeed, has its consequences. Consider *ardhakhārībhāryaḥ* = *ardhakhārī bhāryā yasya* 'he whose wife cooks food equal in measure to one half of a Khārī' and *vaiyākaraṇabhāryaḥ* = *vaiyākaraṇī bhāryā yasya* 'he whose wife is a grammarian'. These derivates cannot avail *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' of *bhāryā* if *vṛddhi* is not negated by means of *tapara-karaṇa*. That is, rule 6.3.39 *vṛddhinimittasya ca* ... cannot facilitate *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation'. It is argued that a *taddhita* affix which, when following, conditions negation of *vṛddhi*, cannot be accepted as a cause for *vṛddhi* (*vṛddhinimitta*). It will be accepted as a cause for absence (*abhāva*) of *vṛddhi*. If negation of *vṛddhi* is not specified with *aT* (*taparakaraṇa*), the *ā* of *khārī* in *ardhakhārī* will come under the scope of this rule. That is, *vṛddhi* will be negated, irrespective of whether this *ā* itself is a *vṛddhi*. The affix which then negates this *vṛddhi* cannot be accepted as cause for *vṛddhi*. This being the case, rule 6.3.39 *vṛddhinimittasya ca* ... cannot allow *puṃvadbhāva* in *ardhakārībhāryaḥ* and *vaiyākaraṇībhāryaḥ*.

7.3.28 प्रवाहणस्य ढे

pravāhaṇasya ḍhe
/*pravāhaṇasya* 6/1 *ḍhe* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *acaḥ* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *pūrvasya tu vā* #27)
pravāhaṇasya ḍhe parata uttarapadasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati pūrvapadasya vā bhavati
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of the following constituent of an *aṅga*, namely *pravāhaṇa*, when a *taddhita* affix, namely *ḍhaK*, follows. The first among vowels of the initial compound constituent is, optionally, replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

prāvāhaṇeyaḥ = *pravāhaṇasyāpatyam* 'son of Pravāhaṇa'
pravāhaṇeyaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers initial *vṛddhi* to the following constituent of an *aṅga*, namely *pravāhaṇa*, obligatorily. Of course, when the *taddhita* affix *ḍhaK* follows. The *vṛddhi* of the initial constituent is optional. The word *pravāhaṇa* is derived with affix *LyuṬ* (3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*), introduced with the signification of agent (*kartṛ*), after the causal form of *vah* 'to carry' (*ṇijanta*).

A replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) is accomplished by 8.4.29 *ṇer vibhāṣā.* Note that *pravāhaṇa* is an *upapada* compound. Affix *ḍhaK,* of *pravāhaṇeya* and *prāvāhaṇeya,* is introduced by 4.1.123 *śubhrādibhyaś ca.*

7.3.29 तत्प्रत्ययस्य च

tatpratyayasya ca
/ tatpratyayasya 6/1 = *saḥ pratyayo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasya; ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *pūrvasya tu vā* #27 *pravāhaṇasya* #28)
ḍhakpratyayāntasya pravāhaṇaśabdasya taddhiteṣu parata uttarapadasyācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati pūrvasya tu vā
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of the following constituent of an *aṅga,* namely *pravāhaṇa* terminating in affix *ḍhaK,* provided a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ, Ṇ* and *K* follows; the first among vowels of the initial constituent is, optionally, replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

prāvāhaṇeyiḥ = *pravāhaṇeyasyāpatyam* 'young male offspring of Pravāhaṇa'
pravāhaṇeyiḥ 'ibidem'
prāvāhaṇeyakam 'belonging to the offspring of Pravāhaṇa'
pravāhaṇeyakam 'ibidem'

1. Why state this rule when the initial vowel of the following constituent ending in *ḍhaK* will obligatorily go through *vṛddhi*? This could hardly be the purpose of formulating this rule. The formulation of this rule could not be accepted for offering initial *vṛddhi* to initial constituent of the compound, either. For, this externally conditioned initial *vṛddhi* will be blocked by internally conditioned optional *vṛddhi,* offered relative to *ḍhaK* of the preceding rule. Commentators argue that a dual *vṛddhi* which is conditioned by affixes *iÑ,* etc., cannot be blocked by such optional internal *vṛddhi.* For, how could an external *vṛddhi* conditioned by *iÑ* can be blocked by an internal *vṛddhi* conditined by *ḍhaK* when *iÑ* is not internal to the derivate of *ḍhaK*? That is, when *iÑ* is not part of *pravāhaṇeya.* This rule is therefore stated to block such externally conditioned optional *vṛddhi* (*Kāś*: *bāhyataddhitanimittā vṛddhir ḍhāśaryeṇa vikalpena bādhitum aśakyeti sūtrārambbhaḥ*). We thus get optional forms: *pravāhaṇeyiḥ* and *prāvāhaṇeyiḥ,* i.e., *pravāhaṇasyāpatyaṃ yuvā* 'young male offspring of Pravāhaṇa'. We similarly get two optional derivates of *vuÑ* (4.3.126 *gotracaraṇād vuñ*): *pravāhaṇeyakam* and *prāvāhaṇeyakam* (*Nyāsa*: *saivaṃ bāhyaṃ taddhitaṃ nimittam āśrtya bhavantī bahiraṅgā; prāgeva tu bāhyataddhitotpatter ḍhāśrayo vikalpo bhavann antaraṅgas tāṃ bādhituṃ na śaknoti*).

7.3.30 नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम्

nañaḥ śucīśvarakṣetrajñakuśalanipuṇānām
/*nañaḥ* 5/1 *śucīśvarakṣetrajñakuśalanipuṇānām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *pūrvasya tu vā* #27)
nañ uttareṣāṃ 'śuci, īśvara, kṣetrajña, kuśala, nipuṇa' ity eteṣām acām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati, pūrvapadasya vā bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* comes in place of first among vowels of the following constituent of an *aṅga*, namely *śuci* 'cleansed, pure', *īśvara* 'lord', *kṣetrajña* 'knower of fields', *kuśala* 'skilled' and *nipuṇa* 'clever, efficient', when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows; the initial vowel of the first constituent is, optionally, replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

āśaucam 'state of impurity'
aśaucam 'ibidem'
ānaiśvaryam 'state of no lordship; non-prosperity'
anaiśvaryam 'ibidem'
ākṣaitrajñyam 'belonging to one who does not know the supreme soul'
akṣatraijñyam 'ibidem'
ākauśalam 'belonging to one who is not skilled'
akauśalam 'ibidem'
ānaipuṇam 'belonging to one who is not clever'
anaipuṇam 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers obligatory *vṛddhi* in case of a following constituent, and optional in case of initial. The *aṆ* of *āśaucam* and *aśaucam* is introduced by 5.1.131 *igantāc ca laghupūrvāt.* Of course, after negating the *bahuvrīhi* compound *śuciḥ* = *vidyate śucir yasya* with *naÑ* paraphrased as *na vidyate śucir yasya.* Derivates such as *ānaiśvaryam* and *anaiśvaryam* involve affix *ṢyaÑ* after *anīśvara* and *akṣetrajña,* read in the *brāhmaṇādi* group of nominals. Affix *ṢyaÑ* (5.1.124 *guṇavacana* . . .) is used here with the signification of *bhāva.* The last two examples, i.e., *ānaipuṇyam* and *anaipuṇyam,* are derivates of *aṆ* used with the signification of 4.3.120 *tasyedam.*

2. A question is raised against *vṛddhi* of initial constituents. Some argue that since an affix, with the exception of *tva* and *taL,* is not introduced after a negative *tatpuruṣa* compound with the denotatum of *bhāva* (5.1.121 *na nañpūrvāt* . . .), *vṛddhi* of *naÑ* is not available. For, *ṢyaÑ* is here blocked after the negative *tatpuruṣa* compounds, on hand. It is stated that the negative *tatpuruṣa* with *naÑ* and *śauca* is formed subsequent upon introduction of *ṢyaÑ,* after *śuci.* Our present rule then applies for *vṛddhi* of initial constituent. How do we know that *ṢyaÑ* is to be introduced prior to formation of the

negative *tatpuruṣa* compound? From this very rule, especially since its provision will otherwise become vacuous. Others still do not accept it, especially since they believe that negation of 5.1.121 *na nañpūrvāt*... is not universal (*sārvatrika*). Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

7.3.31 यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण

yathātathayathāpurayoḥ paryāyeṇa
/*yathātatha-yathāpurayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *paryāyeṇa* 3/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *vṛddhiḥ* #7.2.114 *aco ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *taddhiteṣv acām ādeḥ* #7.2.117 *kiti* #7.2.118 *uttarapadasya* #10 *pūrvasya tu vā* #27 *nañaḥ* #30)
'*yathātatha, yathāpura*' *ity etayor nañ uttarayoḥ paryāyeṇācām āder aco vṛddhir bhavati taddhite ñiti ṇiti kiti ca parataḥ*
A vowel termed *vṛddhi* occurs in place of first among vowels of initial and following constituents of an *aṅga*, namely *yathātatha* and *yathāpura*, in turn (*paryāya*), provided *yathātatha* and *yathāpura* are used in construction after *naÑ*, and when a *taddhita* affix marked with *Ñ*, *Ṇ* and *K* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āyathātathyam 'not as what it should be'
āyāthātathyam 'ibidem'
āyathāpuryam 'not as what it previously was'
āyāthāpuryam 'ibidem'

1. Note that *ayathātathā* and *ayathāpura* are both read in the *brāhmaṇādi* (5.1.124 *guṇavacanabrāhmaṇādi*...) group of nominals. Consequently, negation of *ṢyaÑ* (5.1.121 *na nañpūrvāt*...) cannot apply here. The *vṛddhi* of *ayathā* applies in turn (*paryāya*). That is, the *a* of *yathā* goes through *vṛddhi* first. The *a* of *naÑ* then goes through optional *vṛddhi*, in turn. We thus get *ayāthātathyam* and *āyāthātathyam*, etc. A reference in this *sūtra* with *yathātathā* and *yathāpura* is made in view of their *avyayībhāva* formation. That is, after the compound-formation of *avyayībhāva* with *yathā*, used in the sense of *asādṛśya* 'non-similarity' (2.1.7 *yathā' sādṛśye*), there is shortening (*hrasva*) of *tathā* conditioned by neuter (*napuṃsaka*; 1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake*...). The *Mahābhāṣya* seems to be favoring the compound-formation by 2.1.4 *saha supā*, as is clear from the illustration of *ayathātathābhāvaḥ*. Given this, shortening of the compound will be accomplished based upon Pāṇini's own usage in the rule (*sautratvāt*).

7.3.32 हनस्तोऽचिण्णलोः

hanas to' ciṇṇaloḥ
/*hanaḥ* 6/1 *taḥ* 1/1 *aciṇṇaloḥ* 7/2 = *ciṇ ca ṇal ca* = *ciṇṇalau* (*itar. dv.*); *na ciṇṇalau* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*)/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ñṇiti* #7.2.115)
hanas takārādeśo bhavati ñṇiti pratyaye parataḥ ciṇṇalau varjayitvā
The final sound segment of an *aṅga,* namely *han,* is replaced with *t* when an affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ,* but other than *cIṆ* and *ṆaL,* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ghātayati '. . . has someone killed'
ghātakaḥ 'killer'
sādhughātī 'killer of a virtuous person'
ghātaṅghātam '. . . kills over and over again'

1. Note that *taddhiteṣu* and *kiti* are not carried over. This rule, however, accepts the *anuvṛtti* of *ñṇit* '*Ñit* and *Ṇit*' as part of the right context. Our first example *ghātayati* derives from *ghāti* + *LAṬ,* where the root is used with causal affix *ṆiC.* The *n* of *han* 'to kill' before *ṆiC* is replaced with *t* because of its status as marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* (*Ṇit*). The *h* of *han,* in all derivates, goes through a replacement in *gh* (*kutva;* 7.3.54 *ho hanter* . . .). The initial *vṛddhi* of these derivates is accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ.*

Our example *sādhughātin* is an *upapada* 'conjoined' compound formed under the cooccurrence condition of *sādhu* with affix *ṆinI,* introduced after *han* with the signification of *tācchīlya* 'this is his characteristic nature'. The *ghātaka* of our example is a derivate of (*han* + *ṆiC*) + *ṆvuL*)). We find affix *ṆamUL* (3.4.22 *ābhīkṣṇye ṇamul*) with the signification of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'doing something over and over again' introduced after *han* + *GHaÑ* = *ghāta,* itself a derivate of *GHaÑ.* A *vārttika* (ad 8.1.12: *ābhīkṣṇye dve bhavataḥ*) requires *ghātam* to be doubled up.

The condition of *aciṇṇaloḥ* is imposed so that we do not get *n* of *han* replaced with *t* before *CiṆ* and *ṆaL.* Thus, consider *aghāni* and *jaghāna,* third singular *LUṄ* and *LIṬ* derivates of *han.* Why do we not find this replacement of *n* with *t* in *vārtraghnam* 'this is his, the one who killed Vṛtra'? Actually, an operation stated for a root must apply when the root is followed by an affix (*Kāś: dhātoḥ kāryam ucyamānaṃ dhātoḥ pratyaye vijñāyate*). Since we derive *vṛtrahan* 'slayer of Vṛtra' with *KvIP* (gone through total deletion) and then introduce *aṆ* after the nominal stem, there is no replacement of *n* with *t.*

7.3.33 आतो युक् चिण्कृतोः

āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ
/*ātaḥ* 6/1 *yuk* 1/1 *ciṇ-kṛtoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ñṇiti* #7.2.115)
ākārāntasyāṅgasya ciṇi kṛti ñṇiti yug āgamo bhavati
An augment, namely *yuK,* is introduced to an *aṅga* terminating in *ā,* when *CiṆ,* or a *kṛt* affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ,* follows.

EXAMPLES:

adāyi 'third person singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *dā*'
adhāyi '. . . of *dhā*'
dāyaḥ 'a derivate of affix *kṛt*, (*dā* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*'
dāyakaḥ 'a derivate of *ṆvuL*, (*dā* + *ṆvuL*) + *sU*'
dhāyaḥ 'a derivate of affix *kṛt* (*dhā* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*'
dhāyakaḥ 'derivate of *ṆvuL*, (*dhā* + *ṆvuL*) + *sU*'

1. This rule introduces augment *yuK* to an *aṅga* which ends in *ā*, when *CiṆ*, or a *kṛt* affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*, follows. Consider *adāyi* and *adhāyi* which are third singular middle derivates of *LUṄ*, introduced after *dā* and *dhā* with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object'. Thus, *dā* + (*LUṄ*→*ta*) → *aṬ* + *dā* + *yUK* + *CiṆ* + (*ta*→ϕ) = *adāyi*, and *dhā* + (*LUṄ*→*ta*) = *adhāyi*, where 3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ* introduces *CiṆ*. The third singular middle (*ātmanepada*) replacement of *LUṄ*, which occurs after *CiṆ*, is deleted (6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*).

2. The condition of *CiṆ*, or of a *kṛt* affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*, is imposed so that derivates such as (*dadau* ← (*dā* + (*LIṬ* → (*tiP*→*ṆaL*))) and (*dhā* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *dadhau* could be kept out of applicational scope of this rule. This same is true of *cauḍiḥ* 'son of Cūḍa', *bālākiḥ* 'son of Balaka', and *jñaḥ* '. . . whose divinity is *jñā*', derivates of the *taddhita* affixes *iÑ* (4.1.96 *bāhvādibhyaś ca*), and *aṆ*, respectively.

7.3.34 नोदात्तोपदेशस्य मान्तस्यानाचमेः

nodāttopadeśasya māntasyānācameḥ
/*na* ϕ *udāttopadeśasya* 6/1 = *upadeśe udāttaḥ* (*sapt. tat.*), *tasya*; *māntasya* 6/1 = *mo' nte yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *anācameḥ* 6/1 = *na ācamiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *ciṇkṛtoḥ* #33)
udāttopadeśasya māntasyāṅgasyācamivarjitasya ciṇi kṛti ca ñṇiti yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
That which was stated for an *aṅga* when a *kṛt* affix, namely *CiṆ*, or one marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*, followed, does not apply to an *aṅga* which is marked with *udātta* in *upadeśa* and ends in *m*, but is not *ācam* 'to sip'.

EXAMPLES:

aśami 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *ŚamU*'
atami '. . . of *tamU*'
adami '. . . of *damU*'
śamakaḥ 'derivate of (*śam* + *ṆvuL*) + *sU*'
tamakaḥ 'derivate of (*tam* + *ṆvuL*) + *sU*'
damakaḥ 'derivate of (*dam* + *ṆvuL*) + *sU*'
śamaḥ 'derivate of (*śam* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*'

tamaḥ 'derivate of (*tam* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*'
damaḥ 'derivate of (*dam* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*'

1. This rule disallows penultimate *vṛddhi* (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*) of roots which are marked with *udātta* in *upadeśa*, or which end in *m*, with the exception of *āṄ+cam* = *ācam* 'to sip'. Consider the third singular middle *LUṄ* derivates of *śamU* 'be tranquil, calm', *tamU* 'to faint, be exhausted' and *damU* 'to tame, restrain' which are all marked with *udātta* in *upadeśa* 'initial citation'. Thus, we get *aśami*, *atami* and *adami* where penultimate *vṛddhi* is blocked. This *vṛddhi* is also blocked in derivates of *ṆvuL* and *GHaÑ*. Thus, *śamakaḥ*, *tamakaḥ* and *damakaḥ*; and *śamaḥ*, *tamaḥ* and *damaḥ*, respectively.

2. The condition of *udāttopadeśa* is imposed so that this *vṛddhi* could not be blocked in *yāmakaḥ* and *rāmakaḥ*, etc., where *yamU* 'to be detached, desist' and *ramU* 'to sport' are marked *anudātta* in *upadeśa*. How come this *vṛddhi* is not blocked in derivates of *aḍA* 'to strive' and *yamA* 'to be detached'? This is done, via *nipātana*, necessitated by available usage. Why is *upadeśa* required as a condition? So that derivates of *GHinUṆ* (3.2.141 *śamityaṣṭābhyo* . . .), i.e., *śamī*, *tamī* and *damī*, do not avail *vṛddhi*. The roots of these derivates are marked with *udātta* in *upadeśa*. Since the affixal *i* of these derivates become *udātta* (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*), their roots will now become *anudātta* (6.1.158 *anudāttaṃ* . . .). But since these roots were originally marked with *udātta*, this rule will be able to block penultimate *vṛddhi*. Now consider (*yam* + *ṆvuL*) + *sU* = *yāmakaḥ* and (*ram* + *ṆvuL*) + *sU* = *rāmakaḥ*, where *yam* and *ram* are marked with *anudātta* in *upadeśa*. They become *udātta* because of *L* as an *it* in *ṆvuL* (6.1.193 *liti*). Our present rule cannot block *vṛddhi* here.

Why do we have the condition of *mānta* 'ending in *m*'? Consider (*car* + *ṆvuL*) = *cārakaḥ* and (*paṭh* + *ṇvuL*) + *sU* = *pāṭhakaḥ*, where *vṛddhi* cannot be blocked because *car* and *paṭh* do not end in *m*.

3. Note that *ācāmaḥ*, a *GHaÑ*-derivate of *āṄ-cam* which ends in *m*, is excluded from this blocking of *vṛddhi*. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also exclude *kam* and *vam* of, for example *kāmaḥ* and *vāmaḥ*, where *GHaÑ* is introduced when the root does not take affix *ṆiṄ* (3.1.30 *kamer ṇiṅ*). The *vṛddhi* is thus allowed.

Finally, this rule negates *vṛddhi* only where *ṆiC*, or a *kṛt* affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*, follows. Thus, we do not get this blocking in *śaśāma* and *tatāma* where *ṆaL* is marked with *Ṇ*, but is not a *kṛt* affix (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*).

7.3.35 जनिवध्योश्च

janivadhyoś ca
/*jani-vadhyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ñṇiti* #7.2.115 *ciṇkṛtoḥ* #33 *na* #35)
'*jani, vadhi*' *ity etayoś ciṇi kṛti ca ñṇiti yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati*
That which was stated for an *aṅga* when *CiṆ*, or a *kṛt* affix marked with

Ñ and *Ṇ*, follows, does not apply to an *aṅga* constituted by *janI* 'to come into existence; be born' and *vadhI* 'to kill, harm'.

EXAMPLES:

ajani 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *janI*'
janakaḥ 'derivate of (*jan* + *ṆvuL*) + *sU*'
prajanaḥ 'derivate of (*pra-jan* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*'
avadhi 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *vadh*'
vadhakaḥ 'derivate of (*vadh* + *ṆvuL*) + *sU*'
vadhaḥ 'derivate of (*vadh* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*'

1. This rule extends the negation of penultimate *vṛddhi*, also to derivates of *vadhI* and *janI*. Thus, consider their third singular middle *LUṄ*-deriavtes *avadhi* and *ajani* with *CiṆ*. We get similar derivates with *ṆvuL* and *GHaÑ*, i.e., *vadhakaḥ* / *janakaḥ*; and *vadhaḥ* / *prajanaḥ*, respectively.

2. Note that *vadh* of this rule does not refer to *vadha* which, in turn, is a replacement of *han* 'to kill' (2.4.42 *hano vadha liṅi*). This *vadh* ends in a consonant and refers to verbal root *vadh* 'to hurt, harm' of the *bhvādi* group. The negation of *vṛddhi* in *vadha* is automatically accomplished, via *sthānivad-bhāva* 'replacement treated as what it replaced' proposal of deleted *a*. Thus, consider the absence of *vṛddhi* in: *bhakṣakaś cen na vidyeta vadhako' pi na vidyate* 'if there is no *bhakṣaka* 'killer (he who eats)' then there is no *vadhaka* 'killer'.

3. Finally, the right condition of *CiṆ*, and a *kṛt* affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*, is still operative. Thus, we do not get this negation in *jajāna garbhaṃ mahi-mānam indram* 'gave birth to glorious Indra'. Recall that *jajāna* is a *LIṬ*-derivate of *jan* where *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ* . . .), a non-*kṛt* affix marked with *Ṇ*, follows.

7.3.36 **अर्तिह्रीव्लीरीक्नूयीक्ष्माय्यातां पुग् णौ**

arttihrīvlīrīknūyīkṣmāyyātāṃ pug ṇau
/ *artti-hrī-vlī-rī-knūyī-kṣmāyy-ātām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
'*artti, hrī, vlī, rī, knūyī, kṣmāyī*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām ākārāntānāṃ ca pug āgamo bhavati ṇau parataḥ*
Augment *pUK* is introduced to an *aṅga* which is either constituted by *artti* (*ṛ*) 'to go; to reach', *hrī* 'to be shy, bashful', *vlī* 'to choose, accept', *rī* 'to move, flow', *knūyI* and *kṣmāyI* 'to shake, tremble', or ends in *ā*, when affix *Ṇi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

arpayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ṛ*'
hrepayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *hrī*'

vlepayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vlī*'
repayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *rī*'
knopayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *knūyI*'
kṣmāpayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *kṣmāyI* 'to shake, tremble''
dāpayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ḌUdāÑ* 'to cut, divide''
dhāpayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ḌUdhāÑ* 'to place, hold''

1. Note that *artti* refers here to both *ṛ* 'to move, reach' (*bhvādi*) and *ṛ* 'to move' (*juhotyādi*), both active. Thus, consider *arpayati* where we get (*ṛ*→*ar*) + *pUK* + *ṆiC* = *arpi*; *arpi* + *LAṬ* → *arp* (*i*→*e*→*ay*) + *ŚaP* + *tiP* = *arpayati*, through *guṇa* and a replacement in *ay*. The *rī* of our rule refers to roots with the signification of 'moving' and 'wolf-cry' (*vṛkaśabda*), or 'noise'. Derivational details of other examples are not much different. Note, however, that *y* of *knūyI* and *kṣmāyI* is deleted (6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*).

2. Why is augment *pUK* made final of what precedes (*atha kimartham puk pūrvāntaḥ kriyate*). That is, why is this augment not offered as *pUṬ* and thereby made initial of what follows? So that penultimate shortening (*upadhāhrasva*) of *dāp* + *ṆiC* + *LUṄ* → *adīdapat*, could be accomplished. Note that *dāp* yields *dap*, through penultimate shortening (7.4.1 *ṇau caṅi* . . .), after *CaṄ* replaces *CLI*, and *ṆiC* gets deleted. This *dap* then goes through reduplication (*dvitva*). If *pUṬ* was introduced as an augment, it would then have become part of *ṆiC*. This would then have blocked penultimate shortening.

7.3.37 शाच्छासाह्वाव्यावेपां युक्

śācchāsāhvāvyāvepāṃ yuk
/ *śāc-chā-sā-hvā-vyā-ve-pām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *yuk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau* #36)
'*śā, chā, sā, hvā, vyā, ve, pā*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ yug āgamo bhavati ṇau parataḥ*

Augment *yUK* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *śā*←*śo* 'to shape, fashion', *chā*←*cho* 'to cut, pierce', *sā*←*ṣo* 'terminate', *hvā*←*hveÑ* 'to call out, challenge', *vyeÑ*→*vā* 'to cover', *veÑ* 'weave' and *pā* 'to drink' when affix *Ṇi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

niśāyayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ni*(*śo*→*śā*) + *ṆiC* + *LAṬ*'
avacchāyayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ava*(*cho*→*chā*) + *ṆiC* + *LAṬ*'
avasāyayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ava*(*ṣo*→*sā*) + *ṆiC* + *LAṬ*'
hvāyayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of (*hve*→*hvā*) + *ṆiC* + *LAṬ*'
saṃvyāyayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *sam*(*vyeÑ*→*vyā*) + *ṆiC* + *LAṬ*'

vāyayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of (*veÑ*→*vā*) + *ṆiC* + *LAṬ*'
pāyayati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of (*pā* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*'

1. Note that roots which are specified here as an *aṅga* will have their forms ending in *ā* (*ātva*). Thus, we will get *śo*→*śā*, *cho*→*chā*, *ṣo*→*sā*, *hve*→*hvā*, *vye*→*vyā*, *ve*→*vā* and *pā*, with application of rule 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe' śiti*. They, consequently, will come under the scope of *pUK* of the preceding rule. Accepting a form resulting from some rule application on a corresponding original indicates that the commonly known *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 114): *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam* 'in conflicts between a form cited by a rule, or one derived by a rule-application, the form which is cited by a rule is favored' does not apply in this section. This is also true in case of introduction of *pUK* in deriving *adhyāpayati* and *jāpayati* where verbal roots *adhi-i* and *ji* yield their forms in *ā* (6.1.48 *krīṅjīnāṃ* . . .), i.e., *adhy-ā* and *jā*. Recall that *yUK* is offered here as an exception to *pUK*.

Our present rule introduces *yUK*, against *pUK*, when specified roots occur as an *aṅga* before *ṆiC*. Consider *śāyayati*, where 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe* . . . replaces a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC* with *ā*(*T*). That is, *ś*(*o*→*ā*) + *ṆiC* = *śā* + *i*. We get *śāyi* with introduction of augment *yUK*. Our example derivate *niśāyayati* derives from *ni-śāyi* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*). The *ṣ* of *ṣo* is replaced with *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ*. . . . Deriving *avacchāyayati* from *ava-chāyi* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) also involves augment *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*), before *ch*. The *t* of *tUK* then goes through a replacement in *c* (*ścutva*; 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Similar applications are involved in deriving other examples.

2. Note that a reference with *pā* includes references to both *pā* 'to drink' and *pai* 'to dry'. This, however, does not include any reference to *pā* 'to protect', a root of the *ad* class (*adādi*) where *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*) gets deleted.

3. A *vārttika* proposal requires augment *lUK* in case of *pā* 'to protect' with a derivate in *pālayati* (*vt. lugāgamas tu tasya vaktavyaḥ*).

Yet another *vārttika* proposal introduces *nUK* in case of *dhūÑ* 'to shake' with its causal third singular present form *dhūnayati*. One can also get *prīṇayati* in case of *prīÑ* 'to please' (*vt. dhūñprīñor lug vaktavyaḥ*).

Kāśikā informs that these augments, i.e., *yUK*, *lUK* and *nUK*, are also made final parts of roots which precede. Thus, we get *nyaśīśayat*, *apīpalat*, *adūdhunat*, and *apiprīṇat*, where shortening of the penultimate vowel is accomplished.

7.3.38 वो विधूनने जुक्

vo vidhūnane juk
/*vaḥ* 6/1 *vidhūnane* 7/1 *juk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau* #36)
'*vā*' *ity etasya vidhūnane' rthe vartamānasya jug āgamo bhavati ṇau parataḥ*
An augment, namely *jUK*, is introduced to *vā*, an *aṅga*, used with the signification of *vidhūnana* 'agitation, shaking', when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pakṣeṇopavājayati 'shakes (off water) with the (help of) wings'

1. This rule introduces augment *jUK* when *vai*→*vā* 'to dry' is followed by *ṆiC* and the signification is *vidhūnana* 'to cause to shake'. We thus get *upavājayati*, as in *pakṣeṇopavājayati* 'makes dry with the help of wing(s)', where *ṆiC* is introduced (after *upa-vā*).

How come *upavājayati* is not derived by introducing *ṆiC* after *vaj* 'to move', used with the preverb *upa*? This has been done to indicate that augment *pUK* is not introduced after *vā*. It is to accomplish the introduction of augment *jUK*, instead, that *ṆiC* is introduced after *vā*. Recall that *pUK* will be available to *vai* 'to dry' in view of *ā* (*ātva*; *vai* →*vā*).

Why do we state the condition of *vidhūnana*? Consider *āvāpayati keśān* 'has the hairs cut', where shaking is not the meaning. Consequently, augment *jUK* could not be introduced.

7.3.39 लीलोर्नुग्लुकावन्यतरस्यां स्नेहविपातने

līlor nuglukāv anyatarasyām snehavipātane
/*līloḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *nug-lukau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1 *sneha-vipātane* 7/1 (*ṣaṣ tat*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau* #36)
'*lī, lā*' *ity etayor aṅgayor anyatarasyām* '*nuk, luk*' *ity etāv āgamau bhavato ṇau parataḥ*
Augments *nUK* and *lUK* are optionally introduced to *lī* and *lā*, respectively, when the derivate signifies *snehavipātana* 'melting of fat', and affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ghṛtaṃ vilāyayati 'causes the ghee to melt'
ghṛtaṃ vilīnayati 'ibidem'
. . . *vilālayati* 'ibidem'
vilāpayati 'ibidem'

1. Augments *nUK* and *lUK* are, optionally, introduced to an *aṅga* constituted by *lī* and *lā*, respectively, when *ṆiC* follows, and derivates denote 'melting of fat'. We get *vilīnayati* and *vilāyayati*, two forms of *lī* where *nUK* is optional. Thus, *vi-lī* + *ṆiC* → *vi-lī* + *nUK* + *i* = *vilīni* + *LAṬ* = *vilīnayati* and *vi-lī* + *ṆiC* → *vi-l*(*ī*→*ai*) + *i* → *vi-l*(*ai*→*āy*) + *i* → *vilāyi* + *LAṬ* = *vilāyayati*. We similarly get two forms of *lā* where *lUK* is introduced optionally with *pUK* at the strength of optional replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) of 6.1.51 *vibhāṣā līyateḥ*. Thus, *vilālayati* and *vilāpayati*.

Note that *ī* of *lī* is specified here as conjoined (*praśliṣṭa*) *ī*+*i*→*ī*. That is, *nUK* must be introduced only to a *lī* which ends in *ī*. It will not be introduced

to a *lī* which goes through optional *ā* of 6.1.51 *vibhāṣā līyateḥ*. This is the reason why we do not get an example of *nUK* where *lī* produces *lā*, through a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*). *Kāśikā* thus states: '*lī*' *iti līlīṅor grahaṇam*; '*lā*' *iti lāteḥ kṛtātvasya ca līyateḥ*, *lī* is specified to refer to both the *kryādi* root *lī* 'to join, embrace' and the *divādi* root *līṄ* 'to join'. Since no formal difference results by using them with *ṆiC*, a reference is also desired to *lā* 'to bring' and *lī*, with replacement in *ā* (*kṛtātvasya*; 6.1.51 *vibhāṣā līyateḥ*).

Kāśikā offers *jatuḥ vilāpayati* 'melts the lac' and *jaṭābhir ālāpayate* 'frightens with matted hair' as counter-examples to the condition of *snehavipātana* 'melting of fat'. Augment *pUK* is introduced here since the signification is something other than 'melting of fat'.

7.3.40 भियो हेतुभये षुक्

bhiyo hetubhaye ṣuk
/ *bhiyaḥ* 6/1 *hetubhaye* 7/1 = *hetor bhayam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ṣuk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇi* #36)
'*bhī*' *ity etasya hetubhaye*' *rthe ṣug āgamo bhavati ṇau parataḥ*
Augment *ṣUK* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *bhī* 'to fear', when the signification is *hetubhaya* 'fear from causal agent' and affix *Ṇi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

muṇḍo bhīṣayate 'the ascetic with his shaven head causes fear'
jaṭilo bhīṣayate 'the ascetic with his matted hair causes fear'

1. Here again we find *ī* of *bhī* resulting out of *praśleṣa* 'conjoined specification'. That is, *bh*($ī+ī \rightarrow ī$) = *bhī*. Such a *bhī* which goes through replacement in *ā* (*ātva*) will not be allowed *ṣUK*. We will, instead, get *bhāpayate* with *pUK*, as in *muṇḍo bhāpayate* 'the ascetic with his shaven head causes fear'. This *ātva* is accomplished by 6.1.55 *bibheter hetubhaye*.

2. Note that *hetubhaya* is explained as *bhaya* 'fear' caused by *hetu* 'causal agent'. The word *hetu* is interpreted as instigator of an independent agent (1.4.54 *tatprayojako hetuś ca*). *Kāśikā* offers *kuñcikayainaṃ bhāyayati* 'he causes fear in him with a broom', with *yUK*, as a counter-example to the condition of *hetubhaya* 'cause of fear; causal agent'. What is causing fear here is not the *hetu* but an instrument, i.e., *kuñcikā* 'broom'.

7.3.41 स्फायो वः

sphāyo vaḥ
/ *sphāyaḥ* 6/1 *vaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau* #36)
'*sphāy*' *ity etasyāṅgasya vakārādeśo bhavati ṇau parataḥ*
A replacement in *v* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *sphāy*, when affix *Ṇi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sphāvayati '. . . fattens'

1. This rule offers *v* as a replacement for the final *y* of an *aṅga* constituted by *sphāyĪ* 'to fatten' when the same occurs before *ṆiC*. Thus, *sphā(y→v)* + *ṆiC* = *sphāv* + *i* = *sphāvi* + *LAṬ* = *sphāvayati*.

7.3.42 शदेरगतौ तः

śader agatau taḥ
/*śadeḥ* 6/1 *agatau* 7/1 = *na gatiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *taḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau* #36)
śader aṅgasyāgatāv arthe vartamānasya takārādeśo bhavati ṇau parataḥ
A replacement in *t* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *śadḶ*, used with the signification of *agatiḥ* 'non-motion', when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

phalāni śātayati '. . . is cutting (wasting) fruits'

1. The condition of *agatiḥ* is imposed so that we do not get this replacement in *gāḥ śādayati* '. . . is causing cows to run'. Obviously, *gati* 'movement' is part of the signification here.

7.3.43 रुहः पोऽन्यतरस्याम्

ruhaḥ po' nyatarasyām
/*ruhaḥ* 6/1 *paḥ* 1/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau* #36)
ruher aṅgasya anyatarasyāṃ pakārādeśo bhavati ṇau parataḥ
The final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *ruh* 'to grow', is optionally replaced with *p* when affix *ṆiC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vrīhīn ropayati '. . . plants rice'
vrīhīn rohayati 'ibidem'

1. We get two forms: *ropayati* and *rohayati* with optional replacement in *p* for the root-final *h*, and a replacement in *vṛddhi* for the penultimate *u*. Haradatta notes that this rule should not be stated. For, *rupI* 'to be confused' is enumerated in the *divādi* group. This, used with *ṆiC*, will yield the form *ropayati* with the signification of *janma* 'birth, coming into existence'. This signification of *janma* is possible because roots potentially denote many meanings (*anekārtha*). Verbal root *ruh* 'to grow', of course, will yield the form *rohayati* (*PM*: *ayaṃ yogaḥ śakyo' vaktum. katham. rupa* '*vimohane*' *iti divādau*

paṭhyate, sa ṇyanto' tra janmani vartiṣyate, anekārthatvād dhātūnām, tasya ropayati. ruhes tv ārahoyatīti).

7.3.44 प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्यात इदाप्यसुपः

> *pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasyāta id āpy asupaḥ*
> */pratyayasthāt* 5/1 = *pratyaye tiṣṭhati* (*upapada tat.*), *tasmāt*; *kāt* 5/1 *pūrvasya* 6/1 *ataḥ* 6/1 *it* 1/1 *āpi* 7/1 *asupaḥ* 5/1 = *na sup* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt/*
> *pratyayasthāt kakārāt pūrvasyākārasya ikārādeśo bhavati āpi parataḥ sa ced āp supaḥ paro na bhavati*
> A short vowel, namely *i*, comes in place of *a* which occurs before *k* within an affix, provided *āP*, when not used after a *sUP*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *jaṭilikā* 'she who wears matted hairs'
> *muṇḍikā* 'she who has her head shaven'
> *kārikā* 'she who does'
> *hārikā* 'she who carries away'
> *etikāś caranti* '. . . are grazing'

1. Note that affix *ka* (5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*) is introduced after *jaṭilā* and *muṇḍā* to derive *jaṭil*(*ā*→*a*) + *ka* = *jaṭila* + *ka* with shortening of *ā* (7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*). We get a replacement in *i* for the *a* of *jaṭila* which occurs before *k* of affix *ka*. Of course, when *āP* (here affix *ṬāP*) follows. Thus, *jaṭil*(*a* →*i*) *ka* + *ṬāP* → *jaṭilik*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) = *jaṭilikā*, through *savarṇadīrgha* 'homogeneous long vowel replacement'. We similarly get the feminine derivates of *ṆvuL*: *kāraka* + *ṬāP* → *kār*(*a*→*i*) *ka* + *ṬāP* = *kārik*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) = *kārikā* and *hāraka* + *ṬāP* = *hārikā*, again through *savarṇadīrgha*. Now consider *etikā* which derives from *etad* + *ṬāP* with the introduction of *akAC* (5.3.71 *avyayasarvanāmnām akac* . . .). Given *et*(*akAC*) *ad* + *ṬāP* = *etakad* + *ā*, the *a* before *k* is replaced with *i*. The *d* of *et*(*a*→*i*) *kad* + *ā* is then replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*) to produce *etika*(*d*→*a*) + *ā* = *etika* + *a* + *ā*. Finally, we get *etikā* by first replacing *a*+*a* with *a* in accord with 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* and then applying homogeneous long vowel replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*). Thus, *etik*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) = *etikā* + *Jas* = *etikāḥ*, as in *etikāś caranti*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *k* as part of an affix? So that if *a* does not precede *k* which is part of an affix, this replacement does not apply. Consider *śakā*, a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .), where (*śak* + *aC* → *śaka*) + *ṬāP*)) = *śak*(*a*+*ā*→*ā*) = *śakā*, through *savarṇadīrgha*, cannot avail this replacement. Obviously, because *k* is not a part of an affix. It is part of a verbal root, instead.

Why is *stha* used in *pratyayastha* 'located within an affix'? It is stated that *stha* is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Why could it not indicate the absence

of *i*-replacement where *kA* alone constitutes the affix? A specification with *kA* is made here to indicate a sound. The *a* of *ka* (in *kāt*) is used for facilitating articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). There is no suffix constituted by *k*, alone, for which this negation with *stha* could be stated. That is why, *k* will be interpreted as nothing but part of an affix. Why make an explicit statement for what could easily be understood from *kāt*? The *stha* of *pratyayastha* is then used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

Why do we state *kāt* 'after *k*'? Consider *maṇḍanā* and *ramaṇā* which derive from *maṇḍi* + (*Lyu*→*ana*) + *ṬāP* = *maṇḍan*(*a*+*ā* →*ā*) = *maṇḍanā* and *rami* + (*Lyu*→*ana*) + *ṬāP* = *ramaṇā*. What we find here is not *k* but *n*. Incidentally, *Lyu* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .) is introduced under the *pacādi* qualification of *maṇḍI* 'to decorate' and *ramU* 'to sport'. One can also introduce *ṬāP* after a base ending in *yuC* (3.3.107 *ṇyāsaśrantho yuc*) to derive *maṇḍanā* and *ramaṇā*.

Why do we have the condition of *pūrvasya* 'in place of that which precedes'? So that this replacement does not apply to *a* which occurs after *k* in (*paṭu* + *ka*) + *ṬāP* = *paṭukā* 'clever' and (*mṛdu* + *ka*) + *ṬāP* = *mṛdukā* 'tender'.

Why do we have *a* replaced with *i*? Consider *naukā* 'boat' and *gokā* 'cow' where this replacement does not apply. For, there is no *a* before *k*.

Why is this specification of *a* made with a following *t* (*taparakaraṇa*). So that its reference could be limited to a short *a*. That is, to block this replacement in *rākā* and *dhākā* where there is no short *a*.

Why do we have the condition of *āpi* 'when *āP* follows'? What does *āpi* qualify? It qualifies *k*. But this interpretation will block *i* in *kāraka* + *ṬāP* where *k* is not immediately followed by *ṬāP*. That is, *k* and *ṬāP* occur intervened by *a*. Since such intervening vowels are always going to occur in between *k* and *ṬāP*, this rule will not find any scope of application. It is to save this rule from becoming vacuous that intervention (*vyavadhāna*) of one sound segment is considered non-intervention (*avyavadhāna*).

What is the significance of the condition of *asupaḥ* 'not after that which does not end in a *sUP*'? This rule will not apply if *āP* is used with a following *sUP*. Consider *bahuparivrājakā* of *bahuparivrājakā mathurā* 'the city of Mathurā which is full of wandering ascetics'. This *āP* occurs after *parivrājaka* which ends in a *sUP*. Remember that *asupaḥ* is interpreted as a negation of the *prasajya* type. A *paryudāsa* interpretation will yield the meaning: '*supo*' *nyo*' *sup* 'a non-*sUP* is one which is other than a *sUP*'. That is, when *ṬāP* follows something which is similar to, but other than, a *sUP*. This will cause replacement in *i* (*itva*) and the form will be: **bahuparivrājikā*. This negation will consider *bahuparivrājaka* as a unit which *ṬāP* follows and which is other than *parivrājaka* + *Jas*, a form ending in a *sUP*. A *prasajya* interpretation will rule out *itva* when *ṬāP* follows a form ending in a *sUP*. Note that *ṬāP* of *parivrājaka* + *ṬāP* occurs after *Jas* which has been deleted. This deleted *Jas* can be manipulated to cancel negation of *itva* in view of 1.1.63 *na lumtāṅgasya*. For, this operation of *itva* is not to be accomplished on an *aṅga* with reference to

deleted *Jas*. It is to be accomplished with reference to *ṬāP*, instead.

3. There are two *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*i*) The *a* before *k* is not replaced with *i* when *ṬāP* follows *māmaka* and *naraka*. Consider *māmikā* and *narikā*.

(*ii*) This rule does not apply to an *aṅga* which ends in affix *tyakaN* (5.2.34 *upādhibhyāṃ tyakan* . . .).

7.3.45 **न यासयोः**

na yāsayoḥ

/ *na* ϕ *yāsayoḥ* 6/2 = *yā ca sā ca* (*itar. dv.*) /

(*pratyasthāt kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupaḥ* #44)

'*yā, sā*' *ity etayor ikārādeśo na bhavati*

A short vowel, namely *i*, does not come in place of *a*, used before *k* within an affix relative to *yad* 'that which' and *tad* 'that', provided *āP*, when not used after a *sUP*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

yakā 'derivate of *yad* with *akAC* and *ṬāP*'
sakā 'derivate of *tad* with *akAC* and *ṬāP*'

1. A specification with *yā* and *sā* should not be accepted as *tantra* 'principal'. That is, it does not refer to nominative singular forms only. It should be accepted as making reference to forms of *yad* 'that which' and *tad* 'that' in general (*Kāś*: '*yāsā*' *iti nirdeśo*' *tantram, yattador upalakṣaṇam etat*). For, this negation of *i* is also desired in *yakāṃ yakām adhīmahe* and *takāṃ takām adhīmahe*, etc. Recall that *yā* 'she who . . .' and *sā* 'she' are nominative singular feminine forms of *yad* and *tad*, ending in *ṬāP*.

2. This rule negates *i* as a replacement for *ā* of *yā* and *sā* when *ṬāP* follows. This goes against obligatory provision of 7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt kāt*. . . . Our derivates *yakā* and *sakā* are derived with augment *akAC*, introduced before *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of *yā* and *sā*. Thus, *yak*(*akAC*) *ā* = *yakā* and *sak*(*akAC*) *ā* = *sakā*. Incidentally, *yā* and *sā* both involve a replacement in *a* for the final *d* of *yad* and *tad* (*tyadādyatva*; 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*). The *s*, as a replacement for *t* of *tad*, is gotten from 7.2.106 *tadoḥ saḥ*. . . .

3. Several *vārttika* proposals are made to also state this negation as follows:

(*i*) When a form ending in *tyakaN* (5.2.34 *upādhibhyāṃ tyakan* . . .) occurs before *ṬāP*. Thus, we get *upatyakā* 'area around foot of a mountain' and *adhityakā* 'upper area of a mountain' (*vt*: *yāsayor itvapratiṣedhe tyakana upasaṃkhyānam*).

(*ii*) When *pāvaka* 'fire' occurs before *ṬāP* in the Vedic. A corresponding classical usage will be *pāvikā* (*vt*: *pāvakādīnāṃ chandasy upasaṃkhyānam*).

(*iii*) When derivates denote benediction (*āśīḥ*; *vt*: *āśiṣi copasaṃkhyānam*)). Thus, *nand* + (*ṆvuL→aka*) + *ṬāP* = *nandakā* and *bhuvakā*.

(*iv*) When a following constituent is deleted (*vt*: *uttarapadalope copasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *deva* (*datta*→ϕ) + *ka*)) + *ṬāP* = *devakā*/ *devadattikā* and *yajñakā*/*yajñadattikā*. Incidentally, affix *kaN* (5.3.76 *anukampāyām*...) is introduced with the signification of *anukampā* 'compassion'. The deletion of *datta* is made optional by a *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *anajādau ca vibhāṣā*...; ad 5.3.83 *ṭhājādāv ūrdhvaṃ*...).

(*v*) When *kṣipaka* and *dhruvaka* occur before *ṬāP* (*vt*: *kṣipakādīnāṃ copasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *kṣipakā* and *dhruvakā*.

(*vi*) When *tāraka* occurs before *ṬāP* and the signification is *jyotiṣ* 'luminary' (*vt*: *tārakā jyotiṣi upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, (*tṝ* + (*ṆvuL→aka*)) + *ṬāP* = *tārakā*.

(*vii*) When *varṇakā* is to be derived in the sense of a fiber product (*tāntava*; *vt*: *varṇakā tāntava upasaṃkhyānam*).

(*viii*) When *vartakā* is derived with the signification of a bird in eastern usage (*vt*: *vartakā śakunau prācām upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, (*varttaka* + *ṬāP*) = *varttakā*.

(*ix*) When *aṣṭakā* is derived with the signification of *pitṛdaivatya* 'a Vedic ritual' (*vt*: *aṣṭakā pitṛdaivatye*).

(*x*) When *sūtakā*, *putrakā* and *vṛndārikā* are to be derived with optional negation of *i* (*vt*: *vā sutakāputrakāvṛndārakāṇām upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *sūtakā* / *sūtikā*; *putrakā* / *putrikā* and *vṛndārakā* / *vṛndārikā*.

7.3.46 उदीचामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः

udīcām ātaḥ sthāne yakapūrvāyāḥ

/*udīcām* 6/3 *ātaḥ* 6/1 *sthāne* 7/1 *yakapūrvāyāḥ* = *yaś ca kaś ca* (*dv*.); *tau pūrvau yasyāḥ* (*bv*. with int. *dv*.), *tasyāḥ*/

(*pratyasthāt kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupaḥ* #44 *na* #45)

udīcām ācāryāṇāṃ matena yakārapūrvāyāḥ kakārāpūrvāyāś cātaḥ sthāne yo' kāras tasyātaḥ sthāne ikārādeśo na bhavati

A short vowel, namely *i*, does not, in the opinion of northern grammarians, come in place of an *a* which replaces *ā*, used before *k* and *y* relative to an affix, provided *āP*, when not used after a *sUP*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

ibhyikā 'young female elephant'
ibhyakā 'ibidem'
kṣattriyikā 'young kṣatriya female'
kṣattriyakā 'ibidem'
caṭakikā 'young sparrow'

caṭakakā 'ibidem'
mūṣikikā 'a little mouse'
mūṣikakā 'ibidem'

1. The *a* which is here allowed this replacement in *i* is itself a replacement of *ā*. This, of course, is the opinion of northern grammarians. This *a* must occur as a replacement of *ā* before *y* and *k* relative to an affix. The word *udīcya* is here used to denote an option (*vikalpa*). That is, this *itva* does not apply obigatorily in Pāṇini's own opinion. Thus, *ibham arhati* = *ibha* + *ya* (5.1.66 *daṇḍādibhyo yat*); *ibhy*(*ā*→*a*) + *ka* = *ibhyaka* (5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*; 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*) and *ibhyaka* + *ṬāP* = *ibhyikā* / *ibhyakā*. Similar derivational proposals are available for *kṣatriyikā* / *kṣatriyakā*; *caṭakikā* / *caṭakakā*; *mūṣikikā*/ *mūṣakakā*.

2. Why do we have the condition of an *a* which replaces *ā*? So that we do not get the obligatory *i*, only in *sāṅkāśye bhavā* = *sāṃkāśyikā* 'born in Sākāśya', where *a* before *k* is not a replacement of *ā*.

Why do we have to use *sthāne* 'in place of' when the genitive of *ātaḥ* 'in place of *ā*' itself can denote it? The word *sthāne* is used so that we could clearly understand the substituendum (*sthānī*). Thus, *ātaḥ* qualifies *ataḥ*, with *sthāne* clearly specifying '*aT* which, in turn, comes in place of *ā* used in the genitive'.

Why do we have the condition of *yakapūrvāyāḥ* 'in place of that which occurs before *y* and *k*'? So that this replacement in *i* (*itva*) could apply obligatorily in *aśvikā*.

Why is this specification made in the feminine with *yakapūrvāyāḥ*, as against neuter? So that the sense of feminine of *ā* which is replaced with *a* can be understood. This is why we do not get an optional *itva* in *śubhaṃ yāti* = *śubhaṃyāḥ* and *śubhaṃyikā*; *bhadraṃyāḥ* and *bhadraṃyikā*, etc.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to negate the negation of *itva* where *ā*→*a* occurs before a root-final *y* and *k*. This, obligatorily, restores *itva* in *sunayikā*, *suśayikā*, *supākikā* and *suśokikā*.

7.3.47 भस्त्रैषाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि

bhastraiṣājājñādvāsvā nañpūrvāṇām api
/ *bhastrā-eṣā-ajā-jñā-dvā-svāḥ* 1/3 (used with the signification of 6/3; *itar. dv.*); *nañ-pūrvāṇām* 6/3 = *nañ pūrvo yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *api* ϕ/
(*pratyasthāt kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupaḥ* #44 *na* #45 *udīcām ātaḥ sthāne* #46)
'*bhastrā, eṣā, ajā, jñā, dvā, svā*' *eṣām ātaḥ sthāne yo' kāras tasya itvaṃ na bhavaty udīcām ācāryāṇāṃ matena*
A replacement in short *i*, in the opinion of northern grammarians, does not come in place of an *a* which replaces *ā* of *bhastrā, eṣā, ajā, jñā, dvā* and *svā*, irrespective of whether they are used in construction after *naÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

bhastrakā 'she who has a leather bag for carrying water'
bhastrikā 'ibidem'
abhastrakā 'she who does not have a leather bag for carrying water'
abhastrikā 'ibidem'
eṣakā 'desirous'
eṣikā 'ibidem'
ajakā 'she who has a goat'
ajikā 'ibidem'
anajakā 'she who does not have a goat'
anajikā 'ibidem'
jñakā 'she who knows'
jñikā 'ibidem'
ajñakā 'she who does not know'
ajñikā 'ibidem'
dvake 'she who has control over two'
dvike 'ibidem'
svakā 'she who has control over herself'
svikā 'ibidem'
asvakā 'she who does not have control over herself'
asvikā 'ibidem'

1. Note that this replacement in *i* (*itva*) does not apply in the opinion of northern grammarians. It still applies in the opinion of Pāṇini. Thus, we get *bhastrakā* and *bhastrikā*; *abhastrakā* and *abhastrikā*. Note further that *bhastrā* does not have a corresponding masculine form. Our following rule would have thus negated this replacement in *i* (*itva*). An inclusion of *bhastrā* in this rule is then made to restrict it to its usage as a compound constituent termed *upasarjana* 'secondary'. Thus, we get *avidyamānā bhastrā yasya* = *abhastraḥ* where *bhastrā* is a secondary constituent. A corresponding derivate of this *bahuvrīhi*, in feminine with *ṬāP*, will be: *abhastrā*. The assignment of the term *upasarjana* to *bhastrā* leads to shortening (*hrasva*; 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*) of the final *ā* of *bhastrā* in deriving *abhastraḥ*. The feminine affix *ṬāP*, which is introduced after the *bahuvrīhi* compound *abhastra* to derive *abahstrā*, parallel to *avidyamānā bhastrā yasyāḥ*, goes through shortening of 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*. This happens when we introduce affix *ka* to derive *abhastrakā*, or *abhastrikā*, with optional replacement in *i* (*itva*).

Kāśikā clearly states that 'the short *a* in place of *ṬāP* which occurs after masculine *abhastra* is brought about by 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*; this *a*-replacement of *ā* does not occur in place of a form which does not have a masculine counterpart' (*bhāṣitpuṃskād yaṣ ṭāb utpadyate tasya ke' ṇaḥ iti yo hrasvaḥ nāsāv abhāṣitpuṃskād vihitasyātaḥ sthāne bhavati*). This statement shows how the next rule cannot account for negation of *itva* in a *bahuvrīhi* compound used

with *ka* (5.3.85 *alpe*) to derive *abhastrikā* and *abhastrakā* with *ṬāP*, parallel to *avidyamānā bhastrā yasyāḥ sā*. Thus, (*abhastrā→a*) + *ka*) + *ṬāP* = *abhastrikā* / *abhastrakā*. We similarly get *ajā*/ *ajikā*/ *ajakā*; *anajā*/ *anajikā* / *anajakā*; and (*jñ*(*ā→i*)) + *ka*)) + *ṬāP*)) =*jñikā* / *jñakā*; *ajñikā* / *ajñakā*.

We get only one form *aneṣakā*, because of a lack of replacement in (*itva*) in (*naÑ* + *sU*) + (*eta*(*d→akAC*) *d* + *sU*)) *ṬāP*))). Since affix *ṬāP* here occurs after *sU*, whether or not a *nañ-tatpuruṣa* is formed before *akAC*, *asupaḥ* negates *itva*. We similarly get a single obligatory form *advake* with *dvi* 'two'. Recall here that a pronominal, for example *sva*, is not termed *sarvanāman* 'pronominal' when the denotatum is *jñāti* 'clansman' and *dhana* 'property'. We will get two forms *svikā* and *svakā*. A negative with affix *ka* will similarly yield two derivates of *ṬāP*: *asvikā* and *asvakā*.

This replacement in *i* (*itva*) of the northerners is available whether *naÑ* is used as a preceding constituent. Thus, *asvakā* and *asvikā*. The word *api* 'also, even' makes it possible for *itva* to also apply when something other than *naÑ* precedes, or does not precede at all. Thus, we get *nirbhastrikā* / *nirbhastrakā*; *bahubhastrikā* / *bahubhastrakā*. But we also get *svikā* and *svakā*. The phrase *nañpūrvāṇām api* 'also of those which are used with (or without) a preceding *naÑ*' is thus used in this rule for making things clearer to slow-wits (*mandabuddhi-pratipatyartham*).

PM ad *Kāś* presents a detailed discussion on whether *itva* applies to the same *ā* which goes through shortening. This discussion, especially, concerns interaction between *akAC* and *ṬāP*, on the one hand, and between *sUP* and *naÑ* on the other. Thus,

> *atrātaḥ sthāna ity etat svaśabdasya viśeṣaṇam/*
> *sambhavavyabhicārau hi tatra staḥ kākacoḥ satoḥ//*
> *dvyetadoḥ sambhavo nāsti nānyatra vyabhicāritā/*
> *sarvanāmnaḥ svaśabdasya tenāyaṃ vidhir bhavet//*
> 'from here on, *sthāne* 'in place of' is considered a qualifier to the word *sva*; given the presence of *ka* and *akAC*, this qualifier meaning will be present, or there will be a lack thereof; these both are not at all possible; we do not find absence, elsewhere; this operation, therefore, is applicable relative to the pronominal word *sva*'

7.3.48 अभाषितपुंस्काच्च

abhāṣitapuṃskāc ca
/ *abhāṣitapuṃskāt* 5/1 = *bhāṣitaḥ pumān yena* = *bhāṣitapuṃskaḥ* (*bv.*); *na bhāṣitapuṃskaḥ* (*nañ.* with int. *bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ca* ϕ/
(*pratyasthāt kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupaḥ* #44 *na* #45 *udīcām ātaḥ sthāne* #46 *nañpūrvāṇām api* #47)
abhāṣitapuṃskād vihitasyātaḥ sthāne yo' kāras tasyodīcām ācāryāṇāṃ matena ikārādeśo na bhavati

A replacement in short *i* does not, in the opinion of northern grammarians, come in place of an *a* which replaces *ā*, used before *k* of an affix of items which do not have a corresponding denotation of a male (*abhāṣitapuṃska*), irrespective of whether they are used in construction after *naÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvakā 'she who has a cot'
khaṭvikā 'ibidem'
akhaṭvakā 'she who does not have a cot'
akhaṭvikā 'ibidem'
paramakhaṭvakā 'she who has the best cot'
paramakhaṭvikā 'ibidem'

1. Note that *khaṭvā* 'cot' is obligatorily feminine. That is, it does not have a corresponding masculine (*abhāṣitapuṃska*) form. The forms *khaṭvakā* and *khaṭvikā* are derived with affix *ka* introduced after *khaṭvā*. Rule 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ* orders shortening of the final *ā* of *khaṭvā* before *ka*. Affix *ṬāP* is then introduced to derive final bases where optional replacement in *i* (*itva*) also applies before *ka*. Affixal operations relative to *ka* and *itva* are also seen in *akhaṭvakā* and *akhaṭvikā*, where *akhaṭvā* is a negative (*nañ*) *tatpuruṣa* compound, paraphrased as *na khaṭvā*. Examples such as *paramakhaṭvakā* 'excellent cot' and *paramakhaṭvikā* involve the formation of a *karmadhāraya* compound (2.1.61 *sanmahat*. . .), paraphrased as *paramā cāsau khaṭvā ca* 'that which is excellent, and is also a cot'.

2. It is stated that this rule must apply with optional *i*-replacement (*itva*) when shortening applies before affix *kaP* (5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*), introduced relative to a *bahuvrīhi* compound with no corresponding masculine. For, this shortening applies in place of an *ā* which occurs as part of a base with no corresponding masculine (*abhāṣitapuṃska*). Thus, we get two forms with optional replacement in *i*: *na khaṭvā* = *akhaṭvā*; *avidyamānā khaṭvā' syāḥ* = *akhaṭvakā* / *akhaṭvikā* 'she whose there is no cot'. The word *khaṭvā*, of *akhaṭvā* after which affix *ka* is introduced, is uniquely feminine. This same also applies to *paramakhaṭvakā* and *paramakhaṭvikā*, where *ka* is introduced after the *karmadhāraya* compound *paramakhaṭvā*, paraphrased as *paramā cāsau khaṭvā ca* 'that which is best, and is also a cot'. Here again, *paramakhaṭvā* is uniquely feminine. That is, in *paramakhaṭvakā* and *paramakhaṭvikā*, shortening of *ā* of *khaṭvā* (to *khaṭva*) has applied to a base which does not have a corresponding masculine. Consequently, optional replacement in *i* must apply. As against this, when shortening applies to an *ā* introduced after a base with a corresponding masculine, this optional *itva* must be blocked. Thus, *avidyamānā khaṭvā asyāḥ* = *akhaṭvā*; *alpā akhaṭvā* = *akhaṭvikā*. We cannot get optional *i*-replacement of this rule because the *ā* which goes through shortening in these examples has been introduced after a *bahuvrīhi* with a

corresponding masculine. We also get this same situation in *atikrāntā khaṭvām = akhaṭvā* 'she who has excelled . . .'; *alpā atikhaṭvā = atikhaṭvikā*. Here again, we find *ā* after that which has a corresponding masculine.

7.3.49 आदाचार्याणाम्

ād ācāryāṇām
/ *āt* 5/1 *ācāryāṇām* 6/3/
(*pratyasthāt kāt pūrvasya id āpi asupaḥ* #44 *na* #45 *udīcām ātaḥ sthāne* #46 *nañpūrvāṇām api* #47 *abhāṣitapuṃskāt* #48)
abhāṣitapuṃskād ātaḥ sthāne yo' kāras tasyācāryāṇāṃ ākārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ā*, in the opinion of all other grammarians, comes in place of an *a* which replaces *ā*, used before *k* of an affix of items which do not have a corresponding denotation of a male (*abhāṣitapuṃska*), irrespective of whether they are used in construction after *naÑ*.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvākā
akhaṭvākā
paramakhaṭvākā

1. Note that the preceding rule negates *i*-replacement for an *a* which, in turn, is a replacement of *ā* introduced after a base not having a corresponding masculine. But since this negation is made in the opinion of northern grammarians, it becomes optional. That is, in the opinion of other grammarians, this *i*-replacement will apply, obligatorily. Recall also that the *a* which is here subjected to *i*-replacement, or its negation, is itself a short counterpart of *ā* ordered by rule 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*. Our present rule introduces *ā*, as against *i* of the earlier rule made optional by way of negation in the opinion of northern grammarians. That is, what should have been *a* or *i*, is here replaced with *ā*. In this sense, it is an exception to the preceding rule. Of course, in the opinion of grammarians other than northerners. But since this replacement in *ā* goes against the *a* ordered by 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*, this rule also becomes an exception to 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ* (*PM*: *itvāpavādo' yaṃ yogaḥ*; '*ke' ṇaḥ*' *iti hrasvāpavādaś ca*). One must also remember that all these proposals, i.e., replacement in *i* (7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt kātpūrvasyātaḥ* . . .), negation of *i* by northern grammarians in favor of retention of *a* (7.3.48 *abhāṣitapuṃskāc ca*), and replacement in *ā* against retention option of *a* (7.4.49 *ācāryāṇām*), are made in connection with an *ā* introduced after a base with no corresponding masculine. Consequently, we get three forms, exclusively, in the context of a base which does not have a corresponding masculine. Thus, *akhaṭvakā* / *akhaṭvikā* / *akhaṭvākā* (*PM*: *sarvathā abhāṣitapuṃskeṣu trairūpyam*).

Questions have also been raised against interpretation of the word *ācārya* 'preceptor' of *ācāryāṇām*. Since a reference to northern grammarians is

already made, these grammarians, here referred to in the plural by *ācāryāṇām*, must be non-northerns. But others say that *ācārya* refers to Pāṇini's own teacher, used in the plural for showing respect (*PM*: *apara āha: ācāryasya pāṇiner ya ācāryaḥ sa ihācāryaḥ*).

7.3.50 ठस्येकः

ṭhasyekaḥ
/*ṭhasya* 7/1 *ikaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
aṅgasya nimittaṃ yaṣ ṭhaḥ tasya pratyayaṭhasya ika ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ika* comes in place of *ṭha* of an affix which, when follows, conditions assignment of the term *aṅga*.

EXAMPLES:

ākṣikaḥ 'he who plays with die'
śālālikaḥ 'he who plays with ivory sticks'
lāvaṇikaḥ 'he whose item for sale is salt'

1. There could be two possible interpretations of the word-forms *ṭha* and *ika*. Shall we accept the *ṭha* of *ṭhasya*, simply as consonantal *ṭh* (*varṇa-mātra*), or as *ṭha*, a sequence (*saṃghāta*) with *a*? If we accept the first, we cannot justify the genitive specification with *ṭhasya* 'in place of *ṭha*'. If we accept the other, we find over-application (*atiprasaṅga*) in the *Uṇādi*-derivate (108: *kaṇeṣ ṭhaḥ*) *kaṇṭhaḥ*. This over-application, however, can be blocked by the *bāhulaka* 'variously' provision of 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*. Accepting *ṭh* of *ṭhasya*, simply as a consonant (*varṇa*), will occasion *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a sound as what it replaced', thereby resulting in *ka*, as a replacement (7.3.51 *isusuktāntāt kaḥ*) for *ika*, which replaces *ṭh* in *māthitikaḥ*. Given, *mathita* + (*ṭha*→*ika*), rule 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* deletes the *aṅga*-final *a* of *mathita*. Rule 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau* may then be invoked to, thereby, yield *ka* as a replacement for *ika*, viewed as *ṭha*. This will produce **māthitkaḥ*, a wrong form.

It is stated that an operation applicable to two relata cannot be invoked to impair their relationship. The *t* of *mathit* is brought about under the condition of a following vowel-initial *ika*. The *t*-final status of *mathit* cannot be accepted as destroying the vowel-initial status of the affix (*PŚ* 86: *sannipāta-lakṣaṇo vidhir animittaṃ tadvighātasya*). This then blocks the replacement in *ka*. This *ka* can also be blocked if *sthānivadbhāva* is invoked by 1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*. That is, when *pūrvavidhau* 'operation on what precedes . . .' is interpreted as a *pañcamī-tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *pūrvasmād uttarasya vidhau* 'when an operation on what follows, relative to what precedes, is to be performed'. This will remove the *t*-final status and, consequently, will block *ka*.

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) states that *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as also that

which ends in *x*' can be accepted as operative in accepting a specification with sound (*varṇa-grahaṇa*). But since *anta* in 7.3.35 *isuktāntāt*. . . is used to emphasize *t*-final status in *upadeśa*, the *t*-final status which results out of the application of 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca* cannot form the basis for a replacement in *ka*. That is, *ṭh* and *ik* alone are given as *sthānī* 'that which is replaced' and *ādeśa* 'that which replaces'. The *a* of these forms, i.e., *ṭha* and *ika*, is then treated as given for 'ease of articulation' (*uccāraṇārtha*). If this position is accepted then it will also apply to affixes *ḍhaK*, etc., where *a* is not intended for ease of articulation. If *ṭha* as a whole is accepted as the affix to be replaced, this same interpretation must also apply to *ika*, the replacement. The first interpretation will make this replacement available to the final *ṭh* of verbal root *paṭh* in *paṭhitā*, etc. The second interpretation will make it apply to affix *aṭhaC* (5.2.35 *karmaṇi ghaṭo' ṭhac*) in *karmaṭha* 'diligent'. It is to correct problems encountered in either of these interpretations that the genitive of *ṭhasya* is interpreted as denoting *nimitta-sambandha* 'cause or condition relationship' and not the *avayava-sambandha* 'part (of a whole) relationship'. Thus, *ṭhasya* means '. . . *ṭha* which conditions assignment of the term *aṅga*'. Both of these interpretations are correct, depending on how problems relative to them are resolved. The affix is generally accepted as *ṭha* where *a* is not used for articulation.

Our first two examples, i.e., *ākṣikaḥ* and *śālākikaḥ*, are derivates of *ṭhaK* (4.4.1 *prāg vahateṣ ṭhak*), introduced after *akṣa* + *bhis* and *śalākā* + *bhis*, paraphrased as *akṣair dīvyati* 'plays with dice' and *śalākābhir dīvyati* 'plays with ivory sticks'. Operations such as replacement in *ika*, assignment of the term *bha*, and deletion of *a* and *ā*, are then performed to obtain final forms. Our last example, i.e., *lāvaṇikaḥ* 'he whose item of sale is salt', is a derivate of *ṭhaÑ* (4.4.52 *lavaṇāṭ ṭhañ*), paraphrased as *lavaṇam paṇyam asya*.

7.3.51 इसुसुक्तान्तात्कः

isusuktāntāt kaḥ

/*isusuktāntāt* 5/1 = *is ca us ca uk ca tas ca* (*dv*.); *isusuktam ante yasya saḥ* (*bv*.), *tasmāt*; *kaḥ* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṭhasya* #50)

'*is, us*' *ity evamantānām ugantānāṃ tāntānāṃ cāṅgānām uttarasya ṭhasya* '*ka*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

A replacement in *ka* comes in place of *ṭha* which occurs after an *aṅga* terminating in *is, us, uK* and *t*.

EXAMPLES:

sārpiṣkaḥ 'he whose item for sale is ghee'
dhānuṣkaḥ 'he whose weapon is a bow'
yājuṣkaḥ 'he who enjoys sacrificial chants'

naiṣādakarṣukaḥ 'he who was born in Niṣādakarṣū'
śābarajambukaḥ 'he who was born in Śābarajambū'
mātṛkam 'that which is inherited from mother'
paitṛkam 'that which is inherited from father'
audaśvitkaḥ 'butter-milk'
śākṛtkaḥ 'a calf'

1. This rule offers *ka* as a replacement for *ṭha*, when the same occurs after some specified bases termed *aṅga*. We get *sārpiṣka*, from *sarpis* + *sU* + *ṭhaK* (4.4.51 *tad asya paṇyam*), where *ka* replaces *ṭha*. We similarly get *dhānuṣka* and *yājuṣka*, from *dhanus* + *Ṭā* + *ṭhaK* and *yajus* + *Ṭā* + *ṭhaK* (4.4.2 *tena dīvyati*...), where *ka* also replaces *ṭha*. The final *s* of these bases goes through *rutva-visarga* and is, subsequently, replaced with *ṣ* (8.4.39 *iṇaḥ ṣaḥ*).

Our next two examples, i.e., *naiṣādakarṣuka* and *śābarajambuka*, derive from *niṣādakarṣū* + *Ṅi* + *ṭhaÑ* and *śabarajambū* + *Ṅi* + *ṭhaÑ* (4.2.119 *or deśe ṭhañ*), where *ṭhaÑ* denotes the residual sense (*śaiṣika*) of *tatra jātaḥ* 'born in there', etc. These are examples where the *aṅga* ends in *uK*. The *aṅga*-final *ū* is replaced with its short counterpart by 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*. Affix *ṭhaÑ* of *mātṛka* and *paitṛka*, where *mātṛ* and *pitṛ* constitute an *aṅga* ending in *ṛ*, is introduced by 4.3.37 *ṛtaṣ ṭhañ* with the signification of *tata āgataḥ* 'arrived (received) from there'. Our final two derivates involve bases which end in *t*. The first, *udaśvit* + *Ṅi* + *ṭhaK* = *audaśvitka*, receives *ṭhaK* with the signification of 4.2.15 *saṃskṛtaṃ bhakṣāḥ*. The second, *śakṛt* + *Ṭā* + *ṭhaK*, receives its *ṭhaK* with the signification of 4.4.22 *saṃsṛṣṭe* 'mixed with'.

2. Why do we not get this replacement in *āśiṣā carati* = *āśiṣikaḥ* and *uṣā carati* = *auṣikaḥ*? Because the bases, i.e., *āśiṣ* ← *āN* + *śās* and *uṣ* ← *vas*, which here qualify to serve as an *aṅga* are not originally given as such. They result out of rule applications (*lākṣaṇika*), instead. That is, they are not what the rule requires, via specific enumeration, of bases (*pratipadokta*). For example, *us* of *uṣā* results from *samprasāraṇa* of *vas*.

3. A proposal is also made here to allow *ka* after *doṣa* to derive *dorbhyāṃ carati* = *dauṣkaḥ*.

7.3.52 चजोः कु घिण्यतोः

cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ
/ *cajoḥ* 6/2 = *caś ca jaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ku* 1/1 *ghiṇyatoḥ* 7/2 = *gh it yasya* (*bv.*); *ghit ca ṇyac ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
cakārajakārayoḥ kavargādeśo bhavati ghiti ṇyati ca pratyaye parataḥ
The final *c* and *j* of an *aṅga* are replaced with their corresponding sounds denoted by *kU* 'consonants of *k*-series', when an affix marked with *GH* as an *it*, or one constituted by *ṆyaT*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

pākaḥ 'cooking'
tyāgaḥ 'renunciation'
rāgaḥ 'attachment, color'
pākyam 'that which is cooked'
vākyam 'that which is said; a sentence'

1. This rule allows *c* and *j* to be replaced with *k* and *g*, respectively. Of course, when an affix marked with *GH* as an *it*, or one constituted by *ṆyaT*, follows. Refer to the appendix under rule 1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic* for derivational details of examples with *vṛddhi*. Affix *ṆyaT*, of *pākyam* and *vācyam*, is introduced after *pac* and *vac* by 3.1.124 *ṛhalor yat*.

2. Can we invoke *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalency in the order of enumeration of elements', thereby to replace *c* with *k*, only before an affix marked with *GH*, and *j* with *g*, only before affix *ṆyaT*? No. Commentators note that *yathāsaṃkhya* is not accepted here. The *nipātana* provision of no replacement in *j* before *GHaÑ* serves as a *jñāpaka* 'indicator' (7.3.61 *bhujanyubjau pāṇyupatāpayoḥ*, 7.3.62 *prayājānuyājau yajñāṅge*). Some also cite 4.2.1 *tena raktaṃ rāgāt* as an indicator for no *yathāsaṃkhya*.

7.3.53 न्यङ्क्वादीनां च

nyaṅkvādīnāṃ ca
/ *nyaṅkvādīnām* 6/3 = *nyaṅkur ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*) *te*, *teṣām*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ ku* #52)
'*nyaṅku*' *ity evamādīnāṃ kavargādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *kU* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* enumerated in the list headed by *nyaṅku* 'deer', when an affix marked with *GH* as an *it*, or one constituted by *ṆyaT*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

nyaṅkuḥ 'a deer'
madguḥ 'an acquatic bird'
bhṛguḥ 'name of a mythological race'
dūrepākaḥ 'cooking at a distance'
phalepākaḥ 'ripening of fruits on trees'
māṃsapākaḥ 'cooking of meat'
kapotapākaḥ 'cooking of pigeon meat'

1. This rule offers *kU*-replacements to items listed in the the group of nominal stems headed by *nyaṅku* (*nyaṅkvādi*). Thus, (*ni-añc* + *u*) → (*ni-aṅk* + *u*) → *n*(*i*→*y*) *a*(*ñ*→*ṅ*) *ku* = *nyaṅku*, where we introduce affix *u* (*Uṇādi*: I.17: *nāvañceḥ*). A replacement in *k*, followed by *yaṆ*, and *parasavarṇa* 'a single replacement homogeneous with what follows in a vocalic sequence', etc., of

ñ (8.4.57 *anusvārasya* . . .), produces desired forms. We similarly derive *masj* + *u* = *madgu*, with the *Uṇādi* affix *u* (I.7: *mṛśitācarit* . . .), through a replacement in *g* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.53 *jhalām jaś jhaśi*), via *k*. Thus, *mas*(*j*→*k*) + *u* → *ma*(*s*→*d*) (*k*→*g*) + *u* = *madgu*. A similar affix *u* (*Uṇādi*: I.28: *pathimradibhrasjāṃ salopaś ca*) is also introduced after *bhrasj* 'to roast' to derive *bhṛgu*, where *s* is deleted.

Derivates such as *dūre pacyate svayam eva* = *dūrepākaḥ* 'that which ripens at a distance' and *phale pacyate* = *phalepākaḥ* 'that which ripens in fruition', involve introduction of affix *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .). These compounds retain their locative (6.3.14 *tatpuruṣe kṛti bahulam*) and receive *vṛddhi* of their penultimate (*upadhā*) vowels, via *nipātana*. Some also read *kṣaṇepākaḥ* 'that which ripens quickly' as an example. The last two examples, i.e., *māṃsapāka* 'meat-cooking' and *kapotapāka* 'pigeon-cooking', have *pāka* 'cooking' as a following constituent where *pac* reecives affix *aṆ* under the cooccurrence condition of *māṃsa* + *am* and *kapota* + *am* (3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*).

7.3.54 हो हन्तेर्ञ्णिन्नेषु

ho hanter ñṇinneṣu

/*haḥ* 6/1 *hanteḥ* 6/1 *ñṇinneṣu* 7/3 = *ñaś ca ṇaś ca* = *ñṇau* (*itar. dv.*), *ñṇau itau yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*); *ñṇitaś ca naś ca* = *ñinnāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ku* #52)

hanter hakārasya kavargādeśo bhavati ñiti ṇiti pratyaye parato nakāre ca

A replacement in *kU* comes in place of *h* of an *aṅga*, namely *han* 'to harm, kill', when an affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*, or simply *N*, as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ghātayati '. . . kills'
ghātakaḥ 'killer'
sādhughātī 'killer of the righteous'
ghātaṅghātam 'killing over and over again'
ghāto vartate 'there is killing going on'
ghnanti 'they are killing . . .'
ghnantu 'let them kill'
aghnan 'they killed (*LUṄ*)

1. This rule replaces *h* with *gh*, its corresponding sound denoted by *kU*, when *n*, or an affix marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ*, follows. Refer to my notes under 7.3.32 *hanas* . . . for most derivational details. The *a* of *gh*(*a*→φ) *n* + *anti* is deleted by 6.4.98 *gamahan*. . . . Thus, (*h*→*gh*) *n* + (*a*→φ) *nti* = *ghnanti*. Similar applications are also witnessed in other examples. Derivates of *LOṬ* have their final *i* replaced with *u* by 3.4.86 *eruḥ*. This *i*, however, is deleted in examples of *LAṄ*, i.e., *aghnan*, etc. (3.4.100 *itaś ca*).

2. Why do we have to explicitly specify *h*? So that this replacement could be blocked from applying to the final *n* of *han* 'to kill', in view of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya.*

Why should this *h* must be the *h* of *han*? So that we do not get this replacement in place of *h* of *pra-hṛ* + *GHaÑ* = *prahāra* 'attack' and *pra- hṛ* + *ṆvuL* = *prahāraka* 'attacker'.

3. Affixes *Ñit* and *Ṇit* are used as qualifiers to *han.* The *n* is similarly used as a qualifier to *h.* Note that this rule will not find any scope of application when *h* and *n* remain intervened. More directly, this rule cannot apply to replace *h* with *gh,* when an intervening sound is brought, via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement sound as what it replaced'. Commentators state that this intervention is not acceptable. They, however, accept such interventions if the intervening item is necessary for desired results and also happens to be an original part of *han.* Thus, the *an* of *han* intervenes between *h* and *aka* in deriving *ghātaka.* This intervention should be accepted for replacing *h* with *gh* since *an* is part of the root. But consider *hananam icchati* = *hananīyati* 'wishes for killing' where intervention of *anīya* cannot be accepted.

7.3.55 अभ्यासाच्च

> *abhyāsāc ca*
> / *abhyāsāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ku* #52 *ho hanteḥ* #53)
> *abhyāsād uttarasya hanter hakārasya kavargādeśo bhavati*
> A replacement in *kU* comes in place of *h* of an *aṅga,* namely *han,* even when the same occurs after that which is termed an *abhyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*).

EXAMPLES:

> *jighāṃsati* '. . . wishes to kill'
> *jaṅghanyate* '. . . kills over and over again'
> *ahaṃ jaghana* 'I killed'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *gh* when *han* occurs after an *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). Consider *jighāṃsati,* a derivate of (*han* + *saN*) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)), where the penultimate (*upadhā*) vowel of *han* is replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ sani*). Doubling (*dvitva*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) apply on *ha* + *hān* + *sa.* The first *h* is replaced with *j* (*jaśtva;* 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca*), via *jh* (*cutva;* 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*). Thus, (*h*→*jh*→*j*) *a* + *hān* + *saN* → *j*(*a*→*i*) + *hān* + *sa* = *jihān* + *sa,* where *a* of *ja* is replaced with *i* (7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*). Our present rule applies to *jihān* + *sa* to replace *h* with *gh.* The *n* is replaced with *anusvāra* to produce *jighāṃsa,* a derived verbal root (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*) after which (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) can be introduced.

Similar rules apply in deriving *jaṅghanyate*, from (*han* + *yaṄ*) + (*LAṬ*→*te*)), where there is no *vṛddhi* of the penultimate (*upadhā*), but where augment *nUK* is introduced by 7.4.85 *nug ato' nunāsikāntasya*. The *jaghan* of *ahaṃ jaghan* is a derivate of *LIṬ* where *miP*-replacement of *LIṬ* is replaced with *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). The *kutva* 'replacement in a consonant of *k*-series' of this rule applies when *ṆaL* is optionally not treated as marked with *Ṇ* as an *it* (7.1.91 *ṇal uttamo vā*). Acceptance of a *Ṇit*-status would have enabled the preceding rule to accomplish replacement in a consonant denoted by *kU* (*kutva*).

2. Note that this *kutva* applies to *h* which occurs after the *abhyāsa* of *han* termed an *aṅga*. Of course, when the affix which conditions assignment of the term *aṅga* follows (*Kāś*: *abhyāsanimitte pratyaye hanter aṅgasya yo' bhyāsas tasmād evaitat kutvam*). This is why *kutva* is blocked in *hananīyitum icchati* = *jihananīyiṣati*, a derivate of (*hananīya* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*. For, it is *hananīya*, and not *han*, which is termed an *aṅga*. The term *aṅga* applies to *han* before *LyuṬ*.

7.3.56 हेरचङि

her acaṅi
/*heḥ* 6/1 *acaṅi* 7/1 = *na caṅ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ku* #52 *haḥ* #54 *abhyāsāt* #55)
hinoter hakārasyābhyāsād uttarasya kavargādeśo bhavati acaṅi
A replacement in *kU* comes in place of *h* of an *aṅga*, namely *hi* 'to go, incite', when an affix other than *CaṄ* (*acaṅi*; 3.1.48 *ṇiśri* . . .) follows.

EXAMPLES:

prajighīṣati 'third singular active derivate of (*pra-hi* + *saN*) = *prajighīṣa* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)'
prajeghīyate 'third singular active derivate of (*pra-hi* + *yaṄ*) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*))'
prajighāya 'a derivate of *pra*(*hi* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*))'

1. This rule allows *h* of verbal root *hi*(*noti*) to be replaced with *gh* when an affix other than *CaṄ* (3.1.47 *ṇiśri* . . .) follows. Consider (*pra-hi* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* → *prajighīṣati*, where 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe* . . . negates introduction of augment *iṬ* and 1.2.9 *iko jhal* negates *guṇa*, because *saN* is here treated as marked with *K* as an *it*. The long *ī*, of *pra-h*(*i*→*ī*) + *sa*, is gotten, via application of 6.4.16 *ajjhanagamāṃ sani*. Other operations, i.e., replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*), doubling (*dvitva*) and *abhyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable', remain similar to many examples discussed. Our next example, i.e., (*pra-hi* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*, has the short of *hi* replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātu*. . . . The reduplicated syllable (*abhyāsa*) receives a *guṇa*-replacement by 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*. The *vṛddhi* and *āy*-replacements in (*pra-hi* + *yaṄ*) = *prajighāya* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)) is conditioned by *ṆaL*, a replacement of *LIṬ* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .).

2. Why do we state the condition of *acaṅi* 'when an affix other than *CaṄ* follows', when this rule will not apply, anyway. That is, given (*pra-hi* + *ṆiC*) + *CaṄ* + *LUṬ*)), *hi* can be termed an *aṅga* before *ṆiC*, followed by *CaṄ* which conditions the *abhyāsa*. The condition of *acaṅi* is stated here to indicate that, elsewhere, in contexts other than those of *CaṄ*, *kutva* 'replacement in a consonant of *k*-series' applies to a form of *hi*, inclusive of *ṆiC*. Consider (*pra-hi* + *ṆiC* → *prahāyi*) + *saN*)) + *LAṬ*))) = *prajighāyayiṣati* 'wishes to have someone killed' where *kutva* applies after doubling, etc. If the condition of *acaṅi* is not stated, *prahāyi* would be treated as the *aṅga*, and *kutva* of *hi* would be blocked.

7.3.57 सन्लिटोर्जेः

sanliṭor jeḥ
/*san-liṭoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*); *jeḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ku* #52 *abhyāsāt* #55)
sani liṭi ca pratyaye jer aṅgasya yo' bhyāsas tasmād uttarasya kavargādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *kU* comes in place of *j* of *ji* 'to win' when occurring after the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga*, provided affixes *saN* and *LIṬ* followed.

EXAMPLES:

jigīṣati 'active derivate of (*ji* + *saN*) = *jigīsa* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*))'
jigāya 'a derivate of *ji* + *ṆiC* with (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *ku* after the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by *ji*. Of course, when *saN* and *LIṬ* follow. Thus, consider *jetum icchati* = (*ji* + *saN*→*jig*(*i*→*ī*) *sa* + (*LAṬ* →*tiP*)) = *jigī*(*s*→*ṣ*) *ati* = *jigīṣati*, where *j* after the *abhyāsa* is replaced with *g* before *saN*. A similar application is also seen in the *ṆiC*-derivate of *ji* when *LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL* follows. Thus, (*ji* + *ṆiC*) = *j*(*i*→*ai*→*āy*) *i* + (*LIṬ*→*ṆaL*)) → *jigāya*.

Why do we have the condition of *sanliṭoḥ*? Consider *jejīyate* where *yaṄ* follows. Also, consider *jyā* + (*LIṬ*→*tas*→*atus*) →*jijyatuḥ* and *ji* + (*LIṬ*→*jhi*→*us*) = *jijyuḥ*, where verbal root *jyā* yields the form *ji* after the application of *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*. . .). But since this form results through application of rules (*lākṣaṇika*), as against given as original, this rule does not apply. We still get *jyā* + (*LIṬ*→*atus*) = *jijyatuḥ* and *jyā* + (*LIṬ*→*us*) = *jijyuḥ*, where a replacement in *yaṆ* is accomplished by 6.4.82 *er anekāco' saṃyogapūrvasya*.

7.3.58 विभाषा चेः

vibhāṣā ceḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *ceḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ku* #52 *abhyāsāt* #55 *sanliṭoḥ* #57)

cinoter aṅgasya sanliṭor abhyāsād uttarasya vibhāṣā kavargādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *kU* comes, optionally, in place of *c* of verbal root *ciÑ* 'to gather, heap' when occurring after the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga*, provided affixes *saN* and *LIṬ* follow.

EXAMPLES:

cicīṣati 'derivate of (*ci* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*'
cikīṣati 'derivate of the preceding with no *kU*'
cikāya 'derivate of (*ci* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*+*ṆaL*)'
cicāya 'derivate of the preceding with no *kU*-replacement'

1. A provision of *kU*-replacement, made for *ciÑ* by the preceding rule, is here made optional in case of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *ci* 'to gather, heap'. A replacement in *k* for *c* of *ciÑ* is made because this rule carries the *anuvṛtti* of *cajoḥ* 'in place of *c* and *j*' (7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku* . . .). Consider *cikīṣati/cicīṣati*; and *cicāya/cikāya*, optional forms of *LAṬ* (with *saN*) and *LIṬ* (with *ṆaL*), respectively.

This optional replacement in *k* (*kutva*) is not allowed in *cecīyate* 'heaps over and over again', a derivate of *LAṬ*, where *ci* occurs before affix *yaṄ*.

7.3.59 न क्वादेः

na kvādeḥ
/*na* ϕ *kvādeḥ* 6/1 = *kuḥ ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52)
kavargāder dhātoś cajoḥ kavargādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in *kU* does not come in place of *c* and *j* of a verbal root termed *aṅga*, when the same begins with *kU*.

EXAMPLES:

kūjaḥ 'nominative singular of (*kūj* + *GHaÑ*) = *kūja* + *sU*'
kharjaḥ 'nominative singular of (*kharj* + *GHaÑ*) = *kharja* + *sU*'
garjaḥ 'nominative singular of (*garj* + *GHaÑ*) = *garja* + *sU*'
kūjyam 'nominative singular of (*kūj* + *ṆyaT*) = *kūjya* + *sU*'
kharjyam 'nominative singular of (*kūj* + *ṆyaT*) = *kharjya* + *sU*'
garjyam 'nominative singular of (*garj* + *ṆyaT*) = *garjya* + *sU*'

1. This rule blocks a replacement denoted by *kU* (*kutva*) in case of an *aṅga* which consists of a verbal root beginning with a *kU* 'a consonant of *k*-series'. This negation is offered in view of the positive provision made by 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku*. . . . Thus, consider *kūj* + *GHaÑ* (3.3.121 *halaś ca*) = *kūja* and *kūj* + *ṆyaT* (3.1.124 *ṛhalor*. . .) = *kūjya*, etc.

Incidentally, *kūj*, *kharjA* and *garjA* are used with the meanings of 'indistinct sound', 'be pained' and 'roar', respectively.

7.3.60 अजिव्रज्योश्च

ajivrajyoś ca
/ *aji-vrajy-oḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52 *na* #59)
'*aji, vraji*' *ity etayoś ca kavargādeśo na bhavati*
A replacement in *kU* also does not come in place of *c* and *j* of an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *ajI* 'movement, wander' and *vrajI* 'to go'.

EXAMPLES:

samājaḥ 'derivate of (*sam-aj* + *GHaÑ*) = *samāja* + *sU*'
udājaḥ 'derivate of (*ud-aj* + *GHaÑ*) = *udāja* + *sU*'
parivrājaḥ 'derivate of (*pari-vraj* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*'
parivrājyam 'derivate of (*pari-vraj* + *ṆyaT*) + *sU*'

1. This rule blocks *kutva* in case of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *ajI* 'wander' and *vrjI* 'go'. Thus, *sam-aj* + *GHaÑ* = *samāja* and *ud* + *aj* + *GHaÑ* = *udāja* (3.3.69 *samudor*. . .). Here again, this negation is made against the positive provision of 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku*. . . .

Now consider *parivrājaḥ* 'wandering ascetic' and *parivrājyaḥ* 'to be wandered about' where, because of a replacement in *vī* (3.2.56 *ajer vy aghañapoḥ*), we do not get a replacement in *kU* before affix *ṆyaT*.

7.3.61 भुजन्युब्जौ पाण्युपतापयोः

bhujanyubjau pāṇyupatāpayoḥ
/ *bhuja-nyubjau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *pāṇy-upatāpayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52 *na* #59)
'*bhuja, nyubja*' *ity etau śabdau nipātyete pāṇau upatāpe ca*
bhuja and *nyubja* are derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is *pāṇi* 'hand, arm' and *upatāpa* 'heat, affliction', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

bhujaḥ = *pāṇiḥ* 'hand'
nyubjaḥ = *nyubjitāḥ* (*adhomukhāḥ*) *śerate' sminn iti* 'that in which they recline face down; an affliction'

1. Consider *bhuja* (3.3.121 *halaś ca*), a derivate of *bhujyate' nena* = *bhuj* + *GHaÑ* 'that by which is consumed', where replacement in a consonant of the *k*-series (*kU*; *kutva*) is blocked, via *nipātana*. This same is also witnessed in *nyubjanty asmin* = *ni-ubj* + *GHaÑ*. Elsewhere, we will get *bhogaḥ* 'that which is consumed; food, pleasure', and *samudgaḥ* 'leaf-bowl, box' with different denotata.

7.3.62 प्रयाजानुयाजौ यज्ञाङ्गे

prayājānuyājau yajñāṅge

/prayājānuyājau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) *yajñāṅge* 7/1 = *yajñasya aṅgam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52 *na* #59)
'prayāja, anuyāja' ity etau nipātyete yajñāṅge
prayāja and *anuyāja* are derived, via *nipātana*, when their signification relates to part of a sacrifice (*yajñāṅga*).

EXAMPLES:

pañca prayājāḥ 'the five sacrificial rituals performed prior to the main ritual sacrifice'
pañcānuyājāḥ 'the five sacrificial rituals performed subsequent to the main ritual sacrifice'

1. Note that affix *GHaÑ*, in *pra-yaj* + *GHaÑ* and *anu-yaj* + *GHaÑ*, is introduced by 3.3.19 *akartari ca....* An absence of replacement in *kU* (*kutva*) is again accomplished here, via *nipātana*.

Is this rule formulated only for two derivates, i.e., *prayāja* and *anuyāja*? No. These two are offered by way of illustration (*pradarśanārtham*). This blocking of replacement in *kutva*, via *nipātana*, indeed applies, elsewhere, in derivates such as *ekādaśopayājāḥ*, *upāṃśuyājam* and *patnīsaṃyājāḥ*, etc.

It is important that the meaning condition, i.e., *yajñāṅga* 'part of a ritual sacrifice', must be satisfied. For, elsewhere, we find *prayāgaḥ* 'name of a sacrifice' and *anuyāgaḥ* 'ibidem' with application of *kutva*.

7.3.63 वञ्चेर्गतौ

vañcer gatau
/vañceḥ 6/1 *gatau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52 *na* #59)
vañcer aṅgasya gatau vartamānasya kavargādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in *kU* does not come in place of an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *vañcI*, when its signification is *gati* 'movement'.

EXAMPLES:

vañcyaṃ vañcanti vaṇijaḥ 'traders go where they should'

1. This rule blocks *kutva* when an *aṅga*, particularly *vañcU* 'be crooked, deceitful', is used with the signification of *gati* 'movement'. Consider *vañc* + *ṆyaT* = *vañcya*. A derivate of *GHaÑ* with the signification of a crooked piece of wood (*kuṭilaṃ kāṣṭham*). This, in turn, will have *kutva* to yield *vaṅkam* 'crooked'; and *vañcya* + *GHaÑ* = *vañcya* of *vañcyaṃ vañcayanti vaṇijaḥ* 'trader go to their destinations'.

7.3.64 ओक उचः के

oka ucaḥ ke

/*okaḥ* 1/1 *ucaḥ* 6/1 *ke* 7/1/
(*cajoḥ kuḥ* #52)
ucer dhātoḥ ke pratyaye 'okaḥ' iti nipātyate
oka is derived, via *nipātana*, when affix *ka* follows verbal root *ucA* 'be in cohesion'.

EXAMPLES:

nyokaḥ śakuntaḥ '*nyoka* is a bird'
nyoko gṛham '*nyoka* is a house'

1. What is accomplished here, via *nipātana*? It is replacement in *k* (*kutva*) and *guṇa*. Thus, *nyucanty asmin lokāḥ* = *ny-u*(*c*→*k*) + *ka* = *ny*(*u*→*o*) + *ka* = *nyoka* 'that in which people live', where 3.1.135 *igupadhajñā*... introduces affix *ka*.

2. Why do we not derive *ni* + *oka* = *nyoka* with *GHaÑ*? So that we do not get an initial *udātta* accent (6.1.197 *ñnityādir nityam*). Remember that *oka* is desired to be marked with *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*).

3. Note that this *nipātana* is also seen in deriving *divaukasa* 'god' and *jalaukasa* 'a leech' with the *Uṇādi* affix *asUN*, especially in view of 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*).

7.3.65 ण्य आवश्यके

ṇya āvaśyake
/*ṇye* 7/1 *āvaśyake* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52 *na* #59)
ṇye parataḥ āvaśyake' rthe kavargo na bhavati
A replacement in *kU* does not come in place of *c* and *j* of an *aṅga* with the signification of *āvaśyaka* 'urgent, necessary' when affix *ṆyaT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

avaśyapācyam 'must be cooked'
avaśyavācyam 'must be said'
avaśyarecyam 'must be cleared'

1. This rule blocks *c*→*k* and *j*→*g* of an *aṅga*, used with the signification of *āvaśyaka* 'necessary', when affix *ṆyaT* follows. Note that the example compounds are formed by 2.1.71 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca*. Affix *ṆyaT* is introduced in view of 3.1.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat* with the signification of *āvaśyaka* (3.3.171 *kṛtyāś ca*). The *m* of *avaśyam* 'definitely' is deleted in consonance with a desideratum (*iṣṭi*) of the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad *lumped avaśyamaḥ kṛtye tumkāmamanasor api*; ad 6.1.144 *aparasparāḥ*...).

Remember that this replacement in *k* (*kutva*) cannot be blocked where the meaning is not *āvaśyaka*. Thus, consider *pākyam* 'to be cooked' and *vākyam* 'to be said; a sentence'.

7.3.66 यजयाचरुचप्रवचर्चश्च

yajayācarucapravacarcaś ca
/*yaja-yāca-ruca-pravaca-ṛcaḥ* 6/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasya; ca* ф/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52 *na* #59 *ṇye* #65)
'*yaja, yāca, ruca, pravaca, ṛca*' *ity eteṣāṃ ṇye parataḥ kavargādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *kU* does not come in place of *c* and *j* of an *aṅga*, namely verbal roots *yajA* 'to sacrifice', *yācA* 'to beg', *rucA* 'to like, be agreeable', *pravacA* 'to proclaim' and *ṛcA* 'to praise, adore', when affix *ṆyaT* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yājyam 'to be sacrificed'
yācyam 'to be begged'
rocyam 'to be liked'
pravācyam 'to be proclaimed'
arcyam 'to be praised, worshiped'

1. This rule further widens the scope of non-application of replacement in *kU* (*kutva*). A specification of *vac*, used with the preverb *pra*, is made to restrict the derivate to the meaning of a text with particular recitation (*pravacigrahaṇaṃ śabdasaṃjñārtham*). For, this negation of *kutva* could be available to *vac* from 7.3.67 *vaco' śabdasaṃjñāyām*. Some do not accept this reference to a particular text. They, however, insist that *pra-vac* is specified to restrict the derivate to the usage of *vac* with *pra*, alone. Thus, consider *avivākyam* where *kutva* applies since no *pra* is used. But this happens only when a special meaning, i.e., use on the tenth ritual of the tenth night, is denoted in addition. Thus, we also get *avivācyam* where no special meaning is intended.

Note also that affix *ṆyaT* could be introduced after a verbal root with *ṛ* in its *upadhā* 'penultimate position', at the strength of this very rule. That is, *KyaP* of 3.1.110 *ṛd upadhāc*... is not accepted.

2. A proposal is also made to include *tyaj* 'to abandon' in this list of negation of *kutva* before *ṆyaT*. Thus, consider *tyājyam* 'to be abandoned'.

7.3.67 वचोऽशब्दसंज्ञायाम्

vaco' śabdasaṃjñāyām
/*vacaḥ* 6/1 *aśabdasaṃjñāyām* 7/1 = *śabdasya saṃjñā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *na śabdasaṃjñā* ((*nañ. tat.* with int. *ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām*)
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52 *na* #59 *ṇye* #65)
vaco' śabdasaṃjñāyām ṇyati parataḥ kavargo na bhavati
A replacement in *kU* does not come in place of *c* and *j* of an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *vac* 'to speak', when affix *ṆyaT* follows, provided *śabdasaṃjñā* 'assignment of name to a linguistic item' is not involved.

EXAMPLES:

vācyam āha 'he said what should be said'
avācyam āha 'he said what should not be said'

1. Consider *vākyam* 'a sentence' which, in turn, is name of this utterance (*śabdasaṃjñā*). This *kutva* of *c*, of *vac* before *ṆyaT*, cannot be blocked because *vākya* is a name. Thus, we also get *avaghuṣitaṃ vākyam āha* 'spoke very loudly'. Elsewhere, outside the meaning of *śabdasaṃjñā*, we get *vācya* 'worth saying' with no replacement in *kU* (*kutva*).

7.3.68 प्रयोज्यनियोज्यौ शक्यार्थे

prayojyaniyojyau śakyārthe
prayojya-niyojyau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tau*; *śakyārthe* 7/1 = *śakyo' rthaḥ* (*karma. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52 *na* #59 *ṇye* #65)
'*prayojya, niyojya*' *ity etau śabdau śakyārthe nipātyete*
prayojya and *niyojya* are derived, via *nipātana*, when *śakya* 'possible' is the signification.

EXAMPLES:

prayojyaḥ = *śakyaḥ prayoktum* 'fit to be used'
niyojyaḥ = *śakyo niyoktum* 'fit to be appointed'

1. Note that *ṆyaT* (3.3.124 *ṛhalor ṇyat*) is used here with the signification of *śakyam* 'possible', in view of 3.3.172 *śaki liṅ ca*. We will get *prayogyaḥ* 'deserving of usage' and *niyogyaḥ* 'deserving of appointment', outside the meaning of *śakyam* 'possible'.

7.3.69 भोज्यं भक्ष्ये

bhojyaṃ bhakṣye
/*bhojyam* 1/1 *bhakṣye* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *cajoḥ kuḥ* #52 *na* #59 *ṇye* #65)
bhojyaṃ nipātyate bhakṣye' bhidheye
A form such as *bhojya* is derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is *bhakṣya* 'edible'.

EXAMPLES:

bhojya odanaḥ 'rice for eating'
bhojyā yavāgūḥ 'barley-gruel for eating'

1. The word *bhakṣya* is used here only in the sense of *abhyavahārya* 'that which is fit for eating; edible'. Thus, we will get *bhogyaḥ kambalaḥ* 'a blanket to be enjoyed', outside the meaning of *bhojyam*.

7.3.70 घोर्लोपो लेटि वा

ghor lopo leṭi vā
/*ghoḥ* 6/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1 *leṭi* 7/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
ghusaṃjñakānāṃ leṭi parato vā lopo bhavati
A deletion by means of *LOPA* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhā ghv adāp*) when *LEṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dadhad ratnāni dāśuṣé 'let him give jewels to the donor'
somó dadad gandharvāyá 'let Soma offer (her) to Gandharva'

1. Consider (*dadhā* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + (*LEṬ*→*tiP*))) = *dadhā* + *ti*, where *ŚaP*, after *ḌUdāÑ* 'to give', gets replaced with *ŚLU* and doubling is accomplished in view of 6.1.10 *ślau*. Introduction of *aṬ* (3.4.94 *leṭo' ḍāṭau*), deletion of *ā* (by this rule), and *i* of *ti* (by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*), produces *dadh*(*ā*→ϕ) + *a* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) = *dadhat*. We similarly get *dadat* from *dā* + *LEṬ*. Note that an introduction of augment *āṬ* will still produce *dadhāt* and *dadāt*. The *vā* 'option(al)' of this rule makes it clear.

7.3.71 ओतः श्यनि

otaḥ śyani
/*otaḥ* 6/1 *śyani* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *lopaḥ* #70)
okārāntasyāṅgasya śyani parato lopo bhavati
A deletion by means of *LOPA* comes in place of the final *o* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of an *aṅga* ending in *oT*, when *ŚyaN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

niśyati '. . . sharpens'
avacchyati '. . . cuts'
avadyati '. . . divides'
avasyati '. . . terminates'

1. This rule deletes the final *o* of an *aṅga* before *ŚyaN* (3.1.69 *divādibhyaḥ śyan*). Thus, consider *ni-ś*(*o*→ϕ) + *ŚyaN* + (*LOṬ*→*tiP*)) = *niśyati*. Similar derivational details can be offered for other examples. Incidentally, *taparakaraṇa* 'making *t* to follow' (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) in *ot*, of *otaḥ*, is used for ease of articulation (*mukhasukhārtham*).

7.3.72 क्सस्याचि

ksasya āci
/*ksasya* 6/1 *āci* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *lopaḥ* #70)
ksasyājādau pratyaye lopo bhavati
A deletion by means of *LOPA* comes in place of *Ksa* of an *aṅga* when an affix beginning with a vowel follows.

EXAMPLES:

adhukṣātām 'third person dual middle form of *duh* 'to milk' in *LUṄ*; . . . those two milked''
adhukṣāthām 'second person dual middle form of *duh* in *LUṄ*'
adhukṣi 'first person singular middle . . .'

1. Refer to derivational details of *adhukṣat* (appendix, III:719). Examples of this rule can be derived with third person dual middle ending *ātām* and second person dual middle ending *āthām,* following similar rule applications. The third example *adhukṣi* is derived with the first person singular middle ending *iṬ*. Note that *Ksa* is a replacement of *CLI* before *LUṄ* (3.1.45 *śala igupadhād* . . .).

2. Why do we have the condition of *aci* 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows'? Consider *adhukṣat* where *Ksa* cannot be deleted because *tiP* follows beginning with a consonant.

Why is a specification with *sa* made preceded by *K*? So that this deletion does not apply in *utsa* + *au* → *utsau* and *utsa* + *Jas* = *utsāḥ* 'springs of water'; *vatsa* + *au* = *vatsau* 'two calves' and *vatsa* + *Jas* = *vatsāḥ* 'calves'. These derivates have affixes which begin with a vowel, but they do not have the *sa* of *Ksa.*

7.3.73 लुग्वा दुहदिहलिहगुहामात्मनेपदे दन्त्ये

lug vā duhadihalihaguhām ātmanepade dantye
/ *luk* 1/1 *vā* ϕ *duha-diha-liha-guhām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*) *ātmanepade* 7/1 *dantye* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ksasya* #72)
'*duha, diha, liha, guha*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām ātmanepade dantyādau parataḥ ksasya vā lug bhavati*
A deletion by means of *LUK* comes, optionally, in place of *ksa* of an *aṅga,* namely *duhA* 'to milk', *dihA* 'to smear', *lihA* 'to lick' and *gūh* 'to hide', when an *ātmanepada* affix beginning with a dental sound segment follows.

EXAMPLES:

adugdha 'third person singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *duh*'
adhukṣata 'ibidem; with no deletion of *Ksa*'
adugdhāḥ 'second person singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *duh*'
adhukṣathāḥ 'ibidem; with no deletion of *Ksa*'
adugdhvam 'second person plural middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *duh*'

adhukṣadhvam 'ibidem; with no deletion of *Ksa*'
aduhvahi 'first person singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *duh*'
adhukṣāvahi 'ibidem; with no deletion of *Ksa*'
adigdha 'third person singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *dih*'
adhikṣata 'ibidem; with no deletion of *Ksa*'
alīḍha 'third person singular middle. . . . of *lih*'
alikṣata 'ibidem; with no deletion of *Ksa*'
nyagūḍha 'third person singular middle . . . of *ni-gūh*'
nyadhukṣata 'ibidem; with no deletion of *Ksa*'

1. Refer to derivational details of (*aṬ* + (*d*→*dh*) *u*(*h*→*gh*) + (*CLI*→*Ksa*) + (*LUṄ*→*ta*) → *adugdha*, in the appendix (III:724). We will get *adhukṣata* if this optional deletion of *Ksa* is not accepted. Similar forms with *thās* 'second person dual middle' and *dhvam* 'second person plural middle' can be derived with optional deletion of *Ksa*. Thus, *adugdhāḥ* / *adhukṣathāḥ*; *adugdhvam adhukṣadhvam*. We get a long replacement (7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*) in the first person dual middle with *vahi*, when *Ksa* is optionally not deleted. Thus, *aduhvahi* and *adhukṣāvahi*. Incidentally, *v*, a labio-dental, is accepted as dental for purposes of this rule (*dantyoṣṭhyo' pi vakāro dantya iti gṛhyate*). Forms of *dih*, *lih* and *gūh* follow similar derivational patterns. Note, however, that, given *aṬ* + *lih* + (*CLI*→*Ksa*→ϕ) + *ta*, we get *ali*(*h*→*ḍh*) + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*) *a* = *aliḍh* + *ḍha*. That is, *h* and *t* are replaced with *ḍh* (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*); and *t* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*. . .). The *t* of *ta* is first replaced with *dh* and then replaced with *ḍh*, via *dh*, through *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). The first *ḍh* is deleted by 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*. The *i* of *li*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍha* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya*. . . .

2. Our rule uses *LUK*, as against *LOPA*, to indicate that deletion applies to the form, in toto (*sarvādeśa*). That is, especially in connection with *vahi* (*Kāś*: *lope iti vartamāne luggrahaṇam, tac ca vahyartham*). Elsewhere, after deletion of the final *a*, *s* can be deleted by 8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*. One cannot here invoke the *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating the replacement as what it replaced' of deleted *a*. For, *sthānivadhbhāva* does not apply in this context of suspension (*asiddhatva*) by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* (*Kāś*: *lopa iti vartamāne luggrahaṇam sarvādeśārtham, tac ca vahyartham; anyatra tv antyasyaiva lope kṛte 'jhalo jhali' iti sakāralopena siddhyati; sthānivadhbhāvo' pi akāralopasya nāsti- pūrvatrāsiddhe na sthānivad iti*).

7.3.74 शमामष्टानां दीर्घः श्यनि

śamām aṣṭānāṃ dīrghaḥ śyani
/ *śamām* 6/3 *aṣṭānām* 6/3 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *śyani* 7/1 /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
śamādīnām aṣṭānāṃ dīrgho bhavati śyani parataḥ
A long vowel comes in place of the short of an *aṅga*, namely of those

eight enumerated in the list headed by *śam* 'be tranquil', when affix *ŚyaN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śāmyati
tāmyati
dāmyati
śrāmyati
bhrāmyati
kṣāmyati
klāmyati
mādyati

1. A specification with plural of *śamām aṣṭānām* 'of eight enumerated beginning with *śam*, etc.' gives us the sense of *śamādi* 'beginning with *śam*'. Thus, we get *ś(a→ā) m* + *ŚyaN* + *ti* = *śāmyati*, etc. The eight roots enumerated here are: *śamU* 'to be tranquil'; *tamU* 'to be weary'; *damU* 'to subdue'; *śramU* 'to be fatigued'; *bhramU* 'to wander, be mistaken'; *kṣamU* 'to endure'; *klamU* 'be tired'; *madĪ* 'to be glad'.

2. Why just eight (*aṣṭānām*)? Consider *asyati* where *as* 'to throw' cannot qualify for this long replacement because it is not included within the enumerated eight. The *bhram* of *bhramati* can also not qualify for lengthening since there is no *ŚyaN* to follow. Note, however, that *ŚyaN* is here made optional by 3.1.70 *vā bhrāśabhlāśbhramu*. . . .

7.3.75 ष्ठिवुक्लम्याचमां शिति

ṣṭhivuklamyācamāṃ śiti
/*ṣṭhivu-klamv-ācamām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *śiti* 7/1 = *śakāra it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *dīrghaḥ* #74)
'*ṣṭhivu, klamu, ācam*' *ity eteṣāṃ dīrgho bhavati śiti parataḥ*
A long vowel comes in place of the short of an *aṅga*, namely *ṢṭhivU* 'spit out', *klamU* 'to be tired', and *ācam* 'to sip', when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ṣṭhīvati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *ṭhīv*'
klāmati '. . . of *klam*'
ācāmati '. . . of *a-cam*'

1. The long replacement of the earlier rule is extended to contexts where an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows. Verbal root *klam* is here included so that a long replacement can be availed before *ŚaP*. For, it is already made available before *ŚyaN* by the preceding rule. Verbal root *cam* must be used

with the preverb *āṄ* (*ā-cam*) to qualify for this replacement. Elesewhere, we will still get *camati* and *vicamati.*

7.3.76 क्रमः परस्मैपदेषु

kramaḥ parasmaipadeṣu
/*kramaḥ* 6/1 *parasmaipadeṣu* 7/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *dīrghaḥ* #74)
kramaḥ parasmaipadapare śiti parato dīrgho bhavati
A long vowel comes in place of the short of an *aṅga*, namely *kram*, when a *parasmaipada* affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

krāmati 'derivate of *kram* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)'
krāmataḥ '. . . of *kram* + (*LAṬ* + *tas*)'
krāmanti '. . . of *kram* + (*LAṬ*→*jhi*)'

1. Note that these three are all third personal active *ŚaP* derivates of *kram* with *LAṬ*. We can also get three optional derivates with *ŚyaN*. For, *ŚyaN* is offered as an option to *ŚaP* (3.1.70 *vā bhrāśbhlāśabhramukramu* . . .).

2. Why do we have the condition of *parasmaipade* 'when an active ending follows'? Because this lengthening will be blocked when a middle (*ātmanepada*) ending follows. Consider *ākramate ādityaḥ* 'the sun is moving upward' where *ā-kram* qualifies for an *ātmanepada* replacement of *LAṬ*, in view of the meaning condition of *udgamana* 'moving upward' (1.3.40 *āṅ udgamane*).

It is stated that this lengthening cannot be blocked in deriving the second person singular present indicative middle forms *utkr*(*a*→*ā*) *m* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→ *si*→*hi*→ϕ) = *utkrāma* and *saṃkrāma*. For, the term *aṅga* is assigned relative to *ŚaP*, and not relative to *hi* which goes through deletion (6.4.105 *ato heḥ*).

7.3.77 इषुगमियमां छः

iṣugamiyamāṃ chaḥ
/*iṣu-gami-yamām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *chaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śiti* #75)
'*iṣu, gami, yama*' *ity eteṣāṃ śiti parataś chakārādeśo bhavati*
A *ch* comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *iṣU* 'to desire', *gamḶ* 'to go' and *yamA* 'to strive', when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

icchati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *iṣ*'
gacchati '. . . of *gam*'
yacchati '. . . of *yam*'

1. This replacement comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga*

in consonance with 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya.* Note that *iṣ* should be accepted here as marked with *U* as an *it* (*udit*), a root listed in the class headed by *tud* (*tudādi*). Thus, we do not get this replacement in *iṣyati* and *iṣṇāti* (a root of the *divādi* or *kryādi* class) where *iṣ* is not accepted as marked with *U* as an *it.*

Those who do not read *iṣU* as marked with *U* as an *it,* carry *aci,* via *anuvṛtti* from 7.3.72 *ksasyāci.* They qualify *aci* with *śiti* to avail an interpretation as follows: 'an affix which is marked with *Ś* as an *it* (*Śit*) and is constituted by a vowel'. The final sound of the *aṅga* before such an affix is then replaced with *ch.* This interpretation does not allow *tadādividhi* 'interpreting a specified *x* as also referring to that which begins with that'. Consider *ŚānaC* which is marked with *Ś* as an *it* and begins with a vowel. It is because of non-acceptance of *tadādividhi* that we get (*iṣ* + (*Śnā*→*ŚānaC*) + (*siP*→*hi*))) = *iṣ* + *āna* + *hi* = *iṣāṇa* + *sU* = *iṣāṇaḥ.* That is, we get *Śnā* (3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*) replaced with *ŚānaC* (3.1.83 *halaḥ śnaḥ*...). The second person singular active ending *siP* is, of course, replaced with *hi* (3.4.87 *ser hy*...). Rule 6.4.105 *ato heḥ* subsequently applies *LUK*-deletion on *hi* to produce *iṣāṇa,* with an additional application of replacement in *ṇ* for *n.* Notice that we do not get *ch* as a replacement for the final of the *aṅga* when an affix marked with *Ś,* and beginning with a vowel, follows. That is, the replacement is blocked because an affix constituted by a vowel and marked with *Ś* as an *it* does not follow. It makes clear that *tadādividhi* is not possible with *aci* as a qualified principal.

Refer to *gacchanti* of *vyatigacchanti* (under 1.3.15 *na gati*...) for derivational details.

7.3.78 **पाघ्राध्मास्थाम्नादाण्दृश्यर्त्तिसर्त्तिशदसदां पिबजिघ्रधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपश्यर्च्छधौशीयसीदाः**

> *pāghrādhmāsthāmnādāṇdṛśyarttisarttiśadasadāṃ pibajighradhamatiṣṭhamanayacchapaśyarcchadhauśīyasīdāḥ*
> /*pā-ghrā-dhmā-sthā-mnā-dāṇ-dṛśi-artti-sartti-śada-sadām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; piba-jighra-dhama-tiṣṭha-mana- yaccha-paśya-ṛccha-dhau-śīya-sīdāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*), *te/*
> '*pā, ghrā, dhmā, sthā, mnā, dāṇ, dṛśi, artti, śada, sada*' *ity eteṣāṃ* '*piba, jighra, dhama, tiṣṭha, mana, yaccha, paśya, ṛccha, dhau, śīya, sīda*' *ity ete ādeśā bhavanti śiti parataḥ*
> *pibA, jighrA, dhamA, tiṣṭhA, manA, yacchA, paśyA, ṛcchA, dhau, śīyA* and *sīdA,* come in place of an *aṅga,* namely *pā* 'to drink', *ghrā* 'to smell', *dhmā* 'to blow', *sthā* 'to stand, remain', *mnā* 'to think, meditate', *dāṇ* 'to give', *dṛśI* 'to see', *arttI* (*ṛ*) 'to go', *sṛ* 'to go', *śadA* 'to sharpen' and *sadA* 'to break in pieces', in this order of enumeration, when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pibati
jighrati

dhamati
tiṣṭhati
manati
yacchati
paśyati
ṛcchati
dhāvati
śīyate
sīdati

1. The examples, except for the middle *śīyate*, are all third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivates of respective verbs.

2. This rule offers eleven replacements to an equal number of specified roots when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows. Thus, *pā* gets replaced with *pib*, etc., following the order of enumeration in the two sets. Verbal root *sadA* here refers to *ṣadLṚ* of both the *bhvādi* and *tudādi* classes. Note also that *pib* may qualify for penultimate *guṇa* (*laghūpadhaguṇa*). But since its specification is made with *pibA*, and not *pebA*, this *guṇa* is not accomplished. Verbal root *sṛ* is desired to be replaced with *dhāvA* when the signification happens to be: *vegitāyāṃ gatau* 'moving with speed'. Elsewhere, we will not get this replacement.

Notice that only one *ātmanepada* example is offered here. This is needed in case of *śad*, as per the obligatory requirement of 1.3.60 *śadeḥ śitaḥ*.

7.3.79 ज्ञाजनोर्जा

jñājanor jā
/*jñā-janoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *jā* 1/1 (deleted)/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śiti* #75)
'*jñā, jana*' *ity etayor jādeśo bhavati śiti parataḥ*
A replacement in *jā* comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *jñā* 'to know' and *janA* 'to be born', when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jānāti '. . . knows'
jāyate '. . . comes into existence'

1. Note that *jan* is here interpreted as the *divādi* root *janĪ prādurbhāve* 'to come into being'. Thus, (*jñā*→*jā*) + *Śnā* + (*LAṬ* →*tiP*)) = *jānāti* and (*jan*→*jā*) + *Śyan* + (*LAṬ*→(*ta*→*te*))) = *jāyate*.

7.3.80 प्वादीनां ह्रस्वः

pvādīnāṃ hrasvaḥ
/*pv-ādīnām* 6/3 = *pūḥ ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śiti* #75)
'*pū*' *ity evamādīnāṃ hrasvo bhavati*
A replacement in short (*hrasva*) comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely that which is listed beginning with *pŪ* 'to cleanse', when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

punāti '. . . cleanses'
lunāti '. . . cuts'
stṛṇāti '. . . covers'

1. The *pvādi* '*pūÑ* and others' are listed as part of the *kryādi* class. Some consider this *pvādi* listing to include roots enumerated through the end of this class. But this will then include *jan* which, with its specification with *jā*, will come into conflict with short replacement here. It is stated that the long *ā* of *jā* will prevail on the basis of this express mention of Pāṇini. Or else, *jan* will also have this replacement in short which, subsequently, will become long with the application of 7.3.101 *ato dīrgho yañi*. This can still derive (*jan*→ *ja*→*jāyate*).

7.3.81 मीनातेर्निगमे

mīnāter nigame
/ *mīnāteḥ* 6/1 *nigame* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śiti* #75 *hrasvaḥ* #80)
mīnāter aṅgasya hrasvo bhavati nigamaviṣaye
A replacement in short comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *mīÑ* 'to injure, destroy', when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows and the usage is part of *nigama* 'Vedic utterance'.

EXAMPLES:

pramiṇanti vratāni

1. This rule allows shortening in the *nigama* (Vedic) usage when verbal root *mīÑ* 'to injure' occurs with a following affix marked with *Ś* as an *it*. Consider *pramiṇanti* from (*pra-mī* + (*LAṬ*→*jhi*→*anti*) →*pra-mī* + *Śnā* + *anti*)), where this rule causes the shortening of root-final long *ī*. Incidentally, the *ā* of *Śnā* is deleted by 6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ*. A replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) is then accomplished for the *n* of *Śnā* by 8.4.15 *hinumīnā*. We will get *pramīṇanti*, with no shortening, outside the usage of the *nigama*.

2. The word *nigama* is explained as 'that which makes the meaning of a *mantra* manifest'. It is thus used in the sense of Vedas in general and a Vedic utterance in particular.

7.3.82 मिदेर्गुणः

mider guṇaḥ

/*mideḥ* 6/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śiti* #75)
mider aṅgasyeko guṇo bhavati śiti pratyaye parataḥ
A replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* of an *aṅga*, namely *mid* 'to be oily, affectionate', when an affix marked with *Ś* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

medyati 'third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *mid*'
medyataḥ 'third dual active . . .'
medyanti 'third plural active . . .'
midyate 'third singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate with *yaK*'

1. Refer to derivational details of derivates with *guṇa* under the appendix of 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī* (1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī*). Note that *mid* is here interpreted as a *divādi* root. That is, it is not the *mīÑ* of the *bhvādi*. For, the *bhvādi* root will get *ŚaP* and will avail the penultimate *guṇa* of 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*. The *mid* of the *divādi* group cannot qualify for *guṇa* because of its *ŚyaN* treated as marked with *Ṅ* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*; 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*). This rule makes it possible for the *divādi* root to avail *guṇa*. This *guṇa* is blocked due mainly to *yaK* when the signification is *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object'. Thus, *m(i→e) d + ŚyaN + tiP = medyati, medyataḥ* and *medyanti*; and *mid + yaK + te = midyate.*

2. Why was this specification not made as *mīñaḥ*? It was made as a stylistic variation (*vaicitryārtham*), instead.

7.3.83 जुसि च

jusi ca
/*jusi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *guṇaḥ* #82)
jusi ca pratyaye parata igantasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati
A replacement in *guṇa* comes also in place of an *iK*-final *aṅga* when affix *Jus* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ajuhavuḥ 'third person plural active *LAṄ*-derivate of *hu* 'to call''
abibhayuḥ 'third person plural active *LAṄ*-derivate of *bhṛÑ* 'to fear''
abibharuḥ 'third person plural active *LAṄ*-derivate of *bhṛÑ* 'to support, hold''

1. This provision of *guṇa* is made against negation of 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*, based on *Ṅ* as an *it* (*Ṅit*) status of *Jus* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). Note that *Jus* (3.4.108 *jher jus*) here refers to a replacement of *jhi* (3.4.109 *sij abhyastavidibhyaś ca*). Refer to derivational details of *abibhayuḥ*, etc., under the appendix (III:785-86) of 3.4.109 *sij abhyastavidibhyaś ca.*

2. How come this *guṇa* does not apply in *ci* + (*LUṄ*→*jhi* →*Jus*)) = *ci* + *Śnu* + *yāsUṬ* + *us* = *cinu* + *yās* + *us* and *su* + *nu* + *yās* + *us*? Note that there are two *Ṅit* statuses involved. One with reference to the *sārvadhātuka* affix *us* and the other with reference to *yāsUṬ*. The *Ṅitva* conditioned by the *sārvadhātuka* affix will apply everywhere to block *guṇa*. The *guṇa* provision, expressly made by this rule under the condition of *us*, will then only block negation of *guṇa* conditioned by the *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. It cannot block negation of *guṇa* conditioned by *yāsUṬ*. For, such a *guṇa* is conditioned by *prāpti* 'availability' and 'non-availability' (*aprāpti*), as in *cinuyuḥ* and *ajuhavuḥ*, respectively. A negation conditioned by *Ṅitva* of *yāsUṬ* is, thus, not blocked. Consequently, there is no *guṇa* (*Kāś*: *tatra nāprāpte sārvadhātukāśrayaṅitva-nimitte pratiṣedhe jusi guṇa ārabhyamāṇas tam eva bādhate. yāsūḍāśryaṅitva-nimittaṃ tu tatra na bādhate tatra hi prāpte cāprāpte cārabhyata iti*).

Incidentally, the *s* of *yāsUṬ* (3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipade* . . .) is deleted by 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopaḥ*. . . . The *ā* of *cinu* + *yā*(*s*→ϕ) + *us* = *cinu* + *y*(*ā* + *u*→*u*)*s*, goes through a single replacement in *u* (6.1.96 *usy apadāntāt*). Thus, *cinuyu* (*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *cinuyuḥ* and *sunuyuḥ*.

Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for details on how carrying *aci* from 7.3.73 *ksasyāci* accounts for no *guṇa* in *cinuyuḥ* and *sunuyuḥ*.

7.3.84 सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः

sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ
/ *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *guṇaḥ* #82)
sārvadhātuke ārdhadhātuke ca pratyaye parata igantasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati
A replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the *iK* vowel of an *aṅga* when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit*. . .), or *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ* . . .), follows.

EXAMPLES:

tarati '. . . floats'
nayati '. . . leads'
bhavati '. . . becomes'
kartā 'doer'
cetā 'he who heaps'
stotā 'he who praises'

1. An *aṅga* which ends in a sound denoted by *iK* receives a replacement in *guṇa* when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) and *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) follows. Refer to derivational details of examples under the appendix (II:327-30) of rule 1.1.2 *adeṅ guṇaḥ*.

2. Why is this specification made expressly with *sārvadhātukārdha-dhātukayoḥ*? Because *guṇa* would have applied also in *agnitvam* and *agnikāmyati*

if this specification was made, for example, with *pratyaye* 'when an affix follows' and *sani* 'when an affix denoted by *saN* follows'. That is, when affixes *tva* and *kāmyaC* followed. Incidentally, *saN* of *sani* is an abbreviatory term referring to affixes enumerated beginning with *saN* (3.1.5 *guptijkidbhyaḥ*...) through *mahiN* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*... *mahin*).

7.3.85 जाग्रोऽविचिण्णल्ङित्सु

jāgro' vicinnalṅitsu
/*jāgraḥ* 6/1 *avicinnalṅitsu* 7/3 = *ṅ it yasya sa* = *ṅit* (*bv.*); *viś ca ciṇ ca ṇal ca ṅit ca* (*itar. dv.*); *na vicinnalṅitaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣu*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *guṇaḥ* #82 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* #84)
'*jāgṛ etasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati avicinnalṅitsu parataḥ*
A replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the *iK* of an *aṅga*, namely *jāgṛ* 'to remain awake', when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka*, with the exception of *vi* (*Uṇādi*), *CiṆ* (3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇayoḥ*), *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām*...), or one marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

jāgarayati 'causal third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *jāgṛ*'
jāgarayataḥ 'causal third person dual...'
jāgarakaḥ 'nominative singular *ṆvuL*-derivate of causative *jāgṛ*'
sādhujāgarī '*upapada* compound with *sādhu*+ *ṆinI* + *jāgṛ*'
jāgaraṃjāgaram '*jāgṛ* + *ṆamuL* (with doubling)'
jāgaro (*vartate*) '(*jāgṛ* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*))'
jāgaritaḥ '(*jāgṛ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
jāgaritavān '*jāgṛ* + *KtavatU*'

1. Note that this *guṇa* applies in (*jāgṛ* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ* = *jāgarayati* 'wakes someone up', *jāgṛ* + *ṆvuL* = *jāgaraka* 'he who wakes' and *sādhu*+*jāgṛ* + *ṆinI* = *sādhujāgarī* 'beautiful wake' before affixes shown. A similar *guṇa* applies in *jāgṛ* + *ṆamUL* = *jāgaraṃjāgaram*, with doubling (*dvitva*), and *jāgṛ* + *GHaÑ* = *jāgara* 'waking up'. These all are instances of *guṇa* against *vṛddhi*. An application of this *guṇa* is made possible in *jāgṛ* + *Kta* = *jāgarita* 'awake' and *jāgṛ* + *KtvatU* = *jāgaritavat*, with augment *iṬ*, against negation of *guṇa* due mainly to affixal status of *K* as an *it* (*Kit*; 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*).

Note that this *guṇa* of *jāgṛ* is proposed so that it could remain valid, specific to its scope of negation (*niṣedha*) and possible *vṛddhi*. Thus, *guṇa* is negated by this rule before *CiṆ* (3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*) and *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām*...). If the *vṛddhi* of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* is applied then *guṇa* and its accompanying negation would not make any sense. This also, in turn, shows why *vṛddhi* should not be applied after *guṇa* has applied.

2. Why do we have the condition of negation of *guṇa* before *vi*, *CiṆ*, *ṆaL*,

and an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*? Consider *jāgrviḥ, ajāgāri, jajāgāra,* and *jāgṛtaḥ / jāgṛthaḥ,* where *guṇa* is negated before *vi* (*viN*; *Uṇādi*(503): *vṛdṛjāgṛbhyo vin*), *CiN* and *NaL*, and *Ṅit* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*), respectively. Dharmakīrti (*Rūpāvatāraḥ* (II:165) quotes the following *kārikā*-verse and explains:

> *guṇo vṛddhir guṇo vṛddhiḥ pratiṣedho vikalpanam/*
> *punar vṛddhir niṣedho' to yaṇpūrvāḥ prāptayo nava//*
> (*yāvatā jāgro' viciṇṇalṅitsu iti jāgarter guṇo vṛddher apavādo vidhīyate, sā ca aco' ñṇiti yathā vṛddhiṃ bādhate tathā sici vṛddhim api bādhiṣyate. guṇe kṛte ato lrāntasya iti yā vṛddhiḥ prāpnoti sā pratiṣidhyatām. atha guṇavidhāna-sāmarthyād uttarakālabhāviny api vṛddhir bādhiṣyate* . . .).
> 'as the *guṇa* of *jāgṛ* (7.3.85 *jāgro' viciṇṇalṅitsu*) is offered to block the *vṛddhi* of 7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti,* it will also block the *vṛddhi* of 7.2.1 *sici vṛddhiḥ* . . .; the *vṛddhi* (of 7.2.2 *ato lrāntasya*) which may become applicable should also be negated; a *vṛddhi* which may subsequently become applicable should be blocked at the strength of provision made for *guṇa*.'

Some accept that *i* in *vi* is used for articulation. Consequently, *guṇa* does not apply when a *v*-initial *KvasU* follows, for example, in deriving *jajāgṛvān.* Why is *guṇa* not negated in *ajāgaruḥ* and *ahaṃ jajāgara*? The *guṇa* is not negated since *aviciṇalṅitsu* is interpreted as a *paryudāsa* type of negation. A *prasajya* interpretation would negate the *guṇa.* This would also end up blocking *guṇa* in *LAṄ,* and derivates with *jhi* and *ṆaL.* Accepting the negation as *paryudāsa* would make the application of *guṇa* possible in contexts other than these. Consequently, *guṇa* will apply in the context of *Jus* and *ṆaL.* That is, if a rule becomes applicable.

Or else, one must accept that an operation, or related negation, applies to what is most immediate (*PŚ* 62: *anantarasya vidhir bhavati pratiṣedho vā*). That is, the negation of 7.3.85 *jāgraḥ* . . . applies only when *viciṇṇalṅit* followed. This will thus not negate the *guṇa* of 7.3.83 *jusi ca* and 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ.*

7.3.86 पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च

> *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*
> /*pugantalaghūpadhasya* 6/1 = *puki antaḥ* = *pugantaḥ* (*sapt. tat.*); *laghvī cāsāv upadhā ca* = *laghūpadhā* (*kar. tat.*); *pugantaś ca laghūpadhā ca* = *pugantalaghūpadham* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya; ca* ϕ/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *guṇaḥ* #82 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* #84)
> *pugantasyāṅgasya laghūpadhasya ca sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayor guṇo bhavati*
> A replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the *iK* of an *aṅga* which ends in augment *pUK,* or contains a vowel termed *laghu* 'light, short' as

next to its last (*laghūpadha*) sound, when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vlepayati 'causal third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *vlī*'
hrepayati 'causal third singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *hrī*'
knopayati 'causal third singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *knūyĪ*'
bhedanam 'derivate of *bhid* with *LyuṬ*'
chedanam 'derivate of *chid* with *LyuṬ*'
bhettā '*tṛC*-derivate of *bhid*'
chettā '*tṛC*-derivate of *chid*'

1. Consider *vlepayati, hrepayati* and *knopayati* which are third singular causal (*ṆiC*) *LAṬ*-derivates of *vlī* 'crush, press', *hrī* 'to be shy' and *knūyĪ* to be wet'. These roots receive augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *artihrīvlī* . . .) at the end (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*) before *ṆiC*. We thus get *guṇa* in (*vlī* + *pUK* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*)) = *vlepayati*, (*hrī* + *pUK* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*)) = *hrepayati* and (*knūyĪ*+ *pUK* + *ṆiC*) + *LAṬ*)) = *knopayati*. These roots have a long vowel in their penultimate (*upadhā*) position. Now consider derivates of *bhid* and *chid, bhedanam/ chedanam*, with *LyuṬ* (3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca*); and *bhettā/chettā* with *tṛC* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*), where a *laghu* (1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*) *i*, in *upadhā*, goes through a replacement in *guṇa*. Refer to derivational details of *bhettā* and *chettā* in the appendix (II:499). The *yu* of *LyuṬ* yields *ana* as a replacement (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*).

2. *Kāśikā* cites three *kārikā*-verses of the *Mahābhāṣya* to illustrate difficulties and their resolutions in deriving forms under conditions of *puganta* 'that which ends in *pUK*' and *laghūpadha* 'that which has a light vowel (*laghu*; 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*) in its penultimate position (*upadhā*; 1.1.65 *alo' ntyāt pūrva upadhā*):

saṃyoge gurusaṃjñāyāṃ guṇo bhettur na siddhyati/
vidhyapekṣaṃ laghoś cāsau kathaṃ kuṇḍir na duṣyati//1//
dhātor numaḥ kathaṃ rañjeḥ syandiśranthyor nipātanāt/
anallopaśidīrghatve vidhyapekṣe na sidhyataḥ//2//
abhyastasya yadāhāci laṅarthaṃ tatkṛtaṃ bhavet/
knusanor yatkṛtaṃ kitvaṃ jñāpakaṃ syāl laghor guṇe//3//

It is argued that a short penultimate vowel of an *aṅga* is accepted as *laghu* for purposes of this operation even when it occurs before a *saṃyoga* 'conjunct' formed with the final consonant of the *aṅga* and the initial consonant of the following affix. If Pāṇini did not accept this he would not have marked *Knu* (3.2.140 *trasigṛdhidhṛṣikṣipeḥ knuḥ*) with *K* as an *it*, and would not have extended this same status to affix *saN* (1.2.10 *halantāc ca*), for purposes of blocking *guṇa*. Not accepting *i*, of *bhid*, as *laghu* before a conjunct, i.e., *tt* formed with *d* of *bhid* and *t* of *tṛC*, will turn *i* into a *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*).

Consequently, this rule cannot be applied to produce *guṇa* in *bhettā*. It becomes clear that *i* is still treated as *laghu*, and *guṇa* applies.

Further objection is raised with reference to (*ku* + *nUM* + *ḍ*) + *tṛC*)) + *sU*))) = *kuṇḍitā*. How come this guiding principle does not apply to the *u* of *kuṇḍi*? It is stated that an express mention of *dhātoḥ*, in 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*, requires introduction of *nUM* to *kuḍ*, right at the outset. Any subsequent introduction of an affix thus finds no *u* occurring in the penultimate position of the *aṅga*. To accept this raises further questions. How is the *vṛddhi* of penultimate *a* in *rañj* accomplished? Remember that it is only after deletion of *ñ* in *rañj* (6.4.26 *rañjeś ca*) that *a* becomes an *upadhā* 'penultimate sound' to qualify for *vṛddhi*. This *vṛddhi* is made possible at the strength of negation of *vṛddhi* in *syandi* and *śranthi* (6.4.28 *syado jave*; 6.4.29 *avodaidhoma* . . .), via *nipātana*. A negative provision cannot be made without anticipating a positive provision. The *vṛddhi* for such a root is thus anticipated, and hence, is carried out.

An objection is raised against accepting such operational anticipations (*vidhyapekṣā*) as universally valid. For, the *a* of *an* of *rājan*, a stem termed *bha*, is deleted. We thus get *rājñaḥ*. But this same cannot be accepted in case of the *a* of *anAṄ* (7.1.75 *asthidadhi*. . .), for example, in deriving *dadhnā* and *sakthnā*. Additionally, we will get penultimate long for the *a* of *sāman* before *Śi* (nominative plural), but not for *a* of *kuṇḍāni*, mainly because this *n* has a different source (7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya* . . .). If operational anticipation is not accepted as universal, we cannot get *guṇa* of *i* of *bhid* in deriving *bhetṛ*. But this *guṇa* is carried out by implication under the condition of a following consonant-initial affix. Refer to the next rule where *guṇa* is negated before a vowel-initial affix. Actually, *aci* of the following rule (7.3.87 *nābhyastasyāci*) negates *guṇa* of an *aṅga* which has a short vowel in its *upadhā*, and is followed by a vowel-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it*. This, in turn, makes known that, in *nij* + *ti* = *nenekti*, etc., we do not negate *guṇa* before a consonant-initial affix. Thus, this *jñāpaka* is to be accepted.

But this *jñāpaka* should not be accepted since the vowel-initial condition for negation of *guṇa* is imposed for the *abhyasta*-derivates of *LAṄ*, for example, *anenek*. There is no question of *ajādi* 'vowel-initial' or *halādi* 'consonant-initial'. The affix remains *halādi*, via *pratyayalakṣaṇa* (1.1.62 *pratyayalope*. . .). The negation of *guṇa* is thus retained. This *jñāpaka* should thus not be accepted. But still, the *kitva* 'marked with *K*' of *Knu* and *saN* (discussed at the beginning of this note) can serve as a *jñāpaka* 'indicator' in connection with *guṇa* of a short penultimate vowel (*laghūpadha-guṇa*).

3. The *upadhā* is here interpreted as constituted by *iK*. This is why *bhinatti*, etc., cannot avail *guṇa*. Others interpret: *puki antaḥ* = *pugantaḥ* 'a final before *pUK*'; *laghvī upadhā* = *laghūpadhā* 'an *upadhā* with a vowel termed *laghu*'; *pugantaś ca laghūpadhā ca* = *pugantalaghūpadham* 'that which ends in *pUK* and is also an *upadhā* with a vowel termed *laghu*'. This interpretation will rule out availability of *guṇa* in *bhinatti*.

4. A problem is raised in connection with the assignment of the term *saṃyoga* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*) in *bhid* + *tṛC* + *Ṅas* where the final consonant of verbal root *bhid* forms a conjunct with the immediately following consonant of affix *tṛC*. A rather clever interpretation of this rule is offered to resolve this problem:

The *guṇa* of the *iK* of an *aṅga* is accomplished before a *sārvadhātuka*, or an *ārdhadhātuka*, affix when such an affix is introduced relative to an *aṅga* with a short vowel in its penultimate position. But how do we get the sense of, 'introduced relative to an *aṅga*'. The word *laghūpadha* is given in the genitive, and not in the ablative (*pañcamī*). It is argued that since genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is introduced after a qualifier, we will interpret *sārvadhātukārdha-dhātukayoḥ* as a qualified of *laghūpadha*. We will thus get the sense of *laghūpadhasya* 'of that which has a short in its penultimate position', or *laghūpadhasambandhī* 'that which is relative to that which has a short in its penultimate position'. Since the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *tṛC* is introduced relative to *bhid* with a short in its penultimate position, we will get the *guṇa* of *i*. But this solution is not free of problems either. This interpretation should then allow *guṇa* of *u* of *kuḍI* + *nUM* + *tṛC* in deriving *kuṇḍitā*. The phrase *dhātoḥ numaḥ* (cf. the *kārikā* verses above) offers a resolution to this problem. It is stated that, in deriving *kuṇḍitā*, augment *nUM* is introduced after the verbal root right at the outset, when its initial citation (*upadeśa*) is made. As a result, *tṛC* will be introduced after *kuṇḍ*, and not after *kuḍ* with a penultimate short. The problem of replacement in *guṇa* should thus not be raised in connection with derivation of *kuṇḍitā*.

Granted that the problem of *guṇa* in *kuṇḍitā* is resolved. But deriving *rāgaḥ* will be problematic, especially in accomplishing penultimate *vṛddhi*. The form may still be **ragaḥ*. That is, if the interpretation of 'relative to that which has a short in its penultimate position' is, similar to *laghūpadhasya*, also accepted in the interpretation of 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. The problem is: *GHaÑ* after *rañj* 'to color' will then not be considered gotten from that which has *a* in its penultimate position. This will block *vṛddhi*, and the resultant form will be **ragaḥ*. A solution with reference to rule 6.4.29 *avodaidhodma praśrathahimaśrathāḥ* is offered in the form of *nipātana* similarly to verbal roots other than *syandI* and *śranthI*. Since a *nipātana* is not offered for a single purpose, this *nipātana* will account for both *n*-deletion and *vṛddhi*. This recourse to *nipātana* shows that the earlier stated interpretation of rule 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca* should not be accepted for interpreting 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*. I omit additional details of this point.

If the genitive in 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ* is interpreted to give the sense of, 'an affix which is marked with *Ñ* and *Ṇ* as an *it* and is introduced after that which has *a* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*), then deletion of *a* of *an*, and long replacement before *Śi*, cannot be accomplished. There will be deletion of *a* of *rājñaḥ*, but a deletion in *asthnā* and *dadhnā* will be blocked.

For, the genitive of *anaḥ* of 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ* will be interpreted to give the sense of: *a* of *an* will go through deletion when a vowel-initial affix is introduced after that which ends in *an*. This deletion, of course, will require the assignment of the term *bha*. The vowel-initial affix *Ṭā*, in *asthnā* and *dadhnā*, is introduced after *asthi* and *dadhi* ending in a vowel denoted by *iK*. These words end in *n* only after introduction of *anAṄ*. Consequently, in the absence of a vowel-initial affix introduced after the base ending in *an*, application of 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ* will be blocked. But it will apply in case of *rājñaḥ*. This same will be witnessed in *sāmāni*, etc., where *sāman* is introduced with the neuter nominal endings *Jas* and *Śas*, and 7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ* applies to introduce *Śi*. We will get the long replacement of the penultimate with application of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*. But contexts where *nUM* happens to be introduced by 7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhalacaḥ*, or 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau*, we will not get the long replacement of 6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*. Thus, given *kuṇḍan* + (*Jas*→*Śi*), we cannot get the long replacement of 7.1.72 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*. For, this long replacement cannot apply in view of the given rule interpretation of, 'let there be a long replacement for the penultimate of that which ends in *n* when an affix introduced after that which ends in *n* follows'. Obviously, these faults arise under the interpretation of a genitive used as qualifier to affixes introduced to serve as right condition. If this view is abandoned, these problems will be resolved. But abandoning this interpretive view will block the *guṇa* in *bhid* + *tṛC*. For, by not abandoning this view, *tṛC* will follow *bhid* with a short vowel in its *upadhā*. The *guṇa* will be blocked if one tries to apply it under the following condition of a *sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka* affix. For, there will not be an *aṅga* termed *laghūpadha* 'with a short vowel in its penultimate position'. The *i* of *bhid*, given the string *bhid* + *tṛC*, will be termed *guru* by 1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*. The condition of *laghūpadha* will thus be impaired.

A second resolution is offered in connection with *guṇa* in (*bhid* + *tṛC*) + *sU* = *bhettā*. It is stated that *aC* in 7.3.87 *nābhyastasyā' ci* . . . becomes vacuous and thus indicates that the negation of *guṇa* does not apply, for example in *nenekti*, before a consonant-initial affix marked with *P* as an *it*. If *aci* was not stated, negation of *guṇa* could have also applied to a consonant-initial affix marked with *P* as an *it*, as in *nenijati* ←*nij-nij-ti*. Given *nenekti*, derived from *ne-nij-ti*, a conjunct of *j* with *t* will bring assignment of the term *saṃyoga* and the condition of *laghūpadha* will be removed. The *guṇa* will thus not be available. It does not seem appropriate to resurrect this absence of application of *guṇa* on the basis of specification with *aci* of 7.3.87 *nābhyastasyāci*. . . . A specification with *aci* will still be vacuous, and thus will indicate that *guṇa* of a short vowel will apply even when the term *guru* is assigned to it before a conjunct. The *guṇa* of *bhid* + *tṛC* will thus apply. But this indicative purpose (*jñāpaka*) of *aci* is still not appropriate. The function of *aci* is recognized as facilitating *LAṄ* (*abhyastasya yad āhāci laṅartham tat kṛtam bhavet*). The use of

aci will thus not be vacuous, and cannot serve as a *jñāpaka*. For, we can derive *anenek* with deletion of *i* by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. Thus, *nij* + (*LAṄ*→*tiP*) →*nij* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + *ti* = *ni-nij* + *ti* (6.1.10 *ślau*); *aṬ* + *ninij* + *ti* = *aninij* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) = *an*(*i*→*e*) *nij* + *t* (7.4.75 *nijāṃ trayāṇām* . . .). Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt* . . . will now delete *t*. The *i* of *anenij* will also be replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *e*. We will finally get *anenek* with a *k*-replacement of *j*. Recall here that *aci* is used so that, after *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa* (1.1.62 *pratyayalope* . . .) revival of operations relative to *tiP*, negation of *guṇa* is blocked, even under the condition of a consonant initial affix marked with *P* as an *it*. But since *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa* will not bring back *t* in the string, we cannot get the assignment of the term *saṃyoga*. The condition of *laghūpadha* will thus not be impaired.

But the preceding simply explains that *aci* is used for facilitating *guṇa* in derivates of *LAṄ*. The question of *guṇa* of (*bhid* + *tṛC*) + *sU* still remains. Here is the final solution: *knusanor yat kṛtaṃ kitvaṃ jñāpakaṃ syāl laghor guṇe* 'let the status of *K* as an *it* of *Knu* and *saN* serve as an indicator (*jñāpaka*) for the *guṇa* of a short'. Affix *Knu* is introduced by 3.2.140 *tasigradhidhṛṣikṣipeḥ knuḥ*. A *saN* which begins with a sound denoted by *jhaL* and occurs after a consonant (*haL*), used in close proximity after *iK*, is treated as marked with *K* as an *it* by 1.2.10 *halantāc ca*. This status of *K* as an *it* of *saN* introduced after verbal roots ending in a consonant, and having a vowel denoted by *iK* in their *upadhā*, indicates *guṇa* under the danger of becoming vacuous. How does it become vacuous? Consider *gṛdh* + *Knu*→ *gṛdh* + *nu*, where *K* goes through *it*-deletion. Recall that the purpose of assigning status as marked with *K* as an *it* is to block *guṇa*. We get *bhitsati* after introducing *saN* after *bhid*. There, too, we find the purpose of *K* as an *it* in blocking *guṇa* of the penultimate short. This status as *K* as an *it* will facilitate *guṇa* in *bhettā*. How? It will establish the availability (*prāpti*) of *guṇa*. Haradatta (*PM*) does not recognize it as a *jñāpaka*. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa*) accepts it as a *jñāpaka*.

7.3.87 नाभ्यस्तस्याचि पिति सार्वधातुके

nābhyastasyāci piti sārvadhātuke

/ *na* ϕ *abhyastaya* 6/1 *aci* 7/1 *piti* 7/1 *sārvadhātuke* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *guṇaḥ* #82 *laghūpadhasya* #87)

abhyastasaṃjñakasyāṅgasya laghūpadhasyājādau piti sārvadhātuke guṇo na bhavati

A *guṇa* vowel does not come in place of next to the last *iK*-vowel termed *laghu* of an *aṅga* termed *abhyasta* 'reduplicated syllable', when a *sārvadhātuka* affix which begins with a vowel and is marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nenijāni 'second singular active *LOṬ*-derivate of *ṇijIR* 'to cleanse, nourish''

vevijāni 'second singular active *LOṬ*-derivate of *vijIR* 'to be separated''
parivevisāṇi 'second singular active *LOṬ*-derivate of *viṣU* 'to pervade''
anenijam 'second singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *ṇijIR*'
avevijam 'second singular active . . . of *vijIR*'
paryaveviṣam 'second singular active . . . of *viṣU*'

1. This negation is offered against positive provision of the earlier rule. Consider (*ṇ*→*n*) *ijIR* + (*LOṬ*→*miP*) = *nij* + (*mi* →*ni*), where *ṇ* of *ṇijIR* is replaced with *n* (6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ*) and *miP*-replacement of *LOṬ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*. . .) yields *ni* (3.4.89 *mernih*). Augment *āṬ* (3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya* . . .), *ŚLU* (2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ* . . .) of *ŚaP* (3.1.68 *kartari śap*), doubling (*dvitva*; 6.1.10 *ślau*) and operations relative to *abhyasta* produce: *ni* + *nij* + *āṬ* + *ni* = *ninij* + *āni*. We get (*ni*→*e*) + *nij* + *āni* = *nenijāni*, through *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* (7.4.75 *ṇijāṃ trayāṇāṃ*. . .; 6.41.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). Note that *guṇa* of the penultimate *i* of *nij* before *āni*, a replacement of the *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it*, is thus negated by our present rule. Similar applications are involved in deriving *viṣU* + *LOṬ* = *veviṣāṇi* and *vijIR* + *LOṬ* = *vevijāni*. Derivates of *LAṄ*, i.e., *anenijam*, etc., can be similarly derived with augment *aṬ*. Recall that *miP* in *anenijam* is replaced with *am* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ*. . .). The penultimate *guṇa* is here negated.

2. Why do we have to state the condition of *abhyasta*? Consider *vid* + (*LOṬ* →*miP*) = *v*(*i*→*e*) *d* + *āni* = *vedāni*, where, because of no assignment of the term *abhyasta*, *guṇa* of the *upadhā* cannot be stopped. Incidentally, *ŚaP* is deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*. . . .

Why when a vowel-initial affix (*aci*) follows? Consider *nij* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *nenekti*, where penultimate *guṇa* cannot be blocked before a consonant-initial affix. Incidentally, a replacement in *k* (*kutva*) for *j* is accomplished by 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*.

Why do we have the condition of *sārvadhātuke*? So that this negation does not apply before an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, for example, in *nineja* (3.4.115 *liṭ ca*).

Why does this negation apply only to a penultimate *laghu* vowel? Consider second person singular *LOṬ* and *LAṄ* forms of *hū*, i.e., *juhavāni* and *ajuhavam*, where, given *juhū* + *ā* + *ni* and *juhū* + *a* + *am*, replacement in *guṇa* applies to the final *iK*. This *guṇa* cannot be blocked because of the condition of *laghūpadha*.

Why do we have to specify *pit* '*P* as an *it*' when 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* can negate *guṇa* at the strength of *Ṅ* as an *it* of a non-*pit* affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). This *pit* is used here for subsequent rule(s).

3. This provision should be stated to apply in the Vedic, variously (*bahulam*). Thus, it applies in *jujoṣat*, a third singular *LEṬ* form of *juṣĪ*, where *parasmaipada* is used contrarily (*vyatyayena*). The *tudādi* marker *Śa* (3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ*) is deleted with *ŚLU* and operations relative to doubling are performed before penultimate *guṇa*. Also consider *paspaśāte*, *cākaśīti* and *vāvaśti* where, in the

Vedic usage, penultimate shortening should be accepted before a vowel-initial affix, subsequent upon *LUK*-deletion. The shortening in case of *paspaśāte* applies to what is termed an *abhyāsa.*

7.3.88 भूसुवोस्तिङि

bhūsuvos tiṅi
/*bhū-suvoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *tiṅi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *guṇaḥ* #82 *na piti sārvadhātuke* #87)
'*bhū, sū*' *ity etayos tiṅi sārvadhātuke guṇo na bhavati*
A *guṇa* vowel does not come in place of an *iK* termed *laghu* of an *aṅga,* namely *bhū* 'to be, become' and *sū* 'to give birth to' when a *sārvadhātuka* affix classed as *tiṄ* and marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

abhūt 'third singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *bhū*'
abhūḥ 'second singular active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
abhūvam 'first singular active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
suvai 'first person singular middle *LOṬ*-derivate of *sū*'
suvāvahai 'first person dual middle *LOṬ*-derivate . . .'
suvāmahai 'first person plural middle *LOṬ*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule denies *guṇa* when *bhū* and *sū* are followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix denoted by *tiṄ.* Consider *abhūt, abhūḥ* and *abhūvam,* where *sIC*-replacement of *CLI,* i.e., (*aṬ* + *bhū* + (*CLI*→*sIC*)) + (*LUṄ*→(*tiP*) / (*si*)*P* / (*miP*))), goes through *LUK*-deletion (3.1.44 *cleḥ sic,* 2.4.77 *gātisthā* . . .). This rule blocks a *guṇa* which becomes applicable after deletion of *sIC.* For, a *tiṄ* affix marked with *P* as an *it* follows. Recall that 6.4.88 *bhuvo vugluṅliṭoḥ* offers augment *vUK* in *abhūvam,* where *miP* is also replaced with *am.*

Verbal root *ṣū* here refers to the *adādi* root after which *ŚaP* is deleted. It does not refer to its *tudādi* or *divādi* counterparts where augments *Śa* and *ŚyaN* are introduced. There is no need to negate the *guṇa* of these roots since these augments will intervene between the root and the following *tiṄ* affix. The locative of *tiṅi* requires that this negation of *guṇa* applies when the root is directly followed by a *tiṄ* affix. Moreover, absence of *guṇa* in their context will be easily accomplished in view of the *Ṅit* status of *Śa* and *ŚyaN* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit; Kāśikā: sūyatyor vikaraṇena tiṅo vyavadhānam. vikaraṇasyaiva ṅitvād guṇābhāva siddhaḥ*). Deriving *suvai,* i.e., the first singular middle derivate of *LOṬ,* from (*ṣ*→*s*) *u* + *ŚaP* + (*LOṬ*→*i*) will require the *etva* of *ṭi* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ* . . .). This *e, su* + *ŚaP* + (*i*→*e*), will then be replaced with *ai* (3.4.93 *eta ai*). The *ŚaP,* of course, will be deleted on account of the root being *adādi* (*adāditvāt;* 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . .). Augment *uvAṄ* will then be introduced to *su* to produce *s*(*u*→*uvAṄ*) + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + (*i*=*e*→*ai*))) = *suvai.* Similar processes are also involved in deriving the dual and plural

first personal forms *suvāvahai* and *suvāmahai* with *vahi* and *mahiṄ*, respectively.

2. Note that this negation of *guṇa* applies only when a *sārvadhātuka* affix follows. It cannot be applicable when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix followed. Thus, consider *vyatibhaviṣīṣṭa*, a third singular middle derivate of benedictive *LIṄ* (*āśiṣi*), where *ātmanepada* is introduced under the signification of reciprocal action (1.3.14 *kartari karmavyatihāre*). The term *ārdhadhātuka* is here assigned by 3.4.116 *liṅāśiṣi*.

Why is *guṇa* of *bhū* not negated in *bobhavīti* after *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*? Recall that the *abhyāsa* of this derivate goes through *guṇa* (7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*). The negation of *guṇa* in *bobhūtu* (7.4.65 *dādharttidardhartti*...), after *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*, indicates it. That is, if the negation of *guṇa* also applied in the context of *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* resorting to *nipātana* for indicating that absence of *guṇa* was not needed. But since this resort has been taken we understand that this negation does not apply when *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* takes place (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *yadi yaṅluky api pratiṣedhaḥ syāt guṇābhāvārthaṃ nipātanaṃ na kuryāt, kṛtañ ca tasmād eva jñāpayati-yaṅluky ayaṃ pratiṣedho na bhavatīti*).

7.3.89 उतो वृद्धिर्लुकि हलि

uto vṛddhir luki hali
/*utaḥ* 6/1 *vṛddhiḥ* 1/1 *luki* 7/1 *hali* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *piti sārvadhātuke* #87)
ukārāntasyāṅgasya vṛddhir bhavati luki sati halādau piti sārvadhātuke
A *vṛddhi*, instead, comes in place of an *aṅga* which ends in *u* followed by deletion by *LUK*, when a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

yauti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *yu*'
yauṣi 'second person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate ...'
yaumi 'first person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate ...'
nauti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *nu*'
nauṣi 'second person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate ...'
naumi 'first person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate ...'
stauti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate ...'
stauṣi 'second person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate ...'
staumi 'first person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate ...'

1. This rule, subsequent upon *LUK*-deletion, introduces *vṛddhi* to an *aṅga* which ends in *u*, provided when a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it* follows. Our example derivates represent the third, second, and first singular forms of *yu* 'to mix, combine', *ṇu* 'to praise' and *stu* 'to

praise'. Note that this *vṛddhi* applies after *LUK*-deletion of *ŚaP* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*...). Consider (*stu* + (*ŚaP*→*LUK*)) + *ti*)) = *st*(*u*→*au*) + *ti* = *stauti*. Other forms, except for the dual inolving *ṣatva* (*s*→*ṣ*), are similarly derived.

2. Why do we have this specification made with a short *u* (*utaḥ*)? Consider *eti*, *eṣi* and *emi*, corresponding first, second and third personal singular *LAṬ*-derivates of *i* 'to go', where *vṛddhi* does not apply because of no short *u*. This *vṛddhi* is also blocked in *sunoti*, *sunoṣi* and *sunomi* where *Śnu*, and no *LUK*-deletion, is involved. Finally, we find the absence of this *vṛddhi* in *yavāni* and *ravāṇi*, the first singular *LOṬ*-derivates of *yu* 'to mix, combine' and *ru* 'to sound' where *mi* gets replaced with *ni* (3.4.89 *mer niḥ*). Augment *āṬ* (3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya pic ca*), additionally marked with *P* as an *it*, then makes the affix *ajādi* 'vowel-initial'. Refer to *yu* + (*LAṬ*→*tas*) = *yutaḥ* and *ru* + (*LAṬ*→*tas*) = *rutaḥ*, where *vṛddhi* is not allowed because *tas* is not marked with *P* as an *it*. This shows why the condition of *piti* is important. Also consider *stuyāt*, of *api stuyād rājānam*, where *pit*-status of *tiP* is canceled by *Ṅit*- status of *yāsUṬ* (3.4.103 *yāsuṭ*... *ṅic ca*). Consequently, this *vṛddhi* is blocked.

3. Commentators indicate that *nābhyastasya* is also carried to this rule. That is, the *vṛddhi* of an *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*) is also blocked. Thus, consider *yoyoti* and *roroti* where *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* has applied. We get *guṇa*, instead.

7.3.90 ऊर्णोतेर्विभाषा

ūrṇāter vibhāṣā
/*ūrṇāteḥ* 6/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *piti sārvadhātuke* #87 *vṛddhiḥ hali* #89)
ūrṇāter vibhāṣā vṛddhir bhavati halādau piti sārvadhātuke
A *vṛddhi* vowel, optionally, comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover', when a consonant-initial *sarvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prorṇauti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *pra-urṇuÑ*'
prorṇoti 'ibidem; with no *vṛddhi*'
prorṇauṣi 'second person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *urṇuÑ*'
prorṇoṣi 'ibidem; with no *vṛddhi*'
prorṇaumi 'first person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *pra-urṇuÑ*'
prorṇomi 'ibidem; with no *vṛddhi*'

1. This rule makes the obligatory *vṛddhi* of the preceding rule optional, in favor of *guṇa*. Thus, *pra* + *ūrṇu* + (*ŚaP*→*LUK*) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)) = *pra* + *urṇ*(*ū*→*o*) + *ti* = *pr*(*a*+*ū*→*o*) *rṇo* + *ti* = *prorṇoti*. Incidentally, the *a* of *pra* and the *ū* of *ūrṇu*, are replaced with a single replacement in *guṇa* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*).

This optional *vṛddhi*, however, applies only before a consonant-initial affix. Consider the first person singular *LOṬ*-derivate *prorṇavāni* where, because of augment *āṬ*, *āni* becomes vowel-initial. This, or the preceding rule, can then no longer apply.

7.3.91 गुणोऽपृक्ते

> *guṇo' pṛkte*
> /*guṇaḥ* 1/1 *apṛkte* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *piti sārvadhātuke* #87 *vṛddhiḥ hali* #89 *ūrṇāteḥ* #90)
> *ūrṇāter dhātor apṛkte hali piti sārvadhātuke guṇo bhavati*
> A *guṇa* vowel comes in place of an *aṅga*, namely *ūrṇuÑ* 'to cover', when a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix termed *apṛkta* marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *prorṇot* 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *pra-urṇuÑ*'
> *prorṇoḥ* 'second person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate . . .'

1. The optional *vṛddhi* of the preceding rule is here blocked in favor of an obligatory (*nitya*) replacement in *guṇa*. Consider (*pra-urṇu* + (*ŚaP*→*LUK*) + (*LAṄ*→*tiP*))) = *pra-urṇu* + *āṬ* + *ti* where, after the introduction of *āṬ* (6.4.72 *āṭaś ca*) and deletion of *i* of *ti* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*), *t* is termed an *apṛkta* (1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl pratyayaḥ*). We get *pr*(*a*+*u*→*au*) *rṇu* + *t* = *praurṇu* + *t*, through single replacement in *vṛddhi* (6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*). The *guṇa* of this rule then gives us *praurṇ*(*u*→*o*) + *t* = *praurṇot*. We similarly get the second person singular form with *siP*: *praurṇo*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *praurṇoḥ*. The first person singular form *aurṇavam*, where *miP* gets replaced with *am*, the final *u* of *urṇu* does not get the *guṇa* in *o* from this rule. For, eventhough *am* is marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*), it does not begin with a consonant and is not termed *apṛkta*. The *guṇa* in *o* is accomplished by the general rule under the condition of *sārvadhātuke* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*).

2. Why do we have to specify this operational provision with *apṛkte* when *hali* '. . . a consonant follows' is already made available. After all, these affixes begin with a consonant. This specification with *apṛkte* is made to indicate as follows:

> 'an operation specified by a following sound segment (*aL*) obtains when what begins with that sound segment follows (*yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe*)'

That is, such operations obtain when 'that which begins with a sound denoted by *aL* (any sound) follows'. The word *apṛkta* is thus used to go beyond the condition of *halādi* 'beginning with a consonant'. Note that *t* and *s* of *tiP* and *siP* alone qualify as *sārvadhātuka* affixes which are (*i*) termed

apṛkta, (*ii*) begin with a consonant (*halādi*) and (*iii*) are marked with *P* as an *it*.

7.3.92 तृणह इम्

tṛṇaha im
/*tṛṇahaḥ* 6/1 *im* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *piti sārvadhātuke* #87 *hali* #89)
'*tṛṇaha*' *ity etasyāṅgasya im āgamo bhavati hali piti sārvadhātuke*
Augment *iM* is introduced to an *aṅga*, namely *tṛṇahA*, when a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

tṛṇeḍhi 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *tṛh* 'crush, bruise''
tṛṇekṣi 'second person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate . . .'
tṛṇehmi 'first person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate . . .'
atṛṇeṭ 'third person singular active imperfect *LAṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. Note that *tṛṇaha*, with its final *a* used for articulation, is a form of verbal root *tṛh* 'to crush, bruise' with *ŚnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*). Why is this specification made with *ŚnaM*? So that *iM* could be introduced only after *ŚnaM* has been introduced. An introduction of *iM*, prior to the introduction of *ŚnaM*, may create confusion. That is, *iM* may be accepted as an exception to *ŚnaM*, or else, a wrong form may result. Since *iM* is marked with *M* as an *it*, it is introduced after the final vowel of *tṛṇah*. Thus, given *tṛ* + *ŚnaM* + *h* + *ti* = *tṛṇah* + *ti*, we get *tṛṇah* + *iM* + *ti*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then applies to yield *tṛṇ*(*a*+*i*→*e*)*h* + *ti* = *tṛṇeh* + *ti*. The *h* then goes through a replacement in *ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*). The *t* of *ti* similarly goes through a replacement in *ḍh* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*), via *dh* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastatho' rdho . . .*). We thus get *tṛṇe*(*h*→*ḍh*) + *ḍhi*. The first *ḍh* is now deleted by 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*. A *vārttika* proposal (ad 6.4.84 *ṛvarṇān nasya ṇatvaṃ vācyam*) then offers a replacement in *ṇ* for *n*. Thus, *tṛ*(*n*→*ṇ*)*e*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*)*i* = *tṛṇeḍhi*. We get *tṛṇekṣi* with second person singular active ending *siP*, where *h* turned *ḍh* of *tṛṇe*(*h*→*ḍh*) + *si* is replaced with *k* (8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si*). The *s* of *tṛṇek* + *si* then goes through a replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*) to produce *tṛṇek*(*s*→*ṣ*)*i* = *tṛṇekṣi*. The first person singular form *tṛṇehmi* is similarly derived with no *ḍhatva* of *h* before the first personal active verbal ending *miP*.

The derivation of third person singular *LAṄ* form, i.e., *atṛṇeṭ*, begins with *atṛṇah* + *t*(*i*→ϕ), subsequent to deletion of *i* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*). The initial *a* is that of augment *aṬ*. The final *t* of this string is deleted under the assignment of the term *apṛkta* (1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl*. . .; 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .).

Introduction of *iM* is here accomplished through *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa* (1.1.63 *pratyayalope* . . .). It is for this reason that *Kāśikā* states: *varṇāśraye' py atra*

pratyayalakṣaṇam iṣyate 'operations relative to the (following) affix is desired to be performed even when operational specification is made relative to a sound segment'. The *h* of *atṛṇeh* then goes through a replacement in *ḍ* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*), via *ḍh* (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*). The *ḍ* then goes through an optional replacement in *ṭ* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *vā' vasāne*). We thus also get *atṛṇeḍ*.

2. Note that since the condition of *hali* is still valid and also since introduction of *āṬ*, before *miP* 'second person active singular ending' in the imperative (*LOṬ*), has turned the affix into one beginning with a vowel, introduction of augment *iM* in *tṛṇahāni* is blocked.

The condition of *piti* requires a following affix also to be marked with *P* as an *it*. Thus, in the absence of such a following affix, we do not get *iM* in the third person dual (*tas*) form *tṛṇḍhaḥ* in *LAṬ*.

7.3.93 ब्रुव ईट्

bruva īṭ

/*bruvaḥ* 5/1 *īṭ* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *piti sārvadhātuke* #87 *hali* #89)

'*brū*' *ity etasmād uttarasya halādeḥ pitaḥ sārvadhātukasya īḍ āgamo bhavati*

Augment *īṬ* is introduced to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix which occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *brū* 'to speak', and is marked with *P* as an *it*.

EXAMPLES:

bravīti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *brū*'
bravīṣi 'second person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate . . .'
bravīmi 'first person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate . . .'
abravīt 'third person singular imperfect *LAṄ*-derivate of *brū*'

1. Augment *īṬ* is introduced here optionally to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it*. Of course, when such an affix follows *brū*. Thus, *brū* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *brū* + (*ŚaP*→*LUK*) + *ti* = *brū* + *īṬ* + *ti*. Recall that 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . . causes *LUK*-deletion of *ŚaP*. Augment *īṬ*, since it is marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, is introduced as initial of the *sārvadhātuka* affix *ti*. We thus get *br*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *īṬ* + *ti* = *bravīti*, through application of *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . .) and subsequent *av* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*). Note that a dual ending does not have *P* as an *it*. Consequently, *īṬ*, and for that matter *guṇa*, does not take place. Recall here that 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit* assigns such affixes the status of *Ṅit*. This, in turn, blocks *guṇa* (1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*). We similarly get the second and first personal singular forms *bravīṣi* (with *ṣatva*) and *bravīmi*. Deriving the third singular *LAṄ*-derivate *abravīt* from *aṬ* + *brū* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *tiP* → *a* + *br*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *īṬ* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) = *abravīt*, additionally involves augment *aṬ* and *i*- deletion of *ti* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*).

2. Note that the condition of *hali* still applies. Thus, we do not get *īṬ* in

bravāṇi, first person singular imperative (*LOṬ*) with augment *āṬ* and *ni*-replacement of *mi.* We also do not get *īṬ* in *brūtaḥ* where affix *tas* is not marked with *P* as an *it.*

7.3.94 यङो वा

yaṅo vā
/*yaṅaḥ* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *piti sārvadhātuke* #87 *hali* #89 *īḍ* #93)
yaṅa uttarasya halādeḥ pitaḥ sārvadhātukasya īḍ āgamo bhavati vā
Augment *īṬ* is introduced, only optionally, to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātukā* affix which occurs after *yaṄ* and is marked with *P* as an *it.*

EXAMPLES:

śākuniko lālapīti 'the bird chirps again and again'
dundubhir vāvadīti 'the drum beats again and again'
tridhā baddho vṛṣabho roravīti 'the three-way tied bull cries again and again'

1. This rule offers *īṬ,* optionally, to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it,* provided it follows an *aṅga* which ends in affix *yaṄ.* Consider *punaḥ punaḥ atiśayena vā lapati/ vadati/ rauti = lālapīti/ vāvadīti/ rauti* 'chirps/speaks/cries, over and over again' from (*lap* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ,* (*vad* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ* and (*ru* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ.* Affix *yaṄ* is here introduced by 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco. . . .* Rule 2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca* subsequently deletes it. All examples are offered here with deleted *yaṄ* (*yaṅluṅanta*). Refer to derivational details of *loluvaḥ/ popuvaḥ* (appendix, II:334) and *lālapīti / pāpaṭhīti* (appendix, III:706) for relevant derivational details. Note, however, that the *guṇa* of *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) in *roravīti* is accomplished by 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ.* Examples such as (*vṛÑ* + (*yaṄ*→ϕ) + *tiP* = *varyati* and (*kṛÑ* + (*yaṄ*→ϕ) + *tiP*) = *carkati* illustrate optional absence of *īṬ.* Application of 7.4.66 *ur at,* and operations relative to *abhyāsa,* are applied as usual. The first *r* of these derivates has its source in augment *rUK* (7.4.92 *ṛtaś ca*).

2. Why do we get examples where *yaṄ* goes through deletion by *LUK*? Why could we not have examples where an *aṅga* terminates in affix *yaṄ*? Since a derived root which ends in *yaṄ* receives an *ātmanepada* termination (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita . . .*), it is not possible to find a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix marked with *P* as an *it* to follow. That is, we do not get *tiP, siP* and *miP* in *ātmanepada* 'middle'. Thus, a selection of derivates with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* is made (*Kāś: halādeḥ pitaḥ sārvadhātukasya yaṅantād abhāva iti yaṅlugantasyodāharaṇam*). Incidentally, *carkarīta* is a term used by earlier grammarians for *yaṅluganta* 'that which ends in *yaṄ* deleted by *LUK* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś: carkarītam iti yaṅlugantasya pūrvācāryasaṃjñā*)'.

7.3.95 तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके

turustuśamyamaḥ sārvadhātuke
/ *tu-ru-stu-śamy-amaḥ* 5/1 = *tuś ca ruś ca stuś ca śamiś ca am ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *sārvadhātuke* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hali* #89 *īṭ* #93 *vā* #94)
'*tu*' *iti sautro*' *yaṃ dhātuḥ*, '*ru śabde*, *ṣṭuñ stutau*', *śama upaśame*, *ama gatyādiṣu*' *ity etebhyaḥ parasya sārvadhātukasya halāder vā īḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *īṬ* is, optionally, introduced to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix which is marked with *P* as an *it* and occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *tu* 'to move, harm', *ru* 'to cry', *ṣṭuÑ* 'to praise', *śamI* 'to be calm, contain' and *am* 'to go'.

EXAMPLES:

uttauti 'derivate of *ut-tu* + (*LAṬ→tiP*)'
uttavīti 'ibidem; with no *īṬ*'
uparauti 'derivate of *upa-ru* + (*LAṬ→tiP*)'
uparavīti 'ibidem; with no *īṬ*'
upastauti 'derivate of *upa-ṣṭuÑ* + (*LAṬ→tiP*)'
upastavīti 'ibidem; with no *īṬ*'
śāmyadhvam 'derivate of *śam* + (*LAṬ→tiP*)'
śamīdhvam 'ibidem; with no *īṬ*'
abhyamati 'derivate of *abhi-am* + (*LAṬ→tiP*)'
abhyamīti 'ibidem; with no *īṬ*'

1. Why do we explicitly state *sārvadhātuke* here when the same is available from *anuvṛtti*. The *sārvadhātuke* of the *anuvṛtti* is also associated with *piti* (7.3.87 *nābhyastasyāci piti sārvadhātuke*). If one (*piti*) is carried, via *anuvṛtti*, the other (*sārvadhātuke*) must also be carried. It is to cancel the *anuvṛtti* of *piti* that *sārvadhātuke* is used here explicitly. That is, *sārvadhātuke* is explicitly used here to allow optional *īṬ* before *sārvadhātuka* affixes, irrespective of whether they are marked with *P* as an *it*. This facilitates *īṬ* in deriving *stuvīta* and *śamīdhvam*.

2. Note that verbal root *tu* 'to grow, move, harm' is available only in the *sūtra* literature (*sautra*). Consider (*ut-tu* + (*LAṬ→tiP*) where an application of *īṬ* (optional), *guṇa* (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdha* . . .) and its subsequent replacement in *av* (6.1.78 *eco*' *yavāyāvaḥ*) produces *ut-t*(*u→o*) + *īṬ* + *ti* = *ut-t*(*o→av*) + *ī* + *ti* = *uttavīti*. Not accepting the option of *īṬ* will produce *ut-t*(*u→au*) + (*LAṬ→tiP*)) = *uttauti*, through application of *vṛddhi* (7.3.89 *uto vṛddhir luki hali*). The *ŚaP* of these derivates goes through deletion by *LUK* (2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). This same derivational procedure is followed for derivates of *ru* and *stu*. The second person middle plural optional derivates of *śamI* with (*LOṬ→dhvam*) are *śamīdhvam* (with *īṬ*) and *śāmyadhvam* (with no *īṬ*). Note that *ātmanepada*, i.e., *dhvam*, and *ŚaP* are used here, via *vyatyaya*

'transposition, violation'. Affix *ŚaP* is again deleted by 2.4.73 *chandasi bahulam.* This *vyatyaya* of *ŚaP*, or for that matter the inhered sense of *ṆiC* in the root, does not apply in case of a non-*īṬ* derivate. We will thus get *śāmyadhvam* with *ŚyaN* since *śamI* is a root of the *divādi* class. The lengthening of *a* of *śam* in *śāmyadhvam* will then be accomplished by 7.3.74 *śamām aṣṭānām*. . . . Deriving *abhi-am* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *abhyam* + *īṬ* + *tiP* = *abhyamīti* and *abhyamati*, with optional *īṬ*, and no deletion of *ŚaP* in the non-*īṬ* form, is not difficult.

3. Note that *śam* and *am* are roots of the *divādi* and *bhvādi* group, respectively. Since a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix is not possible to find immediately after *śam* and *am*, mostly due tò their intervening *vikaraṇas*, i.e., *ŚyaN* and *ŚaP*, we must delete them. Such a *LUK*-deletion can be made possible by accepting these usages as Vedic (2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*).

7.3.96 अस्तिसिचोऽपृक्ते

astisico' pṛkte
/ *astisicaḥ* 5/1 = *asti ca sit ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *apṛkte* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hali* #89 *īṭ* #93 *sārvadhātuke* #95)
aster aṅgāt sijantāc ca parasyāpṛktasya (*halaḥ*) *sārvadhātukasya īḍ āgamo bhavati*
Augment *īṬ* is introduced to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix which is termed *apṛkta* and occurs after an *aṅga*, either constituted by *asti* (*as* 'to be') or terminating in *sIC*.

EXAMPLES:

āsīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *as*'
āsīḥ 'second person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *as*'
akārṣīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *kṛ* 'to do''
alāvīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *lūÑ* 'to cut''
apāvīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *pū* 'to cleanse''

1. Refer to derivational details of *akārṣīt* and *alāvīt* in the appendix (II: 332-36). They illustrate an *aṅga* which ends in *sIC*. Examples of *as* are offered as *āsīt* and *āsīḥ*. The first is derived with *LAṄ*→*tiP* where augment *āṬ* (6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*) is introduced. Thus, we get: *āṭ* + *as* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*. This *ŚaP*, however, goes through *LUK*-deletion of 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*. . . . The *ā* of *āṬ* and the *a* of *as* is also replaced with a single *vṛddhi* vowel *ā* (6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*). Thus, (*ā*+*a*→*ā*) *s* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *ti*)) = *ās* + *ti*. The *i* of *ti* is also deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. An introduction of *īṬ* by this rule will produce: *ās* + *īṬ* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) = *āsīt*. We similarly get the second person singular form: *as* + (*LUṄ*→*siP*) = (*ā*+*as* →*ās*) + *ī* + *s*(*i*→ϕ)) = *āsī*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *āsīḥ*.

2. Why do we need the condition of *apṛkte*? Consider *asti* and *akārṣam* where *ti* and *am* are constituted by two sound segments. Thus, we do not have *īṬ*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt: āhibhuvor īṭi pratiṣedhaḥ*) is made to negate *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced' in connection with *īṬ* of *āha* and *bhū*. That is, we do not get *īṬ* in *āttha* and *abhūt*. Recall that, given *brū* + (*LAṬ*→*ṆaL*), rule 3.4.84 *bruvaḥ* . . . replaces *brū* with *āh*. Our present rule may offer *īṬ* by treating *āh* as *brū*, via *sthānivadbhāva*. Similar situation will arise by treating *as* as *bhū* in its *LUṄ*-derivate *āttha*. A proposed negation of *sthānivadbhāva* blocks *īṬ*.

4. The wording of this rule has generated considerable debate in the literature. *Kāśikā* begins its paraphrase as follows:

> *aster aṅgāt sijantāc ca parasya apṛktasya sārvadhātukasya īḍ āgamo bhavati* 'augment *īṬ* becomes part of the consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix termed *apṛkta* which occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *asti*, and also after a form ending in affix *sIC*'

Kāśikā arrives at this paraphrase with the understanding that the locative of *apṛkte hali*, in view of the ablative of *astisicaḥ*, should be changed into genitive. For, a specification made with ablative is considered more powerful than one made with the locative (*ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyaḥ*)'. This changed genitive must then denote part (*avayava*) of a whole (*avayavin*). This is how *īṬ*, marked with *Ṭ* as an *it* (*ādyantau ṭakitau*), is made initial to the *sārvadhātuka* affix termed *apṛkta*. *Kāśikā* further interprets the nominal stem in *astisicaḥ* as a *samāhāra-dvandva* compound where *asti* is interpreted as verbal root *as* 'to be'.

This interpretation, however, is problematic. Kātyāyana proposes a *vārttika* which negates *īṬ* by negating *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating the replacement as what it replaced' of *bhū* as *as* (*vt: āhibhuvor īṭ pratiṣedhaḥ*). This is how *īṬ* is stopped in *abhūt* 'third singular past imperfect active of *as*'. But this negation of *sthānivadbhāva* creates problems elsewhere. Consider 2.4.77 *gati-sthā-ghu-pā-bhūbhyaḥ sicaḥ parasmaipadeṣu*, whereby deletion of *sIC*, in the context of a select list of verbal roots, is accomplished. Now a question: why can we not attach *īṬ* in the context of these verbal roots by reviving *LUK*-deletion of *sIC*, either by *pratyayalakṣaṇa* (1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*) or by *sthānivadbhāva*? We know that introducing *īṬ* will create problems in deriving *LUṄ*-derivates *abhūt* (of *bhū*), *agāt* (of *gam*), *asthāt* (of *sthā*), etc.

Note that negation of *īṬ* by the *vārttika*, based on *sthānivadbhāva* proposal concerning *bhū*, can account for negation of *īṬ* in *abhūt*. Haradatta thinks that introduction of *īṬ* can also be blocked in *agāt*, *apāt* and *asthāt*, etc., by extension at the strength of the *vārttika* itself. But there is no proposal for stopping *īṬ* obtaining at the strength of *pratyayalakṣaṇa* (*PM*: *sthānivadbhāvapratiṣedhād astyāśrayatvād īṇ na bhavati/ sijāśrayo' pi na bhavati sthānivadbhāvapratiṣedhasāmarthyāt*). Nāgeśa, based on the *Mahābhāṣya* statement of *dvisakārako nirdeśaḥ* 'this specification is made with two *s* sounds' (*Mbh* on 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*), accepts the wording of *astisico' apṛkte* with

two *s* sounds: *astissico' pṛkte*. This additional ('placed-in-the middle') *s* sound, like a lamp at the doorstep, illuminates both sides, in and out. Consequently, we get *īṬ* attached to *apṛkta* occurring after *as* and *sIC*, both ending in *s*. This resolves all difficulties. This interpretation will block *īṬ* in all instances where *as* is replaced with *bhū*, and *sIC* goes through deletion. The question of *sthānivadbhāva*, or its negation by the *vārttika* and *pratyayalakṣaṇa*, will then not arise.

Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita comes out with his own interpretation. He accpets *asti* as an imitation of verbal form *asti*, used as an indeclinable (*avyaya*) in the sense of *vidyamāna* 'present'. He interprets *astisicas* as a *karmadhāraya* compound paraphrased as: *asti* (*vidyamānaṃ*) *ca tat sicaḥ*. Bhaṭṭoji deletes the ablative after *astisicas*, via *LUK*, on the basis of rule-formulation (*sautratvāt*). He thus gets the meaning: 'after a *sIC* and *as* which is present . . .'. The question of replacement of *as* with *bhū*, and also of *LUK*-deletion of *sIC*, arises here. This interpretation takes care of all problems. It does not have to accept the *vārttika* of Kātyāyana, or its extensional application. It does not have to accept the *Mahābhāṣya*-statement of *dvisakārako nirdeśaḥ* in this context. Finally, it does not have to wrestle with application, or non-application, of *pratyaya-lakṣaṇa* and *sthānivadbhāva*. Varadarāja, in his *Laghusiddhāntakaumudī* accepts Bhaṭṭoji's interpretation. Here is his *vṛtti*: *vidyamānāt sicaḥ asteś ca parasyāpṛktasya hala īḍ āgamaḥ* 'augment *īṬ* is attached to a consonantal *apṛkta* which occurs after a non-deleted *sIC* and *asti*'.

The interpretation of the old school of grammar (*prācīna-vyākaraṇa*) is flawed because it has to take recourse to *vārttika* and *sthānivadbhāva*, and has to wrestle with *pratyayalakṣaṇa*. Interpreters of the new school of grammar (Nāgeśa; *navya-vyākaraṇa*)) take recourse to Patañjalian ingenuity of *dvi-sakārako-nirdeśaḥ*. Bhaṭṭoji takes recourse to *asti* as an indeclinable. His interpretation appears more interesting, and is widely accepted. But his formation of the compound *astisicas* with internal *samāhāra-dvandva*, non-application of *sandhi* (*kutva* and *jaśtva*), and deletion of ablative after *astisicas*, makes his reader rather weary of intellectual maneuvers. His interpretation thus suffers from *jñāna-gaurava* 'prolixity of knowledge'.

7.3.97 बहुलं छन्दसि

bahulaṃ chandasi

/*bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hali* #89 *īṭ* #93 *sārvadhātuke* #95 *astisico' pṛkte* #96)

astisicor apṛktasya sārvadhātukasya īḍ āgamo bhavati bahulaṃ chandasi

Augment *īṬ* is variously introduced, in the Vedic, to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix termed *apṛkta*, when this affix occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *asti*, or one which terminates in *sIC*.

EXAMPLES:

sálilaṃ sarvámā idam

áharvāvá tárhyāsīnná rā́trīḥ
gobhírakṣāḥ
pratyañcámatsāḥ

1. Consider *āḥ* of *āpa evedaṃ salilaṃ sarvam āḥ* which replaces *āsīt*, the third singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *as*. We get *ās* after deletion of *i* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) and *t* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo . . .*). The *ā* results through *vṛddhi*-replacement of *ā+a* of *āṬ* and *as* (6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*). We finally get *ā*($s \rightarrow r \rightarrow ḥ$) = *āḥ*, through *rutva-visarga*. We get *āsīt* in *ahar eva āsīt. . . .* Similar applications produce *akṣāḥ* and *atsāḥ*, the two derivates of *kṣar* and *tsar* in *LUṄ*. Note that these forms have augment *aṬ*, and the *a* of *kṣar* and *tsar* goes through *vṛddhi* (7.2.2 *ato lrāntasya*). These illustrate examples of *sIC*. An absence of *īṬ* is dictated by the Vedic usage (*chāndas*). The *s* after *r* is here deleted by 8.2.24 *rātsasya*. The *r* then goes through *rutva-visarga*. Incidentally, these forms are parallel to *akṣarīt* and *atsarīt* of the classical usage.

7.3.98 रुदश्च पञ्चभ्यः

rudaś ca pañcabhyaḥ
/*rudaḥ* 5/1 *ca* φ *pañcabhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hali* #89 *īṭ* #93 *sārvadhātuke* #95 *apṛkte* #96)
rudādibhyaḥ parasya sārvadhātukasya halāder apṛktasya īḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *īṬ* is introduced to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix termed *apṛkta* when the same occurs after an *aṅga*, namely one of the five enumerated in the list headed by *rud* 'to cry'.

EXAMPLES:

arodīt '. . . third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *rud* 'to cry''
arodīḥ 'second person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
asvapīt 'thrid person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *svap* 'to recline, sleep''
asvapīḥ 'second person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
aśvasīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *śvas* 'to breathe''
aśvasīḥ 'second person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
prāṇīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *an* 'to breathe''
prāṇīḥ 'second person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
ajakṣīt 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *jakṣ* 'to laugh''
ajakṣīḥ 'second person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. Consider *aṬ* + *rud* + (*ŚaP*→φ) + *īṬ* + (*LUṄ*→*t*(*i*→φ)*P*)) = *ar*(*u*→*o*) *d* + *īt* = *arodīt*, where penultimate *guṇa* of *u* is accomplished. All derivates involve deletion of *ŚaP* by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ. . . .* The *n* of *pra-an* goes through *ṇatva* of 8.4.10 *aniter antaḥ*. The example derivates are offered before the third and second singular active endings *tiP* and *siP*.

Why after five only? Consider *ajāgar* of *ajāgar bhavān* where *jāgṛ*, because

of not being one of five, does not allow *īṬ*. The condition of *apṛkte* is still valid. Thus, we do not get *īṬ* in *roditi*, because *ti* consists of two sound segments.

2. The singular in *rudaḥ* is used for plural. It denotes the plural meaning when read with *pañcabhyaḥ* 'after the five . . .'.

7.3.99 अड् गार्ग्यगालवयोः

aḍ gārgyagālavayoḥ
/*aḍ* 1/1 *gārgya-gālavayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hali* #89 *sārvadhātuke* #95 *apṛkte* #96 *rudaḥ pañcabhyaḥ* #98)
rudādibhyaḥ pañcabhyaḥ parasya apṛktasya sārvadhātukasyāḍ āgamo bhavati gārgyagālavayor matena
Augment *aṬ*, instead, is introduced, in the opinion of Gārgya and Gālava, to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix termed *apṛkta* when the same occurs after an *aṅga*, namely one of the five enumerated in the list headed by *rud*.

EXAMPLES:

arodat
arodaḥ
asvapat
asvapaḥ
aśvasat
aśvasaḥ
prāṇat
prāṇaḥ
ajakṣat
ajakṣaḥ

1. This rule introduces *aṬ*, instead, to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix termed *apṛkta*. Thus, we get *aṬ* + *rud* + *aṬ* + *t* → *ar*(*u*→*o*)*d* + *a* + *t* = *arodat*. Derivational details of these examples are similar to those given under the preceding rule.

2. Note that mention of *Gārgya* and *Gālava* is made for showing respect (*pūjārtham*). We do not need this specification for option. For, introduction of *aṬ* and *īṬ*, both marked with *Ṭ* as an *it*, cannot be made concurrently. The option is thus clear.

7.3.100 अदः सर्वेषाम्

adaḥ sarveṣām
/*adaḥ* 6/1 *sarveṣām* 6/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hali* #89 *sārvadhātuke* #95 *apṛkte* #96 *aṭ* #99)

'ada bhakṣaṇe' asmād uttarasyāpṛktasya sārvadhātukasyāḍ āgamo bhavati sarveṣām ācāryāṇāṃ matena
Augment *aṬ*, in the opinion of everyone (*sarveṣām*), is introduced to a consonant-initial *sārvadhātuka* affix termed *apṛkta* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* constituted by *ad* 'to consume'.

EXAMPLES:

ādat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate'
ādaḥ 'second person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate'

1. Note that *sarveṣām* is used here for making the provision of this rule obligatory (*nitya*). There may be some confusion about its optional status, especially in the context of *gārgyagālavayoḥ*. That is, if *sarveṣām* was not used. Thus, *āṬ + ad + tiP = ādat*, through deletion of *ŚaP*, *i*-deletion (of *tiP*) and a single *vṛddhi*-replacement for the sequence *ā+a*. Deriving the *siP*-derivate *ādaḥ* offers nothing new.

Remember that the condition of *apṛkte* still applies. Thus, we do not get this *aṬ* in the context of *LAṬ*-derivates *ad + ti = atti* and *ad + si = atsi*. The affixes here consist of more than one sound segment.

7.3.101 अतो दीर्घो यञि

ato dīrgho yañi
/*ataḥ* 6/1 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *yañi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sārvadhātuke* #95)
akārāntasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati yañādau sārvadhātuke parataḥ
A long vowel comes in place of the final *a* of an *aṅga* when a *sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaÑ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pacāmi 'I cook'
pacāvaḥ 'we (two) cook'
pacāmaḥ 'we (all) cook'
pakṣyāmi 'I will cook'
pakṣyāvaḥ 'we (two) will cook'
pakṣyāmaḥ 'we (all) will cook'

1. This rule offers a corresponding long replacement to an *aṅga* which ends in *aṬ*. That is, when the *aṅga* is followed by a *sārvadhātuka* affix which begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaÑ* (*Śs.* 5-8). Consider *pac + ŚaP + miP = pacāmi, pac + ŚaP + vas = pacāvaḥ* and *pac + ŚaP + mas = pacāmaḥ*, where the *sārvadhātuka* affixes begin with *m* and *v*. We similarly get the first singular, dual and plural *LṚṬ*-derivates *pakṣyāmi, pakṣyāvaḥ* and

pakṣyāmaḥ, where *c* is replaced with *k* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). Augment *iT* is here negated by 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe*. . . .

2. Why do we have the condition of *ataḥ* 'in place of *a*? Consider *cinuvaḥ* and *cinumaḥ* where *u*, because it is not *a*, cannot be allowed this long replacement. The condition of *yañi* similarly blocks this lengthening of *a* in *pac* + *a* + *tas* = *pacataḥ* and *pac* + *a* + *thas* = *pacathaḥ*. Obviously, *t* and *th* are not included within the denotatum of *yaÑ*. Finally, this long replacement must also be accomplished before a *sārvadhātuka* affix. For, we do not get it in deriving *aṅganā* 'wife, woman' and *keśava* 'Kṛṣṇa' with affixes *ta* and *va* introduced after *aṅga* and *keśa* 'hair'.

Some read *tiṅi* 'when an affix denoted by *tiṄ* follows', via *anuvṛtti*, from rule 7.3.88 *bhūsuvos tiṅi*. This explains why, according to them, there is no lengthening at the end in *bhava* of *bhavavān*, a derivate where *KvasU*, and no *tiṄ*, replaces *LIṬ*. Thus, *bhū* + (*LIṬ*→*KvasU*) → *bhū* + *ŚaP* + *vas* → *bh*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *a* + *va*(*nUM*)*s* → *bhavav*(*a*→*ā*)*ns* → *bhavavān* (*s*→ϕ) = *bhavavān*. Recall that *KvasU* is assigned the term *sārvadhātuka* under the 'either way' (*ubhayathā*) option of 3.4.117 *chandasy ubhyathā*. Since the form is Vedic, others explain *bhavavān* as a Vedic anomaly.

7.3.102 सुपि च

supi ca
/*supi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ato dīrgho yañi* #101)
supi ca yañādau parato' kārāntasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati
A long vowel comes in place of the final *a* of an *aṅga*, also when an affix termed *sUP* beginning with sounds denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaÑ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣāya
vṛkṣābhyām
plakṣāya
plakṣābhyām

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the final short of an *aṅga* when a *sUP* affix beginning with a sound denoted by *yaÑ* follows. Thus, we get *vṛkṣa* + (*Ṅe*→*ya*) = *vṛkṣ*(*a*→*ā*)*ya* = *vṛkṣāya*, and (*plakṣa* + *Ṅe*) = *plakṣāya*. Note that *Ṅe* is replaced with *ya* by 7.1.33 *ṅer yaḥ*. Refer to derivational details of *vṛkṣāya* and *plakṣāya* in the appendix (II:365). Deriving *vṛkṣābhyām* and *plakṣābhyām* with lengthening of *a* before *bhyām* is easy.

2. This lengthening does not apply when the *aṅga* does not end in *a* (*ataḥ*). Thus, consider *agnibhyām* where *agni* ends in *i*. The condition of *yañi* must also be met. Thus, we cannot get a long replacement in *vṛkṣa* + *Ṅas* →

vṛkṣa + sya = vṛkṣasya and *plakṣasya.* Recall that *s* of *sya* is not included within the denotata of *yaÑ.*

3. Note that *yañi,* carried over from the preceding rule, is a qualifier to *supi.* But *yañi* also denotes *aL* 'sound segments'. Consequently, in view of *tadādividhi* 'treating a specification made with *x* as also denoting that which begins with *x*', will yield the interpretation: *yayādau supi* 'when a *sUP* beginning with a sound denoted by *yaÑ* follows'. The word *ataḥ* is a qualifier to *aṅgasya.* Hence, in view of *tadantavidhi* 'treating a specification made with *x* as that which ends in *x*', we get the interpretation: *adantasya aṅgasya* 'an *aṅga* which ends in *a*'.

7.3.103 बहुवचने झल्येत्

bahuvacane jhaly et
/bahuvacane 7/1 *jhali* 7/1 *et* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ataḥ* #101 *supi* #102)
bahuvacane jhalādau supi parato' kārāntasyāṅgasya ekārādeśo bhavati
An *e,* instead, comes in place of the final *a* of an *aṅga* when an affix termed *sUP* beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* follows with the signification of plural.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣebhyaḥ
plakṣebhyaḥ
vṛkṣeṣu
plakṣeṣu

1. This rule allows a replacement in *e* (*etva*) to the final *a* of an *aṅga,* when the same is followed by a plural *sUP* affix beginning with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* (*Śs.* 8-14). Thus, we get *vṛkṣ*(*a*→*e*) + *bhyas* = *vṛkṣebhya*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *vṛkṣebhyaḥ* and *plakṣebhyaḥ.* We similarly get the locative plural forms *vṛkṣeṣu* and *plakṣeṣu.* Given *vṛkṣ*(*a*→*e*) + *su* = *vṛkṣe* + *su,* the *s* of *su* is replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*).

Why do we have the condition of *bahuvacane* 'when 'many' is the denotation'. Consider *vṛkṣābhyām* and *plakṣābhyām,* where *e* cannot replace *a* since *bhyām* denotes two (dual). The condition of *jhalādi* 'beginning with a sound denoted by *jhaL*' similarly blocks *e* in *vṛkṣāṇām* and *plakṣāṇām,* where the genitive plural *ām,* or *nām* with augment *nUṬ,* does not begin with a *jhaL.* Finally, the *jhaL*-initial suffix must also be a *sUP.* Thus, we cannot get this replacement in *e* (*etva*) in *yaj* + *a* + *dhvam* = *yajadhvam* and *pacadhvam,* where *dhvam* is an affix denoted by *tiṄ.*

7.3.104 ओसि च

osi ca

/*osi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ataḥ* #101 *et* #103)
osi parato' kārāntasyāṅgasya ekārādeśo bhavati
An *e*, also, comes in place of the final *a* of an *aṅga* when *os* 'genitive-locative dual' follows.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣayoḥ
plakṣayoḥ
vṛkṣayoḥ
plakṣayoḥ

1. This rule allows *e* as a replacement for the final *a* of an *aṅga* when genitive and locative dual ending *os* follows. Thus, *vṛkṣa* + *os* = *vṛkṣayoḥ*, as in *vṛkṣayoḥ svam* and *vṛkṣayor nidhehi*. Similarly, *plakṣayoḥ svam* and *plakṣayor nidhehi*. Note that the *e* which replaces *a* is further replaced with *ay* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*). The final *s* of *os* then goes through a replacement in *ḥ*, via *rU* (*rutva-visarga*; 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*).

7.3.105 आङि चापः

āṅi cāpaḥ
/*āṅi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *āpaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *et* #103 *osi* #104)
'*āṅ*' *iti pūrvācāryanirdeśena tṛtīyaikavacanaṃ gṛhyate, tasminn āṅi parataś cakārād osi ca ābantasyāṅgasyaikārādeśo bhavati*
An *e* comes in place of the final *āP* of an *aṅga* when *āṄ* 'instrumental singular', and *os* as well, follows.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvayā 'instrumental singular of *khaṭvā* 'cot''
mālayā 'instrumental singular of *mālā* 'garland''
khaṭvayoḥ 'genitive/locative dual of *khaṭvā*'
mālayoḥ 'genitive/locative dual of *mālā*'
bahurājayā 'instrumental singular of *bahurājā* 'a place with many kings''
kārīṣagandhyayā 'instrumental singular of Kārīṣagandhyā'
bahurājayoḥ 'genitive/locative dual of *bahurājā*'
kārīṣagandhyayoḥ 'genitive/locative dual of Kārīṣagandhyā'

1. This rule allows *e* as a replacement for the final *ā* of an *aṅga* which ends in a feminine affix marked with *āP*, provided the *aṅga* is followed by *āṄ*, and *os* as well. Note that *āṄ* is a term used by earlier grammarians for *Ṭā* 'instrumental singular'. Thus, *khaṭvā* + *Ṭā* → *khaṭv*(*ā*→*e*→*ay*) = *khaṭvay* + *ā* = *khaṭvayā* and *khaṭv*(*ā*→*e*→*ay*) + *os* = *khaṭvayo*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *khaṭvayoḥ*, etc. As usual, the final *ā* will be replaced with *e*.

2. Why is *āP* used with *P* as an *it*? Consider *kīlālaṃ pibati* 'he who drinks liquor' = *kīlālapā* + *Ṭā*, where the root-final *ā* gets deleted (6.4.140 *āto dhātoḥ*). This *ā* cannot be replaced with *e* since it is not marked with *P* as an *it*. Incidentally, *kīlālapā* is a derivate of affix *vIC* introduced after *pā* and introduced in construction with a cooccurring *pada*, namely *kīlāla* + *am* (3.4.74 *āto manin* . . .). This same happens also when *os* follows *kīlālapā*.

Why do we not get this *e* in *atikhaṭva* + *Ṭā* = *atikhaṭvena*? Because, the *ā* of *khaṭvā* gets replaced with its short counterpart after compound-formation. A *Mahābhāṣya* statement does not allow a specification with *Ṅī* and *āP* to also include references to their counterparts gone through shortening (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *ṅyābgrahaṇe dīrghagrahaṇam ity etad vacanaṃ kartavyam, tena hrasvatve kṛte na bhavati*). Thus, *ā* cannot be brought back, via *sthānivadbhāva*, for application of this rule. Recall that *khaṭvā* is an *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent' (1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*).

7.3.106 सम्बुद्धौ च

sambuddhau ca
/*sambuddhau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *et* #103 *āpaḥ* #105)
sambuddhau ca parata ābantasyāṅgasya etvaṃ bhavati
An *e* comes in place of the final *āP* of an *aṅga*, also when an affix termed *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

he khaṭve 'O, Khaṭvā'
he bahurāje 'O, Bahurājā'
he kārīṣagandhye 'O, Kārīṣagandhyā'

1. Note that *sambuddhi* is defined as an address (*sambodhana*) form in the (nominative) singular (*ekavacanam*; 2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*). The *sU*, nominative singular, after *khaṭvā*, etc., is deleted by 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ*.

7.3.107 अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः

ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ
/*ambārtha-nadyoḥ* 6/2 = *ambā artho yasya* (*bv.*); *ambarthaś ca nadī ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sambuddhau* #106)
ambārthānām aṅgānāṃ nadyantānāṃ hrasvo bhavati sambuddhau parataḥ
A replacement in short (*hrasvaḥ*) comes in place of the final sound of an *aṅga*, used with the signification of *ambā* 'mother', or ending in an item termed *nadī* 'river', when an affix termed *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

he amba 'O, Ambā'
he akka 'O, Akkā'
he alla 'O, Allā'
he kumāri 'O, Kumārī'
he śārnṅgaravi 'O, Śārṅgaravī'
he brahmabandhu 'O, brahmabandhu'
he vīrabandhu 'O, vīrabandhu'

1. Note that *kumārī*, etc., are termed *nadī* by 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*. The *sU* after these bases is deleted by 6.1.69 *eṅ hrasvāt*. . . . This rule is an exception to the preceding.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to exclude forms which are termed *nadī* and which terminate in *ḍa*, *la* and *ka*. That is, *ambāḍā*, *ambālā* and *ambikā*, all used with the signification of mother, receive a replacement in *e* (*etva*; 7.3.106 *sambuddhau ca*) at the end. Thus, *he ambāḍe*, *he ambāle* and *he ambike*.

A proposal is also made to make this shortening optional to *e*, in the Vedic (*chandasi vā*). Thus, *he ambāḍa* / *he ambāḍe*, etc.

Yet another proposal makes this shortening optional, also when *Ṅi* 'locative singular' and *sambuddhi* follow a feminine *aṅga*, ending in affix *taL*. Thus, *devatā* + *Ṅi* = *devat*(*ā*→*a*) + *i* = *devate*; and *devatāyām*. Similarly, *devatā* + *sU* = *devata* and *devate*. This option, however, is again restricted to the Vedic.

A proposal is also made to replace *mātṛ* 'mother' with *mātaC*, provided *mātṛ* occurs before a nominal ending termed *sambuddhi* and the derivate denotes a son deserving to be named after his illustrious mother. Thus, *he gārgīmāta* 'O, you, whose mother is Gārgī'. This replacement proposal of *mātaC* is made as an exception to affix *kaP* (5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*). The *C* of *mātaC* makes the compound marked *udātta* at the end (6.1.163 *citaḥ*).

7.3.108 ह्रस्वस्य गुणः

hrasvasya guṇaḥ
/*hrasvasya* 6/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *sambuddhau* #106)
hrsvāntasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati sambuddhau parataḥ
A replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in *hrasva* 'short (vowel)' when an affix termed *sambuddhi* follows.

EXAMPLES:

he agne 'O, Agni'
he vāyo 'O, Vāyu'
he paṭo 'O, Paṭu'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *guṇa* to the final vowel of an *aṅga* which ends in a short vowel, provided what follows is a *sambuddhi.* Thus, *agn*(*i*→*e*) + (*sU*→ϕ)) = *agne*, *vāy*(*u*→*o*) + (*sU*→ϕ)) = *vāyo* and *paṭ*(*u*→*o*) + (*sU*→ϕ)) = *paṭo.* The *sU* gets deleted as usual.

Why does this *guṇa* not apply to *i* and *u* of *kumārī* + *sU* and *brahmabandhū* + *sU* after application of shortening by 7.3.107 *ambārthanadyor hrasvaḥ*? To offer shortening and then to offer *guṇa* will be a lengthy derivational procedure (*prakriyā-gaurava*). Besides, if Pāṇini wanted this *guṇa* to apply, he would have formulated 7.3.107 as *ambārthānāṃ hrasvaḥ.* He would then have formulated this present rule as *nadīhrasvayor guṇaḥ.* But since Pāṇini did not formulate these rules as suggested, we conclude that *guṇa* docs not apply after shortening (*hrasva*) has applied.

7.3.109 जसि च

jasi ca
/*jasi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ* #108)
jasi parato hrasvāntasyāṅgasya guṇo bhavati
A replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in a *hrasva*, also when *Jas* 'nominative plural' follows.

EXAMPLES:

agnayaḥ 'nominative plural of *agni*'
dhenavaḥ '. . . of *dhenu*'
paṭavaḥ '. . . of *paṭu*'
buddhayaḥ '. . . of *buddhi*'

1. Consider *agn*(*i*→*e*→*ay*) + (*J*) *as* → *agnaya*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *agnayaḥ*, and *vāy*(*u*→*o*→*av*) + *Jas* → *vāyava*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *vāyavaḥ*, etc. Similarly, *paṭavaḥ* and *dhenavaḥ*, etc.

2. A *vārttika* proposal makes these operations, i.e., *hrasva* 'replacement in short', *etva* 'replacement in *e*' and *guṇa*, optional in the Vedic when affixes *Jas*, etc., follow. I omit any further discussion on this *vārttika* since its scope is confusing.

7.3.110 ऋतो ङिसर्वनामस्थानयोः

ṛto ṅisarvanāmasthānayoḥ
/*ṛtaḥ* 6/1 *ṇi-sarvanāmasthānayoḥ* 7/2 = *ṅi ca sarvanāmasthanañ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *guṇaḥ* #108)
ṛkārāntasyāṅgasya ṇau parataḥ sarvanāmasthāne ca guṇo bhavati
A replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in *ṛ*, when *Ṅi*, and an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.1.42 *śi sarvanāmasthānam* . . .), follows.

EXAMPLES:

mātari 'locative singular of *mātṛ* 'mother''
pitari 'locative singular of *pitṛ* 'father''
bhrātari 'locative singular of *bhrātṛ* 'brother''
kartari 'locative singular of *kartṛ* 'doer''
kartārau 'nominative dual of *kartṛ*'
kartāraḥ 'nominative plural of *kartṛ*'
mātarau 'nominative dual of *mātṛ*'
pitarau 'nominative dual of *pitṛ*'
bhrātarau 'nominative dual of *bhrātṛ*'

1. Consider *māt(ṛ→ar)* + *Ṅi* = *mātari*, *pitṛ* + *Ṅi* = *pitari*, *bhrātṛ* + *Ṅi* = *bhrātari* and *kartṛ* + *Ṅi* = *kartari*. Example derivates for *sarvanāmasthāna* (1.4.43 *suḍ anapuṃsakasya*) are: *māt(ṛ→ar)* + *au*) = *mātarau*, *pitarau* and *bhrātarau*. Note that the *a* of *kart(a→ā) r* + *au* and *kart(a→ā) r* + *(J) as*, etc., is replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.11 *aptṛntṛc*. . .). Thus, we get *kartārau* and *kartāraḥ*, etc.

2. The *t* of *ṛt* in *ṛtaḥ* is used for ease of articulation (*Kāś*: *taparakaraṇam mukhasukhārtham*). Besides, it is impossible to find a form ending in a long *ṝ* used before *Ṅi*, or an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna*.

7.3.111 घेर्ङिति

gher ṅiti
/*gheḥ* 6/1 *ṅiti* 7/1 = *ṅakāra it yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *guṇaḥ* #108 *supi* #102)
ghyantasyāṅgasya ṅiti pratyaye parato guṇo bhavati
A replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in a *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*), provided when a *sUP* affix marked with *Ṅ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

agnaye 'dative singular of *agni*'
vāyave 'dative singular of *vāyu*'
agneḥ (*āgacchati*) '. . . comes from Agni; ablative singular of *agni*'
vāyor (*āgacchati*) '. . . comes from; ablative singular of *vāyu*'
agneḥ svam 'Agni's own; genitive singular'
vāyoḥ svam 'Vāyu's own; genitive singular'

1. Recall that 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi* assigns the term *ghi*. The nominal endings which are marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* are: *Ṅe* 'dative singular', *ṄasI* 'ablative singular', *Ṅas* 'genitive singular' and *Ṅi* 'locative singular'. Refer to derivational details of *agneḥ* and *vāyoḥ* under 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād*. . . . The dative singular form *agn(i→e→ay)* + *(Ṅ) e* = *agnaye* is gotten through *guṇa* and *ay-*

replacement. These examples illustrate *guṇa* with *pūrvarūpa* 'single replacement similar to the preceding of a vocalic sequence (6.1.108)', or *guṇa* with replacement in *ay*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *ghi*? Consider *sakhi* + *Ṅe* and *pati* + *Ṅe* where *guṇa* is blocked because *sakhi* 'friend' is excluded from receiving the term *ghi* (*asakhi*; 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*). The word *pati* is assigned this term only when used in a compound (1.4.8 *patiḥ samāsa eva*).

Why do we have the condition of *ṅiti* 'when an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* follows'? Consider *agnibhyām* where *bhyām* is not marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. Consequently, there is no *guṇa* for *i* of *agni*.

Why do we have the condition of *supi* 'when a *sUP* follows'? Consider *paṭu* + *ṄīṢ* and *kuru* + *tas* where *guṇa* of the final *u* of *paṭu* and *kuru* will be blocked since *ṄīṢ* and *tas* are affixes not denoted by *sUP*.

7.3.112 आण्नद्याः

āṇ nadyāḥ
/*āṭ* 1/1 *nadyāḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṅiti* #111)
nadyantād aṅgād uttarasya ṅitaḥ pratyayasyāḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *āṬ* is introduced to an affix marked with *Ṅ* when it occurs after an *aṅga* termed *nadī*.

EXAMPLES:

kumāryai 'dative singular of *kumārī*'
brahmabandhvai 'dative singular of *brahmabandhū*'
kumāryāḥ 'genitive singular of *kumārī*'
brahmabandhvāḥ 'genitive singular of *brhmabandhū*'

1. This rule introduces augment *āṬ* to the beginning of an affix (1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*) which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* and occurs after an *aṅga* terminating in a form termed *nadī*. Thus, *kumārī* + *Ṅe* → *kumārī* + (*āṬ* + *Ṅe*) → *kumārī* + (*ā*+*e*→*ai*) → *kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + *ai*, where 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca* offers a single *vṛddhi* replacement for the sequence *ā*+*ī*. Refer to derivational details of feminine forms under rules governed by 4.1.3 *striyām*.

7.3.113 याडापः

yāḍ āpaḥ
/*yāṭ* 1/1 *āpaḥ* 5/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṅiti* #111)
ābantād aṅgād uttarasya ṅitaḥ pratyayasya yāḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *yāṬ* is introduced to an affix which is marked with *Ṅ* as an *it* and occurs after an *aṅga* terminating in *āP*.

EXAMPLES:

khaṭvāyai 'dative singular of *khaṭvā*'
bahurājāyai 'dative singular of *bahurājā*'
kārīṣagandhyāyai 'dative singular of *kārīṣagandhyā*'
khaṭvāyāḥ 'genitive singular of *khaṭvā*'
kārīṣagandhyāyāḥ 'genitive singular of *kārīṣagandhyā*'
bahurājāyāḥ 'genitive singular of *bahurājā*'

1. This rule introduces augment *yāṬ* to an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, when the same follows an *aṅga* ending in the feminine affix *āP*. This *āP* refers to the *āP* of *ṬāP* (*khaṭvā*), *CāP* (*kārīṣagandhyā*) and *ḌāP* (*bahurājā*). Thus, *khaṭvā* + *Ṅe* → *khaṭvā* + *yāṬ* + *Ṅe* → *khaṭvā* + *y*(*ā*+*e*→*ai*) = *khaṭvāyai*. A single *vṛddhi*-replacement for the sequence *ā*+*e* is here offered by 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*. Note that *khaṭvā* + *yāṬ* + *Ṅas* → *khaṭvā* + *yā* + *as* produces *khaṭvāy*(*ā*+*a*→*ā*)*s* = *khaṭvāyā*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *khaṭvāyāḥ*, through *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe*...) 'homogeneous long vowel replacement' and *s*→*r*→*ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*).

2. A question is raised as to why, given *atikhaṭva* + (*Ṅ*)*e* where *ā* of *khaṭvā* has gone through shortening (1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*), we cannot get *yāṬ* by treating *atikhaṭva* as ending in *āP*, via *sthānivadbhāva*? This *yāṬ* is blocked on grounds that 'a non-long is not accepted when the specification is made with *Ṅī* and *āP* (*ṅyābgrahaṇe dīrghagrahaṇam*; also note (2) under 7.3.105 *āṅi cāpaḥ*). Why can we still not introduce *yāṬ* to *ya* (7.1.13 *ṅer yaḥ*) of *atikhaṭva* + *ya*, after the final *a* of *atikhaṭva* has been replaced with its long counterpart (7.3.102 *supi ca*)? Because this *ā* results out of a rule-application (*lākṣaṇika*). Recall that a specification made by enumeration of individual forms (*pratipadokta*), alone, is accepted when a conflict arises in connection with forms derived via rule applications (*PŚ* 114: *lakṣaṇapratipadoktayoḥ pratipadoktasyaiva grahaṇam*). Augment *yāṬ* thus cannot be introduced here.

7.3.114 सर्वनाम्नः स्याड्ढ्रस्वश्च

sarvanāmnaḥ syāḍḍ hrasvaś ca
/*sarvanāmnaḥ* 5/1 *syāṭ* 1/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *ca* ɸ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṅiti* #111 *āpaḥ* #113)
sarvanāmna ābantād aṅgād uttarasya ṅitaḥ pratyayasya syāḍ āgamo hrasvaś ca bhavati

Augment *syāṬ* is introduced to an affix which is marked with *Ṅ* and occurs after an *aṅga* termed *sarvanāman* ending in *āP*, with an additional provision that a *hrasva* 'short vowel' replace the final of the *aṅga*.

EXAMPLES:

sarvasyai 'dative singular of *sarvā*'
viśvasyai 'dative singular of *viśvā*'

yasyai 'dative singular of *yā*'
tasyai 'dative singular of *sā*'
kasyai 'dative singular of *kā*'
anyasyai 'dative singular of *anyā*'
sarvasyāḥ 'genitive singular of *sarvā*'
viśvasyāḥ 'genitive singular of *viśvā*'
yasyāḥ 'genitive singular of *yā*'
kasyāḥ 'genitive singular of *kā*'
anyasyāḥ 'genitive singular of *kā*'

1. This rule introduces augment *syāṬ* to an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, when the same follows an *aṅga* ending in *āP*. The long final of the *aṅga* is additionally replaced with its short counterpart. Thus, *sarvā* + *Ṅe* → *sarv*(*ā*→*a*) + (*syāṬ* + *e*)) → *sarva* + *sy*(*ā*+*e*→*ai*) = *sarvasyai*, with the application of 6.1.85 *vṛddhir eci*. Similar applications are witnessed in other derivates. We get the application of *savarṇadīrgha* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) and *rutva-visarga* in *sarvā* + *Ṅas* → *sarv*(*ā*→*a*) + *syā*(*Ṭ*) + *as* = *sarvasy*(*ā*+*a*→*ā*)*s* → *sarvasyā* (*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *sarvasyāḥ*.

2. Note that this rule applies only when the *aṅga* ends in *āP*. Thus, it does not apply, for example, in *bhavat* + *Ṅi* = *bhavati* 'locative singular of *bhavatī*' and *bhavat* + *Ṅe* = *bhavate* 'dative singular of *bhavat*'. This same also applies to *bhavatī* + *Ṅe* = *bhavatyai* 'dative singular of *bhavatī*' and *bhavatī* + *Ṅas* = *bhavatyāḥ* 'genitive singular of *bhavatī*'.

7.3.115 विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम्

vibhāṣā dvitīyātṛtīyābhyām
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *dvitīyā-tṛtīyābhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṅiti* #111 *syāḍ hrasvaś ca* #114)
'*dvitīyā, tṛtīyā*' *ity etābhyām uttarasya ṅitaḥ pratyayasya vibhāṣā syāḍ āgamo bhavati dvitīyātṛtīyayoś ca hrasvo bhavati*
Augment *syāṬ* is optionally introduced to an affix which is marked with *Ṅ* and occurs after an *aṅga*, namely *dvitīyā* 'second, other' and *tṛtīyā* 'third, other', with an additional provision that a *hrasva* 'short vowel' replace the final of the *aṅga*.

EXAMPLES:

dvitīyasyai 'dative singular of *dvitīyā* 'second, other'
dvitīyāyai 'ibidem; with no *syāṬ*'
tṛtīyasyai 'dative singular of *tṛtīyā* 'third''
tṛtīyāyai 'ibidem; with no *syāṬ*'

1. This provision of optional shortening, and *syāṬ*, was not available to *dvitīyā* and *tṛtīyā*. Obviously, because they are not pronominal (*sarvanāman*). This rule makes this non-available option (*aprāpta*) possible (*prāpta*). Short-

ening will thus apply when the option of *syāṬ* is availed. There will not be any shortening when *syāṬ* is not introduced. Refer to *uttarapūrvasyai* 'dative singular of *uttarapūrvā* 'north-east' and *uttarapūrvāyai* (appendix, II:363-65) for derivational details.

7.3.116 **ङेराम् नद्याम्नीभ्यः**

ṅer ām nadyāmnībhyaḥ
/*ṅeḥ* 6/1 *ām* 1/1 *nadyāmnībhyaḥ* 5/3 = *nadī ca āp ca nīś ca* = *nadyāmnaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
nadyantād ābantān nīty etasmāc cottarasya ṅer ām ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ām* comes in place of affix *Ṅi* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* termed *nadī* (1..43 *yūstryākhyau nadī*), or after an *aṅga* terminating in *āP*, or else, after an *aṅga* terminating in *nī*.

EXAMPLES:

kumāryām 'locative singular of *kumārī*'
gauryām 'locative singular of *gaurī*'
brahmabandhvām 'locative singular of *brahmabandhū*'
dhībandhvām 'locative singular of *dhībandhū*'
khaṭvāyām 'locative singular of *khaṭvā*'
bahurājāyām 'locative singular of *bahurājā*'
kārīṣagandhyāyām 'locative singular of *kārīṣagandhyā*'
rājanyām 'locative singular of *rājanī*'
senānyām 'locative singular of *senānī*'

1. Refer to 4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . ., etc., for derivational details (appendix, IV:764-67). Note that *rājanī* and *senānī* are derivates of *KvIP*, for which see the appendix (III:730-40) under 3.2.61 *satsūdviṣa*. . . . The term *nadī* is assigned by 1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*.

7.3.117 **इदुद्भ्याम्**

idudbhyām
/*id-ud-bhyām* 5/1 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.1.1 *nadyāḥ*, *ṅer ām* #116/
ikārokārābhyāṃ nadīsaṃjñakābhyām uttarasya ṅer ām ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ām* comes in place of affix *Ṅi* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* termed *nadī* terminating in *i* and *u*.

EXAMPLES:

kṛtyām 'locative singular of *kṛti*'
dhenvām 'locative singular of *dhenu*'

1. This rule applies to an *aṅga* which ends in *i* and *u* and is termed *nadī* (1.4.6 *ṅiti hrasvaś ca*). Thus, *kṛti* + (*Ṅi*→*ām*) = *kṛt*(*i*→*y*) + *ām* = *kṛtyām* and *dhenu* + (*Ṅi*→*ām*) = *dhen*(*u*→*v*) + *ām* = *dhenvām*. A question is raised against formulating this rule, especially since our earlier rule can account for its derivates. The word *nadī* is thus carried here to qualify *i* and *u* to get: *nadīsajñakau yāv idudau* 'forms which are termed *nadī* and end in *iT* and *uT*'. Obviously, this rule is useless. But it is not. The *au* of the next rule will block *ām* on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order of enumeration'. If this rule is formulated, *ām* alone will be introduced. This rule could not have been formulated as *idudbhyām aut*. For, *kṛti* and *dhenu* could then have received *au* on the basis of *paratva*. Note that *ām*, characterized with the term *nadī*, could have found its independent scope in *kumāryām*. The *au* could have found its independent scope in *patyau* and *sakhyau*. They both could have been available to *kṛti* when termed *nadī*. The *au* could have won on the basis of *paratva*.

Note that, in the absence of the term *nadī*, we get the assignment of the term *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*). Rule 7.3.119 *ac ca gheḥ* then applies to produce *kṛt*(*i*→*a*) + (*i*→*au*) = *kṛt*(*a* + *au* → *au*) = *kṛtau* and *dhenau*.

7.3.118 औत्

aut
/*aut* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṅeḥ ām* #116 *idudbhyām* #117)
idudbhyām uttarasya ṇer aukārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *au* comes in place of *Ṅi* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* which terminates in *i* and *u*, but is not a *nadī*, or *ghi*.

EXAMPLES:

sakhyau 'locative singular of *sakhi*'
patyau 'locative singular of *pati*'

1. This rule applies to an *aṅga* which ends in *i* and *u*, but is not a *nadī*, or *ghi* (1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi*). Thus, we get *sakhi* + (*Ṅi* → *au*) = *sakh*(*i*→*y*) + *au* = *sakhyau* and *pati* + *Ṅi* → *patyau*.

2. Note that this is a general rule. Rule 7.3.118 *acca gheḥ* is its exception. There is no example of *u* available. It is here used for facilitating derivates of the following rule (*uttarārtham*). Incidentally, *t* in *aut* is not an *it*. It is here used for *taparakaraṇa* 'making *t* follow' (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*).

7.3.119 अच्च घेः

ac ca gheḥ
/*at* 1/1 *ca* ɸ *gheḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṅeḥ* #116 *aut* #118)

ghisaṃjñakād uttarasya ṅer aukārādeśo bhavati tasya ca gher akārādeśo bhavati

A replacement in *au* comes in place of affix *Ṅi* when the same occurs after *i* and *u* of an *aṅga* termed *ghi*, with an additional provision that *a*(*T*) comes in place of the final of an *aṅga* termed *ghi*.

EXAMPLES:

agnau 'locative singular of *agni*'
vāyau 'locative singular of *vāyu*'
kṛtau 'locative singular of *kṛti*'
dhenau 'locative singular of *dhenu*'
paṭau 'locative singular of *dhenu*'

1. The *Mahābhāṣya* lists this and the preceding rule as one: *aud ac ca gheḥ*. It then resorts to a split interpretation (*yogavibhāgha*) as follows:

(*i*) *aut* (with *idudbhyām* read via *anuvṛtti*): '*auT* comes in place of *Ṅi* occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *i* and *u*';

(*ii*) *ac ca gheḥ* (read with *aut*): '*auT* comes in place of *Ṅi* occurring after an *aṅga* termed *ghi*; additionally, the final of the *aṅga* termed *ghi* is replaced with *a*'. *Kāśikā* reads these two split-rules separately. A joint listing of these two creates problem. That is, *au*(*tva*) and *a*(*tva*), since they are both offered concurrently (*sanniyogaśiṣṭa*), will also apply concurrently. That is, we will find *autva* where *atva* will apply. A single formulation, for resolving problems of application, will treat the *a*-replacement (*atva*) of an *aṅga* termed *ghi* (which ends in *i* and *u*) as *anvācaya-śiṣṭa* 'secondarily taught'. Thus, it will only apply where possible. It is similar to the application of deletion of *s* (*salopa*) in 3.1.11 *kartuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca*. Recall that *KyaṄ* is a primary provision there. The deletion of *s* is taught secondarily.

2. The *t* of *at* (*taparakaraṇa*) is used to block introduction of the feminine affix *ṬāP* (*Kāś*: *ad iti taparakaraṇaṃ striyāṃ ṭāpo nivṛtyartham*). That is, *ṬāP* cannot be introduced after a base which has received a replacement in *a*.

7.3.120 आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम्

āṅo nā' striyām

/*āṅaḥ* 6/1 *nā* 1/1 *astriyām* 7/1 = *na strī* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *gheḥ* #119)

gher uttarasyāṅo nābhāvo bhavati

A replacement in *nā* comes in place of affix *Ṭā*, when the same occurs after an *aṅga* termed *ghi*, provided the scope is other than feminine (*astriyām*).

EXAMPLES:

agninā 'instrumental singular of *agni*'
vāyunā 'instrumental singular of *vāyu*'
paṭunā 'instrumental singular of *paṭu*'

1. Note that the term *ghi* will be assigned by 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi.* Its derivates must be restricted to masculine and neuter. Why was the specification not made with *puṃsi* 'with the scope of masculine'. Consider *amunā* 'instrumental singular of *idam*' of *amunā brāhmaṇakulena* 'by this clan of the brāhmaṇas' where *nā* in the neuter derivate could have been blocked. Other neuter forms could be derived with no problem under the specification of *puṃsi* 'masculine'. How? By introducing *nUM* of 7.1.73 *iko' ci vibhaktau.* Thus, we can derive *trapuṇā* 'instrumental singular of *trapu*' and *jatunā* 'instrumental singular of *jatu*'. But *amunā* will still create problems. It is for this reason that *astriyām* 'other than feminine' is employed to specify the exclusion.

2. Why do we state this exclusion of *astriyām*? Consider *kṛti* + *Ṭā* → *kṛtyā* 'instrumental singular of *kṛti*' and *dhenu* + *Ṭā* → *dhenvā* 'instrumental singular of *dhenu*' where, because of the feminine scope of the derivate, we do not get *nā.*

PĀDA FOUR

7.4.1 णौ चङ्युपधाया ह्रस्वः

ṇau caṅy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ
/*ṇau* 7/1 *caṅi* 7/1 *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
caṅpare ṇau yad aṅgaṃ tasyopadhāyā hrasvo bhavati
A short vowel comes in place of the penultimate (*upadhā*) long of an *aṅga* when *CaṄ*, occurring in construction after *ṆiC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

acīkarat 'he had it made by someone'
ajīharat 'he had it carried by someone'
alīlavat 'he had it cut by someone'
apīpavat 'he had it drunk by someone'

1. Note that a specification with *saptamī* 'locative' of *ṇau* 'when *ṆiC* follows' and *caṅi* 'when *CaṄ* follows' facilitates this interpretation: *caṅpare ṇau yad aṅgam* 'the *aṅga* which, when followed by *ṆiC* is followed by *CaṄ*'. The penultimate long of such an *aṅga* is replaced with its short counterpart. Refer to the appendix (II:507-9) for derivational details of *acīkarat* and *ajīharat.* These derivates of *kāri* + *LUṄ* and *hāri* + *LUṄ* include *kāri* and *hāri* which, in turn, derive from *kṛ* + *ṆiC* and *hṛ* + *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*). Given *kāri* +

(*LUṄ*→*t*(*i*→ϕ)) → *kāri* + *CaṄ* + *t*, the penultimate *ā* of *kār* is replaced with its short counterpart. The *aṅga*, i.e., *kār*, which occurs followed by *ṆiC* is followed by *CaṄ* (3.1.48 *ṇiśridrusrubhyaḥ* . . .). Affix *ṆiC* is then deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. Reduplication (*dvitva*), and operations relative to *abhyāsa*, then apply to *aṬ* + *kar* + *a* + *t* to produce the final derivate.

Refer to derivational details of *apīpaṭhat* (notes, 6.1.11 *caṅi*), for deriving (*lūÑ* + *ṆiC*)→ *lāvi* → *lāvi* + (*LUṄ*→*tiP*)) = *alīlavat*. Note that we get replacement in *i* (*itva*) of 7.4.80 *oḥ pūyaṇjy apare* after shortening of *ā* of *lāvi* 'to have someone cut'. Similar applications are also involved in deriving (*pū* + *ṆiC* → *pāvi*) + (*LUṄ*→*tiP*)) = *apīpavat*.

2. Commentators note that *dvitva* 'reduplication' and *upadhāhrasva* 'shortening of the penultimate' both become applicable concurrently on *kār* + *i* + *a* + *t*. The shortening of the penultimate vowel wins this applicational conflict on the basis of *paratva* 'subsequent in order of enumeration'. Application of reduplication (*dvitva*) follows after shortening. Now consider the derivation of *āṭiṭat* (appendix, (II:416-17)) where, given *āṭ* + *i* + *a* + *t*, this rule applies to yield (*ā*→*a*) *ṭ* + *i* + *a* + *t*, through penultimate shortening. Recall that reduplication of 6.1.2 *ajāder dvityasya* is obligatory (*nitya*), because it will apply irrespective of whether it applies before or after penultimate shortening. If this obligatory reduplication is applied, we will get *āṭi* + *ṭi* + *a* + *t*. But this will no longer enable *ā* to qualify as *upadhā* 'penultimate'. Consequently, shortening will be blocked.

It is stated that the *ṛdit*-status '*ṛT* as an *it*' of verbal roots, for example the *bhvādi* root *oṇṚ* 'to remove', will become useless if reduplication applies prior to shortening. That is, given *oṇ*(*Ṛ*) + *i* + *a* + *t*, reduplication will yield *oṇi* + *ṇi* + *a* + *t*. The question of penultimate shortening (*upadhā-hrasva*) will thus not arise. For, *o* will no longer be an *upadhā*. Why then negate (7.4.2 *nāglipi* . . .) it by making *oṇ* characterized as *ṛdit*? This, in turn, indicates that obligatory reduplication applies even after shortening has applied. The *ṛdit*-status of *oṇ* is justified only when shortening is applied prior to reduplication (*Kāś*: *atra dvirvacanopadhāhrasvatvayoḥ prāptayoḥ paratvād upadhāhrasvatvam, tatra kṛte dvirvacanam . . . oṇer ṛditkaraṇaṃ jñāpakam: nityam api dvirvacanam upadhāhrasvatvena bādhyate*).

3. Why do we have the condition of *ṇau* 'when *ṇi* follows'? Why not formulate this rule with *caṅy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ* 'short of the penultimate when *CaṄ* follows'. Such a formulation will create problems in deriving *alīlavat*. Thus, given *lū* + *ṆiC* + *CaṄ* + *t* = *lū* + *i* + *a* + *t*, this shortening will block internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) *vṛddhi* (*lū*→*au*) and replacement in *āv* (*au*→*āv*). Note that *vṛddhi* and *āv* are internally conditioned by *ṆiC*. The short replacement is externally conditioned by *CaṄ*. The internally conditioned *vṛddhi* and *āv*, therefore, must precede shortening. A formulation such as *caṅy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ*, without *ṇau*, would also create problems in deriving *adīdapat* from *aṬ* + *dā* + *ṆiC* + *CaṄ* + *t*. If shortening is applied first,

we cannot get augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *arttihrī* . . .). For, *dā* will then not end in *ā*. The shortening will also be blocked in *apīpacat* if *ṇau* is not stated along with *caṅi*. For, we get *ā* in the *upadhā* before *Ṇi*.

Why do we have the condition of *caṅi*? Consider *kāri* + *a* + *ti* = *kārayati* and *hāri* + *a* + *ti* = *hārayati* where, in the absence of *CaṄ*, there is no shortening of the penultimate.

Why do we have the condition of *upadhāyāḥ* 'in place of the penultimate'? Consider *acakāṅkṣat* and *avavāñchat* where, after deletion of *i* of *kāṅkṣi* and *vāñcchi*, *nUM* (7.1.58 *iditoḥ num dhātoḥ*) is introduced. We get the forms *kāṅkṣ* and *vāñch*, through *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* 'single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence', where *ā* is not in the *upadhā* 'next to the last'. One may be tempted to apply shortening because of provision of this rule (*sūtrārambha-sāmarthya*). This shortening is blocked because of specification made with *upadhā*. Note that this specification with *upadhā* is also needed in subsequent rules.

4. A *vārttika* proposal is also made to state *upadhā-hrasva* 'shortening of the penultimate' when *ṆiC*, followed by *Ṇi*, follows (*vt*: *upadhāhrasvatve ṇer ṇicy upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, consider *avīvadad vīṇāṃ parivādakena*, where we get (*vad* + *ṆiC*) = (*vādi* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*)) = *vāditavantaṃ prayojitavān* = *avīvadat vīṇām parivādakena* 'the accompanist inspired him being inspired to play (the lute)'. Note that the first *ṆiC* is deleted by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*. The *aṅga* then does not go through a replacement in short (*hrasva*) because of *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced' of *ṆiC*-deletion, and also deletion of *aK* (*aglopa*). It is debatable whether this *vārttika* is needed at all. The *Bhāṣya* does not accept this *vārttika*. Patañjali considers the two *ṆiC* affixes as one and the same. He accepts their specification made as *jāti* 'general class; universal'. This way *upadhāhrasva* becomes possible. The *vārttika*, however, is not accepted.

7.4.2 नाग्लोपिशास्वृदिताम्

nāglopiśāsvṛditām

/ *na* ϕ *aglopiśāsvṛditām* = *ako lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *aglopa asyāstīti* = *aglopī* (affix *inI* with the signification of *matUP*); *ṛt it yasya* (*bv.*); *aglopī ca śāsuś ca ṛd it ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau caṇy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ* #1)

aglopinām aṅgānāṃ śāser ṛditāṃ ca ṇau caṅy upadhāyā hrasvo na bhavati

A short vowel does not come as a replacement for the penultimate (*upadhā*) vowel of an *aṅga* which goes through deletion of a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aK* (*Śs.* 1-2), or an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *śās* 'to instruct', or else, an *aṅga* constituted by a root marked with *ṛ* as an *it*, provided when *CaṄ*, occurring in construction after *ṆiC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *amamālat* = *mālām ākhyat* 'named (described) the garland'
> *amamātarat* = *mātaram ākhyat* 'said 'mother''
> *atyararājat* = *rājānam atikrāntavān* 'excelled the king'
> *anvalulomat* = *lomāny anumṛṣṭavān* 'cleansed the pores'
> *aśaśāsat* '. . . instructed'
> *ababādhat* '. . . has become agitated'
> *ayayācat* '. . . has begged'
> *aḍuḍhaukat* '. . . has reached, presented'

1. This rule disallows penultimate shortening of three types of *aṅgas*: (*i*) an *aṅga* which goes through deletion of one of its sounds denoted by *aK* (*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ*); (*ii*) an *aṅga* constituted by *śās* 'to instruct' and (*iii*) an *aṅga* constituted by roots, for example *bādhṚ* 'to agitate, churn', *ḍhaukṚ* 'to reach, present', etc., which are marked with *Ṛ* as an *it*. Consider *mālām ākhyat* = *amamālāt*, a third singular active derivate of *LUṄ* introduced after *māli*. This root is causal where affix *ṆiC* is introduced after *mālām* in view of a *gaṇasūtra* proposal (under *curādi* listings: *tatkaroti tad ācaṣṭe* 'does that, says that'). Also refer to *paṭayati* (appendix, II:400-401). Given *mālā* + (*Ṇ*) *i*(*C*) → *mālā* + *i*, *ā* will go through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*; also *iṣṭhavadbhāva* (*vt*: *ṇāv iṣṭhavat prādipadikasya* . . .). Since *mālā* has gone through deletion of its *ā*, a sound denoted by *aK*, *māl* becomes an *aṅga* characterized as *aglopin* 'that which has gone through its deletion of *aK*). Note that *māli* + *LUṄ* will subsequently produce *aṬ* + *māl* + *CaṄ* + *t* where *i* will get deleted and *CaṄ* (similar to many *LUṄ*-derivates already discussed) will be introduced. This rule will block shortening of the penultimate *ā* of *māl*. Reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*, etc., will finally produce *amamālat*. We get *mātaram ākhyat* = *amamātarat* and *rājānam atikrāntavān* = *atyararājat* 'excelled the king'. These derivates involve causal forms *mātṛ* + *ṆiC* and *atirājan* + *ṆiC* which produce *māt*(*ṛ*→ϕ) + *i* and *atirāj*(*an* →ϕ) + *i*, through *ṭi*-deletion. Once again, a penultimate shortening will not be allowed in case of these *aṅga*-elements when *CaṄ*, occurring after *ṆiC*, follows. Thus, we also get *anvalulomat* from *anulomi* + *LUṄ*, where *ṆiC* is introduced after *anuloman* (3.1.25 *satyāpapāśa* . . .). Needless to say, we get *ṭi*-deletion of *an* of *anuloman* before *ṆiC*. Examples of *śās* and roots marked with *ṛ* as an *it* are: *aśaśāsat*, third singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *śās* 'to instruct, govern'; and third singular active *LUṄ*-derivates of *bādhṚ*: *ababādhat*; of *yācṚ*: *ayayācat*; and of *ḍhaukṚ*: *aḍuḍhaukat*.

It is stated that question of shortening does not arise where *aglopa* 'deletion of *aK*' has taken effect. For, *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.57 *sthānivad ādeśo* . . .) of deletion can automatically block shortening. But in instances (such as *rājan*) where a sequence of consonant and vowel goes through *ṭi*-deletion, negation of shortening cannot be established automatically. We thus need this rule.

7.4.3 भ्राजभासभाषदीपजीवमीलपीडामन्यतरस्याम्

bhrājabhāsabhāṣadīpajīvamīlapīḍām anyatarasyām
/ *bhrāja-bhāsa-bhāṣa-dīpa-jīva-mīla-pīḍām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*); *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ hrasvaḥ* #1)
'*bhrāja, bhāsa, bhāṣa, dīpa, jīva, mīla, pīḍa*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ ṇau caṅy upadhāyā hrasvo bhavaty anyatarasyām*
A short vowel, optionally, comes as a replacement for the penultimate (*upadhā*) vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one constituted by *bhrājA* 'to glow', *bhāsA* 'to shine', *bhāṣA* 'to speak', *dīpA* 'to glow', *jīvA* 'to live', *mīlA* 'to shut eyes' and *pīḍA* 'to torment', provided when *CaṆ*, occurring in construction after *ṆiC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

abibhrajat '. . . had (it) glowed'
ababhrājat 'ibidem'
abībhaṣat '. . . had (it) shined'
ababhāṣat 'had (it) spoken'
adīdipat 'had (it) glowed'
adidīpat 'ibidem'
ajījivat 'had (it) lived'
ajijīvat 'ibidem'
amīmilat 'had (someone) sleep'
amimīlat 'ibidem'
apīpiḍat 'had someone harmed'
apipīḍat 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers optional penultimate vowel-shortening (*upadhāhrasva*), to a select list of roots termed *aṅga*. Consider (*bhrāj* + *ṆiC*) + (*LUṄ→tiP*)) = *bhrāj* + *i* + (*CLI→CaṆ*) + *t* = *aṬ* + *bhrāji* + *CaṆ* + *t* where deletion of *ṆiC*, reduplication (*dvitva*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa* will take place. Given *a* + (*bh→ba*) + *bhraj* + *a* + *t* = *a* + *ba* + *bhraj* + *a* + *t*, rule 7.4.93 *sanval laghuni caṅpare* . . . applies to offer *sanvadbhāva* 'operations similar to when *saN* follows'. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable', i.e., *ba*, is thus replaced with *i* to yield: *a* + *b*(*a→i*) + *bhraj* + *a* + *t* = *abibhrajat*. Note that this *sanvadbhāva* (II:214) and its related replacement in *i* (*itva*) will be blocked if the option of *upadhāhrasva* is not accepted. Thus, not accepting *upadhāhrasva* will give us *a* + *ba*+ *bhrāj* + *a* + *t*→ *ababhrājat*, with no *sanvadbhāva* and replacement in *i* (*itva*). We similarly get *abībhasat* and *ababhāsat*, where the long *ī* of *abībhasat* is a replacement of its short counterpart (7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*). Similar derivational details can be offered for *abībhaṣat* and *ababhāṣat*; *adīdipat* and *adidīpat*; *ajījivat* and *ajijīvat*; *amīmilat* and *amimīlat*; and *apīpiḍat* and *apipīḍat*.

Incidentally, the practice of marking *bhrāj* and *bhās* with *ṛ* as an *it* (*ṛT*) is un-Pāṇinian (*Kāś*: *bhrājbhāsor ṛditkaraṇam apāṇinīyam*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for an optional shortening of the penultimate, especially when *kāṇi* is an *aṅga*. Thus, *kāṇi* + *LUṄ* → *acakāṇat* and *acīkaṇat*.

7.4.4 लोपः पिबतेरीच्चाभ्यासस्य

lopaḥ pibater īc cābhyāsasya
/*lopaḥ* 1/1 *pibateḥ* 6/1 *īt* 1/1 *ca* ϕ *abhyāsasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ* #1)
pibater aṅgasya ṇau caṅy upadhāyā lopo bhavati abhyāsasyekārādeśo bhavati
LOPA replaces the penultimate vowel of an *aṅga*, namely verbal root *pib* (*pā* 'to drink'), with the additional provision that final sound segment of *abhyāsa* be replaced with *ī*, provided when *CaṄ*, used in construction after *ṆiC*, follows.

Examples:

apīpyat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of causal *pā* 'to drink''
apīpyatām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
apīpyan 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule allows two operations concurrently: (*i*) penultimate deletion (*upadhālopa*) and (*ii*) long *ī* as a replacement for the final vowel of the *abhyāsa*. These operations are both given in the context of an *aṅga*, namely *pib*. Consider the third person singular, dual, and plural active forms of *LUṄ* where deletion of the penultimate vowel is offered against shortening provision of 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy*. . . . Thus, we get *pā* + *ṆiC* → *pā* + *yUK* + *ṆiC* = *pā* + *y* + *i*, where *yUK* is introduced by 7.3.37 *śācchāsāhvā*. . . . An introduction of *LUṄ*, and its replacements with the third singular active verbal ending *tiP*, dual *tas*→*tām* and plural (*jh*→*ant*)*i* = *anti*, precedes *CLI*→*CaṄ*, deletion, reduplication, etc., to produce: *aṬ* + *pāy* + (*ṆiC*→ϕ) + *a* + *t* → *a* + *p*(*ā*→ϕ)*y* + *a* + *t* → *a* + *pāy* + *py* + *a* + *t* → *a* + *pā* + *py* + *a* + *t*. Note here that *pāy* is reduplicated in view of extension of form (*rūpātideśa*) of 1.1.58 *dvirvacane' ci*. Thus, we get *pāy* + *py* as a result of reduplication (*dvitva*). A subsequent application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* gives us *pā*(*y*→ϕ) + *py*. The *ā* of *pā* in *a* + *pā* + *py* + *a* + *t* is replaced with *īT* to produce: *a* + *p*(*ā*→*ī*) + *py* + *a* + *t* = *apīpyat*. The dual and plural forms, *apīpyatām* and *apīpyan*, are not very different in derivational details.

2. A question is raised against applying *dvirvacana* 'reduplication' after penultimate vowel-deletion (*upadhālopa*). Thus, given *pāy* + *i* + *a* + *t*, deletion of *ā* leaves *py*, a unit formed with no vowel (*anacka*). This will make reduplication impossible, especially in view of *ekācaḥ prathamaḥ* (6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*). Commentators state that *upadhālopa* 'deletion of the penultimate' applies first because it is not only subsequent in order but it is also obligatory (*paratvān nityatvāc ca*). But this deletion before *ṆiC* is accpeted as not having applied (via *sthānivadbhāva*), as far as reduplication is concerned.

A *LOPA* before *ṆiC* is treated as not having taken effect, via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a substitute as what it replaced'. We know it from the application of 7.4.80 *oḥ puyaṇjy apare.* Thus, we can still get *pā*, via *sthānivadbhāva*, for purposes of reduplication.

Commentators explain that the genitive singular *abhyāsasya* is used so that *LOPA* and replacement in *ī* (*ītva*) do not become applicable to the *upadhā* 'penultimate vowel', in turn (*paryāya*).

7.4.5 तिष्ठतेरित्

tiṣṭhater it
/ *tiṣṭhateḥ* 6/1 *it* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ* #1)
tiṣṭhater aṅgasya ṇau caṅy upadhāyā ikārādeśo bhavati
A short *i* comes in place of the penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *sthā* 'to stay, stand' when *CaṄ*, used in construction after *ṆiC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

atiṣṭhipat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *sthāpi* 'to have someone stay, stand, establish''
atiṣṭhipatām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
atiṣṭhipan 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule is also an exception to the penultimate shortening of 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ hrasvaḥ.* Consider *atiṣṭhipat, atiṣṭhipatām* and *atiṣṭhipan,* the active third person singular, dual and plural derivates of *sthā* 'to stay, stand' used with *ṆiC*, i.e. *sthāpi*, in *LUṄ*. Thus, we get *sthā* + *pUK* = *ṆiC* = *sthāpi* + *LUṄ*, where *pUK* is introduced by 7.3.36 *arttihrīvlī*. . . . Given *aṬ* + *sthāp* + *i* + *CaṄ* + *t*(*iP*→ϕ), *ṆiC* gets deleted and our present rule introduces *i* as a replacement for the penultimate *ā* of *sthāp*. We thus get: *a* + *sthip* + *a* + *t*. Reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*, especially with the application of 7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ*, yield *a* + *thi* + *sthip* + *a* + *t*. An application of 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca* produces *a* + (*th*→*t*) *i* + *sthip* + *a* + *t*. The *s* of *sthip* then goes through replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*). A following *ṭh*-replacement (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*) of *th* produces: *a* + *ti* + (*s*→*ṣ*) (*th*→*ṭh*) *ip* + *a* + *t* = *atiṣṭhipat*. Note that the dual form has *tas* replaced with *tām*. The plural (*anti*), after *jh* is replaced with *ant*, loses *i* and *t* both. Thus, we get *atiṣṭhipatām* and *atiṣṭhipan*.

7.4.6 जिघ्रतेर्वा

jighrater vā
/*jighrateḥ* 6/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṅau caṅy upadhāyāḥ* #1 *it* #5)
jighrater aṅgasya ṇau caṅi upadhāyā ikārādeśo vā bhavati

A short *i*, optionally, comes in place of the penultimate sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by *ghrā* 'to smell', when *CaṄ*, used in construction after *ṆiC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

ajighripat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of causal *ghrā*'
ajighrapat 'ibidem; with no *i*'
ajighripatām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
ajighrapatām 'ibidem; with no *i*'
ajighripan 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
ajighrapan 'ibidem; with no *i*'

1. Follow the derivational pattern of *atiṣṭhipat* of the earlier rule, where option of short *i* is accepted. Our derivates will go through *upadhāhrasva* 'penultimate shortening' (7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy* . . .), *sanvadbhāva* 'treatment similar to when *saN* follows', and replacement in *i* (*itva*; 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*) of the *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*), if short *i* provision is not accepted. Recall here that reduplication of *ghrā* 'to smell', subsequent to *pUK* and shortening, or a replacement in *i*, will produce *jighra* through a replacement in *j* for *gh*, through *jh* (7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*; 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca*).

7.4.7 उर्ऋत्

ur ṛt
/*uḥ* 6/1 *ṛt* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ* #1 *vā* #6)
ṇau caṅy upadhāyā ṛvarṇasya sthāne vā ṛkārādeśo bhavati
A short *ṛ*, optionally, comes in place of the penultimate *ṛ* of an *aṅga* when affix *CaṄ*, used in construction after *ṆiC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

acīkīrttat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of causal *kṛti* 'to have someone chant''
acīkṛtat 'ibidem'
avavarttat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of causal *vṛti* 'to have someone conduct, turn''
avīvṛtat 'ibidem'
amamārjat 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate of causal *mṛji* 'to have cleansed, wiped''
amīmṛjat 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers short *ṛ* (*ṛT*) as a replacement for the penultimate *ṛ* of an *aṅga* when *Ṇi*, followed by *CaṄ*, follows. A replacement in short *ṛ* for *ṛ*? Not exactly. This optional provision is made against *itva* 'replacement in *i* (7.1.101 *upadhāyāś ca*)', *guṇa* (*ar*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) and *vṛddhi*

(*ār*, 7.1.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*) provisions of *r̥*, read with 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*. The *taparakaraṇa* 'specification with a following *t*' (1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*) of *r̥T* is intended for replacing even the long *r̥* with its short counterpart (*Kāś*: *taparakaraṇaṃ dīrghe' pi sthānini hrasva eva yathā syāt*). Recall that, in the absence of *taparakaraṇa*, a long vowel must be replaced with a long in view of close similarity (*āntaratamya*) requirement of substitutes (*ādeśa*) and their corresponding substituenda (*sthānī*). This replacement provision does not involve bringing about anything (*bhāvyamāna*) new. It is made here for canceling any other replacement (*Kāś*: *na cāyaṃ bhāvyamānaḥ kiṃ tu ādeśāntaranivr̥tyarthaṃ svarūpam evaitad abhyanujñāyate*). *Kāśikā* calls this replacement in *r̥T* an exception to *ir*, *ar* and *ār* (*Kāś*: *irarārām apavādaḥ*).

Consider *acīkr̥tat* which derives from (*kr̥̄t* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ* → *kr̥̄t* + *i* + (*LUṄ* →*t*(*iP*→ϕ)) = *aT* + *k*(*r̥̄*→*r̥*) *t* + *i* + *CaṄ* + *t* → *a* + *kr̥t* + (*i*→ϕ) + *a* + *t* → *a* + *kr̥t* + *a* + *t*. Note that an option to replace *r̥̄* with *r̥T* is accepted. Reduplication (*dvitva*), and operations relative to reduplicated syllable (*abhyāsa-kārya*), which also includes application of 7.4.66 *ur at*, will yield: *a* + *ka* + *kr̥t* + *a* + *t*. Rule 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* then applies (via *sanvadbhāva*) to yield: *a* + *k*(*a*→*i*) + *kr̥t* + *a* + *t*. This *i* is then replaced with its long counterpart of 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*. Thus, we get *a* + *k*(*i*→*ī*) + *kr̥t* + *a* + *t*. An application of 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* (*cartva*) will then replace *k* with *c*; *a* + (*k*→*c*) *ī* + *kr̥t* + *a* + *t* = *acīkr̥tat*.

Not replacing *r̥̄* with *r̥* (*r̥T*) will mean to accept application of 7.1.101 *upadhāyāś ca*. This will offer us *ir* (*rapara*; 2.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*) as a replacement for the penultimate *r̥̄* = *a* + *k*(*r̥̄*→*ir*) *t* + *a* + *t*. Application of reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa* will produce *a* + *ki* + *kir* + *t* + *a* + *t*. The short *i* of the penultimate will be replaced with its long counterpart (8.2.78 *upadhāyāṃ ca*) and *k* of the *abhyāsa* will, of course, go through a replacement in *c* (*cartva*). This gives us: *a* + (*k*→*c*) *i* + *kīrt* + *a* + *t* = *acikīrtat*. Also, optionally, *a* + *c*(*a*→*i*→*ī*) + *kr̥t* + *a* + *t* = *acīkr̥tat*. Similar options and derivational details can be offered for *avīvr̥tat*, *avavartat*; and *amīmr̥jat*, *amamārjat*. These derivates of *vr̥t* 'to turn' and *mr̥j* 'to cleanse' are offered to illustrate this replacement in *r̥T* as an exception to *ar* (*guṇa*; 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) and *ār* (*vr̥ddhi*; 7.2.114 *mr̥jer vr̥ddhiḥ*), respectively. Note that we do not get *sanvadbhāva* (II:214) in the context of *ār* since there is no *laghu* 'light, short' vowel in the root to follow.

7.4.8 नित्यं छन्दसि

nityaṃ chandasi
/*nityam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ* #1 *ur r̥t* #7)
chandasi viṣaye ṇau caṅy upadhāyā r̥varṇasya sthāne r̥kārādeśo bhavati nityam
A short *r̥*, in the Vedic, comes obligatorily in place of penultimate *r̥* of an *aṅga* when *CaṄ*, used in construction after *ṆiC*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

avīvṛdhat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *vṛdh* 'to grow''
avīvṛdhatām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
avīvṛdhan 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule makes the preceding provision of *ṛT* obligatory in the context of Vedic usage (*chandasi*). Thus, we get *avīvṛdhat*, etc., similarly to *acīkṛtat* (7.4.7 *uḥ ṛt*).

2. Incidentally, *nityam* 'obligatorily' indicates that the *anuvṛtti* of *vā* 'optionally' is valid in the preceding rule. For, this obligatory provision must be made against that optional.

7.4.9 दयतेर्दिगि लिटि

dayater digi liṭi
/*dayateḥ* 6/1 *digi* 1/1 (deleted) *liṭi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
dayater aṅgasya liṭi parato digi ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *digi* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *deṄ* 'to protect, guard' when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

avadigye 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *deṄ* 'to protect''
avadigyāte 'third person dual middle *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'
avadigyire 'third person plural *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule offers *digi* as a replacement for an *aṅga* constituted by *deṄ*, provided when *LIṬ* follows. Note that *daya* of this rule does not refer to verbal root *dayA* 'to give'. For, that root is already offered *ām* before *LIṬ* (3.1.37 *dayāyāsaś ca*).

Commentators explain that *digi* is offered as a replacement with a desire to block reduplication (6.1.8 *liṭi dhātor* . . . ; *Kāś*: *digyādeśena dvirvacanasya bādhanam iṣyate*). For, reduplication is obligatorily available for application (*avaśyakartṛkaprāpti*). Thus, consider *ava-deṄ* + (*LIṬ*→*ta*) → *ava*(*deṄ*→*digi*) + *ta* → *ava-digi* + (*ta*→*eŚ*) = *avadigi* + *e*, where *ta* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .) is replaced with *eŚ* (3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor* . . .). We will get *avadig* (*i*→*y*) + *e* = *avadigye*. The dual and plural forms will have a replacement in *āt* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭastajhayor* . . .), respectively.

7.4.10 ऋतश्च संयोगादेर्गुणः

ṛtaś ca saṃyogāder guṇaḥ
/*ṛtaḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *saṃyogādeḥ* 6/1 = *saṃyoga ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *guṇaḥ* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *liṭi* #9)
ṛkārāntasya aṅgasya saṃyogāder guṇo bhavati liṭi parataḥ
A *guṇa* vowel comes in place, also, of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in a *ṛ* and begins with a conjunct (*saṃyoga*), when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sasvaratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *svṛ* 'to sound, be pained''
sasvaruḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'
dadhvaratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *dhvṛ* 'to injure''
dadhvaruḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'
sasmaratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *smṛ* 'to remember''
sasmaruḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'

1. Consider *sasmaratuḥ* and *sasmaruḥ*, where the *parasmaipada* 'active' dual and plural third personal replacements of *LIṬ* are further replaced with *atus* and *us* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). This rule causes the *aṅga*-final *ṛ* to be replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *a*, followed by *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). This same also happens in case of derivates of *svṛ* and *dhvṛ*.

Now consider some *LIṬ*-derivates of *hvṛ*: *jahvāra* / *jahvaratuḥ* / *jahvaruḥ*, again third person singular, dual and plural active forms. Given *hvṛ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) → *hvṛ* + *a*, reduplication applies first in view of 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *ṛT* 'ending in *ṛ*'? Consider *cikṣiyituḥ* and *cikṣiyuḥ*, the corresponding derivates of *cikṣi*, where *guṇa* is blocked in favor of *iyAṄ*. Obviously, *kṣi* 'to decay' begins with a conjunct but does not end in *ṛ*. The condition of *saṃyogādi* 'beginning with a conjunct' similarly blocks *guṇa* in *cakratuḥ* and *cakruḥ*, where *kṛ* ends in *ṛ* but does not begin with a conjunct.

3. This rule is formulated so that *guṇa* can be accomplished even where it is negated due to *K* as an *it* (*kit*; 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*) status of a *LIṬ*, not marked with *P* as an *it* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). The negation of this *guṇa* is, of course, desired on the basis of *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins' when the context is *vṛddhi*. Thus, consider the derivates of *smṛ* and *svṛ* with *ṆaL* and *vṛddhi*, i.e., *sasmāra* and *sasvāra*. Note, however, that the *guṇa* applies only when *LIṬ* follows. Consequently, there is no *guṇa* in *smṛtaḥ* and *smṛtavān*.

4. A *vārttika* proposal recommends interpreting *saṃyogādi* 'that (an *aṅga*) which has a conjunct at its beginning' as *saṃyogopadha* 'that (an *aṅga*) which has a conjunct in its penultimate position'. Consider *sañcaskaratuḥ* and *sañcaskaruḥ* which derive from *sam-kṛ* + (*LIṬ*→*atus*/ *us*). Commentators note that a preverb (*upasarga*), i.e., here *sam*, is combined with *kṛ* after reduplica-

tion is accomplished. This facilitates introduction of augment *sUṬ* (6.1.136? *aḍ abhyāsavyavāye' pi*). Note here that because an externally conditioned *sUṬ* becomes *asiddha* 'suspended' in *saṃskṛṣīṣṭa* and *upaskṛṣīṣṭa* (*kṛṣīṣṭa*; II:437-38), augment *iṬ* (7.2.43 *ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ*) is not introduced.

There are two positions on when and how a verbal root is combined with an *upasarga*: (*i*) *dhātuḥ pūrvam upasargeṇa yujyate* 'a verbal root is combined with the preverb first' and (*ii*) *pūrvaṃ dhātuḥ sādhanena yujyate* 'a verbal root is joined first with the means (*sādhana, kartṛ*, etc.)'. The second view is followed in the context of our present rule. This facilitates *guṇa* of the *saṃyogopadha* in *sañcaskaratuḥ*, etc. This view also makes augment *sUṬ* externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*). That is why, *sUṬ* gets suspended in the context of an *iṬ* which is yet to be accomplished (*Kāś*: *atra hi 'pūrvaṃ dhātuḥ sādhanena yujyate paścād upasargeṇa' ity atra hi darśane, liṭi kṛte tadāśraye ca dvirvacane paścād upasargayoge sati 'aḍ abhyāsavyavāye' pi' iti suṭ kriyate. evaṃ ca kṛtvā 'saṃskṛṣīṣṭa, upaskṛṣīṣṭa' ity atra suṭo bahiraṅgalakṣaṇasyāsiddhatvād ṛtaś ca saṃyogādeḥ iti iḍ āgamo na bhavati*).

7.4.11 ऋच्छत्यॄताम्

ṛcchatyṝtām
/*ṛcchatyṝtām* 6/3 = *ṛcchatiś ca ṛ ca ṝt ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *liṭi* #9 *guṇaḥ* #10)
ṛcchater aṅgasya, ṛ ity etasya, ṝkārāntānāṃ ca liṭi parato guṇo bhavati
A *guṇa* vowel comes in place of the final sound of an *aṅga*, particularly one constituted by *ṛcch* and *ṛ* 'to go', or those which end in *ṝT*, provided when *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

ānarccha 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ṛcch*'
ānarcchatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'
ānarcchuḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'
āratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ṛ*'
āruḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ṛ*'
nicakaratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ni-kṝ*'
nicakaruḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'
nijagaratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ni-jāgṝ*'
nijagaruḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule allows *guṇa* to *ṛcch* which is not available to it because of the condition of *laghūpadha* 'penultimate short' (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadasya ca*). That is, it does not have a *laghu* 'short' vowel in its *upadhā*. Recall that *ṛ* is termed *guru* before its *cch*, the conjunct (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*). This rule also allows *guṇa* of *ṛ* 'to go' and also of those which end in a long *ṝ* (*ṝT*). For, these roots are denied *guṇa* because of the *kit*-status of a select list of

replacements of *LIṬ* marked with *P* as an *it* (1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*). Our present rule allows it.

2. Consider *ānarccha, ānarcchatuḥ* and *ānarcchuḥ*, where the root is *ṛch*. We get the form *ṛcch* by introducing augment *tUK* of 6.1.73 *che ca*, via *t*→*c* (*cutva*). Given *ṛcch* + *LIṬ*, we get *archha* + *arccha* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) → *a* + *ṛcch* + *a*, after reduplication and *guṇa* of the *abhyāsa* (7.4.66 *ur at*), and application of *halādiśeṣa* 'retention of a unit formed with consonant' (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*). An application of rule 6.1.94 *ato guṇe* is blocked here by 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* is replaced with its long counterpart. We now have *ā* + *ṛcch* + *a*, where *ṛ* of the root goes through a replacement in *guṇa* to yield *ā* + (*ṛ*→*ar*) *cch* + *a* = *ā* + *arcch* + *a*. Augment *nUṬ* is then introduced (7.4.71 *tasmān nuḍ dvihalaḥ*) to an *aṅga* which contains two consonants occurring after the *ā* of its *abhyāsa*. Thus, *ā* + *n*(*UṬ*) + *arcch* + *a* = *ānarccha*. A question is raised here against application of *nUṬ*. It is stated that rule 7.4.71 *tasmān nuḍ dvihalaḥ* requires two consonants. What we have here are three consonants. This problem is resolved by interpreting *dvi* as denoting more than one, by implication (*upalakṣaṇa*). Similar rule application is also available to other derivates. Deriving *āratuḥ* from *ṛ* + *LIṬ*, where *tas* gets replaced with *atus*, also involves application of *savarṇa-dīrgha* 'homogeneous long vowel' (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). Thus, *ā* + *ar* + *atus* → *āratu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *āratuḥ*. Similar applications are also seen in derivates of *kṝ*=*ni-cakaratuḥ* and *ni-cakaruḥ*.

Recall, though, that an application of *guṇa* against *vṛddhi* (before *ṆaL*) is blocked, via *pūrvavipratiṣedha* 'conflict between two rules of equal strength where the preceding prevails'. Thus; an independent scope of *guṇa* can be established in deriving *ni-cakaratuḥ* and *ni-cakaruḥ*. A similar independent scope of *vṛddhi* can be established in deriving *kārakaḥ* and *hārakaḥ*, both derivates of affix *ṆvuL*. But we find both *guṇa* and *vṛddhi* applicable in *ni-cakāra* and *ni-jagāra*, where *vṛddhi* alone is desired.

7.4.12 शृदॄप्रां ह्रस्वो वा

śṛdṝprāṃ hrasvo vā

/*śṝ-dṝprām* 6/3 = *śṝ ca dṝ ca pṝ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *liṭi* #9)

'*śṝ, dṝ, pṝ*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ liṭi parato vā hrasvo bhavati*

A short vowel, optionally, comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *śṝ* 'to harm', *dṝ* 'to tear apart', and *pṝ* 'to nourish, protect' when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

viśaśratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *vi-śṝ*'

viśaśaratuḥ 'ibidem'

viśaśruḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'

viśaśaruḥ 'ibidem'
vidadratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *vi-dṝ*'
vidadaratuḥ 'ibidem'
vidadruḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate of *vi-dṝ*'
vidadaruḥ 'ibidem'
nipapratuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ni-pṝ*'
nipaparatuḥ 'ibidem'
nipapruḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'
nipaparuḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that, since these roots end in a long *ṝ*, the preceding rule will offer *guṇa*, obligatorily (*nitya*). Our present rule offers optional shortening against the obligatory *guṇa*. Consider *viśaśṝ* + *atus* which we get after reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. An optional shortening, followed by *yaṆ*-replacement of *ṛ* and *rutva-visarga*, will offer *viśaś*(*ṝ*→ *ṛ*→*r*) + *atus* → *viśaśr* + *atu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *viśaśratuḥ*. We will similarly get *viśaśaratuḥ*. A *guṇa*-repalcement, with its following *r*, will yield *viśaśaratuḥ* and *viśaśaruḥ*. Similar applications will produce *vidadratuḥ*, *vidadruḥ* and *vidadaratuḥ*, *vadadaruḥ*, etc.

2. This provision of shortening is necessary for blocking replacements in *i* (*itva*; 7.1.100 *ṝta id dhātoḥ*) and *u* (*utva*; 7.1.102 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya*). That is, if shortening was not stated along with *vā*, replacements in *i* (*itva*) and *u* (*utva*) will apply, optionally, against the *guṇa* of the preceding rule. It is to cancel replacements in *i* (*itva*) and *u* (*utva*) that *hrasvaḥ* 'short' is stated in this rule. These replacements do not apply when *hrasva* is applied (*Kāś*: *hrasvavacanam itvotvanivṛtyartham*).

3. Some scholars refute this rule claiming that *śṝ*, *dṝ* and *pṝ* are here specified to refer to roots having similar significations. They thus accept specified roots as *śrā* 'to cook', *drā* 'to censure' and *prā* 'to fill'. They further claim that *viśaśratuḥ*, etc., can be easily derived by deleting *ā* (6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*). That is, they can get *viśaśravā* + *atus* after reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. The *ā* of *viśaśravā* can then be deleted. But this refutation is problematic. For, given *viśaśravā* + *KvasU*, we cannot get *viśaśṛvas*. An application of *guṇa*, in the absence of *hrasva*, will produce a wrong form **viśaśarvas*.

7.4.13 केऽणः

ke' ṇaḥ
/*ke* 7/1 *aṇaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hrasvaḥ* #12)
ke pratyaye parato' ṇo hrasvo bhavati
A short vowel comes in place of sounds denoted by *aṆ* of an *aṅga* when affix *ka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *jñakā* 'she who knows little'
> *kumārikā* 'a little girl'
> *kiśorikā* 'an adolescent girl'

1. This rule offers shortening to a long vowel denoted by *aṆ*, provided affix *ka* follows. Consider *jānātīti jñaḥ* 'he who knows', where verbal root *jñā* 'to know' receives affix *Ka* (3.1.135 *igupadhajñā* . . .) to produce *jña*. Affix *ṬāP* is then introduced to derive *jñā*. If we now introduce affix *ka* (5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*), with the signification of *alpa* 'little', etc., we will get *jñ*(*ā*→ϕ) + *ka* → *jñaka*. A reintroduction of *ṬāP* will then produce *jñakā*. Similar applications of shortening are also involved in derivates such as *kumārikā* and *kiśorikā*.

Why do we have the restriction of *aṆ*? Consider *gokā* and *naukā* where, because of *o* and *au* of *go* 'cow' and *nau* 'boat', this rule cannot apply. Obviously, because *o* and *au* are not included within the denotata of *aṆ*.

Why is this shortening not applied in *rākā* 'night of the full-moon day' and *dhākā* 'support, receptacle, food'? It is because of the provision of *bahulam* 'variously' (3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*). Besides, negation of 7.4.14 *na kapi* also applies to *kaN*. That is, our next rule negates shortening also when *ka* with *N* as an *it* follows.

7.4.14 न कपि

> *na kapi*
> /*na* ϕ *kapi* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hrasvaḥ* #12 *aṇaḥ* #13)
> *kapi pratyaye parato' ṇo hrasvo na bhavati*
> A short vowel does not come in place of the final *aṆ* of an *aṅga* when affix *kaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *bahukumārīkaḥ* 'he who has many young daughters'
> *bahuvadhūkaḥ* 'he who has many wives'
> *bahulakṣmīkaḥ* 'he who has plentiful wealth'

1. A sound denoted by *aṆ* is not replaced with its short counterpart when affix *kaP* follows an *aṅga*. This negation goes against the positive provision of shortening made before affix *ka* of the preceding rule. Recall that a *taddhita* affix, here *kaP*, is introduced after a *bahuvrīhi* compound which either ends in a constituent termed *nadī*, or in *ṛ* (5.4.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*). Our derivate *bahkumārī* ends in a constituent termed *nadī* (1.4.3 *yūstryākhyau nadī*). This rule negates shortening of *ī* of *kumārī* before affix *kaP* of *bahukumārīka*. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

2. Commentators note that shortening of an *upasarjana* 'secondary constituent' (1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya*) also does not apply when *kaP* follows. It is argued that a compound base, i.e., *bahukumārī*, is not a nominal stem, especially since it ends in a feminine affix (1.4.14 *arthavad-adhātur-apratyayaḥ prātipadikam*). Recall that 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya* carries the *anuvṛtti* of *prātipadikasya* 'of a nominal stem'. A form which ends in a feminine affix does not qualify for assignment of the term *prātipadika* 'a nominal stem'. Since affix *kaP* becomes part of the nominal compound, it can no longer condition shortening. That is, it cannot facilitate shortening of the final vowel of *bahukumārī*. For, this compound should be formed with the constituency of *bahu* +*Jas* and *kumārī* +*Jas*, where *kaP* (5.3.153 *nadyṛtaś ca*) should be introduced after the final constituent *kumārī*, prior to compound-formation (*Kāś*: *gostriyor upasarjanasya ity ayam api hrasvaḥ na bhavati. samāsārthe hy uttarapade kapi kṛte paścāt kabantena saha samāsena bhavitavyam iti strīpratyayāntasamāsaprātipadikaṃ na bhavati*). That is, the compound should be formed with a constituent ending in affix *kaP*. Since a form ending in a feminine affix is not termed nominal stem, we do not get shortening of *ī* of *kumārī* in *bahukumārī* before affix *kaP*. It thus becomes clear that a form which ends in a feminine affix is termed nominal stem only after formation of a compound. What precedes *kaP* in *bahukumārīka* is neither a ompound nor a nominal stem.

7.4.15 आपोऽन्यतरस्याम्

āpo' nyatarasyām
/ *āpaḥ* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hrasvaḥ* #12 *guṇaḥ* #13 *na kapi* #14)
ābantasyāṅgasya kapi hrasvo na bhavaty anyatarasyām
A short vowel does not, optionally, come in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* ending in the feminine affix *āP*, when affix *kaP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bahukhaṭvākaḥ 'he who has many cots'
bahukhaṭvakaḥ 'ibidem'
bahumālākaḥ 'he who has plentiful garlands'
bahumālakaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that affix *kaP* of these examples is introduced by 5.4.154 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*. A non-introduction of *kaP* facilitates shortening. Thus, we get *bahukhaṭvakaḥ* and *bahumālakaḥ*. Affix *kaP* is here introduced after compound-formation of *bahuvrīhi*. Elsewhere, we will get *bahukhaṭvākaḥ* and *bahumālākaḥ*.

7.4.16 ऋदृशोऽङि गुणः

ṛdṛśo' ṅi guṇaḥ

/*ṛ-dṛśaḥ* 6/1 (*saṁ. dv.*), *tasya*; *aṅi* 7/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
ṛvarṇāntānāṃ dṛśeś ca aṅi parato guṇo bhavati
A replacement in *guṇa* comes in place of the final vowel of an *aṅga*, namely one which ends in *ṛ*, or that which is constituted by *dṛśIR* 'to see', provided when affix *aṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

akarat 'third person singular active past imperfect (*LUṄ*) derivate of *kṛ*'
akaram 'first person singular active past imperfect . . .'
asarat 'third person singular active past imperfect derivate of *sṛ*'
ārat 'third person singular active past imperfect derivate of *ṛ*'
jarā 'old age; (*jṝ*(*Ṣ*) + *a*(*Ṅ*)) + *ṬāP*'
adarśat 'third person singular active past imperfect derivate of *dṛś*'
adarśatām 'third person dual active past imperfect . . .'
adarśan 'first person singular active past imperfect . . .'

1. Note that *aṄ* (3.1.56 *sarttiśāstyartti* . . .) is an affixal replacement of *CLI*, marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*. A *guṇa* replacement thus gets negated by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*. Our present rule makes this *guṇa* possible. Consider *akarat* and *akaram*, the third, and first, singular *LUṄ*-derivates, respectively, of *kṛ*, where *aṄ* is introduced as a replacement of *CLI* (3.1.59 *kṛmṛdṛruhi* . . .). Refer to derivational details of *akarat* and *akaram*, under the appendix (III:776) of rule 3.4.6 *chandasi luṅlaṅliṭaḥ*. The *aṄ* in *asarat* is introduced by 3.1.56 *sarttiśāstyarttibhyaś ca*. Refer to the appendix under this rule (III:723) for derivational details. Our next example *jarā*, a feminine derivate ending in *ṬāP* (4.1.41 *ṣid gaurādibhyaś ca*), has affix *aṄ* (3.3.104 *ṣidbhidādibhyo' ṅ*) introduced after verbal root *jṝ* 'to be old, decay'. Derivational details of *adarśat* are offered under the appendix (III:720) of 3.1.47 *na dṛśaḥ*. The *aṄ*, in place of *CLI* in *adarśat*, is introduced by 3.1.57 *irito vā*.

7.4.17 अस्यतेस्थुक्

asyates thuk
/*asyateḥ* 6/1 *thuk* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *aṅi* #15)
asyater aṅgasya thug āgamo bhavaty aṅi parataḥ
Augment *thUK* is introduced to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *as* when affix *aṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āsthat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *as*'
āsthatām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
āsthan 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule introduces augment *thUK* to an *aṅga* constituted by *asU* 'to hurl' when *aṄ* follows. Refer to the appendix under rule 3.1.52 *asyativakti*... where *CLI* is replaced with *aṄ* after *asU* in deriving *āsthat* of *pary-āsthat.*

7.4.18 श्वयतेरः

śvayater aḥ
/*śvayateḥ* 6/1 *aḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *aṅi* #16)
śvayater aṅgasyākārādeśo bhavaty aṅi parataḥ
An *a* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *ṬUOśvi* 'to move, grow' when affix *aṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

aśvat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *ṬUOśvi*'
aśvatām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate of *ṬUOśvi*'
aśvan 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate ...'

1. This rule replaces the *aṅga*-final *i* of *ṬUOśvi* 'to grow, go' with *a*. Refer to derivational details of *aśvat* under the appendix of 3.1.49 *vibhāṣā dheṭśvyoḥ* (III:720-21), whereby *CLI* after *śvi* is replaced with *aṄ*. Other examples are similarly derived.

7.4.19 पतः पुम्

pataḥ pum
/*pataḥ* 6/1 *pum* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *aṅi* #16)
pater aṅgasya pum āgamo bhavaty aṅi parataḥ
Augment *pUM* is introduced to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *pat* 'to fall' when affix *aṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

apaptat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *pat* 'to move, fall''
apaptatām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate ...'
apaptan 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate ...'

1. This rule introduces augment *pUM* to an *aṅga* constituted by *pat* when *aṄ* follows. Recall that *aṄ* replaces *CLI* under the condition of *pat* being marked with *Ḷ* as an *it* (3.1.55 *puṣādidyutādi*...). This rule introduces *pUM* after the last vowel of *pat* (1.1.46 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*). Thus, we get *aṬ* + *pa* + (*pa* + *PUM* + *t*) + *a* + *t* = *apaptat*, etc., through reduplication and operations relative to the *abhyāsa*. Refer to derivational details of similar derivates under the appendix of 3.1.55 *puṣādidyutādi*..., etc.

7.4.20 वच उम्

vaca um
/*vacaḥ* 6/1 *um* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *aṅi* #16)
vacer aṅgasya aṅi parata um āgamo bhavati
Augment *uM* is introduced to an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *vac* 'to speak' when affix *aṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

avocat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *vac*'
avocatām 'third person dual active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'
avocan 'third person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.52 *asyativakti*. . . (III:722) for derivational details of *avocat*, etc.

7.4.21 शीङः सार्वधातुके गुणः

śīṅaḥ sārvadhātuke guṇaḥ
/*śīṅaḥ* 6/1 *sārvadhātuke* 7/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
śīṅo' ṅgasya sārvadhātuke parato guṇo bhavati
A *guṇa* vowel comes in place of the final vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *śīṄ* 'to recline, lie down' when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śete 'third person singular middle *LAṄ*-derivate of *śīṄ*'
śayāte 'third person dual middle *LAṄ*-derivate . . .'
śerate 'third person plural middle *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. Recall that *guṇa* before a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) affix marked with *P* as an *it* is already made available (7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*). But this *guṇa* is blocked by 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*, read with 1.2.4 *sārvadhātukam apit*. The *guṇa* of this rule cannot be blocked since it is a special provision. Refer to derivational details of *śerate* under 7.1.6 *śīṅo ruṭ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *sārvadhātuke* 'when an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) follows'? Consider *śiśye* where a *tiṄ*-replacement of *LIṬ* is uniquely termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). Consequently, *guṇa* of this rule is blocked before an affix other than *sārvadhātuka*.

7.4.22 अयङ् यि क्ङिति

ayaṅ yi kṅiti

/*ayaṅ* 1/1 *yi* 7/1 *kṅiti* 7/1 = *kaś ca ṅaś ca kaṅau* (*itar. dv.*); *tau itau yasya* (*bv.*)/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *śīṅ* #21)

yakārādau kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ śīṅo' ṅgasya 'ayaṅ' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati

A replacement in *ayaṅ* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by *śīṄ* 'to recline' when a *y*-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śayyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *śīṄ* with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense''

śāśayyate 'third person dual middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *śīṄ* ending in affix *yaṄ*. . .'

praśayya 'absolutive derivate of (*upa-śīṄ*) + *Ktvā*→*LyaP*'

upaśayya 'derivate of (*upa-śīṄ*) + *Ktvā*→*LyaP*'

1. This rule introduces *ayAṄ* to the final vowel of *śīṄ*, provided, of course, when an affix, beginning with *y* and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. Consider *śayyate* which derives from *śī* + (*LAṬ*→*te*) → *śī* + *yaK* + *te*, where *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) is introduced before *te* with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense'. We get *ś*(*ī*→*ayAṄ*) + *yaK* + *te* → *śayyate*, where *ayAṄ* replaces *ī* in view of 1.1.53 *ṅic ca*. Note that *śāśayyate* derives from (*śī* + *yaṄ*) + (*LAṬ*→*te*)), with reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Since *ayAṄ* is subsequent (*para*), and obligatory (*nitya*), it applies first to *śī* + *yaṄ*. Doubling and retention of the unit formed with initial consonant (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*) follow. The *a* of the *abhyāsa*, namely the *śa* of *śa* + *śayya* + *ta*, then goes through a replacement in long (7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*). The *Ktvā* of *pra* + *śī* + *Ktvā* and *upa* + *śī* + *Ktvā* goes through a replacement in *LyaP* (7.1.37 *samāse*. . .; 2.2.22 *ktvā ca*). Of course, in addition to introduction of *ayAṄ* to *ī* of *śī*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *y*-initial (*yakārādi*)? Consider *śī* + (*LIṬ*→*ta*→*te*) = *śiśye* where, after reduplication, *ī* before *e* goes through a replacement in *y* (*yaṆ*). Consider *śeya* (of *śeyam*) which derives from *śī* + *yaT* as a counter-example for the condition of *kṅiti*. Obviously, we get a replacement in *guṇa* because *yaT* is not marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*.

7.4.23 उपसर्गाद्ध्रस्व ऊहतेः

upasargād hrasva ūhateḥ

/*upasargāt* 5/1 *hrasvaḥ* 1/1 *ūhateḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yi kṅiti* #22)

upasargād uttarasya ūhater aṅgasya hrasvo bhavati yakārādau kṅiti pratyaye parataḥ

A short vowel comes in place of the long of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *ūhA* 'to reason, suspect', used in construction after a preverb, when a *y*-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

samuhyate 'derivate of *sam-ūh* + *yaK* + (*LAṬ→te*)'
samuhya 'derivate of *sam-ūh* + (*Ktvā→LyaP*)'
abhyuhyate 'derivate of *abhi-ūh* + *yaK* + (*LAṬ→te*)'
abhyuhya 'derivate of *abhi-ūh* + *yaK* + (*LAṬ→te*)'

1. This rule offers a short vowel as a replacement for the long of *ūhA*, when used as an *aṅga* in construction after a preverb. Of course, when a *y*-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it* follows. Thus, we get *sam-*(*ū→u*) *h* + *yaK* + (*LAṬ→te*)) = *samuhyate* and *sam-*(*ū→u*) *h* + (*Ktvā→LyaP*)) = *samuhya*. Similar applications are also involved in deriving *abhyuhate* and *abhyuhya*.

2. Note that an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *ūh* alone does not qualify for this shortening. Thus, we cannot derive (*ū→u*) *h* + *yaK* + *te* = **uhyate*. The correct form must be *ūhyate*. This explains why we have the condition of *upasargāt* 'after a preverb'. Consider *samūhitam* where we cannot get this shortening because *Kta* begins with a consonant other than *y*. Recall that *aṇaḥ* is carried over to this rule, via *anuvṛtti*, from 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*. Consequently, this shortening must apply to a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṆ*. We do not get shortening of *o* in *sam* + *ā* + *ūhyate*→ *sam* (*ā*+*ū*→*o*) *hyate* = *samohyate*.

7.4.24 एतेर्लिङि

eter liṅi
/*eteḥ* 6/1 *liṅi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yi kṅiti* #22 *upasargad hrasvaḥ* #23)
eter aṅgasyopasargād uttarasya liṅi yakārādau kṅiti parato hrasvo bhavati
A short comes in place of the long final vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṆ* 'to go', used in construction after a preverb, when a *y*-initial affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

udiyāt 'derivate of *ud-iṆ* + (*LIṄ→ta*)'
samiyāt 'derivate of *sam-iṆ* + (*LIṄ→ta*)'
anviyāt 'derivate of *anu-iṆ* + (*LIṄ→ta*)'

1. This rule allows a short replacement for the long of an *aṅga*, namely *iṆ* 'to go', when the *aṅga* is used after a preverb and when a *y*-initial replacement of *LIṄ* 'benedictive' marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it* follows. This shortening applies to the long vowel resulting out of application of 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ* (*Kāś*: *āśiṣi liṅi* '*akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ*' *iti dīrghatve kṛte hrasvo' nena bhavati*). Recall that a *parasmaipada* replacement (by way of an augment) of *LIṄ*, namely *yāsUṬ*, is treated as marked with *Ṅ* and *K* (3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipadeṣū* . . .; 3.4.104 *kidāśiṣi*) as an *it*. Thus, *ud* + *i* + (*LIṄ→t*(*i→ϕ*) →

ud + i + yā(s→ϕ) + t = udi + yāt, where *s* of *yāsUṬ*, and *sUṬ* as well, gets deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca.* The *i* of the string is replaced with its long counterpart by rule 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ dīrghaḥ.* Thus, we get *ud + (i→ī) + yāt = udīyāt.* Our present rule then replaces the long vowel with its short (*hrasvaḥ*) counterpart. Thus, *ud(ī→i)yāt = udiyāt.* A similar example will be *abhi + (ī→i)yāt → abhi + iyāt.* Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa*) and Haradatta (*PM*) both clearly state that a long replacement for *i* of *iN* is not possible when a *sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LIṄ* follows. This rule cannot apply there. This shortening applies to a long which results through the application of 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ.* It is argued that, given *abhi + iyāt* and *prati + iyāt*, we can get *abhīyāt, pratīyāt* and *parīyāt* and *pratīyāt* through homogeneous long vowel replacement (*savarṇa-dīrgha*; 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). But still this shortening cannot apply, as it has been explained by the *Mahābhāṣya* with *ā + īyāt* and *ā + ūhyate*, via *antādivadbhāva* 'treatment of the final as initial of what follows'. I choose not to discuss it any further.

The short replacement, however, will apply only when the *aṅga* is used after a preverb (*upasargād eva*). Elsewhere, we will get *īyāt* with long *ī*. Additionally, this shortening applies only to a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṆ*. Thus, we do not get shortening of *e* in *ā + īyāt = eyāt* and *sam + ā + īyāt = sameyāt.*

7.4.25 अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः

akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ

/ *akṛt-sārvadhātukayoḥ* 7/2 = *kṛc ca sārvadhātukaṅ ca* (*itar. dv.*); *na kṛtsārvadhātuke* (*nañ. tat.*), *tayoḥ*; *dīrghaḥ* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yi kṅiti* #25)

akṛdyakāre asārvadhātukayakāre ca kṅiti parato' jantasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati

A short comes in place of the final vowel of an *aṅga* when a non-*Kṛt* and non-*sārvadhātuka* affix beginning with *y*, and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows.

Examples:

bhṛśāyate 'derivate of *bhṛśa + KyaṄ + ŚaP + ta*'
sukhāyate 'derivate of *sukha + KyaṄ + ŚaP + ta*'
duḥkhāyate 'derivate of *duḥkha + KyaṄ + ŚaP + ta*'
cīyate 'derivate of *ci + yaK + ta*'
cecīyate 'derivate of *ci + yaṄ + ta*'
stūyate 'derivate of *stu + yaK + ta*'
toṣṭūyate 'derivate of *stu + yaṅ + ta*'
cīyāt 'third person singular *LIṄ*-derivate of *ci*'
stūyāt '. . . of *stu*'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the final short vowel of an *aṅga* when a non-*kṛt* (*akṛt*; 3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) and non-*sārvadhātuka* affix (*asārvadhātuka*; 3.4.114 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) beginning with *y*, and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follows. Recall here that, in view of 1.2.28 *acaś ca*, only a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aC* gets replaced with it short (*hrasva*), long (*dīrgha*) and extra-long (*pluta*) counterpart. Consider *bhṛśāyate*, *sukhāyate* and *duḥkhāyate* where the short final vowel of *bhṛśa*, *sukha* and *duḥkha* gets replaced with its long counterpart under the condition of a following *KyaṄ* (3.1.12 *bhṛśādibhyo* . . .; 3.1.18 *sukhādibhyo* . . .). Recall that *cīyate* and *stūyate* are middle (*ātmanepada*) derivates of *ciÑ* 'to heap' and *ṣṭuÑ* 'to praise' where *yaK* is introduced with the signification of *karman* 'object' (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*). Derivates of *yaṄ* (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco* . . .), for example *toṣṭuyate*: (*ṣṭu* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*)) and *cecīyate*: (*ciÑ* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*)), involve *dvitva* 'reduplication' (6.1.1 *ekāco dve prathamasya*). Rule 7.4.61 *śarapūrvāḥ khayaḥ* requires that only a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *khaY*, when used in an *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*) after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *śaR*, is retained. This applies to the *abhyāsa* of *toṣṭuyate*. Derivates such as *cīyāt* and *stūyāt* illustrate how, in the benedictive (*āśīrliṅ*), *ci* and *stu* get a long replacement for their final short *i* before *yāsUṬ*.

Notice that all *y*-initial affixes which condition the long replacement of this rule are non-*kṛt* and non-*sārvadhātuka*. Consider *prakṛtya* and *prahṛtya*, as counter-examples, where *Ktvā*→*LyaP* is an affix marked with *K* as an *it*. But since this affix is a *kṛt*, we do not get a long replacement. Recall that a long replacement is here ordered for an *aṅga* which ends in a vowel (*ajanta*). Such a long replacement will be automatically blocked in derivates such as *prakṛtya* and *prahṛtya*, because of introduction of *tUK* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya pitikṛti* . . .) causing impairment of the vowel-final status (*ajantatā*) of an *aṅga*. Why make a specific provision by specifying *akṛt* to block long replacement? Commentators state that if *akṛt* is not specified, long replacement of this rule will block augment *tUK* on the basis of being subsequent (*paratva*; *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *asaty akṛdgrahaṇe paratvād dīrghatvena tug bādhyeta*). Incidentally, *tUK* finds its independent scope of application in *agnicit* and *somasut*. The long replacement has its own independent scope of application in *cīyate*. It is *prakṛtya* and *prahṛtya* where *tUK* and *dīrgha*, both, become applicable simultaneously. We must have *akṛt* so that *tUK* is not blocked by *dīrgha* on the basis of *paratva*.

A specification with *asārvadhātuke* is also needed so that this long replacement does not apply in deriving *cinuyāt* and *sunuyāt* where verbal endings of the potential (*vidhiliṅ*) are termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*). A specification with *kṅiti* is also required so that *uruyā* and *dhṛṣṇuyā* do not get this long replacement. Recall that *Ṭā* of *uru* + *Ṭā* and *dhṛṣṇu* + *Ṭā* is replaced with *yā* by 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk*. . . . This long replacement is blocked because *yā* is not marked with *K* or *Ṅ* as an *it*.

7.4.26 च्वौ च

cvau ca
/*cvau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *dīrghaḥ* #25)
cvipratyaye parato' jantasyāṅgasya dīrgho bhavati
A short comes in place of the long final vowel of an *aṅga* also when affix *CvI* follows.

EXAMPLES:

śucīkaroti 'that which was not pure becomes pure'
śucīsyāt 'ibidem'
paṭūkaroti 'he who was not clever becomes clever'
paṭūbhavati 'ibidem'
paṭūsyāt 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short final vowel of an *aṅga* when affix *CvI* follows. Recall that *CvI* goes through total deletion, and is introduced with the signification of *abhūtatadbhāva* '*x* becoming *y* which it previously was not' (5.4.50 *abhūtatadbhāve* . . .). Thus, *śucīkaroti, śucībhavati* and *śucīsyāt*, etc., where this rule offers a long replacement for the final vowel of the *aṅga*.

7.4.27 रीङ् ऋतः

rīṅ ṛtaḥ
/*rīṅ* 1/1 *ṛtaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yi* #22 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ* #25 *cvi* #26)
ṛkārāntasyāṅgasya akṛdyakāre' sārvadhātuke yakāre cvau ca parataḥ '*rīṅ*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *rīṅ* comes in place of the final *ṛ* of an *aṅga* when a *y*-initial non-*Kṛt* and non-*sārvadhātuka* affix, and also *CvI*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

mātrīyati 'wishes a mother for himself'
mātrīyate 'ibidem'
pitrīyati 'wishes a father for himself'
pitrīyate 'ibidem'
cekrīyati 'wishes to do over and over again'
mātrībhūtaḥ 'a mother which she was not'
pitryam 'that which came from father'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *rīṄ* for the final short *r* (*ṛT*) of an *aṅga* when a *y*-initial non-*kṛt* and non-*sārvadhātuka* affix, or affix *CvI*, follows. Consider *mātrīyati/ mātrīyate*, *pitrīyati / pitrīyate*, *cekrīyate* and *mātrībhūtaḥ*. We

can get *ātmanaḥ mātaram icchati* = *mātrīyati* 'wishes a mother for himself' by introducing *LAṬ* after *mātrīya*, a root derived with *KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*). Recall that *KyaC* will be introduced after *mātṛ* + *am*, under the condition of a conjoined word with the denotatum of object (*karman*). We will get *māt(ṛ→rī)* + (*K*)*ya*(*C*) = *mātrīya*, a root (3.1.32 *sanādyantā dhātavaḥ*). The *sUP*, i.e., *am*, will be deleted by 2.4.71 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*. An introduction of *KyaṄ* (3.1.11 *kartuḥ kyaṅ salopaś ca*) for deriving *mātrīya* will require *ātmanepada* (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*) endings. Thus, we will get *mātrīyate*, parallel to *mātā iva ācarati* 'acts like mother'. We will similarly get other examples. Note that *cekrīyate*, a derivate of (*kṛ* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*)), involves doubling and the *guṇa* (7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*) of the unit termed *abhyāsa*. Of course, it also involves a replacement in *rīN* for the final *ṛ* of the *aṅga*. Our example *mātrībhūtaḥ* is derived with *CvI* and is used parallel to *amātā mātā bhūtaḥ* 'she who was not a mother became one'. Affix *yaT* is used in deriving *pitryam* 'that which came from father' (4.3.79 *pitur yac ca*). The *ī* of *rīN* in *pitryam* is deleted by 6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*. Incidentally, 1.1.52 *ṅic ca* would require that *rīṄ* replaces the final sound segment of the *aṅga*. The requirement of affixes marked with *K* and *Ṅ* is dropped here. That is why, we get *pituḥ āgatam* = *pitryam*. The *taparakaraṇa* of *ṛT* is required so that this replacement does not apply to *kṝ* and *gṝ* of, for example, *cekīryate* and *nijegilyate*. Obviously because they end in a long *ṝ*.

7.4.28 रिङ् शयग्लिङ्क्षु

riṅ śayagliṅkṣu

/*riṅ* 1/1 *śayagliṅkṣu* 7/3 = *śaś ca yak ca liṅ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yi* #22 *asārvadhātukayoḥ* #25 *ṛtaḥ* #27)

ṛkārāntasyāṅgasya '*śa, yak*' *ity etayor liṅi ca yakārādāv asārvadhātuke parataḥ* '*riṅ*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*

A replacement in *riṅ* comes in place of the final *ṛ* of an *aṅga* when affixes *Śa* and *yaK*, or a non-*sārvadhātuka* replacement of *LIṄ* beginning with *y* and marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*, follow.

EXAMPLES:

ādriyate '. . . is repected'

ādhriyate '. . . is supported, held'

kriyate '. . . is made, done'

hriyate '. . . is carried'

kriyāt 'let him do'

hriyāt 'let him carry'

1. Note that *riṄ* is introduced here so that a long replacement (*dīrgha*) could be canceled (*Kāś*: *riṅvacanaṃ dīrghanivṛtyartham*). *Kāśikā* offers *ādriyate* and *ādhriyate* as examples for replacement in *riṅ*. Thus, (*āṄ* + *dṛṄ*) + *LAṬ*))

→ (*ādṛ* + (*Ś*)*a*)) + (*LAṬ*→*ta*))) → *ād*(*ṛ*→*ri*(*Ṅ*)) + *a* + *ta*, where 3.1.77 *tudādibhyaḥ śaḥ* introduces *Śa* and the *i* of *ri* is replaced with *iyAṄ* (6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām*). Thus, *ādr*(*i*→*iy*) + *a* + *ta* = *ādriyate*, through replacement in *e* (*etva*; 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer e*) of *a* of *ta*. Similar rules apply in deriving *ādhriyate*. Derivates such as *kriyate* and *hriyate* do not pose any problem. They derive with *yaK* introduced with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object'. The benedictive *kriyāt* and *hriyāt* are derived with *riṄ* and *yāsUṬ*. Refer to *stūyāt* under 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor*... for additional details.

2. Note that the condition of *asārvadhātuke* is still valid. Thus, we do not get this replacement in *bibhriyāt* of *bhṛÑ* 'to provide for'. This form is potential (*vidhiliṅ*). This replacement also has the right condition of *y*-initiality (*yakārādi*). Thus, we do not get it in *kṛṣīṣṭa* and *hṛṣīṣṭa* for a lack of *y*-initial right condition. Refer to the appendix (II:437-38) for derivational details.

7.4.29 **गुणोऽर्तिसंयोगाद्योः**

guṇo' rtti saṃyogādyoḥ
/*guṇaḥ* 1/1 *artti-saṃyogādyoḥ* 6/2 = *saṃyoga ādir yeṣāṃ te* (*bv.*); *arttiś ca saṃyogādiś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yi* #22 *asārvadhātukayoḥ* #25 *ṛtaḥ* #27 *yaki liṅi* #28)
guṇo bhavaty artteḥ saṃyogādīnām ṛkārāntānāṃ yaki parato liṅi ca yakārādau sārvadhātuke
A *guṇa* vowel comes in place of the final of an *aṅga* which is either constituted by verbal root *ṛ* 'to go', or by a conjunct-initial root terminating in *ṛ*, provided when *yaK*, or a *y*-initial *LIṄ* affix other than *sārvadhātuka*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

aryate
aryāt
smaryate
smaryāt

1. Note that *Śa* is introduced after the roots of the *tudādi* class. Since this class does not have any roots specified here, no purpose can be served by carrying *Śa* to this rule (*Kāś*: '*śa*' *ity atrāsambhavān nivṛttam*).

The example derivates involve *yaK* and *LIṄ* which are marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it*. This would have blocked *guṇa* (1.1.5 *kṅiti ca*) which our present rule allows. This *guṇa* constitutes an exception to the *riṄ* of the preceding rule. Consider *aryate*/ *aryāt*; and *smaryate*/ *smaryāt*, from *ṛ* + *yaK* + *ta*/ *ṛ* + *yāsUṬ* + (*LIṄ*→*tiP*), where *ṛ* goes through *guṇa*, followed by *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). This same also happens in case of *smaryate* and *smaryāt*.

2. Why do we not get this *guṇa* in *saṃskriyate* and *saṃskriyāt*? Because *skṛ*,

which appears to be a root beginning with a conjunct, is actually a combination of *sUṬ* with *kṛ*. The *guṇa* is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*), as against augment *sUṬ* which is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*). The *sUṬ* is thus considered 'suspended' (*asiddha*) in view of the *guṇa* application. This application of *guṇa* is blocked since the *aṅga* no longer contains a conjunct (*saṃyoga*) in its initial position. Recall here that 6.1.135 *suṭ kātpūrvaḥ* introduces *sUṬ* before *k*. A question is raised against making this specification since *sUṬ* is introduced before *k*, anyway. That is, why state the obvious. It is then made clear that *kātpūrvaḥ* is used to indicate that *sUṬ* does not become part of the root. That is, *kṛ* does not become a conjunct-initial root *skṛ*. Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* ad 6.1.135 *suṭ kātpūrvaḥ* for additional details. Also refer to details of 7.4.10 *ṛta ca saṃyogāder guṇaḥ* where, with reference to *sañcaskaratuḥ*, etc., *kṛ* is treated as a conjunct-initial root. Note, however, that *sUṬ* is still considered externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) for purposes of introducing augment *iṬ*.

The condition of *y*-initial (*yakārādi*) is still valid. Thus, we do not get *guṇa* in the benedictive *svṛṣīṣṭa* and *dhvṛṣīṣṭa*. The condition of *asārvadhātuke* is also valid. Consequently, we do not get *guṇa* in potential (*vidhi-liṅ*) forms such as *iyṛyāt*, etc.

7.4.30 यङि च

yaṅi ca
/*yaṅi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ṛtaḥ* #27 *guṇo' rttisaṃyogādyoḥ* #29)
yaṅi ca parataḥ artteḥ saṃyogādeś ca ṛto guṇo bhavati
A *guṇa* vowel comes in place of the final of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *ṛ*, or by a conjunct-initial root terminating in *ṛ*, also when affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

arāryate
sāsvaryate
dādhvaryate
sāsmaryate

1. Here again a *guṇa*, which was negated before an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*, is allowed to apply before *yaṄ*. Consider *arāryate* which derives from (*ṛ* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*)). A *guṇa* of *ṛ*, followed by *r*, produces *ar* + *ya*. Rule 6.1.2 *ajāder dvityasya* then applies to reduplicate *rya*. Note here that 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ* should not permit this reduplication. Patañjali, since he does not consider *r* followed by *y* covered by the negation of 6.1.3, allows reduplication of *rya*. The result then is: *aryarya*. The first *y* of *aryarya* is then deleted (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*). Rule 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ* then applies on *ararya* to produce

ar(a→ā) rya → arārya. Our final derivate *arāryate* derives from *arārya* + *LAṬ*, through the *ātmanepada* replacement *ta→te.* Refer to derivational details of *āṭaṭyate* under 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ.* Incidentally, affix *yaṄ* is introduced with reference to a *vārttika* proposal (ad 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco . . .: sūcisūtrimūtryaṭyartyaśurṇotīnām*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal, as discussed earlier, is made to disallow negation of *ya* in reduplication (cf. 6.1.3 *na ndrāḥ saṃyogādayaḥ; Kāś: dvirvacanapratiṣedho yakārasya neṣyate*).

An additional proposal is made for *han,* when meaning *hiṃsā* 'to harm', to be replaced with *ghnī,* provided *yaṄ* followed. Thus, we will get *jeghnīyate.* We will get *jaṅghanyate* with no *ghnī,* outside the meaning of *hiṃsā.*

7.4.31 ई घ्राध्मोः

ī ghrādhmoḥ
/*ī* 1/1 (deleted) *ghrādhmoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *yaṅi* #30)
'*ghrā, dhmā*' *ity etayor yaṅi parata īkārādeśo bhavati*
A long *ī* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* which is constituted by verbal roots *ghrā* 'to smell' and *dhmā* 'to beat', provided when affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

jeghrīyate 'a derivate of (*ghrā* + *yaṄ*) + (*LAṬ→ta*))'
dedhmīyate 'a derivate of (*dhmā* + *yaṄ*) + (*LAṬ→ta*))'

1. Note that this *ī*-replacement is applied to the final sound segment of an *aṅga* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Our derivates, where final *ā* before *yaṄ* gets replaced with *ī,* go through reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa.* The way is thus made clear for application of *guṇa* of 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ.* Haradatta suggests that specifying a short replacement in *i* could also have served the purpose. An application of 7.4.26 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ* (*PM* ad *Kāś: ikārvidhāv api* '*akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ*') could then have applied to replace short *i* with its long counterpart. This, however, will not be economical.

7.4.32 अस्य च्वौ

asya cvau
/*asya* 6/1 *cvau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ī* #31)
avarṇāntasyāṅgasya cvau parata īkārādeśo bhavati
A long *ī* comes in place of the final *a* of an *aṅga* when affix *CvI* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *śuklībhavati*
> *śuklīsyāt*
> *khaṭvīkaroti*
> *khaṭvīsyāt*

1. Note that this rule is an exception to a long replacement of the short *aṅga*-final vowel (7.4.25 *cvau ca*). Recall also that *CvI* (5.4.50 *abhtatadbhāve* . . .) is introduced with the signification of *abhūtatadbhāva* 'the sense of *x* becoming *y* which it previously was not'. Affix *CvI*, of course, goes through total deletion. Thus, what would have become *khaṭvāsyāt* now becomes *khaṭvīkaroti* 'that which was not a *khaṭvā* 'cot' is now made into a cot' with a replacement in long *ī*. Similar replacements are also involved in deriving other derivates.

7.4.33 क्यचि च

> *kyaci ca*
> / *kyaci* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ī* #31 *asya* #32)
> *kyaci parato' varṇāntasyāṅgasya īkārādeśo bhavati*
> A long *ī* comes in place of the final *a* of an *aṅga* also when affix *KyaC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *putrīyati* 'wishes a son for himself'
> *ghaṭīyati* 'wishes a pitcher for himself'
> *khaṭvīyati* 'wishes a cot for himself'
> *mālīyati* 'wishes a garland for himself'

1. This rule is an exception to the long (*dīrgha*) vowel-replacement of 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ*. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding one? A separate formulation of this rule is needed for the following rule. The *anuvṛtti* of *KyaC* alone is required there (*Kāś*: *pṛthagyogakaraṇam uttarārtham*). A joint formulation would have also required the *anuvṛtti* of *cvau* 'when *cvi* follows'. Deriving examples such as *putrīyati* 'wishes a son for himself' is easy.

7.4.34 अशनायोदन्यधनाया बुभुक्षापिपासागर्धेषु

> *aśanāyodanyadhanāyā bubhukṣāpipāsāgardheṣu*
> / *aśanāyodanya-dhanāyāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*) *bubhukṣā-pipāsā-gardheṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *kyaci* #33)
> '*aśanāya, udanya, dhanāya*' *ity etāni nipātyante* '*bubhukṣā, pipāsā, gardha*' *ity eteṣv artheṣu*

Forms such as *aśanāya, udanya* and *dhanāya* are derived, via *nipātana,* when *KyaC* follows and the signification is *bubhukṣā* 'desire to eat; hunger', *pipāsā* 'desire to drink; thirst' and *gardha* 'to wish for much more; greed', respectively.

EXAMPLES:

aśanāyati 'hungry, he wants to eat'
udanyati 'thirsty, he wants a drink of water'
dhanāyati 'rich, but he still wants money'

1. This provision of *nipātana* produces *aśan(a→ā)* + *am* + *KyaC* = *aśanāya* + *LAṬ* = *aśanāyati,* parallel to *bubhukṣamāṇo' śanam icchati* '. . . is hungry so he wants to eat'. A long *ā* comes as a replacement for the final of *aśana,* via *nipātana.* This same also happens in case of *dhanāyati,* parallel to *saty eva dhane bhūyo' pi dhanam icchati* = *dhanāyati* 'he has money but still wants much more'. The word *udaka* 'water' is similalry replaced with *udan,* via *nipātana,* to produce *udanya.* We thus get *udanyati,* parallel to *pipāsito' yaṃ pānārtham udakam icchati* 'he is thirsty so he wishes to drink water', where *udaka* is replaced with *udan,* again via *nipātana.* Elsewhere, when the meaning is not *bubhukṣā* 'hunger', *pipāsā* 'thirst' or *gardha* 'greed', we get *aśanyati, udakīyati* and *dhanīyati,* with no changes, via *nipātana.*

7.4.35 न च्छन्दस्यपुत्रस्य

na chandasy aputrasya
/*na* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1 *aputrasya* 7/1 = *na putraḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *asya* #32 *kyaci* #33)
chandasi viṣaye putravarjitasyāvarṇāntasyāṅgasya kvacid yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
That which is stated here for an *aṅga,* terminating in *a* and occurring before *KyaC,* does not apply on Vedic usage, except when the *aṅga* is constituted by *putra* 'son'.

EXAMPLES:

mitrāyuḥ 'seeker of friendship'
saṃsvedayuḥ 'perspiring'
devāñjígāti sumnayuḥ 'devotee praising the divinity'

1. What is stated here for an *aṅga* which terminates in *a* is: replacement in a long vowel in general (7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayor dīrghaḥ*), or a replacement in *ī* (7.4.33 *kyaci ca*), in particular. These replacements do not apply to the Vedic usage, except when the *aṅga* is constituted by *putra* 'son'. We derive *mitra* + *am* + *KyaC* → *mitraya,* where 3.2.170 *kyāc chandasi* introduces affix *u,* after *mitraya,* to produce *mitrayu.* Our final form *mitrayuḥ* can then be derived from *mitrayu* + *s(U)* through *s→r→ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*). A replace-

ment in *ā*, or in *ī*, which may be available to the final *a* of *mitraya* is here negated. Similar derivational details could be offered for deriving *sam* + *svid* + *KyaC* = (*saṃsvedaya* + *u*) + *sU*)) = *saṃsvedayuḥ* 'perspiring' and *sumnayu* + *sU* → *sumnayuḥ* 'favoring'.

2. Why do we have to state *aputrasya*? So that we could account for a long replacement in *ī* for the final *a* of *putra*. That is, *putra* alone should be allowed to go through this replacement. We thus get *putrīyantaḥ sudānavaḥ*.

A *vārttika* states that this exclusion should not be stated just as *aputrasya*. It should instead be stated as *aputrādīnām* '. . . does not apply to those which are other than *putra* and its likes'. This will enable us to get *ātmanaḥ janam* (*janīm* = *vadhūm*) *icchanti* = *janīyanti* 'wish for a man (or a bride) . . .' as in *janīyanto' nvagravaḥ*.

7.4.36 दुरस्युर्द्रविणस्युर्वृषण्यति रिषण्यति

durasyurdraviṇasyurvṛṣaṇyati riṣaṇyati
/ *durasyuḥ* 1/1 *draviṇasyuḥ* 1/1 *vṛṣaṇyati* (verbal *pada*) *riṣaṇyati* (verbal *pada*) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *kyaci* #33 *chandasi* #35)
'*durasyuḥ, draviṇasyuḥ, vṛṣaṇyati, riṣaṇyati*' *ity etāni chandasi nipātyante*
Forms such as *durasyuḥ* / *draviṇasyuḥ* and *vṛṣaṇyati* / *riṣaṇyati* are derived, via *nipātana*, when the usage is Vedic and affix *KyaC* follows.

EXAMPLES:

aviyonā durasyuḥ
draviṇasyurvipanyayā
vṛṣaṇyati
riṣaṇyati

1. This rule allows *duṣṭa* 'corrupt, wicked', *draviṇa* 'wealth', *vṛṣa* 'bull' and *riṣṭa* 'wounded' to be replaced in the Vedic, via *nipātana*, with *duras, draviṇas, vṛṣan*, and *riṣan*, respectively. Note that affix *u* (3.2.170 *kyāc chandasi*) is introduced in deriving *durasyuḥ* 'wicked' and *draviṇasyuḥ* 'wealthy'. These *nipātana* provisions are made in view of available usage (*dṛṣṭānuvidhi*). Elsewhere, we will get a replacement in *ī*, as in *duṣṭīyati, draviṇīyati, vṛṣīyati*, and *riṣṭīyati*.

7.4.37 अश्वाघस्यात्

aśvāghasyāt
/ *aśvāghasya* 6/1 = *aśvaś ca aghañ ca* = *aśvāgham* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *āt* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *kyaci* #33 *chandasi* #35)
'*aśva, agha*' *ity etayoḥ kyaci parataś chandasi viṣaye akārādeśo bhavati*

A long *ā* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *aśva* and *agha*, when affix *KyaC* follows and the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

aśvāyanto maghavan
mā tvā vṛkā aghāvayo vidan

1. This *ī* is an exception to *ā*-replacement of the *aṅga*-final *a* of *aśva* 'horse' and *agha* 'sin, impurity', in the Vedic. Of course, when affix *KyaC* follows. Affix *KyaC*, for example in *aśvāyantaḥ*, is used in the sense of *aśvam icchanti* '. . . wish for a horse'. This replacement in *ā* also indicates that other words do not go through this replacement in the Vedic.

7.4.38 **देवसुम्नयोर्यजुषि काठके**

devasumnayor yajuṣi kāṭhake
/*devasumnayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; yajuṣi* 7/1 *kāṭhake* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *kyaci* #33 *chandasi* #35 *āt* #36)
'*deva, sumna*' *ity etatyoḥ kyaci parata ākārādeśo bhavati kāṭhake yajuṣi*
A long *ā* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *deva* and *sumna*, when affix *KyaC* follows and the usage relates to the *kāṭhaka* branch of the *yajurveda*.

EXAMPLES:

devāyanto yajamānāya
sumnāyantā havāmahe

1. This *ā* is an exception to the *ī*-replacement (*ītva*), especially in relation to *deva* and *sumna* used in the *Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā* of the *Yajurveda*. Elsewhere, we will get *sumnuyuḥ*, as is witnessed by the (non-*Yajurvedic*) *kaṭha* and *taittirīya* usage.

7.4.39 **कव्यध्वरपृतनस्यर्चि लोपः**

kavyadhvarapṛtanasyarci lopaḥ
/*kavyadhvarapṛtanasya* 6/1 = *kaviś ca adhvaraś ca pṛtanā ca* = *kavyadhvarapṛtanam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya; ṛci* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *kyaci* #33 *chandasi* #35)
'*kavi, adhvara, pṛtanā*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānāṃ kyaci parato lopo bhavati ṛci viṣaye*
Deletion by *LOPA* comes in place of the final of an *aṅga*, namely *kavi* '(becoming) wise', *adhvara* 'sacrifice' and *pṛtanā* 'army', when affix *KyaC* follows and the usage is a quartered hymn.

EXAMPLES:

kavyantaḥ sumanasaḥ

adhvaryantaḥ
pṛtanyantastiṣṭhanti

1. This deletion will also apply to the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of an *aṅga*. All example derivates are plural present active participial (*ŚatṚ*) forms. Thus, (*kavya* + *ŚaP* + *ṣatṚ*) + *Jas* → (*kavy*(*a*→ϕ) + (*a* + *a*→*a*) *nt*)) + *as*))) → *kavyant* + *as* = *kavyantaḥ*. A single replacement for *a*+*a* is ruled here by 6.1.94 *ato guṇe*. Similarly, *adhvaryantaḥ* and *pṛtannyantaḥ*, where the *aṅga* of the second, i.e., *pṛtanā*, goes through deletion of its final *ā* before *KyaC*.

7.4.40 द्यतिस्यतिमास्थामित्ति किति

dyatisyatimāsthām itti kiti
/*dyati-syati-mā-sthām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *eteṣām*;
it ϕ *ti* 7/1 *kiti* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
'*dyati, syati, mā, sthā*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām ikārādeśo bhavati takārādau kiti pratyaye parataḥ*
A short *i* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *do* 'to cut', *ṣo* 'to end, terminate', *mā* 'to measure' and *sthā* 'to stay, remain', when a *t*-initial affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nirditaḥ 'a derivate of (*nir-do* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
nirditavān 'a derivate of (*nir-do* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
avasitaḥ 'a derivate of *ava-so* + *Kta*'
avasitavān 'a derivate of *ava-so* + *KtavatU*'
mitaḥ 'a derivate of (*mā* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
mitavān 'a derivate of (*mā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
sthitaḥ 'a derivate of (*sthā* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
sthitavān 'a derivate of (*sthā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *i* for the final vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by *dyati*, i.e., *do* 'to split, break', *syati*, i.e., *ṣo* 'to end, terminate', *mā* 'to measure' and *sthā* 'to stay, stand', provided when a *t*-initial suffix marked with *K* as an *it* follows. Thus, consider *nir-do* + *Kta* = *nirdita*, where *o* of *do* gets replaced with *i*. We similarly get *nirditavān*, a derivate with *KtavatU*. Other examples, i.e., *avasita*, *avasitavat*, etc., are similarly derived.

2. Why do we have the condition of *takārādi* '*t*-initial'? Consider *avadāya* where we do not get the final vowel replaced with *i*. For, what follows is *LyaP*, a suffix not beginning with *t*. A similar counter-example for the condition of *kit* '*K* as an *it*' is offered as *avadātā*, where the nominal base is a derivate of *ava-dā* + *tṛC*.

7.4.41 शाच्छोरन्यतरस्याम्

śācchor anyatarasyām
/*śāc-choḥ* 6/2 = *śāc ca chāś ca* = *śācchau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *it ti kiti* #40)
'*śā, chā*' *ity etayor anyatarasyām ikārādeśo bhavati takārādau kiti*
A short *i* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by *śā* 'sharpen, whet, hone' and *chā* 'cut', only optionally, when a *t*-initial affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

niśitam 'a derivate of (*ni-śā* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
niśātam
niśitavān 'a derivate of (*ni-śā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
niśātavān
avacchitam 'a derivate of (*ava-chā* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
avacchātam
avacchitavān 'a derivate of (*ava-chā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
avacchātavān

1. This rule makes an optional provision against what the preceding rule makes as obligatory. Thus, we get *ni-ś*(*o*→*i*) + *Kta* = *niśita*. Note that the *o* of *śo* 'to plane, shape' and *cho* 'to pierce' goes through a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*; 6.1.71 *ādeca upadeśe*...) before *i* replaces the final sound segment, i.e., *ā*. Since this provision is optional, we also end up retaining the form with *ā*. Thus, *ni-ś*(*o*→*ā*) + *Kta* = *niśāta*. Similar rules apply in deriving other examples.

2. A *vārttika* proposal makes *i*-replacement obligatory (*nityam*) when *vrata* 'vow' is denoted. Thus, we get *sam-ś*(*ā* →*i*) + *Kta* = *saṃśita* of *saṃśitavrataḥ* = *yatnena samyak pratipāditaṃ vrataṃ yasya yena vā* 'he (whose) or (by whom a) vow was diligently pursued'. This *vārttika* proposal, however, is not needed. This example can be covered by interpreting *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' of this rule as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. That is, the option is made obligatorily in some cases and is not made in others, at all. The *Mahābhāṣya* states that derivates of *ŚatṚ* and *ŚānaC*, and *gavākṣa* and *saṃśitavrata* as well, are not optional to each others. They are obligatory in view of their specific context of usage. Thus, the *Mahābhāṣya*:

devatrāto galo grāha itiyoge ca sadvidhiḥ /
mithas te na vibhāṣyante gavākṣaḥ saṃśitavrataḥ //

7.4.42 दधातेर्हिः

dadhāter hiḥ

/dadhāteḥ 6/1 *hiḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ti kiti* #40)
dadhāter aṅgasya 'hi' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati takārādau kiti pratyaye parataḥ
hi comes in place of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *ḌUdhāÑ* 'to bear, support' when a *t*-initial affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

hitaḥ
hitavān
hitvā

7.4.43 **जहातेश्च क्त्वि**

jahāteś ca ktvi
/jahāteḥ 6/1 *ca* ф *ktvi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *hiḥ* #42)
jahāter aṅgasya 'hi' tiy ayam ādeśo bhavati ktvā pratyaye parataḥ
hi comes also in place of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *OhāK* 'to abandon' when affix *Ktvā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

hitvā rājyaṃ vanaṃ gataḥ
'abandoning the kingdom he went to the forest'
hitvā gacchati 'abandoning he goes'

1. Note that since this rule makes its specification by *jahāteḥ* it cannot include any reference to *jihīteḥ*. That is, this replacement will not be applicable to a derivate of *OhāṄ* 'to go, move'. Thus, we will only get *hātvā*. A derivate such as *hitvā* can only refer to verbal root *OhāK* 'to abandon'.

7.4.44 **विभाषा छन्दसि**

vibhāṣā chandasi
/vibhāṣā 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
hi, in the Vedic, comes optionally in place of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *OhāK* 'to abandon' when affix *Ktvā* follows.

EXAMPLES:

hitvā śarīraṃ yātavyam
hātvā

1. The provision of earlier rule is here made optional in case of Vedic usage. Thus, (*hitvā / hātvā*) *śarīraṃ yātavyam* 'one should go having abandoned the body (by means of yoga)'.

7.4.45 सुधितवसुधितनेमधितधिष्वधिषीय च

sudhitavasudhitanemadhitadhiṣvadhiṣīya ca
/ *sudhita-vasudhita-nemadhita-dhiṣva-dhiṣīya* 1/3 (deleted) /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *chandasi* #44)
'*sudhita, vasudhita, nemadhita, dhiṣva, dhiṣīya*' *ity etāni chandasi viṣaye nipātyante*
Forms such as *sudhita, vasudhita, nemadhita, dhiṣva* and *dhiṣīya* are derived, in the Vedic, via *nipātana.*

EXAMPLES:

sudhitam 'well placed'
vasudhitam 'possessing wealth'
nemadhitam 'half-supported'
dhiṣva 'bear!'
dhiṣīya 'may I place!'

1. Note that *nipātana* accounts for augment *iṬ* before *Kta* when *dhā* 'to place' is used in combination after *su, vasu* and *nema.* That is, *i* of *iṬ* replaces the *ā* of *dhā.* If we try to derive *sudhita,* etc., by introducing *iṬ,* then, given *sudhā* + *iṬ* + *Kta,* 6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca* will delete the final *ā* of *dhā.* The compound bases of *sudhitam* 'well placed', *vasudhitam* 'wealthy' and *nemadhitam* 'half supported' are formed by 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ,* 2.1.56 *viśeṣaṇaṃ viśeṣyea bahulam* and 2.1.26 *sāmi,* respectively. The *itva* 'replacement in *i*' of *dhā* in *dhiṣva* 'second singular imperative (*LOṬ*) of *dhā*' is accomplished, via *nipātana,* before *thās* (3.4.77 *tiptasjhi* . . .) with augment *iṬ* introduced to the affix. This, and blocking of reduplication (6.1.10 *ślau*) as well, is accomplished via *nipātana.* A replacement in *se* for *thās* (3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*), and in *va* for *se* (3.4.91 *savābhyāṃ vāmau*), does not come within the scope of this *nipātana* provision of *dhiṣva.* Now consider *dhiṣīya,* first person singular benedictive (*āśīrliṅ*) middle derivate of *dhā,* where *i*-replacement of *dhā* and introduction of augment *iṬ* to the affix are both accomplished via *nipātana.*

Recall that these derivates can follow two routes: (*i*) introduction of *i* as a replacement for *ā* of *dhā*; or (*ii*) introduction of augment *iṬ* to the affix, in which case, deletion of *ā* of *dhā* is accomplished. Incidentally, *dhiṣīya* is a benedictive middle first person singular. We would have *dhāsīya* in the classical language, against this *nipātana* provision of the Vedic.

7.4.46 दो दद् घोः

do dad ghoḥ
/ *daḥ* 6/1 *dad* 1/1 *ghoḥ* 6/1 /
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ti kiti* #40)

'dā' ity etasya ghusaṃjñakasya 'dad' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati takārādau kiti pratyayeparataḥ
A replacement in *dad* comes in place of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *dā* termed *ghu*, when a *t*-initial affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dattaḥ 'a derivate of *dā* + *Kta*'
dattavān 'a derivate of *dā* + *Kta*'
dattiḥ 'a derivate of *dā* + *KtiN*'

1. This rule offers *dad* as a replacement of an *aṅga* constituted by *dā*, termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*), when a *t*-initial affix marked with *k* as an *it* follows. Thus, we get (*dā*→*dad*) + *Kta* = *da*(*d*→*t*) + *ta* = *datta*, via *d*→*t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*).

2. A specification with *daḥ* is made so that we do not get this replacement in *dhātaḥ* and *dhātavān* where the root is *dheṬ* 'to drink, suck'. A condition with *ghoḥ* is specified so that derivates of *dāP* 'to cut' and *daiP* 'to cleanse', i.e., *dāta* of *dātaṃ barhiḥ* 'the Kuśa grass is cut' and *avadāta* of *avadātaṃ mukham* 'beautiful face', could not avail this replacement in *dad*.

3. What is the exact form of this replacement? For, given the use of *dad* before *gh* of *ghoḥ*, especially in view of possible *sandhi* changes, one may think of its form as (*i*) *dat*, ending in *t* (*tānta*); (*ii*) *dadh*, ending in *dh* (*dhānta*; and (*iii*) *dath*, ending in *th* (*thānta*). The *Mahābhāṣya* suggests that accepting the replacement as ending in *th* (*thānta*; *dath*) is free of problems. Accepting it as ending in *t* (*tānta*; *dat*) will create problems due to application of 6.3.124 *dasti ca*. This rule will demand that the final vowel of *su* of *sudattam* be replaced with its long counterpart when *dat* is to be the replacement. We will end up with a wrong form **sūdattam*. If the replacement is accepted as *dānta* (*dad*), we will get a wrong form **dannam*, against the correct form *dattam*. For, 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto naḥ* would require the *t* of the *niṣṭhā* (1.1.28 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) suffix to be replaced with *n*. If we accept the replacement as ending in *dh* (*dhānta*; *dadh*) then, given (*dā*→*dadh*) + *ta*)), rule 8.2.40 *jhaṣas tathordhoḥ* would require *t* to be replaced with *dh*. Thus, the *Mahābhāṣya* accepts the form of replacement as *dath* (*thānta*):

tānte doṣo dīrghatvaṃ syād dānte doṣo niṣṭhānatvam/
dhānte doṣo dhatvaprāptis thānte' doṣas tasthātmāntam //

In this view, *datta* can be derived from (*dā*→*dath*) + *ta* → *da*(*th*→*t*) + *ta* = *datta*, via *cartva* (8.4.55 *khari ca*). Note, however, that commentators also find *dat* (*tānta*) as a problem-free replacement. But it will make the derivational process prolix, especially because of reliance on the *sannipāta-paribhāṣā* (*PŚ* 86). I omit these details for fear of expatiation.

I, however, must mention that *avadatta*, *vidatta*, *pradatta*, *sudatta*, *anudatta* and *nidatta* are desired (*iṣṭa*) forms, especially when *Kta* is introduced with

the signification of *ādikarman* 'onset of action'. It is required that *dā* should not be replaced with *dad.* Rule 7.4.47 *aca upasargāt taḥ* should then replace *ā* of *dā* with *t.*

avadattaṃ vidattaṃ ca pradattaṃ cādikarmaṇi/
sudattam anudattaṃ ca nidattam iti ceṣyate//

7.4.47 अच उपसर्गात्तः

aca upasargāt taḥ
/*acaḥ* 5/1 *upasargāt* 5/1 *taḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *ti kiti* #40 *daḥ ghoḥ* #46)
ajantād upasargād uttarasya 'dā' ity etasya ghusaṃjñakasya 'ta' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati takārādau kiti
tA comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by *dā* termed *ghu,* when used in construction after a vowel-final preverb, provided a *t*-inital affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

prattam 'a derivate of *pra-dā* + *Kta*'
avattam 'a derivate of *ava* + *dā* + *Kta*'
nīttam 'a derivate of *ni-dā* + *Kta*'
parīttam 'a derivate of *pari-dā* + *Kta*'

1. This rule allows a replacement in *t* for the *ā* of *dā* termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhā ghv adāp*). This is an exception to replacement in *dad.* Thus, *pra* + *d*(*ā*→*t*) + (*K*) *ta* = *pratta, avattam, nīttam* and *parīttam.* A long-replacement for the short *i* of *pari* is obtained from application of 6.3.124 *dasti.*

Note that, given (*pra-d*(*ā*→*t*) + *Kta*)) + (*sU*→*am*))) = *prad* + *t* + *ta* + *am,* rule 8.4.54 *khari ca* will apply to yield *pra*(*d*→*t*) + *t* + *ta* + *am* = *prat* + *t* + *ta* + *am.* Rule 8.4.46 *anaci ca* will then apply to yield *prat* + (*t*→*tt*) + *ta* + *am* = *prat* + *tt* + *ta* + *am.* We now have four *t* sound segments. The two medial *t*-segments will then have to be deleted by 8.4.64 *jharo jhari savarṇe* to yield *prat* (*t*+*t*→ϕ) + *ta* + *am* = *pratta.* An application of 6.1.107 *ami pūrvaḥ* will then produce *pratt*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *m* = *prattam.*

2. A specification by *upasargāt* 'after a preverb' in the ablative (*pañcamī*) requires that, in accord with 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya, t* should replace *d* of *dā.* For this, commentators require that *acaḥ* should be read twice in this rule, via repetition (*āvṛtti*). One *acaḥ* will be interpreted as an adjective to *upasargāt* to yield the meaning: *ajantād upasargāt* 'after a preverb ending in a vowel'. The second *acaḥ* will then be interpreted as the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) with the meaning 'in place of'. This is what would specify the item to be replaced (*sthānī*). This is how we can get *t* as a replacement for *ā* of *dā.* One can otherwise also interpret this replacement as consisting of two *t*-segments. This way, because of consisting of more than one sound segment (*anekāl*), it

can replace *dā*, in toto. This process is economical because it would not require using *acaḥ* twice.

The *acaḥ* which carries from here on to the next rule is interpreted as ending in the ablative. This way, '*t* replaces *p* which occurs immediately after *aC*' (1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*).

3. A proposal is also made to replace *o* (*aC*) of *do* (*dyati*) with *t*. A replacement in *i* is to be blocked in favor of *t* on the basis of being subsequent (*paratva*). Thus, we will get *avattam* and *prattam*. See the *Mahābhāṣya* for further details.

7.4.48 अपो भि

apo bhi
/*apaḥ* 6/1 *bhi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *taḥ* #47)
'*ap*' *ity etasyāṅgasya bhakārādau pratyaye parataḥ* '*ta*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
tA comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga*, namely *ap*, when a *bh*-initial affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

adbhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *ap* 'water''
adbhyaḥ 'dative-ablative plural of *ap*'

1. Note that *t* will replace the final sound segment of *ap* 'water'. The *a* of *tA* is used for ease of articulation (*mukhasukhārtham*). Thus, we get *ap* + *bhis*→ *at* + *bhis* = *adbhiḥ*, where *t* is replaced with *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhasi*) and *s* goes through *s*→*r*→*ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*; 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*; 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor*...).

2. Why do we state the condition of *bhi* 'when a *bh*-initial suffix follows'? Consider *ap* + *su* = *apsu*, where *p* cannot be replaced with *t* because *su* 'locative plural ending' begins with *s*.

3. A proposal informs us that this replacement in *t* is desired in *svavas*, *svatavas*, *māsa* and *uṣas* when the usage is Vedic. Thus, we should get *svavadbhiḥ*, *stavadbhiḥ*, *mādbhiḥ* and *samuṣadbhiḥ*.

7.4.49 सः स्यार्धधातुके

saḥ sy ārdhadhātuke
/*saḥ* 6/1 *si* 7/1 *ārdhadhātuke* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *taḥ* #47)
sakārāntasyāṅgasya sakārādāv ārdhadhātuke paratas takārādeśo bhavati
tA comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* which ends in *s*, when a *s*-initial affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*), follows.

EXAMPLES:

vatsyati 'third person singular *LṚṬ* derivate of *vas*'
avatsyat 'third person singular *LṚṄ* derivate of *vas*'
vivatsati 'a derivate of (*vas* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*'
jighatsati 'a derivate of (*ad*→*ghas* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*'

1. This rule replaces an *aṅga*-final *s* with *t* when a *s*-initial affix termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*) follows. Thus, we get *vas* + *sya* + *ti* → *vat* + *sya* + *ti* = *vatsyati* and *avas* + *sya* + (*LṚṬ*→*t*) → *avat* + *sya* + *t* = *avatsyat*, the two derivates of *LṚṬ*→*tiP* and *LṚṄ*→*tiP*, respectively. An example with affix *saN* is offered in *vivatsati*. Refer to the appendix (III:697) of 2.4.37 *lṛṅsanor ghasḷ* for derivational details of *jighatsati*.

2. Why is the *aṅga*-final *s* alone replaced with *t*? Consider *vac* + *sya* + (*LṚṬ*→*ti*) = *vakṣyati*, where *vac* is the *aṅga*, and replacing *c* with *t* would produce wrong results.

Why do we have the condition of an affix beginning with *s*? Consider *ghas* + *GHaÑ*, where we get *vṛddhi* of the penultimate (*upadhā*). The *s* of the *aṅga* cannot be replaced with *t* since there is no suffix beginning with *s* to follow.

Why do we have the condition of *ārdhadhātuke*? Consider *ās* + (*LAṬ*→ *thās*→*se*) = *āsse*))) and *vas* + (*LAṬ*→*thās*→*se*) = *vasse*))), where a replacement in *t* is not possible because what follows is a *sārvadhātuka* suffix.

7.4.50 तासस्त्योर्लोपः

tāsastyor lopaḥ
/ *tāsastyoḥ* 6/2 = *tasaś ca astiś ca* = *tāsastī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *lopaḥ* 1/1/ (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *saḥ si* #49)
tāser asteś ca sakārasya sakārādau pratyaye parataḥ lopo bhavati
A deletion by *LOPA* comes in place of *s* of *tās* and *as* 'to be' when an affix beginning with *s* follows.

EXAMPLES:

karttāsi 'a derivate of *kṛ* + (*LUṬ*→*siP*)'
karttāse 'a derivate of *kṛ* + (*LUṬ*→*thās*)'
tvam asi 'you are'
vyatise

1. This rule allows deletion of the *aṅga*-final *s* of *tās* (3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*) and *as* when an affix beginning with *s* follows. Thus, we get *kṛ* + (*LUṬ*→ *siP*) → *kṛ* + *tās* + *siP* = (*kṛ*→*kar*) + *tās* + *siP* = *karttāsi*, where *s* of *tās* will be deleted before *s* of the second personal active verbal ending *siP*. Note that augment *iṬ* is here negated by 7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe*. . ., and reduplication of *t* is accomplished by 8.4.54 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve*. We similarly get *kar* + *tās* + (*thās*→*se*)) = *kartā*(*s*→ϕ) + *se* = *karttāse*, where the second person singular middle ending

thās (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .) is replaced with *se* (3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*). Now consider *asi* derived from (*as* + (*LAṬ*→*siP*))→(*as* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ)) + *si*))) → (*a*(*s*→ϕ)) + *si*))) = *asi*, where *a* of the root alone is retained. We can get a complete deletion of *as* in *vi-ati-as* + (*LAṬ*→*thās*) → *vya-as* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + (*thās* →*se*))) = *vyati-a*(*s*→ϕ) + *se*→ *vyti-*(*a*→ϕ) + *se* = *vyatise*. The *a* of *as* is deleted by 6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ*. Note that the second person singular middle (*ātmanepada*) ending is here introduced under the condition of *karmavyatihāra* 'reciprocal action' (1.3.14 *kartari karmavyatihāre*). The *s* of *vyatise* is not replaced with its retroflex counterpart by 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*. . . . For, the root has gone through total deletion and what is left is merely the affix.

7.4.51 रि च

ri ca
/*ri* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *saḥ* #49 *tāsastyor lopaḥ* #50)
rephādau ca pratyaye parataḥ tāsastyoḥ sakārasya lopo bhavati
A deletion by *LOPA* comes in place of the final *s* of *tās* and *as* 'to be' when a *r*-initial affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

kartārau
kartāraḥ
adhyetārau
adhyetāraḥ
vyatire

1. Refer to derivational details under 2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya*. . . . We get *kartārau* and *kartāraḥ* from (*kr̥*→ *kar*) + *tās* + (*LUṬ*→ *rau*))) and (*kr̥*→ *kar*) + *tās* + (*LUṬ*→ *ras*))), respectively. Note that *adhyetārau* and *adhyetāraḥ* involve a replacement in *rau* and *ras* for the *ātmanepada* suffixes *ātām* and *jha*. Examples of *as* before *r*-initial suffixes are not possible to find (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *aste rephādipratyayo na sambhavatīti nāsty udāharam*). *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* offers a Vedic example, namely *vyati* + *as* + (*LIṬ*→*ire*→*re*) = *vyati* + *as* + *re* → (*vyati* + (*a*→ϕ) (*s*→ϕ))) = *vyatire*. Recall here that *eŚ* and *ireC* are replacements of the *ātmanepada* affixes *ta* and *jha* which replace *LIṬ* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor* . . .).

7.4.52 ह एति

ha eti
/*haḥ* 1/1 *eti* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *saḥ* #49 *tāsastyor lopaḥ* #50)
tāsastyoḥ sakārasya hakārādeśo bhavati eti parataḥ
A replacement in *h* comes in place of the final *s* of *tās*, and *as* as well, when *e* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kartāhe 'a derivate of *kṛ* + *tās* + (*LUṬ*→*iṬ*)'
vyatihe 'a derivate of *vy-ati-as* + (*LUṬ*→*iṬ*)'

1. This rule allows *h* as a replacement for *s* of *tās* and *as* when *e* follows. Consider *kṛ* + *tās* + *iṬ*, where *iṬ* is the first person singular middle (*ātmanepada*) ending replaced with *e* (*etva*; 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānām* . . .). We thus get *kartāhe* from *k*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *tās* + *e*, where *s* of *tās* gets replaced with *h*. Now consider *vyatihe*, an example of *as* derived from *vi-ati-as* + (*iṬ*→*e*). This string not only goes through replacement in *e* (*etva*), and replacement in *h* for *s* of *as*, it also goes through deletion of *a* of *as* (6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ*).

7.4.53 यीवर्णयोर्दीधीवेव्योः

yīvarṇayor dīdhīvevyoḥ
/*yīvarṇayoḥ* 6/2 = *yi ca ivarṇaś ca* = *yīvarṇau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *dīdhīvevyoḥ* = *dīdhīś ca vevīś ca* = *dīdhīvevyau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *lopaḥ* #50)
yakārādāv ivarṇādau ca parato dīdhīvevyor lopo bhavati
A deletion by *LOPA* comes in place of the final sound segment of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *dīdhīṄ* 'to shine' and *vevīṄ* 'to move, go' when an affix beginning with *y*, or simply an *i*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

ādīdhya 'a derivate of *dīdhī* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*)'
āvevya 'a derivate of *vevī* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*)'
ādīdhyate 'a derivate of *āṄ* + *dīdhī* + *yaK* + *te*'
āvevyate 'a derivate of *āṄ* + *dīdhī* + *yaK* + *te*'
ādīdhitā 'a derivate of *āṄ* + *dīdhī* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*'
āvevitā 'a derivate of *āṄ* + *vevī* + *iṬ* + *tṛC*'
ādīdhīta 'a derivate of *āṄ* + *dīdhī* + *sīyUṬ* + *ta*'
āvevīta 'a derivate of *āṄ* + *vevī* + *sīyUṬ* + *ta*'

1. Note that the *ī* of *yī* (in *yīvarṇayoḥ*) is used for ease of articulation. Thus, we interpret *y* as *yakārādi* 'that which begins with *y*'. This deletion applies to final sound segment *ī* of *ddhīṄ* and *vevīṄ* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). Consider *ā-dīdhī* + (*Ktvā*→*LyaP*) = *ā-dīdhī* + *ya*, and similarly *ā-vevī* + *ya*, where the root-final *ī* is deleted to yield *ādīdhya* and *āvevya*.

Our next two examples derive from *ā-dīdhī* + *yaK* + (*LAṬ*→*te*) and *ā-vevī* + *yaK* + *te*, where *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) is introduced with the signification of *karman* 'object'. We get *ādīdhyate* and *āvevyate*, through deletion of *ī*. Our next two examples, i.e., *ādīdhitā* and *āvevitā*, are derivates of *tṛC*. Thus, (*ā-dīdh*(*ī*→ϕ) + *iṬ* + *tṛC*)) + *sU* = *ādīdhitā*, with deletion of *ī*. Similar rules apply in deriving *āvevitā*. Now consider *ādīdhīta* and *āvevīta*, both derivates

of *LIṄ*, derived from: *ā-dīdhī* + *ŚaP* + (*LIṄ*→*ta*)) → *ādīdhī* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *sīyUṬ* + *sUṬ* + *ta* and *ā-vevī* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *sīyUṬ* + *sUṬ* + *ta*, respectively. Deletion of *ŚaP* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*) and those of two *s*-sounds (7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo* . . .) and *ī*, produces: *ādīdh* + *īy* + *ta* and *āvev* + *īy* + *ta*. We get *ādīdhīta* and *āvevīta* subsequent to deletion of *y* by 6.1.64 *lopo vyor vali*.

2. Why is this replacement contstrained by conditions of *yīvarṇayoḥ* 'when followed by *y*-initial and *i*? Consider *ādīdhyanam* and *āvevyanam* which are both derivates of (*LyUṬ*→*ana*). It is because of condition of *y*-initial, and *i*, that we do not get deletion of *ī*. Instead, we get it replaced with *y*.

7.4.54 सनि मीमाघुरभलभशकपतपदामच इस्

sani mīmāghurabhalabhaśakapadapadām aca is
/*sani* 7/1 *mī-mā-ghu-rabha-labha-śaka-pata-padām* 6/3 *acaḥ* 6/1 *is* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *si* #46)
sani pratyaye sakārādau parato '*mī, mā, ghu, rabha, labha, śaka, pata, pada*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām acaḥ sthāne is ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *is* comes in place of the *aC* of an *aṅga* constituted by *mī, mā*, a verbal root termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāgh adāp*), and *rabhA* 'to seize, grasp', *ḌUlabhaṢ* 'to obtain, gain', *śakḶ* 'to be able to', *patḶ* 'to fall', and *padA* 'to go' as well, when affix *saN*, beginning with *s*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

mitsati 'a derivate of *mā* + *saN*→ *mitsa* +(*LAṬ*→*te*)'
pramitsati 'a derivate of *pra-mā* + *saN* → *pramits* + (*LAṬ*→*te*)'
mitsate 'a derivate of *mī* + *saN*→ *mitsa* + (*LAṬ*→*te*)'
apamitsate 'a derivate of *apa-mī* + *saN* → *apamitsa* + *LAṬ*→*te*)'
ditsati 'a derivate of (*dā* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*→*tiP*)'
dhitsati 'a derivate of (*dhā* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*→*tiP*)'
āripsate 'a derivate of (*ā-rabh* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*→*te*)'
ālipsate 'a derivate of (*ā-labh* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*→*te*)'
śikṣati 'a derivate of (*ā-śak* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*→*te*)'
pitsati 'a derivate of (*pat* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*→*te*)'
prapitsate 'a derivate of (*pra-pat* + *san*) + *LAṬ*→*te*)'

1. Why specify *saN* beginning with *s* when *saN* begins with *s*? It is stated so that this rule does not apply where augment *iṬ* is introduced to *saN*. For, affix *saN* will then be beginning with *iṬ*. Verbal root *mī* refers here to both *mīÑ* 'to harm' and *ḌUmiÑ* 'to hurl'. Verbal root *mā*, similarly, refers to three roots: *mā, māṄ* 'to measure' and *meṄ* 'barter, exchange'. This rule introduces *is* as a replacement for the *aC* 'vowel' of a specified *aṅga* before affix *saN*, beginning with *s*. Thus, consider *mitsati* which derives from (*mī* + *saN*) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*)). We get *m*(*ī*→*is*) + *sa*(*N*) = *mis* + *sa*, where 7.4.49 *sya sārvadhātuke* applies to yield: *mi*(*s*→*t*) + *sa* = *mit* + *sa*. Reduplication and operations relative

to it will subsequently produce *mi(t→ф) + mit + sa = mimit + sa*. We get *mitsati* through deletion of *abhyāsa* (7.4.58 *atra lopo' bhyāsasya*), namely *mi*. This gives us *mitsa* which, after the introduction of *LAṬ* and other relevant operations, produces *mitsati*. Similar operational steps are to be followed in deriving *mitsate / apamitsate*; and *ditsati / dhitsati*. Recall in this connection that *meN* goes through a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*; 6.1.44 *ādeca upadśe . . .*). We get *ā-rabh + sa → ā-r(a→is) bh + sa = ā-ris + bh + sa*, through replacement in *is*. The *bh* then goes through a replacement in *p* (*cartva*; 8.4.54 *khari ca*). The *s* of *is* is then deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyoḥ* to produce *āripsate*. We similarly get *ālipsate* from (*ā-labh + saN*) + *LAṬ*. Other derivates follow similar patterns. Deletion of the *bhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*), as usual, applies in all these examples.

2. Note that this replacement in *is* applies only when a *saN* is used beginning with *s*. Thus, we do not get it in *pipitiṣati* '. . . wishes to fall', a *saN*-derivate of *pat*, where augment *iṬ* is introduced to *saN*. That is, *saN* begins with *i*. Recall here that augment *iṬ*, in connection with *pat*, is made optional by a *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *tanipatidaridrāṇāṃ upasaṃkhyānam*).

Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made to introduce *is* as a replacement when *rādh* is used with the signification of *hiṃsā* 'harm' and *saN* follows. Thus, we get *pratiratsati*. A derivate of *rādh*, when not used with the signification of *hiṃsā*, will be *ārirātsati*. The sense of *rādh* in this counter-example is *gati* 'movement, etc.'

7.4.55 आप्ज्ञप्यृधामीत्

āpjñapyṛdhām īt

/ *āp-jñapy-ṛdhām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *īt* 1/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *saḥ* #49 *acaḥ sani* #54)

'*āp, jñapi, ṛdha*' *ity eteṣām aṅgānām aca īkārādeśo bhavati sani sakārādau parataḥ*

A long *ī* comes in place of *aC* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *āp* 'to pervade', *jñapi* '(causative) to know' and *ṛdhA* 'to thrive, prosper' when a *saN* affix beginning with *s* follows.

EXAMPLES:

īpsati 'a derivate of (*āp + saN*) + *LAṬ→tiP*'
jñīpsati 'a derivate of (*jñapi + saN*) + *LAṬ→tiP*'
īrtsati 'a derivate of (*ṛdhA + saN*) + *LAṬ→tiP*'

1. This rule allows *ī* to replace the vowel of an *aṅga*, namely *āp* 'to pervade', *jñapi* 'to inform, report' and *ṛdhA* 'to grow' when a *saN* affix beginning with *s* follows. We will get *āp + saN → (ā→ī) p + sa = īpsa*, through this replacement in *ī*. Deriving *īpsati*, from *īpsa* + (*LAṬ→tiP*), is easy. Note, however, that deriving *īpsa* involves *dvitva* 'reduplication' and deletion of *abhyāsa*, as explained

in earlier rules. This deletion, and deletion of *ṆiC* as well, applies also to *jñapi* + *sa*. This deletion of *ṆiC* is accomplished by 6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*, prior to replacement of *a* with *ī*. Thus, *ñap*(*i*→ϕ) + *sa* → *ñ*(*a*→*ī*)*p* + *sa* = *ñīpsa*. Introduction of *LAṬ*→*tiP* and reduplication and deletion of *abhyāsa* then follows to yield *ñīpsati*. We similarly get *ītsati* which is a non-causal desiderative of *ṛdhA*. Given *ṛdh* + *sa*(*N*) = (*ṛ*→*īr*) + *dh* + *sa* = *īrdh*, where replacement in *ī* for *ṛ* is made with a following *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.51 *ur a raparaḥ*), *dh* goes through a replacement in *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*). We get *īrtsati* through introduction of (*LAṬ*→*tiP*), *dvitva* 'reduplication' and deletion of *abhyāsa*.

2. It is explained that *jñapi* has two vowels. The *i* of *ṆiC* is deleted on the basis of *pūrva-vipratiṣedha*, conflict of equal strength where a prior rule wins its application. The other vowel is, of course, replaced with *ī* (*Kāś*: *jñaper dvāv acau*; *tatra ṇeḥ pūrvavipratiṣedhena lopaḥ*; *itarasya tv ītvam*).

3. That this replacement applies only when a *saN* follows is made clear by the counter-example *prāpsyati* where no *saN* follows. Counter-examples for condition of a *saN* beginning with *s* are offered by *jiñapayiṣati* and *ardidhiṣati*, where both *jñapi* and *ṛdhA* are used with an optional *iṬ* (7.2.49 *sanīvantardha* . . .).

7.4.56 दम्भ इच्च

dambha ic ca
/*dambhaḥ* 6/1 *it* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *saḥ* #49 *acaḥ sani* #54 *īt* #56)
dambher aca ikārādeśo bhavati cakārād īc ca sani sakārādau parataḥ
A short *i*, and a long as well, occurs in place of the *aC* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *dambhI*, when a *saN* affix beginning with *s* follows.

EXAMPLES:

dhīpsati 'a derivate of *dambh* + *saN*'
dhipsati

1. Note that this rule applies where optional introduction of augment *iṬ* (7.2.49 *sanīvantardha* . . .) is not availed by *dambh* + *saN*. The *m*, since *saN* can be interpreted as marked with *k* (*kit*; 1.2.10 *halantāc ca*), is then deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal*. . . . Reduplication and deletion of *abhyāsa* (7.4.58 *atra lopo* . . .) will then yield (*di*→ϕ) + *dibh* + *sa* = *dibh* + *sa*. The *d* of *dibh* will then be replaced with *dh* (8.2.37 *ekāco baśo* . . .). The final *bh* will also be replaced with *p* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*). This will give us *dhipsati*, where *LAṬ* is replaced with *tiP*. A long replacement in *ī* will offer us *dhīpsati*.

Here again, we do not find these replacements in *i* or *ī* when a *saN* affix beginning with *s* does not follow. Thus consider *didimbhiṣati* where *saN* is introduced with augment *iṬ*. Refer to examples under 7.2.49 *sanīvantardha* . . . for additional derivational details.

7.4.57 मुचोऽकर्मकस्य गुणो वा

muco' karmakasya guṇo vā
/*mucaḥ* 6/1 *akarmakasya* 6/1 *guṇaḥ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *saḥ* #49 *sani* #54)
muco' karmakasya guṇo vā bhavati sani sakārādau parataḥ
A *guṇa* vowel comes in place of the *iK* vowel of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *mucLṚ* 'to release' when a *saN* affix beginning with *s* follows.

EXAMPLES:

mokṣate vatsaḥ svayam eva 'the calf gets freed from his fetters by himself'

mumukṣate vatsaḥ svayam eva 'the calf wishes to be free from his fetters by himself'

1. Note that this optional *guṇa* applies to verbal root *muc* 'to be free, released', used intransitively. An object becomes an *agent* when it becomes conducive toward accomplishing the action (*karmakarttā*). The calf of our example sentences is a *karmakartṛ* 'object turned agent'. Verbal root *muc* is, under the circumstances, intransitive (*akarmaka*).

2. Note that 1.2.10 *halantāc ca* extends the status of *kit* 'marked with *K* as an *it*' to *saN* since it begins with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* (*Śs* 8-14). This, in turn, blocks *guṇa* made available by 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca.* Our present rule makes that negation of *guṇa* optional. Thus, (*muc* + *sa*) → (*m*(*u*→*o*) *c*)) + *sa*))) → (*mo*(*c*→*k*)) + *sa*)) → *mok* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *a* = *mokṣa*, through *c*→*k* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*) and *s*→*ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.57 *iṃ koḥ*). Note here that reduplication (*dvitva*) will produce *mu* + *muc* + *sa* where *mu*, the *abhyāsa*, will be deleted (7.4.58 *atra lopo' bhyāsasya*). Thus, *mokṣa* + (*LAṬ*→*te*) → *mokṣate.* We will get *mumukṣate* when the option of *guṇa* is not accepted. The *abhyāsa* in that case will not be deleted.

2. Note that *muc* must here be interpreted as an intransitive (*akarmaka*). For, we will get *mumukṣati vatsaṃ devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta wishes the calf to be free'.

–7.4.58 अत्र लोपोऽभ्यासस्य

atra lopo' bhyāsasya
/*atra* ϕ *lopaḥ* 1/1 *abhyāsasya* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1)
yad etat prakrāntam 'sani, mīmā' ityādi 'muco' karmakasya' iti yāvat atrābhyāsalopo bhavati
A deletion by *LOPA*, in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga*, applies here in this context when *saN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

Look under preceding rules.

1. The *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*), here in the context (*atra*) of rules 7.4.54 *sani mīmādhura* . . . through 7.4.57 *muco' karmakasya*, gets deleted. Refer to preceding rules for examples.

2. Why state *atra* 'here' when the context of *saN* is already given? Why not just state *lopo' bhyāsasya*. Some state that *atra* is here used so that deletion of *abhyāsa* could be accomplished only in this context. Elsewhere, eventhough *sanvadbhāva* 'operation similarly to when *saN* follows' may suggest, this deletion cannot be allowed. The word *atra* is, thus, used for restricting the deletion of an *abhyāsa*.

Others claim that *atra* is used to indicate total deletion of *abhyāsa*. That is, deletion does not apply just to the final sound segment of the *abhyāsa*. It is for this reason that *traL* is interpreted here as introduced after a genitive, as against a locative, to derive *atra*. That is, *atra* is used in the sense of *asya* so that we can get the meaning: *asya abhyāsasya lopaḥ* 'deletion of this *abhyāsa*'. Yet others think that since the word *abhyāsa* is meaningful only when taken as a whole, its deletion should also be understood as total.

7.4.59 ह्रस्वः

hrasvaḥ
/ hrasvaḥ 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58)
hrasvo bhavaty abhyāsasya
A short comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga*.

EXAMPLES:

ḍuḍhaukiṣate 'a derivate of (*ḍhauk* + *saN*) + (*LAṬ*→*te*))'
tutraukiṣate 'a derivate of (*trauk* + *saN*) + (*LAṬ*→*te*)'
ḍuḍhauke 'a derivate of *ḍhauk* + *LIṬ*→*ta*→*eŚ*'
tutrauke 'a derivate of *trau* + *LIṬ*→*ta*→*eŚ*'
aḍuḍhaukat 'a derivate of *ḍhauk* + (*LUṬ*→*tiP*)'
atutraukat 'a derivate of *trauk* + (*LUṬ*→*tiP*)'

1. This rule requires the final vowel of an *abhyāsa* to be replaced with its short counterpart. Thus, consider *ḍhauk* + *saN* and *trauk* + *saN* where 6.1.9 *sany aṅoḥ* applies for *dvitva* 'reduplication'. The *au* of *ḍhau* of *ḍhau* + *ḍhauk* + *sa* is then replaced with its short counterpart *o*. We thus get *ḍhu* + *ḍhauk* + *sa*. We similarly get *tu* + *trauk* + *sa*. An application of replacement in *ḍ* for *ḍh* (*jaśtva* 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*) of *ḍhu* + *ḍhauk* + *sa* produces (*ḍh*→*ḍ*) *u* + *ḍhauk* + *sa*. Introduction of augment *iṬ* and replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) of *s* of *saN* then produces *ḍuḍhaukiṣa*. We similarly get *tutraukiṣa*. We get *ḍuḍhaukiṣate* and *tutraukiṣate* with third person singular middle (*ātmanepada*; 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ*) affix *ta*, as a replacement for *LAṬ*, introduced after *ḍuḍhaukiṣa* and *tutraukiṣa*. A derivate of *LIṬ*, with *ātmanepada* replacement in *ta*, will be

ḍuḍhauke and *tutrauke*, where, in addition to reduplication and shortening of *abhyāsa*, *ta* will be replaced with *eŚ* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor*...).

We similarly get *aḍuḍhaukat* and *atutraukat*, third person singular active forms of *LUṄ*, where *CLI*, *CaṄ*, reduplication (*dvitva*) and shortening of *abhyāsa* apply.

2. A proposal is made in the *Mahābhāṣya* to restrict operations relative to an *abhyāsa* to contexts where a vowel does not follow (*abhyāsasyānaci*). Thus, consider *carācaraḥ*, *calācalaḥ*, *paṭāpaṭaḥ* and *vadāvadaḥ* where, because a consonant follows, the *abhyāsa* does not get deleted. The *abhyāsa* of these examples receives augment *āK* (*vt*: *vā caricalipativadīnām acy abhyāsasya*).

7.4.60 हलादिः शेषः

halādiḥ śeṣaḥ
/*halādiḥ* 1/1 = *hal cāsau ādiś ca* (*karm. tat.*); *śeṣaḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58)
abhyāsasya halādiḥ śiṣyate anādir lupyate
That which is constituted by initial consonant of an *abhyāsa*, alone, is retained.

EXAMPLES:

jaglau 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *glai*'
mamlau 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *mlai*'
papāca 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *pac*'
papāṭha 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *paṭh*'
āṭa 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *aṭ*'
āṭatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *aṭ*'
āṭuḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate of *aṭ*'

1. Note that *śeṣa* means 'residual, remainder'. The word *halādi* is generally interpreted as a *karmadhāraya*, paraphrased as *halaś cāsāv ādiś ca* 'that which is a consonant and is also initial'. A genitive *tatpuruṣa* interpretation, parallel to *halānāṃ ādiḥ* 'initial among consonants' may create problems. Consider *ānakṣatuḥ* and *ānakṣuḥ*, third personal dual and plural active *LIṬ*-derivates of *akṣ* 'to pervade'. Notice that the verb begins with a vowel. That is, reduplication of such roots applies with reference to their second syllable (6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*). But since there is no second vowel, the unit formed by the first goes through reduplication to produce: *ak* + *akṣa*. The *k* of *ak* cannot be accepted as forming initial (*abhyāsādi*) of the *abhyāsa*. That is, in the *karmadhāraya* interpretation. However, it can be accepted as *halādi* in view of genitive *tatpuruṣa* interpretation of the compound *halādi*. Retaining this *k* will then create derivational difficulties. It is to remove such difficulties that *halādi* is here interpreted as a *karmadhāraya*. The *k* of *ak*, in this view, cannot be accepted as initial of the *abhyāsa*.

karmadhārayapakṣe syād ādiśabdasya pūrvatā /
ṣaṣṭhīsamāse tv ānakṣetyādau śeṣaḥ prasajyate //

2. Note that this deletion of non-initial has retention of the initial as its purpose (*Kāś: ādiśeṣanimitto' yam anāder lopo vidhyate*). That is, the initial (or first) consonant of an *abhyāsa*, whether it is at the beginning, or somewhere else in the middle, of *abhyāsa* causes deletion of non-initial consonantal units. The focus of this rule is thus not on retention of the initial consonant but on deletion of what is other than initial. It thus becomes a restrictive provision. Others accept the deletion (*nivṛtti*) as principal. For, it is part of the predicate (*vidheya*). The rule is thus interpreted as: 'non-initial consonant of an *abhyāsa* is deleted'. This interpretation will not permit retention of initial consonant to become part of predication. Consequently, if there is any initial consonant of the *abhyāsa* it is retained. The non-initial consonantal units are deleted. The *k* and *ṣ* of *akṣ*, since they are not initial, are both deleted. The *Mahābhāṣya* also discusses yet another proposal, via split-interpretation (*yoga-vibhāga*) of this rule. I omit that discussion here.

3. Refer to derivational details of *papau* (notes, 7.1.34 *āta au alaḥ*). Deriving *jaglau* from (*gl*(*ai*→*ā*) + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*→*au*)) = *glā* + *a*, involves *ātva* 'replacement in *ā*', in addition to *au* as a replacement for *ṆaL*. Reduplication will produce *glā* + *glā* + *au* which, after the non-initial deletion of this rule, will produce *gā* + *glā* + *au*. We will get *gā* + *gl*(*ā*+*au*→*au*) = *gāglau* and *g*(*ā*→*a*) + *glau* = *gaglau*, through a single *vṛddhi* replacement (76.1.88 *vṛddhir eci*) and shortening (7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*). Rule 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* will then replace *g* (of *ga*, the *abhyāsa*) with *j* (*cutva*) to produce *jaglau*. Similar rules apply in deriving *mamlau* from *mlai* + *LIṬ*. The third singular *LIṬ*-derivates of *pac* and *paṭh* follow similar rules. The *a* of *pac* and *paṭh*, i.e., of *pa* + *pac* + *a* and *pa* + *paṭh* + *a*, goes through penultimate *vṛddhi* (*upadhā-vṛddhi*; 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*). Deriving *āṭa* / *āṭatuḥ* / *āṭuḥ* from *aṭ* + *LIṬ*, where *LIṬ* is subsequently replaced with *ṆaL* / *atus* / *us* (*parasmaipadānām* . . .), also involves reduplication and retention of initial consonant. Given *a*(*ṭ*→ϕ) + *aṭ* + *a* → *a* + *aṭ* + *a*, we will get the short *a* of the *abhyāsa* replaced with its long counterpart (7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*). An application of *savarṇa-dīrgha* 'homogeneous long vowel-replacement' (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*) will then produce (*ā*+*a*→*ā*) *ṭ* + *a* = *āṭa*. We will similarly get *āṭatuḥ* and *āṭuḥ*.

7.4.61 **शर्पूर्वाः खयः**

śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ
/ *śarpūrvāḥ* 1/3 = *śar pūrvo yeṣām* (*bv.*), *te*, *khayaḥ* 1/3/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *śeṣaḥ* #60)
abhyāsasya śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ śiṣyante anye halo lupyante
That consonant of the *abhyāsa* which is denoted by the abbreviatory term *khaY*, and which occurs preceded by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *śaR*, alone, is retained.

EXAMPLES:

cuścyotiṣati '*saN*-derivate in (*LAṬ→tiP*) of verbal root *ścyutIR* 'to drip''
tiṣṭhāsati '*saN*-derivate in (*LAṬ→tiP*) of verbal root *sthā* 'to stand''
pispandiṣate '*saN*-derivate in (*LAṬ→tiP*) of verbal root *spadI* 'to move a little''

1. This rule allows retention of only that consonant of an *abhyāsa* which is denoted by the abbreviatory term *khaY* (*Śs*: 11-12) and which occurs preceded by a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *śaR*. All other consonants of the *abhyāsa* go through deletion. This rule is an exception to the preceding. Consider *ścyutIR* 'to drip' which, when used before *saN*, will yield *ścyut* + *ścyut* + *saN*, via reduplication (*dvitva*; 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ*). The *cu* alone of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *ścyut*, will be retained under the provision of this rule. Thus, (*cyut→cu*) + *ścyut* + *saN* = *cu* + *ścyut* + *sa*. An introduction of augment *iṬ* and replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) will produce *cuścyutiṣa*. This, with *LAṬ→tiP* and subsequent operations, will produce *cuścy*(*u→o*) *tiṣa* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ→tiP*) → *cuścyotiṣati*. Similar rules also apply in deriving *tiṣṭhāsati* from *sthā* + *saN* → *sthā* + *sthā* + *saN* → (*s*→ϕ) *thā* + *sthā* + *saN* → *th*(*ā→i*) + *sthā* + *saN* → (*th→t*) *i* + *sthā* + *saN* → *ti* + (*s→ṣ*) *thā* + *saN* → *ti* + *ṣ*(*th→ṭh*) *ā* + *saN* → *tiṣṭhāsa* which, with the introduction of *LAṬ* and related operations, produces *tiṣṭhāsati*. Notice how *sthā* is able to retain only *thā* with the application of 7.4.61 *śarpūrvā khayaḥ*. The *ā* of *sthā* then goes through a replacement in *i* (*itva*; 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*). Rule 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca* then replaces *th* of *thi* with *t*. The *s* of *sthā* is then replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*). This, in turn, causes the following *th* to be replaced with *ṭh* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Similar steps can be taken to derive third person singular present middle form *pispandiṣate* from *pispandisa* + (*LAṬ→te*). Note that *pispandisa* is derived from *spand* + *saN*, obviously with the introduction of augment *nUM* to *spadI*.

2. Why do we have the condition of a preceding consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *śaR*? Consider *papāca* 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *pac*' where there is no preceding *śaR* involved. What is the significance of retaining only a sound denoted by *khaY*? Consider *sasnau*, derived from (*ṣṇā* + (*LIṬ→tiP→ṆaL→au*)), where the initial consonant *s* alone is retained (7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*). Obviously, *snā* 'to bathe' does not have a sound denoted by *khaY*.

3. A *vārttika* suggests that the rule should state: *kharpūrvāḥ khayaḥ* '*khaY* preceded by *khaR*'. It is stated that, in deriving *ucchiṣa* of *ucicchiṣati* from *uch* + *iṬ* + *saN*, reduplication (*dvitva*) and augment *tUK* both become applicable. Augment *tUK* is introduced first since it happens to be internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). We then get reduplication (*dvitva*) and replacement in a palatal (*cutva*; 8.4.40 *stoś ścunā ścuḥ*). The *cutva* of 8.4.40 applies since it is internally conditioned. But this *cutva* becomes suspended (*asiddha*; 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*) in view of application of reduplication (*dvitva*). Reduplica-

tion will then apply to *ut* + *chiṣ*. The initial *t* will then be retained and *ch* will be deleted because there is no sound denoted by *śaR* to precede. If one accepts the *vārttika*, *ch* will be replaced with *c*.

Commentators add that this *vārttika* becomes necessary when one does not accept the suspension proposal (*asiddhatva*) of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, applying outside the context of reduplication. Otherwise, one can get initial *c* in the *abhyāsa* subsequent to *cutva* in *ucchiṣ*.

7.4.62 कुहोश्चुः

kuhoś cuḥ
/*kuhoḥ* 6/2 = *kuś ca ha ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *cuḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58)
abyāsasya kavargahakārayoś cavargādeśo bhavati
A consonant of the *k*-series (*kU*), and a *h*, when forming part of an *abhyāsa*, is replaced with a consonant of the *c*-series (*cU*).

EXAMPLES:

cakāra 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do''
cakhāna 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *khan* 'to dig''
jagāma 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *gam*'
jaghāna 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *han*'
jahāra 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *hṛ* 'to fetch, carry''
jihīrṣati 'third person singular active *saN*-derivate in *LAṬ* of verbal root *hṛ*'
jahau 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *OhāK* 'to abandon''

1. This rule allows *kU* 'a consonant of the *k*-series', and also *h*, of an *abhyāsa* to be replaced with *cU* 'a consonant of the *c*-series'. Notice that there are six sounds which are offered here to be replaced with five. Since the number of items in two sets are not equal, we cannot decide equivalency in view of the order of enumeration (*yathāsaṃkhya*). We must decide equivalency in view of close similarity between sounds (1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*). There is no problem in deciding equivalency between consonants of the *k* and *c*-series. The problem is basically between *h*, and a consonant of the *c*-series. It is argued that *jh* comes closest to *h* as a replacement from among consonants of the *c*-series (palatal).

2. Consider *cakāra* '. . . made' and *cakhāna* '. . . dug', both third singular perfect derivates where, subsequent to reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*, we get *kṛ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*)) → *ca* + *kṛ* + *a* and *ca* + *khan* + *a*. We get *c* from *kh*, via *ch* (8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca*). An application of penultimate (*upadhā*) *vṛddhi* produces *cakāra* and *cakhāna*. We similarly get *jaghāsa* from *ad* + *LIṬ* for which refer to the appendix (III:698) of 2.4.40 *liṭy anyatarasyām*. The *gh* of *ghas*, which is a replacement for *ad* 'to eat', is here replaced with *j*

(*jaśtva*), again via *jh*, in deriving *jahāra* from *hṛ* + *LIṬ*. Refer to the appendix (III:750) of 3.2.115 *parokṣe liṭ* for derivational details of *jahāra*. Derivational details of *jihīrṣati* are similar to those of *cikīrṣati* (II:435), under the appendix of 1.2.9 *iko jhal*. Also refer to *jihīrṣakaḥ* (II:407) under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . . Note, however, that the *ṆaL*-replacement of *tiP*, in *jahau*, is replaced with *au* (7.1.34 *āt au ṇalaḥ*).

7.4.63 न कवतेर्यङि

na kavater yaṅi
/*na* ϕ *kavateḥ* 6/1 *yaṅi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *cuḥ* #62)
kavater abhyāsasya yaṅi parataś cur na bhavati
A sound denoted by *cU* does not come in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *kuṄ* when affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

kokūyate uṣṭraḥ 'the camel cries in pain'
kokūyate kharaḥ 'the donkey cries in pain'

1. This rule blocks a palatal replacement for the *abhyāsa* of *kuṄ* 'noise' when affix *yaṄ* follows. Thus, given *ku* + *yaṄ*, we get *ku* + *ku* + *yaṄ* through reduplication. The *u* of *ku* + *ku* + *yaṄ* then goes through a replacement in long (*dīrgha*; 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ* . . .). The *u* of the *abhyāsa* also goes through a replacement in *guṇa* (7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*). Note that a specification of verbal root *kuṄ* 'noise' of the *bhvādi* group is here made in *kavateḥ* with the use of *Śtip*, i.e., class-marker *ŚaP* and *tiP*. A reference to the *adādi* verbal root *ku*, or one to the *curādi* verbal root *kuṄ*, is thus ruled out. They both cannot escape a replacement in *c* (*cutva*). Thus, we will get *cokūyate*.

7.4.64 कृषेश्छन्दसि

kṛṣeś chandasi
/*kṛṣeḥ* 6/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *cuḥ* #62 *na yaṅi* #63)
kṛṣeś chandasi viṣaye yaṅi parato' bhyāsasya cur na bhavati
A sound denoted by *cU* does not come, in the Vedic, in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *kṛṣA* 'to draw, drag', when affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

karīkṛṣyate yajñakuṇapaḥ
'ritual corpse is drawn over and over again'

1. What was made available by the preceding rule is here denied in the

context of the Vedic usage. Thus, *kṛṣ* + *yaṄ* → *kṛ* + *kṛṣ* + *yaṄ* → *k*(*ṛ*→*a*) + *rīK* + *kṛṣ* + *yaṄ* = *karikṛṣ* + *ya*. Note that *rīK* is an augment introduced to the *abhyāsa* (7.4.90 *rīgṛdupadhasya ca*). Deriving *karikṛṣyate*, from (*karikṛṣa* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*te*)) = *karikṛṣyate*, should pose no problem. Remember that we will get a replacement in *c* (*cutva*) in the classical usage. Thus, *carikṛṣyate kṛṣīvalaḥ* 'the farmer is ploughing over and over again'.

7.4.65 **दाधर्तिदर्धर्तिदर्धर्षिबोभूतुतेतिक्तेऽलर्ष्यापनीफणत्संसनिष्यदत्करिक्रत्कनिक्रदद्भरिभ्र-द्दविध्वतोदविद्युतत्तरित्रतःसरीसृपतंवरीवृजन्मर्मृज्यागनीगन्तीति च**

dādhartidardhartidardharṣibobhūtutetikte' larṣyāpanīphaṇatsaṃsaniṣyadat-karikratkanikradadbharibhraddavidhvatodavidyutattaritrataḥsarīsṛpataṃva-rīvṛjanmarmṛjyāganīgantīti ca

/ *dādharti-dardharti-dardharṣi-bobhūtu-tetikte-alarṣi-āpanīphaṇat-saṃ-saniṣyadat-karikrat-kanikradat-bharibhrat-davidhvataḥ-davidyutat-taritra-taḥ-sarīsṛpatam-varīvṛjat-marmṛjya-āganīganti* (separetely specified *padas*); *ca* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *chandasi* #64)

'*dādharti, dardharti, dardharṣi, bobhūtu, tetikte, alarṣi, āpanīphaṇat, saṃsaniṣyadat, karikrat, kanikradat, bharibhrat, davidhvataḥ, davidyutat, taritrataḥ, sarīsṛpatam, varīvṛjat, marmṛjya, āganīganti*' *ity etāni aṣṭādaśa chandasi viṣaye nipātyante*

Forms such as *dādharti, dardharti, dardharṣi, bobhūtu, tetikte, alarṣi, āpanīphaṇat, saṃsaniṣyadat, karikrat, kanikradat, bharibhrat, davidhvataḥ, davidyutat, taritrataḥ, sarīsṛpatam, varīvṛjat, marmṛjya,* and *āganīganti* are derived, via *nipātana,* when the usage is Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

dādharti
dardharti
dardharṣi
bobhūtu
tetikte
alarṣi
āpanīphaṇat
saṃsaniṣyadat
karikrat
kanikradat
bharibhrat
davidhvataḥ
davidyutat
taritrataḥ
sarīsṛpatam
varīvṛjat

marmṛjya
āganīganti

1. Note that these eighteen forms are to be treated as derived, irrespective of details concerning rules and respective stages of their application. Whatever details are offered by commentators are to be accepted as purely pedagogical. Thus, *dādhartti* can be explained as derived, either via deletion of *ŚLU*, or via *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*, after the causal form of *dhṛÑ* 'to hold'. The *ŚLU*-deletion of (*dhṛÑ* + *ṆiC*) + *ŚaP* + *tiP*)) will be accomplished by 2.4.76 *bahulaṃ chandasi*. Lengthening of the *abhyāsa*, and deletion of *ṆiC*, will then be accomplished via *nipātana*. Deriving *dādhartti* with *dhṛṄ*, used with the signification of *avasthāna* 'staying', will involve lengthening of the *abhyāsa* and *parasmaipada* 'active ending', again via *nipātana*, under the condition of a following *ŚLU*-deletion. If one accepts *dhṛṄ* as a root of the *tudādi* class, augment *Śa* must be replaced with *ŚaP*, via transposition (*vyatyaya*). We can then proceed with *ŚLU*.

Accepting the derivation of *dādhartti* with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*, introduced after the causal *dhāri*, will entail facilitating *yaṄ*. Recall that *yaṄ* may not be available to *dhāri*, a causal root, for reasons of being *anekāc* 'consisting of more than one vowel'. The *yaṄ* after *dhāri* will have to be brought via *nipātana*. The shortening of the *upadhā* 'penultimate' will then also have to be realized via *nipātana*. Note that, in this view, deletion of *ṆiC* (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*) and lengthening of the *abhyāsa* (7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*) will then be accomplished via regular rules. That is, recourse to *nipātana* need not be taken here for these two operations. The derivation of *dardhartti*, in addition to *ŚLU* and deletion of *ṆiC*, involves augment *rUK*, all via *nipātana*. The option of *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* will imply non-lengthening of *abhyāsa* and, for that matter non-availability of *yaṄ* due to *dhāri* consisting of more than one vowel, again via *nipātana*. Augment *rUK* in *dardhartti* is, of course, available from 7.4.92 *ṛtaś ca*. Derivational details of *dardharṣi*, with *siP* as against *tiP*, are similar to *dardhartti*. The idea behind all these derivations is: *yal lakṣṇenānupapannaṃ tat sarvaṃ nipātanāt siddham* 'all that which could not be accomplished by specific rule application is accomplished by *nipātana*'. Refer to *Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī* for further such details.

2. Now consider *bobhūtu*, third singular active imperative of *bhū* 'to be, become', which involves *yaṄ* and its subsequent deletion by *LUK*. Doubling in this derivate is accomplished at the strength of 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*. Notice that, given the string *bobhū* + *ti*, the *ū* of *bhū* does not go through a replacement in *guṇa*, again via *nipātana*. This, however, should not be treated as the purpose of making a *nipātana* provision. For, *guṇa* can be readily blocked by 7.3.88 *bhūsuvos tiṅi*. This recourse to blocking *guṇa*, via *nipātana*, then becomes an indicator (*jāpaka*). That is, elsewhere in intensives where *yaṄ* goes through deletion via *LUK*, we do not find any negation of *guṇa*. Consider, thus, *bobhoti* and *bobhavīti*. Incidentally, the first

of these two forms does not accept the option of augment *īṬ* (7.3.94 *yaṅo vā*).

3. The derivation of *tetikte* also involves *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*, where we get *tetij* + *te* after *LAṬ→ta→te*, via *nipātana*, reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. An application of *kutva* finally produces *teti(j→g→k)* + *te* = *tetikte* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*; 8.2.55 *khari ca*). Why do we have to take recourse to *nipātana* for middle (*ātmanepada*) endings? Why can we not get the middle ending at the strength of *Ṅ* as an *it* (*Ṅit*) status of *yaṄ* (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*)? This *nipātana* then indicates that, elsewhere, we get *ātmanepada* after that which ends in *yaṄ*, but not after that which *yaṄ* has gone through deletion by *LUK*.

4. Deriving *alarṣi*, from *ṛ* + (*LAṬ→siP*) → *ṛ* + (*ŚaP→ŚLU*) + *si* = *ṛ* + *ŚLU* + *si*, involves reduplication (*dvitva*; 6.1.10 *ślau*), and application of 7.4.66 *ur at*, to produce *ar* + *ṛ* + *si*. The *ṛ* will then also go through *guṇa* to, thereby, yield: *ar* + *ar* + *si*. Our present rule, mostly as an exception to 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, will replace *r* of the *abhyāsa* with *l*. Thus, we will get *al* + *ar* + *si* = *alarsi* which, after *ṣ*-replacement of *s*, will produce *alarṣi*. Note that a specification by *siP* of *alarṣi* does not mean that we do not get examples, for instance, with *tiP*. Thus, consider *alarti*, where *nipātana* is supposed to accomplish a lack of *i*-replacement (*itva*) applicable to the *abhyāsa* (cf. *artipipartyoś ca*).

5. *Kāśikā* offers *āpanīphaṇat* as an example where augment *nīK* is introduced to the *abhyāsa* of verbal root *phaṇ* 'to move', used with the preverb *āṄ*. Note here that affix *yaṄ* has gone through deletion by *LUK* and the present active participial suffix *ŚatṚ* follows the *aṅga* which, in turn, has gone through operations relative to reduplication. We thus get *āphaṇ* + (*yaṄ→LUK*) → *āpha* + *phaṇ* → *ā(ph→p) a* + *phaṇ* + (*LAṬ→ŚatṚ*) = *āpa* + *phaṇ* + *at*. Augment *nīK* can now be introduced to produce *āpa* + *phaṇ* + *at* → *āpa* + *nī* + *phaṇ* + *at* = *āpanīphaṇat*.

6. Note that *sasaniṣyadat* derives similarly to *āpanīphaṇat*, from verbal root *syandA* 'to drip, flow, ooze', used with the preverb *sam*. Operations similar to introduction and deletion of *yaṄ*, via *LUK*, and reduplication, follow. We similarly get the introduction of affix *ŚatṚ*. The augment which will here be introduced, via *nipātana*, is *niK*. Thus, we get *sam* + *sa* + *syand* + *at* → *sam* + *sa* + *ni* + *syand* + *at*. The *n* of *syand* is deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal*. . . . Of course, we get the *s* of *syad* replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*), via *nipātana*. Here again, it is not necessary that the example be limited to *syand*, used with the preverb *sam*. We also get *āsaniṣyadat*, with *āṄ*.

7. A similar example with deletion of *yaṄ* by *LUK* is offered in *karikrat*. A palatal replacement (*cutva*) corresponding with the velar *k* of the *abhyāsa* is here blocked via *nipātana*. This same *nipātana* is also responsible for introducing augment *niK*. Thus, *kṛ* + (*yaṄ→LUK*) → *k(ṛ→ar)* + *kṛ* → *ka(r→ϕ)* + *kṛ* + *Śat* = *ka* + *k(ṛ→r)* + *at* → *ka* + *riK* + *kr* + *at* = *karikrat*.

8. Now consider *kanikradat* which derives from *krand* + (*LUṄ→tiP*) →

krand + *ti*. An introduction of *CLI*, with its subsequent replacement with *aṄ*, produces *krand* + *a* + *ti*. This string, after reduplication and operation relative to *abhyāsa*, produces *ka* + *krand* + *a* + *ti*. Augment *niK* is then introduced with the understanding that, similar to the preceding example, no palatal will replace the velar but *n* of *krand* will go through deletion, similar to our earlier example. Note that an absence of augment *aṬ*, at the beginning of *kanikradat*, is again due to *nipātana*. We find *akrandīt* in the classical language.

9. Note that *bharibhrat* derives from *bhṛÑ* + (*yaṄ*→*LUK*) → *bha* + *bhṛ* + *ŚatṚ*. The *abhyāsa* is, here, not allowed a replacement in *i* (*itva*; 7.4.76 *bhṛñām it*). The *b*-replacement (*jaśtva*; 8.4.53 *abhyāse car ca*) of *bh* of the *abhyāsa* is also blocked via *nipātana*. The introduction of augment *riK* is also made via *nipātana*. Thus, we get *bha* + *bhṛ* + *at* → *bha* + *bh*(*ṛ*→*r*) + *at* → *bha* + *riK* + *bhr* + *at* = *bharibhrat*.

10. A similar example with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*, and a following *ŚatṚ*, is given as *davidhvataḥ*. Of course, this form of the base ending in *ŚatṚ* is used with the nominative plural ending *Jas*. Note that the *ṛ* of *dhvṛ* + (*yaṄ*→*LUK*) + *at* is deleted via *nipātana*. This same *nipātana* is also responsible for introduction of augment *viK*. Rule 7.1.78 *nābhyastāc chatuḥ* blocks the introduction of *nUM* made available by 7.1.70 *ugid acām*. . . .

11. One can also consider *davidyutat*, yet another form with *ŚatṚ*, where *yaṄ* has gone through deletion via *LUK*. The *abhyāsa* of verbal root *dyut*, in the string *du* + *dyut* + *at*, does not go through *samprasāraṇa*. It, instead, goes through a replacement in *a* (*atva*), subsequent to which augment *viK* is introduced. All this is accomplished, via *nipātana*. Thus, *d*(*u*→*a*) + *dyut* + *at* → *da* + *viK* + *dyut* + *at* = *davidyutat*.

12. Deriving *taritrataḥ*, from (*tṝ* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*)) + *ŚatṚ*))), entails operations similar to earlier examples. Augment *riK* is here introduced to the *abhyāsa*. Thus, *tṝ* + *tṝ* + *ŚatṚ* yields *ta* + *tṝ* + *at*, via application of 7.4.66 *ur at*, etc. Augment *riK* is then introduced to produce *ta* + *riK* + *tṝ* + *at*. An application of *yaṆ* will finally produce *tarit*(*ṝ*→*r*) + *at* = *taritrat*. Recall that *taritrataḥ* is the genitive singular form of this base ending in *ŚatṚ*.

13. Recall that the purpose of replacing *ŚaP* with *ŚLU* is to accomplish reduplication. Forms ending in *ŚatṚ* then facilitate introduction of augments to the *abhyāsa*. Thus, consider the introduction of *rīK* to the *abhyāsa*, of *sṛpḶ* 'to move, crawl', in *sarīsṛpatam*, the accusative singular form of a base ending in *ŚatṚ*. We similarly get *varīvṛjat* of verbal root *vṛjī* 'to abandon, exclude'.

14. The *abhyāsa* of verbal root *mṛj* 'to cleanse', used in *LIṬ* where its *tiP* replaced with *ṆaL*, is introduced with augment *rUK*. The root itself is introduced with augment *yUK*. Thus, we get *ma* + *mṛj* + *a* after reduplication and *ma* + *rUK* + *mṛj* + *yUK* + *ṆaL* = *marmṛjya*, at the end of derivation. The *ṛ* of *mṛj*, because of introduction of *yUK*, becomes *guru* 'long, heavy' before the conjunct *jy*. That is, it no longer contains a short vowel in its *upadhā* 'penultimate position'. This blocks the *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* (7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*).

15. Deriving *āganīganti* from *gam* + (*ŚaP*→*ŚLU*) + *tiP* with reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa* will produce *gagam* + *ti*. We will get the introduction of augment *nīK* to the *abhyāsa*, though the *cutva* of 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ* will be blocked. This will produce: *ganīga*(*m*→*ṃ*→*n*) *ti* = *ganīganti*, with *anusvāra* (*m*→*ṃ*) and *parasavarṇa* (*ṃ*→*n*) 'single homogeneous replacement similar to the following'.

7.4.66 उरत्

> *ur at*
> /*uḥ* 6/1 *at* 1/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58)
> *ṛvarṇāntasyābhyāsasyākārādeśo bhavati*
> The *ṛ* of an *abhyāsa* is replaced with *aT*.

EXAMPLES:

> *narnarti* 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *nṛt* 'to dance' with *yaṄ*-deletion and augment *rUK*'
> *narinarti* '. . . with *yaṄ*-deletion and augment *riK*'
> *narīnarti* '. . . with *yaṄ*-deletion and augment *rīK*'

1. This rule offers a short *a* (*at*) as a replacement for the final *ṛ* of an *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). Thus, consider *vavṛte*, *vavṛdhe* and *śaśṛdhe*, the third singular middle *LIṬ* forms of *vṛt* 'to turn', *vṛdh* 'to grow' and *śṛdh* 'to reproach, rebuke', respectively. The third person singular present middle ending *ta* is replaced with *eŚ* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor eśirec*). The *ṛ* of the *abhyāsa*, of course, after reduplication (*dvitva*), is replaced with *r* followed by *r* (*rapara*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). This *r*, however, goes through deletion of 7.4.60 *halādiśeṣaḥ*. We get *narnarti*, *narinarti* and *narīnarti*, as forms of *nṛt* 'to dance' where *yaṄ* goes through deletion by *LUK*. We then get augments *rUK*, *riK* and *rīK* (7.4.91 *rugrikau ca luki*), introduced to the *abhyāsa* to derive *narnarti*, *narinarti* and *narīnarti*.

2. A question is raised about introducing *a* as a replacement of *ṛ* of the *abhyāsa* in these examples. That is, given *nṛ* + *nṛt* + *ti*, rules 7.4.90 *rīg ṛd upadhasya ca* and 7.4.91 *rugrikau ca luki* will introduce augments *rUK*, *riK* and *rīK*, instead, on the basis of being subsequent (*paratva*). Once the augments are introduced, the *abhyāsa* can no longer be ending in *ṛ*. Consequently, the question of replacing the final *ṛ* of the *abhyāsa* with *a* does not arise. Commentators state that replacement in *a* (*atva*) is applied first since, in contexts where an *abhyāsa* goes through a modification (as we find here), a general rule cannot be blocked by its related exceptions (*Kāś*: *abhyāsavikāreṣu apavādo notsargān vidhīn bādhate*). Our present rule must apply before introduction of augments.

7.4.67 द्युतिस्वाप्योः सम्प्रसारणम्

dyutisvāpyoḥ samprasāraṇam
/ *dyuti-svāpyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *samprasāraṇam* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58)
'*dyuti, svāpi*' *ity etayor abhyāsasya samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
A vowel termed *samprasāraṇa* comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *dyutA* 'to shine, glow' and *svāpi* 'to have someone sleep', the causal form of *svap* 'to sleep'.

EXAMPLES:

vididyute 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *dyut* used with the preverb *vi*'
vyadidyutat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *dyut* used with the preverb *vi*'
vididyotiṣate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *dyut* used with the preverb *vi* and affix *saN*'
videdyutyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *dyut* used with the preverb *vi* and affix *yaṄ*'
suṣvāpayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of the causal verbal root *svāpi* used with affix *saN*'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *samprasāraṇa* denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*, for the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by *dyut* 'to shine, glow' and *svāpi* 'causative of *svap* (to sleep)'. We thus get *vididyute*, from *vi-dyut* + *LIṬ*, where *LIṬ* is replaced with *eŚ*, via third person singular middle ending *ta* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor*. . .). An application of reduplication *dyut* + *dyut* + *e*, *samprasāraṇa* of *y*, in *d*(*y*→*i*) *ut* + *dyut* + *te* = *diut* + *dyut* + *e*, followed by *pūrva-rūpa* 'single replacement similar to the preceding' of 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* (*d*(*i*+*u*→*i*) *t* + *dyut* + *e*) and 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* (*di*(*t*→ϕ) + *dyut* + *e*) produces *vi* + *didyut* + *e* = *vididyute*. We similarly get *vididyotiṣate*, from *vidyut* + *saN*, after reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Since *saN* is treated as marked with *K* as an *it* (*kit*), only optionally (1.2.26 *ralo vyupadhādd halādeḥ* . . .), we will also get a form without *guṇa*, i.e., *vididyutiṣate*. Refer to many *CaṄ*-derivates (cf. notes, 7.4.101 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyā hrasvaḥ*) for derivational details of *vyadidyutat*, from *vi-dyut* + *LAṄ*. Note here that *CaṄ* serves as a condition for *abhyāsa* (*caṅi*) but does not follow the *abhyāsa* immediately. That is, it is intervened by *ṆiC*. This intervening *ṆiC*, however, does not block *samprasāraṇa* which is desired (*iṣyate*). Deriving *videdyutyate*, a derivate with *yaṄ*, from (*vi-dyut* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ*)) should pose no difficulty.

2. Verbal root *svap* 'to sleep' is here specified with the causal suffix *ṆiC*. That is, (*ÑIṣvap* + *ṆiC*) → *svāpi*, with replacement in *s* for *ṣ* and penultimate (*upadhā*) *vṛddhi*. This serves as an *aṅga* before the affix which, in turn, con-

ditions the *abhyāsa*. Thus, consider *svāpi* + *iṬ* + *saN* which produces *svap* + *svāpi* + *i* + *sa*, through reduplication (*dvirvacana*). The *samprasāraṇa* of *v* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *svap*, subsequently yields *u*, via *pūrvarūpa* (6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) of *ā*+*u* of *s*(*v*→*u*) *ap*→ *s*(*u*+*a*→*u*) *p*. An application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ* will produce *su*(*p*→ϕ) + *svāpi* + *i*+ *sa* → *su* + *svāpi* + *i* + *sa*. An application of *guṇa*, followed by *ay* before *i*, will, after the *s*→*ṣ* of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*, produce *susvāp*(*i*→*e*→*ay*) + *i* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *a* = *susvāpayiṣa*. The *s* which occurs after the *abhyāsa* will be replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.61 *stautiṇyo*. . . . We will finally derive *suṣvāpayiṣati* from *suṣvāpayiṣa* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*).

Note that verbal root *svāpi* is here accepted as ending in affix *ṆiC* (*ṇyanta*). An application of *samprasāraṇa* is desired in its context only when an affix conditioning its *abhyāsa* follows in close proximity. The *samprasāraṇa* of the preceding example will thus not be available to the *abhyāsa* of *sasvāpaka*, a derivate of *svāpi* with *ṆvuL*, in deriving *siṣvāpakīyiṣati* from (*svāpi* + *ṆvuL*) + *KyaC*)) = *svāpakīya* and (*svāpikīya* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*→*tiP* = *svāpikīyiṣati*. The *samprasāraṇa* of the *abhyāsa* of *sasvāpakīya* is blocked because *saN* does not follow the *abhyāsa*. There is an intervention of *ṆvuL* and *KyaC*. Consequently, after the application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, the *a* of the *abhyāsa* is replaced with *i* (7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*) to produce *S*(*a*→*i*) *svāpakīyiṣa*.

7.4.68 **व्यथो लिटि**

> *vyatho liṭi*
> /*vyathaḥ* 6/1 *liṭi* 7/1/
> (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *samprasāraṇam* #67)
> *vyather liṭi parato' bhyāsasya samprasāraṇaṃ bhavati*
> A vowel termed *samprasāraṇa* comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *vyathA* when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

> *vivyathe* 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *vyath* 'to fear, move, tremble''
> *vivyathāte* 'third person dual middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *vyath*'
> *vivyathire* 'third person plural middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *vyath*'

1. This rule allows *samprasāraṇa* to the *abhyāsa* of verbal root *vyath* 'to fear, move' when *LIṬ* follows. Thus, *vyath* + (*LIṬ*→*ta*→*eŚ*) → *vivyath* + *e*, through reduplication (*dvitva*; *vyath* + *vyath* + *e*), *samprasāraṇa* (*v*(*y*→*i*) *ath* + *vyath* + *e*), *pūrvarūpa* (*v*(*i*+*a*→*i*) *th* + *vyath* + *e* = *vith* + *vyath* + *e*; 6.1.108 *samprasāraṇāc ca* and 7.4.60 *halādiśeṣa* (*vi*(*th*→ϕ) + *vyath* + *e*). Note that the *y* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *vyath*, of *vyath* + *vyath* + *e*, would have gone through deletion because of *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60). This rule, instead, offers *samprasāraṇa* which was not made available by an earlier rule (*Kāś*: *halādiśeṣeṇa yakārasya nivṛttau prāptāyāṃ samprasāraṇaṃ kriyate, yakārasya 'na samprasāraṇe*

samprasāraṇam (6.1.37) *iti pratiṣidhyate*). This rule blocks negation of 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe samprasāraṇam.*

But this can happen only when *LIṬ* follows. For, consider *vāvyathyate,* a derivate of (*vyath* + *yaṄ*) + *LAṬ,* where *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60) reduces the *abhyāsa* to *va* (via deletion of *y*) and the *a* of the *abhyāsa* goes through a replacement in long (*dīrgha*). Thus, *vā* + *vyath* + *ya* + *te* = *vāvyathyate.*

7.4.69 दीर्घ इणः किति

dīrgha iṇaḥ kiti

/ *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *iṇaḥ* 6/1 *kiti* 7/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *liṭi* #68)

iṇo' ṅgasya yo' bhyāsas tasya dīrgho bhavati kiti liṭi parataḥ

A long vowel comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *iṆ* 'to go' when a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows.

EXAMPLES:

īyatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of *iṆ*'
īyuḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the short of an *abhyāsa* when verbal root *iṆ* 'to go' constitutes an *aṅga* and a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows. Thus, consider *iṆ* + (*LIṬ*→*tas*→*atus*) and *i* + (*LIṬ*→*jhi*→*us*), where rule 6.4.81 *iṇo yaṇ* applies to replace the *i* with *y*. We get reduplication in (*i*→*y*) + *atus* and *i* + (*i*→*y*) + *us* = *iy* + *us* = *iyus,* via extension of form (*rūpātideśa*) of *i* which *y* replaced. That is, through *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating the substitute as what it replaced'. The problem is: 6.4.31 *iṇo yaṇ* is subsequent (*para*) in order and hence applies prior to long replacement in *ī.* Once the *i* is replaced with *y* it becomes *anacka* 'without any vowel'. This, in turn, blocks reduplication (*dvitva*). This is the reason why recourse to *sthānivadbhāva* is taken. The *abhyāsa* is then replaced with its long counterpart of this rule. Thus, (*i*→*y*) + *atus* → (*i* + *y*) + *atus* → (*i*→*ī*) + *y* + *atus* = *īyatu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *īyatuḥ* and (*i*→*y*) + *us* → (*i* + *y*) + *us* → (*i*→*ī*) + *y* + *us* → *yu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ* = *īyuḥ.*

2. Why do we have the condition of *kit* 'a *LIṬ* affix marked with *K* as an *it*'? Consider *iyāya* and *iyayitha* which derive from *i* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*) = *i* + *a* and *i* + *tha.* Affix *LIṬ* is here replaced with the third person singular active ending *ṆaL,* via *tiP,* and second person singular active ending *thaL,* via *siP,* respectively. The *i* of *i* + *a* and *i* + *tha* goes through a replacement in *vṛddhi* and *guṇa,* respectively. Thus, *ai* + *a* and *e* + *tha* which, through reduplication, via *sthānivadbhāva,* produce *i* + *ai* + *a* and *i* + *e* + *tha.* Rule 6.4.78 *abhyāsasyā-savarṇe* then introduces *iyAṄ* to the *abhyāsa.* We thus get (*i*→*iyAṄ*) + *ai* + *a* = *iy* + *ai* + *a* and (*i*→*iyAṄ*) + *e* + *tha* = *iy* + *e* + *tha.* The *abhyāsa* of these examples is not replaced with its long counterpart because the replacement of *LIṬ* which follows is not marked with *K* as an *it.*

7.4.70 अत आदेः

ata ādeḥ

/*ataḥ* 6/1 *ādeḥ* 6/1/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *liṭi* #68 *dīrghaḥ* #69)

abhyāsasyāder akārasya dīrgho bhavati liṭi parataḥ

A long vowel comes in place of *aT* of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

āṭa 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *aṭ* 'to move, wander''
āṭatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of. . .'
āṭuḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate of . . .'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the initial short *a* of an *abhyāsa* when *LIṬ* follows. This rule, thus, is an exception to 'single *guṇa*-replacement similar to the following' (*pararūpa*; 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). Thus, we get *aṭ* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*) → *aṭ* + (*tiP*→*ṆaL*) → *a* + *aṭ* + (*Ṇ*)*a*(*L*) → (*a*→*ā*) + *aṭ* + *a* = (*ā*+*a* →*ā*) *ṭ* + *a* = *āṭa*; *aṭ* + *atus* → *a* + *aṭ* + *atus* → (*a*→*ā*) + *aṭ* + *atus* → (*ā*+*a*→*ā*) *ṭatuḥ* = *āṭatuḥ* and similalry, *aṭ* + *uḥ* → *āṭuḥ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *a* at the beginning? Consider *papāca* and *papāṭha* which derive from *pac* + (*LIṬ*→ *tiP*→*ṆaL*) → *pac* + *a* and *paṭh* + *a*, respectively. The *a* of the *abhyāsa* of *papac* + *a* and *papaṭh* + *a*, for reasons of not being initial (*ādi*), cannot receive a replacement in long.

7.4.71 तस्मान्नुड् द्विहलः

tasmān nuḍ dvihalaḥ

/*tasmāt* 5/1 *nuṭ* 1/1 *dvihalaḥ* 6/1 = *dvau halau yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *liṭi* #68)

tasmād ato' bhyāsād dīrghībhūtād uttarasya dvihalo' ṅgasya nuḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment *nUṬ* is introduced to the form of an *aṅga* which consists of two consonants and occurs after a short turned-long vowel of the *abhyāsa*, when a *LIṬ* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

ānaṅga 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *agI* 'to move''
ānaṅgatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of . . .'
ānaṅguḥ 'third person plural *LIṬ*-derivate of . . .'
ānañja 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *añj* 'move, anoint''
ānañjatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of . . .'
ānañjuḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate of . . .'

1. This rule introduces augment *nUṬ* to an *aṅga* which contains two consonants and occurs after the *abhyāsa* which just went through a long (*dīrgha*)

replacement. Thus, consider *ānaṅga*, *ānaṅgatuḥ* and *ānaṅguḥ*, which are derivates of *LIṬ* introduced after verbal root *agI* 'to move'. We get *aṅg* after *I* is deleted (1.3.2 *upadeśe' j anunāsika it*; 1.3.8 *tasya lopaḥ*) and augment *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*) is introduced. We get *a* + *aṅg* + *a*, through reduplication and *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60). An application of 7.4.70 *ata ādeḥ*, followed by *nUM* of this rule, produces (*a*→*ā*) + *aṅg* + *a* → *ā* + *nUṬ* + *aṅg* + *a* = *ānaṅga*. Similar rules apply in deriving dual and plural forms. Deriving *ānañja*, the third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate from *añj* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*), offers nothing new.

2. Note that a specification by *hal* 'consonant' also includes a references to *r* as part of *ṛ*. Augment *nUM* is thus also introduced in *ānṛdhatuḥ* and *ānṛdhuḥ* with reference to an *aṅga* containing two consonants. Consider *ṛdh* + *ṛdh* + *atus* → where *ṛ* of the *abhyāsa* goes through a replacement in *a* followed by *r* (*rapara*). An application of *halādiśeṣa* (7.4.60), followed by long replacement of the *abhyāsa* along with introduction of augment *nUṬ*, yields *a*(*r*→ϕ) + *ṛdh* + *atus* → (*a*→*ā*) + *ṛdh* + *atus* → *ā* + *nUṬ* + *ṛdh* + *atu*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *ānṛdhatuḥ*.

7.4.72 अश्नोतेश्च

aśnoteś ca

/ *aśnoteḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *liṭi* #68 *tasmān nuṭ* #71)

aśnoteś ca dīrghībhūtād abhyāsād uttarasya nuḍ āgamo bhavati

Augment *nUṬ* is also introduced to the form of an *aṅga* which occurs after a short-turned-long vowel of the *abhyāsa* of verbal root *aśU* 'to pervade', provided when a *LIṬ* affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

vyānaśe 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *aśŪ*'
vyānaśāte 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *aśŪ*'
vyānaśire 'third person plural middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *aśU*'

1. This rule introduces augment *nUṬ* to what occurs after the long vowel of the *abhyāsa* of verbal root *aśŪ* 'to reach, attain, pervade'. A specification with augment *nu* of *aśnoteḥ* is made to indicate that the root belongs to the class of verbal roots called *svādi*. For, *aś* of *aśnoti* is used with the class-marker (*vikaraṇa*) *nu*. Note that *aś* cannot refer to verbal root *aś* of *aśnāti*, the one which is used with *Śnā* as its class-marker, and is classed as *kryādi* with the signification of *bhojana* 'to eat, consume'. Consider *vyānaśe*, *vyānaśāte* and *vyānaśire* where the root is used with the preverb *vi*. The third personal singualr and plural replacements of *LIṬ*, i.e., *ta* and *jha*, are repalced with *eŚ* and *ireC* (3.4.81 *liṭas tajhayor*. . .), respectively. Thus, *aś* + (*LIṬ*→*ta*→*eś*) → *a* + *aś* + *e* → (*a*→*ā*) + *aś* + *e* → *ā* + *nUṬ* + *aś* + *e* → *ānaśe*; *v*(*i*→*y*) +*ānaśe* = *vyānaśe*. Similarly, *vyānaśāte* and *vyānaśire*.

The forms of *aś* 'to eat' will be *āśa*, *āśatuḥ* and *āśuḥ*, all active third person singualr, dual and plural of *LIṬ* replaced with *ṆaL*, *atus* and *us* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ* . . .), via *tiP*, *tas* and *jhi*, respectively.

7.4.73 भवतेरः

bhavater aḥ
/*bhavateḥ* 6/1 *aḥ* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *liṭi* #68)
bhavater abhyāsasyākārādeśo bhavati liṭi parataḥ
An *a* comes in place of the final sound segment of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *bhū* 'to be, become', provided when affix *LIṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

babhūva 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *bhū* 'to be, become''
babhūvatuḥ 'third person dual active *LIṬ*-derivate of . . .'
babhūvuḥ 'third person plural active *LIṬ*-derivate of . . .'
anubabhūve kambalo devadattena 'the blanket was liked by Devadatta'

1. This rule offers *a* as a replacement for the *abhyasa* of verbal root *bhū* when *LIṬ* follows. Refer to derivational details of *babhūva* under the appendix (II:429-30) of 1.2.6 *indhibhavatibhyāṃ ca*. Deriving *babhūvatuḥ* and *babhūvuḥ* should then not pose any problem. Since this specification of verbal root *bhū*, in *bhavateḥ*, is made with the indication of its class-marker *ŚaP*, and verbal ending *tiP* (*śtipā*), we get this replacement also in *anubabhūve*, the third singular middle passive (*ātmanepada*; 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*) form of *bhū*, used with the preverb *anu*. Of course, the third singualr middle ending *ta* which replaces affix *LIṬ* is further replaced with *eŚ*.

2. Note that this replacement is limited only to derivates of *LIṬ* introduced after verbal root *bhū*. That is, we do not get it, for example, when affixes *saN* and *yaṄ* are introduced after verbal root *bhū*. Thus, we get *bubhūṣati* (with *saN*) and *bobhūyate* (with *yaṄ*).

7.4.74 ससूवेति निगमे

sasūveti nigame
/*sasūva* (verbal *pada*); *iti* ф *nigame* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *liṭi* #68 *aḥ* #73)
'*sasūva*' *iti nipātyate nigame*
A form such as *sasūva* is derived in the Vedic, via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

sasūva sthaviraṃ vipaścitām
'. . . inspired by old wisdom'

1. This is a Vedic usage. The *parasmaipada* 'active' replacement for *LIṬ* after the middle verbal root *ṣūṄ* 'to give birth' is accomplished by *nipātana*. This same is also responsible for augment *vUK*, and the *a*-replacement for *u* (*atva*) of the *abhyāsa*. Thus, *sū* + (*LIṬ*→*ṆaL*) → *sū* + *vUK* + *a* → *sū* + *v* + *sū* + *v* + *a* = *sū* + *sūv* + *a* → *s*(*ū*→*a*) + *sūv* + *a* = *sasūva*. Incidentally, the *ṣ* of verbal root *ṣūṄ* is replaced with *s* (6.1.62 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*).

7.4.75 णिजां त्रयाणां गुणः श्लौ

ṇijāṃ trayāṇāṃ guṇaḥ ślau
/*ṇijām* 6/3 *trayāṇām* 6/3 *guṇaḥ* 1/1 *ślau* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58)
nijādīnāṃ trayāṇām abhyāsasya guṇo bhavati ślau sati
A *guṇa* vowel comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by three roots enumerated beginning with *ṇijIR* 'to cleanse, nourish', provided when a deletion by *ŚLU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nenekti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ṇijIR* with *ŚLU*-deletion'
vevekti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vijIR* with *ŚLU*-deletion'
veveṣṭi 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *viṣ* with *ŚLU*-deletion'

1. Note that a sense of *ādi* 'beginning with, et cetera' is gotten from the specification of *nijām* 'of those enumerated beginning with *nij*' in the genitive plural. Refer to derivational details of *nenekti* under the appendix of 2.4.75 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ* (III:707). Other examples follow similar rule applications.

2. Note that these three roots, specified beginning with *ṇijIR* (along with *vijIR* and *viṣL*) come at the end of a section in the *juhotyādi* listing of roots. Since *nijām* is given in the plural (not singular or dual), a specification with *nijām* alone should be enough. This should give the sense of *nijIR* and the rest. Why then state *trayāṇam* 'of three' ? It is intended for use in subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*).

Why do we have to use *ślau* 'when *ŚLU* follows'? Observe *nineja*, the third person singular active *LIṬ* form of *ṇijIR*, where, since there is no *ŚLU*-deletion, there is no replacement in *e* for *i* of *ni*.

7.4.76 भृञामित्

bhṛñām it
/*bhṛñām* 6/3 *it* 1/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *trayāṇām ślau* #75)

bhṛñādīnām trayāṇām abhyāsasyekārādeśo bhavati ślau sati
An *iT* comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by three roots enumerated beginning with *bhṛÑ* 'to nourish, preserve', provided when a deletion by *ŚLU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

bibharti 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *bhṛÑ* with *ŚLU*-deletion'
mimīte 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *māṄ* 'to measure' with *ŚLU*-deletion'
jihīte 'third person singular middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *OhāṄ* with *ŚLU*-deletion'

1. This rule allows a short *i* to replace the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of the *abhyāsa* of three verbal roots beginning with *bhṛÑ* 'to support, nurture'. This, of course, happens when a deletion via *ŚLU* follows. The specification with *bhṛñām* in the plural gives us the meaning of *ādi* 'etc.'. The three roots covered by this specification are: *bhṛÑ*, *māṄ* 'to measure' and *OhāṄ* 'to move, go, abandon'.

2. Refer to derivational details of *bibharti* under the appendix of 2.4.76 *juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ* (III:707). The third singular middle present *mimīte* is derived from *māṄ* + (*LAṬ→ta*). The *ŚaP* of *mā* + *ŚaP* + *ta* then goes through deletion, via *ŚLU*. Reduplication (6.1.10 *ślau*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa* produce *ma* + *mā* + *ta*. The *i* as a replacement for final vowel of *ma*, the *abhyāsa*, produces: *m(ā→i)* + *mā* + *ta*. The *ā* of *mā* is then replaced with *ī* (*ītva*; 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ*)): *mi* + *m(ā→ī)* + *ta* = *mimī* + *t(a→e)* = *mimīte*. Our third derivate, i.e., *jihīte*, follows similar applications. Note that forms of *OhāṄ*, i.e., *jihīte*, etc., will go through *cutva* (*h→jh*; 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*) and *cartva* (*jh→j*; 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*).

3. The condition of *trayāṇām* 'of the three' is still valid. That is why, it does not apply to *OhāK* where we get *jahāti* 'abandons'. Additionally, this replacement applies only when *ŚLU* follows. Thus, we do not get it in *babhāra*, the third singular active *LIṬ* form of *bhṛÑ* 'to fetch, carry'.

7.4.77 अर्तिपिपर्त्योश्च

artipipartyoś ca
/ *arti-pipartyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ф/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *ślau* #75 *it* #76)
'*arti, piparti*' *ity etayor abhyāsasyekārādeśo bhavati ślau*
An *iT* also comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *ṛ* and *pṛ*, provided a deletion by *ŚLU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

iyarti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ṛ* 'to go' with *ŚLU*-deletion and reduplication'
piparti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *pṝ*'

1. This rule allows *i* as a replacement to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *arti* (*ṛ* 'to go') and *piparti* (*pṝ* 'to nurture, fill'), when *ŚLU* finds its scope. Refer to derivational details of *iyarti* under notes of 6.4.78 *abhyāsasyāsavarṇe*. Other derivates follow similar patterns.

7.4.78 **बहुलं छन्दसि**

bahulaṃ chandasi
/*bahulam* 1/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *ślau* #75 *it* #76)
chandasi viṣaye' bhyāsasya ślau bahulam ikārādeśo bhavati
An *iT* comes variously in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* when a deletion by *ŚLU* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pūrṇāṃ vivaṣṭi
janimā vivakti
vatsaṃ na mānā siṣakti
jigharti somam

1. This rule offers a replacement in *i* for an usage of the Vedic, variously (*bahulam*). Refer to derivational details of *vivaṣṭi* and *vivakti* under the appendix of 2.4.76 *bahulaṃ chandasi* (III:707-8). We can similarly get *siṣakti* from *ṣic* 'to sprinkle' and *jighartti* from *ghrā* 'to smell'. Note that these examples will have the option of replacement in *i* (*itva*). An absence of *itva* will yield forms such as (*jan* + (*LAṄ*→*miP*)) = *jajanam* and (*dhan* +(*LAṄ*→*miP*)) = *dadhanam*. Notice how we do not get *aṬ* (cf. 6.4.75 *bahulaṃ chandasy amāṅyoge' pi*) and a replacement in *i* (*itva*), relative to the *abhyāsa*. Reduplication (*dvitva*) will, of course, be accomplished by 6.1.10 *ślau*. The first singular active ending *miP*, for example in *jajanam*, will be replaced with *am* (3.4.101 *tasthasthamipāṃ* . . .).

7.4.79 **सन्यतः**

sany ataḥ
/*sani* 7/1 *ataḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *it* #76)
sani parato' bhyāsasyekārādeśo bhavati
An *i* comes in place of the *a*-final *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* when affix *saN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pipakṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pac* 'to cook' ending in *saN*''
yiyakṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *yaj* 'to sacrifice' ending in *saN*'
tiṣṭhāsati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sthā* 'to stay, stand' ending in *saN*'
pipāsati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pā* 'to drink' ending in *saN*'

1. This rule allows an *abhyāsa* which ends in *a* to receive a replacement in *i*. Of course, this replacement applies to the final *a* of an *abhyāsa* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) and when the *aṅga* is followed by affix *saN*. Follow derivational details of many *saN*-derivates already discussed. Note, however, that verbal roots *pac* and *yaj* do not allow *iṬ* (*aniṭ*). A derivate such as *pipakṣati* will have its *c* replaced with *k* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The *j* of *yaj*, in *yiyakṣati*, will be replaced with *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛja* . . .). The *k*, of course, comes from the application of 8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ*. The roots in derivates such as *tiṣṭhāsati* and *pipāsati* derive from *sthā* + *san* → *ta* + *sthā* + *saN* and *pā* + *saN* → *pa* + *pā* + *saN*, respectively.

7.4.80 ओः पुयण्ज्यपरे

oḥ puyaṇjy apare
/*oḥ* 6/1 *puyaṇji* 7/1 = *puś ca yaṇ ca j ca* = *puyaṇj* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmin*; *apare* 7/1 = *aḥ paro yasmāt puyaṇjaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *it* #76 *sani* #79)
uvarṇāntābhyāsasya pavarge yaṇi jakāre cāvarṇapare parata ikārādeśo bhavati sani pratyaye parataḥ
An *i* comes in place of the final *u* of an *abhyāsa* which occurs either before a consonant of the *p*-series (*pavarga*), or before a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaN*, or else, before *j*, with each one of these followed by *a*, provided affix *saN* follows the *aṅga*.

EXAMPLES:

pipaviṣate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *pūṄ*, used with affix *saN*'
pipāvayiṣati 'third person singular active causal *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pūṄ* used with *ṆiC* and ending in affix *saN*'
vibhāvayiṣati 'third person singular active causal *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *bhū* used with *ṆiC* and ending in affix *saN*'
yiyaviṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *yu* 'to mix' ending in *saN*'

yiyāvayiṣati 'third person signular active causal *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *yu* used with the causative *ṆiC* and ending in affix *saN*'
rirāvayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ru* 'to cry' used with the causal *ṆiC* and ending in affix *saN*'
lilāvayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *lū* 'to cut' used with causal *ṆiC* and ending in affix *saN*'
jijāvayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ju* used with causal *ṆiC* and ending in affix *saN*'

1. Note that *sani* 'when *saN* follows' and *it* 'short *i*' are still carried over. This rule offers *i* as a replacement for the final *u* of an *abhyāsa*. The conditions of this replacement are complex: (*i*) the *u* at the end of the *abhyāsa* must be followed, either by a sound of the *p*-series (*pavarga*), or by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ*, or else, by *j*; (*ii*) all these sounds which may constitute right condition for the *abhyāsa*-final *u* must also be followed by *a*. Finally, (*iii*) the *aṅga* must be followed by affix *saN*. Consider the derivational details of *pipaviṣate* and *pipāvayiṣati*. Given *pūṄ* + *saN*, augment *iṬ* will be introduced (7.2.74 *smipūṇrañjavaśāṃ sani*). An application of *guṇa* on *ū* with subsequent replacement in *av* will produce: *p*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *i* + *saN* = *pav* + *i* + *saN*. Reduplication (*dvitva*) of *pū*, via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.59 *dvirvacane' aci*), will produce: *pū* + *pav* + *i* + *saN*. The *ū* of the *abhyāsa* will then go through shortening. It will further go through a replacement in *i*. Thus, *p*(*u*→*i*) + *pav* + *i* + *saN* = *pi* + *pav* + *i* + *saN*. Deriving *pipaviṣate*, with the introduction of *LAṬ* replaced with the middle ending *ta*, should pose no problem. We similarly derive the active third singular causal derivate of *pūṄ* with *saN*. Thus, (*pū* + *ṆiC*) = *pāvi*; (*pāvi* + *saN*); (*pāvisa* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *pipāvayiṣati*, again through reduplication and replacement in *i* (*itva*), etc. We also get *bibhāvayiṣati*, from (*bhū* + *ṆiC*) + *saN* → *bhāvisa* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*), with similar application of rules. These three offer examples where a consonant of the *p*-series occurs after the *abhyāsa*, itself followed by *a*.

Derivates such as *yiyaviṣati* and *yiyāvayiṣati* illustrate contexts where an *abhyāsa* is followed by *y*, followed by *a*. Recall that the root in these two derivates is *yu* 'to mix' and derivational patterns are similar to preceding examples. We similarly get *rirāvayiṣati* and *lilāvayiṣati*, with *vṛddhi* and a subsequent replacement in *āv*. An example where *j*, followed by *a*, follows an *abhyāsa*, is furnished by verbal root *ju*, a root found only in the *sūtrapāṭha*. Thus, we get *jijāvayiṣati*.

2. Derivates, where *saN* is introduced after a base ending in *ṆiC*, yield forms such as *bh*(*ū*→*au*→*āv*) + *ṆiC* = *bhāv* + *i* + *sa*(*N*) and *p*(*ū*→*au*→*āv*) + *Ṇi* + *sa*(*N*) = *pāv* + *i* + *saN*, through *vṛddhi* and subsequent replacement in *āv*. Reduplication at this stage cannot produce *bhū* + *bhāv* + *i* + *sa* and *pū* + *pāv* + *i* + *sa*, because what will go through reduplication will not be *bhū*, via *sthānivadbhāva*. It will, instead, be *bhāv*. Why can we not take *bhāv* through *sthānivadbhāva*? Because *ṆiC* which conditions *vṛddhi* does not form the right

condition (*nimitta*) for reduplication (*dvitva*). This then means that we cannot get a consonant of the *p*-series, etc., followed by *a*. That is correct. Then this rule will become vacuous (*vyartha*). Yes. It is to save this rule from becoming vacuous that a replacement in *āv*, for example of *bhāv*, can be accepted to go through *sthānivadbhāva*. We will thus get *bhū*, through reduplication via *sthānivadbhāva*. An application of replacement in *i* (*itva*) can then be made by treating the *abhyāsa* as *bhū* subsequent to reduplication.

3. Why do we state this *i*-replacement only for that which ends in *u*? So that replacement *i* (*itva*) could not be accomplished in *pāpacyate* and *pāpaciṣate*, where the first does not have *saN* but the second does. However, its *abhyāsa* does not end in *u*.

Why do we state this right context of a consonant of the *p*-series, or of *y*, or else of *j*, which must follow the *abhyāsa*. So that *i*-replacement (*itva*) does not apply in case of *avatutāvayiṣati*, a derivate of (*ava-tu* + *ṆiC*) + *saN*)) + *LAṬ*. There is no *itva*, also in *juhāvayiṣati*, a derivate of (*hu* + *ṆiC* + *saN*)) + *LAṬ*.

Why 'only when *a* follows'? Consider *bubhūṣati* where the *abhyāsa* ends in *u* and is followed by a consonant of the *p*-series. Notice, however, that *bh* is not followed by *a*. It is followed by *ū*, instead. The replacement in *i* (*itva*) is again blocked.

7.4.81 स्रवतिशृणोतिद्रवतिप्रवतिप्लवतिच्यवतीनां वा

sravatiśṛṇotidravatipravatiplavaticyavatīnāṃ vā
/ *sravati-śṛṇoti-dravati-pravati-plavati-cyavatīnām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *vā* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *it* #76 *sani* #79 *oḥ puṇyaj apare* #80)
'*sravati, śṛṇoti, dravati, pravati, plavati, cyavati*' *ity eteṣām abhyāsasya or avarṇapare yaṇi vā ikārādeśo bhavati sani parataḥ*
An *i* comes, optionally, in place of the final *u* of an *abhyāsa* which occurs before a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaṆ* followed by *a*, provided the *aṅga* is constituted by verbal roots *sru* 'to move, go', *śru* 'to hear', *dru* 'to drip, move', *pruṄ* 'to move, go', *pluṄ* and *cyuṄ*' and affix *saN* follows.

EXAMPLES:

sisrāvayiṣati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sru* used with *ṆiC* and affix *saN*'
susrāvayiṣati 'ibidem (optional)'
śiśrāvayiṣati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *śru* used with *ṆiC* and affix *saN*'
śuśrāvayiṣati 'ibidem (optional)'
didrāvayiṣati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *dru* used with *ṆiC* and affix *saN*'

dudrāvayiṣati 'ibidem (optional)'
piprāvayiṣati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pruṄ* used with *ṆiC* and affix *saN*'
puprāvayiṣati 'ibidem (optional)'
piplāvayiṣati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pluṄ* used with *ṆiC* and affix *saN*'
puplāvayiṣati 'ibidem (optional), third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root used with *ṆiC* and affix *saN*'
cicyāvayiṣati 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *cyuṄ* used with *ṆiC* and affix *saN*'
cucyāvayiṣati 'ibidem'

1. Note that a replacement in *i* (*itva*) of this rule is optional. Consider *sisrāvayiṣati* and *susrāvayiṣati* where the two-third singular active causal *saN*-derivates of verbal root *sru* differ only in optional replacement of *u* by *i*. This same is also true of pairs of other derivates: (*śru* + *ṆiC*) = (*śrāvi* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* = *sisrāvayiṣati* and *susrāvayiṣati*, etc. They all go through reduplication, *vṛddhi*-replacement and optional replacement in *i* (*itva*) for final *u*.

2. A question is raised as to how a replacement in *i* (*itva*) can be accomplished when *u* is not followed immediately by *y*, followed by *a*. How could *u* be replaced with *i* when *s*, *ś* and *d*, etc., intervene between *y* followed by *a*? Commentators explain that *itva* is allowed here at the strength of Pāṇini's own statement of provision. Since this rule is an optional rule, and especially since *itva* of the previous rule applies only when no other sound intervenes between *u* and *y*, this option is special. It is explained as an instance of *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* 'an option made available which it previously was not'.

2. Recall, however, that this option is available only when a sound denoted by *yaṆ*, followed by *a*, follows *u*. Elsewhere, we will get *suśrūṣati* and *suśrūṣate*. That is, no *itva* since *a* does not follow *yaṆ*. This rule finds its scope only where a causal verbal root is used with *saN*.

7.4.82 गुणो यङ्लुकोः

guṇo yaṅlukoḥ
/*guṇaḥ* 1/1 *yaṅ-lukoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58)
yaṅi yaṅluki ca igantasyābhyāsasya guṇo bhavati
A *guṇa* vowel comes in place of an *iK*-final *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* when affix *yaṄ*, and its deletion by *LUK*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

cecīyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *ciÑ* 'to heap, gather' with affix *yaṄ*'
lolūyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *lūÑ* 'to cut' with affix *yaṄ*'

johavīti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *hu* 'to sacrifice' with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*'
cokruśoti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *kruś* 'to call, challenge' with affix *yaṄ*'

1. Note that *lukoḥ* of *yaṅ-lukoḥ* must refer to *yaṅluk* 'deletion of *yaṄ* by means of *LUK*'. This rule will then apply in dual contexts of introduction as well as subsequent deletion of *yaṄ*. Since this rule offers a *guṇa* replacement with reference to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga*, rule 1.1.3 *iko guṇavṛddhī* must also be read in this context. Refer to the appendix (III:706-7) of 2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca* for derivational details of examples with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*. Consider *johavīti* from *hu* + *yaṄ* where *yaṄ* gets deleted (2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca*). Reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*, which also include replacement in *guṇa*, produce: *j*(*u*→*o*) + *hu* + (*yaṄ*→ϕ) → *jo* + *hu* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *jo* + *hu* + *ti*. We can then get *īṬ* of 7.3.49 *yaṅo vā* to give us: *jo* + *hu* + *īṬ* + *ti*. We can get *johavīti*, through *guṇa* and subsequent replacement in *av*. Thus, *jo* + *h*(*u*→*o*→*av*) + *ī* + *ti* = *johavīti*. Since *īṬ* is optional, we will also get a form without it. Consider *johoti* derived with no *īṬ*, but with an application of *guṇa*.

Refer to the appendix (III:712-13) of 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco kriyāsamabhihāre* . . . for derivational details of examples ending in *yaṄ*. Reduplication in these examples is accomplished by 6.1.9 *sani yaṅoḥ*. The final vowel of the *aṅga* is replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.25 *akṛtsārvadhātukayoḥ*. That is, after the *guṇa* application of 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ*. The *Ṅ* of *yaṄ*, of course, ensures the introduction of middle (*ātmanepada*) endings (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*).

7.4.83 दीर्घोऽकितः

dīrgho' kitaḥ
/*dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *akitaḥ* 6/1 = *kakāra it yasya* (*bv.*) = *kit*; *na kit* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *yaṅlukoḥ* #82)
akito' bhyāsasya dīrgho bhavati yaṅi yaṅluki ca
A long vowel comes in place of an *abhyāsa* not marked with *K* as an *it*, when affix *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

pāpacyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pac* ending in affix *yaṄ*'
pāpacīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pac* used with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*'
yāyajyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *yaj* ending in affix *yaṄ*'
yāyajīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *yaj* ending in affix *yaṄ*'

1. This rule allows a long replacement for the final short of an *abhyāsa*, not marked with *K* as an *i* (*akit*), provided *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows. Thus we get *pac* + *yaṄ* → *pa* + *pac* + *ya* → *pāpacya* + (*LAṬ*→*ta*) = *pāpacyate*, a form with no deletion of *yaṄ*. A deletion of *yaṄ* will produce *pa* + *pac* + *īṬ* + (*LAṬ*→*ti*) = *pāpacīti*. Here again, refer to derivational details under 2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca* (III:706-7) and 3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco* . . . (III:712-13).

2. Why do we need the condition of *akit* 'that which does not have *k* as an *it*'? Consider *yaṃyamyate* / *yaṃyamīti* and *raṃramyate* / *raṃramīti* which are derivates of *yam* and *ram* with *yaṄ* and its deletion by means of *LUK*, respectively. Note that augment *nUK* is introduced by 7.4.85 *nugato' nunāsikāntasya*, subsequent to reduplication and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Given *ya* + *n* + *yam* + *ya* and *ra* + *n* + *ram* + *ya*, lengthening of the *abhyāsa* cannot be accomplished on the basis of condition of *akit*. Obviously, *nUK* is marked with *K* as an *it*. But why state the condition of *akit* 'no *k* as an *it*' to block lengthening? That is, when lengthening can be blocked by introducing *nUK* first, thereby making the *abhyāsa* ending in a non-vowel (*anajanta*). If this is accepted then *akitaḥ* indicates the application of (*Paribh*:67): *abhyāsavikāreṣv apavādā notsargān vidhīn bādhante* 'exceptions do not block their corresponding general rules in contexts of modifications of units termed *abhyāsa*'. Thus, lengthening applies first.

There are several consequences of accepting this interpretive provision:

(1) This rule does not block shortening in deriving *ḍoḍhaukyate*. Thus, given *ḍhauk* + *yaṄ*, we get *ḍhauk* + *ḍhauk* + *ya* → *ḍhau* + *ḍhauk* + *ya* → *ḍo* + *ḍhauk* + *ya*, through reduplication, *halādiśeṣa* and *jaśtva*: *ḍh*→*ḍ*. Shortening produces *ḍ*(*o*→*u*) + *ḍhauk* + *ya* which, after the application of 7.4.82 *guṇo yaṅlukoḥ*, produces *ḍ*(*u*→*o*) + *ḍhauk* + *ya*. We finally derive *ḍuḍhaukyate* by introducing *LAṬ* and performing related operations.

(2) Similar consequence is witnessed in deriving *acīkarat* from (*kṛ* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ* where *CLI* is replaced with *caṄ*. The *ṛ* of the *abhyāsa* is replaced with *a* (followed by *r*, *rapara*) after reduplication. Two rules, 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ* and 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*, then become applicable. The *i*-replacement (*itva*) of the first rule is applied prior to application of lengthening. Refer to full derivational details of *acīkarat* under the appendix of 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*.

(3) Refer to derivational details of *mīmāṃsate* (III:712) under the appendix of 3.1.6 *mānbadhadānānbhyo*. . . . Note here that, given *ma* + *mān* + *sa*, replacement in *i* applies prior to application of lengthening (*dīrgha*).

(4) We similarly get *ajīgaṇat* from (*gaṇ* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*. Note here that *ī*-replacement of 7.4.97 *ī ca gaṇaḥ* does not block 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*. That is, it applies subsequently to that.

7.4.84 नीग्वञ्चुस्रंसुध्वंसुभ्रंसुकसपतपदस्कन्दाम्

nīg vañcusraṃsudhvaṃsubhraṃsukasapatapadaskandām
/*nīg* 1/1 *vañcu-sraṃsu-dhvaṃsu-bhraṃsu-kasa-pata-pada-skandām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *yaṅlukoḥ* #82)
'*vañcu, sraṃsu, dhvaṃsu, bhraṃsu, kasa, pata, pada, skanda*' *ity eteṣām abhyāsasya nīg āgamo bhavati yaṅi yaṅluki ca*

An augment, namely *nīK*, is introduced to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *vañcU* 'to move crookedly', *sraṃsU* 'to fall', *dhvaṃsU* 'to scatter', *bhraṃsU* 'to fall', *kasA* 'to move, go', *patA* 'to fall, move', *padA* 'to go' and *skandA* 'to leap, move' when affix *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

vanīvacyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *vañc* used with affix *yaṄ*'
vanīvañcīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *vañc* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
sanīsrasyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *srans* used with affix *yaṄ*'
sanīsraṃsīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *srans* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
danīdhvasyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *dhvans* used with affix *yaṄ*'
danīdhvaṃsīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *dhvans* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
banībhrasyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *bhrans* used with affix *yaṄ*'
banībhraṃsīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *bhrans* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
canīkasyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *kas* used with affix *yaṄ*'
canīkasīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *kas* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
panīpatyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pat* used with affix *yaṄ*'
panīpatīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pat* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
panīpadyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pad* used with affix *yaṄ*'
panīpadīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *pad* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'

canīskadyate 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *skand* used with affix *yaṄ*'
canīskandīti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *skand* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'

1. This rule introduces augment *nīK* to the *abhyāsa* of verbal roots *vañcU, sraṃsU, dhvaṃsU, bhraṃsU, kasA, patḶ, padA* and *skandIR* when affix *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows. Note that deletion of nasals (*anunāsika*) in all derivates is accomplished by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hal upadhāyāḥ kṅiti*. That is, when *yaṄ* follows. In contexts where *yaṄ* is deleted by *LUK*, we do not get such nasal deletions. For, the condition of *kṅiti* 'marked with *k* and *Ṅ* as an *it*' cannot be met. Rule 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* does not allow deleted *yaṄ* to still qualify the string to be treated as followed by an affix marked with *Ṅ* as an *it*.

7.4.85 नुगतोऽनुनासिकान्तस्य

nug ato' nunāsikāntasya
/ *nuk* 1/1 *ataḥ* 5/1 *anunāsikāntasya* 6/1 = *anunāsiko' nte yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/ (*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *yaṅlukoḥ* #82)
anunāsikāntasyāṅgasya yo' bhyāsas tasyākārāntasya nug āgamo bhavati
An augment, namely *nUK*, is introduced to the *a*-final *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* terminating in an *anunāsika*, provided when affix *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

tantamyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *tan* 'to faint' ending in affix *yaṄ*'
tantanīti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *tan* 'expand' used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
jaṅgamyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *gam* 'to go' ending in affix *yaṄ*'
jaṅgamīti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *gam* 'to go' used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
yaṃyamyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *yam* 'to restrain' ending in affix *yaṄ*'
yaṃyamīti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *yam* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
raṃramyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *ram* 'to sport' ending in affix *yaṄ*'
raṃramīti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *ram* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'

1. This rule introduces augment *nUK* to the *a*-final *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* when *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows. Verbal roots *tan* and *gam* would qualify as an *aṅga* ending in a nasal. We get *ta* + *tan* and *ga* + *gam* after reduplication and operations relative to their *abhyāsa*. The *abhyāsa* forms then receive augment *nUK*. Recall that *yaṃyamyate* and *yaṃyamīti*, etc., have their nasals replaced with an *anusvāra*. Commentators state that *nUK* points toward its replacement as any *sthānī* (item to be replaced), generally does (*Kāś*: *sthāninā hy ādeśo lakṣyate*). Augment *nUK* is thus introduced as an *anusvāra*. Not accepting this would create problems in replacing *n* of *nUK* with an *anusvāra* in *yaṃyamyate* and *yaṃyamīti*. For, rule 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* replaces a non-*pada*-final *m* and *n* with *anusvāra*, only when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* (non-nasal consonants) follows. The *anusvāra* can then be replaced with *n* via provision of a single replacement similar to what follows in a sequence (*parasavarṇa*; 8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*).

2. The *Mahābhāṣya* adds that this *anusvāra* is also treated as if coming at the end of a *pada* (*padāntavad*; *padāntavac ceti ca vaktavyam*). This enables rule 8.4.59 *vā padāntasya* to apply for optional single replacement similar to the following sound (*parasavarṇa*). That is, the obligatory *parasavarṇa* of 8.4.58 *anusvārasya* . . . is made optional. This *parasavarṇa* is not found in *raṃramyate* and *raṃramīti* because the context does not meet the condition of homogeneity on account of *r*.

3. Why must the *abhyāsa* end in *a*? Consider *tetimyate* where, given *ti* + *tim* + *yaṄ*, *nUK* is not introduced on account of the *abhyāsa* not ending in *a*. Why do we have the specification of *a* made with a following *t* (*taparakaraṇa*)? So that *nUK* could not be introduced to an *abhyāsa* which previously ended in a long (*ā*), but subsequently had its *ā* replaced with a corresponding short (*hrasva*; 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*; *Kāś*: *taparakaraṇaṃ tu bhūtapūrvasyāpi dīrghasya nivṛtyartham*). Consider *bābhāmyate* which derives from *bhām* + *yaṄ* → *bhā* + *bhām* + *ya* where *ā* of *bhā* is replaced with *a*. The *abhyāsa* is thus not allowed augment *nUK*. Its *a*, again, is replaced with *ā* to yield *bābhāmyate*, via application of 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*.

Why do we have the condition of an *aṅga* ending in a nasal? Consider *pāpacyate* where, since *pac* does not end in a nasal, we do not get *nUK*.

7.4.86 जपजभदहदशभञ्जपशां च

japajabhadahadaśabhañjapaśāṃ ca
/*japa-jabha-daha-daśa-bhañja-paśām* 6/1 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *yaṅlukoḥ* #82 *nuk* #84)
'*japa, jabha, daha, daśa, bhañja, paśa*' *ity eteṣām abhyāsasya nug āgamo bhavati yaṅyaṅlukoḥ parataḥ*
An augment, namely *nUK*, is introduced to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *japA* 'to mutter', *jabhA* 'to yawn', *dahA* 'to burn',

daśA 'to bite', *bhañjA* 'to break' and *paśA* 'to fasten, bind', when affix *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

jañjapyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *jap* 'to mutter, chant' ending in affix *yaṄ*'
jañjapīti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *jap* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
jañjabhyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *jabh* 'to bite, yawn' ending in affix *yaṄ*'
jañjabhīti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *jabh* 'to bite, yawn' used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
dandahyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *dah* 'to burn' ending in affix *yaṄ*'
dandahīti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *dah* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
dandaśyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *daś* 'to bite' ending in affix *yaṄ*'
dandaśīti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *daś* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
bambhajyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *bhañj* 'to break' ending in affix *yaṄ*'
bambhañjīti 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *bhañj* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
pampaśyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *paś* ending in affix *yaṄ*'
pampaśīti 'ibidem; with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*'

1. This rule introduces augment *nUK* to the *abhyāsa* of verbal roots *japA* 'mutter, chant', *jabhA* 'to bite, yawn', *dahA* 'to burn', *daśA* 'to bite', *bhañjA* 'to break' and *paśA* 'a root only used in the *sūtras*' when *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows. This introduction of *nUK* was not available from the earlier rule. It has been made available here. Notice how a specification of *daśA* is made here without its nasal *m*. This specification without *m* of *daṃś* simply indicates that the nasal, i.e., *m*, gets deleted when *yaṄ* follows. This nasal deletion also applies when *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* applies (*Kāś*: *danśir ayaṃ nakāralopārtham eva nirdiṣṭaḥ. tena yaṅluky api nakāralopo bhavati*). Recall that deletion of the root nasal is accomplished (6.4.24 *aniditāṃ* . . .) when *yaṄ* follows. Refer to derivational details of *jañjapyate*, etc., under the appendix of 3.1.24 *lupasadacarajapa*. . . . Recall here that 3.1.24 introduces *yaṄ* only when *bhāvagarhā* 'contempt for action' is denoted. The first four roots of our specification can receive *yaṄ* from 3.1.24 *lupasadacarajapa*. . . . That is, when censure of their denoted action is expressed. Verbal roots *bhañjA* and *paśA* can receive *yaṄ* under the meaning conditions of *paunaḥpunya* 'doing

something over and over again' or *atiśaya* 'intense action' (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco* . . .).

2. Commentators inform that *paśA* is a root available only in the *Sūtrapāṭha* (*Kāś*: *paśa iti sautro dhātuḥ*).

7.4.87 चरफलोश्च

caraphalos ca
/ *cara-phaloḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *yaṅlukoḥ* #82 *nuk* #84)
'*cara, phala*' *ity etayor abhyāsasya nug āgamo bhavati yaṅyaṅlukoḥ parataḥ*
Augment *nUK* is introduced also to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *carA* and *phalA* when affix *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

cañcūryate 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *carA* 'to consume' used with *yaṄ*'
cañcūrīti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *carA* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
pamphulyate 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *phalA* 'to bear fruit, burst' used with affix *yaṄ*'
pamphulīti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *phalA* used with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*'

1. This rule introduces *nUK* to the *abhyāsa* of verbal roots *car* 'to move, wander' and *phal* 'to bear fruit' when affix *yaṄ* or its deletion by means of *LUK* follows. Refer to derivational details of *cañcūryate* under the appendix (III:713-14) of 3.1.24 *lupasadacarajapa*. . . . Follow similar rule applications for deriving *pamphulyate*. We can derive *cañcurti* with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ* and introduction of augment *īṬ* (7.3.94 *yaṅo vā*). Note that there is no long replacement (*dīrgha*) for the short of *cu* (8.2.77 *hali ca*), since no consonant follows.

7.4.88 उत्परस्यातः

ut parasyātaḥ
/ *ut* 1/1 *parasya* 6/1 *ataḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *yaṅlukoḥ* #82 *caraphaloḥ* #87)
caraphalor abhyāsāt parasyāta ukārādeśo bhavati yaṅlukoḥ parataḥ
An *a* which occurs after the *abhyāsa* of verbal roots *carA* and *phalA* is replaced with *u* (*uT*) when affix *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

cañcūryate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *carA* used with affix *yaṄ*'

cañcūrīti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *carA* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'
pamphulyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *phalA* used with affix *yaṄ*'
pamphulīti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verabl root *phalA* used with *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ*'

1. This rule introduces *u* in place of an *a* which occurs after the *abhyāsa* of verbal roots *carA* and *phalA*. Of course, when *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows. Thus, we get *ca + car + ya* → *ca + c(a→u) r + ya*, where short *u* (*utva*) replaces the *a* which occurs after *ca* termed *abhyāsa*.

2. Why do we require *a* to follow the *abhyāsa*? So that this replacement does not apply to the *abhyāsa* itself. Why state *ataḥ* 'in place of the *a*'? So that *u* does not replace the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of the *abhyasta* (6.1.5 *ubhe abhyastam*).

3. Note that *t* is made to follow the specification of short *u* (*taparakaraṇa*) so that a *guṇa*-replacement of the penultimate (*laghūpadha*; 7.3.86 *puganta* . . .) can be blocked. Consider *cañcūrti* where the penultimate (*upadhā*) *u* is replaced with its long counterpart, under the provision of 8.2.77 *hali ca*. This long replacement, however, is considered *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of the application of *guṇa* of 7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*. The replacement in long still applies. The short indicated by *u* (*ut*) thus cannot be canceled because of suspension (*asiddhatva*) of *dīrgha* 'long'. Similar applicational problem is witnessed in deriving *paṃphulīti*. Why is *taparakaraṇa* of *ut* not able to block long replacement 8.2.77 *hali ca* as it is able to block *guṇa* of *u*?

7.4.89 ति च

ti ca
/*ti* 7/1 *ca* φ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *yaṅlukoḥ* #82 *caraphaloḥ* #87 *ut ataḥ* #88)
takārādau pratyaye paratas caraphalor akārasya ukārādeśo bhavati
An *uT* comes in place, also, of the *a* of an *aṅga* constituted by *carA* and *phalA* when an affix beginning with *t* follows.

EXAMPLES:

caraṇaṃ cūrttiḥ 'quarter of a hymn'
brahmaṇaś cūrttiḥ 'quarter of a hymn'
praphultiḥ 'blossoming'
praphultāḥ sumanasaḥ 'flowers are blossomed'

1. The *ti* of this rule makes clear that *yaṅlukoḥ* and *abhyāsasya* should not be carried over here. For, contexts with *yaṄ* and *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* can be covered by the earlier rule. The long in place of the short of *cur* in *cūrttiḥ* is

gotten from 8.2.77 *hali ca*. The reduplication of *t* is gotten from 8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve*. Note that *praphultāḥ* is the nominative plural feminine of *praphul* + *Kta*. Of course, *cūrtti* is a derivate of affix *KtiN* introduced with the signification of feminine (3.3.94 *striyāṃ ktin*).

7.4.90 रीगृदुपधस्य च

rīg ṛdupadhasya ca
/*rīk* 1/1 *ṛd-upadhasya* 6/1 = *ṛd upadhā yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *yaṅlukoḥ* #82)
ṛdupadhāṅgasya yo' bhyāsas tasya rīg āgamo bhavati yaṅyyaṅlukoḥ parataḥ
Augment *rīK* is introduced to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* which contains *ṛ* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*), provided when affix *yaṄ*, or its deletion by *LUK*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

varīvṛtyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *vṛt* 'to turn' used with *rīK*'
varīvṛtīti 'ibidem; with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*'
varīvṛdhyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *vṛdh* 'to grow' used with *rīK*'
varīvṛdhīti 'ibidem; with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*'
narīnṛtyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *nṛt* 'to dance' used with *rīK*'
narīnṛtīti 'ibidem; with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*'

1. This rule introduces augment *rīK* to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* which has a short *ṛ* (*ṛt*) in its penultimate position. Of course, when *yaṄ*, or *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*, follows. Thus, *vṛ* + *vṛdh* + *ya* → *va* + *vṛdh* + *ya* → (*va* + *rīK*) + *vṛdh* + *ya*. The *dh* of *vṛdh* is doubled up (8.4.47 *anaci ca*) and the first *dh* is replaced with *d* (8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). Recall that *varīvṛtīti* and *varīvṛdhīti* are derivates with *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ*.

2. A proposal is made to specify *ṛt* as *ṛtvataḥ* to get the sense of *rīk ṛtvataḥ* 'augment *rīK* is introduced to that (a root) which has *ṛ* is its penultimate position'. This will enable us to get *rīK* in *varīvṛścyate* / *varīvṛścīti* and *parīpṛcchyate* / *parīpṛcchīti*, etc. Note that the roots in these derivates are *vraśc* 'to cut' and *pracch* 'to ask'. They do not have *ṛ* in their next to the last position. They, however, yield *va* + *vṛśc* and *pa* + *pṛcch*, through reduplication and *samprasāraṇa*. This rule then introduces *rīK*. That is, *rīK* can be introduced also where the roots may not have *ṛ* to start with.

7.4.91 रुग्रिकौ च लुकि

rugrikau ca luki

/ruk-rikau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tau; ca* ϕ *luki* 7/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *rīk ṛdupadhasya* #90)
yaṅluki ṛdupadhasyāṅgasya yo' bhyāsas tasya rugrikāv āgamau bhavataś cakārād rīk ca
Augments *rUK*, *riK*, and *rīK* as well, are introduced to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* which has *ṛ* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*), when *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

narnarti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *nṛt* with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *rUK*'
narinarti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *nṛt* with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *riK*'
narīnarti '. . . with *rīK*'
varvarti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vṛt* with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *rUK*'
varivarti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vṛt* with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *riK*'
varīvarti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vṛt* with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *rīK*'

1. This rule introduces augments *rUK*, *riK* and *rīK* to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* where *LUK*-deletion of *yaṄ* is accomplished. Thus, we get *narnarti*, *narinarti* and *narīnarti*, respectively. Similarly, we get *varvarti*, *varivarti* and *varīvarti*. The *u* of *rU* is for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārtha*). A specification by *luki* 'when *LUK*-deletion . . .' makes clear that these augments are not introduced when *yaṄ* does not go through *LUK*-deletion.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made so that *marmṛjyate* and *marmṛjyamānāsaḥ* could be derived via *nipātana*. An introduction of *rUK*, in these examples, could not be possible because *yaṄ* follows. This *vārttika* proposal makes it possible, via *nipātana*. Incidentally, *marmṛjyamānāsaḥ* is a nominative plural form ending in *Jas*. Augment *asUK* is introduced, in the Vedic, when the nominative plural ending *Jas* follows.

7.4.92 ऋतश्च

ṛtaś ca
/ṛtaḥ 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *rīk* #90 *rugrikau luki* #91)
ṛkārāntasyāṅgasya yo' bhyāsas tasya rugrikāv āgamau bhavataś cakārād rīk ca
Augments *rUK* and *riK*, and *rīK* as well, are introduced to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* which ends in *ṛ*, when *LUK*-deletion of affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

carkarti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *ḌUkṛÑ* 'to do' with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *rUK*'
carikarti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *ḌUkṛÑ* with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *riK*'
carīkarti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *ḌUkṛÑ* with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *rīK*'
jarharti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *hṛÑ* 'to fetch, carry' with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *rUK*'
jariharti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *hṛÑ* with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *rUK*'
jarīharti 'third person singular *LAṬ*-derivate of *hṛÑ* with deletion of *yaṄ* and augment *rīK*'

1. This rule allows introduction of augments *rUK*, *riK* and *rīK* to the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* where deletion of *yaṄ* has taken place. Thus, we get derivates of *ḌUkṛÑ* and *hṛÑ*, for example, *carkarti* and *jarharti*, etc. Note that we get *k*→*c* (*cutva*) in *kṛ* + *yaṄ* and *h*→*jh*→*j* (*jaśtva*) in *hṛ* + *yaṄ*, after *yaṄ*-deletion, doubling (*dvitva*) and operations relative to *abhyāsa*. Our strings *carīkṛ* + *ti* and *jarīhṛ* + *ti* also go through replacement in *guṇa*, followed by *r* (*tapara*).

2. Why do we have the condition of *taparakaraṇa* '*t* used at the end of a sound specification' (in *ṛt*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*)? This question arises since an *abhyāsa* generally ends in a short vowel. Why then specify short *ṛ* with *taparakaraṇa*? This *taparakaraṇa* blocks augments (*āgama-nivṛtti*) in roots such as *kṝ* 'to scatter'. We thus get *kṝ* + *kṝ* + *ti* → *kar* + *kṝ* + *ti* = *ka* + *kṝ* + *ti*, through reduplication, *a*-replacement followed by *r* (*atva-raparatva*) and *halādiśeṣa* 'retention of the initial consonant'. A long replacement by 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ*, plus replacement in *guṇa*, followed by *r* of *kṝ*, then applies to produce *c*(*a*→*ā*) + *k*(*ṝ*→*ar*) + *ti* = *cākarti*. Other forms of *kṛ*, namely *carikarti* and *carīkarti*, follow similar patterns. Derivates of *hṛ*, used with *LAṬ*→*tiP*, are similarly derived from *jar* + *hṛ* + *LAṬ* with augments *rUK*, *riK* and *rīK*.

3. Note that *aṅgasya* and *abhyāsasya* are both carried over to this rule (*ṛtaś ca*). The word *ṛtaḥ* could thus be considered a qualifier to both *aṅgasya* and *abhyāsasya*. But since *taparakaraṇa* is used here for canceling long *ṛ*, and also since a short *ṛ* will thus be automatically available, *taparakaraṇa* does not serve any purpose. Consequently, *ṛtaḥ* is considered a qualifier only to *aṅgasya*. That is, *ṛkārāntasyāṅgasya yo' bhyāsaḥ* . . . 'the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* which ends in a (short) *ṛ*'.

4. A *Mahābhāṣya* verse finds this usage of augments *rUK*, etc., challenging:

kirati carkarītāntaṃ pacatīty atra yo nayet/
prāptijñaḥ tam ahaṃ manye prārabdhas tena saṃgrahaḥ//
'he who is capable of leading *kirati* 'third singular present indicative active of *kṝ*' to *carkarīta*, i.e., *cākartti* intensive with deletion of *yaṄ*, via

LUK, similarly to *pacati*, etc., I consider him the knower of applicational scope (*prāpti*) of augments *rUK*, *rIK* and *rīK*'

The word *kirati* is used in the specification as an *upalakṣaṇa* 'that which not only makes itself understood, but also others (*svabodhakatve sati svetarabodhakaḥ*)'. Verbal root *kṝ* not only represents a root ending in *ṝ* but also represents roots such as *gṝ girane* 'to call out, invoke', etc.

7.4.93 सन्वल्लघुनि चङ्परेऽनग्लोपे

sanval laghuni caṅpare' naglope
/*sanvat* ϕ *laghuni* 7/1 *caṅpare* 7/1 = *caṅparo yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *anaglope* 7/1 = *ako lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *nāsti aglopo yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58)
laghuni dhātvakṣare parato yo' bhyāsas tasya caṅpare au parataḥ sanīva kāryaṃ bhavati anaglope
Operations similar to forms ending in affix *saN* apply to an *abhyāsa* which, in an *aṅga*, occurs before a root-vowel termed *laghu* 'light, short' (1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*), when affix *ṆiC*, followed by *CaṄ*, follows and the *aṅga* incurs no *LOPA*-deletion of a sound denoted by *aK*.

EXAMPLES:

acīkarat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *kṛ* + *ṆiC*'
apīpacat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *pac* + *ṆiC*'
apīpavat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *pū* + *ṆiC*'
alīlavat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *lū* + *ṆiC*'
ajījavat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *jū* + *ṆiC*'
asisravat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *sru* + *ṆiC*'
asusravat 'ibidem'
aśiśravat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *śru* + *ṆiC*'
aśuśravat 'ibidem'
adidravat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *dru* + *ṆiC*'
adudravat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *dru* + *ṆiC*'
apipravat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *pru* + *ṆiC*'
apupravat 'ibidem'
apiplavat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *plu* + *ṆiC*'
apuplavat 'ibidem'
acicyavat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*→*tiP*-derivate of *cyu* + *ṆiC*'
acucyavat 'ibidem'

1. This is an extension (*atideśa*) rule. It extends operations to an *abhyāsa*, occurring before a light (*laghu*) root-syllable, similar to when affix *saN* follows (*sanvat*) *ṆiC*, followed by *CaṄ*. We thus must have (*i*) an *aṅga* with *ṆiC* followed by *CaṄ*, provided the *aṅga* must not have gone through deletion of a sound denoted by *aK* and (*ii*) the *abhyāsa* of a root must be followed by a

vowel termed *laghu* (1.4.9 *hrasvaṃ laghu*). Now consider rules 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*, 7.4.80 *oḥ puyaṇjy apare* and 7.4.81 *sravatiśṛṇotidravati*. . . . Our first rule offers a replacement in *i* (*itva*) to the final sound of an *abhyāsa* which ends in *a*. This, of course, when *saN* follows. A string such as (*kṛ* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ* which, subsequent upon a replacement in *tiP* for *LUṄ*, and subsequent introduction of (*CLI*→*CaṄ*) and augment *aṬ*, yields *kāri* + *CaṄ* + *ti* → *k*(*ṛ*→*ār*) *i* + (*LUṄ*→*tiP*) → *kār* + *i* + (*CLI*→*CAṄ*) + *ti* → *aṬ* + *kār* (*i*→ϕ) + *a* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) → *a* + (*kā*→*a*) *r* + *a* + *t* = *a* + *kar* + *a* + *t*. An application of reduplication, *halādiśeṣa* 'retention of initial consonant' (*kar*→*ka*), deletion of *ṆiC* and *cutva* ((*k*→*c*) *a*) will produce *a* + *ca* + *kar* + *a* + *t*. Our present rule will then replace the final *a* of *ca* with *i* which, in turn, will be replaced with its long counterpart to produce: *a* + *c*(*a*→*i*→*ī*) + *kar* + *a* + *t* = *acīkarat*. Refer to derivational details of *acīkarat* and *ajīharat* under the appendix of rule 1.4.9 *hrasvaṃ laghu*.

Other examples can be similarly derived. Consider *apīpavat*, *alīlavat* and *ajījavat* which also involve replacement in *i* (*itva*) of an *abhyāsa* which ends in *u* (7.4.80 *oḥ puyaṇjy apare*). Our present rule allows this *itva* to the final *u* of the *abhyāsa* which occurs before a consonant of the *p*-series (*pavarga*), *yaṆ*, or *j* followed by *a*. That is, also when *CaṄ* follows. Remember that 7.4.80 *oḥ puyaṇjy apare* allows *itva* when *saN* follows. Rule 7.4.81 *sravatiśṛṇotidravati* . . . allows *itva* to *u* under similar conditions. Our present rule extends *itva*, via *sanvadbhāva* 'operations similar to when *saN* follows', also when *CaṄ* follows. Thus, we get *asisravat* (from (*sru* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*), *aśiśravat* (from (*śru* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*), *adidravat* (from (*dru* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*), *apipravat* (from (*pru* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*), *apiplavat* (from (*plu* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*) and *acicyavat* (from (*cyu* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*), respectively. Since this *sanvadbhāva* 'treatment as if when *saN* follows' is optional, we will also get forms where the option of *itva* is not accepted. Thus, we get *asusravat*, *aśuśravat*, *adudravat*, *apupravat*, *apuplavat*, and *acucyavat*, respectively.

2. Why state the condition of *laghuni* 'when a (syllable with a vowel termed) *laghu* follows'? Consider *atatakṣat* and *ararakṣat* where the vowel before the conjunct is termed *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*) and hence, *sanvadbhāva* is blocked. This leads to an absence of *i*-replacement (*itva*) of the *abhyāsa*. This same is also true of *ajajāgarat*, a derivate of (*jāgṛ* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*)). Refer to derivational details under 1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu* (II:507-9) and 6.1.11 *caṅi*.

3. Why do we have the condition of *caṅpare* 'when *CaṄ* follows'? So that this *sanvadbhāva* can be blocked in *ahaṃ papaca* 'I cooked'. This is a counterexample with no optional treatment as *ṆiC* of 7.1.91 *ṇal uttamo vā*. Besides, we do not get *CaṄ* in a derivate of *LIṬ*.

Why do we have to have the condition of a following *Ṇi* when *CaṄ* follows? So that *sanvadbhāva* does not apply when *CaṄ* alone follows. Consider *acīkamata*, a third singular middle derivate of *kamU* 'to glow' in *LUṄ* where *sanvadbhāva* is blocked because *ṆiC* is not followed by *CaṄ*.

4. Why do we have the condition of *anaglope* 'when no deletion of a sound

denoted by *aK*'? Consider *acakathat* where we find *Ṇi* followed by *CaṄ*. Note that the root ends in *a*. This *a* is deleted after *ṆiC* is introduced. The root thus becomes *aglopin* 'that which has lost its *aK* to deletion'. A similar deletion of *a* is found in (*dṛṣ* + *ṆiC*) + (*LUṄ* → *tiP*)) = *adadṛṣat*, where *sanvadbhāva* is also blocked. The *ṆiC* is here introduced by *tat karoti tad ācaṣṭe* (*gaṇasūtra*) and the *ṭi*-deletion is accomplished, via *vt*: *ṇāv iṣṭhavat prātipadikasya* (6.4.155 *ṭeḥ*).

Why, in *avīvadat* = *vāditavantaṃ prayojitavān* 'encouraged him while encourged to debate', where there are two *ṆiC* affixes the first of which is deleted, deletion of *aK* is not accepted as taken effect. The *ṇau* of our present rule denotes *ṆiC* as a class (*jāti*). Consequently, deletion (*aglopa*) has to be a deletion other than one of *ṆiC*. This deletion thus qualifies as non-*aK* deletion. We, therefore, get *sanvadbhāva* and replacement in *i* (*itva*) to apply.

7.4.94 दीर्घो लघोः

dīrgho laghoḥ
/*dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *laghoḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *laghuni caṅpare anaglope* #93)
dīrgho bhavati laghor abhyāsasya laghuni ṇau caṅpare naglope
A long vowel comes in place of the *laghu* vowel of an *abhyāsa*, when followed by a *laghu* vowel of the root, provided affix *ṆiC*, used before *CaṄ*, follows the *aṅga*, and no *LOPA*-deletion of an *aK* of the *aṅga* has taken effect.

EXAMPLES:

acīkarat
ajīharat
alīlavat
apīpacat

1. Consider *acīkarat* which derives from (*kṛ* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*, via *LUṄ*→*tiP*, *CLI*→*CaṄ*, reduplication, operations relative to the *abhyāsa* and *sanvadbhāva* 'treatment as if affix *saN* follows'. Our present rule applies on *a* + *ci* + *kar* + *a* + *t* where the short *i* of *ci*, an *abhyāsa*, is replaced with its long counterpart to produce *acīkarat*. One can similarly derive *ajīharat*, *alīlavat* and *apīpavat* from (*hṛ* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*, (*lū* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*), and (*pū* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*, respectively. Refer also to examples of the preceding rule.

2. Why is this condition of long in place of a *laghu* 'light, short'? Consider *abibhrajat*, a derivarte of *bhrāj* 'to glow, shine', which derives from (*bhrāj* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*. The *i* of *bi* before the conjunct *bhr* no longer remains a *laghu* (1.4.10 *hrasvaṃ laghu*). It is termed *guru* 'heavy' (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*), instead. The long replacement of this rule is thus blocked.

Why do we have the condition of 'a following *laghu* of the root'? Consider

atatakṣat and *ararakṣat*, the two active *LUṄ*-derivates of *takṣ* 'to fashion' and *rakṣ* 'to protect' where we do not find a following *laghu*. That is, *a* before *kṣ*, a conjunct, cannot be accepted as a *laghu*.

The condition of *caṅpare* 'when *CaṄ* follows' and *anaglope* 'when no deletion of *aK*' are also important. Refer to my notes of earlier rules for counter-examples such as *ahaṃ papaca, acakamata* and *acakathat*.

7.4.95 अत् स्मृदॄत्वरप्रथम्रदस्तॄस्पशाम्

at smṛdṝtvaraprathamradastṝspaśām
/ *at* 1/1 *smṛ-dṝ-tvara-pratha-mrada-stṝ-spaśām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *caṅpare* #93)
'*smṛ, dṝ, tvara, pratha, mrada, stṝ-spaśa*' *ity eteṣām abhyāsasya* '*at*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *aT* comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal roots *smṛ* 'to think, remember', *dṝ* 'to fear', *tvarA* 'to hasten', *prathA* 'to spread', *mradA* 'to be gracious', *stṝ* 'to strew, cover' and *spaśA* 'to tie, touch' when affix *ṆiC*, followd by *CaṄ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

asmarat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *smṛ*'
adadarat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *dṝ*'
atatvarat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *tvar*'
apaprathat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *prathA*'
amamradat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *mrad*'
atastarat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *stṝ*'
apaspaśat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of *spaś*

1. This rule allows *aT* as a replacement for the *abhyāsa* of verbal roots *smṛ* 'to remember', etc. This *aT* is offered against *i*-replacement (*itva*) of 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*, in view of rule 7.4.93 *sanvallaghuni*. . . . The *taparakaraṇa* 'making a *t* to follow' specification of *aT* also blocks long replacement of 7.4.94 *dīrgho laghoḥ*.

7.4.96 विभाषा वेष्टिचेष्ट्योः

vibhāṣā veṣṭiceṣṭyoḥ
/ *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *veṣṭi-ceṣṭyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *caṅpare* #93 *at* #95)
'*veṣṭi, ceṣṭi*' *ity etayor abhyāsasya vibhāṣā* '*at*' *ity ayam ādeśo caṅpare ṇau parataḥ*
An *aT* comes, only optionally, in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted *veṣṭ* 'to wrap' and *ceṣṭ* 'to strive, stir' when a *ṆiC*, followed by *CaṄ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

avaveṣṭat 'third person singular active optional *LUṄ*-derivate of *veṣṭ* used with affix *ṆiC*'
aviveṣṭat 'third person singular active optional *LUṄ*-derivate of *veṣṭ* used with affix *ṆiC*'
acaceṣṭat 'third person singular active optional *LUṄ*-derivate of *ceṣṭ* used with affix *ṆiC*'
aciceṣṭat 'third person singular active optional *LUṄ*-derivate of *ceṣṭ* used with affix *ṆiC*'

1. Note that these roots, i.e., (*veṣṭ* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*) and (*ceṣṭ* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*, do not get a *laghu* vowel to follow after their *abhyāsa*. Consequently, replacement in *i* (*itva*), via *sanvadbhāva* 'treatment as if *saN* follows', is not available to them. The *e* of their *abhyāsa* is replaced with *i* by 7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*. That is, when the option of *aT*, which is offered here, is not accepted.

7.4.97 ई च गणः

ī ca gaṇaḥ
/*ī* 1/1 (deleted) *ca* ϕ *gaṇaḥ* 6/1/
(*aṅgasya* #6.4.1 *abhyāsasya* #58 *caṅpare* #93 *at* #95)
gaṇer abhyāsasya īkārādeśo bhavati caṅpare ṇau parataḥ cakārād ac ca
An *ī*, and *aT* as well at the strength of *ca* 'and', comes in place of the *abhyāsa* of an *aṅga* constituted by verbal root *gaṇ* 'to count' when affix *ṆiC*, followed by *CaṄ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

ajīgaṇat 'third person singular active *LUṄ*-derivate of causal *gaṇi*'
ajagaṇat 'ibidem (with *aT*)'

1. This rule offers *ī* as an optional replacement to the *abhyāsa* of *gaṇi* 'causal root' under conditions similar to the earlier rule. This *ī* is made optional against *aT*, at the strength of the use of *ca* 'and'. This replacement will be introduced in place of the last sound segment of the *abhyāsa* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*). This root cannot avail *sanvadbhāva* 'treatment as a form ending in affix *saN*' and *itva* 'replacement in *i*' because it ends in *a*. This *a* is deleted by 6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ* and thus qualifies the *aṅga* to be *aglopin* 'that which contains a deletion by *LOPA*'. We will get two forms: one with *aT* and the other with *ī*, i.e., *ajagaṇat* and *ajīgaṇat*, respectively. We will similarly get two forms in the middle (*ātmanepada*): *ajīgaṇata* and *ajagaṇata*.

Adhyāya Eight

Pāda One

8.1.1 सर्वस्य द्वे

sarvasya dve
/*sarvasya* 6/1 *dve* 1/1/
adhikāro' yam. ita uttaram yad vakṣyāmaḥ 'padasya' ity ataḥ prāk 'sarvasya dve' bhavataḥ' ity evaṃ veditavyam
Two occur in place of one whole form . . .

Examples:

pacati pacati 'cooks and cooks'
grāmo grāmo ramaṇīyaḥ 'each and every village is beautiful'

1. This is a governing heading (*adhikāra*) and, hence, it is carried over all rules enumerated prior to 8.1.16 *padasya*. This section of rules will allow a single form to be iterated. For example, consider 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ* which allows a single form to be obligatorily replaced with two, when *nityatā* 'permanence' and *vīpsā* 'repetition, over and over again, pervasion' is signified. A question is raised as to what exactly is replaced with two. *Kāśikā* answers it *ye śabdataś cārthataś cobhayathāntaratame* 'those two which, in view of form and meaning both, are most similar'. Thus, a single word *pacati* when replaced with two becomes *pacati pacati*. Similarly, *grāmo grāmo ramaṇīyaḥ* 'each and every village is beautiful'.

2. Note that this rule does not specify any predicate (*vidheya*). It also does not specify any operand (*kāryin*). Since this rule is formulated such that it expects subsequent specifications of its predicate and operand, and also since it is marked with the *svarita* accent, it is an *adhikāra*. The meaning of this rule should be determined based on what one understands by the use of the words *sarvasya* 'in place of all, of the whole' and *dve* 'two'. That is, meaning of a form alone should be considered. Note that to accept the form alone could be appropriate, especially in consonance with 1.1.68 *svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā* 'only the form of a word . . .'. However, this view will create difficulty in connection with the application of rules 6.1.99 *nāmreḍitasyāntasya tu vā* and 6.1.100 *nityam āmreḍite ḍāci*. For, these rules accept the existence of *at*, gotten through iteration, and offer operational provisions. If the form of these two rules alone was considered, it will be impossible to get *at*. Consequently, 'meaning' (*artha*) must be accepted as the basis for interpreting operational provisions of 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*.

Note that *sarva* 'all, entire' is used with meanings of (*i*) entirety of sub-

stance (*dravyakārtsnya*), (*ii*) entirety of kind (*prakārakārtsnya*) and (*iii*) entirety of parts (*avayavakārtsnya*). Consider the following sentences which illustrate these three meanings:

(*a*) *sarvasvaṃ dadāti* 'gives all he owns'
(*b*) *sarvānnīno bhikṣuḥ* 'this beggar eats all kinds of food'
(*c*) *sarvaḥ paṭo dagdhaḥ* 'this dress is all burned'

The third meaning of *avayavakārtsnya* 'entirety of parts (of a whole)' is accepted in connection with *sarva* of 8.1.1 *sarvasya dve*. Recall that as, by bringing special meaning words such as *pari*, etc., close to the context of *sarvasya dve*, we do not get any part, for example of *paṭaḥ* in *sarvaḥ paṭaḥ dagdhaḥ* excluded (from burning), the *dve* of *sarvasya dve*, in interpreting *sarva* as denoting *avayavakārtsnya*, cannot exclude any part of what is to be replaced.

2. The operational provision of this rule, especially in view of the number word *dve* 'two' and the genitive of *sarvasya* '(in place) of entire', is interpreted in two ways:

(*i*) two words come in place of one (*sthāne dvirvacanam*) and
(*ii*) a single word is used twice by way of repetition (*dviḥprayogo dvirvacanam*).

The first view will interpret *sarvasya*, especially since this proposal is made in the context of instruction about words (*śabdānuśāsana*), as referring to the form of words (*śabda*). Since *dvi* is a number word, and especially since numbers (*saṃkhyā*) up to ten refer to what is to be numbered (*saṃkhyeya*), it will refer to the form of word (*saṃkhyeyaṃ śabdarūpaṃ*) or its repetition (*āvṛtti*). This *dve* can be interpreted as neuter or feminine. If it is interpreted as neuter it will refer to the number of the word-form (*saṃkhyeya*). If interpreted as feminine, it will refer to repetition (*āvṛtti*), twofold articulation of the word. The genitive of *sarvasya*, in view of replacing one word-form with two, will be interpreted as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive denoting in place of'. Recall that *āvṛtti* 'repetition' is an action (*kriyā*) of which word will serve as a means (*sādhana*). A substituendum-substitute relationship (*sthānyādeśabhāva*) cannot obtain between an action (*kriyā*) and its means (*sādhana*). For if it does, the action, when replaced by the substitute, will be displaced. That is, the action of articulating the word will disappear. Thus, the genitive of *sarvasya* cannot be interpreted as denoting 'in place of', in accord with the repetition view (*āvṛttipakṣa*). It must be interpreted as the genitive marked with usage in conjunction with a *kṛt* affix (*kṛdyogalakṣaṇā ṣaṣṭhī*). The entire word (*śabda*), in this view, will become the subject of action of repetition (*Nyāsa*: *sarvo hi śabda āvartyamāna evāvṛttikriyāyāḥ kartā bhavati*). *Kāśikā*, in its paraphrase (*vṛtti*), states *sarvasya sthāne dve bhavataḥ* 'two come in place of a single whole'. This is done by accepting the first view, i.e., in nlace of, interpretation of the genitive.

8.1.2 तस्य परमाम्रेडितम्

tasya param āmreḍitam
/*tasya* 6/1 *param* 1/1 *āmreḍitam* 1/1/
(*sarvasya dve* #1)
tasya dviruktasya yat paraṃ śabdarūpaṃ tad āmreḍitasaṃjñaṃ bhavati
The final of this iterated sequence is termed *āmreḍita.*

EXAMPLES:

caura caura3 ghātayiṣyāmi tvā bandhayiṣyāmi tvā 'thief, thief, I will kill you, I will have you tied up (arrested)'
vṛṣala vṛṣala3 ghātayiṣyāmi tvā bandhayiṣyāmi tvā 'vṛṣala, o vṛṣala, I will have you killed, I will have you tied up (arrested)'
dasyo dasyo3 ghātayiṣyāmi tvā bandhayiṣyāmi tvā 'bandit, o bandit, I will have you killed, I will have you tied up (arrested)'

1. The second element in iteration (*tasya*) is termed *āmreḍita.* Thus, given *caura* 'thief' which, after iteration (cf. 8.1.8 *vākyāder āmantritasya* . . .) produces *caura caura,* the second *caura* is termed an *āmreḍita.* Rule 8.1.91 *āmreḍitaṃ bhartsane* then applies to mark its *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) vowel with a *pluta.* Thus, we get *caura caura3*! Recall that the iteration of *caura* has applied subsequent to deletion of *sU* after *caura caura,* under the *sambuddhi* 'vocative singular' condition of 6.1.67 *eṅ hrasvāt.* . . . The final *u* of *dasyu* + *sU* is replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart (7.3.108 *hrasvasya guṇaḥ*). Deletion of *sU* and subsequent iteration produce *dasyo dasyo3*, where the final vowel of the *āmreḍita* is replaced with *pluta.* We similarly get *vṛṣala vṛṣala3*!

The scope of the term *āmreḍita* is illustrated by rules such as 8.2.95 *āmreḍitaṃ bhartsane,* etc.

8.1.3 अनुदात्तं च

anudāttaṃ ca
/*anudāttam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*āmreḍitam* #2)
anudāttaṃ ca tad bhavati yad āmreḍitasaṃjñam
That which is termed *āmreḍita* is also marked with *anudātta.*

EXAMPLES:

bhuṅkte bhuṅkte 'eats and eats'
paśūn paśūn 'animals and animals'

1. This rule allows *anudātta* to all vowels of an item termed *āmreḍita.* Thus, consider *bhuṅkte* 'eats', of *bhuṅkte bhuṅkte,* where iteration is accomplished by 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ.* Recall that the third singular middle ending, here *te,* is selected in view of 1.3.66 *bhujo' navane.* Verbal root *bhujA* 'to consume' is

marked with *udātta* as its *it*. Iteration would have transferred the original accent to the resultant form. The affix, i.e., *te*, itself brings *udātta* in view of 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*. Augment *ŚnaM* is qualified for *anudātta*, especially in view of the *vt*: *satiśiṣṭo' pi vikarṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaraṃ na bādhate* (ad 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*). But since *ŚnaM* is also taught concurrently with *aT* (short *a*) to start with (*adupadeśa*), *te* becomes *anudātta* in view of 6.1.183 *tāsy anudāttenṅid*. . . . Now *ŚnaM* must be marked with *udātta* in consonance with affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). But when *a* of *ŚnaM* gets deleted, we get *anudātta* from 6.1.155 *anudāttasya ca*. . . . This accentual pattern will also be available to forms resulting from iteration. Our present rule assigns *anudātta* to the entire form termed *āmreḍita*. Subsequently, *u* of *bhuṅkte* is marked with *svarita* (8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*). The other *anudātta* accents go through monotone (*ekaśruti*). The *paśu* 'animal' of *paśun*, etc., similarly goes through this accentual assignment.

8.1.4 नित्यवीप्सयोः

nityavīpsayoḥ
/*nityavīpsayoḥ* 7/2 = *nityañ ca vīpsā ca* = *nityavīpse* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/ (*sarvasya dve* #1)
nitye cārthe vīpsāyāṃ ca yad vartate tasya dve bhataḥ
Two come in place of a single whole form when the signification is *nitya* 'over and over again, regularly, continually' and *vīpsā* 'pervasion of a thing by property and action'.

EXAMPLES:

pacati pacati 'cooks and cooks'
jalpati jalpati 'talks and talks'
bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati 'goes after eating and eating'
bhojaṃ bhojaṃ vrajati 'goes to each and every feast'
lunīhi lunīhi ity evāyaṃ lunāti 'cut it, cut it, thus he cuts'

1. Note that *nitya* is used in the general sense of *sarvakālabhāvin* 'that which happens at all times'. It is seen used in the sense of 'eternal, permanent', in examples such as *nitya ātmā* 'self (soul) is eternal', *nityam ākāśam* 'sky is eternal' and *nityā dyauḥ* 'heaven is eternal'. It is also seen used in the sense of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'repetition, over and over again', as in *nityaṃ prahasitaḥ* 'always laughing' and *nityaṃ jalpitaḥ* 'always talking'. If it is used with the signification of 'permanence, eternal', iteration (*dvirvacana*) will also apply to *ātmā* 'self' and *ākāśa* 'ether, space', etc. Since *ābhīkṣṇya* is the property of an action (*kriyādharma*), and also since *nityatā* 'permanence' of this rule must exclude any reference to 'eternality' of *ākāśa* and *ātmā*, etc., *nityatā* of this rule is interpreted as denoting *ābhīkṣṇya* 'over and over again'. The word *nitya*, in this context of *ābhīkṣṇya*, can now be seen as 'an action which

the agent primarily engages in to bringing about its completion (*Kāś: yāṃ kriyāṃ karttā prādhānyena anuparaman karoti*)'. Thus, we get *pacatipacati*; *bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati*, *bhojaṃ bhojaṃ vrajati* and *lunīhi lunīhīty evāyaṃ lunāti*, etc. These examples illustrate that a *nityatā* of the *ābhīkṣṇya* type can be found in a *tiṄ* 'a form ending in an affix denoted by the abbreviatory term *tiṄ*' and *avyayakṛt* 'an indeclinable (*avyaya*) derived with an affix termed *kṛt* (1.1.39 *kṛn mejantaḥ*; 1.1.40 *ktvātosun*...)'.

Why is a form such as *pāpacyate* 'third singular present middle derivate of verbal root *pac* ending in *yaṄ*' not subjected to go through iteration when its denotatum is *paunaḥpunya* 'over and over again'? Commentators explain that 'iteration' (*dvirvacana*) is used so that *paunaḥpunya* can be denoted. Affix *yaṄ* of *pāpacyate* = *punaḥ punaḥ pacati* 'cooks over and over again' has already accomplished what iteration is supposed to accomplish. This is the reason why *pāpacyate* does not go through iteration. A form ending in affix *yaṄ* is capable of denoting *paunaḥpunya* without any expectancy of iteration (*dvirvacana*). I leave out any further details of this question.

The word *vīpsā* 'pervasion' focuses on property of 'forms which end in affixes denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*'. What is *vīpsā*? The desire of a speaker to pervade (*vyāptum icchā*) the loci of different objects in their entirety by means of 'action' (*kriyā*) and 'quality' (*guṇa*), concurrently (*yugpat*; *Kāś: nānāvācinām adhikaraṇānāṃ kriyāguṇābhyāṃ yugpaṭ prayoktur vyāptum icchā vīpsā*). Thus we get *grāmo grāmo ramaṇīyaḥ* 'each and every village is beautiful' and *puruṣaḥ puruṣo nidhanam upaiti* 'each and every person reaches death'. Our first example illustrates the desire of speakers to pervade the entirely of different villages, based upon their direction and location, by means of quality of their 'beauty' (*ramaṇīyatā*), concurrently. Our next example illustrates the desire of speakers to pervade each and every person with the action of *nidhana* 'dying'.

A form which ends in a *tiṄ* and is used with *ābhīkṣṇya* and *prakarṣa* 'excellence', must receive an affix denoting *prakarṣa* after iteration has applied (*kṛtadvirvacanāt*). Thus, consider *pacati pacatitarām* where iteration of *pacati* precedes denotation of *prakarṣa*. Commentators note that conflict of equal strength (*vipratiṣedha*) is the reason why iteration must take precedence. Iteration finds its independent scope where *ābhīkṣṇya*, i.e., *pacati pacati*, and not *prakarṣa* 'excellence', is denoted. An affix denoting 'excellence' finds its independent scope where association with excellence, i.e., *pacatitarām*, and not *ābhīkṣya*, is denoted. A context where both find their scope, i.e., *pacati pacatitarām*, requires iteration to precede based on *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict of equal strength'. Once iteration has applied, excellence can be denoted by reconstructing the context of its use (*punaḥ prasaṅgavijñānāt*).

A form which ends in a *sUP* and is to be used in association with *vīpsā* and *prakarṣa* must go through iteration after receiving the affix denoting excellence. Thus, we get *āḍhyataram āḍhyatarm ānaya* 'bring each and everyone

who is rich'. An association with *vīpsā* is intended here for forms which already denote excellence.

8.1.5 परेर्वर्जने

parer varjane
/*pareḥ* 6/1 *varjane* 7/1/
(*sarvasya dve* #1)
parīty etasya varjane' rthe dve bhavataḥ
Two come in place of one whole form of *pari* when the signification is *varjana* 'exclusion'.

EXAMPLES:

paripari trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ 'it rained around, but not in the country of the Trigarttas'
pari trigarttebhyaḥ 'ibidem'
paripari sauvīrebhyo . . . 'it rained around, but not in the country of the Sauvīras'
pari sauvīrebhyaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows iteration of *pari* when it is used with the signification of *varjana* 'exclusion'. Thus, *pari pari trigarttebhyo vṛṣṭo devaḥ* 'god rained all over, but not in the country of the Trigarttas'. Recall that *pari* is termed a *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.87 *apaparī varjane*). The ablative (*pañcamī*) of *trigarttebhyaḥ* is introduced in consonance with 2.3.10 *pañcamy apāṅ*. . . .
This *pari* can also be allowed to optionally combine in a compound (2.1.11-12 *vibhāṣā apapari* . . .). We know it from the inclusion of *varjana* in this rule. For, an explicit statement of *varjana* was not necessary since its meaning could then have been gotten from the compound. This, in turn, also suggests that our present rule will apply where the option of compound formation is not accepted. That is, iteration does not apply when meaning of *varjana* is included within the denotatum of the compound. Note also that iteration was here made available under the condition of *vīpsā*. This signification of *varjana*, as part of the provision of this rule, then becomes restrictive (*niyama*) in nature.

2. Why do we state the condition of *varjane*? Observe *pariṣiñcati* 'waters all over' where *pari* is a preverb (*upasarga*), and not a *karmapravacanīya*.

3. A *vārttika* (*vt*: *parer varjane' samāse veti vaktavyam*) proposes iteration of *pari*, only optionally, when it is used with the signification of *varjana* and is not combined in a compound (*asamāse*). Thus, *paripari trigarttebhyo* . . . .; *pari trigarttebhyaḥ*.

8.1.6 प्रसमुपोदः पादपूरणे

prasamupodaḥ pādapūraṇe

/pra-sam-upodaḥ 6/1 = *praś ca sam ca upaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *pāda-pūraṇam* 1/1 (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*sarvasya dve* #1)
'*pra, sam, upa, ut' ity eteṣāṃ pādapūraṇe dve bhavato dvirvacanena cet pādaḥ pūryate*
Two come in place of one whole form of *pra, sam, upa* and *ud*, when iteration serves as means of completing the quarter of a hymn.

Examples:

praprāyamagnirbhāratasyá śṛṇve 'when this ritual fire (agni) . . .'
saṃsamidyúvase vṛṣan 'you are the lord, giver of desires'
upópa me parā mṛśa 'come near me and touch'
kiṃ nódudu harṣase dātavā ú 'why do you not please to give us prosperity'

1. Since such usage is not available in the classical language, this rule applies only to the Vedic hymns.

Why do we have the condition of *pādapūraṇam* 'completion of a quarter of a Vedic hymn'? Consider *pra devaṃ devyā dhiyā* where completion of a quarter is not the purpose.

8.1.7 उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये

uparyadhyadhasaḥ sāmīpye
/upary-adhy-adhasaḥ 1/3 = *upari ca adhi ca adhaś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tāni*; *sāmīpye* 7/1/
(*sarvasya dve* #1)
'*upari, adhi, adhas' ity eteṣāṃ dve bhavataḥ sāmīpye vivakṣite*
Two come in place of one whole form of *upari, adhi* and *adhas*, when *sāmīpya* 'proximity' is the signification.

Examples:

uparyupari duḥkham 'misery is just about over'
uparyupari grāmam '. . . just above the village'
adhyadhi grāmam '. . . just below the village'

1. Note that *upari* 'above', *adhi* 'under' and *adhas* 'below' are all indeclinables (*avyaya*) with the signification of *sāmīpya* = *pratyāsatti* 'proximity'. Proximity is viewed with reference to time (*kāla*) and place (*deśa*). Sentence one denotes proximity with time (*kāla*), in the sense that 'misery has just about ended'. Our second sentence denotes proximity with place (*deśa*). Proximity to the village here refers to places 'above' and 'below' the location of the village (*grāmasya sāmīpyena upariṣṭād* (*adhastād vā*) *deśa ity arthaḥ*). The *dvitīyā* 'accusative' in *grāmam* 'village' is introduced in view of enumeration (*pariganana*) in the *vārttika* proposal (ad 1.4.48 *upānvadhyāṅ* . . .):

ubhasarvatasoḥ kāryā dhiguparyādiṣu triṣu/
dvitīyāmreḍitānteṣu tato' nyatrāpi dṛśyate//

2. Why do we have to state the condition of *sāmīpya* 'proximity'? Consider *upari candramāḥ* 'moon above . . .' where no proximity is denoted. Why do we not get iteration in *upari śiraso ghaṭaṃ dhārayati* 'has a jar placed on head'? What is denoted here is 'top (of the head)' and 'bottom (of the jar'; *auttarādharyam*). There is no denotation of proximity between the 'head' and the 'jar'. This proximity, however, is possible to infer. What about iteration in the following verse:

uparyupari paśyantaḥ sarva eva daridrati/
adho' dho darśane kasya mahimā nopajāyate//
'who does not feel belittled while looking up and above;
who does not feel elated while looking below.'

Iteration is here accomplished with the denotation of *vīpsā* 'pervasion'.

8.1.8 **वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्यासूयासम्मतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु**

vākyāder āmantritasyāsūyāsammatikopakutsanabhartsaneṣu
/ *vākyādeḥ* 6/1 *āmantritasya* 6/1 *asūyā-sammati-kopa- kutsana-bhartsaneṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*sarvasya dve* #1)
ekārthaḥ padasamūhaḥ vākyam. vākyāder āmantritasya dve bhavataḥ asūyā-sammati-kopa-kutsana-bhartsaneṣu yadi tad vākyaṃ bhavati
Two come in place of an *āmantrita* which occurs at the beginning of a sentence, provided the sentence is used with the signification of *asūyā* 'fault-finding', *sammati* 'praise, concurrence', *kopa* 'anger', *kutsana* 'censure' and *bhartsana* 'threat to harm, scolding'.

EXAMPLES:

māṇavakā3 māṇavaka! abhirūpakā3 abhirūpaka!! riktaṃ te ābhirūpyam 'O kid beautiful, gone is your beauty'
māṇavakā3 māṇavaka! abhirūpakā3 abhirūpaka!! śobhanaḥ khalv asi 'O kid, you are beautiful'
māṇavakā3 māṇavaka avinītakā3 avinītaka idānīṃ jñāsyasi jālma 'O kid, you are indeed an impudent wretch'
śaktike3 śaktike yaṣṭike3 yaṣṭike riktā te śaktiḥ 'O Śaktikā, O Yaṣṭikā, gone indeed is your power'
caurá caurá3 vṛṣála3 vṛṣála! ghātayiṣyāmi tvā, bandhayiṣyāmi tvā 'O lowly Vṛṣala, I will have you killed, I will have you tied up (arrested)'

1. This rule allows iteration of a form termed *āmantrita* 'address', when this same is used at the beginning of a sentence and the sentence denotes *asūyā*, etc. *Kāśikā* explains a *vākya* 'sentence' as *ekārthaḥ padasamūhaḥ* 'a group

of words which denotes a single meaning'. A sentence at times is explained as a group of words where only one form ends in a *tiṄ* (*kvacit tu ekatiṅsamūho vākyam*). Sometimes a sentence is given no definition at all.

Kāśikā explains *asūyā* as *paraguṇānām asahanam* 'not tolerating qualities of others'. The words *pūjā* and *kopa* are glossed as *sammatiḥ* 'respect, concurrence' and *krodha* 'anger', respectively. The word *nindanam* is explained as *kutsanam* 'censure'. A similar explanation for *bhartsanam* is given as *apakāraśabdair bhayotpādanam* 'generating fear by threats of consequences'.

Note that *vākya* of the compound *vākyādeḥ* 'beginning of a sentence' is treated as secondary (*gauṇa*). Still, *asūyā*, etc., are related with *vākya* 'sentence'. Thus we get the interpretation: *asūyādiṣu yad vākyaṃ tad āder iti* 'the initial of a sentence which is used with the signification of *asūyā* 'fault-finding', etc. Only a sentence can denote *asūyā*, etc., since these happen to be characteristic qualities of speakers (*prayoktṛ-dharma*). Since they cannot be accepted as characteristic qualities of the denotatum (*abhidheya*), an *āmantrita* cannot denote *asūyā*, etc. (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *prayoktṛdharmā hy asūyādayo nābhidheyadharmā, te ca vākyenaiva dyotyante nāmantritena*). It is for this reason that *asūyā*, etc., are used as qualifiers to a sentence. The wording of this rule has *āmantrita* as a qualified (*viśeṣya*), and hence principal (*pradhāna*). This renders *vākya* as non-principal (*apradhāna*). One may think that *asūyā*, etc., should, logically, be used as qualifiers to *āmantrita*. This, however, is not the correct view. For, an *āmantrita* can then avail iteration only when it is used with *asūyā*, etc., in integration. We will get iteration in a sentence such as *asūye asūye*! We cannot get iteration, for example, when a sentence denotes *asūyā*, etc. Thus, consider *māṇavaka*3! *māṇavaka*!!, etc.

2. Why do we state the condition of *vākyādeḥ* 'at the beginning of a sentence'? So that iteration does not apply to a form which may occur at the end, or middle, of a sentence. Thus, consider *śobhanaḥ khalv asi māṇavaka!* 'you are beautiful, indeed, kid' where *māṇavaka*, at the end of a sentence, cannot qualify for iteration.

3. Why do we state the condition of *āmantrita*? Consider *udāro devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta is generous' where iteration does not apply in the absence of an *āmantrita*. Finally, why do we state the condition of *asūyādiṣu* 'finding fault, etc.'? Consider *gām abhyāja śuklām* 'fetch the white cow to the village' where the sentence does not denote any meaning of *asūyā*, etc.

4. Note that *māṇavaka*, etc., go through iteration since they are termed *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā'' mantritam*), and are used as part of a sentence whereby *asūyā*, etc., are denoted. A *pluta* vowel marked with *svarita* is assigned (8.2.103 *svaritāmreḍite*. . .) to the first of words iterated under the condition of *asūyā*, etc. The *pluta* of *āmreḍita*, the second of words iterated under the condition of *bhartsana* 'reproach', is assigned *udātta* (8.2.95 *āmreḍitaṃ bhartsane*).

5. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) cites the following verse:

guravo hi hitaiṣitvād akupyanto' pi bhartsanam/
kurvate bhartsyamānās tu kupitān pratiyanti tān//
vināpy asūyayā kutsāṃ kurvantīti pṛthak tayoḥ/
nirdeśaḥ sūtrakāreṇa vihitaḥ sūkṣmadarśinā//
'teachers, because of welfare of pupils, reproach them; while reproaching they still favor them; they are able to censure them even without finding faults; this has been made clear by the sharp-sighted formulator of the *sūtras*'

This verse is cited in the context of questioning the use of *kutsana* 'censure' and *bhartsana* 'reproach', especially in association with *kopa* and *asūyā*. For, *kutsā* cannot be accomplished without *asūyā*, and *bhartsana* cannot be accomplished without *kopa*. These two must present themselves as reasons for *kutsā* and *bhartsana*. Haradatta cites the following verse to refute it. For, one may find faults with affection, and likewise, may find benefit in striking:

sāmṛtaiḥ pāṇibhir ghnanti guravo na viśokṣitaiḥ/
lālanāśrayiṇo doṣās tāḍanāśrayiṇo guṇāḥ//
'teachers hit with nectar hands, and not with hands of torture; faults reside in spoiling while qualities reside in discipline'

8.1.9 एकं बहुव्रीहिवत्

ekaṃ bahuvrīhivat
|ekam 1/1 *bahuvrīhivat* ϕ = *bahuvrīher iva/*
(*sarvasya dve* #1)
ekam ity etac chabdarūpaṃ dviruktaṃ bahuvrīhivad bhavati
A sequence of two, in place of one whole form of *ekam* 'one', is treated as if it is a *bahuvrīhi* compound.

EXAMPLES:

ekaikam akṣaraṃ paṭhati 'reads each and evry syllable'
ekaikayā' hutyā juhoti 'sacrifices with oblations accompanying each and every offering'

1. Note that this is an extensional (*ātideśika*) proposal. The word *ekam*, when gone through iteration under the denotation of *vīpsā* (8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*), is treated as if it was a *bahuvrīhi*. Treatment as a *bahuvrīhi* causes the assignment of the term *samāsa* 'compound', followed by deletion of nominal endings. We thus get *ek*(*a+e→ai*) *ka* = *ekaika* + (*sU→am*) = *ekaikam*; (7.1.24 *ato' m*), subsequent upon treatment of *ekamekam* as a *bahuvrīhi* and deletion of its nominal endings. We similarly get the feminine form *ekaikayā* from *ekā* + *Ṭā* + *ekā* + *Ṭā* = *ekayā* + *ekayā* → *ekaikayā*. The *ekā* of *ekaikayā* also goes through masculine transformaiton (*puṃvadbhāva*; 6.3.32 *striyāḥ puṃvad* . . .).

2. The purpose of *bahuvrīhivadbhāva* 'treatment as if a *bahuvrīhi*' is gener-

features of that which is signified (*abhidheya*), we will get iteration of the word-form *ābādha* and not of words such as *pīḍita* and *bādhita*, etc., which may be synonymous with it. That is, we may not get iteration of words such as *gata*, etc. If, however, *ābādha* is interpreted as referring to characteristic features (state) of speakers (*prayoktṛ*), iteration can apply to everything. For, *gata*, etc., do not denote *ābādha*. The word *ābādha* is here interpreted as referring to the *dharma* 'characteristic quality' of the speaker (*prayoktṛ-dharma*), and not to *abhidheya-dharma* 'features of denotation'.

The *ca* in this rule is used for split-interpretation (*vākyabheda*). Thus, one split sentence allows iteration and the other facilitates treatment as a *bahuvrīhi* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *tena dvayam atra vidhīyate*: *ekena vākyena dvirvacanam, apareṇa ca bahuvrīhivadbhāvaḥ*).

Incidentally, all examples involve deletion of *sUP*. Masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*) is additionally involved in *gatagatā*, *naṣṭanaṣṭā* and *patitapatitā*.

8.1.11 कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु

karmadhārayavad uttareṣu
/*karmadhārayavat* ϕ *uttareṣu* 7/1/
(*sarvasya dve* #1 *bahuvrīhivat* #9)
ita uttareṣu dvirvacaneṣu karmadhārayavat kāryaṃ bhavati
Operations similar to a compound termed *karmadhāraya* obtain, hereafter, on that which has gone through iteration of a single whole.

EXAMPLES:

paṭupaṭuḥ 'intelligent, clever'
mṛdumṛduḥ 'soft, tender'
paṇḍitapaṇḍitaḥ 'skilled'
paṭupaṭvī 'intelligent, clever (feminine)'
mṛdumṛdvī 'soft, tender (feminine)'
kālakakālikā 'dark black (feminine)'

1. This rule extends operations similar to those which obtain on a *karmadhāraya* compound to a single form gone through iteration. The purpose of this extensional provision of *karamadhārayadbhāva* 'treatment as if a *karmadhāraya*' is to facilitate *sublopa* 'deletion of *sUP*' (2.1.74 *supo dhātuprātipadikayoḥ*), *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' (6.3.42 *puṃvat karmadhāraya* . . .) and assignment of the final (*antya*) *udātta* accent. The first provision, i.e., deletion of *sUP*, is a general (*sādhāraṇa*) compound provision. The second, or *puṃvadbhāva*, is sometimes usual, and at others unusual (*asādhāraṇa*). That is, it is usual where there is no negation of *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation'. Consider, for example, *paṭupaṭvī*, etc., which yield *paṭupaṭuḥ*, etc., through masculine transformation applied to *paṭvī*. A

provision of *puṃvadbhāva* made against, for example, its negation by 6.3.37 *na kopadhāyāḥ*, is unusual. Thus, consider *kālakakālikā*, where *ṬāP* of the initial constituent, i.e., *kālikā*, goes through *puṃvadbhāva*, eventhough it has *k* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*). Recall that *kālika* is derived by introducing affix *ka* (5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*) after *kālā* 'black' where, given *kālā* + *ka*, 7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ* replaces the final *ā* of *kālā* with its short counterpart. Rule 7.3.44 *pratyasthāt*. . . then orders a replacement in *i* (*itva*) to produce *kāl(ā→a)* + *ka* → *kāl(a→i)* + *ka*. We finally get *kālikākālikā* with *ṬāP* and iteration. Note that iteration (*dvitva*), in all these examples, is accomplished by 8.1.12 *prakāre guṇavacanasya*.

This rule also assigns a final *udātta* accent, for example to *paṭupaṭuḥ*, which was made available by 6.1.223 *samāsasya*, but was blocked by 8.1.3 *anudāttaṃ ca*. Our present rule reinstates this accentual provision.

2. Note that this rule is an *adhikāra* 'governing heading'. It would be carried over to subsequent rules, anyway. The word *uttareṣu* 'in subsequent rules' is then used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

8.1.12 प्रकारे गुणवचनस्य

prakāre guṇavacanasya
/prakāre 7/1 *guṇavacanasya* 6/1 = *guṇasya vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*sarvasya dve* #1 *karmadhārayavat* #11)
prakāre vartamānasya guṇavacanasya dve bhavataḥ

Two come in place of a single whole form signifying property (*guṇavacana*), with the resultant sequence additionally treated as if it was a compound termed *karmadhāraya*, when *prakāra* 'similarity, kind' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

paṭupaṭuḥ 'clever-like'
mṛdumṛduḥ 'soft-like'
paṇḍitapaṇḍitaḥ 'scholar-like'

1. The word *prakāra* is explained as both *bheda* 'difference' and *sādṛśya* 'similarity'. Thus, consider *bahubhir prakārair bhuṅkte* which means: *bahubhir bhedair bhuṅkte* 'he eats in many different ways'. Now consider *brāhmaṇaprakāro' yaṃ māṇavakaḥ* which denotes: *brāhmaṇasadṛśo' yaṃ māṇavakaḥ* 'this kid is similar to a brāhmaṇa kid'. This rule accepts the 'similarity' meaning of *prakāra*. Thus, *paṭupaṭu* denotes 'a kind of clever' person. That is, it denotes a person comparatively less clever to one who is really clever. This is how other examples also have to be interpreted.

A final *udātta* will block the *anudātta* (8.1.3 *anudāttaṃ ca*) at the strength of *karmadhārayavat* provision 'as if a *karmadhāraya*' of the earlier rule. That is, 8.1.3 *anudāttaṃ ca* offers an *anudātta* accent to an *āmreḍita* (8.1.2 *tasya*

paramāmreḍitam). Rule 6.1.217 *samāsasya* assigns a final *udātta*, instead, at the strength of extensional *karmadhāraya* (8.1.11 *karmadhārayavad* . . .).

2. Note that affix *jātīyaR* (5.3.69 *prakāravacane jātīyar*) also denotes *prakāra*. This provision of iteration is not intended to block *jātīyaR*. This is why *Kāśikā* (Vāmana) offers *paṭujātīyaḥ* as an example. Affix *jātīyaR* is used with the denotation of both *bheda* and *sādṛśya* meanings of *prakāra*. The present context of iteration requires denotation of *sādṛśya* 'similarity'. Commentators explain that an example such as *brāhmaṇajātīyaḥ* which denotes *prakāra* of the 'difference' kind (*bhedarūpe' rthe*), eventhough with no denotation of quality (*aguṇavacane' pi*), constitutes an independent scope (*sāvakāśa*) of *jātīyaR*. In the context of meanings such as 'similarity' (*sādṛśya*) it can then be blocked by the subsequent (*para*) provision of this iteration. This, however, cannot be accepted as blocking of *jātīyaR*. We will still get *paṭujātyaḥ*, etc.

3. Why do we state the condition of *guṇavacanasya* 'of that which is used with the signification of quality'? Consider *agnir māṇavakaḥ* 'this kid is fire' and *gaurvāhīkaḥ* 'this bull is (from) Vāhīka', where the two non-quality words, i.e., *agni* 'fire' and *go* 'bull', are being used, mostly because of their qualities of sharpness (*taikṣṇyam*) and *jāḍya* 'stupidity', to denote specific qualities, by way of comparison. The meaning of a word which one understands directly after hearing it is considered principal (*mukhya*). A meaning which is comprehended with effort (*yatna*) is considered secondary (*gauṇa*). 'Fire' and 'bull' are principal meanings of *agni* and *go*. The 'boy' of our example is comprehended by means of *agni*, with effort. This same also applies to *vāhīka* 'a place in the north-west'. A connection between the 'boy' and 'fire' and 'Vāhīka' and 'bull' is mediated by qualities of 'sharpness' and 'stupidity'. These words, *agni* and *go*, thus become quality words. Note, however, that this does not make them quality words forever (*sarvakāla-guṇavacana*). Iteration of this rule cannot apply where quality happens to be denoted by words which are not all-time quality words. They are basically non-quality words (*Kāś*: *tathāpi sarvadā guṇavacano na bhavatīti na dvir ucyate*).

There are several *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*i*) Iteration should be allowed where *ānupūrvī* 'successive (sequential) order' is denoted (*ānupūrvye dve bhavataḥ*). This proposal is being made to cover iteration in *vīpsā* 'pervasion'. Thus, *mūle mūle sthūlāḥ* 'thick at each and every root'; *agre agre sūkṣmāḥ* 'thin at each and every top'; *jyeṣṭhaṃ jyeṣṭhaṃ praveśaya* 'let each and every elder enter'.

(*ii*) Iteration applies when exact denotatum is to be determined from within more than one. Thus, *asmāt kārṣāpaṇād iha bhavadbhyāṃ māṣaṃ māṣaṃ dehi* 'give two Māṣas each out of this Kārṣāpaṇa (which has many Māṣas) to these two gentlemen'. This iteration is not allowed with the signification of *vīpsā*. For, only two Māṣas, and not all belonging to a single Kārṣāpaṇa, are given away.

(*iii*) Iteration is to be allowed also when *cāpala* 'unsteadiness, confusion' is denoted (*cāpale dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). Thus, *ahirahir budhyasva budhyasva* 'beware, beware, there is a snake there!' It is not necessary that iteration will involve just two words. It may include more than two to ensure denotation. Thus, *ahir ahir ahir budhyasva budhyasva budhyasva*!

(*iv*) Iteration is also allowed when *kriyāsamabhihāra* 'frequent action' is denoted (*kriyāsamabhihāre dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). Thus, *sa bhavān lunīhi lunīhi ity evāyaṃ lunāti* 'he says, 'please cut, please cut,' thus he cuts'.

(*v*) Iteration is to be allowed when *ābhīkṣṇya* 'over and over again' is denoted (*ābhīkṣṇye dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*). Thus, *bhuktvā bhuktvā vrajati* and *bhojaṃ bhojaṃ vrajati*, etc. This is already covered by 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*.

(*vi*) Iteration is to be allowed also when *ḌāC* follows. Thus, *paṭapaṭā karoti* = *paṭapaṭāyate*. The *ḌāC* of these examples must refer to what is provided for by 5.4.57 *avyaktānukaraṇād*. . . . Thus, we cannot ask for iteration, for example in *dvitīyā karoti* 'ploughs the field a second time' and *tṛtīyā karoti* 'ploughs the field a third time', where *ḌāC* is introduced by 5.4.58 *kṛño dvitīyatṛtīya*. . . . Some, in view of this restriction of *ḌāC*, read this *vārttika* as *ḍāci bahulam* (*Kāś*: *avyaktānukaraṇaḍājantasya dvirvacanam iṣyate. iha na bhavati-dvitīyā karoti, tṛtīyā karoti. tadarthaṃ kecid* '*ḍāci bahulam*' *iti paṭhanti*).

(*vii*) Iteration is also allowed in case of *pūrva* 'prior, earlier' and *prathama* 'first', especially when *arthātiśaya* 'excellence of meaning' is denoted. Thus, *pūrvaṃ pūrvaṃ puṣpyanti* 'this tree comes out with flowers earlier than that' and *prathamaṃ prathamaṃ pacyante* 'this crop ripens comparatively earlier than that'.

(*viii*) Iteration is also allowed forms which end in affixes *Ḍatara* and *Ḍatama*, though, with the signification of comparative superiority in excellence of females. Thus, *ubhāv imāv āḍhyau; katarā katamā anayor āḍhyatā* 'they are both rich; who is the richer of these two'; *sarva ime āḍhyāḥ; katamākatamā eṣām āḍhyatā* 'they are all rich; who is the richest among them all'.

(*ix*) A pronominal is iterated when denoting reciprocity of action (*karmavyatihāre sarvanāmno dve bhavata iti vaktavyam*); the iterated strings are variously treated as if a compound (*samāsavac ca bahulam*). Thus, *anyo' nyam ime brāhmaṇā bhojayanti* 'these brāhmaṇas are feeding one another' and *anyamanyam ime*. . . 'ibidem'. When iteration is not treated as a compound, we find nominative singular in the first constituent (*Kāś*: *yadā na samāsavat prathamaikavacanam tadā pūrvapadasya*).

(*x*) The neuter and feminine iterated forms with the signification of

reciprocity of action also receive *ām* at the end (*strīnapuṃsakayor uttarapadasya cāmbhāvo vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *anyo' nyām ime brāhmaṇyau. bhojayataḥ* 'these two brāhmaṇa women are feeding one another'; *itaretaram ime brāhmaṇakule bhojayataḥ* 'these two clans of the brāhmaṇas are feeding one another'.

8.1.13 अकृच्छ्रे प्रियसुखयोरन्यतरस्याम्

akṛcchre priyasukhayor anyatarasyām
/ *a-kṛcchre* 7/1 = *na kṛcchram* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin; priyasukhayoḥ* 6/2 = *priyaś ca sukhañ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*sarvasya dve* #1 *karmadhārayavat* #11)
'*priya, sukha*' *ity etayor anyatarasyāṃ dve bhavataḥ akṛcchre dyotye*
Forms of *priya* 'dear' and *sukha* 'happiness, comfort' are iterated, optionally, with an additional provision that their iterated sequence be treated as a compound termed *karmadhāraya*, when the derivate denotes *akṛcchra* 'easy to accomplish, easily, lack of hardship'.

EXAMPLES:

priyapriyeṇa dadāti 'easily gives things away'
priyeṇa dadāti 'ibidem'
sukhasukhena dadāti 'happily gives things away'
sukhena dadāti 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows optional iteration of *priya* 'dear' and *sukha* 'comfort, happiness', when the signification is *akṛcchra* 'non-hardship, no trouble'. Additionally, the iterated string is treated as if it was a compound termed *karmadhāraya*. Consider *priya* + *Ṭā* → *priyeṇa* and *sukha* + *Ṭā* → *sukhena*, where, after iteration and treatment of resultant string as a *karmadhāraya*, we get *priyapriya*, via *LUK*-deletion of nominal endings (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *tṛtīyaikavacanāntasya dvirvacane karmadhārayadbhāvā subluki punas tad eva vacanam*). Assignment of the term *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' to *priyapriya* (1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*), and subsequent introduction of instrumental singular *Ṭā*, yields *pripriya* + *Ṭā* → *priyapriyeṇa*. Similar rules will apply in deriving *sukhasukhena*. Haradatta explains *priyapriyeṇa dadāti* as 'gives even the dearest things away without any difficulty' (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *atyantadayitam api vastv anāyāsena dadātīty arthaḥ*).

8.1.14 यथास्वे यथायथम्

yathāsve yathāyatham
/ *yathāsve* 7/1 = *yo yaḥ svo* = *yathāsvam* (*avyayībhāva*), *tasmin; yathāyatham* 1/1/
(*sarvasya dve* #1 *karmadhārayavat* #11)
yo ya ātmā yad yadātmīyaṃ tat tad yathāsvaṃ tasmin yathāyatham iti nipātyate

A form such as *yathāyatham* is derived, via *nipātana*, and is also treated as if it was a compound termed *karmadhāraya*, when the signification is *yathāsvam* 'a correspondingly true property'.

EXAMPLES:

jñātāḥ sarve padārthā yathāyatham 'all things were known (by me) in accord with their true properties'

1. This rule allows iteration and assigns neuter to *yathā* 'as', via *nipātana*. The final *ā* of a neuter nominal stem is then replaced with its short counterpart (1.2.47 *hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya*).

The *avyayībhāva* 'indeclinable' compound of *yathāsvam* is formed with the signification of *vīpsā* 'pervasion' (2.1.7 *yathā' sādṛśye*). The word *sva* is here used in the sense of 'self' (*ātman*), or 'that which is like one's self' (*ātmīya*). That is why we get the example: *yo ya ātmā yad yad ātmīyaṃ tad tad yathāsvaṃ tasmin yathāyatham iti* 'whatever is this self and whatever may be the likeness with this self, that all is '*yathāsvam*'; a signification of that is made by *yathāyatham*'.

8.1.15 द्वन्द्वं रहस्यमर्यादावचनव्युत्क्रमणयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगाभिव्यक्तिषु

dvandvaṃ rahasyamaryādāvacanavyutkramaṇayajñapātraprayogābhivyaktiṣu
/*dvandvam* 1/1 *rahasya-maryādāvacana* (*maryādāyāḥ vacanam*; *ṣaṣ. tat.*)-*vyutkramaṇa-yajñapātraprayoga* (*yajñapātrāṇāṃ prayogaḥ*; *ṣaṣ. tat.*)-*abhivyaktiṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*sarvasya dve* #1 *karmadhārayavat* #11)
'*dvandvam*' *iti dviśabdasya dvirvacanaṃ pūrvapadasyāmbhāvaḥ atvaṃ cottarapadasya nipātyate* '*rahasya, maryādāvacana, vyutkramaṇa, yajñapātraprayoga, abhivyakti*' *ity eteṣu artheṣu*
A form such as *dvandvam* is derived, via *nipātana*, and is also treated as if it was a compound termed *karmadhāraya*, when the signification is *rahasya* 'secret', *maryādāvacana* 'an extent, limit', *vyutkramaṇa* 'separation, moving away', *yajñapātraprayoga* 'positioning of ritual vessels' and *abhivyakti* 'manifestation'.

EXAMPLES:

dvandvaṃ mantrayate 'discusses in seclusion'
ācaturo hīme paśavo dvandvaṃ mithunāyante 'these animals mate with their offsprings only through four generations'
dvandvaṃ vyutkrāntāḥ 'they moved out having formed two groups each'
dvandvaṃ nyañci prayunakti dhīraḥ 'this priest is placing ritual pots face down in pairs'
dvandvaṃ nāradaparvatau 'the association of Nārada and Parvata'

dvandvaṃ saṅkarṣaṇavāsudevau 'the association of Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva'

1. Note that the word *dvandva* is generally used in the sense of *rahasya* 'secret'. Meanings such as *maryādā-vacana* 'delimitation of an extent or limit', *vyutkramaṇa* 'separation, moving away', *yajñapātra-prayoga* 'positioning of ritual vessels' and *abhivyakti* 'manifestation' also fall within the scope of contextual meaning of *dvandva*. Consider *dvandvaṃ mantrayate* where *dvandvam* means 'in a group of two; having become two each'. *Kāśikā* illustrates *maryādāvacana* 'delimitation of extent' with *ācaturaṃ hīme paśavo mithunāyante* 'animals mate with their offsprings up to (and including) their fourth generation'; *mātā putreṇa mithunaṃ gacchati, pautreṇa, tatputreṇāpīti* . . . 'a mother mates with her son, grandson, even with the grandson's (son's son's) son, but not with any offspring thereafter'. Note that iteration applies to *dvi* 'two' when used in conjunction followed by *au*. Given the string *dvi* + *au* + *dvi* + *au*, the *i* of first *dvi* then goes through a replacement in *am*. The second *i* is also replaced with *a* (*atva*). Thus, *dvi* + *au* → *dvi* + *au* + *dvi* + *au*; *dv*(*i*→*am*) + *au* + *dvi* + *au* → *dvam* + *au* + *dv*(*i*→*a*) + *au* → *dvam* + *au* + *dva* + *au* → *dvam* + (*au* →ϕ) + *dva* + (*au*→ϕ) = *dva*(*m*→*n*) + *dva* = *dvandva*. This all is accomplished, via *nipātana*. Recall that treatment of *dvam* + *au* + *dva* + *au* as a *karmadhāraya* facilitates deletion of nominal endings. Treatment as neuter further facilitates application of 6.1.106 *ami pūrvaḥ*. Thus, *dvandva* + (*sU*→*am*) = *dvandv*(*a*+*a*→*a*) *m* = *dvandvam*.

2. We also find *dvandvam*, elsewhere. It is for this reason that a split-interpretation of this rule is attempted. Recall that *dvandva* is also used in the sense of *ca* 'and' (2.2.29 *cārthe dvandvaḥ*).

8.1.16 पदस्य

padasya
/*padasya* 6/1/
'*padasya*' *ity ayam adhikāraḥ; yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ padasyety evaṃ veditavyam*
In place of a *pada* . . .

EXAMPLES:

pacan 'o, you, who is cooking'
yajan 'o, you, who is performing ritual sacrifice'

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing heading'. The word *padasya* must be carried up to rule 8.3.55 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* (*adhikāro' yam, 'apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ' iti yāvad yad vakṣyati tat padasya bhavati*. . . .). Whatever is stated hereafter should apply to that which is a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*, etc.).

The genitive of *padasya* is then interpreted, either as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive

denoting in place of', or *avayava-ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive denoting some part of a whole', as desired by context of rules on hand. Consider, for example, rule 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* whereby 'the final sound of that which ends in a conjunct goes through deletion by means of *LOPA*'. The phrase 'that which . . .' must be supplied with *pada* as the antecedent of 'that'. That is, 'the final sound of a *pada* which ends in a conjunct goes through deletion by means of *LOPA*'. The genitive in 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* is interpreted as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* 'a genitive denoting in place of'. The genitive, for example of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor yaṇaḥ svarito vā' nudāttasya*, is treated as a genitive denoting 'part of a whole' (*avayava-ṣaṣṭhī*).

The example derivates, i.e., *pacan* and *yajan*, are *padas* where, given *pacant* and *yajant*, we get the deletion of *t* occurring as final of a conjunct. Refer to the appendix (III:751) under 3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv* . . . for derivational details of *pacan*.

8.1.17 पदात्

padāt
/*padāt* 5/1/
(*padasya* #16)
'*padāt*' *ity ayam adhikāraḥ prāk* '*kutsane ca supy agotrādau*' *ity etasmād yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ* '*padāt*' *ity evam tad veditavyam*
In place of a *pada* which is used after a *pada* . . .

EXAMPLES:

pacati devadatta 'O Devadatta, he is cooking'

1. This is also an *adhikāra* 'governing heading'. It is carried over prior to 8.1.69 *kutsane ca supy agotrādau*. This rule introduces an operation relative to a *pada* (*padasya*) which occurs after a *pada* (*padāt*). Thus, consider the paraphrase of rule 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca*: *āmantritasya padasya padāt parasya anudāttādeśo bhavati* 'an *anudātta* comes as a replacement in place of a *pada* termed *āmantrita* which, in turn, occurs after a *pada*'. Thus, consider *pacati devadatta* 'Devadatta, he is cooking', where *devadatta* receives blanket *anudātta* since it is termed *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā' mantritam*) and occurs after *pacati*, a verbal *pada*. Now consider *devadatta pacasi* 'Devadatta, you are cooking' where blanket *anudātta* could not be made available since *devadatta* does not occur after a *pada*.

8.1.18 अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ

anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau
/*anudāttam* 1/1 *sarvam* 1/1 *apādādau* 7/1 = *pādasya ādiḥ* = *pādādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na pādādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17)

'anudātta' iti, 'sarvam' iti ca, 'apādādau' iti ca etat trayam adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam āpādaparisamāpteḥ

A *pada* which occurs after another *pada*, except when occurring at the beginning of the quarter of a verse, is marked with *anudātta* in its entirety.

EXAMPLES:

pacasi d̲e̲v̲a̲d̲a̲t̲t̲a̲ 'you are cooking Devadatta!'
pacasi d̲e̲v̲a̲d̲a̲t̲t̲a̲ 'ibidem'

1. This entire *sūtra* carries over through the end of this quarter. That is, whatever is stated hereafter must be read with *anudāttam*, *sarvam* and *apādādau*. Thus, Pāṇini will state *āmantritasya ca* (8.1.19) which, in turn, must be read with *anudāttam*, *sarvam* and *apādādau*. That is, that which is specified by subsequent rules will all be marked with *anudātta* if the same does not occur at the beginning of a quarter-verse (*pādādau*). The word *pāda* here refers to the quarter of a verse of praise (*śloka*) or hymn (*ṛk*).

Why do we state the condition of *apādādau*? Consider *mṛtyo anavadhṛṣṇyam* where *mṛtyo* is *āmantrita* but could not be all marked *anudātta* since it does occur at the beginning of the quarter of a verse. Pāṇini will similarly state 8.1.21 *bahuvacanasya vasnasau* which orders *vas* and *nas* as replacements for the genitive, dative and accusative plural forms of *yuṣmad* 'second personal pronominal' and *asmad* 'first personal pronominal', respectively. These replacements are also marked with *anudātta*. Thus, *grāmo v̲a̲ḥ* . . . and *janapado n̲a̲ḥ*. . ., etc. Why do we have the condition of *apadadau*? Consider the following verse:

rudro viśveśvaro devo yuṣmākaṃ kuladevatā/
sa eva nātho bhagavān asmākaṃ śatrumardanaḥ//
'lord of the universe, the divine Rudra is the divinity of your clan; he alone is our protector lord, the one who will crush our enemies'

We do not get a replacement in connection with *yuṣmākam* and *asmākam* here since *yuṣmākam* occurs at the beginning of the quarter, i.e., *yuṣmākaṃ kuladevatāḥ* 'the divinity of your clan'. This same applies to *asmākam* which occurs at the beginning of the quarter *asmākaṃ śatrumardanaḥ* 'crusher of our enemies'. Incidentally, the word *pāda* here refers to the quarter of a hymn or a verse of praise (*śloka*).

2. Why do we need the specification of *sarvam* 'all'? For, only one *udātta*, or *svarita*, is possible in a *pada* (6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*; *PM* ad *Kāś*:. . . *ekasmin pade eka evodāttaḥ svarito vā sambhavati*). If that same *udātta*, or *svarita*, is ordered to be marked with *anudātta*, the entire *pāda* will be marked with *anudātta*. This is why we need an explanation on the use of the word *sarvam* in this rule. A *pada* which may come under the purview of this

specification by *sarva* could be of two types: (*i*) where a particular accent has already applied (*anūdyamāna*) and (*ii*) where a rule of accent is anticipated to apply (*vidhīyamāna*). There is a conflict here: we can talk about changing the quality of a thing only when we already have that quality available. How could we talk about changing the quality which does not even exist? It is similar to changing the color of a piece of cloth which is already woven, and not of one which is yet to be woven (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *siddhasya hi vastuno dharmāntaraṃ śakyate kartum, yathā niṣpannarūpasya vāsaso rāgaḥ, nāniṣpannasya*). Thus, this *anudātta* provision will apply only to instances of *āmantrita* (8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca*), etc. That is, if *sarvam* is not stated in this rule. For example, *yuṣmad* and *asmad* for which accentual provisions are made will be covered by this rule. But, in the absence of *sarvam*, their replacements, i.e., *vām* and *nau* (8.1.20 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ*...), cannot receive *anudātta*. How is it possible to assign *anudātta* to replacements of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*? That is, even when this specification with *sarvam* is made. It will be made possible because replacements and their accentual provisions are made by separate rules (*vākya-bheda*). There is yet another purpose stated for this use of *sarvam*. I do not discuss it here because of its complexity.

8.1.19 आमन्त्रितस्य च

āmantritasya ca
/ *āmantritasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1 *padāt* #2 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #3)
āmantritasya padasya padāt parasyāpādādau vartamānasya sarvasyānudātto bhavati
A *pada* termed *āmantrita* which occurs after another *pada*, except when occurring at the beginning of the quarter of a verse, is also marked with *anudātta* in its entirety.

EXAMPLES:

pacasi d̲e̲v̲a̲d̲a̲t̲t̲a̲ 'you are cooking Devadatta!'
· *pacasi d̲e̲v̲a̲d̲a̲t̲t̲a̲* 'ibidem'

1. Note that the term *āmantrita* is assigned by 2.3.48 *sā' mantritam*. Rule 6.1.195 *āmantritasya ca* offers initial *udātta* to that which is termed an *āmantrita*. This rule assigns *nighāta* '*anudātta* in toto' (*sarvānudātta*) to an *āmantrita* which occurs after a *pada*, provided the same does not occur at the beginning of the quarter of a verse.

2. A *vārttika* proposes that *nighāta* rules (our present rule and 8.1.28 *tiṅ atiṅaḥ*, etc.), and rules dealing with accentual provisions of replacements of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* as well, apply only when the *pada* which conditions *nighāta*, and the *pada* which follows, are part of the same sentence. Consider *iha daṇḍo harāṇena* 'here is the stick, carry by means of it', *odanaṃ paca tava*

bhaviṣyati 'cook rice, it will be yours (to eat)' and *odanaṃ paca mama bhaviṣyati* 'cook rice, it will be mine', where *hara,* a *pada* ending in a *tiṄ,* follows *daṇḍa,* a *pada* not ending in a *tiṄ,* does not get *nighāta* since *daṇḍa* is not used in the same sentence. If the condition of occurrence in a single sentence is not required we will also get replacement of *yuṣmad* with *tava* and *asmad* with *me* (8.1.22 *temayāv ekavacanasya*) in sentences such as the preceding two with *tava* and *mama.*

Now consider *iha devadatta mātā te kathayati* 'here, your mother says Devadatta', *nadyās tiṣṭhati kūle* 'he is sitting on the bank of the river' and *śālīnāṃ te odanaṃ dāsyāmi* 'I shall give you rice-meal of the śāli grains'. The word *devadatta,* which is termed *āmantrita* in the first sentence, occurs after *iha* 'here' of the same sentence. It thus receives *nighāta.* This same applies to *tiṣṭhati* of the second sentence where the non-*tiṄ* word, *nadyāḥ,* precedes. A *nighāta* is to be understood in the context of a single sentence so that *yuṣmad,* i.e., *tava,* which occurs after *śālīnām* of the third sentence, is replaced with *te.* For this we must have the condition of *samānavākye* 'in the same sentence'. A sentence with *me* replacing *asmad* can be similarly understood as *śālīnāṃ me odanaṃ dehi* 'give me the rice-meal of śāli grains'.

8.1.20 युष्मदस्मदोः षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वान्नावौ

yuṣmadasmadoḥ ṣaṣṭhīcaturthīdvitīyāsthayor vānnāvau
/yuṣmad-asmadoḥ 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; ṣaṣṭhī-caturthī-dvitīyāsthayoḥ* 6/2 = *ṣaṣṭhī ca caturthī ca dvitīyā ca* = *ṣaṣṭhī-caturthī-dvitīyāḥ, tāsu yau tiṣṭhataḥ* = *ṣaṣṭhī-caturthī-dvitīyāsthau, tayoḥ; vānnāvau* 1/1 = *vāṃ ca nau ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tau/*
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttam sarvam apādādau* #18)
'*yuṣmad, asmad*' *ity etayoḥ ṣaṣṭhīcaturthīdvitīyāsthayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ* '*vām, nau*' *ity etāv ādeśau bhavatas tau cānudāttau*
A *pada* which contains *yuṣmad* and *asmad,* ends in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), dative (*caturthī*), or accusative (*dvitīyā*), and occurs after some other *pada* though not as initial of the quarter of a verse, is replaced, respectively, with the *anudātta* form of *vām* and *nau.*

EXAMPLES:

grāmo vā̲ṃ svam 'this village is the property of you two'
janapado nau̲ svam 'this principality is the property of us two'
grāmo vā̲ṃ dīyate 'this village is being given to you two'
janapado nau̲ dīyate 'this principality is given to us'
grāmo vā̲ṃ paśyati 'this village looks to us'
janapado nau̲ paśyati 'this principality looks to us'

1. This rule allows a total replacement in *vām* and *nau* for *yuṣmad* and *asmad,* respectively, when they end in *dvitīyā* 'accusative', *caturthī* 'dative', or

ṣaṣṭhī 'genitive', after a *pada*, though not at the beginning of a verse quarter. Additionally, these replacements are both marked with *anudātta*. Since other replacements are subsequently offered for singular and plural, these replacements apply only to duals (*dvivacana*).

Why was this rule not specified with *ṣaṣṭhīcaturthīdvitīyāsu* 'when used in the genitive, dative or accusative'? That is, why did Pāṇini use this specification with *stha*, as in... *dvitīyāsthayoḥ*? The word *stha* 'standing, staying' is used here to indicate that endings must not be deleted or assumed. The endings thus must be heard (*śrūyamāṇa*). That is, these replacements are offered for deriving *yuvām/ āvām; yuvābhyām/ āvābhyām* and *yuvayoḥ/ āvayoḥ*, the accusative, dative and genitive dual forms of *yuṣmad/ asmad*. For example, we will get *uvābhyām*, etc., of *grāme yuvābhyāṃ kṛtam* 'done by you two in the village', etc., when this replacement is not applied. We similarly do not get any replacement in *yuṣmatputraḥ* 'your son', etc., where the nominal endings go through deletion.

8.1.21 बहुवचनस्य वस्नसौ

bavhuvacanasya vasnasau
/ bahuvacanasya 6/1 *vas-nasau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*) /
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttam sarvam apādādau* #18 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ ṣaṣṭhīcaturthīdvitīyāsthayoḥ* #20)
bahuvacanāntayoḥ yuṣmadasmadoḥ ṣaṣṭhīcaturthīdvitīyāsthayoḥ yathāsaṃkhyam vas nas ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ
A *pada* which contains *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, ends in the genitive, dative or accusative plural, and occurs after some other *pada* though not at the beginning of a verse quarter, is replaced in full, respectively, with the *anudātta* form of *vas* and *nas*.

EXAMPLES:

grāmo vaḥ svam 'this village is your (pl.) property'
grāmo naḥ svam 'this village is our property'
grāmo vo dīyate 'this village is offered to you (plural)'
janapado no dīyate 'this principality is offered to us'
grāmo vaḥ paśyati 'this village looks at you (plural)'
janapado vaḥ paśyati 'this principality looks at you'

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding. It offers *vas* and *nas* as replacements for *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, respectively, when genitive and dative plural endings are in use. It is only applicable to the replacement of a *pada* ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* and *caturthī*. For, Pāṇini will be soon introducing separate replacements for a *pada* ending in the *dvitīyā* 'accusative' (*Kāś*: *dvitīyāntasyādeśāntara-vidhānasāmarthyāt ṣaṣṭhīcaturthyor evāyaṃ yogaḥ*). Recall that *vas* and *nas* replace the accusative plural *yuṣmān* and *asmān*, respectively. They

are marked *anudātta* and follow replacement conditions similar to those of the preceding rules. Refer to derivational details of *vaḥ* under the appendix of 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo* . . . (II:397).

8.1.22 तेमयावेकवचनस्य

temayāv ekavacanasya
/*te-mayau* 1/1 (*itar. dv.*), *tau; ekavacanasya* 6/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttam sarvam apādādau* #18 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ ṣaṣṭhīcaturthīdvitīyāsthayoḥ* #20)
yuṣmadasmador ekavacanāntayoḥ ṣaṣṭhīcaturthīsthayor yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'te, me' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ
A *pada* which contains *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, ends in the genitive, or dative, singular, and occurs after some other *pada*, though not as initial of a quarter verse, is replaced in full, respectively, with the *anudātta* form of *te* and *me*.

EXAMPLES:

grāmas te̱ svam 'this village is your property'
grāmo me̱ svam 'this village is my property'
grāmas te̱ dīyate 'this village is being offered to you'
grāmo me̱ dīyate 'this village is being offered to me'

1. A *pada*, constituted by *yuṣmad* and *asmad* which ends in the *ṣaṣṭhī*, or *caturthī*, singular (*ekavacana*), and occurs after another *pada*, though not at the beginning of the quarter of a verse, is replaced in toto with *te* and *me*, respectively. Additionally, these replacements are both marked with *anudātta*. A proposal for replacing the *pada* which ends in *dvitīyā* 'accusative' will be made subsequently. Thus, *dvitīyā* cannot be paraphrased with the wording of this rule. These replacements in *te* and *me* will be coming in place of *tava* and *mama* of the genitive, respectively. They will similarly come in place of *tubhyam* and *mahyam* of the dative (*caturthī*).

8.1.23 त्वामौ द्वितीयायाः

tvāmau dvitīyāyāḥ
/*tvāmau* 1/1 = *tvāś ca māś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *dvitīyāyāḥ* 6/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttam sarvam apādādau* #18 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #20 *ekavacanasya* #22)
dvitīyāyā yad ekavacanaṃ tadantayor yuṣmadasmador yathāsaṃkhyaṃ 'tvā, mā' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ
A *pada* which occurs after another *pada*, though not at the beginning of a quarter verse, and constitutes *yuṣmad* and *asmad* ending in the accusative singular, is replaced in full, respectively, with an *anudātta* form of *tvā* and *mā*.

EXAMPLES:

grāmas tvā paśyati 'the village looks up to you'
grāmo mā paśyati 'the village looks up to me'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *tvā* and *mā*, both concurrently marked with *anudātta*, respectively, for *yuṣmad* and *asmad* when used in the accusative singular. All other conditions remain similar to the preceding rules. Thus, what could have been *tvām* and *mām* is offered as *tvā* amd *mā*, respectively.

8.1.24 न चवाहाहैवयुक्ते

na cavāhāhaivayukte
/*na*ɸ *cavāhāhaivayukte* 7/1 = *caś ca vāś ca haś ca ahaś ca evaś ca* = *cavāhāhaivāḥ, tair yukte* (*tṛtīyā tat.* with internal *itar. dv.*) /
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ ṣaṣṭhī-caturthīdvitīyāsthayoḥ* #20)
'*ca, vā, ha, aha, eva*' *ebhir yuktair yuṣmadasmador vānnāv ādayo na bhavanti*
A *pada* which contains *yuṣmad* and *asmad* and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī, caturthī*, or *dvitīyā*, is not fully replaced, respectively, with an *anudātta* form of *vām* and *nau*, etc., when the same occurs after a *pada* in construction with *ca* 'and', *vā* 'or', *ha* 'indeed', *aha* 'certainly' and *eva* 'only'.

EXAMPLES:

grāmas tava ca svam 'this village is also your property'
grāmo mama ca svam 'this village is also my property'
. . .*yuvayoś ca svam* 'this village is also the property of you both'
. . . *āvayoś ca svam* 'this village is also the property of us both'
grāmas tava vā svam 'or the village is your property'
. . . *mama vā svam* 'or the village is my property'
. . . *yuvayor vā svam* 'or the village is the property of you two'
. . . *āvayor vā svam* 'or the village is the property of us both'
grāmas tava ha svam 'the village is indeed your property'
grāmo mama ha svam 'the village is indeed my property'
. . . *yuvayor ha svam* 'the village is the property of you both'
. . . *āvayor ha svam* 'the village is the property of us both'
grāmas tavāha svam 'the village is your. . . .'
grāmo mamāha svam 'the village is my . . . .'
. . . *āvayor aha svam* 'the village is. . . . us both'
grāmas tavaiva svam '. . . your property alone'
grāmo mamaiva svam '. . . my property alone'
. . . *yuvayor eva svam* 'of you two alone . . .'
. . . *āvayor eva svam* 'of us two alone . . .'
grāmaś ca te svam nagaraṃ ca me svam 'the village is your property and the city of mine'

1. This rule offers negation of all preceding replacements in the genitive, dative and accusative, whether singular, dual or plural, when *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used in construction with *ca, vā, ha, aha* and *eva*. Thus, we will get regular forms such as *tava, mama, yuvayoḥ, āvayoḥ, tvām* and *mām*, etc.

Note that *ca, vā, ha, aha* and *eva* are used with the signification of *samuccaya* 'collection, aggregation', *vikalpa* 'option', *adbhuta* 'extraordinary, wow!', *kheda* 'exclamation of sadness' and *avadhāraṇa* 'determination', respectively.

Why is *yukte* '. . . in association' used in this rule? Why was *tṛtīyā* 'instrumental' alone not used? Commentators explain that this negation does not apply when *ca*, etc., do not denote their meanings by directly following *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. Thus, consider *grāmaś ca te svam nagaraś ca me svam* where, since *ca* does not follow *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, we get *te* and *me*. It is to indicate this that *yukte* is used here. Consider the negation of the next rule which, in the absence of *yukte*, applies, whether or not the sense of *paśya* (*paśyārtha* 'sense of seeing') is expressed after *yuṣmad* and *asmad*.

8.1.25 **पश्यार्थैश्चानालोचने**

paśyārthaiś cānālocane
/paśyārthaiḥ 3/3 = *paśyo' rtho yeṣāṃ* (*bv.*), *taiḥ; ca* ϕ *anālocane* 7/1 = *na ālocanam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *yuṣmadasmadoḥ* #20 *ekavacanasya* #22 *na* #24)
paśyārthair anālocane vartamānair yukte yuṣmadasmador vānnāv ādayo na bhavanti

A replacement in *vām* and *nau*, etc., does not come in place of a *pada* which contains *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, and ends in *ṣaṣṭhī, caturthī* and *dvitīyā*, also when used in construction with verbal roots having the signification of *paśya* 'perception', though with the exclusion of a perception gained by means of sight (*ālocana*).

EXAMPLES:

grāmas tava svaṃ samīkṣyāgataḥ 'understanding that this village is your property, I came here'
grāmo mama svaṃ samīkṣyāgataḥ 'understanding that this village is my property, I came here'
grāmas tubhyaṃ dīyamānaṃ samīkṣyāgataḥ 'understanding that this village is being given to you, I came here'
grāmo mahyam dīyamānaṃ samīkṣyāgataḥ 'with the understanding that the village is being given to me, he came'
grāmas tvāṃ samīkṣyāgataḥ 'knowing (about) you the entire village came'
grāmo māṃ samīkṣyāgataḥ 'knowing (about) me the entire village came'

1. This rule also blocks replacements in *vām* and *nau*, etc., for *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, when they are used in construction with a verbal root whose action

denotes 'seeing, perceiving' (*paśyārthaiḥ*), though not by sight (*anālocane*). The example derivates use *samīkṣya* 'having properly perceived, understood' to illustrate 'seeing without sight'.

Why do we state the condition of *anālocane* 'when not perceived by sight'? Consider *grāmas tvā paśyati* 'the entire village looks at you' and *grāmo mā paśyati* 'the entire village looks at me', where we do not get the negation of replacements. For, what is denoted here is 'seeing with sight'.

Recall that since there is no use of *yukte*, negation applies irrespective of whether the sense of *paśya* is denoted directly after *yuṣmad* and *asmad*. The example derivates illustrate both types.

8.1.26 सपूर्वायाः प्रथमाया विभाषा

sapūrvāyāḥ prathamāyā vibhāṣā
/*sapūrvāyāḥ* 6/1 = *saha* = *vidyamānaṃ pūrvam yasyāḥ* (*bv.*), *tasyāḥ*; *prathamāyāḥ* 6/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
vidyamānapūrvāt prathamāntāt padād uttarayor yuṣmadasmador vibhāṣā vānnāv ādayo na bhavanti
Replacements in *vām* and *nau*, and the others like them, optionally do not come in place of a *pada* which consists of *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, ends in *ṣaṣṭhī*, *caturthī* or *dvitīyā*, and occurs in construction after a *pada* ending in *prathamā* 'nominative', preceded by another *pada*.

EXAMPLES:

grāme kambalas te svam 'a blanket is your property in the village'
grāme kambalas tava svam 'ibidem'
grāme kambalo me svam 'a blanket is my property in the village'
grāme kambalo mama svam 'ibidem'
grāme kambalas te dīyate 'a blanket is given to you in the village'
grāme kambalas tubhyaṃ dīyate 'ibidem'
grāme kambalo me dīyate 'a blanket is given to me in the village'
grāme kambalo mahyaṃ dīyate 'ibidem'
grāme chātrās tvā paśyanti 'students see you in the village'
grāme chātrās tvā paśyanti 'ibidem'
grāme chātrā mā paśyanti 'students see me in the village'
grāme chātrā māṃ paśyanti 'ibidem'

1. The word *saha* 'with', in *saha pūrvāyāḥ* = *sapūrvāyāḥ* 'that which has something preceding', means *vidyamāna* 'present, occurring'. Thus, *sapūrvāyāḥ prathamāyāḥ* gives the sense of 'after a *pada* which ends in *prathamā* 'nominative' preceded by another *pada*'. This rule offers *vām* and *nau*, etc., as optional replacements for *yuṣmad* and *asmad* when these occur after a *pada* ending in the nominative, preceded by another *pada*. Consider *grāme kambalas tava svam* where *tava*, used preceded by *kambalaḥ* in the nominative,

can be optionally replaced with *te*, so long as *kambalaḥ* occurs preceded by yet another *pada*, here *grāme*. That is, we can get: *grāme kambalas te svam*. Note that all these examples of *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are given here in the singular. Replacements in dual and plural can also be gotten if earlier specifications allow.

Why do we have the condition of *sapūrvāyāḥ*? Consider *kambalas te svam* and *kambalo me svam* where, in the absence of any other preceding *pada*, we get the replacements in consonance with rule 8.1.22 *temayāv ekavacanasya*. That is, this rule does not apply, and we get the genitive singular *yuṣmad* and *asmad* replaced with *te* and *me*, obligatorily. This same obligatory replacement is also witnessed in *kambalo grāme te svam* and *kambalo grāme me svam* where *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are used after a *pada* not ending in *prathamā*, though used preceded by another *pada*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to restrict optional replacements only when *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are not used in *anvādeśa* 'an appended (reinforcing) statement' (*vt*: *yuṣmadasmador vibhāṣā ananvādeśa iti vaktavyam*). The nature of this restriction makes this optional type 'fixed' (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*). Thus, we will get an obligatory (*nitya*) replacement, as against an optional (*vibhāṣā*) in *atho grāme kambalas te svam, atho grāme kambalo me svam*. Yet others desire that replacements such as *vā* and *nau*, etc., should be all made optional when *yuṣmad* and *asmad* are not used in *anvādeśa* (*vt*: *sarva eva vānnāv ādayo' nanvādeśe vibhāṣā vaktavyāḥ*). This *vārttika* proposal would apply, irrespective of whether a nominative is preceded by another *pada*. But what then will be the use of our present rule? This rule will find its scope only when *anvādeśa* is involved.

8.1.27 **तिङो गोत्रादीनि कुत्सनाभीक्ष्ण्ययोः**

> *tiṅo gotrādīni kutsanābhīkṣṇyayoḥ*
> / *tiṅaḥ* 5/1 *gotrādīni* 1/3 *kutsanābhīkṣṇyayoḥ* 7/2/
> (*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18)
> *tiṅantāt padāt parāṇi gotrādīni kutsane ābhīkṣṇye cārthe vartamānāni anudāttāni bhavanti*
> A *pada* which occurs after a *pada* denoted by *tiṄ*, and is formed with a nominal enumerated in the list headed by *gotra* used with the implication of *kutsana* 'pejoration' and *ābhīkṣṇya* 'repeated action', is marked *anudātta* in its entirety.

EXAMPLES:

> *pacati gotram* 'he extolls the greatness of his lineage'
> *jalpati gotram* 'ibidem'
> *pacatipacati gotram* 'he repeats the name of his *gotra*, over and over again'

jalpatijalpati gotram 'ibidem'
pacati bruvam 'speaks extolling . . .'
jalpati bruvam 'ibidem'
pacatipacati bruvam 'speaks repeatedly extolling . . .'
jalpatijalpati bruvam 'ibidem'

1. This rule alllows *anudātta,* in toto, to a *pada* which occurs after a *pada* ending in a *tiṄ* and is constituted by a nominal of the *gotrādi* group, provided its dentotation entails *kutsana* 'pejoration' and *ābhīkṣṇya* 'repeated action'.

Verbal root *pac* is used in example-derivates with the signification of *khyāpana* 'extolling, proclaiming'. The word *bruva* is derived with affix *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi* . . .), introduced after *brū* 'to speak', with no replacement in *vac* for *brū* (2.4.53 *bruvo vaciḥ*). The iteration of *pacati pacati,* etc., is accomplished by 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ,* under the condition of *ābhīkṣṇya* 'repeated action'.

2. Note that this *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' is made optional in case of *nāma* 'name'. In the absence of *nighāta,* we will get initial *udātta.* Thus, *pacati nāma* and *paṭhati nāmá.*

8.1.28 तिङ्ङतिङः

tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ
/*tiṅ* 1/1 *atiṅaḥ* 5/1 = *na tiṅ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18)
tiṅantaṃ padam atiṅantāt padāt param anudāttaṃ bhavati.
A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* and occurs after a non-*tiṄ* is marked with *anudātta* in its entirety.

EXAMPLES:

devadattaḥ pacati
yajñadattaḥ pacati

1. Note that *apādādau* 'when not occurring at the beginning of a verse quarter' is also carried over. This rule, thus, allows a *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ* to be marked *anudātta,* in toto, when the same occurs after a *pada* not ending in a *tiṄ.* Consider *pacati,* of *devadattaḥ pacati* and *yajñadattaḥ pacati* which is marked *anudātta,* in toto (*sarvānudātta*), since it ends in a *tiṄ* and occurs after a *pada* not ending in a *tiṄ.* Refer to rule 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau* for accentual details of *pacati,* especially for accentual details prior to the application of this rule.

Why do we state the condition of *tiṅaḥ*? Consider *nīlam utpálam* 'blue lotus' and *śuklam vástram* 'white dress' where we do not get a *tiṄ* occurring after a non-*tiṄ.*

Why do we state the condition of *atiṅaḥ*? Consider *bhavati pacáti* 'the action of cooking at the current time by a single agent is taking place'. Note that *tiP* and *ŚaP* of *pacati* are marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *a* of *pac* is marked with *udātta* in consonance with root-accent (*dhātu-svara*). This causes the *a* of *ŚaP* to be marked with *svarita*, in view of 8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*.

Since *bhavati* is a *pada* ending in a *tiN*, we do not get total *anudātta* in *pacati*. What is the use of *atiṅaḥ*, especially when a simple sentence contains only one *pada* ending in a *tiṄ*? This rule does not necessarily require the condition of a single sentence (*samānavākya*) for its application. The two words could be of two sentences. The *Mahābhāṣya*, however, can accept *bhavati* as the principal *pada*. It will then recognize *pacati* as a secondary *pada*, mostly because it here serves as a means (*sādhanatvena*).

8.1.29 न लुट्

na luṭ

/*na* ф *luṭ* 1/1/

(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28)

luṅantaṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati

A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*-replacement of *LUṬ*, and occurs after a non-*tiN* *pada*, is not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety.

EXAMPLES:

śvaḥ kartā 'he will do tomorrow'

śvaḥ karttārau 'those two will do tomorrow'

māsena karttāraḥ 'they will do in a month'

1. This rule starts making negative provisions against what may have been made available by earlier rules. For example, a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*-replacement of *LUṬ* 'periphrastic future' is not marked *anudātta* (*Kāś*: *luḍantaṃ . . . nānudāttam . . .*). Thus, *śvaḥ karttā* '. . . will do tomorrow', etc. Refer to derivational details of *karttā*, etc., under rule 6.1.183 *tāsyānudātteṅtida. . . .* Note that affix *tāsI* of *kartās*, etc., is marked with *udātta* (3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). Affixes *Ḍā*, *rau* and *ras* (2.4.85 *luṭaḥ prathamasya . . .*) which occur after *tāsI* are marked with *anudātta* (6.1.183 *tāsyānudātten . . .*). Recall that *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of *tāsI*, i.e., *ās*, is deleted. The *ā* of *tās* is thus marked with *udātta*.

8.1.30 निपातैर्यद्यदिहन्तकुविन्नेच्चेच्चण्कच्चिद्यत्रयुक्तम्

nipātair yadyadihantakuvinneccеccaṇkaccidyatrayuktam

/*nipātaiḥ* 3/1 *yad-yadi-hanta-kuvin-ned-cec-caṇ-kaccid-yatra-yuktam* = *yac ca yadi ca hanta ca ned ca cec ca caṇ ca kaccic ca yatra ca* = *yadyady . . . yatrāḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tair yuktam* (*tṛt. tat.* with int. *dv.*)/

(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
'*yat, yadi, hanta, kuvid, ned, cet, caṇ, kaccit, yatra*' *ity etair nipātair yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and occurs in construction with particles *yatra* 'the place where', *yadi* 'if', *hanta* 'oh, well', *kuvid* 'perhaps', *ned* 'not indeed', *cet* 'if', *caṆ* 'if', *kaccit* 'I hope that' and *yatra* 'the place where', is not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety.

EXAMPLES:

yat karotí, yat pacáti
yadi karotí, yadi pacáti
hanta karotí, hanta pacáti
kuvit karotí, kuvit pacáti
nej jihmāyanto narakaṃ patāma
sa ced bhuṅkte, sa ced adhīte
ayaṃ ca mariṣyatí
kaccid bhuṅkte, kaccid adhīte
yatra bhuṅkte yatrādhīte
putrāso yatrá pitaro bhavánti

1. This accentual negation of a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* and is used in construction with a *nipāta* 'particle' goes against the positive provision of our preceding rule. Consider (*kṛ*→*kar*) + *u* + *tiP*→ *karotí*, where *tiP* is marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The *a* of *kar* is also marked with *anudātta* by 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . . This leaves *u*, a *vikaraṇa* 'conjugational sign', to be marked with *udātta* (*vt*: *sati śiṣṭasvara* . . .; ad 6.1.155 *anudāttam* . . .). Consequently, *ti* is turned into a *svarita* (8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*). Refer to the appendix for derivational details of other examples.

8.1.31 नह प्रत्यारम्भे

naha pratyārambhe
/ *naha* ϕ *pratyārambhe* 7/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
'*naha*' *ity etena yukte pratyārambhe tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and occurs in construction with *naha*, is not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety when *pratyārambha* 'countering repeated denial' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

naha bhokṣyáse 'so (let's see) how you would not eat!'
nahādhyeṣyasé 'so (let's see) how you would not study!'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *pratyārambha* as 'a statement of desire rebuking (*upālambha*) someone for not doing something advised (*avadhīrayitāram upālabdhuṃ yā icchā*)'. Notice that *naha* 'not indeed', a combined specification with *na* 'not' and *ha* 'indeed', denotes negation in construction with repeated denial of an action denoted by the verbal root. Incidentally, *bhokṣyase* and *adhyeṣyase* are second dual middle forms of *bhuj* 'to consume' and *iN* 'to study' in *LṚT* 'future', where *thās* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhisip*...) gets replaced with *se* (3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*). For reason that *sya* of *bhokṣyase* and *adhyeṣyase* is cited with *aT* in *upadeśa*, *se* is marked with *anudātta* (6.1.183 *tāsyānudāttet*...). Affix *sya*, itself, is marked with *udātta* on account of affixal accent (*pratyaya-svara*; 3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). This subsequently causes *se* to be marked with *svarita* (8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*).

Why do we have the condition of *pratyārambha*? Consider *naha vai tasmiṃś ca loke dakṣiṇāmicchanti* 'not indeed in that place people expect to get a sacrificial fee'.

8.1.32 सत्यं प्रश्ने

satyaṃ praśne

/*satyam* 1/1 *praśne* 7/1/

(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)

'*satyam*' *ity anena yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati praśne*

A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiN*, and occurs in construction with *satyam* 'truly', is not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety when a question is signified.

EXAMPLES:

satyaṃ bhokṣyasé 'so you will surely eat?'

satyam adhyeṣyasé 'so you will surely study?'

1. This rule denies *anudātta* to a verbal *pada* ending in a *tiN* when *satyam* is used in construction and a question is being asked. Why do we state the condition of *praśne* 'when a question is asked'? Consider *satyam vakṣyāmi nānṛtam* 'I speak truth and no untruth'.

8.1.33 अङ्गाप्रातिलोम्ये

aṅgāprātilomye

/*aṅga* ϕ *aprātilomye* 7/1 = *na prātilomye* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/

(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)

'*aṅga*' *ity anena yuktaṃ tiṅantam aprātilomye gamyamāne nānudāttaṃ bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiN* and occurs in construction with *aṅga* 'true' is not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety, when absence of non-amiability (*aprātilomya*) is signified.

EXAMPLES:

aṅga kuru 'indeed, you do'
aṅga pacá 'indeed, you cook'
aṅga paṭhá 'indeed, you recite'

1. The word *prātilomya* is explained as *anabhimata-kāritvam* 'doing something not desired'. Why do we state the condition of *aprātilomye*? Consider *aṅga kūja vṛṣala! idānīṃ jñāsyasi jālma!!* 'hey you lowly untouchable, go on cry, soon you will find out, rascal'.

8.1.34 हि च

hi ca
/hi ϕ ca ϕ/
(padasya #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *aprātilomye* #33)
'hi' ity anena yuktaṃ tiṅantam aprātilomye nānudāttaṃ bhavati
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and occurs in construction with *hi* 'surely, indeed', is also not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety, when absence of non-amiability (*aprātilomya*) is signified.

EXAMPLES:

sa hi kuru 'indeed, now you go ahead and do'
sa hi pacá 'indeed, now you go ahead and cook'
sa hi paṭhá 'indeed, now you go ahead and recite'

1. The condition of *aprātilomye* still applies. Consider *sa hi kūja vṛṣala! idānīṃ jñāsyasi jālma!!* 'talk all you want O Vṛṣala, soon you will find out . . .'.

8.1.35 छन्दस्यनेकमपि साकांक्षम्

chandasy anekam api sākāṅkṣam
/chandasi 7/1 *anekam* 1/1 = *na ekam* (*nañ. tat.*); *api* ϕ *sākāṅkṣam* 1/1 = *saha ākāṅkṣayā vartate* (*bv.*)/
(padasya #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *hi* #34)
chandasi viṣaye hi-yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ sākāṅkṣam anekam api nānudāttaṃ bhavati
One or more *padas* which end in a *tiṄ* with some shared dependency relationship are also not marked with *anudātta*, in the Vedic, when they occur in construction with *hi* 'surely, indeed'.

EXAMPLES:

anṛtam hi matto vadáti, pāpmā enaṃ vipunāti 'a person who gets intoxicated speaks untruth, the sin, incurred through intoxication, makes him pure'

agnir hy agre udajáyat, tam indro' nūdájayat 'Agni indeed won first then Indra defeated him'
ajā hyagner ajániṣṭa garbhāt sā vā ápaśyaj janitārám agre 'Ajā indeed was born from Agni, then (she) experienced the one who brought her about'

1. This rule assigns *anudātta* to more than one verbal *pada*, provided there is shared mutual dependency and *hi* is used in construction. This *anudātta* may, sometime, also apply to a single *pada*. Consider *anṛtaṃ hi matto vadati pāpmā enaṃ vipunāti*. The two *padas* which here end in a *tiṄ* are both related to each other by means of *hi*. Their mutual dependency relationship can be described as that of a *hetu* 'cause' and *hetumat* 'effect'. Because the person is intoxicated, his intoxication is associated with impurity incurred as a result of speaking untruth. This same state of intoxication causes a thorough purification via repentance for accrued sins (*Nyāsa*: *yasmād anṛtaṃ matto vadati tasmāt pāpmā enaṃ vipunāti*). These *padas* both do not get marked with *anudātta*. Incidentally, *vadati*, like *pacati*, is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. The *nā* of *vipunāti* is marked *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyaya-svara*). The *anudātta* of *vi*, a preverb, is gotten in consonance with 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*. . . . Our last example will also have its *ajaniṣṭa* denied blanket *anudātta*, eventhough, *ajaniṣṭa* and *apaśyat* both share a mutual dependency relationship on account of *hi*. Incidentally, *apaśyat* entails a replacement of *dṛś* with *paśya* (7.3.78 *pāghrādhmā* . . .). Deriving *ajaniṣṭa* from *jan* + *LUṄ*, with *sIC* and *iṬ*, etc., should present no difficulty.

Now consider *agnir hi agre udajayat tam indro' nūdajayat* where both the *padas* are in construction with *hi* but only one, i.e., *udajayat*, receives the negation of *anudātta*. This is as a result of the use of *api* in the wording of this rule. The second, i.e., *anūdajayat*, gets blanket *anudātta* (*nighāta*) of 8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ*. Incidentally, *ud-ajayat* is a third singular active derivate of *LUṄ* and is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. For, *aṬ* is marked *udātta* by 6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅ*. . . . The remaining vowels then become all *anudātta*.

8.1.36 यावद्यथाभ्याम्

yāvadyathābhyām
/*yāvadyathābhyām* 3/2 = *yāvac ca yathā ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
'*yāvat, yathā*' *ity etābhyāṃ yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and is used in construction with *yāvat* 'as long as' and *yathā* 'as', is not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety.

EXAMPLES:

yāvad bhuṅkte 'as long as he eats . . .'

yathā bhuṅkte 'the manner in which he eats . . .'
devadattaḥ pacáti yāvat 'as long as Devadatta cooks . . .'
devadattaḥ pacáti yathā 'the manner in which Devadatta cooks . . .'

1. This rule is not needed since 8.1.66 *yadvṛttān nityam* can deny blanket *anudātta*, obligatorily. It is stated that 8.1.66 specifies its obligatory *nighāta* with *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This, in view of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*, will offer *nighāta* only when a *pada* ending in a *tiN* is followed by *yāvat* and *yathā*. That is, *devadattaḥ pacati yathā* and *devadattaḥ pacati yāvat* cannot avail this negation in view of 8.1.66 *yadvṛttān nityam*. This rule is formulated to facilitate negation, also when *yathā* and *yāvat* follow a *pada* ending in a *tiN* (*Kāś*: *pareṇāpi yoge bhavati pratiṣedhaḥ*). Hence, this rule makes a specification with *tṛtīyā*.

8.1.37 पूजायां नानन्तरम्

pūjāyāṃ nānantaram
/*pūjāyām* 7/1 *na* ϕ *anantaram* 1/1 = *na antaraṃ vidyate' sya tad* (*bv.*)/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *yāvadyathābhyām* #36)
'*yāvat, yathā*' *ity etābhyāṃ yuktam anantaraṃ tiṅantaṃ pūjāyāṃ viṣaye nānudāttaṃ bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiN*, and is used in construction contiguously after *yāvat* and *yathā*, is also not marked with non-*anudātta* in its entirety, provided *pūjā* 'praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yāvat pacati śobhanam 'he cooks great as long as he does'
yathā pacati śobhanam 'he cooks great the way he does'
yāvat karoti cāru 'he does great as long as he does'
yathā karoti cāru 'he does great the way he does'

1. Note that *na* 'not' carries from rule 8.1.29 *na luṭ*. This, when read with *anudātta*, will give us the meaning of *na anudāttam* = *ananudāttam* 'non-*anudātta*'. The negative *na* of this rule will then negate *na ananudāttam* = *anudāttam* 'no non-*anudātta* = *anudātta*'. This is how we get the provision of *anudātta* in this rule. Thus, a form which ends in a *tiN* and immediately follows *yathā* and *yāvat* is not marked with *anudātta* when the context is *pūjā* 'praise'.

2. Note that the locative of *pūjāyām* is interpreted as *viṣaya-saptamī* 'locative of domain'. Thus, we will not get this negation where the context is not 'praise'. Consider *yāvad bhuṅkte* 'as long as he eats . . .' and *yathā bhuṅkte* 'the manner in which he eats . . .' where this rule does not apply since 'praise' is not the context. Consider *yāvad devadattaḥ pacati śobhanam* and *yathā devadattaḥ pacati śobhanam* where *yāvat* and *yathā* are not used immediately before *pacati*. This serves as a counter-example to the condition of *anantaram*.

Our earlier rule negates the *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' of these counter-examples, instead (*Kāś: pūrveṇātra nighātaḥ pratiṣidhyate*).

8.1.38 उपसर्गव्यपेतं च

upasargavyapetaṃ ca
/ *upasargavyapetam* 1/1 = *upasargeṇa vyapetam* (*tṛt. tat.*); *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *yāvadyathābhyām* #36 *pūjāyāṃ nānantaram* #37)
yāvadyathābhyāṃ yuktaṃ upasargavyapetaṃ ca pūjāyāṃ viṣaye nānudāttaṃ bhavati
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and is used in construction preceded by *yāvat* and *yathā*, though intervened with a preverb, is also not marked with non-*anudātta* in its entirety, provided *pūjā* 'praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

yāvat prapacati śobhanam 'he cooks beautifully as long as he does'
yathā prapacati śobhanam 'it is beautiful the way he cooks'
yāvat prakaroti cāru 'it is beautiful as long as he does'
yathā prakaroti cāru 'it is beautiful as he does'

1. This rule allows negation of non-*anudātta* also when *yāvat* and *yathā* precede a *pada* ending in a *tiṄ*, with the intervention of a preverb (*upasargavyapetam*). Of course, the context of *pūjā* is still valid. Recall that the earlier rule requires a verbal *pada* to immediately follow *yāvat* and *yathā*. This rule can tolerate the intervention of a preverb. Incidentally, the words *śobhana* 'beautiful' and *cāru* 'ibidem' here denote *pūjā* 'praise'.

2. Note that *ca* is here used for attracting *pūjāyām* and *anantaram*, both. The word *upasarga* 'preverb' is used to cancel possible intervention of something other than a preverb.

8.1.39 तुपश्यपश्यताहैः पूजायाम्

tupaśyapaśyatāhaiḥ pūjāyām
/ *tu-paśya-paśyata-ahaiḥ* 3/1 (*itar. dv.*), *taiḥ*; *pūjāyām* 7/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
'*tu, paśya, paśyata, aha*' *ity etair yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati pūjāyāṃ viṣaye*
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and is used in construction with *tu* 'but, indeed', *paśya* 'see', *paśyata* 'ibidem' and *aha* 'surely', is not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety when *pūjā* 'praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

māṇavakas tu bhuṅkte śobhanam 'this kid, indeed, eats beautifully'

paśya māṇavako bhuṅkte 'look how beautifully the kid eats'
paśyata māṇavako bhuṅkte 'ibidem'
aha māṇavako bhuṅkte śobhanam 'wow, the kid eats beautifully'

1. This rule negates *anudātta* of a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* and occurs in construction with *tu, paśya, paśyata* and *aha.* This negation applies to the positive provision of *anudātta* made by 8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ.* Look for derivational details of *bhuṅkte* under 8.1.30 *nipātair yadi.* . . .

2. Why do we have to state *pūjāyām* here when the same could be carried from 8.1.37 *pūjāyāṃ nānantaram.* Recall that *pūjāyām* of that rule is associated with the negation of blanket *anudātta* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *tadd hi pūjāgrahaṇaṃ nighātapratiṣedhasya pratiṣedhena sambaddham*). If that is carried here, the negation of *nighāta* must also be carried. It is to block the negation of *anudātta* that *pūjāyām* is used here again. That is, we will get the negation of *anudātta* here.

8.1.40 **अहो च**

aho ca
/ *aho* ϕ *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *pūjāyām* #39)
'*aho*' *ity anena yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati pūjāyāṃ viṣaye*
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and is used in construction with *aho* 'wow, ah', is not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety, provided when *pūjā* 'praise' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

aho devadattaḥ pacáti śobhanam 'wow, Devadatta cooks beautifully'
aho viṣṇumitraḥ karotí cāru 'wow! Viṣṇumitra is making (it) beautifully'

1. The *ca* 'and' is used here to attract *pūjāyām.* Refer to derivational details under 8.1.30 *nipātair.* . . .

How come *aho ca* is formulated as a separate rule? Why was *aho* not included within the wording of the preceding rule? A separate rule with *aho* is formulated so that *aho* alone can be carried to subsequent rule(s) (*Kāś*: *pṛthag yogakaraṇam uttarārtham*).

8.1.41 **शेषे विभाषा**

śeṣe vibhāṣā
/ *śeṣe* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *aho* #40)
'*aho*' *ity anena yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ śeṣe nānudāttaṃ bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and is used in construction with *aho* 'ah, wow!', is, optionally, not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety when something other than praise (*pūjā*) is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

kaṭam aho kariṣyasi 'so, you will make a mat'
mama geham eṣyasi 'so, you will come to my house'

1. The negative provision of *anudātta* which was made by the preceding rule is here made optional in case of contexts outside *pūjā* 'praise'. If this optional negation is not accepted, we will have *anudātta* (8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ*). Consider *kariṣyasi* where, in view of optional negation of *anudātta*, *sya* is marked with *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). The *si*, of course, was marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). It was then subsequently marked with *svarita* (8.4.66 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*).

8.1.42 पुरा च परीप्सायाम्

purā ca parīpsāyām
/*purā* ϕ *ca* ϕ *parīpsāyām* 7/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *vibhāṣā* #41)
'*purā*' *ity anena yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ parīpsāyām arthe vibhāṣā nānudāttaṃ bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and is used in construction with *purā* 'prior to, previously', is also, optionally, not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety when *parīpsā* 'haste' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

adhīṣva māṇavaka purā vidyotate vidyut 'study child, (before) lightning starts'
. . . *purā stanayati stanayitnuḥ* '. . . (before) thunder starts'

1. Note that the *dharmaśāstras* 'code of laws' strictly forbid studying during thunder and lightning. This is because they are considered obstacles (*antarāya*) in learning (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *vidyotanādāv adhyayanaṃ pratiṣiddham, atas tadupanyāsena tvaritam adhīṣveti gamyate ity arthaḥ*). Consequently, there is an urgency to complete studying before thunder and lightning starts. The word *purā*, a *nipāta*, here denotes proximity to some future action (*Kāś*: *purāśabdo' tra bhaviṣyad āsattiṃ dyotayati*).

The present (*LAṬ*) of *vidyotate*, etc., is used in the sense of future (3.3.4 *yāvatpurānipātayor laṭ*). The *te* of *vidyotate* is marked with *anudātta* in view of 6.1.183 *tāsyanudāttenṅid*. . . . Thus, *dyotate* is initially marked *udātta* in view of root-accent (*dhātusvara*). The *vi* is *anudātta* by 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*. Verbal root *stani* is a derivate of *ṆiC* introduced after *stan*. It is marked with *udātta*

at the end (*antodātta*) in view of 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*. The *i* of *stani* goes through *guṇa* and a replacement in *ay*. The *a* of *na* of *stani* + *LAṬ* → *stan*(*i*→*e*→*ay*) + *ŚaP* + *tiP*= *stanayati* remains *udātta*.

If optional *udātta* is accepted, *vi* of *vidyotate* will be marked with *udātta*, based on affixal accent.

2. Why do we state the condition of *parīpsā* 'haste'? Consider *naḍena sma purādhīyate* 'previously, they used to study by means of (the glow of) reeds' where *purā* denotes a long past time. This same applies to *ūrṇayā sma purādhīyate* 'used to study by means of (the glow of) a ball of wool'.

8.1.43 नन्वित्यनुज्ञैषणायाम्

nanv ity anujñaiṣaṇāyām

/*nanu* ϕ *iti* ϕ *anujñaiṣaṇāyām* 7/1 = *anujñāyā eṣaṇā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/

(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *vibhāṣā* #41)

'*purā*' *ity anena yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati anujñaiṣaṇāyāṃ viṣaye*

A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ*, and is used in construction with *nanu* 'certainly, indeed', is optionally not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety, when *anujñaiṣaṇā* 'seeking permission conducive to doing (something)' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

nanu karomí bhoḥ 'may I do it, sir?'

nanu gacchāmí bhoḥ 'may I go, sir?'

1. The word *anujñaiṣaṇā* is explained by Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāś*) as: *kiṃcit kartuṃ svayam evodyatasyaivaṃ kriyatām ity evaṃ rūpo' bhyupagamaḥ* = *anujñā* 'approaching someone by saying, 'this is how you do it', to someone willing to do something'. Affix *LAṬ* of *karomi* is introduced by 3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*. The *LAṬ* of *nanu karomi bhoḥ* 'here, I do it sir' could be introduced by 3.2.120 *nanau pṛṣṭaprativacane*. This can serve as a counter-example since the sentence denotes *pṛṣṭa-prativacana* 'response to a question', *akārṣī kaṭaṃ devadatta* 'did you make the mat Devadatta?'

8.1.44 किं क्रियाप्रश्नेऽनुपसर्गमप्रतिषिद्धम्

kiṃ kriyāpraśne' nupasargam apratiṣiddham

/*kim* 1/1 *kriyāpraśne* 7/1 = *kriyāyāḥ praśnaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *anupasargam* 1/1 = *na vidyate upasargo' sya* (*bv.*), *tat*; *apratiṣiddham* 1/1 = *pratiṣedhaḥ pratiṣiddham*; *na pratiṣiddham asyety* (*bv.*)/

(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)

'*kim*' *etat kriyāpraśne yadā vartate tadānena yuktaṃ tiṅantam anupasargam apratiṣiddhaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati*

A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* and occurs in construction with *kim* 'what, which' with the signification of *kriyāpraśna* 'questioning an action', is not marked with *anudātta* when action denoted by the root is not negated and there is no preverb used.

EXAMPLES:

kiṃ devadattaḥ pacáti āhosvid bhuṅkte 'Devadatta is cooking or eating?'
kiṃ devadattaḥ śeté āhosvid adhīte 'Devadatta is sleeping or studying?'

1. Refer to derivational details of *śete* under 6.1.183 *tāsyanudāttenṅit*. . . . An objection is raised against denying *anudātta* to *bhuṅkte* and *adhīte* of our example derivates. It is argued that they are not used in construction with *kim*. Hence, this rule should only apply to *pacati* and *śete*. But such an objection does not make sense because it is not the proximity of usage with *kim* which is crucial. It is the expression of doubt, instead. An interrogative *kim* also relates, via doubt (*saṃśaya*), to *bhuṅkte* and *adhīte*.

2. Why do we have to state the condition of *kriyā* in *kriyāpraśne*? This rule will not apply when a means (*sādhana*) is questioned. Thus, *kiṃ devadatta odanaṃ pacati āhosvic chākam* 'is Devadatta cooking rice or vegetable?'

Why do we state the condition of *praśne* 'when a question?' Consider *kim adhīte devadattaḥ* 'Devadatta studies, what?' The word *kim* is here used to rebuke (*kṣepe*) Devadatta.

Why do we state the condition of *anupasargāt* 'when not occurring after a preverb'. Consider *kiṃ devadattaḥ prapacati āhosvit prakaroti* where the roots are both used with the preverb *pra*.

Why do we state the condition of *apratiṣiddham* 'when not negated'? Consider *kiṃ devadatto na paṭhati āhosvin na karoti* 'Devadatta does not read, or does not do'.

8.1.45 लोपे विभाषा

lope vibhāṣā
/*lope* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *kiṃ kriyāpraśne' nupasargam apratiṣiddham* #44)
kimo lope kriyāpraśne tiṅantam anupasargam apratiṣiddhaṃ vibhāṣā nānudāttaṃ bhavati

A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* and occurs in construction with *kim* 'what, which' with the signification of *kriyāpraśna* 'questioning an action', even when deleted, is optionally marked with *anudātta* when action denoted by the root is not negated and there is no preverb used.

EXAMPLES:

devadattaḥ pacáti āhosvit paṭháti 'Devadatta is cooking or studying?'
devadattaḥ pacati āhosvit paṭhati 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *anudātta*, only optionally, when a *pada* ending in a *tiN* is used in construction with *kim*, and *kim* has gone through deletion. All other conditions remain the same. A deletion of *kim* simply implies a context where *kim* is not used but its meaning is understood (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *aprayujyamānasyāpi tasyārtho gamyate*). Incidentally, *pacati* and *paṭhati* do not differ in accent.

8.1.46 एहिमन्ये प्रहासे लृट्

ehimanye prahāse lṛṭ
/*ehimanye* 1/1 (deleted) = *ehiś ca manye ca* (*itar. dv.*); *prahāse* 7/1 *lṛṭ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
'*ehimanye*' *ity anena uktaṃ lṛḍantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati prahāse*
A *pada* which ends in a *tiN*-replacement of *LṚT*, and is used in construction with *ehi* and *manye*, is not marked with *anudātta* when *prahāsa* 'derision, chiding, joke' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

ehi manye odanaṃ bhokṣyase, na hi bhokṣyase, bhuktaḥ so' thibhiḥ 'come, (you) think that you will eat rice, that you will indeed not, that has already been eaten by the guests'
ehi manye rathena yāsyasi, na hi yāsyasi, yātas tena te pitā 'come, (you) think that you will go by the chariot, that you will indeed not, your father has already gone with it'

1. Note that these examples involve transposition (*vyatyaya*) of subjects (*puruṣa*) in the context of derision or joke (*prahāsa*; cf. 1.4.106 *prahāse ca manyopapade*). Thus, the second personal ending in *bhokṣyase* is used under the condition of a conjoined first personal subject (*asmad*). The first personal ending in *manye* is similarly accomplished under the condition of a conjoined second personal subject (*yuṣmad*; *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: '*prahāse ca manyopapade*' *iti puruṣa-vyatyayaḥ*; '*bhujer asmady upapade madhyamaḥ, manyater yuṣmady upapade uttamaḥ*'). This transposition of subjects is not found in contetxts outside derision. Consider *ehi manyase odanaṃ bhokṣye* 'come, you think you will eat rice', a counter-example to the condition of *prahāse*.

Refer to accentual details of *bhokṣyase* under rule 8.1.31 *naha pratyārambhe*. The *siP* of *yāsyasi* will be marked with *anudātta*, based on its *P* as an *it* (*pit*; 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Its *sya* will be marked with *udātta* on account of affixal accent (*pratyayasvara*; 3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). This will make *si* marked with a *svarita*.

2. Note that 8.1.51 *gatyarthaloṭā* . . . allows a derivate of *LṚT* to retain its accent when used in construction with the imperative (*LOṬ*) of a verb of motion (*gatyartha*). Verbal root *iṆ*, here used in imperative *ehi* with the

preverb *āṄ*, denotes such action. Why do we need this rule when 8.1.51 *gatyarthaloṭā* . . . could account for what this rule offers. Commentators state that this accentual provision for a derivate of *LṚT* is restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. That is, it applies only when *prahāsa* 'derision' is denoted.

8.1.47 जात्वपूर्वम्

jātu apūrvam
/*jātu* ϕ *apūrvam* 1/1 = *avidyamānam pūrvam yasmāt* (*bv.*)/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttam sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
'jātu' ity etad avidyamānapūrvam tena yuktam tiṅantam nānudāttam bhavati
A *pada* which ends in an affix denoted by *tiṄ* and is used in construction with *jātu* 'definitely', not preceded by any other *pada*, is not marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

jātu kariṣyāmi 'surely, I will do it'

1. Why do we state the condition of *apūrvam* 'that which is used with no preceding *pada*'? Consider *kaṭam jātu kariṣyati* 'he will definitely make a mat', where *anudātta* cannot be denied. For, *jātu* is preceded by *kaṭam*.

8.1.48 किंवृत्तं च चिदुत्तरम्

kiṃvṛttam ca ciduttaram
/*kiṃvṛttam* 1/1 = *kimo vṛttam* (*ṣaṣ. tat. via nipātana*); *ca* ϕ *ciduttaram* 1/1 = *cid uttaram yasmāt* (*bv.*)/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttam sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *apūrvam* #47)
. . . *tat kiṃvṛttam ciduttaram avidyamānapūrvam yat tena yuktam nānudāttam bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* and is used in construction with *kiṃvṛtta* 'who, what, which', preceded by nothing but followed by *cid*, is also not marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

kaścid bhojayáti 'someone feeds'
kaścid adhīte 'someone studies'
kencit karóti 'makes with something'
kasmaicid dadáti 'gives to someone'
kataraścit karóti 'who among these two is doing'
katamaścid bhuṅkte 'who among these many is eating'

1. The word *kiṃvṛtta* has been explained as *kimaḥ vṛttam* 'where there is *kim*'. It thus refers to forms of *kim* with all nominal endings and affixes *Ḍatara*/

Ḍatama, as well. Affix *Kta* of *kiṃvṛtta* denotes locus (*adhikaraṇa*). Refer to derivational details of *bhuṅkte*, etc., under 8.1.30 *nipātair*. . . . Note that *bhojayati* has *bhuji* 'to have someone consume', a causal derivate of *ṆiC*, as its root. Its *i* is thus marked with *udātta* in view of root-accent (*dhātu-svara*; 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). The *a* of *ja*, subsequent to *guṇa* and *ay* of *i*→*e*, becomes *udātta*. The initial *udātta* of *dadāti* is accomplished in consonance with 6.1.187 *anudātte ca*.

8.1.49 आहो उताहो चानन्तरम्

āho utāho cānantaram
/ *āho* ϕ *utāho* ϕ *ca* ϕ *anantaram* 1/1 = *na vidyate' ntaraṃ yasya* (*bv.*) /
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *apūrvam* #47)
'*āho, utāho*' *ity etābhyāṃ pūrvābhyāṃ yuktam anantaraṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*, and is used in construction immediately after *āho* 'is this so?' and *utāho* 'is that so?', is not marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

āho bhuṅkte 'is he eating?'
utāho bhuṅkte 'ibidem'
āho paṭháti 'is he studying?'
utāho paṭháti 'ibidem'

1. But not when the sentence is *āho devadatto bhuṅkte*, where *bhuṅkte* is not used immediately after *āho*. See the next rule. The condition of *apūrvam* 'not used after any other *pada*' is still valid. Thus, consider *devadatta āho bhuṅkte* where *āho* is used preceded by *devadattaḥ*.

8.1.50 शेषे विभाषा

śeṣe vibhāṣā
/ *śeṣe* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1 /
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
'*āho, utāho*' *ity etābhyāṃ pūrvābhyāṃ yuktam tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ śeṣe vibhāṣā bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*, and is used in construction after *āho* and *utāho* in remaining (non-contiguous) contexts, is optionally not marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

āho devadattaḥ pacáti 'is Devadatta cooking?'
utāho devadattaḥ pacati 'ibidem'

āho devadattaḥ paṭháti 'is Devadatta studying?'
utāho devadattaḥ paṭhati 'ibidem'

1. This is a residual (*śeṣa*) provision of the preceding rule. The word *śeṣe* 'remainder' refers to contexts other than those which have already been specified by earlier rules. It refers to a context where a verbal *pada* ends in a *tiṄ* and occurs in construction after *āho* and *utāho* non-contiguously. This verbal *pada*, in accord with provisions of this rule, is optionally not marked with *anudātta*.

8.1.51 गत्यर्थलोटा लृण्न चेत्कारकं सर्वान्यत्

gatyarthaloṭā lṛṇ na cet kārakaṃ sarvānyat
/ *gatyarthaloṭā* 3/1 = *gatir artho yeṣāṃ te* = *gatyarthāḥ* (*bv.*); *gatyarthānāṃ loṭ* = *gatyarthaloṭ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tena*; *lṛṭ* 1/1 *na* ϕ *cet* ϕ *kārakam* 1/1 *sarvānyat* 1/1 = *sarvañ ca·tad anyac ca* (*karmadhāraya tatpuruṣa*) /
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
gaminā samānārthā gatyarthāḥ, gatyarthānāṃ loṭ gatyarthaloṭ, gatyarthaloṭā yuktaṃ lṛḍantaṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati, na cet kārakaṃ sarvam anyadbhavati
A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*-replacement of *LṚṬ* and is used in construction with a *tiṄ*-replacement of *LOṬ* introduced after a verbal root having the signification of *gati* 'movement', is not marked with *anudātta*, provided participant relations, as expressed, are not at all different.

EXAMPLES:

āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ drakṣyasy énam 'come to the village Devadatta, you will see it (the village)'
āgaccha devadatta grāmam odanaṃ bhokṣyasé 'come to the village Devadatta, you will eat rice'
uhyantāṃ devadattena śālayaḥ, tenaiva bhokṣyanté 'let grains of śāli rice be brought by Devadatta, their rice-meal will be eaten by him'
uhyantāṃ devadattena śālayaḥ yajñadattena bhokṣyanté
'let grains of śāli rice be brought by Devadatta, their meal will be eaten by Yajñadatta'

1. This rule negates the *anudātta* of a verbal form which ends in a replacement of *LṚṬ*, when this same is used in construction with a form ending in *LOṬ* and the 'agent and object' of actions denoted by roots of both verbal forms are not different at all. That is, when the agent or object denoted by derivates of *LṚṬ* and *LOṬ* are both expressed as the same. The word *kāraka* refers here to *kartṛ* and *karman* only. For, these are the only two *kārakas* which can be denoted by a form ending in a *tiṄ* (3.4.69 *laḥ karmaṇi* . . .). Other *kārakas*, i.e., *karaṇa* 'instrument', etc., cannot be included here (*Kāś*: *kartṛkarmaṇī evātra tiṅantavācye kārakagrahaṇena gṛhyete na karaṇādi kārakān-*

taram) within the reference of *kārakam*. It is for this reason that agents of *āgaccha* 'come', *drakṣyasi* 'will see' and *bhokṣyase* 'will eat' are similar in sentences one and two both. Our next two example sentences denote the same object (*karman*), *śālayaḥ* 'rice', in *uhyantām* and *bhokṣyante*. This is what the phrase *na cet*, read with the *karmadhāraya* compound *sarvānyat* = *sarvaṃ ca tad anyac ca* 'that which is all and is also different' means. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*) explains that a *kāraka* denoted by the form ending in *LOṬ*, and one denoted by the sense of the form ending in *LṚṬ*, alone, is considered here for similarity. The similarity of any other *kāraka* denoted by any other word is not considered (*anena loḍantavācyaṃ lṛḍantavācyārthaṃ yat kārakaṃ tasyaivānanyatvam āśritam, na śabdāntaravācyasyaeti* . . .).

Why do we have the condition of *gatyartha* 'that which has the signification of motion (*gati*)'? Consider *paca devadattaudanaṃ bhokṣyase enam* 'cook rice Devadatta, you will eat this rice-meal', where *pac* does not denote an action signifying motion (*gati*). Why do we have the condition of *loṭā* 'used in construction with *LOṬ*'? Consider *āgaccher devadatta grāmam drakṣyasi enam*, where the action in *āgaccheḥ* signifies *gati* but is used in *LIṄ*, and no *LṚṬ*. Why do we have the condition of *LṚṬ*? Consider *āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ paśyasi enam*, where *āgaccha* denotes an action involving motion, but is not used in construction with a *LṚṬ*. For, *paśyasi* is a form of *LAṬ*.

Why do we have the condition of *na cet kārakam sarvānyat*? Consider *āgaccha devadatta grāmam pitā te odanaṃ bhokṣyate* 'come to the village Devadatta, your father will eat rice', where agents of *āgaccha* and *bhokṣyate* are not the same. Also consider *uhyantāṃ devadattena śālayaḥ saktavaḥ tena pāsyante* 'let grains of śāli rice be brought by Devadatta, saktu will be drunk by him', where the objects expressed by *uhyantām* and *pāsyante* are not the same.

Why the condition of *sarva* 'all'? Consider *āgaccha grāmam devadatta tvaṃ cāhaṃ ca drakṣyāvaḥ enam*, where negation of *anudātta* will also apply. For, the *kāraka* denoted by the *pada* ending in a replacement of *LOṬ* is here expressed by *LṚṬ*, along with a different *kāraka*. Note that non-difference does not relate here to all participant relations involved. Instead, it only relates to all participant relations which happen to be expressed by *padas* which end in *tiṄ* and are used in sentences on hand. For, in its absence, we will also get the application of this rule in: *vaha brāhmaṇa śālīṃs tvaṃ pitaitāṃs tava bhokṣyate* 'carry the śāli rice-grains O brāhmaṇa, their rice-meal will be eaten by your father'. The negation of *anudātta* is here blocked.

2. Note that, given *dṛś* + (*LAṬ*→*si*), rule 6.1.58 *sṛjidṛśor* . . . introduces augment *aM*. The *sya*, in all these examples, will be marked with *udātta* by affixal accent (*pratyaya-svara*; 3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). Refer to similar examples for derivational details of *drakṣyasi* and *bhokṣyase*.

8.1.52 लोट् च

loṭ ca

/ *loṭ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *gatyarthaloṭā na cet kārakaṃ sarvānyat* #51)
loḍantaṃ tiṅantaṃ gatyarthaloṭā yuktaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati, na cet kārakaṃ sarvam anyad bhavati
A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*-replacement of *LOṬ*, and is used in construction with a *tiṄ*-replacement of *LOṬ* introduced after a verbal root having the signification of *gati* 'movement', is also not marked with *anudātta*, provided participant relations, as expressed, are not at all different.

EXAMPLES:

āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ paśyá 'come Devadatta, see the village'
āvraja viṣṇumitra grāmaṃ śā̱dhi 'come Viṣṇumitra, protect the village'
āgamyatāṃ devadattena grāmo dṛśyatāṃ yajñadattena 'let Devadatta come and the village be seen by Yajñadatta'

1. This rule extends the negation of *anudātta* also to a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*-replacement of *LOṬ*, used in construction with a derivate of *LOṬ*. Of course, when participants expressed with both derivates of *LOṬ* are not different. Note that *āgaccha*, etc., are derivates of *LOṬ*. The *LA*-affix in *āgamyatām* and *dṛśyatām* is introduced with the denotatum of *karman* 'object'. A second personal derivate of *LOṬ* has its *dṛś* replaced with *paśy*. The second personal *hi* of (*dṛś*→*paśy*) + *ŚaP* + *hi* is deleted by 6.4.105 *ato heḥ*. The *paśy* of *paśy* + (*Ś*) *a*(*P*) = *paśy* + *a* is marked with *udātta* by root accent. Since the *a* of *ŚaP* is *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*), this *pada* gets marked with *udātta* at the beginning. Refer to derivational details of *śādhi* under 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt*. This verbal *pada*, since its *hi* is marked with something other than *P* as an *it*, is marked with *udātta* at the end by affixal accent.

2. Note that the condition of a verbal root having the signification of *gati* (*gatyarthānām*) is still valid. Thus, this rule will not apply in case of *paca devadattaudanaṃ bhuṅkṣva enam* 'cook rice Devadatta, eat it'. Verbal root *pac* does not have the signification of *gati* 'movement'. The twin conditions of *loṭā* and *sarvānyat* are also important. This is how this rule does not apply on *āgaccher devadatta grāmaṃ paśyainam* and *āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ paśytv enaṃ yajñadattaḥ*, respectively. Note that *āgaccheḥ*, a potential, is not a form of *LOṬ* and the agent and object of *paśyatu* are also different. Note, however, that, because of the *anuvṛtti* of *sarva* 'all', this rule will still apply on *āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ tvaṃ cāhaṃ ca paśyāvaḥ* 'come to the village Devadatta, you and I will both see it'. Verbal form *dṛśyatām* derives from *dṛś* + *tām* → *dṛś* + *yaK* + *tām*, where *ā* of *tām* is marked with *udātta* by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*). This *udātta* can be blocked by the *udātta* of the *vikaraṇa*, i.e., *yaK*. This, however, does not happen in view of the *Mahābhāṣya* (ad 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . .): *satiśiṣṭo' pi vikaraṇasvaro lasārvadhātukasvaraṃ na*

bādhate 'the accent of a class-marker (*vikaraṇa*), even though taught subsequently, does not block the accent of a *sārvadhātuka*-replacement of *LA*'. This facilitates an *anudātta* for *tām* (6.1.183 *tāsyānudātten* . . .). Thus, *dṛśyatām* remains marked with *udātta* in the middle.

3. Why is this rule formulated separately from the preceding? So that the *anuvṛtti* of *LṚT*, and not of *LOṬ*, could be stopped from carrying over to the following rule (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *uttaratra loṭ eva kāryaṃ yathā syāt lṛṭo mā bhūd ity evam arthaṃ pṛthagyogakaraṇam*).

8.1.53 विभाषितं सोपसर्गमनुत्तमम्

vibhāṣitaṃ sopasargam anuttamam
/*vibhāṣitam* 1/1 *sopasargam* 1/1 = *upasargeṇa saha vartate* (*bv.*); *anuttamam* 1/1 = *na uttamam* (*nañ. tat.*)/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *gatyarthaloṭā na cet kārakaṃ sarvānyat* #51 *loṭ* #52)
loḍantaṃ sopasargam uttamavarjitaṃ gatyarthaloṭā yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ vibhāṣitaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati, na cet kārakaṃ sarvam anyad bhavati
A *pada* which ends in a *tiN*-replacement of *LOṬ* with the exception of *uttama* 'first personal', and which is used in construction with a *tiN*-replacement of *LOṬ* introduced after a verbal root having a signification similar to *gati* 'movement', is optionally not marked with *anudātta* provided, of course, when participant relations as expressed are not at all different.

EXAMPLES:

āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ praviśa 'come Devadatta, enter the village'
āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ praviśá 'ibidem'
āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ praśādhi 'come Devadatta, rule the village'
āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ praśādhi 'ibidem'

1. This rule optionally blocks the *anudātta* of a verbal root which is used with the signification of *gati* and ends in a non-first personal *tiN*-replacement of *LOṬ* (*anuttamam*). This rule makes the obligatory provision of the preceding rule as optional (*vibhāṣita*). The word *vibhāṣita* is synonymous with *vibhāṣā* and this option can be characterized as *prāpta-vibhāṣā* 'an option which was already made available'. The final *udātta* of *praśādhi* is similar to that of *śādhi*. The *pra* of *praśādhi* will receive *anudātta* of 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*. Note that *praviśa* derives from *pra-viś* + *Śa* + *hi* where *hi* gets deleted and *pra* receives *anudātta*. The *a* of *Śa* is marked with *udātta* by affixal accent. This offers *praviśa* the option of being marked with *udātta* at the end. If the option of *anudātta* is accepted then *praviśa* will receive total *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*', instead. The preverb *pra* will then be marked *udātta* by *Phiṭsūtra* ((80) *nipātā ādyudāttāḥ*).

2. Why do we have the condition of *sopasargam* 'used with a preverb'. Consider *āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ paśya* where, in the absence of this optional provision, the preceding rule applies obligatorily.

Why do we state the condition of *anuttamam* 'when not first personal'? Consider *āgaccha devadatta grāmaṃ praviśāni*, where *praviśāni* is a form of the first person. The preceding rule will again apply, obligatorily.

8.1.54 हन्त च

hanta ca
/hanta ϕ ca ϕ/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *loṭ* #52 *vibhāṣitaṃ sopasargam anuttamam* #53)
'*hanta*' *ity anena yuktaṃ loḍantaṃ sopasargaṃ tiṅantaṃ vibhāṣitaṃ nānudāttaṃ bhavati*
A *pada* which ends in a non-first personal (*anuttama*) *tiṄ*-replacement of *LOṬ*, and is used in construction with *hanta* 'o, well', is also optionally not marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

hanta pra̲vi̲śa 'o, well, enter!'
hanta praviśa̲ 'ibidem'
hanta pra̲śā̲dhi 'o, well, discipline!'
hanta praśādhi̲ 'ibidem'

1. A verbal *pada* which ends in a non-first personal *tiṄ*-replacement of *LOṬ*, under conditions similar to the preceding rule, is also optionally not marked with *anudātta*, when this same is used in conjunction with *hanta* 'o, well!'. The word *ca* 'and' is used here to attract the preceding rule in its enitrety. This optional provision is made against the obligatory provision of 8.1.30 *nipātair yadyi*. . . .

8.1.55 आम एकान्तरमामन्त्रितमनन्तिके

āma ekāntaram āmantritam anantike
/āmaḥ 5/1 *ekāntaram* 1/1 = *ekaṃ padam antaraṃ yasya tat* (*bv.*); *āmantritam* 1/1 *anantike* 7/1 = *na antikam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *na* #29)
āma uttaram ekapadāntaram āmantritaṃ anantike nānudāttaṃ bhavati
A *pada* termed *āmantrita* which occurs after *ām* and is intervened by not more than a single *pada*, is not marked with *anudātta* in its entirety when an address is made to a person other than one close by (*antika*).

EXAMPLES:

ām pacasi devádatta3 'so you are cooking Devadatta!'
ām bho devadatta3 'yes, Devadatta!'

1. This rule negates *sarvānudātta* 'blanket *anudātta*' of a *pada* termed *āmantrita*, provided the same occurs after *ām* intervened by not more than a single *pada*. Note that this accentual provision is also conditioned by *anantike* 'when *antika* 'near' is not denoted'. The *Mahābhāṣya* offers two interpretations of *anantike*: far (*dūra*), and neither near nor far. I accept the second interpretation since the usage is *sambuddhi* 'address' and the rule does not explicitly use *adūre* 'far'. If Pāṇini's intent was to interpret *anantika* as *dūra* he would have used *adūre*. Refer also to *paribhāṣā* (75): *nañviyuktam anyasadṛśādhikaraṇe. . . .*

Consider *ām pacasi devádatta3*! and *ām bho devádatta3*, where this rule negates *anudātta* in *devadatta*, an *āmantrita*, since *ām* and *devadatta* are intervened by a single *pada*, i.e., *pacasi* and *bho*. Once *anudātta* is negated, rule 6.1.195 *āmantritasya ca* applies to mark *āmantrita* with initial *udātta*. Recall in this connection that *bhoḥ* is also *āmantrita* and hence, is treated as if non-existent (*avidyamānavat*; 8.1.72 *āmantritaṃ* . . .). How could the initial *udātta* of *devadatta* be accomplished here? Rule 8.1.73 *nāmantrite samānādhikaraṇe* will block the 'non-existence' provision (*avidyamānavat*) of 8.1.72 *āmantritaṃ pūrvam avidyamānavat*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *ām*? Consider *śākaṃ pacasi devadatta3* 'are you cooking leafy vegetables, devadatta!' Why do we have the condition of *ekāntaram* 'intervention of one'? Consider *ām prapacasi devadatta3* where *pra* and *pacasi* both intervene. Why do we have the condition of *āmantritam*? Consider *ām pacati devadattaḥ* 'devadatta surely cooks', where *devadattaḥ* is not an *āmantrita*.

Why do we have the condition of *anantika* 'not far, not near'? Consider *ām devadattaḥ* 'yes, Devadatta . . .'. This rule, when its *anantika* is not interpreted as meaning 'not far not near', will leave no scope of application of *ekaśruti* 'monotone' (1.2.33 *ekaśruti dūrāt*. . .) and *pluta* 'prolated vowel' marked with *udātta* (8.2.84 *dūrāddhūte ca*).

Incidentally, *s* of *bhos* is replaced with *rU* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*). The *r* is then replaced with *y* (8.3.17 *bhobhagoagho* . . .) to be subsequently deleted by 8.3.22 *hali sarveṣām*. This is how we get *bho*.

8.1.56 यद्धितुपरं छन्दसि

yaddhituparam chandasi
/yadd-hi-tu-param 1/1 = *yac ca hiś ca tuś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *chandasi* 7/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
yatparaṃ hiparaṃ tuparaṃ ca tiṅantaṃ chandasi nānudāttaṃ bhavati
A *pada* which ends in a *tiN*, and occurs in construction before *yad* 'that which', *hi* 'indeed' and *tu* 'indeed, but', is not marked with *anudātta* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

> *gavām gotram udasṛjo' yam aṅgiraḥ* 'Aṅgirā, you have released cows from their shed'
> *indavo vām uśanti hi* 'soma-drops, indeed, like you'
> *ākhyāsyāmi tu te* 'I shall tell you, indeed'

1. Note that this negation of *anudātta* is already made available in the context of a following *yad* (8.1.30 *nipātair*. . .), *hi* (8.1.34 *hi ca*) and *tu* (8.1.39 *tupaśyapaśyatā* . . .). Why do we need this rule? A provision made against one already made available is made for restrictive purposes (*niyamārtham*). That is, a form which ends in a *tiN*, in the Vedic, and whose *anudātta* is negated under the condition of what follows in construction, should be negated only when *yad, hi* and *tu*, and not any other word follows (*Kāś: ebhir eva parair yoge pratiṣedho bhavati nānyair iti*). We will thus get *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' in *jāye svo rohāvaihi* where *rohāva*, a derivate of *ruh* in *LOṬ*, is used in construction with *ehi*, a derivate of *ā-i* 'to come' in *LOṬ* signifying *gati*.

Consider *udasṛjo yad*. . . where *yad* follows and *udasṛjaḥ* is a derivate of *LAṄ*, replaced with *siP*. Thus, (*ud+aṬ+sṛj*) + *Śa* + (*LAṄ→siP*)) → *udasṛjaḥ*. Note that (*s→rU*) is replaced with *u* (6.1.113 *haśi ca*) where 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* subsequently orders a single *guṇa* as a replacement for *a+u* at the end. The *aṬ*, of course, is marked with *udātta*. The *uśanti* of *vāmuśanti* is a derivate of *LAṬ* where *v* of verbal root *vaś* goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*. . .). Thus, *vaś* + (*LAṬ→jhi*) → (*v→u*) *aś* + *ŚaP* + (*jhi→anti*)) → (*ua→uś*) + *a* + *anti* = *uśanti*. The *a* of *ŚaP* is deleted by 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛti-bhyaḥ*. . . . Since *a* of *anti* is marked with *udātta* in view of affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*), *uśanti* is accepted as marked with *udātta* in the middle. Our last example *ākhyāsyāmi* is a first person singular derivate of *LṚṬ*, introduced after *ā-khyā* 'to relate'. Its *sya* is, as usual, marked with *udātta*. Since this *pada* will be marked with *udātta*, instead, the preverb will be marked with *anudātta* by 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*.

8.1.57 चनचिदिवगोत्रादितद्धिताम्रेडितेष्वगतेः

> *canacidivagotrāditaddhitāmreḍiteṣv agateḥ*
> / *cana-cid-iva-gotrādi-taddhita-āmreḍiteṣu* 7/3 = *canaś ca cit ca iva ca gotrādayaś* (*gotra ādir yeṣām te; bv.*) *ca taddhitāś ca āmreḍitañ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu; agateḥ* 5/1 = *na gatiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*/
> (*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttam sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
> '*cana, cid, iva, gotrādi, taddhita, āmreḍita*' *ity eteṣu parataḥ agater uttaram tiṅantam nānudāttam bhavati*
> A *pada* which ends in a *tiN* and is used in construction before (*i*) *cana, cid, iva,* (*ii*) a nominal listed in the group headed by *gotra* (5.3.66-67), (*iii*) a derivate ending in an affix termed *taddhita* (4.1.76), and (*iv*) an

āmreḍita, is not marked with *anudātta*, provided the *pada* ending in a *tiṄ* does not occur in construction after *gati*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattaḥ pacáti cana 'Devadatta is not even cooking'
devadattaḥ pacáti cit 'ibidem'
devadattaḥ pacáti iva 'Devadatta shows as if he is cooking'
devadattaḥ pacáti gotram 'Devadatta is trouble to his family'
devadattaḥ pacáti bruvam 'Devadatta only talks, does not cook'
devadattaḥ pacáti pravacanam 'Devadatta only lectures, does not cook'
devadattaḥ pacátikalpam 'Devadatta only shows as if he is cooking'
devadattaḥ pacátirūpam 'ibidem'
devadattaḥ pacáti pacati 'Devadatta cooks repeatedly'

1. This rule begins negation of *anudātta* of those forms which end in a *tiṄ* and happen to be followed by *cana, cid, iva*; a nominal of the *gotrādi* group, a derivate of *taddhita*, or a form termed *āmreḍita* (8.1.2 *tasya paramāmreḍitam*), provided they do not occur in construction after a form termed *gati* (1.4.59 *upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*; 1.4.60 *gatiś ca*). *Kāśikā* warns that the term *gati* in this, and in rule 8.1.68 *sagatir api tiṅ* as well, should be understood only as referring to an *upasarga* termed *gati* (*Kāś*: *atrāgatigrahaṇe 'sagatir api tiṅ' ity atra ca upasargagrahaṇaṃ draṣṭavyam*; *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *tenopasargasaṃjñasyaiva gater grahaṇaṃ vijñāyate*). It is for this reason that we do not get negation of *anudātta* in *śuklīkaroti can*, etc.

Note that, here too, the *gotrādi* nominals are accepted as involving the signification of *kutsana* 'pejoration' and *ābhīkṣṇya* 'repeated action' (*Kāś*: *ihāpi gotrādayaḥ kutsanābhīkṣṇyayor eva gṛhyante*; cf. 8.1.27 *tiṅo gotrādīni kutsanābhīkṣṇyayoḥ*).

2. Consider *pacatikalpam* and *pacatirūpam* where the *taddhita* affixes *kalpaP* (5.3.67 *īṣad asammāptau*) and *rūpaP* (5.3.66 *praśaṃsāyāṃ rūpap*) have been introduced. Since these affixes are both marked with *P* as an *it* (*pit*), they are marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). These forms thus avail the monotone (*ekaśruti*) provision of 1.2.39 *svaritāt*. . . . The iteration of *pacati pacati* is, of course, accomplished by 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*. The second *pacati* is here termed *āmreḍita*. The first *pacati* then qualifies for negation of its *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' under the condition of the following second which is termed *āmreḍita*.

8.1.58 चादिषु च

cādiṣu ca
/ *cādiṣu* 7/3 = *ca ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣu*; *ca* φ/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *agateḥ* #57)

cādiṣu parataḥ tiṅantam agateḥ param nānudāttam bhavati
A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*, does not occur after a *pada* constituted by a *gati*, and is used in construction before that which is listed in the group headed by *ca* (*cādi*), is also not marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

devadattaḥ pacáti ca khādati ca 'Devadatta cooks and eats'
devadattaḥ pacáti vā khādati vā 'Devadatta is either cooking or eating'
devadattaḥ pacáti ha khādati ha 'Devadatta indeed cooks and eats'
devadattaḥ pacáty aha khādaty aha 'Devadatta certainly cooks and eats'
devadattaḥ pacáty eva khādaty eva 'Devadatta only cooks and eats'

1. This rule negates *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' of a form ending in a *tiṄ* when the same occurs preceded by a form other than a *gati*, and is followed by *ca*, etc. Note that *ca*, etc. (*cādi*), generally refers to a group of indeclinables which, when not denoting a thing (*asattve*), are termed particles (*nipāta*; 1.4.57 *cādayo' sattve*). The word *cādi* here refers only to particles *ca*, *vā*, *ha*, *aha* and *eva* which have been specified under rule 8.1.24 *na cavāhāhaivayukte*. This limited reference to *cādi* is determined on the basis of proximity (*pratyāsatti*) between this rule and rule 8.1.24 *na cavāhāhaivayukte*.

8.1.59 **चवायोगे प्रथमा**

cavāyoge prathamā
/ *ca-vā-yoge* 7/1 = *caś ca vāś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tau*; *tābhyām yogaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmin*; *prathamā* 1/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttam sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29)
'*ca, vā*' *ity etābhyām yoge prathamā tiṅvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati*
The first *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*, and is used in association with *ca* 'and' and *vā* 'or', is not marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

gardabhāṃś ca kālayáti vīṇām ca vādayati '... goads the donkeys, plays the lute'
gardabhān vā kālayáti vīṇām vā vādayati '... either goads the donkeys or plays the lute'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *agateḥ* 'after that which denotes something other than movement (*gati*)' which was valid in the last rule is here abandoned (*Kāś*: *agateḥ' iti pūrvasūtre cānukṛṣṭam ity atra nānuvartate*). The word *yoge* 'in association' is used here merely to indicate association (*sāhacarya*). It does not have any relevance to whether *ca*, etc., are used before or after the form ending in a *tiṄ*. Consequently, *nighāta* can also be negated when *ca*, etc., precede a form ending in a *tiṄ*.

The word *prathamā* is not used here in the sense of the nominative. It is, instead, used for referring to the first verbal form by way of its ending (*vibhakti*). This is why *Kāśikā* paraphrases the rule as: *ca vā ity etābhyāṃ yoge prathamā tiṅvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati* 'the first (word-)ending (*vibhakti*)) denoted by *tiN*, in association with *ca*, etc., is not marked with *anudātta*'. This blocks the negation of *anudātta* in case of the second, etc., verbal forms ending in a *tiN* (*Kāś*: . . . *dvitīyādes tiṅantasya mā bhūd iti*).

Since association (*yoga*) with *ca* and *vā* is possible only when more than one entities are involved, negation of *anudātta* may apply to more than one. The word *prathamā* restricts the negation to the first. Thus, *kālayáti* in both examples will be subject to negation of *anudātta*. The second verb will be subject to *nighāta* of 8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ*. The accentuation of *kālayáti* follows the pattern of *bhojayati* and *stanayati* (cf. 8.1.42 *purā ca parīpsāyām*, etc.).

8.1.60 हेति क्षियायाम्

heti kṣiyāyām
/ *ha* ϕ *iti* ϕ *kṣiyāyām* 7/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *prathamā* #59)
'*ha*' *ity anena yuktā prathamā tiṅvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati kṣiyāyāṃ gamyamānāyām*
The first *pada* which ends in a *tiN*, and is used in association with *ha*, is not marked with *anudātta* when *kṣiyā* 'undesired conduct' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

svayaṃ ha rathena yāti3 upādhyāyaṃ padātiṃ gamayati 'himself goes by a chariot, but has his teacher go on foot'
svayaṃ haudanaṃ bhuṅkte3 upādhyāyaṃ saktūn pāyayati 'himself eats a meal of rice, but has his teacher drink a meal of saktu'

1. *Kāśikā* explains *kṣiyā* as *dharmavyatikramaḥ ācāra-bhedaḥ* 'breach of conduct; opposite conduct'. As usual, the first verbal *pada* which ends in a *tiN* will be denied its *anudātta*. The *svarita-pluta* of 8.2.104 *kṣiyāśīḥpraiṣeṣu* . . . will apply, instead. Recall, however, that *yā* of *yāti* remains *udātta* since the *svarita* of *ti* will remain suspended (*asiddha*) in view of the root accent.

2. The word *iti* is used here to indicate the word-form of *ha*, as a condition for negation of *anudātta*. In its absence, the negation of *anudātta* could apply to *ha*, or to the form ending in a *tiN* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *itikaraṇe tu sati svarūpamātrapradhāno haśabdo nighātasya kāraṇaṃ bhavati/ asatyām api haśabdasya tiṅantasya vā kṣiyāyāṃ vṛttau nighātapratiṣedhaḥ siddho bhavati*).

8.1.61 अहेति विनियोगे च

aheti viniyoge ca

/aha ϕ iti ϕ viniyoge 7/1 ca ϕ/

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṅ #28 na #29 prathamā #59 kṣiyāyām #60)

'aha' ity anena yuktā prathamā tiṅvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati viniyoge gamyamāne

The first *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*, and is used in construction with *aha*, is not marked with *anudātta* when *viniyoga* 'commissioning for varying things' or *kṣiyā* 'undesired conduct' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

tvam aha grāmam gacchá tvam ahāraṇyaṃ gaccha 'you surely go to the village and indeed go to the forest'

svayam aha rathena yātí3 upādhyāyaṃ padātiṃ gamayati 'he indeed goes himself by the chariot and sends his teacher on foot'

svayam ahaudanaṃ bhuṅkté3 upādhyāyaṃ saktūn pāyayati 'he himself eats rice and has his teacher drink saktu'

1. Note that *viniyoga* is explained as *nānāprayojano niyogaḥ* 'commission for diverse purposes'. The use of *ca* 'and' attracts the condition of *kṣiyāyām* 'undesired conduct'. Thus, there are two conditions, *viniyoga* and *kṣiyā*, under which *anudātta* can be negated. Negation of *anudātta* and *pluta* is similar to examples of the preceding rule (*Kāś*: *pūrvavan nighātapratiṣedhaḥ plutaś ca*).

8.1.62 चाहलोप एवेत्यवधारणम्

cāhalopa evety avadhāraṇam

/cāhalope 7/1 = caś ca ahaś ca = cāhau (itar. dv.), tayor lopaḥ (ṣaṣ. tat.); eva ϕ iti ϕ avadhāraṇam 1/1/

(padasya #16 padāt #17 anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau #18 tiṅ #28 na #29 prathamā #59)

calope ahalope prathamā tiṅvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati evety etac ced avadhāraṇārthaṃ prayujyate

The first *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* is not marked with *anudātta* when *ca* and *aha*, used in construction with it, go through a deletion by *LOPA*, provided *eva* is used with the signification of *avadhāraṇa* 'restriction, exact determination'.

EXAMPLES:

devadatta eva grāmaṃ gacchátu 'let Devadatta alone go to the village'

sa devadatta evāraṇyaṃ gacchatu 'and let that same Devadatta go to the forest'

devadatta eva grāmam gacchátu 'let Devadatta alone go to the village'

yajñadatta evāraṇyaṃ gacchatu '(and) let Yajñadatta alone go to the forest'

1. This negation of *anudātta* in the first verbal form is dependent upon deletion of *ca* and *ha.* Additionally, it requires the use of *eva* in the sense of *avadhāraṇa* 'restriction, exact determination'. What is the meaning of *cāhalope*? It means where *ca* and *aha* are not explicitly used but their sense is understood. Recall that *ca* means *samuccaya* 'collection, aggregation, and' and *eva* means *kevala* 'only'. Generally, in examples above, deletion of *ca* should be understood when same agents are involved. Thus, consider the first two sentences of our examples which can be rendered with *ca* as: *devadatta eva grāmaṃ cāraṇyaṃ ca gacchatu* 'let Devadatta alone go to the village, and to the forest'. Deletion of *aha* can be similarly understood when different agents are involved (*Kāś: samānakartṛke calopaḥ, nānākartṛke ahalopaḥ*).

The first *gacchatu* is marked with *udātta,* in view of root-accent (*dhātu-svara*; 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). It follows the accentual pattern of *pacáti.* The second *gacchatu* will, of course, be marked with *anudātta,* as required (8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ*).

8.1.63 **चादिलोपे विभाषा**

cādilope vibhāṣā
/*cādilope* 7/1 = *ca ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*); *teṣāṃ lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *prathamā* #59)
cādayaḥ '*na cavāhāhaivayukte*' *iti sūtranirdiṣṭā gṛhyante, teṣāṃ lope prathamā tiṅvibhaktir nānudāttā bhavati vibhāṣā*
The first *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* is not marked with *anudātta* when *ca,* etc., go through deletion by means of *LOPA.*

EXAMPLES:

śuklā vrīhayo bhavánti 'rice are generally white'
śuklā vrīhayo bh<u>*a*</u>*v*<u>*a*</u>*nt*<u>*i*</u> 'ibidem'
śvetā gā ājyāya duhánti 'they milk white cows for butter (ghee)'
śvetā gā ājyāya d<u>*u*</u>*h*<u>*a*</u>*nt*<u>*i*</u> 'ibidem'
vrīhibhir yajéta 'one should sacrifice with ritual oblation of (wild) rice'
vrīhibhir y<u>*a*</u>*j*<u>*e*</u>*t*<u>*a*</u> 'ibidem'
yavair yajéta 'one should sacrifice with ritual oblation of barley'
yavair y<u>*a*</u>*j*<u>*e*</u>*t*<u>*a*</u> 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes the negation of *anudātta* optional in contexts where *ca, vā, ha, aha* and *eva* (*cādi*) are deleted. Consequently, the first verbal form which ends in a *tiṄ* will be optionally denied its *anudātta.* Here again *cādi* refers to particles specified under rule 8.1.24 *na cavāhāhaivayukte.* The sense of *lope* 'when deletion . . .' also remains the same. That is, when *cādi* elements are not used but their sense is understood. Consider *śuklā vrīhayo*

bhavánti 'rice are generally white' where we will optionally also get *bhavanti*. There is no negation of *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' in the second *bhavanti*. We similarly get *vrīhibhir yajéta* where *vā* is deleted. Once *ta* is marked with *anudātta* on the basis of being a *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*) replacement of *LA*, *yajeta* will be marked with *udātta* at the beginning by root accent (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). Another option will be *yajeta*. One can similarly understand other examples (*Kāś*: *evaṃ śeṣesv api yathādarśanam udāhāryam*).

8.1.64 वैवावेति च च्छन्दसि

vaivāveti ca cchandasi

/*vaivāva* 1/2 (deleted) = *vaiś ca vāvaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *iti* ɸ *ca* ɸ *chandasi* 7/1/

(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *prathamā* #59 *vibhāṣā* #63)

'*vai, vāva*' *ity etābhyāṃ yuktā prathamā tiṅvibhaktir vibhāṣā nānudāttā bhavati chandasi viṣaye*

The first *pada* (of a sentence) which ends in a *tiṄ* and is used in association with *vai* 'truly' and *vāva* 'indeed', is, optionally, not marked with *anudātta* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

ahárvai devānāmāsīd rātrirasúrāṇām āsīt 'the day indeed was of the gods and the night of the demons'

bṛhaspatírvai devānāṃ purohita āsīt (āsīt) śaṇḍāmarkāvasúrāṇām 'Bṛhaspati indeed was the priest of gods, Śaṇḍa and Marka were the priests of demons'

ayaṃ vāv hasta āsīt netara āsīt 'this, and not any other, was indeed the (famous) hand'

1. This rule offers optional negation of *anudātta*, in the Vedic, where *vai* and *vāva* are used in association with the first verbal form ending in a *tiṄ*. Refer to derivational details of *āsīt* under rule 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte*. Recall that *āṬ*, as an affix, is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

8.1.65 एकान्याभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम्

ekānyābhyāṃ samarthābhyām

/*ekānyābhyām* 3/2 = *ekaś ca anyaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *samarthābhyām* 3/2 = *samas tulyo' rtho yayoḥ* (*bv.*), *tābhyām*/

(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *prathamā* #59 *vibhāṣā* #63 *chandasi* #64)

'eka, anya' ity etābhyāṃ samarthābhyāṃ yuktā prathamā tiṅvibhaktir vibhāṣā nānudāttā bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The first *pada* (of a sentence) which ends in a *tiṄ* and is used in association with *eka* and *anya*, having the same signification, is, optionally, not marked with *anudātta* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

prajām ekā jinváti ūrjam ekā rakṣati 'one quickens progeny, the other preserves strength'
prajām ekā jinvati ūrjam ekā rakṣáti 'ibidem'
tayór anyaḥ pippálaṃ svādv attí anáśnann anyo abhicākaśīti 'one of these two eats the tasty Pippala fruit, the other, not eating, looks on intently'

1. The word *samarthābhyām* means 'with two having the same meaning'. Consequently, *eka* and *anya* are here used with the single meaning of 'one'. Incidentally, *eka* is diversely used in the sense of 'other', 'principal', 'first', 'only', 'common', 'equal', 'little' and 'one':

ekoʼ nyārthe pradhāne ca prathame kevale tathā/
sādhāraṇe samāneʼ lpe saṃkhyāyāṃ ca prayujyate//

Recall also that *jinvati*, a third singular active present indicative of *jivI*, is derived with *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*; 1.1.47 *mid acoʼ ntyāt paraḥ*) as: *jivI* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *jiv* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* → (*ji*+*nUM*+*v*) + *ŚaP* + *tiP*)) = *jinvati*. This verbal form is marked with *udātta* (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*) at the beginning, similarly to *pacati*. This same is also true of *atti* 'eats'.

8.1.66 यद्वृत्तान्नित्यम्

yadvṛttān nityam
/*yadvṛttāt* 5/1 = *yado vṛttam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *nityam* φ/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *tiṅ* #28 *na* #29 *prathamā* #59)
yadvṛttād uttaraṃ tiṅantaṃ nānudāttaṃ nityam
The first *pada* (of a sentence) which ends in a *tiṄ*, and occurs after *yadvṛtta* 'forms of *yad* (that which) with various nominal endings', is obligatorily not marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

yo bhuṅkte 'he who eats . . .'
yaṃ bhojayáti 'the one he feeds . . .'
yena bhuṅkte 'that by means of which (or with who) he eats'
yasmai dadāti 'one to whom he gives . . .'

1. Note that *yadvṛtta* can be explained similarly to *kiṃvṛtta* (8.1.48 *kiṃvṛttaṃ*

ca . . .). Thus, *yadvṛtta* here refers to the totality of paradigmatic forms of *yad* 'that which'. Verbal form *juhumaḥ* derives from *hu* + (*LAṬ*→*mas*→*maḥ*), with doubling and its related operations. The form itself is *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādyudāttaś ca*).

8.1.67 पूजनात् पूजितमनुदात्तं काष्ठादिभ्यः

pūjanāt pūjitam anudāttam kāṣṭhādibhyaḥ
/*pūjanāt* 5/1 *pūjitam* 1/1 *anudāttam* 1/1 *kāṣṭhādibhyaḥ* 5/3/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18)
pūjanāt paraṃ pūjitam anudāttaṃ bhavati
A *pada* which denotes a thing praised (*pūjitam*), and occurs after a *pada* which denotes praise (*pūjana*), is marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

kāṣṭhādhyāpakaḥ 'an excellent teacher'
kāṣṭhābhirūpakaḥ 'a teacher beyond comparison'
dāruṇādhyāpakaḥ 'a teacher who teaches difficult texts'
dāruṇābhirūpakaḥ 'a teacher beyond comparison'
amātāputrādhyāpakaḥ 'the teacher of one who does not have a mother'

1. Haradatta states that nominals listed in the group headed by *kāṣṭha* 'wood' (*kāṣṭhādi*) may denote a meaning synonymous with *adbhuta* 'amazing'. Consequently, their denotatum can be accepted as the denotatum of *pūjana* 'praise' (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *kāṣṭhādayaś caite' dbhutparyāyāḥ pūjanavacanā bhavanti*). Note that Pāṇini specifies a word ending in a *tiN* (*tiṅanta*) in the next rule. This rule is then interpreted as specifying a *pada* ending in a *sUP* (*subanta*). The words *kāṣṭhādhyāpakaḥ*, etc., are all qualifiers to an action (*kriyā-viśeṣaṇa*). They also end in *dvitīyā* 'accusative'. Thus, *kāṣṭham adbhutaṃ adhyāpayati* = *kāṣṭhādhyāpakaḥ* 'he who teaches wonderfully', etc. But since there are no rules whereby a *kriyāviśeṣaṇa* 'qualifier to an action' can be combined in a compound, commentators take recourse to 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca*. The author of the *vārttika* proposes that deletion of *m* should be accomplished in these words. Thus, *kāṣṭham adhyāpayati* = *kāṣṭha*(*m*→ϕ) *adhyāpakaḥ* = *kāṣṭh*(*a*+*a* →*ā*) *dhyāpakaḥ* = *kāṣṭhādhyāpakaḥ*. Since this deleted *m* is part of a nominal inflection (*vibhakti*), we will also have to accept this deletion in the context of absence of compound formation. Thus, resort to 2.1.72 *mayūra-vyaṃsakādayaś ca* will not be necessary. Note that resort to 2.1.72 *mayūra* . . . is taken because of a lack of syntactic coordination (*vaiyadhikaraṇya*) between compound constituents such as *kāṣṭham* and *adhyāpakaḥ*. That is, *kāṣṭham*, etc., are adverbial modifiers (*kriyāviśeṣaṇa*) ending in the accusative (*dvitīyā*). Recall in this connection that *adhyāpaka*, etc., end in affix *ṆvuL*. Consequently, they are marked with *udātta* conditioned by *L* as affixal *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). Our present rule will assign *anudātta*.

2. *Kāśikā* and *SK* both read an additional word *kāṣṭhādibhyaḥ* as part of the wording of this rule. I omit it since it is part of a *vārttika* proposal.

8.1.68 सगतिरपि तिङ्

sagatir api tiṅ
/sagatiḥ 1/1 = *gatinā saha* (*bv.*); *api* ɸ *tiṅ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #16 *padāt* #17 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *pūjanāt pūjitam* #67)
sagatir agatir api pūjanāt paraṃ pūjitam tiṅantam anudāttaṃ bhavati
A *pada* which ends in a *tiN*, denotes a thing praised (*pūjitam*) and occurs after a *pada* which denotes praise (*pūjana*), is, whether used with a *gati* or not, marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

yat kāṣṭhaṃ pacati 'that he cooks beautifully . . .'
yat kāṣṭhaṃ prapacati 'ibidem'
yad dāruṇaṃ pacati 'that he cooks assiduously . . .'
yad dāruṇaṃ prapacati 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *anudātta* for a form which ends in a *tiṄ* and is used after a word denoting *pūjā* 'praise', when the form ending in a *tiṄ* is used in association with, and also without, a *gati* word. Recall that 8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ* offers *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' which is subsequently negated by 8.1.30 *nipātair yadyadi*. . . . Our present rule makes its provision against negation of *nighāta*. The *vārttika* proposal of deletion of *m* (cf. earlier rule) applies only when a non-*tiṄ* follows. Consequently, *yatkāṣṭham*, etc., of *yatkāṣṭhaṃ pacati*, etc., do not lose their *m*. Since the specification of this rule is made with *sagatiḥ*, *nighāta* also applies to the *gati* word, irrespective of whether the *gati* word is combined with a form ending in *tiṄ*. Thus, we get *yaddāruṇaṃ prapacati*, etc. The word *gati*, since the context is that of a following form ending in a *tiṄ*, refers to a preverb (*upasarga*; 1.4.60 *gatiś ca*).

2. Why do we have the specification made with *tiṄ*? So that this rule does not apply in the context of a following non-*tiṄ*. Conversely, so that a *tiṄ* does not become part of the right context of the preceding rule. Also recall that the *vārttika* proposal of *m*-deletion applies only there. That is, it cannot apply here.

8.1.69 कुत्सने च सुप्यगोत्रादौ

kutsane ca supy agotrādau
/kutsane 7/1 *ca* ɸ *supi* 7/1 *agotrādau* 7/1 = *gotra ādir yasya* (*bv.*); *na gotrādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*padasya* #16 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *sagatir api tiṅ* #68)

kutsane ca subante gotrādivarjite parataḥ sagatir api tiṅ agatir apy anudātto bhavati

A *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* and occurs in construction with, or even without, a *gati*, is marked with *anudātta*, provided a *pada* which ends in a *sUP* and denotes *kutsana* 'censure', though is not constituted by a nominal of the *gotrādi* group, follows.

EXAMPLES:

pacati pūti '. . . cooks in a questionable way'
prapacati pūti 'ibidem'
pacati mithyā '. . . cooks uselessly'
prapacati mithyā 'ibidem'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *padāt* (8.1.17 *padāt*) is no longer valid. The *anuvṛtti* of *sagatir api tiṅ* is still valid. Consequently, the *nighāta* of 8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ* could not be available in case of a *tiṄ* used without a *gati*. A form which ends in a *tiṄ* and is used with a *gati* could only avail *nighāta* for itself. Our present rule makes *nighāta* available to both. Recall that the *sU* of *pūrti* + *sU* is deleted by 7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *kutsane* 'when censure . . .'? So that this accentual provision does not apply to *pacati śobhanam* 'cooks beautifully'. Why do we have the condition of *supi* 'when a *pada* ending in a *sUP* follows'? So that this rule does not apply when a non-*sUP*, for example *pacati kliśnāti* 'saddens when cooks', follows. Why do we have the condition of *agotrādau* 'when a non-*gotrādi* nominal . . .'? Consider *pacati gotram* '. . . cooks while extolling the virtues of his lineage (*gotra*)' where this rule cannot apply.

3. A *vārttika* proposal requires this rule to apply only when *kriyā-kutsana* 'censure of action' is denoted. Thus, this rule cannot apply on *prapacati pūtir devadattaḥ* where *pūtiḥ* denotes censure of *devadattaḥ*, the agent (*karttuḥ kutsanam*). The *Mahābhāṣya* sums it all up in the following verse:

supi kutsane kriyāyā malopa iṣto' tiṅīti coktārtham /
pūtiś cānubandho vibhāṣitaṃ cāpi bahvartham //

8.1.70 गतिर्गतौ

gatir gatau
/*gatiḥ* 1/1 *gatau* 7/1/
(*padasya* #16 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18)
gatir gatau parato' nudātto bhavati
A *gati* which occurs before a *gati* is marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

abhyuddharati '. . . lifts up'

samudānáyati '. . . properly brings up'
abhisampáryāhárati '. . . properly brings towards . . .'

1. Consider *abhy-ud-harati* where *abhi*, an *upasarga* 'preverb', receives *anudātta* by *phiṭsūtra* (1): *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*. This, of course, happens in view of the negation of *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* (81): *upasargaś cābhivarjam*). Since it is followed, here, by the *gati* word *ut*, it becomes *anudātta*. The *a* of *abhi* alone remains *anudātta*, subsequent to the *y*-replacement of its *i*. The *u* of *ut* becomes *udātta* in view of the *Phiṭsūtra* (81): *upasargaś cābhivarjam*. The *sa* of *sam-ud-ānayati* receives its *udātta* by *upasargaś cābhivarjam*. However, since *āṄ*, a *gati*, follows both *sam* and *ut*, they both become *anudātta*. Of course, *āṄ* remains *udātta*. The *abhi* of *abhi-sam-pary-āharati*, as usual, was qualified for *anudātta*. Since *āṄ* follows *abhi*, *sam* and *pari*, they all become *anudātta*.

2. Why do we say when followed by a *gati*? Consider *ā mandrair indra haribhir yāhi mayūraromabhiḥ* where *ā* is a *gati* in association with *yāhi*. Since *ā* is not followed by a *gati* it retains its accent. If *gatau* was not stated here *ā* would have lost its accent. Thus, *gatau* restricts the scope of application of this rule.

8.1.71 तिङि चोदात्तवति

tiṅi codāttavati
/ *tiṅi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ *udāttavati* 7/1/ = *udātto' sminn astīti* (a derivate of *matUP*), *tasmin*/
(*padasya* #16 *anudāttaṃ sarvam apādādau* #18 *gatiḥ* #70)
tiṅante udāttavati parato gatir anudātto bhavati
A *gati*, when occurring before a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* and carries an *udātta*, is also marked with *anudātta*.

EXAMPLES:

yat prapacáti 'whatever he cooks . . .'
yat prakaróti 'whatever he makes . . .'

1. This rule allows a *gati* to be marked with *udātta* when a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ*, and possesses an *udātta*, follows. Recall that *pacati* and *karoti* possess an *udātta* on account of negation of their *nighāta* by 8.1.30 *nipātair yadyadi* . . . and 8.1.66 *yadvṛttān nityam*, respectively. Our *gati* word *pra*, under the following condition of *pacati* and *karoti*, is marked with *anudātta*. That is, it cannot be marked with *udātta* by the *Phiṭsūtra* (81): *upasargāś cābhivarjam*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *tiṅi*? So that a *gati* is not marked with *udātta* before any following *pada*. It must be marked with *udātta* only when a verbal *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* follows. Thus, consider *ā* of *ā mandrair indra haribhir yāhi mayūraromabhiḥ* 'O Indra, come by beautiful horses of peacock color', where *ā*(*Ṅ*) is a *gati* used in association with *yāhi*. The full verbal form is *āyāhi* 'come'. But since it is followed by *mandraiḥ*, and not a form ending in a *tiṄ*, it cannot be marked with *anudātta*. Similarly, *tiṅi* is used to make

sure that this rule applies with reference to a verbal *pada*, and not, for example, a root. Thus, consider *yat pra-karoti* where verbal root *kṛ* is marked with *anudātta*, but *karoti* is marked with *udātta*. It is also necessary that the accent of a form ending in a *tiṄ* be also clearly specified. This is why we must have *udāttavati* 'when a *tiṄ*, marked with *udātta*, follows'.

This explanation of the use of *tiṅi* creates problems, especially in view of the convention: *yat kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas teṣāṃ taṃ prati gatyupasargasaṃjñe bhavataḥ* '*pra*, etc., when used in construction with a *kriyā* 'action', are termed *gati* in relation to the action'. This makes *pra*, etc., to be treated as *gati* also in construction with a form not ending in a *tiṄ*. This, in view of the use of *tiṅi*, creates problems with *pra pacatitarām* and *pra pacatitamām* where *pra*, even without the use of a form ending in a *tiṄ*, is marked with *anudātta*. Commentators state three positions on this:

(*i*) An indeclinable (*avyaya*), here *pra*, is combined with a form ending in *ām*, i.e., *pacatitarām* and *pacatitamām*, to yield a compound (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*). The *gati* form then is marked with *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra*: *nipātā ādyudāttaḥ*) by way of retaining its original accent (6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . .). Thus, the *gati* does not get *anudātta* even when *tiṅi* is not used in this rule. The rest of the compound, in accord with 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*, is marked with *anudātta*.

(*ii*) Some form an indeclinable compound with forms ending in affixes *taraP* and *tamaP*. In this view, *pra* retains its original accent even before the compound is formed. We get *ām*, an *udātta*, introduced subsequently. The *anudātta* of *gati* is thus established by 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*. This rule then has no purpose in establishing the *nighāta* of a *gati*.

(*iii*) Recall that this compound-formation involves a *gati* and a form ending in an affix termed *kṛt*. The *Paribhāṣā* (76): *gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāk subutpatteḥ* states that a compound such as this should be formed prior to the introduction of nominal endings denoted by *sUP*. Yet another interpretation of this *paribhāṣā* may demand that such compounds be formed only with a form ending in a *kṛt* affix, and not with any other form. According to the first interpretation, *pra*, since it cannot be a *subanta* 'an item ending in a *sUP*', cannot be combined. Since both *pra* and *pacatitarām* will have different accents, our present *sūtra* with *tiṅi* becomes necessary for facilitating the *nighāta* of *pra* in construction with the form ending in *ām*. Recall that *pra* gets *udātta* by the *Phiṭsūtra*: *upasargāś cābhivarjam* and *ām* gets its *udātta* by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādy udāttaś ca*). The second interpretation of the *paribhāṣā* is not relevant to our discussion.

8.1.72 आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत्

āmantritaṃ pūrvam avidyamānavat
/ *āmantritam* 1/1 *pūrvam* 1/1 *avidyamānavat* ϕ = *na vidyamānam* (*nañ. tat.*); *avidyamānena tulyam* = *avidyamānavat*/
(*padasya* #16)
āmantritaṃ pūrvam avidyamānavad bhavati, tasmin sati yat kāryaṃ tan na bhavati asati yat tad bhavati
A *pada* termed *āmantrita*, when followed by another *pada*, is treated as if non-existent.

EXAMPLES:

devádatta yajñádatta 'O, Devadatta!, O, Yajñadatta!'
devádatta pacási 'Devadatta, you are cooking'
devadatta tava grāmaḥ svam 'Devadatta, this village is your property'
devadatta mama grāmaḥ svam 'Devadatta, this village is my property'
yāvad devadatta pacasi 'till the time you are cooking Devadatta!'
devádatta jātu pacási 'are you cooking at all Devadatta!'
āho devadatta pacási 'are you cooking Devadatta!'
utāho devadatta pacási 'ibidem'
ām bhoḥ pacasi devádatta 'yes Devadatta, you are cooking'

1. This rule makes an extensional provision of allowing an *āmantrita* to be treated as if non-existent provided this *āmantrita* is followed by another *pada*. That is, an operation which obtains on a following *pada*, under the condition of a preceding *pada* termed *āmantrita*, is not applied by treating the *āmantrita* as if non-existent (*avidyamānavat*). Similarly, operations which obtain on a *pada* when an *āmantrita* does not precede become applicable (*Kāś*: *āmantritaṃ pūrvam avidyamānavad bhavati tasmin sati yat kāryaṃ tan na bhavati, asati yat tad bhavati*).

What are the purposes of allowing this treatment as if non-existent? Consider *devádatta yajñádatta* where both are termed *āmantrita* (2.3.48 *sā'' mantritam*). The following *pada*, i.e., *yajñadatta*, is here subject to receiving *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' of 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca*. Our present rule requires that the preceding *pada*, i.e., *devadatta*, be treated as if non-existent (*avidyamānavat*). The *nighāta* of *yajñadatta* which was earlier made available is now blocked. That is, the provision of initial *udātta* which was made available by 6.1.195 *āmantritasya ca* stays.

Similarly, the *nighāta* of 8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ* is also blocked in *devádatta pacási* where *devadatta*, a preceding *āmantrita*, is treated as if non-existent. A replacement in *te* and *me*, for *yuṣmad* and *asmad*, will also be blocked in *devadatta tava grāmaḥ svam* and *devadatta mama grāmaḥ svam*. Note that 8.1.22 *temayāv ekavacanasya* requires this replacement in *anudātta*. Yet another *anudātta* (8.1.37 *pūjāyāṃ nānantaram*), which may be available to *pacasi* of *yāvad devadatta pacasi*, is blocked because of *devadatta* treated as if non-existent.

The *nighāta* of *pacási*, in *devadatta jātu pacasi*, is negated (8.1.47 *jātv apūrvam*), because *devadatta* is treated as if non-existent before *jātu*. Similar applications can be seen in *āho devadatta pacási* and *utāho devadatta pacási*, where *pacási* becomes non-*anudātta* (8.1.49 *ho utāho cānantaram*), subsequent to treatment of *devadatta* as non-existent. Finally, consider *ām bhoḥ pácasi dévadatta* where *dévadatta* becomes non-*anudātta* (8.1.55 *ām ekāntaram* . . .). For, *bhoḥ* is here treated as non-existent and *devadatta* then becomes an *āmantrita* intervened by a single *pada*. The condition of intervention by a single *pada* cannot be satisfied here since *bhoḥ* is not treated as non-existent.

2. Why do we have the condition of *āmantritam*? Consider *devadattaḥ pacati* where, in the absence of treatment of an *āmantrita* as non-existent (*avidyamānavat*), the *nighāta* of *pacati* must apply.

Why do we have the condition of *pūrvam* 'preceding'? So that the *āmantrita* is not treated as *avidyamānavat* with reference to operation on itself. For, *pūrva* 'preceding' is defined as a term relative to *para* 'subsequent'. An *āmantrita*, when used as a preceding *pada*, can be treated as if non-existent only for operations relative to what follows, irrespective of whether such an operation happens to be conditioned by itself, or by something else (*Kāś*: *pūrvatvaṃ ca parāpekṣaṃ bhavatīti parasyaiva eva kārye svanimitte anyanimitte vā tad avidyamānavad bhavati na tu svakārye*). Consider *devádatta pácasi* where *devadatta* becomes as if non-existent relative to *pacasi*. Its initial *udātta*, as per rule 6.1.195 *āmantritasya ca*, cannot be blocked. Now consider *imaṃ mé gaṅge yamune sarasvati* where *gaṅge* is an *āmantrita* used as a preceding *pada* in relation to *yamune*. It can be treated as if non-existent in relation to *yamune*. It cannot be considered as if non-existent in relation to *me*. For, *me* will be treated as immediately preceding *yamune* since *gaṅge* will be considered as if non-existent. The word *yamune* will thus be marked with *anudātta* because of *me*. Remember here that *gaṅge*, because of its status as non-existent, cannot condition the *anudātta* of *yamune*. That is, it cannot kill the conditioning status of *me* insofar as the *anudātta* of *yamune* is concerned.

8.1.73 नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम्

nāmantrite samānādhikaraṇe sāmānyavacanam

/*na* ϕ *āmantrite* 7/1 *samānādhikaraṇe* 7/1 = *samānam adhikaraṇam yasya* (*bv.*), *tat*; /*sāmānyavacanam* 1/1 = *sāmānyasya vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*);/ (*padasya* #16 *āmantritaṃ pūrvam avidyamānavat* #72)

āmantritānte samānādhikaraṇe parataḥ pūrvam āmantritāntaṃ sāmānyavacanaṃ nāvidyamānavad bhavati

A *pada* termed *āmantrita*, used with the signification of a general (*sāmānya*), is not treated as if non-existent when another *āmantrita*, used in syntactic coordination with the preceding, follows.

EXAMPLES:

agné gṛhapate 'O Agni, master of the house'
māṇavaka jaṭilādhyāpaka 'O kid, the teacher with matted hair'

1. This rule declares a preceding *āmantrita*, signifying a general (*sāmānya*), as if not non-existent when an *āmantrita*, used in syntactic coordination with the preceding, follows. Consider *agne gṛhapate* where *agne* is treated as if existing (*vidyamānavat*) and, consequently, *gṛhapate* gets the *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' of 6.1.195 *āmantritasya ca*. That is, the following word is marked with *anudātta* on account of its preceding treated as *vidyamānavat* (*Kāś*: *pūrvasya vidyamānatvāt param anudāttam eva bhavati*). Similar reasoning also applies to the second example. If the option of treating as if existent is not accepted then 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca* makes both words marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

2. Why do we have the condition of *āmantrite*? Consider *devadatta pacasi* 'Devadatta, you are cooking'. Note that the *LA*-affix of *pacasi* denotes an agent which is the denotatum of *devadatta*. There is a syntactic coordination between *devadatta* and *pacasi*. However, there is no *āmantrita* to follow.

Why do we have the condition of syntactic coordination? Consider *devadatta paṇḍita yajñadatta* where the word *paṇḍita* is a qualifier to *yajñadatta*. It cannot be accepted as sharing syntactic coordination with the preceding. Why do we have the condition of *sāmānyavacana* 'denoting a general'? So that this rule does not apply in cases of synonyms. Thus, *aghnyé, devi, sarásvati, íḍé, kāvyé, vihavyé*, which are all vocatives, but synonyms of Sarasvatī. They all follow the accentual provision of 6.1.195 *āmantritasya ca*.

8.1.74 विभाषितं विशेषवचने बहुवचनम्

vibhāṣitaṃ viśeṣavacane bahuvacanam
vibhāṣitam 1/1 *viśeṣavacane* 1/1 = *viśeṣasya vacanam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*padasya* #16 *āmantritaṃ pūrvam avidyamānavat* #72 *āmantrite samānādhikaraṇe* #73)
viśeṣavacane samānādhikaraṇe āmantritānte parataḥ pūrvam āmantritaṃ bahuvacanāntaṃ vibhāṣitam avidyamānavad bhavati
A *pada* termed *āmantrita*, used with the denotatum of *sāmānya* 'general', is treated as if non-existent, only optionally, when an *āmantrita* used in syntactic coordination with the denotatum of a particular (*viśeṣa*), follows.

EXAMPLES:

devāḥ śaráṇyāḥ 'O gods! the givers of shelter'
devāḥ śaraṇyāḥ 'ibidem'
brāhmáṇā vaiyākaraṇāḥ 'O brāhamaṇas, the grammarians'
brāhmáṇā vaiyākaraṇāḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that the wording of this *sūtra* is generally accepted as: *vibhāṣitaṃ viśeṣavacane.* Patañjali requires that *bahuvacane* should also be used as part of the wording of this rule. This to inform that only plural usage is available. That is, a singular *āmantrita* word with the signification of general is obligatorily treated as if 'not existent' (*avidyamānavat*) when used in syntactic coordination with another such word signifying its 'particular' counterpart. Thus, *māṇāvaka jaṭilaka* 'O kid, with matted hair'.

It is also stated that *sāmānyavacanam* is also needed because of syntactic coordination context with *viśeṣavacanam. Kāśikā* states that *viśeṣavacane,* since *sāmānyavacanam* is carried from the earlier rule, could be easily understood. Pāṇini uses it explicitly in this rule for clarity (*viśeṣavacanagrahaṇaṃ vispaṣṭārtham*). Note, however, that *Kāśikā* does it by also accepting *bahuvacanam* in the wording of this rule. Some others do not read *sāmānyavacanam* in the wording of the earlier rule. They read *sāmānyavacanam* in the wording of this rule, instead. Consider the examples where *deva* and *brāhmaṇa* denote general qualities of 'divineness' and 'brāhmaṇaness'. Their denotatum is thus *sāmānya.* The denotatum of *śaraṇya* and *vaiyākaraṇa* constitutes the particular used in syntactic coordination with its general counterpart. Thus, we optionally get *deva* and *brāhmaṇa* as if they did exist (*vidyamānavat*). Rule 8.1.19 *āmantritasya ca* can now apply to offer *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*' to *śaraṇya* and *deva.* If the option of *vidyamānavat* is not accepted, both these words, in view of 6.1.195 *āmantritasya ca,* will be marked with *udātta* at the beginning.

Pāda Two

8.2.1 पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्

pūrvatrāsiddham

/*pūrvatra* ɸ *asiddham* 1/1 = *na siddham* (*nañ. tat.*)/

adhikāro' yam ā adhyāyaparisamāpteḥ. yad ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmaḥ 'pūrvatrāsiddham' ity evaṃ veditavyam. tatra yeyaṃ sapādasaptādhyāyyanukrāntā etasyām ayaṃ pādono' dhyāyo' siddho bhavati

That which follows from here onwards is treated as if suspended (*asiddham*) in view of what precedes.

Examples:

asmā uddhara 'fetch for this person'
dvā atra 'the two here'
dvā ānaya 'bring the two'
asā ādityaḥ 'that is sun'
amuṣmai 'dative singular of *adas* 'he''
amuṣmāt 'ablative singular . . .'
amuṣmin 'locative singular . . .'

śuṣkikā 'dried up'
śuṣkajaṅghā 'she whose thighs are thin'
kṣāmimān 'decaying'
aujaḍhat 'carried'
guḍaliṇmān 'jaggery-licking'

1. This is an *adhikāra*, and hence, it carries through all rules enumerated up to the end of this book-chapter (*adhyāya*). Whatever is stated hereafter must remain suspended in view of what precedes this rule. Thus, in view of the preceding seven and one quarter-chapters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, its last three quarter-chapters of rules are considered suspended (*asiddha*). A following rule, here in this section of the *tripādī* 'last three quarter-chapters of rules', is also to be considered suspended (*asiddha*) in view of what precedes (*Kāś*: *ita uttaraṃ cottara uttaro yogaḥ pūrvapūrvatrāsiddho bhavati = asiddhavad bhavati*). What is the meaning of *asiddho bhavati* 'is considered suspended'. It does not do what is already done and established (*Kāś*: *siddhakāryaṃ na karotīty arthaḥ*).

Now the question: 'what is the thing which becomes suspended (*asiddha*)'? Is this a rule (*śāstra*), or an operation (*kārya*) performed by that rule? This brings two notions of *asiddhatva* 'suspension': (*i*) *śāstrāsiddhatva* 'suspension of rule(s)' and *kāryāsiddhatva* 'suspension of operation(s)'. The first view will accept a rule (*śāstra*; *lakṣaṇa*) as *asiddha* 'suspended'. The second view will consider an operation (*kārya*) performed by a given rule (*śāstra*) *asiddha*. This *asiddhatva* should be interpreted as *śāstrāsiddhatva*, because 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* is a rule (*śāstra*) where *atra* 'here' denotes an extent (*avadhi*) in relation to *pūrva* 'prior', an obligatory *avadhimat* 'that which is bounded by an extent'. It is generally accepted that *avadhyavadhimatoḥ sajātīyatvam* *avadhi* 'extent' and *avadhimat* 'that which constitutes the extent' share similarity of class (*jāti*). That is, *yaj jātir avadhis taj jātir avadhimān* 'the class of an *avadhimān* is identical with the class of its corresponding *avadhi*'. Consider *caitrāt pūrvaḥ phālgunaḥ* '*phālguna* is prior to *caitra*'. Since the word *caitra* here denotes a particular month (first month of the Vikrama calendar), *phālguna* (last month of the Vikrama calendar) must also denote a month. It cannot, for example, denote Arjuna, one of the Pāṇḍava brothers. The word *pūrva* must thus denote *śāstra* 'rules'. The *asiddhatva* of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* then must relate to the notion of suspension of rules (*śāstrāsiddhatva*). What about the notion of suspension of *kārya* 'operation'? The idea of the suspension (*asiddhatva*) of *kārya* can be gotten only secondarily, by way of suspension of the *śāstra* which is primary (*mukhya*). Why is *śāstrāsiddhatva* 'suspension of rule' considered primary (*mukhya*)? Because *śāstrāsiddhatva* is stated within rules by means of explicit statements (*sanniveśa-viśeṣa-yogitvāt*). When a rule (*śāstra*) becomes *asiddha*, the cognition which is generated by, and about, that particular *śāstra* also becomes *asiddha*. An operation which is carried out on the basis of cognition of a particular *śāstra* also becomes *asiddha* when

cognition of that *śāstra* becomes *asiddha*. This is the order in which this notion of *asiddhatva* can be effectively understood. Thus, *na hi mukhyasya grahaṇe sambhavati gauṇasya grahaṇaṃ yuktam* 'it is not appropriate for a specification made by means of a principal (*śāstrāsiddhatva*) to possibly refer to a non-principal (*kāryāsiddhatva*)'. The *asiddhatva* of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* is thus accepted as suspension of rules (*śāstrāsiddhatva*). Neo-grammarians such as Nāgeśa and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita accept this view. Earlier grammarians, which also includes authors of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, accept the *kāryāsiddhatva* view.

Note that it is rather impossible for the tradition to accept suspension of rules. How could a *śāstra*, which has been stated and hence has attained the status of something established (*siddha*), be considered unestablished (*asiddha*). A pot (*ghaṭa*) will never become a piece of cloth (*paṭa*), no matter how many times someone calls it a piece of cloth. How can sun (*sūrya*) become non-sun (*asūrya*)? Pāṇini should not have formulated this rule, especially since what is done (*siddha*) is something which cannot be undone (*asiddha*). But how should one go against Pāṇini's own words (*vacana*). It is at the strength of Pāṇini's own formulation (*vacana-sāmarthya*) that commentators are willing to accept the *śāstra*, not exactly as *asiddha* but, as if *asiddha* 'suspended-like' (*asiddhavat*). That is, they extend (*atidiśanti*) the status of suspension (*asiddhatva*) to what is established (*siddha*). This is how an operation which is carried out by a rule, and which is *siddha*, will become *asiddha*(*vat*) 'as if not established'.

Everyone knows about *vatighaṭitatvaṃ atideśatvam* 'an extensional provision is made with inclusion of affix *vatUP*'. Where is *vatUP* in the wording of rule 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*? It is stated that one can get the sense of *vatUP*, even without explicitly stating *vatUP* (*vinā' pi vatiṃ vatvartho gamyate*) in the wording of the rule. Consider *abrāhmaṇaṃ brāhmaṇam ity āha* 'he called a non-brāhmaṇa a brāhmaṇa'. One gets the sense of *asiddhavat* from *asiddham* the same way one gets the sense of *brāhmaṇavat* 'brāhmaṇa-like' from *brāhmaṇa*.

Yet another problem: what is the nature of this rule? Is this a heading rule (*adhikāra*), or an extension (*atideśa*). Commentators accept this rule primarily as an *adhikāra* 'heading'. Secondarily, though, they accept its extensional provision included within its status as an *adhikāra*. It is similar to 6.4.22 *asiddhavad atrābhāt* which is an *adhikāra* with extensional provision of suspension (*asiddhatva*). This is how the independence of an *adhikāra* and *atideśa* is reconciled to coexistence.

But this rule, similar to 4.2.92 *śeṣe*, is not only a *lakṣaṇa* 'rule' but is also a *vidhi* 'operation'. It is an *adhikāra* since it has to be carried to rules contained within the last three quarters (*tripādī*) of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is also a *vidhi* since it provides for some new operation. How do you get these two meanings of *adhikāra* and *vidhi* from this single rule. One may resort to *tantra*, a technique which Patañjali (ad 1.3.3 *halantyam*) describes as: *sakṛd uccaritatve sati bahvarthabodhakatvam tantratvam* '*tantra* is an interpretive technique whereby

a word articulated just once denotes more than one meaning'. The other two interpretive techniques of *ekaśeṣa* 'retention of one' and *āvṛtti* 'repetition' are not employed here. A single citation of *asiddham* could account for both the governing heading as well as the operational extension of suspension.

Now consider *brāhmaṇābhyāṃ kṛtaṃ dehi* where a single citation of *brāhmaṇābhyām* can be read with the rest of the sentence in different ways to yield four different paraphrases:

(*i*) *brāhmaṇābhyāṃ kṛtam* 'made by two brāhmaṇas'
(*ii*) *brahmaṇābhyām dehi* 'give to the two brāhmaṇas'
(*iii*) *brāhmaṇābhyāṃ kṛtam dehi* 'give that which was made by the two brāhmaṇas'
(*iv*) *brāhmaṇābhyāṃ kṛtaṃ dehi* 'give that which was made to the two brāhmaṇas'

Here is an additional example:

(*v*) *payo payaḥ jarayati*
'milk (when boiled) causes (its) water (content) to burn'
(*vi*) 'water (in milk) causes milk to burn'
A single *payaḥ* is giving two meanings here.

Consider the paraphrases of this rule, when read with the obligatory *param* 'that which follows':

(*a*) *pūrvatra kartavye sati param asiddham bhavati* 'in view of application of that which is 'prior' (*pūrvam*; the *sapāda-saptādhyāyī*), that which is 'subsequent' is treated 'as if suspended (*asiddham*; the *tripādī*)'.'
(*b*) *pūrvatra kartavye sati param asiddham bhavati* 'in view of application of that which is 'prior' in rules of the *tripādī* 'last three quarters of rules of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*', that which is 'subsequent' is treated 'as if suspended' (*asiddham*).'

The first interpretation will make this rule *vidhi* 'operational'. The second interpretation, since it is to be read as part of subsequent rules, will make it an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. Still, this rule is primarily an *adhikāra*. Incidentally, how can one read *param* in this rule when it is not explicitly stated in the rule? We can read *param* 'that which follows' because *pūrvam* 'that which precedes', as in *pūrvatrāsiddham*, is a relative term and has an obligatory expectancy relationship (*nitya-sambandha*) with *param*.

This statement of *asiddhatva* is made for purposes of negating (*pratiṣedhārtham*) an operation with 'replacement' (*ādeśa*) as its condition (*nimitta*; *Kāś*: *tad etad asiddhatva-vacanaṃ ādeśalakṣaṇa-pratiṣedhārtham*). It is also made for purposes of accomplishing application of a rule with *sthānī* 'substituendum, i.e., that which is displaced by a substitute', as its condition (*Kāś*: *utsargalakṣaṇabhāvārtham ca*). Consider *asmai uddhara*, the dative sin-

gular form of *idam* 'this' followed in close proximity by *uddhara*, where 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ* replaces the *ai* of *asmai* with *āy*. The *y* of *āy* then goes through deletion of 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya*. We thus get *asm(ai→āy) uddhara* → *asmā(y→φ) uddhara* = *asmā uddhara*. Note here that 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* may find its scope of application on *asmā uddhara*. This will yield a wrong form **asm(ā→u→o) ddhara* → **asmoddhara*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* cannot apply here since 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya* will be treated as *asiddha*. That is, deletion of *y* will be accepted as not having taken effect. Similar examples with a replacement in *āv*, for *au* of *dvau* and *ādityau*, can be found in *dvau atra* → *dvā atra* and *asau ādityaḥ* → *asā ādityaḥ*. Of course, with deletion of *v* of *au→āv*, again by 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya*. Note here that 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* may become applicable to *dvā atra* and *asā ādityaḥ* which, in turn, may produce unacceptable results **dv(ā+a → ā) tra* → **dvātra* and *as(ā+ā → ā) dityaḥ* → **asādityaḥ*. Here again, the suspension of 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya* will remove the condition of application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. Consequently, we will get *dvā atra* and *asā ādityaḥ*. That is, when a following rule is treated as *asiddha* in close context of a preceding rule, an operation carried out by it is treated as if *asiddha*, even more so (*PM*: *yadā hi pūrvaśāstrasannidhau paramaśāstram asiddham, tadā tatpratipāditaṃ kāryaṃ sutarām asiddhaṃ bhavati*). The preceding are examples where an operation conditioned by a replacement is negated (*ādeśa-lakṣaṇa-pratiṣedha*).

2. Let us now consider *amuṣmai*, *amuṣmāt* and *amuṣmin*, the dative, ablative and locative singular forms of *adas* 'that', which illustrate accomplishment of an operation conditioned by items to be replaced (*utsarga-lakṣaṇa-bhāva*). Recall that, given *adas* + (*Ṅ*)*e*, the *s* of *adas* is replaced with *a* (7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ*). The resultant sequence of two *a* vowels of *ada* (*s→a*) + (*Ṅ*)*e* = *ada* + (*Ṅ*)*e*, is then replaced with a single *a* (6.4.94 *ato guṇe*). The *e* of *Ṅe* is also replaced with *smai*, under the condition of a pronominal *aṅga* ending in *a* (7.1.14 *sarvanāmnaḥ smai*). Rule 8.2.20 *adaso' seṛ*... then applies on *ada* + *smai* to replace its *d* with *m* and *a* with *u*. We thus get: *a(d→m)* + (*a→u*) + *smai* = *amusmai*. An application of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* then replaces the *s* of *amusmai* with *ṣ*. We thus get *amuṣmai*. We similarly get *amuṣmāt* and *amuṣmin*, where the ablative and locative singular endings *ṄasI* and *Ṅi* are replaced with *smāt* and *smin*, respectively (7.1.15 *ṅasiṅyoḥ smātsminau*). Recall that the final *a* of *ada*, which gets replaced with *u* of 8.2.20 *adaso' ser*..., forms the left condition (*nimitta*) of replacement in *smai*, *smāt* and *smin*. These replacements cannot be accomplished unless 8.2.20 *adaso' ser*..., and thereby its effect, is not considered suspended. The *a* at the end of *ada* is clearly an item which, when replaced with *u*, removes the substituendum replaced by *u*. Restoring this subsituendum, via *asiddhatva*, facilitates application of replacements such as *smai*, *smāt* and *smin* (*Kāś*: *utvasyāsiddhatvāt smāyādayo bhavanti*).

Now consider the following verse:

śuṣkikā śuṣkajaṅghā ca kṣāmimān aujaḍhat tathā/
mator vatve jhalāṃ jaśtve guḍaliṇmān nidarśanam//

These examples illustrate additional suspensions:

(*i*) *śuṣkikā*: which derives from *śuṣ* + (*Kta*), where 8.2.51 *śuṣaḥ kaḥ* replaces the affixal *ta* with *ka*. We thus get *śuṣka* 'dried'. A feminine derivate with *ṬāP* will be *śuṣka* + *ṬāP* → *śuṣkā*. One will get *śuṣkā* + *ka* → *śuṣkāka* by introducing affix *ka* (5.3.73 *ajñāte*) with the denotatum of *ajñāta* 'not known'. What about the feminine counterpart of *śuṣkāka*? There are two possible forms *śuṣkāk*(*a*→ϕ) + (*Ṭ*) *ā*(*P*) → *śuṣk*(*ā*→*a*) *k* + *ā* → *śuṣkakā*; and *śuṣk*(*a*→*i*) *kā* → *śuṣkikā*. Note that the *ā* of *śuṣkāk* + *ā* is replaced with its short counterpart (7.4.13 *ke' ṇaḥ*). This *a* is then obligatorily replaced with *i* to produce *śuṣkikā* (7.3.44 *pratyayasthāt kāt pūrvasya*...). Rule 7.3.46 *udīcām ātaḥ*..., however, does not recognize this replacement, especially in the opinion of northern grammarians (*udīcām*). This will get a wrong form **śuṣkakā*. Recall that this replacement will be accomplished before *k* (*yakapūrvāyāḥ*). It is to block this optional *a*, against the obligatory *i*, that *ka* as a replacement for *ta* (8.2.51 *śuṣaḥ kaḥ*) is considered suspended in view of the application of 7.3.46 *udīcām ātaḥ*....

(*ii*) *śuṣkajaṅghā*: This is a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as *śuṣke jaṅghe asyāḥ* 'she whose thighs are thin'. Here again, the negation of masculine transformation (*puṃvadbhāva*) by 6.3.37 *na kopadhāyāḥ* cannot be accomplished. For, *ka*-replacement of *ta* will be considered *asiddha* and hence, the *kopadha* 'penultimate *k*' condition of negation of *puṃvadbhāva* 'masculine transformation' will be removed.

(*iii*) *kṣāmimān*: The derivational history of this form begins with *kṣai* + (*K*) *ta*, where *ai* is replaced with *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*...) and *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *m* (8.2.53 *kṣāyo maḥ*). We can now derive *kṣāmi*, parallel to *kṣāmasyāpatyam* 'offspring of Kṣāma', with affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*). One may also derive *kṣāmin*, paraphrased as *kṣāmo vā asyāsti* 'he of whose is Kṣāma', with affix *inI* (5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*). The base-form of *kṣāmimān*, i.e., *kṣāmimat*, can now be derived by introducing affix *matUP* (5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asmin*...), either after *kṣāmi*, or after *kṣāmin*, ending in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). Why can we not replace *m* of *matUP* with *v* of 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca*...? The *m*-replacement of 8.2.53 *kṣāyo maḥ* is considered suspended (*asiddha*) in view of application of 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca*. The condition of *v*-replacement of *m* of *matUP* is thus removed.

(*iv*) *aujaḍhat*: This form derives from (*ūḍha* + *ṆiC*) + *LUṄ*, where *ūḍha* is derived from *vah* + (*K*) *ta*. Note that *vah* 'to carry' goes through

samprasāraṇa and its *h* is replaced with *ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*), thereby yielding *uḍh* + *ta*. The *t* of (*K*) *ta* then goes through a replacement in *ḍh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*), via *dh* (*dhatva*; 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathordho* . . .). Thus we get *uḍh* + (*t*→ *dh*→*ḍh*) *a* = *uḍh* + *ḍha*. The first *ḍh* of *uḍh* + *ḍha* then goes through deletion (8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*). The *u* of *u* + *ḍha* is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.109 *ḍhralope pūrvasya* . . .). One can now introduce the causal suffix *ṆiC* with the signification of *tam ākhyat* 'described him' (*Mbh* ad 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*). Affix *LUṄ* can be then introduced after *ūḍha* + (*Ṇ*) *i*(*C*) to yield *ūḍha* + *i* + (*LUṄ*→*tiP*) = *ūḍha* + *i* + *ti*, where *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.115 *teḥ*; *vt*: *ṇāv iṣṭhavat* . . .) will delete *a* of *ūḍha*, thereby yielding *ūḍh* + *i* + *ti*. The *i* of *ti* will be deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. An introduction of *CLI* (3.1.43 *cli luṅi*), its replacement in *CaṄ* (3.1.48 *ṇiśrudrusrubhyaḥ* . . .) and deletion of *ṆiC* (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*) will then follow. This yields *ūḍh* + (*ṆiC*→ϕ) + *CaṄ* + *t* → *ūḍh* + (*C*) *a*(*Ṅ*) + *t* = *ūḍh* + *a* + *t*.

Rule 6.1.11 *caṅi* must now apply on *ūḍh* of *ūḍh* + *a* + *ta*. It is in the application of reduplication (*dvirvacane kartavye*) that *h*→*ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*), *t*→*dh* (*dhatva*; 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathordho* . . .), *dh*→*ḍh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*) and deletion of *ḍh* (*ḍhalopa*; 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*) all become *asiddha* 'suspended' by 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*. The earlier *ṭi*-deletion is also treated here as what it replaced (*Mbh*: *ṇau kṛtaṃ sthānivad* . . .; 1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*). What is introduced here, via reduplication and in consonance with 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*, is thus *hta*. We get *ū* + *hta* + *ḍh* + (*C*) *a*(*Ṅ*) + *t* = *ū* + *hta* + *ḍh* + *a* + *t* which, after application of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, yields *ū* + *ha* + *ḍh* + *a* + *t*. Note here that augment *āṬ* must also be introduced before roots which begin with a vowel (6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām*; 1.1.46 *ādyantau ṭakitau*). We thus get: *ā*(*Ṭ*) + *ū* + *ha* + *ḍh* + *a* + *t*. The *h* of this string is then replaced with *jh* (*cutva*; 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*). This *jh* then goes through a replacement in *j* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*). Now we have: *ā* + *ū* + (*h*→*jh*→*j*) *a* + *ḍh* + *a* + *t* which, after application of 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*, yields (*ā*+ *ū*→*au*) + *ja* + *ḍh* + *a* + *t*→ *aujaḍhat*. Why do we not get a replacement in *i* (*itva*) for *a* of *aujaḍhat*, via *sanvadbhāva* 'treatment as if when *saN* followed'. Because of the negation of *anaglope* 'not when there is deletion of *aK*' (7.4.93 *sanval laghuni* . . .). We thus do not get **aujiḍhat*. Note, however, that *aujiḍhat* could still be a form derived from *ūḍhi*, a derivate ending in affix *KtiN*.

(*v*) *guḍaliṇmān*: This form is derived by introducing affix *KvIP* after verbal root *lih* 'to lick, taste', under the cooccurrence condition of *guḍa* 'jaggery' in the accusative. Thus, *guḍaṃ leḍhi* = *guḍalih*. Affix *matUP* is then introduced after *guḍalih* to yield *guḍalih* + *matUP*.

The *h* of *guḍalih* then goes through a replacement in *ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*) and *ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.29 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). Why do we not get the *m* of *matUP* replaced with *v* (8.2.10 *jhayaḥ*)? Replacement applications of *ḍh* and *ḍ* are considered *asiddha* (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*) in view of application of 8.2.9 *jhayaḥ*. Rule 8.4.44 *yaro' nunāsike*... then applies on *guḍali*(*h*→*ḍh*→*ḍ*) *mat* to produce *guḍali*(*ḍ*→*ṇ*) *mat*, whereby we get the nominative singular form *guḍaliṇmān*.

3. If the last three quarter-rules (*tripādī*) of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are considered *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of application of the preceding *sapāda-saptādhyāyī*, then what is the purpose of specifications made here with *pañcamī* 'ablative', *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' and *spatamī* 'locative'. For, rules dealing with these specifications will all become *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of application of 1.1.49 *ṣaṣṭhī sthāneyogā*, 1.1.66 *tasminn iti nirdiṣṭe*... and 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*. It is stated that, based on the *kāryakāla* 'formulation of a rule when it is intended to apply' view, these rules will not be considered *asiddha* in view of application of specific naming (*saṃjñā*) and interpreting (*paribhāṣā*) rules. The notion of *pūrva* 'prior' and *para* 'subsequent', especially with reference to *asiddhatva* 'suspension', cannot apply to them. It is stated that naming and interpretive rules are meant for facilitating applications of other rules. There is no *pūrva* 'prior' or *para* 'subsequent' applicational constraint on them because they indicate their functions only when brought close to applicational context of other rules. It is important to note that naming and interpretive rules (*saṃjñā-paribhāṣā*) abandon their sequential order dictated by their placement in grammar and, instead, follow their applicational order. They apply in the order of anticipated applications. Nyāsa illustrates this point with multiple examples of rule application and concludes that naming and interpretive rules cannot be considered suspended. This is what the tradition accepts in the *kāryakāla* view. The following verses sum it all:

saṃjñāḥ parārthā atyantaṃ paribhāṣāś ca tadvidhāḥ/
na svātantryeṇa tās tasmāt kāryāvagatihetavaḥ//
anekasya pradhānasya śeṣabhūtā bhavantv iti/
etāḥ kevalam ācāryaḥ pṛthagdeśā upādiśat//
vidhivākyais tu saṃhatya yatra tatra sthitair api/
bodhayantyaḥ svakāryāṇi naikapūrvāḥ parā imāḥ //

'naming (*saṃjñā*), and similarly interpreting (*paribhāṣā*), are extremely dependent on other rules. They, therefore, cannot be accepted as sources of understanding operations independently. They may thus be interpreted as residuals in relation to many principal operational rules. They have simply been read in different places by the *ācārya* (Pāṇini). There is no relative order such as prior and subsequent in relation to them. They, having approached operational rules placed all over, thus make their function known'

4. Recall that, in a conflict of equal strength (*vipratiṣedha*) between a prior (*pūrva*) and a subsequent (*para*) rule, that which is subsequent in order wins (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*). What happens to this interpretive rule in relation to 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*? If one accepts the *kāryakāla* view, this interpretive rule will also present itself at the time of application of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*. This interpretive rule of *vipratiṣedha*, since a subsequent rule which competes (*sparddhate*) against a prior rule is considered *asiddha* in view of its application, does not find scope (*Kāś*: '*vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*' *ity eṣā tu paribhāṣā yena pūrveṇa lakṣaṇena saha sparddhate, paraṃ lakṣaṇaṃ tat prati tasyāsiddhatvān na pravartate*). Consider the two derivates of *ṆyaT*, i.e., (*vi-sphur* + *ṆyaT*) + *sU* → *visphoryam* and (*ava-gur* + *ṆyaT*) + *sU* → *avagoryam*, where application of *guṇa* (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*) cannot be blocked by application of *dīrgha* 'long replacement' (8.2.77 *hali ca*) on the basis of subsequent order of enumeration (*paratva*). For, 8.2.77 *hali ca* will be treated as *asiddha* in view of application of 8.2.26 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*. The question of conflict between rules of 'equal strength' (*tulyabalatā*) thus does not arise.

If it is said that a subsequent operation is considered suspended when a prior operation is to be performed, a subsequent exception will become suspended in view of application of a prior (*pūrva*) general (*utsarga*) rule. Consequently, the *gh* of 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ* will become suspended in the derivation of *dogdhā* and *dogdhum*. The *ḍh* of *ho ḍhaḥ* (8.2.31), in turn, will become applicable. It is therefore said that in applying a general rule, even though placed subsequently, an exception (*apavāda*) is not considered suspended. This is accepted at the strength of Pāṇini's own statement. Why can they not be applied in turn at the strength of the Pāṇinian statement? This will save the Pāṇinian statement from becoming vacuous. This is not acceptable. Although an exception could be applied in turn, optional application of *gh* by 8.2.33 *vādruhamuha* . . . will become vacuous (cf. *Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*.).

This shows how an exception always blocks application of its corresponding general rule. The very formulation of an exception will become useless if it is blocked by a general rule placed subsequently (*Kāś*: *apavādasya tu parasyāpi utsarge kartavye vacanaprāmāṇyād asiddhatvaṃ na bhavati*).

8.2.2 नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्विधिषु कृति

nalopaḥ supsvarasaṃjñātugvidhiṣu kṛti
/ *nalopaḥ* = *nakārasya lopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *sup-svara-saṃjñā-tug-vidhiṣu* 7/3 = *sup ca svaraś ca saṃjñā ca tuk ca* (*itar. dv.*); *eteṣāṃ vidhayaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tāsu*; *kṛti* 7/1/
(*asiddhaḥ* #1)
nalopaḥ pūrvatrāsiddho bhavati subvidhau svaravidhau saṃjñāvidhau tugvidhau ca kṛti

A deletion of *n* by means of *LOPA* is treated here as if suspended, when an operation relative to *sUP*, accent (*svara*), naming (*saṃjñā*) and introduction of augment *tUK* before a *kṛt* affix, is to be performed.

EXAMPLES:

rājabhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *rājan* 'king''
takṣabhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *takṣan* 'carpenter''
rājabhyām 'instrumental-dative-ablative dual of *rājan*'
takṣabhyām 'instrumental-dative-ablative dual of *takṣan*'
rājasu 'locative plural of *rājan*'
takṣasu 'locative plural of *takṣan*'
rājavatī 'a female with royal splendor'
pañcārmam 'five eye-diseases'
daśārmam 'ten eye-diseases'
pañcadaṇḍī 'a place with five shaft-carrying ascetics'
pañca brāhmaṇyaḥ 'five brāhmaṇa women'
daśa brāhmaṇyaḥ 'ten brāhmaṇa women'
vṛtrahabhyām 'instrumental-dative-ablative dual of *vṛtrahan* 'killer of Vṛtra''
vṛtrahabhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *vṛtrahan*'

1. The word *vidhi* 'operation, process' is here interpreted as relatable to all four constituents of the *dvandva* compound *sup-svara-saṃjñā-tug-vidhiṣu.* For, the word *vidhi* is used at the end of a *dvandva* compound and whatever is used at the end of a *dvandva* compound is related to each one of its constituents (cf. *dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*). That is, by reading the locative *vidhau* with individual constituents, we get the interpretations: *sub-vidhau* 'in an operation relative to elements denoted by the abbreviatory term *sUP*', *svara-vidhau* 'in an operation relative to accentuation', *saṃjñā-vidhau* 'in an operation relative to naming (*saṃjñā*) and *tug-vidhau.* The word *kṛti* is relatable only to *tug-vidhi* 'an operation relative to the introduction of augment *tUK*'. It is impossible (*asambhava*) to relate it to *sub-vidhi, svara-vidhi* and *saṃjñā-vidhi.* Thus, *kṛti,* when paraphrased with *tug-vidhau,* will yield the interpretation: 'in an operation relative to augment *tUK*, provided an affix termed *kṛt* follows'.

Note that *sup, svara, saṃjñā* and *tuk* form a *dvandva* compound which, in turn, is combined with *vidhi* to form a genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) *tatpuruṣa* compound. This genitive is then interpreted as *śeṣa-ṣaṣṭhī* 'residual (not specified thus far by rules enumerating the use of genitive), denoting *sambandha-sāmānya* 'relationship in general' (2.3.50 *ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe*).

The word *vidhi,* which is here associated with *sup,* etc., can be interpreted either as *bhāva-sādhana* 'completed action (root-sense) as means' or as *karma-sādhana* 'operational object as means'. This dual interpretation is offered in view of whether operational objects relative to *sub-vidhi,* etc., already exist. A

bhāva-sādhana interpretation of *vidhi* will offer these operations relative to something which does not exist. A *karma-sādhana* interpretation of *vidhi* will offer these operations relative to something which already exists.

Our rule uses *vidhi* only once. How do we get this dual interpretation of *vidhi* from its single use. It is true that *vidhi* is used only once. However, it is read separately with *sup, svara, saṃjñā* and *tuk.* This separate usage enables us to get these two interpretations of *vidhi.* The problem of interpretation will arise only when we construe *vidhi* with *supsvarasaṃjñātuk,* all as a whole at once (*Nyāsa: yady eṣa vidhiśabdaḥ supsvarādibhiḥ samudāyena sambadhyate tadā syād ayaṃ doṣaḥ*). If we construe *vidhi* individually with *sup,* etc., it will yield different sentences. The *vidhi* of each one of those sentences can also be interpreted differently. That is, in view of both *bhāva-sādhana* and *karma-sādhana* interpretations of *vidhi* (*Nyāsa: teṣu ca bhinneṣu vākyeṣu vidhiśabdo' pi bhinna eva. kaścid bhāvasādhanaḥ, kaścit karmasādhanaḥ*). A *bhāvasādhana* interpretation, for examples, with *svara* will give the interpretation: 'when an operation relative to accent is to be performed'. A *karmasādhana* interpretation, for example with *sUP,* will yield the interpretation: 'when an operation with *sUP* as its focus (object) is to be performed'. This interpretation will include operations focusing on *sUP* (*sup-paraka*), as well as their replacements (*sup-sthānika*). Note that *karmasādhana* interpretation of *vidhi* is only relatable to *sUP.*

Consider *rājabhiḥ* and *takṣabhiḥ* which derive from *rājan* + *bhis* and *takṣan* + *bhis.* The final *n* of *rājan* and *takṣan,* in *rājan* + *bhis* and *takṣan* + *bhis,* goes through deletion of 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya.* Mention must also be made here of three rules which may become applicable to these strings. Rule 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais* requires that *bhis* 'instrumental plural nominal ending', which occurs after an *aṅga* ending in *a* be replaced with *ais.* Rule 7.3.102 *supi ca* requires that the final *a* of an *aṅga,* here *rāja* and *takṣa,* be replaced with its long counterpart. Rule 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* introduces *e* as a replacement to an *aṅga* which ends in *a,* provided a nominal ending (*sUP*) beginning with a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* follows. These replacements are blocked by treating the deleted *n* of *rājan* and *takṣan* as *asiddha* 'suspended'. For, a replacement in *ais* and *a* cannot be accomplished unless the *aṅga* ended in *a.* The *aṅga,* due mainly to suspension of *n*-deletion, ends in *n.*

Returning to the *bhāva-sādhana* interpretation of *vidhi,* we find that the suspension (*asiddhatva*) of *n* cannot be accomplished in view of introducing replacements in *ais* and *a.* For, in a *bhāva-sādhana* 'root-sense as a means' interpretation, *asiddhatva* 'suspension' is possible only when an operation brings about something which did not exist (*bhāvasādhane hi yatrāsato vidhānaṃ tatrāsiddhatvena bhavitavyam, na tu sataḥ*). In a *karma-sādhana* 'object as a means' interpretation of *vidhi* 'operation', *asiddhatva* is possible only when an operation is carried out with reference to something which

already exists. We can find *asiddhatva* in the context of *subvidhi* since *sUP* is there. Thus, we will find *asiddhatva* when an operation applies 'in place of' or 'when *sUP* follows'. It is the *karma-sādhana* interpretation of *sub-vidhi* that, with support of *asiddhatva* of *n*, blocks replacements in *ais* and *ā* in *rāja* + *bhis* and *takṣa* + *bhis*. Commentators explain that the *bhāva-sādhana* interpretation is followed in all operations, except for *sub-vidhi*. For, *sup*, *svara* and *saṃjñā* have to be all introudced first. For, it is only with reference to their introduction that *asiddhatva* obtains.

2. Note that all these four operations are contained within the *sapāda-saptādhyāyī* 'first seven and one quarter-chapters'. Deletion of *n* is, of course, contained within the *tripādī* 'last three quarters'. As such, deletion of *n* is already suspended (*asiddha*) in view of these four operations. Why raise, again, the question of *asiddhatva* 'suspension' of *n*-deletion? It is stated that a provision made against one which already exists is made for restrictive purposes (*siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*). What is that restrictive purpose here? Deletion of *n* should be considered *asiddha* only with reference to these operations, and not with reference to any other. Consider *rājīyati*, *rājāyate* and *rājāśvaḥ* where replacements in *ī*, i.e., (*rāja*(*n*→ϕ) + *ya* + *śaP* + *tiP* → *rāj*(*a*→*ī*) + *ya* + *a* + *ti* → *rājīyati*), and long *ā*, i.e., *rāja*(*n*→ϕ) + *ya* + (*ta*→*te*)) → *rāj*(*a*→*ā*) + *ya* + *ŚaP* + *te*)) = *rājāyate* is accomplished. Of course, under the non-suspension of *n*-deletion. This same is also witnessed in accomplishing the single replacement in *ā* of *rāja*(*n*→ϕ) + *aśva* → *rāj*(*a*+*a*→*ā*) *śvaḥ* = *rājāśvaḥ*.

Now consider some illustrations. For example, in *rāja* (*n*→ϕ) + *bhis* and *takṣa*(*n*→ϕ) + *bhis*, we do not get *ais* as a replacement, due mainly to the suspension of *n*-deletion. We similarly do not get a replacement in *ā* (7.3.102 *supi ca*) or *e* (7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et*).

Kāśikā offers *rājan* + (*m*→*v*) *at*(*UP*) = *rājavat* + *ṄīP* = *rājavatī*, a derivate of *matUP* used with the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*), to illustrate *asiddhatva* of *n*-deletion in *svara-vidhi*. Since deletion of *n* is treated as *asiddha* in *svara-vidhi*, *rājavatī* cannot be marked with *udātta* at the end (6.1.217 *anto' vatyāḥ*). For, due to the suspension of *n*-deletion, we cannot get *rājavatī* as ending in *avatī*. This being the case, *rājavatī* will be marked with *udātta* at the beginning, based on *N* as an *it* of affix *KanIN* in *rājan* (*Uṇādi* (162): *kaninyuvṛṣita* . . .). The final *ī* of *rājavatī* cannot be marked with *udātta* at the end at the strength of *avatī* (6.1.217 *anto' vatyāḥ*). The initial *udātta* (6.2.90 *arme cāvarṇaṃ dvyac tryac*) of *pañcan* and *daśan*, which becomes applicable after *n*-deletion at the strength of bases ending in *a*, is blocked in *pañcārmam* and *daśārmam*, due mainly to suspension of *n*-deletion. That is, due to appearance of *n* at the end, of *pañca*(*n*→ϕ) and *daśa*(*n*→ϕ), we could no longer find the bases ending *a*. These compounds are formed by 2.1.50 *diksaṃkhye saṃjñāyām* and are marked with *udātta* at the end (*antodātta*; 6.1.220 *samāsasya*), instead.

Next consider *pañcadaṇḍī* 'a group of five shaft-wearing ascetics', a *dvigu* of the *samāhāra* type, where the compound is formed by 2.1.51 *taddhitār-*

thottarapada.... Note that this compound is *napuṃsaka* 'neuter' (2.4.17 *sa napuṃsakam*). This compound, subsequent to *n*-deletion of *daṇḍin*, also qualifies as ending in a vowel denoted by *iK*. Consequently, 6.2.29 *iganta ... dvigau* requires retention of the original accent of *pañca*. This, however, is blocked, due again to suspension of *n*-deletion. For, the condition of final *iK* caused by *n*-deletion can longer be met as a result of the suspension of *n*-deletion (*Nyāsa*: *nalope kṛta igantatā jāteti 'igantakālakapālabhagālaśarāveāṣu dvigau' iti pūrvapadasya prakṛtisvaraḥ prāpnoti, na lopasyāsiddhatvān na bhavati, samāsāntodāttatvam eva bhavati*). The original accent of the initial constituent (*pūrvapadaprakṛtisvara*) will not be retained. The compound will be marked with *udātta* at the end.

Let us take *pañca brāhmaṇyaḥ* and *daśa brāhmaṇyaḥ* as illustrations of *n*-deletion and negation of *ṬāP* (4.1.10 *na ṣaṭsvasrādibhyaḥ*). Note that *pañcan* and *daśan* are assigned the term *ṣaṭ* (1.1.24 *ṣṇāntā ṣaṭ*), based on these number words ending in *n*. This *n*, when deleted, has consequences for introducing feminine affixes. For example, rule 4.1.10 *na ṣaṭsvasrādibhyaḥ* negates affix *ṬāP* after bases recognized as *ṣaṭ*. How could a base, for example *pañcan*, which has lost its *n* to deletion be recognized as *ṣaṭ*? If it cannot be recognized as *ṣaṭ*, *ṬāP* (4.1.10 *na ṣaṭsvasrādibhyaḥ*) cannot be introduced. It is to retain the status of *ṣaṭ* that *n*-deletion is considered suspended (*asiddha*) in the context of *saṃjñā-vidhi*. Introduction of *ṬāP* by 4.1.10 *na ṣaṭsvasrādibhyaḥ* thus remains negated.

3. Some question whether a definitional rule should be formulated with reference to a single operation on hand, or it should be formulated once, and be used for multiple operations, as the need may arise. The first aspect of the question relates to *yathoddeśa-pakṣa* of grammar (*Nyāsa*: *yāvanti saṃjñākāryāṇi tatraikaiva saṃjñā pravartate* 'only one definitional term applies to all corresponding definitional functions'). The second view assumes that a definitional rule should be formed once and should be brought each time an operational rule needs it for *ekavākyatā* 'single sentenceness' (*Nyāsa*: *yayā saṃjñayaikakāryaṃ kriyate tayaivānyat, ato yāvanti saṃjñākāryāṇi tāvatya eva saṃjñā pravarttate* 'a definitional term by means of which one operational function is performed, by that same term additional function is also performed; thus, terms come into functional use as there may be definitional functions to be performed'. The first view does not have any applicational purpose here. The term by means of which *LUK*-deletion (7.1.22 *ṣaḍbhyo luk*) of *Jas* and *Śas* was accomplished, the same definitional term should also be employed here to indicate negation of *ṬāP*. Thus, the word *saṃjñā* need not be used here if the first view is accepted. We do need it if the second view is accepted.

Now consider *vṛtrahabhyām* and *vṛtrahabhiḥ* as illustrations of *tug-vidhi kṛti* 'operation relative to augment *tUK* when an affix termed *kṛt* follows'. These are instrumental dual and plural forms of *vṛtrahan* where the base is derived

with *KvIP*, introduced after *han* under the cooccurrence condition of object (3.2.87 *brahmabhrūṇa*...). Recall that the base *vṛtrahan* loses its *n* to deletion (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*). We thus get *vṛtraha*(*n*→ϕ) + *bhyām* = *vṛtrahabhyām* and *vṛtrahabhiḥ*. Rule 6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti kṛti tuk* requires that augment *tUK* be introduced after a root which ends in a short vowel and occurs followed by a *kṛt* affix marked with *P* as an *it*. We thus get a situation where *tUK* could be introduced after *ha* of *vṛtra* + *am* + *ha*(*n*→ϕ) + *KvIP* = *vṛtra* + *am* + *ha* + *KviP*. This introduction of *tUK* is, however, blocked. For, treating *n*-deletion as *asiddha* will no longer leave the root terminating in the short vowel *a*.

4. Why is *tUK* specified in this rule? So that, via suspension (*asiddhatva*) of *n*-deletion, introduction of *tUK* could be blocked. Note that *n*-deletion is accomplished under the condition of extreme proximity (*sannipāta*) with *sUP*. This condition (*nimitta*) of extreme proximity will be impaired with introduction of *tUK*. The problem is: a condition which is characteristically described by extreme proximity is to be accepted as a non-condition if it causes destruction of that proximity' (*Paribhāṣā* (70): *sannipātalakṣaṇo vidhir animittaṃ tadvighātasya*). Some claim that an operation which is carried out based upon close proximity relations cannot be accepted as the cause of an operation which destroys that relation. The operation which is performed on *vṛtrahan* + *bhyām*, based on *sannipāta*, is assignment of the term *pada* (1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*). This causes *n*-deletion, an operation caused by assignment of the term *pada* (*padanimittakalopa*). An introduction of *tUK* will yield the form *vṛtraha* + *tUK* + *bhyām* = *vṛtraha*(*t*→*d*) + *bhyām* = *vṛtrahadbhām*. The *n*-deletion which was carried out based upon *sannipāta* cannot be considered as a cause in the introduction of *tUK*, an operation which destroys *sannipāta*. That is, how could extreme proximity be considered a condition of *tUK* when it causes its own destruction. If *n*-deletion cannot serve as a condition for introduction of *tUK*, specifying *tUK* in this rule is vacuous. Besides, *tUK* is introduced with reference to the final short *a*, and not the entire nominal stem which may end in it.

There is also another position on this. It is claimed that deletion of *n* is accomplished based on a nominal ending which is external (*bāhya*). Introduction of *tUK* is accomplished based upon *a*, followed by *KvIP*, which is internal (*antaraṅga*; *Paribhāṣā* (51) *asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge*). If that is so, why specify *tUK* in this rule. *Kāśikā* notes that *tUK* is used here to indicate non-obligatory nature (*anityatva*) of these two interpretive conventions (*Kāś*: *atra kecit-' 'sannipātalakṣaṇo vidhir animittaṃ tadvighātasya' iti tukaṃ prati nalopasyānimittatvād bahiraṅgalakṣaṇena vā' siddhatvāt tugvidhigrahaṇam anarthakam iti pratipannāḥ, tat kriayte paribhāṣādvayasyaānityatvaṃ jñāpayitum*).

5. Why do we have the condition of *kṛti* 'when a *kṛt* affix follows'? Consider *vṛtrahacchatram* 'shelter of one who killed Vṛtra' and *vṛtrahacchāyā* 'shadow of one who killed Vṛtra' as counter-examples where *tUK* is introduced under

the condition of a following *ch* (6.1.73 *che ca*). That is, this *ch* is not an affix termed *kṛt.*

8.2.3 न मुने

na mu ne
/*na* ϕ *mu* 1/1 (deleted) *ne* 7/1/
(*asiddhaḥ* #1)
mubhāvo nābhāve kartavye nāsiddho bhavati
A replacement in *mu* is not treated as if suspended when a replacement in *nā* is introduced.

EXAMPLES:

amunā 'instrumental singular of *adas* 'that''

1. Note that *na* 'not' is an indeclinable (*avyaya*). A specification with *mu* is made here without using any nominal ending (*Kāś: avibhaktiko' yaṃ nirdeśaḥ*). This word-form *mu* refers to the *mu* of *amunā* 'instrumental singular of *adas* 'that', gotten through applications of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ,* 8.2.80 *adaso' ser dād u do maḥ* and 7.3.120 *āṅo nā' striyām.* One must remember here that *amu* is termed *ghi* by 1.4.7 *śeṣo ghy asakhi.* The instrumental singular ending *Ṭā* is replaced with *nā* only when the same follows an *aṅga* termed *ghi.* Consequently, if *mu* is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended', *nā* will not be able to replace *Ṭā* 'the instrumental singular nominal ending'. It thus does not make any sense to declare the suspension (*asiddhatva*) of *mu* when *nā* follows. But this rule does not state suspension of *mu.* It states its negation, instead. But how could something be negated when there is no corresponding positive provision made. A negation always applies against some positive provision (*prāptipūrvako niṣedhaḥ*). It is for this reason that our present rule is restrictive: *mu* remains unsuspended in introducing *nā.* Thus, (*adas*→*amu*) + (*Ṭā*→*nā*)) = *amunā.*

Note that the process whereby we get *mu* (*mu-bhāva*) is in focus here. We also have, as a focus, the process of deriving *nā* as a replacement of *Ṭā* in *amunā.* Finally, the *ne* of *na mune* is explained as derived from *na* + *Ṅi* = *ne,* the locative singular form of *na.* This rule negates *asiddhatva* 'suspension' of *mu* when *na* follows. That is, when *nā* is introduced, or *nā* follows, *mu* remains non-suspended (*siddha*).

The *saptamī* 'locative' of *ne* gets a two-way interpretation: 'when *nā* is to be introduced, and 'when *nā* follows'. It is claimed that this *śāstra* does not define a locative with the denotation of *para* 'that which follows'. Actually, the locative which is explained as serving the right condition for an operation to apply on what precedes (*bhāva-saptamī*), itself, turns into *para-saptamī* 'that which follows'. Commentators also advise that the locative of *na* could be interpreted as denoting both *viṣaya-saptamī* 'locative denoting scope' and *parasaptamī* 'locative denoting the right condition of occurrence'. For, *nā*

cannot be accepted as a condition toward destroying the *hrasvatva* 'short duration'. A condition characterized with extreme proximity becomes a non-condition when the same destroys extreme proximity.

These two interpretations of *na* can be gotten by means of *tantra*, an interpretive technique whereby desired results are obtained by reading two different meanings of a single word. The first reading of this rule will interpret *na* with the meaning of applicational scope: *ne kartavye* 'when *na* is to be introduced'. The second reading will interpret *na* with the meaning of right condition: *ne parataḥ* 'when *na* follows'. The first view establishes *siddhatva* 'non-suspension' of *mu*. The second establishes replacement in *nā* (*nābhāva*), based on the non-suspension of *mu*. These both interpretations are captured by the *Kāśikāvṛtti*: *ne parato yat prāpnoti tasmin kartavye mubhāvo nāsiddha eva*: 'that which obtains when *na* follows; *mu*, indeed, remains un-suspended in accomplishing that'.

How could both intents be realized, via a single rule? It is like *vṛddha-kumārī* 'an old unmarried woman who, when requesting a boon, said: *putrā me bahu-kṣīra-ghṛtam-annaṃ suvarṇapātryāṃ bhuñjīran* 'may my sons be blessed to consume food with plentiful milk and ghee in a gold plate'. How could she have her sons consume this plentiful milk, ghee and rice when she did not have any sons? How could she have those sons when she was old and unmarried. How could she produce sons without a husband? Remember that it was a boon. If she got plentiful milk, ghee and rice, she had to have sons to consume milk, ghee and rice. For, granting of the boon will become vacuous. This is how she will also get married, have a husband and produce sons. She got everything by way of getting a single boon granted. This same way one can get two intents realized by a single rule.

2. The *mu* which we get, for example of *amunā*, is considered non-suspended (*nāsiddha*) when *na*, for example of *nā*, follows. This non-suspension, in the context of application of 7.3.102 *supi ca*, enables *amu* to be still seen as *amu*, and not as *ada*. As a result, we do not get *dīrgha* 'lengthening' in *amu*, of *amunā* (cf. 7.3.102 *supi ca*; 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*). This lengthening of 7.3.102 can still be blocked even when *nā* as a replacement of *Ṭā* is accomplished. How? A condition which is characteristically described by extreme proximity (of *nā*) is to be accepted as a non-condition if it causes destruction of that proximity' (*sannipātalakṣaṇo vidhir animittaṃ tadvighātasya*). An operation where *nā* is introduced, or where *nā* follows, is a non-condition if it conditions destruction of the short (*hrasva*). This will result into blocking of long-replacement. This is supported by the specification of *amunā* with a short *u* in *mu*. This non-suspension of *mu* has dual consequenses. Recall that we get *ada* + *ā* from *adas* + *Ṭā* with the application of 7.2.102 *tyadādīnām aḥ* (*s*→*a*), and 6.1.97 *ato guṇe* (*ad*(*a*+*a*→*a*)). We derive *amunā* with the application of 8.2.80 *adaso' ser dād u do maḥ*: *a*(*d*→*m*) (*a*→*u*)) = *amu* + *ā*. Finally, *ā* is replaced with *nā* under the condition of occurrence

after a stem termed *ghi* (7.3.120 *āṅo nā' striyām*). This introduction of *nā* will be blocked if *mu* is considered suspended. Given *ada* + *ā*, we will then have the application of 7.1.12 *ṭāṅasiṅasāmināṭsyāḥ*. This rule will introduce *in* and we will end up with a wrong form **adenā*. This is the reason why *mu* is considered non-suspended in the application of *mu*. For, a suspended *mu* will block the *nā* conditioned by *ghi*. If we have the *mu* suspended in view of 7.3.102 *supi ca*, we will end up with another wrong form **adānā*. If it is treated as non-suspended then we will end up with still another wrong form: **amūnā*. This is the reason that the rule is interpreted by *tantra* in two ways:

(*i*) *ne kartavye mutvasya asiddhatvaṃ niṣedhati* 'it negates the suspension of *mu* when *na* is to be introduced';

(*ii*) *ne parataḥ yatprāptaṃ tatra asiddhatvaṃ niṣedhati* 'it negates the suspension of *mu* relative to what obtains, i.e., long replacement of 7. 3.102'. The two purposes of non-suspension are: introduction of *nā* as conditioned by assignment of the term *ghi*; and long replacement (*dīrgha*) of 7.3.102 *supi ca*.

3. Now consider some *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*i*) An internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) single replacement accent (*ekādeśa-svaraḥ*) should be treated as *siddha* (*vt*: *ekādeśasvaro' ntaraṅgaḥ siddho vaktavyaḥ*).
What is the purpose of making this *vārttika* proposal? So that the following accents can be regulated:

(*a*) accent of a single replacement in *ay*, *āy* and *āv*;
(*b*) accent of single replacements (*ekādeśa-svara*);
(*c*) accent of forms derived with affix *ŚatṚ*;
(*d*) accent of a *pada* where all syllables, except for one, are marked with *anudātta* (*ekānanudātta*; 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ*...);
(*e*) accent of a *pada* where all syllables are marked with *udātta* (8.1.28 *tiṅatiṅaḥ*).

(*a*) accent of a single replacement in *ay*, *āy* and *āv*: Haradatta (*PM*) offers four views on accent of a single replacement:

(*i*) a single replacement in place of an *udātta* and *anudātta* is marked with *udātta* in view of close similarity (*ānantarya*), as per 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ*. This accentual provision will be accepted as *siddha* 'non-suspended', against the *svarita* (8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*) which is most similar (*antar atama*).
(*ii*) the second view simply accepts *udātta* as a replacement accent for the *svarita* mentioned in (*i*).
(*iii*) the third view accepts that, as an interpretive rule (*paribhāṣā*), 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ* applies only where a single replacement is

ordered. Thus, a replacement accomplished by 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will, on account of being a replacement for *udātta* and *anudātta*, be marked with *udātta*. This way, an *udātta* can be accomplished concurrently with the replacement.

(*iv*) the fourth view will offer *udātta* as an exception to *svarita*.

The *udātta* accent of *ay*, etc., is *siddha*, insofar as the interpretive (*paribhāṣā*) view is concerned. We will face the question of *asiddhatva* of *udātta* in other views. The *udātta*, particularly against close similarity of a *svarita* replacement, will have to be treated as *siddha*. This is how *svarita* can be blocked.

Consider *vṛkṣa* which, because of nominal stem accent (*prātipadika-svara*), is marked *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* 1). Given *vṛkṣa* + (*Ṅ*)*i* + *idam* = *vṛkṣ*(*a*+*i*→*e*) + *idam* = *vṛkṣe* + *idam*, where we get *e* as a single replacement of *a*+*i* (6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*). Because a replacement must be most similar to what it replaces, we will get *svarita* (8.4.65 *udāttānudāttasya svaritaḥ*) for *e*. This *svarita* will be blocked in favor of *udātta* when *udātta* is treated as *siddha* 'non-suspended'. If the *svarita* is not treated as *siddha*, *svarita* could also be accepted as the most similar replacement. With *svarita* treated as *siddha*, *udātta* can be treated as the most similar replacement. Now consider the replacement of *e*, of *vṛkṣe* + *idam*, with *ay*. This single replacement is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). For, application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* is dependent upon a single word. A replacement in *ay* is dependent upon both the *padas*. A replacement in *ay* is, hence, externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*). The *ay* must also be marked with *udātta*. That is, the *udātta* which it replaces is treated as *siddha*. What is true of (*vṛkṣ*(*a*+*i*→*e*) + *idam*)) = (*vṛkṣ*(*e*→*ay*) + *idam*)) = (*vṛkṣa*(*y*→ϕ) + *idam*)) = *vṛkṣa idam* is also true of (*plakṣ*(*a*+*i*→*e*) + *idam*)) → (*plakṣ*(*e*→*ay*) + *idam*)) = (*plakṣa*(*y*→ϕ) *idam*)) = *plakṣa idam*.

Now consider *kumārī* + *Ṅe*→ *kumāryai*, the dative singular of *kumārī*. The word *kumāra* is marked with *udātta* at the end. Affix *ṄīP* is then introduced after it to derive *kumārī* (4.1.20 *vayasi prathame*). The final *a* of *kumāra* is deleted (6.4.148 *yasyeti ca*). The *ī* of *kumārī* is marked with *udātta* by 6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca*. . . . Now consider the dative singular *kumārī* + (*Ṅ*)*e*, where augment *āṬ* is introduced by 7.3.112 *āṇ nadyāḥ*. We then get the *ī* replaced with *y*: *kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + *āṬ* + *e*. The *e* is marked with *udātta* in view of 6.1.171 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*. This *udātta*, however, applies to *āṬ* in view of 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*. A single *vṛddhi* replacement in *ai* is then ordered for the vocalic sequence *ā*+*e* (6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*). Thus, we get *kumāry* + (*ā*+*e*→*ai*) = *kumāryai*. Given *kumāryai* + *idam*, we get *ai* of *kumāryai* replaced with *āy* before *i* of *idam*. We thus get *kumāry*(*ai*→*āy*) + *idam*. This single *vṛddhi* replacement (of 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*) qualifies for *svarita*, based on its closest similarity with what was replaced. Rule 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ* marks it with *udātta*. But this can be done only when it is treated as *siddha* 'non-suspended'. This *udātta*, however, can be realized before *ai* replaces *ā*+*e*. The replacement in *ay* will then get the *udātta* accent. Or else, given *kumāryā* + *e*, we get the *vṛddhi* of

6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*. Augment *āṬ* also gets its accent from 6.1.171 *udāttayaṇo halpūrvāt*. These two both are non-obligatory (*anitya*). The accent is non-obligatory because it applies to a different form (*śabdāntara-prāpteḥ*). It applies to *ai* (*vṛddhi*) before *āṬ* is introduced. The *vṛddhi* is also realized prior to the *udātta* and *anudātta* accents. An operation which, after assigning the accent to *āṬ*, brings in an accent different from the *udātta* and *anudātta* is treated as *anitya* 'non-obligatory'. In a situation where both accentual provisions are *anitya*, accent could be assigned based on *paratva* 'subsequent operational order'. But since this operation is related to sounds, a replacement in *vṛddhi* applies on the basis of being internally conditioned (*antaraṅgatvāt*). The accentuation, because of the requirement of nominal endings, becomes externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*).

(*b*) accent of single replacements (*ekādeśa-svara*): Consider *gāṅga* + *Ṅi*, where *gāṅga* is derived with affix *aṆ* (4.3.120 *tasyedam*), introduced after *gaṅgā* + *Ṅas* with the signification of *gaṅgāyā idam* 'this is of Gaṅgā'. It is also *udātta* at the end by affixal accent (*pratyaya-svara*). Affix *Ṅi*, on account of being a *sUP*', is marked *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). A single replacement in *e*, resulting from replacing the sequence *a+i* of *gāṅg*(*a+i*→*e*) = *gāṅge*, will be marked with *udātta* (8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ*). Given *gāṅge' anūpaḥ*, where *anūpa* is a *prādi* compound (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*) paraphrased as *āpo' nugatam* '(ocean) water gone into land', the compound could retain the indeclinable accent of its initial constituent (6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . .). However, it is marked with *udātta* at the end of its following constituent, in view of 6.2.189 *anor apradhānakanīyasī*. The rest of the compound goes through *nighāta* 'blanket *anudātta*'. A single replacement of the vocalic sequence *e+a* (6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*), as in *gāṅg*(*e+a*) *nūpaḥ*, is also marked with *udātta* by 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ*. The *svarita* accent of 8.2.6 *svarito vā' nudātte* . . . is also optionally made available to it.

(*c*) Consider *tud* + *Śa* + (*LAṬ*→*ŚatṚ*) → *tud* + *a* + *at* = *tudat*, where a corresponding feminine form is given as *tudatī*. Note that *Śa* is marked with *udātta* by affixal accent (3.1.3 *ādy udāttaḥ*). The single replacement of *a+a* in *tud*(*a+a*→*a*) *t* = *tudat* is marked with *udātta* (8.2.5 *ekādeśa* . . .). This, of course, is to be treated as *siddha* 'non-suspended'. Now comes 6.1.170 *śaturanumo nadyajādī* which, when read with the *anuvṛtti* of *antodāttād uttarapadāt*, marks the final *ī* of *tudatī* with *udātta*. This final *udātta* could not be accomplished if the single replacement accent is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended'. For, this is the domain of *antodāttāt* 'after that which is marked with *udātta* at the end'.

The negation of *anumaḥ* (in 6.1.170 *śaturanumo* . . .) becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*) that the accent of a single replacement is

considered *siddha* 'non-suspended' in matters of assigning accent to a form ending in *ŚatṚ*. If not, this negation will become vacuous (*vyartha*). For, a word which ends in *ŚatṚ* and is augmented with *nUM* cannot be found as marked with *udātta* at the end, especially when there is no single replacement accent (*Kāś*: *na hi sanumkaṃ śatrantaṃ kiṃcid ekadeśasvaram antareṇāntodāttam asti*). That is, *udātta* at the end without a single replacement accent is impossible to find.

(*d*) accent of a *pada* where, all syllables except for one, are marked with *anudātta* (*ekānanudātta*; 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ* . . .).

Consider *tudanti* and *likhanti* where, given *tud* + *Śa* + *anti* and *likh* + *Śa* + *anti*, we get a single replacement accent on (*Śa*+*a*→*a*) *nti* = *anti*. Rule 8.2.5 *ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ* assigns an *udātta*. This accent is considered *siddha* for purposes of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . . Thus, we get *tudanti* and *likhanti*.

(*e*) accent of a *pada* where all syllables are marked with *udātta* (8.1.28 *tiṅṅatiṅaḥ*).

Consider *brāhmaṇās tudanti* and *brāhmaṇā likhanti* where the replacement accent of *a* is treated as *siddha*. Consequently, all syllables are marked with *anudātta*, as per 8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ*. Now consider *pacatīti*, where *iti*, because of being a particle (*nipāta*), is marked with *udātta* at the beginning (*nipātā ādyudāttā bhavanti*). A single long replacement in place of two *i*-vowels of *pacati* and *iti* is accepted as *bahiraṅga* 'externally conditioned'. For, it is conditioned by two words (*dvipadāśrayatvāt*).

Since *vārttika* one recognizes only an internally conditioned single replacement accent as *siddha*, an externally conditioned replacement accent will thus be considered *asiddha* 'suspended'. The exclusion of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam* will thus not apply. We will similarly not get the *anudātta* of *gati*, i.e., *pra*, from 8.1.71 *tiṅi codāttavati*. The blanket *anudātta* of 8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ* alone applies.

(*ii*) This *vārttika* proposes that, in matters of replacing *rU* with *u*, 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* should not be considered suspended (*vt*: *saṃyogāntasya lopo ror utve siddho vaktavyaḥ*). Consider *harivo medinaṃ tvā*, where *harivaḥ* is the vocative singular form of *hariva* + *sU*. The word *hariva*, in turn, is a derivate of *matUP*. Given (*hari*+ *mat*(*U*)*P*) + *sU*, we get (*hari* + (*ma*+*nUM*+*t*)) + *sU* = *hari*(*m*→*v*) *ant* + *sU* = *harivant* + *sU*, by introducing augment *nUM* and replacing the *m* of *matUP* with *v* (8.2.15 *chandasīraḥ*). This gives us: *harivant* + *sU*. Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . . then deletes *sU* by way of assigning the term *apṛkta* to *s*. We thus get *harivant* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *harivant*. The final *t* of *harivant* then goes through deletion of 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya*

lopaḥ. The final *n* of *harivan* is then replaced with *rU* (8.3.1 *matuvaso ru sambuddhau chandasi*). Rule 6.1.113 *haśi ca* then applies on *harivar* + *medinam* to replace *r*(*U*) with *u*. We thus get *hariva*(*n*→*r*(*U*) + *medinam* → *hariva* + (*r*→*u*) + *medinam* = *hariv*(*a*+*u*→*o*) + *medinam* = *harivo medinam*, by replacing the *a*+*u* sequence with *o* (*guṇa*; 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*). Note that *r* is replaced with *u* under the condition of *m*, a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *haŚ*. If, however, the conjunct-final *t*-deletion is treated as suspended (*asiddha*), *r* will be accepted as followed by *t*, a consonant not denoted by *haŚ*. This would block the replacement of *r* with *u*. It is to facilitate this replacement that this *vārttika* proposes *t*-deletion to be treated as *siddha* 'non-suspended'.

(*iii*) A deletion of *sIC* is to be treated as non-suspended (*siddha*) when a single replacement is to be accomplished (*vt*: *sijlopa ekādeśe siddho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, consider *alāvīt* and *apāvīt* where, given *a* + *lau* + *i* + (*sIC*→ϕ) + *ī* + *t*, 8.2.18 *iṭ īṭi* applies to delete *sIC*. The sequence of two *i* vowels, i.e., *i*+*ī*, is then replaced with *ī* (6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). Rule 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* cannot apply to replace *i*+*ī* with *ī* if deletion of *sIC* is treated as suspended (*asiddha*). If deletion of *sIC* is treated as *siddha*, we will have no *sIC* to intervene. A single long-replacement in *ī* will be easily accomplished. Refer to *alāvīt* (II:333-34) for further derivational details. We can similarly derive *apāvīt*.

(*iv*) This *vārttika* proposes that, in matters of operations relative to a replacement in *ṣ*, accentuation (*svara*), affixal operation (*pratyaya-vidhi*) and augment *iṬ* (*iḍ-vidhi*), the substitute of an affix termed *niṣṭhā* (*niṣṭhādeśa*; 1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) is treated as *siddha* 'non-suspended' (*vt*: *niṣṭhādeśaḥ ṣatva-svara-pratyayavidhīḍvidhiṣu siddho vaktavyaḥ*). Consider *vṛkṇaḥ* and *vṛkṇavān*, where *vṛkṇa* (*Kta*) and *vṛkṇavat* (*KtavatU*) are derivates of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) suffixes *Kta* and *KtavatU*, respectively. Given *OvraścU* + *Kta* where, because of *O* as an *it* in the root, *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oditaś ca*). We thus get *vṛśc* + (*t*→*n*) = *vṛśc* + *na*. Recall here that *r*, of *vraśc* + *ta*, is replaced with its *samprasāraṇa* counterpart *ṛ* (6.1.16 *grahijyāvayi*. . .). The resultant vocalic sequence *ṛ*+*a* is then replaced with *ṛ* (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). The *n*-replacement of *t* is treated as *siddha*, in matters of replacing the root-final *c* with *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjsṛj*. . .). If this *n*-replacement is not treated as *siddha* 'not suspended', the string will still be *vṛśc* + *ta*. Since *t* is included within the denotatum of *jhaL*, a replacement in *ṣ* for the final *c* of the root can thus not be blocked. Incidentally, the *c* is replaced with *k* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). The *n* itself is replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ*. . .). We thus get *vṛkṇa* and *vṛkṇavat*. The *s* of the

conjunct, in the absence of a replacement in *ṣ*, is deleted (8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca*).

Consider *kṣība* 'a drunk' which is given as an example for operations relative to accent, affixation and *iṬ*. How could this one example illustrate three operational considerations? This word is derived via *nipātana*. A *nipātana* is manipulated to account for derivates in many ways. Consider (*kṣīb* + *i*(*Ṭ*→φ) + (*K*→φ) *ta*))) → (*kṣīb* + (*i*+*t*→φ) *a*)) = *kṣība*, a name (*saṃjñā*), where deletion of *i* and *t* is accomplished via *nipātana*. Since this deletion, under the condition of *saṃjñā* 'name', is treated as *asiddha*, *kṣība* cannot be assigned *udātta* at the beginning. Now consider *kṣībe tarati* = *kṣībikaḥ*, a derivate of *ṢthaN* (4.4.7 *naudvyacaṣ ṭhan*), where charactceristic accent of a disyllabic name cannot be availed (6.1.202 *niṣṭhā ca dvyajanāt*). We get augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*) because of suspension of *t*-deletion.

(*v*) Another *vārttika* (*plutavikārastugvidhau che siddho vaktavyaḥ*) proposes that modification relative to a *pluta* 'extra-long' vowel be treated as *siddha* 'not suspended', when augment *tUK* is introduced before affix *cha*. Why before *cha*? So that, elsewhere, modification relative to a *pluta* vowel be treated as *asiddha*. Consider *agnā3i cchatram* and *patā3u cchatram*, where, after deletion of the nominal ending termed *sambuddhi*, *agne* and *paṭo* go through modification of an extra-long *ā* (8.2.107 *eco' pragṛhyasya* . . .). An extra-long *ā* replaces the first half of *i* and *u* of the vocative. Its next half is replaced with *i* and *u*. Because the *pluta* modification is treated here as *siddha*, we get obligatory *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*). An optional *tUK* (6.1.76 *padāntād vā*) may have been available if modification relative to *pluta* was not treated as *siddha*.

(*vi*) Yet another *vārttika* proposes that, in matters of introducing *dhUṬ* (8.3.29 *ṅaḥ si dhuṭ*), a replacement in *ś*, and also *cU* (*c*, *ch*, *j*, *jh*, *ñ*), is treated as *siddha* 'non suspended'. Consider verbal root *ścyutir* which begins with *s*. This *s* is replaced with *ś* because *c* follows. If this *ś* is treated as *asiddha*, we will get *dhUṬ* (8.3.29 *ṅaḥ si dhuṭ*) in *aṭścyotati* and *aṭ* + *sU* and *raṭ* + *sU*, where *aḍ* and *raḍ* are derivates of *KvIP*, gone through total deletion (*sarvāpahāri-lopa*). Incidentally, *sU* goes through deletion (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .) and the final *ṭ* of *aṭ* and *raṭ* is replaced with *ḍ* (8.2.30 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*).

Why is *ścyutir* 'to drip' specified with *s*? It does not serve any purpose. Consider *madhuś cyotatīti* = *madhuścyut*, once again a derivate with *KvIP*. Now add the causal affix *ṆiC* to derive *madhuści*. Forms such as *madhuścyutam ācaṣṭe* = *madhuścyayati* / *madhuścyayate* can now be derived by introducing affix *KvIP* after *madhuści*, where affix *ṆiC* is deleted (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*). Affix *KvIP*, as usual, also goes

through deletion. The *ś* at the beginning of the conjunct *ścy*, in *madhuścy*, must be deleted (8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca*). The *y* must also go through deletion because it is conjunct-final in a *pada* (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*). The resultant *madhuc* now gets its final *c* replaced with *k* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). We thus get *madhuk*. It would have been difficult to delete *ś* had the root been specified as beginning with *ś*. That is, only *c* and *y* could be deleted. The resultant *madhuś* would have gotten its *ś* replaced with *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛj*...). Finally, this *ṣ* would have been replaced with *ṭ* (8.2.30 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*) to yield **madhuṭ*, a form not desired (*aniṣṭa*).

(*vii*) This *vārttika* proposes that a replacement denoted by *jaŚ* and *caR*, when occurring in an iterated form, be treated as *siddha*, provided operations relative to a replacement in *e* (*vt*: *abhyāsajaśtvacartve etvatukoḥ siddhe vaktavye*; 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhye*...) and augment *tUK* are to be performed. Consider *babhaṇatuḥ* and *babhaṇuḥ*, the active third person dual and plural perfect (*LIṬ*) forms of *bhaṇ*, where we also get iteration (*dvirvacana*). The *bh* of *bhabhaṇ* is here repalced with *b* (*jaŚ*). This replacement must be treated as *siddha*. For, the root will, otherwise, be treated as not beginning with a replacement (*anādeśādi*). This will cause the application of a replacement in *e* (*etva*; 6.4.120 *ata ekahalmadhye*...). The resultant forms of perfect, i.e., **bheṇatuḥ* and **bheṇuḥ*, will again be undesired.

Now consider the desiderative (*saN*) third person singular active present form *vicicchitsati*. The initial *ch* of the iterated verbal form *chichid + sa* → (*ch*→*c*) *ichid + sa* is here replaced with *c* (*cartva*; 8.4.54 *abhyāse car ca*). If this replacement is not treated as *siddha*, we will not get augment *tUK* of 6.1.73 *che ca*.

(*viii*) This *vārttika* proposes that a single replacement similar to what follows (*parasavarṇa*) is to be accepted as *siddha* when iteration (*dvirvacana*) is to be performed. Consider *sam + yantā* and *sam + vatsara*; and *yallokam* and *tallokam*. The *m* is here changed into an *anusvāra* (8.2.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*). This *anusvāra* is further replaced with a nasalized *ỹ* and *l̃* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*). If this replacement is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended', we will not get doubling of *ỹ* and *l̃* by applying 8.4.47 *anaci ca*, read with 8.4.45 *yaro' nunāsike*.... That is, *saỹyyanta*; *saṽvvatsaraḥ*; *yal̃llokam* and *tal̃llokam* cannot be derived.

(*ix*) Yet another *vārttika* proposes that replacements in *l* (*latva*; 8.2.21 *acivibhāṣā*), *ḍh* (*ḍhatva*; 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*), *gh* (*ghatva*; 8.2.33 *vā druhamuhaṣṇuhaṣṇihām*), *n* (*natva*; 8.2.56 *nudavidondatrā*...), *rU* (*rutva*; 8.2.75 *daś a*), *ṣ* (*ṣatva*; 8.3.85 *mātuḥpiturbhyām*...), *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ*...), nasal (*anunāsika*; 8.4.45 *yaro' nunāsike*...) and

ch (*chatva*; 8.4.63 *śaścho' ṭi*) are treated as *siddha* for purposes of doubling. Of course, if rules which accomplish these replacements are read with the *anuvṛtti* of *padasya* (8.1.16 *padasya*, etc.). Consider the examples: *latva*: *garo garaḥ/ galo galaḥ*; *ghatva*: *drogdhā drogdhā/ droḍhā droḍhā*; *natva*: *nunno nunnaḥ/ nutto nuttaḥ*; *rutva*: *abhino' bhinaḥ/ abhino' bhinat*; *ṣatva*: *mātuṣṣvasā mātuḥsvasā*; *pituṣṣvasā pituḥsvasā*; *ṇatva*: *māṣavāpāṇi māṣavāpāni*; *anunāsika*: *vāṅnayanam vāgnayanam*; *vākchayanam vākchayanam*; *vākśayanam vākśayanam*.

8.2.4 उदात्तस्वरितयोर्यणः स्वरितोऽनुदात्तस्य

udāttasvaritayor yaṇaḥ svarito' nudāttasya
/*udātta-svaritayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *yaṇaḥ* 5/1 *svaritaḥ* 1/1 *anudāttasya* 6/1/
udāttayaṇaḥ svaritayaṇaś ca parasyānudāttasya svarita ādeśo bhavati
A *svarita* comes in place of an *anudātta* which, in turn, occurs after a *yaṆ* replacing an *udātta* and *svarita*.

EXAMPLES:

kumāryaú
kumāryáḥ
sakṛllvyāśā
khalapvyāśā

1. This rule offers *svarita* as a replacement for an *anudātta* which, in turn, occurs after a sound denoted by *yaṆ*, itself a replacement of an *udātta* or *svarita* vowel. Consider *kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + *au* and *kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + (*J*) *as*→ *kumāryaḥ*, where the nominal endings *au* and (*J*) *as* are marked with *udātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Note that the masculine base *kumāra* is marked with *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* 1: *phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*). Affix *ṄīP*, which is introduced after *kumāra* to derive *kumārī*, is marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). Since deletion of the *udātta a* of *kumāra* is caused by the following *anudātta* of *ṄīP*, rule 6.1.158 *anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopaḥ* allows *ī* of the feminine *kumārī* to be marked with *udātta*. This resultant *udātta* is referred to by commentators as *udātta-nivṛtti-svara* 'an accent which is obtained by way of *udātta*-deletion'. When this *udātta ī* of *kumārī* is replaced with *y* (*yaṆ*), the *anudātta* nominal endings *au* and (*J*) *as* are replaced with *svarita*.

Now consider *sakṛllū* + *āśā* → *sakṛll*(*ū*→*v*) + *āśā* = *sakṛllvāśā* and *khalap*(*ū*→*v*) + *āśā* → *khalapvāśā*, where affix *KvIP* is introduced after *lū* 'to cut' and *pū* 'to cleanse'. These roots are marked with *udātta* at the end, in consonance with root-accent (*dhātusvara*; 6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). The compound is formed by 2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*. These compounds, based on retention requirement of original accent in the following constituent of a *pada* ending in affix *kṛt* (6.2.139 *gatikārakopapadāt kṛt*), are marked with *udātta* at the end.

When their *udātta* vowel *ū* is replaced with *v* before the *anudātta* vowel of *Ṅi* 'locative singular', our present rule marks *i* with *svarita*. We thus get *s̲a̲kṛllví* and *kh̲a̲l̲a̲pví*, both marked with *svarita* at the end. This *svarita* vowel *i* goes through a replacement in *yaṆ* before *ā* of *āśā*. Note that *āśā* is marked with *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* (18): *āśāyā ādigākhyā*). Consequently, *ā* of *āśā* is marked with *anudātta* by 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*. Thus, we get: *s̲a̲kṛllvyā́śā* and *kh̲a̲l̲a̲pvyā́śā*, where the *anudātta* vowel, i.e., *ā*, of *āśā*, when occurring after a *yaṆ*-replacement marked with *svarita*, is replaced with *svarita*. In summary, this rule assigns *svarita* to an *anudātta* when the *anudātta* follows a *yaṆ*-replacement marked with *udātta* (*Nyāsa*: *ihānena sūtreṇānudāttasyodāttayaṇaḥ parasya svarito vidhīyate*). This rule also assigns *svarita* to an *anudātta* when the *anudātta* follows a *yaṆ*-replacement marked with *svarita* (*Nyāsa*: *svaritayaṇaś ca parasya* (*saptamy ekavacanasya pūrveṇa prakāreṇa*) *svarito vidhīyate*). The expressions *udāttayaṇaḥ* and *svaritayaṇaḥ* refer to a *yaṆ*-replacement marked with *udātta* and *svarita*, as obtained by rule applications.

Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for further discussion on this accentuation.

2. Why do we state *udāttasvaritayoḥ* 'in place of *udātta* and *svarita*'? Consider *baidī āśā* = *baidyāśā*, and *śārṅgaravī* + *āśā* = *śārṅgaravyāśā*, where an *anudātta* vowel, i.e., *ī*, is replaced with *yaṆ* (*anudāttayaṇaḥ*). The initial constituents of these compound words are marked with *udātta*, based on *N* as an *it* of the feminine affix *ṄīN* (4.1.73 *śārṅgaravād . . . ṅīn*). That is, *N* as an *it* assigns *udātta* at the beginning. The rest of the word gets marked with *anudātta*. The word *baidyāśā* has *y* as a replacement of *anudātta*, and not of an *udātta* or *svarita*.

Why state *anudāttasya* 'in place of an *anudātta*'? Consider *kumār*(*ī*→*y*) + *atra* = *kumāryatra* and *kiśor*(*ī*→*y*) + *atra* = *kiśoryatra* where *atra* is marked with *udātta* at the beginning in consonance with *L* as an *it* in *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*; 6.1.190 *liti*). The *udātta* of *atra*, obviously, cannot be replaced with the *svarita* offered by this rule.

8.2.5 एकादेश उदात्तेनोदात्तः

ekādeśa udāttenodāttaḥ
/*ekādeśaḥ* 1/1 = *ekaś cāsāv ādeśaś ca* (*karmdhāraya tat.*); *udāttena* 3/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
(*anudāttasya* #4)
udāttena sahānudāttasya ya ekādeśaḥ sa udātto bhavati
A single replacement in place of an *udātta* and *anudātta* is marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

a̲gnī 'nominative dual of *agni* 'fire'
v̲ā̲yū 'nominative dual of *vayu* 'wind''

vṛkṣaiḥ 'instrumental plural of *vṛkṣa* 'tree''
plakṣaiḥ 'instrumental plural of *plakṣa* 'a kind of tree''

1. Note that *anudāttasya* is carried. A *svarita* is considered the most similar single replacement in place of an *udātta* and *anudātta.* This rule offers an *udātta,* instead (*Nyāsa: svarite prāpte idam ārabhyate*). Stems such as *agni, vāyu, vṛkṣa* and *plakṣa* are marked with *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* (1): *phiṣo' nta udāttaḥ*). Their nominal endings are marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). A single replacement in *ī* (6.1.101 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*), for example in place of *i* of *agni* and *au* of the nominative dual, is marked with *udātta.* Thus, *agn*(*i* + *au*→*ī*) = *agnī, vāyū;* and *vṛkṣa* + (*bhis*→*ais*) → *vṛkṣ*(*a*+*ai*→*ai*) *s* → *vṛkṣai*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *vṛkṣaiḥ, plakṣaiḥ.* Incidentally, the *ai*-replacement in *vṛkṣaiḥ* and *plakṣaiḥ* is accomplished by 6.1.88 *vṛddhir eci.*

Why do we have the specification made with *udāttena* 'with an *udātta*'? Consider *pac* + *ŚaP* + *anti* → *pacanti* and *yaj* + *ŚaP* + *anti* → *yajanti,* where the *a* of *ŚaP* and the *sārvadhātuka*-replacement of *LA,* i.e., (*jhi*→*anti*), is also marked with *anudātta* (6.1.183 *tāsy anudāttaenṅida* . . .). A single replacement, i.e., *a* (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*), similar to what follows (*pararūpam*), must, hereby, be marked with *anudātta.* The *svarita* of 8.4.66 *udāttādanudāttasya svaritaḥ* which may be available to *ŚaP* is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended', relative to the single replacement of 6.1.97 *ato guṇe.*

8.2.6 स्वरितो वाऽनुदात्ते पदादौ

svarito vā' nudātte padādau
/*svaritaḥ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ *anudātte* 7/1 *padādau* 7/1 = *padasya ādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*anudāttasya* #4 *ekādeśa udāttasya* #5)
anudātte padādau udāttena saha ya ekādeśaḥ sa svarito vā bhavaty udātto vā
A single replacement in place of a vocalic sequence formed with an *udātta,* followed by an *anudātta* at the beginning of a *pada,* is, optionally, marked with *svarita.*

EXAMPLES:

su utthitaḥ = *sūtthítaḥ* 'properly raised; produced'
sûtthitaḥ 'ibidem'
vīkṣáte '. . . observes, beholds'
vîkṣate 'ibidem'
vasukó' si 'you are rich'
vasuko' sí 'ibidem'

1. This rule, optionally, allows a single replacement in place of a sequence of an *udātta* and a *pada*-initial *anudātta,* to be optionally marked with a *svarita.* Consider *su utthitaḥ* = *sūtthítaḥ* and *sûtthtaḥ,* where the first has a replacement

in *svarita* for a sequence of *udātta* and a *pada*-initial *anudātta*. The second example retains the *udātta* of the preceding rule. Note that *su* is a member of the *prādi* group termed *karmapravacanīya* (1.4.83 *karmapravacanīyāḥ*). It combines with the past participial *ūtthitaḥ* to form an *avyayībhāva* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*) compound where its first, an indeclinable (*avyaya*) constituent, retains its original accent (6.2.2 *tatpuruṣe tulyārtha* . . .). That is, the first constituent will be marked with initial *udātta* (*Phiṭsūtra* (80): *nipātā ādyudāttaḥ*). The rest of the compound is marked with *anudātta* (6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam ekavarjam*). Now consider *vīkṣate / vasuko' si* where both *vīkṣate* and *asi* are marked with *anudātta* (8.1.28 *tiṅṅ atiṅaḥ*). We find a *pada*-initial *udātta* in both instances. Recall that *vi* of *vīkṣate* is marked with *udātta* at the end (*Phiṭsūtra* (81): *upasargāś cābhivarjam*). A final *udātta* is also assigned to *a* of *vasuka*, based on nominal stem accent (*prātipadika-svara; Uṇādi: phiṣo' ntodāttaḥ*). The *i* of *vi* and the *ī* of *īkṣate*, when replaced with *ī*, are thus, optionally, marked with *svarita*.

2. Why do we have to use *svarita*? It is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). If *svarita* is not used in this rule, the *udātta* of the preceding rule will become optional under the condition of the following *anudātta* of this rule. If *udātta* becomes optional, we will get *svarita* in instances where optional *udātta* is not accepted. This will happen because of close proximity (*ānantarya*) of *svarita* with *udātta* and *anudātta*. That is, we can get *svarita* without the use of the word *svarita*.

Why do we have the condition of *anudātte*? Consider *devadatto' tra* where *atra* 'here' is marked with *udātta* at the beginning. The option of this rule is, hence, not allowed.

Why do we state *padādi* 'at the beginning of a *pada*'? Consider *vṛkṣau* and *vṛkṣāḥ* where the nominal endings are marked with *anudātta*. They, however, do not occur at the beginning of a *pada*.

3. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita interprets *vā* of this rule, especially in the context of a single long replacement of two short *i* vowels, as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. He follows the *Prātiśākhyas* and offers examples with illustrations of three kinds of *sandhi*: (*i*) *abhinihata* 'merged', for example, *pararūpa* 'a single replacement similar to what follows in a vocalic sequence' and *pūrvarūpa* 'a single replacement similar to what precedes in a vocalic sequence'; (*ii*) *praśliṣṭa* 'a *sandhi* with composite replacement in *guṇa*, *vṛddhi* and *savarṇa-dīrgha* 'homogeneous long'; and (*iii*) *kṣaipra* 'a *sandhi*, i.e., *yaN*, involving speedy articulation' (*SK*: *vyavasthitavibhāṣātvād ikārayoḥ svaritaḥ* . . . *ikārayoś ca praśleṣe kṣaiprābhinihateṣu ceti*).

8.2.7 नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य

nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya
/*nalopaḥ* 1/1 *nakārasya lopaḥ* = *nalopaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *prātipadika* 6/1 (deleted); *antasya* 6/1/

(*padasya* #1.16)
prātipadikasya padasya yo' ntyo nakāras tasya lopo bhavati
Deletion by *LOPA* comes in place of the final *n* of a nominal stem which is termed a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*).

EXAMPLES:

rājā 'nominative singular of *rājan* 'king''
rājabhyām 'instrumental/dative/ablative dual . . .'
rājabhiḥ 'instrumental plural . . .'
rājatā 'nominative singular of *rājatā* 'kingship''
rājataraḥ 'a comparatively better king'
rājatamaḥ 'the best king'

1. Note that *padasya* (8.1.16 *padasya*) is carried over. This rule offers deletion of the final *n* of a nominal stem which is termed a *pada*. The two genitives of *prātipadikāntasya* and *padasya* are interpreted as sharing coreferentiality (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) relationship. The final *n* of *rājan*, a nominal stem which is termed a *pada* (1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*), before *bhyām*, etc., is deleted via *LOPA*.

The word *anta* 'end, final' is treated as a qualifier to *prātipadikasya* (with deleted genitive). Since *asarvanāmasthāne* 'not when a *sarvanāmasthāna* ending follows' negates assignment of the term *pada* to a nominal stem which may end in *n*, the *n* must also be accepted as part of the nominal stem. The *n* is here qualified with both *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' and *anta* 'end'. If a *vyadhikaraṇa* 'non-coreferential' relationship between *pada* and *prātipadikānta* is accepted, *padasya* will become a qualifier to *prātipadikāntasya*. This will make *n* as part of both the *pada* as well as the nominal stem (*Nyāsa*: *padasya yo' vayavaḥ so' pi prātipadikasyety arthaḥ*). This being the case, even when *anta* is used, deletion, via *tadantavidhi* 'treating *x* as referring also to that which ends in *x*', will apply to the final *n* (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of *rājan* in *rājānau* and *rājānaḥ*. If *anta* is not used, deletion will apply to *n* wherever it occurs. For, the *sūtra* will then read: *nalopaḥ prātipadikasya* (*padasya*). We may thus get a deletion of *n*, even in *narābhyām*. Even when *anta* is combined with *prātipadika*, the *sūtra* will read: *prātipadikāntasya padāvayavasya nakārasya* 'of *n* which occurs at the end of a nominal stem as part of a *pada*'. This cannot give us the sense of *n* occurring at the end of a *pada*. This will save the *n* of the third plural *LAṄ*-derivate of *han* 'to kill, move', i.e., *ahan*, from deletion since we do not have a nominal stem, mostly because of negation of *dhātu* 'verbal root' in 1.2.45 *arthavad adhātuḥ*. . . . This no sense of *n* occurring at the end of a *pada* will also save the initial *n* of *narābhyām* from deletion. But deletion may still apply to the *n* of *rājānau*, etc. *Kāśikā*, therefore, states that *prātipadika* is not combined with *anta*. It is, instead, used in this rule without any case-ending. That is, the genitive ending at the end of *prātipadika*, i.e., *prātipadikasya*, has gone through *LUK*-deletion (7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk* . . .).

In summary, *prātipadika* and *pada*, both, must be used in this rule, not combined but used in syntactic coordination. The genitive of *prātipadika* is given as deleted in the process. The word *prātipadika* must be used to save the *n* of verbal forms *ahan*, etc., from deletion. The word *pada* must be used to save, for example, the *n* of *rājan* + *au* = *rājānau* from deletion.

Haradatta (*PM*) quotes the following *kārikā*-verse:

> *viśeṣyam antasyety asya nety etad avibhaktikam/*
> *tathaiva prātipadikety etat padaviśeṣaṇam//*
> 'the word *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' is considered the qualified (*viśeṣya*) element of *anta* 'end, final' (*antasya*); its specification does not lack a nominal ending; in this same manner, this word *prātipadika* is considered a qualifier to the word *pada*'

2. Negation of *n*-deletion of *ahan* must be stated (*vt*: *ahno nalopapratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Consider *ahan* + *sU*, where *sU* goes through *LUK*-deletion (7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt*). Since *sU* goes through deletion by *LUK*, *ahan* cannot be qualified as followed by *sUP* (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). The *n* of *ahan* is then replaced with *rU* (8.2.68 *ahan*). A replacement in *rU* for *n* of *ahan* is also found in *ahan* + *bhyām*. The *rU*-replacement of *n* of *ahan* is further replaced with *u* (6.4.114 *haśi ca*). We get *ah*(*a*+*u*→*o*) + *bhyām* = *ahobhyām*, with a single replacement in *guṇa* for the vocalic sequence of *a*+*u*. This same also applies to *ahobhiḥ*.

A question is raised against the validity of this *vārttika* proposal. Why do we need this *vārttika*? The *n* of *ahan* is replaced with *u*, via *rU*. Why negate *n*-deletion even when the question of its deletion does not arise. A more complex discussion which includes *asiddhatva* of rules, and *āvṛtti* as a technique of rule interpretation, follows in the *Mahābhāṣya*. If one copies *ahan* from 8.2.86, it will itself facilitate absence of *n*-deletion (*nalopābhāva*), via *nipātana*. The other interpretation will accomplish *rU* (*rutva*) which, otherwise, would have become suspended. Operationally, lack of *n*-deletion precedes *rutva*. I omit other details for fear of expatiation.

8.2.8 न ङिसम्बुद्ध्योः

na ṅisambuddhyoḥ

/*na* ϕ *ṅi-sambuddhyoḥ* 7/2 = *ṅiś ca sambuddhiś ca* = *ṅisambuddhī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/

(*padasya* #1.16 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya* #7)

ṅau parataḥ sambuddhau ca nakāralopo na bhavati

A deletion by *LOPA* does not come in place of the final *n* of a nominal stem which constitutes a *pada*, provided when *Ṅi*, or a nominal ending termed *sambuddhi*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

ārdre carman 'hide soaked with (water)'
lohite carman 'hide soaked with blood'
he rājan 'O king!'
he takṣan 'O carpenter!'

1. This rule negates deletion of the final *n* of a nominal stem when *Ṅi* 'locative singular', or a nominal ending termed *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*), i.e., *sU*, follows. Consider *ārdre carman* and *lohite carman* where the locative ending *Ṅi* goes through *LUK*-deletion (7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk* . . .) after *carman*. The *sambuddhi* after *rājan* and *takṣan* of *he rājan* and *he takṣan* also goes through deletion (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo dīrghāt*. . .). The final *n*-deletion of the preceding rule here becomes applicable to *carman*, *rājan* and *takṣan*. But because of *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'operation characteristic of deleted affix' based upon *sambuddhi*, this rule negates *n*-deletion. It is thus a general practice to negate *n*-deletion before *Ṅi* and *sambuddhi*.

2. Now consider *rājan* + *Ṅas* + *puruṣa* + *sU* → *rājan* + (*Ṅas*→ɸ) + *puruṣa* + (*sU*→ɸ) = *rāja*(*n*→ɸ) + *puruṣa* = *rājapuruṣa* + *sU* = *rājapuruṣaḥ*, where a *prātipadika* is treated as a *prātipadika*, even when the suffix used after it goes through deletion. This goes against 1.1.63 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*. That is, *Ṅas* will still be there after *rājan*. The assignment of the term *prātipadika* to *rājan* + *Ṅas* by 1.2.46 *kṛttaddhitasamāsāś ca*, of the compound base *rajan*+(*Ṅas*→ɸ)*puruṣa*+(*sU*→ɸ) = *rājapuruṣa*, will go against the negation of *apratyayaḥ* of 1.2.45 *arthavad*. . . . Consequently, *rājan* will not be called a nominal stem. Deletion of *n* will thus be blocked. But since this rule allows such deletions by way of negating it in the context of *Ṅi* and *sambuddhi*, we infer that assignment of the term *prātipadika* is not negated at the strength of *apratyayaḥ* 'non-affix'. That is, the negation of *apratyayaḥ* has no validity here. If it does, we will also get the negation of the assignment of the term *prātipadika* in *he takṣan* and *he rājan*. This will block *n*-deletion and as a result, make the negation of 8.2.8 *na ṅisambuddhau* vacuous. This same will also happen in case of *he carman*. This rule also indicates that assignment of the term *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) is also negated, especially in relation to affixal deletion (*pratyayalopa*; 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam*) of *Ṅas* which cannot be revived by means of *pratyayalakṣaṇa*. This saves the *a* of *rājan*+(*Ṅas*→ɸ) +*puruṣa*+*sU* = *rājapuruṣa* from deletion. Note, however, that given *rājan* + *Ṅas*, in deriving *rājñaḥ*, the *a* of *an* of *rājan* is deleted (6.4.131 *allopo' naḥ*). Operations relative to an *aṅga* will not be performed. The term *aṅga* will not be assigned before the affix. But we will get the assignment of the term *pada* by accepting the form as ending in a *sUP*. We thus will derive *rājñaḥ*, a fully inflected word (*pada*). The assignment of the term *bha* will be blocked by the assignment of the terms *prātipadika* and *pada*. Based on this very negation, the *apratyayaḥ* 'non-affixal' meaning of 1.2.45 *arthavad*. . .

will enable the assignment of the term *prātipadika* to that which ends in an affix and begins with a nominal stem (*pratyayānta tadādi*). This is how *allopo' naḥ* will not be able to delete the *a* of *rājan.*

Others object to this negation of *bha-saṃjñā.* They argue that *yaci* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) defines *bha-saṃjñā.* The notion of *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'characteristic operations relative to affixal deletion' does not revive *LUK*-deletion of *Ṅas* so that *bha-saṃjñā* could be assigned. The negation of 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* applies to all operations relative to an *aṅga,* whether they are related to the domain of *aṅga* or not (*PM*: *tatra hi lumatā lupte pratyaye yadaṅgaṃ tasya yatkāryam āṅgam anāṅgam vā tat sarvaṃ pratiṣidhyate*). Consequently, this rule cannot indicate non-assignment of the term *bha* relative to an operation on an *aṅga.*

Nyāsa explains that no purpose can be served by non-assignment of the term *bha* in *yathoddeśapakṣa* 'understanding the function of rules in view of their placement in grammar'. The question of assigning the term *bha* does not arise in the *kāryakālapakṣa* 'understanding rules in view of their function at the time of their application'. For, operations under assignmenrt of the term *bha* are performed relative to an *aṅga,* and 1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya* will be ready to negate them. What then is the need for indicating non-assignment of the term *bha?*

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made for negating the negation of this rule, especially when a final compound constituent combines to follow a preceding constituent ending in the locative (*vt*: *ṅāv uttarapade pratiṣedhasya pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Consider *carmaṇi tilā asya* = *carmatilaḥ* 'he on whose skin there are moles'. The *n* of *carman* of (*carman+Ṅi*) +(*tila+jas*) = *carma*($n \rightarrow \phi$) *tila* is saved from deletion because of this negation. That is, it occurs before *Ṅi* used in combination with a following constituent (*uttarapade*). That is, negation of negation, i.e., *n*-deletion, is accomplished, for example in *carmaṇitilaḥ,* when *Ṅi* followed by a *pada* follows. This *bahuvrīhi* compound is formed on the basis of suggestivity (*gamakatvāt*), and not on the basis of *carmaṇi* and *tilāḥ* used in appositional relationship. Now consider *he rājavṛndāraka!* where the compound-base *rājavṛndāraka* is used before a *sambuddhi.* The *sambuddhi* is here used after *rājavṛndāraka,* the compound. It is not possible to have this compound with *rājan* where the first constituent is also used in combination before a *sambuddhi* (*sambuddhyantaṃ pūrvapadaṃ naiva samasyate* 'a preceding constituent ending in *sambuddhi* is never combined in a compound'). The deletion of *n* thus applies. If one forms a compound, paraphrased as *he rājan vṛndāraka!,* by 2.1.62 *vṛndārakanāgakuñjaraiḥ pūjyamānam, n*-deletion will be negated. That is why *Kāśikā* says that, in *he rājavṛndāraka,* the entire compound, i.e., *rājavṛndāraka,* is used before *sambuddhi.* For, *he rājavṛndāraka* can never give the meaning of *he rājan vṛndāraka!*

Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made for optional deletion of *n* at the end of a neuter nominal stem. Thus: *he carman!* / *he carma!* Haradatta (*PM*) con-

siders this *aprāpta-vibhāṣā* 'an option which was not made available is made available'. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa*) considers it a case of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'.

8.2.9 मादुपधायाश्च मतोर्वोऽयवादिभ्यः

mād upadhāyāś ca mator vo' yavādibhyaḥ
/*māt* 5/1 = *maś ca aś ca* = *mam* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *matoḥ* 6/1 *vaḥ* 1/1 *ayavādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *yava ādir yeṣāṃ te* = *yavādayaḥ* (*bv.*); *na yavādayo* (*naῆ. tat.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
makārāntād makāropadhād avarṇāntād avarṇopadhāc cottarasya matoḥ '*va*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati yavādibhyas tu parato na bhavati*
The initial *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v*, when *matUP* occurs after a nominal stem which either ends in *m* or has *m* in its *upadhā* 'penultimate', or ends in *a* or has *a* in its *upadhā*, but does not occur after a nominal of the group headed by *yava* 'barley'.

EXAMPLES:

kiṃvān 'rich in nothing; he who says, 'what' all the time'
śaṃvān 'tranquil'
śamīvān 'rich in śamī trees'
dāḍimīvān 'rich in dāḍima fruits'
vṛkṣavān 'rich in trees'
plakṣavān 'rich in plakṣa trees'
khaṭvāvān 'rich in cots'
mālāvān 'rich in garlands'
payasvān 'rich in milk'
yaśasvān 'famous'
bhāsvān 'glowing'

1. This rule replaces the initial *m* of *matUP* with *v*, if *matUP* occurs after a nominal stem which (*i*) either ends in *m* or has *m* in its *upadhā*, or ends in *a* or has *a* in its *upadhā*, but does not occur after a nominal listed in the group headed by *yava*. The two meaning conditions are thus: (*makārāntāt/ akārāntāt*) *prātipadikāt*; and (*makāropadhāt/ akāropadhāt*) *prātipadikāt*.

This rule has a very complex formulation, or so it seems, when one tries to reach the desired interpretation. Note first that *māt* is a *samāhāra-dvandva* used in the ablative, paraphrased as *māt*: *maś ca aś ca, tasmāt* '*ma* = *m* and *a*, after that (*māt*)'. Haradatta says that *ca* of this rule is responsible for rule-splitting (*yoga-vibhāga*). We thus get the first sentence: *māt parasya mator vo bhavati* '(the initial of) a *matUP* which occurs after a form ending in *m* or *a* is replaced with *v*'. The second split-sentence which we get with *upadhāyāḥ* is: *upadhāyāś ca* (*māt parasya*) *mator vo bhavati* '(the initial of) a *matUP* which occurs after that which has *m* or *a* in its penultimate position is replaced

with *v*'. Note that *matUP* is here used by way of being a *kāryin* 'operational locus'. This specification of *kāryin* then brings a nominal stem in construction. Recall that 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty asminn iti matup* introduces affix *matUP* after a syntactically related nominal stem ending in the *prathamā* 'nominative'. This nominal stem is then qualified with *māt*. That is, *makāro' nto yasya* 'that whose final is a *m*' and *avarṇo' nto yasya* 'that whose final sound is *a*'. Similarly, we qualify *upadhā* 'penultimate' with *māt* to get the sense of: *makāra upadhā yasya* 'that whose penultimate is *m*' and *akāra upadhā yasya* 'that whose penultimate is *a*'.

2. Note that *māt* is to be interpreted independently to give the sense of 'after that which ends in *m* and *a*'. It also has to be interpreted as a qualifier to *upadhāyāḥ*, thereby to yield the meaning: 'after that which has *m* and *a* in its *upadhā*' This way, the *m* of *matUP* alone will be replaced with *v*. Refer to my notes under 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya* and 1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya* for additional details.

3. Now consider,

(*i*) examples after a stem ending in *m* (*makārāntāt*): *kiṃvān* and *śaṃvān*.
kim + (*m*→*v*) *at*(*UP*) = *ki*(*m*→*ṃ*) *vat* = *kiṃvat* + *sU*→ *kiṃvān*, where *matUP* is introduced by 5.2.94 *tad asyāsty iti*. . . . Rule 7.1.70 *ugid acāṃ* . . . introudces augment *nUM* to produce *kiṃva* + *n*(*UM*) +*t* + *sU*→ *kiṃvant* + *sU*. Two deletions, i.e., of *sU* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .), and of *t* at the end of the conjunct (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*), then apply to yield: *kiṃvant* + (*sU*→ϕ) → *kiṃvan*(*t*→ϕ) = *kiṃvan*. An application of 6.4.14 *atvasantasya cādhātoḥ* finally produces *kiṃv*(*a*→*ā*) *n* = *kiṃvān*. We similarly get (*śam* + *vatUP*) + *sU* = *śaṃvān*.

(*ii*) examples after a stem with *m* in its *upadhā* (*makāropadhāt*): *śamīvān* and *dāḍimīvān*.

(*iii*) examples after that which ends in *a* (*avarṇāntāt*): *vṛkṣavān* and *plakṣavān*; *khaṭvāvān* and *mālāvān*.

(*iv*) examples after that which has *a* in its *upadhā* (*avarṇopadhāt*): *payasvān*, *yaśasvān* and *bhāsvān*.

Note that *payas* and *yaśas* are assigned the term *bha* before *vān* (1.4.19 *tasau matvarthe*). This blocks a replacement in *rU* for the final *s* of *yaśas* and *payas* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*). Refer to notes and appendix under 5.2.94 *tad asyāstity asminn iti matup* for additional derivational details.

4. Why do we state *mād upadhāyāś ca* 'after that which ends in *m* or *a*, or has *m* or *a* in its *upadhā*'? Consider *agnimān* and *vāyumān*, where *agni* and *vāyu* do not end in *m* or have *a*. They also do not contain *m* or *a* in their *upadhā*.

Why do we have an exclusion stated by *ayavādibhyaḥ* 'after those which are not listed in the group headed by *yava* 'barley'?' Consider *yavamān* 'rich

in barley' and *ūrmimān* 'abounding in waves', where *yava* ends in *a* and *ūrmi* 'wave' has *m* in its *upadhā*. But these nominals, both, are part of the *yavādi* group. The nominals of the *yavādi* group are excluded so that a replacement in *v* for the initial of *matUP* can be blocked. Recall that such a replacement may, otherwise, become available. Note also that the *yavādi* is an 'open-ended' (*ākṛti*) group. That is, any nominal which meets the condition of *mād upadhāyāḥ*, but where a replacement in *v* for the *m* of *matUP* is not seen, can be included within the *yavādi* listing (*Kāś: akṛtavatvo matub yavādiṣu draṣṭavyaḥ. yasya sati nimitte matupo vatvaṃ na dṛśyate sa yavādiṣu draṣṭavyaḥ*). That is, any nominal with no replacement in *v* for *m* can be considered part of the *yavādi* listing.

Why do we not get a replacement in *v* in *nṛmata idam* = *nārmatam*? Given (*nṛ* + *Ṅas* + *matUP*) + *aṆ*)), where affix *aṆ* is introduced with the signification of *tasyedam* (4.3.120) 'that is his', we get a replacement in *vṛddhi*. This gives us: *nārmata*, where we get an *a* sound in the *upadhā*. But this *upadhā* qualification is facilitated by *vṛddhi* which, in turn, is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) by *aṆ*. This replacement in *v* is, of course, internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). The *vṛddhi* is considered suspended (*asiddha*) in view of replacement in *v*. This is why there is no *v*-replacement for the *m* of *matUP* in *nārmatam* = *narā asya santīti nṛmān; nṛmata idam* 'this belongs to one who has many men at his command'.

8.2.10 झयः

jhayaḥ
/jhayaḥ 5/1/
(*padasya* #8.16 *mator vaḥ* #9)
jhayantād uttarasya matoḥ 'va' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The *m* of *matUP* is replaced with *v* when *matUP* occurs after that which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaY* (*Śs*.8-12).

EXAMPLES:

agnicitvān grāmaḥ 'a village where they heap ritual fire'
udaśvitvān ghoṣaḥ 'a settlement of cow-herds rich in buttermilk'
vidyutvān balāhakaḥ 'cloud with lightning'
indro marutvān 'Indra, the lord of winds'
dṛṣadvān deśaḥ 'a place with pebbles in abundance'

1. Note that *matUP* of this rule must occur after a form which ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaY* (non-nasal stops). Refer to derivational details of *vidyutvān* 'possessing lightning' and *udaśvitvān* 'possessing butter-milk' under 1.4.19 *tasau matvarthe* (II:519-20). Recall that *agnicit* is assigned the term *bha* (1.4.19 *tasau matvarthe*). This blocks the assignment of the term *pada*. Consequently, 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* cannot replace the *t* of *agnicitvān* with *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*).

8.2.11 संज्ञायाम्

saṃjñāyām
/ *saṃjñāyām* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *mator vaḥ* #9)
saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye matoḥ 'va' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati
The initial sound, i.e., *m*, of *matUP*, is replaced with *v* when the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

ahīvatī 'name of a river'
kapīvatī 'ibidem'
ṛṣīvatī 'ibidem'
munīvatī 'ibidem'

1. Note that *matUP* of these derivates is introduced by 4.2.84 *nadyāṃ matup*. A long replacement for the short of *ahi* 'snake', *kapi* 'monkey' and *muni* 'sage' is ordered by 6.3.118 *śarādīnāṃ ca*. Finally, bases ending in *matUP* receive the feminine affix *ṄīP* (4.1.6 *ugitaś ca*).

8.2.12 आसन्दीवदष्ठीवच्चक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वच्चर्मण्वती

āsandīvadaṣṭhīvaccakrīvatkakṣīvadrumaṇvaccarmaṇvatī
/ *āsandīvad-aṣṭhīvac-cakrīvat-kakṣīvad-rumaṇvac-carmaṇvatī* (all specifications, except for the last, made with deleted nominative) /
(*saṃjñāyām* #11)
'*āsandīvat, aṣṭhīvat, cakrīvat, kakṣīvat, rumaṇvat, carmaṇvatī*' *ity etāni saṃjñāyāṃ nipātyante*
Forms such as *āsandīvat, aṣṭhīvat, cakrīvat, kakṣīvat, rumaṇvat* and *carmaṇvatī* are derived, via *nipātana*, when a name is signified.

EXAMPLES:

āsandīvat 'name of a place (village)'
aṣṭhīvat 'ibidem'
cakrīvat 'ibidem'
kakṣīvat 'ibidem'
rumaṇvat 'ibidem'
carmaṇvatī 'name of a river'

1. This rule is not formulated to offer a replacement in *v* for the *m* of *matUP*. Such a replacement is already made available by the preceding rule. Our present rule offers replacements to bases which occur before *matUP*, provided derivates denote a name. Thus, *āsana* is replaced with *āsandī* before *vat*, when *āsandīvat* is to denote a name. Similar replacement are ordered for other bases. Thus, *asthi*→ *aṣṭhī*; *cakra*→*cakrī*; *kakṣyā* →*kakṣyī*; *lavaṇa*→ *rumaṇ*.

Now the examples: (*āsana*→*āsandī*) *vat* = *āsandīvat*; (*asthi*→*aṣṭhī*) *vat* = *aṣṭhīvat*; (*cakra*→*cakrī*) *vat* = *cakrīvat*; (*kakṣyā* →*kakṣī*) *vat* = *kakṣīvat*; (*lavaṇa*→*rumaṇ*) *vat* = *rumaṇvat*; (*carman* →*carman*) *vat* = *carmaṇvat*. The feminine affix *ṄīP* can now be introduced after *carmaṇvat* to derive *carmaṇvatī*, name of a river. Notice how all derivates, except for one *carmaṇvatī*, are specified with deleted nominative singular. Derivational details of these forms are not offered because they have been shown derived, via *nipātana*.

These examples can refer to names of places: *āsandīvān grāmaḥ* 'a village named Āsandīvat', etc.

> *āsandīvati dhānyādaṃ rukmiṇaṃ haritasrajam/*
> *aśvaṃ babandha sāraṅgaṃ devebhyo janamejayaḥ//*
> 'Janamejaya, tied the corn-eating, variegated horse with white spot on its forehead, and green garlands around its neck, for gods at Āsandīvat'

Elsewhere, when the denotation is not a name, we will get: *āsanavān*, *asthimān*, *cakravān*, *kakṣyāvān*, *lavaṇavān* and *carmavatī*, respectively.

8.2.13 उदन्वानुदधौ च

> *udanvān udadhau ca*
> /*udanvān* 1/1 *udadhau* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
> (*saṃjñāyām* #11)
> '*udanvān*' *ity udakaśabdasya matāv udanbhāvo nipātyate udadhāv arthe saṃjñāyāṃ ca viṣaye*
> A form such as *udanvat* is derived, via *nipātana*, by replacing *udaka* 'water' with *udan*, when affix *matUP* follows and the derivate denotes an ocean, or a name.

EXAMPLES:

> *udanvān nāma ṛṣiḥ, yasyaudanvataḥ putraḥ* 'Udanvān is a sage whose son is named Audanvat'
> *udanvān* = *yasmin udakaṃ dhīyate* 'that in which water is held, i.e., an ocean'

1. This rule limits replacement of *udaka* with *udan* under the condition of two meanings: an ocean (*udadhi*; that in which water is held) and a name (*saṃjñā*). We thus get *udanvat* + *sU*→ *udanvān* which is the name of a sage. This same can also be used for 'ocean'. But consider *udakavān ghaṭaḥ* 'the jar (is) with water' where this replacement is not allowed. For, the idea of *dhāraṇa* 'containing, holding' is not expressed with the jar. What then is the expressed idea here? It is the idea of a general relationship with possible existence of water (*Kāś*: *udakasattā sambandhasāmānyam*) in the jar. The possibility of something else, i.e., grains, in the jar cannot be ruled out.

8.2.14 राजन्वान्सौराज्ये

rājanvān saurājye
/*rājanvān* 1/1 *saurājye* 7/1 = *śobhano rājā yasmin deśe sa* = *surājā* (*bv.*); *tasya karma* = *saurājyam* (a derivate of *ṢyaÑ*), *tasmin*/
'*rājanvān*' *iti nipātyate saurājye gamyamāne*
A form such as *rājanvān* is derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is *saurājya* 'good governance; good rule of a king'.

EXAMPLES:

rājanvān deśaḥ 'a place with a good king'
rājanvatī pṛthvī 'earth with a good king'

1. This rule derives *rājanvat* + *sU* → *rājanvān* when the derivate denotes *śobhano rājā yasmin* 'a place where the king is good'. Note that *n*-deletion (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ* . . .) is blocked here, via *nipātana*. Or else, augment *nUṬ* is introduced, via *nipātana*, after *n*-deletion has applied. Incidentally, affix *matUP* is introduced here in the sense of praise (*praśaṃsā*). Elsewhere, we will get *rājavat* + *sU* → *rājavān* 'royal'.

8.2.15 छन्दसीरः

chandasīraḥ
/*chandasi* 7/1 *iraḥ* 5/1 = *iś ca raś ca* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*mator vaḥ* #9)
chandasi viṣaye ivarṇāntād rephāntāc coccāritasya mator vatvaṃ bhavati
A replacement in *v* comes in place of initial sound of affix *matUP*, in the Vedic, provided *matUP* occurs after a nominal stem which ends in *i* or *r*.

EXAMPLES:

trivatī yājyānuvākyā bhavati
harivo medinaṃ tvā
adhipativatī juhoti
carur agnivān iva
ā revān etu mā viśat
sarasvatīvān
bhāratīvān
dadhīvāṃś caruḥ

1. This rule replaces the *m* of *matUP* with *v* when *matUP* occurs after a *pada* which ends in *i* or *r*. Consider *hari* + (*ma*+*nUṬ*+*t*(*UP*)) → *hari*(*m*→*v*) *an*(*t*→ϕ) = *harivan*, where *n* gets replaced with *rU* (8.3.1 *matuvaso ru* . . .). This *rU*, when used before *medinam*, is replaced with *u* (6.1.113 *haśi ca*). The vocalic sequence of *a*+*u* is then replaced with *o*. Thus, *hariva*(*n*→*rU*→*u*) =

hariv(au→o) = *harivo*. Also refer to notes under 8.2.2 *na mune*. Recall here that deletion of a conjunct-final consonant, i.e., *t* of *harivant*, is treated as *siddha* in view of application of 6.1.113 *haśi ca*. If it was treated as *asiddha* then 6.1.113 *haśi ca* could not apply. For, a following *t* could not have been denoted by *haŚ*. A replacement in *u* would thus have been blocked.

Now consider *revān* where, given *rayi* + (*ma+nUṬ+t(UP)*) = *rayi* + *mant*, we get *samprasāraṇa* (*vt*: *rayer mato bahulam*; ad 6.1.37 *na samprasāraṇe*. . .). Thus, *ra(y→i) imant* → *ra(i+i→i) mant* → *ra* + *i* + (*m→v*) *ant*→ *r(a+i→e) vant* = *revan(t→φ)* → *rev(a→ā) n* = *revān*. Refer to derivational details of *pūḥ* (III:758), under 3.2.177 *bhrājabhāsa*. . . . A similarly derived *dhūr*, with *matUP*, will yield *dhūrvān*. We similarly get *gīrvān* and *āśīrvān*, both derivates of *KvIP* with a following *matUP*. These serve as examples of *rephāntāt* 'after that which ends in *r*'. An *ir* (7.1.100 *ṝt id dhātoḥ*) as replacement for *ṝ*, where *i* of *ir* is further replaced with *ī* (8.2.76 *rvor upadhāyāḥ*), will yield *gīr*. Thus, *gīr* + *matUP* → *gīrvat* =*gīrvān*. We similarly get *āś(ā→i) s* + *KvIP* = *āś(i→ī) s* + *matUP*→ *āśī(s→r)* + *matUP* = *āśīrvat* = *āśīrvān*.

2. It is stated that, in the Vedic, all operations can be considered optional (*chandasi sarve vidhayo vikalpyante*). Thus we do not get a *v*-replacement in *saptarṣimantam*, *ṛṣimān*, *ṛtīmān* and *sūryaṃ te dyāvāpṛthivīmantam*.

8.2.16 अनो नुट्

ano nuṭ

/*anaḥ* 5/1 *nuṭ* 1/1/

(*matoḥ* #9 *chandasi* #15)

anantād uttarasya mator nuḍ āgamo bhavati chandasi viṣaye

A *matUP* which, in the Vedic, occurs after a nominal stem ending in *an* is augmented with *nUṬ*.

EXAMPLES:

akṣaṇvantaḥ kárṇavantaḥ sakhāyaḥ
asthanvantaṃ yad nastahā bibhártti
akṣaṇvatā lāṅgalena
śīrṣaṇvatī
mūrdhanvatī

1. Consider *akṣi* + *Ṭā*, where *anAṄ* is introduced (7.1.76 *chandasy api dṛśyate*) to yield (*akṣ(i→ an(AṄ)* + *Ṭā*)) + *matUP*))) = *akṣan* + (*Ṭā→φ*) + *matUP* → *akṣa(n→φ)* + *mat(UP→φ)* = *akṣa* + (*nUṬ* + *mat*) = *akṣan(m→v) at* → *akṣanvat* + *Ṭā* → *akṣa(n→ṇ) vat* + (*Ṭ→φ*) *ā* → *akṣaṇvatā* 'by one who possesses eyes'. Recall that *anAṄ* replaces the final *i* of *akṣi*, and *n* of resultant *akṣan* goes through deletion by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. Note that *nUṬ* becomes *asiddha* 'suspended' in replacing the *m* of *matUP* with *v*. If *nUṬ* is not treated as *asiddha*, *v* will replace the *n* of *nmatUP*. This will happen because *nUṬ* will

then be treated as part of *matUP*. *Kāśikā*, therefore, remarks: *nuṭo' siddhatvāt tasya ca vatvaṃ na bhavati, tataḥ parasya ca bhavati nUṬ*, as part of *matUP*, is not replaced with *v* on account of becoming *asiddha* 'suspended; the *m* which follows is then replaced with *v*'. Refer to derivational details of *asthanvantam* under 7.1.76 *chandasy api*. . . . Recall here that *śīrṣan* of *śīrṣaṇvatī* is derived, via *nipātana*, under rule 6.1.59 *śīrṣaṃś chandasi*. Affix *ṄīP* (4.1.4 *ugitaś ca*) is then introduced to derive *śīrṣaṇvatī*.

8.2.17 नाद्घस्य

nād ghasya
/ *nāt* 5/1 *ghasya* 6/1/
(*chandasi* #15 *nuṭ* #16)
nakārāntād uttarasya ghasaṃjñakasya nuḍ āgamo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
That which is termed a *gha*, and occurs after that which ends in *n*, is augmented with *nUṬ* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

supathintaraḥ 'with a better road among two'
dasyuhantamam 'most killer of bandits among two'

1. Recall that affixes *taraP* and *tamaP* are termed *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*). Consider *supathin* + *taraP* = *supathi*(*n*→ϕ) + *tara* = *supathi* + *tara*, where 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya* deletes *n*. Augment *nUṬ* is then introduced to produce *supathi* + *nUṬ* + *tara* = *supathintara* + *sU* = *supathintaraḥ*. We similarly derive *dasyuhantama* + *sU* → *dasyuhantamaḥ*, where *dasyuhan* is derived with *KvIP*, parallel to *dasyuṃ hatavān* 'killed demons, bandits'.

Note that the rule which deletes *n* is also contained within the *tripādī*. The question is: *n*-deletion before *nUṬ*; or *nUṬ* before *n*-deletion. For, the condition of, 'after that which occurs after *n* cannot be made after *n*-deletion'. It is for this reason that *n*-deletion applies first but is treated as *asiddha* for introduction of *nUṬ*.

2. The following are two *vārttika* proposals:

(*i*) Augment *tUṬ* is to be introduced to *taraP* and *tamaP* when they occur after *bhūridāvan* 'a generous giver' (*vanIP*; 3.2.74 *āto maninkvani*. . .). Thus, we get *bhūri dadāti* = *bhūridāvattaraḥ* 'comparatively better among two plentiful givers'.

(*ii*) The final of *rathin* 'charioteer' is replaced with a long *ī* before affixes termed *gha*. Thus, *rathi*(*n*→ϕ) + *tara* = *rath*(*i*→*ī*) + *tara* = *rathītara* + *sU* = *rathītaraḥ* 'comparatively better charioteer'. It is also suggested that *n* itself can be replaced with *ī* at the strength of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*, thereby blocking *n*-deletion. The form *rathī* can still be derived via *savarṇadīrgha*. One can also introduce affix *ī* after *ratha* in the sense of *matUP*, thereby deriving *rathī* (*Kāś*: *rathaśabdād eva vā matvarthīyo' yam īkāraḥ*).

8.2.18 कृपो रो लः

kṛpo ro laḥ
/*kṛpaḥ* 6/1 *raḥ* 6/1 *laḥ* 1/1/
kṛper dhāto rephasya lakārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *l* comes in place of *r* of verbal root *kṛpA* 'to be capable'.

EXAMPLES:

kalptā 'nominative singular; one who will fashion'
kalptārau 'nominative dual . . .'
kalptāraḥ 'nominative plural . . .'
kḷptaḥ 'capable . . .'
kḷptavān 'he became capable . . .'

1. This rule introduces *l* as a replacement for *r* of verbal root *kṛpA*. It is accepted that *ṛ* also contains *r*. This *r*, in relation to *ṛ*, is called *rephaśruti* 'the *r* which is heard in *ṛ*'. A replacement in *l*, for purposes of this rule, comes in place of *r* in general. That is, the *r* which one gets in *ar* as a *guṇa* replacement of *ṛ* and the *r* which is contained within *ṛ* (*Kāś*: *tena yaḥ kevalo rephaḥ yaś ca ṛkāraḥ tayor dvayor api grahaṇam*). Thus, we get *kalptā, kalptārau, kalptāraḥ*, etc., where *ṛ* of *kṛpA* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*, i.e., *ar*, before the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*). Instances, such as *kḷptaḥ* and *kḷptavān* where we do not get a replacement in *guṇa*, involve a replacement in *l* for the *r* (*rephaśruti*) of *ṛ*. The *ṛ* of *kṛpA* thus gets replaced with *ḷ*, via modification of the *r* part of *ṛ* (*Kāśikā*: *ṛkārasyāpi ekadeśavikāradvāreṇa ḷkāraḥ*). That is *kḷpA* yields the form *klpA*. Refer to derivational details of these examples under 1.3.93 *luṭi ca kḷpaḥ* (II:498-99).

2. Note that *kṛpaḥ* of this rule does not include any reference to *krapA* 'to move' of *kṛpā* 'compassion'. Verbal root *krapA* is listed in the *bhidādi* group (3.3.104 *ṣidbhidādibhyo' aṅ*), by way of its derived nominal *kṛpā*. Recall that *kṛpā* is derived from (*krapA* + *aṄ*), where *ra* of *krapA* is replaced with *ṛ*, via *samprasāraṇa* (cf. *Gaṇasūtra*: *krapeḥ samprasāraṇaṃ ca*, ad 3.3.104). This replacement in *ṛ*, which derives *kṛpā*, should not create any confusion about reference to *kṛpA* of this rule. Why? Because the *ṛ* of *krapA* results out of rule-application (*lākṣaṇikatvāt*; *Kāś*:. . . *kṛtasamprasāraṇasya lākṣaṇikatvāt iha kṛpa iti grahaṇaṃ nāsti*).

A proposal, in the *Mahābhāṣya*, accepts *kṛpaṇa* 'miserly', *kṛpīṭa* 'firewood' and *karpūra* 'camphor', etc., as derivates of *krapA*. If one insists on accepting these forms as derivates of *kṛpA*, one must also accept that *kṛpA* is saved from a replacement in *l* on account of 3.3.1 *uṇādayo bahulam*.

A *vārttika* (*vt*: *bālamūlalaghvasurālamaṅgulīnām vā ro lam āpadyate*) makes the *l*-replacement of *r* optional in words such as *bālaḥ* 'child', *mūlam* 'root', *laghuḥ* 'small, short', *asuraḥ* 'demon', *alam* 'enough, able' and *aṅguliḥ* 'finger'. We thus also get *mūram, bāraḥ, raghuḥ, asulaḥ, aram* and *aṅguriḥ*. This op-

tional provision can be read also as: whatever *r* or *l* is there, it gets replaced with *r* or *l*. Thus, *bālaḥ* → *bāraḥ*; *bāraḥ* → *bālaḥ*, etc.

Yet another *vārttika* (*vt*: *kapilādīnāṃ saṃjñāchandasor vā ro lam āpadyate*) proposal makes *l*-replacement optional in the Vedic, i.e., *lomāni* 'hair, pores', *pāṃsulam* 'dust, pollen', etc., or in names such as *kapilakaḥ*, *tilpilīkam*, etc.

Some, however, claim that *r* and *l* are the same. That is, these two share a general scope (*sāmānya-viṣayatvam*) of usage.

8.2.19 उपसर्गस्यायतौ

upasargasyāyatau
/*upasargasya* 6/1 *ayatau* 1/2 = 7/1/
(*ro laḥ* #17)
ayatau parata upasargasya yo rephas tasya lakāra ādeśo bhavati
The *r* of an *upasarga* 'preverb', when used with verbal root *ayA* 'to go', is replaced with *l*.

EXAMPLES:

plāyate 'goes away'
palāyate 'ibidem'
palyayate 'ibidem'

1. Note that *upasargasya ayatau*, when read with *raḥ* of the *anuvṛtti*, is interpreted in two ways: (*i*) *ayataḥ* is a qualifier to *r*: *ayati parasya rephasya*; *sa ced upasargasya* 'in place of *r* followed by *ayA*, provided *r* is part of an *upasarga*; and (*ii*) *ayataḥ* is a qualifier to *upasargasya*: *ayatiparasya upasargasya yo rephas tasya* . . . 'the *r* of an *upasarga* which (the *upasarga*) *ayA* follows'. We will get the following paraphrase with the first view: *ayatau parato yo repha upasarga-sambandhī tasya*: '*l* comes in place of that *r* which is part of an *upasarga* followed by *ayA*'. The second view will yield the following paraphrase: *ayatau parato ya upasargas tasya yo rephas tasya* . . . '*l* comes in place of the *r* of that *upasarga* which *ayA* follows'. Verbal root *ayA* is marked with *anudātta* as an *it*. Consequently, it is used with verbal endings termed *ātmanepadam* 'middle' (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*). Then an objection: why do we get *parasmaipadam* 'active' in *udayati* of *udayati vitatordhvaraśmirajjau* 'at the time when sun, who weaves over us a canopy of ray-threads, arises'? What purpose could be served by this question? Haradatta retorts, 'what purpose could be served by this cleansing of a wild-elephant' (*PM*: *kim anena vanyagajaśaucena*). We are hear talking about two views of interpreting this rule, and not whether *udayati* should have an *ātmanepada*.

If *ayati* is treated as a qualifier to *r*, *r* becomes the primary focus of operation (*PM*: *kāryitvena pradhānatvāt*). This means that *ayA* must follow *r* immediately. Given *pra* + *ay*(*A*) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *pra* + *ay* + (*Ś*) *a*(*P*) + *ti*(*P*) = *pra* + *ay* + *a* + *t*(*i*→) = *pra* + *ay* + *a* + *te*, we get *p*(*r*→*l*) *a* + *āyate* → *plāyate*. How could we get

a replacement in *l* when, in doing that, we get *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced' (1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*). This *sthānivadbhāva* will cause *r* to be intervened by *a* before *ayA*. But this intervention, since it is caused by a single whole specified as *upasarga*, should not block the replacement in *l*. Why? That (one sound segment) by means of which non-interruption is specified, an operation (such as a replacement in *l*) would still be performed when an interruption by that occurs' (*Kāś*: *yena nāvyavadhānaṃ tena vyavahite' pi vacanaprāmāṇyāt*). A replacement in *l* will thus be accomplished when there is an interruption by one sound segment. This is done at the strength of the statement itself (*vacana-prāmāṇyāt*). Now consider *pari-ayA* + (*ŚaP*) + (*LAṬ*→*te*)) = *par*(*i*→*y*) + *ayate* → *pa*(*r*→*l*)*yayate* →*palyayate*, where we get a replacement in *l*, also when interruption of one sound segment is not realized, via *sthānivadbhāva*. It is realized, instead, via a sound segment, i.e., *y*, which is actually heard in usage (*śrūyamāṇenaiva varṇena laukikaṃ vyavadhānam*). The first interpretation thus accomplishes everything desired.

Now consider *prati-ayA* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*te*) → *prat*(*i*→*y*) + *ay* + *a* + *te* = *pratyayate* where, according to some, *r* of *prati* can be replaced with *l* to yield *p*(*r*→*l*) *atyayate* = *platyayate*. This can be accomplished by accepting the second interpretation of *upasargasyāyayatau*. Recall that *ayati*, in the second view, is treated as a qualifier to the preverb (*upasarga*). Those who accept the first view will only accept *pratyayate*. Still others believe that *ayA* with *prati* is not found in usage (*Kāś*: *prathamapakṣadarśanābhiniviṣṭās tu pratyayata ity eva bhavatīti manyante. apare tu pratiśabdasyopasṛṣṭasyāyateḥ prayogam eva necchanti*).

Recall that *rU* as a replacement (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*) for *s*, of *nis* and *dus* in *ni*(*s*→*rU*) + *ayaṇam* = *nirayaṇam* and *du*(*s*→*rU*) + *ayaynam* = *durayaṇam*, will become *asiddha* 'suspended'. Consequently, *l* as a replacement for *r* could never be accomplished.

8.2.20 ग्रो यङि

gro yaṅi
/*graḥ* 6/1 *yaṅi* 7/1/
(*ro laḥ* #17)
'*gṝ* *ity etasya dhāto rephasya lakāra ādeśo bhavati yaṅi parataḥ*
A replacement in *l* comes in place of *r* of verbal root *gṝ* 'to swallow' when affix *yaṄ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

nijegilyate 'third singular middle derivate of *yaṄ* in *LAṬ*; 'swallows over and over again; swallows in a bad manner''
nijegilyete 'third dual . . .'
nijegilyante 'third plural . . .'

1. This rule allows *l* as a replacement of *r* which, in turn, develops from *gṝ*, especially when affix *yaṄ* (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco* . . .) 'intensive' follows. Consider *nijegilyate, nijegilyete* and *nijegiyante*. Recall that 3.1.24 *lupasadacara* . . . introduces *yaṄ* under the denotation of *bhāvagarhā* 'censure of root-sense'. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.24 *lupasadacara* . . . (II:713-14) for derivational details.

Some state that *gṝ* must refer to both *girati* (the *tudādi* root *gṝ*) and *gṛṇāti* (the *kryādi* root *gṝ*) in general. Others do not accept any reference to *kryādi* roots. They argue that no usage of this *kryādi* root with *yaṄ* is found.

2. Why do we state the condition of *yaṅi* 'when *yaṄ* follows'? Consider *nigīryate* '. . . is swallowed' where no replacement in *l* is allowed. For, *ya* is not affix *yaṄ*. It is the *sārvadhātuka* affix *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*), instead.

8.2.21 अचि विभाषा

aci vibhāṣā
/*aci* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/
(*ro laḥ* #18 *graḥ* #20)
ajādau pratyayae parato gro rephasya vibhāṣā lakārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *l* comes, optionally, in place of *ṝ* of verbal root *gṝ*, when a vowel-initial affix follows.

EXAMPLES:

nigirati '. . . swallows'
nigilati 'ibidem'
nigaraṇam 'swallowing'
nigalanam 'ibidem'
nigārakaḥ 'he who swallows'
nigālakaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *aci*, the locative singular form of *ac* 'vowel' (*aci*), is interpreted as: 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows'. Commentators explain that *aci* is used to indicate an affix which may follow verbal root *gṝ*. We get this indication from express use of verbal root *gṝ* in the ablative (*pañcamī*). That is, (*PM*): *dhātoḥ svarūpagrahaṇe tatpratyaye kāryavijñānāt pratyayaḥ sannidhāpitaḥ* 'an express mention of the form of a *dhātu* 'verbal root' indicates an operation relative to an affix introduced after it'. The word *aci* thus specifies an affix which, with the help of *tadādividhi* 'interpreting a specification made with *x* as that which begins with *x*', refers to an affix beginning with a vowel (*PM*: *tasyācā viśeṣaṇāt tadādividhir vijñāyate*).

Note that the optional provision of this rule is considered *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. That is, we get *galaḥ* 'neck', obligatorily (*nitya*), when the derivate denotes a limb of living beings (*prāṇyaṅga*). This obligatory replacement in *l* is not found when the derivate denotes *garaḥ* 'poison' (*viṣa*).

2. Consider *ni-gṝ + a + ti = nigarati, niga(r→l) ati = nigalati*; and *nigaraṇam*,

nigalanam, where the second set of examples are derivates of *LyuṬ* (3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca*). Note that, given *ni-gṝ* + *a* + *ti*, *ṝ* of the root does not go through a replacement in *guṇa*. Rule 7.1.100 *ṝta id dhātoḥ* replaces it with *i* (*ir*, 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*), instead. We also get *nigārakaḥ* and *nigālakaḥ*, derivates of affix *ṆvuL* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*), where the root goes through a replacement in *vṛddhi* (7.2.115 *aco' ñṇiti*).

Now consider (*ni-g*(*ṝ*→*ār*) + (*ṆiC*→ϕ)) + *yaK* + (*LAṬ*→*te*))) = *nigāryate* and *nigālyate*, where *r* should not be replaced with *l*. For, the affix which follows does not begin with a vowel. This replacement is still made possible because deletion of *ṆiC* is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended'. But this *asiddhatva* is negated by the interpretive convention, or *vārttika* proposal: *pūrvatrāsiddhe na sthānivat* 'a replacement is not considered as what it replaced with reference to the scope of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*'. This negation itself is not without exceptions (*Kāś*: *etad api sāpavādam eva*). It does not hold good when operations relative to 'initial conjunct deletion' (*saṃyogādilopa*), 'replacement in *l*' (*latva*), and 'replacement in *ṇ*' (*atva*; *Kāś*: '*tasya doṣaḥ saṃyogādilopa-latva-ṇatveṣu*') are to be performed. One can also apply optional *l*-replacement first, since it will be internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) by *ṆiC*. The affix can then be subsequently deleted (*Kāś*: *anatraṅgād vā kṛte vikalpe ṇilopo bhaviṣyati*). Why do we not get *l*-replacement in the nominative dual and plural forms *girau* and *giraḥ*? A specification of *l*-replacement made with express mention of the form of a root expects the affix to be introduced after the root (*Kāś*: *dhātoḥ svarūpagrahaṇe tatpratyaye kāryavijñānam*). What we have here are affixes introduced after a nominal stem.

8.2.22 परेश्च घाङ्कयोः

pareś ca ghāṅkayoḥ
/*pareḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *gha-aṅkayoh* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*ro laḥ* #18 *vibhāṣā* #21)
'*pari*' *ity etasya yo rephas tasya ghaśabde' ṅkaśabde ca parato vibhāṣa lakāra ādeśo bhavati*
The *r* of *pari* is, optionally, replaced with *l* when *gha* (of *han* 'to kill') and *aṅka* 'curve' follow.

EXAMPLES:

parighah 'iron bar'
palighaḥ 'ibidem'
paryaṅkaḥ 'bed, couch'
palyaṅkaḥ 'ibidem'

1. Note that *aṅka* refers to word-form *aṅka*. Consequently, *gha*, based on its associated (*sāhacarya*) specification with the form of the word *aṅka* (*svarūpa-grahaṇa*), should also be interpreted as referring to its word-form

gha. This *gha* is then interpreted as a replacement of verbal root *han* (3.3.84 *parau ghaḥ*). It does not refer to items assigned the term *gha* (1.1.22 *taraptamapau ghaḥ*).

Consider *parighaḥ*, where affix *aP* (3.3.84 *parau ghaḥ*) is introduced after verbal root *han* under the cooccurrence condition of *pari* as an *upapada* 'conjoined *pada*'. Verbal root *han* is also concurrently replaced with *gha*, in toto (1.1.55 *anekālśit sarvasya*). The *a* of *gha* then goes through *ṭi*-deletion (6.4.143 *ṭeḥ*). We thus get *parigha* + *sU* = *parighaḥ*.

Note that *aṅka* is derived with affix *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahipacādy*...) introduced after verbal root *akI*. This root, since it is marked with *I* as an *it*, receives augment *nUM*. Thus, *akI* + *aC* → *a*+*nUM*+*k*(*I*→φ) + *aC* → *aṅka*. A compound with *pari* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*) is then formed to yield *par*(*i*→*y*) + *aṅka* = *paryaṅka*. An optional replacement of *r* with *l* will give us: *palyaṅka*.

2. A *vārttika* (*vt*: *yoge ceti ca vaktavyam*) proposal is made to allow this replacement also where *pari* is combined with *yoga*. Thus, *pariyogaḥ* and *paliyogaḥ*.

8.2.23 संयोगान्तस्य लोपः

saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ
/*saṃyogāntasya* 6/1 = *saṃyogo' nte yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16)
saṃyogāntasya padasya lopo bhavati
A deletion by *LOPA* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *pada* which ends in a conjunct (*saṃyoga*).

EXAMPLES:

gomān 'rich in cows; that where the cows are'
yavamān 'rich in barley; that where the barley is'
kṛtavān '... made'
hṛtavān '... carried'

1. Note that *padasya* is carried. A specification with *saṃyogasya*, with no *anta* as part of this rule, could still give us the meaning of *saṃyogāntasya padasya*. This will be possible by qualifying *padasya* with *saṃyogasya*, via *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting *x* (*pada*), as also that which ends in *x* (*saṃyoga*)'. Why is the word *anta* used at the end of *saṃyoga*? For clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

2. Consider *gomant* + *sU* → *gomān* and *yavamant* + *sU* → *yavamān*, where *gomant* derives from *go* + *mat*(*UP*) → *go* + *ma* + *n*(*UM*) + *t* = *gomant*. The final of the conjunct, i.e., *t*, goes through deletion to yield: *goman* + *s*. The penultimate *vṛddhi* of *a* in *gomat* is accomplished by rule 6.4.14 *atvasantasya cādhātoḥ*. The *s* of *sU* is, of course, subject to deletion of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*.... Note here that *n* does not go through deletion. Refer to derivational details of many *matUP* examples already discussed. Augment *nUM* is, of course, intro-

duced by 7.1.70 *ugid acāṃ*. . . . The *a* of *goman*(*t*→ϕ) → *gom*(*a*→*ā*) *n* will be replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.14 *atvasantasya cādhātoḥ*). Refer to the appendix (II:337-39) for derivational details of examples with affix *KtavatU*.

Now consider *śreyas* + *sU* → *śreyān*, where *śreyas* derives with affix *īyasUN*, from *praśasya* + *īyasUN* → (*praśasya*→*śra*) + *īyas*(*UN*→ϕ) = *śr*(*a*+*i*→*e*)*yas* = *śreyas*, with a replacement in *śra* for *praśasya* (5.3.60 *praśasyasya śraḥ*) and application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. Augmnent *nUM* is then introduced to the *aṅga*, i.e., *śreyas* + *sU*, before an affix termed *sarvanāmasthāna* (7.1.70 *ugid acām*. . .). Rule 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . then deletes *sU* to yield *śreyans* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *śreyans*. Rule 6.4.10 *sāntamahataḥ saṃyogasya* then applies to replace the penultimate short *a* with its long counterpart before the conjunct. We thus get: *śrey*(*a*→*ā*) *ns* = *śreyāns*. One may here think of applying rule 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* to replace the final *s* with *rU*. But this application of *rU*, even though subsequent, is blocked because of *asiddhatva* 'suspension' (*Kāś*: *iha* '*śreyān*, *bhūyān*' *iti rutvaṃ param apy asiddhatvāt saṃyogāntasya lopaṃ na bādhate*). Our present rule then applies to delete the final *s* of *śreyāns*. We thus get *śreyān*(*s*→ϕ) = *śreyān*.

Now consider yet another instance of a replacement in *rU*. Given *payas* + *sU*, we get *paya*(*s*→*rU*) = *payar* after *sU*-deletion (6.1.68). Rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* will here require the final *s* of *payas* to be replaced with a sound denoted by *jaŚ*. This replacement in *jaŚ* is blocked by *rU*. It can be argued here as to why a subsequent *rU* cannot block *jaŚ* in a manner similar to its not blocking *saṃyogānta-lopa* 'deletion of a conjunct final consonant on the basis of *asiddhatva*'. That is, one must apply a replacement in *jaŚ* in *payas* and *yaśas*, against *rU*. It is explained that this provision of replacement in *rU* (*rutva*) is made irrespective of whether conjunct deletion obtains (as it does in *śreyān*, etc.) or does not (as it does not obtain in *payas*). It is noted that *rutva* is initiated in view of *jaśtva* obtaining everywhere (*sarvatra*). That is, if this *rU* (*rutva*), even though subsequent in order, does not block conjunct deletion on grounds of suspension (*asiddhatva*), it, on similar basis, should also not block a replacement in *jaŚ* (*jaŚ*). Thus, we must get *jaŚ*, as against *rU*, as a replacement in *payaḥ* 'milk' and *yaśaḥ* 'fame'. But this will run us into problems. It is explained that the rule which replaces *s* with *rU* is formulated irrespective of whether, or not, deletion of the final consonant of a conjunct obtains. Thus, it obtains in *śreyān* but does not in *payaḥ* and *yaśaḥ*. It is appropriate then that *rU* does not block conjunct deletion. The rule which offers a replacement in *jaŚ* is formulated based upon its application everywhere (*sarvatra*), including the scope of *rU*. Consequently, *rU*, in order for carving out its domain of application, should block a replacement in *jaŚ* (*Kāś*: *jaśtve tu nāprāpte tad ārabhyata iti tasya bādhakaṃ bhavati* 'that which (*rU*) is proposed under the obligatory replacement condition of that (a sound denoted by *jaŚ*), that (*rU*) blocks that (*jaśtva*').

Why is the final of a conjunct, i.e., *y*, not deleted in *dadhy atra* 'yoghurt (is) here' and *maddhv atra* 'honey (is) here'? This deletion of the final of a conjunct is blocked because of *asiddhatva* 'suspension' provision of externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) replacement in *yaṆ*. Deletion of the final of a conjunct, because of a single *pada* as its locus, is treated as internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*).

8.2.24 रात्सस्य

rāt sasya
/*rāt* 5/1 *sasya* 6/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ* #23)
saṃyogāntapadasya yo rephas tasmād uttarasyāntasya sakārasya lopo bhavati
A final *s* which, in a *pada* ending in a conjunct, occurs after *r* goes though deletion by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

mātuḥ 'genitive singular of *mātṛ* (mother)'
pituḥ 'genitive singular of *pitṛ* (father)'
gobhir akṣāḥ '. . . wandered with cows'
pratyañcam atsāḥ '. . . moved behind'

1. This rule deletes a final *s* which, in a *pada* ending in a conjunct, occurs after *r*. Note here that *saṃyogāntaṃ padam* is a qualifier to *r* (*repha*). That is why *r* is treated as part of the *pada* which ends in a conjunct. The *r* itself is construed as a qualifier to *s*. That is why *s*, construed as occurring after *r*, in view of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*, goes through deletion as final of the conjunct-final *pada*. Recall that this deletion could be accomplished by the preceding rule. This new formulation, against one already made available, is here made for restrictive purposes (*Kāś*: *siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*). This deletion applies only to that *s* which occurs after *r*, and not to any other (*Kāś*: *rāt sasyaiva lopo bhavati, nānyasyeti*). *Nyāsa* reminds that this restrictive provision should not be understood inversely as *rād eva sasya* '*s*-deletion should occur only after *r*'. For, rule 5.4.151 *uraḥprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . . enumerates *pumān*, after accomplishing *s*-deletion in *pumāns*, in the list headed by *uras* 'chest'. If *s*-deletion could only be accomplished after *r* we could not get *s*-deletion in *pumāns* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *rād eva sasya ity eṣa tu viparītaniyamo' tra nāśaṅkanīyaḥ; uraḥprabhṛtiṣu pumān iti kṛtasaṃyogāntasya lopasya puṃśabdasya pāṭhāt*).

Note that this deletion cannot apply to the *KvIP*-derivate *urk* (of *ūrj*), where *k*, and not *s*, occurs after *r*. It can similarly not apply to *ṭ* which occurs in the *LUṄ*-derivate of verbal root *mṛj* 'to wipe', namely *amārṭ*.

Refer to *hotuḥ* (6.1.110 *ṛt ut*) for deriving *mātuḥ* and *pituḥ* from *mātṛ* + *Ṅas* and *pitṛ* + *Ṅas*. Recall that a sequence of *ṛ* and *a* of *mātṛ* + *Ṅas* and *pitṛ* + *Ṅas* is replaced with *uT*, followed by *r* (*rapara*; 6.1.110 *ṛt ut*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*).

The *s* of *māt(ṛ+a) →ur) s* = *māturs* is then deleted by this rule. The next two examples, i.e., *akṣāḥ* and *atsāḥ* of *gobhir akṣāḥ* and *pratyañcam atsāḥ*, are derivates of *LAṄ*. Given *kṣar* + (*LAṄ→tiP*) → *aṬ* + *kṣar* + *sIC* + *tiP*, *a* of *kṣar* goes through a replacement in *vṛddhi* (7.2.2 *ato lrāntasya*). Additonally, *tiP* goes through deletion of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . Given *a(Ṭ)* + *kṣ(a→ā)r* + *s(IP→ϕ)* + (*tiP→ϕ*) = *akṣārs*, this rule deletes *s*, and *r* is subsequently replaced with *ḥ* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor*. . .). We thus get *akṣā(r→ḥ)* = *akṣāḥ*. Deriving *atsāḥ* from *tsar* + *LUṄ* should not be difficult. Note that *iṬ* is blocked in these examples in accord with 7.3.97 *bahulaṃ chandasi*. These forms can be derived only when there is a long replacement (*Kāś*: *dīrghe sati rūpam etat*). Incidentally, *Kāśikā*'s statement with *dīrghe sati* does not make much sense. It should be *vṛddhau satyām* 'when *vṛddhi* is accomplished'.

8.2.25 धि च

dhi ca
/*dhi* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*lopaḥ* #23 *sasya* #24)
dhakārādau pratyaye parataḥ sakārasya lopo bhavati
A *s* is deleted by *LOPA* when an affix beginning with *dh* follows *s*.

EXAMPLES:

alavidhvam 'second person plural middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *lū* 'to cut'; 'you all cut''
alaviḍhvam 'ibidem'
apavidhvam 'second person singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *pūÑ* 'to cleanse'; 'you all purified''
apaviḍhvam 'ibidem'

1. This rule allows *s*-deletion when an affix beginning with *dh* follows. Consider *a(Ṭ)* + *lū* + *i(Ṭ)* + *s(IC)* + *dhvam* = *alavidhvam* and *a(Ṭ)* + *pū* + *i(Ṭ)* + *s(IC)* + *dhvam* = *apavidhvam*, both second person plural derivates of *LUṄ* in the middle (*ātmanepada*), where the root-final vowel *ū* is replaced with *av*, via its *guṇa* counterpart *o*. The *s* of *s(IC)* can now be deleted before *dh* of *dhvam*. This gives us *al(ū→o→av)* + *i(Ṭ)* + *dhvam* = *alavidhvam*. We similarly get *apavidhvam*. We will get (*aṬ* + (*lū→o→av*)) + (*CLI→sIC→ϕ*))) + (*dh→ḍh*)))) *vam* = *alaviḍhvam* and *apavi*(*dh→ḍh*) *vam* = *apaviḍhvam* if *dh* is optionally replaced with *ḍh* (8.3.79 *vibhāṣeṭaḥ*). If this deletion of *s* was not accomplished, we may not hear *dh*, even when the option of replacing it with *ḍh* is not accepted. For, *s* will then be replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*). This *ṣ* will then go through a replacement in *ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). This, in turn, will replace *dh* with *ḍh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). The *s* is deleted here so that *dh* is heard, even when the option of retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) replacement is accepted.

Kāśikā offers an *iṣṭi* 'desideratum' whereby deletion of *s* of *sIC*, and not any other, becomes desired (*Kāś*: *itaḥ prabhṛti sicaḥ sakārasya lopa iṣyate*). Consider *cakāddhi* of *cakāddhi palitaṃ śiraḥ* 'the bald head glowed'. Thus, *s* cannot be deleted in *cakās*(*R̥*) + *si*(*P*) = *cakās* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *si* → *cakās* + (*si*→*hi*) → *cakās* + (*hi*→*dhi*) → *cakā*(*s*→*d*) + *dhi* = *cakāddhi* 'second person singular *LOṬ*-derivate of *cakāsṛ* 'to glow'. Recall that *ŚaP* after *cakās*(*R̥*) is deleted because of its listing as *adādi* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*). The *si* is replaced with *dhi* (6.4.101 *hujhalyo her dhiḥ*), via *hi* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*). The *s* of *cakās* also goes through a replacement in *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). This deletion of *s* will also not be available in *payaḥ* of *payo dhāvati*, etc. Note that deletion of *s* in *sagdhiḥ* and *babdhām* is *chāndas* 'Vedic' (2.4.39 *bahulaṃ chandasi*). Refer to derivational details of *sagdhiḥ* and *babdhām* under the appendix of 1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana* . . . (II:410-12).

The author of the *Mahābhāṣya* notes that *cakāddhi* is a regular form. That is, *s*-deletion should be offered as a general provision. This requires some special efforts whereby it can be made available also to *payo dhāvati*, etc. It is explained that a replacement in *rU*, since its locus is a single *pada*, is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). Deletion of *s*, due to its dependency on two *padas*, is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*). Consequently, because of the *asiddhatva* of *s*-deletion, replacement in *u* alone will apply. This *rU*, in the absence of *sthānivadbhāva*, and also because of *alvidhi* 'operation relative to a sound segment' (1.1.56 *sthānivad ādeśo' nalvidhau*), cannot be deleted. Consider the following *ślokavārttika* which summarizes this all:

> *dhi sakāre sico lopaś cakāddhīti prayojanam/*
> *āśādhvaṃ tu kathaṃ jaśtvaṃ sakārasya bhaviṣyati//*
> *sarvam evaṃ prasiddhaṃ syāc chrutiś cāpi na vidyate/*
> *luṅaś cāpi na mūrdhanye grahaṇaṃ seṭi duṣyati//*
> *ghasibhasor na sidhyeta tasmāt sijgrahaṇaṃ na tat/*
> *chāndaso varṇalopo vā yatheṣkarttāram adhvare//*
>
> 'this rule is intended for deletion of *s* of *sIC* before *dhi* so that *s* of *cakāddhi* could be saved; how would you then derive *āśādhvam*? By (not deleting, but) replacing *s* with *d* (*jaśtva*); if this is so then let this replacement in *jaŚ* be made generally applicable; this, however, will shorten 8.3.78 *iṇaḥ ṣīdhvam* . . . with no mention of *LUṄ*; *jaŚ* cannot be made general since it will create difficulty in roots with *iṬ* (*seṬ*) in *LUṄ*; derivates with *ghasI* and *bhas* (*sagdhiḥ*/*babdhām*) cannot be derived if *s*-deletion is limited to *sIC*; *s*-deletion in *sagdhiḥ* and *babdhām* is *chāndas*; for, a sound segment can be dropped, as *n* of *niṣkarttāram* in *iṣkarttāram*'

2. According to the author of the *vārttikas*, rule 8.2.25 *dhi ca* accomplishes deletion of *s* of *sIC* (cf.: *dhisakāre sico lopaḥ* 'deletion of *s*, via *LOPA*, when *dhi* follows'). This deletion applies only to the *s* of *sIC*, and not to any other *s*. The purpose of this statement is to facilitate derivation of *cakāddhi*. Thus,

cakās 'to glow', when introduced with *LOṬ→siP*, produces the string: *cakās* + (*siP→hi*) → *cakās* + *ŚaP* + *hi*→ *cakās* + (*ŚaP→LUK*) + *hi* (6.4.101 *hujhalyor her dhiḥ*). We thus get *cakās* + (*hi→dhi*) = *cakā*(*s*→ϕ) + *dhi* = **cakādhi*, if there is *s*-deletion of a non-*sIC*. We will get *cakā*(*s→d*) + *dhi* = *cakāddhi*, the correct form, if there is no *s*-deletion of a non-*sIC*. The *s* is then replaced with *d* by 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*.

If it is accepted that *s* of *sIC* alone is deleted, we run into problems in deriving *āśādhvam*. Thus, *āṄ* + *śās* + (*LOṬ→ dhvam*) = *āśās* + *dv*(*am→e*) = *āśās* + *dhve* (3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ* . . .). This string goes through a change, again, with application 3.4.91 *savābhyāṃ vāmau*, thereby producing: *āśās* + *dhv*(*e→am*) = *āśās* + *dhvam*. If we accept *s*-deletion of a non-*sIC*, we will get *āśadhvam*. A non-deletion of non-*sIC* will produce the form *āśāsdhvam*, where *s* can then be replaced with *d*. The result will be *āśāddhvam*. There is yet another possibility. What if, for example in *cakās* + *dhi*, the *d*-replacement of *s* goes through doubling of *d* by 8.4.47 *anaci ca*. This will produce *cakādddhi*, with two *d* sounds. This problem of two *d* sounds can be described as *śrutibheda* 'difference in the hearing one of two sounds'. Thus, *cakāddhi*/ *cakāddhi*; *āśāddhvam*. It is claimed that no special difference results in articulation of one or two sounds before a consonants.

There is an added benefit in replacing *s* with *d*. The use of *luṅ* in the wording of rule 8.3.78 *iṇaḥ ṣīdhvaṃ luṅ liṭā dhoṅgāt* is no longer needed. Consider the derivation of *acyoḍhvam* from *a-cyu-s-dhvam* where *s* is replaced with its retroflex counterpart *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*). The retroflex *ṣ* will then be replaced with *ḍ* (8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). The *dh* of *dhvam* will then be replaced with *ḍh* of 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. The *u* of *cyu* will then go through a replacement in *guṇa* and yield *acyoḍhvam*. We will similarly get *aploḍhvam*. If there is a deletion of *s*, we will have to make a specification with *LUṄ* in order for replacing *dh* with *ḍh*. Those who favor this view state that if *LUṄ* is not used in the wording of rule 8.3.78 *iṇaḥ ṣīdhvam* . . ., 8.3.79 *vibhāṣeṭaḥ* will block optional replacement with *ḍh* of *dh* of *LUṄ*, occurring after *iṆ* followed by *iṬ*. For, *LUṄ* is carried over to 8.3.79 *vibhāṣeṭaḥ* from 8.3.78 *iṇaḥ ṣīdhvam*. . . . How could one carry over *LUṄ* when *LUṄ* is not present in the earlier rule. This lack of *anuvṛtti* of *LUṄ* could yield only one form: *alavidhvam*. We will not be able to derive *alaviḍhvam*. The form is derived from (*aṬ* + (*lū* + (*LUṄ→dhvam*)) → (*aṬ* + (*lū* + *s* + *dhvam*)) → *a* + *lū* + *iṬ* + *s* + *dhvam* = *alū* + *i* + *s* + *dhvam*. The *s* will be replaced with *ḍ* via *ṣ* subsequent upon *ū→o→av* change of *lū*. We thus get *alaviḍḍhvam* after *dh* of *dhvam* is replaced with *ḍh*. Why can we not derive *alavidhvam* by not replacing *dh* with *ḍh* of 8.3.79 *vibhāṣeṭaḥ*? This is not a good argument. For, a replacement in *ḍh* can be gotten by *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*) even when 8.3.79 *vibhāṣeṭaḥ* has not applied. It is therefore necessary to state that 8.2.25 *dhi ca* accomplishes deletion of *s* of *sIC*. Similarly, we should include *sIC* in the wording of rule 8.3.78 *iṇaḥ ṣīdhvam*. . . .

Now yet another problem. If the *s* of *sIC* is deleted by 8.2.25 *dhi ca* we will not be able to derive *sagdhi* and *babdhām*. The *kārikā*, therefore, states: *ghasibhasor na siddhyeta tasmāt sijgrahaṇaṃ na tat* 'it will not be possible to accomplish *s*-deletion of *ghasI* and *bhas*'. It should be stated that *s*-deletion by 8.2.25 *dhi ca* is not limited only to *s*-deletion of *sIC*. Consider *ghsati* derived from *ad* + *KtiN* where 2.4.39 *bahulaṃ chandasi* replaces *ad* with *ghas*. The *a* of *ghas* + *ti* goes through penultimate deletion (*upadhālopa*) of 6.4.100 *ghasibhasor hali ca*. The *s* of *ghsti* will then be deleted based on Vedic anamoly (*bahulaṃ chandasi*). The *t* of *ti* will then be replaced with *dh* of 8.2.40 *jhaṣas tathordho' dhaḥ*. The *gh* will also be replaced with *g* of 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*. This will get us *gdhi*. A *karmadhāraya* compound with replacement of *samāna* with *sa* can then be formed to produce *sagdhi*.

Now refer to *babdhām* (appendix, II:411-12) which is derived from *bhas* + (*LOṬ*→*tas*→*tām*). The *t* of *tām* is here replaced with *dh*. It is through replacement of *bh* with *b* and reduplication that we finally get *babdhām*. It is stated that whether *s* of *sIC* is specified in 8.2.25 *dhi ca*, or not, *s*-deletion in *sagdhi* and *babdhām* will have to be accomplished on the basis of usage seen in the Vedic (*chandas*; *dṛṣṭānuvidhi-prayoga*), similarly to *iṣkartāram adhvare*. *Nyāsa* notes that *vā* of *chandaso varṇalopo vā* indicates yet another derivational source. That is, *gdhi* is not derived from *ghas*. It, instead, is derived from *ṣadh* used with the signification of *hiṃsā* 'to harm'. Similarly, *babdhām* is derived from *bandh* used in the sense of *bandhana* 'to tie'. The *kārikā* verse thus does not favor any *s*-deletion of *ghas* and *bhas*. Consequently, no specification with *sIC* should be made. That is, *sagdhi* and *babdhām* should be derived from different roots. In conclusion, *s*-deletion of 8.2.25 *dhi ca* aims on deletion of *s* of *sIC*. This is what the verses establish. This is what the view of the author of the *vārttikas* is.

8.2.26 झलो झलि

jhalo jhali
/*jhalaḥ* 5/1 *jhali* 7/1/
(*lopaḥ* #23 *sasya* #24)
jhala uttarasya sakārasya jhali parato lopo bhavati
The *s* which occurs after a sound denoted by *jhaL* (*Śs.* 8-14) is deleted by *LOPA* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* follows *s*.

EXAMPLES;

acchitta 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *chid* 'to cut''
accitthāḥ 'second singular middle . . .'
abhitta 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *bhid* 'to pierce''
abhitthāḥ 'second singular middle . . .'

avāttām 'third singualr active *LUṄ*-derivate of *vas* 'to dwell' '
avātta 'second person plural active *LUṄ*-derivate . . .'

1. This rule allows *s*-deletion when *s* is preceded and followed by a sound denoted by *jhaL*. Thus, we get *a(Ṭ) + bhid + (sIC→ϕ) + (LUṄ→ta) = a + bhid + ta = abhitta* and *a(Ṭ) + chid + (sIC→ϕ) + ta → a(Ṭ) + t(UK) + chid + ta = a + (t→c) + chid + ta → acchitta*, where *d→t* in *abhitta* is accomplished by 8.4.54 *khari ca*. Augment *tUK* is introduced in *acchitta* by 6.1.73 *che ca*. A replacement in *c* for *t* (*ścutva*; 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*) then follows. We similarly get derivates such as *abhitthāḥ* and *acchitthāḥ* where *LUṄ* is replaced with *thās* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .).

The *tas* (active third dual) is replaced with *tām* (3.4.101 *tasthastha* . . .) in *a(Ṭ) + vas + (sIC→ϕ) + (LUṄ→tas→tām) = avas + tām*. A *vṛddhi*-replacement (7.2.3 *vadavraja* . . .) for the *a* of *vas* gives us: *av(a→ā)s + tām = avās + tām*. The final *s* of *avās* is then replaced with *t* (7.4.49 *saḥ syād ārdhadhātuke*). This replacement is not possible because *tām*, as 7.4.49 must demand, does not begin with *s*. The *sIC*-deletion is treated as *asiddha* in view of application of 7.4.49 *saḥ syād*. . . . We can similarly derive *avas + (LUṄ→thas→ta) → av(a→ā)s + ta → avā(s→t) + ta = avātta*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *jhalaḥ* 'after a sound denoted by *jhaL*? Consider *aṬ + manA + sIC + (LUṄ→thas→ta) = aman + s + ta → ama(n→ṃ) sta = amaṃsta*, where deletion of *s* cannot be accomplished because *s* occurs after *n* which is not a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*. We similarly do not get *s*-deletion in *amaṃsthāḥ*, a derivate with verbal ending *thās*.

Why do we have the condition of *jhali* 'when a sound denoted by *jhaL* follows'? Consider *aṬ + bhid + sIC + (LUṄ→ātām) → abhi(d→t) + sātām = abhitsātām* and *abhitsata* where *s*-deletion is blocked again since what follows is not a sound denoted by *jhaL*.

The *s*-deletion of this *sūtra* again refers only to deletion of *sIC*. Consequently, we do not get deletion of *s* in *somasut stotā* and *dṛṣat sthānam* where the final *t* of *somasut* and *dṛṣat* precede the initial *jhaL* of *stotā* and *sthānam*. Besides, they are not part of a single word. Haradatta (ad *Kāś*) rightly remarks that this application requires *s* and two required *jhaL* sounds, all three, within a single *pada* (*PM*: *trayāṇām apy ekasambandhatve vidhir iyam*). This deletion can also not be accomplished in a compound such as *somasutsthitiḥ* where *t* is not a part of the *pada* which begins with *s* and *th* (*PM*: *samāse' pi na bhavati. kiṃ kāraṇam? sakārathakārābhyāṃ yat padam ārabdhaṃ tat prati takārasyā vayavābhāvāt*).

8.2.27 ह्रस्वादङ्गात्

hrasvād aṅgāt
/*hrasvāt* 5/1 *aṅgāt* 5/1/

(*lopaḥ* #23 *sasya* #24 *jhali* #26)
hrasvād aṅgād uttarasya lopo bhavati jhali parataḥ
The *s* which occurs after an *aṅga* terminating in a short vowel (*hrasvāt*) is deleted by *LOPA* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* follows *s*.

EXAMPLES:

akṛta 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *kṛ* 'to do''
akṛthāḥ 'second singular middle . . .'
ahṛta 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *hṛ* 'to carry''
ahṛthāḥ 'second singular middle . . .'

1. This rule allows *s*-deletion after an *aṅga* which ends in a short vowel and when this *s* is followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*. Refer to the appendix (II:437) under 1.2.12 *uś ca* for derivational details of *akṛta* and *ahṛta*. Deriving examples with *thās* should not be any difficult.

2. Why do we state *hrasvāt* 'after an *aṅga* which ends in a short vowel'? Consider *acyoṣṭa* and *aploṣṭa* where the *aṅga* ends in *o*, a non-short vowel. Note that a *guṇa*-replacement for *u* of *cyu* 'to drip, fall' and *plu* 'to float' is accomplished first under the condition of *asiddhatva* 'suspension' of *sIC*-deletion. Deletion can no longer apply here since this resultant final vowel of the *aṅga*, i.e., *o*, removes the condition of deletion (*PM*: *salopasyāsiddhatvāt pūrvaṃ guṇaḥ, tato vihitanimittatvāl lopābhāvaḥ*).

Why do we have the condition of *aṅgāt* 'after an *aṅga*'? Consider *aṬ* + (*lū*→*au*→*āv*) + *iṬ* + *sIC* + *tām* = *alāviṣṭām* and *alāviṣuḥ* (cf. III:776) where *s* does not occur after the *aṅga*. It, instead, occurs after the *aṅga* intervened by *iṬ*.

The condition of *jhali* 'when a sound denoted by *jhaL* follows' is still there. Consider *akṛṣātām* and *akṛṣata*, third person dual and plural forms of *kṛṣ* 'to draw, drag', where *guṇa* of *ṛ* is blocked because of *K* as an *it* (1.2.12 *uś ca*).

This deletion also refers to deletion of *sIC*. We thus do not get it in *dviṣṭarām* and *dviṣṭamām*, where comparative-superlative suffixes *taraP* and *tamaP* are introduced with the signification of excellence after *dvis* ending in *sUC* (5.4.18 *dvitricaturbhyaḥ suc*). The *s* is then replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.101 *hrasvāt tādau taddhite*). Note that *ām* after *taraP* and *tamaP* is introduced by 5.4.11 *kimettiṅ*. . . .

8.2.28 इट ईटि

iṭa īṭi
/*iṭaḥ* 5/1 *īṭi* 7/1/
(*lopaḥ* #23 *sasya* #24)
iṭa uttarasya sakārasya lopo bhavati īṭi parataḥ
A *s* which occurs after *iṬ* is deleted by *LOPA* when *īṬ* follows.

EXAMPLES:

adevīt 'he sported'
asevīt 'he served'
akoṣīt 'he dragged'
amoṣīt 'he stole'

1. This rule deletes *s* after an *iṬ* when *īṬ* follows. Consider *aṬ* + *div* + (*LUṄ* → *tiP*) = *adevīt* 'he sported', where 7.2.4 *neṭi* blocks the *vṛddhi* of *i* of *div*. We get a short-penultimate replacement in *guṇa*, instead. Augment *iṬ* is introduced by 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte*. . . . We similarly get *asevīt* '. . . served', *akoṣīt* '. . . dragged' and *amoṣīt* '. . . stole', the derivates of *sev* 'to serve', *kuṣ* 'to draw, extract' and *muṣ* 'to steal', respectively. Refer to *alāvīt* (II:333-34) for additional derivational details.

Let us consider the third singular active *LUṄ*-derivate, i.e., *ātīt*, of verbal root *aṭ* 'to move continually'. Given *āṬ* + *at* + *s* + *t* → *ā* + *āt* + *iṬ* + *s* + *t* → (*ā* + *a*→*ā*) *t* + *i* + *s* + *t* = *āt* + *is* + *t*, where 6.4.72 *āḍ ajādīnām* introduces augment *āṬ*. Augment *iṬ* is introduced by 7.3.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*. A single *vṛddhi* replacement for *ā*+*a* is accomplished by 6.1.90 *āṭaś ca*. Rule 7.3.96 *astisico' pṛkte* now introduces *īṬ* to yield *āt* + *i* + *s* + *īṬ* + *t* → *āt* + *is* + *īt* = *āt* + *is* + *īt*. Our present rule then applies deletion by *LOPA* to *s* thereby yielding: *āt* + *i*(*s*→ϕ) + *īt* = *āt* + *i* + *īt*. Rule 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* then replaces the vocalic sequence of *i*+*ī* with a single long *ī*. We thus get *āt* + *īt* = *ātīt*. Recall that 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* is placed outside the *tripādī*. Rule 8.2.28 *iṭa īṭi* is obviously contained within the *tripādī*. Given 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, the *s*-deletion of 8.2.28 *iṭa īṭi* is considered suspended in view of the application of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. This becomes a problem in deriving *ātīt* with a single homogeneous long vowel replacement (*savarṇa-ekādeśa*). The *Mahābhāṣya* proposes a *vārttika* on rule 8.2.28 *iṭa īṭi*: (*vt*: *sijlopa ekādeśe siddho vācyaḥ* 'a deletion of *s*(*IC*) should be considered *siddha* in view of a single replacement'). We can now apply 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* to derive *ātīt*.

2. Why do we have the specification made with *iṭaḥ* 'after *iṬ*'? Consider *akārṣīt* and *ahārṣīt* (II:332-33), the two derivates of *kṛ* and *hṛ* offered here as counter-examples, where *s* does not occur after *iṬ*.

Why do we state the condition of *īṭi* 'when *īṬ* follows'? Consider *alāviṣṭām* and *alāviṣuḥ*, the two derivates of *lūÑ* 'to cut' offered here as counter-examples, where *īṬ* does not follow.

8.2.29 स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च

skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca
/*skoḥ* 6/2 = *saś ca kaś ca* = *skau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *saṃyogādyoḥ* 6/2 = *saṃyogasya ādī* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tayoḥ*; *ante* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1.18 *lopaḥ* #23 *jhali* #26)

padasyānte yaḥ saṃyogaḥ jhali parato vā saṃyogaḥ tad ādyoḥ sakārakakārayor lopo bhavati
The initial *s* and *k* of a conjunct which occurs at the end of a *pada*, or is followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*, is deleted by *LOPA*.

EXAMPLES:

lagnaḥ 'derivate of (*OlasjI* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
lagnavān 'derivate of (*OlasjI* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
sādhulak 'pleasantly shy'
magnaḥ 'cleansed from (*masjI* + *Kta*) + *sU*'

1. This rule deletes the initial *s* and *k* of a conjunct which occurs at the end of a *pada*, or which is followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*. Consider *lasj* + *Kta* → (*lagna*) + *sU* → *lagnaḥ* and *lasj* + *KtavatU* → *lagnavat* + *sU* → *lagnavān*, where *s* of the conjunct goes through deletion by *LOPA*. Augment *iṬ* cannot be introduced since *OlasjI* is a root marked with *I* as an *it* (*idita*; 7.2.14 *śvīdito niṣṭhāyām*). The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) suffix is replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oditaś ca*). The *j* of the root goes through a replacement in *k* (*kutva*; 8.2.29 *coḥ kuḥ*). A replacement in *n* for *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix is, for purposes of replacement in *kU* 'consonant of the *k*-series', considered *asiddha* 'suspended' (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*). Note that (*sādhu* + *sU*) + (*lasj* + (*KvIP*→ϕ))) = *sādhulasj* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *sādu*(*s*→ϕ)*j* → *sādhula*(*j*→*k*) = *sādhulak* has the conjunct *sj* at the end of the *pada*. Other rule applications remain the same.

Now consider *masj* + *Kta*, where *Ṭ* is blocked because *masj* consists of a single vowel (7.2.10 *ekāc upadeśe* . . .). Augment *nUM* (7.1.60 *masjinaśor jhali*) is then introduced before *j* at the strength of a *vārttika*: *masjer antyāt pūrvo nuṃ vācyaḥ* '*nUM* is to be introduced prior to the final of *masj*'. Thus, *ma*(*s*+*nUM*)*j* + (*K*) *ta* → *mas* (*n*→ϕ)*j* + *ta* = *ma*(*s*→ϕ)*j* + (*t*→*n*) *a* → *ma*(*j*→*g*) + *na* = *magna* + *sU* → *magnaḥ*. The *n* of *nUM* is subsequently deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*. . . . We similarly get examples of *k*-deletion in derivates of *niṣṭhā*: *takṣ* + (*Kta*) → *ta*(*k*→ϕ)*ṣ* + *ta* → *taṣ*(*t*→*ṭ*) *a* + *sU* = *taṣṭaḥ* and (*takṣ* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* → *taṣṭavān*, with *ṭ* as a replacement for *t* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Recall here that rule 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā* blocks introduction of augment *iṬ*. Now consider (*kāṣṭha* + *am*) + (*takṣ* + *KvIP*)) → *kāṣṭhata*(*k*→ϕ)*ṣ* → *kāṣṭhata*(*ṣ*→*ḍ*→*ṭ*) = *kāṣṭhataṭ*, paraphrased as *kāṣṭhaṃ takṣṇoti* 'he who planes wood'. Note that *ṣ* of *takṣ* is replaced with *ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39b *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). This *ḍ* then goes through a replacement in *ṭ* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *vā' vasāne*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *jhali saṅīti vaktavyam*) is made to specify *jhali* as *jhali saṅi*, '*jhaL* included within the abbreviatory term *saṄ*, formed with *sa* of *saN* (3.1.5 *guptijkidbhyaḥ san*) and *Ṅ* of *mahiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi* . . .; *Kāś*: *sanaḥ prabhṛti mahiṅo ṅakāreṇa pratyāhāraḥ*). This abbreviatory term will then represent all affixes introduced after verbal roots. The *vārttika* is proposed to

facilitate blocking of several rule applications in deriving *giraḥ* (optional *l* by 8.2.2 *gro yaṅi*), *abhodhiḥ* (non-deletion of *s* of *abhas* by 8.2.25 *dhi ca*)), *dviṣṭarām* (8.2.27 *hrasvād aṅgāt*), *dṛṣasthaḥ* (8.2.26 *jhalo jhali*), *kāṣṭhaśaksthiraḥ* (8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca*), *kruñcā* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*), *dhuryaḥ* (no lengthening; 8.2.77 *hali ca*). Refer to the *Mahābhāṣya* for additional details on:

giro' bhodhir dviṣṭarāṃ ca dṛṣasthaḥ kāṣṭhaśakisthiraḥ/
kruñcā dhuryeti mā smaiṣu satvādīni bhavantv iti//

3. Why do we state *skoḥ* 'in place of *s* and *k*'? Consider *narnarti* and *varvarti*, derivates of deleted *yaN̐* introduced after *nṛtI* 'to dance' and *vṛt* 'to choose, like' where we do not find the conjunct at the end of a *pada* followed by a sound denoted by *jhaL*.

Why do we state *saṃyogādyoḥ* 'at the beginning of a conjunct'? Consider *payaḥśak*, where the conjunct is not at the end of a *pada*. Besides, a *pada* which ends in a *KvIP*, and is combined with a cooccurring *pada*, is impossible to find.

8.2.30 चोः कुः

coḥ kuḥ
/*coḥ* 6/1 *kuḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *jhali* #26 *ante ca* #29)
cavargasya kavargādeśo bhavati jhali parataḥ padānte ca
A sound denoted by *cU* is replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by *kU* when *cU*, either occurs at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*.

EXAMPLES:

paktā 'he will cook'
paktum 'for cooking'
paktavyam '. . . ought to be cooked'
odanpak 'he who cooks rice'
vaktā 'speaker'
vaktum 'for speaking'
vaktavyam '. . . ought to be said'
vāk 'speech'

1. Note that *jhali* and *padānte* are both individually construed with *coḥ* 'in place of that which is denoted by a consonant of the *c*-series'. This rule then allows a consonant of the *c*- series to be replaced with a corresponding consonant of the *k*-series (*kU*) when a consonant of the *c*-series occurs at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*. Consider (*pa*(*c*→*k*) + *tṛ*(*C*)) + *sU* → *paktā*, (*pa*(*c*→*k*) + *tavtyaT*) + *sU* = *paktavyam*, and (*odana* + *pa*(*c*→*k*)) + (*KvIP*→ϕ)) = *odanapak*. We similarly

get (*vac* + *tṛC*) + *sU* = *vaktā*, *vaktavyam* and *vāc* + *sU* → *vāk*. Recall that *sU* is deleted by 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . The *c* is then replaced with *g* (*kutva*) of 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*. Our present rule then replaces *g* with *k*. Incidentally, *vāk* derives from *vac* + *KvIP* → *v*(*a*→*ā*) *c* + (*KvIP*→ϕ) = *vāc* + *sU* = *vāk* at the strength of a *vārttika* (ad 3.2.178 *anyebhyo' pi dṛśyate*; *vt*: *kvib vacipracchyāyatastu* . . .). This *vārttika* also offers a long replacement for the short *a* of *vac*.

Why is *ñ* of *kruñcā* 'a female swan' not replaced with *ṅ* before *c*? For those who accept the root as *kruñc* 'to be curley, crooked', the answer is twofold: (*i*) this rule applies only when an affix denoted by *saN* follows (see note 2 under the preceding rule); (*ii*) Pāṇini himself uses it, via *nipātana*, in rule 3.2.59 *ṛtvigdadhṛk*. . . . One can also accept the root as *kuc*, with no *r* and no *n*. I omit any further discussion for fear of expatiation (*prapañca*).

8.2.31 हो ढः

ho ḍhaḥ
/*haḥ* 6/1 *ḍhaḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *jhali* #26 *ante ca* #29)
hakārasya ḍhakārādeśo bhavati jhali parataḥ padānte ca
A *h* is replaced with *ḍh* when it occurs at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*.

EXAMPLES:

soḍhā 'he will endure'
soḍhum 'for enduring'
soḍhavyam '. . . ought to be endured'
jalāṣāṭ 'name of Indra'
voḍhā 'he will carry'
voḍhum 'for carrying'
voḍhavyam '. . . ought to be carried'
turāṣāṭ 'name of Indra; he who endures water'
praṣṭhavāṭ 'a bull who can carry a *prastha* in weight'
dityavāṭ 'a calf of two years'

1. This rule requires a *h* to be replaced with *ḍh* when *h* occurs at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*. Refer to notes under 6.3.112 *sahivahor*. . . for derivational details of (*sah* + *tṛC*) + *sU* = *soḍhā* and (*vah* + *tṛC*) + *sU* = *voḍhā*, where this rule replaces *h* with *ḍh*. We can similarly derive *soḍhum*, *soḍhavyam*; and *voḍhum*, *voḍhavyam* with affixes *tumUN* and *tavyaT*. Note here that augment *iT* can be optionally introduced after verbal root *sah* when an *ārdhadhātuka* affix beginning with *t* follows (7.2.48 *tīṣasaha* . . .). That is, we can also find forms such as *soḍhitā*, *soḍhitum* and *soḍhitavyam*, respectively. Derivates where *h* is replaced with *ḍh*

at the end of a *pada* are: *turāṣāṭ*, *praṣṭhavāṭ* and *dityavāṭ*. Refer to derivational details of *turāṣāṭ* 'Indra' under the appendix of 3.2.63 *chandasi sahaḥ* (II:739). The *ṆvI* of *praṣṭhavāṭ* is introduced after *vah* 'to carry' by 3.2.64 *vahaś ca*. The penultimate *vṛddhi* is accomplished by 7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*.

2. Why was this rule not formulated jointly with the preceding as: *cuhoḥ kuḍhau*? Rule 1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam* . . . would have then required assignment of equivalency of replacements in accord with equal number of enumerated items (*saṃkhyātānudeśa*). That is, a replacement in *kU* would have applied before an affix beginning with a *jhaL* sound (*jhalādau kutvam*). A replacement in *ḍh* would have similarly applied at the end of a *pada* (*padānte ḍhatvam*).

Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule by reading *a* at the end of *h* in the genitive: *hasya ḍhaḥ*? This simply indicates variety in his choice.

Thus, (*sa*(*h*→*ḍh*) + *tṛ*(*C*)) → (*saḍh* + (*t*→*dh*)*ṛ*) → (*saḍh* + (*dh*→*ḍh*)*ṛ*) → *sa*(*ḍh*→φ) + *ḍhṛ* → *s*(*a*→*o*) + *ḍhṛ* = *soḍhṛ* + *sU* = *soḍhā*, where this rule replaces *h* with *ḍh*. The *t* of affix *tṛC* is also replaced with *dh* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastathordho' dhaḥ*). This *dh* is then replaced with *ḍh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Rule 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ* then applies to delete *ḍh* of *saḍh*. Finally, the *a* of *saḍh* is replaced with *o* to produce *soḍhā*. This same applies to (*vah* + *tṛC*) + *sU* = *voḍhā*. Refer also to note #2 under rule 6.3.112 *sahivahor*. . . . Also refer to derivational details of *jalāṣāṭ* 'he who endures water' and *praṣṭhavāṭ* 'a calf under training for ploughing'.

8.2.32 दादेर्धातोर्घः

dāder dhātor ghaḥ
/*dādeḥ* 6/1 = *dakāra ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *dhātoḥ* 6/1 *ghaḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *jhali* #26 *ante ca* #29 *haḥ* #31)
dakārāder dhātor hakārasya ghakārādeśo bhavati jhali parataḥ padānte ca
The *h* of a verbal root which begins with *d* is replaced with *gh* when *h* occurs at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*.

EXAMPLES:

dagdhā 'he will burn (something)'
dagdhum 'for burning'
dagdhavyam '. . . ought to be burned'
kāṣṭhadhak 'he who ignites the firewood'
dogdhā 'he will milk'
dogdhum 'for milking'
dogdhavyam '. . . ought to be milked'
godhuk 'he who milks cows'

1. This rule replaces the *h* of a root with *gh* when the root begins with *d*, and *h* occurs at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*. Consider *dagdhā*, *dagdhum* and *dagdhavyam*, where *h* of *dah* is replaced with *gh*. Thus, *da*(*h*→*gh*) + (*t*→*dh*)*ṛ*(*C*)) → *da*(*gh*→*g*) + *dhṛ* = *dagdhṛ*, where *gh* is replaced with *g* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). We can similarly derive *dogdhā*, *dogdhum* and *dogdhavyam* with affixes *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT*, where *u* of *duh* will be replaced with *o* (*guṇa*; 7.3.84 *sārvadhātukārddha* . . .). Now consider (*kāṣṭha* + *am* + *dah* + *KvIP*) = *kāṣṭhada* (*h*→*gh*), where *d* of *dah* is replaced with *dh* (*bhaṣbhāva*; 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo* . . .). The *gh* of *kāṣṭha* + *dha*(*gh*→*g*→*k*) = *kāṣṭhadhak* is first replaced with *g* (*jaśtva*) and then with *k* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*).

2. Why do we state the condition of *dādeḥ* 'of a verbal root which begins with *d*'? Consider *lih* + *tṛC* = *leḍhā*, *leḍhum*, *leḍhavyam* and *guḍa* + *am* + *lih* + *KvIP* → *guḍali*(*h*→*ḍh*→*ṭ*) = *guḍaliṭ*, where *h* of non-*duh* verbal root *lih* 'to lick' is not replaced with *gh*. It is replaced with *ḍh*, instead (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*).

3. It is stated that the genitive in *dhātoḥ* does not denote a coreferentiality relationship (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*) with the genitive of *dādeḥ*. It, instead, is a qualifier to *dādeḥ*. What difference does this make? We get a qualifier and qualified relationship also where coreferentiality is denoted. Actually, *dhātoḥ* will become a qualified (*viśeṣya*) of its qualifier *dādeḥ* if we accept correferentiality. We interpret *dhātoḥ* as a qualifier ending in the genitive denoting *avayava* 'part of a whole'. This will facilitate us to interpret *dhātor dādeḥ* as *dhātor avayavo yo dādiḥ śabdas tadavayavasya hakārasya* 'in place of a *h* which is part of the *d*-initial part of a root'. What does one accomplish by this interpretation of genitive as denoting *avayava* 'part of a whole'? We get a replacement in *gh* in (*duh* + (*LUṄ*→*tiP*)) → *duh* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *tiP*→ *aṬ* + *duh* + (*tiP*→ϕ) → *a* + (*d*(*u*→*o*) *h* → *a* + *do*(*h*→*gh*→*g*→*k*) → *a*(*d*→*dh*) *ok* → *adhok* (cf. *kāṣṭhadhak*). But this kind of *avayava* 'part of a whole' interpretation of genitive will create difficulty in replacing *h* with *gh* in *dogdhā* and *dogdhum*. For, *h* is not any part of *d*-initial part of the root. It, instead, is a part of the whole which is *d*-initial. It is claimed that *d*-initial part of the root of which *h* is a part will be accepted as the whole on the basis of *vyapadeśivadbhāva* 'treating secondary as principal'. That is, *d*-initial part of the whole verbal root will be treated as the whole. Such a special treatment even when there is no difference in the two entities is also witnessed in the outside world. Thus, we get expressions such as: *śilāputrakasya śarīram* 'rock-son's body, where 'rock's son' itself is the 'body' and *rāhoḥ śiraḥ* 'head of Rāhu', where 'head' itself is Rāhu'. In summary, the genitive is introduced with the understanding that there is no difference (*bheda*) between the whole and its part.

Or else, one can also accept *dādiḥ* as 'that (a *dhātu* 'verbal root') which is initially cited as *d*-initial in the *Dhātupāṭha*'. It will thus not yield a *gh* in *dāmaliham icchati* = *dāmalihyati* 'wishes to lick the rope', where *dāmalihya* is a derived verbal root which begins with *d* but is not a root with *d* at the begin-

ning in its original citation (*upadeśa*). The root in initial citation begins with *l* (*lih*). We can also not get *gh* in *dāmaliṭ* 'a calf (who licks the rope)' which ends in a *KvIP.* Consequently, we do not get **dāmalik.*

8.2.33 वा द्रुहमुहष्णुहष्णिहाम्

vā druhamuhaṣṇuhaṣṇihām
/*vā* ϕ *druha-muha-ṣṇuha-ṣṇihām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *jhali* #26 *ante ca* #29 *haḥ* #31 *dhātoḥ ghaḥ* #32)
'*druha, muha, ṣṇuha, ṣṇiha*' *ity eteṣāṃ dhātūnāṃ hakārasya vā ghakārādeśo bhavati jhali parataḥ padānte ca*
The *h* of verbal roots *druhA* 'to wish harm to', *muhA* 'to be confounded, infatuated', *ṣṇuhA* 'to vomit' and *ṣṇihA* 'to love' is, optionally, replaced with *gh* when *h* occurs at the end of a *pada,* or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL.*

EXAMPLES:

drogdhā 'he will harm'
droḍhā 'ibidem'
mitradhruk 'he who wishes to harm a friend'
mitradhruṭ 'ibidem'
unmogdhā 'confounded (feminine)'
unmoḍhā 'ibidem'
unmuk 'confounded'
unmuṭ 'ibidem'
utsnogdhā 'one who will vomit'
utsnoḍhā 'ibidem'
utsnuk 'vomiting'
utsnuṭ 'ibidem'
snegdhā 'he will love'
sneḍhā 'ibidem'
snik 'loving'
sniṭ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers an optional replacement, in *gh,* for *h* of verbal roots *druh* 'wish harm to', *muhA* 'to be sad, distraught, confounded', *ṣṇuhA* 'to vomit' and *ṣṇihA* 'to love', when *h* occurs at the end of a *pada,* or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL.* Thus, we get *drogdhā, droḍhā;* (*mitra* + *am* + *druh* + *KvIP*) → (*mitra* + (*d*→*dh*) *ruh* (*KvIP*→ϕ)) → (*mitra* + *dhru*(*h*→*gh*→*g*→*k*)) = *mitradhruk,* where *KvIP* is introduced by 3.2.61 *satsūdviṣadruha. . . .* We similarly get *mitradhruṭ.* Note that *druh* begins with a *d* in its initial citation. Consequently, a replacement of its *h* with *gh* is obligatorily made available (*prāpta*) by the preceding rule. Other roots, since they do not begin with *d,* did not have this replacement available to them

(*aprāpta*). This rule makes an optional provision (*Kāś*: *druher dāditvād ghatvaṃ nityaṃ prāptam, itareṣām aprāptam eva ghatvaṃ vikalpyate*). If the option of replacing *h* with *gh* is accepted, we will get *dr*(*u*→*o*)*h* + (*t*→*dh*)*ṛC*) → (*dro*(*h*→*gh*→*g*) + *dhṛ*) + *sU* = *drogdhā*. If *h* is replaced with *ḍh* (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*), instead, we will get (*dro*(*h*→*ḍh*) + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*) *ṛ*)) → *dro*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍhṛ* = (*droḍhṛ*) + *sU* = *droḍhā*. We will get similar forms of other roots. Thus, *unmoghā*, *unmoḍhā*; and *unmuk* and *unmuṭ*, etc. Examples with *pada*-final replacements are all derivates of *KvIP* (3.2.76 *kvip ca*). A replacement in *ṣ* for *s* of *ṣṇuhA* and *ṣṇihA* is accomplished by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*. The *ṇ* which was gotten on account of its proximity with *ṣ* will be changed back to *n*.

2. Note that verbal roots *druh*, etc., are enumerated in the class of roots headed by *div* 'to play, sport'. They are listed in this same order also in a subset headed by *radh* 'submit, surrender' (*radhādi*). It is because of their membership in the *radhādi* class that augment *iṬ* can be introduced after them only optionally (7.2.45 *radhādibhyaś ca*). If all roots enumerated here beginning with *druh* are listed in this same order within the *divādi* class, then they can all be mentioned here as *druhādi*. This way, the rule could also be formulated as *vā druhādīnām* 'optionally of roots enumerated beginning with *druh*'. But Pāṇini chose a longer formulation of this rule, perhaps to indicate its application also to contexts where affix *yaṄ* goes though deletion (*yaṅluki*). Thus, we get *dodhruk* and *dodhruṭ*. A listing by groups, such as *druhādi*, etc., may have blocked application of this rule to individual verbal roots (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *tara* '*vā druhādīnām*' *iti vaktavye pratipadapāṭho yaṅluky api yathā syāt, dodhruk, dodhruṭ*; *anyathā* '*nirdiṣṭaṃ yadgaṇena ca*' *iti na syāt*). Also refer to my notes under rule 7.1.6 *śīṅo ruṭ*.

8.2.34 नहो धः

naho dhaḥ
(*padasya* #1.16 *jhali* #26 *ante ca* #29 *haḥ* #31 *dhātoḥ* #32)
naho hakārasya dhakārādeśo bhavati jhali pare padānte ca
A replacement in *dh* comes in place of *h* of verbal root *ṇahA* 'to tie' when this *h* occurs at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatoery term *jhaL*.

EXAMPLES:

naddham 'tied'
naddhum 'for tying'
naddhavyam '. . . ought to be tied'
upānat 'sandals, shoes'
parīṇat 'tied around(?)'

1. Note that *nah* refers to verbal root *ṇahA* 'to tie' where *ṇ* is replaced with *n* (6.1.65 *ṇo naḥ*). This rule replaces the *h* of *nah* with *dh* when *h* occurs

at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*. Consider *nah* + (*K*) *ta* → *nah* + (*t*→*dh*) *a* → *na* (*h*→*dh*→*d*) + *dha* = *naddha* + *sU* = *naddham*, where *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *dh* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*. . .). The *dh*-replacement of *h* is further replaced with *d* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.52 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). We similarly get (*nah* + *tumUN*) + *sU* → *naddham* and (*nah* + *tavyAT*) → *naddhavyam*. Refer to derivational details of (*upa* + *nah*) + *KvIP*)) → *upānat*, under 6.3.116 *nahivṛtivṛṣi*. . ., whereby we get the short *a* of *upa* replaced with its long counterpart. Similar rules apply in deriving the *KvIP*-derivate (*pari* + *nah*) + *Kta* → *parīṇat*, where short *i* of *pari* is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.116 *nahivṛtivṛṣi*. . . . Rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi*. . . replaces *n* with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*) notes that a replacement in *dh*, as against the more econominal *d*, is preferred so that in deriving *naddha* we can get *dh* as a replacement. If *d* was offered as a replacement, we could not get *dh*. For, *d* is not included within the denotatum of the abbreviatory term *jhaṢ* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*. . .; *Nyāsa*: *naddhety atra 'jhaṣastathordho' dhaḥ' iti dhatvaṃ yathā syād ity evam artham*). This replacement in *dha* is also intended for application of *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto naḥ*.

8.2.35 आहस्थः

āhas thaḥ
/*āhaḥ* 6/1 *sthaḥ* 1/1/
(*jhali* #26 *haḥ* #31 *dhātoḥ* #32)
āho hakārasya thakārādeśo bhavati
The *h* of *āh* (*brū*; 3.4.84 *bruvaḥ pañcānām*. . .) is replaced with *th* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* follows.

EXAMPLES:

idam āttha 'you are saying this'
kim āttha 'what are you saying'

1. This rule replaces the *h* of (*brū*→*āh*) + *thaL* = *āh* + *tha* with *th* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* follows. Refer to derivational details of *āttha*, under 3.4.84 *bruvaḥ pañcānām ādita*. . . (III:781-82), whereby *āh* comes as a replacement of *brū*. The *th* of this rule is further replaced with *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*).

2. Why did he not formulate a single rule: *āhanahor dhaḥ*, thereby facilitating the replacement of *h*, of *āh*, with *dh*. An application of 8.4.55 *khari ca* could then have yielded *āttha*. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule simply as *āhas taḥ*? That is, if he wanted a replacement in *t*. Why is he offering a different replacement? It is stated that a different replacement is offered so that an application of 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*. . . could be blocked (*Kāś*: *ādeśāntarakaraṇam 'jhaṣasthaordho' dhaḥ' ity asya nivṛtyartham*). That is, the *th* of

thaL (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ*. . .) would then have been replaced with *dh* of 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*. . . . An application of 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* could then have yielded: *ātthaḥ*. If *t* was given as a replacement, 8.4.47 *anaci ca* would have doubled it up. For, *t* will be considered non-suspended in view of 8.4.47 *anaci ca*. If a replacement in *th* will go through a replacement in *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*), *t* will be considered suspended in view of 8.4.47 *anaci ca*. Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*) states that *evam api takāra eva kartavyaḥ* 'even then, *t* alone should be specified as a replacement'. This is not appropriate.

Recall that this replacement is valid only when *jhaL* follows. This is why we get counter-examples: *āha* / *āhatuḥ* / *āhuḥ*.

3. A proposal (*vt*: *hṛgrahor bhaś chandasi hasyeti vaktavyam*) is made to replace the *h* of *hṛ* 'to carry' and *grah* 'to seize' with *bh*, in the Vedic. Consider *sambharati*, *grabhītā*, *udgrābham* and *nigrābham* as examples.

8.2.36 **व्रश्चभ्रस्जसृजमृजयजराजभ्राजच्छशां षः**

vraścabhrasjasṛjamṛjayajarājabhrājacchaśāṃ ṣaḥ
/ *vraśca-bhrasja-sṛja-mṛja-yaja-rāja-bhrāja-cha-śām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ṣaḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *jhali* #26 *ante ca* #29 *dhātoḥ* #32)
'*vraśca, bhrasja, sṛja, mṛja, yaja, rāja, bhrāja*' *ity eteṣām chakārāntānām, śakārāntāṃ ca ṣakāra ādeśo bhavati jhali parataḥ padānte ca*

A replacement in *ṣ* comes in place of the final sound segment of verbal roots *vraścA* 'to cut', *bhrasjA* 'to roast', *sṛjA* 'to project, create', *mṛjA* 'to wipe, cleanse', *yajA* 'to sacrifice', *rājA* 'to shine, rule', *bhrājA* 'to shine', and also of roots which end in *ś* and *ch*, when what is replaced with *ṣ* occurs at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL*.

EXAMPLES:

vraṣṭā 'he will cut'
vraṣṭum 'for cutting'
vraṣṭavyam '. . . ought to be cut'
mūlavṛṭ 'he who cuts roots'
bhraṣṭā 'he will roast'
bhraṣṭum 'for roasting'
bhraṣṭavyam '. . . ought to be roasted'
dhānābhṛṭ 'he who roasts grains'
sraṣṭā '. . . will create'
sraṣṭum 'for creating'
sraṣṭavyam '. . . ought to create'
rajjusṛṭ 'he who braids a rope'
mārṣṭā 'he will cleanse'

mārṣṭum 'for cleansing'
mārṣṭavyam '. . . ought to be cleansed'
kaṃsaparimṛṭ 'he who fully cleanses the drinking vessel'
yaṣṭā 'sacrificer'
yaṣṭum 'for sacrificing'
yaṣṭavyam 'sacrifice ought to be performed'
upayaṭ 'a sacrifice'
samrāṭ 'emperor'
svarāṭ 'self-ruler'
virāṭ 'huge'
praṣṭā 'he will ask'
praṣṭum 'for asking'
praṣṭavyam 'ought to be asked'
śabdaprāṭ '. . . asks about words'
leṣṭā 'he will move'
leṣṭum 'for moving'
leṣṭavyam 'ought to move'
liṭ 'mover'
veṣṭā 'he will enter'
veṣṭum 'for entering'
veṣṭavyam 'ought to be entered'
viṭ 'entering'

1. This rule offers *ṣ* as a replacement for the final (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) sound segment of verbal roots *OvraścŪ* 'to cut, pierce', *bhrasjA* 'to cook', *sṛjA* 'to discharge, emit', *mṛjŪṢ* 'to cleanse, wipe', *yajA* 'to perform a sacrifice', *rājṚ* 'to glow' and *ṬUbhrājṚ* 'to glow', and also of roots which end in *ś* and *ch*, when their final sound occurs at the end of a *pada*, or is followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaL*. Verbal roots *rājṚ* and *ṬUbhrājṚ* are specified here for *padānta* 'end of a *pada*'. This is why no example before a *jhaL* sound is offered for them. The initial *jhaL* of what follows them is separated by augment *iṬ* (*Kāś*: *rājabhrājoḥ padāntārthaṃ grahaṇam, jhalādir ābhyām iṭā paryavapadyate*). The first four roots are *seṭ* 'used with augment *iṬ*', only optionally (7.2.44 *svaratisūtisyati* . . .). The remaining roots cannot be used with *iṬ* (7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe* . . .).

Now consider some examples:

(*i*) *vraśc* + *tṛ*(*C*) = *vraṣṭā*, *vraśc* + *tum*(*UN*) = *vraṣṭum* and *vraśc* + *tavya*(*T*) = *vraṣṭavyam* where, after *c* is replaced with *ṣ*, the preceding *ś* is changed back to *s*. This *s* is then deleted by 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor ante ca*. The *t* of *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT* then goes through a replacement in *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). We similarly derive *bhraṣṭā*, *bhraṣṭum* and *bhraṣṭavyam*, etc. Note that *mārṣṭā*, *mārṣṭum* and *mārṣṭavyam* have *ṛ* of the root replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart

ār (7.2.114 *mṛjer vṛddhiḥ*). Refer to derivattional details of *sraṣṭā, sraṣṭum* and *sraṣṭavyam* under 6.1.58 *sṛjadṛśor jhaly am akiti.*

(*ii*) Examples such as (*mūla* + *am*) + *vraśc* + *KvIP* = *mūlavṛṭ* and *dhānābhṛṭ* involve *samprasāraṇa* of *vraśc* and *bhrasj* (6.1.16 *grahijyāva-yivyadhi*...). They also involve *s*-deletion.

(*iii*) This rule offers *ṣ* as a replacement for *j* of *sam* + *rājR* + (*KvIP*→ϕ) = *sam-rā*(*j*→*ṣ*→*ḍ*→*ṭ*) = *samrāṭ*, for which see notes under 6.4.19 *cchvoḥ śūḍ*.... The *m* of *sam* escapes a replacement in *anusvāra* (8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*) at the strength of 8.3.25 *mo rāji samaḥ kvau.* One can similarly derive *virāṭ* and *svarāṭ.* Refer to derivational details of *upayaṭ* in the appendix (III:741).

(*iv*) Examples such as (*liś* + *tṛC*) + *sU*→ *leṣṭā, liś* + *tumUN*→ *leṣṭum* and (*liś* + *tavyaT*) + *sU*→ *leṣṭavyam* derive with *guṇa, ś*→*ṣ* and *t*→*ṭ* like many other forms already discussed. Follow similar rules to derive *liś* + *KvIP* → *li*(*ś*→*ṣ*→*ḍ*→*ṭ*) = *liṭ*, through *ṣatva* (8.3.36 *vraśca-bhrasj*...), *jaśtva* (8.3.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*) and *cartva* (8.4.56 *vāvasāne*). One can similarly derive *veṣṭā, veṣṭum, veṣṭavyam,* and *viṭ.*

2. A question is raised against using *cha* in this rule. Why use *ch* when it can be replaced with *ś* of 6.4.19 *cchvoḥ śūḍ anunāsike,* and *pṛṣṭaḥ,* etc., can be derived by replacing *ś* at the end with *ṣ* of this rule. That is, *cch* of 6.4.19 *cchoḥ śūḍ*... will serve the purpose of this *ch.* It is stated that, in that rule, *cch* is specified because *anunāsikasya kvijjaloḥ kṅiti* is carried there. This is how *praṣṭā* and *praṣṭum* could be derived, in addition to *pṛṣṭaḥ* and *pṛṣṭavān.* For, a replacement in *ś* would, otherwise, not be possible in derivates of *tṛC, tumUN* and *tavyaT,* i.e., *praṣṭā / praṣṭum / praṣṭavyam,* with no affix marked with *K* and *Ṅ* as an *it.* This is the view of the author of the *sūtras* (*Nyāsa: etac ca sūtrakāramatenoktam*). Some, however, refute the use of *ch* in that rule. They, instead, carry over the *anuvṛtti* of *kṅiti* there. This facilitates the application of 6.4.19 *cchoḥ śūḍ anunāsike* in *praṣṭā / praṣṭum / praṣṭavyam.* We thus do not need to specify *ch* in this rule.

8.2.37 एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः

ekāco baśo bhaṣ jhaṣantasya sdhvoḥ

/*ekācaḥ* 6/1 = *eko' c yasmin* (*bv.*), *tasya; baśaḥ* 6/1 *bhaṣ* 1/1 *jhaṣantasya* 6/1 = *jhaṣ ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya; sdhvoḥ* 7/2 = *saś ca dhvaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/

(*padasya* #1.16 *jhali* #26 *ante ca* #29 *dhātoḥ* #32)

dhātor avayavo ya ekāc jhaṣantaḥ tadavayavasya baśaḥ sthāne bhaṣ ādeśo bhavati jhali sakāre dhvaśabde ca parataḥ padānte ca

A sound which, denoted by the abbreviatory term *baŚ*, forms part of a monosyllabic part of a verbal root ending in a sound denoted by the

abbreviatory term *jhaṢ*, is replaced with a sound denoted by *bhaŚ*, when this sound denoted by *baŚ* occurs before *s*, *dhva*, or occurs at the end of a *pada*.

EXAMPLES:

bhotsyante 'third singular middle *LṚṬ*-derivate of *budh* 'to comprehend''
abhudhvam 'second plural middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *budh*'
arthabhut 'derivate of *artha* + *am* + *budh* + *KviP*'
nighokṣyate 'third person singular middle *LṚṬ*-derivate of verbal root *guh* 'to cover, hide' used with the preverb *ni*'
nyaghūḍhvam 'second person plural middle *LUṄ*-derivate of verbal root *guh* used with the preverb *ni*'
parṇaghuṭ 'derivate of *parṇa* + *am* + *guh* + *KviP*'
dhokṣyate 'third singular middle *LṚṬ*-derivate of *duh* 'to milk''
adhughdhvam 'second plural middle *LUṄ*-derivate of verbal root *duh* used with the preverb *ni*'
godhuk 'derivate of *go* + *am* + *duh* + *KviP*'
ajarghāḥ 'second person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *jar-gṛdh* (*gṛdh* + *yaṄ*)'
gardhap 'derivate of (deleted) causal *ṆiC*, ending in *KviP*'

1. This rule replaces a sound denoted by *baŚ* with a sound denoted by *bhaṢ*, when *baŚ* forms part of a *jhaṢ*-final monosyllabic part of a verbal root and occurs either at the end of a *pada*, or occurs before *s* or *dhva*. Note that four sound segments, namely *b*, *ḍ*, *d* and *g* are denoted by *baŚ*. These are to be replaced with an equal number of sound segments denoted by *bhaṢ*, namely *bh*, *gh*, *ḍh* and *dh*. If one follows *saṃkhyātānudeśa* 'assignment of equivalency in the order of enumeration' (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*), *ḍh* cannot be selected as a substitute for *ḍ*. For, it is impossible to find *ḍ* at the beginning of a monosyllabic part of a root. A selection of substitutes is then made on the basis of close proximity (*ānantarya*).

Haradatta (*PM*) quotes the following verses:

catvāro bhaṣa ādeśāḥ sthāninas tu baśas trayaḥ/
ḍakārasya tu na kvāpi sambhavo' sti kathañcana//1//
'replacements of *bhaṢ* are four; but the *baŚ* items which they replace are only three. Since it is not possible to find *ḍ* as a substituendum (*sthānin*), *ḍh* cannot be selected as a substitute'

śāstrapratītivelāyāṃ saṃkhyāsāmyasya sambhavāt/
pravarttate yathāsaṃkhyam anuṣṭhāne tv asambhavaḥ//
'equivalency in accord with equal number of enumerated items is possible at the time when rules are comprehended; but it becomes impossible when rules are to be applied'

2. Note that *dhātoḥ*, in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*), is carried over from 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ* for qualifying *ekācaḥ*. The word *jhaṣantasya* is also a qualifier in syntactic coordination with *ekācaḥ*. However, there is no syntactic coordination between *dhātoḥ* and *ekācaḥ jhaṣantasya*. For this will give us the sense of: 'a root which is monosyllabic and ends in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaṢ*'. This interpretation will not allow a replacement in *bhaṢ* where the root is not monosyllabic. This, however, should not mean that *bhaṢ* is intended as a replacement without the qualification of *ekācaḥ* 'monosyllabic'. For, if the specification was not made with *ekācaḥ*, replacement in *bhaṢ* will apply to *ḍh* of *dāmaliḍh* after *h* of *lih* is replaced with *ḍh*.

We will encounter difficulties in replacing *baṢ* with *bhaṢ*, if *dhātoḥ* and *ekācaḥ jhaṣantasya* are interpreted as qualifier-qualifieds in syntactic coordination. Consider *gardabha* + *ṆiC* → *gardabhaya* from which we derive *gardabh* by introducing *KvIP*, dubbed *apratyaya* 'non-affix' because of its total deletion, with the denotatum of *kartṛ* 'agent'. The *bh* of *dabh* of *gardabh* is monosyllabic, but it is not a root. Consequently, it cannot be replaced with *p*. Commentators, therefore, interpret *ekācaḥ jhaṣantasya* as part (*avayava*) of *dhātoḥ*. This way, the *baŚ* of a root's monosyllabic part ending in *jhaṢ*, is replaced with *bhaṢ*. The *bh* of *dabh* which ends in *jhaṢ*, and is a monosyllabic part of the root, is replaced with *p*, a sound denoted by *baŚ*.

3. Now consider some examples:

3.1 *bhotsyate*
(*a*) *budh* + (*LṚT*→*te*) → (3.1.33 *syatāsī*. . .)
(*b*) *budh* + *sya* + *te* → (7.3.86 *puganta*. . .)
(*c*) *b*(*u*→*o*) *dh* + *sya* + *te* → (8.2.37 *ekāco*. . .)
(*d*) (*b*→*bh*) *odh* + *sya* + *te* → (8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*)
(*e*) *bho*(*dh*→*d*) + *sya* + *te* → (8.4.55 *khari ca*)
(*f*) *bho*(*d*→*t*) + *sya* + *te* = *bhotsyate*

3.2 *abudhvam*
(*a*) *budh* + (*LUṄ*→*dhvam*) → (3.1.43-44 *cli luṅi-cleḥ sic*)
(*b*) *budh* + (*CLI* → *s*(*IC*) + *dhvam* → (6.4.71 *luṅlaṅlṛṅ*. . .)
(*c*) *aṬ* + *budh* + (*s*→ϕ) + *dhvam* → (8.2.25 *dhi ca*)
(*d*) *a* + (*b*→*bh*) *udh* + *dhvam* → (8.2.37 *ekāco*. . .)
(*e*) *a* + *bu*(*dh*→*d*) + *dhvam* → (8.4.52 *jhalāṃ*. . .) = *abuddhvam*

3.3 *arthabhut*, where *KvIP* (3.2.76 *kvip ca*) is introduced after *budh* in conjunction with *artha* + *am*. Thus, *artha* + (*am*→ϕ) + (*b*→*bh*) *udh* → *arthabhu*(*dh*→*d*→*t*) = *arthabhut*

3.4 *nighokṣyate*
(*a*) *ni-guh* + *sya* + *te* → (8.2.37 *ekāco*. . .)
(*b*) *ni-*(*g*→*gh*) *uh* + *sya* + *te* → (7.3.86 *puganta*. . .)
(*c*) *ni-gh*(*u*=*o*) *h* + *sya* + *te* → (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*)

(*d*) *ni=gho(h→ḍh)* + *sya* + *te* → (8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si*)
(*e*) *ni-gho(ḍh→k)* + *sya* + *te* → (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*)
(*f*) *ni-ghok* + (*s→ṣ*)*ya* + *te* = *nighokṣyate*

3.5 *nygūḍhvam*
(*a*) *ni-guh* + (*LUṄ→dhvam*) →
(*b*) *ni* + *guh* + *CLI* + *dhvam* →(3.1.45 *śala* . . .)
(*c*) *ni* + *guh* + (*CLI→ksa*) + *dhvam* →
(*d*) *ni* + *a*(*T*) + *guh* + *ksa* + *dhvam* → (7.3.73 *lug vā* . . .)
(*e*) *n*(*i→y*) + *a*(*T*) + *guh* + (*ksa→ϕ*) + *dhvam* → (8.2.37 *ekāco* . . .)
(*f*) *ny* + *a*(*T*) + (*g→gh*)*uh* + *dhvam* → (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*)
(*g*) *ny* + *a*(*T*) + *ghu*(*h→ḍh*) + *dhvam* → (8.4.40 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*)
(*h*) *ny* + *a*(*T*) + *ghuḍh* + (*dh→ḍh*)*vam* → (8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*)
(*i*) *ny* + *a*(*T*) + *ghuḍh* + (*ḍh→ϕ*)*vam* → (6.3.109 *ḍhralope* . . .)
(*j*) *ny* + *a*(*T*) + *gh*(*u→ū*)*ḍh* + *vam* = *nyaghūḍhvam*

3.6 *parṇaghuṭ*, a derivate of *guh* with *KvIP*, introduced in conjunction with *parṇa* + *am*. The *g* of *parṇa* + *guh* + (*KvIP→ϕ*) is similarly replaced with *bhaṢ* to produce: *parṇa* + (*g→gh*)*uh* = *parṇaghuh*. The *h*, through a replacement in *ḍh*, then goes through a replacement in *ṭ* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*) via *ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). Thus, we get: *parṇaghu*(*h→ḍh→ḍ→ṭ*) = *parṇaghuṭ*.

3.7 *dhokṣyate*
Derives from *duh* + (*LṚT→te*) → *duh* + *sya* + *te*→ *doh* + *sya* + *te*, where *h* of *duh* is replaced with *gh* (8.2.32 *dāder dhātor ghaḥ*). The *d* itself gets replaced with *dh* of this rule. Thus, (*d→dh*) *o*(→*gh*) + *sya* + *te*. We get *dho*(*gh→k*) + *sya* + *te* → *dhok*(*s→ṣ*)*yate* = *dhokṣyate*, with application of rules already made familiar.

3.8 *ajarghāḥ*
acīkamad yo na jānāti yo na jānāti barbaṁti/
ajarghā na vijānāti tasmai kanyā na dīyatām//
'he who does not properly understand *acīkamat*, *barbaṁti* and *ajarghāḥ*, to him one should not give one's daughter away in marriage.'
gṛdher yalope laṅi serilope
bhaṣbhāvacarce ca bhavaty ajarghāḥ
(*a*) *gṛdh*(*U*) →(1.3.1 *bhūvādayo dhātavaḥ*); (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco halādeḥ* . . .)
(*b*) *gṛdh* + *ya*(*Ṅ*) →(2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca*; 6.1.9 *sany aṅoḥ*)
(*c*) *gṛdh* + (*ya*(*Ṅ*)→*ϕ*)) → *gṛdh* + *gṛdh* → *gṛ* + *gṛdh* (7.4.66 *ur at*; 7.4.66 *kuhoś cuḥ*)
(*d*) *gar* + *gṛdh* → (*g→j*) *ar* + *gṛdh* →(7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*; 7.4.91 *rug rikau ca luki*)

(*e*) *ja(r→ϕ)* + *gṛdh* → *ja* + *rUK* + *gṛdh* → *jar* + *gṛdh* → (3.1.32 *sanādyantā*. . .; 3.2.111 *anadyatane laṅ*)

(*f*) *jar* + *gṛdh* + *LAṄ* → *a(T)* + *jar* + *gṛdh* + *(Ś)a(P)* + *si(P)* → (7.3.86 *pugantalaghūpadhasya ca*)

(*g*) *a* + *jar* + *g(ṛ→ar)dh* + *a* + *si* → *a* + *jar* + *gardh* + *a* + *s(i→ϕ)* → *a* + *jar* + *gardh* + *s* (*Dhātupāṭha*: *carkarītañ ca*); 3.4.100 *itaś ca*; 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . .); 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ*. . .

(*h*) *a* + *jar* + *gardh* + (*a*→ϕ) + *s* → *a* + *jar* + *gardh* + (*s*→ϕ) = *a* + *jar* + *gardh* →(8.2.37 *ekāco baśo*. . .; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*)

(*i*) *a* + *jar* + (*g*→*gh*) *ar* + *dh* → *a* + *jar* + *ghar*(*dh*→*d*) → (8.2.75 *daś ca*)

(*j*) *a* + *jar* + *ghar*(*d*→*rU*) → *a* + *jar* + *ghar* + *r*(*U*) → (8.3.14 *ro ri*)

(*k*) *a* + *jar* + *gha*(*r*→ϕ) + *r* → 6.3.111 *ḍhralope*. . .

(*l*) *a* + *jar* + *gh*(*a*→*ā*) + *r* = *ajarghār* → 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*

(*m*) *ajarghā*(*r*→*ḥ*) = *ajarghāḥ*

3.9 *gardhap*, refer to note 2

4. Why do we have the condition of *ekācaḥ* '. . . monosyllabic'? Consider *dāmaliham icchati* = *dāmalihyati*; *dāmalihya* + *KvIP* = *dāmaliṭ* 'he who likes to lick the rope; a calf', where, if *ekācaḥ* was not specified, *baŚ* alone could be qualified with *dhātoḥ*. Since it is impossible to get a *baŚ* which ends in *jhaṢ*, *jhaṣantasya* could only qualify *dhātoḥ*. This will give us the following meaning: *jhaṣantasya dhātor yo' vayavo baś tasya bhaṣ iti* 'a *baŚ* which ends in *jhaṢ* and is part of a verbal root; a *bhaṢ* comes in place of that'. This will cause application of this rule on *dāmaliḍh* (see *supra*, note 2).

Why do we have the specification made with *baśaḥ* 'in place of *baŚ*'? Consider *krotsyati*, a derivate of *krudh* 'to be angry', where *k* cannot be replaced with *gh* because it is not a *baŚ*.

Why do we state the condition of *jhaṣantasya* 'of that which ends in a *jhaṢ*'? Consider *dāsyati*, where *dā* does not end in *jhaṢ*.

Why do we state the condition of *sdhvoḥ* 'when *s* or *dhva* follows'? Consider *boddhā*, *boddhum* and *boddhavyam*, where no *s* or *dhva* follows.

Why was this specificaton made with *dhva*, and not just with *dh*? Consider *dādaddhi*, a form of (*dadh* + (*yaṄ*→*LUK*)) + (*LOṬ*→*si*→*hi*→*dhi*))), where the root goes through reduplication and *si* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*) is replaced with *dhi*, via *hi* (6.4.101 *hujhalyor her dhiḥ*).

8.2.38 दधस्तथोश्च

dadhas tathoś ca

/*dadhaḥ* 6/1 *tathoḥ* 7/2 = *taś ca thaś ca* = *tathau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/ (*padasya* #1.16 *jhali* #26 *ante ca* #29 *dhātoḥ* #32 *baśo bhaṣ jhaṣantasya sdhvoḥ* #37)

dadhaḥ ity etasya jhalantasya baśaḥ sthāne bhaṣ ādeśo bhavati jhali sakāre dhvaśabde ca parataḥ padānte ca

A replacement denoted by *bhaṢ* comes in place of one denoted by *baŚ*, of *dadh* (*dhā*) 'to bear, support' ending in *jhaL*, when the substituendum occurs, either at the end of a *pada*, or occurs followed by *t*, *th*, *s* or *dhva*.

EXAMPLES:

dhattaḥ 'third person dual active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dhā*'
dhatthaḥ 'second person dual active . . .'
dhatse 'second person dual middle . . .'
dhatsva 'second person singular middle *LOṬ*-derivate . . .'
dhadhvam 'second person plural middle *LOṬ* . . .'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *bhaṢ*, for the *baŚ* sound of verbal root *dadh* when ending in *jhaṢ*, provided a *s* or *dhva* preceded by *jhaL* follows. Note that *dadh* ends in *dh* (*jhaṢ*) and is a form of verbal root *ḌUdhāÑ* resulting from its reduplication (6.1.1 *ekāco dve* . . .), i.e., *dhā* + *dhā*, shortening (7.4.59 *hrasvaḥ*; *dh*(*ā*→*a*) and (*dh*→*d*)*a* = *da* (*jaśtva*). This gives us *dadh*(*ā*→ϕ) = *dadh*, where 6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor ātaḥ* deletes the *ā* of *dhā*. Note that this deleted *ā* cannot be treated as *ā*, via *sthānivadbhāva*, at the strength of this rule formulation. A replacement in *jaŚ* in the *abhyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable' is also treated as suspended (*asiddha*; *Kāś*: *vacanasāmarthyāt lopasaya sthānivadbhāvo na bhavati. abhyāsajaśtvasya cāsiddhatvam*).

We derive *dhattaḥ* from (*dadh* + (*LAṬ*→*tas*) = *dadh* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *tas* → *dadh* + *tas*. Our present rule will replace the initial *d* of *dad* with *dh*. The final *dh* will be replaced with *t* (8.4.54 *khari ca*), thereby producing (*d*→*dh*) *dh* + *tas* → *dha*(*dh*→*t*) + *tas* = *dhattas*. An application of *rutva-visarga* will derive *dhatta*(*s* →*rU*→*ḥ*) = *dhattaḥ*. We will similarly get *dhatthaḥ* from *dhā* + *LAṬ* if *thas* is selected to replace *LAṬ*. We will similarly get the second person singular middle (*ātmanepada*) form *dhatse* when the second singular *thās* is further replaced with *se* (3.4.80 *thāsaḥ se*). We can also derive *dhatsva* from *dad* + (*LOṬ*→*thās*→*se*), where *e* of *se* will be replaced with *va*. Thus, (*dadh* + *s*(*e*→*va*) → (*d*→*dh*) *adh* + *sva* → *dha*(*dh*→*t*) + *sva* → *dhatsva*. Deriving *dhadhvam* should not pose any problem.

2. Why do we have the condition of *tathoḥ* 'when *t* and *th* follow'? Haradatta states that *tathoḥ* should not be stated in the rule. He argues that *jhali* and *jhaṣantasya* are both carried. A *jhaL* which may follow is not any different from *t* and *th* of *tathoḥ*. Besides, if *tathoḥ* was not used in this rule, *s* and *dhva* would be desired to be carried, via *ca*, anyway. Thus, *d* of *dadh* can be replaced with *dh* of the preceding rule. This change of *dh* could have been accomplished by this rule without *tathoḥ* (*PM*: '*jhali*' *iti vartate*, '*jhaṣantasya*' *iti ca*; *na ca takārathakārābhyām anyo dadho jhal asti, sdhvos tāvad iṣṭam eva. tasmāt tathor iti na vaktavyam*).

The condition of *jhaṣantasya* 'in place of that which ends in a sound denoted by *jhaṢ*' will still be valid. Consider *dadhāti* where this rule does not apply since it does not get the form *dadh* subsequent to deletion of *ā*.

8.2.39 झलां जशोऽन्ते

jhalāṃ jaśo' nte
/jhalām 6/1 *jaśaḥ* 1/3 *ante* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16)
jhalāṃ jaśa ādeśā bhavanti padasyānte vartamānānām
A sound which is denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* (*Śs.* 7-14), and occurs at the end of a *pada*, is replaced with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *jaŚ* (*Śs.* 10).

EXAMPLES:

vāg atra
śvaliḍ atra
agnicid atra
triṣṭub atra

1. This rule replaces a *pada*-final sound denoted by *jhaL* with a corresponding sound denoted by *jaŚ*. Consider *śvali*(*h*→ *ḍh*→*ḍ*) → *śvaliḍ atra*, where *jaśtva* (*ḍh*→*ḍ*) applies after *h* is replaced with *ḍh*. Other derivates have similar applications.

The word *anta* here denotes *avasāna* 'end'. It does not denote *avayava* '(terminal) part of a whole' (*PM*: *antaśabdo' vasānavacanaḥ*; *na tv avayavavacanaḥ*). It is also used here to cancel the *anuvṛtti* of *jhali* (*Kāś*: *antagrahaṇaṃ jhalīty etasya nivṛtyartham*). Why use *anta* when the same could have been carried from 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogāder*. . . ? This *anuvṛtti* is associated with *jhali*. If one is carried the other must also be carried. Consider (*vas* + *tṛC*) + *sU*)) → *vastā* and (*vas* + *tavyaT*) + *sU*)) → *vastavyam*, where a *jaŚ*-replacement cannot be accomplished because *anta* does not mean *avayava* 'part of a whole'.

8.2.40 झषस्तथोर्धोऽधः

jhaṣas tathor dho' dhaḥ
/jhaṣaḥ 6/1 *ta-thoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *dhaḥ* 6/1
a-dhaḥ 5/1 (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt/*
jhaṣa uttarayos takārathakārayoḥ sthāne dhakāra ādeśo bhavati dadhātiṃ varjayitvā
A *dh* comes in place of *t* or *th* which, in turn, occurs after a sound denoted by *jhaṢ* (*Śs.* 8-9) with the exception of verbal root *ḌUdhāÑ* 'to place'.

EXAMPLES:

labdhā 'derivate of (*labh* 'to obtain' + *tṛC*) + *sU*'
labdhum 'derivate of *labh* + *tumUN*'
labdhavyam 'derivate of *labh* + *tavyaT*'
alabdha 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *labh*'

alabdhāḥ 'second singular middle *LUṄ*. . .'
dogdhā '*tṛC*-derivate of *duh* 'to milk''
dogdhum '*tumUN*-derivate of . . .'
dogdhavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate of . . .'
adugdha 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *duh*'
adugdhāḥ 'second singular middle *LUṄ*. . .'
leḍhā '*tṛC*-derivate of *lih* 'to lick''
leḍhum '*tumUN*-derivate of *lih*'
leḍhavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate of *lih*'
alīḍha 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *lih*'
alīḍhāḥ 'second singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of . . .'
boddhā '*tṛC*-derivate of *budh* 'to comprehend''
boddhum '*tumUN*-derivate of *budh*'
boddhavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate of *budh*'
abuddha 'third singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *budh*'
abuddhāḥ 'second singular middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *budh*'

1. This rule replaces a *t* or *th* with *dh* when the same occurs after a *jhaṢ* sound. Commentators state that the negation stated by *adhaḥ* applies to verbal root *ḌUdhāÑ*. This should not be construed as a negation applying to *dh*, per se. If this negation was intended to apply to *dh* per se, a *t* and *th* which occurs after *dh* could not be replaced with *dh*. Consequently, specifications made with *buddhi* (1.4.52 *gatibuddhi* . . .) and *vṛddhi* (1.1.73 *vṛddhir yasyācām* . . .) could not be justified.

Consider (*labh* + *tṛC*) + *sU*)) → *labh* + (*t*→*dh*)*ṛC*) *sU*)) → *labdhā*, (*labh* + (*t*→*dh*) *um*)) = (*la*(*bh*→*b*) + *dhum*)) = *labdhum* and (*labh* + *tavyaT*) + *sU* → *labdhavyam*. Refer to derivational details of *abuddha* (II:437). Similar rules apply in deriving *alabdha*. A similar derivate with *thās* will be *alabdhāḥ*. Derivates such as *adugdha*, *adugdhāḥ*; *alīḍha* and *alīḍhāḥ* are derived under 7.3.73 *lug vā duhadihaliha*. . . . These forms could be easily comprehended because scores of *tṛC*, *tumUN*, *tavyaT*, and also middle derivates of *LUṄ*, have already been discussed.

2. Why do we state *adhaḥ* 'not after *dhā*'? Consider *dhattaḥ* and *dhatthaḥ* where this replacement does not apply because the root is constituted by *dhā*.

8.2.41 **षढोः कः सि**

ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si
/*ṣaḍhoḥ* 6/2 = *ṣaś ca ḍhaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *kaḥ* 1/1 *si* 7/1/
ṣakāraḍhakārayoḥ kakārādeśo bhavati sakāre parataḥ
A replacement in *k* comes in place of *ṣ* and *ḍh* when *s* follows.

EXAMPLES:

pekṣyati 'derivate of (*piṣ* + (*LṚṬ*→*tiP*))'

apekṣyat 'derivate of (*piṣ* + (*LṚṄ*→*tiP*))'
pipakṣati 'derivate of (*piṣ* + *saN*) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*))'
lekṣyati 'derivate of (*lih* + (*LṚṬ*→*tiP*))'
alekṣyat 'derivate of (*lih* + (*LṚṄ*→*tiP*)'
lilikṣati 'derivate of (*lih* + *saN*) + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*))'

1. This rule replaces a *ṣ* and *ḍh* with *k* when *s* follows. Thus, *piṣ* + (*LṚṬ*→*tiP*) → *p*(*i*→*e*)*ṣ* + *sya* + *ti* → *pe*(*ṣ*→*k*) + *sya* + *ti* → *pek* + (*s*→*ṣ*)*ya* + *ti* = *pekṣyati*. We similarly get *aṬ* + *piṣ* + *sya* + (*LṚṬ*→*tiP*) → *apekṣyat*. A derivate of *saN* with *LAṬ*, where 1.2.10 *halantāc ca* blocks *guṇa*, will be derived as *pipikṣati* 'wishes to powder'. Similar examples of *li*(*h*→*ḍh*), where *ḍh* gets replaced with *k*, are: *lekṣyati*, *alekṣyat* and *lilikṣati*.

Why do we have the condition of *si* 'when *s* follows'? Consider *piṣ* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *pi* + *ŚnaM* + *ṣ* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *pinaṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*)*i* = *pinaṣṭi*, where *ṣ* does not occur before *s*. A similar example is *leḍhi* where *ḍh* cannot be replaced with *k*. Incidentally, *ŚaP* goes through *LUK*-deletion because *lih* is a root of the *adādi* group (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . .). The *h* of *lih* is, of course, replaced with *ḍh* of 8.4.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*.

8.2.42 रदाभ्यां निष्ठातो नः पूर्वस्य च दः

radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto naḥ pūrvasya ca daḥ
/*ra-dābhyām* 5/2 = *raś ca daś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *niṣṭhātaḥ* 6/1 = *niṣṭhāyās takāraḥ* = *niṣṭhāt* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasya*; *naḥ* 1/1 *pūrvasya* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *daḥ* 6/1/
rephadakārābhyām uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati pūrvasya ca dakārasya
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after *r* and *d* is replaced with *n*, with an additional provision that *d* be also replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

āstīrṇam 'derivate of (*āN-stṝÑ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
vistīrṇam 'derivate of (*vi-stṝÑ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
viśīrṇam 'derivate of (*vi-śṝ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
nigīrṇam 'derivate of (*ni-gṝ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
avagūrṇam 'derivate of (*ava-gur* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
bhinnaḥ 'derivate of (*bhid* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
bhinnavān 'derivate of (*bhid* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
chinnaḥ 'derivate of (*chid* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
chinnavān 'derivate of (*chid* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'

1. This rule replaces the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix with *n* when *t* occurs after *r* and *d*. Additionally, the *d* which precedes *t* is also replaced with *n*. Note that *niṣṭhā* suffixes begin with *t* and are introduced after a root. If *t* of these suffixes is to occur after *r* and *d*, the root must end in *r* and *d*. Thus, *ā-stṝÑ* +

Kta → *āst*(*ṝ*→*ir*) + *ta* → *āst*(*i*→*ī r*) + *ta* → *āstīr* + (*t*→*n*) *a* → *āstīr* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *āstīrṇa* 'strewn around', where *ṝ* is replaced with *ir*. Refer to derivational details under 7.1.100 *ṝt id dhātoḥ*. Our next two derivates, *viśīrṇam* 'decayed, shattered' and *nigīrṇam* 'swallowed', follow similar rule applications. What is different in (*ava-g*(*u*→*ū*) *r* + *ta*) + *sU*→ (*ava-gūr* + (*t*→*n*) *a*)) + *sU*→ *avagūrṇam* is the availability of *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārddhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*). This *iṬ* is, however, negated by 7.2.14 *śvīdito niṣṭhāyām*. Refer to derivational details of *bhinnaḥ* in the appendix of rule 1.1.5 *kṅiti ca* (II:337). Deriving *chinnaḥ* from (*chid* + *Kta*) + *sU*→ *chi*(*d*+*t*→*nn*) *a*)) + *sU*→ *chinnaḥ* is easy.

2. Why do we have the condition of *radābhyām* 'after *r* and *d*'? Consider *kṛ* + *Kta* → *kṛta* + *sU*→ *kṛtaḥ* and *kṛt* + *KtavatU*→ *kṛtavat* + *sU*→ *kṛtavān*, where this rule does not apply since *t* does not occur after *r*. It is argued that this rule must apply since *ṛ* is generally accepted as including *r*. However, since *r* of *ṛ* is not followed immediately by *t* of *Kta*, this rule does not apply. What intervenes between *r* of *ṛ* and *t* of *Kta* is the vocalic part of *ṛ*. This rule refers to *r* as a consonant (*Kāś*:. . . *vyañjana-mātram, rephasāmānyānirdeśe' pi sati rephāt parā yā''jbhaktis tadvyavadhānān na bhavati*). Besides, the *r* which results out of the application of *vṛddhi* is accepted here as externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*).

Why do we have the condition of *niṣṭhā* '. . . of *niṣṭhā*'? Consider *kartā* and *hartā* where what follows is the non-*niṣṭhā* suffix *tṛC*.

Why do we have the condition of *taḥ* 'in place of *t* of *niṣṭhā*'? Consider (*car* + *iṬ* + *ta*) + *sU*→ *caritam* and (*mud* + *iṬ* + *ta*) + *sU*→ *muditam*, where *t* follows *r*, intervened by *i*. This rule thus does not apply.

Why do we state *pūrvasya* 'in place of that which precedes'? So that a replacement in *n* cannot apply to *d* which follows (*Kāś*: *parasya na bhavati*). Consider (*bhid* + *tavat*) + *bhyām* = *bhinnavadbhyām* and (*bhid* + *tavat*) + *bhis* = *bhinnavadbhiḥ*, where *d* which precedes *t*, and not that which may follow by way of being a replacement of *t* (*jaśtva*), can be replaced with *n*.

Why is this replacement not applied in *kṛtasyāpatyam* = *kārttiḥ* 'son of Kṛta', where *r* precedes *t*. This *r* is part of the *vṛddhi*-replacement of *ṛ* of *kṛta*. Since this replacement is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) by the *taddhita* affix *iÑ* (4.1.95 *ata iñ*), it will become *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of the application of *n*-replacement (*Kāś*: *iha kṛtasyāpatyaṃ kārttir iti vṛddher bahiraṅgalakṣaṇāyā asiddhatvāt natve kartavye rephasyāsiddhatvām* 'since the externally conditioned *vṛddhi* of *kṛtasyāpatyam kārttiḥ* is considered suspended, *r* is considered suspended in accomplishing a replacement in *n*').

8.2.43 संयोगादेरातो धातोर्यण्वतः

saṃyogāder āto dhātor yaṇvataḥ
/ *saṃyogādeḥ* 5/1 = *saṃyoga ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *ātaḥ* 5/1 *dhātoḥ* 5/1 *yaṇvataḥ* 5/1 = *yaṇ asyāstīti* = *yaṇvān* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)

saṃyogādir yo dhātur ākārānto yaṇvān tasmād uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati

The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix introduced after a verbal root which begins with a conjunct, ends in *ā*, and contains a sound denoted by *yaṆ*, is replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

pradrāṇaḥ 'derivate of ((*pra-drā* + *Kta*) + *sU*)'
pradrāṇavān 'derivate of ((*pra-drā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*)'
mlānaḥ 'derivate of ((*mlai* + *Kta*) + *sU*)'
mlānavān 'derivate of ((*mlai* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*)'

1. This rule replaces the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix with *n* when this suffix occurs after a root which (*i*) begins with a conjunct, (*ii*) ends in *ā* and (*iii*) contains a sound denoted by *yaṆ*. Thus, (*pra-drā* + *Kta*) + *sU* → *pradrā* + (*t*→*n*)) + *sU* → *pradrāṇaḥ*, where *drā* before *Kta* qualifies as a root ending in *ā*, beginning with a conjunct and containing a *yaṆ* sound. The *n* is here replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.29 *kṛty acaḥ*). Note that verbal roots *glai* and *mlai* yield *glā* and *mlā*, after their *ai* is replaced with *ā* (6.1.44 *ādeca upadeśe*...). Thus, we also get this replacement in *mlānaḥ* and *mlānavān*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *saṃyogādeḥ* 'after that which begins with a conjunct'? Consider (*yā* + *Kta*) + *sU* = *yātaḥ* and (*yā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *yātavān*, where *yā* does not begin with a conjunct and this rule does not apply.

Why do we have the condition of *ātaḥ* 'after (a root) ending in *ā*'? Consider (*cyuṄ* + *Kta*) + *sU* = *cyutaḥ* '... has dripped'/ (*cyuṄ* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *cyutavān* 'dripped'; and (*plu* + *Kta*) + *sU* = *plutaḥ* '... has moved'/(*plu* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *plutavān* 'moved', where the roots end in *u*.

Why do we have the condition of *dhātoḥ* 'after a verbal root'? Consider *nir-yā* + *Kta* = *niryāta* 'gone outside', where the root ends in *ā* but does not begin with a conjunct. The unit formed by the conjunct with *ā*, i.e., *ryā*, is not a root. The conjunct results out of combination of the preverb and root. Our present rule can thus not apply here.

Why do we have the condition of *yaṇvataḥ* 'after that which contains a *yaṆ* sound'? Consider (*snā* + *Kta*) + *sU* = *snātaḥ* 'bathed' and (*snā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* = *snātavān*, where the root ends in *ā* and begins with a conjunct. However, this root does not contain any *yaṆ* sound. Here again, our present rule cannot find any application.

8.2.44 ल्वादिभ्यः

lvādibhyaḥ
/ *lvādibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *lū ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)

lvādibhya uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal roots enumerated in the group headed by *lūÑ* 'to cut' is replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

lūnaḥ 'a derivate of (*lūÑ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
lūnavān 'a derivate of (*lūÑ* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
dhūnaḥ 'a derivate of (*dhūÑ* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
dhūnavān 'a derivate of *dhūÑ* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
jīnaḥ 'a derivate of (*jyā* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
jīnavān 'a derivate of (*jyā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'

1. Note that *lvādibhyaḥ* refers to an enumeration of roots within the *kryādi* class, beginning with *lūÑ* 'to cut' and ending with *vṝÑ* 'to choose'. Thus, *lū(Ñ)* + *(K)ta* → *lū* + *(t→n)a* = *lūna* + *sU* = *lūnaḥ*; (*lū* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* → *lūnavān*. We similarly derive *jyā* + *(K)ta* → *j(y→i)ā* + *ta* → *j(i+ā→i)* + *ta* → *j(i→ī)* + *ta* → *jī* + *(t→n)a* = *jīna* + *sU* → *jīnaḥ* and (*jyā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* → *jīnavān*, etc. Recall that an application of *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.16 *grahijyā-vayivyadhi*...), i.e., replacement in *i* for *y* of *jyā* (1.1.45 *ig yaṇaḥ samprasāraṇam*), and a single replacement application in *i* (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*) for the resultant vocalic sequence of *i+ā* must be made now. A long replacement in *ī*, for this short *i*, is then accomplished by 6.4.2 *halaḥ*. The *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix is, of course, replaced with *n*.

2. The following *vārttika* proposals are also made:

(*i*) The *t* of affix *KtiN*, similar to that of affixes termed *niṣṭhā*, is to be replaced with *n* when occurring after a root ending in *ṛ* (short or long), or after roots specified here as *lvādi* (*vt*: *ṛkāralvādibhyaḥ ktin niṣṭhāvad bhavatīti vaktavyam*). Consider *kṝ* + *KtiN* → *kīrṇi* + *sU* → *kīrṇiḥ*, *śīrṇiḥ*; *lūniḥ* and *pūniḥ*.

(*ii*) The short final *u* of *du* 'to be afflicted' and *gu* 'to void solid matter from the body' should be replaced with its long counterpart, in addition to *n*-replacement of *t* of *niṣṭhā* (*vt*: *dugvor dīrghaś ceti vaktavyam*). Thus, *ādūnaḥ* and *vigūnaḥ*.

(*iii*) The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* should be replaced with *n* after *pūÑ* 'to destroy' (*vt*: *pūño vināśa iti vaktavyam*). Thus, *pūnā yavāḥ* 'barleys are destroyed'. Why do we state the condition of *vināśe* 'when the signification is 'destruction'? Consider *pūtaṃ dhānyam* 'grains are cleansed'.

(*iv*) The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix is replaced with *n* when it is introduced after *si* 'to bind' and the denotatum is *grāsa* 'morsel', an object turned agent (*karmakartṛ*; *sinoter grāsakarmakartṛkasyeti vaktavyam*). Thus, *sino grāsaḥ svayameva* 'morsels rolled up by themselves'.

Why do we state the condition of *karmakartṛkasya* 'of an object turned

agent'? Consider *sitā pāśena sūkarī* 'the (female) pig was caught by snares'. Or else, *sito grāso devadattena* 'Devadatta made the morsel'.

8.2.45 ओदितश्च

oditaś ca
/ *oditaḥ* 5/1 = *ot it yasya* (*bv.*) = *odit, tasmāt; ca* ϕ/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)
okāreto dhātor uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after a verbal root marked with *O* as an *it* is replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

lagnaḥ 'derivate of (*OlasjĪ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
lagnavān 'derivate of (*OlasjĪ* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
udvignaḥ 'derivate of (*OvijĪ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
udvignavān 'derivate of (*OlasjĪ* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
āpīnaḥ 'derivate of (*OpyāyĪ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
āpīnavān 'derivate of (*OpyāyĪ* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'

1. This rule replaces the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix with *n* when the same occurs after a root marked with *O* as an *it*. Refer to derivational details of *lagnaḥ* and *lagnavān* under 7.2.14 *śvīdito niṣṭhāyām* and 8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor....* The *pyāy* of *OpyāyĪ* is, optionally, replaced with *pī* (6.1.28 *pyāyaḥ pī*). Thus, (*āpyāy*→*āpī*) + (*K*)) *ta* → *āpī* + (*t*→*n*) *a* = *ā-pīna* + *sU* → *āpīnaḥ*. We similarly get *āpīnavān*, a derivate with *KtavatU*.

2. The following verbal roots are also considered marked with *O* as an *it*. Thus, *ṣūṄ* = *sūnaḥ/ sūnavān*; *dūṄ* = *dūnaḥ/ dūnavān*; *dīṄ* = *dīnaḥ/ dīnavān*; *ḍīṄ* = *ḍīnaḥ/ ḍīnavān*; *dhīṄ* = *dhīnaḥ/ dhīnavān*; *mīṄ* = *mīnaḥ/ mīnavān*; *rīṄ* = *rīṇaḥ/ rīṇavān*; *līṄ* = *līnaḥ/ līnavān*; *vrīṄ* = *vrīṇaḥ/ vrīṇavān*.

8.2.46 क्षियो दीर्घात्

kṣiyo dīrghāt
/ *kṣiyaḥ* 5/1 *dīrghāt* 5/1/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)
kṣiyo dhātor dīrghād uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after the long vowel of verbal root *kṣi* 'to decay' is replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

kṣīṇāḥ kleśāḥ 'miseries are over'
kṣīṇo jālmaḥ 'this wretched one is finished (anger)'
kṣīṇas tapasvī 'this ascetic is thin (pity)'

1. This specification of verbal root *kṣi* is made with its *i* replaced with *iyAṄ* in *kṣiyaḥ*. Since this specification can easily refer to *kṣi* ending in a long *ī*, the use of the word *dīrghāt* is not necessary. If the specification intended a short *i*, Pāṇini should have said *kṣeḥ*, blocking *iyAṄ* with *guṇa* of 7.3.111 *gher ṅiti* on the basis of *paratva* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe* . . .). Since it is only appropriate to imitate a form which may facilitate lengthening, a short thus must be the form of reference with *iyAṄ*. *Kāśikā* states that *iyAṄ* refers here to *kṣi* ending in a short *i*. How come such a short specification for *ji*, made with *jeḥ*, was not made with *jiyaḥ* in 1.3.19 *viparābhyāṃ jeḥ*? That rule refers to *ji* in general, and not to an imitation of its form in particular (*Kāś*: . . . *jirūpasāmānyānukaraṇaṃ draṣṭavyam*).

Note that, in the absence of any qualification (*viśeṣānupādānāt*), *kṣi* refers to both *kṣi* 'to decay' and *kṣi* 'to move, dwell'. Incidentally, *t* is replaced with *n* when *i* of *kṣi* is replaced with *dīrgha* 'long' (6.4.60 *niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe*). This, of course, happens when the *niṣṭhā* suffix does not denote the sense of *NyaT*, i.e., *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karman* 'object'.

2. Why do we have the condition of *dīrghāt* 'after a long vowel'? Consider *akṣitam*, of *akṣitam asi māmekṣeṣṭhāḥ*, where *akṣita*, combined after the negative *naÑ*, is a derivate of *Kta* introduced after *kṣi* signifying *bhāva* 'root-sense'.

8.2.47 श्योऽस्पर्शे

śyo' sparśe
/*śyaḥ* 5/1 *asparśe* 7/1 = *na sparśaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)
śyāyater uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasyāsparśe nakāra ādeśo bhavati
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *śyaiṄ* 'to be coagulated' is replaced with *n*, provided *sparśa* 'touch' is not the signification.

EXAMPLES:

śīnaṃ ghṛtam 'coagulated ghee'
śīnaṃ medaḥ 'coagulated marrow'
śīnā vasā 'coagulated fat'

1. Note that the *ai* of *śyaiṄ* goes through a replacement in *ā* (6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe* . . .). The *y* then goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.24 *dravamūrttisparśayoḥ śyaḥ*). Thus, *śyai*(*Ṅ*) + (*K*)*ta* → *śy*(*ai*→*ā*) + *ta* → *ś*(*y*→*i*)*ā* + *ta* = *ś*(*i*+*ā*) + *ta*. Rule 6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca* then has the sequence *i*+*ā* replaced with *i* (*pūravūpa*). The short *i* is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.4.60 *niṣṭhāyām aṇyadarthe*). Our present rule, of course, replaces the *t* with *n*. Thus, *ś*(*i*+*ā*→*i*) + (*t*→*n*)*a* = *śīna* + *sU* = *śīnaḥ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *asparśe* 'when *sparśa* 'touch' is not the signification'? Consider *śītaṃ vartate* 'it is cold' and *śītaṃ vāyuḥ* 'wind has

cooled', where the signification is either *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object', respectively. Note that, in *śītaṃ vāyuḥ*, the idea of *sparśa* 'touch' is secondary (*guṇabhūtaḥ*). It still serves as the condition for blocking *n*-replacement of *t* (*natva-pratiṣedha*) and *samprasāraṇa*. How could a secondary or non-principal (*apradhāna*) serve as a condition for an operational principal (*pradhāna*; (*PŚ* 106): *pradhānāpradhānayoḥ pradhāne kāryasampratyayaḥ*)? The negation in *asparśe* is not interpreted here as *paryudāsa*, i.e., *sparśād anyad dravyam* 'something other than 'touch''. It is interpreted as *prasajya*, instead. Consequently, negation of *n*-replacement can be accomplished even when there is slightest possibility of 'touch' (*Nyāsa*: ... *prasajyapratiṣedhaḥ. tena yatra sparśagandho' sti tatra tadāśrayeṇa natvapratiṣedhena bhavitavyam. asti ca guṇabhūtaḥ sparśaḥ, tena tadāśrayo natvapratiṣedho bhavaty eva*). Besides, Pāṇini has disregarded the principle of 2.2.34 *alpāc taram* in placing *sparśa* at the end in 6.1.24 *dravamūrttisparśayoḥ*. ... This, in turn, indicates that negation can be blocked even when *sparśa* is secondary.

3. Note that *sparśa* is also used with the signification of *roga* 'affliction'. However, negation of *n*-replacement (*natva*) applies only when the signification is 'quality (of touch)'. That is why, we get the non-negation of *natva* in *pratiśīnaḥ*, thereby meaning 'affliction'.

8.2.48 अञ्चोऽनपादाने

añco' napādāne
/ *añcaḥ* 5/1 *anapādāne* 7/1 = *na apādānam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)
añcater uttarapadasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakārādeśo bhavati na ced apādānaṃ tatra bhavati

The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *añcU* 'to bend, curve' is replaced with *n*, provided an *apādāna* 'ablative' is not used in connection with it.

EXAMPLES:

samaknau śakuneḥ pādau 'a bow-legged bird'
tasmāt paśavo nyaknāḥ 'that is why animals are bent'

1. This rule allows *n* as a replacement for *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix when the same occurs after *añcU* and there is no connection with any *apādāna* 'ablative'. Note that there is no possibility of an *apādāna* in the context of *añcU*. Why? Because the possibility of a *kāraka* exists only in relation to an action denoted by the root (*Nyāsa*: *na hy añcatāv apādānatvaṃ sambhavati, kiṃ tarhi? tadarthe kriyāviṣayatvāt kārakāṇām*). Why do we then have the negation of *anapādāne* 'when the context is not of an *apādāna*'? Consider *udaktam udakaṃ kūpāt* 'water was lifted from the water-well', where *udakta* is a form of verbal root *añjU* 'to take out, draw'.

Note that *nyakna* is derived from *ni-añc*($U \rightarrow \phi$) = *n*(*i*→*y*) -*añc* + ($K \rightarrow \phi$) *ta* → *nyañc* + *ta*, where *ñ* of *añc* is deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*. . . . Our present rule then replaces the *t* of *ny-a*(*ñ*→ϕ) *c* + (*t*→*n*) *a* = *ny-ac* + *na* with *n*. Rule 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ* then replaces *c* with *k* to yield *ny-a*(*c*→*k*) + *na* → *ny-ak* + *na* = *nyakna*.

8.2.49 **दिवोऽविजिगीषायाम्**

divo' vijigīṣāyām
/*divaḥ* 5/1 *avijigīṣāyām* 7/1 = *na vijigīṣā* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām*/ (*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)
diva uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati avijigīṣāyām arthe
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *div* 'to sport, play' is replaced with *n*, provided *vijigīṣā* 'wish to win' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

ādyūnaḥ 'savoring a meal by rubbing the belly'
paridyūnaḥ 'sad, miserable; weak'

1. Consider (*ā-div* + (*K*) *ta*) + *sU* = *ādyūnaḥ* and *pari-div* + (*K*) *ta*) + *sU* = *paridyūnaḥ*, where augment *ūṬH* is introduced by 6.4.19 *ccvoḥ śuḍ anunāsike*. Thus, *ā-di*(*v*→*ū*(*ṬH*)) + *ta* → *ā- d*(*i*→*y*) *ū* + *ta* → *ā-dyū* + (*t*→*n*) *a* → *ā-dyūna* + *sU* → *ā-dyūnaḥ*. We similarly get *paridyūnaḥ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *avijigīṣāyām* 'when desire to win is not denoted'? Consider *div* + (*K*) *ta* = *dyūta* in *dyūtaṃ vartate*. We do not get a replacement in *n* since what is denoted here is 'gambling with a desire to win'. *Kāśikā* states that it is the desire to win which makes a gambler to throw dice to fall the way they should.

8.2.50 **निर्वाणोऽवाते**

nirvāṇo avāte
/*nirvāṇaḥ* 1/1 *avāte* 7/1 = *na vātaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/ (*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)
'*nirvāṇaḥ*' *iti nispūrvād vāter uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāro nipātyate, na ced vātādhikaraṇo vātyartho bhavati*
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *vā*, used with the preverb *nis*, is replaced with *n* to derive *nirvāṇa*, provided the derivate does not denote *vāta* 'wind'.

EXAMPLES:

nirvāṇo' gniḥ 'the fire is extinguished'
nirvāṇaḥ pradīpaḥ 'the lamp is extinguished'
eṣa nirvāṇo bhikṣuḥ 'this ascetic is at peace (with his worldly attachments, etc.); passed away'

1. Consider *nirvāṇaḥ pradīpaḥ* where the action means *upaśama* 'extinction'. *Kāśikā* explains *avāte* as *na ced vātādhikaraṇo vātyartho bhavati* 'when *vāta* 'wind' is not the locus (*adhikaraṇa*) of action denoted by verbal root *vā*'. That is, *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix used after *vā* cannot be replaced with *n* if *vāta* 'wind' serves as locus of action denoted by *upaśama* 'control, extinction, tranquility'. Consider (*nir-vā* + (*t*→*n*) *a*)) + *sU*→ *nirvāṇaḥ* of *nirvāṇaḥ pradīpaḥ*, where this replacement is allowed since *pradīpa* 'lamp', and not the wind (*vāta*), is locus of *upaśama*. The ascetic's tranquility in *nirvāṇo bhikṣuḥ* can be identified as 'full control of senses'.

Now consider *nirvāto vātaḥ* and *nirvāto vātena*, where *vāta* 'wind' serves as locus of action denoted by verbal root *vā*. There is no replacement in *n* (*natva*). But consider *nirvāṇaḥ pradīpo vātena* 'the lamp is extinguished by the wind', where 'lamp' serves as locus of action denoted by *vā* 'to move'. The 'wind' (*vāta*) serves as the *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Consequently, we have a replacement in *ṇ*.

8.2.51 शुषः कः

śuṣaḥ kaḥ
/*śuṣaḥ* 5/1 *kaḥ* 1/1/
(*niṣṭhātaḥ* #42)
śuṣer dhātor uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *śuṣA* 'to dry' is replaced with *k*.

EXAMPLES:

śuṣkaḥ 'derivate of (*śuṣ* + *Kta*) + *sU* 'dry''
śuṣkavān 'derivate of *śuṣ* + *KtavatU* + *sU*'

1. This rule replaces the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix with *k* when the same occurs after verbal root *śuṣA* 'to dry'. Consider *śuṣ* + (*K*) *ta* → (*śuṣ* + (*t*→*k*) *a*) + *sU*)) = *śuṣkaḥ* and (*śuṣka* + *KtavatU*) + *sU* → *śuṣkavān*. Recall that *t* should have been replaced with *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*). This rule offers *k*, instead.

2. Why can this *śuṣka* not be accomplished by *nipātana* of 6.1.203 *śuṣkadhṛṣṭau*? A *k*-replacement, via *nipātana*, will make the *i*-replacement of (*a*→*i*) (7.3.46 *udīcām ātaḥ* . . .) of *śuṣkikā* optional before *y* or *k* of an affix. It will also cause negation of masculine transformation in *śuṣkajaṅghā* (*puṃvadbhāva*) by 6.3.37 *na kopadhāyāḥ*. These two things do not happen if this *k*-replacement is accepted. It will be treated as *asiddha* in consideration of *śuṣkikā* and *śuṣkajaṅghā* (*Nyāsa*: . . . *iha tu kakārasya vidhāne sati tasyāsiddhatvād etad ubhayaṃ na bhavati*).

8.2.52 पचो वः

paco vaḥ

/pacaḥ 5/1 *vaḥ* 1/1/
(*niṣṭhātaḥ* #42)
pacer dhātor uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya vakārādeśo bhavati
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *pac* 'to cook' is replaced with *v*.

EXAMPLES:

pakvaḥ 'derivate of (*pac* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
pakvavān 'derivate of (*pac* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*)'

1. Why can this replacement not be accomplished under the *nipātana* provision of rule 2.1.41 *siddhaśuṣkapakvabandhaiś ca*)? Our present rule is needed since *pakvavān* cannot be accounted for by the said *nipātana*. Why then include *pakvaḥ* as an example here? A rule formulated for something different, for example *pakvavān*, can also account for *pakva* (*Nyāsa*: *anyārthaṃ cārabhyamāṇaṃ pakva ity etad artharūpam api bhavatīti . . . nipātanadvāreṇa tadvyutpattau pratipattigauravaṃ syād ity abhiprāyaḥ*). That is, understanding *pakvaḥ*, via *nipātana*, and *pakvavān* by this rule will be prolix (*gaurava*).

8.2.53 **क्षायो मः**

kṣāyo maḥ
/kṣāyaḥ 5/1 *maḥ* 1/1/
(*niṣṭhātaḥ* #42)
kṣaidhātor uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya makārādeśo bhavati
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *kṣai* 'to dry up, decay, be scorched' is replaced with *m*.

EXAMPLES:

kṣāmaḥ 'derivate of (*kṣai* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
kṣāmavān 'derivate of (*kṣai* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'

1. Recall that *ai* is replaced with *ā* (*ātva*) of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe' śiti*.

8.2.54 **प्रस्त्योऽन्यतरस्याम्**

prastyo' nyatarasyām
/prastyaḥ 5/1 = *prapūrvaḥ styāḥ* = *prastyāḥ* (*tat.*), *tasmāt*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*niṣṭhātaḥ* #42 *maḥ* #53)
prapūrvāt styāyater uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya anyatarasyāṃ makārādeśo bhavati
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *styai* 'crowd together, noise', used with the preverb *pra*, is replaced with *m*, only optionally.

EXAMPLES:

> *prastīmaḥ* 'derivate of (*pra-stai* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
> *prastītaḥ* 'ibidem'
> *prastīmavān* 'derivate of (*pra-stai* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
> *prastītavān* 'ibidem'

1. This rule optionally replaces the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix with *m* when the same occurs after *stai*, used with the preverb *pra*. Here again, the *ai* of *stai* is replaced with *ā* (*ātva*) of 6.1.45 *ādeca upadeśe*. . . . Refer to derivational details of examples under 6.1.23 *styaḥ prapūrvasya*.

Note that a replacement in *n* (8.2.43 *saṃyogāder dhātor*. . .) will apply if this optional replacement in *m* is not accepted. But this will then produce undesired forms **prastīnaḥ*, **prastīnavān*, etc. How can one block the application of 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder*. . . ? By treating it as *asiddha* in view of applying *samprasāraṇa* on *styā*. This will give us *styā* + *ta* → *st*(*y*→*i*) *ā* + *ta* → *st*(*i*+*ā*→*i*) + *ta* → *st*(*i*→*ī*) + *ta*. Rule 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder dhātor*. . . will now have its condition of application removed. A replacement in *n* for *t* of *ta* is thus not possible (*Kāś*: *yadā matvaṃ nāsti tadā 'saṃyogāder āto dhātor yaṇvataḥ' ity asya pūrvatrāsiddhatvāt samprasāraṇaṃ prathamaṃ kriyate. tatra kṛte nimittavyāghātān natvaṃ na bhavati*). For, the condition of replacement, i.e., ending in *ā* and containing a sound denoted by *yaN*, is not met.

8.2.55 अनुपसर्गात् फुल्लक्षीबकृशोल्लाघाः

> *anupasargāt phullakṣībakṛśollāghāḥ*
> / *anupasargāt* 5/1 = *na upasargaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *phulla-kṣība-kṛśa-ullāghāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*) /
> (*niṣṭhātaḥ* #42)
> '*phulla*; *kṣība*, *kṛśa*, *ullāgha*' *ity ete nipātyante*, *na ced upasargād uttarā bhavanti*
> Forms such as *phulla*, *kṣība*, *kṛśa* and *ullāgha* are derived, via *nipātana*, provided they do not occur used after a preverb.

EXAMPLES:

> *phullaḥ* 'blossomed'
> *kṣībaḥ* 'drunk'
> *kṛśaḥ* 'emaciated'
> *ullāghaḥ* 'clever'

1. These forms should be accepted as derived. Obviously, there are problems in deriving them with regular rule applications. Thus, *phal* + (*K*) *ta* → *ph*(*a*→*u*) *l* + (*K*) *ta* → *phul* + (*t*→*l*) *a* → *phulla*, where *u* replaces the *a* of *phal* (7.4.88 *ut parasyātaḥ*) and 7.2.16 *āditaś ca* blocks augment *iṬ*. What is accomplished here, via *nipātana*, is *l*-replacement of *t* of (*K*) *ta*. We similarly derive

phullavān. Now consider *kṣībR* + (*K*) *ta*, *kṛś* + (*K*) *ta*, *ut-lāgh* + (*K*) *ta*, where *kṣība* is to be derived by deleting *t* of (*K*) *ta* and blocking augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*), again via *nipātana*. We thus get *kṣīb* + (*t*→ϕ) *a* = *kṣība*. If one does not want to delete *t* and block *iṬ*, via *nipātana*, one then has to delete *iṬ*, via *nipātana*. Thus, *kṣīb* + (*K*) *ta* → *kṣīb* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + (*K*) *ta* → *kṣīb* (*i*+*t*→ϕ) *a* → *kṣīb* + *a* = *kṣība*. Similar applications can be seen in deriving *kṛśaḥ* and *u*(*t*→*d*→*l*)-*lāgh* + (*K*) *ta* → *ullāgh* + (*t*→ϕ) *a* = *ullāgha* + *sU*→ *ullāghaḥ*.

2. Notice that *ullāghaḥ* does not meet the condition of *anupasargāt* 'when not used after a preverb'. An exception to the use of *ut* before *lāgh* is made so that *ullāghaḥ* can be derived.

Why do we state this condition of *anupasargāt*? Consider *praphultāḥ sumanasaḥ*, *prakṛśitaḥ* and *prollāghitaḥ*, where *t* of (*K*) *ta* cannot be deleted because the roots are used with a prevrb. Notice that augment *iṬ* is also introduced in these examples.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also include *utphullaḥ* and *samphullaḥ* in the listing of words derived, via *nipātana* (*vt. utphullasamphullayor iti vaktavyam*).

How can one derive *parikṛśaḥ* where *kṛś* is used with the preverb *pari*. This goes against the condition of *anupasargāt*. Actually, *pari* is not an *upasarga* in relation to *kṛś*. It is a preverb in relation to another verbal root, namely *gam* 'to go', whose action is understood (*gamanakriyā-nirūpita-upasargatva*). Thus, *parigato kṛśaḥ* = *parikṛśaḥ* (*Kāś*: *parikṛśa ity atra yaḥ pariśabdaḥ sa kriyāntarayogāt kṛśiṃ praty anupasarga eva*).

8.2.56 नुदविदोन्दत्राघ्राह्रीभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम्

nudavidondatrāghrāhrībhyo' nyatarasyām
/ *nuda-vidonda-trā-ghrā-hrībhyaḥ* 5/3 = *nudaś ca vidaś ca undaś ca trāś ca ghrāś ca hrīś ca* = *nuda* . . . *hriyaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)
'*nuda, vida, undī, trā, ghrā, hrī*' *ity etebhya uttarasya nīṣṭhātakārasya nakāra ādeśo bhavati anyatarasyām*
The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal roots *nudA* 'to move, impel', *vidA* 'to consider', *undĪ* 'to be wet', *trā* 'to protect', *ghrā* 'to smell' and *hrī* 'to feel shy' is, optionally, replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

nunnaḥ 'impelled'
nuttaḥ 'ibidem'
vinnaḥ 'considered'
vittaḥ 'ibidem'
samunnaḥ 'thoroughly wet'
samuttaḥ 'ibidem'
trāṇaḥ 'protected; protection'

trātaḥ 'ibidem'
ghrāṇaḥ 'smelled; smell'
ghrātaḥ 'ibidem'
hrīṇaḥ 'shy'
hrītaḥ 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers *n* as an optional replacement for *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix when the same occurs after verbal roots *nudA* 'to inspire, impel', *vidA* 'to consider, think', *undA* 'to wet, dampen', *trā* 'to protect', *ghrā* 'to smell' and *hrī* 'to feel shy'. This replacement in *n* is not made available (*aprāpta*) to *hrī* by any rule. The other roots have this made available to them obligatorily (*nityam*; 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto* . . .; 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder āto* . . .). This rule makes it optional. A specification with *vidA* is made here for verbal root *vida vicāraṇe* 'to consider, think'. Consider the following verse:

vettes tu vidito niṣṭhā vidyater vinna iṣyate/
vinter vinnaś ca vittaś ca bhogavittaś ca vindateḥ//
'*vid* 'to know', because of an obligatory *iṬ*, has *vidita* in *niṣṭhā*; a replacement in *n* is desired after *vid* 'to exist' to derive *vinna*; two forms, i.e., *vinna* and *vitta*, are desired for *vid* 'to consider' with optional *n*-replacement; *vitta* (of *bhogavitta*) is the desired form of *vid* 'to gain''

8.2.57 न ध्याख्यापॄमूर्च्छिमदाम्

na dhyākhyāpṝmūrcchimadām
/na ϕ dhyā-khyā-pṝ-mūrcchi-madām 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām/*
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)
'*dhyā, khyā, pṝ, mūrcchi, mada*' *ity eteṣāṃ niṣṭhātakārasya nakārādeśo na bhavati*

The *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal roots *dhyā* (*dhyai*) 'to concentrate, meditate', *khyā* 'to relate, proclaim', *pṝ* 'to fill', *mūrcchI* 'to solidify, congeal' and *madA* 'to be exhilarated, be happy' is not replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

dhyātaḥ 'derivate of (*dhyai* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
dhyātavān 'derivate of (*dhyai* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
khyātaḥ 'derivate of (*khyā* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
khyātavān 'derivate of (*khyā* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
pūrtaḥ 'derivate of (*pṝ* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
pūrttavān 'derivate of (*pṝ* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
mūrttaḥ 'derivate of (*mūrcch* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
mūrttavān 'derivate of (*mūrcch* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'
mattaḥ 'derivate of (*mad* + *Kta*) + *sU*'
mattavān 'derivate of (*mad* + *KtavatU*) + *sU*'

1. This rule negates a replacement in *n* for the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after *dhyai* 'to concentrate', *khyā* 'to relate, tell', *pṝ* 'to fill, nourish', *mūrcchI* 'solidify, congeal, faint' and *madI* 'to be happy, exhilarated'. A specification with *khyā* also includes references to *khyā*, a replacement of *cakṣIṄ* (2.4.54 *cakṣiṅaḥ khyāñ*). How could *khyā* also refer to *khyā*-replacement of *cakṣIṄ* against *Paribhāṣā* (82): *niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya* 'a specification made without an *it* does not also refer to a form used with an *it*'? No problem. This interpretive convention cannot apply here. Recall that a specification such as *radābhyām* (8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto* . . .) has appropriately been made with the ablative to indicate that *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix follows. A similar specification in the ablative should have also been made here. But we have the specification made here with the genitive. A specification made with genitive in the context of one made with the ablative thus denotes a relatum in general. The genitive of roots such as *khyā* must denote its relatum in general (*Nyāsa*:. *iha hi niṣṭhātakārasya paratvapratipādane pañcamī yuktā, yathā radābhyām iti. tatra pañcamīnirdeśe kartavye yaḥ ṣaṣṭhīnirdeśaḥ kriyate sa sambandhasāmānyaṃ pratipādayitum*). The *khyā* of this rule must also denote the *khyā*-replacement of *cakṣiŃ*.

2. This negation of *n*-replacement is made against positive provisions made by 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto* . . . and 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder āto* . . . (*Kāś*: '*radābhyām* . . .', '*saṃyogādeḥ* . . .' *iti ca prāptaḥ pratiṣidhyate*). Consider *dhy*(*ai*→*ā*) + (*K*) *ta* → *dhyāta* + *sU* = *dhyātaḥ*, *dhyātavān*; *khyātaḥ*, *khyātavān*, etc. Note that augment *iṬ* is negated in (*pṝ* + (*K*) *ta*) + *sU*→ *pūrttaḥ* by 7.2.11 *śryukaḥ kiti*. A doubling of *t* is accomplished in consonance with 8.4.45 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve*. The *ṝ*, in turn, is replaced with *u* by 7.1.102 *ud oṣṭhyapūrvasya*. A long replacement (8.2.27 *hali ca*) for the short *u* then follows. Augment *iṬ* is similarly negated (7.2.16 *āditaś ca*) in *mūrtaḥ*. The *ch* of *murch* is deleted by 6.4.21 *rāl lopaḥ*. This, in turn, makes 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto* . . . applicable. Augment *iṬ* is negated in *mattaḥ* by 7.2.14 *śvīdito niṣṭhāyām*.

8.2.58 वित्तो भोगप्रत्यययोः

vitto bhogapratyayayoḥ
/*vittaḥ* 1/1 *bhoga-pratyayayoḥ* 7/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42 *na* #57)
'*vitta*' *iti vider lābhārthād uttarasya ktasya natvābhāvo nipātyate bhoge pratyaye cābhidheye*
The word *vitta* is derived, via *nipātana*, when *bhoga* 'possession, consumption' and *pratyaya* 'knowledge, belief' are denoted.

EXAMPLES:

vittam asya bahu 'his wealth is bountiful'
vitto' yaṃ manuṣyaḥ 'this man is knowlegeable'

1. This rule negates a replacement in *n* for the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after *vid* 'to gain'. Of course, when the derivate is to denote *bhoga* 'possession, consumption' and *pratīti* 'knowledge, belief'. This *n*-replacement was made available by 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto*. . . .

8.2.59 **भित्तं शकलम्**

bhittaṃ śakalam
/*bhittam* 1/1 *śakalam* 1/1/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42 *na* #57)
'*bhittam*' *ity nipātyate* '*śakalam*' *ced bhavati*
The word *bhitta* is derived, via *nipātana*, when the signification is *śakala* 'piece, chip, fragment'.

EXAMPLES:

bhittaṃ tiṣṭhati 'a piece is there'
bhittaṃ prapatati 'a piece is falling'

1. This rule negates a replacement in *n* for the *t* of a *niṣṭhā* suffix which occurs after verbal root *bhidIR* 'to split', provided the derivate denotes *śakala* 'piece, chip, fragment'. This *n* was, again, made available as a replacement for *t*, on account of occurring after *d* (8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto* . . .). How does *bhitta* 'split' mean *śakala*? It is synonymous with *śakala* 'piece' when used as a qualifier. Thus, *bhittam śakalam* 'chipped'.

8.2.60 **ऋणमाधमर्ण्ये**

ṛṇam ādhamarṇye
/*ṛṇam* 1/1 *ādhamarṇye* 7/1 = *adhamaḥ ṛṇe* = *adhamarṇaḥ* (*sapt. tat.*; *ṛṇa* postposed via *nipātana* by this rule); *adhamarṇasya bhāvaḥ* = *ādhamarṇaḥ*, *tasmin* (a derivate of *ṢyaÑ*)/
(*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42)
'*ṛṇam*' *iti* '*ṛ*' *ity etasmād dhātor uttarasya niṣṭhātakārasya nakāro nipātyate ādhamarṇya viṣaye*
The word *ṛṇa* is derived, via *nipātana*, when *ādhamarṇya* 'state of being in debt' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

ṛṇaṃ dadāti '. . . pays off a debt'
ṛṇaṃ dhārayati '. . . incurs a debt'

1. This rule supports *n*-replacement for *t* of (*K*) *ta* to derive *ṛ* + (*K*) *ta* → *ṛ* + (*t*→*n*) *a* → *ṛ*(*n*→) *a* = *ṛṇa*, via *nipātana*. The derivate must, however, signify *ādhamarṇya* 'state of being in debt; debtor'. A *ṇ*-replacement (*ṇatva*) of *t*→*n* = *n* is accomplished by a *vārttika* (*vt. ṛvarṇāc ceti* . . .; 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . .).

Note that *adhamaḥ ṛṇe = adhamarṇaḥ* 'he whose status is inferior in debt' is a locative *tatpuruṣa* compound where its first member, i.e., *adhamaḥ* 'inferior', does not end in the locative. This *nipātana* indicates that such compounds can still be formed.

2. Why do we have the condition of *ādhamarṇye* 'when state of being in debt is signified'? Consider *ṛtam* of *ṛtam vakṣyāmi nānṛtam* 'I speak truth, never non-truth', where this replacement is not allowed. If the etymology of *ṛṇa* 'debt' will relate only to *adhamarṇa* then how would one derive *uttamarṇa*. We, in fact, should derive **uttamartta*. We can derive *uttamarṇa* by way of exchange of the debt at some other time. That is, in a manner similar to: *ṛṇaṃ dadāti = ṛṇaṃ dhārayati.*

8.2.61 नसत्तनिषत्तानुत्तप्रतूर्तसूर्तगूर्तानि छन्दसि

> *nasattaniṣattānuttapratūrtasūrtagūrtāni chandasi*
> / *nasatta-niṣatta-anutta-pratūrtta-sūrta-gūrtāni* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*); *chandasi* 7/1/ (*niṣṭhāto naḥ* #42 *na* #57)
> '*nasatta, niṣatta, anutta, pratūrtta, sūrta, gūrta*' *ity etānī chandasi viṣaye nipātyante*
> Forms such as *nasatta* 'not seated', *niṣatta* 'seated', *anutta* 'invincible, not cast down', *pratūrtta* 'rapid, swift', *sūrta* 'trodden' and *gūrta* 'approved, strived' are derived, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

> *nasattam añjasā*
> *niṣattamásya carátaḥ*
> *anúttamā té maghavan*
> *pratūrtam vājinam*
> *sūrtā gāvaḥ*
> *gūrttā amṛtasya*

1. This rule derives *na(Ñ)-ṣad(Ḷ)* + (*K*) *ta* → *nasatta, ni-ṣadḶ+* (*K*) *ta* → *niṣatta, an-undI* + (*K*) *ta* → *anutta, pra-(ÑI) tvar* + (*K*) *ta* → *pratūrtta, sṛ* + (*K*) *ta* → *sūrtta* and *gurĪ* + (*K*) *ta* → *gūrtta*, via *nipātana*, in the Vedic. All examples qualify for a replacement in *n* for *t* of their *Kta* (cf. 8.2.42 *radābhyām . . .*). Recall that *ṣ* of *ṣadḶ* 'to sit' is replaced with *s* by 6.1.62 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*. The *s* of *nisatta* is replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) by 8.3.66 *sadir aprateḥ*. The *n* of verbal root *undI* 'to be wet' goes through deletion of 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala. . . .* Its *d*, as usual, will go through a replacement in *t* (*cartva*). The *va* of *tvar* 'to hurry' will be replaced with *ūṬH* (6.4.20 *jvaratvara . . .*). If one derives *pratūrtta* from *turv(Ī)* + (*K*) *ta*, *v* will be deleted (6.4.21 *rāl lopaḥ*) and *u* will be replaced with its long counterpart (8.2.77 *hali ca*). The *ṛ* of *sṛ* 'to move' in *sūrtta* is replaced with *u*, via *nipātana*. It is then replaced with its long counterpart.

Since this absence of *n*-replacement for *t* applies to the Vedic, we find examples such as *nasanna, niṣaṇṇa, anunna, pratūrṇa, sṛta* and *gūrṇa* in the classical language.

8.2.62 **क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः**

kvinpratyayasya kuḥ
/ *kvinpratyayasya* 6/1 = *kvin pratyayo yasmād dhātoḥ* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *kuḥ* 1/1/ (*padasya* #16)
kvinpratyayasya padasyālo' ntyasya kavargādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of a *pada* which ends in affix *KvIN* is replaced with a sound denoted by a consonant of *k*-series (*kU*).

EXAMPLES:

ghṛtaspṛk 'touching ghee'
halaspṛk 'touching plow'
mantraspṛk 'invoking a mantra'

1. This rule requires a replacement in *kU* 'consonant of *k*-series' for the final sound segment (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) of a *pada* which ends in affix *KvIN*. Refer to derivational details of *ghṛtaspṛk* under the appendix of 1.2.41 *apṛkta ekāl*... (II:446-47). Other examples can be similarly derived. Thus,

kvinpratyayasya sarvatra padānte kutvam iṣyate/
kvinaḥ kur iti vaktavye pratyayagrahaṇaṃ kṛtam//
'a replacement in *kU* for affix *KvIN* is desired, everywhere, at the end of a *pada*; the word *pratyaya* is used with *KvIN* in stating *kU* as a replacement for *KvIN*'

2. Why was the word *pratyaya* 'affix' used in *kvinpratyayasya* 'of affix *KvIN*'? Why qualify *KvIN* with *pratyayasya* when there is no possibility of *KvIN* ever being anything different (*Nyāsa*: *na hi kvin pratyayatvaṃ vyabhicarati*)? The word *kvinpratyayasya* is interpreted as a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as: *kvinpratyayaḥ yasmād dhātoḥ sa* = *kvinpratyayaḥ* 'a root after which affix *KvIN* is introduced'; *tasya dhātor alo' ntyasya kavargādeśo bhavati* 'a consonant of the *k*-series comes in place of the final sound segment of that root (after which *KvIN* is introduced)'. One should not doubt here that this *kU*-replacement will block deletion of *KvIN* (6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*). That is, one should not understand that *v* of *KvIN* will be replaced with *gh*, its counterpart denoted by *kU*. It is to block this *kU*-replacement of affix *KvIN* that a *bahuvrīhi* with *pratyayasya* is used in this rule. A specification made without the use of *pratyayasya* would have replaced *v* with *gh*. If this specification was intended for simply replacing *v* with *gh*, its specification with a replacement in *kU* will then become useless. For, a specification such as *kU* is made in view of more than one substitute for more than one item to be replaced (*PM*: *evaṃ hi*

vargagrahaṇam anarthakaṃ syāt. anekasya sthānino' nekādeśapratipattaye hi vargagrahaṇam). To sum up, *pratyayasya*, is used for availing a *bahuvrīhi* interpretation.

This interpretational use of a *bahuvrīhi* compound also has other implications. As the *bahuvrīhi* compound *citraguḥ* of *citragur ānīyatām* 'let one whose cows are brindled be brought' implies bringing of someone other than 'brindled cows', this same way a root ending in an affix different from affix *KvIN* can also form the focus of this replacement (*Kāś: kvinpratyayo yasmād vihitas tasmād anyasminn api pratyaye kutvaṃ yathā syāt*). Consider *asrāk* and *adrāk* of *mā no* (*asrāk/adrāk*), where verbal roots *sṛj* and *dṛś* are used with *LUṄ→tiP*. Thus, *a(Ṭ)* + *sṛj* + (*CLI→sIC*) + *ti* → *a* + *sṛ(aM)j* + *tiP* → *a* + *s(ṛ→r) aj* + *ti* → *asr(a→ā)j* + *ti* → *asrāj* + (*ti*→φ) → *asrā(j→k)* = *asrāk*. Affix *LUṄ* is introduced after *sṛj* in consonance with 3.3.175 *māṅi luṅ*. Introduction of augment *aM* (6.1.58 *sṛjidṛśor*. . .), deletion of *ti* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*; 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . .) and *vṛddhi* of *a* of *asraj* (7.2.3 *vadavrajahalantasyācaḥ*) are additional applications. Note that, in the Vedic, we find *aṬ* even when *LUṄ* is not used in association with *māṄ*. We similalry also do not get augment *iṬ*. This can be explained in view of *bahulaṃ chandasi* 'variously in the Vedic'. The *g*-replacement of *j* of *asrāj* is finally replaced with *k* (*cartva*) of 8.4.56 *vāvasāne*. Recall that *k* of *asrāk* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*. For, *k* (*kutva*) cannot be treated as *asiddha* in view of replacement in *ṣ*. For, this replacement in *kU* will then become useless. This same can be said about *dṛgbhyām* and *dṛgbhiḥ* where *KvIP* occurs after *dṛś* and replacement in *kU* is accomplished. We need a counter-proposal (*Kāś: pratividhānaṃ kartavyam*) to facilitate blocking of undesired *ṣ*-replacement of 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjasṛj*. . ., in *rajjusṛḍbhyām*.

8.2.63 नशेर्वा

naśer vā
/*naśeḥ* 5/1 *vā* φ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *kuḥ* #62)
naśeḥ padasya vā kavargādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of a *pada* constituted by *naś* is optionally replaced with *kU*.

EXAMPLES:

sā vai jīvanag āhutiḥ
sā vai jīvanaḍ āhutiḥ

1. This rule optionally replaces the final (1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*) sound segment of *naś* 'to perish' with a consonant of the *k*-series (*kU*). Consider *naś* + *KvIP* = *naś*, where *KvIP* is introduced (*vt.* (3.3.94): *sampadādibhyaḥ kvip*) with the signification of *bhāva*. The *ś* is optionally replaced with *k*, or with *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjsṛj*. . .), after deletion of *KvIP*. This *ṣ* is then replaced with *ḍ* (*jaśtva*;

8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). An application of 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* finally produces *na*(*ś*→ *ḍ*→*ṭ*) = *naṭ*. We will get *na*(*ś*→*k*) = *nak* if the optional *k* is accepted as a replacement for *ś*. Note that *jīvanak* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound paraphrased as *jīvanasya nāśaḥ* = *jīvanasya nak* = *jīvanana*(*ś*→*k*). We will get *jīvanaṭ* if the optional replacement in *ś* is not accepted. An optional *k* (*kutva*) is offered in view of the optional *ṣ* of 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjsṛj*. . . .

8.2.64 **मो नो धातोः**

mo no dhātoḥ
/*maḥ* 6/1 *naḥ* 1/1 *dhātoḥ* 6/1/
(*padasya* #1.16)
makārāntasya dhātoḥ padasya nakārādeśo bhavati
The final sound segment of a verbal root which constitutes a *pada* terminating in *m* is replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

praśān 'tranquility'
pratān 'creeper'
pradān 'restraint'

1. Note that *padasya* is also understood here. It is qualified with *m* which, in turn, is in syntactic coordination with *dhātoḥ*. Thus, we get the interpretation: *makārāntasya padasya dhātoḥ* 'of a verbal root constituting a *pada* ending in *m*'. This rule replaces *m* with *n*. We thus get *pra-śam* + *KvIP* = *pra-śa*(*m*→*n*) + (*KvIP*→ϕ) → *pra-ś*(*a*→*ā*)*n* = *praśān*. Similar rules apply in deriving (*pradam* + *KvIP*) → *pradān* and (*pra-tam* + *KvIP*) → *pratān*. Recall that a short vowel of these roots is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.4.15 *anunāsikasya kvijhaloḥ*. . . . Why can we not delete the final *n* by 8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. This *n*-replacement will be considered *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of *n*-deletion (*Kāś*: *natvasyāsiddhatvān nalopo na bhavati*).

2. Why do we have the condition of *maḥ* 'in place of the final *m*. . .? Consider *bhid* and *chid* where we do not get a final *m*.

Why do we have the condition of *dhātoḥ* 'of a verbal root. . .? Consider *idam* and *kim* which end in *m* (*mānta*) but are not a verbal root.

The condition of *padasya* is still valid. Consider *pratāmau* and *pratāmaḥ*, as counter-examples, where *m* is part of a *pada* but does not occur at the end.

8.2.65 **म्वोश्च**

mvoś ca
/*mvoḥ* 7/2 = *maś ca vaś ca* = *mvau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ca* ϕ/
(*mo no dhātoḥ* #64)
makāravakārayoś ca parataḥ makārāntasya dhātor nakārādeśo bhavati

The *m* of a verbal root which ends in *m* is replaced with *n* when affixes beginning with *m* and *v* follow.

EXAMPLES:

aganma tamasaḥ pāram 'we went across the dark'
aganva 'we (dual) went . . .'
jaganvān 'first person dual *LIṬ*-derivate of *gam* in the Vedic'

1. This rule replaces the final *m* of a verbal root with *n* when affixes beginning with *m* or *v* follow. Consider (*aṬ* + (*gam* + *LAṄ*→*mas*)) → (*agam* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *vas*)) → (*aga*(*m*→*n*) + *mas*) → (*aganma*(*s*→ϕ)) → *aganma* and also *aganva*. Note that *ŚaP* here gets deleted by 2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*. The *s* of *mas* and *vas* is deleted by 3.4.98 *sa uttamasya*. Refer to *jakṣivān* and *papivān* (II:745) for derivational details of *jaganvān*, a Vedic form where *LIṬ* is replaced with *KvasU* (3.2.107 *kvasuś ca*). Note that 'penultimate deletion' (6.4.98 *gamahanajana* . . .), optional *iṬ* (7.2.68 *vibhāṣā gamahana* . . .) and reduplication (in view of 1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*) are important operational steps. We get *jaganvān* from *jaganvas* when optional *iṬ* is not accepted (*Kāś*: '*vibhāṣā gamahanajanavidaviśām*' *iti kvasāv iḍāgamasyābhāvaḥ*).

2. This rule, unlike the one before, focuses on *m* which does not occur at the end of a *pada* (*Kāś*: *apadāntārtha ārambhaḥ*).

8.2.66 ससजुषो रुः

sasajuṣo ruḥ
/*sasajuṣaḥ* 5/1 = *saś ca sajuṣ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ruḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16)
sakārāntasya padasya '*sajuṣ*' *ity etasya ca rur bhavati*
The final *s* of a *pada* which ends in *s*, and also the final *ṣ* of *sajuṣ* 'companion, together with', is replaced with *rU*.

EXAMPLES:

agnir atra 'Agni here'
vāyur atra 'Vāyu here'
sajūr ṛṣibhiḥ 'together with sages'
sajūr devebhiḥ 'together with gods'

1. This rule replaces the final *s* of a *pada*, or the final *ṣ* of *sajuṣ*, with *rU*. Consider *agni* + (*sU*→*rU*) *atra* + *sU* = *agnir atra* and *vāyu* + (*sU*→*rU*) *atra* + *sU* = *vāyur atra*, where the *s* of *sU* after *agni* 'fire' and *vāyu* 'wind' is replaced with *rU*. We similarly get *sajūr ṛṣibhiḥ*, where *sajuṣ* is a compound termed *upapada*, with *KvIP* introduced after *juṣ* under the cooccurrence condition of *saha* 'with'. Thus, *saha juṣate* = (*saha* + *juṣ* + *KvIP* → (*saha*→*sa*) + *juṣ* = *sajuṣ*, where 6.3.73 *sahasya saḥ saṃjñāyām* replaces *saha* with *sa*. Given *sajuṣ* +

ṛṣibhiḥ → *saju(ṣ→rU)* + *ṛṣibhiḥ*, the *u* of *sajuṣ* is replaced with *ū* (8.2.76 *rvor upadhāyāḥ*). We similarly get *sajūr devebhiḥ*.

2. A specification with *sajuṣ* is made here to enable this replacement to apply on forms which do not end in *s* (*Nyāsa*: *sajuṣo grahaṇam asakārāntārtham*). This rule is an exception to the *jaŚ*-replacement of 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*.

8.2.67 अवयाः श्वेतवाः पुरोडाश्च

avayāḥ śvetavāḥ puroḍāś ca
/ *avayāḥ* 1/3 *śvetavāḥ* 1/3 *puroḍāḥ* 1/3 *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1.16)
'*avayāḥ, śvetavāḥ, puroḍāḥ*' *ity ete nipātyante*
Forms such as *avayāḥ*, *śvetavāḥ* and *puroḍāḥ* are derived, via *nipātana*.

EXAMPLES:

avayāḥ 'those who share ritual oblations'
śvetavāḥ 'borne by white horses'
puroḍāḥ 'a ritual oblation of rice balls'

1. This rule is a *nipātana*. One need not show what rule applications are involved in deriving these examples. These are forms of *sambuddhi* 'nominative singular denoting address' (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*). Thus, *avayaj*, *śveta-vah*, *puras* + *dāś* (3.2.71 *mantre śvetavahoktha* . . .; 3.2.72 *aveḥ yajaḥ*) receive affix *ṆvIN*. A derivate which anticipates its status as a *pada* receives *ḍas* as an exception to *ṆvIN* (cf. *vt* ad (3.2.71 *mantre śvetavahoktha* . . .). A nominative singular *sU* is then introduced with the denotaum of address (*sambodhana*; 2.3.47 *sambodhane ca*).

Refer to derivational details of examples (III:740) under 3.2.71 *mantre śvetavahoktha* . . .; 3.2.72 *aveḥ yajaḥ*. Note, however, that derivates under that rule are all non-*sambuddhi* nominative singulars. They had penultimate *vṛddhi* available to them from 6..4.14 *atvasantasya*. . . . Our present rule will offer that lengthening to these derivates of *sambuddhi*, via *nipātana*.

2. Why do we have to use *nipātana* when *rU* can be gotten from the earlier rule and lengthening is made available by 6.4.14 *atvasantasya* . . . ? Lengthening is made available by 6.4.14 only in the context of non-*sambuddhi*. This rule offers it in the context of *sambuddhi*. Thus, *he avayāḥ*, *he śvetavāḥ* and *he puroḍāḥ*.

3. The *ca* of this rule is used to account for what may have been left out (*cakāro' nuktasamuccayārthaḥ*).

8.2.68 अहन्

ahan
/ *ahan* (deleted genitive) /

(*padasya* #1.16 *ruḥ* #66)
'*ahan*' *ity etasya padasya rur bhavati*
A replacement in *rU* comes in place of the final sound segment of a *pada* constituted by *ahan* 'day'.

EXAMPLES:

ahobhyām 'instrumental-dative dual of *ahan*'
ahobhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *ahan*'
dīrghāhā nidāghaḥ 'summer with long days'

1. This rule offers *rU* as a replacement for the final *n* of *ahan*, especially against *n*-deletion of 8.2.7 *na lopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*. This specification with *ahan* without *n*-deletion (or replacing its *n* with *rU*), is made to indicate that this *n* is not deleted (*Kāś*: *nalopam akṛtvā nirdeśo jñāpakaḥ—na lopābhāvo yathā syād iti*). Consider *aha*(*n*→*r*(*U*) + *bhyām* → *aha* (*r*→*u*) + *bhyām* → *ah*(*au*→*o*) + *bhyām* = *ahobhyām*, where 6.1.113 *haśi ca* replaces *r* with *u*. Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then replaces the vocalic sequence *a*+*u* with a single *guṇa* substitute *o*. We thus get *ahobhyām* and *ahobhiḥ*.

The compound *dīrghāhāḥ*, as a qualifier to *nidāghaḥ* of *dīrghāhā nidāghaḥ* 'summer during which time days are longer'. We get *dīrgha* + *Jas* + *ahan* + *Jas* → *dīrghāhan* + *sU* → *dīrghāhā*, where *n* is replaced with *rU* of this rule. The *a* before *rU*, under the condition of *asiddhatva* 'suspension', is then replaced with its long counterpart *ā* (6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*). The nominal ending *sU* also goes through deletion (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .). Rule 8.3.17 *bhobhagoagho* . . . then replaces *rU* with *y*. We thus get *dīrghāh*(*a*→*ā*) *r* →*dīrghāhār* → *dīrghāhā*(*r*→*y*) → *dīrghāhā*(*y*→ϕ) = *dīrghāhā nidāghaḥ*. Note that *y* goes through deletion of 8.3.22 *hali sarveṣām*. The *rU*, for example of *dīrghāhar atra*, will be replaced with *u* of 6.1.112 *ato ror aplutād*. . . . Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* will again offer a single substitute for *a*+*u* in *o*. An application of rule 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati* will finally produce *dīrghāho' atra*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *ahno ruvidhau rūparātrirathantareṣūpasaṃkhyānaṃ kartavyam*) requires *n* of *ahan* to be replaced with *rU* before *rūpa*, *rātri* and *rathantara*. Thus, *ahorūpam*, *ahorātraḥ* and *aho rathantaraṃ sāma*. This *vārttika* proposal is an exception to 8.2.69 *ro' supi*. Some claim that this proposal should be acceptable in all situations where *ahan* is followed by a word beginning with *r*. Thus, *aho ramyam* 'how beautiful!' and *aho ratnāni* 'beautiful jewels!'.

8.2.69 रोऽसुपि

ro' supi
/*raḥ* 1/1 *asupi* 7/1 = *na sup* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*ahan* #68)
'*ahan*' *ity etasya rephādeśo bhavaty asupi parataḥ*

The final sound segment of *ahan* is replaced with *rA* when a *sUP* does not follow.

EXAMPLES:

ahar dadāti 'the day offers enjoyment'
ahar bhuṅkte 'enjoys (eats) the day'

1. This rule replaces the *n* of *ahan* with *rA* when what follows is not a *sUP*. It is an exception to the preceding rule. The *a* of *rA* is used to facilitate articulation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*). Consider *aha(n→rA)* + (*sU*→ϕ) + *dadāti* → *ahar dadāti* and *aha(n→r)* + (*am*->ϕ) + *bhuṅkte* = *ahar bhuṅkte*, where the nominative and accusative singular nominal endings *sU* and *am*, used after *ahan* with the signification of *atyantasaṃyoga* 'close connection' (in case of *am*), get deleted (7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt*). Why can we not accept the deleted nominal endings still there to follow'? That is, via 1.1.62 *partayayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* 'operations specific to an affix obtain even when the affix is deleted'. It is stated that 'an operation characteristic of a deleted affix does not apply to the *rU* of *ahan* when what deletes the affix is a *LUK*, *ŚLU* or *LUP* (*Kāś*: *ahno ruvidhau lumatā lupte pratyayalakṣaṇaṃ na bhavati*). Recall here that *sU* and *am* after *ahan* are deleted via *LUK*.

A deletion of nominal ending after *ahan*, via *LOPA*, would qualify *ahan* for operations relative to affixal-deletion. Thus, consider *he dīrghāho' tra* and *he dīrghāho nidāghaḥ*, where 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . . deletes the nominal ending *sU* after *dīrghāho*. Refer to notes under the preceding rule for additional derivational details.

2. Why do we state the condition of *asupi* 'when a *sUP* does not follow'? Consider *ahobhyām* and *ahobhiḥ* where what follows *ahan* is a nominal ending. Our present rule will not apply here.

The negation in *asupi* 'when a *sUP* does not follow' is interpreted as an instance of *prasajya-pratiṣedha*. Consequently, this rule will apply when anything other than a *sUP* follows. If it is interpreted as a *paryudāsa*, this rule will apply only when, not a *sUP* but anything similar to a *sUP*, follows. A following affix other than *sUP* could thus mark the right condition. We will be able to get examples such as *aharvān* where an affix follows. But we will have problems in examples such as *aharahaḥ* where no affix follows.

8.2.70 अम्नरूधरवरित्युभयथा छन्दसि

amnarūdharavar ity ubhayathā chandasi

/ *amnarūdharavar* (deleted gen.) = *amnaś ca ūdhaś ca avaś ca* = *amnarūdharavar* (*sam. dv.*), *tasya*; *iti* ϕ *ubhayathā* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/ (*padasya* #1.16 *ruḥ* #66 *raḥ* #69)

'*amnas, ūdhas, avas*' *ity eteṣāṃ chandasi viṣaye ubhayathā bhavati*

The final sound segment of a *pada* in the Vedic, particularly one con-

stituted by *amnas* 'currently, unawares, a little', *ūdhas* 'udder' and *avas* 'downwards, below', is replaced either way (*ubhayathā*), with *rA* or *rU*.

EXAMPLES:

amnar eva 'just a little'
amna eva 'ibidem'
ūdhar eva 'udder alone'
ūdha eva 'ibidem'
avar eva 'only downwards'
ava eva 'ibidem'

1. This rule is formulated so that the obligatory *rU* of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* could be, hereby, made optional with *rA* (*repha*). A specification with *rU* is made after having the *s* replaced with *rU*. Thus, *ubhayathā* 'either way', we can get *rA* (*repha*), or its absence (*abhāva*), recognized as *rU* (*repha*). Consider *amna* (*s*→*rU*) + *eva* → *amna*(*rU*→*y*) + *eva* → *amna*(*y*→ϕ) + *eva* = *amna eva*, where *rU* gets deleted (8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya*), via its replacement in *y* (8.3.17 *bhobhagoagho*. . .; *Kāś*: *yadā rutvaṃ tadā* '*bhobhagoaghoapūrvasya yo' śi*' *iti yakāraḥ*). An optional *rA* (*repha*) will produce *amna*(*rU*→*r*) + *eva* = *amnar eva*. We similarly get other derivates. Note that this replacement in *rU*, or *rA*, applies to the final sound segment.

2. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *chandasi bhāṣāyāṃ ca vibhāṣā pracetaso rājany upasaṃkhyānaṃ kartavyam*) is made to offer a *rU*, or *rA*, as a replacement for the final *s* of *pracetas* before *rājan*. This proposal equally applies to the classical as well as Vedic usage. Thus, *pracetā rājan* and *praceto rājan*. Note that the *rA*-replacement in *praceta*(*s*→*rU*→*rA*) *rājan* is deleted by 8.3.14 *ro ri*. Rule 6.3.111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya* . . . then replaces the final *a* of *praceta* with long (*dīrgha*). Thus, *praceta* (*r*→ϕ) + *rājan* → *pracet*(*a*→*ā*) *rājan* = *pracetā rājan*. If one accepts the option of *rU*, one will get it replaced with *u* (*utva*; 6.1.114 *haśi ca*). The final form *praceto rājan* can then be gotten via application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. Thus, *praceta*(*s*→*rU*→*u*) + *rājan* → *pracet*(*a*+*u* →*o*) *rājan* = *praceto rājan*.

Yet another *vārttika* proposal is made for *rU* to be optionally replaced with *r* of *ahar*, etc., before *pati*, etc. (*vt*: *aharādīnāṃ patyādiṣūpasaṃkhyānaṃ kartavyam*). Thus, we get *aha* (*rA*→*rU*) + *patiḥ* → *aharpatiḥ* and *aha*(*rA*→*r*→*ḥ*) + *patiḥ* → *ahaḥpatiḥ*; *gīrpatiḥ* and *gīḥpatiḥ*; *dhūrpatiḥ* and *dhūḥpatiḥ*.

Note that *r* (*repha*) as a replacement of *r* (*repha*; of *rU*) is offered for blocking the *visarga*-replacement of 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* (*Kāś*: *visarjanīyabādhanārtham atra pakṣe rephasyaiva repho vidhīyate*).

8.2.71 भुवश्च महाव्याहृतेः

bhuvaś ca mahāvyāhṛteḥ
/ *bhuvaḥ* (used without any *sUP*); *ca* ϕ *mahāvyāhṛteḥ* 6/1/ = *mahatī vyāhṛtiḥ* = *mahāvyāhṛtiḥ* (*karm. tat.*), *tasyāḥ*/

(*padasya* #1.16 *ruḥ* #66 *raḥ* #69 *ubhayathā chandasi* #70)
'*bhuvas*' *ity etan mahāvyāhṛteś chandasi viṣaye ubhayathā bhavati*
The final sound segment of *bhuvas* is replaced with *rU*, or *rA*, in the Vedic, when *bhuvas* denotes *mahāvyāhṛti* 'one of the seven great mantric utterances'.

EXAMPLES:

bhuvar 'one of the seven *mahāvyāhṛtis*; ether, space'
bhuva 'ibidem'

1. This relates to *bhuvas* used with the signification of a *mahāvyāhṛti* 'great mantric utterance'. The *s* of *bhuvas* can then be replaced with *rU* or *rA*. We thus get *bhuva(s→rU→rA) ity antarikṣam* → *bhuvar ity antarikṣam* 'the second or middle of the three spheres' and *bhuva(s→rU→rA) ity antarikṣam* → *bhuva(rU→y→ϕ) ity antarikṣam* = *bhuva ity antarikṣam.*

2. Why do we have the condition of *mahāvyāhṛteḥ* 'of a great mantric utterance'? Consider *bhuvo viśvasya bhuvaneṣu yajñiyaḥ*, where we get a *visarjanīya* at the end of *bhuva* because its *bhuvas* is not a *mahāvyāhṛti* 'mantric utterance'.

3. Note that seven *vyāhṛtis* 'mantric utterances' are recognized as *mahāvyāhṛtis.* Literally, a *mahāvyāhṛtti* can be explained as an utterance about *mahat* 'great; the supreme self'. Thus, *bhūr, bhuvas, svar, mahas, janas, tapas,* and *satyam.* The word *bhuvas* is an indeclinable and is used as a *mahāvyāhṛti* with the signification of *antarikṣa* 'a region between heaven and earth, the second or middle sphere'.

8.2.72 वसुस्रंसुध्वंस्वनडुहां दः

vasusraṃsudhvaṃsvanaḍuhāṃ daḥ
/*vasu-sraṃsu-dhvaṃsu-anaḍuhām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *daḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saḥ* #66 (*maṇḍūkapluti*))
vasvantasya padasya sakārāntasya '*sraṃsu, dhvaṃsu, anaḍuh*' *ity eteṣāṃ ca dakārādeśo bhavati*
The final *s* of a *pada* which ends in *vasU*, or which occurs as final of *sraṃsU*, *dhvaṃsU* and *anaḍuh*, is replaced with *d*.

EXAMPLES:

vidvadbhyām 'instrumental/ dative dual of *vidvas* 'scholar''
vidvadbhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *vidvas*'
papivadbhyām 'instrumental/dative dual of *papivat*'
papivadbhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *papivat*'
ukhāsradbhyām 'instrumental/dative dual of *ukhāsrat*'
ukhāsradbhiḥ 'instrumental plural of *ukhāsrat*'
parṇadhvadbhyām 'instrumental/dative dual of *parṇadhvat*'
parṇadhvadbhiḥ 'instrumental plural . . .'

anaḍudbhyām 'instrumental/dative dual of *anaḍuh*'
anaḍudbhiḥ 'instrumental plural . . .'

1. Note that *saḥ* which is carried over from 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ* can only be used as a qualifier to *vasU*, thereby meaning: 'the *s* which comes at the end of a *pada* terminating in *vasU*'. The *s* at the end of *vasU* is not only possible (*sambhava*), but can also not be found (*vyabhicārāc ca*) in *vasU* as a result of some rule application. It is based on this 'possibility' (*sambhava*) of occurrence and 'possible absence' (*vyabhicāra*) of *s* that it only qualifies *vasU*. It cannot qualify *sraṃsU* and *dhvaṃsU* since their *s* is not only 'possible' but can never abandon them (*na vyabhicarati*). It is for these reasons that *sraṃsU* and *dhvaṃsU* cannot be qualified with *s*. A qualifier must be capable of appearing and disappearing relative to its qualified. The *s* of *sraṃsU* and *dhvaṃsU* never leaves them. As far as *anaḍuh* is concerned, *s* is obviously impossible (*asambhava*) to find.

2. The word *vidvas* is derived from *vid* + (*LAṬ*→*ŚatṚ*→*vasU*) = *vidvas*, where *ŚatṚ* is replaced with *vasU* (7.1.36 *śatur vasu* . . .). The final *s* of *vidvas* + *bhyām*, under the condition of *vidvas* assigned the term *pada* (1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*), is replaced with *d*, by blocking *rU*. We thus get *vidva*(*s*→*d*) + *bhyām* = *vidvadbhyām*. Similar ruels apply in deriving *vidvadbhiḥ* from *vidva*(*s*→*d*) + *bhis* → *vidvadbhiḥ*. Refer to derivational details of *papivān* under 3.2.107 *kvasuś ca* (III:743). One can easily derive *papivadbhyām* and *papivadbhiḥ* from *papivas* + *bhyām* and *papivas* + *bhiḥ*. Derivational details of *ukhāsrat* and *parṇadhvat* can be found under 3.2.76 *kvip ca* (III:741-42). Deriving *ukhāsradbhyām*, *ukhāsradbhiḥ*; *parṇadhvadbhyām* and *parṇadhvadbhiḥ* from *ukhāsras* + (*bhyām* / *bhis*) and *parṇadhvas* + (*bhyām* / *bhis*) offers nothing new. Rule 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne* assigns the term *pada*. Note that the final sound segment of *anaḍuh* 'ox', i.e., *h*, is replaced with *d*. Thus, we get *anaḍudbhyām* and *anaḍudbhiḥ*.

3. Note that the condition of *saḥ* 'in place of *s*' must be met. This rule will not apply if the derivate of *vasU* does not end in *s*. Consider *vidvān* and *papivān* where the final sound segment is *n*.

This replacement in *d* applies before any other rule application. Thus, it will block a replacement in *rU* for the final *s* of *vidvas* in *vidvad* + *bhyām*. How come this replacement in *d* does not block deletion of a conjunct-final consonant in *vidvāns*? That deletion is not directly relatable to this replacement. This *d*-replacement is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended' in accomplishing conjunct-final deletion (*Kāś*: *rutve nāprāpte idam ārabhyata iti tad bādhyate. saṃyogāntalopas tu naivam iti tenaitad eva datvaṃ bādhyate* 'since this application is initiated in the wake of the obligatory replacement in *rU*, that (*rU*) is blocked; this is not the case with the deletion of the final of a conjunct; this replacement in *d* is blocked by that'. The *ḍh*-replacement for the final *h* of *anaḍuh* (of 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*) is also blocked by this rule.

Why is the *n* of *nUM* not replaced with *d* in *anaḍvān*? Recall that *nUM* is

specified with reference to particular enumerations. If *n* is replaced with *d*, *nUM* will be rendered without any scope of application (*anavakāśa*). Thus, a replacement in *d* is blocked at the strength of the express provision of *nUM*. As a replacement in *d* is ruled out at the strength of the express provision of *nUM*, this same way, the *rU*-replacement of *n* of *anaḍvān atra*, made available by 8.3.9 *dīrghād aṭi*, will also be ruled out. An operation which renders another vacuous is blocked. Besides, an operation which does not have any consequence for another is blocked. That which has some consequence, such as *rU* of *nUM*, is not blocked.

8.2.73 **तिप्यनस्तेः**

tipy anasteḥ
/*tipi* 7/1 *anasteḥ* 6/1 = *na astiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saḥ* #66 (*maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'); *daḥ* #72)
tipi parataḥ sakārāntasya padasya anaster dakāra ādeśo bhavati
The final *s* of a *pada* constituted by a verbal root ending in *s*, with the exception of *as* 'to be', is replaced with *d* when the third singular active verbal ending *tiP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

acakād bhavān 'you, sir, glowed'
anvaśād bhavān 'you, sir, instructed'

1. This rule replaces a *pada*-final *s* with *d*, though with the exception of *s* of verbal root *as* 'to be'. Consider *cakās(R̥)* + (*LAṄ*→*tiP*) → *cakās* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *ti* → *cakās* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) = *a*(*T̥*) + *cakās* + *t*, where *ŚaP* gets deleted because of the *adādi* listing of *cakāsR̥* (2.4.72 *adiprabhr̥tibhyo śapaḥ*). Our present rule then replaces *s* with *d*. The *i* of *tiP*, as usual, gets deleted by 3.4.100 *itaś ca*. The remaining *t* then goes through deletion via *LOPA* of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . We thus get *aT̥* + *cakā*(*s*→*d*) → *acakād*. We can similarly get *anvaśād* from *anu* + *aT̥* + *śā*(*s*→*d*) = *anvaśād*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *tipi* 'when *tiP* follows'? Consider *cakāḥ* where *s* of *cakās* + (*KvIP*→ϕ) = *cakās* is first replaced with *rU*, and then with *ḥ*.

Why do we have the condition of *anasteḥ* 'when not of *as*'? Consider *āpa evedaṃ salilaṃ sarvam āḥ*, where *āḥ* is a third singular imperfect (*LAṄ*) form of *as* 'to be'. The *s* of *ās* is here replaced with *ḥ*, via *rU*. Note that augment *īT̥* is not introduced here, largely in because of 7.3.97 *bahulaṃ chandasi*.

8.2.74 **सिपि धातो रुर्वा**

sipi dhāto rur vā
/*sipi* 7/1 *dhātoḥ* 6/1 *ruḥ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saḥ* #66 (*maṇḍūkapluti*); *daḥ* #72)

sipi parataḥ sakārāntasya padasya dhāto 'ruḥ' ity ayam ādeśo bhavati, dakāro vā
The final *s* of a *pada* which is constituted by a root ending in *s* is replaced with *rU*, and also optionally with *d*, when the second singular active verbal ending *siP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

acakās tvam 'you glowed'
acakāt tvam 'ibidem'
anvaśās tvam 'you instructed'
anvaśāt tvam 'ibidem'

1. This rule replaces the final *s* of a root termed *pada* with *rU*, optionally with *d*, when the second singular active ending *siP* follows. Thus, (*cakās*(*Ṛ*)) + (*LAṄ*→*si*(*P*→ϕ))) → *a*(*Ṭ*→ϕ) + *cakās* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *si* → *a* + *cakās* + (*si*→ϕ) → *acakā*(*s*→*rU*→*ḥ*) = *acakā*(*ḥ*→*s*) + *tvam* → *acakās tvam* and *acakā*(*s*→*d*→*t*) + *tvam* → *acakāt tvam*, where *rU* is first replaced with *visarga* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor*. . .). It is then replaced with *s* before *tvam* by 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*. We will get a replacement in *d* when optional replacement of *rU* is not accepted. This *d* will be replaced with *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*) before *tvam*. We can similarly derive *anvaśās tvam* and *anvaśāt tvam*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *dhātoḥ* 'after a verbal root' when *r* and *d* are given as replacements for a final *s*? Besides, what else, other than a *dhātu*, can occur before *siP*? It is stated that *dhātoḥ* and *rU* are given for use in subsequent rules. This use in subsequent rules finds its function in rules 8.2.75 *daś ca* and 8.2.76 *rvor upadhāyā dīrgha ikaḥ*. Since we will get *rU* at the strength of the option of *d*, anyway, *rU* is also explained as used for subsequent rules.

8.2.75 दश्च

daś ca
/*daḥ* 1/1 *ca* ϕ)
(*padasya* #1.16 *daḥ* #72 *sipi dhāto rur vā* #74)
dakārāntasya dhātoḥ padasya sipi parato rur bhavati dakāro vā
The final *d* of a *pada* constituted by a verbal root ending in *d* is replaced with *rU*, and also optionally with *d*, when the second singular active ending *siP* follows.

EXAMPLES:

abhinat tvam 'you split (it)'
abhinas tvam 'ibidem'
acchinat tvam 'you pierced (it)'
acchinas tvam 'ibidem'

1. This rule makes an optional provision of *rU*, against *d*, for the final *d* of a verbal root termed *pada*. Refer to *abhinar* in the derivational history of *abhino' tra* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo . . .*). The *r* of *abhinar* will be replaced with *s*, via *ḥ*, before *tvam* to produce *abhinas tvam*. We will get *abhina*(*r*→*d*→*t*) → *abhinat tvam* if the option of *rU* is not accepted. Similar application of rules is involved in deriving *acchinas tvam* and *acchinat tvam*.

2. The *ca* 'and' of this rule is used to attract *d*. Consequently, *d* is not carried over to subsequent rules (*cānukṛṣṭaṃ nottaratra*).

8.2.76 र्वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इकः

rvor upadhāyā dīrgha ikaḥ
/*rvoḥ* 6/2 = *raś ca vaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *upadhāyāḥ* 6/1 *dīrghaḥ* 1/1 *ikaḥ* 6/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *dhātoḥ* #74)
rephavakārāntasya dhātoḥ padasya upadhāyā iko dīrgho bhavati
A penultimate sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *iK* of a *pada* constituted by a verbal root ending in *r* and *v*, is replaced with its long counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

gīḥ 'nominative singular of *gir* 'speech''
dhūḥ 'nominative singular of *dhur* 'forefront of a yoke''
pūḥ 'nominative singular of *pur* 'a town''
āśīḥ 'nominative singular of *āśī* 'benediction''

1. Note that the words *padasya* and *dhātoḥ* are both used here in syntactic coordination. They both are then qualified with *r* and *v* (*rvoḥ*), thereby facilitating *tadantavidhi* 'treating a form as ending in that which specifies it'. Thus, *rephavakārāntasya dhātoḥ padasya . . .* 'of a verbal root termed *pada* ending in *r* and *v*'.

This rule replaces the short penultimate vowel of a root with its long counterpart, when the root ends in *r* and *v* and is also termed a *pada*. Consider *gīḥ* and *pūḥ* which derive from (*gṝ* + *KvIP*) + *sU*) and (*pṝ* + *KvIP*) + *sU*), where *ṝ* is replaced with a short *i*, followed by *r* (7.1.100 *ṝd id dhātoḥ*; 1.1.51 *ur aṇ raparaḥ*). The *r* of *gir* and *pur* is replaced with *visarga* and our present rule replaces the short penultimate *i* with its long counterpart. We thus get *gīḥ* and *pūḥ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *dhūḥ* from (*dhurv*(*Ī* + *KvIP*) + *sU*)) where 6.4.21 *rāl lopaḥ* applies to delete the *v* which occurs after *r*. Deriving *dhūḥ* offers nothing new.

2. Why do we not have any example with a verbal root ending in *v*? A root termed *pada* which ends in *v* and has an *iK* vowel as its penultimate, is hard to find (*Nyāsa*: *vakārāntasya dhātor asambhavāt*). Why is *v*, then, used with *r* in *rvoḥ*? For use in subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*).

Why do we have the condition of *upadhāyāḥ* 'in place of the penultimate'? Consider *abibhar* of *abibhar bhavān*, a third person singular active derivate of *bhṛÑ* 'to support, nourish, bear' in *LUṄ*. This rule applies to the *iK* of a verbal root, and not of an *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*).

Why do we have the condition of *ikaḥ* 'in place of a vowel denoted by *iK*'? Consider *abibhar bhavān*, again, where the penultimate *a* of *abibhar* cannot be replaced with its long counterpart.

Note that conditions of *dhātoḥ* and *padasya* are still valid. Thus, this rule cannot apply to *agniḥ* and *vāyuḥ* beacuse no root is involved. We similarly get *girau* and *giraḥ* in view of condition of *padasya*.

8.2.77 हलि च

hali ca
/hali 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *dhātoḥ* #74 *rvor upadhāyā dīrgha ikaḥ* #76)
hali ca parataḥ rephavakārāntasya dhātor upadhāyā iko dīrgho bhavati
A penultimate vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK*, and forming part of a verbal root ending in *r* and *v*, is replaced with its long counterpart when a consonant follows.

EXAMPLES:

āstīrṇam 'strewn around'
vistīrṇam 'spread about'
viśīrṇam 'broken to pieces, withered'
dīvyati '. . . sports'
sīvyati '. . . sews'

1. This rule replaces the short penultimate *i*, *u*, *ṛ* and *ḷ* of a verbal root when the root is followed by a consonant (*hali*). Refer to derivational details of examples under 7.1.100 *ṛd id dhātoḥ* and 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto*. . . . We, thus, get examples (*ā-stṝ* + *Kta*) + *sU* = *āstīrṇam*, (*vi-śṝ* + *Kta*) + *sU* = *viśīrṇam*, *div* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *dīvyati* and *siv* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *sīvyati*.

2. Note that the condition of *dhātoḥ* is still valid. Thus, we do not get a long replacement for *i* and *u* of *divam* 'heaven' and *catur* 'four' in *divam icchati* → *dīvyati* and *caturaḥ icchati* → *caturyati*. These are non-root (*adhātuḥ*) nominal stems (*prātipadika*).

The condition of *ikaḥ* 'in place of an *iK*' also carries. Consequently, *smaryate* and *bhavyate* do not get their *a* replaced with a corresponding long.

Recall that the earlier rule offered long replacements for roots ending in *r* and *v*. This rule is formulated for offering long replacements to roots which do not end in *r* and *v* (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: '*apadāntārtho' yam ārambhaḥ*', *pūrvaṃ rephavakārāntasya dhātor dīrghatvavidhānād arephavakārāntārtham idam*).

8.2.78 उपधायां च

upadhāyāṃ ca
/*upadhāyām* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *dhātoḥ* #74 *rvor upadhāyā dīrgha ikaḥ* #76)
dhātor upadhābhūtau yau rephavakārau halparau tayor upadhāyā iko dīrgho bhavati
A long vowel comes in place of the penultimate *iK* vowel of *r* and *v* which constitutes the penultimate of a root followed by a consonant.

EXAMPLES:

hūrcchitā 'derivate of *hūrch* 'to be crooked' with *Kta* in the feminine'
mūrchitā 'derivate of *mūrch* 'to faint' with *Kta* in the feminine'
ūrvitā 'derivate of *urv* 'to harm' with *Kta* in the feminine'
dhūrvitā 'derivate of *dhūrv* 'to injure' with *Kta* in the feminine'

1. Note that *rvor upadhāyāḥ* is carried as a whole (*sarvam*). The *upadhāyām* 'penultimate' of this rule is used as a qualifier to *rvoḥ*, paraphrased as *rephavakārayoḥ*, in the genitive dual (*ṣaṣṭhī dvivacana*). For this qualifier-qualified relationship, one would expect *upadhāyām* to have been given as *upadhayoḥ*, again a genitive dual. But we get locative singular in place of genitive dual by transmutation (*vyatyaya*; *PM*: '*rvor upadhāyāḥ*' *ityādi sarvam anuvartate. idam upadhāgrahaṇaṃ rvor viśeṣaṇam*). But since we have the locative singular *upadhāyām*, instead, the genitive dual of *rvoḥ* can be replaced with the locative singular, in tune with *upadhāyām*. The *upadhā* of the earlier rule is interpreted as a qualifier to *ikaḥ*. This establishes the occurrence of *iK* before *r* and *v*. This is how the *Kāśikāvṛtti* offers its paraphrase: *dhātor upadhābhūtau yau rephavakārau halparau tayor upadhāyā iko dīrgho bhavati* 'the *r* and *v* which occur before a consonant and have become the penultimate of a verbal root; the penultimate *iK* of such *r* and *v* is replaced with a long'. *Kāśikā* interprets *halparau* 'followed by a consonant' as a *bahuvrīhi* paraphrased as: *hal paraḥ ābhyām* 'the two after which there is a consonant'. This consonant is then understood as part of the root. Contexts where a consonant occurs after *r* and *v* of an affix are covered by the earlier rule (*Nyāsa*: *yatra hi pratyayāvayavo rephavakārābhyāṃ halparas tatra pūrveṇaiva siddhaḥ*).

Consider *hurch* + *iṬ* + *ta* → *hūrcchita* of the feminine *hūrcchitā*, where our present rule replaces the short *u* of the root with its long counterpart *ū*. We similarly get (*mūrch* + *iṬ* + *Kta* → *mūrchita* and (*dhurv* + *iṬ* + *Kta*) → *dhūrvita* in their corresponding feminine forms. An objection is raised as to how *r* could be considered penultimate when 8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve* doubles up the *ch*. The *r* is still considered penultimate since 8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve* is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of this long replacement (*Nyāsa*: *dīrghatve kartavye dvirvacanasyāsiddhatvāc chakāro' traika eva hal iti bhavaty evopadhātvaṃ rephasya* 'since doubling is considered *asiddha* in the application

of replacement in long, a single *ch*, alone, is seen there as a consonant; this is how the penultimate status of *r* is established').

Note that *ca* in this rule is used to attract *hali* of the previous rule (*Nyāsa: cakāro halīty asyānukarṣaṇārthaḥ*). That is, *r* and *v* must be followed by a consonant (*hali*). We do not get this long replacement in *ciri* + *Śnu* + *ti* → *ciriṇoti* and *jiri* + *Śnu* + *ti* → *jiriṇoti* where verbal roots *ciri* and *jiri* have their penultimate *r* followed by a vowel.

Why do we not get this long replacement for the short *i* and *u* of the *abhyāsa* of *riryatuḥ* / *riryuḥ* and *vivyatuḥ* / *vivyuḥ*, the third dual and plural active perfect (*LIṬ*) forms of *rī* and *vī* 'to go' with replacements of *LIṬ* further replaced with *atus* and *us*. Note here that the final vowel of the root is replaced with *y* and *v* (*yaṇādeśa*). These replacements in *y* and *v* are considered *bahiraṅga* 'externally conditioned' since they are accomplished in the domain of *aṅga* and hence, are conditioned by a following affix. This replacement in long is internally conditioned since it is accomplished in relation to the base (*prakṛti*). Since this replacement in *y* and *v* is considered *asiddha*, there will be no *r* and *v* followed by a consonant. The question of a long replacement, hence, does not arise.

Why do we not get this long replacement in (*cutur* + *KyaC* → (*caturya* + *tṛC*) + *sU*) = *caturyitā*, where, after the deletion of the final *a* (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*) of *caturya*, before *tṛC*, we get a penultimate *r* occurring before a consonant. Note here that deletion of *a* is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*) because of being conditioned by the *ārdhadhātuka* affix *tṛC*. This long replacement is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). The externally conditioned deletion of *d* becomes *asiddha* in view of applying this long replacement. Now consider *pratidīvnā* where this consideration of 'internally conditioned versus externally conditioned' argument does not apply. For this *paribhāṣā* is non-obligatory (*anitya*), especially in the *yathoddeśa* view. The long replacement in *pratidīvnā* is questioned because, like *caturyitā*, we also do not get *r* as the penultimate sound of the root. This matter of non-application of lengthening is resolved in view of 1.1.58 *na padāntadvirvacana*. . ., where I also discuss derivational details of *pratidīvnā* and *pratidīvne* (II:409-10).

Kāśikā further informs that this long replacement is also not found in *jiriḥ, kiriḥ,* where the stems are both non-derived nominal ('*uṇādayo' vyutpannāni prātipadikāni' iti jivriḥ kiryoḥ giryor ity evam ādiṣu dīrgho na bhavati*).

8.2.79 न भकुर्छुराम्

na bhakurchurām

/*na* ɸ *bhakurchurām* 6/3 *bhaś ca kur ca chur ca* = *bhakurchuraḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/

(*dhātoḥ* #74 *rvor upadhāyā dīrgho ikaḥ* #76)

rephavakārāntasya bhasya '*kur, chur*' *ity etayoś ca dīrgho na bhavati*

The short vowel of a *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) which ends in *r* and *v*, and the penultimate vowel of verbal roots *kur* 'to do, make' and *chur* 'to pierce' as well, is not replaced with its long counterpart.

EXAMPLES:

dhuraṃ vahati = *dhuryaḥ* 'he who carries the yoke; an ox'
dhuri sādhur yaḥ = *dhuryaḥ* 'he who is good in harness; an ox'
kuryāt 'may he do!'
churyāt 'may he pierce!'

1. This negation (*pratiṣedha*) of a long replacement is made against positive provision of 8.2.77 *hali ca*. Refer to derivational details of the benedictive *LIṄ*-derivate *kuryāt* (III:784), under 3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipade*. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving *churyāt*. Now consider *dhuryaḥ*, paraphrased as *dhuraṃ vahati*, where affix *yaT* is introduced after *dhura* + *am* (4.4.77 *dhuro yaḍḍhakau*) with the signification of *vahati* 'carries'.

Why is verbal root *kṛÑ* specified here as *kur*, with its *vikaraṇa*, i.e., *u* (3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhya uḥ*)? So that this negation does not apply to *cikīrṣati* 'wishes to do or make', etc. (*Nyāsa: karoter vikaraṇena nirdeśaś cikīrṣatīty atra pratiṣedho mā bhūd iti*). This negation will apply only where the word-form *kur* is found.

2. Why should we qualify *bha* (1.4.18 *yaci bham*) with the requirement of ending in *r* and *v*? Consider the counter-examples: *pratidīvnā* 'instrumental singular of *pratidivan* 'sun'' and *pratidīvne* 'dative singular of *pratidivan*', where the stem which ends in *v* is not a *bha*, and the stem which is a *bha* does not end in *v* (II:409-10). It ends in *n*, instead.

8.2.80 अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो मः

adso' ser dād u do maḥ
/*adasaḥ* 6/1 *aseḥ* 6/1 = *avidyamānaḥ siḥ sakāro yasya sa* = *asiḥ* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *dāt* 5/1 *u* (1/1 deleted); *daḥ* 6/1 *maḥ* 1/1/
adaso' sakārāntasya varṇasya dāt parasya uvarṇādeśo bhavati dakārasya ca makāraḥ
A sound segment which occurs after *d* of *adas*, when not ending in *s*, is replaced with *u* with an additional provision that *d* be replaced with *m*.

EXAMPLES:

amum 'accusative singular masculine of *adas* 'he, that''
amū 'accusative dual masculine . . .'
amūn 'accusative plural masculine . . .'
amunā 'instrumental singular masculine . . .'
amūbhyām 'instrumental dual masculine . . .'

1. Note that *i* of *asi* in *aseḥ* 'of that which does not have *s*' is used for ease of articulation. Consider *amum* which derives from *adas* + *am*, where *s* of

adas is replaced with *a*. The sequence of two vowels, namely *a+a*, is then replaced with a single vowel similar to what follows in the sequence (6.1.97 *ato guṇe*). Our present rule is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of application of rule 6.1.97 *ato guṇe*. Thus we get: *ada(s→a) + am → ad(a+a→a) m → adam*. Our present rule can now apply on *adam* to produce *a(d→m (a→u) m)) → amum*. Refer to derivational details of *amū* under 1.1.12 *adaso māt* (II:348-49). Derivational details of *amaunā* can be found under 8.2.3 *na mune*. Recall that a replacement in *u*, for example in *amūbhyām*, can be determined on the basis of similarity in duration (*pramāṇa*; cf. 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*). Note that *s* of *Śas* 'accusative plural ending' in *amūn* is replaced with *n* (6.1.102 *tasmāc chaso naḥ puṃsi*).

2. Why do we have the condition of *aseḥ* 'of that which does not have *s* at the end'? Consider *adaḥ icchati → adasyati* 'wishes to get that for himself', which derives from *adas + am + KyaC* (3.1.8 *supa ātmanaḥ kyac*). This could not be a valid example since *padasya* 'of that which is termed a *pada*' is carried over, and *adas* before *KyaC* cannot be termed a *pada*. This then indicates that a replacement in *mu* applies even when *adas* is not a *pada* (*PM*: *nanu ca 'padasya' iti vartate, na cedaṃ padam; 'naḥ kye' iti niyamāt. evaṃ tarhy etad eva jñāpayati: apadasyāpy adasa etan mutvaṃ bhavatīti . . .*).

A *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *adaso' nosra iti vaktavyam*) is made to state *anosraḥ* 'of that which does not have *o*, *s* and *r* at the end'. This proposal is clearly a move to expand the scope of *aseḥ*. For, *aseḥ* only has the negation of *s*. The *vārttika* adds on an additional negation of *o* and *r* (*Nyāsa*: *okāra-sakāra-rephāṇāṃ dvandvaḥ, avidyamānā osro' syeti bahuvrīhiḥ*). Thus, we get counter-examples: *ado' tra* and *adaḥ kulam*. Given *adas + sU*, in *ado' tra*, we get deletion of *sU* by 7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt* because of a neuter (*napuṃsaka*). The *s* of *adas* then goes through a replacement in *rU* (*rutva*). This *rU* is then replaced with *u* (*utvam*; 6.1.113 *ato ror aplutād . . .*). Rule 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ* then applies on *ada+u + atra* to replace its vocalic sequence *a+u* with *o*, a *guṇa* corresponding with *u* which follows in the sequence (*paravarūpa*). Finally, we apply a single replacement similar to what precedes (*pūrvarūpa*; 6.1.108 *eṅaḥ padāntād ati*) on the vocalic sequence *o+a* of *ad(o+a→o) tra = ado tra* to obtain *ado' tra*. The *adaḥ* of *adaḥ kulam* is an example of negation of *r*, where *visarga* comes as a replacement for *rU* (*rutva*; *Nyāsa*: *etat tu rephapratiṣedhasya (pratyudāharaṇam)*; *rutve kṛte visarjanīyaḥ*)). Some propose a change in the wording of the rule as: *aḥ ser yasya so' yam asiḥ* '*asi* means that in which there is *a* in place of *s*'. So that negation of *o* and *r* could both be established. That is, replacements in *u* (*utva*) and *m* (*matva*) are accomplished only where *s* is replaced with *a*. Put differently, *utva* and *matva* are blocked where *adas* yields a form ending in *o*, *s* and *r* (*vt*: *adaso' nosra iti vaktavyam*). *Kāśikā* initiates further discussion on this topic, which I omit for fear of expatiation (*prapañca*). The following verse sums it up:

adaso' dreḥ pṛthaṅ mutvaṃ kecid icchanti latvavat /
kecid antyasadeśasya netyeke' ser hi dṛśyate //
'the *mutva* of *d* and *r* of *adas* and *adriN* is applied separately; some desire it similarly to replacement in *l* (of *calīkḷpyate*); some desire the replacement for the replacement of the final *s*, i.e., *d* and *r*, some do not desire any replacement when *adri* comes as a replacement.'

Why do we have the condition of *dāt* 'in place of that which occurs after *d*'? So that this replacement does not apply to a final sound segment (*Kāś: alo' ntyasya mā bhūt*). Thus, we get counter-examples: *amuyā* and *amuyoḥ*.

8.2.81 एत ईद् बहुवचने

eta īd bahuvacane
/*etaḥ* 6/1 *īt* 1/1 *bahuvacane* 7/1/
(*adaso' ser dāt do maḥ* #80)
adaso dakārād uttarasya ekārasya īkārādeśo bhavati dakārasya ca makāro bahuvacane = bahūnām arthānām uktau
An *eT* (*e*) after *d* of *adas*, when *adas* does not end in *s*, is replaced with *ī*, with an additional provision that *d* of *adas* be also replaced with *m*, when the signification is many (*bahuvacane*).

EXAMPLES:

amī 'nominative plural masculine of *adas*'
amībhiḥ 'instrumental plural . . .'
amībhyaḥ 'dative/ablative plural . . .'
amīṣām 'genitive plural . . .'
amīṣu 'locative plural . . .'

1. This rule replaces an *e*, which occurs after *d* of *adas*, with *ī*. Additionally, *d* of *adas*, in plural, is also replaced with *m*. The word *bahuvacana* is not used here in its technical sense of plural. A technical interpretation will give us the meaning: 'when an affix with the signification of plural follows'. This will block the derivation of *amī* where no affix with the signification of plural follows.

It is to remove such difficulties that *bahuvacane* 'in the sense of many' is used in its etymological sense of *bahūnām arthānām uktiḥ* 'expression of many meanings' (*Kāśikā: 'bahuvacane' ity arthanirdeśo' yam. pāribhāṣikasya hi bahuvacanasyagrahaṇe amī ity atra na syāt*). Refer to derivational details of *amī* under 1.1.12 *adaso māt* (II:348-49). If one interprets the following *Jas* in the technical sense of plural number, *amī* could not be derived. For, given *ada* + (*Jas*→*Śi*) = *ada* + *i* → *ad* (*a*+*i*→*e*) = *ade*, there will not be any *Jas* to follow. The *ī* (*ītva*) in *ade* + *bhis* →*amībhiḥ* = *amībhiḥ*, etc., is accomplished after *e*-replacement (*etva*) of 7.3.103 *bahuvacane jhaly et* has applied. Why can we not get **adaiḥ* from *ade* + *bhis* by applying 7.1.9 *ato bhis ais*? Because

7.1.11 *nedamadasorakoḥ* negates it. Furthermore, given *ada* + *am*, we need augment *sUṬ* (7.1.52 *āmi sarvanāmnaḥ* . . .) before other operations are performed. That is, when we want to derive the genitive plural form *amīṣām*.

Why is *ī* specified with *īT*? For ease of articulation (*mukhasukhārthaḥ*). Why is *e* specified with *eT*? Specifying *e* with the genitive *eḥ* could confuse us about *i* as an item to be replaced (*Nyāsa*: '*eḥ*' *ity ucyamāne ikārasyāpi sthānitvam āśaṅkyeta*).

8.2.82 **वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः**

> *vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ*
> /*vākyasya* 6/1 *ṭeḥ* 6/1 *plutaḥ* 1/1 *udāttaḥ* 1/1/
> (*padasya* #1.16)
> *adhikāro' yam.* '*vākyasya ṭer*' *iti*, '*pluta*' *iti ca*, '*udātta*' *iti ca*, *etat trayam apy adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam āpādaparisamāpteḥ*
> A vowel termed *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of an utterance is replaced with its *pluta* counterpart marked with *udātta.*

EXAMPLE:

> *abhivādaye devadatto' ham*! 'I, Devadatta, salute (you, sir!)'
> *bho āyuṣmān edhi devadatta3* 'O, Devadatta, (grow to) be long-living'

1. Since this rule is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule', its *anuvṛtti* must, hereafter, be carried over through all rules contained within this quarter. The *ṭi*-vowel of the last word (*pada*) of an utterance (*vākya*) is, hereby, replaced with a *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta.* Since *hrasva* 'short', *dīrgha* 'long' and *pluta* 'extra-long' are names assigned to vowels, this replacement will also come in place of a vowel which constitutes the *ṭi* of a *pada.* If the *ṭi* of such words is constituted by a consonant, this rule will apply to the vowel which precedes *ṭi.* This is what *Kāśikā* means by *ṭigrahaṇaṃ vyañjanāntasyāpi ṭer acaḥ pluto yathā syāt-agnici3d iti* 'a specification with *ṭi* is made so that the vowel before a consonantal *ṭi* can also be replaced with *pluta*, as in *agnici3d*'.

Note that the use of *vākyasya* does not cancel the *anuvṛtti* of *padasya.* If *vākyasya* was not used, all *padas* in a sentence would have their *ṭi*-vowel replaced with a *pluta* vowel. A specification with *vākyasya* restricts this replacement in *pluta* to the *ṭi* vowel of the last *pada* of a sentence (*Nyāsa*: *antyasyaiva hi padasya yaṣ ṭiḥ sa vākyasya ṭir bhavati*; *Kāś*: *vākyagrahaṇam anantyasya padasya plutanivṛtyartham*). Why could this rule not apply to the *ṭi*-vowel of a non-final *pada* in an utterance? Because that is not desired (*aniṣṭatvāt*). Consider 8.2.83 *pratyabhivāde' śūdre*, whereby the *ṭi* vowel of an utterrance, when used in response to the salutation of a non-*śūdra*, is replaced with a *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta.* A specification with *ṭi* is made so that the *ṭi*-vowel of a *pada* ending in a consonant could also avail this *pluta.* Thus, consider *agnici3d iti.*

Kāśikā explains: *pratyabhivādo nāma yad abhivādyamāno gurur āśiṣaṃ prayuṅkte tatrāśūdraviṣaye yad vākyaṃ vartate tasya ṭeḥ pluta udātto bhavati* 'the *ṭi* vowel of an utterance which is used in response to a salutation as benediction by a saluted person, outside the context of a non-*śūdra*, is replaced with a *pluta* marked with *udātta*'. Thus, *abhivādaye devadatto' ham* 'I, Devadatta, salute you (sir!)'; *bho āyuṣmān edhi devadatta3* 'O, Devadatta, be long-living'.

8.2.83 प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे

pratyabhivādé śūdre
/*pratyabhivāde* 7/1 = *aśudre* 7/1 = *na śudraḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *vākyasya ṭeḥ plutaḥ udāttaḥ* #82)
pratyabhivādo nāma yad abhivādyamāno gurur āśiṣaṃ prayuṅkte, tatrāśūdraviṣaye yad vākyaṃ vartate tasya ṭeḥ pluta udātto bhavati
The *ṭi*-vowel of an utterance which is used in response to a salutation as benediction, in the context of a non-*śūdra*, is replaced with a *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

abhivādaye devadatto' ham ! 'I, Devadatta, salute (you, sir!)'
bho āyuṣmān edhi devadatta3 'O, Devadatta, be long-living'

1. Refer also to my notes under the preceding rule. It is stated that a word which denotes a name and is used at the end of a benediction, generally receives this *pluta* replacement for its *ṭi* vowel. The word *pratyabhivāda* is explained as a benedictive response, made to a person by his elders (teacher, etc.) in response to a salutation. This rule makes an injunction against using the *pluta* in response made to a *śūdra* 'person of a lower caste'. Thus, the *pluta*-replacement is limited to a benedictive response made for a *brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* or *vaiśya*. It is noted that a *brāhmaṇa* should be addressed in response to his salutation with, *āyuṣmān bhava saumya* 'be long-living, O, good man!'.

Why do we state the condition of *aśūdre* 'in the context of a non-*śudra*'? Consider *abhivādaye tuṣajako' ham* 'I, Tuṣajaka, salute (you, sir!)'; *bho āyuṣmān edhi tuṣajaka* 'O, you Tuṣajaka, be long-living', where this replacement is not made available.

2. A *vārttika* (*vt. striyām api pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*) prohibits this replacement also in the context of a woman'. Thus, *abhivādaye gārgy aham* 'I, Gārgī, salute (you, sir!)'; *bho āyuṣmatī bhava gārgi* 'O Gārgī, be long-living'. Why was the final long vowel of *āyuṣmatī* not replaced with its short counterpart? It is part of the predicate, the address is indeed limited to the subject.

Some also desire this prohibition in the context of *asūyā* 'fault-finding, impudence; that which may irritate the teacher, etc.', expressed in the salutation. Thus, *abhivādaye sthāly aham bhoḥ* 'I, Sthālī (carrying a cooking pot) salute you, sir!' The response: *asūyakas tvaṃ jālma, na tvaṃ pratyabhivā-*

danam arhasi, bhidyasva vṛṣala sthālin 'you are impudent, you wretched one, you do not deserve a benedictive response; may you burst (like a pot while cooking) O, lowly untouchable, Sthālin (carrier of a cooking pot)'. Note that the person who salutes here does not use his real name. He, instead, uses the name Sthālin (perhaps to annoy the teacher). Why this name? Because he must have been carrying a cooking pot at that time. It is stated that this *vārttika* proposal is unnecessary. For, a salutation will deserve response only till the time *asūyā* does not become known. Once *asūyā* is known, the question of a benedictive response does not arise. However, a response denoting anger cannot be ruled out.

This replacement in *pluta* is desired in the word which is repeated in a benedictive response. Thus, it cannot apply to *devadatta kuśaly asi* 'Devadatta, you are happy!'; *devadatta āyuṣmān edhi* 'Devadatta, long-living, grow'.

A *vārttika* (*vt. bhorājanyaviśāṃ veti vaktavyam*) makes this *pluta* optional in cases where *bhoḥ* follows a proper name, or when a *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya* is the recipient of benedictive responses. Thus, *bho abhivādaye devadatto' ham*; *āyuṣmāna edhi devadatta bhoḥ*; *āyuṣmānedhi devadatta bhoḥ*, etc. It is said that short and long vowels are used all the time (*sārvakālika*). A *pluta* is not used all the time (*asārvakālika*).

8.2.84 दूराद्धूते च

dūrādd hūte ca
/*dūrāt* 5/1 *hūte* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ* #82)
dūrādd hūte yad vākyaṃ vartate tasya ṭeḥ pluto bhavati sa codāttaḥ
The *ṭi* vowel of the final *pada* of an utterance, when used for calling out (*hūte*) someone at a distance (*dūrāt*), is also replaced with a *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta*.

EXAMPLES:

āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadattа3! 'come here (my) boy, Devadatta'
āgaccha bho māṇavaka yajñadatta3! 'come hear (my) boy, Yajñadatta!'
saktūn piba devadatta3! 'Devadatta, drink *saktu*'
palāyasva devadatta3! 'run, Devadatta'

1. The word *hūta* is explained as 'calling out'. That is, addressing someone by means of words. Thus, *āgaccha bho māṇavaka devadatta3*; *āgaccha bho māṇavaka yajñadatta3*! Note that the condition of *dūrāt* 'from a distance' is important. How far is far? Since 'far' denotes a relative notion, and also since *hūtam* is here used in the sense of 'calling out by means of words', any comparatively non-regular extra speech-effort, such as voice modulation, will enable the context to meet the condition of *dūrāt* (*Kāś*: *yatra prākṛtāt prayatnād yatnaviśeṣa āśrīyamāṇe śabdaḥ śrūyate tad dūram*). The 'call' must be

heard at a distance. The use of *dūrāt* is thus made relative to words used for calling out. A word which can be heard from a distance must be produced with some additional efforts and, likewise, must also be heard with additional efforts.

Why do we get a *pluta*-replacement in *devadatta3* of *saktūn piba devadatta3!* 'drink saktu, Devadatta!'; *palāyasva devadatta3!* 'run, Devadatta!' This does not give us any clue that Devadatta is called at a distance. The word *hūta* must then be looked as a pretext for address in general (*Kāś: hūtagrahaṇaṃ ca sambodhanamātropalakṣaṇārthaṃ draṣṭavyam*). Only a person, thus addressed, is engaged in the activity of drinking, etc. (*Nyāsa: sambodhito hi puruṣo pānādau vā niyujyate*).

Note that 1.2.33 *ekaśruti dūrāt sambuddhau* assigns *ekaśruti* 'monotone' to sentences covered by this rule. Should this *pluta* be included within the scope of *ekaśruti*? Should this be considered an option (*vikalpa*)? Should this be considered an exception (*bādhikā*) to *ekaśruti*? It cannot be considered an exception since they both share a general scope (*sāmānyaviṣayatvāt*). It is also not appropriate to consider them optional. They must apply concurrently (*sahaprāpteḥ*). This *pluta* becomes suspended (*asiddha*) in accomplishing *ekaśruti*. In a way, this rule will be an exception to *ekaśruti*. How? The *ṭi*-vowel of a sentence will be marked with *pluta*. The rest of the sentence will be marked with monotone (*ekaśruti*). There may even be an inclusion of *pluta* within *ekaśruti*.

This *pluta* is desired in a word at the end of an address sentence used for calling someone at a distance.

8.2.85 **हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः**

haiheprayoge haihayoḥ
/ *hai-he-prayoge* 7/1 = *haiś ca heś ca* = *haihayoḥ*, *tayoḥ prayoge* (*ṣaṣ. tat.* with int. *dv.*); *haihayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *pluta udāttaḥ* #82 *dūrādd hūte* #84)
haiheprayoge dūrādd hūte yad vākyaṃ vartate tasya ṭeḥ pluto bhavati sa codāttaḥ

A *pluta* marked *udātta* comes in place of *hai* and *he* alone when a sentence with them is used for calling (*hūte*) someone from a distance (*dūrāt*).

EXAMPLES:

hai3 devadatta!
devadatta hai3!
he3 devadatta!
devadatta he3!

1. This rule assigns *pluta* to *hai* and *he* alone, when they are used in an

utterance to call someone at a distance. This specification with repetition of *hai* and *he* is made so that *hai* and *he* could be assigned *pluta* even when not occurring at the end of an utterance. Thus, *hai3 devadatta, devadatta hai3; he3 devadatta, devadatta he3.*

Note that the earlier rule assigns *pluta*, primarily to the final word of an utterance used as means for calling out. This rule is formulated for offering *pluta* to words which are used as means of drawing attention.

Why was this specification of *haihe* made with the word *prayoge* 'when used'? So that this rule does not apply where more than one *hai* and *he* are used.

8.2.86 गुरोरनृतोऽनन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम्

> *guror anṛto' nantyasyāpy ekaikasya prācām*
> /*guroḥ* 6/1 *anṛtaḥ* 6/1 = *na ṛt* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*; *anantyasya* 6/1 = *na antyo' nantyaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*; *api* ф *ekaikasya* 6/1 = *ekam ekam* = *ekaikam* (*vīpsā*, treated as a *bahuvrīhi* by 8.1.9 *ekaṃ bahuvrīhivat*), *tasya*; *prācām* 6/1/
> (*padasya* #1.16 *vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ* #82)
> *ṛkāravarjitasya guror anantyasya apiśabdād antyasyāpi ṭer ekaikasya sambodhane vartamānasya pluto bhavati prācām ācāryāṇāṃ matena*
> A non-final, non-*ṛ*, *guru* (1.4.11 *saṃyoge guru*, 1.4 12 *dīrghaṃ ca*) vowel of an address (*sambodhana*), used in response to the salutation of a non-*śūdra*, or in response to a call from a distance, is, in the opinion of eastern scholars replaced with a *pluta* vowel.

EXAMPLES:

> *āyuṣmān edhi de3vadatta*!
> *āyuṣmān edhi devada3tta*!
> *āyuṣmān edhi devadatta3*!
> *āyuṣmān edhi ya3jñadatta*!
> *āyuṣmān edhi yajñada3tta*!
> *āyuṣmān edhi yajñadatta3*!

1. This rule replaces a non-*ṛ*, non-final *guru* vowel, or even the final *guru* vowel of the *ṭi* of an utterance, in turn, with a *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta*. Of course, when the sentence in focus is either used in response to the salutation of a non-*śudra*, or is used for calling out from a distance. Thus, we get three replacements,in turn, in the address (*sambodhana*) form *devadatta*: *de3vadatta*!, *deva3datta*! and *devadatta3*!, etc. The word *api* is used in this rule to also include the *guru* vowel of the *ṭi* of an utterance (*Nyāsa*: *anenāpiśabdaś ṭeḥ samuccayaṃ karoti*). This replacement in a *pluta* marked *udātta* is intended for the *guru* of an address, and not for any *guru* of the sentence. Furthermore, it is intended to be applied in turn (*ekaikasya*). One can thus not apply it concurrently, as **de3va3datta3*!

2. The word *prācām* is used for showing options (*vikalpārtham*). We can also then get *devadatta*!, with no *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta* at all. Thus, *āyuṣmān edhi devadatta*!. Patañjali (ad 8.2.92 *agnītpreṣaṇe parasya ca*) declares all *pluta*-replacement rules optional. This goes against this limited optional provision made by *prācām*. Making this option applicable to all rules will be contrary to rules of grammar. Violating the authority of grammatical rules needs courage (*sāhasa*). Those who cannot muster courage must read *prācām* of this rule in all rules relating to a replacement in *pluta* (*Mbh*: *sarva eva plutaḥ sāhasam anicchatā vibhāṣā kartavyaḥ*).

3. Why do we state the condition of *guroḥ* 'in place of a vowel termed *guru*'? So that a short vowel (1.4.9 *hrasvaṃ laghu*) may not be replaced with a *pluta* vowel, marked *udātta*.

Why do we say *anṛtaḥ* 'in place of a non-*ṛ*'? So that a *ṛ* vowel termed *guru* cannot be replaced with a *pluta* vowel, marked with *udātta*. Consider *kṛṣṇa3mitra*! and *kṛṣṇamitra3*!, but not **kṛ3ṣṇamitra*!

8.2.87 ओमभ्यादाने

om abhyādāne
/*om* ɸ *abhyādāne* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *pluta udāttaḥ* #82)
abhyadānam = *prārambhaḥ, tatra ya omśabdaḥ tasya pluto bhavati*
A *pluta* vowel, marked with *udātta*, comes in place of a *pada* which is constituted by *om* at the beginning (*abhyādāna*) of a Vedic hymn.

EXAMPLES:

o3m agnimīḍe purohitam

1. Why do we have the condition of *abhyādāne* 'at the beginning . . .'? Consider *om ity etad akṣaram udgītham upāsīta* which, because it is a statement from the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*, does not have a *pluta* replacing the *o* of *om*. The word *abhyādāne* is explained as *prārambhaḥ* 'the beginning'. At the beginning of what (*kasya prārambhe*)? Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*) answers it with *svādhyāyādeḥ* 'at the beginning of recitation of the Vedic hymns, etc'.

8.2.88 ये यज्ञकर्मणि

ye yajñakarmaṇi
/*ye* (deleted genitive); *yajñakarmaṇi* = *yajñasya karma* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *pluta udāttaḥ* #82)
'*ye*' *ity etasya yajñakarmaṇi pluto bhavati*
A *pluta* vowel, marked with *udātta*, comes in place of *yé* when the same is used as part of a sacrificial activity (*yajñakarman*).

EXAMPLES:

ye3 yajāmahe . . . 'we who sacrifice . . .'

1. Consider *ye3 yajāmahe*, where *e* of *ye3* is a *pluta*, marked with *udātta*. The first plural middle present form of *yaj* clearly indicates the ritual activity context of the usage. We can thus not get this *pluta* in *ye yajāmahe iti pañcākṣaram* '*ye yajāmahe* consists of five vowels (syllables)'. This clearly is not any ritual usage. It is, instead, an usage of the *svādhyāya* 'recitation, study' type. It is stated (Prajñādevī: III:544) that *ye3 yajāmahe* is added at the beginning of a hymn which is used for offering oblations to fire by ritualists of the *śrauta* school.

2. *Kāśikā* cites a desideratum (*iṣṭi*), whereby this *pluta* is desired only in the context of *ye3 yajāmahe* (*Kāś*: *ye yajāmahe ity atraivāyaṃ pluta iṣyate*). This *pluta* is not desired, for example, in *ye devāso divy ekādeśasthaḥ*. *Nyāsa* notes that this rule, with the *anuvṛtti* of *prācām* from 8.3.86 *guror anṛto* . . ., can be interpreted as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'.

8.2.89 प्रणवष्टेः

praṇavaṣ ṭeḥ
/*praṇavaḥ* 1/1 *ṭeḥ* 6/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ* #82 *yajñakarmaṇi* #88)
yajñakarmaṇi ṭeḥ praṇava ādeśo bhavati
The *ṭi* of the final *pada* of an utterance is replaced with a *praṇava*, a *pluta* marked *udātta*, provided the same is used as part of a sacrificial activity.

EXAMPLES:

apāṃ retāṃsi jinvato3m
devān jigāti sumnayo3m

1. Note that *yajñakarmaṇi* is still carried over. Questions have been raised about the true signification of the word *praṇavaḥ*? What does it refer to (*Kāś*: *ka eṣa praṇavo nāma*)? This word is technically not used in the grammar. It is also not well known in the usage. The word *praṇava* is here recognized as referring to the *o* of *om*, the famous *mantra*. What is called *praṇava* is the *o* of the *om*, or a vowel equal to the duration of three moras (*mātrā*), which is brought as a replacement for the *ṭi* vowel, or the *ṭi* of a quarter verse or hymn (*Kāś*: *pādasya vā ardharchasya vā' ntyam akṣaram upasaṃgṛhya tadādyakṣaraśeṣasya sthāne trimātram okāraṃ oṅkāraṃ vā vidadhāti taṃ praṇavam ity ācakṣate*). Thus, *apāṃ retāṃsi jinvato3m* and *devān jigāti sumnayo3m*, where the final *i* and *u* of *jinvati* and *sumnayus* are replaced with *o3m*.

It is clear from these examples that *ṭi* is replaced with *om*, in toto (*Kāś*: *ṭigrahaṇaṃ sarvādeśārtham. okāraḥ sarvādeśao yathā syāt*). It also shows that *om* cannot be brought as a replacement where the final word of a hymn ends in a consonant (*Kāś*: *vyañjanānte mā bhūt*). Finally, this all must happen in the context of a ritual activity (*Kāś*: '*yajñakarmaṇi*' *ity eva*).

Prajñā (III:545) notes that *om* comes as a replacement only in some special hymns of the *śrauta* rituals. It is not brought as a replacement in all hymns used in ritual activities. She further adds that *om* is used as a replacement in special hymns, especially when *svāhā* and *vauṣaṭ* are not used.

8.2.90 याज्यान्तः

yājyāntaḥ
/*yājyāntaḥ* 1/1 = *yājyānām antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*padasya* #1.16 *vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ* #82 *yajñakarmaṇi* #88 *ṭeḥ* #89)
yājyā nām ye yājyākāṇḍe paṭhyante mantrāḥ, teṣām antyo yaṣṭiḥ sa plavate yajñakarmaṇi
A *pluta*, marked with *udātta*, comes in place of the *ṭi* of a *yājyā*-hymn when sacrificial action is signified.

EXAMPLES:

stomairvidhemāgnā3i
jihvāmagne cakṛṣe havyavāhā3m

1. Note that *yājyā* refers to a hymn (*ṛk*) whose second quarter contains the name of the divinity to whom the hymn is dedicated (Sūryakānta, p. 546: *mantrapratipādyāyā devatāyā nāmadheyaṃ yasyām ṛci uttarārdhe bhavati sā yājyā*). Thus, *jihvāmagne cakṛṣe havyavāhām3*, with *agni* as the divinity. *Kāśikā* recognizes *yajyā* as a group of hymns recited in the *yājyākāṇḍa* of the *saṃhitā* recitations. Their final *ṭi* is replaced with *pluta* in ritual recitation.

2. Why do we have the condition of *antaḥ* 'at the end'. Some *yājyā* hymns are collection of sentences. We do not need to replace the final *ṭi* of every sentence with a *pluta*. The word *antaḥ* is used so that only the *ṭi* of the last hymn is replaced with *pluta* (*Kāś*: *tatra yāvanti vākyāni teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ ṭeḥ plutaḥ prāpnoti*; *sarvāntyasyaiveṣyate, tadartham antagrahaṇam*).

8.2.91 ब्रूहिप्रेष्यश्रौषड्वौषडावहानामादेः

brūhipreṣyaśrauṣaḍvauṣaḍāvahānām ādeḥ
/*brūhi-preṣya-śrauṣaḍ-vauṣaḍ-āvahānām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ādeḥ* 6/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *pluta udāttaḥ* #82 *yajñakarmaṇi* #88)
'*brūhi, preṣya, śrauṣaṭ, vauṣaṭ, āvaha*' *ity eteṣām ādeḥ pluto bhavati yajñakarmaṇi*
A *pluta* vowel, marked with *udātta*, comes in place of the initial vowel of *brūhi, preṣya, śrauṣaṭ, vauṣaṭ* and *āvaha* when a sacrificial activity is signified.

EXAMPLES:

agnaye' nubrū3hi 'make a pledge to Agni'
agnaye gomayān pre3ṣya 'offer cowdung (cakes) to Agni'

astu śrau3ṣaṭ
somasyāgne vīhi vau3ṣat
agnim ā3vaha 'invoke the presence of Agni'

1. This rule replaces the initial vowel of *brūhi, preṣya, vauṣaṭ* and *āvaha* with a *pluta,* marked with *udātta,* when the context is sacrificial activity (*yajñakarmaṇi*). Thus, *agnaye' nubrū3hi,* etc. Note that *āvaha devāny yajamānāya* 'invite gods for the scrificer' does not get this *pluta*-replacement, especially since *sarve vidhayaś chandasi vikalpyante* 'all operations are made optional in the Vedic'. *Kāśikā,* while citing *āvaha devāny yajamānāya* as optional, uses *ity evam ādau.* This expression is interpreted differently by Haradatta and Jinendrabuddhi. Haradatta interprets *ādau* 'et cetera' as indicating other possible examples: *āvaha jātavedaḥ, suyajā yaja,* etc. Jinendrabuddhi interprets this *ādau* as indicating 'initial position in a sentence'. Thus, *ādigrahaṇam vākyāder mā bhūd iti* '*ādi* is used so that it does not apply at the beginning of a sentence'.

8.2.92 अग्नीत्प्रेषणे परस्य च

/ agnītpreṣaṇe parasya ca/
agnītpreṣaṇe 7/1 = *agnīdhaḥ preṣaṇam = agnītpreṣaṇam* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin; parasya* 6/1 *ca* ɸ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *pluta udāttaḥ* #82 *yajñakarmaṇi* #88 *ādeḥ* #91/
agnīdhaḥ preṣaṇe ādeḥ pluta udātto bhavati tasmāt parasya ca, yajñakarmaṇi
A *pluta* vowel, marked with *udātta,* comes in place of the initial vowel of a *pada,* and also in place of the vowel which follows this initial vowel of a *pada,* when a sacrificial activity signifies commissioning of a high priest.

EXAMPLES:

ā3śrā3vaya! 'announce; have them hear'
o3śrā3vaya!

1. Note that *agnītpreṣaṇa* is analyzed as *agnīdhaḥ preṣaṇam* 'comissioning, or entrusting a ritual high priest (*ṛtvij*), to preside over a sacrifice'. The word *agnīdh* refers to a priest who kindles the ritual fire. An utterance used for calling out the *agnīdh* to kindle the ritual fire gets the *pluta* as a replacement for its initial and next to initial vowels. The word *parasya* is interpreted relative to *ādeḥ* because of contextual proximity. Thus, *ā3śrā3vaya!* and *o3śrā3vaya!*

This *pluta* is made available only in these examples. It does not obtain, for example, in *agnīdagnīnvihara barhistṛṇīhi.* Some, to make this clear, like to bring *vibhāṣā* from the next rule and, thereby, turn this rule into a *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. Others still maintain, '*sarva eva plutaḥ sāhasam anicchatā vibhāṣā vijñeyaḥ* 'all *pluta,* for those who do not have courage to call the rule defective, must be known as optional'.

What is happening in *uddhara3 uddhara!*, *abhihara3 abhihara?* This indeed is an illustration of diverse application (*bāhulaka*) of Vedic rule.

The condition of *yajñakarmaṇi* 'in sacrificial activity', though, is still valid. Thus, we do not get *pluta* in *ośrāvaya!*

8.2.93 **विभाषा पृष्टप्रतिवचने हेः**

vibhāṣā pṛṣṭaprativacane heḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *pṛṣṭa-prativacane* 7/1 = *pṛṣṭasya prativacanam* (*ākhyānam*; *ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *heḥ* 6/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *pluta udāttaḥ* #82)
pṛṣṭapratipacane vibhāṣā heḥ pluto bhavati
A *pluta* vowel, marked with *udātta*, optionally comes in place of the final sound segment of *hi*, when used in the answer sentence to a question.

EXAMPLES:

akārṣīḥ kaṭam devadatta! 'did you make the mat, Devadatta!'
akārṣaṃ hi3 'I did'
akārṣaṃ hi 'ibidem'
alāvīḥ kedāraṃ devadatta! 'did you harvest the patch, Devadatta!'
alāviṣaṃ hi3 'I did'
alāviṣaṃ hi 'ibidem'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *pluta* to *hi* when *hi* occurs in response to a question (*pṛṣṭa-prativacana*).

2. Why do we have the condition of *pṛṣṭa-prativacane* 'when in response to a question'? Consider *kaṭaṃ kariṣyati hi* 'he will indeed make the mat', where one does not know whether this utterance is used in response to a question.

Why do we state the condition of *heḥ* 'in place of *hi*'? Consider *karomi nanu* 'I do!, never', where *nanu* cannot qualify for this replacement.

8.2.94 **निगृह्यानुयोगे च**

nigṛhyā' nuyoge ca
/*nigṛhya* ɸ *ānuyoge* 7/1 *ca* ɸ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ* #82 *ṭeḥ* #89 *vibhāṣā* #93)
svamatātpracyāvanam = *nigraham*, *anuyogaḥ* = *tasya matasyāviṣkaraṇam*; *tatra nigṛhyānuyoge yad vākyam vartate tasya ṭeḥ pluto bhavati vibhāṣā*
The *ṭi*-vowel of the final *pada* of an utterance is, optionally, replaced with *udātta*, when an opinion, after having been successfully refuted, is brought to light (repeated) by way of reproach.

EXAMPLES:

anityaḥ śabda ity āttha3 'word is non-eternal', thus you claim

anityaḥ śabda ity āttha
adya śrāddham ity āttha3 'today is *śrāddha*', thus you proclaim
adya śrāddham ity āttha
adyāmāvāsyety āttha3 'today is the thirteenth day of the month (*amāvāsyā*)', thus you declare
adyāmāvāsyety āttha

1. Note that *nigraha*, of *nigṛhya*, is interpreted as *svamatāt pracyāvanam* 'making someone accept the opposite of his own stated opinion'. The word *anuyoga* refers to *tasya matasyāviṣkaraṇam* 'bringing that refuted opinion to light'. The *ṭi* vowel of an utterance which is used in this context of *nigṛhyānuyoga* 'reproach by repeating a refuted opinion' is optionally replaced with a *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta*. Consider *anityaḥ śabdaḥ* 'word is not eternal (*nitya*)', an opinion which someone successfully refuted with logical arguments. The person who refuted this opinion can now, borrowing the same expression *anityaḥ śabdaḥ*, proclaim: *anityaḥ śabdaḥ, ity āttha3* 'word is not eternal, thus you say'. Notice that this utterance is repeated for expressing reproach. We will thus get optional *pluta* for the *ṭi*-vowel of the sentence.

8.2.95 **आम्रेडितं भर्त्सने**

āmreḍitaṃ bhartsane
/*āmreḍitam* 1/1 *bhartsane* 7/1/
(*plutaḥ udāttaḥ* #82)
bhartsane dyotye ya āmreḍita plavate udāttaś ca bhavati
A *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta* comes in place of (the *ṭi* vowel of) an *āmreḍita* when *bhartsana* 'threat (with reproach)' is signified.

EXAMPLES:

cauracaura3, ghātayiṣyāmi tvā 'thief, thief, I will have you killed'
vṛṣalavṛṣala3 bandhayiṣyāmi tvā 'vṛṣala, vṛṣala, I will have you tied up'
dasyodasyo3 ghātayiṣyāmi tvā 'bandit, bandit, I will have you killed'

1. Note that the use of *āmreḍitam* in this context of *bhartsane* 'when a threat (with reproach) is denoted' implies doubling of a *pada*. This is accomplished in consonance with 8.1.8 *vākyāder āmantritasya* . . . with the signification of *bhartsana*. The *ṭi* vowel of an *āmreḍita* is thus replaced with a *pluta* vowel, marked with *udātta*. Recall that the *ṭeḥ* 'of the *ṭi*-vowel' here refers to the *ṭi* of an utterance. That is, the *ṭi* vowel of the last *pada* of an utterance will become the focus of this replacement. But since an *āmreḍita* is gotten via reduplication of initial *pada* of an utterance, this rule applies to the *āmreḍita* at the beginning of a sentence. Thus we get examples such as *cauracaura3*! *ghātayiṣyāmi tvā* 'thief, thief, I will kill you', *dasyodasyo3 bandhayiṣyāmi tvā* 'bandit, bandit, I will tie you up', etc., optionally, with *cauracaura*! . . ., *dasyodasyo*! . . ., etc.

2. A *vārttika* (*vt. bhartsane paryāyeṇeti vaktavyam*) proposes that this replacement should apply in turn (*paryāya*) to an *āmreḍita*. That is, one can also apply this replacement to the original whose iterated counterpart the *āmreḍita* is. Thus, *caura3caura*! . . . and *dasyo3dasyo*! . . ., etc.

8.2.96 अङ्गयुक्तं तिङाकाङ्क्षम्

aṅgayuktaṃ tiṅākāṅkṣam

/*aṅga-yuktam* 1/1 = *aṅga ity anena yuktam* (*tr. tat.*); *ākāṅkṣam* 1/1 = *ākāṅkṣati iti*/

(*pluta udāttaḥ* #82 *bhartsane* #95)

'*aṅga*' *ity anena yuktaṃ tiṅantaṃ ākāṅkṣaṃ bhartsane plavate*

A *pluta* vowel, marked with *udātta*, comes in place of the final vowel of a verbal *pada* (*tiṅanta*) which shares an expectancy relationship with something else, and is used in association with the word *aṅga* where the utterance denotes *bhartsana* 'threat (with reproach)'.

EXAMPLES:

aṅga kūja3! *aṅga vyāhara3*! *idānīṃ jñāsyasi jālma*!

'chatter and wander, you wretch! pretty soon you will realize (the consequences of your actions)'

1. The word *ākāṅkṣam* is explained as 'that which expects (*ākāṅkṣati*)'. Obviously, the *pada* which ends in a *tiN* with the denotatum of action expects something to follow as a consequence. Such expectancies generally point toward a meaning which is desired to be expressed but is literally not expressed (*vivakṣitārthasyāparisamāptatvāt*). The word *aṅga*, as an address word, denotes *amarṣa* 'anger'. It denotes friendly persuasion in cited counter-examples (*PM: aṅgaśabdo' marṣe, pratyudāharaṇe tv anunaye*).

2. Why do we state the condition of *tiN*? Consider *aṅga devadatta mithyā vadasi* 'yes, Devadatta! you are speaking non-truth', where *aṅga devadatta* is one sentence and *mithyā vadasi* the other. The first sentence expects the second, where expectancy is not shared by a verbal *pada*.

Why do we state the condition of *ākāṅkṣam* 'that which expects'? Consider *aṅga paca*! 'yes, you cook', where *paca* does not expect any other meaning to be expressed.

Finally, the condition of *bhartsane* is still valid. We thus do not get a *pluta* in *adhīṣva* of *aṅgādhīṣva odanaṃ te dāsyāmi* 'yes, you study, I will feed you rice'.

8.2.97 विचार्यमाणानाम्

vicāryamāṇānām

/*vicāryamāṇānām* 6/3/

(*vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ* #83 *ṭeḥ* #89)

pramāṇena vastuparīkṣaṇam = vicāraḥ, tasya viṣaye vicāryamāṇānāṃ vākyānāṃ ṭeḥ pluta udātto bhavati

A *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta* comes in place of the *ṭi* of utterances whose denotatum constitutes the focus of objective deliberation.

EXAMPLES:

hotavyaṃ dīkṣitasya gṛhā3i 'should one offer oblations at the house of the initiate'

tiṣṭhed yūpā3i 'should the sacrificer stay guard at the ritual post'

anuprahared yūpā3i 'should the sacrificer stay guard at the ritual post'

1. Note that *vicāryamāṇa* refers to a careful scrutiny 'of two categories (*koṭi*) of things (*vastu*) and standards (*pramāṇa*) by which things can be judged'. The knowledge which emerges from this scrutiny forms scope of current scrutiny. Thus:

koṭidvayasya vijñānaṃ vicāra iti kathyate/
vicāryamāṇas taj jñāna viṣayībhūta ucyate//

'special knowledge of two categories, both, is called *vicāra* 'thought'; a knowledge which forms focus of thought process is considered the subject of its scope'

Consider *hotavyaṃ dīkṣitasya gṛhā3i* 'should one offer oblation at the house of the initiate (*dīkṣita*)?' and *tiṣṭhed yūpā3i / anuprahared yūpā3i* 'should one gaurd, or strike at, the ritual post'? These are utterances under deliberation. These examples will have their *e* (of *gṛhe* and *yūpe*) replaced with a *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta*. It is required (8.2.107 *eco' pragṛhyasya ādūrād* . . .) that the preceding half of an *eC* which goes through a replacement in *pluta* be replaced with *a*. Its succeeding part is then to be replaced with *i* or *u*. The *e* of *gṛhe* and *yūpe* is thus represented as *gṛhā3i* and *yūpā3i*, respectively. Recall that *e* carries a duration of two moras (*mātrā*). The *ā* and *i* carry one mora each.

8.2.98 **पूर्वं तु भाषायाम्**

pūrvaṃ tu bhāṣāyām

/*pūrvam* 1/1 *tu* ϕ *bhāṣāyām* 7/1/

(*vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ* #83 *ṭeḥ* #89 *vicāryamāṇānām* #97)

bhāṣāyāṃ viṣaye vicāryamāṇānāṃ vākyānāṃ pūrvam eva plavate

A *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta*, in the classical usage (*bhāṣāyām*), comes in place of the *ṭi* of preceding among utterances whose denotatum constitutes focus of objective deliberation.

EXAMPLES:

ahir nu3 rajjur nu 'is this a snake, or rope'

loṣṭo nu3 kapoto nu 'is it a stone-piece, or a gray pigeon'

1. This rule allows a *pluta* replacement for the *ṭi* of an utterance which precedes others constituting the scope of objective deliberation. Note that *nu* is a particle denoting a query with doubts. It receives a replacement in *pluta* because it constitutes the end of an utterance.

2. The use of the word *bhāṣāyām* 'in the classical usage' limits the scope of the preceding rule to usage of the Vedic (*chandas*).

8.2.99 **प्रतिश्रवणे च**

pratiśravaṇe ca
/*pratiśravaṇe* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ* #82 *ṭeḥ* #89)
pratiśravaṇam = ābhyupagamaḥ, pratijñānam; pratiśravaṇe ca yad vākyam vartate tasya ṭeḥ pluto bhavati
A *pluta* vowel, marked with *udātta*, comes in place of the *ṭi* of an utterance which signifies *pratiśravaṇa* 'affirmation, pledge'.

Examples:

gāṃ me dehi bhoḥ! 'give me a cow, please'
aham te dadāmi3 'I shall give you (a cow)'
devadatta bhoḥ! kim āttha3 'what did you say, Devadatta!'

1. The word *pratiśravaṇa* is explained as 'affirmation of a pledge'. It means *abhyupagama* 'approaching with grant of a favor in the affirmative'. It can also mean simply the action of being attentive to what someone may have said (*śravaṇaṃ prati śravaṇam*). Our second sentence here denotes 'a pledge, or grant of a favor'. The third sentence simply shows how attentive the listener is to the content of earlier statement.

8.2.100 **अनुदात्तं प्रश्नान्ताभिपूजितयोः**

anudāttaṃ praśnāntābhipūjitayoḥ
/*anudāttam* 1/1 *praśnāntābhipūjitayoḥ* 6/2 = *praśnasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *praśnāntaś ca abhipūjitaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *vākyasya pluta udāttaḥ* #82 *ṭeḥ* #89)
anudāttaḥ pluto bhavati praśnānte, abhipūjite ca
A *pluta* vowel which replaces the *ṭi* of the final *pada* of an utterance is marked with *anudātta* when the same occurs either at the end of a question, or in a sentence used with the signification of *abhipūjita* 'praised'.

Examples:

agama3ḥ pūrvā3n grāmā3n agnibhūtā3i paṭā3u 'O Agnibhūta!, O Paṭu! did you go to eastern villages'

agamáḥ3 pūrvā3n grāmā3n agnibhūtāi 'you went to eastern villages Agnibhūta!'
agamáḥ3 pūrvā3n grāmā3n paṭā3u 'you went to eastern villages Paṭu!'
śobhanaḥ khalv asi māṇavakā3 'you are indeed very good kid!'

1. This rule offers *anudātta-pluta* as a replacement for a *pluta* which is marked with *udātta* and occurs as the *ṭi* vowel of the last *pada* of a question, or occurs in an utterance used with the signification of someone praised (*abhipūjita*). Note that 8.2.105 *anantasyāpi praśnākhyānayoḥ* offers a *pluta* vowel marked with *svarita*. It is offered as a replacement for the *ṭi* of a *pada*, even when the same is not used at the end of a question, and also when the utterance signifies a narration (*ākhyāna*). This rule offers a *pluta* marked with *anudātta*, against the *udātta* of 8.2.84 *dūrād hūte ca*. At the strength of Pāṇini's own statement (*vacana-prāmāṇya*), this rule will offer a *pluta* vowel marked with *anudātta* at the end of a question. Rule 8.2.105 *anantasyāpi*... will offer a *pluta* marked with *svarita*, elsewhere. Recall that 8.2.107 *eco' pragṛhyasya*... will still apply to replace one half of the *pluta* with *a* and the other half with *i* or *u*. Thus, we will still get *agnibhūtā3i* and *paṭā3u*.

8.2.101 चिदिति चोपमार्थे प्रयुज्यमाने

cid iti copamārthe prayujyamāne
/ *cit* ϕ *iti* ϕ *ca* ϕ *upamārthe* 7/1 = *upamāyā arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *vākyasya plutaḥ* #82 *ṭeḥ* #89 *anudāttam* #100)
'*cit*' *ity etasmin nipāte upamārthe prayujyamāne vākyasya ṭer anudāttaḥ bhavati*
A *pluta* vowel, marked with *anudātta*, comes in place of the *ṭi* of the final *pada* of an utterance when *cit* is used with the signification of comparison (*upamā*).

EXAMPLES:

agnicid bhāyā3t 'may he glow like fire'
rājacid bhāyā3t 'may he glow like a royalty'

1. This rule offers a *pluta* to be marked with *anudātta* when *cit*, a particle, is used with the signification of 'comparison'. The word *iti*, after *cit*, is used to denote that *prayujyamāna* 'one which is in use' is a qualifier to *cit*. One may interpret *cit*, itself, as *pluta* used in association with some other word denoting comparison.

2. Why do we have the condition of *upamārthe* 'in the sense of comparison'? Consider *kathañcid āhuḥ*, where the sense of *cit* is *kṛcchra* 'a little'.

Why do we have the condition of *prayujyamāne* 'when used in an utterance'? Consider *agnir māṇavako bhāyāt* 'may the kid glow like fire', where, with no use of *cit*, this rule cannot apply.

8.2.102 उपरिस्विदासीदिति च

uparisvid āsīd iti ca
/*uparisvid* ϕ *asīt* (verbal *pada*) *iti* ϕ *ca* ϕ/
· (*vākyasya plutaḥ* #82 *ṭeḥ* #89 *anudāttaḥ* #100)
'*uparisvid āsīt*' *ity etasya ṭer anudāttaḥ pluto bhavati*
A *pluta* vowel, marked with *anudātta*, comes in place of the *ṭi* of *uparisvid āsīt*.

EXAMPLES:

adhaḥ svidāsī3t 'was darkness underneath the creator'
upari svidāsī3t 'was darkness above the creator'

1. This rule deals with particular Vedic utterances, namely *adhaḥ svid āsīt* 'was it below (him)' and *upari svid āsīt* 'was it above (him)'. These utterances contain *svid*, an indeclinable, which indicates doubts about their denotata. What is debated here is whether or not the expanse of darkness at the beginning of this creation was overwhelming enough for the creator. This rule then offers a *pluta* vowel, marked with *anudātta*, as a replacement for the *ṭi* of *uparisvid āsīt*. We can get a *pluta*, marked with *udātta*, for *adhasvid āsīt* by 8.2.97 *vicāryamāṇānām*. Note that both utterances get their *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta* by 8.2.97 *vicāryamāṇānām*. This rule replaces the *udātta* of the *ṭi* of *āsīt*, of *uparisvid āsīt*, with *anudātta*.

8.2.103 स्वरितमाम्रेडितेऽसूयासम्मतिकोपकुत्सनेषु

svaritam āmreḍite' sūyāsammatikopakutsaneṣu
/*svaritam* 1/1 *āmreḍite* 7/1 *asūyā-sammati-kopa-kutsaneṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*plutaḥ* #82 *ṭeḥ* #89)
svarito pluto bhavaty āmreḍite parataḥ asūyāyām, sammatau, kope, kutsane ca vartamāne
A *pluta* vowel, marked with *svarita*, comes in place of the *ṭi* of a preceding *pada* when a *pada* termed *āmreḍita* follows and *asūyā* 'fault-finding', *sammati* 'assent, praise', *kopa* 'anger' and *kutsana* 'blame, censure' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

māṇavakā3! māṇavaka! abhirūpakā3! abhirūpaka! riktaṃ ta ābhirūpyam 'O kid, the beautiful, gone is all your beauty'
māṇavakā3! māṇavaka! abhirūpakā3! abhirūpaka! śobhanaḥ khalv asi 'O kid, the beautiful, you still are handsome'
māṇavakā3! māṇavaka! avinītakā3! avinītaka! idānīṃ jñāsyasi jālma! 'O kid, you impudent, now you will know (the consequence of what you did)'

śāktīki3! śāktīka! yāṣṭīka3! yāṣṭīka! riktā te śaktiḥ 'O you stick-wielding! you!, gone is your power'

1. Recall that 2.3.48 *sā' mantritam* assigns the term *āmantrita* to a *pada* which ends in *prathamā* and denotes address (*sambodhana*). Rule 8.1.8 *vākyāder āmantritasya* . . . recommends iteration of a sentence-initial *āmantrita* when *asūyā* 'fault-finding; jealousy', *sammati* 'assent, praise', *kopa* 'anger', *kutsana* 'blame, censure' and *bhartsana* 'reproachful threat' is denoted. Our present rule directly refers to the context of rule 8.1.8 *vākyāder āmantritasya* . . . and assigns a *pluta* vowel, marked with *svarita*, as a replacement for the *ṭi* vowel of an *āmantrita*, when an *āmreḍita* follows and when *asūyā, sammati, kopa* and *kutsana* are denoted. Notice that *bhartsana*, the subject matter of 8.2.95 *āmreḍitaṃ bhartsane*, is excluded from these denotational conditions. Thus, the *ṭi* vowel of the first of an iterated sequence of *padas* is replaced with a *pluta*, marked with *svarita*. Of course, when the utterance denotes *asūyā*, etc.

2. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *asūyādiṣu vāvacanaṃ kartavyam*) makes the provision of this rule optional.

8.2.104 क्षियाशीः प्रैषेषु तिङाकांक्षम्

kṣiyāśīḥ praiṣeṣu tiṅ ākāṅkṣam

/*kṣiyāśīḥpraiṣeṣu* 7/3 = *kṣiyā ca āśīḥ ca praiṣaś ca*(*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *tiṅ* 1/1 (*ākāṅkṣam* 1/1)

(*plutaḥ* #82 *ṭeḥ* #89 *svaritam* #103)

'*kṣiyā, āśīḥ, praiṣaḥ*' *ity eteṣu gamyamāneṣu tiṅantam ākāṅkṣaṃ yat tasya svaritaḥ pluto bhavati*

A *pluta* vowel, marked with *svarita*, comes in place of the *ṭi* vowel of a *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* and shares dependency relation with something else, provided when *kṣiyā* 'unbecoming conduct', *āśīḥ* 'benediction' and *praiṣa* 'command' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

svayaṃ rathena yāti3 upādhyāyaṃ padātiṃ gamayati 'himself goes by chariot, but sends his teacher on foot'

svayaṃ odanaṃ ha bhuṅkte3 upādhyāyaṃ saktūn pāyayati 'himself eats rice, but has his teacher drink a meal of saktu'

sutāṃś ca lapsīṣṭā3 dhanaṃ ca tāta 'may you receive sons, and also wealth, son!'

chando' dhyesīṣṭā3 vyākaraṇaṃ ca bhadra 'study the Vedas, and also grammar, O good one!'

kaṭaṃ kurú3 grāmaṃ ca gaccha 'make the mat, and also go to the village'

yavān lunīhi3 saktūṃś ca piba 'harvest the barley, and also drink saktu'

1. This rule offers replacement in a *pluta* vowel marked with *svarita* to the *ṭi*-vowel of a *pada* ending in a *tiṄ*, under the condition that the utterance

denotes *kṣiyā* 'unbecoming conduct', *āśīḥ* 'benediction' and *praiṣa* 'command', and the *pada* ending in *tiṄ* expects something else to complete the utterance. The *pada* which ends in a *tiṄ* in all these utterances shares an expectancy relationship (*ākāṅkṣā*) with what follows.

2. Why the condition of *ākāṅkṣam* 'sharing an expectancy relationship'? Consider *dīrghaṃ te āyur astu* 'may you live long'; *agnīn vihara* 'enjoy the fire', where the *padas* which end in a *tiṄ* do not expect anything else for completion of their meaning. Why is no counter-example for *kṣiyā* is offered? The 'expectancy' in that case is obligatory (*nitya*).

8.2.105 अनन्त्यस्याऽपि प्रश्नाऽख्यानयोः

anantyasyā'pi praśnā'khyānayoḥ
/*anantyasya* 6/1 = *na antyam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*; *api* φ *praśnākhyānayoḥ* 7/2 = *praśnaś ca ākhyānaṃ ca* = *praśnākhyāne* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*plutaḥ* #82 *ṭeḥ* #89 *svaritam* #103)
anantyasyāpi antyasyāpi padasya ṭeḥ pluto bhavati praśne ākhyāne ca
A *pluta* marked with *svarita* comes in place, also, of the *ṭi* of a non-final *pada*, and of a final as well, when *praśna* 'question' and *ākhyāna* 'answer' is denoted.

EXAMPLES:

agamá3ḥ pūrvá3n grāmá3n
agnibhūtá3i paṭá3u
agamá3m pūrvá3n grāmá3n grāmá3n bhóḥ

1. Note that *padasya* and *svaritam* are both carried over. The word *api* is used in this rule to make it also apply to what may not be a final *pada*. This rule then offers a *pluta* vowel as a replacement, marked with *svarita*, to the *ṭi*-vowel of a final, and also a non-final, *pada* when *praśna* 'question' and *ākhyāna* 'narration, answer' is denoted. All *padas*, in an utterance, will thus have their *ṭi*-vowel replaced with a *pluta*, marked with *svarita*. Of course, under the meaning condition of *praśna* and *ākhyāna*. The final *pada* will have its *ṭi*-vowel marked with *anudātta*, of course, at the strength of express Pāṇinian statement (*vacanasāmarthya*; 8.2.100 *anudāttaṃ praśnāntābhipūjitayoḥ*). An *anudātta* of this rule will then become optional (*Kāś*: *anudātto' pi pakṣe bhavati*).

8.2.106 प्लुतावैच इदुतौ

plutāv aica idutau
/*plutau* 1/2 *aicaḥ* 6/1 *id-utau* 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tau*/
(*plutaḥ* #82)
aichaḥ plutaprasaṅge tadavayavabhūtāv iditau plutau
When a vowel denoted by *aiC* (*ai*/*au*) is to be replaced with its *pluta* counterpart, the *i* and *u* segments of *ai* and *au* are replaced with *pluta*.

EXAMPLES:

ai3 tikāyana
au3 pagava

1. Recall that 8.2.84 *dūrād hūte ca,* etc., offer *pluta* as a replacement. If such a replacement in *pluta* involves *ai* and *au,* their *i* and *u* segments will be replaced with a *pluta* by this rule. Obviously, *ai* and *au* are accepted as combination (*samāhāra*) of *a+i* and *a+u,* respectively. Each sound in the combination generally carries one mora (*mātrā*) as its duration. The *pluta* replacement of the short *i* and *u* of the combined *ai* and *au* is assigned duration of two moras by this rule. The idea of a replacement in *pluta* is to enhance the duration of *ai* and *au* to three moras (*Kāś: tāvatī ca sā plutir bhavati, yayā tāv ecau trimātrau sampadyete*). Consider *ai3tikāyanaḥ* and *au3pagavaḥ* as examples where 8.2.86 *guror anṛto* . . . offers a *pluta.* Our present rule will enhance that with a *pluta* for *i* and *u* of *ai* and *au.*

This specification of *plutau* in the nominative dual, as against the expected genitive, is made with a focus on action. The word *pluta* thus denotes its non-technical meaning of *vṛddhi* 'growth, enhancement'. What was consisting of two moras grows to become three. That is, if one accepts the duration of a single mora, each, for *a, i* and *u* of the combined *ai* and *au.* If one accepts individual duration of *a, i* and *u,* in combination, as half of one mora, the *pluta* of *ai* and *au* will carry a duration of three and a half moras (*Kāś: yadā tv ardhamātrāvarṇasyādhyardhyamātrā ivarṇovarṇayoḥ tadā tāv ardhatṛtīyamātrau kriyete*).

Patañjali accepts that a *pluta* of *ai* and *au* carries the duration of four moras. That is, *ai* and *au* carry a total of two moras where *a, i* and *u* carry the duration of one mora each. A *pluta* enhancement of *ai* for its *i,* and of *au* for its *u,* will add three moras. Thus, a *pluta* corresponding to *ai* and *au* will have four moras. The maximum duration of a vowel is generally accepted as three moras. This view, if accepted, will raise that to four for a *pluta* of *ai* and *au.*

8.2.107 एचोऽप्रगृह्यस्यादूराद्धूते पूर्वस्यार्द्धस्यादुत्तरस्येदुतौ

eco' pragṛhyasyādūrādd hūte pūrvasyārddhasy ād uttarasyedutau
/ *ecaḥ* 6/1 *apragṛhyasya* 6/1 = *na pragṛhyaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya; adurād* 5/1 = *na dūrāt* (*nañ. tat.*); *hūte* 7/1 *pūrvasya* 6/1 *arddhasya* 6/1 *āt* 1/1 *uttarasya* 6/1
id-utau 1/2/
eco' pragṛhyasyādūrādd hūte plutaviṣayasyārddhasyākāra ādeśo bhavati sa ca plutaḥ, uttarasyekārokārāv ādeśau bhavataḥ

In matters of *pluta* in connection with a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC,* the first half of *eC* is replaced with a *pluta* vowel, namely *ā,* and the second half is replaced with *i* or *u,* provided the

context does not relate to calling out at a distance and *eC* is not a vowel termed *pragṛhya*.

EXAMPLES:

agama3ḥ pūrvā3n grāmā3n
agnibhūtā3i paṭā3u
bhadraṃ karoṣi māṇavaka3 agnibhūtā3i paṭā3u
hotavyaṃ dīkṣitasya gṛhā3i
āyuṣmān edhi agnibhūtā3y paṭā3u
ukṣānnāya vaśānnāya somapṛṣṭhāya vedhase
stomair vidhemāgnayā3i

1. This rule focuses on replacing a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *eC*, with the exception of one termed *pragṛhya* (1.1.11 *īdūded dvivacanaṃ pragṛhyam*). Furthermore, the context of this replacement must exclude an utterance used for calling out at a distance. The first half of a vowel denoted by *eC*, and meeting the twin-conditions of *apragṛhya* 'non-*pragṛhya*' and *adūrādd hūte* 'not calling out at a distance' is replaced with a *pluta* vowel, namely *ā*. The second half of such *eC* vowels is replaced with *i* and *u*, respectively. Recall that earlier rules (8.2.83 *pratyabhivāde*. . ., etc.) offer replacement in a *pluta* vowel marked with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*. Our present rule offers a similar *ā* marked with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*, whatever the case may be. As far as *i* and *u* of the second half of *eC* are concerned, they are *udātta* anyway. For, the *udātta* of 8.2.82 *vākyasya ṭeḥ pluta udāttaḥ* is carried over, via *anuvṛtti*.

A *vārttika* proposal is made to enumerate the scope of application of this rule (*vt*: *viṣayaparigaṇanaṃ kartavyam*). Another *vārttika* proposal enumerates the scope as follows: *praśnāntābhipūjita-vicāryamāṇa-pratyabhivāda-yājyānteṣv iti vaktavyam*. Thus,

(*i*) *praśnānte* (8.2.100): *agama3ḥ pūrvā3n grāmā3n agnibhūtā3i / paṭā3u*; *abhipūjita*: *bhadraṃ karoṣi māṇavaka3 agnibhūtā3i / paṭā3u*
(*ii*) *vicāryamāṇe* (8.2.97): *hotavyaṃ dīkṣitasya gṛhā3i*
(*iii*) *pratyabhivāde* (8.2.83): *āyuṣmān edhi agnibhūtā3i / paṭā3u*
(*iv*) *yājyānte* (8.3.91): *ukṣānnāya vaśānnāya somapṛṣṭhāya vedhase stomair-vidhemāgnayā3i*

This kind of replacement in *ā*, a *pluta*, should, as per specifications, be understood as marked with *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*. The *i* and *u*, indeed, will only be marked with *udātta*.

Why do we resort to enumeration (*parigaṇanaṃ kim*)? Consider *viṣṇubhūte viṣṇubhūte3 ghātayiṣyāmi tvā / āgaccha māṇavaka viṣṇubhūte*, where the example sentences are covered by 8.2.95 *āmreḍitaṃ bhartsane* and 8.2.84 *dūrādd hūte ca*, respectively. If the scope of this rule was not enumerated, this rule did not have to include *adūrādd hūte* as part of its wording.

This rule should include the specification of *padānta* 'at the end of a *pada*'. Thus, it will not apply to: *bhadraṃ karoṣi gauḥ* 'you are doing great, bull!' Note that *go* will not be a *pada* before *sU*, because of negation of 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne*. It ends in *visarjanīya* and not in *au*.

Why do we state the condition of *apragṛhya* 'when not a *pragṛhya*'? Consider *śobhane khalu staḥ khaṭve3* 'you two cots are beautiful, indeed', where *khaṭve* at the end is a *pragṛhya*.

A *vārttika* proposal states that this modification of a *pluta* vowel is limited, in the Vedic, to *āmantrita* 'locative singular'. Thus, *agnā3i patnīva3ḥ sajūr-devena tvaṣṭrā somaṃ piba*.

8.2.108 तयोर्य्वावचि संहितायाम्

tayor yvāv aci saṃhitāyām

/ *tayoḥ* 6/2 *yvau* 1/2 = *yaś ca vaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tau*; *saṃhitāyām* 7/1/ (*plutaḥ* #82)

tayor idutor yakāravakārāv ādeśau bhavato' ci saṃhitāyāṃ viṣaye

A short *i* and *u*, which has been specified as a replacement for the second half of *eC* in the context of *pluta*, is replaced with *y* and *v*, respectively, when a vowel follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

agnā3yāśā
paṭā3vāśā
agnā3yindram
paṭā3vudakam

1. This is an *adhikāra* and, hence, is carried over to all rules enumerated hereafter to the end of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. This rule is similar in function to 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. Why can we not have 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* account for replacement provision of this rule. This being the domain of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, *i* and *u* of this rule remain suspended (*asiddha*) in view of application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* (*Kāś*: *idutor asiddhatvāt 'iko yaṇ aci' iti na prāpnotīty ayam ārambhaḥ*). Even if *i* and *u* of this context of *pluta* were somehow accepted as *siddha* in view of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, this rule will be required for blocking a homogeneous long vowel replacement (*savarṇadīrgha*; 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*). It is also needed to block the retention of, and a short replacement for, a vowel denoted by *iK* (6.1.126 *iko' savarṇe* . . .).

But still, 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* has a *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *ikaḥ plutapūrvasya savarṇadīrghabādhanārthaṃ yaṇādeśo vaktavyaḥ* 'a statement about replacement in *yaṆ* should be made for blocking homogeneous long-vowel replacement when a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* is used before a vowel marked with *pluta*, made against *savarṇa-dīrgha*, in the context of a *pluta* vowel'. This rule is not needed because 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, along with its

accompanying *vārttika* proposal, can account for provisions of this rule. But the accentual provision of *svarita*, made in place of an *anudātta* occurring after a *yaṆ*-replacement in place of an *udātta* and *svarita* (8.2.4 *udāttas-varitayor*. . .), cannot be accomplished because of suspension (*asiddhatva*) of replacement in *yaṆ* (*Kāś*: *yaṇādeśasyāsiddhatvāt 'udāttasva-ritayor yaṇaḥ svarito' nudāttasya' ity eṣa svaro na bhavati*). This rule formulation is needed for blocking the accent relative to *yaṆ* of 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor*. . . .

The following *kārikā*-verses summarize the issue with focus on replacement in *yaṆ* (6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*), *dīrgha* 'long vowel replacement', and blocking of accent of rule 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor*. . .:

kintu yaṇā bhavatīha na siddhaṃ
yvāv idutor yad ayaṃ vidadhāti/
tau ca mama svarasandhiṣu siddhau
śākaladīrghavidhī tu nivartyau//
ik tu yadā bhavati plutapūrvas
tasya yaṇaṃ vidadhāty apavādam/
tena tayoś ca na śākaladīrgho
yaṇsvarabādhanam eva tu hetuḥ//

2. Pāṇini offers replacements in *i*→*y* and *u*→*v* before a vowel in examples such as *agnā3 i āśā* and *paṭā3 u udakam*, etc. Since this replacement in *yaṆ* can already be accomplished by application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*, no purpose can be served by 8.2.108 *tayor vāv aci saṃhitāyām*. It can be argued that *i* of *agnā3 i āśā* is brought about by 8.2.107 *eco'pragṛhyasya*. . . . This rule, in turn, is contained in the *tripādī*, and hence, is suspended (*asiddha*) in view of application of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. That is, 6.1.77 does not find its scope of application here. Yet, there is a provision made for replacement in *y* and *v*. It is then stated that *i* and *u*, in application of vocalic *sandhi* (*svara-sandhi*) made available by 8.2.107 *eco' pragṛhyasya* . . ., is considered *siddha* 'non-suspended'. But it is non-applicational in *śākala* and *dīrgha* operations. For, *ikaḥ plutapūrvasya dīrgho vaktavyaḥ śākaladīrghavidhinivṛtyartham* offers exceptions to operational provision of *yaṆ*.

Now the question: if *i* and *u* are suspended only in the context of *śākala* and *dīrgha* operations, why can we not accomplish *yaṆ*. The answer is: *ik tu yadā bhavati plutapūrvam* 'when *iK* occurs after a *pluta* then provision of *yaṆ* becomes applicable'. This *yaṆ* will then not only become an exception to *prakṛtibhāva* 'non-*sandhi*' of 6.1.125 *plutapragṛhyā' ci nityam*, but will also become suspended in *dīrgha* made available in *agnā3 i indraḥ* by 6.1.101 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ*. It will also become *asiddha* in the *prakṛtibhāva* provision of *agnā3 i āśā* made available by 6.1.127 *iko' savarṇe śākalyasya hrasvaś ca*. When *iK* cannot be seen due to suspension, application of lengthening and *prakṛtibhāva* cannot be availed. If *śākala* and *dīrgha* operations are not applied

just on the basis of suspension, what is the purpose of offering *yaṆ* as an exception. The answer is:

yaṇsvarabādhanam eva tu hetuḥ

A provision of *yaṆ* is made for blocking the accent of *yaṆ*. The author of the *vārttikas* provides *yaṆ* for an *iK* which occurs after a *pluta*. An accent which has its locus in replacement of *yaṆ* is characterized as accent of *yaṆ*. Rule 8.2.4 *udāttasvaritayor yaṇaḥ* . . . offers *svarita* to an *anudātta* which occurs after a *yaṆ* coming in place of an *udātta* and *svarita*.

PĀDA THREE

8.3.1 मतुवसो रु सम्बुद्धौ छन्दसि

matuvaso ru sambuddhau chandasi
/ *matu-vasoḥ* 6/2 = *matuś ca vaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ru* 1/1 (deleted) *sambuddhau* 7/1 *chandasi* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108)
matvantasya vasvantasya ca padasya '*ruḥ*' *ity ayam ādeśo bhavati sambuddhau parataḥ chandasi viṣaye*
The final sound segment of a *pada* (1.4.14 *suptiṅantaṃ padam*) which, in the Vedic, ends in *mat* (*matUP*) and *vas* (*KvasU*) is replaced with *rŪ* when a nominal ending termed *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*) follows in close proximity (*saṃhitā*).

EXAMPLES:

indrá marutva i̱ha pāhi̱ soma̱m 'O Marutvan Indra, protect, here, the soma'
harivo medinaṃ tvā 'O Rudra, with beautiful horses . . .'
mīḍhvastokāya tanayāya mṛḍa 'O you who is capable of . . . our offspring'

1. This rule allows a *pada*-final *t* and *s*, of affixes *matUP* and *KvasU*, to be replaced with *rŪ* in the Vedic, when a nominative singular termed *sambuddhi* (2.3.49 *ekavacanaṃ sambuddhiḥ*) follows in close proximity. Note here that *saṃhitāyām* is also carried over. Obviously, this rule qualifies for application in the context of close proximity between sounds. Refer to derivational details of *harivo medinam* under 8.2.15 *chandasīraḥ*. The final *t* of *harivat*, before a nominative singular termed *sambuddhi*, is replaced with *rŪ* of this rule. Given *hariva*(*t*→*rŪ*) + *medinam*, we get *r* replaced with *u* (6.1.113 *haśi ca*). Finally, we get the vocalic sequence of *a*+*u* of *hariva*+*u* + *medinam* replaced with *o*. We thus get: *hariv*(*a*+*u*→*o*) + *medinam* = *harivo medinam* with the application of 6.1.87 *ād guṇaḥ*. One can similarly derive *marutvat* from *marut* + *matUP*, with *nUM* (7.1.70 *ugid acām* . . .), replacement in *m*→*v* (8.2.10 *jhayaḥ*), deletion of *sU* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .) and deletion of the conjunct-final conso-

nant (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya* . . .) *t*. The *n* will again be replaced with *rŨ*. Given *marutvan*(*t*→φ) = *marutva*(*n* →*rŨ*) + *iha*, rule 8.3.17 *bhobhago* . . . will replace *r* with *y*. This *y* will be deleted (8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya*) to yield *marutva*(*y* →φ) *iha*. Refer to derivational details of *mīḍhvan* where, given *mīḍhvan* + (*sU*→φ) *tokāya*, this rule replaces the final *n* with *rŨ*. This *rŨ* then goes through a replacement in *visarga* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor* . . .). It is this *visarga* which is then replaced with *s* before *tokāya* (8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*).

Why do we need a specification with *matuvasoḥ* 'of that which ends in *matUP* and *vasU*'? Consider *brahman stoṣyāmaḥ*, where *brahman* is used with a nominative singular ending termed *sambuddhi*, but it does not end in *matUP*, or *vasU*. This *n* of *brahman* cannot be replaced with *rŨ*.

Why do we have the condition of *sambuddhau* 'when a nominative singular ending termed *sambuddhi* follows'? Consider *ya eva vidvān agnim ādhatte* 'he who is knowledgeable, he alone heaps up the ritual fire', where *vidvān* is not used in the nominative singular termed *sambuddhi*. It is a nominative singular, but is not termed *sambuddhi*.

Why do we have the condition of *chandasi* 'in the Vedic'? Consider the classical usage, i.e., *he goman* and *he papivan*, which serve as counter-examples.

2. A proposal (*vt*: *vana upasaṃkhyānaṃ kartavyam*) is also made to include affixes *vanIP* and *KvanIP* within the reference of this rule. That is, a *pada* ending in these affixes must also have its final sound replaced with *rŨ* before the nominal ending termed *sambuddhi*. Consider *prāta*(*ḥ*→*r*) + (*i*+*tUK*+*KvanIP*) = *prātaritvan* which produces *prātaritva*(*n*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *prātaritvaḥ*.

3. An optional proposal of *rŨ* is also made for the final of *bhavat*, *bhagavat* and *aghahvat*, both in the Vedic as well as in classical languages. The *ava* of these words is also, concurrently, replaced with *o* (*vt*: *vibhāṣā bhavadbhagavadaghavatām oc cāvasya*). Thus, *he bh*(*ava*→*o*) *t* + *sU*→ *bho*(*t*→*rŨ*→*ḥ*) + (*sU*→φ) = *he bhoḥ*, *he bhag*(*ava* →*o*) *t* + *sU*→ *bhago*(*t*→*rŨ*→*ḥ*) + (*sU*→φ) = *he bhagoḥ* and *he agh*(*ava*→*o*) *t* + *sU*→ *agho*(*t*→*rŨ*→*ḥ*) + (*sU*→φ) = *he aghoḥ*. If the optional replacement in *rŨ* is not accepted, we will get *he bhavan*, *he bhagavan* and *he aghavan*. Pāṇini himself uses these derivates in 8.3.17 *bhobhagoagho*. . . . One can also accept *bhos*, *bhagos* and *aghos* as indeclinable particles.

Note that this rule deals with *sambuddhi* which, in turn, is singular. However, we do find usage in the dual and plural: *bho devadattayajñadattau*! and *bho devadattayajñadattaviṣṇumitrāḥ*! We also find examples in the feminine: *bho brāhmaṇi*!

Examples also show that *saṃhitāyām* is not followed as a condition. That is, the usage under this rule does not always show two sounds in close proximity. This condition, however, is considered valid in subsequent rules, especially those where sounds in close proximity are desired. An example is: 8.3.7 *naś chavy apraśān*. Some still argue that *saṃhitā* 'close proximity between sounds' is always a valid condition within a single *pada*. Why need a qualifi-

cation such as *saṃhitāyām* when there is no deviation from rule of *saṃhitā* within a single word.

8.3.2 अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा

atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā
/*atra* ɸ *anunāsikaḥ* 1/1 *pūrvasya* 6/1 *tu* ɸ *vā* ɸ/
(*ru sambuddhau* #1)
adhikāro' yam. ita uttaraṃ yasya sthāne rur vidhīyate 'tataḥ pūrvasya tu varṇasya vā' nunāsiko bhavati'
A sound segment which precedes a replacement in *rU* is hereafter, in this context of *rŨ*, optionally replaced with an *anunāsika*, provided close proximity between sounds obtains.

EXAMPLES:

sāskarttā '*tṛC*-derivate of *sam-skṛ*'
sāsskarttā 'with two *s*, optionally'
sāskarttum '*tumUN*-derivate of . . .'
sāsskarttum 'with two *s*, optionally'
sāskarttavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate of . . .'
sāsskarttavyam 'with two *s*, optionally'

1. This rule allows an optional replacement in *anunāsika* 'nasalized' for a sound segment which precedes a consonant replaced with *rŨ*. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing heading' which carries (*anuvartate*) over to all rules up to 8.3.12 *kānāmreḍite*. The nominative ending of *ruḥ* which is carried over from rule 8.3.1 *matuvaso ru* . . ., for purposes of this rule, is interpreted as *pañcamī* 'ablative', via *vibhakti-vipariṇāma* 'transposition of nominal endings'.

Thus, Pāṇini states 8.3.5 *samaḥ suṭi* whereby *rŨ* is introduced for *m* of *sam* in *sa*(*m*→*rŨ*) + *s*(*UṬ*) + *karttā* → *sa*(*r*→*ḥ* →*s*) + *s* + *karttā* = *sasskarttā*. Recall that *sUṬ* is introduced by 6.1.137 *samparyupebhyaḥ*. . . . The *a* before *s* which replaces *rŨ* is now replaced with its *anunāsika* counterpart. Thus, we get *sāsskarttā*. We can also get *sāskarttā* where one *s* of the conjunct will be deleted (8.4.64 *jharo jhari savarṇe*). Recall that a *vārttika* (*vt. saṃpuṃkānāṃ so vaktavyaḥ*; ad 8.3.5 *samaḥ suṭi*) also desires *m* of *sam* to be replaced with *s*. The *a* before *s* which replaces *m* will now be changed to an *anunāsika*. We will thus get: *sāsskarttā*. If an *anusvāra* is accepted as a vowel (*aC*), rule 8.4.46 *anaci ca* will introduce two *s* sounds in place of one after the *anunāsika*. This will give us *sāssskarttā* with three *s* sounds. We can thus get one, two or three *s* sounds, optionally, via doubling and deletion of *s*. If the optional *anunāsika* is not accepted, rule 8.3.4 *anunāsikāt*. . . will introduce *anusvāra*. This will give us: *saṃsskarttā*. Refer also to notes under 6.1.134 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ*.

2. Why do we have to use *atra* 'here'? The word *atra* 'here' is used to specify the context as: 'here in this context of concurrent application of *rŨ*

and *anunāsika*' (*Kāś*: *atragrahaṇaṃ ruṇā saha sanniyogapratipatyartham*). But this same could be accomplished in view of the fact that this is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. There is no other *adhikāra* where *rŨ* and *anunāsika* are offered concurrently. If this specification was not made, the extent to which this *adhikāra* carries may not become fully understood. Since this *anunāsika* is here introduced concurrently within the scope of *rŨ*, it may, in the absence of *atra*, wrongly apply beyond the scope of *rŨ*. That is, it may apply in context of rules such as 8.3.13 *ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ*, where *rŨ* does not find any scope. One may be confused about the application of *anunāsika* there.

The word *tu* 'indeed' is used to indicate something special about what precedes. That is, that which follows receives *rŨ*, obligatorily. That which precedes receives *anunāsika*, only optionally (*PM*: *tuśabdaḥ parasmāt kāryiṇaḥ pūrvasya viśeṣadyotanārtham*: *parasya nityaṃ rutvam, pūrvasya tu vānunāsikaḥ*).

Why do we have to use *vā* 'option'? Haradatta (*PM*) declares it useless, especially since such an option becomes indicated by the following rule. How? It is known from the fact that, in subsequent rules (8.3.4 *anunāsikāt*...), Pāṇini teaches *anusvāra* after that which precedes *rŨ*, and for which no *anunāsika* was applied. This clearly indicates that an option not to apply *anunāsika* is offered.

8.3.3 आतोऽटि नित्यम्

āto' ṭi nityam
/*ātaḥ* 6/1 *aṭi* 7/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1 *anunāsikaḥ pūrvasya* #2)
aṭi parato roḥ pūrvasyākārasya sthāne nityam anunāsikādeśo bhavati
An *ā* which occurs before *rŨ* is obligatorily replaced with its *anunāsika* counterpart when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *aṬ* (*Śs.* 1-5) follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

mahā̃ asi 'you are great'
mahā̃ indro ya ojasā 'Indra who is great by valor'
devā̃ acchādīvyat '. . . gods sported'

1. This obligatory *anunāsika* is offered to an *ā* which occurs before *rŨ* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṬ* (*Śs.* 1-6; vowels, and *h, y, v, r*) follows. Consider *mahān + asi*, where *ā* is replaced with its *anunāsika* counterpart *ā̃*. Note that the final *n* of *mahān* is replaced with *rŨ* (8.3.9 *dīrghād aṭi samānapāde*), to be further replaced with *y* (8.3.17 *bhobhagoagho*...). This *y* then goes through deletion (8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya*). This obligatory *anunāsika* is offered against an optional provision already made available.

Some, followers of the Taittirīya school, consider this *anunāsika* as an *anusvāra*. This can be seen as a Vedic anomaly (*vyatyaya*; 3.1.85 *vyatyayo bahulam*; *Kāś*: *kecid anusvāram adhīyate sa ca cchāndaso draṣṭavyaḥ*).

2. Why do we state the condition of *ātaḥ* 'in place of *ā*'? Consider *vanaspatī* (*n*→*rŪ*) + *anu* → *vanaspatīr anu,* where no *ā* occurs before *rŪ* to be replaced with an *anunāsika.*

Why do we state the condition of *aṭi* 'when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṬ* follows'? Consider *bhavāṃś carati* 'you wander' and *bhavāṃś chādayati* 'you cover (protect)', this rule cannot apply since *c* and *ch* are not included within the denotatum of *aṬ.*

3. Haradatta thinks that the use of the word *nityam* does not make any sense (*PM: nityagrahaṇam anarthakam*). For, *ārambyasāmarthyād eva nityo vidhiḥ siddhaḥ* 'that this operation is obligatorily established by the formulation of this rule, itself'. A provision made against one which already exits is made for restrictive purposes. What is the restrictive purpose: only in place of *ā*, and only when a sound denoted by *aṬ* follows *rŪ.* Not in place of any other sound, not when *rŪ* is followed by any sound other than *aṬ.* Jinendrabuddhi interprets the situation differently. He says that a restrictive provision is made when there is no predicate available. We have *nityo' nunāsikaḥ* 'an *anunāsika,* obligatorily' as the predicate. Consequently, what we have here is an operational provision, and not any restrictive. A specification with *nityam* is then made here for clarity (*Nyāsa: nityagrahaṇaṃ vispaṣṭārtham. pūrveṇaiva vikalpe siddhe saty ārambhasāmarthyād eva nityo' yaṃ vidhir vijñāsyate . . . asati hi vidheyo niyamo bhavati. iha tv asti vidheyam, kiṃ tat? nityo' nunāsikaḥ*).

8.3.4 अनुनासिकात् परोऽनुस्वारः

anunāsikāt paro' nusvāraḥ
/ *anunāsikāt* 5/1 *paraḥ* 1/1 *anusvāraḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1 *pūrvasya* #2)
anunāsikād anyo yo varṇaḥ roḥ pūrvaḥ, yasyānunāsiko na kṛtaḥ, tataḥ paro' nusvāra āgamo bhavati
An *anusvāra* comes after that which is other than an *anunāsika,* and which occurs before *rŪ,* provided close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

saṃskarttā
saṃskarttavyam
puṃskāmā 'desirous of a male'
bhavāṃś carati 'you are wandering about'

1. Commentators advise that the word *anya* 'other' must be brought here for properly interpreting this rule. If *anya* is not brought here, the *pañcamī* 'ablative' of *anunāsikāt* will be interpreted in relation to *paraḥ* 'following'. For, there is no other word with which this ablative can be construed. If what is specified in *pañcamī* should be construed with what follows (cf. 1.1.67

tasmād ity uttarasya), *para* 'following' becomes useless. So that it does not become useless, *pañcamī* should be interpreted in view of what is specified with *paraḥ* 'following'. This will lead us to two interpretations relative to *para*: (*i*) *digvṛtti* 'operation relative to signification of *diś* 'direction' and *anyārthavṛtti* 'operation relative to signification' of *anya* 'other' (2.3.29 *anyārād* . . .). The first interpretation will introduce *anusvāra* after the *anunāsika* before *rŨ*. It will not introduce *anusvāra* after *rŨ*. The second will interpret *anusvāra* as something other than *anunāsika*. In this case, the use of *para* will become useless. An *anusvāra* does not deviate from the status of something different (*anyatva*) in comparison with *anunāsika*. It is therefore suggested that the word *anya* should be paraphrased in the ablative in expectation of the specification of *pañcamī* 'ablative'. This is what will give us the sense of *anunāsikād aṇyo yo varṇaḥ roḥ pūrvaḥ* 'the sound segment which precedes *rŨ* and differs from the *anunāsika*'. The sound segment which will thus be different from the *anunāsika* may also be one which was not replaced with an *anunāsika*. That is why *Kāśikā* reads: *yasyānunāsiko na kṛtaḥ* 'that for which an *anunāsika* was not introduced'. Some state that *anya* should not be read in this rule because *para* means *anya*. Thus, *anunāsikāt paraḥ* will mean *anunāsikād anyaḥ* 'other than an *anunāsika*'. This also makes the *anusvāra* an augment and not a replacement (*ādeśa*). We will thus get *anusvāra* as an augment where there is no *anunāsika*. What receives this augment? That which precedes *rŨ*.

Consider *saṃskarttā*, *saṃskarttum* and *saṃskarttavyam* where *anusvāra* is introduced before *r*(*Ũ*)→*s* after a non-*anunāsika*. Refer to notes under 8.3.2 *atrānunāsikaḥ* . . . and 6.1.134 *suṭ kāt pūrvaḥ* for derivational details. Refer also to 8.3.5 *samaḥ suṭi*, 8.3.6 *pumaḥ khayy ampare* and 8.3.7 *naś chavy apraśān*.

8.3.5 समः सुटि

samaḥ suṭi
/*samaḥ* 6/1 *suṭi* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1)
'*sama*' *ity etasya rur bhavati suṭi parataḥ saṃhitāyāṃ viṣaye*
A replacement in *rŨ* comes in place of the final sound segment of *sam* when *sUṭ* follows, and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

sāsskarttā
saṃsskarttā
sāsskarttum
saṃsskarttum
sāsskarttavyam
saṃsskarttavyam

1. Note that *rU* replaces the final *m* of *sam* in view of rule 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. The *rŨ*-provision of this rule is offered against the *anusvāra*-provision made available by 8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*. Refer to preceding rules for derivational details. Note, however, that *rŨ* is replaced with *visarga* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*). This *visarga* is then replaced with *s* (8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*). Now consider 8.3.36 *vā śari* which offers *ḥ* (*visarga*) as an optional replacement for *visarga*, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *śaR* (*Śs.* 13-14) follows. But since *vā* of 8.3.36 *vā śari* is interpreted as a 'fixed option' (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*), a *visarga*-replacement of *rŨ* is replaced with *s*, obligatorily (8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*). Recall that this *s*-replacement is optional to *visarga* in view of 8.3.36 *vā śari*.

2. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*) also accepts this rule-formulation made against the provision of *anusvāra* made by 8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*. Consider *saṃskarttā*, etc., where, after the introduction of affixes *tṛC*, etc., after verbal root *kṛ* used with the preverb *sam*, we get augment *sUṬ* of 6.1.135 *saṃparyupebhyo karotau bhūṣaṇe*. The *m* of *sam* is first replaced with *rU*, in view of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. The preceding vowel is then turned into an *anunāsika* 'nasalized'. The *rŨ* is then replaced with *ḥ* (*visarjanīya*). *Kāśikā* invokes *vyavasthita vibhāṣā* 'fixed option' and shows how this *visarjanīya*, when faced with its optional replacement in *s* under the provision of 8.3.36 *vā śari*, is replaced with *s*, obligatorily.

Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*) now returns to the question of how, in this rule, a specification is made with *s*. He explains this in view of the position whereby, after replacing *s* of the nominal ending with *visarga*, one does not replace the same with *s*. Otherwise, this specification should have been made with three *s*-sounds: one *s* of the nominal ending *sU*; another of the *visarga* replaced with *s*; and the third of augment *sUṬ*. When this rule is read with three *s*-sounds, the word *dvi* 'two' of *Kāśikā*'s *dvisakārakayoga* 'rule-formulation with two *s*-sounds' must be interpreted in the sense of 'more than one'. If the *visarjanīya* is replaced with *s*, we will not get the *anusvāra* in *saṃskarttā*, etc. As a result, the word *atra* is here used to indicate concurrent application with *rŨ*. The *rŨ* which is used in the earlier rule is thus intended for purposes of relating this *rŨ* with it, by implication. We will, otherwise, not get *anusvāra* in *saṃskarttā*, etc.

Haradatta (*PM* ad *Kāśikā*) goes into much finer details. He mentions how this *rŨ* is explained in the previous rule. If one applies the *s*-replacement here then, because of suspension (*asiddhatva*) of *s*, and absence of *rU*, 8.4.47 *anaci ca* will apply to double up the *s* sound. We will thus get three *s*-sounds. If optional deletion of *s* by 8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe* is availed, we will get two *s*-sounds. If not, we will get three *s*-sounds. When one accepts *anusvāra* as a replacement of *m* (of *sam*), its consonantal status (cf. *ayogavāha*, especially with reference to the abbreviatory term *aṬ*) will cause optional deletion by 8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe*. We will thus get two *s*-sounds, or even one. When,

parallel to consonantal status of *anusvāra*, one accepts its vocalic status, we can get three *s*-sounds, subsequent upon that, and in view of doubling of 8.4.47 *anaci ca*. We thus get five forms: two *s*-sounds if one accepts the option of *anunāsika*; two, one, or even three, if one accepts the option of *anusvāra*. These five, in view of optional doubling of *k* by *śaraḥ khayaḥ* (a *vārttika*), will yield ten forms.

Some scholars (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *samo vā lopam eke*) desire optional deletion of *m* of *sam*. Here, again, we find the twin views of *anusvāra* and *anunāsika*. Since they are both offered in this context of *rŪ*, we may perhaps end up with one *s* after doubling (8.4.47 *anaci ca*) and optional deletion (8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe*). That is, in the *anunāsika* view. There, too, doubling of *k* will yield two forms. This will bring the totality of forms to twelve. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita extends this totality of forms to one hundred and eight, which I do not discuss for fear of expatiation. All this explains why *samaḥ suṭi* is given with one *s* sound. Possibilities of two or three *s*-sounds (*dvisakāraka-trisakāraka*) present possibilities of *s*-sounds in the context of *rŪ* with reference to *anunāsika* (8.3.2 *atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā*) and *anusvāra* (8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*), in addition to applications of 8.4.87 *anaci ca* and 8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe*. Frankly, this is all justifiable expatiation.

3. Why do we have the condition of *samaḥ* 'in place of (*m* of) *sam*'? Consider *upaskarttā* where this rule does not apply because *skṛ* is not used after *sam*.

Why do we have the specification made with *suṭi* 'when *sUṬ* follows'? So that *m* is not replaced with *rŪ* in the context where *sUṬ* is not introduced. Consider *saṃkṛtiḥ* where *sUṬ* does not follow *sam*.

Some demand (*vt*: *saṃpuṃkānāṃ so vaktavyaḥ*) that *s* should be stated to, always, replace *m* and *n* of *sam* (8.3.5), *pum* (8.3.6) and *kān* (8.3.12). Thus we should get *saṃsskarttā*, *puṃsskāmā* and *kāṃsskān*. This *vārttika*, though, suggests that *s* of *sam*, *pum* and *kān* should be accomplished when undesired forms result subsequently after replacement in *rŪ* (*Kāśikā*: *ruvidhau hy aniṣṭaprasaṅgaḥ*).

8.3.6 पुमः खय्यम्परे

pumaḥ khayy ampare
/*pumaḥ* 6/1 *khayi* 7/1 *ampare* 7/1 = *am paro yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasmin*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1)
'*pum*' *ity etasya rur bhavati ampare khayi parataḥ*
The final sound segment of a *pada* constituted by *pum* 'male' is replaced with *rŪ* when a sound denoted by *khaY* (*Śs*.11-13), followed by yet another sound denoted by *aM*, follows, and the context is close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

pũskāmā 'desirous of a male'

puṃskāmā
pūsputraḥ 'he whose son is a man; diligent person'
puṃsputraḥ
pūsphalam 'fruit of manhood'
puṃsphalam
pūścalī 'a whore'
puṃścalī

1. This rule replaces the *m* of *pum* with *rŪ*, in close proximity with a following sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *khaY* (*Śs.* 11-12) which, in turn, is followed by a sound denoted by *aM* (*Śs.* 1-7). Note that *aM*, especially because of its associated listing (*sāhacarya*), here with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *khaY*, is interpreted as an abbreviatory symbol (*pratyāhāra*). It does not refer to the accusative singular nominal ending *am*. Consider (*puṃs* + *am* + *kāmI* + *Ṇa*) → *puṃskāma* + *ṬāP* → *puṃskāmā*, paraphrased as *pumāṃsaṃ kāmayate* 'she who longs for a man'. Affix *Ṇa* is here introduced after *kāmI* by a *vārttika* to derive *puṃskāma* (*śīlikāmibhikṣācaribhyo ṇo vaktavyaḥ*; cf. 3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*). A feminine counterpart of *puṃskāma*, i.e., *puṃskāmā*, is then derived with the introduction of affix *ṬāP* (4.1.4 *ajādyataṣ ṭāp*). This compound can also be paraphrased as a *bahuvrīhi*: *puṃsi kāmo' syāḥ* 'she whose desire is (in) a man'.

Note that this specification with *pum* is made after accomplishing deletion of conjunct-final *s* (8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*). It is not a new word. Given deletion of conjunct-final *s* by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*, the *anusvāra* goes back to *m*, in view of *nimittāpāye naimittikasyāpāyaḥ* 'an effect is removed when its conditioning cause is removed'. Now consider *puskāmā* which we get from: *pu*(*m*→*r*(*Ū*)) + *kāmā* → *pu*(*r*(*Ū*)→*ḥ*) + *kāmā* → *pu*(*ḥ*→*s*) + *kāmā* = *puskāmā*, through application of this rule. The *rŪ* will then be replaced with *visarga* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*). This *visarga* will then be replaced with *s* (8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*). The *u* of *puskāmā* will then be replaced with an *anunāsika* (8.3.2 *atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā*). We will thus get *pūskāmā*. If the option of *anunāsika* is not accepted, we will get an *anusvāra* (8.3.4 *anunāsikāt paro' nusvāraḥ*) before *s*, thereby yielding *puṃskāmā*. An optional doubling of *s* by 8.4.46 *anaci ca* will produce: *puṃskāmā* and *puṃsskāmā*. Forms with nasalization will similarly be: *pūskāmā* and *pūsskāmā*.

We will thus get four forms for all examples. The word *pūścalī* 'a whore', or its *anusvāra* counterpart *puṃścalī*, is interpreted as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound ending in *ṄīP* (4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...). Commentators derive *cala* (of *pūṃścala* + *ṄīP*) by introducing affix *aC* after verbal root *cal* 'to move' on account of its listing as *calAṬ*, in the *pac-ādi* group (3.1.134 *nandigrahi*...). Incidentally, *s* of *puṃ*(*s*→*ś*) *calī* is replaced with *ś* (8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Affix *ṄIP* is introduced based on *Ṭ* as an *iṬ* (*ṭitvāt*; 4.1.15 *ṭiḍḍhāṇañ*...).

Note that 8.3.37 *kupvoḥ*... retains a *visarjanīya*, optionally to a *jihvāmūlīya* 'a sound produced at the root of the tongue' and *upadhmānīya* 'an unrepre-

sented replacement of *visarga* followed by first or second consonant of the *p*-series', depending on whether a consonant of *k* or *p*-series (*kU* or *pU*) follows. This option is, however, interpreted as *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. Consequently, *rŪ* will be first replaced with *visarga* (*ḥ*) and then with *s*, obligatorily. It cannot go through the *visarjanīya* option of 8.3.37 *kupvoḥ*. . . . If the formulation of this preceding rule is accepted as made with two *s* sounds, i.e., *samaḥ ssuṭi*, then one *s* will be carried over here, via *anuvṛtti*. This will then not allow the *visarga*-replacement of *rŪ* to go through options of 8.3.37 *kupvoḥ*. . . . Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *rŪ* is also carried here. But to associate this with *s* and *visarjanīya* of rule 8.3.5 *samaḥ ssuṭi* will not be appropriate. For, *rŪ* must be associated only with *matuvasoḥ* (8.3.1 *matuvaso ru sambuddhau chandasi*). It cannot be associated with something else (*Kāś*: *rutvaṃ tu anuvartamānam api nātrābhisambadhyate. sambandhānuvṛttis tasyeti*).

2. Why do we state the condition of *khayi* 'when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *khaY* follows'? Consider *puṃdāsaḥ* 'man servant' and *puṃgava* 'bull, best cow' where *d* and *g* are not included within the denotatum of *khaY*. This rule can thus not apply.

Why do we state the condition of *ampare* 'when *am* follows'? Consider *puṅkṣīraḥ* 'man's milk' and *puṅkṣuraḥ* 'man's razor' where *k* occurs followed by *ṣ*, a sound not included within the denotatum of *aM*.

Why should we simply not state *khayyami* '*khaY* followed by *aM*'? Why use an extra *pare* 'followed by'? One may understand quite the opposite: 'when *khAY* with a preceding, or following *aM*, follows'. This will lead to wrong applications in *pumākhyaḥ* 'male name' and *pumācāraḥ* 'man's conduct' (*Nyāsa*: *asati paragrahaṇe ami khayi para iti vijñāyeta, tataś ca 'pumākhyaḥ', 'pumācāraḥ' ity atrāpi syāt*). Haradatta states that, without *pare*, this rule will be interpreted as '. . . when *aM* followed by *khaY* follows'. That is, we will get paraphrases as: *pumaḥ khayi ami* or *pumaḥ ami khayi*. It will limit the application of this rule to *pumākhyaḥ* and *pumācāraḥ* (*PM*: . . . *khayi parato yo' m tatrety api vijñāyeta, tataś ca pumākhaḥ pumācāraḥ ity atraiva syāt*). The wording of Haradatta's statement is problematic.

8.3.7 नश्छव्यप्रशान्

naś chavy apraśān

/*naḥ* 6/1 *chavi* 7/1 *apraśān* 1/1 (*nañ. tat.*; nominative used with the signification of *ṣaṣṭhī*/

(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1 *ampare* #6)

nakārāntasya padasya praśānvarjitasya rur bhavati ampare chavi parataḥ

A *pada*-final *n*, except for *n* of *praśān* 'extreme tranquility', is replaced with *rŪ* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *chaV* (*Ś*s. 11), followed by another denoted by *aM*, follows, and the context is close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

> *bhavā̃ś chādayati* 'you are covering'
> *bhavāṃś chādayati*
> *bhavā̃ś cinoti* 'you are heaping'
> *bhavāṃś cinoti*
> *bhavā̃ṣ ṭīkate* 'you are moving'
> *bhavāṃṣ ṭīkate*
> *bhavā̃s tarati* 'you are floating'
> *bhavāṃs tarati*

1. This rule replaces a *pada*-final *n* with *rŨ* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *chaV* (*Ś*s. 11), followed by another sound denoted by *aM*, follows. Consider *bhavā̃ś chādayati* / *bhavāṃś chādayati*; *bhavā̃ś cinoti* / *bhavāṃś cinoti*; *bhavā̃ṣ ṭīkate* / *bhavāṃṣ ṭīkate*; and *bhavā̃s tarati* / *bhavāṃs tarati*. Note that *n* of *bhavān* 'nominative singular of pronominal you (*bhavat*)' is replaced with *rŨ* which, in turn, is replaced with *ḥ*. The *ḥ* is then replaced with *s*. This *s* will then be subject to a corresponding replacement in a retroflex (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*), or palatal (8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). One can get a set of four forms each if *s* also goes through doubling in the two sets distinguished by *anunāsika* and *anusvāra*. Refer to notes under 8.3.2 *atrānunāsikaḥ* . . ., etc., for relevant details.

2. Note that *rŨ* is carried over, though its association with *matuvasoḥ* is canceled. The word *na* denotes the sound segment *n* which, in turn, becomes a qualifier to *padasya*. This relationship activates *tadantavidhi*, 'treating *n* as denoting what ends in *n*'. The word *aprasān* is a nominative, used with the signification of the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhyarthe prathamā*).

3. Why do we have the condition of *chavi* 'when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *chaV* follows'? Consider *bhavān karoti* 'you are doing' where *k* is not included within the denotatum of *chaV*.

Why do we state *apraśān* 'not in place of the final *n* of *praśān*'? Consider *praśāñ chādayati* and *praśān cinoti*.

The condition of *ampare* is still valid. Consider *bhavān tsarukaḥ* 'you are skilled' where *t*, a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *chaV*, follows *n*. But this *t* is followed by *s* which falls outside the denotation of *aM*.

8.3.8 उभयथर्क्षु

ubhayatharkṣu
/ *ubhayathā* ф *ṛkṣu* 7/3/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1 *ampare* #6 *naś chavi* #7)
nakārāntasya padasya chavi parataḥ ampare ubhayathā ṛkṣu bhavati rur vā nakāro vā

The final *n* of a *pada*, in a quarter of hymns (*ṛkṣu*), is replaced with *rŨ*, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *chaV*, followed by an-

other denoted by *aM*, follows, and close proximity between sounds obtains.

EXAMPLES:

tasmīs tvā dadhāti
tasmiṃs tvā dadhāti
tasmins tvā dadhāti

1. The *rŪ*-replacement for *n* which was made obligatorily available by the preceding rule is here made optional. Thus, a *pada*-final *n* which is part of the quarter of a Vedic hymn is replaced with *rU*, only optionally. That is, either *rŪ* or *n*. Prajñādevī (III:559) quotes Jaimini and notes that *ṛk* does not simply refer to hymns of the *Ṛgveda*. It refers, instead, to an arrangement of hymns in quarters, especially in view of comprehending their meanings (*yatrārthavaśena pādavyavasthā sā ṛk*).

2. Why state *ṛkṣu* 'in the hymns'? Consider *tā̃s tvaṃ khāda sukhāditavān* where this option is not allowed.

8.3.9 दीर्घादटि समानपादे

dīrghād aṭi samānapāde
/ *dīrghāt* 5/1 *aṭi* 7/1 *samānapāde* 7/1 = *samānaś cāsau pādaś ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1 *naḥ* #7 *ṛkṣu* #8)
dīrghād uttarasya padāntasya nakārāntasya rur bhavati aṭi paratas tau cen nimittanimittinau samānapade bhavataḥ ṛkṣu
A replacement in *rŪ* comes in place of a *pada*-final *n*, used after a long vowel (*dīrgha*) in the quarter of a hymn, when *aṬ* follows and close proximity between sounds obtains, provided the *nimmitta* 'cause, condition' and *nimittin* 'affected element' are both contained within the same *pāda* 'quarter'.

EXAMPLES:

paridhī̃ rati
devā̃ acchādīvyat
mahā̃ indro ya ojasā

1. Note that *n* and *ṛkṣu* are both carried over. The word *samāna* is used as a synonym of *eka* 'one, same' (*PM*: *ekaparyāyaḥ samānaśabdaḥ* . . .). The compound *samānapāda*, itself, is explained as a *karmadhāraya* used in the locative: *samāne ekasmin pāde nimittanimittinor ādhārabhūte* when *nimitta* 'condition, cause' and *nimittin* 'affected element' both find their locus in a single hymn-quarter'. Thus, a *pada*-final *n* which occurs after a long vowel is replaced with *rŪ* when a sound denoted by *aṬ* (*Śs.* 1-5) follows. Commentators further explain that *aṬ*, which conditions this replacement (*nimitta*), must occur in

close proximity of *n*, the sound which goes through replacement (*nimmittin*), within the same hymn-quarter (*Kāś*: . . . *tau cen nimittanimittinau samānapāde bhavataḥ*). Consider *paridhīn rati* → *paridhī̃ rati*, etc., where the cause (*nimitta*) and effect (*nimittin*) of this replacement, both, must occur within the same quarter of the hymn.

2. Why do we state the condition of *dīrghāt* 'after a long vowel'? Consider *ahann ahim*, where *n* is followed by *aṬ* but does not occur after a long vowel.

Why do we state the condition of *aṭi* 'when *aṬ* follows'? Consider *ibhyān kṣattriyān*, where *n* occurs after a long vowel but is not followed by a sound denoted by *aṬ*.

Why do we state the condition of *samānapāde* 'in the same hymn-quarter'? Consider *yātudhānān upaspṛśaḥ*, where *n* and the following *u*, a sound denoted by *aṬ*, occur in different quarters of the hymn.

3. The word *ubhayathā* 'either way' also remains carried (*Kāś*: *ubhayathā ity eva*) over. This rule is again optional. We thus find *ādityān havāmahe*, where *n* is optionally not replaced with *rU*.

8.3.10 नॄन्पे

nṝn pe
/*nṝn* 6/1 (deleted) *pe* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1 *naḥ* #7)
'*nṝn*' *ity etasya nakārasya rur bhavati paśabde parataḥ*
The final *n* of *nṝn* is replaced with *rU* when *pA* follows in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

nṝḥ pāhi
nṝṃḥ pāhi
nṝḥ prīṇīhi
nṝṃḥ prīṇīhi

1. Note that *nṝn* has been specified here with its genitive deleted by 7.1.39 *supāṃ suluk*. . . . Haradatta states that *nṝn* is specified with a nominative used with the signification of a genitive (*nṝn iti ṣaṣṭhyarthe prathamā*). Jinendrabuddhi states that this specification is made without any nominal ending (*Nyāsa*: *vibhaktir evātra nopapadyate*). The *a* of *pa* is simply used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*). What is intended here is the condition of *p* (*PM*: *pakāramātraṃ nimittam*).

Here again we find four examples for each derivate. That is, two distinguished by *anusvāra* and *anunāsika*; and two distinguished by *visarjanīya* (*ḥ*; 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*) and *upadhmānīya* (×8.3.37 *kupvoḥ* . . .). Recall that the *rU*-replacement of this *n* is replaced with *visarjanīya*. Furthermore, it is either retained as a *visarjanīya*, or is optionally replaced with an *upadhmānīya*, before *p*.

2. Why state *pe* 'when *pA* follows'? Consider *nṝn bhojayati* 'feeds men', where this replacement is not allowed since *n* is followed by *bh*.

Some also carry *ubhayathā* 'either way' to this rule so that they can also account for *nṝn pāhi* 'protect men!' (*Kāś: ubhayathety api kecid anuvartayanti*).

8.3.11 स्वतवान् पायौ

svatavān pāyau
/*svatavān* 1/1 *pāyau* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1 *naḥ* #7)
'*svatavān*' *ity etasya nakārasya rur bhavati pāyuśabde parataḥ*
The *n* of *svatavān* 'protector' is also replaced with *rŪ* when *pāyu* follows, and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

svatavā̃ pāyur agne 'powerful protector, O Agni!'

1. This rule replaces the *n* of *svatavān* with *rŪ*. Refer to derivational details under 7.1.83 *dṛksvavas*. . . . Examples of *svatavān* with *anusvāra* and *upadhmānīya* are hard to find.

8.3.12 कानाम्रेडिते

kānāmreḍite
/*kān* 6/1 (deleted) *āmreḍite* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *ru* #1 *naḥ* #7)
'*kān*' *ity etasya nakārasya rur bhavati āmreḍite partataḥ*
The *n* of *kān* is replaced with *rU* when an *āmreḍita* 'repeated utterance' follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

kāṃskān āmantrayate
kā̃skān bhojayati

1. This rule replaces the *n* of *kān* with *rU* when an *āmreḍita* 'a repeated word' follows. Note that *kān* is an accusative plural form of *kim*. Given *kim* + (*Ś*) *as*, 7.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ* replaces *kim* with *ka*. The vocalic sequence of *ka* + *as* is then replaced with a single long similar to the preceding (6.1.102 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*). This gives us *k*(*a*+*a*→*ā*)*s* → *kās*. The *s* is then replaced with *n* of 6.1.102 *tasmāc chaso*. . . . The resultant *kā*(*s*→*n*) → *kān* then goes through iteration in the sense of *vīpsā* (8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*). This gives us *kān* + *kān* where this rule replaces the *n* of the first *kān* with *rU*. A replacement in *visarjanīya* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor*. . .), followed by *s* (8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*), gives us *kā*(*n*→*rU*→*ḥ*→*s*) + *kān* → *kāskān*. One gets *k*(*ā*→*ā̃*) *skān* → *kā̃skān* if the option of *anunāsika* (8.3.2 *atrānunāsikasya* . . .) is accepted. If not, we will get an *anusvāra* which yields *kāṃskān*.

2. Recall that the second *kā* is *āmreḍita*. What if it is not? The second *kān* could be interpreted as used for contempt (2.1.64 *kiṃ kṣepe*). We can thus get *kān kān paśyati* 'what despicable ones you see'. It is stated that *kāṃskān* is listed in the *kaskādi* group of nominals (8.3.48 *kaskādiṣu ca*). Consequently, the *s* which results from *rU→ḥ* is replaced with *s*. That is, it cannot be repelaced with the *jihvāmūlīya* of 8.3.37 *kupvoḥ*. . . . Why can we not carry *s* from 8.3.5 *samaḥ suṭi* and thus get *s*. Carrying *s* from 8.3.5 *samaḥ suṭi* will create problems. Since that *s* has its own contextual relation, and also since it is carried over to subsequent rules, we will get *s* in all preceding rules.

3. Why do we have the condition of *āmreḍite* 'when an *āmreḍita* follows'? Consider *kān kān* of *kān kān paśyati*, where the second *kān* denotes 'censure'. Consequently, this rule cannot apply.

8.3.13 ढो ढे लोपः

ḍho ḍhe lopaḥ
/*ḍhaḥ* 6/1 *ḍhe* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108)
ḍhakārasya ḍhakāre lopo bhavati
A deletion by *LOPA* comes in place of a *ḍh* when *ḍh* follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

līḍham 'licked'
upagūḍham 'embraced'

1. This rule allows deletion of *ḍh* when what follows is also a *ḍh*. The locative form *ḍhe* is used here to specify the *ḍh* sound (*varṇa*) as forming the right condition (*nimitta*) of deletion. That is, *ḍha* of *ḍhe* does not denote a sequence of *ḍh* and *a* sounds (*varṇa-samudāya*). The *a* of *ḍha* is used for ease of articulation (*uccāraṇārthaḥ*). The specified sound is simply a consonantal *ḍh* as is clear from the first word of the rule, i.e., genitive singular *ḍhaḥ*. Why did he not use *ḍh* again in the second word? That is, he should have specified *ḍh* in the locative singular *ḍhi*. Afterall, he specified *ḍh* without *a* in 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*. This is the beauty of Pāṇini's stylistic variation (*rucīnāṃ vaicitryāt*. . .).

Consider *lih* + (*K*) *ta* → *li*(*h*→*ḍh*) + *ta*, where *h* is changed to *ḍh* by 8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*. The *t* of *ta* is also replaced: first with *dh* (8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*. . .) and then with *ḍh* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). We thus get *li*(*h*→*ḍh*) + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*)) → *liḍh* + *ḍha*. Our present rule then deletes *ḍh* before *ḍh* to yield *liḍh* + (*ḍh*→ϕ) *a* → *liḍh* + *a*. Rule 6.3.111 *ḍhralope pūrvasya* . . . then replaces the *i* of *liḍh* with its long counterpart. We thus get *l*(*i*→*ī*) *ḍh* + *a* → *līḍha*. We can similarly derive *guhŪ* + *Kta* → *gūḍha* and *mih* + *Kta* → *mīḍha*. Note here that these forms can be derived even if one accepts *ḍh* of this rule as a group of sounds, i.e., *ḍha*. But we will run into difficulty in deriving forms such as *lih* + *Ktvā* → *liḍh* +

ḍhvā → *li(ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍhvā* → *l(i*→*ī)* + *ḍhvā* = *līḍhvā* and *mīḍhvā*. For, these derivates have their *ḍh* deleted under the condition of *ḍha*, and not *ḍh*. We will end up with wrong forms **līḍhavā* and **mīḍhavā*.

How could we meet the condition of a following *ḍh* for deletion of this preceding when the *ḍh*-replacement of *dh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*) will be suspended (*asiddha*; 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*)? It will be impossible (*asambhava*) to apply this deletion if *ḍh*-replacement of *dh* is accepted as *asiddha*. Pāṇini's formulation of this rule will become useless for lack of applicational scope (*niravakāśatvāt*). It is therefore suggested that the *ḍh*-replacement of *dh* (*ṣṭutva*) will be treated as *siddha*, based upon the use of *ḍhe* as a condition (*Nyāsa*: *tasmād ḍhakārasya nimittatvenāśrayaṇād eva ṣṭutvasya siddhatvaṃ veditavyam; anyathā hy asya vacanasya vaiyarthyaṃ syāt; anavakāśatvāt*).

Now consider *śvaliḥ* + *ḍhaukate* → *śvali(h*→*ḍh)* + *ḍhaukate* → *śvali(ḍh*→*ḍ)* + *ḍhaukate* → *śvaliḍ ḍhaukate*, where *ḍh* (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*) of *śvali(h*→*ḍh)* = *śvaliḍh* is replaced with its counterpart *ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). Why can our present rule not delete *ḍh*? Why does it have to be replaced with *ḍ*? Since this replacement in *ḍ* is internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*) within a single *pada*, and also since it cannot be considered *asiddha* 'suspended' on account of being placed prior to this *ḍh*-deletion, replacement in *ḍ* must apply before *ḍh*-deletion of this rule. The question of *ḍh*-deletion does not arise once *ḍh* is replaced with *ḍ*. Commentators recognize two sets of sounds which may be involved in a close proximity (*ānantarya*) situation of sounds:

(*i*) *śāstrakṛta*: where *ḍh* of *śvaliḍh* is a replacement of *h*. Consequently, it is treated as rule-derived (*śastrakṛta*).

(*ii*) *śrutikṛta*: where *ḍh* of *ḍhaukate*, for example of *śvali(h*→*ḍh) ḍhaukate* = *śvaliḍh ḍhaukate*, is not derived by any rule application (*śrutikṛta*).

Appearance of these two sets of sounds in close proximity (*ānantarya*) can define two types of close proximities: *śāstrakṛta-ānantarya* 'rule-derived' and *śrutikṛta-ānantarya* 'originally heard'. The close proximity which we find between the two *ḍh* sounds of *liḍh* + *ḍha* → *līḍha* is recognized as *śāstrakṛta*. Elsewhere, for example in *śvaliḍh ḍhaukate*, it will be *śrutikṛta*. There will be no proximity of either kind when *ḍ* replaces *ḍh* in *śvali(ḍh*→*ḍ)* + *ḍhaukate* = *śvaliḍ ḍhaukate*.

This *ḍh*-deletion requires close proximity caused by application of a rule. Consequently, a *ḍh* which results out of a rule application is treated as *siddha*.

8.3.14 रो रि

ro ri
/*raḥ* 6/1 *ri* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *lopaḥ* #13)
rephasya rephe parato lopo bhavati

Deletion by *LOPA* replaces *r* when *r* follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

nīraktam
dūraktam
agnī rathaḥ
indū rathaḥ
punā raktaṃ vāsaḥ
prātā rājakrayaḥ
ajarghāḥ
apāspāḥ

1. Recall that the *anuvṛtti* of 8.1.16 *padasya* is still valid. Since the genitive of *padasya* is used here as a qualifier (*viśeṣaṇa*) to *r*, deletion by *lopa* can also apply to *r* at the end of a *pada*. If this genitive is interpreted as a qualifier denoting *avayava* 'part of a whole', it can apply to any *r* in a *pada*. If it is interpreted as *sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of', deletion of *r* will be possible only at the end of a *pada*, especially in view of 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya*. Refer to notes under 8.1.16 *padasya* and 8.1.17 *padāt*. Remember, however, that we do not find *r* at the end of a *pada*. The question of its deletion at the end of a *pada*, thus, does not arise.

2. What does this *r* of *raḥ* refer to? Is this the *r* of *rU*, or *r* in general (*repha-sāmānya*). This question arises since *rU* with *U* as an *it* is offered by the context. Furthermore, (*PŚ* 82): *niranubandhakagrahaṇe na sānubandhakasya* demands that a specification made without the use of an *it* cannot refer to something specified with an *it*. This *paribhāṣā* will thus rule out any reference to *rU*. For, *raḥ* specifies *r* with no *it*. This rule may be able to apply in (*nir-rañj*) + *Kta*)) + *sU*→ (*ni*(*r*→φ) + *rakta* → *n*(*i*→*ī*) + *rakta* = *nīrakta* + *sU*→ *nīraktam* and (*dur-rakta*) + *sU* → *dūraktam*. It will, however, run into problem in deriving *agnir* + *rathaḥ* → *agnī rathaḥ* and *indur* + *rathaḥ* = *indū rathaḥ* where *r* of *agnir* and *indur* comes from *rU* (8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*). No problem. This said *paribhāṣā* does not apply where specifications are made with sounds (*PM*: *naiṣa doṣaḥ, varṇagrahaṇeṣu naiṣā paribhāṣā pravarttate*).

Refer to derivational details of examples under rule 6.3.110 *ḍhralope pūrvasya*. . . . Refer to derivational details of *ajarghāḥ* under 8.2.37 *ekāco baśo bhaṣ*. . . .

Now consider *apāspāḥ*, a second person singular active derivate of *LAṄ*. Affix *LAṄ* is here introduced after *pāsparddh*, a derivate of *yaṄ* introduced with subsequent deletion after *sparddh* 'to compete'. Thus, *sparddh* + *yaṄ*→ *pas* + *parddh* + (*yaṄ*→φ) → *p*(*a*→*ā*) + *sparddh* = *pāsparddh* + *yaṄ*, where *yaṄ* is introduced with the denotation of *kriyāsamabhihāra* 'intensive action' (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco* . . .). Doubling and operations relative to *abhyāsa* then follow. We get (*s*→φ)*pa* + *spardh* + *yaṄ*→ *pa* + *spardh* + *yaṄ* with application of 7.4.61

śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ. The *a* of *pa* is replaced with its long counterpart by 7.4.83 *dīrgho' kitaḥ.* The *yaṄ* itself is deleted by 2.4.74 *yaṅo' ci ca.* Affixes *LAṄ, siP* and *śaP* are then introduced after *pāspardh.* An introduction of augment *aṬ* and deletion of both *ŚaP* (*Gaṇasūtra: carkarītañ ca,* under 7.4.53 *yīvarṇayor*. . .) and *siP* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .) then produces *apāspardh.* Rule 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte* applies to replace *dh* with *d* (*jaśtva*). The *d* is then replaced with *rU* (8.2.75 *daś ca*). Our present rule then causes deletion of *r* before *rU.* We thus get *apāspar(dh→d→rU)* = *apāspa* + *r*(*U*). The *a* of *apāsp(a→ā)* + *r* is replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.110 *ḍhralope pūrvasya* . . .). An application of 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* then produces *apaspā(r→ḥ)* = *apāspāḥ.*

8.3.15 **खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः**

kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ
/*kharavasānayoḥ* 6/2 = *khar ca avasānaṃ ca* = *kharavasāne* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ; visarjanīyaḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raḥ* #14)
rephāntasya padasya khari parato' vasāne ca visarjanīyādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *visarjanīya* (*ḥ*) comes in place of the final sound segment of a *pada* which ends in *r,* provided a sound denoted by *khaR,* or termination (of speech; *avasāna*), itself, follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaś chādayati
plakṣaś chādayati
vṛkṣas tarati
plakṣas tarati
vṛkṣaḥ
plakṣaḥ

1. Note that *paaasya* is still carried over. Its genitive, however, is interpreted as *sthānaṣaṣṭhī* 'in place of'. For, if it is interpreted as 'part of a whole' (*avayava*) qualifier to *r,* the *r* of *arkaḥ,* etc., will also be replaced with *ḥ.* An 'in place of' interpretation with *padam* qualified with *r* will, via *tadantavidhi,* yield the meaning: *rephāntasya padasya* 'of a *pada* ending in *r*'. Rule 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya* will then facilitate the word-final *r* to be replaced with *ḥ.* The locative of *khari* meaning 'when *khaR* follows' cannot be associated with *avasāna* 'pause, termination of speech'. For, *virāma* is explained as *viratiḥ* 'termination (of speech)'. Nothing can follow an *avasāna.* What is the meaning of *saptamī* of *avasāne*? Commentators explain that this single *saptamī* of *kharavasānayoḥ* is split into two interpretations: it denotes a right condition, 'when *x* follows', in *khari;* it denotes scope (*viṣaya*) in *avasāne* (*PM:* '*kharava-*

sānayoḥ' ity ekāpi saptamī viṣyabhedād bhidyate-khari parasaptamī, avasāne viṣayasaptamī). Some still believe in the *parasaptamī* interpretation (right condition) of both. They claim that *paurvāparya* 'sequential order', in *avasāna*, can be mentally created (*buddhiviracitam*).

2. This rule replaces *r* with *ḥ* at the end of a *pada*, or before a sound denoted by *khaR* (*Śs.* 11-13). Thus, *vṛkṣa*(*s*→*ḥ*) + *chādayati* → *vṛkṣa*(*ḥ*→*s*) + *chādayati* → *vṛkṣa*(*s*→*ś*) + *chādayati* → *vṛkṣaś chādayati*, where *ḥ* is further replaced with *s* (8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*). This resultant *s* then goes through a replacement in *ś* (8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Examples such as *vṛkṣa* + (*s*→*rU*→*ḥ*) = *vṛkṣaḥ* and *plakṣaḥ* illustrate *ḥ* at the end of a *pada*.

3. Why do we not get *ḥ* for the *r* before *khaR* in (*nṛkuṭī* + *Ṅi* + *bhava* + *sU*) + *aṆ* = *nṛkuṭyāṃ bhavaḥ* = *nārkuṭaḥ* and (*nṛpati* + *Ṅas* + *apatya* + *sU*) + *Ṇya* → *nṛpater apatyam* = *nārpatyaḥ*? We do not get a replacement in *ḥ* since *vṛddhi* of *ṛ* which serves as locus for bringing about *r* is externally conditioned by the *taddhita* affix denoting the sense of *bhava*, etc. This *r*, since it is dependent upon rule-application of *vṛddhi*, also thus becomes *bahiraṅga*. A replacement in *visarjanīya* is internally conditioned since it is only dependent upon the condition of *khaR*. Thus, in view of (*PŚ* (51): *asiddhaṃ bahiraṅgam antaraṅge*), *r* becomes *asiddha* 'suspended'. We thus, in the absence of *r*, do not get a replacement in *visarjanīya*.

4. Why do we state the condition of *kharavasānayoḥ* 'when *r* is followed by *khaR*, or occurs at *avasāna*'? Consider *agnir nayati* and *vāyur nayati* where *n* of *nayati* is not included within the denotata of *khaR*.

8.3.16 रोः सुपि

roḥ supi
/*roḥ* 6/1 *supi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raḥ* #14 *visarjanīyaḥ* #15)
'*ru*' *ity etasya rephasya supi parato visarjanīyādeśo bhavati*
The *r* of a replacement in *rU* is replaced with *visarjanīya* when the locative plural nominal ending *suP* follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

payaḥsu
sarpiḥṣu
yaśaḥsu

1. This rule replaces a *rU* with *visarga* when *suP* follows. Note that *suP* refers here to the locative plural nominal ending. It is not the abbreviatory term *sUP* which denotes all nominal endings (4.1.2 *svaujasmauṭ*. . .). We understand this in view of the *anuvṛtti* of *khari*. Why formulate this rule when the preceding can account for this *visarga*-replacement of *r*? A provision

which is made against one which already exists is made for restrictive purposes (*siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*). What is the restrictive purpose here? This replacement in *visarga* applies only to the *r* of *rU*, and not to any other *r*. Consider *gīr* + *su* → *gīrṣu* and *dhūrṣu*, where *r* is not the *r* of *rU*. A *visarga* as a replacement for this *r* is thus blocked. Recall that, in *paya*(*s*→*rU*→*ḥ*) + *su* = *payaḥsu*, *sarpiḥsu* and *yaśaḥsu*, the *s* is replaced with *rU* of 8.2.66 *sasajuṣo ruḥ*.

8.3.17 **भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योऽशि**

bhobhagoaghoapūrvasya yo' śi
/ *bhobhagoaghoapūrvasya* 6/1 = *bhoś ca bhagoś ca aghoś ca aś ca* = *bhobhagoaghoāḥ* (*itar. dv.*); *bhobhagoaghoāḥ pūrvā yasya* (*bv.* with int. *itar. dv.*), *tasya*; *yaḥ* 1/1 *aśi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raḥ* #14 *roḥ* #16)
'*bhor, bhagor, aghor*' *ity evam pūrvasya avarṇapūrvasya ca ro rephasya yakārādeśo bhavati aśi parataḥ*
The *r* of *rU* which occurs after *bho, bhago, agho* and *a* is replaced with *y* when a sound denoted by *aŚ* follows, and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

bho atra
bhago atra
agho atra
bho dadāti
bhago dadāti
agho dadāti
ka āste
kay āste
brāhmaṇā dadati
puruṣā dadati

1. This rule replaces the *r* of *rU* with *y* when *rU* occurs after *bho, bhago, agho* and *a*, provided a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aŚ* (*Ś*s. 1-10) follows. Consider *bho*(*s*→*rU*) + *atra* → *bhor*(*U*) + *atra* → *bho*(*r*→*y*) + *atra* = *bho*(*y*→ϕ) + *atra* → *bho atra*, where this replacement in *y* is obligatorily (*nitya*) deleted by 8.3.20 *oto gārgyasya*. Note that *gārgyasya* in this deletion rule is used for respect (*pūjā*). A similar obligatory deletion of this *y* before a consonant is accomplished by 8.3.22 *hali sarveṣām*. Thus, we get *bhago*(*rU*→*y*→ϕ) + *dadāti* → *bhago dadāti*, etc. Now consider (*kim*→*ka*) + *sU* → *ka*(*s*→*rU*→*y*) + *āste* → *kay* + *āste*, where *y* occurs after *a* and *ā*, and a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aŚ* follows. Note that *a* also includes *ā* in its reference. Here again 8.3.22 *hali sarveṣām* deletes *y*. Similar deletion occurs in *brāhmaṇa* + (*J*) *as* + *dadati* → *brāhmaṇa* + *a*(*s*→*rU*→*y*) + *dadati* → *brāhmaṇ*(*a*+*a*→*ā*) *y* +

dadati → *brāhmaṇā dadati.* Incidentally, *bhos, bhagos* and *aghos* can either be accepted as indeclinable particles, or they can be derived at the strength of a *vārttika* proposal (cf. under 8.3.1 *matuvaso ruḥ* . . .).

2. Why do we have this specification made with *bhobhagoagho*? Consider *agnir atra* and *vāyur atra*, where, in the absence of *bho, bhago* and *agho*, we do not get a replacement in *y*.

3. Why do we state the condition of *aśi* 'when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *aŚ* follows'? Consider *vṛkṣa* + *s*(*U*) → *vṛkṣas* and *plakṣa* + *s*(*U*) → *plakṣas*, where *s* is replaced with *rU*. This *rU* cannot be replaced with *y* since a sound denoted by *aŚ* does not follow. This *rU* occurs finally before pause. Consequently, 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* replaces *r* with *visarga*.

Questions have been raised against using *aŚ* as a condition. This condition does not make any sense, especially when it is made against *khaR* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor* . . .). There is no way *rU* cannot be replaced with *visarga*. The *y* of this rule cannot be considered *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of replacing *rU* with *ḥ*, via *sthānivadbhāva*. For, 8.3.2 *atrānunāsikaḥ pūrvasya tu vā* makes its specification without replacing *visarga* with *y*. This, in turn, becomes an indicator (*jñāpaka*): 'a replacement in *visarga* made under the condition of *khaR* is not replaced with *y*' (*Nyāsa*: *visarjanīyasya khari yakāro na bhavati*). This replacement of a *visarga* in *y* cannot even be accomplished at pause (*avasāna*). For, this being the domain of *saṃhitā*. Besides, there is no question of *sthānivadbhāva* in operations concerning sounds (*PM*: *tasmād alvidhitvād api nāsti sthānivadbhāvaḥ*). This specification with *aśi* is meaningless. It is stated that *aśi* is then specified for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Consider 8.3.22 *hali sarveṣām* where *aśi* is needed to qualify *hali*. That is, *y* (or *v*) will be deleted only before a consonant included within the denotatum of *aŚ*. This saves *v* of *vṛkṣav karoti* from deletion. For, *k* is not included within consonants denoted by the abbreviatory term *aŚ*. Incidentally, *vṛkṣav* derives from *vṛkṣaṃ vṛścati* = *vṛkṣa* + *am* + *vIC* → *vṛkṣaviṭ* + *ṆiC*, etc. I omit further details of this derivation since it is very complex. Refer to *Nyāsa* and *Padamañjarī* for conflicting details.

If consonants denoted by *aŚ* are required to qualify *haL* of 8.3.22 *hali sarveṣām*, it would be better to formulate *hali sarveṣām* as *haśi sarveṣām*. Why not *haśi sarveṣām*? The *hali* of 8.3.22 is needed for subsequent rule(s). This proposed *haśi* will greatly reduce the scope of consonants. Besides, *aśi* is also used here to block application of 8.3.18 *vyor laghu* . . . and 8.3.19 *lopaḥ śākalyasya* on examples such as *vṛkṣav karoti*.

Why did Pāṇini not use *aśi* in rules where needed. That is, why use here when the need is elsewhere. If *aśi* was used in association with *hali*, carrying *hali* to subsequent rules would have also required carrying *aśi*. This being the case, 8.2.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ* could introduce *anusvāra* only where a consonant denoted by *aŚ* followed. I choose not to discuss this in detail. Patañjali does not consider this specification with *aśi* necessary.

4. Note that the condition of *roḥ* is still valid. Thus, we do not get the application of this rule on *r* of *prātar atra* and *punar atra*. For, their *r* does not have its source in *rU*.

8.3.18 **व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य**

vyor laghuprayatnataraḥ śākaṭāyanasya
/*vyoḥ* 6/2 = *vaś ca yaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *laghu-prayatnataraḥ* 1/1 *laghu prayatno yasya* (*bv.*); *atiśayena laghuprayatnaḥ* = *laghuprayatnataraḥ*; *śākaṭāyanasya* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raḥ* #14 *roḥ* #16 *bhobhagoagho-a pūrvasya yo' śi* #17)
vakārayakārayor bhobhagoaghoavarṇapūrvayoḥ padāntayor laghuprayatnatara ādeśo bhavati
A replacement articulated with a comparatively lighter articulatory effort (*laghuprayatnatara*) comes, in the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, in place of a *pada*-final *v* or *y* which occurs after *bho, bhago, agho,* or after *a* or *ā*, provided when a sound denoted by *aŚ* follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

bhagoy atra
bhago atra
aghoy atra
agho yatra
kay āste
ka āste
asmāy uddhara
asmā uddhara
asāv ādityaḥ
asā ādityaḥ
dvāv atra
dvā atra
dvāv ānaya
dvā ānaya

1. Commentators explain *laghuprayatnatara* as sounds produced with a comparatively lighter articulatory effort. That is, where 'place' (*sthāna*) and 'means' (*karaṇa*) of articulation are both in a relatively relaxed state (*Nyāsa: tayor uccāraṇe śaithilyaṃ laghuprayatnataratvam*). A slighter contact by the articulator with the place of articulation results in such sound qualities.

Note that *v* and *y* have three different articulations depending on where they occur in a word. A *v* or *y* at the beginning of a word (*padādi*) is articulated with slight articulatory effort. This effort is relatively slighter in the middle of a *pada* and slightest at the end. The *Yājñavalkya-śikṣā* refers them as *guru*

'heavy', *laghu* 'light' and *laghutara* 'lighter'. Recensions of the *Yajurveda* have different conventions of marking these efforts. For example, *v* and *y* at the beginning of a *pada* were written twice.

2. This rule offers a slightly articulated *v* and *y* as a replacement for the *pada*-final *v* and *y*, when these occur after *bho, bhago, agho* or *a*. Of course, when a sound denoted by *aŚ* follows them. Note that 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ* will require *v* and *y* to be replaced only with their corresponding slighter articulations. Mention of *Śākaṭāyana* is made here to indicate option (*vibhāṣā*). Deletion of the following rules must apply if this option is not accepted.

Consider *bhoy atra / bho atra, bhagoy atra / bhago atra* and *aghoy atra/ agho atra* which illustrate slighter articulation, or deletion of *y*, gotten from the preceding rule. Examples such as *kay āste / ka āste* and *kākay āste / kāka āste* illustrate this same occurring after *a*. The *v* and *y* sounds of examples such as *asmai uddhara* → *asm(ai→āy) uddhara, as(au→āv) ādityaḥ, dv(au→āv) atra* and *dv(au→āv) ānaya* result from application of 6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*.

8.3.19 लोपः शाकल्यस्य

lopaḥ śākalyasya
/ lopaḥ 1/1 *śākalyasya* 6/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apūrvasya aśi* #17 *vyoḥ* #18)
vakārayakārayoḥ padāntayor avarṇapūrvayor lopo bhavati śākalyasyācāryasya matenāśi parataḥ

A *pada*-final *v* or *y* which occurs after *a* or *ā* is, in the opinion of Śākalya, replaced with *LOPA* when a sound denoted by *aŚ* follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

ka āste
kay āste
kāka āste
kākay āste
asmā uddhara
asmāy uddhara
dvāv atra
dvā atra
asāv ādityaḥ
asā ādityaḥ

1. Mention of *śākalyasya* is made here to denote option (*vibhāṣā*). This rule thus optionally deletes a *pada*-final *v* and *y* which occurs after *a* or *ā*, provided a sound denoted by *aŚ* follows. Thus, we get *ka(y→ϕ) āste* and *kay āste*, etc.

Note that this rule will yield three examples in a set: *kay āste, kay āste* and

ka āste, where the first two *kay āste* will have one *y* with regular and the other with slight articulatory effort. The third form will show optional deletion. What is most likely deleted here is the regular one.

8.3.20 **ओतो गार्ग्यस्य**

oto gārgyasya
/ *otaḥ* 5/1 *gārgyasya* 6/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apūrvasya aśi* #17 *vyoḥ* #18 *lopaḥ* #19)
okārād uttarasya yakārasya lopo bhavati gārgyasyācāryasya matenāśi parataḥ
A *pada*-final *y* which occurs after *o* is, in the opinion of Gārgya, deleted by *LOPA*, provided a sound denoted by *aŚ* follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

bho atra
bhago atra
bho idam
bhago idam

1. Note that *gārgyasya* is used here to show respect to Gārgya. It does not denote any option. Why formulate this rule when desired deletion can be accomplished by the preceding rule. This rule is obligatory (*nitya*). A *pada*-final *y* which is optionally deleted by the preceding rule is here deleted obligatorily. Thus, we get *bho atra* and *bhoy atra,* etc. Some, however, do wish deletion of all *y* sounds (*Kāś: kecit tu sarvameva yakāram atra necchanti*).

2. Examples of *v* after *o* are impossible to find. Hence, only *y* is associated with the wording of this rule (*Nyāsa: okārād uttaro vakāro nāsti*). The *t* of *otaḥ* (*taparakaraṇa*) is used for clarity. A specification with *oḥ* may confuse us whether the specified sound is *u* or *o.* Such confusion can be easily ruled out by using *o* with *t* in *otaḥ.*

It might not be a bad idea to summarize operational results of this *sūtra,* as compared with the preceding two. *Śākaṭāyana* (8.3.18), optionally after *bho, bhago* and *agho,* or after *a/ā,* replaces a *pada*-final *y* and *v* with *laghuprayatnatara* 'that which has a comparatively slighter articulation'. Others, however, will not allow a replacement. *Śākalya* (8.3.19) would apply deletion of *y* or *v* after *a/ā* at the end of a *pada.* Others, of course, will not apply the deletion. The *y* and *v* will be heard, especially when replacement of 8.3.18 has not applied. Our present rule offers deletion of *y* which is already made available by the preceding rule. But since that provision is optional, our present rule is needed to make the *y*-deletion obligatory (*nitya*).

8.3.21 **उञि च पदे**

uñi ca pade

/uñi 7/1 *ca* ϕ *pade* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apūrvasya* #17 *vyoḥ* #18 *lopaḥ* #19)
avarṇapūrvayoḥ vyoḥ padāntayor lopo bhavati uñi ca pade parataḥ
A *pada*-final *v* or *y* which occurs after *a*, or *ā*, is deleted by *LOPA* when a *pada* constituted by *uÑ* follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

sa u ekaviṃśatiḥ
sa u ekāgniḥ

1. Note that this deletion could be accomplished by the preceding rule. This rule is then stated for restrictive purposes (*niyamārthaḥ*). What is this restrictive purpose? This deletion should apply only when a *pada* constituted by *uÑ* follows. We know that *v* after *o* is impossible to find. This rule then focuses on *y* when used after *a* and *ā*. Since a *pada* constituted by *u* marked with *Ñ* will always be one without *Ñ* when used, *uÑ* can also refer to a *pada* which earlier had *Ñ* as an *it*. Thus, consider *saḥ u ekāgniḥ* → *sa*(*s*→*rU*→*y*) *u ekāgniḥ* → *sa*(*y*→ϕ) *u ekāgniḥ*, where *u* has to be comprehended as *uÑ*. But this can be either interpreted as a particle, or as a form of verbal root *veÑ* subsequent upon application of *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvaliyajādīnām* . . .).

2. A condition of *pade* is imposed so that *uÑ* could not refer to the verb form *uÑ*. It is argued that *uÑ* cannot refer to the form of verbal root *veÑ*. For, the form of *veÑ* which results from *samprasāraṇa* is not *uÑ*. It is *u*, instead. Moreover, we already have the particle *uÑ* expressly given as original (*pratipadokta*). If this non-*samprasāraṇa* form of *uÑ* can be comprehended in this manner then we do not need the condition of *pade*. It is suggested that *pade* is used for subsequent rules (*uttarārtham*). Consider 8.3.32 *ṅamo hrasvād aci ṅamuṇ nityam*, whereby a sound denoted by *ṅAMuṬ* (*ṅUṬ*, *ṇUṬ* and *nUṬ*) is introduced to a *pada*-final sound denoted by *ṅaM* (*Śs.* 7) and preceded by a short vowel. This, of course, happens at the word-boundary before a word beginning with a vowel. It is because of *pade* that *paramadaṇḍin* + (*Ṭ*) *ā* = *paramadaṇḍinā* does not get *n* introduced after *n* to yield **paramadaṇḍinnā*. That is, what follows is a vowel-initial affix, and not a *pada*.

3. Why do we state the condition of *pade*? Consider *tantra utam* and *tantray utam*, where the *e* of *tantre* is replaced with *ay* (6.1.78 *eco' yavāyāvaḥ*) before *u* ending in the *niṣṭhā* affix *Kta*. This *u* is the *uÑ* of *veÑ* received via *samprasāraṇa*. This rule does not apply here.

8.3.22 हलि सर्वेषाम्

hali sarveṣām
/hali 7/1 *sarveṣām* 6/3/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *bhobhagoaghoapūrvasya* #17 *vyoḥ* #18 *lopaḥ* #19)

hali parato bhobhagoaghoapūrvasya yakārasya padāntasya lopo bhavati sarveṣām ācāryāṇāṃ matena
A deletion by *LOPA* comes, in the opinion of all scholars, in place of a *pada*-final *y* which occurs after *bho, bhago, agho* and *a,* provided a sound denoted by *haL* follows; and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

bho hasati
bhago hasati
agho hasati
bho yāti
bhago yāti
agho yāti
bālakā hasanti

1. This rule, as per all scholars, deletes a *pada*-final *y* which (*i*) occurs after *bho, bhago* and *agho* or (*ii*) occurs after *a* and *ā*, provided a *pada* beginning with a consonant follows. Recall that *y* alone is found occurring after *bho, bhago* and *agho.* We can find an example of *v* after *a* or *ā* in *vṛkṣav karoti.* This *v* cannot be deleted because *aśi* qualifies *hali* and *aŚ* of *aśi* does not include *k* of *karoti.* This rule only relates to deletion of *y.* Patañjali (on *Śs.* 6: *na padāntā halo' ṇaḥ santi*) claims that a *pada* which ends in *h, y, v, r* and *l,* and occurs preceded by *a, i* and *u,* cannot be found in usage. This makes *vṛkṣav* of *vṛkṣav karoti* a suspect.

2. The use of *sarveṣām* also includes references to *śākaṭāyanasya* and *śākalyasya.* One may be confused about its reference only to *gārgyasya* because of proximity (*pratyāsatti*). The *laghuprayatnatara* 'articulated with slight articulatory effort' of Śākaṭāyana can also not be saved from deletion (*Kāś: sarveṣāṃ grahaṇaṃ śākaṭāyanasyāpi lopo yathā syāt laghuprayatnataro mā bhūd iti*).

8.3.23 मोऽनुस्वारः

mo' nusvāraḥ
/*maḥ* 6/1 *anusvāraḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *hali* #22)
makārasya padāntasyānusvāra ādeśo bhavati hali parataḥ
A *pada*-final *m,* when occurring in close proximity with a following consonant, is replaced with *ṃ* (*anusvāra*).

EXAMPLES:

kuṇḍaṃ hasati
vanaṃ hasati

kuṇḍaṃ yāti
vanaṃ yāti

1. This rule replaces a *pada*-final *m* with *ṃ* (*anusvāra*) when a consonant follows. Note that the genitive of *padasya* denotes 'in place of' (*sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī*). We get a *tadantavidhi* interpretation when *maḥ* qualifies *padasya*. A reading with 1.1.52 *alo' ntyasya* offers the interpretation: *makārāntasya padasya alo' ntyasya anusvāraḥ* 'an *anusvāra* in place of *m* of a *pada* ending in *m*'. Thus, *vana(m→ṃ) hasati = vanaṃ hasati*, etc.

2. Why do we state the condition of *hali* 'when a consonant follows'? Consider *tvam + atra → tvam atra* and *kim atra*, where *m* is not replaced with *anusvāra* since a vowel follows.

Why do we retain the condition of *padāntasya* 'of that which occurs at the end of a *pada*'? Consider *gamyate* and *ramyate*, where *m* does not occur at the end of a *pada*.

8.3.24 **नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि**

naś cāpadāntasya jhali
/*naḥ* 6/1 *ca* ϕ *apadāntasya* 6/1 = *padasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na padāntaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *jhali* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *mo' nusvāraḥ* #23)
nakārasya makārasya cāpadāntasyānusvārādeśo bhavati jhali parataḥ
A non-final *n*, and also *m*, of a *pada* is replaced with *anusvāra* when a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory term *jhaL* (*Śs.* 8-14) follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

payāṃsi
yaśāṃsi
sarpīṃṣi
dhanūṃṣi
ākraṃsyate
ācikraṃsyate
adhijigāṃsate

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *hali* 'when a consonant follows' is canceled by the use of *jhali* 'when a consonant denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaL* follows'. The *ca* 'and' is used here to attract *m*. This rule then allows a non-final *n*, and also *m*, to be replaced with an *anusvāra* when a sound denoted by *jhaL* follows in close proximity. Refer to derivational details of *payas* + *Jas* → *payāṃsi*, under the appendix (II:384-85) of 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt paraḥ*. Similar derivational steps are followed in deriving *yaśas* + *Jas* → *yaśāṃsi*, *sarpis* + *Jas* → *sarpīṃṣi* and *dhanuṣ* + *Jas* → *dhanūṃṣi*. What gets replaced here with *anusvāra* is a non-final *n* of augment *nUM*. Refer to derivational details of

adhyetum icchati = *adhijigāṃsate* '. . . wishes to study' in the appendix (III:700) of 2.4.47 *sani ca*. The third singular *ātmanepada* ending (1.3.40 *āṅ udgamane*) *ta* replaces *LṚT* in *ā-kram* + *sya* + *te* → *ākra*(*m*→*ṃ*) + *sya* + *te* = *ākraṃsyate*. Rule 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ* introduces the same *ātmanepada* ending as a replacement of *LAṬ* in *ācikraṃsate*, a derivate of (*ā-kram* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*)), where *kram* means to go. What is replaced here with *anusvāra* is the root-final *m*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *apadāntasya* 'of the non-final of a *pada*'? Consider *rājan bhuṅkṣva* where a *pada*-final *n* before *bh* cannot be replaced with *anusvāra*.

Why do we state the condition of *jhali* 'when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaL* follows'? Consider *yamyate* and *gamyāte* where the non-final *m* cannot be replaced with *anusvāra* since *y* is not a sound denoted by *jhaL*.

8.3.25 मो राजि समः क्वौ

mo rāji samaḥ kvau
/*maḥ* 1/1 *rāji* 7/1 *samaḥ* 6/1 *kvau* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *maḥ* #23)
samo makārasya makāra ādeśo bhavati rājatau kvip pratyayānte parataḥ
The *m* of *sam* when followed in close proximity with verbal root *rājR*, terminating in affix *KviP*, is replaced with *m*.

EXAMPLES:

samrāṭ
sāmrājyam

1. This rule offers an *anusvāra* as a replacement for *m* of *sam* when verbal root *rājR* 'to glow', terminating in *KvIP*, follows in close proximity. Consider (*sam* + *rāj*(*R*) + *KviP*) + *sU*, where *KvIP* is introduced after *rājR* by 3.2.61 *satsūdviṣadruh*. . . . The *j* of this root is first replaced with *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasjsṛj*. . .). A replacement in *ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*) then follows. A replacement in *ṭ* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *vāvasāne*) finally derives *samrā*(*j*→*ṣ*→*ḍ*→*ṭ*) = *samrāṭ*. Recall that *sU* goes through deletion of 6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo*. . . . The word *sāmrājayam* is derived from (*sam-rājR* + *KvIP*) + *ṢyaÑ*)) + *sU* where *ṢyaÑ* is introduced by 5.1.123 *guṇavacana*. . . . A replacement in *vṛddhi* before *ṢyaÑ* followed by *am* as a replacement of *sU* produces *sāmrājyam*. Note here that *m* as a replacement for *m* is given here to cancel *anusvāra* of 8.2.24 *mo' nusvāraḥ* (*Kāś*: *makārasya makāravacanam anusvāranivṛtyartham*).

2. Why do we state the condition of *rāji* 'when *rājR* follows'? Consider (*saṃ-yam* + *KvIP* → *sa*(*m*→*ṃ*)*yat*)) = *saṃyat*, where *m* of *sam* is replaced with *anusvāra* because verbal root *yam* occurs after *sam*. Incidentally, the *m* of *yam* is deleted by 6.4.37 *anudāttopdeśa*. . . . Augment *tUK* is then introduced to *a* (6.1.71 *hrasvasya piti*. . .).

Why do we state the condition of *samaḥ* 'in place of *m* of *sam*'? Consider *kiṃrāṭ* where *m* of *kim* is replaced with *anusvāra*.

Why do we state the condition of *kvau* 'followed by *KvIP*'? Consider *saṃrājitā*, *saṃrājitum* and *saṃrājitavyam* where affixes *Kta*, *KtavatU* and *tavyaT* follow.

8.3.26 हे मपरे वा

he mapare vā
/*he* 7/1 *mapare* 7/1 = *maḥ paro yasmāt sa* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *vā* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *maḥ* #23 *maḥ* #25)
hakāre makārapare parato makārasya vā makāra ādeśo bhavati
A *pada*-final *m*, when occurring before *h* followed by *m* in the context of close proximity, is optionally replaced with *m*.

EXAMPLES:

kiṃ hmalayati
kim hmalayati
kathaṃ hmalayati
katham hmalayati

1. This rule optionally replaces *m* with *m*, when it occurs before *h* followed by *m* in close proximity. Consider *kim hmalayati* where *m* of *kim* is optionally replaced with *m*, before *h* of *hmalayati* followed by *m*. If this option of replacing *m* with *m* is not accepted, *m* of *kim* will be replaced with *anusvāra* (8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*). Incidentally, *hmalayati* is a form of the causal *hmal* + *ṆiC* → *hmali*, where the short penultimate *a* does not go through replacement in long because of 6.4.92 *mitāṃ hrasvaḥ*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt. yavalapare yavalā vā*) is made to optionally replace a *pada*-final *m* with *y*, *v* and *l*, respectively, when *h* with a following *y*, *v* and *l* follows in close proximity. Thus, we get: *kiỹ hyaḥ* / *kiṃ hyaḥ* 'what is tomorrow'; *kiṽ hvalayati* / *kiṃ hvalayati* 'what is shaking'; *kil hlādayati* / *kiṃ hlādayati* 'what makes him happy'?

This *vārttika* proposal is controversial. Commentators explain that *y*/*v* /*l* are classed into two sets each based on their sound qualities of *anunāsika* 'nasalized' and *niranunāsika* 'non-nasalized'. Since we find *y*/*v*/*l* as replacements for *m* (a nasal), what replaces the nasal should be a nasalized *y*/*v*/*l*, in accord with 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*. The tradition accepts that a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *aṆ*, used as a part of operational predication (*vidheya*), does not denote sounds homogeneous with it (1.1.69 *aṇudit savarṇasya cāpratyayaḥ*). The *y*/*v*/*l* of this rule is a part of operational predication. It is therefore argued that nasalized *y*/*v*/*l* should not be allowed as replacements. It is also attested by the Pāṇinian practice of rule formulation. For example, he does not allow the nasalized *m* of *matUP* to be replaced with

the nasalized *v* of 8.2.9 *mād upadhāyāś ca.* Consider the following rules where I highlight the non-nasalized *v* with a capital letter: 1.2.45 *arthavadadhātur apratyayaḥ prātipadikam*; 8.2.43 *saṃyogāder āto dhātor yaṇvataḥ*; 4.4.125 *tadvānāsāmupadhāno mantra itīṣṭikāsu*. . . . But the tradition, from the *Mahābhāṣya* to the *Laghukaumudī*, accepts nasalized *y/v/l* as replacements. Some claim that predicative status of *y/v/l* is established, not by way of *aṆ* (*aṇtvena* '*aṆ*-ness'), but by way of being *y/v/l* (*yatvena* '*y*-ness'; *vatvena* '*v*-ness'; *latvena* '*l*-ness'). How did we get *vidvān likhati* → *vidvā l likhati*? This is an instance of *parasavarṇa* 'replacement similar to the homogeneous sound which follows' of rule 8.4.60 *tor li.* I skip other details of this discussion.

8.3.27 नपरे नः

napare naḥ
/*napare* 7/1 = *nah paro yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *naḥ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *maḥ* #23 *he vā* #26)
nakārapare he parataḥ makārasya vā nakārādeśo bhavati
A *pada*-final *m*, when occurring before *h* followed by *n* in the context of close proximity, is optionally replaced with *n*.

EXAMPLES:

kin hnute
kiṃ hnute
kathan hnute
kathaṃ hnute

1. This again is an optional replacement in *m* for a *pada*-final *m* when what follows in close proximity is *h* followed by *n*. Thus we get: *ki*(*m*→*n*) *hnute* → *kin hnute*/*ki*(*m*→*ṃ*) *hnute* → *kiṃ hnute* and *kathan hnute*/*kathaṃ hnute*.

2. Note that *para* 'that which follows' is used so that *m* can be optionally replaced with *n* when *h* followed by *n* follows. A formulation as *ne naḥ*, without *para*, would allow *m* to be replaced with *n* only when *n* followed. A specification with *ne* is made to cancel the *anuvṛtti* of *he*, mostly because of incompatibility.

8.3.28 ङ्णोः कुक्टुक् शरि

ṅṇoḥ kukṭuk śari
/*ṅṇoḥ* 6/2 = *ṅaś ca ṇaś ca* = *ṅṇau* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *kukṭuk* 1/1 *kuk ca ṭuk ca* (*sam. dv.*); *śari* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *vā* #26)
ṅakāraṇakārayoḥ padāntayoḥ 'kuk, ṭuk' ity etāv āgamau vā bhavataḥ śari parataḥ
Augments *kUK* and *ṭUK* are introduced, optionally, to a *pada*-final *ṅ*

and *ṇ*, respectively, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *śaR* follows and the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

prāṅk śete
prāṅ śete
prāṅk ṣaṣṭhaḥ
prāṅ ṣaṣṭhaḥ
prāṅk sāye
prāṅ sāye
vaṇṭ śete
vaṇ śete

1. This rule introduces augments *kUK* and *ṭUK*, optionally, to a *pada*-final *ṅ* and *ṇ*, in this order, when a consonant denoted by *ŚaR* (*Śs.* 13) follows. Consider *prāṅ(kUṬ) śete* = *prāṅk śete*, *prāṅ śete* and *vaṇ(ṭUṬ)* + *śete*, *vaṇ śete*, etc.

2. Why mark augments *kUK* and *ṭUK* with *K*, thereby to introduce them at the end of *ṅ* and *ṇ*, in view of 1.1.45 *ādyantau ṭakitau*? It would not make any difference in the context of close proximity if they were introduced at the beginning of what follows. Commentators state that this view will create problems. Consider *prāṅk śete* where *ś* of *śete* can be optionally replaced with *ch* (8.4.63 *śaś cho' ṭi*). This optional replacement in *ch* can apply when *ś* occurs after a sound denoted by *jhaY* (*Śs.* 8-12), and *ś* occurs followed by *aṬ* (*Śs.* 1-5). If *k* (of *kUṬ*), a sound denoted by *jhaY*, is introduced at the end of *prāṅ*, *ś* of *śete*, which occurs followed by *e*, can be replaced with *ch*. If, however, *k* were to be introduced to *ś* of *śete*, we cannot get this replacement. We cannot get *prāṅk chete*. A similar problem of application is witnessed in *prāṅk sāye*, where 8.3.59 *ādeśa pratyayayoḥ* cannot replace *s* of *sāye* with *ṣ*. If, however, augment *kUK* is introduced at the beginning of *sāye*, this replacement in *ṣ* cannot be blocked by 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*. The result will be an undesired: **prāṅ kṣete*. A similar replacement in *ṣ* for *s* cannot be allowed in *vaṇṭ sāye*, because of negation of 8.4.42 *na padāntāṭ ṭor anām*. If *ṭUK* was introduced to *sāye*, we will get *s* of *ṭsāye* replaced with *ṣ* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

8.3.29 डः सि धुट्

ḍaḥ si dhuṭ
/*ḍaḥ* 5/1 *si* 7/1 *dhuṭ* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *vā* #26)
ḍakārāntāt padād uttarasya sakārādeḥ padasya vā dhuḍ āgamo bhavati
Augment *dhUṬ* is optionally introduced to a *pada* which begins with *s* and occurs after a *pada* ending in *ḍ*, provided the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

> *śvaliṭ tsāye* 'dog-licker in the evening'
> *madhuliṭ tsāye* 'honey-licker in the evening'
> *śvaliṭ sāye*
> *madhuliṭ sāye*

1. Augment *dhUṬ* is optionally introduced to a *pada* which begins with *s* and occurs after a *pada* ending in *ḍ*. Consider *śvaliṭ sāye*→ *śvaliṭ (dh(UṬ)) sāye* → *śvaliṭ (dh→t) sāye* → *śvaliṭ tsāye* and *śvaliṭ sāye*. We similarly get *madhuliṭ tsāye* and *madhuliṭ sāye*.

2. Note that *ḍaḥ* of this rule is to be interpreted as specified with *pañcamī* 'ablative'. The locative specification of *si*, when transformed into its genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) *saḥ*, will make the ablative specification comparatively more powerful (*PŚ* (71): *ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyaḥ*). If this is what was intended, why did Pāṇini make this specification with *si* in the locative? This he did for economy (*lāghavārthaḥ*). A formulation such as *ṅaḥ si dhuṭ* would have been longer by one mora (*Nyāsa*: *mātrādhikye gauravaṃ syāt*). Why can we not interpret the locative *si* as 'an operational specification made with a sound, here *s*, in the locative, applying to that which begins with that sound' (*PŚ* (34): *yasmin vidhis tadādāv algrahaṇe*). This could have been accomplished even without using *s* of *si* in this rule. Why did he not state the rule with *dhuk*. This would have then blocked the negation of 8.4.42 *na padāntaṭṭor anām*.

Augment *dhUṬ* will then have to be introduced to *s*. Why is *dhUṬ* introduced at the beginning of that which follows? Why not introduce *dhUK*, instead, at the end of what precedes. We will not thus need *tUK* in the formulation of rule 8.3.31 *śi tuk*. For, this *dhUK* can then be carried there. If *dhUK* was introduced at the end of the preceding *pada*, *dh* of *dhUK* will be replaced with *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). If introduced at the beginning of what follows, *ṭ* of *śvaliṭ* will still be at the end of the *pada*. This can then be covered by the negation of 8.4.42 *na padāntāṭ ṭor anām*. The augment is thus introduced at the beginning of what follows (*Kāś*: *parādikaraṇam* '*na padāntāṭ ṭor anām*' *iti ṣṭutvapratiṣedhārtham*). Note that *h* of *śvalih* is first replaced with *ḍh* (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*) and then with *ḍ* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). The *dh* of *dhUṬ*, of course, goes through a replacement in *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*).

8.3.30 नश्च

> *naś ca*
> /*naḥ* 5/1 *ca* ɸ/
> (*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *vā* #26 *si dhuṭ* #29)
> *nakārāntād padād uttarasya sakārasya vā dhuḍ āgamo bhavati*
> Augment *dhUṬ* is optionally introduced to a *s* which occurs after a

pada ending in *n*, provided the context is that of close proximity between sounds.

EXAMPLES:

mahān tsāye
mahān sāye
bhavān tsāye
bhavān sāye

1. This rule optionally introduces augment *dhUṬ*, also to the initial *s* of a *pada* which follows a *pada* ending in *n*. Consider *bhavān tsāye / bhavān sāye*, and *mahān tsāye / mahān sāye*. Why do we not get the *n* of *bhavān* and *mahān* replaced with *rU* of 8.3.7 *naś chavy apraśān*? Since the *t*-replacement of *dh* of augment *dhUṬ* becomes *asiddha* 'suspended', *n* cannot be replaced with *rU* (*Kāś*: *dhuṭaś cartvasya asiddhatvāt 'naś chavy apraśān' iti rutvaṃ na bhavati*). Haradatta objects against accepting *t*-replacement of *dh* as suspended (*asiddha*). He is in favor of making *dhUṬ* itself suspended (*asiddha*). He further argues that *rU* cannot be accomplished, even when *dhUṬ*, or *t*-replacement of *dh* of *dhUṬ*, is treated as non-suspended (*siddha*). For, 8.3.7 *naś chavy aprāśān* will require *n* to be followed by *chaV*, in turn, followed by *aM*. We cannot find *aM*, here in this context of *rU*, coming as a replacement of *n* (*PM*: *yady api dhuḍ apy asiddhaḥ, tathāpi na tad ucyate; siddhe' pi tasmin vinā cartvena rutvasyāprāpteḥ*). Haradatta has his heart in *tuṬ* (against *dhUṬ*) as the augment (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *tuṭo' siddhatvād api ror aprasaṅgaḥ. tasmāt tuḍ eva vaktavyaḥ*; cf. 8.3.29 *ḍaḥ si dhuṭ*).

8.3.31 शि तुक्

śi tuk
/*śi* 7/1 *tuk* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *vā* #26 *naḥ* #30)
nakārasya padāntasya śakāre parato vā tug āgamo bhavati
Augment *tUK* is, optionally, introduced to a *pada*-final *n* when *ś* follows in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

bhavāñ chete 'you are sleeping'
bhavāñ cchete
bhavāñ cśete
bhavāñ śete

1. This rule introduces augment *tUK* to a *pada*-final *n* when *ś* follows in close proximity. Consider *bhvān* + *śete* → *bhavān* + *t*(*UK*) + *śete* → *bhavān* + *t* + (*ś*→*ch*) *ete* = *bhavānt chete*. The initial *ś* in *śete* is here replaced with *ch* (*chatva*)

of 8.4.63 *śas cho' ṭi*. Note that 8.4.63 *śaś cho' ṭi* may also block introduction of *tUK* in favor of replacement in *ch* (*chatva*), on account of being *para* 'subsequent' in the *tripādī* 'the last three quarter rules of this grammar'. This will give us *bhavān* (*ś*→*ch*) *ete* → *bhavā*(*n*→*ñ*) *chete* = *bhavāñ chete* as a result of suspension (*asiddhatva*) of *tUK*. Now consider 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* which will give us *bhavāñ śete*. But augment *tUK* can then be introduced by treating *ch*-replacement of 8.4.62 *śaś choṭi* as *asiddha* 'suspended'. This will give us *bhavānt* + *śete* → *bhavān*(*t*→*c*) + *śete* → *bhavā*(*n*→*ñ*) *c* + *śete* → *bhavāñ c*(*ś*→*ch*) *ete* → *bhavāñ cchete*. Not availing the option of *tUK* will give us *bhavā*(*n*→*ñ*) *śete* → *bhavāñ* + (*ś*→*ch*) *ete* → *bhavāñ chete*. Note that 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* will replace *t* with *c*, and *n* with *ñ*, in all these examples. Rule 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*, a single *sūtra*, can be accepted as two in view of its two different goals of application. Thus, it replaces *t* with *c* before *ś*; it replaces *n* with *ñ* before *c*.

2. Note that *tUK* is introduced at the end of the preceding *pada* (*pūrvāntaḥ*). But we can still get this *t* (of *tUK*) by introducing augment *dhUṬ* at the beginning of the following *pada* (*parādiḥ*). This, however, will block *ch*-replacement of *ś* of *śete*. We run into another problem if *tUK* is introduced at the end of the preceding *pada*. That is, given *kurvan* + (*ś*→*ch*) *ete* → *kurva*(*n*→*ñ*) + *chete* = *kurvañ chete*, the *n* of *kurvan* becomes subject to a replacement in *ṇ* (8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ* . . .). For, this *n* happens to be at the end of a *pada*. This should not pose any problem if the augment is introduced at the beginning of the following *pada*. For, this *ṇ*-replacement will be blocked by 8.4.37 *padāntasya*.

A proposal for split-interpretation of 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* is made for negation of replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva-pratiṣedha*). The first split-rule will read as *stoḥ ścunā*, thereby *s* and *tU*, followed by *ś* and *cU*, will not allow *n* to be replaced by *ṇ*. The next split-rule will simply be *ścuḥ*. This will replace a preceding *s* and *tU* with *ś* and *cU* 'consonant of the *c*-series', respectively. The *ṇ*-replacement in *kurvañ chete* will thus be blocked. This negation of replacement in *ṇ* will be valid even when replacement in *ch* is treated as suspended (*asidaha*). How? At the strength of the split-interpretation of 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* (*Nyāsa*: *yogavibhāgakaraṇasāmarthyāt ścutvasyāsiddhatve' pi ṇatvapratiṣedho bhavatyīty adoṣaḥ*). Some traditionalists do not accept this split-interpretative method of negating *ṇ*-replacement. They argue that, given *kurvan* + *c* + *chete*, rule 8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali* will apply to replace *ñ* with *anusvāra*. For, *n* will then not be occurring at the end of the *pada*, and *c*, i.e., a sound denoted by *jhaL*, will be forming the right condition. This *anusvāra* can then be replaced with *ñ* before the following homogeneous (*parasavarṇa*) sound *c*. The result is: *kurva*(*n*→*ṃ*→*ñ*) + *c* + *chete*. The question of a replacement in *ṇ* does not arise since the *ñ* which is brought about by *parasavarṇa* 'a replacement homogeneous with what follows' is treated as suspended (*asiddha*). This also shows why we do not need any split-interpretation of 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*.

Application of these rules is a little bit difficult. I therefore list all rules, and then show how one can derive all forms:

8.3.31 *śi tuk* (introduction of *tUK*)
8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* (*t*→*c*, *n*→*ñ*)
8.4.63 *śaś cho' ṭi* (replacement in *ch*)
8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe* (optional deletion of *c*)

Applying rule 8.3.31 *śi tuk* will offer *bhavān* + *tUK* + *śete*. An application of replacement in *ch* (*chatva*) will produce *bhavān* (*ś*→*ch*) *ete* → *bhavān* + *t* + *chete*. An application of 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* will replace *t* with *c*, and *n* with *ñ*, thereby yielding *bhavā*(*n*→*ñ*) + (*t*→*c*) + *chete* = *bhavāñ cchete*. An optional deletion of *c* will produce *bhavāñ* (*c*→ϕ) *chete* = *bhavāñ chete*. No optional application of replacement in *ch* will produce *bhavāñ cśete*. No optional application of *tUK* will produce *bhavān* + *śete*. The idea is to work through general rules and then apply options.

8.3.32 ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्‌ नित्यम्‌

ṅamo hrasvād aci ṅamuṇ nityam
/*ṅamaḥ* 5/1 *hrasvāt* 5/1 *aci* 7/1 *ṅamuṭ* 1/1 *nityam* 1/1
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108)
hrasvāt paro yo ṅam tadantāt padād uttarasyāco ṅamuḍ āgamo bhavati nityam
An augment denoted by *ṅamuṭ*, i.e., *ṅUṬ*, *ṇUṬ* and *nUṬ*, is, obligatorily, introduced to a vowel denoted by *aC* when the same occurs after a *pada* which ends in a sound denoted by *ṅaM* used after a short vowel.

EXAMPLES:

pratyaṅṅ āste 'sits facing east'
vaṇṇ āste 'sits with a thud'
vaṇṇ avocat 'speaks loudly'
kurvann āste 'sits doing'
kurvann avocat 'speaks while doing'
kṛṣann āste 'sits drawing'
kṛṣann avocat 'speaks while drawing'

1. Note that *ṅaM* (*Śs.* 7) is an abbreviatory term which denotes *ṅ*, *ṇ* and *n*. These individual sounds are also represented within *ṅaM* of *ṅamuṭ* which, when read with *ṅ*, *ṇ* and *n*, individually with its *UṬ*, produce three augments *ṅUṬ*, *ṇUṬ* and *nUṬ*. These three are introduced at the beginning of a *pada* in view of *yathāsaṃkhya* 'assignment of equivalency in the order of enumeration'. That is, *ṅUṬ*, *ṇUṬ* and *nUṬ* are introduced after a *pada* which ends in *ṅ*, *ṇ* and *n*, respectively. These *ṅ*, *ṇ* and *n* must occur at the end of a *pada* preceded by a short vowel. Augments *ṅUṬ*, *ṇUṬ* and *nUṬ* must be introduced at the beginning of the following *pada*, also beginning with a vowel.

The word *ṅamaḥ* is interpreted as ending in the ablative (*pañcamī*). It is used as a qualifier to *padasya* whose genitive is transformed into the ablative singular in view of the qualifier. Thus, we get *hrasvāt ṅamaḥ padāt* where *hrasvāt* is construed as a qualifier to *ṅamaḥ*. This, in view of *tadantavidhi*, presents the interpretation: *hrasvāt paro yo ṅam tadantāt padāt* 'after a *pada* which ends in a *ṅaM* occurring after a short vowel'. The locative singular of *aci* is also transformed into genitive to facilitate introduction of *ṅUṬ*, *ṇUṬ* and *nUṬ*. Recall that a *pañcamī* 'ablative' specification (of *ṅamaḥ*) will be considered more powerful than one made by the locative of *aci* (*pbh.* (71): *ubhayanirdeśe pañcamīnirdeśo balīyaḥ*). Hence, *aci* is transformed into *acaḥ*. A *saptamī* 'locative' specification is not only econominal (*lāghavārthaḥ*) but is also intended for use in subsequent rules.

2. Consider *pratyaṅ āste/ pratyaṅ ṅāste*; *vaṇ āste/ vaṇ ṇāste*; *vaṇ avocat/ vaṇ ṇavocat*; *kurvan āste/ kurvan nāste*; *kṛṣan avocat/ kṛṣan navocat.*

Why do we have the condition of *ṅamaḥ* 'after *ṅ*, *ṇ* and *n*'? Consider *tvam āsse* where a nasal, other than one denoted by *ṅaM*, occurs after the short *a* of *tvam*. An augment thus could not be introduced.

Why do we have the condition of *hrasvāt* 'after a short vowel'? Consider *prāṅ āste* where *ṅ* occurs after a long *ā*.

Why do we have the condition of *aci* 'when a vowel . . .'? Consider *pratyaṅ karoti* 'makes (something) facing east' where the following *pada* begins with *k*, a consonant.

3. Why do we not get augment *nUṬ* in *paramadaṇḍin* + *au* = *paramadaṇḍinau* 'nominative dual, two best ascetics' and *paramadaṇḍin* + (*Ṭ*) *ā* → *paramadaṇḍinā* 'instrumental singular . . .'. This question arises since *n* of *daṇḍin* occurs after a short *i*, and *daṇḍin* can be accepted as a *pada*, especially in view of 1.1.62 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* based on compound-formation. The instrumental singular vocalic ending can be accepted as satisfying the condition of *aci*. First of all, the second compound constituent, i.e., *daṇḍin*, cannot be accepted as a *pada*, via *pratyayalakṣaṇa* 'operation characteristic of a deleted affix', unless an operation relative to the initial of a *pada* is involved (*vt*: *uttarapadatve cāpadādividhau pratiṣedhaḥ*). Secondly, the instrumental singular ending *Ṭā* then must constitute a *pada* which it does not. It is stated that *pade* of 8.3.21 *uñi ca pade* should be carried over to ensure the meaning: *ṅamantāt padād uttarasya ajādeḥ padasya* '. . . to a *pada* which begins with a vowel and occurs after a *pada* ending in *ṅaM*'. Augment *nUṬ* can thus not be introduced to *au* of *paramadaṇḍin* + *au* = *paramadaṇḍinau* and *ā* of *paramadaṇḍin* + *ā* = *paramadaṇḍinā*, because they begin with a vowel but are not termed *pada.*

8.3.33 मय उञो वो वा

maya uño vo vā

/*mayaḥ* 5/1 *uñaḥ* 6/1 *vaḥ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *aci* #32)
maya uttarasya uño vā vakārādeśo bhavati aci parataḥ
A replacement in *vA* comes, optionally, in place of *uÑ* when *uÑ* occurs after a sound denoted by *maY* and *aC* follows in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

śam u astu vediḥ 'the sacrificial receptacle is propitious'
śam v astu vediḥ
tad u asya paretaḥ 'he defeated him'
tad v asya paretaḥ
kim u āvapanam '. . . is the sowing well done?'
kimv āvapanam '. . . is the hair-cut well done'

1. This rule replaces *uÑ*, optionally, with *vA* when *uÑ* occurs preceded by a sound denoted by *maY* (*Śs.* 7-12) and followed by a vowel, in close proximity. Consider *śam* + *u* + *astu* = *śam* + (*u*→*v*) + *astu* → *śam v astu* of *śam v astu vediḥ*, where *u* is an indeclinable (*uÑ*). Recall that *u*, after *it*- deletion, is optionally assigned the term *pragṛhya* by 1.1.17 *uñaḥ*. Rule 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* could not apply since 6.1.124 *pluta pragṛhyā aci nityam* blocks it. We now have an optional replacement in *vA*. Thus, *śam v astu vediḥ* and *śamu astu vediḥ*, etc. Can we get the *m* of *śam v astu* replaced with *anusvāra* of 8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*? No. Because *v* will be considered *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of replacing *m* with *anusvāra*. It is stated that a replacement in *vA* is offered here in view of *prakṛtibhāva* 'a lack of *sandhi*; as it were' caused by assignment of the term *pragṛhya*. A replacement in *anusvāra* cannot be made because *vA* is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended' (*Kāśikā*: *pragṛhyatvād uñaḥ prakṛtibhāve prāpte vakāro vidhīyate. tasyāsiddhatvādd halīti 'mo' nusvāraḥ' na bhavati*). That is, *m* cannot be replaced with *anusvāra* since there will not be a consonant to follow (*hali*). Thus, the saying:

tripādīye vakāre tu nānusvāraḥ pravarttate
'there is no application of *anusvāra* when *v* follows in the *tripādī*'

Note that *uÑ* is optionally termed *pragṛhya* (1.1.17 *uñ iti*) when it occurs after *maY* and is followed by *iti*. This can then be replaced with *ū*. A question is raised against formulation of this rule. It is stated that 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci* can account for a replacement in *yaṆ*. Does this rule offer an option to the obligatory *yaṆ* of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*? No. The *anuvṛtti* of *vā* will be carried over from 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*. That will make it *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option'. Consequently, *u*(*Ñ*) is replaced with *v* (*yaṆ*), based on assignment of the term *pragṛhya*. This being the case, rule 6.1.124 *pluta pragṛhyāci nityam* demands *prakṛtibhāva* (no application of *sandhi*), obligatorily. It is at this stage that *v* is assigned, instead, by this rule. It is still argued that *uÑ* should be replaced with *v* of 6.1.77 *iko yaṇ aci*. This way, one does not have to specify

vaḥ in this rule. One does not even have to state *vā*. The *vā* will be carried over, via *maṇḍūkapluti*, from 6.1.76 *padāntād vā*. But that, i.e., *v*, when stated will become *siddha* 'established'. Consequently, because of being a following consonant, it will condition the replacement of *m* with *anusvāra* (8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*). This, however, is not desired. It is for this reason that *v* is given right here. An *m* does not get replaced with *anusvāra* because this *v* becomes suspended (*asiddha*).

It is argued that *uÑ* of this rule can still be replaced with *v* (6.1.74? *iko yaṇ aci*) when the option of *pragṛhya* is not accepted. It can also be replaced with *vA* of this rule. We can also get a replacement in *anusvāra* (8.3.23 *mo' nusvāraḥ*). Thus, we can get *kim v iti* and *kiṃ v iti*. An optional substitute in *ū̃* will also get an optional replacement in *ṽ*. Thus, *kimṽ v iti* and *kim ū̃ iti*.

8.3.34 **विसर्जनीयस्य सः**

visarjanīyasya saḥ
/*visarjanīyasya* 6/1 *saḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *khari* #15)
visarjanīyasya sakāra ādeśo bhavati khari parataḥ
A *visarjanīya* is replaced with *s* when a sound denoted by *khaR* (Śs. 11-13) follows.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaś chādayati
plakṣaś chādayati
vṛkṣaṣ ṭhakāraḥ
plakṣaṣ ṭhakāraḥ
vṛkṣas thakāraḥ
vṛkṣaś cinoti
plakṣaś cinoti
vṛkṣaṣ ṭīkate
plakṣaṣ ṭīkate
vṛkṣas tarati
plakṣas tarati

1. This rule replaces a *visarjanīya*, i.e., *ḥ*, with *s* when a sound denoted by *khaR* follows in close proximity. Recall that *khaR* includes 13 consonants within its denotatum: *kh, ph, ch, ṭh, th, c, ṭ, t, k, p, ś, ṣ,* and *s*. A replacement in *s* is, however, offered only before the first eight. Different replacements are offered before the last five. Thus, *vṛkṣa*(*ḥ*→*s*) *tiṣṭhati* → *vṛkṣas tiṣṭhati*, etc. This *s* is subsequently replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*) and *ś* (*ścutva*; 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*).

2. Note that the *visarga* which is here offered a replacement in *s* is gotten from 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*. That is, *r* is replaced with *ḥ* when a

khaR follows, or else, *r* occurs at the end before pause (*avasāna*). This may create a problem in replacing *ḥ*, of *vṛkṣa* + (*s*→*rU*→*ḥ*) → *vṛkṣaḥ*, with *s* at the end before a pause. Mostly because *saṃhitāyām* 'in close proximity' is still carried over. A *visarjanīya* cannot be replaced with *s* if nothing follows. It is for this reason that *khari* is brought here, via *anuvṛtti*, from 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor*. . . . But this *anuvṛtti* gets canceled because of incompatibility presented by *aci* of the preceding rule. One would still bring *khari*, via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'. One can also make *kahri* (of 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor* . . .) understood because of its association with *visarjanīya*. It is also stated that our next rule (8.3.35 *śarpare visarjanīyaḥ*) uses the *bahuvrīhi* compound *śarpare* to mark the right condition. That is, with implications of something (*anyapadārtha*) other than a sound denoted by *ŚaR* which follows. What can be a sound other than *ŚaR* in this context? It is recognized as none other than a consonant denoted by *khaR*. Refer to *Padamañjarī* for full implications of *anuvṛtti* of *khari*. I omit further discussion because of fear of expatiation (*prapañca*).

8.3.35 **शर्परे विसर्जनीयः**

śarpare visarjanīyaḥ
/ *śarpare* 7/1 = *śar paro yasmāt sa* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *visarjanīyaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34)
śarpare khari parato visarjanīyasya visarjanīyādeśo bhavati
A *visarjanīya* is replaced with *visarjanīya* when a sound denoted by *khaR*, itself followed by a sound denoted by *śaR*, follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

śaśaḥ kṣuram 'rabbit's hoof'
puruṣaḥ kṣuram 'man's razor'
adbhiḥ psātam 'eaten (having made the morsel) with water'
vāsaḥ kṣaumam 'silk-garment'
puruṣaḥ tsaruḥ 'sword-(brave) man'
ghanāghanaḥ kṣobhanaś carṣaṇīnām 'a killer who kills again and again . . .'

1. Note that *śarpare* is a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as: *śar paro yasmāt saḥ* 'that after which a sound denoted by *ŚaR* (*ś*, *ṣ*, *s*) occurs'. The antecedent of 'that' is here construed as *khari*, brought via *anuvṛtti*, from the preceding rule. The word *para* 'subsequent' is used in this rule so that *ŚaR*, alone, is not accepted as right condition of replacement. This could be true, especially in view of the use of *śari*, alone, in the following rule.

2. Why did Pāṇini not formulate this rule as *śarpare na* 'not when a sound denoted by *khaR* occurs follwed by *śaR*'? That is, negating a replacement in *s* would have retained the *visarga*. Such a formulation could block *s* from replacing *ḥ* (8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*). It could, however, not block modified

(colored) replacements of *ḥ* in a *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* (8.3.37 *kupvoḥ*...). This rule expressly uses *visarjanīya* to also rule out application of 8.3.37 *kupvoḥ*.... Using *na* 'not' would occasion the application of *paribhāṣā* (*PŚ*:62): *anantarasya vidhir vā bhavati pratiṣedho vā* 'an application, or negation, applies to the most immediate'. For, this negative provision must then apply only to *s* of the preceding rule. Replacements in *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* are blocked at the strength of this express mention of *visarjanīya* (*Kāś*: '*na*' *iti vaktavye visarjanīyasya visarjanīyādeśavidhānaṃ vikāranivṛtyartham*). The word *visarjanīya* is thus used to block any other replacement.

8.3.36 वा शरि

vā śari
/*vā* ϕ *śari* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *visarjanīyaḥ* #35)
visarjanīyasya visarjanīyādeśo vā bhavati śari pare
A *visarjanīya* is replaced, only optionally, with a *visarjanīya*, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *śaR* follows in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaḥ śete 'the tree sleeps'
vṛkṣaś śete
plakṣaḥ śete
plakṣaś śete
vṛkṣaḥ ṣaṇḍe
vṛkṣaṣ ṣaṇḍe 'the tree is weak'
vṛkṣaḥ sāye 'the tree is strong'
vṛkṣas sāye

1. This rule replaces a *visarga* with *visarga*, only optionally, when *ś*, *ṣ* or *s* follows. Thus, *vṛkṣa*(*ḥ*→*ḥ*) + *śete* → *vṛkṣaḥ śete* and *vṛkṣa*(*ḥ*→*ś*) + *śete* → *vṛkṣaś śete*. Note that a following *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* will further condition replacement of a *visarjanīya* with *ś*, *ṣ* or *s*, respectively.

2. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *kharpare śari vā lopo vaktavyaḥ*) is made to, optionally, delete a *visarjanīya* when a sound denoted by *śaR*, followed by another denoted by *khaR*, follows. Thus, *vṛkṣā*(*ḥ*→ϕ) + *sthātāraḥ* → *vṛkṣā sthātāraḥ* and *vṛkṣāḥ sthātāraḥ*. We can additionally get *vṛkṣā*(*ḥ*→*s*) + *sthātāraḥ* → *vṛkṣās sthātāraḥ*, when optional deletion is not accepted.

8.3.37 कुप्वोः ×क×पौ च

kupvoḥ×ka×pau ca
/*kupvoḥ* 6/2 = *kuś ca puś ca* = *kupū* (*itare. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; ×*k* ×*pau* 1/2 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *visarjanīyaḥ* #35)

kavargapavargayoḥ parato visarjanīyasya yathāsāṃkhyam ×k, ×p' ity etāv ādeśau bhavataḥ, cakārād visarjanīyaś ca

A replacement in ×*k* and ×*p*, respectively, and a *visarjanīya* as well, optionally comes in place of a *visarjanīya,* when a consonant of *k* (*kU*) and *p* (*pU*) group follows in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣa ×karoti
vṛkṣaḥ ×karoti
vṛkṣa ×khanati
vṛkṣaḥ ×khanati
vṛkṣa ×pacati
vṛkṣaḥ ×pacati
vṛkṣa ×phalati
vṛkṣaḥ ×phalati

1. A *visarjanīya* when followed by a consonant of the *k* and *p* series, in close proximity, is replaced, respectively, with ×*k* and ×*p.* It is also replaced with a *visarjanīya* at the strength of the use of the word *ca* 'and'. We thus get *vṛkṣa(ḥ→ḥ) + karoti → vṛkṣaḥ karoti, vṛkṣa(ḥ →×) + karoti = vṛkṣa ×karoti; vṛkṣaḥ khanati, vṛkṣa(ḥ→×) + khanati → vṛkṣa ×khanati* and *vṛkṣaḥ pacati, vṛkṣa(ḥ→×) + pacati → vṛkṣa ×pacati; vṛkṣaḥ phalati, vṛkṣa(ḥ→×) + phalati → vṛkṣaḥ phalati.*

Recall that 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ* offers *ḥ* (*visarjanīya*) as a replacement for *rU* when a sound denoted by *khaR* follows. This rule offers *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* as replacements when consonants of the *k* (*kU*) and *p* (*pU*) groups follow. Since *k/kh* and *p/ph* are included within the denotatum of *khaR,* a *visarjanīya* of 8.3.15 *kharavasānayor*. . . will be replaced with its *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* counterparts before *k/kh* and *p/ph,* repsectively.

Commentators use *jihvāmūlīya* 'articulated by root of the tongue' and *upadhmānīya* 'articulated at lips with aspirated explosion', here, as adjectives to *visarjanīya.* That is, such articulations are modifications added on to the articulation of a *visarjanīya.* Since it is not possible to pronounce such *visarjanīyas* without accompanying articulation of the consonants of *kU* and *pU* groups, they are represented here by the symbol ×, followed by consonants of the *kU* and *pU* groups (*Kāś: kapāv uccāraṇārthau. jihvāmūlīyopadhmānīyāv etāv ādeśau*). The tradition represents them with ×. The *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* sounds are considered like half of a *visarga* (*ardhavisarga*). They carry the duration of one-fourth of a mora.

2. This rule blocks the application of rule 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ.* That is, it will offer a *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* as a replacement against *s* of 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ.* Of course, when *k/kh* and *p/ph* follow. But it cannot block the application of rule 8.3.35 *śarpare visarjanīyaḥ.* Recall that *s* as a

replacement of *visarjanīya* has two sources: (*i*) that which is gotten when a sound denoted by *khaR*, followed by a sound denoted by *śaR*, follows (8.3.35 *śarpare visarjanīyaḥ*) and (*ii*) that which is gotten when a sound denoted by *khaR* follows at the end before pause (*avasāna*). What is to be replaced here with *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* must be a *visarjanīya* which covers the most general scope of being replaced with *s*. One cannot invoke *vipratiṣedha* (1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam*) since *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict among two rules of equal strength where the subsequent wins' does not find its scope in the *tripādī* 'last three quarters of rules'. Thus, *vāsaḥ kṣaumam* and *adbhiḥ psātam*, which are covered by 8.3.35 *śarpare visajanīyaḥ*, cannot come under the scope of this rule. Note that our present rule will be able to block 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ* in view of (*PŚ*: 58): *yena nāprāpte yo vidhir ārabhyate sa tasya bādhako bhavati* 'that against whose obligatory application an operation is started, that blocks that operation'. It will not be able to block 8.3.35 *śarpare visarjanīyaḥ* because it has its scope of application established by *adbhiḥ psātam* and *vāsaḥ kṣaumam*. The scope of application of 8.3.37 *kupvoḥ*... will be established at the strength of blocking 8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*.

Some offer split-interpretation (*yogavibhāga*) of this rule to block it from blocking 8.3.35 *śarpare visarjanīyaḥ*. The two split rules are: (*i*) *kupvoḥ* and (*ii*) °*ka* °*pau*. The first split rule will carry the *anuvṛtti* of 8.3.35 *śarpare visarjanīyaḥ*, thereby to ensure *visarjanīya*, alone, as a replacement for *visarjanīya*. The second rule will account for *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* replacements of *visarjanīya*.

8.3.38 सोऽपदादौ

so' padādau

/*saḥ* 1/1 *apadādau* 7/1 =*padasya ādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na padādir ādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37)

sakārādeśo bhavati visarjanīyasya kupvor apadādyoḥ parataḥ pāśakalpakāmyeṣu

A *visarjanīya*, when followed by a consonant of the *kU* and *pU* group not used at the beginning of a *pada*, is replaced with *s* in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

payaspāśam 'bad milk'
yaśaspāśam 'infamy'
payaskalpam 'like milk'
yaśaskalpam 'as if fame'
payaskam 'milk'
yaśaskam 'fame'
payaskāmyati '... desires milk'
yaśaskāmyati '... desires fame'

1. This rule is an exception to the preceding. It replaces a *visarjanīya* with *s* when a non-initial *kU* and *pU* of a *pada* follows. Consider (*payaḥ* + *pāśa*(*P*)) + *su* → (*paya*(*ḥ*→*s*) + *pāś*) *a*)) + *sU* → *payaspāśam*, where affix *pāśaP* occurs after the *visarga* of *payaḥ* (5.3.47 *yāpye pāśap*) within the same *pada*. Affix *kalpaP* (5.3.67 *īṣad asamāptau*...) similarly occurs fater *payaḥ* and *yaśas* of (*paya*(*ḥ*→*s*) + *kalpa*(*P*)) + *sU*→ *payaskalpam* and (*yaśa*(*ḥ*→*s*) + *kalpa*(*P*)) + *sU* → *yaśaskalpam*. We get similar examples with affixes *ka* (5.3.70 *prāg ivāt kaḥ*) and *kāmyaC* (3.1.9 *kāmyac ca*) in *payaskam, yaśaskam*; and (*payas* + *am* + *kāmyaC*) + *LAṬ*)) in *payaskāmyati* and (*yaśas* + *am* + *kāmyaC*) + *LAṬ* → *yaśaskāmyati*. This rule applies generally when we have affixes *pāśaP, kalpaP* and *kāmyaC*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *apadādau* 'when not at the beginning of a *pada*'? Consider *paya*(*ḥ*→×) + *kāmayate* → *paya* ×*kāmayate* and *paya* (*ḥ*→×) + *pibati* → *paya* ×*pibati*, where the *visarjanīya* is replaced with *upadhmānīya*, instead. For, the *p* which follows is occurring at the beginning of a *pada*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *so' padādāv ity anavyayasyeti vaktavyam*) is made to clarify that '*s* is replaced with *visarjanīya* only when it occurs in a non-indeclinable *pada*'. It is suggested that *vā* of 8.3.36 *vā śari* should be brought here to make this rule a 'fixed option' (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*). This, in turn, will ensure a replacement only in a non-indeclinable *pada*. Thus, the *visarjanīya* of *prātaḥ* 'morning' and *punaḥ* 'again', in *prātaḥkalpam* and *punaḥkalpam*, will be saved from being replaced with *s*. Recall that *prātar* 'morning' and *punar* 'again' are indeclinables (*avyaya*).

Another proposal is made to restrict a *visarjanīya* which may be replaced with *s* before *kāmya* 'desired'. It is stated that such a *visarjanīya* must have its origin in *rU* (*vt*: *roḥ kāmye niyamārtham*). We can thus get a replacement in *payaskāmyati* and *yaśaskāmyati*, but not in *gīḥkāmyati* and *dhūḥkāmyati*. For, the *r* in *gīḥkāmyati* and *dhūḥkāmyati* does not have its source in *rU*.

A third proposal (*vt*: *upadhmānīyasya kavarge parataḥ sakāra ādeśo bhavati*) requires an *upadhmānīya* to be replaced with *s* before a consonant of the *k*-series. Derivates of *ubj* 'to be simple, straight', i.e., *abhyudgaḥ* and *samudgaḥ*, are offered as examples. It is generally accepted that *ubj* has a penultimate *upadhmānīya* which is not heard, and is written as *b*. For, *ubj* is specified by replacing it with *jaŚ* (*kṛtajaśtva-nirdeśaḥ*). Some consider the root as *udj*, again, used with the meaning of *ārjava* 'straightness, simplicity'. If we accept the root as *ubj*, used with the preverbs *abhi* and *sam*, we will end up with wrong derivates of *GHaÑ*: **abhybgaḥ* and **samubgaḥ*. Thus, 3.3.121 *halaś ca* would introduce affix *GHaÑ*, and a velar replacement (*kutva*) in *g* for *j* will be accomplished by 7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇṇyatoḥ*. The *upadhmānīya* of *ubj* will then be replaced with *b* by 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*. It is stated that the *upadhmānīya* of *ubj* should then be replaced with *s* before *k*. The *s* should then be replaced with *d* (*jaśtva*). This will give us the correct forms: *abhyudgaḥ* and *samudgaḥ*. See *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā* for additional details.

8.3.39 इणः षः

iṇaḥ ṣaḥ
/*iṇaḥ* 5/1 *ṣaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37 *apadādau* #38)
iṇ uttarasya visarjanīyasya ṣakārādeśo bhavati kupvor apadādyoḥ parataḥ pāśakalpakāmyeṣu
A *visarjanīya* which occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ*, and is followed by a consonant of the *k* and *p* group not used at the beginning of a *pada*, is replaced with *ṣ* in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣpāśam 'bad ghee'
yajuṣpāśam 'incomplete recitation of *Yajurveda*'
sarpiṣkalpam 'ordinary ghee'
yajuṣkalpam 'ordinary recitation of *Yajurveda*'
sarpiṣkam 'bad ghee'
yajuṣkam 'bad recitation of *Yajurveda*'
sarpiṣkāmyati '. . . wishes for ghee'
yajuṣkāmyati '. . . wishes to recite *Yajurveda*'

1. This rule replaces a *visarjanīya* with *ṣ* when (*i*) the *visarjanīya* occurs after a vowel denoted by *iṆ* (*Śs.* 1) and (*ii*) is followed by a non-initial *kU* and *pU*, in close proximity. Thus, *yaju(ḥ→ṣ)pāśam → yajuṣpāśam, sarpi(ḥ→ṣ)pāśam → sarpiṣpāśam; sarpiṣkalpam, yajuṣkalpam; sarpiṣkam, yajuṣkam;* and *sarpiṣkāmyati, yajuṣkāmyati.*

Note that *apadādau* is still carried over. Thus, we do not get a *visarjanīya* replaced with *ṣ* in *agniḥ karoti* 'fire is burning (doing)', *vāyuḥ karoti* 'wind is doing (blowing); *agniḥ pacati* 'fire is cooking', *vāyuḥ pacati* 'wind is cooking'; and *sarpis te* 'ghee to you', *yajus te* 'your recitation of the *Yajus* hymn'.

Kāśikā remarks that *saḥ* and *iṇaḥ ṣaḥ* are both carried over to subsequent rules. Consequently, a *visarjanīya* which occurs after *i* and *u* (*iṆ*) is replaced with *ṣ*. A *visarjanīya* which occurs after any other vowel is replaced with *s* (*Kāś: ita uttaram 'saḥ' iti 'iṇaḥ ṣaḥ' iti ca vartate, tatra iṇaḥ paro yo visarjanīyas tasya ṣakāro bhavati, anyasya sakāro bhavati*).

8.3.40 नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः

namaspurasor gatyoḥ
/*namas-purasoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *gatyoḥ* 6/2
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37 *saḥ* #38)
'*namas, puras*' *ity etayor gatisajñakayor visarjanīyasya sakārādeśo bhavati kupvor parataḥ*
The *visarjanīya* of *namas* 'obeisance' and *puras* 'in front', when termed

gati, is replaced with *s*, provided a consonant of the *kU* and *pU* group follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

namaskartā 'he will pay obeisance'
namaskartum 'for paying obeisance'
namaskartavyam 'should pay obeisance'
puraskartā 'he who presents'
puraskartum 'for presenting before'
puraskartavyam 'should present'

1. Note that the *anuvṛtti* of *apadādau* 'when not at the beginning of a *pada*' is canceled. This rule then replaces the *visarjanīya* of *namas* 'to bow' and *puras* 'in front' with *s* when a consonant denoted by *kU* or *pU* follows. Thus, (*nama*(*ḥ*→*s*) + (*kartṛ*) + *sU*)) → *namaskartā*, *namaskartum* and *namaskartavyam*. Recall that *namas* and *puras* are termed *gati* by 1.4.73 *sākṣātprabhṛtīni ca* and 1.4.46 *puro' vyayam*, respectively.

2. Why do we have the condition of *gatyoḥ* 'of *namas* and *puras* termed *gati*'? Consider *puraḥ karoti* 'he says *puraḥ*', where *pūḥ* of *puraḥ* is not a *gati*.

8.3.41 इदुदुपधस्य चाप्रत्ययस्य

idudupadhasya cāpratyayasya
/*id-ud-upadhasya* 6/1 = *ic ca uc ca* = *idutau* (*itar. dv.*); *idutau upadhe yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*; *ca* ϕ *apratyayasya* 6/1 = *na pratyayaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*/ (*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37 *ṣaḥ* #39)
ikāropadhasya, ukāropadhasya cāpratyayasya visarjanīyasya ṣakārādeśo bhavati kupvoḥ parataḥ
The *visarjanīya* of that which is not an affix, and has an *i* and *u* in its penultimate position (*upadhā*), is replaced with *ṣ* when a consonant denoted by *kU* and *pU* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

niṣkṛtam 'expelled'
niṣpītam 'drunk up'
duṣkṛtam 'badly done'
duṣpītam 'badly drunk'
bahiṣkṛtam 'expelled'
bahiṣpītam 'outside drinking'
āviṣkṛtam 'invented, manifested'
āviṣpītam 'quietly drunk'
catuṣkṛtam 'made four-sided'
catuṣkapālam 'four bowls'
catuṣkaṇṭakam 'four pegs'

catuṣkalam 'fourfold, foursided'
prāduṣkṛtam 'made manifest, visible'
prāduṣpītam 'drunk in sight'

1. This rule replaces the *visarjanīya* of *nir, dur, bahir, āvis, catur* and *prādus*, i.e., *id-ud-upadhasya* 'that which has *i* and *u* in its penultimate position', with *ṣ* before a consonant of the *k* and *p* series. Thus, we get *ni*(*r*→*ḥ*→*ṣ*) + *kṛtam* → *niṣkṛtam, niṣpītam; duṣkṛtam, duṣpītam*, etc.

2. Why do we have the condition of *apratyayasya* 'of a non-affix'? Consider *agniḥ karoti* and *vāyuḥ karoti*, which serve as counter-examples because their *visarga* (*ḥ*) is a replacement of the nominative singular affix *sU* (*pratyaya-visarga*). Why do we not get a replacement in *ṣ* of *pituḥ karoti* and *mātuḥ karoti*, where the *visarjanīya* does not have its source in an affix. It is stated that a *visarjanīya* which occurs after a single replacement (*ekādeśa*), here *u* of (*māt*(*ṛ*+(*N*) *a*) → *mātur*(*s*->ϕ) → *mātuḥ* and *pituḥ* (6.1.111 *ṛta ut*; 8.2.24 *rāt sasya*), is not replaced with *ṣ*. Note that this *visarga* does not have its source in an affix. This absence of replacement in *ṣ*, in turn, is indicated by inclusion of *bhrātuṣputraḥ*, as an exception, in the *kaskādi* listing of nominals (8.3.48 *kaskādiṣu ca*). This listing of *bhrātuṣputraḥ* in the *kaskādi* group would serve no purpose if replacement in *ṣ* could be accomplished with the application of this rule.

3. A *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *puṃmuhusoḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*) is made to negate a replacement in *ṣ* of the *visarjanīya* of *pum* and *muhus*. Thus, *puṃskāmā* and *muhuskāmā*.

There are two more proposals which I exclude here. For, an externally conditioned replacement in a *vṛddhi*, or a *pluta* vowel, cannot block a replacement in *ṣ*. They will both be considered suspended (*asiddha*).

8.3.42 **तिरसोऽन्यतरस्याम्**

tiraso' nyatarasyām
/ *tirasaḥ* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37 *ṣaḥ* #39 *gatyoḥ* #40)
tiraso visarjanīyasyānyatarasyāṃ sakārādeśo bhavati kupvoḥ parataḥ
The *visarjanīya* of a *pada* constituted by *tiras* 'across' is, optionally, replaced with *s*, when a consonant denoted by *kU* or *pU* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

tiraskartā 'he who will despise'
tiraḥkartā
tiraskartum 'to despise'
tiraḥkartum

tiraskartavyam 'should be despised'
tiraḥkartavyam

1. This rule offers an optional replacement in *s* to the *visarjanīya* of *tiras* when a consonant denoted by *kU* or *pU* follows in close proximity. Recall that *tiras* is termed *gati* by 1.4.72 *vibhāṣā kṛñi* when the signification is *antardhi* 'disappearance, hiding' (1.4.71 *tiro' ntardhau*). This rule then accepts the *anuvṛtti* of *gati*, via *maṇḍūkapluti* 'frog's leap'. We will get *visarjanīya* as a replacement for *visarjanīya* when this option of *s*-replacement is not accepted. This rule is formulated to block application of 8.3.37 *kupvoḥ*. . . . Thus we get: *tiraskartā* and *tiraḥkartā*, etc.

2. Note that *gateḥ* 'of a *gati*' is understood here. That is why we do not get a replacement in *s* of *tiraḥ kṛtvā kāṇḍaṃ gataḥ* 'placing the log aside he left'. This *tiras* does not mean *antardhi* 'hiding', and hence, is not a *gati* (1.4.71 *tiro' ntardhau*).

8.3.43 द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वोऽर्थे

dvistriścatur iti kṛtvo' rthe
/ *dvis-tris-catuḥ* (*sam. dv.*; used with no *sUP*); *iti* ɸ *kṛtvo' rthe* 7/1 = *kṛtvasaḥ arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37 *ṣaḥ* #39)
'*dvis, tris, catur' ity eteṣāṃ kṛtvo' rthe vartamānānāṃ visarjanīyasya ṣakāra ādeśo bhavati anyatarasyāṃ kupvoḥ parataḥ*
The *visarjanīya* of a *pada* constituted by *dvis* 'two', *tris* 'three' and *catur* 'four' with the signification of *kṛtvasUC* (5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyāḥ* . . .), is replaced with *ṣ* when *kU* and *pU* follow in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

dviṣ karoti
dviḥ karoti
triṣ karoti
triḥ karoti
catuṣ karoti
catuḥ karoti
dviṣ pacati
dviḥ pacati
triṣ pacati
triḥ pacati
catuṣ pacati
catuḥ pacati

1. Note that *ṣaḥ* is carried over. This rule optionally replaces the *visarjanīya* of *dvis, tris* and *catur* with *ṣ*, when they are used with the signification of the *taddhita* affix *kṛtvasUC* (5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane kṛtvasuc*), and

a consonant of the *k* (*kU*), or *p* (*pU*) group follows in close proximity. This option of *ṣ* is recognized as *ubhayatra* 'both, made available (*prāpta*) and not (*aprāpta*)'. This rule makes *ṣ* optional in case of *catur*, against one made available, obligatorily. That is, it is made available to *catur* under the non-affixal provision of 8.3.41 *idupadhasya cāpratyayaḥ*. It has not been made available by any earlier rule to *dvis* and *tris*. The word *iti* 'thus' is used here to relate *dvis*, etc., with the *visarjanīya*. Such relations are generally made clear also with the use of the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*).

Consider *dvi*(*ḥ*→*ṣ*) *karoti* → *dviṣ karoti* and *dviḥ karoti*, etc., as examples. Recall that affix *sUC* is introduced by 5.4.18 *dvitricaturbhyaḥ suc* after *dvi*, *tri* and *catur* with the signification of *kṛtvasUC*. The *s* of *dvi* + *sUC*, etc., is replaced with *rU* and *visarjanīya*. The *s* of *sUC*, after *catur*, is deleted by 8.2.24 *rāt sasya*. The *r* of *catur* is then replaced with *visarjanīya*. Incidentally, *kṛtvasUC* is used with the denotatum of *kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇana* 'counting repetition of an action'.

2. Why use *dvis* and *tris* when the rule already uses *kṛtvo' rtha*? For, even without the use of *dvis*, *tris*, and only with *kṛtvo' rthe*, this rule can be interpreted with the *anuvṛtti* of *idupadhasya* to yield the interpretation: 'let there be an optional replacement in *ṣ* of a non-affixal *visarga* with *i* and *u* in the penultimate position'. Note here that there are no words other than *dvis*, *tris* and *catur* with penultimate *i* and *u* ending in *sUC*. Their *sUC* is introduced with the signification of *kṛtvasUC* by 5.4.18 *dvitricaturbhyaḥ suc*. Elsewhere, we get *kṛtvasUC* from rule 5.4.17 *saṃkhyāyāḥ kriyābhyāvṛttigaṇane*. . . . This also indicates that a specification with *kṛtvo' rtha* does not serve any purpose here.

If *dvis*, *tris* and *catur* are not stated in the rule, and the rule is simply formulated as *kṛtvo' rthe*, the *visarjanīya* which is carried over via *anuvṛtti* will become the qualified (*viśeṣya*) of *kṛtvo' rtha*. The rule will then be interpreted as: let there be an optional replacement in *ṣ* of a *visarjanīya* which has penultimate *i*/*u*. This will then block the optional replacement in *ṣ* of *catuḥ*. For, the *visarga* of *dvis* and *tris* will be used in a form with the signification of *kṛtvasUC*, but *catuḥ* cannot be considered used with the signification of *kṛtvasUC*. Given *catur* + *s*, 8.2.24 *rāt sasya* will then delete *s*, and *r* will be obligatorily replaced with *visarjanīya*. This *visarjanīya* will not be relatable to *kṛtvo' rtha*. This is what is stated by *caturo na siddhyati*. . . .

3. *Nyāsa* asks: what is the purpose of specifying *kṛtvo' rtha* in the context of optional replacement in *ṣ*. The answer is: if this specification is not made, we will also have an optional replacement in *ṣ* in *catuṣkapāla*. Note that an obligatory replacement in *ṣ* is desired here. Our earlier rule 8.3.41 *idudupadhasya cāpratyayaḥ* has already made available this obligatory replacement. If the specification with *kṛtvo' rtha* is accepted, and optional replacement in *ṣ* is availed, we will still get the replacement obligatorily by 8.3.41 *idudupadhasya*. . . . That is, the replacement will be heard obligatorily, whether or not optional replacement is availed. Even if *kṛtvo' rtha* is not stated in this

rule, *catur*, because of its associated listing in this rule with *dvis* and *tris* ending in *sUC*, will avail the *ṣ*-replacement when ending in *sUC*. Thus, *ṣ*-replacement can be availed in the sense of *kṛtvo' rtha* even without making a specification with *kṛtvo' rtha*. But we still get a specification made with *kṛtvo' rtha*. Why? It is specified to indicate non-universality (*anityatva*) of the interpretive convention of *sāhacarya* 'association'. Notice that the *r* of *catur*, irrespective of whether *sUC* is introduced to it, must be replaced with *visarga*. This *visarga*, in both cases, will be non-affixal (*apratyaya*). Consequently, an obligatory replacement in *ṣ* of 8.3.41 will remain applicable. It is therefore stated that *lupe kṛtvo' rthīye* 'after *s*-deletion of *sUC*, *r* in both *sUC* and non-*sUC* conditions must be replaced with *visarga*, this provision of replacement will be an exception to the obligatory replacement of *ṣ*, by way of making an optional replacement.

4. Note that when the rule is formulated as *dvistriścaturiti kṛtvo' rthe*, *kṛtvo' rtha* is made a qualifier to *catur*. For, *kṛtvo' rtha*, with its sense as a qualifier, may be present in *catur*, or it may abandon *catur*. The same qualifier cannot be used for *dvis* and *tris* because its sense will always be there with them. Since the sense of a qualifier will never abandon (*na vyabhicarati*) *dvis* and *tris*, the qualifier cannot be purposeful. That is why, only *catur* will be qualified to yield the meaning: an optional replacement in *ṣ* comes in place of the *visarga* of *catur*, used with the signification of *kṛtvo' rtha*. The word *catur* will still be denoting the sense of *kṛtvo' rtha* even when *sUC* is deleted. This, on the basis of the maxim: *yaḥ śiṣyate sa tu samānārthābhidhāyī* 'that which remains (after deletion) also denotes the same meaning'.

The author of the *vārttikas* finds another fault. He states that *pada* should be used as a qualifier to *visarjanīya* to yield the meaning: '*ṣ* should come as an optional replacement for the *visarjanīya* which has *i* and *u* in penultimate position, and is part of a *pada* used with the signification of *kṛtvo' rtha*'. This way, we will get the optional replacement in *ṣ* of *catur*. For, after deletion of the affix we will still get *catur* as a *pada* used with the signification of *kṛtvo' rtha*. Now one does not need the use of *dvistriścaturiti*. For, we will get all *padas* used with the signification of *kṛtvo' rtha*. In summary, the author of the *vārttika* has accepted *kṛtvo' rthe* as part of the wording of the rule. He has established that *dvistriścaturiti* is not needed, and the rule should simply be stated as *kṛtvo' rthe*, made a qualified to *pada*.

5. The following *kārikā*-verses sum up the complexity of issues involved:

kṛtvasujarthe ṣatvaṃ bravīti kasmāt catuṣkapāle mā
ṣatvaṃ vibhāṣayā bhūn nanu siddhaṃ tatra pūrveṇa/
'Why is he stating replacement in *ṣ* under the denotation of the sense of *kṛtvasUC*? So that an optional replacement in *ṣ* could not apply to *catuṣkapāla* where *ṣ*-replacement can be accomplished obligatorily by the previous rule (5.4.41 *idudupadhasya ca* . . .).'

siddhe hy ayaṃ vidhatte caturaḥ ṣatvaṃ yadāpi kṛtvo' rthe
lupte kṛtvo' rthīye rephasya visarjanīyo hi//
'If this replacement which is established by 8.3.41 but is, optionally offered here, then, when affix *sUC* goes through deletion after *catur* and its *r* is replaced with *visarga*, *catuḥ* will be ending in a non-affixal *visarga* subject to replacement in *ṣ*, obligatorily (8.3.41).'

evaṃ sati hy idānīṃ dvistriścaturity anena kiṃ kāryam
anyo hi nedupadhaḥ kṛtvo' rthaḥ kaścid apy asti//
'This being the case, what purpose is served by making a specification with *dvistriścatur*? (The *sūtra* could simply be formed as *kṛtvo' rthe.*) For, there are no bases other than these which may have a penultimate *i* and *u*.'

akriyamāṇe grahaṇe visarjanīyas tadā viśeṣyeta
caturo na sidhyati tathā rephasya visarjanīyo hi//
'If these words are not specified in this rule then *kṛtvo' rthe* will be interpreted as a qualifier to *visarga*, thereby yielding the meaning, 'a *visarga* of an affix with the meaning of *kṛtvasUC* is replaced with *ṣ*'. This will not apply to *catur* where the *visarga* has its source in *r*, and not in affix *sUC*.'

tasmiṃs tu kriyamāṇe yuktaṃ caturo viśeṣaṇaṃ bhavati
prakṛtaṃ padaṃ tadantaṃ tasyāpi viśeṣaṇaṃ nyāyyam//
'It is, therefore, proper to use *dvistriścatur*, so that *kṛtvo' rthe* could be used as a qualifier to *catur*. Even without the use of *dvistriścatur, kṛtvo' rthe* can rightly qualify the domain heading *pada*, interpreted via *tadantavidhi*.'

It is feared that not mentioning *dvis, tris* and *catur* in this rule will make *kṛtvo' rtha* qualify *visarjanīya*. That is, an affixal (replacement in) *visarjanīya* used with the sense of *kṛtvasUC* will be optionally replaced with *ṣ*. This will exclude *catur* where we do not get an affixal *visarjanīya*. Using *dvis, tris* and *catur* will remove this difficulty. Patañjali insists that *kṛtvo' rtha* will not qualify *visarjanīya*. It will qualify *pada*, instead. This, by means of *tadantavidhi*, will mean: 'the *visarjanīya* of a *pada* which is used with the signification of *kṛtvasUC* is optionally replaced with *ṣ*'. Patañjali, therefore, does not see any need of mentioning *dvis, tris* and *catur* in the rule.

Kāśikā still insists that *dvis*, etc., must be used. If not, *catur* will have its *visarjanīya*, obligatorily, replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.41 *idupadhasya ca*. I omit discussion of *asiddhatva* 'suspension' and *apavādatva* 'exception' for fear of expatiation (*prapañca*). *Kāśikā* seems to be supporting the view of the author of these rules (*sūtrakāra*).

8.3.44 इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये

isusoḥ sāmarthye

/isusoḥ 6/2 = *is ca us ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *sāmarthye* 7/1 = *samarthasya bhāvaḥ* (a derivate of affix *ṢyaÑ*), *tasmin/*
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37 *ṣaḥ* #39 *anyatarasyām* #43)
'is, us' ity etayor visarjanīyasyānyatarasyāṃ ṣakārādeśo bhavati sāmarthye kupvoḥ parataḥ
The *visarjanīya* of a *pada* which ends in *is* and *us* is, optionally, replaced with *ṣ* when a sound denoted by a consonant denoted by *kU* and *pU* follows in close proximity, and the two *padas*, both, are syntactically related.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣ karoti
sarpiḥ karoti
yajuṣ karoti
yajuḥ karoti

1. The *visarjanīya* of a *pada* which ends in *is* and *us* is, optionally, replaced with *ṣ* when a consonant denoted by *kU* and *pU* follows, and the two *padas* are both syntactically related (*sāmarthye*). Consider *sarpis* and *yajus* which end in *is* and *us*, respectively. The *visarjanīya* of *sarpiḥ* and *yajuḥ*, when used before the *k*-initial syntactically related *karoti*, is optionally replaced with *ṣ*. We thus get *sarpiṣkaroti* and *yajuṣkaroti*.

2. Note that *sāmarthya* 'syntactic relation' has been defined in two ways: (*i*) *ekārthībhāva*, where two or more *padas* with different scope of usage are used together to yield a single integrated meaning (*bhinnapravṛttinimittānāṃ śabdānāṃ ekasminn arthe vṛttiḥ*) and (*ii*) *vyapekṣā*, where two or more *padas* are used together with mutual expectancy yielding no single integrated meaning. The first syntactic relation results into formation of compounds. Commentators accept the second interpretation of *sāmarthya* in this rule. Why accept one over the other? Why not accept them both? The second view of *sāmarthya* is desired (*iṣṭa*). This same can also be supported, though indirectly, by *samāse* 'in a compound' of the next rule.

2. Why do we have the condition of *sāmarthye* 'when in syntactic relation'? Consider *tiṣṭhatu sarpiḥ piba tvam udakam* 'let ghee be left alone, you drink water', where *ḥ* of *sarpiḥ* 'ghee' cannot be replaced with *ṣ* because *piba* 'imperative second person singular of *pā*' is not syntactically related to *sarpiḥ*'.

8.3.45 नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य

nityaṃ samāse' anuttarapadasthasya
/nityam 1/1 *samāse* 7/1 *anuttarapadasthasya* 6/1 = *uttarapade tiṣṭhati* (*tat.*); *na uttarapadasthaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya/*

(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37 *ṣaḥ* #39 *isusoḥ* #44)

samāsaviṣaye isusor visarjanīyasyānuttarapadasthasya nityaṃ ṣatvaṃ bhavati kupvoḥ parataḥ

The *visarjanīya* of a *pada* which ends in *is* and *us*, and does not combine as final constituent of a compound, is obligatorily replaced with *ṣ* when sounds denoted by *kU* and *pU* follow in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣkuṇḍikā 'pot for ghee'
dhanuṣkapālam 'piece of a bow'
sarpiṣpānam 'drinking of ghee'
dhanuṣphalam 'arrowhead'

1. This rule, obligatorily, replaces the *visarjanīya* of a *pada* which ends in *is* and *us*, and is combined as non-final constituent of a compound. The condition of a *kU*, or *pU*, to follow the *visarjanīya* is still valid. Consider *sarpi*(*ḥ*→*ṣ*) + *kuṇḍikā* → *sarpiṣkuṇḍikā*, *dhanuṣkapālam*; and *sarpiṣpānam*, *dhanuṣphalam* as examples.

2. Why do we have the condition of *anuttarapadasthasya* 'of that which is not part of a final compound constituent'? Consider *paramasarpiḥkuṇḍikā* and *paramadhanuḥkapālam*, where the *visarga* occurs at the end of *sarpiḥ* and *dhanuḥ*. Since these two are final constituents of the compounds *paramasarpiḥ* and *paramadhanuḥ*, we do not get their *ḥ* obligatorily replaced with *ṣ*. Why can we not accept *sarpiḥ* and *dhanuḥ* as non-final constituents of the compounds *paramasarpiḥkuṇḍikā* and *paramadhanuḥkapālam*? We cannot accept *sarpiḥ* and *dhanuḥ* as non-final constituents because they are considered final in relation to *parama* with which they combine. We cannot even get the optional *ṣ* of the preceding rule (*Kāś*: *pūrvasūtreṇa vikalpo' py atra na bhavati*).

A question is raised against using *anuttarapadasthasya* 'of that which is not a part of the final *pada*' in this rule, mostly in view of the *Paribh.* (24): *pratyayagrahaṇe yasmāt sa vihitas tadādis tadantasya ca grahaṇam* 'a specification made with an affix refers to a form after which the affix is introduced, 'beginning with that and extending upto the end before the affix' (*tadādyantatva*)'. The specification of this rule can refer to a form like *paramasarpis* without any help from *anuttarapadasthasya*. The *ṣ*-replacement can then be, optionally, accomplished by the preceding rule. It is stated that *anuttarapadasthasya* is used as an indicator (*jñāpaka*). For what? To indicate that *Paribh.* (24) does not apply in connection with specifications made with affixes *is* and *us*. Secondly, the preceding rule, since its specification with *sāmarthye* does not cover *ekārthībhāva* 'single integrated meaning', cannot apply to compound derivates. This rule would not even permit the optional *ṣ*-replacement of the preceding rule (*Kāś*: *pūrvasūtreṇa vikalpo' py atra na bhavati*).

8.3.46 अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य

ataḥ kṛkamikaṃsakumbhapātrakuśākarṇīṣv anavyayasya
/*ataḥ* 5/1 *kṛ-kami-kaṃsa-kumbha-pātra-kuśā-karṇīṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tāsu*; *anavyayasya* 6/1 = *na avyayam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *saḥ* #39 *nityaṃ samāse' nuttara-padasthasya* #44)
akārād uttarasya anavyayavisarjanīyasya samāse' nuttarapadasthasya nityaṃ sakārādeśo bhavati 'kṛ, kami, kaṃsa, kumbha, pātra, kuśā, karṇī' ity eteṣu parataḥ
A *visarjanīya* which occurs after the *a* of a non-final, non-indeclinable (*anavyaya*) compound constituent is replaced with *s*, obligatorily, when *kṛ, kami, kaṃsa, kumbha, pātra, kuśā,* and *karṇī* follow in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

ayaskāraḥ 'blacksmith'
payaskāraḥ 'ironsmith'
ayaskāmaḥ 'desirous of getting iron'
payaskāmaḥ 'desirous of milk'
ayaskaṃsaḥ 'iron goblet'
payaskaṃsaḥ 'milkpot'
ayaskumbhaḥ 'iron pitcher'
payaskumbhaḥ 'jar of milk'
ayaspātram 'iron pot'
ayaskuśā 'iron peg'
payaskuśā 'milk-vessel (made of wood)?'
ayaskarṇī 'iron rudder'
payaskarṇī '. . . milk-white ears'

1. A *visarjanīya* which occurs after the *a* of a non-final, non-indeclinable compound constituent is obligatorily replaced with *s* when *kṛ* 'to make', *kami* 'to love', *kaṃsa* 'goblet', *kumbha* 'pitcher', *pātra* 'pot', *kuśā* 'small piece of wood, *kuśa* grass' 'and *karṇī* 'a kind of shaft, rudder' combine to follow. This rule is an exception to 8.3.37 *kupvoḥ °ka. . . .* Thus, *aya(ḥ→s) kāraḥ = ayaskāraḥ, aya(ḥ→s) kāmaḥ = ayaskāmaḥ, aya(ḥ→s) kaṃsaḥ = ayaskaṃsaḥ, paya(ḥ→s) kumbhaḥ = payaskumbhaḥ,* etc. How do we get *ayaskumbhī* and *payaskumbhī* where *kumbhī*, the feminine counterpart of *kumbha,* follows. This is in consonance with *pbh.* (72): *prātipadikagrahaṇe liṅgaviśiṣṭasyāpi grahaṇam* 'a specification made with a nominal stem also refers to its corresponding form in a particular gender'. Why do we not get *śunaskarṇaḥ* as an example here? It is not included here since this specification is made with *karṇī,* ending in a long *ī*. It is a *kaskādi* nominal for which refer to 8.3.48 *kaskādiṣu ca.*

2. Why do we state the condition of *ataḥ* 'after an *a*'? Consider *gīḥkāraḥ*

'one who creates words, Bṛhaspati' and *dhūḥkāraḥ* 'one who makes axles', where the *visarjanīya* occurs after *ī* and *ū*.

Why do we have the condition of *taparakaraṇa* 'making *t* to follow *a*'? So that *a* alone could satisfy the requirement of preceding *visarjanīya*. Consider *bhāḥkaraṇam* 'illumination' where the *visarjanīya* cannot be replaced with *s* of this rule. What about *bhāskaraḥ* 'sun'? It is included within the *kaskādi* group of nominals (8.3.48 *kaskādiṣu ca*).

Why do we have the condition of *anavyayasya* 'of a non-indeclinable'? Consider *śvaḥkāraḥ* and *punaḥkāraḥ* where *śvas* 'tomorrow' and *punar* 'again' are indeclinables.

The condition of *samāse* is still valid. Thus, we do not get a replacement in *s* for the *visarjanīya* of *yaśaḥ karoti* 'brings fame' and *yaśaḥ kāmayate* 'desires fame'.

Why do we have the condition of *anuttarapadasthasya* 'located within a non-final constituent'? Consider *paramapayaḥkāraḥ* and *paramapayaḥkāmaḥ*, where the *visarjanīya* of *payaḥ* is located within the final constituent of the compound *paramapayaḥ*.

8.3.47 अधः शिरसी पदे

adhaḥśirasī pade

/*adhaḥśirasī* 1/2 (*prathamā* 'nominative' used with the sense of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive') = *adhas ca śiras ca* (*itar. dv.*); *pade* 7/1/

(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya* #34 *saḥ* #39 *nityaṃ samāse' nuttarapadasthasya* #44)

'*adhas, śiras' ity etayor visarjanīyasya samāse' nuttarapadasthasya sakāra ādeśo bhavati padaśabdeparataḥ*

The *visarjanīya* of *adhas* 'below' and *śiras* 'head' which combines as a non-final constituent before a *pada* in close proximity is replaced with *s*.

EXAMPLES:

adhaspadam 'lower place'
śiraspadam 'higher(upper) place'
adhaspadī 'a lower place'
śiraspadī 'a higher place'

1. Note that *pada* here refers to the word-form *pada*. It does not refer to the technical term *pada*. Note further that *śiraspadam* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. A compound such as *adhaspadaṁ* is formed in view of 2.1.72 *mayūravyaṃsakādayaś ca*.

The condition of *samāse* is still valid. Thus, *adhaḥ* of *adhaḥ pādam* cannot have its *visarjanīya* replaced with *s*.

The condition of *anuttarapadasthasya* 'of that which is not a part of the following constituent' is also valid. Thus, the *visarjanīya* of *paramaśiraḥ* 'best head' cannot be replaced with *s* before *padam* of *paramaśiraḥpadam*.

8.3.48 कस्कादिषु च

kaskādiṣu ca

/*kaskādiṣu* 7/3 = *kaska ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣu*; *ca* ϕ/

(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *visarjanīyasya saḥ* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37 *saḥ* #39)

'*kaska*' *ity evam ādiṣu ca visarjanīyasya sakāraḥ ṣakāro vā yathāyogaṃ ādeśo bhavati kupvoḥ parataḥ*

The *visarjanīya* of a *pada* listed in the group headed by *kaska*, etc., is replaced with *s*, or *ṣ*, when a consonant of the *kU* 'velar', or *pU* 'labial' series follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

kaskaḥ 'which of them'
kautaskutaḥ 'from which place or direction'
bhrātṛṣputraḥ 'brother's son'
sadyaskālaḥ 'right now'

1. This again is an exception to 8.3.37 *kupvoḥ*. . . . Note that a *visarjanīya* which occurs after *i* and *u* (8.3.39 *iṇaḥ ṣaḥ*) of the *kaskādi* nominals will be replaced with *ṣ*. Elsewhere, we will get the *visarjanīya* replaced with *s* (*Nyāsa*: *iṇaḥ paro yo visarjanīyas tasya ṣakāraḥ, yas tv anyas tasya sakāra iti*). The word *kaska* is derived from *kim* + *sU* where *kim* 'which, what' is replaced with *ka* (6.2.103 *kimaḥ kaḥ*) to produce (*kim*→*ka*) + *s*(*U*)) → *ka* + *s* = *kas*. Rule 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ* is responsible for adding yet another *kas*, thereby producing *kas* + *kas* → *ka*(*s*→*ḥ*→*s*) *kas* = *kaskas*. We similalry get *kautakutaḥ*, where *kutas* goes through doubling of 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ*. Recall that *kutas* is derived by introducing affix *tasIL* (5.3.7 *pañcamyās tasil*) after *kim*, used in the ablative (*pañcamī*). Rule 7.2.103 *ku tihoḥ* then replaces *kim* with *ku*. Thus, (*kim* + *Ṅasl* + *tasIL* → (*kim*→*ku*) + *tas* = *kutas*. Affix *aṆ* (4.3.74 *tata āgataḥ*) is introduced after *kutaskutas* to derive *kautaskutas* through a replacement in *vṛddhi* and deletion of *ṭi* (1.1.64 *aco' ntyādi ṭi*) of *kutaskutas* + *a*(*Ṇ*) → *k*(*u*→*au*) *taskut* (*as*→ϕ) + *a* → *kautaskuta* + *sU* → *kauta*(*s*→*ḥ*→*s*) *kutas* = *kautaskutaḥ*. The word *bhrātuṣputraḥ* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound where the genitive ending is saved from deletion (*aluk*; 6.3.23 *ṛto vidyāyonisambandhebhyaḥ*).

Derivates such as *sarpiṣkuṇḍikā, dhanuṣkapālam, barhiṣpūlam* and *yajuṣpātram* are included within the *kaskādi* group to show that the *visarjanīya* of a non-final compound constituent can also be replaced with *ṣ*.

2. Why do we use *ca* 'and' in this rule? It indicates that the *kaskādi* listing is open ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*). That is, *ca* is used to attract examples which may not be enumerated as part of this list.

Why do we not have this replacement in *sūryaraśmi* 'sun's ray', *harikeśaḥ purastāt* 'brown hairs . . .' and *sa naḥ pāvakaḥ* 'that (is) our fire'? All operations, in the Vedic, are considered optional (*sarve vidhayaś chandasi vikalpyante*).

8.3.49 छन्दसि वाऽप्राम्रेडितयोः

chandasi vā' prāmreḍitayoḥ
/ *chandasi* 7/1 *vā* ϕ *aprāmeḍitayoḥ* 7/2 = *praś ca āmreḍitaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*) = *prāmreḍite*; *na prāmreḍite* (*nañ. tat.* with int. *dv.*; *tayoḥ*) /
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *saḥ* #34 *kupvoḥ* #37)
chandasi viṣaye visarjanīyasya vā sakārādeśo bhavati kupvoḥ parataḥ praśabdam āmreḍitaṃ varjayitvā
The *visarjanīya* of a *pada*, in the Vedic, is optionally replaced with *s* when a sound denoted by *kU* and *pU*, with the exclusion of *p* of *pra*, and that of an *āmreḍita*, follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

ayaḥpātram
ayaspātram
viśvataḥpātram
viśvataspātram
uruṇaḥkāraḥ
uraṇaskāraḥ

1. This optional provision of *s* as a replacement for *visarga* is made for the Vedic when a sound denoted by *pU* and *kU*, with the exception of *p* of *pra*, and an *āmreḍita*, follows in close proximity. The *visarga* which was offered as an obligatory replacement for the *s* of the genitive-*tatpuruṣa* compound *ayaspātram* (8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkami*...) is here made optional. Thus, we get *ayaḥpātram* and *ayaspātram*. We similarly get this option where a compound such as *viśvataḥpātram* is formed. A non-combined *viśvataḥ*, as in *viśvataḥ pātram*, will not avail this option since *viśvataḥ* will then be an indeclinable (8.3.46 *ataḥ kṛkami*...).

Now consider *uruṇaskāraḥ* and *uruṇaḥkāraḥ*, where *kāra* is a derivate of *GHaÑ* introduced after *kṛ*. The *nas* of *uruṇas* is a replacement of *asmad* (8.1.21 *bahuvacanasya vasnasau*). The *n* of *uruṇas* is replaced with *ṇ* of 8.4.26 *naś ca dhātusthoruṣubhyaḥ*. Thus, *uruṇa*(*s*→*ḥ*) *kāraḥ* = *uruṇaḥkāraḥ* and *uruṇaskāraḥ*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *prāmreḍitayoḥ* 'with the exception of *pra* and *āmreḍita*'? Consider *agniḥ pravidvān* and *paruṣaḥparuṣaḥ pari*, where we get *pra* in the first and doubling of *paruṣaḥ* in the second.

8.3.50 कः करत्करतिकृधिकृतेष्वनदितेः

kaḥ karatkaratikṛdhikṛteṣv anaditeḥ
/ *kaḥ-karat-karati-kṛdhi-kṛteṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *anaditeḥ* 6/1 = *na aditiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyāḥ*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *saḥ* #34 *chandasi* #49)
'*kaḥ, karat, karati, kṛdhi, kṛta*' *ity eteṣu parataḥ aniditer visarjanīyasya sakārādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye*

The *visarjanīya* of a *pada*, with the exception of one constituted by *aditi*, is replaced with *s* when *kaḥ, karat, karati, kṛdhi* and *kṛta* follow in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

viśvataskaḥ
viśvataskarat
payaskarati
uruṇaskṛdhi
sadaskṛtam

1. This rule allows a replacement in *s* for the *visarjanīya* of a *pada*, other than *aditi*, when *kaḥ, karat, karati, kṛdhi* and *kṛta* follow in close proximity. Note that *kaḥ* is a third person singular active form of *kṛÑ* in *LUṄ* where its *CLI* is deleted by 2.4.80 *mantre ghasahvara*. . . . The third singular active verbal ending *ti* goes through deletion, first of its *i* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*) and then of its *t* (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .). Of course, after *ṛ* of *kṛ* is replaced with its *guṇa* counterpart *ar*. Augment *aṬ* is blocked here by 6.4.75 *bahulaṃ chandasy*. . . . The *r* of *kar* is then replaced with *visarjanīya*. Thus we get *kaḥ*.

We similarly get *karat*, a form of *kṛ* in *LAṄ*, where *aṄ* is introduced after *kṛ* (3.1.59 *kṛmṛdṝruh* . . .). We get *karat* from *kṛ* + *a*(*Ṅ*) + (*LUṄ*→*ti*(*P*)) → *k*(*ṛ*→*ar*) + *a* + *t*(*i*→ϕ) = *karat*, again by replacing *ṛ* with its *guṇa* (6.1.58 *sṛjidṛśor* . . .) counterpart. Here again we do not get augment *aṬ*. Our next form *karati* is derived from *kṛ* + *ŚaP* + *tiP*, where *ṛ* goes through *guṇa* and *ŚaP* is introduced against *u* (3.1.79 *tanādikṛñbhya uḥ*). We have already discussed *uruṇaḥ* (8.3.49 *chandasi vā* . . .) of *uruṇaskṛdhi*, where *kṛdhi* derives from (*kṛÑ* + (*LOṬ*→*siP*)). Rule 3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca* replaces *si* with *hi* which, in turn, is replaced with *dhi* (6.4.102 *śruśṛṇu* . . .). The *vikaraṇa*, i.e., *ŚaP*, itself is deleted by 2.4.73 *bahulaṃ chandasi*. Now consider the other examples: *viśvata*(*ḥ*→*s*) *kaḥ* = *viśvataskaḥ*, *viśvataskarat, payaskarati, uruṇaskṛdhi* and *sadskṛtam*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *anaditeḥ* 'not of *aditi*'? Consider *yathā no aditiḥ karat*, where, because of this negation of *anaditeḥ*, we cannot get the *visarga* of *aditiḥ* replaced with *s*.

8.3.51 **पञ्चम्याः परावध्यर्थे**

pañcamyāḥ parāv adhyarthe
/*pañcamyāḥ* 6/1 *parau* 1/2 *adhyarthe* 7/1 = *adher arthaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *saḥ* #34 *chandasi* #49)
pañcamīvisarjanīyasya sakārādeśo bhavati parau parataḥ adhyarthe chandasi viṣaye
The *visarjanīya* of a *pada* which ends in *pañcamī*, in the Vedic, is replaced with *s*, provided *pari*, used with the signification of *adhi*, follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

divaspari prathamam jajñe
agnirhimavataspari
divaspari
mahispari

1. Note that *pari* of example derivates is used in the sense of *adhi* 'over and above'. This rule uses *adhyarthe* 'in the sense of *adhi*' as a qualifier to *parau* 'when *pari* follows'.

Why do we state the condition of *pañcamyāḥ* 'of an ablative'? Consider *ahír iva bhogaiḥ pary éti bāhum* where *pari* is used after the instrumental plural *bhogaiḥ*.

Why do we state the condition of *parau* 'when *pari* follows'? Consider *ebhyo vā etal lokebhyaḥ prajāpatiḥ samairayat* where *pari* is not used after any *pada* ending in the ablative.

Why do we state the condition of *adhyarthe* 'in the sense of *adhi*'? Consider *divaḥ pṛthivyāḥ payorja udbhṛtam,* where *pari* is construed as denoting the sense of *sarvatobhāva* 'all over'. The sense of *adhi* which *pari* may denote is: *uparibhāva* 'over and above'.

8.3.52 पातौ च बहुलम्

pātau ca bahulam
/pātau 7/1 *ca* ϕ *bahulam* 1/1/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *saḥ* #34 (?) *chandasi* #49 *pañcamyāḥ* #51)
pātau ca dhātau parataḥ pañcamīvisarjanīyasya bahulaṃ sakārādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
The *visarjanīya* of a *pada* which ends in *pañcamī,* in the Vedic, is variously (*bahulam*) replaced with *s,* when a form of *pā* 'to protect' follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

divas pātu
rājñas pātu

1. This again is a Vedic rule, whereby a *visarjanīya* before a form of *pā* 'to protect' is, variously, replaced with *s.* Thus, we get *diva(ḥ→s) pātu = divas pātu* and *rājña(ḥ→s) pātu = rājañas pātu.* But we do not also get **pariṣada(ḥ→s) pātu = *pariṣadas pātu.*

8.3.53 षष्ठ्याः पतिपुत्रपृष्ठपारपदपयस्पोषेषु

ṣaṣṭhyāḥ patiputrapṛṣṭhapārapadapayaspoṣeṣu

/*ṣaṣṭhyāḥ* 6/1 *pati-putra-pṛṣṭha-pāra-pada-payas-poṣeṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *saḥ* #34 (?) *chandasi* #49)
ṣaṣṭhīvisarjanīyasya sakārādeśo bhavati 'pati, putra, pṛṣṭha, pāra, pada, payas, poṣa' ity eteṣu parataḥ chandasi viṣaye
The *visarjanīya* of a *pada* which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', in the Vedic, is replaced with *s* when *pati* 'lord, master, husband', *putra* 'son', *pṛṣṭha* 'back', *pāra* 'beyond, across', *pada* 'place', *payas* 'milk' and *poṣa* 'prosperity, nourishment' follow in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

vācaspatíṃ viśvakármāṇam ṛtayé
divasputrāya sūryāya
divaspṛṣṭhe dhāvamānaṃ suparṇam
aganma tamasas pāram
iḍaspade samidhyase
sūryaṃ cakṣur divaspayaḥ
rāyasposaṃ yajamāneṣu dhattam

1. The *visarjanīya* of all *padas* which end here in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' are replaced with *s* before *putra*, etc. Thus, *vācaḥ patim* → *vācaspatim* and *divaḥ* + *putraḥ* → *divasputraḥ*, etc.
2. Why do we state the condition of *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ* 'of a genitive'? Consider *manuḥ putrebhyo dāyaṃ vyabhajat*, where *putrebhyo* occurs after the nominative.

8.3.54 इडाया वा

iḍāyā vā
/*iḍāyāḥ* 6/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*padasya* #1.16 *saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *saḥ* #34 (?) *chandasi* #49 *ṣaṣṭhyāḥ patiputrapṛṣṭhapāra-padapayasposeṣu* #53)
iḍāyāḥ ṣaṣṭhīvisarjanīyasya vā sakārādeśo bhavati patyādiṣu parataḥ chandasi viṣaye
The *visarjanīya* of a *pada*, namely *iḍā* in the Vedic, which ends in *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', is optionally replaced with *s*, when *pati, putra, pṛṣṭha, pāra, pada, payas* and *poṣa* follow in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

iḍāyās patiḥ
iḍāyāḥ patiḥ
iḍāyās putraḥ
iḍāyāḥ putraḥ
iḍāyās pṛṣṭham
iḍāyāḥ pṛṣṭham
iḍāyās pāram

iḍāyāḥ pāram
iḍāyās padam
iḍāyāḥ padam
iḍāyās payaḥ
iḍāyāḥ payaḥ
iḍāyās poṣam
iḍāyāḥ poṣam

1. Note that the preceding rule makes an obligatory provision. This rule makes that provision optional. We thus get *iḍāyāḥ putraḥ = iḍāyās putram* 'son of Iḍā', etc.

8.3.55 अपदान्तस्य मूर्धन्यः

apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ
/*apadāntasya* 6/1 = *padasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *na padāntaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *mūrdhanyaḥ* 1/1 (*mūrdhani bhavaḥ*; a derivate of *yaT* (cf. 4.3.55 *śarīrāvayavāc ca*))/
'*apadāntasya*' *iti*, '*mūrdhanyaḥ*' *iti caitad adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam āpāda-parisamāpteḥ*
A replacement in *mūrdhanya* 'retroflex' comes in place of that which does not occur at the end of a *pada.*

EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. This is an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. That 'a non-final *x* is to be replaced with a retroflex' should be understood as given for all rules up to the end of this quarter (*pāda*). Consider 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*, which, when read with *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ*, *iṇkoḥ* (8.3.56) and *saḥ* (8.3.56) means: *ādeśo yaḥ sakāraḥ, pratyayasya ca yaḥ sakāraḥ iṇkor uttaraḥ, tasya mūrdhanyo bhavaty ādeśaḥ* 'a *mūrdhanya* 'retroflex' comes in place of *s* which occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ* (*Śs.* 1-6; *i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l*), and is either a substitute or is part of an affix.' Examples are: *agniṣu, vāyuṣu, kartṛṣu* and *hartṛṣu.*

2. Why do we state the condition of *mūrdhanyaḥ* 'retroflex'? It would be better to state the rule as *apadāntasya* (*ṣaḥ*) where *ṣ* comes, via *anuvṛtti,* and is also a *mūrdhanya.* This rule will be a lot simpler. This rule is formulated so that *ṣ* as a replacement can be blocked in favor of *ḍh* in *akṛḍhvam* and *cakṛḍhve* (8.3.78 *iṇaḥ ṣīdhvaṃluṅliṭāṃ dhoṅgāt*).

3. Why does he state *apadāntasya* 'of the non-final of a *pada*'? Consider *agnis tatra* and *vāyus tatra* where *s* occurs at the end of a *pada.* This qualifier indicates that the *anuvṛtti* of 8.1.16 *padasya* is canceled. If *apadāntasya* is not stated, one will understand that this *ṣ*-replacement is offered to a form which is not a *pada.* This, in turn, will block this replacement in *kariṣyati,* etc., where the *s* is that of a *pada.* Where should this rule apply? Where *kariṣyati,* etc., are

not termed a *pada*. Assignment of the term *pada* is here blocked in favor of the assignment of the term *bha*. Therefore, the word *apadāntasta* must be used in this rule (*Nyāsa*: *kariṣyatītyādau yatra padasaṃjñā nāsti. atra hi bhasaṃjñā padasaṃjñāṃ bādheta. tasmād antagrahaṇaṃ kriyate*).

8.3.56 सहेः साडः सः

saheḥ sāḍaḥ saḥ
/*saheḥ* 6/1 *sāḍaḥ* 6/1 *saḥ* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55)
saher dhātoḥ sāḍrūpasya yaḥ sakāras tasya mūrdhanya ādeśo bhavati
The *s* of *sāḍ*, a form of verbal root *sah* 'to endure' is replaced with *ṣ* (*mūrdhanya* 'retroflex') in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

jalāṣāṭ '(that which / he who) endures water'
turāṣāṭ 'name of Indra'
pṛtanāṣāṭ 'name of Indra'

1. This rule applies to the *s* of *sāḍ*, a form of *sah* 'to endure'. Refer to derivational details of *turāṣāṭ*, under 3.2.63 *chandasi sahaḥ* (II:739), for derivational details of *jalāṣāḍ*. Other examples are similarly derived. Recall that the final *a* of *jala* 'water' is replaced with its long counterpart by 6.3.135 *anyeṣām api*. . . .

2. Why do we state the condition of *saheḥ* of *sah*? Consider *saha aḍena* (*vṛścikalāṅgalena*) *vartate* = *saḍaḥ*; *tasyāpatyaṃ sāḍiḥ* 'Sāḍi, a male offspring of Saḍa'. This rule, without the use of *saheḥ*, could have applied also to *sāḍiḥ*.

Why state *sāḍ*? So that this rule applies only where verbal root *sah* yields the form *sāḍ*. It will not apply to *jalāsāham* and *turāsāham*, where *sah* yields the form *sāh*.

Why do we state the condition of *saḥ* 'in place of *s*'? So that this *mūrdhanya* does not apply to *ā* of *sāḍ*, especially since its *ḍ* is already a retroflex (*Kāś*: *ākārasya mā bhūt*).

8.3.57 इण्कोः

iṇkoḥ
/*iṇkoḥ* 5/1 = *iṇ ca kuś ca* = *iṇku* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*/
'*iṇkoḥ*' *ity etad adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam*
A non-final *s* is replaced with *ṣ* (*mūrdhanya*) when the same occurs, either after *i* and *u*, or after a consonant of the *k*-series.

EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. This is also an *adhikāra* 'governing rule'. Hence, rules which follow must read *iṇkoḥ* for their proper interpretation. Consider 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*, which, when read with *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ, iṇkoḥ* (8.3.56) and *saḥ* (8.3.56) means: *ādeśo yaḥ sakāraḥ, pratyayasya ca yaḥ sakāraḥ iṇkor uttaraḥ, tasya mūrdhanyo bhavaty ādeśaḥ* 'a *mūrdhanya* 'retroflex' comes in place of a *s* which occurs after *i, u,* and is either a substitute or, is a part of an affix'. Thus, *agni* + *su* → *agni*(*s*→*ṣ*) *u* = *agniṣu* and *vāyu* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *u* → *vāyuṣu*, which illustrates a *s* occurring after *i* and *u*, respectively. Examples such as *vāk* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *u* → *vākṣu* and *tvak* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *u* = *tvakṣu* illustrate a *s* which occurs after *k*.

2. Note that *iṆ* is an abbreviatory symbol made with the second *Ṇ* of the *Śivasūtra* (*Śs.* 1-6) denoting *i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r, l*. The *kU*, of course, refers to a consonant of the *k*-series (*kavarga*). Why is *iṆ* not interpreted as an abbreviatory symbol formed with the first *Ṇ* (*Śs.* 1)? It is known from *vyākhyāna* 'exposition of the learned' (*vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattiḥ* . . .).

Why do we state the condition of *iṇkoḥ* 'when occurring after sounds denoted by *iṆ* and *kU*'? Consider *dāsyati* and *adas* + *sU* → *asau* where *s* is preceded by *ā* and *a*, respectively. We cannot replace this *s* with its retroflex counterpart *ṣ*.

8.3.58 नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि

numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi

/ *num-visarjanīya-śar-vyavāye* 7/1 = *num ca visarjanīyaś ca śar ca* = *num-visarjanīya-śaraḥ* (*itar. dv.*); *numvisarjanīyaśarbhiḥ vyavāyaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmin; api* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57)

numvyavāye' pi, visarjanīyavyavāye' pi, śarvyavāye' pi iṇkor uttarasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A *s* which, irrespective of whether intervened by *nUM, visarjanīya*, or a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *śaR* (*ś, ṣ, s*), occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU* is replaced with *ṣ* (*mūrdhanya*).

EXAMPLES:

sarpīṃṣi
yajūṃṣi
havīṃṣi
sarpiḥṣu
yajuḥṣu
haviḥṣu
sarpiṣṣu
yajuṣṣu
haviṣṣu

1. This rule alllows a replacement in *ṣ* for a *s* which occurs after *iṆ* and *kU*,

even though intervened by augment *nUM*, *visarjanīya* and a sound denoted by *śaR* (*ś*, *ṣ*, *s*; *Śs.* 13). The word *vyavāyaḥ*, since it is used at the end of the *dvandva* compound *numvisarjanīyaśar*, is read with each one of its member constituents (*dvandvānte śrūyamāṇaṃ pratyekam abhisambadhyate*). Thus we get: *nuṃ-vyavāye*, *visarjanīya-vyavāye* and *śar-vyavāye*. The word *vyavāya* means 'separation, intervention'. An intervention caused by *nUM* (*nuṃvyavāya*) is impossible to find. For, the *n* of *nUM* invariably gets replaced with *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*). This specification with *nUM* is made to refer to the *anusvāra* by way of *nUM* (*PM*: *numgrahaṇam anusvāropalakṣaṇam*; *numāvyavāyāsambhavāt, naś cāpadāntasya jhali ity anusvārasya vidhānāt*). Why was this specification not made with *anusvāra*? So that this *ṣ*-replacement only applies when *n* of *nUM* is replaced with *anusvāra*. Consider the *s* of *puṃsu* 'locative plural of *pum* 'male' which, since *ṃ* is a replacement of *m*, cannot be replaced with *ṣ* (*PM*: *anusvāragrahaṇam eva tu na kṛtam*; *numsthānikenaivānusvāreṇa vyavadhāne yathā syāt, iha mābhūt puṃsv iti*).

This rule is formulated in view of the ablative specification of *iṇkoḥ*. A specification without any mention of *vyavāya* would have required *s* to be replaced with *ṣ*, only when *s* followed *iṆ* without any intervention (1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*).

Note further that this *ṣ*-replacement applies when *nUM*, *visarjanīya* and *śaR* intervene, individually. It is not desired if any combination of them intervenes. An intervention by more than one of these three will block the replacement (*PM*: *adhikavyavāye ṣatvābhāvaḥ*). A replacement in *ṣ*, for the *s* of *niṃse* and *niṃsve*, cannot be accomplished. For, these forms of verbal root *ṇisI* 'to kiss' have their *s* intervened by *nUM* and *śAR*, both at the same time (*Kāś*: *atra hi numā sakāreṇa śarā ca vyavadhānam*).

Now consider *sarpis* + *Jas* → *sarpīṃṣi*, *yajus* + *Jas* → *yajūṃṣi* and *havis* + *Jas* → *havīṃṣi*, where *Jas* is repalced with *Śi* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śi*) and augment *nUM* is introduced (7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya khaly acaḥ*). Rule 6.4.10 *sāntamahataḥ*... then applies to replace *i*, or *u*, with their long counterparts. The *n* of *sarpis* + *nUM* + (*Jas*→(*Ś*) *i*)) → *sarpi* + *n*(*UM*) + *s* + *i* → *sarp*(*i*→*ī*) + *n* + *s* + *i* → *sarpī* + *n* + *s* + *i* is then replaced with *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*). Our present rule replaces the *s* with *ṣ* to produce: *sarpin*→*ṃ*) *s* + *i* → *sarpiṃ*(*s*→*ṣ*) + *i* → *sarpīṃṣi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *yajūṃṣi* and *havīṃṣi*. Examples such as *sarpis* + *su* → *sarpiṣṣu*, *yajus* + *su* → *yajuṣṣi* and *havis* + *su* → *haviṣṣu* are somewhat different. The *s* of *sarpis*, *yajus* and *havis* is optionally replaced with *ḥ* (*visarjanīyaḥ*; 8.3.36 *vā śari*). Thus, we get *sarpi*(*s*→*ḥ*) + *su* → *sarpiḥ* + *su* = *sarpiḥsu*, *yajuḥsu* and *haviḥsu*. We will get *sarpis* + *su*, *yajus* + *su* and *havis* + *su* if the optional replacement of *s* is not accepted. A *s* which occurs after *i* and *u*, and is intervened by *s* (*śAR*), can be replaced here with *ṣ*. Thus, *sarpis* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *u* → *sarpis* + *ṣu*, etc. The *s* after *i* and *u* of these examples will itself be replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.41 *idhupadhasya cāpratyayasya*). We thus get: *sarpi*(*s*→*ṣ*) + *ṣu* → *sarpiṣṣu*, *yajuṣṣu* and *haviṣṣu*.

8.3.59 आदेशप्रत्यययोः

ādeśapratyayayoḥ
/ *ādeśa-pratyayayoḥ* 6/2 = *ādeśaś ca pratyayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58)
ādeśo yaḥ sakāraḥ iṇkor uttaraḥ tasya mūrdhanyo bhavaty ādeśaḥ
A *s* which occurs at the end of a *pada* after *iṆ* and *kU*, and is either a substitute (*ādeśa*) or part of an affix, is replaced with *ṣ*, irrespective of whether intervened by *nUM*, *visarjanīya* and *śaR* (*ś*, *ṣ*, *s*).

EXAMPLES:

siṣeva
suṣvāpa
agniṣu
vāyuṣu
kartṛṣu
hartṛṣu

1. Note that *mūrdhanyaḥ* and *saḥ* are both carried over. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*) shows four possible interpretations of this rule:

(*i*) *ādeśāvayavo yaḥ sakāraḥ pratyayāvayavo yaḥ sakāraḥ* 'a *s* which is part of a replacement (*ādeśāvayavaḥ sakāraḥ*); a *sa* which is part of an affix (*pratyayāvayavaḥ sakāraḥ*)'

This interpretation accepts *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* as ending in the genitive dual. When construed individually with *ādeśa* and *pratyaya*, in relation to *saḥ*, it denotes *avayava* 'part of a whole'.

(*ii*) *ādeśasya sakārasya pratyayasya sakārasyety ādeśo yaḥ sakāraḥ pratyayo yaḥ sakāraḥ* 'of the *s* of a substitute; of the *s* of an affix', thus, a *s* which is a substitute; a *s* which is an affix'

This interpretation also accepts *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* as ending in the genitive dual. When construed individually with *ādeśa* and *pratyaya* in relation with *saḥ*, it denotes syntactic coordination (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). Thus, the meaning: 'of a *s* which is a substitute; of a *s* which is an affix (*pratyaya*)'.

(*iii*) *pratyayo yaḥ sakāraḥ ādeśāvayavo yaḥ sakāraḥ*

This interpretation accepts *saḥ* in syntactic coordination with *pratyayasya*, thereby yeilding the meaning: 'a *s* which is an affix'. It accepts the genitive of the substitute (*ādeśa*) as denoting 'part of a whole', thereby yielding the meaning: 'a *s* which is part of a substitute' (*Nyāsa*: *pratyaye samānādhikaraṇādeśe' vayavayogā*).

(*iv*) *tasya viparyayo vā-ādeśo yaḥ sakāras tasya; pratyayāvayavo yas tasya* 'of a *s* which is a substitute'; 'of a *s* which is part of an affix'

This interpretation reverses the relational interpretation of 'affix' and 'substitute' given under (*iii*).

Accepting the first view will create problems in *bisaṃ bisam* and *musalaṃ musalam.* That is, a replacement in *ṣ* will apply after doubling of *bisam* and *musalam* by 8.1.4 *nityavīpsayoḥ.* For, the *s* which occurs as part of replacement after *i* and *u* will be replaced with *ṣ*. Accepting the second view will block the *ṣ*-replacement in *kariṣyati, hariṣyati,* etc. The *s* of *kariṣyati* and *hariṣyati* is not an affix by itself. What is an affix is the full form *sya.* Accepting the third view will also create problems, similar to the first two. It is to resolve problems of the first three interpretations that the fourth view is accepted (*PM*: *tasmād antyaḥ pakṣaḥ āśrīyate*).

It is indicated by the next rule that *ṣaṣṭhī* of a substitute denotes *samānādhikaraṇa* 'same locus of meaning'. It does not denote different loci. If it was not so, *ṣ*-replacement in the next rule could have been accomplished by just using the replacement. The negation of *sāti* (8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*) also indicates that the genitive of an affix denotes *avayava* 'part of a whole'. It does not denote syntactic coordination. Otherwise, that negation will become vacuous. For, *s* will not be an affix and hence, the question of negating *ṣ*-replacement would not arise. But since these two meanings of genitive cannot be denoted at the same time (*saha-vivakṣā*), a *dvandva* compound such as *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* cannot be formed. Commentators state that such compounds will be formed in view of indications (*jñāpakas*) of these two rules. How do we accomplish two relata of a single genitive? It is stated that *tantra* (see notes under 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*) would enable us to get the co-referentiality (*sāmānādhikaraṇa*) and 'part of a whole' relations of '*s* as replacement' (as in *siṣeva/suṣvāpa*), and '*s* of an affix' (as in *agniṣu/vāyuṣu*).

2. Now consider *siṣeva,* a third singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *ṣivU,* where *tiP* of *LIṬ* is replaced with *ṆaL* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānāṃ* . . .). The initial *ṣ* of the root is replaced with *s* by 6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ.* Doubling (6.1.8 *liṭy dhātor* . . .) and retention of the unit formed with initial consonant (7.4.60 *halādiśeṣa*) then produce *siv* + *siv* + *a* → *si* (*v*→ϕ) + *siv* + *a.* A replacement in *guṇa* of the short penultimate (*laghūpadha*) will produce *si* + *s*(*i*→*e*) *v* + *a* = *siseva.* We will get *si*(*s*→*ṣ*) *eva* = *siṣeva,* with the application of our present rule. Deriving *suṣvāpa* from (*ÑI*) *ṣvap* + *LIṬ* also involves similar rule applications. The *abhyāsa* of *s*(*v*→*u*) *a* + *svap* + *a* = *su*+*a* + *svap* + *a,* however, goes through *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.17 *liṭy abhyāsasyobhayeṣām*). The *u*+*a* sequence is then replaced with *u* to produce *su* + *svap* + *a* = *susvapa* (6.1.107 *samprasāraṇāc ca*). The penultimate *a* of *susvap* will also be replaced with its *vṛddhi* counterpart (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*). Our present rule will replace the *s* of *svap* with *ṣ*. Thus, *susv*(*a*→*ā*)*pa* → *su*(*s*→*ṣ*) *vāpa* = *suṣvāpa.* Note here that the *s* which goes through a replacement in *ṣ* is a replacement (*ādeśa*) of the root-initial *ṣ*.

The *ṣ*-replacement in *su* of *agni* + *su*, *vāyu* + *su*, *katṛ* + *su* and *hartṛ* + *su* is accomplished by accepting *s* as part of an affix.

3. How do we get this *ṣ*-replacement in *vakṣat* and *yakṣat* in *indro mā vakṣat* and *sa devān yakṣat*? These are the third singular active forms of *LEṬ* introduced after verbal roots *vac* and *yaj*, where *LEṬ* is replaced with *tiP*. Affix *sIP* (3.1.34 *sib bahulaṃ leṭi*) after the verbal root, and augment *aṬ* (3.4.94 *leṭo' ḍāṭau*) to affix *tiP*, are then introduced. The *i* of *tiP* then goes through deletion (3.4.100 *itaś ca*). It is the *s* of *sIP* which gets replaced with *ṣ*. How could *sIP* be considered as part of the affix when it itself is the affix. Commentators explain that *sIP* can still be considered as its part while constituting the whole (*PŚ* (31): *vyapadeśivad ekasmin*). Thus, we get *ṣ* replacement in *yakṣat* and *vakṣat*, third singular active forms of *vah* and *yaj* in *LEṬ*.

8.3.60 **शासिवसिघसीनां च**

śāsivasighasīnāṃ ca
/ *śāsi-vasi-ghasīnām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57)
'*śāsi, vasi, ghasi*' *ity eteṣāṃ ca iṇkor uttarasya sakārasya mūrdhanyo bhavati*
The *s* of *śāsI* 'instruct, rule', *vasI* 'to dwell' and *ghasI* 'to eat' which occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU* is replaced with *ṣ* in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

anvaśiṣat
anvaśiṣatām
anvaśiṣan
śiṣṭaḥ
śiṣṭavān
uṣitaḥ
uṣitavān
uṣitvā
jakṣatuḥ
jakṣuḥ
akṣann amīdanta pitaraḥ

1. Note that 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* cannot replace the *s* of these roots with *ṣ* since *s* is not a replacement form. Refer to the appendix (III:7-23) under 3.1.56 *sarttiśāstyartibhyaś ca* for derivational details of *anvaśiṣat, anvaśiṣatām, anvaśiṣan*; and *śiṣṭaḥ/ śiṣṭavān* under 6.4.34 *śās id aṅhaloḥ*. Derivational details of *uṣitaḥ/ uṣitavān* can be found under 6.1.15 *vacisvapiyajādīnām*. . . . Forms such as *jakṣatuḥ / jakṣuḥ* are discussed under the appendix (II:412-13), where 6.4.100 *ghasibhasor*. . . applies to delete the penultimate *a* of *ghas* + *atus*. Derivational details of *akṣan* can also be found there.

This rule is formulated for facilitating *ṣ*-replacement for a *s* which is not a replacement (*anādeśārthaṃ vacanam*). But how could *ṣ*-replacement in *ghas* be accepted as an example of *anādeśa* 'non-replacement'? We know that *ghas* is a replacement of *ad*. Still, *s* is not a replacement (*Kāś*: *sakāras tv ādeśo na bhavati*). It is used here as part of *ghasḶ* which, in turn, refers to *ad* and its replacement in *ghasḶ*, both.

Recall that the condition of *iṅkoḥ* is still valid. Thus, we do not get this *ṣ*-replacement in *vasati* and *jaghāsa*.

8.3.61 स्तौतिण्योरेव षण्यभ्यासात्

stautiṇyor eva ṣaṇy abhyāsāt
/*stauti-ṇyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *eva* φ *ṣaṇi* 7/1 *abhyāsāt* 5/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57)
stauter ṇyantānāṃ ca ṣabhūte sani parataḥ abhyāsād iṇa uttarasya ādeśasakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) comes in place of the *s*-replacement of verbal root *ṣṭuÑ* (*stu*)) 'to praise', and also of roots ending in *ṆiC*, when *s* occurs after the *iṆ* sound of an *abhyāsa* and affix *saN*, with a replacement in *ṣ*, follows in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

tuṣṭūṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *ṣṭuÑ* 'to praise' used with affix *saN*'
siṣecayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sic* 'to drip, water' used with affix *iC* followed by *saN*'
siṣañjayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sanj* 'to cling to' used with affix *iC* followed by *saN*'
suṣvāpayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *svap* 'to sleep' used with causal *ṆiC* followed by *saN*'

1. Refer to derivational details of *tuṣṭūṣati* in the appendix of 1.2.9 *iko jhal* (II:434). Derivational details of *suṣvāpayiṣati* are offered under 7.4.67 *dyutisvāpyoḥ samprasāraṇam*. Derivates such as *siṣecayiṣati* and *siṣañjayiṣati* are similarly derived from (*ṣic* + *ṆiC*) + *saN*) + *LAṬ*)) and (*ṣañj* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*)). Note that the *i*-replacement in the *abhyāsa* of *ṣañj* is accomplished by 7.4.49 *sani ataḥ*.

2. Note that this *s*-replacement applies to a *ṣ* which itself is a replacement of *s*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* can thus account for this replacement. Since this provision is being made against one already made available, this provision must then be accepted as restrictive (*siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaṃ bhavati* 'a provision made against one already established is made for restrictive purposes'). That is, if a replacement in *s* of this rule applies, it must apply only to a *ṣ* which occurs after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *iṆ*

of the *abhyāsa* of verbal roots *ṣṭuÑ* and roots which end in affix *ṆiC*. Additionally, this replacement must occur when affix *saN* with a repalcement in *ṣ* follows (*ṣaṇi parataḥ stauti ṇyeva* . . .). There are two requirements this rule must meet for its application: (*i*) this replacement applies only in the context of *stu* and roots ending in *ṆiC*; (*ii*) this replacement applies only when affix *saN* with its *s* replaced with *ṣ* follows. These requirements both are specified with the use of the word *eva* 'only when'.

Why do we have to state *eva* 'only, alone', when the restrictive nature of this provision can be easily understood by *siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*. The word *eva* is necessary so that what is desired could be clearly understood (*Kāś*: *iṣṭato' vadhāraṇārtham*). There will be two meanings to this restrictive provision if this rule does not use *eva*: (*i*) when *stu*, or a causative root alone, is followed by affix *saN* (*stautiṇyor eva ṣaṇi*) and (*ii*) when affix *saN* alone follows *stu* or a causative root (*stautiṇyoḥ ṣaṇy eva*). Accepting the second interpretation will block this replacement in the third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate *tuṣṭau*. Accepting the first view will make this replacement applicable to the *s* of the *abhyāsa* in *sisikṣati* where *saN* occurs after verbal root *ṣiC*. The use of *eva* is therefore necessary. What is wrong in understanding this restrictive provision as: *stautiṇyoḥ ṣaṇy eva* 'only when affix *ṣaN* follows after *stu* and roots ending in *ṆiC*'. This restrictive provision will facilitate replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) only before affix *saN*, and not before any other affix. This will block *ṣatva* in the third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate *tuṣṭau*. It will definitely apply in *sisikṣati*. For, exact delimitation of this restrictive provision is not exclusive of replacement in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*).

Why do we have the condition of *ṣaṇi* 'when affix *saN* follows'. So that this restrictive provision does not apply elsewher. If a replacement in *ṣ* applied to the *s* occurring after the *abhyāsa*, it would apply only to the *s* occurring after the *abhyāsa* of *stu* and roots ending in *ṆiC*. Thus, it could not apply to *siṣeca* where *s* is that of a *dhātu* 'verbal root'. As this replacement does not apply to the *s* which occurs after the *abhyāsa* in *sisikṣati*, it should also not apply in *siṣeca* before affix *LIṬ*. This restriction of *saN* is specified to block replacement where *saN* does not follow.

Why do we have to make this specification of *saN* with *vinata*, i.e., its *s* and *n* replaced with *ṣ* and *ṇ* (*Kāś*: *ko vinate' nurodhaḥ*). Note that the *prātiśākhyas* use the term *vinata* for replacements in *ṣ* and *ṇ*. So that this replacement does not apply where *saN* follows without (*avinata*) its *s* and *n* replaced with *ṣ* and *ṇ*. As a *ṣ*-replacement, before *s* of *saN* replaced with *ṣ*, does not apply in context of roots other than *stu* and causatives, so also here in *suṣupsati*, it cannot apply before a *saN* with no replacement of its *s* with *ṣ* (*PM*: *ṣatvabhūte sani dhātvantarasya ṣatvaṃ na bhavati evam ihāṣatvabhūte' pi na syāt*). Refer to derivational details of *suṣupsati* in the appendix (II:434), under 1.2.8 *rudavidamuṣa*. . . .

Why specify *ṣaN* with *N*? A specification with *ṣa* would have made this

restrictive rule to apply before any affix used with the word-form *ṣa*.

Why do we have the condition of *abhyāsāt* 'after the *abhyāsa* of a root'? So that this replacement does not apply to the *s* of a root which occurs after *i* and *u* of the root, or its preverb. Consider *pratīṣiṣati* and *adhīṣiṣati* as examples (*Kāś*: *abhyāsād yā prāptis tasyā niyamo yathā syāt dhātor yā prāptir tasyā niyamo mā bhūt*).

8.3.62 सः स्विदिस्वदिसहीनां च

saḥ svidisvadisahīnāṃ ca
/*saḥ* 1/1 *svidi-svadi-sahīnām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*; *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *neḥ ṣaṇy abhyāsāt* #61)
'*svidi, svadi, sahi*' *ity eteṣāṃ ṇyantānāṃ sani ṣabhūte parato' bhyāsād uttarasya sakārasya sakārādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *s* comes in place of *s* of verbal roots *svidI* 'to perspire', *svadI* 'to taste' and *sahI* 'to endure' when ending in *ṆiC*, provided this *s* occurs after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iṆ* of the *abhyāsā*, when affix *saN* with a replacement in *ṣ* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

sisvedayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *svid* 'to perspire' used with *ṆiC* ending in affix *saN*'
sisvādayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *svad* 'to taste'[1] used with *ṆiC* ending in affix *saN*'
sisāhayiṣati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sah* used with *ṆiC* ending in affix *saN*'

1. Note that the initial *s* of these roots derives from *ṣ* (6.1.64 *dhātvādeḥ ṣaḥ saḥ*). This *s*, in turn, is subject to a replacement in *ṣ* of the preceding rule. Our present rule offers *s* as a replacement for *s* to cancel its replacement in *ṣ* (*Kāś*: *sakārasya sakāravacanaṃ mūrdhanyanivṛtyartham*). Refer to numerous examples with similar derivational history already explained.

8.3.63 प्राक् सितादड्व्यवायेऽपि

prāk sitād aḍvyavāye' pi
/*prāk* ϕ *sitāt* 5/1 *aḍvyavāye* 7/1 = *aṭā vyavāyaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmin*; *api* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57)
prāksitasaṃśabdanād yān ita ūrdhvam anukramiṣyāmas tatrāḍ vyavāye' pi mūrdhanyo bhavaty evaṃ tad veditavyam
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*), from here on prior to *sita* (8.3.70 *parinivibhyaḥ sevasita* . . .), comes in place of an *s* which does not occur at the end of a *pada*, even when augment *aṬ* intervenes.

EXAMPLES:

Look under subsequent rules.

1. This rule is operational (*vidhi*) in nature, though it can also qualify for an *adhikāra* 'domain'. As indicated by *prāk sitāt* 'prior to *sita* 'bound', it governs rules enumerated prior to 8.3.70 *pariniv ibhyaḥ sevasita*. . . . The word *aṬ* here refers to augment *aṬ*. It does not refer to the abbreviatory symbol formed with *a* of the first *Śivasūtra* and *Ṭ* of the fifth. The word *api* 'also' is used so that this replacement can apply also where augment *aṬ* does not intervene between *s*, and what conditions this replacement.

8.3.64 स्थादिष्वभ्यासेन चाभ्यासस्य

sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyāsasya
/ *sthādiṣu* 7/3 = *sthā ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣu; abhyāsena* 3/1 *ca* ϕ *abhyāsasya* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *prāk sitād aḍvyavāye' pi* #63)
sthādiṣu prāk sitasaṃśabdanād abhyāsena vyavāye mūrdhanyo bhavati, abhyāsasakārasya ca bhavatīty evaṃ veditavyam
A *mūrdhanya* 'retroflex' replaces the *s* of verbal roots enumerated beginning with *sthā* 'to stand, stay', prior to *sita*, and also of the *s* of the *abhyāsa* of specified roots, even when the *abhyāsa* intervenes between *s* and what conditions this *s* to be replaced with *ṣ*.

EXAMPLES:

Refer to subsequent rules.

1. Note that *sthā* refers to *sthā* of the next rule. The word *abhyāsa* of *abhyāsasya* does not refer to the *abhyāsa* of any root. It refers to the *abhyāsa* of roots enumerated by rules beginning with 8.3.65 *upasargāt*. . . through rules prior to 8.3.70 *pariniv ibhyaḥ*. . . . This specification would not be needed if *abhyāsa* of *abhyāsasya* is referred to as *abhyāsa* in general. Rule 8.3.65 *upasargāt*. . . could then have covered its provision. Thus, this use of *abhyāsa* is made for restrictive (*niyama*) purposes. That is, it applies only to the *abhyāsa* of roots which have been specified by this rule. This rule can be interpreted in two parts: (*i*) *sthādiṣv abhyāsena vyavāye ṣatvaṃ bhavati* '*ṣ* comes as a replacement in *sthā*, etc.', when *abhyāsa* intervenes; (*ii*) *abhyāsasya ca ṣatvaṃ bhavati teṣv eva sthādiṣv iti* '*ṣ* comes as a replacement of *s* of the *abhyāsa* of those same *sthā*, etc.' The first part of this rule is purely operational (*vidhyartham*). The second part is restrictive (*niyamārtham*).

2. Refer to derivational details of *tasthau*, under 7.1.34 *āta au ṇalaḥ*. We get *abhitaṣṭhau* from *abhi-sthā* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*), where *a* of *ṆaL* is replaced with *au* (7.1.34 *āta au ṇalaḥ*). The *s* of *tasthau* could not be replaced with *ṣ*

because it is preceded by *a*. Rule 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* could account for this replacement only when *s* occurs after *i* and *u* (*iṆ*). This rule, with the specification of *abhyāsasya ca,* makes the replacement possible. Now consider *pari-sthā* + (*LIṬ*→*tiP*→*ṆaL*), where *ṆaL* is also replaced with *au*. The *abhyāsa* here intervenes between *pari*, the preverb which conditions this replacement, and *s*, the sound segment which is to be replaced.

This rule is formulated, also for roots which are not enumerated in the *Dhātupāṭha* with *ṣ* to start with (*Kāś*: *aṣopadeśārthaṃ ca*). Consider *senayā abhiyātum icchati* = *abhiṣiṣeṇayiṣati* 'wishes to go about with the army' and *senayā paryātum icchati* = *pariṣiṣeṇayiṣati* 'wishes to go all over the army', where the causative root *senaya* does not begin with *ṣ* (*aṣopadeśārthaṃ ca*).

This rule is also formulated to remove the restrictive provision of *ṣ*-replacement applicable in the context of *stu* and causative roots, as per specification of *ṣaṇi* of 8.3.61 *stauti*. . . . Our present rule will allow a replacement in *ṣ* when affix *saN* follows with its *s* replaced with *ṣ*. Consider *abhiṣiṣikṣati* and *pariṣiṣikṣati* as examples.

Recall that *abhyāsasya* is used here for restrictive purposes (*niyamārtham*). A *ṣ* replaces the *s* of the *abhyāsa* of only those roots which have been specified by 8.3.64 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena* . . . (*Kāś*: *'abhyāsasya' ity vacanaṃ niyamārtham; sthādiṣv evābhyāsasakārasya mūrdhanyo bhavati, nānyatra*). Thus, consider *abhisusūṣati* and *abhisiṣāsati.*

Refer to derivational details of examples under the following rules.

8.3.65 उपसर्गात् सुनोतिसुवतिस्यतिस्तौतिस्तोभतिस्थासेनयसेधसिचसञ्जस्वञ्जाम्

upasargāt sunotisuvatisyatistautistobhatisthāsenayasedhasicasañjasvañjām / *upasargāt* 5/1 *sunoti-suvati-syati-stauti-stobhati-sthā-senaya-sedha-sic-sañja-svañjām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *prāk sitād aḍvyavāye' pi* #63 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyāsasya* #64)

upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya 'sunoti, suvati, syati, stauti, stobhati, sthā, senaya, sedha, sica, sañja, svañja' ity eteṣāṃ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A *mūrdhanya* 'retroflex' replaces the *s* of verbal roots *ṣuÑ* (*sunoti*) 'press out', *ṣū* (*suvati*) 'to impel', *ṣo* (*syati*) 'terminate', *stu* (*stauti*) 'to praise', *stubh* (*stobhati*) 'to utter, chant', *sthā* 'stay, stand', *senaya* 'attack', *sedha* 'to order', *sica* 'to sprinkle', *sañja* 'to cling to' and *svañja* 'to clasp, embrace' when used after a preverb containing the cause of this replacement, and a *mūrdhanya* also comes in place of the *s* of the *abhyāsa* of *sthā*, etc., even when *aṬ*, or the *abhyāsa* of *sthā*, etc., intervene in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

abhiṣuṇoti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *ṣuÑ* used with the preverb *abhi*'

paryaṣuṇot 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *ṣuÑ* used with the preverb *pari*'
abhiṣuvati 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *ṣū* with *uvAṄ*'
paryaṣuvat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *ṣū* used with the preverb *pari*'
abhiṣyati
paryaṣyat
abhiṣṭauti
paryaṣṭauti
abhiṣṭobhate
paryaṣṭobhat
abhiṣṭhāsyati
abhyaṣṭhāt
paritaṣṭhau
abhiṣeṇayati
abhyaṣeṇayat
pariṣiṣeṇayiṣati
abhiṣedhati
abhyaṣedhat
abiṣiñcati
abhyaṣiñcat
pariṣiṣikṣati
paririṅkṣati
abhiṣajati
abhyaṣajat
abhiṣiṣaṅkṣati
abhiṣvajate
abhyaṣvajata
pariṣiṣvaṅkṣate

1. This rule replaces the *s* of *ṣuÑ* 'press out', *ṣū* 'impell, inspire', *ṣo* 'to kill, finish', *ṣṭuÑ* 'to praise', *ṣṭubhA* 'to stop, arrest', *ṣṭhā* 'to stand still', *senaya* 'to attack', *ṣidhA* 'move, instruct', *ṣicA* 'sprinkle', *ṣañjA* 'attach', *ṣvañjA* 'embrace, clasp' when these roots are used with a preverb containing *i* and *u* (*kU* is impossible) as replacement conditions (*nimitta*). This replacement also applies to the *abhyāsa* of *sthā*, etc., even when *aṬ*, and the *abhyāsa* of *sthā*, etc., intervene in close proximity.

Note that *suvati* is specified here with *Śa*, the *vikaraṇa* of the *tudādi* class. It, therefore, does not refer to *ṣūṄ* 'to give birth' of *adādi* and *divādi* groups. Verbal root *ṣidhA* refers to both *ṣidhA* 'to move' and *ṣidhŪ* 'instruct' of the *bhvādi* group. Recall that 8.3.113 *sedhater gatau* blocks *ṣ*-replacement for the *s* of *ṣidhA* when its signification is *gati* 'movement'. This replacement in *ṣ*, hence, does not apply when *ṣidhA* denotes *gati* 'movement'. Roots with *ṣ* in *upadeśa* 'initial citation' are specified here against the negation of 8.3.111

sāt padādyoḥ, itself an exception to 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Roots which do not have *ṣ* in *upadeśa* did not have this replacement available to them by earlier rules. A specification of *sunoti*, etc., with their *vikaraṇa* and *tiP* (*śtip*) is made to exclude their forms which go through deletion of affix *yaṄ*. A specification of *sedh* with *ŚaP* is made to exclude any reference to *sidh* of *sidhyati*.

Note that a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) may obtain in examples where *s* is replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣatva*). This *ṇatva* is accomplished in view of 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . . and 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ num*. . . . Notice that examples where augment *aṬ* intervenes are all derivates of affix *LAṄ*. Deriving *abhi-ṣu* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *abhi-*(*ṣ*→*s*) *u* + (*Ś*) *nu* + *ti* → *abhi-su* + *n*(*u*→*o*) + *ti* → *abhi-*(*s*→*ṣ*) + (*n*→*ṇ*) *o* + *ti* = *abhiṣuṇoti* and *pari-ṣu* + *Śnu* + (*LAṄ*→*tiP*) → *pariṣuṇoti*, with replacements in *o* (*guṇa*), *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) offers no difficulty. Similar rules apply in deriving derivates of *LAṄ* with *aṬ*. Thus, *abhi-aṬ-ṣu* + *Śnu* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *abhyaṣuṇot*(*i*→ϕ) = *abhyaṣuṇot* and *pari* + *aṬ* + *ṣu* + *Śnu* + (*LAṄ*→*tiP*) → *paryaṣuṇot*, where *i* of *tiP* is obligatorily deleted (3.4.100 *itaś ca*). The *LAṬ* and *LAṄ* derivates of *ṣū* 'to impell', where *ṣū* is used with the preverbs *abhi* and *pari*, are not difficult to derive. Note, however, that *Śa* will be introduced as the *vikaraṇa*, and *uvAṄ* (6.4.77 *aci śnudhātubhruvām* . . .) will replace the *ū* of *ṣū*. Thus we get *abhi-ṣ*(*ū*→*uv*) + *Śa* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *abhiṣuvati*, *pariṣuvati* and *abhy-aṬ-ṣ*(*ū*→*uvAṄ*) + *Śa* + (*LAṄ*→*tiP*) = *abhyaṣuvat* and *paryaṣuvat*. Deriving *abhi-ṣo* + *ŚyaN* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *abhiṣyati* and *pari-ṣo* + *ŚyaN* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *pariṣyati* involves deletion of root-final *o* by 7.3.71 *otaḥ śyani*. Derivates of *LAṄ*, as usual, will involve *aṬ* and deletion of *i* of *tiP*. We thus get *abhyaṣyat* and *paryaṣyat*.

Note that 2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ* deletes *ŚaP* after roots of the *adādi* group. Derivates of *ṣṭuÑ* will endure this deletion, in addition to the *vṛddhi* of *u* at the end of their presuffixal base (*aṅga*). A replacement in *guṇa* is blocked since deletion of *ŚaP* is accomplished via *ŚLU* (1.1.63 *na lumatāṅgasya*). We thus get *abhist*(*u*→*au*) + *ti* → *abhi*(*s*→*ṣ*) + *tau* + *ti* → *abhiṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) *au* + *ti* → *abhiṣṭauti* and *pariṣṭauti* with *LAṬ*. Derivates of *LAṄ*, namely *abhyaṣṭaut* and *paryaṣṭaut*, are derived with *aṬ* and similar applications. Derivates of *ṣṭubhA*, since the root is marked with *anudātta* as an *it*, will be derived with middle endings (*ātmanepada*): *abhiṣṭobhate* / *pariṣṭobhate* (*LAṬ*) and *abhyaṣṭobhata* / *paryaṣṭobhata* (*LAṄ*). Derivates of *abhi-sthā* and *pari-sthā* with affix *LṚṬ* will involve replacements in *ṣ* (*ṣatva*) and *ṭh* (*ṣṭutva*), repsectively. Derivates with *LUṄ* will additionally involve *aṬ* and deletion of *i* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*). We thus get *abhyaṣṭhāt* and *paryaṣṭhāt*. Refer to 7.1.34 *āta au ṇalaḥ* for details of *LIṬ*-derivates *abhitaṣṭhau* and *paritaṣṭhau*. Refer to notes of the preceding rule for *abhiṣeṇayati*, etc. One should also refer to numerous *ṆiC* and *saN* derivates already explained. Derivates of *ṣic* will involve introduction of augment *nUM* (7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām*). Refer to *muñcati* for additional details (II:384). We thus get *abisiñcati* and *abhyaṣiñcat*, etc.

Note that *n* of *sañj* is deleted by 6.4.25 *saṃśasanj*. . . . This is how we get *abhiṣajati* and *abhyaṣajat*, etc. This deletion will not apply when *saN* follows. We will get a replacement in *anusvāra*, instead (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*). The *j* of *sañj* will also be replaced with *g* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*), to be subsequently replaced with *k* (*cartva*; 8.4.54 *khari ca*). The *anusvāra* will then be replaced with a nasal similar to *k* which follows (*parasavarṇa* (8.4.57 *anusvārasya yayi* . . .)). We will thus get *abhiṣiṣaṅkṣati*. Similar rules apply in deriving *pariraṅkṣati*. Derivates of *ṣvañj* will take the *ātmanepada* endings and will follow rule applications similar to derivates of *ṣañj*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *upasargāt* 'used after a preverb'? Consider *dadhi siñcati* and *madhu siñcati* where *s* of *siñcati* is not replaced with *ṣ* because no preverb is used. Note that *nirgatā secakā asmād deśāt* = *niḥsecako deśaḥ* 'a place which people who irrigate fields have left' does not have *nis* as a preverb. We do not get the preverbial relation of *abhi* with *ṣuÑ* in *abhisāvakayati*. What *abhi* relates to is *sāvakīya*. Consequently, we do not get a replacement in *ṣ*. This *ṣ*-replacement is available in *abhiṣāvayati* since *abhi* directly relates to *ṣuÑ*.

8.3.66 सदिरप्रतेः

sadir aprateḥ

/*sadiḥ* 1/1 (*prathamā*, used with the signification of *ṣaṣṭhī*); *aprateḥ* 6/1 = *na pratiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *prāk sitād aḍvyavāye' pi* #63 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyāsasya* #64 *upasargāt* #65) *sadeḥ sakārasya upasargasthān nimittād aprater uttarasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati*

A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) sound replaces the *s* of verbal root *ṣad* 'to sit down', used after a non-*prati* preverb containing the cause of this replacement, even when *aṬ* and *abhyāsa* intervene in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

niṣīdati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *sad* used with the preverb *ni*'

viṣīdati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *sad* used with the preverb *vi*'

nyaṣīdat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *sad* used with the preverb *ni*'

vyaṣīdat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *sad* used with the preverb *vi*'

niṣasāda 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *sad* used with the preverb *ni*'

viṣasāda 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *sad* used with the preverb *vi*'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *ṣ* for the *s* of verbal root *sadḶ*, when used after a preverb other than *prati*. This replacement obtains even when *aṬ*, or an *abhyāsa* intervenes between the preverb and the verbal root. Thus, *niṣīdati, viṣīdati; ny-a-ṣīdat, vy-a-ṣīdat*, where *sad* is replaced with *sīd* (7.3.78 *pāghrādhmā* . . .). Note that *sīd* cannot replace *sad* if no affix marked with *Ś* follows. We thus do not get *sīd* in *niṣasāda* and *viṣasāda*, the third singular *LIṬ* derivates of *sad* with *nis* and *vis*.

This replacement in *ṣ* is offered against the negation of 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*. A replacement in *ṣ*, for a *s* which occurs after an *abhyāsa*, is blocked in view of the negation of 8.3.118 *sadeḥ parasya liṭi*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *aprateḥ* 'when not used after *prati*'? Consider *pratisīdati* where we do not get this replacement in *ṣ*.

8.3.67 **स्तन्भेः**

stanbheḥ
/*stanbheḥ* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *prāk sitād aḍvyavāye' pi* #63 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyāsasya* #64 *upasargāt* #65)
stanbheḥ sakārasya upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) replaces the *s* of *stanbhU* 'to prop up', used after a preverb containing the *nimitta* of replacement, even when *aṬ*, and also an *abhyāsa*, intervenes in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

abhiṣṭabhnāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *stanbhU* used with the preverb *abhi*'
pariṣṭabhnāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *stanbhU* used with the preverb *pari*'
abhyaṣṭabhnāt 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *stanbhU* used with the preverb *abhi*'
paryaṣṭabhnāt 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of *stanbhU* used with the preverb *pari*'
abhitaṣṭambha 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *stanbhU* used with the preverb *abhi*'
paritaṣṭambha 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of *stanbhU* used with the preverb *pari*'

1. Note that *stanbhU* is a root found in grammatical rules only. The *vikaraṇa* which is introduced after it is: *Śnā* (3.1.82 *stanbhustunbhu* . . .). Rule 6.4.24

aniditāṃ hala . . . deletes its nasal, thereby yielding *abhi-stanbh* + *Śnā* + (*LAṬ*→ *tiP*) → *abhista*(*n*→ϕ) *bh* + *nāti* → *abhi*(*s*→*ṣ*) *tabhnāti* → *abhiṣ*(*t*→*ṭ*) *abhnāti* = *abhiṣṭabhnāti* and *pariṣṭabhnāti*. Forms of *LUṄ* with *aṬ* can be similarly derived as *abhy-a-ṣṭabhnāt* = *abhyaṣṭabhnāt* and *paryaṣṭabhnāt*. Derivates of *LIṬ* go through doubling of the root where *khaY* (*Śs.* 11-13) of the *abhyāsa* alone is retained (7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ*). Thus, *abhi-ta-stanbh* + (*LIṬ*→*ṆaL*) → *abhita*(*s*→*ṣ*) + (*t*→*ṭ*) *a*(*n*→*ṃ*→*m*) + *bha* = *abhita-ṣṭambha* and *pari-ta-ṣṭambha*.

2. Recall that *aprateḥ* 'but not after *prati*' is not carried over here. Consequently, there is no negation of forms with *prati*. We will thus also get forms with *prati*: *prati-ṣṭabh-nā-ti* = *pratiṣṭabhnāti*, *praty-a-ṣṭabh-nā-t* = *pratyaṣṭabhnāt* and *praty-a-ṣṭambh-a*.

8.3.68 अवाच्चालम्बनाविदूर्ययोः

avāc cālambanāvidūryayoḥ
/ *avāt* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *ālambana-āvidūryayoḥ* 7/2 = *ālambanaṃ ca āvidūryaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *prāk sitād aḍvyavāye' pi* #63 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyāsasya* #64 *upasargāt* #65 *stanbheḥ* #67)
avaśabdād upasargād uttarasya stanbheḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati, ālambane' rthe āvidūrye ca
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) replaces the *s* of verbal root *stanbhU*, also when used after the preverb *ava*, provided derivates denote *ālambana* 'resorting to, taking recourse to' and *āvidūrya* 'proximity'.

EXAMPLES:

avaṣṭabhya āste '. . . stays on the support of . . .'
avaṣṭabhya tiṣṭhati 'ibidem'
avaṣṭabdhā senā 'army stays closeby'
avaṣṭabdhā śarat 'autumn is approaching'

1. This replacement in *s* focuses on *stanbhU*, when used after the preverb *ava*, provided derivates denote *ālambana* 'support, resort' and *āvidūrya* 'proximity'. We thus get *avaṣṭabhya tiṣṭhati*, *avaṣṭabhya āste*, *avaṣṭabdhā senā* and *avaṣṭabdhā śarat*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *ālambana* 'support, resort' and *āvidūrya* 'proximity'? Consider *avastabdho śītena* '. . . is stiff with cold'.

This rule is formulated for derivates where a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iK* (here *i* or *u*) may not be part of a preverb to condition this replacement in *ṣ* (*Kāś*: *anigartha ārambhaḥ*). This replacement may now be conditioned by a sound other than one denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *iK* (*Kāś*: *anigartha ārambhaḥ*).

8.3.69 वेश्च स्वनो भोजने

veś ca svano bhojane
/*veḥ* 5/1 *ca* ɸ *svanaḥ* 6/1 *bhojane* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *prāk sitād aḍvyavāye' pi* #63 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyāsasya* #64 *upasargāt* #65 *avāt* #68)
ver upasargād avāc cottarasya bhojanārthe svanateḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) comes in place of the *s* of verbal root *svan* 'to sound' when the same is used after the preverb *vi*, and *ava* as well, with the signification of *bhojana* 'eating', even when *aṬ* and, also its *abhyāsa*, intervene in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

viṣvaṇati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *svan* 'to sound' used with the preverb *vi*'
vyaṣvaṇat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *svan* 'to sound' used with the preverb *vi*'
viṣaṣvāṇa 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *svan* 'to sound' used with the preverb *vi*'
avaṣvaṇati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *svan* 'to sound' used with the preverb *ava*'
avāṣvaṇat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *svan* 'to sound' used with the preverb *ava*'
avaṣaṣvāṇa 'third person singular active *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *svan* 'to sound' used with the preverb *ava*'

1. Note that this replacement is possible where verbal root *svan* abandons its own meaning and denotes the particular meaning of eating with a smacking noise (*abhyavahārakriyāviśeṣaḥ*). Thus, *vi-ṣvaṇ-a-ti* = *viṣvaṇati*, *vy-a-ṣṇav-a-t* = *vyaṣṇavat* and *vi-ṣvaṣvāṇ-a* → *viṣaṣvāṇa*, derivates of third singular *LAṬ*, *LAṄ* and *LIṬ*, respectively. Similar derivational pattern applies to *avaṣvaṇati*, *avāṣṇavat* and *avaṣaṣvāṇa*, where the preverb is *ava*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *bhojana* 'eating'? Consider *visvanati mṛdaṅgaḥ* 'the Mṛdaṅga drum is sounding'.

8.3.70 परिनिविभ्यः सेवसितसयसिवुसहसुट्स्तुस्वञ्जाम्

parinivibhyaḥ sevasitasayasivusahasuṭstusvañjām
/*pari-ni-vibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *seva-sita- saya-sivu-saha, suṭ, stu, svañjām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *prāk sitād aḍvyavāye' pi* #63 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyāsasya* #64 *upasargāt* #65)

'pari, ni, vi' ity etebhya upasargebhya uttareṣāṃ seva, sita, saya, sivu, saha, suṭ, stu, svañja' ity eteṣāṃ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) replaces the *s* of verbal roots *seva* 'to serve', *sita* 'be bound', *saya* 'be binding', *sivU* 'to sew', *ṣaha* 'to endure', *suṬ* 'an augment', *stu* 'to praise' and *svañja* 'to embrace', when used after the preverbs *pari, ni* and *vi,* even when *aṬ,* and also an *abhyāsa,* intervenes in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

pariṣevate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sev* used with the preverb *pari*'
niṣevate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sev* used with the preverb *ni*'
viṣevate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sev* used with the preverb *vi*'
paryaṣevata 'third person singular middle *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sev* used with the preverb *pari*'
nyaṣevata 'third person singular middle *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sev* used with the preverb *ni*'
vyaṣevata 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sev* used with the preverb *vi*'
pariṣiṣeviṣate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sev* used with the preverb *pari* and the causal affix *ṆiC* followed by *saN*'
viṣiṣeviṣate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sev* used with the preverb *vi* and the causal affix *ṆiC* followed by *saN*'
niṣiṣeviṣate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sev* used with the preverb *ni* and the causal affix *ṆiC* followed by *saN*'
pariṣitaḥ 'derivate of (*pari-ṣiÑ* + *Ktvā*) + *sU*'
viṣitaḥ 'derivate of (*vi-ṣiÑ* + *Ktvā*) + *sU*'
niṣitaḥ 'derivate of (*ni-ṣiÑ* + *Ktvā*) + *sU*'
pariṣayaḥ 'derivate of (*pari-ṣiÑ* + *aC*) + *sU*'
niṣayaḥ 'derivate of (*ni-ṣiÑ* + *aC*) + *sU*'
viṣayaḥ 'derivate of (*vi-ṣiÑ* + *aC*) + *sU*'
pariṣīvyati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sivU* used with the preverb *pari*'
niṣīvyati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sivU* used with the preverb *ni*'
viṣīvyati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sivU* used with the preverb *vi*'
paryaṣīvyat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sivU* used with the preverb *pari*'
nyaṣīvyat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sivU* used with the preverb *ni*'

vyaṣīvyat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sivU* used with the preverb *vi*'
paryasīvyat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sivU* used with the preverb *pari*'
nyasīvyat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sivU* used with the preverb *ni*'
vyasīvyat 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sivU* used with the preverb *vi*'
pariṣahate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sah* used with the preverb *pari*'
niṣahate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sah* used with the preverb *ni*'
viṣahate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *sah* used with the preverb *vi*'
paryaṣahata 'third person singular middle *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sah* used with the preverb *pari*'
nyaṣahata 'third person singular middle *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sah* used with the preverb *ni*'
vyaṣahata 'third person singular middle *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *sah* used with the preverb *vi*'
pariṣkaroti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *kṛÑ* used with the preverb *pari* and augment *sUṬ*'
paryaṣkarot 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *kṛÑ* used with the preverb *pari* and augment *sUṬ*'
pariṣṭauti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *stu* used with the preverb *pari*'
niṣṭauti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *stu* used with the preverb *ni*'
viṣṭauti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of verbal root *stu* used with the preverb *vi*'
paryaṣṭaut 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *stu* used with the preverb *pari*'
nyaṣṭaut 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *stu* used with the preverb *ni*'
vyaṣṭaut 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *stu* used with the preverb *vi*'
paryastaut 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *stu* used with the preverb *pari*'
nyastaut 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *stu* used with the preverb *ni*'
vyastaut 'third person singular active *LAṄ*-derivate of verbal root *stu* used with the preverb *pari*'

1. Note that *ṣevṚ* is read in the *bhvādi* group of roots with *anudātta* as an *it*. It is thus used with middle (*ātmanepada*) endings. A specification of verbal root *ṣiÑ* is here made with its absolutive (*Kta*) form *sita* 'bound'. This same root is also specified as *saya* with affix *aC* of 3.3.56 *er ac*. That is, the *aC* and *Kta*-derivates of verbal root *ṣiÑ*, alone, will avail this replacement in *ṣ*. Recall that a replacement in *ṣ*, prior to *sita* of this rule, also obtains when *aṬ* and *abhyāsa* intervene. These examples have already been discussed. Examples such as *pari-ṣi-ṣev-iṣ-a-te* = *pariṣiṣeviṣate*, *viṣiṣeviṣate* and *niṣiṣeviṣate* are *LAṬ*-derivates of verbal root *ṣiÑ* used with *ṆiC* ending in affix *saN*.

Rule 8.3.71 *sivādīnāṃ vāḍ vyavāye' pi* offers optional *ṣ*-replacement to roots enumerated beginning with *ṣivU* 'to sew', when augment *aṬ* intervenes. Thus, we get *pary-a-sīv-yat* = *paryaṣīvyat* and *paryasīvayat*, etc. Examples of augment *sUṬ* are given only with the preverb *pari*. For, 6.1.135 *sampari-bhyām* . . . allows *sUṬ* only when *sam* and *pari* are used as preverbs. We thus get *pariṣkaroti* and *paryaṣkarot*. Recall that this *ṣ*-replacement is already made available to verbal roots *ṣṭuÑ* and *ṣvañj* by rule 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti*. . . . They are here included for availing optional *ṣ*-replacement of the next rule, even when there is intervention of augment *aṬ*. For, it would have become obligatory (*nitya*) under the earlier provision (*Kāś*: *pūrveṇaiva siddhe stusvañjigrahaṇam uttarārtham, aḍvyavāye vibhāṣa yathā syāt*). The deletion of *n*, in *pariṣvajate*, etc., is accomplished by 6.4.25 *daṃsasañjsvañjāṃ śapi*.

8.3.71 सिवादीनां वाड्व्यवायेऽपि

sivādīnāṃ vāḍvyavāye' pi

/*siv-ādīnām* 6/3 = *siv ādiryeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣām*; *vā* ϕ *aḍvyavāye* 7/1 = *aṭā vyavāyaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmin*; *api* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *prāk sitād aḍvyavāye' pi* #63 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyāsasya* #64 *upasargāt* #65 *parinivibhyaḥ* #70)

sivādīnām aḍvyavāye' pi parinivibhya uttarasya sakārasya vā mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) replaces the *s* of verbal roots enumerated beginning with *sivU* and prefixed with *pari*, *ni* and *vi*, only optionally, even when *aṬ* intervenes in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

Look under rule 8.3.70 *parinivibhyaḥ* . . .

1. Note that this specification with *sivādīnām* refers to roots enumerated by rule 8.3.70 *parinivivibhyaḥ*. . . . It does not refer to group of roots enumerated elsewhere. For, the specification of. . . *sivusahasuṭastusvanjām* (8.3.70) is contextually proximate (*Kāś*: *anantarasūtre* '*sivusahasuṭstusvañjām*' *iti sivādayaḥ*).

2. The *anuvṛtti* of *vā* runs through rule 8.3.76 *sphuratisphulatyor*. . . .

8.3.72 अनुविपर्यभिनिभ्यः स्यन्दतेरप्राणिषु

anuviparyabhinibhyaḥ syandater aprāṇiṣu
/ *anu-vi-pary-abhi-nibhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *syandateḥ* 6/1 *aprāṇiṣu* 7/3 = *na prāṇinaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣu*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *upasargāt* #65 *vā* #71)
'*anu, vi, pari, abhi, ni*' *ity etebhya uttarasya syandater aprāṇiṣu sakārasya vā mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *mūrdhanya* comes, optionally, in place of *s* of verbal root *syandŪ* 'to flow, run' when it is used prefixed with *anu, vi, pari, abhi* and *ni*, and the usage does not relate to *prāṇin* 'living'.

EXAMPLES:

These examples are all third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivates of verbal root *syandŪ*, used with the preverbs *anu*/ *vi*/ *pari*/ *abhi*/, and with *s* replaced optionally with *ṣ*:
anu-ṣyandate
anu-syandate
vi-ṣyandate
vi-syandate
pari-ṣyandate
pari-syandate
abhi-ṣyandate
abhi-syandate
ni-ṣyandate tailam
ni-syandate

1. This rule offers *ṣ*-replacement for *s* of *syandŪ* when the root occurs prefixed with *anu, vi, pari, abhi* and *ni*, provided the action does not relate to any living being (*prāṇin*). Note that the root is marked with *anudātta* as an *it*. It will thus take middle endings (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita ātmanepadam*). This rule is formulated so that *ṣ*-replacement could be made available to this root. For, this root is not listed with *ṣ* in *upadeśa* 'initial citation'.

Note that *vā* is carried over from the earlier rule. Why did we also not carry *pari, ni* and *vi*. This would have shortened this rule formulation to: *anvavibhyāṃ ca syandater aprāṇiṣu*. The *ca* could have thus attracted *pari, ni* and *vi* (*PM*: *iha paryādigrahaṇaṃ śakyam akartum. evaṃ vakṣyāmi-* '*anvabhibhyāṃ ca*').

2. Questions have been raised against the compound formation of *aprāṇin* 'non-living'. If the negation of *aprāṇin* is interpreted as *prasajya*, we will get the paraphrase: *prāṇiṣu na bhavati* 'does not apply in case of *prāṇin* 'living'.

A replacement in *ṣ* will be blocked where even the slightest indication of *prāṇin* is involved (*Nyāsa: prasajyapratiṣedhe hi yatra prāṇigandho' sti tatra mūrdhanyena na bhavitavyam*). If, on the other hand, the negation of *aprāṇin* is interpreted as *paryudāsa*, we will get the paraphrase: *prāṇibhyo' nyatra bhavati* 'applies, elsewhere, in contexts similar to, but other than, that of a *prāṇin*'. That is, this interpretation will accept *aprāṇin* as 'something similar to yet different from *prāṇin*'. *Kāśikā* offers *anuṣyandete matsyodake* 'fish and water flow'. The integration of *matsyodaka*, with the denotatum of one (*ekavadbhāva*), is based on the paraphrase: *matsyaṃ ca udakaṃ ca* 'fish as well as water'. Rule 2.4.6 *jātir aprāṇinām* allows *matsyodaka* to carry this denotatum if *aprāṇin* is interpreted as *paryuḍāsa*. A grouping of *prāṇin* 'living' and *aprāṇin* 'non-living' will thus become something other than *prāṇin*. A *paryudāsa* interpretation of *aprāṇin* is thus accepted.

3. Why do we have the condition of *aprāṇiṣu*? Consider *anusyandate matsya udake* 'fish is floating in water', where *matsya* is *prāṇin* 'living'.

This optional replacement in *ṣ* does obtain where both *prāṇin* and *aprāṇin* are denoted as one. Thus, *anuṣyandete matsyodake* and *anusyandete matsyodake.*

8.3.73 वेः स्कन्देरनिष्ठायाम्

veḥ skander aniṣṭhāyām

/*veḥ* 5/1 *skadeḥ* 6/1 *aniṣṭhāyām* 7/1 = *na niṣṭhā* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām*/ (*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *upasargāt* #65 *vā* #71)

ver upasargād uttarasya skandeḥ sakārasya vā mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati aniṣṭhāyām

A corrersponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*), optionally, replaces the *s* of verbal root *skandI* 'to move', when the root occurs in combination after the preverb *vi* and a *niṣṭhā* suffix does not follow.

EXAMPLES:

viṣkantā '*tṛC*-derivate of verbal root *skandI*, used with the preverb *vi*'
viskantā 'ibidem (with no *ṣ*-replacement)'
viṣkantum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
viskantum 'ibidem (with no *ṣ*-replacement)'
viṣkantavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate . . .'
viskantavyam 'ibidem (with no *ṣ*-replacement'

1. This rule allows an optional replacement in *ṣ* when *skandI* is used after *vi* and a *niṣṭhā* suffix does not follow. Here again we find that *skandI* is not specified with *ṣ* in initial citation (*upadeśa*). The *ṣ*-replacement which was not available is here made available, optionally. We thus get *viṣkantā* and *viskantā*, etc.

2. Why do we have the condition of *aniṣṭhāyām* 'when not used in *niṣṭhā*'?

Consider *viskannaḥ*, where, since verbal root *skandI* is used with the *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) suffix *Kta*, we do not get a replacement in *ṣ*. Incidentally, the *n* of *skandi* is deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala upadhāyāḥ*. Rule 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto...* then replaces the *d* of *skad* and *t* of *Kta*, both with *n*. Thus, *viska(n→ϕ) d* + (*K*) *ta* → *viska(d→n)* + (*t→n*) *a* = *viskanna*.

8.3.74 परेश्च

pareś ca

/*pareḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *upasargāt* #65 *vā* #71 *skandeḥ* #73)

pariśabdāc cottarasya syandeḥ sakārasya vā mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*), optionally, replaces the *s* of verbal root *skandI*, also when the root occurs after the preverb *pari*.

EXAMPLES:

pariṣkantā 'derivate of *pari-skand* + *tṛC*'
pariskantā 'ibidem (with no *ṣ*-replacement)'
pariṣkantum 'derivate of *pari-skand* + *tumUN*'
pariskantum 'ibidem' (with no *ṣ*-replacement)'
pariṣkantavyam 'derivate of *pari-skand* + *tavyaT*'
pariskantavyam 'ibidem (with no *ṣ*-replacement)'

1. Note that *ca* 'and' is used in this rule to attract *skandI* from the preceding rule. Why did Pāṇini not include the provision of this rule within the scope of the preceding rule? That is, why did he not formulate this rule as: *viparābhyāṃ skander aniṣṭhāyām*? He would have preferred this formulation if he did not intend optional *ṣ*-replacement for the *s* of *skandI* when used in combination after *pari* and no *niṣṭhā* suffix followed (*Nyāsa*: *yadi parer uttarasya skander niṣṭhāyāṃ mūrdhanyo nābhimataḥ syāt, tataḥ 'viparābhyām skander aniṣṭhāyām' ity ekayogam eva kuryād ity abhiprāyaḥ*). Since this rule is formulated separately from the preceding rule, and derivates are supposed to go through optional replacement in *ṣ* when a *niṣṭhā* affix follows, *aniṣṭhāyām* is not carried over from the earlier rule. We get the *niṣṭhā* examples: *pariṣkaṇṇaḥ* and *pariskannaḥ*.

8.3.75 परिस्कन्दः प्राच्यभरतेषु

pariskandaḥ prācyabharateṣu

/*pariskandaḥ* 1/1 *prācyabharateṣu* 7/3 = *prācyaś cāmī bharatāś ca* (*karm. tat.*), *teṣu*/

'*pariskanda*' *ity mūrdhanyābhāvo nipātyate prācyabharateṣu prayogaviṣayeṣu*

A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) does not, via *nipātana*, replace

the *s* of *pariskanda* when the usage relates to the country of eastern Bharatas.

EXAMPLES:

pariskandaḥ

1. This rule blocks the *ṣ*-replacement made available by the preceding rule. The word *pariskanda* is a derivate of *aC* (3.1.134 *nandigrahi*. . .; *pari-skand* + *aC*). Or else, it is a derivate of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* (*pari-skand* + *Kta*), where *t* of *Kta* gets deleted via *nipātana*.

Note that *bharata* is used here as a qualifier to *prācya* 'eastern' (*Kāś: bharatagrahaṇaṃ prācyaviśeṣaṇam*). We thus get *pariskandaḥ* 'side-guard' with no *ṣ*-replacement in the usage of the eastern Bharatas. Elsewhere, we get *pariṣkandaḥ*.

8.3.76 स्फुरतिस्फुलत्योर्निर्निविभ्यः

sphuratisphulatyor nirnivibhyaḥ
/*sphurati-sphulatyoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *nir-ni-vi-bhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *upasargāt* #65 *vā* #71)
sphuratisphulatyoḥ sakārasya '*nis, ni, vi*' *ity etebhya uttarasya vā mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati*
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*), optionally, replaces the *s* of verbal roots *sphur* 'to move, quiver, throb' and *sphul* when they are used in combination after the preverbs *nis*, *ni* and *vi*, in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

niṣ-ṣphurati
nis-sphurati
ni-ṣphurati
ni-sphurati
vi-ṣphurati
vi-sphurati
niṣ-ṣphulati
nis-sphulati
ni-ṣphulati
ni-sphulati
vi-ṣphulati
vi-sphulati

1. This again is an optional rule. Note that *sphur* and *sphul* are roots of the *tudādi* group. They did not have this replacement in *ṣ* previously made avail-

able. A specification with *śtip* (*vikaraṇa* and *tiP*) is made here for correct identification of roots. It is not made here to deny *ṣ*-replacement where affix *yaṄ* gets deleted (*yaṅluki*). A *s* after *nir*, etc., is not possible, especially after the *khaY* (7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ*) sound of the *abhyāsa* is retained subsequent to deletion of *yaṄ* (*Nyāsa*: *na hi yaṅluky abhyāsasya khayaḥ śeṣe kṛte nirādibhyaḥ uttaraḥ sakāraḥ sambhavati*). Notice how the *s* of *nis* also gets replaced with *ṣ*, via *ṣṭutva* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

8.3.77 **वेः स्कभ्नातेर्नित्यम्**

veḥ skabhnāter nityam
/*veḥ* 5/1 *skabhnāteḥ* 6/1 *nityam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *upasargāt* #65 *vā* #71)
ver uttarasya skabhnāteḥ sakārasya nityaṃ mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*), obligatorily, replaces the *s* of verbal root *skanbhU* when the same is used in combination after the preverb *vi* and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

viṣkabhnāti
viṣkambhitā
viskambhitum
viskambhitavyam

1. Note that this obligatory provision applies to *vi-skanbhU* which, in turn, is a root only found in grammatical rules. It has been cited in rule 3.1.82 *stanbhustunbhu*. . ., without *ṣ* in *upadeśa*. Consequently, a non-available replacement in *ṣ* is made available to the intial *s* of *skanbhu*. That *Śnā* is selected as the *vikaraṇa* is also known by rule 3.1.82 *stanbhustunbhu*. . . .

The word *nitya* is used to make this provision obligatory. A specification with *śtip* is again made for clearly identifying the root.

8.3.78 **इणः षीध्वंलुङ्लिटां धोऽङ्गात्**

iṇaḥ ṣīdhvaṃluṅliṭāṃ dho' ṅgāt
/*iṇaḥ* 5/1 *ṣīdhvaṃluṅliṭām* 6/3 = *ṣīdhvaṃ ca luṅ ca liṭ ca* = *ṣīdhvaṃluṅliṭaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*)
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55)
iṇantād aṅgād uttareṣāṃ ṣīdhvaṃluṅliṭāṃ yo dhakāras tasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
The *dh* of *ṣīdhvam*, and of a replacement of *LUṄ* and *LIṬ*, is replaced with its retroflex counterpart *ḍh* when the same occurs after an *aṅga* ending in a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *iṆ*.

EXAMPLES:

cyoṣīḍhvam 'second person plural middle benedictive *LIṄ*-derivate of verbal root *cyu*'

ploṣīḍhvam 'second person plural middle benedictive *LIṄ*-derivate of verbal root *plu*'

acyoḍhvam 'second person plural middle *LUṄ*-derivate of verbal root *cyu*'

aploḍhvam 'second person plural middle *LUṄ*-derivate of verbal root *plu*'

cakṛḍhve 'second person plural middle *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *kṛÑ*'

vavṛḍhve 'second person plural middle *LIṬ*-derivate of verbal root *vṛÑ*'

1. This rule replaces the *dh* of *ṣīdhvam*, and of replacements of *LUṄ* and *LIṬ*, with *ḍh* when *ṣīdhvam*, etc., occur after an *aṅga* ending in *i* and *u*. This rule is formulated such that an *aṅga* ending in *iṆ* could be made a qualifier to *ṣīdhvam*. . . . A separate specification of *dh* is intended to focus on what gets replaced with a retroflex (*mūrdhanya*). The *sī* of example derivates has its source in *sīyuṬ* (3.4.102 *liṅaḥ sīyuṭ*).

Consider *cyu* + *sīy*(*UṬ*) + (*LIṄ*→*dhvam*) → *cyu* + *sīy* + *dhvam* → *cyo* + *sīy* + *dhvam* and *plo* + *sīy* + *dhvam* → *plo* + *sīy* + *dhvam*, where *y* is deleted by 6.1.66 *lopo vyor vali*. We get *cyo* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *ī* + *dhvam* = *cyo* + *ṣīdhvam* and *plo* + *ṣīdhvam* after 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* replaces the *s* of *sīdhvam* with *ṣ*. Our present rule can now replace *dh* with *ḍh* to yield: *cyoṣīḍhvam* and *ploṣīḍhvam*.

Now consider *a*(*Ṭ*) + *cyu* + (*LUṄ*→*dhvam*) → *a* + *cyu* + *s*(*IC*) = *dhvam* → *a* + *cy*(*u*→*o*) + *s* + *dhvam* → *a* + *cyo* + (*s*→ϕ) + *dhvam* → *acyo*(*dh*→*ḍh*) *vam* = *acyoḍhvam*, where *sIC* gets deleted and *dh* gets replaced with *ḍh*. We similarly get *aploḍhvam*. Note that augment *iṬ* is blocked in these derivates by 7.2.10 *ekāca upadeśe*. . . . Derivates of *LIṬ* will, as usual, involve doubling. We will get *kṛ* + (*LIṬ*→*dhvam*) → *ka* + *kṛ* + *dhvam* → (*k*→*c*) *a* + *kṛ* + *dhvam*, where *ṭi* of *dhvam* will go through a replacement in *e* (*etva*; 3.4.79 *ṭit ātmanepadānāṃ ṭer eḥ*). Our present rule will then replace *dh* with *ḍh* to produce: *cakṛdhv*(*am*→*e*) → *cakṛ*(*dh*→*ḍh*) *ve* = *cakṛḍhve*. Similar rules apply in deriving *vṛdh* + (*LIṬ*→*dhvam*) → *vavṛḍhve*.

2. Why do we have the condition of *luṅliṭām* 'of *LUṄ* and *LIṬ*'? Consider *studhve* which, because of being a derivate of *LUṄ*, does not get its *dh* replaced with *ḍh*.

Why do we have the condition of *aṅgāt* 'after an *aṅga*'? Consider *pariveviṣīdhvam* where we get *ṣīdhvam* by combining *ṣ* of the root with *īdhvam*. This *ṣīdhvam* cannot be accepted as occurring after an *aṅga* ending in *i* and *u*.

Why is *iṆ* used expressly when it is already available via *anuvṛtti*? An express mention of *iṆ* is made to cancel the *anuvṛtti* of *ku*. Thus, we cannot get the *dh* of *pakṣīdhvam* and *yakṣīdhvam* replaced with *ḍh* before *k*.

8.3.79 **विभाषेटः**

vibhāṣeṭaḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *iṭaḥ* 5/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55)
iṇaḥ parasmād iṭa uttareṣāṃ ṣīdhvaṃluṅliṭāṃ yo dhakāras tasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*), optionally, replaces the *dh* of *ṣīdhvam*, and of derivates of *LUṄ* and *LIṬ*, when (*ṣī*) *dhvam* occurs after *iṬ* introduced after a sound denoted by *iṆ*.

EXAMPLES:

laviṣīḍhvam 'second person plural middle *LIṄ*-derivate of *lū* 'to cut'
laviṣīdhvam 'ibidem; with no *ḍh*'
paviṣīḍhvam 'second person plural middle *LIṄ*-derivate of *pū* 'to cleanse''
paviṣīdhvam 'ibidem; with no *ḍh*'
alavīḍhvam 'second person plural middle *LUṄ*-derivate of *lū*'
alavidhvam 'ibidem; with no *ḍh*'
luluvidhve 'second person plural middle *LIṬ*-derivate of *lū*'
luluviḍhve 'ibidem; with no *ḍh*'

1. This rule makes the obligatory replacement of the preceding rule optional, especially when *iṬ* follows a form ending in *i* and *u*. Note, however, that some replacements which were not made available earlier are also optionally made available here. *Kāśikā* paraphrases the *vṛtti* as: *iṇaḥ parasmād iṭaḥ utteresāṃ ṣīdhvam*... 'after *ṣīdhvam* which occurs after an *iṬ*, in turn, occurring after that which ends in *i* and *u*'. That is, *iṆ* is used as a qualifier to *iṬ*; *iṬ*, in turn, is used as a qualifier to *ṣīdhvam*, etc. Additionally, *ṣīdhvam*, etc., are used as qualifiers to *dh*.

It is argued that *ṣīdhvam*, as well as a replacement of *LIṬ*, is not possible to follow *iṬ*. For, *iṬ* is introduced to *ṣīdhvam*. How could *ṣīdhvam* follow *iṬ* when it is already a part of *ṣīdhvam* (*tadgrahaṇena grahaṇāt*)? This argument is well taken, especially in view of grammar (*śāstrakṛta*). That is, *x* becomes *y* if *x* is introduced to *y*. In this sense, *x* cannot be accepted as followed by *y*. But since *iṬ* is still heard in the utterance (*śrutikṛta*) before *ṣīdhvam*, it can be accepted as followed by *ṣīdhvam*.

Consider *lū* + *iṬ* + *sīyUṬ* + (*LIṄ*→*dhvam*) → *lū* + *i* + *ṣīdhvam*, where 8.3.78 *iṇaḥ ṣīdhvaṃ*... can apply to replace *dh* with *ḍh*, obligatorily. This rule replaces *dh* with *ḍh*, optionally, against that. Incidentally, *ū* of *lū* goes through a replacement in *guṇa*, followed by a replacement in *av* before *iṬ*. We thus get *l*(*ū*→*o*→*av*) + *i* + *sī*(*y*→ϕ) + (*dh*→*ḍh*)*vam* = *laviṣīḍhvam*. Similar rules apply in deriving *pū* + *iṬ* + *sīyUṬ* + *dhvam* → *paviṣīḍhvam*. We will get *laviṣīdhvam* and *paviṣīdhvam* if the option of *ḍh*-replacement for *dh* is not

accepted. Forms of *LUṄ* and *LIṬ*, i.e., *aṬ+l(ū→o→av) + iṬ + (sIC→ϕ) + dhvam = alaviḍhvam/alavidhvam* and *lū + (LIṬ→dhvam) → l(ū→u) l(ū→uvAṄ) + iṬ + dhv(am→e) → luluvi(dh→ḍh)ve = luluviḍhve/luluvidhve,* do not offer anything new in their derivation. Refer to examples of 8.3.78 *iṇaḥ ṣīdhvaṅluṅliṭām* . . . for further details. Note that 6.4.77 *aci śnudhātu* . . . introduces *uvAṄ* as a replacement to the root-final vowel of a derivate of *LIṬ*.

2. The condition of *iṇaḥ* is still valid. We thus do not get *dh* replaced with *ḍh* in *(ās→ā+ās→ās)) + iṬ + sīyUṬ + (LIṄ→dhvam))) = āsiṣīdhvam.* Note that the *s* of verbal root *ās* is not included within the denotatum of *iṆ*. How could *iṬ* then be accepted as occurring after *iṆ*?

Why do we not get this replacement in *dī + (LIṬ→dhvam) → upa + d(i→i) + dī + y(UṬ) + iṬ + dhv(am→e) = upadidī + y + i + dhve = upadidīyidhve*? Some claim that *dh* cannot be replaced with *ḍh* since *yUṬ* (6.4.63 *dīṅo yuḍ aci kṅiti*) intervenes between *iṆ* and *iṬ*. Others claim that the *anuvṛtti* of *aṅgāt* has been canceled. Consequently, we do not have any intervening sound. That is, *dh* should be replaced with *ḍh*, optionally.

8.3.80 समासेऽङ्गुलेः सङ्गः

samāse' ṅguleḥ saṅgaḥ

| samāse 7/1 *aṅguleḥ* 5/1 *saṅgaḥ* 1/1 (nominative used for genitive by transposition (*vyatyaya*))/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58)

saṅgasakārasya aṅguler uttarasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati samāse

A *mūrdhanya* replaces the *s* of *saṅga* 'attachment, contact' when the same combines after *aṅguli* 'finger' in a nominal compound.

EXAMPLES:

aṅguliṣaṅgā yavāgūḥ 'finger-sticking barley-gruel'

aṅguliṣaṅgo gāḥ sādayati '. . . has cows run with touch of his finger'

1. This rule facilitates a replacement in *ṣ* against the negative provision of 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*. Note that *saṅga* is used in the nominative with the sense of genitive. It is here interpreted as *saṃśleṣa* 'contact'. We thus get *aṅguliṣaṅgaḥ*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *samāse* 'in a compound'? Consider *aṅguleḥ saṅgaṃ paśya*, where, because of a non-compound sequence, *s* of *saṅgaḥ* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*.

8.3.81 भीरोः स्थानम्

bhīroḥ sthānam

| bhīroḥ 5/1 *sthānam* 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58 *samāse* #79)
sthānasakārasya bhīror uttarasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati samāse
A *mūrdhanya* replaces the *s* of *sthāna* 'place, location' when the same combines in a compound after *bhīru* 'fearful, timid, coward'.

EXAMPLES:

bhīruṣṭhānam = *bhīroḥ sthānam* 'home of a coward'

1. Note that *bhīruṣṭhānam* is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compund where *bhīru* combines with *sthāna* denoting locus (*Nyāsa: adhikaraṇasādhanena sthānaśabdena ṣaṣṭhīsamāsaḥ*).

8.3.82 अग्नेः स्तुत्स्तोमसोमाः

agneḥ stutstomasomāḥ
/*agneḥ* 5/1 *stut-stoma-somāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*), *te*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58 *samāse* #79)
agner uttarasya 'stut, stoma, soma' ity eteṣāṃ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati samāse
A *mūrdhanya* replaces the *s* of *stut*, *stoma* and *soma*, when these combine in a compound to follow *agni*.

EXAMPLES:

agniṣṭut 'a sacrifice where Agni is the divinity'
agniṣṭomaḥ 'the initial of the seven categories of Soma sacrifices'
agnīṣomau 'Agni and Soma'

1. This rule offers *ṣ* as replacement for *s* at the beginning of a *pada*. This again is an exception to 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*. Refer to derivational details of *agnicit* in the appendix (II:421-23). Similar rules apply in deriving *agnistut*.

2. An *iṣṭi* 'desideratum' (*Kāś: agner dīrghāt somasyeṣyate*) notes that *s* of *soma* is to be replaced with *ṣ* when *soma* combines after *agnī*. Obviously, this reference is to a *devatā-dvandva* 'a *dvandva* compound with constituents denoting divinity'. For, that is where we get this long replacement (*PM: devatādvandve ṣatvam ity arthaḥ; tatraiva dīrghasya vidhānāt*).

2. Note that this replacement applies only in a compound. It cannot apply in a sentence: *agne somaḥ*.

8.3.83 ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः

jyotirāyuṣaḥ stomaḥ
/*jyotir-āyuṣaḥ* 5/1 = *jyotiś ca āyuś ca* = *jyotirāyuḥ* (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *stomaḥ* 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *numvisarja-nīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58 *samāse* #79)
'*jyotis, āyus*' *ity etābhyām uttarasya stomasakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati samāse*
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) replaces the *s* of *stoma* when this same combines in a compound after *jyotis* 'light' and *āyus* 'life-span'.

EXAMPLES:

jyotiṣṭomaḥ 'name of a sacrifice'
āyuṣṭomaḥ 'name of a sacrifice'

1. These two derivates both are genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds. The final *s* of *jyotis* and *āyus* is first replaced with *ḥ* (8.3.15 *kharavasānayor visarjanīyaḥ*). An optional *s* then replaces *ḥ* before *stoma* (8.3.66 *vā śari*). The *s* of *stoma*, when replaced with *ṣ*, causes its preceding *s* and following *t* to be replaced with *ṣ* and *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). Thus, *jyotiṣṣṭomaḥ/ āyuṣṣṭomaḥ* and *jyotiḥṣṭomaḥ/ āyuḥṣṭomaḥ*.

2. The condition of *samāse* 'in a compound' is still valid. We cannot get this replacement in *jyotiḥ stomaṃ darśayati*.

8.3.84 मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा

mātṛpitṛbhyāṃ svasā
/ *mātṛ-pitṛbhyām* 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *svasā* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *numvisarja-nīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58 *samāse* #79)
'*mātṛ, pitṛ*' *ity etābhyām uttarasya svasṛsakārasya samāse mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati*
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) replaces the *s* of *svasṛ* 'sister', when this same combines in a compound after *mātṛ* 'mother' and *pitṛ* 'father'.

EXAMPLES:

mātṛṣvasā 'mother's sister'
pitṛṣvasā 'father's sister'

1. This rule replaces the *s* of *svasṛ* 'sister' when this same combines in a compound after *mātṛ* 'mother' and *pitṛ* 'father'. We thus get *mātṛṣvasā* and *pitṛṣvasā*. This *ṣ*-replacement is offered for a *s* which itself is not a replacement. Note that *mātṛ* and *pitṛ* are placed first in the compound because of respect (*vt. abhyarhitaṃ pūrvaṃ nipatati*; cf. 2.2.34 *ṛtunakṣatrāṇām* . . .).

8.3.85 मातुःपितुर्भ्यामन्यतरस्याम्

mātuḥpiturbhyām anyatarasyām

/ *mātuḥ-piturbhyām* 5/2 = *mātuś ca pituś ca* = *mātuḥpitarau* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *anyatarasyām* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58 *samāse* #79 *svasā* #84)
'*mātur, pitur' ity etābhyām uttarasya svasṛśabdasyānyatarasyāṃ mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati samāse*
A corresponding retroflex (*mūrdhanya*) replaces the *s* of *svasṛ*, only optionally, when this same combines after *mātur* and *pitur*.

EXAMPLES:

mātuḥṣvasā
mātuḥsvasā
pituḥṣvasā
pituḥsvasā

1. Note that *mātuḥ* and *pituḥ* are here interpreted as genitive singular forms of *mātṛ* and *pitṛ*. This specification of form is made as principal (*tantra*). That is, forms of *mātur* and *pitur* which end in *r* are in focus for this replacement in *ṣ*. The *visarga* of *mātuḥ* is also accepted as *r*, because of associated listing of *mātuḥ* with *pitur*. If this specification is not accepted as made with *mātuḥ* and *pituḥ* ending in *r*, they both must be accepted as ending in *visarga*. A specification accepted as made with *ḥ* at the end will lead to problems. This *ḥ* will then be replaced with an optional *ḥ* (8.3.36 *vā śari*). If this optional *ḥ* is not accepted, it then will be replaced with *s*. We can thus not get a replacement in *ṣ* for the *s* of *svasṛ*. Accepting the forms as ending in the *visarga* will create further problems, especially before *bhyām*. It is to remove this difficulty that *mātuḥ* and *pituḥ* are both accepted as ending in *r*.

It is stated that a replacement in *ṣ* can be gotten with both *mātuḥ* and *pituḥ* ending either in *ḥ* or *s*. This will be in consonance with the *PŚ* (38): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* 'one place modification in forms does not make them different'. It is in view of this that *mātuḥ* and *pituḥ* are accepted as specified here with *r* at the end (*Kāś*: *mātuḥpitur iti rephāntayor etad grahaṇam. ekadeśavikṛtam ananyatvād visarjanīyāntāt sakārāntāc ca ṣatvaṃ bhavati*).

Note that non-deletion (*aluk*) of *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive' is made possible by 6.3.22 *vibhāṣā svasṛpatyoḥ*. The optional *s* of 8.3.36 *vā śari* will also be replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣṭutva*). Thus, we will get *mātuḥsvasā*/ *mātuṣṣvasā* and *pituḥsvasā*/ *pituṣṣvasā*.

8.3.86 अभिनिसः स्तनः शब्दसंज्ञायाम्

abhinisaḥ stanaḥ śabdasaṃjñāyām
/ *abhi-nisaḥ* 5/1 (*sam. dv.*), *tasmāt*; *stanaḥ* 6/1 *śabdasaṃjñāyām* 7/1 = *śabdasya saṃjñā* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasyām*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58 *anyatarasyām* #85)

'abhi, nis' ity etasmād uttarasya stanatisakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyāṃ śabdasaṃjñā gamyamānāyām

A *mūrdhanya* replaces the *s* of verbal root *stan* 'to sound', only optionally, when *stan* is prefixed with *abhi* and *nis*, and the derivate identifies a particular sound.

EXAMPLES:

abhiniṣṭāno varṇaḥ
abhiniṣṭāno visarjanīyaḥ
abhinistāno visarjanīyaḥ

1. Note that *śabdasaṃjñā*, in the context of *abhi-stan* and *nis-stan*, identifies *abhiṣṭāna* and *abhinistāna*. Commentators identify *abhinistāna* or *abhiniṣṭāna* as a name for *visarjanīya* (*Kāś*: *abhinistāno visarjanīyaḥ*).

2. Why do we state the condition of *śabdasaṃjñā* 'name of a sound'? Consider *abhinistanati mṛdaṅgaḥ* 'the Mṛdaṅga drum is sounding'. It is the name of a sound, and not just the sound which conditions this replacement.

The *anuvṛtti* of *samāse* is now canceled.

8.3.87 उपसर्गप्रादुर्भ्यामस्तिर्यच्परः

upasargaprādurbhyām astir yacparaḥ

/ *upasarga-prādurbhyām* 5/2 = *upasargaś ca prāduś ca* = *upasargaprādusau* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *astiḥ* 1/1

yacparaḥ 1/1 = *yaś ca ac ca* = *yacau* (*itar. dv.*), *tau parau yasmāt* (*bv.* with int. *dv.*) /

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *nuṃvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58)

upasargasthān nimittāt prādusśabdāc cottarasya yakāraparasyācparasya cāstisakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A *mūrdhanya* replaces the *s* of verbal root *as* 'to be' when this same occurs after a preverb containing conditions of this replacement, or occurs after *prādus*, provided *y*, or a vowel (*aC*), follows in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

abhiṣanti
niṣanti
viṣanti
prāduḥṣanti
abhiṣyāt
niṣyāt
viṣyāt
prāduḥṣyāt

1. This rule allows the *s* of verbal root *as* to be replaced with *ṣ* when (*i*) *as* occurs after a preverb which contains conditions of this replacement; (*ii*) or *as* occurs after *prādus*. Additionally, (*iii*) *as* must be followed, either by *y*, or by a vowel. Consider *abhiṣanti, niṣanti, viṣanti* and *prāduḥṣanti*, where *ŚaP* gets deleted since the root belongs to the *ad-ādi* group of verbs (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibho* . . .). The *a* of *as* also goes through deletion of 6.4.111 *śnasor al lopaḥ*. Derivates of *LIṄ*, i.e., *abhiṣyāt, niṣyāt, viṣyāt* and *prāduḥṣyāt*, require augments *yāsUṬ* (3.4.103 *yāsuṭ parasmaipade* . . .) and, under certain conditions, *sUṬ* (3.4.107 *suṭ tithoḥ*). Deletion of a non-final *s*, generally of *yāsUṬ*, *sUṬ* and *sīyUṬ*, is accomplished by 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo' nantyasya*. Refer to derivational details of *kuryāt* (III:784) for additional detail. Examples of *sUṬ* and *sīyUṬ* are offered under 7.2.79 *liṅaḥ salopo' anantyasya*.

2. The *dvandva* compound *yacau* is paraphrased as *ya ca ac ca* '*y* and *aC*'. A paraphrase of *yacparaḥ* is then offered as *yacau parau yasmāt sa* 'that after which *y* and *aC* occur'. Haradatta questions the use of *paraḥ*, especially since *yacoḥ* in the locative (*saptamī*) could have served the purpose (*PM*: *yacor iti saptamīnirdeśenaiva siddhe paragrahaṇaṃ cintyaprayojanam*).

3. Why do we have to state *upasargāt* 'after a preverb'? We need an *upasarga* which, in turn, contains conditions of this replacement. We will not get this replacement in *dadhi syāt* and *madhu syāt*, where *as* is used without a preverb.

Why do we use *as*? Consider *anusṛtam* and *visṛtam*, where verbal root *sṛ* is prefixed with *anu*. A specification with *as* blocks this replacement in *ṣ*. But we still do not need the specification of *as*. Since the *a* of *as* gets deleted, a preverb will be understood with reference to *s* of *as*. That is, the preverb will qualify a verbal root found in the form of *s*. There is no verb other that *as* which is found with the form of *s*. We thus do not need the specification of *as*. We do not need this specification of *as* for *prādus* either. For, *prādus* is always used with *kṛ, bhū* and *as*. A reference to *as* without its express specification is also possible when *prādus* is in use.

Commentators explain that this specification of *as* is needed. Consider *anusvoḥ apatyam* = *ānuseyaḥ* ← *anusū* + (*ḍhaK*→*eya*) 'male offspring of Anusū', where *ū* gets deleted by 6.4.147 *ḍhalopo*. . . . This rule may have the occasion to replace *s* of *anus* + *eya*, had *as* not been specified as the verb.

Why do we state the condition of *yacparaḥ* 'followed by *y* and *aC*'? Consider *nistaḥ, vistaḥ* and *prādustaḥ*, where this replacement cannot apply. Obviously, *s* is not followed here by *y* or *aC*.

8.3.88 सुविनिर्दुर्भ्यः सुपिसूतिसमाः

suvinirdurbhyaḥ supisūtisamāḥ

/ *su-vi-nir-dur-bhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *supi-sūti-samāḥ* 1/3 (*itar. dv.*), *te*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58)

'su, vi, nir, dur' ity etebhya uttarasya 'sūpi, sūti, sama' ity eteṣāṃ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A *mūrdhanya* replaces the *s* of verbal root *supI* (*svapI*), *sūtI* and *sama* when they occur prefixed after *su, vi, nir* and *dur* in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

suṣuptaḥ
niḥṣuptaḥ
duḥṣuptaḥ
suṣūtiḥ
viṣūtiḥ
niḥṣūtiḥ
duḥṣūtiḥ
suṣamam
viṣamam
niḥṣamam
duḥsamam

1. Note that *supI* refers to *svapI*, which is here specified after applying *samprasāraṇa* (6.1.15 *vacisvapi*...; *Kāś*: '*supi*' *iti svapi kṛtasamprasāraṇo gṛhyate*). The *i* of *supI* is an addition. It should not confuse us about the root's specification with *i* (*PM*: *supīty āgantuka ikāraḥ, na punar ikā nirdeśaḥ*). This *ṣ*-replacement will then apply on forms of *svapI* where *samprasāraṇa* applies. If it was not intended to focus on this particular form, this root should have been specified as *svapI*, in the manner similar to 6.1.15 *vacisvapi*.... Verbal root *ṣū* is specified with *KtiN*, thereby implying that this *ṣ*-replacement will apply to its specified *KtiN*-form only (*svarūpa-grahaṇa*). Note that this *ṣ*-replacement is not allowed to *supi* and *sūti* since the *s* occurs at the beginning of a *pada* (8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*).

Recall that *sama* is listed in the *sarvādi* group as a non-derivable (*avyutpanna*) nominal. This rule offers *ṣ* as a replacement for its *s*, not made available on account of its initial position in a *pada*. This *sama* can also be interpreted as a derivate of affix *aC*, introduced after *ṣamA* 'to be calm' (3.1.134 *nandigrahi*...). Accepting *sama* as a derivate of *ṣamA* may be favored, especially in view of its associated listing in this rule with verbal root *supI* (*sāhacaryāt*). Jinendrabuddhi, however, favors *sama*, the form derived with *aC* introduced after *ṣamA*. He emphasizes that, based on *śabdapara-vipratiṣedha*, a *sāhacarya* 'association' determined by a form (*śabda*) is considered more powerful than one determined by a corresponding base (*dhātu*; *Nyāsa*: *śabdaparavipratiṣedhena śabdaparaṃ yat sāhacaryaṃ tad balīya iti*).

The specification of *nis* and *dus* is made here with *r* at the end. This *r* then is replaced with *visarga*. We thus get *suṣuptaḥ, viṣuptaḥ, niḥṣuptaḥ,*

duḥsuptaḥ; suṣūtiḥ, viṣūtiḥ, niḥṣūtiḥ, duḥṣūtiḥ; and *suṣamam, viṣamam, niḥṣamam, duḥṣamam.*

2. A *kārikā* verse summarizes issues involved with the application of this rule:

> *supeḥ ṣatvaṃ svaper mā bhūd visuṣvāpeti kena na/*
> *halādiśeṣān na supir iṣṭaṃ pūrvaṃ prasāraṇam//*
> *syādīnāṃ niyamo nātra prāk sitād uttaraḥ supi/*
> *anarthake viṣuṣupaḥ ṣupibhūto dvir ucyate//*
>
> 'a replacement in *ṣ* is specified with reference to *supi* so that it does not apply to a form in *svap* (*visvapnaḥ/visvapnak;* 3.2.172); why can *ṣ*-replacement not apply in *visuṣvāpa,* where we get *sup* in the *abhyāsa,* though *p* is lost to *halādi-śeṣa* (7.4.60) and is supported by *ekadeśa-vikṛtam . . .*; we do not get *sup* in the *abhyāsa* of *visuṣvāpa,* because *samprasāraṇa* is desired to apply prior to *halādi-śeṣa* (6.1.17); the *s* of *visuṣvāpa* cannot be replaced with *ṣ* since *sup* falls outside the specification of *prāk sitād.* The *niyama* of 8.3.64 *sthādīnām . . .* thus cannot apply (8.3.63-8.3.64). Moreover, the deleted *p* will render *su* meaningless (*anarthaka*). How can we allow the meaningless *ṣup.* Actually, what goes through doubling is *visvap*→*viṣup,* through *samprasāraṇa* and *ṣ*-replacement. Doubling cannot apply prior to *samprasāraṇa* since a replacement in *ṣ* is not treated as *asiddha* for purposes of doubling'

8.3.89 निनदीभ्यां स्नातेः कौशले

> *ninadībhyāṃ snāteḥ kauśale*
> */ni-nadībhyām* 5/2 = *niś ca nadī ca* = *ninadyau* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām; snāteḥ* 5/1 *kauśale* 7/1/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *numvisarja-nīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58)
> '*ni, nadī' ity etābhyām uttarasya snātisakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati kauśale gamyamāne*
> A *mūrdhanya* replaces the *s* of verbal root *snā* 'to bathe, cleanse' when the same occurs after *ni* and *nadī* and the signification is *kauśala* 'skill'.

EXAMPLES:

> *niṣṇātaḥ kaṭakaraṇe* 'skilled in making mats'
> *niṣṇāto rajjuvartane* 'skilled in making ropes'
> *nadīṣṇaḥ* 'skilled in swimming'

1. Here again we get a replacement in *ṣ* against the negation of *ṣ*-replacement at the beginning (8.3.111 *sātpadādyoḥ*). We thus get the *s* of *snā* replaced with *ṣ* when *ni* and *nadī* are used in construction before *snā.*

Consider *nadīṣṇaḥ,* where *snā* derives from *ṣṇā,* via replacement of *ṣ* with *s* (6.1.62 *dhātvādeḥ . . .*). Affix *Ka* is introduced after *snā* with the signification

of 'skilled'. The word *nadī* forms the cooccurrence (*upapada*; 3.2.4 *supi sthaḥ*) condition. We thus get *nadīsnā* + (*K*) *a* → *nadīsnā* + *a*, where *ā* of *snā* gets deleted by 6.4.65 *āto lopa*. . . . We now get *nadīsna*, where our present rule replaces the *s* of *nadīsna* with *ṣ*. This *ṣ* then leads to a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṣṭutva*) for *n* of *ṣnā*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *kauśale* 'when 'skill' is denoted'? Consider *nadyāṃ snātaḥ* = *nadīsnātaḥ* 'river-bathed' where, in the absence of denotation of 'skill', we do not get a replacement in *ṣ*.

8.3.90 सूत्रं प्रतिष्णातम्

sūtraṃ pratiṣṇātam
/*sūtram* 1/1 *pratiṣṇātam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56)
'*pratiṣṇātam*' *ity nipātyate sūtraṃ ced bhavati*
The form *pratiṣṇātam* is derived as a qualifier to *sūtra* 'thread, yarn', via *nipātana*, with a replacement in *ṣ*.

EXAMPLES:

pratiṣṇātam sūtram 'pure thread'

1. This replacement in *ṣ* is again negated by 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*. This rule makes this possible, though via *nipātana*. Thus, *prati-snā* + *Kta* → *prati-*(*s*→*ṣ*) *nā* + *ta* → *prati-ṣ*(*n*→*ṇ*) *ā* + *ta* → *pratiṣṇāta*.

2. Why was this rule not formulated simply as *sūtraṃ prateḥ*? This could account for *pratiṣṇāta* with the *anuvṛtti* of *snā* from the preceding rule. This *nipātana* with particular mention of *pratiṣṇāta* is used to block *ṣ*-replacement in other bases. Thus, a form ending in *tṛC*, i.e., *pratisnātā*, cannot be allowed this replacement.

8.3.91 कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे

kapiṣṭhalo gotre
/*kapiṣṭhalaḥ* 1/1 *gotre* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56)
'*kapiṣṭhalaḥ*' *ity nipātyate gotraviṣaye*
A *ṣ* replaces *s* in deriving *kapiṣṭhala*, via *nipātana*, when the signification is that of a *gotra* 'lineage'.

EXAMPLES:

kapiṣṭhalo nāma yasya sa kāpiṣṭhaliḥ putraḥ 'Kapiṣṭhala, is one whose son is Kāpiṣṭhali'

1. Note that the word *gotra* here means lineage. It does not denote its technical meaning of 'a grandson, and others thereafter (4.1.162 *apatyaṃ*

pautraprabhṛtio gotram)'. A non-technical *gotra* includes reference to the first person in the lineage and others thereafter. If *gotra* was used in its technical sense, we can only get a *ṣ*-replacement in *kāpiṣṭhali.* The head of the lineage, i.e., *kapiṣṭhala* cannot avail this replacement. Why was *kapiṣṭhalaḥ* itself not given as an example. It is noted that Kāpiṣṭhali must have been more famous.

Note that *sthala* of *kapisthala* is derived from verbal root *ṣṭhalA.* This root is enumerated with *ṣ* at its beginning in accord with: *ajdantyaparāḥ sādayaḥ ṣopadeśāḥ* 'a *s*-initial root which ends in a vowel, and also a non-dental consonant, is considered beginning with *ṣ* in initial citation (*ṣopadeśa*)'.

2. Why do we state the condition of *gotre*? Consider *kapeḥ sthalam* = *kapisthalam* 'place where monkey(s) live'.

8.3.92 प्रष्ठोऽग्रगामिनि

praṣṭho' gragāmini
/*prasthaḥ* 1/1 *agragāmini* 7/1 = *agre gacchati* (*tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56)
'*praṣṭhaḥ*' *ity nipātyate agragāminy abhidheye*
A *s* is replaced with *ṣ* in deriving *praṣṭha,* via *nipātana,* when the derivate denotes *agragāmin* 'he who moves ahead'.

EXAMPLES:

pratiṣṭhata iti praṣṭho' śvaḥ 'a horse who moves ahead of his rider'

1. Why do we state the condition of *agragāmin* 'he who moves ahead'? Consider *prasthe himavataḥ puṇye* 'on the auspicious peak of the Himalaya', where *prastha* does not mean *agragāmin.*

8.3.93 वृक्षासनयोर्विष्टरः

vṛkṣāsanayor viṣṭaraḥ
/*vṛkṣāsanayoḥ* 6/2 = *vṛkṣaś ca āsanaṃ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *viṣṭaraḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56)
'*viṣṭaraḥ*' *iti nipātyate vṛkṣe āsane ca vācye*
A *s* is replaced with *ṣ* in deriving *viṣṭara,* via *nipātana,* when derivates denote *vṛkṣa* 'tree' and *āsana* 'something to sit on, a seat'.

EXAMPLES:

viṣṭaro vṛkṣaḥ 'Viṣṭara is name of a tree'
viṣṭaram āsanam '*viṣṭara* means an *āsana* 'seat''

1. Note that *viṣṭara* 'that which is spread about' is derived by introducing affix *aP* (3.3.57 *ṛdor ap*) after verbal root *stṝÑ* 'to cover, spread'. Affix *aP* is introduced, via *nipātana,* against *GHaÑ* of 3.3.33 *prathane vāvaśabde.*

2. Why do we state the twin conditions of *vṛkṣāsanayoḥ* 'when 'tree' and

'something to sit on' is denoted'? Consider *aulapivākyasya vistaraḥ* 'elaboration of Aulapi's utterance', where *vistara* means 'expansion'.

8.3.94 छन्दोनाम्नि च

chandonāmni ca
/chandonāmni 7/1 = *chandasaḥ nāma* = *chandonām* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* φ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *viṣṭaraḥ* #93)
'*viṣṭāraḥ*' *iti nipātyate*
A *s* is also replaced with *ṣ* in deriving *viṣṭāra*, via *nipātana*, when the derivate names a meter.

EXAMPLES:

viṣṭārapaṅktiḥ chandaḥ 'a meter named Viṣṭārapaṅkti'
viṣṭāro bṛhatī chandaḥ 'a meter named Bṛhatī'

1. The word *viṣṭāra* is derived from *viṣṭara*. Refer to notes under 3.3.34 *chando nāmni ca* for additional details.

2. Why do we state the condition of *chando nāmni* 'when name of a meter is denoted'? Consider *paṭasya vistāraḥ* 'length and breadth of a cloth'.

8.3.95 गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिरः

gaviyudhibhyāṃ sthiraḥ
/gavi-yudhi-bhyām 5/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *sthiraḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56)
gaviyudhibhyām uttarasya sthirasakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
The *s* of *sthira* 'firm', used after *gavi* and *yudhi*, is replaced with *ṣ* when close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

gaviṣṭhiraḥ 'he who is steadfast in taking care of cows (truthful; a name)'
yudhiṣṭhiraḥ 'he who is steadfast in battles (the eldest among Pāṇḍava brothers)'

1. This rule allows the *s* of *sthira* to be replaced with *ṣ* when it combines after *gavi* and *yudhi*. Thus, *gaviṣṭhiraḥ* and *yudhiṣṭhiraḥ*. These compounds are allowed under the denotational condition of a name (2.1.44 *saṃjñāyām*). Is this non-deletion (*aluk*) of *saptamī* 'locative' accomplished by 6.3.9 *halantāt saptamyāḥ saṃjñāyām*? Yes, but only in case of *yudhiṣṭhiraḥ*. Since *go* does not end in a consonant, non-deletion of locative in *gaviṣṭhiraḥ* is accomplished by this rule, via *nipātana*.

8.3.96 विकुशमिपरिभ्यः स्थलम्

vikuśamiparibhyaḥ sthalam

/ *vi-ku-śami-paribhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *sthalam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56)
'*vi, ku, śami, pari*' *ity etebhya uttarasya sthalasakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati*
The *s* of *sthala* is replaced with *ṣ* when *sthala* is combined after *vi, ku, śami* and *pari.*

EXAMPLES:

viṣṭhalam 'remote place'
kuṣṭhalam 'bad place'
śamiṣṭhalam 'a place abounding in Śamī trees'
pariṣṭhalam 'surround place'

1. This again is an exception to the negation of 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*. The example compounds are formed in consonance with 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*, with the understanding that *vi, ku* and *pari* are particles (*nipāta*). The word *śamī* is combined with *sthalam* in a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. The long *ī* of *śamī* goes through the shortening proposal of 6.3.63 *ṅyāpoḥ saṃjñā*. . . . Thus, we get *viṣṭhalam* and *śamiṣṭhalam*, etc.

8.3.97 **अम्बाम्बगोभूमिसव्यापद्वित्रिकुशेकुशङ्क्वङ्गुमञ्जिपुञ्जिपरमेबर्हिर्दिव्यग्निभ्यः स्थः**

ambāmbagobhūmisavyāpadvitrikuśekuśaṅkvaṅgumañjipuñjiparamebarhir-divyagnibhyaḥ sthaḥ
/ *amba-āmba-go-bhūmi-savya-apa-dvi-tri-ku-śeku-śaṅkvaṅgu-mañji-puñji-parame-barhis-divy-agni-bhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *sthaḥ* 6/3/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56)
'*amba, āmba, go, bhūmi, savya, apa, dvi, tri, ku, śeku, śaṅku, aṅgu, mañji, puñji, parame, barhis, divi, agni*' *ity etebhya uttarasya sthaśabdasakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati*
A *mūrdhanya* replaces the *s* of *stha* when it combines after *amba* 'father', *āmba, go* 'cow, bull', *bhūmi* 'earth', *savya* 'left', *apa* 'water', *dvi* 'two', *tri* 'three', *ku* 'bad', *śeku* '?', *śaṅku* 'peg', *aṅgu* 'finger', *mañji* 'cluster of blossoms', *puñji* 'heap, mass', *parame*' in the best, highest', *barhis* 'Kuśa grass', *divi* 'in heaven' and *agni* 'fire'.

EXAMPLES:

ambaṣṭhaḥ 'a place'
āmbaṣṭhaḥ 'resident of Ambaṣṭha'
goṣṭhaḥ 'cow-shade'
bhūmiṣṭhaḥ 'located on earth'
savyeṣṭhaḥ 'standing on left'
apaṣṭhaḥ 'end of the elephant goad'
dviṣṭhaḥ 'standing in two places'

triṣṭhaḥ '. . . in three places'
kuṣṭhaḥ 'a plant; leprosy'
śekuṣṭhaḥ '?'
śaṅkuṣṭhaḥ 'placed on a peg'
aṅguṣṭhaḥ 'thumb, big toe'
mañjiṣṭhaḥ 'Indian madder'
puñjiṣṭhaḥ 'heaped, gathered'
parameṣṭhaḥ 'supreme'
barhiṣṭhaḥ 'placed on the Kuśa grass'
diviṣṭhaḥ 'abiding in heaven'
agniṣṭhaḥ 'placed in (on) fire'

1. Note that *stha* is specified here as a derivate of affix *Ka*, introduced after verbal root *sthā*. The *ā* of *sthā* is also deleted (6.4.64 *āto lopa iṭi ca*). Recall that a specification made with a particular form (*svarūpa-grahaṇa*) must apply to that form only. This replacement in *ṣ* must then apply to the *s* of *stha*. The nominative singular of *sthaḥ* should not be confused with the genitive singular of *sthā*. A genitive interpretation would make this rule apply to *gosthānam* and *bhūmisthānam*.

All examples are *upapada* 'conjoined' compounds, where *stha* is combined after *ambā, amba, go*, etc. Affix *Ka* is introduced after verbal root *sthā* under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* ending in a *sUP* (3.3.4 *supi sthaḥ*). The long *ā* of *ambā* (in *ambaṣṭha*) is replaced with its short counterpart by 6.3.61 *ṅyāpoḥ saṃjñā*. . . . Affix *Ka*, in *goṣṭha*, is introduced with the signification of *GHaÑ* by a *vārttika* proposal (*vt*: *ghañarthe kavidhānam*; cf. 3.3.58 *grahavṛdṛ*. . .). Non-deletion of *saptamī* 'locative' in *savyeṣṭhaḥ* is allowed in consonance with 6.3.9 *halantād saptamyāḥ*. . . . A replacement in *ṣ* will also lead to a replacement in *ḍh* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made (*vt*: *sthāsthinsthṝṇām iti vaktavyam*) to also include *sthā, sthin* and *sthṛ*. Thus, we will get *savyeṣṭhāḥ, parameṣṭhī, savyeṣṭhā* and *sārathiḥ* 'charioteer'.

8.3.98 सुषामादिषु च

suṣāmādiṣu ca
/*suṣāmādiṣu* 7/3 = *suṣāmā ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣu*; *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyavyavāye' pi* #58)
suṣāmādiṣu śabdeṣu sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *mūrdhanya* also comes in place of the *s* of *suṣāmā*, etc.

EXAMPLES:

suṣāmā = *śobhanaṃ sāma yasyāsau brāhmaṇaḥ* 'a brāhmaṇa whose recitation of the *Sāman* hymns is beautiful'

niṣṣāmā brāhmaṇaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who cannot recite the *Sāman* hymns'
duṣṣāmā brāhmaṇaḥ 'a brāhmaṇa who finds it difficult to recite the *Sāman* hymns'
niṣṣedhaḥ 'not going'
duṣṣedhaḥ 'rough going'

1. Note that *sūṣāmā,* etc., are listed as part of an open-ended group of nominals (*ākṛtigaṇa*). The *s* of *nis* and *dus* is optionally replaced with *visarga* (8.3.36 *vā śari*). If the option of *ḥ* is not accepted, we get the *s* further replaced with *ṣ* after *s* of *sāmā* itself is replaced with *ṣ*. Thus, *nis* + *sāmā* → *ni*(*s*→*ḥ*) + *sāmā* → *niḥ* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *āmā* = *niḥṣāmā* and *duḥṣāmā.* We can also get *niṣṣāmā* and *duṣṣāmā.*

Note that *siṣāma,* etc., are listed as a group for two reasons: (*i*) some of them are denied *ṣ*-replacement by a rule such as 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ,* or (*ii*) no replacement provision for some of them is made (*aprāpta*) by an earlier rule. Consider *suṣāmā* where *su* is a *karmapravacanīya* (1.1.94 *suḥ pūjāyām*). The negation of *ṣ*-replacement conditioned by the *upasarga* status of *su* can thus not apply. A *karmapravacanīya* cannot be assigned the term *upasarga* because of restrictive provision of 'one term' (*ekasaṃjñā;* 1.4.1 *ā kaḍārād ekā saṃjñā*). The term *upasarga* can also not be assigned to *nis* and *dus* of the listed words, especially since these two are assigned the term preverb only in connection with verbal roots *gam* and *kṛ.* Recall that *pra,* etc., are termed *gati* and *upasarga* in relation to action a root denotes (*Nyāsa: yaṃ prati kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas taṃ prati gatyupasargasaṃjñakā bhavanti*). We cannot identify *nis* and *dus* as preverbs in relation to the action denoted by *ṣidh* 'to move, go' or *sedh.* The *ṣ*-replacement of 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunotisuvati . . .* is thus not available to *niṣṣedhaḥ* and *duṣṣedhaḥ.* A replacement in *ṣ* could not be made available in *suṣandhiḥ, niṣṣandhiḥ* and *duṣṣandhiḥ,* mostly because their initial *s* does not derive from *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ; Nyāsa: tenaiṣām anādeśa-sakāratvād aprāpte ṣatve pāṭhaḥ*).

2. The *Uṇādi* suffix *Ku* (I:25: *apaduḥsuṣu sthaḥ*) is introduced after *su-sthā* and *duḥ-sthā* to derive *suṣṭhu* 'beautiful' and *duṣṭhu.* The *bahuvrīhi* (5.4.113 *bahuvrīhau sakthyakṣṇoḥ*) compound *gauryā iva sakthi yasyāḥ* = *gauriṣakthaḥ* 'she whose thigh is similar to Gaurī' is derived with the *samāsānta* affix *ṢaC,* where *s* of *sakthi* is replaced with *ṣ* of this rule. The long *ī* of *gaurī* 'fair complexioned' is replaced with its short counterpart by 6.3.63 *ṅyāpoḥ saṃjñā . . .,* introduced after *sthā* used with *su* and *du.*

8.3.99 **एति संज्ञायामगात्**

eti saṃjñāyām agāt
/*eti* 7/1 *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *agāt* 5/1 = *na gaḥ* = *agaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmāt*/ (*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyavyavāye' pi* #58)

ekāraparasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati iṇkor uttarasyāgakārāt parasya saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye

A *s* which is followed by *e* and occurs after a sound denoted by *iN* and *kU* with the exclusion of *g*, is replaced with *mūrdhanya* when the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

hariṣeṇaḥ
vāriṣeṇaḥ
jānuṣeṇī

1. Note that *Kāśikā* lists this rule as a *gaṇa-sūtra* under the *suṣāmādi* group of nominals. *Padamañjarī* and *Nyāsa* do not recognize it as a rule (*PM*: *etisaṃjñāyām agād iti gaṇasūtram*; *Nyāsa*: *etad grahaṇakavākyam*). We thus get *harayaḥ senā asya* = *hariṣeṇaḥ*; *paritaḥ senā asya* = *pariṣeṇaḥ*, etc., where shortening of *ā* of *senā* is accomplished by 1.2.48 *gostriyor upasarjanasya.*

2. Why do we state the condition of *saṃjñāyām* 'when the derivate denotes a name'? Consider *pṛthvī senā asya* = *pṛthusenaḥ* 'a king', where *s* of *senā* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*.

Why do we state the condition of *iṇkoḥ* 'after a sound denoted by *iN* and *kU*'? Consider *sarvasenaḥ*, where *s* occurs after *a*.

Why do we state the condition of *agāt* 'but not after *g*'? Consider *viṣvaksenaḥ*, where a replacement in *k* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*) is treated as suspended (*asiddha*) in view of *g* (*jaśtva*; 8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*).

8.3.100 नक्षत्राद् वा

nakṣatrād vā
/*nakṣatrāt* 5/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyavyavāye' pi* #58 *etisaṃjñāyām agāt* #99)
nakṣatravācinaḥ śabdād uttarasya sakārasya vā eti saṃjñāyām agakārād mūrdhanyo bhavati

A *s* before *e* which occurs after a sound denoted by *iN* and *kU*, with the exclusion of *g*, is optionally replaced with *mūrdhanya*, when a word with the signification of *nakṣatra* 'constellation' follows and the derivate denotes a name.

EXAMPLES:

rohiṇīṣeṇaḥ
rohiṇīsenaḥ
bharaṇīṣeṇaḥ
bharaṇīsenaḥ

1. This rule is also listed as a *gaṇa-sūtra* in the *suṣāmādi* group of nominals.

Thus, *rohiṇīṣeṇaḥ/ rohiṇīsenaḥ* and *bharaṇīṣeṇaḥ/ bharaṇīsenaḥ.* We cannot get this optional *ṣ*-replacement in *śatabhiṣaksenaḥ* where *s* is preceded by *k*, perceived as *g* via suspension (*asiddhatva*).

Note that the *suṣāmādi* group is an open ended (*ākṛtigaṇa*) group. It can thus include words whose *ṣ*-replacment cannot be covered by some specific rules (*Kāś: avahitalakṣaṇo mūrdhanyaḥ suṣāmādiṣu draṣṭavyaḥ*). Our earlier rule offers *ṣ*-replacement, obligatorily. This rule makes that optional provision obligatory.

8.3.101 ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते

hrasvāt tādau taddhite
/*hrasvāt* 5/1 *tādau* 7/1 = *takāra ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmin*; *taddhite* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyavyavāye' pi* #58)
hrasvād uttarasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati tādau taddhite parataḥ
A *s* which occurs after a short (*hrasva*) *i* and *u* is replaced with *ṣ* when a *taddhita* affix beginning with *t* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

sarpiṣṭaram 'comparatively more buttery'
yajuṣṭaram 'a comparatively better sacrifice'
sarpiṣṭamam 'most buttery'
yajuṣṭamam 'best sacrifice'
catuṣṭaye brāhmaṇānāṃ niketāḥ
'houses of brāhmaṇas in clusters of four'
sarpiṣṭvam 'butteriness'
yajuṣṭvam 'sacrificial performance'
sarpiṣṭā 'butteriness'
yajuṣṭā 'sacrificial action'
sarpiṣṭaḥ 'buttery'
yajuṣṭaḥ 'sacrificial'
āviṣṭyo vardhate 'grows after sprouting'

1. Note that *taraP* (5.3.57 *dvivacanavibhajya* . . .), *tamaP* (5.3.55 *atiśāyane*. .), *tayaP* (5.2.42 *saṃkhyāyā avayave* . . .), *taL* (5.1.119 *tasya bhāvas tvatalau*), *tasI* (5.4.44 *pratiyoge* . . .; 5.4.45 *apādāne* . . .) and *tyaP* (4.2.104 *avyayāt tyap*) are here recognized as the *taddhita* affixes beginning with *t* (*tādi*). This rule facilitates a replacement in *ṣ* which, because of the negation of *apadāntasya* (8.3.55 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ*), was not available. Consider *sarpi*(*s*→*ṣ*) + *taraP* → *sarpiṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) *ara* → *sarpiṣṭara* + *sU* = *sarpiṣṭaram, yajuṣṭaram; sarpiṣṭamam* and *yajuṣṭamam,* where *s* is replaced with *rU* and *visarga*. The *visarga* is then replaced with *s* (8.3.34 *visarjanīyasya saḥ*) before *t*. A replacement of this *s* with *ṣ* further causes *t* to be replaced with *ṣ* (*ṣṭutva*). Consider

catuṣṭaye, a derivate of *tayaP*, in *catuṣṭaye brāhmaṇānāṃ niketāḥ* 'houses of brāhmaṇa's are built in a cluster of four'.

2. Why do we state the condition of *hrasvāt* 'after a short vowel'? Consider *gīstarā* and *dhūstarā*, where *gīr* and *dhūr* do not end in a short vowel.

Why do we state the condition of *tādau* '. . . beginning with *t*' when 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ* can easily block the *ṣ*-replacement before a *t*-initial *taddhita* affix. Consider *sarpissād bhavati* 'becomes full of butter', where the *taddhita* affix *sātI* (5.4.52 *vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye*) begins with a vowel. The *s* of *sāt* cannot avail a replacement in *ṣ* because of the negation of 8.3.109 *sāt padādyoḥ*. The initial *s* of *sarpis* will also be saved from being replaced with *ṣ* under the condition of *padādi*. However, the negation of 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ* cannot save the final *s* of *sarpis* from being replaced with *ṣ* before affix *sāt*. If this specification with *tādau* was not made, *ṣ*-replacement of affixal *s* will be blocked. But *s* before *sāt* must then be replaced with *ṣ*.

Why do we state the condition of *taddhite* 'when a *taddhita* affix follows'? Consider *sarpis tarati* 'the butter floats', where *t* of *tarati* is not relatable to a *taddhita* affix.

3. A *vārttika* poposal is made to block this replacement from applying to a form ending in a *tiṄ* (3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*. . .). Consider *bhindyustarām* and *chindyustarām* where *taraP* (5.3.56 *tiṅaś ca*) and *āmU* (5.4.11 *kimetiṅ*. . .) are introduced after *Jus* (3.4.108 *jher jus*), a replacement of *jhi* of *LIṄ*.

8.3.102 निसस्तपतावनासेवने

nisas tapatāv anāsevane
/ nisaḥ 5/1 *tapatau* 7/1 *anāsevane* 7/1 = *na āsevanam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin/*
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56)
nisaḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati tapatau parato' nāsevane' rthe
The *s* of *nis* is replaced with *ṣ* when *tapati* follows and *anāsevana* 'not doing over and over again' is not denoted.

EXAMPLES:

niṣṭapati suvarṇam '. . . touches gold with fire'

1. The word *āsevana* is explained as *punaḥ punaḥ karaṇam* 'doing over and over again'. Its negative *anāsevana*, in the context of *suvarṇam* 'gold' and *tapati* 'heats up', is explained as *sakṛd agniṃ sparśayati* 'touches the fire once'.

2. Why do we state the condition of *anāsevane*? Consider *nistapati suvarṇaṃ suvarṇakāraḥ* 'the goldsmith heats up the gold'. That is, touches the gold with fire, over and over again'.

Why do we have this *ṣ*-replacement in *niṣṭaptam* and *niṣṭaptā* of *niṣṭaptaṃ rakṣa* and *niṣṭaptā arātayaḥ*? These examples may not be used with the denotation of *āsevana* 'repeated action'. It is equally possible that this sound modification is Vedic in nature (*Kāś*:. . . *āsevanaṃ na vivakṣyate*, *chāndaso vā varṇavikāraḥ*).

8.3.103 युष्मत्तत्ततक्षुःष्वन्तःपादम्

yuṣmattattatakṣuḥṣv antaḥpādam
/yuṣmat-tat-tatakṣu-ṣu 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu;*
antaḥpādam 1/1 = *antaḥ* = *madhye pādasya* (*avyayībhāva*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyavyavāye' pi* #58 *tādau* #101)
'yuṣmat, tat, tatakṣus' ity eteṣu takārādiṣu parataḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati sa cet sakāro' ntaḥpādaṃ bhavati
A *s* which occurs after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbols *iṆ* and *kU* is replaced with *ṣ* when a *t*-initial form of *yuṣmad* 'you', *tad* 'that' and *tatakṣus* follows and the *s* is contained within the quarter (*pāda*) of a hymn.

EXAMPLES:

agniṣ ṭvaṃ nāmāsīt
agniṣ ṭvā vardhayāmasi
apsvāgne sadhiṣṭava
agniṣ ṭad viśvam āpṛṇāti
dyāvāpṛthivī niṣṭatakṣuḥ

1. This rule replaces a *s* with *ṣ* in the middle of the quarter of a hymn when a *t*-initial form of *yuṣmad*, i.e., *tvam / tvām / te / tava, tat* and *tatakṣus* follow. Recall that *s* must also occur after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU*. Thus, *agni(s→ṣ) tvam nāma āsīt* → *agniṣ* (*t→ṭ*) *vam āsīt* = *agniṣṭvaṃ nāmāsīt; agnis tvā* → *agniṣṭvā* . . .;. . . *sadhis tava* → *sadhiṣṭava;*. . . ;*agnis tad*. . .;→ *agniṣṭad* . . .;. . . *nis tatakṣuḥ* → *niṣṭatakṣuḥ*. Note that *tādau* is carried over. Consequently, *yuṣmad* here refers to its replacements: *tva* (7.2.94 *tvāhau sau*), *tvā* (8.1.23 *tvāmau dvitīyāyāḥ*), *tava* (7.2.96 *tavamamau ṅasi*) and *te* (8.1.32 *temayāv* . . .). The word *tat* is an indeclinable particle. Finally, *tatakṣuḥ* is a form of *takṣ* 'to fashion, plane' where *LIṬ* is replaced with the third plural *us* (3.4.82 *parasmaipadānām* . . .). Note that this replacement applies at the end of a *pada*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *antaḥpādam* 'inside the quarter of a hymn'? Consider *yanma ātmano mindābhūdagnis tatpunarāha jātavedā vicarṣiṇaḥ* where *s* of *agnis* occurs at the end of the preceding quarter followed by *tat* at the beginning of the next. This replacement thus does not apply here.

8.3.104 यजुष्येकेषाम्

yajuṣy ekeṣām
/yajuṣi 7/1 *ekeṣām* 6/3/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyavyavāye' pi* #58 *tādau* #101 *yuṣmattattatakṣuḥṣu* #103)

yajuṣi viṣaye yuṣmattattatakṣus parata ekeṣām ācāryāṇāṃ matena sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati

A *s* which occurs after *iṆ* and *kU*, in the opinion of some in the *Yajurveda*, is replaced with *ṣ* when a *t*-initial form of *yuṣmad*, *tat* and *tatakṣus* follows and the *s* is contained within the quarter (*pāda*) of a hymn.

EXAMPLES:

archibhiṣ ṭavam
archibhis tvam
agniṣ ṭe' gram
agnis te' gram
agniṣ ṭat
agnis tat
archibhiṣ tatakṣuḥ
archibhis tatakṣuḥ

1. The word *ekeṣām* 'in the opinion of some' is used here to denote option (*Nyāsa*: *ekeṣāṃ grahaṇaṃ vikalpārtham*). Note also that *antaḥpādam* cannot be associated with the provision of this rule since occurrence within a *pada* is not possible (*Nyāsa*: *atra pādā na sambhavanti* . . .). This rule also offers replacement at the end of a *pada*. The examples need no further explanations.

8.3.105 स्तुतस्तोमयोश्छन्दसि

stutastomayoś chandasi
/*stutas-tomayoḥ* 6/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *chandasi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyavyavāye' pi* #58 *ekeṣām* #104)
'*stuta, stoma*' *ity etayoḥ sakārasya chandasi viṣaye mūrdhanyādeśo bhavaty ekeṣām ācāryāṇāṃ matena*

The *s* of *stuta* and *stoma*, in the opinion of some in the Vedic, is replaced with *ṣ* when *s* occurs in close proximity after *iṆ* and *kU*.

EXAMPLES:

tribhiḥ ṣṭutasya
tribhiḥ stutasya
goṣṭomaṃ ṣoḍaśinam
gostomaṃ ṣoḍaśinam

1. Why do we have this rule when *tribhiṣṭutasya*, etc., can be covered by the next rule, under the condition of *pūrvapadāt* 'after a preceding *pada* . . .'? It is correct to think that this rule is formulated for covering instances of *pūrvapada* 'preceding *pada*' of a non-compound string. For, the next rule may also apply to uncompounded strings of *padas*. This rule is merely an

expatiation of the next (*prapañca*). It offers a *ṣ*-replacement against the negation of 8.3.111 *sāt padādyoḥ*.

8.3.106 पूर्वपदात्

pūrvapadāt
/*pūrvapadāt* 5/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyavyavāye' pi* #58 *ekeṣām* #102 *chandasi* #105)
pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye ekeṣām ācāryāṇāṃ matena
A *mūrdhanya*, in the opinion of some scholars, comes in place of an *s* which occurs, in the Vedic, after a preceding *pada* containing the *nimitta* 'cause, condition' of this replacement.

EXAMPLES:

dviṣandhiḥ
dvisandhiḥ
triṣandhiḥ
trisandhiḥ
madhuṣṭhānam
madhusthānam
dviṣāhasraṃ cinvīta
dvisāhasraṃ cinvīta

1. Note that the word *pūrvapada* means the first constituent of a compound, or a *pada* which precedes some other (*Kāś: asamāse' pi yat pūrvapadaṃ tad apīha gṛhyate*). Thus, *triḥ* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *amṛddhatvāya* → *triḥ ṣamṛddhatvāya*, a non-compound string. We can also get this replacement in a compound string: *tri* + (*s*→*ṣ*) *andhiḥ* → *triṣandhiḥ*, *madhuṣṭhānam* and *dviṣāhsram*, etc. Since this *ṣ*-replacement is offered in the opinion of some scholars, others may have the compounds without it. Thus, *trisandhiḥ*, *madhusthānam* and *dvisāhasram*, etc. Incidentally, *trisandhiḥ* is either a genitive *tatpuruṣa*, or a *bahuvrīhi* compound. A similar genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound can be seen in *madhusthānam*. The *bahuvrīhi* of *dvayoḥ sahasrayor bhavati* = *dvisāhasram* is formed in the sense of a *taddhita* affix (2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada*...). Affix *aÑ* is then introduced with the signification of 4.3.53 *tatra bhavaḥ*. A *vṛddhi* replacement of the first *a* of *sahasra* 'a thousand' is accomplished by 7.3.15 *saṃkhyāyāḥ saṃvatsara*....

8.3.107 सुञः

suñaḥ
/*suñaḥ* 5/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyavyavāye' pi* #58 *chandasi* #105 *pūrvapadāt* #106)
'*suñ*' *iti nipāta iha gṛhyate, tasya pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye*
A *mūrdhanya* replaces the *s* of *suÑ* 'press out, sprinkle' which occurs, in the Vedic, after a preceding *pada* containing the *nimitta* 'condition, cause' of this replacement.

EXAMPLES:

abhīṣuṇaḥ sakhīnām 'bathing together of friends'
ūrdhva ūṣuṇaḥ 'moving upward'

1. Note that the *i* of *abhi* is replaced with its long counterpart before *suÑ* (6.3.132 *ikaḥ suñi*). The *n* of *nas* in *uṣunas* is replaced with *ṇ* (*ṇatva*; 8.4.26 *naś ca dhātustho* . . .). Thus, *abhīṣuṇaḥ sakhīnām* and *ūrdhva ūṣuṇaḥ*. The *suÑ* of this rule is interpreted as a particle (*nipāta*). Pāṇini should have specified *suñaḥ* with indication of its *vikaraṇa* and ending (*śtip*), had he intended it to be a verbal root.

8.3.108 सनोतेरनः

sanoter anaḥ
/ *sanoteḥ* 6/1 *anaḥ* 6/1 = *avidyamāno nakāro yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58 *chandasi* #105 *pūrvapadāt* #106)
sanoter anakārasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
A *mūrdhanya* comes in place of the *s* of verbal root *san*, in the Vedic, when *san* 'to give' does not end in *n*.

EXAMPLES:

goṣāḥ 'giver of cow'
nṛṣāḥ 'provider of men'

1. Note that the *n* of *san* gets a replacement in *ā* (*ātva*; 6.4.44 *viḍvanor* . . .). Refer to derivational details of *goṣāḥ* in the appendix (III:739-40). This replacement in *ṣ* is already made available by 8.3.106 *pūrvapadāt*. This rule then makes a restrictive provision (*niyama*). It applies only to that which does not end in *n*, and not to any other (*Nyāsa*: *avidyamānanakārasyaiva bhavati nānyasya*).

2. Why do we state the condition of *anaḥ* 'of that which does not end in *n*'? Consider *gosani* of *gosaniṃ vācam udīrayan* where this replacement does not take place. But it could hardly be a counter-example. It does not come under the preview of this rule's restrictive provision. Its *san* ends in *n* and it has been covered by the negation applicable to nominals listed in the *savanāni* group (8.3.110 *na raparasṛpi* . . . *savanādīnām*). Some offer *sisānayiṣati* as a

counter-example. But since this is a causal example and the restrictive provision of this rule is offered for non-causals, others prefer *sisanīḥ* as a better counter-example.

8.3.109 सहेः पृतनर्ताभ्यां च

saheḥ pṛtanartābhyām ca
/ *saheḥ* 6/1 *pṛtanartābhyām* 5/2 = *pṛtanā ca ṛtañ ca* = *pṛtanarte* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *chandasi* #105 *pūrvapadāt* #106)
'*pṛtanā, ṛta*' *ity etābhyām uttarasya sahisakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye*
A *mūrdhanya* comes in place of *s* of *sahA* 'to prevail, win', in the Vedic, also when it occurs after *pṛtanā* 'battle' and *ṛta* 'sacred order'.

EXAMPLES:

pṛtanāṣāham 'to winner of the enemy'
ṛtāṣāham 'to the follower of the sacred order'

1. Note that *sahA* receives affix *ṆvI* (3.2.64 *chandasi sahaḥ*) under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* ending in *sUP*. The final *a* of *ṛta* is then replaced with its long counterpart (6.3.135 *anyeṣām api*. . .). Some propose a split-interpretation of this rule into two: (*i*) *saheḥ* 'in place of the *s* of *sahA*; (*ii*) *pṛtanārtābhyāṃ ca* 'also when occurring after *pṛtanā* and *ṛta*'. This split-interpretation helps *ṣ*-replacement also in *ṛtīṣaham*. Notice that *sahA* does not occur after *ṛta*. It occurs after *ṛti*, instead. It is a derivate of *KvIP* (3.3.113 *kṛtyalyuṭo bahulam*) where long replacement for the short of *ṛti* is accomplished by 6.3.116 *nahivṛtivṛṣi*. . ., under the condition of *saṃhitāyām* 'when close proximity of sounds . . .'. We will get *ṛtiṣaham* when *saṃhitā* is not considered.

The *ca* of this rule is used to indicate *anukta-samuccaya* 'collecting something which has not yet been stated'. We thus also get *ṛtīṣaham*. That is, the *s* of *sāṭ* is replaced with *ṣ*, not only when it occurs after *i*, *u*, and a consonant of the *k*-series, but also when it occurs after *pṛtanā* and *ṛta* (*Nyāsa*: *na kevalaṃ sāḍbhūtasya iṇkoḥ parasya api tu pṛtanarttābhyāñ ca ṣatvaṃ bhavati*). Those who do not accept split-interpretation claim that *ca* is used here to account for examples yet to be coverered (*anukta-samuccaya*). They offer *ṛtīṣaḥam* as an example.

8.3.110 न रपरसृपिसृजिस्पृशिस्पृहिसवनादीनाम्

na raparasṛpisṛjispṛśispṛhisavanādīnām
/ *na* ϕ *rapara-sṛpi-sṛji-spṛśi-spṛhi-savanādīnām* 6/3 = *raḥ paro yasmāt* = *raparaḥ*; *raparaś ca sṛpi ca* . . . *svanādayaś* (*savanam ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*) *ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58) *rephaparasya sakārasya 'sṛpi, sṛji, spṛśi, spṛhi, svanādīnāṃ ca mūrdhanyo na bhavati*

A *s* which is followed by *r*, or which belongs to verbal roots *sṛp* 'to crawl', *sṛj* 'to fashion, create', *spṛś* 'to touch', *spṛh* 'to long for', or else, to items listed in the group headed by *savana* 'pressing out, soma', is not replaced with *ṣ* even when this *s* occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU*.

EXAMPLES:

visraṃsikāyāḥ kāṇḍaṃ juhoti
visrabdhaḥ kathayati
purā krūrasya vsṛpaḥ
vāco visarjanāt
divispṛśam
nispṛhaṃ kathayati
savanesavane
sūtesūte
aśvasanimaśvasanim

1. This rule blocks a replacement in *ṣ* for a *s* which occurs before *r*, or which belongs to verbal roots *sṛjI* 'to create', *sṛpI* 'to crawl', *spṛśI* 'to touch' and *spṛhI* 'to envy, love', or else, is part of a listing headed by *savana* 'pressing out'. This negation is made against provisions of 8.3.106 *pūrvapadāt*, and applies even when *s* occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ*, or *kU*. Consider *visraṃsikāyāḥ* where *visraṃsika* 'the śirīṣa tree' is a derivate of *ṆvuL* (3.3.108 *rogākhyāyām* . . .; 3.3.109 *saṃjñāyām*), introduced after *vi-srans* 'to slip, fall'. We also have *visrabdha* 'without any fear', a derivate of *Kta* introduced after *vi-sranbhU*. Recall that *n* of *sranbhU* 'to confide' is deleted (6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala* . . .). The *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *dh* (*dhatva*; 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor*. . .). The *bh* of the root is also replaced with *b* (8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). Augment *iṬ* is here blocked by 7.2.15 *yasya vibhāṣā*. These two examples both have a *r* occurring after *s*. This *s* cannot be replaced with *ṣ*. Refer to derivational details of *visṛpaḥ* in the appendix (II:376). Affix *KvIN* (3.2.58 *spṛśo' nudake*) is introduced after *spṛś* to derive *divispṛśa* 'touching heaven', under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* ending in an affix denoted by *sUP*. Recall that the locative of *divi* 'in heaven' is here not deleted (*aluk*; 6.3.12 *tatpuruṣe kṛti* . . .). We also get *nis-*(*spṛh* + *ṆiC*) + *aC* → *nispṛha*, a derivate of affix *aC* (3.3.56 *er ac*) where *ṆiC* goes through deletion (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*).

Now consider a *svanādi* derivate: *savanesavane*, where *savane* is iterated, like other examples, with the signification of *vīpsā* 'pervasion'. Note that *savane* is the locative form of *savana* 'pressing out', itself derived with affix

LyuṬ introduced after *ṣuÑ* 'to press out, extract'. Verbal root *ṣūÑ* 'to give birth' yields *sūta* with the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta*. *Kāśikā* adds that *aśvasanim* is brought here to indicate that *ṣ*-replacement is possible even when there is no preceding *iṆ*. This is how *jalāṣāham* 'he who can endure water' and *aśvaṣāham* '. . . can endure horse-ride' get their *s* replaced with *ṣ* (*Kāś*: *aśvasanigrahaṇam aniṇo' pi ṣatvama astīti jñāpanārtham. tena jalāṣāham, aśvaṣāham ity etat siddhaṃ bhavati*).

8.3.111 सात्पदाद्योः

sātpadādyoḥ
/ *sātpadādyoḥ* 6/2 = *padasya ādiḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *sāt ca padādiś ca* = *sātpadādī* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *numvisarjanīyaśarvyavāye' pi* #58 *na* #110)
'*sāt*' *ity etasya padādeś ca mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati*
A replacement in *mūrdhanya* does not come in place of the *s* of *sāt*, and also the *s* at the beginning of a *pada*, when this *s* occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU*.

EXAMPLES:

agnisāt 'fire-engulfed'
dadhisāt 'fully mixed with curds'
madhusāt 'fully mixed with honey'
dadhi siñcati 'sprinkles curds'
madhu siñcati 'sprinkles honey'

1. Note that *sāt* here refers to affix *sātI* (5.4.64 *vibhāṣā sāti kārtsnye*). Its *s* would have been replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. This rule blocks application of *ṣ*-replacement (*ṣatva*). A similar provision of *ṣ*-replacement in place of a *s* at the beginning of a *pada* is also negated here. This is basically against a *s* which may have its origin in the initial *ṣ* of a root (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*). Thus we get *agnisāt* and *madhu siñcati*, etc., where the *s* of *sāt* and *siñcati* is not replaced with *ṣ*. Recall that *s* of *siñcati* has its source in *ṣ* of *ṣic* 'to sprinkle'. Augment *nUM* is here introduced by 7.1.59 *śe mucādīnām*. The *n* then goes through a replacement in *ñ* (*ścutva*; 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*).

8.3.112 सिचो यङि

sico yaṅi
/ *sicaḥ* 6/1 *yaṅi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *na* #110)
sicaḥ sakārasya yaṅi parato mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati

The *s* of *sic* which occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU* is not replaced with *ṣ* when affix *yaṄ* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

pariseṣicyate 'sprinkles repeatedly'
abhiseṣicyate 'sprinkles around . . .'

1. This negation of *ṣ*-replacement is made against the positive provisions of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ* and 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti.* . . . Rule 8.3.59 offers a replacement in *ṣ* to a *s*-replacement of a verbal root. Rule 8.3.65 offers a replacement in *ṣ* for the *s* of an *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). Thus we get *ṣic* + *yaṄ* → *si* + *sic* + *ya* → *pari-s(i→e)* + *sic* + *ya* → *parisesicya* + *LAṬ* → *parisesicyate*, *s* of *sic* was required to be replaced with *ṣ*. The *s* of the *abhyāsa*, i.e., *si→se*, in *abhisesicyate* was required to be replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti.* . . . Our present rule negates these two *ṣ*-replacements both.

It is argued that the *s* of the *abhyāsa* of *abhisesicyate* should be replaced with *ṣ* by 8.3.64 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena.* . . . The *s* of the root should be similarly replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ.* Why can we not have *abhiṣeṣicyate* by blocking the negation of this rule by 8.3.65 *upasargāt*. . ., in a manner similar to 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti* . . . which blocks the application of 8.3.111 *sātpadādyoḥ.* Rule 8.3.65 *upasargāt*. . . can only block the application of 8.3.111 *sātpadādyoḥ*, under the condition of *padādi* 'at the beginning of a *pada*'. It cannot block the negation of this rule (*Kāś*: '*upasargāt*' *iti yā prāptiḥ sā padādilakṣaṇam eva pratiṣedhaṃ bādhate, na* '*sico yaṅ*' *iti. tasmāt ayaṃ pratiṣedhaḥ sarvatra bhavati*). The negation of a replacement in *mūrdhanya* 'retroflex' of this rule enjoys a much wider application.

8.3.113 **सेधतेर्गतौ**

sedhater gatau
/ sedhateḥ 6/1 *gatau* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *na* #110)
gatau vartamānasya sedhateḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in *murdhanya* does not come in place of the *s* of *sidh*, when the root is used with the signification of *gati* 'movement' and *s* occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU.*

EXAMPLES:

abhisedhayati gāḥ 'drives the cattles'
parisedhayati gāḥ 'drives the cattles around'

1. This again is a negation of *ṣ*-replacement offered by 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti.* . . . A specification with *sedha* in 8.3.65 *upasargāt*. . . can refer to *ṣidhŪ* 'to be auspicious' and *ṣidhU* 'to move' both. This negation can also apply to

them both. Our present rule negates ṣ-replacement in the context of *gatau* 'when the signification is movement'.

Why do we state the condition of *gatau*? Consider *śiṣyam akāryāt pratiṣedhayati* 'prohibits the student from non-action', where ṣ-replacement applies. Obviously, the derivate does not denote the meaning of *gati* 'movement'.

8.3.114 प्रतिस्तब्धनिस्तब्धौ च

pratistabdhanistabdhau ca
/pratistabdha-nistabdhau 1/2 (*itar. dv.*), *tau; ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *na* #110)
'pratistabdha, nistabdha' ity etau mūrdhanyapratiṣedhāya nipātyete
Forms such as *pratistabdha* and *nistabdha* are derived, via *nipātana*, to facilitate no replacement by *mūrdhanya*.

EXAMPLES:

pratistabdhaḥ 'controlled'
nistabdhaḥ 'obstructed'

1. This *nipātana* provision is made against the positive provision of 8.3.67 *stanbheḥ*. Refer to derivational details of *visrabdhaḥ* under 8.3.111 *na raparasṛji*. . . . Similar rules apply in deriving *pratistabdhaḥ* and *nistabdhaḥ*.

8.3.115 सोढः

soḍhaḥ
/soḍhaḥ 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *na* #110)
sahir ayaṃ soḍhabhūto gṛhyate, tasya sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in *mūrdhanya* does not come in place of the *s* of *soḍh* 'to endure' when the same occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU*.

EXAMPLES:

parisoḍhaḥ
parisoḍhum
parisoḍhavyam

1. This rule specifies verbal root *sahA* 'to endure' by citing *soḍh*, where *h* has been replaced with *ḍh* (8.2.31 *ho ḍhaḥ*). That is, this negation should apply only when we get this form of *sahA*. Recall that the *a* of *sahA* is replaced with *o* to yield *soḍh* (6.3.110 *sahivahor*. . .). This negation of ṣ-replacement is made against the positive provision of 8.3.70 *parinivibhyaḥ sevasita*. . . . Thus, we get *pari-sah* + *Kta* → *pari-sa*(*h*→*ḍh*) + (*K*) *ta* → *pari-saḍh* + (*t*→*dh*→*ḍh*) *a* → *pari-sa*(*ḍh*→ϕ) + *ḍha* → *pari-s*(*a*→*o*) + *ḍha* → *pari*(*s*→*ṣ*) *oḍha* = *pariṣoḍha*, as a

result of at least six operations: (*Nyāsa: dhatva-ḍhatva-ṣṭutva-ḍhalopeṣu kṛteṣu 'sahivahor od avarṇasya' ity okāraḥ*).

8.3.116 स्तम्भुसिवुसहां चङि

stambhusivusahāṃ caṅi

/*stambhu-sivu-sahām* 6/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām; caṅi* 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *na* #110)

'*stambhu, sivu, saha*' *ity eteṣāṃ caṅi parataḥ sakārasyā mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati*

The *s* of verbal roots *stanbhU* 'to prop up, support', *sivU* 'to sew', *sahA* 'to endure' which occurs after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU* is not replaced with *ṣ* when affix *CaṄ* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

paryatastambhat
abhyatastambhat
paryasīṣivat
nyasīṣivat
paryasīṣahat
vyasīṣahat

1. This negative provision of *ṣ*-replacement is made against the positive provision of 8.3.67 *stanbheḥ* in case of *stanbhU*. It is made against the positive provision of 8.3.70 *pariniviibhyaḥ*... in case of others (*Nyāsa: atra ādyasya 'stanbheḥ' iti ṣatve prāpte, ityarayos tu 'parinivibhyaḥ' iti pratiṣedho' yam ārabhyate*). These roots have a *ṣ*-replacement already made available to them by 8.3.64 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena*..., and also by 8.3.71 *sivādīnāṃ*..., even when augment *aṬ* intervenes. Our present rule makes a negative provision against them. A replacement in *ṣ*, when applicable after an *abhyāsa*, will be accomplished in view of 8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*. Refer to derivational details of causative forms in *LUṄ*, i.e., *apīpacat*, etc., under 6.1.11 *caṅi*. Similar rules apply in deriving *paryastambhat*, *paryasīṣivat* and *paryasīṣahat*, etc. What is retained in *paryastambhat* is a sound denoted by *khaY* of the *abhyāsa* (7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ*). Verbal root *sivU* goes through *guṇa* of the penultimate short vowel (*laghūpadhaguṇa*). The *a* of *sahA* goes through a replacement in *vṛddhi* (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*) before *ṆiC*. Shortening of 7.4.1 *ṇau caṅy upadhāyāḥ*..., followed by operations similar to when affix *saN* follows (*sanvadbhāva*), finally produces derivates such as *paryasīṣivat*, etc.

2. A proposal (*vt: stambhisivasahāṃ caṅi upasargād iti vaktavyam*) is made to understand this negation in the context of an *upasarga* 'preverb' containing conditions of replacement. That is, this negation should not apply to a *ṣ*-replacement which obtains after an *abhyāsa* (*Kāś*: ... *abhyāsād yā prāptis tasyā mā bhūd iti*).

8.3.117 सुनोतेः स्यसनोः

sunoteḥ syasanoḥ
/*sunoteḥ* 6/1 *syasanoḥ* 7/2 = *syaś ca san ca*
(*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *na* #110)
sunoteḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati sye sani ca parataḥ
The *s* of verbal root *ṣuÑ*, when occurring after a sound denoted by *iṆ* and *kU*, is not replaced with *ṣ* when affixes *sya* (3.1.33 *syatāsī lṛluṭoḥ*) and *saN* follow in close proximity of sounds.

EXAMPLES:

abhisoṣyati
parisoṣyati
abhyasoṣyat
paryasoṣyat

1. This negation of a replacement in *mūrdhanya* is made against the positive provision of 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti*. . . . Consider *abhisoṣyati*, the third singular active *LṚṬ* derivate of *ṣuÑ*, used with the preverb *abhi*. Refer to *kariṣyati* (appendix, II:510-511) for derivational details of derivates of *LṚṬ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *parisoṣyati*. Examples of *abhi-ṣuÑ* + *LṚṄ* and *pari-ṣuÑ* + *LṚṄ*, i.e., *abhyasoṣyat* and *paryasoṣyat*, involve introduction of augment *aṬ* (*abhi* + *aṬ* + *ṣuÑ*) and deletion of *i* of *tiP* (3.4.100 *itaś ca*).

2. Refer to derivational details of *cicīṣati* (appendix, II:435) and derive *abhi-ṣuÑ* + *saN* → *abhi-susūṣa*, a verbal root ending in *saN*. Affix *KvIP* is then introduced. The *a* at the end of *abhisusūṣa* is then deleted (6.4.48 *ato lopaḥ*). Affix *KvIP* also goes through total deletion (*sarvāpahārilopa*; 6.1.67 *ver apṛktasya*). The *ṣ* of *abhisusūṣ* is considered *asiddha* in applying *rU*→*ḥ* (*rutva-visarga*). This is how we get *abhisusūḥ*. Note here that *s* of *saN* is not replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.61 *stautiṇyor eva* . . .) here. The *s* which occurs after the *abhyāsa* indeed qualifies for a replacement in *ṣ*.

3. Why do we state the condition of *syasanoḥ* 'when *sya* and *saN* follow'? Consider *suṣāva* where we get a replacement in *ṣ* in the absence of affixes *sya* and *saN*.

8.3.118 सदेः परस्य लिटि

sadeḥ parasya liṭi
/*sadeḥ* 6/2 *parasya* 6/1 *liṭi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *na* #110)
'*sader dhātor liṭi parataḥ sakārasya mūrdhanyo na bhavati*
A replacement in *mūrdhanya* (here *ṣ*) does not come in place of the

following *s* of *sadI*, when this *s* occurs after *iN* and *kU*, and affix *LIṬ* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

abhiṣasāda
pariṣasāda
niṣasāda
viṣasāda

1. The following *s* of *ṣad* (*sadI*) is here blocked from receiving a replacement in *ṣ*. We get two *s* sounds in its derivates of *LIṬ*, especially after reduplication (*dvitva*). The second *s* which now occurs after the *abhyāsa* will qualify for a replacement in *ṣ* (cf. 8.3.64 *sthādiṣv abhyāsena cābhyāsasya*; 8.3.66 *sadir aprateḥ*). Our present rule negates that replacement in *ṣ*. The preceding *s*, of course, will be replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.66 *sadir aprateḥ*. For, negation applies only to the following *s*.

2. *Kāśikā* reads this *sūtra* as: *sadisvañjyoḥ*. . . . It thus adds verbal root *svañjI* 'to embrace', mainly because the following *s* of this verbal root also qualifies for a replacement in *ṣ* (8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti*. . .). Haradatta claims that *svañjI* is included as part of a *vārttika* proposal (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *svañjigrahaṇañ ca vārttike darśanāt sūtre prakṣiptam*; *vt*: *sado liṭi pratiṣedhe svañjer upasaṃkhyānam kartavyam*). It thus is an interpolation. Forms of *ṣvañj* are: *pariṣasvaje/ pariṣasvajāte*; and *pariṣasvajire/ abhiṣasvaje*. How is *n*-deletion of *svañj* accomplished? This *n* cannot be deleted because *LIṬ* cannot be accepted as marked with *K* (6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*. . . . For, *svañj* ends in a conjunct (*saṃyogānta*). Some wish for this *kit*-status with the understanding that *ca* of 1.2.6 *indhibhavatibhyāṃ ca* is used for covering (*samuccayārtham*) examples which have been left out (*anukta*). They consider 1.2.6 *indhibhavatibhyāṃ ca* as a fixed option (*vyavasthita-vibhāṣā*), so that the optional *kit*-status does not apply to it. Or else, they carry the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* from 1.2.3 *vibhāṣorṇoḥ*.

8.3.119 निव्यभिभ्योऽड्व्यवाये वा छन्दसि

nivyabhibhyo' ḍvyavāye vā chandasi
/*nivyabhibhyaḥ* 5/3 = *niś ca viś ca abhiś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *aḍvyavāye* 7/1 = *aṭā vyavāyaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmin*; *vā* ϕ *chandasi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *apadāntasya mūrdhanyaḥ* #55 *saḥ* #56 *iṇkoḥ* #57 *na* #110)
'*ni, vi, abhi*' *ity etebhya upasargebhya uttarasya sakārasyāḍvyavāye chandasi viṣaye mūrdhanyādeśo na bhavati vā*
A replacement in *mūrdhanya* (here *ṣ*) does not, optionally, come in place of the *s* which, in the Vedic, occurs after the preverbs *ni*, *vi* and *abhi*, even when augment *aṬ* intervenes and close proximity of sounds finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

nyaṣīdat pitā naḥ '. . . sat down; abandoned . . .'
nyasīdat. . .
vyaṣīdat pitā naḥ '. . . was saddened . . .'
vyasīdat. . .
abhyaṣīdat ' . . .; accumulated'
abhyasīdat
vyaṣṭaut '. . . became sad'
vyastaut
abhyaṣṭaut '. . .; praised'
abhyastaut

1. Note that *sad* and *svañj* are not carried over here. The scope of *saṃhitāyām* is still valid. It is for this reason that a replacement in *mūrdhanya* 'retroflex' *ṣ* is, optionally, not ordered, even when augment *aṬ* intervenes between the preverb and *s*, specified as item to be replaced. That is, *ṣ*-replacement is here made optional. This optional negation applies to *ṣ*-replacements, parallel to what particular rule makes its provision for the Vedic. Consider *ny-sad* + *LAṄ* → *ny-a-sīd-at*, where *sad* is replaced with *sīd* (7.3.78 *pāghrādhmā* . . .). The *ṣ*-replacement in this case is optionally negated here against the obligatory provision of 8.3.66 *sadir aprateḥ*. An obligatory provision for *ṣ*-replacement made by 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti*. . . is also negated optionally in *vy-a-stau-t* → *vyaṣṭaut*, again a derivate of *LAṄ*. The *vṛddhi* of *stu* is accomplished here by 7.3.89 *uto vṛddhi*. . . . The *ŚaP*, of course, goes through deletion via *LUK* (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*).

PĀDA FOUR

8.4.1 रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे

raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ samānapade
/*raṣābhyāṃ* 5/2 = *raś ca ṣaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tābhyām*; /*naḥ* 6/1 *ṇaḥ* 1/1 *samānapade* 7/1 = *samānañ ca tat padañ ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmin*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108)
rephaṣakārābhyām uttarasya nakārasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati, samānapadasthau cen nimittinau bhavataḥ
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* when *n* occurs in close proximity, preceded by *r* and *ṣ*, within the same word.

EXAMPLES:

āstīrṇam 'spread out'
vistīrṇam 'expanded'
avapūrṇam 'filled up'

kuṣṇāti '. . . examines'
puṣṇāti '. . . nourishes'
muṣṇāti '. . . steals'

1. A dental *n* which occurs preceded by *r* and *ṣ* in the same word is, hereby, replaced with its retroflex counterpart *ṇ*. This specification requires a *nimitta* 'cause, condition', i.e., *r* and *ṣ*, and *nimittī* 'effect, result', i.e., *ṇ*, to occur within the same word. Note that *samānapade* 'within the same *pada*' is interpreted as *samāna-padasthau* 'contained or located within the same *pada*', where *samāna-padam* is a *karmadhāraya-tatpuruṣa* compound parallel to: *samānam = ekam tat padañ ca = samāṇapadam* 'that which is one and the same *pada* 'word' '; *tasmin = samāna-padasthau* 'located within the same'. Thus, *samānapade* specifies the locus, both, of condition, as well as the conditioned, within the same word. It is for this reason that, for purposes of this replacement in *ṇ*, *agnirnayati / vāyurnayati*, etc., are not considered the same words.

Why do we recognize *ṇ* as the *nimittī* 'effect, conditioned element'? Is it not the fact that the locus of *ṇ* in the same word is realized only after *n* is replaced with *ṇ*? Actually, it is the *n* which is to be brought about in the state of replacement in *ṇ*, the *nimittī* (*PM*: *ṇakāra eva vā nimittī, tasya tu vidhānottarakālaṃ samānapadasthatvam*; *Nyāsa*: *ṇatvabhāvena vipariṇamatau sādhyāyāṃ sa nimittī nakāraḥ*). This replacement is accepted as *nimittī* by way of its relationship with *n*. This question is raised because *n* is impossible to find in a word where *r* and *ṣ* precede. For, *n* is invariably replaced with *ṇ*.

2. Refer to derivational details of *āstīrṇam* and *vistīrṇam* under rule 7.1.100 *ṝta id dhātoḥ*). These examples derive from *ā-stṝ* + *Kta* and *vi-stṝ* + *Kta*, where *t* of *Kta* is replaced with *n* (8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto* . . .). This resultant *n*, when occurring after *r*, is, hereby, replaced with *ṇ*.

It is stated that *r* is also heard in *ṛ*. Consequently, we also get the *n* of *mātṝ(n→ṇ) ām = mātṝṇām* and *pitṝ(n→ṇ) ām = pitṝṇām* replaced with *ṇ*. The third person singular present indicative active forms of *kuṣA* 'to examine, test', *puṣA* 'to nourish, be healthy' and *muṣA* 'to steal' are derived with the introduction of the class-marker *ŚnaM*. The *n* of *ŚnaM*, since this same occurs after *ṣ* within the same word, is then replaced with *ṇ*.

Why do we specify *ṣ* in the wording of this rule? We do not need it here. For, a *n* which occurs after *ṣ* can easily be replaced with *ṇ* by retroflexion (*ṣṭutva*) provision of rule 8.2.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*.

Commentators state that *ṣ* is used here for the sake of rules which follow (*uttarārtham*). There is no harm if it can also be used here. A replacement in *ṇ*, for example in *kuṣṇāti*, etc., can be accomplished by 8.2.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*. That is, if *ṣ* is not used here. If *ṣ* is used here for the following rule, we can still replace *n* with *ṇ* by this rule. For, *ṣṭutva* of 8.2.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ* will remain *asiddha* 'suspended' in view of application of our present rule. The question of *vipratiṣedha* 'conflict between rules of equal strength' cannot be raised

here. For, 1.4.2 *vipratiṣedhe paraṃ kāryam* does not find any scope in the domain of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* (*Nyāsa: pūrvatrāsiddhīye nāsti vipratiṣedho' bhāvād uttarasya*).

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to also include *ṛ* in the specification of this rule (*vt. ṛvarṇāc ceti ca vaktavyam*). For, *r* and *ṣ* of this rule cannot include *ṛ* within their denotatum. It is true that *ṛ* has *r* included within it. But this inclusion of *r* in *ṛ* is only partial. A *ṛ* is accepted as including *r* in the middle of its two vocalic qualities. The *r* which is included within *ṛ* carries the duration of only half a mora (*mātrā*). A specification made for operations requiring a full sound cannot refer also to part of a sound (*Nyāsa: na hi varṇaikadeśo varṇagrahaṇena gṛhyate*). For, part of a sound cannot be accepted as its corresponding whole. It can only be accepted as its shadow, and not the real form (*Nyāsa: varṇeṣu ye varṇaikadeśā varṇāntarasamānākṛtayas teṣu tatkāryaṃ na bhavati. tacchāyānukāriṇo hi te, na punas ta eva*).

Why can we not include *ṛ* within the denotatum of the abbreviatory symbol *aṬ*? That way, our next rule can account for replacement in *ṇ*. A replacement in *ṇ*, also when sounds are separated and intervened, should pose no problem. An indication that such a replacement is possible is made by negation of *ṇ* in *nṛnamana* and *tṛpnoti* of the *kṣubhnādi* group (8.4.38 *kṣubhnādiṣu ca*). How could this negation be accepted if no positive provision exists (*Nyāsa: prāptipūrvikā hi pratiṣedhā bhavanti*). A negation is always directed against some positive provision. We can accept this negation of *nṛnamana* and *tṛpnoti* for yet another indication: a replacement in *ṇ* also applies after *ṛ* (*Kāś: atha vā-ṛvarṇād api ṇatvaṃ bhavatīty etad eva anena jñāyate*). That is, *ṛ* should also be accepted as a causal condition for replacement in *ṇ*, in addition to *r* and *ṣ*.

8.4.2 अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्व्यवायेऽपि

aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi
/*aṭ-ku-pv-āṅ-num-vyavāye* 7/1 = *aṭ ca kuś ca puś ca āṅ ca nuṃ ca* = *aṭ... numaḥ; etair vyavāyaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.* with int. *dv.*), *tasmin; api* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1)
'*aṭ, ku, pu, āṅ, num*' *ity etair vyavāye' pi rephaṣakārābhyām uttarasya nakārasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* when *n* occurs after *r* and *ṣ*, eventhough intervened by *aṬ*, *kU*, *pU*, *āṄ* and *nUM*.

EXAMPLES:

karaṇam 'doing'
haraṇam 'carrying'
kiriṇā 'instrumental singular of *kiri*'
giriṇā '... of *giri*'

kuruṇā '. . . of *kuru*'
guruṇā '. . . of *guru*'
arkeṇa '. . . of *arka*'
mūrkheṇa '. . . of *mūrkha*'
gargeṇa '. . . of *garga*'
argheṇa '. . . of *argha*'
darpeṇa '. . . of *darpa*'
repheṇa '. . . of *repha* (*r*)'
garbheṇa '. . . of *garbha*'
carmaṇā '. . . of *carman*'
varmaṇā '. . . of *varman*'
paryāṇaddham 'tied all around'
nirāṇaddham 'all untied'
bṛṃhaṇam 'nourishing'
bṛṃhaṇīyam 'worth nourishing'

1. This rule allows a *n* which occurs after *r* and *ṣ* to be replaced with *ṇ*, even when *n* occurs after *r* and *ṣ* separated by *aṬ*, *kU* 'consonants of the *k*-series', *pU* 'consonant of the *p*-series', *āṄ* 'a preverb' and augment *nUM*. Note that the preceding rule, mainly due to its specification of *raṣābhyām* with the ablative (*pañcamī*), does not allow a replacement in *ṇ* when *r* and *ṣ* do not occur immediately before *n*. This rule allows a replacement in *ṇ*, even when there is an intervention (*Nyāsa*: *raṣābhyām iti pañcamīnirdeśān nirdiṣṭagrahaṇasyānantaryārthatvāt pūrveṇāḍādivyavadhāne saty aprāptam eva ṇatvam anena vidhīyate*). Why do we have to specifically mention *āṄ* when the abbreviatory term *aṬ* can easily include *āṄ* within its denotatum? This inclusion of *āṄ* within the denotatum of *aṬ* can easily account for a replacement in *ṇ*. How? A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *aṆ* includes all vowels homogeneous with it (*Nyāsa*: *nanu cāḍvyavāye' tra ṇatvaṃ siddham. 'aṇ savarṇān gṛhṇāti' ity āṅo' py aḍgrahaṇena grahaṇāt kimartham āṅgrahaṇam*). This replacement will be blocked where intervention by *āṄ* involves separate words. It is made available strictly with reference to, and within, a single word. It is to block this replacement across word-boundary that *āṄ* is specifically mentioned here (*Nyāsa*: *asaty āṅgrahaṇe 'padavyavāye' pi'* (8.4.38) *ity āṅvyavāye pratiṣedhaḥ syāt*).

Now consider some illustrations:

(*a*) Where *aṬ* (*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o, ai, au, h, y, v, r*) separates *r*/*ṣ* from *n*: Consider *kṛ* + *a*(*n*→*ṇ*) *am* → *karaṇam*, *hṛ* + *anam* = *haraṇam*; *kiri* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *ā* = *kiriṇā*, *guru* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *ā* = *guruṇā*, etc.
(*b*) Where *kU* (*k, kh, g, gh, ṅ*) separates *r*/*ṣ* from *n*: Consider *arka* + *Ṭā* → *arka* + *ena* → *arke*(*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *arkeṇa*; *mūrkha* + *e*(*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *mūrkheṇa*, etc.
(*c*) Where *āṄ* (*a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ, e, o*) separates *r* / *ṣ* from *n*:

Consider *pari+ā(Ṅ)* + *nah* + (*K*) *ta* → *par*(*i*→*y*) *ā* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *ah* + *ta* = (*paryāṇaddha* + *sU*) → *paryāṇaddham* and (*nir*+ *ā* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *ah* + *ta* → (*nirāṇaddha* + *sU*) → *nirāṇaddham*. This separation by *āṄ* is operative since it does not occur across word-boundary.

(*d*) Where augment *nUM* separates *r* and *ṣ* from *n*:

Consider (*bṛ*(*nUM*) *hI* + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*)) → *bṛ*(*n*→*ṃ*) *h* + *a*(*n*→*ṇ*) *a*)) = *bṛṃhaṇa* and (*bṛṃh*) + *a*(*n*→*ṇ*) *īya*(*R*)) + *sU* = *bṛṃhaṇīyam*. Note that augment *nUM* is introduced by 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*. Its *n* is then replaced with *anusvāra* by 8.3.24 *naścāpadāntasya jhali*. Why do we have to specify *nUM* when what intervenes is an *anusvāra*? This specification of *nUM* is made with implications of intervention of *anusvāra*. It is not made to directly specify intervention by *nUM* (*Nyāsa*: *anusvāropalakṣaṇārthaṃ hy atra numgrahaṇam na numaḥ pratipādanārtham*). Consider *tṛṃhaṇam* and *tṛṃhaṇīyam* where *nUM* is not introduced. What we have is the *anusvāra* of *tṛṃhA* and *stṛṃhA*. We thus get a replacement even when *nUM* is absent. We, however, do not get this replacement when *anusvāra* is not heard (*Kāś*: *saty api yatrānusvāro na śrūyate, tatra na bhavati*). Consider (*pra+ivI* + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*)) → *pra*+ (*i+nUM*) *v*) + *ana*)) → *pr*(*a+i*→*e*) *nv* + *ana* = *prenvana* + *sU* = *prenvanam* and *prenvanīyam*, where *nUM* occurs but, in the absence of its replacement in *anusvāra*, we do not get a replacement in *ṇ*.

How is this made possible? Consider the injunction: *nakṣatraṃ dṛṣṭvā vācaṃ visṛjet* 'should make offering after seeing the star', where 'seeing the star' marks 'time'. Since stars are generally seen at nights, one would comply with this injunction at nights. One would not comply during the daytime, even when one sees a star (*PM*: *divā nakṣatradarśane na visṛjyate*).

Kāśikā remarks that these intervening items, either individually or collectively, can cause this replacement in *ṇ*. How? Consider the following injunction: *devadatta-yajñadatta-viṣṇumitraiḥ saha nādhyetavyam* 'one should not study with Devadatta, Yajñadatta and Viṣṇumitra'. As this injunction is followed when one, two, or all three, are present, we will get *ṇ* as a replacement even when one, or a combination of these intervening items obtain (*Kāś*: *vyavāyopalakṣaṇārthatvād aḍādīnām iha vyastai samastaiś ca vyavāye' pi ṇatvaṃ bhavati*). Note that it is impossible to find a *n* which occurs after *r* and *ṣ* in the same word intervened by all four elements, *aṬ*, *kU*, *pU* and *āṄ*, concurrently. This rule will apply where one or more intervening options obtain in a single operational context. Consider *arkeṇa* where a velar stop and a vowel, i.e. *ke*, jointly intervene.

Why do we have to accept *api* 'also, even' in the wording of this rule? So that a replacement in *ṇ* can be gotten even when there is no intervention (*avyavāye' pi*)? No. That purpose can be served by the earlier rule. The word *api* is used here for allowing replacement in the following rules. Consider *upasargād asamāse' pi ṇopadeśasya*, whereby we get a replacement in *ṇ* in place of *n* after an *upasarga*, i.e., *pra*. Consider *pra-nayati* = *praṇayati* where, on

account of the ablative of *upasargāt*, we get the replacement in a context non-contiguous (*avyavahita*) with intervention. We can also get the replacement in *nir-nayati* = *nirṇayati* where there is no intervention, at the strength of the use of the word *api* in this rule.

8.4.3 पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः

pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām agaḥ
/*pūrvapadāt* 5/1 = *pūrvañ ca tat padañ ca* (*karm. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *saṃjñāyām* 7/1 *agaḥ* 1/1 = *avidyamāno gakāro yasmin* (*bv.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2)
pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya gakāravarjitād nakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* when *n* occurs in a *pada* combined after another *pada* containing *r* and *ṣ* as condition of replacement, but not containing *g*, provided the derivate denotes a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

druṇasaḥ 'a person with a large nose'
vārdhrīṇasaḥ 'a rhinoceros; a kind of deer'
kharaṇasaḥ 'a person with a sharp nose'
śūrpaṇakhā 'Rāvaṇa's sister; she whose nails have the shape of a winnowing basket'

1. This rule permits *n* to be replaced with *ṇ* when *n* occurs after *r* and *ṣ*, even when intervened by *aṬ*, *kU*, *āṄ* and *nUM*, provided *r* and *ṣ* are part of a preceding *pada* which denotes a name (*saṃjñā*) and does not contain any *g*.

Note that *r* and *ṣ* condition *n* to be replaced with *ṇ*. Our earlier rule accepts *r*, *ṣ* and *n* as part of the same *pada*. This rule requires *r* and *ṣ* to be part of a preceding *pada*, though not containing a *g* but used with the signification of a name (*saṃjñā*). They, however, cannot be interpreted as constituting the final sound of the preceding *pada*. How do we know it? We know it from interpretations of the learned (*PM*: *rephaṣakārāntāt pūrvapadād ity ayaṃ tv artho na bhavati, vyākhyānāt*).

2. Our examples are all *bahuvrīhi* compounds where *n* of their following constituent is replaced with *ṇ*. Refer to notes (IV:738) under rule 5.4.118 *añ nāsikāyāḥ saṃjñāyām*... for derivational details. Recall that *śūrpaṇakhā* is derived as a name (*saṃjñā*). We will, instead, get *śūrpanakhī* 'she whose nails are shaped like a winnowing basket', where *n* is not replaced with *ṇ*. Affix *ṄīṢ*, as against *ṬāP*, is introduced after *śūrpanakha*, where the derivate does not denote a name.

Why do we state the condition of *saṃjñāyām* 'when a name . . .'? Consider *carmanāsikaḥ* 'a whip' where, because of non-denotation of a name, *n* is not replaced with *ṇ*.

Why do we state *agaḥ* '. . . not a *g*'? Consider *ṛgayanam* 'a text' where, with *g* contained within *ṛg*, *n* of *ayanam* cannot be replaced with *ṇ*. But this replacement is blocked, via *nipātana* (4.3.73 *aṇṛgayanādibhyaḥ*).

Why state *g* when *nipātana* can block *n* from being replaced with *ṇ*. One must state *g* in this rule because *nipātana* may not serve the purpose of blocking such replacements (*Nyāsa*: *abādhakāny api nipātanāni bhavanti*). That is, we may also get *ṛgayaṇam* where *n* may be replaced with *ṇ*. Haradatta (*PM*) considers it *śakyam avaktum* 'not possible to speak'.

3. Questions have been raised whether this rule should be accepted as operational (*vidhi*), or restrictive (*niyama*), in nature. Some describe this rule as a *niyama* 'restrictive provision'. Others accept it as a *vidhi* 'operational'. The preceding rule offers a replacement in *ṇ* where both the 'condition' (*nimitta*) and 'conditioned' (*nimittī*) occur as part of a single whole *pada*. A compound such as *druṇasaḥ* cannot be accepted as a single *pada*. For, it contains the 'condition' (*r* of *dru*) of replacement as part of the preceding *pada* and the 'conditioned' (*n* of *nasaḥ*) as part of the following. This way, *druṇasaḥ*, etc., cannot be accepted as a single *pada*. A replacement in *ṇ* for *n* of *drunasaḥ* is thus not available (*aprāpta*) under provisions of the preceding rule. It is this non-availability (*aprāpti*) of replacement in *ṇ* that goes against accepting this rule as restrictive (*niyama*) in nature. Consequently, it is operational (*vidhi*).

It is true that 1.1.63 *pratyayalope pratyayalakṣaṇam* allows individual compound constituents to be called *padas*, even after their nominal endings go through deletion. They can thus be viewed as constituting different *padas*, especially in view of compound constituency. Still, since nominal endings are introduced after a compound nominal stem to derive a single *pada*, the compound as a whole (*samudāya*) constitutes a single *pada*. This way, a replacement in *ṇ* is still available to compounds from the earlier rule. That is, if both the 'condition' and 'conditioned' are part of the same compound word. Since Pāṇini formulates this rule even when the preceding rule can cover its provision, this rule should be treated as a *niyama* (cf: *siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*). If this view is correct then, as the restrictive provision of *saṃjñāyām* rules out *ṇ* as a replacement in *carmanāsikā*, it should also rule out *ṇ*-replacement in *kharapasyāpatyam* = *khārapārāyaṇaḥ* 'male offspring of Kharapa' and *mātṛbhogāya hitam* = *mātṛbhogīṇaḥ* 'beneficial to mother's pleasure'. So also in the preceding constituent of *karaṇaṃ priyam asya* = *karaṇapriyaḥ* 'he to whom doing is dear'. It is argued that terms such as 'preceding' and 'following' are relative in nature. A 'preceding' always attracts its corresponding 'following', as, even when 'one's own' is not stated, a 'following' *mātari* 'mother' will always attract *svasyām* 'in one's own', its corresponding 'preceding', in *mātari bhaktyā pravartitavyam* 'one should treat one's mother with respect' (*Nyāsa*: *yathā hi 'mātari bhaktyā pravartitavyam' ity ukte svasyām iti nocyate, tahāpi svasyāṃ mātarīti gamyate*). A replacement in *ṇ* which

is conditioned by its cause in the preceding constituent and effect in the following, can be easily restricted on grounds of its cause and effect not present in the same word. For, it is made available by the preceding rule. This is how *ṇ*-replacement in *carmanāsikā* can be blocked. But this replacement cannot be blocked in case of a *n* which has its replacement condition contained within the preceding constituent of a *taddhita* derivate. Thus, replacement in *ṇ* cannot be blocked in *khārapāyaṇaḥ*, *mātṛbhogīṇaḥ* and *karaṇapriyaḥ*.

This restrictive interpretation will create problems in understanding the negation of *agaḥ*. Since *agaḥ* is part of a restrictive provision, it must negate the restriction of *saṃjñāyām* 'when a name is denoted'. It cannot negate replacement in *ṇ*. Commentators explain that *agaḥ* only negates *ṇ*-replacement. This, however, is made possible via *yoga-vibhāga* 'split interpretation'. Thus, *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām* will be recognized as one split-rule. The second split-rule will, of course, be recognized as *agaḥ*. This *agaḥ* will block all possible *ṇ*-replacements. It should, however, not block all possible *ṇ*-replacements of the following rules. For, in that case, a split interpretation of *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām agaḥ* will become vacuous (*vyartha*).

Others do not treat this rule as a *niyama* 'restrictive provision'. They consider it a *vidhi* 'operational provision'. The word *samānapadam* thus becomes a single indivisible word for them. This rule becomes a *vidhi* since it accounts for *ṇ*-replacement in a compound which is not a single indivisible word, especially with reference to the nominal inflection used after the compound. This view must also accept split-interpretation of *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām agaḥ*.

8.4.4 **वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकाशारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्यः**

vanaṃ puragāmiśrakāsidhrakāśārikākoṭarāgrebhyaḥ
/*vanam* 1/1 (nominative used for genitive); *puragā-miśrakā-sidhrakā-śārikā-koṭarā-agre-bhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnuṃvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām* #3)
'*puragā, miśrakā, sidhrakā, śārikā, koṭarā, agre*' *ity etebhyaḥ pūrvapadebhyaḥ uttarasya vananakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati saṃjñāyāṃ viṣaye*
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of the *n* of *vana* 'forest' when *vana* occurs in combination after *r* and *ṣ* contained within a preceding *pada* constituted by *puragā, miśrakā, sidhrakā, śārikā, koṭarā* and *agre*, and derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

puragāvaṇam 'a forest full of *puragā* trees'
miśrakāvaṇam 'a forest full of *miśrakā* trees'
sidhrakāvaṇam 'a forest full of *sidhrakā* trees'

śārikāvaṇam 'a forest full of *śārikā* trees'
koṭarāvaṇam 'a forest full of *koṭarā* trees'
agrevaṇam 'name of a forest; a forest in front . . .'

1. Note that *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām* (8.4.4) is carried over. Thus, this rule offers *ṇ* as a replacement for *n* of *vana*, provided *vana* occurs in combination after *puragā, miśrakā, sidhrakā, śārikā, koṭarā* and *agre*, and derivates denote a name (*saṃjñā*). Why do we have to state this rule when a replacement in *ṇ* can be accounted for by the preceding rule? This rule is formulated for making a restrictive provision (*niyama*). That is, this rule will offer a replacement in *ṇ* only to the *n* of *vana*, and not to the *n* of any other word. This *vana*, additionally, must be used in combination, only after *puragā*, etc. We cannot get a replacement in *ṇ* for the *n* of *vana*, for example, of *kuberavanam, śatadhāravanam* and *asipatravanam*.

How come *vanam* is specified in the nominative? Should it not be specified in the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*) with the signification of 'in place of' (*sthāna-ṣaṣṭhī*)? This nominative is used for genitive by way of transposition (*vyatyaya*). A long replacement for the short final *a* of *puraga, miśraka, sidhraka, śārika* and *koṭara* of cited examples is in consonance with 6.3.117 *vanagiryoḥ saṃjñāyām*. . . . The examples are all genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where *vanam* is placed as the following constituent. Thus, consider *vanasya agre* = *agrevaṇam*, an obligatory compound, formed in consonance with 2.2.31 *rājadantādiṣu param*. The non-deletion (*aluk*) of *saptamī* 'locative' of *agre* is in consonance with 6.3.9 *haladantāt saptamyāḥ*. . . .

8.4.5 प्रनिरन्तःशरेक्षुप्लक्षाम्रकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूक्षाभ्यो ऽसंज्ञायाम् अपि

pranirantaraḥśarekṣuplakṣāmrakārṣyakhadirapīyūkṣābhyo' saṃjñāyām api
/*pra-nir-antar-śara-ikṣu-plakṣa-āmra-kārṣya-khadira- pīyūkṣā-bhyaḥ* 5/3 (*itr. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*; *asaṃjñāyām* 7/1 = *na saṃjñā* = *asaṃjñā* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasyām*; *api* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām* #3 *vanam* #4)
'*pra, nir, antar, śara, ikṣu, plakṣa, āmra, kārṣya, khadira, pīyūkṣā' ity etebhya uttarasya vananakārasya saṃjñāyām asaṃjñāyām api ṇakārādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of the *n* of *vana* when *vana* occurs in combination after *pra, nir, antar, śara, ikṣu, plakṣa, āmra, kārṣya, khadira* and *pīyūkṣā*, irrespective of whether the derivate signifies a name (*saṃjñā*).

EXAMPLES:

pravaṇam 'an excellent forest'
antarvaṇam 'inside the forest'
śaravaṇam 'forest of reeds'

ikṣuvaṇam 'cane-forest'
plakṣavaṇam 'a forest full of *plakṣa* trees'
āmravaṇam 'a forest full of mango trees'
kārṣyavaṇam 'a forest with clearings inside for farming'
khadiravaṇam 'a forest full of *khadira* trees'
pīyūkṣāvaṇam 'a forest full of *pīyukṣā* trees'

1. This rule offers *ṇ* as a replacement for *n* of *vana,* provided *vana* occurs in combination after *pra, nir, antar, śara, ikṣu, plakṣa, āmra, kārṣya, khadira* and *pīyūkṣā,* whether or not, the derivate denotes a *saṃjñā* 'name'. Compounds such as *pravaṇe* and *nirvaṇe* are formed in consonance with 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ.* The *avyayībhāva* compound of *antarvaṇe* is formed with the signification of *vibhakti* 'a nominal ending used with the denotatum of a *kāraka*' (2.1.6 *avyayaṃ vibhakti* . . .). All other examples involve genitive-*tatpuruṣa* compounds. These examples also illustrate 'name' and 'non-name' significations.

2. Note that the next rule requires *n* of *vana* to be, optionally, replaced with *ṇ* when *vana* combines after a *pada* denoting *oṣadhi* 'plants/herbs' and *vanaspati* 'vegetation/trees'. If the *prādi* '*pra,* etc.' words are not used with the denotation of vegetation and if the preceding rule is accepted as a *niyama* 'restrictive provision', a replacement in *ṇ* for *n* of their following *vana* will be accomplished under the denotation of *saṃjñā* 'name'. If the preceding rule is accepted as a *vidhi* 'operational provision', the following rule will apply. In cases where these two applications are not possible, *ṇ* replacement will be allowed by this rule. This same way we can also get *ṇ*-replacement where the denotation is not a name (*saṃjñā*). This rule cannot serve any purpose when the derivate does not denote a name. This rule also offers *ṇ* as a replacement for *n* in contexts where *saṃjñā* is denoted and either *niyama* 'restrictive provision' or *vidhi* 'operation' interpretations are followed. In the context of non-denotation of *saṃjñā,* this rule offers an obligatory *ṇ* (*ṇatva*), against the optional *ṇ* of the next rule.

Why is the word *api* 'even, also' used in this rule? If *api* was not used in this rule we could not get a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) where *saṃjñā* is not the denotatum. What if one did not read *saṃjñāyām* 'when a name . . .' in this rule? This rule will then become a general operational rule capable of accounting for both instances of *saṃjñā* and *asaṃjñā.* If that is accepted, *api* will be interpreted as used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*).

8.4.6 **विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः**

vibhāṣauṣadhivanaspatibhyaḥ
/*vibhāṣā* 1/1 *auṣadhivanaspatibhyaḥ* = *oṣadhayaś ca vanaspatayaś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt* #3 *vanam* #4)
oṣadhivāci yat pūrvapadaṃ vanaspativāci ca tatsthān nimittād uttarasya vananakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati vibhāṣā
A replacement in *ṇ* comes, optionally, in place of the *n* of *vana* 'forest' which occurs in combination after a *pada* used with the signification of *oṣadhi* 'plants (nutritional/herbal)' and *vanaspati* 'vegetation, trees', and contains *r* and *ṣ* as condition of replacement.

EXAMPLES:

dūrvāvaṇam 'forest full of grass'
dūrvāvanam
mūrvāvaṇam 'a forest full of creepers'
mūrvāvanam
śirīṣavaṇam 'a forest full of *sirīṣa* trees'
śirīṣavanam
badarīvaṇam 'a forest full of *badarī* (berry) trees'
badarīvanam

1. Note that *vanam* is still carried over. Rule 8.4.4 *saṃjñāyāṃ vanam*..., because of its controlled enumeration, and attendant condition of *saṃjñā*, cannot account for replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) of *vana*, used after *padas* signifying *oṣadhi* 'plants' and *vanaspati* 'vegetation'. This rule should be understood as offering optional *ṇatva* to residual instances of 8.4.4 *saṃjñāyāṃ*..., under the meaning condition of a name (*saṃjñā*). If one believes that this optional provision is also applicable to contexts of names (*saṃjñā*) and non-names *asaṃjñā*), one must put in some effort to establish it. That is, *vibhāṣā* must be read as a split-rule (*yogavibhāga*). This way, one split rule will allow replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) with the restrictive meaning of *saṃjñā*. The other will establish *vibhāṣā* 'option' between derivates with the meanings of 'name' and 'non-name'. Those who interpret *samānapada* as a single *pada* with no constituency, they will interpret this 'option' as *aprāpta* 'that which was not made available'. It will be interpreted as *prāpta-vibhāṣā* 'that which was made available' for others. Refer to *Nyāsa* ad *Kāśikā*, for further details.

2. There are two *vārttika* proposals under this rule:

(*i*) This rule applies only when a two-syllable or three-syllable *pada* combines with *vanam* (*vt*: *dvyakṣaratryakṣarebhya iti vaktavyam*). Thus, it will not apply in case of *devadāruvanam* 'a forest of teak trees' and *bhadradāruvanam* 'a forest of beautiful trees'.

(*ii*) This rule should be blocked from applying where the *irikā* group of nominals combine with *vanam* (*vt*: *irikādibhyaḥ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *irikāvaṇam* and *mirikāvanam*.

3. Note that it is difficult to establish a clear distinction between *vanaspati* and *vṛkṣa* on the one hand, and between *vanaspati* and *oṣadhi* on the other. The *vanaspati* of this rule includes *vṛkṣa* 'tree' but excludes *oṣadhi* 'herbs'. Consider the following verse:

> *phalī vanaspatir jñeyo vṛkṣāḥ puṣpaphalopagāḥ/*
> *oṣadhyaḥ phalapākāntā latā gulmāś ca vīrudhaḥ//*
> 'a *vanaspati* bears fruits; a tree bears both flowers and fruits; an *oṣadhi* dies out after ripening of its fruits; creepers and shrubs are called 'forward growing' (*vīrudha*)'

Even though there exists a distinction between *vanaspati* and *vṛkṣa*, and there also are differences of opinion on their exact definition, these two terms have been used here with no clear distinction (*Kāś: saty api bhede vṛkṣavanaspatyor ihābhedena grahaṇaṃ draṣṭavyam*). The word *vanaspati* can, here, also include reference to trees.

8.4.7 अह्नोऽदन्तात्

ahno' dantāt

/*ahnaḥ* 1/1 (nominative for genitive); *adantāt* 5/1 = *at ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt*#3)

adantaṃ yat pūrvapadaṃ tatsthān nimittād uttarasyāhno nakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati

A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* of *ahna* 'day' when *ahna* occurs after a *pada* which ends in *a* (*aT*) and contains *r* and *ṣ* as condition of replacement.

EXAMPLES:

pūrvāhṇaḥ 'first half of a day; morning'
aparāhṇaḥ 'other half of a day; afternoon'

1. Note that *ahna* is a replacement of *ahan* 'day' (5.4.88 *ahno' hna etebhyaḥ*). Its nominative (*prathamā*) is here used in the sense of the genitive (*ṣaṣṭhī*). For those who interpret *samānapadam* 'same word' as referring to a single word with no constituency, this rule is operational (*vidhyartham etat*). For others, it is restrictive (*niyamārtham*). One can also interpret subsequent rules in this manner. The word *anta* 'end, final' is used for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). This can be understood only with the help of *vyākhyāna* 'interpretation of the learned'. For, in this section of grammar, *tadantavidhi* 'interpreting *x* as also that which ends in *x*' cannot be established without using the word *anta*. If the specification of *aT*, i.e., *a*, qualifies the preceding *pada*, we can still get the sense of *tadantavidhi*. That is, we need not use the word *anta* 'end'.

2. Why do we state the condition of *adantāt* 'after that which ends in *a*'? A specification with final *a* is made so that, elsewhere, replacement in *ṇ* could be blocked. If the specification was made without *a* at the end, the *n* of *ahn*, which occurs prior to the affix in *pūrvāhṇe* 'in the forenoon', would be replaced with *ṇ*. This replacement will also apply to the *n* of *dīrghāhnī śarat* 'autumn of long days'. Also consider *nirahnaḥ* 'a day gone past' and *durahnaḥ* 'bad day' where, because of the specification of *a*-final (*adanta*), no replacement in *ṇ* is allowed. Since this rule makes the specification of *ahna* with *a* at the end, it cannnot apply to any other specification. That is, it cannot replace the *n* of *ahnī*, of *dīrghāhnī*, with *ṇ*, as in *dīrghāhnī śarat*.

Refer to derivational details under the appendix of 2.4.29 *rātrāhnāhāḥ puṃsi* (II:696).

8.4.8 वाहनमाहितात्

vāhanam āhitāt

/*vāhanam* 1/1 *āhitāt* 5/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnuṃvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt* #3)

āhitavāci yat pūrvapadaṃ tatsthān nimittād uttarasya vāhananakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati

A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of the *n* of *vāhana* 'carriage' when *vāhana* combines after a *pada* which contains *r* and *ṣ*, and is used with the signification of *āhita* 'that which is carried'.

EXAMPLES:

ikṣuvāhaṇam 'a cart by means of which sugarcane is carried'
śaravāhaṇam 'a cart by means of which reeds are carried'
darbhavāhaṇam 'a cart by means of which grass is carried'

1. The word *āhita* is explained as 'that which is placed in a carriage for transportation'. A word which denotes *āhita* is here required to contain the condition, i.e., *r* and *ṣ*, of replacement. The word *vāhana* 'carriage' is derived with affix *LyuṬ*, introduced after verbal root *vah* 'to carry'. The penultimate lengthening of *a*, of *vah*, is also accomplished by this rule, via *nipātana*.

Why do we have the condition of *āhitāt*? Consider *dākṣivāhanam* 'carriage of Dākṣi' where *dākṣi* is a name and does not denote the sense of *āhita*. The example is a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound denoting ownership.

8.4.9 पानं देशे

pānaṃ deśe

/*pānam* 1/1 *deśe* 7/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnuṃvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt* #3)

pānanakārasya pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya deśe' bhidheye ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati

A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* of *pāna* 'drinking' when *pāna* combines after a *pada* containing *r* and *ṣ* as condition of replacement, and derivates denote a particular place.

EXAMPLES:

kṣīrapāṇā uśīnarāḥ 'milk-drinking Uśīnaras'
surāpāṇāḥ prācyāḥ 'liquor-drinking easterners'
sauvīrapāṇā bāhlīkāḥ 'juice-drinking Bāhlīkas'
kaṣāyapāṇā gāndhārāḥ 'juice-drinking Gāndhāras'

1. This rule offers *ṇ*-replacement to *n* of *pāna* 'that which is drunk' (*Kāś: pīyate iti pānam*). Note that cited examples denote people by way of their country names (*Kāś: manuṣyābhidhāne' pi deśābhidhānaṃ gamyate*). Thus, *kṣīraṃ pānaṃ yeṣām uśīnararāṇām, te = kṣīrapāṇāḥ uśīnarāḥ* 'they, the people of Uśīnara whose drink is milk'. What is so special about this 'milk-drinking' of the Uśīnaras'? Others drink milk, as well. The Uśīnaras drink milk excessively.

Why do we have to state the condition of *deśe* 'when name of a place of residence is denoted'? Consider *dākṣīṇāṃ pānam* 'drinking of the Dākṣis', a counter-example.

8.4.10 वा भावकरणयोः

vā bhāvakaraṇayoḥ
/*vā* ϕ *bhāvakaraṇayoḥ* 7/2 = *bhāvaś ca karaṇañ ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnuṃvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt* #3 *pānam* #9)
bhāve karaṇe ca yaḥ pānaśabdas tadīyasya nakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati vā pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya

A replacement in *ṇ* comes, optionally, in place of *n* of *pāna* 'drinking' when *pāna* is used with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' and *karaṇa* 'means' and occurs in combination after a preceding *pada* which contains *r* and *ṣ* as condition of replacement.

EXAMPLES:

kṣīrapāṇaṃ 'milk-drinking'
kṣīrapānam . . .
kaṣāyapāṇam . . . 'drinking of juice'
kaṣāyapānam . . .
surāpāṇam . . . 'drinking of liquor'
surāpānam . . .
kṣīrapāṇaḥ kaṃsaḥ 'a vessel for drinking milk'
kṣīrapānaḥ . . .

1. This rule optionally replaces *n* of *pāna* with *ṇ*, provided *pāna* 'drinking' denotes *bhāva* 'action' and *karaṇa* 'instrument'. Thus, *kṣīrapāṇaṃ vartate* = *kṣīrapāṇam* 'drinking of milk goes on'; *kṣīrapāṇaḥ kaṃsaḥ* 'a vessel by means of which one drinks milk'. The word *pāna* can be explained as *pītiḥ* 'drinking', when denoting an action. It can be explained as *pīyate anena* 'that by means of which something is drunk', when denoting *karaṇa* 'instrument, means'. Recall that affix *LyuT* is introduced after *pā* 'to drink' to derive *pāna* with the signification of *bhāva* (3.3.114 *napuṃsake bhāve ktaḥ*) and *karaṇa* (3.3.117 *karaṇādhikaraṇayoś ca*). Since this rule is optional, we will get two forms: *kṣīrapāṇam* and *kṣīrapānaḥ* (*kaṃsaḥ*), etc.

2. A *vārttika* proposes this optional replacement, also for words enumerated in the class headed by *girinadī* 'mountain-river' (*vt. vāprakaraṇe girinadyādīnām upasaṃkhyānam*). Thus, *giriṇadī* / *girinadī*; *cakraṇadī* / *cakranadī* 'circular river'; *cakraṇitambā* / *cakranitambā* 'she who has circular buttocks'.

8.4.11 **प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु**

prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu ca

/*prātipadikānta-num-vibhaktiṣu* 7/3 = *prātipadikasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*); *prātipadikāntaś ca nuṃ ca vibhaktiś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*; *ca* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnuṃvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt* #3 *vā* #10)

prātipadikānte numi vibhaktau ca yo nakāras tasya pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya vā ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati.

A replacement in *ṇ* comes, optionally, in place of a *n* which either occurs at the end of a nominal stem, or occurs as part of *nUM* and *vibhakti* 'nominal ending', provided a *pada* containing *r* and *ṣ* as condition of replacement combines to precede.

EXAMPLES:

māṣavāpiṇau 'the two who plant the Māṣa beans'
māṣavāpinau
māṣavāpāṇi 'planting of Māṣa beans'
māṣavāpāni
vrīhivāpāṇi 'planting of rice'
vrīhivāpāni
māṣavāpeṇa 'by means of planting of beans'
māṣavāpeana

1. The word *anta* 'end, final' is used in the sense of *avayava* 'part of a whole'. The word *prātipadikānta* thus means 'the final of a nominal stem'. Since *prātipadikānta* is used as a modifier to *n* and also since *pūrvapadāt* is carried, this interpretation of *prātipadikānte*, with its locative, is expanded as: 'a *n* which occurs as final (part) of a nominal stem which, in turn, occurs in combination after a preceding *pada* containing *r* and *ṣ* as condition . . .'. A

similar interpretation of *n* in relation to *numvibhakti* can also be gotten as: 'a *n* which is part of *nUM* and *vibhakti* 'nominal ending' of a *pada* which occurs in combination after a preceding *pada*'. Of course, this replacement in *ṇ* is optional.

Now consider *māṣavāpiṇau* and *māṣavāpinau*, the nominative dual of *māṣavāpin* 'he who plants the *māṣa* beans'. Recall that affix *ṆinI* (3.2.81 *bahulam ābhīkṣṇye*) is introduced after verbal root *vap* 'to sow, plant', used in combination after a nominal *pada* ending in *sUP*. Thus, (*māṣa* + (*am*→ϕ)) + (*v*(*a*→*ā*)*p* + *in*))) → *māṣavāpi*(*n*→*ṇ*) + *au* = *māṣavāpiṇau* and *māṣavāpinau*, etc. Notice here that *vāpin* is combined with *māṣa* + *am* prior to introduction of *sUP* (*pbh.* 76): *gatikārakopapadānāṃ kṛdbhiḥ saha samāsavacanaṃ prāksubūtpatteḥ* 'a compound-formation of constituents which are termed *gati*, denote a participant, or are termed an *upapada* 'conjoined word', is accomplished with a constituent ending in an affix termed *kṛt*, prior to introduction of nominal endings denoted by *sUP*'. This is how *n* will be considered fit for *ṇ*-replacement as final of the nominal stem *vāpin*.

We will get *māṣavāpāṇi* and *māṣavāpāni*; *vrīhivāpāṇi* and *vrīhivāpāni* as examples, where *n* is part of augment *nUM*. We similarly get *māṣāvāpa* + (*Ṭā*→*ina*) → *māṣavāp*(*a*+*i*→*e*)*na* → *māṣavāpe*(*n*→*ṇ*)*a* = *māṣavāpeṇa* and *māṣavāpena*, where *n* is part of a nominal ending. Incidentally, *māṣavāpāṇi* is a neuter nominative-accusative plural of *māṣavāpa*, an *upapada-tatpuruṣa* formed by combining *vāpa* with *māṣa* + *am* (2.2.19 *upapadam atiṅ*). The final constituent of this compound, i.e., *vāpa*, is derived by introducing affix *aṆ* (3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*) after *vap* 'to sow, plant seeds', used in combination after *māṣa* + *am*. We get *māṣavāpa* + *Jas* → *māṣavāpāni* by first replacing *Jas* with *Śi* (7.1.20 *jaśśasoḥ śiḥ*). Augment *nUM* is then introduced (7.1.72 *napuṃsakasya jhalacaḥ*) to *māṣavāpa* + *nUM* + (*Ś*)*i*. We thus get *māṣavāp*(*a*→*ā*) + *n* + *i*)) → *māṣavāpāni*, by replacing the final short *a* of *māṣavāpa* (6.4.8 *sarvanāmasthāne cāsambuddhau*) with its long counterpart.

2. Recall that this *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) is desired in place of the final *n* of a nominal stem which follows a preceding constituent. This, however, will block *ṇ*-replacement (*ṇatva*) in *gargabhaginī* 'a sister of the Gargas'. Why? Our final constituent, i.e., *bhaginī* 'sister', is not a nominal stem ending in *n*. It, instead, ends in *ī*, a feminine affix. It will be blocked from being termed a *prātipadika* 'nominal stem' because of the *apratyayaḥ* 'non-affix' exclusion of 1.2.45 *arthavad-adhātur-apratyayaḥ*. . . .

Note that *n* of *gargabhaginī*, when not used with the signification of a 'sister of the Gargas', will qualify for a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*). That is, when *gargasya bhagaḥ* = *gargabhagaḥ* 'auspicious prosperity of the Gargas' is derived as a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Affix *inI* can then be introduced to derive a feminine form, i.e., *gargabhaginī*, with the signification of *matUP*. That is, *gargāṇāṃ bhago' syāstīti* = *gargabhagiṇī* 'she who possesses the auspicious prosperity of the Gargas'.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made to negate the *ṇ*-replacement (*ṇatva*) of *yuvan*, etc. (*vt: yuvādīnāṃ pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ*). Thus, *āryayūnā* 'noble (trader) youth', *kṣatriyayūnā* 'a kṣatriya youth' and *paripakvāni* 'fully ripe'. This is not any different from examples of nominal stems ending in *n*, i.e., *mātṛbhogīṇaḥ*, etc.

8.4.12 एकाजुत्तरपदे णः

ekāj uttarapade ṇaḥ
/*ekāc* 1/1 = *eko' c yasmin sa* (*bv.*); *ekāj uttarapadaṃ yasmin sa* (*bv.* with internal *bv.*), *tasmin*; *ṇaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnuṃvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt* #3 *vā* #10 *prātipadikāntanuṃvibhaktiṣu* #11)
ekāj uttarapadasamāse prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of a *n* which occurs as final of a nominal stem contained within a monosyllabic *pada*, or occurs contained within augment *nUM*, or a *vibhakti* 'nominal ending', when this monosyllabic *pada* combines after a *pada* containing *r* and *ṣ* as condition of replacement.

EXAMPLES:

vṛtrahaṇau 'the two slayers of Vṛtra'
vṛtrahaṇaḥ 'slayers of Vṛtra'
kṣīrapāṇi 'milk-drinking'
surāpāṇi 'liquor-drinking'
kṣīrapeṇa 'by one who drinks milk'
surāpeṇa 'by one who drinks liquor'

1. This rule allows a *n* to be replaced with *ṇ* if *n* occurs in a monosyllabic *pada* at the end of its nominal stem, or occurs as part of augment *nUM*, or *vibhakti*, when a *pada* containing *r* and *ṣ* as replacement condition combines to precede. Consider *vṛtrahaṇau* and *vṛtrahaṇaḥ*, the nominative dual and plural of *vṛtrahan* 'slayer of Vṛtra', where *vṛtra* is combined to precede the monosyllabic constituent *han*, a derivate of *KvIP* introduced after *han* 'to harm, kill' (3.2.87 *brahmabhrūṇa*...). We thus get *vṛtraha*(*n*→*ṇ*) + *au* → *vṛtrahaṇau*. Similarly, *vṛtraha*(*n*→*ṇ*) + (*J*) *as* → *vṛtrahaṇ* + *a*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *vṛtrahaṇaḥ*. Now consider *kṣīraṃ pibanti* = *kṣīrapā* + (*K*) *a* → *kṣīrap* (*ā*→ϕ) + *a* = *kṣīrapa*, where affix *Ka* is introduced by 3.2.3 *āto' nupasarge kaḥ*. The *ā* of *pā* is deleted by 6.4.64 *āto lopa*.... Given *kṣīrapa* + (*J*) *as*, we get *kṣīrapāṇi*, similar to *kuṇḍāni*, with *nUM* (II:377-78). One can similarly derive *surāṃ pibanti* = *surāpāṇi*. Finally, examples of *vibhakti* are given as: *kṣīrapeṇa* and *surāpeṇa*, derived from *kṣīrapa* + *Ṭā* and *surāpa* + *Ṭā*.

2. Why is *ṇ* used explicitly when it could have been easily brought here via

anuvṛtti? It is used to show that *vā* 'option' of the preceding rule is canceled. But that option could be automatically canceled at the strength of this new formulation (*ārambha-sāmarthya*). This rule is then formulated to clearly show that its provision is obligatory (*nitya*; *Kāś*: *ṇaḥ iti vartamāne punar ṇagrahaṇaṃ vikalpādhikāranivṛtter viṣpaṣṭīkaraṇārtham*).

8.4.13 कुमति च

kumati ca
/*kumati* 7/1 = *kur asminn astīti* = *kumat* (a derivate of *matUP*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt* #3 *vā* #10 *prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu* #11)
kavargavati cottarapade prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu pūrvapadasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of a *n* which occurs at the end of a nominal stem contained within a *pada* with *kU* (velar stops), or contained as part of *nUM* or *vibhakti* 'nominal ending', when a *pada* containing *r* and *ṣ* as replacement condition combines to precede.

EXAMPLES:

vastrayugiṇau 'possessor of two dresses'
vastrayugiṇaḥ 'possessor of many dresses'
svargakāmiṇau '(the two) desirous for heaven'
vṛṣagāmiṇau '(the two) bull-riders'
vastrayugāṇi 'sets of two clothes each'
kharayugāṇi ' pairs of donkeys'
vastrayugeṇa 'instrumental singular of *vastrayuga*'
kharayugeṇa 'instrumental singular of *khara-yuga*'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *ṇ* for the *n* of a following *pāda* which is not monosyllabic (*ekāc*). The *ca* is used to attract *prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu*. This also helps stop this *anuvṛtti* to go beyond this rule (*Pbh* (79): *cānukṛṣṭaṃ nottaratra* 'that which is attracted by menas of *ca* is not carried any further'). This *pada* is required to have a velar stop, instead. Why did Pāṇini not use *kau* 'when *kU* follows'? This locative *kau* would have yielded an undesired reading: *kavargādau uttarapade* 'when a following constituent beginning with a consonant of the *k*-series follows'.

Why do we have the condition of *kumati* 'when that which has *kU* follows'. A specification with *kau* 'locative singular of *ku*' will drastically reduce number of constituents which may follow in combination. For, they all must begin with a velar sound. But the sense of *matUP* becomes available with *kumat*? Pāṇini does not use *kau* because he wanted to get the sense of *matUP*. What purpose can this sense of *matUP* serve? It will require the following *pada* to

contain a consonant of the *k*-series (*KU*), and not to begin with one. A specification made with *ku* in the locative (*kau*) would allow *tadādividhi* 'interpreting *x* to also refer to that which begins with *x*'. That is, a following *pada* which has a sound denoted by *kU* at its beginning. This will allow *ṇ*-replacement in *māṣakumbhavāpiṇau*, explained as *vapanaṃ* = *vāpaḥ* 'sowing, planting of seeds'; *kumbhasya vāpaḥ* = *kumbhavāpaḥ* 'sowing a jar-full of seeds'; *māṣāṇāṃ kumbhavāpaḥ* = *māṣakumbhavāpaḥ* 'sowing of a jar-full of beans'. One will now get *māṣakumbhavāpin*, as in *māṣakumbhavāpiṇau*, with introduction of affix *iN* of 5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*. But this replacement in *ṇ* will not be available in *vastrayugiṇau*. It is to resolve such difficulties that *ku* is specified with the possessive suffix *matUP*, as in *kumati*.

Consider *vastrayor yuginau* = *vastrayugiṇau* and *vastrayugiṇaḥ*, the nominative dual and plural forms of *vastrayugin*, where *yugin* is a derivate of *yuga* with affix *inI* (5.2.115 *ata iniṭhanau*). Examples of *nUM* and *vibhakti* are offered as: *vastrasya yugāṇi* = *vastrayugāṇi*, *kharayugāṇi*; and *vastrayugeṇa*, *kharayugeṇa*. Additionally, we get *svargakāmiṇau* and *vṛṣagāmiṇau*, etc. These forms can be derived similarly to derivates of the preceding rules.

8.4.14 उपसर्गाद् असमासेऽपि णोपदेशस्य

upasargād asamāse' pi ṇopadeśasya
/*upasargāt* 5/1 *asamāse* 7/1 = *na samāsaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *api* ϕ *ṇopadeśasya* 6/1 = *ṇa upadeśe yasya* (*dhātoḥ*) = *ṇopadeśaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasya*/ (*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṃnuṃvyavāye' pi* #2)
ṇopadeśasya dhātor yo nakāraḥ tasya upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati asamāse' pi samāse' pi
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* of a verbal root which contains *ṇ* in *upadeśa* 'initial citation', and is used after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as conditions of replacement, whether or not there is a compound formation.

EXAMPLES:

praṇamati '. . . pays respect to'
pariṇayati '. . . weds . . .'
praṇāyakaḥ 'good leader'
pariṇāyakaḥ 'he who leads around'

1. The word *ṇopadeśa* is used in the sense of 'that which has *ṇ* in its initial citation (*upadeśa*)'. Thus, consider *pra-ṇam* + (*LA*→*tiP*) = *praṇamati*, *pari-ṇī* + (*LAṭ*→*tiP*) = *pariṇayati*; and *praṇāyakaḥ*, *pariṇāyakaḥ* (II:524), where both *ṇam* and *ṇī* are roots with *ṇ* in their initial citation.

Why do we state the condition of *upasargāt* 'after a preverb'? Consider *pragatā nāyakā asmād deśāt* = *pranāyako deśaḥ*, a compound termed *prādi* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*). Note here that *pra* is a *gati*. The *upasarga* status of *pra* should

be understood in relation to *gam*, and not in relation to *nī* 'to lead'. For, *pra* can be termed an *upasarga* only in relation to the root with which it is used. Consequently, we do not get a replacement in *ṇ*.

Why do we say *asamāse' pi* 'even when not part of a compound-formation'? The *anuvṛtti* of *pūrvapada* 'a constituent *pada* which precedes', which limits the scope of application of this rule only to compounds, would block a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) in non-compound examples. Why need *asamāse' pi* when *pūrvapadāt* is no longer marked with *svarita*. That is, it cannot be carried over to this rule, anyway. Absence of *svarita* can simply indicate that this rule does not require the reading of *pūrvapadāt*. It does not make clear that the *anuvṛtti* of *pūrvapadāt* has been canceled. That is, it cannot be carried over to subsequent rules. Or else, see what *Nyāsa* has to say: *mandabuddhir ya evaṃ pratipattum asamarthas taṃ prati vispaṣṭīkaraṇārtham asamāse' pīty ucyate* 'a slow-wit who is not able to comprehend it this way, it is to make it clear to him that '*asamāse' pi*' is used here'.

8.4.15 हिनुमीना

hinumīnā
/ *hinumīnā* (deleted genitive) /
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅ-numvyavāye' pi* #2)
'*hinu, mīnā*' *ity etayor upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* of *hinu* and *mīnā* when they are used with a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as condition of replacement.

EXAMPLES:

prahiṇoti '. . . incites'
prahiṇutaḥ 'they two incite'
pramīṇāti '. . . destroys'
pramīṇītaḥ 'they two destroy'

1. This specification of *hinu* is made by combining verbal root *hi* 'to go' with its *vikaraṇa* 'class sign' *Śnu* (3.1.73 *svādibhyaḥ śnuḥ*). A similar specification with *mīnā* is made by combining *mī* 'to hurt' with *Śnā* (3.1.81 *kryādibhyaḥ śnā*). Consider *pra-hi* + (*Ś*) *nu* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *prahiṇoti*, where *nu* has changed to *no*, through replacement in *guṇa*. Note that a specification with *nu* also includes references to *no*. This same way, a specification made with *nā* will also include references to *nī*, as in *pramīṇītaḥ*. For, a substitute of *aC* is treated as similar to what it replaces (1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*). This can also be supported by (*Pbh.* 38): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* 'that which is modified in one place is treated as if non-different'. But this view goes against the interpretive maxim of *pūrvatrāsiddhīye na sthānivat* 'a replacement is not treated as what it replaced in the domain of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*'.

This interpretive convention is at fault in the application of conjunct-initial deletion (*saṃyogādilopa*), replacement in *l* (*lādeśa*), and *ṇ* (*ṇatva*), as well (*Nyāsa: asyāḥ doṣaḥ saṃyogādilopalatvaṇatveṣv iti*). Incidentally, the *ā* of *Śnā* is replaced with *ī* by 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ.*

8.4.16 आनि लोट्

āni loṭ

/ *āni loṭ* (both used with deleted genitive) /

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅ-numvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14)

'*āni*' *ity etasya loḍādeśasyopasargasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati*

A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* of *āni*, first person singular (*miP*→*ni*) replacement of *LOṬ*, when the root occurs after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as replacement conditions.

EXAMPLES:

pravapāṇi 'first person singular active *LOṬ*→*miP*→*ni* derivate of verbal root *vap*, used with the preverb *pra*'

parivapāṇi 'first person singular active *LOṬ*→*miP*→*ni* derivate of verbal root *vap* 'to sow, plant seeds', used with the preverb *pari*'

prayāṇi 'first person singular active *LOṬ*→*miP*→*ni* derivate of verbal root *yā* 'to reach, go' used with the preverb *pra*'

pariyāṇi 'first person singular active *LOṬ*→*miP*→*ni* derivate of verbal root *yā* 'to reach, go' used with the preverb *pari*'

1. Note that *āni* refers to *ni*, used in construction after augment *āṬ* (3.4.92 *āḍ uttamasya*). The *ni*, itself, is interpreted as a replacement of *miP* (3.4.89 *mer niḥ*), the first person singular active replacement of *LOṬ* 'imperative' (3.4.77 *lasya*; 3.4.78 *tiptasjhi*. . .). Since a specification made with that which may carry a meaning cannot refer to that which does not carry any meaning *PM* ad *Kāś: arthavad grahaṇe nānarthakasya* (*pbh.*15), *LOṬ* should not be used in this rule. One can easily understand that *āni* is meaningful. For, its *ni* is a replacement of *miP* 'first person singular active ending', itself a replacement of *LOṬ* 'imperative', used in combination after augment *āṬ*. This *āni* cannot be misinterpreted as the plural nominative-accusative neuter nominal ending *āni*, as in *pravapāni*. For, the *pra* of *pravapāni*, a nominal used in the neuter plural, is not a preverb (*upasarga*).

A preverb belongs to the class of *prādi* '*pra*, etc.' and is termed an *upasarga* 'preverb', only when used in association with a verbal root (*yat kriyāyuktāḥ prādayas taṃ prati gatyupasargasaṃjñe bhavataḥ* 'the terms *gati* and *upasarga* are assigned to words listed under the group headed by *pra* only when they are used in connection with action denoted by a root'). An action is viewed

in the context of its usage. It cannot be viewed in isolation. It thus should be related to its usage as a whole. This rule can thus be interpreted as: '*ṇ* comes as a replacement of *n* of *āni* which, in turn, is part of that which occurs after a preverb (*PM* ad *Kāś*: *upasargāt parasyāvayavo ya āniśabdas tannakārasya ṇatvam*). This description itself will make clear that *āni* is nothing but the first person singular imperative ending. An additional specification with *LOṬ* is thus not needed.

2. Why do we have the condition of *LOṬ*? Consider *pravapāni māṃsāni* 'very fatty flesh', where, since *āni* is neuter nominative-accusative plural, replacement in *ṇ* is blocked.

8.4.17 **नेर्गदनदपतपदघुमास्यतिहन्तियातिवातिद्रातिप्सातिवपतिवहतिशाम्यतिचिनोतिदेग्धिषुच**

ner gada-nada-pata-pada-ghumāsyati-hanti-yāti-vāti-drāti-psāti-vapati-vahati-śāmyati-cinoti-degdhiṣu ca

/ *neḥ* 5/1 *gada-nada-pata-pada-ghu-mā-syati-hanti-yāti- vāti-drāti-psāti-vapati-vahati-śāmyati-cinoti degdhiṣu* 7/3 (*itar. dv.*), *teṣu*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅ-numvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14)

'*ni*' *ity etasyopasargasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati* '*gada, nada, pata, pada, ghu, mā, syati, hanti, yāti, vāti, drāti, psāti, vapati, vahati, śāmyati, cinoti, degdhi*' *ity eteṣu parataḥ*

A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* of *ni* which occurs after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as replacement condition, when *gadA* 'to speak', *nadA* 'to sound, roar', *patA* 'to fall', *padA* 'to go, move', (a word-form termed) *ghu*, *māṄ* 'to measure', *syati* (*ṣo* 'to destroy'), *hanti* (*han* 'to harm, kill'), *yāti* (*yā* 'to go, move'), *vāti* (*vā* 'to blow, move'), *drāti* 'to run, move fast', *psāti* (*psā* 'to eat'), *vapati* (*vap* 'to sow'), *vahati* (*vah* 'to carry'), *śāmyati* (*śam* 'to be tranquil'), *cinoti* (*ci* 'to heap') and *degdhi* (*dih* 'to anoint') follow.

EXAMPLES:

praṇigadati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *gad* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'

pariṇigadati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *gad* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'

praṇinadati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *nad* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'

pariṇinadati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *nad* used with the preverb *pari-ni*'

praṇipatati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *pat* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'

pariṇipatati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *pat* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'

praṇipadyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *pad* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇipadyate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *pad* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇidadāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dā* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇidadāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dā* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇidadhāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dhā* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇidadhāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dhā* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇimimīte 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *māṄ* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇimimīte 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *mā* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇimayate 'third person singular middle *LAṬ*-derivate of *mā* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇimayate 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *mā* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇiṣyati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ṣo* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇiṣyati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ṣo* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇihanti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *han* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇihanti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *han* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇiyāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *yā* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇiyāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *yā* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇivāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vā* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇivāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vā* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇidrāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *drā* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇidrāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *drā* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇipsāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *psā* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'

pariṇipsāti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *psā* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇivapati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vap* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇivapati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vap* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇivahati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vah* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇivahati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *vah* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇiśāmyati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *śam* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇiśāmyati 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *śam* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇicinoti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ciÑ* used with the preverbs *pra-ni*'
pariṇicinoti 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *ciÑ* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
praṇidegdhi 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dih* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'
pariṇidegdhi 'third person singular active *LAṬ*-derivate of *dih* used with the preverbs *pari-ni*'

1. Note that *ghu* refers to verbal roots termed *ghu* (1.1.20 *dādhāghv adāp*). A specification with *mā* refers more directly to *māṄ* 'to measure'. It also refers, though technically, to roots which may yield the form *mā* where *ā* may be a replacement (6.1.50 *mīnātiminoti*...). The *mā* of this rule refers only to *māṄ* and *meṄ* 'to give, entrust'. It does not refer to *mīÑ* 'to harm, kill', *ḌUmiÑ* 'to hurl, throw' and *mā* 'to measure, compare, bellow'.

It can be argued that *mā* should refer to all roots which yield the form *mā*. This is what is desired by general specifications made with *gā*, *mā* and *dā* (*Nyāsa: gāmādāgrahaṇeṣv aviśeṣaḥ*). Why do we have to retstrict this reference with *mā* only to *māṄ* and *meṄ*? Jinendrabuddhi notes that Pāṇini places *ghu* in the middle of this rule. He should have followed 2.2.32 *dvandve ghi* and 2.2.34 *alpāc taram*. That is, he should have placed *ghu* at the beginning of this rule. This indicates that he is not following rules. He is following his desire, instead. The reference is limited only to *māṄ* and *meṄ*. *Kāśikā* summarizes this desideratum (*iṣṭi*) as: '*mā*' *iti māṅmeṅor grahaṇam iṣyate* 'a reference to *mā* and *meṄ* is desired by this specification made with *mā*'.

Yet another desideratum is offered to indicate that a replacement in *ṇ* is desired even when *aṬ*, etc., intervene (8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi; aḍvyavāye' pi nergadādiṣu ṇatvam iṣyate*). Thus, we get *pra-ṇyagadat* and *pari-ṇyagadat*.

2. Refer to derivational details of *praṇidadāti*, etc., in the appenix (II:352-54). Deriving example derivates offers a little or no difficulty. A replacement in *ṣ*, of *praṇiṣyati*, is accomplished by 8.3.65 *upasargāt sunoti*. . . . A long replacement for *a* of *śam*, in *praṇiśāmyati*, is accomplished by 7.3.74 *śamām aṣṭānām*. . . . The *h* of *dih*, in *pra-ni-dih* + *ŚaP* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *praṇidegdhi*, is replaced with *gh* (*ghatva*; 8.2.32 *dadāter dhātor ghaḥ*). Recall that *ŚaP* has already gone through deletion (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*). The *t* of *tiP*, i.e., *pra-ni-di*(*h*→*gh*) + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *tiP*, is then replaced with *dh* (*dhatva*; 8.2.40 *jhaṣastathor dho' dhaḥ*). We thus get *pra-ni-digh* + *dhi*. The *gh* of *digh* is further replaced with *g* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). We get *pra-ni-di*(*gh*→*g*) + *dhi* → *pra*-(*n*→*ṇ*) *i-d*(*i*→*e*) *g* + *dhi* = *praṇidegdhi*, through *ṇ*-replacement and *guṇa*. We similarly derive *pariṇidegdhi*. Refer to derivational details of *mimīte* under 7.4.76 *bhṛñām it*. One cam similarly derive *praṇimimīte*.

2. Note that some roots, i.e., *syati*, etc., are specified in this rule with *tiP*. This is done to indicate that this rule does not apply to forms where deletion of *yaṄ* (*yaṅ-luk*) applies. Refer to my notes under 7.1.6 *śīṅo ruṭ* for additional details.

8.4.18 शेषे विभाषाऽकखादावषान्त उपदेशे

śeṣe vibhāṣā' kakhādāv aṣānta upadeśe

/ *śeṣe* 7/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1 *akakhādau* 7/2 = *kaś ca khaś ca* = *kakhau*; *tāv ādī yasya sa kakhādiḥ* (*bv.*); *na kakhādiḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *aṣānte* 7/1 = *ṣa ante yasya* = *ṣāntaḥ* (*bv.*); *na ṣāntaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *upadeśe* 7/1/ (*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅ-numvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14 *neḥ* #17)

akakārādiḥ, akhakārādiḥ, aṣakārāntaś copadeśe yo dhātuḥ sa śeṣaḥ; tasmin parataḥ upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya ner nakārasya vibhāṣā ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati

A replacement in *ṇ*, optionally, comes in place of *n* of *ni*, used after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as replacement conditions, when a verbal root, not enumerated thus far, does not, in its initial citation, begin with *k* and *kh* and ends in *ṣ*, follows.

EXAMPLES:

pra-ni-pacati = *praṇipacati*
pranipacati
pra-ni-bhinatti = *praṇibhinatti*
pranibhinatti

1. Note that *neḥ* and *upasargāt* are both carried. This rule replaces the *n* of *ni* with *ṇ*, only optionally, provided *ni* occurs after an *upasarga* which contains the condition of *ṇ*-replacement. Additionally, *ni* is to be followed by a verbal root which, in *upadeśa*, does not begin with *k*, *kh*, or end in *ṣ*.

Such roots are here referred to by *śeṣe* 'remainder'. Why did Pāṇini not formulate the rule with *akakhe aṣe*? These two could have given us the intended meaning of *ādau* 'at the beginning' and *ante* 'at the end'. He used *ādau* and *ante* for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). Still, *anta* 'end' should be specified in this rule. For, there will be confusion in correctly interpreting *akakhe aṣe*, via *tadādividhi* 'an operational specification made with a sound segment also refers to that which begins with that sound segment' (*Paribh.* (34): *yasmin vidhāv tadādāv algrahaṇe*). This confusion will also arise in *tadantavidhi* 'an operational specification made with a sound segment also refers to that which ends in that sound segment'. How would one know which one of these two should be interpreted, via *tadādividhi* or *tadantavidhi*. If *tadādi* and *tadanta* interpretations were made available, optionally, to *akakhe aṣe*, Pāṇini should have made his specification with the *dvandva* compound *akakhaṣe*. Interpretation of the learned must be our only recourse (*vyākhyānam eva śaraṇam*) in arriving at the correct interpretation.

2. Refer to derivational details of *bhinatti* in the appendix (III:726). One can similarly derive *praṇibhinatti* and *pranibhinatti*, etc.

3. Why do we state the condition of *akakhādau* 'when not beginning with *k* and *kh*'? Consider *pranikaroti* and *pranikhādati* where this option is not available because *karoti* and *khādati* begin with *k* and *kh*.

Why do we state the condition of *aṣāntaḥ* 'not ending in *ṣ*'? Consider *pranipinaṣṭi* where verbal root *piṣ* 'to powder' ends in *ṣ*. Incidentally, *pinaṣṭi* is derived from *piṣ* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *pi*(+*ŚnaM*) *ṣ* + *ti*(*P*→ϕ)) = (*pi*(*Ś*→ϕ) *na* (*M*→ϕ) *ṣ*)) + *ti* → *pinaṣ* + (*t*→*ṭ*) *i* = *pinaṣṭi*, via *śnaM* (3.1.78 *rudhādibhyaḥ śnam*; 1.1.47 *mid aco' ntyāt*. . .) and *ṭ*-replacement of *t* (8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*).

Why do we state the condition of *upadeśe* 'in initial citation'? So that this option is negated in *pranicakāra*, *pranicakhāda* and *pranipekṣyati*, where the roots begin with *k* and *kh* in *upadeśa*. This negation, however, will not apply to *viś* which yields *praṇiveṣṭā* and *praṇivekṣyati*. These forms do not have a root-final *ṣ* in *upadeśa*, but develop one in course of derivation. Recall that *praṇiveṣṭā* develops *ṣ* with the application of 8.2.36 *vraścabhrasj*. . . .

Nyāsa notes that *śeṣe* 'remainder, residual' is used in this rule for clarity (*vispaṣṭārtham*). For, if *gad*, etc., are allowed an optional replacement in *ṇ*, our preceding rule would become vacuous (*vyartha*). Pāṇini could have brought *upadeśe* from 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi ṇopadeśasya*, via *maṇḍukapluti* 'frog's leap'. He used it explicitly for clarity.

8.4.19 अनितेः

aniteḥ
/ *aniteḥ* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅ-numvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14)
aniter nakārasyopasargasthān nimittād uttarasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati

A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* of verbal root *anA* 'to breath', when a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as replacement condition precedes.

EXAMPLES:

prāṇiti
parāṇiti

1. Consider *prāṇiti* which is derived as *pra-an* + (*LAṬ→tiP*) → *pra-an* + (*ŚaP→ϕ*) + *ti* = *prān* + *iṬ* + *ti* → *prā*(*n→ṇ*) + *i* + *ti* → *prāṇiti*. We similarly get *parā-an* + (*LAṬ→tiP*) → *parā-an-iṬ* + *ti→ parāṇiti*. Verbal root *an* is a root enumerated in the class headed by *ad* 'to consume' (*adādi*) where *ŚaP* gets deleted (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ śapaḥ*). Augment *iṬ* is then introduced by 7.2.76 *rudādibhyaḥ sārvadhātuke*. Note that this specification of *aniti* with *śtip* (*ŚaP-tiP*) is not made here for indicating non-application of affixal deletion of *yaṄ* (*yaṅluki*). It is, instead, used for specifying the root. Besides, the question of *yaṄ*-deletion could not be raised in connection with *an*. For, it does not begin with a consonant. Consequently, affix *yaṄ* could not be made available to it (3.1.22 *dhātor ekāco halādeḥ* . . .).

8.4.20 अन्तः

antaḥ
/*antaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14 *aniteḥ* #19)
upasargasthān nimittād uttarasyānitinakārasya padānte vartamānasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of the *pada*-final *n* of verbal root *anA* 'to breathe', when used after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as conditions for this replacement.

EXAMPLES:

he prāṇ
he parāṇ

1. The word *anta* 'end' is used here in the sense of *avayava* 'part of a whole', as an 'end' is to a 'piece' of cloth (*vastrāntavat*). Note that *prāṇ* and *parāṇ* are address (vocative singular; *sambuddhi*) forms of *pra-an* + *KvIP*, where *KvIP* goes through total deletion. The nominative (vocative) singular ending *sU* termed *sambuddhi* is also deleted (6.1.68 *halṅyābbhyo* . . .). Note that this *sambuddhi* form has *n* at the end of its nominal stem (*prātipadikānta*). This *n* must go through deletion (8.2.7 *nalopaḥ prātipadikāntasya*). However, 8.2.8 *na ṅisambuddhyoḥ* blocks this deletion. Our present rule offers *ṇ* as an optional replacement.

2. Why do we need this rule when the preceding could easily offer this

replacement. Recall that 8.4.36 *padāntasya* 'in place of that which occurs at the end of a fully inflected word' blocks a replacement in *ṇ* for a *pada*-final *n*. This rule uses *antaḥ* in anticipation of *padānta* 'end of a fully inflected word' of that rule. This way, our present rule is an exception to 8.4.36 *padāntasya*. The word *anta* 'end' is not used here in relation to *aniti*, per say.

Some combine this rule with the preceding to formulate a single rule as *aniter antaḥ*. They interpret *anta* as *samīpa* 'proximate'. This meaning facilitates *ṇ*-replacement, when *r* is not separated from *n* by more than one sound. Thus, we will not get the replacement in *par(i→y) an + i + ti → paryaniti*. A single rule will have to read *anta* twice so that *ṇ*-replacement could apply to *he prāṇ* and *he parāṇ* (*Kāś*.... *dvitīyam api padāntasya ṇatvārtham antagrahaṇam āśrayitavyam eva*). The second *antaḥ* will give us the sense of *padānta*. Some still claim that *paryaṇiti* is a valid form. For them, no purpose can be served by including *anta* as part of the preceding rule.

8.4.21 **उभौ साभ्यासस्य**

ubhau sābhyāsasya
/ *ubhau* 1/2 *sābhyāsasya* 6/1 = *abhyāsena saha* = *sābhyāsaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14 *aniteḥ* #19)
sābhyāsasyāniter upasargasthān nimittād uttarasyobhayor nakārayor ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of both *n* sounds of a reduplicated verbal root *anA*, when *anA* occurs after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as condition of replacement.

EXAMPLES:

prāṇiṇiṣati
prāṇiṇat
parāṇiṇiṣati
parāriṇat

1. This rule allows *ṇ*-replacement for both *n* sounds of verbal root *anA* when reduplicated. The use of a preverb containing replacement condition is again required. The two *n* sounds relate to one in the *abhyāsa* and the other which may follow the *abhyāsa*. This rule allows *ṇ*-replacement even when *abhyāsa* intervenes between the preverb and the verb. This replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) was not made available by earlier rules.

Consider *pra-an* + *i*(*Ṭ*) + *sa*(*N*) where we get reduplication by 6.1.9 *sanyaṅoḥ*. (read with 6.1.2 *ajāder dvitīyasya*). This yields: *pra-a* + *ni* + *ni* + *sa* = *pr*(*a+a→ā*) + (*n→ṇ*)*i* + (*n→ṇ*)*i* + *sa* = *prāṇiṇisa*. A causal *LUṄ*-derivate of (*pra-anA* + *ṆiC* = *prāṇi*), with affixal deletion of *ṆiC*, introduction of *CaṄ* and reduplication of *ni*, via *sthānivadbhāva* (1.1.59 *dvirvacane' ci*, is derived

as *prāṇiṇat* with two *ṇ*-replacements. One can similarly derive *parāṇiṇiṣati* and *parāṇiṇat*. Refer to *āṭiṭat* (II:416-17) for additional details of derivates of *LUṄ*.

2. It is claimed that a subsequent (*para*) rule of *tripādī* 'last three quarters of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*' is treated as suspended (*asiddha*) in view of application of a prior rule (*pūrva*) of *tripādī*, only when a non-doubling (*advitve*) operation of the *sapādasaptādhyāyī* 'seven books and one quarter of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*' is to be performed (*pbh.* (127): *pūrvatrāsiddhīyam advirvacane*). Now consider *prā + ni + sati* where *saN* requires reduplication and our present rule requires *n* of *ni* to be replaced with *ṇ*. We will get *prā + ni + ni + sati* if reduplication applies first by treating replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) of this rule as *asiddha* 'suspended'. If *n* of the first *ni* is then replaced with *ṇ*, we will get *prā + ṇi + ni + sati*. Since the *ṇ* of *ṇi* will intervene between *prā* and *ni*, we cannot get the *n* of *ni* replaced with *ṇ*. If one accepts this interpretive convention (*paribhāṣā*) and replaces *n* of *prā + ni + sa* with *ṇ*, reduplication will apply to *ṇi*. We will thus get *prā + ṇi + ṇi + sati*. This way, we do not need this rule. *Kāśikā* claims that this rule is formulated to oppose recourse to this interpretive convention (*paribhāṣā*; *Kāś*: *etat tu nāśrayitavyam*). A formulation of this rule also shows how this *paribhāṣā* is non-universal (*anitya*). Refer to derivational details of *aujaḍhat* (8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*), where reduplication of *hta* will be blocked if replacements, i.e., *ḍh* (*ḍhatva*), etc., are treated as *asiddha* 'suspended'.

3. Why do we state *ubhau* 'both'? That is, when *ṇ*-replacement of *abhyāsa* can be accomplished by the preceding rule and *ṇ*-replacement of the verbal root, even when intervened, can be accomplished by this rule. True. But this is possible only when there is intervention (*vyavāya*). Instances where there is no intervention in between the condition (*nimitta*) and conditioned (*nimittī*) elements cannot be covered. For, replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) will apply there in accord with *takra-kauṇḍinya-nyāya*, a maxim whereby 'buttermilk', absence of *ṇatva*, in contexts of non-intervention, must be offered to Kauṇḍinya. It does not matter if Kauṇḍinya is a *brāhmaṇa* and, as such, qualifies to receive 'yogurt'. A replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) which is reserved for contexts where 'condition-conditioned' occur intervened, cannot be offered to contexts where they do not happen to be intervened. This is why *ubhau* must be used here.

8.4.22 हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्य

> *hanter atpūrvasya*
> /*hanteḥ* 6/1 *atpūrvasya* 6/1 = *at pūrvo yasmat* (*nakārāt*) *sa* = *atpūrvaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasya*/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14)
> *akārapūrvasya hantinakārasya upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya nakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo bhavati*

A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of *n* of verbal root *han*, when *n* occurs preceded by *a* (*aT*) and followed by *v* or *m*, provided *han* 'to harm, kill' occurs after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as replacement conditions.

EXAMPLES:

prahaṇyate
parihaṇyate
prahaṇanam
parihaṇanam

1. This rule replaces *n* of *han* with *ṇ*, when *n* is preceded by *a*, and *han* occurs after a preverb with *r* and *ṣ*. Consider *prahaṇyate*, *parihaṇyate*; and *prahaṇanam*, *parihaṇanam* as examples. Note that *prahaṇyate* and *parihaṇyate* are middle (*ātmanepada*; 1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*) derivates of *han* with affix *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*). The next two, i.e., *prahaṇanam* and *parihaṇanam*, are derivates of *LyuṬ* (3.3.115 *lyuṭ ca*).

2. Why do we state the condition of *atpūrvasya* 'when *n* is preceded by *aT*'? Consider *praghnanti* and *parighnanti* where *h* is replaced with *gh* (7.3.54 *ho hanter*. . .) and *a*, before *n*, goes through deletion. This, in turn, blocks *ṇ*-replacement. Recall that the penultimate (*upadhā*) *a* is deleted by 6.4.98 *gamahana*. . . . This rule does not apply where penultimate *a*-deletion is applied.

Why do we state *a* (*aT*)? Consider (*pra-han*) + (*LUṄ*→*anti*)) → *praghnanti*, where *n* is preceded by *gh* (7.3.54 *ho hanter*. . .). The penultimate *a* of *han* is here deleted by 6.4.98 *gamahana*. . . . There is no replacement in *ṇ* since *a* does not precede *n*. This same also happens in *parighnanti*.

Why do state *T* after *a* (*taparakaraṇa*)? Consider (*pra-han* + (*LUṄ*→*ta* = *prāghāni*)), where *CiṆ* replaces *CLI* under the signification of *karman* 'object' (3.1.66 *ciṇ bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*). The *h* of *han* is replaced with *gh*, and a long *ā* (*vṛddhi*) replaces the penultimate short vowel (7.2.116 *ata upadhāyāḥ*). The third singular *ātmanepada* (1.3.13 *bhāvakarmaṇoḥ*) suffix *ta* is deleted by 6.4.104 *ciṇo luk*. The *n* which follows *ā*, thus, cannot be replaced with *ṇ*. It can only be replaced with *ṇ* when a short *a* (*aT*) precedes *n*. We witness the same thing in *paryaghāni*. A specification of *han* with *tiP* is intended for proper identification of verbal root. It does not indicate any blocking of replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) where affix *yaṄ* gets deleted (*yaṅluki*).

8.4.23 वमोर्वा

vamor vā
/*vamoḥ* 6/2 = *vaś ca maś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *vā* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14 *hanter atpūrvasya* #22)

vakāramakārayoḥ parato hantinakārasyopasargasthān nimittād uttarasya vā ṇakārādeśo bhavati

A replacement in *ṇ* comes, optionally, in place of *n* of verbal root *han*, where *n* occurs preceded by *aT* and followed by *v* or *m*, and when *han* occurs after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as a condition of this replacement.

EXAMPLES:

prahaṇvaḥ
parihaṇvaḥ
prahanvaḥ
parihanvaḥ
prahaṇmaḥ
parihaṇmaḥ
prahanmaḥ
parihanmaḥ

1. This rule allows a replacement in *ṇ* for *n*, also when *v* and *m* follow the *n* of *han*. Consider (*pra-han* + (*LAṬ*→*vas*) → *pra-han* + (*ŚaP*→ϕ) + *vas* → *praha*(*n*→*ṇ*) + *vas* → *prahaṇva*(*s*→*r*→*ḥ*) = *prahaṇvaḥ*, where *n* is followed by first personal dual active *vas*. We similarly get *parihaṇvaḥ*; *prahaṇmaḥ* and *parihaṇmaḥ*, where the last two forms have *n* followed by first personal plural active *mas*. The preceding rule offers a replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*), obligatorily. This rule makes that optional before *v* and *m*. That is why we also get *prahanvaḥ*, *parihanvaḥ*; *prahanmaḥ* and *parihanmaḥ*.

8.4.24 **अन्तरदेशे**

antar adeśe

/*antar* ϕ *adeśe* 7/1 = *na deśaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14 *hanter atpūrvasya* #22)

antaḥśabdād uttarasya hantinakārasyāt pūrvasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati adeśābhidhāne

A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place of the *n* of verbal root *han* when *han* occurs after *antar* with its *r* as condition of replacement, and *n* of *han* occurs preceded by *aT*, provided the derivate does not denote *deśa* 'place'.

EXAMPLES:

antarhaṇyate '. . . is killed in the middle . . .'
antarhaṇanaṃ vartate 'killing in the middle . . .'

1. Recall that *antaḥ* is a *gati* (1.4.65 *antar aparigrahe*). It can also be used as an *upasarga* 'preverb' in conjunction with a verbal root, especially when it is not used as a *gati*. We thus get *antar-han-yaK-te* = *antarhaṇyate*, where *yaK* is

introduced with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense' or *karman* 'object' (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*). We similarly get *antarha(n→ṇ) anam*, a derivate of *LyuṬ→ana* with the signification of *bhāva* 'root-sense'. This *antar* is a *gati* and the compound with *hanana* 'killing' is formed by 2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *adeśe* 'when not denoting a place'? Consider *antarhanano deśaḥ* where *antarhananaḥ* 'killing-field' denotes a place (*deśa*). The condition of *aT* is still valid. Thus, consider *antarghnanti* where the *n* of *ghna* cannot be replaced with *ṇ* since *a* does not precede it. The condition of *taparakaraṇa*, with *a* followed by *T*, blocks *ṇ*-replacement in *antarghāni* where *n* is preceded by a long *ā*.

8.4.25 अयनं च

ayanaṃ ca
/ *ayanam* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #14 *antaradeśe* #24)
ayananakārasya cāntaḥśabdād uttarasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati adeśābhidhāne
A replacement in *ṇ* comes in place, also, of the *n* of *ayana* 'going' when it occurs after *antar* with *r* as condition of this replacement, provided derivates do not denote *deśa* 'place'.

EXAMPLES:

antarayaṇam 'a particular sojourn'
antarayaṇaṃ śobhanam 'beautiful sojourn'

1. Note that 8.4.28 *upasargād bahulam* 'variously after a preverb' could account for this replacement. This rule is formulated so that derivates which do not denote a place could be covered. Consider *antar-ay* + (*LyuṬ→ana*) = *antaraya(n→ṇ) a* = *antarayaṇa* + *sU* → *antarayaṇam*. The condition of *adeśe* 'when the signification is not a place' is still valid. Consider *antarayano deśaḥ* 'a place of sojourn', where *ṇ*-replacement is blocked.

2. Note that *ayana* means a particular *gati* 'movement', especially at the end of a compound. It is generally characterized as a movement which begins and ends at the same place. Thus, we get *rāmasya ayanam* = *rāmāyaṇam* 'return (to Ayodhyā) of Rāma'; *uttrāyaṇam* 'sun's movement to the north' and *dakṣiṇāyanam* 'sun's movement to the south'.

Note that *ca* is used to attract *upasargāt* and *adeśe*. It is also used to cancel their *anuvṛtti* in the following rule.

8.4.26 छन्दस्यृदवग्रहात्

chandasy ṛdavagrahāt
/ *chandasi* 7/1 *ṛdavagrahāt* 5/1 = *ṛc cāsau avagrahaś ca* = *ṛdavagrahaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *pūrvapadāt* #3)
ṛkārāntād avagrahāt pūrvapadād uttarasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati chandasi viṣaye
A *n* which occurs as part of a *pada*, combined after a preceding *pada* which ends in *ṛ* and may be read as contracted (*avagṛhya*) in the *pada-pāṭha* 'recitation by separating words', is replaced with *ṇ* in the Vedic.

EXAMPLES:

nṛmaṇāḥ 'he whose mind is in (the welfare of) men'
pitṛyāṇam 'father's carriage'

1. This rule applies to the Vedic usage where texts are recited by separating individual words (*padas*; *pada-pāṭha*). The *n* of a following *pada* which occurs in combination after a preceding, can be replaced with *ṇ*, provided the preceding ends in *ṛ*. This *ṛ* must also constitute the focus of contraction in the *pada-pāṭha* recitation of the text.

Note that *ṛ* does not constitute a *pada* by itself. It is, therefore, interpreted as denoting a *pada* which ends in *ṛ*. Additionally, this *pada* does not have to be separated from the following. A replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) applies to *n*, even when a final *ṛ* at the end of a preceding *pada* forms the focus of contraction (*avagraha*).

2. The word *avagrahaḥ* = *avagṛhya paṭhyate* is explained as 'that which is read after having been separated'. Thus, *nari mano' sya* = *nṛmaṇāḥ*, in the *saṃhitāpāṭha* 'connected recitation', and *nṛ manāḥ*, in the *pada-pāṭha* 'disconnected recitation'. We similarly get *pitur yānam* = *pitṛyāṇam* and *pitṛyāṇam.*

3. This *ṇ*-replacement is valid only in the *saṃhitā-pāṭha.* For, this rule is placed in the domain of *saṃhitā.* Since an *avagraha* separates two words in the *pada-pāṭha,* it refers here to a *ṛ* which may be qualified for contraction at the word-boundary. This is why I have not shown replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) in the *pada-pāṭha* text.

But why do we state the word *avagraha* in this rule? To clearly define the scope of application of this rule.

8.4.27 नश्च धातुस्थोरुषुभ्यः

naś ca dhātusthoruṣubhyaḥ
/*naḥ* (no nominal ending used); *ca* ϕ *dhātusthoruṣubhyaḥ* 5/3 = *dhātau tiṣṭhati* = *dhātusthaḥ* (*sapt. tat.*); *dhātusthaś ca uruś ca ṣuś ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tebhyaḥ*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *chandasi* #26)
'*nas*' *ity etasya nakārasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati dhātusthān nimittād uttarasyoruśabdāt ṣuśabdāc ca chandasi viṣaye*

A *n* which, in the Vedic, either occurs after a verbal root containing *r* and *ṣ* as replacement conditions, or occurs after *uru* and *ṣu* combined to precede, is replaced with *ṇ*.

EXAMPLES:

agne rakṣā ṇaḥ 'O Agni, protect us'
śikṣā ṇo asmin 'please teach this to us'
uru ṇás kṛdhi 'grant us an opportunity to prosper'
abhī ṣu ṇaḥ sakhīnām
ūrdhva ū ṣu ṇa ūtaye

1. The word *dhātustha* 'placed in a verbal root' is explained as 'that which is part of a verbal root'. The words *uru* and *ṣu* are specified here to represent their forms (*svarūpagrahaṇam*). Incidentally, *ṣu* refers to *suÑ*, a particle (*nipāta*), which gets its *s* replaced with *ṣ* (8.3.107 *suñaḥ*).

A specification with *nas* is generally made to refer to *nas* as a replacement of *nāsikā* 'nose'. This rule, however, specifies *nas* to refer to a replacement of *asmad* 'first personal pronominal' (8.1.21 *bahuvacanasya vasnasau*).

3. Consider *rakṣā ṇaḥ* where *rakṣ(a→ā)* = *rakṣā*, a second person singular imperative (*LOṬ*) form of *rakṣ* 'to protect', gets its final *a* replaced with long (6.3.125 *dvyaco' tas tiṅaḥ*). The following *asmad* is, of course, replaced with *nas*. This same is also witnessed in *śikṣā ṇo* (*asmin*). Refer to derivational details of *uru*+ *ṇas*+ *kṛdhi* → *uruṇaskṛdhi* (6.4.102 *śruśṛṇu* . . .), where *kṛdhi* is a second person singular imperative of *kṛÑ*. The second personal active singular ending *siP* is here replaced with *hi* (3.4.87 *ser hy apic ca*). This *hi* is again replaced with *dhi* (6.4.102 *śruśṛṇu* . . .). We thus get: *kṛ* + (*si→hi→dhi*) = *kṛdhi*. The *visarga* of *ṇaḥ* is replaced with *s* of 8.3.59 *kaḥ karatkarati* . . .). A long replacement for *i* of *abhi* is accomplished by 6.3.134 *ikaḥ suñi*. The *s* of *suÑ* is replaced with *ṣ* of 8.3.107 *suñaḥ*. A long replacement for the short *u* of (*u→ū*) + *ṣu* is accomplished by 6.3.136 *nipatasya ca*.

8.4.28 उपसर्गाद्बहुलम्

upasargād bahulam
/*upasargāt* 5/1 *bahulam* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *naḥ* #27) .
upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya naso nakārasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati bahulam
The *n* of *nas*, combined after an *upasarga* 'preverb' with *r* and *s* as replacement conditions, is variously (*bahulam*) replaced with *ṇ*.

EXAMPLES:

praṇaḥ śūdraḥ 'old śūdra'

praṇasaḥ 'he who has a beautiful nose'
praṇo rājā 'old king'

1. This rule is also found as: *upasargād anotparaḥ.* The phrase *anotparaḥ* is then interpreted as 'that which is not preceded, or followed, by *o*'. This dual interpretation of *taparakaraṇa* 'making *T* precede and follow' will, however, create difficulties. Thus, a *ṇ*-replacement may be available in *prano muñcatam* where *n* occurs after *o.* The second interpretation will block *ṇ*-replacement in *praṇo vanirdevatā.* This dual consideration of *taparakaraṇa,* especially as it relates to this rule, is very complex. I omit any further details.

Kāśikā reads *bahulam* to account for this, as well as usages of the classical language. That is, *chandasi* is not carried over. The *n* of *nas,* when occurring after an *upasarga,* is variously replaced with *ṇ.*

Consider *praṇaḥ śudraḥ, praṇasaḥ,* etc., as examples. Note that *praṇasa* is derived with the *samāsānta* affix *aC,* where *nāsikā* is concurrently replaced with *nas* (5.4.119 *upasargāc ca*). Why use *upasargāt* when *pra* cannot be termed an *upasarga* without association of a verbal root? This *upasarga* is then used to refer to items enumerated in the class headed by *pra* (1.1.58 *prādayaḥ*).

8.4.29 **कृत्यचः**

kṛty acaḥ
/*kṛti* 7/1 *acaḥ* 5/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #28)
kṛtstho yo nakāro' c uttaras tasyopasargasthān nimittād uttarasya ṇakārādeśo bhavati
A *n* which occurs after a vowel (*aC*) in a *kṛt* affix is replaced with *ṇ,* provided the affix occurs after a root whose preverb contains *r* and *ṣ* as conditions of this replacement.

EXAMPLES:

prayāṇam 'journey'
pariyāṇam
pramāṇam 'measure, standard'
parimāṇam 'measure'
prayāyamāṇam
pariyayamāṇam
prayāṇīyam
pariyāṇīyam
aprayāṇiḥ
apariyāṇiḥ
prayāyiṇau
pariyāyiṇau

prahīṇaḥ
parihīṇaḥ 'renounced'

1. This rule replaces the *n* of a *kṛt* suffix with *ṇ*, when *n* occurs after a vowel and the *kṛt* affix occurs after a root whose preverb contains *r* and *ṣ* as replacement conditions. The *n* of the following *kṛt* affixes forms the focus of this *ṇ*-replacement: *ana* (a replacement of *yu*), *māna* (*āna* with augment *mUK*; 7.2.82 *āne muk*): *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv* . . .), *KānaC* (3.2.106 *liṭaḥ kānaj vā*) and *CānaŚ* (3.2.129 *tācchīlyavayovacana* . . .), *anīyaR* (3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*), *ani* (3.3.112 *ākrośe nañy aniḥ*), *inI* (*ṆinI*: 3.2.78 *supy ajātau* . . .; 3.3.170 *āvaśyakādhamarṇyayor* . . .) and replacements of *niṣṭhā* (1.1.26 *ktaktavatū niṣṭhā*) offered in the domain of 8.2.42 *radābhyāṃ niṣṭhāto naḥ*.

Now consider some illustrations:

(*a*) *ana*: *pra-yā* + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*) → *prayāṇa* + *sU*→ *prayāṇam*, where *ana* is a replacement of *LyuṬ* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*; 7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*). A similar example with the preverb *pari* will be: *pari-yāṇam*.

(*b*) *ŚānaC*: Consider *pra-yā* + (*LAṬ*→*ŚānaC*) → *pra-yā* + *yaK* + *ŚānaC*→ *pra-yā* + *yaK* + *mUK* + *ŚānaC* = *prayāyamā*(*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *prayāyamāṇa* + *sU* = *prayāyamāṇam*, where *ŚānaC* (3.2.124 *laṭaḥ śatṛśānacāv* . . .) replaces *LAṬ* (3.2.123 *vartamāne laṭ*) with the signification of *karman* 'object'. Affix *yaK* (3.1.67 *sārvadhātuke yak*) is then introduced under the condition of *ŚānaC*, an affix termed *sārvadhātuka* (3.4.113 *tiṅśit sārvadhātukam*). Augment *mUK* (7.2.82 *āne muk*) is then introduced to complete the string for deriving *pra-yāyamāṇa*. A similar derivate with *pari* will be: *pari-yāyamāṇam*.

(*c*) *anīyaR*: Consider *pra-yā* + *anīya*(*R*) = *pra-yā* + *anīya* = *pra-y*(*ā*+*a*→*ā*) *nīya* = *prayā*(*n*→*ṇ*) *īya* = *prayāṇīya* + *sU* = *prayāṇīyam*, where *anīyaR* is introudced by 3.1.96 *tavyattavyānīyaraḥ*. A similar example with *pari* will be: *paryāṇīyam*.

(*d*) *ani*: Consider (*naÑ*→*a*) + *pra-yā* + *ani* = *aprayāṇi* + *sU* = *aprayāṇiḥ*, where *ani* (3.3.112 *ākrośe nañi aniḥ*) is introduced after verbal root *yā* 'to move, go' under the cooccurrence condition of *naÑ* 'not'. A similar derivate with *pari* will be: *apariyāṇiḥ*.

(*e*) *inI*: Consider *prayāyiṇau* and *prayāyiṇaḥ*, the nominative dual form of *pra-*(*yā* + (*Ṇ*) *in*(*I*) = *prayā* + *y*(*UK*) + *in*. We get *prayāyi*(*n*→*ṇ*) + *au*→ *prayāyiṇau*. Recall that affix *ṆinI* is introduced by 3.2.78 *supy ajātau*. . . . Rule 7.3.33 *āto yuk ciṇkṛtoḥ* then introduces augment *yUK*. A derivate with *pari* will be: *pariyāyiṇau*.

(*f*) *niṣṭhādeśa* 'replacement of affixes termed *niṣṭhā*:

Consider *pra-OhāK* + *Kta* → *pra-hā* + (*t*→*n*) *a* → *pra-h*(*ā*→*ī*) + *na* → *prahī*(*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *prahīṇa* + *sU* = *prahīṇaḥ*, where *t* of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* is replaced with *n* (8.2.45 *oditaś ca*). A long *ī* then replaces the *ā* of verbal root

OhāK (6.4.66 *ghumāsthāgāpā* . . .) before the *niṣṭhā* suffix termed *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.114 *ārdhadhātukaṃ śeṣaḥ*). We can similarly derive *parihīṇaḥ* from *pari-OhāK* + *Kta*. Derivates of the *niṣṭhā* suffix *Ktavat*, when used after *OhāK* 'abandon' with *pra* and *pari*, will be: *prahīṇavat* + *sU* = *prahīṇavān* and *parihīṇavat* + *sU* = *parihīṇavān*.

(2) Why do we state the condition of *acaḥ* 'occurring after a vowel'? Consider *pra-masj* + (*K*) *ta* = *pra-ma* + *n*(*UM*) + *sj* + *ta* → *prama* + (*n*→ϕ) + *sj* + *ta* → *pra-ma* + (*s*→ϕ)*j* + *ta* → *pra-ma* + (*j*→*g*) + *ta* → *pra-mag* + (*t*→*n*) *a* = *pramagna* + *sU* = *pramagnaḥ*, where this rule cannot replace the *n* of *niṣṭhā* suffix *Kta* with *ṇ*. For, *Kta* does not occur after a vowel. Incidentally, augment *nUM* is introduced by 7.1.60 *masjinaśor jhali*. The *n* of *nUM* is then deleted by 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*. . . . The *s* of *masj*, since it occurs at the beginning of a conjunct (*saṃyoga*), also goes through deletion (8.2.29 *skoḥ saṃyogādyor*. . .). The *j* is, of course, replaced with *g* (*kutva*; 8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). We can similarly get *parimagnaḥ*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal is made for deriving *nir-vid* + (*K*) *ta* → *nir-vid* + (*t*→*n*) *a* → *nir-vi*(*d*→*n*) + *na* → *nir-vid* + (*n*→*ṇ*) + *na* → *nir-viṇ* + (*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *nirviṇṇa*, where *vid* means *lābha* 'to gain, reflect'. It cannot mean *vid* 'to know', since it is a root which allows augment *iṬ*. Thus, *nirviṇṇo' smi khalasaṅgena* 'I am saddened by this company of crooks'; *nirviṇṇo' ham atra vāsena* 'I am saddened by living here'.

8.4.30 **णेर्विभाषा**

ṇer vibhāṣā

/*ṇeḥ* 5/1 *vibhāṣā* 1/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #28 *kṛty acaḥ* #29)

ṇyantād yo vihitaḥ kṛtpratyayaḥ tatsthasya nakārasyopasargasthān nimittād uttarasya vibhāṣā ṇakārādeśo bhavati

The post-vocalic *n* of a *kṛt* (3.1.93 *kṛd atiṅ*) affix which occurs after a verbal root ending in *ṆiC* (*ṇyanta*; 3.1.26 *hetumati ca*) is, optionally, replaced with *ṇ*, provided the affix occurs after a root whose preverb contains *r* and *ṣ* as conditions of this replacement.

EXAMPLES:

prayāpaṇam
prayāpanam
pariyāpaṇam
pariyāpanam
prayāpyamāṇam
prayāpyamānam
prayāpaṇīyam
prayāpanīyam
aprayāpaṇiḥ

aprayāpaniḥ
prayāpiṇau
prayāpinau

1. Why use *vibhāṣā* 'optionally' when this rule, at the very strength of its formulation (*ārmbhasāmarthya*), could be easily understood as optional. It could also be understood, otherwise. How? Some may claim this rule to be obligatory (*nitya*), especially if one interprets the preceding rule as optional, by carrying the *anuvṛtti* of *bahulam* (*Nyāsa: pūrveṇa nitye prāpte vikalpārtham idam ārabhyate*...).

2. This rule, optionally, allows a replacement in *ṇ* for the post-vocalic *n* of a *kṛt* affix which occurs after a verbal root ending in *ṆiC*. Consider *pra-*(*yā+ṆiC*) → *pra-*(*yā+pUK+ṆiC*) = *prayāpi* + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*) = *prayāp*(*i*→ϕ) + *ana* → *prayāpa*(*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *prayāpaṇa* + *sU* = *prayāpaṇam*, where the root ends in *ṆiC* (3.1.26 *hetumati ca*). Affix *LyuṬ* (3.1.133 *ṇvultṛcau*), which gets replaced with *ana* (7.1.1 *yuvor anākau*), forms the right condition for introduction of augment *pUK* (7.3.36 *arttihrīvlī*...). Affix *ṆiC*, however, goes through deletion (6.4.51 *ṇer aniṭi*). We similarly derive *pariyāpaṇam*. Corresponding derivates with no replacement in *ṇ* are: *prayāpanam* and *pariyāpanam*. Derivates of affixes *ṆānaC*, etc., can be derived with *ṆiC*, and desired *mUK*, etc., with no difficulty.

3. *Kāśikā*, in its paraphrase of this rule, uses *vihitaḥ* 'operationally introduced' as an adjective to *kṛtpratyayaḥ* 'an affix termed *kṛt*'. This it does to indicate that *n* can be replaced with *ṇ*, even when the root and *kṛt* affix are intervened by something else. The ablative of *ṇeḥ* would, in view of 1.1.67 *tasmād ity uttarasya*, expect the *kṛt* affix to follow the causal root immediately. Consider, for example, *prayāpyamāṇam* where *yaK* intervenes between the root and the *kṛt* affix (*Kāś: vihitaviśeṣaṇaṃ kim? prayāpyamāṇam ity atra yakā vayavadhāne' pi yathā syād iti*).

8.4.31 हलश्चेजुपधात्

halaś cejupadhāt
/*halaḥ* 5/1 *ca* ϕ *ijupadhāt* 5/1 = *ic upadhā yasya* = *ijupadhaḥ* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #28 *kṛty acaḥ* #29 *vibhāṣā* #30)
halādir yo dhātur ijupadhas tasmāt paro yaḥ kṛtpratyayaḥ tatsthasya nakārasyāca uttarasyopasargasthān nimittād uttarasya vibhāṣā ṇakārādeśo bhavati
The *n* of a *kṛt* affix which occurs after a vowel is, optionally, replaced with *ṇ* when the affix occurs after a consonant-initial verbal root which has a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory term *iC* in its *upadhā*, and occurs after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as replacement conditions.

EXAMPLES:

prakopaṇam
prakopanam
parikopaṇam
parikopanam

1. Note that *kṛty acaḥ* is carried over. This rule uses *ca* 'and' to attract *vibhāṣā* 'optionally'. It will also block the *anuvṛtti* of *vibhāṣā* from applying to subsequent rules. Our present rule thus requires the *n* of the *kṛt* affix to occur after a vowel. It also requires the root after which the *kṛt* affix is introduced to begin with a consonant and contain a vowel denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *iC* in its *upadhā* 'penultimate position'. Of course, the root is to be used after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as conditions of *ṇ*-replacement. Consider (*pra-kup* + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*)) → *prakopa*(*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *prakopaṇa* + *sU* → *prakopaṇam* and *prakopanam*. We will similarly get *parikopaṇam* and *parikopanam*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *halaḥ* 'beginning with a consonant'? Consider *prehaṇam* and *prohaṇam*, where the roots begin with *ī* (*īhA* 'to strive') and *ū* (*ūhA* 'to ponder, argue'). The *n* of these derivates must obligatorily be replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.29 *kṛtyacaḥ*). Incidentally, *halaḥ* is here interpreted as *halādiḥ* 'that which begins with a consonant'. How can one get the sense of *ādi* 'beginning' without using it in the rule? This specification with *halaḥ* will become useless if it meant *halantāt* 'after that which ends in a consonant'. All roots which have an *iC* vowel in their *upadhā* end in a consonant. Since *halaḥ* cannot specify something which is obligatorily there, it is interpreted as *halādiḥ* 'that which begins with a consonant'.

Note that the requirement of *acaḥ* 'after a vowel' must also be satisfied. We cannot get the *n* of the affix replaced with *ṇ*, for example, in *pari-bhuj* + *K*(*t*→*n*) *a* → *paribhu*(*j*→*g*) *na* = *paribhugna*.

Why do we state the condition of *ijupadhāt* 'after that which has *iC* in its *upadhā*'? To easily infer that such roots always end in a consonant. This is why *halaḥ* is interpreted as *halādiḥ* 'that which begins with a consonant'. There is no point stating something obvious with *halaḥ*?

8.4.32 इजादेः सनुमः

ijādeḥ sanumaḥ
/*ijādeḥ* 5/1 = *ic ādir yasya* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*; *sanumaḥ* 5/1 = *numā saha* = *sanum* (*bv.*), *tasmāt*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #28 *kṛty acaḥ* #29 *halaḥ* #31)
ijādeḥ sanumo halantād dhātor vihito yaḥ kṛt tatsthasya nakārasyopasargasthān nimittād uttarasya ṇakāro bhavati

A *n* after the vowel of a *kṛt* affix is replaced with *ṇ*, when the *kṛt* affix occurs after a verbal root which begins with a vowel denoted by *iC*, ends in a consonant and is used with augment *nUM*, provided a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as conditions of replacement precedes.

EXAMPLES:

preṅkhaṇam
pareṅkhanam
preṅgaṇam
pareṅganam

1. Note that *halaḥ* is carried over. It is interpreted as 'after a root which ends in a consonant'. There is no root which begins with an *iC* vowel and is, at the same time, also consonant-initial. Recall that *halaḥ* was interpreted as *halādiḥ* 'that which begins with a consonant' in the earlier rule. For, all roots beginning with an *iC* vowel end in a consonant. A *tadantavidhi* interpretation '*x* is also that which ends in *x*' was thus not possible. It is for this reason that *halaḥ* of the preceding rule was interpreted, via *tadādividhi* 'interpreting *x* as that which begins with *x*'. A *tadādividhi* interpretation of *halaḥ* is blocked here because of *ijādeḥ* 'after that which has an *iC* vowel at the beginning'. We therefore interpret *halaḥ* here, via *tadantavidhi*.

Recall that a specification made with *nUM*, in 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi*, marks an *anusvāra*. A root which is here desired to be used with *nUM* cannot qualify as such when *nUM* is replaced with *anusvāra*. What is desired here can be accomplished only via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treating a replacement similar to what it replaced'. Consider *pra-ikh(I)* + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*) → *pra-i+nUM+ kh* + *ana* → (*pr*(*a+i*→*e*) +*n*(*UM*) +*kh*) + *ana* → *pre*(*n*→*ṅ*) *khana* → *preṅkha* (*n*→*ṇ*) *a* = *preṅkhaṇa* + *sU* = *preṅkhaṇam*. We will similarly get *preṅgaṇam*. Note that *nUM* is introduced to *ikhI* 'to move' and *igI* 'to move' by 7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ* on account of their *I* as an *it*. The *n* of *nUM* is then replaced with *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*). Rule 8.4.57 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* then replaces the *anusvāra* with *ṅ*, a nasal homogeneous with what follows (*parasavarṇa*). If the homogeneous nasal replacement is treated as *asiddha* 'suspended', we will have the *anusvāra*. The *n* of *unbh* 'to fill' is part of the root. We thus get *pra-unbh* + *LyuṬ* → *pro*(*n*→*m*) *bh* + *ana* → *prombhana* + *sU* → *prombhaṇam*. We cannot prove here that we had *nUM* from the beginning. But this can be accepted as marking the *anusvāra*. That is why *n* can be replaced with *ṇ*.

A specification, made via *nUM*, which does not offer an operation relative to *nUM*, is subject to restrictive interpretation (*niyamārtham*). *Kāśikā* states that *ṇ*-replacement, via specification of *nUM*, can already be accomplished by 8.4.29 *kṛty acaḥ*. This new formulation must then be intended for what cannot be accomplished by 8.4.29 *kṛty acaḥ*. This is why a provision made

against one which already exists becomes restrictive (*siddhe saty ārambho niyamārthaḥ*). That is, this *ṇ*-replacement applies only after a root which begins with an *iC* vowel, and is used with *nUM* (*Kāś*: *ijāder eva sanumaḥ, nānyasmād iti*), and not after any other root used with *nUM*. Consider *pramaṅganam* and *parimaṅganam*, derivates of *magI* 'to crawl' which is not an *ijādi* '*iC*-initial' root with *nUM* (*ijādeḥ sanum*).

This replacement in *ṇ* has many requirements. As usual, the *n* must be part of a *kṛt* affix and it must occur after a vowel. The root after which this *kṛt* affix is introduced must (*i*) begin with a vowel denoted by *iC*, (*ii*) end in a consonant, (*iii*) be used with augment *nUM*, and (*iv*) occur after a preverb which may contain *r* and *ṣ* as replacement conditions.

8.4.33 वा निंसनिक्षनिन्दाम्

vā niṃsanikṣanindām
/*vā* ф *niṃsanikṣanindām* 6/3 = *niṃsaś ca nikṣaś ca nind ca* = *niṃsa . . . nindaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #28 *kṛty acaḥ* #29)
'*niṃsa, nikṣa, nind' ity eteṣāṃ nakārasyopasargasthān nimittad uttarasya vā ṇakārādeśo bhavati*
A replacement in *ṇ* comes, optionally, in place of the *n* of verbal roots *niṃsA*, *nikṣA* and *nind*, when a *kṛt* affix follows and the roots occur after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as conditions of replacement.

EXAMPLES:

praṇiṃsanam
praniṃsanam
praṇikṣaṇam
pranikṣaṇam
praṇindanam
pranindanam

1. Note that *ṇisI* 'to kiss', *ṇikṣA* 'to be angry' and *ṇidI* 'to censure' are roots where *n* at the beginning has its source in *upadeśa* 'initial citation'. This *ṇ* is replaced with *n* by 6.1.63 *ṇo naḥ*. Additionally, the root with *I* as an *it* receives *nUM* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). We thus get *niṃsA*, *nikṣA* and *nindA*. Now consider (*pra-niṃs* + (*LyuṬ*→*ana*)) + *sU* = *praṇiṃsanam* and *praniṃsanam*. We similarly get *praṇikṣaṇam* and *pranikṣaṇam*, etc.

2. Note that rule 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi* . . . will account for this *ṇ*-replacement on the basis of its root-initial *ṇ* in *upadeśa*. But that provision is obligatory (*nitya*). This rule is formulated for offering *ṇ*-replacement, optionally.

8.4.34 न भाभूपूकमिगमिप्यायीवेपाम्

na bhābhūpūkamigamipyāyīvepām
/ *na* ϕ *bhābhūpūkamigamipyāyīvepām* 6/3 = *bhāś ca bhūś ca pūś ca kamiś ca gamiś ca pyāyīś ca vep ca = bhā . . . vepaḥ* (*itar. dv.*), *teṣām*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *upasargāt* #28 *kṛty acaḥ* #29)
'*bhā, bhū, pū, kami, gami, pyāyī, vep*' *ity eteṣām upasargasthān nimittād uttarasya kṛtsthasya nakārasya ṇakārādeśo na bhavati*
The vowel-initial *n* of a *kṛt* affix which occurs after verbal roots *bhā* 'to shine', *bhū* 'to be, become', *pū* 'to cleanse', *kamI* 'to glow, love', *gamI* 'to go' and *vep* 'to tremble' is not replaced with *ṇ*, when these roots are used after a preverb containing *r* and *ṣ* as conditions of this replacement.

EXAMPLES:

prabhānam
paribhānam
prabhavanam
prapavanam
paripavanam
prakamanam
parikamanam
pragamanam
parigamanam
prapyāyanam
paripyāyanam
pravepanam
parivepanam

1. This rule negates a *ṇ*-replacement which was, in turn, made available by 8.4.28 *kṛty acaḥ*. *Kāśikā* adds a desideratum (*iṣṭi*) in connection with the specification of *pū* 'to cleanse'. That is, *pū* is desired to be interpreted as *pūÑ* 'to cleanse, purify', a root of the *kryādi* group. It is not desired to refer to *pūÑ* of the *svādi* group. A *ṇ*-replacement in derivates of *pūÑ* is obligatory. Thus, *prapavaṇaṃ somasya* 'detailed purification of Soma'.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to block *ṇ*-replacement in the *kṛt*-derivates of these roots, even when these roots are used with the causal affix *ṆiC* (*vt. ṇyantānāṃ bhādīnām upasaṃkhyānaṃ kartavyam*). Consider *prabhāpanam* and *paribhāpanam* as examples.

8.4.35 षात्पदान्तात्

ṣāt padāntāt
/ *ṣāt* 5/1 *padāntāt* 5/1 = *pade antaḥ* (*sapt. tat.*), *tasmin*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *na* # 34)

ṣakārāt padāntād uttarasya nakārasya ṇakārādeśo na bhavati

A *n* which occurs after a *pada* terminating in *ṣ* is not replaced with *ṇ*.

EXAMPLES:

niṣpānam
duṣpānam
sarpiṣpānam
yajuṣpānam

1. Note that 8.3.41 *idudupadhasya ca* replaces the *visarga* of *nis* and *dus* with *ṣ*. We thus get *niṣpānam* and *duṣpānam* where 8.4.29 *kṛty acaḥ* requires the *n* of *pānam* 'drinking' to be replaced with *ṇ*. A similar blocking of *ṇ*-replacement is seen in *sarpiṣpānam* 'drinking of ghee' and *yajuṣpānam* 'drinking by chanting a *yajus* hymn' (?), the two genitive *tatpuruṣa* compounds where the first combines with a *ṣaṣṭhī* denoting *karman* 'object' (2.2.14 *karmaṇi ca*). The second compound is formed by 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe*. . . . The *ṣ*-replacement in this second compound is accomplished by 8.3.45 *nityaṃ samāse*. . . . The replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) in this example is made available by 8.4.10 *vā bhāvakaraṇayoḥ*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *ṣāt* 'after a *ṣ*'? Consider *nirṇayaḥ* 'decision, resolve' where, because of an absence of *ṣ*, *ṇ*-replacement cannot be blocked.

Why do we state the condition of *padāntāt* 'after the final in a *pada*'? Consider *kuṣṇāti* where *ṇ*-replacement must apply.

3. Note that *pade antaḥ padāntaḥ* of *padāntāt* is not a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. It is a locative *tatpuruṣa*, instead. How do we know it? We know it from the specification by *anta* 'end' of *antāt*. Otherwise, a specification made with a sound segment will require *tadantavidhi* interpretation. This, in turn, will give us the meaning: 'after a *pada* which ends in *ṣ*'. It is for this reason that *ṇ*-replacement in *susarpiṣkeṇa* and *suyajuṣkeṇa* cannot be blocked by this rule. The first example is a *bahuvrīhī* (*śobhanaṃ sarpir asya* 'he whose ghee is good'), where affix *ka* is introduced (5.4.254 *śeṣād vibhāṣā*).

8.4.36 नशेः षान्तस्य

naśeḥ ṣāntasya

/ *naśeḥ* 6/1 *ṣāntasya* 6/1 = *ṣ ante yasya* (*bv.*), *tasya*/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *na* # 34)

naśeḥ ṣakārāntasya ṇakārādeśo na bhavati

A replacement in *ṇ* does not come in place of *n* of verbal root *naś* 'to disappear, be destroyed' when the same ends in *ṣ*.

EXAMPLES:

pranaṣṭaḥ
parinaṣṭaḥ

1. This negation is made against replacement in *ṇ* (*ṇatva*) of 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi*. . . . Consider *pra-naś* + *Kta* = *pranaṣṭa*, where augment *nUM* is introduced by 7.1.60 *masjinaśor jhali*. This *n* goes through deletion of 6.4.24 *aniditāṃ hala*. . . . The final *ś* of the root is replaced with *ṣ* of 8.2.36 *vaścabhrasj*. . . . Finally, *t* of *Kta* goes through a replacement in *ṭ* (*ṣṭutva*; 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*). We similarly get (*pari-naś* + *Kta*) + *sU* → *parinaṣṭaḥ*.

Why do we state the condition of *ṣāntasya* '. . . ending in *ṣ*'? Consider *pra-naś* + *ya* + *ti* → *pra-*(*n*→*ṇ*) *aś* + *ya-ti* = *praṇaśyati* '. . . gets destroyed', where *naś* does not end in *ṣ*. Thus, replacement in *ṇ* cannot be blocked here. This same also applies to *pariṇaśyati*.

The word *anta* 'end' is used here so that *ṇ*-replacement can be blocked, also where *ṣ* was witnessed at the end, previously (*bhūtapūrvao' pi*). Consider *pranaṅkṣyati* '. . . will get destroyed' where the *ś* of *naś* is replaced with *k* (8.2.41 *ṣaḍhoḥ kaḥ si*), via *ṣ* (8.2.36 *vraścabhrasj* . . .). Notice here that *ṣ* at the end of *naś* is further replaced with *k*. This same is also witnessed in *parinaṅkṣyati*.

8.4.37 पदान्तस्य

padāntasya
/*padāntasya* 6/1 = *padasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasya*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *na* # 34)
padānto yo nakāras tasya ṇakārādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in *ṇ* does not come in place of a *n* which occurs at the end of a *pada*.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣān 'accusative plural of *vṛkṣa*'
plakṣān '. . . of *plakṣa*'
arīn '. . . of *ari*'
girīn '. . . of *giri*'

1. This negation is made against what was made available by 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi*. Consider *vṛkṣa* + (*Ś*) *as* → *vṛkṣa* + *as* → *vṛkṣ*(*a*+*a*→*ā*) *s* → *vṛkṣā*(*s*→*n*) → *vṛkṣān*, where a single long replacement in *ā* is accomplished by 6.1.101 *prathamayoḥ pūrvasavarṇaḥ*. The final *s* of *vṛkṣās* is replaced with *n* by 6.1.102 *tasmāc chaso naḥ puṃsi*.

8.4.38 पदव्यवायेऽपि

padavyavāye' pi
/padavyavāye 7/1 = *padena vyavāyaḥ* (*tṛt. tat.*), *tasmin*; *api* ф/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅnumvyavāye' pi* #2 *na* # 34)
padena vyavāye' pi nimittanimittinor nakārasya ṇakāra ādeśo na bhavati
A replacement in *ṇ* does not come in place of a *n* which occurs separated by its condition, i.e., *r* and *ṣ*, even by a *pada*.

EXAMPLES:

māṣakumbhavāpena 'by sowing a full jar of seeds'
caturaṅgayogena 'in association with that which has four limbs'
prāvanaddham
paryavanaddham
pragān-nayāmaḥ
parigān-nayāmaḥ

1. The word *pada-vyavāya* 'intervention of a fully inflected word' refers to separation of 'condition' (*nimitta*; *r/ṣ*) and 'conditioned' (*nimittin*; *n*) by a *pada*. Consider *māṣāṇāṃ kumbhaḥ* = *māṣakumbhaḥ* 'a jar full of beans (*māṣā*)', a genitive *tatpuruṣa* compound. Affix *aṆ* (3.2.1 *karmaṇy aṇ*) is now introduced after verbal root *vap* 'to sow', under the cooccurrence condition of a *pada* with the denotation of *karman* 'object', i.e., *kumbhamāṣa* + *am*. We thus get *kumbhamāṣavāpa*, where instrumental singular ending *Ṭā* is introduced to derive *māṣakumbhavāpena*. The *n* of *vāpena* may qualify for a replacement in *ṇ* under the provision of 8.4.11 *prātipadikāntanumvibhaktiṣu ca*. For, *kumbha* of *māṣakumbhavāpena* is not included within the specification of 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ*. . . . This rule blocks *ṇ*-replacement of *n* even when there is an intervention of a *pada* between *māṣa* and *vāpena*. We witness similar blocking of *ṇ*-replacement in *caturṅga-yogena*, an instrumental singular with a *bahuvrīhi* compound *catvāri aṅgāni yasya* = *catyuraṅgaḥ* 'he of whose there are four limbs'. Rule 2.1.32 *kartṛkaraṇe kṛtā bahulam* combines it in a compound with *yoga* + *Ṭā* to produce *caturaṅgena yogaḥ* = *caturaṅgayogaḥ*. An instrumental singular *Ṭā* is then introduced to produce *caturaṅgayogena*. The *n* of *yogena* can now be replaced with *ṇ* of 8.4.13 *kumati ca*. Our present rule blocks it again. A replacement in *ṇ* is also available to *pra-ava-naddham*, a compound termed *gati* (2.2.18 *kugatiprādayaḥ*). Refer to derivational details of *naddham* under 8.2.34 *naho dhaḥ*. This rule blocks *ṇ*-replacement under the intervention of a *pada*, i.e., *ava*. The *ṇ*-replacement is available to *pra-ava-naddham* from 8.4.14 *upasargād asamāse' pi*. This same is also applicable to *pary-ava-naddham*.

Now consider *pra-gām-nayāmaḥ*, a Vedic usage (*chāndas*), where *gām*, a *pada* ending in the accusative (*dvitīyā*), intervenes between the preverb *pra*

and the first plural present active form of verbal root *nī*, i.e., *nayāmaḥ*. The *n* of *nayāmaḥ* is again not replaced with *ṇ*. Usages where a preverb is separated from the verbal form are not found in the Classical language (*bhāṣā*). They are found in the Vedic only (1.4.81 *chandasi pare' pi*). Incidentally, *ā* of *g*(*o+a*→*ā*)*m* = *gām*, is a single replacement of *o+a* (6.1.93 *auto' mśasoḥ*). We thus get *pragānnayāmaḥ* and *parigānnayāmaḥ*.

2. A *vārttika* proposal is made to qualify this blocking of *ṇ*-replacement. That is, it should exclude instances where a *taddhita* intervenes (*vt*: *padavyavāye' taddhite*). Thus, *ṇ*-replacement should not be blocked in *ārdragomayeṇa* 'by wet cow-dung' and *śuṣkagomayeṇa* 'by dry cow-dung', where *gomaya* is a derivate of the *taddhita* affix *mayaṬ* (4.3.145 *goś ca purīṣe*). What intervenes here is *go* 'cow, bull', a *pada* in view of 1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanāmasthāne.*

8.4.39 क्षुभ्नादिषु च

kṣubhnādiṣu ca

/*kṣubhnādiṣu* 7/3 = *kṣubhnā ādir yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣu*; *ca* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* #1 *aṭkupvāṅ-numvyavāye' pi* #2 *na* # 34)

'*kṣubhnā*' *ity evam ādiṣu śabdeṣu nakārasya ṇakārādeśo na bhavati*

A replacement in *ṇ* also does not come in place of the *n* of stems enumerated in the group headed by *kṣubhnā.*

EXAMPLES:

kṣubhnāti
kṣubhnītaḥ
kṣubhnanti
nṛnamanaḥ

1. Note that a specification with *kṣubh* + *Śnā* → *kṣubhnā* is made here to refer to the form of the word *kṣubhnā*. It is not made to refer to verbal root *kṣubh* 'to move'. Consequently, *ṇ*-replacement in *kṣobhaṇam* 'disturbing' cannot be blocked.

2. This rule also blocks *ṇ*-replacement in stems listed under the group headed by *kṣubhnā*. This provision goes against provisions of 8.4.1 *raṣābhyāṃ no ṇaḥ* . . . and 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ* . . . (*kṣubhnāti* / *kṣubhnītaḥ*), etc. Negation of *ṇ*-replacement in *nṛn* (*manuṣyān*) *namati*= *nṛnamanaḥ* 'he who pays respect to humans' goes against 8.4.3 *pūrvapadāt*. . ., or 8.4.25 *chandasy ṛdavagrahāt.* Incidentally, the *ā* of *kṣubh* + *Śnā* + *ti* is replaced with *ī* of 6.4.113 *ī haly aghoḥ*. The *ā* of *Śnā* is deleted (6.4.112 *śnābhyastayor*. . .) in *kṣubh* + *Śnā* + *anti* = *kṣubhnanti*, before a vowel-initial suffix.

If *kṣubhnā* specifies its word-form, a replacement in *ṇ* cannot be blocked in *kṣubhnītaḥ* and *kṣubhnanti*. For, we get the forms as *kṣubhnī* and *kṣubhn* on

account of *ī*-replacement and *ā*-deletion. This *ṇ*-replacement, in *kṣubhnītaḥ* and *kṣubhnanti*, is negated on the basis of *sthānivbadbhāva* 'treating a replacement as what it replaced'. That is, by treating *ī*-replacement and *ā*-deletion similar to *ā*. It is also supported by *PŚ* (38): *ekadeśavikṛtam ananyavat* 'that which is modified in one place is treated as not any different'.

Now consider *harinandī, harinandana* and *harinagara* where *nandin* (a derivate of *NinI*), *nandana* and *nagara* combine in a compound as final constituents, and denote a name (*saṃjñā*). A replacement in *ṇ* is here made available by 8.4.3 *pūrvapadāt saṃjñāyām agaḥ*. A similar *ṇ*-replacement is also negated in *narīnṛtyate*, against the provision made by 8.4.2 *aṭkupvāṅ*. . . . Incidentally, rule 7.4.90 *rīgṛdupadhasya ca* introduces augment *rīK* in *narīnṛtyate*. This same way we get *ṇ*-replacement blocked in *tṛpA* + *Śnu* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *tṛpnoti*, where *Śnu*, against *ŚyaN*, is introduced by transposition (*vyatyaya*). We also find negation of *ṇ*-replacement in *parinarttanam* and *parigahanam*, etc., both *LyuṬ*-derivates of *nṛt* 'to dance'.

3. A proposal (*vt. ācāryād aṇatvaṃ ca*) negates *ṇ*-replacement for a *n* which occurs after *ācārya*. Thus, we get *ācāryabhoginaḥ* and *ācāryānī*.

Yet another proposal (*vt. irikādibhyo vanottarapadebhyaḥ saṃjñāyām*) requires negating *ṇ*-replacement when *vana* is combined to follow *irikā, timira, samīra, kubera, hari* and *karmara*. Thus, *irikāvanam*, etc. These are all names.

8.4.40 स्तोः श्चुनाश्चुः

stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ

/*stoḥ* 6/1 = *saś ca tuś ca* = *stuḥ* (*sam. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *ścunā* 3/1 *śaś ca cuś ca* = *ścuḥ* (*sam. dv.*), *tena*; *ścuḥ* = *śaś ca cus ca* (*sam. dv.*)/

(*saṃhitāyām*)

sakāratavargayoḥ śakāracavargābhyāṃ sannipāte śakāracavargāv ādeśau bhavataḥ

A replacement in *ś*, and a sound denoted by *cU* as well, comes, respectively, in place of a *s*, and a sound denoted by *tU* 'a consonant of the *t*-series', when *ś*, and a sound denoted by *cU* 'a consonant of the *c*-series', occur in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaś śete
plakṣaś śete
vṛkṣaś cinoti
plakṣaś cinoti
vṛkṣaś chādayati
plakṣaś chādayati
agnicic chete
agnicic cinoti

agnicic chādayati
agnicij jayati
agnicij jhakāraḥ
agnicin̄ ñakāraḥ
majjati
bhṛjjati
vṛścati

1. This rule allows sound segments, namely *s* and any consonant of the *tU*-series, to be replaced by *ś* and a corresponding consonant of the *cU*-series, when *ś*, and any consonant of the *t*-series, follows in close proximity. This is what generally is referred to by *cutva*. Note that assignment of equivalents (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam*. . .) is not desired here to be made in accord with order of enumeration of *s* and *tU*. For a *s*, when followed by *ś*, and *cU*, both, can be replaced with *ś*. We will similarly get a *tU* replaced with *cU*, when either *ś* or *cU* follow in close proximity. This question of assignment of equivalency in accord with order of enumeration arises since the two operational foci (*s* and *tU*) are equal in number to two conditions, *ś* and *cU*. If an equivalency in order of enumeration was intended in relation to replacement conditions, a *tU* after *ś* would simply not be available for a replacement in *cU*. Pāṇini should then not have made a negative provision for this (8.4.44 *śāt*). For, a negation is only made against some positive provision (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *prāptipūrvakā hi pratiṣedhā bhavanti. yadi nimittaṃ prati yathāsaṃkhyaṃ syāt, evaś sati śāt parasya tavargasya cutvaprāptir eva nāstīti 'śāt' iti pratiṣedhaṃ na kuryāt, kṛtaś cāsau, ataḥ sa jñāpayati-saṃkhyātānudeśo na bhavati*). Pāṇini's negative provision of 8.4.44 *śāt* thus indicates that equivalency in order of enumeration of conditions is not desired. An assignment of equivalency in accord with order of enumeration is, however, desired in selection of replacements. That is, a *s* will be replaced with *ś* and a sound segment of the *t*-series will be replaced with a corresponding sound segment of the *c*-series. It should be noted here that equivalency in order of enumeration only applies to *sthānī* 'that which is replaced' and *ādeśa* 'that which replaces'. It does not apply to *yoga* 'proximity connection'.

2. We thus get examples: *vṛkṣas śete* → *vṛkṣaś śete* and *plakṣas śete* → *plakṣaś śete*. The *visarga* (*ḥ*) of *vṛkṣa* + (*sU*→ *rU*→*ḥ*) = *vṛkṣaḥ* is replaced with *s* (8.3.36 *vā śari*). We similarly get *vṛkṣas cinoti* → *vṛkṣaś cinoti, palkṣaś cinoti*; *vṛkṣaś chādayati* and *plakṣaś chādayati*.

Examples of *tU* replaced with *cU* before *ś* are: *agnicit śete* = *agnicic* (*ś*→*ch*) *ete* = *agnicic chete* and *somasu*(*t*→*c*) *śete* = *somasuc* (*ś*→*ch*) *ete* = *somasuc chete*. Similar examples of *tU* replaced with *cU* before *cU* are: *agnici*(*t*→*c*) *chinoti* → *agnicic cinoti, somasuc cinoti*; *agnic chādayati, somasuc chādayati*; *aginicij jayati, somasuj jayati*; *agnicijjhakāram, somasuj* + *jhakāram* and *agnici*(*t*→*ñ*) + *ñakāram* = *agniciññakāram, somasuñ* + *ñakāram*. Similar replacements are witnessed in verbal forms: *majjati* ← *masj, bhrajjati* ← *bhrasj*; and *vṛścati* ← *vraśc*.

We similarly get (*yaj* + *naṄ*) + *sU*→ *yajñaḥ* 'sacrifice' (3.3.90 *yajayāca* . . .) and *yācñā* 'begging'. Note that Pāṇini did not formulate his rule as *stoḥ ścau* . . ., with *ścu* in the locative (*saptamī*). He used the instrumental *ścunā*, instead, so that a replacement with a preceding or following *ś* and *c* could both be accomplished. If the specification was made with the locative, only a following *ś* and *c* could have allowed this replacement (*Kāś*: '*stoḥ ścau*' *iti saptamīnirdeśo na kṛtaḥ; pūrveṇa pareṇa ca ścunā sannipāte ścutvaṃ yathā syād iti*).

8.4.41 ष्टुना ष्टुः

ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ

/*ṣṭunā* 3/1 = *ṣaś ca ṭuś ca* = *ṣṭuḥ* (*sam. dv.*), *tena*; *ṣṭuḥ* 1/1 (*sam. dv.*)/ (*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *stoḥ* #40)

sakāratavargayoḥ ṣakāraṭavargābhyāṃ sannipāte ṣakāraṭavargāv ādeśau bhavataḥ

A replacement in *ṣ*, and any sound denoted by *ṭU*, comes in place of *s*, and any sound denoted by *tU*, respectively, when *ṣ*, and any sound denoted by *ṭU*, follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣas ṣaṇḍe
plakṣaṣ ṣaṇḍe
vṛkṣaṣ ṭīkate
plakṣaṣ ṭīkate
vṛkṣaṣ ṭhakāraḥ
plakṣaṣ ṭhakāraḥ
peṣṭā
peṣṭum
peṣṭavyam
kṛṣīṣṭa
kṛṣīṣṭhāḥ
agnicit ṭīkate
agnicit ṭhakāraḥ
agnicid ḍīnaḥ
agnicid ḍhaukate
agnicin ṇakāraḥ
aṭṭati
aḍḍati

1. Note that *stoḥ* is still carried over. This rule becomes very similar to the preceding. A *s*, and a sound denoted by *tU*, is replaced with *ṣ*, and any sound denoted by *ṭU*, respectively, when a *ṣ*, and any sound denoted by *ṭU*, follows in close proximity. Here again there is no assignment of equivalency in order

of enumeration. That is, insofar as equivalency relation between the two conditions is concerned. If this was not so, Pāṇini would not have made the negative provision of 8.4.43 *toḥ ṣiḥ* (see notes under the preceding rule). Thus, we get examples of *s→ṣ*: *vṛkṣas* + *ṣaṇḍe* → *vṛkṣaṣ ṣaṇḍe, plakṣaṣ ṣaṇḍe*; *vṛkṣa(s→ṣ) ṭīkate* = *vṛkṣaṣ ṭīkate, plakṣaṣ ṭīkate*; *vṛkṣaṣ ṭhakāraḥ* and *plakṣaṣ ṭhakāraḥ*.

Examples of *tU→ṣ* are as follows: (*piṣ* + *tṛC*) + *sU*→ (*peṣ* + *tṛC*) + *sU*→ *peṣṭā*, *piṣ* + *tumUN* = *peṣṭum* and (*piṣ* + *tavyat*) + *sU* = *peṣṭavyam*. We similarly get *kṛṣīṣṭa* (II:437-38) and *kṛṣīṣṭhāḥ*. Now consider examples of *t→ṭ*: *agnici*(*t→ṭ*) *ṭīkate* = *agniciṭ ṭīkate, somasuṭ ṭīkate*; *agniciṭ ṭhakāraḥ, somasuṭ ṭhakāraḥ*; *agniciḍ ḍīnaḥ, somasuḍ ḍīnaḥ*; *agniciḍ ḍhaukate, somasuḍ ḍhaukate*; *agniciṇ ṇakāraḥ, somasuṇ ṇakāraḥ*. We also find similar replacements in verbal forms: *aṭṭati* ← *aṭṭ* 'to insult' and *aḍḍati* ←*aḍḍ* 'to exert'. These roots are derived with *KvIP* and are listed in the *Dhātupāṭha* with *t* and *d* as their penultimate. Their final *ṭ* and *ḍ* go through deletion by 8.2.23 *saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ*.

8.4.42 न पदान्ताट्टोरनाम्

na padāntāṭ ṭor anām
/*na* ϕ *padāntāt* 5/1 = *padasya antaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*), *tasmāt*; *ṭoḥ* 5/1 *anām* (deleted 6/1) = *na nām* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *stuḥ* #40 *ṣṭuḥ* #41)
padāntāṭ ṭavargād uttarasya stoḥ ṣṭutvaṃ na bhavati '*nām*' *ity etad varjayitvā*
A *s*, or any sound denoted by *tU*, is not replaced with *ṣ*, or any sound denoted by *ṭU*, when *s* and *tU*, except for occurring as part of *nām*, occur after a *pada*-final sound denoted by *ṭU* in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

śvaliṭ sāye
madhuliṭ tarati

1. This rule does not allow a replacement in *ṣ* or *ṭU* for a *s* or *tU*, with the exception of *nām*, when *s* and *tU* occur after a *pada*-final *ṭU*. Note that *anām* specifies the negation of *ām* used with augment *nUṬ* (*āgatanuṭkasya*). Consider *śvaliṭ sāye* and *madhuliṭ sāye* as examples. Recall that 8.3.29 *ḍaḥ si dhuṭ* introduces augment *dhUṬ* to a *pada* which begins with *s* and follows a *pada* ending in *ḍ*. Our examples qualify for application of this rule only when the option of *dhUṬ* is not accepted. The *s* then goes through replacement in *ṣṭU* (*ṣṭutva*) when *dhUṬ* is not introduced. The *dh* of *dhUṬ* goes through *ṣṭutva* when the option of *dhUṬ* is accepted. An example with *t* will be: *madhuliṭ tarati*.

2. Why do we state the condition of *padāntāt* 'after the *pada*-final'? Consider *īṭṭe* 'I praise' which is a third singular middle present derivate of *īḍA* 'to praise'. This root takes middle endings because of its *anudātta* as an *it* (1.3.12 *anudāttaṅita* . . .). The *ŚaP* after this root is deleted on account of its listing

in the *adādi* group (2.4.72 *adiprabhṛtibhyaḥ* . . .). Rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* replaces *ḍ* with *ṭ*.

Why do we state the condition of *toḥ* 'after *ṭU*'? Consider (*sarpiṣ* + *tamaP*) + *sU* = *sarpiṣṭamam*, where this replacement cannot be blocked. Recall here that *sarpiṣ* 'ghee' is termed a *pada* before *tamaP* (1.4.17 *svādiṣv asarvanā-masthāne*). A replacement in *ṭ* for *t*, after the *pada*-final *ṣ*, could have been negated in the absence of of *ṭoḥ*. This would have yielded a wrong form.

Why do we state *anām* 'with the exception of *nām*'? Consider *ṣaṣ* + *nām*, where *nām* follows. The final *ṣ* of *ṣaṣ* is replaced with *ḍ* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). This *ḍ* is then replaced with *ṇ* of 8.4.45 *yaro' nunāsike' nunāsiko vā*.

Kāśikā states that negation of *anām* is not enough to cover other instances. Consequently, a proposal (*vt*: *anāmnavatinagarīṇām iti vaktavyam*) is made to specify *nām*, *navati* and *nagarī* as exceptions. Thus, *ṣaṇṇām* 'of the six . . .', *ṣaṇṇavatiḥ* 'sixty-nine' and *ṣaṇṇagarī* 'a group of six cities'.

8.4.43 तोः षि

toḥ ṣi
/*toḥ* 6/1 *ṣi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *na* #42)
tavargasya ṣakāre yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
What replaces a sound denoted by *tU* when *ṣ* follows in close proximity does not apply here.

EXAMPLES:

agnicit ṣaṇḍe
bhavān ṣaṇḍe
mahān ṣaṇḍe

1. Note that *na* is still carried over. What is stated for *tU* when *ṣ* follows does not apply here. Consider *agnicit ṣaṇḍe*, *bhavān ṣaṇḍe* and *mahān ṣaṇḍe*, where a sound denoted by *ṭU* 'retroflex stop and nasal' cannot replace a sound denoted by *tU* 'dental stop and nasal', here *t* and *n*, when occurring in close proximity before *ṣ*. This rule is an exception to 8.4.41 *ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ*.

Note that a *stU* is indeed replaced with *ṣṭu* when *ṣṭu* precedes in close proximity (*pūrvabhūtena sannipātena*). This becomes clear from the locative specification of *ṣi*. Consider *peṣṭā* and *peṣṭum* as examples.

Recall that *ṣṭu* is carried over. However, the negation of this rule applies only to a *ṭU* sound which replaces a *tU*. For, we do not get a *ṣ* in place of a *ṭU*. This rule can also be technically considered suspended (*asiddha*) in view of application of 8.4.41 *ṣṭu nā ṣṭuḥ*. Here again, Pāṇini's own formulation saves this rule from suspension.

8.4.44 शात्

śāt
/*śāt* 5/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *na* #42 *ṣi* #43)
śakārād uttarasya tavargasya yad uktaṃ tan na bhavati
What replaces *tU*, when occurring after *ś* in close proximity, does not apply here.

EXAMPLES:

praśnaḥ 'question'
viśnaḥ 'splendor'

1. This rule negates the provision of *cutva* (8.4.39 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Consider (*pracch + naṄ → praśn*) + *sU* = *praśnaḥ* and (*vicch + naṄ*) + *sU* = *viśnaḥ* which are both derivates of *naṄ* (3.3.90 *yajayāca*...). Note that *ś* is here a replacement of *cch* (6.4.19 *cchvoḥ śūḍ*...). An application of *cutva*, in *praśna*, will produce a wrong form: **praśña*. Recall that Pāṇini's own formulation of rule 3.2.117 *praśne cāsannakāle* indicates that *cutva* does not apply to *tU* when occurring after *ś*. Note that this rule should be technically considered suspended (*asiddha*; 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*) in view of application of 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*. A wrong form *praśña* will result if results of 8.2.40 are not negated. This rule, at the strength of its formulation by Pāṇini (*vacana-sāmarthya*), negates *ñ*. Refer to derivational details under 3.3.90 *yajayāca*... (III:764).

It is stated (*PM* ad *Kāś*) that, in the Vedic, all operations may be seen as optional (*sarve vidhayaś chandasi vikalpyante*). Thus, in the *Taittirīyaka* recension, we do not find this negation: *ayo' śñāti*. But we find this in the *Kāṭhaka* recension: *brahmacāriṇe praśnān procya prajighāya*.

8.4.45 यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा

yaro' nunāsike' nunāsiko vā
/*yaraḥ* 6/1 *anunāsike* 7/1 *anunāsikaḥ* 1/1 *vā* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *padāntāt* #41)
yaraḥ padāntasyānunāsike parato vā' nunāsikādeśo bhavati
A *pada*-final sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaR* (*Śs* 5-13) is optionally replaced with an *anunāsika* 'nasal' when an *anunāsika* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

vāg nayati
vāṅ nayati
śvaliḍ nayati
śvaliṇ nayati
agnicid nayati

agnicin nayati
triṣṭub nayati
triṣṭum nayati

1. Note that *padāntāt* (8.4.42) is carried over with the sense of the genitive, via transposition of its nominal ending (*vibhakti-vipariṇāma*) in tune with *padāntasya* 'in place of that which occurs at the end of a *pada*'. This rule optionally replaces a *pada*-final sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaR* (*Śs* 5-13) with a corresponding nasal (*anunāsika*) when a nasal follows in close proximity. Thus, we get *vā(g→ṅ) nayati* = *vāṅ nayati* '. . . speech leads', *vāg nayati*; *śvali(ḍ→ṇ) nayati* = *śvaliḍ nayati* 'dog-licker leads', etc. Recall here that a nasalized vowel (*aC*) is not found occurring after a sound denoted by *yaR*. Examples of this rule thus involve nasal consonants. A nasal replacement will, of course, be selected in view of similarity of place of articulation with the sound denoted by *yaR* (1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ*).

Why do we state the condition of *padāntasya* 'in place of a *pada*-final'? So that a sound denoted by *yaR* could not be replaced with a nasal, when not occurring at the end of a *pada*. Consider *vedmi* 'first person singular active present of *vid* (to know)' where *d* is not replaced with a nasal because it does not occur at the end of a *pada*. We similarly do not get this replacement in *kṣubhnāti*.

2. A proposal (*vt*: *yaro' nunāsike pratyaye bhāṣāyāṃ nityavacanaṃ kartavyam*) is made for obligatory replacement in the classical language. That is, when an affixal nasal follows in close proximity. Thus, (*vāg* + *mayaṬ*) + *sU* → *vāṅmayam*, *tvaṅmayam*. These examples can also be accepted as instances of *vyavasthita-vibhāṣā* 'fixed option' (*Kāś*: *vyavasthitavibhāṣājñānāt siddham*).

8.4.46 अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे

aco rahābhyāṃ dve
/*acaḥ* 6/1 *rahābhyām* 5/2 *dve* 1/2/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *yaraḥ vā* #45)
aca uttarau yau rephahakārau tābhyām uttarasya yaro dve bhavataḥ
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaR*, when occurring in close proximity after a vowel followed by *r* and *h*, is optionally replaced with two.

EXAMPLES:

arkkaḥ
markkaḥ
brahmmā
apahnnute

1. Note that *yaraḥ* and *vā* are carried over. This rule replaces a single *yaR* sound with its corresponding two when *yaR* occurs after a vowel, followed by

r and *h*, in close proximity. Consider (*arc* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU*→ (*ar*(*c*→*k*) + *a*)) + *sU* → *ar*(*k*→*kk*) *a* + *sU* = *arkkaḥ*, where *c* is replaced with *k* (7.3.52 *cajoḥ ku ghiṇyatoḥ*). This resultant *k* is, optionally, replaced with *kk*. We similarly get *markkaḥ*, a derivate of *kaN* introduced after *marcl*. This root is *sautra* 'mentioned in the *sūtras*'. The *c* of *marcl* is also replaced with *k* (8.2.30 *coḥ kuḥ*). Now consider *brahmmā* and *apahnnute*, where *m* and *n* are replaced with *mm* and *nn*.

Why do we have the condition of *acaḥ* 'after a vowel'? Consider *hanute*, where *h* does not occur after a vowel. Consequently, *n* cannot be replaced with *nn*. A similar negation of doubling (of *m*) is also witnessed in *kim hmalayati*.

8.4.47 अनचि च

anaci ca
/*anaci* 7/1 = *na ac* = *anac* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasmin*; *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *yaro vā* #45 *aco dve* #46)
aca uttarasya yaro dve bhavataḥ anaci parataḥ
A sound denoted by *yaR* and occurring after one denoted by *aC* is, optionally, replaced with two, even when *aC* does not follow.

EXAMPLES:

daddhy atra
maddhv atra

1. Note that *acaḥ* and *yaraḥ* are both carried over. This rule allows doubling of a *yaR* sound, optionally, when this *yaR* occurs after a vowel and is followed by a non-vowel. Consider *dadh*(*i*→*y*) *atra* = *da*(*dh*→*dhdh*)*y* + *atra* = *dadhdhy atra*, where *dh*, when occurring after *a* and followed by a non-*aC* sound, i.e., *y*, is replaced with *dhdh*. The *dh* is then replaced with *d* (8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*) to produce: *daddhy atra*. We similarly get *madh*(*u*→*v*) *atra* → *ma*(*dh*→*dhdh*) *v atra* → *ma*(*dh*→*d*) *hv atra* = *maddhvatra*.

2. The negation in *anaci* 'when followed by a sound other than one denoted by *aC*' is generally interpreted as *paryudāsa* = *tadbhinna-tatsadṛśa* 'similar to but different from what is negated'. Thus, *aco' nyo' nac, sa paro yasmāt so' nacparaḥ anac* means 'that which is different from *aC*'; *anacparaḥ* means 'that which occurs before that which is different from *aC*'. Note that this interpretation does not serve any special purpose. In fact, it is not free of fault. That is, it will create applicational problems at the end, especially before pause. We cannot get two *k* sounds in *vākk*. For, there is nothing similar to but different from a vowel here (*PM*: *vākk, acsadṛśasya varṇāntarasyābhāvāt*). Why is the *paryudāsa* interpretation accepted? To save us from *pratipatti-gaurava* 'prolixity of comprehension', for example, *vākk*. Others claim the negation to be *prasajya*: *na acparaḥ* = *anacparaḥ* 'no doubling when *aC* follows'.

That is, doubling will be negated only when a vowel follows, and not when a consonant follows. These scholars consider forms such as *vākk* as attested by usage. Obviously, accepting a *paryudāsa* interpretation cannot permit doubling at the terminal pause (*avasāna*). They also argue that if Pāṇini intended this negation to be *paryudāsa*, he would have simply stated *hali*, and not *anaci*. This would also have been economical (*lāghava*). No matter what view is accepted, the negation will still be prolix.

Why do we state the condition of *acaḥ* 'after a vowel'? Consider *smitam* and *dhmātam*, where a *yAR* sound does not occur after a vowel.

3. Now note some *vārttika* proposals:

(*i*) *yaṇo mayo dve bhavata iti vaktavyam.* Commentators interpret this *vārttika* in two ways:

(*ii*) where *yaṇaḥ* and *mayaḥ* are interpreted as ending in *pañcamī* 'ablative' and *ṣaṣṭhī* 'genitive', respectively. That is, a sound denoted by *maY* is replaced with two when *maY* occurs after a sound denoted by *yaṆ*. This will give us *teṣām ulkkā* and *vālmmīkaḥ* as examples.

(*iii*) where *yaṇaḥ* and *mayaḥ* are interpreted as ending in *ṣaṣṭhī* and *pañcamī*, respectively. That is, a sound denoted by *yaṆ* is replaced with two when *yaṆ* occurs after *maY*. This gives us *daddhy atra* and *madhdhv atra* as examples.

(*iv*) *śaraḥ khayo dve bhavata iti vaktavyam.* Here also, *śaraḥ* and *khayaḥ* can be interpreted either (*i*) as *pañcamī* and *ṣaṣṭhī*; or (*ii*) as *ṣaṣṭhī* and *pañcamī*. The first interpretation will give us *stthālī* and *stthātā* as examples. The second interpretation will give us: *vatssaḥ, ikṣṣuḥ, kṣṣīram* and *apssarāḥ.*

(*v*) *avasāne ca yaro dve bhavataḥ* 'a sound denoted by *yaR* is replaced with two at the end before pause'. Thus, we get: *vākk, vāk; tvakk, tvak; ṣaṭṭ, ṣaṭ;* and *tatt, tat.*

8.4.48 नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य

nādiny ākrośe putrasya

/*na* ϕ *ādinī* (deleted locative); *ākrośe* 7/1 *putrasya* 6/1/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *dve* #46)

ādinī parata ākrośe gamyamāne putraśabdasya na dve bhavataḥ

Two do not come in place of one in *putra* when *ādinī* follows and the derivate denotes *ākrośa* 'anger'.

EXAMPLES:

putrādinī tvamasi pāpe 'O sinful one! you are your sons' eater'

1. The locative (*saptamī*) of *ādini* here marks 'what follows' (*parasaptamī*). Doubling is not permitted when *ādini* combines in a compound to follow

putra 'son' and the derivate denotes 'anger'. Recall that *ādini* is a derivate of *ṆinI*, used with the signification of *tācchīlya* 'characteristic nature'. The *t* of *putrādinī tvam asi pāpe* is not doubled because *pāpe*! denotes anger.

Why do we state the condition of *ākrośe* 'when anger is denoted'? If one wants to make a statement with no anger, *t* will be doubled up. Thus, *puttrādinī vyāghrī* 'a tigress who eats up her cubs'. We also get *śiśumārī vyāghrī* 'a tigress who eats up her young ones'.

2. Note that *parasaptamī*, with a *vārttika* proposal (*vt. tatpare ceti vaktavyam*), is also extended to derivates where *ādini* may not follow *putra* immediately. Thus, we also get: *putrapautrādinī tvam asi pāpe*, where *ādinī* follows *putra* with intervening *pautra* 'grandson'. The *t* is not doubled up because *pāpe*! denotes anger.

Yet another proposal (*vt. vā hatajagdhapara iti vaktavyam*) is made to allow non-doubling of *t* when *hata* and *jagdha* are combined to follow *putra*. Thus we get *putro hataḥ anayā* (*bahuvrīhi*) 'she by who her own son was killed'. We similarly get *putrajagdhī*. The feminine affix *ṄīṢ* is here introduced by 4.1.53 *asvāṅgapūrvapadād vā*.

A third proposal (*vt. cayo dvitīyā śari pauṣkarasādeḥ*) offers the opinion of Pauṣkarasādi. Thus, a sound denoted by *caY* is replaced with the second sound of its class (or series) when a sound denoted by *śaR* follows. Thus we get: *vatsaḥ / vathsaḥ; kṣīram / khṣīram; apsarāḥ / aphsarāḥ.*

8.4.49 शरोऽचि

> *śaro' ci*
> /*śaraḥ* 6/1 *aci* 7/1/
> (*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *dve* #46 *na* #48)
> *śaro' ci parato na dve bhavataḥ*
> Two do not come in place of one when a sound denoted by *śAR* occurs followed by a vowel.

EXAMPLES:

> *karṣati* '. . . drags'
> *varṣati* '. . . rains'
> *ākarṣaḥ* 'touchstone'
> *akṣadarśaḥ* 'a judge'

1. A sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *ŚaR* is not doubled up when a vowel (*aC*) follows in close proximity. Recall that 8.4.46 *aco rahābhyāṃ dve*, of which this rule becomes an exception, allows such doubling. Thus, *karṣati, varṣati,* (*ā-kṛṣ* + *GHaÑ*) + *sU* → *ākarṣaḥ* and *akṣadarśaḥ.*

Why do we state the condition of *aci* 'when a vowel follows'? Consider *darśśyate*, where *ś* is doubled up since no vowel follows.

8.4.50 **त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य**

triprabhṛtiṣu śākaṭāyanasya
/ *tri-prabhṛtiṣu* 7/3 = *trayaḥ prabhṛtayo yeṣām* (*bv.*), *teṣu*; *śākaṭāyanasya* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *dve* #46 *na* #48)
triprabhṛtiṣ varṇeṣu saṃyukteṣu śākaṭāyanasyācāryasya matena dvitvaṃ na bhavati
Two, as per Śākaṭāyana, do not come in place of one of a conjunct of three.

EXAMPLES:

indraḥ 'Indra'
candraḥ 'moon'
uṣṭraḥ 'camel'
rāṣṭram 'nation, kingdom'
bhrāṣṭram 'roasting (place/oven)'

1. This rule, in the opinion of Śākaṭāyana, does not allow two in place of one of a conjunct with three or more consonants. Thus, we get *indraḥ*, *candraḥ* and *mandraḥ*, where the bases are derivates of affix *raK*, introduced after *idI* 'to be extremely affluent', *cadI* 'to be happy' and *madI* 'to praise, be happy'. We thus get *indraḥ*, but not *inndraḥ*. Similar observations can be made about *uṣṭraḥ*, etc.

Note that mention of *Śākaṭāyana* is made for denoting respect (*pūjā*). It cannot be interpreted as denoting option. For, this operational provision is *nitya* 'obligatory'. Why should one formulate this rule when the following could account for its derivates (*Nyāsa*: *anyathottarasūtreṇaiva siddhatvād asyārambho nirarthakaḥ syāt*)?

8.4.51 **सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य**

sarvatra śākalyasya
/ *sarvatra* ϕ *śākalyasya* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *dve* #46 *na* #48)
śākalyasyācāryasya matena sarvatra dvirvacanaṃ na bhavati
Two, in the opinion of Śākalya, do not come as replacement for one, anywhere.

EXAMPLES:

arkaḥ 'sun'
markaḥ 'life-breath'
brahmā 'brahman; the Supreme'
apahnute '. . . hides'

1. Here again, mention of Śākalya is made for respect. This operational provision is obligatory.

8.4.52 दीर्घादाचार्याणाम्

dīrghād ācāryāṇām
/ *dīrghāt* 5/1 *ācāryāṇām* 6/3/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *dve* #46 *na* #48)
dīrghād uttarasyācāryāṇāṃ matena na dvitvaṃ bhavati
Two do not come as a replacement for one which occurs after a long vowel, in the opinion of all scholars.

EXAMPLES:

dātram 'sickle'
pātram 'vessel'
mūtram 'urine'
sūtram 'thread'

1. This rule does not permit consonantal doubling after a long vowel. This is in consonance with the opinion of all scholars. Mention of the word *ācārya* is again made for respect. This operational provision is again obligatory. Consider *dātram*, *pātram*, etc., where 8.4.47 *anaci ca* may apply.

8.4.53 झलां जश् झशि

jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi
/*jhalām* 6/3 *jaś* 1/1 *jhaśi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108)
jhalāṃ sthāne jaśādeśo bhavati jhaśi parataḥ
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jaŚ* comes in place of one denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaL* when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaŚ* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

labdhā '*tṛC*-derivate of *labh* (to obtain)'
labdhum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
labdhavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate . . .'
dogdhā '*tṛC*-derivate of *duh* (to milk)'
dogdhum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
dogdhavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate . . .'
boddhā '*tṛC*-derivate of *budh* (to know)'
boddhum '*tumUN*-derivate . . .'
boddhavyam '*tavyaT*-derivate . . .'

1. A sound denoted by *jhaL* (*Śs* 8-14) is replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by *jaŚ* (*Śs* 10) when a sound denoted by *jhaŚ* (*Śs* 8-10) follows. Consider (*labh* + *tṛC*) + *sU* → *labdhā*, *labh* + *tumUN* = *labdhum* and (*labh* + *tavyaT*) + *sU* = *labdhavyam*, where *bh* (of *labh*) before *dh* (of *Kta*→*dha*;

8.2.40 *jhaṣas* . . .) is replaced with *b* (*jaśtva*) of this rule. We similarly get: *dogdhā, dogdhum* and *dogdhavyam* where 8.2.32 *dāder dhātor*. . . replaces the root-final *h* with *gh*. This rule replaces the root-final *dh* with *d* in *boddhā, boddhum* and *boddhavyam.*

Why do we state the condition of *jhaśi* 'when *jhaŚ* follows'? Consider the following forms of *dā* 'to give': *dattaḥ, datthaḥ* and *dadhmaḥ* where this replacement cannot take place since no *jhaŚ* follows.

8.4.54 अभ्यासे चर्च

abhyāse car ca
/ *abhyāse* 7/1 *car* 1/1 *ca* ϕ/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *jhalām jaś* #53)
abhyāse vartamānānāṃ jhalāṃ car ādeśo bhavati cakārāj jaś ca
A sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *caR*, and *jaŚ* as well, comes in place of one denoted by *jhaL* occurring as part of an *abhyāsa* 'reduplicated syllable', when a sound denoted by *jhaŚ* follows and close proximity between sounds finds it scope.

EXAMPLES:

cikhaniṣati
citchitsati
ṭiṭhakārayiṣati
tiṣṭhāsati
piphakārayiṣati
bubhūṣati
jighatsati
ḍuḍhaukiṣate
cicīṣati
jijaniṣate

1. Note that *jaŚ* is also carried over. This, in turn, cancels its *anuvṛtti* beyond this rule (*cānukṛṣṭaṃ nottaratra*). A sound denoted by *jhaL* is here to be replaced with a corresponding sound denoted by *caR*, and also *jaŚ*, when a sound denoted by *jhaL* occurs as part of an *abhyāsa* (6.1.4 *pūrvo' bhyāsaḥ*). Consider *cikhaniṣati*, where the root is a derivate of *saN*, introduced after *khan* 'to dig'. Thus, *khan* + *saN* → *kha*(*n*→ϕ) + *khan* + *saN* → *kh*(*a*→*i*) + *khan* + *iṬ* + *saN* → (*kh*→*ch*)*i* + *khan* + *iṬ* + *saN* → (*ch*→*c*)*i* + *khan* + *i* + *saN* = *cikhanisa* + (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) = *cikhanisa* + *ŚaP* + *tiP* → *cikhani*(*s*→*ṣ*) + *a* + *ti* = *cikhaniṣati.* Follow derivational patterns of many *saN*-derivates already discussed (II:431-35). This derivate involves reduplication of *khan* with applications of 7.4.60 *halādi śeṣaḥ*, replacement in *i* (*itva*; 7.4.79 *sany ataḥ*), introduction of augment *iṬ* (7.2.35 *ārddhadhātuka* . . .), and *ṣ* (8.3.59 *ādeśapratyayayoḥ*) as a replacement for *s* of *saN.* Notice that *kh* is replaced with *ch*

(*cutva*; 7.4.62 *kuhoś cuḥ*). Our present rule then replaces it with *c*.

Our next derivate (*chi* + *tUK* + *chid* + *saN*) + *LAṬ* → *cicchiṣati* involves introduction of augment *tUK* (6.1.73 *che ca*). This *t* is then replaced with *c* (*cutva*; 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*). Now consider (*ṭhakāra* + *ṆiC*) + *saN* → *ṭhakārayiṣa* + *LAṬ* → *ṭiṭhakārayiṣati* and (*phakāra* + *ṆiC*) + *saN* → *phakārayiṣa* + *LAṬ* → *piphakārayiṣati*, where *ṆiC* is introduced by a *vārttika* (*tatkaroti tad ācaṣṭe* ad 3.1.25 *satyāpa* . . .). Affix *saN* is then introduced to derive a root after which *LAṬ* could be introduced (cf. *paṭayati*; II:400-401). Thus, *ṭhakaray* + *saN* → *ṭha* + *ṭhakāray* + *saN* → *ṭa* + *ṭhakāray* + *saN* → *ṭ*(*a*→*i*) + *ṭhakāray* + *saN* → *ṭi* + *ṭhakāray* + *iṬ* + *saN* → *ṭiṭhakārayiṣa* + *ŚaP* (*LAṬ*→*tiP*) → *ṭiṭhakārayiṣati*. We similarly get *piphakārayiṣati*. Refer to notes under 7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ* for derivational details of *tiṣṭhāsati*, again a derivate of *saN*, introduced after *sthā* 'to stay, stand', with *LAṬ*. Recall that, given *sthā* + *sthā* + *saN*, *thā* of the *abhyāsa* alone is retained (7.4.61 *śarpūrvāḥ khayaḥ*). Deriving *bubhūṣati*, *jighatsati* and *ḍuḍhaukiṣate* from *bhū* + *bhū* + *saN* → (*bh*→*b*) *ū* + *bhū* + *saN* → (*b*(*ū*→*u*) + *bhū* + *saN*) + *LAṬ*; (*ad*→*ghas*) + *saN* → *gha*(*s*→ϕ) + *ghas* + *saN* → (*gha*→*ga*) + *ghas* + *saN* → *g*(*a*→*i*) + *ghas* + *saN* → *g*(*a*→*i*) + *ghas* + *saN* → (*g*→*j*) *i* + *ghas* + *tUK* + *s* + *saN* → (*jighat*(*s*→ϕ) + *saN*) + *LAṬ*; and *ḍhauk* + *ḍhauk* + *saN* → *ḍu* + *ḍhauk* + *iṬ* + *saN* → *ḍuḍhaukiṣa* + *LAṬ* → *ḍuḍhaukiṣate* should not be very difficult. Follow derivational details of many *saN*-derivates already discussed (II:431-35). Refer to *cicīṣati* (II:435) which *Kāśikā* cites here to back the claim that an original *caR* is retained as is: *prakṛticarāṃ prakṛticaro bhavanti*. An additional example is offered in *ṭīk* + *ṭīk* + *saN* → *ṭī* + *ṭīk* + *iṬ* + *saN* → *ṭ*(*ī*→*i*) + *ṭīk* + *iṬ* + *saN* → *ṭiṭīkiṣa* + *LAṬ* = *ṭiṭīkiṣate*. *Kāśikā* also offers *jan* + *jan* + *iṬ* + *saN* → *ja* + *jan* + *iṬ* + *saN* → *jijani*(*s*→*ṣ*) *a* = *jijaniṣa* + (*LAṬ*→*te*) = *jijaniṣate*, *budh* + (*LIṬ*→*ta*) = *budh* + (*ta*→*eŚ*) → *bubudhe* (of *budh* 'to know') and *dadau* (of *dā* 'to give'; cf. *papau* under 7.1.34 *āt au ṇalaḥ*) as examples where an original *jaŚ* is retained as is (*Kāś*: *prakṛtijaśāṃ prakṛtijaśo bhavanti*).

8.4.55 खरि च

khari ca

/*khari* 7/1 *ca* ϕ/

(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *jhalām* #53 *car* #54)

khari ca parato jhalāṃ car ādeśo bhavati

A sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaL* (*Śs* 8-14) is replaced with a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *caR* (*Śs* 11-13), also, when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *khaR* (*Śs* 11-13) follows and close proximity between sounds finds it scope.

EXAMPLES:

(*bhid* + *tṛC*) + *sU* = *bhettā*

(*bhid* + *tumUN*) + *sU* = *bhettum*

(*bhid* + *tavyaT*) + *sU* = *bhettavyam*

(yuyudh + sa) + (LAṬ→te)) = yuyutsate
(ā-rabh + sa) + (LAṬ→te)) = āripsate
(ā-labh + sa) + (LAṬ→te)) = ālipsate

1. Note that *jhalām* and *car* are both carried over. A replacement in *t* for *d* in (*bhid* + *tṛC*) + *sU* → (*bhe*(*d*→*t*) + *tṛC*)) + *sU* = *bhettā* 'he who will break', *bhettum* 'for breaking' and *bhettavyam* 'should be broken' illustrates this. We similarly get *yuyutsa* + (*LAṬ*→*te*) = *yuyutsate* 'wishes to fight', where *dh* is replaced with *t*. Refer to notes under 7.4.54 *sanimīmāghurabhalabha* . . . for derivational details of *āripsate* and *ālipsate* where *bh* is replaced with *p*.

8.4.56 **वावसाने**

vāvasāne
/*vā* ϕ *avasāne* 7/1/
A sound denoted by *caR* comes, optionally, in place of one denoted by *jhaL*, when this *jhaL* occurs at *avasāna* 'cessation of speech; pause'.

EXAMPLES:

vāk
vāg
tvak
tvag
śvaliṭ
śvaliḍ
triṣṭup
triṣṭub

1. Refer to derivational details of *vac* + (*KvIP*→ϕ) = *v*(*a*→*ā*) *c* → *vāc* + (*sU*→ϕ) = *vā*(*c*→*g*→*k*) = *vāk* 'speech', where this replacement in *k* is made optional to *g* (8.2.39 *jhalāṃ jaśo' nte*). That is, if the option of this replacement in a sound denoted by *caR* (*cartva*) is not accepted, we will get a replacement in a sound denoted by *jaŚ* (*jaśtva*). Recall that this provision of a sound denoted by *jaŚ* is made obligatorily (*nitya*).

8.4.57 **अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः**

aṇo' pragṛhyasyānunāsikaḥ
/*aṇaḥ apragṛhyasya* 6/1 = *na pragṛhyam* = *apragṛhyam* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*; *anunāsikaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *vāvasāne* #56)
aṇo' pragṛhyasaṃjñasyāvasāne vartamānasya vā' nunāsikādeśo bhavati
A vowel denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *aṆ* (*Śs* 1), but other than one termed *pragṛhya* (11.11 *īdūded* . . .), is, optionally, replaced with its nasalized counterpart (*anunāsika*) at *avasāna* 'pause, end of speech'.

EXAMPLES:

dadhī̃
dadhi
madhū̃
madhu
kumārī̃
kumārī

1. Note that this abbreviatory symbol *aṆ* is formed with the first *Ṇ* (*Śs* 1: *aiuṆ*). Recall that 1.1.11 *īdūdeddvivacanaṃ pragr̥hyam* assigns the term *pragr̥hya*. The *sU* after *dadhi* and *madhu* is deleted, via *LUK* (7.1.23 *svamor napuṃsakāt*).

2. Why do we state the condition of *aṇaḥ* 'of that which is denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *aṆ*'? Consider *kartr̥* and *hartr̥* where *r̥* is not included within the denotatum of *aṆ*.

Why do we state the condition of *apragr̥hyasya* 'of that which is not termed *pragr̥hya*'? Consider *agnī* and *vāyū* where, on account of the assignment of the term *pragr̥hya*, *ī* and *ū* are not replaced with their nasalized counterparts.

8.4.58 अनुस्वारस्य यिय परसवर्णः

anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ
/*anusvārasya* 6/1 *yayi* 7/1 *parasavarṇaḥ* 1/1 = *parasya savarṇaḥ* = *parasavarṇaḥ* (*ṣaṣ. tat.*)/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108)
anusvārasya yayi parataḥ parasavarṇa ādeśo bhavati
An *anusvāra* (*ṃ*), when followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaY* (semivowel, stop and nasal), is replaced with a sound homogeneous with what follows.

EXAMPLES:

śaṅkitā
śaṅkitum
śaṅkitavyam
uñchitā
uñchitum
uñchitavyam
kuṇḍitā
kuṇḍitum
kuṇḍitavyam
nanditā
nanditum
nanditavyam
kampitā

kampitum
kampitavyam

1. This rule allows an *anusvāra* to be replaced with a sound homogeneous with what follows, provided a *yaY* sound follows. Consider *śakI* + *tṛC* → *śa* + *nUM* + *k* + *tṛ*(*C*) → *śa*+*n*(*UM*) +*k* + *tṛ* → *śank* + *i*(*T*) + *tṛ* → *śa*(*n*→*ṃ*) *k* + *i* + *tṛ* → *śa*(*ṃ*→*ṅ*) *k* + *i* + *tṛ* = *śaṅkitṛ* + *sU* = *śaṅkitā*, where augment *nUM* is introduced, based on *I* as an *it* (7.1.58 *idito num dhātoḥ*). The *n* of *nUM* is then replaced with *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*). Our present rule replaces it with *ṅ*, a nasal homogeneous with *k* which follows *ṃ*. Similar rules apply in deriving *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT* derivates of *uchI* 'to cut, abandon', *kuḍI* 'to burn, be hot', *ṬUnudI* 'to be happy' and *kapI* 'to move'. Thus, *uñchitā*, *uñchitum* and *uñchitavyam*, etc.

Now consider *kṛ* + *u* + *anti* → *k*(*ṛ*→*ur*) + *u* + *anti* → *kur* + (*u*→*v*) + *anti* = *kurvanti* and *kṛṣanti*, where, after *jhi* is replaced with *ant*, we get a replacement in *ṇ* for *n*. How come this *ṇ*-replacement does not apply? The *n* is first replaced with *ṃ* because *ṇ*-replacement will remain suspended (*asiddha*) at this time. The *anusvāra* will then be replaced with a homogeneous nasal similar to the dental *t*. That is, *n*. A replacement in *ṇ* cannot be applied again at the strength of *asiddhatva* 'suspension' of this last replacement in *n*. The *Mahābhāṣya*, therefore, calls it: 'that which transgresses the *n* turned *ṃ* in matters of *ṇ*-replacement (*evam anusvārībhūto ṇatvam atikrāmati*).

Why do we state the condition of *yayi* 'when a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaY* follows'? Consider *ā-kram* + (*LṚṬ*→*te*) = *ākraṃsyate* (*ca*) and also the *saN*-derivate *ācikraṃsyate*, where *ātmanepada* is introduced by 1.3.40 *āṅ udgamane* and 1.3.62 *pūrvavat sanaḥ*. The *anusvāra*, since it does not occur followed by a *yaY*-sound, cannot be replaced with a nasal homogeneous with what follows.

8.4.59 वा पदान्तस्य

vā padāntasya
/*vā* φ *padāntasya* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ* #58)
padāntānusvārasya yayi parato vā parasavarṇādeśo bhavati
A sound, homogeneous with what follows, optionally comes in place of an *anusvāra*, when the *anusvāra* occurs at the end of a *pada* and a sound denoted by *yaY* (semivowel, stop and nasal) follows.

EXAMPLES:

taṅ kathañ citrapakṣaṇ ḍayamānan nabhaḥstham puruṣo' vadhīt 'how was the maṇ able to kill that bird of colorful wings which was flying in the sky'
taṃ kathaṃ citrapakṣaṃ ḍayamānaṃ nabhaḥsthaṃ puruṣo' vadhīt 'ibidem'

1. A word-final (*padānta*) *ṃ* (*anusvāra*), when followed by a sound denoted by the abbreviatory term *yaY* (semivowels, nasals and stops), is optionally replaced with a sound homogeneous with what follows (*para-savarṇa*). Thus we get (*taṃ→ṅ*) *katha*(*ṃ→ñ*) *citrapakṣa*(*ṃ→ṇ*) *ḍayamāna*(*ṃ→n*) *nabhastham* . . . = *taṅ-kathañ-citrapakṣaṇ-ḍayamānan-nabhastham*. . . .

Note that the *vā* 'option' of our present rule also indicates that provisions made by the earlier rule are obligatory (*nitya*). Recall also that 8.4.56 *vāvasāne* makes an optional provision. Consequently, provisions made in between two optional provisions will be considered *nitya* 'obligatory' (*Nyāsa: vāvacanaṃ pūrvasya nityatvajñāpanārtham. dvayor vibhāṣayor madhye ye vai vidhayas te nityā bhavantīti kṛtvā*). The operational provision of this rule could also be interpreted as obligatory. That is, if *vā* was not used. For, in that case, operational provisions made by preceding rules would have remained optional. Provisions of this rule, at the strength of its incompatible formulation (*ārambha-sāmarthya*), would have then been considered obligatory.

8.4.60 तोर्लि

tor li
/*toḥ* 6/1 *li* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *parasavarṇaḥ* #58)
ṭavargasya lakāre parataḥ parasavarṇādeśo bhavati

A replacement, homogeneous with what follows (*parasavarṇa*), comes in place of a consonant (stop and nasal) of the *t*-series when *l* follows in close proximity.

EXAMPLES:

agnicil lunāti
somasul lunāti
bhavā l lunāti
mahā l lunāti

1. This rule allows a dental consonant to be replaced with *l* when *l* follows. Note that *t* is replaced with a clear *l* (*śuddho lakāraḥ*). The *n*, however, is replaced with a nasalized *l*. Thus, *agnici*(*t→l*) + *lunāti* = *agnicil lunāti* and *bhavā*(*n→l*) + *lunāti* = *bhavā l lunāti*.

8.4.61 उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य

udaḥ sthāstambhoḥ pūrvasya
/*udaḥ* 5/1 *sthāsthambhoḥ* 6/2 = *sthāś ca stambh ca* (*itar. dv.*), *tayoḥ*; *pūrvasya* 6/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *savarṇaḥ* #58)
uda uttarayoḥ 'sthā, stambha' ity etayoḥ pūrvasavarṇādeśo bhavati

A replacement, homogeneous with what precedes, comes in place of *s* of *sthā* 'to stay, stand' and *stambhU* 'to prop, support', when they occur after the preverb *ud* and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

utthātā
utthātum
utthātavyam
uttambhitā
uttambhitum
uttambhitavyam

1. This rule specifies a replacement for *sthā* and *stambhU* when these two occur preceded by the preverb *ud*. Since this replacement is specified for *sthā* and *stambhU*, which occur after *ud*, this replacement should come in place of the initial sound segment (1.1.54 *ādeḥ parasya*) of *sthā* and *stambhU*. Finally, recall that the *anuvṛtti* of *savarṇaḥ* 'homogeneous' is still valid. Consequently, this replacement must also be homogeneous with *d* which precedes *s* (*ut-sthā*). Note that the *d* of *ud* itself is replaced with *t* before *s* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*). We thus get *u(d→t)* + *(s→t) thātā* = *utthātā*, *u(d→t)* + *(s→t) thātum* = *utthātum* and *u(d→t)* + *(s→t) thātavyam* = *utthātavyam*, the *tṛC*, *tumUN* and *tavyaT* derivates of *sthā*, with the preverb *ud*. We similarly get *uttambhitā*, *uttambhitum* and *uttambhitavyam* with augment *iṬ*. Incidentally, the *th* of *sthā* also goes through a replacement in *t* (*cartva*; 8.4.55 *khari ca*). The preceding *t* is doubled up in view of 8.4.47 *anaci ca*. One of these two *t* sounds may also go through optional deletion (8.4.65 *jharo jhari savarṇe*). We will thus get *utthātā* and *utthātā*.

2. Some consider *th* as a replacement for *s*, based on similarities of external articulatory efforts (*bāhya-prayatna*). We thus get *ut* + *(s→th) thātum* → *ut-(th+th) āthum* → *uththātum*. A sequence of two *th* sounds which results from application of 8.4.47 *anaci ca* is retained. The preceding *th* of the sequence cannot go through *cartva* of 8.4.55 *khari ca*. For, the homogeneous replacement of this rule will then become suspended (*asiddha*).

3. Why do we state the condition of *sthāsthambhoḥ*? Consider *utsnātā* where we do not find *sthā* or *stambhU*. This rule is thus blocked from applying.

4. A *vārttika* proposal is made for the Vedic, where *s* of *ud-skand* also qualifies for a replacement in *t*. Consider *agne dūram utkandaḥ*. This proposal is also recommended for deriving *utkandaka*, an affliction (*roga*). Some yet claim that *utkanda* is a form of verbal root *kand* (*Kāś*: *kandater vā dhātvantarasyaitad rūpam* 'or it is a form of a different verbal root, i.e., *kand*').

8.4.62 झयो होऽन्यतरस्याम्

jhayo ho' nyatarasyām

/jhayaḥ 5/1 *haḥ* 6/1 *anyatarasyām* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *savarṇaḥ* #58 *pūrvasya* #61)
jhaya uttarasya hakārasya pūrvasavarṇādeśo bhavati anyatarasyām
A replacement, homogeneous with what precedes, comes in place of *h*, optionally, when *h* occurs after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaY* (non-nasal stops), and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

vāggh hasati
vāg hasati
śvaliḍḍ hasati
śvaliḍ hasati
agniciddh hasati
agnicid hasati
somasuddh hasati
somasud hasati
triṣṭubbh hasati
triṣṭub hasati

1. Note that all replacements must be selected in consonance with 1.1.50 *sthāne' ntaratamaḥ* 'a replacement must be most similar to what it replaces'. That is, they should be selected in view of similarities in place (*sthāna*) and manner (*prayatna*) of articulation. For example, in *vāg* + *hasati* = *vāg* + (*h*→*gh*) *asati* = *vāgghasati*, *h* gets replaced with *gh*, a sound (*g*) homogeneous with what precedes (*pūrvasavarṇa*) *h*. We will similarly get *h*, which occurs after *ḍ*, *d* or *b*, replaced with *ḍh*, *dh* or *bh*, in this order of enumeration.

2. Why do we state the condition of *jhayaḥ*? Consider *prāṅ hasati* and *bhavān hasati*, where *h* is not replaced because it does not occur after a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaY*.

8.4.63 शश्छोऽटि

śaś cho' ṭi
/śaḥ 6/1 *chaḥ* 1/1 *aṭi* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *jhayo' nyatarasyām* #61)
jhaya uttarasya śakārasyāṭi parataś chakārādeśo bhavaty anyatarasyām
A replacement in *ch* comes, optionally, in place of *ś* which, in turn, occurs after a sound denoted by *jhaY*, provided a sound denoted by *aṬ* (vowels and *y*, *v*, *r*) follows, and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

vāk chete

vāk śete
agnicic chete
agnicit śete
śvaliṭ chete
śvaliṭ śete
triṣṭup chete
triṣṭup śete

1. Note that *jhaY* and *anyatarasyām* 'optionally' are both carried over, via *anuvṛtti*. A specification with *anyatarasyām* is also made here to indicate that provisions made by preceding rules are obligatory (*nitya*).

This rule allows *ś* to be optionally replaced with *ch* (*chatva*) if *ś* occurs after a non-nasal stop (*jhaY*), and what follows is a vowel or *y*, *r* or *l*. Thus, we get *vāk* + (*ś*→*ch*) *ete* = *vākchete*; *agnici*(*t*→*c*) + (*ś*→*ch*) *ete* = *agnici*(*t*→*c*) + *chete* = *agnicic chete* and *agnicit śete*, etc. Recall also that a dental stop is replaced with its palatal counterpart when followed by a palatal (*t*→*c*) (8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*).

2. It is stated that our present rule remains suspended (*asiddha*) in view of both 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ* and 8.4.55 *khari ca*. From among these two, Rule 8.4.55 *khari ca* remains suspended in view of 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*. It is in view of this suspension provision that order of applications remains: 8.4.40 *stoḥ ścunā ścuḥ*, 8.4.55 *khari ca* and 8.4.63 *śaś cho' ṭi*.

3. A *vārttika* proposal states that *aṭi* 'when a sound denoted by *aṬ* (*Śs* 1-5) follows' is not enough. The right condition of this replacement operation should be stated with *ami* 'when *aM* (*Śs* 1-7) follows'. This, in addition to sounds denoted by *aṬ*, will also include *l* and nasals. Thus, *tat* + *ślokena* and *tac* + *chlokena*; *tat* + *śmaśruṇā* and *tac* + *chmaśruṇā*.

8.4.64 हलो यमां यमि लोपः

halo yamāṃ yami lopaḥ
/*halaḥ* 5/1 *yamām* 6/3 *yami* 7/1 *lopaḥ* 1/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *anyatarasyām* #61)
hala uttareṣāṃ yamāṃ yami parato lopo bhavaty anyatarasyām
A deletion by *LOPA* comes optionally in place of a sound denoted by *yaM* occurring after a consonant (*haL*), when a sound denoted by *yaM* follows and close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

śayyā 'bed'
śayyyā
aditer apatyam = *ādityaḥ* 'male offspring of Aditi'
ādityo devatā asya sthālīpākasya = *ādityyaḥ* '*āditya*, the divinity of this *sthālīpāka* sacrifice'

1. This rule offers optional deletion of a sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *yaM*, under the condition of a following sound denoted by *yaM*. Refer to derivational details of *śayyā* (III:765). We get two *y* sounds in *śayyā*. A third *y* results subsequently (*kramajaḥ* = *ānupūrvyāṃ jātaḥ* 'produced in a sequence') from the doubling application of 8.4.47 *anaci ca*. Our present rule then applies to delete one, or both, medial *y* sounds (*Kāś*: *tatra madhyamasya madhyamayor vā lopo bhavati*). We thus get *śayyā* and *śayyyā*. Now consider *ādityaḥ* and *ādityyaḥ*, parallel to *aditer apatyam pumān* 'male offspring of *aditi*', where we get one *y* which follows *t*. This *y* is part of affix *Ṇya* (4.1.85 *dityadityāditya* . . .) which, in turn, is introduced after *aditi* + *Ṅas* with the signification of 4.1.92 *tasyāpatyam*. A second *y* is gotten, again as part of *Ṇya*, when this affix is introduced by the same rule in the sense of 4.2.24 *sāsya devatā* 'she is the divinity of . . .'. This *y* is doubled up in view of a *vārttika*: *yaṇo mayo dve bhavataḥ* (cf. 8.4.47 *anaci ca*). The optional deletion of one, or both, medial *y* sounds can now yield; *ādityaḥ* and *ādityyaḥ*. We can even get *ādityyyaḥ*, with three *y* sounds, where doubling of *y* is accomplished with two *y* sounds to start with.

2. Why do we state the condition of *halaḥ* 'after a consonant'? Consider *ānnam* 'food' which derives from *anna* + *am* + *Ṇa* (4.4.85 *annāṇṇaḥ*). We do find a *yaM*, i.e., *n*, followed by a similar *n*. But this *n* does not occur after a consonant.

Why do we state the condition of *yamām* 'of sounds denoted by *yaM*'? Consider *arghyam* where *gh* occurs after *r*, a consonant. It also happens to be followed by *y*, a sound denoted by *yaM*. However, this *gh* cannot be accepted as a sound denoted by *yaM*. Why? It is not included within the denotata of *yaM* (*Nyāsa*: *na tv ayaṃ yam ghakāraḥ*; *tasya yamtvasanniveśāt*). The deletion of *gh* is thus blocked. This same happens to the *g* of *agniḥ* 'fire'.

Why do we state the condition of *yami* 'when a sound denoted by *yaM* follows'? Consider *śārṅgam* which derives with *aṆ*, introduced with the signification of 4.3.134 *tasya vikāraḥ*, parallel to *śṛṅgasya vikāraḥ* 'modification (product) of horn'. Here again we find that *ṅ*, a sound denoted by *yaM*, occurs after a consonant. However, the following *g* is not a sound denoted by *yaM*. The deletion of *gh* is thus blocked. Some claim that the initial *vṛddhi* of (*śṛ*→*ār*) *ṅga* = *śārṅga* is externally conditioned (*bahiraṅga*). Deletion of *gh* is, of course, internally conditioned (*antaraṅga*). Consequently, this external *vṛddhi* will become suspended (*asiddha*) in view of accomplishing this internal deletion. This suspension of *vṛddhi* will also render the consonant, i.e., *r*, suspended (*asiddha*). The *gh* will thus not occur after a consonant. The question of deletion of *gh* will thus not arise. This view is, however, not accepted. I prefer not to discuss this any further.

8.4.65 झरो झरि सवर्णे

jharo jhari savarṇe

/jharaḥ 6/1 *jhari* 7/1 *savarṇe* 7/1/
(*saṃhitāyām* #2.108 *anyatarasyām* #61 *halo lopaḥ* #64)
hala uttareṣāṃ yamāṃ yami parato lopo bhavaty anyatarasyām
A deletion by *LOPA* comes, optionally, in place of a sound denoted by *jhaR* when this *jhaR* occurs after a consonant and is followed by a *jhaR* sound homogeneous with it, provided close proximity between sounds finds its scope.

EXAMPLES:

pratttam 'derivate of (*pra-dā*) + *Kta*)) + *sU*'
prattam
avatttam 'derivate of (*ava-dā*) + *Kta*)) + *sU*'
avattam
marutttam 'derivate of (*marut* (*dā* + *Kta*)) + *sU*'
maruttam

1. A sound denoted by the abbreviatory symbol *jhaR* (voiced-voiceless aspirated-unaspirated stops and sibilants) which occurs after a consonant is optionally deleted, when a homogeneous sound denoted by *jhaR* follows. Refer to derivational details of *prattam* under rule 7.4.74 *aca upasargāt taḥ*. Recall that this rule offers a replacement in *t* to an *aṅga* termed *ghu*, namely *dā*, when a *t*-initial affix marked with *K* as an *it* follows. Note that *pra-dā* + *Kta* yields a string with three *t* sounds: (*pra-d*(*ā*→*t*) + *ta* → *pra*-(*d*→*t*) + *t* + *ta* → *pra-t* + *t* + *ta*. Notice here that the *ā* of *dā* is replaced with *t* (7.4.47 *aca upasargāt taḥ*). The *d* itself is then replaced with *t* (8.4.54 *khari ca*). We thus have three *t* sounds: two replacements and one as part of the affix (*Nyāsa*: *evaṃ tāvat tryas takārāḥ, dvāv ādeśau, ekaḥ pratyayāvayavaḥ*). We also get a fourth (*Kāś*: *kramajaś caturthaḥ*), as a result of the application of 8.4.46 *anaci ca*. Consequently, we get four *t* sounds in a sequence: *pra-t* + *t* + *t* + *ta*. The two medial *t* sounds, or optionally just one, then go through deletion (*Kāś*: *tatra madhyasya madhyamayor vā lopo bhavati* 'there obtains an optional deletion of one or both medials'). We thus get: *pra-t* + (*t+t*→ϕ) + *ta* = *pratta*. Deletion of a single medial *t* will give us: *pra-t* + (*t*→ϕ) + *t* + *ta* → *prattta*. A similar sequence of four *t* sounds, with similar results, is also witnessed in *ava* + *dā* + (*K*) *ta* → *ava-d*(*ā*→*t*) + *ta* → *ava*-(*d*→*t*) + *t* + *ta* → *ava-t* + (*t*→*tt*) + *ta*. This gives us: *avatta* and *avattta*.

Now consider *marut-dā* + (*K*) *ta* → *marut-d*(*ā*→*t*) + *ta* → *marut*-(*d*→*t*) + *t* + *ta*, where *marut* 'wind', via a *vārttika* proposal under 1.4.58 *prādaya upasargāḥ kriyāyoge*), is extended the status of a preverb (*vt*: *marucchabdasyopasaṃkhyānam*). It is this extensional provision (*ātideśika*) of *marut* which, even in the absence of *marut* not ending in a vowel, facilitates the *t*-replacement of *ā* of *dā*. An application of 7.4.47 *anaci ca* produces the sequence of five *t* sounds. Thus, *marut-t* + (*t*→*tt*) + *t* + *ta*. Deleting one, two or three medial *t* sounds will

yield: *marutttta, maruttta,* or *marutta.* We will thus have to apply deletion as many times as we can find a *jhaR* followed by another *jhaR.*

2. Why do we state the condition of *jharaḥ* in place of a sound denoted by *jhaR*? Consider *śārṅgam* where *ṅ* is not a sound denoted by *jhaR.* Although it occurs after a sound denoted by *jhaR,* but it does not go through deletion.

Why do we state the condition of *jhari* 'when a sound denoted by *jhaR* follows'? Consider *priyapañcñā,* a *bahuvrīhi* compound paraphrased as: *priyāḥ pañcāsya* 'he to whom five are dear'. Note that *priyapañcñā* is an instrumental singular where *priya* 'dear' is combined as initial of the compound (2.3.35 *saptamī viśeṣaṇe*. . .; *vt*: *vā priyasya pūrvanipātaḥ*). The *ā* of *priyāpañcan* is deleted by 6.4.134 *allopo' naḥ.* The final *n* of *priyapañcan* is then replaced with *ñ* (*PM*: *nakārasya cutvam*; 8.4.40 *stoś cunā ścuḥ*). The *c* of *priyapañcañ,* which occurs after a consonant (*halaḥ*), is also a sound denoted by *jhaR.* It is also followed by *ñ,* a sound homogeneous with it. However, *ñ* is not a sound denoted by *jhaR.* Consequently, even if the *c* occurs after a consonant, and is followed by *ñ,* it cannot be allowed to go through deletion. One can argue here that the question of *c*-deletion does not arise. For, specifications made for deletion require uninterrupted contiguity. This *c* is not immediately followed by *ñ.* How? The deleted *ā* of *priyāpañcan* will reappear, via *sthānivadbhāva* 'treatment of a replacement as the item it replaced' (1.1.57 *acaḥ parasmin pūrvavidhau*). A specification made with *jhari* thus does not serve any purpose. This cannot be accepted. For, this deletion cannot be treated as what was deleted, especially in view of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham* (*Kāś*: *alllopasya ca 'pūrvatrāsiddhe na sthānivat' iti sthānivadbhāvapratiṣedhād*. . .). That is, *c* is accepted as immediately followed by *ñ.* One could not stop this deletion of *c* if *jhari* 'when a sound denoted by *jhaR* follows' is not specified as a right condition.

Why do we state the condition of *savaraṇe* 'when a homogeneous sound denoted by *jhaR* follows'? Consider *tarptā, tarptum* and *tarptavyam,* the *tṛC, tumUN* and *tavyaT* forms of *tṛp* 'to be satisfied, be pleased'. The word *savarṇa* is primarily used to block the assignment of equivalency in the order of elements (*saṃkhyātānudeśa*) in each specified set (1.3.10 *yathāsaṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*). Had the rule been formulated as *jharo jhari* without the use of *savarṇe,* assignment of equivalency would have followed the order of enumeration in two sets of elements denoted by *jhaR.* The use of the word *savarṇe* cannot serve the purpose of blocking selection of a sound which was not homogeneous. For, assignment of equivalency in order of enumeration would have already assured a *jhaR* parallel to another. Accepting *saṃkhyātānudeśa* with no consideration for homogeneity (*sāvarṇya*) would make it impossible to derive *śiṇḍhi* and *piṇḍhi.* Consider *śiṣ* + (*LOṬ→siP*) → (*śi+ŚnaM+ṣ*) + *si* → *śi* + *na* + *ṣ* + (*si* → *hi*) → *śi* + *na* + *ṣ* + *hi.* Rule 6.4.111 *śnaso al*. . . now deletes *a* of *na.* The final *hi* of this string produces *ḍhi* through replacements of *hi* with *dhi* (6.4.101 *hujhalyor*. . .) and *dh* with *ḍh* (8.4.41

ṣṭunā ṣṭuḥ. The *ṣ* of *śi* + *n* + *ṣ* + *ḍhi* is then replaced with *ḍ* (*jaśtva*; 8.4.53 *jhalāṃ jaś jhaśi*). Our present rule then deletes *ḍ* under the condition of its homogeneous relationship with the following *ḍh*. This deletion could not be accomplished without the use of the word *savarṇe*. Incidentally, the *n* of *śi* + *n* + (*ḍ*→ϕ) + *ḍhi* is first replaced with *anusvāra* (8.3.24 *naś cāpadāntasya jhali*). It is then replaced with *ṇ* (8.4.58 *anusvārasya yayi parasavarṇaḥ*) to produce *śi* + (*n*→*ṃ*→*ṇ*) + (*ṣ*→*ḍ*→ϕ) + (*hi*→(*dh*→*ḍh*) *i*→ *śiṇḍhi*. A similar second person singular imperative form of *piṣ* 'to grind' can be derived as *piṇḍhi* from *pi* + *śnaM* + *ṣ* + (*LOṬ*→*si*→*hi*→*dhi*→*ḍhi*) → *piṇḍhi*. Refer to derivational details of *śiṇḍhi* and *piṇḍhi* under the appendix (II:407-9) of rule 1.1.58 *na padānta*. . . .

8.4.66 उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः

udāttād anudāttasya svaritaḥ
/*udāttāt* 5/1 *anudāttasya* 6/1 = *na udāttaḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *tasya*; *svaritaḥ* 1/1/
udāttād uttarasyānudāttasya svaritādeśo bhavati
An *anudātta* which occurs after an *udātta* is replaced with a *svarita*.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyáḥ 'a male descendant of Garga'
vātsyáḥ 'a male descendant of Vatsa'
pacáti 'he cooks'
paṭháti 'he reads or recites'

1. This rule offers a replacement in *svarita* to an *anudātta* which occurs followed by an *udātta*. Consider *gārgyaḥ* and *vātsyaḥ* which both are derivates of affix *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*). These words are both marked with initial *udātta*. Their *ya* is marked with *anudātta* in view of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam*. . . . The accentual sequence here is: *udātta-anudātta-udātta*. The *anudātta* which here occurs after an *udātta* is replaced with *svarita*. Refer to the appendix of 3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau* for accentual details of *pacáti* and *paṭháti*. Note, however, that the *a* of *pac* is marked with *udātta* (6.1.159 *dhātoḥ*). Affixes *ŚaP* and *tiP* are marked with *anudātta* (3.1.4 *anudāttau suppitau*). The accentual sequence is: *udātta-anudātta-anudātta*. The *anudātta a* of *ŚaP*, which occurs after an *udātta*, is to be replaced here with *svarita*. The *ti* of *pacati* must then go through *ekaśruti* 'monotone' (1.2.39 *svaritāt saṃhitāyām anudāttānām*).

2. Why is this rule stated? Why was it not placed after 6.1.182 *tit svaritam*? This way, one need not use the word *svaritam*. That is, it could have been carried over via *anuvṛtti*. Rule 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . . would have become applicable here if this rule was placed there after 6.1.182 *tit svaritam*. The accentual result would have been: *anudātta-svarita*. What we have here

is *udātta-svarita*. Placing this rule here makes the *svarita* suspended (*asiddha*). The application of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . . is thus blocked. We can thus get both the *udātta* and *svarita*.

8.4.67 नोदात्तस्वरितोदयमगार्ग्यकाश्यपगालवानाम्

nodāttasvaritodayam agārgyakāśyapagālavānām
/*na* ϕ *udāttasvaritodayam* 1/1 = *udāttaś ca svaritaś ca* = *udātta-svaritau* (*itar. dv.*); *udāttasvaritau udayau yasmāt* (*bv.*), *tat*; *a-gārgyakāśyapagālavānām* = *gārgyaś ca kāśyapaś ca gālavaś ca* (*itar. dv.*); *na gārgya . . . gālavāḥ* (*nañ. tat.*), *teṣām*/
(*anudāttasya svaritaḥ* #66)
An *anudātta*, in the opinion of scholars other than Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava, is not replaced by a *svarita* when the same occurs followed by an *udātta* and *svarita*.

EXAMPLES:

gārgyas tatrá 'Gārgya is there'
vātsyas tatrá 'Vātsya is there'
gārgyaḥ kvá 'where is Gārgya'
vātsyaḥ kvá 'where is Vātsya'

1. An *anudātta*, in the opinion of scholars other than Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava, is not replaced with *svarita* when the same occurs after an *udātta* and *svarita*. That is, an *anudātta*, in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava, is replaced by a *svarita* when the same occurs followed by an *udātta* and *svarita*.

Mention of many preceptors (*ācāryas*) is made here for denoting respect (*Kāś*: *anekācāryasaṃkīrtanaṃ pūjārtham*). It is not used for stating an option.

The word *udaya* 'rise, prosperity' is associated here with both *udātta* and *svarita*. Thus, we interpret *udāttasvaritodayam* as *udāttasvaritau udayau yasmāt tat* 'that from which rise the *udātta* and *svarita*': *udāttodayaḥ* and *svaritodayaḥ*. It is used in the *prātiśākhya* treatises as synonymous with *para* 'following' (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*: *udayaśabdo' tra pratyekam abhisambadhyate . . . paraśabdasyārthe vartate*). This rule uses *udaya* also in the sense of *para* 'subsequent'. Commentators also recognize that *udaya* 'rise' is used here for invoking auspiciousness (*Kāś*: . . . *udayagrahaṇaṃ maṅgalārtham*). Refer also to my comments under the next rule.

2. Now consider some examples. The word *tatra* 'there', in *gārgyas tatra*, ends in affix *traL* (5.3.10 *saptamyās tral*). It is also marked with *udātta* at the beginning, based on *L* as an *it* (6.1.190 *liti*). The *ya* of *gārgya*, on the other hand, is marked with *anudātta* (6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam* . . .). The *ya* of *gārgya*, an *anudātta*, here occurs followed by the *udātta* of *ta* of *tatra*. The

svarita which was made available to the *ya* of *gārgya* by the preceding rule is here negated under the following condition of the initial *udātta* of *tatra*. The result is: *gārgyas tatrá*. This same applies also to *vātsyas tatrá*. Recall here that the word *gārgya* is a derivate of affix *yaÑ* (4.1.105 *gargādibhyo yañ*). Consequently, the word *gārgya* will be obligatorily marked with initial *udātta* (6.1.194 *ñnityādir nityam*). The *ya* of *gārgya* will then be marked with *anudātta* in view of 6.1.155 *anudāttaṃ padam....* The accentual sequence involved here is: *udātta-anudātta-udātta*.

Now consider *gārgyaḥ kvá*, where *kva* is marked with *svarita* (cf. 1.2.31 *samāhāraḥ svaritaḥ*). The *ya* of *gārgya* is *anudātta*. This *anudātta* is occurring here followed by the *svarita* of *kva*. The *svarita* which was made available to *ya* of *gārgya* is here negated. That is, the *anudātta* is retained. This same also applies to *vātsyaḥ kvá*. Recall that, in the opinion of Gārgya, Kāśyapa and Gālava, the *svarita* of the preceding rule applies. The accentual sequence here happens to be *udātta-anudātta-svarita*.

8.4.68 अ अ इति

a a iti
/a ɸ a ɸ iti ɸ/
akāro vivṛtaḥ saṃvṛto bhavati
An open *a* is, hereby, made closed.

EXAMPLES:

vṛkṣaḥ
plakṣaḥ

1. Note that, prior to this point in this *śāstra* 'grammar', the first *a* was assumed to be 'open' (*vivṛta*). This assumption is based on articulatory efforts involved in the production of *a* as a 'closed' (*saṃvṛta*) short (*hrasva*) vowel and 'open' (*vivṛta*) long (*dīrgha*), or extra-long (*pluta*; *vivṛtakaraṇāḥ svarāḥ*; *saṃvṛtastv akāraḥ*). Such a description created problems in formulating abbreviatory terms (*pratyāhāra*), particularly *aṆ*, and, thereby, denoting homogeneous vowel qualities by means of them. Recall that 1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam* requires that sounds which share homogeneous relationship must involve similar articulatory efforts in the oral cavity. This, in turn, cannot ensure homogeneous relationship of individual sound qualities denoted by vowels of the abbreviatory term *aṆ*. It is to resolve this difficulty that *a* was assumed to be *vivṛta* in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

But since its usage is open, and also since, contrary to this usage, this 'open' quality does not become the standard articulation in usage (*loka*), this rule declares it to be accepted as 'closed' (*saṃvṛta*; *Kāś*: *iha śāstre kāryārtham akāro vivṛtaḥ pratijñātaḥ, tasya tathābhūtasyaiva prayogo mā bhūd iti saṃvṛtapratyāpattir iyaṃ kriyate*).

A specification made at the end of the *śāstra* 'grammar' applies through its entirety. Besides, what was previously specified as *vivṛta* 'open' is now, through the suspension provision of 8.2.1 *pūrvatrāsiddham*, becomes established here (*atra*) as *saṃvṛta* 'open'. For example, *a* in *vṛkṣaḥ* and *plakṣaḥ* should be articulated as 'close short' as is the practice in the usage.

One can view this relationship between two specified *a* sounds as that of a *sthānī* 'that which is replaced' and *ādeśa* 'that which replaces'. How could such a relationship be perceived between them when there is no formal difference. How could one *a* be called another if there was extreme non-difference (*atyantābheda*)? Such a statement will be useless. But there is a difference. They differ with respect to their articulatory efforts (*prayatna-bhedāt*). That which is articulated with an 'open' articulatory effort is 'one which is to be replaced'. That which is articulated with a 'closed' articulatory effort is 'one which replaces'. It is the *a* which is articulated with 'closed' articulatory effort that experiences the status of being a replacement.

Now, there is no *a* which is articulated with 'open' articulatory effort. Not in the usage. Not in the Vedic. Not in the classical usage, either. For, in all instances, we only see a 'closed' *a*. Why go through the stipulation of an 'open' *a* which is now to be considered as 'closed'? It is true that, in the Vedic as well as in the classical usage, *a* is articulated as 'closed'. Still, for certain functional necessities, the *a* was stipulated to be articulated as 'open'. What is that functional necessity? Commentators identify this functional necessity as 'the establishment of homogeneous relationship between the class of sounds characterized as *a*'. If *a* was accepted as 'closed' to start with, it would have been impossible to establish its homogeneous relationship with *ā*. For, *ā* is articulated with the articulatory effort characterized as *vivṛta* 'open'. This, in turn, would go directly against the stipulation that 'a homogeneous sound shares the same articulatory effort with others in the oral cavity' (1.1.9 *tulyāsyaprayatnaṃ savarṇam*). The notion of homogeneity is established so that, among other things, a specification with a *hrasva* 'short' *a* can also include reference to its corresponding *dīrgha* 'long'. If a specification with 'short' cannot include a reference to its 'long' counterpart, long replacement (*savarṇa-dīrgha*) of 6.1.100 *akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ* cannot be accomplished in *daṇḍa* + *agram* = *daṇḍāgram*. But such a replacement cannot be accomplished in *daṇḍa* + *āḍhakam* = *daṇḍāḍhakam*. But this inability of accomplishing long replacement in *daṇḍāḍhakam* should not be accepted as a fault (*doṣa*). For, here in this *śāstra* 'grammar', qualities (*guṇāḥ*) are considered non-distinctive (*abhedakāḥ*). The very idea of establishing the notion of *sāvarṇya* 'homogeneity' supports it. This reasoning is not valid. For, the *sūtra* which establishes the notion of homogeneity also considers differences in articulatory efforts as one of the variables. If not, the effort of establishing homogeneity on the basis of *prayatna* 'articulatory efforts' will become useless.

2. A specification of 'open' *a*, via the abbreviatory term *aN*, includes reference to a class of eighteen vowels distinguished by qualities such as *udātta*, etc. Consequently, we get a 'close short' vowel as a substitute in place of a similar vowel quality. A 'long' or 'extra-long' vowel quality can also be similarly gotten as a replacement. Or else, one can accept the *a* as 'close'. But since this 'close' vowel quality is not included within the reference of the abbreviatory term *aN* it cannot include any reference to a 'long' or 'extra-long' vocalic quality. Accepting *a* as a specific 'close' vowel quality of the duration of one mora (*mātrā*) is also problematic. For, it can then not include any reference to similar vowel qualities of the duration of one mora. The only way this can be resolved is: let a specified vowel quality refer to its own specific quality, and not to any other. Jinendrabuddhi (*Nyāsa* ad *Kāś*) asks two questions which, in turn, sum up the problems invloved in accepting the specification of *a* of *aN* as 'open' or 'close':

> *katham punar dīrghaplutayor anena vivṛtenākāreṇa grahaṇam iṣyamāṇam api na bhavati* 'how is a reference to 'long' and 'extra-long' qualities, eventhough desired, cannot be accomplished by accepting this *a* as *vivṛta* 'open'?'
> *katham ca saṃvṛtena sarvaguṇayuktasya mātrikasya grahaṇam iṣyamāṇam api labhyate* 'how is a reference to all 'close' vowel qualities of the duration of one mora accomplished by accepting this *a* as *saṃvṛta* 'close'?'

Others claim that this problem of reference, which is caused by the specification of *a*, via *aN*, can be resolved by formulating this rule as *ad a*. That is, by specifying *a* with *t* (*taparakaraṇa*; 1.1.70 *taparas tatkālasya*), as Patañjali states in the *Mahābhāṣya*: *siddham tu taparanirdeśāt* 'it is established on the basis of specification with a following *t*'. This new formulation would yield two interpretations of *taparaḥ*: *taḥ paro yasmāt* 'that after which *t* occurs'; and *tāt paraḥ taparaḥ* 'that which occurs after *t*'. The first interpretation will apply to the first *a*. The second interpretation will apply to the following *a*. The *taparakaraṇa* of the first vowel, i.e., *vivṛta* 'open', will help exclude reference to any corresponding *dīrgha* 'long' and *pluta* 'extra-long'. A replacement, eventhough not included within the reference of *aN*, will be able to refer to vowels of same duration, though used with different qualities.

Some also see the formulation of this rule as a specification made in view of the process of *ekaśeṣa* 'only one of many remains'. Thus, six vowels of the duration of one mora (*mātrā*) are specified as *sthānī* 'that which is replaced'. Their corresponding replacements are also specified in equal number. One of each set is then retained. Thus, *ekaśeṣa* applies to both sets of six vowels. The assignment of an equivalent replacement is made on the basis of duration. Replacements of a 'long' or 'extra-long' duration are thus excluded. Six replacements of 'close' duration come in place of six vowels of similar duration in the order of enumeration. This accomplishes what is desired.

3. Commentators accept that those who, for reasons of achieving desired goals (*iṣṭa-siddhi*) of formulating a *śāstra*, invoke auspiciousness (*maṅgala*) at the beginning, in the middle, and also at the end, become celebrated and long-living:

> *yato maṅgalādīni maṅgalamadhyāni maṅgalāntāni ca śāstrāṇi prathante vīrapuruṣāṇi bhavanty āyuṣmatpuruṣāṇi ca/*

Pāṇini follows this practice of invoking auspiciousness so that the formulation of his *śāstra* could not only be accomplished without any obstacle (*vighna*), but could also accrue him merit (*puṇya*) and fame (*yaśas*). He thus used *a* at the beginning (in *aṆ* of the *Śs aiuṆ*), *a* in the middle (the first 'open' *a* of this rule) and at the end (the final 'close' *a* of this rule). This is fully in consonance with his practice of invoking auspiciousness in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Thus, at the beginning (1.1.1 *vṛddhir ādaic*) he uses the word *vṛddhi* 'growth'; in the middle he uses the word *śiva* (4.4.143 *śivaśamariṣṭasya kare*); and, at the end (8.4.67 *nodāttasvaritodaya* . . .), he uses the word *udaya*.

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